Challenges in English Teaching and Research

Предизвикателства в обучението и изследванията на английски език
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CHALLENGES IN ENGLISH TEACHING AND RESEARCH is the end result of a project Challenges in English Teaching and Research (No RD-08-129/8.02.2016) of the Department of English Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Konstantin Preslavsky University of Shumen.

Изданието „ПРЕДИЗВИКАТЕЛСТВА В ОБУЧЕНИЕТО И ИЗСЛЕДВАНИЯТА НА АНГЛИЙСКИ ЕЗИК” е резултат от проекта „Предизвикателствата в обучението и изследванията на английски език“ (РД-08-129/8.02.2016), Катедра „Английска филология”, Факултет по хуманитарни науки, Шуменски университет „Епископ Константин Преславски”.

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ISSN 2534-952X за печатно издание
ISSN 2534-9538 за онлайн издание
ISBN 978-619-7356-07-6 за печатно издание
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Preface or foreword

The very fact that it is quite difficult to begin an introductory chapter by briefly presenting the contents of a comparatively new series of the English Studies Department in the Faculty of Humanities at Shumen University is already a challenge in a way as academics, dealing with the intricacies of a foreign language in comparison with their native language, which they think they know best, are never at peace with their own studies, research or findings. And they should not be, as linguistic phenomena are a never ending process constantly changing and undergoing various transformations.

The current volume, CHALLENGES IN ENGLISH TEACHING AND RESEARCH, which is the fifth one from the series STUDIES IN LINGUISTICS, CULTURE AND FLT, continues the tradition of outstanding and young professionals in the field, PhD students, as well as MA and BA students, to look for new ways in opening up already known horizons but from innovative perspectives and approaches. Every year the Department also invites researchers from Bulgaria and abroad to contribute to the series thus broadening and deepening the vast potential of contemporary studies. This fact enables us to compare and contrast explorations of colleagues coming from all sorts of different national, cultural and social backgrounds, with a lot of experience and expertise on the professional playground.

One of the thought-provoking studies is Antonia Navarro’s who touches upon ecofeminism within the confines of ecological criticism while translating two poems by Mamang Dai, a poet from India. It causes a lot of speculations as it crosses borders and deals with hot global issues.

Berrin Aksoy’s paper is on translation again, this time with an emphasis on literary translation issues based on theoretical and practical knowledge students should acquire about the very process and steps while translating a literary text.

Some of the other studies are grouped around the issues of linguistics proper: Temenuzhka Seizova-Nankova’s ‘Valency Constructions at Work: A Case Study’ is a corpus-driven analysis of a body part, useful for learning a foreign language, apart from a new retrospection on the English language. Svetlana Nedelcheva discusses phrasal verbs in semantic networks from a cognitive perspective, thus enabling EL learners to remember them more easily and efficiently. Irina Stoyanova-Georgieva uses the British National Corpus in comparison with British and Bulgarian newspapers for the study of absolutely modifying adjectives thus presenting interesting data leading to even more
challenging results. *Aleksandra Aleksandrova’s* ‘Name-based Neologisms’ is provided with a lot of stable and unstable neologism examples from latest media materials, mostly from the field of politics.

Other studies, however, deal with predominantly ELT concerns. *Irina Ivanova* ‘crosse[s] borders’ literally and figuratively by discussing teacher collaboration in CLIL contexts and providing some good practices based on lesson plan analysis and lesson observations conducted in four European countries under an Erasmus+ project. *Snezhana Obeyd* is preoccupied with the ‘challenges in teaching the nominal substitute same and its Bulgarian projections’ while *Radostina Iglikova* is provoked by challenges again, this time related to employing reading comprehension strategies in training our brain for becoming better readers. *Deyana Peneva* dwells on the process of acquiring communicative competence by using three remedial apologetic patterns which FL teachers should be aware of when presenting speech acts and politeness strategies to their students. *Miroslava Tsvetkova* suggests a cognitive model for the easy comprehension and production of the difficult English present progressive construction by Bulgarian young learners. *Polina Mitkova* deals with the teaching of conversational implicatures to adult EFL learners. *Seven Reshadova* discusses students’ and teachers’ preferences in using different approaches and strategies in vocabulary teaching and learning in the EFL classroom.

There is yet another group of explorations whose findings are concentrated on interdisciplinary matters. Thus, *Desislava Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva’s* study adds to current research on metaphors as it compares and contrasts the thinking patterns exhibited by three different cultures through their media discourse in connection with the very controversial issue of using nuclear power for power generation purposes and as a weapon. *Rumyana Todorova* and *Zlatko Todorov’s* findings are in the field of advertising and culture and have some intersecting points with ELT through the application of anticipatory mechanisms and techniques of Bulgarian and British ads.

Most of the studies, however, take into consideration the discussed issues from a comparative perspective.

In most cases, the findings reflect each author’s ideas on their current professional work and interests. All of them pose a lot of debatable questions and provoke thoughts for further explorations and possibilities for joint efforts and endeavours.
Mamang Dai’s poetry: challenges in translating ecofeminism

Antonia Navarro Tejero*

Abstract: Mamang Dai, an Adi poet from the Northeastern part of India, celebrates the ecological glory of her region Arunachal Pradesh in her collections of poetry written in English. In this paper, I propose to make a textual analysis of “Tapu” and “An Obscure Place,” two of the poems included in the bilingual edition entitled The Balm of Time (2008), where I contributed as a translator, paying special attention to the ecofeminist awareness, inspiration from folktales, and nature imageries that are related to the issue of identity.

Key words: ecofeminism, Mamang Dai, North-East India

Introduction

Ecological criticism is methodologically similar to other forms of cultural criticism such as Post Colonialism and feminist criticism. It is interesting to notice that Postcolonial Studies and Ecocriticism have many elements in common when dealing with the subaltern position. Graham Huggan and Helen Tiffin, two of the founders of Postcolonial Theory, published in 2010 their Postcolonial Ecocriticism: Literature, Animals, Environment. On the other hand, ecofeminism emerged as a product of the peace, feminist and ecology movements of the late 1970s and the early 1980s. The term was coined by the French writer Francoise d’Eaubonne in her Le Féminisme ou la Mort (1974), and was further developed by Ynestra King in 1976. The first ecofeminist conference “Women and Life on Earth: Ecofeminism in the 80s” was held at Amherst, Massachusetts, US (Spretnak 1990). However, in the case of India, ecofeminist postcolonialism has emerged as a theoretical framework that involves the three trends. As Vandana Shiva puts it: “Indian women have been at the forefront of ecological struggles to conserve forests, land and water. They have challenged the western concept of nature as an object of exploitation and have protected her as Prakriti, the living force that supports life” (xvii).

Many Indian poems in English have portrayed the gradual deterioration of the earth’s environment and ecology. In order to unveil how these concepts are interrelated, we have chosen to focus on Mamang Dai, an Adi poet from North

* University of Cordoba, Cordoba, Spain; The author wishes to acknowledge the funding provided by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness (Research Project “Bodies in Transit”, ref. FFI2013-47789-C2-1-P) and the European Regional Development Fund for the writing of this essay.
of the Brahmaputra River in Arunachal Pradesh, the Northeastern part of India, who celebrates the ecological glory of her region in her collections of poetry written in English. In order to contextualise her writing, we need to know that there are many components of the complex mix of forces that have impacted local cultural practices of the ethnic groups in North East India: dozens of officially recognised ethnic groups reside in these multi-ethnic areas, many of them speak Tibeto-Burman, Mon-Khmer, or Tai languages; a large percentage of the native population has been classified as Mongoloid by Indian anthropologists; effects of historic and prehistoric interactions between lowland and upland ethnic groups; effects of a-historic and historic migrations from China and South East Asia; the British colonial tradition dating from 1826, whose Catholic and Protestant missionaries brought sects of christianity; incorporation of the area into India beginning 1947; isolation from neighbouring countries and other parts of India; a vast array of independence and separatist movements, some of which transcend national boundaries into Myanmar and other states; growing immigrant communities from Bangladesh and other areas; Hinduization, modernization, environmental transition, and globalization. As a consequence, among North East Indian poets, there are dominant themes in their writings such as nationhood, identity, insurgency, ethnic violence, corruption in the bureaucracy, home, migration, exile, memory, or regional ecological concern. Eco-consciousness is a significant feature in the writings of these authors, and particularly Mamang Dai exposes the ethos of nature and communities in her poetry.

**Background**

Mamang Dai was born in Pasighat, East Siang District, in 1957. She is an accredited journalist, and was a programme officer with World Wide Fund for Nature during the first years of its establishment in the state, and worked with the bio-diversity Hotspots Conservation programme in the field of research, survey and protection of the flora and fauna of the eastern Himalayas. She is the first woman from her state to be selected to the Indian Administrative service which she left to pursue a career in journalism. Dai was a correspondent of the *Hindustan Times*, the *Telegraph* and The *Sentinel* newspapers and President of the Arunachal Pradesh Union of Working journalists. A former member of the Indian Administrative Service, she left the service to pursue a career in writing. She is now a member of both the North East Writers’ Forum, and the Arunachal Pradesh Public Service Commission. She has published poems and short stories in journals and magazines, and has received the Verrier Elwin Award from the State government of Arunachal Pradesh in 2003, and the Padma Shri from the Government of India in 2011. Her popular works include *Arunachal Pradesh: The Hidden Land* (2009), *Once upon a Moontime: From the Magical Story World of Arunachal Pradesh* (2005), *The Sky Queen* (2005),
River Poems (2004), and two novels, Stupid Cupid (2009) and The Legends of Pensam (2006), which deals with the ecology of Arunachal Pradesh by merging history, myth, tradition, memory and fiction together. The story revolves around the myths, legends, tradition and culture of the ‘Adis’, and re-invents that part of history which is yet unexposed. A world with ecofeministic ideals is vividly seen through the clash between tradition and modernity. She touches upon same topics and sensibilities in her poetry, where she reveals the myriad world of Arunachal’s ecology, and its mysterious and glorious heritage.

Dai lives in Itanagar, but has travelled extensively in India and abroad. We invited her to Córdoba, Spain, in 2008 to participate in a Workshop on Poetry translation along with Indian poet Keki Daruwalla. This is a Seminar that is celebrated on a yearly basis by the organisers poets Bernd Dietz and Francisco Gálvez, who decided to focus on Indian poets due to the existence of our Permanent Seminar on India Studies at the University of Córdoba. I was requested to propose two names and participate as a language translator and culture interpreter. I chose Mamang Dai because I considered she does not receive appropriate attention on the global stage in spite of writing in English and of the global phenomena of local poetic traditions among ethnic and native populations. Furthermore, there were no Spanish editions of her writing for which we ended up publishing two pieces: a bilingual anthology entitled The Balm of Time, and a selection of the bilingual poems in the literary journal la Manzana Poética. In the Balm of Time, we translated twenty-three poems, selected by Mamang Dai and with the joint work of two renewed Spanish poets (José Luis Rey and Francisco Gálvez) who cannot speak English, and myself, who worked as a bridge between the poet (who was present during the whole process) in language and in culture. We paid special attention to the ecological awareness, inspiration from folktales, and nature imageries that are related to the issue of identity, mountains, streams, rivers and stones, myths and nature’s magic, native people’s faiths, and her own. In this paper, I will discuss two of the poems: “Tapu” and “An Obscure Place.”

Analysis

Dai’s poems are an expression of an individual poetic self as well as the saga of the people of the region in general. One of the strategies that Dai explores, as many other ethnic minority poets, is the use of traditional local knowledge or folklore. There are numerous images of intangible culture such as songs, rituals, myths, native language, and local landscape in this selection. The spectral world of spirits, gods and goddesses is also incorporated in her poetry. There are also allusions to exemplary males, highlighting the importance of women and children. We are told local practices such as dancing and hunting. In each one of the twenty-three poems, the use of folklore is the ancestral cord towards the roots of her regional landscape. She recovers the traditional tribal values
as an act of collective identity and healing a wonder region by overcoming the violence it has been subjected to. “Tapu” is divided into two parts. An initial one where the poetic I highlights the heroic nature of the warriors having completed their duties:

Here we have marked the land
with upright branches and stones
and consecrated territory
with song, and the leap of the warrior
returning triumphant.
In this diagram
looking through the sun’s face,
peeping through the moon,
the meaning of life is contained
in fulfilling obligation.
Mark the sword.
Mark the sound.

This makes allusion to the dance ritual that the poet felt she had to explain in a footnote that reads “Tapu is a dance performed by men during the time of community fencing. Today it is viewed as a war dance performed to exorcise malevolent sports” (27). Such traditional events in North-East India have become important contexts for constructing, negotiating, and displaying ethnic identity (song, dance, and costume).

However, the poem continues focusing on the simile of conception. The footnote keeps reading “but once there was a belief that women who had borne no sons could put on male attire and join the dancers in the hope of conceiving a son” (27). This belief has remained in the periphery of knowledge, as in any representation of Tapu ritual, there are no women involved, and the visual “sword” and acoustical “sound” signs are only related to war. In the next stanza of the poem, the poetic I wonders:

What are the words
we will tell our sons and daughters?
That dying is not so hard
if the image survives.

With this, the poet calls on her people to attend to the neglected side of this tradition, which has become a tourist ethnic attraction nowadays, as we can check in the many festival grounds sponsored by local governments.
The poem here swifts to the idea of conception as a simile to the fencing ritual:

When the wind is young
sow celebration,
seize the branch of lighting,
dress the thorn wood stem
for conception.
Across the barren earth
the fence stretches the boundaries
of the natural world.

In the last part of the poem, the poet represents a scenario where women perform the dance ritual, ending up with the same image of the cyclical nature of the sun as for the one performed by warriors:

children are for the blessed.
only in dreams we hear
the sighs of the unborn.
In the eternal landscape
of hope and longing
alchemy happens with faith.
Driving the spirit of fear into the dust
like a mirage
the mountains range themselves
blue flashing, in the circle of the sun.
(27-28)

Many of the poems in this selection speak on the subject invoking the dynamic of change and continuity in tradition. For example, “An Obscure Place” deals with the opposition between official History and traditional stories, with a sense of alienation and displacement:

The History of our race begins with the place of stories.
We do not know if the language we speak
belongs to a written past.
Nothing is certain.

In the next few lines, the poetic I speaks of the consequences of the masculine
battles for homeland, as there is no compensation for death:

There are mountains. Oh! There are mountains.  
We climbed every slope. We slept by the river.  
But do not speak of victory yet!

An obscure place haunts the hunter. 
The prize slips away. 
Yesterday the women hid their faces.  
They forbade their children to speak. 
yesterday we gave shelter to men 
who climbed over our hills 
for glory of a homeland, they said - 
those who know what knowing is,  
And now the sleeping houses, the men and the villages 
have turned to stone.

The poetic I focuses in the next few lines on how media covers the news and the fear of those who come to conquer and destroy their natural land. The close relationship that the native people had with the wilderness is falling apart. The destruction of flora and fauna is a concern in the poem, connected to the maternal. It also serves as a metaphor of lost identity as nature in a holistic way represents the collective identity of the people. This can be interpreted as a powerful way of asserting her people’s own identity amidst cultural and political hegemony:

If there is no death the news is silent. 
If there is only silence, we should be disturbed  
Listen, the tone of a prayer is hushed:

If a stranger passes this way let him look up to the sky. 
A smoke cloud chases the ants.  
See! They have slain the wild cat 
and buried the hornbill in her maternal sleep.

The words of strangers have led us into a mist 
deepen than the one we left behind
Mamang Dai’s poetry: challenges in translating ecofeminism

weeping, like a waving grassland
where the bones of our fathers are buried
surrounded by thoughts of beauty.

The poem ends with a repetition of images of the mountains, rivers. Here, the mountains cease to be just another landscape and instead is treated as a subject in the conglomeration of nature and history. Through the mountains, she seeks the ancestral cord to lead her back to the lost roots:

There are mountains. Oh! There are mountains.
We climbed every slope. We slept by the river.
But do not speak of victory yet! (13-14)

The very name Arunachal Pradesh means The Land of the Dawn Lit Mountains from Sanskrit, as this state receives the first rays of the sun in the country, and is moreover one of the greenest parts of India. The mountains, in Dai’s poems, are omniscient, and as Vohra states, they embody not only “the collective consciousness of hope of a people but also …. the fears and lost expectations in an increasingly complicated and changing society” (47). Mamang Dai in the article “The Nature of Faith and Worship among the Adis” remarks that the great forest, the mountains and the environment shaped the consciousness of the Adi people and made them decorate the Pator Gate (a gate made of leaves and branches and considered holy) with arrows tipped with ginger and the sacred branches of the ‘Taan’ tree to consecrate it against evil forces.

Many of her poems seem to advocate preservation of culture and tradition. The nature imaginary is related to identity and fluidity, tradition and culture, in contrast to modernisation. Nature is portrayed as an extension of the ancestral roots. She is the speaking voice of tradition-bearers located at the nexus between the fading past and the emergent new, as there are many allusions to cultural change, and minority status by a nostalgic poetic I. The word “revival” appears in almost every poem, so we can argue that her poetry is a vehicle for cultural transmission. A cry for a mother-tongue language lost. All these features will lead us to classify Mamang Dai as a folklore writer (Greet, 4). The poet, as a modern journalist woman, assumes a dual role as tradition-bearer and innovator, in the dynamics of social and ecological change for cultural sustainability, in the creation of ethnic images and identity for multiple audiences.

Conclusion

Vandana Shiva has recently stated in an interview with Spanish newspaper La Vanguardia that ecofeminism is the way towards the world biocivilization, which she claims make us conscious that humans are part of the Earth, not a
separate being. Only when we change our economic model, we will put an end to patriarchy: climate change, inequality, lack of solidarity, war... Ecofeminism would end up with this unhealthy and irresponsible toxic project of domination over nature and women. Nature would live, it would be sustainable.

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The importance of a comprehensive method in the teaching of literary translation

N. Berrin Aksoy*

Abstract: The emergence of translation studies as an independent discipline contributed to the development of the pedagogy of translation included in a number of higher education programmes. Due to its unique status as a creative and aesthetic product, literary text and its translation into a foreign language and culture deserve a comprehensive method which consists of a balance of theory and practice of literary translation. This paper deals with how such a balance should be established in the teaching of literary translation to the future translators of literature in higher education programmes.

Keywords: literary text, translation theory, translation practice, literary translation

Introduction

Translation as a pedagogical branch was widely used in language teaching especially since the Grammar-Translation method which dominated the classroom for some years. Basically, the method consisted of teaching grammatical rules and then applying those rules mechanically in translating the foreign language into the mother tongue or vice versa. The use of translation in teaching in such a way had nothing to do with teaching translation of course, since the aim was to teach a foreign language by making use of translation as one of the teaching methods. Beginning with the development of communication systems and international exchange in all spheres of life, the importance of translation gained ground as an unchallenged bridge in all human contact. Hence, the need for translation as a profession and consequently, a methodological, scientific approach to teaching translation. The emergence of translation studies as a separate discipline on its own contributed to the development of teaching methods that is in James Holmes’ terms “the pedagogy of translation in 1970’s”. Nowadays, teaching translation has become one of the applied branches of descriptive translation studies and is taken up in many academic journals and studies.

Analysis & Discussion

Teaching translation is closely linked with the theories of translation. Translation theories have been specifically developed for literary translation as a process and product. Since literary translation is different from other types of translation due

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to its stylistic and aesthetic qualities, it is very important to have a theoretical background in order to understand and overcome the challenges in literary translation. Hence, the increase in literary translation degree programmes is an indication of the necessity of teaching literary translation in a methodological and academic framework. In these degree programmes would-be translators are trained by means of comprehensive methodological tools, practices and theories and they work on a variety of text types. Such a study enables future translators to meet with different types of translation challenges and develop skills to devise strategies to overcome those challenges. Within this frame, the theoretical dimension and practice of literary translation should be well proportioned for a consistent curriculum. If the theoretical dimension weighs more, students will heavily depend on the instructive aspect of translation and will lack the skill to deal with actual translation situations; on the other hand, focusing on only the practice dimension prevents students from creating a foundation for the skills he / she is employing at a particular instance; theory helps students to become aware of what they do in practice and has solid reasons, purposes, as well as outcomes and functions. Also, theoretical knowledge enables the student to reflect upon and to evaluate his / her translation approach, and the function it is going to have in the target language.

Translation students must be well acquainted with knowledge of language above all, and a wide knowledge of the cultural background of the text in order to fully grasp the context of the text with all its linguistic and extralinguistic components. In the teaching of literary translation, context and background information mining is a prerequisite which must be materialized in the curriculum by means of a multidisciplinary approach. Since in literary translation the translator undertakes the task of recreating the effects created by the use of multi-layered shades and levels in the original text, students should be guided towards carrying out a variety of research and study in order to gain information on the context and the background.

Language and linguistic knowledge are two important pillars in all kinds of translation teaching be it literary or scientific. Theory and theoretical studies of linguistics and language create an awareness of how language is used and should be used in the source and target situations and with such a background, equivalences can be more clearly established at both ends. Hence, to make an outline of the content of theoretical teaching translation theory such a curriculum should equip students with the earliest discussions of translation with respect to language and literary studies; teach the various stages of the development of linguistically oriented translation theories and their relation with linguistics; inform the students of the cultural turn in translation studies and how and why culture should be emphasized in all studies and practices of literary translation; elaborate on the descriptive translation studies in order to teach students to become aware of the process of translation and why and how certain texts have
been translated in one way or other at a particular time; postcolonial translation studies should also be included in the syllabus to teach students how to know about the reflections of some ideological issues such as hegemony, colonialism on the process and product of translation; and the future of translation studies in line with the developments in an interdisciplinary sphere which consists of literature, linguistics, sociology, ideology and the like.

Along with the above theoretical knowledge, in order to teach literary translation with all the qualities and characteristics it entails, it is necessary to teach students first things first, i.e. the nature and constitution of a literary text. To begin with, such an introduction requires the teaching of text types and qualities as well. At this point, Katharine Reiss’s text type classification should be dealt with and the expressive type of texts which consists of creative compositions should be very well studied and compared with other text types.

A literary text is, above all, an aesthetic and artistic production aimed to invoke and create certain feelings, impressions and responses on the reader. Students must be able to handle the text with such a background and must learn to carry out an analysis so as to understand how the artistic and aesthetic quality is produced. Language is the foundation of all literary texts. A literary text is composed of literary, linguistic and cultural norms as well as of the unique style of its author. As Jean Boise-Beier writes in her article “Stylistics and Translation”, whenever translation is concerned with how something is said as well as what is said, it involves the translation of style (1).

The main challenge of the style of the literary text for the translation student is to develop and possess the necessary information and skills to analyse the metaphorical, figurative meanings, usage, words and intentional ambiguities. In order to translate well, students should be able to grasp the meanings and effects created by that particular style.

For that purpose, stylistic analysis of the literary text should be taught to the students in a methodological manner along with a frame of steps to conduct a general and comprehensive analysis of the text to be translated.

The following steps can be recommended to be taught in the classroom in order to fully posit the literary text in perspective:

Step 1: Read the text thoroughly at least twice.

Step 2: Summarize the text in the classroom either orally or in written form.

Step 3: Identify the addressee of the text and its purpose.

Step 4: Study the author, his / her life, background, the literary and cultural environment they come from.
Step 5: Identify the purpose of the translation.

Step 6: Find out the content and the theme.

Step 7: Find out the message.

Step 8: Carry out a style analysis of the text to find out how the author uses language to convey an emotional and artistic message with all the qualities peculiar to that author. Step 8 should cover the study of the following qualities: content, theme, grammar, sentence structure, figures of speech such as metaphors, imagery, allegory, allusions etc., rising action, climax, characterization, cultural elements.

Step 9: An overall evaluation of the text and its place and function in the source culture.

These steps are devised to equip the students to be able to grasp the literary text fully in order to decide on the strategies to be used in the process of translation.

After the completion of such a study on the literary text students may be asked to identify a frame for the would-be translation in the target culture. They should be encouraged to ask and give answers to such questions in relation to the translation:

1) Is there a corresponding text-type and genre in the target literary system?
2) Does the target audience share the same expectations and taste about that particular genre? If not what is the difference?
3) Are there similar stylistic devices for the corresponding genre?
4) Are there correspondences in the target culture for the cultural and conceptual elements of the source text?
5) Are there previous translations of that particular text and of the author’s works?
6) Is the author known in the target literary system? What kind of image does s/he have?

Discussions in the classroom about what kind of answers should be provided for these questions will greatly help students to choose a strategy to start the translation process. Depending on the answers and the analysis, students, in line with their previous knowledge of methods and procedure of translation, can choose to employ the foreignization or domestication strategy and methods either of these strategies necessitates.

Along with Robert Bly’s “The Eight Stages of Translation”, Clifford E. Landers
in his book *Literary Translation* develops a typology for literary translation depending on his personal experience as a translator. The steps below or some of them can be a useful typology to employ in the classroom and students can be encouraged to study them and apply them in their translation practices:

1. Read the entire work at least twice.

2. Determine the authorial voice. This will affect virtually every choice in the thousands of words to be translated. Note any shifts in tone from one part of text to another.

3. Do the first draft, marketing troublesome areas in square brackets and/or bold face for further attention. At this stage there is a relatively less emphasis on smoothness and fluency and more on capturing the semantic gist of the text.

4. Consult with an educated native speaker to clarify any points that are still vague. For especially vexing items, consult the author.

5. Revise the manuscript, with emphasis on phraseology, fluency, and naturalness. At this stage it should come as close as possible to reading as if it had been written originally in English.

6. Have a highly literate native speaker of English, preferably one with no knowledge of the SL, go over the manuscript and indicate any rough spots, i.e. parts that are awkward, stilted, ‘translationese,’ or that make no sense. Make any necessary changes.

7. Go over the manuscript line by line with a native speaker of the SL who is also fluent in English.

8. Make the final changes, run it through a spell-check, and let it rest for a few days. (45-46)

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, it has become a widely accepted fact that teaching literary translation in higher education programmes requires a combination of theory and practice in the curricula. The sound theoretical knowledge and consistent practice of translation in the classroom will also make space for the creativity of the students and make them confident about their future profession.

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Valency constructions at work: a case study

Temenuzhka Seizova-Nankova*

Abstract: This is a corpus-driven analysis which aims at highlighting the complex behavior of V+eye(s) collocation (1372 occurrences) drawn from the BNC, more specifically from Kilgarriff’s WordSketch of the lemma EYE. Statistical scores are used to identify patterns of use in relation to relative frequency. As a result, some monovalent, divalent, and trivalent valency constructions are described. Such observations have important implications both for future research of language use as well as for foreign language learning and teaching.

Key words: corpus-driven analysis, embodiment, inalienable possession construction, hapax legomena, semantic network

Introduction

The paper is part of a bigger project (Seizova-Nankova 2016) and is built on the basic claim that there are no hard and fast boundaries between lexis and grammar. The question about the complex internal structure of V_N collocations (Bybee 2010; OCD 2002) is in the center of attention. The hypothesis that collocations with different bodypart terms seem to build a semantic network of constructions based on family resemblance is raised. This has been dealt with in the detailed study of the 25 top-salient V_hand(s) collocations (Seizova-Nankova 2016) and some of these findings find full support in the present research of close eye(s) collocation.

The term lexicogrammar has been used before but the methodology used here differs in important ways. Basic features of this approach are to do with recent developments in linguistics and more specifically the combination of Valency theory and construction grammar and the use of valency construction as a basic construct of the analysis.

It should be pointed out that we also draw some insight from Generative grammar as concerns the analysis of the genitive forms and their functioning in the clause as co-referential or not (and hence anaphoric or not) to the clause-subject.

Corpus-driven and corpus-based analyses are two approaches that have for the last few decades been extensively used in order to reveal new facts about language not possible before. Corpus-driven analysis is the more rigorous of the two as it draws conclusions directly inferable from corpus data and empirical evidence with little or no predetermined theoretical conceptions of

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language. What this means is that for observational and descriptive adequacy one basically relies on a representative corpus on which generalizations can be drawn. Cognitive tasks like hypotheses raising and testing, compare and contrast, detail noticing, problem solving, decision making are all necessarily applied in the process. However common these tasks are to all observers, when it comes to the interpretation stage, then the expertise of the researcher is of vital importance and comes to the fore. That is why the interpretation stage is set apart as a separate line of thought which is in fact open-ended. There are always things that have to be further explained, additional issues raised and new observations made, all of which are prompted by and found in the empirical data. In this type of analysis, you do not start with theory, then go to practice and back to theory again. On the contrary, all inspiration lies in the recurrent repetitions of utterances in context and only then comes the daunting part of interpretation.

Bodypart terms used in the V_N collocations seem to exhibit similar features in terms of language realization as valency constructions. These show enormous possibilities for metaphorical extensions of meaning in order to reflect personal experience, feelings and inner comprehension of the state of mind and the surrounding world of the individual. All that is done in a specific way depending on the bodypart term. However, generally speaking, each term contributes to the understanding of our experience as embodied. The notion of possession takes central position and on it different semantic contrasts in constructions are built. A type of inalienable possession construction among others is revealed in the paper which has so far not received a similar interpretation in the literature. Conclusions are borne out on the basis of corpus evidence.

The paper consists of three sections, conclusion, and appendices. Section 1 gives a quick outline of the procedure, section 2 includes the analysis proper of close eyes collocation and section 3 deals with the description of the valency constructions of the collocation. The appendices have been manually sorted and present repeated patterns of use illustrating the different constructions.

1. The procedure

We have applied the procedure described in the corpus-driven analysis of V_N collocations with the bodypart hand (Seizova-Nankova 2016). At the very beginning of the analysis is the tag which introduces metadata of the collocation and includes general information about its whole population. The number of occurrences of the collocation in the BNC amounts to 1372 hits. This is accompanied by the normalized frequency per million words. Besides normalized frequency, it includes also two other types of frequency: raw frequency and relative frequency. Raw frequency accounts for the number of occurrences of the use of the headword in the singular and plural form based
on different morphological realization of *eye*, while relative frequency shows differences in the preferred options of use.

Straight after the tag and as a first approximation to the analysis comes the discussion of the lexicographic view using Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (OALD online). It is then followed by an account of the quantitative valency considered as the most intuitive grouping of the attested examples in terms of number of participants involved in the situation. There can be situations with only one participant – in the case of the passive and ergative constructions, situations with two participants in which the NP with the headword *eye(s)* functions as PCU1 (or Complement II), and situations with three participants (the trivalent uses) in which a third participant functioning as PCU2 and marked as Complement III is introduced.

Next comes the Complement Inventory which shows variation in the complement realization types of Complement I, II and III.

The EXAMPLES section of the research includes tokens illustrating the Valency patterns that follow. The way complements combine is at most cases unpredictable so that information is of great importance.

### 2. ANALYSIS of *close eye(s)* COLLOCATION


*Close eyes* Hits: 1372 (12.2 per million), 32 sg vs 1340 pl, 2 % vs 98 %

2.1 The dictionary definition:

http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/close1_1?q=clos

[transitive, intransitive] close (something) to put something into a position so that it covers an opening; to get into this position.

SYNONYM SHUT

eg I closed my eyes against the bright light.

OPPOSITE OPEN

Idioms

*shut/close your eyes to something* – to pretend that you have not noticed something so that you do not have to deal with it You can’t just close your eyes to his violence. They seem intent on shutting their eyes to the problems of pollution.

*with your eyes shut/closed* – having enough experience to be able to do something easily I’ve made this trip so often, I could do it with my eyes shut.
From what we read in the Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary online it becomes clear that only the trivalent use is given an example (I closed my eyes against the bright light). What is lost on the learner is the complex architecture (Jackendoff 2010, 2013) of the collocation. Synonymy and oppositeness are two basic sense relations which can be the object of further research between the lexemes of close, open and shut in the collocations with eyes but no clear idea of their similarities and differences can be formed based on the dictionary entry.

One of the two idioms with close mentioned is with the [to_NP]-complement – You can’t just close your eyes to his violence, while the other is expressed with the grammatical metaphor (with my eyes shut) as in I’ve made this trip so often, I could do it with my eyes shut and thus turning the otherwise habitual instantiation of an event into a nominalized phrase as complement to the particle with. This is found both with the verbs close and shut – (with) my eyes shut/closed either with or without the particle as shown by the brackets. The corpus sheds more light on their uses and the number of variations and discourses concerned.

2.2 Corpus sample of close eyes collocation

2.3 Quantitative Valency

M Movalent uses

1.3. JXX shoulder. ‘I wonder…’ she murmured as her eyes closed and she began drifting slowly off …

1.4. HTN- an eerie, human sound. Lucie’s blacked eye was closed, and he
Valency constructions at work: a case study

seemed to take …

D Divalent uses

1.1. JXSHis voice trailed to a halt. He closed his eyes. Shiona was trembling uncontrollably …

1.2. AP7you see; and she said, ‘I then closed his eyes and I laid down with him till the morning …

1.2.a CCMmachine like this. Then he closed the eyes of the boy with the broken neck, and placed …

1.5. K2Wpush the cross bar up. ‘Gary had his eyes closed and said he was going to die.’ His …

1.5.a. KE1eyelid! Oh shit! Sorry! If he I hadn’t had his eye closed, seriously, you know where your …

T Trivalent uses

1.6. JY4a sob Ruth swallowed hard and closed her eyes to the burning sun overhead. And who would …

1.6.a CKVthat. It was run like a club. It closed its eyes to what was going on’. Still, critics wonder …

1.6.b HP0yodelling welcome. Nora closed her eyes on tears of joy. ’That noise!’ she said …

Note! The NP with head eye(s) functions as the only participant realizing Complement II in the monovalent uses of close eyes collocation. This way of describing the constructions gives a clear idea of the possibility of various alternations found in the corpus, most important of which is the ergative pair alternation.

2.4 Complement Inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I optional</th>
<th>II optional</th>
<th>III optional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[NP]</td>
<td>[NP][p, [NP]a, [NP_V-ed]</td>
<td>[PartP]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1_1, 2, 5, 5a, 6, 6ab</td>
<td>1_1, 2, 3, 4, 5a, 6, 6ab</td>
<td>1_6ab</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Complement III realizations:** the [PartP]-complement finds basically three complement types such as [against_NP], [to_NP], [to_wh-CL] and [on_NP] complements.

NB! Attested instances of ergative and passive constructions ([NP]a, [NP],) make clause complement optional. In the present version of Valency theory, obligatory
are those elements which are always realized as part of the construction (Herbst et al. 2008).

2.5 Examples

1_1. JXSHis voice trailed to a halt. He closed his eyes. Shiona was trembling uncontrollably ...

1_2. AP7you see; and she said, ‘I then closed his eyes and I laid down with him till the morning …

1_2.a CCMmachine like this. Then he closed the eyes of the boy with the broken neck, and placed …

1_3.JXX shoulder. ‘I wonder…’ she murmured as her eyes closed and she began drifting slowly off …

1_4. HTN- an eerie, human sound. Lucie’s blacked eyel was closed, and he seemed to take …

1_5. K2Wpush the cross bar up. ‘Gary had his eyes closedII and said he was going to die.’ His …

1_5.a KElid ! Oh shit! Sorry! If he hadn’t had his eye closedII, seriously, you know where your …

1_6. JY4a sob Ruth swallowed hard and closed her eyes to the burning sun III overhead. And who would …

1_6.a CKVthat. It was run like a club. It closed its eyes to what was going on’. III Still, critics wonder …

1_6.b HP0yodelling welcome. Nora closed her eyes on tears of joyIII. ’That noise!’ she said …

2.6 Valency Patterns

[NP]act-subj + verb/act + [NP] 1_1, 2.)

[NP] a + verb/act 1_3.)

[NP] p+ verb/act 1_4.)

[NP]act-subj + verb/act + [NP_V-ed] 1_5, 5a.)

[NP]act-subj + verb/act + [NP], [PartP] 1_6a.b.)

3. Valency Constructions

At every level of the analysis the degree of abstracting away from the raw data increases until the level of Valency constructions. The important thing here
is that constructions are a combination of specific information concerning language use in combination with generalizations thus effecting the combination of Valency theory (Herbst 2014, 2015) with construction grammar as found in the works of A. Goldberg (1995) and W. Croft (2003).

The valency constructions with close eye(s) collocation are varied and show a high degree of complexity comparable to constructions with V_N collocations with the lemma hand. The analysis includes monovalent, divalent and trivalent constructions.

A very important feature of the corpus is the use of the singular form of the lemma eye. It exhibits only 32 instances of use which makes 2% of the entire population, still in terms of variations in the constructions used and the meanings expressed they show great similarities with the plural form while differing mainly in respect to preferred options. This fact gives further details and contributes to building the semantic network (Goldberg, Jackendoff 2004) of the collocation under discussion. The realization of the singular nominal as Complement II shows variation: most frequent of which is the use of one, then come other realizations such as forms of the genitive his, the, the other, the same, the real. Here is an instance with an, eg. G0M spoke and four who listened, will close an eye again tonight? And of the three of us who …

3.1 Monovalent Constructions

The ergative construction

In the construction the noun phrase with head the bodypart is the only complement. It fills the SCU slot and is often metonymically extended to mean the person oneself, hence it functions as a kind of AGENT to the lexical verb and at the same time maintaining the constructional meaning specific for the only participant of the ergative construction.

JXX shoulder. ‘I wonder…’ she murmured as her eyes closed and she began drifting slowly off …

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCU NP</th>
<th>VHC_{act: 1}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[NP_{act-subj} ‘AGENT’]_closed</td>
<td>act</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Here some examples (see App 5):

HA5 possessed such a deep core of selfishness. Her eyes closed for a brief second as she drew all …

H9C wine down their throats. It was only as his eyes closed and he drifted into sleep that Corbett …
The passive construction

In the construction the noun phrase with head the bodypart is the only complement as well, but this time it expresses the AFFECTED semantic role to the lexical verb – that is, the person or thing that undergoes the action or has its state changed. This is accompanied with the morphological change of the verb into passive. The use of passive constructions allows speakers to organize stretches of discourse by placing figures other than the agent in subject position. There are 48 instances in the past tense and 11 – in the present tense (see App 4a and 4b).

HR7trees. I crawled over to the soldier. His eyes were closed. The gun fired again. It seemed …

Some other examples:

G01corner, one eye on his quarry. The other eye had been closed for most of the fight by …

HTN- an eerie, human sound. Lucie’s blacked eye was closed, and he seemed to take …

There are two readings of the construction – stative and dynamic, but it is often difficult to distinguish between them, except in special cases where still tilts the balance to the stative meaning as in eg. JYApeace.’ She looked at him again. His eyes were still closed, and she smiled at her …..

The imperative type construction

Among the attested examples of the collocation we find the imperative type construction like Close your eyes! This is the only instance of construction realized by the imperative clause type which consists only of the collocation close_eyes, eg. FYVforehead, just above the orbits. ’Close your eyes,’ says Tod to the patient, who, of course …

3.2 Divalent constructions

Different valency constructions are discussed but the divalent construction is considered to be the basic one, the prototype, in comparison to the other constructions.

The divalent constructions are considered as basic on the following counts: i) they are most commonly used, ii) they are instantiations of the prototypical
event structure, and iii) they are found in different forms and configurations: either as independent clauses marked by a fullstop [.] or a comma [,] or as part of a serial clause construction.

Here are some examples with [.]

FYYshoulder again. Slowly, Alina closed her eyes. Her face was as blank as a porcelain mask …

FAScrazy, what does that make me? I close my eyes. Tell my children we move north tomorrow …

FABjust showed his teeth. Tippy closed her eyes tightly. Just wait until she saw …

Here are some examples with [,]

JXUmean?’ He had momentarily closed his eyes, but now they snapped open. ’Yes, with …

EAWHold up a finger at arm’s-length, close one eye, and line your finger up with a picture …

CH0Try the optic.’ She closed her real eye, and opened the other. Her image of the …

Here are some examples with [..._V]

HRAbloody cloud again. Blunt closed his eyes and loathed Woolley. He locked his fingers …

FAScannot hear. La lala la. See? I close my eyes and imagine the dark hills I would have …

FABhands travel across her body, she closed her eyes and with them her mind. ’Oh, Happy …

**The reflexive construction**

Possession is an important category which finds expression in reflexive construction where referent and bodypart (eyes in this case) coincide. That this is the prototypical realization is reflected in the preferred frequency of use. Still, there are differences from language to language. In English it is realized with a genitive form in Complement II which is co-referential with the SCU in the self-same clause. The bodypart is typically accompanied by the genitive forms of the personal pronoun (often called in grammars possessive pronouns). If it weren’t for the genitive, the construction would be classified as iconic *par excellence*. But that is not necessarily the case. Other languages like Bulgarian, for example, differ from English in that respect, eg. Tya/toj/to zatvori ochi. (Тя/той/то затвори очи).

