Studies in Linguistics, Culture and FLT

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АСЕНЕВЦИ

Studies in Linguistics, Culture and FLT

Contents

PREFACE

This first issue of volume 9 of *Studies in Linguistics, Culture, and FLT* titled "Discourses of Change: Language and Literature" encompasses five papers dealing with different aspects of language, comparative linguistics, literature, and journalism.

The issue opens up with a paper on a very specific genre in journalism, i.e. the feature, or artistic radio documentary. Using literary analysis and criticism as well as structural analysis, Natalia Kowalska-Elkader provides a review of the origin of this genre, its subgenres according to their structure and used sound materials. The first more theoretical part of her study is followed by presentations of the various types of feature according to the type of fiction or form. The author offers her own classification distinguishing eight different types of modern drama on the basis of various Polish and foreign radio works to exemplify them.

The issue continues with a paper on the translator's dilemmas in translating poetry. Silvana Kolevska, Sonja Kitanovska-Kimovska, and Daniela Andonovska-Trajkovska analyse two poems by the Macedonian poet Gane Todorovski and their translation equivalents in English. The main focus of analysis is on specific poetic features such as rhyme, rhythm, sound, tropes, word choice and word order and the way they have been handled in translation. The conclusion reached is that the translators have done their best to retain the meaning and the general ideas as well as the rhythm of the original text, however, due to Gane Todorovski's specific style some losses were inevitable.

In "Anorexia Mirabilis Decoded: Rereading Female Corporeal Consumption in Dickens's Angelic Daughters" Hristo Boev reviews three of Dickens's novels, *Dombey and Son*, *David Copperfield* and *Little Dorrit*, in order to challenge the claims made by some feminists that women in Dickens are sacrificed at the expense of men. In his analysis the author compares the texts of the three novels with information from newspapers of the period, medical studies and Victorian culture reviews and comes to the conclusion that Dickens's angelic daughters employ various strategies in order to obtain the best husband for them and thus become a successful patriarchal woman.

Snejana Obeyd provides an overview of the main research methods employed in the study of language. She focuses successively on qualitative, quantitative and mixed-method research describing their characteristics and consistently referring to scholars who have contributed to the formulation of the respective research paradigms. The author also presents some accounts of interesting applications of each of the reviewed approaches by academics from the Department of English Studies at *Konstantin Preslavsky* University of Shumen.

The issue finishes with a paper by Ivaylo Gorchev, a PhD student, who applies a critical discourse analysis on two catastrophic man-caused events in the UK, i.e. the Grenfell Fire disaster, and in Bulgaria, the derailment of freight train in Hitrino, which happened in 2017 and 2016, respectively. The focus of the analysis is on objectivity of presenting the information. To that goal, public inquiries and press conferences are compared to the publications which subsequently appeared in the British and the Bulgarian media.

FEATURE:
A GENOLOGICAL DRAFT

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Abstract: *The genre which is the basis of my research and the subject of analysis in this text is the feature, also called artistic radio documentary. The main aim of the article is to show the variety of features and the possible way to define and understand this genre. The first section describes the origins of this type of program and how it can be defined by European, Australian and American researchers. It also provides the genre pattern of feature divided into four aspects. Later in the text I describe subgenres of contemporary feature based on their structure and used sound materials. The second part of the text focuses on representations of these categories in Polish and foreign productions and tries to classify them according to the type of fiction applied or its form. The employed methods include literary analysis and criticism as well as some elements of structural analysis. The research questions I ask myself are related to the way of creating features, their form and its relation to the content.*

Keywords: *feature, radio documentary, radio art, narration, radio genres*

About the author: *Natalia Kowalska-Elkader, Ph.D. is a radio researcher at the University of Lodz, Poland. Her research is focused on artistic radio and sound art. She is interested in the experimental form of audio art. She has published essays exploring feature genre and its subgenres. Author of two books about the radio feature Forma i treść. Polski i zagraniczny feature radiowy oraz jego odmiany gatunkowe (Łódź 2019) and about the experimental radio stories Historie eksperymentalne. Szkice o gatunkach radia artystycznego (Łódź 2020). Member of the European Communication Research and Education Association (Radio and Sound Section).*

The genre which is the basis of my research and the subject of analysis in this text is the feature. The first section describes the origins of this type of program and how it can be defined, and then the text focuses on representations of this category in Polish and foreign productions, and tries to classify it according to the type of fiction applied.

The essence of the feature is the synthesis of the documentary truth, the perspective of the author and their creative expression. Reality becomes the starting point for creating an artistic program whose form and content are inseparably connected. Melchior Wańkowicz's statement seems to be adequate in this context: "Only when I get the fact [...] it grows, flourishes in synthesis, comparisons, analogies. Fact is a catalyst for my imagination" (Kąkolewski, 1987, p. 9). Facts can trigger the imagination and give the material to create the story. Artistic segments created by the author are not less important or disturbing documentary messages, they are an inherent part of the feature and they can also convey the truth. Wańkowicz distinguished essential and documentary truth: "essential truth, although different from the documentary truth, is not the truth of second quality" (Kąkolewski, 1987, p. 9). The concept of "essential truth" as I understand it is telling a story that will reflect its essence, emotions and atmosphere, not necessarily with the use of a documentary, authentic recordings or cited facts. The feature's resources are infinite, limited only by the imagination of the creator, therefore the key to this genre are such formal audio solutions and the use of all necessary phonic materials that will guarantee the creation of a work of high artistic value while fully presenting the subject discussed.

Feature radio programs derive from both aforementioned forms of radio, allowing free intermingling of them and making full use of the possibilities of radio broadcasting; moving away from extreme mimicry and transferring artistic aspects to the relationship with reality, allowing the use of such elements as: performances, radio drama scenes, music, original montage work or the creation of programs in particular conventions. The centre of gravity is shifted to the aesthetic function of the work. Representations of the genre on radio stations in Western Europe, the United States and Australia often contain fictional elements, and have been enriched artistically. Today all over the world these works are called features, the English term cemented in Germany, South Korea and in Polish research. Among Polish radio producers, like in the early fifties in Germany (Fisher, 1964), not everyone uses the term feature and it is often replaced by artistic radio documentary.

Definitions of the genre: western and Polish perspective

The feature allows you to take full advantage of what radio transmission provides. This means that the resources are endless, and stories can be told in

many ways. In Western Europe, the United States or in Australia, the feature is an extremely popular form, evidenced by, amongst other things, the fact that for 42 years an International Feature Conference has been organized, the buoyant activity of the American Third Coast Festival, the hundreds of submissions to the PocketDocs competition organized by Radio National in Australia, or the long-term tradition of creating this type of work in the BBC. As Kinga Klimczak (2011), a researcher of documentaries, writes, in the West "the radio documentary existed immediately as a kind of artistic program for the selected". From the beginning, in addition to the production of the purely documentary, artistic programs were created. In Poland, Klimczak explains, the situation presented itself differently. Radio documentaries arose "from social need, as a document showing the current needs of the people". The term *feature* has been used in German and English-speaking environments since the beginning of research into the art of radio. In Poland, it is the subject of academic research, and a topic of discussion among practitioners. As Klimczak (2011, p. 70) writes, a feature is what "in documentaries is the most artistic, valuable and elite".

In the Polish understanding of the genre, it is a radio documentary enriched with creative elements, fiction, and different from the social documentary which transmits the truth, tells the true story. This distinction also operates in Western Europe, however, it is not as categorical: "the term feature is often used as a synonym for radio documentary, but there is a certain difference. Although the feature is produced in a similar manner to a documentary, it has a wider range and a larger variety of themes" (Chatterjee, n.d.). This range is associated with several possibilities for narrative, methods of montage and other artistic processes. The difference between these two forms of radio expression are also described by the radio expert Sean Street (2012, p. 4), who argues that the word *documentary* suggests the journalistic origin of the genre, and is not derived from the "impressionist world of sound, which rather plays with the facts rather than describes them". The feature, in Street's view, documents the journey of its creator, and not necessarily reality and facts.

One of the first studies of the genre was conducted by Alfred Andersch, a German writer, author of radio plays, and radio journalist. Discussing works on the borderline of drama and documentary, he wrote:

> The term feature never refers to the content of the object; rather it describes the way it is presented: from the making, the form, the appearance via the facial aspect of a human, and from fashion to the special inducement of newspapers and radio. Thus, the feature represents the form, and not the object in itself, whereby, however, as in the appearance of a man, sometimes the form and content are the same (Andersch, 1953, p. 95)

Andersch therefore suggests implementing this type of audio work with parallel characteristics to feature broadcasts. The emphasis on form ensures that

exemplifications of the genre provide listeners with an aesthetic experience, and that the program requires engagement in the role that the form plays. The artistic values of the works are as important as the objects themselves.

In connection with the number of possibilities and formal solutions, the feature is an internally diverse genre; the form of another genre may be chosen or derived from, it "can cover all possible types of radio transmission. It can possess elements of reports, documentaries, descriptions of social, psychological and political issues. It is a form, an art, its resources are unlimited. It ranges from journalism to poetry, from the rational description to the surreal dream" (Andersch, 1953, p. 95).

The difficulties in defining the genre are described in the introduction to *BBC Features* by the author of the publication, Laurence Gilliam (1950, p. 9), who says that the term *feature* is also used by filmmakers, and for newspaper journalists it means "everything the editor chooses to print beyond the news and comments". In relation to radio programmes, Gilliam defines the feature as "programs, usually documentaries, realized by using different techniques, usually with the use of dramatization and subject to realist montage". Moreover, the feature should be "an expression of the state of mind of its creator, regardless of the techniques used". The aim of this type of program should be to both inform listeners and provide them with entertainment (Gilliam, 1950, p. 9).

The contemporary German documentary maker and radio producer Jens Jarisch, defines the feature as "an audial creation allowing one to re-experience events and the relationships between them" (Jarisch, online). For Jarisch, the essence of the genre is its duality, where the content is documentary, but the form is artistic. From a broader perspective, a feature may therefore consist of everything that is audible, as well as silence (ibid.). This is in accordance with the statement of Andersch that the resources of the feature are unrestricted. With the possibilities of using artistic means, the number of possible subjects also increases. The feature, as Andersch wrote, may refer to almost any problem.

The perception of feature, especially in Poland, often places it between radio documentary and radio drama. This perspective can be called linear: from documentary radio reportage through partially imaginary feature to fictional radio drama. In my opinion, feature's possibilities and resources are bigger than this and what is more, linear thinking is limited. I would like to suggest non-linear understanding of feature and other artistic radio genres in general.

Table 1.
Linear understanding of feature among artistic radio genres.
Own elaboration.

The planetary, non-linear arrangement presented below places feature in the centre of the system to show that all of these kinds of realisations can affect each other and the radio producers can be inspired by all of the forms. Planetary thinking places feature among radio documentary, radio drama and radio experiment. Experimental audio forms are important in general radio analysis. Radio producers often use different narrations and montage tools; stories are interesting due to plot and form. Planetary system shows the variety of feature programs. What is also important is the fact that it can be developed. It is not possible to include every artistic radio form with its varieties in the one graph.

Table 2.
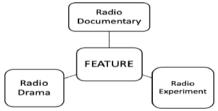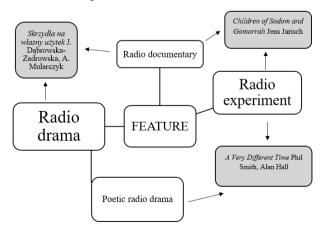*Planetary understanding of artistic radio genres.*
Own elaboration.

Table 3.
Planetary understanding of artistic radio
genres with broadcast examples. Own elaboration.

Documentary radio drama as *Marchwicki* by Michał Turowski could be another link in the system between radio drama and radio documentary. Another way to extend the system has to do with the genre's varieties as poetic radio documentary like *White Contains All Other Colours* by Shenja von Mannstein. Poetic radio documentary is not a straight connection between two artistic radio genres but that is the strength of this system that can be developed in every possible direction without any limitations. Only this kind of understanding of artistic radio genres can reflect their diversity typical for any kind of art.

In the description of the research methodology necessary for the analysis of journalistic genres Maria Wojtak (2004) detailed four aspects of the genre pattern: structural aspect, pragmatic aspect, cognitive aspect and aspect of style. In reference to feature, I understand those components as follows:

1. The structural aspect is connected with a composition of a work, with particular scenes, structural elements and certain – natural and created – voice materials present in the work. It is the whole program, appropriately composed by the author, where all the elements influence each other and constitute the final overtone of the work. The composition of the feature is naturally different in individual realizations and it may resemble the format of other radio genres. Essential in this aspect are artistic values, which I perceive as the author's overriding aim, that their program is a work of art and has aesthetic values. In the feature's implementation, aesthetic acoustic solutions are not always directly related to the category of beauty and harmony of reception, sounds frequently used will be unpleasant for the listener, but these will be the way to the intended artistic effect. For instance, experimental forms do not reject antiaesthetic practices, the creators decide to induce in the recipient "aesthetic disapproval as a component of the artistic effect" (Mukařovský, 1970, p. 77).

2. The pragmatic aspect refers to the purpose of the message, the situation of the recipient and the sender and the illocution potential. This aspect is related to the producer's artistic intention or the desire to tell the story as the primary goal of the broadcast. All features discuss a certain slice of reality and are the programs with a documentary component, but the proportions between real history and artistic message may be different for individual projects, which affects the goal that the author wanted to achieve.

3. The cognitive aspect is understood as the subject of the program and the manner of its presentation, which in artistic and documentary works will be related to documentary elements, presenting a given piece of reality, the true story that the author wants to tell. Regardless of fact that the feaure's example is perceived as artistic or experimental, feature will always convey some truth about the world: a specific character, event, phenomenon or author's own story.

4. The style aspect is related to the sounds used in the work: voice materials, acoustic kitchen, music, conscious use of silence, abstractive and natural sounds. These components are extremely important in works as feature, where form is as important as content. Feature uses all audible means; programs are purely artistic realizations.

Such an understanding of particular aspects gives a complete picture of the genre pattern of the feature, but it is important to remember facts about its variation. As Wojtak stated "I do not treat the genre pattern as a permanent (constant) quality or a measure of the degree of perfection of individual representations" (Wojtak, 2004, p. 18). Particular exemplifications of the genre may take the form similar to radio play, radio documentary or radio experiment, but it is impossible to measure their value and closeness to perfection – for example by the amount of voice materials or artistic means.

The contemporary feature and its subgenres

The composition of an artistic radio work, regardless of genre, consists of content and form, but it is equally important in the feature. The form of the work consists of all elements that help to present the story and are the artistic value scale of the work. This includes editing, the way the program is composed along with all editing activities: transitions between scenes, acoustic kitchen that is the equivalent of visuality, additional acoustic effects that are not necessarily associated with visualizing sounds, but are designed to make the work more interesting. Producers can also provide sound metaphors, which is a kind of audio procedure in which the author – by using it in the right context or with some repetition – gives the sound a meaning it originally did not have.

Such treatments – in high intensity – known mainly from experimental realizations, are used, for example, by Gregory Whitehead in the compilation of *Disorder Speech*, records compilation from 1984-85. Whitehead deforms the voice recording of the sentence *If a voice like, then what?* and experiments with manual editing of tapes (*Eva, can I stab bats in the cave?*). These elements are as important as the words in the recordings and should be analyzed as one whole.

I understand the composition and structure of the work as a system of individual scenes and sounds in the feature. In artistic radio works the arrangement of events often differs from the way of presenting content in radio reports. The listener is not always informed about the staging of the work (*Dreaming of fat men* by Lorelei Harris), the story can be combined with the author's dream description (*Sky Boy* by Hana Walker-Brown), the show may contain fragments of the real story, but it will not be a key element of the message (Gregory Whitehead's *Lovely Ways to Burn*) or the main character does not appear in the

work, the story is presented by the author and actress based on protocols (*On the Shore Dimly Seen* by Gregory Whitehead).

Analysing the components of documentaries and fictional characteristics in contemporary radio productions and the ways of applying both of them, I distinguished eight types of modern feature: staged, author's narration, direct narrative, with elements of drama, acted, hero-author, mosaic and experimental (Kowalska, 2019).

Table 4.
Feature's subgenres. Own elaboration.

Narration and narrator as a distinctive element	Actor as a distinctive element	Structure as a distinctive element

• Author's narration
• Direct narrative
• Hero-author
	• Acted
	• With elements of radio drama
		• Staged:
		  • Based on primary written word
		  • Based on arranged meeting
		• Experimental
		• Mosaic

The author's narrative feature is one of the more popular forms. In works of this kind there appear the author's narration parts. The reporter can comment on the situation, add things, locate the action. The narrative parts are not spoken spontaneously, but prepared well in advance by the author. This type of process is used by Katarzyna Michalak, among others, in the programmes *Mijając Ewę (Passing Eve)* and *Jakiś Inny (Some others),* as well as by the British creator of radio documentaries, Hana Walker-Brown, in her radio show *Bluebelle: The Last Voyage.*

Creators introducing narration to their works sometimes decide to use direct narration – direct narrative feature. In this type of work there are also pre-prepared narrative parts, however, they are spoken by the protagonists of the work, not by their author. These are elements associated with the re-spoken word. In the program *My Lobotomy*, dedicated by David Isay to Howard Dully, who as a young boy underwent surgical lobotomy, it is as if the listener is carried along Dully's journey by the narrated parts, the program consists of narrative statements giving rhythm to the entire story, as well as Dully's spontaneous conversations with other patients, their families and the son of the doctor who carried out the treatment.

Another example of this kind of work is *Man at the Beer Café* by Susanne Björkman. The author made her feature at the bar where a man was spending his time alone. The protagonist opens himself in front of the reporter and confides during the recording. The recording was not planned, the author was not scheduled at the 'Beer Cafe' in Malmö with her interlocutor, but their unexpected meeting resulted in an interesting program. The unusual design of the feature consists in the fact that despite the spontaneous meeting, the man's monologue bears the hallmarks of a direct narration.

In his first words, the hero says: "You are a lonely man. You have few friends. And those you have... you cannot be in touch with them, it's impossible, that's the truth [...]. You have to run away somewhere, you have to go out, you cannot always sit in the room and stare. You don't know where you should go". The remark to the addressee and a coherent narrative of the statements do not resemble spontaneous conversation. What is more, the program does not tell a specific story, the plot does not aim at the climax, it is rather a self-portrait of a lonely man. After fragments formulated in the second person, the protagonist begins to express himself in the first person and he says: "I go to the beer cafe, the people who sit there are probably half-drunk, some probably more. But still... I have nowhere to go. I don't have to step in between them, but I sit down with a pint of beer and drink. I am reading a newspaper. Or something like that". First-person statements combine with those formulated in the second person, the man continues: "When you sit there for quite a while, you cannot afford a drink anymore. You know, it's quite expensive. Then stroll back home, at least something happened today. Yeah…". The narrative statements of the protagonist fulfill the phatic function of narration in the work, as the only voice material undoubtedly also has an aesthetic role.

Creativity in radio programs with a documentary nature may also appear in the form of staged situations. Radio documentary in its classic form does not allow elements of fictional or "artificially" created situations; everything the reporter records should happen naturally. But producers often decide to create the situation or base the whole story on diaries or letters. Lorelei Harris, Irish author of artistic radio documentary, created two features that show the way feature can be staged.

The feature *Dreaming of Fat Men* was produced for the Irish station RTÉ Radio 1 in 1995 and was awarded with perhaps the most important radio award – the Prix Italia; its author is considered to be one of the most significant, important artists in the world of radio. *Dreaming of Fat Men* is a radio program with an interesting form – an audio recording of the feast of four women was supplemented by their statements directly into the microphone. The meeting of the protagonists was arranged by the author, and for the duration of the feast the radio studio was transformed into a restaurant rich in gourmet food. It is

the arranging of this meeting – and thus its staging, creating a situation – that makes the work qualify as an example of the genre in question. The women who were the heroines of the program would not have met spontaneously, would not have sat down to dinner together, if it had not been for Harris inviting them to the studio.

Another piece of Harris's I would like to mention is *Love Letters from the Front*. This program tells the love story of an English soldier and an Irish woman. Eric, shortly after their meeting each other, was sent to the front, from where he wrote letters to Phyllis. They exchanged about 200 letters from 1914 to 1916, when Eric died of his injuries. The correspondence was found in a British Library and became the basis of the show. The letters are read by actors incarnating the roles of Phyllis and Eric, and the lines are therefore authentic, this story really happened, but was restored by using theatrical methods. Given the fact that the letters were not altered by the creator of the broadcast, their content was not rewritten in the form of a script, the whole program has a documentary character, not theatrical.

Both programmes discussed so far were therefore staged, the first, in the form of a created situation, while the other, entirely in textual narrative, previously written down, but not spontaneously spoken into the microphone, as in the case of a radio documentary.

The feature is sometimes enriched, as I have already pointed out in the introduction, by elements of drama (feature with elements of drama): such items appear in the radio documentaries *Modlitwa Zapomnianej (Forgotten Prayer)* and *Złoty Chłopak (Golden Boy)* by Katarzyna Michalak. In the latter, the drama happens at the beginning, where there is a short dramatized scene carrying the listener into the world of the work's main protagonist, Abraham Tuszyński. The story begins with a dialogue between two actors, for whom the action takes place in the 1920s, a period in which Abraham Tuszyński founded a famous cinema:

> Woman: Hey, why are you not looking at the screen?
>
> Man: Just look at their faces.
>
> Woman: Whose?
>
> Man: The spectators. They look completely different than in the daylight. No one is tired, anxious, angry …
>
> Woman: Well they're in the cinema.
>
> Man: Yes, in the cinema. Only in the cinema are dreams fulfilled.

The author uses radio drama to give a voice to the main character of the story. A similar situation occurs in a documentary telling the story of Tekla Bądarzewskiej-Baranowska, *Modlitwa Zapomnianej (Forgotten Prayer)*:

in dramatized scenes carrying the listener to hero's contemporary times, the obituary of the artist is read, a scene is also acted out where the young composer the composer asks for an opinion on her works.

These elements enrich the message, so it has a greater influence on the imagination of the listener. Naturally important and interesting for the audience was also the appearance of the protagonists of the documentaries. Both works are about people born in the nineteenth century, so the use of voice actors was the only option.

An actor can also appear in the role of one of the protagonists, which can be called an acted feature. In this variation of the *feature*, the protagonist is played by an actor, and a common reason for the use of this form is the making of programs about people who are dead, which was the case with *Black Roses: The Killing of Sophie Lancaster* by Susan Roberts.

The actor playing the protagonist can also appear in the role of the hero in the drama scenes. Is it an acted feature or maybe feature with elements of radio drama with extended monologues? This double-role was present in Zygmunt Jabłoński's *Great Network* produced in Polish Radio in 1961. The distinction between varieties in this case will be based on the rule of unity of time and place of action. Monologues may be an extension of the stage or a separate voice material. Thematic separateness between monologues and drama scenes creates the mosaic composition of the work as it took place in *Great Network*.

The author is usually a reporter, a producer of audio works. However, it can happen that some or all of the recordings are made by the protagonist. In the protagonist-author feature there are recordings that have been made by the protagonist of the work. The impetus for their creation may be the desire to preserve certain situations, conversations or the need to create audio letters. *Letters to Butchie* is a radio show in which audio letters are recorded by a mother, Jeannie Reilly, to her son, though the author of the broadcast is David Isay. The impetus for the recording of certain situations or words may be to transfer them to another person. This was the case with Jeannie Reilly, the protagonist of *Letters to Butchie*, a woman who abandoned her child, and the recordings – as its title suggests – were audio letters from a mother to her son.

The hero-author features are perhaps the most intimate kind of message. Recordings can be made completely without the participation of a reporter, whose role in this case is to select recordings and arrange them from the right composition. The radio producer can also provide the hero with temporary recording equipment and only some part of the recordings will be made by the protagonist. Another way to produce this subgenre of feature is to create a program about the reporters themselves. An example of this type of work is *The*

Ground We Lived On by Adrian Nicole LeBlanc and Sarah Kramer, where the protagonist and the author of the recordings is Adrian Nicole LeBlanc.

The creators of features including several types of fiction in a mosaic feature. In contrast to the works referred to as experimental, the fabrications or fictional elements do not dominate the program, rather they complete it. The mosaic feature is a syncretic subgenre of feature. This kind of work combines several types of varieties, which I discussed in the previous parts of this article. Artistically advanced productions often use several types of creation, the most common element appearing in this type of work is the author's narrative combined with other forms of fiction.

A work of this type is *Dada à gogo* by Maidon Bader. The author, in addition to a coherent story, conveys to the listener the possibilities offered by a radio feature: non-standard montage, the introduction of an actor and the repetition of certain issues. All the methods used by her are intended as reflections on the theme of the works of Dadaism.

A contemporary example of a work with an experimental nature may be *Lovely Ways to Burn* produced by Gregory Whitehead in 1990 for New American Radio. It is a 'documentary hybrid' (DP, 2012), in which three stories are told: a story based on a scenario of electroconvulsive therapy, an interview with a girl who has been burned and comments on the phenomenology of fire. The narrative is non-linear; the stories are not told chronologically. On a number of occasions, you can hear the song *Fever*. Throughout the duration of the song you can hear the troubling sounds of electric shocks.

The whole narrative seems to be inconsistent, non-linear, the statement of a man on the medical use of electroshock treatment is suddenly interrupted by a few second-long recordings during which you can hear the sounds of an electric shock and muffled cries, but *Lovely Ways to Burn* also tells a story. The stories are not told in a simple, logical way, but still you can tell what the work involves. The memories of the girl are – necessary in a documentary – a real element, and the story about electroshock treatment was unfolded on the basis of a script. The third component of the programme, concerning the phenomenology of fire, is an artistic and metaphorical supplement.

I view Whitehead's work as the 'final' form of this genre. In search of the limits of the genre, I could find no programme that would have even greater artistic and aesthetic value while maintaining a connection with reality, and thus – with documentary.

