

REFLECTIONS ON SOME INSTANCES OF TRANSLANGUAGING IN WRITTEN BULGARIAN DISCOURSE

Dr. Maria Kolarova

Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski” (Bulgaria)

Abstract. The use of translanguaging strategies in written Bulgarian discourse is continually expanding and this expansion ultimately affects the Bulgarian language system in one way or another. The present paper focuses on 42 instances of translanguaging taken from Bulgarian-language lifestyle magazines and online advertisements. On the one hand, the aim is to illustrate the interrelatedness between translanguaging and linguistic creativity and, on the other hand, to identify what economy effects could be achieved by applying translanguaging strategies in written Bulgarian discourse. The collected samples have been classified and described in such a way as to see how the phenomenon of translanguaging has currently affected the Bulgarian language system.

Keywords: translanguaging; linguistic creativity; qualitative and quantitative economy; word-formation; morphology

What is translanguaging?

The term *translanguaging* was originally coined in a Welsh context to refer to a specific pedagogical practice in which students were asked to alternate Welsh and English for various activities and practices such as reading or writing (García and Li Wei 2014, 20; Li Wei 2018, 15). Since it was first coined, scholars have increasingly used the term to describe the complex linguistic practices of multilingual speakers, as well as the ways in which those practices are employed in education (García and Li Wei 2014, 20; Otheguy et al. 2015, 282).

García (2009, 140) defines translanguaging as “the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize communicative potential”. According to Otheguy et al. (2015, 283), translanguaging is “the deployment of a speaker’s full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages”, where a named language is viewed as a socially constructed object rather than a linguistic one. García (2009, 140) indicates that although translanguaging includes the concept of

code-switching, it goes beyond it. The essential difference between these two concepts is further discussed in García and Li Wei (2014, 22 – 23), where it is emphasized that translanguaging is much more than simply a shift between two languages as it refers to a set of multiple discursive practices that construct the speakers' complete semiotic repertoire, from which they strategically select features for the purpose of effective communication. Thus, as Li Wei (2018, 15) points out, translanguaging should be conceived as “a process of knowledge construction that goes beyond language(s)”.

The notion of linguistic creativity through the lens of translanguaging

According to García and Li Wei (2014, 31 – 32), translanguaging expands the scope of contemporary linguistics as it exemplifies the interconnectedness between traditional languages and other human communicative systems. In their view, translanguaging shows how human beings apply their linguistic knowledge holistically so that they can function both as language users and social actors. Hence, they see translanguaging as a new lens through which the notion of linguistic creativity that Chomsky (1966) describes as human beings' ability to produce an infinite number of sentences, combining a finite set of elements on the basis of a finite set of rules can be redefined “as the language user's ability to play with various linguistic features as well as the various spatial and temporal resonances of these features” (García and Li Wei, 2014, 30, 32).

Nicholas and Starks (2014, 9) illustrate the interconnectedness of various communicative resources through the construction ‘I ♥ NY’, where the slot that normally hosts the verb is occupied by an image of a heart, traditionally represented by a noun. This expression is read out loud either as ‘I heart New York’, where ‘heart’ is the result of noun-to-verb conversion or as ‘I love New York’, which is what most people would say according to García and Li Wei (2014, 32).

In addition to illustrating the interconnectedness of various signs, the structure ‘I ♥ NY’ is also an example of translanguaging, as pointed out by García and Li Wei (2014, 32), and hence creativity. We could say therefore that what lies at the core of translanguaging is the language user's ability to employ and interpret easily multiple semiotic resources, often breaking the norms of linguistic behaviour and going beyond the traditional and the acceptable. This ability, aptly defined by Li Wei (2011, 1223) as creativity, is in fact what García and Li Wei (2014, 32) refer to as “a natural Translanguaging Instinct”, shared by all human beings. It should be noted here, however, that although translanguaging takes the practices of bilinguals as the norm (see García and Li Wei 2014, 22), it is often applied by people who have only partial knowledge of a foreign language (see Atanassova-Divitakova 2017, 43). In a nutshell, it follows that translanguaging and linguistic creativity are closely interrelated: on the one hand, translanguaging promotes linguistic creativity (see García and Li Wei 2014, 24, 32) and on the other hand, the impetus for creativity and innovation often entails translanguaging.