JXSHis voice trailed to a halt. He closed his eyes. Shiona was trembling uncontrollably …

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCU NP</th>
<th>VHC act: 2</th>
<th>PCU1</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[NP act-subj ‘AGENT’]_closed [NP ‘AFFECTED’]</td>
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</table>
Here are some more examples (see App 1)

JXVback against the pillows and closing his eyes. ‘Witch! Have you no shame, tempting an …

JXSagainst the pillows and, sighing, closed her eyes. She had thought she was healed, beyond …

JXS She shuddered helplessly and closed her eyes. ‘Jake... Oh, Jake...’ Her voice trailed off …

HYAfeels confident enough to close his/her eyes . Then a second and third person introduced …

The non-reflexive construction

The non-reflexive construction includes different cases of realization.

- marked by the genitive form in the NP with head eye(s), which is however non-coreferential with the SCU in the self-same clause, i.e. it does not share the same referent but it refers to another referent: $I \neq his\ eyes$ as in eg. AP7you see; and she said, ‘I then closed his eyes and I laid down with him till the morning …

- the use of the indefinite article as in eg. G0Mspoke and four who listened, will close an eye again tonight? And of the three of us who

- he use of the definite article which forms a discontinuous constituent with the of-genitive in post-position ($the\ eyes\ of\ the\ boy\ with\ the\ broken\ neck$) as in eg. CCMmachine like this. Then he closed the $eyes$ of the boy with the broken neck, and placed …,

- the use of one, as in eg. EAW Hold up a finger at arm’s-length, close one eye, and line your finger up with a picture …, or otherwise by the definite article…

This makes for greater variation of Complement II in the construction. Consider:

AP7you see; and she said, ‘I then closed his eyes and I laid down with him till the morning …

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCU</th>
<th>NP</th>
<th>VHC</th>
<th>PCU1</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[NP</td>
<td>act:2</td>
<td>PCU1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>act-subj \‘AGENT\’]<em>closed</em></td>
<td>[NP \‘AeFFECTED\’]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here’s another example:

CCMmachine like this. Then he closed the $eyes$ of the boy with the broken neck, and placed …
The analytical causative construction with resulting attribute

The construction exhibits the idea of inalienable possession which is however expressed in the PCU1 (Complement II) in which the [V-ed]-past participle part of the complement occurs in its passive form together with its subject whose head is the headword eyes. For the analysis of C II there are two possibilities – either to be treated as one [NP_V-ed] or as two complements [NP][V-ed] (Herbst, Schüller 2008: 125). The analysis of valency structure poses problems for which there is no obvious solution (ibid.). We have opted for the former analysis.

K2W push the cross bar up. ‘Gary had his eyes closed and said he was going to die.’ His …

SCU NP VHC act: 2 PCU1 [NP_act-subj ‘AGENT’]_verb_act_ [NP_V-ed ‘AFFECTED’]

Here are some more examples:

G0P her thighs with both hands. Julie had her eyes closed now and her head tilted back, so …

G1X was still awake. Colonel Fergusson had his eyes closed and was breathing out through his …

HSC conditions, wearing prisms, or had his/her eyes closed while listening to an auditory signal …

The ASPECTUAL construction is here considered as a variation to the analytical causative with resulting attribute realized with the verb keep. Consider:

KEleyed ! Oh shit! Sorry! If he I hadn’t had his eye closedII, seriously, you know where your …

The common feature is the exocentric phrase, the complex [NP_V-ed]-complement functioning as PCU and consisting of a subject – lemma eye to the non-finite [V-ed] form of the verb close. The examples differ in the type of verb that takes the PCU as Complement II: have something done (to oneself – in the first case) and keep something done (to oneself again), with have being causative in nature and keep – aspectual. There are few examples with keep attested in the corpus, consider eg. HGK time he went slowly but Maggie kept her eyes (tightly) closed. It was a long time since The AdvP is used inside Complement II and functions as an adjunct – \( \alpha \) (tightly).

3.3 Trivalent Constructions

An additional complement, Complement III is added, realized by the [PartP]: against the light/the smoke. It is based both on the reflexive and the non-reflexive
divalent construction, eg. B0Rbehind his remarkable new name, he closed his **eyes** on his troubles and tried to forget.

The use of the lemma *eye* in the singular shows almost the same construction types as the ones with the plural *eyes*, eg. J0Y frills like a red carnation. I close one **eye** against the light, and make a note..., or, eg. FS8the cigarette in his mouth and closed one **eye** against the smoke. ‘Works for Kemp …

One of the prevalent types is the [PartP]-complement with the particle *to* – [to_NP]: 21 instances of use. Other realizations are [against_NP], [to_\_wh-CL] and [on_NP].

The meaning of the construction fluctuates easily and with no cost to the language user between the concrete (literal meaning) and abstract (non-literal extensions of) meaning (see App3a). They are all of the extended reflexive construction.

**Complement III realization:** *to the bright moon that shone overhead,* *to the burning sun overhead,* *to aggression,* *to asylum and the pressures on our European…,* *to the drop beneath her,* *to the vital clue Rex Cunningham could,* *to everything but the sheer beauty of his,* *to the Livesey case,* *to unacceptable facts,* *to the miracle and mystery of life,* *to the darker currents in society,* *to the image,* *to the truth,* *to your activities,* *to the health facts,* *to it,* *to important normative issues,* *to that,* *to that garlic bread literally squelching…,* *to the fact,* etc.

Consider:

    HL3 to measure, but the cost of closing our **eyes** to aggression is beyond mankind’s power ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCU</th>
<th>VHC</th>
<th>PCU1</th>
<th>PCU2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[NP _act-subj ‘AGENT’]_closed</td>
<td>[NP ‘AEFFECTED’]_[PartP ‘GOAL’]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

[against_NP] (see App 3b)

These can be divided into several groups according to the semantics of the complement to the particle.

1. Sources of light: *against the sun,* *against the glare/2,* *against the silver dazzle that bounced ...,* *against the sudden change of light,* *against the pain his memories brought...,* *against the sun and against the confusion,* *against the early-morning sun...*

2. Tears: *against the sting of tears,* *against his ineffective tears,* *against the tears.*

3. Parts of the body: *breast,* *chest.*

4. Abstract extensions of meaning: *against a pull on her senses that set her ...*
... against the river of heat his touch sent..., against the unbelievable horror of it all..., against her own unwanted memories., against a brief flare of irritation. against the flicker of fear running through..., against the sin. against the pain his memories brought...

5. There are also synonymous expressions of the construction in which Complement III is realized either with [to_NP] or [against_NP]: eg. JY4a sob Ruth swallowed hard and closed her eyes to the burning sun overhead. And who would … and eg. CDX staggering proportions. I closed my eyes against the sun and against the confusion …

[to_wh-CL]:1 instance. Even though only one instance of this complement type is attested in the corpus, in our methodology hapaxes are important, eg.CKV that. It was run like a club. It closed its eyes to what was going on'. Still, critics wonder …

[on_NP]: 6 instances. (see App.3c)

**Complement III realization:** on the shocking realisation that she had, on the tawny liquid going down his throat, on the world’s evidence, on tears of joy, on his troubles, on the image.

Only one of the six examples is, so to say, an instantiation of a concrete event, the others are abstract, metaphorical extensions of meaning. Thus, it seems we can, following OALD online, ascribe it to belong to the idioms. Our data, however, shows that classifying phrases as non-idiomatic and/or idiomatic is not feasible, for there are no hard and fast boundaries between these expressions. In fact, they are quite fuzzy. Here are two more examples:

HP0 yodelling welcome. Nora closed her eyes on tears of joy. 'That noise!' she said …

JXW cover tonight.’ Lindsey closed her eyes on the shocking realisation that she had ...

### 3.4 The resultative construction

There is only one attested example found in the corpus of the type:

HGE a bit of all right.’ And she closed one eye in a grotesque wink, leaving Sally-Anne ...

```
SCU NP  VHC_act:3  PCU1  PCU1  
[NP_act-subj ‘AGENT’]_shook_act:[NP ‘AFFECTED’]_ [NP ‘PREDICATIVE’]
```

The meaning of the construction is: X causes Y to move in order to bring about change of state Z realized by [PartP]: in a grotesque wink. The image below can be used as a visual representation and raises a point concerning the interrelation between spatial structure, expressed by gestures, and conceptual structure
as reflected in language, or, in other words, ‘how we talk about what we see’ is important. We are not pursuing this line of thought now for lack of space (Jackendoff 2013; Seizova-Nankova 2016).

3.5 Grammatical Metaphor (GM): (with) one’s eyes closed

GM is a phenomenon where the use of one grammatical form instead of another grammatical form is due to some semantic analogy between them. Two realization types are found in the corpus:

[NP], eg. J13leans back against his grey pillows, his eyes closed and his face screwed up. I ask Eva …and

[with_NP], eg. AYKhopping on one leg, going about with one eye permanently closed or trying to work with …, K32first round victory had left him with an eye fully closed which eventually opened slightly …(see App 6 for more examples).

The latter is by far the more frequent one.

Conclusion

The constructions discussed in this paper are based on the corpus-driven analysis and the objective of reflecting how specific information combines with greater generalizations is adequately described.

It seems that language is, on the one hand, all-embracing, whatever that may mean, and, on the other, easily adaptable to different ends and purposes, an adaptive social system. Judging from the research, analyzing language use inevitably brings to light some of these most remarkable features.

In the context of foreign language linguistics, the analysis also brings out features of the particular language under scrutiny (English) which can be similar or different to one’s own language (Bulgarian). Collocations rank high in terms of problems in language acquisition. The lexical properties of linguistic units that deviate from basic grammatical rules are the crux of the matter. The new computation methods of approaching digital corpora face all these issues and help in gaining insights into the nature of language as a whole.
References


APPENDICES

Appendix 1 of the divalent reflexive construction

JXSagon the pillows and, sighing, closed her eyes. She had thought she was healed, beyond JXS She shuddered helplessly and closed her eyes. ‘Jake… Oh, Jake…’ Her voice trailed off JXSclimbed into her own bunk and closed her eyes. I’ve done it! she thought with a JXSHis voice trailed to a halt. He closed his eyes. Shiona was trembling uncontrollably JXVback against the pillows and closing his eyes. ‘Witch! Have you no shame, tempting an JXUmean?’ He had momentarily closed his eyes, but now they snapped open. ‘Yes, with JXUpenny in his pocket.’ Sarella closed her eyes. It was back to the same old theme. But
J54 roaring along the lanes. Sara closed her eyes. It seemed a million years since the morning
JXUtragic scene he leaned back and closed his eyes. It was after midnight. She was conscious
JXUmattered at first…’ He closed his eyes. ’I guess it must have been difficult for
JXU’s very sweet.’ Sarella closed her eyes. She could imagine the three of them at
JYBmuttered behind her. Kathleen closed her eyes. The room was a bloodbath, all of them
JYBcystic fibrosis.’ Kathleen closed her eyes. Now it all fell into place, the child
JYBor your new lover?’ She closed her eyes. Oh, damn, she thought, how would she tell
JY0 ’Let me think.’ Irene closed her eyes. ’Pershore - near Pershore. Barkton - Berkton
JY8sardonically, standing up. Paige closed her eyes. That made it even worse. Yet she would
HRAWoodruffe laid down his fork and closed his eyes. Rogers cleared his throat. ’Going
HRAbloody cloud again. Blunt closed his eyes and loathed Woolley. He locked his fingers
HRAhim his flask, but Lambert just closed his eyes. ’They let these sausages up pretty high
HRAas that,’ Kimberley said. He closed his eyes. ’Now piss off and leave me alone.’ He

Appendix 1a of divalent constructions ending with []
JXSclimbed into her own bunk and closed her eyes. I’ve done it! she thought with a
JXUpenny in his pocket.’ Sarella closed her eyes. It was back to the same old theme. But
J54 roaring along the lanes. Sara closed her eyes. It seemed a million years since the morning
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HRAhim his flask, but Lambert just closed his eyes. ’They let these sausages up pretty high
HRAas that,’ Kimberley said. He closed his eyes. ’Now piss off and leave me alone.’ He

Appendix 2 of the divalent construction with singular head eye:32 instances
J0Y frills like a red carnation. I close-one eye against the light, and make a note.
HRAhim. Who’s that?’ Rogers closed one eye and peered up. ’Is that God?’ The bread-
throwers
HTN- an eerie, human sound. Lucie’s blacked eye was closed, and he seemed to take
HTYthrough the air. Spike closed his eye and again lost consciousness. Blake
HGEa bit of all right.’ And she closed one eye in a grotesque wink, leaving Sally-Anne
HJGthumb and index finger, and closing one eye, usually the wrong one. Why do we
AYKhopping on one leg, going about with one eye permanently closed or trying to work with
ADXtheory requires that the observer closes one eye. The cone of vision The cone of vision
A8Cthe eleventh round when McDonnell’s right eye was all but closed, though the fighter
ALJ A battered man in a woollen hat, one eye almost closed by a bruise, was appealing
ALLpoliceman’s back philosophically and closed one eye. Constable Campbell rounded the
corner
BN3completely exhausted. I had lost two teeth, one eye was closed, and an ear torn. Yet, McNab
B1XHe broke Sonny’s nose and closed his left eye. He began to work on the body, aiming for
BLXthe more obvious technique of closing the eye, it is no longer able to monitor the predator
G1Mwas blistered from the hot coffee and one eye was closed. The other glared malevolently
G0Mspoke and four who listened, will close an eye again tonight? And of the three of us who
G01corner, one eye on his quarry. The other eye had been closed for most of the fight by
EAWHold up a finger at arm’s-length, close one eye, and line your finger up with a picture
KDAthing I found was, if you just close your eye and then open it again, your contact lens
K32first round victory had left him with an eye fully closed which eventually opened slightly
KE1eyelid! Oh shit! Sorry! If he hadn’t had his eye closed, seriously, you know where your
CH0Try the optic.’ She closed her real eye, and opened the other. Her image of the
CR6side as if he was thinking, closing one eye and giving his little grin. ’Tomorrow’s
CB8piece of plastic on a window, close one eye and trace the outlines of what you see.
C85was purpling down the left side and one eye was closed. He bellowed something which
CDT. The simple answer is to close the same eye whenever a car approaches; that is your
FRHagain for the child and closing his red-hot eye. ’You speak of stopping,’ said Simon
F9Xkeep the world still?’ She closed her eye again before she levered her body upright
FEVoverlapping views we receive. Closing one eye and then the other reveals the same scene
FU5crystal cave. Silence and sootfall. A last eye being closed. I pray to find myself again
FS8the cigarette in his mouth and closed one eye against the smoke. ’Works for Kemp
FSJthings to do, oh yes!’ Here he closed one eye and smiled at me. ’Now go to your squire
APPENDIX 3a of the trivalent construction with [to_NP]-complement
JY4a sob Ruth swallowed hard and closed her eyes to the burning sun overhead. And who
would
HL3to measure, but the cost of closing our eyes to aggression is beyond mankind’s power
HHWshort term. It is no good closing our eyes to asylum and the pressures on our European
HH8groping for the nearest bloom, closing her eyes to the drop beneath her. The rose didn’t
H8Tof the Tyrrell Society, he had closed his eyes to the vital clue Rex Cunningham could
HA9arms slid around her and she closed her eyes to everything but the sheer beauty of his
ANLhis pipe out. ’It is tempting to close our eyes to the Livesey case but, say what you will
AN8suspect you are less likely to close your eyes to unacceptable facts.’ Oh, surely
ALHnever become so worldly that we close our eyes to the miracle and mystery of life. May
A7Lthe desire of filmmakers to close their eyes to the darker currents in society, to make
G15tumbling over his forehead. She closed her eyes to the image, waiting to hear only the
G0Fcynical about is the way everyone closes his eyes to the truth. I was only teasing you because
G0NWhat do you think I mean? I’ve closed my eyes to your activities long enough. Well, they
EC2... The government can no longer close its eyes to the health facts. It is condoning promotion
K8Rthe abyss and then resolutely closed his eyes to it. If Rose was bearing a child, that
KSTn't look! So No. I just try and close my eyes to it Yeah. and I walk indoors. But ooh
CM2lead one to believe that he is closing his eyes to important normative issues. Notoriously
CL4part of the poetry of creation. Close your eyes to that and you bar a means of communication
CDRcorn-on-the-cob without salt or butter. Close your eyes to that garlic bread literally squelching
FCVsection 16(2). We cannot close our eyes to the fact that if the arguments advanced
JY4doing that,' she added softly, closing her eyes to the bright moon that shone overhead.

Appendix 3b of the trivalent construction with [against_NP]-complement
JY8rise and fall of his chest, and closed her eyes against a pull on her senses that set her
JY5snooded, and she looked away, closing her eyes against the sting of tears. 'Then
JY6fine-honed beauty of that chest. She closed her eyes against it. 'Put your shirt back
HR4 'Who cares?' Maxim sat back closing his eyes against his ineffective tears. George
HGTto hold on to her composure, closing her eyes against the tears. He would have to appear
HEG1 know,' said McAllister, closing her eyes against her own unwanted memories.
HJHAdjusting her position and half closing her eyes against the sun, she too stared out over
H82sounds. Either she must close her eyes against this or she must enter. Unnerved
HA9 'Anyone around?' She closed her eyes against a brief flare of irritation. She
HA9you, Shannon Lea?' She closed her eyes against the flicker of fear running through
BPDthe columns? Jack wondered. He closed his eyes against the unbelievable horror of it all
GVTsaid. 'Mm,' she grunted, closing her eyes against the glare. After a pause he said
G17waver in a haze of heat. Jehan closed his eyes against the glare. In his belt he had a
CEHstepped back into the office, closing her eyes against the sudden change of light. Jock
C8A Richard shook his head and closed his eyes against the pain his memories brought.
CDXstaggering proportions. I closed my eyes against the sun and against the confusion

Appendix 3c of the trivalent construction with [on_NP]-complement
JXW cover tonight. Lindsey closed her eyes on the shocking realisation that she had
HH0poverty. Willie watches his brother close his eyes on the tawny liquid going down his
H8Rnumb beyond her last of sense, closed her eyes on the world's evidence And into pillows
HP0yodelling welcome. Nora closed her eyes on tears of joy. 'That noise!' she said
B0Rbehind his remarkable new name, he closed his eyes on his troubles and tried to forget.
FP7small vineyard.' Pascoe closed his eyes on the image for a moment. A hillside under
Appendix 4a of the passive construction/past tense

JYApeace.’ She looked at him again. His eyes were still closed, and she smiled at her.
HR7trees. I crawled over to the soldier. His eyes were closed. The gun fired again. It seemed
HTYhad stopped. He sat opposite Blake. His eyes were closed and his mind was elsewhere.
HGTread his profile in the half-light. His eyes were closed. Was he asleep? ’Robyn
HJHslowing to normal, her body quietening. His eyes were closed, and she was surprised when
HH9and thought it looked nice. Gran’s eyes were closed. Emmie put the tray down on
HH9and thought it looked nice. Gran’s eyes were closed. Emmie put the tray down on
H7Win saving her he had been hurt. His eyes were closed and pallor gave his weathered
HWEhim. Peggy sank into a chair. Her eyes were tightly closed, her mouth wide. He
HWUemergency room he appeared deeply comatose: his eyes were closed and he did not react to noxious
H8Sthe gentle rise and fall of his chest. His eyes were closed, and his face had a lazy, satisfied
H8Jglass on a table at his side. His eyes were closed and he looked completely at
H8Nclasped around her head. Alan saw that her eyes were closed. She had not heard the door
H8Nslowing to normal, her body quietening. His eyes were closed, and she was surprised when
H0FAnne’s voice) but I was too far gone. My eyes were closed, and that tongue, oh that tongue
ACBpulled Gazzer’s head up by his hair. Gazzer’s eyes were closed. ’Open your eyes,’ said
ACWas the fabric itself. She was happy. Her eyes were closed, and she was smiling. Just
AE0light at the window grew stronger, but their eyes were closed. She awoke from a light
A7Jfrom the coldness of her extremities. Her eyes were closed against the glare of lights
AR3trolley, eased him down on to the carpet. His eyes were closed, his face was an ashen colour
BPDwires linked his body with machines. Ken’s eyes were closed and his breathing was horribly
BPDdown at his stepfather almost angrily. His eyes were closed now. ’Don’t try him again
BLXher hand. No respiration was visible, the eyes were closed, the mouth gaped and the paws
GWFmarked her torn robe in many places and her eyes were closed, but she was breathing.
GV3hands. He did not look at the keys. His eyes were closed. He was in another world. His
GVTglanced at the young man beside him. His eyes were closed; he had passed into the body
GUDwith his head resting against the arm. His eyes were closed and his breathing noisy.
GUGthere, looking down at him. The old man’s eyes were closed, the thin lids veined, mauve
G14methylanthranilate in the chicks’ bills when their eyes were closed arid showing that this did
G15the glass in front of his nose. Urquhart’s eyes were closed, the lashes like black feathers
G01pulled out the corkscrew. The tramp’s eyes were closed but Magee used his thumb and
G06fingers. She sat still, and I believe her eyes were closed. Nobody could sit so still
EWCthe gap and squatted beside him. Bigwig’s eyes were closed and his lips pulled back from
CE9Wisharts kept giving her a look but her eyes were closed and she looked very serene
C9W- and she could not see anything as her eyes were tightly closed. But she could hear
CKOlittle face was a mass of wrinkles. Its eyes were closed. It had strangely long, fine
CLDbumped by the rain spots. She knelt. Her eyes were closed, her lips moved. She crossed
CLDheavy-knit dun brown sweater. His eyes were closed. It might get to be a bit of
FRYwas on the ground, beside the line. His eyes were closed and he did not move when they
FRHjostled them there, and she saw that his eyes were closed and that he had gone gray with
FR0out from the edge of the fallen slab. His eyes were closed and his expression blank.
F99a dark, easy drifting. She realized her eyes were closed. But there seemed to be a dim
F99motionless, his face turned up to the chains; his eyes were closed, and fire burned clear and
F99turning him over on to his back. Adam’s eyes were closed, in some state that looked
FB9Your pretty head.’ But Hugh’s brown eyes were closed and his martyred Saint Sebastian
FABHer mouth felt as dry as a bone and her eyes were closed against the intrusive light
FSEnature.’ Kiku shook her head. Her eyes were closed. She moved against him and,
FSJdownstairs. We lifted the captain’s head. His eyes were closed and his face was a terrible

Appendix 4b of the passive construction/past tense
J17softness of his hair. My wrist aches; my own eyes are closed. Back and forth go my
A0Yon the back with hands at the side, the eyes are closed (coins or cotton wool on the
HGUmuch response, and much of the time his eyes are closed. But Babur figures his voice
HGF’O, she who twitches and shouts when her eyes are closed,’ said the seal. ’What was the
HJH?’ ’If you must.’ Clare closed her eyes again. ’Well, what I was going to
B1Jnot the same as the peace on a face whose eyes are closed in prayer. To say this is not
B74when they are peeking as well as when their eyes are closed. However, active sleep is
B74looks as though the length of time their eyes are closed determines the amount of active
EVAwhen less is demanded of them and their eyes are closed - almost as if they were drifting
CBFGraham, of County Durham police. ’Her eyes are closed and her nose and mouth are
FU5me to hear: I am waiting in the dark. My eyes are closed, my throat is clogged growing

Appendix 5 of the ergative construction
HA5possessed such a deep core of selfishness. Her eyes closed for a brief second as she drew all
H9Cwine down their throats. It was only as his eyes closed and he drifted into sleep that
H9C’Absolve me, Domine!’ he muttered as his eyes closed and his soul was extinguished.
CECwould stay with me during that time.’ His eyes closed as he recalled the confrontation …
CJXsilences but while she was talking that her eyes closed and her shallow breathing became …
F9X’s what I’d like to know.’ Lacuna’s eyes closed for a few seconds. When they opened …
FSE. The sun was warm and he was tired. His eyes closed and he slept. It was still
FS1effect. Harry stayed with her until her eyes closed and then went to see if there was …
FPUp at the white ceiling again. Slowly his eyes closed and his head dropped quietly on …

Appendix 6 of grammatical metaphor, two types:[NP] and [with_NP]

[NP]:1
BP0that lay the tragedy. She lay, her eyes closed and smiling, surrendered to death
CE5stared at the pale face of his friend, the eyes closed but moving restlessly beneath the
J13leans back against his grey pillows, his eyes closed and his face screwed up. I ask Eva …

[with_NP]: 9
H8Ninto the bathroom. Carolyn sat with her eyes closed listening to the water running and
H8Nwas lying on the floor smoking, with her eyes closed. ’That’s because she made you. How
ASEfinished her tea and now leant back with her eyes closed and the swollen ankle propped up
H0Fstood beside the streaming panes with her eyes closed, willing herself to capture something
H0F. Irena simply sat, quite often with her eyes closed. From time to time one of the women
H9Vantipathy he always aroused in her. With his eyes closed, concentration firming his features
ADYfelt odd. I clung hard to a sapling with my eyes closed, waiting for things to get better
A0Gus who cannot make a daisy chain with our eyes closed - and who could forget the daisy-
AS3mph on the wrong side of the M8 with your eyes closed. The haul up the corrie takes
Phrasal verbs with off may not be hard to pull off

Svetlana Nedelcheva*

Abstract: This article studies the phrasal verbs (PV) widely used in contemporary English**. They are challenging to foreign language learners not only because they are numerous but also with their multiple meanings. Polysemous phrasal verbs are seen from a new perspective with the development of cognitive linguistics. Researchers apply the cognitive principles to arrange them in systematic groups and to prove that their meanings are not randomly chosen but motivated.

The present study focuses on phrasal verbs with OFF and organizes their meanings in a radial network related to one core, invariant meaning. The particle encodes specific conceptualizations of spatial relations non-native speakers of English are unaware of. The article provides some suggestions to teaching PVs using a cognitive-based approach to help EFL learners memorize phrasal verbs more efficiently.

Key words: Cognitive linguistics, corpus linguistics, phrasal verbs, semantic networks, second language acquisition

Introduction

The collaboration between cognitive linguistics and second language acquisition in recent years has aroused a lot of attention in linguists worldwide. Researchers view cognitive linguistics as setting theoretical guidance and achieving considerable results in the field of second language acquisition, mainly in the following aspects: (1) the prototype in English grammar structure (e.g. Langacker 1987, 1991); (2) the acquisition of metaphor and idioms (e.g. Kovecses, Szabó 1996; Wezhbitska 1997); (3) the acquisition of second language vocabulary (e.g. Csabi 2004; Liao, Fukuya 2004). Vocabulary teaching and learning in second language teaching and research was comparatively neglected for a long time until the late 1980s, when the application of the developments of the cognitive linguistic theory started. Since then cognitive linguistics have moved the focus of research on vocabulary, which has led to deepening and expanding the understanding of vocabulary nature and conceptualization, thus providing new incentives in the research of second language vocabulary teaching (Hatch, Brown 1995).

Linguists and EFL teachers have long recognized that the acquisition of particles

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** In linguistics phrasal verbs are also called verb-particle constructions (VPSs). In this study the two terms are used interchangeably.
poses major problems to non-native speakers of English (e.g. Celce-Murcia, Larsen-Freeman 1999; Tyler, Evans 2003). Rudzka-Ostyn claims about PVs that: “although they are common in spoken and written English and new ones are constantly being created, they do not enjoy a good reputation for EFL learners” (2003: 1). Naturally, EFL learners, even the advanced ones, tend to avoid them in their oral communication and writing production. Memorizing long lists of PVs does not guarantee their incorporation into the active vocabulary of the learner and using them in practice (Dainty 1992).

Cognitive linguistics (CL) offers an alternative perspective to the traditional approach, suggesting that the many distinct meanings associated with a particular particle are motivated and related in systematic principled ways (Lindner 1982; Lakoff 1987; Tyler, Evans 2001, 2003; Evans, Tyler 2005). Hence, this approach suggests a cognitive mechanism of learning PVs without relying on tedious memorization and repetition. The main tenet of CL, namely the *embodiment principle*, argues that human cognition is structured and expands as a result of bodily perceptions and experiences due to our interaction with the world around us (Johnson 1987; Lakoff, Johnson 1980, 1999; Johnson, Rohrer 2007). The human perceptual system conceptualizes spatial scenes in terms of foreground and background, or trajector (TR) and landmark (LM) (Langacker 1987). The TR tends to be the smaller, more moveable element which is the focus of attention, while the LM is the larger, less moveable, locating element.

Lindstromberg (1997) studies verb particles in opposition to each other. He states that *up* and *off* can combine with the same verbs.

> But in such contexts *off* seldom functions as anything like an opposite to *up* despite the fact that (because of gravity) being *off* a supporting surface results in being ‘down’. Rather, *off* is still the opposite of *on*. Another important difference between *off* and *down* is that *off* has even stronger negative connotations. (Lindstromberg 1997: 192)

CL contributes to the study of particles in that particles provide a system for explaining spatial relations in English. Most typically they are conceptualized as a configuration of a focus element (the TR) and a locating or ground element (the LM). This basic spatial meaning of a particle gives rise to additional senses some of which are non-spatial (Tyler, Evans 2003; Evans, Tyler 2005). Thus, the multiple meanings develop a complicated radial network which shows how they are related systematically. We go a step further and claim that all the verbs that combine with a particular particle can be organized in a motivated way into a semantic network. These systematic networks, which draw on human interaction with the physical world, have the potential to help EFL learners in mastering the complicated PVs.
Corpus study of OFF

The corpus of this study is collected from two different sources. On the one hand, we work with Longman Phrasal Verbs Dictionary (2000) which contains 229 phrasal verbs with off. They are extracted together with their meanings, exemplary sentences and synonyms and set up in a table for easier processing (see Figure 1).

On the other hand, we use Wiktionary – the free dictionary* and more specifically its category “English phrasal verbs with particle (off)”. This source suggests 218 VPCs with off arranged in a list and each of the verbs has a link with its meaning attached to it. All the meanings were extracted manually and organized in a table together with an example, which illustrated the corresponding meaning in a context (see Figure 2). Because of the difference in number the two corpora were compared in order to unify the corpus. The procedure revealed unexpected results as in the Longman dictionary 74 PVs were found that were not present in Wiktionary. The Wiktionary, in its turn, showed 55 PVs missing in the Longman PV dictionary (see Appendix 1). As a consequence, 292 VPCs with off were analyzed.

Semantic network of OFF

As a matter of fact, the meaning of the PVs usually cannot be identified as a symbiosis of the meaning of the verb and the meaning of the particle. Therefore, they are widely believed to be arbitrary and unsystematic lexical items that have to be learned one by one – a very difficult and time consuming task. For instance, even beginners know what put means and what off means, but that will not help them much to guess the various meanings of put off. What is more, the Longman PV dictionary gives 6 different meanings of put off:

1. ~ to delay doing something until later…: Why don’t you talk to him about it? You can’t keep putting it off forever.
   * SIMILAR TO: postpone, put back

2. ~ to stop someone from liking another person or thing or stop them from being interested in it: Don’t be put off by the name. It’s actually a very pretty plant.
   My last boyfriend put me off men for life.

3. ~ to make a light stop working by pressing a switch: Don’t forget to put off the lights when you leave.
   * SIMILAR TO: put out, switch out, turn out

4. ~ to delay meeting someone, talking to someone, paying someone, etc., because you do not want to do it until later: Maybe I should go and see him. I can’t put him off much longer.

* This is an abridged version. To see all the details look up Longman Phrasal Verbs Dictionary (2000).
5. ~ especially BrE to make it difficult for someone to pay attention to what they are doing, for example by talking or making a noise: Stop giggling! You’re putting me off.

* SIMILAR TO: distract

6. ~ BrE if a bus or taxi driver puts you off somewhere, they stop the bus or taxi at a particular place and allow you to get out there: Do you want me to put you off at the station?

* SIMILAR TO: drop off, set down

In this study we suggest that all verb-particle constructions with OFF share the same semantic network. In order to test our hypothesis we follow a procedure of three steps:

1. We construct the semantic network of the adverb OFF.
2. Using it we construct the semantic network of the polysemous verb put off.
3. We apply the semantic network to a cross section of 20 verbs excerpted from the corpus.

If we look for the invariant (also called core) meaning of off we should turn to the adverb off which is generally described in Cambridge dictionary* with 8 different meanings: 1. away from, 2. removed, 3. not operating, 4. less money, 5. not at work, 6. separated, 7. completely, 8. get rid off. Some of the suggested meanings are synonymous, namely away from, removed, separated. This fact can be observed clearly in the sentences suggested as examples:

1. away from – He drove off at the most incredible speed**.
2. removed – Take your jacket off.
6. separated – The area in the park where the kids play is fenced off for safety reasons.

They can be joined together under the title ‘AWAY’ as it is an underlying meaning of the three of them***.

8. Get rid of can be related to the same cluster as it is associated with something present that we would like to remove, for instance: We went out for a while to walk off some of our dinner.

What is meant by rubric 7. completely is that something is taken away so that

* http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/off

** The examples illustrating the different meanings of OFF are taken from Cambridge Dictionary (see footnote 4)

*** ‘AWAY’ is the name of a semantic cluster and it is spelled with capital letters.
nothing is left or something is exhausted and, therefore, finished:
It says on the bottle that it *kills off* all known germs.
The good thing about exercise is that it *burns off* calories.
As all examples in this group refer to taking something away until it is finished, we’d rather name this group ‘finished’ than ‘completely’. It is metaphorically related to the ‘removed’ group: killing off germs and burning off calories make them disappear. In a different situation the thing that is taken away can be money. When some money is taken away what is left is less money than the initial sum, hence rubric 4. ‘less money’.
You can *get some money off* if you pay cash.
There was $40 or $50 *off* most jackets in the store.
When you have to pay that sum of money it is preferable in all cases to give away the lower price.
Another cluster of meanings can be formed by 3. ‘not operating’ and 5. ‘not at work’. They can be united under the title ‘NOT WORKING’, for example:
*not operating* – Make sure the computers *are* all *off* before you go home.
*not at work* – I’m going to *take/have* some time *off* to work on my house.
The difference between the two members of the cluster lies only in the type of referent. The class that is ‘not operating’ are inanimate objects, mostly machines of various kinds. Primarily people belong to the section ‘not at work’. The relation between the two clusters is not obvious at first glance. But if we think of the fact that machines need a continuous input of energy in order to work, removing that energy will interrupt their operation. Similarly, people use up less energy or no energy at all when they are not at work. Consequently, some of the energy is away, not present, in these particular situations. The semantic network of *OFF* can be summarized in a diagram (see Figure 3):
The analysis of the meanings of the adverb OFF shows that all its meanings are related in a motivated and systematic way. As a next step we suggest going back to the polysemous verb put off and see if the network of meanings of OFF applies to its various uses. We hypothesize that some of the sections may not be filled in, but as a whole there will not be considerable differences in the networks of the polysemous adverb OFF and the verb put off.

1. ~ to delay doing something until later… The event is removed away from the present moment and pushed to a moment in the future. The meaning falls in the section AWAY and we can add the specific feature ‘away in time’.

2. ~ to stop someone from liking another person or thing… When someone is stopped from liking another person, most probably the two people do not see each other very often, they are separated. Then we can associate the meaning with the section ‘separated’.

3. ~ to make a light stop working by pressing a switch. This meaning can be attributed to the section ‘not operating’ because it refers to a mechanism.

4. ~ to delay meeting someone, talking to someone, paying someone etc. because you do not want to do it until later: AWAY (in time). The only difference with the first meaning is that the entity put away is a person not something inanimate or abstract.

5. ~ especially BrE to distract s.o. It can be interpreted as taking away s.o.’s attention: AWAY (abstract)

6. ~ BrE if a bus or taxi driver puts you off somewhere, they stop the bus or taxi
at a particular place and allow you to get out there … That will be the place where your trip finishes, thus the meaning goes to the section ‘finished’.

Having in mind the semantic network of the adverb OFF, we can construct the semantic network of put off (see Fig. 4).

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**Fig. 4.** The semantic network of put off

The figure shows that, on the one hand, some of the slots have remained empty, namely ‘removed’, ‘less (money)’, ‘not at work’, ‘get rid off’. On the other hand, two additional slots were opened: ‘away in time’ and ‘away abstract’. They are not conceptualized as separate meanings, rather as subtypes of the meaning of AWAY, therefore the arrows that lead to them are dashed.

The last step is to test if the created network of OFF applies to all phrasal verbs which combine with this particle. This will help us organize them in a systematic way. Due to the limited size of this paper, we are going to take a cross section of 20 verbs and study their meanings on the basis of the semantic network (see Table 1)*.

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* None of the verbs exhibited a meaning in the section ‘get rid of’, so it is excluded from the table.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AWAY ‘in space, time and abstract’</th>
<th>Removed</th>
<th>Separated</th>
<th>Finished</th>
<th>Less</th>
<th>NOT WORKING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Back off ‘move away’</td>
<td>Back off ‘back away’</td>
<td>Back off ‘lay off’</td>
<td>Break off ‘separate a part from the whole’</td>
<td>Break off ‘stop communications, a relationship, etc.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Call off ‘cancel’</td>
<td>Call off ‘abandon’, ‘stop’</td>
<td>Come off ‘stop taking drugs’, ‘stop thinking of’, ‘end up as’</td>
<td>Come off ‘stop working’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drop off ‘away from a state’</td>
<td>Drop off ‘end a trip’</td>
<td>Drop off ‘less in number’</td>
<td>Call off ‘cancel’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go off ‘leave a place’, ‘go away unpunished’, ‘send off’</td>
<td>Go off ‘stop talking on the phone’, ‘stop touching’</td>
<td>Go off s.o. ‘stop liking’, ‘change the topic, direction’</td>
<td>Go off s.o. ‘stop liking’, ‘change the topic, direction’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keep off ‘do not discuss a topic’, ‘do not start s.th.’, ‘do not gain weight’</td>
<td>Keep off ‘do not touch’ ‘do not eat’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Let off ‘not to punish’, ‘get away from a job’, ‘explode, shoot, fart’, ‘rent premises to s.o.’, ‘produce heat’</td>
<td>Let off ‘end a trip’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish off ‘clean’</td>
<td>Polish off ‘finish food, drink’, ‘defeat’</td>
<td>Polish off ‘clean’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Push off ‘go away’</td>
<td>Push off ‘push against’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AWAY ‘in space, time and abstract’</td>
<td>Removed</td>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>Finished</td>
<td>Less</td>
<td>NOT WORKING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
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<td>----------</td>
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<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Run off</strong>&lt;br&gt;‘leave a place’, ‘print out’, ‘consume power’, ‘write quickly and easily’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>See off</strong>&lt;br&gt;‘say goodbye to s.o.’, ‘chase way’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>See off&lt;br&gt;‘defeat’, ‘kill’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Set off</strong>&lt;br&gt;‘leave a place’, ‘explode’, ‘trigger off (metaphorical)’</td>
<td>Set off&lt;br&gt;‘stand out’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Set off&lt;br&gt;‘reduce tax’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Start off</strong>&lt;br&gt;‘change of state’, ‘make s.o. change their state’, ‘change in life’, ‘leave a place’, ‘burst with laughter’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Take off</strong>&lt;br&gt;‘leave the ground’, ‘spend time away from work’, ‘leave a place’, ‘change in career’, ‘stop s.o. who is doing s.th.’</td>
<td>Take off&lt;br&gt;‘remove clothes’</td>
<td></td>
<td>Take off&lt;br&gt;‘stop taking a medicine’, ‘stop a transportation service’, ‘stop a show from broadcasting’</td>
<td></td>
<td>Take off&lt;br&gt;‘detact s.o.’, ‘deduct’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Turn off</strong>&lt;br&gt;‘leave a road’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turn off&lt;br&gt;‘stop from liking’, ‘stop from being attractive’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Work off</strong>&lt;br&gt;‘use energy’, ‘consume power’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Write off</strong>&lt;br&gt;‘send off’, ‘dismiss’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Write off&lt;br&gt;‘badly damaged vehicle not worth repairing’, ‘a debt no longer has to be paid’</td>
<td>Write off&lt;br&gt;‘reduce tax’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1.** Polysemous PVs with OFF and their semantic meanings

The verbs analyzed in the table prove the hypothesis that the verb-particle constructions with OFF fit in the semantic network of the adverb OFF. As it is obvious from the table, the different meanings of a particular phrasal verb fill in up to four slots in the semantic network although for some of them there are up to 10 meanings enlisted in the Longman PV dictionary. The discrepancy is due to the fact that in some cases there are two or even three meanings belonging
to the same slot differentiated only in the shades of their meaning. For instance, the AWAY meanings of *take off* ‘leave the ground’, ‘leave a place’, ‘spend time away from work’, ‘change in career’, ‘stop s.o. who is doing s.th.’ are all related to AWAY because, for instance, leaving a place is more general and leaving the ground is more specific, but both refer to the same activity ‘to depart from a location’. When a person leaves a place and that is the place of their work they can have a holiday. If the ‘place’ is metaphorically their career they can start a different job. Another metaphorical interpretation of a ‘place’ can be the activity a person is occupied with. If another person stops him/her from doing something they make them leave that place and move to a different one.

