



STUDIES IN LINGUISTICS, CULTURE AND FLT

Volume 2 - 2017 · ISSN 2534-952X

Crossing Borders and Bridging Gaps in English Language Teaching and Research

Граници и мостове
В преподаването и
изследванията на
английски език



Konstantin Preslavsky University of Shumen
Department of English Studies



STUDIES IN LINGUISTICS, CULTURE AND FLT

Volume 2 - 2017

Crossing Borders and Bridging Gaps in English Language Teaching and Research

Граници и мостове В преподаването и изследванията на английски език



Konstantin Preslavsky University of Shumen
Department of English Studies



CROSSING BORDERS AND BRIDGING GAPS IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH is the end result of a project Crossing Borders and Bridging Gaps in English Language Teaching and Research (No RD-08-118/06.02.2017) of the Department of English Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Konstantin Preslavsky University of Shumen.

„ГРАНИЦИ И МОСТОВЕ В ПРЕПОДАВАНЕТО И ИЗСЛЕДВАНИЯТА НА АНГЛИЙСКИ ЕЗИК” е резултат от проекта „Граници и мостове в преподаването и изследванията на английски език” (РД-08-118/06.02.2017), Катедра „Английска филология”, Факултет по хуманитарни науки, Шуменски университет „Епископ Константин Преславски”.

Editorial Board*:

Editor-in-chief:

Prof. Rumyana Todorova, PhD (Bulgaria)

Editors:

Prof. Dr. Habil. Anna Bączkowska (Poland), Prof. Berrin Aksoy, PhD (Turkey), Assist. Prof. Desislava Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva, PhD (Bulgaria), Assist. Prof. Irina Ivanova, PhD (Bulgaria), Dr. Antonia Navarro Tejero (Spain), Prof. Dr. Birsen Tütünlü (Turkey), Prof. Dr. Habil Berrin Aksoy (Turkey), Prof. D. Litt. Maya Pencheva (Bulgaria), Assist. Prof. Joanna Mikosz, PhD (Poland), David Mossop, PhD, Mary Sinéad Fallon (Spain)

* The Editorial Board bear no responsibility for the content or accuracy of the articles.

© Individual contributions: respective authors

© Studies in Linguistics, Culture, and FLT

© Asenevtsi trade ltd, Sofia

Scientific Journal Impact Factor 3.363 (2016), 4.163 (2017)

ISSN 2534-952X за печатно издание

ISSN 2534-9538 за онлайн издание

ISBN 978-619-7356-35-9 за печатно издание

ISBN 978-619-7356-36-6 за pdf файл

Contents

<i>PREFACE</i>	5
<i>A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY ON WHITE COLOUR IDIOMS IN TURKISH AND ENGLISH: CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY IN FOCUS</i> <i>Gökçen Hastürkoğlu</i>	8
<i>FAMILY BEYOND BORDERS</i> <i>Aleksandra Aleksandrova</i>	21
<i>METAPHORIC TRANSFER OF KNOWLEDGE, CULTURAL EXPERIENCES AND SOCIAL PRACTICES IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE ADVERTISING DISCOURSE</i> <i>Rumyana Todorova</i>	29
<i>CONSTRUCTIONS WITH PRESS_MOUTH COLLOCATION</i> <i>Temenuzhka Seizova-Nankova , Mehmed Muharem</i>	40
<i>CROSSING BORDERS ON THE BALKAN ROUTE: REPRESENTATION OF MIGRATION IN ONLINE NEWS</i> <i>Svetlana Nedelcheva</i>	53
<i>HEADLINE PATTERNS IN VIRAL WEB CONTENT - ENGLISH-BULGARIAN COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY</i> <i>Radostina Iglíkova</i>	71
<i>BRIDGING GAPS THROUGH FEMINIST PEDAGOGY: TEACHING ABJECTION IN A POSTCOLONIAL LITERATURE COURSE</i> <i>Antonia Navarro-Tejero</i>	85
<i>APPLICATION OF TRANSLATION RUBRICS IN LITERARY TRANSLATION CLASSES</i> <i>Özlem Şahin Soy</i>	92
<i>CONSTRUCTING BLACK MASCULINITY IN OLIVER PARKER'S OTHELLO (1995)</i> <i>Tarik Bouguerba</i>	101

<i>TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS IN BRITISH AND BULGARIAN PRINT MEDIA</i> <i>Irina Stoyanova-Georgieva</i>	119
<i>CROSSING BORDERS WITH TECHNOLOGY: USING GRAPHIC NOVELS IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING</i> <i>N. Berrin Aksoy</i>	129
<i>DIVERSITY AND IMPACT OF NATIONAL CULTURE ON UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS' LEARNING STYLES</i> <i>Nedka Dimitrova</i>	139
<i>UNVEILING THE CULTURAL IDENTITY OF PROSPECTIVE ENGLISH TEACHERS AT A PUBLIC UNIVERSITY IN BRAZIL</i> <i>João Fábio Sanches Silva, Lucia Maria de Assunção Barbosa</i>	152
<i>RAISING EFL STUDENTS' AWARENESS OF PRAGMATIC CONVENTIONS IN FORMING INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE</i> <i>İsmail ERTON</i>	169
<i>STEREOTYPES AND PREJUDICES AT THE BORDER: AN ATTEMPT AT RAISING INTERCULTURAL AWARENESS THROUGH EXAMPLES FROM THE BULGARIAN AND THE BRITISH MEDIA</i> <i>Desislava Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva</i>	184
<i>CULTURAL ITEMS IN READING TEXTS IN EFL CLASSES</i> <i>Birsen Tütüniş, İlkin Özyayla Başar</i>	198
<i>TEACHERS' AWARENESS OF THE BENEFITS OF CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT</i> <i>Irina Ivanova</i>	205
<i>THE NON-LINGUISTIC CONTEXT – A BRIDGE TO LINGUISTIC ITEMS AND PHENOMENA</i> <i>Miroslava Tsvetkova</i>	219
<i>THE USE OF COMMISSIVE SPEECH ACTS IN ENGLISH AND BULGARIAN AND THEIR POLITENESS IMPLICATION</i> <i>Deyana Peneva</i>	227
<i>VERB CHOICE IN MEDICAL RESEARCH ARTICLES (ESP)</i> <i>Ilina Doykova</i>	240

PREFACE

The present collection of papers accentuates on and covers issues related to different branches of linguistics, culture and media discourse and foreign language teaching. In a number of them, the studies are treated from inter- and cross- disciplinary perspectives and are at the intersections of various disciplines. All of them provide food for additional thought thus encouraging readers to either firmly agree with what is presented or to take a stand different from the one expressed in the respective article.

One of the studies sheds light on white colour idiomatic expressions in English and Turkish seen within the framework of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory taking into account cultural, historical, religious, and customary aspects. It is oriented to questions of metaphor and metonymy from a stylistic and communicative point of view and to the way representatives of respective cultures conceptualise the world.

In the field of metaphor analysis, another paper applies Lakoff's STATE-AS-A-PERSON metaphor and Mussolf's family scenario on a comparative basis again, this time in British and Bulgarian media texts. It discusses different political events from a family relations' perspective in both types of text.

The metaphoric transfer of knowledge is the focus of a study of English advertising discourse based on two- and cross-domain mappings referring to cultural conceptualisations of the world. In this respect, the use of multimodal metaphors, especially in the non-verbal component, is supposed to trigger more emotions and feelings than the mere representation of the advertised items.

One of the papers in the field of corpus linguistics deals with the analysis of *press_mouth* collocations and valency constructions and targets foreign language learners whose own language differs greatly from English being the language of orientation.

In the direction of media and cultural studies, there are some interesting investigations, one of them being the case study of representing migrants in online news headlines and their treatment from two opposite perspectives with contradicting images. As the Internet abounds in rich material in a number of different ways and is a comparatively new field for investigation as for internet linguistics, it provokes a lot of researchers to approach it and apply their own interpretations to the object of analysis. Thus, it has also attracted the interest of another colleague of ours who has dealt with headline patterns and various approaches to creating them in viral web content from an English-Bulgarian comparative perspective.

Another paper puts an emphasis on the application of translation issues in literary translation classes. It discusses general approaches to assessment of

translation competence and touches upon the workings of different institutions in this respect by analysing and comparing them. It also provides suggestions for improvement in the field.

In the same strand, related to literature but from a feminist perspective, a Spanish colleague has elaborated on her experience of teaching Githa Hariharan's *The Remains of the Feast*, Arundhati Roy's *The God of Small Things* and Shobha Dé's *Strange Obsession*.

A rather challenging analysis is presented in a paper examining Oliver Parker's film production of Shakespeare's *Othello* (1995) in which 'anti-Black sentiment in the American society with a focus on black masculinity' is explored. The author has made interesting parallels between the film's representation of the issues discussed and O. J. Simpson's real life story.

On translation issues there is an article related to translation equivalents of intensifiers and adjectives in Letters to the Editor in the British and the Bulgarian media discourse, namely newspapers and magazines. The study contains informants' results which make it a reliable source of scholarly information.

The crossing borders between literature and foreign language teaching with the help of technology can help while analysing graphic novels and comics. This has to do with one of the latest developments in both areas having a lot in common with popular culture, on the one hand, and its representation in a more up-to-date form as a combination of visual and narrative forms, thus offering useful 'culture-edge technological tools' for reading and writing skills in foreign language education.

An interesting study related to the diversity and impact of national culture on undergraduate students' learning styles is presented in a paper in an era of multiculturalism meeting businesses with education. Specific patterns of cultural influence on individual learning preferences are pointed out, thus triggering some practical implications for teachers and trainers in a culturally diverse environment.

The interrelation of cultural studies and foreign language teacher education is touched upon once again in a paper on the situation in public universities in Brazil. Cultural and multifaceted identities are put to the fore for prospective teachers of foreign languages.

A paper treats the raising of students' awareness of pragmatic conventions in forming intercultural competence in the English as a foreign language classroom. It provides challenging insights as regards the implementation of pedagogy of pragmatics in foreign language instruction which 'facilitates the development of intercultural competence and activates the cross-cultural schemata of the learners'. All these suggestions can be implemented and integrated into the EFL curriculum via translation, literary studies and digital multimedia technology.

Intercultural awareness can also be raised through the media by drawing the readers' attention to stereotypes and prejudices towards the cultural Other presented in a paper through examples from the Bulgarian and the British media. In this case, the Others are refugees whose stereotypes and images as well as prejudices towards them can spoil the whole picture.

The emphasis on cultural items while reading texts in the English as a foreign language classroom is not disregarded either as in this way learners' attention is explicitly drawn not only to the language studied but on the context it appears in. The question raised is to what extent EFL course books exploit culture specific aspects so that students can realise the essentials of their own culture better.

Yet another article treats the problems of raising awareness, this time of teachers of the benefits of continuing professional development. CPD is an 'important prerequisite for high quality and sustainable development in education'. Although it is a small-scale research it provides insights about teachers' qualification, their status, nature, scope, perceptions and beliefs about CPD.

In connection to the study of language what is of importance is the non-linguistic component which helps the easier acquisition of linguistic items. The issue is approached in a paper presenting the interrelation between language skills and cognitive development, perception and thought as well as the influence of language on non-linguistic cognition.

Foreign language teaching is of interest and of significance to all scholars as their main concern is the teaching of students. Thus, a paper focuses on the performative speech act of the verb *agree* in relation to an illocutionary act which belongs to the group of commissives in comparison with its Bulgarian equivalents and is closely connected to the politeness implications it contains.

Verb choice in medical research articles is a corpus-based analysis of high frequency verbs used in research articles with the aim of establishing the lexical core, native and non-native researchers need for publishing in medicine. Although it targets students of medicine, the procedures described in the study can be applied to other areas of academic interest.

Finally, to sum up, we can say that whatever the approach to any of the texts and the issues raised, text receivers will be faced with different interpretations to a number of academic problems that have either been the concern of various researchers for quite some time or are now shedding a different light to the intricacies of language, culture and the like and the way they can be presented to fellow scholars and younger generation followers interested in the respective issues. So, there are quite a lot of bridges to cross either tentatively or daringly and wait with impatience for what is ahead of us as for new explorations, endeavours and academic temptations.

A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY ON WHITE COLOUR IDIOMS IN TURKISH AND ENGLISH: CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY IN FOCUS*

Gökçen Hastürkoğlu**

Abstract: *This study aims at investigating how similar and different the embodied cognition of Turkish and English speakers is by providing a systematic description of Turkish and English white colour idiomatic expressions and by analyzing them within the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory through which the cognitive motivations behind the idiomatic expressions can be demonstrated. In order to do so, a large-scale corpus study based on specialized dictionaries on idioms in Turkish and English was carried out and a table was presented for each language illustrating the idiomatic expression, its meaning, its translation for the Turkish part, and the underlying conceptual metaphor or metonymy. After this cognitive analysis, it was revealed that despite some similarities in the cognitive mappings of the idioms in Turkish and English, the connotations of white colour idioms in two genetically unrelated languages vary because of cultural, historical, religious, or customary matters.*

Key words: *white colour, idiomatic expressions, conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, cultural cognition*

1. Introduction

With the advent of cognitive perspectives of metaphors in 1980s, the long standing idea supporting the fact that metaphors are one of the components of stylistic language was abandoned. Since then, more and more researchers have focused on the metaphors as a tool in human communication. In *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson revealed the metaphorical structure of human mind and stressed that meaning making is a process of structuring abstract concepts in terms of more concrete concepts (1980: 109). They emphasized that “Our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people. Our conceptual system; thus, plays a central role in defining our everyday realities” (ibid.: 3). They provided the conceptual

* This study is based on a part of the PhD Thesis of the researcher titled “A Corpus-Based Cognitive Study on the Comparison of Collocational Realizations of Basic Colour Terms in Turkish and English” written under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Işıl Özyıldırım at Hacettepe University.

** Lecturer at Atılım University, Ankara, Turkey, e-mail: gokcen.hasturkoglu@atilim.edu.tr

metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR as an example. In statements like “He attacked every weak point in my argument”, “Your claims are indefensible”, and “I demolished his argument”, the source domain WAR has entities such as position, combatant, allies, etc., while the target domain has entities such as opinion, debate participant, agreement, etc., and people are directed to talk and think about the target domain ARGUMENT in terms of the source domain WAR. (ibid.: 4). On the other hand, they mentioned the possibility that there may be different cultures in which arguments are not thought in terms of war, but viewed as a dance (ibid.: 5); therefore, in such cultures in which arguments are conceptualized as a dance, instead of ARGUMENT IS WAR, the underlying conceptual metaphor is ARGUMENT IS DANCE (ibid.: 5). As the experiences and perceptions of individuals in different cultures vary, their conceptualizations or their associating abstract things with the concrete ones change accordingly.

In *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics* the importance of culture in the studies on metaphor was emphasized by asserting that in such studies there is the requirement of “an explicit acknowledgment of culture and its important, perhaps defining, role in shaping embodiment and, consequently metaphorical thought” (Gibbs, Steen 1997: 153). Relatedly, Lakoff and Johnson discussed the relationship between culture and metaphor as follows: “The most fundamental values in a culture will be coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in culture” (1980: 22).

As a thematic and representative group of metaphorical language, colours can be regarded as the most prominent aspects of culture and colour terms have been studied within the fields of linguistics, cognitive, cultural, and translation studies. In this study, idioms which are constructed around the colour *white*, one of the basic colour terms as Berlin and Kay (1969) put it, were elaborated in order to shed light on the similarities and dissimilarities of collocational realizations of the colour *white* in Turkish and English idioms by providing the socio-cultural motivation behind these conceptualizations.

2. Previous Research in the Field

A number of comparative studies investigating the idioms with basic colour terms from a cognitive point of view can be seen in the literature such as “Connotative Meaning in English and Italian Colour-Word Metaphors” by Philip (2006) in which she revealed the frequencies of the basic colour terms in English and Italian and emphasized that connotations of colours are not universal and that the associated meanings of colours change greatly among different cultures. Another important study is “Basic Colour Terms in English: An Examination of Their Use and Meaning in English Expressions” (Chielens 2007) which aimed at demonstrating why certain colour terms are used in expressions and what

meanings can be expressed by them. Although Chielens included the examples of metaphorical expressions of colour terms in Dutch, this study cannot be called bilingual work; as there are only several examples provided in some chapters to compare with the English expressions. “A Comparative Study of Color Metaphors in English and Chinese” by He (2011) is a study which revealed the similarities and differences between the conceptual metaphors of colour expressions including black, white, red, yellow, blue in Chinese and English. The metaphorical expressions of colour terms were selected randomly; thus, not all metaphorical expressions were included in the study. “Basic Colors and Their Metaphorical Expressions in English and Persian: Lakoff’s Conceptual Metaphor Theory in Focus” (Rasekh, Ghafel 2011) is another comparative study in which the purpose was to investigate the connotations of basic colours in English and Persian and reveal the differences between these two languages. Rasekh and Ghafel compiled metaphoric expressions of colours from different dictionaries and conducted the analysis of some of the expressions, which they regarded as influential, to demonstrate cultural variations and similarities between the English and the Persian society.

While reviewing the literature, it was observed that the number of cross-cultural studies conducted on the analysis of basic colour terms is low in Turkey. “Fransızca ve Türkçe Renk İsimlerini İçeren Deyimlerin Karşılaştırmalı İncelenmesi” (A Comparative Analysis of the French and Turkish Idioms with Colour Names) by Topçu (2001) is a study providing a very limited corpus and trying to give a general perspective of the connotation of all the basic colours in Turkish and French. However, while presenting the similarities and variations in Turkish and French idioms with colour names, the researcher did not adopt Conceptual Metaphor Theory and did not deal with the issue on a cognitive basis. It should also be emphasized that there are monolingual studies conducted on colour terms in Turkish, but they were not described in this study.

3. Method

For ensuring more accurate results, the corpus was collected from a large number of specialized dictionaries of idioms. For the English corpus, *Cambridge International Dictionary of Idioms*, *Thesaurus of Traditional English Metaphors*, *Oxford Dictionary of Idioms*, *Collins CoBuild Dictionary of Idioms*, *Metaphorically Speaking: A Dictionary of 3800 Picturesque Idiomatic Expressions*, *McGraw-Hill’s Dictionary of American Idioms and Phrasal Verbs*, *Dictionary of Idioms and Their Origins* were used. For the Turkish corpus, the *Online Dictionary of Proverbs and Idioms of Turkish Language Association (TDK)* and a number of printed dictionaries on idioms which were compiled by Yörük and Yörük (1997), Aksoy (1998) and the work of Eminoğlu, *Türkçede Renkler Sözlüğü (Dictionary of Colours in Turkish)* (2014) were scanned in this study.

As one of the limitations of this study, the idioms which include another colour term were excluded from the database such as *ak koyun kara koyun, to be a black and white issue*, etc. For the remaining idioms, their usage in daily communication was found out, as it is crucial to know the contextual information of the expression in a foreign culture in order to determine the conceptual metaphors or metonymies of the expressions in question.

The analysis of the white colour idioms was presented through tables for Turkish and English separately, demonstrating the idiom, its metaphorical meaning (MM), the translation of the metaphorical meaning of the idiom for Turkish, and the conceptual metaphor/metonymy underlying the idiom which was determined within the framework of CMT. The interpretation of the tables was conducted through the instances from the recurring conceptual metaphors/metonymies.

4. Results and Discussion

Table 1 and Table 2 illustrate the conceptual metaphor/metonymy in Turkish and English white colour idioms:

Idiom	Metaphorical Meaning (MM)	Conceptual Metaphor/ Metonymy
<i>ak akçe</i>	MM: nakit para (cash)	CASH IS WHITE
<i>ak gözlü</i>	MM: gözlerinin rengi açık olan ve nazarının hemen değdiği inanan kimse (blue-eyed person who is likely to bring a curse)	WHITE EYE STANDS FOR EVIL
<i>ak gün</i>	MM: mesut ve mutlu gün (a happy day)	HAPPINESS IS WHITE
<i>ak pak</i>	MM: bembeyaz, temiz, parlak, saç sakalı ağarmış (very clean, old person)	CLEANLINESS IS WHITE; OLDNESS IS WHITE
<i>ak sakaldan yok sakala gelmek</i>	MM: çok yaşlanıp iyice kuvvetten düşmek (to become very old and lose strength)	WHITE BEARD STANDS FOR OLDNESS
<i>ak sakallı</i>	MM: yaşlı (old) LM: white-bearded	WHITE BEARD STANDS FOR OLDNESS AND WISDOM
<i>ak süt</i>	MM: namuslu kadının helal sütü (honest)	HONESTY IS WHITE
<i>ak süt emmiş</i>	MM: asil, soylu, faziletli, doğru, ahlâklı (as straight as a die)	HONESTY IS WHITE

Idiom	Metaphorical Meaning (MM)	Conceptual Metaphor/ Metonymy
<i>ak topuk beyaz gerdan</i>	MM: çok güzel kadın (very beautiful woman)	WHITE ANKLE AND WHITE NECK STAND FOR BEAUTY
<i>ak yazı</i>	MM: baht, şans (fortune, luck)	GOOD LUCK IS WHITE
<i>ak yüzlü</i>	MM: temiz, namuslu, doğru (honest, virtuous)	WHITE FACE STANDS FOR HONESTY
<i>alnı açık yüzü ak</i>	MM: çekinecek hiçbir durumu veya ayıblı olmayan (conducting any dishonest behaviour)	WHITE FACE STANDS FOR HONESTY
<i>alınının akıyla</i>	MM: ayıplanacak bir duruma düşmeden, şerefiyle başarı göstermiş olarak (with pride, honourably)	WHITE FOREHEAD STANDS FOR PRIDE
<i>ananın ak sütü gibi</i>	MM: ananın sütü bana nasıl helal ise bu da sana öyle helal olsun anlamında kullanılan bir söz (honestly deserving something without any suspicion)	HONESTY IS WHITE
<i>beyaz bayrak</i>	MM: atletizm yarışlarında hakemlerce gösterilen, sporcunun kurallara uygun bir biçimde atladığını veya koştuğunu belirten kısa saplı bayrak (white flag)	WHITE FLAG STANDS FOR PEACE
<i>beyaz çekmek</i>	MM: eroin çekmek (use heroin)	WHITE STANDS FOR HEROIN
<i>beyaz kömür</i>	MM: akarsulardan elde edilen elektrik gücü (electrical power produced from stream)	WHITE COAL STANDS FOR ELECTRICAL ENERGY
<i>beyaz oy</i>	MM: bir oylamada kabul anlamı taşıyan oy (positive vote)	WHITE VOTE STANDS FOR AGREEMENT
<i>beyaz ölüm</i>	MM: aşırı ölçüde alınan eroinin yol açtığı ölüm (death because of excessive amount of heroin)	WHITE STANDS FOR HEROIN
<i>beyaz sayfa açmak</i>	MM: bir konuda geçmişi unutarak geleceğe umutla bakmak (to turn over a new leaf)	HOPE IS WHITE
<i>beyaz Türkçe</i>	MM: açık ve anlaşılır Türkçe (pure Turkish)	PURITY IS WHITE

Idiom	Metaphorical Meaning (MM)	Conceptual Metaphor/ Metonymy
<i>beyaz yakalı</i>	MM: üretim sürecinde bedensel gücüyle çalışmayıp düşünsel etkinlikte bulunan, maaş veya ücret karşılığında çalışan memur, teknik personel (white collar, a worker or officer engaging in non-manual work, technical personnel)	WHITE COLLAR STANDS FOR PERSON PERFORMING NON-MANUAL WORK
<i>beyaz yalan</i>	MM: karşısındakini üzmemek veya zarar vermemek için söylenen masumca yalan (white lie)	HARMLESSNESS IS WHITE
<i>beyaza çekmek</i>	MM: yazıyı temize çekmek (to make a fair copy)	WHITE STANDS FOR A CLEAN PAGE
<i>beyaza çıkarmak</i>	MM: Temize çıkarmak (to be purified)	WHITE STANDS FOR PURIFICATION
<i>beyazlara bürünmek</i>	MM: her yan karlarla kaplı olmak; beyaz elbiseler giymek (to be covered with snow, to wear white)	WHITE STANDS FOR WEARING WHITE CLOTHES AND SNOW
<i>beyaz zehir</i>	MM: eroin, kokain gibi toz durumunda olan uyuşturucu madde (drugs such as heroin, cocaine)	WHITE STANDS FOR HEROIN
<i>gözünü ağartmak</i>	MM: gözlerini belirtmek, öfkeyle, akı görünecek şekilde gözlerini açmak, çok kızmak (to wide open the eye, with anger)	WHITE EYE STANDS FOR ANGER
<i>gün ağartmak</i>	MM: tan yeri aydınlanmak (dawn)	LIGHT IS WHITE
<i>kar beyaz</i>	MM: bembeyaz, çok beyaz (very white)	CLEANLINESS IS WHITE
<i>ortalık ağarmak</i>	MM: sabah olmaya başlamak (dawn)	LIGHT IS WHITE
<i>saç ağartmak</i>	MM: saç sakal ağartmak, o işte uzun zaman çalışmış, emek vermiş olmak (to work on and struggle for sth.)	WHITE HAIR STANDS FOR OLDNESS AND BEING EXPERIENCED
<i>saçı (saçları) değirmende ağartmamak</i>	MM: deneyimli olmak (to be experienced)	WHITE HAIR STANDS FOR BEING EXPERIENCED
<i>saçı başı ağarmak</i>	MM: yaşlanmak (to become old)	WHITE HAIR AND WHITE FACE STAND FOR OLDNESS
<i>saçına ak düşmek</i>	MM: saçı ağarmaya başlamak, yaşlanmak (to turn grey)	WHITE HAIR STANDS FOR OLDNESS

Idiom	Metaphorical Meaning (MM)	Conceptual Metaphor/ Metonymy
<i>şakakları ağarmak</i> (beyazlanmak)	MM: yaşlanmak (to become old)	WHITE TEMPORAL STANDS FOR OLDNESS
<i>sakalı deęirmende ağartmak</i>	MM: yıllar pek çok deneyim kazandırmış olmak (to be experienced)	WHITE BEARD STANDS FOR BEING EXPERIENCED
<i>sakalına ak düşmek</i>	MM: sakalı ağarmaya başlamak, yaşlanmak (to become old)	WHITE BEARD STANDS FOR OLDNESS
<i>süt beyaz</i>	MM: bembeyaz, çok beyaz (very white)	CLEANLINESS IS WHITE
<i>sütten çıkmış ak kaşık gibi olmak</i>	MM: temiz, saf olmak (lily-white)	WHITE FACE STANDS FOR HONESTY
<i>tan ağarmak</i> (atmak, sökmek)	MM: gün doğmaya başlamak, şafak sökmek (dawn)	LIGHT IS WHITE
<i>tanyeri ağarmak</i>	MM: sabah olmaya başlamak (dawn)	LIGHT IS WHITE
<i>yüz akı</i>	MM: övünç kaynağı (pride)	WHITE FACE STANDS FOR PRIDE
<i>yüzü ak</i>	MM: suçu ve utanılacak bir durumu olmayan (a person who has no guilt or shame)	WHITE FACE STANDS FOR HONESTY
<i>yüzü kireç gibi olmak (ağarmak)</i>	MM: yüzünde renk kalmamak, rengi solmak (to blanch)	WHITE FACE STANDS FOR PALENESS AND FEAR
<i>(bir işte) saç sakal ağartmak</i>	MM: o işte uzun zaman çalışmış, emek vermiş olmak (to work on and struggle for something)	WHITE HAIR AND WHITE BEARD STAND FOR BEING EXPERIENCED
<i>(bir işten) yüz (yüzünün) akıyla çıkmak</i>	MM: bir işi kendi saygınlığını yitirmeden eksiksiz ve başarılı olarak yapıp bitirmek (acquit oneself well)	WHITE FACE STANDS FOR PRIDE
<i>(birinin) yüzünü ağartmak</i>	MM: beğenilir iş yapmak, iş ve davranışlarıyla yakınlarının övünmesine sebep olmak (to make proud)	WHITE FACE STANDS FOR PRIDE
<i>bembeyaz kesilmek (olmak)</i>	MM: beklemediği bir durum karşısında beti benzi atmak (to become pale because of being shocked or scared)	FEAR IS WHITE

Table 1. *Conceptual metaphors/ metonymies of white colour idioms in Turkish*

Idiom	Metaphorical Meaning (MM)	Conceptual Metaphor/ Metonymy
<i>a son of the white hen</i>	MM: a lucky one	BEING LUCKY IS WHITE
<i>a white elephant</i>	MM: an expensive and useless luxury	USELESSNESS IS WHITE
<i>a white knight</i>	MM: a party voluntarily coming to the assistance of another party at a considerable cost to itself	HELPLESSNESS IS WHITE
<i>a white lie</i>	MM: a false statement uttered in a good cause	HARMLESSNESS IS WHITE
<i>a whited sepulchre</i>	MM: a hypocrite; someone who is ostensibly virtuous but inwardly corrupt, literary	HYPOCRISY IS WHITE
<i>at white heat</i>	MM: of intense passion	PASSION IS WHITE
<i>big white chief</i>	MM: a person in authority, humorous	AUTHORITY IS WHITE
<i>to bleed white</i>	MM: extort the last penny from someone	EXTORTION IS WHITE
<i>lily-white</i>	MM: honest and incorruptible	HONESTY IS WHITE
<i>lint-white</i>	MM: very white	PALENESS IS WHITE
<i>to look like a whitewashed wall</i>	MM: pale-faced	PALENESS IS WHITE
<i>to mark something with a white stone</i>	MM: regard something as especially fortunate or happy	HAPPINESS IS WHITE
<i>men in white coats</i>	MM: psychiatrists or psychiatric workers	A WHITE COAT STANDS FOR A PERSON ENGAGED IN PSYCHIATRIC WORK
<i>pale/white as whey</i>	MM: pale	PALENESS IS WHITE
<i>pearly whites</i>	MM: a person's teeth	LIGHT IS WHITE
<i>to stand in white sheets</i>	MM: make public apology	WHITE SHEETS STAND FOR MAKING PUBLIC APOLOGY
<i>to show the white feather</i>	MM: to indicate cowardice	FEAR IS WHITE
<i>to turn white</i>	MM: to express shock at unexpected news	FEAR IS WHITE
<i>to white ant someone</i>	MM: to surreptitiously seek to destroy a person	DESTROYING A PERSON IS WHITE
<i>to whitewash</i>	MM: to exonerate when this is not warranted by the facts	EXAGGERATION IS WHITE

Idiom	Metaphorical Meaning (MM)	Conceptual Metaphor/ Metonymy
<i>white about the gills</i>	MM: looking depressed or flushed with anger, drink or indignation, frightened, sickly	BEING SICK IS WHITE
<i>white as a clout</i>	MM: pale white	PALENESS IS WHITE
<i>white as a doll</i>	MM: bright	LIGHT IS WHITE
<i>white as a dove</i>	MM: bright	LIGHT IS WHITE
<i>white as a fish</i>	MM: pale-faced	PALENESS IS WHITE
<i>white as a flock of sheep</i>	MM: very white	LIGHT IS WHITE
<i>white as a ghost</i>	MM: extremely pale, as if frightened	PALENESS IS WHITE
<i>white as a hound's tooth</i>	MM: very white	LIGHT IS WHITE
<i>white as a kerchief</i>	MM: pale face	PALENESS IS WHITE
<i>white as a pillow</i>	MM: extremely pale	PALENESS IS WHITE
<i>white as a sheet</i>	MM: extremely pale, as if frightened	PALENESS IS WHITE
<i>white as a spirit</i>	MM: extremely pale	PALENESS IS WHITE
<i>white as a statue</i>	MM: extremely pale	PALENESS IS WHITE
<i>white as a witch</i>	MM: extremely pale	PALENESS IS WHITE
<i>white as ivory</i>	MM: bright	LIGHT IS WHITE
<i>white as milk</i>	MM: clean, very white	CLEANLINESS IS WHITE
<i>white as salt</i>	MM: extremely pale	PALENESS IS WHITE
<i>white as silver</i>	MM: bright	LIGHT IS WHITE
<i>white as the driven snow</i>	MM: extremely pale, as if frightened	PALENESS IS WHITE
<i>white as whalebone</i>	MM: very white	BEAUTY IS WHITE
<i>white crow</i>	MM: rarity	RARITY IS WHITE
<i>white flag</i>	MM: token of surrender	WHITE FLAG STANDS FOR PEACE
<i>white hen's chick</i>	MM: spoilt, petted child	BEING SPOILT IS WHITE
<i>white knuckle</i>	MM: something to survive something threatening through strained endurance	ENDURANCE IS WHITE
<i>white land</i>	MM: land where no further developments will be allowed	LAND WHERE NO DEVELOPMENT IS ALLOWED IS WHITE

Idiom	Metaphorical Meaning (MM)	Conceptual Metaphor/ Metonymy
<i>white livered</i>	MM: cowardly, spiritless	WHITE LIVER STANDS FOR FEAR
<i>white trash</i>	MM: an offensive way of describing poor white people who are not educated	WHITE TRASH STANDS FOR AN UNEDUCATED AND POOR PERSON
<i>white-bread</i>	MM: white-bread people or things are ordinary and boring, and often those that are typical of white, American people	WHITE-BREAD STANDS FOR AN ORDINARY AND BORING PERSON
<i>white-collar</i>	MM: a white-collar worker is someone who works in an office, doing mental rather than physical work	WHITE COLLAR STANDS FOR PERSON PERFORMING NON-MANUAL WORK
<i>whiter than white</i>	MM: extremely white, morally beyond reproach	HONESTY IS WHITE
<i>with white hands</i>	MM: innocently, honestly, without guilt	WHITE HAND STANDS FOR HONESTY

Table 2. *Conceptual metaphors/ metonymies of white colour idioms in English*

As for the commonalities, the cognitive analysis of Turkish and English white colour idioms demonstrated that the white colour most frequently refers to honesty which is observed in *ak süt*, *ak süt emmiş*, *yüzü ak*, *sütten çıkmış ak kaşık gibi olmak*, *ak yüzlü*, *alnı açık yüzü ak*, and *anasının ak sütü* in Turkish. In 4 of these idiomatic expressions (*anasının ak sütü gibi*, *ak süt*, *sütten çıkmış ak kaşık gibi olmak*, and *ak süt emmiş*), *white* is collocated with ‘milk’ of a mother. The holiness of mother’s milk is always emphasized in Turkish mythology, and the Sakha Yakut Turks believed that the goddess of motherhood, Ayzıt, gave life to her baby with her breast milk (Samur 2008: 7). What is more, in *alnı açık yüzü ak*, *yüzü ak*, and *ak yüzlü*, *white* is collocated with ‘face’ generating the conceptual metonymy WHITE FACE STANDS FOR HONESTY.

Honesty is also embedded in the minds of English speakers with the colour *white* as observed in the idioms *lily-white*, *with white hands*, and *whiter than white*. In these idioms, *white* connotes being honest and incorrupt as inferred from their meanings and naturally occurring examples.

Furthermore, the colour *white* most frequently refers to light in English as in *white as ivory*, *white as silver*, *white as a doll*, *white as a dove*, *white as a flock of sheep* and *white as a hound’s tooth*. Similarly, in Turkish, *white* is associated

with the day light as observed in *gün ağarmak*, *ortalık ağarmak*, *tan ağarmak*, and *tan yeri ağartmak*.

Cleanliness is conceptualized in the two cultures through the colour *white* as observed in *ak pak*, *beyaza çekmek*, *kar beyaz*, and *süt beyaz* in Turkish and *white as milk* in English. Other than creating OLDNESS IS WHITE conceptual metaphor, the idiom *ak pak* generates the CLEANLINESS IS WHITE conceptual metaphor which can be determined depending on the context.

Furthermore, *white* is also associated with the emotion of fear in Turkish and English, as fear causes a change in the colour of the skin as exemplified in *bembeyaz kesilmek* and *yüzü kireç gibi olmak* in Turkish. However, the association of white and cowardice (a type of fear) is more cultural in English as revealed in *to show white feather* and *white-livered*. For instance, for *white feather*, it was pointed out that as pure-bred cock has no white feather, a cock with a white feather in its tail is underbred and is believed to perform poorly in terms of breeding and fighting cocks (Flavell, Flavell 1992: 84). Thus, *showing a white feather* is considered to be a sign of cowardice in English.

As for the differences, paleness is one of the most striking varieties between the conceptualization of English and Turkish speakers. While paleness is the most frequently observed domain in English, it is not conceptualized in Turkish. *White* is used to describe the physical appearance of things and refers to the paleness of the skin in English as in *white as a sheet*, *white as a ghost*, *white as the driven snow*, *white as a kerchief*, *look like a whitewashed wall*, *white as whey*, *white as a fish*, *white as salt*, *white as a pillow*, *white as a clout*, *white as a witch*, *white as a spirit*, *lint-white*, and *white as a statue*.

What is more, while oldness is the most frequently observed target domain in Turkish, it is never conceptualized through the colour white in English, despite the fact that the whitening of hair, beard, and moustache is a physiological fact. The conceptual metonymy WHITE BEARD STANDS FOR OLDNESS is observed in *ak sakaldan yok sakala gelmek*, *sakalina ak düşmek*, *ak sakallı*, and there is the conceptual metonymy of WHITE HAIR STANDS FOR OLDNESS in *saçına ak düşmek*. Again associated with oldness, *ak sakaldan yok sakala gelmek* refers to powerlessness because of aging and *ak sakallı* also refers to wisdom with old age. What is more, the experience and knowledge of old people are foregrounded in Turkish idioms *saç ağartmak*, *saçı değirmende ağartmamak*, *sakalı değirmende ağartmamak*, (*bir işte*) *saç sakal ağartmak*.

Pride is another recurring target domain which is conceptualized by Turkish speakers as observed in the expressions of *alının akıyla* generating WHITE FOREHEAD STANDS FOR PRIDE conceptual metonymy. Also in (*bir işten*) *yüz (yüzünün) akıyla çıkmak*, *yüz akı* and (*birinin*) *yüzünü ağartmak*, the white face symbolizes pride in Turkish culture.

5. Conclusion

In this study, white colour idioms in Turkish and English were analysed within the framework of CMT and it was revealed that the differences (n=29) between the connotations of white in these idioms outnumber the commonalities (n=12) among these languages. Despite the common associations of the colour white which are light, honesty, innocence, fear, beauty, good luck, evil, happiness, harmlessness, non-manual work, cleanliness, and peace, it was observed that the colour white refers to cash, oldness, anger, wisdom, pride, heroin, electricity, agreement, hope, purity, white clothes, being experienced, and new page in Turkish, while it connotes uselessness, helpfulness, hypocrisy, passion, authority, extortion, psychiatric work, public apology, rarity, being spoilt, endurance, uneducated and poor person, ordinary and boring, paleness, exaggeration, and sickness in English. These results demonstrated that collocational realizations of the colour white are mostly culturally-oriented and these dissimilarities originate from the different cultural, historical, and social backgrounds of these languages. In other words, this study proved the fact that although Turkish and English speakers see the colour white in the same way, what they perceive and how they conceptualize the world through this colour mostly bear differences.

References:

- Aksoy 1998:** Aksoy Ö. A. *Deyimler Sözlüğü II*. İstanbul: İnkılap Yayınları.
- Berlin, Kay 1969:** Berlin B., P. Kay. *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Butterworth et al. 2002:** Butterworth A., Gurney D., Malfroy E., G. Mark. *Cambridge International Dictionary of Idioms*. UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Chielens 2007:** Chielens L. *Basic Colour Terms in English: An Examination of their Use and Meaning in English Expressions*. Diss. Universiteit Gent.
- Eminoğlu 2014:** Eminoğlu H. *Türkçe'de Renkler Sözlüğü*. Ankara: Gazi Kitabevi
- Flavell, Flavell 1994:** Flavell L., R. Flavell. *Dictionary of Idioms and Their Origins*. London: Kayle Cathie.
- Gibbs, Steen 1999:** Gibbs R., G. Steen (Eds.) *Metaphors in Cognitive Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hastürkoğlu 2017:** Hastürkoğlu G. *A Corpus-Based Cognitive Study on the Comparison of Collocational Realizations of Basic Colour Terms in Turkish and English*. PhD thesis (unpublished)
- He 2011:** He G. *A Comparative Study of Color Metaphors in English and Chinese. – Theory and Practice in Language Studies*. 1.12. 1804-1808. <<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/08fb/9995682801a456dd80d4eb9f6335d82e4d58.pdf>> [Accessed 15 Sept. 2017]
- Lakoff, Johnson 1980:** Lakoff G., M. Johnson. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press.

- Philip 2006:** Philip G. S. Connotative Meaning in English and Italian Colour-Word Metaphors. – *Metaphorik*. vol. 10, 59-93. <http://www.metaphorik.de/sites/www.metaphorik.de/files/journal-pdf/10_2006_philip.pdf> [Accessed 15 Oct. 2017]
- Rasekh, Ghafel 2011:** Rasekh A. E., B. Ghafel. Basic Colors and Their Metaphorical Expressions in English and Persian: Lakoff's Conceptual Metaphor Theory in Focus. – 1st International Conference on Foreign Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics. <http://eprints.ibu.edu.ba/33/1/FLTAL%202011%20Proceed%C4%B1ngs%20Book_1_p211-p224.pdf>. [Accessed 15 Sept. 2017]
- Potter et al. 1997:** Potter E., Watson J., Lax M., Timewell M., J. Todd (eds.). *Collins Cobuild Dictionary of Idioms*. Harper Collins Publishers.
- Renton 1990:** Renton N. E. *Metaphorically Speaking: A Dictionary of 3800 Picturesque Idiomatic Expressions*. Melbourne, New York: Warner Books.
- Samur 2008:** Samur G. Anne sütün. Ankara, Ministry of Health. <http://www.annevebebek.gov.tr/uploads/dokumanlar/anne_sutu_20.pdf>. [Accessed 12 Oct. 2017].
- Siefring 2004:** Siefring J. (ed.). *Oxford Dictionary of Idioms*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Spears 2005:** Spears R. *McGraw-Hill's Dictionary of American Idioms and Phrasal Verbs*. USA: McGraw-Hill.
- Topçu 2001:** Topçu N. Fransızca ve Türkçe Renk İsimlerini İçeren Deyimlerin Karşılaştırmalı İncelemesi. – *Hacettepe University Journal of Educational Sciences*. 20. 131-140. <<http://dergipark.ulakbim.gov.tr/hunefd/article/view/5000048891>>. [Accessed 15 Oct. 2017].
- Türk Dil Kurumu.** Atasözleri ve Deyimler Sözlüğü. <<http://tdk.gov.tr/>>. [Accessed 15 Oct. 2017].
- Wilkinson 2002:** Wilkinson P.R. *Thesaurus of Traditional English Metaphors*. London: Routledge.
- Yörük, Yörük 1997:** Yörük S., Y. Yörük. *Açıklamalı Deyimler Sözlüğü*. İstanbul: Serhat Yayınları.

FAMILY BEYOND BORDERS

Aleksandra Aleksandrova*

Abstract: *The paper studies the way Lakoff's STATE IS A PERSON metaphor and Musolf's family scenario are exploited in British and Bulgarian media texts. The models that are studied include marriage partners/ divorce, children-parents relations, misbehaving children, good children, poor relatives and stepmothers. The type of family relation used for presenting certain situation can change with a change in the political environment – for instance, a country can be presented as a marriage partner in one text, as a divorcee in another and as a (disobedient) child in a third text.*

Key words: *the state is a person metaphor, metaphor scenarios, family scenario*

1. Introduction.

Member states are presented as children and the European Union is the family. In this study it was observed that countries with financial problems are called erring children, the European Union is their father, who cares for the children, but can also punish them. The following family scenarios are discussed: marriage partners/ divorce, misbehaving children, punishing the misbehaving children, good children, poor relatives and stepmothers.

2. Previous research on the topic.

The metaphor of the European family is widely exploited in the media (see Lakoff 2003; Musolff 2006; Ishpekova 2012). In Lakoff's view, a state is conceptualized as a person, "engaging in social relations within a world community" (Lakoff 1990). Musolff studies metaphors related to the EU organized in "scenarios". In his view, the thematic target (for instance, EU politics) is accessed through a source input for the metaphor complex (family/ marriage/ concepts) and this is "characterized by the dominance of a few traditional, gender-coded stereotypes of family roles" (Musolff 2009: 1). Ishpekova (2012) uses Musolf's theory of scenarios in studying the image of Bulgaria in *The Financial Times* and concludes that Bulgaria is presented as "the naughty child" in the EU family scenario.

* Assist. Professor PhD at Shumen University, Department of English Studies, Shumen, Bulgaria, e-mail: a.aleksandrova@shu.bg

3. Analysis.

3.1. Marriage partners

When the UK voted for leaving the EU, a process referred to as Brexit, the event was compared to a divorce. Consequently, a list of notions from the domain of divorce were used in texts about Brexit: *divorce settlement*, *divorce lawyers* (*The Daily Mail*), *divorce bill* (*The Financial Times*). The event is characterized by verbs from the divorce domain, as in the following excerpt:

U.K. files for EU divorce, triggering 2 years to Brexit

Britain's EU envoy hand-delivers letter from Theresa May to EU Council president

The United Kingdom *filed for divorce from the European Union* on Wednesday, overturning four decades of integration with its neighbours, demolishing the notion that EU expansion is inevitable and shaking the foundations of a bloc that is facing challenges to its identity and its place in the world. (www.cbc.ca/news, 29/03/2017)

In the headline, the source concept *files for EU divorce* is used to access the target notion to start a formal procedure for leaving the EU. In the subhead, the event is described in literal terms, while in the main text again the metaphorical expression is used.

3.2. Children-parents.

The children-parents model is found in texts about political relations between the EU and member countries. The EU and its institutions are presented as a strict parent, while member countries are the children, who need to be criticized, scolded or punished when they misbehave. In the next excerpt, the verb *scold*, which means to “criticize someone, especially a child” (www.ldoceonline.com) is used to stand for reporting EU countries’ failure to fulfill their obligations:

Commission scolds EU countries for not paying into refugee fund

Progress report looks at the EU-Turkey deal by the numbers.

Twelve countries have contributed nothing so far to the €3 billion EU-Turkey deal, according to a European Commission report published Wednesday. (www.politico.eu 21/04/2016)

The idea that a member state is a child is reinforced by the failure to fulfill a requirement being directly called *disobedience*, as in the following excerpt:

Varoufakis would resign as a minister, and would never again have to endure all-day meetings in Brussels and Luxembourg, listening to other European finance ministers *scold Greece for its disobedience*. (<http://www.newyorker.com>, 03/08/2015).

The relation between the source domain concepts and the target domain concepts are presented in the table below:

Source concept:	Target concept:
Scold	To state a failure in obligations
Disobedience	A failure in obligations

The expression *сгълча, сгълчавам*, meaning “to scold” is used in the Bulgarian press with the same metaphorical meaning:

ЕС сгълча Анкара за арестите на журналисти (http://www.sbj-bg.eu, 22/06/2016)

The EU scolded Ankara over journalists’ arrests (http://www.sbj-bg.eu, 22/06/2016)

The EU, Brussels, and the European Commission are used interchangeably in such texts, as they form a metonymic chain with target notion one of the institutions in the EU. It is possible for one unit of the nominative chain to be found in the text’s headline, another in the main text, then the first one to be repeated again. In all cases, however, all the units in the metonymic chain are used in the metaphoric concept “Strict parent”, while the countries occupy the position of the misbehaving child. The verb “scold” can have different variations and degrees of meaning. While in some cases it is used to stand for criticism and stating a county’s failure, there are cases in which it means directly to launch an infringement procedure. In the following excerpt, the metaphorical expression is in the headline, while in the main text the literal expression is used:

Брюксел пак сгълча Унгария за медийния закон

Европейската комисия не изключва възможността за предприемане на наказателна процедура срещу Унгария по повод новия медиен закон и спирането на Клуб радио. (http://sbj-bg.eu, 19/01/2012)

Brussels scolded Hungary over media law again

The European Commission does not rule out the possibility of launching an infringement procedure against Hungary because of the new media law and Klub radio termination. (http://sbj-bg.eu, 19/01/2012)

In some texts, the parent-children relation is expressed by explicitly calling member countries “children” and using adjectives like “misbehaving” and “infantilized”. The word “child” is used as a synonym of immature behaviour. To emphasize on that meaning, the word “adult” is used later in the text of the following excerpt to stress the contrast:

Greece is not a *“misbehaving child”*, as Giles calls it. It is *infantilised* by its creditors’ unwillingness to release it from debtors’ prison, leaving it dependent on them for conditional liquidity. As *adults*, Greeks need to regain control over their destiny. Let them then hold the Syriza government accountable for its decisions at the next election. (<http://www.philippelegrain.com/a-response-to-chris-giles-on-greece/> , 03/07/3015)

Misbehaving children can be not only scolded, but also punished by their parents. This scenario is used with the family metaphor in texts about relations between member states and organizations of the EU. In such type of metaphors, the units of the metonymic chain representing “the child” are used interchangeably – the country and the head of the country are used synonymously, as is evident in the next excerpt:

Tsipras has earned his punishment

In another act of solidarity, creditors have made it perfectly clear that further debt relief will be on offer once *Greece* implements the lending conditions to which it says it agrees. This is a perfectly sensible attempt to *reward good behaviour* on the principle that you do not *give treats to a misbehaving child*. ... The longer Syriza pulls fresh stunts, the more *pain Greece will suffer* - with the danger that Mr Tsipras will lead it out of both the eurozone and the EU. (www.ft.com, 02/07/2015) .

The relation between the source concept and the target concept is represented in the table below:

Source concept	Target concept
Punishment	Greece’s economic crisis
Misbehaving child	A country that does not implement the lending conditions
Give a treat to a misbehaving child	To give a loan to a country that does not complete its obligations
To suffer pain	To take the consequences of the crisis
To reward good behavior	To offer debt relief
Good behavior	Implements the lending conditions

The concept of punishment is present in the scenario of the magnanimous parent. In the next excerpt, the European Commission is in the role of the magnanimous parent, forgiving its child (Greece), even trying to help it and letting it live with what it has done to itself:

Donald Tusk said in a joint media conference with Tsipras: “No one is interested in *punishing Greece*.”

“Our only goal yesterday and today, and also tomorrow, is *to help Greece*.”

“You know that the crisis itself is *punitive enough*.”

Tusk said he was confident a deal was close, saying there is “no political alternative”. (www.euronews.com, 04/05/2017)

The same structure used above about the economical crisis in Greece is found in texts about the political crisis in the UK:

The EC President insisted Britain’s withdrawal from the bloc must come ahead of any new relationship between the two parties. Yet he said the *EU will not seek to punish the UK* in the initial stage of the talks. “*We will not be punitive*. Brexit itself is *punitive enough*,” he said. (www.independent.co.uk, 31/03/2017)

The use of the same metaphor in the two cases leads to the following observation: when a member country starts to behave in a way that EU institutions do not approve, media present this following the same model – misbehaving children their parents should punish. Also, it is evident that with the change of the political situation, there could be a change in the model of presentation and more specifically in the family role a country occupies. For instance, the UK is typically presented as a marriage partner and hence the divorce scenario is exploited. When the country is said to have done things the EU does not very much agree with, it is presented as a disobedient child. That way, a model of equality is substituted with a model of subordination.

The EU children are not always disobedient. The countries which fulfill their commitments are called “good children”. However, when used in their own media, this phrase has negative connotation, as in the next excerpt:

Понякога човек има усещането, че Румъния и България са заели позицията на *добрите деца в блока* – понякога прекалено добри и може би невинаги гледащи своите собствени интереси (www.blitz.bg, 01/01/2017)

One sometimes gets the feeling that Romania and Bulgaria have taken the position of *the good children in the bloc* – sometimes far too good and maybe not taking care of their own interests. (www.blitz.bg, 01/01/2017)

3.3. Poor relatives.

In the British press, however, Eastern countries are called “poor relations” and are presented as a burden for “the family” of the European Union:

EU must pay price to keep Eastern *poor relations in the family*

The crisis in Central and Eastern Europe has been triggered by the world's financial turmoil. But the European Union was already set for an unpleasant showdown between its older members and its newer ones. Any recession - never mind one as acute as this - would have driven home the point that the east wants more than voters in the west want to pay (www.thetimes.co.uk, 03/03/2009).

The expression “бедните роднини” (poor relatives) is used in Bulgarian press as well. However, while in the British media their poverty is bad for the EU and involves a large “family” expenditure, in Bulgarian media poverty is bad for the people who live in the country:

Оставаме си *бедните роднини не само в ЕС*, но и в Европа изобщо

Доходите на българите са не просто най-ниските в ЕС, но са по-ниски дори от тези на гражданите на държави извън Евросъюза, като например Хърватска. (www.budnaera.com, 20/08/2008)

We remain *the poor relatives not only in the EU*, but in the whole Europe

Bulgarians' income are not just the lowest in the EU, they are lower even compared to those of people living in countries outside the Union, such as Croatia. (www.budnaera.com, 20/08/2008)

The expression “poor relative” with its variations (*poor cousin, poor relation*) is used not only for countries in a bad economic situation, but also for developed countries which are in a relatively worse position in certain aspect, compared to other developed countries.

UK will be ‘poor cousin’ of European science, Brexit study warns

Almost £1bn in annual research funding would be thrown into doubt if the UK left the EU, according to a study warning that quitting the bloc could turn Britain into *the “poor cousin”* of European science. (The Financial Times, 17/05/2016)

3.4. Stepmother.

For countries which have aspirations to enter the EU, but have not yet started the talks for admission, the EU is a stepmother. Since they are not yet part of the European family, the Union is not yet their mother, as shown in the next excerpt:

Financial aid has been delivered, but it is dwarfed by the aid and investment flooding in from the Turkish Cypriots' traditional patron state, Turkey. If Turkey is still the motherland, the EU is still *a stepmother*. In the absence of a big EU presence, the influence of modern Turkey is steadily growing in

northern Cyprus, with the privatization of businesses and an (unwelcome to many) program of mosque building. (<http://carnegieeurope.eu>, 03/07/2017)

Another reason for the choice of the expression “stepmother” is the negative connotation that is typically associated with the word. The use of the adverb “still” demonstrates that the situation and the attitude can change with time.

The word “stepmother” is used not only for supranational organization, but also for a single country. When the country government does not take enough care of the country’s interests and its citizens’ well-being, the country is presented as a stepmother:

България – *мащеха* за своите безценни билки

България успява да преработи нищожни количества от билките, които се берат у нас. Едва 5% от 15000 тона, които се добиват годишно, остават в страната. (www.trud.bg, 20/06/2017)

Bulgaria – *a stepmother* to its precious herbs

Bulgaria manages to process insignificant amounts of the herbs that are gathered in the country. Only 5% of a total annual production of 15000 tons are left in the country. (www.trud.bg, 20/06/2017)

4. Conclusion.

The family scenario is widely exploited in both the Bulgarian and the British media. Relations between countries are presented as family relations. The choice of the type of family relation in the source domain depends on the nature of the event that is portrayed in the media. A member state that is about to leave the EU is presented as a former marriage partner that is in a divorce process with the Union. The EU is portrayed as a parent punishing or helping its children. Member countries who do not comply with the EU directives are presented as misbehaving children and the legal actions against them are called punishment. Countries in an unfavourable economic situation are presented as poor relatives while the attitude of some non-EU members towards the EU is manifested by the use of the concept “stepmother”.

The type of family relation can change with a change in the political environment – for instance, a country can be presented as a marriage partner in one text, as a divorcee in another and as a (disobedient) child in a third text.

References:

Lakoff 1990: Lakoff G. Metaphor and War: The Metaphor System Used to Justify War in the Gulf. – Viet Nam Generation Journal and Newsletter. V3. N3. Viet Nam Generation, Inc.

Musolff 2006: Musolff A. Metaphor Scenarios in Public Discourse. – Metaphor and Symbol. 21(1). 23-38.

Musolff 2009: Musolff A. Love, Parenthood and Gender in the European Family: The British Perspective. – Europa – Stier und Sternenkranz. Von der Union mit Zeus zum Staatenverbund. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 536-548.

Ishpekova 2012: Ishpekova R. Policing the Naughty Newbies. Sofia: Unison Art.

Internet sources:

Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online. <www.ldoceonline.com/>
[Accessed 15 Sept. 2017]

Excerpted sources:

www.blitz.bg

www.budnaera.com

<http://carnegieeurope.eu>

www.cbc.ca/news

www.euronews.com

www.ft.com

www.independent.co.uk

www.thetimes.co.uk

www.trud.bg,

www.politico.eu

<http://sbj-bg.eu>

METAPHORIC TRANSFER OF KNOWLEDGE, CULTURAL EXPERIENCES AND SOCIAL PRACTICES IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE ADVERTISING DISCOURSE

Rumyana Todorova*

Abstract: *The paper deals with metaphoric transfer of knowledge in English advertising discourse based on two- and cross-domain mappings referring to cultural conceptualisations of the world. On the one hand, text producers' awareness of social events, as well as of people's experiences and practices helps them in the construction of advertisements in the most intriguing and sensational way. On the other hand, text receivers are provoked and tempted by the ads deconstruction, though in some cases their unawareness of what is happening or has happened around us or in the world at large may block or hinder comprehension and thus lead to either misunderstanding of the message and their ignorance of it or to their complete indifference to it. The paper deals with all of the above mentioned issues supported by examples of English language ads and commercials. It shows in what ways multimodality related to the use of verbal and non-verbal signs works in them. The results prove the fact that the use of multimodal metaphors, especially in the non-verbal component, is supposed to trigger more emotions and feelings than the mere representation of the advertised items.*

Key words: *metaphoric transfer, multimodality, advertisements, domain mappings*

1. Introduction

Advertising discourse performs social functions based on prior and background knowledge, familiar existing practices and cultural experiences about the world we live in. In this respect, text producers construct information with the help of metaphors so that it is as intriguing and sensational as possible for text receivers to be tempted by its deconstruction. The metaphoric transfer of knowledge is related to the use of two- and cross-domain mappings via different types of modal metaphors (in most cases multimodal) in both components of the text (verbal and non-verbal) and refers to cultural conceptualisations of the world target audiences should be familiar with. At the same time, our unawareness of what is happening or has happened around us or in the world at large may block or hinder comprehension and thus lead to either misunderstanding of the message and our ignorance of it or to our complete indifference to it. If the metaphors used cannot be comprehended, text receivers will either lose interest in the ad/commercial or neglect it completely which can even lead to a negative attitude towards the promoted item.

* Professor PhD at Shumen University, Department of English Studies, Shumen, Bulgaria, e-mail: r.todorova@shu.bg.

2. Previous research in the field

There is extensive research on metaphors in linguistic contexts either from a traditional (see Molhova 1976; Downing, Locke 1992) or recently, from a cognitive perspective (see Lakoff, Johnson 1980; Goatly 2011; Donoghue 2014). However, these are just some of the studies and some of the issues raised as far as metaphor is concerned. Thus, for example, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) exploited one- and two-domain mappings as regards conceptual metaphors. Nowadays, the study of metaphor does not only remain within the confines of language, but it is also connected to our way of thinking, communication and culture (e.g. Emanatian 1995; Kövecses 2005). Musolff and Zinken (2009) discuss the role of discourse for metaphorical meaning and understanding in cases of constructing various social realities. Ideology is also considered to be of importance in cases in which metaphors are used (Goatly 2007). The issues are also expanded to the non-verbal representations of information which leads to the use of multimodal metaphors (see Forceville, Urios-Aparisi 2009; Kövecses 2010). Kövecses (2015) touches upon the role of context in metaphor. In a previous study, he combines feelings, emotions and culture in the use of metaphors (Kövecses 2000) and at a later stage (2009: 11-24) discusses the interrelation between metaphor, discourse and culture with an emphasis on the role of coherence. The relation between metaphors and social life is exploited by Schnall (2014).

Various researchers either call one and the same manifestations of metaphor in a different way or in some cases give them different interpretations. Thus, for example, Grady (2007) elaborates on the non-verbal occurrence of metaphors, while Fauconnier and Turner (2002) discuss their multimodality. Forceville (2006) and Rodríguez (2016) elaborate on these types of metaphors in advertising discourse, the former pointing out the differences between their use in print ads and commercials. One of the latest investigations is related to conceptual metaphor in social psychology and its workings in everyday life (see Landau 2017). On the other hand, Švažienė (2010) has done a depth-in research on the persuasive effects of different types of modal metaphors in the field of advertising.

2.1 Research Questions

The present case study is an attempt to combine the various treatments of metaphoric transfer in the verbal and non-verbal components of English language advertising texts taking into consideration text producers' and text receivers' previous and background knowledge about different social phenomena and practices exploited in these narratives, as well as knowledge about the world at large. Culture plays an important part in the construction and deconstruction process. The point of orientation is not disregarded either.

3. Methods

The methods used for the analysis of advertisements is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and cognitive linguistics approaches which help interpreting multimodal metaphoric transfer via two- and cross-domain mappings in both the verbal and the non-verbal components of the narratives. Various cultural factors and social practices are also taken into account if present and where needed.

4. Data Analysis

As the paper is part of a bigger study which focuses on the types of metaphoric transfer in commercials as well as in printed advertisements of different products, the analysis elaborates on the way some of these tools for presenting one domain with the help another are exploited.

In the excerpted sources, the commercials present the metaphoric transfer in a more dynamic way and it is more difficult to follow the narrative and identify the existing metaphors as the shots follow in quick succession in most of the cases. On the contrary, the print ads show the two domains simultaneously and it is left to the reader to decode the intended information correctly in the way advertising agents have planned and projected it.

In commercials, a number of anticipatory mechanisms should be at play on part of TV audiences as the object of attention would usually appear at the end of the narrative. So, text receivers start making hypotheses and presuppositions about what follows next as is the case with one of Wes Anderson's IKEA ads titled *Living Room*. The story is constructed in the form of a dialogue:

Mother: Tell me what's wrong.

Daughter: I'm pregnant.

Mother: Oh, my God.

Father: I knew it... I knew it. It's that creepy boyfriend of yours, isn't it? I told you this would happen.

Daughter: Dad, stop.

Mother: So it's my fault now?

Father: Where do you think she got that stuff from, not from me. You smoked pot in college so...

...

A: So... what do you think?

Mother: I like it.

Father: Feels good.

Mother: We'll take it.

(The pictorial part of the narrative represents workers carrying the constructions of a living room. There are other customers passing by. There are also some construction drawings with IKEA's name)

IKEA shop unböring (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0CCL-vhEtf4>)

What is presented is a real life situation in which a family is planning to buy some furniture for their living room, so they are in one of IKEA shops sitting in a model living room, at the same time discussing social issues typical for any family. The narrative is full of dynamism and shots change very quickly as everything normally happens in reality. At first sight the plot of the narrative has nothing in common with the essentials of the advertising object but the way the commercial begins immediately attracts the audience's attention having to do with a topic which is more or less a taboo or at least a concern for every family: the daughter in the family makes a confession to her mother that she is pregnant, which then leads to a quarrel between the girl's parents.

This unexpected beginning of the text has its reasons and they are that recipients would be attracted to the commercial, influenced effectively and stimulated to buy the advertised product no matter what it is. In principle, people like sensations and especially news having negative orientations; they are provoked by them and tempted, if not 'seduced', to avail themselves of the offers. The juxtaposition in this case is achieved with the help of negative emotions, associations and reactions related to the bad news having caused the family scandal. The object of advertising, in this case IKEA living rooms, is presented with the help of the strategy of situating the product in social reality but at a much later stage. The unexpected way of introducing the goods attracts the audience's attention and the copywriter's aim is achieved to the full. Another provocative moment in the commercial has to do with the role of women, which is not the one of the mother and the faithful wife, but of the disobedient daughter, something which brings negative feelings but which is somehow forgotten and replaced by positive ones caused by the final decision made about buying the advertised item: 'I like it. Feels good. We'll take it'. In both presented situations, the dynamism typical for modern societies leads to reaching a solution to the problem. The last reactions, though referring to the furniture, can ambiguously be related to the mentioned issue. The whole text is based on the opposition between bad and good news. The metaphoric transfer is fulfilled with the mixing of entities from two domains as people mentally make the connection between time and space (see Radden 2011).

