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ЮБИЛЕЕН

ГОДИШНИК

НА ДЕПАРТАМЕНТ

„АНГЛИЦИСТИКА”

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INTRODUCTION

The Yearbook commemorates the 25th anniversary of the founding of New Bulgarian University and the Department of English Studies. The research papers in this volume mirror the wide-ranging academic interests of the faculty and PhD students at the English Department, as well as those of colleagues from other higher education institutions and undoubtedly demonstrate yet again serious academic endeavours which should as a rule go hand in hand with the practical side of the job – that of teaching. These topical articles, encompass a broad spectre of research –pedagogical aspects, such as English language teaching and inclusive education, sociolinguistic topics that delve into linguistic landscaping, the social media, the construction of a country's image through the media, code-switching, language minorities, the romanticism of Shelly and the post-romanticism of Yeats, ESP terminology, and a more current topic of subtitle translation.

The BA and MA programmes that have been pioneered and developed in the English Department over the years demonstrate a more applied than theoretical slant which reflects the current needs of the job market and are thus oriented towards imparting knowledge and facilitating the acquisition of professional and practical skills. Some of the programmes of study presently offered are English Studies (with translator and teacher strands), American and British Studies, Translation and Interpretation, Foreign language teacher training. Every academic year if necessary, the programmes undergo a makeover in conjunction with the dynamics of the social and market requirements.

And finally, this Yearbook is dedicated to the memory of our dear colleague and friend, the late Professor Maria Georgieva, who is one of the founding 'mothers' of the Department. She was a long-standing Head of the English Department and with her expertise, hard work and dedication contributed immensely to the development of the BA and MA programmes of study. We are all exceedingly grateful for having had the chance to work side by side with her! Thank you, Mary for your commitment, determination and assiduity, but above all for your friendship!

Diana Yankova

IN MEMORIAM

MARIA GEORGIEVA

(1948 – 2016)



ПРИЛОЖНА ЛИНГВИСТИКА, НБУ: ВЧЕРА ЛИ БЯХМЕ НА 25?

Десислава Зарева

„Правим сборник на Департамента. Нали ще се включиш?“ Дияна Янкова. В кафенето на втори корпус, от където се опитвам да си тръгна за вкъщи вече половин час. Все пак трябва да взема детето от училище. И да не съм последна този път... „Нямам нищо готово в момента, а ти сигурно бързаш. Те сроковете не минаха ли?“

Надявам се да са минали - този семестър трудно намирам време за наука, нали съм вече и администратор. Акредитации, доклади, срещи с доволни и недоволни студенти и преподаватели, графици и замествания – това е моето ежедневие сега. Часовете по английски са спасителният остров. За четири часа на ден съм там, където наистина искам да бъда – сред младежи, които учат нов език, не се боят да питат и спорят, старателно (и не чак толкова) правят упражнения, слушат, пишат, дискутират всичко, което ги интересува. Много често дори на английски. Даже и в почивките.

Опитвам се да откажа. Имам да пиша доклад. И нещо за Форума в мидъл. Да се подготвя за следващите часове. Да се наспя, ако може. Но и Дияна си знае работата – „Не става да отказваш. С този Департамент си свързана от самото му начало. А сборникът е юбилеен и не върви никак. Пък и не е задължително да е научна статията...“. Тук нямам разумен контра-аргумент, а и вече е 4.20 – Дияна трябва да влиза в час, аз казвам „добре“ и тичам към маршрутката.

След ден-два сядам да пиша. И чак сега осъзнавам, че с „ненаучните“ статии въобще не е лесно. Започвам на английски, но текстът ми звучи неестествено. Кого извън НБУ биха интересували моите спомени, терзания и радости, малки и големи победи? Затова трия написаното и започвам отново, на български. С мисъл за колегите, които ще прочетат и кажат – „ей, така беше наистина“, „как лети времето“, „ха, това го бях забравил/а“. Само че пак проблем – кое да избира, кое е важно и интересно? Кое си струва да бъде помнено? Не е ли по-добре някои неща да ги забравим?

„С този Департамент си свързана от самото му начало“. Така е. Моето второ начало като студент в програма „Приложна лингвистика“ на наистина новия Нов

български университет. Годишната е 1992, мястото - тогавашния Институт за чуждестранни студенти в София.

Сега мога само да си представям с какви усилия и ентузиазъм е била създавана програмата, сигурно е имало спорове, вадене и добавяне на курсове, трудни решения и одобрения от комисии. Това, което видяхме първите кандидат-студенти обаче, беше приветливата усмивка на Гери Лалова, докато спокойното разяснява процедурата по кандидатстване, предимствата на новата програма на НБУ и възможната реализация в бъдеще. Със сигурност Гери (без дори да я познавам лично тогава) ми помогна да реша и завъртя колелото на моята лична НБУ история.

Приемен изпит. С ужас очаквам диктовката. Диктовка няма, но пускат текст за слушане. И всичко в теста е толкова различно от това, с което съм свикнала в Софийския. Е, казвам си, все пак е нов университет, нормално е всичко да е ново и различно.

Така минават следващите четири години – правя лични открития почти всеки ден. Leo Jones със своя Cambridge Advanced English е моето настолно четиво три месеца. Към края на първия триместър в НБУ съм убедена, че никой англичанин не знае колко много думи има в родния му език, и че никой не знае особеностите на английската граматика по-добре от мен и колегите ми. Но заслугата за това със сигурност не е на Лио Джоунс. С колегите от моята група имаме невероятния късмет „да сме с Мери“. Мария Георгиева, която толкова ни липсваше докато беше в Англия през следващия триместър. Която невероятно ми липсва и сега, когато знам, че няма да се връща освен чрез спомените ни за нея. Всъщност, моето лично усещане за „Приложна лингвистика“ като програма е основно свързано с нея, Мери. Тя е практическият английски, методиката, социолингвистиката, педагогическите стажове, моят ментор и съветник при писането на курсови работи и бакалавърската дипломна работа. Можеше да бъде и рецензент на недописания ми все още докторат, но ... това е друга история, вероятно за друг юбилеен сборник.

Моята „Приложна лингвистика“ беше страшно амбициозна програма – крайната цел бе завършилите я да бъдат бакалаври с две равностойни специалности – преводач и преподавател с два равностойни чужди езика: първи, с който си приет и втори, който учиш от начало. Само тези от вас, учили два езика

едновременно, могат истински да усетят и разберат и ужаса, и неимоверното забавление в часа по немски, когато думите идват на английски (само и единствено), или немските понятия, които неизвестно откъде, се активират в часа по английски.

Казвам немски, защото това беше моят избор за втори чужд език. Със сигурност е било забавно и в часовете по френски и испански. А най-забавно беше всички да се съберем в двора на ИЧС и да създаваме свои собствени думи от наученото. И Тео с китарата да ни попее, Иво да разкаже някой виц или преживяване като екскурзовод, Киро да сподели още нещо за американската си мечта и всички тайничко да се порадваме на прелитащите искри между двамата влюбени от първия випуск.

Връщам се към немския, защото и там извадих невероятен късмет! Пак Мария. Този път Грозева. Заедно с фрау Станкулова и фрау Ламбова, в шеги и закачки и здрава работа, след три месеца проговорихме на немски. Даже пропахме! А в края на четвъртата година активно се готвехме за държавен изпит по немски: въпроси по граматика, литература, странознание, методика – всичко това беше в конспекта.

С Иво и Нели добре ни познаваха в Гьоте институт – изгледахме цялата немска класика на видео. С английски субтитри, за всеки случай. Обаче се справихме, и то успешно. Все пак си е предизвикателство да пишеш дипломна работа на английски, докато се готвиш за държавен изпит по немски. И то във времена почти без компютри, и със сигурност без google!

Ще прозвучи като клише, знам, но тези четири години бяха най-доброто, което един студент може да получи. Освен стабилната езикова подготовка, програмата, макар и натоварваща, ми даде това, което обеща: добра езикова култура, методическа основа и всички необходими преводачески умения. И възможността да общувам с изключителни преподаватели.

С методиката започнахме още в първи курс. Не съм сигурна, че тогава разбрахме напълно различните школи и тенденции в преподаването, но слушахме в захлас Елисавета Тончева и Мариета Недкова. Няма такова произношение! За Елисавета бяхме готови да се закълнем, че има английски корени. По-късно минахме през школата на Мери Георгиева (първият ми стаж и истинска работа като учител по английски бе още във втори курс), двете Светли

(Димитрова - с методиката, Ташевска - с тестовете) и Павлина Стефанова (с педагогика и дидактика).

Няма как да пропусна и немската секция – Кристина Станкулова запали в мен интереса към преподаването на култура и странознание в часовете по чужд език. Понякога в час се улавям, че правя неща, които съм видяла и научила от нея. Тук трябва да кажа, че аз винаги съм искала да съм учител. Затова тази част от програмата ми бе по-важна. Кое не значи, че не съм хвърляла усилия в часовете по превод. Часовете с Андрей Андреев и Милена Григорова по практически превод си бяха предизвикателство за мен.

Още си пазя умопомрачителните текстове на английски и български от Андрей. Много бързо с колегите ми усетихме, че няма как да се явим в час без да сме се „понапънали“ с текста предварително вкъщи. И то без Андрей да ни прави забележки, че „пак сме без домашно“. Подчертавам пак тази важна особеност на времето – работехме с хартиени речници и справочници, без google.

От Милена разбрах, че само си мисля, че знам български. Бавно и методично през годините успя да ни убеди, че един текст освен да предава информацията правилно, трябва да е създаден по правилата на езика на четящите. Все още се замислям, когато трябва да избира между „бе решил“ и „беше решил“. И си представям Милена.

За Марта Московска пък се сещам всеки път, когато стане дума за Алиса. Няма как да забравя усилията да намерим точен еквивалент на *'We called him Tortoise because he taught us.'*

За фонетичния кабинет и часовете по симултанен превод предпочитам да не се сещам. Ваня Ангелова даваше всичко от себе си да направи способен „устен“ преводач от всеки един от нас. С мен не успя, но сред колегите, избрали превода за своя „съдба“, упражненията имаха страхотен ефект.

За нас, първият випуск на програма „Приложна лингвистика“ имаше много бонуси, които през годините намаляваха или бяха заменени с други. Сътрудничеството с Британския съвет и Американския център беше активно, затова редовно имахме гост-лектори, носители на езика. Това беше уникална възможност да сравнявам модели на мислене и преподаване - тогава разбрах, че в много отношения българските ми преподаватели са в пъти по-добри от чуждоземските. Сега вярвам, че програмата само спечели от това, че през

следващите години обучи свои кадри и лекциите по Британско и Американско странознание се водеха от преподаватели на Департамента. И се радвам че макар и за кратко, аз също бях част от този екип.

Първата истински сериозна работа за мен бе, когато първият випуск завършихме през 1996 г. Дора Благова подаде ръка на мнозина от нас и ето, след повече от 20 години, ние сме все още тук.

През 1998 – аз и Киро Драгиев бяхме вече официално част от щатния състав на НБУ. Бяхме сред първите завършили и магистърската програма „Приложна лингвистика“. Как да опиша усещането, когато твоите до вчера преподаватели, от днес са твои колеги? Как преминаваш границата в общуването, където г-жа Георгиева (междувременно доцент) е вече Мери, и то в директен равностоеен диалог, а не в разговор за нея със състуденти. Няма как да забравя решението на Мариета на този сложен тогава за мен казус: „Деси, довършваме този разговор с Вас на Вие, а следващите започваме директно на малко име и „ти““. Повече от универсално решение, което и аз прилагам години след този разговор.

Тази история все още няма край, аз все още съм част от НБУ, но по-важното за мен, че все още съм част от звеното, което ми е дало най-важното в живота – „хляба“ и възможността реално да работя това, което винаги съм желала. Много малко хора са късметлии като мен.

През годините като част от Департамент „Приложната лингвистика“ имах безброй възможности – участвах в проекти, учих нова магистратура в Шотландия, извършвах „обществено-полезен“ труд за различни организации, създавах курсове, писах учебници. Даже срещнах любовта... Това са лични победи, които не бих имала възможност да преживея, ако в един летен ден не бях на кръстопът и не бях прочела обявата на Нов български университет за новата специалност. И не бях поела риска на новото начало с неизвестен край.

Департаментът и програмите му се развиват, имаме си своите върхове и спадове. Всеки ден е различен и не винаги ми харесва това, което се случва. Затова сега, навръх рождения си ден, дописвам „ненаучната статия“ за сборника с надеждата, че моите спомени са ви пренесли през годините и са ви доставили поне мъничко радост.

А утре е нов ден с ново начало...

IMPLEMENTING A PEDAGOGICAL PORTFOLIO: A CASE STUDY

Svetlana Dimitrova-Gyuzeleva

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Abstract

The present paper focuses on the lessons learned from using the NBU *Pedagogical Portfolio* (Dimitrova & Tashevska, 2005) for the purposes of quality assurance in the specific context of foreign language pre-service teacher education and in-service teacher development, not just at New Bulgarian University (NBU) but in the wider professional community in Bulgaria for over 10 years. First the contents of the Pedagogical Portfolio are briefly described, offering the rationale behind its structure, and then snippets of good practice in using the pedagogical portfolio to scaffold the professional growth of foreign language teachers are shared and readers themselves are encouraged to reflect on their own experience and professional development as teachers and/or teacher trainers. At the end some conclusions are drawn as to the benefits of implementing a pedagogical portfolio for enhancing the effectiveness of foreign language teacher education, both in reference to the quality of training itself (a process approach to the portfolio as an invaluable tool for personal professional growth) and the assessment of the resulting teaching competence (a product approach to the portfolio as an informative record of professional achievement).

Key words: foreign language teacher education and professional development, a pedagogical portfolio, teaching competence, quality assurance

The *Pedagogical Portfolio for Foreign Language Teacher-Trainees* (Dimitrova & Tashevska, 2005) – a compendium of teacher-education resource materials with parallel versions in English and Bulgarian – was developed by an international team of foreign language teaching (FLT) experts at New Bulgarian University (NBU) to facilitate the education of pre-service foreign language teacher-trainees enrolled in the teacher-training and teacher-development programmes (the *Pedagogical Portfolio* was only one of a set of actions taken, along with improving partnerships with schools and running mentor courses for skilled FLT practitioners, the inclusion of an action research component in the training programme, extending the teaching practice period to include the two years of formal training and diversifying the experience offered, etc.). After it was successfully implemented in pre-service teacher-training contexts, the *Pedagogical Portfolio* was also promoted to the wider professional community as a tool



for enhancing reflective practice and self-managing the life-long learning of the teaching profession (Dimitrova-Gyuzeleva, 2011), as well as an instrument for certification of professional competence and quality control in job-employment, tenure and promotion (Dimitrova & Tashevskva, 2007).

Background

The *Pedagogical Portfolio for Foreign Language Teacher Trainees* (Dimitrova & Tashevskva, 2005) was created in the spirit of modern European tendencies in foreign language teaching/learning and the recommendations of the Council of Europe for unified, commensurable standards of teacher education and foreign language teachers' work and development (cp. Council of Europe, 2001; Kelly et al., 2002; Kelly & Grenfell, 2004). It is open-ended in nature and involves the collection of varied evidence documenting the foreign language teacher's professional preparation, acquired knowledge and experience and level of pedagogical competence. Its efficiency for improving the quality of teacher education and the validity of the evaluation of the gained teaching qualifications and professional skills can be attributed to multiple factors, including a belief that learning to teach is a dynamic and learner-centred albeit mentor-guided process; that professional knowledge is socially constructed, contextually situated, and dynamic; that reflection on practice can lead to professional growth (cp. Schön, D., 1983, 1987); that quality of teacher competences is best measured through performance-based assessment, and there is a relevant need for concrete demonstration of teaching qualifications for the purposes of accountability and future employment (cp. Wieseman, 2004). The *Pedagogical Portfolio* is targeted at language teaching professionals – student-teachers, mentors, methodologists, practising teachers, directors of studies, heads of staff at various educational institutions (i.e. potential employers), experts from regional inspectorates of the Ministry of Education¹, etc. For everybody committed to professionalism and career development, it can be an invaluable tool for personal professional growth and an informative record of professional achievement.

The *Pedagogical Portfolio* was based on the substantial experience of a team of New Bulgarian University lecturers, including consultants from the British Council,

¹ At present, somewhat ten years after the publishing of the NBU *Pedagogical Portfolio for Foreign Language Teacher Trainees*, the concept of the professional portfolio (modelled on our pedagogical portfolio) has been endorsed by the Bulgarian Ministry of Education and teachers of all school subjects and teacher-trainees are encouraged to keep a portfolio as a reflective tool for professional development and a multilayer file of documents representing their professional competence / qualifications and achievements as educators (see Part VII of Regulation №12 of the Bulgarian Ministry of Education, from September 2016 about the status and the professional development of the school teachers, head masters and the educational staff, pp. 36-38).

Bulgaria. The materials in it have their roots in the best of Bulgarian and international educational traditions in teacher training and preparation of foreign language teachers and were tried out in practice for a period of over five years before the *Pedagogical Portfolio* was finally produced. A lot of student-teachers, mentors, university lecturers took part in the piloting and contributed valuable feedback and suggestions for useful revision. At the time when it was published, the *Pedagogical Portfolio* was a pioneering initiative for the professional community of teachers in Bulgaria (both in terms of content and format), as well as in the wider EU educational context. There was a parallel attempt at another university in Bulgaria to implement the idea of pedagogical portfolios as an assessment tool of student-teacher performance for certification of acquired professional qualifications during teaching practice, but that portfolio (just an empty paper file) contained little support for its users in their practical learning. A few years later, as a result of a project of the European Centre for Modern Languages (with substantial contribution from a Bulgarian teacher trainer who participated in the piloting of the *Pedagogical Portfolio*) the *European Portfolio for Student Teachers of Languages: A Reflection Tool for Language Teacher Education* (Newby et al., 2007) was developed, but it focused on helping teacher-trainees self-assess their newly acquired professional knowledge and skills using a set of about 190 descriptors of discrete pedagogical competences formulated as *I can do* statements and an unspecified scale to fill in representing the extent of their confidence in applying the certain competence in practice. Although labelled as "portfolio", this book-like document did not require the student-teachers to actually collect any evidence for their competences², nor did it offer any support to the user as to how he or she could illustrate their qualifications (the 190 discrete teaching competences), nor did it provide a benchmark against which the users could "measure" their teaching competence (e.g. what would constitute a good lesson plan, for instance). Still, the *European Portfolio for Student Teachers of Languages* provided a useful inventory of all the varied skills that a good language teaching professional needs to possess and a novice student-teacher need to develop, and it can indeed be used as a tool for encouraging and scaffolding self-reflection on practice so that it can lead to professional growth (replying positively to all of the *I can do* statements describing teaching competences).

² The completion of a dossier, in which student teachers "can make the outcome of their self-assessment transparent, to provide evidence of progress and to record examples of work relevant to teaching" (p.5) is recommended but not actually required. Admittedly, it would be difficult to illustrate all of the 190 discrete teaching competences, and some, it could be argued, are impossible to illustrate (e.g. "I can set objectives which challenge learners to reach their full potential."/p.34/). It is not very clear how by selecting to include in the dossier a whole lesson plan, you can provide evidence for a specific judgment related to a particular *I can do* descriptor as the one above.

The NBU Pedagogical Portfolio: Description and Rationale

The *Pedagogical Portfolio for Foreign Language Teacher Trainees* (Dimitrova & Tashevskia, 2005) is meant to assist teachers to:

- regularly document and keep a record of the acquired pedagogical experience, both during their education at the university and while teaching within the system of Bulgarian education;
- organise and present in a systematic way the evidence for their pedagogical competence and for the quality of their work in the classroom during internal or external forms of inspection;
- develop skills for reflection, critical awareness and self-evaluation of their work and achievements;
- define clear, objective aims and priorities for professional growth and development as educators (see p. 2, *Aims of the Portfolio*).

In order for the *Portfolio* to be used by (student-)teachers of different foreign languages, it has been developed in two languages. The first part, presented consecutively in English and Bulgarian, offers practical advice on the logistics of foreign language teachers' preparation and/or development, and provides some guidelines for documenting the trainee's professional biography and for structuring the multiple sources of evidence of their professional competence and performance in the dossier of the *Pedagogical Portfolio* in three sections:

- 1) nature and content of the pursued and/ or obtained pedagogical degree(s) or qualification(s), including any information on additional professional qualifications or professional development;
- 2) university-based professional training;
- 3) school-based professional training and work and/or experience as a school practitioner.

In way of helping student-teachers formulate their personal statements of commitment to professional development as foreign language educators, the *Pedagogical Portfolio* provides a vision of the kind of teacher trainees should strive to become and the broad professional competences they should aim to master as a result of their formal training and practical teaching experience (see p. 4, *The kind of foreign language teacher we aim to train*). In addition, "good" teaching practice, which should be the aim for each professional and serve as a benchmark for (self-)assessment of teaching competences, is also described in this part of the *Pedagogical Portfolio* (see *Practical Teaching Objectives*, pp. 23-28). It also includes a set of performance-based

criteria for assessing the work of foreign language student-teachers in the classroom and their level of teaching competence mastery (see *Criteria for Assessment*, pp. 29-32), which translate the teaching practice objectives (the professional standards for “good” classroom teaching) into specific, observable classroom behaviours and are directly applicable in the process of evaluating the outcomes of the teaching practice. Here is an example related to giving instructions and providing explanations, as well as using the mother tongue for the purposes of communication in the FLT classroom. Category related teaching performance is described into three separate bands of proficiency in the mastery of that competence (**Distinction - Satisfactory - Attention needed**), which makes it much easier for the teacher-trainee to self-assess their performance and take remedial action, if and as necessary. These criteria also help teacher-trainers and mentors standardize their assessment benchmarks and procedures, and thus increase the validity of the final grade for the student-teacher's professional competence.

Practical teaching objectives (extract)

CATEGORY	COMMENTS
Instructions and explanations	Trainees should be able to give clear and easy to follow instructions and explanations. They should be able to stage more complicated instructions and make sure that they check students' understanding. They should be able to notice when there is confusion and react to this. The use of Bulgarian should be limited to necessary instances, rather than being a generally applied technique for explaining procedures.
Use of mother tongue	Bulgarian should be used justifiably by the trainee, to help or check understanding, to avoid the use of more complicated and/ or unfamiliar language and to save time.

Criteria for assessment (extract)

CATEGORY	DISTINCTION	SATISFACTORY	ATTENTION NEEDED
Clarity of explanations / instructions	explanations and instructions are clear and easy to follow; students always know what is going on	explanations and instructions are usually clear; teacher notices when there is confusion and reacts to this	explanations and instructions are confused / contradictory / unclear; students often do not know what to do
Use of Bulgarian	Bulgarian is used justifiably, to help or check understanding and save time	Bulgarian is not over-used; switching does not confuse students	Bulgarian is used unnecessarily or is not used when needed

Some of the other highly valued resource materials for teacher training and further self-development in this part include the *Teaching Practice experience plan* (pp. 12-17) – a useful guide for both trainees and their mentors as to how to make the most of the

trainees' school-based teaching practice, and the practical *Advice on planning and evaluating lessons* (pp. 18-22), which enables trainees to step away from teaching the "textbook" to teaching their learners and then critically reflect on their experience (advice on how to keep a record of it is also offered), thus gradually taking the responsibility for their own learning and professional growth.

The second part of the *Pedagogical Portfolio* comprises a wide range of support materials – various sample structured classroom observation sheets, a lesson plan template with a checklist to help the trainee's self-evaluation and action planning, structured mentor feedback forms, a more global professional competence self-assessment framework, etc. These reflect the basic theoretical principles and provide trainees and trainers alike with scaffolding support for their implementation in teacher-training and school-based practice. All appendices are developed in such a way that they can directly be applied in practice – photocopyable and in two languages (one side – in English, the other – in Bulgarian). This printing solution offers flexibility of use and aims at rendering English professional jargon comprehensible for beginner non-native teacher-trainees (i.e. the teacher training may be conducted in the foreign language or the mother tongue and the trainees appreciate it to have the terminology made available to them in both languages), while also serving as a basis for unifying the training requirements for all foreign language teacher-trainees.

At the end of the *Pedagogical Portfolio* a list of contemporary methodology reference literature is provided to additionally facilitate (student-)teachers' professional development.

Implementing the Pedagogical Portfolio into Practice

Reflecting on personal experience

The professional growth, which student teachers experience during their training, does not occur overnight and it takes a lot of hard work and high motivation on part of the trainees to internalise all the knowledge and skills needed to attain professional maturity, as well as the cooperative team efforts and the unyielding commitment of all the educators (teacher-trainers, mentors, etc.) involved. Before we look into the black box of professional development (for it remains so for many stakeholders in education, who still often wonder whether teachers are born or made),

let us take a moment to reflect on our own personal experience³ and answer the following questions about our own professional development:

- ✓ What support did (do) you receive/ would you like to have received as a trainee?
- ✓ What support did (do) you receive/ would you like to have received as a (beginner) teacher?
 - And then: What (or who) has influenced your professional development the most?

As an unpretentious recent survey among the members of the professional community has revealed, apart from the formal lecture input at the university and a short practicum of real classroom observation and teaching, many practising teachers across the region received very little support of any kind in the years of their pre-service teacher training and almost none in later years on the job. During their teaching practice internship they were thrown in at the deep end and left to swim across on their own – some managed (mainly through learning from experience), most drowned (i.e. were frustrated in the process and were lost for the cause, never returning to the classroom again). The qualifying state exam at the end of their pre-service training only measured the success of their trial and the quality of the presumably attained professional competence, but nothing was offered in way of supporting professional growth or quality assurance. Admittedly, reality is changing but there is still a lot of support needed and/or wished for even by student teachers still in the process of training. Research data also indicate that what they mostly need is good role models (samples of good teaching), as well as guidance and constant encouragement in the process of discovery of their own idiosyncratic style of teaching, which would help them move away from the bad examples of teaching they were exposed to as students of foreign languages and thus become the driving force behind the change they want to see in education.

Developing professional competences

The complex construct of the foreign language teacher's professional competence is often presented as a mosaic of various components, conveniently expressed by "Can do" statements and organized in more or less structured sets (cp. *The*

³ It is often argued that to grow as professionals, we need to understand our identities and lives as teachers and examine the different paths we have taken to develop as educators and the alternative ways might take to grow professionally in the future (cp. Wilson, 2015). Reflecting on teachers' personal narratives of professional development can allow us to improve our support for them and tailor it to their needs.

European Portfolio for Student Teachers of Languages: A reflection tool for language teacher education). However, many of these competences are very evasive in character and unless anchored to some tangible evidence, extremely hard to measure, let alone attempt to develop (cp. the Practical Teaching Objectives from the *NBU Pedagogical Portfolio for Foreign Language Teacher Trainees*, pp. 23-28). So the first step of building (or evaluating) a certain professional competence, would be to break it down into doable / observable constituents.

Defining the competence constituents

Let us take an example. As we often instruct our teacher trainees, the basis of a good lesson is its carefully prepared plan. So what does it mean ***to be able to plan a lesson***, i.e. what are some of the specific skills involved in planning? Most of us will surely come up with some of the following among our answers:

- to formulate realistic, achievable aims;
- to include and logically sequence various activities, balancing them well and ensuring good flow between them;
- to allot appropriate time to each activity in the plan in view of the lesson time constraints and learners' needs;
- to consider a range of interaction formats suitable for the activities in the plan;
- to prepare/adapt the needed learning materials and consider ways of incorporating modern ICT in the process of learning;
- to make provisions for individual differences between the learners in the group, etc.

The *NBU Pedagogical Portfolio* also offers a detailed multi-faceted descriptor of good practices in planning (see *Advice on Planning and Evaluating Lessons*, pp. 18-21).

Identifying relevant evidence to prove competence mastery

Now imagine that you will need to demonstrate / to prove that you have that professional skill, i.e. that you can plan a lesson well, say to your methodologist or mentor [in a pre-service context], or to an expert during an inspection [in an in-service context]. What support would you need in order to ensure that you perform to the expected standard? What would you do? Where would you go / look for assistance?

Presumably, especially if you are a pre-service teacher, you would try to read something on how to plan a lesson, ask for a template (structured lesson plan form - see

the Appendices of the *NBU Pedagogical Portfolio*), look for a model, discuss it with your mentor and/or peers and colleagues, etc.

As to what evidence can be presented to show that you can plan a lesson, the answer seems to be more straightforward – the lesson plan itself, as well as some self-reflection and mentor feedback on its implementation in the classroom during the very lesson.

Now take a moment to study the first lesson plan below (see Figure 1) and reflect whether it contains evidence indicating that one can plan a lesson.

Stages/ Activities	Procedures + Timing	Interaction Patterns	Rationale
1.Homework Check	Reading (7 min.)	Ss	The accuracy
Practice 2. Ex.5	Writing (7 min)	T – Ss Ss	Recall rules Formation of adverbs
3. Ex.5	Reading (8 min)	T – Ss Ss	Use of adverbs in text
4. Ex. 6	Writing (7 min)	Ss T - Ss	Differentiate adverbs from adjectives
5.	Revise (7 min)	T - Ss Ss	Rule recall Past Simple / Past Cont.
5.1 Ex. 7	Writing (8 min)	T – Ss	Choose correct form

Figure 1: *LL's first draft of the lesson plan*

In some ways the trainee has met the above requirements – namely, s/he has employed the recommended lesson plan template, made an ordered list of various activities, specifying their timing, interaction format and rationale for doing them with the students. And yet, the plan obviously lacks in precision [among other things].

Figure 2 shows the revised version of the same lesson plan. It contains some clear signs of professional competence development: not only has the plan got longer and more detailed, but there are also some significant improvements in its content, such as better defining of the stages of the lesson in relation to their revised rationale and explicit consideration of feedback collection formats. Of course, there is room for further improvement in it too, as illustrated in the critical comment of the trainee's methodologist on it:

"This is better but you still need to think about each task specifically and identify the appropriate aim for each one. You also need to think of including a variety of task types – to balance recognition and production, more controlled and more guided tasks with freer practice tasks." (feedback on the plan, provided by S.T., a teacher-trainer)

Stages/ Activities	Procedures + Timing	Interaction Patterns	Rationale
1.Homework Check	Different Ss read their answers, one by one, other Ss and T correct if needed (7 min.)	S T-Ss	Focus on accuracy
Practice			
2.Ex.5 Forming adverbs from adjectives	Individually Ss form adverbs from adjectives Class-feedback - different Ss write adverbs on the board, other Ss and T correct if needed (7 min)	S T – Ss	Rule recall Provide practice of the adverb form (focus on accuracy)
3. Ex.5 Reading comprehension (integrating grammar)	Individually Ss fill in a text, writing the correct adverb Class-feedback - different Ss read sentence by sentence, other Ss and T correct if needed (8 min)	S T – Ss	Provide practice of the form in context - recognition
4. Ex. 6 Recognizing adverbs and adjectives	Individually Ss make sentences, choosing the correct form - adverb or adjective Class-feedback - different students read sentence by sentence, other Ss correct if needed (7 min)	S T - Ss	Provide controlled practice on the use of adverbs and adjectives in context
5. Revising rules – Past Simple and Past Cont.	Different Ss give examples on the use of Past Simple and Past Cont. Individually Ss fill in the rules on use Class feedback – different Ss read rules (7 min)	T - Ss S T - Ss	Rule recall Past Simple / Past Cont.
5.1 Ex. 7 Identifying correct form	Individually Ss write sentences, choosing the correct form – Past Simple or Past Cont. Class-feedback – Different Ss read their answers 1 by 1, other Ss and T correct if needed (8 min)	S T - Ss	Provide practice on the use of Pas Simple and Past Cont.

Figure 2: LL's revised version of the same lesson plan as in Figure 1

Here is one more pair to analyse and reflect on – this time it concerns the ability to formulate lesson plan aims. Take a moment to consider how the second set of aims – which strongly resembles the first in content – differs from the first and what has the student teacher improved?

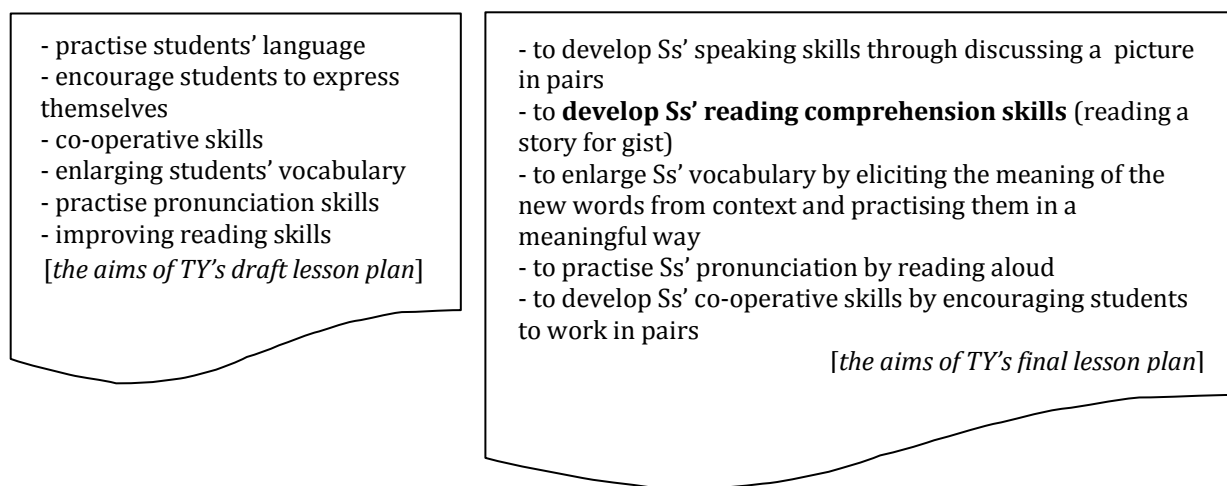


Figure 3: TY's lesson aims – taken from her draft and her final version of the lesson plan

In the second case it becomes clear that the lesson's main focus was on developing reading skills and rest of the aims are related to integrating it with work on the other communicative skills and areas of knowledge, using the full potential of the same text and topic. The aims are much better formulated and more detailed, making explicit all of the teacher's intentions.

Both sets of examples above give us the starting point and the end result of a long process of learning and growth. They are simply snapshots of two distinctive stages in the professional development of the two trainees, but including them both in their portfolios is essential for illustrating how each of these trainees has developed professionally over the period of their training.

Managing the process of transformation or quality assurance in action

At this point a further question arises: what has happened in between? How did the improvement in the trainees' professional skills take place and what was the role of the *Pedagogical Portfolio* in it? What follows is an attempt to slightly lift the curtain and allow the reader a glimpse into the casting of the magic transformation behind the scene.

Here is a list of some of the signposts on the way to successful transformation in relation to developing the trainees' professional competence of lesson planning (the

skill under discussion here) – it also provides a page reference to the resources, found in the *NBU Pedagogical Portfolio for Foreign Language Teacher Trainees*, which support both the trainer and the trainee in their efforts:

- explicit guidance in the *Pedagogical Portfolio* – procedural description of lesson planning and some samples (pp. 18-21), apart from the input during the FLT methodology course and the breakdown of the competence in the descriptors of good practice (p. 24 and pp. 30-31);
- structured observation [possibly together with the teacher-trainer in order to critically reflect on it] of the implementation of a lesson plan in a real classroom (p. 47);
- provision of structured forms for lesson planning – a Lesson Plan template (pp. 50-51);
- in-advance discussion of a draft version of the plan and/or the planning procedure together with the mentor and/or with peers;
- guided post-lesson discussion with the mentor / methodologist (Teaching Practice Feedback Forms - p. 53-54);
- assisted self-evaluation of the lesson, especially in the aspects for development (Trainee Self-evaluation Checklist - p. 52);
- mentor's / methodologist's written comments, questions, suggestions on the lesson plan and/or the conducted lesson and its evaluation;
- assisted action planning.

The bridge from theory to practice

On examining the resources in the *NBU Pedagogical Portfolio* one is easily convinced that it is a valuable tool which throws a bridge between pedagogical theory and school-based practice and helps trainees and novice practising teachers to document and make sense of their learning and teaching experience, offering them guidance in the structuring of their professional biography and completing their dossier with multiple sources of evidence of their professional competence and performance.

However, one of the most valuable lessons that we have learnt over the years of using the *Pedagogical Portfolio* is that its compilation should not be a solitary endeavour, if it is to fulfill its purpose effectively. The process has to be facilitated and closely monitored on a regular basis by the trainee's educators (the methodologist

and/or the mentor), who – by careful attention to the trainee’s needs and constructive feedback – should provide the scaffolding and the necessary conditions for the trainee’s professional growth and the development of their teaching competences. This support should commence at the very beginning of the teaching practice experience, assisting student teachers in developing a taste for it and an appreciation of its benefits – i.e. trainees need to be convinced that the portfolio is an effective tool for professional development and an important stepping stone to further focused discussion with the mentor, methodologist and/or peers and professional growth mediated by the educators. Here is how one trainee teacher expressed this need for sharing and attention: “Why should you arrange a showcase and then have no one to display it to?” Even those who are successful in the pursuit of their professional career goals welcome and look for support and encouragement, constantly checking their performance against recognised professional standards and commonly approved expectations.

Therefore, hereafter emphasis is laid on those aspects of the caterpillar-butterfly transformation (i.e. the process of sustained professional growth and maturity) which illustrate how the *Portfolio* supports the fruitful partnership and the cooperation between the trainee and the trainer.

The first steps: Focus group discussion of classroom observation and collaboration with the mentor and/or the peers in lesson planning

To begin with, after the structured observation of the implementation of a lesson plan (at NBU we usually precede that with the observation a video recorded lesson together with the whole group of trainees, immediately followed by a focus group discussion of major aspects of the lesson and critical reflection on the ways in which the teacher flexibly adapts the plan to answer the learners’ needs on the spot), the *Portfolio* encourages the trainees to plan their first lessons with the mentor and then to discuss their implementation together too (p. 17):

Teaching Practice Experience Plan (extract)

STAGE 1

(...)