There are a number of verbs in the table, namely *go off, set off, start off*, which have meanings associated with starting an activity. This meaning can certainly be seen as opposite to the ‘finished’ meaning. However, they can be interpreted in a very abstract way. The AWAY category, where these meanings belong, is conceptualized as moving away from one state and entering another. If the initial state is that of a rest the new one can be a certain activity. Then there is a relation between ‘moving away from’ and ‘starting an activity’.

Another conceptual relation can be found between moving away and exploding in the sense of the verbs *go off, let off* and *set off*. When a gun fires a bullet goes away from it. When a bomb explodes parts of it go up in the air together with everything around it. Therefore, there is an associative link between exploding and moving away. The same applies to the metaphorical meaning of *start off* ‘burst with laughter’, although the thing that goes away with it is noise, which is not something substantial.

*Run off* and *work off* are synonymous in the meaning to ‘consume power’. We conceptualize it as related to the AWAY meaning because when energy is used it goes away from the source and into the consumer. It is also associated with the ‘less’ sense as being supplied with energy presupposes its diminishing.

*Polish off* has developed two metaphorical meanings in the ‘finished’ sense: ‘finish food, drink’ and ‘defeat’ additionally to the ‘clean’ meaning in the section ‘removed’. Finishing one’s food or drink is close in a way to cleaning the plate or glass they were served in. They are left clean of their content. Defeating one’s enemies can be interpreted as ‘finishing’ them because they will be no longer present to threaten people. Then this meaning is also related to ‘get rid off’.

The limited size of this paper does not allow us to discuss each meaning of each phrasal verb with *OFF*. Hence, we chose to group them and focused on those meanings that seemed unexpected. We also looked for some counter examples in the database to validate the theory of the common semantic network of *OFF*. One of the meanings of the verb *face off* is widely used in American English in the context of ice hockey and lacrosse to mark the start of the game. It can be
Phrasal verbs with off may not be hard to pull off

compared to kick off in football. Kick off, however, is easy to be interpreted from the point of view of the AWAY sense considering that the ball is kicked away by a player. The same line of thoughts cannot be applied to face off. We turned to the etymological dictionaries to decipher the origin of this VPC.

The Old English Dictionary (OED) doesn’t discuss a modern sense of the phrasal verb. The only verb uses of face off are from 1958 referring to lacrosse with the ball as a direct object, and an example from 1887 in which it has the sense of “to turn aside (spec. the current of a stream)”. The oldest meaning cited is the one that leads us to the AWAY sense. The ball in lacrosse and the puck in ice hockey are hit aside with the start of the game. Therefore, face off is not a counter example because it fits in the semantic network, although the line of conceptualization is not obvious from contemporary point of view.

The modern intransitive sense of face off is ‘to confront’, e.g. “They faced off across the conference table”. Two lines of conceptualization can be found in relation to this meaning of face off. On the one hand, it is linked to the sports term, but not so much to its meaning ‘to start a game’ than to the situation in which it is used: two players of opposite teams confronting each other. On the other hand, it can be affected by the oldest meaning of the verb to face ‘confront with assurance; show a bold face’, mid-15c.

When discussing face off there is an inevitable allusion with an interesting play on words in the title of the American science fiction action film Face/Off (1997), starring John Travolta and Nicolas Cage, directed by John Woo. In the film Travolta plays an FBI agent and Cage plays a terrorist. Both are sworn enemies who undergo face-swap through a complicated experimental transplant procedure. Interpreting the title, we see a literal use of the lexical units face and off. The protagonists’ faces were removed and exchanged. However, another point that is also exploited by the director is the idiomatic meaning of face off – ‘to confront, argue, or compete against each other’. The two opponents in the movie Sean Archer (Travolta) and Castor Troy (Cage) are in a face-off situation in both meanings of the phrasal verb.

Conclusion

This article focuses on the usefulness of the conceptual basis for studying PVs. Contrary to the traditional approach, which suggests memorization of lists of PVs as a suitable strategy, the cognitive approach lays emphasis on the particle in the PV as determining the meaning of the construction (Tyler, Evans 2003). Particles, from a CL viewpoint, have a primary spatial meaning and additional


** http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=face+off
non-spatial abstract meanings. As the semantic network of OFF shows, it has an invariant spatial meaning (AWAY, separated) and a number of non-spatial meanings (e.g. less, get rid of, NOT WORKING). These meanings derive from embodied experience and cognitive mechanisms through which a particle is conceptualized. Native speakers of English are subconsciously aware of such conceptualizations due to their bodily and sociocultural experience within their language community. Non-native learners of English are not familiar with the way the particles are conceptualized in the English language and this leads to a number of problems in learning and using them productively. A favorable way to overcome such problems is showing EFL learners that such conceptualizations exist. Recognizing the connection between the literal and idiomatic meanings of PVs in English via metaphors can greatly contribute to their better understanding.

This article is far from exhaustive in revealing the conceptualizations of all the verbs, however, the study suggests that presenting the conceptual basis of OFF can help foreigners enhance their ability to infer the meaning of novel PVs with the same particle from another one they already know. Further empirical studies, however, are necessary to test the usefulness of CL approach in different contexts, with various informants, and on different English particles.

References:


Phrasal verbs with off may not be hard to pull off


DICTIONARIES


Appendix 1. PVs in the Longman PV dictionary which are not found in Wiktionary and vice versa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OFF – Longman PV Dictionary</th>
<th>OFF – Wiktionary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Box off</td>
<td>Be brassed off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be browned of</td>
<td>Bully of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burn off</td>
<td>Bump of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar off</td>
<td>Bear off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bitch off</td>
<td>Boil off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buck off</td>
<td>Bump off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFF – Longman PV Dictionary</td>
<td>OFF – Wiktionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bundle off</td>
<td>Be cheesed off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chop off</td>
<td>Cone off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curtain off</td>
<td>Dine off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divide off</td>
<td>Drag off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Drain off</td>
<td>Fling off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hare off</td>
<td>Haul off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Have off</td>
<td>Hit off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hop off</td>
<td>Keep off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lead off</td>
<td>Let off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lift off</td>
<td>Log off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lop off</td>
<td>Mark off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Measure off</td>
<td>Move off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Order off</td>
<td>Pace off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Partition off</td>
<td>Pension off</td>
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<td>Ponce off</td>
<td>Post off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pour off</td>
<td>Print off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Raffle off</td>
<td>Rush off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Screen off</td>
<td>Seal off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Section off</td>
<td>Separate off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shave off</td>
<td>Shear off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ship off</td>
<td>Shuck off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shuffle off</td>
<td>Shut off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sign off</td>
<td>Siphon off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Skip off</td>
<td>Slice off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Speed off</td>
<td>Spin off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Split off</td>
<td>Sponge off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stay off</td>
<td>Stream off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strain off</td>
<td>Be struck off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tear off</td>
<td>Throw off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tick off</td>
<td>Touch off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Towel off</td>
<td>Trail off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trigger off</td>
<td>Trim off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Veer off</td>
<td>Wander off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Warn off</td>
<td>Wean off</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 74

Total: 55
“Absolutely” modifying adjectives in British and Bulgarian newspapers in comparison with the British national corpus

Irina Stoyanova-Georgieva*

Abstract: The paper studies the collocations formed by ‘absolutely’ used as an adverbial intensifier for modifying adjectives in a corpus of Letters to the Editor, published in British and Bulgarian newspapers, and the BNC. The results of the study show the similarities between the collocations of ‘absolutely’ in English and Bulgarian as well as the resemblances in the choice of a syntactic position of the modified adjectives in both languages.

Key words: absolutely, collocation, BNC, Bulgarian and British newspapers

Introduction

According to the Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary absolutely is an adverb meaning completely; “used for adding force to a strong adjective which is not usually used with ‘very’, or to a verb expressing strong emotion”, “a strong way of saying ‘no’” (see CALD 2008). The reason of absolutely not collocating with certain adjectives is grammatically described as being the “mismatch of the modes of construal of the adjective and the modifier” (see Paradis 1997).

According to The Dictionary of Bulgarian Language of the Institute for Bulgarian Language (see http://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/lang/en/абсолютно) абсолютно is an adverb meaning “напълно, съвършено, безусловно, съвсем” (‘completely, totally, unconditionally, quite’ – trans. author’s)

From a morphological point of view absolutely is an intensifier**, which belongs to the subgroup of maximizers, an element ‘which can denote the upper extreme of the scale’ (see Quirk et al. 1985: 445-6, 589). Paradis also places it among maximizers (see Paradis 1997: 28) but she also qualifies them as a subgroup of

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** Intensifiers, modifying adjectives, degree words, etc. are widely used and have been the object of studies for many years. They have been given a variety of names. Stoffel divides adverbs into intensifying and downtoning (see Stoffel 1901). Quirk et al call them modifiers (see Quirk et al 1985: 445). Allerton has named them intensifiers despite the somewhat double nature of this concept, implying reinforcement and at the same time including lexemes with an attenuating character (see Allerton 1987: 18). Halliday refers to them by generally calling them submodifiers although he mentions the term qualifier intensifiers as well (see Halliday 2004: 356). Paradis (1997: 15) uses the term degree modifier.
totality modifiers, thus allowing *absolutely* to combine with limit adjectives, too.

Though absolutely is among the most common qualifying adverbs used to modify adjectives in English, and consequently the subject of extensive studies covering its basic characteristics, collocation capacities, recycling, degree modification, etc. (see Stoffel 1901; Benzinger 1971; Quirk et al. 1985; Allerton 1987; Paradis 1997; Paradis 2001; Tagliamonte 2008, etc.) it has not been so far the subject of any comparative studies aiming at collocations of the degree word with adjectives, in our case in English and Bulgarian. Thus, a corpus containing examples in Bulgarian can be examined and tested for similarities in English.

**Nature of adjectives**

Linguists adopt various criteria in their attempts to describe the nature of adjectives. Quirk et al. consider them from the point of view of typicality, discussing four different criteria (1985: 403) but also stating that “most adjectives are gradable. Gradability is manifested through comparison” and “through modification by intensifiers” (1985: 435); Collins divides them into qualitative (considered gradable) and classifying (non-gradable) (1990: 65); Paradis also divides adjectives into two groups: gradable and nongradable (1997: 48-49), but also considers that the first group consists of three subgroups: scalar, extreme and limit adjectives. Each subgroup is bounded with a definite type of adverbial modifier: scalar adjectives selecting scalar modifiers; extreme adjectives preferring maximizers, and limit adjectives collocating with totality modifiers (see Paradis 1997: 65).

The class of adjectives in Bulgarian is also closely examined by scholars and they are systematized in two sets. Pashov (2005: 81-82) and Tilkov et al. (1983: 397-399) divide adjectives into: qualitative (качествени) and relative (относителни). Qualitative adjectives are items denoting qualities, intrinsic to nouns. The quality can vary in its intensity so these adjectives are considered gradable. With relative adjectives, on the contrary, the quality is not intrinsic to the noun but is acquired due to its relations with other nouns. Such adjectives do not have the semantic feature gradability. Pashov determines another case related to the modification of relative adjectives into qualitative due to their figurative use: златен часовник – златни ръце. Such modification unlocks the semantic component gradability by turning the relative adjective into qualitative.

Thus the object of our study will be the adverbial intensifier *absolutely* modifying gradable adjectives.

According to Leech and Svartvik (1994: 172-174) and Quirk et al. (1985: 399) most adjectives can be both attributive (acting as premodifiers of nouns) and predicative (acting as complements of verbs). Though most adjectives can take
both positions some are restricted to attributive position. Predicative adjectives occur after linking verbs or as object complement. Many of the adjectives used predominantly in predicative position can appear in an attributive one, too, but with a change of meaning. An adjective can also be a postmodifier.

Some linguists present a thorough classification of syntactic positions of single English adjectives; however, they do not elaborate on the types of syntactic positions that are more common with adjectives modified by intensifiers.

According to Pashov (see 2005 81-82) Bulgarian adjectives can perform two syntactic roles: that of attributive adjective (съгласувано определение), which can lead to a change in their gender and number in order to conform to the rules of concord with the nouns they modify; and that of predicative adjective (сказуемо определение) which can modify nouns in the role of subject or object of a sentence and do not take articles.

Due to natural differences between English and Bulgarian, based on their origin, cultural and historical development, the abovementioned lack of great similarities between the extensive characteristics of Bulgarian and English adjectives and absence of any significant theory dividing Bulgarian degree words into groups, resembling the ones existing for the English language, our first hypothesis is that the examples which will be found in the BNC and the British section of our corpus will not be similar to those found in the Bulgarian section of the corpus. Then we hypothesize that there will be just one or two isolated cases of translation equivalents, and the syntactic positions of the majority of adjectives, modified by the adverb absolutely, will be different in the two languages.

**Method of analysis**

The present study is conducted on a comparative basis, its whole corpus consisting of 4521 Letters to the Editor as follows: 3721 articles from the newspaper section of the British National Corpus (BNC) and another 800 Letters to the Editor from 400 British and 400 Bulgarian newspapers (Corpus of Letters to the Editor, hence COLE), collected on a random basis. The media chosen for this study are: The Financial Times, The Independent, The Guardian, The Daily Express, 24 Chasa, Dnevnik, Duma and Lichna Drama. The central idea is to find the similarities and differences between English and Bulgarian in the use of absolutely in its function to modify adjectives. The study benefits from the opportunities offered by a renowned corpus, and tests the samples of a smaller corpus compiled by the author.

Though the corpora do not contain the same type of articles, as COLE consists entirely of Letters to the Editor, while the analysed section of BNC has samples of all kinds of newspaper articles, including letters to the editor, we do not consider this an obstacle as all the articles are classified as newspaper material.
Taking into consideration the advantages and the limitations provided by the BNC, we applied the following strategy: we searched for the combination of absolutely with any adjective in the newspaper section of the BNC. Then the corpus compiled by the author (COLE) was studied through the use of TextStat, a simple programme for analysis of texts, which produces word frequency lists and concordances.

Analysis of Absolutely in Newspapers

Though limited, the BNC still outnumbered COLE which provided us with a chance to examine the problem in a wider context.

As a result, the newspaper section of the BNC provided 313 samples of 134 collocations of absolutely, the collocations of absolutely represent 0.003% from the texts. The most common among them is the combination absolutely delighted which is repeated 23 times, followed by absolutely clear (13 times), and absolutely necessary (13 times). Unfortunately, after a close inspection of the results several of the examples turned out to be inappropriate for the survey as they belonged to an autocue script or contained other inconsistencies. Therefore, the final calculation contains 260 samples of 119 collocations with 0.0025% of the text consisting of intensifiers. The new calculation showed that the most common among them is still absolutely delighted (23 times), followed by absolutely clear (12 times), absolutely necessary (12 times) and absolutely brilliant, which was mentioned 11 times in its full form and once in short – brill.

Compared to the BNC, the British section of COLE contains fewer words and fewer collocations of absolutely modifying an adjective. COLE has only three collocations: absolutely right, absolutely correct, and absolutely set, which make 0.0048% out of all of its words.

Although the Bulgarian section of COLE is smaller than the BNC, it still provides an opportunity for examination. It has 19 examples of 18 different collocations, 0.0083% of all the words from the corpus. Because of the small number there is just one repetition: абсолютно вярно (absolutely right) and another partial repetition of the conjunction of absolutely with the lemma and a form of the lexeme: абсолютно неадекватен/неадекватно (absolutely inadequate).

Comparing the initial results, we should state that though the list of collocations is not long it presents an interesting opportunity to check for similarities in the collocations in both languages.

Taking into consideration Quirk et al.’s and Allerton’s and Paradis’ model we assume that absolutely should collocate with extreme and limit adjectives. Last but not least, it will not occur in combination with scalar and non-gradable adjectives, unless there is a case of contextual modulation. The abovementioned restrictions are due to the nature of the degree word and the category of boundedness.
English adjectives in the corpus are divided into categories following Allerton’s classification for gradable adjectives (see Allerton 1987) and Paradis’ criteria (see Paradis 1997: 50):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Defining features</th>
<th>Scalar adjectives</th>
<th>Extreme adjectives</th>
<th>Limit adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comparison</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes/no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘How x is it?’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘How x!’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oppositeness</td>
<td>antonymy</td>
<td>antonymy</td>
<td>complementarity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Analysis & Discussion**

Comparing the results from the initial analysis, we noticed that *absolutely right* exists in COLE as well as in BNC, and there are several collocations: 4 in BNC, and 1 in COLE, that have counterparts in the Bulgarian COLE.

- (BNC) absolutely necessary – абсолютно необходимо (BULCOLE)
- (BNC) absolutely wrong – абсолютно сбъркано (BULCOLE)
- (BNC) absolutely unacceptably – абсолютно неприемливо (BULCOLE)
- (BNC) absolutely mindless – абсолютно безмозъчни (BULCOLE)
- (BRCOLE) absolutely correct – абсолютно вярно (BULCOLE)

In order to be able to analyze them more fully, we applied Allerton’s model (1987) for classification of adjectives and Paradis’ criteria used to determine gradability in adjectives (see Paradis 1997: 50). Our results are marked in bold.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comparison</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes/no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘How x is it?’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘How x!’</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
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<td>Comparison</td>
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<td>‘How x is it?’</td>
<td>yes</td>
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<td>‘How x!’</td>
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Based on the model it was found out that all adjectives following *absolutely* are part of the subclass of extreme or limit adjectives which corresponds to what was derived from Paradis’ and Allerton’s models.

In order to test the corpuses for translation equivalents among the collocations with counterparts in the Bulgarian section of COLE we resort to using the WordNet and the BulNet.

The first collocation of *absolutely* is with the adjective *necessary*. Thus we take into consideration the definition of *necessary* according to WordNet: *absolutely essential, unavoidably determined by prior circumstances; antonym – unnecessary*. BulNet characterizes *необходимо* as:

*чieto присъствие, навременност или наличност сa важни или задължителни за постигането на даден резултат или сa наложени от някого или нещо; съществена, основна нужда, която е задължителна с оглед на ситуациата или обстоятелствата (whose presence, timeliness or availability are important or obligatory for the achievement of a certain result or are imposed by somebody or something; essential, basic need, which is obligatory as regards the situation or the circumstances – trans. author’s).*

The given definition is nearly the same as the one provided by WordNet;
however, more detailed.

The second collocation is *absolutely wrong*, where WordNet provides the following information: incorrect, not correct; not in conformity with fact or truth; contrary to conscience or morality or law; improper. Unfortunately, the lack of data about сбъркано in the BulNet does not give us the opportunity to discuss the case and decide whether the two collocations are exact translation equivalents.

As regards *unacceptable*, it is presented as: not adequate to give satisfaction; not acceptable; not welcome; impossible; not conforming to standard usage. Its antonyms are: satisfactory, acceptable, tolerable, standard. Неприемливо is defined in absolutely the same way:

Mindless is described as: “lacking the thinking capacity characteristic of a conscious being; requiring little mental effort; unmindful, forgetful, devoid of intelligence or thought; reasonless, senseless. Its antonyms are meaningful, intellectual, wise, reasonable”. Безмозъчен has the same characteristics in Bulgarian: “на когото му липсва интелект или говори или действа, без да мисли (who lacks intellect or who speaks or acts without thinking – trans. author’s), and its antonyms are also the same: sensible, intelligent”.

WordNet gives the following definition about *correct*: “right (free from error; especially conforming to fact or truth); socially right or correct; in accord with accepted standards of usage or procedure; correct in opinion or judgment. Its antonyms are: incorrect, wrong, improper”. Вярно has absolutely the same definition in Bulgarian: “който е в съгласие с определени факти или състояние на нещата, не противоречи на истината, не съдържа грешки (who agrees with certain facts or state of things; does not contradict to the truth; does not contain mistakes – trans. author’s). Antonym: wrong”.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, the findings show that 25% of the samples in the Bulgarian Corpus of *Letters to the Editor* have their exact matches in the English corpora. This disproves our initial hypothesis that due to the natural differences between the languages there will be no, or if present, an insignificant number of translation equivalents in the Bulgarian and English sections of our corpus.
As to our second hypothesis concerning the syntactic position of the adjectives modified by *absolutely*, it was interesting to find out that all intensified adjectives show definite preference of predicative position. Approximately 86% of the English adjectives modified by *absolutely* and 63% of the Bulgarian ones are in predicative position, despite the fact that there are representatives of all kinds of groups: adjectives used in attributive and predicative position without any change of meaning, such that only appear in predicative position, and several that premodify nouns, it is the predominant use of predicative adjectives that attracts our attention and can be incentive for a future research in order to find out whether this tendency will be preserved in larger corpora.

References:


Understanding name-based neologisms

Aleksandra Aleksandrova*

Abstract: The paper deals with neologisms based on proper names. It traces the main mechanisms by which such neologisms are formed, namely metonymic shift of meaning, affixation and blending. The creation and stability of neologisms depends on factors such as the cultural and political context. Examples in support of the abovementioned statements are provided in the paper.

Key words: proper names, neologisms, metonomy, affixation, blending.

Introduction

A neologism is defined as a new word or expression, or a word used with a new meaning (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English). Newmark (1988) defines neologisms as “newly coined lexical units or existing lexical units that acquire a new sense” (Newmark 1988: 140). Behera and Mishra (2013) classify the following types of neologisms according to their “life cycle”:

- unstable – very new or being used only by a small sub-culture (also branded as protologisms);
- diffused – having attained a noteworthy incidence of use, but not yet having gained pervasive acceptance;
- stable – having gained recognizable, being in vogue, and perhaps, gaining lasting acceptance;
- dated – the point where the word has ceased being novel, entered formal linguistic acceptance and even may have passed into becoming a cliché;
- passé – when a neologism becomes so culturally dated that the use of it is avoided because its use is seen as a stigma, a sign of being out of step with the norms of a changed cultural tradition, perhaps, with the neologism dropping from the lexicon altogether (see Bhagavan, Misha 2013: 26).

Neologisms related to the use of proper names that appear in the analysed corpus belong to the first three types: unstable, diffused, and stable. Proper names can form neologisms by metonymical shift of meaning, affixation and blending.

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Analysis

- Metonymic shift of meaning

A shift in category from common to proper nouns is one of the ways for the creation of proper names. A shift in meaning in the opposite direction (from proper to common nouns) is also present. This shift is metonymically motivated and happens with a name that very often appears in the media and is mentioned in relation with a certain phenomenon or event. The name becomes synonymous with that phenomenon and at a later stage it turns into a common noun.

In an article from 24 Chasa newspaper, „калинка”, which is the Bulgarian word for a ladybird, functions as a common noun for someone who has been appointed on some high-level administrative position on political grounds without having the necessary qualifications:

Гонят „калинките” от властта
Народното събрание спира със закон наплива на “калинки” по върховете на държавната администрация, пише в. “Труд”. Зам.-министри, областни управители и заместниците им, както и шефове на агенции и комисии задължително трябва да имат завършена магистърска степен. …В закона е записано, че държавен служител ще се става само след конкурс и издържан тест. (24 Chasa, 07/072016)

The “kalinkas" ousted from office

The Parliament legally stops the inrush of “kalinkas” on top positions in state administration. Deputy ministers, county governors and their deputies, as well as directors of agencies and commissions, are obliged to have a master's degree... It is stated that civil servants will be appointed only by competition and passed examination'.

The meaning of “калинка” as someone who has been appointed on some high-level administrative position on political grounds, without having the necessary qualifications, originates from the name of the director of State Fund Agriculture, Kalina Ilieva, who became notorious for her inexpedient appointment. With Калина and „калинка / калинки / калинките”, the following process is observed: the etymological meaning of Kalina is the word „калина” (mountain ash). In this case, there is a shift in meaning from common to proper noun.

калина (common noun) → Калина (name)

Then, the associative meaning of Kalina as someone who has been appointed on some high-level administrative position without having the necessary qualifications is transferred to the noun калинка. Калинка is the diminutive form of Калина, which is aimed at achieving a derisive effect.

Калина (name) → калинка (common noun)

* Translations of the Bulgarian articles are done by the author.
The two successive shifts are based on metonymy and support the idea that metonymy can lead to a change of the word class. In this case there is a shift from a common noun to a proper name and back to a common noun again. However, the common noun that precedes the name is different from the common noun that results from it. Калина is different from калинка. Although it could be considered just as the diminutive form of Калина, the connotations that it takes are different. There are two different common nouns in the two ends of the conceptual metonymic chain. The shift of meaning could be schematically presented in the following way:

калина → Калина→ калинка

Common noun 1→Name→Common noun 2

What is more interesting is that there are some degrees of meaning with the use of калинка. This is evident in its graphological representation. In one article it is found with a capital letter showing that the word still keeps its proprial characteristics. In another text it is not capitalized but is given in quotations. And yet in another text it is not capitalized and not in quotations. Those differences in the graphological representation trace the different degrees of meaning of the word. It could possibly be concluded that when it is with a capital letter or in quotations it is closer to a proper name, while presented without the quotations it is already established as a common word which has a meaning in some way related to the qualities attributed to the referent of the name. Furthermore, калинките has a meaning of ladybird in the following article, which contributes to the play on words:

Роенето на калинките продължава. Но за ГЕРБ въобще не е важно, че специалисти се заменят с некомпетентни хора на отговорни позиции. Стига да са свои. (www.duma.bg, 27/04/2015)

The swarm of the ladybirds continues. But to GERB, it doesn’t really matter that professionals are replaced by incompetent people in responsible positions. As long as they are our own folks.

This change in the graphological representation is a mark that the word is already established as a common noun.

- Affixation

Personal names give names to events related in some way with the referent of the personal name. Sometimes those names are morphologically modified by noun affixes. Usually the newly created word sounds similar to another word with a different meaning. The achieved play on words fulfills the function of attracting the readers’ attention. The newly created word (phrase) can become well established and can be often used in future texts, but it is possible for such a word to appear occasionally within a single article as is the case with the following example:
Orbanization without limit

The Hungarian Prime Minister Victor Orban drew the bead on NGOs and the media.

When people call you a Victator and you win every vote, the temptation to concentrate as much power as possible and use it to your liking becomes irresistible. This was proved by the Hungarian Prime Minister Victor Orban. In April he won his third and second turn of office in a row, and a month later his right-centred party “Fides” won the European Parliament elections. The prognoses were that the country would get more of the same stuff – authoritative vacillates, unscrupulous attempts to consolidate power, confrontation with the EU and populism. Orban just confirmed the worst apprehensions with two recent events.

Orbanization stands for the behaviour and policy of Victor Orban. There is no similarity in meaning between Orbanization and Urbanization. It is just an association on a phonological level aimed at achieving a greater effect on the readers and attracting their attention. This is not the case with Victator, however. Victator is a blending between the name Victor and the word dictator and stresses on a quality attributed to the referent.

Such coinages derived from names are often used in the media. A typical example is the way a certain line of policy is named after the person who implemented it. A well-known instance in this respect is the term Thatcherism used to stand for the political measures that Margaret Thatcher took during her term of office. This term is well established not only in media texts, but also in political scientific texts. In a similar way, a policy that is typical for a certain political leader is named after the political leader. The pattern by which this is done is the following:

Personal Name + -ism/-izm

As a result, there are Blairism, Putinism, etc. However, in some cases, those “-isms” are not used in academic texts, but appear only in certain media texts aimed at achieving humorous effect, scorning or mocking the person and the
political steps taken by him/her. The following excerpt illustrates such a use:

**Obamaism** is dead and Hillary Clinton killed it

It’s official: **Obamaism** is dead. Hillary Clinton killed it.

It wasn’t so much a mercy killing as an expedient one, but that’s politics in the best sense. The important thing is that she broke the Democratic omertà code by stating the obvious: The president’s policy of having America sit on the sidelines of a burning world is a disaster that threatens our national security.

The power of her argument is confirmed by a report that a testy Obama called it “horses—t” to congressional leaders. (nypost.com, 13/08/2014)

Here **Obamaism** is not a term, but a way to show a negative attitude towards Barack Obama’s policy.

In the Bulgarian media the pattern personal name + -изъм can also be found. The biggest part of such uses is probably borrowed from the international press (terms like **Thatcherism, Putinism, Blairism** entered the Bulgarian press through British or US media articles). There are similar uses of personal name + -изъм based on names of Bulgarian political figures as in the following example:

Монархизъм, живковизъм, бойковизъм – управлена градация по български

Термините „монархизъм” и „живковизъм” са ясни. „Бойковизъм” обаче се нуждае от допълнителни обяснения. Ясно е, от чие име произхожда, но тук виждам не само личността на този политик, а еманациите на неговото поведение, прояви почти на всекъде в политическата култура на настоящите ни управленци (http://socbg.com, 29/03/2015).

Monarchism, zhivkovizm, boykovizm – Bulgarian style governmental gradation

The terms monarchism and zhivkovizm are clear. **Boykovizm**, however, requires further explanation. The name it originates from is quite clear, but I envisage not only the politician’s personality but the emanation of his behaviour, manifested almost ubiquitously in our governors’ political culture.

At first glance, the term **Boykovizm** is parallel to the terms Thatcherism, Putinism, Blairism. However, Thatcherism, Putinism, Blairism are derived from surnames, based on the pattern surname + izm, while **Boykovizm** is derived from a first name, based on the pattern first name +-izm. The use of a first name can be considered derogatory and sarcastic. A term derived from Boyko Borisov’s surname is also often used in the media, but the connotation is again negative. This is the term борисовщина:

Не може пожарникар да управлява държавата, да осъдим Борисов и Цветанов, не лично, а борисовщината и цветановщината. (topnovini.bg, 31/05/2016)

A firefighter cannot govern the country; let us condemn Borisov and Tsvetanov – not personally, but rather the borisov-like and the tsetanov-like way of thinking and acting (in Bulgarian borisovshtina and tsetanovshtina).

**Borisovshtina** is formed from the surname Borisov and the suffix -shtina.
The suffix -shtina is usually used with Bulgarian negative nouns such as простащина (vulgarity), диващина (barbarism), etc., and by means of association, when added to personal names they evoke negative connotations. They can be used to express a negative attitude towards the name bearer. The suffix -shtina can be added to place names. In that case, a negative attitude is expressed not toward the place itself, but the way the idea of something is wrongly assumed. In the following excerpt, европейцина means phoney or misunderstood europeanism:

...ние ще бъдем европейци, ако сме преди всичко българи. Мисля, че Ботев е един много по-голям европеец от днешните претенденти за европейцина, които много често повторят мантрите на Брюксел като „Светая Светих”, а всъщност имаме един много голям европеец, който е такъв, защото е българин и е водач на българската революция. (focusnews.net, 06/01/2015)

...we will be Europeans only if we are Bulgarians first of all. In my view, Botev is a much greater European than today’s claimants for phoney Europeanism, who very often recite Brussels’s mantras. Actually, we have a much greater European, who is European because he is Bulgarian and leader of the Bulgarian revolution as well.

Terms coined in this way can be considered morphologically modified. They form neologisms that tend to become stable and continuously used in the media.

The use of such phrases in the Bulgarian media is often influenced by their use in the British media. Thatcherism and Blairism are taken directly from the British media and established in the Bulgarian media as Тачеризъм, Блеъризъм. However, in some cases the Bulgarian media choose a different affix for the formation of the eponym. For instance, the eponym derived from the surname of Donald Trump in the British and the American media is Trumpism, as in the following excerpt:

Trumpism and the death of the Republican Party: Walkom

Donald Trump has blown up the Republican Party. It’s not clear what will replace it

...Technically, Trump will appear on the November ballot as the Republican Party’s nominee for the U.S. presidency. In fact, he will be the standard-bearer of a movement that some commentators are already referring to as Trumpism.

Trumpism is not a coherent ideology. It is a cult of personality that reflects the changing moods and thoughts of one man. Yet there are some key pillars that appear relatively fixed.

First, like old Republicanism, it is nostalgic. It appeals to those mourning a mythical past in a mythical land, where minorities kept their grievances to themselves, cops were tops and America ruled the world.

Second, it is insular. As Trump explained in a wide-ranging interview with the New York Times this week, he is not wedded to the concept of collective defence under
Understanding name-based neologisms

NATO.

...Trumpism expresses American disillusionment with the wars in Iraq, Libya and Afghanistan. But it goes well beyond that to question U.S. military support of long-time allies such as Japan, South Korea and the nations of Western Europe. (The Star, 22/07/2016)

In Bulgarian texts, however, the common noun derived from the name Trump is formed by adding -отия, thus forming the noun Тръмпотия (Trumpotia). A play on words is achieved by the similarity between Тръмпотия (Trumpotia) and the Bulgarian word тъпотия (tupotia), meaning stupidity, as well as between the name Trump and the Bulgarian adjective тъп, meaning “stupid”. Such strategies in the media are used to show a certain attitude towards the person whose name is used to form the neologism. Negative attitude is achieved by using a suffix associated with negative connotations.

Absolute Trumpotia

There has never been such a notorious period in history as the period of the great hypocrisy.

Tapotiya (Stupidity) and Trumpotiya. Every second modern politician suffers from it. He is born by reality TV. The slogan “Trump as an overshoe (analogy with ‘dead above the ears’)”. He speaks what people he is disgusted with want to hear. The trend of the empty heads.

It could be suggested that the more neologisms derived from a name, the greater their influence on society, and as a result the more obsessed with them the media are. In the cases of neologisms derived from Trump, apart from the mentioned above, another term was recently coined – Trumpistan. Trumpistan is used to stand for “the USA under Trump’s presidency” (urbandictionary.com). However, -stan is not a semantically neutral suffix. It rather brings a negative connotation, and is used to refer to the negative aspects of Donald Trump’s eventual presidency, as is evident in the following excerpts from the Asian Age and New York Daily news:

The US Commission on International Religious Freedom has been critical of India. If Donald Trump, the presumptive Republican presidential nominee, enters the White
House, the US too will become a most intolerant society, a sort of “Trumpistan” (The Asian Age, 17/05/2016)

This is Trumpistan: Donald Trump’s ignorant, dangerous immigration proposals would decimate the American economy and pit the nation against itself.

Donald Trump has stopped insulting people long enough to finally release his first policy paper – on immigration reform.

It is every bit as shallow, ignorant and dangerous as one would expect from the man who launched his campaign by smearing Mexicans who cross the border as drug-runners and rapists (New York Daily News, 17/08/2015).

The suffix -stan is used to form names of countries in the Middle East and Central Asia, as well as in names of developing countries and when added to the name Trump it is associated with something that is drawn down in its development. The use of Trumpistan to stand for the presidency of Donald Trump therefore suggests the negative attitude of Trump’s opponents to the idea of his presidency.

In the Bulgarian media, the suffix -stan is also used to express a negative attitude. It is frequently added to the name of the country Bulgaria to form Bulgaristan:

“Булгаристан е едно непоправимо селце, нищо друго. Няма какво да ме дразни или да не ме дразни – това е една дълбока провинция”, отговаря Захари, попитан какво не му харесва в България. Продължава, че това е провинцията, в която е роден, и това е положението – ни повече, ни по-малко. Явор казва, че след като се върне от чужбина, някои неща му правят впечатление и го дразнят. “Но след десет дни ти е ежедневие и същите неща не ги регистрираш.” (Dnevnik, 24/09/2009)

“Bulgarian is an irreclaimable village, nothing more. It is not about whether it annoys me or not – it is just at the back of beyond, says Zahari when asked what it is that he does not like in Bulgaria. He continues by saying that that is the country he was born in, and that is all – nothing more, nothing less. Yavor says that when he returns from abroad, there are some things he notices and is annoyed by. “But ten days later you stop even noticing them”.

The suffix -зация is used with proper names to form expressions with the structure X-зация, which have the meaning “the influence of X”. In the next excerpt, Putisation means the influence of Putin:

България навлиза в нов етап на путинизация

Оцеляването на режима все повече зависи от неутрализирането на гражданското пробуждане чрез изграждане на паралелна реалност. (Dnevnik, 15/12/2013)

Bulgaria enters a new stage of Putinisation

The survival of the regime depends to a great extent on the neutralization of citizens’
awakening with the help of the construction of parallel reality.

The term Putinisation is used in the British media with the same meaning:

Poland protests against BBC ‘Putinisation’ report

Newsnight report ‘Is Poland being Putinised?’ was biased and drew unjustified conclusions according to foreign ministry

Poland has formally protested against a BBC report asking if controversial moves by Warsaw’s new right-wing government were “Putinising” the country.

A foreign ministry letter addressed to a top BBC executive said a January report on the political crisis in Poland was “biased”, “inaccurate” and drew “unjustified conclusions”. (The Guardian, 10/02/2016)

The examples provided prove the fact that the suffix -sation/-zation is usually added to place names to attain the meaning “the influence of X” but in cases such as Americanization and Europeanization they are already well established and are not considered neologisms.

- Blending

Blending is defined as a compound “consisting of one word and a splinter (part of a morpheme) or two splinters” (Lehrer 2007: 115). Sometimes neologisms can result from the blending of two proper names. This happens when two people who receive much media attention are presented as one whole unity and to affirm that unity they become called by one common name, which is a combination between their names. This way, the two referents will be perceived as a single individual, as if they were one person. A typical example of such a name, especially in the yellow press, is the name Brangelina – a blending between the first names of Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie, famous actors known wordwide.

Who’s to blame for ending Brangelina? It must be somebody’s fault!

Brat and Angelina have separated. Now we could accept that at the end of the day celebrities are merely people with their own very human issues and flaws and choose to give the couple privacy as they work out what’s best for their future and children. We could just be patient and wait for the inevitable post-split interviews to have any curiosity satiated (Women’s magazine, 20/09/2016).

When used frequently in the media, a neologism is conventionalized and its meaning can be further shifted by metonymy. For instance, Brangelina can be used to stand not for the couple Jolie-Pitt, but for their separation and in this case, there is a PERSON FOR THE EVENT metonymy. The separation is further accentuated by avoiding the use of Brangelina with its primary meaning – the union between the two people – and referring to them by using their surnames – Jolie and Pitt thus emphasizing the fact that they are already two different people with two different surnames. Angelina Jolie is used instead of Angelina Jolie-Pitt, thus indicating they not one family any more:
**Brangelina** proves you should never trust a cheater

In the wake of Angelina Jolie and Brad Pitt’s divorce announcement earlier this week come reports that Jolie was very jealous of Pitt being around other women, including his “Allied” co-star Marion Cotillard. Jolie’s paranoia is understandable, as it’s alleged that she had an affair with Pitt during the filming of “Mr. & Mrs. Smith” in 2004, when he was married to Jennifer Aniston.

And as those who have been involved with an unfaithful partner know: Once a cheater, always a cheater. (New York Post, 22/09/2016)

A neologism can result from blending of a proper name and a common noun. This is the case with the well-established new coinage *Brexit* (Britain+exit). The term was created during the UK referendum about UK’s withdrawal from the EU.

**Britain votes to leave the EU**

Britain is on its way out of the European Union. In a referendum on June 23rd 51.9% of voters opted for *Brexit*, on a high turnout of 72.2%. London, Scotland and Northern Ireland plumped for “Remain”, while the rest of Britain voted “Leave”… What happens now is uncertain. Years of negotiations are likely to follow today’s result, as Britain tries to navigate an exit from the Union. For now, the initial reaction of the markets is one of panic and chaos. (The Economist, 24/06/2016)

When a neologism becomes well established, its pattern is followed and new neologisms are formed that way. For instance, after *Brexit* was introduced and established as a notion in the media, some other “-exits” appeared. A talk about the possibility of France to leave the EU appeared and that was called *Frexit*.

Here are two examples in this respect:

What is *Frexit*? Will France leave the EU next?

THE National Front has seized on Brexit to further its campaign for French independence from the European Union. Could France leave too?

What is *Frexit*?

Britain’s historic vote to leave the EU has sparked calls for a French exit, or *Frexit*, from the European Union. The British public voted for a Brexit, or British exit, during a historic EU referendum on Thursday June 23……

Who is calling for a *Frexit*? Marine Le Pen, the head of the far-right National Front party, is leading calls for French independence from Brussels rule.