The complex isotopy directs the addressee towards two referential fields leading to completely contradictory perceptions, i.e. that of the time concept through

the space dimension metaphor and a certain risk-provoking feeling having to do with both fields, that of pregnancy and of possession of the living room. The play on words in the slogan makes the narrative even more memorable: ‘IKEA shop unböring’. It is achieved with the help of the neologism *unböring* valid only for the respective text. ‘Unböring’ can also stand for something which is not boring, i.e. interesting, different, provocative even. It is most probably associated with what is ahead of the young woman, the baby (not born yet) and with the ideas implemented in the furniture IKEA makes. The “o” with umlaut reminds one of the origin of the company offering the goods – it is Swedish. It, however, requires previous knowledge about the latter. Otherwise, recipients may think that there is a mistake in the way the word is written. This technique coincides with advertising agents’ willingness for the information to fit into the addressees’ models of the world to the maximum and it is definitely intended and well thought of. Those people who are interested in IKEA products would most probably be aware of the nationality and origin of the company. The mixing of entities from the two isotopic fields leads to metaphoric transfer of knowledge, related to cultural awareness and experiences exploited in the present advertising discourse. Or, in this case, as Landau has stated, ‘metaphoric thinking’ has to do with ‘mapping two things belonging to superficially different orders of experience’ (Landau 2017: 34). Although the two parts belong to completely different schemas, the domains that are used for presenting the information are familiar to target audiences, which supports Kövecses’ statement that

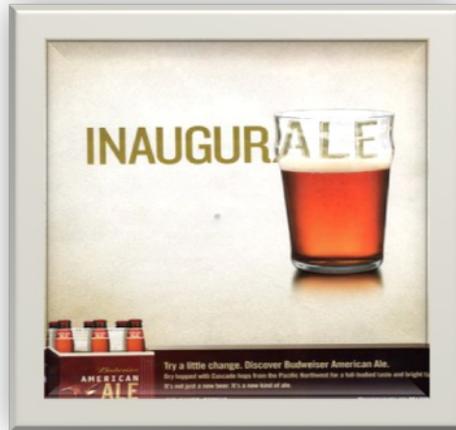
Part of the selling power of an advertisement depends on how well chosen the conceptual metaphor is that the picture and/or the words in the advertisement attempt to evoke in people. An appropriately selected metaphor may work wonders in promoting the sale of an item (Kövecses 2010: 65).

This type of metaphor is called *hybrid pictorial metaphor* (see Forceville 2006) as the two domains have practically nothing in common but we can define it as a *contextual metaphor* as well as the dialogue takes place in the living room which turns out to be the object of attention at a later stage. ‘In contextual metaphor, one term is described or characterized, the other is not, but unambiguously suggested by the pictorial context’ (see Tjirakusuma, URL). It can also be termed a *multimodal metaphor* as the compared entities exist in the non-verbal component but through the verbal one. ‘Feels good. We’ll take it’ can be considered to refer to the situation discussed and to the offer at the same time. The second sentence can stand for both ‘take the living room’ and ‘take the risk’. Multimodal metaphors are defined as those ‘whose target and source are each represented exclusively and predominantly in different modes’ (Forceville 2006: 384). The way this particular metaphor is presented is very subtle and it may not be conceived as such. It is not that easy to identify the source and the target domain as the first one comes first and then it is gone but the impression it leaves is strong as it is usually the case for bad news to be

remembered longer rather than the good ones. On the other hand, as humans are curious enough, they will watch the commercial till the end to find out what the advertised item is. Time is, however, presented along two lines with the help of one and the same spatial metaphor: time for the baby to be born and taken care of and time for the living room to be ready, both in the same spatial parameters. The interpretation of the information relies on previous experiences and social practices. The two processes imply positive motions and actions which have to do with spatial orientation metaphors, in this case the direction being up and/or forward. In most cases, as Landau has stated: “Metaphors help by mapping the target situation onto well-learned schemas borrowed from other domains” (Landau 2017: 18). In the presented commercial the target and the source domain are placed in two different modes which occur consecutively in the non-verbal part of the narrative through “moving images”, and yet other concurrent modes as simultaneously with the voice-over, i.e. the dialogue itself, together with it, there is yet a “third channel”, “the aural” (see Forceville 2007, URL). The target domain which is the new IKEA living room is shown at a much later stage in the visual mode, towards the end of the commercial. However, the source and the target domain in the pictorial component “rely on a verbal reinforcement to reach the most accurate understanding...; in other words, there is a possible continuum existing between monomodal and multimodal metaphor in commercial advertising as Rodríguez has stated (2016: 113).

Forceville’s opinion of *multi-medial metaphors* as he calls them is that they contribute to “a better understanding of culturally embedded knowledge and beliefs” (see Forceville 2007, URL).

In this particular context, the culture-specific factor of the discussed issues in the first part of the text is valid for most societies and it is oriented to moral values existing in communities anywhere in the world. One of the reasons for the application of this technique is that the company has branches all over the world and it should look for ways of rendering information which can be not only intriguing but also accepted by as many addressees as possible, quite successfully at that.



One of the samples from the corpus is a print advertisement about *Budweiser American ale* in which there is a multimodal metaphoric transfer based on wordplay. The occasionalism *INAUGURALE* is used and it is valid only for this particular context and time of publishing the ad (January 19, 2009). Part of the source domain is present in the caption in the non-verbal component and it refers to the existing social practices at that time. The target domain is present in the visual mode. Their awareness will definitely satisfy and please the target readership as the latter will be able to associate the use of the newly coined word with the history, politics, culture and social changes of the day in the USA. The date of the promotion of the beer and of the appearance of the ad even precedes the great event. The play on words may not be understood at all and it can hinder and block comprehension or it can be decoded only on a superficial level, i.e. relate *INAUGURALE* to the official introduction of the new beer (“inaugurate” meaning “to dedicate ceremoniously” + “ale”). The deeper comprehension of the text is connected and coincides with Barak Obama’s election and inauguration (January 20, 2009). All people know that he is the first African American who served as president of the United States of America. In this respect, the expression *try a little change*, or in other words “try something different which may bring a little spice in Americans’ life” may come handy as well. They indirectly mention the ‘freedom’ of choice. This ‘freedom’ of choice is related to recipients’ decision to make a change by trying something different, namely this particular beer. Indirectly, this freedom of choice may also refer to the political event. The latter is just a hint. It is not mentioned anywhere in the text. But the time frame related to the publishing of the ad coincides with all the political and social activities in the USA. The command in the advertisement “Sip. Savor. Repeat.” sounds like the famous command used at the beginning of a race “Ready. Steady. Go”. In this case, we may say, that it is even a rat race on

two levels and in the two domains – the source and the target. The rat race will be in politics as well as with the other brands of beer. Its simplicity based on a familiar association is the right choice, because it is easily memorised and sticks to mind. The text goes in the following way:

Try a little change. Discover Budweiser American Ale... It's not just a new kind of beer. It's a new kind of ale.

Sip. Savor. Repeat. Responsibility matters. (<http://www.eatmedaily.com/2009/01/budweiser-exploits-inauguration-with-inaugurale-advertisement/>)

The type of metaphor in the ad is *pictorial* with two components, as Forceville (2006) has put it. In principle, there are metaphors which exist on several levels at one and the same time, and Švažienė calls them “metaphorical blends” (Švažienė 2010: 112). Others refer to this type of metaphor as *integrated metaphor*. The abovementioned example is an instance of such a metaphor irrespective of its naming; however, the idea is the same. The two domains are blended into one or integrated and their interpretation will be successful if addressees or text recipients get the point correctly and relate the idea to the current situation. We may even consider the use of this type of metaphoric transfer a kind of ideology for those who can get the initial plan of advertising agents.

5. Results and Key Findings

The analysis confirmed the fact that there are a couple of factors that play an important role in decoding metaphoric transfer in advertising discourse, some of which social-cultural (see Gibbs, Cameron 2008) and cognitive (see Steen 1999). The way communication and manipulation are achieved through metaphors in this type of text can be different in different cultures because of our way of thinking, our previous knowledge and experiences as well as our knowledge about the world. Even in cases in which we belong to the same culture, social group and respective community we may not be able to decode the ads correctly as we may lack previous knowledge and experience or we may not be able to make the necessary connections between the presented entities and the entities which are just prompted by a number of extra textual factors on the unconscious or the subconscious level.

The idea of understanding metaphors in ads is supposed to be something related to pleasure rather than to something leading to either misunderstanding them, difficulties of decoding them or not understanding them at all. Either of these would result in negative attitudes towards the advertised item.

The findings show that metaphoric transfer in the analysed corpus is based on cultural, political, historical aspects and existing social practices in terms of word play occasionalisms (neologisms); situations, which seem irrelevant to the advertised scheme, even contradicting target audience expectations about the

advertised product. At times, the metaphoric transfer remains on the superficial and more literal level as there might be text recipients who are not capable of getting the deeper intentionality of advertising agents.

The results prove the fact that the use of multimodal metaphors, especially in the non-verbal component, is much more tantalising as it triggers more emotions and feelings than the mere representation of the advertised items. In commercials, there is a third channel (the aural one) which helps in the comprehension of the metaphoric transfer and yet it is more difficult to grasp the idea behind the narrative as motions are quite dynamic. In printed ads, text receivers have more time to think over the transmitted messages and the metaphors used but if these people do not have the necessary cultural and social background as well as previous experiences related to the respective story, they can miss the intended meaning behind this metaphoric transfer. If they realise the fact that there is something they have not understood, they will give up decoding the information and they may even become indifferent and/or acquire a negative attitude toward the advertised item.

6. Conclusion

In general, people accept the world in a different way which means that in a number of cases one and the same metaphor will be interpreted differently. However, this is not the most important thing in advertising discourse. What matters is the fulfillment of the pleasure principle (see Freud 1985) while decoding metaphors in these types of text which will then be transferred to the product when it is bought.

7. Implications

The implications for future research in this field can be to use informants and try out the comprehension of metaphors on informants who can be students, professionals in the field as well as non-professionals (people chosen at random) as these types of text are directed to everybody, their aim being successful manipulation leading to the expected purchase.

References:

- Donoghue 2014:** Donoghue E. *Metaphor*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Downing, Locke 1992:** Downing A., P. Locke. *University Course in English Grammar*. New York: Prentice Hall. New York English Language Teaching Series.
- Emanatian 1995:** Emanatian M. *Metaphor and the Expression of Emotion: The Value of Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. – *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity*. vol. 10. 1995. Issue 3, 163-182.

- Fauconnier, Turner 2002:** Fauconnier G., M. Turner. *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities*. New York: Basic Books.
- Forceville 2006:** Forceville C. *Pictorial Metaphor in Advertising*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Forceville 2007, URL:** Forceville, C. *A Course in Pictorial and Multimodal Metaphor*. <<https://semioticon.com/sio/courses/pictorial-multimodal-metaphor/>>. [Accessed 12 June 2017]
- Forceville, Urios-Aparisi 2009:** Forceville C., E. Urios-Aparisi (eds.) *Multimodal Metaphor*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Freud 1985:** Freud S. *Art and Literature*. vol. 14. Dickinson A. (ed.). London: Penguin.
- Gibbs, Cameron 2008:** Gibbs R. W., L. Cameron. *The Social Cognitive Dynamics of Metaphor Performance*. – *Cognitive Systems Research*. 9(1-2), 64-75.
- Goatly 2007:** Goatly A. *Washing the Brain: Metaphor and Hidden Ideology*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Goatly 2011:** Goatly A. *The Language of Metaphors*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.
- Kövecses 2000:** Kövecses Z. *Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture, and Body in Human Feeling*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kövecses 2005:** Kövecses Z. *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kövecses 2005:** Kövecses Z. *Metaphor, Culture, and Discourse: The Pressure of Coherence*. – In: Musolff A., J. Zinken (eds.) *Metaphor and Discourse*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 11-24.
- Kövecses 2010:** Kövecses Z. *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kövecses 2015:** Kövecses Z. *Where Metaphors Come From: Reconsidering Context in Metaphor*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Molhova 1976:** Molhova J. *Outlines of English Lexicology*. Sofia: Naouka i izkoustvo.
- Musolff, Zinken 2009:** Musolff A., J. Zinken. *Metaphor and Discourse*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lakoff, Johnson 1980:** Lakoff G., M. Johnson. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Landau 2017:** Landau M. J. *Conceptual Metaphor in Social Psychology: The Poetics of Everyday Life*. New York and London: Routledge. Taylor & Francis Group.
- Radden 2011:** Radden G. *Spatial Time in the West and the East*. – In: Brdar M., Omazic M., Takac V., Gradecak-Erdeljic T., G. Buljan (eds.) *Space and Time in Language*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Rodríguez 2016:** Rodríguez M. I. M. *Analysing Metaphors in Commercial Advertising*. – *Verbeia Número*. 1, 107-125.
- Schnall 2014:** Schnall S. *Are There Basic Metaphors?* – In: Landau M. J., Robinson M., B. Meier (eds.) *The Power of Metaphor: Examining Its Influence on Social Life*. Washington, DC: APA Press. 225-248.
- Steen 1999:** Steen G. J. *From Linguistic to Conceptual Metaphor in Five Steps*. – In: Gibbs R. W. JR., G. J. Steen (eds.) *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 57-77.

Švažienė 2010: Švažienė L. The Persuasive Effect of Metaphor in Advertising. – Jaunųjų Mokslininkų Darbai. Nr. 2 (27), 2010. 111-115.

Tjirakusuma, URL: Tjirakusuma, N. I. <http://repository.petra.ac.id/16647/1/Publikasi184001_1519.pdf>

Excerpted sources:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0CCL-vhEtf4>. Published August 15, 2009. [Accessed 12 June 2017]

<http://www.eatmedaily.com/2009/01/budweiser-exploits-inauguration-with-inaugurale-advertisement/>. Published January, 19, 2009. [Accessed 12 June 2017].

CONSTRUCTIONS WITH *PRESS_MOUTH* COLLOCATION

Temenuzhka Seizova-Nankova*, Mehmed Muharem**

Abstract: *The article examines the whole population of press_mouth collocation in order to explore the hypothesis of the construction as a basic linguistic unit used spontaneously by native speakers in discourse. The findings are relevant to foreign language learners especially whose own language (in this case Bulgarian) differs so dramatically from English.*

Key words: *collocations, directionality of relations, corpus-driven approach, ‘valency’ constructions, construction grammar*

1. Introduction

One basic hypothesis that has been raised (Goldberg 1995; Croft 2001; Seizova-Nankova 2016) concerns the notion of ‘construction’ as a basic linguistic unit on every level of analysis. The main objective of the paper is to give the know-how of carrying out an investigation of authentic linguistic data in the endeavor of finding the different constructions of the *press_mouth* collocation. Thus, the paper is intended to show how knowledge of recent developments in linguistics can be applied to practical purposes in students’ projects. In that sense it hopefully serves as a kind of bridge between theory and practice as it gives, by way of illustration, some instruction of how to approach language-in-use. Such descriptions are a great challenge to the researcher as they cannot be carried out without the help of proper methodology.

Part 1 is an introduction to the structure and general aims of the paper. Part 2 consists of a concise description of previous research in the field. Part 3 deals with the methodology used. Part 4 includes the analysis proper by giving a step-by-step instruction in bringing to light the main properties of the constructions as well as exhibiting the comparatively high degree of complexity of the internal structure of the collocation. Parts 5, 6 and 7 summarize the variety of valency constructions used by native speakers (NSs) based on the BNC, more specifically

* Assoc. Prof. PhD at University of Shumen, Department of English Studies, Shumen, Bulgaria, e-mail: seizova@shu.bg.

** MA student, Linguistics and Translation, Department of English Studies, University of Shumen, Shumen, Bulgaria, e-mail: mehmed.muharem@yahoo.com

the word sketch of the ‘noun’ mouth (Kilgarriff et al. 2004) including the conclusions and the implications of the results for foreign language linguistics.

2. Previous research in the field

Collocations have increasingly received due attention. However, detailed research on VERB+NOUN collocations (NOUN=bodypart terms), focusing on their complex internal structure, so far as we are informed, are few and far between. *Lexicogrammar of V_HAND(S) collocations. A Corpus-driven Approach* (Seizova-Nankova 2016) is the monograph that fills this gap and which can be used as a manual to students in terms of descriptive tools, insights about the emergent nature of language, together with highlights in foreign language linguistics. *Press_mouth* collocation forms a part of the investigation of language-in-use of the keyword *mouth* which is itself part of the bigger research of collocations with bodypart terms (see App. 1 and 2).

Other related research even though not in the form of a stand-alone monograph is Kudrnáčová’s (2004). It deals with *rub o’s hands* and *wring o’s hands*. The corpus samples from the BNC are the same as in Seizova-Nankova (2016) but the approach is different and the results, even though complementary to the ones from the above mentioned monograph, are also different (cf. Seizova-Nankova 2016). It is, however, necessary to note that the results of the corpus-driven approach confirm the idea of the construction as a basic linguistic unit which is a contribution both to typological research and language change.

The understanding of the term ‘collocation’ has to do with several features most important of which are computational statistics in building the corpus, in our case the word sketch of *mouth* (Kilgarriff et al. 2004) and directionality. Most verb-centered theories of syntax take the verb to be the pivot of the syntactic structure. However, the corpus illustrates the grammatical and distributional properties of the word *mouth*, prominent among which is the VERB+OBJECT relation and this fact takes account of the directionality between the keyword, the node *mouth* in the *press_mouth* collocation, and the verb itself. Directionality is the other important feature which carries significant consequences with it. It is important to understand that by changing directionality we get different results. To illustrate this, we will take the example with *lend a hand* collocation and its double object construction *lend me a hand* (Bybee 2010: 36). Considering the fact that we take *mouth* as the node and explore the span to the left and right of it, examples such as *lend me a hand* (the so called double object construction) are excluded from the word sketch corpus by default. On the other hand, the corpus supplies us with other variations of the classical double object construction in which the object complement is formally realized by what is called going beyond the noun phrase realization. Such phrases actually turn out to be even more frequent (Seizova-Nankova 2016).

2.1. Research Questions

The research questions grow out of the empirical data, i.e. the corpus of the whole population which is a typical feature for the approach used. Here are the basic ones:

- what is the number of participants/complements in every instance of use,
- what complement types are they realized by,
- how do they co-occur to form recurrent patterns of use,
- what are the preferred and dispreferred choices of valency constructions.

The basic objective is to test the hypothesis that the (valency) construction is the basic meaningful unit in language use (Seizova-Nankova 2016).

3. Methods

The basic method used is the lexical approach to valency theory (Herbst, Schüller 2008; Herbst 2015) in combination with the construction grammar approach to argument structure (Goldberg 1995; Croft 2001). *Argument structure constructions* and *valency constructions* are illustrated by the corpus-driven approach (Herbst et al. 2004) in which the notion of frequency is used to exemplify recurrent instances of authentic material drawn from the BNC.

The lexicographic approach applied to the verbal part of the collocation *press* (OALD online) serves as a starting point to the analysis but is also a way of illustrating how the new technologies have influenced dictionary makers towards reflecting word partnerships.

The detailed procedure applied in **4. Analysis of *press_mouth* corpus** includes several steps each of which forms essential part of the methodology used. It begins with the dictionary definition – certain selected extracts from the dictionary entry. It is followed by 20 lines of the corpus itself. On this empirical basis every use is classified according to **quantitative valency**. The participants, the so-called complements of the valency carrier *press*, show certain range of variation in their formal realization. Most common are [NP]-complements often realized by personal pronouns but there are complements beyond the NP such as [against_NP] and [against/to_NP]-complements in predicate complement unit two (further – PCU2) position and [on/toward_NP]-complements in PCU3 position (these are based on the corpus analysis of *press_mouth* collocation). That is clearly shown in the **complement inventory** which comes next and is then illustrated by **examples** from the corpus. The examples section seems to be a repetition and hence an unnecessary part of the analysis, but it is not. In fact, it presents a stage in the analysis in which the researcher makes a qualitative selection from the corpus and gives the minimum number of illustrative examples

on which the analysis is carried out. For the reader the criteria of the selection is as yet undisclosed and remains to be illuminated with every step of further distancing away from raw data. The **valency patterns** formally different are the next step which leads us straight to the **valency constructions** themselves. The latter carry some idiosyncratic and some general features. Since this process expresses the gradual abstracting away from the empirical material on the way to some degree of generalization, a process which is in itself hard to follow, the descriptive tools described in Seizova-Nankova (2016) meet the challenge.

The basic idea behind constructions is to do with the fact that constructional meaning is achieved partly by the process illustrated in the analysis and partly by the realization that it is a kind of meaning over and above the meanings of the component parts. Explanation for that is to be found exactly in the greater strength between the parts of the collocation and also in its directionality.

4. Analysis of *press_mouth* corpus

For the first time the whole population of *press_mouth* collocation which consists of 23 hits drawn from the British National Corpus, all in the singular, is explored.

We start with the dictionary definition of *press*.

The dictionary definition (OALD online)

Press = push/squeeze

[transitive, intransitive] **to push something closely and firmly against something; to be pushed in this way**

Press = try to persuade

[transitive] **to make strong efforts to persuade or force somebody to do something**

SYNONYMS PUSH, URGE

Press somebody If pressed, he will admit that he knew about the affair. *press somebody for something* *The bank is pressing us for repayment of the loan*

Press somebody to do something *They are pressing us to make a quick decision.*

Press somebody into something/into doing something *Don't let yourself be pressed into doing something you don't like.*

Idioms

press (the) flesh (*informal*) (of a famous person or politician) to say hello to people by shaking hands

press something home to get as much advantage as possible from a situation by attacking or arguing in a determined way

From what we read in the dictionary it's not clear what is the possible use of the verb *press* in the close environment of *mouth*. Its basic meaning comes close to the meaning of *pushing* and *squeezing*. However, we get no idea of the reflexive construction which is most common. There is no clue in the definition of its possible use in the non-reflexive construction either. The knowledge we get from the dictionary entry is limited and incomplete. A complete picture of the internal complexity of collocation structure is possible to obtain only as a final result of the study at hand.

Corpus sample

JXX intensity of her longing for him to press his	mouth to her lips, or to be roughly crushed within
JXS it would feel to have him hold her, his	mouth pressed in passion against her own. </p>
JXV the other. She turned to him, pressing her	mouth to his in a long, drugging kiss, while
JY7 clasp his face in her hands, and press her	mouth to his. </p><p> 'Nico,' she'd sigh, as he
JY7 hair back from her throat and pressed his	mouth to her skin. 'Can you imagine? I have not
JY7 , caught her hand in his and pressed his	mouth to the palm. </p><p> 'Carissima,' he said
JYD later he had bent his head to press his hot	mouth against the swell of her breasts. </p><p>
HGT position that I'm in, eh? He pressed his	mouth down on hers and kissed her long and hard
HH1 with wanting her. He wanted to press his	mouth to her softly parted lips and taste the
HNP except this heart's white face was seen shy	mouth pressed by the window's cold, the question
H8H with one anguished movement she pressed his	mouth further down so that he was sucking on
H8F made no effort to remove it. Instead his	mouth pressed against the soft cotton, tracing
H9L resisting an urge to move closer and press her	mouth to his shoulder, combating it by wondering
H9V Dragging her into his arms, he pressed his	mouth against her neck. 'I want you,' he muttered
AE0 then 999. Masha, kneeling, was pressing her	mouth to Rozanov's, attempting to force life
BMG it in a contented fashion. Pressing the	mouth to it, they start to suck or chew it rhythmically
B7L later, a rising Atlantic began to press the	mouth of the Susquehanna back toward its source
GUK together. If she pressed very hard then her	mouth would not open to scream. Torrents of lava
G1S She held him closer to her, pressing his	mouth against her breast. His hand moved to her
G1S sun. </p><p> He bit her lips and pressed his	mouth down hard on hers, his hand slipping back

Consider the twenty lines of the corpus data above.

The keyword is used only in the singular. From what we know, lexical countable nouns may occur in both uses – sg. and pl. In this case the lemma *mouth* occurs only in the singular – 100%.

The noun phrase with the keyword is used in 17 instances with the genitive (his *mouth* /12, her *mouth* /5) of the personal pronouns. The genitive plays a central role in the description of the collocations with *mouth*. In the whole corpus (23 hits) this relation is 14/*his* (two uses of which are with pre-modification: *his hot mouth* and *his open mouth* – see below) to 6/*her*. The fact itself speaks of the importance this collocation plays in the interpersonal relationship between the sexes and also of a kind of prevalence in the male behavior which is of importance to gender studies.

There is only one instance with a zero determiner ($\emptyset/1$ – consider the example: HNP except this heart’s white face was seen shy mouth pressed by the window’s cold, the question ...) and 2 instances with the definite determiner (the/2), consider the examples: BMG it in a contented fashion. *Pressing the mouth* to it, they start to suck or chew it rhythmically, and B7Llater, a rising Atlantic began to press the mouth of the Susquehanna back toward its source

Pre-modification. The use of pre-modification combines with zero determiner: \emptyset *shy mouth* or with the genitive: *his hot mouth*. Another such example in the whole corpus is *his open mouth* – consider: FU8hide her revulsion as he pressed his open mouth against hers and began fumbling with the ...

Word order. According to the relative position in the constructions of the verb and the keyword, we found two different word orders. In the first case ‘*press*’ precedes the keyword and this is the prevailing model in terms of frequency.

In the second word order, the keyword precedes the verb, but there are only 4 instances in the whole corpus.

QUANTITATIVE VALENCY

Trivalent uses

4. HH1 with wanting her. He wanted to press his **mouth** to her softly parted lips and taste the ...
- 5.H9V Dragging her into his arms, he pressed his **mouth** against her neck. ‘I want you,’ he muttered ...
3. H8H with one anguished movement she pressed his **mouth** further down so that he was sucking on ...

Quadrovalent uses

1. G1S sun.</p><p> He bit her lips and pressed his mouth down hard on hers, his hand slipping back ...
2. B7Llater, a rising Atlantic began to press the mouth of the Susquehanna back toward its source ...

COMPLEMENT INVENTORY

I optional [NP]	1, 2, 3, 4, 5
II optional [NP]	1, 2, 3, 4, 5
III optional [AdvP], [PartP]	1, 2, 3, 4, 5
IV optional [PartP]	1, 2

Note: ‘With respect to optionality, valency slots will be characterized as to whether a slot must or can be realised by a complement.’ (Herbst, Uhrig 2009).

EXAMPLES

1. G1Ssun.</p><p> He bit her lips and pressed his **mouth** II downIII hard on hersIV, his hand slipping back ...
2. B7Llater, a rising Atlantic I began to press the **mouth** of the Susquehanna II **back III** toward its source IV ...
3. H8Hwith one anguished movement sheI pressed his **mouth**II further downIII so that he was sucking on ...
4. HH1with wanting her. HeI wanted to press his **mouth**II to her softly parted lipsIII and taste the ...
5. H9VDragging her into his arms, heI pressed his **mouth**II against her neck.III ‘I want you,’ he muttered ...

VALENCY PATTERNS

[NP] act-subj + verb/act + [NP] +[against/to_NP]	4, 5
[NP] act-subj + verb/act + [NP] + [AdvP]	3
[NP] act-subj + verb/act + [NP] + [AdvP] + [on/toward_NP]	1, 2

VALENCY CONSTRUCTIONS

The valency constructions found are the reflexive and non-reflexive trivalent, the reflexive and non-reflexive quadrovalent and the nominalization construction. The most frequent is the reflexive trivalent construction, followed by the reflexive quadrovalent construction. The non-reflexive quadrovalent construction has just one unique token.

Trivalent uses

The constructions with trivalent uses are mostly reflexive: 14 instances - only 1 instance of the non-reflexive construction.

THE REFLEXIVE CONSTRUCTION

As we know the trivalent constructions exhibits subtypes: reflexive and non-reflexive. In this case we are talking about the reflexive construction directed

to others. The following referential chain [he1->his1->her2] helps visualize the result.

The genitive *his* in PCU1 position correlates with the subject complement unit (SCU), which means that they share the same referent. This is why we call this type of construction reflexive.

H9V Dragging her into his arms, heI pressed his **mouth**II against her neck.III
 ‘I want you,’ he muttered ...

SCU VHC_{act:3} PCU1 PCU2
 [NP_{act-subj} ‘CAUSER’]_pressed_{act-}[NP ‘CAUSED’]_[PartP ‘GOAL’]

THE NON-REFLEXIVE CONSTRUCTION

In contrast to the reflexive construction here the subject complement unit (SCU) is realized by *she*, but doesn’t share same referent with the PCU1 – *his* in *his mouth*. This is why the construction is non-reflexive. There is only one instance.

H8H with one anguished movement sheI pressed his **mouth**II further downIII
 so that he was sucking on ...

SCU NP VHC_{act:3} PCU1 PCU2
 [NP_{act-subj} ‘AGENT’]_pressed_{act-}[NP ‘AeFFECTED’]_[ADV ‘DIRECTION’]

Quadrovalent uses

There are 3 instances of the reflexive and only 1 instance of the non-reflexive quadrovalent construction.

THE REFLEXIVE CONSTRUCTION

G1S sun.</p><p> He bit her lips and pressed his **mouth**II downIII hard on hersIV, his hand slipping back ...

SCU VHC_{act:4} PCU1 PCU2 PCU3
 [NP_{act-subj} ‘AGENT’]_pressed_{act-}[NP ‘AeFFECTED’]_[ADV ‘DIRECTION’]_[PartP ‘GOAL’]

This is a case of the reflexive construction. The subject complement unit (SCU) is realized by *he*, the realization of PCU1 is by the genitive *his*, which means that SCU and PCU1 share the same referent. It is a realization of the following referential chain: [he1 -> his1 -> her2].

THE NON-REFLEXIVE CONSTRUCTION

It is possible to encounter examples where this role is performed by the definite article. Consider the next example which represents a unique quadrovalent construction.

B7L later, a rising Atlantic began to press the **mouth** of the Susquehanna II back III toward its source IV ...

SCU VHC_{act:4} PCU1 PCU2 PCU3
 [NP_{act-subj} 'AGENT']_press_{act}_[NP 'AeFFECTED']_[ADV 'DIRECTION']_[PartP 'SOURCE']

In the last example the subject is not a person and the AeFFECTED is a geographic object – the *mouth of the Susquehanna*, a typical case of lexical metaphor.

NOMINALIZATION

Four instances of the collocation show another construction type called *nominalization*. In this case the keyword *mouth* acts as head of a noun phrase with a reduced relative clause of the past participle of the verb *press* together with its complement as post-modification. This construction poses great difficulties for the foreign language learner both in its identification and comprehension. It can be easily confused with the ergative construction for the simple fact that the past tense and the past participle of the verb *press* are homonymous in form especially when the context is not clear enough. The type of nominalization construction can be both active and passive. In this case, it is a realization of the passive construction. Consider the underlined part of the following examples:

H8F made no effort to remove it. Instead his mouth pressed against the soft cotton, tracing ... ;

JXS it would feel to have him hold her, his mouth pressed in passion against her own;

FR3 No. I with a bullet. The corner of her mouth pressed against mine and in concert with ... ;

HNP except this heart's white face was seen shy mouth pressed by the window's cold, the question

5. Results

This paper is based on a corpus-driven analysis. No previous knowledge of the constructions with *press_mouth* collocation is available. Thanks to this analysis

and the results produced we realize that the size of the corpus is irrelevant. The important information is born out by the structures themselves. The preferred choice is the use of genitive forms: 20 instances in the whole corpus. Consider the table below:

Genitive	Tokens	Percentage	
His	14	14/23	61%
Her	6	6/23	26%

Table #1 Genitive *his/her* + keyword *mouth*

Only the genitives *his* and *her* are used, with the exception of 3 instances – one with zero determiner and two – with the definite article.

These enter in a great variety of constructions: the reflexive and non-reflexive trivalent, and the quadrovalent both reflexive and non-reflexive and the nominalization construction type. The prevalent construction type with this collocation is the reflexive trivalent with 14 instances, see Table #2 below.

5.1 Discussion of Findings

Considering Table #2, which summarizes the results, it becomes clear that the most preferred construction is the trivalent one – 15 instances of which 14 instances of use are realized by the reflexive construction, and only one instance illustrates the non-reflexive construction – eg. H8H with one anguished movement she pressed his mouth further down so that he was sucking on The meaning in both cases is causative thus realizing the *caused motion construction* (Goldberg 1995) which shows the potential of the collocation.

Next comes the quadrovalent construction – 3 instances of use, 2 of which are reflexive, eg. G1S sun. <p><p> He bit her lips and pressed his mouth down hard on hers, his hand slipping back ... and one – non-reflexive, eg. B7L later, a rising Atlantic began to *press the mouth of the Susquehanna* back toward its source. What is interesting about the last example is the way it is used metaphorically – the mouth of the river is pressed back to its source by the rising Atlantic. The inanimate subject takes on an agentive role and the keyword *mouth* is used metaphorically; while backward motion is expressed by [ADV]-complement in combination with a complement expressing SOURCE..

Construction type	Tokens	Percentage	
Trivalent reflexive	14	14/23	61%
Trivalent non-reflexive	1	1/23	4.3%
Quadrovalent reflexive	2	2/23	8.6%
Quadrovalent non-reflexive	1	1/23	4.3%
Nominalization	4	4/23	17%
Total	22	22/23	95.2

Table #2 Results from the investigation of *press_mouth* collocation

The nominalization construction has 4 tokens. No other constructions, the ergative included, have been found in the corpus.

One example is not considered for the fact that it is not a realization of the collocation under discussion, eg. GUKtogether. If she *pressed* very hard then *her mouth* would not open to scream. Torrents of lava The verb *press* and the keyword *mouth* do not form a collocation in the last example.

6. Conclusion

The description of the *press_mouth* collocation reveals five different construction types such as the trivalent reflexive and non-reflexive, the quadrovalent reflexive and non-reflexive and the nominalization construction. The hypothesis raised about the complex architecture of verb+bodypart collocations is confirmed. The results are harmonious with the constructions of the collocations with *hand* (Seizova-Nankova 2016). That means that there are enough similarities between them to be compared. Differences point to the specificity of the contexts and the discourses in which the bodypart constructions are used.

7. Implications

The analysis of *press_mouth* collocation gives us some insight about the conceptualization by native speakers of the collocation and, in fact, the way language-in-use in English works. These results will be used to show how the general features that underlie these constructions compare with the general features of the other collocations with *mouth*, as well as with the bodypart of *hand*.

Ultimately, these constructions show great typological differences with Bulgarian, the basic one being in the expression of causation. Implications are that such typological features that are so different from one's own tongue present the main challenges in learning and comprehending English.

References:

- Bybee 2010:** Bybee J. *Language, Usage and Cognition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Croft 2001:** Croft W. *Radical Construction Grammar: Syntactic theory in typological perspective*. Oxford: OUP.
- Goldberg 1995:** Goldberg A. E. *Constructions: A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*. Chicago University Press.
- Herbst 2014:** Herbst T. The Valency Approach to Argument Structure Constructions. – In: Herbst T., Schmid H. J., S. Faulhaber (eds.). *Constructions – Collocations – Patterns*. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter Mouton. 167-216.
- Herbst 2015:** Herbst T. Why Construction Grammar Catches the Worm and Corpus Data Can Drive You Crazy: Accounting for Idiomatic and Non-idiomatic Idiomaticity. – *Journal of Social Sciences*.
- Herbst et al. 2004:** Herbst T., Heath D., Roe I. F., D. Götz (eds.) *A Valency Dictionary of English: A Corpus-Based Analysis of the Complementation Patterns of English Verbs, Nouns, and Adjectives*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Herbst, Schüller 2008:** Herbst T., S. Schüller. *Introduction to Syntactic Analysis. A Valency Approach*. Tübingen: Narr. 2008,
- Herbst, Uhrig 2009:** Herbst T., P. Uhrig. *Erlangen Valency Pattern Bank – a Corpus-Based Research Tool for Work on Valency and Argument Structure Constructions*. Website. <<http://www.patternbank.uni-erlangen.de>>.[Accessed 26 Sept. 2016]
- Jackendoff 2013:** Jackendoff R. *Genesis of a Theory of Language: From Thematic Roles (Source) to the Parallel Architecture (Goal) (Sort of an Intellectual Memoir)*.<<https://ase.tufts.edu/cogstud/jackendoff/papers/GenesisofPA.pdf>> [Accessed 3 March 2016].
- Kilgarriff et al. 2004:** Kilgarriff A., Rychlý P., Smrz P., D. Tugwell. *The Sketch Engine*. – *Proc. Euralex*. Lorient, France.
- Kudrnáčová 2004.** Kudrnáčová, N. On Rubbing and Wringing One's Hands. – *Sborník Prací Filozofické Fakulty Brněnské Univerzity Studia Minora Facultatis Philosophicae Universitatis Brunensis S 10, 2004 – Brno Studies in English 30*.
- OALD online.** Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary. <https://elt.oup.com/general_content/global/OALD_8_Search?cc=global&selLanguage=en>[Accessed September 28th 2017].
- OCD 2002.** Oxford Collocation Dictionary. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Seizova-Nankova 2015:** Seizova-Nankova, T. How Valency Theory Shakes Hands with Usage. – *Litermedia*. 30.
- Seizova-Nankova 2016:** Seizova-Nankova T. *Lexicogrammar of V_hand(s) Collocations. A Corpus-Driven Analysis*.
- Seizova-Nankova 2016a:** Seizova-Nankova, T. Valency Constructions at Work: A Case Study. – In: Todorova et al. (eds.) *Challenges in English Teaching and Research*. Asenevtsi. 21-41.

Appendices

App.1 Bodypart terms with frequency per million words in the BNC

Bodyparts	Token freq	(per mil)	object of freq	(per mil)
1. hand	50278	448.2	13617	2.4
2. head	38080	339.5	12794	2.8
3. eye	36418	324.6	11018	2.3
4. face	29325	261.4	6693	1.8
5. back	20203	180.1	2560	1.3
6. heart	14766	131.6	2223	1.5
7. mouth	9336	83.2	2098	1.8
8. finger	8470	75.5	3522	3.2
9. shoulder	8203	73.1	1401	1.5
10. neck	5608	50.0	906	1.4
11. ear	5569	49.6	1030	1.7

App. 2 Word sketch of the lemma *mouth*

Object_of	2098	1.8
1. shut	103	9.03
2. open	488	8.97
3. wipe	63	8.64
4. twist	55	8.6
5. curve	23	8.02
6. tighten	18	7.18
7. kiss	19	7.05
8. clamp	11	6.95
9. part	13	6.86
10. rinse	9	6.83
11. compress	9	6.79
12. stuff	13	6.78
13. dab	8	6.77
14. brush	15	6.70
15. curl	11	6.62
16. purse	7	6.54
17. thin	7	6.52
18. touch	25	6.43
19. close	41	6.20
20. press	23	6.06
21. stretch	15	5.95
22. keep	131	5.90
23. fill	31	5.87
24. tape	5	5.83
25. burn	14	5.75

CROSSING BORDERS ON THE BALKAN ROUTE: REPRESENTATION OF MIGRATION IN ONLINE NEWS

Svetlana Nedelcheva*

Abstract: *This research studies the headlines representing migrants along the Balkan route in Bulgarian online news during the “migrant crisis” of 2015/2016, as well as the pictorial images that immediately follow the headlines. It compares the verbal and the visual representation of migrants and applies both critical discourse analysis and multimodal analysis. The study uses the term ‘text’ in a wider sense including both the verbal text and the pictorial display of migrants’ social activities.*

The headlines develop two contradicting images of the migrants which are also reflected in the pictures. One of them is the image of poor and distressed people running away from the war in their home country. Europe for them is the Promised Land and they are presented with sympathy and compassion. The other image of the migrants is that of a natural disaster which cannot be stopped by country borders and threatens the stability on the continent.

Key words: *migrants, headlines, multimodality, conceptual metaphors, visual representation*

1. Introduction

Since August 2015 till March 2016 approximately half a million people have migrated to Europe via the Western Balkans, the vast majority seeking asylum in the countries across the European Union (EU). Building on news pieces published by online TV news in the same period, this study seeks to provide an overview of countries’ disposition towards migrants and to identify the influence of changing European policies towards migration and the people who have travelled to Europe through the Western Balkans by focusing on the means of expression used in the article headlines.

The vast flow of migrants, which caused the “migrant crisis” in Europe, has originated from countries affected by conflicts. Syrians still make up the majority of the newcomers, although their overall number has proportionally decreased in comparison to previous years. Instead, an increasing number of

* Assoc. Prof. PhD at the Department of English Studies, Shumen University, Shumen, Bulgaria, e-mail: s.nedelcheva@shu.bg.

arrivals from people of other nationalities has been registered, including such refugee-producing countries as Iraq, Afghanistan, etc.

According to the statistical data collected by REACH*, mainly young adults have arrived to Europe, males outnumbering females. People mostly travelled with close family members from the same area of origin, with an increasing proportion of families noted in Afghan, Iraqi and Syrian groups over the observed period.

Among the migrants many are educated and experienced professionals. However, the ratio of vulnerable migrants has increased during the “migrant crisis”, with rising proportions of uneducated people with no reliance on stable employment in their home land. REACH reports 55% of adults in the assessed groups that had completed at least primary or secondary education and 20% with experience of higher education. Apart from the Afghans all other nationalities claim having stable income (employment with labour contract, business ownership, etc.) or relying on both “stable” sources and “unstable” sources of income (e.g. daily or casual work). As reported by REACH, prior to leaving their areas of origin most had made a significant investment in order to ensure the journey financially, usually selling their property, spending savings, or taking out loans.

According to the Guardian**, at least 24,000 people have made the journey along the Balkans route until it was shut in early March, highlighting that migration continues despite the fact that several eastern and central European countries have constructed fences along their borders (Macedonia, Hungary, Austria). Although the closure of the humanitarian corridor from Greece to Germany decreased the migration numbers considerably, since 9 March 2016 24,790 people are estimated to have reached eastern Europe through Serbia, a key point on the two major migration routes (see Figure 1), according to the analysis of data provided by the UN refugee agency published in the Guardian (2016). Many have entered EU through Bulgaria instead of hiring boats in Turkey to take them to the Greek islands, where new arrivals have been detained after landing. Those confined to Greek migrant camps sometimes paid smugglers to take them to Macedonia’s border. 21,231 of them are reported as having reached Austria, the last stop on the way to Germany. This is less than 3 percent of the total during the period studied in this paper (August 2015 – March 2016), but

* <http://www.reach-initiative.org/reach/about-reach> REACH is a joint initiative of IMPACT, its sister-organization ACTED, and the United Nations Operational Satellite Applications Programme (UNOSAT). REACH was created in 2010 to facilitate the development of information tools and products that enhance the humanitarian community’s decision-making and planning capacity.

** <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/30/tens-of-thousands-migrate-through-balkans-since-route-declared-shut>

it exceeds the annual total for 2013, and is more than three times greater than 2012's annual figure (see Figure 2).



Figure 1. The Balkan route*

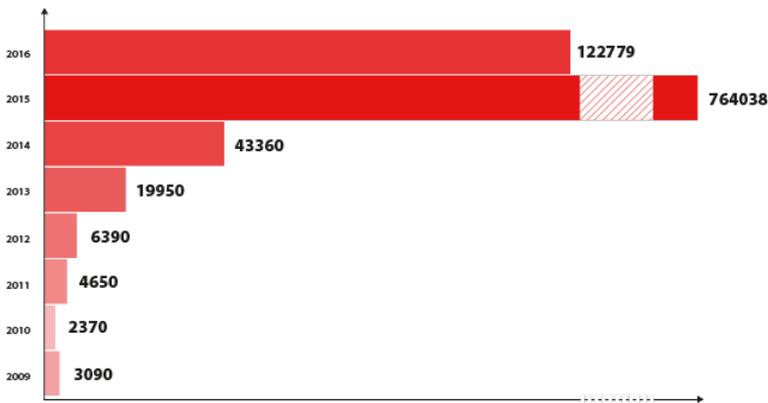


Figure 2. Illegal border crossings on the Western Balkans route in numbers**

2. Methodology

This study focuses on the expressive devices used in the headlines of online news presenting migrants on their way from Turkey or Greece to western Europe and how the pictorial images accompanying them help them convey the message. For achieving these objectives we count on two main methods of analysis: critical discourse analysis and multimodal analysis.

We have chosen critical discourse analysis because it studies the ways in which language is used in text and because it involves real texts not ones that are

* <http://www.businessinsider.com/map-refugees-europe-migrants-2016-2>

** <http://frontex.europa.eu/trends-and-routes/western-balkan-route/>

invented or artificial. It is defined as analyzing language “beyond the sentence” and looks not only at what is said on the surface level but considers the contiguous social and historical contexts (LSA 2016). Critical discourse analysis provides a way of approaching a problem and revealing the hidden motivation behind a text. It allows the researcher to take a higher stance and gain a comprehensive view of the problem.

The multimodal analysis (van Leeuwen 2008; Kress, van Leeuwen, 1996/2006; Jewitt, Bezemer, O’Halloran 2016) interprets “text” in a broad sense and includes all available semiotic resources, e.g. layout, photographs, etc. However, according to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 2), this does not mean that visual structures are like linguistic structures. “The relation is much more general. Visual structures realize meanings as linguistic structures do, and thereby point to different interpretations of experience and different forms of social interaction.”

We also use elements of quantitative analysis to summarize the results of empirical data. The numbers provided do not ensue from a specific statistical method, rather they exhibit the frequency of the phenomena under investigation in the corpus.

Previous research into newspaper headlines has raised the question of whether the style of Bulgarian news headlines has changed over the years; studies have not however involved headlines from a wide enough range of data to allow for conclusions to be drawn. According to Pernishka (1999: 131), “this style (considering the provocative, rude, even brutal style) does not represent the “freedom of speech,” but only shows authors or editors ... who do not distinguish the original, witty, glamorous means of expression – a weapon of good journalism, of the shameful, low and even vulgar.” Other studies analyse the functions of headlines: Nikolova defines several functions of headlines: firstly, it is a semantic condensate of the information essence of the text; secondly, the title has an intentional nature, because it fixes the most important, the most attractive; thirdly, the title usually carries in its meaning additional connotations, metaphorical, emotionally-expressive and nationally-cultural, which make it up-to-date for the reader’s audience (Nikolova 2003: 257). Zambova (2000: 57) argues that the functional and manipulative role of news headlines has grown considerably. It could mislead the reader to read the material only to find out it has nothing to do with the text itself. It may be more interesting than the text, or it may not inspire a desire to read. It may well be enough to replace reading the text.

However, this research concentrates mainly on the linguistic features which are typical of them. It further suggests that headlines are particularly revealing of the social and cultural specificities of the people presented in the news pieces and the attitudes circulating in the society at the given period of time. This research

addresses: 1. The structure and syntax of news headlines (using examples from our corpus). 2. The characteristic linguistic features of news headlines. 3. Multimodal analysis considering both headlines and accompanying images.

The source of the corpus of the present study is bTV online news (btvnovinite.bg) as it presented the largest number of news pieces found with the key word “имигрант” (immigrant) when compared to other online media, namely 24chasa.bg, Novini.bg, nova.bg. The corpus of the study comprises all 334 pieces of news discussing migrants over a period of 7 months (15 August 2015 – 15 March 2016) together with the images and video clips. The verbal parts are accompanied by one to three images and / or video clips. We, however, are going to analyze only the headline and the image immediately following it. If there is a video following it we won't analyze the whole video but only the initial still image of the clip.

3. Structure and syntax of news headlines

Headlines are read by an audience even wider than that who reads the articles, since all those who open the news website will glance, if only fleetingly, at the headlines. Moreover their effect is even more extensive, since headlines are often glimpsed on other people's computers, tablets, phones, etc. Unlike headlines printed in newspapers where front page headlines are particularly eye-catching, online headlines are not arranged in pages which gives the casual observer the opportunity to treat them with equal importance and they are given prominence by the frequency of publishing per day on a particular issue, e.g. nine news on migrants were published on 2 September 2015; another nine pieces on 4 September 2015; nine on 5 September 2015; ten on 6 September 2015; ten on 16 October 2015, etc.

Headlines are a special form of short texts. News headlines inform and entice in just a few words. The analysis of verbal phrases in our corpus in terms of complexity indicates that the simple structure of verbal phrases prevails. There are mostly simple clauses consisting of one independent clause, containing a subject and a verb, additionally they are accompanied by objects and adverbials, for instance:

- (1) 3 650 бежанци са пристигнали във Виена (1/9/15) ‘3,650 refugees have arrived in Vienna’ → Subject (3 650 бежанци) + verb (са пристигнали) + adverbial (във Виена)
- (2) Плевнелиев се скара на гърци и хървати заради мигрантите (21/9/15) ‘Plevneliev scolded Greeks and Croats for the migrants’ → Subject (Плевнелиев) + verb (се скара) + object (на гърци и хървати) + adverbial (заради мигрантите)

(3) БСП иска свикване на съвет по сигурността при президента заради бежанците (1/9/15) ‘Bulgarian Socialist party wants to summon a security council at the presidency for the refugees’ → Subject (БСП) + verb (иска) + object (свикване на съвет по сигурността) + adverbial (при президента) + adverbial (заради бежанците)

Although compound and complex sentences also appear they are less frequent:

(4) Бежанската криза в Европа се задълбочава, но европейците откликват с помощ (2/9/15) ‘The refugee crisis in Europe is deepening but Europeans offer help’

(5) Великобритания ще отдели до 12 млрд. лири, за да подпомогне сирийските бежанци (2/9/15) ‘Britain will allocate up to 12 billion pounds to help Syrian refugees’

To achieve brevity journalists sometimes merge two sentences into one: (6) Унгарски политик преряза оградата, полицията го прибра (1/9/15) ‘A Hungarian politician cut the fence, police arrested him’

(7) Дейвид Камерън отстъпи, Великобритания ще приема още бежанци (4/9/15) ‘David Cameron gave in, Britain will accept more refugees.’ Instead of having two separate sentences the authors try to convey maximum information by connecting the two clauses.

The preferred sentence type in the headlines of the corpus is the declarative due to its ability to inform, present statistical data and describe the current situation, political, economic, etc. Ten of the examples are expressed with questions instead of statements. Some of them use a question word, e.g. (8) Как е организиран трафикът на имигранти? (5/9/15) ‘How is the immigrant traffic organized?’, while the others are yes-no questions, e.g. (9) Подкрепяте ли бежанците да бъдат разпределени в Европа по квоти? (9/9/15) ‘Do you support refugees to be distributed in Europe by quota? These questions suggest what answers can be found in the material. Some of them sound like suppositions, others as rhetorical questions. The goal is for the reader to show interest and desire to read the article, to find the answer to this question. In these titles there is something unexpressed, implicit and the readers have the impression that the question is also addressed to them.

Citations are a widely used technique in constructing news headlines (40 instances found in the corpus). The journalist uses the originality of the expression of a popular person, an institution, a party. The quote attaches authenticity to the event. Always the most interesting remark is extracted from the text. At the same time, if it does not conform to norms, principles, rules, then the responsibility does not reside in the author of the publication.

Citations in our corpus belong primarily to local or foreign politicians, e.g. (10) Митов: Европа трябва да започне да връща имигранти (4/12/15) ‘Mitov: Europe has to start sending back immigrants’; (11) Меркел: Решаването на проблема с бежанците е национална задача на Германия (5/9/15) ‘Merkel: Resolving the problem with refugees is a national task for Germany.’ Sometimes the name of the politician is not mentioned explicitly but is inferred from his/her position in the country, e.g. (12) Чешкият премиер: Готови сме да защитим границите на балканските страни при мигрантската криза (14/2/16) ‘Czech Prime Minister: We are ready to protect the borders of the Balkan countries in case of migration crisis’. Seldom citations are extracted from other newspapers or magazines, e.g. (13) “Политико”: България е “ад” за нелегалните имигранти (29/2/16) ‘Politiko: Bulgaria is a “hell” for illegal immigrants’ or the name of the country is used to stand for the opinion of its government, e.g. (14) Гърция: Имигрантската вълна може да ни заличи като държава (23/8/15) ‘Greece: the Immigrant wave may wipe us out as a country’. Citations in headlines follow the same structural pattern: 1. The name of the person/country/newspaper cited, followed by a colon (there is no verb in this clause). 2. Direct speech, which is not indicated by quotation marks. A variation of this structure is the following: (15) Ако пузем всички мигранти, това ще унищожи Европа, убеден е Орбан (6/9/15) ‘If we accept all the migrants, it will destroy Europe, Orban is convinced’. In this structure the direct speech comes first and it is related asyndetically to another clause which introduces the name of the speaker.

The corpus showed only two headlines containing verbless clauses, e.g. (16) Пътят на нелегалните имигранти през Европа (7/9/15) ‘The way of the illegal immigrants through Europe’; (17) Пореден случай на заловени нелегални мигранти (7/12/15) ‘Another case of illegal migrants caught’. This finding can be explained with the difference between tabloid headlines and headlines in quality press. The former tend to be brief and short and rely more on sensation (Matthews and Brown 2012: 7), while the latter are mainly structured in full sentences as they aim to provide as much informativity as possible having in mind their conciseness.

4. The characteristic linguistic features of news headlines

Headlines set a particular perspective that helps orienting the readers in their interpretation of the consequent facts contained in the articles. As Abastado (1980: 149 cited by Salih Abu Joloud 2015) suggests “headlines encapsulate not only the content but the orientation, the perspective that the readers should bring to their understanding of the article.” Successive headlines, especially in online news, as they follow each other sometimes more than ten times per day, structure a particular view point on the world by imposing on the information a hierarchy of importance. The corpus of the present study reveals a tendency

to convey news from different parts of the world connected to the hot topic, e.g. (18) Унгария е готова с антиимигрантската ограда по границата (29/8/15) ‘Hungary is ready with the anti-immigration fence along the border’; (19) Катер на Фронтекс откри задушил се млад мигрант на яхта край гръцки остров (29/8/15) ‘Frontex boat found a suffocated young migrant on a yacht near a Greek island’; (20) В Дрезден хиляди участваха в шествие в знак на солидарност с бежанците (30/8/15) ‘In Dresden thousands participated in a procession to support refugees’; (21) Шведската крайна десница иска референдум за имиграцията (30/8/15) ‘The Swedish right wing wants a referendum on immigration.’ Four countries are mentioned in the other pieces of news on the same day (30/8/15): France, Germany, the United Kingdom and Syria.

On this particular day (30 August 2015) there is a line of Bulgarian news concerning an accident of fatal transportation of migrants by Bulgarian drivers, e.g. (22) Кунева: Трябва да ни е срам, че българи са били замесени в трафика на бежанци (30/8/15) ‘Kuneva: We must be ashamed that Bulgarians were involved in the trafficking of refugees’; (23) Задържан е още един българин за трагедията с камиона ковчег в Австрия (30/8/15) ‘One more Bulgarian was detained for the tragedy with the coffin truck in Austria’; (24) Още един българин арестуван, заради смъртта на 71 имигранти (30/8/15) ‘Another Bulgarian arrested because of the deaths of 71 immigrants.’ Repetition both synchronic (co-occurring headlines within one day) and diachronic (repetition over time) ‘chains’ the facts and makes the reader develop certain expectations and establishes certain associations and interpretations. Thus anaphoric references relate headlines to previous events and situations, encouraging the readers to link events in ways which they might not have done otherwise. In our corpus we find that sometimes distant topics group articles together to the issue of migration.

Headlines are particularly informative in the field of cultural references. As titles are short and ‘isolated’ (without explanation or definition) they depend on the reader to recognise instantly the field, allusions, issues, cultural references necessary to identify the content of the articles. Thus they count on a supply of background knowledge, representations and models of reality that are considered to be widespread in the society if the headlines are expected to be understood. Common shorthand in headlines such as references to ‘МВФ’, ‘International Monetary Fund’ or ‘БХК’, ‘Bulgarian Helsinki committee’, presuppose not only a certain minimum of political and general knowledge, but also help to situate the Bulgarian readers within the national framework. The same refers to elliptical phrases such as (25) Външно предупреди за затруднения в движението в Австрия и Словакия (15/9/15) ‘Foreign* alerted about traffic

* ‘Foreign’ here is a literal translation of ‘външно’.

difficulties in Austria and Slovakia.’ Using just ‘foreign’ instead of Ministry of Foreign Affairs requires readers to share specific communal information.

Gallisson (1995 cited by Isani 2011) argues that such reworkings of linguistic and cultural forms constitute a ‘conspiratorial wink’ directed to the reader. They build and preserve a sense of shared knowledge and collective identity. More broadly, it is clear that this is applicable to all the cases in which cultural insights peculiar to a certain society must be activated to help understanding: successful decoding proves that the reader is an ‘insider’. Because of their brevity headlines rely to a greater extent than the articles themselves on the reader supplying the missing cultural links.

The recognition by the reader of various metaphors and metonymies also depends on general and cultural knowledge. Metaphor is a very typical feature of headlines but generally it is not only confined to the headlines but also to the body of articles. The most common metaphor in the corpus of the present study is the WATER METAPHOR, displayed by a semantic chain of nouns and verbs*. Adjectives are limited and appear in collocations with particular nouns (discussed below).

Nouns

- вълна ‘wave’, e.g. (26) Бежанската вълна повлия и на местните избори (4/10/15) ‘The refugee wave also affected the local elections’; (27) Имигрантската вълна ще покаже колко голямо е сърцето на Европа (9/9/15) ‘The immigrant wave will show how big the heart of Europe is’; (28) Германия е готова да мобилизира 4000 военни в помощ за имигрантската вълна (11/9/15) ‘Germany is ready to mobilize 4,000 troops to help with the immigration wave.’

- поток ‘flow/ stream’, e.g. (29) Нидал Алгафари: Русия, Турция и САЩ изпратиха потока бежанци, за да притиснат Европа (8/10/15) ‘Nidal Algafari: Russia, Turkey and the United States sent the flow of refugees to press Europe’; (30) Божидар Димитров: Бежанският поток е от икономически имигранти (14/9/15) ‘Bojidar Dimitrov: The refugee stream is of economic immigrants’; (31) Македония обяви кризисно положение по границите заради бежанския поток (20/8/15) ‘Macedonia has declared a critical border situation because of the refugee stream.’

- наплив ‘influx’, e.g. (32) Напливът на имигранти към Европа продължава (2/9/15) ‘The flow of immigrants to Europe continues’; (33) Австрия спря влакове заради наплива на имигранти (10/9/15) ‘Austria stopped trains

* The use of the Water Metaphor in both Bulgarian and British media is also analysed by Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva (2014) and Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva (2017b) in this current issue.

because of the influx of immigrants’; (34) Унгария обмисля да ползва армията за справяне с имигрантския наплив (26/8/15) ‘Hungary is considering using the army to cope with the immigration influx.’

- цунами ‘tsunami’, e.g. (35) Имигрантската вълна на Балканите заплашва да се превърне в цунами (24/8/15) ‘The immigrant wave in the Balkans threatens to turn into a tsunami.’; (36) Какво ни заплашва: бежанска вълна или цунами от икономически мигранти? (14/9/15) ‘What is it that threatens us: a refugee wave or a tsunami of economic migrants?’

Verbs

As a big body of water a wave has the power to break whatever comes in its way. Big groups of people are also interpreted as dangerous to those who cross their way. Just as waves and flows flood coasts and banks, waves of people flood the countries they pass through, e.g. (37) Вълната от имигранти залива Сърбия и Унгария (25/8/15) ‘The wave of immigrants is flooding Serbia and Hungary’; (38) Хиляди мигранти заляха Словения (18/10/15) ‘Thousands of migrants overwhelmed Slovenia’. Similarly to sea waves, waves of people are able to expand and enhance in power, e.g. (39) Вълната от имигранти в Европа не спира да се разраства (25/8/15) ‘The wave of immigrants in Europe does not stop growing.’

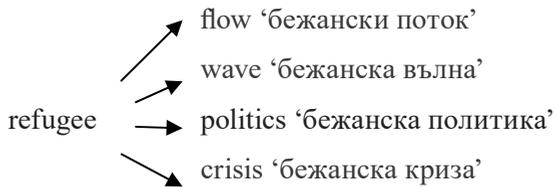
Refugees are associated with military forces which attack and destroy obstacles in their way, e.g. (40) Хиляди имигранти шурмуваха македонската граница (22/8/15) ‘Thousands of immigrants stormed the Macedonian border’; (41) Хиляди мигранти пробиха границата между Словения и Австрия (23/10/15) ‘Thousands of migrants violated the border between Slovenia and Austria’.

On one occasion refugees are explicitly defined as a threat, e.g. (42) Бежанците представлявали заплаха за туризма в Хърватия (28/9/15) ‘Refugees are said to pose a threat to tourism in Croatia.’ In this case the journalist, the author of the headline, prefers a specific verb form, the renarrative form, to express his/her position. Using this particular type of evidentiality* authors emphasize that the source of information is someone else and thus preserve their neutrality.

* Apart from being inflected for aspect, tense and modality, Bulgarian verbs are also inflected for evidentiality, that is, the source of the information conveyed by them. There is a distinction between four forms: the unmarked (indicative) forms, which denotes that the speaker was a witness of the event or learned about it as a fact; the inferential, which indicates general non-witness information or one based on inference; the renarrative, which signals that the information was reported to the speaker by someone else; and the dubitative, which is used for reported information if the speaker is not convinced in its truth (Nitsolova 2008: 322–323). Another view is presented by Gerdzhikov (2003: 24–25) who claims that there are two distinctive features involved - subjectivity and renarrativity. The indicative is unmarked for both, the inferential is marked for subjectivity, the renarrative - for renarrativity, and the dubitative is marked for both subjectivity and renarrativity. Kutsarov

Adjectives

The adjectives used do not follow the WATER metaphor. Rather they belong to a particular semantic field, related to the research topic, and are employed to clarify the information provided. The collocation used most often is *нелегални (и)мигранти* ‘illegal (im)migrants.’ ‘(Im)migrants’ also collocates with ‘economic’. When used as an adjective ‘(im)migrant’ combines with ‘quotas’, e.g. *(и)мигрантските квоти*; ‘camp’, e.g. *незаконен имигрантски лагер* ‘illegal immigrant camp’; ‘crisis’, e.g. *миграционна криза* ‘migration crisis’; ‘pressure’, e.g. *имигрантски натиск* ‘immigrant pressure’; ‘wave’, e.g. *имигрантска вълна* ‘immigrant wave’. In another collocation ‘refugee’ as a noun compiles with ‘Syrian’ – *сирийски бежанци*. But it can also play the role of an adjective:



‘Refugees’ and ‘(im)migrants’ are mostly used interchangeably to refer to the groups of people specified in the samples in the corpus*. The same applies to their function as adjectives: *антибежански настроения* ‘anti-refugee moods’; *антиимигрантска ограда* ‘anti-immigrant fence’; *антиимигрантски демонстрации* ‘anti-immigrant demonstrations.’

Numerals

Numerals are commonly used in the news pieces included in the corpus. 62 of the samples in the corpus contain at least one number. They are primarily displayed in digits and stay first in the headline, e.g. (43) 20 *нелегални мигранти загинаха при катастрофа в Иран (18/10/15)* ‘20 illegal migrants died in a car accident in Iran’, but it is also possible to find them in the middle or at the end

(2007: 294–307), on the other hand, proposes a separate category, which he calls ‘type of utterance’ (вид на изказването), which only makes a distinction between forms, expressing speaker’s own statements (indicative, inferential), and forms that retell statements of another (renarrative, dubitative).

