

Diana Yankova



IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA
Sociocultural and linguistic identity

Bulgarian immigrants to Canada



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To Eliza and Theo
For they know what immigration means

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List of Abbreviations

CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CEACS	Central European Association for Canadian Studies
CS	Code-switching
L1	First language
L2	Second language
MM	Markedness Model
MLF	Matrix Language Frame model
PQ	Parti Québécois



1. INTRODUCTION

Integration is an intricate and extended process that involves a number of sociolinguistic, cultural, political and economic variables which derive from the society of origin, the social context, the languages that are in contact and the linguistic conflict between them and various aspects of the host community. The study of different aspects of immigrant identity has been the focus of research for several decades now, especially in recent years when we are witnessing more migration on a global scale than heretofore. Scholars have adopted various perspectives on immigration depending on the aims of their research: economic, social, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, integrational, among others. The present study is a contribution to this major debate. It is a sociolinguistic and sociocultural analysis of first-generation Bulgarian immigrants to Canada and aims to add to the scarce research on this particular topic within the broader theme by providing a multi-aspect view of the reasons for emigrating, based on the Canadian immigrant policy and the image created of Canada in Bulgaria, the cultural identity of Bulgarians in Canada, their social integration and sociocultural experience, the specifics of the language they use. It is the fruit of over twenty years of desk and field research and has partly been published in articles (cited in the References section).

The analysis of the speech of first-generation Bulgarian immigrants to Canada involves examining the patterns, features, and functions of the language used by them. One important aspect of linguistic analysis of the speech of first-generation immigrants to Canada is identifying the language(s) that they



use. Many are bilingual or multilingual, meaning that they are able to use more than one language fluently. It is important to examine the patterns and functions of code-switching, as well as the factors that influence language choice, such as the social context and the interlocutor.

Another important aspect of linguistic analysis is examining the phonological, morphological, syntactic, and pragmatic features of the language(s) used by first-generation immigrants. One notable characteristic of their speech is the presence of an accent or dialect. Linguists may analyze the specific phonetic features that distinguish the accent of a particular immigrant group from that of Canadian English, such as pronunciation of certain vowels, consonants, or intonation patterns.

Additionally, the pragmatic features of immigrant speech may reflect their cultural background, which may lead to differences in language use in terms of politeness, formality, or emphasis, compared to native Canadian speakers.

It is also important to examine the social and psychological factors that influence the language use of first-generation immigrants, such as the reasons for migration, the length of time they have been in Canada, and their level of language proficiency. These factors can have a significant impact on how these individuals use language in different contexts, and how they perceive their own language use and identity in relation to Canadian society.

The point of departure for the study is the multicultural policy in Canada and the pull factors it has provided for immigrants. Having become the first country to adopt multiculturalism as its state policy, Canada has established itself as an immigrant nation and has thus been a magnet for people of other countries seeking economic, political and religious freedom or well-being. The success of the Canadian multicultural model will be discussed at length, but so will criticism voiced by scholars and politicians at the perceived flaws. Recently the policy of multiculturalism

has been questioned not only in Canada but in other countries in Europe, such as the Netherlands. Nevertheless, the support of the Canadian public for immigrant multiculturalism is currently the highest it has been (Kymlicka 2010: 105) and more importantly, immigrants themselves have demonstrated high support for multiculturalism and identification with Canada. In a recent article, Kymlicka (2021: 126) substantiated this view based on several studies carried out with immigrants and concluded:

From their different starting points, therefore, there is a convergence of views between native-born Canadians and immigrants on high levels of pride and identification with a multicultural conception of Canadian nationhood.

These processes have been conducive to immigrants, including Bulgarians, when choosing Canada as the country to settle in permanently.

Another factor for immigrants to choose a particular country to settle in is the image of the host country created in the home country. This aspect of the Bulgarian immigration to Canada is highlighted based on the image of Canada created in Bulgaria by the choice in the translation of Canadian fiction, and the perceptions that young, educated people have of Canada. An overview of Canadian fiction and non-fiction translated into the Bulgarian language since the beginning of the 20th century is presented. The aim is to investigate what the Bulgarian publishers' policies are regarding Canadian literature in terms of overall number of titles as well as choice of genres and authors. It is demonstrated that although the works of some authors are now well represented and popular with Bulgarian readers, there are still significant gaps in the representation of certain types of writing or regions, most notably Canadian poetry and traditional or contemporary French Canadian literary works. A comparison



is made between present-day trends, in terms of both numbers of books published and publishers' apparent preferences, and pre-1990 tendencies. The possible reasons for the current selection of specific authors and works by publishing houses are investigated, as is the correlation between award-winning mainstream literature and mass-market commercial fiction. Conclusions are drawn on the basis of guest readings and book launches by Canadian writers and, where possible, personal interviews with representatives of publishing houses as to the mental image of Canada that is thus created in the minds of the readers.

The image of Canada is also studied based on what university students in Bulgaria (both Bulgarian and overseas students) know about Canada and how they perceive the Canadian ambiance. The image that Canada evokes outside its borders is discussed. To achieve this task, semi-structured face to face interviews are carried out and the results highlight what these young people know about Canada as factual knowledge and what their personal perceptions are, providing a view from without of how and to what extent Canada projects itself to the outside world.

The next chapter focusses on the Bulgarian community living in Canada. It starts with the reasons for immigration, the period of leaving the home country, and the accommodation of Bulgarians in the host country. Three immigration waves are delineated, beginning with the liberation of Bulgaria after 500 years of Ottoman rule and the re-establishment of the Bulgarian state in the late nineteenth century. The push and pull factors for the emigration of Bulgarians to Canada are considered.

How Bulgarian-Canadians are perceived by other ethnic Bulgarians living in Canada is established by means of studying the topics presented in the Toronto-based newspaper *Bulgarian Horizons*, the longest-running and most widely circulated biweekly for Bulgarian-Canadians. The topics covered in the



newspaper in a range of issues published across more than a decade are studied in order to establish the choice of content of the news items which reflect the perceived image of the Bulgarian diaspora in Canada. Deductions are made as to the composition of the members of the diaspora and the lifestyles of the different cohorts of immigrants in the minds of the editors of *Bulgarian Horizons*.

The next stage in studying the Bulgarian community in Canada was to gather data from some of its members in order to investigate their own perception of their identity, to highlight some of their sociocultural practices with view to examine if and how their conceptualization of self-identity has changed after moving to the host country, and the factors that have engendered that adjustment, such as: age when they moved to Canada, level of education, how long they have resided in the host country, why they emigrated, among others. This data was collected through conducting semi-structured face to face recorded interviews, questionnaires and observation of forty-five Bulgarians living in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver. The respondents were aged from twenty-five to seventy-six, but 85% were in their forties and fifties. All had legally left Bulgaria in the period 1948-1998 and emigrated to Canada between 1954 to 2015. The hiatus between the years of leaving the home country and arriving in the host country can be attributed to the fact that some of the immigrants spent time in other countries, such as France and Germany, before finally settling down in Canada. All have now Canadian citizenship, about 70% of the respondents have a higher education degree, about 50% are married, six to partners of non-Bulgarian origin, and all who are married have children. The native language of all of the respondents is Bulgarian and they have retained the language.

The aim of the questionnaires, the interviews and the observations was to establish the cultural ties that these first-generation immigrants have preserved with their home country



and the cultural practices they have adopted from the host country, so the focus was on traditions and customs, social contacts, types of behaviour, inclusion in Canadian social life. The responses provide insight as to their perception and feelings regarding being transnational citizens and whether they have allegiance to and keep bonds with both original and host country. The issue was addressed whether there was a strong belonging and yearning to go back to the country of origin, as described by Safran (1991). It was interesting to ascertain whether most of them have adjusted to their new environment and if they feel completely accepted on the personal level by Canadians and have formed a sense of belonging to their new home country; also, if they socialize with compatriots and perceive themselves as part of a large community bound by national origin. In the process, concepts such as diaspora, acculturation and integration of immigrants, transnational identity, and multiculturalism policy were gleaned with the objective of providing a working definition.

The last part of the study of the forty-four first-generation Bulgarian immigrants in Canada is on the language they use. More specifically, the focus is on the linguistic and sociolinguistic features and the functions and mechanisms of code-switching they resort to. Since the subjects live in francophone or anglophone Canada, it is assumed that there will be frequent instances of code-switching between Bulgarian and English or French. The study attempts to elucidate the reasons for code-switching, the linguistic level that the switch is effectuated, the parts of speech that are most commonly switched, as well as the way the code-switched items are integrated into the Bulgarian language. Currently, no comprehensive studies have been carried out of spoken code-switching between English or French and Bulgarian. Although there have been studies of code-switching between English and other Slavic languages, Bulgarian is structurally different from all the other Slavic languages, hence such a study would be a contribution in that respect.

Discourse-related code switching discloses how specific factors affect the language performance of immigrants. It is important to establish how interchanging different language codes is used to emphasize shifts in context or the role of the producer of the message in the act of communication. The findings highlight the contexts and reasons for integrating English or French lexis into a verbal exchange in the Bulgarian language and suggest that code-switching is most commonly used when discussing concepts typical mostly for the second language.

Since the aim of the book is a multifaceted sociolinguistic and sociocultural analysis of first-generation Bulgarian immigrants to Canada, the methodology applied is interdisciplinary and varies according to what facet of the behaviour, language, cultural beliefs and practices of the Bulgarian diaspora in Canada is studied.

The interdisciplinarity of the sociolinguistic research which encompasses the incorporation of language, society, and culture calls for a mixed methods research. It involves combining qualitative and quantitative research methods to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under study, since multiple perspectives are needed. The main purpose of mixed methods research is to provide a more complete and accurate understanding of complex social phenomena that cannot be fully captured by one type of data or research method alone. By combining quantitative and qualitative methods, a more in-depth and nuanced understanding of the research problem can be obtained, as well as the context in which it occurs. Therefore, a combination of research methods has been used: the case study as a research method, complementing it with different quantitative and qualitative approaches and with descriptive and analytical methods.

The first stage of the interdisciplinary research is desk research, which applies a descriptive and analytical research



methodology and involves a comprehensive review of the Canadian multicultural policies, the Canadian multicultural model and its attraction for potential immigrants, the predominant attitudes of the Canadian public towards immigrant multiculturalism, as well as the image of Canada created in Bulgaria through the selection of translated works. It thus sets the scene and helps identify the key features of the phenomenon as well as provide a baseline for the research that follows.

In the second stage of the study sociological methodology is employed whereby the main research method is comparative, complemented and enhanced with the method of discourse analysis: in their conceptual unity they aim to construct and verify a sociological diagnosis of sustainable practices, basic attitudes and key factors connected to the image of Canada, the identity and language of the Bulgarian community in Canada with an analytical focus on two reference groups: university students at New Bulgarian University (both home and overseas students) and members of the Bulgarian diaspora in Canada. Such a methodology is validated and tested in the theory of modern humanities and social sciences and is also an effective tool for achieving consistent and valid results. This part of the research methodology consists of field collection of empirical data, their processing, evaluation and interpretation.

Field empirical data collection has as its objective to investigate, illustrate and review the practices and attitudes among the reference groups and the empirical methods that are used are surveys (quantitative) and semi-structured interviews and observation (qualitative). Qualitative methods provide respondents with the opportunity to give free responses, assertions and explanations, as well as to share personal experiences and thoughts. The individual answers collected are transformed into a standardized system of empirical indicators appropriate for quantitative research through sociological questionnaires among the reference groups. This

specific combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques can guarantee sufficient concentration, distinctiveness, and comparability of the data.

The aim of the processing, analysis and interpretation is to systematize, typologize and classify the primary sociological information gathered in the study in order to draw reliable conclusions about the topics under consideration.

For the study of the linguistic and sociolinguistic features of the spoken language used by Bulgarian-Canadians a discourse-functional approach is applied to investigate the reasons behind code-switching, which parts of speech are most often code-switched, what the functions of the code-switched items are, which parts of speech most easily lend themselves to switches. The most important issue to be discussed is why the respondents resort to code-switching – and whether the reasons are linguistic, connected to the proficiency in both languages, or the similarity or differences between the two language systems; cultural – triggered by a lack of correspondence and equivalence of lexical items between the two languages, pragmatic, behavioural, social, or a combination of these factors.

A comprehensive and detailed account of the specific methodology applied is described at each specific stage of analysis in the respective section.

In order to achieve the set aims and to investigate the push and pull factors that made or facilitated Bulgarians to emigrate to Canada, the image created of Canada in Bulgaria, the cultural identity, social integration and sociocultural experience of Bulgarians in Canada, as well as sociolinguistic specifics of the language they use, several types of corpora were used:

1. *Official documents on Canadian multiculturalism*

Some of the documents that are the basis of Canadian multiculturalism are considered, such as for example the 1971 Multiculturalism Act (Revised 1985, Amended 1993), the 1977 Canadian Human Rights Act.



2. *Translated Canadian literature in Bulgarian*

This part of the corpus consists of titles of Canadian fiction translated in Bulgarian in the four periods delineated, starting in 1878 but mostly post 1990, which is the current, fourth period.

3. *Face-to-face semi-structured interviews with Bulgarian students*

The corpus consists of a total of 12.7 hours of recorded interviews with 40 students: 28 Bulgarian BA students (12 male, 16 female), and 22 overseas BA students (13 male, 9 female), both groups being students at New Bulgarian University. All interviews were conducted in person by the researcher.

4. *Historiographical study of immigration of Bulgarians to Canada*

The data for this part of the analysis was collected through *Statistics Canada* and through secondary sources: previous publications on the Bulgarian diaspora in Canada.

5. *Topics and themes from „Bulgarian Horizons”, a Bulgarian newspaper, published in Canada*

The topics and themes were collected from about 80 issues of the newspaper within a period of twelve years: 2009 to 2021.

6. *Face-to-face semi-structured recorded interviews and questionnaires with first-generation immigrants to Canada*

All interviews were conducted by the researcher herself mostly in Canada and then online. The participants in the case study are a total of 45 legal immigrants who left Bulgaria in the period 1948–1998 and settled in Canada between 1954 and 2005: twenty-five men and twenty women ranging in age from twenty-five to seventy-six. The total time of recorded interviews is 22.5 hours.

First-generation immigrants refer to individuals who were



born in one country but have moved to another to live and work permanently. These individuals are often referred to as „foreign-born“ and have migrated from their country of origin to a new country for various reasons, including seeking better economic opportunities, political instability or persecution, or joining family members who have already migrated. First-generation immigrants are different from second-generation immigrants, who are born in the country they now reside in to immigrant parents, and third-generation immigrants, who are born to parents who were themselves born in the country they now reside in.

The focus in this study are first-generation immigrants due to several reasons. Second- and third-generation immigrants are assumed to be already integrated into the host society, or at least find it less burdensome to do so. They will have gone through or joined at some point the educational system of the host country, will have grown up in the local community, imbued with local traditions and way of life in general, which will to a large extent have defined and formed their values and beliefs. Therefore, studying the language and sociocultural practices of second- and third-generation immigrants would yield an entirely different image.

First-generation immigrants may not be proficient in the language of the country they have migrated to, making communication challenging. Understanding their language can help bridge communication gaps, enable effective communication and help build trust between communities. Language is a key component of social integration. Immigrants who are able to speak the language of the country they have migrated to are more likely to be socially integrated, better able to access services, employment opportunities and education, and to participate in the community. Language is closely tied to culture, and studying the language of first-generation immigrants can provide insights into their cultural



background, values and beliefs, which can help promote cultural understanding, respect and appreciation. Studying the language of first-generation immigrants can also provide valuable data for research purposes, such as recognizing the linguistic and cultural challenges that they face, and how they navigate these challenges. In summary, studying the language of first-generation immigrants can help facilitate communication, promote integration, foster cultural understanding, and provide valuable data for research purposes.

In addition to the interviews, another method to be applied is observation. Both the interview and observation pose a research challenge that may question the validity of the results and the conclusions of a study. What that means is that the researcher is faced with what Labov (1972: 209) formulated as the observer's paradox:

The aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can obtain this data by systematic observation.

The observer's paradox is a concept that has been widely discussed in various fields of science, including physics, social sciences, and psychology. It refers to the fact that the act of observing or measuring a system or phenomenon can alter its behavior or properties. This paradox is particularly relevant in social sciences, where researchers often study human behavior and may inadvertently influence the behavior they are observing. What needs to be discussed are the causes of the paradox, and its implications in various fields.

In social sciences, the observer's paradox is a significant concern, as researchers often study human behavior, which is highly sensitive to external factors. For example, a researcher studying the behavior of a group of people in a social setting

may alter the behavior of the group merely by being present. Similarly, a researcher studying the effects of a particular treatment may find that the treatment's observed effects are due to the placebo effect or other factors that are unrelated to the treatment itself. Spano (2005) holds the view that the observer paradox may render results invalid, while McDonald (2005) is concerned with how researchers can eliminate this effect.

The observer's paradox (also known as the Hawthorne effect) can arise from several sources. One source is precisely the fact that people may change their behavior simply because they are being watched. Another source is demand characteristics, which refer to cues in the research setting that suggest what the researcher is looking for, leading participants to respond in a particular way. Finally, observer bias can also be a source of the observer's paradox, where the observers' expectations and preconceptions influence their interpretations of data.

This paradox has significant implications for the validity of research in social sciences. If the observer's presence or influence can alter the behavior being observed, the resulting data may be inaccurate or biased. Therefore, techniques must be used that minimize the impact of the observer on the observed behavior. One such technique is the use of double-blind studies, where neither the researchers nor the participants know who is in the experimental or control groups. This technique helps to minimize the influence of the observer's expectations and biases.

Another technique is the use of indirect measures or observations, such as analyzing data from social media or other online platforms. This approach can provide a more naturalistic and less intrusive way of studying human behavior, reducing the impact of the observer's presence.

In addition to these techniques, the impact of the presence of the researcher can also be minimized by adopting a non-intrusive approach. This could involve using hidden cameras or other unobtrusive methods to observe behavior or building



rapport and trust with participants to minimize the impact of the observer's presence.

Not all researchers consider staged performances by participants in interviews and observations as detrimental to the results obtained and their interpretation. For instance, Monahan and Fisher (2010: 357) assert that „Informants' performances – however staged for or influenced by the observer – often reveal profound truths about social and/or cultural phenomena“. For them all speech and behaviour by an informant, whether staged or not, carries important meaning for the study.

However, in the present study a strategy was adopted to minimize this effect and it consisted of the following:

- a. the interviews and observation were mostly conducted at respondents' own homes where they would feel at ease;
- b. the choice of semi-structured interviews allowed for free responses and for diversion from a specific question, so that the respondents would feel comfortable;
- c. the interviews were carried out in a friendly, informal manner, maximally resembling a chat between friends;
- d. an attempt was made to steer the attention of informants from their speech to the content of their message.

And finally, ethics is an important component of any academic research. The researcher of this study adhered to ethical research principles: the subjects were informed that they were recorded, they were notified about all possible uses of the data to be collected. They were all presented with and signed an informed consent form and their participation in the study was voluntary. They were guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality and hence each respondent was given coded initials which do not correspond to their real-life names.



2. CANADIAN MULTICULTURALISM

Multiculturalism refers to the presence and coexistence of multiple cultures within a society. It can refer to the demographic makeup of a specific place, as well as the acceptance and celebration of different cultural traditions within a society. This can include recognition and accommodation of different languages, religions, customs, and traditions within a single nation or community. The goal of multiculturalism is to create a society in which all individuals feel valued and respected, regardless of their cultural background.

Canada has been acclaimed as the first immigrant country in the world to become pluralistic in theory and, to a certain extent, in practice. The concept of multiculturalism has been tied up with the search for the Canadian identity. There has been a continuous effort to debate and conciliate the nature of the Canadian federation among the diverse groups that have shaped Canadian society and history starting with the indigenous people. The aim of this part is to consider Canada's policy of 'multiculturalism within a bilingual framework': its inception and development, its principles and some of the problems that have ensued from implementing that policy.

There have been many attempts at defining Canadian multiculturalism. Some recent definitions consider different aspects of the concept. Providing a summary of other authors' writings, Wood and Gilbert (2005: 682) view multiculturalism as:

a specific government policy of political pluralism, as a social reality of a demographically diverse society, and as a political ideology advocating cultural pluralism.



In a similar vein, Kenyeres (2014: 28) defines multiculturalism thus:

Canadian multiculturalism is a doctrine, system of thought and a government policy, extending to the area of political theory, social studies and the humanities, with a significant impact on immigration and everyday life.

Canadian multiculturalism is an ideology that recognizes and values the cultural diversity of Canada's population. This includes the diversity of Indigenous peoples as well as the cultural heritage of immigrants and their descendants. The Canadian Multiculturalism Act, passed in 1988, officially recognizes the diversity of cultures in Canada and commits the government to promoting and protecting multiculturalism. The Act also prohibits discrimination on the grounds of race, national or ethnic origin, color, religion, age, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, or mental or physical disability.

In practice, Canadian multiculturalism is reflected in a variety of ways, such as the accommodation of religious holidays and traditions in the workplace and public institutions, the recognition of multiple languages in government services, and the celebration of cultural festivals and events. Canada's diverse population is also reflected in its media, cuisine and arts. The country's multiculturalism is considered as one of the reasons for Canada's social cohesion and peaceful society, although undoubtedly there are also criticisms and challenges to it.

The Multiculturalism Act recognizes that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage.

The policy is implemented through various government programs and initiatives, such as:



The Multiculturalism Program, which provides funding to organizations and community groups that promote multiculturalism and support the integration of new immigrants.

The Cross-Cultural Roundtable on Security, which brings together representatives from diverse communities to advise the government on issues related to national security and the protection of human rights.

The Action Plan for Official Languages, which promotes the use of both English and French in Canadian society and supports the development of linguistic minority communities.

The Inter-Action: Multiculturalism Funding Program, which supports the settlement and integration of newcomers, and the development of stronger relationships between diverse communities.

Being a multicultural society, Canada has a diverse population made up of individuals and groups from various ethnic, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds. Immigration plays an important part in the composition of Canadian society and can have a wide range of demographic, economic, political, social and psychological can results on the overall environment. The demographic consequences of migration can materialize in changes in the population size and composition of a country, including changes in age, gender, and ethnic makeup. It can also lead to changes in the fertility and mortality rates of a population. Migration can also have both positive and negative effects on the economy of a country: it can bring in new labor and skills, leading to economic growth, or conversely, it can also result in competition for jobs and resources and hence to economic strain. Migration can engender changes in the political landscape of a country, including shifts in voting patterns, political representation, and public opinion. It can provoke political tensions and conflicts, particularly in the case of large numbers of refugees or illegal immigrants. The social



fabric of a country can also be affected, including changes in the cultural makeup, social norms, and social structures. It can lead to cultural clashes or limited resources.

Migration can have a range of negative psychological effects, including stress, anxiety, and depression. It can also have positive psychological effects, such as increased self-esteem and self-efficacy. These results can vary depending on the context of the migration and the specific circumstances of the migrants. For example, the results for economic migrants moving to a country with a high demand for labor will be different than for refugees fleeing war or persecution. Additionally, the results may be different for immigrants who are welcomed and supported by the host society than for those who face discrimination and exclusion.

According to the 2016 Canadian Census, the largest ethnic groups in Canada are of English, Scottish, Irish, French, and German descent. Indigenous peoples, including First Nations, Inuit, and Métis, also make up a significant portion of the population. Additionally, Canada is home to many immigrants and refugees from around the world, including large communities from South Asia, the Caribbean, and Africa. This diversity is reflected in the country's official policies of multiculturalism and bilingualism (English and French). The census indicated that people of British origin represent 28% and of French origin 23% of the population, with a further 18% of the people a combination of British and/or French and/or other ethnic groups. The ethnographics of Canada has demonstrated considerable changes in the last few decades. In the early 1900s, most immigrants originated from European and North American countries. Starting from the 1960s and continuing to the present, the source countries have been replaced by Asian, Middle Eastern, Caribbean, Central and South American and African countries. Before 1960 Europeans made up 90% of all immigrants as compared to 25% for the period 1981-1991. For



Asian and Middle Eastern immigrants, the figures are 3% and 48% respectively.

The rise in the proportion of the 'visible minorities' has led to the adoption and definition of this concept in the 'Employment Equity Act of Canada', where visible minorities are „persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour". Currently, they account for about 13.5 % of the population.

The same legal instrument designates the Aboriginal people as a separate group to include North American Indians (more commonly referred to as First Nations), Inuit and Métis, also recognized by the Canadian Constitution. According to the 2016 Census more than 1.67 million people in Canada identify themselves as Aboriginal. They are also the fastest growing and the youngest population in Canada.

It is worth mentioning the distinction between the terms multiculturalism and interculturalism. They are both concepts related to the presence of multiple cultures and ethnicities within a society, but they have different meanings and implications.

Multiculturalism refers to the recognition and acceptance of the cultural diversity within a society. It is based on the idea that all cultures are equal and have the right to be preserved and celebrated. It often emphasizes the importance of tolerance and mutual respect among different cultural groups. Canada, as a country that has adopted multiculturalism as an official policy, is a good example of this.

Interculturalism is a more proactive approach and a concept that refers to the active promotion of mutual understanding and interaction among different cultural groups in a society. It aims to create a society in which different cultures can coexist and interact in a meaningful way, not just tolerate each other. This approach emphasizes the importance of dialogue and exchange among different cultures, and the creation of common ground and shared values.



Interculturalism is different from multiculturalism, which is often seen as a passive approach, where different cultures are allowed to coexist without actively promoting interaction among them. Interculturalism, on the other hand, is a more active approach, where different cultures are encouraged to interact and learn from each other. Interculturalism is often associated with the idea of integration, where different cultural groups are encouraged to participate fully in the wider society, while maintaining their cultural heritage and identity. This can include measures such as language education, cultural exchange programs, and diversity training.

In practice, interculturalism can be implemented in various ways such as through education, the media, and public policy. It can be used as a tool to promote greater understanding and acceptance of different cultures, and to foster a more inclusive and harmonious society. Interculturalism is not without its challenges, and it can be a complex and ongoing process. It requires active participation and commitment from all members of society and the government. Additionally, it is also important to acknowledge and address the structural inequalities and power imbalances that exist in society, which can affect the success of interculturalism initiatives.

In the Canadian province of Québec, with its distinct history, culture, and language, interculturalism is an important concept. Québec has a large francophone population, and the French language and culture are central to the province's identity. Interculturalism has been a contentious and complex issue, with different perspectives and opinions on how best to promote mutual understanding and interaction among different cultural groups in the province.

In recent years, Québec has adopted an intercultural approach to integration and diversity, emphasizing the importance of promoting mutual understanding and interaction among different cultural groups and it has been proposed that

interculturalism is used as a model of integration in Québec and multiculturalism for the rest of Canada (cf. Bouchard and Taylor 2008, Bouchard 2011, Kastoryano 2018). This approach has been reflected in various policy initiatives, such as the Charter of the French Language, which aims to promote the use of French in the public sphere, and the Interculturalism Policy, which aims to promote greater understanding and acceptance of different cultures.

The Interculturalism policy in Québec emphasizes the importance of learning the French language as a way of integrating into Québec society. It also focuses on the importance of intercultural dialogue, cultural exchange, and diversity training. It also aims to ensure that people from different cultural backgrounds can participate fully in the wider society, while maintaining their cultural heritage and identity.

Some have argued that this approach does not go far enough in addressing the needs of immigrants and minorities, particularly in terms of language, education, and employment. Critics argue that the focus on French language and culture can be exclusionary for non-francophone immigrants and can make it difficult for them to fully participate in Québec society.

On the other hand, it is contended that the intercultural approach in Québec is necessary to protect and promote the French language and culture, which is central to the province's identity. Supporters of this view claim that the policy is a balanced approach that respects the rights and needs of immigrants and minorities, while also maintaining the cultural heritage of the francophone majority.

It is clear that the concept of interculturalism is not without its challenges and it can be a complex and ongoing process. It requires active participation and commitment from all members of society and the government. Additionally, it is also important to acknowledge and address the structural inequalities and power imbalances that exist in society, which



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can affect the success of interculturalism initiatives. Therefore, the implementation of interculturalism in Québec has been a contentious issue, with some arguing that it does not go far enough in addressing the needs of immigrants and minorities, and others – that it undermines the French-speaking majority.



2.1. Multiculturalism policy: overview, historical perspectives, recent developments

Canadian multiculturalism can be viewed from various perspectives. It can be considered as an amalgamation of a sociological fact, referring to „the presence of people from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds”, as an ideology whereby it „consists of a relatively coherent set of ideas and ideals” and politically as „the management of diversity through formal initiatives” on different administrative and managerial levels (Dewing 2013: 1).

Canada’s population history has had a significant impact on the country’s society, culture, and economy. The earliest population were Indigenous peoples, who have lived on the land for thousands of years. European explorers and traders arrived in the 16th century, and later, in the 17th and 18th centuries, waves of French and British settlers arrived, establishing colonies and trading posts.

The arrival of European settlers brought significant changes to the Indigenous peoples, who were displaced from their traditional lands and ways of life. Many were forced to assimilate European customs and values, and their cultures and languages were suppressed. The relationship between them was often fraught with conflict, and Indigenous peoples were subjected to discrimination and injustice.

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, waves of immigrants arrived from Europe, Asia, and other parts of the world, attracted by the promise of economic opportunity and a new life in Canada. These immigrants helped to build the country’s infrastructure and economy and contributed to the growth and development of cities and towns across the country.



The settlement of Canada has also had a significant impact on the country's society and culture. The diverse backgrounds of the settlers have contributed to the multicultural society that Canada is today. However, the history of settlement has also been marked by conflicts, injustices, and discrimination, particularly towards Indigenous peoples and other marginalized groups.

In recent years, there has been a growing recognition of the negative impacts of Canada's history of settlement and efforts to address the injustices and inequalities that have resulted. The government has made apologies and established compensation for Indigenous peoples and other marginalized groups, and there are ongoing efforts to promote reconciliation and to promote greater social cohesion.

As a result of the diverse groups that make up Canadian society, linguistic diversity is at the center of Canadian diversity, as reflected in the country's official policies of multiculturalism and bilingualism. Canada is a bilingual country, with English and French being the two official languages (formally in the federal government, in the provinces of Manitoba and New Brunswick, and in the three territories). The linguistic diversity is reflected in the country's population, with many people speaking languages other than English or French, such as Indigenous languages, Chinese, Punjabi, Spanish, Italian, and many more.

The distribution of speakers of the two official languages of Canada English and French varies across the country. According to the 2016 Canadian Census, about 78% of the population reported English as their mother tongue, while about 22% reported French as their mother tongue. The majority of English-speaking Canadians live in the provinces of Ontario, British Columbia, and Alberta, while the majority of French-speaking Canadians live in the province of Québec.

Additionally, there is also a significant number of speakers of other languages in Canada. According to the 2016 Census, about 6.3% of the population reported a non-official language

as their mother tongue, with the most common non-official languages being Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese), Spanish, Punjabi, Italian, and German. The majority of these speakers are concentrated in large urban areas such as Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver.

The distribution of speakers of different languages in Canada can vary depending on the location and also over time, on the immigration policies, economic conditions, and on other factors. Additionally, the distribution of speakers of official languages can also vary within provinces and territories, and it is not limited to just English and French; Indigenous languages are also spoken across Canada by Indigenous peoples, and the numbers of speakers of these languages are also increasing.