Ms Le Pen has declared that she is ‘Madame Frexit’ and has promised to hold a EU referendum within six months if she gets into power next year (http://www.express.co.uk, 01/07/2016)

**Frexit, Nexit or Oexit?** Who will be next to leave the EU

After the UK backed withdrawing from the EU, politicians elsewhere are calling for referendums in their own countries.
Now there has been a vote for Brexit, there are calls in other countries for people to have their say on the European Union. But, though they have inherited the pithy naming formulation – from “Frexit” and “Nexit” through to “Oexit” – the proposed referendums vary depending on what they want, what they’re motivated by, and how likely they are to happen. (The Guardian, 27/06/2016)

The pattern Country name + exit seems to be able to attain an infinite number of embodiments. Practically, it can be formed with the name of any country within the European Union which contemplates on the possibility of leaving it. However, the stability of such coinages depends on how much attention the media will pay to that possibility, as well as on some extralinguistic factors: is leaving the EU just a possibility, is it something brought for discussion in Parliament, or already approved by referendum. The more realistic an event is, the more media attention it receives. The idea of France, the Netherlands and Austria to leave the EU is still hypothetical and coinages like Frexit, Nexit and Oexit appear sporadically in media texts. It could be suggested that if those countries decide to leave the EU in effect, the above neologisms will become stable and probably even contribute to the development of other coinages based on the same pattern (Country name + exit). Brexit itself is a result of such a process – it was formed by analogy with Grexit – a term used to refer to Greece potential withdrawal of the euro zone.

The process of the creation of neologisms based on proper names seems to be illimitable. It is determined by the social and political context as well as by the attitude that texts producers express towards people and situations.

As expected, English, being a global language, has some influence on Bulgarian and this is valid for proper name-based neologisms. When a neologism is established in the English language, it enters the Bulgarian language and starts to appear in the Bulgarian media. For instance, Брекзит, which is a transliteration of Brexit, is used in the Bulgarian language with the same meaning it has in English:

More than half of the Serbians want to enter the EU even after Brexit.

More than half of the Serbian citizens (53%) believe that their country should continue the European integration process even after Britain leaves the EU, according to a survey.

Some neologisms, however, enter Bulgarian with some slight changes in their form. For instance, as shown in the above examples, Trumpism in English
corresponds to Тръмпотия in Bulgarian. In both cases, English expressions that entered the Bulgarian language are found in foreign affairs articles and are almost entirely lacking in articles related to domestic affairs. Another difference in the use of proper name-based neologisms is the fact that in Bulgarian it is quite normal for such expressions not to be capitalized when they are already well established, while in English they always start with a capital letter. In this respect, the following examples come to prove this fact:

Bulgarian: орбанизация, бойковизъм, брекзит, цветановщина, калинка, тръмпотия

English: Orbanization, Trumpism, Brexit, Brangelina.

Another reason for the lack of capitalization is the fact that the newly coined expressions are not felt like proper names anymore and function as common nouns.

**Conclusion**

Name-based neologisms are widely used in the media. They can be a result of metonymy, affixation or blending. Name-based neologisms provoke the readers’ interest and express the attitude towards the name referent. Some of them are well established in language while others are used sporadically in relation with a particular event that the media cover.

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Teacher collaboration in CLIL contexts: challenges and good practices

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Abstract: Teaching a subject in a foreign language requires a specialist pedagogical expertise from both subject and language teachers whose collaboration is vital for achieving success in CLIL classrooms. Different models of collaboration between teachers in class might be used and experimented with in different lessons, so that the most suitable models be found for each specific teaching and learning context. The article discusses some issues and good practices in teacher collaboration, lesson planning and team teaching in different CLIL contexts. The discussion is based on lesson plan analysis and lesson observations conducted in four European countries under an Erasmus+ project.

Key words: CLIL, teacher collaboration, lesson planning, team teaching

Introduction

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), which is probably the fastest growing teaching paradigm in Europe in recent years, has become a much sought-after epitome of innovation, progressive thinking and development in education, to the extent that “teaching through one single language is seen as second rate education” (Lorenzo 2007: 35). Although as a form of bilingual education CLIL is descendant of North American teaching models, such as the French immersion programmes and Content-based instruction (CBI), it is a distinctly European phenomenon as it is deeply rooted in the European Union policies and needs for plurilingualism and intercomprehension (Munoz 2007; Wolff 2005). Stemming from the ideas of integration, globalisation and modernisation of education, CLIL is defined as “a generic term to describe all types of provision in which a second language (a foreign, regional or minority language and/or another official state language) is used to teach certain subjects in the curriculum other than the language lessons themselves” (Euridice 2006: 8).

Unlike immersion programmes and CBI, however, which give priority to language education, CLIL sees language as a vehicle through which content is learnt. As Coyle points out, its distinctiveness lies in that it integrates language and content along a continuum, in a flexible and dynamic way, without an implied preference for either (Coyle 2006, 2007). Perez-Canado, summarising recent research on CLIL in Europe, points out that the main differences between

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CLIL and bilingual education can be found in the lesser command of the language of instruction which CLIL teachers evince in general, in the later starting age and lower amount of exposure to the target language in this type of program, in its use of abridged rather than authentic materials, in the fact that the content taught is taken from academic subjects or disciplines rather than from everyday life or the target language culture, in the greater absence of immigrant students within them, and in the comparatively meager amount of research into its effects, as opposed to those of immersion (Perez-Canado 2012: 318).

Research shows that different forms and models of CLIL are being widely implemented in Europe and adapted to a variety of educational and linguistic contexts, so that it is difficult to present a general model of CLIL common to all educational contexts (Euridice network 2012). Back in 2007 Coyle, for example, listed 216 different CLIL programmes, which varied in terms of their compulsory status, intensity, age of onset, starting linguistic level, or duration. The most common type of CLIL programme seems to be based on the combination of a foreign language (English being the most widely taught language across Europe) and a subject, such as History, Geography, Science (depending on teachers’ qualifications), particularly in secondary education (see Perez-Canado 2012). The conceptualisation behind the variety of different CLIL programmes is based on the integration of the 4 Cs – content, communication, cognition, and culture (Coyle 2007; Coyle, Hood, Marsh 2010) which define both teaching aims and learning outcomes, and the interrelation of BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills) for less cognitively demanding tasks, and CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency) – for the more demanding language required for academic school study (see Cummins 2001).

Irrespective of the particular language or subject, however, the success of CLIL implementation depends on the collaboration of the language and the subject teacher, who work together towards creating a form of instruction which is most conducive to students’ learning.

Teacher collaboration is seen as a necessary prerequisite for teachers’ personal professional development. What is more, collaboration in instructional teams within a school or across several schools is considered important for improving students’ achievement levels (see Ronfeldt, Farmer, McQueen, Grissom 2015).

Collaboration is a broader term which involves different forms of teacher interaction, one form of which, particularly relevant to our discussion, is team teaching. By definition, team teaching involves “a group of instructors working purposefully, regularly, and cooperatively to help a group of students learn” (Buckley 2000: 4). CLIL as an interdisciplinary approach naturally entails teacher collaboration in preparation and teaching of the lesson, although only some of CLIL contexts are characterised by consistent team teaching practices. There are different models of team collaboration. According to Sandholtz
There are three main configurations: 1) two or more teachers loosely sharing responsibilities; 2) team planning, but individual instruction; and 3) joint planning, instruction, and evaluation of learning experiences. Maroney (1995) identified 5 team teaching styles (TT styles) depending on teachers’ strengths and competences and students’ needs. These involve:

- standard TT: both teachers actively share in instruction;
- collaborative TT: similar to standard TT, yet students learn solely in group formats, sometimes referred to as Total Collaborative Learning;
- complimentary/supportive TT: one teacher is in charge of content teaching, the other focuses on reinforcement activities or skill building;
- parallel TT: students are divided at random and each teacher is responsible for the learning of their group;
- differentiated TT: similar to parallel TT, yet students are grouped according to learning needs/levels.

These models refer to team teaching in general and are not directly applicable to CLIL contexts in which the language and content teachers should additionally negotiate their roles and plan their participation in the lesson. In doing so they should rely mainly on their experience and intuition as there are no clear guidelines or models to follow. Teacher training is offered by some pre- and in-service institutions around Europe but since educational policies and stakeholder expectation differ in different countries, there is no unified training provided. Currently almost all EU states implement some form of CLIL with varying degrees of success in compulsory education (Eurydice Network 2012) and there are also a lot of extra-curricular activities and a variety of educational projects aimed at CLIL development and implementation.

**Background**

The discussion of good practices and problematic aspects in team collaboration and team planning and teaching is based on lesson plan analysis and lesson observations made under the Erasmus plus project *Schools: Future labs*, which took place in 2015-2016 in both state and private secondary schools in four European countries: Bulgaria, Greece, Poland, and Romania. The project, which is still in progress, involves representatives of policy makers (Ministries of Education), higher teacher training institutions (Universities), teachers of languages and subjects from the state and the private sector and the students in the respective secondary schools. What makes the project stand out among other CLIL-related projects, is first of all, its STEM (Science, Technology,
Engineering, and Mathematics) orientation, second – the choice of language – German and Spanish, studied as first foreign language in the selected schools, and third – the use of Mobile labs, providing students with hands-on experience in learning-by-doing.

The schools participating in the project provide different contexts for CLIL implementation. In Bulgaria there is one smaller private school with German as a first foreign language and a big comprehensive school with Spanish as a first language. Both schools are in Sofia. From Romania there are two state schools – one in the capital and one in a smaller town with students whose first foreign language is Spanish in the first school, and German – in the second. The only participating school in Greece is a big private school in Athens, where German is taught in small classes as a first foreign language. The school in Poland is a community school with small classes studying Spanish as a first language.

The lesson observations were carried out with the aim of monitoring the process of implementing the project programme. By the time of the observations all students had already had a series of lessons in the respective subject (Physics, Chemistry, or Biology) and had had some experience working with the mobile labs purchased for the purposes of the project. The observed lessons were planned in advance, following the CLIL observation checklist produced under the project. The checklist is organized into 4 groups of indicators related to: 1. Lesson structure, design, and outcomes; 2. Teaching and learning strategies; 3. Content, language, and communication; and 4. Classroom and Learning process management/ Mobile Labs.

Analysis and discussion

As an educational approach CLIL is concerned mainly with the classroom and the teaching and learning processes taking place in its immediate context. However, the process of planning which remains hidden for the observer is equally important for achieving success in class. Therefore, bottom-up research – from planning to its realization, is the best approach in the situation.

Planning the lessons – good practices, challenges, and recommendations

The lesson plans for the observed lessons and those preceding (and following) them were uploaded on the Moodle platform of the project. All plans followed the same mutually agreed template which reflected the main stages of a CLIL inquiry based on doing experiments and working with the mobile labs, starting with a trigger stage, forming and stating a hypothesis, experimentation (processes/results) for verification of the hypothesis, followed by a conclusion and transfer, generalisation and application of the results. Before planning for the stages, the teachers had to think about the prerequisites or requirements for
the present lesson, and briefly outline its content in terms of the studied subject matter. This was important in order to ensure continuity and make the effect of learning more lasting.

The first challenge for the subject and language teachers was to plan a lesson together – something they have never done before. Agreeing and negotiating the content of the lesson in terms of the subject matter, the nature and the amount of language work, the time students need for conducting the experiments, and the time they need to describe and analyse the results, made the planning process extremely demanding. The template itself was also new to teachers – it follows the stages of an experimental enquiry, and so should have been more familiar to subject teachers, which was not necessarily the case, since traditional subject teaching in participating countries is done primarily in a lecture mode with little involvement or active participation of the students. Reviewing the plans one has the impression that they were not used as an active tool for channeling and facilitating teachers’ thinking about the lesson, but were written later when the decisions about the lesson content and structure were already made.

The subject teachers had the leading role in choosing or deciding on the lesson content. Their decisions were usually motivated in the first place by their knowledge of what subject matter is taught in the respective subject (Physics, Chemistry, or Biology) to students of that age, and second, by the options presented by the mobile lab. Once the topic was chosen, the subject teacher decided on the experiments and activities to be done with the mobile lab. Then the experiment(s) were planned by both teachers who had to choose appropriate tasks and target language (key terms and communication patterns) for each stage of the lesson.

Some teachers found the trigger stage (the first stage in the plan template) challenging, as they were not sure about its purpose and meaning. Its aim in general is to trigger students’ interest by providing a context through revision of studied material, previous or background knowledge, or providing input related to the topic in the form of reading/listening/visual material. The trigger should then lead to forming a hypothesis which in turn has to be tested through experiments with the mini laboratory equipment. Experiments take the central part of the lesson. They are time-consuming and require careful, clear and staged instructions, and close monitoring and assistance (when needed) by the teachers. Once the experiments are finished, the students have to summarise the results and formulate conclusions which confirm or repudiate the hypothesis. The final stage of the lesson should be dedicated to transferring the obtained knowledge to real-life contexts, making generalisations and finding examples of application of the findings to local or wider contexts.

The second challenge to the teachers was to formulate the aims of the lesson, which were to be planned with respect to the 4 Cs (Content, Communication,
Cognition, and Culture), so that they reflect students’ benefits in terms of the 4 Cs. The aims were not always phrased as aims, and were not differentiated for each phase of the lesson.

Other sections of the plan which posed difficulties for the teachers were those specifying student and teacher activity, which were presented as separate columns in the plan template. The review of the plans leaves one with the impression that teachers should plan for a greater student involvement, a finding in line with research finding that student participation decreases in the CLIL classroom (see Dalton-Puffer et al. 2008).

Whereas student activity section is more descriptive – describes what students do at each stage of the lesson (which should correspond to the tasks in the worksheets), teacher activity section should reflect the variety of teacher roles (e.g. facilitator, manager, monitor, assessor, etc.) during the lesson with a clear focus on students autonomy and the ways the teacher/teachers scaffold students’ cognitive development and language acquisition. In some plans there was very little or no variety in the description of teacher activities. What is more, in the cases when the lesson is to be co-taught by both teachers, their participation and the exact role they have in each activity should be clearly specified. This is particularly important if teachers do not have any experience in team teaching, which was the case in all schools involved in the project.

Another problem, identified in the review of the lesson plans, was that planning interaction patterns (social forms of work) did not always reflect the nature of the tasks. Getting students to discuss something in pairs or to brainstorm ideas in a whole-class format depends on the respective task objectives. However, in some plans the variety of patterns was not justified by the nature of the activity. As a rule, language teachers are more used to having a variety of interaction patterns in a lesson, and they should be able to suggest the appropriate ones and negotiate their use with the subject teachers. The chosen formats should create the most favourable conditions for achieving task results, should be specified for each stage and justified in the objectives section. This is in line with the requirement to plan for a balance between teacher-led and student-initiated and controlled activities.

The section which specifies the use of materials and mobile labs should contain a clear indication of reference to these materials – all handouts/ worksheets meant to be used in the lesson should be numbered.

There are two sections in the plan template which refer to the study and use of language, both CALP and BICS. CALP is related to both subject specific vocabulary and grammar structures (patterns, speech acts, performatives/ action verbs, and the patterns they require) used for cognitive processing of the studied material. The subject teacher should negotiate the selection of CALP language
with the language teacher, and make sure it corresponds to students’ cognitive and language level. BICS refers to communication and interaction and is less cognitively demanding than CALP. However, if the proficiency level of students is not high enough, it might pose additional difficulties in communicating during the experimental stage, which can lead to increased mother tongue use and unmotivated code-switch. Both sections in the plan should contain samples of the way teachers scaffold students’ understanding of the new content and develop their communication skills. These samples are indicative of the way teachers plan to teach the content of the subject and at the same time work on improving students’ language skills.

To sum up, the main recommendations related to planning the lessons are as follows:

- Lesson plan should use clear sequencing and numbering of activities and corresponding worksheets. Although the stages were clearly outlined, the activities for these stages were not always specified. In some cases, the procedures and tasks should be described in more detail.

- Language and subject teachers should work together in planning lesson activities and preparing materials. Their plans should contain a clear distribution of their roles and responsibilities in the lesson.

- In planning the teaching of key vocabulary in STEM lessons and developing students’ BISC and CALP, it is important not only to introduce but also to practise and consolidate key verbs and structures which are central to understanding and using science discourse.

- The duration of each stage or sub-stage in the lesson which was missing in some of the plans should be clearly indicated in order to ensure appropriate time distribution for achieving lesson aims. It is not necessary to do everything that has been planned (and included in the worksheets) – it is better to be flexible and adapt to students’ needs, especially at the consolidation stage.

**Teaching the lessons - good practices, challenges, and recommendations**

Research in CLIL has provided abundant evidence that there is a lack of cohesion around CLIL ‘pedagogies’, and that different models and their constituent dimensions have contributed to the emergence of a range of methods, materials and curriculum organisation which respond to educational settings in different countries (see Coyle 2007).

The lessons taught and observed under the project were no exception to this
finding. The initial aim of the project was to provide language tuition to subject teachers, so that eventually they can teach the subject in the foreign language – German or Spanish respectively. However, due to increased work load and time constraints not all participating subject teachers attended the language courses or learnt the language to the level necessary to give them confidence to teach their subject in the foreign language. It was agreed that in the process of project implementation the teachers can experiment with different forms of collaboration and co-teaching. The idea was for the language teacher to provide more support at the beginning, and then gradually withdraw and give the leading role to the subject teacher.

Lesson observations in different schools revealed the following models of teaching:

- lessons taught in the target language by the language teacher alone without any involvement of the subject teacher, with occasional translation of terms into students’ mother tongue provided by the language teacher;
- lessons taught mainly by the language teacher with subject teacher assisting groups of students during the experiment and providing guidance to groups and individual students in their mother tongue;
- lessons taught mainly by the language teacher in target language with the subject teacher intervening at times to provide input or explanation in students’ mother tongue;
- lessons taught by both teachers speaking target language and mother tongue in turns or simultaneously;
- lessons taught by the subject teacher alone mainly in students’ mother tongue with terminology given in the target language in worksheets;
- lessons taught by the subject teacher alone in the target language with occasional translation of terminology, with the language teacher present but not intervening.

The choice of a teaching model in each school depended on several main factors:

- the willingness and desire of the language teacher to experiment with something new /a subject lesson with the use of a mobile lab/, based on teacher’s personal qualities, self-esteem and risk taking;
- the language level of the students – in some schools the students
had begun to study the language a few months before joining the project, and their language level was not high enough to understand a lesson in the foreign language;

- subject teacher’s willingness and readiness to teach the lesson in the target language which s/he is currently studying;
- both language and subject teachers’ willingness to cooperate in planning and teaching the lesson together.

The observations identified a number of positive aspects and good practices in the teaching models demonstrated in the schools. It can be said that the covered content was suitable for students’ needs, interests, and cognitive level both in terms of the subject matter and the target language. The students were motivated to explore and make discoveries in the science domain and teach teachers provided suitable scaffolding for developing students’ CALP and BICS skills. Although some of the topics were familiar to the students as they were studied in the respective subject classes, it had a positive role in the classes where the target language proficiency was not high.

The lessons were based on interesting, motivating, and innovative material which appealed to different students’ cognitive/learning styles and intelligences. In most lessons there was a variety of activities and interaction patterns, which shows that the teachers together managed to change the traditional routine of teaching in a frontal way only.

Most observed lessons successfully incorporated the use of mobile labs for providing hands-on experience to support learning of subject matter knowledge and target language, and the teachers tried to provide a smooth transition through the 5 steps of STEM inquiry: trigger – hypothesis – experimentation – verification/conclusion – generalisation transfer.

Cooperation between subject and language teachers facilitated their mutual learning; language teachers had a good array of methodological tools, and the subject teachers were willing to use these tools in their teaching and try to speak the foreign language.

The teachers had a good rapport with the students and created a good working environment. They motivated and encouraged learners to explore the topic, experiment, discuss and report their findings. They also praised students for their efforts and results which was very important as the students were involved in a new type of lesson they were not familiar with. The most important factor for achieving success was the teachers’ willingness to face the challenges of working together and co-teaching with another subject/ language teacher. The cooperation was extended beyond the classroom, as the teachers were open and willing to discuss the lessons with the observers and with other teachers from
their school and the other schools involved in the project.

Observing students at work, revealed that they had the intrinsic motivation to study the subject matter in a foreign language and to work with the mobile labs. Moreover, they had a positive attitude and respect for their teachers and were ready to work with them in this new type of lesson. Students actively contributed to the good working atmosphere by being cooperative and willing to work in teams and pairs. Most of them demonstrated good enough command of the target language both in terms of BICS and CALP.

Along with the good practices observed in the lessons, some issues and challenges for the teachers had been identified, which were discussed with the teachers after the observations.

One of the main problems seemed to result from poor planning of the subject and the language teacher’s part in the lesson. Clear role and responsibilities distribution would have helped avoid confusion and overlapping. When both teachers teach the lesson, there needs to be a balance between their participation and clear transitions between their activities.

Another issue was language use. As Coyle, points out “whilst the ‘C’ representing communication takes into account linguistic elements such as grammar, it also includes a wider interpretation of communication for learning which accommodates issues such as the use of the mother tongue and codeswitching” (Coyle 2007: 552). However, code switching (when present in the lessons) was not always motivated and balanced. In principle, classroom language should be the target language, not students’ and teachers’ mother tongue.

Another issue is that the teachers should not talk simultaneously in two different languages as this distracts students and disrupts their work. The subject teachers speaking L1 should limit their talking time and modify the manner in which subject matter is presented (e.g. being as detailed as possible and requiring full sentences in response). In this way there will be more time for target language focus and practice.

In some fragments of lessons taught mainly by subject teachers in L1, the language teacher’s role was simply to provide language support through unnecessary translation. This should be avoided, as it distracts students and makes their task less challenging.

As for the students, there should be more interaction among them while doing the experiment or task. Students need to be given enough time for speaking the target language, especially when they describe the experiment and present their findings and conclusions. This is in line with Coyle’s observation that promoting interactivity also has repercussions for classroom learning cultures where learner – learner interaction and specific scaffolded teacher support may
not be in the usual repertoire or classroom routines of either teachers or learners (Coyle 2007). Both teachers should step back and let students work, discover, and think for themselves. They should facilitate, guide, and monitor students at work rather than engaging them in listening to theoretical input or giving additional instructions while they are working.

Conclusion

To sum up, there is still a lot of work to be done by both subject and language teachers in order to overcome the difficulties inherent in CLIL implementation. The observations confirmed the fact that teaching a subject in a foreign language requires a specialist pedagogical expertise from both teachers. Language teachers might need to learn to talk in an especially comprehensible way, to teach a lot of academic vocabulary, to help learners listen in a foreign language, and give them feedback, to help learners speak the target language when working in groups or pairs, read more complex subject texts, and write summaries or conclusions. Subject teachers who use the target language can get advice on how to do these things from the language teachers while thinking about and planning the lesson together. Language teachers can advise subject teachers on their own language use, on the language demands of their subjects and on the kinds of language support and practice which the subject teachers can incorporate into their lessons. Subject teachers do not simply need to improve the level of their language – they need to be familiar with and use foreign language teaching methodology, especially the principles and practice of communicative language teaching and task-based learning. Finally, different models of collaboration between teachers in class might be used and experimented with in different lessons, so that the most suitable models be found for each specific teaching and learning context. This collaboration can be effected and further supported by the “construction of communities of CLIL practitioners” (Coyle 2014:556), where “participants engage in ‘co-exploring’ theories of practice which are rooted in what they do and why, yet also guided by knowledgeable others who signpost relevant practice already in the field for critique” (ibid). Further research in the area is needed and working together on projects is one way forward to building much needed evidence and reflecting on it to overcome challenges.

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Adapting an English language textbook to the principles and laws of Suggestopedia

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Abstract: The article aims to describe the application of Suggestology in the pedagogical practice – Suggestopedia/Reservopedia. An overview of “suggestion” as a communicative factor and as a psychological basis for the science of Suggestology is presente together with the main principles, means and laws of Suggestopedia. Some characteristics of the suggestopedic textbook and my work in remodelling the original textbook “Energy for Bulgaria, for the 6-th grade” into a new stopedically adapted version are presented.

Key words: suggestion, suggestology, suggestopedia, suggestopedic textbook

Introduction

Teachers of foreign languages often have an idea about the teaching/learning process formed on their experience of studying foreign languages themselves. When teachers are informed and exposed to varieties of different methods they become more aware of their personal values and beliefs about the educational process. By being clear on their own assumptions teachers may choose to teach differently. Thus, the knowledge of various alternative methods will help them in modifying their current practices.

One humane method which deserves attention because it has proven to be effective for teaching many subjects including foreign languages is the method called Suggestopedia. It is based on the Suggestology science, and its founder is the Bulgarian scientist, psychotherapist and psychiatrist – Prof. Dr. Georgi Lozanov M.D., who in the 1950s began his search for safe ways to uncover the reserves of the human brain (mind) through suggestion and thus created the science of Suggestology. Doctor Lozanov was the director of the Research Institute of Suggestology founded by the Ministry of Education and the Bulgarian Science Academy in 1966, for the period of 20 years (1966-1985). He founded and directed the Center of Suggestology and Personal Development at the University of Sofia, an International Center of Desuggestology in Vienna and the International Center for training and specialization of teachers in Viktorsberg, Vorarlberg, Austria (Lozanov 2005b: 129-131), (Lozanov 2009: 216-219). In 1978 UNESCO international committee of twenty experts conducted a research on the Suggestology method, evaluated it as a higher form of education for different subjects and ages.

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The Nature of Suggestion and Suggestology

Suggestion is a psychological term for the purposeful psychic influence on individuals or a group, perceived passively, without resistance or critical valuation. In other words, it is based on trust. The part ‘suggesto-’ derives from the word ‘suggestion’ which in the field of Psychology means - the influencing of a person to accept a belief or an impulse uncritically. The word has Latin origin from the verb ‘suggero’, ‘suggessi’, ‘suggestum’ - put or lay under, prompt, suggest (Lozanov 1963: 47). In English it means “to propose, to recommend, to advocate, to advise, to evoke”. This meaning of the word is used in Suggestopedia/Reservopedia. Thus, it is up to the participant’s free will to accept or reject suggestion. “This refers, not only to what, but to how to propose, so that, for the person, the suggestion will be a most acceptable and natural thing and the anticipated phenomenon will occur.” (Lozanov 2009: 29).

Suggestopedia: Definition, Principles, Means and Laws

Suggestopedia develops as “a tendency in pedagogy and simultaneously as an experimental method of suggestology” (Lozanov 1971: 7). In 1966, along with the founding of the Institute of Suggestology, Dr. Lozanov announced for the first time the category suggestopedia in the article “Suggestology – a way to the hypermnesia in the educational process. The method of the Suggestopedy”, published in Narodna Prosveta magazine (Lozanov 1966: 23-41). A year later during the International Week of Psychosomatic Medicine in Rome, doctor Lozanov used the same term in English – suggestopedia (Lozanov 1967: 535-539), (Lozanov 2005a: 11).

Suggestopedia (Suggestopedy, Suggestopaedia) is the process of educating and instructing in accordance with principles of Suggestology – the science of suggestion. Lozanov refers to his method not as an alternative to other methods but as a new culture, a new way of teaching and learning where “instead of automatic subordination to limiting norms about the capacity of the brain/mind, there is a free yet at the same time organized and purposeful learning and personality development by means of spontaneous absorption of knowledge” (Lozanov 2009: 134). In his system the negative effects of the learning process are replaced by their opposites with a positive notion. Instead of fatigue and illness due to overload, there is rest and improved health. Instead of alienation, openness and socialization occurs. Instead of demotivation and lack of interest, there is high motivation and involvement in the learning process.

With the evolution of the method, Lozanov introduced the terms Desuggestology, Desuggestopedia, Reservology, and Reservopedia. He stressed that this does not mean the rejection of the terms Suggestology and Suggestopedia. The prefix “de-”, at the beginning of Desuggestology and Desuggestopedia refers to “de-programing, de-suggesting” from the effects of the negative conditions of the
environment. It relates to the “freedom of personality, the inner freedom” (Lozanov 2009: 14). With the acquisition of these terms Suggestopedia becomes a desuggestive pedagogy of the hidden reserves of the mind.

The theory of Suggestopedia/Reservopedia is based on the understanding that the learner is a whole personality. The globally integrative character of the methodology takes into account all of the brain functions involved in the learning process. The teaching suggestopedic theory construction emphasizes the psychological, neuro-physiological, artistic, pedagogic and psychotherapeutic aspects directed at utilizing the potential capacities of the brain.

Lozanov states that the three fundamental principles of his method are: “1./ Joy, absence of tension and concentrative psycho-relaxation; 2./ Unity of the conscious and integral brain activation; 3./ Suggestive relationship on the level of the reserve complex.”(Lozanov 1978b: 31).

Along with the defined principles of desuggestive-suggestive pedagogy, precise groups of means are established for the application of the method for various subjects, different age groups, etc. These groups of means consist of psychological, didactic, and artistic means (in the sense of the means of art).

Lozanov formulates precisely the obligatory conditions in the suggestopedic education which he calls the seven laws of the Reservopedic teaching system. They intertwine closely and must be respected in all stages of teaching process.

- **The First Law of Suggestopedia/Reservopedia: Love**

  It is well known that nothing great in this world has been accomplished without love. An essential condition for accessing the reserves of the mind is also love. It creates serenity, trust and contributes to the prestige of the teacher in the eyes of the students and thus taps the paraconscious personality’s reserves. Love cannot be played or faked. Lozanov explains that “it should not be understood as some sentimental, soft mood, since this attitude brings about negative reactions. Love should be experienced as genuine love for the human being “ (Lozanov 2009: 56).

- **The Second Law of Suggestopedia/ Reservopedia: Freedom**

  In the core of the law of Love is Freedom. It makes Reservopedia so distinct from the hypnotic method. It enables the teacher to make personal decisions within the main reservopedic framework of the lesson to adapt it to the needs of each group. Students can choose whether to take part in some activities such as a game, a song, etc. that might not harmonize with their disposition at the moment. They are allowed to go out of the classroom without disturbing the work of the group as a whole. This freedom is spontaneously created and not imposed by the teacher.
• **The Third Law of Suggestopedia/ Reservopedia: Teacher’s Conviction that Something Unusual is Taking Place**

This law concerns the teacher’s conviction that something unusual is taking place. This state of inspiration is reflected in the teacher’s verbal and non-verbal communication and in the peripheral perceptions and then it spontaneously resonates in the students without hesitation. Through the teacher’s positive message, their genuine signals of expectation and support the students get the feeling that they achieve easily everything on their own. In such way “the so called suggestive relationship is created at the level of the reserve complex.” (ibid.: 58).

• **The Forth Law of Suggestopedia/ Reservopedia: Manifold Increase of Input Volume**

The study material presented to students, for a certain period, must have at least two to three times greater volume than the established norm by other methodologies. Along with that the material should be absorbed five to ten times faster without strain and with positive effect on health. For example, a one month foreign language course consists of 2000-2500 lexical units.

• **The Fifth Law of Suggestopedia/ Reservopedia: Global-Partial, Partial-Global, Partial through Global**

With the suggestopedic method, in all subjects, the new study material must be given in its total wholeness and without separation of the elements from it. They are never to be taught and learned in isolation. This law is based on brain-functioning research, which suggests that the componential parts of the brain contain information about the whole brain. Furthermore, the human being reacts as a whole, in a complex way, to the environmental stimuli.

• **The Sixth Law of Suggestopedia/ Reservopedia: The Golden Proportion**

The golden proportion as a principle is considered the most perfect proportion in the universe and is also known as the golden mean or the golden section. Euclid wrote about it for a first time in the third century B.C. Many philosophers, scientists and architects have been interested in it ever since. In Suggestopedia, the golden proportion is a substantial concept and is intentionally used throughout the educational process. Because of that, fatigue is prevented and suitable conditions for learning large amount of material in a short span of time are created.

• **The Seventh Law of Suggestopedia/ Reservopedia: Use of Classical Art and Aesthetics**

In Reservopedia classical art and aesthetics are essential, viewed as the main suggestion mediator in the non-manipulative communication and a transmitter
of an indefinite number of non-specific stimuli which nourish the abundance of peripheral perceptions unnoticeable to the conscious awareness. Gateva states that: “multi-leveled information offered by the artistic work is absorbed in multi-tunneled way, and then re-structured, recorded, and re-associated in a multi-leveled way” (Gateva 1991: 24). Classical art affects both mind and emotion and is introduced through especially selected works of classical music, songs and arias, literary selections, reproductions of masterpieces, etc.

Restructuring and Adaptation of Energy for Bulgaria, Students’ Book for the 6-th grade to the Suggestopedic Method

Of a major importance to the success of the suggestopedic process of teaching and learning is the textbook. A pleasant story with a light emotional plot is presented in accordance with the suggestopedic principles and organized to use effectively the psychological, pedagogical and artistic means. According to Gateva:

The particular method of the textbook is a story within the story. …, one might think this would hinder the absorption and retention of the educational content – but it is not so. The genre variations, the changes and the paradoxes which help students master the educational information are put forward at the first frequency. The repeating models with new variations in successive lessons immediately introduce a feeling of ease. …, students are immersed in the natural surroundings of the country throughout the story (Gateva 1991: 222).

As a part of an experiment approved by “Prof. Dr. Georgi Lozanov and Prof. Dr. Evelina Gateva” Foundation, I had a chance to restructure and adapt the Energy for Bulgaria, Students’ Book for the 6-th grade (Elsworth, Rose 2007), to the suggestopedic requirments and standards. The innital aim was to help a student who had a psychological trauma of learning the English language at school and the perspective was that if satisfactory results are achieved the textbook can be used with other students in the same age group.

I proceeded by reading the original text as a whole in order to identify the protagonists and find a plot to develop a story based on it. Then I defined the global themes around which I can organise the given material. Thus, the three chapters of the suggestopedic textbook were structured by combining three to four units of the original. In accordance with the theoretical development of suggestopedic teachings and maintaining the artistic and global approaches I used as a model for my work of The Return, An English Suggestopedical Textbook (Gateva, Lozanov, König 1991), the descriptions given in Suggestopedic Practical Guidance for Teachers of Foreign Languages (Lozanov, Gateva 1981), The Foreign Language Teacher’s Suggestopedic Manual (Lozanov, Gateva 1988) and the first chapter of the suggestopedic textbook for the 5-th grade made by Vanina Bodurova from “Prof. Dr. Georgi Lozanov and Prof. Dr. Evelina Gateva” Foundation.
Adapting an English language textbook to the principles and laws of Suggestopedia

The main purpose of the textbook was to increase the students’ interest and motivation in studying the English language, so that they are able to communicate easily and quickly. The story involves characters and situations connected with the contemporary students’ life in the “Limelight Theatre School” in London, and combines realistic events in which the five main characters are involved. Each character has specific psychological and physical characteristics (Vasi, a school exchange student from Bulgaria; Storm, from London, a red-haired classmate and guide of Vasi; Mickey, a singing and dancing football player from Manchester, who goes to the same theater school; Mo, a boy from Cape Town, South Africa, who plays drums and trumpet; Jess, from Colorado, USA, she acts and sings and can even drive a truck). The other characters appear or re-appear partially. The characters are played by different children during the elaboration stage of the suggestopedic process but the roles are never fixed. The stressful and shocking moments are removed from the original text “since they provoke extreme agitation and are psychologically burdensome.” (Gateva 1991: 191).

The first chapter of the suggestopedic text book with the title Realm of Magic is “First Days in London” and consists of the introductory topic of the original textbook – “First Day in London”, Unit 1 – “School life”, Unit 2 – “Free time” and Unit 3 – “Food”. The chapter starts with a few lines from the song “What a Wonderful World” (by G. D. Weiss and B. Thiele), just below the title and gives the basic idea of the chapter. The lyrics of the song are also included later in the text. That “creates a particular rhythm in the work, and an emotional-logical state of anticipation which aids the effectiveness of the teaching” (Gateva 1991: 192). The text is presented in a form of dialogue with the English lines on the left side of the pages and the Bulgarian translation symmetrically given to the right forming two language columns. The sentences are broken down to groups of words or separate parts of speech, so that they can be replaced with other word forms or parts of speech while elaborating the text later in the process. The story begins with Vasi’s arrival at the “Limelight Theater School” in London and her first meeting with Storm. The language is both formal and informal. The new lexical units are in bold letters in both languages as well as the new grammar categories and paradigms are given on the right side of the pages with the translation. They follow after the particular use of some of the grammatical forms in the text. During the elaboration stage the translation can be covered depending on the mastery of the new material by the students. The meaning of the text is indirectly supported by reproductions, photographs, illustrations, pictures and drawings, such as Miss Eden by John Singer Sargent, London – Fog Over Thames by Leonid Afremov, Dance Finesse by Richard Young, London Phone Booth by Pablo Solares, Valentine’s Day by Pat Fiorello and others. They stimulate the scientific-artistic thinking of the students and help the language acquisition. The teddy bear cartoon characters from the Forever Friends edition, smiling emoticons and funny pizza faces are used as well. At the end of the
chapter the thematic lexical units and grammar used in the text are given on the left side of the page just as terms with no additional descriptions, explanations or translations but the teacher must develop them artistically and with games.

The second chapter or part two of the suggestopedic text book is “My Country” and combines Unit 4 – “My country”, Unit 5 – “Holidays” and Unit 6 – “The Earth in danger” from the original textbook. The chapter begins with a stanza from the poem “Auguries of Innocence” by William Blake (Blake 1994: 127) and continues with the dialogue of some of the main characters in the story. The structure of the English text and the translation are the same as in the previous chapter and the perception of the text is stimulated by reproductions, pictures and drawings. The photography of an ice hotel in Jukkasjärve in Sweden is used. The lyrics of the song from the Disney movie Pocahontas – “The Color of the Wind” are included in this chapter which finishes again with the thematic lexical units and grammar used in the text.

Following the above-described pattern the third part of the suggestopedic textbook contains the compiled version of the original Unit 7 – “The Invisible Man”, Unit 8 – “Feelings and emotions”, Unit 9 – “Relationships” and Unit 10 – “Film and TV”, and is entitled “The World of Imagination”. It begins with the lines from John Keats’ poem “Endymior” (Keats 1956: 42), but here in contrast to the previous two chapters the translation is not given. It provokes the students to make the translation themselves on the following day after the concert session, which begins the elaboration on stage of this theme in the suggestopedic process. In addition it is also a good way to stimulate discussion based on the poem’s content. The translation for the rest of the text is given. In this chapter the visual aids are again drawings, pictures and paintings. In this chapter the song included in the text is “Don’t Worry, Be Happy” by Bobby McFerrin. The chapter finishes with Khalil Gibran’s words quoted from Mary Haskell’s journal dated 7th June 1912. At the end of the text the thematic lexical and grammar are given.

The main difference between the Energy for Bulgaria students' book for the 6-th grade and the suggestopedic textbook with the working title Realm of Magic is in the texts layout and the structural parts. The Energy for Bulgaria provides and develops previously thought grammar and vocabulary and integrates the development of reading, listening, speaking and writing skills through exercises. The reading and listening skills are improved by dialogues and texts corresponding to the psychological and social characteristics of the students in the 6-th grade and are from different fields of life. This gives ground for discussions which develop the speaking skills. The listening and reading skills are activated also with multiple choice exercises, true or false exercises which can be done in written form as well. Speaking – the active usage of the target language is an important part in the foreign language education. The exercises stimulating this skill are: making dialogues using preliminary plans or prompts,
asking and answering questions on a specific topic, speaking about oneself or somebody else, telling a story using pictures or talking about different places, people or events. Similar exercises can again be done in written form.

Each Unit in the original textbook is divided into Focus sections numbered one to six and additional part Energy Check finalizes the Unit. An example of this structure in the first unit follows: Unit 1 – School Life; Topics: The World around Me – School life; Grammar: Present simple; Negative questions; too/enough; as...as; Prepositions: for; Vocabulary: School subjects; Communication: Show surprise; Apologize. Focus 1 of the unit is “Switch on” and consists of reading, grammar, pronunciation, communication and roleplay parts. Focus 2 is “Grammar – Present simple” and starts with a table of positive, negative, questions, short answers, Wh-questions and time markers specific for the present simple tense. The same focus continues with four writing and speaking exercises. Focus 3 is “Vocabulary – School subjects” and aims at the speaking skills activated by six exercises. On the next page Focus 4 deals with “Grammar – too/enough, as...as” in five reading and writing exercises. Focus 5 is “Communication – Is your bag too heavy?” and is mainly concerned with the development of the speaking skills. Focus 6 is “Skills – School for starts” and contains seven reading, listening and speaking exercises. The unit finishes with the “Energy Check” and consists of eight written exercises and additional short texts on the next page under the title “Cultural Bite – School’s out”. In each of the Focus sections there are Memory Tips, Grammar Spot and Remember Rectangles which are highlighted by different colors. Also there are sections Memory Gym and Writing Gym. Following the same model all the other units are formed with some slight differences in the number of focuses in each unit, which can be five or six as well as the main activities aimed on different skills.