The next section provides a description of how linguistic creativity and translanguaging are manifested in written Bulgarian discourse.

Instances of translanguaging in written Bulgarian discourse

Under the influence of global-scale commercialization, booming technologies, popular culture and the new media, translanguaging today is extensively used in writing, especially in advertisements, lifestyle magazines, written signs and urban landscapes (see also García and Li Wei 2014, 27; Atanassova-Divitakova 2017, 43 – 47). As García and Li Wei (2014, 26) indicate, however, translanguaging has always occurred in other modalities besides oral interactions and it has been a common practice in writing since ancient times. This phenomenon is increasingly widespread in Bulgarian context, where it has already attracted the attention of Bulgarian linguists such as Georgieva (2011) and Atanassova-Divitakova (2017) among others.

The present section is focused on 42 instances of translanguaging in writing that have been taken from Bulgarian-language lifestyle magazines and online advertisements. The full list of examples is presented below for the sake of clarity and orderliness.

1. **Dressupовка** или как се носи рокля [Cosmopolitan, BG, 2007]
- 2 – 3. **Состонополи** – хвърли заровете и се забавлявай с настолната **Cosmo** игра. [Cosmopolitan, BG, July 2015]
4. Новата изумителна **fun-маслична Corsa** [Joy, BG, 2007]
5. Векът на виртуалното войорство и **freeволност** [Cosmopolitan, BG, 2007]
6. Най-специфичната характеристика на слънцезащитния крем за лице е неговата **Dry Touch (сух завършек)** технология. [Cosmopolitan, BG, July 2015: 35]
7. Напиши писмо до бъдещото си „аз“... и го сложи на **Post-it** бележка на видно място – това е всичко, от което се нуждаеш. [Cosmopolitan, BG, July 2015: 55]
8. Да си **happy** е на мода. [Cosmopolitan, BG, July 2015]
9. Опитай ли „**Speed Dating**“?
[<http://www.cosmopolitan.bg/priyatelki/12-neshta-koito-da-ne-kazvash-na-neobvurzana-priiatelka.html>]
10. Очевидно спортът не само е полезен, а се оказва и че помага във вземането на решения и **multi-task-инга**.
[<http://www.cosmopolitan.bg/tvoeto-tyalo/sportut-noviat-suvetnik-za-vzimane-na-resheniia.html>]
11. Никога не подценявай силата на „**nude**“ устните, има един милион различни начина да носиш телесно червило.
[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/26868/Jivotat-sled-45--Djenifar-Lopes>]
12. **Beauty** ужас: нечовешките процедури на миналия век
[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/49875/Beauty-uzhas%3A-nechoveshkite-protsedurina->]
13. „**ORME**“ предлага следните вариации: Гардероби с крила, Гардероби с плъзгащи се врати и **Walk-in** гардероби.
[<https://northstyle-bg.com/blog-section/wardrobe-collection-by-orme-модерни-италиански-гардероби>, December 2017]