✓ First visit(s) to the school: observation of class(es) to be taught during TP, followed by discussion with the mentor.

STAGE 2 (optional)

✓ Collaborative planning of a lesson with the mentor.

✓ Collaborative teaching of the lesson with the mentor is also possible.

✓ Feedback discussion of the lesson with the mentor.

Over the years many mentors have reported their satisfaction with the results of that cooperation with the trainees: both for facilitating the process of adaptation of their own classes to the new part-time teachers (the trainees) and not disrupting their school programme, as well as for the positive impact it has on developing the trainees' own potential for lesson planning. Here is what one mentor shared in the Teaching Practice Feedback Form she completed for one of her mentees:

“A lesson plan was prepared and planning of the stages was discussed in advance with the mentee – this was extremely useful. Additional materials and short tasks were given to the student to prepare [for the next lesson] at home.” (JB, a mentor)

Not surprisingly, we have also found that cooperating with one's peers during the teaching practice may also have favorable influence on trainees on the way to attaining mastery of professional competences. They could act as critical friends, bouncing off each other's ideas, sharing experience, pooling resources and generally sparking each other off. They could plan their lessons together, jointly teach a few activities or a whole lesson, observe each other teaching and then help their partners reflect more objectively on their classroom performance. In the Teaching Practice Experience Plan (*NBU Pedagogical Portfolio*, p. 17) trainees are also invited to try out this approach:

Teaching Practice Experience Plan (extract)

STAGE 3 (optional)

- ✓ Team planning and team teaching of a lesson by two trainees. Two trainees plan and teach one lesson between them. Mentor observes.
- ✓ Feedback discussion of lesson with mentor.

The academy of excellence: mentor, methodologist and/or peer feedback and self-evaluation

Along with joint planning, reflection-on-action during post-lesson discussions with the mentor and the assisted self-evaluation and action planning in the aspects for development (in this case the competence of lesson planning) are also highly appreciated by the trainees, as can be seen from the following trainees' self-evaluations:

“I had two difficulties in planning the lesson. One is that I was wondering how to begin the exercise about prepositions in stage V of the lesson plan. Before the lesson, I asked the mentor about this exercise and he advised me to firstly elicit what Ss knew about the material I was going to teach and consequently teach what is necessary, from which I drew the conclusion that I should regularly elicit

information before starting new material, because I may begin teaching something they already know, which will be useless.” (self-evaluation by STs, a trainee)

“The planning of the first two lessons and their realisation were not the same in all aspects I expected. One of my biggest problems is timing. I planned to make a lot of exercises but I barely managed to do half of them. I should have elicited all the information students already knew instead of presenting everything as new [...]. During the post lesson discussion my mentor helped me learn a very good strategy for making my lessons easier: I should connect the exercises we do with the students’ previous knowledge ...” (self-evaluation by TC, a trainee)

Solicited self-evaluation and objective reflection on teaching performance and the attempt to apply a certain professional competence in practice also contains a valuable lesson to be learned, as the following example also illustrates:

“While preparing the lesson I was not sure whether it would be possible to perform these tasks, whether I would be able to fit them in the time limit. But the plan was very useful for that purpose because throughout the whole lesson I already knew how much time to give for a task and how much I have left. The plan systematises everything that should be covered in the lesson. I was able to follow it during the lesson and I already had partly developed ideas how to present the thing.” (self-evaluation by MG, a trainee)

Last but not least, timely written comments and suggestions for plan revision / improvement provoked by specific occasions and tailored to individual needs / contexts – either by the mentor or the methodologist – not only provide useful feedback to the trainee on which s/he could immediately capitalise in their next classroom performance and long-term development, but also have a very motivating effect, as one student teacher shared:

“The lesson plan was very useful for me. During the lesson I was able to look at it several times so that I was aware what to do next. Preparing the lesson plan wasn’t very difficult this time but it always takes time to consider and to write it. (...) I was really grateful to my methodologist when I sent her the lesson plan the night before my exam and she inspected it, commented on it and gave me some useful advice the very same evening. I acted on it and it all worked out really well.” (DY, a trainee)

Here are two examples of the type of feedback and scaffolding that the mentors and/or methodologists may offer to their trainees to assist their teaching competence development – the samples (Figures 4 and 5) are from the same lesson plans discussed above – to illustrate how the educators can “manipulate” (in a good way) the caterpillar-butterfly transformation of their trainees, and yet leave them space and challenge them to do their bit of the “homework”:

- practise students' language – **who is to practise?**
- encourage students to express themselves – **about what? How?**
- ... co-operative skills -? **do what with them? how?**
- enlarge students' vocabulary – **specify target vocabulary!**
- practise **whose?** pronunciation skills
- improve reading skills – **Be specific! (+ Is reading aloud about developing reading skills?)**

Figure 4: An excerpt from TY's draft lesson plan with the methodologist's comments on the aims

Stages/ Activities	Procedures + Timing	Interaction Patterns	Rationale
1. Homework Check-in	Reading – who is reading what? You need to specify the procedure. (7 min.)	Ss	The accuracy – in what? (was HW connected with gram./voc. practice or developing Ss' writing skills)
Practice 2. Ex.5 – what is this ex. about? What is its aim? E.g. Language structure practice	Writing – as above: spell out who is doing what (i.e. what exactly are the Ss writing & are they working individually? If so, is a model provided – when, by whom?) How is feedback collected? (7 min)	T – Ss Ss	Recall rules Formation of adverbs
3. Ex.5 – as above (here it could be Reading comprehension)	Reading – is that about developing reading skills, or is the focus on providing Ss with practice on recognising the language structure in context (i.e. "intensive reading" – reading used as a means to a different end). How do Ss read – aloud or silently? What is the task and how is feedback collected?	T – Ss Ss Ss	Use of adverbs in text – think about the aim of this task – what do Ss learn as a result of it?
4. Ex. 6 – as above	(8 min) Writing – as above (provide a more detailed description of the procedure, incl. feedback collection)	T - Ss	Differ adverbs from adjectives – is this about passive recognition of the lg form or its active production [controlled/guided] by the Ss?
5. Heading?	(7 min)	T - Ss Ss	Rule recall Past Simple / Past Cont.
5.1 Ex. 7 – as above	Revise (7 min) – as above Writing (8 min) – as above	T – Ss	Choose correct form – be more specific!

Figure 5: LL's Lesson plan – 1st version with methodologist's comments

Final reflections

In conclusion, it was clearly a combination of educator-mediated factors that raised the trainees' professional awareness, helped them grow and gave them confidence in their teaching competences before they could spread their wings and fly:

- input at the University (both theoretical and practical, springing from school-based practice) and further guided, focused reading;
- implementation of the *Pedagogical Portfolio* – fulfilling its purpose by effectively using its potential as a learning tool and a showcase of competence development and professional growth, where each and every achievement is objectively measured and anchored by some piece of tangible evidence tagged with a log of trainee's own reflection-on-action;
- group work with peers (sharing experience and pooling ideas and resources, sparking each other off) – both educator-led and spontaneously initiated by the trainees themselves;
- individual work (on one-to-one basis) and cooperation with the mentor;
- individual work and cooperation with the methodologist;
- critical reflection on learning and teaching experience, self-assessment and informed action planning on part of the trainees themselves.

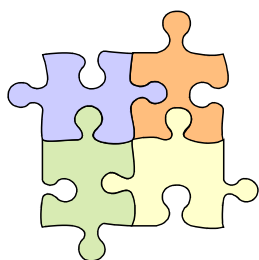
It should be noted that the *Pedagogical Portfolio* played an instrumental role in the process of quality assurance through all of the above – pulling the strings of the various activities together and spelling them out for both the trainee and the trainer, ensuring coherence of approach (linking one step to the next and making sure all available resources and affordances are capitalised on and turned into learning opportunities for the trainees in their active mastery of professional competence⁴ – e.g. actual teaching practice experience is preceded by focused reading and class observation and analysis; self-reflection is assisted and supplemented by constructive mentor/methodologist feedback, etc.) and monitoring processes in their progress, steering the way to successful accomplishment.

Maybe some teachers are indeed born, but if you are aware of the craft, the art and the magic involved in professional growth (cp. Dimitrova-Gyuzeleva 2011), you

⁴ "Affordances afford opportunities for action on the part of the learners, provided that the affordances are perceived by the learners. In this way, learners create their own affordances. Thus, affordances restore agency to the learners." (Larsen-Freeman, 2016)

stand a better chance of facilitating your trainees' caterpillar-butterfly transformation and of providing an equal start for all those who did not have that luck at birth but are nonetheless committed to the career and willing to go the extra mile to achieve professional competence. And as we all know, motivation pays off generously.

By way of conclusion



A puzzle is a good metaphor of the complex construct of a teacher's professional competence, as well as of the *Pedagogical Portfolio* as a tool for its gradual scaffolding and evaluation. It also illustrates how the *Portfolio* lends tangibility to the pedagogical skills of the reflective practitioner and turns into a showcase of professional success. Additionally, it symbolizes the on-going process of professional development and improvement, as well as the open-ended dynamic character of the *Portfolio* itself, where the newly-acquired professional knowledge and skills integrate with the teaching experience gathered to make a difference in the teaching practice of the teacher and the quality of his/her students' learning.

Now that we have successfully used the *Pedagogical Portfolio* in the context of foreign language pre-service teacher education and in-service teacher development for over 10 years, we can confidently say that its implementation of the has led to:

- increasing the effectiveness of foreign language teacher education (including the quality of foreign language teaching done by student teachers during their teaching practice);
- contributing to the growth of autonomous, reflective practitioners, capable of continuous professional development;
- increasing the validity, reliability and transparency of professional competence and performance assessment through introducing measurable standards of work and unified assessment criteria for (student-)teachers of different foreign languages;
- improving the partnership and cooperation between the university and the schools in the preparation of future teachers through better informing the mentors about the kind of training and requirements the student-teachers have, as well through involving mentors more actively in the scaffolding and evaluation of the trainees' competence and classroom performance;

- optimising trainees' mobility and employability through informing possible future educators and employers about the content and the quality of the professional qualification of prospective teachers and their potential for professional development;
- empowering faculty staff to take informed decisions about programme improvement drawing on feedback from portfolio analysis.

Finally, here are some of the finding from the analysis of qualitative research data into the views of target groups of users about the efficiency of implementing the *Pedagogical Portfolio* into foreign language teacher education, both in reference to the quality of training itself (a process approach to the portfolio as a reflection-facilitating tool geared at professional growth) and the assessment of the resulting teaching competence (a product approach to the portfolio as an informative record of professional achievement).

"I found using the Pedagogical Portfolio very useful for my teaching practice. First of all it helped me organise all the stages of my practice – from the observations to the teaching itself. Secondly, it was very useful and time-saving in terms of requirements, procedures and information needed for a successful teaching practice of a trainee without much experience, like me. And last but not least, filling the portfolio I could see the results of my work, which was a rewarding experience." (RV, a trainee teacher at NBU)

"An exceptionally comprehensive and very apt tool for any FLT trainee. In the light of mentoring principles, it appears to be an indispensable guide which will lead FLT trainees to become mature, confident and creative teachers in an extremely demanding classroom environment. Moreover, it provides them with a compact overview of all their experience and accomplishments!" (MP, a mentor)

"What I find most useful is the set of criteria for (self-)assessment of teaching performance – it's the first time I have seen such a document published in Bulgarian." (IU, a school teacher)

"An interesting idea and – in light of the Council of Europe's recommendations for learners in the Common European Framework – necessary concept: to have teachers practice what they preach to students by documenting in a dossier their own lifelong learning and professional development. I am impressed by your work." (GA, international teacher trainer)

"In my opinion the Pedagogical Portfolio could be a valuable tool not only for the teacher-trainees but for practising teachers too. With a slight change, it could be a personal professional file for any English teacher and could be a lifelong record of professional experience and development."

On the other hand, the materials, developed by the NBU team, could be used in language schools as well – in their systems for appointing new teachers, for teacher training and for appraisal procedures. The variety of samples of questionnaires, lesson plans, observation sheets, etc. could easily be adapted for the needs of any school. I'm grateful to the team for sharing the results of their research with us." (IN, a Director of Studies at a language school)

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INCLUSIVE EDUCATION IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING: WHAT IS THE FIRST STEP TO MAKE IT WORK?

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Abstract

With the international call and legal requirements for inclusive education an increasing number of students with special educational needs are enrolled in mainstream schools. While lack of training and feeling of unpreparedness is often some teachers' legitimate reason for reluctance to teach learners with disabilities, it is the teachers' own awareness of the right of all individuals to quality and inclusive education that builds the foundation for inclusive education to take place. The paper reviews the principles and policy of inclusion, the way inclusive education is introduced in Bulgaria, and presents a survey among twenty-six teachers of English and four teachers of other foreign languages living in Bulgaria about their attitude to teaching students with disabilities. The findings show a relatively reserved attitude and lack of initiative in some teachers to look for specialized assistance or additional guidelines. Unarguably, teaching learners with special educational needs is a challenging task. The author claims that in these difficult conditions, raising awareness of inclusive education

Key words: inclusion, inclusive education, foreign language teaching, teachers, attitude

Foreign language teaching requires a dedicated catering for the needs of a diverse classroom comprised of individuals with a wide variety of skills, interests, intelligences, level of command of the language, attitudes to learning, family and ethnic background, culture, etc. Efficient foreign languages teachers have the necessary knowledge, tools and motivation to differentiate their teaching in accordance with such a mixed-ability and multiple intelligence classroom. With the international call and legal requirements for inclusive education, however, an increasing number of students with special educational needs (SEN) are enrolled in mainstream schools. This is a relatively new phenomenon as until the late 20th century a large number of differently-abled students were mostly educated in segregated settings by special educational teachers. Today, as Lewis and Bagree (2013) emphasize, 'there is a global shortage of teachers, particularly of teachers who are sufficiently trained and motivated to include children with disabilities (and children from other marginalised groups) in regular schools'. While lack of training is often teachers' legitimate reason for their frequently expressed reluctance to teach learners with disabilities, it is the teachers' own awareness of the right of all individuals to quality inclusive education that builds the foundation for

inclusive education to take place. The paper looks at the principles and policy of inclusion, of how inclusive education is being introduced in Bulgaria, and presents a survey among thirty foreign language teachers living in Bulgaria about their attitude to teaching students with disabilities.

Education and Inclusion

Education is not a goal in itself but a means to achieving well-being through the development of one's personal capabilities to bring one to "as full realization as possible of what it is to be a human being" (Foshay, 1991, p. 277). Thus, education has a major role to play in empowering all people, including those with disabilities, to secure a financially stable and a socially and personally fulfilling life. Moreover, education is a basic human right. As early as 1948 article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (UN, 1948) established that "Everyone has the right to education" and formulated the fundamental goal of education towards "the full development of the human personality and [to] the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms."

Though the UDHR affirmed the right of education to everyone a few decades ago, the term 'inclusive education' started being gradually introduced in the legislative systems worldwide at different speed and degrees in the last twenty years. According to UNESCO (2009, p. 8-9) *inclusive education* is:

a process of addressing and responding to the diversity of needs of all children, youth and adults, through increasing participation in learning, cultures and communities, and reducing and eliminating exclusion within and from education.

In this broad definition inclusive education calls for providing opportunities for learning and participation in the learning process to *all* children – gifted or non-gifted, with or without disabilities, nationals of the country or immigrants, children from the minorities or the majority group, rich or poor. Inclusion implies an ethos of not only tolerating difference but accepting it as a natural phenomenon of life. In a broader sense it amounts to having equal opportunities to enjoy and benefit from what we hold valuable in life – learning, social interactions, economic and political independence, autonomy, etc. – independently of our race, ethnicity, mother tongue, sex, religious or political views, disability, or social background.

As Demsey (2016) points out 'True inclusion means equity; every individual getting what they need in order to be happy and successful.' Inclusion is different from

the principle of equality where every person is treated in an equal or the same way. It is founded on equity, i.e. equal opportunities rather than equal treatment. For example, a staircase to a school's entrance would provide equal treatment but unequal opportunities. In order to be able to attend school, a child with a wheelchair will need the architectural barriers to the school to be removed. A ramp and an elevator are part of the necessary conditions ensuring equal opportunities. Unfortunately, these physical barriers are only a fraction of the obstacles to inclusion that need to be surmounted. Also, access to education for children with disabilities is only one aspect of inclusive education, chosen for the focus of this paper as well.

The rights of children with disabilities were first specifically addressed in an international treaty in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN, 1989). Its article 2 on non-discrimination firmly states that no child should be treated unfairly on any basis (religion, language, ethnicity, gender, disability, etc.). Article 23 ensures that "the disabled child has effective access to and receives education, training, [...] in a manner conducive to the child's achieving the fullest possible social integration and individual development".

Until the 1950-60s, the predominant psycho-medical model of disability (see Troeva, 2014) determined an educational policy of placing students with disabilities in separate residential or educational institutions. It was thought that these segregated settings provided the best possible conditions for children with disabilities to learn, for there they were taught by special education teachers under the direct supervision of medical staff and in classes with peers sharing a similar level of intellectual development. A shift in the understanding of disability as a personal tragedy to a limitation conditioned by environmental, institutional and attitudinal barriers (Thomas, 2004) brought the discussion about disabilities into the context of the natural diversity of human beings, social integration, and human rights. In an effort to ensure that children with disabilities receive equal opportunities for learning and social interaction with learners of their own age, the 1994 World Conference on Special Education, with representatives of 92 governments and 25 international organisations, adopted a document since-known as the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994). This cornerstone document stated that mainstream schools should accommodate all children, regardless of their disabilities or difficulties, recognizing that 'inclusion and participation are essential to human dignity and to the enjoyment and exercise of human rights' (ibid).

Still, in 1999 B. Lindquist noted that there is a ‘dramatic difference in the educational opportunities provided for disabled children and those provided for non-disabled children’ (Rieser, 2012, p. 311). Inclusion in mainstream schools was furthermore advanced by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006). Its article 24 endorses *inclusive, quality and free* primary & secondary education, reasonable accommodations, and *support within the general education system*. Inclusive preschool education has also been endorsed, however, Gupta et al. show that “programs have a long way to go in fully including young children with disabilities” (2014, p. 36).

The Path to Inclusion in Bulgaria

The Bulgarian legislative system has adopted the policy of enhancing inclusive education as the norm for children with disabilities. Kindergartens and schools are bound to accept children with disabilities according to *the Preschool and School Education Act (PSEA)* (2015) and the 2002 amendments to its predecessor, the *Public Education Act* (1991). The *Anti-Discrimination Act* (2004, art. 42) also requires equalizing the opportunities for effective exercising of the right for education by persons with disabilities. It obliges persons providing training or education as well as compilers of textbooks and learning materials to design such as to overcome negative stereotypes, including those towards persons with disabilities (art. 35 (1) and (3)). Article 17 (2) of the *Act on the Integration of People with Disabilities 2004* (AIPD) postulates that the Ministry for Education and Science should provide ‘supportive environment for integrated education of children with disabilities’. The newly enforced *Preschool and School Education Act (PSEA)* (2015) discards the previously used term ‘integration’ to substitute it with ‘inclusion’ reflecting a major conceptual difference. Integration has been considered a step on the way to inclusion where students had to adjust to the learning process and regulations of mainstream schools. With inclusion, however, it is the schools and teachers who have to change and make sure they meet the individual needs of each learner.

Bulgaria still follows the two-track system where special schools continue to exist for students with sensory (visual and hearing) impairments, and for students under reform programs. Centres for the Support of Personal Development are established helping inclusion, education and learning (PSEA, 2015, art. 26 (1)) and offering ‘resource support’ (PSEA, 2015, art. 49 (4)) to students with SEN who are included in the general educational system. The Centres for Special Educational Support are the new form of the

old support schools – an establishment that allows for more specialized educational support for children with severe forms of disability and low-functioning children on the autistic spectrum (Damyanov, 2015). Children with learning difficulties such as dyslexia or dysgraphia, with neurodevelopmental disorders such as Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), or high-functioning children on the autistic spectrum can be expected to be enrolled in mainstream settings with some assistance from resource teachers as per an individual plan for student support (PSEA, 2015, art. 187). Damyanov (2015) quotes data of the Ministry of Education and Science stating that around 15,000 children and pupils with SEN are presently being taught within the general educational system. Even though some of these students will learn a foreign language following an individual plan and with the help of resource teachers or teaching assistants, in many cases children with SEN will attend foreign language classes together with their peers and be taught by a single unaided foreign language teacher.

Foreign language teaching and disabilities

Foreign language learning has acquired a new meaning in the modern unprecedentedly interconnected world. For people with disabilities, it provides invaluable opportunities for achieving greater social integrity by receiving better opportunities for personal development, education, access to information, employment, mobility, social interactions, cultural enrichment, developing cross-cultural awareness. Furthermore, it prepares them to participate in the global political and economic community. Besides these pragmatic and cultural gains, learning a foreign language brings in other significant, ‘metacognitive’ benefits, such as increased awareness of one’s own language and ‘improvement in critical thinking, mental discipline, flexibility, creativity, memory, executive functions, and improved cognitive functioning’ (Wight, 2015, p. 41).

Oftentimes, foreign language teachers express their frustration of not feeling prepared to teach students with SEN as they have usually not been trained how to prepare and conduct classes with such learners. It is not uncommon to hear voices of concern and even exasperation similar to those of the Spanish teacher in Hendry’s study (2009, p. 175-176) who shared that he had had only one class on teaching students with disabilities in college, that his present class with students with disabilities “put[s] [him] at [his] wits end”, and “when special kids are pulled out, this is a different class (ibid)”.

Teachers are usually willing to apply accommodations when it comes to assignments and assessment. In the authors’ experience with students with dyslexia, the

assessment accommodation have taken the form of: a) opportunities for a student to do a formal test on a computer rather than as a written test, b) waiving a student from a written examination and substituting it with an oral one, and c) giving a student additional time to complete a formal test. Differentiation in terms of assignment and assessment, however, is not enough. In her study Hendry (2009) found that a foreign language teacher she was observing did follow the recommended accommodations related to formal assignments and the assessment of students with language learning disability. However, the teacher did not design the necessary accommodations when introducing, presenting and practicing lesson content. The students were presented with a reduced content and number of questions, but they did not receive any assistance in grasping the meaning, structure and application of the language. It has been found necessary for schools that pursue and embrace inclusive practices to move away from the traditional didactic teacher-centred teaching and adopt a diverse and meaningful curriculum ensuring variety and personalized learning for each student (Fergusen, 2008).

There are cases, as well, where foreign language teachers try to circumvent the obligation of teaching students with SEN by referring them for exemption. Wight (2015) notes that the practice and policy of exemption from foreign language study are not well researched, but she recognizes that there have been two patterns of student exemption. It is often (1) based on personal beliefs and preferences rather than on the basis of a carefully considered consensus of inclusion, and (2) it occurs in the absence of actual data about the potential successes of students with special needs' (p. 41-42). Moreover, Wight brings forward Arries' (1999) acute observation that decisions of exemptions might be made by people whose own language learning experience has revolved around memorization and grammatical analysis, which are often unfit for the distinct way of learning of students with disabilities.

The belief that some individuals with disabilities are not capable of learning a foreign language often stands as a barrier to giving all learners an equal chance to receive full quality education. This belief is often not founded on evidence but on prejudice. For example, in her review of studies on foreign language learning by high school and university students with language learning disability, Hendry (2009) concludes that there is 'compelling evidence' that students with a language learning disability (LLD) do not necessarily display poor performance in foreign language

classes. The students with LLD in her study made progress, especially developing their writing skills, exceeding at times that of students without LLD in the same program.

Teachers' attitude towards students of foreign languages with disabilities – a survey

The author of this paper carried out a survey to learn more about the attitude of foreign language teachers towards learners with disabilities in Bulgaria. This small-scale qualitative piece of research, not claiming representativeness, may give an idea of some of the predominant attitudes in an area not very well researched in the country. The participants were 30 teachers of foreign languages living in Bulgaria. The sampling was a convenience one – they were found through the professional and personal networks of the author as well as through a social media group. The respondents were asked to answer 10 questions in an online survey. A high degree of anonymity was obtained as the survey tool reported only the IP address of the computer used by the respondent and no other identification. The questions were of mixed type – multiple choice, slider scale, and open-ended questions. The survey was piloted with two teachers, which helped the researcher modify and clarify some of the questions to avoid ambiguity.

Findings

Most of the participants (24 out of 30) had a teaching practice of over 10 years. Twenty-six of them were teachers of English, and four were teachers of 4 other languages - German, French, Italian and Spanish. Most of the respondents teach at higher institutions, to a large extent determined by the convenience sampling, the author being a university teacher herself. One of the teachers works at a pre-school level, 8 at school, 20 at college/university, and 19 teach or have taught adults as well (the total number exceeds that of the participants as some teachers have had more than one workplace). 25 of the respondents were Bulgarians teaching a foreign language, 4 were natives of another country teaching a foreign language in Bulgaria, and 1 was native of another country teaching a foreign language in another country. 23 participants report to have had students with disability, 7 –to have not. The ratio between teachers who have had students with disabilities and those who have not is not representative of foreign language teachers' encounter with disability because of the unequal distribution of school/university level teachers, the relatively small sampling, and because those who have not had students with disability may have chosen not to take part in the online survey.

The disabilities reported can be roughly categorised in 9 groups. A few teachers answered that they have had more than one student with disability. Those specified were: dyslexia (10 times), hearing impairment (8 times, including deafness – 4 times), autism (5 times), visual impairment (3 times), physical impairment (4 times, including 2 times cerebral palsy), mental health disorders (3 times), ADHD (once), epilepsy (once), Krabbe disease (once).

The participants were asked the question ‘How positive do you feel about teaching students with disability?’ where they had to drag a slider to specify the extent. The average answer of the 28 responses received amounts to **65,39%** (with 29% being the lowest and 100% the highest rates given). 4 respondents gave a rating under 50%, 8 gave a rating of 50%, 7 gave a rating in the range of 51-75%, and 9 people gave a rating over 75% (3 of them giving 100%). One teacher, who has not had a student with disability, did not answer this question.

The average attitude of the teachers working at schools (vs. those working at a college/university) was slightly higher than the average (71.85 % positive). Interesting differences in the teachers’ attitude was observed along the variable of length of teaching experience (Fig. 1). The attitude of those who had less experience (under 10 years) was considerably higher (73.33%) than those who have taught the language for over 10 years (58.82%). However, the average attitudes of teachers who have had students with disabilities and who have not are almost identical (65.3% vs. 65.8% respectively). It is notable that while the percentages given by teachers who have worked with students with SEN are quite diverse (29%, 35%, 80%, etc.), those who have not had students with disability gave answers that tended to be neutral, positive, or did not answer (100%, 50%, 51%, 50%, 78%).

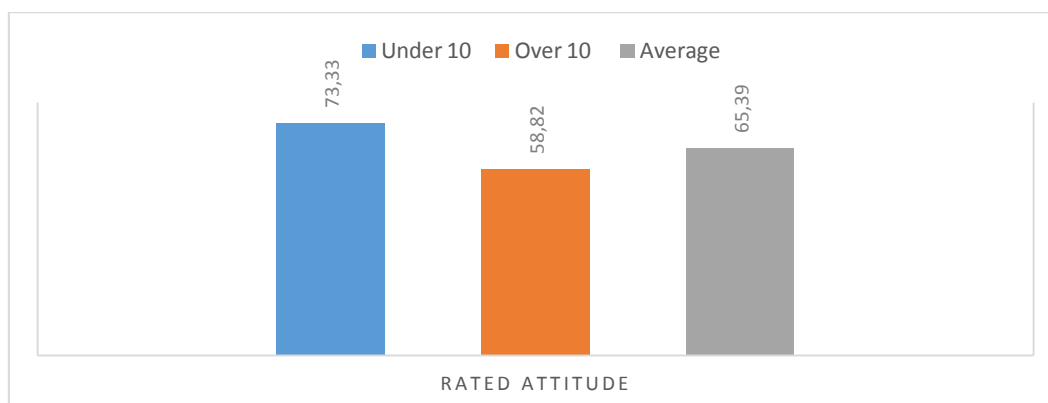


Figure 1 *Foreign language teachers' attitude (extent of being positive) to teaching students with disabilities according to years of teaching experience*

The survey obtained very significant answers to the question 'Do think your student(s) with disability would have learned better if taught individually/separately?'. 11 teachers answered with 'yes', 16 with 'maybe' and only 2 with 'no' (Figure 2). That means that a striking majority of the participants were not sure that the classroom instruction of students with disabilities is the most adequate one. When these results are juxtaposed with the teachers' attitude to teaching students with disabilities, we surprisingly see no overlapping between the belief that students with SEN will learn better separately with a negative attitude towards inclusion. The teachers answering 'maybe' had an average attitude of 69.18%, and understandably, those answering 'yes' had a slightly lower average attitude of 57.5%; one participant skipped the question.

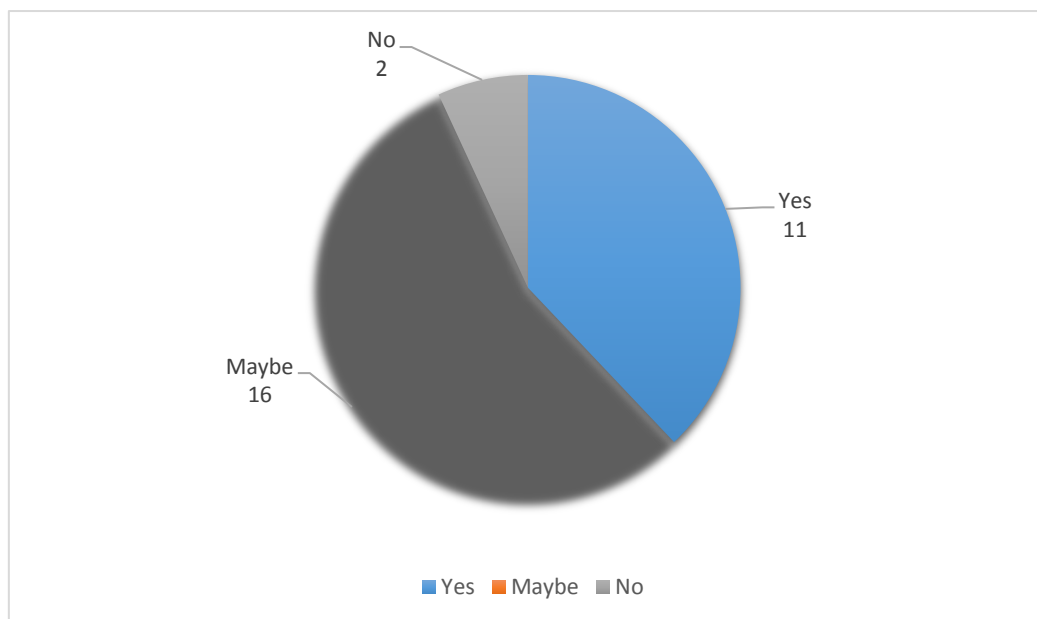


Figure 2 *Answers to the question 'Do think your student(s) with disability would have learned better if taught individually/separately?'*

When facing the task to teach a student with disability, only 4 of the teachers said they consulted a special educational expert, 13 looked for additional information, 1 answered s/he did both (although the same teacher said s/he had not had students with disabilities but it is possible that s/he has shown interest in the subject regardless of the fact), and 9 did neither. 3 skipped the question. It is noticeable that many of the teachers who had students with disabilities tried neither to get advice from a special education teacher, nor to look for information from other sources. Also, those who did not look for support in teaching students with disabilities had a more negative attitude to it than the total number of participants and those who did (Figure 3).

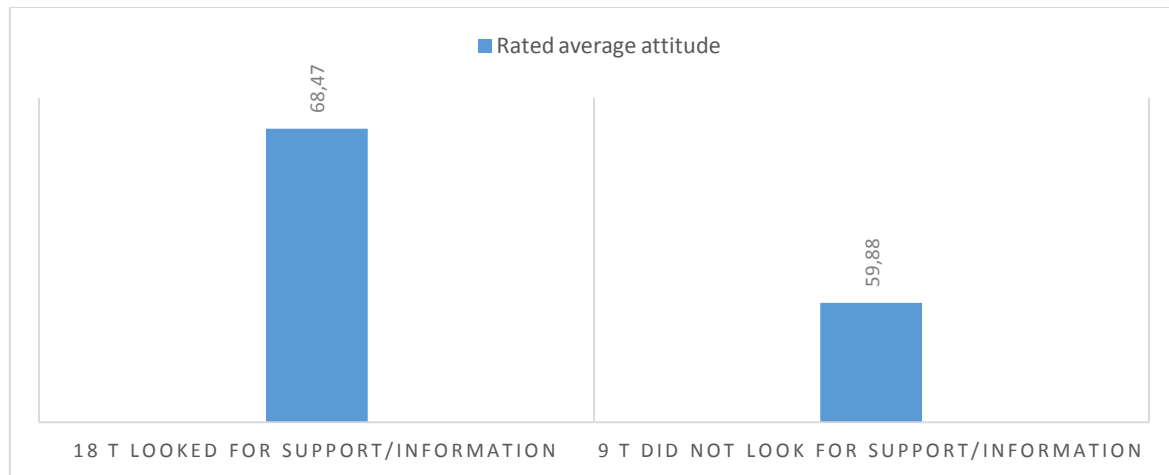


Figure 3 *Attitude to teaching students with SEN of teachers who looked for specialist support/additional information and who did not look for it*

It is interesting to notice that the teacher who gave the lowest rate about his/her attitude to teaching students with SEN (29%), answered s/he did not consult a special education expert and did not look for additional information through other sources. His/her own experience with teaching a student with SEN was teaching a blind student.

The researcher also asked the respondents an optional open-ended question about whether their attitude towards teaching students with disability changed as they were teaching them during the school/academic year, and if it did – how. Out of the 21 participants who answered the question, 11 replied in the affirmative, 10 in the negative. It is notable that 5 of the respondents started their answers with ‘I realised’ and one with ‘I found’. It seems that the experience of teaching students with disability has led to **growing awareness** in terms of:

1) the extent of the teachers’ own skills and knowledge and the need of proper training:

e.g. *‘I found I lack the skills and expertise to teach special students.’*

‘I definitely need some special training to help me feel more comfortable with students with disabilities...’

2) the necessity to be more observant and responsive to the students’ needs:

e.g. *‘I have become more observant.’*

‘After more and more research and experimentation with different techniques and approaches, I became more sensitive to their individual needs.’

The experience of teaching students with SEN has led to a positive attitude to inclusion in some:

e.g. *‘It changed from neutral to positive.’*

and a negative one in others:

e.g. *'I realised that one deaf student in the class causes a lot of trouble for the other students without any great benefit for that student.'*

In other cases these attitudes seem to fluctuate and reflect the complexities of trying to find the right approach to teaching students with SEN and the uncertainty of success:

e.g. *'I realised it was a challenge and I had mixed feelings of frustration at students' failure and happiness when they achieved some progress.'*

A very important point made by some of the teachers is the necessity of an individual approach to meeting the needs of students with SEN:

e.g. *'Students with disabilities have capacity for foreign language learning but they do better if an individual approach is applied in their teaching and the educator is well aware of their deficiencies and special requirements.'*

'I realised that they need special, tailor-made lessons.'

It was said earlier though that the majority of the teachers think that out-of-class teaching sessions either would or might benefit the students more. This is highlighted by one of the teachers in the answer to the last question:

e.g. *'... the focus was on individual teaching, which led to very good results.'*

Another interesting observation made by three teachers is the role of the students' classmates:

e.g. *'I've realised they need support and understanding as well as the appreciation of both their teachers and peers.'*

'The attitude ... is not only coming from the teacher but also from the other students in the group... If there is a negative attitude, in order for it to be changed, teachers needs to work on it with the group and not only make efforts by themselves.'

'I realized what immense influence positive peer attitude had on the student with hearing disability. Contrary to my worst fears, they didn't show impatience or exasperation with her slower pace but in fact helped her in every way to keep up with the rest of them. This somehow helped me open towards the idea of inclusive education.'

Thus, the both interactions between the teacher and student with SEN and the peers and the student with SEN play an important role in creating an inclusive learning environment. Furthermore, the positive interaction between the students with their classmate with SEN has the potential to alter a teacher's doubtful or reserved attitude to inclusive education.

Discussion

The average rate of the attitude towards teaching foreign language to students with disabilities of the thirty participating teachers is higher than 50% but is still quite low. The fact that the attitudes of those who have encountered students with SEN in their teaching practice and those who have not reach similar average numbers is an interesting finding as it might mean that this attitude is not determined by teachers' personal failure or success in inclusive foreign language teaching.

On the other hand, it was found that teachers with longer teaching practice had a more negative attitude than those with shorter. One explanation could be that longer years of teaching have led to a greater number of unsuccessful interaction with students with SEN, and consequently the formation of a more negative attitude. Such an interpretation, however, turns out less probable if we consider the previously discussed finding that the average attitude of those who have had students with a disability is not essentially different from those who have not. Besides, the integration of such students with SEN, especially those with more serious learning difficulties, started only a few years ago in Bulgaria.

Quite a reserved attitude towards inclusive foreign language education is visible in the teachers' opinion that *out-of-class* instruction of the student with SEN is or may be more effective. This question serves as a means of triangulation to the question how positive the teachers' attitude is. In addition, the survey shows that the majority of the participants have reservations towards in-class instruction independently of their overall attitude to teaching students with disabilities. That might mean that although many participants support the noble idea of welcoming all students in the classroom, its practical realisation still seems to them unattainable, possibly for lack of preparation.

Some authors raise doubts about the possibility of non-special education teachers to become sufficiently confident and skilled in meeting the needs of learners with disabilities. For example, J. MacBeath et al. (2005) contest that 'In the present circumstances it is not clear how teachers can build up their expertise on special needs... Much training is developed 'in-house' or 'on the job' and so is often inadequate and inadequately grounded in theory, emerging knowledge and breakthrough practice.' Similarly, when studying the differentiation applied when teaching students with dyslexia in English language classes, Rontou (2012) found that teachers faced

considerable difficulties due to lack of knowledge and training, unclear policies, inadequate guidelines and tools.

