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WRTITING IN A FOREIGN ALPHABET: THE RENDERING OF BULGARIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN ENGLISH ON PUBLIC SIGNS IN VELIKO TURNOVO

The paper offers an ethnographic analysis of the written inscriptions on the public signs located in the central parts of Veliko Tarnovo. Of special interest is the way Bulgarian names are rendered in English. The analysis combines the methods of ethnographic obser-vation and linguistic landscaping (LLS). Writing as an object of ethnographic analysis is seen as only one aspect of the broader concept of literacy, which also comprises reading, design and processing. The repertoire of literacy resources includes not only the ability to write with pen and paper, but a number of other abilities as well. Among them are using a keyboard and, as we will claim here, using more than one alphabet and converting texts from one script into another. Writing is conceived as a complex literacy practice. Inscrip-tions on public signs are seen as both products and practices. As products they can disclose the nature of the writing practices that have yielded them. Knowing about these practices can shed light on wider literacy and social issues.

Keywords: writing, transliteration, orthography, heterography, language mixing, lin-guistic landscapes.

LLS and language in public space

A novel branch of sociolinguistics, called Linguistic Landscaping Studies, is interested in language in space. By the term „linguistic landscapes”, we refer to the publicly visible bits of written language. According to J. Blommaert, they include all sorts of inscriptions, both professional and grassroots (Blommaert 2012: 5). While traditional sociolinguistics has a bias towards spoken language, LLS compels researchers to pay more attention to literacy and to its different forms in public spaces. My data were obtained through ethnographic fieldwork and in my analysis I follow closely J. Blommaert's model of the analysis of the Belgian city of Antwerpen (ibid). Literacy practices need to be seen and understood as contextualised. They are socially and culturally sensitive. The fundamental theoretical assumption is that writing can be seen as a situated, contextualised practice. Texts are always connected to the practice of their production, circulation, uptake and so on. An analysis from

the perspective of LLS will show how social, cultural and political structures are inscribed in the linguistic landscape and how this landscape indexes these structures.

Spoken versus written language

Writing is not speech written down, but we can say that it supplements the limitations of speaking. Spoken language is impermanent. It has to be listened to and interpreted linearly in the same sequence and at the same speed in which it is presented. Writing, on the other hand, is permanent. In his extensive study of literacy, Michael Stubbs (Stubbs 1980: 19 – 40) explains that writing makes it possible for ideas and statements to exist independently. The relationship between author, written language and reading public is not self-evident. Writing is a mode of communication. Speaking and writing are not in free variation. We do not normally choose either one or other. Stubbs also states that literacy is a relative concept and explains this relativity not in terms of people's ability to do something in writing, but in terms of the functions which writing can perform. Written language has intellectual, aesthetic, administrative and bureaucratic functions.

Literacy or literacies?

The modern inventory of literacy resources includes the ability to write with pen and paper as well as the ability to use a keyboard. In addition, to be literate means not only to understand simple texts, but also to understand different genres in multiple languages and language varieties. It could be added that to be literate could also mean to be able to use more than one alphabet (in this case, Cyrillic and Latin) and to be competent to convert writing from one alphabet into another.

It is not enough to say that anyone who can write is literate: it matters which particular literacy resources are available to that person (Blommmaert 2007). Rather than using literate-illiterate distinctions, we should seek to specify the particular literacies that operate in a given society and within the individual repertoires of its members. The ethnography of literacy does not presuppose the separation of practices from products. Texts always display traces of contexts. We may not know who wrote the text or what its original function and audience were, but we have to fill in these contextual blanks by means of ethnographic interpretation. In other words, we need to contextualize it.