The suggestopedic textbook, as described above has only three chapters containing the same study material as from the course book approved by the Ministry of Science and Education in Bulgaria. The description of each of the chapters was mentioned earlier and is in unison with the suggestopedic principles, means and laws. It is obvious that the text resembles a scenario. The new vocabulary and grammar are integrated into the text but bolded to stand in contrast with the rest of the text. Another significant difference apart from the layout and the given translation is that in the suggestopedic textbook there are no exercises. This does not mean that the activation of all of the skills in learning and using a foreign language are not stimulated and practiced. The newly acquired knowledge is mastered by the students in the elaboration stages where many games based on didactic material are used as well as some of the didactic songs written by Gateva for the English language courses for adults and used with the suggestopedic textbook The Return. It should be pointed out that the suggestopedic classroom, center or studio is decorated with reproductions of different art masterpieces and also with didactic charts and posters containing the grammar categories and materials.
The textbooks *Energy for Bulgaria students’ book for the 6-th grade* and the suggestopedic variant *Realm of Magic* are designed for usage with different methodological approaches. There is not a teacher’s book for the suggestopedic variant and the suggestpedagogue should develop the games and exercises in accordance to the study material to his/her personal preferences having in mind the individual characteristics of the students in the group or adapt materials already used with other suggestopedic textbooks. This creative process is very stimulating and rewarding for the teacher and serves entirely the suggestopedic law of freedom. I am convinced that the textbook is fundamental in the process of learning a foreign language. The comparison and evaluation based on the description of the two textbooks is not suitable and is unnecessary because the teachers who use them are trained to work with the specific educational system and the tools provided by it. My personal opinion is that the suggestopedic method and hence textbook makes the learning process more interesting, enjoyable and thus by providing opportunity for self-expression high motivation leading to high results are achieved.

I had to add another chapter to the text because the material in the textbook was well mastered and exercised by the end of the Easter Holiday. I had the permission to use a material which was developed for the 5-th graders by Vanina Bodurova from “Prof. Dr. Georgi Lozanov and Prof. Dr. Ivelina Gateva” Foundation. In it I only adapted the names of the characters in order to continue the story. When this chapter was mastered and repeated I used some extra texts taken from *More Tell Me Why* (Leokum 1973: 313-319): “How Did Music Begin?”; “Why Do We Dance?”; “Who Wrote the First Opera?” etc.

Before the summer holiday I had enough time to develop another material based on the musical *The Sound of Music*. I used video and audio short interviews, recordings, award ceremonies, historical date both about the real characters whose story was retold in the musical and the leading actors. It gave me a chance to include materials about Austria, Salzburg and the Alps. The songs from the musical were sung with great pleasure and the lyrics were involuntary memorized. No printed material (except for the lyrics of the songs) was given and both speaking and listening skills were well trained.

Because the experiment with the suggestopedic textbook proved to be successful based on the tests in oral and written forms, as well as because a positive change in the foreign language perception of the student was witnessed, the *Realm of Magic* was used in the English suggestopedic classes with 6-th graders in the academic year of 2015/2016 in “Liuben Karavelov” secondary school in Koprivshtitsa. The teacher was Neshka Kuncheva who is a suggestpedagogue trained by Vanina Bodurova, “Prof. Dr. Georgi Lozanov and Prof. Dr. Evelyna Gateva” Foundation. Kuncheva shared that in total during the first academic term she had five hours per week and during the second term they were six hours per week. The hours were merged in a block of 90min with a 10 min
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break which was omitted when there were concert sessions. But this did not bother the students, she wrote, and they did not even hear the school bell or the other students who were having break at that time because they were highly interested in the text. Each global theme she elaborated for approximately two months because she was trying to keep pace with the distributional norm for the material given by the Ministry of Education. The globalized themes were developed, elaborated and repeated faster by the students than the academic plan required. The teacher had to add more games, exercises, songs in order to prolong the process and in order for the grammar and lexical units to be mastered well. The results at the end of the academic year were better in comparison to the previous year. The number of students in the class was twelve. At the end of the year the students having excellent marks were seven compared to four in the year before. All other students had marks one point higher, and the lowest mark was four (good).

Not only was my personal experience with the textbook positive, but Kuncheva shared her approval and satisfaction as well. This observation of the work with the textbook *Realm of Magic* is far from having scientific claims but shows that the suggestopedic method can be applied successfully with sufficient results and with positive effect on the students in class if it is used by a trained suggestopedagogue and study materials developed in accordance with the means, principles and laws of Suggestopedia.

**Conclusion**

From my teaching experience with the suggestopedic method for the last four years I can personally report and prove the high results achieved in the learning process. One should not be an expert to be able to compare and clearly see the difference between the entrance (pre-tests) and final tests (post-tests) of the students. But nothing can compare with students’ joy and the positive effect on their personality as a whole expressed in their increased interest in science, art and in the awakening of their creativity. The process is truly charging, healing, renewing, awakening the desire for knowledge and expression of oneself. It brings happiness to the students and to the teacher as well.

Teachers should encourage the development of students’ potential and motivate them to re-discover the joy in learning. To be able to achieve this they should create a stress-free and non-threatening learning environment for their students. In order to do that the teacher should be aware of the scientific research findings in the field of brain/mind functioning. The teachers’ role is of major importance, as on their knowledge and mastery not only of the classroom management, but the success of the students is largely dependent. Suggestopedia can be the tool which makes a difference in that case. But it is not to be seen as a “magical” method unless it is harmonized with the skills, abilities, dedication and love of the teacher using it.
A highly motivated teacher, aware of the significance of his/her own motivation and the effect s/he produces on the students, is constantly learning in order to be able to use all of his/her knowledge in the classroom activities and organization. This will diminish the “burnout” effect and will not keep the teachers in a stagnate state of repetition and use of old materials, programs, etc.

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Challenges in teaching the nominal substitute „same“ and its Bulgarian projections

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Abstract: The paper deals with the challenges that can be encountered in the English learning classroom in terms of the application of the language resource of substitution. Here our focus is only on the use of the nominal substitute “the same”. The latter presupposes an entire nominal group including any modifying element. The item discussed is presented by examples which are translated into Bulgarian and analyzed in terms of the projected items that appear in place of “the same”. In Bulgarian it is commonly illustrated by pronominalization and sometimes by synonimization which might be challenging for English language learners.

Key words: substitution, nominal substitute, pronominal items, presupposition, projection

Introduction

Substitution is a mechanism for making a text stick together. As a cohesive device, it is a matter of economical expression without disturbing the meaning of the text. It is a lexicogrammatical relation in the “wording” rather than directly in the meaning. The substitute is a place-holding device signalling that the interpretation depends on verbally explicit information. Structurally, substitution is operative at three levels: nominal, verbal and clausal. My primary concern in this article is to characterize the nominal substitute the same and mainly to provide concrete examples and its Bulgarian projections. I attempt to investigate and thus help learners and teachers of English clarify the means and mechanisms through which the substitute item the same is translated. By illustrating and analyzing its basic nature and generally the text-forming agency of substitution, learners would become aware of many challenges they encounter when learning a foreign language.

Analysis & Discussion

The same presupposes an entire nominal group including any modifying element. It is almost always stressed except in cases in which it is rejected in favour of some contrast. The information that is given by the use of this item in the context is new, but the item itself has occurred before.

The substitute the same appears in the expression say the same, which is one of

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the typical environments for this substitute to stand for a clause. Thus, it gives the presupposed clause the rank of a fact, as in:

[I] “Been taking VWs apart from years. Every damn time it’s the same – quality good as ever.” Brett nodded in agreement. “Wish we could say the same of ours.” (Hailey 1971:277)

In this example, the first occurrence of the same functions as an epithet with the meaning ‘not different, unchanged’, and contributes nothing to cohesion. The same in the expression say the same stands for the whole preceding sentence (that) every damn time it’s the same – quality good as ever. Though the presupposition includes the whole sentence, the information is encoded as new, with the prepositional object of ours providing the required contrast.

Here are the translated equivalents to this sample:


Брет кимна в знак на съгласие.
- Бих искал да кажем същото и за нашите коли.
[1b] – Бих искал това да го кажем и за нашите коли.
[1c] – Бих искал да кажем същото нещо и за нашите.

[1a] is rendered by means of pronominalization with ellipsis of the substantivized element. According to Dobreva, същото is a pronominal item having an adjectival nature and it is the only pronoun within the Bulgarian pronominal system that cannot be substantivized (personal discussion with E. Dobreva). Thus, it occupies the position usually taken by determiners, which indicates its defining value. Since it is used alone, the construction is considered elliptical. Hence, същото functions as an identifier signalling identity of form with the presupposed clause, but difference of reference. The broad scope of reference of this item extends beyond nominal phrases to a clause, sentence, or larger stretches of text. In this example, същото stands for the whole of the previous statement, thus expressing it in a condensed way. Since the construction is elliptical, същото is supposed to be assigned to a noun having a generalized reference, which out of context has an abstract meaning, but in a particular text it acquires a concrete meaning. [1c] exemplifies the case. The nominal expression същото нещо contains the substantivized indefinite pronoun нещо, which gains a definite meaning on account of its text-dependent nature. In this case, същото нещо appears to be a pronominal phrase that stands for the clause (че) качеството им е винаги на висота. Hence, the operative text-forming mechanism could be regarded as pronominalization.

* Translation equivalents [b] and [c] provided by the author.
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[1b] is an interesting case of pronominalization, typical for some Balkan languages. That concerns the duplication of an object, expressed, in this example, by means of two pronouns: the demonstrative това and the short form of the objective personal pronoun то. As far as the actual distribution of a text into Theme-Rheme informational units, we can place such a case in the position of the Theme (see Nitsolova 1986: 55). The relation between the two pronouns is of co-reference and they both serve as indicators that reference should be made to the preceding text. In this case, the replacement of some of the pronouns with the previous clause is impossible. As an anaphoric item това generalizes the information of the preceding clause presenting it in a synthesized way.

Frequently used expressions that ascribe the status of fact to the same are: The same is true of ..., The same goes for..., The same applies to..., in which the same functions as subject of the clause. There are two such cases in the analyzed examples.

[2] Here, too, eye and nose irritation were constant and Brett remembered a recent U. S. Public Health warning, that breathing New York’s polluted air was equal to smoking a pack of cigarettes a day. He presumed the same was true of Los Angeles, perhaps even more so. (Hailey 1971: 346-7)

The same in this example replaces the clause (that) breathing the polluted air was equal to smoking a pack of cigarettes a day, with the genitive locative New York’s ousted by of Los Angeles.

The corresponding Bulgarian translations are:

[2a] Тук също се усещаше щипане в носа и очите и Брет си спомни едно от предупрежденията на Американската здравна организация, в което се сочеше, че дишането на замърсен нюйоркски въздух се равнява на изпушването на пакет цигари дневно. Без съмнение в Лос Анжелис това важеше с много голяма сила.


[2c] Предположи, че същото важи и за Лос Анжелис, но вероятно с по-голяма сила.

[2a] is organized by pronominalization: the demonstrative това serves as anaphoric deictic (pointer) to the information necessary for decoding the sentence. Due to the lack of grammatical as well as semantic restrictions, this pronoun can be characterized with the broadest possible scope of usage (see Nitsolova 1986: 116). Since it has ‘jumped out’ of its grammatical paradigm (lack of gender), semantically it could carry the contents of any lexical item, clause, or section of the text.

[2b] illustrates nominalization. The demonstrative pronoun това has an attributive function, and thus it appears as an identifier of the noun съотношение as the item that refers to the preceding clause, which in turn, presents the
information to which it refers in a summarizing way. Such generalizing nouns allow for subjective or objective views towards the referred part of text to be expressed in a compressed way. In this instance, the demonstrative is a ‘strengthening’ equivalent of the definite article for it also carries the meaning of definiteness (see Nitsolova 1986: 113). The weaker the semantic link between the two designations, the stronger the necessity of a demonstrative to determine the reference.

In [2c] the pronominal adjective същото could be seen as a direct substitute of the previous clause. In spite of this, the mechanism realizing the textual relation could not be considered simply as pronominalization. This is explained on the grounds of the impossibility of substantivization of this item. Hence, it is appropriate to classify it as pronominalization with a following ellipsis of the head element, on account of the pronominal nature of this item.

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

[3] “Okay, we help somebody like these two kids, but as soon as we do, we expect them to have all our middle-class values. Which it took us years of living our way to acquire. The same goes for money.” (Hailey 1971: 293)

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

This use of the same can be projected onto Bulgarian in several ways:


[3b] Добре, помагаме на някого като на тези две деца и скоро след това очакваме от тях да притежават всички ценностни на средната класа които ние сме придобили след години живот по един и същи начин. Това се отнася и за парите.

[3c] Такова е положението и с парите.

In [3a] the mechanism used for translating the same is pronominalization (see the discussion of [2c]). In this case, същото resembles the pronominal adverb така, both having an anaphoric function.

[3b] is realized by pronominalization. The demonstrative това is the subject of the sentence, which is a result of substantivization (Nitsolova 1986: 116).

In [3c] the demonstrative такова has the structural function of a predicative and semantically modifies the subject положението. Its role, beyond the structure of the sentence, is identifying that section of the text correlative with
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положението. Semantically, the pronoun implies comparison between two or more entities. The noun положението appears to be a generalizing word referring to the previously mentioned fact, thus presenting it in an abbreviated way and at the same time, breaking the monotony of the narration.

It is possible for the substitute the same to be accompanied by the “general word” way when substituting for an attribute (Halliday, Hasan 1976: 112). Thus, for example, in: [4] I know you are interested. You turned me on, too, and you know we were in good company because the chairman felt the same way. (Hailey 1971:435)

The same way stands for interested, with you rejected by the chairman. In this context, it would be possible for the accented form the same to alternate with the weak form so: “The chairman felt so (too).”

In the place of the substitute item the same, various other cohesive devices appear in the translated variants of this sample:

[4a] Ти държеше на този проект, а успя да запалиш и мен. Бяхме далеч нелоша компания, тъй като на нашия страна беше и президентът.

[4b] Знам, че беше заинтересуван. Бяхме добра компания, тъй като заинтригува мен, а и председателя също.

[4c] Знам, че бе заинтригуван, заинтересува и мен. Бяхме хубава компания, защото председателя и той бе впечатлен.

In [4a], the prepositional phrase на нашия страна is a kind of a paraphrase of the previous clause. The possessive pronoun наши specifically refers to ти and мен, involving them in the relation of possession. It is realized by a mutual belonging to a process, which is nominalized in the reference. Nitsolova regards this as “hidden” predicate which is nominalized by a generalizing noun of abstract meaning (1986: 82-3).

[4b] is rendered by omission of the predication беше заинтересован, on account of its explicitness in the near context. So, it is quite natural to add the missing part after the subject председателя in order to fill out the structural gap. In this example, the word също is an adverb exemplifying confirmation that the omitted predication still holds good.

[4c] is organized by means of using synonyms, regarded by Dobreva and Savova as synonymyzation (2000: 224). Instead of заинтригуван, its dictionary equivalent впечатлен is used, thus avoiding the monotonous duplication of words.

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

[5] We forget that plenty of us who’ve lived with money still run up debts we can’t
manage. But let this guy *do the same* thing and our system’s all set to throw him back on the garbage heap. (Hailey 1971: 293)

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

The sample could be presented in Bulgarian as follows:

[5а] Забравяме, че доста хора от нашите среди са затънали до гуша в дългове, макар че са свикнали да боравят с пари. Но когато това се случи на човек като него – Уйнгейт кимна към домакина, – нашата система моментално го изхвърля на боклука!

[5б]… Но нека този човек направи това и нашата система е готова веднага да го изхвърли на сметището.

[5с]… Но нека това момче направи същото нещо…

In [5а] and [5б], *do the same thing* is translated това се случи и направи това, with the demonstrative това functioning as subject in [5а] and as object in [5б]. The verbs правя and случвам се have abstract meanings, always presupposing existence of some concrete process and happening (see Dimitrova 1995: 30). They are always functioning as ‘carriers’ of an item that presents the process in a nominalized form. In this case, the demonstrative това points back to the process mentioned in the immediate context, presenting it as a fact. Hence, the mechanism can be regarded as pronominalization. Such combinations in Bulgarian, formed by an abstract verb (the most frequently used are права and върша plus pronoun, can be considered substitutive constructions for some verbs or verbal phrases.

In [5а], the pronominal expression същото нещо is interchangeable with the demonstrative това, as in [5б]. The difference lies in the implication of comparison denoted by същото. Anyway, the mechanism is pronominalization.

**Conclusion**

The contrastive analysis has shown that nominal substitution in Bulgarian does not exist in its strict sense, but the same ‘things’ keep on being mentioned. The items projecting the nominal substitute *same* that summarize and present the information in a compressed form in Bulgarian are the pronouns. Though generally different from the English substitutes they signal the points of contact
with what has gone before. Therefore, they also realize a continuity that allows for the reader to restore the semantic make-up of a text. All of them are resources that give “texture” to a piece of text.

References:


Sample text sources:


Challenge accepted: employing reading comprehension strategies in training your brain into becoming a better reader

Radostina Iglikova*

Abstract: The following article provides a brief overview of the specificities of the processes of reading and comprehension as a starting point for a discussion of the 8 reading comprehension strategies deemed most successful. Furthermore, it provides a list of practical guidelines for the application of each of these strategies.

Key words: reading as a process, reading comprehension, comprehension strategies, written text, practical guidelines

What is reading (comprehension) and why is it so important?

The obvious importance of reading stems directly from the ubiquity of text in everyday life. Whether it is done for pleasure or out of necessity, the process of “extracting” meaning and information from written text – or rather, decoding and relating it to previous knowledge and experience (Willingham 2006: 41) – is present in innumerable contexts, ranging from reading your e-mail or text messages, a blog, a magazine, or newspaper article to reading a textbook or doing research on an academic topic. Reading comprehension, thus, has been defined as “the process of simultaneously extracting and constructing meaning through interaction and involvement with written language” (Snow 2002: 11; Ness 2009: 143-144). Moreover, researchers within the field claim that “the most important thing about reading is comprehension” (Gambrell et al. 2002: 3).

Why is reading sometimes difficult?

From the point of view of Cognitive Psychology, “reading involves processes at different levels, from recognition of graphemes to the integration of global ideas from the text into the reader’s knowledge” (Orbea, Villabeitia 2010: 112) such as “word recognition, syntactic processing and semantic processing” (ibid.). In simpler terms, this suggests that there exist three separate cognitive processes which pertain to reading with understanding: “monitoring your comprehension, relating the sentences to one another, [or] relating the text to what you already know” (Willingham 2006: 41).

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Additionally, the actualization of the process of reading involves a number of variables all of which affect the process of reading itself and its eventual outcomes (ideally, comprehension). These variables or factors pertaining to the process of reading and achieving comprehension include (among others):

- the setting and the situation in which reading takes place along with its temporal and spatial specificities and/or limitations;
- the medium – whether the text is written by hand, printed on paper, or is in electronic form (the quality and size of the screen is thus also relevant);
- the type and quality of the text itself including its levels of semantic and syntactic complexity, its level of explicitness/implicitness, its author(s)’ purposes, intentions, motivation, etc.;
- the readers’ knowledge and skills – their language proficiency (including their grasp of vocabulary, grammar and syntax), the speed at which they can decode text, their background knowledge and experience and their ability to relate it to the text they are reading (Willingham 2006: 45, 50); their purposes, intentions, and motivation in reading the text.

All these factors result in specific affordances or limitations on the reading process and the process of comprehension of text. Therefore, there exist different reading techniques each of which reflect and correspond to a specific need or purpose of the reader and are aimed at compensating for the existing limitations upon the process. Thus, we have reading for gist (skimming) and reading for detail (scanning), reading for pleasure (extensive) and reading with a mind to achieve specific goals (intensive), to name but a few of the most popular and commonly used ones (West 2008).

**What are reading comprehension strategies and how can they help?**

Generally speaking, strategies can be regarded as specific ways to adjust available resources to the requirements of a situation in order to achieve our own goals and to satisfy our needs. More specifically, reading comprehension strategies pertain to the ways in which we approach a text in order to achieve our goals efficiently (i.e. to achieve maximum results with minimum effort for the shortest possible time) by resolving possible problems with understanding. Thus, reading comprehension strategies have been defined as “conscious, deliberate, and flexible plans readers use and adjust with a variety of texts to accomplish specific goals” (Pilonieta 2010: 152) and “high-level comprehension processes” (Schoot et al. 2008: 203).
Various research on reading comprehension has suggested the positive effects of explicit instruction in using reading comprehension strategies (Willingham 2006: 39; Harvey, Goudvis 2007; U.S. Department of Education 2016). The extensive study done by the National Reading Panel (NRP 2000) on the basis of 481 studies on reading strategies published between 1980 and 1998 (Willingham 2006: 42) has yielded a categorization of 15 separate groups of reading comprehension strategies and one additional group which includes “multiple strategies”, i.e. a combination of strategies for reading comprehension. As each group of strategies targets one of the three aforementioned cognitive processes involved in reading comprehension, Willingham (2006: 43) offers an organized list of the 16 strategies suggested by the NRP, based on this criterion (see fig.1 below):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>Number of studies</th>
<th>Evidence of effectiveness</th>
<th>Strategy description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comprehension monitoring</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Readers are taught to become aware of when they do not understand, for example by formulating what exactly is causing them difficulty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening actively</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Research inconclusive</td>
<td>Students learn to think critically as they listen and to appreciate that listening involves understanding a message from the speaker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graphic organizer</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Students learn how to make graphic representations of texts, for example, story maps.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question answering</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>After students read a text, the teacher poses questions that emphasize the information students should have obtained from the text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question generation</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Students are taught to generate their own questions, to be posed during reading, that integrate large units of meaning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summarization</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Students are taught techniques of summarizing, e.g., deleting redundant information and choosing a topic sentence for the main idea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental imagery</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Research inconclusive</td>
<td>Students are instructed to create a mental visual image based on the text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperative learning</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Students enact comprehension strategies—for example, prediction and summarization—in small groups, rather than with the teacher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story structure</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Students are taught the typical structure of a story and learn how to create a story map.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple strategy instruction</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Multiple strategies are taught, often summarization, prediction, question generation, and clarification of confusing words or passages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior knowledge</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Research inconclusive</td>
<td>Students are encouraged to apply what they know from their own lives to the text, or to consider the theme of the text before reading it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocabulary-Comprehension relationship</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Research inconclusive</td>
<td>Students are encouraged to use background knowledge (as well as textual clues) to make educated guesses about the meaning of unfamiliar words.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curriculum</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Research inconclusive</td>
<td>Instruction is carried to the curriculum beyond reading. Thus, students might study story structure during reading time, apply the structure themselves during writing time, and look for story structure during social studies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mnemonic</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Research inconclusive</td>
<td>Students are taught to associate a keyword with some aspect of the text to help memory for that aspect; it is designed for use with very unfamiliar texts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psycholinguistic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Research inconclusive</td>
<td>Students are taught language conventions that will help comprehension; for example, how to find the antecedent of a pronoun like “she.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher preparation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Research inconclusive</td>
<td>Teachers learn techniques by which to teach reading strategies.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Fig. 1. – an organized list of the 16 reading comprehension strategies proposed by the NRP
Of all 16 strategies, eight have been further isolated and deemed the most efficient ones. These include the following (NRP 2000; Babbitt 2002; Willingham 2006: 43):

1. **Comprehension monitoring** in which the reader learns how to be aware or conscious of his or her understanding during reading and learns procedures to deal with problems in understanding as they arise;

2. **Cooperative learning** in which readers work together to learn strategies in the context of reading;

3. **Graphic and semantic organizers**, which allow the reader to represent graphically (write or draw) the meanings and relationships of the ideas that underlie the words in the text;

4. **Story structure** from which the reader learns to ask and answer who, what, where, when, and why questions about the plot and, in some cases, maps out the time line, characters, and events in stories;

5. **Question answering** in which the reader answers questions posed by the teacher and is given feedback on the correctness;

6. **Question generation** in which the reader asks himself or herself why, when, where, why, what will happen, how, and who questions;

7. **Summarization** in which the reader attempts to identify and write the main or most important ideas that integrate or unite the other ideas or meanings of the text into a coherent whole;

8. **Multiple strategy instruction** in which the reader uses several of the procedures in interaction with the teacher over the text.

**How to use the strategies:**

Willingham states that “successfully implementing a reading comprehension strategy is not a skill at all. It may be more like a trick in that it’s easy to learn and use, and the only difficulty is to consistently remember to apply it” (Willingham 2006: 44). In this sense, each of the aforementioned strategies involves particular activities aimed at resolving potential problems with comprehension and each has its specific affordances for certain types of situations in which reading comprehension occurs.

As illustrated on figure 1 above, the first of the eight strategies is designed to “encourage [readers] to monitor their comprehension” (see fig.1 above) by raising their awareness of problematic areas of the text. By resorting to this strategy, readers can first of all learn to approach the comprehension or understanding of the text not as the final product of the application of their reading skills but rather as a process of negotiating meanings based on cues.
provided by the text itself, as well as by their own background knowledge. This integrating of information from both sources – the textual content and the background knowledge of the reader – can help transform the process of reading a text from an abstract deciphering of signs into an active and engaged activity of constructing meaning. Secondly, by familiarizing themselves with the specific requirements and expected results from the reading task at hand, they can learn to streamline their reading process and tailor it to the specific temporal and informational resources available in the current situation. This includes focusing on specific areas and elements of the text, thus prioritizing particular items of information over others based on the goals and objectives of the reading comprehension task, which in turn would result in an efficient use of the readers’ limited processing resources and active attention.

Cooperative learning is another helpful strategy which has the potential of combining the background knowledge and reading skills of a group people, thus compensating for the potential weaknesses of separate members’ knowledge, skills and abilities and resulting in better overall level of comprehension.

Yet another strategy which can help readers better understand the relationships among different elements in the text (hierarchical, temporal, spatial, cause-and-effect, comparison and contrast, enumeration etc.) is the employment of graphic/semantic organizers. This is a strategy which actively employs the cognitive ability of people to organize knowledge by applying universal cognitive structures such as frames, schemata, scripts and plans (see Beaugrande, Dressler 1981; van Dijk, Kintsch 1983) for the purpose of creating a mental picture of a particular text.

A closely related strategy is one which pertains to the use of the structural elements of the text as additional sources of information and indicators of emphasis. For example, many high-quality informative texts employ a particular commonly used structure made up of separate paragraphs with specific functions in the overall hierarchy of the text. At the level of text, each separate paragraph or paragraphs can be seen either as belonging to the introduction, the thesis statement, the main body of the text, or the conclusion, while the title gives an overall statement of what the text is about – the topic. Respectively, at the level of paragraphs there exist hierarchical relations which usually result in the first sentence of each paragraph being a topic sentence (containing a separate main idea or claim related to the thesis statement) and the rest of the sentences containing developers of the main idea expressed within the topic sentence. As a result of the frequency of use of this type of structure, readers can often rely on the title and the topic sentences to supply them with information regarding the main ideas developed in a text in a very efficient and concise form.

The fifth and sixth strategies – namely, question answering and question generation – are also in direct relation among themselves, as they can be seen as
alternatives to choose from in different reading situation. Question answering presupposes the existence of pre-formulated questions whose author is not the reader. The reader, therefore, needs to focus on understanding not only the text in a general way but also to pay attention to what exactly is being required of him/her. This can often be achieved by focusing on key words which appear in the question (and/or answer options, where applicable) and then search for those key words and their synonyms, antonyms, etc. within the text, thus identifying relevant sections of the text and concentrating active attention to those specific parts. Question generation, on the other hand, requires the development of a habit for formulating questions which can in turn help the reader in identifying and specifying problematic areas or areas of particular interest within a text.

The final separate strategy is that of summarization. It is closely related to the reading technique of skimming the text for the gist and employs such activities as note-taking, highlighting or underlying key words or sections of the text which contain the main points. Consequently, these marked elements can serve as a plan for drafting a summary of the text. Furthermore, summarizing a text does not only require for the reader to pinpoint the main ideas but also involves the ability to apply a structure to the summary by providing hierarchical, temporal, spatial, causal etc. relations among those main ideas.

In conclusion, the eighth strategy involves the simultaneous or the consecutive of employment of multiple strategies such as, for example, employing strategy #1 in order to find out what the requirements for the reading task are by first reading the provided questions and answering options; secondly, supplying the meaning of problematic vocabulary items by generating questions (strategy #6) or relying on context and structure

Finally, for the purpose of easy and fast reference the present article proposes the following guidelines to applying these “tricks” in practice which have been presented in the form of a list (albeit definitely incomplete) of actions for the reader to undertake:–

- **Comprehension monitoring:**
  - activate background knowledge – think about what you already know about the topic;
  - familiarize yourself with what you will be required to do;
  - collect and define new or problematic vocabulary items – use the context;
  - preview questions and answer options;

- **Cooperative learning:**
  - work in groups;
- divide text or tasks among group members;
- combine ideas;
- discuss possible answers to questions;

• **Graphic and semantic organizers:**
  - draw a visual representation (map) of elements in the text and the relationships among them – structures of hierarchy, temporal/spatial sequence, cause and effect, comparison and contrast, etc.;
  - underline/highlight/number important key words and sections within the text for faster reference;

• **Structure:**
  - use the structural elements of the text as sources of information – title, introduction, body paragraphs, conclusion;
  - use the graphic/visual elements of the text – illustrations, graphs, charts, tables, bulleted/numbered lists;
  - look for main ideas/topics – use the title, headings, first and last sentence of each paragraph;
  - look for details – use key words and their synonyms, names, numbers, places;

• **Question answering:**
  - focused reading – read the questions before you start reading the text (if possible);
  - pay attention to key words in the question and match them to sections in the text;
  - for multiple choice questions – consider eliminating obviously incorrect options first;

• **Question generation:**
  - ask the teacher/partner/official/dictionary/Google/Wikipedia about the meaning of new/problematic vocabulary (if possible);
  - for multiple choice questions – ask yourself/group partner(s) for proof from the text: “Why did you choose this option?”

• **Summarization:**
  - take notes, underline/highlight key points and ideas – use
them to draft a plan of your summary;

- apply a structure to your summary – use hierarchy, temporal/spatial sequence, cause and effect, comparison and contrast, listing;

- paraphrase – use your own words;

- **Multiple:**
  - combine various strategies, such as summarization, prediction, question generation, and clarification of confusing words or passages.

**Conclusion**

The present article deals with an aspect of the process of reading pertaining to the achieving of comprehension and enhancing this comprehension by means of the application of a set of eight strategies. Although the theoretical background and the overview of research and literature on the issue can undoubtedly be additionally extended, the aim of the article has been instead to focus on the actual steps of applying these strategies in practice. Therefore, ease of reference and succinctness have been given preference over definitiveness for the purposes of the current paper.

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Challenges in teaching remedial apologies to learners of English as a foreign language

Deyana Peneva*

Abstract: The paper dwells on the process of acquiring communicative competence by presenting three apology patterns which foreign language teachers should be competent to recognize and differentiate between when teaching speech acts and politeness strategies. In particular, three remedial apologetic models are discussed in brief with respect to their form, function, and use as well as the socio-cultural aspect of the communicative acts they constitute.

Keywords: communicative competence, context, remedial apologies, syntactic patterns, pragmatics

Introduction

In order to communicate effectively and efficiently in any language foreign language learners need to acquire grammatical competence to enhance their linguistic knowledge and be adequately familiar with the sociolinguistic strategies so that they can use the linguistic forms appropriately. Therefore, for non-native speakers, adopting and learning these strategies is of crucial importance if they want to use correct English patterns and know in what situations they can apply them.

They also have to know how a language is used by the members of the speech community in order to fulfill their communicative goals. Acquiring communicative competence is an extremely comprehensive and complex process that is not just a matter of language knowledge or ability to speak, but a competence that an individual has to develop through effective and appropriate interaction. It is definitely much more than this. The mere “exchange of information between individuals through a common system of symbols, signs or behaviour is not in the core of successful communication” (Wiemann 2006: 24). Information exchange is a necessary criterion, but it is not sufficient for the complete understanding of the exact process of communication. What is of crucial importance for effective communication is the issue of how people “use message to generate meanings within and across various contexts, cultures, channels, and media” (Bachman 1990: 34) through language. When we communicate we transmit information through our thoughts and emotions with the simple desire to be properly understood. Many prominent communication

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researchers (Canary, Cody 2000; Berger 2005; Wiemann 2006) share Craig’s (1999) perspective on communication, that it would be pointless not to assume that communication is in some sense and to some degree intentionally directed towards certain goals (Craig 1999), which are linked to another person’s thoughts and feelings. The main goal of communication is “to share meaning or in other words to generate new knowledge” which is to be manifested, according to Craig by self-presentation focusing on:

- the issue of how individuals want to be perceived;
- how they develop and maintain relationship;
- the way they manipulate others and manage interpersonal conflicts.

According to Pencheva and Shopov “the need to teach communicative competence is in the center of attention” (Pencheva, Shopov 2001: 56).

It is a rather complicated matter to express speech acts, apologies in particular, in a foreign language. That is why studying the way people apologize in different languages is essential in order to understand its peculiarities. In order to help foreign language learners of English to understand the appropriate realization of apology formulae, English teachers should be adequately competent and be able to point out to the students how the most common apology structures are related to their particular use in the contexts.

**Analysis of Apology patterns**

**A: I am sorry**

The teacher should first explain the different semantic meanings of ‘sorry’ pointing out that sorry constructions which express sadness or distress through sympathy or compassion with someone’s misfortune should be excluded as they do not refer to apologetic behavior. For example: *I was sorry to see what happened to your brother last week.*

What the teacher should do next is to make it clear that as an apology speech act the phrase must refer to the feeling of regret, guilt, shame or penitence when there is an offence at hand. The third step is related to the grammatical aspect of the entry. It is a predicative-adjective which becomes explicit in five basic syntactic groups of constructions:

- *Sorry* can be used in predicative structures without complements: *I am (so/very) sorry.*
- *Sorry* can be used with a content clause [CL]: *I’m sorry that this word box office keeps occurring.*
- *Sorry* can be used with a preposition phrase headed by “for”: *I am sorry for this annoyance.*
Sorry can be used with a prepositional phrase headed by ‘about’: I’m sorry about the confusion on the phone earlier.

Sorry can be used with an infinitive form: I am sorry to have disappointed you.

Generally, three syntactic patterns are basically used by native speakers: predicative sorry; sorry + about; sorry + CL. In everyday conversations and typical situations (for example: bumping into someone, being late, hurting someone’s feelings, etc.) which require an apology, British speakers when feeling regret almost equally prefer to say simply Sorry or are willing to explain or give account for the wrongdoing they have performed (based on a percentage scale of apology patterns taken from the British National Corpus of spoken discourse (Peneva 2015).

The teacher should make it clear to the learners that there is a difference in the use of sorry for and sorry about. Most of the students consider sorry for and sorry about synonymous in meaning though sorry about is related to a high level of formality where the social power and rank of the participants are different (based on a cross-cultural application of Valency patternbank model (Herbst 2014) and a Discourse Completion Test experiment with Bulgarian learners of English (see Peneva 2015). It could be seen that the prepositions about and for are among the translation equivalents of the Bulgarian preposition за and according to Danchev (1988) its functional equivalent – for predominates. The dominant translation equivalent of the Bulgarian за preposition is for while about comes second in terms of frequency in English (Benatova 1980: 38-44).

All sorry constructions, apart from the predicative-only pattern, require “an explanation” or “account”, which makes the apology sound more sincere.

Another important task for the teacher is to highlight the fact that sorry does not mean ‘to apologise’. To apologise is to admit that you are at fault. Sorry only expresses regret.

**B: I apologize**

The same pedagogical model is applied to this expression. It stands as an apology only if it acknowledges faults or shortcomings or failing. Grammatically it falls into six basic syntactic structures:

Apologize can be used independently: I apologize.

Apologize can be used with a prepositional phrase headed by “for”: I apologize for sending all that sir...

Apologize can be used with a prepositional phrase headed by “to”: I apologize to the listener of this tape ...

Apologize can be used with a clause: I apologize that you will have to sit through the outstanding items of discussion.
Apologize can be used in emphatic constructions with “do”: *I do apologize if I have missed bits of paper.*

In general, apologize patterns are not that common in colloquial English as sorry patterns, but they are preferred especially in cases when the social status of the speaker and the hearer is different; in situations in which there is a strong possibility of the apology speech act failure due to lack of politeness and breaching the social norms.

Unlike sorry, which expresses regret and does not mean ‘to apologize’, but is considered the most common apology speech act, apologize is less common but connotes the idea that the speaker is at fault and bears the responsibility of his/her deeds. Learners are not able to understand this factor as they mainly focus on the level of formality.

In situations where there is a high risk that the apology might fail provided the socio-cultural rules of polite behavior and social distance are not observed, British speakers, when feeling an offence has been done by them, solely prefer to use these constructions as they sound more sincere than the others (Deutschmann 2003). These constructions, however, are followed by other apologetic patterns which further support the genuineness of the act: expression of “taking responsibility” mainly.

C: I regret

Semantically the verb regret has four main meanings, though only two of them can be used as apology speech acts. They become explicit with the meaning of ‘feeling sorry for’ or ‘feeling remorse for’. The teacher should stress the fact that the other two meanings, namely, ‘feeling sad about something’ and ‘declining formally’ do not fit the criteria for apologies in that there is no offence done.

Grammatically regret becomes explicit in 3 basic syntactic patterns:

- Regret can be followed by a complement NP: I regret it very much.
- Regret can be used with a complement clause: I regret what happened.
- Regret can be used with a gerundial clause: I regret saying it and that I was speaking metaphorically. …

In the case of regret structures, compared to sorry and apologize structures, the former, though considered one of the basic illocutionary force indicating devices (IFIDs) in apology speech acts, is not taken as a prototypical apology and sounds less sincere than sorry or apologize (Brown, Levinson 1987: 211-212). Expressions of regret are often related to or address the consequences of actions people have taken but wish they had not. Regret mostly expresses a desire on the part of the hearer that the event had not happened, but without any acceptance of wrongdoing.
The expression does not sound as convincing and sincere as the other performative devices but at least it could be considered felicitous since in all cases the regret structures in this classification end with a NP which is a syntactic pattern that asks for an apologetic strategy which provides an “explanation” or expresses “responsibility” for the offence that was done. Pragmatically the construction cannot stand isolated and in all cases it is accompanied by various apologetic endings (expressions).

**Socio-cultural aspects**

In the process of foreign language teaching and learning the teacher should define apologies as a kind of remedial work which “involves the splitting of the speaker’s self into two parts, the one guilty of having offended the hearer, the other taking the hearer’s side and the violated norm” (Fraser 1981: 22). Speakers try to remedy or heal the unpleasant social situation by offering an apology which might be expressed through different formulas or manifestations depending on the different situations in different socio-cultural settings.

With respect to the form and function of apologies five factors play a significant role in the choice of apology strategy (Fraser 1981: 223). They are:

1. **the nature of offence.** Two categories are used to classify the data with respect to severity of offence:
   - high severity: damaging the car of a friend’s; not saving an important file; bumping into someone’s car
   - low severity: stepping on somebody’s foot; forgetting about a meeting with a friend; not returning a book on time.

In the case of personal offence, *I am sorry* is much preferable. Minor offences elicit a brief apology whereas much more circumstantial apology is required when the offence is considered to be serious.

2. **the situation in which the offence occurred.** The situations could range from very formal to the most informal that undoubtedly affects the choice of apology strategies. In a formal situation it is more appropriate to use apology expressions such as: *Excuse me, I am sorry for...*, while in less formal situations where the relations between the interlocutors are intimate, expressions such as *Ooops* or *I am such a fool* are more appropriate.

3. **the relative familiarity between the participants.** This mainly refers to the social status of the speaker. Familiarity could vary from people who have never met before to people who have lived in the same neighbourhood:
- high status, when apologizing to a person with higher social power such as professors, chief managers and others;
- equal status, when apologizing to a person with equal social power such as colleagues, friends, classmates, and
- low status, when apologizing to a person with lower social power such as café or restaurant waiters; shop cashiers.

4. gender of the participants – male and female. The teacher should make it clear to the students that gender stereotypes could explain the linguistic behavior of both genders and reveal different ways of thinking and behaving between the members of one culture. Apology selection depends on the estimation of how humiliating men and women perceive the apology strategies to be and the extent to which they damage the apologizer’s self-respect. What is more, gender differences affect politeness and social environment can influence the choice of apology strategies made by the two genders.

5. Social distance. The teacher should highlight the fact that learners of English interpret the notions of social distance and power differently from British speakers. S/he should stress the point that learners are more likely to relate the seriousness of offence to social distance whereas British native apologetic behavior seems to be the result of the interconnection between seriousness of offence and social power and social distance (Slavova 2004). The notions of social power and social distance are embedded in British society which refer to the degree of influence that a party has on the members within their society, whereas the notion of social distance refers to the degree of sympathy the member of a group feels for another member in his/her own society (Slavova 2004). This comes from the fact that class distinction is not that explicit in Bulgarian society. It is obvious that learners (Bulgarian in particular) may transfer their background/native cultural knowledge on the choice of apologetic strategies which, in turn, determines politeness orientation.