14. *Стоящ смесител за умивалник ... с **Easy-Fix** присъединяване*
[<https://banialux.com/стоящ-смесител-за-умивалник-с-click-clack-изпразнител-calista-grande-6355>]
15. *Стоящ смесител за умивалник ... с метален **Click-Clack** изпразнител*
[<https://banialux.com/стоящ-смесител-за-умивалник-с-click-clack-изпразнител-calista-grande-6355>]
16. *Бръчките, акнето и порите не са **cool**, новият продукт на Eucerin е!*
[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/49892/Brachkite%2C-akneto-i-poritene->]
17. *Chanel с б्यоти приложение: Как идеално да **match-нем** червилото и аутфита*
[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/49842/Chanel-s-byuti-prilozhenie%3AKak->]
- 18 – 20. *В действие е революционна **AI** технология, чрез която сканираме цвета на дрехите и аксесоарите си, а приложението показва свършено съция (или най-близкия) цвят червило от всички в гамата на Chanel. **App-ът** работи и ако ни е допаднало червилото на някоя дама, с която говорим в Zoot, но ни е неудобно да попитаме, или си мислим, че това, с което е Бела Хадид на последния ѝ пост много ще ни отива и искаме същото. **Lipscanner-ът** веднага показва дали нюансът е в неутралната, розовата, оранжевата, червената или лилавата гама и предлага най-подходящата за нас текстура – мат, блясък, гланц, сатен или металик.* [<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/49842/Chanel-s-byuti-prilozhenie%3AKak->]
21. *Наръчник за красива и здрава коса в осем **simple** стъпки*
[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/49593/10-te-pricheski-za-Prolet2021%3A->]
- 22 – 23. *За **pixie cut** все още не сме готови, но Кая с тази **pageboy** прическа ни кара да се замислим дали не е редно да отрежем косите си в името на красотата.*
[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/49593/10-te-pricheski-za-Prolet2021%3A->]
24. ***Detox-vame** кожата следпразнично с тези 5.*
[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/49508/Detox-vame-kozhata-sledpraznichno-stezi->]
25. *Отказваме се от всекидневното ядене на шоколад и денонощните Netflix марафони в името на един обезателен **beauty refresh**.*
[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/49508/Detox-vame-kozhata-sledpraznichno-stezi->]
26. *Така нареченият **double cleansing** метод се състои от почистване на кожата в две последователни стъпки – първо с маслен продукт, а после с измивен гел или пяна.*
[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/49508/Detox-vame-kozhata-sledpraznichno-stezi->]
- 27 – 28. *Според доклад на Pinterest, търсенията за това как да получите естествено светеща кожа са се увеличили четири пъти годишно, а думите*

„естественият ежедневен грим“ са се появили в **search-a** на мрежата 180 процента повече през тази година, в сравнение с миналата. Означава ли това, че дните на графичната очна линия (като тази на Селена) и **full-face** гримът са минало?

[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/49412/Skinimalizam%3A-nay-golemiyat-byuti-trendna->]

29. В желанието си да изглеждаме по най-добрия възможен начин, дори само въщици, и да създадем идеалната **skin care** рутина за нашата кожа, успяхме да открием и систематизираме продуктите и марките на годината – всички с добро качество и подходящи цени.

[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/49243/Nay-dobrite-skin-care-produktiza->]

30. Естествено, възстановяването на кожата няма как да бъде еднократен акт, но може да стане релаксиращ **day-and-night** ритуал.

[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/49171/Kozha-bez-petna--uspehat->]

31. Днес последователите ѝ са близо милион, привлечени от неподражамата ѝ естетика – изключителни гледки от целия свят, **high-end** дрехи и аксесоари, поднесени по артистичен и много оригинален начин.

[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/48930/Let-me-influence-you%21Ili->]

32 – 34. **Street style** вдъхновения: **Crème de la Crème-ът** на парижката **Couture** модна седмица

[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/43571/Street-style-vdahnoveniya%3A-Cr%C3%A8mede->]

35. Да направим модата **eco-friendly**.

[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/49990/Gaba%3Ekrava%3A-Stela-Makartnikompaniya->]

36. Да си обръснеи веждите и да ги нарисуваи наново е следствие на **fox-eye** тренда, в повечето случаи обаче крайният резултат е катастрофален.

[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/49466/Tik-Tok-Beauty-Moments2020%3A->]

37. Разглеждайки любимите ни моменти от историята на кралските особи, често дамите от **the royal families** се превръщат в музи на големите модни къщи, но никоя принцеса не е била по-тясно свързана с моден дизайнер, колкото принцеса Каролина от Монако.

[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/49618/KRASOTA%3A-modnata-afera-naprintsesa->]

38. Очаква се колекцията да дебютира в **pop-up** магазин в Пекин на 29-и декември, а през януари ще бъде достъпна и в други краища на света.

[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/49470/The-Mountains-are-Calling%3AThe->]

39. И двете избират ексцентричен грим тип „**smokey eyes**“, както и цветно разнообразие за маникюра на особено дългите им нокти.