Elite and non-elite forms of writing: orthography and heterography

Some forms of writing have acquired a specific cultural load as privileged forms. Such are alphabetical writing and correct spelling. This is an ideological process of value-attribution. Writing that solidly sticks to the alphabetical code and its rules of organization is considered to be good writing. Some forms of writing are elite, but others are not. The term "grassroots literacy" is used to refer to the non-elite forms of writing. It was suggested by J. Blommaert (2007: 17 – 22) and has a number of characteristics. One among them is heterography. Heterography means

the use of graphic symbols that defy orthographic norms. Heterography is opposed to ortho-graphy and is manifest in spelling difficulties and erratic punctuation, which reveal uncertainty about linguistic rules. In addition, such type of writing is characterized by visual aesthetization. It contains sketches, drawings or other visual means of representing information. People often construct texts on the basis of locally available knowledge resources: they write things which they can find out by asking or listening rather than by searching in literate corpuses. This is called partial insertion of knowledge economies and is another characteristic of grassroots literacy, which reflects inequality and asymmetry of knowledge.

Another way to explain the existence of the non-elite forms of writing is to use M. Bakhtin's (1986/2006) concept of centripetal and centrifugal forces. The centripetal forces include forces of regulation and discipline and they work to render language monoglossic. Any live language, however, is really an interacting amalgam of different language uses. Hence, it can also be described as marked by centrifugal (heteroglossic or socially distinguishing forces).

Orhto-graphy is an institutional matter in which formal schooling plays an important part. Its outcome is a 'normal' view of literacy as something that proceeds by means of the controlled and disciplined deployment of alphabetical signs. Deviations of that normalcy are transgressions into 'abnormalcy'.

It is impossible to imagine a society in which only the orthographic norms of writing and spelling are used. This is an idealization because "hetero" forms will always be there. M. Stubbs comments on this in the following way: "The ideal orthography would be designed by linguists, in collaboration with educators, publishers and politicians, and have the support of the mass of the people who are to use it. Thus, it would embody systematic phonemic and morphological analyses, be easy to teach and to print, convey appropriate sociocultural implications, and be acceptable to its users. …. And since it is impossible to imagine a situation occurring in practice where all these criteria could be met, it follows that there is no ideal orthography (Stubbs 1980: 96)".

Transliteration and systems of transliteration

Jan Blommaert (Blommaert 2007) explains that in our superdiverse world of mobility and change, being able to produce a globalised voice is very important. In Bulgarian environment, where writing is Cyrilic, one of the most important means of globalising the public writing is the use of the Latin script. The other is to use English as an international language. The process of converting Bulgarian writing into global writing is to transliterate texts. There are several systems of transliteration known in Bulgaria.

The Czech based system qualifies best as a universal one and was introduced in Bulgaria by prof. Lyubomir Andreichin in 1956 (Danchev et al. 1989: 17). It was this system that was used for transliterating the names on road signs and other public signs and it was widely used in other spheres of life as well.

The Bulgarian linguist A. Danchev (1989: 20 – 59) proposed another system of transliteration. The underlying theory of his study is that Bulgarian spelling is phonetic and partly morphological. Danchev distinguishes sharply between usage and system. He believes that the best way of rendering Bulgarian names in English is transliteration, which means replacement of graphemes by graphemes. The principles adopted for transliteration were the following: for any Bulgarian grapheme a single grapheme of the target language is suggested. The established public usage was also taken into consideration. Simplicity and economy were the guiding principles. Last, but not least the easy retrieval or mapping back was also considered important.

Among the important contributions of this system were the rendering of the two Bulgarian letters "x" and "y" with "h" and "ou". Important was also the treatment of the specific Bulgarian vocalic phoneme "ъ", transliterated by "u".

The currently used streamlined system is English-oriented, too. It was designed by the Bulgarian mathematician Lyubomir Ivanov (2010). It shares a lot with Danchev's system, but it takes English as a lingua franca. It is orientated towards large English speaking audiences, whose English is not necessarily their mother tongue. Potentially, it could also include other users of the Latin alphabet, who speak a language different from English. Some of the most important differences between Ivanov's system and Danchev's system is the treatment of the Bulgarian vowels "ъ" and "y". Whereas Danchev proposes "u" for "ъ" and "ou" for "y", Ivanov has "a" for "ъ" and "u" for "y". Ivanov's system was accepted as the standard transliteration of Bulgarian names and a law was passed concerning the way Bulgarian names should be rendered in English.