Conclusion

Remedial apologies as a whole are uttered after an offence has been committed and refer to the following variables: seriousness of the offence force for the participants; the particular relationship and the setting, and they come as a result of different types of offences such as: causing inconvenience (impoliteness, being late, being upset, saying the wrong thing, etc.).

By combining cross-cultural application of Valency patternbank model and
DCT the paper can be a contribution to the exploration of particular syntactic patterns and their uses in context-dependent apology situations.

In pedagogy:

• teachers can help learners to acquire not only linguistic knowledge of the way the speech act is realized, that is the syntactic structures, but also dwell on the social variables that influence the successful performance of the act.

• teachers can enable learners to perform successful speech acts in order to avoid cross-cultural miscomprehension;

• besides linguistically correct apology formulas learners need to be made aware of the significance of social power, social distance and imposition in communication.

Generally, foreign language teachers should first concentrate on the forms and functions of apologies in British English then on their social and conversational variations that is the context, which is a crucial factor when trying to evaluate the appropriateness of an apology. The contextual clues are those factors which determine what type of apology is most appropriate for a given situation.

References:


The cognitive approach as a challenge in foreign language teaching

Miroslava Tsvetkova*

Abstract: The cognitive approach in foreign language teaching attracts young learners’ attention to the topic, enhances and facilitates the comprehension of grammar and language, increases students’ motivation, as well as helps students to memorize new vocabulary and structures.

The aim of the article is to persuade teachers that the cognitive approach applied in the lesson provokes a change in the dynamics of the language classroom and serves as a motivational tool for students. An author’s cognitive model is an example for the easy comprehension and production of the difficult English present progressive construction by Bulgarian young learners.

The model is discussed within the generativist framework and the usage-based theories as the pre-linguistic conditions take an important part in it. The taxonomy of constructions, which is also part of the model, focuses on the relationship between the English present progressive construction and the constructions preceding it.

Key words: language acquisition, FLT, cognitive approach, taxonomy of constructions.

Introduction

Foreign language acquisition has become one of the most dynamic and promising areas of research in cognitive science. Contemporary theoretical and empirical studies have convinced more scientists that a thorough research on the process of learning a foreign language is a way of understanding the cognitive processes in language acquisition. The article focuses on the challenge of using the cognitive approach in the language classroom and given the multiplicity of perspectives on learning, an appropriate unit of analysis should be identified. It is the acquisition of the grammatical construction of present progressive tense in English by Bulgarian young learners (I-IV grade) analysed in the author’s cognitive model. Arising from the fact that learners are not motivated enough to learn a language that they don’t use in everyday life, it is the teacher’s choice of an appropriate approach that takes an important role because it has the power to foster the language acquisition.

The aim of the article is to persuade teachers that the cognitive approach applied in the lesson provokes a change in the dynamics of the language classroom and serves as a motivational tool for students. Teachers should focus less on general

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approaches to English language teaching and more on meeting the challenges
that they have identified.

This article is part of a larger study, which investigated the applicability of the
author’s cognitive model in teaching young learners.

Language is a complex cognitive activity, so pre-linguistic conditions take an
important part in its acquisition. The leading power of the author’s cognitive
model is just on the relationship between the grammatical construction and the
vocabulary that has originated long before they have been taught. When children
start exploring the world around them, they first try to recognize objects and
processes, to distinguish and name them. Children use simple words at this stage
so they build a repertoire of words and later on they add prefixes, suffixes and
endings. A similar phenomenon is observed in learning a second language, too.
When constructing an utterance, speakers are assumed to retrieve individual
lexical items in accordance with the syntactic rules governing the combination
of words in sequence. In a generativist framework, the auxiliary system is
assumed to be purely structural, devoid of semantic or functional content and
therefore difficult to learn in principle (Chomsky 1957).

The cognitive approach to acquiring the English present progressive
construction facilitates the comparison between the familiar and the new
knowledge, grammatical rules comprehension, memorization and use of
language. The cognitive stress is on using a model with high cognitive value,
which develops and improves logical thinking and encourages imagination in
its implementation. Thus, it aims to convert students from passive recipients to
active constructors of knowledge. Meanwhile, knowledge is obtained through
individual participation and contact with the contents (information) rather than
by imitation or repetition, as in traditional didactic memory-based models
(Ivanov 2005, 3).

Theoretical approaches to language acquisition (Theoretical
prerequisites)

A key role in this article plays the differentiation of the meanings of the term
cognitive approach. To distinguish the two cognitive theories and avoid the
confusion in the article using the word “cognitive”, the author uses “structural
approach” in Chomsky’s theory as the generative theory is described as
structural and mentalistic, while retaining the concept “cognitive approach”
for the cognitive-functional theory.

As it was already mentioned, there are basically two theories about the way
children acquire a language. According to the generative grammar (Chomsky
1968) all children have an innate universal grammar, which is abstract enough
to structure any language. Thus the acquisition consists of two processes: (1)
acquisition of all the words, idioms and structures of the target language including the construction of the present progressive tense \textit{be} +\textit{Ving}, and (2) associating the acquired language with the universal grammar. The grammatical level is the level of form because relations between the linguistic items are applied according to a set of rules specific to different languages. Therefore, each unit will be considered in more general terms, as a process or as a grammatical category.

A modern theory of language, the usage-based theory, suggests that children initially build up their language through very concrete constructions based on individual words or frames from the speech they hear and use. Basically this means, according to Tomasello (2003) the developer of the theory, that children learn language from their linguistic knowledge and experiences and a language structure emerges from language use.

In cognitive linguistics, linguistic facts are often explained beyond the linguistic reality and they gain nonlinguistic nature – social, cultural, psychological, etc. Language activity is regarded as one of the models of cognition and it is based on cognitive abilities which are not linguistic but create prerequisites for language. As an example, Langacker’s Cognitive grammar is an interesting theoretical account of cognitive processing reflected in linguistic structure. A fundamental principle in this approach is the idea that it is not actually suggested to focus on language separately from the cognitive activity of memory, attention, social contacts of people or any experience. The very nature of language fits the extralinguistic reality – both mental and social (Langacker 1987, 1991; Lacoff 1987). According to some representatives in this field knowledge of the structure of grammar is built step by step, the way the words in the language are used. Input is the starting point and students acquire linguistic items and structures for shapes and sizes, for different levels of abstraction and just then they produce their own utterances, linking some of them to express their communicative intent (Tomasello 2003).

The usage-based theory postulates several principles of language use, which are illustrated in Fig.1.

In the usage-based framework, the emphasis is on structures as basic units of language (Langacker 1987; Goldberg 1995; Croft 2001). It states that children acquire a language only through common cognitive principles such as deriving a pattern and categorization. So, grammatical categories such as noun, verb and auxiliary are accepted to exist only to a level that can be derived from input (Croft 2001; Langacker 1991). The framework uses an elaborate system of graphic schemata to facilitate understanding on the part of the student of how grammar works.
Within the generativist framework, children need pre-given knowledge of grammar, and thus their task in language acquisition is to map the words of their target language onto pre-existing abstract categories (Pinker 1989). The fundamental theoretical point from a construction grammar perspective is that the most basic phenomenon of language is people making utterances in particular situations, using concrete pieces of language. Thus, from a usage-based perspective linguistic constructions are things that children learn and construct out of the language they hear around them using the same cognitive and social-cognitive skills that they use in other areas of their lives. As Tomasello (2003: 99) points out:

When people repeatedly use the same particular and concrete linguistic symbols to make utterances to one another in “similar” situations, what may emerge over time is a pattern of language use, schematized in the minds of users as one or another kind of linguistic category or construction. As opposed to linguistic rules, conceived of as algebraic procedures for combining symbols that do not themselves contribute to meaning, linguistic categories and constructions are themselves meaningful linguistic symbols - since they are nothing other than the patterns, in which meaningful linguistic symbols are used to communicate.

As the properties of tense and agreement are assumed to be innately specified, children’s early use of auxiliaries is considered by many researchers to reflect underlying, adultlike grammatical competence (Valian 1991; Wexler 1994; Rice et al. 1998).

An additional perspective on these claims comes from an examination of adults who are assumed to store individual utterances or specific lexical constructions as well as more abstract schemas, for example a general pattern for subject-auxiliary inversion.

So the linguistic knowledge of adults consists of a network of hierarchical
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Structures representing cognitive abstractions, although syntactic and semantic connections between structures have different representation in different grammatical frameworks (Croft 2001).

The theories of cognitive development of children often differ in meaning that is attributed to age and inner factors or on the other hand, on experience and learning. The nativist theories like Chomsky’s theory for specific mechanisms for working out the rules of language (*language acquisition device* – LAD) (Chomsky 1968) put an emphasis on the innate aspects of development. According to Chomsky, infants acquire grammar because it is a universal property of language and that is the reason he has coined these fundamental grammatical ideas that all humans have as *universal grammar*.

According to Tomasello’s functional-based model (2000), however, the early language production of children consists of patterns associated with specific lexical structures.

**A linguo-didactic model based on the cognitive approach**

(Descriptive application)

Classroom practices in foreign language acquisition continue to rely on traditional methodologies, paying little attention to whatever theoretical insights cognitive science can offer.

Anyone having some experience of learning English outside the target language environment will agree that one of the most difficult parts of the English grammar is the verb, its forms and functions. Traditional grammars are not particularly explicit about the rules and mechanisms in each case.

There are several psychological approaches that attempt to define human behaviour, and one of these is the cognitive approach. As is suggested by its name, this approach focuses solely on the internal and invisible processes that allow people to react to external stimuli. Specifically, it looks at how people process information that they get from their senses and how they respond to these information.

Children usually become bored when teachers use traditional practices to teach grammar. Given the age, the value of explicit grammar teaching might be questioned. That is why the traditional view of the purpose of grammar has lately been restated by some modern trends in linguistics. In particular, scholars belonging to these trends pay much attention to artificially constructing and analysing incorrect utterances with the aim of a better formulation of the rules for the construction of correct ones. But their examples and deductions, too, are often at variance with real facts of lingual usage. The starting point of this study is also the error. Some of the students’ troubles in the acquisition of the present
progressive construction come from the features of the target language. On the other hand, grammar rules are not introduced because of the specifics of foreign language teaching to young learners. The fact that children at this age already have logical thinking and it lets them easily find the rules and regulations, provoked the idea to use the cognitive approach to grammar acquisition. It confirms that there is strong relationship between the main cognitive and linguistic structures.

The linguo-didactic model based on the cognitive approach, together with its visualization motivates young learners, enhances and facilitates the comprehension of grammar and language as it concerns their emotions and curiosity. The fact students can easily identify and produce the grammatical construction in the process of communication proves the effectiveness of the ongoing cognitive processes.

The reason why the cognitive model is presented as an example in the study is to outline the main parameters the approach can follow as well as to show the results teachers can expect if they apply the cognitive approach in the classroom.

Two aspects of the process of effective learning should be noted – one of them is the emphasis on the intralanguage relations, while the other point is the interlanguage influence.

The linguistic aspect of the cognitive model is based on Chomsky’s generative theory and the cognitive-functional approach, namely Tomasello’s usage-based theory (Tomasello 2003), Croft’s construction grammar (Croft 2001) and Goldberg’s cognitive grammar (Goldberg 1995; Langacker 1987, 1991). It reveals the cognitive features of linguistic items (be+V-ing construction). The main principle is that learners use the language relying explicitly on cognitive skills that they are known to possess. The methodological aspect of the study of the English present progressive construction is not a point of discussion and will not be presented in this article.

The main focus of the model is on the way linguistic and non-linguistic experiences interact to build a productive system of language, which is a question in cognitive linguistics.

The construction is an inseparable unity of form and meaning from a linguistic point of view. The relations whole-part, part-whole as well as the contracted forms (i.e. he’s) are presented in a cognitive aspect. This blurs the line between the items (words and parts) and confirms the inseparable unity of parts.

Language and perception are deeply interrelated. We can describe what we perceive using words. Thus nonlinguistic perception influences the linguistic behaviour and language acquisition and the way in which the world is construed.
on particular occasions may have an impact on how language is learned. Specific perceptual mechanisms or categories may be prerequisites for the acquisition of specific words or structures. Everybody’s experience is different from that of the others. Everybody builds his own vocabulary and that is the reason why there are various hues in the meanings of the words.

In her work, *Young learners’ second language visual literacy practices*, Marina Arif (www) says that in order to be effective communicators in today’s world, children need to be able to interpret, create and select images to convey a range of meanings. In addition, cognitive growth will be stimulated if a balance between verbal and visual experiences is created (Paivio 2006).

The visualisation of the model is an example from the non-linguistic world and it grounds on knowledge and experience. It represents mainly activities in progress, at the moment of speaking in particular, and gives the opportunity to explain the construction in questions and interrogative sentences, too. Each part symbolises a different grammatical item. The cognitive taxonomy of constructions, which is also part of the model, comes to the fore here to make the comprehension easier. It is focusing on the relationship between the English present progressive construction and the constructions preceding it. The author is talking about a tense but it is important to mention the argument that it is part of a construction that resembles a unity of several constructions in hieratical relations with other English constructions.

The same visualized situations can be applied in the contracted forms, too, subject-auxiliary, on the one hand, and auxiliary-negative particle, on the other hand. The relationship between the parts is very important again.

Language and perception are deeply interrelated. We can describe what we perceive using words. Thus, non-linguistic perception influences the linguistic behaviour and language acquisition and the way, in which the world is construed on particular occasions, may have an impact on how language is learned. Specific perceptual mechanisms or categories may be prerequisites for the acquisition of specific words or structures. Everybody’s experience is different from that of the others.

For some cognitive linguists, Langacker (1987) and Croft (2000, 78), grammar is a mapping between form and function, and they argue that the functional role of grammatical patterns is concerned with non-linguistic psychological processes such as visual scanning and imagery as well as with psychological dimensions such as colour and depth. The learner of a language needs access to a relatively direct path from perceptual mechanisms to language learning mechanisms so that such relationships can be acquired, and grammatical structures and words can only be learned once the psychological processes and categories are in place.
In support to the cognitive model researchers, Kemp and Dayton (1985) among them, claim that visuals aid in motivation and maintaining attention by adding variety and making the lesson more interesting.

Other researchers, Joyce and Reder (www), make a similar point in relation to visualisation: “Pictures are more perceptually rich than words, and this visual distinctiveness lends them an advantage in memory. To the extent that subjects also encode the stimulus as a verbal label, subjects have two codes for pictures: in addition to the perceptual features of the stimulus such as colour, shape, and texture, subjects also store a verbal label (similar to the representation for a studied word), that enriches the memory trace and provides redundancy. Picture illustrations are included in textbooks, for example, because they corroborate text and are often more effective than text alone for problem-solving transfer.”

It is believed that a child’s visual comprehension develops earlier than verbal comprehension (Barry 1997). Piaget and Inhelder (2000) state that because young children have little knowledge of the living world and developing conceptions, they need a large amount of visual information to represent their thoughts. This may explain why their information needs are distinctly pictorial rather than textual.

The beneficial effects of the visual materials and the reasons why pictures facilitate comprehension and learning are explained by Levin and Mayer (1993). They proposed some principles called the seven “Cs” for explaining the “whys” of picture facilitation. In particular, they suggest that pictures improve students’ learning from text because they make the text more concentrated (focused, with respect to directing a reader’s attention), compact/concise (“a picture is worth a thousand words”), concrete (the representation function), coherent (the organization function), comprehensible (the interpretation function), correspondent (relating unfamiliar text to a reader’s prior knowledge), and codable (the mnemonic transformation function).

In contrast to the Levin and Mayer’s review (1993), which focused on illustration—text characteristics and correspondence, Bransford’s model focuses on the learner’s characteristics and learning activities, too. Learner’s characteristics include the age of the learner, the learner’s reading ability, and the learner’s visual literacy (i.e., one’s ability to “read” pictures).

The author suggests the approach as a way to let the young learners acquire the grammatical construction not as a unity of rules and exceptions that should be learnt by heart but rather as a presentation of language, in which the parts of the construction, the relationship of each part to the whole and the meaning of the construction as a whole, are acquired cognitively.

Although, from generative point of view, the difficulties young learners have, come from the differences between the native and the target language and the
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cognitive-functional perspective considers the main principles of knowledge are responsible for the acquisition of the construction, both theories focus on the opposition part-whole. The difference comes from the fact that Chomsky’s theory stresses on parts and it does not explain how the whole construction is acquired while the cognitive-functional theory emphasises on main cognitive principles of semantisation and conceptualisation.

The cognitive approach can also be applied to using modal constructions, perfect aspect and even passive voice. Once young learner acquire the present progressive construction, in which the auxiliary be is the main item, they will be able to use it in other constructions. The leading factors of the approach are repeatedness, intra- and interlanguage transfer of knowledge about the use of the auxiliary be in present progressive, passes through present simple and finally takes part in constructions with other modal verbs, have and passive voice.

Conclusion

This article has highlighted the parameters of the cognitive model – a unity of a whole consisting of parts, repeatedness, contextuality, taxonomic hierarchy of constructions preceding it, and a visualisation, which helps the young learners’ cognitive skills to get themselves to the abstract and symbolic meaning of the construction.

Building a model of a grammatical item requires completion, i.e. each element must receive an adequate and consistent performance in a general model. Unfortunately, the suggested description of the English grammatical construction, reflecting the author’s experience, cannot be regarded as exhaustive in any point of detail. Such a complex and comprehensive model in grammar cannot be achieved anyway, because language is a complex system that is influenced by various linguistic and extralinguistic factors. It just aims to supply the students with approaches that will enable them to judge their own questions of diverse grammatical intricacies and bring forth a steady habit of trying to see into the deeper implications underlying the outward appearances of lingual correlations bearing on grammar (Bloh 1983).

Using the theory of cognitive linguistics as its base, the paper shows that linguistic and non-linguistic experiences interact to build a productive system of language.

The approach presented in this paper may serve as guidelines for teachers when implementing the cognitive approach in teaching, as they want their students to fully concentrate on the lesson and foster their learning. When teachers know how to grab the students’ attention, they can provide a friendly and interesting atmosphere for the students to learn. This will encourage them to find their own initiative to learn in order to improve their own understanding towards the
topic.

The aim of the paper is simply to outline the main applications of the cognitive approach in FLT and we do not claim that it is exhaustive in this goal. The topic could be further explored by applying the cognitive approach to adult learners.

References


Teaching conversational implicature to adult language learners

Polina Mitkova*

Abstract: Despite the widely-held belief that second/foreign language acquisition takes place more effortlessly in the early age, this paper aims to research the impact of the age factor in this process and to find out what adjustments need to be made in the teaching environment in order to optimize the second/foreign language acquisition for adult learners of English. The paper will address the topic of teaching particularized conversational implicature through the activity attached, because it gives a real example of what it means to know all the words of what one hears, but not to be prepared to respond in a socially acceptable manner. The aim of this paper is to equip adult learners with the linguistic formula “Not + very + positive adjective” that will help them overcome awkward situations that inhibit their engagement in communication, on the one hand, and, on the other, to prompt teachers to consider factors such as motivation, self-confidence and fixed-mindset that may considerably change the desired outcomes.

Key words: Conversational implicature, EFL learning, adults, discourse completion tasks.

Introduction

This paper focuses on teaching implicature in English to adult learners. When designing the materials I took into consideration individual differences (ID) in second language acquisition (SLA) and pragmatics as one can easily see the close connection between the two fields. Both in ID and in pragmatics there are numerous interpretations of our speech acts and the way messages are conveyed depends very much on the differences among individuals.

The title of the classroom activity is “How honest can you be?” It is aiming at drawing learners’ attention to the fact that there is a significant amount of relativity regarding foreign language learning depending on individual differences such as age, gender, personality etc. According to Rauch (2003) extroverts tend to exhibit more readily and with wider audiences openness and sociability, while introverts thrive at deeper conversations with smaller contingent.

According to Obler (2005), in our language development there are to be observed a number of stages. He notes that “the language development in early childhood and even late childhood must be different from that of adulthood, however since there is probably a core language all children learn, whereas the

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special language registers and skills of adolescence and adulthood are relatively optional – only people who need them and find themselves exposed to them have a chance to acquire them”.

It has been my observation that adult learners sometimes avoid speaking in English in awkward situations because they feel the possible risks embedded in the context. While young learners can afford to take the risk, because everyone can easily pardon their error and attribute it to lack of experience and their natural tendency to name things with their real names, adults are not usually exempt from taking responsibility for their actions.

For these reasons when designing this lesson plan (see Appendix 1) and tasks (see Appendix 2) I aimed at equipping adult learners with the skills to give comment in situations when it is not advisable to be extremely honest e.g. “Your car is not very big.” to be preferred over “Your car is small.”

The pragmatic component that was chosen is conversational implicature, defined by Yule (1996) as “an additional unstated meaning that has to be assumed” in order to maintain the conversation. Although there are many kinds of implicatures that deserve attention, the one I will focus on is called “particularized conversational implicature”. It differs from the other implicatures in that it requires the participants in the spoken exchange to recognize the inferences in the particular conversation so that they can work out the conveyed meaning. I believe that it deserves more attention, because unlike the other implicatures, it is more particular and tied up with the specifics of the spoken exchange and its contextual factors. My experience so far with ESL/EFL learners is that although they sometimes recognize it, they are not able to respond appropriately to it and as a result give a false impression to the other participants in the conversation. My attention will be directed to teaching implicature for situations with higher degree of consequentiality, which require more tactfulness and politeness. I believe that this will equip learners with skills to convey more appropriately their intended messages and give them a greater satisfaction, which is an important factor for their motivation to improve their English skills.

Time

The lesson is designed for a time frame of 60 minutes and will not require anything but their worksheet and common stationery. Depending on the pace of the students and their experience with such ID/pragmatics focused lessons it might require additional time to put them in the right frame of mind.

Target students and context

The target group of students is adult learners of English, mainly professionals, with proficiency level of intermediate and above. This lesson will be most suited
as a part of a speaking course or four-skill integrated course with focus on pragmatic awareness taught on one-to-one basis or small classes. It will focus on teaching the productive skills of writing, and as a sub-skill that can be further developed outside my current lesson time frame – speaking. The learners will be mainly speakers of Japanese or other European languages. The lesson that is designed draws a lot on awareness-raising tasks.

Background/ rationale for the activity design

The ID variable chosen for this activity is age. Since most of the students are older adults (25 years of age and above) I was interested to find out how one can deal with the age factor in a more professional manner. According to Schleppegrell (1987: 1) “there is no decline in the ability to learn as people get older”, but the means by which the second language learning needs to take place have to be adjusted in accordance to the changes that take place as individuals advance in years.

Contrary to popular stereotypes, older adults can be good foreign language learners. The difficulties they experience in the language classroom can be overcome through adjustments in the learning environment, attention to the affective factors, and the use of effective teaching methods (Schleppegrell 1987: 1). She argues that if we have healthy learners with no hearing or visual impairments, we can expect from them to have “highly-developed cognitive systems”, to be able to make “higher order associations and generalizations and to integrate new language input with their already substantial learning experience. They rely on long-term memory rather than short-term memory function used by children and young learners for rote learning.” For this reason she recommends avoiding oral drills and memorizations and trying “integrating new concepts and materials into already existing cognitive structures” instead. She warns against fast-paced lessons and competitive exercises as they may reinforce the affective barriers.

Affective factors such as motivation and self-confidence are very important in language learning. Many older learners fear failure more than their younger counterparts, maybe because they accept the stereotype of the older learner as a poor language learner or because of previous unsuccessful attempts (ibid.).

In order to help students succeed in the classroom, teachers may consider Dweck’s work (2006) on students’ mindsets. Learners with a fixed mindset believe that intelligence is a fixed trait that cannot be developed and tend to look at mistakes as a confirmation of that statement. On the other hand, students with growth mindsets view mistakes as an inevitable stage towards perfection.

A possible step towards promoting the growth mindset may be to avoid activities that include expectation of error-free speech and extensive pronunciation correction at the beginning, and focus on providing students with opportunities
to work together and acquire receptive skills first.

Schleppegrell (1987) makes the point that adult learners in profession have very urgent work- or real life-related language needs. “They are not willing to tolerate boring or irrelevant content” and “need materials designed to present structures and vocabulary that will be of immediate use to them”. When designing the material I was trying to keep the language in it very relevant to everyday life. I meant my initial questions to represent different aspects of their lives – personal tricky situations and work situations with superiors.

**Detailed description of the activity including possible expansions and variations**

The lead-in motivation phase of the lesson is designed as a personality test entitled “How honest can you be?” Students are given three different tricky situations (see Appendix 2, task 1) and asked to literally translate their responses in English from their mother tongue for each one of them. The three situations are introduced in the form of a discourse completion task (DCT).

According to Eslami-Rasekh (2005) starting by literal translation of speech acts clearly shows students that “pragmatic translation of instances of language use can be challenging”. On the other hand, doing that at the beginning validates the learners L1 as a useful resource and not merely as a “negative factor to be endured” (Cook 1999). It also shows that “the emphasis is first on pragmatics rather than on English” (ibid.). Output tasks also facilitate students noticing forms they lack in L2.

At the end of the task 1 students are encouraged to think of and share situations when they did not feel comfortable saying what they really thought or felt. According to McLean (2005) to make the content of the lesson more authentic it is best if the teacher invites the students to generate their own DCTs. Contribution from students also aims at sharpening their interest and training them to be good observers.

In the second task (task 2) students are presented with data from native speakers (NS) of English and asked to look for the differences and similarities. In the following task 3 they are asked to think of categories they can put the presented responses into.

According to Swain’s output hypothesis (Swain 1998) when learners are to produce certain structures for which they lack knowledge – pragmalinguistic or sociopragmatic as it may be in our case, they turn to the relevant sources in order to fill their gaps. Directing the learners’ attention to the linguistic form is in accordance with Schmidt’s noticing hypothesis (Schmidt 1993) as well.

Arranging the NS’s answers in categories further direct students’ attention about the variety of ways there are to react to the tricky situations given in
the personality test. Looking for common features in the answers in all the scenarios aims to further raise their awareness of the target structures. As it may be challenging to come up with captions for the categories, such have been provided in the worksheet. Students are only to match the caption to the situation.

The next task is to evaluate the contextual factors – status, distance, imposition, for each of the three situations. It is aiming at raising students’ pragmatic awareness in an inductive way through guided self-discovery. The task is designed to be used as an opportunity for explicit teaching of relevant pragmatic metalanguage – distance, status, imposition/consequentiality.

As pointed out by Ishihara (in press) “merely exposing students to contextualized input is unlikely to lead to students’ learning of pragmatics…classroom tasks will have more of a payoff to learning if the language forms and the relevant contextual features are highlighted and if the relationship between them is explored”. The aim of the lesson is not simply to notice and “register the simple occurrence of some event” (Schmidt 1993 as cited by Ishihara), but to reach the understanding stage when learners can recognize the principles, rules or patterns.

After the students have tried their hand at analyzing the target feature, the inductive phase comes to a close and they are provided with the sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic information in a deductive explicit manner, because as it was pointed above the explicit approach aiming at analyzing both context and form was found to be more effective than implicit teaching. Presenting them with the sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic pattern ensures that they are not left wondering if they arrived at the right results during the awareness-raising stage of the task.

The rule given in the deductive explicit teaching section contains a metalanguage term (adjectives with positive/negative connotations) that is elaborated on in the following exercise. Students are asked to think of adjectives with negative connotations, or put in simple words “adjectives that you do not want to hear used about yourself”. After they are able to generate some examples, they are asked to form collocations – adj. + noun phrases with some of the adjectives they have in their list. When they have completed this task (task 5), they have to go to the next step where they are required to rewrite the collocations using positive adjectives and write sentences with the new collocations. The goal here will be to keep the negative idea as expressed in the initial collocation, but using the sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic knowledge they gained to modify them so that they do not sound so direct and offending.

The goal here is to consistently guide them through the steps of turning a negatively-laden statement/thought into a more pragmatically acceptable
utterance. This is done so that the pattern that they have been introduced to is further reinforced. The grounds for providing a lot of scaffolding for the learners at the initial stages come from Vygotsky’s sociocultural theory (Vygotsky 1978) stipulating that “cognitive development occurs in interaction with others with more advanced cognitive ability (e.g., a teacher or a more capable peer) through language-mediated activity rather than in isolation”. A key concept in his theory is the zone of proximal development (ZPD), whose expansion needs to be targeted by the teachers or the more capable peers through the scaffolding process.

Although not incorporated in the outline of the lesson plan assessment is designed to take place when eliciting students’ reactions in similar tricky situations as the ones listed in the lesson. When I taught this target structure before, in the following lessons I created authentic scenarios and I asked for my students’ opinion or reaction that was to draw on the newly-acquired pragmatic knowledge and observed their behavior in their casual conversations. Although I have not done research on the frequency of the structure I noticed that it appears quite often in daily conversation and my students were giving their reactions with a slight grin on their faces, which was a significant enough indicator for me.

Desired outcomes, possible obstacles and limitations

The overall goal of the lesson is to teach the productive skills of speaking and writing, but because it draws a lot on awareness-raising activities the receptive skills are also integrated.

The specific goals of the lesson are to equip students with more pragmalinguistic knowledge so that they are able to successfully use the structure “Not + very + positive adjective” to convey messages with negative connotation in a tactful manner. The sociopragmatic knowledge they acquire is to be able to differentiate the context when using the target structure is advisable and when it can be ignored.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper was an effort to apply individual differences and pragmatics in SLA. The goal was to consider the age factor when teaching EFL/ESL students how to use conversational implicature.

The observations that have been made during the years when directing the learners’ attention to the simple linguistic formula “Not + very + positive adjective” show that many of those, who are dealing with giving feedback or engaged more actively in communication, do incorporate it in their linguistic tools.

Another conclusion that can be made concerning the teaching methods for
adults is that when the language teacher reduces the stress and the anxiety of failure in class, giving priority to confidence-building tasks and pairing them with enough linguistic tools to solve students’ most burning linguistic needs, motivation is on the rise.

References


Appendix 1

LESSON PLAN

Teacher: Polina Mitkova
Age: adults
Level: Intermediate/Upper Intermediate/Advanced
Lesson type: Writing/Speaking

Teaching materials: “How honest can you be?” - a worksheet designed by the teacher for the purposes of raising pragmatic awareness.

Background of the students: The students are adults, mainly professionals who have been abroad and speak quite well, but need some small corrections; They have already encountered certain awkward situations and would appreciate some instruction in pragmatics since not knowing how to react in a socially acceptable manner is blocking them and affecting their confidence of fluent English speakers; The average age is over 35 years.

Main aim: To improve the socializing skills of learners in English

To raise awareness of some strategies for avoiding awkward situations used by native speakers.

To raise awareness of the linguistic formula “Not + very + positive adjective” used for the same purposes

Subsidiary aims: To have fun while completing DCT-oriented tasks.

To help students recognize their reactions better.

Time: 60 min

Assumptions: The idea of avoiding awkward situations will definitely appeal to students, since most of them have faced the same or similar scenarios and struggled with finding a way out without offending the others.

Anticipated problems and possible solutions: Students may not be aware of the pragmatic aspects of language and it may take a while until they get used to the format of using discourse completion tasks. A way to overcome the initial difficulties is to explain that this is not going to be a typical English lesson and students will have to use their memories of similar cases to the classroom.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage / Procedure</th>
<th>Interaction pattern</th>
<th>Timing</th>
<th>Objectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Introduce the idea of being honest and the way it affects the use of language. | T  
T – Ss | 3 - 5 min | To activate Ss schemata and lead them in the topic |
| 2. Elicit examples from Ss experience. | | | |
| 3. Ss read the cases presented and are asked to translate literally their responses into English from their mother tongue for each one of the cases (task 1) | T – Ss | 10 min | To show Ss that “pragmatic translation of instances of language use can be challenging” (Eslami-Rasekh 2005). To validate the learners L1 as a useful resource and not merely as a “negative factor to be endured” (Cook 1999). |
| 4. Ss are encouraged to share situations when they did not feel comfortable saying what they really thought or felt. | T – Ss | 10 min | To show that “the emphasis is first on pragmatics rather than on English” (ibid.). To make the content of the lesson more authentic and personalised. To encourage Ss to generate their own DCTs. |
| 5. Ss are presented with data from native speakers (NS) of English and asked to look for the differences and similarities (task 2) with their own ones. | T – Ss | 5 min | To sharpen their interest and train them to be good observers. |
| 6. Ss are asked to categorize the presented responses (task 3) under the captions provided in the worksheet. | Ss | 3 min | To facilitate Ss noticing forms they lack in L2. |
| 7. Ss are to evaluate the contextual factors – status, distance, imposition for each of the three situations (task 4). | Ss | 5 min | To raise Ss pragmatic awareness in an inductive way through guided self-discovery. To direct Ss attention to the relevant pragmatic metalinguage – distance, status, imposition/ consequentiality. |
| 8. Teach the metalinguage terms (adj. with positive/negative connotation) and ask Ss to think of adj. with negative connotations and to form collocations – adj. + noun phrases with some of the adj. they have in their list (task 5). | T | 17 min | To introduce deductive teaching to bring clarity to Ss who might be confused. |
| 9. Ss rewrite the negative collocations using positive adjectives and write sentences with the new collocations. | Ss  
Ss | 5 – 7 min | To encourage Ss to generate their own collocations. To help Ss turn a statement with negative connotation into a pragmatically acceptable one. |
Appendix 2

HOW HONEST CAN YOU BE?

**Task 1** Translate directly into English your answers to the following situations

1. Your friend at work sneaks into your office after the meeting is over and asks for your opinion. You are not particularly fond of his/her idea. S/he says to you: “Wasn’t that brilliant?”

YOU:

________________________________________

________________________________________

________________________________________

2. You are a school owner and one of the teachers who work for you has discipline problems and you went in one of his classes for observation. You noticed that he is putting the naughty students down too much, even abuses them verbally sometimes. You would like to suggest that he makes some changes. He says: “I think I have to be strict with them. They are not paying attention at all and calling me names!”

YOU:

________________________________________

________________________________________

________________________________________

________________________________________
3. Your mom cooked your favorite meal. After you tried it, you are very disappointed, because it tastes really bad this time and you are not sure you can finish it. She says: “Don’t you like it?”

YOU:

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

Now it is your wife who cooked the meal.

YOU:

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

Can you think of other situations when you found it difficult to be completely honest?

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

**Task 2.** Now compare your answers with those of fluent English speakers. What are some of the similarities/differences?

1. a. That’s not a very good idea!
   
   b. That’s stupid! Are you crazy?!
c. Are you drunk?

2. a. I think we have to approach it in another way!
   b. That’s not a very constructive approach!

3. a. I am not hungry!
   b. Mm, did you cook it long enough?
   c. Did you put enough salt?
   d. A male said they will not say anything no matter how bad the food is, because of a rule he grew up with, that anything put on the plate must be eaten.
   f. Another male said that if it doesn’t happen often he will avoid addressing the issue as cooking is as sensitive for women as driving skills are for men.

**Task 3** Now sort these statements into categories. Do you see some patterns?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>use adj. with a positive connotation</th>
<th>say what you think</th>
<th>avoid talking about it, follow the usual routine as if nothing happened</th>
<th>ask a relevant/related question</th>
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</table>

**Task 4** Now for each situation try to evaluate what is the:

a) social/psychological distance between the speaker and you - Close or Distant?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation 1</th>
<th>Situation 2</th>
<th>Situation 3</th>
<th>Situation 4</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C-----------D</td>
<td>C-----------D</td>
<td>C-----------D</td>
<td>C-----------D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) consequentiality – is it Low or High?
c) The relative social status of the speakers (e.g. age, gender, role in a dialogue, etc.) - is it Low or High?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation 1</th>
<th>Situation 2</th>
<th>Situation 3</th>
<th>Situation 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L------------H</td>
<td>L------------H</td>
<td>L------------H</td>
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One way to be tactful and avoid being too direct with people of higher status or who are not very close to you is by using a negative (e.g. “not”) along with adjectives with positive connotations (positive adjectives) as in:

“The hotel was not very clean!” instead of “The hotel was dirty!”

**Not + very + positive adjective**

**Task 5** In pairs, think of five adjectives that you do not want other people to use about yourself or something that you have or say – e.g. boring, stupid etc.

1. _________  
2. _________

3. _________  
4. _________

5. _________

Share them with the other students in class. Choose three adjectives and add nouns to them to make commonly used phrases – e.g. a stupid question.
1. 

2. 

3. 

Now think of three adjectives with the opposite meaning of the ones you chose above (e.g. stupid – smart) and rewrite the phrases above. Then write sentences with new phrases. Keep the idea as it was expressed in the initial phrase, but using the knowledge you gained try to modify them so that they do not sound so direct and offending – e.g. That was a stupid idea/ That was not a very smart idea.

1. 

2. 

3. 
Students’ and teachers’ preferences in using different approaches and strategies in vocabulary teaching and learning

Seven Reshadova*

Abstract: Language teaching methodology has evolved over the years. The priorities in teaching English as a foreign language have changed and teaching vocabulary has gained importance as a result of a long process of research and experimentation. The article presents the results of two surveys conducted with the students of a control and an intervention class about their experience with different strategies used for learning new vocabulary. These results are mapped against the findings of a questionnaire among the teachers of the same school about the methods, strategies and, techniques and personal experience in teaching new vocabulary.

Key words: vocabulary, teaching, learning, strategies, preferences

Introduction and background

Second language education has changed immensely to meet the needs of modern society. People have become more mobile, and as a result have come into contact with foreign languages in their every-day life, which means that foreign language skills are a ‘must’ today. Therefore it is necessary to research and describe the most efficient ways to help students reach a certain level of second language proficiency, which will allow them to function successfully in a multi-lingual society.

Modern methodologies of teaching English as a foreign language offer an incredible array of approaches, strategies and techniques to teach vocabulary. The complexity of the possible ways to introduce new vocabulary and the importance of doing it well is often neglected and underestimated in foreign language teaching. Letting students struggle on their own with learning vocabulary is not an option in the modern classroom today, where the role of the teacher is becoming more active in the teaching/learning process. Working with the four language skills, teaching new lexis through a variety of strategies and techniques helps students encounter these lexical items repeatedly and offers them opportunities to understand the depths of the word knowledge, to explore and acquire the lexis of the language.

Intentional vocabulary teaching is of crucial importance for the effective language learning, but it was ignored for centuries in favor of grammar and syntax.

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Having in mind that teachers usually teach relying on their own experience, it becomes easy to understand why it took so long to change the attitude towards vocabulary teaching. Opinions differ on the need for deliberate vocabulary teaching from ‘there is no need to teach vocabulary directly’, to ‘the teacher has to offer different vocabulary activities and teach new words directly’. The change, that led vocabulary teaching to the position it has today, was not abrupt and revolutionary; it was a result of a long process, in which different modern methods have managed to change different aspects of traditional language teaching. Even when the focus fell on teaching words and their meaning, it took a long time to find the best ways to do that.

Nation (2008) suggests initial vocabulary teaching by using direct methods and strategies, and later changing the approach to more incidental and indirect teaching of vocabulary, thus allowing language learners to become more independent in their learning. The next thing to do is to teach students strategies and techniques to help them learn vocabulary on their own. A research among three hundred Sudanese learners suggests that the better learners apply and rely on different learning strategies and techniques (Coady, Huckin 1998).

Henricksen (1999) speaks of three dimensions in word knowledge. The basic level to be mastered at the first exposure to the vocabulary item is the word form (spelling) and its core meaning. Later exposures to the same word reveal more facets of its meaning, usage and derivations. Learning different aspects of lexis, such as frequency, collocation, register, case relations, underlying forms of a word, etc., is the second dimension in knowing a word. The third dimension is mastering receptive and productive vocabulary. The general opinion is that receptive vocabulary is acquired first and the productive afterwards, and that the first is always larger than the latter (Henricksen 1999 qtd. in Schmitt 2007). The goal of vocabulary study is to turn the receptive (passive) vocabulary into productive (active) vocabulary. Melka argues that ”knowing a word is not an all-or-nothing proposition; some aspects may have become productive, while others remain at the receptive level” (Melka in Scmitt, McCarthy 2001:87). In terms of usage and retrieval, Nation (2002 qtd.) differentiates between receptive retrieval of vocabulary, when the form is perceived and the meaning has to be retrieved, and productive retrieval, when one wishes to communicate the meaning of the word and has to retrieve is spoken and written form.

Once the decision what vocabulary to be taught is made, the teacher should decide which approaches and techniques will be used to achieve the desired goals. The approaches can be direct or indirect depending to the way students get the knowledge about the words, and vary according to the emphasis they give to the context, instructions or classroom activities. As they complement each other, it is not necessary to choose one approach over the other ones, but rather to choose which approach is most suitable for the particular group of students and their level of language proficiency. Whereas the approaches are
more general, the real tools the teacher works with in teaching vocabulary are strategies and techniques.