This linguistic diversity is also reflected in the country's education system, which provides students with the opportunity to learn both English and French, as well as other languages. This is important in promoting understanding and acceptance of different cultures and perspectives, and in fostering a more inclusive and harmonious society.

Additionally, Canada's linguistic diversity is also reflected in the country's media and communications, with many newspapers, radio and television programs, and websites being produced in languages other than English or French. This provides people with the opportunity to access information and news in their own language, and to stay connected to their cultural heritage.

However, it is important to note that it also brings challenges. For example, some individuals may face barriers to accessing services or participating fully in society because of language barriers. There have also been ongoing efforts to promote language education, particularly for Indigenous languages, which have been systematically suppressed in the past. But overall, Canada's linguistic diversity is an important aspect of the country's pluralism, and it plays a vital role in shaping the country's society, culture, and economy.



The evolution of Canadian federal multicultural policy has been shaped by the country's changing demographics, political climate, and social and economic needs. In 1971 Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau introduced Canada's first official policy of multiculturalism, named „Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework“. The policy recognized and valued the cultural heritage of all Canadians, regardless of their racial or ethnic background, and promoted the idea that all cultural groups have an equal right to maintain their culture while participating fully in the wider society. This policy was seen as a way to address the challenges of integration and social cohesion that arose as a result of the large-scale immigration Canada experienced in the post-WWII period.

Canada established itself as the world's first officially multicultural nation. There are several factors that led to the development of this policy. The establishment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963 was the response of the government of Trudeau to the „Quiet Revolution“ in Québec which had led to demands for sovereignty. The Commission emphasized the necessity for the changes to materialize within a united Canada. It had been appointed to offer recommendations regarding the development of Canada as a nation founded on an equal alliance of the British and French groups, while bearing in mind the role of the other ethnic groups. The intention was to respond to Francophone claims for equal status and for incoming minorities to integrate into the bicultural texture in Canada. Undoubtedly, the predominant assumption of the report was that cultural rights extended to the original founders of the nation. What makes Canada different from other immigrant countries (for instance Australia or New Zealand) is precisely the fact that it has two distinct groups who claim a privileged position in the constitution and the status of founders of the nation. The superior rights of the English Canadians were established after the 1867 Confederation.

Trudeau's policies spread to include the 'two founding races', the English and the French and following the Royal Commission's report, the 1969 Official Languages Act was implemented.

What was clearly missing was the inclusion of other ethnic groups in the discussion of Canadian culture and society. Their role was downgraded and relegated to secondary position which led to concern among representatives of these groups as to their relative position in society. They felt that their cultures would be devalued in comparison to those of the French and the British. In 1971, as a result of wide criticism from minorities and opposition politicians, the government proclaimed a policy of multiculturalism. The stated purpose of the 1971 Canadian Multicultural Act was to encourage ethnic groups in Canada to maintain and share their language and culture with other Canadians. The Act aspired to change the assimilative nature of the English Protestant heritage and emphasized the diversity of the country.

In 1972, a minister of state for multiculturalism was appointed. The Canadian Human Rights Act which was passed in 1977 provides legal safeguards against racial, national, ethnic prejudice or discrimination on the basis of colour, religion or gender. In 1982, multiculturalism and equal rights were entrenched in Canada's Constitution in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

'Living together with differences' is the main principle of Canadian multiculturalism. McLeod (1984) sums up the basic provisions of the Multiculturalism Act into four groups:

- ensuring equality of status,
- defining Canadian identity as pluralistic,
- offering citizens a choice of lifestyles,
- protecting civil and human rights.

There is a marked commitment to ethnocultural differences and diversity and mutual respect. All cultures are equally



valued, and the premise is that only people who are secure in their cultural background can be tolerant towards others. The principle of 'unity within diversity' is not limitless; the right to be different cannot interfere with institutional values, laws and the rights of individuals. The equality of opportunities and of participation in the political, social, economic, cultural life for all ethnic groups is an essential element of the ideology of multiculturalism.

Unlike the 'melting pot' model of the United States, Canadians opted for the concept of a 'cultural mosaic' – unique parts that fit into an integrated ensemble. The American melting pot symbolizes the approach toward diversity and nation building; it proclaims a vision of unity out of diversity. Canada's mosaic is seen as a symbol of pointing to the past, to tradition, suggesting the importance of boundaries, of diversity. Canada is considered to be uniquely different from other immigrant countries regarding the extent to which it fosters cultural diversity rather than the collective addition to one developing culture.

Since its adoption, the Multiculturalism Act (1971, Revised 1985, Amended 1993) has been the focus of many discussions and has given rise to a number of contentious issues.

Some of the disagreements among enthusiasts and detractors of the policy of multiculturalism have revolved around the following matters, among others:

- Does multiculturalism lay too much importance on different ethnic groups and thus strip Canadians of common beliefs and values?
- Does the present policy of multiculturalism encourage social cohesion?
- Does multiculturalism erect or pull down barriers to adequate and equal involvement in society?

When the policy was initiated in the 1970s, the Canadian ethnic mosaic was still monopolized by the European

heritage leading to 'Eurocentric Canadian nationalism'. The Multiculturalism Act failed to address the needs of minority groups, besides those of French Canadians. The critics of multiculturalism maintain that the Act further marginalized ethnic Canadians since the very idea of multiculturalism entails a 'norm' and an 'otherness'. English and French Canadian cultures became the norm, while the rest was multicultural, thus 'different', 'diverse', the 'other'.

Voices were raised denouncing the policy: English-speaking Canadians expressed concern that it would divide rather than amalgamate the nation or that it would lead to the disintegration of the rich British legacy. Québec was also far from happy: multiculturalism would equate French Canadians with other ethnic groups and would undermine Québec nationalism.

Perhaps one of the greatest criticisms of the multiculturalism policy has been that it has not clearly and definitely acknowledged the need to support and champion a consolidating Canadian culture.

The 1965 book „The Vertical Mosaic” by the Canadian sociologist John Porter popularized the idea of the 'mosaic' rather than the 'melting pot' for the structure and nature of Canadian culture and society. Porter investigated the ethnic background of the various elites and reached the conclusion that a hierarchical ordering existed within Canadian society with the English and European Canadians at the top of the mosaic. The Ukrainian and Italian immigrants at the middle level, the French in between and rapidly gaining power at least in Québec, while the visibly different black and indigenous Canadians are at the bottom.

One of the main problems identified by Porter was the absence of a clearly articulated system of values, which perhaps originated in the promotion of group rights at the expense of individual rights and Canadian nationhood. Such strong priority of ethnic differentiation would hardly lead to the rise of a distinct Canadian identity. What was obviously missing was the explicit



emphasis on national unity and of the necessity of minorities to integrate into Canadian society.

For Neil Bissoondath, a Trinidadian born Canadian author, the quarter-century long policy of multiculturalism has been disastrous for the country and for immigrants alike, since it is based on false premises. One is the assumption that immigrants, who by default seek a new life in a new country, wish to transfer their culture of origin. In the words of Bissoondath (1994):

Canadian multiculturalism has emphasized difference. In so doing, it has retarded the integration of immigrants into the Canadian mainstream while damaging Canada's national sense of self. Canada has an enviable record in dealing with racism – our society remains largely free of racial conflict. And yet we do ourselves a disservice in pursuing the divisive potential in multiculturalism.

A recent study reported that 72% of Canadians were intolerant of demands for special treatment made by ethnic groups and wanted immigrants to adopt Canada's values and way of life. Many immigrants feel that multiculturalism has not been geared towards their interests because it has marginalized them and has prevented them from integrating and acculturating.

An interesting collocation has sprung up in Canada and it is 'hyphenated Canadian' – African-Canadians, Chinese-Canadians, Russian-Canadians, etc., signaling division along the line of ethnic origins and under the cloak of 'mosaic'. Claims have been put forth that advocating hyphenation and stressing on diversity has led to 'mosaic madness'. Contrary to its supposed aims, multiculturalism does not tend to the social and economic needs of minorities and makes them second-class citizens. Although it was originally intended to unify Canada, it is thought by some to engender a contrasting image of the nation.

Multiculturalism has been established as a national symbol for Canadians and has sought to institute Canada as a unique nation. As Will Kymlicka (1995: 22), a Canadian political philosopher known for his extensive research on Canadian multiculturalism, states:

Canada, with its policy of 'multiculturalism within a bilingual framework' and its recognition of Aboriginal rights to self-government, is one of the few countries which has officially recognized and endorsed polyethnicity and multinationality.

On November 13, 2002, the Canadian Government declared June 27 to be celebrated as Canadian Multiculturalism Day – an occasion to discover more about the contribution of each community to the richness and diversity of Canadian society. Although there has been considerable debate about the nature, content and consequences of multiculturalism, it has become an essential part of Canadian identity. Canadians have been seeking an identity for so long it has been suggested that the search itself might be the identity. The willingness of Canadians to enrich their society by integrating a spate of immigrants of diverse origin and heritage is considered focal to the Canadian national character. Perhaps Cannadianness is contained precisely in the process of reinventing the mosaic and the resulting distinct, diverse and vibrant culture.

Since the early 1990s, the notion of diaspora has become an essential issue in international politics and has acquired a new place in public discourse. The disintegration of the bipolar power structure and the breakdown of national barriers with the end of the Cold War laid the ground for a massive short- and long-term movement of people. Historically, migration was always an important element in nation-building and industrialisation, but the current interest in migration marks a different perspective to



the issue, a different perception of the phenomenon, rather than a shift in the fact itself. The process of globalization and the new communication technologies have facilitated the frequent flow of capital, goods and services, and have resulted in the creation of a new context for migration and the blurring of boundaries between the various forms of migration.

Views have been expressed that the very concept of transnational communities may bring about a reconceptualization of the constituents of citizenship in order to accommodate the various types of relations that transmigrants enter into with different states, i.e. acquiring political rights in one country, economic rights in another and cultural rights in a third one (Bauböck and Rundell 1999) or 'quasi-citizenship' or 'denizenship' (Hammar 1990).

The causes for migration have been the object of study of many scholars, who have looked for explanations from various perspectives: for instance, better economic opportunities, family survival strategies, long-term concerns for security and sustainability. Immigration flows are also shaped by the host countries' policies for recruitment of labour. The rapid development of communication technologies and the wide availability of Internet access have materialized in access to knowledge about other societies as well as in establishing migration networks and connections needed to migrate safely and cost-effectively. At present, receiving countries such as the United States, Australia, Canada and West European nations have migration laws that welcome highly skilled workers, which leads to the transfer of human capital from poor to rich countries, or to a brain drain.

Although different countries have different policies for integrating immigrants, three main approaches can be delineated: assimilation, differential exclusion and multiculturalism. Assimilation was considered the norm in the past – it was presumed that immigrants moved permanently and severed connections with their country of origin, thus becoming completely assimilated into the host country. Immigrants were

encouraged to learn the language and to embrace the social and cultural values and customs of the host country, leading to the appropriation of a new national identity. Temporary migration schemes, however, have led to recruitment of workers for the labour market who are excluded from political participation and citizenship. This type of incorporation has been referred to by Castles (2002: 1155) as differential exclusion. Neither of the above two types of incorporation was meant to lead to any noteworthy changes in the host country, since the underlying understanding was that ethnic difference could be controlled. Practice, however, showed that some temporary migrants settled in the host country, reunited with their families and formed ethnic minorities. Long-term assimilation became to appear a chimera, since ethnic communities held on to their language and culture even through subsequent generations.

In order to address these new developments, some countries adopted official policies of multiculturalism: Canada – as mentioned above – in 1971, followed by Australia in 1973 and by most member-states of the European Union. In Australia, the abolition of the ‘White Australia’ policy to immigration which was dominant from federation until the late 20th century took place over a period of 25 years. It culminated in a decision by the Whitlam Labour Government in 1973 to dismiss ethnicity as a criterion for entry of immigrants. Australia later on adopted legislation stipulating that all immigrants are eligible to obtain citizenship after three years of permanent residence and ratified all international treaties and agreements on immigration and race. Most EU member countries had by the late 1970s adopted legislation that was non-discriminatory regarding the ethnicity of immigrants and in 2000 the official motto of the European Union became ‘Unity in Diversity’.

Migrant groups formed state and national associations to maintain their cultures, and governments encouraged the survival of their languages and heritages within mainstream institutions.



Government multicultural policies recognized multiple citizenship, offered government support for newspapers, television, and radio in minority languages, acceptance of traditional and religious dress in society, programs to encourage minority representation in politics, etc. Multiculturalism presupposes forsaking the illusion of a homogenous and monocultural nation-state and acknowledging the rights to preservation of culture, community formation and ensuring protection from discrimination on the basis of colour, race, religion, age, gender, language, etc.

A survey published by the Centre for Research and Information on Canada (CRIC) in October 2003 found that 54% of those surveyed said multiculturalism made them feel proud to be Canadian (the figure is 66% in the age group 18-30). After the September 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States, another CRIC survey published in October 2005 found that two-thirds of Canadians see multiculturalism as guarding against extremism rather than engendering it. In the 2018 Canada's World Survey, conducted by the Environics Institute for Survey Research, over 1 500 Canadians were asked about their attitudes of Canada and how they perceive themselves and their country within the broader world context. One of the key conclusions was that young Canadians unwaveringly maintain that Canada's first and foremost and by far most notable contribution is welcoming immigrants and refugees. As an answer to the question „In your opinion, what is the most important contribution that Canada, as a country, makes to the world today”, 25% of all polled singled out multiculturalism and accepting immigrants (with „peacekeeping” a runner-up with 19%).

Although multiculturalism is firmly established in Western societies, currently some countries such as the Netherlands and Denmark have returned to an official monoculturalism, and this issue is the subject of debate in the United Kingdom due to concerns about home-grown terrorism. Some have introduced policies for social cohesion, integration, and assimilation

which are considered a reversal of earlier multiculturalist policies, striving to assimilate immigrant minorities and restore a monocultural society. Some of the adopted measures are: courses and tests on national history (e.g. Life in the United Kingdom test), official campaigns to promote national unity and individual identification with the nation (e.g. the 'Du bist Deutschland' campaign in Germany), tests designed to point out unacceptable values, prohibitions on Islamic dress. Right-wing parties in Western Europe have campaigned for a loyalty oath for all citizens, a ban on public use of foreign languages, a halt to all immigration, a complete ban on Islam, and even and even withdrawal from the European Union.

Recently, the Canadian multicultural policy has received criticism from within the country itself. Both Francophones and Anglophones have voiced deep concerns about the consequences of this policy. Québécois have complained that they have been reduced to just another ethnic group contending that the official policy of the province aspires to promote interculturalism – accepting people of various origins while insisting that they integrate into Québec's majority French-speaking community. They feel that the Canadian multiculturalism model is not suitable for Québec, since in Anglophone Canada concern about language is not a key factor, nor is there minority insecurity or concern for the preservation of a founding cultural tradition. Therefore, conditions in Québec are significantly different from those in the rest of Canada and the policy of interculturalism aims to unify ethnic and cultural diversity with the preservation of the French-speaking core, integrating immigrants into the mainstream francophone environment and encouraging them to participate in a common civic culture. In this way, interaction between the communities is advocated by providing common cultural anchors, while the right to affiliate with one's ethnic group and the right for cultural and religious differences to be displayed in the public domain are recognized.



In Anglophone Canada views have been expressed that the shift from biculturalism to multiculturalism has had a deteriorating effect on relations between Québec and the rest of Canada, since it offended the Québécois and their dualistic vision of Canada as a bilingual and bicultural society. In his book 'Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada', published in 1994, the Trinidad-born novelist Neil Bissoondath argues that there is potential divisiveness inherent in the official multiculturalism policy. Promoting cultural diversity may result in a 'psychology of separation' in immigrants from the mainstream culture, in confining them to cultural ghettos. In this way, according to Bissoondath, unity and cohesion is sacrificed for a policy which divides and breeds misunderstanding and hostility by placing one ethnic group against another. He critiques the concept of multiculturalism as a policy in Canada, arguing that it creates a fragmented society where immigrants are encouraged to retain their cultural heritage and identity, rather than integrating into Canadian society. He argues that multiculturalism policies have not been successful in promoting social harmony and that they may even be detrimental to the integration of immigrants suggesting that a more inclusive and cohesive society can be achieved through a policy of assimilation that emphasizes shared values, language, and cultural practices.

Bissoondath's views on immigrant integration have been highly controversial, with many scholars and activists arguing that his views are too narrow and that they ignore the experiences of immigrants and the role that cultural diversity can play in building a strong and inclusive society. Despite this, Bissoondath's work remains an important contribution to the ongoing debate about immigrant integration in Canada, and it continues to be widely cited and discussed by scholars, policymakers, and the general public.

Keith Banting is a renowned Canadian political scientist and scholar who has written about immigrant integration in Canada.

His research focuses on the relationship between immigration, diversity, and citizenship, and he has been a prominent voice in debates about the challenges and opportunities of immigrant integration in Canada.

Banting argues that immigrant integration is a complex and dynamic process that involves a range of factors, including access to education, employment, and housing, as well as the availability of support services and the attitudes and policies of the receiving society. He suggests that the success of immigrant integration depends on the ability of both immigrants and the receiving society to adapt and change, and that it is shaped by a variety of structural, institutional, and cultural factors.

In his work, Banting emphasizes the importance of strong policies and programs that support immigrant integration, and he advocates for a more inclusive and multicultural approach to citizenship and social integration. He also argues that immigrant integration is a shared responsibility, and that both the receiving society and immigrants themselves have a role to play in building a cohesive and inclusive society. Banting's work continues to be widely cited and discussed by scholars, policymakers, and the general public, and it remains an important contribution to the understanding of immigrant integration in Canada (cf. Banting 2022, Banting, Kymlicka, Westlake 2022, Banting and Thompson, 2021, Banting and Soroka, 2020).

The Multiculturalism Policy Index is a scholarly research project started by Banting and Kymlicka at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario with the aim of keeping track of the historic development of multiculturalism policies in 21 Western democracies with the aim of helping researchers draw comparisons¹.

It is clear from Table 1 and Maps 1 and 2 that Canada is definitely the leader in developing its multicultural policy and the efforts on national level of integrating immigrants.

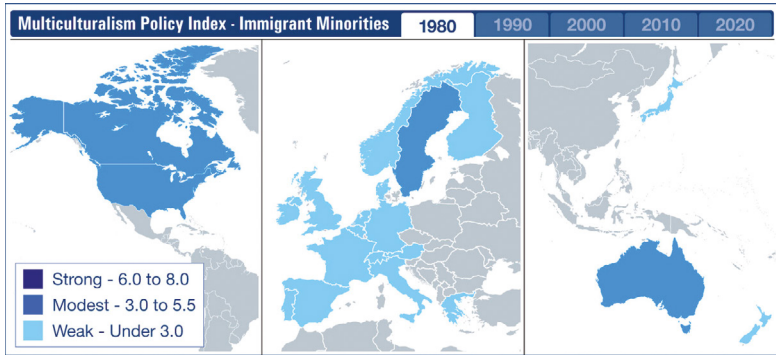
¹ <https://www.queensu.ca/mcp/>

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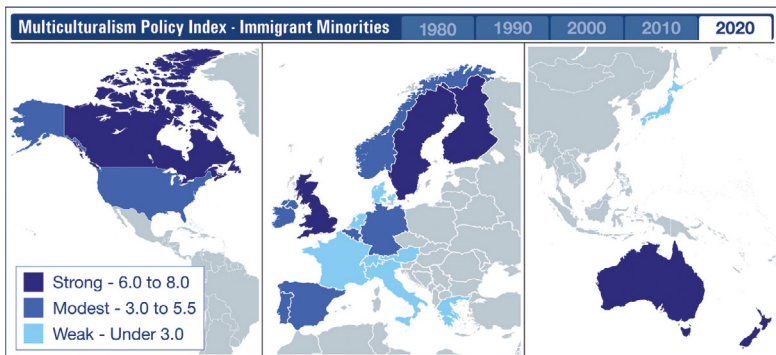
	TOTAL SCORE (out of 8)				
	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020
Australia	5.5	8	8	8	8
Austria	0	0	1	1.5	1.5
Belgium	1	1.5	3.5	5.5	5.5
Canada	5	6.6	7.5	7.5	7
Denmark	0	0	0	0	1
Finland	0	0	1.5	6	7
France	1	2	2	2	1.5
Germany	0	0.5	2	2.5	3
Greece	0.5	0.5	0.5	2.5	2.5
Ireland	1	1	1.5	4	4.5
Italy	0	0	1.5	1.5	1.5
Japan	0	0	0	0	0
Netherlands	2.5	3	4	2	1
New Zealand	2.5	5	5	6.5	6.5
Norway	0	0	0	3.5	4.5
Portugal	0	1	3	3.5	3.5
Spain	0	1	1	3.5	3
Sweden	3	3.5	5	7	7
Switzerland	0	0	1	1	1
United Kingdom	2.5	5	5	5.5	6
United States	3.5	3	3	3	3.5
AVERAGE	1.3	1.9	2.7	3.6	3.8

Table 1. Multiculturalism Policies for Immigrant Minorities
Summary Scores from 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020

The following two maps demonstrate the development in multicultural policies in the 21 countries under study through forty years – 2020 as compared to 1980.



Map 1. Mapping the strength of multiculturalism policies: 21 countries, 1980



Map 2. Mapping the strength of multiculturalism policies: 21 countries, 2020

Other academics and theorists have claimed that multiculturalism may bestow on non-egalitarian cultural groups power and influence, which in turn may alter the value system of the larger society.

Section 3(1) of the Canadian Human Rights Act stipulates that:

For all purposes of this Act, the prohibited grounds of discrimination are race, national or ethnic origin, colour,



religion, age, sex, sexual orientation, marital status, family status, disability and conviction for which a pardon has been granted.

As discussed above, the Canadian multicultural model emphasizes the idea that all cultural groups are equal and should be treated with respect and dignity. It also promotes the idea that individuals should be free to express and maintain their cultural heritage, while also encouraging integration and participation in mainstream Canadian society.

Some issues concerning the practice of reasonable accommodation will be discussed from the vantage point of the individuals requesting adjustments and from the perspective of the individuals and institutions voicing concern that it will eventually lead to the dissolution of Québécois traditional values.

One of the main features of the Canadian multicultural model that has been attracting the attention of employers, media and the general public especially in the province of Québec is the concept of „reasonable accommodation“, or modifications and adjustments made to accommodate various minorities. This means that society is required to make adjustments to ensure that individuals are not discriminated against on the basis of their protected characteristics, such as race, religion, or disability. This is reflected in the laws and policies of Canada, as well as in Canadian society, where accommodations are made for religious holidays and practices in the workplace and public institutions, the recognition of multiple languages in government services, and the celebration of cultural festivals and events.

However, due to a number of recent manifestations of discrimination and intolerance, especially in Québec, connected with non-observance of personal minority rights, there has been an appeal that adjustments, or reasonable accommodation should be made to make fair the same system for an individual

based on a proven need. The topic has sparked heated public discussions on issues such as: should employees be allowed to speak languages other than French and English at the workplace and would that lead to miscommunication between colleagues; can a Sikh schoolboy carry a ceremonial kirpan² to school; should Muslim girls and women be allowed to wear the niqab³ or burka⁴ to school or when voting, and a number of other ambiguous moral, ethic, religious issues.

The duty to accommodate has been construed by courts „as requiring the duty holder to take all reasonable measures to accommodate, short of undue hardship, in order to avoid discrimination” (Barnett et al., 2021: 4). Although an elusive concept, ‘undue hardship’ has been defined by numerous factors such as the cost which must be substantial; the health and safety of all the employees; the absence of conflicting rights: reasonable accommodation should not lead to discrimination against others or interference with the rights of others. In addition, what is important to emphasise is that the duty to accommodate does not mean finding the *best* accommodation available, but a *reasonable* accommodation for all parties.

The most common ground in reasonable accommodation cases is disability; others include religion, gender or sex, family status. By far, the most contentious and widely discussed cases by the media and the general public have involved religious accommodation. This can be explained with the fact that such cases usually broach the sensitive subject of differences in social values between the majority and minorities, topics that include gender equality, secularism, and public safety.

One of the first instances was a judgement by the Supreme Court of Canada in the 2006 *Multani v. Commission scolaire*

² A kirpan is a ceremonial sword or dagger carried by baptized Sikhs which must be worn at all times along with other Articles of Faith.

³ A niqab is a cloth which covers the face as a part of sartorial hijab.

⁴ A burka is an enveloping outer garment worn by women in some Islamic traditions to cover their bodies when in public.



Marguerite-Bourgeoys, where the Court struck down an order of a Québec school authority that prohibited a Sikh child from wearing a kirpan to school as a violation of freedom of religion. A number of decisions by organizations and businesses in Québec, as well as complaints by groups or individuals, placed the concept of reasonable accommodation in the eye of the storm: a university was ordered to provide a prayer room for Muslims students; complaints were lodged concerning male doctors examining pregnant Muslim women; a Montreal health clinic began to organize prenatal classes for women only out of respect for their Hindu, Muslim and Sikh patients.

The Bouchard-Taylor Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences was set up in 2007 by the then Québec premier, Jean Charest, to inquire into the controversy of reasonable accommodation. One of the conclusions of the distinguished academics, the philosopher Charles Taylor and the sociologist Gerard Bouchard, was that people who inveighed against reasonable accommodation were often misinformed that minorities were continuously exempted from abiding by the law on the grounds of multiculturalism. In their report the academics also stated that the foundations of collective life in Québec are not in a critical state. There is a need to adapt, and the government must play a leading role in establishing better guidelines for „interculturalism“. They see recent developments as a new stage in Québec’s history and as a shift in selfhood, which is no longer a French-Canadian identity, but a Québec identity, an inclusive type of identity.

The Québec government devised a new immigrant integration policy, stating that one of the primary goals is to educate potential immigrants about shared Québec values, namely that it is a free, democratic and pluralistic society, based on the rule of law, in which men and women have the same rights, a society with separate religious and political powers, and that the exercise of one’s rights and freedoms must respect

the rights and freedoms of others and the society's general well-being. Upon entry into Québec each immigrant must sign a declaration (written only in French) affirming respect for Québec values, must know or be willing to learn French, and attend an information session „How to live in Québec”.

Nonetheless, some individuals and institutions have voiced their concern that Québécois common values are not respected, and that reasonable accommodation has gone too far. For a number of activists, reasonable accommodation has come to mean exemption from law and extending the rights of new immigrants to proportions that are deleterious to the traditional Québec values and beliefs. An expression of this view is the 2007 town council of Hérouxville's code of conduct for immigrants, constructing 'us' and 'them' concepts. Its aim was to promote standards of behaviour that immigrants had to observe, such as equality of men and women, the prominence of French, the secular nature of life. The most controversial rules were the ban against the stoning of women, burning them alive and female genital cutting. The code has been branded as racist and has been thought to presume that potential immigrants are barbarians and Muslims are viewed as oppressors who torture women. A number of other incidents have followed, for instance the banishment of a female Muslim player from a match because she would not remove her hijab⁵; outrage expressed at the Electoral Office of Québec for allowing women with niqabs to vote with their faces covered; a complaint by a Montreal YMCA against the installation of frosted windows required by a Hasidic congregation so that young Hasidic males would not see women exercising.

In 2009 the case of *Alberta v. Hutterian Brethren of Wilson Colony* was referred to the Supreme Court of Canada on the basis of religious accommodation. The request was for exemption of

⁵ A hijab refers to the traditional head, face, or body covering worn by Muslim women or men.



Hutterite followers from being required to have a photograph on drivers' licences, a practice that is forbidden in their way of life and goes against their religious beliefs. The Supreme Court ruled that the need to protect the integrity of the licensing system and protect against identity theft rendered photographs mandatory and justified the limitation on the community's religious freedom (Barnett et al., 2021: 9). Therefore, reasonable accommodation has its limitations, especially where it can victimize an innocent member of the group and the courts have ruled against in such instances. In one recent case followers of Jehovah's Witnesses wanted to prohibit blood transfusions for their children, in another, fundamentalists claimed the right to shelter their children from the teaching of science. In both cases the Canadian Supreme Court refused to grant the right.

The conflict further escalated in the period leading to the provincial election campaign in Québec in August 2012. As *Globe and Mail* (August 15, 2012) reporters phrased it, „It found fuel from a mayor's racially charged comments, a candidate's distaste for the crucifix hanging in the National Assembly, and the Parti Québécois's pledge to ban civil servants' religious garb". The reporters referred to the situation where PQ's leader (and later on Premier of the province of Québec 2012-2014) Pauline Marois declared support for the revived idea to create a Charter of Québec Secularism where civil servants would be prohibited to wear obvious religious tokens, to which the Ukraine-born PQ candidate of Algerian descent Djemila Benhabib reacted by asking for the reciprocal removal of the crucifix hanging in the National Assembly. The mayor of the Québec City of Saguenay made the explicit xenophobic remark that it is outrageous that a person with an unpronounceable name who has come from Algeria dictates to soft French Canadians how to behave and respect their own culture.

There have been several other notable court cases in Canada that have dealt with issues related to reasonable accommodation:

Syndicat Northcrest v. Amselem (2004) – This case dealt with the issue of accommodation of religious practices in the workplace. The Supreme Court of Canada ruled that an employer must make reasonable accommodations for the religious practices of its employees, unless doing so would cause undue hardship. Other landmark cases include:

- *R v. N.S.* (2012) – The issue was of accommodation of religious practices in the context of the criminal justice system. A Canadian female of Islamic faith claimed that she had been sexually assaulted by her uncle and cousin when a child. The accused requested that the female remove her niqab (face veil) at the trial when testifying so that her behavior, facial expressions and other body language could be observed. The Supreme Court of Canada ruled that an individual has the right to wear a niqab while testifying in court, as long as the accommodation does not interfere with the right of the accused to a fair trial.
- *Canada (Human Rights Commission) v. Canada (Attorney General)* (2019) – The case dealt with the issue of accommodation of Indigenous peoples in the criminal justice system. The Federal Court of Canada ruled that the Government of Canada had a duty to provide Indigenous peoples with reasonable accommodation in the criminal justice system, in order to address the systemic discrimination faced by Indigenous peoples.
- In *Empower Simcoe v. JL* (2022), a case involving a teenager with multiple disabilities, living in care in a residential facility had his family visits restricted



during the Covid-19 pandemic. The Human Rights Tribunal of Ontario found that the applicant discriminated against the respondent and failed in its duty to provide reasonable accommodation. It awarded \$10,000.00 in damages to the respondent as a result. The judicial review of the Divisional court, however, ruled that there were no discriminatory practices.

According to Julius Grey (2007: 34) (the Montreal attorney who presented the 2006 *Multani v. Commission scolaire Marguerite-Bourgeois* case before the Supreme Court of Canada), reasonable accommodation serves its purpose in relation to two very important spheres – individual freedom and the effective integration of immigrants. Democratic societies should respect individual freedom and society as a whole should provide the accommodation rather than the lobbies. If society accommodates burkas, veils, kirpans, kerchiefs, turbans, the author contends, this will provide access for immigrants to public institutions and public employment which „integrates them in the mainstream and, in the next generation, most of their children do not require accommodation” (Grey 2007: 5). In addition, accommodation curtails the feeling of alienation and the possibilities of employment foster economic equality – an important prerequisite for felicitous and swift integration.