Nowadays the streamlined system (http://www.cadastre.bg/naredba-%E2%84%96-6-ot-12061995-g-za-transkripciya-i-pravopis-na-chuzhdi-geografski-imena-na-bulgarski-ezik#89) is to be used for transliteration of personal and geographical names on identity cards, passports and driver's licenses, on road signs and public signs in data bases, on web pages, etc.

Transcription

A. Danchev (Danchev 1982) recommends that English names in Bulgarian context should be transcribed rather than transliterated in Bulgarian because English spelling is historical. The author also explains that more often than not transcription is not full but partial. In addition, original English spelling should also be reflected in a transcribed name because it should be easily retrieved. Since in some cases words of English origin are visible on public signs, we include transcription in the repertoire of literacy resources.

Converting signs from one code into another

Transliteration and transcription are not the only possible ways of converting inscriptions from one language into another. Other aspects of the same process are

translating, language mixing, and translanguaging[1]. When talking about public signs, I would prefer to talk about the conversion of signs from one code into another. As A. Yaworski and C. Thurlow write (Yaworski, Thurlow 2010: 1–40), signs are multimodal and, therefore, more than one process would be included in the process of conversion. When someone switches into a different style, register or language, it is essential to consider more than the literal meaning of what one is saying. The code may itself carry associations that are relevant to the interpretation of meaning.

Denaming languages

There are signs about which it is difficult to say what language they are written in. In the modern context of language study, a language is no longer envisaged as bounded, homogeneous and composed of structured grammatical and lexical units. Named languages such as "English", "Bulgarian", etc. are ideological constructions, tied historically to the emergence of the nation state in the 19th century (Blommaert, Rampton, 2011: 3).

Named languages have now been denaturalized. It is far more revealing to focus on individual linguistic features 'with identifiable social and cultural associations' (2011: 4) which get clustered together whenever people communicate than to focus on languages as a whole.

Non-standard mixed language practices appear to draw on styles that are not normally regarded as belonging to the speaker. They use linguistic features influenced by ethnic outgroups. Such practices are referred to as "heteroglossia", "crossing", "polylingualism", "translanguaging". When people use such codes they know only from the outside, they attach indexical values to them. They may be unable to grasp their semantics and grammar, but they rely on their symbolic force and their effects on the audience.

It is better to use the level of linguistic features (Jørgensen et al. 2011) as the basis for understanding language use. We claim that features are socio-culturally associated with languages. By using linguistic features (and not languages) as the analytical level, we can describe the linguistic behaviour of speakers. The analysis of features must involve if and how the features are associated with one or more "languages" where by "languages" we understand socio-cultural constructions. Another way of referring to features is "resources", or "repertoire". It is more suited to the analysis of languages in superdiverse environments.

Feature analysis is not an end in itself. Li Wei (Wei Li 2018) offers a framing of translanguaging as a practical theory of language. The aim of the theory is not only to encapsulate the research that has been carried out in the study of practices known as polylanguaging, multilanguaging, heteroglossia, hybrid language practices, flexible bilingualism, metrolingualism (to mention just some of the interchangeable

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[1] We can imagine this process on a cline where translated inscriptions stand on one end of the cline and have two languages distinct and clearly discernible, while translanguaging stands on the opposite end of the cline and implies complete fusion of linguistic features.

but sometimes competing terms) and oppose them to the classic notion of code-switching but to focus on the "dynamic and creative linguistic practices that involve flexible use of named languages and language varieties as well as other semiotic resources" (Wei Li 2018: 14). Thus, translanguaging is seen not only as a descriptive label for a variety of non-standard practices but also as a practical theory of language. Language (not languages) is a resource that "human beings use for thinking and for communicating thought" (Wei Li 2018: 26). Named languages are politically and ideologically defined entities.