* A ‘refugee’ (бежанец) refers to people who had escaped their countries because of persecution on racial, social or political grounds (UNHCR). ‘Migrants’ and ‘immigrants’ (мигранти, имигранти) choose to leave their countries due to various reasons, such as studying abroad or looking for a job and better living conditions. (Amnesty International). In addition, on the use of references to denote immigrants and/ or refugees and especially on the interchangeable use of the two main terms see Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva (2014) as well as Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva (2017a: 74)

of the headline, e.g. respectively (44) Македония пусна 4000 имигранти за ден (23/8/15) ‘Macedonia let 4,000 immigrants pass through for a day’; (45) Още един българин арестуван, заради смъртта на 71 имигранти (30/8/15) ‘Another Bulgarian arrested in connection with the deaths of 71 immigrants.’ When the exact number is unknown journalists use approximations, e.g. (46) Десетки протестиращи блокираха влаковете под Ламанша (3/10/15) ‘Dozens of protesters blocked the trains under the Channel’; (47) Стоотици мигранти окупираха международната автогара в Истанбул (16/9/15) ‘Hundreds of migrants occupied the international bus terminal in Istanbul’; (48) Хърватия е „принудила” Унгария да приеме хиляди мигранти (19/9/15) ‘Croatia has “forced” Hungary to accept thousands of migrants.’

Headlines containing numbers imply to their audience a sense of absolute accuracy and exhaustiveness. Their authors report exact data and facts. They create the impression of factual correctness and good knowledge for the details, for journalistic competence and precision in handling the facts. To this group we can also add the headlines that include percentages, e.g. (49) Деница Сачева: В България 42% от имигрантите са от Сирия (21/9/15) ‘Denitsa Sacheva: In Bulgaria 42% of the immigrants come from Syria.’ These are rather results from sociological studies that are quoted.

The corpus does not reveal a wide variety of metonymical expressions. They are frequent but exploit similar mappings:

source		target	example	gloss
The country’s government	→	The name of the country	(50) Хърватия: Не можем да приемем повече бежанци (17/9/15)	Croatia: We cannot accept more refugees
			(51) Австрия поиска спешна среща на върха на ЕС заради бежанската криза (6/9/15)	Austria asked for an urgent EU meeting due to the refugee crisis
The people in the country	→	The name of the country	(52) Германия очаква 10 000 имигранти днес - рекорд за един ден (6/9/15)	Germany expects 10,000 immigrants today - a record for a day

source		target	example	gloss
			(53) Великобритания ще отдели до 12 млрд. лири, за да подпомогне сирийските бежанци (6/9/15)	Britain will allocate up to 12 billion pounds to help Syrian refugees
The countries in Europe	→	Europe	(54) Митов: Европа трябва да започне да връща имигранти (4/12/15)	Mitov: Europe must start sending back immigrants

As the corpus shows only proper names play a metonymic function. More specifically, these are names of countries and continents (e.g. Europe). We consider this type of metonymy a typical characteristic of the studied headlines.

5. Multimodality

The multimodal analysis of the corpus draws on the correspondence between the verbal text in the headlines and the visual representations that accompany them. We have organized the images into several classes: 1) photographs of politicians, 2) photographs of groups of migrants, 3) photographs of children (with a parent or families), 4) photographs of police forces, and 5) photographs with no people. Each of the groups can be further subdivided to display different perspectives on the scene.

1) photographs of politicians

Headlines with citations are accompanied by pictures of the people cited, e.g.

(55) Александър Йорданов за бежанската криза: Става дума за преселение на народите (26/8/15)	Alexander Jordanov on the refugee crisis: It is a migration of nations	
(56) Митов: Оценяваме усилията, които Турция полага в борбата с бежанския проблем (26/9/15)	Mitov: We appreciate Turkey's efforts to solve the refugee problem	

2) photographs of groups of migrants

Headlines containing the WATER metaphor show images of groups of people, e.g.

(57) Хиляди имигранти щурмуваха македонската граница (22/8/15)	Thousands of immigrants attacked the Macedonian border	
(58) Хиляди мигранти заляха Словения (18/10/15)	Thousands of migrants overwhelmed Slovenia	

3) photographs of children (with a parent or families)

Headlines mentioning certain social practices, for instance, helping the migrants on their way, providing shelter and food are presented together with photographs of children in the foreground, e.g.

(59) Македония обяви кризисно положение по границите заради бежанския поток (20/8/15)	Macedonia has declared a critical border situation because of the refugee stream	
(60) В Чехия пристигнаха първите 16 сирийски бежанци, получили убежище (13/10/15)	The first 16 Syrian refugees, who have been granted asylum, arrived in the Czech Republic	

4) photographs of police forces

When deliberate actions on the part of the police forces are explicitly mentioned or implied, there is an image to round out the impression, e.g.

<p>(61) Нелегалните имигранти – притиснати до стената или обикновени престъпници (17/10/15)</p>	<p>Illegal immigrants - pressed against the wall or ordinary criminals</p>	
<p>(62) Шведската полиция започна разрушаването на незаконен имигрантски лагер (3/11/15)</p>	<p>Swedish police began demolishing an illegal immigrant camp</p>	

5) photographs with no people

These images focus on metaphorical mappings on the part of the reader. Barbed wire is associated with an impassable obstacle similar to a border wall mentioned in the headline. The building of the Reichstag is a symbol of Germany which corresponds to the toponym specified in the title.

<p>(63) Унгария: Само стената може да ни спаси от бежанците (18/8/15)</p>	<p>Hungary: Only the wall can save us from the refugees</p>	
<p>(64) Германия чака 750 000 бежанци до края на годината (18/8/15)</p>	<p>Germany is waiting for 750,000 refugees by the end of the year</p>	

Photographs devoid of people are used as a device to draw the reader's attention to particular objects, metaphors in themselves.

Both the headlines and the accompanying images reveal two opposing dispositions to the migrants. On the one hand, they are vulnerable people who

have suffered immensely leaving their homes and travelling all the way to the Promised Land – Europe. Many of them have lost their property, friends and relatives on the way, and some of them their lives. These are people who need help and compassion on the part of European people and their governments. On the other hand, migrants are represented as a powerful threat to the receiving states' standard of living, social security and welfare system. The EU countries could not provide suitable infrastructure to handle the thousands of people arriving. Local people help the passing migrants but at the same time they feel afraid for their way of living if the refugees are given asylum and stay in their countries.

6. Conclusion

A challenge we face when studying media texts is how to come to valid conclusions as critical discourse analysis is very time-consuming and poses problems when we undertake a detailed analysis of a large number of news articles. We sought a way which would give us the opportunity to overview an extensive corpus. Therefore, we chose to study the headlines, a strategy offering a number of distinct advantages. A corpus of headlines facilitates quantitative analysis, for instance, a study of the number of headlines on a particular issue can show the changing prominence of a topic over time.

We claim that the positive representations of the migrants in our corpus relates to Bulgarian official foreign politics and the positive image of Bulgarian politicians who appear as illustrative models of Bulgarian people (e.g., as humane, compassionate, responsible, willing to help the migrants) in contrast to the negative image and decisions of other countries (e.g., Hungary for erecting a wall, Macedonia and Serbia for not collaborating in logistics, etc.).

To increase the impact of headlines journalists rely on certain linguistic features of the titles to make them particularly memorable and effective: impact is deliberately sought through the metaphors, metonymies and numbers as our analysis showed. The use of citations, as well as the specific Bulgarian renarrative form prove to be effective when the author of the headline would like to set a distance between himself/herself and what the headline says.

We also suggest the following features as typical of news headlines in quality press of which bTV news is a representative:

- a) the predominance of whole sentences to verbless clauses;
- b) merging two sentences into one to achieve headline's brevity;
- c) the domination of nouns to verbs and adjectives;
- d) lack of direct speech punctuation (e.g. quotation marks), etc.

This study has helped us to identify certain recurring linguistic features of the headlines in our corpus. We have also found two opposing images of the represented migrants: one positive – seeing them as a vulnerable group that deserves help and compassion; and one negative – viewing them as a threat to the EU social order.

Our aim here, however, is not to provide an exhaustive account of the representation of migration in online news. Our future research is going to identify those linguistic features of headlines which are of particular relevance to the study of national representations, i.e. representations of one's own nation, people and country, and the representations of other nations, along with the interrelation of both categories of representation, the similarities and contrasts that can be created, and the role played by representations of the other in defining one's own nationality and identity.

References:

- Amnesty International:** Amnesty International <<https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/refugees-asylum-seekers-and-migrants/>> [Accessed 30 Sept. 2017].
- Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva 2014:** Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva D. A New Public Scare: Syrian Refugees in Some Bulgarian and British Newspapers. – In: Dobrev D., H. Trendafilov (eds.). *Studia Hungaro-Bulgarica*. Vol. 3. Sumen-Szeged. 123-140.
- Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva 2017a:** Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva D. The Image of the Refugee: Real and Imagined. (Based on Examples from the Bulgarian and the British Media). – *Science and Education a New Dimension. Humanities and Social Sciences*. V (22), I. 73-76.
- Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva 2017b:** Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva D. Stereotypes and Prejudices at The Border: An Attempt at Raising Intercultural Awareness through Examples from the Bulgarian and the British Media. – In: Todorova et al. (eds.). *Crossing Borders and Bridging Gaps in English Language Teaching and Research*. Series in Linguistics, Culture and FLT, issue 2. Asenevtsi, 2017. 184-197.
- Gerdzhikov 2003 [1984]:** Gerdzhikov G. *Preizkazvaneto na glagolnoto deystvie v Bulgarskiya ezik* (in Bulgarian), Sofia: St. Kliment Ohridski University.
- Isani 2011:** Isani Sh. Of Headlines & Headlines: Towards Distinctive Linguistic and Pragmatic Genericity. <<https://asp.revues.org/2523>> [Accessed 5 June 2017]
- Jewitt, Bezemer, O'Halloran 2016:** Jewitt C., Bezemer J., K. O'Halloran. *Introducing Multimodality*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge.
- Kress, van Leeuwen 2006 [1996]:** Kress G, Th. van Leeuwen. *Reading Images, The Grammar of Visual Design*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Kutsarov 2007:** Kutsarov G. *Teoretichna gramatika na Bulgarskiya ezik*. Morfologia (in Bulgarian), Plovdiv: Paisiy Hilendarski.
- LSA:** LSA (Linguistic Society of America) <https://www.linguisticsociety.org/resource/discourse-analysis-what-speakers-do-conversation> [Accessed 20 Feb. 2016]

- Matthews, Brown 2012:** Matthews J., A. R. Brown. Negatively Shaping the Asylum Agenda? The Representational Strategy and Impact of a Tabloid News Campaign. – Journalism Criticism, Theory and Practice, Vol 13, No 6, 802-817. Sage Publications.
- Nikolova 2003:** Nikolova A. Informativnost na vestnikarskoto zaglavie. *Vlastta na mediite. Studii i statii*. Shumen.
- Nitsolova 2008:** Nitsolova R. Bulgarska gramatika. Morfologia (in Bulgarian), Sofia: St. Kliment Ohridski University,
- Pernishka 1999:** Pernishka E. Za “groznoto” v nashiya ezik i v ezika na mediite. Mediite i ezikat. Izdatelstvo “Eto”, Sofia.
- REACH:** REACH (Informing more effective humanitarian action) <<http://www.reach-initiative.org/reach/about-reach>> [Accessed 20 Feb. 2017]
- Salih Abu Joloud 2015:** Salih Abu Joloud M. Punctuating Headlines (Online Headlines and the uses of punctuation).< <http://alustathiq.com/LionImages/News/21-2015.pdf>> [Accessed 07 June 2017]
- The Guardian 2016:** The Guardian. <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/30/tens-of-thousands-migrate-through-balkans-since-route-declared-shut>> [Accessed 20 Feb. 2017]
- UNHCR:** UNHCR (The UN Refugee Agency) <<http://www.unrefugees.org/what-is-a-refugee/>> [Accessed 20 Feb. 2017]
- Van Leeuwen 2008:** Van Leeuwen T. Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Zambova 2000.** Zambova A. Manipulativni ezikovi strategii v pechata. Sofia: Sema RSh.

HEADLINE PATTERNS IN VIRAL WEB CONTENT - ENGLISH-BULGARIAN COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY

Radostina Iglíkova*

Abstract: *The present article deals with the patterns for creating viral headlines for web content. More specifically, it offers a comparative, corpus-based case study of the patterns employed in English-language and Bulgarian-language viral headlines pertaining to one particular topic (the taste of Coca-Cola at McDonald's). The aim of the article is to provide a descriptive analysis of a specific phenomenon and a comparison of the approaches to creating headlines on English-language websites on the one hand, and on Bulgarian websites, on the other.*

Key words: *headline patterns, web content, virality, Coca-Cola at McDonald's*

1. Introduction

The first source of information available to users about the content a particular website (or websites, if a search engine is used) offers is indeed the headline. Before they actually reach the content itself and the contents page where it resides, users need to complete a process of selection based only on the “label” of the actual content, i.e., the headline. In other words, users rely on headlines in their process of selection among competing alternatives. As Orendorff (2014 URL) points out, “[T]he headline is the most important element of any page. It isn't just your audience's first impression; sometimes it is their only impression.”

Online people “look at headings and subheadings first; they scan for hyperlinks, numerals and keywords” (McGovern et al. 2002: 1). This type of behavior results from the value Web users place on processing the largest possible amounts of content with the least possible effort and for the shortest amount of time possible in an environment so rich in information and potential candidates for their limited time and attention. This emphasizes the potential headlines have to “make or break” user experience – “[O]n the Web, you live or die by your headings (or headlines as they are called in newspapers and magazines). A good one makes it easier for readers to find your article, and much more likely that they will read what you have written” (McGovern et al 2002: 5).

* Assistant Prof. PhD at Shumen University, Department of English Studies, Shumen, Bulgaria, e-mail: r.iglikova@shu.bg.

2. Previous research in the field

Changes in language use stemming from the way in which people behave (including linguistically) in the context of the World Wide Web have received extensive treatment in the field of writing for the Web (Crystal 2001; McGovern et al. 2002; Morkes, Nielsen 1997; Morville, Rosenfeld 2007; Nielsen 1997, 1998, 2000, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2008, 2011a, 2011b, 2012; Redish 2012). These differences arising from the fact that “people behave differently when online” (McGovern et al 2002: 1) are strongly reflected in the nature of web content headlines. Nielsen (1998) points out that the differences between print headlines and online headlines are considerable due to the different way they are utilized in terms of medium, context, user expectations and reading habits.

Similarly, Redish observes that “[H]eadlines online have to do even more than headlines in print. On paper, you usually see the headline and the article together on the same piece of paper. Online and especially on a mobile, the headline often appears first by itself as a link” (2012: 157).

Furthermore, research in the field of writing for the Web (Krug 2006; Nielsen 2008; Redish 2012; Stolley 2011) emphasizes the importance of following specific guidelines in order to compensate for the “impatience” of web users, the extremely limited resources of time and attention people are generally willing to spend on any particular item of web content.

Thus, an important aspect of ensuring the quality of web headlines and their potential for becoming viral (or, in other words, extremely popular or well known – see Cambridge Dictionary URL) is the existence of patterns for creating headlines with analogous structures. Patterns in headlines serve as templates or models applied in the creation of particular headline occurrences. Firstly, these patterns comprise specific sets of constant elements which build up the basis of the pattern itself. Secondly, they include empty “slots” or positions which are open to be filled by various elements in order to produce specific occurrences or, in this case, headlines following the particular pattern in question. In addition to the constant elements which build it, each pattern contains information about the structural relations among its constant as well as variable constituents.

Morrow (2012: 4) describes the mechanism of headline patterns in the following way:

“If you look carefully at any great headline, you can distill it down to a fill-in-the-blank “template” that works for almost every topic in any niche. The best writers I know have thousands of them either saved to a file on their computers or floating around in their heads, where they can reference them at a moment’s notice to develop a winning headline of their own.”

In addition, these blank “templates” or patterns can be organized into several categories. Morrow (2012: 6-8) offers the following classification:

- Threat Headlines – focusing on people’s fears and apprehensions;
- Zen Headlines – promising users a solution to a problem or a (number of) way(s) to make their life easier;
- Piggyback Headlines – relying on the reputation of a famous person/ organization etc.;
- Mistake Headlines – focusing on possible mistakes people are likely to make in certain situations;
- How to Headlines – offering practical tips and instructions;
- List Headlines – promising a specific number of options for readers to consider/ choose from.

A different headline classification proposed by Bly (2005: 22-25) includes the following eight basic types:

- Direct Headlines – “state the selling proposition directly, with no wordplay, hidden meanings, or puns”;
- Indirect Headlines – “[T]he indirect headline makes its point in a roundabout way. It arouses curiosity, and the questions it raises are answered in the body copy”;
- News Headlines – “[I]f you have news about your product, announce it in the headline”;
- How-to Headlines – “[H]ow-to headlines offer the promise of solid information, sound advice, and solutions to problems”;
- Question Headlines – “[T]o be effective, the question headline must ask a question that the reader can empathize with or would like to see answered... Question headlines should always focus on the reader’s self-interest, curiosity, and needs”;
- Command Headlines – “the first word in the command headline is a strong verb demanding action on the part of the reader”;
- Reason-Why Headlines – signals a “list of ... features”; “Reason-why headlines need not contain the phrase ‘reason why.’ Other introductory phrases such as ‘6 ways,’ ‘7 steps,’ and ‘here’s how’ can do just as well”;
- Testimonial Headlines – include a quote from a user; “[Q]uotation marks around the headline and the body copy signal the reader that the ad is a testimonial”.

Still another classification is featured in a study by Conductor (Safran 2013 URL), which isolates “the five general ways in which headlines are written”. These five “high-level headline types” include “Normal” (declarative statement)

structure, question, “How to” structure, structures featuring a number and, finally, a reader-addressing structure (ibid.). Among these, the numeral-containing type of structure ranks first in popularity in viral headlines (36 %) (see fig. 1 below):

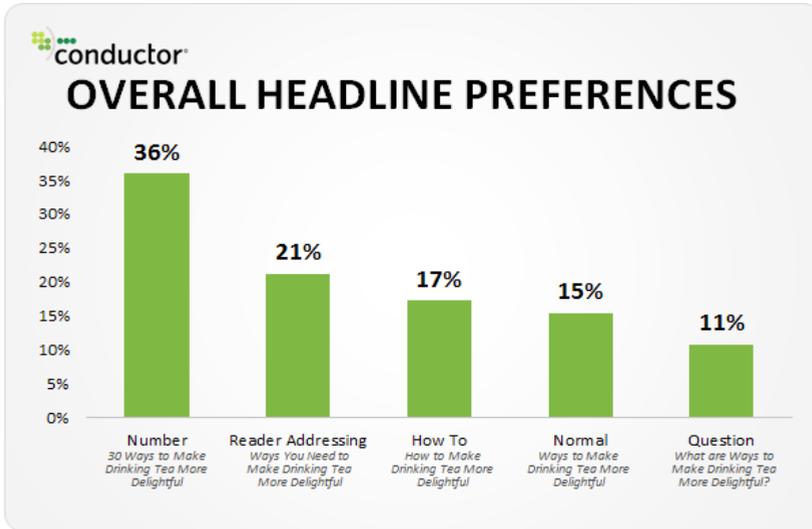


Fig. 1 – Overall headline preferences (Safran 2013 URL)

Viral headlines from both English-language (Buzzfeed.com and Cosmopolitan.com) and Bulgarian-language (Cosmopolitan.bg) websites have also been analyzed in terms of their preference for the use of specific numerals (Iglíkova 2016: 203-211). The results based on a corpus of 689 numeral-containing headline occurrences on the aforementioned websites reveal the following top 5 most frequently occurring numerals (see Table 1 below):

RATING (753 numeral occurrences total)	BUZZFEED/BF (254 numeral occurrences)	COSMOPOLITAN US/ CUS (233 numeral occurrences)	COSMOPOLITAN BULGARIA/CBG (266 numeral occurrences)
1.	21 – 8.66%/ 22 occurrences In CUS: 0.86%/2 occurrences In CBG: 0.75%/2 occurrences	10 – 9.87%/ 23 occurrences In BF: 3.94%/ 10 occurrences In CBG: 16.92%/ 45 occurrences	10 – 16.92%/ 45 occurrences In BF: 3.94%/ 10 occurrences In CUS: 9.87%/ 23 occurrences

RATING (753 numeral occurrences total)	BUZZFEED/BF (254 numeral occurrences)	COSMOPOLITAN US/ CUS (233 numeral occurrences)	COSMOPOLITAN BULGARIA/CBG (266 numeral occurrences)
2.	18 – 7.48%/ 19 occurrences In CUS: 0.43%/ 1 occurrence In CBG: 0	11 – 9.01%/ 21 occurrences In BF: 1.57%/ 4 occurrences In CBG: 1.88%/ 5 occurrences	5 – 13.91%/ 37 occurrences In BF: 0.39%/ 1 occurrence In CUS: 3.43%/ 8 occurrences
3.	15 – 6.3%/ 16 occurrences In CUS: 3.43%/ 8 occurrences In CBG: 4.51%/ 12 occurrences	12 – 8.15%/ 19 occurrences In BF: 3.94%/ 10 occurrences In CBG: 2.63%/ 7 occurrences	7 – 13.53%/ 36 occurrences In BF: 3.15%/ 8 occurrences In CUS: 3.00%/ 7 occurrences
4.	22 – 5.51%/ 14 occurrences In CUS: 1.29%/ 3 occurrences In CBG: 0.75%/ 2 occurrences	13 – 6.87%/ 16 occurrences In BF: 3.54%/ 9 occurrences In CBG: 1.88%/ 5 occurrences	8 – 9.77%/ 26 occurrences In BF: 1.97%/ 5 occurrences In CUS: 3.00%/ 7 occurrences
5.	17 – 5.12%/ 13 occurrences In CUS: 2.15%/ 5 occurrences In CBG: 0.38%/ 1 occurrence 27 – 5.12%/ 13 occurrences In CUS: 0 In CBG: 0	14 – 4.72%/ 11 occurrences In BF: 0.79%/ 2 occurrences In CBG: 3.38%/ 9 occurrences	6 – 7.89%/ 21 occurrences In BF: 0.39%/ 1 occurrence In CUS: 2.58%/ 6 occurrences

Table 1 - Correlation of top 5 most frequently occurring numerals on BuzzFeed (BF), Cosmopolitan US (CUS) and Cosmopolitan Bulgaria (CBG)

a. Research questions

The present article offers a discussion of the following research questions:

- What types of headlines have been used overall (based on the classifications proposed by Morrow (2012: 6-8), Bly (2005: 22-25) and Safran (2013 URL);
- What patterns for creating headlines can be observed and which are the most popular ones;
- Do the preferred types of headlines and patterns for their creation correspond to the preferred types revealed in previous research;
- Which numerals have been used in the headlines and do they correspond to the preferred ones from previous research;
- Do the English-language headlines use the same preferred patterns as the Bulgarian-language ones.

3. Methods

In researching the aforementioned questions, the present article employs the following methodological framework:

- Web-based corpus-analytical approach (“Web for corpus”, Hundt et al 2007: 1-6) – for the purposes of the analysis has been compiled a custom-made corpus of 59 viral web headlines from different websites;
- contrastive approach – by analyzing corpus materials from two different languages the study attempts to provide a cross-linguistic and contrastive perspective;
- descriptive approach as opposed to a theory-building one – the study does not aim at creating a new theoretical approach, but rather applies the existing classifications to the data;
- qualitative analysis of relevant quantitative results – instead of neglecting either of these two aspects of research, the study attempts to combine elements of each; the emphasis, however, remains on providing qualitative analysis of the registered phenomena.

As a result of the adopted approach, the article has its limitations in that it does not claim that the results have absolute statistical value. Instead, it aims at describing the particular choices different websites make in employing patterns for creating viral headlines pertaining to one and the same topic, as well as attempts to provide a cross-linguistic, comparative aspect to the research topic.

4. Data analysis

The corpus includes all headlines published on the topic of “Coca-Cola at McDonald’s” in the period between October, 2016 and April, 2017 and comprises 55 English-language and 4 Bulgarian-language headlines. The headlines are published by a 59 different websites for viral content, some of the most popular among them being: www.cosmopolitan.com, www.thesun.co.uk, www.foxnews.com, www.glamour.com, www.mirror.co.uk, www.quora.com, www.unilad.co.uk, www.ladbible.com, www.viralthread.com, www.yahoo.com, www.cookingpanda.com and www.blitz.bg.

Although they do not fall within the scope of the present study, the formatting and spelling of the headlines have been preserved in order for the corpus to remain usable for possible future studies in these areas.

The analysis and classification of the headlines based on the aforementioned categories and types of headline have yielded the following patterns:

- **Piggyback, reason-why headline structured as a declarative statement** (the so-called “normal” type according to the aforementioned research by Saffran). These include the following examples:

“The secret reason why a McDonald’s Coke tastes the best”

“The Real Reason Why McDonald’s Coke Tastes So Good”

“Here’s Why McDonald’s Coke Tastes Better”

“There’s a reason McDonald’s Coca-Cola tastes different”

“This is why the Coke at McDonalds (sic) tastes so much better than at other fast food restaurants”

“This is the reason McDonald’s Coke tastes BETTER than any other”

“Coke Really Does Taste Better At McDonald’s, And Here’s Why”

“Secret to why McDonald’s Coke Tastes Best”

“So THIS Is Why Coca-Cola From McDonald’s Tastes So Good”

“HERE’S WHY MCDONALD’S COCA-COLA TASTES SO GREAT”

“There’s A Reason Why McDonald’s Coca-Cola Tastes Better”

“This Is Why McDonald’s Coke Tastes Better Than All Other Coke”

“FINALLY! THE REASON MCDONALDS COKE TASTES BETTER THAN EVERY OTHER FAST FOOD CHAIN”

“There’s a reason why Coca-Cola tastes nicer from McDonald’s than in other restaurants”

“This is Why McDonald’s Coca-Cola Tastes So Good”

“McDonald’s Coke Really Does Taste Better, and Here’s Why”

“Here’s Why The Coca-Cola in McDonalds (sic) Tastes So Good”

“This Is Why Coca Cola Tastes Better From McDonalds (sic)”

“There’s A Reason Coke From McDonald’s Tastes Better Than All The Others”

“The secret of why McDonald’s Coke tastes better than any other has been revealed”

“McDonald’s Shares the Impressive Reasons Its Coke Tastes So Effing Good”

“There’s A Reason Coke From McDonald’s Tastes Better Than All The Others”

“Coca-Cola tastes better at McDonald’s - and this is why”

“This is Why McDonald’s Coca-Cola Tastes So Good”

“This Is Why Coke Tastes Better At McDonald’s”

“THE REAL REASON WHY MCDONALD’S COCA-COLA TASTES BETTER” (3 different sources)

“THE AMAZING REASON WHY MCDONALD’S COKE TASTES SO GOOD...”

“Coke Really Does Taste Better at McDonald’s, and Here’s Why”

“The Real Reason Why McDonald’s Coke Tastes So Good”

“McDonald’s Has The Best Coke: Here’s Why”

“Истинската причина Кока Кола в Макдоналдс да е с по-добър вкус от обикновената Кока Кола” (literally, “The real reason for Coca-Cola in McDonald’s to have a better taste than regular Coca-Cola”, translation mine)

“Разкриха тайната защо Кока Кола в Макдоналдс е с по-добър вкус от обикновената” (literally, “[They] revealed the secret why Coca-Cola in McDonald’s has a better taste than the regular [one]”, translation mine)

- **Piggyback, reason-why headline structured as a question**, either direct (with actual interrogative word order and/or punctuation) or indirect (containing an initial “why” but preserving declarative word order and lacking a question mark). These include the following examples:

“Why does Coca-Cola taste different at McDonald’s?”

“Why does Coca Cola taste better at McDonald’s than anywhere else?”

“Why does the Coca-Cola taste better at McDonald’s than regular Coca-Cola?”

“Why Does The Coke At McDonald’s Taste So Good?” (2 different sources)

“Why Does McDonald’s Coke Taste So Good?”

“Why McDonald’s Coke Tastes Better?”

“Why does McDonalds coke taste better and how does it help them to win the competition in an oligopoly of fast food industry?”

“Защо колата на МакДоналдс е толкова вкусна?” (literally, “Why is the McDonald’s Coke so tasty?”, translation mine)

“Why McDonald’s Coke is better aka The real reason McDonald’s Coke tastes so good”

“Why McDonald’s Coke Really Does Taste Better”

“WHY COCA-COLA TASTES ‘BETTER’ IN MCDONALD’S”

“Коя е причината колата на McDonald’s да е толкова вкусна” (literally, “What is the reason for the McDonald’s Coke to be so tasty”, translation mine)

- **Piggyback, reason-why headline addressing the reader.** This pattern either includes the personal pronoun “you” to refer exophorically to the reader in the form of a question, or is structured according to the question pattern without an explicit subject. Here can be included the following examples:

“DID YOU KNOW THERE’S A REASON MCDONALD’S COKE TASTES BETTER?”

“THIRSTY FOR ANSWERS? This is why McDonald’s Coke tastes better than every other fast food chain”

“Did You Know There’s A Reason McDonald’s Coke Tastes Better?”

“Did You Know There’s A Reason Why McDonald’s Coke Tastes So Much Better? Here’s Why”

“If You Think The Coca Cola Tastes Better At McDonald’s You’re Not Wrong, And Here’s The Reason Why”

- **Piggyback, reason-why headline which contains a number/ offers a list.** This type of pattern is always structured declaratively. Here can be grouped the following examples:

“6 Reasons Why Coca-Cola Tastes Better at McDonald’s”

“6 Reasons McDonald’s Coke Tastes Better Than Competitors”

“Three Reasons Why Coke Tastes Better At McDonald’s”

“The Four Reasons Why McDonald’s Soda Tastes Better Than Soda From Anywhere Else”

“Reasons Why Coca-Cola Tastes Better at McDonald’s”

5. Results/ Key findings

The results from the analysis reveal a tendency for the employment of a limited number of headline types – namely, piggy-back, reason-why headlines which can be one of the following – declarative statements, direct/indirect questions, reader-addressing, using a numeral/listing. Within each of the headline types there can be observed the application of a limited set of patterns providing empty slots or positions to be filled in different ways. Based on the specific ways these empty slots within each basic pattern are filled there can be isolated further variations.

Depending on whether the headline is formulated as a declarative statement, a direct/indirect question, as addressing the reader or as offering a list, it can contain a different number of slots or positions to be filled. One of the main slots is the one dedicated to introducing the existence of a reason or a number of reasons (hence the reason-why classification), while another slot contains reference to the way Coca-Cola at McDonald’s tastes (hence the piggy-back classification). The second slot is present in every headline, regardless of the specific subtype, while the first one can be either replaced by “why” (the second element of the reason-why relationship) in direct/indirect question headlines, introduced by a “Did you know...” in reader-addressing headlines or, finally, preceded by a numeral in listing headlines.

The slot introducing the reason-why element can therefore offer the following patterns where each of the italicized elements provides an option for varying this part of the headline by filling in the slot with a different word:

“**The *secret/real/amazing* reason**”

“*This is the/Here is the/There is a* **reason**”

“**Истинската причина**” (literally, “The real reason”, translation mine)

The slot referring to the way Coca-Cola tastes at McDonald’s similarly offers a number of pattern variations based on the slots it provides:

“Coca-Cola/Coke in/at/from McDonald’s tastes better/so good/the best/different than anywhere else/regular Coca-Cola”

“колата на МакДоналдс/колата на McDonald’s/Кока Кола в Макдоналдс е толкова вкусна/с по-добър вкус от обикновената Кока Кола”
(literally, “The McDonald’s coke/Coca-Cola in McDonald’s is so tasty/has a better taste than regular Coca-Cola”, translation mine)

In addition, there can be observed a tendency for websites to combine several types of headlines into one, which yields more diverse results. Thus in all 59 occurrences we have a basic piggyback, reason-why type of headline which has been combined with a particular type of syntactic structure – a statement or a direct/indirect question. Only on one occasions has there been used a structure which deviates from these two main types – namely, the use of a conditional mood in “If You Think The Coca Cola Tastes Better At McDonald’s You’re Not Wrong, And Here’s The Reason Why”.

The most common combination of headline types includes the use of a direct question addressing the reader either explicitly (where the reader is exophorically referred to by means of the personal pronoun “you” – “Did You Know There’s A Reason McDonald’s Coke Tastes Better?”) or implicitly (a question where the addressee is implicit, such as “Why does Coca-Cola taste different at McDonald’s?”). An interesting detail concerning the use of questions in headlines is also the definitive preference for direct questions over indirect ones - out of 12 question headlines, 8 are of the direct kind (such as “Защо колата на МакДоналдс е толкова вкусна?”/“Why is the McDonald’s Coke so tasty?”) and only 4 of the indirect kind (“Коя е причината колата на McDonald’s да е толкова вкусна?”/“What is the reason for the McDonald’s Coke to be so tasty”).

An interesting aspect of the numeral-containing pattern is the specific choice of the numeral “6” (used in 2 out of 4 cases) and the fact that the remaining two numerals are represented using letters instead of digits (“three” and “four” instead of 3 and 4). This choice of numerals is quite unexpected as according to previous research on numeral preference in viral headlines, the numerals “6”, “3” and “4” are very rarely used in English-language headlines (Safran 2013 URL; Iglíkova 2016: 203-211). According to previous research, the numeral “6” is a relatively common choice in Bulgarian headlines (ibid.). This expectation highlights the fact that the present results point to a different approach – namely, one resulting in a lack of a numeral-containing headline among the Bulgarian-language headlines.

The fact that such viral content with more than 50 occurrences on English-language websites has only 4 Bulgarian counterparts is also an interesting aspect of the results from the present case study. It can perhaps be attributed to the

much smaller scale of Bulgarian-language media (fewer and smaller websites, fewer overall readers, etc.) in comparison with English-language media. Still, taking into consideration the popularity of both the Coca-Cola brand and the McDonald's brand in Bulgaria, one would have expected a more focused and more active online campaign. One striking case to illustrate this is the fact that two websites of the same brand (namely, the American *Cosmopolitan.com* and the Bulgarian *Cosmopolitan.bg*) fail to publish such a headline on both platforms – there is an English-language headline on the American website of *Cosmopolitan*, but not one on the Bulgarian *Cosmopolitan*.

6. Conclusion

The topic of the present article owes its relevance to two main factors – the importance headlines have in online discourse in introducing web content and the role of patterns in making information easier and quicker to process. The article offers a discussion of the specific types and sub-types of patterns employed by both English-language and Bulgarian-language websites in their creation of headlines. It focuses on viral headlines pertaining to one specific topic – the taste of Coca-Cola at McDonald's and bases its deductions on a corpus of 59 headlines taken from both English-language and Bulgarian-language websites in an attempt to offer a comparison between the approaches in these two different languages. The analysis of the data demonstrates that the tendency for Bulgarian websites to emulate not only the topics and content of foreign websites (and English-language ones in particular) but also their patterns for creating headlines is quite strong. As far as the English-language headlines are concerned, there seems to be an ongoing tendency among websites for viral content to employ a limited set of patterns for creating headlines. As can be seen from the results of the present study, these patterns are mainly those deemed most successful by researchers in the field of writing for the Web.

7. Implications

One specific implication of the present case study entails the interesting deviation from the expected types of headline patterns in terms of the relative rarity of the use of numerals in spite of the fact that the topic itself and the content of the articles are both suitable for listing/enumeration. The fact that out of 54 websites only four chose to include a numeral might be considered as designating a change in the traditional preference for creating listing headlines and heavily employing numerals.

References:

- Bly 2005:** Bly R. W. *The Copywriter's Handbook*. 3rd edition. New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC.
- Cambridge Online English Dictionary.** <<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/viral>> [Accessed 12 June 2017]
- Crystal 2001:** Crystal D. *Language and the Internet*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hundt, et al. 2007:** Hundt M., Nesselhauf N., C. Biewer. *Corpus Linguistics and the Web*. – In: Hundt M., Nesselhauf N., C. Biewer (Eds.). *Corpus Linguistics and the Web*. Amsterdam: Rodopi. 1-6.
- Iglikova 2016:** Iglikova R. What's Your Number? - Numeral Preference in Viral Headlines from 3 Websites. – *Lyuboslovie*. Shumen: Konstantin Preslavsky University Press, vol. 16, 203-211.
- Krug 2005:** Krug S. *Don't Make Me Think: A Common Sense Approach to Web Usability*. 2nd Edition. Berkeley, CA: New Riders.
- McGovern et al. 2002:** McGovern G., Norton R., C. O'Dowd. *The Web Content Style Guide. An Essential Reference for Online Writers, Editors and Managers*. London: Financial Times Prentice Hall.
- Morkes, Nielsen 1997:** Morkes J., J. Nielsen. *Concise, SCANNABLE, and Objective: How to Write for the Web*. <<http://www.nngroup.com/articles/concise-scannable-and-objective-how-to-write-for-the-web/>> [Accessed 12 June 2017]
- Morville, Rosenfeld 2007:** Morville P., L. Rosenfeld. *Information Architecture for the World Wide Web*. 3rd Edition. USA: O'Reilly Media, Inc. 26-28.
- Morrow 2012:** Morrow J. *52 Headline Hacks: A "Cheat-Sheet" For Writing Blog Posts That Go Viral*. <<http://boostblogtraffic.com/headline-hacks/#>> [Accessed 12 June 2017]
- Nielsen 1997:** Nielsen J. *Be Succinct! (Writing for the Web)*. <<http://www.nngroup.com/articles/be-succinct-writing-for-the-web/>> [Accessed 12 June 2017]
- Nielsen 1998:** Nielsen J. *Microcontent: How to Write Headlines, Page Titles, and Subject Lines*. <<http://www.nngroup.com/articles/microcontent-how-to-write-headlines-page-titles-and-subject-lines/>> [Accessed 12 June 2017]
- Nielsen 2000:** Nielsen J. *Eyetracking Study of Web Readers*. <<http://www.nngroup.com/articles/eyetracking-study-of-web-readers/>> [Accessed 12 June 2017]
- Nielsen 2006:** Nielsen J. *F-Shaped Pattern for Reading Web Content*. <<http://www.nngroup.com/articles/f-shaped-pattern-reading-web-content/>> [Accessed 12 June 2017]
- Nielsen 2007a:** Nielsen J. *Blah-Blah Text: Keep, Cut, or Kill?* <<http://www.nngroup.com/articles/blah-blah-text-keep-cut-or-kill/>> [Accessed 12 June 2017]
- Nielsen 2007b:** Nielsen J. *Long vs. Short Articles as Content Strategy*. <<http://www.nngroup.com/articles/content-strategy-long-vs-short/>> [Accessed 12 June 2017]
- Nielsen 2008:** Nielsen J. *Writing Style for Print vs. Web*. <<http://www.nngroup.com/articles/writing-style-for-print-vs-web/>> [Accessed 12 June 2017]
- Nielsen 2011a:** Nielsen J. *International Usability: Big Stuff the Same, Details Differ*. <<http://www.nngroup.com/articles/international-usability-details-differ/>> [Accessed 12 June 2017]

Nielsen 2011b: Nielsen J. Top 10 Mistakes in Web Design. <<http://www.nngroup.com/articles/top-10-mistakes-web-design/>> [Accessed 12 June 2017]

Nielsen 2012: Nielsen J. Usability 101: Introduction to Usability. <<http://www.nngroup.com/articles/usability-101-introduction-to-usability/>> [Accessed 12 June 2017]

Orendorff 2014: Orendorff A. The Ultimate Copy Checklist: 51 Questions to Optimize Every Element of Your Online Copy. <<http://www.copyblogger.com/optimize-online-copy/>> [Accessed 12 June 2017]

Redish 2012: Redish, J. Letting Go of the Words. USA: Elsevier.

Safran 2013: Safran N. 5 Data Insights into the Headlines Users Click. <<https://moz.com/blog/5-data-insights-into-the-headlines-readers-click>> [Accessed 12 June 2017]

Stolley 2011: Stolley K. How to Design and Write Web Pages Today. Greenwood, ABC-CLIO, LLC.

BRIDGING GAPS THROUGH FEMINIST PEDAGOGY: TEACHING ABJECTION IN A POSTCOLONIAL LITERATURE COURSE

Antonia Navarro-Tejero*

Abstract: This paper engages with teaching gender, caste, and sexuality in the context of Spanish Higher Education. I will examine my experience of teaching Githa Hariharan's "The Remains of the Feast," Arundhati Roy's *The God of Small Things* and Shobha Dé's *Strange Obsession* to conclude by reflecting on the value of teaching these issues and texts from a feminist perspective.

Key words: feminist pedagogy, abjection, South Asian women writers

This paper focuses on how I teach abjection in Githa Hariharan's short story "The Remains of the Feast," Arundhati Roy's *The God of Small Things* and Shobha Dé's *Strange Obsession*. Since feminist pedagogy is concerned with notions of power and authority, a critique of the representation of racialized and queer characters in their entity as structurally disciplined subjects is located within feminism. bell hooks (2000) believed that the concept of 'otherness' can also be taken to the classroom, so it can be applied to a feminist pedagogy. Therefore, the underlying questions generated in our class discussions form two interrelated groups: What kind of source do I use to get my knowledge from? Does my conception of morality belong to a group? We base our analysis on Michel Foucault's (1978) theoretical framework, which explores the relations between power and knowledge, highlighting the idea that power is not exclusively exercised through repression, as it simultaneously operates through the approval/disapproval of specific actions.

The privileging of rationalism over emotions proposed by Freire (1968) has "set up as its opposite an irrational Other, which has been understood historically as the province of women and other exotic Others" (Ellsworth 1989: 94). According to Belenky, an alternative epistemological framework that acknowledges the inherent connection between power and knowledge needs to be offered (1986: 3). In our postcolonial literature course, it is important that the arrangements of gender, caste, and sexuality can be approached by tuning them to affects (noticing and observing), as this recognition can be integrated into the already

* Assist. Prof. PhD at University of Cordoba, Spain, e-mail: ff1natea@uco.es. 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).

established research methodologies (traditionally relied on text analysis). Experienced feelings and the emotions derived from the literary texts are essential in our course before we process a response to the stimulus. According to James (1991), in order to assist students in separating feelings from facts and manage emotions, we could require them to keep a journal in which they explore reactions to and reflections on emotional content aroused by the course. Walker (1993), for example, states that she asks students to record their reactions to each class session in a journal where they describe incidents they have witnessed or about which they have learned, including discussions with family and friends, and their reactions, that are related to the course content.

The first novel that students read in the course is *The God of Small Things*. Emotions are shared during the first class discussion, which are usually related to suffering, pity, and sometimes hope. A common feeling among the students is that of self-condemnation for belonging to a “more civilized country” (which leads to relief) and a need to help (saving the protagonists). The distance between “them and us” is dramatically bigger at this stage. At the brainstorming session students are questioned if those emotions are genuine. The discussion is governed by concepts such as “paternalism” and “eurocentrism” (coined by Postcolonial Theory) and we look into the possibility of having reproduced paternalist feelings due to the Catholic morality and the Eurocentric lenses we all share as they are embedded in our society.

Then, students read Butler’s chapter “Survivability, Vulnerability, Affect,” to discuss her argument that affective responses are mediated (2009: 34). In order to dismantle this assumption, we make an introspection about the Spanish social system*. Students come up with the recent case of Catholic nuns of Indian origin who came to Spain fifteen years ago when they were minors and have been kept in a *Mercedarias de Santiago* convent in slave conditions under threats of deportation. Students also call attention to the several declarations that Catholic priests have recently made regarding their misogynist views on women. As a consequence, the distance between “them and us” is shortened.

We discuss around the question “Which groups are marginalized in your country? And how are they marginalized?” Students are ready to analyze the literary texts in solidarity, understanding their context and complexities, but being critical enough to find a common structure. They come to understand that ethnic differences are related to power systems just like gender differences are constructed by patriarchy. And we also learn that caste has a modern face, though we tend to deny its existence today. We go on reading Hariharan’s short story to realize that high caste women are also oppressed as their bodies are

* Here we can also resort and discuss other social systems as there are many Erasmus+ students who attend the lectures.

disciplined and regulated to support the system. Micro-violence and subtle abuse are difficult to perceive and to admit, as they are naturalized and interiorized. We discuss issues such as the glass-ceiling and the differences between “same opportunities,” “effective equality,” and “justice.”

We then read the novel *Strange Obsession* to bring up the topic of “representation” and revolve around the question if all homosexual people are judged in the same way in our countries (Some of the questions posed are: Are all gays equal? Are high class gays in power positions accepted the same way as poor gays? Are lesbians stereotyped in your country as women with unhappy heterosexual past experiences?). We then read some excerpts from Foucault’s *History of Sexuality* and *Discipline and Punishment* regarding the basis for medical treatment of homosexuality.

Since the representation of the lesbian body in *Strange Obsession* is related to the notion of nationhood, a few questions are proposed for discussion: Can dalits bring their food culture at a public place in India? What is Indian food culture at all; is beef included in it? Can Muslims bring their clothes culture at a public place in Spain? What is Spanish clothes culture; is the veil included in it? Are South Indians treated the same way as fair Indians? Does language matter? Are Andalusians treated the same way as any other Spanish citizen? Does language and accents matter? The hierarchies could be informal, but they condition the professional and personal relationships. How are gypsies described in the official Spanish language dictionary? Is intercaste marriage socially accepted in India? Is intermarriage desirable in Spanish society? These are chastening questions which may vary in each academic year depending on the students’ nationalities and interests. Contexts are different, but both Indian and Spanish nation are defined as democracies, however they are not practicing real equality. In this way, we come to understand how caste works in patriarchal societies. Our interest relies not on learning how caste works in India, but on reflecting upon how unequal relations are products of global power structures that go beyond cultural or religious boundaries. We can only trespass borders when a mirror is given to the students in literature.

We try to be as much experiential as possible in the classroom, encouraging an active and feminist environment. This is why we find the integration of extracurricular activities into the students’ lives especially useful. Students are offered a plethora of options and are encouraged to propose new entities where they can work as volunteers in exchange of an amount of credits. Keeping that in mind, we created back in 1996 the Permanent Seminar on India Studies, which has helped consolidate the teaching of South Asian literature and cultures at our University. It provides students with a personal contact with Indian artists, fiction writers, academicians, students, etc., thus helping them experience a sense of a real world different from their own. The caste system

forms a structure difficult to understand for our students, as they expect me to define it in simple terms and offer a catalogue of possibilities. The idea that Hindu societies share an established moral code in contraposition to western lack of hierarchies, supports clear cut boundaries between “them” and “us.”

We had the chance to invite the reputed scholar Susie Tharu to give a talk about dalit culture. This coincided with the release of her two volumes on *New Dalit Writing from South India*. On another occasion, we were offered a talk by a dalit young man from Anantapur, and in still another occasion Janet Chawla visited us to talk about dalit traditional midwives (*dais*).

We make use of the Flipped Classroom, as students read and/or watch the material online at their own pace, and we discuss their feelings and thoughts in seminar-style format inside the classroom, provoking the most interesting and engaging debates. Moreover, we leave *fora* of discussions open in the online platform (moodle) during the whole course, where they have open access to recorded lessons, videos, articles and other resources, and can communicate with each other without the restrictions of a timetable. In this way, we make sure that students of all abilities can follow the course. The learning process is thus, engaging, authentic, relevant, critical and reflective, where the expression of emotions is protected. A number of articles are uploaded in moodle so that students can read them at their convenience. In class, we identify a common framework of oppression, based on the concepts of pollution and taboo, which transcends boundaries.

Following are some notes about the three fictional texts that are part of the syllabus and deal with the topic of abjection.

In the three texts selected from the course syllabus, there is a protagonist who crosses prohibited borders and transforms her/himself into an abject body whose desires go beyond the thinkable, as Kristeva argued regarding abjection, “beyond the scope of the possible, the tolerable, the thinkable” (1982: 1). For Kristeva, the abject manifests in anything in fact that threatens rigid boundaries and evokes powerful fears of filth, pollution, contamination, and defilement. Regarding the concepts of pollution and contamination, Mary Douglass (1966: 140) in her *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, points out that India’s lower castes are kept in their place because of effective social sanctions, and the edifice of caste political and economic forces help to maintain the system all the way up. Physical crossing of the social barrier is treated as a dangerous pollution, with many consequences. The polluter becomes a doubly wicked object of reprobation, first because she crossed the line and second because she endangered others.

According to Kristeva’s theory of abjection, the cadaver is the limit and the most sickening of wastes, a border that becomes an object as “I” is expelled (1982:

3-4). As the abject threatens life, and must be radically excluded from the place of the living subject, the abject characters die in the three fictional texts. These characters are clear exponents of abjection, as they are considered perverse because according to Kristeva's definition of abject, they "neither give up nor assume a prohibition, a rule, or law; but turn them aside" (1982: 15). When we are propelled into the world of the abject, our imaginary borders disintegrate and the abject becomes a tangible threat because our identity system and conception of order has been disrupted. The abject is located in a liminal state that is on the margins of two positions. Kristeva keeps on arguing that the abject has only one quality of the object—that of being opposed to I. It lies outside, beyond the set, and does not seem to agree to the latter's rules of the game. And yet, from its place of banishment, the abject does not cease challenging its master. What disturbs identity, system, order is the cause of abjection "the in-between, the ambiguous, the composite" (Kristeva 1982: 16).

In *The God of Small Things*, Ammu used to cross the river to meet her lover Velutha at the other side, away from the façade played in the Ayemenem house, crossing over what Kristeva calls "the dichotomous categories of Pure and Impure, Prohibition and Sin, Morality and Immorality" (Roy 1997: 16).

In "The Remains of the Feast," Rukmini, as a consequence of having been polluted by low caste people, becomes a polluting dying woman, as she dared to also cross over Kristeva's dichotomous categories. Finally, in *Strange Obsession* The lesbian abject in the novel is represented as mentally unstable and in need of treatment and psychological counselling that can medically 'cure' and 'correct' her behavior; Minx is labelled as a dangerous person, a maniac and a psychopath (Dé 1992: 163), someone who, following Kristeva's definition, "disturbs identity, system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules. The in-between, the ambiguous, the composite. The traitor, the liar, the criminal with a good conscience, the shameless rapist, the killer who claims he is a savior" (Dé 1992: 4). Same-sex desire is rendered as a western illness that taints the Indian culture.

To our understanding, we could make use of this theoretical methodology once we have reflected on it from the practice. The three texts have in common the rejection toward an interpretation of the difference as a natural phenomenon whose meanings are fixed and based on biological suppositions. The inequalities based on the difference are grafted in power relations which involve unequal access to material or symbolic resources which generate exclusion/inclusion and oppression/domination processes. As a consequence, the difference is not something which we have to 'tolerate,' because that would imply the existence of a majority dominant and leading group. As Simone de Beauvoir (1949) stated that one is not born, but rather becomes a woman, M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty declared (1997: 492) that one is not born as a woman

of colour, but rather becomes one in the metropolis and then, she learns the hallmark of North American racism and its constructed racial barriers. The influential writer bell hooks (2000) said that any time that sexism is analysed, that there are new proposals to challenge patriarchy, and that new models of social interaction are created, we are developing feminist theory. According to the author, everything that we do in our lives is rooted in theory (see hooks 2000: 19). With these activities in class, we hope to achieve the perception of the difference not as a parallel category outside us, simplified in a description of what is not me, but as an identity constructed to establish barriers of belonging. In this way, by dismantling binomials, marginal positions disappear.

In short, this essay, written from a feminist perspective, has tried to advocate educational efforts representing solidarity in the social constructions of difference and to suggest pedagogical strategies to handle essentialism and the representation of the Other for the western paternalist conscience and to encourage students reflection upon their own societies regarding the oppressive systems of sexism, ethnocentrism and homophobia.

References:

- Alexander, Mohanty 1997:** Alexander M. J., C. T. Mohanty. *Genealogies, Legacies, Movements*. – In: Bhavnani K. (ed.). *Feminism and 'Race'*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Belenky et al. 1986:** Belenky M. F., Clinchy B. M., Goldberger N. R., J. M. Tarule. *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind*. New York: Basic.
- Butler 2009:** Butler J. *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?* London: Verso.
- Dé 1992:** Dé S. *Strange Obsession*. New Delhi: Penguin.
- de Beauvoir 1949:** de Beauvoir S. *El Segundo Sexo*. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Douglass 1966:** Douglass M. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London: Routledge.
- Ellsworth 1989:** Ellsworth E. *Why Doesn't This Feel Empowering? Working Through the Repressive Myths of Critical Pedagogy*. *Harvard Educational Review* 59 (3), 297-324.
- Foucault 1978:** Foucault M. *The History of Sexuality Volume I: An Introduction*, London: Penguin.
- Freire 1968:** Freire P. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Seabury Press.
- Hariharan 1993:** Hariharan G. *The Art of Dying*. New Delhi: Penguin.
- hooks 2000:** hooks b. *Feminism is for Everybody: Passionate Politics*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.
- James 1991:** James J. *Reflections on Teaching: Gender, Race, and Class*. – *Feminist Teacher* 5(3): 9-15.
- Kristeva 1982:** Kristeva J. *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*. Trans. Leon S. Roudiez. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Roy 1997:** Roy A. *The God of Small Things*. New Dehli: IndiaInk.

- Tharu, Satyanarayana 2013:** Tharu S., K. Satyanarayana. *Steel Nibs are Sprouting: New Dalit Writing in South India Dossier 2: Kannada and Telugu*. New Delhi: Penguin Books.
- Tharu, Satyanarayana 2011:** Tharu S., K. Satyanarayana. *No Alphabet in Sight: New Dalit Writing in South India, Dossier 1: Tamil and Malayalam*. New Delhi: Penguin Books.
- Walker 1993:** Walker A. J. Teaching about Race, Gender, and Class Diversity in United States Families. – *Family Relations*, Vol. 42 (3), 342-350.

APPLICATION OF TRANSLATION RUBRICS IN LITERARY TRANSLATION CLASSES

Özlem Şahin Soy*

Abstract: *Literary translation, although under different titles, is included in the curricula of most of the education institutions that have Translation studies departments. Assessing the competence of the students in literary translation classes is generally done through codes of practice since most of the rubrics on translation focus on issues such as grasp of information, ease of translation, use of language, grammar rules etc. Apart from this, literary evaluation requires a deeper assessment for each genre depending on its specific properties of form and content. This paper aims to discuss the use of translation assessment rubrics for literary translation courses and investigate whether a more improved style for each genre of literature can be proposed for this purpose. To this end, general approaches to assessment of translation competence and rubrics offered by different institutions are surveyed and their applicability to literary translation courses discussed. In the end, a comprehensive rubric for literary translation courses will be presented.*

Key words: *translation training, assessment, literary translation, rubric*

1. Introduction

Translation training, the subfield of Applied Translation Studies as pointed out in the well-known “map” of Holmes (1972), is developing rapidly since translation has been acknowledged as an area of academic research both in the East and the West since the 1980s. It has also become a professional area demanding sophisticated education at higher levels, thereby resulting in discussions, on the assessment of translation activities to be held in classrooms and making it possible for many translation assessment rubrics to be created for this purpose.

Translation Quality Assessment and Translation Evaluation have developed as two different sub-fields of Applied Translation Studies. There are various approaches adopted by professional institutions and academia to the subject all of which share two basic purposes: to classify the quality of translation and to evaluate it objectively. To put the subject in a scientific frame, scholars and professional companies use various rubrics and evaluation criteria that make

* Assist. Prof. Dr. at Atılım University, Department of Translation and Interpretation, e-mail: ozlem.sahin@atilim.edu.tr.

up their style guides. It is also possible to find out numerous similar translation rubrics and evaluation forms that basically share common basic items in their lists, such as grasp of information, coherence of translation, use of grammar, cultural awareness, etc. In order to avoid a conceptual contradiction, first of all, translation quality assessment and assessment of student performance in practice courses need to be handled by underlining the different meaning of the term “assessment” in each case.

2. Previous research in the field

This paper focuses on the assessment done in translation courses since most of the rubrics used for the assessment of translation practice are prepared for non-literary texts and, hence, is not comprehensive enough to cover the main items necessary for the evaluation of translated literary texts. As McAlester states, “in actual fact, we find that methods vary considerably between one accredited body and another, between one university and another, even between departments of the same university, indeed even between colleagues in the same department” (McAlester 2000: 230-231). This explanation appears to be valid for the case in Turkey as well. Likewise, there is no standard type of assessment used in most universities and departments, or even among colleagues from the same department for that matter. It appears that, generally, a holistic approach is adopted by the lecturers who mostly have a literary education background.

It is possible to see that the general approaches to the assessment of translation have varied since the 1990s and there are outstanding studies by scholars such as Gile (1995), Kussmaul (1995), House (1997), Melis & Albir (2001) and Garant (2009) all of whom have contributed to the theory of translation assessment as a general subject in translation studies. A few, such as Mikel Garant, have addressed the assessment process in academic translation programs. In his study entitled “A case for holistic translation assessment”, Garant presents a linear study of assessment practices in the English translation department of the University of Helsinki. After discussing the general approaches to assessment, Garant exemplifies the generally accepted grading methods in this department, and his comments on the holistic grading tendency of the evaluators in the department are similar to those of lecturers in similar departments within Universities in Turkey. He discusses the validity, reliability, objectivity and practicality of holistic grading approach in translator education followed by an example of Waddington’s (2001) empirical study in which error analysis and the holistic approach are compared among 64 sophomore students. Waddington’s study reveals that error analysis and holistic assessment yield the same results. Although there are such examples discussing the validity of holistic assessment, still the questions remain related to the objectivity of the method. For this reason, a comprehensive approach should be discussed in detail, one which includes

elements related to the assessment of a translation of a literary text. The method based on this approach should not only cover the evaluation of transference of literary, linguistic, semantic, syntactic and cultural elements in the text, but also it should be practical for the evaluator.

3. Analysis

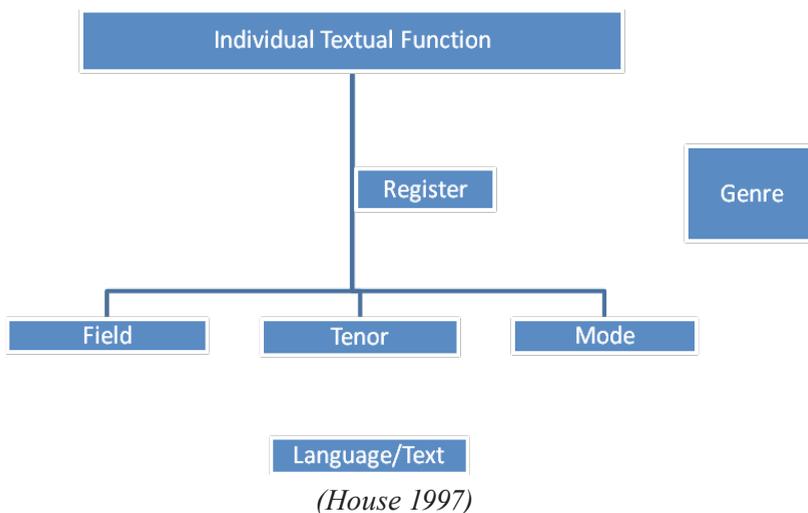
This approach aims to present such a comprehensive and practical model for the assessment of students in literary translation courses. In this model, Werner Koller's frame of equivalence, Raymond van den Broeck's three-step descriptive translation criticism model and Julianne House's model for evaluating translations are applied in order to create a detailed rubric for literary translation practices.

Koller, one of the most prominent German scholars working in the field of translation studies, refers to translational equivalence as an argument against the theories of general untranslatability. Koller's (1979) *Einführung in die Übersetzungswissenschaft* ('Introduction into the Science of Translation') is a detailed study of the concept of equivalence and correspondence. For him, correspondence involves the comparison of two language systems where differences and similarities are described contrastively, whereas equivalence deals with equivalent items in specific ST-TT pairs and contexts (Koller 1979). Koller's frame of equivalence can be useful in forming a model for the evaluation of literary translation because it presents an overarching approach on the understanding of the term "equivalence". He uses the terms "denotative equivalence", "connotative equivalence", "text-normative equivalence", "pragmatic equivalence" and "formal aesthetic equivalence" in his study (1995), in which he focused on the types of equivalence. Equivalence is a central concept in translation studies, having various dimensions as discussed by famous scholars such as Vinay and Darbalnet (1958), Jakobson (1959), Nida and Taber (1969), Catford (1965), House (1997), Koller (1979), Newmark (1981), Baker (1992), and, finally Pym (2010). Although equivalence is a controversial term that has recently been labelled as old-fashioned, it can still be accepted as a basic starting point for translation evaluation and assessment. The terms used by Koller to explain the different dimensions of equivalence are quite comprehensive for the evaluation of literary translations since they cover the extralinguistic content of the text, lexical choice, form and aesthetics of the text, text types and an analysis of the receiver of the text. Therefore, this approach can be useful for a general evaluative rubric of literary translation practices.

In addition to Koller's approach to equivalence, Julianne House's "Model for Evaluating Translations" can be useful to set an all-inclusive evaluation for literary translation. House has a very basic definition of translation as "the

replacement of a text in the target language” (House 2015: 63) that can be taken as the starting point of evaluation.

The use of the word “quality”, while speaking about the evaluation of literary texts appears to be quite irrelevant, since the quality of a literary work cannot be discussed in objective terms. However, though depending on personal preference, there is still a simple formula for the success in literature which can be explained as the creation of a combination of form and content in such a way as to create an aesthetic value. In this frame, House’s revised model of “Translation Quality Assessment” (1997) will be referred to in the evaluation of the individual function of the text. In this model, House focuses on the relationship between the source and the target texts in order to categorize the overt and the covert errors of translation through an analysis of register, genre, field, tenor and mode:



House underlines “socio-cultural differences in expectation norms and stylistic conventions between the source and target linguistic-cultural communities” in relation to the concept of “cultural filter” (House 1997: 68). This term may also be useful while preparing evaluation criteria for literary translation courses since it is important to point out if the student understands socio-cultural differences and offers solution suggestions. In her work, she offers subcategories for overt and covert errors in her work that can also be useful for a fair evaluation of in-class practices. For House, overtly erroneous errors have one or more of the following properties:

1. Not translated
2. Slight Change in Meaning
3. Significant Change in Meaning

4. Distortion of Meaning
5. Breach of the Source Language System
6. Creative Translation
7. Cultural Filtering (House 1997: 33-52)

Each of these items is worth considering for an overall evaluation of a translated literary text. On the other hand, “covertly erroneous errors” are described as any mismatches along the functional dimensions of the text. To her, covert errors that result from a mismatch on a particular situational dimension are about socio-cultural norms which means “norm-conditioned expectations generated by the text”, the differences between the two language systems and addition of a secondary function to the text. Thus, it appears that covert errors might be understood as a result of a much more descriptive, in-depth analysis of the translated texts. In this respect, the previous holistic approach to the assessment of literary translations by students, as mentioned earlier, is rather more concerned with covert erroneous errors, indeed. Such a qualitative analysis might be an important criterion to understand students’ basic understanding of the text, language and culture.