One answer to this predicament can be Florian and Linklater's (2010) argument that the question is not if teachers have the necessary knowledge to teach students with disabilities but how they can employ their knowledge and experience in the best possible way to meet all learner's needs. In their discussion about the inclusive pedagogical approach developed as part of the Inclusive Practice Project at the University of Aberdeen they identify 'a shift in thinking from ideas of "most" and "some" learners to everyone' (p. 369) – i.e. instead of devising ways to offer something different to learners with difficulties, to create a rich learning environment in which all children are able to take part in the learning process.

Another approach states that inclusive education is "an issue that *all staff* working in education policy and teacher training need to engage with, even if they do not become 'experts' in it" (Lewis & Bagree, 2013, p. 10). Lewis and Bagree's (2013) policy paper funded by Sightsavers on behalf of the International Disability and Development Consortium strongly suggests that not only should teachers make use of various techniques to make the system more flexible to suit a wider variety of learners, but they also have to take into account those specific characteristics that need more specialist attention. Raising teachers' awareness is an essential prerequisite to inclusive education. The policy paper affirms that 'Every teacher needs to learn about inclusive education, from day one of their training. This should be achieved by embedded inclusion, rights and equality throughout all training and not simply covering these issues through stand-alone courses' (ibid).

The participants in this survey identified one more factor in achieving an inclusive foreign language classroom – the support of all foreign language class members for the student with disability. While the teacher is often seen as the main stakeholder in the learning process, work with the whole class is deemed necessary to raise awareness of inclusive values among peers. The presence of a classmate with a disability is actually found to be beneficial to all students, developing their understanding of the natural diversity of life, abilities for co-operation, mutual assistance and teamwork and decision-making abilities based on fairness and equity (Gupta et al., 2014).

With training rarely available, seeking additional help from professionals or other sources is essential when teaching students with SEN. The fact that in the present

study many teachers who had students with disability did not try to consult a special educational teacher or to look through the abundance of resources available on the internet or printed materials is surprising and thought-provoking. As their average attitude towards working with students with disabilities is not very positive, it is not definable at this point whether their reserved attitude caused their reluctance to educate themselves on the topic or that, vice versa, their passive stance towards the challenging classroom situation is the reason for their reserved attitude.

Teaching a foreign language to a student with disability for many teachers is not only a challenge, but an opportunity to reflect on where they stand as teachers and enrich their self-awareness. Roughly one third of all participants felt it made them re-evaluate their own skills and preparation and increased their sensitivity to the students' learning and emotional needs. This is essential as inclusive teachers should take into account not only the specific needs defined by the learner's disability (called 'deficiencies' by one teacher who is apparently still influenced by the medical model of thinking). While they do need to be aware of the disabilities' main impact on learning, they should be even more aware of the unique capacities of each individual, their strengths, interests and preferred learning styles. The teacher's initiation of 'tailor-made lessons', the readiness to apply an 'individual approach' are possible only in the presence of an inclusive ethos – the teacher needs to believe that 'students with disabilities have capacity for foreign language learning', and furthermore – that it is their basic human right to be given such an opportunity.

Conclusion

While legal requirements necessitate the implementation of inclusive education, serious gaps between policies and practice have been reported worldwide (for a detailed list of existing gaps to be resolved you may see UNESCO, 2009, p. 23-26). With a shortage of resources and lack of proper training, it is often left down to the teachers to create the necessary conditions for inclusive foreign language teaching to take place – through personally looking for guidelines, consulting experts, and overall readiness to spare additional time preparing lessons that would suit the specific learning needs of each student. It is not surprising then that a small-scale study among thirty foreign language teachers found a relatively reserved attitude towards teaching students with disabilities. It also found that some of the teachers who had students with disabilities in the past did not ask or look for additional assistance.

Unarguably, teaching learners with special educational needs is a challenging task and asks for a true call and dedication to teaching. The author claims that in these difficult conditions, raising awareness of disability and inclusive education among teachers is the initial step that will make the process of inclusion take off. There is a need to understand that by accepting a student with disability into their class and giving them the fair chance to learn and interact with their peers, teachers are defending and realizing the students' very right to quality and inclusive education.

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URBAN LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPING – THE CASE OF A MONOLINGUAL COUNTRY

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Abstract

The investigation is based on data collected through photographing urban signs and inscriptions in Bulgarian cities and further supported by informal interviews with people who are involved with them both as producers and as consumers.

The interviews demonstrate the consumers' attitude towards the use of a foreign language and a foreign alphabet in an otherwise monolingual social and urban context and the degree to which English is accepted (or not) as a *second language*. It also elicits the producers' motivation for choosing to use English and the possible tensions that arise between the two parties. The methodological approach follows Fairclough's framework of Critical discourse analysis where 'text' is seen as resultative, as embedded in certain discursive practices which are themselves dependent upon social practices.

The results of the study throw light upon the question of whether one could speak of 'imposed' or 'desired' bilingualism, as well as on the social and individual factors that determine citizens' attitude towards the investigated phenomenon. An attempt is also made to predict possible future trends and developments.

Key words: urban landscaping, urban signs, globalization, English as a second language, Bulgarian

Rationale

Renkema (2004:51) maintained that:

McWorld is giving fast food information preferably via the Internet in one McLanguage, a kind of impoverished English. As a result we are now in the process of McDonaldization and coca colonization of the world which is reduced (?) to an enormous American village.

In order to test the above statement, a pilot study of urban signs comprising English in various ways was carried out in Bulgaria. The use of urban signs in general is known under the term 'linguistic landscape' and was introduced for the first time by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25) who define it as follows: "The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the LL of a given territory,

region, or urban agglomeration". Itagi and Singh (2002) make a difference (a point I take on board) between "linguistic landscape" and "linguistic landscaping" and propose that the gerund form focuses on the planning and execution of actions, while the noun form refers to their results.

In this study Bulgaria is taken as an example of a monolingual country where English has practically been introduced as a first foreign language after 1990. Bulgarian is the official language of the country, which is also fixed in its Constitution (Chapter 1, Art. 3), and is spoken as a mother tongue by 85.2% of the population; there are minorities who speak their own languages as well, the largest being Turkish (9.1%) and Roma (4.2%) (the data was excerpted from the latest Census 2011). At the same time, the influx of English becomes literally more and more visible, especially in the streets of larger cities, but also in touristic areas and resorts visited by foreigners.

According to the latest Eurobarometer 2012 statistics, 24% of the population claim they can speak English, while 35% claim they can speak Russian. Besides, at present, over 90% of Bulgarians study English at school, most of them starting as early as at primary school. There is also a large number of private language schools offering English language courses at all levels and for all age groups, which enjoy great popularity among both children and adults. Therefore, the Eurobarometer 2012 statistics quoted above (for lack of more recent surveys) should be taken with a pinch of salt since, first, it is relatively outdated, considering the speed of transformation of realities, such as demographic changes and, second, it is based on subjects' personal judgement and not on objective measurements of the level of knowledge of foreign languages.

In terms of the most relevant for the present study specific aspects of the two languages, one should mention here in short the following characteristic features: English is an analytic language; verb-form endings very rarely indicate person, number or tense; there are few remainders of a case system; it uses the Latin alphabet. Bulgarian is also an analytic language (in contrast to the rest of the Slavic languages); it is a pro-drop language, i.e. verb-form endings indicate clearly person, number and tense; it is one of the few languages that uses the Cyrillic alphabet which is a key symbol of Bulgarian culture and national identity. Besides, as mentioned by Barbour (2000), a single distinctive language is the most outstanding feature characterizing a one-nation state.

The influx of English in Bulgarian could be described as *sudden*, emerging after the socio-political and economic changes of the early 1990s. It occurred in almost all

areas of public communication and was considered as part of the process of democratization of the country, leading to democratization of the language, as opposed to the *langue du bois* (for an overview of the term see, for example, Stoica, 2016) inherent to the preceding communist regime. Obviously, the influx of English is also part of the process of globalization – a term construed in a variety of ways depending on authors' viewpoint, background economic, cultural, etc. factors. Held et al. (1999) categorise the methods of theorizing about globalization into three types: hyperglobalist, sceptical, and transformationalist. While the hyperglobalists understand globalization as leading to larger overall homogeneity, the sceptics claim that mutual interdependencies occur mainly at surface level. On their part, transformationalists, whose view is also accepted in this study, regard globalization “as the driving force responsible for fundamental socio-political transformations” (Dewey, 2007:334). This ties up with Blommaert's (2010:13) idea of the existence of ‘geocultural globalization’ as “more recent developments *within* globalization” that especially pertain to language, affecting sociolinguistic processes.

Data, aims, and expected results

The investigation is based on data collected through photographing urban signs and inscriptions (street signs, restaurant names, various inscriptions, e.g. in offices, including ‘illiterate’ word-for-word translations from Bulgarian, etc.) and further supported by informal interviews with people who have been involved with them both as producers and as consumers. The data is statistically (quantitatively and qualitatively) evaluated in terms of appropriacy and relevance to the particular discursive environment, as well as in terms of linguistic correctness.

The informal interviews demonstrate the consumers' attitude towards the use of a foreign language (and, for Bulgaria, a foreign alphabet) in an otherwise monolingual social and urban context and the degree to which English is accepted (or not) as a *second language*. They also elicit the producers' motivation for choosing to use English and the possible tensions that arise between the two parties.

The results of the study aim at throwing new light upon the question of whether one could speak of ‘imposed’ or ‘desired’ urban bilingualism in Bulgaria, as well as on the social and individual factors that determine citizens' attitude towards the investigated phenomenon. An attempt is also be made to predict possible future trends and developments.

Methodology and Theoretical Aspects

The methodological approach partly follows the framework of Critical discourse analysis where ‘text’ is seen as resultative, as embedded in certain discursive practices which are themselves dependent upon social practices (Fairclough, 1992: 63-73, Fairclough, 2010). The focus is placed on the

‘sociocognitive’ dimensions of text production and interpretation, which centre upon the interplay between the members’ resources which discourse participants have internalized and bring with them to the text processing, and the text itself, as a set of ‘traces’ of the production process, or a set of ‘cues’ for the interpretation process. (Fairclough, 1992:80)

However, Fairclough’s approach has been criticised for producing a ‘snapshot’ of the results of globalization by looking at it within a limited timeframe, namely after 1990. According to Blommaert (2010:15), “There is a serious flaw in this line of argument [...]. And the discursive novelty is then projected onto social systems, *as if a fundamental discursive change necessarily presupposes a fundamental social change*”. In terms of the present study he argues that “language material shifts meanings and functions when it is mobile” and “the sign changes from a linguistic sign to an emblematic one” (ibid., p. 31). This is directly related to the consumers of the sign, who, depending on their linguistic abilities, may be able to decipher it correctly, or not. This, on its part, would predefine whether a “fundamental social change” would occur or not. Thus, one of the aims of the study is to check the above hypothesis in terms of the sociolinguistic urban situation in Bulgaria. Along these lines, and following Myers-Scotton (1993), in the discursive practices of interest to the present study Bulgarian plays the role of the matrix language, while English – that of the embedded language.

Another point that needs to be addressed is whether the use of English in non-English-speaking urban environments is almost exclusively limited to advertising discourse. Earlier studies propose that the use of English in advertising discourse has a symbolic value (Haarmann 1989, Kelly-Holmes 2005, McClure 1998). Alexieva (2005), for instance, focuses on the English lexical influence on the inscription of trade-marks and shop names and concludes that it is expected to contribute to prestige and financial success. Stoevski (2005) analyses the presence (or absence) of inscriptions in English parallel to Bulgarian on the buildings of state institutions, banks, hotels and the like. Vassileva (2006) examines the use of English in some Bulgarian magazines and

speculates that it is a demonstration of a generation gap between the younger generation capable of understanding the language and the older generation which lacks the respective language knowledge. Thus, as the short overview above demonstrates, although there are relatively few studies on the influx of English in the Bulgarian cultural environment, they deal with various aspects and are by no means confined to advertising discourse. On the contrary, English has penetrated all walks of life in the country, including the media, company culture, entertainment, education, etc. Nevertheless, the focus of the present paper will be on the present-day urban environment as the most visible element of public discourse.

Results and discussion

Types of urban inscriptions involving English

The first part of the discussion is of primarily qualitative character and introduces the main types of urban inscriptions involving English, supported by examples, since a statistically valid quantitative study would require large amounts of data. Besides, the aim of the present investigation is to look at tendencies and their constantly changing nature, and thus focuses primarily on consumers' attitudes towards the inscriptions presented.

The paper adopts the classification of linguistic signs in public spaces suggested by Backhaus (2007) in his study of Tokyo, a city comparable to Sofia and other larger cities in Bulgaria with its primarily monolingual and monocultural population:

1. Signs that display texts constituting a complete translation (or transliteration) of each other are *homophonic* signs (also known as “competing scripts”).



Figure 1 *Parallel inscriptions in English and Bulgarian*

This case is illustrated in Figure 1, where one could actually observe attempts at complete translation, since there are obvious problems in all four examples. Hidden

behind “King Breakfast” is “Breakfast for kings”, the entrance to the metro station is “open” in the Bulgarian version and “closed” in the English one – quite a confusing instruction for speakers of any of the two languages and especially for those of both. The “Hostage house” is in reality a “Pawn shop” and the wrong translation is due to the fact that the same word is used in Bulgarian for “hostage” and “pawn”. In fact, all street signs in the figure demonstrate lack of enough knowledge of English on the part of their producers, no matter whether they are meant to give instructions or to serve as attractions for visitors.

2. In a *mixed* part writing style only content elements of a sign are available in two or more languages.



Figure 2: Bulgarian, English translation, transliteration

The example in Figure 2 demonstrates an exaggerated mixture of Bulgarian, literal translations and transliterations. Given the fact that a translation is present, the inclusion of a transliteration is fully redundant and meaningless, as it represents no additional and/or useful information for the reader.

3. Signs with several languages that do not constitute mutual translations are *polyphonic* in style.



Figure 3. Inscriptions in Bulgarian in Latin letters (transcription)

Examples are included here which comprise, in most of the cases, a text in Bulgarian and its transliteration in Latin letters, or only a transliteration. Such signs used to be quite common shortly after 1990 and seem to be diminishing in number with time, as their lack of sense for speakers of any language is more than obvious. Apart from Bulgarian, languages other than English are very rare in the country's urban landscape with the exception of Russian at touristic sites frequented by visitors from the former Soviet Union.

4. Signs with only one language are *monophonic* signs.



Figure 4. *Inscriptions in English only*

The examples in Figure 4 present two restaurant names only in English, a bookshop and a ridiculous sign on the office door of a public institution. The fact that a number of bars and restaurants have names only in English (with or without a Bulgarian translation / version) has already been extensively discussed by Alexieva (2005). As to the last example, it is difficult to figure out how a public institution could afford to display such illiterate translations, as it is usually considered that institutions employ the services of professional translators. The fact, however, that such translations are no rarity probably speaks for the quality of 'official translations' in the country.

Producers' and consumers' attitude towards the use of English

As mentioned above, in order to elicit the standpoint of those involved in the production and consumption of urban signs involving English in Bulgaria, informal interviews were conducted with randomly chosen Bulgarians.

The producer: 50 subjects were interviewed, among them owners of restaurants, bars, shops the like, as well as employees of public institutions. Table 1 sums up the three main reasons for choosing to place a sign in English, namely: 1) “To attract more customers, especially young people” dominating with 80%, followed by 2) “To attract more foreigners” and 3) “Because I like it” with 10% each.

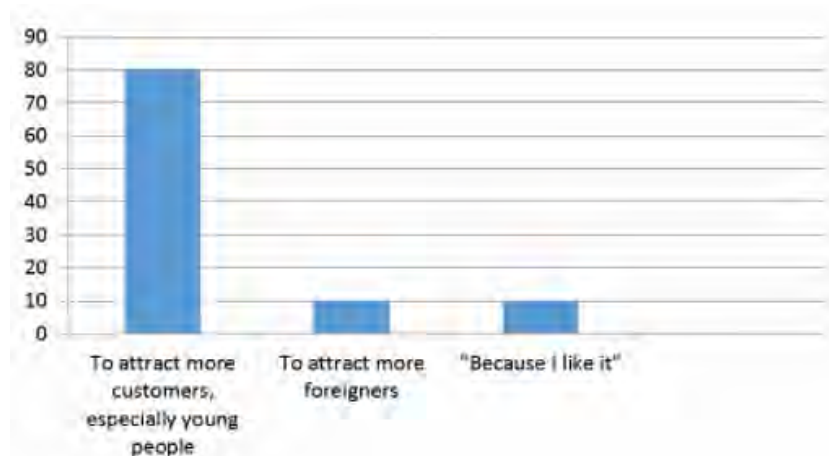


Table 1. *The producer – 50 subjects*

These results confirm Alexieva's (2005:7) impressionistic assumption that: “Whether spelt in English or in Bulgarian, they look English, or at least foreign, and this makes them appear at once attractive and reliable to consumers”. Besides, English enjoys the highest possible prestige in the country and this accounts for producers' view of it as being ‘attractive’. The low percentage of answers related to attracting foreigners is probably due to the fact that, apart from tourists, there are few foreigners living in the country who do not speak Bulgarian.

The consumer: 85 subjects were interviewed as to their attitude to the inscriptions including English. The results are presented below:

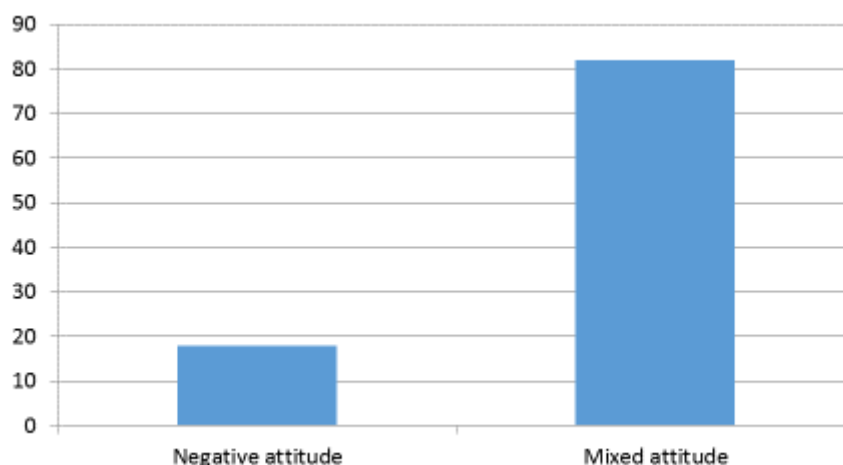


Table 2: *The consumer – 85 subjects*

As the table demonstrates, almost 20% have a definite **negative attitude** and the majority of 80% – a mixed attitude. That is, none of the subjects expressed a clear positive attitude. The reasons for this general disapproval are various, the most frequent one being that through the process of using English in the urban environment the Bulgarian language and alphabet „are sent into oblivion“ (the quotations in this part are from interviewees’ comments). The latter predisposition has been further reinforced by the extremely adverse stance taken by leading Bulgarian linguists and propagated through the mass media. Pernishka (2008:38), for instance, claims that: “The current total displacement of the Cyrillic letters has nothing to do with scientific and pragmatic considerations. It has a defeatist and anti-national character, so it can be evaluated only as a *disruptive* influence.” The very fact that a sociolinguistic conference held in 2008 and entitled „The Aggression of Street Language“, and the volume published afterwards, contain a number of articles where the use of English is anathematized as ‘street language’ along with vulgar language and the like, speaks for itself. In addition, such pseudo-patriotic viewpoints are proclaimed by some right-wing political parties, thus enhancing their influence on public opinion.

Another reason stated by the subjects is the lack of „self-confidence in being equal“. Bulgaria, as a small country with a constantly diminishing population, but with its own language, alphabet and, generally, very old cultural traditions, has almost always though its history been swaying between the desire to see itself as ‘unique’, on the one hand, and open to the world, on the other. The socio-political developments after 1990 and the processes of globalization seem to exacerbate further the problem of national identity.

The latter is closely related to the other reason given by the interviewees, namely ‘futile attempts to sound cosmopolitan and sophisticated’. Along these lines, Pernishka (2008:37) states that: “In all similar cases, where it is not a company name or a trade mark, signs of this type are a manifestation of obsessive pretentiousness and a misunderstood idea of being civilized”. This frequently leads to “Cheap and often illiterate imitations of signs and names seen abroad” and could also be a sign of ‘snobbery’. Example 1 illustrates clearly the above-described attitudes:

Example 1. My attitude is critical, like to an officially dressed lady wearing rubber flip-flops ☺))
We jump from one hill onto another... Before – by imitating the ugly Soviet abbreviations and revolutionary signs everywhere, now – with the funny names of restaurants, shops, companies and

taverns where there is no trace of Anglo-American presence either in the menu or in the ambience or the products offered!!!

However, recent research on “the appetite societies have for seeking to freeze their most treasured aspects of cultural heritage” (Dewey, 2007:348) appeals for a different approach, namely: “Instead of aiming to preserve cultural/linguistic heritage, or idealized versions of it, contemporary society needs to reassess this in light of current influences” (ibid., p. 348). Unfortunately, hardly any such attempts have been made in Bulgaria, especially as far as linguistic diversity is concerned.

Moving on to the **mixed attitudes**, the reasons suggested by the interviewees point to a positive attitude towards signs and inscriptions in English if they are correctly used and spelled, as well as if they are shorter and more expressive than their possible Bulgarian equivalents. This relates to what Robertson (1995) has termed ‘glocalization’, namely: “The local thus often becomes defamiliarized and the global familiarized, blurring the boundaries between what is local and what is global” (Dewey, 2007:337). Of course, as the examples above also demonstrate, “Global transmissions are locally consumed, and in their consumption are remodelled, reconstituted, transformed” (Dewey, 2007:337). Therefore, it is no wonder that the same interviewees demonstrate a negative attitude towards illiterate use of English and transliterations from English. The following example shows how ‘glocalization’ may lead to misunderstandings:

Example 2. Once a friend asked me whether I had been to Dublin. I said: „No, I’ve been to London but not to Dublin“. Then it turned out that he meant a pub called „Dublin“ where there is good food, a lot of cheap alcohol and little cleanliness. This reminded me of the Oxford pub where Prince Charles used to work as a student – it was dirtier and... cheaper.

Conclusions

Most of the studies on linguistic landscaping focus on the issue as a means of investigating multilingualism (Ben-Rafael et al. 2004, Gorter, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, Blommaert 2010), to name just a few. This is due to the fact that these investigations have been carried out in multi-ethnic, cosmopolitan cities, where predominant migrant communities in an urban setting settle in with their culture, customs and languages and influence significantly the linguistic landscape of that city. Thus, the languages used in public signs indicate what languages are locally relevant, or give evidence of what languages are becoming locally relevant (Shohamy, 2010; Kasanga, 2012). Blommaert (2010:19) maintains that:

The bits of language that are globalized are equally bits of culture and society. That means that they always become part of the local, while they are part of the global, and at the end of global processes of semiotic rearrangement we have local usage and abuse of sociolinguistic resources.

The latter accounts for the prevalence of a negative attitude in Bulgaria towards signs involving English because of the abundance of illiterate signs and inscriptions; the use of transliteration that serves nobody's needs; the use of English where Bulgarian would be fully sufficient. From a socio-psychological point of view the reasons that come to the fore are: neglecting the Cyrillic alphabet and the Bulgarian language, which leads to loss of national identity, cultural values, traditions; the use of English points to lack of self-esteem and imitation of Western values and culture.

The present study looked both at linguistic landscaping (the producers of urban signs) and linguistic landscape (the reaction of the consumer of such signs). The results discussed above demonstrate that, for the time being urban bilingualism in Bulgaria seems to be much more imposed by the producers than desired by the recipients. That is, Blommaert's (2010) criticism of Fairclough (1992) seems to be justified, namely and at least as far as Bulgaria is concerned, that discursive changes do not necessarily presuppose a social change. This may partly be attributed to the ignorance and lack of interest on the part of institutions and official authorities in the country in the issues of linguistic landscaping. The transformationalist approach, pleading for a reassessment of cultural values, has been adopted neither by the consumers nor by the said authorities.

Going back to the quotation at the beginning of this article (Renkema 2004), it seems that the world has not as yet turned into "an enormous American village" (*ibid.*, p. 51). In this light, I am much more inclined to accept Held et al.'s (1999:374) viewpoint that:

The cultural context of production and transmission must always in the end encounter an already existing frame of reference in the eyes of the consumer or receiver. The latter involves a process of great complexity – simple notions of homogenization, ideological hegemony or imperialism fail to register properly the nature of these encounters and the interplay, interaction and cultural creativity they produce.

Although I am very well-aware of the limited scale of the present investigation, I would still make an attempt here to outline some possible future developments in terms of linguistic landscaping in Bulgaria. First, an improvement of English signs and inscriptions towards grammatical, lexical, etc. correctness is to be expected, mainly due to the improvement of the English language skills of both producers and receivers as a result of generation change and further influx of English through economic and cultural

globalization. Second, disappearance of meaningless transliterations from Bulgarian into the Latin alphabet thanks to a raised public awareness of their futility. And last but not least, for the time being there seems to be no chance of English becoming a second language in Bulgarian urban landscaping due to the fact that the country is basically monolingual, the Cyrillic alphabet is a symbol of national identity and the Bulgarians will do their best to resist any attempts to change the language and/or the alphabet.

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RESEARCHING THE SOCIAL MEDIA: FOUR SUGGESTIONS

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Abstract

In this study we explore ways that the social media are researched, with a focus on Twitter: which aspects are covered and the research disciplines whose frameworks are employed. Our focus is on the tools implemented to collect and analyse the data. Four of the popular software packages are illustrated with a sample research question and direction is given to the respective functionality of each.

Key words: *Twitter, Social Media, Language, Research, FireAnt.*

The social media are an inevitable companion to our life today. Those who study language can only avoid them at their peril, because language without the social media is bookish and inadequate. Publicists need to know how their messages reach an audience, social sciences try to elicit public moods based on objectively observable material and media specialists need to trace the way in which social media take a life of their own via the new technologies. Quite a lot of research already exists on social media. A search on the academic database Scopus returns 992 publications about Social Media.

The results encompass the following subareas shown in Table 1.

Social Sciences	(750)
Computer Science	(384)
Arts and Humanities	(360)
Decision Sciences	(140)
Business, Management and Accounting	(134)

Table 1 *Research Disciplines exploring Social Media – A Scopus perspective.*

We only focus on the articles marked as 'Arts and Humanities', the third in frequency here, but most related to language. It would seem as if the social impact is researched with double force compared to technicalities, such as language and computer technologies.

Three topics appear to have been researched from the documents elicited via Scopus:

- studying emotive language;

- language which creates identities and frames events;
- pedagogic applications.

The most quoted piece of research is on Twitter as a corpus for sentiment analysis and opinion mining, followed by a pedagogical article concerning the motivating force of Twitter and Facebook (the latter rather than the former). Researching emotive language involves the detection of "private states" (opinions, emotions, sentiments, beliefs, speculations) and sentiment analysis is the task of detecting, extracting and classifying opinions and sentiments (Montoyo et al. 2012, among others) concerning different topics, as expressed in textual input. Thus researchers, based on the prevalence of the respective linguistic items, can establish whether the audience reacts with approval, disapproval or other feelings to certain topics. This type of research exploits language as a social semiotic indicative of attitudes towards significant topics.

Secondly, the frame within which events and identities are presented is studied. Frames are broadly defined as the context of sociological parameters, such as the setting, the participants, the roles they take on etc. This line of research bears the hallmark of sociolinguistics by employing several of its typical parameters. Language which has traces of gender or social class (Bamann et al. 2014, among others) are established. Also features of different genres are elicited – such as negotiating, complimenting etc. - and the way social media present events. In this case the function of linguistic items is explored as indicative of features of genres and identities.

A rich array of articles on pedagogic uses of the social media is also available. Some view them as a motivation (Reid 2011), a source of improving communicative skills (Bergsma et al. 2013), (He et al. 2014), exploring intercultural parameters etc. These publications focus on pedagogic implications of teaching through social media – a popular medium and a specific case of language use. They deserve a separate research, with a pedagogical focus.

In this article we review what corpora are created from microblogging, what parameters can be studied and what results the proceeds lead to. Our method is experimenting with tools recommended with the major publications and demonstrating the effectiveness of the tools.

Research questions and Method

The questions we ask are the following:

1. What electronic tools have been used to collect posts in the social media? How do they work?
2. What data do these tools fetch?
3. What conclusions do they lead to?

Our methodology includes employing tools suggested with the publications about language and social media. Each tool is described and applied to collect data on a selected topic. The proceeds are presented and conclusions are drawn to illustrate the options thrown by the respective tool.

Social media provide ample collections of texts in a genre which is very popular. Business crucially depends on its presence in the social media and it is sometimes the sole medium people need to use in a foreign language. On the other hand, both the lexicon and the grammatical structure of social media posts differ from most known genres nowadays. The spelling also diverges from the standard dictionary forms – the use of abbreviations, numbers, contractions etc. makes social media language less transparent than the language of familiar genres. Paradoxically, texting language – as it has come to be known – is more native to social media users than to the native speakers of the respective language. Therefore, the language of social media needs to be researched, popularised and taught, if social media are to function as a common medium for an ever expanding Internet community.

Lines of research

The research in Scopus was structured around the following keywords: Twitter OR Tweeter OR Facebook OR “social media” AND language. The results were then refined to include only Language and Linguistics, excluding huge areas such as Computer Science and Psychology, which definitely outnumbered the publications in Language and Linguistics.

This first stage yielded material to conclude what is generally researched concerning the social media, which disciplines take an interest in the topic and most significantly – to see how the respective researchers have obtained their material for study.

Tools for collecting posts in the social media

To study posts on Twitter, one needs to collect them. Doing this manually would require enormous amounts of time and energy. That is why electronic tools can be used to collect material. Here I present three methods employed by social media experts and one linguistic tool.

A typical tool for researching social media has been Topsy, possessed by Apple but closed recently. To fill the gap, three alternatives have been introduced: Keyhole, Tweetreach and Tweet Binder. Basically, they fetch tweets related to a keyword, a hash tag or a user. Different statistics are presented with each search. Alternatively, a linguistic software package called FireAnt is explored. While FireAnt is open source and free, the others require payment after a certain limit, different for each package.

To present their functionalities better, we designed a search term – DONALD TRUMP – and applied it via the four tools. Then the results are presented to set off what conclusions can be drawn.

Keyhole

The product's aim is "to accurately measure real-time and historical social media data, illustrating metrics in easy-to-read graphs and layouts to simplify reporting and strategizing." It can track URLs, hashtags, keywords and usernames on Twitter and Instagram.

Keyhole is a social media analytics tool that analyzes posts on both Twitter and Instagram. We only focus on the former as the latter features visuals and would require a totally different analytical approach. Keyhole collects 100 tweets for free and presents the following analytics: the number of posts, a timeline of when they were posted, the users, the posts themselves, the reach and the number of impressions, which users are most prolific and which have the greatest following, the hashtags that dominate, the locations, the proportion of original and re-tweeted posts and the proportion of positive, negative and neutral posts, as well as the prevalent hashtags organized as a word cloud, as well as a word cloud of the key words in the collection.

A word cloud is a visual representation of user-generated electronic tags or keywords that classify and describe online content, in a grouping of words in different font sizes, as to show relative frequency or provide links to further information. Several

software packages provide clouds – of tags, of key words or collocates, like Word Smith (Scott, 2012), Wordle (Feinberg, 2014) among others.

From our data collection organized around the key word Donald Trump (Figure 1.) we can conclude that the tweets are organized around a negative attitude to Trump's candidacy for President of the USA, because the dominant hashtag is NEVERTRUMP.



Figure 1 *Wordcloud of Hashtags created with Keyhole*

Hashtags are a typical type of language use on Twitter. While the central one for this corpus is rather transparent in its meaning – ‘nevertrump’ – the others require additional research and knowledge of the specific area of language use. ‘Makeamericagreatagain’ can only be deciphered with awareness of the fact that this is the slogan of Donald Trump's presidential campaign. ‘Nevergop’ negates the Grand Old Party, or the Republican party in its abbreviation, who, in turn, nominated Trump for president. ‘Blacksfortrump’ represent a special group of voters in support of Trump. The hashtag ‘watrump’ unites Trump's supporters in Washington, and ‘everett’ narrows down to a city in the state of Washington.

Twitter organises posts around such hashtags. The researcher can go back to the person who created the hashtag and follow through what messages were created under the hashtag. This presents a unique and in-depth study in its own right. Keyhole here just sets off the prevalence of hashtags and for this corpus the one negating Dolanld Trump as a candidate for the USA presidency is presented as the most frequent. Normally, the hashtag printed with the biggest font presents the most frequent one in the corpus. In this one only one hashtag stands out and the others are almost equally distributed, which can be explained with the small size of the corpus.



As has been shown in corpus research (Scott and Tribble 2006) proper names tend to appear in key status and on this occasion they are Trump's opponent HILLARY CLINTON – both given and family name, indicative of the type of reference; and DETROIT – the place where an important speech was given on the campaign trail trying to address voters of colour. This is also revealed by the key status of BLACK, MEXICAN, MEXICO, VICENTE. Where corpora are available, the researcher can check the concordances of each key word to determine the context of use. Unfortunately, Keyhole does not provide a searchable format of the corpus. Nevertheless, the word cloud of key words is suggestive of the topics covered in the posts.

Figure 3 *Sentiment Analysis via Keyhole*

More than half the posts are classified as neutral – 56% (Figure 3), while almost a quarter - 23% are negative and slightly less than that, 20% are positive.

The sentiments are studied using the NRC Word-Emotion Association (Saif 2016). As the tool is commercial, no details are provided about the methodology. However, the researcher has a website from where we can see that lists of words are given and associated with emotions – positive, negative or neutral. Crude as the tool appears, it obviously yields data that can be very helpful for marketers, an indication whether Twitter users employed vocabulary with a predominantly positive or negative association.

Geographically, the majority of the posts are from the USA and Australia. The reach is impressive – nearly 8 million people have been reached with the posts, no mean achievement for 100 tweets in about 2 minutes. The better part of the participants – 72% are male. The dominant instrument has been iPhone - 35% were posted from one, while 22 % come from Android systems and desktop computers. Elsewhere (Robinson 2016) the data about the device from which a tweet has been sent is used to find out whether the sponsor of the campaign is tweeting, or his PR team. This data was useful not only in monitoring the work of PR specialists, but also for contrasting the language of the sponsor and that of the professional.

This type of research provides an insight into sociological types of data – who posts, how often and from what type of platform. For market researchers the measure of the impact of the posts would be of particular significance. Anybody commissioning promotional posts would be interested in knowing how many posts were made, when and how many people they reached.

As for the language, we only have the Word Cloud, containing hashtags and key words separately, to make judgements about language use. It gives us an indication of the frequency of hash tags and keywords, but we cannot see the context of use and the linguistic environment. As for the syntax of the posts, material is provided, but not in a shape easily organized for linguistic research. An additional effort is required to elicit language patterns.

Tweetreach

The software package can monitor Tweets about topics – hashtags, brands, accounts, events – in real time, with comprehensive analytics on Twitter reach,

performance and engagement. The software works exclusively with Twitter. A declared goal is to trace 'the distance tweets have gone' – by sender, keyword, topic.

These are the types of statistics Tweetreach provides:



Figure 4 *Tweetreach statistics*

Therefore, Tweetreach provides information about the number of impressions (a single display of a particular post on a web page) and the accounts that have been reached. The number of posts is limited by the free access and the time needed reveals the speed of collecting data. Apart from that, we can see the number of contributors and the percentage of original, retweeted and replies.

In two minutes, the software provided 100 posts and analysed the parameters above. The reach of the tweets has been 271 404, with 315 199 impressions. This could be classified as a topic gone viral.

From the 100 tweets collected free of charge, 27 are original and 71 are retweeted. This appears very similar to the data provided by Keyhole, where the original tweets present 30% and the retweets – 69%. Obviously this statistic is information to keep in mind: that a small number of original tweets get retweeted.

Further on, the software reveals which the top contributors were and the most retweeted posts. Figure 5 shows a list of the contributors with the number of tweets, retweets and the impressions of each one.

CONTRIBUTORS			
	Tweets	RTs	Impressions
NekoCase	1	0	121.3k
alechogg	1	0	27.7k
DanielB4u	1	0	22.9k
USElection_16	1	0	17.9k
nhdogmom	1	0	15.1k
EricShapiro3	1	0	10.6k
TriciaNC1	1	0	10.2k
Shirleystopers	1	0	7.1k
Nikluk	1	0	5.8k
easisupernova	1	0	5.3k
Love_Chihuahua	1	0	5.2k
curtisgospel	2	0	4.3k
Gabbiedrice78K	1	0	3.7k
Dboyz22	1	0	3.6k
Coffee_Minion	1	0	3k
IAgreeToSee	1	0	3k
RowlandViki	1	0	2.9k
lonie1917	1	0	2.7k
alibaba5826	2	0	2.6k
SaveAsIave	1	0	2.5k

Figure 5 Contributors Statistics via TweetReach

No specific analysis of attitudes has been provided. However, this corpus can be indicative of positive, negative and neutral attitudes to Donald Trump via the top tweeted messages. One is definitely positive: “I didn’t give my vote to Trump, he earned it”. But it is retweeted fewer times than the negative one: “Donald Trump is the Anti-Labour Day Candidate: running against fair wages, worker rights and Unions”. The third most re-tweeted post, and classified as neutral advertises a column in New York Times.

Figure 6 presents a timeline of the tweets, which can be viewed and analysed for the language used.

From the first tweets arranged in a timeline, according to the time they were posted, we can see that up to 80% of the text in the tweets needs to be analysed within a special framework for texting language, because it includes nicknames, hashtags, specific contractions (RT), symbols with functions typical for Tweeter - @, # etc. Additionally, features of texting language, such as BTW (by the way) will deflect from the straightforward analysis of conventional language.