Correct transliteration in public space

Instances of correct transliteration are observable most frequently on road signs. One example of this is the name of the street „ВЕЛЧО ДЖАМДЖИЯТА 10", rendered in English as "VELCHO DZHAMDZHIYATA". The graphemes "Ч", "ДЖ", and "Я" (usually "problems" in transliteration) have been rendered correctly. The precise transliteration in this case betrays not only observing the rule, but also conscientious learning of the differences of the corresponding graphemes.

"Hetero" – transliteration: the "problematic" graphemes J/ZH and DJ/DZH and C/TS

Just opposite the sign on Velcho Dzhamdzhiyata street, one can see a road sign which reads PREOBRAJENIE MONASTERY. On it, we can observe that the Bulgarian sound [ʒ], written by the grapheme "Ж" in Bulgarian, occurs like "J" in the foreign script. There could be a couple of reasons for not following the streamlined system. In the first place, the writer of the signs may not have been familiar with the laws of transliteration – neither the one based on the Czech alphabet, where the symbol for "Ж" was "Ž", nor the new one, which requires the digraph "ZH". Secondly, such transliteration displays insufficient knowledge of English. Had the writer had even basic knowledge of English, s/he would have known that the letter "J" is not normally pronounced as [ʒ] in English (except in French borrowings). This transliteration could have been under the influence of French, but the following word "MONASTERY" is, undoubtedly, English. Due to the partial and insufficient knowledge of English, perhaps of French and of the rules for transliteration, the writer was probably making analogy with Bulgarian where the principle one sound: one letter works.

The phenomenon of rendering the Bulgarian letter "Ж" and the affricate "ДЖ" with the graphic symbols "J" and "DJ" respectively, turns out to be persistent. On an advertisement down the centre we see the name "ХАН ХАДЖИ НИКОЛИ" converted into "HADJI NIKOLI INN" [2].

The person who transliterated the sign was by no way ignorant of the fact that in English appositive structures, the proper name comes first, while the common

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[2] However, on an informational board at the entrance of the Samovodska charshiya, where the Inn is situated we can see an alternative (correct) spelling: "Hadzhi Nikoli".

noun "inn" comes after. Having this in mind, we suppose that the person could have known about the fact that the sound "ДЖ" should be rendered in English as "DZH". In my opinion, the person opted for the grapheme "DJ", which appears neither in the streamlined system, nor in the Czech-based system, under the influence of a popular practice, very common in the electronic forms of communication – facebook writing, text messages, etc. When you text someone, it is easier to use one or two symbols, instead of two or three. In addition, the analogy with the Bulgarian grapheme also works – we have two letters for "ДЖ". It is interesting to note that on the sign in front of the very building, the name is spelt again with "DJ". Therefore, the persistent image of this name in non-Cyrillic writing in the public space of Veliko Turnovo is "HADJI NIKOLI INN".

A similar phenomenon represents the rendering of the Bulgarian letter "Ц". Although the corresponding grapheme for transliteration consists of two letters according to the streamline system – "TS", the letter frequently occurs on public signs as "C". The letter "C" is never pronounced as "TS" in English. It is pronounced like this in other Slavonic languages, for example Czech. The use of the letter "C" to represent the sound [TS] can cause confusion in foreign visitors who will anticipate that non-Cyrilic inscriptions in Bulgaria are English-oriented. An instance of such transliteration is the name of the furniture shop, called "РАЛИЦА". In English, it occurs as "RALICA". My opinion is that this does not come from the strict sticking to the Czech system of transliteration. It comes, in the first place, for convenience – it is always easier to write one symbol instead of two. In addition, in Bulgarian, we have one writing symbol for this affricate. We accept it as one sound, which we write by one graphic symbol.

As transliteration in Bulgaria is taught only at university level and only to students who do languages, the person here must have been familiar with transliteration principles not through instruction, but from what s/he has seen around on public signs (partial knowledge). In addition, in texting and in the other forms of electronic communication, the tendency is to use "C" for "Ц" for the sake of brevity. That is how the name was converted into "RALICA".