Similar to the 1692 witch hunts of unoffending Baptists and Quakers in Salem, Massachusetts by English Puritans, who themselves were Protestant dissenters running away from religious prosecution and who had first landed at Cape Cod only in 1620, it is discreditable and disconcerting that Québécois, themselves a minority in Canada, who have fought for years to achieve the status of a distinct society, are not ready or willing to grant equal rights to new immigrants that belong to minority

groups. Perhaps Catholic Québec Francophones feel threatened from two sides: both from the overwhelmingly Protestant Anglophone world that surrounds them in North America and new immigrants of the Muslim, Jewish and Sikh faith.

No multicultural model other than one which has done its best to integrate its citizens can be successful in the long-term. Undoubtedly individuals or groups that are not part of the mainstream in a given society, need to be accommodated in order to feel equal. In cases when reasonable accommodation is truly reasonable, the law and the practice in Canada guarantee it and grant it. However, what needs to be in the spotlight are more general issues related to integrating differences within a multicultural society. For instance, does accommodation isolate different groups and ghettoize them into separate schools, residential areas, or jobs, and in this way defer their integration?

When the Anglo-Saxons, the Scandinavians, the Celts and the Normans fused to form the English nation, and when the Romans, Celts and Germanic Franks became the French, both attained a cultural and social cohesion that no multicultural society can imitate. (Grey, 2007: 35)

The process is bilateral and mutually influential and potent: immigrants are influenced by the language and culture of the majority, but also the majority is imbued and altered by the effect of the immigrants. Equality entails different things to different individuals. Reasonable accommodation cannot be effective unless the whole of society regards it as a common effort: as deference to the freedom of minorities on the part of the majority and recognition of the values of the democratic society by the minorities.

Since the 1990s, the focus of multicultural policy has shifted towards addressing issues of discrimination and inequality faced by visible minorities and Indigenous peoples. In addition,



it also focused on the recognition of Indigenous peoples as an integral part of Canada, and the promotion of their rights and self-determination.

In recent years, there has been a growing recognition of the need to address the ongoing challenges faced by Indigenous peoples and other marginalized groups, particularly in light of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's findings and recommendations. The government has made apologies and established compensation for Indigenous peoples and other marginalized groups, and there are continuous efforts to promote reconciliation and to facilitate greater social cohesion.

In 2020, the Government of Canada announced a new policy framework, titled „Advancing Reconciliation: A New Relationship with Indigenous Peoples.“ which aims to renew the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the government, and address the ongoing injustices and inequalities faced by Indigenous peoples. This policy framework is the most recent evolution of the country's multicultural policy, and it reflects the current efforts to promote greater understanding and acceptance of different cultures and perspectives, and to foster a more inclusive and harmonious society.

In a publication on multiculturalism, Kymlicka (2015) highlights criticism of the Canadian policy by what he terms anti-multiculturalists and post-multiculturalists scholars who claim that multiculturalism is illiberal, or that instead of solving problems, multiculturalism policies have engendered new ones. However, in his words, „In facing up to the challenges of the 21st century, [...] multiculturalism remains a viable starting point“ (Kymlicka 2015: 244).

To summarise, what is precisely the Canadian model? In Kymlicka's (2004) view it should not be considered as one whole, complete model, but can be subsumed as an approach, using three strategies in three cases of diversity which can be summarized as:

- *Multicultural citizenship to accommodate ethnic communities formed by immigration;*
- *Bilingual federalism to accommodate the major substate national(ist) group in Québec;*
- *Self-government rights and treaty relationships to accommodate indigenous peoples.* (Kymlicka 2004: 836)

Multiculturalism for these three distinct groups „indigenous peoples, national minorities and immigrant groups – combines cultural recognition, economic redistribution and political participation” (Kymlicka 2010: 102). According to the author, immigrant multiculturalism has been considered a policy with remarkable accomplishment in Canada, even though in the early days the country demonstrated a strategy that was based on assimilation and exclusion: immigrants were expected to blend in and approximate the comportment, speech, beliefs and values of Canadians born in Canada and individuals or groups deemed unable to assimilate were denied entry.

Canada’s policy significantly changed in the second half of the 20th century to include the points system, which is impartial to race, ethnicity, etc. and which adopted more flexible integration requirements for immigrants, such as immigrants being encouraged to express their identity while institutions were made to accommodate this racial, ethnic, skin-colour distinctiveness. Being a federation, Canadian provinces enjoy the freedom of setting out their own criteria for selection of immigrants and drafting their own policies for integrating immigrants. The province of Quebec for instance has control over its own immigration policy, which displays an inclusive position towards immigrants and requires them to adopt the francophone culture and learn French (Kymlicka 2001).

Compared to other countries, the Canadian multicultural model has been considered extremely successful in relation to immigration for a number of factors, such as the „non-existence



of a far-right backlash against immigrants; the high naturalization rates of immigrants; the perception that ethnic groups „get along well”; the emergence of Toronto as „the most multicultural city in the world” without losing its reputation as a clean and peaceful and prosperous city” (Kymlicka 2004: 838-839).

Post-multiculturalists have argued that recently there has been or at least should be a policy shift that not only recognizes diversity and allows for variations in customs, behaviour, beliefs and practices, but also one that acknowledges and underscores political inclusion and economic prospects, individual and group rights and freedoms, one that promotes cultural blending and socializing. Or, in the words of Dewing (2013: 5):

the rejuvenated multicultural program emphasized cross-cultural understanding and the attainment of social and economic integration through institutional change, affirmative action to equalize opportunity, and the removal of discriminating barriers.

Being an immigrant country where one-fifth of the population is foreign-born (Pison 2019) and having a multiculturalism policy in place, Canada has attracted and continues to attract immigrants from all over the world. As a result of colonization and confederation, it is a multination state and a polyethnic state, engendered by immigration. Since the 1970s Canada encourages immigrants to keep in their private life different facets of their source country beliefs, values and everyday practices, which is not any more looked upon as „un-Canadian” (Kymlicka 1996: 154-155).

Therefore, notwithstanding the negative perceptions and issues that a multicultural policy can create, based on this policy and on its treatment of immigrants and refugees, Canada is for many the first country of choice when considering moving to another country whether temporarily for work or permanently.

This is a process that holds true for Bulgarian immigration to Canada, which will be considered in detail in Part 4.2. With its multicultural policy Canada has been a true leader in this respect on the international scene and has served as a model in other traditional immigrant countries of the Commonwealth, such as Australia and New Zealand. This model has also provided the starting point for discussions and implementation of immigration criteria irrespective of race or ethnicity in many other countries around the globe as well.

The Canadian multicultural model is considered a model for other countries, and it has been praised for its ability to promote social cohesion and peaceful coexistence among different cultural groups. However, as discussed at length, it is not without its challenges, as many immigrants and minorities still face discrimination and marginalization in society.

Canada has had a policy of multiculturalism that recognizes and values the diversity of its citizens, which has been implemented through various initiatives and programs aimed at promoting inclusivity and cultural sensitivity. The Canadian government has actively sought to address past wrongs committed against Indigenous peoples and other marginalized groups through initiatives such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

In 2021, the Canadian government launched a new plan to combat racism and discrimination, which includes a \$20.4-million investment to support anti-racism initiatives and „to address barriers to employment, justice, and social participation among Indigenous peoples, racialized communities, and religious minorities”⁶. This scheme is intended to help address the systemic issues that contribute to racism and discrimination, and to support marginalized communities in Canada.

⁶ <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/news/2021/08/building-a-more-inclusive-canada-the-government-of-canada-announces-funding-for-anti-racism-projects-across-the-country.html>



2.2. Canadianness and Canadian identity

In order to discuss the identity and self-perception of immigrant communities in Canada, first the concept of the Canadian identity itself must be considered. All the nations that the present country of Canada has been inhabited by throughout its history have indelibly left an imprint on the country today and especially on the identity of the people. In order to talk about Bulgarian-Canadians and their identity, the idea of the Canadian distinctiveness has to be explored first – how Canadians see themselves and how they are perceived from the outside.

Canadian identity refers to the characteristics and values that are considered unique to, or distinctively associated with, the country of Canada and its people. These include a strong sense of multiculturalism, a commitment to peace and social justice, a respect for the natural environment, and a commitment to the welfare state. Additionally, Canada's history of being a colony of both France and Britain, as well as its unique position as a neighbor to the United States, also shape its identity. The concept of Canadian identity is complex and constantly evolving, shaped by historical, cultural, and political factors.

Canada was originally settled by Indigenous peoples many thousands of years ago. In terms of European exploration and colonization, the first known European to reach Canada was the Norse explorer Leif Erikson around 1000 AD. However, the first permanent European settlements in Canada were established by the French in the early 17th century, starting with the founding of Québec City in 1608 by Samuel de Champlain. The British also



established settlements in Canada, with the founding of Halifax in 1749. Eventually, through a series of wars and treaties, the British gained control over most of what is now Canada, and it became a British colony.

The founding colonies of English Canada were of English, Scottish and Irish origin that, unlike the thirteen American colonies, remained loyal to the British Crown. Canada intentionally preserved several British institutions, including British English. Canada's first Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, worked towards the idea that Canadian English should be consistent with the English used throughout the British Empire. Canada has retained its historical, political, cultural ties with Great Britain. What is more, adhering to British orthography, vocabulary and grammar is a way for Canada to differentiate itself from the USA and claim a separate identity.

Upper Canada (present-day Ontario) was predominantly settled after the American Revolution both with continuing arrival of Europeans but mostly with the migration of Loyalists who fled the USA. The basis of early Canadian English was mostly formed by the Loyalists who reached Ontario from Pennsylvania and Virginia in the 1780s. The desire for CE to diverge from AE had its political roots but was also a result of the geographical distance and separation from the USA at the time. An exceptionally interesting fact is the homogeneity of English in Upper Canada that was already evident by the 1860s, as noted by the historian W. Canniff (1869). This homogeneity of Upper Canadian speech supplies an explanation why modern CE is so uniform across the whole country.

According to the 2016 Canadian Census, the largest ethnic groups in Canada are of English, Scottish, Irish, French, German, Italian, Chinese, East Indian, Filipino, and Polish descent. Additionally, Indigenous peoples, including First Nations, Inuit, and Métis, make up a significant portion of the population. The ethnic makeup of Canadian society is also diverse, with many

people identifying with multiple ethnicities. For example, many people identify as both English and Scottish, or Chinese and Filipino.

In recent years, there has been an increase in the number of people who identify as „mixed heritage“ or „multiple origins.“ This reflects the growing diversity of the Canadian population, as well as the changing ways in which people think about and express their ethnic identity.

Additionally, Canada’s population is becoming increasingly diverse, with a large number of new immigrants from all over the world, particularly from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. This has led to a growing number of people identifying with ethnicities that were not previously well-represented in Canada.

The ethnic makeup of Canadian society is constantly changing, and the data may be different depending on the source and the time frame. Furthermore, the concept of ethnic identity is complex and can be influenced by factors such as culture, language, religion, and personal experiences.

The Census lists about 69.3% of the population as native-born Canadians, while about 30.7% of the population as foreign-born. The foreign-born population includes people who were not Canadian citizens at birth and have since obtained Canadian citizenship through naturalization, as well as permanent residents and temporary residents (such as international students and temporary foreign workers).

The ratio of native-born and foreign-born people in Canada has been changing over time. In the past, the majority of the population was native-born, but in recent years, there has been an increase in the number of immigrants coming to Canada. This is due to a combination of factors, including Canada’s high standard of living, strong economy, and welcoming attitude towards immigrants. The ratio of native-born and foreign-born people in Canada varies depending on the location. For instance, in large cities such as Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver, the



proportion of foreign-born people is higher compared to smaller towns and rural areas. The ratio can also change over time, depending on the province or territory's immigration policies, economic conditions, and other factors.

The Canadian identity has been shaped by a variety of historical, cultural, and political factors. Some of the key elements that have contributed to the formation of Canadian identity include:

- the indigenous people;
- the colonization by France and Britain;
- the close proximity and relationship with the USA;
- the government policy of multiculturalism;
- the natural environment;
- the political and social values.

The *Indigenous peoples* of Canada, also known as First Nations, Inuit, and Métis, have played a significant role in shaping Canadian identity, and their contributions to the country's values and beliefs, history, and politics continue to be important. They have a rich and diverse culture, history and traditions, which have been an integral part of the country's heritage. Indigenous peoples had been living in what is now Canada for thousands of years before the arrival of Europeans. They have their own languages, customs, art, spirituality, governance systems and economic practices. They have had a profound impact on the land and the environment and continue to play an important role in shaping the country's culture.

Indigenous peoples have been historically marginalized and oppressed by the Canadian government and society, and their rights and values were often not respected or acknowledged or included in mainstream narratives. However, in recent years, there have been efforts to recognize and redress the harms done to Indigenous peoples in Canada and to ensure that their

perspectives and contributions are more fully included in Canadian identity.

The country's history as a *colony of both France and Britain* has left a lasting impact on Canadian culture, language, and identity. The French and British influences on Canadian culture and identity are significant and have shaped the country in various ways. The French influence on Canadian culture and identity can be seen particularly in Québec, where French is the dominant language, and the culture is heavily influenced by French traditions and customs. The French established settlements in the area, starting with the founding of Québec City in 1608 by Samuel de Champlain, and have had a lasting impact on the region's language, culture, and identity. French Canadians have a distinct culture and identity, with their own history, literature, and political movements.

The British influence on Canadian culture and identity is more prevalent in the rest of the country. The British established settlements in Canada, and eventually gained control over most of what is now Canada. This has left a lasting impact on Canadian culture, language, and identity. The British influence is reflected in the country's legal system, political institutions, and culture. English is the dominant language in most of the country, and British customs and traditions have been adopted and adapted by Canadians. The impact of both the French and British cultures can be seen in various aspects of Canadian identity. These influences have helped shape the country's rich and diverse culture, which is a unique blend of different traditions and customs.

As Canada's southern neighbor, the *United States* has had a significant impact on Canadian identity and culture. This includes both the influence of American culture on Canada, as well as the ways in which Canadians have worked to assert their own distinct identity in relation to the United States. The United States has had a significant impact on Canadian identity and



culture, both historically and currently. Some of the key ways in which the United States has influenced Canadian identity and culture follow below. One is the economic ties: Canada and the United States have a strong economic relationship, with a high degree of trade and investment between the two countries. This has led to the spread of American culture and ideas in Canada, as well as the adoption of some American business practices and consumer trends. Another key aspect is the significant impact of the cultural influence that American media, such as films, television shows, and music, have on Canadian culture. This has led to the spread of American pop culture in Canada and has had an effect on the way Canadians perceive themselves and their own culture. Canada has been politically influenced by its neighbour to the South. The United States is a powerful and influential country, and its political decisions and actions have had a significant impact on Canada. This includes the influence of American foreign policy on Canadian foreign policy, as well as the ways in which American political and social movements have influenced Canadian politics and society.

Historical events such as the War of 1812, the American Revolution and the Underground Railroad, the impact of American industrialization and urbanization in Canada, and the effect of American policies on Indigenous peoples have also shaped Canadian identity and culture. And most importantly, the close proximity and the shared border between Canada and the United States has led to a sense of comparison and contrast between the two countries, which has helped shape Canadian identity. Canadians have often defined themselves in relation to Americans and have sought to assert their own distinct identity in relation to the United States. Overall, the relationship between Canada and the United States is complex, and the impact of the United States on Canadian identity and culture is multifaceted and ongoing. However, the Canadian identity is not only defined

by its relation to the United States but also by its own history, culture, values and its diverse population.

Canada is known for its vast and diverse natural landscapes, including mountains, forests, lakes, and rivers. These natural features have played a significant role in shaping the country's identity by defining its physical character and providing a sense of place. Therefore, the *natural environment* has also played a key role in shaping Canada's economy. The country's abundant natural resources have been a major source of wealth and have helped shape the country's industrial and agricultural development. Canadians have a strong connection to the outdoors, and activities such as camping, fishing, hunting, and hiking are an important part of the country's culture. Protecting wildlife has been for long a defining trait of the Canadian identity: many animals are unique to Canada, such as the beaver, the moose, the Canadian Goose, and the loon. They are an important part of the country's heritage and are often featured in Canadian literature, art, and media. Also, climate change has an impact on the natural environment, and it is shaping Canadian identity by raising awareness of the need to protect the environment, and to promote sustainable development. Overall, the natural environment of Canada plays a vital role in shaping the country's identity and culture, and it continues to be an important aspect of Canadian identity and culture as the country faces new challenges such as climate change.

Political and social values: Canada is known for its commitment to peace, social justice, and the welfare state, which has been shaped by historical events and political movements, such as the country's experience of the two World Wars and the Quiet Revolution in Québec. They have played a significant role in shaping Canadian identity, by influencing the country's laws, institutions, and culture. This commitment is reflected in the country's foreign policy, which emphasizes diplomacy and peacekeeping, and in its domestic policies, which prioritize the welfare state and social programs.



Canada has a strong tradition of protecting and promoting human rights, both domestically and internationally. This includes the protection of civil liberties, the promotion of equality and non-discrimination, and the protection of minority rights. It has been praised for its support for democracy – Canada is a democratic country, and the values of democracy, such as the rule of law, freedom of speech and press, and the protection of political rights, are an important part of Canadian identity.

Environmentalism: since Canadians have a strong connection with the natural environment, the protection of the environment has become an important aspect of Canadian identity and culture. This includes the promotion of sustainable development, the protection of natural resources, and the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions. Overall, political and social values have played a significant role in shaping Canadian identity, by influencing the country's laws, institutions, and culture. They continue to shape the country as it faces new challenges and opportunities.

Multiculturalism: Canada is a diverse country with a population that is made up of many different ethnic and cultural groups. This diversity has been recognized and celebrated as a defining aspect of Canadian identity, through the official policy of multiculturalism, which recognizes and values the diversity of its population. This has helped to shape Canadian identity by promoting social cohesion and integration, and by challenging stereotypes and prejudices.

Multiculturalism is a key aspect of Canadian identity and has had a significant impact on shaping the country's culture and society. Some of the ways in which multiculturalism shapes Canadian identity include:

Recognizing and valuing diversity: multiculturalism is an official policy in Canada, which recognizes and values the diversity of the country's population. This means that people of different ethnicities, cultures, and religions are welcomed and

celebrated in Canada, rather than being seen as a threat or a problem.

Promoting social cohesion and integration: by recognizing and valuing diversity, multiculturalism helps to promote social cohesion and integration. It encourages people from different backgrounds to work together and to build a society that is inclusive and respectful of all cultures.

Enhancing national identity: multiculturalism also enhances national identity by recognizing that Canada is a country that is made up of many different cultures and that this diversity is a strength. This helps to build a sense of pride and belonging among Canadians of all backgrounds and helps to create a unique Canadian identity that is different from other countries.

Challenging stereotypes and prejudices: multiculturalism helps to challenge stereotypes and prejudices that may exist within society. This helps to create a more tolerant and accepting society, where people of all backgrounds are treated with respect and dignity.

Shaping Canadian culture: multiculturalism has also shaped Canadian culture, by bringing together different customs, traditions, and ways of life into one country. This has led to a diverse and dynamic culture that is unique to Canada and that is constantly evolving.

It is important to note that multiculturalism is not always perfect and there are still some issues of discrimination and inequality to be addressed. But overall, multiculturalism has played a key role in shaping Canadian identity and continues to shape it as the country becomes more diverse.

What is this multifaceted Canadian identity: the fuzzy and elusive concept of the English Canadian as compared to the 'distinct society' of the French Canadian? Is English Canada just a geographic notion with a vague cultural definition? Is it merely



a reflection of the negative aspects of the United States? The search for the Canadian identity has been ongoing ever since the country was formed.

Canadian identity has been studied by a variety of researchers from different disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, history, and political science. Each researcher approaches the topic with a different perspective, and may focus on different aspects of Canadian identity, such as the country's history, cultural traditions, political and social values, or the experiences of specific groups within Canadian society. Some researchers view Canadian identity as being shaped by the country's history, including its relationship with Britain and France, its development as a Dominion within the British Empire, and its journey towards independence.

Others see Canadian identity as being shaped by cultural traditions, such as the country's folklore, music, and cuisine. This view may also include the role of indigenous peoples and their cultural practices in shaping Canadian identity. Still others focus on the political and social values that define Canadian identity: the country's commitment to multiculturalism and diversity, its reputation as a peaceful and politically stable nation, and its strong tradition of human rights and social justice.

Finally, some researchers focus on the experiences of specific groups within Canadian society, such as immigrant communities, Indigenous peoples, or members of minority ethnic or linguistic groups. These researchers may examine the ways in which these groups interact with mainstream Canadian society, and how they negotiate their identities within the larger Canadian context.

Overall, the study of Canadian identity is a rich and complex field that is shaped by a wide variety of factors, including the country's history, cultural traditions, political and social values, and the experiences of specific groups within Canadian society. And yet, the Canadian identity is a concept that has been hard

to define coherently and lucidly. For a number of years, it was mainly characterized by British influences, expressed in the Canadian aspiration to preserve British institutions, customs and traditions. At the time of the creation of Canada, most English-speaking settlers believed themselves to be British subjects. Sir John A. MacDonald, Canada's first Prime Minister remained true to his declaration, „A British subject I was born; a British subject I will die.” His vision of Canada was loyalty to the Empire and independence from the United States. As a counterpoint, from the very start, French-speaking settlers desired a country that would not rely so much on Britain politically and economically and were therefore more willing to proclaim their Canadianness and call themselves Canadians.

The British facet of the Canadian identity began to be felt less and less pronounced through time: with the disintegration of the British Empire, the Dominion of Canada was compelled to establish closer relations with the United States. The 1931 Statute of Westminster constituted the legislative sovereignty of the self-governing dominions of the British Empire and Canada was granted political independence. The struggle for defining Canadian identity became more intense.

Some analysts claim that the search for this new national identity has moved away from the British heritage and has focused more on the acceptance of the lifestyles and traditions of the immigrants that have been coming to the country in the past several decades. They consider that Canada is defined by its multiculturalism and imply that therefore there is no Canadian identity and culture as such.

Francophone Québec has made numerous appeals for the rest of Canada to recognize its distinct society status. In the 1960s there was a revival of the French language and French culture in Québec, leading to a reawakening of nationalism in the province. This process achieved international publicity during the 1967 visit of French President Charles de Gaulle and



his controversial speech on July 24, 1967, when he declared „*Vive le Québec libre!*” from the balcony of Montreal’s city hall. Independence referendums in Québec were defeated in 1980 and 1995, but efforts by separatists to make their province a sovereign state still persist to this day. Whether Québec will be acknowledged as a distinct society remains to be seen, but there is no doubt in any Canadian’s mind that the ‘Québécois’ or French Canadian is an identity much less fuzzy and more readily and effortlessly definable than that of the English Canadian. With its distinct language and traditions Québec seems to be one distinguishing characteristic of Canada’s identity. But whereas many Canadians welcome Québec’s peculiar customs, some consider the province remote and alien because of its constant endeavours for secession from Canada. Québec separatists now prefer to call themselves Québécois and not Canadian.

English Canada is viewed by some merely as a geographical concept with a vague cultural definition. At most, it is considered as a reflection of the negative features of the United States: absorbing tasteless American pop culture or the proclivity towards litigiousness and its hyper political correctness.

The search for Canadian identity has been expressed through the following now famous quotes:

There are two miracles in Canadian history. The first is the survival of French Canada, and the second is the survival of Canada.

Frank R. Scott (1952), jurist and poet

Canadians are an ambivalent lot: One minute they’re peacekeepers next minute they punch the hell out of each other on the ice rink.

Ken Wiwa (2003), human rights activist and author

*The great themes of Canadian history are as follows:
Keeping the Americans out, keeping the French in, and
trying to get the Natives to somehow disappear.*

Will Ferguson (2005), award-winning author

In the 1970s a radio show on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) held a contest whose goal was (in the manner of “As American as apple pie”) to compose the conclusion to the phrase: “As Canadian as ...”. The winning entry read: “As Canadian as... possible, under the circumstances.” (Atwood 1996).

Do stereotypes promote cross-cultural understanding, or do they make it virtually impossible for different nationalities to see each other in their full complexity? Does a negative caricature or an exaggerated to a ridiculous extent positive trait typical for members of a group engender an inaccurate perception of social reality or does it promote recognition and acceptance of ‘otherness’? It is of utmost importance that intercultural awareness provides conclusions and generalizations about cultures and nationalities that seek to comprehend how people from different cultures perceive the world rather than leading to formation of false impressions.

For instance, the American stereotype about Canada, according to Bennet (2003) is that it is supposed to be a cold, wholesome country of polite, beer-drinking hockey players, quietly assembled by loyalists and royalists more interested in order and good government than liberty and independence. But then she asks: if Canadians are so reserved and moderate, why are they so progressive about letting people do what they want to, referring to several facts from Canadian life: doctors are allowed to dispense medical marijuana, they do not have the death penalty but crime has been declining, same-sex marriages are recognized, 19-year-olds are allowed to drink, more immigrants per capita are accepted compared to the



United States. Does that mean that Canadians are more adult and more secure?

Quite frequently Canadians look for their national identity as distinctly separate from Americans. Indicative of this feeling is the 2000 Canadian beer company Molson commercial called „I am Canadian” that became to be known as the Rant. The commercial came to be regarded as a quintessential expression of the Canadian identity which had an extraordinary impact on the reinforcement of the defining characteristics of Anglophone Canada and started nation-wide discussions at political and institutional levels. At the backdrop of Canadian symbols, it shows the flannel-shirted average Canadian Joe, who feels anything but American, extolling the typical virtues of the Canadian character: polite, gentle, with propensity to self-irony, with an immigration model of diversity, not assimilation, peacekeeping, not policing, and ultimately – proud to be Canadian, but mostly a description of what Canadians are not, not what they are. Joe gives a speech about what is a Canadian, starting with a fairly quiet, tentative and apologetic tone, then rising to a crescendo and finally shouting the last two lines in a fit of nationalistic pique at which point the audience goes wild. And then the rant ends with the polite, gentle and stereotypical Canadian „Thank you”. The point at issue is: are these manifestations of anti-Americanism or anti-American stereotyping? Do they express some kind of national lack of confidence, insecurity and a hazy idea of national identity? Some researchers insist that this commercial is indicative of the ways Canadians try to define themselves – by stating what they are not more than focusing on what they are. It seems the average Canadian can truly relate to Joe. Any Canadian who has traveled abroad can identify with the mockery of the words: ‘I don’t live in an igloo, eat blubber, or own a dogsled’.

The commercial has become one of the emblems of the Canadian identity, turning into a kind of pledge of allegiance.

Further, Canadians are also aware that a Canadian flag on your backpack signifies respect since Canadians are considered to be polite and agreeable. It was a Canadian, Prime Minister Lester Pearson, who first proposed a UN mission of the type that has come to be known as peacekeeping. The Canadian immigration model is indeed diversity, not assimilation: America's 'melting pot' or unity out of diversity (*e pluribus unum*) and Canada's mosaic: 'multiculturalism within a bilingual framework'.

Analyzing culture could be viewed as:

the study of mutually confirmative and conflicting patterns of dominant assumptions and values signified, explicitly or implicitly, by the behaviour of members of a social group and by the organization of their institutions.
(Brøgger 1992: 38)

Dominant beliefs and values are not static – they change over time. What is exceptionally useful for people opting to move to a different culture than their own is to develop skills to understand other cultures, to decode personal and societal values embedded in behaviour. Immigrants need to be mindful of source culture norms, target culture norms and develop awareness of the possible difficulties and misunderstandings which might arise in relating the two (or more) cultures. Appreciation for cultural and social differences in interpreting a foreign culture will sensitise them to the construction of cultural stereotypes about that culture.

A study among Francophone Canadian youths by Dallaire and Denis (2005) reached interesting conclusions: some of the participants identified themselves beyond the standard Francophone/Anglophone dichotomy and opted for bilingual Canadians with these main identities converging in a blended hybrid identity.



Therefore, the concept of Canadian identity is a complex and multifaceted one and can be defined in many different ways. Generally, it refers to the shared values, beliefs, and characteristics that define what it means to be Canadian. One of the most commonly cited elements of Canadian identity is the country's commitment to peace, order, and good governance, as well as its democratic institutions and political system. Additionally, the Canadian identity is often associated with a sense of diversity and tolerance, as well as a commitment to multiculturalism and bilingualism.

The country's natural landscape, particularly its vast expanses of wilderness, is also often cited as an important aspect of Canadian identity. Additionally, the country's rich cultural heritage, including Indigenous cultures and the contributions of immigrants, is also seen as an important part of the Canadian identity.

The Canadian identity is not fixed and unchanging, but rather it is constantly evolving and adapting to the country's changing demographics, political climate, and social and economic needs. Additionally, the concept of Canadian identity is also debated and contested, and there are different perspectives on what it means to be Canadian. For example, Indigenous peoples have their own distinct identity and history that has been shaped by colonialism and ongoing struggles for self-determination and recognition. Overall, the Canadian identity is a complex and multifaceted concept that is shaped by the country's history, geography, culture, and politics, and continues to evolve over time.



3. THE CURRENT IMAGE OF CANADA IN BULGARIA

Canada is generally viewed positively around the world and is often considered a country with a good international reputation. It is recognized for its diverse and inclusive society, strong economy, high standard of living, and its commitment to human rights, democracy and the rule of law. Many people view Canada as a peaceful and stable country, and it is often considered a leader in international peacekeeping and diplomacy. Canada is also seen as a welcoming and friendly country, with a strong tradition of immigration and multiculturalism. In terms of tourism, it is appreciated for its natural beauty, including its mountains, forests, lakes, and diverse wildlife. It is also known for its cultural attractions, such as its museums, art galleries, and festivals.

However, some countries may regard Canada's foreign policies as too aligned with the US and may criticize the country for its treatment of indigenous peoples and its environmental policies. Additionally, Canada's large carbon footprint and the country's high cost of living are also common criticisms. Perceptions can vary greatly among individuals and groups.

Based on anecdotal evidence, the perception of Canada in Bulgaria amongst the general public is overall positive currently and it is seen as a prosperous and peaceful country with a high standard of living. Canada is known for its natural beauty, diverse and multicultural society, and strong economy. It is also seen as a country that values and promotes human rights, democracy, and social justice.

Many Bulgarians view Canada as a desirable destination for study, work, and emigrate, and there is a significant Bulgarian



diaspora in Canada. The Canadian education system is highly respected, and many Bulgarians pursue their studies in Canada. There are also a number of successful Bulgarian-Canadians, particularly in the fields of science, technology, and the arts, who have contributed to the positive image of Canada in Bulgaria.

Additionally, the diplomatic relations between Canada and Bulgaria are cordial and both countries have agreements and treaties in different fields such as education, culture, and economic cooperation.

The image of Canada in Bulgaria, however, is not free of criticism. Some Bulgarians may view Canada as a „cold“ country, both in terms of the weather and the culture. Additionally, there may be some perceptions that Canadian society is homogenous and not as diverse as it is claimed to be. Also, some Bulgarians may have a limited knowledge of Canada and its culture and may have a more general image of North America as a whole. But overall, the image of Canada in Bulgaria is generally positive and welcoming.