[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/49546/Paralel-na-viziite-istila->]

40. Получава се интересен баланс между усещането за хармония, романтика и един леко ретро вайб, тип *femme fatale*.

[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/48786/Vanina-Handzhiyska-vs.-HristoStanchev%3A->]

41. Симон Жакму избира да се фокусира върху силуетите, цветовете, платовете, детайлите и енергията на моделите, като идеално стилизира всеки от тях, включително Людмил в небесносини нюанси, лимонено плетено елече и ахроматични *biker shorts*.

[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/50597/Strahoten-Lyudmil-Dimitrov-za-Jacquemus%2C->]

42. Суровата и автентична енергия на *Vetements* е неразделна част от успеха на марката от *day one*.

[<https://www.viewsofia.com/article/50394/Vetements%2C-Spring-2022%2C-READY-TO-WEAR>]

As it transpires from the provided samples, translanguaging in written Bulgarian discourse is understandably between Bulgarian and English. In instances such as *Crème de la Crème-ът* на парижката *Couture* модна седмица and един леко ретро вайб, тип *femme fatale*, the foreign expressions are of French origin.

Depending on how the foreign language item is used in Bulgarian context, the collected instances of translanguaging could be divided into two large groups. The first group is represented by a peculiar type of hybrid lexemes and word-forms that have resulted from blending English or French and Bulgarian orthography and morphology in different ways. Such examples are *dressировка*, *cosмонополи*, *freeволност*, *fun-матична*, *multi-task-инга*, *match-нем*, *app-ът*, *lipscanner-ът*, *search-a*, *detox-ваме* and *Crème de la Crème-ът*. The second large group includes a variety of syntactic constructions (phrases, phrasal compounds or clauses) in which the foreign item, entirely preserved in its original orthography and morphology, performs different syntactic functions. Here is a list of these samples: *cosmo* игра, *Dry Touch* (сух завършек) технология, *post-it* бележка, *beauty* ужас, *walk-in* гардероби, *easy-fix* присъединяване, *click-clack* изпразнител, революционна *AI* технология, “*nude*” устни, осем *simple* стъпки, *pageboy* прическа, *double cleansing* метод, *full-face* грим, *skin care* рутина, *day-and-night* ритуал, *high-end* дрехи и аксесоари, *street style* вдъхновения, парижката *Couture* модна седмица, *fox-eye* тренд, *pop-up* магазин, ексцентричен грим тип „*smokey eyes*”, един леко ретро вайб, тип *femme fatale*; един обезателен *beauty refresh*, ахроматични *biker shorts*; за *pixie cut* все още не сме готови, дамите от *the royal families*, от *day one*; Да си *happy* е на мода, Опита ли „*Speed Dating*“, Бръчките, акнето и порите не са *cool*, Да направим модата *eco-friendly*.

Some sub-patterns could be identified within each one of the two groups. Thus, in the first group, *dressировка*, *freeволност* and *fun-матична* are clearly based on a pun, involving two source words – an English and a Bulgarian one. The element

embedded in initial position in the structure of these hybrid formations is an independent English lexeme, preserved in its original English orthography and its pronunciation is the same or approximately the same as that of the first sequence of sounds in the relevant Bulgarian source word. This highly creative pattern of word-formation via translanguaging could be graphically illustrated in the following way: *dressуровка* < *dress* + *дресуровка* (training); *freeволност* < *free* + *фриволност* (frivolity) and *fun-матична* < *fun* + *фантастична* (fantastic).

It should also be noted that the meaning of each one of these witty formations is a fusion of the meanings of the two source words involved. For instance, a car that has been described as *fun-матична* is not merely *fantastic* (фантастична) – it is both *fun* and *fantastic*. It is necessary to mention, however, that while this semantic fusion is easily perceived in writing, it may be entirely lost in oral interaction without the use of an appropriate emphatic device. Given its characteristic features, this peculiar word-formation pattern could be seen as a special type of blending, based on translanguaging.