The third approach that is benefited from for the translation evaluation rubric is Raymond van den Broeck’s descriptive systemic analysis. Broeck, in his article “Second Thoughts on Translation Criticism” (1985), upon observing the lack of attention in scientific studies on the area of translation criticism in Western Europe, set out to establish a systemic model for this subject. His approach, aiming to turn translation criticism from subjectivity to objectivity, stands as a cornerstone in Translation Studies. The model proposed by Broeck involves a systematic description of a comparative analysis of the source and target texts. Until 1980s, translation criticism was done by a random set of individuals from literary critics to readers and editors, without the application of any pre-set criteria. His model filled this gap by suggesting a systematic comparative analysis of the source and target texts (TT) to get avoid subjective comments on translated literary texts. As a result, translators’ choices and the translation process itself have received more significance along with other cultural and social factors involved in the process. The purpose of the comparative analysis in this model is to ascertain the degree of factual equivalence between the source and target texts. The term “adequate translation” described by Gideon Toury is also used by Broeck, however, he claims that adequate translation is not an actual text in essence, but a hypothetical reconstruction of the textual relations and functions of the source text (ST). The comparison of the ST and TT should also take into account the occurrence of shifts of expression in the TT (Broeck 1985: 57-8).

According to Broeck, the comparison of a TT with its ST is composed of 3 stages:

1. A systemic analysis of the ST including phonic, lexical, and syntactic components, language varieties, figures of rhetoric, narrative and poetic structures, elements of text convention (text sequences, punctuation, italicizing, etc.), thematic elements, and so on.
2. A comparison of the TT elements in relation to these textemes: taking into account the various shifts (or deviations) with respect to the ST.
3. A generalizing description of the differences between the actual target text/source text equivalence and the adequate translation, on the basis of the comparison of the textemes (Broeck 1985: 58).

This model offers a broad frame for evaluating literary texts that is also needed by lecturers of literary translation courses. Likewise, as seen in the starting comments by Broeck, a subjective approach should be applied by lecturers instead of a general assessment of the translation practice. This approach should be a step-by-step analysis of the work done by the student including the research process, since students should learn that literary translation is a toilsome process and cannot be accomplished without understanding certain parameters such as the author’s life, general characteristics of the genre in which the work is written, the period in which the author has created the work, and other works by the same author.

PART I: Literary Elements							
Evaluation Criteria		Assessment					Score
		Excellent	Proficient	Developing	Attempting	Not Grasped	
Comprehension of the Source text / Recreation of the same:	Genre						
	Sub-genre						
	Plot						
	Characterization						
	Point of View						
	Setting (Time and Place)						
	Figurative language						
	Imagery						
	Symbolism						
	Tone and Atmosphere						

PART II: Comparison of Source Text and Target Text						
Overly Erroneous Errors	Excellent 5 % or less of the text	Proficient 5 -25 % of the text	Developing 25-50 % of the text	Attempting 50-75 % of the text	Not Grasped 75-100 % of the text	Score
Not translated						
Slight change in meaning						
Significant change in meaning						
Distortion of meaning						
Breach of the SL System						
Creative translation						
Cultural filtering						
Covert Erroneous Errors	Excellent 5 % or less of the text	Proficient 5 -25 % of the text	Developing 25-50 % of the text	Attempting 50- 75 % of the text	Not Grasped 75-100 % of the text	Score
Norm-conditioned expectations						
The differences between the two language systems						
Addition of a secondary function to the text						
PART III: Evaluation of Various Levels of Equivalence:						
	Excellent 5 % or less of the text	Proficient 5 -25 % of the text	Developing 25-50 % of the text	Attempting 50-75 % of the text	Not Grasped 75-100 % of the text	Score
Denotative Equivalence						
Connotative Equivalence						
Text-normative Equivalence						
Pragmatic Equivalence						
Formal Aesthetic Equivalence						

The first part of the rubric aims to evaluate if the qualities peculiar to the specific genre or sub-genre observed in the ST are kept in the TTs or not. If there are any changes in the plot development due to lack of understanding and/or voluntary or optional changes in the plot, the structure should be evaluated according to the given task. Point of view and characterization should be observed carefully since they are both highly influential on the style of the author. For example, if there is an alteration in point of view, that means the student is probably unaware of the importance of the subject in literary texts. Creativity and cultural awareness of the student can be assessed through observation of figurative language, symbolism and imagery. The second part of the rubric is

more specifically about translation competence and perfection. In this part, the ST and the TT should be investigated closely in order to find out if there are any segments that are either not translated, mistranslated, culturally misunderstood, or not transferred intentionally. At this point, if the student has changed the function of the text, for example from adult literature into a text for children, they should also be assessed according to the given task. The third part of the evaluation deals with the asked, intended and achieved equivalence, again according to the type of the task given by the lecturer. The following can be evaluated in this part of the rubric; the extralinguistic content of the ST and its recreation in the TT, lexical choices of the TT author and student's grasp of these choices, student's understanding of the text type, and the audience of the text, general formal and aesthetics of the ST and the TT.

4. Conclusion

This article has offered a brief overview of a Rubric to evaluate students' practices in literary translation courses. Due to the lack of systematic criteria in this field, the paper proposes a general rubric for lecturers and instructors that may help their evaluation process. This approach may yield similar results to those of a holistic assessment; however, it is an alternative for better support and improvement of the students, in their learning environment. Having such a comprehensive rubric to include the key elements that are important for literature and translation studies may also create confidence on the part of the student, since they will have an idea about the assessment and expectations.

References:

- Al-Qinai 2000:** Al-Qinai J. Translation Quality Assessment: Strategies, Parametres and Procedures. *Meta* XLV 3: 497-519.
- Baker 1992:** Baker M. In *Other Words: A Coursebook on Translation*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Broeck 1985:** Broeck R. Van den. Second Thoughts on Translation Criticism. – In: Hermans T. (Ed.) *The Manipulation of Literature. Studies in Literary Translation*. New York: St. Martins Press. 54-63.
- Catford 1965:** Catford J. C. *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Garant 2009:** Garant M. A Case for Holistic Translation Assessment. – In: Kalliokoski J., Nikko T., Pyhäniemi S., S. Shore (eds.) *A Fin LA-e Soveltavan kielitien tutkimuksia / No. 1. 5-17* <[http://file:///C:/Users/%C3%96zlem%20%C5%9Eahin%20Soy/Downloads/2612-1-6206-1-10-20100115%20\(1\).pdf](http://file:///C:/Users/%C3%96zlem%20%C5%9Eahin%20Soy/Downloads/2612-1-6206-1-10-20100115%20(1).pdf)> [Accessed 5 April 2017]
- Gile 1995:** Gile D. *Basic Concepts and Models for Interpreters and Translator Training*. Benjamins Translation Library 8 Amsterdam: Benjamins.

- Göpferich, Jääskeläinen 2009:** Göpferich S., R. Jääskeläinen. Process Research into the Development of Translation Competence: Where Are We, and Where Do We Need to Go? – Across Languages and Cultures. 10: 169-191.
- Holmes 1988/2000:** Holmes J. S. The Name and Nature of Translation Studies. – In: Venuti L. (ed). The Translation Studies Reader. London and New York: Routledge, 2000: 172-185.
- House 1997:** House J. Translation Quality Assessment: A Model Revisited. Tübingen: Narr.
- House 2009:** House J. Translation. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- House 2015:** House J. Translation Quality Assessment: Past and Present. Londres: Routledge.
- Jacobson 1959:** Jacobson R. On Linguistic Aspects of Translation. – In: Brower R. A. (ed.). On Translation. Harvard University Press. 232-239; repr. – In: Venuti L. (ed.). The Translation Studies Reader. Routledge, 2000. 113-118.
- Kussmaul 1995:** Kussmaul P. Training the Translator. Benjamins Translation Library 10. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Koller 1979:** Koller W. Einführung in die Übersetzungswissenschaft (Introduction into the Science of Translation). Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer.
- Koller 1995:** Koller W. The Concept of Equivalence and the Object of Translation Studies. – Target 7: 191-222.
- McAlester 2000:** McAlester G. The Evaluation of Translation into a Foreign Language. – In: Schäffner C., B. Adab (eds.). Developing Translation. Benjamin's Translation Library. Amsterdam. 229-241.
- Melis, Albir 2001:** Melis N. M., A. H. Albir. Assessment in Translation Studies: Research Needs. – Meta. 46 (2), 272-287.
- Munday, J. 2000:** Munday J. Introducing Translation Studies. London and New York: Routledge.
- Newmark 1981:** Newmark P. Approaches to Translation. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Nida, Taber 1969:** Nida E., C. R. Taber. The Theory and Practice of Translation. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Pym 2010:** Pym A.D. Exploring Translation Theories. London & New York.
- Schäffner 1997:** Schäffner C. From Good to Functionally Appropriate: Assessing Translation Quality. – Current Issues in Language and Society. 4(1), 1-5.
- Waddington 2001:** Waddington C. Different Methods of Evaluating Translations: The Question of Validity. – Meta. 46(2), 326-344.
- Williams 2009:** Williams M. Translation Quality Assessment. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.
- Vinay, Jean 1958/1989:** Vinay J., D. Jean. Translation Procedures. trans. Andrew Chesterman. – In: Chesterman A. (ed.). Readings in Translation Theory. Helsinki: Oy Finn Lectura. 61-69.
- Vinay, Jean 1958/1995:** Vinay J., D. Jean. Comparative Stylistics of French and English. A Methodology for Translation. Trans. Sager J. C., M.-J. Hamel. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

CONSTRUCTING BLACK MASCULINITY IN OLIVER PARKER'S *OTHELLO* (1995)

Tarik Bouguerba*

Abstract: *This paper examines Oliver Parker's Othello (1995), an excellent American filmic production of Shakespeare's play**. The article also offers a reading to Oliver Parker's film production of Othello (1995) where the story offers yet an opportunity to explore anti-Black sentiment in the American society with focus on black masculinity. Othello is therefore portrayed as "indolent, playful, sensuous, imitative, subservient, good natured, versatile, unsteady in their purpose... they may but be compared to children, grown up in the stature of adults while retaining a childlike mind". (cf. Collins 1996: 89)****

This article is particularly interested in how Parker's Othello fetishizes the black male body through exploiting the racist dogmas about black Americans. Heavily punctuated with flashbacks, this production constructs a two-fold narrative; one approaching the plot from a traditional perspective whereas the other dealing with a rightly African American subjectivity.

In conclusion, although Oliver Parker's rendition of Shakespeare's Othello preserves much of Shakespeare's poetry, it is however a new mediatizing form produced at an age "the white elite uses filmic representations of African Americans" as means to control and even contain race relations in the USA. (Hogdon qtd. in Aldama 2006: 198)

Key words: *Black masculinity, black bodies, the politics of screening, racism, Shakespeare.*

In 2008, Obama was elected the 44th president of the United States of America, sworn in on January 2009.**** That was by all accounts a historic moment, making him the first black man to be living in the white house and running America's

* PhD at Ibn Tofail University, Kenitra, Morocco, e-mail: tarik_mahdi@yahoo.fr

** Shakespeare's Othello is, by all means, a universal text in that it could still be adapted to all contexts. This paper examines how the source text travels through regions where racial issues still matter.

*** With the exception of the good natured asset of the Moor that only flows out from the camera lenses, other derogative attributes apparently manifest in both American film productions of *Othello*: Tim Blake's and Oliver Parker's. Perhaps, Liz White's (1980) *Othello* stands out as the only attempt to liberate Shakespeare's text from the racial conflict based originally on color, casting Iago himself as black.

**** In this context, Obama is an Othello of modern times who would rescue the USA politically and economically as did Othello back in the Renaissance.

state and foreign affairs from the oval office. Once again in 2012, he was re-elected to this very office to lead America for yet another term and take the country to war if he sees fit. About a decade earlier and exactly in February 1998, Kofi Anan, in his capacity as the Secretary General of the United Nations, was dispatched to Iraq in the hope of warding off the threat then posed by Saddam Hussein. In a mission of this nature, Anan's colour was not relevant to the sensitivity of the historical context because it had never been the norm.*

In the context of the world order, such political incidents, which recall the story of Othello's dispatch to Cyprus, could be considered as part of the "ride to the rescue of the civilized world".** In *Othello*, white Venice's communal sense of the traits that distinguish a Venetian from an outsider is similar to what I advanced earlier with regard to our modern times. Venice sends Othello, a Moor, to Cyprus to fight the indomitable turbaned Turks.

Several film productions have cast Othello in quite favourable light with regard to cultural relations he entertains to the city-state and at times his predisposition to assimilate to the White Venetian culture to the extent that he betrays resistance, even resentment of this new identity.*** Oliver Parker's *Othello*, which came seventy three years after the first adventure by Dmitri Buchowetzki's 1922, strikes higher artistic scores in a subtle balance of Shakespeare's poetic

* The phrase 'rescue ride of the civilized world' was borrowed by Judith Buchanan (2002: 179) from Wall Street characterization of the dispatch to Iraq.

** See Graham Holderness's *Shakespeare and Venice* for details on Venice as a myth. In 1599, the English poet I. Ashley concluded his sonnet with the following line, emphasizing the mythological conception of Venice as a site for tolerance and cultural difference 'enamoured like Narcissism thou shalt dye'. (Platt 2009: 69). In my view Modern England, democratic America and (Post)-Apartheid South Africa replicate and duplicate the same myth of Venice as a place whose image had been constructed partly to gratify its thrust and lustful desire to think well but of its own image. This ideal image of Venice is therefore reproduced through the camera lenses of Orson Welles and Oliver Parker. Parker's Venice, in particular, resembles Shakespeare's in its eternal love with its own image. Through Oliver Parker, Venice believes the myths it has invented about itself. The new world Parker imagines for his own replica of Venice is one of the best reflections ever made on screen. His is a city whose very architecture dictates that it gaze, in voyeuristic terms, constantly and persistently upon its own questionably beautiful image. (cf. Buchanan 2002: 183). Other historical incidents would be that blacks and other North African agents served in the French Army in the World War in defense of White France.

*** Other Othelloes who rejected this new identity are Laurence Olivier who betrayed the great expectations of the Venetians as he was the black infidel interrogating the image of the British Empire and invoking the threat both at the economic and political levels brought by black immigrants. Welles's *Othello* has also resented the new identity although Parker's *Othello*, in my view, made of its Othello assimilate to the social etiquette of Venice invoking once more the position of black African Americans in the USA.

dialogue with super-imaginative cinematography.* If in other film productions of *Othello* the Moor is represented as a man trying to erase, if not efface or at least minimize, the existing social and physical distinction, Parker's (1995) is a production that aligns itself with the position of Othello, a man willing to go public with his resistance to his context. (Buchanan 2002: 182) Laurence Fishburne, the first black actor to have played the Moor of Venice in a commercial cinema production, is an incarnation of a Moor whose native identity pushed him far afield from being a Venetian. The screen play of the film is clearly fuelled by desire and passion. Oliver Parker could have imagined no better interpretation than this represented by flows of passion and desire. He thus reconceived of Shakespeare's grand tragedy as follows

I saw the play as an erotic thriller, and that is what I wanted to translate onto the big screen. Passion is the driving force of the story. Each character is motored by desire. There is an extraordinary fusion of people boiling with different passions.**

Our first encounter with Fishburne is therefore a delayed close-up of his prominently scarred hand taking Desdemona's flawless chaste hand in the course of their clandestine marriage ceremony. It is by all means a striking introductory image of White-Black encounter.*** Judith Buchanan has described how Fishburne's posture as "an arresting physicality", as it contributes to his unapologetic otherness, is undeniably part and parcel of his attraction. (Buchanan 2002: 182) His skin colour, stature, behaviour, earrings, strange gestures, and half-mocking ambience make him less the best *exemplaire*- exemplum of Venice, yet an exotic outcast resented and rejected within its very social fabric.

Every aspect of Parker's film production interrogates Othello's position in Venice and interrupts his natural willingness to lead a military campaign against the Turbaned Turks. The narrative pace of the opening sequence, with its shifts from location to location, and movements of characters in the darkness of night time allows for a sense of exigency against which Fishburne can move and speak, yet with a constant, vigilant upper eye riveted on him. Other scenes emphasize this rejection. Having a white female and a black male carried together, the black male-Othello- is caught on camera covering his face with a white mask marked with a stroke of blackness, the mask of his own destruction, his own tragedy.

* The film merges Laurence Fishburne's excellent portrayal of difference with Kenneth Branagh's amazing endorsement of natural villainy.

** See *Othello Production Notes* by Castle Rock International, (as found in the BFI micro jacket), dir. Oliver Parker, prod. Luc Roeg and David Barron. p.9.

*** It refers to the encounter through which Oliver Parker invokes other confusing encounters between white masters and their black subjects. It is always punctuated by moments of fear and others of fascination.

While this sense foregrounds Othello's difference from the Venetians, it marks a significant moment in the tragedy of the Moor, a tragedy that is punctuated by constant feeling of rejecting or at least questioning his position in Venice.*

Other instances of rejection and exclusion from Venice would be evident in the foregrounding of the cross, the symbol of white Christendom. In Burge-Dexter's British filmed theatre production, the Christian cross, being paradigmatic of the Moor's non-alignment to White Christian Venice, is worn with pride. In Parker's film, the blue gun around Othello's neck is not adorned so prominently as Olivier's cross in Dexter's film. Such a choice on Parker's part marks Fishburne's Othello out as a man from a place ruled –ruined in their view- by different cultural conventions. Other insignias Fishburne wears around his neck are mere ornament or decoration. At the closing scene of Parker's film, Othello pulls it tight around his neck as he stabs himself. In Parker's, Othello dies from constant refusal and steady denial to break free from his traditional cultural attachments and fully embrace mythological Venice's value system.(Buchanan 2002: 183)

Given Parker's long established views on race and interracial marriage and as well as his conceptions of Fishburne's Othello and Branagh's Iago**, I feel that there is clear attempt at his fetishising the black male body. Parker assigns Othello to the visual and Iago to the verbal. Indeed, Parker's *Othello* is demarcated chiefly by grand images. The steady visual references to water inscribe Othello in flamboyant otherness. Although Othello is clearly distinguished through his Moorish appearance, he is ultimately pinned down to mere racial stereotype. Such visual choices can be construed as a representation of Othello's disturbed mental state as well as of his own alien persona. Fishburne's Othello is thus the disgusting exotic, violent, uncivilized other.***

I would thus examine the film through a socio-political paradigm which conceives of the black male body as a palimpsest. If black women have succeeded in culturally defining themselves in their own terms, the black male has always failed

* Endorsing a postcolonial stand, Fishburne's Othello is not only rejected across Venice as he – a black African American- is excluded from their entire social life in the USA.

** When you watch this film production, it seems that the Oliver Parker has managed to produce a version of Shakespeare's Othello who is stripped of his identity. Parker failed to play down this racist town in the source text.

*** The other argument is that Oliver Parker invokes once again black tragedies in the history of the United States. The protagonist, Laurence Fishburne, is therefore reminiscent of another victim of this American institutional systematic racism in white schools. Over-empowering Branagh's Iago is another instance of this institutionalizing-at times populist- mode of racist or racialist attitudes Shakespeare's text erstwhile provokes. I think of Parker's film as a pertinent statement on the difficulties Black African Americans are still facing in the United States of America once caught crossing colour boundaries.

to identify itself.(Wallace 2002: 1)* My approach to Parker's film production and the ideological tactics inherent in its conception of Fishburne's body emanates from a western version of race. The high profile of race in the west- America in particular- has created out of the black masculine body a walking palimpsest of fears and fascination possessing their cultural imagination.**Fishburne's endless physical strength therefore emphasizes the stereotypical image of the black male body as the impetus for desire and passion.***

If Shakespeare's Moor has entertained a long history as a mercenary, 'an extravagant and wheeling stranger,' Fishburne's half-sneering, half-mocking, powerfully physical, if not sexual, presence makes him convincing in such a role. It is Fishburne's black body that makes of him the best to play the role of the Moor and at the same time his version of blackness has also cast him outside Venice. Although standing distinct from other white native inhabitants, Fishburne's Othello interrupts and interrogates the mythological image of Venice.(Buchanan 2002: 183) Contributing to the cinematic merit of this adaptation of *Othello*, one of the audacious changes Parker's approach brought to Shakespeare's text is that his Othello is a Moor who is much fascinated by an image of himself which he erstwhile fashions carefully for Desdemona as well as for the public consumption. Fishburne's fascinating body successfully encourages others to gaze upon it. (Ibid) Judith Buchanan goes even further to construe that as Parker's camera aligns itself sporadically with Desdemona's lustful gaze throughout the entire film, Fishburne's body is eroticized by its visual strategy.(Ibid.)****

* See introduction to the book.

** Following the same line of thinking, Oliver Parker seems to have reproduced the same western clichés out of a fixed image of the black male body. This fixity characterizing the black male body has yet generated hot debates namely amongst poststructuralist scholars such as Michel Foucault, Jacques Lacan, Juliet Mitchell who have imagined the black men as paradigmatically at the centre of their critical insights. In my reading of Oliver Parker's cinematic work, Fishburne's physical strength seems to have emphasized the fact that in the history of the New World race has constituted a defining feature of American National Manhood. (Ibid). The film, in my view, is also paradigmatic of a new chapter in the history of America, a history that reviews the centrality of the black body in the popular imagination of Americans.

*** Perhaps Parker was aware of how in modern popular imagination manhood was an endless rivalry for the power and privileges of patriarchy animated by the psychic discomfiture of men's mutual fears and desires for one another namely in sexually changed contexts. (Wallace 2002: 1) His Desdemona does not only see Othello's 'Visage in his mind'. She is also fascinated by his sexual performance incarnated in his black body.

**** For example, in the night of their arrival in Cyprus, it is his undressing but not Desdemona's upon which the camera generates acts of relentless voyeurism, and it constantly lingers with some unprecedented intimate appreciation. It is Iago's desirous gaze upon Othello's

If in all film productions of *Othello*, the hero fully endorses Christian values, Parker's production, mainly in its perception of the Moor's identity, emphasizes Othello's disturbed vision, if not version, of his origins. Albeit aligning himself with Venice's ideal values and its cosmopolitan social system, Parker's Othello turns his back on his past. Even his perception of the concept of 'black man' seems to have been inherited from a culture openly claiming some form of antagonism to all things not white. (Buchanan 2002: 196)

In my understanding, this Oliver Parker's authentic production of the *Tragedy of the Moor of Venice* therefore fails to divest the original Shakespearean script of its misconceptions of 'colour' as a significant sign of otherness. Parker has his Othello speak of Desdemona not as a victim of black colour. "Her name, that was as fresh/ as Dian's visage, is not begrimed and black/ As mine own face" (III;III). This Venetian view of colour difference, as it reflects how within the USA itself colour has always been and still is a socio-cultural marker, has permeated Othello's own perception of his origin.*

Only through Parker would Othello initiate to behave in total harmony with the Venetian social system. Although his Othello resists all forms of Christianization, white-Americanization, and *blaxploitation***, I should contend that in this 'faithful adaptation' of Shakespeare's tragedy, Othello participates in writing Christian Venice's stereotypical image of the 'infidel Moor' in bold as superstitious, irrational, crude, unsophisticated and dangerous. However, the intruding flashbacks into Shakespeare's dogmatic text would only affirm that Othello is, by nature, the emblem of natural villainy and whatever the attempts to moderate and turn down the racialist tone of the play, the film production would but perpetuate and accentuate these disparaging attitudes towards blacks in one more a stereotypical model. Parker's Venice and its multi-cultural ideals had constantly been at pains to reassure that this Othello was not that irrational or dangerous despite his Oriental origins.(Buchanan 2002: 196) If Shakespeare's Othello is historically thought of as "the most emphatically Christian" of all Shakespeare's tragic heroes, Parker's is an Othello who subsequently resents and resists all forms of Christendom.(Rabkin 1967: 63)

body -into different scenes of the film- that is not free of some amazing attraction.

* Such a mental disturbance Othello suffered throughout Shakespeare's text has been better illustrated in Parker's film production (1995) through a relentless series of flashbacks where scenes of imagined adultery penetrating and infiltrating the Moor's mind. Only through these flashbacks would Othello submit to and admit these stereotypical images of Moors -Black Americans- as superstitious and suspicious.

** Blaxploitation blends Black and exploitation: The term explains how blacks have constantly been exploited by whites throughout human history.

Parker's *Othello* seems to have been narrating not in a Moorish context but rather recounting an African American subjectivity. In reconstructing legal subjectivity, for example, the presence of a body marked as black or any other historically off-margin group became a frequent strategy to represent epistemological gaps existing between racial groups. (Schur 2009: 32) Unlike other productions, this film version of 1995 reassures itself that Fishburne's *Othello* validates the premise that in American visual culture there has always been an extensive reliance on black bodies. (Ibid.: 45) This far too complex a relationship between the black body and the in-surveillance white voyeuristic gaze shows in details through the film that the body is persistently used to represent the dire need of both the black community, and it extends further to saturate the lustful needs of communities in white. (Ibid.: 44)*

What chaos Fishburne's body invents in movie-theatre goers' mind states bluntly that black bodies are often used as "tools of unreason". (Ibid.: 44) Parker's film production of *Othello* perpetuates such stereotypical images entrenched in the psyche of American white audience. After Fishburne's formidable performance of the Moor, blacks seem to be incessantly cast in roles that deform, distort, interrogate black realities and even confirm racial stereotypes. (Ibid.: 67) In no way possible did the film succeed in changing, at least partially, the way how whites receive colour difference, but it has even perpetuated a racist tradition in which white standards of black masculinity have perhaps dehumanized black men. (Ibid.: 138) How a white would react had 'a black ram' stolen a 'white awe' is confirmed more than once in the excessive surveillance communicated through Parker's camera lenses in its orientation to watching Fishburne's body from Iago and Desdemona's points of view. Parker also works out these traits of white surveillance so that the black male body is marked as a 'vulnerable site' through the omnipresence of -the white upper-hand- the white gaze. (Ibid.) I would also contend once again this black male body has always been "a proxy or a metaphor" for racial subjectivity. (Ibid.: 43)**

It is also true that Oliver Parker would even invent 'a complex space' wherein *Othello*, 'a black man', could explore the limitations and the constraints of his

* 'The black body is used to represent the needs of multiple aspects of the African American community'. (Ibid). Perhaps, the African American community is becoming proud of how an African in origin occupies such a role in a country so complex in its complexion as is America. How the white community interferes in this relationship Parker perfectly demonstrates in his adaptation of Shakespeare's *Othello* is evident in the way that both Desdemona and Iago lustfully, and at times discreetly, gaze at *Othello*'s well-built over-masculine body throughout the entire production.

** Such metaphors Fishburne's physical strength generated show in the way that the black as violent, irrational, superstitious and even dangerous becomes a recurrent stock shot film makers extensively confirmed in their use of the black male body.

own personal active agency under the steady voyeuristic surveillance of the white (fe)-male gaze. If such an act of starring at Fishburne's body merely legitimizes and grants the whites the upper hand over black subjects, another counter-act would be generated. Throughout this faithful version of the play, Parker's Othello suffers "a black male inferiority" complex. (Schur 2009: 138) The film maker manages to produce an American Othello living in a tense relationship in which the black African American male body is a threat to the entire established binary fashioned by white prejudice. If in other adaptations of *Othello* the hero is divested of his masculine presence, the Parker's production contends that the black male must constantly be made to relinquish his peculiar masculinity through a series of mandatory acts including conventional submission to white supremacy, violence against white female subjects and surveillance... (Ibid.)*

Discussing this white gaze in wider terms, the other contributing items of this complex term would contribute to the traits of belonging and otherness in Parker's *Othello*. If Shakespeare's portrait of Othello's Moorish origins is intended to indicate a Muslim background, (see Buchanan 2002: 180) Parker's is an Othello who stands out proud of his Oriental origin and shows up resisting all forms of going Venetian. No matter how distorting if not deforming Parker's camera was in its strategy to represent Moorishness in its Negro-American context, much of Shakespeare's *digression* seems to have been restored so that Othello, 'albeit... a More', is noble, courageous, dignified, experienced in battle, well-born and a convert to Christianity. Through Parker's screen play, the Venetian Senate would also consider that Othello is "not altogether unworthy to be regarded" despite his colour and culture. (Ibid.: 181)**

Given that this good natured Othello Shakespeare fashioned derives its traits from Greek tragedy, Oliver Parker seems to have merely reproduced a model of Othello who is much representative of Aristotle's maxim

A man not preeminently virtuous and just; whose misfortune, however, is brought upon him not by vice or depravity but some error of judgment, he being one of those who enjoy great reputation and prosperity... the change in

* In my view, Parker was aware enough of the importance of this power-relation governing the tense relationship between authoritative hegemonic white gaze and the submissive violent black body. The black body is therefore significant for the superiority granted to white agents compared to the inferiority complex the black suffers in his dealing with whites.

** Such I designated as sort of *digression* in Shakespeare's play is a virtue being told and re-told through most Western literary writing on Moors. These I would locate in Parker's film describing the Moor as good-natured are mere gaps characterizing narratives on Otherness once its normative disparaging mode of narration is turned down to speak some truth about the nature of these 'our Moors'. Parker's disputably modernized reading of *Othello* would but track the same disparaging rite of representation with some remarkable change in the act of writing Moorishness.

hero's fortunes must be... from happiness to misery; and the case of it must lie not in any depravity, but in some great error on his part; the man himself being either such as we have described, or better, not worse, than that.*

At the film's introductory scenes, Fishburne's Othello appears as a black man who defies and challenges many of Venice's great expectations about black men. Othello is therefore "noble, dignified, articulate, and restrained." (Buchanan 2002: 192) In the same vein, he is 'far more fair than black' and he does not live out the stereotype of a black who is passionate, irrational, barbaric, libidinous inarticulate and brutal.(Ibid.) If through the eyes of American audience Paul Robesson has written that Shakespeare's play is "strikingly contemporary in its overtones of a clash of cultures of the potential acceptance of and consequent effect upon one minority," (Robesson 1995: 391) Parker's artistic adaptation of the tragedy does not update its source drama to modern times, nor does it plainly draw out any contemporary parallels. On the contrary, Parker's film builds its narrative line from contemporary allusions of all kinds and at the same time establishes its confidently historical (1570) setting; the production therefore has evidently achieved some unprecedented stylistic excellence. (Buchanan 2002: 190)** In my judgment, the film production under study seems to understate Shakespeare's narrative and it subsequently overstates the new modern phase of Othello's life.

Unlike other Shakespeare films of the time, Parker's film production also explores fascinating locations and pinpoints the best labelling of otherness through its unstable shifting subjectivities, the traits upon which the concept of alterity is constructed. The film does also depict a cosmopolitan Venetian world, trying to represent itself as the emblem of a multicultural zone.*** This zone is predisposed to warmly embrace the exotic other and at times not to hesitate in deploying this alien other on useful service in the ultimate pursuit

* In all other film productions of *Othello*, the Moor is also much a replica of this tragic character Aristotle designated its traits in his *Poetics*. (see Jones 1962: 13, 19).

** I would definitely disagree with Buchanan to state that although Parker's production strides afield from all contemporary mediatizing forms – unlike other 90's Shakespeare films-, the film manages to draw parallels to current issues in modern America. In the remains of this chapter, I would examine the con-texts where Fishburne's tragedy becomes the tragedy of modern times: The Simpsons.

*** Such an image of the Venetian society as ideal as this imagined by poets is also derived from a cosmopolitanism view that "is usually seen as a liberal project towards an inclusivity of radical diversity". (Rovisco, Kim 2014: 103) This image of the city as tolerant as Venice being produced in the films draws also on "the imagination towards new forms of community and new ways of being that aid the cosmopolitanism project". (Ibid.: 115). Oliver Parker (1995) produced Venice as a myth where all live together in peace. However, this image is always contrasted with what is labelled as "failures of cosmopolitanism" where whites would resist the black threat in all forms. (Ibid.: 123)

of its own interests.*In this film, Othello's reaction is finally to overstate and even exaggerate Fishburne's otherness in Venetian terms by identifying himself dramatically with "the infidel Turk". (Buchanan 2002: 198)

The film even incorporates Othello into the heart of Venice's values and its social systems so that his refusal of Christian values, for example, reflects the merit of the original text to the modern age.**However, Othello would unexpectedly come to rescue and protect the virtues for which Venice stands. Amenable is he to being fully engrossed into Christendom that he even accepts to be commissioned to fight for its interests and ward off the foreign threat. (see Buchanan 2002: 196)

Nowhere than in Parker's production is Othello visually established as distinct from other Venetians. With a clean-shaven head, remarkable stratifications into the shaven scalp immediately above his ears, and prominent facial features, Parker's Othello is therefore becoming symptomatic of the outlandish, if not savage, black American. (Davies 2011: 15)***



Othello

Othello, in this case, is the producer of fear and fascination, desire and horror. Fishburne has therefore gained some spectacular space in the film so that Othello is even given moments to parallel, caricature and parody 'Saint' Iago's domineering, imperious and directorial 'gaze' which determines subsequent

* This is unequivocally reminiscent of Iago's striking speech in both Shakespeare's text and Parker's subtext that "[he] follow[s] him to serve [his] turn upon him".

** I think that even in the entire play, Othello resists all Christianizing forms.

*** Probably, Parker was rather thinking of producing an Othello outside his outstanding Moorish outlook and more of a Negro in its American definition. Othello is therefore to invoke traits of the black American as the dangerous drug-dealer, if not the image of the black in American prisons.

camera angles.* Only through Parker's excellent camera could the spectator follow the sequencing and scenes from Othello's point of view. Through Othello's speech 'look where she comes', the camera work therefore creates the illusion that the Moor –the Black American–, like Iago, can control and manipulate the spectatorial gaze. (see Buchanan 2002: 188).** This emerging power Parker attributes to his Othello is confirmed through his relentless desire to dominate the others. This desire is not only communicated verbally as is the case in the original Shakespearean text, but it is rather articulated so tacitly through a constant emphasis on Fishburne's physicality. Parker's montage also offers an arresting, stunning, and impressive spectacle of a "militant sexuality", to use Robert F. Willson Jr's phrase. This 'militant sexuality' is spectacularly performed and celebrated by focusing on the powerful upper part of Othello's appealing black body, panning up his bare feet towards his long legs, and finally offering a medium close-up shot of his hands removing his black belt. Robert F. Willson, Jr. writes that Parker's Othello "marches towards [Desdemona] like the conquering soldier." (Willson 2002: 38)

It is through Parker's camera grammar that we are introduced to a rather well-established Othello even at moments of despair. The film therefore dictates our response and reaction too vehemently by convincing the spectator of aligning with Othello's split visions. Carol Rutter writes:

Parker's sensationalizing literalism requires spectators [...] to see what Othello sees, the fantasy become reality, so it makes Fishburne an Othello who has ingested, incorporated Iago's suggestions which his imagination then literally writes on to Desdemona's body in a series of images that work, perversely and reductively, to instantiate and validate the misogynistic stereotypes ('she must have change, she must') that Shakespeare's play circulates. This Othello sees Desdemona in bed with Michael Cassio and so do we. (see Rutter 2000: 255-256)

In Parker's version, Othello's conscientious ambition to an active agent is also most perceptibly validated when Desdemona dances for him and the other guests after their victorious arrival on Cyprus. Excellent has Parker been in granting Fishburne the upper hand-the upper eye- over other white subjects so that the persistently attentive surveillance of her body substantiates and confirms in

* In this production, Iago is, by all means, the hero of the piece. Othello is also represented as another hero as opposed to other film productions where Othello is the victim of Iago.

** In this case, the black masculine body becomes therefore a site for admiration and resentment at the same time. Fishburne was able through the entire film to submit to the dominant white gaze, at times, to write back to its frustrating politicized role, and subsequently to control it, resend to its sender and ultimately produce a similar vindictive gaze. By using these 'gaze traits', I am rather thinking of Malek Alloula's *Le Harem Colonial* on the representation of women in French colonial postcards.

details Othello's voyeuristic power upon his Desdemona.* It is this Othello and not Shakespeare's that has become both a voyeur and predator. Parker's attempt to well situate his Othello is maintained even in his sexual encounter with white Desdemona. In this encounter, Parker adds a further disturbing, if not titillating, opposition that of 'desire and fear'. Such a contrast Parker inserts in Shakespeare's dramatically tense narrative contributes largely to the troubling rereading experience of the story in its Venetian-American context.

In setting out to delve into the dynamics of the dialectic relationship holding a Shakespearean play with its film adaptation, I believe that an adaptation might be faithful to the original text as it may stand out as an independent narrative, reflective of contemporaneous and contemporary issues.** Parker's film therefore became "a palimpsest on which were inscribed both its own intended Shakespearean story and a closely related through accidentally acquired, contemporary narrative."(see Buchanan 2002: 194) This production of Othello was released at a time another indispensable narrative of the same constituents enchanted-enthralled the entire country once played out on local TV channels. The film therefore was released in the USA just instantly after the altitude of 'the media hysteria' covering the most critical trial of American history of the black American soccer player, sports commentator and actor, O.J. Simpson, accused of murdering his ex-white beloved wife, Nicole Brown Simpson and her white friend Ronald Goldman.(Ibid.: 193) The fact that Oliver Parker's film was released during this Simpsons Case era reinforced something already present in the film narrative, the theme of 'wife abuse'. The other parallel is that the actor playing Othello, Fishburne, was best known to the American public for *What's Love Got to Do with It* (1993), the story of Ike Turner's abuse of his wife, the Rock singer Tina Turner. This film story has unequivocally lent a meticulous intensity to Othello's relationship with this Desdemona in Parker's production. (Potter 2002: 193)*** More substantial than in other film productions of Othello is the film narrative's hasty pace to convey its resentment and resistance to the Moor's act of marrying a white woman. A shot of Fishburne's Othello, for example, shows only hands, placing a ring on Desdemona's finger and kissing her clearly and rapidly, establishing their sealed secret marriage. A scene at night would only add to the intensity the hatred white culture holds against the

* This appreciative gaze of Desdemona marks Othello's new subject status, after he had been an object for and of white voyeurism.

** Parker's Othello sets such a good example of a film text that both keeps an eye on the dramatic, textual grandeur of the original script and keeps away from the narratological line of the source text to produce its own.

*** This excellent Parker's production played out this modern gender issue in the way that viewing the film would likely orient the spectator to read the Moor's story in the light of more similar narrative of the Simpsons' genre and through refashioning Iago as a wife-abuser too. All adds to the ability of Shakespeare's tragedy to ascend the echelons / aches of modernity and to reflect its problems.

Moor. Perhaps the slow deliberateness of the Moor's words, articulated with clipped snappish English directness, all stand distinct from the Duke, Brabantio and Desdemona who speak with conspicuous clear European accents.*Unlike other film productions that try all camera strategies to show Othello's jealous fantasies, Parker's version gives no single indication that they are mere fantasies. (Potter 2002: 194)**

The film's relentless effort to preserve Shakespeare's grand drama did not evade the text's thrust for a modern setting different from Parker's intended Renaissance context. Unexpectedly, after the film's release, contemporary parallels presented themselves irresistibly. Played in a number of movie-theatres across the USA in late 1995 and early 1996, a Shakespearean story-line about a successful high profile black man living forcefully in a predominantly white world (USA, Venice), married to a white woman of royal siege- as is Othello-, made sexually envious, driven vehemently to violent extremes and ultimately accused of her tragic murder could only take some serious topical contemporary character.(see Buchanan 2002: 192) In Othello's and O.J. Simpson's stories, the protagonist was a black man being celebrated by white society for his heroic acts in a masculine, combative mode (Soldiery and Soccer) and who had both refused to allow themselves to be confined by restrictive definitions of his colour. In each case, both Othello and Simpson got married to a white woman (Desdemona and Nicole Brown) attracting paparazzi and firing a blaze of publicity and rightly or mistakenly both suspected their women of having sexual affairs with a white male adversary (Cassio and Roland Goldman). Both Othello and Simpson confined their expression of personal remorse to a blunt accusation of having loved his wife 'too well' or 'so much'. J.O. Simpson wrote a tear-eliciting suicide note addressed "to whom it may concern"- "I loved her. I always have and I always will. If we had a problem, it's because I loved her so much". Later, Simpson wrote, "I love her; make that clear to everyone."***Although Othello was representative of a traditional Venetian dogma and he lived a social dilemma after his disputable marriage to Desdemona, Simpson, being repositioned in a modern American context, would invoke similar suicidal tendencies of the same intensity. After the murder, each displayed similar self-dramatising

* Such a mere linguistic feature would most definitely add to Othello's rejected otherness. This is my own reading and interpretation of the story. This linguistic contrast adds up to the comic phase of Shakespeare's play.

** Parker has inserted flashbacks into the original narrative structure to illustrate Othello's disturbed mind.

*** The full note of Simpson's letter is cited in the New Times.com / 1994 / 06 / 18 / the-Simpson- case- text, Published June 18th, 1994. Such a clear confession of his love to Nicole Brown echoes Othello's description of his platonic love to his Desdemona. 'One that loved not wisely, but too well'. (5. 2)

affinities. The Moor delivered a self-vindicating obituary for himself just before his public suicide and Simpson remarkably held a gun to his head in the glare of the Television cameras on a Los Angeles freeway. (see Buchanan 2002: 193)

In her 'Race-ing Othello, Re-engendering White-out', Barbara Hodgdon (1997: 23) writes that "on Friday, 17 June, 1994, Shakespeare became a voice-over for a moment of American cultural history." More a commonplace American tragedy, the Simpsons' case redraws a new textual reference to Shakespeare's tragedy. Reporting that a suicidal O.J Simpson lay in his car holding a gun to his head, a CBS Television reporter even glossed his advertizing flickering image of the vehicle, saying that he was reminded of Othello, where a black man suspects his wife of adultery to finally kill her and then himself. (Ibid.) Although some difference exists in the act of narration of the two stories, the Simpsons' story ending does not replicate Othello's ending. The American story, however, lends some evidence connecting these events of Simpsons' case to the universal critical, theatrical, and cultural legacy of Shakespeare.(Ibid.)

These non-finite parallels between O.J. Simpson's story and Othello's will have even become part of the critical orthodoxy of the play itself and more particularly about Parker's film production with its glorious African American in the title role. The film production therefore plays to the same traditional prejudices about the black African American and his remarkable sexuality that the O. J Simpson affair performed, articulating the complexity of American society. The film even plays out these prejudices introducing the 'aggressive black ram' besmirching the 'white ewe', and it flirts with the implication of this aggression in Othello's sexual relation with Desdemona from the very opening scenes of love-making in his fantasy.(see Buchanan 2002: 195) Writing into such a canonic tradition featuring black African Americans as sexual aggressors, the film has also been utterly outrageous in the way that it assigns to itself the task of including or even excluding black African Americans in modern America. Is Parker's faithful production an appropriate platform to test the adaptability of Shakespeare's Othello to modern times in the country?





Othello and Iago

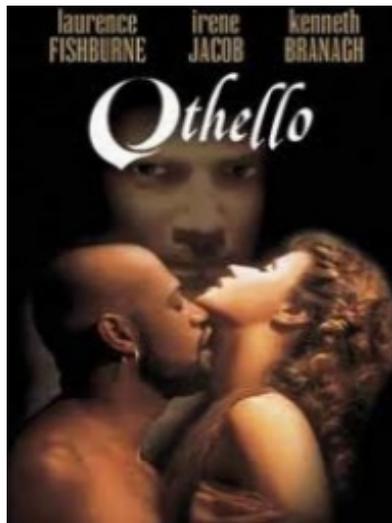
If in other film productions of *Othello*, each director tends to establish some prevailing mode of narration all to demonstrate an aspect of the Venetian respect of the Moor with the exception of Parker's approach through which Branagh's Iago becomes the hero of the piece.* While in his Avant-gardist adaptation Welles relies on visual effects to magnify and amplify this heavily art text and to contribute considerably to the portrayal of Othello, in Parker the realistic subtleties of the production float, adding to the artistic feature of the entire work. (Tatspaugh 2007: 150, 153) Having been influenced mostly by Welles and Yutkevich, Parker has taken up a tradition of realism much closer to other 'Shakespeare fans' like Franco Zeffirelli, to name but a few. (Ibid.: 153)** Parker has been harshly castigated for his playing a higher percentage of Shakespeare's text than have Welles or Yutkevich. His staging of unscripted scenes has however helped Fishburne and Iren Jacob perform a compelling attraction between Othello and Desdemona unlike Welles's film that falls short in communicating the marriage as a 'love match'; especially that its deep formality also undermines the tragic intent of the entire Shakespeare's text. (Ibid.: 153, 151)

Rita Kempley wrote in the *Washington Post*, "Kenneth Branagh doesn't just steal the show; one suspects he might have sat in the director's chair as well." (Kempley 1995) If, in most productions of *Othello*, the racist propaganda is championed most explicitly and most offensively by Iago, Parker's Iago makes the spectator inevitably conscious of the camera's essential role in building up the drama

* A major tone in Parker's film has been his Branagh's Iago as the narrator of the story. Refashioning Iago this way will even strike higher records by changing altogether Shakespeare's first narrative structure through which the Moor is the tragic hero in all respects while in Parker Iago occupies larger space.

** Yutkevich reads *Othello* as 'the tragedy of faith, the tragedy of trust and treachery'. (Ibid.: 152)

by manually obscuring it as he discloses the different details of the plot.(see Buchanan 2002: 192) In this particular production of the tragedy, the camera- I mean here Iago- is the driving force that ‘enmeshed’ them all. It is the camera’s characterization of the subjectivized gaze that builds up the entire drama in Parker’s adaptation. So artful was the visual strategy of the camera lenses in lining up with Iago and ultimately with Desdemona’s desirous gaze throughout the film whilst both tend to orient the camera towards Othello’s body, a body that was intentionally and explicitly eroticized.(Ibid.: 184) Other instances of the work Branagh’s Iago brought into the text were how he manages to put his blackened hand over the camera lenses as he announces his devilish nature to construct “a net, that shall enmesh them all”.* Fishburne’s performance as a black man playing the Moor reduces the huge gap between the player and the part played.**



The film has been marketed as ‘an erotic thriller’ and this advertising poster played up the eroticism of the sexual union of Othello and Desdemona.

* Branagh’s Iago speaking.

** There are other productions where Othello was played by a blackened up actor; such instances were Jannings, Welles, Olivier, and Hopkins, where the performance of drama was not as formidable as in Parker’s cinematic work.



Other advertising posters emphasize the nature of the film as ‘an erotic thriller’.

Prior to the artistic and cultural merits of Parker’s work was that although film scholars argue that Branagh’s Iago is the hero of the piece, Parker has however managed to deny his Iago this agency -that seems to float in some scenes-of constructing the images we see. He has now been reduced, diminished and even objectified. Parker would even claim this new position to his Iago through an unyielding number of high angle shots where Branagh’s is a vulnerable Iago. In conclusion, I would fully endorse Barbara Hodgdon’s views through which she reads Oliver Parker’s *Othello* as “an allegory of America’s fear and desire from inter-racial eroticism” within a “white male viewer’s potentially racist” (Hodgdon 2003: 91 qtd. in Aldama 2006: 198) if not racist ruled by a potentially misogynistic secular economy. Although it preserves much of Shakespeare’s poetry, the film is however a new mediatising form produced at an age “the white elite uses filmic representations of African Americans” as means to control and even contain race relations in the USA.(Ibid.)

‘Constructing Black Masculinity in Oliver Parker’s *Othello* (1995)’ looks at the ways in which Laurence Fishburne’s *Othello* had been styled as a man willing to resist the very circumstances he was living in. Featuring the first black actor in the title role in a corporate cinema project, Fishburne could not efface or minimize the already fixed social and physical difference. Parker, the film director, could only perceive him as a fascinating yet useful black outsider.

References:

Agassiz 1996: Agassiz L. White-Washing the Black-a-Moor: *Othello*, Negro Minstrelsy and Parodies of Blackness. – *Journal of American Culture*. Volume 19, Issue 3. 87–101.

- Aldama 2006:** Aldama F. L. Race, Cognition, and Emotion. – *College Literature*. vol. 33 (1), Cognitive Shakespeare: Criticism and Theory in the Age of Neuroscience (Winter, 2006), 197-213.
- Buchanan 2002:** Buchanan J. Virgin and Ape, Venetian and Infidel: Labellings of Otherness. – In: Mark Thornton Burnett and Romana Wray (eds.). *Oliver Parker's Othello' in Shakespeare, Film, Fin de Siècle*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan. 179-202.
- Davies 2011:** Davies A. An Extravagant and Wheeling Stranger of Here and Everywhere. Characterizing Othello on Film: Exploring Seven Film Adaptations. – *Shakespeare in Southern Africa*. vol. 23, 11-19.
- Hodgdon 1997:** Hodgdon B. Race-ing Othello, Re-engendering White-out. – In: Boose L. E., B. Richard (eds.). *Shakespeare The Movie: Popularizing the Plays on Film, TV and Video*. Britain: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group. 23-45.
- Jones 1962:** Jones J. On Aristotle and Greek Tragedy. USA: Chatto and Windus LTD.
- Kempley 1995:** Kempley R. Othello (R). – *Washington Post*. 29th December, 1995. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/style/longterm/movies/videos/othellorkempley_c03fe2.htm>. [Accessed 15 Sept. 2017]
- Peter 2009:** Peter G. Platt's Shakespeare and the Culture Paradox. USA: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Potter 2002:** Potter L. Othello: Shakespeare in Performance. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Rabkin 1967:** Rabkin N. Shakespeare and the Common Understanding. New York: the Free Press.
- Robesson 1995:** Robesson P. Some Reflections on Othello and the Nature of Our Time. – *American Scholar*, 14. 4, 391-392.
- Rovisco, Kim 2014:** Rovisco M., S. Kim. *Cosmopolitanism, Religion and the Public Sphere*. New York: Routledge.
- Rutter 2000:** Rutter C. Ch. Looking at Shakespeare's Women on Film. – In: Jackson R. (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare on Film*. Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press. 245-266.
- Schur 2009:** Schur R. Narrating African American Subjectivity through the Body: Critical Race Theory and Legal Discourse. – In: Henderson C. E. (ed.). *America and the Black Body: Identity Politics in Print and Visual Culture*. USA: Associated University Press. 29-54.
- Tatspaugh 2007:** Tatspaugh P. The Tragedies of Love on Film. – In: Jackson R. *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare on Film*. USA: Cambridge University Press. 141-164.
- The Simpson Case 1994:** The Simpson Case; Text of the Letter From O. J. Simpson. – *The New Times.com*, Published June 18th, 1994. <<http://www.nytimes.com/1994/06/18/us/the-simpson-case-text-of-the-letter-from-o-j-simpson.html>>. [Accessed 15 July 2017]
- Wallace 2002:** Wallace M. O. *Constructing the Black Masculine: Identity and Ideality in African American Men's Literature and Culture, 1975-1995*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Willson 2002:** Willson R. F. Jr. Strange New Worlds: Constructions of Venice and Cyprus in the Orson Welles and Oliver Parker's Films of Othello. – *Shakespeare Bulletin*. 20.3 (Summer 2002), 37-39.

TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS IN BRITISH AND BULGARIAN PRINT MEDIA

Irina Stoyanova-Georgieva*

Abstract: *The paper deals with collocations of intensifiers and adjectives existing in original English and Bulgarian texts and aims to pair them as possible translation equivalents, thus helping to map the possible renditions of one and the same concept in two languages. It uses a non-parallel, comparable corpus of letters to the editor, published in British and Bulgarian newspapers and magazines, and applies a method for extracting bilingual expressions from such corpora.*

Key words: *translation equivalents, collocation, intensifier*

Interpreting means making a bet on the sense of a text, among other things. This sense that a translator must find – and preserve, or recreate – is not hidden in any pure language, neither a divine reine Sprache nor any Mentalese. It is just the outcome of an interpretative inference that can or cannot be shared by other readers. (see Eco 2001: 16).

1. Introduction

For centuries, the concept of translation equivalence and especially the idea of absolute translation equivalence has been considered by many not only as feasible but also as an alluring and enticing idea, promising straightforward problem solutions. Others, on the contrary, criticised it as being ‘an illusion of symmetry between languages which hardly exists’ (see Mary Snell-Hornby 1988: 22). As a result, the notion can generally be conventionalised as the apple of discord between practicing translators and pure theorists of translation studies (see Shveitser 1993). Despite this, the role of translation equivalents in the process of translation, foreign language acquisition (see Shveitser 1993; Mcenery, Xiao 2007), and contrastive studies of languages (see James 1980; Ebeling 1998) is undoubtedly outstanding. The reason is that it provides us with a chance not only to communicate the meaning of lexicographical units, to demonstrate the understanding of a foreign language text, but also to find and discuss any similarities and differences between two languages.

* Assistant at Shumen University, Department of English Studies, Shumen, Bulgaria,
e-mail: i.stoyanova-georgieva@shu.bg.

Considering the abovementioned roles of translation, the search for successful translation equivalents has been the subject of numerous studies but almost all of the research has been based on parallel corpora (see Kaji et al. 1992; Dagan, Church 1994; Smadja et al. 1996; Ebeling 1998; Perdek 2012) somehow implying that non-parallel corpora are not a reliable source for extracting such information.

The material analysed here presents a field which has not been discussed before and concerns the successful rendition of English collocations of intensifiers and adjectives, through the use of the same syntactic construction in Bulgarian. Although the translation equivalents studied here do not deal with idiomatic or enigmatic terminological units, their importance for the correct representation of the actual position of the communicator and attitude towards the matter in question is crucial. It is essential not only for registering the means of expression used in both languages in one and the same sphere of communication (media texts), but also for the more detailed understanding of the respective languages, the choice of means of expression, their combination, and use in certain areas of life.

Suggested by Firth (1957) the term collocation, ‘collocations of a given word are statements of the habitual or customary places of that word’ (see Firth 1968: 181), was recognized by Halliday (1966), Greenbaum (1974), Stubbs (1995), and Partington (1998). In the current study the term shall be used to stand for such pairs of adverbs and adjectives. From the point of view of the current study, collocations represent further predicament as they require the existence of the translated concept into the target language culture (see Newmark 1988: 146).

2. Data and Methods

For the purposes of the present study a comparable bilingual corpus, divided in two subcorpora, was employed (see Atkins, Rundell 2008: 479). The choice was primarily motivated by the material studied, which, unfortunately, cannot provide us with an opportunity to use parallel corpora due to the lack of such. The decision to use a comparable corpus was also backed by the belief that ‘even non-parallel corpora, which are non-translations, include some phrases and compounds that have the same meanings and functions’ (see Tanaka, Matsuo 1999: 109). Consequently, the current study can serve as a proof to their postulation. The two subcorpora contain texts, written in English, and published in British newspapers and magazines, and identical texts, written in Bulgarian, and published in Bulgarian newspapers and magazines.

The corpus consists of 1200 authentic letters to the editor extracted from twelve different sources (100 letters from each media). Half of the examined media were English newspapers and magazines (*The Financial Times*, *The Guardian*,

The Independent, The Daily Express, The Economist, and The BBC Focus), they formed the first subcorpus, and the rest were Bulgarian (24 Chasa, Dnevnik, Duma, Lichna Drama (Personal Drama; trans. author's), Tita and National Geographic) and formed the second subcorpus. The amount of the whole corpus is 345222 words, 252906 belonging to the Bulgarian subcorpus (63%) and 92316 to the English one (27%). This means that the Bulgarian subcorpus is twice as big as the English. The reason for this discrepancy is the fact that letters do not and cannot have a fixed length and it is virtually impossible to make a whole corpus of letters having the same length. That is why in cases of comparisons, percentage is used to eliminate any risks of compromised data.

In order to receive reliable and trustworthy results all of the collocations, extracted from the original corpus, were translated by a group of informants, native Bulgarian speakers, with a very good command of the English language. The age of the informants ranged between 19 and 35, their language expertise was between B2-C2, according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, in addition to this each of the participants had to translate not more than 30 pairs. Our primary aim was to allow the informants to provide best rendition of the collocation without running the risk of exhaustion, and the secondary was to ensure that each of the collocations was translated by at least 3 different people.

The initial corpus was analysed by Tanaka and Matsuo's method for collecting word sequences from each subcorpus by using syntactic patterns of translations as a clue for translation equivalence. The method then searched for equivalents among the collected expressions (see Tanaka, Matsuo 1999: 110). The abovementioned method was adopted because of its reliability in the evaluation of the candidates for translation equivalents and the fact that it was initially suggested for English and Japanese, the correlation of which bears some resemblance with that of English and Bulgarian. Japanese and Bulgarian both share the feature *different alphabet*. From a genealogical perspective, Bulgarian is even closer to English as it only belongs to a different branch of the same Indo-European language family, while Japanese belongs to a completely different – the Japonic language family.

The syntactic structure examined in the current study is an intensifier modifying adjective*, which is a phenomenon widely-used in both languages, despite their differences. In order to be able to examine the cases of translation equivalence, the study was further limited by the choice of twenty English intensifiers and their Bulgarian counterparts (see Table 1). They cover all five paradigms of

* For the purposes of the study we also consider collocations with participles functioning as adjectives.

degree adverbs, offered by Paradis (1997: 27), as a method of differentiating the adverbs.

No	Category	Subcategory	English adverb	Bulgarian adverb
1.	Reinforcers	Maximizers	absolutely	абсолютно (absoljutno)
2.			completely	съвършено (savarsheno)
3.			extremely	изключително (izklyuchitelno)
4.			totally	напълно (napalno)
5.		Boosters	very	много (mnogo)
6.			highly	извънредно (izvunredno)
7.			really	наистина (naistina)
8.			pretty	твърде (tvarde)
9.			so	така (taka)
10.			too	прекалено (prekaleno)
11.	Attenuators	Moderators	almost	почти (pochti)
12.			quite	съвсем (savsem)
13.			rather	доста (dosta)
14.		Approximators	fairly	сравнително (sravnitelno)
15.			relatively	относително (otnositelno)
16.			hardly	едва (edva)
17.			nearly	приблизително (priblizitelno)
18.		Diminishers	a bit	мъничко (manichko)
19.			a little	малко (malko)
20.			somewhat	до известна степен (do izvestna stepen)

Table 1 Intensifiers, according to function, after Paradis's classification

The entries in Table 1 were compiled on the basis of the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2008), Merriam-Webster Dictionary, and PONS Business English-Bulgarian/Bulgarian-English Dictionary (2002). They, however, represent the meaning of the words as separate entities, and not as part of a certain context or in collocation with other lexical items.

In this case, only translation equivalents that respond to the previously established syntactic pattern of the adverb modifying adjective collocation are discussed, thus cases where the construction can be related through different

part-of-speech sequences are omitted. Consequently, this makes it possible to examine the similarities and dissimilarities between both languages, namely their ability to express one and the same notion through one and the same syntactic construction, despite their predetermined remoteness. In other words, as Kenning renders it “the mapping of correspondences between languages” not only sheds “light on the commonalities and differences between language pairs”, but improves “the accuracy of descriptions of individual languages” (see Kenning 2010: 493).

According to Tanaka and Matsuo’s model, in most cases of translation equivalence, the adjectives and adverbs building the collocation are also related to their counterparts in the target language. This feature was also used in order to estimate the correspondence of the expressions and to find the pairs with the highest probability chance. The study also adopted their word correspondence types: lexical, similarity, and co-occurrence correspondence (see Tanaka, Matsuo 1999: 111).

The corpus was then analysed, the strings of adverbs and adjectives were extracted and a list of the candidates for translation equivalents was compiled. Then based on the informants’ data the possible translation equivalents were mapped. The results were divided according to the three criteria for correspondence, mentioned above. In order to achieve maximum quality, as all the informants were native Bulgarian speakers, all the translations of the previously extracted collocations were checked in Google Books Ngram Viewer and the British National Corpus (BNC) for any inconsistencies, while the Bulgarian translations were checked against the results in the Bulgarian National Corpus (BuINC).

Our hypothesis was that a considerable amount of translation equivalents can be extracted from the relatively small corpus of collocations, which will prove that despite the differences between both languages, similar means of expression conveying the attitude of the speaker towards the discussed matter are used.

3. Results

The collocations extracted from the corpus were 450: 153 English and 297 Bulgarian. The first phase of the research was aimed at the most obvious translation equivalents in the list of extracted collocations. As the English collocations in the corpus were almost 50% less than the Bulgarian ones, the translation of all English collocations was matched against the Bulgarian collocations. In case a match was encountered, the adverbs and adjectives, constituting the collocation, were also examined, according to the translations provided in PONS Business English-Bulgarian/Bulgarian-English Dictionary (2002). As a result, 43 equivalent pairs were found. According to Tanaka and Matsuo’s word correspondence model, these pairs have the highest possible

correspondence rank – lexical (see Tanaka, Matsuo 1999: 112). This means that 28.10% of all the word pairs answering the syntactic model for the twenty predefined intensifiers can be considered direct lexical translation equivalents.

Among the translation equivalents with highest lexical correspondence rank were 2 word sequences containing the intensifier absolutely: absolutely correct and absolutely right, which three different informants decoded as абсолютно верен/absolyutno veren/, абсолютно правилно/absolyutno pravilno/, напълно прав /napulno prav/ and абсолютно верен /absolyutno veren/, абсолютно точно /absolyutno tochno/, напълно верен /napulno veren/, respectively. Because вярно /vyarno/ - верен /veren/ are forms of one and the same lexeme with верен acting as the lemma, we assume that абсолютно вярно /absolyutno vyarno/, which is one of the collocations extracted from the Bulgarian corpus, can be considered a translation equivalent for the abovementioned English word sequences. In order to receive maximal quality of the probable translation equivalents, the Bulgarian pair of words абсолютно вярно /absolyutno vyarno/ was also submitted for translation by the informants and the outcome was 2 different renditions: absolutely right and absolutely correct, which totally proves our previous decision was right, thus turning absolutely right and absolutely correct into synonyms. There were 2 examples of translation equivalents with the adverb extremely, where extremely skilled was translated as изключително умел /izklyuchitelno umel/, which corresponds directly to the same collocation in the Bulgarian subcorpus and its translation into Bulgarian also matches the initial English collocation.

The corpus also contained 2 examples of collocations with completely, which can also be translated by абсолютно, despite the fact that the latter has absolutely and not completely as lexical correspondent in Table 1. Both adverbs belong to the subcategory of maximizers, express almost the same grade, and are frequently categorised as synonyms: completely right – абсолютно вярно /absolyutno vyarno/ and completely unacceptable – абсолютно неприемливо /absolyutno nepriemlivo/.

The list contains 20 word sequences with very operating as intensifier modifying adjectives (see Table 2). The abovementioned procedure was followed for all of them. The outcome was a complete match, for all the translations in both directions. A closer examination of the collocations in which the intensifier very is found not only proves that very is the most prolific among all the intensifiers, explored in the study, both in the English and the Bulgarian subcorpus, but that it has the biggest number of lexical translation equivalents as well.