The same letter occurs on the inscription of a restaurant called "ЩАСТ-ЛИВЕЦА". The converted sign reads "SHTASTLIVECA" and reflects, as far as the letter "Щ" is concerned, transliteration into English (SHT). The "Ц" grapheme, which does not exist in English, occurs again as "C". There is one reason that could justify the appearance of this "error" in the two names discussed. "RALICA" is a company logo, and "SHASTLIVECA" is the name of a restaurant. Both are, in a way, involved in the process of advertising. It is well known that creativity is encouraged in this practice. That is why, the furniture company and the restaurant have chosen to have these two names spelt in this "unique" way. On the other hand, however, we can notice that this creativity is not a spontaneous and "unique" phenomenon, but persistent usage. It occurs twice in the central part of Veliko Tarnovo, which is not a big territory. Perhaps a more extensive study of the phenomena, including other

public spaces, would be more revealing of the phenomenon of writing "c" to render Bulgarian "ц" and "j/dj" for "ж" and "дж" respectively.

Transcription and/or transliteration

Sometimes, the two processes are mixed. On an inscription in front of a travel agency we read the following: ТУРИСТИЧЕСКА АГЕНЦИЯ РУАЛ ТРАВЕЛ[3]. The sign is symbolically divided into two zones. The red one indicates that it is a travel agency office, while the blue one carries the name. The name does not consist of Bulgarian words, but appears in Cyrillic. "TRAVEL" is English and it obviously appears in its transliterated version, otherwise it would have looked like "ТРАВЪЛ". "РУАЛ" seems bizarre in this context. It bears some connotations with "ROYAL", but "РУАЛ" does not reflect English pronunciation. It sounds "French"[4]. This inscription, revealing once again insufficient and partial knowledge, mixes not only languages, but practices as well (transcribing and transliterating). Linguists and philologists may be critical of people not knowing enough about transcription and transliteration, but public space is not a classroom. If the purpose of this inscription has been to attract attention, it surely does so despite the linguistic imperfections it contains or maybe precisely BECAUSE OF them.

Sometimes transcriptions can be quite complicated. The name of a real estate agency is STARA PLANINA PROPERTIES. It occurs on the inscription in English only. STARA PLANINA[5] is transliterated correctly and the whole phrase reflects English word order (modifier before modified) and spelling. This comes by the fact that English is an international language and the majority of the potential customers are English. On the glass door of the agency, a couple of house ads are exposed. Some of the properties for sale are advertised in Russian, which reflects a large group of potential customers. On top of one of them, the name of the agency occurs transcribed from English into Russian. Russian, like Bulgarian, uses Cyrillic letters and the name of the mountain presents no problem. The word "properties" occurs as "ПРОПЭРТИС". The transcription in Russian renders the English sound [ɜː] by the letter Э. According to Danchev's system of transcription, this sound is rendered in Bulgarian with the letter "ъ", while the grapheme Э is not used in Bulgarian (as there is no corresponding phoneme). Interesting enough, Bulgarian language is entirely absent in this advertisement. We have a Bulgarian name, but it occurs in Latin letters. The name is part of an inscription, written in English. The whole inscription is transliterated in Russian – "СТАРА ПЛАНИНА ПРОПЭРТИС".