The example *cosmoнополи* is another hybrid lexeme but it does not exhibit the kind of pun found in *dressуровка*, *freeволност* and *fun-матична*. *Cosmoнополи* exemplifies a type of blending in which the two source words, the English *cosmo* and the Bulgarian *монополи*, transliterated from the English *Monopoly*, overlap in pronunciation only and are both transparently recoverable in the structure of the blend, i.e. *cosmoнополи* < *cosmo* + *монополи* (*Monopoly*).

The other examples that belong to the first group are *multi-task-инга*, *match-нем*, *app-ът*, *lipscanner-ът*, *search-а*, *detox-ваме* and *Crème de la Crème-ът*. The peculiarity about these instances of translanguaging is the mixing of foreign words or phrases which have retained their original English or French orthography with Bulgarian inflection. In the case of *multi-task-инга*, the English derivational suffix *-ing* has been transliterated into Bulgarian and followed by the Bulgarian short article *-а*. It is also worth noting that the Bulgarian endings are not attached directly to the foreign bases but by means of a hyphen. We could say that hyphenation is employed here to further emphasise that features of different language systems have been mixed together. This spelling device is also used in *fun-матична*, presumably with the same purpose. Another point to make is that the type of translanguaging exemplified by *multi-task-инга*, *match-нем*, *app-ът*, *lipscanner-ът*, *search-а*, *detox-ваме* and *Crème de la Crème-ът* is not a matter of word-formation as in the case of *dressуровка*, *freeволност*, *fun-матична* and *cosmoнополи* but rather a matter of morphological assimilation of foreign items in Bulgarian.

In most of the samples of translanguaging that constitute the second large group, the foreign element functions as a modifier to a Bulgarian head noun. Usually this modifier occurs in pre-head position as in *cosmo игра*, *post-it бележка*, *beauty ужас*, *pageboy прическа*, “*nude*” *устни*, *осем simple стъпки*, *skin care рутина*, *double cleansing метод*, *street style вдъхновения*, *full-face грим*, *day-and-night ритуал*, etc.

and sometimes in post-head position as in *mun „smokey eyes”* or *mun femme fatale*. There are also constructions in which the modification of the head noun is achieved by combining both Bulgarian and English or French elements as in *революционна AI технология* or *парижката Couture модна седмица*.

Some of the structures described in the paragraph above could arguably be treated as a type of phrasal compounds, since they display a certain degree of lexicalisation and their formation seems to involve an entire phrase as in *Dry Touch* (*сух завършек*) *технология*, *double cleansing* *метод*, *street style* *въдхновения*, *full-face* *зрим*, *day-and-night* *ритуал*, *mun femme fatale* or a clause, e.g. *post-it* *бележка*. The peculiarity about these specific examples is that their components belong to two different linguistic and orthographic systems – the head is Bulgarian, whereas the non-head is English or French.

A detailed study of the nature of phrasal compounds in Bulgarian has been conducted by Bagasheva (2017, 81 – 117). What is necessary to mention here is that although the establishment of such structures in Bulgarian is far from complete (see Bagasheva 2017, 100), phrasal compounding is gradually gaining more popularity in written Bulgarian discourse. Furthermore, the increasing translanguaging practices between Bulgarian and English seem to have further boosted this untraditional word-formation pattern in our language, which accounts for the growing number of hybrid formations like *day-and-night* *ритуал* and *post-it* *бележка*.

Един обезателен *beauty refresh* and *ахроматични biker shorts* are two hybrid noun phrases that stand out as being different from the other samples of translanguaging included in the second group in that they contain an English N+N construction which functions not as modifier in a noun phrase but as head and the Bulgarian non-head constituents of these two hybrid noun phrases agree in terms of gender and number with the corresponding English head. More specifically, since *beauty refresh* ends in a consonant, it is perceived as masculine in Bulgarian, so that its Bulgarian determiner and modifier, *един обезателен*, are also masculine. Similarly, the English plural phrase *biker shorts* determines the plural form of its Bulgarian modifier *ахроматични*.