Figure 6 *A timeline of tweets via Tweepreach*

The stretch of categories covered by Tweepreach appears narrower than that for Keyhole, but the wealth of the text is more easy to inspect, because the programme can produce the data in comma separated values (.csv format) and can – after purging – be fed into statistical software and analysed. This, however, would be a lengthy procedure due to the abundance of hashtags, the weird names of the users – which would need to be purged – etc.

This type of data collection is particularly useful to assess the impact of posting in the social medium. The option to get the twits in a comma-separated-values file is of dubious value, but studies of the syntax and lexis of the posts are not impossible. So studying the language is a tangential opportunity from this software. Once again the operation of people twitting is easier to trace than the language.

Tweetbinder

Tweetbinder provides information of the search term, the precise timing of the search, the percentage of original and retweeted messages, the number of contributors, the potential reach of the posts, a chart of the twitted messages and a breakdown of whether they are pictures or text, a rank list of the contributors depending on the number of contributions they made, a ranking of those who made the greatest number of original posts, and according to the number of followers they have. The impact of each contributor is calculated and there is a rank list; similar rankings are compiled for the authors of the photographs.

Apart from the types of tweets we saw so far – tweets, retweets and (very few) replies, Tweetbinder also classifies links and images, which presents the strength of this software. The number of materials collected here is nearly three time bigger – 299 tweets. Only 13 are the original ones, 224 are the retweets, 9 replies are available and so far we see the trend established by Keyhole and Tweetreach confirmed. Additionally, 57 links or images have been tweeted. This number does not appear large, with a view of the directive given to all PR professionals - to provide visuals and links with the tweets. Only about a quarter of the tweets in this collection follows this instruction. But Tweetbinder makes the most of tracing this type of publication in the social medium.

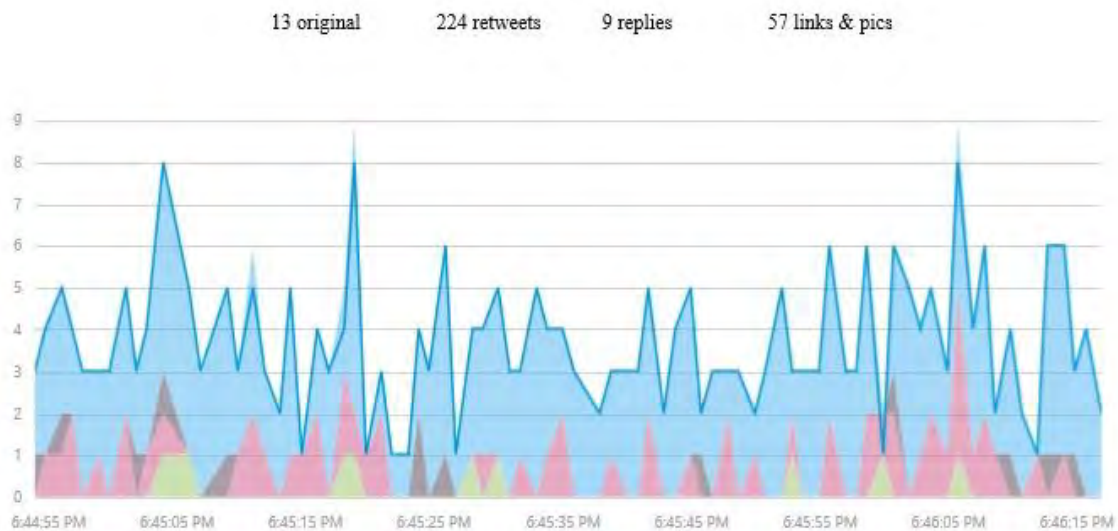


Figure 7 *A timeline of tweets via TweetBinder*

The unique type of statistic (figure 7) provided with this software is tracking the posts in real time, whereby the researcher can see at what time the original tweets are

created and retweeted, or replies and visuals are posted. This is very important for a publicist trying to establish at what time they have their audience on Tweeter. Thus they can direct their messages at their target audience when they are actually online and active in the social network.

Further on, we can see which contributors created the greatest number of original tweets, retweets, visuals etc. Therefore, this tool analyses the work of individuals on the social network. It is difficult to presume attitudes, language used, or visual messages posted.

Based on the output of this tool, we can assess the performance of participants in a discussion on a topic of interest. No conclusion about the nature of the discussion can be made.

Fireant

FireAnt (Antony and Hardacre, 2016) is linguistic software for the analysis of social media. Based on a search term, or a profile name the product collects tweets and compiles a searchable corpus. We can search for words, elicit the location of the tweeters, the timings, re-tweets and the participants. Also, the data can be exported in a text file and analysed using standard linguistic software.

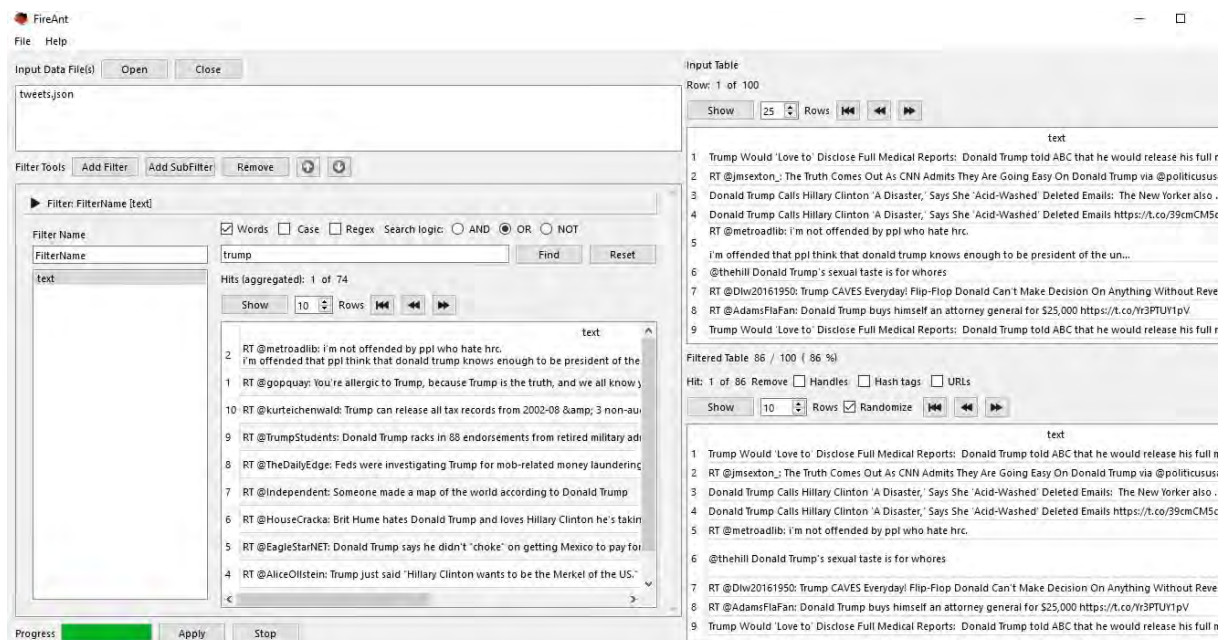


Figure 8 *Fireant* interface

The search we applied via all the software products for this research returned the following corpus, presented here as Table 2:

tokens used for word list:	1,893
tokens (running words) in text:	1,805
types (distinct words):	554
type/token ratio (TTR):	30.69
standardised TTR:	35.50
mean word length (in characters):	4.61
word length std.dev.:	2.51
sentences:	33
mean (in words):	54.70
std.dev.:	45.91
mean (in words):	1,805.00
numbers removed:	88

Table 2 *Statistics of the corpus collected via Fireant*

The data reveal that this is very modest corpus (about 2000 words). The amount can be controlled via the function COLLECT TWEETS, which can be limited to 100 items – which we did here to get data that would be comparable to the other corpora – or much larger quantities. The statistics reveal a corpus containing repetitive text, organized in short sentences, the words used tend to be short, rather than long. About 8% of the text includes numbers.

The tweets can be analysed using numerous filters, including the place of the tweeter, the hashtags, the medium, the original tweets, replies, quoted text etc. For our purposes we used the texts of the tweets.

Via the software package Word Smith (Scott 2012), a keyword list is created using the BNC-World as a reference corpus. It is presented according to the relative keyness of each word:

N	Key word	freq. in fireant	%	Texts	freq. in BNC_World	RC. %
Keyness		_data				
1	HTTPS	89	4.70	1	0	1,939.01
2	TRUMP	87	4.60	1	183	1,555.94
3	RT	67	3.54	1	272	1,121.87
4	CO	81	4.28	1	5,025	932.55
5	DONALD	64	3.38	1	1,454	862.98
6	T	85	4.49	1	11,788	0.01 843.02
7	HILLARY	23	1.22	1	148	365.24

8	CLINTON	19	1.00	1	1,676	204.85	
9	WASHED	7	0.37	1	0	152.20	
10	EMAILS	7	0.37	1	0	152.20	
11	TRUMP'S	6	0.32	1	7	112.51	
12	PPL	6	0.32	1	59	90.43	
13	DELETED	7	0.37	1	424	80.65	
14	GADDAFI	5	0.26	1	52	74.83	
15	ALLERGIC	6	0.32	1	247	73.71	
16	#	88	4.65	1	1,604,421	1.61	73.15
17	OFFENDED	6	0.32	1	503	65.25	
18	DISASTER	8	0.42	1	2,773	64.45	
29	HRC	3	0.16	1	7	53.00	

Figure 9 *Keywords in the Tweeter Corpus elicited via Word Smith*

Apart from media-specific vocabulary, such as *http*, *t.co*, *rt*, we see contractions typical of texting language – *ppl*, which stands for people; *hrc* – Hillary Rodham Clinton, etc. We see the hashtag symbol, which is typical of language use on Twitter and also indicative of which terms spin off as topics.

The High key-ness of ‘Donald Trump’ is explained by the search term around which the corpus was compiled, but also because it is a typical type of key word (Scott and Tribble 2006), being a proper name. Among the key clusters are: *TRUMP CALLS HILLARY* and *ALLERGIC TO TRUMP*, which clearly suggest a distaste for Trump.

From the concordance of Clinton we can see the cluster *TRUMP CALLS HILLARY DISASTER*, which is a hedged report of claims made by Trump. This explains the key status of the word *DISASTER*. A key claim that recurs in the corpus is this statement: “i’m not offended by *ppl* who hate *hrc*. i’m offended that *ppl* think that donald trump knows enough to be president of the USA”. This incorporates a high number of the key words in the list above. Therefore, this can be considered a central claim for the corpus.

We also see the topic of ‘deleted e-mails’ – signaled with a hashtag, as a major challenge in Hilary’s campaign.

Another topic of wrangling is about meeting the Libyan leader Gaddafi by Trump or an attempt at his assassination – allegedly, and as a very broad exaggeration – by Clinton.

Clearly, the key word list is indicative of topics under discussion and of attitudes taken by the participants, as most such lists tend to.

The technique ‘word cloud’ where the search term is in the centre and the related terms surround at distances which reflect the association between the word and the search term is performed by Key Hole and Fire Ant. As can be seen from Fire Ant, these are really keywords and they have a high degree of key-ness and reflect the topics broached in the tweets. They are different because the tweets in each collection are different.

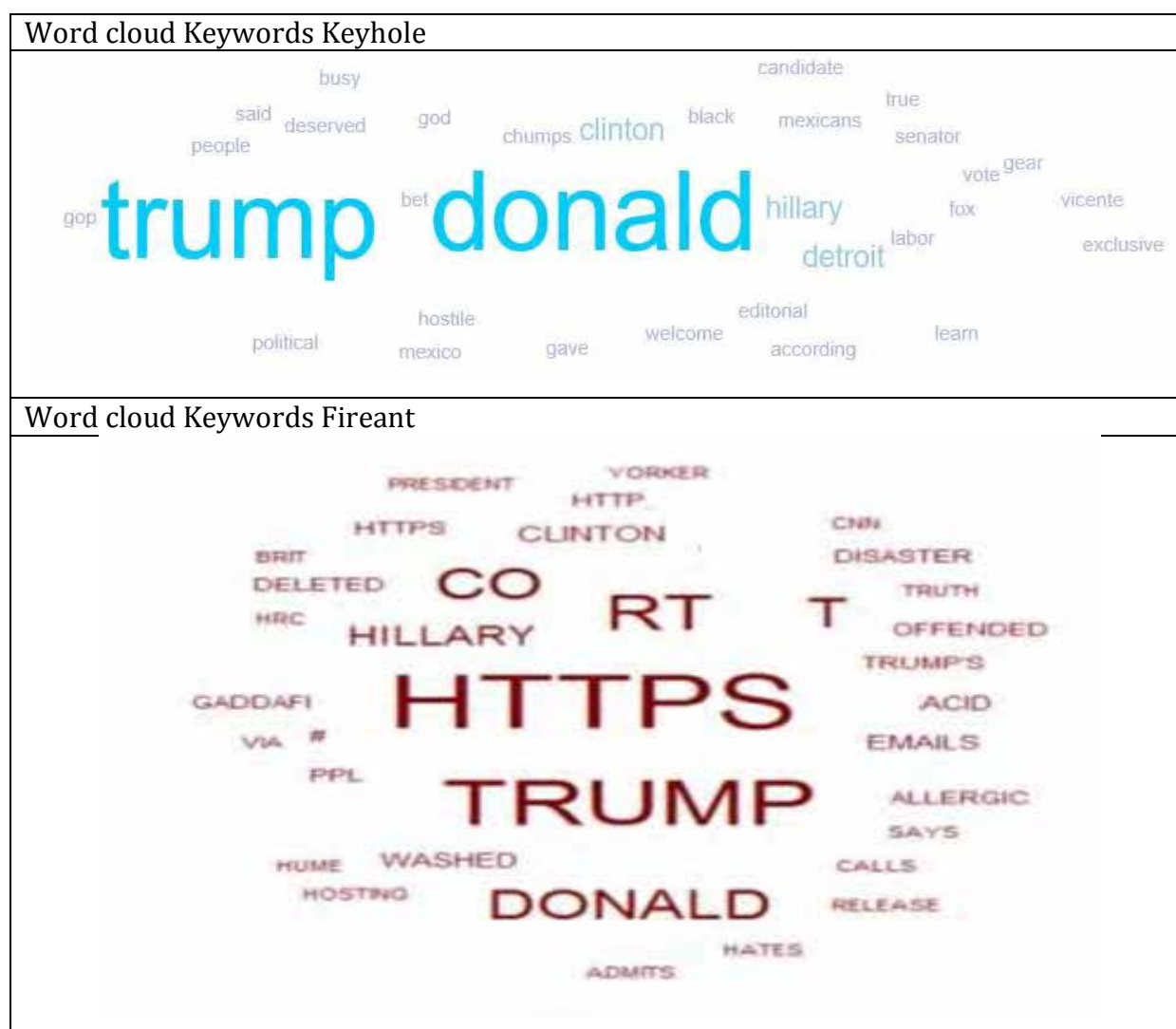


Figure 10 Word clouds compared – Keyhole /Fireant

As can be seen, the key words are different, but also the corpora are compiled using different tweets. Each set centres around a specific event in the presidential campaign – the attempt to attract Mexican and coloured voters, for the first corpus, and Hillary Clinton’s emails – for the second one. On both occasions the event sparks distaste for Trump, but it is expressed in specific shapes. This shows that the word cloud is a reliable instrument for determining the topics discussed with the texts in the corpus. When the texts are available as text files, concordances, clusters and collocates can be found.

Conclusions

Researching Twitter is a viable task which can provide data that are valuable for media researchers, political analysts, language students. Each of the applications discussed here has the potential to yield a plethora of results, which are different for each product and each researcher should select carefully the type of data they need and adopt the tool that can bring back precisely the type of data they need.

Indicators of topics under discussion can be elicited using Fire Ant and Key Hole, via the function Word cloud. While Key Hole gives a schematic presentation of the words, Fire Ant provides the concordance of each key word, as well as the clusters that occur. In this task, Fire Ant is assisted by typical concordancers, such as Word Smith, Ant Conc etc. The vocabulary as an indication of the directions of the discourses is best studied using Fire Ant, by creating a corpus and studying it by applying corpus techniques.

Attitudes are best studied using Key Hole. Unlike traditional concordances, where the techniques for eliciting key words are discussed in the most technical details, the way of attributing positivity or negativity is less popular. However, it seems to have gained ground and become a rule-of-thumb for social media researchers.

Actual collections of tweets where the specific syntax and vocabulary can be studied is to be collected via Tweet Reach, and Pictorial postings – via Tweet bind.

Chasing the impact of tweets can be done using Tweet Reach, as well as tracing the role of various participants.

Another issue that emerged from this study is the fact that for studies conducted via the same twitter address, on the same day, the tweets collected reveal different opinions of the subject under investigation, different topics, feature different sets of participants. It can be concluded that each software product collects data within its own perimeter. The Twitter users explore topics of their own choice, but they are indicative of that population only.

The methodology used to elicit attitudes, or key-ness is very important. Despite the fact that software derives the data automatically, it is essential for the researcher to know how this is being done, what statistical and sifting operations are performed so that they can choose their search terms, target populations and methods of interpretation can be made more precise and transparent.

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THE ODD MAN OUT: *THE ECONOMIST'S* CONSTRUCTION OF BRITAIN'S IMAGE IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

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Abstract

This paper aims to identify the discourse strategies whereby *The Economist*, and its Charlemagne section (2002-2015) in particular, metaphorically constructs Great Britain's image as the odd man out in the European community. It draws upon the theoretical premises that span a wide range of studies, conceptual metaphor theory and the paradigm of social constructivism, among others. It finds that through the presumably conventionalized discursive strategies of headlines and subheadings, thematic scope and argumentation structure, Great Britain is conceptualized by the global leader in mass media acting as a non-state agent as the strange, individualistically-minded partner, invariably having a different opinion from the other community members. Furthermore the country is constructed as the awkward member of the EU family. Thus the cognitive-pragmatic approach to media discourse analysis provides insights into the construction of images and identities.

Key words: discourse, conceptual metaphor theory, social constructivism, media studies

It was back in 1963 that Charles De Gaulle vetoed British membership in the Common Market, and stated that England was an island: it could not truly be part of Europe, not because it was isolated but because it was too connected with the rest of the world, and would never agree to 'shut itself up' in Europe¹. Some 43 years later Brexit became a fact. The role of identity - related to Englishness and Britishness - in this complex and unprecedented event with serious repercussions worldwide is one of the reasons for this piece of research. No matter how commonplace it may sound, England has invariably been seen as an island, taking the position of EU's awkward partner, of the odd man out within the European community.

Another reason for this research is the role of the high-leading media as a major non-state actor in the context of the internationalization and globalization of politics. The borders between the different dimensions of public life are dismantled, and so are those between the internal and the external, between domestic and foreign policy. The

¹ Charles De Gaulle, *Memoirs d'espoir*, Paris, Plon, 1970, vol. 2, pp 203, 236, quote in R. Tombs

nation-state is losing relevance, while the scope of non-state relations has accordingly broadened. In the era of the information society and technology-driven economy, social communities and diverse non-state actors of a brand new type have emerged. Until the beginning of the new millennium, it was the state, the inter-state and supra-state structures and collective identities that dominated international relations. The new actors that are taking shape comprise virtual communities and netocracy. The digital forms of global communication, together with the traditional now digitalized media, comprise the major neo-identities - a key factor in shaping public opinion.

What is more, these changes determined the shift in the scientific paradigms within which the basic concepts in the humanitarian and social sciences, including political science and the theory of international relations, are considered and examined. John Ikenberry's theory of neoliberal hegemony rests on a major assumption: global issues are solved by the powerful democratic states, located in the core of the international system through sustainable international regimes, open markets and institutions.

In this broader social and political context, it is worth examining *The Economist* and its discursive construction of UK's image. *The Economist* is a leading global, high-quality media that is a crucial factor in shaping the public opinion (which is revealed by its high circulation and the profile of its readership). Given the contemporary trends of infotainment, *The Economist* has managed to preserve its character of a serious, quality-guarding edition, its materials based on checked facts and statistics. Furthermore the newspaper offers a pluralism of opinions and different viewpoints in the assessment of a specific event or issue..

The **objective** of the research is to identify the patterns and strategies in media discourse whereby the UK's image is metaphorically constructed, and the various linguistic signals that act as the building blocks of this cognitive construct. More specifically, the paper examines the correlation between the presumably conventionalized discursive strategies of *The Economist* - headlines and subheadings, thematic scope and argumentation structure - whereby the UK is conceptualized as a person and a member of the EU family, in the tradition of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). The **assumption** is that discursive strategies serve as the interface between cognitive-linguistic analysis and socio-political studies. The study of the discursive mechanisms of constructing images and identities fits into the paradigm of social

constructivism where non-state actors position state entities and unions into the system of international relations.

The research **methodology** is interdisciplinary and draws on the theoretical premises that span a number of areas of study, such as the cognitive-pragmatic analysis to media discourse, CMT and CDA, political science, sociology, among other fields of scientific inquiry.

The **object of investigation** is *The Economist's* narrative of the UK in the Charlemagne section since the latter was created in 2001.

The Economist is a tremendous post-war success story. Between 1963 and 2014, its circulation rose from less than 70,000 to more than half a million. The success has been achieved largely overseas: like so many British achievements, *The Economist* has greater recognition abroad than at home. Its British circulation is barely a fifth of the total, which is evidence to global leadership. It has established itself as an international newspaper. '*Few can look back, as its three great editors of modern times are able to, on such unbroken success in raising circulation without sacrificing quality.*'² The editorial philosophy of *The Economist* boils down to three key words: independence, objectivity and topicality. The newspaper's Board of Trustees has invariably been independent of commercial, political and proprietorial influences. Furthermore, it speaks in a collective voice and personality matters more than the identities of individual journalists. This ensures a continuity of tradition and consistency of view which few other publications can match. Furthermore, great care is taken to ensure its topicality so much of its editorial is rewritten up to the moment of going to press late on Thursday in Europe, Asia and the United States.

This choice of research object was also conditioned by the multimodal character of the genre, where visualization and imagery, among other things, are taken to be of paramount importance to holding a strong sway over a highly-educated readership worldwide. The complex interplay of headline, lead-in, and cartoons, the structure of arguments raises readers' awareness of the subtle mechanisms of persuasion of the global non-state actor, as well as the newspaper's identity.

²<http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/book-review-paper-profits-and-high-passions-the-pursuit-of-reason-the-economist-1843-1993-ruth-1509926.html>

As the aim of the present article is to study the conceptual metaphors employed by *The Economist* to construct the image of Britain and British politics, the paper will make a brief overview of the theoretical framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

Metaphors play a central role in the construction of social and political reality. This idea has been gaining ground among cognitive linguists ever since the publication of Lakoff and Johnson's groundbreaking book "Metaphors We Live By" (1980). Kövecses (2010) identifies the major source domains (SD) on the basis which abstract target domains (TD) are conceptualized. Among these are the human being, animals and plants, construction and buildings, illness and health, objects and natural forces, among others. He singles out the human body as 'an ideal SD, since, for us, it is clearly delineated and (we believe) we know it well' (Kövecses, 2010, p. 18). The "embodiment" of meaning is perhaps the central idea of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Gibbs, 2006).

George Lakoff, Andreas Musolff, Paul Chilton, are among the researchers that have identified conceptual metaphors in political discourse. A metaphor that dominates thought about foreign policy is THE STATE AS A PERSON (Chilton & Lakoff, 1995). As the authors justifiably argue 'As persons states enter into social relationships with other states, which are typically seen as either friends, enemies, neighbors, neutral parties, clients or even pariahs.' (Chilton & Lakoff, 1995, p. 39) Furthermore they see states 'as having personalities: they can be trustworthy or deceitful, aggressive or peace-loving, strong- or weak-willed, stable or paranoid, cooperative or intransigent, enterprising or not' (ibid., p. 39). Lakoff introduced THE NATION AS A FAMILY metaphor (Lakoff, 2002). Drawing on his theoretical premises, Musolff (2004) identified the CONFEDERATION AS A FAMILY metaphor, and its specific instantiation - the EU IS A FAMILY metaphor. In his comprehensive study of the metaphorical conceptualization of the EU, the researcher proposed the LOVE-MARRIAGE-FAMILY scenario in the British and German press. He argued that Germany and France are exclusively presented as the MARRIED COUPLE, while Britain - as an outside suitor. As Musolff claims, 'The British press is mainly interested in their own country's chances of *replacing one of the partners in the ailing Euro-couple* or bringing about a *ménage a trios* (Musolff, 2004, p. 22). Moreover, he provides examples of a Euro-critical, if not Eurosceptical attitude of British quality media to the LOVE-MARRIAGE-FAMILY scenario (ibid. p. 27). In one of them Britain's 1992 withdrawal from the European Exchange Rate Mechanism is described ironically as a *shotgun separation*; another one sees the *honeymoon period* of

the Labor government and the EU as having ended. In his comprehensive study of metaphors to see how their use reflects attitudinal differences towards European integration policies in the United Kingdom and Germany between 1989 and 2001, Musolff (2004) analyzes the debates among the Euro-sceptic media and politicians about a possible British withdrawal from the EU.

English identity and historical roots of Euroscepticism³

Historically it seems strange that Britain should want to leave the European Union. European history has recorded numerous attempts by Britain to counter both French and German domination of the continent. Britain's history throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, including its expansion into an overseas empire, was based on its rivalry with other European powers. Furthermore, as Robert Tombs points out, 'after the Battle of Hastings in 1066 and the Norman conquest, England had a direct link to the western part of the continent for over 400 years, longer than it has been joined with Scotland' (Tombs, 2015, p. 4). Later on in 1946, Winston Churchill called for a 'kind of United States of Europe. As *The Economist* argues, Churchill 'made clear that this would not include Britain: as he once told Charles de Gaulle, if forced to choose between the continent and the open sea, Britain would always go for the second'.⁴

The UK has had an ambivalent attitude towards its accession to the European community and the EU for a number of reasons. Among these is the fact that British experts and researchers have regarded the union as vague in nature because of the simmering tensions between breadth versus depth of integration, between national sovereignty and supranational powers. It was in the early 1970s that Edward Heath's government took a pro-European stance, later on followed by Margaret Thatcher. Their motives were basically economic in nature: unhindered access to the European markets as the destination of British exports, and the risk of additional burdens on them, given the Common duty tariffs. Further economic considerations were the possible increase of the competitiveness of the UK industry in the event of integration. In purely political terms, European integration has been generally seen as a lever for UK statesmen to restore the country's position as a global power lost after World War Two, after the

³ *The open sea, Why British opposition to the EU goes deep*;
<http://http://www.economist.com/node/21673510/print>

⁴ *ibid*

former British Empire faced demise in the wake of the Suez crisis. Yet the first problems with Europe appeared immediately after UK's accession during the first enlargement wave of 1973. They stemmed from the financing and spending of the common European budget. This problem was resolved during the European Council summit in 1984 in Fontainebleau. Problems persisted, and it was no accident that the country was described as the awkward partner, as it has invariably pursued its own agenda within the European community (Young, 1997). It has always taken a firm stand against the political aspects of European integration and the establishment of an efficient political union, which was regarded as a threat to Britain's sovereignty in decision making. Thatcher supported free initiative and trade, and opposed the deeper political integration conditioned by the Single European Act and the creation of the EU. There is no doubt Brexit is evidence to this policy. The UK has always been reluctant to give up part of its identity and independence on the international arena. Furthermore, the UK's special relations with the United States are based on the strong historical, language, cultural and business ties throughout the centuries. *The Economist* has always been a staunch adherent of these relations, as its history shows.

'Last but not least, UK's attitude to European integration, among the many other economic and political factors, is also contingent on UK's unique identity. Many historians believe England was the prototype of the nation-state. If a nation is a group of people with a sense of kinship, a political identity and representative institutions, then the English have a claim to be the oldest nation in the world. They first came into existence as an idea, before they had a common ruler and before the country they lived in even had a name. They have lasted as a recognizable entity ever since, and their defining national institutions can be traced back to the earliest years of their history.' (Tombs, 2015)

The questions raised by a contemporary historian sound increasingly topical today in the wake of Brexit: why the British people 'have managed to retain a sense of identity (both outside and inside the United Kingdom)' and how Britain 'has retained so many unusual and yet changing institutions, while yet being deeply engaged in the world's epoch-making economic, cultural and political transformations' (Tombs, 2015, p. 874) Tombs identifies the factors that shaped the English (and British) identity: the country's geographical location, the specific domestic and foreign policy .

Geography shaped the English identity, given that the sea is the greatest highway facilitating connections with the world. Britain is not unique in this respect, considering the history of ancient Rome, or of Portugal, Spain and France in modern times. What characterized the British Empire was the combination of a global maritime power, the commercial and technological dynamism of the Industrial Revolution, and the mass migration it encouraged. The idea of Pax Britannica⁵ (1815-1914), when Britain was the global hegemonic power, and Europe enjoyed relative peace exposes Britain's special place in history. Furthermore, Britain played a historic role in defeating a major danger during the two world wars - the alliance of German, Japanese, and Italian fascists, threatening to create a new deadly form of imperialism. Yet Britain has historically been a powerful political and cultural entity without being an autonomous or self-contained nation (except for the Tudor dynasty). To quote Tombs again, England comprises 'a rare political phenomenon: a nation without a state':

'Until recently it shared this ambivalence with Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, but since devolution England has attained a special place in Europe: as the largest nation without its own political institutions. It therefore resembles in some ways a much bigger Flanders, Catalonia or Castile, though hitherto without nationalist resentment, due to the willingness of the English to identify themselves simultaneously as British, espousing the multinational political creation of which they were the dominant political and cultural element. ... Though long passive about their rights within a devolving if not a dissolving United Kingdom, the English are uniquely sensitive to the encroachments of the European Union. Euroscepticism is certainly one characteristic facet of the English consciousness today, even if comparable feelings are now present across Europe' (Tombs, 2015, p. 877).

The historian further argues that the persistence and growth of English Euroscepticism are usually attributed to 'a different experience of the Second World War and to nostalgia for the empire, the Commonwealth, and the special relationship with America' (ibid, p. 875). Hence Tombs singles out the characteristics of the English identity: the strength and resilience of English government, the deep patterns of division, and yet also the persistent capacity to come together in the face of danger.

⁵ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Pax-Britannica>

Corpus

As mentioned earlier, the examined texts encompass the commentaries on Britain's EU membership, published in the Charlemagne section of *The Economist* in the period 2001-2015.

The headlines (see table 1) reveal what kind of person Britain is conceptualized as within the EU context. **E3** and **E9** uses *Perfidious Albion*, a translation of the French rhetorical phrase *la perfide Albion* allegedly in use since the 16th century and popularized by Napoleon I to refer to the supposedly treacherous policies of Britain when dealing with foreign powers.⁶ **E5** highlights Britain as experiencing negative emotions such as disdain. The headline in **E7** is ambiguous in meaning. It ironically names the British *exceptional*, evoking Britain's image as a country that is an exception in the European community. **E10** headlines the Brits as *obstructive*. The headlined pun in **E14** alludes to my dave mate⁷ and sets the stage for a debate on UK's isolation from the EU.

Based on the history of British euroscepticism and the above instantiations of the STATE AS A PERSON metaphor in headlines, the assumption can be made that Britain is conceptualized as the awkward member of the EU family. Regardless of the specific event that prompted the publication of the commentaries, expectations are that Britain's image as an EU member state is constructed through linguistic realizations of the metaphors for collision, war and natural disasters, of a live organism suffering illnesses. This assumption was confirmed in the analyzed texts.

The headline of article **E4⁸**, which examines Britain's isolation from the EU, conceptualizes British policy as a fever, employing the ILLNESS metaphor. Britain's euroscepticism is considered with regard to the budget rebate issue, recounting the debate in a historical perspective⁹. Britain now calls for preserving the rebate 'until the common agricultural policy is further reformed and cut', which was dismissed by the rest of the EU member states. The latter require that Britain 'should give up most or all

⁶ <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/albion>

⁷ the imaginary person who's always with you should you feel the need to use him

⁸ <http://www.economist.com/node/5246560>

⁹The article explains that '80% of EU spending goes to farmers or poor regions - and Britain has comparatively few of either. To offset the resulting unfairness, Britain gets a rebate, negotiated acrimoniously (with 11 against one) by Margaret Thatcher in 1984, that refunds some two-thirds of the difference between its contribution and its receipts.'

of the rebate, so as to ensure that it pays its fair share towards the cost of enlargement'¹⁰.

Britain-EU relations are conceptualized through WAR metaphors. For instance, Tony Blair 'seems to have become more hostile to the budget - either because he is accused in Britain of sacrificing the Thatcher money or, as France's Jacques Chirac suggested this week, because his chancellor, Gordon Brown, has insisted on a tougher line'. Britain's clash with the EU over its proposed trade off, namely trimming the UK's rebate at the expense of reducing regional subsidies to the new members, has been constructed again as a fight:

'Yet first reactions from the new members have been uniformly hostile. Nor is it clear that the older members, notably France, want to avoid a row with Britain. They might prefer to see British energies in the EU during 2006 used up in an enervating budget fight reminiscent of the 1980s.'

The article relates that Blair has taken a different stance other than Margaret Thatcher, 'the handbag-toting lady who revelled in her summit clashes' or John Major, 'who, under pressure from Eurosceptics, accepted isolation'. Blair is quoted in his speech to the European Parliament as saying he believes in Europe as a political project. The commentary ends up by warning of the cost of isolation, again resorting to clash-related metaphors:

'If the budget **wrangle** ends up leaving Britain more isolated, its alliance with the new members is sure to. Without a budget deal, Britain might have to forgo some of the things that it wants out of the EU. More subtly, Britain risks missing an opportunity to **entrench** its general policy influence across the EU. After the rejection of the constitution in France and the Netherlands, Anglo-Saxon liberalism is being taken more seriously throughout the continent, and French dirigisme less'.

As mentioned earlier, **E9** and **E10** headline the British as both perfidious and different from the other European nations. **E9¹¹** starts the argumentation by outlining the economic reasons that explain why 'the British are unfit to join the common

¹⁰ The article explains that 'under the rebate, Britain gets back two-thirds of its contributions to enlargement: indeed, the new EU members, all much poorer than Britain, contribute towards the "British cheque". Britain also suffers less than others from competition for regional subsidies, as it gets so few. Thus Britain does relatively well from enlargement. If nothing is done about the rebate, Britain will go from being one of the largest to one of the smallest of the ten or so net contributors to the budget - an outcome that Britain, but nobody else, looks upon with equanimity'.

¹¹ <http://www.economist.com/node/16163218>

market'. It quotes Charles de Gaulle's description of Britain 'insular, maritime, and linked by her exchanges, her markets and her supply routes to the most diverse and often the farthest-flung nations.' The commentary further argues that 'Britain trades, it does not farm, the French president grumbled. Let them in, and the club will become a vast "Atlantic community", ripe for American domination. In short, Non.' It also presents historians' view of the English identity, drawing the following conclusion:

'Britain is one of the few countries whose voters assume domestic administration is superior to the EU's: the English as unusually individualist and market-minded since medieval times, working for wages and trading property. England has had a central system of common law for centuries. It industrialised early. It has not been occupied in a long while'.

The popular press is described as '**raucous**': it presents the EU as 'a **nefarious plot** to do the country down.' Britons are portrayed as 'detached', so 'diehard advocates of EU integration dream of **shunting** Britain into an outer core.' The last example is an illustration of the CENTER-PERIPHERY image schema, where the periphery has negative connotations (Kövecses, 2010).

The article draws a conclusion that Brexit ironically proved to be wrong:

'Britain is needed to defend the free movement of people, goods, services and capital in the internal market. Walking away from the EU would not make either the club or its rules go away. In short, Britain and Europe are stuck with each other'.

Article **E10**¹², which highlights British otherness by headlining the British as 'obstructive', studies the ongoing argument between Britain and the EU. The latter is conceptualized through the WAR metaphor in the subheading: 'a more integrated Europe is heading for a **showdown** with Britain'. It yet again recalls that 'initially excluded from the club by Charles de Gaulle, Britain has been equivocal about European integration ever since it joined in 1973.' The commentary goes on to prove that Britain has been different ever since:

'It got its budget rebate, stayed out of the Schengen free-travel area, opted out of the euro, stayed half-out of co-operation on judicial and police affairs and is blocking attempts to create stronger common defence and foreign policies.'

¹² <http://www.economist.com/node/21541416>

WAR and CONFLICT metaphors prevail in **E11**¹³, addressing Prime Minister Cameron's call for 'the euro area to follow the logic of integration and save the single currency - as long as Britain is not involved'. This statement echoes Winston Churchill's 1946 speech in Zurich, envisioning a United States of Europe. Yet *The Economist* draws a clear line of distinction between the two prominent statesmen: 'But whereas Churchill is sometimes claimed as a forefather of the European project, the interventions of David Cameron only seem to **rankle**'. The commentary provides arguments in support of its stance, a passage again abounding in WAR metaphors:

'In part, Mr Cameron comes across as annoyingly **triumphalist** even though Britain's economy has worse debt and deficit figures than, for instance, France. Most exasperating is the prospect that Mr Cameron could **seek to hold others hostage**, blocking moves to integrate the euro zone unless, say, they agree to loosen Britain's ties with the European Union'.

The article recalls Cameron's veto of EU's fiscal compact, which was intended to tighten budget rules, saying this may have been a foretaste of **rows** to come:

'Though Britain would not have been bound by the pact, Mr Cameron demanded 'treaty change for treaty change'. Specifically, he wanted a protocol to blunt the impact of EU financial regulation. In the end, Mr Cameron neither blocked the compact nor got his safeguards for the City of London'.

Prime Minister Cameron agreed to the creation of a single bank supervisor for the euro area, based on the European Central Bank, whereby 'rescue funds could be used directly to recapitalise ailing banks' generally seen as a move towards greater risk-sharing. Nevertheless the article ends with unanswered questions, claiming UK's position is part of a broader issue at stake: 'how to distinguish between preserving financial stability (a matter for the 17 euro-area states) and preserving the single market in financial services (a question for all 27 EU MS).'