3.1. Canada in translated literary works

It is important to highlight the mental image that Bulgarians have of Canada and the Canadian way of life in order to better delve into the reasons for immigration and the motor behind the formation of the Bulgarian diaspora in Canada. The image of Canada will be considered from two viewpoints: through editors' choice of translated Canadian books in Bulgarian which helps shape a stereotypical view of the country; and through the image young people in Bulgaria (home and overseas students) have created in their minds, expressed in questionnaires conducted with the respondents.

First, an overview of Canadian fiction and non-fiction translated into the Bulgarian language from the end of the 19th and the beginning in the 20th century will be presented. It is a historical review of Bulgaria's publishing policy as to choice of authors, genres, language. While the works of some authors are well represented and popular with the Bulgarian public, there are great gaps in certain types of writing or regions, most notably Canadian poetry and traditional or contemporary French Canadian literary works.

The aim is to explore the reception of Canadian literature in Bulgaria especially in the period after the sociopolitical changes of 1990. It will focus chiefly on full-length works of fiction translated into Bulgarian in that period, although, in order to present a more comprehensive picture, works of non-fiction and shorter literary pieces will also be considered. The reception will be judged by the number of works by Canadian writers published, based on data collected from the Reference department of the Bulgarian National Library and publishers'



and booktraders' official websites, as well as interviews with chief editors or owners of certain publishing houses. It should be noted that, unfortunately, sales figures will not be considered, as most publishing houses in Bulgaria – and probably elsewhere in Eastern Europe – avoid divulging such information or deliberately lower their figures in order to avoid higher taxation.

The prevalence of particular authors, titles and genres on the Bulgarian market is explored, as well as the conspicuous absence or minimal representation of others. A comparison is made between present-day trends, in terms of both numbers of books published and publishers' apparent preferences, and pre-1990 tendencies. The possible reasons for the current selection of specific authors and works by publishing houses is investigated, as is the correlation between award-winning mainstream literature and mass-market commercial fiction. Conclusions are drawn on the basis of literary reviews, guest readings and book launches by Canadian writers and, where possible, personal interviews with representatives of publishing houses.

Translated literary works can play a significant role in creating an image of a country and its culture for international audiences. By bringing the works of writers from one country to readers in another, translated literary works can provide a window into the beliefs, values, and experiences of the people of that country.

For example, if a country's literature is widely translated into English, it can help to create a strong cultural image for that country in English-speaking countries. This can help to promote a greater understanding and appreciation of the country's culture and history, as well as contribute to cultural diplomacy efforts.

However, it is important to keep in mind that translated works may not always accurately reflect the complexities and nuances of a country's culture. Translations can sometimes simplify or misrepresent the original works, and cultural

differences between countries can lead to misunderstandings or misinterpretations.

Therefore, it is important to approach translated literary works with a critical eye and consider the context in which they were written and translated. By doing so, readers can gain a more nuanced understanding of the country and its culture and avoid perpetuating stereotypes or oversimplifications.

In Bulgaria's modern publishing policy four broad periods could be delineated with regard to the publications of Canadian authors. The first period starts in 1878 and spans until the beginning of World War Two. The translation of major titles from world literature into Bulgarian began in the years of the National Revival and truly flourished after the country's liberation from five centuries of Ottoman rule in 1878. Due to various historical and cultural factors, translators – most of whom were also leading Bulgarian writers of the time – concentrated predominantly on Russian, French and German authors. The selection of works from other literary traditions, including British and North American, was also governed primarily by their reception in Russia, France and Germany, cultures that defined tastes in Europe and countries that the Bulgarian political and artistic elite was closest to. It is hardly surprising, then, that for the first half of the twentieth century no more than about 50 titles by Canadian writers were published in Bulgaria, some being second, third and even fourth editions. The beginning of the 20th century for Bulgaria is a time marked by economic and cultural upsurge: Sofia University was founded; the general educational level of Bulgarians was rising, the circle of intellectuals expanding.

The first recorded translation of a Canadian literary work is that of Ernest Thompson Seton's *The Biography of a Grizzly* in 1906 (reprinted in 1920, 1927 and 1937). Seton's adventure tales for adolescents such as *The Biography of a Silver Fox* (1919) and *Johnny Bear* (1921) must have proved popular among the young

reading public in Bulgaria for, of the 50 or so Canadian books translated and published before 1945, 38 were penned by him. Second in popularity, with 11 titles, was Sir Charles G.D. Roberts, the father of Canadian poetry, although introduced in Bulgaria through his travel writings and shorter fiction, for instance *Children of the Wild* (1928). Like most literary translations on the Bulgarian market at the time, many of these books were translated from the Russian language – perhaps because of the tradition of choosing authors already acknowledged in Russia, perhaps as a result of the relatedness of the two Slavic languages, which was considered to facilitate translation, or simply due to lack of access to works in their original language and the scarcity of translators from French and English.

Then follows the period after the end of World War Two until the 1960s. Understandably the post-war period was not conducive to cultural exchange. Apart from the ravages of the war, the virtual and literal iron curtain effectively divided and isolated politically and culturally the two world political systems. The end of World War Two and the ensuing division of the world into two opposing political blocs naturally did not stimulate much cultural exchange between Eastern Europe and the Western world, especially in the first post-war years (cf. Kürtösi 2001: 26 for similar data for Hungary). In fact, renewal of cultural contacts with the West began – hesitantly, and under the strict control and censorship of the ideological apparatus – as late as in the late 1950s, after the process of de-Stalinization had started. In their selection of titles from beyond the Iron Curtain Bulgarian publishers opted either for innocuous classics or for works judged to carry progressive ideas. Thus, from 1945 until the end of the 1960s, only six books by Canadian authors were published in Bulgaria: five adventure tales – four Thompson Seton reprints and Ludovic Boutinon's *Hank le trappeur* (1947) and *Fatherless Sons* (1963) by Herbert Dyson Carter, ardent Sovietophile and advocate of communism.

The third period covers the years between the 1970s-1980s. A turning point was the 1975 Helsinki Accord, which confirmed the territorial status quo in Europe and contained commitments to respect human rights. The period of détente initiated by the Helsinki process reflected in all spheres of contact between East and West. Fifteen books by Canadian authors came out, most notable of which: Morley Callaghan's *The Loved and the Lost* (1977), Muriel Wylie Blanchet's *The Curve of Time* (1980), Sheila Burnford's *The Incredible Journey* (1981), Margaret Atwood's *Lady Oracle* (1982), Farley Mowat's *The Great Betrayal* (1980), *The Boat Who Wouldn't Float* (1980), *Never Cry Wolf* (1981), Stephen Leacock's *Perfect Lover's Guide and Other Stories* (1986).

Additionally, the 1970s and 1980s witnessed the growing appreciation worldwide of Canadian cultural achievements, and an increase in the number of translations of Canadian literary works into various languages. It also came as a result of developments in Canada, whereby in the post-1960 era Canadian cultural achievements became internationally recognized (Riendeau 2000: 288). The choice of translators and publishing houses deserves praise: Farley Mowat is one of the most widely read Canadian authors and his work has been translated in 52 languages. His writing has been referred to as „subjective non-fiction“ and he is considered to be anti-authoritarian, intensely nationalistic, environmentally aware and passionately romantic. Stephen Leacock was probably the most popular humorist in the English-speaking world in the first decades of the twentieth century and his humorous sketches, based on incongruity between outward appearance and inner truth in human conduct are known in many countries. Morley Callaghan's *The Loved and the Lost* is considered by many to be his masterpiece, partly influenced by his friend Ernest Hemingway, detected in Callaghan's spare literary style. Published in Scotland in 1961, the year of Muriel Wylie Blanchet's death, *The Curve of Time* is still on the list of 10 best-selling non-fiction books in BC. Burnford's

The Incredible Journey – a tale of friendship, perseverance, will power told through three personified pets – is what the author is best remembered for today and has served as the basis for two Disney films, made in 1963 and 1993 respectively. In Bulgaria, a total of 20 titles by Canadian authors are on record as having been published during these two decades.

Obviously, shortly prior to 1990 Bulgarian publishers were already focusing on Canadian authors of international renown. Margaret Atwood – poet, novelist, literary critic, essayist and environmental activist – has won multiple awards, holds numerous honorary degrees and is perhaps the best-known Canadian writer worldwide. Antonine Maillet's *Pélagie-la-Charrette* (1983) was the first of a total of three titles of French-Canadian fiction translated in the whole period under study. Maillet received the prestigious Prix Goncourt for *Pélagie* in 1979 and it was translated in many languages (in 1982 in English). Its Bulgarian translation came out in 1983, only a year after it was translated into English in Canada. The first collection of Canadian poetry was Hedi Bouraoui's *Earth Rainbow* (1987).

The fourth and current period can be said to have started in the 1990s. The non-violent 1989 revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe and the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the political blocs and the fading distinction between internal and external, brought about closer contacts, cooperation and exchange between former 'enemies' leading to erosion of frontiers. Globalisation became a fact, and albeit a controversial concept, which facilitated transnational and intercultural communication.

For Bulgaria this meant opening of markets, free movement of people, access to all kind of information via the Internet and satellite TV. In the early 1990s, for many Bulgarians the newly acquired sense of freedom resulted in a hunger for everything Western in all areas of life, especially if it had been previously banned or censored. In just a few years, countless new publishing

houses sprang up, flooding the market with translations of predominantly English-language literature, mainly of the light reading kind: thrillers, espionage novels, romances, erotica, etc. The Bulgarian reader was inundated with books of questionable artistic merit, dubious quality of translation, and sometimes even uncertain authorship.

This somewhat giddy trend in Bulgarian publishing naturally could not last long and by the mid-2000s the business had become both more diverse and more balanced. Along with commercially successful blockbusters, publishers started offering the public not only critically acclaimed titles, but literary works from cultures previously little known. It would not be exaggerated to say that the decades after 1990 have marked a boom in translations of Canadian authors in Bulgaria. Thus, if in the first nine decades of the last century only 86 Canadian titles were made available in Bulgarian according to official records, at present their number exceeds 300. And while before 1990 there were only three authors represented by more than one title – Ernest Thompson Seton, Charles G.D. Roberts and Farley Mowat – today there are ten times as many, some of them (for instance, Arthur Hailey) with their complete body of work translated.

This proliferation in the translation of Canadian authors in Bulgarian was tangible and the Bulgarian public was presented with some great pieces of Canadian writing: Margaret Atwood's *Surfacing* (1991), Charlotte Vale Allen's *Painted Lives* (1996) and *Time/Steps* (1997), Lucy Maud Montgomery's *Anne of Green Gables* (1993), *Anne of Avonley* (1998), Carol Shields' *The Box Garden* (1999), the 'dean' of Canadian science fiction Robert Sawyer's *The Terminal Experiment* (1998), Victor Ostrovsky's *Lion of Judah* (1993). This period also witnessed the translation of books by writers based in British Columbia, heretofore neglected, such as Laurence Gough's thriller *Sandstorm* (1992), William Deverell's *Kill All the Lawyers* (1994), Evelyn Lau's *Runaway, Diary of a Street Kid* (1999) and one of the few titles



of authors writing in French: Jean-Pierre Davidts' *Le Petit Prince Retrouve* (1998).

In choice of titles and subject matter, an attempt is evident on the part of publishers to diversify and introduce a variety of authors and genres, acquainting readers with both previously untranslated classics and critically acclaimed contemporary works. At last, there are Bulgarian editions of Lucy Montgomery's immensely popular *Anne of Green Gables* (translated long before in other countries, e.g., 1909 in Sweden, 1952 in Japan) and its sequels *Anne of the Island*, *Anne of Windy Poplars*, *Anne's House of Dreams*, *Anne of Avonley* and *Anne of Ingleside*. Three titles by Pulitzer Prize-winning author Carol Shields are already a fact: *The Stone Diaries*, *The Box Diaries* and *The Republic of Love*. Also available are works by two other renowned late 20th century writers – Timothy Findley (*Pilgrim*, *The Piano Man's Daughter*) and Robertson Davies (*Fifth Business*). Multiple-award winner Jane Urquhart has had three of her novels translated: *Away*, *Stone Carvers* and *The Underpainter*. Gail Anderson-Dargatz, one of the most popular Canadian writers of recent years, has to date written four novels, three of which have been published in Bulgarian: *A Recipe for Bees*, *A Rhinestone Button*, and *The Cure for Death by Lightning*. Four out of applauded writer Nino Ricci's five novels have also come out in the past few years: *Lives of the Saints*, *Testament*, *In a Glass House* and *Where She Has Gone*. All three Canadian Booker Prize winners – Michael Ondaatje's *The English Patient*, Margaret Atwood's *The Blind Assassin*, and Yann Martel's *The Life of Pi* – are on the market, and they are not the only novels by these three authors which can now be read in Bulgarian: there are also Atwood's *Alias Grace*, *The Penelopiad* and *The Handmaid's Tale*, Ondaatje's *Divisadero*, and Martel's *The Facts behind the Helsinki Roccamatios*.

Carol Shields' place in Canadian literature is firmly established by the several novels and short stories she has published. Her books have won a number of awards, among

which the Canadian's Author's Award, two National Magazine Awards, Canada's Governor General Award. In the field of science fiction, Robert Sawyer's *Terminal Experiment* seems a good choice – a novel that won the Nebula Award – dubbed the Academy Award of science fiction – for best novel. He has also won *Le Grand Prix de l'Imaginaire* – a top science-fiction award in France. Lawrence Gough is also a well-established writer of crime fiction, winning many literary awards for his novels *The Goldfish Bowl*, *Hot Shots* and *Sandstorm*. Evelyn Lau's *Runaway* book came out when this Chinese Canadian was only 18 and became an immediate bestseller. The Belgian born Davidts' book is inspired by Saint-Exupery's classic, *The Little Prince*.

It becomes obvious that lately Bulgarian publishers have been choosing titles of high literary merit and international recognition. It appears that in the selection of lighter reading matter, publishers also opt for authors with a solid reputation in their particular genre of writing. Those readers who prefer more female-oriented commercial fiction can now acquaint themselves with the work of Charlotte Vale Allen, which deals with the hardships facing young women in the modern world. It has been translated in over twenty languages, making her one of Canada's most financially successful writers. Bulgarian readers can now enjoy five of her novels: *Night Magic*, *Painted Lives*, *Parting Gifts*, *Mood Indigo* and *Time/Steps*. For science fiction fans, there are four titles by Robert Sawyer (who has won over forty awards for genre fiction, including the *Nebula*): *Starplex*, *Flashforward*, *The Terminal Experiment* and *Factoring Humanity*. Lovers of fantasy can choose from the works of Guy Gavriel Kay (*Ysabel*, *The Fionavar Tapestry* trilogy and *The Sarantine Mosaic* duology) and Steven Erikson (the ten-volume series *Malazan Book of the Fallen*). The cyberpunk subgenre is well represented by six of William Gibson's novels, including the famous *Neuromancer*, which popularized the term *cyberspace* and was the first book to ever win the three most prestigious



science fiction awards – the Nebula, the Hugo and the Philip K. Dick Award. As for crime novels or thrillers, there are now over ten titles (each) by the internationally bestselling David Morrell and Joy Fielding.

Strangely enough, Michael Ondaatje's *The English Patient*, published in 1992, was translated in Bulgarian as late as 2014 even though publishers are now quick to respond to market demand, especially after the success of the film.

In keeping with world tendencies in the field of non-fiction the Bulgarian book market has been inundated with the so-called self-help books and this has led to the publication of Canadian authors: the Jungian psychoanalyst Guy Corneau's *Lessons in Love* (1999), the pioneer in the field of family therapy Virginia Satir's *Pour Retrouver L'Harmonie Familiale* (1996), Albert Swann's *Dictionnaire de L'Amour at dea Reves* (1994), Mark Fisher's *The Instant Millionaire* (1997), Donald Tyson's *The New Magus* (1996), Victor Ostrovsky's *The Other Side of Deception* (1998) and *By Way of Deception* (1999).

The proliferation of Canadian titles on the Bulgarian market in the last twenty years is indeed an achievement considering the country's dwindling population due to low birth rate and rising emigration (down to a little over 6 500 000 according to the 2021 census), its decreasing purchasing power coupled with the high price of books, and the relatively conservative tastes of the local reading public. Book-publishing is a risky business in Bulgaria and, as one of the founders of Obsidian Publishers put it, 'If you don't have a sure winner like John Grisham or Paulo Coelho on your list, you don't want to experiment.' At present, a print run of 1,000-1,500 copies for a book by a previously untranslated author – unless he or she has become a worldwide sensation – is considered a good figure (compared to print runs in the tens of thousands prior to 1990, when schools, libraries and community centres were obliged to purchase all new titles).

Various factors account for the recent translation and publication of so many Canadian authors. After the Bulgarian book market was literally saturated with predominantly American bestsellers in the early 1990s, now there seems to be at least some interest in other, less well-known cultures. The international recognition Canadian literature has gained in the past few decades has inevitably also affected Bulgarian publishers' policies. Last but not least, Canada's state policy for promoting its culture abroad has greatly facilitated the popularization of the country's literature.

According to Zhanet Arguirova of *Zhar Publishers*, (personal communication) the Canadian literary tradition is 'very good, as it is neither too elitist nor too low-brow', but that unfortunately does not attract the attention of the Bulgarian media, who prefer to focus on more sensational reading matter. Sanya Tabakova of *Lege Artis Publishing* – which introduced Bulgarian readers to Timothy Findley, Robertson Davies and Anne Michaels (*Fugitive Pieces*, 2001) – lists three reasons for opting for Canadian literature: it is one of the few literatures offering novels which are both of high quality and entertaining; its promotion is a suitable alternative to all this Americanization; and it can secure the publisher at least partial sponsorship.

In 1981, the Canada Council for the Arts and what was then the Department of External Affairs (currently Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade) established the International Translation Grants Program, which encourages translation of Canadian literary works and their publication abroad by covering a certain amount of the translation costs (at present up to \$20,000 per title). With the assistance of this programme, Canadian literature has been translated into all major European languages, as well as into Ukrainian, Arabic and Farsi. According to the official records of the Canada Council for the Arts, in the period of the past 15 years 41 grants were allocated to 16 Bulgarian publishing houses.



The International Translation Grants Program gives priority to the publication of works which have been awarded or have been nominated for Canadian or international literary prizes in the categories of poetry, fiction, drama, children's literature, and literary non-fiction targeted to the general public. This, along with contemporary reading trends worldwide, probably accounts for the following statistic data regarding the presence of Canadian literature on the Bulgarian book market: the greatest share is that of award-winning works of fiction and commercially successful titles from the popular genres (thrillers, romance, science fiction), followed by children's literature and non-fiction. Young readers can now choose from Paulette Bourgeois's and Sharon Jennings's series about *Franklin the turtle* (over 30 titles), Bryan Perro's *Amos Darragon* fantasy series (5 titles) and Richard Petit's stories for adolescents (4 titles). In line with global fashion, non-fiction is represented mostly by the so-called self-help books – such as Guy Corneau's *Lessons in Love* (1999), Virginia Satir's *Pour Retrouver L'Harmonie Familiale* (1996), Albert Swann's *Dictionnaire de L'Amour at dea Reves* (1994), Mark Fisher's *The Instant Millionaire* (1997), Victor Ostrovsky's *The Other Side of Deception* (1998) and *By Way of Deception* (1999), and the international phenomenon John Kehoe's *Mind Power into the 21st Century* (2010) – with studies in sociology, political sciences and esoterica coming next in popularity.

What follows is an attempt to categorize the translated Canadian titles in this fourth period according to the most common genres they fall in: literary fiction, commercial fiction, children's and adolescent fiction and French-Canadian literature.

Literary fiction

This term refers to mainstream, non-genre literature – usually the work of renowned, award-winning writers – in order to distinguish it from commercial, mass-market fiction. While

as can to a certain extent be expected, literary fiction does not top the list in terms of sheer number of titles published, it has certainly made a niche for itself on the Bulgarian market, with publishers trying to acquaint readers with the truly big names in Canadian literature. Thus, as previously mentioned, three novels by Pulitzer Prize-winning author Carol Shields have so far been translated, as have three titles by multiple-award winner Jane Urquhart. Three novels by Gail Anderson-Dargatz, one of the most popular contemporary Canadian writers, are already a fact, as well: *The Cure for Death by Lightning*, winner of the Ethel Wilson Fiction Prize, *A Recipe for Bees* and *A Rhinestone Button*. Timothy Findley, founding member of the Writers' Union of Canada, Officer of the Order of Canada and winner of the Governor General's Award for English-language fiction, was first introduced to the Bulgarian public via his novel *Pilgrim* in 2001, to be followed by *The Piano Man's Daughter* in 2005. All but one of acclaimed modern writer Nino Ricci's five novels have also been translated into Bulgarian in recent years.

Canadian writer Eleanor Catton won the Man Booker Prize for her intricate novel *The Luminaries* in 2013, and its Bulgarian translation came out only months later. All three previous Canadian Booker Prize winners – Ondaatje's *The English Patient*, Atwood's *The Blind Assassin*, and Martel's *The Life of Pi* – were also quickly made available to Bulgarian readers. Admittedly, these titles may have been helped along by the success of their respective film versions, but, as already noted, these award-winning novels are not the only titles by the three authors translated into Bulgarian. Finally, Alice Munro's winning the Nobel Prize for Literature (on top of her many previous awards) in 2013 resulted in the publication of her most recent collection of short stories, *Dear Life*, in Bulgarian; previously, there had been translations only of individual short stories published in different literary magazines and gazettes.

The purpose of this study was originally intended to focus not only on the general reception of Canadian literature in Bulgaria, but also on the reception of three particular authors: Margaret Atwood, because of her reputation as probably the most widely read Canadian literary authors worldwide, Alice Munro, because of her being awarded the Nobel Prize in 2013, and Leonard Cohen, because of his death in 2016. A study of the data collected reveals, however, that for reasons unknown little has changed regarding the presence of these authors on the Bulgarian market since 2012. The translation of Atwood's *The Penelopiad* was published in 2006 and the *Handmaid's Tale* in 2017; the editor's choice probably inspired by the success of the TV series based on the novel, even if in Bulgaria it was not aired on any national television channel, but only on the paid streaming platform HBO GO. The publishers of Munro's *Dear Life* could not be reached for comment as to whether they are planning to bring out more works by the author. And strangely, despite the immense popularity of Leonard Cohen as a musician and the fact that his death was reported by all Bulgarian media, since the publication of *Beautiful Losers* in 2009, no other title of his has appeared on the market – although one publishing house has announced tentative plans of bringing out a volume of selected lyrics by him in English, side by side with their Bulgarian translations.

Despite the above, it is evident that in the past decade or so, certain Bulgarian publishers have chosen to focus on Canadian titles of high literary merit and international recognition. Three particular publishing houses seem to stand out in this respect: *Zhar Publishers*, who have launched their Contemporary Canadian Writers series (with the Canadian flag decorating each book cover) and have introduced readers to authors such as Jane Urquhart, Gail Anderson-Dargatz, Caroline Adderson and Jeffrey Moore; *Lege Artis*, who brought Timothy Findley, Robertson Davies and Anne Michaels onto the market; and

Arka, who publish at least one translation of a Canadian literary work a year, and have managed to popularize Frances Itani, Alice Cuipers, Julie Lawson and Jean Little. When asked about the particular reasons for choosing to publish Canadian writers, representatives of the three houses, although interviewed separately, all pointed out the following: Canadian literature is not elitist and can be both high quality and entertaining; it is an excellent alternative to the dozens of American titles which seem to dominate the translation market; and last but not least, the publisher can obtain at least partial sponsorship from the Canadian Council of the Arts.

As mentioned above, in 1981, the Canada Council for the Arts established the International Translation Grants Program. The programme encourages translation of Canadian literary works and their publication abroad by covering a certain amount of the translation costs, prioritizing works which have been awarded or have been nominated for Canadian or international literary prizes in the categories of poetry, fiction, drama, children's literature, and literary non-fiction. According to the majority of Canadian media, the Council was the least affected of Canadian cultural institutions by the severe budget cutbacks introduced by the conservative government of Stephen Harper in 2012 and is now enjoying budget increases under the present government of Justin Trudeau. A search on the Canada Council official website shows that, at no time after 1990, did the programme stop awarding grants to Bulgarian publishers: in the period up to 2017 a total of 76 grants were awarded for translation of Canadian literature in Bulgarian. The number of grants given to Bulgarian publishing houses in the period 2017 until the present is 11, distributed among the following recipients: Orange books (3 grants), Zhar and Prozorec with 2 grants and one grant each for Latchezar Mintcheff Publishing house, Locus, Millenium, Panorama Publishers.

Besides partial sponsorship, what has helped make contemporary Canadian writers of literary fiction more familiar

to Bulgarian writers are the visits to the country – organized by the respective publishers – on the part of certain authors to promote a translation of their work. At present, most major Bulgarian publishing houses have at least several Canadian titles on their list. Zhar Publishers, which popularized Jane Urquhart and Gail Anderson-Dargatz among local readers, have started a Contemporary Canadian Writers series. Zhar also made possible the first visit to Bulgaria by a Canadian writer to promote her work: in 2004 they invited Jane Urquhart for the launch of *Stone Carvers*. This event seems to have established a tradition: in 2005 Prozoretz Publishing House had Yann Martel for the release of *The Life of Pi*, and in 2006 Arka Publishing House organized a visit by Jean Little for *Orphan at My Door*. Andrew Davidson's visit followed in 2009 for his debut novel *The Gargoyle*; and Jeffrey Moore's in late 2017 for *The Memory Artists*.

Commercial fiction

Not surprisingly, in sheer numbers of titles and editions, commercial genre fiction overshadows mainstream literature. Top of the list of adult writers is Arthur Hailey, who wrote eleven novels in his lifetime, which have all been translated in Bulgarian and published by different publishing houses and at different times in no fewer than thirty-three editions. This staggering number does not even include those translations of Hailey's thriller dramas that came out before 1990 – a curious fact in itself, as the ideological climate then did not encourage the popularization of such mass-market blockbusters. This may, however, explain the author's enduring popularity to this day. A representative of *Bard*, the publisher of some of the more recent editions – and of numerous other thriller writers, aiming at producing at least two new titles per month – admitted that with Hailey, as with their other Canadian genre authors, they do not advertise his connection to Canada, except in the notes about the author section, and most Bulgarian readers probably

would not even recognize him as a Canadian writer. 'If the author is not male and American, the book will usually not sell.'

Other authors of thrillers and crime novels also rank high in the list of most translated or most published. Right behind Arthur Hailey is internationally bestselling David Morrell, with an impressive thirty translations of his novels published or reprinted. Joy Fielding also seems to be a safe choice for publishers, as she features with seventeen titles, the latest one published in 2015 – and, unlike with Hailey or Morrell, only one of these is a new edition of a previously published novel. Both Morrell and Fielding were introduced on the market by *Bard*, as well, and as with Hailey, their worldwide popularity rather than their Canadian origin seems to have governed the publisher's choice.

Speculative fiction – science fiction and fantasy – is also well represented. All ten volumes of Erik Stevenson's fantasy series *Malazan Book of the Fallen* are now available in Bulgarian, as are four novels – *Starplex*, *Flashforward*, *The Terminal Experiment* and *Factoring Humanity* by Robert Sawyer, winner of a multitude of awards for science fiction. Six titles by fantasy writer Guy Gavriel Kay have been translated – *Ysabel*, *The Fionavar Tapestry* trilogy and *The Sarantine Mosaic* duology – as have two novels by Peter Watts, *Blindsight* and *Beyond the Rift*; Watts himself delivered a talk at the Ratio popular science forum in Sofia in mid-2017. Six novels by William Gibson, winner of the most prestigious science fiction awards, can now be read by Bulgarian fans of the cyberpunk genre.

Children's and adolescent fiction

This category has been dedicated a separate short section, simply because of the great number of titles addressed to young readers that the data collected reveals. In fact, from a numerical perspective, the list of most translated and published Canadian works is topped by the *Franklin the Turtle* picture book franchise created by Paulette Bourgeois: no less than forty-nine titles written



either by Bourgeois only or in collaboration with Sharon Jennings, plus another ten authored by Jennings only. Thus, the franchise alone accounts for about one sixth of all Canadian works published in Bulgaria in the period under examination. Also available to young readers are six titles by Bryan Perro, creator of the *Amos Darragon* fantasy series, four by Richard Petit, and selected titles by Jean Little and Lisi Harrison. As mentioned above, adolescent readers finally also have at their disposal Bulgarian editions of Lucy Montgomery's hugely popular *Anne of Green Gables* and its sequels *Anne of the Island*, *Anne of Windy Poplars*, *Anne's House of Dreams*, *Anne of Avonley* and *Anne of Ingleside*, as well as *How Don Was Saved*, a collection of stories by the same author.

French-Canadian literature

The translations of English-speaking authors still vastly outnumber French-speaking ones, about tenfold: 360 titles were translated from English between 1990 and 2016 as compared to 34 from French. Nevertheless, given the fact that in the whole of the twentieth century prior to 1990 there were a mere two titles representing French-Canadian writers (by Antonine Maillet and Hedi Bouraoui), even thirty-four can be considered somewhat of an achievement, albeit humble. The selection of authors also seems to demonstrate an attempt at diversity. Besides the children's books of Bryan Perro and Richard Petit and the self-help guides of Lise Bourbeau, translations from the French feature two novels by Kim Thuy, including her debut *Ru*, winner of the Governor General Award for French language fiction in 2010. Four titles by acclaimed writer Nancy Huston have been published – two of her controversial non-fiction works and two novels, among which the 2006 Prix Femina winner, *Lignes de faille* – as have three titles from the teachings of Jungian analyst Guy Corneau. These choices seem to be a step in the right direction where French-Canadian literature is concerned, although much still remains to be desired.

All the Canadian titles currently make up a total of 87 books (due to second editions), 8 of them translated from French, 5 from Russian and 65 from English. The genres of the books are as follows: biographies, memoirs – 5, self-help books – 16, novels – 24, children stories – 5, novels for adolescents – 24, crime novels – 2, stories – 1, poetry – 1.

There are 6 authors that are represented on the Bulgarian literary scene with more than one title: Ernest Thompson Seton, Lucy Montgomery, Farley Mowat, Margaret Atwood, Victor Ostrovsky and Charlotte Vale Allen, of which two, Lucy Montgomery and Ernest Thompson Seton have enjoyed second editions of the same books.

The number of copies of each publication depends largely on the respective publishing policy of the period. In the 60s, 70s and 80s, most books were printed in 30-40 000 copies, when each school, library, some ministries were obliged to have the new titles added to their collection. With the advent of market economy, the circulation of publications dropped dramatically and is now in the range of 300-500 copies, which reflects the actual demand.