Conclusion

On the basis of Polish radio studies and radio journalism, the term feature is becoming more recognizable and more often used. The concept of artistic

documentary is still also applied interchangeably. Polish definitions of the genre refer to the presence of fictitious elements, while British and American researchers analysing and defining the genre seem to emphasize the creative intentions of the reporter and the innovative form of programmes. The dual definition makes it difficult to classify the genre of individual programmes.

The planetary understanding of artistic radio genres proposed by me in the first part of the article is the result of feature's variety. In all these forms we have to – to use this paradoxical statement – deal with fiction in the service of truth. Truth means full authenticity and faithful reflection of reality. However, especially in the context of art, it often becomes a pretext for the author to tell a story or describe their emotions, without extreme mimicry and overarching purpose in the form of reporting a certain phenomenon.

The feature as a genre is internally very diverse. Within it there are programmes with a significant share of fiction, or those almost identical to a radio documentary, experimental forms, and forms which lie on the boundaries. Since in this type of programme form is as important as content, the individual creator of the work becomes crucial, giving shape to a true story.

The way in which the elements of fiction, both created and staged, are applied to a work based on a real story, is a matter for individual radio creators. The feature, located between documentary, experiment and radio drama, can approach the form of those three genres; the proportions between the elements which are non-fictional, imagined or staged are individual to every work.

The fictitious components that are the basis of feature's categories discussed in the paper, are a formal representation of the artist's artistic composition. The essence of the feature is the synthesis of the documentary truth, the perspective of the author and their creative expression. Reality becomes the starting point for creating an artistic programme where form and content are inseparably connected. The facts triggered the imagination and become the material to create the story. Artistic segments created by the author are no less important or disturbing documentary messages, they are an inherent part of the feature and can also convey the truth.

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TRANSLATORS' DILEMMAS IN TRANSLATING POETRY: THE CASE OF GANE TODOROVSKI'S POETRY IN ENGLISH

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Abstract: *Poetry translation is considered the most challenging type of translation. Translators are faced with many dilemmas as they work on several different levels simultaneously in an attempt to preserve in the target language as many features of a particular poem as possible. This is not an easily achievable aim, especially, if the poems are products of a poetic mastermind who skilfully juggled with a range of poetic features.*

The study at hand aims to analyse the treatment that the poetry of one such poetic genius, Gane Todorovski, received when rendered from Macedonian into English. More precisely, given the profound differences between Macedonian and English, the study investigates how specific poetic features such as rhyme, rhythm, sound, tropes, word choice and word order have been handled in the translation. It also tries to provide answers to several common translators' dilemmas that obligatorily emerge in the process of poetry translation.

The study shows that the translators of Gane Todorovski's poetry have been fully aware of the poetic qualities of the original poems and have made every effort to preserve them in the translation, although some losses were practically unavoidable.

Key words*: translation, poetry, lexis, tropes, rhyme*

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Introduction

Poetry is one of the most intricate literary genres. Its uniqueness stems from the delicate web of a number of distinct features such as sound, lexis, marked/ condensed syntax, poetic imagery, tropes, rhyme, rhythm, etc., intended to challenge the readers' senses; to invoke powerful images in their mind; to elevate their spirit; to provoke them to experience strong emotions; to inspire them, as well as to delight them.

Or as Jones (2011, pp. 1-2) put it:

> …poems typically have one or more of the following features: they use 'marked' language; they have some type of regular linguistic patterning; they exploit the sounds, semantic nuances or associations of words, and not just semantic meanings; they convey meanings beyond the 'propositional content' (i.e. the surface semantics) of the words and grammar; they can give intense emotional, spiritual or philosophical experience to their readers and listeners; and they have high social and cultural status.

The process of writing poetry has always been accompanied by another equally important process – translation of poetry. Translating poetry, in fact, has been a universally accepted practice for more than 2000 years. The work of poetry translators is complex and wide-ranging, but it has rich real-world effects too (Jones, 2011, p. 4). Thus, poetry translation has established itself as a noble act with which numerous masterfully written poems have been made accessible to new audiences. As a consequence, it has contributed to the enrichment of world literatures and it can even be credited with bringing distinct cultures closer together. Evidently, poetry translation helps not just the source-language community to assert itself internationally, but it also benefits the receptor culture, as it serves as a means of revitalizing one's own poetry (Mao, 1922/2004 in Jones, 2011, p. 7).

Poetry translation necessitates working on several levels simultaneously – phonological, lexical, semantic, syntactic, literary or aesthetic, and cultural – with the aim of retaining the same emotions and the same invisible message and, as a result, eventually, achieving the same effect in the TL as in the SL (Arsova-Nikolikj, 1999).

The general belief is that in order to deal with the complicated task of poetry translation translators need to be poets themselves, or at the very least, they should have a deep poetic sensitivity and immense appreciation of poetry (Landers, 2001). Poetry translators are typically concerned with interpreting the different layers of meaning of a source poem; relaying this interpretation reliably, and/or "creating a poem in the target language which is readable and enjoyable in its own right, with merit as an independent, literary text" (Phillips, 2001, pp. 23-24; Boase-Beier, 2004, pp. 25-26; Lefevere, 1975; Honig, 1985, p.

177; Flynn, 2004, pp. 281-282; Jones, 2006a in Jones, 2011, p. 3). Proficiency in the target and source language and culture is a core requirement for poetry translators. Moreover, close familiarity with all poetic intricacies and delicacies is mandatory for all who set out to translate poetry. Bennani (2011, p. 136) provides a neat description of the basic requirements that translators should meet in order to translate poetry successfully:

> The translator of poetry must be fluent in and sensitive to the source language; he must know the source language's cultural matrices, its etymologies, syntax, and grammar, as well as its poetic tradition. He must culturally and politically identify himself wholeheartedly with the original poet. He must penetrate the exteriority of the original text and lose himself in its intertextuality. To make the translation become a poem, the translator must also meet successfully the expectations and sensibilities of the poetic tradition of the target language. Thus, the most successful translators of poetry are frequently those who happen to be bilingual and bicultural and, above all, poets in the target Language.

Bearing this in mind, it seems quite reasonable to infer that the task of translators is sometimes harder than that of poets – while the poet creates, the translator recreates and his choices are "limited and dictated by someone else whose priorities were self-imposed" (Bennett, 2001, p. 3).

The aim of this study is to discuss the translation of Gane Todorovski's poetry into English. For the purposes of this study, two poems from his collection of translated poems in English (Todorovski, 1976) were subjected to a detailed analysis. The translated poems were studied alongside with their original Macedonian counterparts. The analysis focuses on the following poetic features: rhyme, rhythm, sound (alliteration, consonance, assonance, etc.), tropes (metaphors, simile, hyperbole, personification, etc.), lexis (culture specific terms, neologisms and archaisms), and word order. The purpose was to determine how these have been handled in the translation, given the profound differences between Macedonian and English.

Theoretical background

Is poetry translation possible?

Translation theorists still cannot reach a consensus on whether translation of poetry is a possible or impossible undertaking. Those who view it as an "impossible task" claim that poetry is "what is lost in the translation" (Frost, 1969 in Dastjerdi et. al, 2008) and call it "the art of the impossible" (Landers, 2001). The "untranslatability" of poetry is attributed to the impossibility to recreate an exact replica of the original poem in a different language. Namely,

due to linguistic and cultural differences, poetry 'suffers' inevitable distortions in lexis, sense, syntax, sound, structure, etc., when rendered into the target language, and, in most cases, ends up either in a compressed or expanded form (Lefevere, 1975, p. 384).

Conversely, the proponents of the opposite stance insist that all barriers in poetry translation can be adequately addressed (Arsova-Nikolikj, 1999, p. 244). They acknowledge that some aspects of a poem may be lost in the process of translation, but still that should not avert translators from translating the poem. In that respect, the process of poetry translation is sometimes compared to a bowl of water which if "moved from sink to table, some water may spill and be lost"; however, the goal of the translator should be "to keep as much water in the bowl as possible" (Bennett, 2001, p. 1). Some even go further and argue that there is nothing really "lost" in poetry translation; on the contrary, there is always something "gained" by the birth of a text which will not merely be a replica of the original but will have the ability to achieve a sort of equivalence to the source language text (Benjamin, 1968, p. 76 in Tisgam, 2014).

Major problems in translating poetry

The translation of poetry from the source to the target language and culture entails a transfer of a long list of features intrinsic to poetry. According to Kjulavkova (1989), the figurative features of poetry are marked by the use of three types of stylistic devices: phono-morphological (assonance, alliteration, onomatopoeia, parallelisms like anaphora, epiphora, etc.), syntactic (inversion, ellipsis, asyndeton, polysyndeton, etc.) and semantic (metaphor, personification, allegory, epithet, etc.). In addition, there are the versification features such as rhyme, rhythm, number of stanzas, number of lines per stanza, etc., as well as the choice of lexis. These will be briefly discussed in this section from the point of view of the challenges they present for the translator.

Sound is one of the crucial aesthetic factors in poetry, but, at the same time, it can be extremely troublesome. The sound aspect of poetry subsumes combinations of sounds that generate sound effects known as assonance, consonance, alliteration, onomatopoeia, etc. The translator's task is to retain these sound-related features of poems in the translated texts as much as possible. However, translation practice shows that since the semantic value of a poem is normally considered cardinal, in most cases, the importance of sound is diminished and sound is sacrificed in the translation process (Newmark, 1981). The only exception is made when the entire beauty of the poem is deemed to lie in the sound effects, and in such circumstances, the translator is bound to preserve them regardless the cost.

The unusual or marked **word order** is yet another intrinsic feature of poetry which contributes to the creation of meaning of poems. The inversion as well as

the repetition of certain words, phrases, and even entire sentences is a frequent phenomenon in poetry (Arsova-Nikolikj, 1999, p. 243), and should be adequately dealt with in the translation as failure to do so could trigger loss in both the meaning and the aesthetic value of the poem.

The soul of poetry lies in the use of **figurative language**, or the so-called **metaphorical mode of expression** that transcends traditional semantic limitations of language (Landers, 2001). Figurative language gives rise to ambiguity and polysemy; this, in turn, leads to many possible layers of interpretation. For translators to render metaphors, similes, personification, hyperbole, etc., in the target language can be particularly tricky, as these too are often language- or culture-specific. The choice then is either to find a trope in the target language that conveys an equivalent meaning or feeling, or to translate it in a way that allows the reader to see the same correlation between the components of the original trope, and the images contained in it (Creativeblogger, 2016).

Rhyme is another aspect of poetry that very frequently presents translators with "unsurmountable" obstacles. Intended to bind lines together in stanzas, and to help in organizing the structure of the poem (Arsova-Nikolikj, 1999, p. 243), rhyme presents translators with a double challenge – to find rhyming words in the target language to replace the ones used in the source text, and, at the same time, to preserve the same semantic meaning of the words. Translation practice shows that almost any attempt to preserve the rhyme pattern of the original is bound to trigger certain alterations in terms of the number/gender of nouns; word class; word order; or even the choice of lexis (Arsova-Nikolikj, 1999, p. 248).

Another important aspect of poetry is **rhythm**, i.e. the interchangeable use of stressed and unstressed syllables per line (Arsova-Nikolikj, 1999, p. 243). Reproducing the same rhythmical pattern or meter in the translated text can be extremely challenging as in each language, the accent, number or length of syllables in words vary to a certain extent. Hence, the consensus reached among scholars is that the poetry should be translated in the rhythmical pattern acceptable in the target language, not in the rhythmical pattern used in the original poem which is typical of poetry writing in the source language.

Finally, the **choice of lexis** is also of paramount importance in poetry as it is marked by a frequent usage of peculiar lexemes such as archaisms or neologisms (Arsova-Nikolikj, 1999, p. 243). It is sometimes difficult to preserve these in the target text, and that, in turn, affects the beauty and the form of the translation (Tisgam, 2014). Poetry translators often struggle hard with culture-bound words or expressions which present yet another common décor of numerous poems (Jafari & Karimnia, 2015). In translating culture-bound words and expressions, they may choose from a wide range of procedures: literal translation, transference, naturalization, cultural equivalent, functional

equivalent, description equivalent, classifier, componential analysis, deletion, couplets, notes, addition, glosses, reduction, and synonymy (Newmark, 1988).

Translation methods used in poetry translation

Although poetry translation is frequently compared to "an unanalysed black box", Lefevere (1992) identified a number of translation methods which poetry translators have at their disposal depending on what their priority is. These include phonological translation, literal translation, rhythmic translation, translation into prose, translation into rhymed poetry, translation into poetry without rhyme (blank verse), and interpretive translation. Lefevere points to the fact that in the past the most prevalent method was translating rhymed poetry; in contemporary times, however, poetry is commonly translated into prose, as translators are more concerned with the meaning than with the other poetic aspects.

Nevertheless, practice shows that the final versions of translated poems rarely fall into one of the archetypes proposed by Lefevere, as translated poems are usually hybrid in nature (Jones, 2011). A relevant point to be mentioned in this context is that the choice of the translation method/s, to a great extent, depends on what the target audience expects and regards as poetry (Landers, 2001).

Translator's dilemmas

Confronted with such a wide range of challenges and possibilities for the selection of a translation method, according to Savory (1957 in Popovska, 2004, p. 25) the translator faces six dilemmas:

1. Should translation give the words of the original or should translation give the ideas of the original?
2. Should translation read like an original work or should translation read like a translation?
3. Should translation reflect the style of the original or should translation reflect the style of the translator?
4. Should translation read as a contemporary of the original or should translation read as a contemporary of the translator?
5. May translation add to or omit from the original or translation may never add to or omit from the original?
6. Should verse lines be translated in prose or should verse lines be translated in verse?

In this paper we will try to see how these dilemmas have been resolved in the poems under study.

Purpose and methodology

Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to provide an analysis of the translations of Gane Todovorski's poems into English in order to see how the translators have solved the challenges posed by the various poetic features of Todorovski's poetry. The key question of the study is how the translators have solved the thorny dilemmas of poetry translation given the significant linguistic, cultural and historical gaps between the source and the target language.

Sample

The study is based on two poems from Gane Todorovski's *Poems* collection, published in England in 1976 and translated by Ljubica Todorova-Janešlieva and Graham Reid: "Љубовна" (Ljubovna), originally published in 1964, and its translation "Love Song", and "Во доцна пролет кон Нерези" (Vo docna prolet kon Nerezi), originally published in 1956, and its translation "Towards Nerezi in late spring" (see Appendix).

These two poems were selected, first and foremost, for the translation challenges they offer. The former is a lyrical love poem with a very neat and precise versification, with a clear structure of stanzas and rhyme scheme. It also makes extensive use of metaphorical language, including metaphor, simile and personification. The latter, a patriotic poem in which the poet celebrates certain aspects of his/her homeland, is challenging on the lexical plane. It is marked with a truly ingenuous language use with a range of neologisms and archaisms. In short, the selection of these poems is made based on the poetic features they are characterized with: rhyme, rhythm, sound (alliteration, consonance, assonance, etc.), tropes (metaphors, simile, hyperbole, personification, etc.), lexis (culture specific terms, neologisms and archaisms), and word order. Given the linguistic and cultural differences between English and Macedonian, the aim of the study is to analyze how the translators have handled these "troublesome" poetic features when transferring them from Macedonian into English, i.e. what they have sacrificed and what they have managed to preserve in the translation.

Methodology

Our research follows Popovska's analysis approach (2004, pp. 8-9). First, we provide a short analysis of the original text and its significance. Then we provide a selected, but thorough comparison between the original and the translation, putting special emphasis on the differences. Finally, we analyse the effect achieved in terms of what is gained and what is lost and comment on the translation as a whole.

The research is limited to the two poems mentioned above because it is solely qualitatively oriented without any quantitative pretensions. Nevertheless, despite its limited scope, the detailed analysis and the findings are sufficiently indicative of the overall translation approach employed by the translators in dealing with the translational challenges.

Analysis and results

Gane Todorovski's poetry

Gane Todorovski (1929-2010) is a Macedonian poet, translator, professor, essayist, literary critic, historian and publicist. He belongs to the third generation of Macedonian poets and writers. He authored 10 collections of poems, 7 publications of literary studies and criticism and many publicist writings. His poetic code is specific and recognizable due to his neo-archaisms ("Todorovski turns to the spoken language, to the vernacular, in order to renew the lexis in his poetry" (Blaze Koneski in Vangelov, 1993, p. 72)) and neologisms, rhyme and rhythm, metaphorical epithet, assonance, alliteration and paronomasia, but also due to his love, patriotic and metapoetic motifs which are embodied in naturalistic, highly aesthetic descriptions, frequent apostrophes and rhetorical questions. Todorovski's lyric elements are "fluid, metaphorically enigmatic and have clear significations of existential drama" (Drugovac, 1990, p. 58). According to Gjurchinov, Todorovski makes the greatest impression with his linguistic filigree skills: "…his linguistic filigree skills have reached perfection expressing all the ranges of trembling, mellifluous, fragile poetic melody" (Gjurchinov, 1983, p. 84). A number of well-known literary critics have written about him including Miodrag Drugovac (2006, pp. 351-354), Atanas Vangelov (1993), Milan Gjurchinov (2006, pp. 355-360), Branko Varoshlija (2006, pp. 365-368), Gjeorgji Stardelov (2006, pp. 377-380), Vele Smilevski (2006, pp. 387-390), Rade Siljan (2006, pp. 13-28), Luan Starova (2006, pp. 379-393), Ante Popovski (2006, pp. 381-383), Paskal Gilevski (2006, pp. 573-579), to name but a few. Gane Todovorski's poetry has been translated into English and other foreign languages.

Analysis of "Love Song" vs. "Ljubovna"

As the title of the poem suggests, the poet dedicates this poem to his beloved, i.e. to the feeling of love he and his lover cherish towards each other. In the entire poem this feeling of love or the poet's infatuation is metaphorically compared to a river. More specifically, just like a river, whose water supply changes throughout the year across the different seasons, their love also has its own swings – at one point it is strong and intense, but then, for some reason, it withdraws and is gone for a while. The poet is clearly not destitute because

of this changeable state of their love; in fact, he is so positive about their love that he describes it as "endless", and as a story without an end, i.e. without an epilogue.

As to **the sound effects**, some of the lines in the original are marked for alliteration (repetition of the initial consonant sound). In the translation the alliteration is mostly lost (e.g. 1); although, some attempts to compensate for that loss via alternative sounds and sound effects are noted (e.g. 2, e.g. 3). Example 1 also displays paronomasia with similar-sounding words, which is not preserved in the translation.

e.g. 1 *та **п**алави и **п**лави*   *And romps and flood*

e.g. 2 *Догледање! До прва пролет!*   *Farewell! **T**ill **t**he coming spring!*

e.g. 3 *што мени лика лете*   *which **a**lters its **a**ppearance in summer*

Regarding **the word order**, due to the significant differences between English and Macedonian syntax, the word order in the translated text is partly altered (e.g. 4, e.g. 5, e.g. 6).

e.g. 4 *Епилог нашата драма нема*   *Our story lacks an epilogue*

e.g. 5 *што едно влече, друго носи,*   *which takes one thing away and brings another*

e.g. 6 *та, како питач капка проси*   *beggar-like **it** craves a drop*

In the examples above extracted from the original poem, the object is displaced from its usual position, which is after the verb. Since the emphasis is placed on the object, these sentences are marked syntactically and, hence, stylistically. Although this same movement ('topicalization') is possible in English, still it is not applied in the translation of this poem. The translators obviously preferred to observe the regular SVOCA rule instead, according to which the object comes immediately after the verb.

Another visible difference was detected in relation to the subject. Namely, in Macedonian, the subject can be omitted as the information it carries regarding the doer of the action is encoded in the verb itself via a suffix attached to the verb. The poet clearly opted for this option in some of his lines. In the English translation, however, the subject is overtly stated, as subjectless sentences are practically impossible in English even in the realm of poetry where the syntactic rules could be much more easily bent and disrespected (see e.g. 7).

e.g. 7 *кога сме најмногу здрави!*   *when **we** are in the best of health!*

The figurative language use in the poem is marked by an underlying 'river' metaphor with which the poet's love/lover is compared to a river, which, at one point, is completely dry that it begs for a drop of water, and, then, at another point, it is noisy and full of water, ready to overflow (e.g. 8). The 'river' metaphor is completely retained in the translation as well.

e.g. 8 *Таа е бучна, кога е полна,*	*When full it is full of noise*
та палави и плави –	*And romps and flood –*
таква е нашата љубов: болна	*Such is our love: ailing*

The poet upholds the overarching 'river' metaphor with several instances of simile which are also neatly preserved in the translated text (e.g. 9, e.g. 10, e.g. 11).

| e.g. 9 *Епилог нашата драма нема,* | *our story lacks an epilogue* |
| *таа е бескрај, **ко река*** | *it is endless **as the river is*** |

| e.g. 10 *та, **како** питач капка проси* | *and beggar-like it craves a drop* |

e.g. 11 *Ќе дотрчаш **ко река**,*	*You will come running **like a river***
за да оживееш опустен голет,	*Bringing life to the bare hillside*
дарежна, топла, мека...	*Generous, warm ad soft ...*

Speaking of the figurative language used, apart from the abovementioned metaphors and similes, the author uses personification as well. Namely, by stating that their love is ailing, the poet evidently ascribes human-like features to their inconstant love (see e.g. 8). Generally, the personification is preserved in the translation, apart from example 3, where the translators have opted for the word "appearance" rather than "face".

In terms of its **versification features**, the original poem comprises four stanzas, i.e. four quatrains, and has a very neat and regular ABAB rhyme pattern. In the English translation, the four quatrain scheme is preserved; however, the rhyme is completely lost. Evidently, for the translators it was much more salient to preserve the semantic content of the poem than to replicate the rhyme pattern. Regarding the rhythm, the original and the translation have different rhythmical patterns, as illustrated by e.g. 8. Whereas the original meter is: dactyl, trochee, dactyl, trochee/secundus paeon, amphibrach/ dactyl, dactyl, trochee, trochee; the translation of the same verse lines displays the following meter: iamb, anapest, iamb/iamb, iamb/ trochee, trochee, spondee. This may be reasonably expected in view of the differences between English and Macedonian pronunciation and stress distribution.

As far as **the word choice** is concerned, there is a clear attempt on the part of the translators to achieve almost complete faithfulness. Still, in the translated text, few instances of lexical "infidelity" emerge. Thus, for example, there is no doubt that the use of the word "драма" (drama/play) in the original poem was purposefully selected, as "drama" is frequently used in the context of love relationships, especially, when things between the love partners go sour and they do irrational things. In this case it is used to allude to the changeable nature of their love, which is marked by ups and downs – happy moments and disappointments. For some reason, the translators decided to downplay this specific allusion and replaced the word "drama" with a more neutral term, "story". Then, the verb "проси" (to beg), in the English translation is rendered as "crave", a verb that carries a completely different semantic load and evokes

a completely different imagery than its original counterpart. Similarly, the verb "влече" (to drag) is rendered as "takes away". This word choice in the translation distorts slightly the original meaning and poetic imagery as well, because dragging implies using force and trying to control someone/something that opposes that force; whereas, the phrasal verb "take away" simply implies removing, i.e. displacing someone/something from its original position.

Speaking of word choice, Gane Todorovski is well known for his creative language use, i.e. for the frequent recourse to both archaisms and neologisms. In this specific poem, two instances of neologisms were detected. These are the verb "палави" which is, in fact, a result of the word formation process of conversion since the word already exists in Macedonian as an adjective meaning "naughty". In this context, the verb "палави" has found a perfect counterpart in the English verb "romp". The other instance of a neologism is the noun "голет", used to refer to a hillside which is barren or completely deforested. The noun "голет" is clearly derived by means of the word formation process of derivation, where the adjective "гол", meaning "nude/naked", is taken as a root to which the suffix "ет" is added. In the English translation, a neutral term, "bare hillside", is used in its stead, which clearly lacks the peculiarity of the original expression. The verb "мени" (to change), on the other hand, illustrates the author's inclination towards using archaic words. In the contemporary Macedonian language, this verb is completely substituted by a similar verb, "менува". The same is the case with the noun "лете" (summer) which is used in the poem instead of its standard Macedonian equivalent - "лето". These nuances are not rendered in the translation.

Analysis of "Vo docna prolet kon Nerezi" vs. "Towards Nerezi in late spring"

In this poem, the poet depicts the landscape of a beautiful site suitable for relaxation called Nerezi, located near the capital city – Skopje. He provides a picturesque description of the hilly terrain as well as the view it provides of the plain and the capital city below. Apart from the description of the beautiful nature, the poet widens the scope of the poem and inserts subtle references to certain social aspects related to that place. In fact, he briefly hints at its historic past, and, then, brings to the forefront contemporary aspects related the local inhabitants and their way of life.

This poem does not abound with **sound effects**. Our analysis has identified only two instances of alliteration (e.g. 12 and 13 below) and one instance of assonance (e.g. 12 on the vowel "o"). The translators have managed to preserve the alliteration although in a slightly different fashion, whereas the assonance has not been preserved.

e.g. 12 *На дофат поглед околу: засевки **лебородни** и мали простирки **лозја, лозја, лозја.***	*As far as the eye can see: **b**read-**b**earing fields And in short stretches, vineyards, vineyards, vineyards.*
e.g. 13 *Крај патот што ластареше: **б**ресја, **б**ојлии, по патот: брзоодица*	*By the branching road majestic elms, On the road itself **s**wift **s**teps.*

As far as **the word order** is concerned, since the style of the poet in this specific poem is rather narrative and prose-like, the lines are run-on-lines (not end-stop-lines) and the usual SVOCA word order prevails in the poem. The translators evidently did not have any major problems in preserving that aspect almost completely in the translated text (e.g. 14). Even though in e.g. 14 the subject is omitted in the original (which, as mentioned previously, is a permissible and legitimate move in Macedonian), in the translation, in accordance with the English grammar rules, the subject is overtly stated.

e.g.14 *Го пресртнуваме забрзано поточето*   *We happen on the hurrying brook,*

Due to the narrative style of the poem, however, occasionally the accent in the original was placed on the information encoded in the adjunct, and, consequently, the adjunct was placed in sentence initial position. Again that same tendency was reflected in the translation too (e.g. 15).

e.g. 15 ***Најчесто, токму што се разденило,*** **Often enough just as day dawns**
     ја искачуваме оваа нагорнина.   we climb this slope.