In the remaining instances of translanguaging that belong to the second group, the English expressions are used either as complements to Bulgarian prepositions, e.g. *за pixie cut* *все още не сме готови*, *дамите от the royal families* and *от day one*, or as clausal constituents: subject complement in *Да си happy* *е на мода* and *Бръчките, акнето и порите не са cool*; direct object in *Опита ли „Speed Dating”* and object complement in *Да направим модата eco-friendly*.

The economy effects

The social functions of translanguaging are seen as a symbol of modernity, open-mindedness and creativity (see Georgieva 2011 cited in Atanassova-Divitakova 2017, 43) but they could also be discussed through the prism of linguistic economy. Put differently, people translanguange, consciously or subconsciously, for various reasons: to be fashionable, to sound original, to convey a special message, to attract attention,

to exert influence, to express themselves both effectively and economically or a combination of these.

The principle of economy, which states that a maximum result should be achieved by expending as little effort as possible, is manifested in every aspect of human behaviour, including language (see Zipf 1949, 6, 19 – 20). Krastev (1981, 10) aptly points out that the very existence of natural languages is in itself a manifestation of economy, since through language people are able to attain their goals with greater ease. He also distinguishes between quantitative economy, which is connected with the amount of linguistic material (phonemes, morphemes, words, phrases, etc.) used by the speaker or writer and qualitative economy, which concerns the amount of mental effort necessary to convey or comprehend an intended message (Krastev 1981, 13, 16). In the present section, we shall attempt to investigate whether these two dimensions of economy are also manifested in the process of translanguaging in written Bulgarian discourse.

In many of the analysed samples above, the quantitative economy effects are self-evident. For instance, the hybrid constructions *skin care* рутина, *post-it* бележка, *high-end* дрехи и аксесоари and революционна *AI* технология contain less linguistic material in comparison to their purely Bulgarian equivalents рутинна грижа за кожата, самозалепваща се бележка, висококачествени дрехи и аксесоари and революционна технология за изкуствен интелект. Similarly, it is far more economical to say Да направим модата *eco-friendly* rather than Да направим модата щадяща за околната среда/екологосъобразна.

In some cases, however, the use of a foreign language item does not seem to result in a significantly more economical structure in terms of quantity. For example, the two hybrid phrases осем *simple* стъпки and дамите от *the royal families* have the same number of syllables as their unmixed Bulgarian equivalents осем *прости* стъпки and дамите от *кралските семейства*. In the written form, *simple* has the same number of graphemes as *прости*, whereas *кралските семейства* is two graphemes longer than *the royal families*. Thus, it appears that in some instances of translanguaging the quantitative economy effects are insignificant.

The qualitative dimension of economy in the process of translanguaging in written Bulgarian discourse presents an entirely different picture. As suggested above, a certain expression is said to be economical in terms of quality when it requires a lower expenditure of mental effort. Undoubtedly, the comprehension of hybrid lexemes like *dressировка* and *freeволност*, hybrid word forms like *multi-task-инга* and *Crème de la Crème-ът*, hybrid formations like *pop-up* магазин and *high-end* дрехи as well as clauses containing foreign language constituents like *Онита ли „Speed Dating”* and *Да направим модата eco-friendly* would be considerably hampered, if the reader or listener has no knowledge of the relevant foreign language. In this case, the economy effects of translanguaging are manifested almost exclusively in terms of quantity rather than quality, since the resultant hybrid constructions will very likely pose a serious challenge to comprehension despite, or rather, because of their shorter length.

As anticipated, a breach of meaning may also occur if the language mixer has inadequate foreign language competence and produces a hybrid construction in which the foreign element is used inappropriately. Nevertheless, the amount of foreign language knowledge that both the writer and the reader have does not appear to be a significant obstacle to the translanguaging practices in written Bulgarian discourse, given their ever-increasing frequency. Yet, it should be noted that although achieving qualitative economy is obviously not among the leading factors that spur these practices, there are occasions when language mixers try to avoid potential breakdowns in comprehension by providing the Bulgarian translation of the used foreign item as in *Dry Touch* (сυχ завършек) технология.