E6¹⁴ examines the eurosceptic - federalist divide with regard to Britain's position in the union in the wake of the Lisbon Treaty's ratification. In Brussels, 'insults are

¹³ <http://www.economist.com/node/21559387>

¹⁴ <http://www.economist.com/node/10565795>

flying, as all sides accuse each other of lying about the treaty, its implications and their motives for supporting it, opposing it or calling for a referendum. Yet both sides have agreed on a single issue: voices are calling for Britain to move to the **margins** of the EU'.¹⁵ Again the CENTRE-PERIPHERY image schema is instantiated, where the PERIPHERY has negative connotations.

Yet *The Economist* takes a firm stance, saying that 'it is **unhealthy nonsense** to think that anybody would gain from a **semi-detached** Britain'. Discussing the possible motives behind the British government's breaking its promise on holding a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty, the paper outlines the views of both sides. The Brussels establishment finds the British debate as '**poisoned** by nationalism, **fomented** by scare stories in the British press', and assumes 'the cowardice of the British government when it comes to making the case for Europe'. What is more, 'British Eurosceptics are assumed to want a referendum only because it would be lost, condemning the EU to more years of institutional **wrangling**'. Europhiles in turn believe there is a different reason for British government's **contortions**: '

'They blame Tony Blair for offering a referendum on the constitution in the first place. In other capitals, there is special **rancour** that the British secured hefty opt-outs from the constitution and came back for more in the Lisbon treaty - and still **grumble** about the results'.

As the language shows, ILLNESS and CONFLICT metaphors prevail. Furthermore, *The Economist* argues that 'the idea is gaining currency that Britain may be an **intolerable obstacle** to European unity'. It quotes former French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing¹⁶ as having declared 'that any country that fails to ratify the Lisbon treaty should seek a special status within the EU, or leave. Only Britain faces that possibility, he added, to avoid any possible doubts'. The article winds up the discussion with a clearly suggested pro-British position, arguing that 'Britain is an ancient maritime, mercantile power where the salt tang of the ocean is in the blood, with a yearning to roam the world unfettered by continental sloth and red tape'.

¹⁵ It further argues that 'Eurosceptics dream of aping Switzerland and Norway, which enjoy access to the single EU market through the European Free Trade Association and bilateral pacts, but keep control over foreign policy, farms and other touchstones of sovereignty. Eurograndees dream that, if Britain would only shift aside rather than acting as a constant brake on integration, federal union might come sooner'.

¹⁶ head of the convention that drafted the constitution

The aforementioned *E7*¹⁷, headlined *Those exceptional British*, is another attempt to probe into UK's problems with Europe through the actions of British Prime Minister Gordon Brown. The commentary starts by pointing out the different attitude to the British prime minister in US congress and the European Parliament. The former held on 9 March 2009¹⁸ at a joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives, is generally seen as one of the most important speeches a British prime minister has ever delivered. 'It won 19 standing ovations', whereas Brown's speech held shortly at the end of March at the European Parliament 'was greeted with tepid applause from a half-empty chamber - and one partial ovation. On he ploughed, declaring that Europe was "uniquely placed" to shape new rules for globalisation. We have learnt, he said, that wealth must serve more than the wealthy'.

However, *The Economist* says 'many smell a rat' when a British prime minister 'calls for transatlantic co-operation and matches every mention of European leadership with the need for "global" results'. Senior European officials fear Brown would support the Americans during the G-20 summit. The real mood at the EU summit was of '**phoney war**', before a potential **fight** at the G20' and the word "global" causes **queasiness**'.

Again WAR AND ILLNESS metaphors prevail in the quoted excerpt.

E7 further examines another topical issue that exposes Britain as an awkward EU member: the departure of British Conservatives from the European People's Party¹⁹. *The Economist* gives a balanced view of the opinions of both the supporters and opponents of this split. The former believe the EPP has federalist views, whereas opponents view it as a high-risk move, considering that 'the EPP is home to almost all mainstream centre-right parties in Europe. More importantly some fear the Tories will end up allied with oddballs, and neo-fascists from Eastern Europe'²⁰. The final passage reaffirms British isolation, leaving open-ended many of the raised questions.

¹⁷ <http://www.economist.com/node/13362051>

¹⁸ In this speech he urged the US to help Europe, paying homage to the special relationship and the importance of America during the current crisis; accessed at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/mar/04/gordon-brown-speech-to-congress>

¹⁹ The article further argues that 'the Tories, fulfilling a pledge by David Cameron when he ran for the leadership, promise to create a new group after the European elections in June, uniting mainstream parties of the right that oppose ever closer union'.

²⁰ It goes on to claim that 'the full list of allies is secret. One, the Czech Civic Democrats, has just lost power at home; and its founder, Vaclav Klaus, is noisily sceptical about climate change, a cause dear to Mr Cameron. Detective work uncovers more presentationally tricky cases. The international secretary of the Latvian Fatherland and Freedom Party, Janis Tomelis, recently met William Hague, the Tory shadow

Another two commentaries constructing Britain's image as the odd man in the EU are **E2** and **E3**. This time Britain's position is studied in the context of its relations with France. **E2**²¹ addresses the regular rows that break out between Jacques Chirac and Tony Blair at EU summits, and compares the two prominent figures with Punch and Judy, the outrageous comedy series dominated by the clowning of Mr. Punch and his wife and further goes on to claim that 'any **truce** is strictly temporary. It is never all that long before they are back hitting each other over the head with rolling-pins'. The commentary explains the reasons for this: Blair's Atlanticist, economically liberal vision of European integration, strongly favouring EU enlargement. Mr Chirac in turn aspires at building the EU as 'a counterweight to America', deeply suspicious of Brussels's liberalising tendencies. Against this backdrop the article develops the theory of a shift in the balance of power in the EU where the Franco-German duo can no longer dominate. This change in dominance surfaced in the attitude to the US-led war in Iraq. The major factor conditioning this shift is EU enlargement policy, which 'has weakened Mr Chirac's European strategy', while boosting Mr Blair's, given that the countries of the 2004 enlargement wave generally share Mr Blair's pro-American, economically liberal views. Hence the power balance has shifted markedly, which became evident in their attitude to the war in Iraq. It is no wonder then that WAR metaphors abound, as became evident in the quoted first paragraph. Furthermore, speaking to the House of Commons, Mr. Blair 'painted the French as general as **reactionaries**'. Also, 'there is a structural **conflict** built into the Chirac-Blair relationship' and the two 'are engaged in a **struggle** over which should prevail.'

E3²² is devoted to the referendum on the European constitution in France. As the headline and subheading suggest, Britain is the perfidious Albion, who 'emerged victorious from the votes on the EU constitution'. War metaphors are abundant in the highly figurative language of the introductory paragraph, explaining why France's rejection of the EU constitution is a triumph for Britain. Britain's main goals in Europe have traditionally pertained to 'blunting the drive towards European political union,

foreign secretary, to discuss an alliance. As it happens, the party's leader in Strasbourg, Roberts Zile, is a mild-mannered economist. But his party includes hardline nationalists who attend ceremonies to commemorate a Latvian unit of Waffen SS troops. Latvian nationalists insist that these were patriots fighting the Soviets, not Nazi war criminals. Good luck explaining that distinction in a British election campaign'.

²¹ <http://www.economist.com/node/3809774/print>

²² <http://www.economist.com/node/4033035>

and preventing Franco-German domination of European politics. With the death of the constitution both goals have been achieved at once'. The EU is described as a political union which is dead with 'French fingerprints all over **the murder weapon**.' While the British are 'taking quiet satisfaction in all the **odium** now being heaped on France.' As one senior French commentator puts it, 'We always go into European summits determined to **fight to death** for something.'²³

E1²⁴ predicts Britain's possible exit from the EU way back in 2004:

'Those worried about a threat to Britain's EU membership emanating from Paris or Brussels may be looking in the wrong direction. If Britain ended up leaving the European Union, the decisive move would probably come from the United Kingdom itself.'

The ILLNESS metaphor is made explicit in '**reviving** Britain was being **hobbled** by regulation from Brussels - would lead the charge for the exit'.

E5²⁵ discusses a domestic policy issue that unveils British attitudes to the EU. It explains why Whitehall, metonymically standing for the British government, should discourage British officials from doing public service in EU institutions. The introductory paragraph compares EU-UK relations with the internal emigration in Soviet times, which involved 'a retreat to a country dacha or secluded library, there to write or grow vegetables and be isolated from the world beyond. The British are not about to walk out, they are in danger of mentally turning their backs on the EU'. Thus Britain is personified with the help of the body-part term that is used to conceptualize abandoning something. The article exposes the specificity of British euroscepticism.²⁶

Here Britain is conceptualized as one of the three big players in the poker game of the EU's daily life, which is an instantiation of POLITICS IS SPORT metaphor.

'This is thanks not only to its wealth and population, but also to what others call, only half-jokingly, its Rolls-Royce bureaucracy. The contrast is often drawn with Italy,

²³ The argumentation draws on the statement made by French Foreign Minister Michel Barnier to the effect that 'this is the first time in 50 years that the French and Germans have diverged in Europe on a fundamental issue. Without this constitution, Europe is broken down politically.' His counterpart British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw in turn "claimed to be saddened by the French vote, you could almost hear his officials popping champagne corks behind him'.

²⁴ <http://www.economist.com/node/2647338/print>

²⁵ <http://www.economist.com/node/10063849>

²⁶ The article says 'French leftists want more protectionism; most Austrians hate the thought of admitting Turkey; lots of east Europeans feel the club's environmental rules are overblown. But the British case is different: sections of the government, media and public seem to want to forget that the EU exists'.

roughly as big and as rich, but with chaotic politics and poor networking skills that cast it as a Brussels loser'.

The article ends on a negative note, and Britain is conceptualized through the STATE AS A PERSON metaphor: 'The British can be awkward, selfish and devious players of the EU game. But plenty of people would miss them if they wandered off and forgot that Europe exists'.

*E12*²⁷ examines Cameron's landmark Bloomberg speech of January 2013, 'calling for a deep reform of EU institutions, a renewed focus on delivering prosperity across the continent and promising a referendum on the UK's EU membership'.²⁸

The introductory paragraph sets the stage to present Cameron's calls for a more *competitive* Europe in the interests of 'the entrepreneur in the Netherlands, the worker in Germany, the family in Britain.' The introduction alludes to the German Hanse²⁹, the league founded by north German towns and merchant communities abroad to protect their mutual trading interests, which dominated commercial activity in northern Europe from the 13th to the 15th century, and maintained contacts by trade within 'the walled city-within-a-city once stood on the site now occupied by London's Cannon Street station, connecting London with a chain of other Hansa trading posts strung along the shores of the North and Baltic seas'. It goes on to say:

'Today, cultural similarities betray the old links and the mercantile spirit lives on, too: Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, the Nordics and the Baltics share a taste for balanced books and free trade, where many spot prominent Eurosceptic parties such as the True Finns, Alternative for Germany and the UK Independence Party, channel voters' anger at being yoked to Europe's languid, unreformed south'.

Cameron's task is to persuade Eurosceptic voters that the euro zone's integration 'will not **sideline** Britain.' The prime minister finds 'a division of Europe into pro-British, free-trading northerners and statist southern farmers more convenient than one of euro ins and outs.'

²⁷ <http://www.economist.com/node/21590934>

²⁸ <http://www.euractiv.com/section/uk-europe/news/two-years-after-cameron-s-eu-speech-is-britain-closer-to-leaving>

²⁹ the medieval German word for guild, or "association," derived from a Gothic word for troop, or company; <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Hanseatic-League>

The Economist goes on to outline the different traditions and priorities of the northern states³⁰, suggesting that the UK can nevertheless take on the leading role in this newly established informal leagues. These passages are yet again dominated by CONFLICT/WAR metaphors:

'Yet the new **alliance** has its uses nonetheless. Though bound together economically, the euro-zone states are not yet a cohesive **bloc**. When they are at odds, Britain can take the initiative - as it has done on several recent occasions. Last year it initiated a northern **campaign** to give non-euro-zone states a say in the running of the EU banking union. As a result, votes in the European Banking Authority will require a double-majority of euro-zone and non-euro-zone states. Negotiations over the EU budget in February produced another such **victory**. Britain and Germany thwarted spendthrift French plans by **forging** a cost-trimming **coalition**, with the Swedes and the Dutch outriding by demanding an even deeper cut'.

The article ends on an enthusiastic note, claiming that 'it is a good thing that the northern partnership will never be as formal as Westminster's politicians would like', but would rather constitute 'a loose, flexible alliance, it can avoid pomp and power play, and concentrate instead on the pragmatic business of making Europe richer'.

E8³¹ was occasioned by the EU's controversial hedge-fund directive of 2010. The commentary critically examines Prime Minister Brown's action to this effect. The opening lines attribute to the British prime minister "Macavity quality"³²

'Like TS Eliot's poetical cat, he said, Britain's prime minister has a knack of vanishing when there is "dirty work to be done". Now Mr Brown looks as though he

³⁰ The article further says that 'Unlike Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, Estonia and Finland use the euro, so are inextricably bound to Europe's troubled south. Latvia will join on January 1st 2014 and Poland hopes to follow. And although the states around the North and Baltic seas share fiscally conservative instincts, the likes of Poland and Lithuania receive too many transfers to want to cut the EU's budget. On foreign policy, Britain is much closer to nuclear-armed France than to its non-interventionist German and Nordic partners. On freedom of movement, too, Britain's allies are divided'.

³¹ <http://www.economist.com/node/15720527>

³² making reference to a fictional character described in a poem in T. S. Eliot's *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats*, also called the Mystery Cat, the Hidden Paw and Napoleon of Crime, a master criminal, but in the poem he is too clever to leave any evidence of his guilt

may have pulled a Macavity again, by condemning the next British government to a nasty **clash** over European Union regulation of hedge funds and private equity.'

As it is written just before the 2010 general elections in the UK, a warning follows about the possible problems Britain may run into, which are constructed through WAR metaphors:

'Mr Brown's **tactics** may look more like a headache for Britain, however, if the Conservatives come to power in May. David Cameron's party has been sending reassuring signals across the English Channel that a Tory government would seek to avoid **bust-ups** with Europe, though Mr Cameron makes no secret of his scepticism about EU integration'.

Hence national governments are seeking an agreement before the document goes to the European Parliament for concerns over the possibility that 'the matter will drop right in the laps of a brand-new Conservative government, which will **come under pressure** from the press, the party and the City to stand and **fight**'.

*E13*³³ again addresses Britain's different opinion regarding EU matters, this time the nomination of Jean-Claude Juncker as the next president of the European Commission. The article starts by saying 'Britain and Europe are like a couple in a difficult marriage. One day they have a blazing row; the next they want to kiss and make up,' this time employing the FAMILY metaphor. As the subheading explicates, many EU member states are trying to 'avoid the divorce between Britain and the European Union.' As the article puts it, 'Germany promised to help keep the family together. Sweden would 'go the extra mile' to satisfy Britain's desire to renegotiate its relationship with the EU'. Yet Britain's image is yet again constructed as the odd man out: 'Britain long ago stepped out of line with the rest of the EU. It is neither in the euro nor in the Schengen free-travel zone. Its desire for an even looser union may be postponed but cannot be avoided. Every row rends the relationship further, and there are bound to be more.'

*E14*³⁴ discusses Britain's disagreement with the EU budget. The latter is described in terms of ILLNESS metaphors: 'a monstrous **carbuncle** apparently designed **to sap the life force** of anyone who comes near it.' The latest developments in the EU-

³³ <http://www.economist.com/node/21606282>

³⁴ <http://www.economist.com/node/21632480>

UK clash over the budget are summed up and WAR metaphors again abound, 'as Britain's overall bill was the biggest', while 'Cameron's reaction - the stormiest.'

'At a press conference in Brussels he hammered the lectern and vowed not to pay on time. British chancellor George Osborne in turn won agreement from fellow finance ministers to change the rules on late payments: Britain will not have to settle their bills until September 2015, with no interest due, an agreement described as a classic **victory** for **hard-nosed** British diplomacy'.

Furthermore, 'sympathy for Mr Cameron is running out as many EU leaders face populist **insurgencies** similar to that of UKIP. The *Economist* takes a stand in support of Cameron's excellent adventure, as Britain remains influential in foreign policy, trade and the single market'. What is more, the new European Commission has an Anglo-Saxon tint, given the latest appointments³⁵.

Yet the commentary ends with the possible risk of Britain's further isolation from the EU should Cameron push forward revising the EU treaty provisions on immigration and free movement:

'Should Mr Cameron be re-elected, he will find friends who would like to help him in his quest, so long as he does not touch any sacred cows. And there lies the **rub**. Mr Cameron is due to give a speech soon outlining his demands on immigration. Britain's finest legal minds will be working overtime to find a solution that satisfies his promises to **crack down on** EU migration without forcing a reopening of the treaty commitment to free movement. But for such sophistry to have a chance, the prime minister will need to draw upon reservoirs of goodwill from among his fellow leaders. And they are running dry'.

Charlemagne's narrative on the UK as the odd man out in the EU ends in 2015 with **E15**³⁶. The introductory paragraph is in perfect line with the cartoon, though it is not Cameron but the EU that is described as 'punch-drunk and gasping for breath' amid the numerous crisis: related to refugees, terrorism, Syria and Russia, or Greece and Britain's threat to quit the European Union, attributing these to

³⁵ The article explains 'Frans Timmermans, a plummy-voiced Dutchman with a mandate to slash red tape. The British commissioner, Jonathan Hill, has been given the financial-services post. And many powerful figures, including Mrs Merkel, want to keep Britain in the club (even if French accented whispers urging its departure are growing louder)'.

³⁶ <http://www.economist.com/node/21679839>

different endogenous and exogenous factors³⁷. This passage ends by summing up the overall mood of anxiety related to Britain's possible preferential treatment in the EU:

'Why should semi-detached Britain seek yet more special treatment? Europeans are exasperated. Foreign friends, from Hong Kong to America, are baffled. All are worried'.

Addressing Cameron's conditions for staying in the club, the articles resorts to metaphors related to damage and wreck:

'Even the French were starting to believe that Britain was seeking not to wreck the project, but to secure its place within it. But soon after Mr Cameron detailed his proposals in a letter to Donald Tusk the wheels came off'.

Mr Cameron's calls for treaty reforms and particularly migration-related provisions are likened to 'trafficking in trivia' and 'picking up a fight that may prove unwinnable'. What is more, such attempts evoke fears of a repeat of previous diplomatic misadventures, such as his veto of the EU fiscal treaty in 2011, or his attempt to block Jean Claude Juncker's appointment as president of the European Commission in 2014. These attempts have reportedly 'left Britain looking exposed and inept, and made Europeans consider the prime minister's recent antics as of a piece with an approach to negotiation they have never understood'. *The Economist* further suggests that Cameron may emerge 'bloody but unbowed, wielding a concession on benefits [for immigrants] that he can sell at home, but for now he looks boxed in'.

The concluding paragraphs bear the headline ***Clausewitz this is not***³⁸, which is a direct reference to war, preparing the readership for an analysis of the possible risks that UK's conduct carries for the EU. The British are described as 'troublesome' and 'irascible' people that should be prevented from 'weakening the union's foundations yet further'. *The Economist* says another two countries, admittedly Britain's friends, Denmark and the Netherlands 'fear

³⁷ The article claims the migration crisis 'was a product of epic forces outside Europe's borders; the Greek row stemmed from a mismatch between democracy and the rules of euro membership. But Britain's "renegotiation" of its EU membership and the following referendum is described as a self-inflicted wound'.

³⁸ Prussian general and military theorist [1780-1831] who stressed the moral and political aspects of war

that obliging Mr Cameron would boost their own Eurosceptics and France and Germany are terrified of emboldening Marine Le Pen':

Somewhere in a parallel universe exists an alternative renegotiation that Britain would be well placed **to lead**, focused on the EU's persistent economic torpor and its weak, fragmented foreign policy. Instead, the EU must **grapple** with Mr Cameron's parochial concerns while confronting some of the toughest challenges it has ever faced. Vexing this may be; heavyweight it is not.

Conclusions

The cognitive-pragmatic approach to *The Economist's* narrative on Great Britain in the EU shows that the UK's image is metaphorically constructed as:

- The strange, individualistically-minded **person**: Always having a different opinion from the other people, 'perfidious' and 'obstructive.' Moreover, the British are conceptualized as people in danger of 'mentally turning their backs on the EU.' The British are also conceptualized as 'awkward, selfish and devious players of the EU game.'
- The awkward member of the European **family**: Acting in its own manner of behavior, different from the other members of the EU family. The other members think that Britain should be shunted into the 'outer core' or 'move to the margin' of the EU. Moreover, Britain is conceptualized as an 'intolerable obstacle' to European unity. WAR metaphors are frequently employed to conceptualize Britain's relations with the other EU member states. 'Britain and Europe are like a couple in a difficult marriage.'

Furthermore, this paper verified that assumption that *The Economist* resorts to a set of communication strategies of which the discourse ones are an integral part. The mass media perform two largely clashing functions (infotainment): providing information and relevance optimization achieved through expressiveness. They are in turn subdivided into: standardization and expressiveness strategies.

First, the institutionally-specific standardized discursive strategies:

On the one hand, these encompass section and layout, cartoons and thematic scope, argumentative structure, as well as the so called language demagoguery³⁹.

³⁹ concealing one's position behind statistics and drawing on anonymous sources, see Димитрова, С. Лингвистична прагматика, 2009, Издателство Велес, стр. 201

On the other they include strategies typical of *The Economist* such as the interplay of headlines and subheadings, the former being highly metaphorical and expressive while the latter serving the function to summarize the message.

Second, expressiveness is achieved through diverse linguistic structures, which are difficult to classify and cannot be categorized as in independent strategy. Their characteristic feature is hybridity, where various registers are combined: academic and scientific register with professional jargon, or terminology with colloquialisms and conversational forms characteristic of spoken language. Furthermore there is abundance of various stylistic figures and devices such as irony, anecdotes and anecdote expressions, proverbs and sayings, allusions to cultural phenomena.

As D. Milizia points out, 'It cannot be denied that Britain is normally seen as an awkward partner in EU affairs (George 1994), and in many ways the British have always been half-in: in the two-speed Europe slogan, Britain is seen as a slow traveller (Musolff 2004), as a member that makes slow progress, it if is at all on the European path.' (Milizia, 2014, p. 158)

Forty years after joining the Union the British are still reluctant Europeans who still consider Europe 'abroad', thus slowing the 'ever-closer union' envisaged in the Treaty of Rome, and who still have been calling for referendums, even more so after the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty (Milizia, 2014, 157).

Furthermore Milizia has established that all the covers of the *Economist* representing Europe and the European Union, of all the images chosen to represent Europe, none seemed to suggest a wish to stay in the Union, but rather to leave. 'In particular, an article published in mid-2012 titled *A Brexit looms* seemed to suggest that the exit of the UK from the Union was looming large. The term *Brexit* was thus coined for the concept of the United Kingdom ceasing to be a member of the European Union, a portmanteau word formed from *Britain* and *exit*, after *Grex* (Greek exit).' (ibid., p. 157).

The analyzed articles confirm the conclusions Milizia has come up with. Moreover, the analysis of the lexical items used shows that negatively marked conceptual metaphors are employed, such as WAR, ILLNESS, CENTER-PERIPHERY. In terms of the STATE AS A PERSON metaphor, Britain is presented as perfidious, obstructive, different.

	Headline
E1	Make my day Why threats to chuck Britain out of the European Union ring hollow, 6 May 2004
E2	Europe's battling twosome The usual Jacques 'n' Tony punch-up in Brussels, 31 March 2005
E3	The triumph of perfidious Albion How Britain unexpectedly emerged victorious from votes on the EU constitution, 2 June 2005
E4	Isolation fever How Tony Blair may, yet again, follow in Margaret Thatcher's footsteps, 1 Dec 2005
E5	Britain's costly disdain A salutary tale of lost interest and influence in Europe's corridors of power, 1 Nov 2007
E6	The in and out club The dangerous appeal of a semi-detached status for Britain, 24 Jan 2008
E7	Those exceptional British Even Gordon Brown's trip to Strasbourg cannot disguise Britain's structural problem with Europe, 26 March 2009
E8	There's no one like Gordon Brown Has the British prime minister handed his possible successor an almighty headache?, 18 March 2010
E9	Perfidious Albion again The British are different, really. But they are stuck with Europe - and it with them, 20 May 2010
E10	Those obstructive Brits A more integrated Europe is heading for a showdown with Britain, 10 Dec 2011
E11	Disunited states of Europe As the euro zone struggles to pull together, Britain is trying to pull away, 21 July 2012
E12	The new Hanseatic League Britain excavates an old alliance in Europe's liberal, free-trading north, 30 Nov 2013
E13	Loosening the union The struggle to avoid divorce between Britain and the European Union, 5 July 2014
E14	Dave-no-mates Britain is running out of friends in Europe just when it needs them most, 15 Nov 2014
E15	Battling with Britain The EU faces many crises. One of them is unlike all the rest on May 7th could decide Britain's place in Europe, 12 Dec 2015

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LINGUISTIC SOLUTIONS: TRAMPLED ALBANIAN LANGUAGE IN MACEDONIA

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Abstract

The paper seeks to investigate and analyze the status of the Albanian language in Macedonia and also to give international readers a sense of understanding about two ethnic communities. Albanians and Macedonians for centuries have lived side by side but have not been able to solve a linguistic contest on their own and without international mediation. In 2001 the Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA) brokered by the international community a Peace Agreement whereby the Albanians gained some language rights but unfortunately that is in a stalemate position after fifteen years, unimplemented.

In post-conflict Macedonia, two ethnic groups continue to live in the same state trapped by hate. The majority of Slavic Macedonians refuse to grant ethnic Albanians the rights that belong to them including the right to language use in all spheres of life guaranteed by international conventions and not fully by the Macedonian Constitution. Macedonians, paradoxically continue to refuse to grant ethnic Albanians the right to use the Albanian language statewide and without discrimination. In the current constitution, some loopholes make the Albanian language hard to apply in many areas. Macedonian hardliners and nationalists are scared to grant ethnic Albanians an unalienated right that belongs to them because Macedonia is going to get federalized in their views.

Because OFA is a critical point, the best way to a lasting peace in the Balkans is a reconsideration of Ohrid Framework Agreement and a change of the Macedonian Constitution where the Albanian language is going to enjoy the same rights as Macedonian, statewide.

Key words: *Albania, linguistics, language, Macedonia, constitution*

Right after the proclamation of independence in 1991, Macedonia adopted a strategy of centralization of power to strengthen their control over the entire territory. The Constitution of 1991 was exclusively mono-ethnic and ethnic Albanians were subject to discrimination. Albanian language use was downgraded compared to the 1974 Constitution in former Yugoslavia. Ethnic Albanians were forced to use their toponymic names only in Macedonian both in pronunciation and orthography. Albanian families were not allowed to name their newborn child based on their will, but had to select a name from a discriminatory list compiled by the government.

The strategy reversed after the 2001 conflict and the Ohrid Framework Agreement. To ensure a better distribution of power between the various local communities living in Macedonia, the Ohrid Agreement called for a reform of decentralization of power. This reform, supported by the European Union and main international actors in Macedonia, resulted in significant legislative changes in 2004.

The territory of Macedonia is now divided into 84 municipalities (plus the City of Skopje/Shkup, composed of 10 municipalities). The municipalities (opstina/komuna) have more authority in making decisions and managing their budgets (cf. *Cooperation entre la Macedoine et la Basse-Normandie*). Municipalities have a primary role related to the local economic development and environmental protection, nature, culture, urban planning, sports, education, welfare, and protection of children.

The provisions of the Ohrid Framework Agreement of 13 August 2001 have imposed significant reforms to representing minorities and providing a new constitution. Under the terms of this agreement, the 1991 Constitution was amended to remove the reference to Macedonian Slavs as the only founding people of the country. The Macedonian society already is seen as composed of citizens of various ethnic groups. The use of Albanian is authorized for official documents and working languages in the plenary sessions and parliamentary committees, as well as in court. All laws are written in two languages, Macedonian and Albanian. However, Macedonian may be used only by the Macedonian government. Albanian is the second official language in areas where Albanians make up 20 percent of the population under the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia.

For the international community, it is a well known fact that the Albanian language and its Latin alphabet is an official language in the Republic of Macedonia together with the Macedonian language and its Cyrillic alphabet. Many official documents prove this, including the Encyclopedia Britannica in Macedonian (Skopje, 2005, p. 26). The big question remains whether Albanian is a language applied based on international standards and treaties that were signed by Macedonia.

International conventions for the use of languages in Macedonia

The most important international documents for the use of official languages are:

- ***Framework Agreement on Protection of Minorities***, ratified by the Republic of Macedonia in 1997. The law guarantees the right to use minority languages. ("Official Gazette of RM" nr. 11/97).
- ***European Charter for Regional and Minority Language Use***, signed by the Republic of Macedonia.
- ***The Issue of Language Use Based on the Constitution of 1991***, Albanian language is also official.

- *The Issue of Language Use after Constitutional Changes in 2001, in Macedonia*
- *European Charter for Regional and Minority Language Use*, signed by the Republic of Macedonia.

In 2001 it was announced that Macedonia had adopted a new Constitution which enshrined 15 fundamental rights and granted rights to the country's ethnic Albanian population, as part of the Ohrid Framework Agreement.

Article 7 of the Constitution of Macedonia of 1991 replaced by Amendment V, *paragraph 1*, was included in the constitutional change of the year 2001, as a result of the Ohrid Framework Agreement. Amendment V regulates language use stipulating: In the whole territory of the Republic of Macedonia and international relations the official language is Macedonian.

After the constitutional changes of 2001, the article in the Constitution that regulates language use in the Republic of Macedonia states:

Article 7. The Macedonian language, written using its Cyrillic alphabet, is the official language in the Republic of Macedonia. In the bodies of local self-government where the majority of the inhabitants belong to a nationality, in addition to the Macedonian language and Cyrillic alphabet, their language and alphabet are also in official use, in a manner determined by law. In the bodies of local self-government where there is a considerable number of inhabitants belonging to a nationality, their language and alphabet are also in official use, in addition to the Macedonian language and Cyrillic alphabet, under conditions and in a manner determined by law.

Albanian is the second official language in Macedonia where ethnic Albanians make the second largest ethnic group in the country, and yet after 15 years of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, Albanian remains mainly a spoken language and is not applied officially in state institutions.

The law for communication between citizens and public institutions is very limited even though the right is guaranteed to ethnic Albanian citizens. The law that regulates the use of languages has many defects, for example, the citizens have the right to communicate in Albanian in courts, but on the other hand, the whole legal procedure for a particular case has to be in Macedonian.

When the Albanian party appears in court and the President of the penal council or local council is Albanian, and also the prosecutor is Albanian, based on the law the whole procedure and communication has to be in Macedonian. Otherwise, Parliament

implemented the law on languages for the first time in 2008, and within eight years it has demonstrated a series of shortcomings which make it impossible to apply it in practice (Kadriu, 2015). Many voices have been raised that a particular law should regulate the law on language use, the same has not been initiated by any political party respectively by lawmakers.

Indetermination and different interpretations have caused endless polemics about the utilization of the Albanian language on state level. Albanian lawmakers have the right to use Albanian during their speech, but if one leads the session, then his rights are denied. It is similar with the Albanian Ministers who can use the Albanian language in any event but not in official communication. Also, no discussion in Parliament with the Albanian lawmakers is in effect. There were few attempts to solve the problem of languages but never with a final solution.

A resolution initiated by the reporter for Macedonia at the EU Parliament Richard Howitt has brought to the attention the issue of bilingualism in the country. The Resolution discussed in the Committee on Foreign Policy foresaw the implementation of Macedonian and Albanian languages in the entire territory, but because of many reactions it was amended on the recommendation for the use of Albanian as an optional language and only in the educational system.

University Professor Vlado Popovski who is one of OFA drafters stated that the new Constitution of Macedonia had left the door open for advancing the use of Albanian at the state level. It is envisaged in OFA that the second official language could be employed in central government according to the law. In fact, the constitution does not exclude that opportunity, but it requires an approval of a meaningful and precise law (Popovski, 2016, p.3)

Language differences and lack of knowledge of cultures and traditions of each other does not help in bringing communities together, claim experts of the field; Albanians and in particular, Macedonians have to avoid prejudices and to approach learning the Albanian language (Braho, 2014).

A public bank in a prime place in Skopje/Shkup has advertised its activities and products in ten languages but not in Albanian. With that, you create a paradoxical feeling whether the Albanian language has a name in the Macedonian capital where Albanians make up a considerable number. While for the EU countries diversity and language cultures are assets, Macedonia follows primitive trends of a taciturn national-

romanticism on the Balkans by neglecting a language of its own. While the EU proactively promotes its 24 languages whose observance is enshrined in the European Charter for Basic Rights adopted by EU leaders in the year 2000, in Macedonia ethnic tensions are high (Pajaziti, 2013, p.2).

The Ohrid Framework Agreement signed on August 13, 2001 has still not been implemented as foreseen by 2005 on account of its vagueness. There are controversial opinions regarding OFA by both sides. Also, there were disqualifications for this very document that holds the epithet for the cessation of the conflict in 2001. The Macedonian side ignored this agreement, but it was kept alive artificially only for political gains by the Democratic Unity for Integration (DUI), the Albanian political party that was in charge of its implementation. Its compatriots blame DUI for not implementing the agreement for fifteen years.

Currently, the institutions neglecting the use of Albanian language are the Presidency, the Government of the Republic of Macedonia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Transportation and Communication and Internal Ministry. The Ministries that use the Albanian language are Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Economy, Ministry of Environment, Ministry of Self-Government, and Parliament, partially (Sinani, 2015, p. 122)

Conclusion

The status of the Albanian language in Macedonia and its official use needs to be settled by the ethnic, historical, and culture reality in the country. The intention has to be in agreement with the Macedonian side for a just political solution with proper constitutional provisions leaving no gaps for misinterpretation based on daily politics. The agreement could be reached only by new constitutional changes, whereby the legal, constitutional and political status of the Albanians as a constitutive nation in the Republic of Macedonia will be precisely determined. The Kosovo model should also be taken into consideration where five percent Serbs enjoy unlimited use of their language on a par with Albanian in the whole Kosovo territory.

The Albanian language for its final solution needs to be treated by a special law, the law for protection and use for the Albanian language, similar to the law for the Macedonian language in the Republic of Macedonia. There are two possible alternatives for a just solution of this problem.

One is for the Albanian language and its alphabet to be used in the whole territory of the Republic of Macedonia, as a second official language and not only as a language for translation.

The second option is for the Albanian language and its alphabet to be used as a first official language in self-management local units where the Albanians are a majority along with Macedonian and its Cyrillic alphabet. No solution would be just that does not treat the facts and realities of the country. The agreement should act in the spirit of fundamental values of democracy and universal principles of international rights (Mehmeti, 2016, p. 3).

Peace and tolerance should be the motto of Macedonia that is struggling for its national identity, language identity and for joining the EU and NATO. Current nationalistic rhetoric by refusing ethnic Albanians the right of expression does not lead the country in the right direction. Bilingualism is a new reality and international presence to facilitate new agreements is so much needed now.

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ПО ВЪПРОСА ЗА БЪЛГАРСКО-АНГЛИЙСКОТО ПРЕВКЛЮЧВАНЕ НА КОДОВЕ В БЪЛГАРСКИЯ ТЕЛЕВИЗИОНЕН ДИСКУРС

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Abstract

The paper presents results from a study of Bulgarian-English code-switching in a selection of entertainment programmes broadcast in the last five years on Bulgarian national TV channels. The aim is to identify the instances of code-switching and to analyse the linguistic, social and cultural reasons for alternating the two languages in the speech of the participants in the interaction. The focus of the study is also on the extent of interference between the two languages and the degree to which code mixing allows speakers to mark shifts of context or change of the role they assume in the verbal exchange. The results show the types of contexts and the reasons for inserting English words, phrases and utterances in the Bulgarian discourse. The analysis offers sufficient grounds to conclude that code-switching in the cases under consideration quite frequently has no information value; rather, it aims to clarify an idea, to express concepts more concisely or to achieve a specific dramatic effect.

Key words: code-switching, television discourse, functions of switching, reasons for code-switching

Теоретични постановки

Макар и наблюдавано отдавна като явление, използването на повече от един език в рамките на даден устен или писмен дискурс става предмет на задълбочени научни и практически изследвания едва през 50-те години на миналия век. През следващите десетилетия тези изследвания се съсредоточават главно върху изучаването на речевата продукция на билингви или на владеещи повече от един чужд език, като се приема, че превключването от един езиков код на друг е най-вече обусловено от недостатъчни знания и умения на един или повече от езиците, или се дължи на езикова интерференция. Уайнрайк (1968) например твърди, че истинската билингва превключва от един езиков код на

друг само при съответна промяна на речевата ситуация, изискваща подобно превключване, но не и в рамките на една и съща ситуация.

Понастоящем съществуват различни дефиниции на превключването на кода (ПК), съобразно различните подходи към изучаването му. Относно параметрите на ПК, днес преобладава становището, че явлението само по себе си не е признак на недостатъчни познания по даден език (Гъмперц 1982) и че съществуват речеви ситуации, при които в конкретни употреби един език може да вземе превес над друг (Диуел, Уей & Хаузен 2003). Изходна точка в настоящата статия е именно схващането, че ПК не е резултат на недостиг на езикови познания, а е породено от предимно социолингвистични и психолингвистични фактори.

Различните подходи – структурални, социолингвистични и психолингвистични, прилагани в изследването на ПК, обуславят и трудностите при точното дефиниране на явлението и неговия обхват. За структуралистите, научен интерес представляват механизмите на превключване, като се търсят универсално приложими модели (Максуон 2000, Джейк, Майърс-Скотън & Грос 2002). От особена важност за тази школа е и все още неразрешеният в теоретически аспект проблем за разграничаването между ПК и заемките. Според някои учени (напр. Поплак 1981, 2000, 2015 и последователите ѝ), отделни думи, привнесени от друг език, не принадлежат към ПК, което те разглеждат като явление, характерно за по-дълъг дискурс. Според тази школа, ако една дума е фонологично, морфологично и синтактично интегрирана в приемния език, то това не е проявление на ПК. Друга група езиковеди обаче, представена от Майърс-Скотън (1976, 1983, 2000) и Бентахила & Дейвис (1983), твърдят, че ПК може да включва и случаи на вмъкване само на отделна дума или фраза.