One interesting finding to be highlighted is that some of the sentences in the original poem were marked with a completely atypical syntax. More precisely, apart from the marked word order, these sentences also contained ellipsis on the verb and displayed repetition of certain words (e.g. 16, e.g. 17). The terseness of expression in these sentences was observed in the English version of the poem as well.

e.g. 16 *На дофат поглед околу: засевки лебородни и мали простирки лозја, лозја, лозја.*	*As far as the eye can see: bread-bearing fields* *And in short stretches, vineyards, vineyards, vineyards.*
e.g. 17 *Крај патот што ластареше: бресја, бојлии, по патот: брзоодица.*	*By the branching road majestic elms,* *On the road itself swift steps.*

Although the author's style as to the syntactic structure of sentences is clearly respected to a great extent in the translation, still few instances were spotted where the word order suffers major alterations in the translation (e.g. 18, e.g. 19). Thus, in e.g. 18, in the original poem the object is displaced and comes before the verb, whereas in the translated text the object comes after the verb and follows the regular SVOCA pattern in English. Moreover, the word order of the two adjuncts ("given over to gossip" and "under the chestnut trees") is also changed in the translation probably in an attempt to achieve greater naturalness in English. Example 20 also shows differences in grammatical voice. In the

Macedonian original "Skopje" is the receiver of the action ("го пржат"), where the passive object implies that Skopje is powerless and cannot respond, but bear the heat. The English translation gives it an active role ("broils"), which may be interpreted as if the action is intentional.

e.g. 18 *Жените веленца постилаат*   *The women spread their woollen rugs*
         под коштаните, веќе зазборени.   *Given over to gossip under the chestnut trees.*

e.g. 19 *в пресрет; нерамнини пречекливо зеленило*   *hospitable hillocks of green come to meet us*

e.g. 20 *По некој поглед надолу лунsa,*   *The casual glance strays down,*
         надолу в полето,   *Down to the plain below*
         каде што Скопје го пржат горештините.   *where Skopje broils in the summer heat.*

Due to the narrative and fact-stating descriptive style which predominates in the poem, the use of **figurative language** is rather scarce. Apart from several instances of personification, with which human-like features are ascribed to the landscape described in the poem, no other figures of speech have been traced. Thus, the hill has a hunched back just like a human being; the greenery on the hill is hospitable; the brook is in a hurry; the visitor's gaze wonders around, whereas the scorching heat has cooking skills and is frying the capital city (e.g. 21, e.g. 22, e.g. 23). All these instances of personification are neatly preserved in the translation as well.

e.g. 21 *Ридот со благи грпки лулее чекори морни,*   *This hill's gentle hummocks cradle wearied feet,*
         в пресрет; нерамнини пречекливо зеленило   *hospitable hillocks of green come to meet us.*

e.g. 22 *Го пресртнуваме забрзано поточето,*   *We happen on the hurrying brook,*

e.g. 23 *По некој поглед надолу лунsa,*   *The casual glance strays down,*
         надолу в полето,   *Down to the plain below*
         каде што Скопје го пржат горештините.   *where Skopje broils in the summer heat.*

With regard to the **versification features**, this poem consists of 5 stanzas but does not follow any strict stanza scheme as the number of lines per stanza varies, with the shortest stanza being composed of three and the longest of five lines. This free stanza pattern is followed closely in the English translation, too. The original poem is not rhymed; consequently, the translation lacks rhyme as well. As for the rhythm, the original and the translation are marked by different metrical patterns. As example 21 shows, the Macedonian original meter is trochee, amphibrach, trochee, trochee, dactyl, trochee; whereas in the translation the meter is: amphibrach, secunduc paeon, secunduc paeon, secunduc paeon.

What makes this poem particularly challenging, though, in terms of translation is **word choice**. The poem abounds with culture-specific terms referring to: a past ruler whose name, "Султан Суи", is associated with the site described in the poem; a community of people who inhabit this place called "торбеши" (Macedonians who during the Turkish rule accepted the Islam and converted to Muslims); "Св. Петка", a name of a village nearby, named after the saint, St. Petka; "веленца", a specific type of rugs woven on a loom, and "матеница",

a type of homemade yoghurt that the locals made and sold in the capital. The translators adopted a variety of procedures in dealing with these culture-specific terms. Thus, in the case of "Sultain-sui" they opted for borrowing the term; the same is the case with the other proper noun, i.e. the name of the village, St. Petka; the term "торбеши" is translated by means of a neutral and general term – "peasants"; whereas, "веленца" (woollen rugs) and "матеница" (curds and sour milk) are both rendered in English by means of a brief description.

The original also abounds in an impressive number of neologisms, derived from already existing words. These include the following: "лулее" (which comes from the verb "лула" – "to swing"); "морни" (derived from the adjective "уморни" – "tired"); "засевки" (stems from the noun "посеви" – "fields planted with crops"); "лебородни" (a noun derived by blending the noun "леб" and the adjective "родни"); "ластареше" (a verb derived by means of conversion of the noun "ластар" which corresponds with the English "young branch/twig"); "доброутрата" (a noun coined by blending the two words that comprise the salutation "good morning"); "лунза" (a verb most probably derived from the verb "лута", which means to "wander aimlessly about"), "простирки" (a noun derived by conversion of the verb "простира" which means "to stretch"), "брзоодица" (a noun derived by blending the adverb "брзо" and the verb "оди", meaning "fast walking") and "часипол" (a compound noun derived by blending the components of the time expression "час и половина", meaning "an hour and a half"). For some of these neologisms, the translators managed to find alternative means to successfully transfer them in the target language while preserving their peculiarity at the same time. Thus, the alliteration in "swift steps" is used to compensate for the lack of a suitable compound substitute in English for "брзоодица"; the archaic phrase "bid good morrow" is used to replace in English the newly coined Macedonian noun "доброутрата"; then, for "засевки лебородни" the translators tried to come up with a similar phrase in English, both in form and in meaning, "bread-bearing fields"; and an archaism is used in the case of "морни" - "wearied". However, the translators have not "saved" the peculiarity of all the neologisms and for some they opted for an easy way out and chose a rather literal translation. Thus, for instance, the compound noun "часипол" is rendered as "an hour and a half"; "лунза" as "strays"; "простирки" as "stretches"; "ластареше" as "branching", etc.

Finally, the complexity of the lexis used is further illustrated by instances of archaic words – "бојлии" (an adjective borrowed from Turkish, meaning "tall"), rendered in the translated text as "majestic", and colloquial terms, presumably, included to add to the local colour, so vividly and masterfully depicted in the poem – "коштани" (chestnuts) and "слагаат" (to descend), whose standard Macedonian counterpart are "костени" and "слегуваат", respectively. The fact that, in the translated text, these terms are rendered with their standard English

equivalents, obviously, implies that some subtle nuances of this richly nuanced poem are inevitably lost because of that.

Conclusion

This paper set out to investigate how translators have dealt with the intrinsic difficulties of poetry translation on a set of Macedonian poems by Gane Todorovski and their English counterparts. The questions posed by the study were how the translators managed to transfer the specific poetic features of Todorovski's poetry and how they resolved the typical translators' dilemmas.

With regard to the first question, the analysis of the two poems and their translations shows that the translators have been fully aware of the poetic qualities of the original and have made every effort to preserve them in the translation. In the case of the first poem, where versification and semantic features prevail, the analysis demonstrated that the dominant translation approach was to keep the content before the form. Whereas the translators have preserved as many poetic features as they were able to, still, when faced with the choice between form and meaning, they opted for meaning. In the case of the second poem, which is rich in lexical stylistic features, the analysis shows that the translators had the difficult task of transferring the lexical richness of the Macedonian original. Here, too, they demonstrated a strong awareness about the challenges of the original and a tendency to convey the lexical qualities of the Macedonian poet to the English audience, which was more successful at times and less successful at others.

Based on the analysis, we can draw the following conclusions about how the translators resolved their dilemmas. With regard to the first dilemma of whether to translate the words of the original or the ideas of the original, there is a tendency to preserve the words of the original, which at times helps preserving the ideas of the original, too. At other times, preserving the words does not necessarily lead to preserving the ideas. The second dilemma of whether the translation should read as an original work or as a translation is resolved at the end of the latter. The translations in most respects read as translations. Regarding the third dilemma of whether the translation reflects the style of the original or the style of the translator, our analysis demonstrated that the translations mostly follow the style of the original. As for the fourth dilemma of whether the translation reads as contemporary of the original or contemporary of the translator, we can say that it is not relevant for the poems analysed as the time difference between the originals and their translations is rather small for us to expect any large discrepancies. When it comes to the fifth dilemma of whether the translation may or may not add to or omit from the original, the results showed that both translations opted for the first alternative. Finally, the answer to the sixth dilemma of whether verse should be translated in prose or verse can

be two-sided: both poems have been translated in verse, if we take 'verse' to mean the visual layout of the text. However, following Popovska (2004, p. 121), if we understand 'verse' in its primary poetic meaning, to refer to the formal versification features of the poem, then we can conclude that both poems have been translated in prose.

The results of this paper have confirmed the long-standing opinion that the translation of poetry is a delicate and demanding task even for translator who are poets themselves, translators with full mastery of the languages involved, inherent poetic sensibility and superior translation skills. This paper has provided answers to our initial questions, but it has also raised other ones. Can these conclusions be extended to other sets of data including poems of the same poet, poems of other poets or, even, poetry translation in other language combinations? Would other translators resolve the dilemmas in the same way? These questions were outside the scope of this paper, so we leave them to future studies to address.

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Appendix

Љубовна

Сѐ ли ти дадов? Сѐ ли си зема?
Догледање! Што чекаш?
Епилог нашата драма нема,
таа е бескрај, ко река

што едно влече, друго носи,
што мени лика лете –
та, како питач капка проси
од пресушениот ветер!

Таа е бучна, кога е полна,
та палави и плави –
таква е нашата љубов: болна
кога сме најмногу здрави!

Догледање! До прва пролет!
Ќе дотрчаш ко река,
за да оживееш опустен голет,
дарежна, топла, мека...

Love song

Did I give you all? Did you take all?
Goodbye! What are you waiting for?
Our story lacks an epilogue
It is endless as the river is

which takes one thing away and brings an-other
which alters its appearance in summer
and beggar-like it craves a drop
from the parched wind!

When full it is full of noise
And romps and flood –
Such is our love: ailing
when we are in the best of health!

Farewell! Till the coming spring!
You will come running like a river
Bringing life to the bare hillside
Generous, warm ad soft …

Во доцна пролет кон Нерези

Најчесто, токму што се разденило,
ја искачуваме оваа нагорнина.
Ридот со благи грпки лулее чекори
морни,
в пресрет; нерамнини пречекливо
зеленило.
На дофат поглед околу: засевки
лебородни
и мали простирки лозја, лозја, лозја.
Крај патот што ластареше: бресја,
бојлии,
по патот: брзоодица.
Го пресртнуваме забрзано поточето,
тој веселник од Султан-суи,
и доброутрата на торбешите од
Света Петка,
што слагаат в град со товар грижи
и нешто матеница за продавање.
Часипол јазење сме таму
- љубено катче починка.
Жените веленца постилаат
под коштаните, веќе зазборени.
По некој поглед надолу лунѕа,
надолу в полето,
каде што Скопје го пржат
горештините.

Towards Nerezi in late spring

Often enough just as day dawns
we climb this slope.
This hill's gentle hummocks cradle wearied
feet,
hospitable hillocks of green come to meet us.
As far as the eye can see: bread-bearing fields
And in short stretches, vineyards, vineyards,
vineyards.
By the branching road majestic elms,
On the road itself swift steps.

We happen on the hurrying brook,
the jester of Sultan-sui,
and are bid good morrow by the St. Petka
peasants
coming down to town with a load of care
and curds and sour milk for sale.

An hour and a half scramble and we're there
in this favourite restful nook.
The women spread their woollen rugs
Given over to gossip under the chestnut trees.

The casual glance strays down,
Down to the plain below
where Skopje broils in the summer heat.

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ANOREXIA MIRABILIS DECODED: REREADING FEMALE CORPOREAL CONSUMPTION IN DICKENS'S ANGELIC DAUGHTERS[1]

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Abstract: *This article makes a deconstructionist reading of anorexic women in Dickens. For this purpose, three of his novels are examined: Dombey and Son, David Copperfield and Little Dorrit. The article challenges certain feminist claims of women in Dickens being sacrificed at the expense of men and proposes a conscious postponed consumption of commodities on the part of the women through marriage. The analysis is effectuated on the basis of comparing data from the novels in question, newspapers, medical studies and Victorian culture reviews. The results ascertain the employment of feminine stratagems in promoting the body politics that help Dickens's angelic daughters to obtain the best husband for them and thus establish the successful patriarchal woman.*

Key words: *anorexia, mirabilis, feminist, patriarchal, Victorian*

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This article is a response to feminist readings of corporeal consumption in Gail Houston's highly regarded *Consuming Fictions: Gender, Class and Hunger in Dickens's Novels* (1994). Houston claims that the patriarchal society represented in Dickens's works necessitated the sacrifice of women whose abstention from consumption possibly led to developing the medical condition *anorexia nervosa* and consequently to their death. Anna Silver (2004) makes a similar claim, referring to a wider range of Victorian writers, including Dickens, and determining a recurring pattern of mainstream model middle-class Victorian womanhood sharing "important qualities with the beliefs and behaviors of the anorexic girl or woman" (p. 1).

In my response I aim to refute Houston's claim by examining Dickens's urban representations of eating – corporeal consumption. While doing so, I examine three novels: *Dombey and Son* (1848), *David Copperfield* (1850) and *Little Dorrit* (1857) and trace the evolution of the woman who does not eat. As we shall see, representations of urban women subvert the established interpretation, thus revealing that this type of consumption not only performs very important functions in Victorian Society but also serves as the core of the modern patriarchal woman. In the course of my analysis, I review the evolution of gender-based corporeal consumption in *anorexia mirabilis* as feminine tactics.

In analyzing Dickensian women's corporeal consumption, Houston admits that "obviously, Dickens's heroines cannot be taken as clinical examples of anorexia nervosa – though Rose Maylie, Nell, and Little Dorrit come close" (1994, p. 46). They are rather in a state, which she terms *miraculous anorexia* (ibid., p. 45) or as the Latin term goes *anorexia mirabilis* (*inedia miraculosa* or *inedia prodigiosa*), a revised modernized version of traditional female piety. By seemingly consuming less food or other commodities, Dickens's female urban characters consume patriarchal values as the underlining rationale for their miraculous condition. Victorian women, who did not want to be seen eating in public, often consumed food clandestinely, but the novelist does not show this masked consumption, which was a strategy winning men's admiration. I also provide counter-arguments to Gail Houston's claim that Dickens does not portray supposedly anorectic women like Amy Dorrit to be physically suffering from the symptoms of the disease whose psychic dimensions she sees in self-delimitation expressed in "self-cannibalism", "self-denial" and "self-suppression" (ibid., p. 46), as this apparent lack of physical suffering very likely participates in a consistent system of food consumption on the sly aiming at winning a husband, who is taken in by ostentatious or *conspicuous unconsumption*. There is no doubt that reduced consumption by urban women and girls produced a cultural phenomenon that crystallized in the physical ideal of the modern attractive woman. In view of the claim made by Gail Houston, we should inquire whether the patriarchal women contained in the modern metropolis of the 1850s-1880s

accepted this mode of female consumption as something self-chosen or rather as something imposed upon them.

As Helena Michie (1990) suggests, Victorian women understood eating secretly to be part of their feminine nature of doing things on the sly:

> It is not that they [young women] absolutely starve themselves to death, for many of the most abstemious at the open dinner are the most voracious at the secret luncheon. Thus, the fastidious dame whose gorge rises before company at the sight of a single pea, will on the sly swallow cream tarts by the dozen, and caramels and chocolate drops by the pound's weight (p. 19).

Lisa Wade (2015), a cultural critic and sociologist, provides evidence corroborating Michie's argument when she draws on Victorian medical specialists' conclusions that fasting girls are *impossibilities* (p. 1):

> The competition between medicine and religion became so intense that doctors became intent on proving that these fasting girls were not, in fact, surviving on holiness, but were, instead, sneaking food. In several cases, doctors staked out fasting girls, watching her to make sure that she did not eat, and these girls, relentless in the illusion, sometimes died.

Fasting girls were indeed in fashion as testified by several newspapers. Their miraculous condition was commonly attributed to "a Visitation of God". The same newspapers corroborate Wade, since all observed cases of fasting inevitably ended in the death of the fasting girl. For example, the London *Daily News*, among others, reported the case of Sara Jacobs from Wales, viewing her case as an example of, "like her predecessors, half deceiving and half deceived" (p. 2) and implying that the girl might have taken food before a medical team observed her condition. The newspaper, disbelieving in divine intervention, puts the question of guilt and responsibility arising from the girl's possible death:

> Now it is all very well that science will have their victims; but which will this poor girl be if she should die under the eyes of these nurses, and die of starvation? Probably the persons concerned have already ascertained what their legal position would be in such a case. We presume that, if the girl died, an inquest must be held; but what verdict could it return? If it were 'felo de se,' it would reflect on those who saw the suicide and did nothing to prevent it. It could hardly be death from natural causes or accidental death – there is nothing natural or accidental about it. Even the favourite formula, 'Visitation of God,' would be out of place, for the real case would be visitation of nurses. (Daily News, 1869, p. 2)

The case is followed by other newspapers, and they all confirm the subsequent inevitable death of the girl while under medical observation quoting *Daily*

News such as the *Pall Mall Gazette* or *The Western Mail* (Cardiff, Wales), the latter making an unequivocal conclusion as to the cause of her death:

> After the medical evidence given yesterday at the inquest, as the result of the post-mortem examination of the body of the deceased, there seems to be but one opinion here among those who are prepared to judge the case by the clear light of scientific research, and that is, that the Welsh Fasting girl, by some means which appear tolerably clear, obtained food and drink prior to the strict watch kept by the four nurses from Guy's Hospital; that she failed to obtain it afterwards, though she might have had it if she had chosen to ask for it; and that, in the inevitable order of nature, she died in the absence of it. On one point, all, except a very few of the most skeptical, are agreed, and that is, that the girl did not exist at all without food for any great length of time; and that the story of her so-called fasting is simply and unmistakable fraud, for which the poor girl has paid the penalty with her life. (The Western Mail, 1869, p .1)

Rebeca Lester's "The (Dis)embodied Self in Anorexia Nervosa" (1997) attempts to bridge the feminist cultural model of this eating disorder and its medical treatment. In her analysis she employs Foucault's "technologies of the self" (*The History of Sexuality*) and sees the conscious and deliberate transformation of an individual through "the constant perception and reevaluation of the relationship between 'the inside' and the 'outside'" (p. 483), that is between the self and the body. Although she detects *complicity* in the continued "(re)production of gender ideologies and beliefs" (p. 482) adduced to the self by feminism, I believe women freely *complied* with a patriarchal code in order to participate actively in a modern heterosexual society.

I agree, therefore, that the anorectic patterns in Dickens's representations are, indeed, gendered and embodied mainly in the Victorian feminine self, which, however, *consciously* and *deliberately* only dissimulates lack of alimentary consumption by allowing the body to consume food in secret, thus aiming to endow women with unlimited consumption sanctioned by marriage.

Dickens's urban representations created the prototype of the modern heterosexual woman in heroines such as Florence from *Dombey and Son*, Amy from *Little Dorrit*, Dora and Agnes from *David Copperfield*: all these characters embraced the slim figure produced by a frugal diet, which, although not very healthy, did not prevent women from being healthy enough to create a family, one of the main ambitions in life of a patriarchal woman. Behind the Victorian masterplot of male dominance in consumption, the modern patriarchal woman carefully and consciously chose a strategy of body politics, one that managed to attract the best partner for herself, act as his moral corrective and reproduce, consuming less in the matter of commodities or food, but also expending less energy due to lesser consumption by comparison to man. Reduced alimentary consumption

translates into *increased consumption of patriarchal values*, which ultimately results in an *enhanced corporeal consumption*, and that by *patriarchal woman*, I do not necessarily mean not modern, just the opposite: I mean a modern heterosexual woman on her way to financial independence, still choosing members of the opposite sex as partners.

Good examples of the feminine subversive tactics in relation to corporeal consumption appear in the angelic daughters referred to above, who achieve their feminine goals in slightly different ways and whose dual nature – keeping appearances and ulterior motives are locked in the significance of their names. In *Dombey and Son*, Florence, also called "Little Florence", exhibits the mimicry of a *predatory flower* (Lat. Florentia, fem. of Florentius, lit. "blooming," from florens (gen. florentis), pr. p. of florere "to flower") developing exuberant efflorescent activities, which are sustained in consistent consumption of male praise aiming for the ultimate prize of unlimited commodity consumption realized in Victorian marriage. As a child, she frequently endears herself to others, winning their hearts by being an exemplary little girl: sad (having lost her mother), humble, docile and deferential to older members of society regardless of their sex, striving for and encouraging social inclusion rather than exclusion (Mr. Dombey) as well as abstemious in consumption, looking on the world with eyes full of wonder and affection:

> The child, in her grief and neglect, was so gentle, so quiet, and uncomplaining; was possessed of so much affection that no one seemed to care to have, and so much sorrowful intelligence that no one seemed to mind or think about the wounding of, that Polly's heart was sore when she was left alone again. In the simple passage that had taken place between herself and the motherless little girl, her own motherly heart had been touched no less than the child's; and she felt, as the child did, that there was something of confidence and interest between them from that moment (pp. 34-35).

Her effusive sociability antagonizes her father, producing "an uneasiness of extraordinary kind" (p. 37). Some part of him knows that people like her, much more than himself or Paul, are capable of winning other people's hearts. By ingratiating herself with others, by exuding sorrow and affection, she renders herself irresistible to compassion and admiration. Consequently, she has the option of selecting the man who manifests the strongest signs of veneration for her. In doing so, she poses an ambiguous threat to the integrity of the Dombey family, since she might remove the protective layer, she places around the male members of the family should she opt for orbiting another phallic center. Moreover, she demonstrates a rather uncanny independence by being safe even when lost in the city where Walter finds her. She is thus a Victorian precursor of Raymond Queneau's *Zazie dans le Metro* (1972), or *Alice's Adventures in*

Wonderland by Lewis Carroll (2009). Just like Zazie and Alice, she can handle the opportunists, such as Mrs. Brown, she encounters along the way in her own terms to come out of this adventure unscathed (pp. 79-86).

Florence's ability which makes others pity her wins the admiration and desire of a male protector – Walter, her future husband:

> 'Yes, I was lost this morning, a long way from here – and I have had my clothes taken away, since – and I am not dressed in my own now – and my name is Florence Dombey, my little brother's only sister – and, oh dear, dear, take care of me, if you please!' sobbed Florence, giving full vent to the childish feelings she had so long suppressed, and bursting into tears. At the same time her miserable bonnet falling off, her hair came tumbling down about her face: moving to speechless admiration and commiseration, young Walter, nephew of Solomon Gills, Ships' Instrument-maker in general (p. 86).

Walter, overwhelmed by her acts of *unconsumption*, manifested in her parting with her shoes and good clothes and exchanging them for old skins and bad shoes, is completely won over by her tears, which she seems to dispense at will, using them to express both grief and joy, one turning into the other in the fraction of a second (p. 86). In a preceding scene, Florence has sought male protection in the company of her brother Paul by instinctively entreating to sleep next to him, this profound yearning for the phallic center finding its consummation when she secures Walter's devotion and affection: "So Walter, looking immensely fierce, led off Florence, looking very happy; and they went arm-in-arm along the streets, perfectly indifferent to any astonishment that their appearance might or did excite by the way" (p. 87).

Florence's unpretentious manners win her another friend – Walter's uncle Gill in whose shop she dozes off before the fire (p. 90). Her very limited consumption is also accompanied by gestures of disproportionate gratitude to people who offer her basic assistance, and even though we are assured by the author that it is "the innocence of her grateful heart" (p. 92) that makes her touch Walter's face with hers whether consciously or unconsciously, the fact remains that these gestures are part of her stratagems for winning male admiration. These feminine techniques also appear in her manner of establishing immediate intimate contact with the people from the lower classes, her temporary minimal consumption of the city, overly loving nature and the urge to please everyone around by doing them little favors in which the central part is their savoring her graces: beauty while dancing, voice while reading, etc., always being by the bedside of her sick brother, Paul, later on assuming the contained comportment of a young lady – "staid and pleasantly demure with her little book or work-box" (p. 270). As a result, they win her universal approbation, providing her with numerous young men from whom she can choose (p. 607) and setting her on a fast track

to getting married to Walter, which helps her achieve her goals of a modern patriarchal woman and renders her an avid consumer of patriarchal values to be cashed in postponed increased post-marital commodity consumption.

When shown to be consuming food, Florence either does not eat at all or eats for the sake of others, thus even further winning their praise: when at a dinner table with her father and step-mother Edith, she does not consume food, but the spectacle of a family scandal during which Edith repeatedly claims that she does not eat at home (p. 682), thus taking on the gigantic proportions of a *spending ogress* who consumes only the most expensive commodities with the added money value of public labor (p. 683). Alternatively, Florence may take a morsel of deliciously cooked dinner by Captain Cuttle just to humor him (p. 711). Although she refrains from consuming food, she does not refrain from consuming men's admiration as she clears up the table and sweeps up the hearth in such an arduous manner that he sees her "as if she were some Fairy, daintily performing these offices for him; the red rim on his forehead glowing again, in his unspeakable admiration" (p. 711). Florence, more than Amy Dorrit, is a perfectionist in her consumption of men's praise as she proceeds to give the captain his pipe to smoke and makes a grog for him while he endlessly tortures her evoking the memory of the supposedly drowned Walter, knowing only too well that Walter is alive.