Grassroots transliteration

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[3] TRAVEL AGENCY 'RUAL TRAVEL'
[4] Perhaps this association with French pronunciation was the desired effect of the abbreviation of the personal names of the owners of the company.
[5] name of a mountain in Bulgaria

One way of transliterating the specific Bulgarian letter "Ъ" is its rendering with the Latin letter "Y". On a real estate advertisement we read the name of a Bulgarian village ДЪСКОТ transliterated as DYSKOT. This way of writing Bulgarian "Ъ" in Latin is influenced by the existence of two types of keyboard for writing in Cyrillic on a computer. One of them is called "the Bulgarian standard one" and it has the Cyrillic symbols on the keyboard. The other one is called "the phonetic one" where for each Latin symbol there stands a Bulgarian one. Some of the symbols do not present problems. Thus, for example, "B" is used for "Б", "F" for "Ф", etc. Confusion comes when there is no Latin character that corresponds to a Bulgarian grapheme. For example, "Q" stands for "Я. There is no obvious relation between the sound and the symbol here: "Q" is a consonant, while "Я" is a vowel. "Y" and "Ъ" are both vowels, but they are completely different in quality. Some letters even have non-letter symbols on the keyboard. For example, the brackets "{ and }" stand for "Ш" and "Щ". Different people have different preferences for writing when using a keyboard[6], but the transliteration here was undoubtedly the result of the use of the phonetic keyboard.

Language mixing instead of transliterating or transcribing

Mixing languages in Bulgarian context has been extensively explored by M. Georgieva (2011: 100 – 122). Here, we focus on language mixing on public signs. Very often, public sign writers would rather mix languages than transcribe or transliterate. The simplest form of mixing is of the following type: ТЕРАСАТА НА SAMMY'S BAR РАБОТИ ЗА ВАС[7]. In the first place, language mixing is easy – it does not imply knowledge of any rules, neither for transcription, nor for transliteration. Secondly, it addresses two very broad types of clientele – Bulgarian and English speaking. The name with the apostrophe looks (and sounds) exotic. We do not know who Sammy is and what his name actually is, whether he is English or Bulgarian but in this context, the English name works twofold. It addresses anyone who cannot read Bulgarian because in combination with the picture on the board, representing a bar, it signals instantly a place to go for a drink. At the same time, it sounds attractive, "foreign" and, perhaps, to a certain extent posh for Bulgarian visitors. It might also be said to address mainly (but not necessarily) English speaking Bulgarians and this will imply students (high school or university), who are actively involved in the process of language learning.

The inscription discussed above represents a very common pattern where the type of the place occurs in Bulgarian and the proper name in Latin. Another

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[6] Some people prefer to use Cyrillic keboard because they want to see the letter they are writing, although they have to change the keyboard when they need to shift to Latin script. Others would rather use the phonetic Cyrillic because they hate the switch of the keyboard, although they have to memorize the different symbols.

[7] "The terrace of Sammy's Bar is open for you".

was coined to be seen. It converts the word ELEGANCE/ЕЛЕГАНТНОСТ into a name, which bears individuality of its own.

Similar examples are "MOLL4eto", spelt with the character for the number "4". The number stands for the initial letter of the Bulgarian "CHETIRI", which, in Bulgarian means "four". This is a popular way of representing the sound "tʃ" among the young generation in the context of texting messages or when writing on Internet forums. It can be explained as an analogue of the English way of writing "4", instead of "four" or "for" in text messages. Writing like this requires much less effort to press the button for one symbol only, instead of pressing buttons four times. Definitely, this spelling will be attractive to young people and these people will understand not only English, but also Bulgarian. We can see that "MOLL4eto" reflects Bulgarian spelling. Instead of "A", which occurs in "MALL", we see "O". The word has also undergone morphological transformations – a suffix has been attached to it – the diminuitive "che (че)", meaning "little" and a grammatical inflection – "to (то)", the definite article. Therefore, this "English" word "MOLL4eto" will need a translation in English for those who do not speak Bulgarian: it will mean "the little mall". If we go down the same street, we will see another shop with the same name, but this time spelt like MOLCHETO, which, without the number 4, will look more "English", because the sound "tʃ", this time transliterated correctly.

There are cases when we observe deliberate mixing of languages, expressed by letter play. Thus, what we see in HAPPY POTTER is an association with the adjective "happy" and with the name "Harry". The Bulgarian letter for the sound [r] is "p", while the English is "r". Hence, we have the association of the name of the shop that sells pottery with the name of Harry Potter.