Some of the books took a long time from their date of publication in Canada to their appearance in Bulgaria: 85 years for Montgomery's *Anne of Green Gables* (1908 in Canada, 1993 in Bulgaria), 89 for *Anne Of Avonlea* (1909, 1998), 19 years for Blanchet's *The Curve of Time* (1961, 1980), 21 for Burnford's *The Incredible Journey* (1960, 1981), 26 for Callaghan's *The Loved and the Lost* (1951, 1977), 18 years for Mowat's *Never Cry Wolf* (1963, 1981), 22 for Carol Shields' *The Box Garden* (1977, 1999). Others enjoyed a swift reaction from publishers and translators: Deverell's *Kill All the Lawyers* (1993, 1994), Gough's *Sandstorm* (1990, 1992), Mowat's *Canada North Now. The Great Betrayal* (1976, 1980), Sawyer's *The Terminal Experiment* (1995, 1998). One of the main reasons for this is the fact that the late 1970s marked the beginning of a great influx of translated foreign



language books. Publishers felt they had to make up for books not translated in the 50s and 60s. The period of the 90s was characterized by closer cultural ties between nations, hence the more titles that came out.

Bulgarian publishers' policies towards Canadian literature have changed dramatically in the years since 1990 in regard to both volume and scope. Today, Bulgarian readers can acquaint themselves with renowned Canadian authors in a variety of literary genres and can enjoy both acknowledged classics which for a long time had remained unpublished and current works which have received worldwide recognition. Despite the impressive number of titles on the market, however, the selection of publishers remains to a certain extent one-sided: while fiction and popular non-fiction are well represented, poetry and drama are conspicuously absent. Novels seem to be the order of the day, while short story collections are practically non-existent. No works of ethnic or regional Canadian literature have been published, and English-speaking authors by far outnumber French-speaking ones: in fact, the official records of the Bulgarian National Library list a total of 15 titles by 5 French-Canadian writers (Antoine Meillat, Bryan Perro, Michel Tremblay, Nancy Huston, and Richard Petit), compared to about 300 titles by Anglo-Canadian authors.

One can only hope that at some point in the future Bulgarian readers will have a better opportunity to get a feeling of the Canadian mosaic through the work of writers which so far seem to have eluded the attention of Bulgarian publishers: Gabrielle Roy's *Bonheur D'Occasion*, *Rue Deschambault* or *Ces Enfants de Ma Vie*, oeuvre by the novelists Hubert Aquin, Jacques Godbout, Anne Hebert, Roch Carrier, Jacques Poulin, Lise Tremblay, the playwrights Yves Theriault, Michel Tremblay, the poet and novelist Yolande Villemaire, or the Haitian born Dany LaFerriere and Gerard Etienne, the Trinidadan born Dionne Brand, the Tobago born Marlene Nourbese Philip, among others.

It remains to be seen whether the absence of certain Canadian authors is the oversight of Bulgarian publishers or the lack of promotion on the part of Canadian governmental or regional bodies. Margaret Atwood's *Alias Grace* was published in Bulgaria with the kind support of the Canada Council for the Arts and the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

Undoubtedly, in this selective approach Bulgarian publishers are following to some degree global trends, but in this way, they can hardly succeed in painting a true picture of the rich diversity of Canadian culture. Therefore, Bulgarian readers still have a long way to go in getting to know Canada through its fiction and explore the changing dimensions of dominant beliefs and cultural thought patterns of the Canadian mosaic. Yet, in spite of this imbalance, it is inarguable that Canadian literature has firmly found its place on the Bulgarian market and will in all likelihood extend its position there in the future.

The growing number of translations of Canadian literature on the Bulgarian market can be regarded as a remarkable feat, given the following factors: the steadily decreasing population of the country, due to the low birth rate and still high level of emigration; the rising publishing and printing costs – cover prices of translations now almost equal those of the original titles in the foreign-language bookstores; and the ludicrously low print runs – 300 to 500 copies sold is now considered a true success, as compared to print runs in the thousands or tens of thousands years ago – brought about by the low purchasing power of the populations and the effects of the global recession in the last decade. Nonetheless, it is obvious that Bulgarian publishers persist in enriching the book market with translations of Canadian literature, with a growing emphasis on works of high literary quality and international acclaim – no mean achievement for a market that caters to a relatively small readership in comparison with other more populous Eastern or Central European countries.



3.2. Perception of Canada among students

Having discussed the image of Canada created through the choice of translated literary works, what follows are the results from a survey carried out with students in Bulgaria in an attempt to establish what they know about Canada and how they perceive the average Canadian, providing an outsider's view to a nation that is frequently visited by questions as to its identity and doubts about the image it projects to the rest of the world. The study, which aims to explore both general factual knowledge and subjective personal perceptions, was first carried out among Bulgarian students only; because of the surprising nature of some of the findings, it was then duplicated – with slight modifications – among a group of foreign undergraduates studying at Bulgarian universities.

The background of the study is rooted in the fact that debates about identity have become a defining feature of the present times. The current unprecedented movement of people and ideas across continents has engendered a shift in heretofore more static and clear-cut concepts of nationhood, ethnicity, religion, among others, leading to increasing scrutiny, reconsideration and reassessment of notions and values. The search for our essence and belonging, for the why and how we feel similar or distinct individually or as a group has been the preoccupation of a myriad of researchers and practitioners.

Although in 2017 Canada celebrated its sesquicentennial anniversary, one concept that has yet to be defined is that of the Canadian identity. Although many attempts have been made in



delineating the characteristics of this elusive abstraction and it has been the object of attention in popular, media and academic quarters both inside and outside of Canada, to this very day the attributes of national identity have remained loosely, hazily and hardly unanimously described. Almost 150 years after the birth of the Canadian nation many questions are still unanswered.

Initially, Canada was mainly characterized by British influences, visible in preserving British institutions, customs and traditions. At the time of the creation of the country, most English-speaking settlers considered themselves British subjects. Canada's first Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald viewed them as a clear attestation to his vision of Canada: loyal to the British Empire and independent from the United States. With time, the Britishness of the Canadian identity began to be less pronounced and with the disintegration of the British Empire, the Dominion of Canada was compelled to establish closer relations with the United States. The 1931 Statute of Westminster constituted the legislative sovereignty of the self-governing dominions of the British Empire and Canada achieved full political independence. The struggle for defining Canadian identity became more intense.

As a counterpoint, French-speaking settlers aspired to a country that would not rely politically and economically so much on Britain and were therefore more willing to proclaim their Canadianness and call themselves Canadiens. Francophone Québec has made numerous appeals for the rest of Canada to recognize its distinct society status, accompanied by measures to preserve the French language and culture, finding its most drastic expression in the independence referendums in 1980 and 1995. There is no doubt that the Québécois or French Canadian is an identity much less fuzzy and more readily and effortlessly definable than that of the English Canadian: with its distinct language and traditions Québec seems to be one distinguishing characteristic of Canada's identity.

The scholarly attempts to define Canadian nationhood saw unprecedented surge that began 50 years ago when two opposing tendencies arose – the federalist model promoting a unified national identity, and the limited approach which proposed a study of how different regional, ethnic, religious and cultural groups perceive Canada and the debate is still ongoing (cf. Massolin 2001, Howells 2002, Edwardson 2008). Some analysts claim that the search for this new national identity has definitely moved away from the British heritage and has focused more on the acceptance of the lifestyles and traditions of the immigrants that have been coming to the country in the past several decades. They consider that Canada is defined by its multiculturalism and imply that therefore there is no Canadian identity and culture as such.

English Canada is viewed by some merely as a geographical concept with a vague cultural definition. At most, it is considered as a reflection of the negative features of the United States, absorbing American tasteless pop culture, demonstrating an increased disposition to engage in lawsuits (especially after the 1984 Charter of Rights and Freedoms, cf. Coe 1988) or adopting hyper political correctness.

Notwithstanding the bulk of research dedicated to the multifaceted Canadian identity, this fuzzy and elusive concept of the English Canadian still merits academic endeavours and the present study is a modest effort in that respect: striving to elicit how Canadians are viewed from outside.

Cultural stereotypes, or the generalized ideas about a group of people, are explored by academics on the basis of forming impressions of self and others, and depending on whether they are about one's own group or other cultural groups can be classified as autostereotypes or heterostereotypes (Matsumoto and Juang 2008). Ideally, an analysis of the outsider view, or the 'etic' aspects, and the insider view – the 'emic' aspects – can provide insights into points of similarity as well as differences



between external perception and self-perceived image. The former studies behavior by comparing cultures from a perspective outside the culture analysed, applying conceptual apparatus which is universal and not culturally dependent, while the latter focusses on behavior from the perspective of the studies culture (Krumov and Larsen 2013: 4).

„Pondering ourselves is the occupational hazard of being Canadian” declares Andrew Cohen, highlighting that the elusive Canadian identity has „animated – and frustrated – a generation of statesmen, historians, writers, artists, philosophers” (Cohen 2007: 3). The perception of Canadians by people from outside can digress from typical popular characteristics within Canada, namely friendly, peaceful and/or polite. Friendly turned out to be an ambiguous concept, since it could be taken to mean opening the doors for someone, which Canadians seem to do, or inviting somebody to your home, which Canadians are not generally inclined to do, according to a survey among international students in Canada (Packer and Lynch 2013: 61). In Cohen’s (2007: 48) words, non-Canadians perceive Canadians as nice, hospitable, modest, blind to their achievements, obedient, conservative, deferential, colonial and complex, fractious, envious, geographically impossible and politically improbable.

The starting premise of the study was that respondents will demonstrate a positive view of Canadians in general and will single out more positive traits that they attribute to Canadians. The reason for this assumption was that Canada has long been a favourite destination among Bulgarian emigrants, and many Bulgarians have a family member or friend living in Canada – and generally praising the quality of life there. This preliminary hypothesis contravenes the view expressed by some researchers that due to an in-group bias, Canadian-born respondents perceive themselves more favourably than members of an out-group (Packer and Lynch 2013: 75).

In the first stage of the study, the data was collected in 2018 by means of recorded structured interviews conducted with 28 Bulgarian BA students (12 male, 16 female) majoring in different subjects, including English and American Studies at New Bulgarian University, Sofia, Bulgaria, none of whom had ever done a course in Canadian Studies. The total time of the recordings was 7.2 hours.

The study did not include a respondent background question section since the interviews were directed to a group with more or less the same profile: university students in their early twenties, born and residing in Bulgaria. The only background information that was relevant to the study and was included in the interview was whether any of the respondents had spent time in Canada. This fact was very important in order to establish if their perception and knowledge of Canada and Canadians was based on personal experience or was acquired through the mediation of friends, films, radio, etc. Most respondents did not have firsthand contact with Canada; therefore, one of the main issues under investigation was the basis on which they formed their impression and vision of Canada.

The interview questions were twenty in number and elaborated with two main objectives: to establish students' basic factual knowledge about Canada, and to elicit their perceptions and feelings about Canada. A combination of types of questions was chosen: an unprompted adjective section, open ended questions, multiple choice questions, Likert-scale questions for reasons to be discussed below. The questions were divided into two main groups: first, questions aimed at eliciting respondents' knowledge about Canada, and second, questions pertaining to their attitude.

The basic **knowledge** questions were the following:

1. Where is Canada situated and which countries does it border? Which is the capital of Canada?



3. THE CURRENT IMAGE OF CANADA IN BULGARIA

2. Can you name three cities in Canada?
3. What is the population of Canada and which place does it occupy in territory worldwide?
4. When was the state of Canada founded: 1660, 1789, 1867, 1903 or 1969?
5. Is Canada a republic, monarchy, principality? Who is the Head of State?
6. Which are the official languages in Canada?
7. What is the currency in Canada?
8. Can you name any famous Canadians (musicians, actors, film directors, writers, politicians, sportsmen/women)?
9. What do you know about the social policy/crime level/ predominant religions in Canada?
10. The earliest settlers in Canada are:
 - a. Americans;
 - a. Englishmen and Frenchmen;
 - a. Indians and Inuits;
 - a. Vikings.

The content of the questions in this part was based on basic general knowledge about a country as accumulated in the obligatory Geography and History classes in Bulgarian secondary schools, and the type was determined by the difficulty: multiple choice questions were chosen when the respondents were not likely to have active knowledge on the subject, e.g. with history dates or more specific Canadian concepts, such as Inuit, for

instance, and open ended questions when a large number of answers are possible, such as „Name famous Canadians”.

The second part of the interview was comprised of the following **attitude** questions:

1. Have you visited Canada? If yes, when and why? If not, would you like to go and why?
2. If you haven't been would you like to go and why?
3. How do you imagine the average Canadian (compared to the average American, Brit, Frenchman, Bulgarian)?
4. What is the first thing you imagine when you hear the name of Canada?
5. Which qualifications do you think best describe Canada as a country?
6. Which of the following do you think apply to Canada and Canadians: tolerant, democratic, immigrant, imperialistic, social, socialist, unstable politically, totalitarian, World Power, peace-loving, a police state?
7. What are your impressions about the relationships between people and their lifestyle?
8. Why do you think so many Bulgarians have immigrated and continue to immigrate to Canada?
9. What are your answers based on – your stay in Canada, films, books, accounts by friends, music, the media?
10. What is it you would like to know about Canada?



In this section several Likert-scale questions were chosen with answers ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree with a ‘neither agree or disagree’ option in order to gauge more precisely the degree of certainty of respondents’ opinions, and unprompted adjective ranking segment where respondents were asked to provide spontaneous, impromptu adjectives, describing Canada and Canadians.

In the second stage of the study, respondents were 22 overseas BA students (13 male, 9 female) at New Bulgarian University majoring in various subjects, but mainly in Political Sciences, which attracts the largest number of international students to the university. The students came from counties such as Greece, Macedonia, Slovakia, Italy, Syria, Somalia, Azerbaijan, Nigeria, and the State of Palestine. The major modification made in the questionnaire was to the question ‘Why do you think so many Bulgarians have emigrated to Canada?’, which was changed to ‘Why do you think Canada is such a popular destination for immigrants?’ Of the respondents, only three had previously visited Canada and, again, none of them had ever done a course in Canadian Studies; however, because of the predominance of Political Sciences students, it was expected that they might prove somewhat more knowledgeable than their Bulgarian counterparts. The total time of recorded interviews was 5.5 hours.

Respondents	Female	Male	Total
Bulgarian BA students at NBU	16	12	28
Overseas BA students at NBU	9	13	22
Total	25	25	50

Table 2. Bulgarian and overseas BA student respondents

Factual Knowledge: Results. Bulgarian students’ answers to the questions on factual knowledge about Canada produced some rather unexpected, to put it mildly, findings. Over a

third of them could not put Canada on the map at all, even when prompted to consider on which continent the country is situated. The rest tentatively placed it in North America, with two students relatively certain that it lies south of the USA, and one hypothesizing that Canada actually borders on North America. Despite this lack of knowledge on Canada's geographic location, nearly 70% of respondents rightly identified the country's capital as Ottawa, 20% admitted to having no idea at all on the matter, and three students made a rather uncertain guess at Toronto. When asked to list some other major cities, 40% failed to provide any answer whatsoever, while the remaining students came up with Toronto, Ontario, Montpellier and, inexplicably, Québec itself. As to the population of Canada, the majority of informants could not even hazard a guess, except that it must be 'large' – a word also applied to the country's territory, although not a single student had any notion of its world ranking.

Students' knowledge of the history and political set-up of Canada did not prove to differ much in terms of accuracy. 50% chose 1867 as the year when the country was founded, but then admitted to having made a guess on the grounds that 'Canada is a young country'. Nearly the same number, however, opted for 1879 without being able to provide a reason for this choice, and one student opined that it must have been after the Second World War because 'Canada is a young country'. 90% were of the opinion that Canada is a republic, while 10% believed it to be a monarchy. Respectively, 80% assumed that the country's Head of State is its President, one student argued that it is the Prime Minister, one seemed to recall that 'the English Queen has something to do with it', and the rest simply gave a 'Don't Know' answer.

About 70% of respondents stated that the official languages of Canada are French and English, in that order, 10% could think of English only, and 20% mentioned 'French, English and others' without being able to specify the latter, although two suggestions were made of Spanish. 40% had no idea of Canada's



national currency, but 60% did provide 'dollar' as an answer; the question, however, of whether this was the same dollar as that of the USA, resulted in considerable confusion.

The task of naming some famous Canadians proved to be a stumbling block for nearly 40% of students, who could not come up with a single name (when supplied with certain well-known names from popular culture – the presumption being that they must be familiar with them at least – they expressed sincere surprise that Celine Dione, for instance, is Canadian). The remaining 60% were able to mention mainly figures from the entertainment industry: actors like Ellen Page (currently Elliot Page) and Jim Carrey, or musicians such as The Weeknd and Nelly Furtado.

Three quarters of the informants admitted they did not know much about Canada's social policy, with 25% labelling the country a welfare state. 80% stated that the crime rate 'must be' low – based on ideas of Canada's high standard of living – while 20% remained undecided. Religion proved to be a confusing concept for most students, as they listed the following as dominant, in their opinion, religions: Catholicism (60%), Christianity (30%), and Protestantism (10%). 60% also pointed to the English and the French as Canada's earliest settlers, 30% chose Indians and Inuits, and 10% imagined Vikings as conquerors.

As can be seen, these findings reveal a serious paucity of factual knowledge among students on the geography, history, and political organization of Canada. This can be attributed mostly to the deteriorating quality of education at most Bulgarian state schools, a trend that has established itself in the past two decades or so, despite the attempts of numerous governments to reform and update the education system. It was this reasoning, in fact, that prompted us to conduct the same research among university students of a similar age but different national and cultural background, with a view to cross-checking results.

The outcome of posing the same questions to a group of international students was surprising in that results did not differ radically from those of the survey among Bulgarians. Thus, the question of Canada's geographic location elicited the answer that it borders on the USA (with only a few informants able to specify in which direction), or that it is 'somewhere in North America'. Three students selected Toronto as Canada's capital, the same number replied with a question of their own – 'Is it Ottawa?' – while the rest simply said they did not know. Major Canadian cities named included Toronto, Ottawa, Vancouver, Montreal, and 'the place where they speak French', but still 40% of students could not provide a single name. Speculation as to the country's population resulted in wide range of choices: from eight through twenty to thirty-four million, with the one student who had visited Canada stating, 'I know the territory is the same as that of Europe, and the population – as that of Poland'. As with the Bulgarian respondents, the adjective 'large' proved a popular one to apply to the territory of Canada, with a few students guessing that the country must be 4th or 5th in world ranking in terms of size.

The majority of international students could not make any choice, informed or not, as to when Canada was founded; five did opt for 1867, but on the grounds that it is the middle option of the three provided. 30% were certain that Canada is a monarchy (one reply consisting in 'It's not a republic'), while the remaining respondents had no idea as to its political set-up. Respectively, the popular choice for Head of State was monarch ('because it is a monarchy'), with one student pinpointing Queen Elisabeth II, but 70% going for 'Don't Know'.

Eighty percent selected French and English as official languages of Canada, 20% mentioned English only. The national currency proved a mystery to most, answers varying from the euro ('because of the Queen') to 'some kind of Canadian money', with four students stating that it is the Canadian dollar. Asked



about famous Canadians, nearly all students immediately supplied Justin Bieber's name, one mistakenly identified Nicki Minaj as Canadian, and three could not think of any name at all.

Most informants professed ignorance of Canada's social policy, although three said they had heard that the country has 'great health care', one of whom provided the following example: 'Sixteen-year-old single mom gets a house from the state, which just funds the stupidity of teenagers.' The prevailing view seemed to be that there is little to no crime in Canada, one opinion being that 'crime is almost non-existent, as Canadians are really polite'. Religions believed to be dominant in Canada were Christianity (60%), Catholicism (30%), and Eastern-Orthodoxy (two students). To about 90% of respondents, the country's earliest settlers were the English and the French, with Indians and Inuits being the choice of one student, and Vikings – of another.

Perceptions and Feelings: Results. Exploration of heterostereotypes relating to Canada also did not reveal significant differences between the perceptions of Bulgarian informants and those of international students. For instance, when asked about their first mental images associated with the name Canada, most respondents immediately cited, the Niagara Falls, mountains, snow, ice, and 'extremely cold weather' (the latter from the African and Middle Eastern students). Somewhat surprisingly, in view of their poor general knowledge of Canada as established with the previous set of questions, nearly all Bulgarian students mentioned the maple leaf on the flag (or, alternatively, a red flag with a leaf); this knowledgeability, it transpired, was due to the popularity of watching international sports events on television. A number of informants from the English Studies Programme also made reference to 'a different kind of English'.

On average, Canadians were considered to be kind, polite, tolerant and, in comparison with other nations: not as conservative as Europeans, more hospitable, friendly, and open

than Britons or Americans, more polite and less opinionated than Americans, but often made fun of by the latter – an impression formed by TV shows, in particular the sitcom *How I Met Your Mother*). A somewhat contradictory view emerged from the interviews with Bulgarian students, some of whom (about 30%) stated that Canadians are accustomed to a slower and more provincial life than Bulgarians, while others (roughly the same number) were positive that they are busier and have less of a social life. In addition, Canadians were acknowledged by all informants to be good hockey players and, in the opinion of the international students, ‘very smart, not like Justin Bieber!’

Both groups of students seemed to agree, in general, that Canada could be described as a tolerant, democratic, social, and immigrant country. Perhaps because most of them were majoring in Political Sciences, the overseas students were somewhat more consistent in this respect (with one stating that Canada cannot be called a World Power ‘because they like to keep a low profile’), while about 20% of the Bulgarians produced paradoxical statements such as: Canada is a democratic and a totalitarian country, or it is peace loving and imperialistic at the same time. On hearing these conflicting views, a suspicion appeared that some of the adjectives proposed were not really clear in meaning to the interviewees but it was decided not to alter the question at that point in order to establish whether similar confusion would arise with the second group of informants – which, as already stated, was not the case. However, 47 out of 50 students in total declared that they would certainly like to visit and possibly even move to Canada, most of them on the grounds that it is ‘one of the best countries to live in’ because of its thriving economy and high standard of living. Another predominant reason proved to be sheer curiosity, i.e. the opportunity to learn about a new culture and environment, ‘see what it’s like over there’ and, again, ‘maybe get a better life’. Surprisingly, an idealized perception of Canadian weather also emerged as a motivating factor from



responses such as 'it is cold and nice and Christmas must be beautiful', 'I want to see the sights, especially when the ice melts in the North' and 'I'd like to go to Toronto, because of the snow in winter'. The weather, however, was also what discouraged the three African students who expressed no desire to visit the country: 'it is extremely cold', 'I'd prefer to go to the USA because Canada is too silent and too cold', 'I'd prefer to move to Spain or France, it's better over there'. Other reasons for wanting to visit Canada included 'to visit my relatives in Vancouver', 'to practice my English', and 'it's a paradise for vegans there.'

Logically enough, most of the above reasons coincided with the explanations provided by students for the fact that Canada is such a popular destination for emigrants: 'the country is richer, will help you start a business', 'there's a good standard of living, better prospects for work and life', and 'it's easier to find a job than in the USA'. Along with economic considerations, about 30% of students mentioned their belief that people in Canada are more tolerant to immigrants.

Informants' answers to all previous questions, whether concerning factual knowledge or personal perceptions, proved to be based on feature films and documentaries (about 50%), the internet (40%), accounts of friends and relatives with first-hand experience of Canada (nearly 30%), personal first-hand experience from the student who had been to the country, and video games (this from an ardent gamer who was proud to inform us that Canada is the third largest world producer of video games).

Finally, when asked what they would like to know or learn about Canada, almost all respondents listed precisely the general areas they had been surveyed on: more about the culture and history, what a typical Canadian is like, and how the country is different from the USA and other countries. One student expressed a personal interest in learning more about the status of the French language in Canada.

3.3. Concluding remarks

The reason why the conception that Bulgarians have of Canada and the Canadian way of life is significant in the present study is because it can explain to a certain extent the reasons for immigration especially for young people and the subsequent shape of the Bulgarian diaspora in Canada. On the one hand, the image of Canada created by the choice of literary works to be translated in Bulgarian is very important in shaping readers' notions of that country along the scale of positive and negative. Even if currently Bulgarian readers have at their disposal a variety of works by prominent Canadian authors and despite the notable figure of translated titles, the publishers' choice has proved to be very selective. For instance, poetry, drama and short story collections are seriously lagging behind fiction and popular non-fiction. Ethnic or regional Canadian literature has not been the focus of translation in Bulgaria, and anglophone authors surpass by a large margin francophone writers. Although this choice of literature to be translated may mirror world-wide trends, it does not contribute to creating a true image of the wealth of Canadian culture. As a result, what Bulgarian readers are presented with is a skewed, incomplete image of this richness of Canadian beliefs and values. And yet, the image portrayed is one that definitely positive, captivating, and enchanting.

On the other hand, a notion of Canada, created in films, games, or by word of mouth, is also substantial to what young people know and feel about Canada. The majority of participants in the case study, regardless of their nationality, demonstrated very little factual knowledge about Canada. Their answers to the questions in the first part of the survey indicated that they



knew next to nothing about its history and geography: most of them believed the first settlers in Canada to be the English and the French, very few could name more than a couple of major Canadian cities, and some even had difficulties placing the country on the world map. In addition, they appeared to be highly confused or seriously mistaken about the political set-up of Canada, eventually opting to consider it a presidential republic despite the fact that nearly half of the informants were majoring in political science. Finally, when faced with the task of naming famous Canadians, be it historical or contemporary figures, they could come up with only a few names from films and pop music only.

The prevailing perception of Canada, based mostly on personal accounts of relatives or acquaintances living there, or on impressions gathered from movies or TV series, proved to be that it is a wealthy country with a high standard of living, a low crime rate, and a warm and welcoming attitude to immigrants. With very few exceptions, informants painted a postcard-perfect picture of Canadian nature and weather conditions, as well, envisaging spectacular mountain views and cosy white Christmases. Canadians as people were generally considered to differ from both Americans and Europeans in being kinder, friendlier and more tolerant. This somewhat rosy vision was further enhanced by the students' failure to attribute a single negative feature to Canadians as they did with representatives of other nations, despite not being asked explicitly to do so in either case. Thus, on all the above listed points, respondents justified initial expectations that, as an out-group, they would present a highly favourable and somewhat idealized perception of the subject under investigation.

The findings of the study seem to indicate that the predominant perception of Canada is that of a beautiful, peaceful and prosperous country offering better job and life opportunities than either its Southern neighbor or any

European state, coupled with an easier and more tolerant integration process for would-be immigrants. This generalized impression aside, it would appear that the country does not play a particularly prominent part in international media coverage, whether in the political, sports or entertainment features, as a result of which little is actually known about Canada other than what can be gleaned through personal contacts with people who reside or have at some point resided there.

Therefore, the young people in Bulgaria polled (and those from abroad) tend to have a somewhat idealized vision of Canada, which would seem to be conducive to choosing Canada as a host country should they decide to emigrate in future. Perhaps this idealized preconception is the basis of disappointment of some of the Bulgarian immigrants already settled in Canada, which definitely highlight discrepancies between their expectations and the reality once there, as will be shown in part 4.5.



4. THE BULGARIAN COMMUNITY IN CANADA

4.1. Research Design

One of the research strategies that will be employed in this part of the research is the case study. It is a method used to investigate a phenomenon within its real-life context and is an in-depth and detailed examination of a specific subject (person, event, organization, etc.) to gain an understanding of its complexities. Case studies can provide a rich source of information for organizations, businesses, and individuals to make informed decisions and improve their practices. The data collected through various methods such as observation, interviews, and document analysis, is examined to identify patterns, relationships, and trends. Case studies are commonly used in many fields such as psychology, sociology, linguistics, education, and business, among others.

In sociocultural research, case studies are used to understand and explain the complex social phenomena, practices, and behaviors within a particular cultural context. They provide a rich and nuanced understanding of the subject by considering multiple perspectives and factors, such as historical, political, and economic, that shape the cultural dynamics. For example, a case study of a community or organization can reveal the cultural values, norms, and beliefs that influence the behavior and decision-making of its members. Researchers can also examine the impact of social structures, such as family, religion, or education, on individual lives.

Moreover, case studies can provide insight into sensitive or controversial topics, such as gender inequality, poverty, or



discrimination, that are difficult to study through more general and quantitative methods. They can also be used to test and validate theories developed through other research methods. The use of case studies in sociocultural research provides a rich and holistic understanding of the complexities of social phenomena and enables researchers to develop a deeper appreciation of the cultural context in which they occur.

Casestudieshavebeensuccessfullyusedtostudytheidentity in immigrants to examine how individuals form, maintain, and negotiate their identities in a new cultural context. They aim to understand the challenges and opportunities faced by immigrants as they navigate the cultural, social, and political landscape of their new home. For example, a case study of a Bulgarian immigrant in Canada could examine the influence of their Bulgarian cultural identity on their experiences and self-perceptions in a new cultural environment. It could also explore how their identity evolves over time, taking into account factors such as acculturation, discrimination, and language proficiency.

Another example could be a case study of a second-generation immigrant, born and raised in a new cultural context, who faces the challenges of balancing multiple cultural identities. This could include the examination of their relationship with their heritage culture and their sense of belonging in their new cultural context.

Case studies of identity in immigrants can provide valuable insights into the complex and dynamic processes involved in identity formation and maintenance. They can also shed light on the challenges and opportunities faced by immigrants as they navigate their new cultural context and can inform policies and practices that support their integration and well-being.

Several advantages of using a case study in exploring integration of immigrants can be enumerated. They are an advantageous research method for studying the topic because

they offer several key benefits. One of them is the rich and nuanced understanding that case studies provide of the complexities of the immigrant experience, taking into account the multiple factors that shape their integration journey. They can incorporate multiple perspectives, including those of the immigrant, their families, communities, and the broader society, providing a holistic understanding of the integration process.

A very important aspect of case studies is that they are conducted within the real-life context of the immigrant experience, providing valuable insights into the cultural, social, economic, and political factors that shape the integration journey. They are not rigid, but flexible and can be adapted to the specific research questions and goals, making them well-suited for studying complex and multi-faceted phenomena such as immigration and integration. Case studies provide an emic perspective, meaning they focus on the experiences, perspectives, and worldviews of the participants, offering valuable insights into the subjective experiences of immigrants in Canada.

„Case Study Research: Design and Methods“ by Robert K. Yin (2014) is a widely recognized textbook on the case study method in research. The first edition was published almost 40 years ago in 1984, and it has enjoyed five editions. Since this publication case study research has gained its rightful place amongst other research methods as an independent and comprehensive method.

The book provides a thorough and practical guide to conducting case study research, covering both the theoretical and practical aspects of the method. It outlines the different types of case study designs, including exploratory, explanatory, and descriptive case studies, and provides guidance on how to select the appropriate design for a particular research problem. It also covers the various data collection methods used in case



study research, such as interviews, observations, archival data, and secondary sources, and provides tips on how to effectively use these methods to collect high-quality data.

Yin (2014) also addresses the challenges of case study research, such as data triangulation, data saturation, and the need for theoretical generalization, and provides practical strategies for overcoming these challenges. Additionally, the book includes several real-life case study examples to illustrate the key concepts and practices discussed in the text. It is considered a valuable resource for researchers, as it provides a comprehensive and practical approach to conducting case study research. In summary, it covers the theoretical foundations, practical considerations, and best practices for conducting effective case study research.