Pursuing her goal to the end, once married to Walter, Florence brings up the question of her being a financial burden to him:

> 'I don't mean that, Walter, though I think of that too. I have been thinking what a charge I am to you. 'A precious, sacred charge, dear heart! Why, I think that sometimes.' 'You are laughing, Walter. I know that's much more in your thoughts than mine. But I mean a cost. 'A cost, my own?' 'In money, dear. All these preparations that Susan and I are so busy with – I have been able to purchase very little for myself. You were poor before. But how much poorer I shall make you, Walter!' (p. 819).

Sure enough, at this point Walter remembers the presence of a purse with some savings for rainy days after which, upon hearing this news, Florence declares that she is happy, in fact, to be his burden (p. 819).

Amy Dorrit (Lat. *amita* – aunt, also a nursery name for mother, Fr. *aimée* – loved), a veritably *agony aunt,* as the name suggests, achieves her goals with an even sterner behavior and more austere diet. Her case is, however, much better justified since she is the child of the Marshalsea, just like her father, Mr. Dorrit, who is the Father of the Marshalsea. With her seemingly unobtrusive manner and abstaining from consumption, she manages to attract the attention of two suitors – John Chivery, the turnkey's son, and Arthur Clennam, a mysterious man, who has come from abroad with the experience and potential to be a

successful man of business. Unsurprisingly, Amy chooses Arthur, thus opting for the modern man of the times, undoubtedly aware of the fact that a marriage with John would mean identifying with the old world of the prison:

> She, the child of the Marshalsea; he, the lockkeeper. There was a fitness in that. Say he became a resident turnkey. She would officially succeed to the chamber she had rented so long. There was a beautiful propriety in that. It looked over the wall, if you stood on tip-toe; and, with a trellis-work of scarlet beans and a canary or so, would become a very Arbour. There was a charming idea in that. Then, being all in all to one another, there was even an appropriate grace in the lock. With the world shut out (except that part of it which would be shut in) (p. 226).

One could argue that Amy's pursuit of Arthur's affection and the ultimate prize – marriage is effectuated in more devious ways than Florence could ever have devised: Little Dorrit refuses to see Arthur, thus torturing herself, but feeding fuel into the flames of his rather poorly masked desire for her. Like Florence, she also lives within a close orbit of the male members of her family, impeding Arthur Clennam's advances till the end "as suppressing her sexuality in denying his advances to her sanctifies and secures Amy Dorrit the patriarchal prize denied Little Nell from *The Old Curiosity Shop*" (Boev, 2011).

Again, like Florence, Little Dorrit is prone to *unconsumption* refusing to dress in a manner becoming the new status of her family after they temporarily move to riches. As her sister complains:

> Here is that child Amy, in her ugly old shabby dress, which she was so obstinate about, Pa, which I over and over again begged and prayed her to change, and which she over and over again objected to, and promised to change to-day, saying she wished to wear it as long as ever she remained in there with you – which was absolutely romantic nonsense of the lowest kind – here is that child Amy disgracing us to the last moment and at the last moment, by being carried out in that dress after all. And by that Mr. Clennam too!' (pp. 453-454).

Her failing to consume renders Amy irresistible to Arthur in the same way as it affects Walter when he finds Florence lost on the street. However, with both heroines the logic differs: Florence consumes very little because she is to be married to someone below her status, who has to prove himself as a modern man with a profession – the one of a mariner; Amy's reduced consumption can be justified by the fact that she has spent most of her life in the Marshalsea prison orbiting her father, uncle, and brother and protecting them from the world without by being the one who always listens and gives comfort in need. This very reduced consumption has made her irresistible to Arthur since the very moment he sees her (p. 103).

A major development of the subject at-hand is the treatment of Dora Spenlow (Gk – *doron* – gift), (*David Copperfield*). Dickens's first female urbane character, she is a true *gift* for the men, enchanting her suitor in a purely modern corporeal fashion. She affects David Copperfield with the curves of her body and the sound of her name:

> 'Where is Miss Dora?' said Mr. Spenlow to the servant. 'Dora! I thought. 'What a beautiful name!' We turned into a room near at hand (I think it was the identical breakfast-room, made memorable by the brown East Indian sherry), and I heard a voice say, 'Mr. Copperfield, my daughter Dora, and my daughter Dora's confidential friend!' It was, no doubt, Mr. Spenlow's voice, but I didn't know it, and I didn't care whose it was. All was over in a moment. I had fulfilled my destiny. I was a captive and a slave. I loved Dora Spenlow to distraction! […] I could only sit down before my fire, biting the key of my carpet-bag, and think of the captivating, girlish, bright-eyed lovely Dora. What a form she had, what a face she had, what a graceful, variable, enchanting manner! (pp. 376-378).

The quintessence of the modern Victorian as far as corporeal consumption is concerned – food consumption shaping their physical appearance – is finely defined in the following passage in which David consumes Dora at the dinner table by being obsessed with her, and she, herself consuming nothing alimentary at all but patriarchal values:

> I don't remember who was there, except Dora. I have not the least idea what we had for dinner, besides Dora. My impression is, that I *dined off* Dora, entirely, and sent away half-a-dozen plates untouched. I sat next to her. I talked to her. She had the most delightful little voice, the gayest little laugh, the pleasantest and most fascinating little ways, that ever led a lost youth into hopeless slavery. She was rather diminutive altogether. So much the more precious, I thought (p. 378). (italics mine)

Conscious abstention from eating definitely shapes the body, and this abstention becomes one of the typical traits of the Victorian female character in Dickens's represented spaces – *diminutive* with *little voice*, *little laugh*, *little ways*. The slim feminine figure could only be imagined in its synecdochal representation of a tiny waist, which only the corset made possible. The curves and shapes of women were concealed in the hooped dresses they usually wore in public. As another British Victorian newspaper, *The Graphic* (London) testifies, the ideal of feminine beauty was rather different from Dickens's and was more truthfully articulated by Dickens's *protégé*, Wilkie Collins:

> There is one point on which we do not hesitate to join issue with Mr. Wilkie Collins. He states that "the average English idea of beauty in

women may be summed up in three words – youth, health, plumpness. The more spiritual charm of intelligence and vivacity, the subtle attraction of delicacy of line and fineness of detail are little looked for and seldom appreciated by the mass of men in this island." (The Graphic, 1870, p. 1)

Dora, along with Dickens's other similar female city dwellers, is rather a modern projection of Dickens's own ideal of feminine beauty – a beauty synonymous with and consuming daintily and exquisitely, one very close to twenty-first-century perceptions of the feminine figure. Dora, unlike some other female inhabitants of the metropolis, is a veritable Victorian gift for men hunting the opposite sex, and as a reduced consumer of patriarchal values, she has to die.

Cathy Taylor (2001), a lecturer on antique clothing, points out that the feminine figure in the age of Victoria appearing in newspapers, paintings, and clothing, preserved in museums, seems quite different:

> Corseting partially explains many of those tiny-looking antique clothes in shops and museums. Nineteenth-century people were probably no more slender than people of today, but fashionable women depended on their corsets, rather than diet or exercise, to endow them with the ideal figure. And the ideal figure was not anorexically lean: it was rounded and ample, with an unnaturally small waist (p. 1).

Dora is portrayed as wearing waistcoats, but no specific mention is made of corsets, since such garments were unmentionable in family literature. Still, she has a slender waist (p. 629) as a prerequisite to her feminine beauty. The waistline did play a very important part in Victorian feminine beauty and it had a very practical patriarchal purpose as illustrated with Agnes Wickfield, David Copperfield's second wife (pp. 838-839)

The passage above and the one that follows indicate the traits Agnes possesses to win David Copperfield. She starts her relationship with him in a slightly disadvantageous position, playing the second fiddle, being a confidante until gradually her qualities of calmness, goodness, diminutiveness, docility, and modesty secure for her the prize of becoming his loving and loved wife:

> I see her, with her modest, orderly, placid manner, and I hear her beautiful calm voice, as I write these words. The influence for all good, which she came to exercise over me at a later time, begins already to descend upon my breast. I love little Em'ly, and I don't love Agnes - no, not at all in that way – but I feel that there are goodness, peace, and truth, wherever Agnes is; and that the soft light of the coloured window in the church, seen long ago, falls on her always, and on me when I am near her, and on everything around (p. 226).

Agnes (Gk *hagne* – pure, holy, Lat. *agnus* – lamb) is a much more active disguised Amy-like city inhabitant, who is rather *a wolf in a sheep's clothing* although her name suggests she should be meek as a lamb. She appears seemingly grateful to play a secondary role in Copperfield's love life, but she is in fact a woman who patiently bides her time, being well aware that she has the required patriarchal values as well as feminine beauty, qualities that should be rewarded with the ultimate prize, marriage. After she has been Copperfield's companion in grief and sorrow, the man gradually begins to appreciate her influence until he sees it as indispensable (p. 260). Finally, he realizes that apart from being the best *confidante*, she is a woman, too (p. 261).

Every time he sees her, she always seems to be occupied with womanly chores or pastimes: netting, knitting, calmly reading a book that she, just like the adolescent Florence, seems to always have with her. She is invariably happy to see him, and he is always overwhelmed by this effusive display of patriarchal submission. Confident in her charms, even though at times appearing the opposite (which prompts admiration), Agnes makes gradual advances into his affection by slowly, but surely, turning gestures of comfort and solace into ingenious seductive stratagems in which her body plays a major role: "She put her hand – its touch was like no other hand – upon my arm for a moment; and I felt so befriended and comforted, that I could not help moving it to my lips, and gratefully kissing it" (p. 354).

Agnes becomes a mirror reflecting David's emotions and then beaming back consolation, placidity, empathy, and sympathy in a way like the other angelic daughters until David succumbs (p. 495). Agnes's devious ways are detected by Dora herself, but when she sees her, she is easily fooled by her unassuming manner, and consequently, lowers her guard:

> I was troubled by no doubt of her being very pretty, in any case; but it fell out that I had never seen her look so well. She was not in the drawing-room when I presented Agnes to her little aunts, but was shyly keeping out of the way. […] Dora was afraid of Agnes. She had told me that she knew Agnes was 'too clever'. But when she saw her looking at once so cheerful and so earnest, and so thoughtful, and so good, she gave a faint little cry of pleased surprise, and just put her affectionate arms round Agnes's neck, and laid her innocent cheek against her face. (p. 592)

Dora could have had David for the rest of a long life if it had not been for the presence of Agnes, and then, conveniently, Dora, being a *gift* has to die, as the gift, once granted by God is also reclaimed by Him so that Agnes can take her place even with the benediction and kind permission of the dying wife. The question remains if Agnes would have walked an extra mile enhancing even further her powerful influence over David provoked by her beauty (continuously augmented) and her counsel (increasingly followed) and then the

answer should be positive, since David would have made the first step towards her as a love object finding her charms totally winning as it is not by accident that Agnes does not fail to register an important point by looking prettier than Dora and far superior in intellect. Indeed, the insistence on qualifying adjectives associated with her of which the most prominent is *innocent* does not really testify to innocence of mind or intention as it is just about an *innocence of looks – affectionate arms*, *innocent cheek*. After this classical love confession comes her ready-made one: that she has loved him all her life (p. 840). This last declaration suggests that she might well have increased her influence over him until he declared his love. The following passage reveals Agnes's position as an indispensable substitute:

> 'When I loved her – even then, my love would have been incomplete, without your sympathy. I had it, and it was perfected. And when I lost her, Agnes, what should I have been without you, still!' Closer in my arms, nearer to my heart, her trembling hand upon my shoulder, her sweet eyes shining through her tears, on mine! 'I went away, dear Agnes, loving you. I stayed away, loving you. I returned home, loving you!' (p. 839)

After this classical love confession comes her ready-made one: that she has loved him all her life (p. 840).

The above examples call into question Gail Houston, Anna Silver, and Helena Michie's assumption of forced anorexia in Dickens's female urban characters. In addition, the reduced food consumption to which these critics refer is a self-imposed one, far from being really dangerous since it is based on *what was not shown*, neither in real life, nor in fiction: women's food consumption, the *miraculous anorexia* by which Gail Houston (1994) refers to the Dickensian heroine's "silently and insidiously imposing the oscillations between desire and negation of desire upon the heroine's bodily interior" (p. 45), thus allowing the male protagonist "the luxury and implied heroism of a more exteriorized, intellectual vacillation between his own appetite and asceticism" (p. 45) confirms my analysis if we disregard its antithetical relationship to men's corporeal consumption and its signification in Dickens's novels. Miraculous anorexia in what Houston calls its "insidious nature" is based on covert food consumption. We may see the insidiousness as a matter of this convert consumption rather than the kind of insidiousness with which she stigmatizes the Dickensian representations of women, and we can interpret their consumption as these characters' conscious strategy. In other words, far from suffering from this condition, these women can reap the benefits that accrue to an adept consumer of corporeal culture, benefits ultimately realized in their increased consumption after marriage.

The lack of real symptoms of anorexic suffering in Dickens's thin female figures (which, as Victorian newspaper reports show, would have appeared in reality),

and the fact that not showing consumption does not mean there was none is corroborated by the evidence adduced by Cathy Taylor, Helena Michie, Lisa Wade, and Victorian newspaper articles. Victorian women were not anorexic but looked plump and yet slim if judged by their waists and faces. Many women did not consume food openly, but did so on the sly, aiming at securing themselves a patriarchal prize, marriage.

The angelic daughters of the house are, therefore, adept consumers of Victorian values that bring the patriarchal reward of marriage. Marriage transforms this consumption of values into regular consumption of commodities and of expensive restaurant food, as is the case with a married, but still angelic Edith (p. 400), caught in the natural metamorphosis of passing from one phase to the other described by the author as "so beautiful and stately, but so cold and so repelling" (p. 396), and describing herself as "artful, designing, mercenary, laying snares for men" (p. 418), an early foreboding of her nature of an avid consumer, as sort of a successful, but remorseful Becky Sharp from *Vanity Fair* (1992) consuming in spite of herself, who could easily be Florence's projection of a future wife hypothesized in Edith's numerous warnings to Florence not to follow her example (pp. 532, 679, 899). We should realize, therefore, that the odious hyper-consuming wives were angelic daughters once (Edith) and that their success as wives is, indeed, based on their triumph as angelic daughters. The only step they are to make before they reach the state of fully-fledged modern women is to stop having remorse for their consumption.

By contrast, ladies who were not designated for courtship by prospective husbands did not have to play any reduced consumption games and could enjoy the second-rate meals of the kitchen staff, which were sufficient for keeping a plump figure.

As Dickens himself aptly put it in *Dombey and Son*, "the maid who ought to be a skeleton, but is in truth a buxom damsel, is, on the other hand, in a most amiable state: considering her quarterly stipend much safer than heretofore and foreseeing a great improvement in her board and lodging" (p. 524).

Dickens's representations of female city inhabitants are, therefore, mainly concerned with showing women in marrying age to be of small stature, abstaining from consumption, demure, pleasing and loving, which creates the image of an irresistible form and character for the prospective husband. Their aim is to enthrall a man or several men and then make the most propitious decision based on a number of choices. Behind their unconsuming guise as daughters of the house is hidden an avid consumer's nature manifested in the portrayal of the hyper-consuming wives or elderly women – Edith (*Dombey and Son*) or Mrs. General (*Little Dorrit*). Occasionally, as Fanny, Amy's sister, shows, this nature is revealed in the daughters themselves. The portrayal, therefore, of the angelic daughters in Dickens as seemingly reduced consumers reveals them as

only aiming to attract the best partner in marriage who would be enticed by this small consumer and assume sometimes wrongly, that he can afford to marry her (Mr. Dombey and Edith) trusting that she will not change, but she does (signs of that can be seen in Florence). By reducing consumption with the daughters even further, Dickens anticipates the image of the modern patriarchal woman: self-conscious, intelligent, slim, and always ready to enchant a prospective suitor well aware of the fact that with marital bliss comes unlimited corporeal consumption.

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RESEARCH METHODS IN LINGUISTICS: AN OVERVIEW

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Abstract: *The paper offers a short theoretical overview of the main research paradigms, key issues, procedures, data collection and methods of analysis applied to the study of language. General description of qualitative, quantitative and mixed-method research is followed by more detailed account of the three approaches. Different criteria for evaluating research are enumerated and specified and the most useful tools for obtaining quantitative data in linguistics are pointed out: questionnaire surveys and the experimental studies. The reviewed qualitative procedures leading to the generation of a set of data are ethnography, one-to-one interviews, focus group interviews, introspection, case studies, diary studies and research journals. Qualitative content analysis is a deeper level of analysis and interpretation of the underlying meaning of the data. Grounded theory has grown into the "mainstream" and many of its theoretical aspects are considered. The most significant of the discourse-analytic approaches: Conversation analysis, Discourse analysis, Critical discourse analysis and Feminist Post-Structuralist Discourse analysis are highlighted. The application of the discussed research paradigms to various research contexts is exemplified by reference to authors whose work is regularly published in SILC.*

Key words: *research, methods, analysis, qualitative, quantitative*

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Introduction

Research is done in order to provide new insights into a particular subject, to generate knowledge and thus assist in comprehending an issue. In scientific sense, research is "the organized, systematic search for answers to the questions we ask" (Hatch & Lazaraton, 1991, p. 1). It is important for the researcher to become familiar with the principles of best practice. Different methods have been developed to collect and analyze data resulting in two research paradigms: qualitative and quantitative research. However, Brown (2001) argues that a more constructive approach is to view the two of them as "a matter of degrees" than "a clear-cut dichotomy". Hence, they are not mutually exclusive and a third branch "mixed methods research" is introduced, combining the data collection and the analysis levels of both qualitative and quantitative methods to best effect. The paper aims at providing a brief account of the three research methodology frameworks, their general characteristics and implications. It gives an overview of the key issues, questions, criteria and principles concerning research in linguistics. Different phases of quantitative data collection and analysis, and qualitative procedures are examined, focusing on description of discourse-analytic approaches to oral and written texts.

Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods research

Research involves collecting data, analyzing it and making inferences based on the analysis. Therefore, the key issue is data. In line with the basic research paradigms, there are three main types of data as outlined by Richards (2005, p. 19):

- *Quantitative data* is expressed in numbers (for example, the number of times a linguistic item occurs in a specific context, resulting in numerical data analyzed by statistical methods);
- *Qualitative data* usually involves recorded oral data, transcribed to written form as well as written (field) notes and various kinds of documents, resulting in open-ended, non-numerical data further analyzed by non-statistical methods;
- *Language data* involves language samples, obtained from respondents for the purpose of language analysis. This type is often part of qualitative data.

As regards the numerical vs. non-numerical contrast between the two methods, which is too straightforward, Richards (2005) concludes "qualitative and quantitative data do not inhabit different worlds. They are different ways of recording observations of the same world" (pp. 3-6). In the same context, Miles and Huberman (1994) state that all data are qualitative because they refer to "essences of people, objects and situations" (p. 9). The main distinction lies in the nature of categories and the relevant process of the two methods. Categories

or codes are used for structuring the information obtained. Bazeley (2003, p. 414) asserts that "Codes – the way they are generated, what they stand for, and the way they are used – lie at the heart of differences between quantitative and qualitative data and analysis tools". They also differ in their approach to the individual diversity of the participants examined and the results obtained. Quantitative researchers support a "meaning in the general" strategy, whereas qualitative researchers focus on a detailed understanding of the "meaning in the particular". Therefore, quantitative research could avoid individual respondent variation and the researcher's subjective interpretation which makes it more attractive in terms of its systematic nature managed by precise regulations. Whereas qualitative methods allow revealing subtle meanings and individual nuances and the attraction lies in the sensitivity to the individual. Quantitative research offers a structured macro-perspective of the general trends, while Qualitative research represents a context-sensitive micro-perspective of the world (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 27) If applied in appropriate contexts, the two approaches are equally valuable – a view referred to as the "situationalist" approach to research methodology. (Rossman & Wilson, 1985). Hence, particular research issues are looked at from different angles, either from a macro-perspective or a micro-perspective thus unfolding different aspects of the issue in question. It is this mixing method that has great potential in research contexts.

Quantitative research

The progress of the natural sciences in the nineteenth century gave rise to quantitative social research and early researchers accepted and followed the "scientific method" in their studies. Generally, that method suggests three key stages in the research process: *1) observing a phenomenon; 2) creating an initial hypothesis; 3) testing the hypothesis by collecting and analyzing empirical data using systematic procedures.* After the hypothesis has been tested and validated by recurrence, it is accepted as a scientific theory. Thus, the scientific method provided the tool to examine questions objectively. Francis Galton was the first to establish quantitative data collection and analytical methods in psychology at the turn of the twentieth century. That was the period dominated by quantitative methodology in the social sciences. This dominance started to change in the 1970s when research methodology started a process of reorganization. Nowadays, quantitative and qualitative methods coexist in different fields of social sciences.

The quantitative research is characterized with the use of numbers and they are enlivened to meaning when they are contextually backed up, i.e. we define the category the number stands for as well as the values within the variable. Another important feature is the theoretical categorization, i.e. the specification of categories is done before the study. Quantitative research is mainly focused on the common features of groups of people/things, operating with the concepts

of averages and is less interested in individual cases. It deals with the study of variables expressing the common features. The variables are measured, thus, specifying the relationship between them. The most prominent quantifying feature is statistical analysis. The use of standardized measures eliminates subjectivity from the various phases of the research process. The specific aspect of quantitative research is going beyond the particular in the pursuit for generalizing the facts. In short, quantitative research has strengths that are indisputable – it is systematic, controlled, involving exact measurements resulting in reliable and generalized results. On the other hand, the method is not sensitive in unfolding the dynamics of the examined phenomenon. Reasonably enough it is considered as "overly simplistic, decontextualized, reductionist in terms of its generalizations, and failing to capture the meanings that actors attach to their lives and circumstances" (Brannen, 2005, p. 7).

Qualitative research

Qualitative research is really difficult to give an exact definition for it lacks a clear-cut set of methods and has "no theory or paradigm that is distinctly its own…" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 7). And then they concluded "Qualitative research is many things to many people" (p. 10). However, there are some peculiar features that need to be mentioned. The foremost feature of qualitative research is its *emergent nature,* i.e. no aspect of the research design is predicted, the study is flexible and open to new details that may emerge during the process. The investigation starts without hypotheses determined beforehand but gradually the focus of research becomes more salient and the analytic concepts are formed throughout the process of research. Another distinctive feature is the *nature of qualitative data.* That kind of research works with abundance of data (field notes, journal, diary entries, interviews, videos) transformed into a textual form. The common aim of all types of qualitative methods is to decode a set of meanings in the phenomena in question, so it is necessary for the data to include rich and complex details. Consequently, if a thorough description is aimed at achieving almost any appropriate information can be accepted as qualitative data. The *research setting* takes place in its natural environment without attempts to manipulate the situation. The research refers to the subjective opinions, experiences, feelings of individuals and thus the obvious goal of research is to explore the participants' views of the situation being studied. *Meaning* is a fundamental qualitative principle – only the participants themselves reveal the meanings and interpretations of their experiences. Hence the "insider perspective" is vital for researchers, i.e. they try to view and interpret a situation from the inside. Another characteristic feature is the *small sample of participants* involved due to the intensive and time-consuming research. Qualitative research analysis is basically *interpretive*, i.e. the final conclusions are the result of a researcher's subjective interpretation of the data.

As Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 7) point out, "The researcher is essentially the main 'measurement device' in the study".

Qualitative research is effective in exploring new areas by studying and explaining in details a phenomenon. It does not rely on previous knowledge and empirical findings. The methods are used for decoding highly complex matters. The participant sensitivity of the research is a major factor in deciding the main points of the phenomenon requiring special attention as it gives preparatory guidelines validated by the respondents. Thus, grounding the research on such evidence we avoid intellectual manufacture focusing on the truth of the matter. The study has a flexible, emergent nature allowing for the researcher to look for answers to questions that have unexpectedly arisen. Duff (2008) emphasizes that "instead of seeking a generalizable 'correct interpretation' qualitative research aims to broaden the repertoire of possible interpretations of human experience" (qtd. in Dörnyei, 2007, p. 39). The analysis is founded on rich data, thus, avoiding speculations as well as ensuring plenty of material for the report. An interesting example illustrating the method is the textual analysis of Ivanova (2020, pp. 16-35).

Mixed methods research

In the last 30 years, mixed method research has been considered a third approach in the methodology of research. It is a combination of research tools and techniques for the study of the same phenomenon. Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 310) best described the new emerging trend "Quantitative and qualitative inquiry can support and inform each other. Narratives and variable-driven analyses need to interpenetrate and inform each other. Realists, idealists, and critical theorists can do better by incorporating other ideas than by remaining pure. Think of it as hybrid vigour." In 1970s the term "triangulation" was introduced in relation to combining qualitative and quantitative data sources. Denzin (1978) supported triangulation as a way of validating hypotheses by exploring them by means of multiple methods. The mixed method has a lot of support and Lazaraton's statement is demonstrative in this respect "I would also hope that we would see more studies that combine qualitative and quantitative research methods, since each highlights 'reality' in a different, yet complementary, way" (2005, p. 207).

Mixed methods research can be specified as a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods in a single project. The real issue in the mixed-method paradigm concerns how the quantitative-qualitative combination takes place and for what purpose. In fact, different elements of the two paradigms can be combined in several ways:

- two types of research questions (with qualitative and quantitative approaches);

- the manner in which the research questions are developed (participatory vs. preplanned);
- two types of sampling procedures (e.g., probability and purposive);
- two types of data collection procedures (e.g., focus groups and surveys);
- two types of data (e.g., numerical and textual);
- two types of data analysis (statistical and thematic), and
- two types of conclusions (representations, "objective" and "subjective", etc.). (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007, p. 4, qtd. in Litosseliti, 2010, p. 33).