English		Bulgarian	
Source Language Collocation	Translation of the Collocation	Source Language Collocation	Translation of the Collocation
very good	много добър /mnogo dobar/	много добра/и/ър /mnogo dobar/	very good
very wide	много широк /mnogo shirok/, много обемн /mnogo obemen/	много широк /mnogo shirok/	very wide
very high	много висок /mnogo visok/	много висок/о /mnogo visok/	very high, very tall
very tall	много висок /mnogo visok/		
very different	много различен /mnogo razlichen/	много различни /mnogo razlichni/	very different
very dangerous	много опасен/но /mnogo opasen/	много опасни /mnogo opasni/	very dangerous
very bad	много лош/о /mnogo losh/	много лошо /mnogo losh/	very bad
very comfortable	много удобен /mnogo udoben/	много удобен /mnogo udoben/	very comfortable
very careful	много внимателен /mnogo vnimatelen/	много внимателен /mnogo vnimatelen/	very careful
very small	много малък /mnogo malak/	много малка/ък /mnogo malak/	really small
very valuable	много ценен/но /mnogo tsenen/	много ценни/а /mnogo tsenni/	very precious
very hard	много труден/но /mnogo truden/	много трудно /mnogo truden/	very hard
very simple	много прост/о /mnogo prost/	много прост /mnogo prost/	very simple
very expensive	много скъп /mnogo skap/	много скъпи /mnogo skapi/	very expensive
very wealthy	Много богат /mnogo bogat/, много заможен /mnogo zamozhen/	много богати /mnogo bogati/	very wealthy
very interesting	много интересен /mnogo interesen/	много интересен /mnogo interesen/	very interesting
very large	много голям /mnogo golyam/	много голям /mnogo golyam/	very big/ very large

Table 2 List of some of the collocations with very and their translation equivalents (lexical correspondence)

The results contain ten examples of lexical correspondence between word sequences containing the adverbs *too* and *прекалено* /prekaleno/ and *твърде* /tvarde/, respectively:

too expensive – *прекалено скъп* /prekaleno skap/

too long – *твърде дълъг* /tvarde dalag/

The first phase of the study uncovered seven more translation equivalents pairs: *highly skilled* – *изключително умели* /izklyuchitelno umeli/; *quite different* which can be connected with *съвсем различен* /savsem razlichen/, *съвсем други* /savsem drugi/, and *съвсем отделни* /savsem otdelni/, all three are considered synonyms in Bulgarian; *really silly* was transferred as *доста глупав* /dosta glupav/, which corresponds directly to *доста глуповата* /dosta glupovata/, extracted from the Bulgarian subcorpus, and rendered as *rather silly*; *nearly empty* and its translation equivalents *почти празен*, and *so powerful* – *така мощни* /taka moshtni/.

The choice of pairs in this phase of the study was primarily governed by the twenty adverbs, previously selected for the study, and their translations, given in Table 1, and the outcome was that almost 30% of all the extracted English collocations had their lexical match found in the Bulgarian subcorpus.

The second phase of the experiment covered the **similarity correspondence**, ‘when the meaning of one word is similar to another’ (see Tanaka and Matsuo 1999: 112). In order to provide an accurate classification of the word sequences, the translations of the English words were checked in the BulNet and the Google Books Ngram Viewer, which gave information on the word similarity.

Based on this, further twelve translation equivalents were established: 5 containing the intensifier *too*, 3 for *quite*, and 2 for *rather*, while *very* and *extremely* each had only one. The main dissimilarities between the members of each pair were the slight differences in the subcategories of the intensifiers, modifying the adjectives in the collocations. In most of the cases, the Bulgarian intensifier belonged to a subcategory which had a stronger or weaker reinforcing effect. Such is the case with *extremely*, *quite*, *rather*, and some cases of *too* where the Bulgarian adverb expressed a grade a bit lower than the one communicated by the English intensifier: *extremely difficult* – *прекалено сложни* /prekaleno slozhni/, *много сложна* /mnogo slozhna/ or a bit higher than the expected – *quite high* – *много висок* /mnogo visok/. Other cases featured the use of synonymous adjectives: *very informative* – *много поучителен* /mnogo pouchitelen/.

Taking into consideration the fact that the differences from a semantic perspective are not significant, we believe that these twelve examples can be added up to the total number of translation equivalents listed above. Thus, the total number of translation equivalents extracted from the corpus is 55, which represents 36% of all of the English word sequences.

The last phase of the research was an analysis of the word sequences belonging to the **co-occurrence correspondence**, ‘translations of expressions containing word A often include another word B’ (op. cit. 1999: 113). Here, only adjectives that were found at least three or more times in the corpora were considered so that a parallel can be made between the results from the BNC and the BulNC. *Successful, difficult, right, small, high, and simple* were classified as the most productive adjectives, but all of them were modified by three different adverbs. Unfortunately, for most of them the Bulgarian subcorpus presented only one combination and it usually did not fully comply with the semantics of the English adverbs, apart from *absolutely right* (218 times in the BNC) – *абсолютно вярно /absolyutno vyarno/* (148 times in the BulNC), and *very simple* (229 times in the BNC) – *много прост /mnogo prost/* (239 in the BulNC).

4. Conclusion

Based on the aforementioned results the following observations can be made:

1. Despite its size and limitations, the corpus of the study proves that non-parallel corpora can also be regarded as a reliable source for extraction of translation equivalents. The statement is clearly advocated by the fact that more than one third of all combinations of adverbs modifying adjectives from the English subcorpus found their counterpart in the Bulgarian section.
2. Secondly, considering the genealogical distance between the two languages, it is especially interesting that such a considerable number of English collocations, could be represented by the same syntactic construction and corresponding vocabulary, evidently describing one and the same concept of the reality. This positively states that the same concepts are used in the media texts in both countries, and they are manifested by the same lexical means and syntactic structures.
3. The detailed analysis of the excerpted material reveals that *very* (used 60 times) and *много /mnogo/* (149 times) are the most frequent intensifiers in both languages. The fact that the English subcorpus comprises one third of the whole corpus, while the size of Bulgarian is more than two-thirds of it also explains the discrepancy between the number of intensifiers and collocations in the two subcorpora. However, the proportion of degree adverbs in both subcorpora is almost the same 0.19, for the English, and 0.15 for the Bulgarian. So further to the above considerations, the paper also demonstrates that, both languages make use of more or less the same amount and type of intensifiers and they collocate with more or less the same adjectives, the function and semantic categories of which may be the subject of further studies.

References:

- Atanasov et al. 2002:** Atanasov A., Baychev V., Voykov V., Georgiev V., Chileva G., Angelova E., M. Stoycheva. PONS Business English-Bulgarian / Bulgarian-English Dictionary. Stuttgart: PONS.
- British National Corpus** <<http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/>> [Accessed 30 June 2017]
- Bulgarian National Corpus** <<http://dcl.bas.bg/bulnc/>> [Accessed 30 June 2017]
- Common European Framework of Reference for Languages** <https://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/source/framework_en.pdf> [Accessed 30 June 2017]
- Dagan, Church 1994:** Dagan I., K. Church. Termight: Identifying and Translating Technical Terminology. – Fourth Conference on Applied Natural Language Processing: ANLP-94. 34-40.
- Ebeling 1998:** Ebeling J. Contrastive Linguistics, Translation, and Parallel Corpora. – Meta. 434. 602-615
- Google Books Ngram Viewer** <<https://books.google.com/ngrams>> [Accessed 30 June 2017]
- James 1980:** James C. Contrastive Analysis. London: Longman.
- Kaji, Kida, Morimoto 1992:** Kaji H., Kida Y., Y. Morimoto. Learning Translation Templates from Bilingual Text. – 14th International Conference on Computational Linguistics, Nantes. 672-678.
- Kenning 2010:** Kenning M. M. What are Parallel and Comparable Corpora and How Can We Use Them? – In McCarthy M., A. O’Keeffe (eds.). The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics. Abingdon: Routledge. 487-501.
- McEnery, Xiao 2007:** McEnery A. M., R. Z. Xiao. Parallel and Comparable Corpora: What Are They Up To? – In: James G., G. Anderman (eds.). Incorporating Corpora: Translation and the Linguist. (Translating Europe). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Merriam-Webster Dictionary** <<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/>> [Accessed 30 June 2017]
- Newmark 1988:** Newmark P. A Textbook of Translation. Hertfordshire: Prentice Hall.
- Paradis 1997:** Paradis C. Degree Modifiers of Adjectives in Spoken British English. Lund: Lund University Press.
- Perdek 2012:** Perdek M. Lexicographic Potential of Corpus Equivalents: The Case of English Phrasal Verbs and Their Polish Equivalents. University of Oslo, Department of Linguistics and Scandinavian Studies. 376-388.
- Shveitser 1993:** Shveitser A. Equivalence and Adequacy. – Translation as Social Action: Russian and Bulgarian Perspectives (Translation Studies). London, New York: Routledge. 47-56.
- Smadja, McKeown, Hatzivassiloglou 1996:** Smadja F., McKeown K. R., V. Hatzivassiloglou. Translating Collocations for Bilingual Lexicons: A Statistical Approach. – Computational Linguistics. 22(1), 1-38.
- Snell-Hornby 1988:** Snell-Hornby M. Translation Studies. An Integrated Approach. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Tanaka, Matsuo 1999:** Tanaka T., Matsuo Y. Extraction of Translation Equivalents from Non-Parallel Corpora. – TMI 99: Proceedings of 8th International Conference on Theoretical and Methodological Issues in Machine Translation. Chester. 109-119.
- Walter et al. 2008:** Walter E. et al. Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

CROSSING BORDERS WITH TECHNOLOGY: USING GRAPHIC NOVELS IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

N. Berrin Aksoy*

Abstract: *Graphic novels and comics came into being in the 1930's as products of the popular culture that developed at an unprecedented pace especially after World War II. This paper explores the role of graphic novels and comics as an alternative to traditional means of language teaching in overcoming cultural and linguistic barriers that exist for the foreign language students at elementary, intermediate and higher-levels. It is argued that since graphic novels and comics are a combination of visual and narrative forms of artistic expression, these forms of literary and cultural production offer themselves as useful tools in the field of language education.*

Key words: *graphic novel; comics; popular culture; foreign language teaching*

1. Introduction

Men of letters and artists express their creativity in more than one way. The innovations in the fields of technology, communication and in the audio - visual material have influenced and changed all aspects of our lives permanently. The developments in the modern world have paved the way towards using innovative material and methods in the sphere of education.

This paper aims to discuss the role of graphic novels and cartoons (comics) in the teaching of foreign languages and especially in the development of reading and writing skills of the students. Their role in bridging the gaps between mother tongue and foreign language will be presented by making references to research carried out in this field.

2. Theoretical Framework

Graphic novels as we understand them today came into being in the 1930's and Will Eisner is considered the father of the genre when he published his graphic novel *A Contract with God* in 1978. The book was the first of its kind, a graphic novel; enjoying all the advantages of cutting- edge technological tools and mass production of the paperback. The book is a collection of stories about the Jewish community in Bronx, New York. It's reception especially by young adults was

* Professor PhD at Atılım University, Translation and Interpretation Department, Ankara, Turkey, e-mail: berrin.aksoy@atilim.edu.tr

very positive, even ground-breaking as a new genre and medium of a narrative form merged with visual representations depicting the dire conditions the Jewish community was living in. The book was very innovative in its technique which made use of both the narrative form and visual representations to back it up and realistically represent the message behind the narration. Hence, this was a beginning of a new genre which was named graphic novel, with a visual dimension which was not present in the traditional novels, until then.

Graphic novels have the ability to create a visual as well as a sequential narrative medium which combines text and image. As Will Eisner writes in *Comics and Sequential Art* (1985):

The future of this form awaits its participants who truly believe that the application of sequential art, with its interweaving of words and pictures, could provide a dimension of communication that contributes hopefully on a level never before attained to the body of literature that concerns itself with the examination of human experience. (Eisner 1985: 141-142, qtd. in Connors 2010: 67-68)

Human experience is a dominant and required feature of the realistic novel as described by Ian Watt in his book *The Rise of the Novel* (1960). In the above quotation, we see that Eisner's definition of the graphic novel essentially comprises the single quality of a genre to be accepted as a novel.

In *The Chicago School of Media Theory*, the writer writes that the word *Novel* implies the originality in narration; he goes on to say that the rise of the graphic novel in the latter half of the 20th century and the next corresponds to an increase in demand for fresh approaches in the communication of individual experience.

Time sequence and space are important elements of graphic novels. Their sequential quality drawn in panels and gutters is a unique quality belonging only to this genre. The layout of the page with the panels representing now, before, and after in visual as well as in narrative format enables the reader to perceive time in all its dimensions. Gutters, the space between the panels, are the pauses that give time and space to the reader to move freely to and from. Scott Mc Cloud, in *Understanding Comics: the Invisible Art* (1993), defines the graphic novel as juxtaposed pictorial and other images in deliberate sequence, intended to convey information and / or to produce an aesthete response in the viewer (1993: 9).

In a graphic novel, the viewer and the reader is capable, at once, to see the events at that particular time in its entirety on a single page of strip, simultaneous while reading and viewing. In that respect, it is like a scene in a movie, except that in a movie, the three dimensional time perception is impossible on a single scene.

Mc Cloud goes on to say in defence of graphic art that:

The past is more than just memories for the audience and the future is more than just possibilities Both past and future are real and visible all around us Wherever your eyes are focused, that's now. But at the same time your eyes take in the surrounding landscape of past and future! In learning to read comics we all learned to perceive time spatially for in the world of comics time and space are one and the same. (Mc Cloud 1993: 104, fig.4, 5, 6)

Availability of moving through time by means of panels is one of the innovative qualities of the graphic novel thanks to the favorable conditions in terms of drawing materials, publication and printing of the images on cheap paper. Another important technical quality of the graphic novel is its absence of a continuous action in its panels, instead of which it offers a fraction of continuous action and hence requires the participation and involvement of the reader to fill in the non - existing pieces of the action. McLuhan (2017) writes that the exclusivity of depiction in the comic book affects the method of its consumption; the modern comic strip and comic book provide very little data about any particular moment in time, or aspect in space, of an object. The viewer, or reader, is compelled to participate in completing and interpreting the few hints provided by the bounding lines (McLuhan 2017: 1).

As mentioned earlier in this paper graphic novels contain text and picture or images at the same time. The simultaneity of this experience is an important quality; though in some instances only a single word or exclamation is used to accompany the pictures in the panels. In both forms, the reader must be actively involved to perceive the page in its simultaneity. This involvement as compared to reading a novel or watching a film is more toilsome since there are the gaps to be guessed and filled by the reader. Hence, the meaning of the story is created through the simultaneous interaction of seeing and reading and reading becomes synonymous with living in the imaginary mode of existence (Ricoeur 2017: 1).

3. The Graphic Novel as a Literary Genre:

It has been widely accepted that comics and graphic novels have become products of popular culture since mid 20th century in Europe and America. Despite this, popular academic and scholarly attention did not come as early as that. Critics and academics have put a distance between serious art and graphic novels and abstained from including them in the realm of literature and artistic creation. As a matter of fact the recent interest in the nature, originality and function of the graphic novel is still diverse and arguable. According to Baetens, more and more the debates around the graphic novels concern its literary qualities (2008: 77). Many graphic novels have a literary subtext or present themselves

as the visual development of a literary text in the form of adaptations that is reproduced as a graphic novel for a variety of purposes. Baetens goes on to say that there are many examples of works of literature adapted into graphic novels such as Dino Battaglia's Maupassant, Alberto Breccia's Poe and Lovecraft, many of Dickens adaptations. In all these examples, these novels or stories are laid out on the pages in panels and speech balloons, or captions and the text and image juxtaposition creates a new literary model which is depicted in graphic interpretation (Baetens 2008: 78). Of course the literary merit or quality of the graphic novel is not only discussed within the boundaries of literary adaptations or appropriations of works of literature. Whether the graphic novel by itself is a literary genre or not is under scrutiny by the academics, critics and scholars, as well. Is it a new form of literature? If so why and how?

In order to address the above question, the qualities of graphic novel has to be identified. Most importantly, unlike the traditional novel, the literariness of a graphic novel depends on how the images are created. The graphic novel challenges the notion that literary narrative should always be created by means of a text and the textual characteristics. For graphic novels depend heavily on the image and how the text-bound elements are interpreted by the artist in terms of pictures and images. In this sense, the writer and the artist work in collaboration or singly, and have a larger space at his/their disposal. The text and the picture are complementary and have the potential to result in and create literary value like a book or a poem. Just like the reader of a novel or a poem the reader of the graphic novel makes sense of the story by means of the text and all the visual metaphors and images alike; that is by being actively involved in what is simultaneously there on the page. Another important issue about the literariness of the graphic novels is that the graphic novel evolved from comics in the fifties and under the same cultural and social conditions that led to the creation of news types of fiction such as post-modernist and experimental fiction.

Actually, the place of comics in American culture has long been recognized. According to Paolo Simonetti (2009), since the fifties, comics have played an important role in the American cultural landscape and have constituted an intertextual web of discourses and languages that include cinema, photography, painting and literature, constantly reinterpreting, institutionalizing, and reinventing former cultural experiences (2009: 379). He goes on to say that postmodernist fiction developed from comics by re-adopting narrative structures and textual strategies typical of comic books and especially in the nineties, the techniques adopted by postmodernist fiction contributed to the evolution of comics into the graphic novel form. Simonetti (2009) states that by presenting comics in expensive book-format editions and by calling them novels instead of comic books, graphic novels now place themselves among avant-garde literature and perceived by readers as such (2009: 379). Simonetti, similar to Connors (2010), Baetens (2008), Eisner (1985, 1996), Round (2006) and many

other academics, critics and artists, wraps up the arguments around the literary value of the graphic novel by putting forward that: “Nowadays, graphic novels are a solid reality in the literary panorama, covering a broad range of topics and formats, from autobiography to science fiction, from history to literary classics, and it is high time we consider this medium as a serious and effective way of representing contemporary America” (2009: 354).

Comics, the earliest examples of the graphic novel, began around 1930’s when comic strips in newspapers and journals developed into comics or comic books in the form of light satiric picture stories to be consumed in mass media productions. The Turkish researcher Levent Cantek explains the development of comics and the graphic novels in relation to their emergence as popular culture as such:

...the upper classes needed such tools (referring to the pictures on the walls of the churches) to control the people. Because, as opposed to the elitist world view of the upper classes, these tools are closer to the language of people and are more popular constructions. They constitute a synthesis between upper culture and folk culture by means of their form, structure, and content. This synthesis develops its own margins throughout the 19th century. Cultural massification (or mass culture) created by the industrial revolution, will initiate the age of this brand new popular culture. (translation mine, Cantek 2012: 18)

The development of comics into comic strips and comic books paralleled with the development of mass culture or popular culture tools and devices. Publishers of newspapers, magazines and journals were quick to notice the attraction and availability of mass consumption of these strips and books among the middle and lower-middle classes who could afford only a little time and limited means to have an access to reading and cultural materials of the higher classes. Hence, in order to increase the appeal of reading material to the public, publishers turned to the comics as an instrument to promote reading and literacy and hence education in general. Their contributions to building collections of visual texts and their ingenious aiming of the comic toward non-readers were the beginning spark toward a new view on literacy issues (Phelps 2011). Phelps goes on to say that the narratives of the comic books consisted of tales of modern life. These narratives were in response to a world in turmoil in the wake of the world wars. People were looking for a way to escape from their everyday lives and comics offered that kind of an escape. Comic books originally consisted of tales of superheroes and adventurers who were reaching to world issues, but they were also directed toward a juvenile audience (Phelps 2011: 21).

The transition from comics, into comic books and eventually to the graphic novels brought about a variety of content matter and formal innovations thanks to the new technologies in visual art and printing fields. Today’s graphic

novels contain a wide spectrum of topics ranging from fantastic stories to real world issues such as politics, ideology, gender, cultural issues, humour, and to adaptations of literature. Formwise, the graphic novels employ all the elements of literary style such as metaphors, personifications, imagery, allusions and the like. The text and the picture in a graphic novel are multi-layered and can convey meaning either explicitly or intricately.

4. The Use of the Graphic Novel for Overcoming the Barriers in Language Teaching

Comics and comic books can be used pedagogically on all the levels of education. However, due to its length and complexity of subject-matter, the graphic novel may as well be used as a foreign language teaching material in the intermediate or higher- level learners such as those in higher education.

The merits of using literature in the classroom of advanced language learners have been discussed by and large in the academia so far; however, current arguments for the use of graphic novels along with traditional novels have been heated with the emergence of the graphic novel as a literary genre. There have been educators and academics who claimed that comic books and graphic novels have become an obstacle for the students on the way to improving their literature reading, or foreign language skills, focusing on the “lack of aesthetic and artistic value” of such books. Sean P. Connors writes that in 1940 a literary critic for the *Chicago Daily News*, named Sterling North, was one of the first person to question the propriety of allowing adolescents to read comic books and argued that it was necessary to ensure that young readers had recourse to quality literature (Connors 2010: 66).

Arguments as above dwindled with the end of World War II and with the advent of the popular culture the graphic novel became an appropriated instrument to be used in order to ignite the interest of students in reading literature either in their mother-tongue or in foreign language and narrations of various types and kinds such as philosophical, social and scientific. According to Phelps (2011), through the use of graphic novels, while students are learning the traditional methods of studying the written word, they are also adopting new skills through the images (2011: 22). In her thesis, she refers to Rocco Versaci who remarks that students can develop this new skill with graphic text because [u]nlike more “traditional literature” [graphic texts] are able to quite literally “put a human face” on a given subject... a [graphic text] does not “happen in the words, or the pictures, but somewhere in-between, in what is sometimes known as the marriage of text and image” (2011: 22).

Turkish academics Hüseyin Öz and Emine Efecioglu (2015) produced an article which comprises their collaborative report on the findings of a study which

investigated the role of graphic novels in teaching English as a foreign language to highschool students in a Turkey. According to the findings of the study, the authors assert that learners can greatly benefit from the graphic novel especially in reading classes to improve their reading skills. Öz and Efecioglu refer to Goldsmith (2005) when they put forward that graphic novels are read for fun and that it may be a good idea to provide a teenager with something that appeals to him/her more than a long narrative since comics and visual material draw their attention more in our age (2015: 77).

Öz and Efecioglu (2015) underline another important aspect of using graphic novel in language learning by putting forward that graphic novel can serve as a means for presenting sociocultural issues in language learning (2015: 77). Öz and Efecioglu give *The Four Immigrants Manga* (Kiyama 1999) as an example to exposing language learners to the life of four Japanese immigrants in the USA (2015: 77). Likewise, *Maus* (Spiegelman 1973) can be another example for introducing the elementary, intermediate or higher-level language learners to the devastations of wars and to the struggles of the Jewish people during WWII. Graphic novels as such enhance the language learner's cultural and social awareness in a form and presentation which will draw their attention more easily as opposed to traditional written material. In this context, Öz and Efecioglu (2015) set out to fill the empirical research gap in the field of the role of graphic novels in foreign language teaching in Turkey, starting from the premise that graphic novels have the potential to promote teaching and learning English as a foreign language. Hence, their study "aims to investigate the role of graphic novels in FLT" (Öz and Efecioglu 2015: 80). In the study, several research questions were formulated and the method of study was mixed-methods research design which combined both quantitative and qualitative research (Öz, Efecioglu 2015: 75-90).

According to the findings of the above- mentioned study, it was:

...revealed that there was a significant difference of achievement in reading graphic novels between the control and experimental group. Another interesting finding was that although it was found that graphic novels had a positive role in learning the target language in general, it was also seen that they play an important role in shaping one's language. The results further revealed that the students showed more success in the interpretation of the literary devices and techniques. The students that used the graphic novel could easily recognize the foreshadowing, symbolic language, comment on the setting and infer deeper meaning. (Öz, Efecioglu 2015: 87)

Within the context of elementary and intermediate levels of teaching Turkish as a foreign language to Erasmus students in a Turkish University, a study was conducted by Celile Eren Ökten and Marie Helene Sauner in 2005-2007 academic years (Ökten, Sauner 2015: 65-79). According to the findings of this

study it was observed that pictured texts, graphic novels, comics, ads and similar materials proved to be more effective as compared to the traditional written material in the development of reading and writing skills of the foreign students who were learning Turkish. Ökten and Sauner (2015) concluded that illustrated texts contribute to a more active and careful grammar acquisition connected with daily life and oriented towards problem-solving. Adopting illustrated texts such as comics, caricatures, ads, jokes, etc. as authentic material is more efficient in improving grammar, reading and writing skills of foreign students at elementary and intermediate levels in terms of time spent and outcomes reached (Ökten, Sauner 2015: 65).

Developing new skills through the pictures and through all visual metaphors and images may be the key issue for the elementary, intermediate and higher-level foreign language learners in overcoming the barriers put down by only the written text and the confinement of the written text that bounds the reader only to the written words on the page. Contrary to this experience, which is undeniably wholesome for many, the page of the graphic book offers multi-layered experience to the reader to produce meanings and to make connections with the foreign elements, be them linguistic, cultural, or artistic, taking into consideration that improving foreign language teaching and learning can benefit from multiple modes and situations.

Consequently, the following characteristics of graphic novels may be regarded as beneficial on all levels of foreign language teaching:

- Graphic novels tell a complex or simple story by way of the juxtaposition of the text and the picture;
- The language used in the graphic novel has to be carefully chosen and related to daily language to fill in the captions and speech balloons;
- The graphic novel is oriented towards daily life and cultural varieties;
- The content of the graphic novel can have the power to have an immediate effect on the reader since it can have a striking format and page layout; hence, the message can be internalized at a deeper level by the reader;
- The graphic novel can provide the reader with social, economic conditions of the culture in which they are produced and with current trends, customs, and realia of the foreign culture by means of the pictures and images;
- The graphic novel, by means of the drawings of facial expressions accompanied by the speech balloons or captions can communicate the frames of minds and ways of thinking and behaving in certain situations of the characters of a foreign culture.

5. Conclusion

It may be a good idea to make a reference to an opinion put forward in 1946 which paved the way for the employment of the graphic novels, comic books of an earlier period, and which prepared the background and foundation of its use as a tool in overcoming some of the challenges of foreign language learning:

The teaching of English today is far more complex matter than it was thirty or forty years ago. It is not that the essential character of the adolescent student changed or that the principles of grammar or the tenets that govern good literature have been modified, but rather that the average student of the present is being molded in many ways by three potent influences: the movies, the radio, and the comic book. (qtd. in Connors 2010: 66)

Taking into consideration the impact of the even more various influences to which the young students of the 21st century are exposed, the above remark acquires a new significance and relevance in terms of its recognition and acknowledgment of the need for new ways of coping with the complexities of teaching a foreign language. The graphic novel, with its accessibility and ability to lend itself to a variety of uses that the creative and imaginative teacher of a foreign language is free to devise, offers itself as an excellent tool in our efforts to meet this challenge in foreign language teaching.

References:

- Baetens 2008:** Baetens J. Graphic Novels: Literature Without Text?. – *English Language Notes*. 46: 2 Fall/ Winter. 77-88.
- Cantek 2012:** Cantek L. Türkiye’de Çizgi Roman. İletişim.
- Connors 2010:** Connors S. P. The Best of Both Worlds. – *The Alan Review*. Summer. 65-68.
- Eisner 1978:** Eisner W. *A Contract with God*. New York: Baronet Books
- Eisner 1985:** Eisner W. *Comics and Sequential Art*. Tamarac, Florida: Poorhouse Press.
- Eisner 1996:** Eisner W. *Narrative and Graphic Storytelling*. New York: Poorhouse Press.
- McCloud 1993:** McCloud S. *Understanding Comics: the Invisible Art*. New York: Harper Perennial.
- McLuhan 2017:** McLuhan M. in *Graphic Novel. The Chicago School of Media Theory*. 1-7. <<https://lucian.uchicago.edu/blogs/mediatheory/keywords/graphic-novel>> [Accessed 17 Jan. 2014].
- Öz, Efecioglu 2015:** Öz H., E. Efecioglu. Graphic Novels: An Alternative Approach to Teach English as a Foreign Language. – *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies*. 11(1), 75-90.
- Ökten, Sauner 2015:** Ökten C., M. H. Sauner. Yabancı Dil Olarak Türkçe Öğretiminde Resimli Metin Okumaları. – *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yabancı Dil Olarak Türkçe Araştırmaları Dergisi*. Kış(2). 65-79.

- Phelps 2011:** Pedagogy of Graphic Novels. Masters Theses and Specialist Projects. Paper 1065. <<http://digitalcommons.wku.edu/theses/1065>> [Accessed 12 Jan. 2017].
- Ricoeur:** Ricoeur P. in Graphic Novel. The Chicago School of Media Theory. 1-7. <<https://lucian.uchicago.edu/blogs/mediatheory/keywords/graphic-novel>> [Accessed 15 Jan. 2017].
- Round 2006:** Round J. From Comic Book to Graphic Novel: Writing, Reading, Semiotics. PhD Dissertation. University of Bristol, United Kingdom. <[https://research-information.bristol.ac.uk/en/theses/from-comic-book-to-graphic-novel--writing-reading-semiotics\(749e82e7-e402-4129-9827-89588e2a8c10\).html](https://research-information.bristol.ac.uk/en/theses/from-comic-book-to-graphic-novel--writing-reading-semiotics(749e82e7-e402-4129-9827-89588e2a8c10).html)> [Accessed 15 Jan. 2017].
- Simonetti 2009:** Simonetti P. Translating a Book into Another Book? Graphic Novels Between Comics and Literature. – Proceedings of the 20th AISNA Conference. Torino, 24-26 September 2009. 378-385.
- Watt:** Watt I. in Graphic Novel. The Chicago School of Media Theory. 1-7. <<https://lucian.uchicago.edu/blogs/mediatheory/keywords/graphic-novel/>> [Accessed 18 Jan. 2017].

DIVERSITY AND IMPACT OF NATIONAL CULTURE ON UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS' LEARNING STYLES

Nedka Dimitrova*

Abstract: *With the rapid process of globalisation since the beginning of the 21st century, education and businesses face the challenge of intensifying multiculturalism. Higher education institutions in Europe are expected to play a particularly important role in facilitating this process. The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between national culture and the preferred learning styles in the context of Higher Education as well as to find out specific patterns of cultural influence on individual learning preferences. It aims to identify practical implications for teachers and trainers in a culturally diverse environment. The empirical investigation was based on D. Kolb's Experiential learning theory (ELT, Kolb 1984) and G. Hofstede's (1980) work on National and Organisational dimensions of culture.*

Key words: *Kolb, learning styles, Hofstede, cultural dimensions, cultural impact, higher education*

1. Introduction

Students' learning success is closely connected with individual culture, family and socioeconomic background and educators agree upon the belief that the context in which people are brought up is particularly important for personal development. Understanding the role of cultural values and improving cultural sensitivity by educators is crucial for establishing a positive and encouraging learning environment (Cohen et al. 2004).

Do cultural differences have an influence on types of thinking, styles of learning and communicating or these are only culturally stereotyped perceptions?

This research aims to provide evidence for the link between the preferred individual learning styles and the national culture, as well as to make useful suggestions for Higher education instructors, students, and managers, who are interested in taking the conclusions into account. D. Kolb's Experiential Learning

* Senior Lecturer of Business English and Communication skills, Department of Modern Education, Varna University of Management, Varna, Bulgaria, e-mail: nedka.dimitrova@vumk.eu

Theory (1984) was used to find out individual learning preferences and to suggest interpretations of learning styles through the idea of experiential learning, which integrates four different abilities – learning from concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualisation and active experimentation. Experiential Learning Theory (ELT, Kolb 1984) argues that learning is “the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience. **Knowledge results from the combination of grasping and transforming experience**” (Kolb, cited in Joy, Kolb 2009: 4).

G. Hofstede’s (1980) cultural dimensions theory provides a fundamental base for cultural comparison of individual learning styles with the concept of a set of several dimensions, characterizing countries by Power Distance (PDI), Masculinity (MAS), Uncertainty Avoidance (UAI), Individualism (IDV), Long-term Orientation (LTO), and Indulgence (IND). According to Hofstede, culture is “... the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others” (Hofstede et al. 2010: 5) and cultural differences can have a meaning only through comparison.

A commonly used method in the field, One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to determine if there exist statistically significant differences between the means of the cultural dimensions and the learning style variables.

2. Learning styles and Kolb’s Experiential Learning Theory (ELT)

The Experiential Learning Theory (Kolb 1984) suggests a learning model, which is a commonly used instrument for evaluation of individual learning styles and “the clearest exposition of the concept of experiential learning” so far, according to Smith’s 1992 study (cited in Sheehan, Kearns 1995: 10). The model represented by ELT relies on two dialectically bound modes of grasping experience: Concrete Experience (CE) and Abstract Conceptualisation (AC) and two modes of transforming experience: Reflective Observation (RO) and Active Experimentation (AE). The main principle of the ELT is expressed through a four-stage cycle in which the concrete experience gives ideas for reflections and observations. The assimilated reflections are transformed into abstract concepts leading to action.

The concept of Kolb’s theory is based on the differences in the preferences each individual possesses as a combination of four dialectic modes. Thus the four main styles of learning are identified as Diverging, Assimilating, Converging and Accommodating and these can be applied as a starting point for better understanding of the individual approaches to learning.

Kolb argues that **Divergers** prefer concrete experience to grasp information and reflective observation to transform it. They tend to feel and watch in the process of learning and are well able to look at a situation from different perspectives. Concise and logical with a focus on concepts, the **Assimilators**

demand clear explanations rather than practical application. They are able to structure and organise logically a broad range of theoretical information and do not demonstrate an interest in communication with other people. **Convergers** are best at finding solutions for technical tasks using their own previous learning experience. Interpersonal issues and social aspects are not in the focus of Convergers. **Accommodators** are more likely to rely on intuition rather than logic as well as on other people's analysis and information. Applying practical approach through personal experience and risk-taking makes people with this preference most suitable for carrying out plans and activities requiring initiative.

3. Culture as a mental programming in education context

People carry with themselves their own personal patterns of feeling, thinking and acting, which are learnt throughout childhood. Learning a new thing in life of adults requires *unlearning* of the subconsciously adopted models. Hofstede (2010) calls these *mental programs* that are based on the social environment in which a person grew up and gathered experience. This *mental software* is actually expressed through culture, which in its social anthropology meaning, combines all those patterns of acting, feeling and thinking. "Culture consists of the unwritten rules of the social game" (Hofstede et al. 2010: 4). Hofstede's (1980) cultural classification typology has suggested six dimensions so far, through which cultures can be compared.

Power Distance (PDI) In higher PDI societies the teacher is expected to be the highest authority and to know all *the truth*. Students are not encouraged to make their own decision and the training and teaching approach is expected to be more *teacher-centred*. Low PDI cultures do not tolerate concentration of power and expect to make their own decisions. Learners from low PDI societies will prefer more personal initiative and involvement through a *hands-on* approach.

Individualism vs. Collectivism (IDV). The main approach in collectivist cultures to training and education is teacher-centred as an expression of respect to authority and collectivist values. The individualist classroom students expect to be treated as separate individuals, with equal rights and opportunities to learn through practice and mistakes. (Hofstede et al. 2010).

Masculinity vs. Femininity (MAS) According to Hofstede (2001), masculine societies strive for competition and achievement. Academic performance is rewarded, students get motivated by concrete results. More modest and less assertive cultures are defined as feminine, they are driven by consensus and care for the members of the group, whilst masculine ones are motivated by individual achievement and performance.

Uncertainty Avoidance (UAI) Jaju et al. (2002) associate high UAI students with being “more comfortable with structured learning situations and concerned with concrete and right answers. Kolb and Kolb (2005) emphasise on the preference for active experimentation in societies with a lower degree of UAI. Reflective observation, according to Barmeyer (2000), is more likely to have an association with a high level of uncertainty.

Long-Term Orientation (LTO) Hofstede (1980) suggested that short-term oriented societies value freedom, achievement and care of oneself. Analytical thinking and consistency of thought are a priority with a focus on the present result. Long-term cultures are focused on learning, adaptiveness, and self-discipline. Thinking of the abstract future rather than the current moment has an influence on the concept of success and profit.

Previous research on learning styles in cultural context

Lum, Bradley, and Rasheed (2011) found a strong relationship between high collectivist cultural values and orientation to reflective observation of professionals in nursing, pharmacy and teaching. Japanese managers, Australian students and American EFL teachers, studied by Yamazaki (2005), Fridland (2002) and Hoppe (1990) were also identified as reflective learners. Joy and Kolb (2009) suggested that countries which are high in uncertainty avoidance demonstrate orientation to reflective style. Abstract conceptualisation tends to show as dominant in cultures measuring high in uncertainty avoidance, future orientation, and performance orientation. Yamazaki (2005) and Hoppe (1990) also identified a strong correlation link between the degree of uncertainty avoidance and the preference for reflective learning.

4. Hypotheses development

Since previous research argued that cognitive structure is influenced by cultural values, therefore, we can assume that the process of grasping and transforming experience is associated with culture. Based on this, we can hypothesise the following:

H1: a) *There will be a significant difference between the cultural groups in their preference for grasping experience through Abstract conceptualisation over Concrete experience (AC – CE).*

b) *There will be a significant difference between the cultural groups in their preference for transforming experience through Active experimentation over Reflective observation (AE – RO).*

Collectivism/Individualism Kolb and Kolb (2005) found that preference for working in groups in collectivist cultures is often related with active

experimentation because of the smaller degree of personal involvement. Individualist learners tend to feel more confident with more individual tasks.

H2: Collectivism will be positively associated with a preference for grasping experience through Abstract conceptualisation.

H3: Collectivism will be positively associated with a preference for transforming experience through Active experimentation.

Power distance in formal, hierarchical cultures is related to abstract conceptualisation and concrete experience is not needed. In informal and democratic cultures, a teacher is a source of ideas, which further should be developed by the learner through concrete experience

H4: Higher Power Distance will be positively associated with a preference for grasping experience through Abstract conceptualisation.

H5: Higher Power Distance will be positively associated with a preference for transforming experience through Reflective observation.

Uncertainty avoidance is associated with new experience, which requires active engagement and experimentation of new situation as argued by Holtbrugge and Mohr (2010). In terms of transforming information, Kolb's concept accepts that higher UAI is associated with preference for reflective observation whereas low level correlates with active experimentation.

H6: Higher degree of Uncertainty Avoidance will be positively associated with a preference for grasping experience through Abstract conceptualisation.

H7: Higher degree of Uncertainty Avoidance will be positively associated with a preference for transforming experience through Reflective observation.

Masculinity vs. Femininity implies the idea of more emotional and caring approach and decision making based on feelings, which was linked with preference for concrete experience (Barmeyer 2000).

H8: Masculinity will be positively associated with a preference for grasping experience through Abstract conceptualisation.

H9: Masculinity will be positively associated with a preference for transforming experience through Reflective Observation.

Long-term orientation according to Hofstede (2001) is focussed on values related to the future, without much consideration of the present situation. This conveys the idea that long-term societies will be more reflective and abstract thinking.

H10: Long-Term Orientation will be positively associated with a preference for grasping experience through Abstract conceptualisation.

H11: Long-term Orientation will be positively associated with a preference for transforming experience through Reflective Observation.

5. Research Approach

A version of the Learning Style Inventory, LSI (Kolb 1984) was distributed to an international group of 88 undergraduate students of management, enrolled in an HE institution in Bulgaria. The questionnaire consists of 10 sets of words, each of which relates to the four learning types identified by Kolb (1984). After calculating the total scores for each column (adding all scores going down), students were able to identify their individual preference for CE, RO, AC, or AE. Learning style was identified through comparing the two combination scores with the cut-off points, defined by the normative group for AC – CE at 4.3 and for AE – RO at 5.9.

In the first part of the analysis, to find out if there exists a statistically significant difference of AC – CE and AE – RO means between 5 culture groups (85 cases), One-Way ANOVA was conducted and the p -value was compared to the significance level of $\alpha < 0.05$ to test the null hypothesis, stating that all population means are equal.

In the second part of the analysis, we attempted to identify empirical evidence for an association between the learning style preferences and the cultural backgrounds of 72 cases from 19 countries. All students, the regular stream, and the Erasmus+ exchange students, were undertaking similar academic modules in international management or tourism and hospitality management with an average age of 22 and a gender proportion of 61% female and 39% male students. All countries were regrouped into bands for each of the Hofstede's dimension, in a way which allows us to combine similar country scores with no significant difference between each other.

6. Results

Individual learning style preferences The Divergent quadrant scores appeared to be the highest (46.5%) of all, demonstrating a dominance of the preference for reflective approach and observation in the process of transforming information. Our results proved a main preference for the Kolb's *reflective observation* modality, which is associated with sensitivity, intuitive orientation and intuitive decision making. The Accommodative style of learning scored lower than the Divergent (27.3%), however still significantly high in all groups to support the concept that management as a professional field tends to attract people with an emphasis on concrete experience and active experimentation. A relatively low preference of 16% was measured for the Assimilative style of learning, followed by 10, 2% preference for the Convergent style. According to previous research,

Southern Asia scores very high in the assimilative quadrant, which was also supported by our study.

Overall statistics model for AC - CE and AE - RO The overall AC – CE means comparison between the cultural groups proved a significant difference with an F value = 2.667 and a probability less than .05 ($p = .38$) thus, supporting our hypothesis $H1$ (a). The ANOVA test results of AE – RO did not prove any significant differences between the cultural groups with a roughly equal ratio of the groups' values. *Hypothesis 1(b)* was rejected, which leads to the idea that professional specialisation and personality traits might have stronger influence on transforming information in comparison with cultural characteristics.

Impact of Individualism versus Collectivism on learning style preferences

It was found that the most individualist country band 3 in our sample demonstrated the highest mean and the lowest standard deviation on the AC – CE continuum among the other clusters, which describes a greater preference for Concrete experience. As all countries in both Band 1 and Band 2 belong to highly collectivistic societies, according to Hofstede (2001), we can conclude that our *Hypothesis 2 was supported* (F value = 306.09 and a probability < .01). The analysis identified the Western European cluster mean (Band 3) score as the farthest located from the cut-off point of 5.9 on the AE – RO continuum. Comparative analysis of the AE – RO shows that all values gradually decrease towards the RO mode, while the Individualism scores increase at the same time. Thus, we can conclude that our hypothesis H_3 was marginally supported. (F value = 255.08 and probability < .01).

Impact of Power Distance on learning style preferences

Comparison between the AC – CE means of the bands and their standard deviations found that all means fall below the cut-off point of 4.3 demonstrating preference for concrete experience and identifying dependence on the degree of PDI in all bands. The highest measuring in PDI, Band 4 surprisingly scored second on the same mode immediately after Band 1. All other bands followed the pattern suggested by our hypothesis $H4$ so we can summarise that it was supported (F value = 1380.06 and probability < .01). The exploration of the band means identified an opposite to our hypothesis mirror image of their distribution along the AE – RO axis. Band 1 demonstrated the highest preference for reflective observation. Bands 2, 3 and 4 mean values were gradually increasing towards the mode of active experimentation, therefore, hypothesis $H5$ proved wrong (F value = 1267.66 and probability < .01), supporting a statement which was opposite to ours.

Impact of Uncertainty Avoidance on learning style preferences

We found that the mean AC - CE scores of each band were proportionally decreasing along with the increase of the UAI degree, revealing a greater preference of higher UAI countries for concrete experience – *contrary to our hypothesis H6, which was rejected* (F value = 975.33 and probability < .01). Even though all AE –

RO mean values were smaller than the cut-off point of 5.9 and closer to the mode of reflective observation, they were distributed in the way predicted in *H7*, therefore, we assumed that our hypothesis was *supported*. (*F value = 900.58 and probability < .01*).

Impact of Masculinity vs. Femininity on learning style preferences We found that the most feminine Band 1 demonstrated the strongest preference for concrete experience and Band 3, the most masculine, was located closest to the axes intersection, which speaks about an inclination to switch to abstract conceptualisation in a particular context thus, our hypothesis *H8* about the impact of the MAS degree on the preference for AC- CE was *supported*. (*F value = 796.62 and probability < .01*). The specific pattern of the AE – RO means distribution was also *partially supportive* (*F value = 683.62 and probability < .01*) to our hypothesised statement in *H9*, so we can conclude that masculinity still has a relative impact on the process of transforming information, even if it is lower than its influence on grasping information.

Impact of Long-Term vs. Short-Term Orientation on learning style preferences The observation of the band mean values did not provide any convincing evidence of relationship between LTO and the preference for grasping information. The ANOVA analysis of variance produced a significant result, validating partially our hypothesis through significant difference for Band 2, which is not enough to support our suggested hypothesis *H10* (*F value = 426.18 and probability < .01*) therefore it must be *rejected*. The ANOVA analysis of the AE – RO followed an irregular pattern similar to the AC – CE distribution. As a result we can conclude that despite the statistical validation, our hypothesis *H11* was rejected (*F value = 380.46 and probability < .01*) and the LTO dimension has no direct impact on the preference for transforming experience.

7. Discussion

The influence of cultural differences on learning preference of business management students

Based on the results of our study, we can argue that cultural differences obviously have impact on learning and communication with a more significant influence on business management students' preference for grasping experience (AC – CE) in comparison with the process of transforming experience (AE – RO). The main finding from our research is that all cultural groups demonstrated a dominant preference for concrete experience and reflective observation. Therefore, the overall most characteristic style of learning was identified as Divergent, followed by the Accommodative.

Academic fields matching each of the learning styles, according to Piaget's research 1970 (cited in Montgomery, Groat 1998) illustrate the predominant

preference for the Divergent and Accommodative styles, found in this study and the link to the professional specialisation in social science and humanities. Kolb has focused the attention on the concept that the majority of students in the same discipline are highly likely to express a similar preference for learning style, proved true in this study. The orientation towards concrete experience is driven by a willingness to deal with concrete interpersonal situations, involving human abilities of sensitivity and empathy for other people's emotions. These traits predispose leadership skills and a strong ability to work in different countries and in a multi-cultural environment, especially in the field of business management.

The effect of cultural dimensions on students' preference for learning styles

A higher degree of **power distance** was expected and identified in the education settings of the cultural clusters in our study sample, maintaining an orientation towards concrete experience and reflective observation along with the decrease in the degree of power distance. This was opposite to Barmeyer's (2000) assumption that students from low power distance societies will be more likely to participate in group activities and to search for feedback, as well as to Holtbrügge and Mohr's (2010) findings, associating the increased power distance with the likelihood of preference for reflective observation and abstract conceptualisation.

We suggested that more **individualist** cultures would demonstrate a preference for concrete experience and reflective observation. The latter was due to the assumption that active experimentation should be properly thought over before the next step is made. We found statistical evidence that the most individualist cultural sub-group demonstrated the highest preference for concrete experience and reflective observation, which supported our initial suggestion.

Contrary to Joy and Kolb's (2009) findings, we observed a fixed pattern of a proportional decrease of preference for abstract conceptualisation along with the increase of **uncertainty avoidance**. Concrete experience was desired by the lowest UAI bands but those with a higher degree of uncertainty measured even stronger preference than that. A preference for transforming experience through the mode of active experimentation over reflective observation was found in low UAI countries and the opposite trend in the high UAI, which corresponds to the empirical evidence found by Joy and Kolb (2009).

Based on the empirical evidence we found that the degree of **masculinity** has a relatively moderate impact on the process of transforming information and a more significant influence on grasping information which appeared to be in line with Joy and Kolb (2009), who identified similar relation between assertiveness (the GLOBE Project equivalent dimension of Hofstede's Masculinity) and learning styles, on contrary to their hypothesised statement.

Our observation study did not provide evidence of an association between **long-term orientation** and the preference for grasping information. Despite the statistical significance of our assumption about the relationship between long-term orientation and reflective observation, there was no proof of its direct impact on the preference for transforming experience, as proved by the empirical results in the study of Joy and Kolb (2009).

Implications for practice

Experiential Learning Concept in teaching culturally diverse students Kolb's learning cycle could be summarised as *do, review, develop and implement*, (Thompson, Chapman 2008-2013). New experiences (doing things) should be observed and reflected upon (reviewing the experience), which should lead to abstract concepts and conclusions (developing ideas), and these conclusions are consequently tested in practice through new experiences (implementation of ideas). The main concept of Kolb's Experiential Learning Theory – its model, cycle, and styles, give educators an instrument to examine the processes of grasping and transforming information by students. Creating and implementing appropriate study programmes in higher education institutions can increase students' productivity for better learning results and establish encouraging education environment.

Independent learning Experiential learning suggests that students can learn independently through *reflecting on their personal experiences*, so the teacher's role should be a subtle facilitator of the intellectual activities through interdisciplinary incorporation of reflective practice like reflective essays, class discussions, keeping personal diaries and other activities in which students can take their time in patience for objective and careful judgment.

Cultural awareness Developing cultural awareness modules for both students and teachers might be integrated into the curriculum and the institutional training programmes through self-assessment tests, relevant discussions, and engaging activities. All these facilitate a climate of cooperative learning and establish a "*psychologically safe*" (Powell, Kusuma-Powell 2015) environment for the individual learner.

Experiential learning strategies for teaching The class activities suggested by Montgomery and Groat (1998) supported Kolb's concept of the Divergent and Accommodative style, which relies on acquisition of information through feelings (motivational stories), group discussions of a common experience, self-assessment tests, common experience of new things and shared emotions. All these focus on interpersonal relationships and are said to be typical for the service professions.

Mehigan (2005) and other scholars in the field, suggested the creation of an individual "strategy toolbox" of teaching materials based on research strategies

for various learning styles. They should be revised, regrouped, added up and validated throughout one's teaching practice in order to find an optimised balance for creating an environment which stimulates the development of the less preferred learning modes of students.

Conclusions

The results of this study provided evidence of a significant impact of culture on students' preference for grasping information through concrete experience. It was found that the process of transforming information through active experimentation over reflective observation was only partially affected by culture. Personality traits and choice of the education field are highly likely to have the most influence on processing information.

Based on the above, we can summarise that the main factors affecting individual preferences for learning styles are cultural characteristics, personality traits, and educational specialisation. The cultural impact appeared to be the most influential on students' inclination to concrete experience, and the professional specialisation to reflective observation, which identified a distinct preference for divergent thinking. Our analysis of the cultural impact on learning proved Power Distance and Uncertainty Avoidance to have the most significant effect on perception and processing of information.

The Experiential learning model can be of help for higher education institutions to create an environment which gives an opportunity to international students for adequately comprehensive learning process through the application of specific approaches which best suit culturally diverse cognitive skills and expectations not only of the Divergent and Accommodative learners but also the Assimilative and Convergent types.

8. Limitations of the study

We acknowledge that the results of the study might be limited in terms of the size of the cultural groups' sub-samples, and particularly, the number of cases representing more individualist cultures for a better distinction between collectivist and individualist values. Another limitation can be related to potential perceptual bias, due to the English language terminology used in the Learning Style Inventory.

9. Recommendations for future study

Further empirical validation of all cultural dimensions, including the Indulgence versus Restraint, will bring for better understanding and a deeper analysis of the association between culture and learning. The sixth dimension relates to freedom of speech, personal happiness and the feeling of control over one's

own life, which is highly likely to affect cognitive skills and learning styles preferences.

Further comparison of the relationships between personality traits, cultural dimensions and learning styles of a bigger sample size would be beneficial for higher education institutions for more thorough identification of the factors affecting students' performance and learning outcomes.

References:

- Barmeyer 2000:** Barmeyer C. I. *Interkulturelles Management und Lernstile*. Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag.
- Cohen et al. 2004:** Cohen E., Brody C., M. Sapon-Shevin. *Teaching Cooperative Learning*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Fridland 2002:** Fridland G. H. *Adult Learning Styles and Cultural Backgrounds: A Comparison of the Learning Style Preferences of American Teachers of English as a Second Language and Chinese Teachers of English as a Foreign Language*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Memphis, TN.
- Hofstede 1980:** Hofstede G. *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*. The University of Michigan: SAGE Publications.
- Hofstede 2001:** Hofstede G. *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-related Values*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, (revised Ed.)
- Hofstede et al. 2010:** Hofstede G., Hofstede G., M. Minkov. *Cultures and Organizations*. 3rd ed. New York: Mc Graw-Hill.
- Holtbrügge, Mohr 2010:** Holtbrügge D., A. Mohr. *Cultural Determinants of Learning Style Preferences*. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, 9(4), pp.622-637.
- Hoppe 1990:** Hoppe M. *A Comparative Study of Country Elites: International Differences in Work-related Values and Learning and Their Implications for Management Training and Development*. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Jaju et al. 2002:** Jaju A., Kwak H., G. M. Zinkhan. *Learning Styles of Undergraduate Business Students. A Cross-Cultural Comparison between the US, India and Korea*. – *Marketing Education Review*. 12(2), 49-60.
- Joy, Kolb 2009:** Joy S., D. Kolb. *Are There Cultural Differences in Learning Style?* – *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. Elsevier.
- Kolb 1984:** Kolb, D. A. *Experiential Learning: Experience as the Source of Learning and Development*. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J.
- Kolb's Learning Style Inventory:** Kolb's Learning Style Inventory. Stanford.edu. <<https://aim.stanford.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Kolb-Learning-Style-Inventory.pdf>> Accessed 26 April 2017].
- Kolb, Kolb 2005:** Kolb A., D. Kolb. *Learning Styles and Learning Spaces: Enhancing Experiential Learning in Higher Education*. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*.
- Lum, Bradley, Rasheed 2011:** Lum L., Bradley P., N. Rasheed. *Accommodating Learning Styles in International Bridging Education Programs*. *Higher Education, Skills and Work-Based Learning*. 1(2), 147-168.

- Mehigan 2005:** Mehigan K. The Strategy Toolbox: A Ladder to Strategic Teaching. – The Reading Teacher. 58(6), 552-566.
- Montgomery, Groat 1998:** Montgomery S., L. Groat. Student Learning Styles and Their Implications for Teaching. – The Center for Research on Learning and Teaching. 10, 4-5. The University of Michigan. 4–5.
- Powell, Kusuma-Powell 2015:** Powell W., O. Kusuma-Powell. Overcoming Resistance to New Ideas. – Phi Delta Kappan. 96(8), 66-69.
- Sheehan, Kearns 1995:** Sheehan M., D. Kearns. Using Kolb: Implementation and Evaluation of Facilitation Skills. – Industrial and Commercial Training. Vol.27. Issue: 6, 8-14. Emeraldinsight. 8-14.
- Socscistatistics.com.:** Socscistatistics.com. One-Way ANOVA Calculator. <<http://www.socscistatistics.com/tests/anova/Default2.aspx>> [Accessed 12 June 2017].
- Thompson, Chapman 2008-2013:** Thompson M., A. Chapman. Concept and Principles of Experiential Learning Activities MTA International, 2008-2013. Businessballs.com. <http://www.businessballs.com/experiential_learning.htm> [Accessed 21 Aug. 2017].
- Yamazaki 2005:** Yamazaki Y. Learning Styles and Typologies of Cultural Differences: A Theoretical and Empirical Comparison. – International Journal of Intercultural Relations. 29(5), 521-548.

UNVEILING THE CULTURAL IDENTITY OF PROSPECTIVE ENGLISH TEACHERS AT A PUBLIC UNIVERSITY IN BRAZIL

João Fábio Sanches Silva*
Lucia Maria de Assunção Barbosa**

***Abstract:** When dealing with cultural studies and foreign language teacher education, those involved in the process of learning and teaching are somehow bound to concepts and attitudes which may lead them to changes or (re)adaptations of some of their values, beliefs and behaviors. Among these possible changes, identity is called into question. In this sense, identity seems to be concealed by many veils which are gradually withdrawn by the moment the subject gets involved with contexts which may question her own agency and the investments made to be part of such new context, as those which can be observed in constant flux of changes in prospective English teachers in Brazil. Based on such assumption, this text aims to discuss in what ways the construction and expression of cultural identity of prospective English teachers from a public university in Brazil occurs. Most specifically, it searches for unveiling to what extent such cultural identity may lead them to reflect about their role as future language teachers as part of their education. Data suggest that cultural identity is a notion which may help future language teachers to become conscious of their multifaceted identity, which can emerge and be unveiled.*

***Key words:** cultural identity; teacher education; English.*

1. Introduction

The interest for issues related to the construction of identity arises in the international literature as an emerging area of investigation. According to Block (2007: 27), “identities are lifelong processes along which individuals negotiate new subject positions, and shape and are shaped by their sociohistories”. The author states that identity has become a relevant issue of investigation because the references people have become somewhat dislocated, and reasons for this seem to be related to new subject positions assumed in diverse economic classes, gender, or even race (Block 2007).

Identity also refers to what Butler (2004: 31) calls “norms of recognition”, that is, norms that allow an individual to be intelligible to others so that they can

* Prof. Dr. at Universidade Estadual de Mato Grosso do Sul (UEMS), e-mail: joaofabioss@yahoo.com.br.

** Assoc. Prof. Dr. at Universidade de Brasília (UNB), e-mail: lubarbo@power.ufscar.br.

ascribe to that person a particular identity. However, there are unequal power relations to deal with, such as economic, cultural and social capitals that both facilitate and constrain interactions with others in the different communities of practice within which individuals engage. From this perspective, finding a definition for identity has become a complex task. Reasons for this are probably related to differences between theoretical orientations and research traditions that may account for different ways of understanding the referred notion.

Norton (1997) uses the term identity to refer to how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their possibilities for the future. She takes the position, following West (1992), that identity relates to desire – the desire for recognition, the desire for affiliation, and the desire for security and safety. Such desires, West asserts, cannot be separated from the distribution of material resources in society. That is, people who have access to a wide range of resources in a society will have access to power and privilege, which will in turn influence how they understand their relationship to the world and their possibilities for the future. In this respect, Norton believes that a person's identity will shift in accordance with changing social and economic relations (Norton 1997).

Holliday, Hyde and Kullman (2004) conceive of identity as the ways individuals define themselves, or want to be defined in the social contexts they are part of. For the authors, identity is multi-faceted and shifts constantly. Such diversity in the construction of identity is summarized in the different discourses individuals use in order to influence other people's perceptions of themselves. In addition, Bhabha (1994) characterizes identity as being unfixated and unstable. According to the author, identity is not constrained to an essence, since an individual does not assume one sole and specific identity. On the contrary, every individual assumes many and diverse identities, such as geographical, social, religious, just to name a few. Even so, all of them are contingent, that is, these identities are unstable and dependent of particular social contexts.

The previous definitions of the notion of identity suggest that the construct is a multi-layered phenomenon, and as Block argues, "prove to be very difficult to arrive at a strict definition that will be valid for very long" (2007: 187). Therefore, an increasing number of studies adopt the poststructuralist approach to the concept of identity and, for example, consider identity "the understanding of who the person is and thinks other people are" (Danielewics 2001), whereas others call for the notion of 'subjectivity', understood as "the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world" (Weedon 1997: 32).

Such different perspectives in viewing identity may be related to somewhat different theoretical frameworks and research traditions. For example, Morgan (1997) adopts a sociological approach to his conception of identity; Schecter

and Bayley (1997) opt for an anthropological approach to the analysis of identity construction; Duff and Uchida (1997) draw on sociocultural theories of identity to address differences between American and Japanese teachers; and Leung, Harris and Rampton (1997) work with theories of ethnicity as a way of understanding the extent to which schools in England were adapting to an increasingly bilingual and multilingual student population, just to mention a few.

The perspectives presented above suggest that there seems to be a collapse of boundaries between the social and cultural, which makes it possible to talk of identity as a sociocultural construct embedded in larger social processes, marked by relations of power that can be either coercive or collaborative (Norton 1997). Such sociocultural conception of identity conceives of the notion as dynamic and constantly changing across time and space, constructed and being constructed by language.

Based on the precedent assumptions, we can say that the notion of identity rests on three main characteristics. First, that identity is not a fixed, stable, unitary, and internally coherent phenomenon, but is multiple, shifting, and conflictual (Norton 2000; Weedon 1997). Second, identity is not context-free, but is crucially related to social, cultural, and political contexts (Duff, Uchida 1997). And third, identity is constructed, maintained, and negotiated to a significant extent through language and discourse (Lam 2000). In this sense, individuals are somewhat affected and influenced by the cultural contexts they are related to, and the construction of identity seems to stand out the subject positions assumed in the experiences lived within these contexts, such as those of prospective language teachers in the state of *Mato Grosso do Sul*, Brazil.

2. Previous research in the field

In reviews of the literature, many scholars cite Norton's work as pivotal in reframing debates on identity (e.g. Block 2007; Morgan, Clarke 2011; Ricento 2005) and it was in the context of such work, as Zuengler and Miller note (2006: 43), that identity was established as a research area "in its own right". Further, as Block (2007: 864) notes, a poststructuralist approach to identity "has become the approach of choice among those who seek to explore links between identity and language learning".

In addition to the assumptions mentioned above, poststructuralists also emphasize the mutually constitutive effect between language and identity. Weedon (1997), for instance, states that language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organization are defined and contested, and this may have an impact on the identity construction, since it is the place where subjectivity is constructed.

As Weedon notes, it is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across a range of contexts, and it is through language that the person gains access to – or is denied access to – powerful social networks that give her the opportunity to give voice to her own identity. In this perspective, there may be an articulation between power, identity, and resistance expressed in and through language (Norton 2006), in which language is the means through which experiences are organized and identities negotiated.

In accordance with the notions of language and identity presented, Norton (2010) makes the case that foreign language educators and researchers should be aware of examining the social, historical, and cultural contexts in which the foreign language learning and teaching occurs, and how those involved in this process negotiate and, if it is the case, resist the diverse positions these contexts may offer them.

The assumptions above suggest that there is an emphasis on the role of the subject when interacting with different contexts, such as that of foreign language teacher education, where the prospective language teacher is at the center of linguistic and cultural enquiry, and views culture not as a list of items, but rather as a process where meanings and perspectives are negotiated (Norton 2000). It is based on these premises that the relation between culture, language and identity may be constructed.

Culture, language and identity have become important areas of investigation in Applied Linguistics and one of the reasons for culture to have become so important seems to be related to a growing view of language that incorporates more social and cultural perspectives, which may suggest that learning a foreign language involves learning the culture(s) the language expresses (Silva, Gil 2012).

In this perspective, foreign language learning is not solely based on mastering the linguistic system of the target language, but rather on communicating effectively in the target culture (Byram, Morgan 1994). Based on the preceding assumption arises the idea that the teaching of a foreign language cannot be separated from the teaching of culture, and in turn, this learning of language and culture together can influence the identity construction of those who are learning it.

Furthermore, following Lo Bianco, Liddicoat and Crozet (1999), culture is not longer considered a separate skill but an inherent part of language, as if they were two sides of the same coin. Thus based on that metaphor, it is possible to adopt the notion of linguaculture (Attinasi and Friedrich as cited in Lo Bianco, Liddicoat, Crozet 1999) as the main characteristic of the intercultural approach which focuses not only on the target linguaculture, but also on the learner's first linguaculture.

According to Risager (2010), the concept of linguaculture has primarily been developed by Michael Agar (1994). Agar has coined the term as a concept covering language plus culture, and he is especially interested in the variation of linguaculture in discourse, both among different native users of the same language, and among people who use the language as a native and/or as a foreign language. Risager (2010) explains that Agar focuses on the semantic and pragmatic irregularity of linguistic practice and invites the reader to explore 'rich points' in intercultural communication, i.e. points where communication is inaccurate.

Whereas Agar uses the concept of linguaculture in order to theorize on language and culture, Risager (1998) uses the term linguaculture as a concept that highlights the culturality of language while at the same time maintaining the conception of linguistic flows across cultural contexts in the world. For Risager (2010), it is possible to say that while languages spread in social networks, across cultural contexts and discourse communities, they still carry linguaculture with them.

In addition to what we stated above, if language and culture are inseparable, then as learners acquire a new language they will also be acquiring a new culture. However, we argue that such culture is not the same as either the learners' native culture or the culture of the language they are studying. That is, as learners become familiar with a foreign language they may come to understand other values and meanings to the foreign culture that are alien to their own culture (Baker 2003). Such understanding emphasizes the significance of individual interpretations of culture.

Such assumption suggests that individuals are shaped by their sociohistories but they also shape their sociohistories as life goes on. According to Block (2007), the entire process is conflictive as opposed to harmonious and individuals often feel ambivalent. The author still reminds us of the unequal power relations to deal with, around the different capitals that both facilitate and constrain interactions with others in the different communities of practice with which individuals engage in their lifetimes, which may impact their identity in construction (Block 2007).

2.1. Research Questions

Based on the premises above, this text aims to answer the following research questions: in what ways the construction and expression of cultural identity of prospective English teachers from a public university in Brazil occurs; and most specifically, to what extent such cultural identity may lead to reflections about their role as future language teachers.

3. Methods

In order to answer the research questions presented above, a qualitative approach was used in the study which provided the means for writing this paper, in an attempt to “make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin, Lincoln 1998: 3). In relation to qualitative methods of conducting research, the study followed an “exploratory-interpretive paradigm which utilizes a non-experimental method, yields qualitative data, and provides an interpretive analysis of the data” (Nunan 1992: 4).