The main conclusions of the book are the following. Case study research is a valuable approach for exploring complex phenomena in real-life contexts. The choice of case study design (e.g. exploratory, explanatory, descriptive) should be based on the research questions and goals. Case study research requires the collection of rich, in-depth data from multiple sources and using multiple methods. The use of triangulation of data, multiple sources, and multiple methods is essential for enhancing the validity and reliability of case study research findings. Theoretical generalization is a challenge in case study research, but it is possible to generalize from cases to develop theory and knowledge in a particular field. The case study method is flexible and can be adapted to the needs of the research question and context. These conclusions highlight the strengths and limitations of case study research and provide guidance for conducting effective case study research.

The definition he provides of a case study is „an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the ‘case’) in depth and within its real-life context.” (Yin 2014: 16).

He draws distinctions between the case study method and other research strategies. For example, due to its purpose, an experiment purposefully separates the phenomenon studied from its context in order to focus on some isolated variables. A survey does take context into account, but the ability to study the context is mostly restricted. A history is not interested in the interaction between phenomenon and context, it is usually concerned with non-contemporary issues. A case study, according to Yin, will be employed when the researcher is particularly interested in the context and all the conditions that ensue from it if it is believed that context is extremely significant for the phenomenon that is being studied.

Yin (2014) considers in detail six sources of evidence in case study research, focusing both on their strength and weaknesses (see Fig. 1). The evidence that can be gathered from these sources will be enhanced if the researcher adheres to three principles. The first one is use multiple sources of evidence which permits the researcher to consider a wider spectrum of aspects of the studied phenomenon, thus creating „converging lines of inquiry” (Yin 2014). This process of triangulation can have a higher accuracy and validity. The second is to create a case study database, which has a bearing to the organization of the collected data. The third principle is to maintain a chain of evidence, which will boost the reliability of the evidence – or to allow an external observer to follow the gathering of the evidence, tracing the different stages from initial research question to the conclusions.



4. THE BULGARIAN COMMUNITY IN CANADA

Sources of Evidence	Strengths	Weaknesses
Documentation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stable – can be reviewed repeatedly • Unobtrusive – not created as a result of the case study • Exact – contains exact names, references, many events, and many settings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Retrievability – can be low • Biased selectivity, if collection is incomplete • Reporting bias – reflects (unknown) bias of author • Access – may be deliberately blocked
Archival Records	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [Same as above for documentation] • Precise and quantitative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [Same as above for documentation] • Accessibility due to privacy reasons
Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Targeted – focuses directly on case study topic • Insightful – provides perceived causal inferences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bias due to poorly constructed questions • Response bias • Inaccuracies due to poor recall • Reflexivity – interviewee gives what interviewer wants to hear
Direct Observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reality – covers events in real time • Contextual – covers context of event 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Time-consuming • Selectivity – unless broad coverage • Reflexivity – event may proceed differently because it is being observed • Cost-hours needed by human observers
Participant Observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [Same as above for direct observations] • Insightful into interpersonal behavior and motives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [Same as above for direct observations] • Bias due to investigator's manipulation of events
Physical Artifacts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insightful into cultural features • Insightful into technical operations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Selectivity • Availability

Fig. 1. Six Sources of Evidence: Strengths and Weaknesses (Yin 2014)

Quantitative and qualitative methods are both useful in studying immigrant identity, but each has its own strengths and limitations. Quantitative methods, such as surveys and statistical analysis, are well-suited for studying large populations and can provide objective, numerical data on specific aspects of immigrant identity. For example, a survey could be used to measure the frequency and intensity of identity-related attitudes and behaviors among immigrants.

Qualitative methods, such as interviews and observation, are well-suited for exploring the subjective experiences and meanings attached to immigrant identity. They provide rich and in-depth insights into the experiences, perceptions, and narratives of immigrants, and can be used to identify patterns and themes related to identity formation and maintenance.

Using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods can offer a more comprehensive understanding of the complexities of immigrant identity. For example, a mixed-methods study could use a survey to gather objective data on identity-related attitudes and behaviors and then conduct interviews to explore the subjective experiences and meanings attached to these attitudes and behaviors. Both quantitative and qualitative methods have their unique strengths and limitations, and the choice of method as a rule depends on the research questions and goals, as well as the availability of resources and the skills and expertise of the researcher.

The present study applies a combination of both quantitative and qualitative methods in a complementary manner to analyse first-generation members of the Bulgarian community in Canada from various perspectives.

The study of the sociocultural and linguistic features of first-generation immigrants in Canada can provide valuable insights into the challenges and opportunities faced by these individuals as they navigate the cultural, social, and linguistic landscape of their new home. This type of study typically employs a mix of



research methods, such as surveys, interviews, and participant observation, to gather data and build an understanding of the experiences and perspectives of first-generation immigrants.

Research on immigrants can focus on a range of topics, including their experiences of immigration and integration, their sense of identity and belonging, and their economic and social outcomes. Studies can explore the challenges and opportunities faced by immigrants as they adapt to their new home, including language barriers, discrimination, and the process of finding employment and building a new life in the host country. Other research can centre on the cultural and linguistic practices of immigrants, including their engagement with cultural and community organizations, their use of language, and their perceptions of their ethnicity and cultural identity.

The present study focuses on several key areas, including:

Acculturation: The process of adapting to and adopting the norms, values, and behaviors of the host culture. The factors that influence acculturation, such as language proficiency, social support, and discrimination will be examined.

Language use and language maintenance: The role of language in shaping the experiences and identities of first-generation immigrants, including their use and maintenance of their heritage language(s) and their acquisition of the host language will be examined.

Cultural identity: The ways in which first-generation immigrants negotiate and maintain their cultural identities in the face of cultural and linguistic differences and the challenges and opportunities they encounter as they integrate into their new cultural context will be explored.

Social and economic integration: The ways in which first-generation immigrants navigate the social and economic landscape of their new home, including the challenges they face in accessing education, employment, and other resources, and the strategies they use to overcome these barriers will be studied.

Studying the sociocultural and linguistic features of first-generation immigrants in Canada can provide valuable insights into the complexities of the immigrant experience and can inform policies and practices that support the integration and well-being of immigrant communities.



4.2. Bulgarian immigration to Canada: periods, reasons, accommodation, belonging

The pull and push factors are two main concepts that are used to explain the reasons why people emigrate to other countries. Pull factors are the positive aspects of the destination country that attract immigrants, such as job opportunities, higher pay, better living conditions, and quality of life. For example, a person might be attracted to a country that has a strong economy and a high standard of living. Push factors, on the other hand, are the negative aspects of the country of origin that push people to leave, such as poverty, unemployment, political instability, violence, and lack of opportunities. A person might be pushed to leave their country because of war, persecution, or natural disasters.

Both pull and push factors play a role in the decision to immigrate, and the relative weight of each factor can vary depending on the individual and the specific context. For example, a person might be motivated to immigrate primarily by economic pull factors, such as job opportunities and higher pay, but also influenced by push factors such as political instability and lack of opportunities in their country of origin. The push and pull factors are constantly changing and evolving, and they may vary depending on the individual's background, life experiences, and personal circumstances.

Not surprisingly, the immigration of Bulgarians to Canada has been conditioned by both worldwide and local economic and political events. Immigration flows are also shaped by the host countries' policies for recruitment of labour. Canada has the highest per capita immigration rate in the world, based on



economic policy and family reunification, and approximately 20 per cent of today's Canadian citizens were born outside Canada. Historically, immigrants have chosen mostly Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. In the last several decades, most of Canada's immigrants have come from Asia. Canadian multiculturalism is widely admired and acclaimed, and Canada has been named the most successful pluralist society on the globe and a model for the world.

Three immigration waves of Bulgarians emigrating to Canada can be delineated, the first one beginning with the liberation of Bulgaria after 500 years of Ottoman rule and the re-establishment of the Bulgarian state in the late nineteenth century and continuing until the end of the Second World War. Those were economic immigrants, mostly unskilled labourers whose exact number is unknown (believed to be about 20 000), since on the one hand, most twentieth-century Bulgarian records considered total migration to North America and not separately to the USA and Canada, also including Macedonians with Bulgarians; on the other, early Canadian censuses register Bulgarians together with Romanians. Besides, until about 1912 many Bulgarians still had Ottoman passports. This first wave of Bulgarian immigration to Canada hailed primarily from rural areas of Bulgaria, and in Canada settled chiefly in Ontario and Québec. They worked primarily in manual labor and in the manufacturing industry. These immigrants were mainly motivated by economic reasons, such as the search for better job opportunities and living conditions. The push factors reasons for emigrating can be found in the not so good economic conditions in Bulgaria at the time: the impoverishment of farmers, craftsmen, traders, the raising of taxes, as well as the corrupt justice system. One of the pull factors was the propaganda in the Bulgarian media, which depicted North America as a place with a strong and growing economy, which needed workers who immediately found well-paid work and in addition, the personal

accounts of immigrants already in Canada, painted a rosy picture of work and life there albeit not a true one in most cases. This emigration process turned out to be a serious problem for the small country of Bulgaria and it was decried by the media who looked for the causes and eradication of this 'evil' (Gurdev 1994: 15). Many of these early immigrants eventually returned to Bulgaria, but some stayed and established permanent roots in Canada. A peak in immigration in this period was observed after the Balkan Wars and after World War One, when the borders of European countries were revised and changed resulting in resettlement and displacement of the population, some becoming refugees, forced to look to North America for a solution. For obvious reasons the emigration process in the 1930s was not very intensive on account of the Great Depression, but the Bulgarian immigrants who were already in Canada at that time showed a tendency for permanent settlement in their adopted homeland.

During this period the Bulgarians in Canada were quite active in keeping ties with their country of origin, sending money from their savings to a number of good causes, such as the Bulgarian Red Cross, the newspaper „People's Voice”, victims of the earthquake in Bulgaria in 1928, the men fighting in World War Two, also collecting money to send to other Slavic countries in need, etc., which demonstrated that they firmly held on to their belonging to the country of origin. On the other hand, immigrants can easily get assimilated by the dominant culture and the Bulgarian ethnic group underwent the same process of dwindling in numbers. However, as Boris Zografov claims (cited in Gurdev 1994: 75-76), compared to other ethnic groups Bulgarians were harder to assimilate in North America owing to two reasons: one, a significant variance in the ethnic type, conditioned by the different social, historical, geographical, living environments in the forming of the Bulgarian character, which makes them difficult to Americanize or turn into



Canadians, especially immigrants from rural origin, which are almost all of our compatriots in this first immigration wave. The second reason is because the majority of Bulgarians at that time come from Macedonia and feel the need to help their brethren in their political plight against a non-Bulgarian rule. At the same time, a negative factor in upholding the Bulgarian self-consciousness at this first stage of settlement in Canada is the lack of any supports whatsoever from the Bulgarian state.

The second immigration wave began at the end of the Second World War which brought a boost to the economy of Canada. In need of workers, the Canadian government rescinded the immigration restrictions it had imposed earlier in the 1930s. Still, the 1952 Canadian Immigration Act stipulated four groups of immigrants: first, British, USA and French citizens, second, citizens of Western Europe; third – people from Eastern Europe, Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, Turkey, Central and South America; and the fourth group – citizens from Asia and Africa, with different regimes of settling in Canada – with the third group bearing restrictions: they can be allowed into the country only if they have close relatives, or if their spouse is already living in Canada.

The push factors for Bulgarian emigration in this period were the sociopolitical changes in Bulgaria and the establishment of the communist regime, which made emigrants flee from the country primarily for political reasons, seeking refugee status. They were mostly well-educated, skilled professionals. It is believed that the number of Bulgarian immigrants at the beginning of this period is around 8 000, including many doctors, dentists, architects, engineers, entrepreneurs, and about 3 500 students and specialists who at the end of the war found themselves in Germany, the Czech Republic, and Austria. Most of these emigrants settled in Toronto, where there was already a sizable Bulgarian diaspora (Gurdev 1994: 79).

As opposed to the first immigrant wave, during this second wave, there is a noticeable division between Bulgarians and

Bulgarians from Macedonia on the topic of the so-called „Macedonian Issue”, so there is no ethnic unity at that time. The division of the Bulgarian diaspora on the basis of politics and nationality prevented it from creating solid organizations that can help in promoting their heritage. However, later on this period marked the beginning of a more organised and more closely knit Bulgarian-Canadian community with a long line of future famous and successful Bulgarian-Canadians (e.g. construction magnate Ignat Kaneff, Québec Deputy Immigration Minister Anton Chipeff, Zurich International Insurance company president Daniel Damov, among others). This more educated group of immigrants came from urban areas of Bulgaria. They settled mainly in the larger cities of Canada such as Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver and did not have as much issues as previous immigrants in living in these cities. This group of immigrants had a more significant cultural and economic impact on the Bulgarian community in Canada and managed to keep the good old-fashioned Bulgarian virtues – „industriousness, entrepreneurship, modesty, honesty, thrift, hospitality, high morals, attachment to family and country“ (Gurdev 1994: 258).

After 1948 in order to leave Bulgaria people needed an exit visa. All the immigrants of this second wave left Bulgaria illegally with no possibility of a way back. A new term started to be used for such people – *nevǎzvrǎštenec* (no returnee), and they were considered traitors with some repercussions to their closest relatives who stayed behind. Understandably, these immigrants did not have a positive attitude to their country of origin and did not do much to reinforce their Bulgarian roots or preserve their identity. Some immigrants were worried that they were followed by agents of the Secret Service and stayed away from any Bulgarian ethnic organizations. Two members of the Bulgarian diaspora refused to participate in the interviews because they were apprehensive and were not sure if the researcher was not a spy.



The third immigration wave occurred after the change of the regime in 1989 – a period that began with economic crises and political instability. These immigrants were for the most part very well-educated, professional people, who had as a rule good jobs in Bulgaria, but felt they could achieve more and ensure better life for themselves and their offspring. This group of immigrants is diverse and includes students, skilled workers, entrepreneurs, and refugees. They are motivated by a combination of economic, political, and personal reasons. Contrary to the immigrants from previous periods these settlers can be characterized by very different push and pull factors. They have all voluntarily decided to move to Canada, leaving Bulgaria legally and entering Canada legally on the landed immigrant points scheme. For the most part these are individuals who are apolitical and do not strictly adhere to religious orders. They are also not so much ethnically oriented. They are mostly professional people who have applied to arrive with their families, they speak English or French, have a university degree and are usually below 45 years of age.

These three immigration waves display enormous differences and result in the formation of different characteristics of the Bulgarian diaspora in Canada. The diaspora created as a result of the first wave can be considered as the traditional diaspora defined by many researchers: it manifests distressing diffusion, solid connection to their country of origin, not a strong attachment to their host country and a longing to return to the homeland. The immigrants from the second period tend to disunite from the country of origin, and are inclined to opt for maximum integration into the host country, trying to integrate as much as possible. The third wave is characterized by extremely different traits: immigrants have relocated of their own accord, the homeland is not nostalgically accentuated; these are already more global immigrants that are not politically, historically, or emotionally attached so much to the country of origin, thus the real and imaginary

boundaries between homeland and host land are not so clearly pronounced. This may be one of the reasons why third wave immigrants display indifference to the organization of the Bulgarian diaspora in Canada as will be seen later on when the results from the interviews are discussed.

Throughout these different periods, Bulgarian immigrants have faced a variety of challenges in their accommodation to Canadian society. These include language barriers, cultural differences, discrimination, and lack of support services. However, many Bulgarian-Canadians have overcome these challenges and have made significant contributions to Canadian society. They have established vibrant and diverse communities and have played an important role in preserving Bulgarian culture and heritage in Canada.

There are a variety of reasons why Bulgarians may choose to emigrate to Canada. To summarise, some of the main factors that have influenced Bulgarian immigration to Canada over the years include:

Economic reasons: Many Bulgarians have been motivated to emigrate to Canada in search of better job opportunities and higher pay. Canada has a strong economy and a high standard of living, which can be attractive to people from countries with weaker economies and higher levels of poverty.

Political reasons: Some Bulgarians have chosen to emigrate to Canada to escape the political repression and human rights abuses of the communist regime that existed in Bulgaria in the past. Canada is known for its democratic system and respect for human rights, which can be appealing to people from countries where these values have not always been upheld.

Educational opportunities: Many Bulgarians choose to emigrate to Canada to pursue their education. Canada has a highly respected education system, and many Bulgarians are attracted to the opportunity to study in Canada.



Quality of life: Canada is known for its natural beauty, diverse and multicultural society, and high standard of living. These factors can be attractive to Bulgarians who are looking for a better quality of life.

Family reunification: Some Bulgarians may choose to emigrate to Canada to be reunited with family members who have already settled in Canada.

Certainly, the reasons for emigrating can be different for each individual and may vary depending on their background, life experiences, and personal circumstances. Additionally, many Bulgarians may be motivated by a combination of these factors, and besides, the decision to emigrate is generally a complex and multi-faceted process.

The Bulgarian diaspora in Canada is made up of immigrants and descendants of immigrants from Bulgaria who have settled in Canada. It is relatively small compared to other ethnic groups, but it has a relatively long history dating back to the early 20th century.

Today, the Bulgarian diaspora in Canada is a diverse and vibrant community that has made significant contributions to Canadian society. Many are involved in business, professional, and cultural activities and some organizations have been established to preserve the Bulgarian heritage. The Bulgarian population in Canada is spread out across the country and not concentrated in one specific area, so it is not easy to identify a Bulgarian neighborhood in Canada as it is for other diasporas.

The predominant part of the interviewees in this study belongs to this third group of immigrants. *Statistics Canada* collects and reports data on various demographic, social, and economic characteristics of the Canadian population, including information on immigrants and ethnic groups. According to the 2016 Canadian Census, there were approximately 34 565 people in Canada who identified themselves as being of Bulgarian origin. This information is part of the larger data on

immigrant populations in Canada and can be used to inform policy and decision-making related to immigration, settlement, and integration. There is a discrepancy between official and unofficial statistics as to the number of Canadians of Bulgarian origin living in Canada at present – the figures vary between 18,575 and 150,000.



4.3. Bulgarian-Canadians as perceived by the editorial board of *Bulgarian Horizons*

This part explores the information interests of the Bulgarian community in Canada as mirrored in the Toronto-based *Bulgarian Horizons*, the longest-running and most widely circulated biweekly for Bulgarians living in Canada. The thematic study of a representative selection of issues from the first years of its publication to the present investigates changes through a period of 12 years in editorial policy in terms of information range, topic choice, ratio of local to international news items, etc. Conclusions are made regarding the lifestyle of the various waves of Bulgarian immigrants to Canada, at least as envisaged by the editorial team of *Bulgarian Horizons*.

The study is an attempt to add another facet to the analysis of the Bulgarian community in Canada from a different perspective. Having in mind that media has a large role to play in configuring identities, and that especially for diasporic communities it acquires even more significance, it was decided to examine Bulgarian newspapers in Canada to determine what the publishers think the information needs of their readership are and in general how they perceive members of the community.

Through the years there have been a number of major newspapers published in Canada for Bulgarians by Bulgarians. It was only to be expected that they would be published where the greatest concentrations of immigrants reside, namely Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. The Toronto newspaper is called *Bulgarian Horizons* and is the one on which the present analysis is based on for reasons explained below. In March 2009 another newspaper appeared in Toronto – *Flame* – which is also



a biweekly, is published on the same day as *Bulgarian Horizons*, and in content and even layout appears to be a thinly disguised imitation of the latter. In Montreal, there is the newspaper *Forum*, which has a relatively long history, but is not as regularly published – sometimes only 5-6 issues a year. The Bulgarian community in Vancouver used to have the Bulgarian Canadian Society of British Columbia (BCSBC) newsletter, but its last issue was in May 2007.

Bulgarian Horizons was chosen for the study because it has been published continually ever since it was established in 1999, and our premise was that it would mirror more accurately the needs of the Bulgarian community through the years. Moreover, according to the Statistics Canada 2016 Census, of the total of 34 565 Bulgarian Canadians, Toronto boasts the greatest number – about 10 575 (16 750 for Ontario), although the unofficial figures are much higher.

The newspaper *Bulgarian Horizons* is likely to play a role in shaping the identity of Bulgarian-Canadians by providing a platform for the community to share information and news about their experiences and cultural traditions. The newspaper also provides a forum for community members to express their opinions and perspectives on issues that are relevant to the Bulgarian-Canadian community.

By offering a space for community members to connect and share their experiences and perspectives, *Bulgarian Horizons* may help to promote a sense of community and belonging among Bulgarian-Canadians and may provide them with a source of information and resources that are relevant to their experiences as immigrants in Canada. In addition, the newspaper may also provide a way for members of the community to stay connected with their cultural heritage and traditions, by sharing news and information about events and cultural practices that are specific to the Bulgarian diaspora. Overall, the newspaper *Bulgarian Horizons* strives to play an important role in shaping the identity

of Bulgarian-Canadians by providing a space for community members to connect, share their experiences and perspectives, and stay connected to their cultural heritage.

The study was carried out in three stages. First, an interview was conducted with Mr. Maxim Bozhilov, the editor of *Bulgarian Horizons*, regarding the conceptual framework of the paper, the profile of the target readership, and technical details. Then about 80 issues of the paper (an average of 7-8 per year) were analysed to see how it has changed through 12 years of its existence (2009- 2021) and if the changes match the editor's expectations and ideas. Finally, a survey was conducted among Bulgarian Canadians to establish to what extent our findings and the editor's conception correspond to their actual information needs and reading tastes and habits.

The *Bulgarian Horizons* newspaper is a biweekly in the Bulgarian language with a circulation of 2 500 – 4 500, depending on the time of year. The difference in seasonal circulation is due to the fact that in the summer and in February circulation drops for reasons of summer and winter vacationing. It is distributed in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver by subscription or in Bulgarian shops, churches, and restaurants in the respective cities. Since 2008 it is also available online and can be accessed at www.bulgarianhorizons.com. According to the editor, *Bulgarian Horizons* is a completely self-financing endeavour and has managed to publish 24 issues annually during the period under study.

As inscribed in the letterhead, it is a 'Canadian Bulgarian newspaper'. The conceptual framework as envisaged by the editor is: „a Canadian newspaper in Bulgarian”. The analysis will try to establish how much of that is accurate. The paper, again in the words of the editor, was conceived to address the needs of both old immigrants and newcomers and has three main foci: community events in Canada, guidelines and tips for integration of new immigrants, and news from the home country.



In the analysis the attempt is to ascertain how much of this concept comes through in the newspaper by examining issues of the newspaper and changes through the years in layout, as well as in the selection, omission and structuring of content.

Based on the above-mentioned criteria, there seem to be three main periods in the life of the paper. In the first three years of its existence (1999-2002), it comprises of 8 pages, with the front page carrying mostly success stories of Bulgarians in Canada. In general, these stories recount how somebody runs a thriving business, for instance a restaurant, bar or shop, in Vancouver or Toronto, how a Bulgarian doctor, beautician or manicurist opens yet another office or salon, or how a Bulgarian music group or gymnast team touring Canada is reaping great success. On the front page you can also find coverage of major events in Bulgaria, such as elections, government reshuffles, visits by foreign dignitaries, deaths of public figures, as well as articles on Bulgarian traditions and customs reminding people where the particular tradition comes from and what it is about, what special rites to follow and what dishes to prepare, providing practical tips and even recipes.

The body of the newspaper is divided into the following sections: Bulgaria, Society, Annals, Culture, Classifieds, Sport and Entertainment. It has to be noted that what is to be found on the front page does not differ greatly from the content in the Bulgaria or Society sections. The stories of Bulgarians in Canada are carried over to these two sections. There is very little local Canadian news. In fact, what Canadian news there is relates chiefly to immigration topics: changes in immigration laws, new requirements for immigrants, the place of immigrants within Canadian society (typical headings include 'Where immigrants can find job opportunities', 'How to perform well at a job interview if you are an immigrant', or 'Population census to be held'). Any news not immediately affecting immigrants in Canada seem to be completely disregarded or omitted. So is

international news, which means that even the sports page has stories of achievements by Bulgarians in Bulgaria or possibly in Canada (but not of Canadians, be it in Canada or elsewhere, or of any other nations for that matter).

Thus, in its initial stage the newspaper seems to address a very small, close-knit community whose information needs are restricted to events taking place within, or of direct concern to, their inner circle. The impression one is left with from reading the paper is that Bulgarian Canadians are not very much interested in what goes on outside their community; that if they want to attend some cultural event, they will do so only if the latter features Bulgarian artists; and that if they decide to eat out, need to consult a doctor, or wish to have a haircut or manicure, they will seek out Bulgarian establishments. Not surprisingly, most of those successful entrepreneurs featured on the front page can later be found offering their services on the Classifieds section of the paper; in fact, the only non-Bulgarian businesses advertised in this section are Canadian law firms specialised in helping out new immigrants.

After this initial period, in the next three years (2003-2006) several changes take place within *Bulgarian Horizons*. The paper now has 12 pages. A new section is introduced – World – carrying certain major international events and political analyses, touching upon serious issues such as the war in Iraq, the Middle East situation or political debates in the US (headings include ‘Bush, Kerry to debate’, ‘Skopje reduces army’, ‘Taiwan builds tallest skyscraper in the world’). One question that immediately springs to mind is what kind of international news could be featured in a bi-weekly newspaper or why people reading a bi-weekly would need to have it there. Throughout this second period of three years, a stronger local focus is also discerned on things Canadian, more news from Canada, and more advice for immigrants on insurance policies, pension funds, career websites, the local real estate market etc. (‘Immigrants define Canada’s



future', 'Most Canadians love Canada, half also like Canadian parliament', 'Best property buys in Toronto'). Interestingly, however, news items such as 'Canada to raise immigrant quota' or 'Canada gives refuge to Czech Roma' are featured within the World section of the paper, reinforcing the impression that the readership of the newspaper lives in a world of its own which is only partly related to Canada. Meanwhile, the Culture section, which up to then carried mainly reminders of Bulgarian customs, traditions and holidays, now occasionally has information about Halloween or certain other Canadian or 'western' traditions; this, however, is balanced by the appearance of longer texts devoted to Bulgarian literary classics and traditional folk tales in a sub-section titled Readings for Young Bulgarians and Their Parents. The rest of the content that is typical for the first three years undergoes little or no change.

In other words, it would seem that in its second period the newspaper is, on the one hand, trying to broaden its horizons and present a more global picture of the world. On the other, however, it appears to compensate for the little international or Canadian news which it now features by appealing more and more to readers' sense of cultural identity or feeling of nostalgia.

The third period of *Bulgarian Horizons* encompasses the time span from 2006 until the present. The newspaper now has more attractive colour pages and features an interesting new section called Bulgarians Abroad. The success stories of Bulgarians stretch further to cover the achievements of Bulgarians (sportspeople, musicians, artists) in different European countries, the USA, Australia, etc. Paradoxically, under this rubric you can also find stories of foreigners who have moved to Bulgaria or have set up a business in Bulgaria. Some of the headlines read 'Japanese woman makes bread in Sofia', 'Hollywood now knows where the Nadezhda housing estate is', 'Nevada millionaires discover heaven in Sokolovo', for instance, and actually have nothing to do with Bulgarians abroad but

again carry a strong Bulgarian focus. Another new sub-section appears, as part of the Society section, entitled News in Brief, the first and so far only rubric of the paper in English. Half a page long, it is broken down into four headings: Local, Canada, World, and Sports, with an explanatory subtitle: 'This is for those Bulgarians who have difficulty reading in Bulgarian'. You cannot help but wonder, if people have difficulty reading in Bulgarian, why would they buy this newspaper to get information from half a page, in the first place? Another interesting thing in this section is that the news items included in News in Brief may concern world events or events in Canada but usually an analogy is sought between these and similar events in Bulgaria. For instance, in cases of elections for city mayor in say, Toronto, the procedures and practices are compared to how elections are conducted in Bulgaria; similarly, the penal codes of the two countries are compared and contrasted, as are their social security systems, pollution clean-up practices, etc. Also worth noting is the fact that the Sports section has moved forwards, to page 4, further strengthening the Bulgarian focus of the paper, since it still reports only the achievements of Bulgarian sportsmen and –women.

All of this comes to show that, despite certain formal changes in size and layout, *Bulgarian Horizons* continues to view its targeted readers – the Bulgarian community in Canada – as a self-contained and self-sufficient group whose interests do not extend much beyond its inner life and beyond retaining and reinforcing their Bulgarian-ness.

The third stage of the study was a survey carried out among Bulgarians in Canada through a questionnaire posted on the website of the Bulgarian Canadian Society of British Columbia and circulated electronically among Bulgarian Canadians in Montreal and Toronto with the following questions, among others: How much are you interested in events happening in Bulgaria? How often do you read Bulgarian newspapers online?



How often do you read *Bulgarian Horizons* or other Bulgarian newspapers published in Canada? Of the fifteen people who kindly responded to the survey, most said they retain a strong interest in events taking place in the home country. However, a mere 25 % (four people) said they read Canada-based Bulgarian newspapers, and of these, only one interviewee stated that he does so on a regular basis, while the rest admitted to doing so ‘occasionally’ or, in one particular instance, ‘I pick it up if I see it while waiting at the hairdresser’s.’ The majority of the respondents (70%) said they have read such papers only on isolated instances in their past, and one confessed that she did not even know of their existence. For international news or Canadian news, most resort to reading Canadian newspapers or watching Canadian TV, while for news about Bulgaria they read the online editions of the major Bulgaria-based newspapers or watch the news editions of Bulgarian TV channels on the web.

Through the years the newspaper *Bulgarian Horizons* has grown in volume and has seemingly expanded its focal points, but what this newspaper appears to have achieved is primarily to provide information to Bulgarian Canadians related to their intra-community needs. Bulgarians who need news on Canada will not find that in *Bulgarian Horizons*. It also endeavors to preserve a sense of Bulgarian belonging and inspire patriotic pride through success stories of Bulgarians in Canada and later through stories of Bulgarians abroad, or of foreigners in Bulgaria, as well as through reminders of national traditions and customs and of folk and literary classics.

According to the editor-in-chief of *Bulgarian Horizons*, most of the other Bulgarian newspapers in Canada aim at integrating Bulgarians and transforming them into Canadians, while the newspaper under his editorship has as an objective the preservation and even fostering of a sense of national belonging and identity. This goal is certainly evident in the choice of subject matter covered in the paper, though a brief

look at the rival publications does not seem to establish any great difference in editorial policy. What emerges as a certainty, however, is that a newspaper with the above purposes cannot really claim to be a Canadian newspaper in Bulgarian – as was the original conception – but is in fact a Bulgarian newspaper for Bulgarians who just happen to live and work in Canada.

The present analysis seems to confirm that Bulgarians in Canada tend to live in close communities and are interested mainly in things happening within it or things related to Bulgaria, or it at least reinforces the fact that the most widely circulated Canada-based newspaper in Bulgarian perceives Bulgarians in Canada in precisely that way. Further results from our electronic survey are needed, however, in order to support or refute the above proposition – as so far it seems that not all Bulgarians in Canada seek to fulfil their information needs by way of *Bulgarian Horizons* or any similar community-based and targeted publication. It must also be taken into consideration that, according to the findings of our previous research (see Yankova, Andreev 2012) and further expanded in this study, Bulgarians in Canada do not actually live in one close community, but in various smaller communities formed of close friends and relatives – most of the interviewees admitted they do not take part or interest in community events and rarely attend the Bulgarian church or community celebrations of national holidays. Thus, it comes as no surprise that, despite the goals it has set itself, *Bulgarian Horizons* does not play any serious part in the everyday life of Bulgarian Canadians.