Mixed method research is seen as "increasing the strengths" of one method while "eliminating the weaknesses" of another, which highlights the best of both paradigms. A quantitative phase can be followed by a qualitative element to balance the generalization issue by adding depth to analysis or results (Dörnyei, 2007, p.45). This method is appropriate for multi-level analysis of a complex phenomenon. We can obtain a clearer picture by linking up numbers and words. It also provides evidence for the research validity of the results, increasing their generalizability. That method more easily reaches a larger audience, offering something to everybody. Certain phenomena are best described using either qualitative or quantitative methods but the mixed method paradigm can present extra benefits for the comprehension of a phenomenon and it has the potential to contribute to high quality of research findings.

Quality criteria

Quality criteria in quantitative research

In doing quantitative research the reliability and validity of the methods and instruments of measurement have to be considered. *Reliability* refers to "consistencies of data, scores or observations obtained using elicitation instruments, which can include a range of tools from standardized tests administered in educational settings to tasks completed by participants in a research study" (Chalhoub-Deville, 2006, p. 2). Reliability is denoted by Rasinger as "measure repeatedly delivering the same (or near same) results" (Litosseliti, 2010, p. 55). There are different ways of checking reliability: *test–retest* method measures the consistency of results when you do the same test again to the same sample at a different time; *interrater* is when the test is carried out by different people.: *parallel forms* – different versions of a test designed to measure the same thing: and *internal consistency* measures the consistency of the individual components of the test (Middleton, 2019). The other criterion for quality in quantitative research is *validity,* which term is simply explained by

Dörnyei "a test is valid if it measures what it is supposed to measure" (2007, p. 51). Currently, the term points to the truthfulness of the interpretation of the test scores. According to Lynch (2003, p. 149) "validity is a property of the conclusions, interpretations or inferences that we draw from the assessment instruments and procedures, not the instruments and procedures themselves" (qtd. in Dörnyei, 2007, p. 52). Thus, content- and criterion-related evidence contribute to the overall validity construct together with validity analysis of the consequences of score interpretations and use. Bachman (2004) summarizes *measurement validity* in several main points: - validity is a quality of the interpretations; - perfect validity cannot be proven – only evidence could be provided that the argument is plausible enough; -validity is specific to every situation; -it can be supported with various kinds of evidence. *Research validity* is broader than measurement validity as it is related to the overall quality of the whole research project and more particularly to 1) the meaningfulness of the interpretations that researchers make on the basis of their observations, and 2) the extent to which these interpretations generalize beyond the research study (Bachman, 2004). Validity is divided into two types: internal and external. A study has internal validity, if the product is a function of the variables measured. External validity is the extent to which we generalize our findings to other contexts, i.e. when the result does not apply only to the original sample studied.

Quality criteria in qualitative research

Setting quality standards in qualitative research is problematic because the study is subjective, discursive and context-specific., i.e. "truth" is conditional and "facts" subjectivized (Morse & Richards, 2002). There are three basic quality factors to be taken into account in qualitative research: - *Insipid data* – the quality of the analysis depends on the quality of the original data. If the data is not interesting, then we will obtain stereotypical results and "close to common sense", as Seale et. al. point out (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 55).; - Another important factor is the *quality of the researcher,* who is the "control centre", "the instrument", responsible for the whole procedure.; - *Anecdotalism and the lack of quality safeguards* – Usually researchers are limited in their presenting examples of the data that has led them to conclusions. Silverman, Miles and Huberman consider that the whole process and report could be put to doubt for there are not any essential safeguards against a biased conclusion (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 56).

The specific quality criteria are connected with *reliability.* It refers to the "degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions" (Silverman, 2005, p. 224). Kirk and Miller define reliability in field work as the extent to which the findings are not dependent on accidental factors. While Morse and

Richard clarify the tendency of neglecting reliability in the past "reliability requires that the same results would be obtained if the study were replicated" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 57). However, repetition of the process is problematic since the conclusions are a result of respondents' personal accounts and a researcher's subjective interpretation.

Lincoln and Guba's taxonomy of quality criteria

Lincoln and Guba (1985) introduced the term "trustworthiness" in relation to validity. They suggest four components that "trustworthiness" is composed of: - *Credibility,* or the "truth value" of the study, the qualitative equivalent of "internal validity"; -*Transferability,* or the applicability" of the results to other contexts, the qualitative parallel of "external validity"; - *Dependability,* or the "consistency" of the findings, the qualitative equivalent of "reliability"; - *Confirmability*, or the neutrality of the results, the qualitative counterpart of "objectivity" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 57).

The following taxonomy presents various aspects of the traditional concepts of validity and reliability by Maxwell (1992 as qtd. in Dörnyei, 2007).

Maxwell's taxonomy of validity in qualitative research

Maxwell viewed the qualitative and quantitative approaches to validity as equally compatible. He proposed five components of validity:

- *Descriptive validity* refers to the factual precision of the researcher's report and is seen as the principal aspect whereas all the other categories of validity depend on it. It signifies the researcher's experience as well as the collection and interpretation of data based on other investigations, a strategy known as "investigator triangulation".

- *Interpretative validity.* Bearing in mind that descriptiveness underlies all validity aspects good research focuses on the interpretation of the real events, behaviours and objects by participants. The quality of the portrayal from the participants' perspective can be guaranteed by discussing the findings with them, i.e. to obtain feedback.

- *Theoretical validity* refers to the internal validity of the study, i.e. whether the researcher's report includes an appropriate theoretical basis and how well the theory characterizes the phenomenon in question.

- *Generalizability.* Maxwell (1992) described internal and external generalizability which concern the extension of the description to people, time and setting different from those studied directly. "Internal generalizability" is generalizing within the group observed while "external" one refers to generalizing to other groups. Generalizability in qualitative research has a different function from the one in the quantitative method and the "internal"

one is more important for researchers. The main ideas generated through the process of theoretical expansion which is, in turn, eliqtd. from particular people or situations are applicable to other situations. Thus, specificity might lead to generalization. A strategy to test generalizability, offered by Duff (2006), is to take into consideration the participants' estimation about the generalizability of the issue in question.

- *Evaluative validity* refers to the researcher's evaluation of the targeted issue with regard to usefulness and practicability, i.e. how accurately the research analysis gives value judgement to the phenomenon. That aspect refers to the explicit and implicit use of an evaluation system in a qualitative analysis, investigating how the evaluative assertions fit the issue observed (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 59).

Research design-based strategies

These strategies provide the most convincing proof about research validity and they are an inherent part of the project.

-*Method and data triangulation* – the term "triangulation" refers to the use of multiple methods, sources or ideas in a research project. By exploiting triangulation, the possibility of biased conclusions in qualitative studies is efficiently reduced because the diverse data collection provides strong evidence. Yet, there is a question left unanswered: What will be the interpretation of any disagreement between the results?

- *Prolonged engagement and persistent observation* – engaging for a long time with the issue contributes to validity (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 62).

- *Longitudinal research design* – Duff (2006) states that longitudinal studies can open up various progressive ways and document different kinds of interaction.

Quality criteria in mixed methods research

Dörnyei (2007) suggests some aspects of the quality of mixed methods research to be considered:

- *The rationale for mixing methods* – It is worth mentioning that a mixed methods study offers a more in-depth means of making inferences acceptable. It combines the validity evidence of the qualitative and quantitative components, thus ensuring research validity;

- *The "design validity" of the study.* - The notion of "design validity" (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003) concerns a new aspect of internal validity peculiar to mixed methods research. It is associated with the extent to which quantitative and qualitative components of a mixed methods research are combined so that the

general design exhibits strengths and, weaknesses of the constituent methods, that would not overlap (Brewer & Hunter, 1989; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). To support their assertions of a good design validity, researchers have to present evidence for two quality aspects: first, they have to prove the choice of the particular methods, integrated into the study, to be reasonable. The main principle should be centered around the "fitness-for-purpose" selection (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 63).

Research questions and hypotheses

The logical way to do research includes generating the research questions, choosing the design, then the method and the instruments allowing for the questions to be answered. However, the "research-question-first" principle does not always work when we know little of the topic.

Every project starts with a research topic which initially is usually a rather vague idea about the phenomenon. Then we need to state the purpose of the research, describing the objectives of the planned investigation focusing on the reason for launching the study and its potential importance. The next step towards "narrowing down" and "operationalizing" the research purpose is to define research questions. They are intended to convert the purpose into particular questions that the study is supposed to answer. Formulating the right questions is the basis of the research methodology for achieving the purpose. Johnson and Christensen (2004) argue that the research question is frequently omitted from the final report for it is predominantly a restatement of the purpose (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 73). The good research questions have to postulate an interesting issue. As Gall et al. (2007, p. 41) put it "The imagination and insight that goes into defining the research problem usually determines the ultimate value of a research study more than any other factor" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 73). The logical way to do research includes generating the research questions, choosing the design, then the method and the instruments allowing for the questions to be answered. Realising the possible outcomes of the investigation we can narrow down the scope of the research purpose to "research hypotheses" in place of, or in addition to, questions. Hypotheses are specific predictions about the results and the empirical study will either confirm or deny them. Nunan (1992) recommends how an investigation can be put to work. He suggests creating a "research outline" consisting of a plan with headings, each of which would involve a short statement. The headings have to refer to the research sphere, purpose, questions/hypotheses, the data collection method, type of data analysis (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 74).

Paradigmatic differences in formulating the research questions

Qualitative and quantitative investigation processes are different in the specification of the purpose of study and consequently, in the questions to be explored. A well-specified quantitative purpose leads to formulating the target variables which, in turn, define concrete methodology. Research hypotheses are conceived on the basis of a researcher's predictions. An inherent feature of qualitative studies is their evolving nature and that is why qualitative research purposes and questions are often vaguer than their quantitative equivalents. The qualitative research purpose only specifies the central idea of the study with the intention of gaining new insights and probably theorizing about the issue explored. Accordingly, qualitative research questions are more general and explanatory, focusing on the "big picture" of the phenomenon.

Mixed methods studies characterized with their contradictory nature, require the definition of a purpose and questions that are both specific and vague. As Dörnyei (p. 74) proposes, a good strategy is to start with a general purpose statement, followed by a hypothesis for the specific mixed design and the methods to be applied, and concluded by research objectives and questions for the different research components. Creswell (2003) offers a practical model in mixed method research that consists of placing the questions at the beginning of each phase in the study.

Sunderland (2010) explores different types pf research questions with a focus on linguistic studies: - P*rimary/ secondary questions*, depending on the focus of the study; - *Main/ contributory; - Overarching/ subordinate questions,* hierarchically ordered; - *Empirical/ methodological/ theoretical,* meant for working empirical findings; - *Researcher-generated/ participant-generated; - Empirical/ speculative questions* (qtd. in Litosseliti, 2010, p. 16). The questions have to be related so that they could form a coherent unit. Good research questions are basic to a good research study in terms of data collection, methods and analysis.

Quantitative data collection

The most useful tools for obtaining quantitative data in linguistics are the tests and questionnaires. The participant sample in empirical research is fundamental in guaranteeing a successful study. The *sample* is the group of people the researcher examines, the proper selection of which is crucial for drawing accurate conclusions. According to Dörnyei (2007), the sampling procedures are "probability sampling", typical for scientific research and "non-probability sampling", which are also common for qualitative research. *Probability sampling* includes a number of scientific procedures: *random sampling*, *stratified random sampling*, which combines randomization and categorization, *systematic sampling* refers to choosing every n^{th} member of a group, *cluster sampling. Non-*

probability sampling includes three main strategies: *quota and dimensional sampling,* the former is a stratified one and the latter is a subset; *snowball sampling* is a chain nomination of members, *convenience or opportunity sampling*. The more scientific the investigation, the smaller the size.

Questionnaire surveys

The main and most frequently used tool and data collection method is the use of questionnaire surveys. They are easy to form and have a great potential for gathering a lot of information in a simple processible form. The essence of the research is attempting to find answers to questions in a systematic way and it is, consequently, logical that the questionnaire has turned to be the most popular research tool in quantitative research. The methodology is the following: 1) sampling the participants and 2) designing and managing the research instrument.

Questionnaires are defined by Brown as "any written instruments that present respondents with a series of questions or statements to which they are to react either by writing out their answers or selecting from among existing answers" (Brown, 2001, p. 6).

In general, questionnaires can produce three types of data about the respondent: -*Factual questions* are used to discover particular facts, usually demographic characteristics; - *Behavioral questions* are focused on finding personal history information; -*Attitudinal questions* cover people's thoughts, attitudes, opinions, beliefs and values. Questionnaires elicit information from the respondents without evaluating a performance based on certain criteria. In contrast, "production questionnaires", or the traditionally called "discourse completion tasks" (DCTs), used in interlanguage pragmatics research require the informants to produce some sort of authentic language data as a response to prompts. They are "structured language elicitation instruments" similar to language tests.

The main issue concerning questionnaires is their design. The way questionnaires are formulated is significant for the level of perception and sensitivity of the respondents which would affect the responses. The American psychologist Rensis Likert has discovered a genius way of overcoming the unexpected reactions to the wording of questionnaires by using "multi-item scales". That measurement of "language attitudes" is the foundational technique used most often in research today. According to Dörnyei (2007, p. 103) the "scales refer to a cluster of several differently worded items that focus on the same target" relying on different aspects of the item. In the end, the summation of the scores for the similar questions is averaged. Thus, multi-item scales "maximize the stable component that the items share and reduce the extraneous influences unique to the individual items" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 104).

Typically, the questionnaire is a structured data collection tool with items either asking for specific information or giving response options for the respondents to choose from. Most professional questionnaires are composed of "closed-ended" items in the form of multiple choice questions, allowing for the respondents to select an option. The most famous one is the "Likert scale", composed of a proposition and a range of possible answers measuring people's attitudes, opinions from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". Semantic differential scales are similar to Likert scale asking respondents to rate a target within the frame of bipolar adjectives. There are a lot of other closed-ended types, such as "Numerical rating scale", "True-False items", "Multiple-choice items", etc. Open-ended questionnaires, however, can be employed for some qualitative, exploratory studies since they require creative writing thus allowing more freedom in providing answers. The application of the method is exemplified in Ivanova and Gerova (2020, pp. 48-69; see also Ivanova, 2017).

The efficiency of questionnaires is their foremost strength for they make it possible for a large amount of data to be collected and processed for a very short time. They are also a quite flexible tool that could be used in various situations with different people, aimed at various topics. However, the method is considered as providing rather superficial data for its inconvenience in exploring matters thoroughly.

The experimental study is the most scientific quantitative research design because it manifests undeniable cause-effect relationships. The methodology is based on comparing data obtained from manipulated and controlled process with data – a result of similar process without any special control. The design is difficult to apply in educational contexts so the "quasi-experimental design" is a compromise with respect to the distribution of random assignment. It is similar to true experiments and the initial group-differences have to be decreased. The way to realize this is by avoiding the volunteer principle and minimizing pre-test differences between the two groups. Two methods are used for realizing that objective:

- *Matching participants in the treatment and control groups;*

- *Using analysis of covariance (AN COVA),* which is the most frequently used statistical procedure (Lazaraton, 2005). This analysis evaluates the significance of the differences in the means of more than two groups (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 118).

Qualitative data collection
Qualitative data collection and analysis are not two separate phases but are often circular and overlap. It is difficult to decide whether a method refers to data collection or data analysis or a combined design – grounded theory and

case studies are examples of this uncertainty. Qualitative procedures leading to the generation of a set of data are ethnography, one-to-one interviews, focus group interviews, introspection, case studies, diary studies and research journals (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 124). Qualitative data can be generated from various sources and it is always translated into a text. It is characterized by the huge amount obtainable and its heterogeneous nature. Hence, we must be careful in the selection of data: it has to be useful, realistic, following diverse strategies and "discovery-oriented" in the character of the inquiry.

In contrast to quantitative research, qualitative studies are concerned with describing and presenting individual aspects of the phenomenon in question. Thus, the main goal of sampling is focusing on people who can be potential suppliers of varied understanding of the issue explored, so that plenty of rich data would be collected. A qualitative research has to have a "purposeful" sampling with a plan that should be in accordance with the object of study. The process of sampling is preferable to remain open for a long time so that it could be alternated with the collection and analysis of initial accounts thus additional data is provided. The cyclical process of "moving back and forth" is referred to as "iteration" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 126). The process should continue until we reach "saturation". Glaser and Strauss (1967) described this as "the point when additional data do not seem to develop the concepts any further but simply repeat what previous informants have already revealed. In other words, saturation is the point when the researcher becomes "empirically confident" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 127). The most common strategies for achieving "saturation" are: *homogeneous sampling,* i.e. selecting participants with similar characteristics; *typical sampling,* i.e. participants sharing features typical with respect to the research focus; *criterion sampling, maximum variation sampling, extreme/ deviant case sampling, critical case sampling, convenience sampling*, etc.

Ethnography

The roots of ethnography could be traced back to anthropology and linguistic ethnography respectively draws on work in linguistic anthropology. Rampton et al. (2004) speak of "tying ethnography down and opening linguistics up" (Litosseliti, 2010, p. 139). Ethnographic research focuses on the description and analysis of the practices, values, behaviors, beliefs and languages of cultures. The notion of culture is intended to mean any "bounded units" (Harklau, 2005), such as organizations, communities and groups (qtd. in Dörnyei, 2007, p. 130). The approach is an excellent way of entering into "another culture" and "gaining insight into the life of organizations, institutions and communities" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 133). Exploring unknown "territories" ethnography is successful in producing initial hypotheses which after the data collection phase are verified, developed and reviewed. In linguistic ethnography, regular patterns of action or

talk of a group from a particular social context are identified and interpreted. "This is achieved through participant observation, field notes, ethnographic and open interviews, and often recordings/ transcripts" (Creese, qtd. in Litosseliti, 2010, p. 146).

According to Harklau (2005), a distinctive feature of classic ethnographic research is that it involves direct "participant observation" in a natural setting, and most studies that establish themselves as "ethnographic" include some degree of this method. Several features are emphasized as defining the ethnographic approach (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 131): 1) *Focusing on participant meaning,* i.e. the issue is looked at subjectively through the eyes of informants enabling the researcher to make a thorough study of a different culture.; 2) *Prolonged engagement in the natural setting.* The "in site" observation and interaction can help in identifying and explaining unexpected issues; 3) *Emergent nature* i.e. the research work progresses gradually after some field work has been done. The final product of the analysis is a "holistic cultural portrait of the group" that integrate the participants' and the researcher's views (Creswell, 2007, p. 72).

Interviews

It is the most frequently used method in qualitative research because it is an integral part of social life. The typical qualitative research interview has been described as a "conversation with a purpose" (Burgess, 1984, p. 102) and "the gold standard of qualitative research" (Silverman, 2000, p. 51). Its sharing-knowledge essence makes it a "versatile instrument" in probing into an issue. The typical type of interview is one-to-one "professional conversation" (Kvale, 1996, p. 5) that has a structure and a purpose "to obtain descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 134).

Interviews take many forms, some are more structured, others – informal. The structured ones represent data collection in its most controlled form. They are similar to quantitative questionnaire, follow a guide and the questions are framed in advance so that variations are almost impossible. The context of the unstructured interview, known also as "ethnographic interview", is informal and the interviewer does not follow any preliminary guide. The interview is useful for in-depth exploration of a particular phenomenon or its development (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 136). A compromise is the semi-structured type that follows a guide but the interview can take unexpected turns and lead to interesting findings. This is the most frequently used type in linguistic research requiring the researcher to have general vision of the issue or the sphere explored. The key principle in interview methodology is the neutrality of the interviewer, not affected by personal bias.

Focus group interviews

They are often considered a subtype of interviews and are useful in many different spheres relevant to qualitative research. As its name suggests focus groups are always characterized with multiple respondents engaged in a collective talk centered around a limited number of issues. It involves "within group" interaction that results in large amount of top-quality data. The collective brainstorming elicits discussions and may "spiral off" in various directions while the researcher acts more as a facilitator than as an interviewer. Heterogeneous groups are valuable with regard to obtaining diverse data and examining different perspectives of the issue explored.

Introspective methods

As a result of psychological research at the end of 19th century, the focus of which was the conscious mind of a person or more exactly the mental processes that go through the mind, introspection appeared as a term, including the various ways of eliciting information about thought processes. Nunan (1992), defines introspection as "the process of observing and reflecting on one's thoughts, feelings, motives, reasoning processes, and mental states with a view to determining the ways in which these processes and states determine our behavior" (Heigham & Croker, 2009, p. 220). Gass and Mackey (2000) point out that "the assumption underlying introspection is that it is possible to observe internal processes", that is, what is going on in one's consciousness, in much the same way as one can observe external real-world events (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 147). Introspective methods are seen to be relevant to applied linguistics because language is what represents consciousness on the surface. Kormos (1998) emphasizes their importance in second language learning. Introspective methods include two techniques: "think aloud" and "retrospective reports". The proponent of introspective methods in psychology, Ericsson (2002), analyzes the relation between mental processes and verbal reports. In the "think aloud" technique respondents are asked to verbalize their stream of thoughts while performing a task. In the "retrospective interview" the respondents express their thoughts after the completion of the task and the validity of data depends on the time interval between the two actions. For that reason, Mackey and Gass (2005) recommend the "retrospective interview" or the "stimulated recall". There is some kind of stimulus used for the retrieval process that can help activate respondents' short/ long-term memory. (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 149). Verbal reports are considered valuable storage of cognitive processes which are further analyzed depending on the kind of issue that is investigated. The advantages of the introspective methods in relation to linguistics is that it gives access to language production resulting from mental processes. It could be used in combination with other methods, increasing the amount of data and its reliability.

Case Studies

The case study is a type of research design and analysis which is generally characterized as the most widely used approach in qualitative research in linguistics and education. The notion of "case study" could be defined as the study of the "particularity and complexity of a single case" (Stake, 1995, p. xi). A case is predominantly a person and could be anything representing a singular unit with apparent boundaries or a "bounded unit". The focus of case studies is to provide an in-depth description and analysis of a case (or cases) using multiple data sources, such as interviews, observations, diaries, verbal reports, etc. The task of the researcher is to explore and identify the boundaries of the case regarding the focus and interest of the researcher. Each study aims at exploring one singular case, thus, it can be divided into multiple levels of research which justifies the use of different methods, so as to fully enhance our comprehension of the issue studied. Stake (1995, 2005) points out three types of case study: 1) the *intrinsic case study* is undertaken to explore the inner nature of a particular case for its own sake; 2*) instrumental case study* provides insight into a wider matter and the actual case is not of primary concern. According to Merriam (1998) the intrinsic case study entails a descriptive approach with a focus on particularity whereas the instrumental one also involves evaluation and interpretation. It supports, proves or challenges theoretical statements (Heigham & Croker, 2009, p. 70); 3) the *multiple* or *collective case study* focuses on several cases to study the general conditions of one issue which makes it similar to instrumental case study. Thus, we can gain knowledge about a bigger collection of cases. The case study researcher Yin (2003) offers still other three types based on the objectives of the study: exploratory, descriptive and explanatory (Heigham & Croker, 2009, p. 70). The effective case study researcher must be a careful observer for s/he is the "filter", deciding which data is valuable to serve the aim of the study. We run the risk of distorting the data due to our preconceived opinion and a research diary could be of great help in maintaining a critical attitude on the data. An application of this research design can be observed in the analysis provided by Radostina Iglikova and Olga Usataya on the translation of movie titles in English into Russian (Iglikova & Usataya, 2019; see also Seizova-Nankova, 2016; Iglikova, 2017).

Research journals

Keeping track of one's thoughts, ideas, suppositions during the research process is important for every researcher. Hence, the *journal* or *diary* are the perfect assistants and a valuable source of data. Dörnyei views the journal as "the vehicle to transform private knowledge, by reflection and analysis, into potential public knowledge" (2007, p. 160). Research journals play a significant role in maintaining validity and reliability in qualitative research for they reveal each step in the project and prove the ideas and theories. It takes some discipline

to keep a journal but it repays the efforts for it can become a "platform for conceptualizing, noticing, articulating, or testing out new hypotheses or ideas" (Schmidt & Frota, 1986). Altrichter and Holly (2005) highlight that an important aspect of the research journal as a data source is to include "descriptive sequences" such as accounts of activities and events, or reconstructions of dialogues. In such accounts, the authors underline, "details are more important than summaries and we need to focus on the particular rather than the general" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 161).

Qualitative data analysis

The analysis of qualitative data is seen as characterized by great diversity and there are several principles that are considered essential for the mastery of the process. The first point to stress is "the language-based nature of the analysis", i.e. the data is transformed into words. The second principle defines the "iterative" and "non-linear" nature of the analysis, i.e. the researcher moves back and forth between the data collection, analysis and interpretation depending on the results. Crucial for the data analysis is "saturation" and the process should stop when there are not any new ideas, themes and topics emerging. Another central point in terms of qualitative analytical approach is its reliance on subjective intuition than following formalized procedures. The analysis has to be flexible, "artful", allowing for new ideas to emerge and flow freely without the limitations of traditional procedures. However, opponents of that approach claim that only systematic procedures help in achieving valid conclusions. Thus, it becomes a challenge for the researcher to conform to "disciplined artfulness" when applying the methods valuable for producing new theories. The last essential principle underlying the qualitative data analysis is the use of "general analytical moves "or it is often termed as "qualitative content analysis" as opposed to the use of specific methodology.

Qualitative content analysis

The roots of content analysis can be found in a quantitative analytical method of examining written texts that requires the counting of words, phrases, or grammatical structures that are grouped under specific categories. However, the categories in the content analysis are not predetermined but are obtained by inductive reasoning from the collected data (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 245). Qualitative content analysis is referred to as "latent level analysis" because it is a deeper level of analysis and interpretation of the underlying meaning of the data. There are four phases of content analysis: 1) transcribing the data, 2) pre-coding and coding – pre-coding reflections shape our ideas about the data and would lead to forming the themes of the project. Dörnyei argues that "all the qualitative coding techniques are aimed at reducing or simplifying the data while highlighting

special features of certain data segments in order to link them to broader topics or concepts" (2007, p. 250). Coding should be accompanied by some analytical tools that can help to develop the final themes, the most useful of which is writing memos. These analytic memos are the seeds that will give rise to the main conclusions. The process of interpreting the data and drawing conclusions incorporate taking account of everything we have, evaluating the collected patterns, concepts and ideas, and selecting the final themes which to develop in detail (see for example Mazahir, Yaseen & Siddiqui, 2019).