The participants of the study which provided data for this paper were undergraduate students of a language teacher education program at a public university in the middle-west of Brazil. The group of senior student-teachers comprised a total of 21 students. However, due to space constraints, only six participants, named as Doris, Ian, Pam, Christine, Jenny and Lucy, were selected for this paper. Their names have been changed to protect their identities.

We collected information during the second semester of 2011 by means of an open-ended questionnaire, a narrative production and semistructured interviews. At the end of the data generation process, there were 16 questionnaires, 15 narrative productions and 10 tape recorded interviews. The idea of using interconnected methods, or triangulation, reflects our desire to get a better understanding of the subject matter in question since “objective reality can never be captured” (Denzin, Lincoln 1998: 4). The instruments used for data generation are described next.

The data were examined and interpreted in light of the student-teachers’ life stories and English learning experiences shared by them in the generation of data as well as with the support of prior theory on identity construction. Data generation was woven together in a narrative form with the purpose to illustrate and interpret the discursive construction of identity of these student-teachers.

4. Data Analysis and Discussion of Findings

As already referred, Norton considers identity a site of struggle, in a way that subjectivity is produced in a variety of social sites, all of them structured by relations of power in which the person assumes different subject positions (Norton 2000) at times contradictory, and such conflict in the cultural identity construction of the participants as future language teachers will be addressed in the present section.

4.1. The cultural identity of undergraduate students as a site of struggle

Following in this subsection, we discuss the concept of identity as a site of struggle in a language teacher education undergraduate program*, addressing three main points, which are: first, the reasons that led the participants to attend the program; second, the reflections of such choice in their learning and/or using of the foreign language; and third, the impact of the choice on their future professional lives.

In relation to the reasons that led the participants to attend the program, Doris, one of our participants, explained that *Letras* was her first option in the entrance examination process, although the low number of candidates in such process had influenced her decision for attending it. Doris also mentioned that the program was an opportunity for an undergraduate education, and that it might contribute somewhat to her entrance in the public service field, something quite desirable in Brazil. For Doris, the degree in languages was not the direct goal of her pursuit in the program, but to obtain the university degree.

Differently, Ian declared that *Letras* was not his first option in the entrance examination process. His first choice for an undergraduate education was the Law program, but after failing to be approved two consecutive times in the entrance examination process, he decided to opt for *Letras* instead. In this respect, Lucchiari (1998) contends that there may be social influences in the kind of choices for a certain future profession, such as the lack of financial conditions to afford paying for a course, and afterwards, to start the career, and/or the lack of the necessary knowledge to be approved in the entrance examination process, for instance.

Differently from the previous two participants, Pam explained that her option for *Letras* was originally influenced by social factors. She mentioned that her parents could not afford paying for a private undergraduate education and she was supposed to choose a program which was located near her parents' home. In the interview, she complemented this thought by stating that being a teacher was also never part of her professional imaginary.

Notwithstanding the conflict experienced by Pam before starting the program, she was the only respondent in the group of student-teachers involved in the study to be effectively teaching. Pam used to teach English at a social assistance project as a volunteer once a week. She seemed to have a strong identification with the project, and contrary to her initial point of view about being a teacher, she identified with the profession, as she said that, "I really like it. I get quite

* In Brazil, the language teacher education undergraduate program is called *Letras*.

anxious when the Saturdays are coming, because those are the days of the classes” (Pam, questionnaire, 2011).

In a somewhat different perspective from the previous participants, Christine mentioned that she chose *Letras* as her first and only option in the entrance examination process. However, Christine made it clear that her initial identification with the program was due to her inclination for Literature, saying that English has been given her as a ‘*curse in disguise*’ (Christine, questionnaire, 2011). Besides such apparent contradictory feeling, she claimed to have gotten used to studying English, and if she was offered a job opportunity as an English teacher, she would promptly accept it.

Jenny, somewhat similarly to Ian, explained that Journalism would be her first option in the entrance examination process, if she could afford a private university degree, but she decided for attending *Letras* in a public university instead. Such attitude suggests that some of the choices the student-teachers make are based on social circumstances and factors others than just their preference for a specific degree, which may impact the construction of their identity of future professionals in second-option programs.

Notwithstanding the conflictive choice between a previous desired undergraduate education and her current option, Jenny acknowledged her intention to become a language teacher, although learning English has always been a challenge for her. Jenny also highlighted the importance of studying a foreign language in her undergraduate program, since such knowledge would help her understand the mechanics of her own language. However, she believes that her education would have been much more productive if the program she attended had been offered not as a double-certification degree, but as a single one.

The stances taken by the participants in relation to their entrance *Letras* suggest that the choice of an undergraduate education is at times mediated by social factors which may lead to conflicts, such as Doris considering *Letras* program an opportunity for an undergraduate education, disregarding the teaching profession. Another example is evidenced by the imposition of Pam’s parents, demanding from her either to be approved in a public university in the state near the city they used to live, or to get back to her parents’ home to attend a program in a private undergraduate institution.

Ian and Jenny have also faced different sorts of conflicts when started the program. As already stated, Ian lacked the necessary symbolic capital to be approved in the entrance examination test for the Law school, which led him to opt for a second-option undergraduate degree. Similarly, Jenny also decided to take up a second-option degree in *Letras*, as she could not afford paying for a Journalism degree in a private institution.

Christine and Lucy claimed to have opted for the *Letras* program as their first option as an undergraduate degree, but they have also experienced different forms of conflicts during their undergraduate education. Besides the need to quit attending the program because of her partner's occupation, Christine was also compelled to 'go through English' in order to achieve her goals with Literature; whereas Lucy was struggling with some of her classmates who did not seem to be quite concerned with their own education as she was (Lucy, questionnaire, 2011).

Besides all the social circumstances contended by the participants, learning and/or using English was not considered a reason for choosing *Letras*, which may position the participants in a cultural context that perhaps they were not willing to take part of, turning it to a site of struggle. We will explore such topic in the upcoming subsection.

4.2. Learning and using English as a site of struggle

Norton's definition of identity as 'a site of struggle' (1995) seems to be appropriate for the participants' experiences as learners and/or users of English, both before attending *Letras*, as well as while they were still undergraduate students, learning the language and the craft of being a teacher. Doris, for instance, started to learn English at a very young age, but this process of learning a foreign language was not free from conflicts. It was marked by social circumstances that forced her to change to different private language courses during the time she was studying the language, and also to exchange symbolic capital in order to achieve her goals with the language, such as teaching the language for children in exchange of the expanses with her own learning.

The identity of Doris as a learner/user of English was still conflictual when she considered the English native speaker the main reliable source of input for students of such language. Doris somewhat conditioned her learning of English to possible experiences of using the language with native English-speakers, highlighting her desire for such contact.

Somewhat similarly, Ian also faced the learning of English in the undergraduate program as a site of struggle. Although he brought with him a good deal of symbolic capital in relation to English, due to previous learning experiences, he recognized that learning English in *Letras* could be improved by means of "new language laboratories and more space in the syllabus for the English classes, besides more conversation practices" (Ian, questionnaire, 2011).

By mentioning that his English education could be somewhat improved if the language laboratory offered him better conditions to practice the language, Ian seemed to be aware that the practice in such context aimed to complement his education in relation to the development of speaking and listening skills, but

the current conditions offered by the laboratory did not offer such possibility, which might prevent him from improving his symbolic capital in relation to the language practices.

It seems that Ian wished to have better communicative competence in English in order to improve his symbolic capital in relation to English, which could position him as a better professional in the area of teaching English. However, the feeling of being about to graduate from languages, and do not have the necessary communicative competence to be an English teacher seems to be restraining the emergence of the identity of a user of the target language, and consequently, of a future English teacher.

Similarly to Ian, who brought into the program a good deal of symbolic capital in relation to English, Pam also had a large number of English learning experiences before starting *Letras*. Some of these experiences highlighted her identity of a learner of English, although conflictual in nature, such as her English learning journey before starting her undergraduate education. The possibility of learning English in the program seemed initially to be an opposing starting point in relation to her previous learning experiences during her school days. According to Pam, she had always desired to take up a private English language course, but due to financial limitations she could never afford paying for one.

But something intriguing about this conflictive attitude in relation to the language is that she mentioned to feel quite comfortable when she used to speak English with some of her friends from abroad, but she felt very insecure when she was supposed to talk to her professors in the university. This apparent conflict in relation to using English with friends from abroad and the insecurity of using the language with professors in the university seems to have its bases in an imagined community aspired by Pam, the imagined community of teachers of English.

It seems that Pam recognizes her English professors as the particular members of the community she wishes to be part of. Norton (2006) believes that the people in whom learners have the greatest investment may be the very people who represent or provide access to the imagined community of a given learner, and this seems to be the case of Pam when she was expected to speak English with her professors in the university.

Similarly to the previous participants, Christine's identity of a learner of English was also a site of struggle. She mentioned in the questionnaire to have a relationship of 'tolerance' with the language, so that she could achieve her goals with Literature, while she would be learning a foreign language. Such attitude in relation to learning English seems to have its origin in unsuccessful learning experiences during high school, when she started to learn the language.

Christine acknowledged the fact that at the beginning of her undergraduate education in *Mato Grosso do Sul*, she was very resistant to the idea of learning English, but now as a senior student, she could understand it much more easily, and she did not seem to despair anymore. According to Norton (2010), the concept of resistance is important when trying to understand the construction of identity, due to the fact that larger structural constraints and classroom practices may at times position learners in undesirable ways, and they can resist these positions in innovative and unexpected forms (Norton, 2010), and this seems the case of Christine, trying to reconcile her strong inclination for Literature and the learning of English in the program.

Similarly to Christine, learning English had been a challenge for Jenny since her childhood, when she had her first contact with the language. Her identity of a learner of English was a site of struggle at that time, especially as she perceived differences between the way she used to be taught English, and the new learning environment. Although the identity of a learner of English was at times a site of struggle for Jenny, learning the language did not seem to have negatively influenced the emergence of the identity of a user of the language, and the possibility of becoming an English teacher. Jenny also recognized that she has been improving the language little by little due to the practices in the undergraduate program.

The identities of undergraduate students and learners of English were experienced by the participants as a site of struggle, particularly due to social factors. Ian and Jenny, for instance, opted for an undergraduate program which was not their first choice; whereas Jenny and Pam could not attend private English courses because of financial limitations. Other circumstances also contributed to such conflictual process of identity work, such as the program's double-certification, recalled by Christine and Jenny.

The participants were also capable of discerning aspects of their education that could be improved, such as Ian requiring better conditions in the language laboratory, and Pam asking for more English classes in the syllabus of the program, which somewhat could impact their own learning of the language, providing them with better communicative competence, and consequently with their future professional lives as language teachers. In the upcoming subsection, we bring into discussion the conflictual construction of the identity of future language teachers.

4.3. A site of struggle as future language teachers

The construction of the identity of future language teachers was also experienced by the participants as a site of struggle, which highlights the notion of identity work as dynamic and constantly changing across time and space, constructed

and being constructed by the experiences of the individual in different cultural contexts.

The reason that led Doris to opt for *Letras* was not her previous identification with the program itself, but the low number of candidates in the entrance examination process, as already stated. Becoming a teacher for Doris was a site of struggle, as she believed that, “teaching is very stressful and devalued” (Doris, questionnaire, 2011). Although becoming a teacher was not Doris’s first option as her future professional option, she recognized that she had the necessary symbolic capital to be an English teacher due to the cultural capital she has acquired from her years of studying and practicing the language in the private language courses before attending *Letras*. It seems that Doris assumed such identification with the language on the one hand, but she did not share the same feeling in relation to the fact of becoming a teacher on the other.

The lack of teaching experience was pointed out by Ian as major source of conflict in relation to his identification with the profession. Despite having been through the English practicum experiences in the program, Ian mentioned that the lack of teaching experience in the area made him feel insecure in relation to his future professional life as a language teacher. Norton (2001) argues that second language learners have images of the communities in which they want to participate in the future, and one of the characteristics that Ian seems to have attributed to the members of the teachers’ community is confidence, a characteristic he believes not to have developed so far.

Similarly to Ian, who described his feeling of insecurity in front of a classroom as the teacher, Pam also recognized her difficulties and conflicts in the teaching contexts she was involved with – the assistance project where she used to teach English and the reading project she developed to work with Literature. Although Pam initially demonstrated certain feelings of discomfort in relation to becoming a teacher, she seemed to have overcome such conflict and assumed the imagined identity of a competent and concerned teacher, to the extent of positively analyzing the outcomes of her initial teaching experiences.

Similarly to the desire of Ian and Pam of becoming confident teachers, Christine mentioned her conflictive feelings about graduating and starting to work full of enthusiasm and good intentions, yet soon after the start, facing a reality of discouraging salaries and badly-structured schools in Brazil. In the conflict between her imagined identity of a future teacher and the disappointing scenario she observed during some of her practicum experiences, Christine reflected on her own English teaching practices and came to the conclusion that these experiences made her feel secure enough to assume the identity of a future English teacher. Christine acknowledged the importance of the cultural capital she acquired from the experiences she had, both with her English practicum and with the private language course she took during her undergraduate education.

The data analyzed so far suggest that being an undergraduate student, a learner/user of a foreign language, and at times assuming the identity of a future teacher is not free from constraints, and that the conflicts experienced by the participants, together with their changing and sometimes contradictory subject positions all contribute to the construction of their identity, “in a diverse, contradictory, dynamic, multiple rather than unitary, decentered rather than centered process” (Norton Peirce 1995: 15).

A conceptualization of identity as multiple, non-unitary and dynamic leaves room for the view that individuals need not be locked forever in particular subject positions. Rather, from this perspective, although some cultural contexts and practices may have limited or constrained the opportunities for the participants to identify with some subject positions, such as civil servant/undergraduate student, lawyer/future language teacher, researcher/teacher, confident/insecure teachers, and learners/teachers, other contexts and practices may have offered them enhanced sets of possibilities for social interaction and human agency, which allowed them to aspire to other imagined identities, different from the ones they initially had.

5. Key Findings

The participants’ references to their option for the *Letras* undergraduate program suggest that the choice of an undergraduate education is at times mediated by social circumstances, such as not being able to afford a private undergraduate education, which may lead to conflicts. Additionally, learning or using English was not even considered by the participants a reason for choosing the program, which might have led some of them to experience the construction of such identity as a site of struggle, especially in a social context that perhaps, they were not willing to take part of. Doris, for instance, invested in the program in the form of an opportunity of undergraduate education, which could help her to access the community of civil servants, imagined by her as a more financially secure and stable occupation than teaching could be.

The identity of a learner and user of English in the undergraduate program was, for most of the participants, a site of struggle. Christine, for instance, claimed to have a relationship of tolerance with the language, and Ian wished to have developed better communicative competence in the language during his undergraduate education. The construction of the identity of a language teacher was also conflictive for some of the participants, such as Ian and Pam who believed not to be prepared to face a classroom as full-time teachers, due to the lack of teaching experiences in the area.

Norton’s definition of identity as a site of struggle seems to be appropriate for my participants, as an extension of the position that identity is multiple

and contradictory. The data analyzed suggest that for the participants, the construction of their identity as undergraduate students, learners/users of a foreign language, and for most of them, future language teachers was not free from conflicts, and such sites of struggle, together with their changing and sometimes conflictive subject positions, such as private language course students and public school students, all contributed to the construction of their identity “in a diverse, dynamic, multiple rather than unitary, decentered rather than centered process” (Norton Peirce, 1995, p. 15).

The analysis of data also demonstrated that some cultural contexts and practices limited or constrained opportunities for the participants to identify with particular subject positions. Pam, for instance, expressed feelings of insecurity when she was expected to speak with one of her former professors in English, apparently the one she had the highest investment; whereas Jenny’s identity of an English learner during her childhood was a site of struggle, due to the discrepancy between her knowledge of the language and that of the other students in class. Finally, Ian desired to participate in the community of speakers of English and future teachers, and expected his classmates to aspire to the same communities, although those imagined communities were not shared by them.

6. Conclusion

One of the assumptions of the present text is that identities are discursively constructed, and embedded within social practices and diverse cultural contexts. In this respect, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) suggest that each aspect of identity redefines and modifies all others, and since individuals often shift and adjust ways in which they identify and position themselves in distinct contexts, identities are best understood when approached in their entirety, rather than through consideration of a single aspect or subject position.

From this perspective, the student-teachers in the study seem to be constructing who they are and how they want to be known in the recount of their experiences as English learners and undergraduate students. They seem to be constructing their identities at the encounter of multiple conditions, such as different school environments, learning experiences, and investment in the language practices. The student-teachers’ lived experiences with the language and teaching practices seem to have contributed to the construction of the identity of learners/users of English and for most of them as future teachers of the language.

7. Implications

Although the present study focused primarily on the identity construction of undergraduate language students, there are broader developments in the field of applied linguistics that suggest important pedagogical implications for the

future. In a broader perspective, by assuming that the identity of the future language teacher is not just a personality variable but a socially and historically constructed relationship to both institutional and community practices, then it follows that teachers, professors, researchers and policy-makers should all be implicated in the range of identities available to such future professionals. In a more localized perspective, given the particular context of the present text, the awareness of the notions of investment, imagined communities and resistance, as illustrated by the analysis of data, may widen the literature around issues of identity, teacher identity or language learning.

References:

- Agar 1994:** Agar M. *Language Shock. Understanding the Culture of Conversation*. New York: William Morrow.
- Bhabha 1994:** Bhabha H. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Baker 2003:** Baker W. Should Culture be an Overt Component of EFL Instruction Outside of English Speaking Countries? – The Thai context. *Asian EFL Journal* (on-line).
- Block 2003:** Block D. *The Social Turn in Second Language Acquisition*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Block 2007:** Block D. *Second Language Identities*. London, UK: Continuum.
- Bourdieu 1977:** Bourdieu P. *The Economics of Linguistic Exchanges*. – *Social Science Information*. 6, 645-668.
- Bourdieu, Passeron 1977:** Bourdieu P., J. Passeron. *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture*. London/Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Butler 2004:** Butler J. *Undoing Gender*. London: Routledge.
- Byram, Morgan 1994:** Byram M., C. Morgan. *Developing a Theory of Language-and-Culture Learning*. – In: Byram M., C. Morgan (eds.). *Teaching and Learning Language and Culture*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. 4-40.
- Danielewicz 2001:** Danielewicz J. *Teaching Selves: Identity, Pedagogy and Teacher Education*. Albany: SUNY, New York, 2001.
- Denzin, Lincoln 1998:** Denzin N. K., Y. Lincoln (eds.). *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Duff, Uchida 1997:** Duff P. A., Y. Uchida. *The Negotiation of Teachers' Sociocultural Identities and Practices in Postsecondary EFL Classrooms*. – *TESOL Quarterly*. vol. 31, 451-486.
- Holliday, Hyde, Kullman 2004:** Holliday A., Hyde M., J. Kullman. *Intercultural Communication: An Advanced Resource Book*. London: Routledge.
- Kramsch 1993:** Kramsch C. *Context and Culture in Language Teaching*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Lam 2000:** Lam W. S. E. *L2 Literacy and the Design of the Self: A Case Study of a Teenager Writing on the Internet*. – *TESOL Quarterly*. 34 (3), 457-482.
- Leung, Harris, Rampton 1997:** Leung C., Harris R, B. Rampton. *The Idealised Native Speaker, Reified Ethnicities and Classroom Realities*. – *TESOL Quarterly*. vol. 31, n. 3, 543-560.

- Lo Bianco, Liddicoat, Crozet 1999:** Lo Bianco J., Liddicoat A., C. Crozet. *Striving for the Third Place – Intercultural Competence Through Language Education*. Melbourne: Language Australia.
- McKay, Wong 1996:** McKay L., C. Wong. *Multiple Discourses, Multiple Identities: Investment and Agency in Second-Language Learning Among Chinese Adolescent Immigrant Students*. – *Harvard Educational Review*. vol. 66, n. 3, 577-608.
- Morgan 1997:** Morgan B. *Identity and Intonation: Linking Dynamic Processes in an ESL Classroom*. – *TESOL Quarterly*. 31(3), 431-450.
- Morgan 2007:** Morgan B. *Poststructuralism and Applied Linguistics: Complementary Approaches to Identity and Culture in ELT*. – In: Cummins J., C. Davison (eds.). *International Handbook of English Language Teaching*. New York: Springer. 1033-1052.
- Morgan, Clarke 2011:** Morgan B., M. Clarke. *Identity in Second Language Teaching and Learning*. – In: Hinkel E. (ed.). *Handbook of Research in Second Language Teaching and Learning*. vol. 2. New York, NY: Routledge. 817-836.
- Norton 1995:** Norton P. B. *Social Identity, Investment, and Language Learning*. – *TESOL Quarterly*. 29, 9-31.
- Norton 1997:** Norton B. *Language, Identity and the Ownership of English*. – *TESOL Quarterly*. v. 31, n. 3, 409-429.
- Norton 2000:** Norton B. *Identity and Language Learning: Gender, Ethnicity and Educational Change*. Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Norton 2006:** Norton B. *Identity as a Sociocultural Construct in Second Language Education*. – In: Cadman K., K. O’regan (eds.). *TESOL in Context*. 22-33.
- Norton 2010:** Norton B. *Language and Identity*. – In: Hornberger N., S. McKay (eds.). *Sociolinguistics and Language Education*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 349-369.
- Norton 2011:** Norton B. *Identity*. – In: Simpson J. (ed.). *The Routledge Handbook of Applied Linguistics*. New York/London: Routledge. 318-330
- Norton, Toohey 2001:** Norton B., K. Toohey. *Changing Perspectives on Good Language Learners*. – *TESOL Quarterly*. 35(2), 307-322.
- Norton, Toohey 2011:** Norton B., K. Toohey. *Identity, Language Learning, and Social Change*. – *Language Teaching*. 44, 4, 412-446.
- Nunan 1992:** Nunan D. *Research Methods in Language Learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pavlenko, Blackledge 2004:** Pavlenko A., A. Blackledge (eds.). *Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Ricento 2005:** Ricento T. *Considerations of Identity in L2 Learning*. – In: Hinkel E. (ed.). *Handbook of Research on Second Language Teaching and Learning*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Mahwah, NJ.
- Risager 1998:** Risager K. *Language Teaching and the Process of European Integration*. – In: Byram M., M. Fleming (eds.). *Language Learning in Intercultural Perspective. Approaches Through Drama and Ethnography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. 242-254.
- Risager 2010:** Risager K. *The Language Teacher Facing Transnationality*. – *Conferência no EUNoM Symposium*. Friul, Italy.

- Schechter, Bayley 1997:** Schechter S. R., R. Bayley. Language Socialization Practices and Cultural Identity: Case Studies of Mexican Descent Families in California and Texas. – TESOL Quarterly. 31, 513-542.
- Silva 2010:** Silva J. F. S. Narrative Inquiries. – Unpublished Qualifying Examination. Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis, SC.
- Silva, Gil 2012:** Silva J. S. F., G. Gil. Culture, Language and Identity Construction in Foreign Language Learning and Teaching: a Theoretical Discussion. – Contexturas. no. 19, 2012, 91-108.
- Weedon 1997:** Weedon C. Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory. 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell.
- West 1992:** West C. A Matter of Life and Death. October, 61, 20-23.
- Zuengler, Miller 2006:** Zuengler J., E. Miller. Cognitive and Sociocultural Perspectives: Two Parallel SLA Worlds? – TESOL Quarterly. 40.1, 35–58.

RAISING EFL STUDENTS' AWARENESS OF PRAGMATIC CONVENTIONS IN FORMING INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE

İsmail Erton*

Abstract: For almost half a century, teaching and learning a language and even the linguistic studies related to them were elaborated in a structural framework. Both the focus on teaching/learning methods and the linguistic corpus offered within such curricula were far from that of developing EFL students' cross-cultural interactions. This paper suggests that the implementation of a pedagogy of pragmatics in foreign language instruction facilitates the development of intercultural competence and activates the cross-cultural schemata of the learners. The pragmatically-oriented social behavior which embodies political, sociocultural and economic conventions can be integrated into the EFL curriculum via translation, literary studies and digital multimedia technology. It is shown that, by forming intercultural competence, language learners can feel more secure in communicative practices within various sociocultural contexts and, thus, the significance of teaching and learning pragmatic knowledge to master the skills in a foreign language should be emphasized as not only a fundamental principle in linguistic practices, but also as an ultimate goal in EFL instruction.

Key words: Linguistics, pragmatics, pragmatic competence, intercultural competence, foreign language teaching, foreign language learning, curriculum, communication, schemata

1. Background to Pragmatic Studies in Linguistics

The frame of linguistic studies shifted from a structural approach to communicative practices after Chomsky's book *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* published in 1965. In his book, he concentrated on the notion of linguistic competence and defined it as the complete knowledge of a language possessed by the ideal speaker-listener in a homogenous speech community. Chomsky put forward the concept of generative grammar as the theory of linguistic competence and performance. Wales and Marshall criticized Chomsky's approach to competence and claimed that "It is also a theory of limitations of the mechanisms, which enable us to express our own linguistic competence" (1966: 30). The center of attention in these debates was mainly the coverage

* Assist. Prof. PhD at Atılım University, Department of Translation and Interpretation, Ankara, Turkey, e-mail: ismail.erton@atilim.edu.tr.

zone of linguistic competence, such as whether or not it should also deal with language production at the verbal state. Fodor and Garrett claimed that in a model of linguistic performance, the role of psycholinguistics should not be underestimated, saying that “both linguistic and psychological models are the models of competence” (1966: 138).

The discussions about the mental state of the language user and her capacity to produce both syntactically and semantically appropriate utterances led the direction of linguistics to the functional interpretation of language rather than framing it with structural conventions. As Choraih et al. state, “This branch investigates the psycholinguistic aspects of the process of L2 acquisition, in which the study of linguistics had little to do with language teaching, the focus being primarily on the formal linguistic properties of the learner’s interlanguage” (2016: 184). One could argue that, perhaps, what made language teaching methods unsuccessful and inefficient in those days was the approach to consider psychological and structural studies in isolation from their practices in the socio-cultural contexts, where language is communicated authentically and naturally. Choraih et al. adds that, “this line of research had become less tenable with the increasing attention to the role of sociocultural and sociolinguistic factors that affect and shape the process of L2 development” (2016: 184).

Hymes (1972) and Gumperz and Dell (1989) concentrated on the communicative sociocultural aspects of human interaction and claimed that the communicative value of language needs to be considered not only with reference to its structural and psychological aspects, but also within the limits of its social use, in which communication essentially acts through various discourses. Such discourses offer contexts where language becomes a product of a strategic competence, embodying unlimited strategies to be deployed in verbal and non-verbal communication alike. Canale and Swain (1980) and Canale (1983) drew the attention of linguistics to personal skills and capabilities which would operate skillfully and strategically in sociocultural contexts. Meanwhile, Widdowson (1983) redefined the term ‘schemata’ from an applied linguistic point of view. For him, there are two levels of language: systemic and schematic, the latter of which encompasses a series of cognitive processes that operate in a systematic manner. The systemic level itself, which includes the structural aspects of language (phonetic, phonological, morphological, etc.), is in a continuous interaction with the schematic level that represents the background knowledge of the language user. In addition, Bachman’s notion of communicative competence introduced psycho-physiological mechanisms, helping linguists to better understand the neuro-psychological process of language production (1990: 107-8). In this respect, Dijk’s definition of communicative competence is thought to represent a model that sums up the findings of previous studies:

... study of pragmatics requires an analysis of its foundations. This basis of pragmatics theories is on the one hand conceptual e.g. in the analysis of action and interaction, and on the other hand empirical, viz. in the investigation of psychological and social properties of language processing in communicative interaction (Dijk 1977: 121).

Despite all of the afore-mentioned views, the studies that have been covered so far lacked in explaining how language acts even in unforeseen discourses. Oller, in this respect, defined pragmatic competence as, “the relationship between linguistic contexts and extra-linguistic contexts. It embraces the traditional subject matter of psycholinguistics and also that of sociolinguistics” (1970: 19). Crystal defines pragmatics as, “the study of language from the point of view of users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction and the effects of their use of language has on other participants in the act of communication” (2008: 379). Crystal studied pragmatics as a tool that engenders social interaction, in which the addresser and the addressee develop, produce and comprehend acts in social discourses. Leech (1983) investigated pragmatics in two sub-fields as: ‘pragmalinguistics’ and ‘sociopragmatics’. Leech’s fundamental consideration was on how social conventions influenced language production and were used in social contexts. In this respect, and concerning the definition of pragmatics, Brown states that it is “the intersection of pragmatics and linguistic forms” (2007: 223).

2. Forming Intercultural Competence in the EFL Classroom

Effective production and proficient use of language can only be achieved if grammatical and lexical knowledge is not offered in isolation from its social usage. As Krisnawati states, “language teaching for many years had devoted to the grammar accuracy hence communicative function of language seemed to be put aside” (2011: 105). Isolating language use from structure and considering the teaching of the functional properties of language as a separate act caused serious communication problems in contexts in which language is used either in artificial (classroom, meetings, conferences, etc.) or in authentic (native speaker’s environment) discourses. As Li et.al. cited in Nelson, Carson, Batal & Bakary (2002) state “Compared with grammatical mistakes pragmatic errors may cause more serious problems in communication because they are typically interpreted by native speakers as arrogance, impatience and rudeness, and thus they are less likely to be forgiven by native speakers” (2015: 41).

The linguistic input (phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics) offered to EFL students in the language classroom is far away from meeting the needs of both language learners and teachers alike. The former might become aware of almost all grammatical patterns in the target language, but unless such

conventions are practiced and inspired by their authentic socio-cultural usage, communication breakdown or failure seems to be the sole probable outcome.

A variety of studies have been attempted to investigate how beneficial it is to raise the pragmatic awareness of the EFL learners. Mwinyelle (2005) conducted a case study about the way intermediate-level learners of Spanish learn how to 'give advice' in the target language. Explicit instruction, video sessions, and meta-pragmatic discussions were offered to one group of learners, and another two groups were offered conventional practices. The results showed that the students in the first group performed better in providing advice in Spanish in varying contexts and even in unforeseen discourses. Likewise, Fukaya and Martyn (2001) carried out a study on the influence of instruction on the learners' ability to make requests, with the results that implicit instruction plays a positive role in learner's developing strategies as they make requests. In this respect, another debate was on whether implicit or explicit instruction is more influential in forming pragmatic competence for sociocultural practices.

So far, research on testing the effectiveness of implicit or explicit instruction in raising pragmatic consciousness has not presented any clear outcomes, and it is hard to claim with certainty that there is a statistically significant relationship between implicit/explicit instruction and the development of pragmatic competence. Kasper and Rose (2002), in their book 'Pragmatic Development in a Second Language' studied 'motivation as a contributory factor in L2 instruction for more pragmatic awareness and development. For them, motivation helps language learners to become aware of their pragmatic mistakes and act more willingly to eliminate such deficiencies in socio-cultural contexts. Abolfathiasl & Abdullah discusses the significance of achieving pragmatic competence depending on the study of Bardovi-Harlig and Griffin (2005). He states that their study:

“implies that even though learners displayed pragmatic awareness to some extents and were able to repair some infelicities, they did not possess the tools needed to make more target-like forms in the repairs. The implication of this is that mere pragmatic awareness may not be enough for producing target-like forms and that language learners should be provided with meta-pragmatic awareness, which is a higher level of consciousness about various structures and strategies and their relationships with contextual factors in speech act performance . . . “ (2015: 334).

Mey, in his book 'Pragmatics' defined linguistic behavior as a social behavior. For him, a communicative act which takes place in a communicative environment – that is, the nature of a linguistic action - is determined by political, economic, and social rules, regulations and perspectives (1993: 186-7). Taking the

previously stated studies into account, it is possible to say that even increasing the EFL learners' awareness of sociocultural conventions to frame a functional pragmatic competence which would act independent of L1 linguistic traditions might not be enough to perform a successful communicative act. To do this, meta-pragmatic instruction, which embodies the skillful and strategic use of socio-cultural conventions, should become a significant aspect of linguistic practices in the EFL classroom. However, to achieve this goal is not as easy as it seems. Kasper, in her article 'Can pragmatic competence be taught', lists a series of research works demonstrating the activities and instruments that teachers can use in order to develop their students' pragmatic competence (1997: 13):

STUDY	TEACHING GOAL	PROFICIENCY	LANGUAGES	RESEARCH GOAL	DESIGN	ASSESSMENT/ PROCEDURE/ INSTRUMENT
House & Kasper 1981	discourse markers & strategies	advanced	L1 German FL English	explicit vs implicit	pre-test/ post-test control group L2 baseline	roleplay
Wildner-Bassett 1984, 1986	pragmatic routines	intermediate	L1 German FL English	eclectic vs suggestopedia	pre-test/ post-test control group	roleplay
Billmyer 1990	compliment	high intermediate	L1 Japanese SL English	+/-instruction	pre-test/ post-test control group L2 baseline	elicited conversation
Olshtain & Cohen 1990	apology	advanced	L1 Hebrew FL English	teachability	pre-test/ post-test L2 baseline	discourse completion question.
Wildner-Bassett 1994	pragmatic routines & strategies	beginning	L1 English SL German	teachability to beginning FL students	pre-test/ post-test	questionnaires roleplay
Bouton 1994	implicature	advanced	L1 mixed SL English	+/-instruction	pre-test/ post-test control group	multiple choice question
Kubota 1995	implicature	intermediate	L1 Japanese FL English	deductive vs inductive vs zero	pre-test/ post-test/ delayed post-test control group	multiple choice & sentence combining question

STUDY	TEACHING GOAL	PROFICIENCY	LANGUAGES	RESEARCH GOAL	DESIGN	ASSESSMENT/PROCEDURE/INSTRUMENT
House 1996	pragmatic fluency	advanced	L1 German FL English	explicit vs implicit	pre-test/ post-test control group	roleplay
Morrow 1996	complaint & refusal	intermediate	L1 mixed SL English	teachability/ explicit	pre-test/ post-test/ delayed post-test L2 base- line	roleplay holistic ratings
Tateyama et al. 1997	pragmatic routines	beginning	L1 English FL Japanese	explicit vs implicit	pre-test/ post-test control group	multi-method

Table 1: Studies examining the effect of pragmatic instruction

When the above studies that examine the effects of pragmatic instruction are taken into account, one can easily see that despite limitations in terms of the students' proficiency levels, the research is established on a large range of pragmatic features, through which the data is tested and evaluated by different assessment procedures and instruments. In addition, perhaps one of the significant points to focus on in the table is that the research has been carried out not only for English language, but also for Japanese and German. In this, way, the above research presents a wider perspective in which the influence of pragmatic instruction takes place. Along the same line, Kasper summarizes the studies in the table by saying, ". . . the research supports the view that pragmatic ability can indeed be systematically developed through planful classroom activities" (1997: 8).

What's more, the contribution of language instruction on the development of pragmatic competence needs to be studied more carefully. For Kasper, the conventional language classroom discourse does not provide the students with necessary opportunities, by means of which the non-native speakers are able to better communicate with the outside environment because the classic language format can neither provide the necessary instructional input nor lead toward productivity on the language user's end (1997: 9).

3. Building Pragmatic Competence Through the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR)

At this point, it would be appropriate to concentrate on the ways that would help the development of language learners' pragmatic competence. In order to acquire sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic information, the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) suggests a series of

activities and precautions taken up in the form of awareness-raising initiatives. In this respect, CEFR defines plurilingual and pluricultural competence as, “the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent has proficiency of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competence, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the user may draw” (2001: 168). The CEFR suggests that language instruction should not only facilitate the achievement of linguistic forms, but also promote language instruction to function appropriately and fluently in various sociocultural contexts. To achieve this ultimate aim, the curricula proposed in CEFR are guided by three main principles: the first promotes plurilingualism and linguistic diversity; the second draws attention to the developmental priorities in each chosen language; and the third suggests that the considerations and measures related to curricula need to be approached according to their roles in language education and from a broader perspective, within which the language users’ linguistic knowledge and skills are also adaptable to the context of other languages (2001: 169).

Additionally, the curricular suggestions of CEFR focus on the transferability of linguistic knowledge and skills to the environment of other languages, which indeed facilitates the development of a well-established pragmatic competence. It suggests that neither the language instructors nor the learners have the luxury to approach language learning only in itself - be it native, second or foreign. For CEFR, language learning should not occur separately from its other vital component, the knowledge of the world. The coverage of linguistic forms and functions should not only be considered within the limits of that language, but as a communicative tool which embodies sociopragmatic conventions for efficient and effective language production either in spoken or written format. Likewise, the characteristics of a particular European society and culture can be abridged in terms of everyday living, the living conditions, interpersonal relationships, the relation between power and solidarity, values, beliefs, and attitudes, body language, social conventions and ritual behaviors (2001: 101-104). The CEFR, in the light of scientific research that has been carried out to study linguistic, communicative and pragmatic competences, also focuses on the ways and strategies to develop each type of competence for communicative practices. It can be fairly said that the CEFR serves as a summary of the scientific findings that promote the development of a carefully designed curriculum to help language learners in becoming successful ‘global communicators’ by increasing their pragmatic awareness through well-designed activities and tasks.

4. Teacher's Role and the Approaches to be Applied in the Classroom to Raise EFL Students' Awareness of Pragmatic Competence

Obviously, the teacher's role in raising EFL students' pragmatic awareness is quintessential. There are a number of challenges in teaching L2 pragmatics since the classroom environment does not offer a pragmatically relevant context either to the language teacher or the students. Therefore, teachers play a significant role in developing the students' pragmatic awareness and, in most cases, they become the only role model. In this respect, the focus has to be on what the language teacher knows first as regards the overall global knowledge. The second stage should be about what to do. Ishihara & Cohen according to the table that follows, indicate what teachers should know to teach L2 pragmatics (2010: 189):

Selected components of teacher knowledge for teaching L2 in general	Components of teacher knowledge specifically required for teaching of L2 pragmatics
Subject-matter knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge of pragmatic variation. • Knowledge of a range of pragmatic norms in the target language. • Knowledge of meta-pragmatic information (e.g., how to discuss pragmatics).
Pedagogical-content knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge of how to teach L2 pragmatics. • Knowledge of how to assess L2 pragmatic ability.
Knowledge of the learners and local, curricular, and educational contexts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge of learners' identities, cultures, proficiency, and other characteristics. • Knowledge of the pragmatics-focused curriculum. • Knowledge of the role of L2 pragmatics in the educational contexts.

Table 2: The components required for the teaching of L2 pragmatics

As a whole, the types of knowledge that language teachers should possess are classified in terms of subject-matter knowledge, pedagogical-content knowledge and knowledge of the learners and local, curricular and educational contexts. By being aware of these components, teachers prepare the basis of intercultural competence for their learners. Moeller and Nugent state:

“When intercultural competence is an integral part of the language classroom, learners experience how to appropriately use language to build relationships and understandings with members of other cultures. They can examine their own beliefs and practices through a different lens, negotiate points of view different from their own, and gain an insider’s perspective of another culture” (2014: 14).

When this view is examined together with the table that precedes it, one can state that what teachers know has a great impact on what and how they approach language teaching, evaluation and curriculum development. Lenchuk and Ahmed add that “. . . the acquisition of pragmatic competence is facilitated by conscious attention to and critical awareness of the sociolinguistic and sociocultural variables that underlie the pragmatic behavior of native speakers” (2013: 85). In terms of the approaches in teaching pragmatics in foreign language contexts, Ishihara also refers to the benefits of deductive and inductive approaches. In the former, approach, the teacher plays a key role in introducing pragmatic discourse to students. The learners analyze samples and, with the teacher’s guidance, discover pragmatic norms in the FL environment and become further enlightened about socio-cultural conventions and practices. On the other hand, again, according to Ishihara, inductive instruction is another option for teaching L2 pragmatics. This is a more learner-centered approach in which the teacher’s input only helps self-discovery by students, of pragmatic norms (2010: 117-18).

It is quite worth mentioning at this point that the language teacher’s own pragmatic knowledge, the methods and approaches for an appropriate and efficient pragmatic input might not be enough to achieve success in the formation of an intercultural competence. There are other challenges that need to be addressed accordingly. The text materials and the classroom climate are other factors to be dealt with. Still in many countries, teaching and learning a foreign language has not yet transcended its structural boundaries and traditional ways. There, language is isolated from its functional interpretation. Even, the functional representation and practice itself is structural, leaving no room for the development of communicative and pragmatic competences to frame intercultural competence. Yet, language is for communication, and it is not about memorizing structures to get higher grades in exams and, thereby, appeasing concerned faculty and parents come the end of the semester. Thus, the text materials and the classroom atmosphere are two crucial factors that have to be considered seriously; both should offer opportunities to the teachers and students to facilitate intercultural dialogue. The text materials should not only represent features of the target culture, but also those of the global community from which learners can obtain a variety of cultural inputs. In this way, the deductive role of the teacher minimizes and the selective attention of the students can range greatly through the various aspects of the global community. Once students begin to understand that learning a language is

a tool for global communication, their interest towards becoming a member of the global community starts to grow. As Elosúa states, “. . . intercultural competence does not appear from one day to the next, rather, it is necessary to develop intercultural competence intentionally, this learning and development can happen through suitable preparation, meaningful intercultural interactions and the construction of authentic relationships” (2015: 75). In addition, as Erikson (1950) in his book ‘Childhood and Society’ claims, identity is at the heart of an individual’s personal development and the term itself has both personal and collective implications. When Erikson’s definition is considered, the two dimensions of the individual’s identity appear to be complementary. That is to say, the development of a personal identity is not enough to be successful in interpersonal relationships, where socio-cultural conventions are logically and globally practiced. Briefly put, as Elosúa sums, “. . . intercultural competence is not an automatic phenomenon, it has to be directed through the different educational terms and institutions with a clear educational objective. Only in this way can we incorporate the process of development and optimization of intercultural competence as a core of our educational programmes. . . “ (2015: 80).

5. Implications for Teaching Pragmatic Competence

Linguistic theoretical input helps language learners to establish a strong background that would pave the way to sociocultural practices. However, such a background is not enough to practice language in differing discourses. There is a necessity for language learners to further their knowledge of intercultural competence. In this respect, pragmatic competence studies the human perception from a multi-dimensional view, in which linguistic knowledge and conventions are tied with the essentials of sociocultural communication in order to establish proper communicative practices as a product of knowledge and higher-order thinking skill. In such a communicative act, there are no breakdowns or pragmatic failures, but a comprehensive understanding between the addresser and the addressee. The studies in the language classroom to shape pragmatic competence, thus, set up the roots of an intercultural competence which enables the real practice of linguistic forms-functions, communicative strategies and pragmatic conventions in various contexts. Araja and Aizsila discuss the outcomes of raising EFL students’ awareness of intercultural competence in the following items (2010: 223):

1. Foreign language and cultural studies are inseparable. Language cannot be taught without studying culture;
2. Acquiring intercultural communicative competence requires profound knowledge of one’s own culture;

3. Different culture studies enrich student's own perspectives;
4. Acquiring intercultural communicative competence demands new learning strategies; and
5. Intercultural communicative competence involves knowledge, skills and abilities for qualitative and adequate behavior in the target culture.

These five outcomes share the same center of attention with the CEFR since linguistic studies (structural, functional, pragmatic and semiotic) are framed with the conventions of intercultural competence. Atay et.al. add that "teacher education programs should include a cultural aspect in their curricula, such as a course on intercultural communication, in order to equip prospective teachers with intercultural awareness and intercultural competence ... once language teachers become more knowledgeable and competent regarding this issue, they will eventually be more able to integrate cultural practices in their teaching" (2009: 133). Here, it is important to note that the teacher's awareness about intercultural conventions is a fundamental factor in increasing students' intercultural communicative practices. Teachers are responsible for establishing proper intercultural curricula, thereby enabling the students to practice linguistic tools strategically and appropriately.

There are other practices that could facilitate the improvement of intercultural competence. *Integrating literary and translation studies in EFL curriculum, and the use of multimedia-digital technology* can also serve this purpose, to name a few.

As to translation studies in foreign-language teaching, the field has received a lot of attention from researchers, with the outcomes indicating that there is a close and statistically meaningful relationship between success in FLL and translation practices. For instance, even some ELT departments offer translation courses to their students in second or third grades in which the students are provided with the opportunity to become aware of intercultural practices since a wide range of morphology and syntax is dealt with during the translation process. As Elorza mentions:

"... translation activities seem most appropriate for dealing with cultural issues in the classroom because they are easily approached as problem solving activities, where students must take decisions about the production of the translated text, thus raising questions related to cultural norms and requirements or merely to different ways of saying or doing things, as well as to the evaluative perceptions of the text from the target culture readers" (2008: 265).

Thus, translation activities introduced in language classrooms, too, can serve to develop the cognitive and meta-cognitive awareness of the language learners

which in later terms not only advocates general critical thinking skills, but also promotes a target-oriented analytical understanding of discourse represented in different intercultural contexts.

Relatedly, literature studies (literature courses) offered in the ESL curriculum are another way to foster students' intercultural communicative competence. The results of a research on the relationship between literary studies in the FL classroom and establishing an intercultural competence indicate that:

“... learners become aware of the intercultural connections they were able to evaluate and criticize, and that these points of connection (gender roles in patriarchal societies, discrimination, prejudice, and conflicts between children and parents) allowed them to foster their critical intercultural competence in the language classroom” (Gomez Rodriguez 2014: 149).

Briefly, through selected readings in the EFL classroom, the students find the chance to experience ideas, issues and concerns related to sociocultural practices. Discussions, written exercises, assignments and related research help language learners to become competent and proficient users of a target language, in which they have developed an awareness of intercultural competence.

The use of multimedia (digital) technologies also contributes to the formation of intercultural competence in the EFL classroom. According to Panturu, “the information technology and the multimedia means, had become meaningful resources for education, in general, especially for the intercultural education” (2010: 21). The educational context offered via multimedia enables language learners to practice a variety of skills and capabilities embodied in linguistic, communicative and pragmatic competences. The intercultural contexts, facilitated by mass-media, provide the students with the opportunity to become aware of different social practices in which L2 is used in its natural discourse. Desktop computers, tablet computers, cell phones, and other educational software developed to enrich students' socio-cultural competence have started to receive much attention from the Y and Z generations nowadays. In this respect, it can be said that the educational activities not only help students to create a basis to access various intercultural products in shorter periods of time, but also enable them to develop an intercultural linguistic behavior and attitudes.

6. Conclusion

Raising EFL students' awareness of pragmatic competence to structure an intercultural competence is perhaps one most important challenge, both for the language instructors and for the students. Though linguistic studies provide sufficient bases to inform teachers' and students' in developing sociocultural conventions for language production, still a series of strategies need to be deployed to achieve success. As Gomez Rodriguez states, “The EFL classroom should not

only be a place to study grammar and language skills in a congratulatory way, but a place to promote critical interculturality through authentic language use” (2014: 149). There can be no doubt that the more learners of a foreign language develop their pragmatic abilities, the more successful communicators they become in the target language. Promoting a strong linguistic competence fosters communicative practices in the learner’s communicative competence. Different aspects of verbal/non-verbal languages practiced in various discourses – even better if the context is enriched with semiotic input – help language learners to become proficient users in the target language. In this respect, pragmatically-oriented social behavior which embodies political, sociocultural and economic conventions, should be integrated to the language curriculum via translation studies, literary studies and multimedia digital technology. Here, it is important to note that in a broader sense, the pedagogy of teaching linguistic skills and reflecting different aspects of linguistic competences need to be carefully designed in order to serve both the theoretical and practical (communicative) needs of the language learners either in written or oral formats. Briefly put, since cognitive and meta-cognitive skills are critically, creatively and strategically used and practiced, learners would start to become familiar with intercultural issues and matters. Through this process, they both develop their intercultural competence and form a better understanding of global issues as well as their own identities as members of that same global society.

References:

- Abolfathiasl, Abdullah 2015:** Abolfathiasl H., N. A. Abdullah. Pragmatic Consciousness-Raising Activities and EFL Learners’ Speech Act Performance of Making Suggestions. – *Journal of Language Teaching & Research*. vol. 6(2), Mar. 2015, 333-342.
- Araja, Aizsila 2010:** Araja A., A. Aizsila. Intercultural Communicative Competence. Research for Rural Development. – *International Scientific Conference*. vol. 2, 220-224.
- Atay et al. 2009:** Atay D. T., Kurt G. T., Çamlıbel Z. T., Ersin P. T., Ö. T. Kashağlı. The Role of Intercultural Competence in Foreign Language Teaching. – *Inonu University Journal of the Faculty of Education (INUJFE)*. vol. 10(3), 123-135.
- Bachman 1990:** Bachman L. F. *Fundamental Considerations in Language Testing*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bardovi-Harlig, Griffin 2005:** Bardovi-Harlig K., R. Griffin. L2 Pragmatic awareness: Evidence from the ESL Classroom. – *System*. 33(3), 401-415.
- Brown 2007:** Brown D. H. *Principles of Language Learning and Teaching*. White Plains: Longman.
- Canale, Swain 1980:** Canale M., M. Swain. Theoretical Bases of Communicative Approaches to Second Language Teaching and Testing. – *Applied Linguistics*. I(1), 1-47.

- Canale 1983:** Canale M. From Communicative Competence to Communicative Language Pedagogy. – In: Richards J.C., R. W. Schmidt. (eds.). *Language and Communication*. 2-27.
- Chomsky 1965:** Chomsky N. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Massachusetts: M.I.T.
- Choraih et al. 2016:** Choraih M. A., Loutfi A., A. Mansoor. The Importance of Pragmatic Competence in the EFL Curriculum: Application and Implications. – *Arab World English Journal*. vol. 7(4), 183-195.
- Common European Framework of Reference for Languages 2001:** Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. Learning, Teaching, Assessment. Cambridge, U.K.: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge.
- Crystal 2008:** Crystal D. *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. Discovery eBooks. < http://www.mohamedrabeea.com/books/book1_3891.pdf > [Accessed 21 Feb. 2017]
- Elosúa 2015:** Elosúa M. R. Intercultural Competence in the Education Process. – *Journal of Education and Learning*. vol. 4(1), 72-83.
- Erikson 1950:** Erikson E. H. *Childhood and Society*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Fodor, Garrett 1966:** Fodor J. A., M. F. Garrett. Some Reflections on Competence and Performance. – In: Lyons J., R. J. Wales (eds.). *Psycholinguistics Papers: The Proceedings of the 1966 Edinburgh Conference*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Fukuya, Martyn 2001:** Fukuya Y. J., K. C. Martyn. A Comparison of Input Enhancement and Explicit Instruction of Mitigators. University of Hawai'i at Manoa < <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED503649.pdf> > [Accessed 2 Apr. 2017]
- Gómez Rodríguez 2014:** Gómez Rodríguez L. Relational Teaching: A Way to Foster EFL Learners' Intercultural Communicative Competence through Literary Short Stories (Research). [“Enseñanza relacional: una forma de desarrollar la competencia comunicativa intercultural de estudiantes de inglés como lengua extranjera a través de cuentos literario”]. – *Colombian Applied Linguistics Journal*. vol. 16(2), 135-150.
- Gumperz, Dell 1989:** Gumperz J. J., H. H. Dell. *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Hymes 1972:** Hymes D. H. On Communicative Competence. – In: Holmes J., J. B. Pride (eds.). *Sociolinguistics: Selected Readings*. Baltimore: Penguin Books Ltd, 269-293.
- Ishihara, Cohen 2010:** Ishihara N., A. D. Cohen *Teaching and Learning Pragmatics: Where Culture and Language Meet*. Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Kasper 1997:** Kasper G. Can Pragmatic Competence be Taught? (Network#6). – Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, Second Language Teaching & Curriculum Center. < <http://www.nflrc.hawaii.edu/NetWorks/NW06> > [Accessed 28 March 2017]
- Kasper, Rose 2002:** Kasper G., K. R. Rose. Pragmatic Development in a Second Language. *Language Learning: A Journal of Research in Language Studies*, vol. 52, *Language Learning: A Journal of Research in Language Studies*. EBSCOhost, <search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=eric&AN=ED476838&site=ehost-live> [Accessed 2 Apr. 2017]
- Krisnawati 2011:** Krisnawati E. Pragmatic Competence in the Spoken English Classroom. – *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics*. 1(1), 105-115.
- Leech 1983:** Leech G. N. *Principles of Pragmatics*. London: Longman.

- Lenchuk, Ahmed 2013:** Lenchuk I., A. Ahmed. Teaching Pragmatic Competence: A Journey from Teaching Cultural Facts to Teaching Cultural Awareness. – *TESL Canada Journal*, vol. 30(7), Special Issue, 82-97.
- Mey 1993:** Mey L. *Jacob Pragmatics: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Moeller, Nugent 2014:** Moeller A. K., K. Nugent. Building Intercultural Competence in the Language Classroom. – University of Nebraska-Lincoln, Faculty Publications: Department of Teaching, Learning and Teacher Education. < <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1160&context=teachlearnfacpub> > [Accessed 16 March 2017]
- Mwinyelle 2005:** Mwinyelle J. B. The Acquisition of Pragmatic Competence in an L2 Classroom: Giving Advice in Spanish. Diss. University of Texas at Austin. <https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/bitstream/handle/2152/2009/mwinyellej65109.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y> > [Accessed 1 Apr. 2017]
- Oller Jr. 1970:** Oller Jr., J. W. Transformational Theory and Pragmatics. – *Modern Language Journal* 54(7), 504. Publisher Provided Full Text Searching File. < <http://www.jstor.org/stable/321771> > [Accessed 21 Feb. 2017]
- Panturu 2010:** Panțuru S. The Informative – Formative Valences of Multimedia Technologies in the Intercultural Education Framework. [“Valențele informativ-formative ale tehnologiei multimedia în educația interculturală”]. – *Petroleum – Gas University of Ploiesti Bulletin, Educational Sciences Series*, vol. 62(1)A, 19-24.
- Li et al. 2015:** Li R., Raja R., A. Sazalie. The Relationship between Motivation and Pragmatic Awareness: A Case Study of Chinese EFL Learners. – *3L: Southeast Asian Journal of English Language Studies*, vol. 21(3), 41-55.
- Van Dijk 1977:** Van Dijk T. A. Context and Cognition: Knowledge Frames and Speech Act Comprehension. – *Journal of Pragmatics*. 1(3), 211-231.
- Wales, Marshall 1966:** Wales R. J., J. Marshall *Psycholinguistics Papers*. In: Lyons J., R. J. Wales (eds.). *Psycholinguistics Papers: The Proceedings of the 1966 Edinburgh Conference*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Widdowson 1963:** Widdowson H. G. *Learning Purpose and Language Use*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

STEREOTYPES AND PREJUDICES AT THE BORDER: AN ATTEMPT AT RAISING INTERCULTURAL AWARENESS THROUGH EXAMPLES FROM THE BULGARIAN AND THE BRITISH MEDIA

Desislava Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva*

Abstract: *Using a corpus comprised of examples from the Bulgarian and the British print media discourse on the topic of refugees, the paper aims at analyzing the stereotypes and prejudices that are formed and promoted at the encounter of the Other who is culturally and/or religiously different. In addition, the paper looks into the possible attitudes that these stereotypes can provoke towards refugees and the awareness of the image of the cultural Other that they contribute to. The main method of analysis is CDA and the aim is comparing and contrasting the linguistic devices used in both the Bulgarian and the British media on the topic in two different time periods.*

Key words: *media discourse, refugees, stereotypes, CDA*

1. Introduction

Borders are places of conflict and places of division. At the same time, they are also the points where myth and reality collide with an uncertain outcome: sometimes the result of the intercultural encounter serves to disperse the myths, other times it amplifies them and gives rise to prejudice and exhibition of hatred or sometimes even racism.

Nowadays, with the influx of refugees, borders come to regain their significance and more than ever come to be understood as the contested areas where some of the most pervasive ethnic stereotypes get activated mostly triggered by fear for a nation and even a continent's safety. In addition, borders are the places of direct contact with the cultural Other which can provide some insight into the real image of these people.

Media actively cover all developments around the refugee phenomenon. They have the power to both establish and strengthen existing stereotypes as well

* Assist. Prof. PhD at Shumen University, Department of English Studies, Shumen, Bulgaria, e-mail: d.stoycheva@shu.bg.

as to create some new ones. The latter process can be influenced and fostered by change in the social and/ or political situation in a region or internationally. Wars, famine, prolonged period of drought or climate change can be the push factors accountable for an increase in the numbers of refugees. Consequently, the increase becomes a matter of international concern, which in its turn triggers broader media coverage on the topic.

Statistical data show that in 2013 the number of refugees was 16.7 million and “[m]ore than half (53%) of all refugees worldwide came from just three countries: Afghanistan (2.56 million), the Syrian Arab Republic (2.47 million), and Somalia (1.12 million)” (UNHCR 2013, p. 3). In comparison, in 2015 there was an increase in the number of refugees with almost 50% to 21.3 million and a slight change in the top three countries sources of refugees: “the Syrian Arab Republic (4.9 million), Afghanistan (2.7 million), and Somalia (1.1 million)” (UNHCR 2015, p. 3). The trend in 2017 is of further increase. The numbers reported are significant and provoke media attention as the relocation of all these people can influence the economies of the host countries and can also cause various problems. That is why an analysis on media presentation on the topic of refugees is both interesting and challenging at the same time.

2. Previous research in the field

People are used to availing from the images and ideas that are readily presented to them not doubting their validity. That is especially true in cases of stereotypes about groups that are further away from the place where the stereotype has been formed. According to the sociologist Charles Hurst (2007) the lack of interpersonal relations is one of the main reasons for the development of stereotypes. The unawareness of the characteristics of the Others makes people take one feature as specific of an individual or a part of a group and automatically transfer it to the whole group or all groups on a metonymic principle (see Lakoff 1987: 94).

People usually resort to the creation of prejudices and stereotypes when they feel threatened or when they want to stimulate their own self-confidence. In this respect, refugees offer a suitable image of new public devils that the main society can stand up against and develop their positive self-esteem. Media portrayal of refugees generally has been negative (cf. Cohen 2002; Finney, Peach 2004; etc.) and the trend of presenting them as constituting a media panic continues mostly because they continue to pose risks (cf. Critcher 2008: 1139). At the same time, change in presentation can easily influence existing attitudes and can foster the establishment of new stereotypes and deal with prejudice.

The study at hand is a continuation in the wide array of research conducted on the presentation of refugees and asylum seekers in the media and marks

a contribution in a way that it is carried on a comparative basis using articles published in the Bulgarian and the British serious press.

In 2004 the Information Centre for Asylum Seekers and Refugees (ICAR) carried a research on the presentation of refugees and asylum seekers in national and local press which found “evidence of negative, unbalanced and inaccurate reporting likely to promote fear and tension within communities across London.” (Shaw 2010: 4). Additionally, the report found that most evidence of this was in the national rather than the local press” (ibid.). The same trend along with “a culture of disbelief” is reported in the analysis of the publications on the topic in the Scottish press in 2001 (Mollard 2001: 4) as well as in the Irish press (Breen 2006).

A very profound study was conducted by Paul Baker and Costas Gabrielatos on a corpus of 140-million-words comprised of UK press articles published between 1996 and 2005. The study analysed RASIM (refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants) representations both synchronically and diachronically and again acknowledged the predominantly negative portrayal of the members of the groups, use of nonsensical collocations such as *illegal refugees* as well as the maintenance of a moral panic around this discourse which “has increasingly become the dominant discourse in the UK press” (2008: 33; see also Finney 2005: 4).

Thus, summarizing the refugee stereotypes mentioned in the studies which have been consulted for this paper, the following three can be outlined very broadly:

- “Refugees, immigrants, asylum seekers or migrants – they are all the same”;
- “Refugees are a threat” (they are terrorists, they are Muslim, they are of big numbers, they carry disease);
- “Refugees are a financial burden to the host country” (they rely on welfare, they drain health service, they have more privileges than locals, they leech on society) (see Wischnak web; RedCross 2014; Mollard 2001: 9ff; Shaw 2010; Santoro 2012)

3. Corpus and Methods of Analysis

The corpus for current analysis is comprised of 593 articles in total covering two different time periods: October 1 – November 30, 2013 and March 23 – April 23, 2017. The articles comprising the corpus are excerpted from two Bulgarian newspapers ([Dnevnik](#) and [Standart](#)) and two British newspapers ([The Independent](#) and [The Guardian](#)) which are part of the serious press in the

two countries. The number of articles from 2013 is 348, while the number of articles from 2017 is 245.

The difference in the number of publications can be accounted for with the fact that the first period, although longer, is closer to the beginning of the refugee crisis, while the latter period marks the current state of affairs where the total number of refugees as stated above, is significantly higher than that in 2013, however, the problem is already familiar to the general public and the initial hype and surge in publications on refugees have calmed down.

The study conducted both synchronically and diachronically provides an interesting feedback on the changing ways of media presentation which reflect and at the same time influence the existing stereotypes of refugees. To do this both the verbal and the non-verbal presentations on the topic have been analysed with focus on the descriptions of refugees and the stereotypes employed in the articles. To this goal CDA, perceived as an integrated approach to the analysis of text as well as the method that studies the ideologies conducted through text especially when analyzing topics such as presentations of racism (cf. Van Dijk 1991; Fairclough 1995) and multi-modal analysis for it “extends the study of language per se to the study of language in combination with other resources, such as images, scientific symbolism, gesture, action, music and sound”. (O’Halloran 2011: 120; see also Kress, Van Leeuwen 2006) have been applied as main methods of analysis.

The aim of the analysis is to assess the changes in the stereotypical image of refugees that have occurred in the two periods of the study and how these have contributed to the intercultural awareness of the readers.

4. Results/ Key Findings

The corpus from 2013 shows that frequently features of one group of refugees are attributed to another group based on experience. The group a nation has more experience with provides the traits used to describe the group they have not met so far on a metonymic principle. One of the most frequently used stereotypes in 2013 was “Syrian refugees are terrorists”, which mentioned the possibility of terrorists entering the country along with the refugees or the refugees themselves being terrorists. Another stereotype employed by both Bulgarian and the UK media in 2013 was the generalization that “All Syrian refugees are Muslim”. Refugees were also presented as disease which can be very contagious, while yet another stereotype presented refugees as financial burden and a scare as there are more of them to come. (see Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva 2014)

The corpus from 2017 shows similarities as well as differences in the stereotypes the Bulgarian and the British media used in 2013.

Refugees in both the Bulgarian and the British media are usually referred to as *immigrants*, *asylum seekers* or *migrants*, the last reference is used predominantly by the Bulgarian media. The lack of clarity in reference and any further definitions of the terms create the generalized idea that all people who are currently displaced are the same, they are attributed similar characteristics and are therefore treated similarly. The corpus from 2017 continues the trend observed in 2013 of generalizing the image of the migrant.

In addition, officials and far right supporters still tend to talk about refugees as a *problem* and they are actually treated as such: officials hint on the stereotypical association of refugees with terrorism, the possible infiltration of radicalists and imminent terrorist attacks. This threat is further supported by the continued use of descriptors such as *influx*, *wave*, *surge* to define the big numbers of refugees and their untamed nature through the activated water metaphor, thus associating them with a natural disaster. The same reference to immigrants in general as a natural disaster through the use of nouns such as *wave*, *flow*, *stream*, *influx*, *tsunami*, etc. has been observed in the headlines of bTV online publications in 2015 and 2016 (cf. Nedelcheva 2017) which is indicative of a continuing trend in presentation and in stereotypical description.

Actually, *surge* was not used back in 2013. The increase in the references used to present one and the same idea proves the fact that the stereotype is still alive and even developing further.