Other mixtures are not creative, but still deserve comment. The name of a small eating place next to a primary school is ДЮНЕР КЕВАР. At first, I personally failed to recognise the mixture of letters. Both words are not Bulgarian, but borrowings from Turkish and both, like "pizza" are popular in many places other than Bulgaria. I suppose that what we have here is an unconscious mixture. The person had started with the word "ДЮНЕР" in Cyrillic. The first two letters of КЕВАР have the approximately same sound value for the corresponding Cyrillic and the Latin characters[10]. So is the Cyrillic/Latin symbol "A". There stand the letters "В" and "Р", which stand for different sounds in Cyrillic-using and Latin-using languages. Maybe the writer suddenly and unconsciously thought that he was making a public inscription, which should be read by everyone, so he/she suddenly switched to Latin. There remains the illusion that this is a monolingual sign. The mixing of letters is barely recognizable, even for a linguist like me, unless one has a second look to identify the fusion of letters.

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[10] I am speaking from the point of view of the ordinary Bulgarian user. I am aware of the fact that in different languages, using the two different writing systems, the letters and their combinations have different sound values. In this Bulgarian environment, Cyrillic "K" and Latin "K", stand for the Bulgarian phoneme /k/, Cyrillic "B" and Latin "B", represent the Bulgarian phoneme /b/, while the Cyrillic/Latin letter "A", stands for the Bulgarian phoneme /a/.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the public signs above displays some persistent patterns of grassroots transliteration. The most salient cases are the Bulgarian letters "Ц" "Ж" "ДЖ", rendered respectively as "C", "J", and "DJ". This defiance to the orthographic norms comes from the influence of the writing with a keyboard and from the interference of the use of the Cyrilic script, where "Ц" and "Ж" are spelt with one letter, and the affricate "ДЖ" – with two. Also, when rendering foreign names in Bulgarian, language users frequently mix transcription and transliteration. Frequently, language mixing occurs as a way of avoiding transliteration and as a result of the desire to make a public sign more attractive. Signs, which mix languages address both Bulgarian speaking and non-Bulgarian speaking audiences. At the level of mixing, very often, it is not languages as a whole that are mixed, but language features. Thus we have letter mixing (both conscious and unconscious), mixing of transcribed and transliterated forms and mixing at the word level. As a result of these mixtures, new coinages can emerge, some of which are designed mainly to be seen and read rather than to be spoken and listen to. The linguistic sketch reflects a complicated situation. It would be a simplification to account for it as the result of the incompetence to use correctly the Latin and the native Cyrillic script. It reflects deeper social processes, one of which is the aim to address larger audiences (to produce global voice), while staying Bulgarian (maintaining local voice) at the same time.

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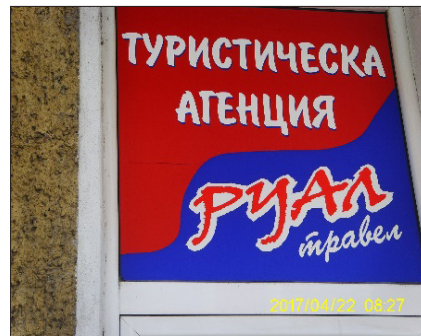
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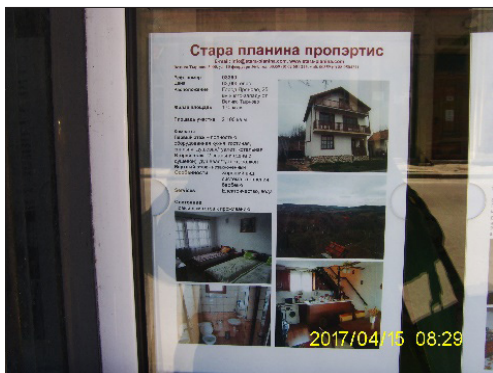
APPENDIX

Pic. 1.

Pic. 2.

Pic. 3.

Pic. 4.

Pic. 5.