Grounded Theory

For many scholars "grounded theory" is "a common methodological framework for qualitative research in general" (Arksey & Knight, 1999, see also Chun Tie, Birks & Francis, 2019; Thurlow, 2020) since it provided theoretically-based and complex methodology trying to undermine the dominance of quantitative research. Grounded theory has grown into the "mainstream" and many of its theoretical aspects have turned into "core issues" in qualitative research. The principal aim of the method is to create a new theory framed on the basis of empirical data or as Creswell points out "the intent of a grounded theory study is to move beyond description and to generate or discover a theory, an abstract analytical schema of a process (2007, p. 59). The question of the validity of a theory is debatable and Fassinger (2005) claims that if the result of the research is "a coherent, contextualized explanation (rather than merely a contextual description) of an issue, possibly also outlining a (tentative) model or framework" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 260), then it could be accepted as a theoretical product.

A characteristic aspect of the grounded theory is the differentiation between the different phases of coding the data. The system of coding consists of three distinct levels. The first one is "open coding" in which the data is split into pieces that are categorized. The emphasis is on provoking new ideas rather than on description and interpretation. In the second level, called "axial coding", interconnections between categories are established resulting in more embracing concepts that include several items. Creswell recommends at this level that we return and reanalyze the data in order to describe the links between the categories (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 261). That would provide the basis for the third level of "selective coding" aimed at selecting a "core category" which will be the focus of analysis henceforth and the central theme of the theory. A coherent abstract "core" that encompasses the other concepts ensures an in-depth "inductive" analysis of a phenomenon which moves on to a theory grounded on that specific mode of analysis. An example of qualitative research in which data received from focus-group interviews were analysed by means of grounded theory could be found in Ivanova's chapter on teacher-trainees' preferences for explicit evaluation (Ivanova, 2020, pp. 197-222).

Discourse-Analytic Approaches

The term "discourse" is defined in a number of ways: "verbal interchange of ideas", "formal and orderly and usually extended expression of thought on a subject", "connected speech or writing", "a linguistic unit larger than a sentence" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). For Fairclough (1995) "discourse" is the use of language seen as a form of social practice, a social activity and mutual influence, people who interact in real social situations [as well as] the social creation of reality, a kind of knowledge" (1995, p. 18). It is also viewed as a text, functioning in a specific sphere of social life (Todorova, 2015). In the words of Jaworski and Coupland (1999, p. 49) discourse is a "form of collaborative social action" in which language users "jointly collaborate in the production of meanings and inferences" as they communicate.

Discourse-analytic approaches reassess and examine the use of language in spoken and written communication. Chomsky, who is the father of modern linguistics, postulated that the aim of linguistics is to study "linguistic competence" i.e. the unconscious knowledge of grammar or the rules governing language use. Del Hymes (1972) introduced the notion of "communicative competence" as opposed to "linguistic competence" involving not only mastery of the language code but also knowledge of appropriate language use. That notion is important in discussing spoken and written discourse, taking account of the social and cultural setting.

There are two main fields of discourse-analytical methodology: microanalytical approaches, dealing with "the finer detail of linguistic interactions in transcripts", and macroanalytical approaches, "which consider how broader social processes work through language" (Heller, 2001, qtd. in Litosseliti, 2010, p.119). The following four approaches are the most significant in the field and the most salient in presenting the contrast between the two trends: microanalytical approaches (Conversation analysis) and macroanalytical approaches (Critical discourse analysis) as well as that which combines (Dscourse analysis) or challenges the aspects of both (Feminist Post-structuralist Discourse Analysis).

Conversation Analysis (CA)

CA is at the other extreme of Chomsky's view related to the focus of linguistic study. Spoken interactions dominate our world and the exploration of "talk-in-interaction" provides abundant data of the underlying rules of language. The sociolinguist Sacks (1992) was the first to explore utterances as "social actions which speakers use to get things done (or to avoid getting things done) in the course of a conversation with others" (Litosseliti, 2010, p. 121). CA postulates that social interactions are the creators of reality and arena for human actions. Its goal is to discover and describe interactional architecture. A guiding assumption of research in CA is that the natural setting of language is "co-

present interaction" and that its structure is basically adapted to that setting. While talking we perform actions which instigate subsequent ones and thus form a connected series of actions. Language in action has a social organization and it is this "sequence" in interaction that is the focus of investigation. The following features characterize the essence of research in CA: 1) *Orderliness in talk-in-interaction,* known as the "speech-exchange system", which includes patterns of conversational openings and closings, turn taking, sequence of connected utterances ("adjacency pairs"), feedback and conversational "repair". The interest is, as Paltridge explains, in "fine-tuned analysis" of structure and coherence of interactions (Paltridge, 2006, p. 110; see also Litosseliti, 2010, p. 121); 2) CA is a *data-centered approach*, studying only naturally occurring language and the actions people perform with their speech in real-life situations. The CA transcriptions are valuable resources for analysis of data because they record details (increased pitch, pauses, sequence of utterances) significant for the progress of interaction and for a detailed analysis of meaning production; 3) *neutrality and objectivity:* prior presuppositions to the data, speculations about participants' identities, social settings and norms are considered irrelevant.

CA can be employed as a valuable tool in cross disciplinary studies by using methods of microanalysis, operating from the bottom to the top. It attributes special value to the linguistic data and considers itself a caution against the "relativisation and perspectivisation of cultural analysis" (Schegloff, 1997, p. 183). An example of the application of this method of analysis could be seen in Peneva (2016; see also Peneva, 2017).

Discourse Analysis (DA)

Discourse analysis for Brown and Yule is an investigation of what language is used for, i.e. its functions. They identify the two main functions of language: "transactional" or expressing "content" and "interactional", displaying social relations and attitudes (Brown & Yule, 1983, p. 1). The term *discourse analysis* was introduced by Zelig Harris as a way of analyzing connected speech or writing. He was interested in language "beyond the level of sentence", especially in the ways language features are distributed in texts. Another concern of Harris is "the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic behavior" (Paltridge, 2006, p. 2) which refers to the analysis of language in use, or how the interpretation of language depends on the situation in which it is used. There are various ways of using language in particular situations and the linguistic features characterizing them as well as the realizations of meaning in language is the primary focus of DA.

DA explores the relationship between language and the context (social or cultural) it is employed in, considering both spoken and written language. DA is interested more in the meaning of utterances than in the utterances themselves,

which is also an aspect of Pragmatics. DA examines stretches of text and how they are organized. Mitchell (1957) was the first to study the discourse structure of texts, i.e. the particular ways of ordering what we say or the overall textual organization. He introduced the term "stages "in DA to mean the definite phases we go through in particular spoken or written situations, languages and cultures" (Paltridge, 2006, p. 4). The social and cultural settings in which the speaking or writing occurs is a key issue in DA in comprehending the language choice. It is closely related to Hyme's notions of "ethnography of communication" and "communicative competence" which examine different aspects of speech events (interactions) and their impact on language in different cultural settings.

There are different views on what DA is. Cazden (1998) summarizes two main views: those which examine the natural flow of language and those which focus on different ways of talking and understanding. Fairclough (2003, p.36) contrasts "textually-oriented DA" with language in action. He and other researchers do not view these perspectives as contradictory. Therefore, DA is a view of language at textual level and also an aspect of language in use, i.e. how through language people achieve communicative goals, perform acts, present themselves to others, communicate with other cultures and groups, etc. DA studies texts as communicative units, embodied in social and cultural practices or as Paltridge puts it "discourse is shaped by the world and shaping the world" (2006, p. 9). DA is concerned with the effect the use of language has on social identities and relations and how these influence the use of language. DA takes us into realizing the "bigger picture" of language description (Riggenbach, 1999). It takes us into the social and cultural context of discourse to help us understand the language choices (Partridge, 2006, p. 20). Discourse-analytic approaches depend on the different perspectives taken and the issues examined in the research process (see also Johnstone, 2008; Tannen, Hamilton & Schiffrin, 2018).

Discourse and Grammar

Research has provided evidence of patterns of language examined from a discourse perspective and proved that linguistic items exhibit different functions. A focus of Discourse grammar is on larger units of text than isolated words, phrases or sentences, i.e. it has moved beyond sentence level. A key point is the role the language items have in the entire discourse and how they combine to link meanings in a text, i.e. to make a cohesive and coherent unit. The focus of Discourse grammar are such language aspects as: reference, cohesion, collocation, conjunction, substitution and ellipsis, theme-rheme and thematic progression, which contribute to the texture of a text (Paltridge, 2006, p. 130). Hilles (2005) studies discourse and grammar from a contextual perspective, paying special attention to the socio-interactional or contextual factors that may affect and determine the use of a particular linguistic item in the discourse (Paltridge, 2006, p. 129). Discourse-based grammar relates form, function and context, and

places appropriateness and use as the central issue of its descriptions (Hughes & McCarthy, 1998). Similar view is presented by Larsen-Freeman (2003) claiming that form, meaning and use are indispensable for establishing the base of all descriptions. Discourse-based grammar recognizes the importance of language choices, fosters cognition of interpersonal factors and gives insights into aspects of grammar that could not be reasonably explained.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA is a new democratic approach to the study of texts that emerged at the end of 20th century and can be seen as "a problem-oriented interdisciplinary research programme, subsuming a variety of approaches" (Wodak, 2013, p. xx). All research methods share the same idea and interest in the "semiotic dimensions of power, injustice and political-economic, social or cultural change in our globalized and globalising world and societies (Wodak, 2013, p. xix). CDA is concerned with the study of language and its relation to power and ideology in the social, institutional and political contexts in which it occurs. CDA research considers the use of discourse in relation to issues such as: gender, ethnicity, cultural differences, ideology, identity, politics, inequality, racism and how these are organized and reflected in texts. According to Van Dijk, CDA aims to explore, reveal and challenge some hidden ideologies, positions, perspectives and values that underlie texts (2001, p. 352). He argues that CDA defines the influence of the social contexts on language diversity and the discourse social variables such as, gender, race, age, etc. Awareness of the inherent properties of communicative situations affects language. Thus, the study of discourse tries to strike a balance between society, culture, situation and language. Wodak and Mayer (2009, p. 7) stress the need for interdisciplinary work in relation to CDA in order to grasp how language works in constituting and transferring knowledge, "in organizing social institutions or in exercising power". For Van Leeuwen, CDA views discourse as a "conductor of power and control" and "an institution for a social creation of reality" (1993, p. 793). It focuses mainly on the analysis and critique of unfair social practices. A critical analysis may include examining the text thoroughly, and then moving to analysis and interpretation. Adding systematicity to analysis, Todorova claims that CDA "incorporates three levels of analysis: the text, the discursive practices that create and interpret it and the larger social context relevant to it" (Todorova, 2015, p. 189).

There is no consensus concerning the definition of CDA. However, Fairclough and Wodak give a brief summary of the main principles that CDA is based upon: 1) discourse is constitutive and reflective of social and political issues; 2) power relations are brought into play and performed through discourse; 3) discourse is part of social relations, establishing and maintaining them. It also fosters social and gendered stereotypes and inequalities (2003, p. 4) ideologies are formed and displayed within the frames of discourse (Paltridge, 2006, p. 179).

Though CDA has a diverse nature it is mainly used in institutional discourse and the language of media. An illustrative example of the application of CDA can be seen in Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva (2020b; see also Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva, 2017; Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva, 2016).

Feminist Post-Structuralist Discourse Analysis (FPDA)

FPDA has its origin in feminist post-structuralism and is developed as a method of analysis by Baxter. It can be defined as: an approach to analyzing intertextualised discourses in spoken interaction and other types of text. It draws upon the poststructuralist principles of complexity, plurality, ambiguity, connection, recognition, diversity, textual playfulness, functionality and transformation. The feminist perspective on poststructuralist discourse analysis considers gender differentiation to be a dominant discourse among competing discourses when analysing all types of text (Baxter, 2008, p. 245, qtd. in Litosseliti, 2010, p. 130). The poststructuralist part of FPDA considers discourses as forms of organizing power relations between speakers, and the analysis examines the ways discourses work intertextually positioning participants as powerful and powerless, frequently changing their positions. The feminist part of FPDA emphasizes the social category of gender with regard to the ways in which power relations are created through spoken interaction. Hence, the principal function of FPDA to foreground discourses of gender difference as they are performed within specific contexts. The following are the key principles FPDA is based upon: 1) Continuous reflexivity, i.e. the need to be critical about values and suppositions of discourse analysis; 2) FPDA does not have an "emancipatory agenda" for women but a "transformative quest" (Baxter, 2003). This means that it aims to represent the complex nature of female experience and women's voices that have been "silenced" or marginalized since FPDA acknowledges that these have been absent in many cultures. Thus, FPDA is in favour of small scale, localized transformations that challenge dominant discourses; 3) Diversity of speakers' identities: for FPDA, identities are formed by means of multiple variables, denoting power such as race, ethnicity, age and gender, which is the dominant among these. Due to context, some of the variables are more notable than others in creating identities through interaction; 4) FPDA questions the tendency of polarized subjects, the powerful and powerless, but posits that gender identities are complex and unstable in their positions of power. 5) An interaction between a fine-grained analysis and macroanalysis, FPDA examines the linguistic data regarding turn-taking, sentence structure, verb tense, lexical choice, coherence and cohesion, aspects which help analysts to identify the exact moments of shifts between states of powerfulness and powerlessness, along with explanations of shifts of power relations between participants within particular contexts. An application of this method of analysis can be seen in

Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva's (2020a) research on the development of the image of Ilhan Omar in American media.

Conclusion

In summary, the paper aims at providing a brief theoretical overview of the principal research paradigms, key issues, procedures, data collection and methods of analysis applied to the study of language. Research involves collecting data, analyzing it and making inferences from analysis. General description of qualitative, quantitative and mixed-method research is followed by more detailed account of the three approaches. Specific for quantitative research is going beyond the particular in the pursuit for generalizing the facts. In short, quantitative research has strengths that are indisputable – it is systematic, controlled, involving exact measurements resulting in reliable and generalized results. The foremost feature of qualitative research is its emergent nature, i.e. no aspect of the research design is predicted, the study is flexible and open to new details that may emerge during the process. Mixed methods research can be specified as a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods in a single project. The two methods can supplement and inform each other, thus providing higher quality results and better comprehension of a phenomenon. Quality criteria in quantitative research are validity and reliability. Setting quality standards in qualitative research is problematic because the study is subjective, discursive and context-specific. Two taxonomies of quality criteria in qualitative research are proposed. Lincoln and Guba suggest four components that "trustworthiness" is composed of: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. Maxwell proposed five components of validity: descriptive, interpretative, theoretical, evaluative validity and generalizability. The logical way to do research includes generating the research questions, choosing the design, then the method and the instruments allowing for the questions to be answered. Realizing the possible outcomes of the investigation we can narrow down the scope of the research purpose to "research hypotheses". The main and most frequently used tool and data collection method is the use of questionnaire surveys. The efficiency of questionnaires is their foremost strength for they make it possible for a large amount of data to be collected and processed for a very short time. Qualitative data collection and analysis are not two separate phases but are often circular and overlap. Various data collection methods are considered: ethnography, interviews, focus groups interviews, introspection, case studies and research journals. A central aspect in qualitative data analysis is the reliance on objective intuition than following formalized procedures. Qualitative content analysis is a deeper level of analysis and interpretation of the underlying meaning of the data. Grounded theory has grown into the "mainstream" and many of its theoretical aspects have turned into "core issues" in qualitative research. The principal aim of the method is

to create a new theory framed on the basis of empirical data. There are two main fields of discourse-analytical methodology: microanalytical, dealing with "the finer detail" of linguistic interactions and macroanalytical, which consider how social processes work through language. The most significant in the field are: Conversation analysis, Discourse analysis, Critical discourse analysis and Feminist Post-Structuralist Discourse analysis. The different discourse-analytic approaches, positioned within different paradigms, are likely to produce varying accounts of the same data thus producing richer and complex insights within linguistic research.

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TO DISTORT OR NOT TO DISTORT: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF BRITISH AND BULGARIAN MEDIA DISCOURSE REPRESENTATIONS OF FIRE DISASTERS

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Abstract: *Using a comparative approach and utilising a slightly refined version of a framework for discourse representation analysis used by Norman Fairclough, the article aims to study the discourse representations of the public inquiry of the Grenfell Tower Fire and a press conference of the railway carrier Bulmarket concerning the Hitrino train derailment and subsequent fiery explosion by the British and the Bulgarian media respectively, with the intent of identifying the extent of deviation from the original sources in the reporting texts and the use of devices for controlling the reader's perception of the reported discourses. The research shows that the Bulgarian newspapers have adopted to a higher degree the position of interpreters between their readers and the reported sources, since they are less committed to represent the exact form of secondary discourse, even when demarcated as a verbatim quotation and tend to shape its perception by contextualising it within stylistic devices, which allow them to predispose its interpretation by their readers. However, even the British media commitment is not absolute in this respect, as instances of distortions of the secondary discourse and transmissions of the authority of the quoted sources in their texts are also observed, even though to a lesser extent.*

Key words: *discourse representation, primary discourse, secondary discourse, objectivity, CDA*

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Introduction

The search for truth epitomised by Pontius Pilate's question *Quid est veritas?* is an everlasting effort on the part of the investigative journalism, where journalists in the face of considerable danger for their own lives take on the role of investigators of the hidden agenda of people in power and expose their backstage deals, which may result in the resignation of some political figures, like in the case of Richard Nixon and the investigative reporting of Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward during the Watergate scandal.

At the other end of the continuum stands the gutter press, where truthful reporting is neither present nor expected. Even when the serious press is taken into consideration, the majority of newspaper articles are not investigative in their nature, but rather have an informative function, where the general public is either presented with some new information or publicly expressed opinions. In *Framing Muslims in the Bulgarian and the British Media Discourse* Desislava Cheshmedzieva-Stoycheva (2018, p. 1) states that the tendency of people in general to use their own point of view when presenting information makes researchers "conclude that objective reporting of reality is virtually impossible" and that newspapers tend to conform to "the policy of the organisations that own them" in their ways of presenting news and events so that their focus is "on aspects responding to that policy" (ibid., p. 3). Similar opinion is expressed by van Dijk (2000), as well as by Fowler (1991) and McNair (2008), among others. Thus, journalists tend to opt for particular lexical items or constructions from a set of available options, which allow them to shape their reader's perception of the reported events in accordance with this policy.

The aim of the paper is to conduct a comparative analysis on the discourse representations in two British and two Bulgarian newspapers of the oral and written discourses concerning two catastrophic events, which happened 6 months apart in the Republic of Bulgaria and the United Kingdom and initiated inquiries in their respective countries of origin. The Hitrino train derailment took place on the 10th December 2016 and caused a subsequent explosion and fire in Hitrino, with a death toll of 7 and 29 heavily injured residents of Hitrino as well as 1 heavily injured employee (post switchman), while the Grenfell Tower Fire in London occurred on 14th of June 2017 and caused the death of 72 inhabitants of the tower block. The main intent of the article is the identification of the extent of deviation from the original sources in the reporting texts.

Corpus and Methods of Analysis

The corpus used for the research consists of four articles excerpted from the electronic databases of *Dnevnik (D)* and *24 Chasa (24 Ch)* for the Bulgarian media discourse and *The Guardian (G)* and *The Sun (S)* for the British media discourse. The Bulgarian articles published on 24th January 2020 report a press

conference given by Svetoslav Parvanov, the deputy manager of the railway carrier Bulmarket, after the announcement on 22nd January 2020 of the prison sentences imposed on the train drivers held responsible for the derailment of freight train No. 90570 in Hitrino. The English articles were published on 4th June 2018 by *The Guardian* and on 5th June by *The Sun* report the hearing of Grenfell Tower Inquiry held on 4th June 2018 as well as some documents sent to the inquiry and published on the website of the inquiry on the same day. The whole press conference of Bulmarket was published on the YouTube Channel of RuseMedia and has been retrieved and transcribed, so that the discourse representation in the Bulgarian media can be compared with the original source, something most readers are not in the position to do, while the official transcript and video footage of the hearing of Grenfell Tower Inquiry on 4th June 2018 together with the quoted documents including Dr Barbara Lane's report, Prof Jose Torero's report and Colin Todd's report, published on the website of the inquiry, have been retrieved to the same end.

For the purposes of the analysis, the study utilizes a slightly refined version of a framework for discourse representation used by Norman Fairclough (1995, pp. 54-61), based on the accounts of discourse representation in Leech and Short (1981), McHale (1978), Quirk et al. (1972) and Volosinov (1973), as well as the principles of the systemic functional theory proposed by M. A. K. Halliday (1978) and John R. Searle's Speech Acts (1969).

The term *discourse representation* is used instead of the more common term *speech reporting* because not only speech may be represented, but writing as well, and also instead of a transparent reporting of the represented sources, very often an interpretation of these sources is observed. Terminologically, the voice of the reporter is designated by the phrase *primary discourse*, while the actual words quoted by the reporter – as *secondary discourse*. Conceptually, first, the possibility that primary and secondary discourse can be, on the one hand, clearly differentiated from each other, and on the other, merged to different degrees is taken into account in the framework. Second, the fact that apart from the message (ideational meaning in Hallidayan terms), some stylistic and expressive meanings of secondary discourse can also be accounted for (the so-called interpersonal meanings in Hallidayan terms). Third, the possibility that the interpretation of secondary discourse may be controlled by its contextualization (stylistic or situational) in primary discourse is also considered. The framework has five parameters: mode, boundary maintenance, stylisticity, situationality and setting (Fairclough, 1995, pp. 54-61).

The differentiation of primary and secondary discourse can be seen from two perspectives. On the one hand, typographically, the primary and secondary discourse should be demarcated by using punctuation and other grammatical conventions. This is reflected in the first parameter of the framework called

Mode, i.e the way in which secondary discourse is incorporated in primary discourse.

The framework, according to Fairclough (1995, pp. 54-61) incorporates four types of mode: 1. Direct Discourse (DD), where the secondary discourse is clearly differentiated from the primary discourse, using typographical features, e.g. *Mrs Thatcher warned Cabinet colleagues: 'I will not stand for any backsliding'*; 2. Indirect Discourse (ID), where the secondary discourse is introduced through subordination to the reporting clause in the form of a that-clause, with all the necessary changes, like a removal of the quotation marks, a shift from first and second person pronouns to third person pronouns, shift of adverbials, deictics and verbs of movement (for instance *come* becomes *go*) and backshift of tenses, e.g. *Mrs Thatcher warned Cabinet colleagues that she would not stand for any backsliding[1]*; 3. Direct Discourse Slipping (DD(S)), where just part of the primary discourse is designated typographically as secondary discourse, i.e. the representation of secondary discourse starts as one type (for example ID) and then 'slips' into another one (DD(S)), e.g. *Mrs Thatcher warned Cabinet colleagues that she would 'not stand for any backsliding'*, (such sentences are coded twice – once for the mode they start in and once for the mode they slip in, which is DD(S)); and 4. Unsignalled (UNSIG), where what is clearly secondary discourse has not been typologically designated as secondary discourse, for example: *Mrs Thatcher will not stand for any backsliding* used as a headline. UNSIG includes a variant of indirect discourse, where the reporting clause is omitted, and the potentialities of indirect-discourse sentence structure are retained. The latter is defined by Quirk et al. (1972, p. 644) as Free Indirect Speech, e.g: *Mrs Thatcher would not stand for any backsliding*. A fifth mode, called Indirect Discourse Slipping (ID(S)), not incorporated by Fairclough (1995) is introduced, due to its existence in the Bulgarian media discourse. It is characterized by being distributed between two sentences, with the first sentence representing the secondary discourse as if it is primary discourse (in UNSIGN) and the second sentence introducing the source of the first sentence (in ID(S)), e.g: *Преустановяват се всички културни и развлекателни мероприятия на територията на област Варна, като мярка за ограничаването на заразата от коронавирус. Това съобщи на редовен брифинг пред журналисти областният управител Стоян Пасев. (All cultural and entertainment events on the territory of Varna district are suspended as a measure to limit the spread of coronavirus infection. This is what the regional governor Stoyan Pasev announced to journalists at a regular*

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1. In Bulgarian the reported clause is introduced with the help of the conjunctions *да* and *че* and the tenses are changed into reported verb forms (преизказни глаголни форми), which denote that the speaker has not witnessed the described events but has heard about them from another person. (Pashov, 1989, pp. 371, 150)

briefing[2].) The reason for the introduction of this mode is the impossibility of coding the second sentence only within the framework incorporated by Fairclough (1995).

The second angle from which the differentiation of primary and secondary discourse can be viewed is the one connected with the commitment to the faithful representation of the secondary discourse by not changing or allowing it to impose its authority on the primary discourse. The latter is reflected in the second parameter of the framework, namely Boundary maintenance (Fairclough, 1995, p. 58). With respect to deviations from that commitment, there are two possibilities. On the one hand, secondary discourse can be translated into the voice of the reported through vocabulary and other changes, like when the Labour leader Neil Kinnock says, *'Margaret Thatcher must resign'* and it appears in an article as *'Maggie must get out'*. This is considered a case of *incorporation*. Alternatively, secondary discourse can invade primary discourse and be presented as such. In this case we observe *dissemination*. It can be exemplified when the words of Neil Kinnock are presented as the words of the reporter in a newspaper headline, which reads: *Margaret Thatcher must resign*. Even though dissemination is normally observed in UNSIG, it is also possible to occur in other modes, as well. For example, in the following sentence, which is ID: *Margaret Thatcher must resign, says Kinnock*, the word order, which deviates from the more straightforward one: *Kinnock says that Margaret Thatcher must resign*, signifies dissemination, because by placing the secondary discourse in initial position it is put in focus and thus made salient, which results in the preservation of its authority. It should be kept in mind that both incorporation and dissemination can be observed in one and the same sentence despite them seeming to be opposite tendencies, like in *Maggie must get out, says Kinnock*, where the words of Neil Kinnock are both translated and their authority is kept in the primary discourse by putting the secondary discourse in initial position and thus foregrounding it, while backgrounding the primary discourse by placing it in final position.