The verbs that are encountered in the corpus from 2017, such as *stream*, *stem* or *curb* also support the stereotype of refugees being always in big numbers. The whole idea of an elementary force released with the advent of these displaced people is further hyped by the big numbers quoted as statistical data in the articles*. Similar to the corpus from 2013, the one from 2017 features quantifiers such as *hundreds* and *thousands* which are quite generic as well as depersonifying as they present all people at the border as a homogenous mass (see also Santoro 2012: 7). The negativism to and depersonification of refugees is also evident in the speech of some of the British politicians:

[1] Even while the bodies of Syrian children were washing up on Mediterranean beaches in 2015, David Cameron conjured up “*swarms*” trying to “*break into* our country”. His then foreign secretary, Philip Hammond, depicted “*marauding*” African migrants. People fleeing bombs, rape and persecution

* In this current issue Nedelcheva (2017) is also analyzing the use of numbers in the headlines concluding that Bulgarian online publications usually feature the use of number referring to immigrant in initial position and that the main reason for such a choice on behalf of the authors is strive for “accuracy and exhaustiveness”. Further analysis on the use of numerals and quantifiers in the Bulgarian and the British press with reference to Syrian refugees is given in Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva (2014).

were referred to as *dangerous criminals*. Then there's May herself. As home secretary, she talked of asylum seekers as "*foreign criminals*". [...] In language and in law, May has done more than any other senior politician to shape a public intolerance towards refugees. (G/ 11.04.2017); [2] Asylum seekers are all seen as *bogus* – not as children, not traumatised, not in need, just *freeloaders* coming here to take advantage of the system." [...] "The environment has changed. People with rightwing views think it is OK to insult asylum seekers. [...]" (G/ 03.04.2017)*

The descriptors used in the examples above add up to the paradigm of linguistic devices used to create the negative image of refugees. The examples are disconcerting for another reason as well. In addition to the descriptors used, which in some cases present refugees as insects, while in others as criminals, the articles report of a worrying trend that it is politicians who take up and use the discourse of hate and intolerance and instill in their followers negative attitudes towards refugees. The politicians presented above take high and important positions and have the necessary platform to make themselves heard. They do not make suggestions or provide advice on how to deal with the phenomenon but label and stigmatize people whom they, in all probability, have not even met. In this respect, media at least try to present the other side of the coin appealing to the humanitarian aspect of the problem and the tragedy involved, which is really great, bearing in mind the fact that 52% of refugees worldwide are children (cf. UNCR web).

The stereotype of the threatening refugee is also conveyed through the use of military lexis which implicitly hints on the idea that refugees are enemies who have to be fought. The borders where refugees are halted are described as *frontlines*, both the Bulgarian and the British media use the term *offensive* as in *launch an offensive* in order to describe the activities undertaken to deal with the influx of refugees.

The British media features examples such as [3] "The story, it seems, is a perfect metaphor for the crisis – 1,000 refugees to 100 villagers, *an overwhelming invasion*" (G/ 19.04.2017). In addition, Bulgarian media talk about refugees that are *captured*, which is connotative of the idea of a hunt. If we have to step a bit further into the analysis of the implications all these descriptors might have, we can also state that the stereotype that is being forged, is of refugees as animals that have to be stopped or caught.

During the analysed period Bulgarian media extensively talked about The Regulation on the Integration of Refugees which was about to be altered. The discourse about the law inevitably included the idea of close-examination of

* Italics in the examples are included by the author

every single case of asylum application and assessment of the degree of *national security threat* that refugees pose (cf. Dn/ 08.04.2017; St/ 05.04.2017).

In the extra textual reality, the various terrorist attacks support the continued existence of the stereotypical association between immigrants and terrorism:

[4] Polish PM: London terror attack *is about Britain's refugee policy* /h/ It is '*impossible not to connect*' *terror and migration*, says right-wing politician /sh/ [...] It has since emerged that the attacker, Khalid Masood, was born in Kent as Adrian Russell Elms, before later changing his name. [...] French National Front leader Marine Le Pen told both BFM TV and RMC radio: "The problem we have nowadays is *this form of low-cost terrorism*". She added "we must *control our borders*". (I/ 24.03.2017); [5] Australia refuses entry to 500 Syrian refugees '*on security grounds*' /h/ Immigration minister says Westminster terror attack shows Australia is right to be cautious about who it lets into the country /sh/ (I/ 23.03.2017); [6] Mr Trump, however, has accused Syrian refugees of *threatening Americans' safety* [...]. At a campaign event last year, Mr Trump even went as far as to say he would look in the face of refugee children and tell them, "You can't come." He added that they could be a "*Trojan horse*" for Isis to get into the US. (I/ 07.04.2017)

Still, as it becomes evident from the examples, it is politicians, namely right-wing politicians again who use the reference and strengthen the stereotype. The idea of converts, supporting ISIS entering the continents disguised as refugees, is presented through the association of refugees with a Trojan horse. This reference was also used in Bulgarian media discourse in 2012 and in British media discourse in 2015 but in relation to Muslims living amongst Christians (cf. Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva 2012, 2015). The usage shows the transfer of features from one group of Others, i.e. Muslims, to another, i.e. refugees. It also hints on the existence of the stereotype that refugees are Muslim. Thus, the vicious circle of references is complete: Muslim – refugees – terrorists.

Bulgarian media reports the same association:

[7] [...] the increasing drought and famine on the continent could have very serious consequences, including a new *wave of migrants* to Europe and a *possible increase in the support for Islamic extremist groups* (Dn/ 29.03.2017)*; [8] Many child asylum seekers are aged between 15 and 18. "This is a group of children who are very vulnerable and *could be very easily trapped by jihadist ideology*," Jourová said. (G/ 12.04.2017).

In addition, the images that are usually present in support of an article in their majority show images of men or groups of men, sometimes bare-footed, other

* Translations of the examples from the Bulgarian newspapers Standart and Dnevnik are done by the author.

times poorly dressed, lining in front of the offices of refugee agencies. Although there are also some older men to be seen, the majority of the refugees shown are men in their twenties or thirties. Women and children are very rarely seen. Exceptions to this trend are observed only in articles talking about integrated refugees. Thus the stereotype implicitly conveyed through the non-verbal element, supports the observation made in ICAR Briefing of the “threatening young male” (Santoro 2012). In example [7], though, the non-verbal component is a camp which is in a very poor condition and one can see women with headscarves standing here and there, while the second picture contains mostly women and children posing at the camera. The reason for the exception to the general trend is to highlight the contrast between the real situation and the allegations that the increased number of refugees would provide additional live fuel for terrorist groups.

The accounts of self-proclaimed vigilantes in Bulgaria who go refugee hunting along the southern border, i.e. Dinko: [9] ‘They say they weren’t dangerous... How would you like it if this happens to you, too?’ (St/ 18.04.2017) as well as the accounts of Kurdish-Iranian boy beaten to death in Croydon, UK in April 2017 simply because the attackers found out that he is a refugee, confirm the plausibility of said connotation in the minds of the far-rights and also speak of the effect the words of the politicians had on common like-minded people.

We cannot but agree with Greenslade who states that “newspapers appeal to deep-seated racist and/or xenophobic views among their readerships. [...] To put the problem in perspective, we have to see it in terms of not only trying to change the media’s agenda but also trying to change the mindset of their audience.” (Greenslade 2005: 29). Basically, negative examples breed more negative examples and actions.

To confirm the existence of negative attitude towards refugees further, the articles show pictures of slogans or threats written on walls which feature the use of Nazi symbols. There are also cases of hate speech: [10] “get a gun and shoot the dogs”. Similar to the use of *swarms* in [1], the latter also supports the stereotype of refugees being of a lower status and presenting a lower form of life that can be eliminated:

[11] “More innocent European lives sacrificed on the altar of diversity. DAMN YOU, MIGRANTS!!!” read one. Another shared graphic photographs of the bloodied bodies of victims lying on a Stockholm road – against the wishes of their families. The caption read: “Stockholm terror attack victim. This is what *the roaches* from the Middle East are causing.” (I/ 08.04.2017).

This stereotype is also enhanced by the idea that refugees are backward, uncivilized and savage. This stereotype is very prominent in articles presenting refugees’ lives in the camps. There are reports of unrest, high crime rate, sexual abuses predominantly of minors.

Whenever there is a fight, it is between feuding groups of refugees who usually use stones or knives to settle their disputes. There are also reports of refugees damaging camps on purpose:

[12] Officials believe the fire was the result of arson. Several men at the sports hall said they had seen people *deliberately spilling oil* from the cooking stoves that were in most huts, and setting fire to it. “They told the women and children to get out, and then they set the huts alight,” said Ali, 21, from Kabul. (G/ 11.04.2017).

Such reactions are taken as a justification for the activation of a stereotype, which is quite new – the one of the ungrateful refugee.

The cultural aspect that is considered uncivilized and which is mentioned in the media is early marriage:

[13] Justice Minister Haiko Maas has proposed the new measures because of the hundreds of minor asylum seeking girls who are married to mature husbands when they arrive. [...] The biggest ethnic group among them were Syrian kids (664), 157 were from Afghanistan, 100 from Iraq and 65 from Bulgaria (Dn/ 15.04.2017)

In addition to the accounts of minor girls marrying older men, there are a number of articles talking about the sexual abuse children suffer in camps. Most of these articles talk about camps in Greece and the verbal part of the presentation is enhanced by the image of a small girl standing with her back turned towards the camera looking through the wire fence. The image is very strong as the girl, who is said to be 4 years old, looks vulnerable – she is alone, dressed in ragged dirty clothes, without protection, hoping to get across. At the same time the idea about the rest of the refugees is associated with lust. The latter brings reminiscences of the stereotype of the sexual Other coming from the Orient (cf. Said 1999), which is directly expressed in the derogatory label an anchor, i.e. Tomi Lahren, used in one of her shows: [14] Lahren, who once labelled refugees “*rapeugees*” [...] (I/ 27.03.2017). Going a few months back, to the events in Cologne on the New Years’ Eve, one can say that the label is justified, however, public figures and journalists should be aware of the power they have in their hands through the use of language and the consequences the use of particular words can have not only for those they denote but also for those who receive them.

The role of the media and their influence on the images created is also discussed:

[15] I notice that most stories of asylum by western journalists fall into the same trap of condescension: flattening their subjects into simple creatures of suffering and good intention. [...] If it is a dehumanising lie to suggest that

all refugees are criminals, as the rightwing press seems content to do, it is no less a lie to depict them as hapless victims. My own experiences suggest that refugees are as diverse as any other randomly assembled group of people. [...] (G/ 19.04.2017).

The example clearly shows the discrepancy between the image created by either right-wing or left-wing papers and the image which is established as a result of direct contact with refugees. It also hints on a tendency that very frequently observed when a part of society wants to present themselves as open-minded and open to difference. Rather than being empathic and trying to understand the Other with all his/ her traditions, habits and other cultural specificities they show sympathy in a way that is not useful to the refugees themselves. They are presented as good-natured but numb. Similar to other ethnic minority groups their voice is not heard and they do not have a say in the matters that are of their concern. Thus, decisions are “taken away from them” (Pupavac 2005: 2) and made for them, which in its turn strengthens the idea that they are “simple creatures” who are incapable of fending for themselves. Consequently, people often jump into the conclusion that not being capable of anything, refugees would leech on the welfare system and would avail from opportunities not feasible to locals which, naturally, leads to frictions between locals and refugees and gives rise to intolerance and fears of reverse discrimination:

[16] In an interview for Darik Radio the Social Minister Galab Donev gave the assurance that refugees would not have more privileges than Bulgarians themselves [...] He also stressed that all foreigners who have been granted asylum or international protection have rights equal to the Bulgarian citizens and would not be granted any privileges (St/ 09.04.2017); [17] “Of course,” says a pensioner, “Syrians suffer and need to be helped, but it’s not normal that refugees are immediately given comfortable housing, whereas some locals are kept on waiting lists.” He then names three local towns where he believes refugees have settled. After a quick check, it turns out none of them has had any arrivals. (G/ 22.04.2017).

The idea of reverse discrimination is obvious in the example from the British media as well. This time the opinion is structured as apparent admission (see Van Dijk 1991) which is used by people when they do not want to appear biased or prejudiced especially in front of people they do not know. Still, the fact that the independent clause after the coordinating conjunction “but” shows the perceived contrast between locals and refugees in which the latter are depicted as those who receive preferential status, makes the discriminatory attitude easy to tell. In addition, the interviewed person uses as evidence for his words hearsay rather than facts which turns out to be untrue.

On April 04, 2017 [The Guardian](#) published an article which shares from first person the experience an Iranian refugee had in the UK, the USA, and some of

the other countries she has gone through and the stereotypes she has encountered in her life. The article is eye-opening as it presents the experience of a person who is considered the Other and who is the one subjected to all stereotypes discussed above.

Implicitly the article suggests that refugees should be grateful to their host countries, that they should try to blend in and in a way reject their cultural uniqueness: [18] “refugees should shed their old identities and be eternally thankful” (G/ 04.04.2017). The conclusion of the article is also worth looking into: [19] “The refugee has to be less capable than the native, needier; he must stay in his place. That’s the only way gratitude will be accepted. Once he escapes control, he confirms his identity as the devil.” (G/ 04.04.2017) All this boils down to refugees proving they are worth the trust they receive being admitted into the country of their choice, proving they are “a good bet” (G/ 04.04.2017).

The article, through this personal story traces out the whole process of stereotype formation and the way stereotypes are passed from one generation to the next as well as the change from prejudice to acceptance of the Other which is concomitant with the refugees’ fitting in the society. The notion that an assimilated refugee is a good refugee is further supported by quotes of the speech of the German Chancellor Angela Merkel published in Dnevnik:

[20] Merkel advised refugees to take interest in German culture and live in the countryside /h/ [...] We expect those who come here *to obey our laws* and to be *a bit more interested in our life*’ [...] The Chancellor added that newcomers in Germany *should accept the values that the country is founded on – tolerance, openness, religious freedom and freedom of speech*” (Dn/ 01.04.2017); [21] “We have brought people here who have passed security checks, and they *will contribute significantly to Australian society*,” he said. “They will be *good Australians they will work hard and they will educate our children – they are the migrants we want coming to our country.*” (I/ 23.03.2017).

The last two examples are built around the opposition Us vs. Them and the distinction between what is considered good and what bad. Naturally, everything considered good is part of Us, while the implicit suggestion remains that what They have is negative. Thus, the acceptance refugees receive is conditional – they are accepted only if they adopt the values and the culture of the host country. These examples touch on the fact that tolerance is sometimes equal to an insult as it does not acknowledge the culture of the Other and therefore its exhibition does not lead to recognition. Naturally, laws have to be obeyed in order to maintain the equilibrium in society but for it to function as a whole, differences should be recognized. The way to do it is by showing more good examples of refugees that are not taken solely as exceptions to the rule.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be stated that the resort to primarily negative stereotypes in the Bulgarian and British media observed in 2013 continues in 2017 as well. The majority of the stereotypes associated with refugees which were observed in 2013 continue to be employed in publications in 2017, i.e. refugees pose a threat (to the national security, to the economy or in general), refugees are a problem that has to be dealt with; refugees are savage. A somewhat new stereotype which has not been observed in 2013 is the one saying that the integrated/ educated refugee is a good refugee who can contribute positively to the host society.

The pictures used in the articles tend to present squalid camps, people in rags or dressed poorly which connotes to the image of a victim that is sometimes attributed to refugees. This marks the other extreme in refugees' presentation. Rather than being empathic with refugees' plight, journalists go into sympathy which is not very helpful to the refugees themselves. This form of presentation is more characteristic of the British media, while the Bulgarian ones are more scarce in their resort to visual devices. Another characteristic of the non-verbal part of the articles published in the media is the general use of images of primarily twenty, thirty-something men which focus on the other stereotype associated with refugees that they are threatening and backward. In addition, based on the various accounts of sexual abuses in the camps, the stereotype of the sexual Other also gets activated. Together with the generalization claiming that refugees are terrorists in disguise, the stereotype of the sexual Other links refugees with Islam thus establishing a vicious circle among the three terms refugees – terrorists – Muslim.

All these negative stereotypes, which are also promoted by the politicians, have negative influence on rightwing people who are easily incited into acts of racism against refugees. Refugees are also expected to fit in by accepting not only the laws but also the culture of the host country. Thus the image of the good refugee is someone who has accepted the norms of the host country, has found a job, does not cause problems, does not speak out, makes positive contributions to society and is eternally thankful.

The paper presents an attempt, albeit far from being exhaustive, at the analysis of the stereotypes and prejudices about refugees that are encountered on the pages of the analysed newspapers. The research can be broadened and in addition, probably made more representative of the general stance of the British and the Bulgarian press, with the inclusion of analysis on papers such as The Daily Mail and The Daily Telegraph, which are representative of the not so liberal press in the UK. The Bulgarian newspapers which can provide a similar twist are 24 chasa and Monitor.

References:

- Breen 2006:** Breen M. J. Enough Already: Empirical Data on Irish Public Attitudes to Immigrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers. – In: Breen M, Devereux E., A. Haynes (eds.). *Media and Migration. The Dialogue Series.* UCSIA. Antwerp.
- Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva 2012:** Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva D. Cases of Racism against the Majority: Examples from the Bulgarian and the British Press. – *Godishnik na Shumenski Universitet. Fakultet humanitarni nauki.* Vol. 23. Shumen: Shumen University Press. 182-213.
- Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva 2014:** Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva D. A New Public Scare: Syrian Refugees in Some Bulgarian and British Newspapers. – In: Dobrev D., H. Trendafilov (eds.). *Studia Hungaro-Bulgarica.* Vol. 3. Sumen-Szeged. 123-140.
- Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva 2015:** Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva D. Je Suis Muslim: The Image of Muslims in a Bulgarian and a British Newspaper. – *Lodz Papers in Pragmatics* 11.1. 105-126.
- Cohen 2002:** Cohen S. *Moral Panics and Public Devils. The Creation of the Mods and Rockers.* 3rd edition. Routledge.
- Critcher 2008:** Critcher C. *Moral Panics Analysis: Past, Present and Future.* – *Sociology Compass* 2/4. Journal Compilation. Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 1127-1144.
- Fairclough 1995:** Fairclough N. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language.* London, New York: Longman.
- Finney 2003:** Finney N. *The Challenge of Reporting Refugees and Asylum Seekers: ICAR Report on Regional Media Events Organised by the PressWise Refugees, Asylum-Seekers and the Media (RAM) Project.* ICAR, The PressWise Trust. < <http://www.mediawise.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/Challenge-of-reporting.pdf>>. [Accessed 30 June 2017]
- Finney 2005:** Finney N. *Factsheet – Key Issues: Public Opinion on Asylum and Refugee Issues.* ICAR.
- Finney, Peach 2004:** Finney N., E. Peach. *Attitudes towards Asylum Seekers, Refugees and Other Immigrants: A Literature Review for the Commission for Racial Equality.* London: Commission for Racial Equality; Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees in the UK. < https://web.archive.org/web/20140516161007/http://www.icar.org.uk/asylum_icar_report.pdf> [Accessed 30 June 2017]
- Gabrielatos, Baker 2008:** Gabrielatos C., Baker P. *Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding. A Corpus Analysis of Discursive Constructions of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press, 1996-2005.* – *Journal of English Linguistics.* Vol. 36 (1), March. 5-38.
- Greenslade 2005:** Greenslade R. *Seeking Scapegoats. The Coverage of Asylum in the UK Press.* – *Asylum and Migration Working Paper 5.* May. Institute for Public Policy Research.
- Hurst 2007:** Hurst Ch. E. *Social Inequality: Forms, Causes, and Consequences.* 6th ed. Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Kress, Van Leeuwen 2006:** Kress G., T. Van Leeuwen. *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design.* 2nd edition. Routledge.
- Lakoff 1987:** Lakoff G. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Mollard 2001:** Mollard C. *Asylum: The Truth behind the Headlines*. UK Poverty Programme, Oxfam.
- Nedelcheva 2017:** Nedelcheva S. *Crossing Borders on the Balkan Route: Representation of Migration in Online News*. – In: Todorova et al. (eds.). *Crossing Borders and Bridging Gaps in English Language Teaching and Research*. Series in Linguistics, Culture and FLT, 2017 (1). 53-70.
- O’Halloran 2011:** O’Halloran K. L. *Multimodal Discourse Analysis*. – In: Hyland K., B. Paltridge (eds.) *The Continuum Companion to Discourse Analysis*. Continuum International Publishing Group. 120-137.
- Pupavac 2006:** Pupavac V. *New Issues in Refugee Research*. Research Paper No. 128 *Refugees in the ‘Sick Role’: Stereotyping Refugees and Eroding Refugee Rights*. Policy Development and Evaluation Service. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.
- RedCross 2014:** *Asylum seekers: 13 things you should know Frequently Asked Questions. The Power of humanity. 111 years of people helping people*. <http://www.redcross.org.au/files/20141103_Asyllum_seekers_13_things_you_should_know_FINAL_LR.pdf> [Accessed 30 June 2017]
- Said 1979:** Said E. W. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Santoro 2012:** Santoro C. *ICAR Briefing, Asylum Seekers, Refugees and Media’*. <http://www.icar.org.uk/Asylum_Seekers_and_Media_Briefing_ICAR.pdf> [Accessed 30 June 2017]
- Shaw 2010:** Shaw I. S. *Asylum Seekers and Refugees: FAQs, Myths ... and the Facts*. 2nd edition. Bristol City Council.
- UNHCR 2013:** *Global Trends. Forced Displacement in 2013*. – UNHCR The UN Refugee Agency. <<http://www.unhcr.org/statistics/country/5399a14f9/unhcr-global-trends-2013.html>> [Accessed 30 June 2017].
- UNHCR 2015:** *Global Trends. Forced Displacement in 2015*. – UNHCR The UN Refugee Agency. <<http://www.unhcr.org/statistics/unhcrstats/576408cd7/unhcr-global-trends-2015.html>> [Accessed 30 June 2017].
- van Dijk 1991:** van Dijk T. A. *Racism and the Press*. London: Routledge.
- Wischnak web: Wischnak N. #UNITECLOUD. <<http://www.unitecloud.org/welfare-and-refugee-stereotypes-lets-do-this/>> [Accessed 30 June 2017]

CULTURAL ITEMS IN READING TEXTS IN EFL CLASSES

Birsen Tütüniş*, İlkin Özyayla Başar**

Abstract: *The article displays a study conducted to find out the cultural items in the reading texts of EFL course books. Byram's (1993) evaluation criteria were taken as the basis for the study. The quality of cultural context in a textbook plays an important role in language classes. In this study, it is hypothesised that without teaching the culture, one cannot teach a foreign language, and the following research question was put forward: To what extent do the selected EFL course books display the target culture? The text book analysis revealed the fact that cultural items are not sufficiently embedded into the course books to enable the teacher to get involved in teaching culture.*

Key words: *culture, culture teaching, EFL, ELT*

1. Introduction

In this study, it was hypothesised that without teaching the culture, one cannot teach a foreign language. It is only possible to use a language properly by being familiar with the target culture. Otherwise, it does not make sense. While learning the target culture, foreign language learners get the chance to discover similarities and differences between the new culture and their own culture. The increased awareness of other cultures helps develop the social and linguistic competence of the students and inspires self-awareness of their own culture. Therefore, integrating culture into EFL reading texts is very important.

Kramersch (1998: 8) points out that “language is not a culture-free code, distinct from the way people think and behave, but, rather, it plays a major role in the perpetuation of culture, particularly in its printed form.” In a similar way, Harklau (1999: 109) states that “language is inextricably bound up with culture. Cultural values are both reflected by and carried through language. It is perhaps inevitable, then, that representation of culture implicitly and explicitly enters into second language teaching.”

* Professor PhD at Istanbul Kültür University, Department of Foreign Languages, Turkey; IATEFL TTEd SIG Coordinator, e-mail: tutunisster@gmail.com

** MA student, ELT instructor, Istanbul Aydın University, Turkey, e-mail: ilkinbasar@esenyurt.edu.tr

Culture teaching assists learners to understand other cultures while appreciating their own. Kramsch (1993: 216) also states that “besides trying to understand the foreign culture on its own terms, learners have to be aware of their own cultural myths and realities that ease or impede their understanding of the foreign imagination.”

Lewis (1999: 213-214) claims that customs and traditions handed down from generation to generation, literature written over a long period of time, architecture, traditional ceremonies, art, music and movies from the past and the present, family relations, societies’ values and communities’ shared sense of humour can be thought as aspects of culture that can be taught in a language class. The list can be extended by taking other important cultural artifacts into consideration.

Reading can be used as a means of fostering learners’ cultural knowledge. As a process in itself, it involves following the printed script with one’s eyes and comprehending the ideas presented. Williams (1996: 2-3) states that reading is the process where someone looks and understands what has been written. Understanding is the key word here, as reading aloud without understanding does not presuppose reading. According to Chastian (1976: 216), “reading is a process involving the activation of relevant knowledge and related language skills to accomplish an exchange of information from one person to another.” Williams (1996: 12) lists the following styles of reading: involuntary, rapid, intensive, and extensive. Rapid reading is for acquiring general information about the text (skimming) and information from the text (scanning). The reason for intensive reading, however, is not only to get information from the text. Apart from that, learners are involved in reading with specific aims and tasks. With extensive reading, though, the goal is pleasure, or satisfying one’s curiosity or interest.

2. Methodology

In this study, a descriptive and illuminative approach was taken as the research model.

The evaluation of cultural items was done in 5 steps:

- Forming the criteria of culture analysis of reading texts in EFL textbooks;
- Book selection;
- Selection of reading texts presented in the books;
- Analysis of cultural items in the texts for reading;
- Evaluation.

The presentation of culture comes in various forms in textbook reading texts. Therefore, while analysing the cultural content found in EFL reading texts, the following criteria adapted from Byram (1993) were used:

Item	Definition
- Belief	Moral and religious beliefs
- Behavior	Daily routines
- Socialization and the life cycle	Families, schools, and employment
- Stereotypes and national identity	What is typical in the target culture; symbols of national stereotypes

Table 1. Criteria for textbook evaluation focus on cultural content

Three ELT books used in a tertiary level ELT programme were selected for the evaluation of cultural items. A1/A2-B1 levels were chosen on purpose in order to discover whether these levels included cultural items in their reading texts. In this respect, reading texts from the following three main course books were analysed: Oxenden C., Latham-Koenig C., P. Seligson's *New English File: Elementary Student's Book* (2004); Redson C., Cunningham G.'s *Face to Face: Pre-intermediate Student's Book* (2005) and Saslow J., Ascher A.'s *Top Notch 2* (2006).

The first course book (level A1/A2) consisted of 9 files and included 31 reading texts. The second textbook (level B1) consisted of 10 units and included 28 reading texts. The third course book (level B1) had 12 units and included 26 reading texts. 50% of the reading texts from each course book were chosen by the authors of this study to make sure the study was reliable. The texts were chosen randomly and ordered according to their sequence of appearance in the course books.

3. Data and analysis

The analysis of the EFL course book reading texts was done according to the criteria adapted from Byram (1993), as was already mentioned. For example, in one of the reading texts of the first textbook, learners read about four foreigners in the U.K. talking about British people and Britain. The text focuses on the *behaviours* of British people with the following examples: One of the foreigners is Romanian and works in a pub in Manchester. According to him, British people drink coffee and beer a lot. Another character is a student from Russia who studies at Bristol University. He feels that Britain is not a good country for smokers because when he feels like smoking he has to go out. A tourist from Spain claims that people in the U.K. read newspapers everywhere. He is also surprised that cars stop on the zebra crossings, adding that such things

never happen in Madrid. There are also a few examples about **socialization and the life cycle** of British culture in terms of family. A woman from Brazil who works in Cambridge believes the family she lives with is a typical British family. She says the woman does not cook but still watches cooking programs every day, and the man cooks on the weekends. Their child’s food consists of fish fingers, chips and burgers. The pictures of a beer pint, a plate of fish and chips, an English house and a newspaper next to the reading text can be seen as the **stereotypes** of the target culture. It reads that people in Britain drink a lot of coffee and beer and read newspapers everywhere. Therefore, here in this text, British culture’s **behaviours, socialization and life cycle** and **stereotypes** are presented.

In the teacher’s book, it is suggested to ask the students which of the pictures in the reading text show something “typically British.” Thus, in the teacher’s book, it is emphasised that cultural items should be studied in the classroom. The reading text represents British culture’s **behaviors, socialization and life cycle** and **stereotypes**, but in order to instill an intercultural point of view within the learners they could be asked to compare these with that of their own culture.

The figure below lists the cultural elements in the reading texts:

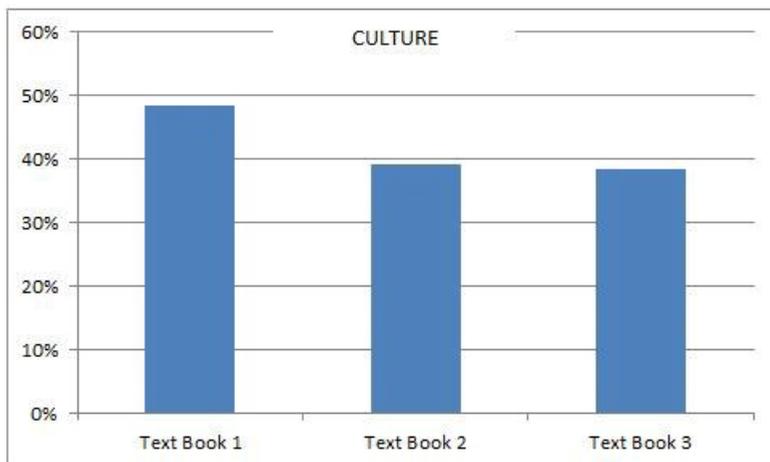


Figure 1. Summary

The following figure shows the cultural elements in the reading texts:

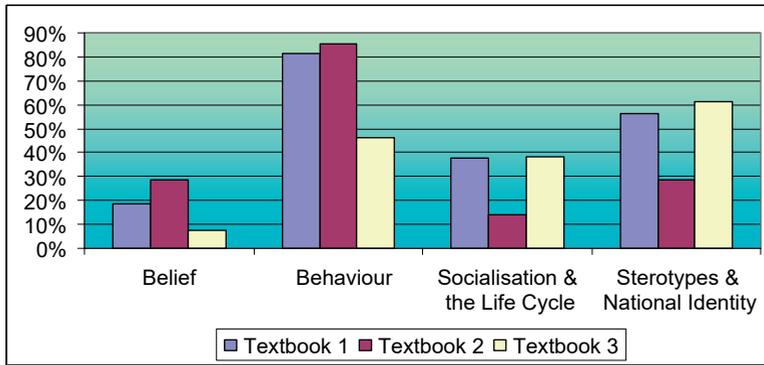


Figure 2. Evaluation

As can be seen in the figures above, the course books present cultural items in unsatisfactory doses. The teachers' books also contain some cultural information and activities to help teach culture, though, once again, not enough to be satisfactory. Therefore, it is up to the language teacher to work on cultural items additionally in the classroom.

When we look at the course books in terms of the cultural items they provide, it is apparent that, according to the criteria, they refer to the target culture but also contain references to other cultures around the world. With the suggested activities in the teachers' books, and those given in this study, students are able to study a new language's grammar and vocabulary and at the same time learn about the culture of that language, as well as about their own culture. The teacher's attitude toward teaching culture is very important in this regard. Language teachers need to accept that teaching a new language means teaching a new culture, too.

4. Conclusion

The goal of this study was to reveal the inseparability of language and culture in terms of foreign language learning. A survey was conducted to find cultural items in the reading texts of three ELT main course books. This textbook evaluation showed that the reading texts present culture in the following ways: belief, behaviour, socialization and life cycle, and stereotypes and national identity. It was also seen that some of the cultural items are not represented to an adequate degree. This analysis was done to prove the hypothesis that without teaching culture, one cannot teach a foreign language.

To make the foreign language teaching process complete, including cultural elements is essential, as it is impossible to separate language and culture. Culture needs to be brought into the language classroom by language teachers. Integrating the culture of the target language in EFL classes is essential in

terms of gaining a complete understanding of the language. Teaching only the language itself is no longer sufficient. In order to communicate in the target language and understand it better, learners need to understand the culture of the language they are learning.

While learners study the target culture, they also get the chance to understand their own culture a little better. With a new understanding of their own culture, learners gain the self-confidence that allows them to understand other cultures as well. It can heighten their motivation and interest toward the language lessons. The comparison of their own culture with the target culture is a great opportunity for learners to realise the differences and similarities between the two. An understanding of their own culture also helps learners to be more tolerant toward people from other cultures. In addition, the textbooks also include information about different cultures around the world. Again, working on these cultural items widens a learner's perspective and allows them to understand the world a little better. It also stimulates their curiosity toward the language lesson. A language class can be turned into a culture festival by working on cultural items from all over the world.

In other words, by using and analysing cultural items by means of the reading texts in EFL classes, language becomes live and rich in the eyes of the students. English is widely spoken throughout the world, and that means a lot of different societies with different cultures share a common language. Analysing cultural elements, differences and similarities among these societies through readings not only improves a learner's English skills, but also gives them the satisfaction of understanding the world in a global sense. To sum up, it is in the teacher's hands to make the language learning process complete for the learners by integrating culture into the classroom.

References:

- Brown 2007:** Brown H. D. *Principles of Language Learning and Teaching*. White Plains, NY: Pearson Education.
- Byram 1993:** Byram M. *Language and Culture Learning: The Need for Integration*. – In: Byram M. (ed.). *Germany, Its Representation in Textbooks for Teaching German in Great Britain*. Frankfurt am Main: Diesterweg, 3-16.
- Chastain 1976:** Chastain K. *Developing Second-Language Skills: Theory and Practice*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Cortazzi, Jin 1999:** Cortazzi M., L. Jin. *Cultural Mirrors: Materials and Methods in the EFL Classroom*. – In: Hinkel E. (ed.). *Culture in Second Language Teaching and Learning*. Cambridge, U. K., New York: Cambridge University Press. 196-219.
- Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary 1987.** Culture. London: Collins.
- Gebhard 2006:** Gebhard J. G. *Teaching English as a Foreign or Second Language: A Self-Development and Methodology Guide*. Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.

- Harklau 1999:** Harklau L. Representing Culture in the ESL Writing Classroom. – In: Hinkel E. (ed.). *Culture in Second Language Teaching and Learning*. Cambridge, U. K., New York: Cambridge University Press. 109-130.
- Kramersch 1993:** Kramersch C. *Context and Culture in Language Teaching*. Oxford, N. Y: Oxford University Press.
- Kramersch 1998:** Kramersch C. *Language and Culture*. Oxford, N. Y: Oxford University Press.
- Lewis 1999:** Lewis M. *How to Study A Foreign Language*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, and London: Macmillan Press.
- Oxenden, Latham-Koenig, Seligson 2004:** Oxenden C., Latham-Koenig C., P. Seligson. *New English File: Elementary Student's Book*. Oxford, N. Y: Oxford University Press.
- Redson, Cunningham 2005:** Redson C., G. Cunningham. *Face to Face: Pre-Intermediate Student's Book*. Cambridge, U. K., New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Saslow, Ascher 2006:** Saslow J., A. Ascher. *Top Notch 2*. White Plains, NY: Pearson Education.
- Williams 1996:** Williams E. *Reading in the Language Classroom*. Hertfordshire: Prentice Hall.

TEACHERS' AWARENESS OF THE BENEFITS OF CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Irina Ivanova*

Abstract: *Continuing professional development (CPD) is an essential part of teachers' professional life and an important prerequisite for high quality and sustainable development in education. However, the scope, purposes, and benefits of CPD are not always clear and straightforward to the teachers who are the primary beneficiaries of the process. In the context of the recent changes in the Bulgarian Ministry of Education policies regarding teachers' qualification and professional status, the article discusses the findings of a small-scale survey with practicing EFL teachers involved in CPD about their awareness of its nature, scope, and benefits to themselves and to their students. The survey aims to identify teachers' perceptions and beliefs about CPD, their reasons for participating in it, as well as their previous experience of CPD events.*

Key words: *continuing professional development, awareness, perceptions, benefits, expectations*

1. Introduction

Continuing professional development (CPD) is a term which describes the self-directed process of enhancing one's knowledge, skills, and expertise beyond the completion of pre-service training and education. In the context of teaching, it is beneficial for teachers themselves and for their students, as it increases and maintains the quality of tuition and improves learners' results. Hayes (2014: 5) defines CPD as a multifaceted, lifelong experience, which can take place inside or outside the workplace and which often moves beyond the professional and into the realm of a teacher's personal life too. To this definition of CPD Day (1999) adds new features, stating that it is

“the process by which, alone and with others, teachers review, renew and extend their commitment as change agents to the moral purpose of teaching; and by which they acquire and develop critically the knowledge, skills and emotional intelligence essential to good professional thinking, planning, and practice with children, young people and colleagues throughout each phase of their teaching lives” (Day 1999: 4).

* Assist. Professor PhD at Shumen University, Department of English Studies, Shumen, Bulgaria, e-mail: irina.ivanova@shu.bg.

CPD involves a variety of activities ranging from formal training and development programmes for teachers to individual research or professional courses focusing on personal development. Thus, it can be adapted to teachers' needs at different phases of their career. For these reasons, the concept of CPD is widely embraced by professional associations, which see it as an important part of the working lives of their members (Friedman et al., 2000).

2. Models of CPD

In both academic studies and promotional literature on CPD, there are different conceptualisations and models, which largely reflect a variety of context-specific requirements and needs. They are in line with the respective fields' views of professional learning, practice, and relationships, and the ways evidence of these processes is obtained. Thus, for example, Faulkner's (1996) *inputs/outputs model* is related mainly to recording and monitoring CPD, in which input is viewed as completing a certain number of learning hours or gaining learning points or credits, often through structured, formal training. The output emphasises the outcome of learning and its impact on individual practice. The *sanctions model* and the *benefits model* (Madden, Mitchell 1993) emphasise competence, which is monitored and measured by inputs, and personal benefits focused on outputs, respectively.

Kennedy (2005) identifies nine key models, which are classified in relation to their capacity for supporting professional autonomy and transformative practice. The models, called by the author *training*, *award-bearing*, *deficit*, *cascade*, *standards-based*, *coaching/mentoring*, *community of practice*, *action research*, and *transformative* respectively, provide a framework for analysis focused on their perceived purpose. The most widely-spread *training model* is characterised by a high degree of central control and standardisation often veiled as quality assurance, which overshadows the need for teachers to be proactive in identifying and meeting their own development needs. The *award-bearing model* of CPD emphasises the completion of award-bearing programmes of study – usually validated by universities. The *deficit model* addresses perceived deficits in teacher performance in an attempt to remedy perceived weaknesses in individual teachers. In the *cascade model*, used in situations where resources are limited, individual teachers attend training events and then disseminate the information to colleagues. The *standards-based model* (like its predecessor - competency-based model) emphasises evidence-based, demonstrable practice, and underestimates the complex, context-specific nature of teaching. The *coaching/mentoring model* gives priority to various practices relying on a one-to-one relationship, where coaching is more skills based and mentoring involves an element of counseling and professional friendship. Unlike it, the *community of practice model* involves more than two participants and does not require the

same confidentiality. Linked to the latter is the *action research model*, which is more effective when shared in communities of practice, rather than used in isolation by individual teachers. The *transformative model* of CPD offers a combination of practices and conditions that support proactive transformation or positive change in teachers' professional practice. The outlined models are further divided into three broader categories, namely *transmission* (involving the training, the award-bearing, the deficit and the cascade models), *transitional* (consisting of the standards-based, the coaching/mentoring, and the community of practice models) and *transformative* (comprising the action research and the transformative model), in terms of increasing the capacity for professional autonomy (Kennedy 2005: 248). In a later revision and update of these categories Kennedy (2014) renamed the three CPD categories into *transmissive* (involving training, deficit and cascade models), *malleable* (made up of award-bearing, standards-based, coaching/mentoring, and community of practice models), and *transformative* (comprising collaborative professional inquiry models), taking into account their applicability to the needs and pressures of national and local contexts in order to "challenge the dominance of the 'what works' policy-borrowing approach to the development of policy to promote teacher learning" (ibid: 696).

The main aim of CPD is to bring about change in the classroom practices of teachers, in their attitudes and beliefs, and in the learning outcomes of students (Guskey 2002). According to his model, a significant change in teachers' attitudes and beliefs occurs primarily after they gain evidence of improvements in student learning as a result of the changes made in their classroom practices in the form of new approaches, new materials or curricula, or a modification in teaching procedures or classroom format. The three important principles which stem from this model, and which are meant to inform planning CPD events, involve 1. recognising that change is a gradual and difficult process for teachers; 2. Ensuring that teachers receive regular feedback on student learning progress; 3. providing continued follow-up, support, and pressure (Guskey 2002: 387).

However, the implementation of CPD is not without problems. While the underlying philosophy of CPD and the differentiation of the forms it can take seem to be clear to academics and researchers, it is not so easily understood by the teachers who are its primary beneficiaries. One reason for this might be the conceptual vagueness and ambiguity in defining the nature and scope of CPD, which in turn undermine its potential value (see Friedman, Phillips 2004). If the teachers are unclear as to why they should participate in CPD, they are less likely to feel satisfied with its outcomes and less willing to incorporate the new ideas into their work. Therefore, more research is needed on the attitudes and experiences of teachers and their students. As Dadds (1997: 32) points out, "teachers and headteachers do not enter into CPD as empty vessels. They bring existing experiences, practices, perspectives, insights and, most usually,

anxieties about the highly complex nature of their work". However, not all of them value their personal experience and expertise relying more on someone else's ideas, remedies, and solutions.

In a recent survey conducted with teachers in Saudi Arabia by Al Asmari (2016), respondents expressed their concerns about a number of issues, such as networking with colleagues, instructions from the experts, and discussion to help them in solving their classroom issues, the short duration of the CPD, and the large number of participants causing problems with the seating arrangements, among other issues needing urgent attention. These issues included concerns about institutional policies and support, indigenization of activities carried out during the CPD, and follow-up activities (ibid: 122).

3. Background

Although research evidence of CPD in Bulgaria was scarce and mainly anecdotal up until the 1990s, there had been some early attempts to bring about change, mainly through the British Council initiative to train teachers who would further disseminate the knowledge and experience to wider teacher audiences through locally organised training sessions, workshops, and seminars. The impact of this initial project was revised 12 years after its completion, and the results were used to determine the long-term outcomes of the programme (see Wiseman 2015). Since these first steps, CPD has been an option available to all teachers, although usually only the most motivated take part, driven by their desire to learn new things and develop professionally. In addition to this, a relatively large number of teachers attend CPD events, such as input-based training courses, as a remedial measure and a means for improvement following the inspector's or principal's recommendation.

One of the CPD schemes familiar to some of the teachers of English in Bulgaria is the British Council CPD Framework for Teachers which sees teacher development as a progression through the four stages of awareness, understanding, engagement, and integration, and the 12 professional practices and their elements. Another CPD scheme, introduced to teacher-trainees in pre-service education is the European Portfolio for Student Teachers of Languages (EPOSTL) which is used to provide input and scaffold a reflective approach to teaching. The portfolio can further be used as "a means for fostering ongoing development" (Velikova 2013), although its long-term use as a tool for reflection and self-development has been questioned (ibid: 212). There are currently different training seminars offered by teacher training institutions and universities aimed at introducing and encouraging teachers to create and keep a teacher's portfolio.

Last year, driven by the need for ongoing improvement, quality assurance and sustainability in teacher professional development, the Bulgarian Ministry of education and science issued Ordinance 12 of 1.09.2016 on *the status and the professional development of teachers, school principals and other pedagogical specialists*, which outlines the standards and responsibilities of all parties working in the field of school education. This regulation defines the state educational standards for the status and professional development of teachers, directors and other pedagogical specialists in the system of pre-school and school education. The standards determine: the job description of all pedagogical specialists and the professional qualification required for this job; the conditions and procedures for organizing and conducting the practical training of trainee-teachers in educational institutions; the professional qualification degrees and the way they are obtained; the procedure for receiving qualification credits; the goals, as well as the content and functions of teacher's professional portfolio.

The Ordinance made teacher ongoing qualification and CPD obligatory for all teachers, who are now subject to systematic professional attestation, which determines their professional status and affects their remuneration. According to the Ordinance, teachers are required to improve their qualifications by participating in programmes offered by approved qualification providing organizations for at least 48 academic hours for each appraisal period, and by taking part in the internal-institutional qualification in schools for no less than 16 academic hours per year.

4. The survey

The survey of teachers' awareness of the benefits of CPD was conducted with two groups of teachers (13 teachers from Varna region and 13 teachers from Razgrad and Ruse region) who took part in two in-service teacher training courses aimed at participants' orientation and preparation for the 5th qualification degree in Varna and Razgrad in 2017. The 5th qualification degree is the lowest in the system of teacher qualification, and by the time of applying for it teachers must have had at least 2 years of teaching experience, and are required to have done training in the Ministry approved organizations for a minimum of 16 academic hours (or 1 qualification credit) certified by a document. The 5th degree is awarded after passing an oral exam on teaching methodology for the respective subject.

The survey was conducted at the end of the training course and its purpose was presented as a general awareness inquiry into teachers' needs with the aim of planning forthcoming training events in accordance with teachers' ongoing qualification plan. Although it was anonymous, there was a personal profile section and 7 open-ended questions:

Personal details:

Gender: male female

Age: 20-30 ; 30-40 ; 40-50 ; 50-60 ; 60+

Years of experience: less than 1 ; 1-5 ; 5-10 ; 10-20 ; 20+ ; 30+

Qualification: English philology BA; MA; NUPCHE; Retraining course; Other

Do you teach in a: town ; village

1. What does Continuing Professional Development (CPD) mean to you? What does it involve?
2. What are the potential benefits of CPD?
3. What are your reasons for wanting to acquire the 5th qualification degree?
4. Do you know what the other 4 degrees are and what they involve?
5. Are you interested in continuing your professional development? If yes, how can you do it?
6. What would be the benefits of your CPD for your students?
7. Have you taken part in the following professional development activities in the last 5 years:

Training seminars ; Conferences ; Qualification courses ; Other

Please give more details:

The participants of both groups included 25 female teachers and 1 male teacher. The gender ratio was similar to the figures in previous research in the area (Ivanova 2015) and confirms the observation that the teaching profession is still very much female dominated.

In terms of age, about half of teachers were aged between 40 and 50. There were no teachers older than 60 and only one teacher was younger than 30 years old.

By the time of entering formal CPD most of the teachers (about 50 %) had been in the profession for between 10 to 20 years, although in order to apply for the 5th qualification degree they only have to have 2 years of experience. This finding supports an earlier observation that a lot of teachers see CPD as an obligatory undertaking imposed by the central and local educational authorities (see fig.1).

In terms of teachers' formal qualification at the time of entering CPD, half of them had a Master's degree in English philology, or Applied linguistics. The other half had a Bachelor's degree in English philology or Primary school teaching with English (NUPCHE), and only 1 teacher was a re-trainee.

The majority of teachers who took part in the survey work in the towns – 85%, and only 15 % teach in villages in the region. This shows that CPD is more accessible in larger places or places located near universities or teacher training institutions. Frequently there are only 1 or 2 English language teachers in a village school, which makes it more difficult for these teachers to participate in subject-specific CPD activities.

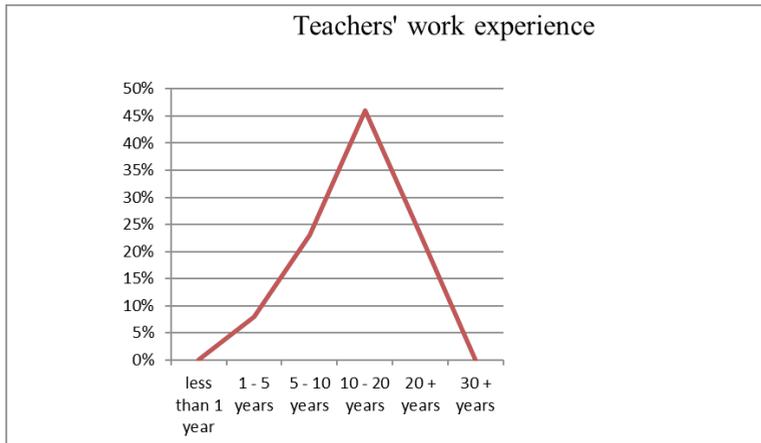


Fig.1. Teachers' work experience at the time of entering formal CPD

5. Analysis and discussion

The reason for choosing open ended questions for the survey was to avoid any preconceived ideas and to get a more detailed picture of teachers' experiences with CPD. In addition, by not giving participants any options or prompts to choose from, the researcher is more likely to assess how much exactly they know about the subject. As a result, most of the answers were very short, but still it was possible to detect some recurring ideas and generalisable patterns in teachers' understanding of CPD.

The first question aimed to reveal teachers' understanding of CPD and its nature and scope.

3 teachers did not answer the question, and 1 wrote that CPD is related to qualification but she is not sure what it involves. A teacher linked it to improving her English language proficiency.

Here is a sample of responses given by the teachers:

- CPD gives me new ideas about solving problems in my everyday work.
- It involves studying abroad
- It's a good way to improve/update my professional skills

- I learn new methods of teaching
- Getting new ideas and techniques
- It means being better prepared for your students
- Better qualification
- Being informed about the latest methods and approaches
- It involves training courses and seminars to improve teaching skills
- It means constant improvement and development
- Career development
- Necessary for every teacher today
- Increasing my knowledge of language and culture

The concept of CPD which emerges from these responses can be summarised in the following key ideas:

1. CPD is seen as improvement of skills and knowledge about teaching;
2. CPD is linked to better qualification and career advancement
3. CPD takes the form of courses, seminars, and study abroad.

As it appears, a substantial part of CPD, especially its aspects related to personal initiative, self-investment, self-development and teachers' involvement in school-based communities and professional associations is missing from the responses. This finding reinforces the assumption that CPD is largely unknown and imposed top-down by educational authorities.

The second question about the benefits of CPD was not answered by 5 out of 26 teachers.

The other teachers' outlined the following potential benefits of CPD:

- improved work/ becoming a better teacher
- material benefit /bigger salary
- ability for self-assessment
- more ideas and approaches
- better lesson planning
- increased knowledge and motivation
- feeling more confident
- refreshing/ brushing up theoretical knowledge

- sharing experience
- learning how to use technology
- credits needed for promotion

In summary, the benefits are thought by teachers in terms of improved professional knowledge, teaching skills, reflection and self-assessment, material and career benefits. The idea of sharing experiences adds a new interpersonal dimension to CPD, which is a step ahead of the self-centred perception of benefits. Interestingly, the benefits of CPD are only seen from the perspective of the teachers and, as a result, there is no mention of CPD as beneficial for learners at this stage.

Teachers' reasons for aspiring for the 5th qualification degree are phrased in terms of:

- improving their teaching
- increasing their salary
- career promotion - becoming a senior teacher
- getting a better job elsewhere
- enhancing personal motivation
- adapting and becoming more flexible
- because it is obligatory.

As for the teachers' awareness of the whole system of formal qualification within CPD, half of them said that they did not know what the other qualification degrees involved. 23 % of teachers had some ideas, but were not sure if they were correct, 20 % knew that for the 4th degree they have to sit a written exam on a topic related to language teaching, and only 7 % said they were familiar with the requirements for the other qualification degrees (see fig. 2). It is worrying that half of the teachers have embarked on a journey without knowing what lies ahead.

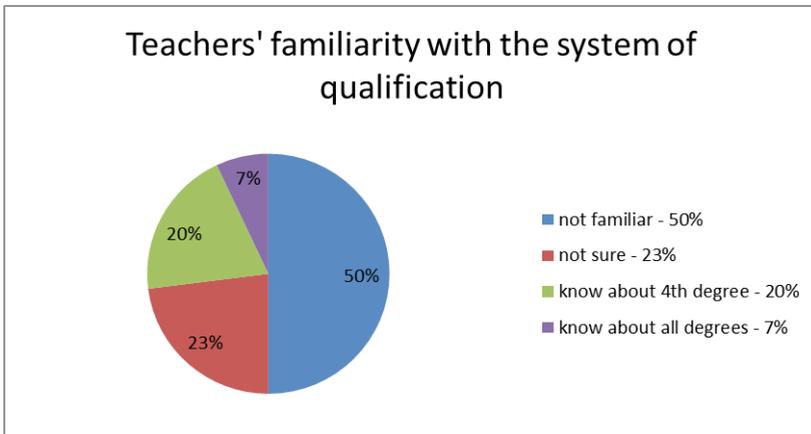


Fig. 2. Teachers' familiarity with the system of qualification

The 5th question was about teachers' willingness to continue their CPD further and their awareness of the ways to do it.

20% of the teachers said they do not intend to continue as they thought 5th degree was enough for them, and 6 % were going to retire in the near future. 15 % were not sure if they want to continue, and the remaining 65% said they were willing to continue. The potential forms of CPD the teachers mentioned were limited to the following options:

- attending courses and seminars
- doing a Master's degree
- taking part in Erasmus+ projects
- doing the 4th degree in 2 years' time.

The answers show that although most teachers are willing to continue their professional development, they are not aware of the whole scope of options and events it has to offer.

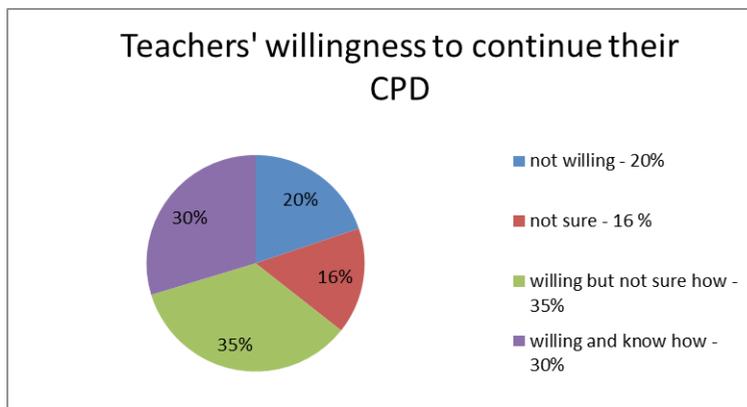


Fig.3. Teachers' willingness to continue their CPD

Question 6 drew teachers' attention to the benefits of CPD for their students.

The benefits were seen in terms of:

- students having a better-prepared teacher in terms of professional knowledge
- teachers having new ideas to motivate students and maintain their interest
- teachers using new methods and approaches
- teachers using new activities
- improved teaching.

It is not surprising that teachers see themselves as the primary beneficiaries of CPD, and can only consider benefits for students if asked to do so. Respondents in another survey, similarly, only mentioned society or clients in passing, if at all, which is an "evidence of a tension between CPD as primarily for the benefit of the individual or employer and the principle expressed in professional codes that maintenance of competence is a professional obligation due to society" (Friedman, Phillips 2004: 369).

The last question was aimed to identify the range of CPD activities the teachers were involved in over the last 5 years.

For 29 % of the teachers, the current training event was the first ever experience of CPD, which they needed in order to receive the 1 credit needed – one of the requirements for taking the 5th-degree qualification exam. The other teachers had attended from 1 to maximum 3 training seminars, usually organised by the biggest ELT materials publishers, such as Oxford, Longman, and Macmillan, or exam training seminars for Cambridge exams or IELTS preparation. The

second most frequent provider of qualification courses were teacher training departments of universities, such as the Department for information, qualification and lifelong learning in Varna (DIQLL), part of Shumen University, for the North-East region of the country.

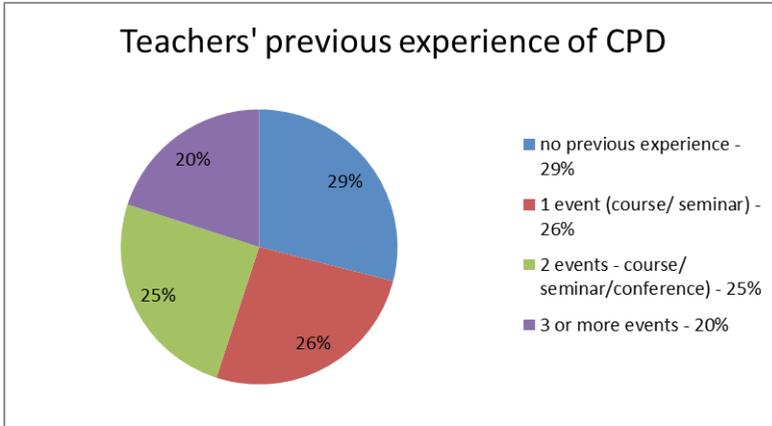


Fig. 4. Teachers' previous experience of CPD

6. Implications and further research

The answers to the questions show that the majority of teachers are not fully aware of the potential and the transformative power of CPD and still see it mainly as a source of new teaching ideas and skills which they can implement in their classrooms. Behind this purely pragmatic attitude, and the fact that CPD is now an integral part of their professional status lies teachers' desire to become better professionals and better teachers to their students, an intention recognised in earlier research (Fullan 1991, Huberman 1995, Guskey 2002). Becoming a better teacher is often seen as a result of a change in one's attitudes and mindset. However, in order to change their views, the teachers need to experience CPD in its full scale and, as a result, improve their teaching practices and outcomes (Harland, Kinder 1997). The model suggested by Guskey (2002), in which professional development leads to change in classroom practices, which in turn leads to change in students' learning outcomes and change in teachers' beliefs and attitudes, seems to be most relevant to the situation outlined in the survey results. If the teachers cannot see the results of their effort and time invested in CPD in the work and results of their students, they are unlikely to want to continue with it. Therefore, CPD events should target immediate, context specific problems and issues, with practical, bottom up decisions, suggested by the teachers themselves, rather than offered top down by the ministry officials, trainers, and educators. Further research is needed in the areas of assessing the changes in teachers' perceptions of CPD and their own professional growth

as a result of being part of the process. Another important aspect is assessing the efficiency of CPD through measuring students' improvement resulting from their teachers' involvement in CPD.

7. Conclusion

The aim of the present small-scale survey was to investigate teachers' awareness of CPD and its benefits, as well as their willingness to invest in this ongoing process. The results of the survey show that participating teachers are not aware of the whole spectrum of activities and benefits offered by CDP. Therefore, it is necessary to find ways of raising teachers' awareness of CDP starting from pre-service education and finding ways to create a sustainable model of professional learning and development which is context-specific, teacher-initiated, teacher-centered and teacher-friendly. An important prerequisite for a successful incorporation of CPD into everyday school life is not simply to make CPD part of the professional accreditation process and career development, but also to increase the scope and accessibility of various CPD events, such as participation in conferences, projects, and membership in teachers' professional association. In order to make traditional CDP courses and seminars effective, their content should be based on teachers' current problems and needs.

References:

- Al Asmari 2016:** Al Asmari A. R. Continuous Professional Development of English Language Teachers: Perception and Practices. – *Advances in Language and Literary Studies*. vol. 7 No. 3, June 2016, 117-124.
- British Council CPD Framework for Teachers:** <<https://www.teachingenglish.org.uk/article/british-council-cpd-framework>>. [Accessed 30 June 2017]
- Dadds 1997:** Dadds M. Continuing Professional Development: Nurturing the Expert Within. – *Journal of In-Service Education*. 23:1, 31-38.
- Day 1999:** Day C. *Developing Teachers: The Challenges of Lifelong Learning*. London: Falmer Press.
- Faulkner 1996:** Faulkner M. What Do We Want from CPD?. – *British Journal of Administrative Management*. July/August, 30-42.
- Friedman et al 2000:** Friedman A., Durkin C., Phillips M., K. Davis. *Continuing Professional Development in the UK: Policies and Programmes*. Bristol: PARN.
- Friedman, Phillips 2004:** Friedman A., M. Phillips. *Continuing Professional Development: Developing a Vision*. – *Journal of Education and Work*. 17:3, 361-376.
- Fullan 1991:** Fullan M. G. *The New Meaning of Educational Change*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Guskey 2002:** Guskey T. R. Professional Development and Teacher Change. – *Teachers and Teaching*. 8:3, 381-391.
- Harland, Kinder 1997:** *Teachers' Continuing Professional Development: Framing a Model of Outcomes*. – *British Journal of In-service Education*. Vol. 23, No. 1, 1997, 71-84.

- Hayes 2014:** Hayes D. (Ed.). *Innovations in the Continuing Professional Development of English Language Teachers*. British Council 2014.
- Huberman 1995:** Huberman M. *Professional Careers and Professional Development: Some Intersections*. – In Guskey T. R., M. Huberman (Eds). *Professional Development in Education: New Paradigms and Practices*. New York: Teachers College Press. 193-224.
- Ivanova 2015:** Ivanova I. *In-service Teachers' Problems, Needs and Expectations*. – Episkop Konstantinovi Cheteniya. vol. 21. Shumen: K. Preslavsky Publishing House. 128-145.
- Kennedy 2005:** Kennedy A. *Models of Continuing Professional Development: a Framework for Analysis*. – *Journal of In-service Education*. vol. 31, Number 2, 235-250.
- Kennedy 2014:** Kennedy A. *Understanding Continuing Professional Development: the Need for Theory to Impact on Policy and Practice*. – *Professional Development in Education*. 40:5, 688-697.
- Madden, Mitchell 1993:** Madden C, V. Mitchell. *Professions, Standards and Competence: A Survey of Continuing Education for the Professions*. Bristol: University of Bristol Department for Continuing Education.
- Ordinance 12 of 1.09.2016:** NAREDBA № 12 ot 01.09.2016 za statuta i profesionalno razvitiie na uchitelite, direktorite i drugite pedagogicheski spetsialisti. <http://www.ittd.acad.bg/download/pks/Naredba_12.pdf>. [Accessed 30 June 2017].
- Velikova 2013:** Velikova S. *Using the European Portfolio for Student Teachers of Languages (EPOSTL) to Scaffold Reflective Teacher Learning in English Language Teacher Education*. – In: Edge J., S. Mann (Eds.). *Innovations in Pre-Service Education and Training for English Language Teachers*. British Council 2013. 201-217.
- Wiseman 2015:** Wiseman A. 'My Life Changed When I Saw That Notice': An Analysis of the Long-Term Impact of a Continuing Professional Development Programme in Bulgaria. – In: Hayes D. (Ed.). *Innovations in the Continuing Professional Development of English Language Teachers*. British Council 2014. 301-316.

THE NON-LINGUISTIC CONTEXT – A BRIDGE TO LINGUISTIC ITEMS AND PHENOMENA

Miroslava Tsvetkova*

***Abstract:** Each language is a complex system, which represents the world in a unique way, with its own stock of sounds, words, and phrases, as well as with its own grammatical constructions. The aim of the article is to prove that the non-linguistic context is a good way to improve the acquisition of linguistic items and phenomena and that our non-linguistic experience can affect the way we perceive language.*

The study proves that language, perception, and thought are interdependent and the direction of interaction can go both from linguistic to non-linguistic patterns and vice versa.

The question of language and thought needs to extend not only to whether language affects thought, but whether non-linguistic patterns can affect the way language is perceived.

***Key words:** linguistic item, perception, thought, interaction.*

1. Introduction

Every human being has the biological capacity to learn a language. When they stop to think of the mystery of how the first language is acquired, they will be fascinated by the incredibility of this phenomenon. It is believed that this is natural and it is going to happen, unless biologically disturbed. Each language is a complex system, which represents the world in a unique way, with its own stock of sounds, words and phrases, and its own grammatical constructions. The starting point of the study is the idea that each lexical or grammatical item can be explained through an item from the real world which builds the bridge between linguistic and non-linguistic items and phenomena.

Cognitive linguistics often explains the linguistic facts beyond the linguistic reality and, what is more, they gain non-linguistic nature – social, cultural, psychological, etc.