По този спорен въпрос, в статията е възприет именно възгледът на Майърс-Скотън (1993), че е трудно да се направи рязко разграничение между ПК и използването на заемки, както и че заемките не винаги запълват съществуващи празнини в приемния език, тъй като той вече може да съдържа лексикални еквиваленти за тях. Една основна причина за избора на този подход е, че българският език, особено в последните двадесет и пет години, се променя изключително бързо и динамично под влиянието най-вече на английския език и

чуждиците нахлуват в него с такава скорост, че речниците и другите справочни източници трудно успяват да отразят тези промени. (Така например, последното издание на „Речник на чуждите думи в българския език“ на изд. „Наука и изкуство“ е от 2014 г., а поредният петнадесети том в поредицата „Речник на българския език“ на БАН, издаден през 2015 г., стига едва до буквата Р.)

От социолингвистична гледна точка, още през 1929 г. Сапир предлага езиковедите да не се ограничават само до структурни модели, а да потърсят пресечните точки на езиковите структури със социалните, антропологичните, културните и други по-обща аспекти на човешкия живот. Понастоящем, много от изследванията в областта на лингвистичната антропология, социолингвистиката и други сходни области представят анализ и тълкуване на ПК в по-широк социален и културен контекст. По сходен начин, представителите на психолингвистичния подход разглеждат ПК като извънезиков, психологически феномен (Вогт 1954), чиито причини трябва да се търсят извън езика.

Под превключване на кода в настоящата статия следва да се разбира употребата на елементи от повече от един език в един дискурсен отрязък. ПК се приема като лингвистично, социално, психологическо и прагматично явление, което се проявява на всички езикови равнища – фонетично, лексикално, фразеологично, изреченско, дискурсно – както съзнателно, така и несъзнателно.

Корпус на изследването и методология

Изследването е базирано на над сто дискурсни ситуации, наблюдавани и записани от сутрешни блокове, и забавни, магазинни и риалити предавания, излъчени по телевизионните канали с национален ефир в България – а именно „Денят започва“, „Преди обед“, „Всяка неделя“, „Апартаментът“, „Съпругите“, „Гласът на България“, „Х фактор“, „Като две капки вода“, „Черешката на тортата“, „Биг брадър“ и „ВИП брадър“. Използваните цитати са на тридесет и осем участници, представители на различни професионални области, на възраст между двадесет и петдесет години. В рамките на статията, при необходимост, може да бъде посочена професията на даден участник, но не и името.

Проучването се съсредоточава върху телевизионния дискурс тъй като на фона на спадащите тиражи на вестници и списания в България, както и на все

още сравнително ниския процент на интернет потребители и неравномерното им разпределение в държавата, телевизията се очертава като медията с най-голяма аудитория и съответно най-голяма влиятелност. Този факт обуславя и набирането на корпус от телевизионни канали с разпространение в цялата страна. Изборът на конкретния тип предавания пък е продиктуван от обстоятелството, че в тях дискурсът в по-голямата си част възниква естествено, а не по предварителен сценарий. Именно по тази причина от изследването са изключени новинарски емисии, а отсъствието на предавания със строго специализирана тематика – икономическа или спортна, например – е заради очакванията, че употребата на специфични чуждоезикови термини от дадена научна или професионална област в повечето случаи служи да запълни липсата на лексикални еквиваленти, а не е проявление на спонтанно превключване на кода. Включването на няколко риалити формата пък е обусловено от нарастващата през последните години тенденция в тези предавания да се канят артисти, музиканти, фотомодели, бизнесмени и пр., които имат успешна кариера в чужбина и от години живеят извън България, като се предполага, че честотността на ПК точно при тези участници ще е по-висока и по този начин ще се увеличи обемът на изследвания дискурс.

В анализа на резултатите от изследването е приложена класификацията на функциите на ПК, въведена от Апъл & Моускен въз основа на дефинираните от Якобсон шест функции на езика (референциална, конативна, емотивна, фатична, метаезикова и поетична). Апъл & Моускен (1987) открояват следните функции на ПК:

1. Референциална функция: участниците в дискурса променят езиковия код или защото не могат да намерят, или да се досетят за подходящата дума, или защото такава просто не съществува.
2. Директивна и интегративна функция: участниците използват широкоразпространени обръщения, поздравя, възклицания или въпроси, за да установят контакт и да придадат интерактивна структура на дискурса.
3. Експресивна функция: даден участник дава словесен израз на чувствата си с цел да изтъкне своята своеобразна индивидуалност.

4. Фатична (контактоустановяваща) функция: участникът полага старание, за да поддържа отворени каналите на словесно общуване.
5. Металингвистична функция: участникът изрично прави препратки към чуждия език.
6. Поетична функция: участниците превключват кода, за да разкажат виц или да направят игра на думи, или пък за да избегнат думи или изрази, които са табу в основния език на дискурса.

Както всяка класификация обаче, и тази носи известна схематичност и не бива да се прилага сляпо: при анализа на всеки пример трябва да се има предвид, че две или повече от горепосочените функции могат да се припокриват.

Резултати от изследването

Спрямо горепосочената класификация в корпуса на изследването могат да се открият проявления на всички шест функции на ПК, с превес на референциалната, експресивната и фатичната.

На преден план изпъква **референциалната функция** в случаите, когато в дискурса става дума за културно-специфични концепти. Изобилстват примерите на привнасяне на термини от социалните мрежи, при необходимост подложени на съответните морфологични промени, за да се адаптират към правилата на българския език: „това ще донесе повече *лайка* на страницата на предаването“, „ако вие *лайкнете* победителите“, „ти само ме *тагни*, аз ще те *лайкна*“, „ще го *съпартна* и *лайкна*“, „следа като прочетох тази статия, го потърсих в Инстаграм и цък – *фолоу*“. Не по-малко са и проявленията на ПК, свързани с професионалните или любителски занимания на участниците в дискурса: „това беше нашият извънреден *лайф*, драги зрители“, „това ще разберете в утрешния *дейли* епизод“, „гледах само *трейлъра*“, „нарязах едно *тийзърче*“, „това не е *тийзърът*, а е *мейкингът*“, „тази песен има над двайсет *кавъра*“, „много псуваш – непрекъснато те *бийтват*“, „в резултат на движението на мускулите, настъпва отпускане и получаваме този *джо лайн*“, „получи се чудесен тиквеник – интересна *презентация*, браво!“, „какво ще кажеш за моя *стайлинг?*“, „първото ми предястие ще е риба *туна*, леко *грилосана*“, „това е *кик-оф* техника“, „роди се новата *бой банда*“, „важно е конското да е *мидиъм*, за да не е прекалено сухо и жилаво“, „сега е

моментът да *кеш аут-на*“, „ако вечерята е в нейния стил *фюжън*“, „първо, по един *уелкъм дринк*“, „това да не е сглобяем *бонг?*“, „извинете, имате ли *лобстъри?*“. Предвид факта, че това е само малка извадка от корпуса и разновидности на тези примери присъстват в изказванията не на един представител на конкретна професия или хоби, а на редица от участниците в дискурса, може да се предположи, че в даден момент някои от тези думи и изрази официално ще станат част от българския език – още повече, че някои от тях или подобни на тях вече присъстват и във финалните надписи на телевизионните предавания: „режисьор дейли“, „режисьор лайв“, „криейтив директор“, „ауто кю“, „стейдж мениджър“, „копилоти“, „логъри“.

Две неща правят впечатление от посочените примери. Първо, в повечето от цитираните случаи, употребата на английски лексикални единици не се налага от това, че в българския език няма съответни еквиваленти, така че вероятно обяснението за превключването на кода е желанието на говорещия да се изрази в по-кратка форма – „*лайф*“ вместо „предаване на живо“, „*мидиъм*“ вместо „изпечено до средна степен“ или „*джо лайн*“ вместо „контур на челюстта“. Влияние очевидно играят и създадените навици в ежедневно професионално общуване на говорещите – пример за което е и олимпийската шампионка, участник в готварско предаване, която описва „салатата, с която *стартира* вечерта“ и отчита, че „имам около десет минути да *дофиниширам* моите скариди“. Второто, което следва да се отбележи, е, че немалка част от посочените думи и изрази в един момент излизат извън конкретния културно-специфичен контекст, в който са първоначално използвани, и придобиват по-широко и общо значение, замествайки съвсем адекватни, отдавна съществуващи български еквиваленти: „тя само *хейти*“, „въпреки големия *хейт*, който получи, тя се справи“, „можем да не го одобряваме, но не трябва да го *хейтим*“, „как може хората толкова да *хейтят*“, „тя е моят основен *съпорт* в моя живот“, „да почвам да приготвям десертчето, щото и то ще бъде *лайф*“, „видя от мен, сега и той ще приготви нещо *лайф*“, „аз съм *феър плей* играч“.

Проявленията на **директивната и интегративна функция** на ПК в корпуса се състоят предимно в употребата на англоезични обръщения, поздрави и възклицания. Предвид емоционалния характер на тези словесни категории,

следващите примери могат до известна степен да се приемат и за изразение на **експресивната функция** на ПК, макар и заради все по-широкото си разпространение да не могат да се тълкуват като проява на някаква особена индивидуалност: „*хелюу еврибоди*“, „*хай* на всички“, „а сега трябва да отида да се преоблека – *бай-бай!*“, „ти си мой човек, *бейби*“, „защо е зелена тарамата бе, *мен?*“, „ето това е салатата „Сен Жак“, мила, *май дарлинг*“, „ще се видим след малко, *окей?*“, „О, *май гад!*“, „*Йес! Йес! Йес!*“, „*Йее!* Ще ядем кон! *Ай лайк им!*“, „*Йо!*“, „*Уау!*“ (последното особено добре се вмества в репликата „История славянобългарска!“ *Уау!*“). И тук следва да се посочи, че голяма част от цитираните думи и изрази са използвани неколkokратно и от повече от един участник – както и че езиковият трансфер се извършва на различни нива: „тази тиква не е *окей*“, „Ще имаш много важно събитие в кариерата, което ще е вече нещо *уау!*“ или „тези момичета определено предизвикват *уау* ефект“.

По-преки проявления на **експресивната функция** на ПК, при която част от участниците очевидно изпитват желание да изтъкнат своята индивидуалност – чрез познанията си по английски език, – са налице в следните примери (в нито един от които няма обективен фактор, който да налага употребата на чуждоезични думи или изрази): „Аз не съм на никого жена, аз съм *сингъл*“, „Кой е *аут* и кой е *ин*, ще разберем утре“, „Имаш целият *къмпашън*, който можеш да получиш“, „Това е вече *ту мъч*“, „Той е *меджик*“, „Според мен, нещата, с които ще ни посрещне, ще са супер *фенси*“, „Нещата са *сириъс*“, „Има харизма и много хубав *презънс* на сцената“, „Какъв баща е той? Най-добрият баща *евър*“, „Това е моментът, когато разбираш, че всичко върви както трябва и вече си готов да довършиш *дъ мастър плен*“, „*Демиджът* при нея ще бъде по-малък“, „Общо взето беше *хард*“, „Това е много *олд скуул*“, „Много съм *оупън*“, „Много интересен *локейшън* и, разбира се, менюто беше страхотно“, „Аз съм много *хепи*, че сте заедно“, „Необходимо е да разбереш това, което е *мейнстрийм* в България“, „В следващия момент си *даун* и напоследък *дауновете* са повече от *ъловете*“, „Вие толкова вдигнахте *левъла* с тези гурме заигравки“, „Едва ли ще започна да се храня по-*хелти*“, „Който и да влезе – *пълен игнор!*“. Независимо, че на много хора голяма част от цитираните изказвания вероятно ще се сторят странни, претенциозни или направо смехотворни, основната цел на експресивната функция очевидно на ПК при тях явно е постигната, тъй като почти всички от

изброените думи и изрази се срещат в корпуса еднократно, като изключение правят само „евър“ и „ту мъч“, които присъстват по два пъти.

Тук е мястото да се отбележи, че сред участниците в телевизионните предавания, от които е събран корпусът на тази статия, няма завършил английска филология или професионален преподавател по английски език, което евентуално да обясни необходимостта от ПК на моменти. Противно на очакванията, няма и съществена разлика в честотата на ПК спрямо възрастовата група – повечето от посочените примери са изказвания на участници на възраст между четиридесет и петдесет години, а не на двадесет или тридесетгодишните, за които може да се предположи, че са повече облъчвани от английския език от различните медии, отколкото представителите на предни поколения. Еднакво изненадващ е и фактът, че ПК при българите, живеещи от години в чужбина, е по-малко често срещано, отколкото при тези, които не са напускали родината си; единствено изключение прави естрадната певица от епохата на социализма, която от десетилетия пребивава в САЩ и съвсем демонстративно привнася в речта си, с преувеличен акцент, изрази от рода на: „Някои са влезли в тая къща да си правят реклама в професионален план, аз пък съм тук, за да *имам фън*“, „Аз се чувствам *блесд*, защото имам зад себе си 23 албума“, „В живота има два вида хора – *драйвърс енд пасънджърс*“ или „*Ю шат ап, окей?*“

Прави впечатление също така, че немалка част от участниците, макар че очевидно превключват езиковия код, за да изтъкнат своята индивидуалност и неповторимост, след това прибегват до компенсаторни механизми като повторение или пояснение в произволен ред (Гъмперц 1982), вероятно за да могат да се уверят, че казаното от тях все пак е разбрано от слушателите им – тоест, да постигнат **фатичната (контактоустановяваща) функция** на ПК: „Използва се високоинтензивен *ултрасаунд*, ултразвук“, „Тя в момента е *даун*, долу е, много е долу“, „С кой сте живели *инъф*, както се казва при нас в Лондон, достатъчно“, „Сълзите бяха малко *фейк*, малко неистински“, „Всичките му принципи са една нула, *зиро*“, „Кого съквартирантите избраха за най-*хот*, за най-сексапилен“, „Нейното *сепариране*, отделяне в отделен отбор“, „Това, което пропуснах да видя в менютата тази седмица, беше присъствието на лютото. Днес ще бъде *екстриймли хот!*“, „Ще има *уан мен шоу*, моноспектакъл“, „Трябва да

дадем възможност, на хората, които мразят, на *хейтърите*“, „Това е най-големият проблем, *биг проблем*“, „Сега ще приготвя един сос, който аз много обичам, *дресинг*“, „Не виждам защо човек с моето минало, с моя *бекграунд*, да не спечели“, „Мисля, че обстановката ще е такава лъскава, лустрирана, ще е *хай*“. Други проявления на фатичната функция на ПК, която има за основна цел да поддържа каналите на общуване отворени, могат да се открият в употребата на изрази като: „*Инджой!*“, „*Инджойвайте!*“, „Можеш да хапнеш една филия, намазана с мед. *Датс ит!*“ или „*Айм каминг!*“. При наличието на съвсем равностойни български еквиваленти използването на тези английски думи или изрази очевидно цели и изтъкване на чуждоезиковите познания на говорещия и съответно приобщаването му към група от участниците в дискурса, която владее поне до тази степен същия чужд език – с други думи, поддържане на комуникацията, но в отбрано и вероятно възприемано за по-елитно съсловие.

Макар и много по-малко на брой, в корпуса не липсват и примери за **металингвистичната** функция на ПК, при която говорещият прави изрични препратки към английския език: „Конско? А не е магарешко? *Донки!* Ходя на курсове по английски...“, „Тя трябва дълбоко да разбере думата използвана – *юзед* на английски“, „Просто ми е *импрувнат* английският от тогава“. Проявленията на **поетичната функция** пък се свеждат до употребата на нецензурни изрази или по-скоро на разновидностите на един израз: „*Фак!*“, „*Фак ю!*“ и „*Къци из дъ бест, фък дъ рест!*“ При последните примери със сигурност играе роля както фактът, че за множество хора е по-лесно да използват изрази табу на чуждия, отколкото на родния език – особено в риалити предаване, излъчвано в праймтайма на национален ефир, където нецензурни изкази се заличават както звуково – така и обстоятелството, че в англоезичната култура подобни изрази имат много по-честотна употреба в разговорния език и съответно носят по-малка тежест.

Изводи

Анализът на корпуса показва, че английският език все повече навлиза в ежедневието на българите, ако се съди по спонтанния и непринуден телевизионен дикурс в предавания с минимален сценарий, като трансферът и калкирането се осъществява на различни нива: „*лайф* емисия“ (независимо, че в крайните надписи на същото предаване правилно е изписано „*лайв*“), „Бяха

направили такъв *каст*“, „Ние станахме известни *през нощта*“, „Това, което той направи, не е *моята чаша чай*“. Видно е, че основните причини участниците в дискурса да се подпомагат с английски изразни средства са демонстрацията на двуезична идентичност, стремежът към по-драматичен ефект, пояснението или подчертаването на дадена идея, или постигането на краткост в изказа. Превключването на кода в повече от примерите не притежава истинска информационна стойност и има предимно конотативна, а не денотативна функция, като главната комуникативна цел е промяна на отношението на адресата. Така смесицата, съзнателна или не, на глобален и локален дискурс явно цели утвърждаването на модерна идентичност, универсалност, прогресивност, професионалност, космополитност и известна степен на елитизъм.

В ролята си на лингва франка английският език не представлява сериозна заплаха за многоезичието в Европа, в това число и за България. Много голяма е разликата между език за комуникация и език за идентификация (Юлиане Хауз). Според един от най-известните и цитирани социолингвисти, Джошуа Фишмън, общуването, породено от глобализацията, от търговията до комуникацията, насърчава и регионализацията и с нея разпространението на регионалните езици, което води до подем при локалните езици, резистентен на глобалните промени. Използването на англицизми само по себе си не е вредно за българския език, а понякога – особено в случаи на липсващи лексикални единици за определени понятия – е дори необходимо. Друг е въпросът, че много от примерите в корпуса показват тенденциозно влечение към модния чужд език за сметка на родния, което често води до подмяната на част от българския речников запас – или до забравата за съществуването на такъв.

Настоящата статия не претендира за изчерпателност, тъй като изследва явление, което става все по-разпространено в дискурса изобщо на българския език, и нови примери и употреби възникват с всеки ден. Интересно би било да се проучи превключването на езиковия код в онлайн медиите и блогове, например, където по презумпция има по-малко редакционна намеса и съответно по-голяма свобода на изказа – което обаче би било обект на друго самостоятелно изследване.

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THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN KOSOVO

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Abstract

This research paper aims to describe and present the facts and characteristics of the language situation in the Republic of Kosovo (RK), explore and show main legislation documents including the Constitution of RK, Law on Language Use, Law on National Radio and Television, Law on Pre-school Education and other regulations on language rights and use. The research offers insight into the annual reports of the Office for language, which functions within the Government of RK. It also presents the reports of other national and international organizations that monitor the use of language in the country. Central and local administration, all levels of education and media are in focus as an example of implementation of the above mentioned legislation in Kosovo as macrocosm and Prizren as microcosm.

Key words: multilingualism in Kosovo, language rights, official languages, minorities, language policy

Language rights and the use of language have always been an issue around the globe and have been explored and treated by many researchers and publishers as an important and the most sensitive element of identity, especially when it comes to language rights of minorities. These topics are even more topical in the Balkans, a region known for multilingualism and multiculturalism.

It is common in the Balkans that people speak many languages and are in contact with communities of different language groups. They often try to use a prestige language, depending on the country they live in, the country that ruled in a certain period in history (Ottoman Empire Yugoslavia.) (Idrizi, 2012)

The Republic of Kosovo as a young democratic country declared its independence on 17 February 2008, and was recognized by the majority of United Nations Member States (114 by the time this paper was published). Since 1999, immediately after the last armed conflict many things have changed including the language legislation. As a multilingual and multicultural country, it seems to have defined very well the language issue and treated it very careful in legislation on language.

Languages serve as a means of identification, as important ethnic symbols, therefore they are close related to emotions and subjective value judgements, which is why they easily become signs of national anticipation but also objects of nationalist manipulation. (Bugarski, 1997)

Language rights in Kosovo are guaranteed and protected by the highest juridical law which is the Constitution of the country, the Law on Language Use, the Office for language use within the Government of Kosovo whose main objective is ensuring language rights, implementation of language policy and freedom of language use.

There are six constitutional entities in Kosovo and two official languages on the state level. I will focus mainly on the central institutions when talking about the general situation of the official languages in Kosovo. When analysing language use on the local level, the city of Prizren is taken as an example of multilingualism, multiculturalism, as a city of mutual tolerance and harmony.

The language situation in Kosovo is diverse which is manifested in all spheres of public life (education, media, culture, justice system, everyday life). This situation is present in many cities, first of all in Prizren, Peja, Mitovica and some other cities, where except for the national official languages, Bosnian and Turkish are treated as official languages on the local level.

Language policy in the Republic of Kosovo

Language rights and use of language are defined by many core legislation documents of the Republic of Kosovo. Article 5 of the Constitution defines Albanian and Serbian language as the official languages in the country on national level. Bosnian, Turkish and Roma languages are defined as official languages in municipalities as provided by law.

5.1. The official languages in the RK are Albanian and Serbian.

5.2. Turkish, Bosnian and Roma languages have the status of official languages at the Municipal level or will be in official use at all levels as provided by law. (Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, 2008)

Article 29.2 guarantees that everyone will be informed in their mother tongue in the case of deprived liberty. According to article 59.3 everyone has the right to obtain primary and secondary education in their mother tongue. Article 59.6 regulates the use of language on municipal level. It guarantees to non-majority communities the right to use their mother tongue where they represent sufficient share of the population in accordance with the law. In case of the use of a translator costs are covered by the competent authorities.

The Constitution of the RK also guarantees the representation of TV programs in community languages in accordance with the law and international standards. It

guarantees the community language use in all other types of media such as newspapers, radio, social media.

Law nr. 02/L-37 of the RK regulates the use of language in the country. The Law ensures the use of the Albanian and Serbian language as official languages on the national level as well as Turkish, Bosnian and Roma languages on the level of municipality. Article 2.2 and 2.3 specifies the language use on municipal level. Municipalities that are inhabited by more than 5% of the population of a certain minority group, the language of this minority is represented as official. Such municipalities are Prizren, which is located in the South of Kosovo where except for Albanian, Turkish and Bosnian are also official languages.

On state level, official languages are represented equally. Central institutions are obliged to ensure translation in all official languages. Moreover, official meetings have simultaneous translations when necessary. All speakers can freely express themselves in their mother tongue. Official documents are issued in all official languages. Moreover, they are issued in English. In cases of misunderstanding in translation, the English language version is taken as credible. Names of institution on all levels are written in all official languages, in municipalities they are written in community languages too.

On municipal level, all languages are represented equally including languages on national and local level in all fields of administration and institutions, in media, official documents, minutes of debates, all levels of education. The law guarantees attending primary and secondary education based on mother tongue for everyone. The Municipality of Prizren, Peja, Mitrovica and some of other municipalities organize on all levels of education, lectures in all languages.

The language situation in Education

Pre-University education in Kosovo is obligatory and guaranteed by Law No.04/L -032 on pre-university education in all official languages in central and municipal level.

6. Access to and progression through all levels of pre-university education shall be enabled in compliance with the provisions of this Law without discrimination on any real or presumed ground such as sex, race, sexual orientation, physical, intellectual or other disability, marital status, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, association with a Community, property, birth or other status of the pupil or the pupil's family. (Law on Pre-school education of the republic of Kosovo, 2011)

Pre-School education for communities is positively discriminated, enabling education in situations when there is a fewer number of pupils necessary to form a class.

2.3. Maximum class sizes and pupil-teacher ratios (with threshold for the establishment of classes or schools teaching in non-official languages lower than normally stipulated) (Law on Pre-school education of the republic of Kosovo, 2011)

All documents related to education are issued in all official languages as stated in the article 3.2 of the Law on pre-school education.

3.2. Official documents shall be issued in all official languages; a pupil educated in a non-official language has the right to have his/her official documents kept and issued in his/her language of instruction, in addition to the official languages. (Law on Pre-school education of the RK, 2011)

Textbooks for all languages are guaranteed by the law and offered free of charge especially for communities.

1. Textbooks in the Serbian language at levels 1 and 2 shall be used as determined by applicable law and shall be provided free of charge.

2. Textbooks in community's languages in which the teaching is being developed at levels 1 and 2 shall be provided free of charge. (Law on Pre-school education of the RK, 2011)

The language situation in the media

The Radio Television of Kosovo or RTK function is regulated by the law. The law guarantees broadcast in all official languages, including official languages in municipal level. We noticed a positive discrimination towards broadcast in Serbian language which is not proportional with the number of population in Kosovo.

1.9. Inclusion of cultural achievements and other achievements of Serb community and other communities in national radio channels and national television contents in Albanian language; (Law on RTK of the RK, 2012)

The law guarantees the broadcast of two channels and a certain percentage is reserved for broadcast in community languages as stated in article 1.8 and 3 of the law.

3. These two (2) channels are obliged to share 15 % of their program scheme with the languages of other communities of Kosovo.

1.8. cultivation of the official language and the languages of other communities in Kosovo as well as dissemination their knowledge abroad too. (Law on RTK of the RK, 2012)

Conclusion

There exists a good legislation base for language use in Kosovo, especially for the use of community languages in all spheres of life. It is regulated with the highest act of Constitution, law and regulations for language use. The Office for language use and rights constantly monitors the situation of languages on all levels and annually reports and proposes concrete measures that have to be undertaken for improving the situation. Other national and international bodies also monitor the situation and report about it.

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ТЕМАТА „ЕТНОС“ В БРИТАНСКИЯ И БЪЛГАРСКИЯ ПУБЛИЦИСТИЧЕН ДИСКУРС

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Abstract

The study aims to compare the media concepts of man with his national identity in two rather different realizations of current newspaper media. Depending on specific data the article traces the beginning of the theme of *ethnos*, its importance and typology in the development of the British press and its projection in the Bulgarian press at a later stage. The analysis stems from the formulation that the press in England lays the foundations of the contemporary form of publicity and printed information in Europe and the world. Basically motivated by its economic interests the English society has been in contact with countries near and far since the 16th century. Bulgarian society, unlike English society, is restricted and dependent on the conditions of the Ottoman Empire at the initial stages of conceptualizing of publicity. While Bulgarian communion with other nations has been related to following models and seeking equality, British communion has developed as lasting subordination. Coming into existence as a prestigious means of communication, newspapers in the two countries have reflected the relations in their own way, adding at the same time something new to their interpretation.

Key words: journalism, *ethnos*, nations, society, newspapers, theme

Темата *етнос* се представя като странична и не толкова популярна във вестниците. Тя стои като втъкана на втори план в информационния поток на печатните издания, и не само на тях (има предвид електронните медии). Това не значи, че тази тема се пренебрегва от информационните издания, част от които са ежедневните вестници. Напротив, темата за социалната личност и нейната национална принадлежност е водеща в преобладаващата част от новинарските публицистични текстове. *Етнос* се определя в рамките на исторически оформило се обединение от хора 'изграждащи общност, определена от бита, от възприятията за света и за приетите от тях в ежедневието порядки' (БТР, 2012). Думата има гръцки произход и етносът се дефинира в един начален етап, освен всичко казано по-горе, като название на група от хора, означаващо племе, семейство. Юрий Бромлей (1983) в обширното изследване „Очерци на теориите за етноса“ (Очерки теории этноса) посочва няколко особености, които определят най-същностните характеристики на тази категория. Става ясно, че се говори за общност от хора, които притежават качества, социални характеристики, с които

групата се отличава от други подобни групи. Тъй като е историческа категория според Бромлей етносът се отличава с относително устойчиви особености в областта на културата (изключителната стойност на езика сред тях е без съмнение), но тези особености, подчертава Бромлей, включват и характеристики на психиката, както и груповото обединяващо съзнание за единство и отличие от други подобни образувания. Ако може да се направи обобщение, трябва да подчертаем, че съдържанието на понятието *етнос* се дефинира според научноизследователските задачи на даден проект. В съответствие със задачите, планирани в това изследване, ще се придържаме към една дефиниция за *етнос*, широко приета в етнотимията. Тя е на съвременния руски учен М. И. Исаев, публикувана в „Речник на етнолингвистическите понятия и термини“ (Словарь Этнолингвистических понятий и терминов), и гласи:

Исторически образувала се на определена територия устойчива съвкупност от хора със следните диференциращи признаци: езикът, народното изкуство, обичаите, обредите, традициите, нормите на поведение, навиците, т.е. все компоненти на културата, които бидейки предавани от поколение на поколение, образуват в крайна сметка специфична етническа култура. Етносът се характеризира с етническо самосъзнание, или по-конкретно с представата за общ произход, която намира външен израз в етнотим – самоназвание. (Исаев, 2003, с. 179)

Общественото развитие в Европа и Америка показва, че темата за *етноса* става особено актуална след Втората световна война и причините за тази актуалност се търсят както в огромните мащаби на човешки размествания, така и в небивалото дотогава световно движение за национално самоопределение и независимост. Така например от 1948 г., когато първите следвоенни имигранти от Западните Индии пристигат във Великобритания, броят на чернокожото население в империята достига повече от един милион. Процесът е описан от Бреъм (1982, с. 268) в изследването „Как медиите коментират расата“, публикувано в „Култура, общество и медии“ (Гюревич и др., 1982). Можем да си представим колко се е увеличил този брой днес, когато английското общество търси себе си в океан от мултинационални общности постоянно пребиваващи в империята. От 16 в. английското общество е в активен контакт с далечни и близки страни, продиктуван от икономически интерес. Важно е да се подчертае, че коментарът на това явление, конституирано във вековете, е традиционна тема за британските медии. В един съпоставителен план с развитието на британските

медии българското общество ангажира своите усилия в различна посока. Във времето на активното откриване на Англия за света първите прояви на публицистичната мисъл, коментари и информация имат друг характер, определен от различните идеали на нашето общество. Безусловно, определящ факт за националното развитие е обстоятелството, че то се осъществява в ограничен план в условията на Османската империя. От друга страна обаче, българската общност, консолидирана около националната езикова принадлежност, е била в пряк непосредствен контакт с народи, народностни групи, отделни личности, които са играли една или друга роля в живота на нашето общество, съжителства а също и приноси в културното му развитие. Най-обикновен пример: един от най-големите историци, автор на първия академичен труд по история на България, Константин Иречек (1854-1918), е бил чех. В средата на 19 в. българският език е бил изведен като национален език в европейското езиково пространство от сърбина Вук Караджич (1787-1864). Вниманието заслужават и чешките художници Иван Мърквичка (1856-1938), Ярослав Вешин (1860-1915) и редица други. Това ни позволява да твърдим, че дори на едно елементарно ниво българинът всекидневно е общувал с хора от други етноси, възприемани в състояние на една особена координация, за разлика, например от Великобритания, където тези отношения се развиват в системата на ментор и обучаем, владетел и подвластен. Възниквайки като обществено престижно средство за комуникация, медиите и конкретно вестниците регистрират и отразяват по своеобразен начин тези взаимоотношения, като в същото време внасят един нов момент в интерпретацията им.

Тези обстоятелства не са случайни, нещо повече, информационното предимство отрано се осъзнава в Англия като търговска и държавна необходимост. Предприемчивият дух на британците, стремежът им към овладяване на нови териториални и духовни пространства ги насочва към новото средство за съхраняване, тиражиране и бързо разпространение на познанието. Това е откритата от Гутенберг през 1440 година печатарска преса с подвижни елементи. Скоро след това Уилям Какстън, предприемач, търговец, ценител на хубавата новоотпечатана книга, внася през 1477 г. първата печатница в

Уестминстър. Потокът от нюзбук, газети, меркуриуси залива страната¹. Първият датиран английски вестник, който не отразява събитията спорадично е „Уийкли нюз“ (Weekly News) от 1622 г. През 1702 г. се появява първият английски всекидневник „Дейли Кърънт“ (Daily Current) и преразказва само на лицевата си страна новините от холандски и френски издания, в които се споменава за новооткрити територии и техните народи. В началото на 18 в. засилената индустриализация ускорява урбанизацията и с това се стига до привличане вниманието на още по-голям брой държави, обект на коментар в публицистиката от онова време. През същото столетие се появяват седмичните хронисти, известни за времето си личности като писателите Даниел Дефо, Джонатан Суифт, Ричард Стийл, Тобиас Смолет. Така или иначе Дефо открива жанрова форма, която се оказва „тиражна бомба“ за времето си. Неговият роман „Робинзон Крузо“ (The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner) има съдбата през 1719 г. да бъде отпечатан в 165 откъса във в. „Дейли Поуст“ (Daily Post) и грабва вниманието на читателската аудитория с авантюрата, в която немалка роля играе присъствието на представител на друг етнос, далечен на традиционната английска култура. Авторът включва в отношенията на своя герой този нецивилизован туземец, на когото Робинзон Крузо дава име, приобщава го към ценностите на цивилизацията, а тези контакти и породените от тях взаимоотношения са представителни за цялостното отношение на британската публицистика към темата нови народи и нации в този момент. През 18 век английският печат става голяма обществена сила. Парламентът, другият властови център, въвежда данъци върху знанието, които оскъпяват стойността на изданията и ги превръщат в информационна привилегия само на богатите. Битката срещу тази забрана е започната от доктор Самюел Джонсън, поет, есеист, биограф, литературен критик, автор на речник на английския език. Когато му забраняват да посещава парламентарните дебати, той разказва за една измислена страна, Лилипутия, като леко променя имената на действащите лица, но така че всички да се досетят за кого иде реч. Събитията във Великобритания посочват категоричното ново отношение на актуалната публичност с екзотиката на описанията на непознати страни и народи.

¹ Меркурий е древногръцки бог на търговията, бързината на доставката, лъжата и поради тази причина е възприеман и като символ на ранната преджурналистика.

Един от най-известните и влиятелни британски вестници „Таймс“ (The Times), който започва да излиза през 1785 г., има широка и надеждна система от кореспонденти, предлагащи публицистични материали от първа ръка. Сред тях се открояват репортажите от колониите, както и проблемите, свързани с живота на коренните обитатели, действията на британската администрация, напреженията между етноси. Широко е коментиран въпросът за междуетническите бракове между британци и местни жители, за интеграцията на цветнокожите и правата на коренното население. Вестникът изцяло става част от престижа на обществото, диктува модата, общественото настроение, традиционно утвърждаващото се отношение към други народи и присъствието им в британската политика и култура. Това особено силно проличава по време на Първата (1914-1918) и Втората световни войни (1938-1945), когато на страната на английската корона воюват десетки етноси. Забележително е, че в повечето случаи отношението на британското общество (чийто вкус, както посочих, се диктува и от вестниците) носи критична снизходителност към колониалните народи, в която критичност нерядко се откриват политически нападки, недоверие, културно и икономическо съизмерване, съчетано с елементи на расизъм и целенасочено отстояване на традиционни английски ценности.

От повечето изследователи на българската публицистика за нейно начало се приемат „Сказанието“ (9-10 в.) на Черноризец Храбър и Солунските легенди от 11-12 в. Типична с подчертаната си публицистична характеристика е „История Славяноболгарская“ (18 в.). Първите популярни и достъпни вестници у нас, предназначени за образованата част от българската аудитория са руските „Маяк“, „Московитянин“, сръбския „Новине српске“, както и някои гръцки и турски издания. Трайни печатници в България се създават едва в края на 18 и началото на 19 век. Към 1840 година в Смирна започва да излиза първото българско периодично издание - списание „Любословие“ (филология от гръцки) на Константин Фотинов. С оглед на интересуващата ме тук тема е необходимо да посоча, че въпреки че издателят развива смели за онова време становища за равенството между половете и необходимостта от образование на жените, темата за етносите и техните социални императиви на съществуване не се открива на страниците на списанието. Редактор на първия български вестник „Българский орел“ е Иван Богоров, който основава традицията българските вестници да се

пишат на български език. Вестникът излиза само в три броя, които представят новини, така наречения „учебен дял“, „известия“ за търговците, приказки, разкази, „смешливи приказвания“. Първият вестник с траен живот е „Цариградски вестник“, който печата и служебни новини – съобщения за държавни актове, за мероприятия на властта и административни промени, външнополитически новини, заемани главно от чужди вестници, като е държана сметка за официалното турско становище. По-късно управлението и издаването на вестника се поема от Александър Екзарх. Едва ли е случаен фактът, че Екзарх преимуществено дава място на събитията в хода на Кримската война (1853-1856). Събитията от войната предполагат описанието на чужди армии, чужди етноси, участници в драматичния конфликт - руснаци, руси, гърци, турци, татари, които обаче са представени в духа на официалната турска политика. Екзарх отпечатва две информации от чужд произход, в които се изтъква самоотвержеността на руските войски. Както в Англия през 17-18 в., така и в България преобладаващата част от тогавашните издатели са били хора на духа, с финансови затруднения, и в този смисъл Екзарх е бил принуден да търси пари за вестника от руското посолство, а заедно с това и субсидии от гръцката патриаршия. Този факт, за съжаление е коментиран като едно трагично начало на корупцията в българския печат.

Тук трябва да се добави и в. „България“ на Драган Цанков, излизащ от 1859 г., който води борба срещу гръцкото духовенство, за да защити националните достойния на българската патриотична кауза.

Темата *етнос* през този период на раждане и развитие на българската публицистика е свързана с религията в няколко посоки:

1. Обособяване и развитие на националното съзнание на базата на християнството и групата славянски народи.
2. Противопоставяне и борба срещу опитите за посегателство и национална асимилация от гръцкото духовенство, търсене на пътища и връзки за приобщаване към силната и авторитетна римокатолическа църква.
3. Изграждане на народна съпротива и отстояване на националните достойнства срещу исляма.

„Дунавски лебед“ на Георги Сава Раковски, който излиза през 1860 г., поставя начало на революционната линия в развитието на нашия печат. Темата етнос, българска народност, съпричастността към нейната съдба е в основата на всичките му публицистични изяви и в призивите, и в писмата му. Такъв пример откриваме в писмото му до педагога от котленското училище Райно Попович, в което Раковски пише за „чудославния“ български народ. За него гръцките духовници вече са „светогасители, презрители на нашия български народ“ (цит. по Трайков, 1974, с. 64).