Data analysis and discussion

The article presents the results of two surveys conducted with the students of a control and an intervention class about their experience with different strategies used for learning new vocabulary. These results are mapped against the findings of a questionnaire among the teachers of the same school about the methods, strategies and, techniques and personal experience in teaching new vocabulary. The two 10th grade classes that took part in the survey are students from a Hauptschule – a secondary school in Germany, who study English twice a week. All of the students speak German as a first language but some of them have a second native language as well. The Control Class (Class A) consists of sixteen students, fourteen of whom are bilingual. This is a mixed group of students with diverse cultural backgrounds, which makes the work with them very interesting and productive. These young learners have affinity for English language learning, and their natural curiosity turns them into diligent learners. They monitor each other, correct each other’s mistakes, and are always eager to learn more. All of them are used to intensive and extensive reading and independent work, each student has his or her own Oxford dictionary and often uses it to study words’ meaning. In the lessons they are taught the target vocabulary and the teachers use Community Language Teaching as a method. The goals of this method are to motivate students to use effectively the language in communication and learn it while participating in dialogues and discussions. This is an experience-based method for which pair and group work is essential: something very suitable for the class, as the students get along very well with one another and have fun experimenting, and applying new methods in their work. These learners were chosen because they have already acquired some experience in using different strategies for learning vocabulary, which is relevant to the study. The teachers who answered the questionnaire have taught in all grades between 5th and 10th.

Students’ preferences

No matter what advantages and disadvantages different methods and strategies have, learners are the main factor in this process and they choose strategies that will facilitate their vocabulary knowledge acquisition. Each group of students is a different constellation of learners with a variety of preferences, abilities and level of word knowledge. Certainly there is an immense difference in teaching new words to a group that is motivated to learn English and to a group, which has to be motivated first. Sometimes a diversity of strategies is what keeps the students’ interest high and makes the lesson productive, so different technical
devices that help to present and practise vocabulary should be consistently used in the lesson. Sometimes achieving the results is satisfying enough, but if teachers try always to optimize the teaching process, the preferences, experience and personal affinities of the students towards different methods, strategies and techniques in teaching new words must be taken into consideration.

Before answering the questions in the survey, the learners in both classes did a reading comprehension task based on four articles, – interviews with different celebrities about what foreign languages they speak, a story about how a polyglot has learned seven languages, experts’ opinions on how new words can be best learned. One part of the reading comprehension task is a questionnaire about their personal experience in learning new words. The reason why I decided to incorporate the questionnaire within the reading comprehension instead of giving it directly was the attempt to encourage the students first to think about the different strategies and techniques for learning new vocabulary, to confront them with the different aspects of the topic, to introduce some vocabulary related to this topic and then ask about their personal experience. The questionnaire consists of three parts: open questions, a list of eleven strategies, which the students have to rate according on their personal experience on the efficiency of each strategy and a question about their personal opinion about the best strategy to learn new words. The students had to rate eleven popular aids, which represent different strategies for introducing and teaching new vocabulary. The students had to rate the efficiency of these aids with useless–sufficient–satisfactory–useful and very useful, with the corresponding points. To evaluate the results it was enough to count the points that each aid got: useless – 0 points, sufficient – 1 point, satisfactory – 2 points, useful – 3 points and very useful – 4 points. The results helped to create the diagram, that shows to what extent different aids are appreciated as efficient by the students.

![Fig. 1. Aids to teach new vocabulary](image-url)
The graph in Figure 1 shows that “Films” got the highest result for an aid to teach new words. A closer look at the answers shows that “Watching English Films” is described as the best strategy to learn new words by all 16 students, who answered the questionnaire. There are several important aspects that make this meta-cognitive strategy so useful according to the learners:

- Language plays a crucial role in understanding the sound and visual information that the film presents. The listening comprehension is supported by realia, actions, movements, mimes and gestures which makes the understanding of the language easier and guessing new words more successful.

- The subtitles facilitate comprehension when vocabulary knowledge turns out to be insufficient or listening comprehension skills fail. Both types of subtitles are described in the answers with their advantages: subtitles in English support the learners if they haven’t heard the word right; subtitles in German are evaluated as more informative.

- The dialogues and plot of the film demonstrate the correct use of old and new words: correct/native speaker pronunciation, word choice according to the situation (difference between word choice in conversation between friends and formal conversation, for example, at work, with the boss, etc.), demonstration of certain grammar structures the words are part of (collocations, lexical chunks, etc.)

- Some students write that watching the same film several times facilitates their understanding of the language and the plot, and the repetition of the parts they have already understood helps learning the new words they contain.

- Watching English films is also pointed out as very productive for improving the listening skills in general.

- That Film Watching is fun is also given as an important factor. Students appreciate if a strategy can evoke and keep their interest and qualify it as motivating, – something teachers should always bear in mind.

The second best strategy according to the students’ rating is the “Word Lists”. There are two types of lists with new words: the ones made by the students in their notebooks and the ones in their textbooks.

- Students find it useful to write bilingual lists in their vocabulary notebooks – so they know what vocabulary to learn and review for the vocabulary tests later.
Other students prefer to learn from their Cornelsen text books in English, which include an appendix with a list of the unknown words from each unit, listed in the order of appearance, sometimes with additional pictures that support understanding the words, some information on the grammatical features that are important and an example sentence that demonstrates the word use.

The answers to the question whether they keep or not their own vocabulary notebooks provide more detailed information: 61% of the learners have admitted to having a personal vocabulary notebook, 53% of them state they use it actively and only 8% wrote they use it only now and then and not always write the new words in. A large number of the learners – 39% admit they don’t have a vocabulary notebook this year.

Most surprising are perhaps the answers to the question whether the learners think that keeping vocabulary notebook helps in learning new words: 83% answered positively. Some of the learners write that they find it useful having vocabulary notebook to keep record of the new words, but they don’t think it is necessary at this stage of their education - apparently they rely on the vocabulary in their text books in English and find it sufficient enough.

With the impressive rating of 83 points “Songs” took the third place. Learning English songs is a meta-cognitive device, which has proven its efficiency among the learners, and it is interesting to find out indeed that learners don’t mind learning songs in the class. Moreover, they listen to songs on their own at home to broaden their vocabulary knowledge.

They use the help of online dictionaries or dictionary books to determine the meaning of the unknown words.
• The learning of the new words results from the repeated listening of the songs.

Close behind, with 82 points, is the technique of using “Vocabulary cards”, on the fourth place. The students point out several features as an advantage:

• The easy access is described as its strongest advantage: students like having the cards always accessible in their school bags, so they can learn from them any time: on the way home or to school, in buses, while waiting in queues, etc.

• Most of the students write about bilingual cards: English word on the one side, the translation into German on the other side. Only few of them wrote about including example sentences.

• Some students write about learning together in groups using the cards. It is interesting how the learners in their attempt to become more successful in their learning, turn intuitively a simple memory strategy into a social one (learning new words together in a group) and by doing so increase its usefulness.

The fifth place takes “Pictures” with 75 points. The way Cornelsen Publishing designs their textbooks increases the role of pictures as a useful medium to learn/teach new words. The books are full of photos and drawings giving visual information about text content, and the vocabulary list includes pictures and drawings that help understanding word meaning and word retention. Teachers also use pictures while introducing new words (conclusion based on the observation done in both classes). The questionnaire doesn’t include more information about the reasons and aspects why this strategy is so popular among the learners.

The strategy of using “Semantic maps” to learn new words is on the sixth place with 68 points. Judging by the semantic maps that the learners have done in their papers during the lesson “A Bad Dream” one can come to the conclusion that they have experience and enjoy creating them. Lots of old vocabulary on the topic was included right away, new words were written down along with the German translation, and some of the students have even made drawings showing the meaning of the new words as a part of the semantic map.

• The biggest advantage of learning through semantic maps is the combining of old words with new ones.

• The creation of the maps is seen as a brainstorming exercise to try to include as many words on the topic as the learners can.

• Doing semantic maps within a work group in class is pointed out as an interesting and entertaining way to make useful semantic
Students’ and teachers’ preferences in using...  

Using “Realia” to learn new words received 67 points from the students. One of them described this strategy as his favorite one; and his advice was “Label everything in your room!” Apparently the learners have gained positive experience with this strategy.

Closely rated are “Cartoons” with 66 points. 23% of the students write about cartoons and comics as one of their favorite strategy to learn new words. “Important: find the methods that are fun for you; it’s motivating you” wrote one of the learners. The Specificity of this strategy is that it is more popular among the boys than the girls. “Family Guy” is given as an example for favorite cartoon.

- Reading comics and watching cartoons is described as fun and a very useful strategy.
- Each cartoon or comic has its typical vocabulary which is easily remembered by watching it.

TPR has 58 points, and is ninth in the rating list. None of the students described it as a favorite strategy, so the answers don’t contain any information about how students apply it and exactly which aspects of the strategy they find useful. Same is the situation with “Charts and Diagrams” that got 39 points, and the strategy of using “Posters” little surprisingly on the last place with only 28 points.

Something not included in the list was described as a favorite strategy by 34% of the learners: “Playing Video games”. Important features of this strategy that learners find useful are:

- Character descriptions in English, which help learning different high frequency words that these descriptions include.
- Opportunity to repeat what they hear in the game: as an exercise to learn correct pronunciation of old and new words and as a device to learn new words through oral repetition.
- The online chat with native speakers was described as one of the most exciting aspects of using video games for learning English. Playing on an English server means meeting native speakers in the game chat.
- Voice chat was also described as an aspect that helps learning new words. Some learners describe that there is a great potential in learning English through speaking with native speakers, but it also demands some courage, because people are mostly shy and unsecure of their ability to understand native speakers.
It was surprising to see how playing video games can be turned from a leisure activity into a successfully applied social strategy for learning new English words. Using the topic as a medium for conversation with native speakers and thus creating an interactive environment encourages the use of newly learned words and phrases and helps the retention of their meaning over time.

Another way to learn new vocabulary described by the learners is “Watching YouTube videos”.

- Watch plenty of videos on one topic: a strategy similar to narrow reading, where the learners read different texts on the same topic over a period of time in order to learn the vocabulary typical for this topic.
- The opportunity to watch every video until the learner understands each word in it, takes away the tension, that something can be missed and the meaning can be misunderstood.
- Watching YouTube videos is described as facilitating listening skills: understanding becomes easier with the time.
- Vocabulary knowledge on the topic increases.
- Learners say they pay attention to the way sentences are build, not only the words they include. (collocations and lexical chunks are learned this way)

Another aspect of learning new words that was assessed through the questionnaire was whether students use oral and written repetition and to what extent. 53% of them say they use both types. Descriptions of the process are mostly following the same pattern, a new word is written down five times and every time is repeated aloud. Oral repetition is also used in the work with vocabulary notebooks – students read and repeat aloud the words they want to learn or have forgotten.

![Fig. 3. Use of oral and written repetition](image-url)
We can see that these memory strategies of mechanical repetition are still something students rely on, along with the more modern ones, which were already described.

**Teachers’ preferences**

The methods and strategies teachers use in teaching new vocabulary can facilitate or restrain students’ learning skills and play significant role when learners model their learning style. Analysis of a questionnaire among ten teachers in English, with different years of experience (between 4 and 15) in teaching students of all grades from fifth and tenth, aims to picture the principles they follow in their work with the learners. The questionnaire includes nine yes/no questions and two open questions. All of the questions concern different strategies and techniques to introduce and teach new words. The teachers were supposed to answer if they use or not particular teaching devices and also to rate each strategy according to the efficiency it has had with their students giving points from one to five, where one means it is useful for few students and five – it is useful for all of their students.

The first impression from the questionnaire is that teachers apply different devices, even those they didn’t rate as efficient for all of the students. Apparently they don’t just aim high efficiency with the class as a whole but apply different strategies and methods to introduce and teach new words giving learners the opportunity to model their learning style or just try something different.

Teachers were asked about their opinion on the usefulness of having vocabulary notebook to keep track of new words. All of them answered positively to the question whether the learners have vocabulary notebooks and whether it is useful for them to write down the new words that are introduced in class. The efficiency of keeping track of the newly learned words this way is appreciated as better than using the vocabulary in the textbooks.

70% of the teachers find the mechanical strategies such as oral or written repetition useful for over 90% of the students. This corresponds to the results from the questionnaire with the students where they describe the traditional way to learn a new word by writing it several times, reading it aloud and putting it down in the vocabulary notebook for later revision as the way they use for learning the new words at home. 30% of the teachers don’t think a mechanical memory strategy as repetition (oral or written) is very useful for word retention.
For the evaluation of the results I used the same instrument, simply summing up the points which teachers gave each strategy for its efficiency.

- “Gestures, mimes and body language” got the impressive score of 48 points, proving to be popular, efficient and an inseparable part of the process of introducing new words.

- The strategy “Songs” got a reasonably high score of 37 points for its efficiency. The students have also scored this strategy high. “Songs” share the second place with “Pictures and Photos”. Having in mind what opportunities this device offers and that the textbooks include plenty of pictures and photos it is no surprise that this strategy is so highly rated.

- Some of the teachers have evaluated semantic maps with the highest score, others gave them only few points, so the overall rating is 27 points, which puts it in a third place. As this strategy would only be useful in the classes where students have more advanced word knowledge, this might be the reason why it is not considered equally useful to all students. According to my observations, students have fun making semantic maps; they try to create them individually, use additional techniques such as drawings, combining words in pairs of antonyms or synonyms, classifying them, etc. Creating semantic maps is a device that not all teachers value enough but which is, on the contrary, highly appreciated by students. The question whether students
use semantic maps as a learning device, half of the teachers answered with “no”. It can be seen as a missed opportunity to increase the efficiency of introducing new words in a way preferred by the learners.

- Realiia, which got 17 points, is a strategy used by half of the teachers. It is followed by TPR (13 point) which is also not very popular among the teachers. Overhead projector got the same amount of 13 points. The school offers use of overhead projector in every class room, so apparently it is not a choice resulting from the lack of technical support.

- Most surprisingly a strategy which was highly rated by the students got very few points from the teachers: “Cartoons and Comics” share the same result of eight points with “Charts and Diagrams”. As far as “Charts and Diagrams” are concerned, they are not preferred by students as well.

- As well as by the students, the teachers evaluated “Posters” as the least useful strategy. It got the last place in the rating list with only 8 points.

It is important to point out that if teachers don’t introduce a particular strategy, students won’t have the opportunity to test its efficiency. Strategies like using posters, charts and diagrams, TPR and realia are not very popular among teachers and students. The question is whether students ignore some strategies because the teachers didn’t teach them how to use them, or whether the teachers avoid these strategies because they know these will not prove as useful. Further research can give answers to these questions.

There are different questions concerning the sources that serve as a medium for introducing new words. Authentic materials such as articles and advertisements from magazines or newspapers are used by only 30 % of the teachers and they give them maximum points for efficiency. Only half of the teachers find it useful to tell a personal story or an anecdote while introducing or teaching vocabulary. The ones that used this strategy rated it as a very useful one. Only few teachers use texts on topics, interesting for the students and they don’t find it useful for all students. Longer working with the same topic in order to give students the opportunity to come across words typical for the topic, is rated as not very efficient. Extensive reading is also not very popular among the teachers, as it requires additional class time for presentations or discussions. On the whole, reading strategies were surprisingly low rated. Communicative strategies such as pair and group work got 46 from the possible 50 points. Teachers find them very useful for practicing and consolidating vocabulary. These strategies have also proven their efficiency in the lesson observation, where the students in the
communicative lesson, showed high interest, were motivated and participated actively.

Another important aspect in teaching English vocabulary is the use of German language in the lessons. 20% of the teachers claim that they don’t use it at all, while the other 80% confirm the use of German language and evaluate it as very useful for more than the half of the students. The answers to the question about how students can be motivated best to learn new words, there was a variety of answers: activities that include dialogues, pair work, rhythm talk, stories, use of vocabulary flash cards, vocabulary games, riddles, puzzles, four corners guessing, etc. According to the answers of the questionnaire the teachers use besides the strategies that have proven to be useful and efficient, new strategies as well which they find very efficient. Trying out a new strategy got from four or five points for efficiency from all teachers, which proves how important the variety of methods and strategies in teaching is. Having in mind that in each classroom the teacher has a computer with Internet access and a smart board (interactive white board), it is not surprising that all of the teachers wrote that they use the Internet as a source of texts, videos, songs, etc. in teaching new vocabulary. Both students and teachers benefit from the advantages offered by technical equipment, which makes the lesson informative, dynamic and keeps the students engaged.

Conclusions

Teaching English vocabulary is not only about applying a particular method, approach or strategy, it is a process in which both partners, the teacher and the learner, play an important role. Students’ with their expectations, preferences and knowledge, and teachers with their opinion and experience are the two sides of an interactive and dynamic partnership. The process can be successful only if there is a dialogue between the participants, if the teacher meets the needs of the learners by choosing the best way to introduce new knowledge.

In terms of strategy efficiency, students gave preference to strategies related to extensive vocabulary practice, such as films and songs, on the one hand, and intensive practice by means of word lists and vocabulary cards. The least preferred strategies involved the use of TPR activities (in part due to students’ age) and other visuals, such as charts, diagrams and posters. As for keeping a systematic written record of studied vocabulary, only more than half of the students keep vocabulary books, although 83 percent think that having a vocabulary book helps learning new words. Only about half of all students think that writing the new words a number of times and doing oral drills help them learn better.

Teachers admit to using a variety of strategies, even if they don’t fully believe
in their efficiency. In assessing strategy efficiency they gave preference to using body language, songs, pictures and photos, as well as word lists and semantic maps. The least popular ones were charts, diagrams, posters, and, contrary to students’ preferences – cartoons and comics.

There are parallels between the two questionnaires that allow us to realize how different sometimes the opinions of students and teachers are on how students best learn new words. It is essential to avoid such discrepancies and the solution is to talk about them openly and try to find a solution which suits both learners and teachers. Cartoons and comics for example turned out to be one of the most popular learning devices among students but, on the contrary, teachers don’t have high opinion of the efficiency of this device. Students’ interest makes comics and cartoons efficient as a device, which means that they should be used more in class activities to support the learning process and facilitate word acquisition and retention. While some teachers rate a strategy with maximum points as useful for all students, others don’t apply it at all; it is striking how different and unique the teaching styles can be. Modern views on teaching vocabulary are sometimes combined with more traditional ones. Perhaps there is no right or wrong way of choosing a method or a particular strategy for teaching words; what counts is its efficiency, and it is up to the teacher to understand what students will most benefit from.

Unfortunately, efficient teaching does not necessarily lead to successful learning. It is therefore essential that the teachers endeavor to find the most suitable and efficient devices to teach a particular group of learners. The survey with the teachers showed that their choice of strategies affects and to a certain extent even models students’ learning styles. The question is whether students ignore some strategies because the teachers didn’t teach them how to use them, or whether the teachers avoid these strategies because they know they will not be useful. Further research can give answers to these questions. But the problem is that if teachers avoid using certain strategies, they will be depriving students of potentially valuable ways of learning. Students have become more demanding and critical towards the way knowledge is presented, and they want to participate in the lessons, to experience the language, to see how it functions. Some of the traditional strategies have kept their role in teaching vocabulary supporting a whole range of new strategies and devices. A completely new era of smart boards, internet and media use has changed the educational frames. Modern society offers an open, unrestricted access to a vast variety of English language media: newspapers, magazines, music, films, books, advertising, television and Internet – something which has influenced education immensely, made learners more self-reliant and brought learning English outside the boundaries of the classroom.
References


Idle, stricken, or retired: challenges in understanding media discourse on nuclear power

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Abstract: Being politically, economically, environmentally, and socially significant, the topic of nuclear power enjoys high interest in the media with its complex character. On the one hand, there is nuclear power used for civil purposes which is viewed as one of the most cost-efficient power generation ways, while on the other, there is nuclear power used for military purposes as a weapon of mass destruction. The focus of the paper is on the metaphors used in the presentation of issues associated with nuclear power. The main method of analysis is CDA and the corpus analysed is comprised of articles published in the American The New York Times, the British The Independent and the Bulgarian newspaper Dnevnik over the period of a month, i.e. March 2013. This study adds to current research on metaphors as it compares and contrasts the thinking patterns exhibited by three different cultures through their media discourse.

Key words: media discourse, NPP, metaphors, CDA

‘Well you know boys, a nuclear reactor is a lot like women. You just need to read the manual and press the right button.’ – Homer Simpson

Introduction

Being politically, economically, environmentally, and socially significant, the topic of nuclear power enjoys high interest in the media with its complex character. On the one hand, there is nuclear power used for civil purposes which is viewed as one of the most cost-efficient power generation ways, while on the other, there is nuclear power used for military purposes as a weapon of mass destruction.

At the same time, accidents such as Chernobyl (1986) and Fukushima Daiichi (2011), to mention only two of the most devastating ones, ring the alarm bell not only locally but globally as well. All these nuances, in addition to many others, which each of us as a carrier of specific social experience has, make the topic of nuclear power a very interesting one to analyse especially from a comparative point of view.

The process of globalisation and the uninterrupted flow of information through various channels have led to transformations in the New Capitalism, presented

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by Klein (qtd. in Fairclough 2002: 163) as ‘knowledge- or information-based’ and dependent on new communication technologies and ‘the associated salience of representations and images in the media’ (op. cit.: 164). These transformations have resulted in a change in the nature of the global/ local dialectic (ibid.) and a big part of it is due to the role played by the media. People are instantly informed about all new developments happening worldwide as well as about all problems, failures or major crises. Based on their experience, as well as on the information they receive from the media, people are able to create, adapt or shift their perceptions and conceptualisations of a problem and appropriate what is new or different.

In this respect the media continue to reflect and at the same time influence and create versions of reality (see Fowler 1991; Cottle 2000). Research on the topic of the role of the media in the presentation of nuclear power issues only confirms that fact. Perko et al. (2011: 22) quoting Gamson and Modigliani, state that

political and public salience of issues is partly driven by the media coverage of these issues. When the media increase their attention to a given issue, the political elites jump on the bandwagon as well, by stating their opinion, asking parliamentary questions about the issue, tabling law proposals, or issuing executive orders.

Allan et. al (2000: 5) add that ‘public awareness and concern for environmental issues correlates with the relative amount of coverage being generated by the news organisations’. Beck (2001: 33) also acknowledges the important role of the media positioning them as:

a powerful lens that can publicly illuminate ‘the unseen side-effects of industrial production’ and help turn these into ‘global ecological flashpoints’; and, in so far as these are not amenable to calculation and control, so the media spotlight contributes to the erosion of the very basis and legitimacy of the system itself. (qtd. in Cottle 2006: 123)

One of the powerful tools in the media frequently employed to convey even the slightest nuances of a topic are metaphors. Through their ability to conceptualise abstract phenomena with the help of more specific and down-to-earth ones, metaphors can also create images and impressions of and attitudes to the matters discussed because, as stated by Gibbs (2008: 3), ‘[m]etaphor is not simply an ornamental aspect of language, but a fundamental scheme by which people conceptualize the world and their own activities.’ At the same time, metaphors are ideological ‘as they define in significant part what one takes as reality’ (Hart 2008: 91) and they can ‘contribute to a situation where they privilege one understanding of reality over others’ (ibid.).

Another important feature of metaphors, which is also relevant for the study at hand, is the fact that they are based on experience and as we all share the common experience of being human, metaphors present similar cognitive patterns (Lakoff 1987: xii; Kovecses 2005: 6). Still, these similar perceptions
are common only at the basic level or as presented by the so-called ‘primary metaphors’. However, as explained further by Lakoff (2008) cultural specificities combined with these basic or primary metaphors ‘give rise to different metaphor systems’ (op. cit.: 26) which are culture specific and unique.

At the same time, following Fauconnier and Turner (2008: 53-54) the fact that ‘conceptual products are never the result of a single mapping’ and could be renewed or improved using new mappings fostered by new experiences which could be individual or group based should not be neglected. And, in order to make the dependency circle complete, Sharifian (2011) says that ‘[a]ttempts made to linguistically explicate conceptualisations may at best approximate our conceptual experiences but may never capture them in totality’ (op. cit.: 10) and later on that ‘[d]ifferent levels and units of language such as speech acts, idioms, metaphors, discourse markers, etc. may somehow instantiate aspects of [...] cultural conceptualisations’ (op. cit.: 12). Based on all this, it could be concluded that metaphors employed by the media discourses of the USA, the UK, and Bulgaria would reflect both general as well as some culture specific nuances of the way people in the three countries perceive the problem of nuclear power plants. At the same time, the influence which globalisation might have had on the similarity of expressions in these linguistic devices should not be neglected.

By analysing the metaphors employed for the presentation of the topic of nuclear power plants, the study adds more insights to current research on the topic of metaphors as it compares and contrasts the thinking patterns exhibited by three different cultures through their media discourse.

**Corpus and methods of analysis**

The corpus of articles for this study is comprised of publications which appeared in the electronic versions of the American *The New York Times*, the British *The Independent* and the Bulgarian newspaper *Dnevnik*.

The reason to choose these three newspapers in particular was first, the fact that they are all considered serious press, and second, the fact that they enjoy high readership and have the reputation of trustworthy sources of information.

The study was conducted in 2013 with a special focus on the publications in

* The abbreviations of the newspapers used hereafter are as follows: *The New York Times* (NYT), *The Independent* (In) and *Dnevnik* (Dn). In addition, each analysed newspaper article is marked with a number of appearance in square brackets preceding the example and abbreviation of the newspaper followed by the date of publication in regular brackets after the example. The Bulgarian examples feature a prim after the square brackets, e.g. [4’] to signify that the example is translated from Bulgarian into English by the author of the study. Headlines of articles are marked by /h/.
March as March 11th marked the second anniversary of the accident in Fukushima and the analysis could help assess the influence of that event on international publications.

The total number of articles analysed is 700 (56 – New York Times, 135 – Independent, 509 – Dnevnik) of which 67 articles were published in March (4 – NYT, 23 – In, 40 – Dn).

The main method of analysis applied is CDA as it is viewed as ‘a democratic approach which is highly influenced by the context and takes ethic stance on social issues with the aim of improvement of society’ (Huckin 1997: 78). CDA was also chosen because it is an integrated approach and applies different levels of analysis: ‘the text, the discursive practices, which create it and the more general social context’ (see Fairclough 1995; Huckin 1997: 78; Todorova 2015).

Analysis & Discussion

As stated in the introduction, metaphors are a prolific device used in the media as they present information in a more interesting way. At the same time they could be both universal at a more generic level while culture specific at a more specific level. Metaphors on nuclear power plants, or on nuclear power for civil purposes, have not received significant attention by scholars especially from a comparative point of view. Still, some of the available research on metaphors in relation to the topic of nuclear power is referred to in this section.

A general metaphor viewed by Amory Lovins quoted by Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 157ff) regards the ways energy is obtained. As Lakoff and Johnson show there are two possible ways: a hard and a soft one and nuclear power plants are subsumed under the former:

The HARD ENERGY PATH uses energy supplies that are inflexible, nonrenewable, needing military defense and geopolitical control, irreversibly destructive of the environment, and requiring high capital investment, high technology, and highly skilled workers (ibid.)

It should be borne in mind that the context Lovins uses is military, therefore it is to be expected that the analysis of articles on nuclear power plants which are meant for civil use would not encounter exhibitions of this type of metaphor, a fact which is actually supported by the analysis of the corpus material. Still, these understandings of the nuclear issue are encountered in the debates pro- and against nuclear power in general, and the development of new nuclear power plants in particular.

Another metaphor which is analysed in relation to nuclear debate is the metaphor of the Machine.

A well designed machine is a beautiful thing: faithful, reliable, and obedient,
performing difficult tasks without complaint. It is ethically neutral and free of emotions. Although it embodies a high degree of intelligent planning, it does not require extraordinary intelligence to use a machine for good or for ill. The machine will not balk; it will do as it is directed to do. (Edwards 1978)

He states that the input-output relationships which govern the machine are applicable for our understanding of a nuclear power station: the input is connected with raw materials while the output – with energy as well as with nuclear waste. The latter is not reusable and not subject to any natural processes which could make it less harmful thus making it ‘the ultimate waste product’.

Nuclear power plants are buildings and as such it is to be expected that the metaphors used will involve Lakoff’s (2001) concept of a building as a person. As he states ‘We see features – eyes, nose, and mouth – in their windows’. Homer Simpson’s words quoted at the beginning of this paper confirm the existence of this concept in terms of power plants as well. De Clarke (1983) provides further clarification of that metaphor as both women and nuclear power plants are meant to please men and ‘generate more male power’. Caputi (1991) views the same metaphor from a feminist point of view but her analysis will not be dealt with here as it is not relevant to the current study. What is relevant for the analysis at hand, however, is the association between a plant and a person.

In a modified and more generalised version, the metaphor most frequently employed by the analysed newspapers could be formulated as Nuclear Plants are Living Organisms. Thus, when plants are presented as humans, they have their own life cycle: they age, they grow old, and they retire or are retired:

[1] Output from the two has sometimes forced the Columbia Generating Station in Washington State, the region’s only surviving nuclear reactor, to cut back its production. […] Adding to the clean energy industry’s cannibal behavior, wind farms are being built in places where there is lots of wind but not much demand for power, some experts argue. […] Exelon, he said, is “seeing this tipping point developing” when several of its zero-carbon reactors may have to be retired because wind power is suppressing those prices around the clock, and at some hours producers must pay the grid operator if they put energy on the grid (NYT/ 27.12.13).

In this example a nuclear reactor is presented as surviving and the association comes from the field of endurance, stamina, and skill, all qualities necessary in a hostile environment exemplified by the strife sustainable energy, in this case – wind energy. The preference shown to renewable energy is expressed through yet another metaphor which presents a wind farm as a vicious human exhibiting cannibal behavior and being an oppressor.

The example makes a very visual representation of the clash between the different types of energy. At the same time, in addition to being human, wind energy is presented as a bird and the concept of a suitable place or conditions proper for its birth (though artificial ones) is presented through an incubator.
Using the same domain, the industry itself is presented as a ‘chicken’. Here we see instances of the general metaphor Creation is Birth as proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 76) which in this case is more like hatching.

Still more interesting, later on the bird actually acquires the features of a human child and a grown up individual in one and the same example:

[2] [wind energy] Mr. Nickles, who was a senator when the first production tax credit was passed, said that it was meant to be an incubator for a fledgling industry. Now, he said, “This child is ready to go to college.” [NPP] “With 20 years and 60,000 megawatts in the ground, this is a mature industry,” David C. Brown, an Exelon lobbyist, said of the industry. “It’s time we declare victory and celebrate our success.” (NYT/ 23.12.13).

Although the last example does not fall into the specific subject area of study, it does comprise the broader topic of energy generation and the power generating industry. The comparison provides interesting thinking patterns which show some nuances in the perception of two of the methods of power generation. Looking at the examples from the corpus of the study, there are further exhibitions of the metaphor Power Plants are Living Organisms applied to nuclear power plants:

[3] Hinkley Point: Britain’s second nuclear age given green light as planning permission is approved for first of new generation atomic power stations /h/ […] The Energy Secretary, Ed Davey, gave the go-ahead to build a new plant at Hinkley Point in Somerset to the French energy giant EDF, which already runs eight of Britain’s first generation nuclear power plants, now rapidly ageing. (In/ 19.03.13); [4`] Selected lies in the repertoire of the theatrical performance New Nuclear Power Station /h/ Both Mr. Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and Mr. Stanishev (who plays the hen and who the cock is irrelevant) laid a big addle egg. Now they are cackling that the addle egg is a golden one and are trying to make us try to hatch it. (Dn/ 16.03.13).

The idea of birth and development is hinted additionally through the use of the lexeme generation, also suggestive of the fact that nuclear plants could reproduce and improve within their kind. Bulgarian media discourse offers an example, i.e. [4`], where a nuclear power station is presented as an addle egg which has been laid by the two PMs (also presented with units from the lexico-thematic field of a hencoop) and which it is up to the population to hatch. As could be seen the idea of a hencoop is developed through nouns (addle egg, golden egg, hen, cock) and through verbs (lay, cackle, hatch) as well. There is also an intertextual reference to the fairy tale about the hen with the golden eggs, where the eggs were of gold and quite expensive. The truth, however, is that the egg in this case is rather an addle than a golden one, therefore implying the negativism of the journalist toward the project for the development of a new nuclear power station in Belene proposed by two different Bulgarian Prime Ministers of two different governments – that of the National Movement Simeon the Second led by the then PM Simeon Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (there were debates around NPP Belene in 2004) and that of the Socialist government led by Sergey Stanishev (he re-
opened the project in 2008). The implicit suggestion is that rather than being something valuable and quite expensive, the project is rotten and it stinks (both literally referring to an addle egg, but also figuratively used for a project whose character is quite dubious), therefore such an endeavor is good for nothing.

Similar is the idea behind another example from the Bulgarian media which also employs the Living Organism metaphor, however, in this case, the plant is presented as a horse. The focus is on the games politicians play and the hidden agendas they follow:

[5] Belene – the Trojan horse of Moscow? /h/ […] The development of NPP Belene could happen only at the expense of the Bulgarian tax payers – the reason for that is quite simple: no private investor would let him/herself in the construction of an electrical plant whose production could be sold either on the Bulgarian or on the international market. A very convincing proof of that is the suspension of part of the generating capacities of NPP Kozloduy – a result of the dramatic drop in consumption and the lack of external markets (Dn/ 09.06.13)

What articles of this type do, is show the inconsistency in the development of a new power station: due to the lack of market for its energy and the need for substantial investments. The intertextual reference to The Aeneid by Virgil or Odyssey by Homer is suggestive of the policy followed by the Bulgarian Socialist Party who is openly pro-development of a new nuclear plant and its ‘servitude’ to Russia. The comparison is also quite obvious: it is suggested that Russia wants to undermine Bulgarian economic stability by involving the country into a project which would cost a lot and would not be used.

Example [4’] is also telling of another metaphor used in the presentation of the topic of nuclear power plants – the metaphor of Theatre. Probably influenced by the metaphor Politics is a Theatre, the debatable issue about the establishment of a new power plant is presented as a play in which the main characters are political figures. The idea once again is that it is politicians who pull the strings; they are the ones to make the final decisions. The latter is non-metaphorically stated in The Independent and in The New York Times:

[6] the sole conclusion is that politics, not concerns over the environment or energy, will decide whether or not £14bn will be spent at Hinkley Point” (In/ 21.03.13); [7] This is about whether we want a nuclear industry or don’t we. That is the question. Only the politicians can decide (NYT/ 15.03.13).

Continuing on the trend of personifying nuclear energy, there are examples in which nuclear energy is metaphorically presented as the nursing milk necessary for a country to grow. This idea is presented mainly in articles on Germany’s decision to close most of their nuclear reactors. The metaphor is linguistically activated through the use of the verb wean: [8] ‘The new government has pledged to focus on weaning the country from nuclear power’ (NYT/ 17.12.13); [9] ‘She [Angela Merkel] is trying to wean her country from nuclear power’
(NYT/ 15.12.13). In this case the country, Germany, is actually the child who needs to grow up and enter the next stage of development and in order to do that the child has to be weaned from the mother’s milk and given more nourishing food.

Nuclear plants are also presented as *idle*:

[10] A Nebraska nuclear plant that has been idle for nearly three years because of flooding and a series of safety concerns has been cleared to begin operations again (NYT/ 17.12.13); [11] The new target, however, is based on Japan’s never turning on any of its scores of idled plants, despite the government’s continued push to bring many of them back online (NYT/ 15.11.13)

At the same time, the last example uses another metaphor, mentioned above: Nuclear plant as a Machine. In this case media discourse has resorted to the domain of computer science and has used an idiom from that field to describe the process of reactivating nuclear plants.

Plants are also presented as susceptible to illnesses (including mental ones) or body injuries:

[12] Removing Fuel Rods Poses New Risks at Crippled Nuclear Plant in Japan /h/ […] (NYT/ 10.11.13); [13] Duke Energy is weighing the issue of how to replace the power generated by its troubled Crystal River nuclear plant in Florida […] ailing plants like Crystal River are less likely to survive than they once were, one analyst suggested on Wednesday (NYT/ 06.02.13); [14] This year, utilities have announced the retirement of four reactors, bringing the number remaining in the United States to 100. (NYT/ 14.06.13); [15] The nuclear industry is wrestling with that question as it tries to determine whether problems at reactors, all designed in the 1960s and 1970s, are middle-aged aches and pains or end-of-life crises (NYT/ 14.06.13); [16] […] a rare tour through the radioactive carcass of the Daiichi nuclear plant […] But the cleanup, two years after the plant was pummeled by a huge earthquake and tsunami, is plagued by a buildup of irradiated water […] (In/ 06.03.13); [17] They displayed a bravery few can comprehend, yet very little is known about the men who stayed behind to save Japan’s stricken nuclear plant. […] an earthquake and tsunami crippled the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear plant on 11 March 2011 […] (In/ 02.03.13).

As could be seen from the examples, plants experience pain, sufferings, and could be affected even by plague, which in itself is suggestive of the ultimate phase of one’s life – death. Following this general line of thought nuclear plants also die and what is left is their carcasses as in [16] above.

The idea of death is communicated explicitly through the use of participles such as stricken in [17] above, as well as through noun phrases used in other examples from the corpus, like: [18] nearing the end of their lives (NYT/ 11.11.13); verb phrases like: phase out, gerunds: phasing-out (In/ 16.09.13); expressions: [19] nuclear energy has been de facto dead for decades, now it is also getting de jure dead, with its outlawing in Germany and (even in the best case) severe curtailing in Japan. (NYT/ 03.11.13) or [20'] Rosatom does not put a cross over
NPP Belene /h/ (Dn/ 28.02.13).

Consistent with the metaphor presenting renewable energy as a child, energy sources could also be adopted: [21] The graph above charts the contributions played by improved efficiency and adoption of renewable electricity sources as well as hydrogen fuel cells (with the hydrogen generated with renewable energy) (NYT/ 12.03.13). And a nuclear plant, being human and having human needs could also be our neighbour: [22] Californians Consider a Future Without a Nuclear Plant for a Neighbor /h/ (NYT/ 25.07.13).

Another noun phrase used to refer to the French company EDF who is in charge of the development of the newest nuclear plant in the UK, is an energy giant referring to its prominence, competence and status. That same phrase is frequently used in Bulgaria as well in reference to big companies in the field; however, such uses have not been allocated in the corpus.

The analysed Bulgarian newspaper is quite conservative in the use of metaphors in its presentation of nuclear power plants. In the Bulgarian psyche nuclear plants could be rehabilitated (meaning that they have been ill): [23’] That’s why the most practical and cheapest way for the development of nuclear power in Bulgaria is the successful rehabilitation of reactor 5 and 6 of NPP Kozloduy (Dn/ 28.11.13); [24’] TPP AEC – Galabovo, TPP Contour Global and TPP Maritsa Iztok 2 are rehabilitated (Dn/ 16.03.13). Or, they are described as out of exploitation: a phrase which could be considered a dead metaphor or a set expression:

[25’] Members of the Euro Parliament approved the budget to decommission the old units in NPP Kozloduy /h/ […] The three countries (Lithuania, Slovakia and Bulgaria) used old nuclear reactors which were considered by the international community too old to be effectively modernised so that they could meet the minimal required safety standards (Dn/ 20.03.13).

Plants could also be restored to life: [26’] The Government will revive NPP Belene once again /h/ (Dn/ 30.11.13).

Another metaphor that is very frequently used in the articles on nuclear power is the War metaphor activated through the use of verbs such as struggle, kill off, and nouns like victory, fleet, battle, among others:

[27] New Energy Struggles on Its Way to Markets /h/ […] at the moment, two of those largest sources, nuclear and wind power, are trying to kill each other off. (NYT/ 27.12.13); [28] Hinkley Point would be the first nuclear power station to be built in Britain in nearly two decades. The government has portrayed the project as crucial to keeping the lights on in Britain and to reducing carbon emissions from electricity generation as the current aging fleet of nuclear power stations and coal-powered power plants are phased out in the next few years. (NYT/ 02.12.13); (NYT/ 15.03.13); (NYT/ 19.03.13); [29] The campaign will come as a further blow to the Government’s energy policy as it struggles to put private-sector funding in place for a new foray into nuclear
power generation at Hinkley Point in Somerset. (In/ 01.04.13); [30] Two years on the deadly battle to save Fukushima from an invisible, odourless enemy goes on /h/ […] It is a battle waged with robots, state-of-the-art engineering and some of the most advanced filtering equipment on the planet, and by the time it is finished, the world will be half way through the 21st century (In/ 06.03.13).

Radiation, as part of the process of electricity generation, is also described within the terms of war; it is the enemy who is difficult to fight because of his/ her odourless and invisible character.