Also, what becomes expressly apparent from the present survey results is the strong provincial affiliation, typical in general even for native-born Canadians. Hence, although it claims to be the ‘newspaper of Bulgarians in Canada’, *Bulgarian Horizons* remains a newspaper that is read mostly in Ontario and more specifically Toronto, as Bulgarians in Vancouver or Montreal state that they would resort to other ways of obtaining



information. Another finding of the survey is that who reads what depends very much on the time factor: how long the respondents have been in Canada and what age group they belong to. As might be expected, those who have spent a longer time in the host country eventually develop greater nostalgia for home, while relatively recent arrivals are more focused on coming to terms with the new realities. Also, as the younger generation relies less on newspapers for obtaining relevant information, it remains to be seen what role other types of media play in ethnic communities – especially radio, TV, and the internet, since newspapers cannot be said to be the most interesting or widely used medium for information purposes. The latter issue, however, would introduce a new research focus and require a separate study.



4.4. Data collected and profile of respondents in the sociolinguistic study of the Bulgarian community in Canada

This stage of the study is part of a larger project conducted by members of the Central European Association for Canadian Studies (CEACS) and funded by the Canadian government. The aims of the project were two-fold: the first was to publish a volume of written histories which includes selected writings by expatriates from the CEACS region (Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Serbia, Montenegro, Slovakia and Slovenia) living in Canada who have published accounts of their immigrant experience in Canada in either English or French (Lopičić 2010). The second was the Oral Histories sub-project with the unifying theme ‘What makes you feel Canadian, if anything’, which created a database of recorded interviews with members of the respective diasporas and some of the most informative interviews (about 8 per country) were published in a separate volume (Albu 2010). The aim is for this database to be utilized for future studies within different fields: linguistics, sociology, ethnography, political science, history, etc.

The data for this part of the analysis was collected by means of recorded interviews, questionnaires and observation in the cities of Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver at the homes of the respondents, which allowed for observation of the participants in their natural surroundings. According to Statistics Canada, Bulgarian-Canadians are primarily concentrated in major cities, particularly in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver. In these cities, Bulgarian-Canadians have established vibrant communities, where they can maintain connections to their cultural heritage



and language through community organizations, festivals, and other cultural events.

In other regions of Canada, Bulgarian-Canadians are often part of smaller and more dispersed communities, where they may have fewer opportunities to engage in cultural activities or connect with others who share their background. Certainly, these patterns of distribution and concentration are subject to change over time, as immigration patterns evolve and new generations of Bulgarian-Canadians continue to shape and reshape their cultural identities and connections, but the respondents taking part in the study are living precisely in these three cities.

Initially, the interviews used were the ones collected by the author for the CEACS project and then the research was expanded to more interviewees updating the results from previous studies with fresh data, reflecting the changing political, social, cultural environment. Therefore, the conducted interviews encompass a period of 12 years – from 2009 to 2021, with some of the more recent interviews taking place over the internet.

The participants in the case study are twenty-five men and twenty women ranging in age from twenty-five to seventy-six, although most are in their forties and fifties. They are all legal immigrants who left their home country within the period 1948-1998, with the first person to arrive and settle in Canada in 1954, and the last one in 2005. All but the latest immigrant, whose papers were still being processed at the time of the interview, have Canadian citizenship. Fifteen of the interviewees live in Montreal, nineteen in Toronto and eleven in Vancouver. Thirty-two of them have a higher education degree; one of those that does not first left Bulgaria at the age of sixteen and started doing odd jobs immediately, while two others set up a small company after finishing high school in Canada. Twenty-three of them are or have been married, six to spouses of non-Bulgarian origin (one of which Canadian); all of the married respondents have children.

All the subjects of the study have Bulgarian as their native tongue and have retained the language. Answering a question in the Interviewee Profile as to what language they speak at home, at work and with friends, it transpired that almost all speak Bulgarian at home, except for those not married to Bulgarians or parents with school-age children, since the children switch languages. At the workplace the subjects speak either English or French, and with friends – a mixture of Bulgarian, English, French and others (e.g. Serbian, Spanish), depending on friends' nationality. Notably, all subjects are adult bilinguals or multilinguals: most have emigrated as grown-ups who had already lived long enough in a native-language environment. Part of them went to Canada with some knowledge of English or French, others had to learn the language(s) in the host country (for more details see Yankova, Andreev, 2012: 42-43). The interviewee profile is presented in detail in several tables below.

Variable	Number	Percentage
Gender		
Male	25	55.5%
Female	20	44.4%
Age		
20-30	3	6.6%
31-40	4	8.8%
41-50	19	42%
51-60	16	35.5%
61+	3	6.6%
Place of residence		
Montreal	15	33.3%
Toronto	19	42%
Vancouver	11	24.4%

Table 3. Socio-demographic characteristics I: gender, age, place of residence



4. THE BULGARIAN COMMUNITY IN CANADA

Variable	Number	Percentage
Education		
University Degree		
Female	14	31%
Male	18	40%
High school/College		
Female	4	8.8%
Male	9	20%

Table 4. Socio-demographic characteristics II: education, employment status, employment compared to home country⁷

Variable	Number	Percentage
Employment Status		
Professionals	16	35.5%
Service industry	25	55.5%
Unemployed	0	0%
Retired	2	4,4%
Employment compared to home country		
Same/similar level	17	42.2%
Different (lower level)	26	57.7%

Table 5. Socio-demographic characteristics III: Employment status

	Number	Francophones	Anglophones	University degree
Female	20	11	9	14
Male	25	10	15	18

Table 6. Socio-demographic characteristics IV: Languages spoken compared to age and gender

⁷ The numbers in Table 3 do not add up to the total of 45 respondents, because there were 2 adolescents when they emigrated to Canada and as such had no previous jobs in Bulgaria.

Variables	Years since immigration to Canada			
	< 10	10 – 20	> 20	Total
Age				
20-30	1	2	0	3
31-40	1	3	0	4
41-50	2	8	9	19
51-60	1	9	6	16
61+	0	0	3	3
Total	5	22	18	45

Table 7. Socio-demographic characteristics V: Years spent in Canada as immigrants compared to age of respondents (at the time of interview)

The socio-demographic data will be considered at length in the discussion in section 4.5 below.

All the interviewees were asked the following set of questions, as agreed by the organisers of the CEACS project:

1. In which language would you like to do the interview
– Bulgarian or English/French?
2. What is your date of birth?
3. When did you leave your native country?
4. Why did you choose to move to Canada?
5. What were the difficulties adjusting to the new country?
6. What regular customs/habits from the native country did you keep and what new ones did you adopt in Canada?
7. Would you call yourself X (for example Bulgarian), Y (Canadian) or XY (Bulgarian Canadian, Canadian



Bulgarian)? Tell me exactly what makes you feel more X than Y (or more Y than X, as the case may be): language, customs, family ties, memories, etc.?

8. Do you keep in touch with your ethnic community in Canada (if any)? How? Through church, ethnic association, newspaper, club, library?
9. Who are your major connections (relatives, colleagues, friends etc.)? What nationalities are they?
10. Can you mention one particular event since coming to Canada that deeply affected your entire life, be it in a positive or a negative manner?

There are many methods for data collection (cf. the summary provided by Videnov 2000: 240-244) The semi-structured interview was chosen as a data gathering method in this part of the study for two reasons. Firstly, the questions were carefully and specifically designed to elicit detailed information regarding the respondents' experiences, feelings, thoughts and attitudes in relation to their immigration process, to the level of integration and settlement into the new environment, including the social contacts they maintained within their ethnic group, opportunities for work, etc. And yet, the format of the semi-structured interview is flexible, accommodating and adaptable, allowing for variation in additional questions that might logically follow up a specific answer by an individual respondent. The interviews lasted between 30 – 60 minutes depending on the individual characteristics of respondents – whether they were more talkative or more reticent in sharing their thoughts, beliefs and sentiments. As a rule, interviews lasted longer since most Bulgarians were pleased to be answering questions about

themselves and were even honoured that someone would be interested in their personal history. As pointed out previously, two of the approached individuals declined to take part in the study, one of them reluctantly giving the reason for refusing – a suspicion that the researcher might have been sent to ask questions by the Bulgarian Secret Service.

Information was also gathered from the Interviewee Profile each subject was asked to complete, which posed additional questions to those included in the questionnaire or elaborated on them. Besides stating their name, age, nationality, education, current occupation, date of immigration and length of Canadian citizenship, interviewees provided data in the following categories:

Spouse's nationality/name:

Names of children (if any):

Main place(s) of residence up to this point in your life (mention the corresponding periods in brackets):

Native language:

Father's mother tongue:

Mother's mother tongue:

Language(s) spoken:

- (1) at home: (if more than one, please give the average % use of each)
- (2) at work
- (3) with friends
- (4) with the extended family



In conducting interviews, there are several ethical considerations to keep in mind which are an important component of any academic research. One is informed consent whereby participants must be notified about the purpose, procedures, and potential consequences of the interview, and they must provide their voluntary consent. Another is confidentiality and anonymity referring to the fact that information collected from participants should be kept confidential, and their identities should be protected if they desire anonymity. Researchers should also take care to avoid causing physical or psychological harm to participants and should be prepared to deal with potential harm if it arises. Researchers should not deceive participants or withhold information relevant to the research. Informants' privacy should be respected, and their responses should not be disclosed to others without their consent. Cultural sensitivity is another aspect to be considered. Researchers should be aware of cultural differences and respect cultural norms and values when conducting interviews. And finally, participants should have the right to withdraw from the interview at any time, without any negative consequences whatsoever. When all these ethical considerations are considered, researchers can ensure that their interviews are conducted in a responsible and respectful manner. All the interviewees were informed about the purpose of the interviews and observations, they agreed to participate voluntarily, signing an informed consent. Their anonymity and confidentiality was guaranteed – each participant was given coded initials, which did not correspond to their real name. All collected data is kept in a high-trust cloud storage such as Microsoft One Drive or Microsoft, and data was also copied into the researcher's private USB. Both store tools are protected by a private password. Before administering a questionnaire or holding an interview, the researcher took into consideration the potential risks to the participants and how to minimize them,

including health negative influence, time and resource negative influence, emotional negative effect, reputation impact.

The recorded and transcribed texts of the interviews were analysed from **three perspectives**. The first encompasses respondents' own perception of cultural identity and their reflection on sociocultural practices. The second and third aspects explored are the linguistic and socio-linguistic behaviour of the respondents: the factors of code-switching and the manner in which it is integrated into respondents' speech, the linguistic level of the switch, the parts of speech that are most commonly switched, the degree of interference between the native and adopted language, among others



4.5. Bulgarian-Canadians' perception of their own identity and sociocultural practices

The study of sociolinguistic and sociocultural practices of first-generation immigrants to Canada can be shaped by a variety of factors, including their cultural and linguistic backgrounds, their experiences and perspectives, and the cultural and linguistic landscape of their new home. In terms of sociolinguistic practices, first-generation immigrants may engage in a range of language practices, including for instance heritage language maintenance. They may seek to maintain and pass on their heritage language(s) to their children and future generations. This may involve engaging in language-related activities, such as speaking their heritage language with family and friends or seeking out heritage language classes. Concerning language acquisition, first-generation immigrants may also seek to acquire the host language as a means of facilitating their integration into the broader society. This may involve enrolling in language classes, practicing with native speakers, or using language learning resources.

In terms of sociocultural practices, first-generation immigrants may engage in a range of activities and behaviors that reflect their cultural heritage and help them maintain a connection to their cultural roots, thus striving for cultural identity maintenance. At the same time, they may also seek to adapt to the cultural norms and values of their new home. This may involve adopting new customs and behaviors or modifying existing practices to better align with the cultural context of their new home, manifesting characteristics of cultural adaptation. First-generation immigrants may also seek to build



community with others who share their cultural background and experiences: participating in cultural events, joining cultural organizations, or seeking out cultural resources and support. In other words, the sociolinguistic and sociocultural practices of first-generation immigrants are shaped by a complex interplay of factors, including their cultural and linguistic backgrounds, their experiences and perspectives, and the cultural and linguistic landscape of their new home.

An important part of the research is the way Bulgarians in Canada perceive their ethnicity. The preliminary hypothesis is that the perception of ethnicity among Bulgarians in Canada can vary widely depending on a number of factors, including their age, length of time spent in Canada, and the cultural and linguistic context in which they live.

For some Bulgarians in Canada, maintaining a strong connection to their ethnicity and cultural heritage may be a priority, and they may actively participate in cultural events, engage in language-related activities, and seek out social connections with people who share their cultural background. For others, maintaining a connection to their ethnicity may be less of a priority, and they may be more focused on adapting to the cultural norms and values of their new home. This may involve adopting new customs and behaviors or modifying existing practices to better align with the cultural context of their new home.

In some cases, the perception of ethnicity among Bulgarians in Canada may be shaped by negative experiences and attitudes, such as discrimination or marginalization, which can lead to a diminished sense of cultural identity and connection. Ultimately, the perception of ethnicity among Bulgarians in Canada is a complex and multifaceted issue that is shaped by a wide range of individual, social, cultural, and historical factors.

Van Tubergen, Maass and Flap (2004) and Van Tubingen (2006) have discussed at length destination effects, origin

effects, and community effects as concepts related to the study of immigration and integration. Destination effects refer to the influence that the host country has on the immigrants' cultural and linguistic practices, their social and economic well-being, and their sense of identity and belonging. They can include factors such as the availability of resources and support for immigrants, the attitudes and behaviors of the host society towards immigrants, and the policies and programs that support immigrant integration.

Origin effects are concerned with the influence that the country of origin has on the experiences and outcomes of immigrants, including their cultural and linguistic practices, their social and economic well-being, and their sense of identity and belonging. Origin effects can encompass the cultural and linguistic background of the immigrant, their prior experiences and perspectives, and their sense of connection to their country of origin.

Community effects are related to the effect that the community of origin and the community of destination have on the experiences and outcomes of immigrants. Community effects can include the availability and quality of social support, the level of cultural and linguistic resources, and the extent to which immigrant communities are able to build and maintain cultural and linguistic connections.

These concepts help to explain the complex interplay of factors that shape the experiences and outcomes of immigrants and inform policies and programs aimed at supporting immigrant integration.

A search of the literature of sociocultural research on Bulgarian-Canadians has returned just a handful of studies. An article by Jurkova (2014) presents a case study of members and non-members of a Bulgarian society in a Western Canadian city and focuses on aspects such as the role of the ethno-cultural organization in helping immigrants in their integration process,



whether it facilitates the expression of their identity, the maintenance of their beliefs and values, if it enables them to achieve social recognition, form a feeling of belonging, among others. The ultimate aim is to find an answer to the question whether belonging to an ethnic organization is beneficial to immigrants or whether this isolates them from the mainstream Canadian society and hinders them from becoming full-fledged members of Canadian life. The author chooses three areas to gauge if immigrants have integrated successfully – in the economy, society and culture and in their identity, making valid conclusions about the level of integration of the polled Bulgarian-Canadians, stating that:

Bulgarian ethnicity is not a manifestation of strong institutional feature and bounded solidarity, but rather of a symbolic sense of belonging, related to place of origin, common culture and a collective memory. (Jurkova 2014: 40)

The perception of identity among Bulgarian-Canadians can vary depending on individual experiences and perspectives. Some may have a strong sense of Bulgarian identity and feel a strong connection to Bulgarian culture and heritage. They may also feel a strong sense of connection to the Bulgarian-Canadian community and actively participate in cultural and community events.

Others may have a more hybrid identity, incorporating elements of both Bulgarian and Canadian culture. They may have grown up in Canada or spent a long time there and have a strong sense of Canadian identity, but also maintain a connection to Bulgarian culture and heritage. They may also perceive themselves more as multicultural individuals, identifying with different cultures and communities. For some Bulgarian-Canadians, their identity may be influenced by their experiences of discrimination or marginalization, which

can shape their sense of self and connection to the Bulgarian-Canadian community.

Identity is a complex and multi-faceted concept that can change over time and can be influenced by a variety of factors, such as family background, socialization, and personal experiences. Bulgarian-Canadians may have different perceptions of their own identity and not conform to any group model.

The next stage in studying the Bulgarian Community in Canada was through conducting oral interviews with first-generation Bulgarian immigrants. The aim of this part is to investigate what changes have taken place in Bulgarian expatriates' perception of national and self-identity as a result of transplanting themselves onto new soil, and to what extent these changes are dependent on factors such as age, education, reasons for emigration, and length of stay.

As can be seen from the types of questions included in the questionnaire, the subjects were interviewed as to what bonds they have retained with their country of origin in terms of observation of traditions, range of social contacts, and participation in the Bulgarian community in Canada; they were also questioned about what ideas, customs, and behavioural modes they have absorbed from their new host country. The analysis of their responses provides insight as to what it feels like to be a transnational citizen in today's increasingly globalising world.

Cultural identity is the sense of belonging to a particular culture or group of people, and it is shaped by various factors such as language, customs, traditions, and beliefs. For immigrants, the process of forming a cultural identity can be complex, as they may have to navigate and reconcile their own cultural heritage with the culture of their new country.

Immigrants may experience a sense of loss or dislocation as they leave behind their familiar ways of life, and they may also



face discrimination or marginalization in their new country. They may also encounter challenges in maintaining their language and cultural practices, particularly if these are not recognized or supported in their new country.

On the other hand, immigrants also may have the opportunity to explore new cultural experiences and perspectives, which can be enriching and empowering. They may also find themselves part of a vibrant and diverse immigrant community, which can provide a sense of belonging and support. Additionally, the process of integrating into a new culture can also lead to the development of a hybrid cultural identity, in which elements of both the immigrant's home culture and the culture of their new country are combined in unique ways. Cultural identity is fluid, and it can change over time as people adapt to new cultural environments and experiences.

In that respect, the concept of diaspora needs to be highlighted. The term *diaspora* originally referred to the dispersion of the Jewish people, who were forced to leave their homeland and settle in other parts of the world. Today, the term is used more broadly to refer to any group of people who have been dispersed from their homeland and settled in other parts of the world. This can include ethnic, linguistic, religious, or other types of groups.

The diaspora can be the result of a variety of factors, including war, persecution, economic hardship, or simply the desire to seek better opportunities in other parts of the world. Individuals and groups within a diaspora can maintain strong connections with their homeland, culture, and language, even though they may be living in a new country. They may also form their own communities within the host country and support each other.

Diaspora can have a significant impact on both the host society and the homeland society. On the one hand, diaspora can bring new ideas, skills, and resources to the host society, and can also provide economic and political support to the

homeland. On the other hand, diaspora can also lead to conflicts and tensions between different ethnic and cultural groups and can also result in the loss of cultural and linguistic heritage.

Research in diaspora studies has been growing in recent years and it focuses on the experiences, identities, and cultural practices of diaspora groups, as well as their relationships with the host society and the homeland society. Such research can provide important insights into the experiences and contributions of diaspora groups and can inform policies and practices aimed at promoting the integration and well-being of these groups.

Some key areas of research in diaspora studies include:

Identity: examining how individuals and groups within a diaspora construct and maintain their identities, and how these identities are shaped by the experiences of displacement and settlement in a new country.

Transnationalism: investigating how individuals and groups within a diaspora maintain connections with their homeland, culture, and language, even though they may be living in a new country. They also examine how diaspora groups participate in transnational networks and engage in transnational practices.

Cultural production: exploring how individuals and groups within a diaspora produce and consume culture, and how this cultural production is shaped by their experiences of displacement and settlement in a new country.

Political engagement: observing how individuals and groups within a diaspora engage in political activities, both in their host country and in their homeland.

Social and economic integration: analysing how individuals and groups within a diaspora integrate into the host society, and the challenges they may face in terms of finding employment, housing, and other social services.

Impact on the host society and homeland society: assessing the impact of diaspora on the host society, including issues



such as economic contributions, political engagement, and cultural production. They also examine the impact of diaspora on the homeland society, including issues such as economic remittances, political engagement, and cultural preservation.

Since the early 1990s, the notion of diaspora has become an essential issue in international politics and has acquired a new place in public discourse. The disintegration of the bipolar power structure and the breakdown of national barriers with the end of the Cold War laid the ground for a massive short- and long-term movement of people. As advances in technology made travel and communication much easier, and the world began to be seen as an ever-growing global village, the traditional concept of diaspora took on additional meanings and needed redefining.

Dufoix (2008) distinguishes three kinds of definitions of diaspora: open, categorical and oxymoronic. Open definitions offer a nondiscriminating view of the object of study, such as the one by Sheffer (1986: 3): 'Modern diasporas are ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin – their homelands'. Categorical are definitions that place the object of study within strict criteria that must be fulfilled in order to be designated as diaspora. In this vein, Lacoste (1989) contends that true diasporas are the dispersion of the major part of the people, or the number of people who have left their country of origin relative to the country's total population. Under this line of thinking, there are only five diasporas: the Jewish, Lebanese, Palestinian, Armenian, and Irish. According to Safran, who first attempted to construct a closed conceptual model with multiple criteria (1991: 83-84), diasporas are expatriate minority communities that are dispersed from an original centre to at least two peripheral places; that maintain a memory, myth and vision about their homeland; that believe they are not fully accepted by their host country; that consider their home country as a place of eventual return, and have a

continuing relationship with the homeland. Not all diasporic communities, however, demonstrate Safran's (1991) idea of a strong belonging and a yearning to return to the homeland. Diasporic communities can never be exclusively nationalistic; they are positioned in a transnational environment. The third type of definition, the oxymoronic one, is rooted in the post-modern thought in the 1980s when a vision of diaspora evolved which gives pride of place to paradoxical identity, the noncenter, and hybridity (Dufoix 2008: 24), whose most ardent proponents are Stuart Hill, James Clifford, and Paul Gilroy. Some of the most relevant issues connected to the concept of diasporas have been discussed by Clifford (1994: 302): 'How do diaspora discourses represent experiences of displacement, of constructing homes away from home? What experiences do they reject, replace, or marginalize? How do these discourses attain comparative scope while remaining rooted/routed in specific, discrepant histories?'

Thus, since the last decade of the 20th century, the concept of diaspora has been extended from the disturbing experiences of Jewish or Black communities to include diverse groups of migrants (Cohen 2008). Historically, migration has always been an important element in nation-building and industrialisation, but the current interest in migration marks a different perspective to the issue, a different perception of the phenomenon, rather than a shift in the fact itself. The process of globalization and the new communication technologies have facilitated the frequent flow of capital, goods and services and have resulted in the creation of a new context for migration and the blurring of boundaries between the various forms of migration.

The causes and types for migration, as well as the integration of immigrants have been the object of study of many scholars, who have looked for explanations from various perspectives: better economic opportunities, family survival strategies, long-term concerns for security and sustainability, among others. Immigration flows are also shaped by the host countries'



policies for recruitment of labour. The rapid development of communication technologies and the wide availability of Internet access have materialized in access to knowledge about other societies as well as in establishing migration networks and connections needed to migrate safely and cost-effectively.

There are several well-known models that have been proposed to describe the process of immigrants integrating into a host society, which can be subsumed as follows:

The melting pot model: it suggests that immigrants should give up their cultural identities and fully assimilate into the dominant culture of the host society. This model emphasizes the idea that immigrants should become „Americanized“ or „Canadianized“ in order to fully integrate.

The multicultural model which proposes that immigrants should be able to maintain their cultural identities while also integrating into the host society. This model emphasizes the idea that the host society should be tolerant and accepting of cultural diversity, and that immigrants should be allowed to participate fully in society while also retaining their cultural heritage.

The segmented assimilation model: it implies that the process of integration for immigrants is not a uniform experience and that different immigrants will experience different forms of assimilation depending on factors such as race, class, and legal status.

The transnational model suggests that immigrants maintain multiple identities and connections to both their home culture and the host culture. They are actively involved in both societies and may not completely assimilate or integrate into one of the cultures.

It must be noted that these models are not mutually exclusive, and immigrants can adopt different strategies at different times in their life depending on the context.

It is also imperative to discuss the concept of acculturation. It refers to the process by which individuals or groups of people adopt the cultural norms, values, and behaviors of a dominant or host culture, while maintaining some aspects of their own culture. There are several models that have been proposed to describe the acculturation process. Some of the most notable models include: the Assimilation Model which posits that immigrants will gradually give up their own culture and adopt the culture of the host society. The Integration Model suggests that immigrants can maintain their own culture while also adopting the culture of the host society. Another model is the Separation Model which proposes that immigrants will maintain their own culture and reject the culture of the host society. This might lead to the Marginalization Model whereby immigrants may experience discrimination and exclusion from the host society, resulting in a lack of access to resources and opportunities, and a lack of integration into the host culture. The Biculturalism Model suggests that immigrants can develop a sense of belonging to both their own culture and the host culture, leading to a positive and adaptive acculturation experience.

Once again, these models are not mutually exclusive and acculturation experiences can vary greatly depending on factors such as the individual's background, the host society's attitude towards immigrants, and the level of support available to the immigrant community.

Any immigrant contact presupposes the interaction, the clash of at least two cultures. The branch of psychology that explores the similarities and differences in thinking and behavior between individuals from different cultures is transcultural or cross-cultural psychology. It focuses on the study of how cultural factors influence human behavior, experience, and mental processes. It is an interdisciplinary field that draws on theories and methods from psychology,



anthropology, sociology, and other disciplines. It examines how culture shapes and is shaped by individual and group experiences, including the cultural dimensions of development, perception, cognition, emotion, personality, and social behavior.

It also focuses on understanding the impact of cultural diversity and cross-cultural interactions on individuals and groups, as well as the cultural adaptation process of immigrants and expatriates. It also deals with the study of cultural similarities and differences in psychological phenomena, and how these similarities and differences can be explained by cultural, biological, and historical factors.

The field of cross-cultural psychology has many practical applications, including the development of culturally sensitive and appropriate interventions for mental health and well-being, cross-cultural communication, education, and research methods. It is important in today's globalized world where people from different cultures interact more frequently, and where cultural diversity is on the rise. It helps to understand how culture shapes human behavior and how to effectively communicate and interact with people from different cultural backgrounds.

Berry's model is conceived within the theory and practice of cross-cultural psychology and is a framework for understanding the process of acculturation, which refers to the changes that occur in individuals or groups as a result of contact with a culture different from their own. It consists of four different acculturation strategies: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization.

This model is widely used in cross-cultural research, particularly in the study of immigrants and their adaptation to new cultures.

The author suggests that group relations are made up of two domains of psychological research – acculturation and ethnic

relations, based on contextual factors and resulting in consequences that can be placed on a scale between conflict and stress and harmony and effectiveness, as exemplified on Fig. 2 below.

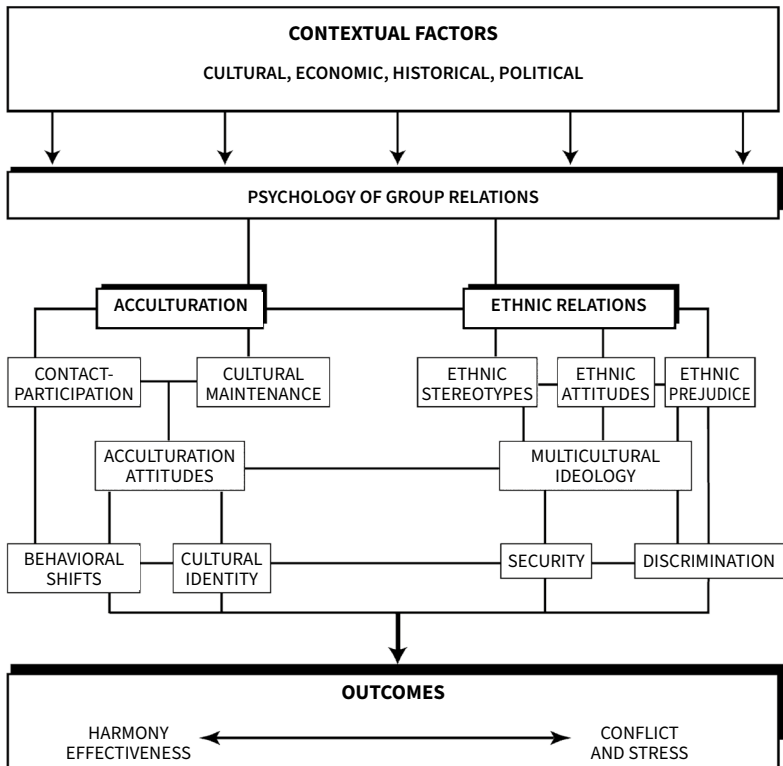


Fig. 2. Psychology of group relations: contexts, processes and outcomes (Berry 2005: 699)

According to Berry (2005: 698), „Acculturation is the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members”. The author considers the process as bidirectional, leaving an imprint on both the newcomer and the

host. The changes that occur may and usually do materialize in a very long process.

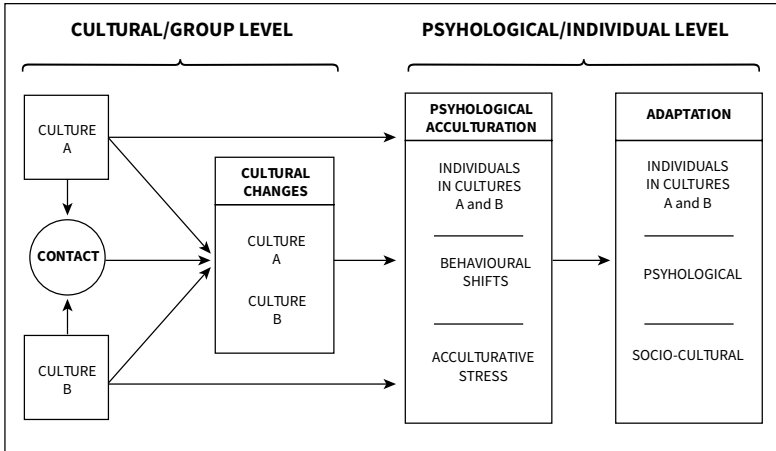


Fig.3. A general framework for understanding acculturation (Berry 2005: 703)

Cultural contexts have five aspects, as shown on Fig. 3, which identify acculturation at the level of culture and start the process at the psychological level: the two original cultures, the two changing groups, and the character of their interaction.

In order to study the levels of adaptation of an individual or a group into a new society, the cultural characteristics of the society of origin should be taken into account, as well as economic, political, demographic factors of the source country. The host society should then be analysed as to the common attitudes of the population to immigration and multiculturalism. Needless to say, some societies and communities are more tolerant to immigration, acknowledging cultural pluralism, for instance Canada.

The acculturation strategies available to the groups and the individuals of the non-dominant sector have already been mentioned. Fig. 3 demonstrates two orientations on a scale from

maintaining source culture to participating in host culture with the four strategies that intersect and cross these two orientations. Strategies are seen to comprise of two parts – attitudes and behaviours and are termed differently, depending on whether the dominant group or the subordinate group is considered.