Съпротивата срещу посегателствата на гръцкото духовенство е трайна публицистична територия в разгръщането на темата *етнос* през целия период на Възраждането. Тя присъства във в. „Гайда“ (1863), издаван от Петко Рачов Славейков, в. „Народност“ (1867-69), в. „Тъпан“ (1869) и в. „Свобода“ (1869), в който издателят Любен Каравелов във всеки брой подчертава както необходимостта от външна помощ на националноосвободителната революция, така и свързаните с този процес редица примери на народности - преди всичко евреи, гърци, сърби, румънци, италианци и други, които според автора имат пряко отношение към българското национално освобождение. Така публицистично се декларира и голямата тема за южнославянската и балканска федерация със съседните народи и етноси, тема, която остава актуална с различна интензивност в печата до средата на 20 в.

Ние желаеме да живеем с всичките наши съседи дружествено, а особено със сърбите и румъните, които отчасти съчувствуват на нашите стремления и желаеме да съставим с тях южнославянска или Дунавска федерация на свободните страни. Ние желаеме щото тая земя, която е населена с българи, да се управлява български, т.е. съобразно нравите и обичаите и характера на българския народ. А тия земи, които са населени с румъни, със сърби и гърци, да се управляват съобразно с характера на румънския, сръбския и гръцкия народ... (цит. по Боршуков 2003, с. 236-237)

Безспорният връх на българската журналистика Христо Ботев има опит в издаването на вестниците „Независимост“ и „Знаме“. Във вестник „Нова България“ (1876) той формулира програмата на революцията... „Българският бунт влезе в своите права и борбата е захваната със всичката си отчаяност“ (цит. по Боршуков, 2003. с. 294). За Ботев журналистиката е едно от първите средства на революцията. Идеята за революцията се свързва със съдбата на българския

народ, с участието на южнославянските народи, т.нар. Велики сили. В тази връзка се споменават различни етноси – сърби, гърци, власи, румъни. (Раковски ги нарича румъни, етнонимът румънци още не е кодифициран по онова време.) В епохата на Възраждането в Турция не е имало установени норми за уреждане въпросите на печата. Вестниците са били цензурирани, гръцката патриаршия е упражнявала свой контрол. Това естествено влияе върху отношението на българската публицистика към двата етноса – турски и гръцки. По жанр най-ранните вестници са повече информационни, а със започване на борбата за църковна самостоятелност и създаването на национално революционно движение голяма част от вестниците стават носители на идейни и политически мнения. Първоначално в предосвободенския ни печат господстват теми, спомагащи за обособяване на етническата идентичност на българския народ, исторически теми, въпроси за езика, стопански теми, училищни проблеми, въпросът за самостоятелна църква. Постепенно те отстъпват на идеята за свобода. След Освобождението и класовото разслоение на българското общество всички вестници са крехки незакрепнали издания. Една от основните теми в българския печат след Берлинския конгрес (13. 07. 1878 г.) е възстановяване и запазване на българския етнос в неговите териториални граници, най-често българското езиково землище. Езикът отново се превръща в основен критерий за национална принадлежност и самосъзнание. Тази тема пронизва целия български печат в края на 19-ти и началото на 20-ти в., а и остава основна в годините преди и по време на войните.

Националната държава определя и „светлината“ върху войната. Тя задава и рамката на образи, с които е представена войната в националните медии. Първата световна война се определя в историографията като модерна, индустриална, медийна - поради новите технологии във въоръжението и поради характера на медийното ѝ представяне. Определението медийни войни и за балканските войни е признаване на модерния характер на тези войни, доколкото медийна война включва определено развитие на типографската техника и на полиграфията успоредно с развитието на камерата и появата на кинолента. Образите стават същностна част от подготовката и воденето на войната, чрез значително нарасналите тиражи на печатните медии и появата на кинозалони те достигат до една много по-широка публика, стават основно средство за масова,

национална и военна мобилизация и пропаганда. Един от основните въпроси, който поставят медиите в тези балкански конфликти, е има ли разлика в изображенията и оценките на насилие, извършено от или спрямо „цивилизовани“ или от или спрямо „варварски“ народи. Войната и воинските образи се оказват особено устойчиви и подходящи да моделират идентичността на воюващите. Идентичността във вестниците не е статична непроменлива, а е динамична, ситуативна, множествена, комплексна. Тя е съчетание на етническа, религиозна, полава, политическа, професионална, поколенческа идентичност, които си взаимодействат и именно това взаимодействие определя силното публицистично внушение. Публикациите във вестниците от времето на войните, фотографиите, илюстрациите, карикатурите и графиките предоставят значително количество доказателства за превъзходството на „цивилизацията“ (родното, националното) над „варварството“ (чуждото, противниковото в етнически план). Един друг тип, така наречените егодокументи – писма, дневници – показва как насилие над възприемани като по-низши култури, народи, етноси и „варварски режими“ се описва във вестниците от онова време като необходима защита на „цивилизацията“ (Касабова, 2014). Това е едно публицистично представяне на „другите“ (народи, етноси, общества), което под натиска на пропагандните образи на националсоциализма се радикализира до крайност през Втората световна война. Акцентът при представянето на своята армия изтъква качества на етноса, които са разположени върху идеята за строгата дисциплина, отговорността и хуманността при воденето на военни действия. На всичко това се противопоставя устойчивият образ за „дивите“ и „варварски“, чужди, обикновено съседни етноси и народи, участващи във войната като врагове.

Направените изследвания върху представата за човека с неговата национална принадлежност, отразена в двата вида вестникарска журналистика, налагат извода, че сходствата са твърде малко на пръв поглед – по-скоро на преден план излиза диаметралното различие в двете национални публицистики. Но в тези прояви и в съпоставянето им проличават най-характерните различия и особености на въвеждането и развитието на темата *етнос* в нейния публицистичен контекст.

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PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY AND WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS: WANDERING WITH(OUT) A MUSE: INTERTEXTUALITY AND ROMANTIC DISGUISE

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Abstract

The article is an attempt at a comparative critical study of select works by the English romantic poet Percy Bysshe Shelley and the Irish poet William Butler Yeats, whose post-romantic intellectual conditioning was widely influenced by the texts of his literary predecessor. Distinctive Yeatsian concepts such as 'self' and 'anti-self,' 'life' and 'work,' 'man' and 'poet', which recur throughout his work, are traced and analyzed in their relation to the romantic tradition; specifically, to those discourses concerned with the principles of continual conflict, ambivalent experience and overwhelming phantasms which haunt and exhaust the romantic quester's persona to the utmost limit.

Key words: intertextuality, romantic quest, disguise, daemonic poet, veiled maid, Shelley, Yeats

On Shelley's and Yeats's Concept of the 'Demonic' poet

Shelley's *Alastor; or the Spirit of Solitude*, is a very useful point of departure in locating the influences in Yeats's own formation as one of the 'last romantics'¹. Written in 1815, it is generally considered amongst the most significant works of Shelley's early creative years. The word 'alastor,' derived from Greek and meaning 'the victim of an avenging spirit', is a very indicative label which functions both as a physical and a metaphorical construct in the text: it signals the figurative wandering of the protagonist's thought (or as Shelley himself put it in his Preface, it is 'allegorical of one of the most interesting situations of the human mind' (Shelley, 1816, p. III)), and it

¹ I'm referring to the book by Graham Hough *The Last Romantics*.

also triggers the literal wandering of the verse narrative's main figure, a Poet, who embarks on a quest for a transcendent vision of a maid in an attempt to establish a highly desired union with it. 'From early infancy,' the narrator suggests, was 'by solemn vision and bright silver dream' '[he] nurtured,' and

When early youth had past, he left
His cold fireside and alienated home
To seek strange truth in undiscovered lands. (6)

The word 'wandering' (i. e. 'his *wandering* step, / Obedient to high thoughts has visited / The awful ruins of the days of old'; 'the Poet *wandered* on, through Arabie / And Persia'), calls up a wide range of associations linking the Shelleyan Poet to, inter alia, the figure of the Wandering Jew. The original story has been the focus of wide discussion and interpretation by different literary figures from various periods in literary history. The concept of wandering, however, is most notably related to the romantic tradition and its emblematic representatives throughout Britain and continental Europe. 'I believe it to be no accident,' notes Julien Scutts, 'that the word 'Wanderer' enjoyed the greatest use and significance in the Romantic period when poets and philosophers began to recognize the nature of what we now understand as the subconscious and the unconscious' (Scutts, 2002, p. 2).

There is an explicit mention of the name of Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew, in Shelley's *Queen Mab* and in *Hellas*. In *Alastor*, although not explicitly mentioned, the concept of wandering underlies the whole structure of the verse narrative. Yeats, who was indisputably highly influenced by Shelley in his early work, 'pursues' this concept in his youth as much as he flees away from it in a most 'unromantic' fashion in his later writings. The idea of wandering can be traced in all his earlier short verse, as well as in most of his longer verse narratives such as *The Wanderings of Oisín*. Its thematic paradigm in fact dominated, as John Harwood rightly points out, the poems of 1885 to 1889 (Harwood, 1997, p. 265). It is important to note at this point the common root of the words 'error' and 'wander.' The verb 'to err' comes from the Latin 'errare' and means 'to stray,' 'to wander.' In the Preface to *Alastor* Shelley identifies the Poet as one 'deluded by a generous error' (Shelley, 1816, p.V) and, logically, the equivocality of the oxymoronic 'generous error' re-affirms Shelley's own ambiguous attitude towards the quester's yearning, 'infinite and unmeasured' (III), as the Preface defines it. And if one can identify the contradiction in the state of being 'deluded by a

generous error,' the Poet from *Alastor*, then, appears to be a species of the knight errant of chivalric romance. These paradigms evidently constituted the semantic cell of Shelley's romantic and Yeats' post-romantic formula of love which underlay the greater part of their poetic and dramatic output. 'I gathered from the Romantic poets an ideal of perfect love...' Yeats maintains. 'Perhaps,' he goes on to say, 'I should never marry in church but I would love one woman all my life.' (in Cullingford, 1997, p. 44) This essential paradox, however, eventually turned to be a reality, and Yeats's life-long obsession with the personality of Maud Gonne is a proof of this. Shelley's concept of *Alastor* in fact finds its particular post-romantic analogue in the notion of the 'Daimonic' poet, whose nature is contemplated by Yeats in his *Per Amica Silentia Lunae*:

When I think of life as a struggle with the Daimon who would ever set us to the hardest work among those not impossible, I understand why there is a deep enmity between a man and his destiny, and why a man loves nothing but his destiny. In an Anglo-Saxon poem a certain man is called, as though to call him something that summed up all heroism, 'Doom eager'... Then my imagination runs from Daimon to sweetheart, and I divine an analogy that evades the intellect. I remember that Greek antiquity has bid us look for the principal stars, that govern enemy and sweetheart alike, among those that are about to set; and I even wonder if there may not be some secret communion, some whispering in the dark between Daimon and sweetheart. (Yeats, 1997, p. 414)

It becomes evident from this passage that the relationship Yeats postulates between poet and muse (*daimon*) is in fact a reconstructed version of the relationship between Poet and 'veiled maid' in Shelley's *Alastor*. If to Yeats's mind Daimon and Sweetheart bore identical connotations, they should be seen as originating from the destructiveness and equivocality of Shelley's muse. In William Blake's work this paradigmatic image is referred to as Vala (veil) in *The Four Zoas* (Blake, 1979, p. 216), and is linked to the Great Mystery from *The Book of Revelation*. Seen as a whore, covered with precious stones from head to foot, she is spurned and despised because of her deceptive nature. This is the point where Yeats drastically diverged from Blake who never assigned positive connotations to 'her.' In contrast, both Yeats and Shelley conceived of the 'muse' as a vision rather than a deception, and her nature was regarded to belong within the realm of necessity as part of the Poet's fate. Eventually, as the Preface to *Alastor* reads, the Poet was doomed because his notion that such a prototype existed in real life was false. However, a transcendent vision seen as an image of his alter ego persists:

A vision on his sleep

There came, a dream of hopes that never yet
 Had flushed his cheek. He dreamed a veiled maid
 Sate near him, talking in low solemn tones.
 Her voice was like the voice of his own soul
 Heard in the calm of thought; its music long,
 Like woven sounds of steams and breezes, held
 His inmost sense suspended in its web
 Of many-coloured woof and shifting hues.
 Knowledge and truth and virtue were her theme,
 And lofty hopes of divine liberty,
 Thoughts the most dear to him, and poesy,
 Herself a poet. (Shelley, 1816, p. 11-12)

‘The passions,’ wrote Yeats, ‘when we know that they cannot find fulfillment, become vision’ (qtd. in Harwood, 1997, p. 266). The Poet’s passion, enkindled by the object of desire, turns into a vision when he realizes its unattainability. From this point onward the ever-increasing tension and conflict between the ‘demonic’ self and the ‘natural’ self of the Poet’s personality is revealed. The ideal is attainable only beyond time and the grave, the end of Shelley’s poem suggests. The failure of the quester’s ‘human’ self is intended to highlight the eternal nature of the vision, which, once captured and ‘photographed’ in the Poet’s mind, is subsequently preserved in the lines of the poetic narrative itself.

A difficulty arises if we take into account the ‘instructive’ significance of the second part of the Preface, in which Shelley states that ‘the Poet’s self-centred seclusion was avenged by the furies of an irresistible passion pursuing him to speedy ruin’ (Shelley, 1816, p. IV). It can be inferred that the state in which the Poet finds himself is a condition dominated by the powers of, to use Blake’s terms, Jehova-Urizen, the cruel god seen as inducing an abstract solipsistic absorption into remorse, inner doubts and self-torture. But the dialectic of love as represented by both Shelley and Yeats, although ‘verging dangerously near to an apparent exaltation of solipsism,’ as Harold Bloom rightly suggests (Bloom, 1970, p. 241), is refined and subtle, and thus it should not seem strange that even Blake could not (or rather ignored to) recognize the dual nature of this solipsistic state which can either lead to an inevitable downfall, or originate visionary experience and inspiration, the romantic pattern positing the equivocal relationship between Poet and Muse (poet - daimon): In *A Vision* Yeats elaborates their respective roles:

This relation (the *Daimon* being of the opposite sex to that of man) may create a passion like that of sexual love. The relation of man and woman, in so far as it is passionate, reproduces the relation of man and *Daimon*, and becomes an element where man and *Daimon* sport, pursue one another, and do one another good or evil. (Yeats, 1997, p. 428)

This pursuit as it is perceived by Yeats evidently requires the absence of the real person, or rather, the loss of its substantiality. 'A poet writes always of his personal life in its finest work out of its tragedy, whatever it be, remorse, lost love, or mere loneliness', wrote Yeats (qtd in Harwood, 1997, p. 262). The transformation of this loss into a vision, however, is eventually effected through the imaginative power of the romantic mind that performs a specific retrospective affirmation of the very state of having been in love, which may at present have disappeared. The imaginative product of this activity, conventionally seen to emerge in a condition of distress or depression, thus relevantly comes to replace, through its phantasmagoric form and content, real-life experience. This process Yeats identifies as 'the assuming of Mask,' or the creation of an 'antithetical self' (Yeats, 1992, pp. 152, 274). The poet has to put on a mask, the antithesis to his experience in daily life, so that he can perform skillfully his 'theatrical' role on stage. In this sense, as Yeats remarks in *Essays and Introductions*, the poet 'is never the bundle of accident and incoherence that sits down to breakfast, he has been reborn as an idea, something intended, complete' (Yeats, 1961, p. 509). The same pattern which had once fired Shelley's imaginative thinking is 'reborn as an idea' in Yeats's own notion of 'self' and 'anti-self,' 'poet' and 'muse,' 'self' and 'mask.' All these concepts, Yeats insists, are connected with what he terms a 'buried self' (Yeats, 1992, p. 273), the hidden personality of his alter ego which like a phantom peeps every now and then through the eyes of that same self. Thus, in Yeats's view, the mask, the image and the ghost emerge as a result of the poet's capability to play the role of a theatrical hero, to become himself a dramatic persona. And this performance requires 'a discipline upon ourselves, the wearing of a mask. It is the condition of arduous full life..., the self-conquest of the writer who is not a man of action,' it 'is style' (Yeats, 1992, pp. 461, 469).

That Yeats was striving to achieve 'style' is demonstrated by a short poem from *The Green Helmet and Other Poems*, entitled *The Mask*. Its structure is dialogic, the argument is carried out by two speakers (probably lovers), and it is likely that, though standing in two opposite directions, they represent one coherent form:

'Put off that mask of burning gold
With emerald eyes.'

'Oh, no my dear, you make so bold
To find if hearts be wild and wise,
And yet no cold.'

'I would but find what's there to find,
Love or deceit.'
'It was the mask engaged your mind,
And after set your heart to beat,
Not what's behind.'

'But lest you are my enemy,
I must enquire.'
'Oh, no my dear, let all that be
What matter, so there is but fire
In you, in me?' (Yeats, 1997, p. 43)

The poem does not reveal any sentimentality and affection between the lovers as we might have expected, but instead, it is full of tension. A great quantity of ardour but strain as well can be felt throughout, for both persons are obviously striving to disentangle a psychological puzzle. In this argumentative battle neither character gains the upper hand. There is no definitive answer to the puzzle, the answer seems to hang somewhere in the air like a rope which is pulled at both ends by two equally powerful rivals. The 'mask of burning gold' with 'emerald eyes' stands for an unfathomable inscrutability which dazzles the mind of the male counterpart with its shiny contrast to daily life. 'Love' and 'deceit' skillfully interchange their places to add further tension to the mysterious dialogue between the two speakers. As a result, both parties lose their significance, for they seem to be struggling with one another in a torturous vicious circle, the voice of each trying to get the better of the other: 'But lest you are my enemy, / I must enquire.' Like a sarcastic echo from behind the mask the other voice, that of the 'anti-self,' resonates: 'What matter, so there is but fire/ In you, in me?'

Logically enough, the rivalry between the lover and the beloved, the self and the anti-self, the mask and what stands behind the mask blend their separate delineations in order to give rise to the poem, to engender a unified perspective – that of the poet – who is to articulate, through his own bitterness and pain, a reconciliation with the impossibility for an easy denouement. John Harwood further elaborates the point:

By 1917 Yeats had made the 'the discovery that informs...the whole of 'Per Arnica Silentia Lunae'...that he had not, after all, been attempting to portray an existing self.' In the moment of

vision, the anti-self seems to consume the I that has invoked or invited it like 'medicinal grass,' in order to disgorge poetry. But the poem remains a joint enterprise; the anti-self supplies the vision, but the I has to take up the hard toil of knocking the rhymes into shape. (Yeats, 1997, p. 261)

Though the content which informs Shelley's *Alastor* highly influenced Yeats's ideas about the 'daimonic' poet, the two authors' conceptions diverge in a considerable degree. The demonic torturer Alastor is no doubt effecting the ecstatic vision of the dreamy emblematic 'veiled maid' described as 'herself a poet' (which finds its analogue in Yeats's conception of the 'anti-self'), but this vision leads Shelley's poet to the non-entity of death, while Yeats's torturer drives 'the I' to perform the 'heroic' task of 'knocking the rhymes into shape.' We can undisputedly identify, though they are lurking somewhere in the background, the self-ironizing practices of both Shelley the skeptic and Yeats 'the hero,' realized, however, in two entirely different ways and directions. Shelley achieves the ironic effect by explicitly mentioning in the second half of the Preface the Poet's self-centredness and seclusion, while Yeats plays with tricky perspectives and effects interchanges of roles and characters in affirming the 'rebirth of an idea'. Spencer Hall, who comments on Shelley's text, convincingly argues that the ironic function is performed by the Gothic elements in Romantic poetry, which, in his view, 'challenge the 'traditional' Romantic affirmations of transcendence and the unitive self'² (Hall, 2001, pp. 8-9).

The concept of romantic irony springs from a deliberate mixture of different voices and levels of meaning. In *Alastor* the voices are those of the narrator, the speaker of the Preface and the Poet, while in Yeats's *The Mask* the two voices are those of the lover and his beloved (or 'self' and 'anti-self'), who enter into a playful game in which they interchange their roles. On the semantic level the ironizing practices are achieved through the elaborate structuring and mutually subversive influence of different texts and subtexts identified in Shelley's poem by Spencer Hall as 'Gothic' and 'Romantic', or what may be termed 'conversational' and 'philosophic' ones, as far as Yeats's poem is concerned. Indeed, 'overleaping the bounds' by the Poet is to a certain degree neutralized by the witty warning of the speaker who revealingly moralizes 'actual men' what might happen to them if they follow the lead of the protagonist. However,

² 'Thus the Gothic can be construed,' writes Spencer Hall, 'to borrow Rajan's terminology, as a 'subtext' - a Dark Interpreter - that subverts, unconsciously and unintentionally, the conceptual and structural unities of the Romantic 'text.' Or the Gothic might function as a 'countertext' that questions, consciously and intentionally, the overt affirmations of the text, thus participating in the construction of Romantic irony and Romantic skepticism.' See Hall, p. 10.

to me, it seems that the irony, proclaimed to be a major concern of the canonical romantic poets by some literary critical theories of the 70-ies and early 80-ies³ is in fact induced by these critics' biased reading of romantic poetry. That romantic irony was not an end in itself can be proved not only by the Preface in which Shelley identifies the Poet's error as 'generous,' but also by other texts written by him at about the time of *Alastor*. In his collected letters we find the following description of his relationship with Mary Shelley: 'So intimately are our natures now united, that I feel whilst I describe her excellences as if I were an egoist expatiating upon his own perfections (qtd in Mellor, 1993, p. 25), and in his *On Love*, written three years after *Alastor*, he comments:

Love is an imagination which should enter into and seize upon the subtle and delicate peculiarities which we have delighted to cherish and unfold in secret; with a frame whose nerves, like the chords of two exquisite lyres, strung to the accompaniment of one delightful voice, vibrate with the vibrations of our own;...the invisible and unattainable point to which Love tends. (qtd. in Mellor, 1993, p. 25)

The atmosphere of profound confession which pervades the excerpt (and is reminiscent of the line from *Alastor* 'her voice was like the voice of his own soul') definitely excludes Shelley's ironic attitude. That Yeats also took seriously what Shelley explicitly called in *On Love* the 'anti-type' is proved both by his life and his work. In *Autobiographies* he wrote:

As I look backward upon my own writing, I take pleasure alone in those verses where it seems to me I have found something hard and cold, some articulation of the Image which is the opposite of all that I am in my daily life. (Yeats, 1992, 274)

Yeats projected the 'anti-self' of his own 'inmost sense' in Maud Gonne's personality, for, as the poet himself pointed out, 'she seemed to understand every subtlety of my own art and especially all my spiritual philosophy' (Yeats, 1973, p. 61). That Yeats was savagely questioning, especially in his later years, his entire textual practice remains beyond any contention, but the impression we get in our attempts to trace the poet's own retrospective glance on earlier prose and verse is of his bitterness and self-sarcastic regard rather than of irony. The confessional facet of both Yeats's

³I am specifically referring to certain literary-critical theories of post-modernism (post-structuralism, feminism and deconstruction) which have challenged the established status-quo of canonical literary works through the typological worldview of irony. They presuppose an understanding of irony as a mode of consciousness which, under certain historical circumstances, can be seen as inevitable, as an end in itself.

and Shelley's personalities and writings evidently excludes the ironic attitude. In a weighty and solemn overtone the speaker of *The Choice* declares:

The intellect of man is forced to choose Perfection of
the life or of the work.

According to the text, the most important requirement for the rise of the 'daimonic' poet is the impossible equality of life and art. In Yeats's view, there was a kind of 'cause-and-effect' relationship between them. However, what is characteristic of Yeats is that, unlike Shelley, the 'transcendent moment' never destroys either self or anti-self, poet or life, mask or what's behind the mask; rather, they all merge to give rise to a poem. Subsequently, each of these entities retires into its separate independent existence but leaves behind those powerful traces that may help the poet, who is larger than them all, to identify and preserve the uniqueness of his own character.

Yeats and Shelley's *On the Medusa*⁴

The 'romantic' account of the Medusa myth can be traced in Shelley's poem *On the Medusa of Leonardo da Vinci in the Florentine Gallery*⁵ which was published by Mary Shelley in *Posthumous Poems*, 1824. The poem, an ekphrasis in genre, is also an excellent example of Shelley's mythmaking faculty (usually associated with works larger in scale, such as *Prometheus Unbound*, *The Witch of Atlas* and *Epipsychidion*). In *On the Medusa* Shelley makes use of the ancient myth without drastically subverting its original content and meaning. What he adds to the ancient story are a few colouring touches of his romantic imagination whereby his Medusa emerges even more extraordinary than the original one. The description of Medusa's head and the effect which it exerts on the onlookers is the following:

It lieth, gazing on the midnight sky,
Upon the cloudy mountain peak supine;
Below, far lands are seen tremblingly;
Its horror and its beauty are divine.
Upon its lips and eyelids seem to lie

⁴ The classical story runs in the following way: Medusa had originally been a beautiful maiden and was thus eagerly pursued by many suitors. She rejected their advances but Neptune managed to rape her in the temple of Minerva, the goddess presiding over the useful and ornamental arts. Minerva, infuriated by this outrage, turned Gorgon's lustrous golden hair into a swarm of snakes, banished her to a distant and desolate place and decreed that each and everybody who looked on her would turn to stone. Subsequently, Perseus who was urged by Minerva to kill her, cut off Medusa's head and was duly honoured with immortality for his deed. From her serpent locks sprang forth Pegasus, the winged horse of inspiration.

⁵ Medusa was not painted by Leonardo, as Shelley wrongly thought.

Loveliness like a shadow, from which shine,
 Fiery and lurid, struggling underneath,
 The agonies of anguish and of death.

Yet it is less horror than the grace
 Which turns the gazer's spirit into stone. (*Romantic Circles*, 1997)

The impact of Medusa's head on the 'gazer's spirit' (and of the poem on us as readers) is strong not only because it is produced by two mutually contradictory notions which characterize it ('anguish' and 'terror', on the one hand, and 'beauty' and 'grace', on the other), but also because they seem to be unified in a single image. The horrific effect of the Gorgon persists both because the possibility for the maiden to retrieve her initial state of innocence is precluded, and because she has become an object of undeserved victimization, cursed as she is 'through no fault of her own,' as McGann rightly suggests (McGann, 1972, pp. 3-25). The 'tempestuous loveliness of terror' is 'kindled', as the text itself reads, by an 'inextricable error.'

The motif of victimization re-echoes in many of Yeats's later poems. In *A Thought from Propertius* his beloved Maud Gonne is described as a virgin goddess, walking through the 'holy images/ At Pallas Athena's side,' untainted by the 'troubles' of sexual intercourse. But she is also said to be 'a fit spoil for a centaur/ Drunk with the unmixed wine' (Yeats, 1993, p. 153). Contemplated in yet another poem, *Peace*, (Yeats, 1993, p. 92) are both her 'noble line' and her unquiet life ('Were not all her life but storm'), evidently correspondent with Shelley's description of Medusa's 'grace' and 'tempestuous loveliness of terror', which re-establish the same kind of ambivalence characteristic of the better part of Shelley's work. 'Such a duality in the imagination's function,' writes McGann, 'was always a fundamental part of Shelley's thought in both politics and art' (McGann, 1972, p. 5).

Analogous to Shelley's *On the Medusa* is Yeats's post-romantic poem *Leda and the Swan* which is iconographic in its use of the motif of divine rape. It describes the victimization by Zeus in the shape of a swan of Leda, who begets, through a *terrible* experience, the mythical beauty Helen who would subsequently cause the destruction of Troy, the fall of the Greek and the rise of the Roman civilization:

A sudden blow: the great wings beating still
 Above the staggering girl, her thighs caressed
 By the dark webs, her nape caught in his bill,

He holds her helpless breast upon his breast.
 How can those terrified vague fingers push
 The feathered glory from her loosening thighs?
 And how can body, laid in that white rush,
 But feel the strange heart beating where it lies? (Yeats, 1993, p. 215)

On the Medusa's additional stanza, which was discovered later than the original poem, may help us to establish a further, even more essential link to the influence Shelley might have exerted on Yeats's significant poems, namely those from the later collections *The Tower* and *The Winding Stair and Other Poems*. The initially unknown version runs as follows:

It is a woman's countenance divine
 With everlasting beauty breathing there
 Which from a stormy mountain's peak supine
 Gazes into the night's trembling air.
 It is a trunkless head, and on its feature
 Death has met life, but there is life in death,
 The blood is frozen - but unconquered Nature
 Seems struggling to the last without a breath,
 The fragment of an uncreated creature.

Medusa's 'inextricable error' (her rape by Neptune) is an event which engendered the fatal necessity of converging life with death. The phrase 'Death has met life, but there is life in death' points to the familiar paradox in Coleridge's ballad 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner', 'Life-in-death', the deadly female figure that wins the ancient mariner. Her impact upon the literary imagination was so strong that it became a recurrent motif in the next century in many works, including Yeats's famous and emblematic *Byzantium*:

A mouth that has no moisture and no breath
 Breathless mouths may summon;
 I hail the superhuman;
 I call it death-in-life and life-in-death. (Yeats, 1993, p. 248)

The inevitable clash between the violence of physical abuse and the 'divinity' of Medusa's rape (corresponding to what Yeats subsequently saw as the imposition of 'disdain' by the dome of Sancta Sophia on 'all that man is') forces life out of death and vice versa, and all this baleful struggle can be traced, Shelley suggests, on 'the lineaments of that dead face.' The fatal meeting of life and death is shown in a

brilliant way through the phrase 'thrilling vapour of the air,' an apt metaphor for Medusa's breath, seen as something indefinite: neither dead, nor alive. Her breath spreads mortality because it issues from a dead head, but it also signifies life because it produces steam and thus impresses the notion of movement. The secrets of life and death discovered by Medusa have turned her face into an 'ever-shifting mirror' which not only reflects her inner fright and loveliness, but also helps her to discern, though only through terrific death, the beauty of heaven:

A woman's countenance with serpent locks,
Gazing in death on Heaven from those wet rocks. (*Romantic Circles*, 1997)

Shelley very aptly establishes the link (maybe unconsciously) between Medusa's 'thrilling vapour of the air' exemplifying the process of inspiring and expiring, and the *inspiration* it effects. Not only did the motif of inspiration (engendered at the fatal meeting of life and death), become a paradigmatic archetypal romantic pattern, but it also came to function in other discourses and literary contexts. The vapour issuing from a dead head in fact became a source of *inspiration* for other authors who also emphasized the link between life and death, and further developed the analogy between 'breath' and 'inspiration', initially posited by Shelley's genius. 'All legends agree,' writes McGann, 'that at her death the winged horse Pegasus, traditional symbol of poetic inspiration and energy, sprang forth from her body.' (McGann, 1972, p. 4)

Irrespective of whether Yeats investigated Shelley's poem or not, its impressive meaning is re-enacted in one of his last poems entitled *A Bronze Head*, a 'crowning double' of *On the Medusa*, in which Yeats describes a bronze head of his beloved Maud Gonne in the Dublin Municipal Gallery. I will quote it at some length in order to demonstrate the striking similarities between this poem and *On the Medusa*:

Here at right of the entrance this bronze head,
Human, super-human, a bird's round eye,
Everything else withered and mummy-dead.
What great tomb-haunter sweeps the distant sky;
(Something may linger there though all else die;)
And finds there nothing to make its terror less
Hysterica-passio of its own emptiness?
No dark tomb-haunter once; her form all full
As though with magnanimity of light

Yet a most gentle woman's; who can tell
Which of her forms has shown her substance right
Or may be substance may be composite,
Profound McTaggart thought so, and in a breath
A mouthful hold the extreme of life and death. (Yeats, 1993, p. 340)

The thematic interdependence and interchange of the concepts of 'death' and 'life' (the link Eros-Thanatos is implicit), familiar from *On the Medusa*, pervades the whole content of *A Bronze Head*. The effect, which this exhibit exerts on the surrounding world may be summarized as 'destruction': 'Everything else withered and mummy-dead.' The 'tomb-haunter sweeping the distant sky' in the next line is undoubtedly reminiscent of the disposition of Medusa's head, 'gazing' as it does 'in death on heaven from those wet rocks.' The original image of Maud Gonne rendered as 'a form all full as though with magnanimity of light' recalls Medusa's extraordinary beauty as expressed in the line 'her horror and her beauty are divine.' Further on, the same drama of a grace which has turned 'the gazer's spirit into stone' is re-enacted here: Maud Gonne, 'a most gentle woman', must have gone through 'a vision of terror' which 'had shattered her soul,' the text points out, and this experience subsequently effected 'hysterica-passio' and brought the person who contemplated the head to a state of inexplicable wildness: 'I had grown wild/ And wandered murmuring everywhere 'my child, my child'' (the effect of astonishment and petrification is lurking in the background).

If the curse which Minerva put on Medusa is the curse which Medusa herself had laid on the decaying world of poisonous and hellish creatures, then, by analogy, the curse laid on Maud Gonne, described as 'a vision of terror' that 'must have shattered her soul', resulted in the 'withering' of all the surrounding world on which 'the bird's round eye' of the bronze head at present stared. The two poems thus aim to enact the annihilation in death of worlds 'symbolizing corrupted forms of civilization,' as McGann rightly observes. He goes on to write that

to Shelley a corruption has invaded the beauty of the Medusa's original form, but his poem turns her death into an apocalyptic event distinguishing the forms of light and darkness. Her impassive gaze upon heaven is at once a triumphant rebuke of the powers of the air, an image of the undying vitality of 'unconquered nature,' and her definitively petrifying and defiant gesture: the gods of death will not survive this stony glance. (McGann, 1972, p. 5)

The atmosphere in the last stanza of Yeats's *A Bronze Head* is analogous:

As though a sterner eye looked through her eye
On this foul world in its decline and fall,
On gangling stocks grown great, great stocks run dry,
Ancestral pearls all pitched into a sty,
Heroic reverie mocked by clown and knave
And wondered what was left for massacre to save.

The 'sterner eye' that looked 'on this foul world in its decline and fall' apocalyptically performs the relevant punishment for the sins of a world whose ancestral pearls are 'all pitched into a sty.'

Yeats's interpretation of the meaning of this strange head is similar to Shelley's, because it springs from the idea that beauty has only one signifier. However, this signifier incorporates a large number of various components and its meaning can be disclosed only when 'the extremes of life and death' are held in 'one breath,' as McTaggard managed to do in the poem. And only then can her substance be *revealed* rightly. The phrase 'the extreme of life and death' in no way carries implications of drastic dualism one might erroneously discern on the surface. Yeats, rather, aims to put an emphasis on the whole range of human experience a person might go through on his/her way from the cradle to the grave, or even to suggest the impossibility for anyone to experience all the feelings, encounters and events the superhuman head collectively represents. This is exactly the reason why it seems superhuman. To comprehend its meaning is hard and an interpretation appears to be trustworthy only so long as the *compositeness* characterizing and consonant with the complex myth which both women represent is taken into account. Irrespective of whether the Medusa and Maud Gonne are seen as human or supernatural, irrespective of whether they are described as 'tomb-haunters' ('full of agonies of anguish and death,') or 'full of magnanimity of light' which humanizes and harmonizes the strain, it is important to note that a balance of rhetoric is achieved through the poetic nobility and grace 'graven' on the heads' extraordinary lineaments. A tone of tenderness is lurking behind the scenes of dark apocalypse, a poetic sympathy is apprehensive of the tremendous grief which undeserved fate has inflicted on both the Medusa and Maud Gonne, on their once magnificent and heavenly presences.

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ДЕФИНИЦИИТЕ НА ОНКОЛОГИЧНИТЕ ТЕРМИНИ В НАУЧНАТА ЛИТЕРАТУРА

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Abstract

Oncological terms are specific oncological concepts. They reveal the different aspects of the occurrence and the development of the disease cancer. Their accurate definition is of great importance for determining the best treatment. Thus, students and doctors who specialize in oncology develop the content of the oncological concepts and their meaning in theory and in practice since the definitions of the oncological terms show the content of the oncological concepts and their meaning in medicine. In the scientific literature the nominal definitions are established by means of etymology and synonymy as well as the actual definitions. Also, in oncological scientific works specific defining texts are encountered which are diffuse defining texts, interpreting texts by listing and contextual definitions.

Key words: oncology, definitions, nominal definitions, actual definitions, defining texts

В теорията на научното познание дефиницията е съждение, което дава израз на определението като логически способ, чрез който се разкрива съдържанието на понятията и значението на термините в науката. По този начин се разкриват съществените и отличителните признаци на предметите и явленията (Бънков, 1975, с. 240). В структурата на дефиницията се разграничават два елемента: дефиниендум и дефиниенс. Определението, чрез което се дава една дефиниция, може да уточнява семантиката, влагана в даден термин, смисловото значение, с което се употребява. Такива определения носят названието номинални или описателни (Джонев, 1996, с. 1-127). Номиналното определение се състои в изясняване на смисловото значение на думите и символните знаци, които се използват при научното изследване. Ролята на номиналното определение в науката е да изясни в какъв смисъл се употребява даден термин и как ще се назовава даден обект, ако се въведе в определена научна област. Номиналното определение служи да въведе дадени понятия в научната работа като значение на определени термини (Бънков, 1975, с. 241).

В противовес на номиналното, реалното определение не изяснява значението на думите. То разкрива общите - съществени признаци на клас предмети и различията от други класове предмети. Ето защо е необходимо да се спазват определени правила: първо, видовото понятие, което се определя, се отнася към по-общо понятие - най-близкия род; и второ, видовото понятие се различава от всички съподчинени понятия, които се съдържат в дадения род, като се разкриват общите и то съществените признаци на дефинирания клас. Видовото понятие се дефинира, като се подвежда под най-близкия род и се посочва разликата му от всички други понятия в този род (Бънков, 1975, с. 241-242).