As already mentioned, the framework accounts for the possibility that not only the message (ideational meaning in Hallidayan terms) of secondary discourse can be represented but also its stylistic and expressive side (interpersonal meanings in Hallidayan terms). Halliday (1978, pp. 112-113) adopts a ternary[3] interpretation of language, postulating that it consists of three strata, which are realized in the three metafunctions: the ideational (further subdivided into experiential and logical), the interpersonal and the textual one. From the perspective of the ideational function the speaker (writer) is viewed as an

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2. All translations of the original texts in Bulgarian are done by the author.

3. Having three elements, parts, or divisions.

observer who uses language "about something" to encode his/her own "cultural experience" concerning "the things that are already encoded as facts and as reports" (ibid., p. 112). From the perspective of the interpersonal function the speaker (writer) is viewed as an intruder, who through the expression of his/ her own attitudes and judgements tries to influence both the attitudes and the behavior of others. The relationships concerning the roles of the participants in the particular situation, which include the ones defined by language itself, are expressed through this component. The textual component enables the speaker to actualize the ideational and interpersonal meanings so that language is made relevant to the context of situation. The representation of the interpersonal meaning of secondary discourse is accounted for in the parameter stylisticity.

No interaction takes place in a vacuum but in a specific social environment. According to Halliday (1978, p. 33) the *context of situation* can be described through the notions of *field of discourse*, *tenor of discourse* and *mode of discourse*. The *field of discourse* refers to the institutional setting where the specific language use takes place, which includes the social activity the speaker and hearer are a part of, as well as the subject matter. It could be a domestic environment for a casual family conversation on wrongdoing, or a court room for a barrister's speech concerning manslaughter. *The tenor of discourse* concerns the role relationships between the participants in the interaction: a mother and child in the domestic environment and a barrister, a judge, a jury in the legal context. The *mode of discourse* refers to the chosen channel of communication. It is the spoken medium for both situations, but the chosen register differs significantly between the two of them, colloquial speech for the domestic one and formal language for the legal one. The extent to which the context of situation of secondary discourse is represented is accounted for in the parameter situationality.

It should be noted that both stylisticity and situationality can be used as a vehicle for the contextualization of secondary discourse with a view to controlling its interpretation by the speaker (writer) i.e. they can be used as setting devices. Setting is the last parameter in the framework, relating to "the extent to which and ways in which reader's/listener's interpretation of secondary discourse is controlled by placing it in particular context (or 'cotext')" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 60). A number of setting devices can be employed in discourse representation. One of them is the representation of the illocutionary force of the secondary discourse. According to Searle (1969, pp. 23-25), while speaking one performs different types of acts. By uttering words, an *utterance act* is performed. When an item or an abstraction is referred to and something is predicated about it, a *propositional act* is performed. Even though different utterances may refer to the same item or abstraction and predicate the same thing about them, simultaneously, some other acts may be performed, such as stating, questioning, commanding, promising etc. In these cases, different *illocutionary acts* are performed. By

performing illocutionary acts, the speaker can exert certain effects on the hearer, for instance by arguing, one can persuade somebody, or by warning someone, one can alarm that person. Such acts are recognized as *perlocutionary acts*. Searle distinguishes between the illocutionary act and the propositional content of that act, noting that some acts may not have a propositional content, like *Hurrah* or *Ouch*. In an *illocutionary act* with a propositional content there are prepositional indicators and illocutionary force indicators. Word order, stress, intonation contour, punctuation, the mood of the verb, and the performative verbs are some of the devices that indicate the illocutionary force of an utterance (Searle, 1969, pp. 29, 30). Searle proposes a classification of illocutionary acts which takes into account Austin's classification of illocutionary acts into his five basic categories of verdictive, expositive, exercitive, behabitive, and commissive but addresses its inadequacies. Searle's classification recognizes five categories of speech acts, which are representative, directive, commissive, expressive and declarations. Illocutionary acts are thought to differ on at least twelve significant dimensions of variation, three of which are used for the description of all five illocutionary acts and are point (or purpose) of the act, direction of fit of the words and the world and expressed psychological states. Representative illocutionary acts have as point of the act the commitment of the speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition, the direction of fit is words fitting the world (express that something is the case) and the expressed psychological state is Belief (that proposition). Directives have as point of act an attempt to get the hearer to do something, the direction of fit is the world fitting the words (the actions of the hearer should follow the words of the speaker), the expressed psychological state is Want (or wish, desire). Commissive illocutionary acts have as point of the act a commitment of the speaker to some future course of action, the direction is again the world fits the words and the expressed psychological state is Intention. Expressive illocutionary acts have as a point the expression of the psychological state specified in the sincerity condition (e.g. I apologize) about a state of affairs specified in the propositional content (for being late), there is no direction of fit, expressed psychological states can vary. With declaratives the point is the alteration of the state of something, the utterance of a declaration brings about a fit which is both words fit the world and the world fits the words and there is no sincerity condition. In order for a declarative illocutionary act to be performed successfully the speaker should have a special position within an institution. It is important to note that Searle's classification is one of illocutionary acts and not of illocutionary verbs. He says that verbs like *insist* or *suggest* can be used for the performance of different illocutionary acts. He points out that, for example, *I insist that we go to the movies* and *I insist that the answer is found on p.16* express two different illocutionary acts, directive, and representative, respectively. He also explains that if we substitute *insist* with *suggest* in any of the sentences, this will not render a different illocutionary

act but only the intensity with which the illocutionary point is presented will be changed (see Searle, 1976). Searle does not discuss illocutionary acts with respect to discourse reporting but Caldas-Coulthard (1994) postulates that the choice of a reporting (or quoting) verb used to introduce the secondary discourse can be of a paramount importance for the secondary discourse interpretation. She distinguishes between speech-reporting verbs, descriptive verbs, and transcript verbs. Speech-reporting verbs can be neutral structuring verbs (*say, tell, ask, enquire*), metapropositional verbs, and metalinguistic verbs (*narrate, quote, recount*). Metapropositional verbs are further subdivided into assertives (*remark, explain, agree, announce* etc.), directives (*urge, instruct, order*) and expressives (*accuse, complain, claim*). Descriptive verbs, which can be prosodic (*cry, intone, shout*) or paralinguistic, which can be further subdivided into voice qualifiers, connoting manner (*whisper, murmur, mutter*) or voice qualification, connoting attitude (*laugh, giggle, sigh, gasp, groan*). Transcript verbs can signal the relation to other parts of discourse (*repeat, echo, add, amend*), or the progress of discourse (*pause, go on, hesitate, continue*). The reporter does not presuppose the interpretation of the secondary discourse, when it is introduced with a neutral structuring verb, and the illocutionary force of the secondary discourse has to be derived from the quoted utterances without any assistance from the reporter of the utterance and this renders unbiased, transparent reporting. On the other hand, the presence of the author in the text can be conveyed by the illocutionary glossing verbs, which make the illocutionary force of the quote explicit (see Caldas-Coulthard, 1994, pp. 305-306). According to Machin and Mayr (2012, pp. 57-58) the same complaint introduced with the verb *whinged* (which is an expressive) as opposed to the more neutral *say* can undermine the credibility of the statement and the person who has uttered it by giving the impression that the complaint is more of a natural result of the speaker's character. Conversely, if the statement is introduced with the verb *announce* (which is an assertive), much more legitimacy will be ascribed to it. While analysing the representation of a statement made by Tony Blair concerning the Iraq war, where he had said that Britain would ultimately be able to look back on the conflict with 'immense pride', which was introduced with the verb *insist*, Machin and Mayr say that the use of that verb gives an impression of a man who lacks confidence and credibility. They support their position by giving a pair of examples, where a librarian explains that a student must return a book immediately vs insists that a student must return a book immediately. In the first case the librarian explains rules and their authority is clear, while in the second case their authority is challenged (Machin & Mayr, 2012, pp. 63-64). In conjunction with the reporting verb, style adjuncts can also be used as setting devices to control the interpretation of the secondary discourse. Last but not least, formulation (Heritage & Watson, 1979), i.e. "a summarizing gist of the secondary discourse

before it occurs in a fuller representation" is another potential setting device (Fairclough, 1995, p. 61).

Analysis

The four articles have been analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. With respect to the quantitative analysis of the discourse representation, two fundamental questions are of paramount importance: a) what constitutes an instance of secondary discourse representation and b) what determines the boundaries of each instance so that an objective comparison between the articles is drawn. As for the first question an instance of secondary discourse representation is any representation of ideas based on the source materials no matter if these representations are marked as secondary discourse or not, for example: at the hearing, a video footage with the burning tower is shown, where certain more or less shocking utterances are heard and both newspapers report some of them. Since these utterances are not present in the official transcript of the hearing, these have not been considered to be instances of discourse representation and have been excluded from the analysis.

As for the second question, because complete thoughts are typographically demarcated as separate sentences, the boundaries of an instance in most cases are thought to coincide with the boundaries of a sentence. This means that most instances are single sentences. However, there are a few cases, where one complete thought stretches between two adjacent sentences, which could have been combined in a single compound sentence. Such pairs have been coded as a single instance. When, typographically, secondary discourse is demarcated as such with quotation marks, the boundaries are determined by the quotation marks and thus there are cases where up to six sentences are presented between two quotation marks in the Bulgarian media discourse and those have been considered a single instance. Each case of DD(S) or ID(S) is counted two times – the mode it starts in and the mode it slips in. For the former, it is usually ID or UNSIG / DD(S), while for the latter, it is USIGN/ ID(S). The analysis will be organized by consecutively examining each parameter from the framework and the interaction between some of the parameters.

Table 1.
Mode of representation

	The Guardian		The Sun		BR Newspapers		Monitor		24 Chasa		BG Newspapers		BR and BG Newspapers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
ID	18/37	49	7/30	23	25/67	37	3/10	30	8/24	33	11/34	32	36/101	36
ID(S)	0/37	0	0/30	0	0/67	0	1/10	10	1/24	4	2/34	6	2/101	2

DD	4/37	*11*	11/30	*37*	**15/67**	*22*	4/10	*40*	2/24	*8*	6/34	*18*	**21/101**	*21*
DD(S)	11/37	*30*	4/30	*13*	**15/67**	*22*	0/10	*0*	0/24	*0*	0/34	*0*	**15/101**	*15*
UNSIG	4/37	*11*	8/30	*27*	**12/67**	*18*	2/10	*20*	13/24	*54*	15/34	*44*	**27/101**	*27*

Table 1 summarizes the instances from the four newspaper articles both as exact numbers relative to the total and as their corresponding percentage.

If the instances of Indirect Discourse (ID) are taken as a point of departure, it is noticeable that the newspaper with the highest percentage of these (49%) is *The Guardian*, while the one with the lowest percentage (23%) is *The Sun*. The British newspapers have the edge over the Bulgarian ones, with 37% against 32%, respectively, when compared with each other, while the average for both the British and the Bulgarian newspapers stands at 36% (36 instances out of 101), which is the highest percentage figure in comparison to all the other modes. ID is also the most frequently used mode by *The Guardian*, when looked at the distribution of instances for each individual newspaper.

The newly introduced Indirect Discourse Slipping (ID(S)) is used only two times in the two Bulgarian newspapers, and is not present in the two British articles, which is probably the reason why it is not considered by Fairclough, who analysed only the discourse representation by the British media. The fact that it is used by both analysed Bulgarian newspapers shows that it might be one specific Bulgarian way of discourse representation.

Direct Discourse representation (DD) is the third most common mode of representation, when all four newspapers are taken into account and for *24 Chasa* taken individually, and it shares the third place together with UNSIG for *The Guardian*, while it is the first most common mode for *The Sun* and *Monitor*. With respect to the Bulgarian vs the British usage it takes second and third place, respectively.

Direct Discourse Slipping (DD(S)) is only characteristic of the British articles in the corpus. It is not manifested in the Bulgarian articles. DD(S) is the second most common mode used for discourse representation in the articles excerpted from *The Guardian*, while only 13% of all the instances in *The Sun* exhibit the application of this mode.

UNSIG is the second most commonly used mode (27% of all instances) by the four newspapers. However, the Bulgarian media (44%) have relied on that mode almost two and a half times more than the British media (18%), with *24 Chasa* using it in more than a half of all its instances of discourse representation.

Table 2.

Boundary Maintenance

	The Guardian		The Sun		BR Newspapers		Monitor		24 Chasa		BG Newspapers		BR and BG Newspapers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. -	7/26	27	3/26	12	10/52	19	2/9	22	2/23	9	4/32	13	*14/84*	*17*
2.DISS	1/26	4	3/26	12	4/52	8	1/9	11	1/23	4	2/32	6	*6/84*	*7*
3.INC/DISS	8/26	31	10/26	38	18/52	35	5/9	56	19/23	83	24/32	75	*42/84*	*50*
4.INC	10/26	38	10/26	38	20/52	38	1/9	11	1/23	4	2/32	6	*22/84*	*26*

Concerning the commitment of the media to represent the secondary discourse as faithfully as possible, now, we turn to Table 2, which summarizes the quantitative findings of the research with respect to the distribution of the instances of incorporation and dissemination between the individual newspapers, as well as the British media discourse vs the Bulgarian media discourse. A look at the first row of the table, which shows the number and the percentage of instances, where the secondary discourse has been represented faithfully (no incorporation, nor dissemination), reveals that less than two fifths (17%) of all the instances do not show any alteration of the secondary discourse or preservation of its authority in the primary discourse. It is also evident that the averages for the British (19%) and the Bulgarian discourse (13%) have a difference of 6%, with *The Guardian* (27%) and *Monitor* (22%) being much more committed to the faithful representation of the quoted sources than *The Sun* (12%) and *24 Chasa* (9%).

If we look at the deviations from the commitment to faithful representation of the secondary discourse, we will notice that the instances showing only dissemination are 7% on average for the four newspapers, with *The Sun* having the highest percentage (12%), *The Guardian* (4%) and *24 Chasa* (4%) – the lowest, while *Monitor* (11%) is right between them. The average for the British newspapers is 8%, and for the Bulgarian newspapers 6%. However, when the percentage of the instances which show only dissemination is added to the percentage of the instances showcasing both incorporation and dissemination, the percentage for all the four newspapers stands at 57%. The combined number for the British media discourse is slightly lower at 43%, while for the Bulgarian media discourse that number stands at 81%. It shows that the Bulgarian media tends to preserve and transmit the authority of the quoted sources more than twice as much as the British media.

With respect to the instances of alteration of secondary discourse, 26% of the instances in all four newspapers exhibit only incorporation and additionally 50% include both incorporation and dissemination. It means the secondary discourse has been altered in some way in 76% of the instances in the four newspapers. These figures stand at 73% for the British newspapers and 81% for

the Bulgarian ones, which shows that the Bulgarian media are more inclined to alter the secondary discourse while representing it to its readership. Here we can draw a diachronic comparison with the findings of Fairclough, which are based on articles published in the UK in 1985 (some 33 years before the articles used for the present research). Fairclough found out that 71% of the instances from the five newspaper articles that he analysed show incorporation, which is comparable to the 73% that were found out in the present research. Unfortunately, it was not possible to find a previous study based on articles from the Bulgarian media discourse to compare the findings of this research to, so only a diachronic comparison of the findings for the British media discourse was feasible. As for the individual newspapers, when the combined figures for incorporation and incorporation plus dissemination are taken into account, it becomes evident that *The Sun* (76%) is more inclined to alter the secondary discourse than *The Guardian* (69%). For the Bulgarian media, *24 Chasa* with 87% of instances which involve incorporation and incorporation plus dissemination show much more inclination towards alteration of the secondary discourse than *Monitor* (67%). Taking into account the fact that *The Guardian* and *Monitor* are considered more serious press than *The Sun* and *24 Chasa,* the observation that the latter have altered the secondary discourse to a greater degree comes as no surprise, but it is also evident that even the more serious press have not refrained from secondary discourse alteration.

Table 3.
Interaction between Indirect Discourse and Boundary Maintenance

	INDIRECT DISCOURSE (ID)												
	The Guardian		The Sun		BR Newspapers		Monitor		24 Chasa		BG Newspapers		BR and BG Newspapers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. -	5/18	28	0/7	0	5/25	20	2/3	67	2/8	25	4/11	36	9/36	25
2.DISS	1/18	5	0/7	0	1/25	4	0/3	0	1/8	13	1/11	9	2/36	6
3.INC/DISS	3/18	17	1/7	14	4/25	16	0/3	0	4/8	50	4/11	36	8/36	22
4.INC	9/18	50	6/7	86	15/25	60	1/3	33	1/8	13	2/11	18	17/36	47

It is interesting to see the interaction between the parameters mode of representation and boundary maintenance, which is shown in tabular fashion above. With respect to Indirect Discourse, 20% of the instances from the British newspapers and 36% from the Bulgarian ones, which equals to 25% in the combined figure, have represented the secondary discourse without any alteration or preservation of its authority. As for the individual newspapers *The Guardian* (28%) and *Monitor* (67%) have a much larger percentage of instances without any alteration, than *The Sun* (0%) and *24 Chasa* (25%), respectively. The Bulgarian media have shown less deviation from the commitment to faithful representation of the secondary discourse through the mode Indirect

Discourse. Here is an example excerpted from *Monitor*, which shows ID with no incorporation or dissemination, together with the paragraph from the press conference, which has been reported:

> [1] Първанов посочи, че пет пъти от „Булмаркет" са подавани молби до прокуратурата за изземване и съхраняване на елементи от стрелка номер 5, железния път и траверсите, но е получаван писмен отказ (Parvanov pointed out that five times Bulmarket had submitted requests to the prosecutor's office for seizure and storage of elements from arrow No 5, the railway and the sleepers, but a written refusal had been received). (M[4]/24.01.20); [2] Булмаркет Рейл Карго подаде пет писмени молби тогава до прокуратурата да се иззематъ и съхранят елементи от стрелка номер пет от железния път и от траверсите. На тези пет молби има писмен отказ да се извърши това действие. (Then Bulmarket Rail Cargo submitted five written requests to the prosecutor's office for elements of arrow No five from the railway and from the sleepers to be expropriated and stored. These five requests were turned down in writing.) (PC).

Example [1], which reports [2] has a neutral word order, with an introductory clause, followed by a reporting clause introduced with the conjunction *че* (that). The verbs in the reporting clause are in the expected special reporting tenses, which show that the person who reports the statement has not witnessed it. The journalist who reports Parvanov's words distances himself from the reported statements and thus does not preserve the authority of the secondary discourse. What is more, there are not any vocabulary changes in the reported sentence. However, the single reported sentence represents two sentences in the secondary discourse and thus this proves Fairclough's observation (1995, p. 56) that ID does not always express a commitment to representation of the full ideational meaning of the secondary discourse.

Let us now turn to the interaction between Indirect Discourse and dissemination. The combination of Indirect Discourse and dissemination without incorporation is quite rare – 6% for the four newspapers altogether, 4% for the British media discourse and 9% for the Bulgarian media discourse. There are only two instances showing that combination in *The Guardian* and *24 Chasa*. Here is the example from *24 Chasa*, together with the source sentences from the press conference:

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4. The abbreviations used in this analysis are as follows: "M" stands for *Monitor*; "G" – *The Guardian*; "PC" stands for the press conference of Bulmarket in the town of Ruse; "24 Ch" stands for *24 Chasa*; "I" stands for the transcript of the hearing of Grenfell Fire Inquiry held on 4th June 2018; "DBL" stands for Dr Barbara Lane Report published on the site of the inquiry on 4th June 2018; "c" – caption; "S" – *The Sun*"; "/h/" stands for headline;

[3] Лошото състояние на жп-мрежата е причинило инцидента в Хитрино, твърдят от БУЛМАРКЕТ (The bad condition of the railway network caused the incident in Hitrino, BULMARKET claims) /h/ (24Ch/24.01.20); [4] Според заключенията от последните експертизи по делото в Шуменския окръжен съд, ааа… състоянието на железопътната инфраструктура е изключително лошо… Убедени сме, че основната причина е състоянието на железопътната инфраструктура и че трябва да се вземат спешни мерки за предотвратяване на бъдещи инциденти (According to the conclusions of the latest expert reports on the case in the Shumen District Court, er… the condition of the railway infrastructure is extremely bad… We are convinced that the main reason is the condition of the railway infrastructure and that urgent measures must be taken to prevent future incidents). (PC).

First of all, here the word order deviates from the neutral word order of example [1], where the primary discourse introduces the secondary discourse. In [3] it is the secondary discourse which comes first in the sentence and is put in focus and thus its authority is allowed to dominate, with the primary discourse, which is still present, coming almost as an afterthought and whose authority is consequently weakened. The tense of the verb in the reporting clause is the expected special reporting tense, showing that the journalist reports something heard but not witnessed, which weakens the preserved authority of the secondary discourse to a certain extent. Similarly to the previous example, the reported sentence [3] combines information from two different sentences from the press conference, e.g. [4], which are a few sentences apart from each other giving further evidence for the observation of Fairclough (1995, p. 56) mentioned earlier that ID does not always express a commitment to representation of the full ideational meaning of the secondary discourse. Example [3] shows the contextualisation of the secondary discourse with the help of the reporting verb, which will be discussed in the section concerning the parameter setting.

Looking at the interaction between Indirect Discourse and incorporation plus dissemination, we can see that 22% of all the instances of Indirect Discourse in the four newspapers exhibit incorporation plus dissemination. In relative terms, the Bulgarian newspapers have a much higher incidence (36%) than the British media (16%), but in absolute terms they have the same number of instances. *The Guardian* has three instances, *The Sun* has one and *24 Chasa* has four. Let us look at example [5] from *The Guardian*, which is based on examples 6-9 from the hearing of the inquiry into the fire and from Dr Barbara Lane's report:

[5] Serious fire safety breaches at Grenfell Tower included over 100 non-compliant fire doors, a fire fighting lift that didn't work and a "stay put" policy that totally failed, the inquiry into the disaster has been told. (G/ 04.06.2018); [6] This was a programme of works which were intended to replace 106 flat entrance doors with fire doors which complied with

relevant fire safe standards. (I); [7] I have found that the flat entrance fire doors which were installed, were not in compliant with the relevant test evidence provided. (DBL); [8] Evidence is beginning to emerge that the first crew at the scene discovered that the firefighter switch for the lifts, which would give the London Fire Brigade sole control over the lifts, was not operational (I). [9] I consider the Stay Put strategy required from the Building condition, to have effectively failed by 01:26 (DBL).

Similarly to example [3], example [5] shows the same deviation from the word order of a neutral Indirect Discourse sentence but here the tenses in the fronted reporting clause have not been back shifted and thus more of the authority of the secondary discourse is preserved in comparison with [3], which shows the adoption of the expected reporting tenses in Bulgarian. Example [5] reports four sentences from two original sources and is the strongest proof so far of Fairclough's observation that ID does not always express the full ideational meaning of secondary discourse. Example [5] also shows incorporation, where the substitution of the exact number *106* with *over 100*, the *firefighter switch for the lifts* with *fire fighting lift* and the adverb *effectively* with *totally* are vocabulary changes that have been made to the original lines.

As is seen from Table 3, the combination of Indirect Discourse and incorporation covers almost half of all the instances of Indirect Discourse in the four newspapers. It is especially prominent in *The Sun*, where all the instances of ID include either incorporation (86%) or incorporation and dissemination (14%). The following example, which shows ID with incorporation is excerpted from *The Sun*:

[10] The public inquiry into the disaster heard today there were a catalogue of safety failings in the West London tower block /c/ (S/05.06.2018); [11] However, the number of non-compliances signify a culture of non-compliance at Grenfell Tower (DBL).

Example [10] is a caption under a picture showing the whole tower alit with thick black smoke coming out of it. This instance shows the substitution of *a culture* from Dr Lane's report with *a catalogue* in *The Sun*'s article and the substitution of *non-compliances* with *safety failings*. A look at the dictionary definitions of *culture* and *catalogue* is revealing about the motivation for this substitution. Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English defines *culture* as "the attitudes and beliefs about something that are shared by a particular group of people or in a particular organization" (LDCE 2003, p. 382) and *a catalogue of* as "a series of mistakes, crimes etc that happen one after the other and never seem to stop". As seen, despite denoting similar ideas, the connotative layers of *culture* and *catalogue* definitely differ, with *catalogue* pointing into the direction of crime and wrongdoing.

Now, let us focus on the interaction between Direct Discourse and Boundary Maintenance, which is represented in Table 4.

Table 4.

Interaction between Direct Discourse and Boundary Maintenance

	DIRECT DISCOURSE (DD)												
	The Guardian		The Sun		BR Newspapers		Monitor		24 Chasa		BG Newspapers		BR and BG Newspapers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. -	2/4	50	3/11	27	5/15	33	0/4	0	0/2	0	0/6	0	5/21	24
2.DISS	0/4	0	3/11	27	3/15	20	1/4	25	0/2	0	1/6	17	4/21	19
3.INC/DISS	1/4	25	1/11	9	2/15	13	3/4	75	2/2	100	5/6	83	7/21	33
4.INC	1/4	25	4/11	36	5/15	33	0/4	0	0/2	0	0/6	0	5/21	24

The number of instances in DD, which do not exhibit any form of incorporation or dissemination equals 24% (5 out of 21 instances) for the combined instances from the British and the Bulgarian media discourse, while for the Bulgarian newspapers it is 0% (0 out of 6) and for the British ones it is 33% (5 out of 15), which shows that the British newspapers show a higher commitment to the faithful representation of the secondary discourse without any alteration or preservation of its authority when Direct Discourse is concerned, which is in stark contrast with the situation concerning Indirect Discourse, which showed the reversed trend. When the individual newspapers are looked at, *The Guardian* (50%) stands out as the one with the highest commitment, while *25 Chasa* (0%) and *Monitor* (0%) show the lowest commitment, with *The Sun* (27%) coming in between, which presents us with some evidence that possibly even the representatives of the British gutter press have a higher level of objective representation of secondary discourse than the Bulgarian newspapers, which are considered a more serious press, like *Monitor*.