Since the study is part of a larger project “Linguistic and cognitive aspects of young learners’ foreign language acquisition”, it uses data and examples from the research while attempting to prove that non-linguistic context is a good way

* Assist. Professor PhD at Shumen University, Department of English Studies, Shumen, Bulgaria, e-mail: m.tsvetkova@shu.bg.

to improve the acquisition of linguistic items and phenomena and that our non-linguistic experience can affect the way we perceive language. The types of linguistic phenomena range from general concepts to types of relations between words or between a word and a phrase to specific constructions.

In her previous research in the field, the author of the article proves that the cognitive approach facilitates the comparison between familiar and new knowledge, the acquisition of grammatical rules, memorisation 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.” (Tsvetkova 2016: 126)

The first utterances of children are almost always associated with their understanding. They talk about things that attracted their attention and which are associated with sensorimotor circuits. So their language depends directly on their cognitive experience.

The relationship between language symbols and the intangible world provokes ideas which are not thoroughly studied. The questions to be discussed concern a two-sided process of experience. On one hand, it is the non-linguistic perception that can influence language acquisition and on the other hand, the different linguistic descriptions of the same scene can evoke different images.

The literature review relevant to the study determines the problems and flaws in the existing topic. It enables us to place this study in a larger context so that we can show what new conclusions might result from it.

2. Relationship between language skills and cognitive development

Language activity in cognitive linguistics is regarded as one of the models of cognition and it is based on cognitive skills that are non-linguistic but create prerequisites for language. A fundamental principle in this approach is the idea that it is not actually normal to focus on language separately from the cognitive activity of memory, attention, social contacts of people and other aspects of life experience (cf. Langacker 1987; Wierzbicka 1992; Gallese, Lakoff 2005). The very nature of language fits the extralinguistic reality – mental and social.

Language is a hierarchical system of symbols (signs), which human beings have created in order to name things and objects. And if the language system is a stratified triangle in which individual language elements can be represented, then each stratum represents a language level (lexicon, syntax, morphology, phonology, phonetics). On a higher level, Tsvetkova (2012) studied the English present progressive construction as part of the cognitive taxonomy of the

constructions preceding it to prove that tense as part of grammar is also based on the preceding structures.

Language symbols, on the other hand, can name not only real objects but things that can be accepted through the senses as well – ideas, feelings, and intentions.

In the present study, language is considered not only as the production of sounds and words. It is a complex system that distinguishes humans from other creatures because language is a powerful tool of thinking. Language is investigated as a social tool that is used for sharing experience. Cognition, however, is a term that is used to include every system of belief, knowledge, understanding, interpretation, perception, etc.

2.1. Language and perception

Language and perception are deeply interrelated. On the one hand, correlations between perceptual dimensions build up non-linguistic categories and on the other hand, linguistic categories may agree with these non-linguistic categories if words correlate with the perceptual dimensions. Then we can describe what we perceive when using words. Thus linguistic behaviour and language acquisition are influenced by non-linguistic perception. The acquisition of words or structures is predetermined by specific perceptual mechanisms. Everybody's experience is different from that of the others. Everybody builds their own vocabulary and that is the reason why there are various nuances in the meanings of the words.

A child, for example, builds its vocabulary by learning new associations of words with ideas and objects. As Peneva (2013: 37) points out “the semantic meaning is usually about understanding human expressions through language and signs”.

Taylor (1995: viii), on the other hand, assumes that linguistic objects are like non-linguistic objects:

Just as a botanist is concerned with a botanical categorisation of plants, so a linguist undertakes a linguistic categorisation of linguistic objects. ... If, as will be argued, categories of linguistic objects are structured along the same lines as the more familiar semantic categories, then any insights we may gain into the categorisation of the non-linguistic world may be profitably applied to the study of language structure itself.

Some cognitive linguists, Langacker (1987) among them, prove that that non-linguistic psychological processes and dimensions such as visual scanning, imagery, colour, and depth influence the functional role of grammatical patterns. Based on this review, the same author asserts that in order to learn grammatical

structures and words, the language learner needs a direct path from perceptual mechanisms to language learning mechanisms.

Language can also shape our understanding of the world through expressing the sounds and noise of fauna and nature – *miaow, moo, quack, ruff*, etc. All of them have their imitative nature. They are part of the non-linguistic semiotics that the subject of language uses, too.

The article extends the idea that there is difficulty in relating language to the context and the world in which it occurs, too, and it may arise from the fact that the way in which we see the world is to a certain extent dependent on the language we use. Since we categorise the objects of our experience with the aid of language, it may be the case that there are two aspects of learning – about the world and about language. They are activities that cannot be separated and therefore our world is partly determined by our language. Indeed, the Polish anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski (1948) argued that primitive people use words only for the objects that stand out for them from the world. They pick out by words those parts that are relevant to them.

The finding appears at first glance to contradict the view which is expressed in the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Carroll 1956; Kay, Kempton 1984). Edward Sapir (1949) suggested that the world in which we live “is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group”. Later on, his view was expanded and explained by Whorf (1956). Whorf is famous for his interest in some of the most significant problems in the relation between linguistic and non-linguistic phenomena.

We are unaware of the background character of our language, just as we are unaware of the presence of air until we begin to choke, and that if we look at other languages we come to realise that a language does not merely voice ideas, but that it is ‘the shape of ideas’ and that we dissect nature along lines laid down by our native language (Whorf 1956: 214).

This leads to a new principle of relativity which holds that all observers are not led by the same physical evidence to the same picture of the universe, unless their linguistic backgrounds are similar or in some way can be calibrated (Whorf 1956: 214). Another question arises from the case in which speakers of different languages have a different picture of the universe. We can have a similar picture to the picture that others have only if we understand their language. In another case, it may happen that we can meet difficulties in translation.

2.2. Language and thought

In the relationship between language and thought, the peculiarities of a given language determine the way a picture is described. Thus the same scene can be presented in different ways according to the language in which it occurs

(Birner 1999). For example, Hopi* is a language which provides an explanation to this (Malotki 1983). Directions like *left*, *right*, *front* and *back* do not exist in it. Instead, the speakers use the words describing the four cardinal directions (*east*, *west*, *north*, and *south*). So, they would never say:

Turn right/left but *Turn north/south/etc.*

A man is standing in front of a house but *A man is standing north/etc. of the house.*

So different languages certainly make us *speak* about space in very different ways.

Another reason lies in the verb form in the utterance. In English it refers to a past, present or future event.

John sleeps.

John slept.

John has been sleeping.

John will be sleeping.

In other languages, however, Chinese for example, it is not necessary to specify the time of the action because the same verb form can be used for past, present or future actions.

A research in the field (Deutscher 2010) has shown that even grammatical genders can shape the thoughts of the speaker. Words like *teacher*, *neighbour*, or *friend* oblige you to specify a certain type of information, sex in our case.

Another difference comes from the varying syntactical structures of different languages. It treats objects differently. In English, there are countable nouns which have two forms – one for the singular and another one for the plural as well as uncountable nouns which have only one form. There is not such a distinction in other languages, like Japanese. Instead, classifiers like *a cup of* are used for all nouns.

Sara Finley (2013) is also interested in the effects of non-linguistic experiences on linguistics. The question about the interaction between language and thought, she states, can be addressed not only as to whether language affects thought, but also whether non-linguistic information can have an effect on language.

“While language is a direct way to express one’s thoughts”, she points out, “there may be other, subtler ways, in which non-linguistic experience can affect

* Hopi is a Native American language spoken in northeastern Arizona. Whorf has studied it and his findings were used for comparison with the Western European languages, which he commonly lumped together as Standard Average European Languages.

language”. According to her, linguistic knowledge is specific to language because language is the key component to cognition and general to other cognitive processes because “the key to linguistic knowledge is an interaction between the need to communicate and the existence of high-level cognitive capacities such as abstract pattern learning and memory” (Chater, Christiansen 2010). According to the first view, cognition should have no influence on linguistic items while on the contrary, the second view illustrates that non-linguistic patterns have a strong influence on linguistic constructs.

2.3. The influence of language on non-linguistic cognition

Up until now, we can conclude that what is perceived influences the choice of words used to describe it and the acquisition of language. But does language have an influence on cognition? Loftus and Palmer (1974) argue that language can influence non-linguistic cognition in three possible ways. One of them concerns the wording of a particular utterance. Another one is associated with the context in which language occurs. Yet another focuses on the regularity that is implicit in the grammar or lexicon of a particular language. According to the authors, every description we hear forms particular images in our minds.

3. Results and findings

The article proves that language, perception, and thought are interdependent and the direction of interaction can go both from linguistic to non-linguistic patterns and vice versa.

According to Tacca (2011) “Perception and cognition are tightly related. Perceptual information guides our decisions and actions and shapes our beliefs. At the same time, our knowledge influences the way we perceive the world”.

The question of language and thought needs to extend not only to whether language affects thought, but whether non-linguistic patterns can affect the way language is perceived. The article argues that our non-linguistic experience can affect the way we perceive language. The question that remains for future research is to understand when non-linguistic patterns may affect linguistic constructs in real-world situations.

4. Conclusion

There are a lot of ways in which linguistic and non-linguistic perception interact. They belong to a model of acquisition and have an important impact on language acquisition. The article stressed the role the non-linguistic context of an utterance plays in language acquisition.

This study was directed in accordance with the principles and procedures for cognitive-based learning as it relates to English as a foreign language. It contains

all the elements of the traditional communication-oriented teaching as well as the cognitive-based strategy with the focus on learning and practice on the basis of comprehending linguistic knowledge and rules, inference of knowledge, structuring and arranging new knowledge units, storing and applying them. What is important to note is that in the integrated communicative and cognitive approach teaching is conducted through experimental learning. It is based on learning through the learner's experience with constructing and appropriating knowledge by means of English.

5. Implications

This body of findings illustrates the way the cognitive approach enhances the possibilities in EFL teaching. The non-linguistic context, which is most demanded of young learners or initial language acquisition, provides circumstances for students' efficient and successful experiences.

References:

- Birner 1999:** Birner B. (ed.). Does the Language I Speak Influence the Way I Speak? – Linguistic Society of America. Advancing Scientific Study of language. <<https://www.linguisticsociety.org/content/does-language-i-speak-influence-way-i-think>> [Accessed 14 Oct. 2017].
- Caroll 1956:** Caroll J. B. Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf. Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.
- Chater, Christiansen 2010:** Chater N., M. Christiansen. Language Acquisition Meets Language Evolution. – Cognitive Science. 34 (7), 1131-1157.
- Deutscher 2010:** Deutscher G. Does Your Language Shape How You Think? – The New York Times Magazine. 29 August 2010. <<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/29/magazine/29language-t.html?mcubz=3>> [Accessed 14 Oct. 2017]
- Finley 2013:** Finley S. The Effect of Non-Linguistic Patterns on Linguistic Biases. – Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society, 35, 2291-2296. <<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/ae1a/3b73c6dd69edeba955d5d9626a703b9669ac.pdf>> [Accessed 14 Oct. 2017]
- Gallese, Lakoff 2005:** Gallese V., G. Lakoff. The Brain's Concept: The Role of the Sensory-Motor System in Conceptual Knowledge. – Cognitive Neuropsychology. May, 22(3), 455-479.
- Kay, Kempton 1984:** Kay P., W. Kempton. What is the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis? – American Anthropologist. 86, 65-79.
- Langacker 1987:** Langacker R. W. Foundations of Cognitive Grammar: Theoretical prerequisites. Stanford University Press.
- Loftus, Palmer 1974:** Loftus E. F., J. C. Palmer. Reconstruction Of Automobile Destruction: An Example of the Interaction between Language and Memory. – *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*. 13, 585-589.
- Malinowski 1948:** Malinowski B. Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays. The Free Press: Glencoe, Illinois.

- Malotki 1983:** Malotki E. *Hopi Time: A Linguistic Analysis of the Temporal Concepts in the Hopi Language*. Mouton Publishers. Berlin.
- Peneva 2013:** Peneva D. Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis of the Apology Speech Act „Sorry“. – In: Todorova et al. (eds.). *Dynamics, Interdisciplinarity, Diversity*. Series in Linguistics, Culture and FLT. Konstantin Preslavsky University Press. Shumen. 29-42.
- Piaget 1936:** Piaget J. *Origins of Intelligence in the Child*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Sapir 1949:** Sapir E. Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture and Personality. Mandelbaum D. G. (ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press. 160-166.
- Slobin 1996:** Slobin D. From “Thought and Language” to “Thinking for Speaking”. – In: Gumperz J. J., S. C. Levinson (eds.). *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity*. CUP. 70-96.
- Tacca 2011:** Tacca M. Commonalities between Perception and Cognition. – *Front Psychol.* 2: 358. <<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3227022/>> [Accessed 14 Oct. 2017]
- Taylor 1995:** Taylor J. R. *Linguistic Categorization: Prototypes in Linguistic Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tsvetkova 2012:** Tsvetkova M. Konstruktsiyata na segashno prodalzhitelno vreme v angliyskiya ezik kato chast ot kognitivnata taksonomiya na predkhozhdashtite ya konstruktsii. – *Godishnik na Shumenski universitet Episkop Konstantin Preslavski, Fakultet po khumanitarni nauki, tom XXIII A*, Shumen: Universitetsko izdatelstvo. 256- 281.
- Tsvetkova 2016:** Tsvetkova M. Challenges in Teaching ESL to Young Learners. – In: Todorova et al. (eds.). *Challenges in English Teaching and Research*. Series in Linguistics, Culture and FLT. Vol 1. Asenevtsitrade Ltd.: Sofia. 125-135.
- Whorf 1956:** Whorf B. L. *Language, Thought and Reality*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 207-219.
- Wierzbicka 1992:** Wierzbicka A. *Semantics, Culture and Cognition: Universal Human Concepts in Culture-Specific Configurations*. OUP.

THE USE OF COMMISSIVE SPEECH ACTS IN ENGLISH AND BULGARIAN AND THEIR POLITENESS IMPLICATION

Deyana Peneva*

Abstract: *The paper focuses on one specific performative speech act and in particular on examining the grammatical, propositional and pragmatic meaning of a basic illocutionary act which belongs to the group of commissives in comparison with its Bulgarian equivalents and namely the verb **agree**. The article also presents a quantitative and qualitative analysis of a database taken from the Bulgarian media discourse and BNC/British National Corpus/ of spoken language which is also needed to identify the tendency in the use of commissive speech acts cross-culturally which can be useful to make further interpretation especially with respect to politeness implications.*

Key words: *commissive speech acts, proposition, pragmatic meaning, politeness, semantic content*

1. Introduction

The article aims to explore the speech acts phenomena cross-culturally specifying the discrepancies, either minor or marked, with respect to their grammatical form, propositional content and pragmatic. Though a number of studies have been conducted comparing and contrasting the speech act utterances among different languages, a limited number of surveys have dwelt on the cross-cultural issue of speech act disparities between English and Bulgarian commissive illocutionary acts. It is believed that a more detailed analysis will be essential for advanced students in English so that they can grasp important peculiarities in communicative styles in both cultures – native and non-native. The study is made to designate not only the grammatical and propositional contrasts, but make explicit the politeness aspects in both cultures pragmatically. In that respect, the present paper focuses on a particular commissive speech act, expressed directly by a performative verb and namely, the verb **agree** and its respective equivalents in Bulgarian.

* Assist. Professor PhD at Shumen University, Department of English Studies, Shumen, Bulgaria, e-mail: d.peneva@shu.bg.

2. Previous research in the field

In recent years the number of articles regarding the problem of intercultural speech act analysis has piled up dramatically focusing on the different groups of communicative acts which are divided into five basic sections according to their illocutionary force and real-life implications (Austin 1962; Strawson 1964; Searle 1969; Hymes 1972):

1) **assertives or representatives**: statements that are performed by the speaker and may be taken as true or false because they describe a state of affairs in the world; the speaker becomes responsible for the truth of the propositional content (asserting, concluding): *It's snowing.*

2) **directives**: the speaker tries to make the hearer act in a way which will fit the propositional content, for example, forbidding: *Don't write on the desk.*

3) **commissives**: statements which commit the speaker to a set of actions represented by the propositional content, for example, agreeing, inviting, promising; assuming of an obligation or declaring of an intention: *I promise I won't do that again./ I agree with the fact that Lilly is constantly absent.*

4) **expressives**: these are statements which express a psychological state or "sincerity condition of the speech act": thanking, apologizing. For example: *I apologize for my rude behaviour.*

5) **declaratives**: statements that ask for an immediate change in the institutional state of affairs and attempt to change the world (the extralinguistic institution) by "representing it as having been changed" (Searle 1969) (as in declaring war, christening, wedding ceremonies: Priest: *I now pronounce you husband and wife*).

However, there is a narrow set of pragmatic surveys on comparing communicative acts in English and Bulgarian focusing on compliments examination (Vlahova 2000; Dimitrova 2009; Ivanova 2012), apologies (Peneva 2015) and on requests (Hristov 2008) Commissive speech acts have not been explored in a comparative study regarding Bulgarian and English languages, nor has the verb *agree* been analysed cross-culturally with respect to its grammatical frame, semantic meaning and usage.

3. Research Questions

The paper makes an attempt to collect, classify and analyze the data taken from BNC of spoken language (British National Corpus) in which the performative *agree* appears in first person singular, Present Simple tense and data extracted from three Bulgarian TV programmes, talk shows and debate format radio programmes where the Bulgarian performative equivalent is represented by a different part of speech. In that respect all equivalents in Bulgarian in first

person singular, Present tense from video and audio sources were taken out, transcribed and divided into groups. The paper aims to answer the following questions:

- 1) What are the preferred *agree* patterns performed by Bulgarian learners?
- 2) To what extent do the grammatical structures used by Bulgarian learners of English deviate from those of the native speakers of English?
- 3) How do Bulgarian learners differ from English native speakers in their pragmatic communicative behaviour as determined by expressing agreement regarding different contextual factors?
- 4) What type of politeness orientation (positive or negative) (cf. Bach 2004) is favoured in both languages?

4. Methods

The article aims to classify the linguistic features which are identified in both corpora following the syntactic patterns of the performative entries in English and Bulgarian.

With regard to the identification and classification of linguistic material in patterns one basic method of analysis is used for both corpora: *Quantitative and qualitative corpus analysis* (following Biber, Conrad, Reppen 1998) which is based on *Valency patternbank model* (following Herbst et al 2004; Herbst, Schüller 2008) for the analysis of syntactic patterns and the speech acts data elicitation with respect to pattern preference and politeness orientation. The linguistic material provides a tool for linguistic research in the areas of valency, complementation, semantic roles and construction grammar (Herbst et al 2004: 6). It is of great use in that it could provide the scholar with the main frameworks when identifying the verbs, adjectives and nouns concerning all valency patterns that become explicit. Furthermore, it will also help in identifying and analyzing the syntactic deviations and consequently will give material in specifying the differences and preferences in the use of *agree* commissive utterances cross-culturally.

The coding of the valency patterns comprises a large set of symbolic devices and a very large number of abbreviations.

The range of symbolic devices and abbreviations chosen for the purposes of the present paper includes:

CL – clause; **Vp** – verb phrase; **Np** – noun phrase; **V-ing** – gerundial clause

qualitative valency, that is, in the margins of the examples a letter (**Z**, **M**, **D**, **T**) is written specifying the number of complements accompanying a given performative (**Z** – for zero, **M** – one, **D** – two, **T** – three);

each separate valency pattern will be indicated with the letter P (P1, P2 ...)

5. Data Analysis

The analysis is made on the basis of three criteria: syntactic (grammatical), lexical-semantic (propositional) and pragmatic, that is – form and function, meaning and usage respectively.

The verb **AGREE** in English language

Agree is a content word as it is part of the basic Structural units and as such it possesses a semantic meaning. It falls into the group of verbs and is one of the main constituents of a clause and namely the Verb (Downing, Locke 2006). In that respect it could either be regarded as transitive or intransitive.

Agree becomes explicit in nine basic syntactic patterns of construction (Oxford Dictionary)

P1 (Z) agree + [no object] /intransitive/

ex. *They say that a change is needed and I agree completely.*

P2 (M) agree + [with +Np_{someone}] /transitive/

ex. *I agree with her.*

P3 (M) agree + [with +Np_{something}] /transitive/

ex. *I agree with your opinion.*

P4 (M) agree + [about/on + Np_{something}] /transitive/

ex. *I agree on the date of the examination.*

P5 (D) agree + [with +Np_{someone}] + [about/on + Np_{something}] /transitive/

ex. *I agree with him about the oncoming proceedings.*

P6 (M) agree + [that-CL] /transitive/

ex. *I agree that she made a really good impression.*

P7 (M) agree + [to + Np] /transitive/

ex. *I agree to their offer.*

P8 (M) agree + [to + Vp] /transitive/

ex. *I agree to meet on Thursday.*

P9 (M) agree + [what/where + CL] /transitive/

no examples.

In P1 the verb *agree* does not take any complements or valencies which makes it intransitive whereas in patterns P2-P9 the verb is followed either by one complement or two (P5) making it transitive.

With respect to its **lexical-semantic** content the entry connotes either:

1. the state of having the same opinion, sharing the same opinion with someone else or
2. saying that you will do, accept, or allow something that is suggested or requested by another person.
3. deciding to accept something after discussing what should or might be done.

Since present research paper deals basically with the verb *agree* with respect to its commissive use, I should give a more profound overview of what exactly ‘commissive’ means.

According to Austin (1962) and supported by Bach (2004) there is a set of four conventions or the so called **felicity conditions** in speech act pragmatics that should be present in each illocutionary utterance so that it can be considered valid. They are *propositional act*, *preparatory condition*, *sincerity condition* and *essential condition*. Austin pointed out that 1) the **propositional content condition** focuses mainly on textual content and propositional meaning which refers extensively to semantics; 2) the **preparatory condition** focuses upon background circumstances and the participants in the speech act (social status, social distance, age); 3) the **sincerity condition** regards the psychological state of the speaker and his/her intentions, though it is often argued that it is difficult to determine whether or not the speaker is being sincere; 4) **essential condition** implies the idea and the intention of the speaker to agree/disagree with the other party, that is: the communicative act counts as an act of agreement, that is the change of state of the speaker.

The presence of these four conditions makes a successful speech act, which is described not as true or false based on truth-value semantics but more as felicitous. Otherwise the speech act can be viewed as false or infelicitous.

With a view of the above mentioned, commissives may be expressed by performative verbs such as *promise*, *swear*, *guarantee*, *vow*, *agree*. They are illocutionary speech acts that the speakers use to “commit themselves to some future action“ (Yule 1996: 55), in that the speakers assume of an obligation by declaring their intention.

According to speech act theory the verb *agree* falls simultaneously to two groups of communicative acts, i.e. it can either belong to the group of *assertive illocutionary acts* or the *commissive utterances*, expressing different propositional meaning. These two meanings are intertwined and it is rather complicated to separate them from one another as the commissive use comes as a natural consequence of the assertive use and more specifically:

- In assertive illocutionary sense, to *agree* is to assert a proposition, which refers to a (potential) fact or state of affairs about the world, which can be true or false and becomes explicit on sentence level and has to do with presupposing that another person has previously put forward that proposition. It has also more in common with preparatory condition in which to *agree* means to assert a proposition while presupposing that the other party has previously submitted that proposition. Since *agree* occurs with three basic semantic meanings, in expressing assertive communicative act of agreement the first meaning becomes explicit when sharing the same opinion. For example:

I agree with you that the plan won't work. /assertive/

I agree to your proposal. /assertive/

I agree entirely with what you have said. /assertive/

When being used as a commissive performative, the verb *agree* comes with its second and third semantic meaning where the sincerity condition refers to the effect of being in agreement with the content of the proposition. The speaker commits him/herself to tolerating the action he/she has accepted. In general, the speaker accepts /agrees with/ the proposition by permitting the proposition to be done. In this sense it has to do with the psychological state of promising to support or assisting something and the aspect of obligation is present while it is absent in *agree* patterns expressing assertion. For example:

The EU preservation order should be enforced immediately. I agree completely. /commissive/

I kindly agree to help. /commissive/

I agree on common strategy. /commissive/

I agree on any of the proposals. /commissive/

We agree what to do. /commissive/

I agree to go on camera after the trial. /commissive/

I agree with the head upon the matter of redundancies. /commissive/

The British corpus comprises 135 *agree* utterances in which *agree* is present as a single word or in constructions and occurs with both its assertive and commissive meaning in first person singular, present simple tense. The data were collected, counted and classified with regard to the frequency of occurrences of *agree*.

The overall number of *agree* utterances and their percentage rate is presented in the table:

British reference corpus	Number of utterances		Per cent	
	assertive	commissive	assertive	commissive
P1 agree + [no object]	12	7	8.9%	5.2%
P2 agree + [with+Np _{someone}]	56	0	41.5%	0.00%
P3 agree + [with +Np _{something}]	16	4	11.8%	2.9%
P4 agree + [about/on + Np _{something}]	1	6	0.7%	4.4%
P5 agree + [with +Np _{someone}] +[about/on/ upon+Np _{something}]	0	4	0.0%	2.9%
P6 agree + [that-CL]	1	8	0.7%	5.9%
P7 agree + [to + Np]	0	0	0.0%	0.0%
P8 agree + [to + Vp]	0	14	0.0%	10.4%
P9 agree+[with+ what/ where + CL]	6	0	4.4%	0.0%
Total	92	43	~68.0%	~32.0%

In the Reference corpus the assertive performative *agree* occurs 92 times, that is approximately 68.0% of the total number of occurrences (135). In 43 cases, which is 32,0% of the total, *agree* is used in a commissive meaning. This is a ratio of well over 2:1 which makes the assertive **agree** patterns more favoured with respect to the frequency of occurrences. Consequently, the assertive illocutionary force prevails over the commissive pragmatic use.

Regarding the commissive structures in particular, it is obvious that they become explicit in 6 valency (syntactic) models offering zero, nominal, verbal and clausal complements. The corpus data analysis shows that three syntactic patterns take the leading positions with respect to their overall use: **P8 agree + to +VP** (in 14 out of 43 commissive utterances) followed by **P6 agree + that-CL** (illustrated in 8 illocutionary acts) and **P1 agree+ no complement** (in 7 sentences). Valency patterns P4, P3 and P5 rank last with respective figures 6 **agree + [about/on + Np_{something}]** utterances while P3 and P5 syntactic structures are equal in cases (4 namely).

We can see that according to BNC of spoken language **agree + to + VP** structure is present in socially different environments which may require either a high level of formality or neutral register illustrating the social distance and status of the participants, though the utterances sound more formal than all the other commissive performative utterances. With respect to politeness, the speaker is

willing to keep the hearer's positive face emphasizing commitment implying feelings of sympathy and interest; asserting/presupposing the knowledge of hearer's concerns. What is more, the Vp which follows the performative verb asks for an action on the part of the hearer which further stimulates and reasserts the hearer's commitment to take further actions not only to confirm what the hearer has already said but makes the utterance sound more genuine strengthening the illocutionary force and reinforcing the sincerity condition. This pattern is basically preferred when the intended/ implied meaning is not only to assert the validity of what one of the parties has stated, but also to show intention and express willingness to personally develop and put forward the conditions of the utterance which asks for agreement.

The syntactic pattern which ranks second with respect to frequency of occurrences *agree + that-CL* (P6) shows roughly the same level of formality in that the social status and distance may vary. Another point is that at times the pattern sounds ambiguous as the assertive and commissive uses may overlap unless there are additional communicative acts to illustrate that the speaker will commit further actions. For example:

I agree that legal separation should be enforced in Eastern European countries and I will take the matter personally.

The sentence comprises two clauses bearing an illocutionary force. The first one is the commissive act of agreement which is further supported by an indirect communicative act of promising which on its part further guarantees the sincerity condition. Taken separately, the act of agreement will sound vague and unsustainable if it is not supported by acts expressing commissive illocutionary force.

Taking *agree+ no complement* pattern next (P1), it follows a similar trend to that in pattern P6 though a complement is not explicit. The utterance is either preceded or followed by another communicative act which may express an explanation, promise, guarantee or another speech act which supports the illocutionary act bearing the performative verb *agree*. For example:

The PM's rejection to enforce the new immigration procedures should be taken seriously. I absolutely agree. I guarantee respective steps should be considered.

The commissive force does not become obvious unless other illocutionary acts are added bearing commissive pragmatic content. In the example the commissiveness is illustrated by the commissive act of guarantee which on its part may be regarded as a firm promise that an individual or inanimate entity will do something. Given the absence of this communicative speech act, the *agree* speech act cannot function as a commissive utterance and most probably will be considered as assertive expressing firm agreement rather than assuming of an

obligation for further actions. Positive politeness aspect is also present since the speaker uses communicative utterances which definitely refer to the speaker's need to save the hearer's positive face trying not to restrict the hearer's personal freedom but rather keep his personal positive self-image/respect. Another point that we should take into account is that in P1 cases, especially when the social distance and power relationships between the speaker and the hearer are not equal, the speaker uses more than one communicative act so that the sincerity condition can be met.

Syntactic structures **P4 agree + about/on + NP**, **P3 agree + with +Np** and **P5 agree + with-NP +about/upon-NP** pragmatically support the P1 analysis confirming the fact that without other strategies /speech acts/ the commissive aspect does not become evident.

The Bulgarian equivalent of the English verb AGREE

In Bulgarian language the act of agreement connoting the idea of assertion or commissiveness is expressed by the verb *saglasnyavam se* (6 cases) and the past participle *saglasen sam* (51 utterances).

With respect to the verb *saglasnyavam se* semantically it equals the verb *agree* in its first sentence meaning, that is, accepting the proposition that one of the parties has already introduced. The verb is intransitive and non-perfective. Additionally, it is reflexive in that it cannot be used without the particles *se* or *si* which is an obligatory constituent of the verb head complex (the verb itself). Similarly, *agree* also appears as intransitive in its assertive meaning. Contrary to the Bulgarian equivalent, the English verb *agree* cannot be viewed as perfective or non/im-perfective since the aspect of perfectiveness is rather unstable in English language. In that respect, *agree* as a stative verb does not use the progressive forms, imperfective respectively. On the other hand, *saglasnyavam se* in Bulgarian as a non/im-perfective verb describes ongoing semantic role and does not include in its interior composition the aspect of habitual or repeated semantic meaning which is present in the English verb *agree*. In Bulgarian corpus only 6 examples were identified in assertive illocutionary force. For example:

***Saglasnyavam se** s Vasheto stanovishte. Prodalzhavame diskusiyata, kolegi. /in En. I agree with your statement. We proceed with the discussion, colleagues./*

Turning to the second way of expressing agreement in Bulgarian, namely the phrase *saglasen sam*, it can be used both in assertive and commissive connotation. Twenty-three cases were excerpted from the Bulgarian database bearing a commissive illocutionary force. Grammatically it can function as an adjective and also as a past participle of the reflexive verb *saglasnyavam se*. In its commissive meaning it functions as past participle. It is a common practice

for Bulgarian learners of English to wrongly use the grammatical structures typical to the English verb *agree* as Bulgarian learners transfer their native grammatical knowledge into the foreign language (Tsvetkova 2014). Instead of saying *I agree*, they tend to say *I am agree* which is a direct translation to the Bulgarian phrase *Az sam saglasen*. Grammatically the phrase follows a syntactic pattern given below: *Np + Vp + AdjP*

Az sam saglasen

I am agree

where the Adjectival Phrase is presented by the past participle of the verb *saglasnyavam se*. However, this syntactic pattern is of limited use in Bulgarian language, *saglasen sam* prevails instead, which follows *AdjP + Vp* syntactic pattern. Actually the past participle form *saglasen* acts as a predicative in the syntactic pattern.

Going further into the discussion, the phrase *saglasen sam* follows almost the same valency patterns as the English verb **agree**:

- P1** *saglasen sam + s-CL* /I agree **with**/
- P2** *saglasen sam + da-INF* /I agree **to**/
- P3** *saglasen sam + s-CL + da-INF* /I agree **with ... to ...**/
- P4** *saglasen sam + che +CL* /I agree **that**/
- P5** *saglasen sam + otnosno-CL* /I agree **about/on/upon**/

S is the preposition **with**; **da** indicates **to** which is followed by an infinitive verb form; **che** stands for the conjunction **that** and **otnosno** is equivalent to the English prepositions **about/on/upon**.

The overall number of *saglasen sam* utterances and their percentage rate is presented in the table:

Bulgarian reference corpus	Number of utterances commissive	Percent commissive
P1 <i>saglasen sam + s-CL</i>	1	4.35%
P2 <i>saglasen sam + da-INF</i>	5	21.74%
P3 <i>saglasen sam + s-CL + da-INF</i>	15	65.22%
P4 <i>saglasen sam + che +CL</i>	1	4.35%
P5 <i>saglasen sam + otnosno-CL</i>	1	4.35%
Total	23	~100%

The leading position takes P3 syntactic pattern. In 15 out of 23 cases *saglasen* appears in P3 valency pattern which adds a prepositional complement clause

denoting either an action, an entity or a person followed by an infinitive form. Structures of that type were not identified in the British corpus. The database shows that in 11 cases the social status and distance between the participants in the communicative situation are not equal, which asks for a high level of formality. The latter is expressed by additional illocutionary acts highlighting the commissive illocutionary force. Obviously, in situations where there are indications of hierarchical footing extra speech acts are needed to guarantee the sincerity condition of the utterance of agreement. For example:

Saglasen sam s reshenieto na komisiyata da vlyazat v sila novite zakonovi naredbi.

/in En: I agree with the committee's decision to enforce the new legislation./

With regard to the other syntactic patterns, P1 and P5 become explicit in one case each in which the sincerity condition is not as strong as in P3 syntactic structure, since the commissive aspect is not guaranteed either by a promise or a guarantee or other commissive acts.

Pattern 2 *saglasen sam + da-INF* occurs in 5 utterances and is similar in pragmatic use to the same syntactic pattern in the British corpus. Interestingly, in 4 out of 5 cases the communicative act is preceded or followed by an expressive illocutionary act, for example an act of approval which on its part expresses support for a state of affairs or activity that is worth being done and that the action is intentional and aims to be beneficial not only to the hearer but to the other party as well. In contrast, no expressive utterances were found in the British corpus. Since expressive communicative acts focus mainly on the mental states of the interlocutors, they illustrate a psychological mode which may be connected to a certain feeling, such as joy, excitement or sympathy, which undoubtedly indicates that a more personal attitude is added to the commissive act of agreement. This can be viewed as an emotional attitude to the whole speech situation in which the speaker may seem personally involved in the matter agreeing not only with the statement that the other party is saying but believing him/her as well. Again, positive politeness is expressed though illustrated in a different way.

The last pattern in the discussion is P4 *saglasen sam + che +CL* in which *che* is used as a conjunction identical to *that* in English language and pragmatically does not show any marked deviations from its English equivalent, though extra illocutionary acts are added to differentiate the assertive from the commissive use.

6. Results/ Key Findings

Based on findings and observations, the overall analysis indicates that all performatives used in the structure of *agree* speech acts refer to the sincerity condition in the communicative act and serve a **social function**, that is, by agreeing to commit themselves to tolerating an action the speaker is doing what is socially acceptable and expected which could present him/herself as an educated member of society.

In general, it seems that the majority of *agree* commissive utterances in both corpora take the form of bare performatives which implicate politeness in themselves. They could be considered beneficial to the hearer as the speaker assumes an obligation to accept and commit further actions to the proposition made by the hearer beforehand.

In both corpora the speaker tries to preserve the other party's positive self-image and act to his/her best interest. The results illustrate that:

- the emotional contour in native speakers is not that distinct as it is in Bulgarian examples considering that the bare performatives are enough to illustrate politeness;
- on the other hand, Bulgarian learners of English tend to shorten the social distance and emphasize on the emotional aspect of the speech act by expressing sympathy and personal attitude to the speech situation.
- the preferred choice of *agree* patterns with combinations of other speech acts shows that Bulgarian learners are more likely to emphasize on solidarity and closeness and diminish the level of formality.

7. Conclusion and Implications

The contributions of the paper can be seen in the fact that:

- Valency patternbank model can contribute to the identification and analysis of the syntactic structures as the linguistic competence will enhance development of communicative competence;
- in pedagogy teachers should help learners acquire not only linguistic knowledge of the way the speech act is realized but also dwell on the social variables that influence the successful performance of the act.
- teachers should enable learners to perform successful speech acts in order to avoid cross-cultural miscomprehension;
- besides linguistically correct *agree* formulas learners need to be made aware of the significance of social power, social distance and imposition in communication so that the communicative act be taken as genuine.

References:

- Austin 1962:** Austin J.L. *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bach 2004:** Bach K. *Pragmatics and the Philosophy of Language*. – In: Horn L. R., G. Ward (eds.). *The Handbook of Pragmatics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 463-487.
- Biber, Conrad, Reppen 1998:** Biber D., Conrad S., R. Reppen. *Corpus Linguistics. Investigating Language Structure and Use*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Dimitrova 2009:** Dimitrova S. *Lingvistichna pragmatika*. IK Veles. Sofia. 61-68.
- Downing, Locke 2006:** Downing A., P. Locke. *English Grammar: A University Course*. 2nd ed. Abingdon and New York: Routledge.
- Herbst et al 2004:** Herbst T., Heath D., Roe I. F., D. Gotz (eds.). *A Valency Dictionary of English: A Corpus-Based Analysis of the Complementation Patterns of English Verbs, Nouns and Adjectives*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Herbst, Schüller 2008:** Herbst T., S. Schüller. *Introduction to Syntactic Analysis*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Hristov 2008:** Hristov B. *Politeness in Requests in English and Bulgarian*. MA Student Thesis. University of Oxford.
- Hymes 1972:** Hymes D. *On Communicative Competence*. – In: Pride J. B., J. Holmes (eds.). *Sociolinguistics*. Harmondsworth: Penguin. 269-293.
- Ivanova 2012:** Ivanova I. *Enhancing Students' Pragmatic Awareness: Explicit Versus Implicit Instruction in Textbooks*. – *Episkop-Konstatinovi cheteniya*. Vol. 18. Shumen: Shumen University Publishing Press. 157-163.
- Peneva 2015:** Peneva D. *The Speech Act of Apology in Bulgarian Learners of English*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Konstantin Preslavsky University of Shumen, 2015.
- Searle 1969:** Searle J. *An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Strawson 1964:** Strawson P. *Intention and Convention in Speech Acts*. – *The Philosophical Review*. 73, 439-460.
- Thomas 1986:** Thomas J. *The Dynamics of Discourse: A Pragmatic Analysis of Confrontational Interaction*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Lancaster University.
- Tsvetkova 2014:** Tsvetkova M. *The Problem of Equivalence in Contrastive Analysis*. – In: Nedelcheva S., Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva D., D. Mossop (eds.). *English Studies: Translation and Linguistics*. Shumen: Shumen University Press, 132-136.
- Vlahova 2000:** Vlahova R. *Monofonichna i polifonichna rech*. *Lingvistika, semiotika, filologiya*. Sema RSH Publishing.
- Yule 1996:** Yule G. *Pragmatics*. Oxford University Press.

VERB CHOICE IN MEDICAL RESEARCH ARTICLES (ESP)

Ilina Doykova*

Abstract: *The corpus-based analysis of high frequency verbs used in research articles aims at establishing the lexical core, native and non-native researchers need for publishing in medicine. The verbs, extracted from two self-compiled corpora are structured as per the established format of the research article genre. The findings showed that in the Introduction, Methods, Results and Discussion sections there is great variation in the use of verbs, related to data observation, presentation, and description. Areas of difference in evaluative language and the preferred lexical structures in reporting scientific results are indicated. The predicative adjective construction is identified as a frequent strong verb substitute in the non-native scientific writing. Specific verb lists form a valuable source for the creation of teaching materials for university and PhD students.*

Key words: *English for specific purposes, medical research articles, verb variety*

1. Introduction

The present paper is a corpus-based study of verbs introducing citations, presenting results, argumentation and discussion of findings or indicating stance in medical research articles (MRA). The aim is to compare the core scientific verbs used by international and Bulgarian researchers, publishing in English in terms of their specific use in English for specific purposes (ESP).

The observations of Swales and Feak (2004) and Nesselhauf (2005) on the problem areas in academic writing, experienced by graduate students have provoked multiple corpus-based and corpus-driven studies in various disciplines recently. The importance of word frequency in academic vocabulary is stated by Coxhead (2000) and further studied by Granger and Paquot (2009) who compare the use of lexical verbs by native writers and advanced learners of English for Academic Purposes (EAP) to show verb specificity in different fields (business, linguistics, and medicine). The MRA genre analysis resulted in the establishment of a Medical Academic Word List comprising 623 word families and frequently used words in 32 specific subject areas (Wang, Liang, Ge 2008) and contrastive studies of reporting verbs in various disciplines such as the use of reporting verbs in 25 MRA introduction sections (Jirapanakorn 2012).

* PhD at Medical University of Varna, Varna, Bulgaria, e-mail: ilina.doykova@abv.bg.

In view of Hyland's (2002) and Hyland and Tse's (2007) approach to teaching academic language in its specificity, we believe that the Bulgarian community of researchers and doctoral students would benefit from the present analysis of MRA for an improved lexical choice and precision in their English writing. This study is motivated by the observations on the repetitive use of certain verbs, the overuse of passive voice, and the multiple revisions in the scientific writing courses at the Medical University of Varna.

2. Research method

All verb forms were statistically determined in 250 medical research articles with WordSmith Tools, Version 6 (Scott 2012) and the lexical items that occurred frequently in the separate sections of the medical RA were identified. The Bulgarian collection of MRA, published in English (BULRA corpus) was investigated for types of verbs, their active or passive use in the sentence and specific meaning. The BULRA corpus comprises 50 original papers and is gradually expanded to represent a broad specter of medical disciplines within the research article genre from peer-reviewed medical journals such as *Acta Medica Bulgarica*, *Folia Medica*, *Journal of Biomedical and Clinical Research*, *Scripta Scientifica Medica* and *Trakia Journal of Sciences*. Each paper is written by a different group of researchers and recently published (2015-2017). The total number of tokens (running words) in the BULRA collection is 167 957 (15 112 word types) and a lexical density of 27.39 words in 5 138 sentences.

The second collection of research articles of international researchers (INTRA corpus) contains 200 open access research papers, published in *BioMed Central* journal. This influential journal was selected and served as a reference corpus for its high impact factor (8.005). The size of the INTRA corpus is 955,104 words (25 097 word types) with a lexical density of 35.51 words in 12 363 sentences. The articles cover various fields in medicine such as surgery, clinical pathology, dermatology, nephrology, cardiovascular disorders, infectious diseases, nutrition, etc. A keyword list of all used verbs was compiled and compared to the BULRA keyword list of verbs.

3. Research question: Identification of key verbs in MRA

To identify the verbs, characteristic of the medical research articles and eliminate past participle (A) and attributive adjective use (B), the BULRA corpus was grammatically annotated with the CLAWS C7 tagger (Fig. 1), developed at Lancaster University for parts of speech tags such as modal verb (VMO), infinitive forms (VVI), present and past participle (VVG, VVN) tags:

A. The rate of complications *observed* in PNS varies with different authors, although the method is minimally invasive.

B. Like other authors, we associated the *observed* hypovitaminosis with the reduced activity of the alpha-1-hy-droxylase, mild expression of vitamin D receptors and an increased loss of vitamin D transport proteins [12, 13, 14].

The_AT0 exact_AJ0 diagnosis_NN1 of_PRF chronic_AJ0 myofascial_AJ0 and_CJC temporomandibular_AJ0 pain_NN1 conditions_NN2 is_VBZ often_AV0 quite_AV0 a_AT0 challenge_NN1 for_PRP clinicians_NN2 that_CJT have_VHB to_TO0 unravel_VVI the_AT0 puzzle_NN1_SENT_PUN The_AT0 present_AJ0 investigation_NN1 provided_CJS findings_NN2 that_CJT can_VM0 be_VBI useful_AJ0 to_TO0 create_VVI a_AT0 world-wide_AJ0 database_NN1

Fig. 1 Verbs in BULRA corpus

4. Data analysis

The verbs in the corpus were sorted in a quantitative wordlist according to their frequency of occurrence and subsequently lemmatized. All verb forms from the BULRA wordlist were compared to the INTRA wordlist to obtain the keywords (high frequency verbs in both corpora) and the key verbs were observed and analyzed in concordance lines. The comparison revealed that certain key verbs occur more often in BULRA corpus and other verbs are not typically used as the negative key verbs in Fig.2:

N	Key word	Freq.	%	Texts	RC. Freq.	RC. %	Keyness
1	SHOWED	112	0,08	17	0		455,06
2	PRESENT	97	0,07	25	0		394,11
3	COMPARED	90	0,06	23	0		365,66
4	LEADS	62	0,04	14	69		90,06
5	DEFINED	18	0,01	12	0		73,12
6	EVALUATED	15	0,01	9	0		60,94
7	PROVIDE	14		7	0		56,87
8	TREATED	99	0,07	14	337	0,04	29,83
9	REDUCES	23	0,02	7	31		28,48
10	COLLECTED	10		6	265	0,03	-29,24
11	CONSIDERED	36	0,02	20	545	0,06	-29,56
12	ESTIMATE	8		3	246	0,03	-30,62

Fig. 2 Keyword list in BULRA corpus

The choice of reporting verbs enables the writers to position their work in relation to that of other members of the research community. Following Thompson and

Ye’s classification (1991) and according to their potential and function in the MRA, these may be categorized as textual (discourse verbs), mental (cognition verbs) and research (experimental) verbs. Other classifications such as Thomas and Hawes’ (1994) and Hyland’s (2002) use similar group names which are added here for reference (in brackets). The overuse of verbs, denoting static relations and passive voice forms together with the most frequent neutral verbs of reporting is illustrated in BULRA corpus (Table 1).

Lemma	Occurrences
Be [be, been, being, is, are, was, were]	3444
Have [have, has, had]	563
Show [show, shows, shown, showed]	236
Find [find, finds, found]	189
Use [use, uses, used]	126
Report [report, reports, reported]	114
Present [present, presents, presented]	106
Occur [occurs, occurred]	83
Observe [observe, observed]	69
Demonstrate [demonstrate, demonstrated]	56

Table 1. Overused verbs in BULRA corpus

The extracted verbs from the INTRA corpus show a considerable degree of variation and use in comparison to BULRA corpus. The notion of ‘optimal viewing arrangement’, introduced by Langacker (1987) predetermines the use of impersonal sentences, sentences with suppressed agentivity (in passive voice), and the high percentage of predicative adjective constructions in research articles (*be required, be recommended, be needed, be used, be prescribed, be considered, be consistent with*). Resultative constructions are supplied by many sources (3rd plural impersonal, reflexive verbs, and perfective aspect) to achieve such prominent features of scientific writing as objectivity and impersonal style (Hyland 2002).

The cluster analysis of frequent verbs and their patterns in BULRA shows passive voice preference and lack of variation in sentence structure (Fig.3a, b).

N	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3
1	IN	THE	AND	THE	WAS	OBSERVE	IN	THE	AND
2	OF	AND	THE	WAS	WERE	OBSERVE	ON	IN	THE
3	THE	GENERAL	PRACTIT	THEY	IS		BETWEEN		WITH
4	AL	IRREGUL	AFTER	ROUGHN	ARE		VERY		SURFACE
5			OF	CAN	BEEN		THE		
6				AND	BE				ELECTRC
7				OF	SHOULD				FIRST
8				HAVE	THE				

Fig. 3a Patterns of *observe* in BULRA corpus

N	Cluster	Freq.	Set	Length
1	WAS PERFORMED IN	10		3
2	WAS PERFORMED USING	7		3
3	WAS PERFORMED WITH	5		3
4	WAS PERFORMED BY	5		3

Fig. 3b Patterns of *perform*

Further on, frequent negative predicative adjective constructions with stative reading (*not important, not essential, not able, not certain*) may be replaced by equivalent verbs or negatively prefixed constructions (*fail, lack, be absent, be arguable, be inferior, be insufficient, be incomplete*) for an improved readability and stronger focus on the presented results. Sentences in need of revision are the following samples:

1. The low response rate and mixed sampling inhibits generalization of the findings, but this was not our objective and, given the sufficient breadth of the data, it *should not be concerning*.
2. Although the exact mechanism involved in burn-induced mucosal damage *is not clear* yet, increasing evidence indicates decreased gastric mucosal blood flow, local and systemic liberation of cytokines and reactive oxidant intermediaries and changes in production of nitric oxide (NO) and prostaglandins (PGs) as a factor of mucosal damage (2-4).
3. Besides, the available laboratories *are not able* to meet the diagnostic demand of all the patients with CHF.12,26 Type 4 screening devices (one or two channels) are a meaningful solution to detect patients with SDB.

Common verbs *be, test, show, have, make, give, take* have specific lexical verb substitutes which add elegance and formality to scientific writing (*conclude, find, indicate, demonstrate, reveal, emphasize, support, allow for, exist, occur, appear, arise, emerge, observe, assess, achieve, measure, determine, confirm, etc.*) and the collocations could be established with the help of a reference corpus search. For example, the verb *make* is not the right choice for the noun *experiment* (**make an experiment*) but rather a literal translation of the Bulgarian phrase (правя експеримент) and when collocations are verified in the British National Corpus it becomes evident that only one lexical element in the collocation is identical. Thus, verbs such as *carry out/perform/conduct* prove to be the noun company (Fig. 4).

CARRIED	41	13308	0.31
CONDUCTED	35	2937	1.19
PERFORMED	28	3869	0.72
OBSERVATION	27	2777	0.97
SUBJECTS	27	7614	0.35
SUCCESSFUL	25	10564	0.24
EXPERIMENT	24	3091	0.78

Fig. 4 BNC search for collocations of *n. experiment*

In order to avoid such ‘omnipresent’ verbs and to strive for brevity and conciseness in scientific writing, verb-noun collocations (*make an assessment, make a presentation, make a conclusion*) may be replaced by specific verbs (*assess, present, conclude*) for an improved readability. Cognition verbs found in BULRA corpus (*appear, suggest, seem*) should also be used with care and limit:

4. Overall, although there was some evidence *to suggest* higher risk of IHD morbidity, it was limited.
5. In univariate analysis only two of the factors *appeared to be significantly associated with* the disease free survival (Table 2): T and N staging.
6. We think that a mix of hormones, their interplay with cytokines and the insulin signaling pathway *seem to be responsible for* the metabolic changes occurring during pregnancy.

Over the years academic writing style has been studied by many linguists such as Bell (1995), Swales and Feak (2004), Zeiger (2000), Gustavii (2017) and many others, who recommend the active voice as the more precise, shorter, and clearer alternative to the passive for all parts of the research article but Materials and Methods where it is used to emphasize findings. Thus, the revised versions of the passive sentences from BULRA corpus highlight the main idea (Table 2):

BULRA samples

Revision

7. In order <i>to provide</i> more significant results after Er: YAG laser treatment, further investigation <i>is needed</i> in the future.	Future investigations will provide significant results!
8. Antibiotics and steroids <i>are often used to treat</i> the lesions.	Lesions are often treated with antibiotics and steroids.
9. The method <i>was used</i> as a main and only method with 98% success in conservative dentistry.	This method was 98 % successful in conservative dentistry.
10. Epidural abscess formation with a craniocaudal length of 3.5 cm at this level <i>was observed</i> .	We observed an epidural abscess formation ...

Table 2. Improved readability after passive-to-active transformation

Thus, the external view point on behalf of the researcher is still preferred in the Bulgarian scientific writing and remains the dominant strategy in achieving objectivity. Sentences in the active voice with inanimate agents are the second syntactic option, featured in scientific writing. Contrary to academic writing in Bulgarian, the use of reporting verbs in combination with non-human subjects breaks no grammar conventions:

- | |
|---|
| <p>11. However, our approach accurately <i>predicts</i> whether an emerging pathogen remains below the critical epidemic threshold ($R < 1$).</p> <p>12. Our results <i>indicate</i> that serum iron reflects the iron deficiency and inflammatory activity: the amount of serum iron was significantly higher in healthy controls compared to RA ($P=0.014$) (Table 1), which confirmed the hypoferremia condition in RA patients.</p> <p>13. These data clearly <i>demonstrate</i> that MitoQ not only suppresses release of the active forms of IL-1 beta and IL-18, but also their transcriptional up-regulation.</p> <p>14. Recent research <i>has suggested</i> that cognitive disorders are a persistent trait of mental illnesses such as schizophrenia.</p> |
|---|

5. Results and Discussion

The present analysis showed that past participles, functioning either in predicative adjective patterns or in passive sentences, dominate the MRA texts. Past participles may represent resultative states or actions with a different degree of verbality or stability. In predicative adjective patterns, the verb *be* functions as a main verb with a stative reading and the past participle expresses a property/

state in predication and in passive voice it is used to denote a resultative action (Doykova, Sezova-Nankova 2015). Thus, when a resultative state, a fact, or a completed past action is described, researchers resort to verbal passive and stative resultative constructions (Appendix 1). Predicative adjectives referring to states as being more time-stable than verbs (Haspelmath1994) are also frequent.

The dominant verbs in the INTRA corpus vary slightly in their rank (as per frequency of use) when compared to the BULRA corpus but experimental verbs occupy top positions in both corpora (Table 3). Highly ranked certainty verbs that are found exclusively in BULRA are demonstrate, determine, detect, test, affect, establish, lead, diagnose. Tentative verbs such as recommend, hypothesize, speculate are rarely used.

Rank	BULRA		Rank	INTRA	
	Verb	Frequency		Verb	Frequency
1	use	120	1	study	895
2	increase	109	2	use	763
3	perform	68	3	report	704
4	report	78	4	show	686
5	lead	63	5	associate	560
6	cause	60	6	find	541
7	determine	58	7	increase	522
8	demonstrate	56	8	observe	498
9	show	53	9	include	476
10	observe	51	10	identify	434
11	establish	50	11	perform	409
12	include	47	12	consider	374
13	find	46	13	estimate	317
14	consider	41	14	assess	275
15	suggest	41	15	conduct	264
16	present	39	16	describe	235
17	treat	38	17	obtain	231
18	study	37	18	provide	212
19	occur	32	19	see	204
20	detect	28	20	calculate	201
21	test	24	21	measure	198
22	analyze	24	22	present	186
23	compare	22	23	treat	153
24	present	21	24	analyze	146
25	apply	20	25	indicate	128

Table 3. Top 25 verbs in BULRA and INTRA corpora

The key verbs and predicative adjective constructions, extracted from INTRA corpus demonstrate greater variety and specificity in the separate IMRD sections of the medical research article (Table 4):

Presenting the research topic (Introduction)	investigate, examine, explore, determine, compare, analyze, assess, consider, evaluate, estimate, describe, develop, discuss, see, argue, indicate, hypothesize, concentrate on, focus on, propose, note, report, study, show, attempt to, examine, conduct, provide insight, would be useful, carry out, should be investigated, may be developed, better understand, deal with, aim at, motivate, report, address, validate, review
Experimenting (Materials & Methods)	use, perform, analyze, conduct, test, perform, compute, recruit, select, enroll, choose, include, exclude, allocate, assign, group, divide, randomize, categorize, stratify, obtain, maintain, acquire, carry out, collect, gather, retrieve, assess, evaluate, consider, ascertain, measure, determine, define, detect, explore, calculate, compute, record, examine, classify, estimate, determine, use, apply, employ, present, summarize, express, associate, attempt, illustrate, identify, reveal, conduct, detect, investigate, establish, perform
Reporting (Results)	assess, evaluate, examine, study, explore, compare to/with, contrast, match, characterize, probe, relate, correlate, associate, demonstrate, highlight, test, inform, confirm, ensure, establish, verify, obtain, differ, reduce, be related to, be similar, be different, show, indicate, suggest, reveal, exhibit, illustrate, exemplify, affirm, assert, testify, interpret, define, report, reveal, find, observe, view, review, perceive, regard, approach, study, have, present, perform, summarize, involve, search, survey, inspect, inquire, explore, investigate, identify, check, detect, determine, assess, analyze, calculate, ascertain, provide evidence, employ, utilize, implement
Defending (Discussion)	associate to/with, correlate with, interact with, find, observe, use, explain, demonstrate, indicate, reveal, yield, explore, reason, clarify, confirm, occur, consider, need, examine, investigate, support, present, evaluate, reflect, provide, be consistent with, be attributed to, be applied to, suggest, propose, examine, establish, assume, assess, highlight, include, indicate, agree with, be limited to, be required, be needed, be essential, be bias free, speculate, report, suggest, note, predict, recommend, describe, indicate, emphasize

Concluding	conclude, present, propose, recommend, demonstrate, determine, assess, observe, show, summarize, suggest, serve, enhance, add to, support, find, estimate, identify, influence, contribute, be required, be recommended, be needed, be necessary, be prescribed, be considered, be helpful, be useful, need to, consider, focus (on), believe, think, refer
------------	---

Table 4. Verbs and predicative adjective constructions, INTRA corpus

Bulgarian authors adhere to neutral verbs and few verbs of cognition (consider) occur only in the conclusions section of the MRA. Contrary to the Bulgarian corpus, evaluative, mental and experimental verbs are preferred in INTRA corpus and suggestive of the type of research activities (assess, estimate, consider, indicate, identify). Strong evaluative verbs such as argue, support, confirm, claim, believe, associate, provide, conduct, treat, assess, estimate, indicate are also frequent in INTRA.

Worth mentioning is the similar use of research verbs such as show, report, observe, find, use, perform, analyze, study, include by both groups of researchers which could be attributed to their universal function in scientific discourse. Greater difference is found in the tense choice and verb meaning (suggest vs. propose) which points to certain grammar and lexical issues for further investigation.

6. Conclusions

In the standard four-section structure of the medical research article (Introduction, Methods, Results, and Discussion) a variety of verbs are employed to present the findings and produce a convincing manuscript. The purpose of the corpus-based study was to extract, describe and compare the characteristic use of lexical verbs, non-native speakers overuse or misuse in scientific papers. The set of 120 discipline-specific verbs from the specialized corpus will assist novice writers in their vocabulary development and writing practice. The specificity of the RA genre necessitates conventional choice of grammar and lexis which should be incorporated in the language teaching for specific purposes. The process of expanding the two corpora is on-going with the intention to investigate the variety of structures and the specifics of the MRA genre for effective instruction and course-book design.

References:

- Bell 1995:** Bell L. *Effective Writing: A Guide for Health Professionals*. Copp Clark, University of Michigan.
- Coxhead 2000:** Coxhead A. A New Academic Word List. – *TESOL Quarterly*. 34(2). 213-238.

- Doykova, Seizova-Nankova 2015:** Doykova, I., T. Seizova-Nankova. Identification of the Category of Adjective in English. A Corpus-based Approach. – In: Cheshmedzhieva D. (ed.). *The Global and the Local: Modern Trends in English Studies and Translation*. Shumen: Konstantin Preslavsky University Press. 38-50.
- Granger, Paquot 2009:** Granger S., M. Paquot. February. In search of a General Academic Vocabulary: A Corpus-Driven Study. – In: Charles M., Pecorari D., S. Hunston (eds.). *Academic Writing. At the Interface of Corpus and Discourse*. Continuum. 193-214.
- Gustavii 2017:** Gustavii B. *How to Write and Illustrate a Scientific Paper*. Cambridge University Press.
- Haspelmath 1994:** Haspelmath M. Passive Participles across Languages. – In: Fox B., P. J. Hopper (eds.). *Voice: Form and Function*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 151-177.
- Hyland 2002:** Hyland K. Specificity Revisited: How Far Should We Go Now? – *English for Specific Purposes*. 21(4), 385-395.
- Hyland, Tse 2007:** Hyland K., P. Tse. Is There an “Academic Vocabulary”? – *TESOL Quarterly*. 41(2), 235-253.
- Jirapanakorn 2012** Jirapanakorn N. How Doctors Report: A Corpus-Based Contrastive Analysis of Reporting Verbs in Research Article Introductions Published in International and Thai Medical Journals. – *The Bangkok Medical Journal*. 4, 39-46.
- Langacker 1987:** Langacker R. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar. Vol.1 Theoretical Prerequisites*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Nesselhauf 2005:** Nesselhauf N. *Collocations in a Learner Corpus*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Scott 2012:** Scott M. *WordSmith Tools 6*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Swales, Feak 2004:** Swales J., C. Feak. *Academic Writing for Graduate Students. Essential Tasks and Skills*. The University of Michigan Press.
- Thomas, Hawes 1994:** Thomas S., T. Hawes. Reporting Verbs in Medical Journal Articles. – *English for Specific Purposes*. 13(2).129-148.
- Thompson, Ye 1991:** Thompson G., Y. Ye. Evaluation in the Reporting Verbs Used in Academic Papers. – *Applied Linguistics*. 12(4), 365-382.
- Wang, Liang, Ge 2008:** Wang J, Liang S, G. Ge. Establishment of a Medical Academic Word List. – *English for Specific Purposes*. 27, 442-458.
- Zeiger 2000:** Zeiger M. *Essentials of Writing Biomedical Research Papers*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Internet sources

- Acta Medica Bulgarica. <<https://www.degruyter.com/>>
- Folia Medica. <<https://foliamedica.bg/>>
- Journal of Biomedical and Clinical Research. <<http://jbcr.mu-pleven.bg/>>
- Scripta Scientifica Medica. <<http://press.mu-varna.bg/ojs/index.php/ssm/issue/archive>>
- Trakia Journal of Sciences. <<http://tru.uni-sz.bg/tsj/>>
- BioMedcentral journal. <<https://www.biomedcentral.com>>
- CLAWS C7. <<http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/cgi-bin/claws72.pl>>
- British National Corpus. <<http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/>>

Appendix 1. Passive constructions and predicative adjective patterns in BULRA corpus

[V _{pass}]		[be] +[Adj]
performed (69)	known (17)	be available (34)
increased (20)	conducted (16)	be similar (26)
included (52)	achieved (15)	be necessary (17)
established (47)	indicated (15)	be difficult (15)
determined (45)	obtained (14)	be responsible (13)
considered (39)	evaluated (13)	be useful (10)
treated (36)	expected (13)	be limited (8)
made (30)	affected (12)	be appropriate (7)
applied (29)	assessed (12)	be different (7)
identified (28)	carried out (11)	be crucial (5)
investigated (28)	given (9)	be consistent with (5)
analyzed (27)	examined (8)	be helpful (3)
expressed (27)	accepted (8)	be apparent (2)
described (25)	allowed (8)	be essential (2)
confirmed (25)	processed (8)	
detected (23)	approved (8)	
measured (23)	introduced (8)	
diagnosed (22)	needed (8)	
tested (22)	recommended (7)	
seen (21)	prescribed (7)	
estimated (20)	be required (4)	

Appendix 2. Specific verbs in medical research articles, INTRA corpus

acquire, add, address, affirm, agree, aim, allocate, analyze, apply, argue, assert, ascertain, assess, assign, associate, assume, attempt (to), believe, calculate, carry out, categorize, characterize, check, choose, claim, clarify, classify, collect, compare, compute, contrast, concentrate (on), conclude, conduct,

confirm, consider, contribute, correlate, deal (with), define, demonstrate, describe, detect, determine, develop, differ, discuss, divide, emphasize, employ, enhance, enroll, ensure, establish, estimate, evaluate, examine, exclude, exemplify, exhibit, explain, explore, express, find, focus (on), gather, highlight, hypothesize, identify, illustrate, include, indicate, influence, inquire, inspect, interact (with), interpret, investigate, involve, maintain, measure, motivate, need (to), note, observe, obtain, occur, perceive, perform, present, propose, provide, recommend, recruit, reduce, reflect, report, retrieve, reveal, record, review, search, see, select, serve, show, speculate, stratify, study, suggest, summarize, support, test, testify, understand, use, validate, verify, yield (120)