Приема се, че в науката няма разлика между реалните и номиналните определения, защото те произхождат от езиковите изрази-термини, но в края на краищата се разкрива смисловото съдържание, значението, което е реализирано в тях (Бънков, 1975, с. 241). Наред с това съществува и мнение, че номиналните определения представляват най-ниска степен на дефиниране на понятията (Джонев, 1996, с. 1-27). Реалните определения имат разновидности. Едно от тях е генеричното определение на понятията. То посочва признаците на предметите в процеса на образуване на самите предмети. При него дефинираното понятие пак се отнася към по-общ род, но видовото отличие отразява процеса, при който се образува клас обекти. Към генеричното определение принадлежи и определението, сочещо причините на дадено явление. Друга разновидност са определенията чрез закон. При тях определението разкрива определящия признак в нещата, от които се определят всички останали признаци. Операционалното определение е определение на свойствата на предметите чрез действия върху тях, чийто резултати са директно наблюдаеми (Бънков, 1975, с. 243).

При онкологичните определения дефиниендумът е конкретно понятие, принадлежащо на номенклатурен термин за конкретен предмет и като такъв може да получи напълно изчерпателна аналитична дефиниция. Ето защо за представянето на съответния онкологичен обект в текста служат неговите характеристики или особености в строежа, изброяване на съставлящите го части. Много често тези словесни прийоми са придружени от фигуративни изображения. Определено участие в тези процеси има широкият научен контекст (Суперанская, 1976, с. 78).

Първата част от класическото изискване “definition per genus proximum” в реалното определение е заложена в системността на онкологичната терминология. Тя е отразена в номенклатурата. Нейният словесен израз в онкологичните текстове не е задължителен. Втората част от изискването “et differentiam specificam” се изпълнява чрез квалификативни и дескриптивни прийоми, реализирани в широкия научен контекст. Тази специфика позволява за всеки онкологичен термин лесно да бъде конструирана напълно изчерпателна реална дефиниция.

В онкологичния научен текст се установяват номиналните и реалните дефиниции. Номиналните дефиниции са застъпени чрез две свои разновидности- номинални дефиниции, които се основават на етимологията на терминологичната дума и на синоними на терминологичната дума. Реалните дефиниции също заемат подобаващо място в онкологичните текстове. Например: пролиферация - cell proliferation; клетъчно делене - cell division; анаплазия - anaplasia и др.

В онкологичния научен текст се срещат и специфични дефиниращи текстове. Те се определят като дифузни дефиниращи текстове, дефиниращи текстове чрез изреждане и контекстови дефиниции. По своята същност те са текстове, съвпадащи частично с реалните дефиниции или изобщо не съвпадат с тях, но са предназначени за дефиниране.

Номинални дефиниции чрез етимология

Те се основават на етимологията на терминологичната дума, която поема дефинитивна функция. Например: „Туморите, произхождащи от покривния епител на кожата и на лигавиците, се наричат папиломни тумори (лат. Papilla - подобно на зърно образуване, възвишение) или от епителите на жлезите, като туморите запазват донякъде строежа на жлезите, от които произхождат, и се наричат „аденомни тумори” (лат. adenoma - жлеза)” (Михайлов, 1972, с. 128- 130). В приведения пример терминологичните словосъчетания „папиломни тумори” и „аденомни тумори” се дефинират чрез описания на произхода им от латински език и значенията на прилагателните имена като терминоеlementи в словосъчетанията. Те въвеждат видовото отличие във всеки един от термините на базата на различията във формата на онкологични обекти. На английски този

пример ще бъде: „The tumors, which derive from the pavement epithelium of the skin and the mucosa, are called papilloma tumors (lat. papilla - a formation which looks like a grain, a height), or from the epithelium of the glands, if the tumor reserves to some extent the construction of the glands, from which it derives, and is called adenoma tumor (lat. adenoma - gland)”.

Номинални дефиниции чрез синоними

Основават се на синоними, които чрез своето значение подпомагат или поемат дефинитивна функция. В онкологичната литература е разпространена практиката онкологичните обекти да се назовават двукратно: с латинските номенклатурни термини и паралелните английски и български термини. Например: карцинома (лат.) и злокачествено образуване - рак (бълг.), cancer (англ.) malignant tumor, malignant neoplasm. В редица случаи се търсят синоними на българските онкологични термини, като се разчита на това, че тези синоними чрез общоупотребимите си значения ще подпомогнат или ще осъществят дефинирането на онкологичните обекти. Например: „Туболарният или каналчест аденом- adenoma tubularis, има каналчест разклонен строеж, чийто паренхим се състои също от кубични и по-високи кубични епители“ (Михайлов, 1972, с. 131). Българският терминологичен еквивалент на adenoma tubularis е тубуларен аденом. Той има значението на каналчест аденом. Възможността обаче да се подпомогне дефинирането на онкологичния термин тубула чрез основното значение на съществителното каналче се използва чрез включването на тръбичка като дефиниращ синоним, изпълняващ функцията на номинална дефиниция. На английски език този пример ще бъде: „The tubular adenoma - adenoma tubularis, has a tubular branching construction, which parenchyma consists of cubic and higher cubic epithelia.”. Английският терминологичен еквивалент на adenoma tubularis е tubular adenoma. Също като на български език той има значението на каналчест аденом.

Конвенционални номинални дефиниции

Номиналните дефиниции се използват за да се уговори в какъв смисъл се употребява даден термин и как ще се назовава даден обект, ако се въведе в научното изследване. Например: „Под аденом се разбира жлезоподобни формации, които по строеж приличат на устройството на млечната жлеза или на

нейните изходни канали“ (Михайлов, 1972, с. 132). На английски език ще бъде - „Under adenoma is understood some glandular formations, which with their construction look like the structure of the mamma or its outlets“. Такъв тип номинални дефиниции се срещат по-рядко в онкологичната литература. Те не се прилагат при определянето на понятията за онкологичните обекти.

Реални дефиниции

Това са класическите дефиниции. Те представляват групирането на признаците на дефинираните понятия. За тази цел най-напред се намира най-близкото родово понятие. След това то се ограничава чрез свързването му със съществени характеристики. Те диференцират понятието от другите понятия на същото ниво на абстракция. Например: „Туморите, наречени още бластоми (от гръцки blastano) (дефиниендум), са неоплазми (новообразувания) (най-близък род) и са резултат на своеобразно патологично разрастване на тъканите, което се характеризира с безгранично размножаване на клетките (видов диференциален признак)“ (Михайлов, 1972, с. 120). На английски език това ще бъде: „Tumors, which are called blastomas (from greek blastano) (definiendum), are neoplasms and are result from the pathological growth of the tissues (a differential sign)“.

Дифузни дефиниращи текстове

Те включват елементи на определяне, описание и характеризиране и обхващат два случая.

Дефиниращи текстове, които съвпадат частично с дефинициите

А) Дефиниращият текст указва принадлежността на дефиниендума към най-близък род, но не определя достатъчно ясно признаците, които създават видовото различие. Едни и същи признаци един път могат да се отнесат към съдържанието на предметния термин, а друг път - към неговото значение и съответно на това в дефиниращите текстове на един и същи предметен термин в различните източници могат да се включат различни признаци.

Пример 1: Преставяме различни дефиниращи текстове за доброкачествените тумори:

- а) Бенигнените тумори са доброкачествени тумори. Те се характеризират със слабо изразен клетъчен атипизъм, имат експанзивен растеж, като растат бавно, сравнително равномерно и притискат, без да нарушават

околната здрава тъкан. Те са опасни за организма, когато в своя растеж притискат жизнено важни органи (Михайлов, 1972, с. 124).

б) Бенигнените тумори са доброкачествените тумори. Те се отличават с висока степен на клетъчна и структурна диференциация и с наличие на функционална активност. Поради високата си диференциация клетките на доброкачествените тумори са почти аналогични на съответните нормални клетки, от които туморът води началото си (Черноземски, 2001, с. 22).

в) A benign tumor (benign neoplasm) cannot metastasize - it cannot spread. "Benign" means it is non-progressive, it remains as it is.

г) Benign tumors are non-malignant/ non-cancerous tumors. A benign tumor is usually localized, and does not spread to other parts of the body. Most benign tumors respond well to treatment. Benign tumors can also mimic malignant tumors, and for this reason are sometimes treated.

В тези дефиниции дефиниендумът е бенигнения тумор - на български език и benign tumor - на английски език; най-близкото родово понятие е доброкачествен тумор; признаците за диференциация на понятието в рамките на рода са: 1-ви признак - слабо изразен клетъчен атипизъм; 2-ри признак - експанзивен растеж; 3-ти признак - клетките му са аналогични на съответните нормални клетки.

Тези признаци са свързани с дефинирането, описанието и характеризирането на онкологичния обект.

Б) Дефинирацията текст определя диференциалните признаци за дефиниендума, но не оказва принадлежността му към най- близкия род.

Пример 2: „Папиломите започват от повърхността на кожата или лигавицата и растат навън, като стромата на тумора се състои от съединителна тъкан, която съдържа кръвоносните съдове и се явява като продължение от подепителната съединителна тъкан“ (Михайлов, 1972, с. 129). На английски език това ще бъде: „A papilloma is a benign epithelial tumor, growing exophytically in nipple-like and often finger-like fronds. It arises from the mucosal surface“. В това определение видовото отличие отразява

процеса, при който се образува класа. Това е характерно за генетичното определение. То е разновидност на реалната дефиниция.

Дефиниращи текстове без дефиниции

В тях липсват указания както за принадлежността на дефиниендума към най-близък род, така и за неговите диференциращи признаци. Функцията на тези текстове е да бъде определен съответния онкологичен обект. Неговото определение се замества с характеристика и описание.

Пример 1: „Макроскопски аденомите имат форма на окръглени, добре отграничени възловидни образувания, отделени от дисталната част на органа посредством капсула “(Михайлов, 1972, с. 130). „Adenomas can grow from many glandular organs, including the adrenal glands, pituitary gland, thyroid, prostate and others.” - на английски език.

Дефиниращи текстове чрез изреждане и изброяване на съставлящите компоненти

Те са близки до дифузните дефиниращи текстове и най- често са съпътствани с фигури. Например: „Хистологично се различават няколко вида аденоми: трабекулен аденом, тубуларен аденом, ацинозен или алвеоларен аденом, кистозен аденом, папиларен аденом и фиброаденом“ (Михайлов, 1972, с.131). “Hystologically the types of adenomas are: trabecular adenoma, tubular adenoma, alveolar adenoma, cystadenoma, papillar adenoma and fibroadenoma” - на английски език.

Контекстови дефиниции

Тези дефиниции са дифузни дефиниции и са изградени в широкия научен контекст. Ето защо в някои случаи определението на термина се извършва индиректно. Такъв е случаят с определението на термина фиброаденом: „В една група аденоми наред с разрастването на жлезната тъкан се разраства и съединителната тъкан. Тя участва в структурата на тумора не само като пасивна строма, която служи за скелет на тумора, но същата се разраства паралелно в еднаква или по-силна степен заедно с паренхима. Такива тумори наричаме фиброаденоми“ (Михайлов, 1972, с. 131). “Fibroadenomas are noncancerous tumors, composed of fibrous and glandular tissue. They are easy to move, with clearly defined edges.”. Терминът фиброаденом се определя чрез термините, които са

дефинирани чрез реални дефиниции в непосредствения контекст. Те са: жлезна тъкан, съединителна тъкан, пасивна строма, паренхим (Кънчева, 2009, с. 22-29).

Това представляват различните видове дефиниции на онкологичните термини, използвани в научната литература. Те са от изключително значение при изучаването на онкологичната терминология, защото по този начин студентите и лекарите, специализиращи онкология разкриват съдържанието на онкологичните понятия и тяхното значение в науката.

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SUBTITLES TRANSLATION IN THE GREY ZONE

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Abstract

This paper offers an account of the current state-of-affairs of Audiovideo translation, in particular amateur translations of subtitles of pirated films and TV programmes in four fan translation and subtitling communities in the grey zone, who are threading the thin line of legality - illegality due to loopholes in copyright in different jurisdictions. The author, who explored these communities as a volunteer translator and subtitler, describes and discusses the communities striving for quality in translation, conventionalization of best practices in subtitling by use of European and international standards as well as personal experience and usability. The paper discusses translators' mistakes, collaboration in these fan subtitling communities and members' contribution with software development, advice and support. It concludes with the latest developments in audiovisual content delivery in Ultra HD and the Open Translation movement.

Keywords: audiovideo translation; subtitling; transcribing; fansubbing; grey zone; fan translation

Audiovideo Translation (AVT) has seen a tremendous development since the mid 90s (Díaz-Cintas 2003, 192) and is 'at present taking breathtaking speed' (Anderman & Rogers 2003, 8) with 'an increasingly large proportion of translation activity' (Díaz-Cintas 2003, 193). While translation and subtitling are not new, user-generated translation of films have gone a long way since Díaz-Cintas and Sánchez's (2006) article on fansubbing for anime and manga. User-generated subtitles are now of a quality close to professional practice. Fan film translators and subtitlers have formed communities with strict rules and roles, and can often rival well-established professional services. With the emergence of p2p networks and torrent sites fan film translators work in the grey zone translating pirated films long before they reach the cinema screens; or they translate foreign television programmes which have never been intended for a particular locale. This article discusses and explores the current state-of-affairs of fan film translation and subtitling in the grey zone in Bulgaria.

The Grey Zone

DVDs and Blu-Ray disks often contain subtitles in several languages. It is common practice in the industry to ship them to certain locales later than to others, much to the disappointment of cinema-goers. Even if film fans have bought a DVD online, or paid a subscription to film and television websites, they are very often not able to watch these films translated in their own language.

A similar case may be with much older films. An example may be the recent release of the seventh episode of Star Wars - younger audiences may not have seen the very first three episodes released in the 70s and 80s, and may be only familiar with the animated series. Cases where sequels are produced with a longer time span between the first and the subsequent films are not a rarity in today's film-making industry. So subtitles for the older and classic films may be very difficult to obtain.

Hence, such a niche for films with translated subtitles is naturally filled by people who illegally record television programmes or rip DVDs to send them to friends who could translate the programme or the film. The niche is also populated by others who know the source language but would like to watch the latest programme or film translating it in exchange. Users sharing films have created p2p networks and, as user demand increased, torrent trackers emerged.

While downloading and offering ripped films is illegal, translations may be not. The grey zone in question is that translations, by law, are usually authorized or commissioned by the author or copyright holder. In these cases, the translation is considered 'work for hire' and therefore the translators do not become automatically authors, nor do they become copyright holders. However, translators may claim that they have translated the film by ear from their own legally purchased copy of a film for their own use, which renders the whole activity legal. When such subtitles are shared with friends online, they become part of a re-distribution of a pirated film, which is again a breach of copyright law. The above demonstrates that these translators practice across the fuzzy legal-illegal border. Whether such practice is ethical is not the discussion of this paper.

The following section explores and discusses the structure and practices of four fansubtitling communities in Bulgaria.

Communities of practice

Pirated releases of films vary greatly in video quality, but these releases can be broadly categorised in three groups: first releases (for example recorded in cinemas with cameras), middle releases (for example recorded while viewed on the internet) and latest releases (for example high definition Blu-ray rips). At the various stages from the first to the latest release there may be more than one person involved in the translation and subtitling. Due to the demand and the number of released films, translators cannot cope with all the work required to produce subtitles. Naturally, teams have formed and whole communities collaborate towards a good translation. With the first releases the translators act as spotters and synchronise the subtitled translation. In the mid releases, where time code is available in the subtitles in the original language, some of the work is taken on by other people who edit and proofread the translations and still others may synchronise the translated subtitles for several different releases, for example a 2-CD rip and a one-disk HD Blu-ray rip. The self-organization and work distribution of such communities is discussed in the following subsections.

Teams

The amount of work has made it necessary for a natural distribution of roles among the members of the subtitling communities and various teams have formed delegating different kinds of work to members with the specific skills that are required in the production and post-production of fan translations. They collaborate and support each other in the process. Examining four such communities, we have seen their members forming teams. Three of them are translation and subtitling communities and one not directly related to translation and subtitling, but recommending and acquiring subtitles from the three others. One of these communities, which has existed since 2005, has over 70 actively involved members grouped in ten teams. Some of them specialize, for example in a particular language (team “Russian Roulette” for translations from Russian, less common languages - Korean, Japanese), older and retro films (team “Retro mania”, team “LoST in TransLaTion”), animations and anime (team “Anime”), children’s films and TV animation series (team “League Of Extraordinary Gentlemen”). Team “Partisans wtf” specialize in grammatical correctness, while “Hell Crew Team” aims to become the best in spotting, and team “Re-Vision” deals with proofreading and

correcting stylistic mistakes. The team members take different roles in the different teams according to their best skills, thus there are team leaders, members who source subtitle tracks, translators, editors, proofreaders, spotters, synchronizers, interns and masters, general editors and QA teams. Unlike what Díaz-Cintas & Sanchez (2006) noted about fan-subtitlers of anime, these community members have a range of skills – for language transfer, spotting and subtitling. All members are involved in the various stages of production and post-production and have created community rules thus bringing the Grey zone subtitling work to near-professional level.

Rules

The self-regulating communities have drawn on professional expertise and good practices in the trade to monitor, maintain and evaluate internal quality. Some of the subtitling rules adopted in the four communities are presented in a comparative table in Appendix 1. These are in the form of recommendations for good practice along with written guides, video tutorials and help manuals made available in the community forums.

In the forums of “Translator’s Heaven”, one can find references to the European Association for Studies in Screen Translation (ESIST)¹ and the British Institute of Translation and Interpreting (ITI)². The best practices have been summarized in a 19-A4-page long standard and used by the community for creating subtitles. This is a clear indication for the striving of the community to produce quality subtitles. Furthermore, users have drawn on personal experience and usability and have argued that reading speed should be measured by words per line, not characters per line. By way of an example, “Translator’s Heaven” was featured in the national daily “SEGA” in 2013. Also, the same community were commissioned in June 2015 by the producers of a TV series to create the intralingual subtitles for the deaf and hard of hearing (SDH). One of the forum members has commented: ‘I like the initiative and I would gladly free up some of my time (I only have to learn how to make such subtitles or what is added to them).’ (goranovab, 2011); another translator replies ‘It’s very important for such people to maintain a connection with the real world and very important for their survival! I myself am hard of hearing and I know what that means!’ (atilasokolov, 2014). (my translation)

¹ www.esist.org

² www.iti.org.uk

Other useful guides created by community members, both users and translators, refer to language, punctuation, describing and explaining in plain, accessible language stylistic and grammar rules; use of dialects in translations drawing on formal grammar books and also years of experience of the most common mistakes made in translations which are worth addressing because of reoccurrence. They also address cultural transfer and contain recommendations for domesticating idioms and metaphors.

Most valuable of all are the recommendations for an essential film translation skill: compression. These guides contain plenty of examples from translated subtitles with explanations for both beginner and advanced fan translators.

Quality assurance

The communities' sites have rating systems in place so better translations are rewarded, which motivates better production and post-production of subtitles. These communities often compete against each other for recognition, which further encourages the quality of translation, while users of the subtitles provide the external evaluation by voting on and rating translated subtitles.

Another feature is the integration of donations through PayPal or bank card payments on the pages with the subtitles. Whether such payments are made, we could not find, but the fact that a subtitle file has 21,447 downloads leads us to believe that some donations are being made.

Taking ownership

The communities also feature warnings not to remove the credentials and not to plagiarize translated subtitles nor to host them on other sites. There are recommendations for displaying the site credentials and the translators' nicknames. Some examples of credentials in subtitles, which may appear in the first subtitle, the last one, or sometimes both at the very beginning and the end, are:

1
00:01:02,521 --> 00:01:06,569
превод и субтитри: maishka

3
00:00:27,017 --> 00:00:30,390
<i>Превод: Ledenata
SubsTeam bukvi.bg ®</i>

989

01:29:22,530 --> 01:29:28,151

Превод

Old SChool

990

01:29:28,310 --> 01:29:33,231

UNACS TEAM 2014

444

00:54:45,873 --> 00:54:49,573

Превод и субтитри: liolly1954

subs.sab.bz

Wider community involvement

Other members have contributed in different ways, for example software creation. One such particular program is for ripping hard coded subtitles from DVDs; another member has created a custom spell-checker. Other members contribute with links to subtitle sites, create video tutorials on how to work with subtitling software, write guides or offer help with language or provide support with translation difficulties. Some guides, for example, list and explain ranks and insignia of the army of the Third Reich, or those of the Red Army, the Russian Emperor's army and the Soviet Army; translation and transliteration of proper names of people, places and institutions. All these users operate under a nick-name, for example StraightEse, GnoMM, gpym4e, Tigermaster, beljata, Dzvera, dieselboy, E-Tle, hag, Soler, m00n to mention a few.

Factors affecting the quality of translation

We will now elaborate on the factors which influence the quality of translation and subtitles created by fan users.

Sourcing, formats and audio/video quality

One of the factors affecting the quality of the translations and the subtitles is the sourcing of the film and the various formats of such film releases. Appendix 2 features a summarised list from Wikipedia of the most popular formats of pirated releases. (Pirated movie release types, n.d.).

First releases, like CAM and Telesync are films of low video quality. Subtitles are not yet available and therefore fans translate by ear. While this requires very good auditory skills and command of the language, it is also very demanding and time-consuming. Additionally, it is very easy to mis-hear and misunderstand. Translations and subtitles for such releases are often not translated in full, with partially translated or missing lines in the subtitles.

Middle film releases, for instance WEB-DL and WEBRip, are usually of a better quality. Subtitles in the original language are often already available from specialized sites for subtitles. Translations are then of a better quality - linguistic mistakes are fewer and are largely not so much due to not knowing the language, but to the lack of formal translation training. The resulting mistakes are clearly linguistic in nature.

Latest releases, for example DVDRip, HDRip, Blu-ray rip, are of the best video quality and translators have already had time and have acquired the original subtitles translating directly from them. So far in the process, there often exists more than one translation of a film for the different releases. Translators may have worked to edit and improve on previous translations and it is often the case where translators edit and rework their own translations thus releasing an edited and corrected better version. Several translations exist also because certain releases may have been cut or extended.

Lack of specialized, formal training for fan translators of films

Most of the translators in the grey zone are not professional translators, although they may be fluent in one or more foreign languages. They may have started due to other reasons to translate and to subtitle films and they lack formal training in translation. Although comprehensive guides are available in the subtitling communities, it is evident that they are not written by linguists for linguists, so lack of training gives way to a number of linguistic mistakes in the fan-produced translated subtitles.

Below are some examples of such mistakes. Due to space restrictions here we will discuss only two examples which illustrate the types of translation mistakes.

The first example is from the film *Chéri* (Frears, 2009).

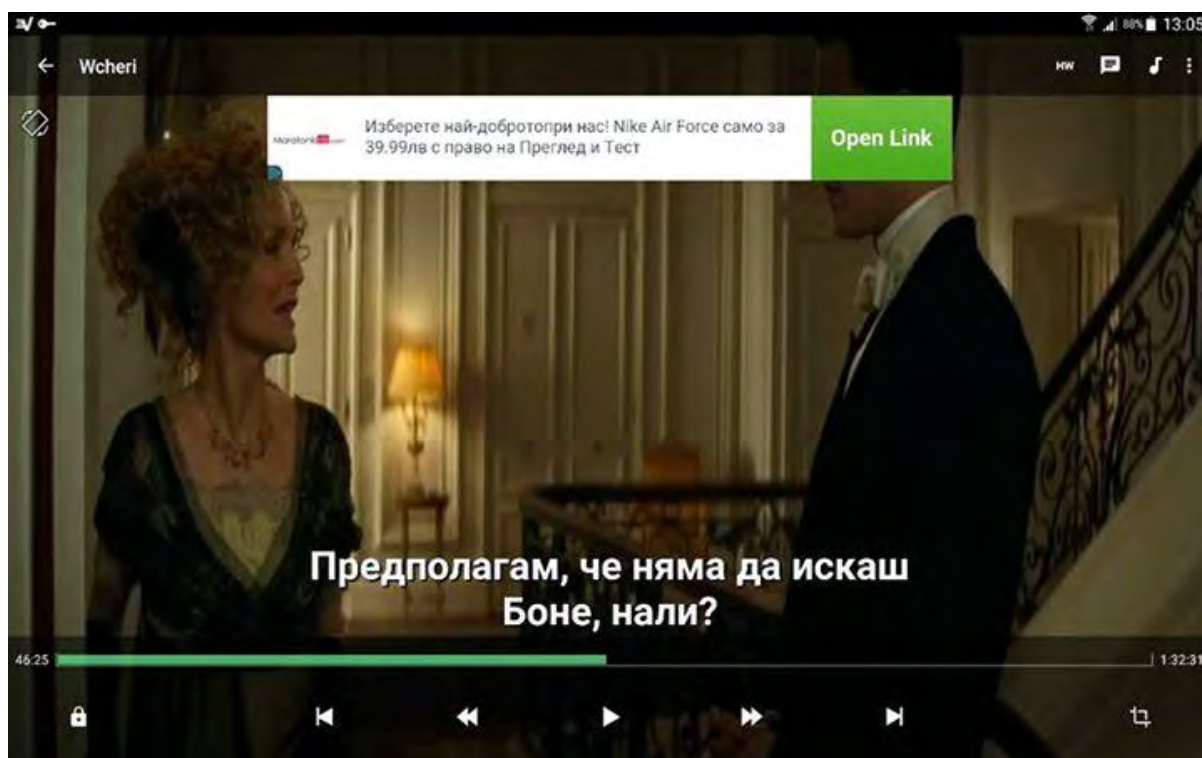


Figure 1. Screenshot from the film *Chéri* (2009)

The English subtitle (LeapinLar, 2009) reads:

667

00:46:22,606 --> 00:46:26,369

I don't suppose you'd care
for a **nightcap**, would you?

The Bulgarian translation (lotus_lili, 2009) is

659

00:46:22,606 --> 00:46:26,369

Предполагам, че няма да искаш -> (back translation) I suppose you wouldn't want
Боне, нали? -> (back translation) a **bonnet**, would you?
(my emphasis)

The mistake here, in addition to the capital letter, comes from the idiom nightcap (Nightcap, 2008), which the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary defines as 1) 'an alcoholic or hot drink taken at the end of the day or before going to bed'; and 2) 'a cloth cap that people used to wear in bed in the past, also synonymous with bonnet' (Bonnet, 2008). The translator is obviously not familiar with the first and more contemporary use of the word, despite its relatively high frequency compared to the meaning of cloth cap worn in bed, and translates literally *nightcap* as *bonnet*.

Other researchers (Shiptchanov, 2013) have also analysed translator's mistakes. Figure 2 represents one such mistake with realia.



Figure 2. Screenshot from the film Troy (2004)

The original English subtitles (Mvsubtitles, 2004) read:

67

00:10:52,068 --> 00:10:55,446

The ruler of Thessaly carries this scepter. (US spelling in the original)

68

00:10:57,240 --> 00:10:58,574

Give it to your king.

The translator of the Bulgarian subtitles (bratched, 2004) has written:

{13137}{13200} Владетелят на Тесалия...-> (back translation) The ruler of Thessaly ...

{13201}{13270} носи този меч. -> (back translation) carries this sword.

{13270}{13351} Дай го на своя крал. -> (back translation) Give it to your king.

What is clearly audible in the scene (and also in the original English subtitles) is “this sceptre” and it is clearly visible in the above still that the object is a sceptre. The translator has written “carries this sword” (my back translation). The first mistake, as mentioned above, is with realia, substituting sword for sceptre. The second mistake is more of a cultural transfer nature, confusing king and *tzar*. The title *king* is predominantly used in Western Europe, while the cultures in South-East Europe and Russia have never had kings; they had *tzars*. Therefore, the correct translation must be *tzar*.

In a much later release of the subtitles these lines were edited and corrected as follows:

{15636}{15717} Това е скиптърът|на владетеля на Тесалия.

{15760}{15800} Дай го на своя цар.

The back translation is:

{15636}{15717} This is the sceptre|of the ruler of Thessaly.

{15760}{15800} Give it to your tzar.

These corrected subtitles are clear evidence that the communities have monitoring and evaluation systems in place. They are able to and aim to produce quality translations and quality subtitles.

Interestingly enough, Díaz-Cintas and Sánchez (2006) observed similar mistakes in fansubs for anime nearly ten years ago. However, unlike the fansubbers described in their article, the teams described here strive for perfection and do not exhibit any of Ferrer Simó's 'fansubbing' characteristics cited in Díaz-Cintas and Sánchez's article (2006).

By way of a conclusion

Technology for audiovideo translation has been evolving quickly and is the major drive for developments in the field. At the same time and equally rapidly the technology for high quality digital content has been developed with the support by different stakeholders. With the increasing emergence of more and more pay-per-view and video-on-demand (VOD) services and their global distribution over the Internet, the demand for translation of films and television programmes increases.

Recently, there have been discussions on the torrent trackers and subtitling communities about the possibility of 4K Ultra HD releases which may vary from 50 to 100GB. 4K broadcasts have resolution of 3840×2160px with the already available h265 decoders. YouTube and the television industry have adopted UHD-1 as its 4K standard and UHD-2 for NHK/BBC R&D's (BBC Research and Development) 7680x4320 pixels UHDTV 2 (Cotton, 2013), and it was used in the London 2012 Olympics³. On April 11, 2013, Bulb TV, created by Canadian serial entrepreneur Evan Kosiner, became the first broadcaster to provide a 4K linear channel and VOD content to cable and satellite companies in North America (Marketwired, 2013; Nastic, 2013) and 'is also the first to announce its plans to launch an 8,000-pixel version of the channel when technology permits'. (Marketwired, 2013) The channel is licensed by the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications

³ BBC R&D has been collaborating with NHK (The Japanese national broadcaster) Science and Technical Research Labs on SHV (Super Hi-Vision). NHK themselves have been developing the system since the mid 1990's. Their aim was to produce a TV system where the resolution exceeds that of the eye and where the screen is big enough to fill one's field of view

Commission to provide educational content. However, 4K content is becoming more widely available online including on YouTube, Netflix and Amazon.

8K resolution or 8K UHD is the current highest ultra-high definition television (UHDTV) resolution in digital television and digital cinematography. 8K refers to the horizontal resolution in the order of 8,000 pixels, forming the total image dimensions of (7680×4320). The hunger for even higher resolutions has brought '8K full-dome with a resolution of 8192×8192 (67.1 megapixels) and is the resolution of top-end modern projection for hemispherical full-dome theatres often seen in planetaria' (8K resolution, n.d.). Soon we will witness 4K and 8K Ultra HD rip releases and with such a demand, the demand for translations and subtitles will be strengthened.

Part of the user-generated translation has moved on to open translation and subtitling platforms. As recently as 2009 TED.com launched their Open Translation Project (OTP) as a global volunteer effort to subtitle TED Talks (TED, n.d.). They have described the process, provided extensive help and guidelines with subtitling⁴ in their OTPedia, the TED Open Translation Project wiki⁵. Special attention is paid to how to break lines and how to compress subtitles⁶. They have also provided free video tutorials on a YouTube channel (TED Translators, n.d.), one video in which is how to transcribe TED Talks⁷. TED uses Amara Subtitle Editor⁸, crowd localisation, crowd translation and crowd subtitling SaaS (software as a service) and there are video tutorials how to transcribe talks, how to translate and sync subtitles with Amara (Amara Subtitles, n.d.). However, only TEDx talks are allowed for volunteer translation, but a quick check shows that at the time of writing this article there are nearly 6,000 new volunteer translators, up from 20,492 in 2016 to now 26,375 translators in the beginning of 2017 who have contributed 108,412 translations (up from 88,424 a year before) in 114 languages. More recently, TED expanded to include translation of TED-Ed lessons, the localization of TED's Android app and the translation of content distributed by worldwide partners that help grow TED global impact.

⁴ <http://www.ted.com/participate/translate/guidelines#h2--subtitling>

⁵ http://translations.ted.org/wiki/Main_Page

⁶ http://translations.ted.org/wiki/How_to_Compress_Subtitles

⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ckm4n0BWggA&list=PLuvL00YxuPwxQbdq4W7TCQ7TBnW39cDRC&index=6>

⁸ <http://www.amara.org>

So far there have not been many open translation and subtitling projects, but TED is becoming a trend-setter with their OTP. TED has already started to conventionalise best practices in transcribing and subtitling. The scale of such a project will certainly drive translators and subtitlers out of the Grey zone to open translation platforms. Volunteer fan subtitlers will bring in their experience and skills; they will no longer hide behind nicknames but will receive due credit for their volunteer effort for the benefit of the global community.

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Appendix 1

Table 1

Comparative table of subtitling rules in four fansubbing communities

	Unacs	Translator's Heaven	Bukvi	Arena
1-2 lines	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Max chars per line	38 (40 exception)	38	40	38-39
Chars per second and reading speed	15 chars/sec, (exceptions 18-20 chars/sec for documentaries)	European and International Standards. Different for children's films	15 chars/sec	- 1,5 sec. - up to 10 chars - 2,0 sec - up to 30 chars - 2.3 sec - up to 35 chars - 2.6 sec - up to 40 chars - 2.9 sec - up to 45 chars - 3.2 sec - up to 50 chars - 3.5 sec - up to 55 chars - 3.9 sec - up to 60 chars - 4.2 sec - up to 65 chars - 4.5 sec - up to 70 chars - 4.9 sec - up to 75 chars
Min duration per subtitle	2 sec (1.5 sec for words shorter than 10 chars)	2 sec	1.5 sec	2 sec (1.5 sec for words shorter than 10 chars)
Max duration per subtitle	6.8 -7.0 sec	3 sec per 6-7-words line	No mention	6.7 sec
Delay Between subtitles	Min 100 milliseconds	Max 250 milliseconds sec	Min 100 milliseconds	Min 150 milliseconds
Dialogue (dash)	No dash on first line	No dash on first line, European and International Standards	No dash on first line	No dash on first line
Languages	No mention	No mention	One language only	No mention

Acronyms and abbreviations	No mention	Yes – European and International Standards	Consistent use	No mention
Spell check	Avoidance of mistakes recommended	Avoidance of mistakes recommended	Compulsory	Avoidance of mistakes recommended
Machine translation	No mention	No mention	Explicitly forbidden	No mention
Bold/Italic/Underline	Off-scene speech, music	Off-scene speech, music and other languages; Avoidance of bold and underlined text	No mention	Off-scene speech, music
Font face	No mention	san-serif, Helvetica and Arial recommended	No mention	No mention
Punctuation	Used only according to the rules of the target language	Used only according to the rules of the target language	Used only according to the rules of the target language	Used only according to the rules of the target language

Appendix 2

Pirated movie release types (n.d.)

First releases

WORKPRINT (WR) - Each frame of the film is copied from celluloid (or another source), and the quality can vary greatly. These are sometimes incomplete films as there may be missing scenes, sound or extra scenes. The 'workprint' releases are rare and may be of interest to collectors only.

CAMERA (CAM) - This type of release is recorded by someone in a cinema with a camcorder. There is usually background noise recorded from the camcorder microphone, so quality of sound and image is usually poor. The best CAM releases are recorded in empty cinemas.

TELESYNC (TS) – In practice, the same as a CAM release, it is also recorded in a cinema, usually from the projection booth and normally with a high-end camera and a separate audio source which is often captured from the FM microbroadcast provided for the hearing-impaired. This does not guarantee good sound quality because some background noise is also recorded.

TELECINE (TC) - Done in a number of ways, all from taking directly from the reel. These releases are ripped in either widescreen (letterbox) or in full-screen (pan and scan) with good audio and video. The most common way is to have a device that is attached to the reel that generates a VHS tape of the reel (called a telecine machine, but there are other machines that generate a digital output of both audio and video that are then put into a VCR, laptop or PC, and made into a VCD).

SCREENER (SCR) - usually recorded from a promotional VHS video tape which is sent to censors and film critics. The quality varies greatly. Often a copyright message appears on the screen.

DVD-SCREENER (DVDscr) - the same as SCR, but from a DVD, unlike SCR, which are sourced from VHS.

Middle releases

TVrip - releases sourced from analogue television with a TV-Tuner Capture card.

R3 and R5 - The R5 is a retail DVD from region 5. Region 5 consists of Russia, the Indian subcontinent, most of Africa, North Korea, and Mongolia. R5 releases differ from normal

releases in that they are a direct Telecine transfer of the film without any of the image processing. If the DVD does not contain an English-language audio track, the R5 video is synced to a previously released English audio track. R3 is the region of Korea, Thailand, Vietnam, and Indonesia.

DVDRip - A final retail version of a film, typically released before it is available outside its originating region. Often after one group releases a high-quality DVD-Rip, the "race" to release that film will stop. The release is an AVI file and uses the Xvid codec (earlier DivX) for video, and mp3 or AC3 for audio. Because of their high quality, DVD-Rips generally replace any earlier copies that may already have been circulating.

WEB-DL - This is a film or TV show downloaded via an online distribution website, such as iTunes. The quality is quite good since they are not re-encoded. The video (H.264) and audio (AC3/AAC) streams are usually extracted from the iTunes or AmazonVideo file and then remuxed into a MKV (Matroska) container without sacrificing quality.

WEBRip - This is a file ripped from a DRM-free streaming service, such as Hulu or pay-per-view networks. The quality is sometimes comparable to WEB-DL, but bitrates are usually lower to save on streaming bandwidth and quality is also involved. The file is often extracted from the RTMP protocol and losslessly remuxed from an MP4 or FLV container to MKV (Matroska).

HDTV (High-Definition Digital Television) and **PDTV** (Pure Digital Television) – the formats can be viewed on different screen resolutions: 720p (progressive), 1080i (interlaced), 1080p (progressive). HDTV sets capable of 1080p resolution are called Full HD, while those capable of displaying only 720p or 1080i are called HD Ready.

Final releases

Blu-ray Rip - a new generation of rips, offering better quality than DVDRip. Two sub-categories exist:

- **BDrip** (Blu-ray Disc Rip) - come directly from the Blu-ray source. In most cases with a High Definition 1080p mkv (Matroska) container;
- **BRRip** – usually a subsequent re-encode from a 1080p BDrip suitable for lower resolutions, like 720p.

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