> [12] Referring to the "stay put" advice, he said: "It may be that the formal maintenance of that advice until 2.47 am made all the difference between life and death" (G/04.06.2018); [13] On the other hand, it may be that the formal maintenance of that advice until 2.47 am made all the difference between life and death (I).

Example [12], extracted from *The Guardian*, shows DD without any alteration or dissemination. It starts with introductory primary discourse and clearly marks where the secondary discourse begins and ends. Between the quotation marks the secondary discourse from [13] is represented verbatim without any changes. This instance exemplifies what one expects when they look at a quoted utterance, but, unfortunately, as is seen from the research results, such instances are more of an exception that the norm.

A combination, which still keeps the secondary discourse unaltered is DD, which shows only dissemination. Table 4 reveals that further 19% from the instances in the four newspapers do not show alteration of the secondary discourse but display preservation of its authority and the situation between the British newspapers (20%) and the Bulgarian newspapers (17%) is not that different.

> [14] „Независимо с каква скорост се е движела влаковата композиция, тя е можела да дерайлира. Убедени сме, че основната причина е състоянието на железопътната инфраструктура и че трябва да се вземат спешни мерки за предотвратяване на бъдещи инциденти", допълни той. ("No matter how fast the train had been moving, it could have derailed. We are convinced that the main reason is the condition of the railway infrastructure and that urgent measures must be taken to prevent future accidents," he added.) (M/24.01.20); [15]… независимо с каква скорост се движи влаковата композиция, тя е могла да дерайлира. Убедени сме, че основната причина е състоянието на железопътната инфраструктура и че трябва да се вземат спешни мерки за предотвратяване на бъдещи инциденти. (no matter how fast the train had been moving, it could have derailed. We are convinced that the main reason is the state of the railway infrastructure and that urgent measures must be taken to prevent future accidents.) (PC).

In [14], taken from *Monitor*, which quotes [15], the placement of the reporting verb after the reported string undermines the authority of the primary discourse and thus the secondary discourse wields its authority.

If we look at the statistical data (Table 4), which shows the percentage of instances that show alteration of the secondary discourse, we will see that 57% of all instances in the four newspapers show incorporation within DD either alone or in conjunction with dissemination, which contrasts sharply with what Leech and Short (1981, p. 257) suggest concerning DD, namely that the person who reports in direct discourse claims to report faithfully both what is said and the exact words, which are used. These differences arise from the fact that Leech and Short discuss Direct and Indirect Discourse in the light of fictional literary works, while the findings of the present research concern media usage. Even so, when quotations are concerned, what Leech and Short suggest is the expected commitment and it is unfortunate that both the British and the Bulgarian media have not completely committed to the faithful representation of the exact form of the quoted utterances. It is fair to notice, though, that the Bulgarian media with their 83% of deviation have shown twice less commitment than the British media, which have 46% of instances with deviation. Here is an example from *The Sun*, which shows the nature and the extent of deviation of

the published quotation in comparison with the original line from the transcript of the inquiry:

[16] Mr Millet explained: "Polyethylene is combustible, which melts and drips when exposed to heat" (S/05.06.18); [17] Now, polyethylene is a combustible synthetic thermoplastic polymer which melts and drips upon exposure to heat and which can also flow whilst burning. (I).

The omission of *synthetic thermoplastic polymer* and the substitution of the prepositional phrase *upon exposure to heat* from the original line [17] with *when exposed to heat* in example [16] shows some of the more significant alterations of the quoted material, found in the British newspapers, which involve small changes, such as omissions of words or articles and substitutions of words or phrases, which can also be characteristic of some of the instances of incorporation in the Bulgarian discourse. However, some of the examples from the Bulgarian media show more radical changes, like the ones in example [18], excerpted from *24 Chasa*, which shows DD with both incorporation and dissemination:

[18] „Търсеха се, изземаха се и се подлагаха на експертизи само и единствено предмети, данни и факти, които са в подкрепа на обвинителната теза. ... Дали причината за тенденциозното разследване е оказания върху разследващия екип от НСлС натиск от зам.-главния прокурор или причината е някъде другаде, е въпрос, който също търси своя отговор", допълни Първанов. ("Only objects, data and facts that support the indictment were searched for, taken as samples and subjected to expertise. … Whether the reason for the biased investigation is the pressure exerted on the investigation team by the Deputy Prosecutor General or the reason is somewhere else, is a question that is also looking for its answer," Parvanov added). (24 Ch/24.01.20).

What is interesting is the fact that none of the British newspapers have more than two sentences in a single quotation, while *24 Chasa* has two instances, where either 5 or 6 sentences are quoted together. Example [18] is the five-sentence quotation from *24 Chasa* but to save space, only the first and the last sentence from the quotation are given. Were all these sentences to have been considered separately, the number of the instances of incorporation within DD in the Bulgarian discourse representation would have soared. Similarly to some of the previous examples, which show dissemination, here the placement of the primary discourse clause at the end of the string allows the secondary discourse to become more authoritative.

[19] В българското право, а и не само в българското право е задължително провеждането на обективно и всестранно разследване, което означава, че трябва да се събират факти и доказателства,

както в подкрепа на обвинителната теза, така и въобще в подкрепа на каквато и да е друга теза. …Булмаркет Рейл Карго подаде пет писмени молби тогава до прокуратурата да се иззематат и съхранят елементи от стрелка номер пет от железния път и от траверсите. На тези пет молби има писмен отказ да се извърши това действие. Тези вещи не са иззёмани, не се съхраняват никъде… естествено не могат да се изследват. Дали причината за тенденциозното разследване е оказания натиск върху разследващия екип от Националната следствена служба, от заместник-главния прокурор или е някаква друга причината, ние не знаем, но според мен този въпрос много активно очаква своя отговор. (Under the Bulgarian legislation, and not only under the Bulgarian legislation, it is mandatory to conduct an objective and thorough investigation, which means that facts and evidence must be collected, both in support of the accusatory thesis and in general in support of any other thesis. … At the/ that time Bulmarket Rail Cargo submitted five written requests to the prosecutor's office for collection and storage of samples from arrow No five, from the railway, and from the sleepers. These five requests were refused in writing. These items are not collected; they are not stored anywhere… of course they cannot be examined. Whether the reason for the biased investigation is the pressure exerted on the investigation team by the National Investigation Service, the Deputy Prosecutor General or there is some other reason, we do not know, but in my opinion this question is very actively awaiting its answer.) (PC).

Now, let us compare example [18] with the original lines [19] from the press conference to see the nature of the alterations which the secondary discourse has undergone. First of all, it is clear that the first sentence from [18] in its entirety has not been pronounced at the press conference but the gist of it by implication can be found scattered around different sentences. The first sentence in [18] is in the passive voice, which in Bulgarian can be formed in two different ways. The first way, which is similar to the way the passive voice is formed in English relies on the use of the auxiliary verb *съм (be)* which changes according to the desired tense and the past participle of the finite verb, which denotes the meaning. The second way, which is the one chosen for the first sentence in example [18], relies on the use of the reflexive particle *се* added to the full verb. The word order in the sentence is not the expected word order, which should start with the noun group serving as the grammatical subject of the sentence and then followed by the verb group. Here, the sentence starts with a verb group and thus the actions denoted by the verb group are emphasized. The verb group includes three full verbs rather than one, and the noun group consists of three subjects. This is a concise sentence, which contains a lot of information in a very small form factor, in most cases referring implicitly to at least three sentences

from the secondary discourse. The motivation for such a sentence is obvious: it both saves space and presents the ideas from the secondary discourse in a clear way. However, it shows a drastic change of the form of the secondary discourse, while typographically, it is demarcated as representing the secondary discourse without any alteration, and while incorporation within ID can be thought of as being more expected, incorporation within DD is seen as a form of insincerity. The last sentence from [18] is an example of a more moderate alteration in the Bulgarian discourse.

Table 5.
Interaction between Direct Discourse and Boundary Maintenance

	UNSIGNALLED (UNSIG)												
	The Guardian		The Sun		BR Newspapers		Monitor		24 Chasa		BG Newspapers		BR and BG Newspapers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. -	0/4	0	0/8	0	0/12	0	0/2	0	0/13	0	0/15	0	0/27	0
2.DISS	0/4	0	0/8	0	0/12	0	0/2	0	0/13	0	0/15	0	0/27	0
3.INC/DISS	4/4	50	8/8	100	12/12	100	2/2	100	13/13	100	15/15	100	27/27	100
4.INC	0/4	50	0/8	0	0/12	0	0/2	0	0/13	0	0/15	0	0/27	0

As far as the interaction between UNSIG and Boundary Maintenance is concerned all instances of UNSIG from the four newspapers involve both incorporation and dissemination. Let us see four examples from each of the newspapers. The first two examples are from the British media discourse.

[20] One survivors' group has claimed in evidence to the inquiry that many more people would have survived if the advice had been revoked earlier. (G/04.06.2018); [21] Now, the submissions of the G3 group of bereaved, survivors and residents assert at paragraph 68 that it is "beyond argument" that many more would have survived than did survive if the stay-put policy had been abandoned at 1.26 am, or at any rate long before 25 2.47 am. (I); [22] So far 135 written statements have been taken from survivors and residents, including 60 people who escaped from the tower on the night. (S/05.06.18); [23] As matters currently stand, the inquiry has received a total of 135 written witness statements from bereaved, survivors and residents; 60 from survivors who escaped the tower and 75 from other witnesses, including bereaved, residents who were not present and observers. (I).

If example [20] from *The Guardian* is read without comparing it with lines [21] from the transcript of the hearing, it is easy for anyone to be persuaded into thinking that this is primary discourse reporting the opening statement of lawyers representing some of the survivors during the hearing. It turns out that this is Mr Millet – the only speaker (apart from the chairman Sir Martin

Moore-Bick) during the hearing, who first quotes written submissions from the G3 group of bereaved, survivors and residents and then reacts to their assertion, which is not presented here. In a very similar fashion example [22] from *The Sun* presents the words of Mr Millet [23] reporting some statistical data as primary discourse. As far as incorporation is concerned, the verb *assert* from [21] has been substituted with *claim* in [20], and the quoted phrase *beyond argument* from [21] has been omitted in [20]. The verb *receive* from [23] has been substituted with *take* in [22] and the active construction in [23] has been substituted with a passive construction in [22]. By the use of UNSIG, some facts from the hearing, concerning who said what, have not been reported accurately, but apart from that the changes are more or less stylistic.

> [24] Според нас основната причина е състоянието на железопътната инфраструктура и спешно трябва да се вземат мерки за да се предотвратят бъдещи инциденти (In our opinion, the main reason is the condition of the railway infrastructure and urgent measures must be taken to prevent future incidents) (24 Ch/24.01.20); [25] Убедени сме, че основната причина е състоянието на железопътната инфраструктура и че трябва да се вземат спешни мерки за предотвратяване на бъдещи инциденти (We are convinced that the main reason is the state of the railway infrastructure and that urgent measures must be taken to prevent future incidents) (PC).

Example [24] from *24 Chasa* starts with the phrase *според нас (in our opinion)*, which can mislead the casual reader into thinking that this is the media representatives who express their opinion. This definitely is dissemination of a higher order than the one found in examples [20] and [22] taken from the British media discourse. Even though the framework does not provide a scale for measurement of the degree of dissemination, it is clear that this example has a higher impact factor than the examples from the British media.

> [26] Машинистите нямат решаваща вина за инцидента в Хитрино, ние твърдо стоим зад тях. (The train drivers are not to blame for the accident in Hitrino, we stand firmly behind them.) (M/24.01.20); [27] Какви ще бъдат действията на машинистите и техните защитници към настоящия момент не ни е известно, но предполагаме, че те ще обжалват присъдата… ааа… но какви… каквото и решение да вземат искам да знаете, че ние твърдо стоим зад тях. … Това са аргументите ни да считаме, че машинистите не са виновни в причинения инцидент (What the actions of the train drivers and their defenders will be at the moment we do not know, but we assume that they will appeal the verdict… aaa… but whatever … whatever decision they make I want you to know that we stand firmly behind them. … These

are our arguments to believe that the drivers are not to blame for the accident). (PC).

Example [26] from *Monitor* similarly to example [24] from *24 Chasa* is ambiguously worded because the deictic *ние (we)* may refer either to the representative of Bulmarket or the journalist and editors working for *Monitor*. Of course, such examples are part of a wider context and readers will probably work out that this is the opinion of Bulmarket and not the opinion of the journalist writing the article and the editors of the article who have approved of its publication. Even so, the fact that these examples have been typographically demarcated as primary discourse signifies that the voice of the journalist endorses the statements made by Bulmarket and thus the secondary discourse is ascribed massive legitimacy.

Table 6.
Stylisticity and Situationality

	STYLISTICITY AND SITUATIONALITY													
	The Guardian		The Sun		BR Newspapers		Monitor		24 Chasa		BG Newspapers		BR and BG Newspapers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
STYLE	2/26	8	0/26	0	2/52	4	0/9	0	0/23	0	0/32	0	2/84	2
SIT	11/26	42	5/26	19	16/52	31	1/9	11	2/23	9	3/32	9	19/84	23

As seen from Table 6 stylistisity is very low. From the 84 instances of discourse representation only 2 instances exhibit the representation of stylistic meanings of the secondary discourse. Situationality is a bit higher and 19 out of the 84 instances in the four newspapers (23%) represent the context of situation. Most of the instances of situationality represent the tenor of discourse, while some of the instances represent the field of discourse. The British media (31%) have represented the context of situation much more than the Bulgarian media (9%). Stylistisity and situationality are used as setting devices and will be discussed qualitatively in the section concerning the parameter setting.

Table 7.
Setting

	SETTING													
	The Guardian		The Sun		BR Newspapers		Monitor		24 Chasa		BG Newspapers		BR and BG Newspapers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
F	1/26	0.26	3/26	12	4/52	8	2/9	22	2/23	9	4/32	13	8/84	10
IF	5/26	19	5/26	19	10/52	19	4/9	44	9/23	39	13/32	41	23/84	27
TOTAL SETTING	15/26	58	11/26	42	26/52	50	5/9	56	10/23	43	15/32	47	41/84	49

Table 7 shows that apart from stylistisity and situationality, whose data is represented on Table 6, the British and the Bulgarian media have relied on two more types of setting devices for the contextualization of the secondary discourse with the intention of controlling its interpretation by the reader, which are formulation (F) and the representation of the illocutionary force of the secondary discourse through the reporting verb (IF). As far as the combined figure of the four newspapers is concerned, 10% of the instances (8 out of 84) show the implementation of formulation, and the Bulgarian newspapers have a slightly larger percentage (13%) than the British ones. Here is an instance of the representation of the context of situation from the British media discourse:

> [28] Jose Torero, academic and fire safety expert, came to a damning conclusion about the building regulation system, stating that "systems that introduce obvious dangers can be incorporated by designers in a routine manner." (G/04.06.18).

Example [28] shows the representation of the tenor of discourse with the phrase *academic and fire safety expert* and the use of the style adjunct *damning* as a setting device. The already discussed example [10] reprinted for clarity below is an example of representation of the field of the secondary discourse.

> [10] The public inquiry into the disaster heard today there were a catalogue of safety failings in the West London tower block /c/ (S/05.06.18).

The introductory clause of example [10], which is primary discourse, shows the context of situation with the noun phrase *the public inquiry into the disaster* and the deictic *today*, where the use of the deictic is an example of a factual error. Deictic expressions do not have a meaning of their own, but they change their meaning depending on who, in what circumstances uses them. In the context of an article, the deictic *today* should refer to the date on which the article is published. The date and time specified in the article in *The Sun* are 5 June 2018, 0:55. The hearing of the inquiry reported in the article was held on 4 June 2018. Obviously, by looking at the time of the publication, it becomes evident that the article was prepared on 4 June and published at night. Still, it should have been indicated that the inquiry heard *yesterday* and not *today* from the point of view of the time of publication of the article. It is not clear whether this was a deliberate act or an unintentional mistake, but it shows that even the primary discourse can contain some distorted information. Example [10], which is a caption under a picture, shows the use of formulation, since it repeats the first sentence in the article in *The Sun*.

The Bulgarian newspapers (41%) have represented the illocutionary force of the secondary discourse more than twice as much as the British media (19%). Since more than one setting device is implemented in some instances, the total number of the instances, which show the implementation of different setting devices, is lower than the sum of the individual numbers for the different setting devices.

The incidence of total setting in the four articles is 49% with the British media (50%) having a slightly higher percentage than the Bulgarian media (47%).

24 Chasa have relied on metapropositional verbs 8 times, which include *ce аргументира (adduced arguments/ argued), твърдят (maintain, assert, claim), посочи (pointed out)*, which is used 3 times, *припомниха (brought it up, reminded), заяви (declare, announce)*, which is used 2 times. There is one transcript verb – *допълни (added)* in their article. There are not any neutral reporting verbs and the used metapropositional verbs are all assertives. Machin and Mayr (2012, pp. 63-64) state that even the transcript verb *add* might be used by the press media to give the impression that a person they are promoting offers more information, when in fact they might be presenting the same point. The analysis of the reporting verbs together with the fact that 54% of all the instances of discourse representation in the article by *24 Chasa* are in UNSIG (see Table 1) show that the newspaper endorses the statements of Bulmarket.

> [29] От фирмата припомниха, че през тези три години, докато траеше разследването и съдебния процес, са били умерени в публичността си (The company reminded [the audience]/ brought it up that for the past three years, during the investigation and trial, they have been moderate in their publicity). (24Ch/24.01.20).

Let us assess the use of the verb *припомниха (brought sth up)* in example [29], by replacing it with an alternative one, like *признаха (admitted)*. Normally, companies who are core participants in an inquiry are frowned upon when they keep a low profile, since that can be viewed as a form of avoidance of responsibility or a silent acceptance of guilt. Thus, the use of *признаха (admitted)* could have been used by unfriendly media to ascribe guilt to the company. But *24 Chasa* have opted for *припомниха (brought it up)*. People who bring up a subject are in control and sound authoritative.

Monitor have relied on metapropositional verbs 3 times, including *посочи (pointed out)*, which is used 2 times and *коментира (commented)*. There is one transcript verb – *допълни (added)* and two neutral verbs in their article. The fact that the newspaper uses a combination of neutral and metapropositional verbs corresponds to the lower percentage of instances in UNSIG (20%) than *24 Chasa* (see Table 1), and shows that the newspaper is more moderate in its representation, while still showing inclination towards presupposing positive interpretation of the statements made by Bulmarket. Example [1], which was discussed above, marks a case of implementation of the verb *посочи (pointed out)* by the media, which presents the representative of Bulmarket as authoritative and legitimate.

> [30] Това коментира днес в Русе заместник-управителят на „Булмаркет" Светослав Първанов по повод на приключилото на първа инстанция дело за железопътната катастрофа на 10 декември 2016 г., довела до смъртта на седем души. (This was commented today in Ruse by the Deputy Manager of Bulmarket Svetoslav Parvanov on the occasion of the closed case in the first instance on the railway accident on December 10, 2016, which resulted in the death of seven people.) (M/24.01.20).

Example [30] shows an instance of the newly introduced mode ID(S), characteristic only of the Bulgarian media, which "slips" into ID from UNSIG in the previous sentence, where the statement of the representative of Bulmarket (secondary discourse) was presented under the guise of primary discourse. The confusion concerning who said what from the previous sentence might have been cleared up with that sentence, but the use of the reporting verb *comment* with the fact that the author has shown that they share the opinion of Parvanov further ascribe legitimacy to the statement of the company.

The Guardian have used neutral structuring verbs 14 times, and have relied on metapropositional verbs 5 times, which include *claimed, insisted, stating, revealed,* and *warned*. The ratio between the neutral and prepositional verbs is almost 3 to 1, which shows that most of the time the newspaper has allowed the readers to derive the illocutionary force of the secondary discourse on their own. Let us look at some examples, where the illocutionary force of the secondary discourse is explicitly stated in the primary discourse. We will start with the already discussed example [20], reprinted below, and example [31], which happen to be two adjacent sentences in the article.

> [20] One survivors' group has claimed in evidence to the inquiry that many more people would have survived if the advice had been revoked earlier. (G/04.06.2018); [31] But Millett insisted that was "very far from beyond argument" and that the timing of that advice and its consequences would have to be explored in evidence. (G/04.06.18).

Example [20] uses the verb phrase *claim in evidence*, which sounds almost like an oxymoron, since *claim* is defined as "to state that something is true, even though it has not been proved", while *evidence* is defined as "information that is given in a court of law in order to prove that someone is guilty or not guilty". According to the taxonomy of Caldas-Coulthard (1994) *claim* is a metapropositional expressive and Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 61) state that the use of this word invites doubt. The use of *evidence,* on the other hand, invites trust. The effect of this juxtaposition of the two opposing meanings, which seem to neutralize each other, is the distancing of the newspaper from the statement. The opposing statement of Mr Millett is introduced with the verb *insist*, which

was already discussed as having potential to undermine the legibility of a statement and thus the newspaper distances from that statement, too.

> [32] In an opening statement that lasted most of the day, Richard Millett QC, counsel to the inquiry, warned the companies and organisations called to give evidence not to "indulge in a merry-go-round of buck passing". (G/04.06.18).

Example [32] shows a combination of setting devices. The secondary discourse is contextualized within a long opening statement presented by a lawyer, who is also counsel to the inquiry and has the authority to issue warnings, which gives the secondary discourse massive legitimacy. Here the newspaper endorses the claim that the core participants have to accept their respective responsibilities for the disaster, which resulted is such a great loss of life.

The Sun have used neutral structuring verbs 3 times and have relied on metapropositional verbs 2 times and have implemented one transcript verb *(add)* 3 times, which shows that its commitment to neutrality is lower than that of *The Guardian,* which corresponds to its higher usage of UNSIG (see Table 1). The two metapropositional verbs used by *The Sun* are *explained* from the already discussed example [16] and *concluding* from example [33].

> [33] The blaze climbed 50 metres up 19 floors in just 12 minutes, with Dr Barbara Lane, a fire safety engineer, concluding in a report: "The ultimate consequence was a disproportionately high loss of life." (S/05.06.18).

In both cases quotes from experts are introduced. The contextualization of the secondary discourse in [33] is achieved with different setting devices apart from the reporting verb *conclude*, which presupposes the interpretation that the secondary discourse is a result of sound reasoning and thus trustworthy.

Conclusion

The results from the research allow us to draw the following conclusions:

Concerning the mode of representation, the Bulgarian newspapers prefer ID over DD, while the British ones prefer DD over ID and the combined figures show that the instances showing ID are about as many as the instances showing DD. DD(S) is only characteristic of the British newspapers, while the newly introduced ID(S) is only characteristic of the Bulgarian newspapers. There is a very high percentage of instances in UNSIG, with the Bulgarian newspapers showing a much higher usage of that mode. This leads us to the conclusion that the Bulgarian newspapers have adopted to a higher degree the position of interpreters between their readers and the reported sources, since Indirect Discourse is the mode which allows the reporter to be in the position of an interpreter between the person whose words are reported and the person to

whom the words are being reported and at the same time it gives more control over the report to the reporter (see Leech & Short, 1981, pp. 256, 260). The British newspapers are more committed to represent the exact form of secondary discourse (ibid., p. 257) but as is seen from the data concerning the interaction between DD and Boundary maintenance this commitment is not absolute, since incorporation could be noticed even within instances of DD.

Concerning Boundary Maintenance, as far as the combined figures for all the modes are concerned, for the most part there is a lack of commitment to the faithful representation of the secondary discourse (a very low percentage of instances, which show neither incorporation nor dissemination) and the British media have a little bit more instances without incorporation and dissemination than the Bulgarian media. The Bulgarian media show a higher percentage of incorporation. The findings for the British media concerning incorporation are comparable, diachronically, with the findings of Fairclough, with a difference of 2% (73% from the present research vs 71% from the research carried out by Fairclough). Both the British and the Bulgarian media transmit the authority of the quoted sources and alter the secondary discourse, but the Bulgarian media tends to preserve and transmit the authority of the quoted sources twice as much as the British media.

As far as the boundary maintenance within the different modes is concerned, the Bulgarian media have more instances without incorporation or dissemination within the instances in ID, and have a higher percentage of instances with dissemination. Within the instances in ID, the British media have more cases with incorporation. The findings of this research support the findings of the research carried out by Fairclough that ID does not always express the full ideational meaning of secondary discourse and seem to contradict the suggestion of Leech and Short (1981), concerning the commitment of ID to represent the full ideational meaning of secondary discourse, because both the present research and Fairclough's research studied media texts, which reports other texts considered an original, giving the researcher a base for comparison, while Leech and Short's research had used literary fiction texts, where the reported lines were the fictitious words of imaginary characters, which could not be compared with an original. With respect to DD, there are not any instances without incorporation or dissemination from the Bulgarian media discourse, while one third of the instances from the British media discourse are without incorporation and dissemination. The instances with incorporation within DD from the Bulgarian media discourse are almost twice as many as the instances from the British media discourse. Also, the instances with dissemination within DD in the Bulgarian media discourse are three times as many as the instances in the British media discourse, and all the instances from the Bulgarian media discourse show dissemination. With respect to UNSIG there are no differences

between the Bulgarian and the British media discourse since all the instances show both incorporation and dissemination.

Stylisticity is very low. There are two instances in the British media and no instances in the Bulgarian media. Situationality is higher and the British media have represented the context of situation to a greater extent than the Bulgarian media. With respect to setting, apart from stylisticity and situationality the Bulgarian and the British media have used formulation and representation of the illocutionary force of the secondary discourse through the reporting verb as setting devices. The Bulgarian media have more instances of formulation and representation of the illocutionary force of secondary discourse through the reporting verbs than the British media, which reveals that the former are more inclined to exert influence on their readers than the latter.

Despite the relative depth of the study, considering the fact that it is based on a small number of articles, the possibility of widening its scope through the addition of more articles remains strong.

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