Sports metaphor, which is quite characteristic of political discourse, such as Politics is a Game, is also employed by the media when talking about nuclear power:

[31] Energy companies announced this year that five nuclear reactors would be closing or not reopening, and the owners blamed competition from natural gas and wind. In the Pacific Northwest, wind and hydroelectricity – neither of which produce carbon – are sparring to push each other off the regional power grid (NYT/ 27.12.13); [32] Wind Power Developers Race Clock to Secure Subsidy /h/ […] “What we see right now is a race to the finish line, where we’re trying to get projects signed,” said Mark Albenze, chief executive of the Wind Power Americas unit of Siemens Energy (NYT/ 23.12.13); [33] The loss of power at the nuclear plant, which was knocked out by the Japanese tsunami in 2011, shut down cooling systems used for some of the plants reactors (In/ 21.03.13), see also [15].

As the examples show, while nuclear power is more or less described within the terms of wrestling or boxing, thereby sports using not only skill but strength as well, the new, renewable types of energy are presented as runners where speed and endurance are the necessary ingredients.

Another nuance of the sports metaphor is presented through associations with gambling, or more specifically through associations with a game of poker:

[34] Convinced by Hinkley’s business model, Japanese and Spanish energy groups would then follow suit with a wave of new civil nukes lighting up the UK. (In/ 28.03.13); [35] With such an emphasis on the development of shale gas projects in the Budget, and notwithstanding power plant capacity cuts such as SSE unveiled today, it seems that the Treasury believes there are alternatives to nuclear, which weakens EDF’s hand. […] However, the future of Britain’s energy supply should not be decided by a soon-to-be-forgotten, completely pointless, petty political win. […] By playing a political game that has so little obvious long-term political benefit, George Osborne and his team at the Treasury could end up undermining their entire growth strategy. (In/ 21.03.13); [36] While I was out and about two or three days tending into my own things, the progressive powers have raised their voices – they wanted to know where the adversaries of NPP Belene were and why they haven’t opposed the introduction of the American Westinghouse in the Bulgarian nuclear poker (Dn/ 28.11.13); [37] Although envisioned as a big bet on Britain’s clean-energy future, the project has been bogged down in months of dickering between the British government and EDF Energy, the French state-controlled power company that is supposed to oversee construction and eventually operate the plant. (NYT/ 15.03.13)
Apart from presenting the general trend in nuclear energy as a game of cards which in the British example is more like a Belote, while in the Bulgarian one it is obviously a poker due to its gambling nature, there is another metaphorical presentation that is worth mentioning: nuclear plants are associated with water: [38] EDF subsidy to put UK on nuclear path /h/ […]The Government is understood to have agreed a 35-year subsidy to French energy group EDF to build the first in a new wave of nuclear power stations (In/ 10.03.13). The development of new nuclear plants is presented as a wave, suggesting that they will cover the world as they will be built in big numbers, at the same time leaving a pool of water unattended makes the water stagnant and could lead to the pool turning into a bog. The association with the project of a new power station in Hinkley is thus similar to a swamp (see example [37]).

In addition, projects could be frozen and unfrozen, which is again suggestive of nuclear plants’ association with water: [39] Unit 7 in NPP Kozloduy has not shifted the topic from the unfreezing of NPP Belene /h/ (Dn/ 28.11.13)

Last but not least, nuclear reactors are also presented as a cure for chronic disease: [11] The prime minister of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif, announced this week that China would help build two nuclear power reactors in Karachi, a port city with chronic electricity shortages (NYT/ 27.11.15).

**Conclusion**

Despite the sociopolitical differences observed in the three countries, the metaphors activated by the three analysed newspapers show surprising similarity.

The most prolific metaphor in the language of the three analysed newspapers is the metaphor Nuclear Plants are Living Organisms with various realisations some of which focus on the understanding of a nuclear plant as a human, who is born, who is young and then old, gets ill from time to time, could suffer mental illnesses, could be retired, could also reproduce and could be someone else’s neighbour. These metaphorical realisations are characteristic mostly of the discourse of the analysed British and American newspapers.

The Bulgarian newspaper employs the metaphor an NPP is a Human only in the set expression used in Bulgarian to refer to a decommissioned plant or in sporadic cases when the reference is to an old reactor which is brought back to life. Another nuance of the metaphor NPP is a Living Organism realised in Bulgarian media discourse presents a plant as an egg (addle and golden) or a horse. The bird metaphor is also encountered in the analysed American newspaper. The same newspaper also presents nuclear power as the nursing milk for the country (Germany in that case).
Another metaphor resorted to mostly by the British and the American analysed newspapers is the war metaphor activated through the use of verbs such as struggle, kill off, nouns like victory, fleet, battle, etc.

Nuclear power is also described through the use of a sports metaphor, where the nuclear power is described within the terms of wrestling or boxing, thereby sports using not only skill but strength as well, while the new, renewable, types of energy are presented as runners where speed and endurance are the necessary ingredients.

A nuance of the sports metaphor employed by the Bulgarian and the British newspaper is Nuclear Power is Gambling, or more specifically a Game of Cards. In the Bulgarian newspaper the game is poker, while in the British one, it is Belote.

Another field resorted to in order to explain nuclear power is water. Nuclear power plants and the projects associated with them could be frozen or unfrozen in the Bulgarian psyche, while in the American psyche they could be bogged. In the British psyche this conceptualisation is presented through the idea of a wave of nuclear power stations that would be built.

All these metaphors contribute to the more vivid presentation of the topic and at the same time show similarity in the way the three different nations perceive nuclear plants, which is interesting given the differences in political and economic development.

Having said that, the current study is but a small particle of a possible future project on nuclear power metaphors which could broaden the variety of newspapers covered in the corpus as well as extend the period of analysis and thus broaden the scope of metaphors employed by the three media discourses.

References:


Anticipatory mechanisms and techniques in Bulgarian and British ads and their applications in the English language classroom

Rumyana Todorova*, Zlatko Todorov**

Abstract: The paper deals with various anticipatory mechanisms and techniques used in Bulgarian and British ads and their applications in the English language classroom as ads and commercials are a rich source of different structures and information related to certain cultural and social norms, models and images of behaviour, values and beliefs. Some suggestions for activities with these texts are presented in support of the issues discussed.

Key words: anticipatory mechanisms, techniques, advertisements, ELT

Introduction

Advertising as a type of media discourse abounds in all sorts of topics and constructions suitable for work in class. Advertisements are especially prolific for culture specific discussions as they create, transform and impose familiar models of the world and images not only on the society they originate from, but on other identical, similar, or at times, even different societies or communities, and also presuppose the branding of those models, images and situations which at a later stage can be easily recognized. As for the foreign language classroom, they serve as texts in which the respective values, beliefs and norms of behaviour are reflected. All this enables the learner to better grasp and understand the foreign language culture and traditions which are inevitably part of the reality and environment people live in. Although students may pretend not to be interested in them, ads represent young people’s lives so they may comment on them quite actively in the foreign language which is the object of attention in the curricula. As commercials are particularly dynamic and lively young people can follow them and understand them without any difficulties because they represent their way of life, their hobbies and interests, though in a somehow transformed manner. There are cases, however, in which these texts impose certain models of behaviour of young people. On the contrary, many elderly audiences may not even follow them as the information is multilayered in both the verbal and the non-verbal component. The latter is the predominant one as it is more interesting and tempting, although the message is quite schematic and

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fragmented, and it runs very quickly. Yet, it can be decoded by learners quite successfully as they are used to this kind of rendering and grasping information with the help of images which is something near their virtual reality through playing games, watching cartoons, etc.

The information abounds in a number of sociocultural phenomena, valid for the respective period in which advertisements appear, and although it is considered by some that these messages degrade and demoralize young people and spoil their spiritual values, they teach them the lessons of life, in most cases only the positive ones. There are moments in them, however, which imitate quite successfully their actions and reactions (positive or negative) against the background of their favourite music and lyrics, which helps attracting adolescents’ attention. This is one of the many ways for remembering foreign words and phrases in real life usages without external imposition as positive feelings and emotions are the predominant ones. These structures not only facilitate easy perception but they enable fulfilling the necessary links between the two components. Thus, language and images can be interconnected on the subconscious level in the direction of cultural codes, aspects and models, normative rules and folklore traditions and customs of the respective culture.

**Analysis & Discussion**

An example of this type of interconnectedness is the commercial about white cheese “Bulgarea” in which banitza is advertised as one of the typical Bulgarian meals (see VBox7_Bulgarea). The Bulgarian tradition of grannies helping with the housework as they live together with their children’s families is also brought to the fore as in the ad about mincemeat “Naroden” (folkloric) (see VBox7_Naroden; also Todorova 2014). Thus, family values are exploited and made salient which is something rooted in Bulgarian culture but not discussed that often with young people, especially in connection with their interrelations and attitudes between the different generations. In a similar way, we can ask students to find some other advertisements containing culture specific symbols and issues related not only to Bulgarian but to British culture as well. In the latter case, they are supposed to have been exposed to this culture as they might have read some information from the Internet or from books or might have seen some films containing prompts about it. Teachers can also give them some hints or guiding questions which can orient them in the depicted situation and make them think about certain things they do in their everyday life but they do not always pay attention to them. We can ask them to make comparisons between the two cultures or find some information on the Internet if they are not aware or sure of the answers. For example, a lot of adverts portray young people having fun and enjoying themselves over their mobiles which are of the latest developments in this field. Most probably teenagers are attracted by the phones rather than by the clothes these young people wear. The conversation can be
focused not only on the brands and some of the stories about the celebrities or the ordinary people promoting the brand products. There can also be questions about these people’s lifestyles and behaviour, what learners know about them, what they like or dislike in them, and so on and so forth. They can be asked to compare British and Bulgarian celebrities as representatives of the respective cultures and express their social attitudes towards people in the entertainment industry in general. They may be asked to pay attention to the clothes and shoes the people depicted wear and if they like them or not; and if yes, why they imitate their clothing in some way or another.

As advertisements are a reflection of what happens in society, they can draw young people’s attention to the changes and new and recent developments in most spheres in life in a globalizing and highly industrialized world. All abovementioned factors come to prove the possibilities of ad usages in the foreign language classroom.

In this respect, as these texts are quite unpredictable in terms of structure, composition and way of presenting information, they can be exploited in the best way for writing or finishing stories or commenting on the situations presented.

Some anticipatory mechanisms can be offered for the prediction of information. This means that the teacher in question can direct students’ attention to places in the text in which there are some prompts related to what comes next or to the advertised object. Such a case is the film “Do-It-Yourself Mr. Bean” (1993) featuring Rowan Atkinson in which Mr. Bean is first buying a lot of reduced items from a department store taking advantage of the January sales, Dulux paint being one of them, and then he is painting his rooms with it though it is not explicitly mentioned. You can see the brand name only sporadically within a fraction of a second. This kind of indirect advertising is a good exercise for students to pay close attention to detail so that they can answer the question about the product used in the film. Nowadays, things have changed and there exists an obligatory statement at the beginning of a film or show in cases in which there is product positioning as a form of marketing technique. So, this is just an example to show that watching a film or any other kind of video material is not done for the sake of enjoyment but it has educational purposes first and foremost as the teacher is the one who will decide what material to play or show to students depending on their level of the foreign language, on the lexical and grammatical units as well as on the cultural aspects that are to be taught or revised.

In another episode of the same film, Mr. Bean puts a sleeping bag with a balloon faking there is a person in it in front of the department store and when time for opening the store comes he jumps in front of the whole queue and pops the balloon happily showing everybody that he has cheated on them. There can be a lot of discussions related to his behaviour in which personal opinions
can be expressed as well as some presuppositions about what has happened next. Attention is drawn to a number of social and extralinguistic factors which can be described by some words and phrases related to Mr. Beans’ actions, movements and reactions. The questions can be: What would you do if you were in the queue? Would you complain publicly or share your indignation with the people around you but not do anything to either block Mr. Bean’s way to the entrance or do something else? Can you describe such a person? Students are also asked to identify the communicative strategies and the stereotypes used in the film. Another question related to the last one is if there are stereotypes at all, especially nowadays with the globalization of the world and the unification and elimination of cultural codes.

In connection with the advertisements and commercials that are chosen for discussion and description the method that can be used can be Critical Discourse Analysis in which all the social and cultural discursive practices should be taken into consideration as well as their linguistic manifestations. There is no need for students to know what method is used but it is for facilitators to be aware of this. In cases of commercials the nonverbal or the visual component is the prevalent one and takes precedence. Once it is played, its sound part may be neglected at all or at least some of its parts. What matters is the preliminary conversation related to either the same topics that are to be approached or similar ones. In this way students will be provoked to elicit information referring to their background and previous knowledge about the issues in question as well the thesaurus needed for rendering this knowledge. If they provide words and phrases which coincide with the ones in the narrative, they can be presented other expressions, words and phrases as clues for the commercial, or, vice versa, if they use words and phrases different from the ones in the respective ad messages, then the ones that appear in them, can be put down on the white board for their utilization.

Such texts presuppose positive reactions as they somehow correspond to young people's behaviour, way of thinking, attitudes and lifestyles. It means that students will be willing to work on them irrespective of the fact that some commercials may be familiar to them or others may be quite new to them.

One of the activities connected to the anticipatory mechanisms when approaching these commercials can be playing the nonverbal component (pictures and music) without the narrative so that the possible words and phrases can be elicited on the basis of the predictions made while watching the video clip. Presuppositions can be made about the story and they may turn out to be completely different from the real narrative.

Another activity can be asking students to write a short story related to what they have seen by using their imagination. A good idea would be for the product not to be shown so that they can make guesses what the ad promotes.
All these tasks will lead to a lot of oral expressions of students’ ideas thus making them talk more than usual, which is something they need, as emphasis is usually put on the receptive skills, reading and listening, rather than on one of the productive skills, i.e. speaking, as writing skills are developed more than the former ones.

Activities that are considered easy, but actually they turn out to be quite difficult as the way information is presented seems to be quite misleading at times, are multiple choice questions or a text with omitted words and phrases in the form of cloze tests or even filling in tables with information elicited from the text. No doubt all tasks should be structured according to the corresponding students’ level of English.

As for university students, these anticipatory mechanisms can be oriented towards note-taking, which is a skill they lack in most cases, and it is a good exercise for Practical English Classes, but the knack for doing it would be helpful for other subjects as well.

For non-native speakers of English, it is not so easy to differentiate between registers. In most cases the information in ads addressed to youngsters is rendered by words and phrases of a more conversational and colloquial nature, so students can be asked to either compare them with the same words and phrases from the official register or transform the text into this register.

Another difficult activity is related to the way metaphors are interpreted. If they are original metaphors, it is not a problem, but some metaphors may not be familiar to students and they may get them wrong because they may not be able to map the information from the source domain to the target domain correctly. In principle, our minds are structured in such a way that we understand the literal meaning first and then the intended one conveyed in the text. What can also influence our understanding of the information is that there is interaction between the literal text and the text receiver’s background knowledge (see Johnson-Laird 1983). This means that students should be asked to “interpret” the literal meaning first and then we can proceed with the metaphorical one. The latter is activated because of our existing global knowledge patterns. On the basis of these links a mental model is built and some inferences are generated thus filling in coherence gaps in text comprehension (see Kintsch 1998), at the same time resolving inconsistencies and incorrect inferences as the text progresses and through the process of decoding the narrative. Comprehension can be blocked not because of the literal meaning but because at first hearing of the message there can be some incongruences which can act as constraints to comprehension.

It is quite difficult for most people to describe a person as regards their appearances and their character as well as their actions. Without playing the narrative students can be asked to perform this activity. A very good example in
this respect is the Nespresso commercial with George Clooney featuring where the play on words is unmistakable and perfectly exploited. The commercial is full of inconsistencies. It goes in the following way:

George Clooney (acting himself) enters an office in which there are Nespresso machines. On his way in, a lady takes him for a porter and hands him in the keys for her car, saying: “The red one”. He is wondering what is happening but puts the keys in his pocket and heads for the coffee machines. A girl stands after him and when she starts talking to him he thinks that she will ask for an autograph, but he is wrong. She is simply asking him to move aside so that she can make herself some coffee. But as she starts saying something, he interrupts her:

‘The red one’.
‘Excuse me’.
‘I’m sorry. Do you mind if I…’ (We can ask students to finish the question)
‘Of course. You know. I don’t think I have a pen.’ (We can ask them what they think about his reactions)
‘I just wanted Nespresso’
‘Nespresso. What else?’

The next moment the lady with the keys comes in and says:
‘Excuse me. Where have you been? I’ve been waiting for my car for about five minutes.’

Clooney thinks she is talking to him as he is famous and everybody knows him, but he is disappointed as she is actually addressing the girl standing next to him:

‘Oh, I didn’t recognize you...’
‘Do you want a...’
‘Nespresso. What else?’

(Nespresso)

The two referential frames are constantly juxtaposed and interwoven.

In another commercial about Nespresso featuring George Clooney again girls are exchanging ambiguous remarks. There comes a moment, however, in which even they do not know if they are talking about one and the same thing (the coffee or Clooney):

‘Women:
Dark, very intense, balanced, unique, mysterious... An intense body, delicate and smooth, with strong character... Right. Rich. Very rich. I would say Latin American temperament. Deep and sensual. And a delicious aftertaste.

George Clooney:
You’re talking about... Nespresso, right?
The last couple of very short remarks clarifies things and everything is finally made concrete and explicated.

For students with a higher level of English, tasks can even be related to writing a script of the potential narrative before watching the whole commercial.

An interesting activity with some anticipatory tasks and discussions can be paying attention to some extralinguistic aspects in commercials, such as proximity and distance parameters, something culture specific and not easy to detect, especially in cases in which even we as mentors might have not paid attention to or not know.

**Conclusion**

To sum up, we can say that advertisements are a rich source of information full of a number of predictions used as anticipatory mechanisms and techniques for the construction of all sorts of foreign language activities on the basis of which students are exposed to simulated real life situations leading to real life reactions on their part not prepared in advance but invented on the spur of the moment, thus practicing the foreign language as much as they can. Ad related activities are highly motivating at that as they bring pleasure, satisfaction and enjoyment – something that is not always present in our everyday life.

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Challenges in understanding media discourse on drugs: use of slang

Desislava Toneva*

Abstract: The primary goal of every news media is to produce such news items that would retain the interest of the regular readers and attract the attention of new and greater audiences. In order to achieve this goal they occasionally resort to the use of slang. Slang, however, might be difficult to understand especially for a non-native speaker of the language. That is why its understanding can be challenging and sometimes reference to dictionaries might be necessary for the meaning to be grasped. The aim of this paper is to analyze the slang terms referring to different types of drugs which occur in the discourse of the Bulgarian and the British media.

Key words: drugs, media discourse, slang.

Introduction

Life is a gift that every human being receives only once. From there, it becomes everyone’s personal duty to preserve it and to create it. On being asked what the most important thing in life is, almost every person would probably answer that for him/her and their close ones it is to be alive and well. Yet, everyday media present news of innocent human lives lost in various unfortunate circumstances: road accidents, floods or other natural disasters, cases of murder, terrorist attacks or dreadful diseases. Some of these examples show that there are cases when people are exposed to dangers over which they have no control. At other times, the deliberate attempts of certain individuals become the cause for a number of deaths. Still, a more frightful fact is the existence of another group of people who tend to put at risk their own lives through becoming involved in the vicious practice of drug abuse.

Drugs are a serious global problem and a solution to it has been sought for a very long time but is seemingly nowhere near to be found. On the contrary, the drug market is rapidly expanding as new and even more dangerous substances are introduced every year. Drug abuse is affecting not only those who start using drugs, but also many families and the community in a certain way. It is a cause for many illnesses and plays a major role in a number of social problems such as violence, child abuse, drugged driving and other criminal acts. What is worse, typically the group of the population that gets most easily influenced by the use of drugs is that of adolescents. Since this is a matter of great social

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significance, governments are constantly initiating new reforms to their drug policies, and together with many organizations and health centres, they work on finding the optimum solution to prevent the production, trafficking and abuse of drugs.

This paper is part of a bigger study on the presence of drugs in the Bulgarian and British media discourse. The object of the research are articles discussing drugs published in different Bulgarian and British newspapers.

The focus of the paper is on slang as it is among the devices that add more colour to the language used in the articles while depicting the ways of thinking about drugs and drug use. Such an analysis will also show the interference between the two languages as a result of the ongoing process of globalization.

The two methods used in the paper are Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Content Analysis. Van Dijk (2001: 352) defines critical discourse analysis as a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. While CDA could be defined as a prescriptive method of analysis, content analysis, which is frequently defined as “a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Berelson 1952: 18), is more of a descriptive method which can be used as the basis for CDA and nicely complements it.

The corpus for the paper is extracted from the electronic versions of four newspapers: Standart/St/ and Dnevnik/Dn/ from Bulgaria and The Independent/In/ and The Daily Mail/DM/ from the UK. The number of articles selected manually is 117 from Standart, 98 from Dnevnik, 108 from The Independent and 109 from The Daily Mail or 432 articles in total.

All four newspapers belong to the serious press and are chosen as a source of media materials for this study as the information they provide is more reliable compared to that in the tabloid newspapers. Therefore, they manage to produce a “picture” of reality through articles discussing drugs and drug use not only as a personal, social and health issue, but also as a political and socio-economic one.

Analysis

Slang is a type of highly informal language which consists of words or phrases that are used only by a particular group of people. In contrast to Standard language which is taught and adopted by the masses because of being the socially accepted form, the use of slang involves a great element of personal choice and as a result reveals a lot about the psychological, social, racial, religious, political or other beliefs of the group of people who use it (see Kenwood 1969). At the same time, this type of informal language creates a sense of identity among group members.
and serves as a way of concealing their thoughts from outsiders.

What is common for slang words and phrases is that many of them have short lives and are being replaced by new ones the moment they disappear, but there is also the opposite case when certain slang terms become so widely used that they eventually enter standard English. The Concise New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English (2006) provides a list of thirteen reasons why slang is employed:

1) In sheer high spirits; ‘just for the fun of the thing’; 2) As an exercise in wit or humour; 3) To be ‘different’ – to be novel; 4) To be picturesque; 5) To be startling; to startle; 6) To escape from cliché’s and long-windedness; 7) To enrich the language; 8) To give solidity and concreteness to the abstract and the idealistic, and nearness to the distant scene or object; 9) To reduce solemnity, pain, tragedy; 10) To put oneself in tune with one’s company; 11) To induce friendliness or intimacy; 12) To show that one belongs to a certain school, trade or profession, intellectual set or social class. In short to be in the fashion – or to prove that someone else isn’t; 13) To be secret – not understood by those around one.

The term slang is often inaccurately used as a synonym of colloquial speech and jargon when there is actually a substantial difference between the three. Colloquial speech is a type of informal language used and understood by everybody which consists of different contractions and abbreviated utterances and may or may not include slang in itself. The distinction between slang and jargon, on the other hand, is that jargon is the specialized language used by the people of a particular profession, such as medical jargon or legal jargon while slang is associated with teenagers, criminals, immigrants, drug addicts, etc. and is often considered a language of vulgar nature used by disreputable people. Journalists often make use of slang, colloquial phrases and other colourful lexis in order to enrich their language, to add some new shades of meaning and make descriptions more striking and vivid. Such words and expressions are a good way to attract readers as long as they are used within the limits of journalistic correctness.

The drug slang which is of interest to the present study is abundant in terms referring to the various drug types and to drug users and continues to be enriched with new ones every day. At the same time, a comparison of the slang terms used in the Bulgarian and the British newspapers would be able to show to what extent the Bulgarian language uses English borrowings as a result of the globalization of language and transfer of information.

The first group of slang terms consists of various nouns used in reference to marijuana:

[1] Palin said *weed* was legal and not a big deal when she was growing up /sh/ (DM/ 20.11.2015); [2] Двама ученици бяха заловени от полицаи преди да се напушат с *трева* (Two students were caught by police officers before getting high on weed – St/ 4.11.2015); [3] More than 20 pounds of *pot* in the gift boxes and hidden in a spare tire were uncovered, according to authorities /sh/ (DM/ 4.12.2015); [4] През септември
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музиканът основа и собствено списание за марихуана, Mary Jane (In September, the musician also launched his own magazine on marijuana, Mary Jane – Dn/ 11.11.2015); [5] ‘Skunk’ cannabis can cause significant brain damage /h/ (In/27.11.2015); [6] Woman told dispatcher her son was high on ‘spice’ – a term that refers to synthetic drugs /sh/ (DM/ 23.11.2015); [7] Изследванията показват, че в състава й влизат смес от трева и психотропни химически вещества със силно действащ характер от типа “Cнаї̀к” (Analyses showed that its content included a mixture of weed and psychotropic chemical substances with strong effect from the Spice type – St/ 26.09.2015); [8] Just HALF a joint of cannabis causes psychosis-like effects in healthy people that’s similar to schizophrenia, say experts /h/ (DM/3.12.2015); [9] В най-лошите си периоди трябваше да пуша по един джойнт всяка сутрин само за да мога да функционирам нормално (In my worst periods I had to smoke a joint every morning just to be able to function normally – Dn/ 21.09.2015); [10] No doubt, too, a good number are enjoying a big old spliff, which, since last month, is perfectly legal (In/ 27.11.2015)

The slang terms weed and the Bulgarian трава (‘grass’) are among the most common references to marijuana. The meaning of the two terms, however, is not the same – when we say ‘weed’ we usually mean something that is seen as a nuisance or garbage that we want to get rid of, while ‘grass’ is a more generic term that is likely to be associated with the colour green and something that is nourishing and fresh. The use of the lexeme ‘weed’ in the context of a political issue such as the one on the legislation of marijuana may suggest either that the term has already entered the standard English, or that it was intentionally used by journalists in order to add some more colour to their language.

Then, the slang term skunk which is frequently used on its own or skunk cannabis as it occurs in the present case refers to a different and much more potent variety of marijuana which is said to produce strong psychosis-like effects due to higher levels of some of the main active ingredients. Another article refers to the same type of marijuana as skunk weed: [11] […] the real problem we have instead is the increasing use of strong cannabis, such as skunk weed, which can cause very severe psychotic reactions (In/ 30.11.2015). In this instance, journalists chose to put an emphasis on the popularity and potency of skunk weed as a means of attracting public attention and raise their awareness.

The term pot which occurs in example [3] is another synonym for marijuana that was formed thorough shortening of the Spanish word ‘potiguaya’ which comes from ‘potación de guaya’ – a wine or brandy in which marijuana buds were soaked in order to extract their flavour. The literal translation of this phrase means ‘the drink of grief’ (Dictionary.com). One more reference to the same drug is Mary Jane, yet this time it is used as the name of a magazine dedicated to discussing marijuana and all topics related to it, not to the drug itself.

Two of the examples mention another type of drug referred to as spice and its

* The term ‘grass’ is used as a slang for marijuana in English as well, yet, no such use appeared in the present corpus.
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As noted in [6] this is a synthetic type of drug and consists of a mixture of herbs and shredded plant material sprayed with a synthetic compound similar to tetrahyrdacannabinol (THC). It is also known as ‘fake weed’, ‘Black Mamba’ or ‘synthetic marijuana’ but its effects are often very different and much stronger than these of marijuana.

Another example mentions the street names of three different sorts of marijuana: [12] A couple of tattooed girls in their twenties check out the stock as we stick our noses into jars of *Blue Dream*, *Maui Waui* and *Purple Gorilla*, priced around $15 (£10) a gram (In./ 27.11.2015). *Blue Dream* is one of the best preferred strains of marijuana due to the effects it produces and this is probably where its name originates from for when the colour blue appears in a dream it is associated with peacefulness, tranquility and infiniteness. The street name *Maui Waui* (also spelled Maui Wowie/Wawie/Wowee) comes from the name of the island Maui where this sort of marijuana is cultivated and the exclamation ‘wow’ which expresses astonishment. The last type of marijuana got the interesting name *Purple Gorilla* from the violet colour of its oversized buds.

Since marijuana is a drug which is smoked, there are also terms like *joint*, its equivalent Bulgarian borrowing ‘джойнт’, and *spliff*, all of which stand for marijuana cigarettes. Another similar term that does not appear in any of the articles is ‘blunt’. However, there are some differences between these three types of marijuana cigarettes – both joints and blunts contain only cannabis, but the latter uses tobacco paper which can be distinguished by the thicker weight and dark brown colour, while joints are rolled with lighter and slightly transparent papers. Spliffs, on the other hand, are a mixture of tobacco and cannabis which are rolled in the same paper as joints but also often have a paper filter called a crutch (Leafly.com).

The next group of articles contains examples of different street names that some drugs are given based on the various forms and methods through which they can be consumed:

[13] You’re about to snort coke on the side of the road?’ Abts-Olsen asks the driver who replies, ‘no!’ (DM/ 6.12.2015); [14] Ирландия разреши коката и героина /h/ (Ireland decriminalized coke and heroin - St/ 4.11.2015); [15] EXCLUSIVE: Smoking ‘meth or crack’ at lunchtime on a New York subway car — scene which horrified a mother and made passengers flee car because of stench /h/ (DM/ 24.11.2015); [16] Drug dealers selling fake urine kits and ice as a PACKAGE DEAL to help users cheat narcotics tests at work /h/ (DM/ 24.11.2015); [17] I had taken other drugs in the past like speed, ecstasy and acid (DM/ 3.12.2015); [18] Legal highs: Poppers should not be banned, MPs say /h/ (In/ 23.10.2015); [19] 16-годишна в болница заради “чай” за пушене /h/ (16-year-old girl in hospital because of “tea” for smoking – St/30.11.2015); [20] Пред лекарите отровените тийнейджъри споделят, че са пушили така наречената “билка” (The poisoned teenagers share with the doctors that they had smoked the so called “herb” – St/ 28.11.2015)
The most commonly used term in reference to the drug cocaine in its powder form is the shortened and simpler street name coke, as well as the Bulgarian equivalent кока. The British example provided above shows the use of the lexeme coke in its occurrence in the speech of a police officer. The choice of journalists to include direct speech in their writings is a commonly used technique and it is probably due to their desire to add more colour to the language used and at the same time to give more credibility to the story presented in the article. When cocaine is in the form of crystalline lumps of concentrated cocaine it is referred to by the term ‘crack cocaine’ or merely crack, as it could be found in [15], with the name coming from the loud cracking noise that is produced when it is heated in water to be smoked. Some other names cocaine is given are ‘flake’, ‘chalk’, ‘snow’ and ‘sugar’ for its powder form, and ‘crystal’ or ‘rock’ for its solid one.

The drug methamphetamine is often called by the shortened name meth, while when found in its crystal form it is referred to by the slang term ice. The use of capital letters in the headline where ice is mentioned aims to place emphasis on the fact that drug dealers are not only stimulating workers to use the drug, but they also offer them a way to manipulate test results and as both of these actions are wrong and harmful the presentation of such information would inevitably provoke shock and disturb readers. The slang term speed, on the other hand, is slightly misleading as it can refer to different types of drugs – it can be used either as a street name for methamphetamine which is produced and sold illegally, or for amphetamines which are in pill form but are crushed in order to be snorted. The origin of the term comes from the effect of the drugs in speeding up the workings of the brain. The other slang term acid also mentioned in [17] refers to the drug LSD.

Poppers is another slang term mentioned in one of the British articles used for a group of chemicals called alkyl nitrates that are usually found in the form of liquid in small brown bottles and inhaled for recreational purposes and sometimes for the purpose of enhancing sexual experiences. As the caption in [18] suggests they fall into the category of drugs called legal highs – a new term that refers to new psychoactive substances (NPS) which are designed to imitate the effects of drugs such as cannabis, cocaine and ecstasy. Although they are called ‘legal’ as they are not restricted by drug control legislation, at least for some time after they are created, they are still as dangerous as illegal drugs, if not more due to the chemicals used in their preparation.

Other two slang terms which appear in the discourse of Bulgarian newspapers are чай (‘tea’) and билка (‘herb’). They are used to refer to a new type of drugs containing a mixture of herbs which are sprayed with synthetic substances and smoked like marijuana cigarettes. However, their effect is much stronger and often causes aggressive behaviour. These types of drugs are often discussed in the media because as could be seen by the provided examples they are
most popular among students and teenagers and such negative tendencies are considered newsworthy.

Some more examples of interesting street names given to the different types of drugs are included in the following group:

[21] And taking party drugs (pills, pingas, googs) seems like a fun option and you don’t think anything life changing could happen to you,’ he posted at the weekend (DM/ 23.11.2015); [22] Cheap heroin alternative Krokodil is widespread in the ex-USSR, risking HIV spread and record increases for the last decade have been recorded in Bulgaria, Armenia, Belarus and Turkey (DM/ 26.11.2015); [23] Family pay tribute to son, 20, who was killed by his bandmate who stabbed him 32 times while high on psychedelic drug called Mr Happy/h/ (DM/ 22.11.2015)

The terms pingas and googs mentioned in [21] are street names for the drug ecstasy which are most commonly used in Australia and as the example suggests they are not as harmless as they seem. Another article refers to Krokodil – a common slang term used for the drug desomorphine which is most popular in Russia and as is pointed out in [22] also in some of the ex-USSR countries. The name krokodil (from the Russian word for ‘crocodile’) is given to the drug for its effect of causing skin and muscle to rot from inside, leaving dark patches resembling the skin of a crocodile. It is also commonly known as ‘Russian Magic’, ‘Poor Man’s Heroin’, and ‘zombie drug’. One of the British newspapers also refers to a drug called Mr Happy, however, as we can understand from the headline, its use does not bring any positive consequences. It is a new type of psychedelic drug also called ‘smiles’ and its name probably comes from the smiling faces printed on the packages in which the drug is sold.

Apart from the street names given to drugs, there are some articles which contain slang nouns referring to drug addicts as well:

[24] “These are not crazy people. These are not potheads,” she said (In/ 16.11.2015); [25] But they are happy with Ms Dunant who, cheerfully describing herself as an ‘old stoner’, confessed to having broken the law of England for 40 years (amazing as it may seem, possession of cannabis is still technically illegal), having been ‘using’ cannabis throughout her adult life. (DM/ 6.12.2015); [26] He thinks drugs services are for ‘smackheads’ (i.e. people on heroin), not him (DM/ 21.11.2015)

The lexeme pothead is used as a street name given to people who habitually smoke marijuana. Also, the term stoner, or as it occurs in [25] old stoner, is used for regular users of the same drug. The term smackhead, as described in the example, occurs as a reference to those who have a severe addiction to heroin. It originates from the word ‘smack’ which derives from the Yiddish ‘schmeck’ (a word for sniff) and ‘head’ which stands for the drug user. Since it is considered highly inappropriate for journalists to use such a derogatory language in their work, in all three examples they have found a way to include these terms through reproducing the speech of some of the participants in the described events.
Other publications show use of **verbs connected with the act of taking a drug or the wearing off of its effects:**

[27] Confessions of a white-collar heroin addict: Meet the corporate high flyer who manages to hold down $100,000-a-year job while **shooting up** the deadly drug every day /h/ (DM/2.12.2015); [28] ‘By the end of the meeting I was **coming down** – when you’re **coming down** really hard from heroin it’s almost impossible to keep your eyes open (DM/2.12.2015); [29] And in 2013 a video of a 22-month-old child in Centralia being **fed** marijuana from a bong was handed into police (DM/ 3.12.2015)

The first two examples in this group are taken from the same article and are connected to the drug heroin. The phrasal verb **shoot up** present in the headline describes the act of injecting a drug with a hypodermic syringe and the latter **coming down** is a slang term used with the meaning “to experience diminishing effects of a recreational or hallucinogenic drug” (see thefreedictionary.com). Then, in [29] we see an interesting use of the verb **feed** which is usually used when we refer to eating food. However, here **feed** is used as a synonym of ‘smoke’ for bongs are devices used for smoking marijuana, tobacco or other herbal substances.

This last group consists of **phrases connected to drugs and drug use** which occurred in some of the materials:

[30] You can never re-create that initial **buzz** you get from your **first hit**, so you’re forever **chasing the dragon** (In/ 28.10.2015); [31] The cell phone footage showed the young boy **taking a hit** from the top of the device while his 24-year-old mother, Rachelle Braaten laughed uproarious with a group of adults (DM/ 3.12.2015); [32] Pricey doses of between $30-35 **per hit** make smoking wasteful for addicts who get a **stronger high** by injecting straight into their veins, especially considering that the average user will need four or more a day (DM/ 29.11.2015); [33] Britain is the largest market for the **designer drugs** in the EU with 670,000 people aged 15 to 24 experimenting with them, according to a study by the UN Office on Drugs and Crime in 2013, with experts warning they pose a major health risk despite the label of “**legal highs**” (In/ 23.10.2015); [34] Дизайнерска дрога вкара двама затворници от Централния софийски затвор в “Пирогов” (Designer drug put two prisoners from Sofia Central Prison in “Pirogov” – Dn/ 7.11.2015); [35] Знаех, че не искам да се връщам пак към пристрастяването към алкохола и других дрога употребът, но също тогава бях ниско, че нямам силата да отказа и да кажа “не” (I knew I didn’t want to go back to the addiction to alcohol and the stoner parties but I was also aware that I didn’t have the power to refuse and say “no” – St/ 3.09.2015)

If one is not familiar with the phrase **chasing the dragon** they would probably never be able to guess its meaning. In this particular case this phrase is used with a metaphorical meaning that refers to the pursuit of the ultimate high when using a particular drug. Otherwise, **chasing the dragon** is most commonly used to refer to the drug heroin and it comes from a method for smoking heroin where the drug is heated and the vapours which are ‘the dragon’ are ‘chased’ to be inhaled. What is meant by the term **buzz** used in the same example is the
sense of thrill and the phrase first hit stands for first dose of a certain drug. The noun hit is also used in the phrases taking a hit and per hit which occur in [31] and [32]. Another phrase that appears in the latter example is a stronger high where the noun ‘high’ is used for the intoxicating effect induced by drugs. The same lexeme is also often used as an adjective to describe the sense of being intoxicated.

A considerably new term that has been frequently mentioned by the media in the last few years is designer drugs, and its Bulgarian equivalent дизайнерска дрога. These are a type of drugs that belong to the earlier discussed ‘legal highs’, i.e. drugs that are designed to mimic the pharmacological effects of other drugs but are not classified as illegal and are not detected in drug tests.

Both the British and the Bulgarian example emphasize the harmful effects and negative health consequences caused by these drugs – in the first case this is stated explicitly, while in the second it is done through placing designer drugs in the role of actors and prisoners in that of victims and patients.

The slang phrase stoner parties used in the last example from this group suggests that nowadays there are such parties where people gather up to “get stoned”, i.e. to take some type of drugs. What should also be noted is that here drugs are mentioned in the same context with alcohol which despite of falling into the category of legal substances has proven to be no less addictive and harmful than illegal substances.

Based on the analysis above, it can be concluded that British journalists tend to use slang terms and phrases a lot more often to enrich the language with some more rare names of the drugs and to make articles more informative than the Bulgarian ones. Just as a comparison to the British media materials, looking at the entries provided on the web site of The MacMillan Dictionary in its section “Relating to using illegal drugs – synonyms or related words”, one can count around forty entries most of which are quite familiar and established in their use, while the analysis of only 200 articles from the British media compiled over a period of three-four months shows greater variety of lexemes used in relation to drugs – a fact which only speaks of the intensity in use, spread and pervasiveness of the drug lexis.

At the same time, by using this specific language of the street, British journalists make their articles both more intriguing and readable: the slang would provoke the interest of those who are not so informed on the subject as well as make the articles more addict-friendly thus adding to the general audience those who have used and suffered from the effects of these substances. In addition, using slang appeals more to the younger audience, as slang tones down the high-strung style of the serious press and makes it more understandable.

The Bulgarian examples, on the other hand, show that many of the terms used
in English, such as спайс (‘spice’), джойнт (‘joint’), кока (‘coke’) have entered and established their use in the Bulgarian media as well. It can be stated that this kind of colloquialization would also appeal to the younger generation who are more prone to using borrowings mostly influenced by the Internet and globalization in general.

Last but not least, the use of slang also contributes to the effectiveness of the information presented on the pages of the serious press as the impression created on the readers is stronger.

**Conclusion**

The analysis of the corpus revealed extensive presence of **slang terms and phrases** used by journalists in order to enrich the language of their articles and to make them more intriguing, understandable and appealing to younger audiences. Among the most commonly mentioned slang terms in these articles were the **various nouns used in reference to the different types of drugs**. Their street names are typically created based on associations with the form in which the particular drug is consumed or the effects that it produces, but there are also some which were formed through a simple shortening of the original name of the drug.

Apart from the slang terms that are known by the majority of readers, some of the articles mentioned street names the origin of which was hard to find as they were rarely used and are popular only in certain regions like Australia. Other publications contained **slang nouns referring to drug addicts, verbs connected with the actual act of taking drugs** or the wearing of the effects and some additional **slang phrases used in reference to drugs and drug use**.

**References:**