Conclusion

Based on a trans-semiotic system that comprises all meaning-making modes, translanguaging is a phenomenon that goes beyond the traditional definitions of language, code-switching and bilingualism (García and Li Wei 2014, 29, 137; García 2009, 140). It boosts the production of creative forms of expression and reflects the superdiversity of today's world. On the other hand, the impetus for linguistic creativity often entails the application of translanguaging strategies.

Translanguaging has become an increasingly common practice in written Bulgarian discourse, where it is manifested in the blending of two different linguistic and orthographic systems. This phenomenon has also largely contributed to the emergence and gradual expansion of some novel word-formation patterns in Bulgarian such as phrasal compounding and a special type of blending.

In addition to enhancing creativity and innovation, translanguaging could also be seen as a way of achieving linguistic economy. The analysis of the collected samples shows that translanguaging in written Bulgarian discourse more often than not leads to quantitative economy effects: less linguistic material requires a smaller amount of space. By contrast, the qualitative aspect of economy in the process of translanguaging in written Bulgarian discourse is largely contingent on the foreign language competence of the writer and the reader. There will be no qualitative economy effects if the reader has no knowledge at all of the relevant foreign language.

What has transpired from the proposed analysis is that the Bulgarian language system cannot remain unaffected by the ever-increasing use of translanguaging strategies in written Bulgarian discourse, which opens up a good venue for further research.

REFERENCES

- ATANASSOVA-DIVITAKOVA, S., 2017. Talking Space: A Linguistic Portrait of a Popular Tourist Location in Veliko Turnovo. In: E. SLAVOVA, B. HRISTOV, J. MCCREEDY, R. ISHPEKOVA, A. GLAVANAKOVA, N. YAKIMOVA & A. IGOV (Eds.). *New Paradigms in English Studies*:

- Language, Linguistics, Literature and Culture in Higher Education*. Sofia: "St. Kliment Ohridski" University Press.
- BAGASHEVA, A., 2017. On a subclass of nominal compounds in Bulgarian: The nature of phrasal compounds. – In: C. Trips & J. Kornfilt (Eds.) *Further investigations into the nature of phrasal compounding*. Berlin: Language Science Press, 81 – 117.
- CHOMSKY, N., 1966. *Cartesian Linguistics: A Chapter in the History of Rationalist Thought*. New York: Harper & Row.
- GARCÍA, O., 2009. Education, Multilingualism and Translanguaging in the 21st Century. In: T. Skutnabb-Kangas, R. Phillipson, A. K. Mohanty & M. Panda (Eds.). *Social Justice Through Multilingual Education*. Bristol, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters, 140 – 158.
- GARCÍA, O. & Li Wei, 2014. *Translanguaging: Language, Bilingualism and Education*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- GEORGIEVA, M., 2011. *Global English in Bulgarian Context*. Varna: Silueti Publishing House.
- KRASTEV, B., 1981. *Ikonomiata v bulgarskia ezik*. Sofia: Durzhavno izdatelstvo "Narodna Prosveta" [in Bulgarian].
- LI WEI, 2011. Moment Analysis and Translanguaging Space: Discursive Construction of Identities by Multilingual Chinese Youth in Britain. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 43, 1222 – 1235.
- LI WEI, 2018. Translanguaging as a Practical Theory of Language. *Applied Linguistics*. 39(1), 9 – 30, [viewed 19 April 2021]. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amx039>
- NICHOLAS, H. & STARKS, D., 2014. *Language Education and Applied Linguistics: Bridging the two fields*. London and New York: Routledge.
- OTHEGUY, R., et al., 2015. Clarifying translanguaging and deconstructing named languages: A perspective from linguistics. *Applied Linguistics Review*. 6(3), 281 – 307. [viewed 19 April 2021]. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1515/applirev-2015-0014>
- ZIPF, G. K., 1949. *Human Behavior and the Principle of Least Effort. An Introduction to Human Ecology*. Cambridge 42, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Press, INC.

✉ **Dr. Maria Kolarova**

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5111-4145>

Department of English and American Studies

Sofia University

Sofia, Bulgaria

E-mail: mkolarova@abv.bg; m.kolarova@uni-sofia.bg