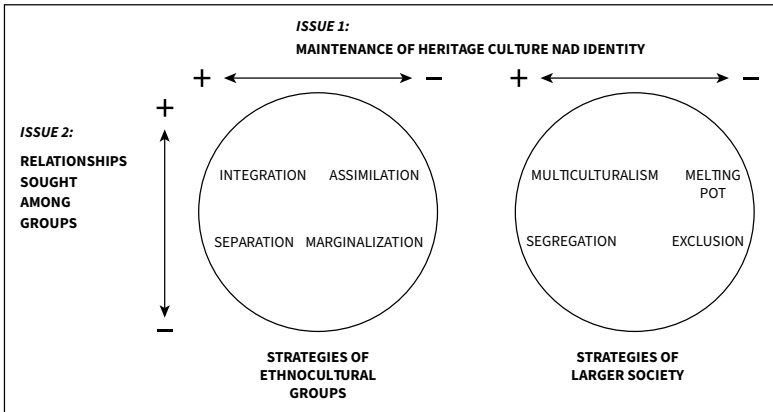


Fig. 4. Framework for examining acculturation strategies and expectations in ethnocultural groups and the larger society (Berry 2022)

The strategies for the subordinate group are assimilation, separation, integration, marginalization. Assimilation refers to the process of adopting the dominant culture's norms and values while giving up one's own cultural identity. Integration refers to the process of maintaining one's own cultural identity while also adopting elements of the dominant culture. Separation refers to the process of maintaining one's own cultural identity while avoiding contact with the dominant culture. Marginalization refers to the process of being forced to adopt the dominant culture's norms and values while also facing discrimination and exclusion.

The dominant group experience what Berry (2022) terms 'acculturation expectations' and the terminology used refers to what the dominant group or society feels about immigration and

diversity, as well as the strategies supported by the society for managing these diverse groups. Melting pot in the terms of the dominant group refers to the subordinate group's assimilation, segregation to separation, exclusion to marginalization, and integration to multiculturalism.

The relations between the dominant and the subordinate groups, or ethnocultural groups and larger society on **Fig. 4**, by definition are not symmetrical and integration very much depends first and foremost on the dominant group's attitude towards diverse cultures and safeguarding distinct identities.

Moreno-Fernandez (2009) considers the social integration of immigrants as a dynamic process and provides a model to study their sociolinguistic integration which comprises of four phases:

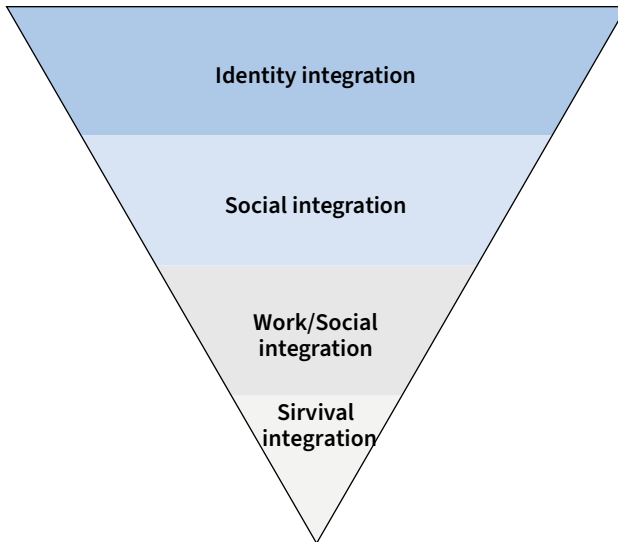


Fig. 5. Integration process pyramid (Moreno-Fernández 2009: 133)

According to Moreno-Fernández and Loureda (2023: 4):

Immigrant integration can be divided into various levels (or phases, if they take place successively): survival integration, work or school integration, social integration, and identarian integration.

In other words, the lowest integration phase at the base of the pyramid – survival, involves the basic needs of a person; the second phase is work or school integration as the case may be. Social integration implies that the person can be considered a member of a social group, which is connected to their ethnic origin, thus still seen as an immigrant. The uppermost level in the pyramid is identity integration. This is the phase when the individual is acknowledged by the dominant society as already an integral part of it, as belonging to the ‘us’ group. As an immigrant moves up on the scale, there will be changes effectuated in their language, i.e. social developments and changes are mirrored in the language used.

Reaching this last phase does not in any way imply that the immigrant has forfeited their original identity but that they have acquired another identity and those two (or more) identities can alternate depending on social situations. Clément and Noels (1992) assert that in different situations immigrants identify with different cultures, e.g., in private settings, usually the identity of origin comes to the fore, while in professional or public environments, it is the acquired one that is more prominent. These two (or more) identities need not be in conflict and quite often biculturals do not perceive this alternation as being in conflict, an observation made by a number of researchers (cf. Ward 2013, Grosjean 2015).

The concept of transnational community and identity has been in the spotlight for some time now. For Vertovec (2004:



971) transnational immigrant practices entail transformations in three areas:

1) Perceptual transformation affecting what can be described as migrants' orientational 'bifocality' in the sociocultural domain; 2) conceptual transformation of meanings within a notional triad of 'identities-borders-orders' in the political domain; and 3) institutional transformation affecting forms of financial transfer, public-private relationship and local development in the economic domain.

An increasing number of immigrants are considered to be transmigrants – people who rely on manifold and continuous bonds across international borders and whose identities are made up of affinity to more than one nation-state. 'Transnational migration is the process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement' (Schiller et al. 1995: 48). The authors contend that there is a difference in the relationship of past sending societies towards their diasporas and the current endeavours of immigrants and states to build a deterritorialized nation-state, including a diasporic population within it. Emigration countries have started a policy of binding their expatriates to the country of origin for economic, political or cultural benefits.

The identity of transnational communities is not chiefly based on attachment to a specific territory and thus questions the traditional idea of nation-state affiliation. Globalization, with all the associated increase in mobility, cheap travel and easy communication, is subverting the ways of controlling difference founded on territoriality and engenders shifts in social configurations, relationships and cultural values. Transmigrants are seen to be transcending cultural boundaries and acquiring

hybrid identities. 'As the boundaries of nation-state become blurred and porous, there is a temptation to put increasing emphasis on sub-national belonging – that is to reterritorialize identity at the level of the city' (Castles 2002: 1159).

Multiple identities are best recognized officially by multiple citizenship policies and at present almost half of the countries in the world have adopted dual citizenship laws. This is a way to bind immigrants both to the host country and the country of origin.

I would like to proceed with a description and a discussion of a case study with Bulgarian immigrants in Canada in relation to the above issues of diaspora, diasporic discourses and above all what experiences and notions Bulgarian Canadians discard, adopt, marginalize (after Clifford 1994); to what extent they are bound to their country of origin and to their host country (after Schiller et al. 1995), and are they transcending cultural boundaries and acquiring hybrid identities (after Castles 2002). And does the Canadian multicultural model facilitate their integration, alienate immigrants, promote diversity within a large cultural framework or actually result in the insulation of separate cultures?

In order to achieve the above aims oral interviews were conducted with first-generation Bulgarian immigrants to Canada. Before proceeding with the details and a discussion of the results, the different types of oral interviews will be highlighted and justification will be provided why the particular ones were used. Oral history interviews can be of various kinds, depending, among other things, on purpose, content and structure. The difference is sometimes not clear-cut and quite often there is some overlap among them. The main types of interviews are biographical and topical; the former aim to record aspects of the life of an individual which can be connected to everyday routines or organized into bigger chunks of time or



topics, such as school, marriage, work, etc., while the latter are concerned with a single theme or with several closely related themes – for instance, with a focus on a certain group in society, an institution, or an event. The topical interview integrates aspects of the biographical and is often conducted by asking several interviewees the same or similar questions in order to achieve a multi-faceted account and representation of the same theme. The two main types of oral history interview can focus on change or development – the interviewee is asked the same questions after a period of time, and thus the subject takes part in a process interview. Concerning structure, interviews can be free-flowing and in the form of an unstructured narrative, where subjects talk about events, people and experiences of their own lives, or they can be highly structured with the same questions posed to different interviewees.

The interviews conducted for the present research display features of both the biographical and the topical interview insofar as subjects were prompted to recount parts of their life story but at the same time were geared to ponder and express the themes of cultural identity, reasons for leaving the home country and choosing Canada as the host country, the process of acculturation, the degree of integration, etc.

The stages of the present study can be delineated as follows: (1) identifying communities and individuals in Canada, establishing contact and arranging for meetings; (2) conducting the interviews proper in Canada or in the home country; (3) transcribing the interviews and translating a representative sample of the interviews in view to publishing them in a book; (4) presenting a summary of the collected interviews to be included in the book.

What follows is a discussion of the findings from the interviews conducted regarding the first aspect of the analysis – respondents' sociocultural practices.

Language of interview. It is worth noting that all the subjects opted for the interview to be conducted in Bulgarian – including A.S. (writer, female, 58) who has lived in Canada since 1971, used to be married to a Canadian and does not maintain many contacts with Bulgarians. Despite occasional difficulties and interference from French, for her, as with most participants, it seemed to be a point of honour to answer the questions in their mother tongue.

(1) Well, I prefer my mother tongue, because I feel most comfortable using it. After all I use it for all my thoughts and feelings. (I.R., university professor, female, 50)

(2) In Bulgarian, of course. That's the only Bulgarian thing I have left now, let me say it from the start. (J.V., former plumber with own business, now retired, male, 78)

It follows that all the interviewees have retained their native language, and it not only remains a major bond to the culture of their homeland but is also a basic component in their sense of self-identity. This is also reflected in their replies to the question from the Interviewee Profile what language(s) they speak at home, at work and with friends. At home, those married to Bulgarians speak Bulgarian either 100% of the time or, if they have children of school age, 95% (as the children by necessity grow up bilingual and switch from one language to the other). Those who did not speak Bulgarian at home were three in number: P.J., forester, male, 66, with a Russian wife, A.S., librarian, female, 62, who was married to a Canadian and had two children by him, and K.T. (hotel guest manager, male, 31), a young single man who shares a flat with a South American. A similar dependency on spouse's nationality is found in choice of children's names: only those married to non-Bulgarians have given their children non-Bulgarian names. At work, as expected,

the interviewees speak either English or French, depending on their city of residence. With friends, the languages spoken include Bulgarian, English, French, and others, as most of the immigrants maintain close contacts not only with Bulgarians, but also with various other nationalities.

Since all the interviews were conducted in Bulgarian, it is interesting to note the degree of code switching in the spontaneous speech of the subjects. The interference of either English or French is minimal, most probably due precisely to the fact that, with their family and friends, the majority communicate in their native language. When English or French words are resorted to it was mainly lexical items in the respective language expressing concepts which were either non-existent in the source country and typical for the host culture, or notions that were learnt in Canada as part of growing up in immigrants who left the home country as teens and hence did not have at hand the native tongue word. The following examples illustrate instances of interference and code-switching. The English or French words have been italicised.

(3) In my days, there was a lot of work, as long as you wanted to work. 1953-54 is what I'm speaking of. There was no *welfare* then – you know what that is? – or any such organisations. (J.V.)

In most cases the interference of English or French found expression in calques or literal word-for-word translations as in: 'мова взема време', a calque of 'it takes time' instead of the correct phrase in Bulgarian 'мова отнема време', or 'най-много га умам свободен ден от работа' for 'a day off work' instead of 'га умам почувен ден'. The only case of extreme interference and mixing of the two languages is A.S., living in Québec since 1971:



(4) Well, when I was younger, I was involved in local holidays, but now I think – you know, there was this thing yesterday, *Fête National des Québécois*, and as I watched it I thought, I don't feel like celebrating this at all ((laughs))...I said to myself, I'm a free person now, I can choose, if I was in Cuba perhaps I would want to celebrate the Cuban revolution, and... No, the older I get, the more I see what...the more I realise what really happened, like these *Québécois*, when they came here, they ousted the Indians, and I very much sympathise with the Indians ((laughs))...So I think, these *Québécois*, they are immigrants but they don't want to admit it, to them it's a, you know, *sujet délicat*, and even now, as they celebrate 400 years of this *Ville de Québec*, you can see one or two Indian chiefs because, you know, it looks better that way...I am very much against religion because these *coloni*...I'm an *anti-coloniste*...*colonialiste*...For when those missionaries came here from France... Right now the government is making apologies to the Indians, because they were put in *pensionnats* and they suffered so much, and I think, these *pensionnats*, they were run by religious –*les frères, les soeurs*, they ran those *pensionnats* and how could we possibly celebrate this *anniversaire* now, knowing that when they came over from France, it was with the idea of converting the Indians to Catholicism, as if they thought, these people are *sauvages*, they are...(A.S., works at the National Library of Quebec, female, 62).

It should be noted, however, that A.S. has spent forty years of her life in Canada, had a husband who did not speak Bulgarian, and does not socialize much with other Bulgarians in Montreal – i.e., she is the exception rather than the rule. The interview was in fact her first opportunity in a long time to speak



in Bulgarian at length, and, as already noted, despite envisaging possible difficulties, she insisted on doing so as a matter of pride. The phenomenon of mixing languages or code-switching will be discussed at length in Part 5.

What is important to underscore at this point as a conclusion to this section is that all the respondents in this study demonstrated a positive attitude to their native Bulgarian language and did not in any shape or form express feeling embarrassment or awkwardness in using this minority language in different settings in Canada. It has been found to be extremely important (c.f. Schmid 2004) to examine speakers' attitudes to L1 which can strongly influence language maintenance or language loss more than other variables and this phenomenon has a bearing regarding language change and language attrition, which will be further studied in section 5.2 below.

Reasons for Leaving Bulgaria and Choosing Canada. Although the questionnaire did not inquire as to reasons for deciding to emigrate in the first place, these on the whole emerged in the course of the interviews. All of the interviewees who left Bulgaria before the collapse of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe in 1989 – which puts them as an age group in their mid-forties and above – cite political reasons for their action: a desire to escape the socialist regime and seek freedom:

(5) We had lived and worked for several years in Morocco before that and passed through different West European capitals on transit flights, and we knew we didn't want to go back to and live in a repressive atmosphere. (L.D., university lecturer, male, 64)

It should be mentioned that of these respondents eight had lived long-term outside of Bulgaria prior to emigrating and one

had visited a number of Western countries (including Canada). One interviewee, on her way to Cuba with her parents, cited passing through Prague in the spring of 1968 as a formative experience that made her realise she never wished to live in a totalitarian country again:

(6) Well... I chose Canada because when we left for Cuba in 1968 – my parents and I – and we lived there for about three years, I didn't feel like coming back to Bulgaria, and when we had to leave Cuba – by the way, when we left Sofia I was 16, that was in the spring of 1968, and we passed through Prague, and that was when I realised what kind of country I'd been living in, and what socialism was really like... If I hadn't passed through Prague, I might not have decided that I want to emigrate, but the Prague experience very much changed me, so to say, as a person, and then in Cuba I met people who were anti-communists, and when I talked to them the issue of emigration and Canada came up, and... That was when I decided I was going to emigrate to Canada, and these family friends also wanted to do so, but it so happened that I travelled first and they – perhaps it was because of family problems, you know – they didn't manage to, so in the end they never did make it to Canada...((laughs)) (A.S.)

The same respondent went further and explained how she physically arrived in Canada and what she did at the airport – quite a feat, considering she was a teenager at the time and had decided to emigrate without the knowledge of her parents:

(7) ...my father's contract had come to an end and he wanted to go back to Bulgaria, and I said, no, I'm not going back there, so... It was all done very secretly,



because I didn't have a passport, just some sheet of paper from the embassy, and it was a secret, you know, even from my parents, so I took the plane to Gander and when I got off I requested *emigracion*, emigration, and... That's how it happened (A.S.)

Those who left Bulgaria after 1989, who are now in their early forties and younger, made it clear that they had chosen to emigrate chiefly for economic reasons:

(8) People were all very optimistic in 1990 but it was clear that if you wanted to make something of yourself, you couldn't do that in Bulgaria, the political changes were all very well but if the economy was in ruins there was no way you could succeed... (R.M., Hospitality Industry Manager, male, 50)

The reasons for choosing Canada are much more diverse and difficult to summarize. Answers vary from 'I liked the name' (example 9) to 'because it was closer than Australia' (example 10).

(9) Why did I choose Canada? Because I liked Canada – the name Canada, that's what I liked, and that's why I chose Canada, what else can I say? (J.V.)

(10) I felt we needed to be somewhere completely different, far from Europe, if you know what I mean, and the only foreign language I could speak was English, but Australia was too far away and too expensive to travel to, and I thought the US would prove to be just too difficult, so we decided on Canada. (S.T., anthropology research analyst, female, 44)

One respondent who settled in Montreal, Québec, cited language as one of the reasons when asked „Why did you choose Canada?”:

(11) Well...the long answer is very long, the short answer is because here they speak, especially in the province of Québec, they speak French, and I knew French beforehand – and that's the reason (A.A., car mechanic, former medical doctor in Bulgaria, male, 56).

Only six people stated explicitly that they opted for Canada because they knew it to be an immigrant, multi-ethnic country (examples 12 and 13). To one of these six, an extra advantage was that he already knew French; knowledge of the language was also cited by another interviewee who had already tried to start a new life in France but found the bureaucracy there, especially in regard to the status of potential immigrants, impossible to deal with (example 12). In fact, out of the eight interviewees who had lived abroad long-term before heading for Canada, six stated an express wish to live far from Europe – one for the reason already mentioned above, two because they found Europeans ‘conservative’, ‘racist’ and ‘intolerant’ (example 12), and one because Europe ‘seemed too small’ to him.

(12) To tell you the truth, in France I felt very much at home [but] the problem was, I was a student there for so many years and I still couldn't get a normal status, while here... First of all, this is a multi-ethnic society here, and second, if you are educated and you know the languages, and are of some interest to the state, they will do what they can to keep you. The important thing here is to want to succeed, then you've got the chance to do what you want, to be a person. (K.T., works for Intercontinental Hotels Group, 40, male)



(13) Well, I chose Canada first of all because I preferred to move to North America, because for me Europe is quite racist, and I knew that... I had tried... I tried to study in France at one point, you know, but if you have an accent when you speak French, they make you feel second-rate, which I found quite irritating, while in North America you find this freedom... freedom from tradition. I prefer Canada to the US for the same reason, as in the US there is much more racism... I am not the kind of person who is crazy about countries with a strong social policy, but still I definitely believe that people should receive proper treatment by the state and in Canada you have this, while in the States you don't. But I had a much more practical reason for coming here, because I came to be a student, and in the States it was much more expensive, but still this was not the primary reason. The primary reason was that in Canada, as a young country of immigrants, I believed I had better opportunities for development. (I.R.)

Other reasons for deciding on Canada included the climate and the economy, the desire to live in North America but not in the USA (because of friends who had already moved there and experienced great disappointment) (example 14), and lack of choice (for C.B., computer business manager, male, 27, the young man whose parents emigrated when he was thirteen).

(14) Friends of mine had already gone over to the US, and they were rather in a state of shock that it was not at all the land of opportunities they'd expected it to be, and they couldn't find a decent job, or any job at all, and some of them were actually considering coming back to Bulgaria... So we decided to go to Canada as the country where people of different nationalities live, speaking different languages, and Canada seemed like a country

that had a culture of accepting others. (M.E., chemist, female, 55)

Thus, no predominant single reason emerges for choosing to immigrate particularly to Canada; one quote-worthy reply is 'because I didn't know then that it was such a socialist country.' (P.J.)

Initial Hardships and Culture Shock. This section explores interviewees' replies to question 5 of the questionnaire: 'What were the difficulties adjusting to the new country?' It also incorporates information from answers to question 10, 'Can you mention one particular event since coming to Canada that deeply affected your entire life, be it in a positive or negative way?' The initial difficulties the interviewees experienced seem to depend on other factors such as when and how they emigrated, their job qualifications, knowledge of English or French, etc. A.A., who emigrated in 1990, seeking refugee status said:

(15) At first, the difficulties were quite serious because we had to fight to remain here, to be given the so-called refugee status, and that takes between one and three years: the legal proceedings last forever, and then you've got the appeals, and you live in constant tension that you might not be accepted and asked to leave – it's a great stress. (A.A.)

Ten of the respondents cited the lack of job opportunities relevant to their qualifications as the main difficulty they had to surmount once in Canada (example 16). Since all had followed the respective immigration procedures and had been approved by the Canadian authorities, they naturally expected that they had been selected for their professional skills and were actually needed to work in Canada.



(16) We couldn't find a job. No one was actually interested in our qualifications. Everybody wanted us to have the so-called Canadian experience, work experience. And although I had five years of experience working for one of the largest consulting companies in Germany and had a recommendation written in English, no one was interested. (S.T.)

It was pointed out that it is impossible to get a job within your qualifications without Canadian experience (example 17), and ten complained of the vicious circle this situation posed, since they were denied the opportunity to gain Canadian experience precisely because they did not have any.

(17) I didn't have any major difficulties with the language because I knew French, and I still don't know English well... As to work – if you think you can practise the same profession as you used to, that's almost impossible without the so-called Canadian experience – you either have to study here or have a stroke of luck, have somebody hire you so that you gain Canadian experience and then place yourself on the Canadian market – without Canadian experience, the chances of getting a qualified job from the start are next to nil... So, if you are not work-shy, you start out by washing dishes, doing menial jobs. (A.A.)

Another disappointed respondent was an individual who before emigrating worked as a researcher at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and together with her husband they were admitted to Canada as landed immigrants. However, it was impossible for her to secure a job in her profession:

(18) I'm a chemist by training and I worked at the Institute of Solid State Physics at the Bulgarian Academy



of Sciences in the semiconductor group (...). There was no such market for me here and I gave up doing scientific work. Anyway, I started from scratch, in a completely different field, doing completely different things, having done all sorts of things until I found anything, including everything: I've washed dishes, I've made sandwiches, I've cleaned houses, and I've been unemployed, and I've gotten the occasional job in the food industry as a quality control and started in an industry I knew nothing about and taught myself. (M.E.)

Thus, for the above subjects the greatest shock was in establishing that the theoretical premise of Canada's migration laws welcoming highly-skilled workers runs contrary to actual practice. In fact, most started out by doing less qualified jobs – and A.A., who is a physician by trade, had to work as a car mechanic in Canada until retirement age. Four of the interviewees pointed out as a life-changing event the moment they were finally appreciated for their skills. One of them attributed the occurrence of this event to pure luck, in that he was eventually hired by an employer of Eastern European extraction (example 19).

(19) ... finding a job is not a problem, as long as you don't expect to work in your chosen profession. In my case, I was really fortunate, because I met a Czech guy who was employed by the Ministry of Forests. He decided to give me a break and took me up one summer and I stayed on for more than twenty years. (P.J., forester, male, 65)

Our findings are in keeping with other researchers, for instance Banting, Kymlicka (2010: 53), who, citing the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants, state that only 40% of skilled immigrants who arrived in Canada in 2000-1 found work



in the profession they were trained, while many with university degrees were employed in jobs that require high school diplomas or less.

Of the ten interviewees who did not explicitly mention job opportunities as a major difficulty, four started by doing more menial work, and J.V., who arrived in Canada in 1954, added that finding work was not hard at the time (it is worth noting, however, that he arrived at a young age with little education, and for years his jobs in Canada were ‘all spade and hoe’). The only people who did not complain of finding work according to professional qualifications were C.B., who set up his own software development company immediately after graduating from a Canadian high school, and D.K. (artist, male, 68), whose talents had already been acknowledged on previous visits to Canada.

An interesting take on initial impressions of life in the host country and a discrepancy between expectations and reality was given by one of the interviewees in the following way:

(20) It was 1970, 1971, when I came here, at the time of *Mouvement de Libération des Femmes* and I became part of this wave, so to say, fighting for *avortement* and so on...And it seemed to me this country was not at all as advanced as I'd thought, and that women were not really, you know, *egales* to men... and I thought, I really must become part of this, for how could it be that there are no kindergartens, and women can't work and have to stay home with the children, that was how this *Mouvement de Libération* started in those years. (A.S.)

She also mentioned the confidence she had, as a typical quality that young people possess but also the naïve perception of the world at that age as well. This example also touches upon the discrepancy between expectations and reality. Being

an immigrant country Canada surely makes all provisions for immigrants, thought this respondent:

(21) I had confidence, yes, and I also believed that this country accepts immigrants with... That all doors were open to immigrants and everything would be fine, but that was, you know, a somewhat naive idea ((laughs))... The first thing I had to do was learn French, for I had chosen to remain here, in *Province de Québec*, so I started learning the language... French is a difficult language, both to speak and to write in – well, speaking is a bit easier, but writing in French is really difficult. So that was the first...What was the question, actually? Difficulties...? (A.S.)

Other initial difficulties included the language (ten respondents) – either because they had to learn it on the spot from scratch or because the way it was spoken in Canada differed from what they had studied. Five cited lack of social contacts (example 22), four the great distances (example 23), and four others – cultural clashes in general (example 24 and 25).

(22) The greatest difficulty for me was to find friends. Not so difficult was the language, which I learned quickly, because I had a private teacher in Bulgaria and I knew how to write and read, but I couldn't speak, which I learned to in a few months. The greatest difficulty was to find friends, they didn't approve of me, I was different, I dressed differently, I looked differently and coming from Bulgaria, where all my classmates were my friends, and whom I saw every day, and that at an age when this is extremely important, it was very hard on me here. I had only one buddy the first year here and this was my first difficulty. (C.B., computer business manager, male, 27)



(23) In the very beginning what really freaked me out were the great distances, the thought that it may take a whole day to reach from point A to point B, especially if you don't have a car, and that was a staggering thought, but it is actually a natural thing, easy to get used to. The greatest difficulties which I had to go through, in my opinion, were the so-called cultural differences, especially the shock of knowing that I came here as someone who knew the language and had taught it in my home country, and it turned out that in reality I couldn't ... meaning you can understand what people are telling you, but do not react in the right way. And this in effect made me feel absolutely cheated by the system of education that I had participated in as a student and as a teacher, because that system in no way prepared you to live in another place. (I.R.)

(24) Everyone acts very polite, but you can't actually get near them, if you know what I mean, and if you try, or maybe that's because you're quite desperate in the beginning, they look at you as if you've stepped out of line. (A.A.)

(25) On weekdays, you're expected to go to work in the morning and come back home straight afterwards, and any social life you get must be at weekends or holidays, and if you suggest a party on Wednesday evening people are shocked. (M.E)

A respondent who touched upon several of these hardships in her reply summed it up in the following way:

(26) Another difficult thing is you have no friends, you have no acquaintances, everything is different. To go



from here to there is 30 km... You walk down the street there are no people, only cars. You don't have the small community, this cosines, this compactness found in European small countries, you don't have money... you don't have... you don't have anything. I mean you come here and you have nothing. (M.E.)

One particularly dramatic example of a culture clash was provided by a respondent who was suspected of trying to sexually harass a female colleague after offering to help her move some furniture around the office; although no lawsuit was brought against him, his contract was not renewed, and he never managed to obtain a job in his profession again. Five subjects admitted to experiencing long-term stress or depression from the new cultural environment in which they had found themselves, and one said it took about two years to overcome her depression (example 27).

(27) And then one morning, I went out to work as usual, and I noticed that although it was very cold, the sky was a very beautiful blue, and I thought, my God, is the sky always so blue and clear here, and then I realised that for all that time I hadn't even noticed the sky, or the trees, or anything where I lived, because I'd been feeling so down... (M.E.)

Another culture shock that was experienced by a respondent who had settled in Montreal was the role the Catholic religion played and its importance in everyday life:

(28) The other thing that also greatly surprised me was the religion, you know, the part religion played in people's lives... I had friends who were my age, and they were very religious and that really surprised me, because



I personally am not at all, you know... Even nowadays, people say, they claim they're not religious and don't go to church, but they still call themselves Catholic and the mentality, it remains the same, it cannot change and... That's how it is. (J.S., shop owner, female, 67)

Not all acculturation difficulties referred to negative experiences. Four interviewees said they found it hard to adjust to all the good things about their new environment that were missing in Bulgaria: the sense of freedom; the way people looked you in the eyes when speaking to you; the polite smiles in customer services; the efficient organisation of social services; the lack of corruption; the responsibility and the power of the media. In fact, these were mentioned by nearly all immigrants, as the following two examples demonstrate.

(29) It takes a while to adjust to people saying good morning and asking how is your day in shops, and perhaps really meaning it, and even if they don't really mean it, it should set the tone, and if you're not used to that and you don't react, then they don't know what to make of you, so that was really a shock in the beginning. (R.M)

(30) I remember when there was a blizzard, and the snow fell really heavily all night, and we were like snowbound and worrying about power cut-offs and things like that, and then when I woke up in the morning I couldn't believe my eyes, it was still snowing but the road had been all cleared and there were all those machines raking up the snow, and this had happened in a matter of hours, and I thought, this could never happen back in Bulgaria. (D.K., artist, 68, male)

As K.T. put it, 'In Canada, if you abide by the laws, the state takes care of you.' This security that living in Canada provides was referred to, in one way or another, by all the subjects of the research, most of them contrasting it to their memories of life in Bulgaria. This must be one of the reasons why, despite admitting to varying degrees of acculturation and sense of acceptance – as will be seen further on – none of them expressed any intention of going back to Bulgaria for good, thus contradicting the idea that 'a yearning to return to the homeland' is one characteristic of diasporic communities (Safran 1991).

Another positive experience, or positive attitude towards integrating into the life in the new country is provided by the following reply. When asked about negative or positive events that marked the initial period of immigration to Canada, the respondent had this to say:

(31) Maybe I tried to be positive and that was the goal in my life, because the negative things were always small things and I took them as normal things in life but the goal was for me and my family and my children to succeed in this country. That's the reason why we chose this difficult path of emigration... because we can't say that the path of emigration is easy you go through obstacles, you go through problems that you have to solve, and quite often you don't have help from anybody and you don't create the problems yourself but you have to solve them yourself, on your own and we were able to overcome that because I was very positive about making my life here and I came with the firm decision to build my family's life here and I think I have done quite well within my capabilities. (L.D.)

It should also be noted that age and previous immigrant experience seem to play an important part in adjustment to new



circumstances and dealing with nostalgia for old ones. The most recent immigrant of the case study left Bulgaria in 1998, spent seven years initially as a student in France, and despite moving to Canada because of problems with French bureaucracy and embracing the freedoms of Canadian life, had this to say:

(32) In France I felt very much at home, because that age, between 18 and 25, is very important for anyone. [In Canada] at the end of the first year I started feeling I had adjusted. It took me much longer to adjust, and feel well, in France... Perhaps it's because I had already lost my roots, not my roots but my ties, to Bulgaria... To be honest, there are a lot of things I miss from France... If we're speaking of things I miss, of some sort of homesickness, I must say I feel more homesick for France than for Bulgaria, because this is my second emigration now, my third country. (K.T.)

As can be seen from the above example, and from (33) and (34) below, the main difficulties in the process of acculturation lie not so much in adjustment to the new realities as in severing the bond with the homeland. It is worth remembering that, with one exception, all subjects of the present study left Bulgaria of their own free will in search of a better life and, respectively, a better cultural environment; yet, simply becoming acclimatised to the difference between the new culture and the one deliberately left behind proved unexpectedly daunting:

(33) Getting used to living here. Adapting... cultural differences which took time for me to assimilate. When you emigrate you get out of your environment, leave behind your roots and enter a totally new world which has cultural values different from your own. I would divide difficulties in immigration into three stages:



difficulties in the first two-three years, difficulties in the next three-five years and difficulties in the next period of 10-12 years. The first period is for you to realize where you are, the second is to try and establish yourself and the third is to become naturalised. (R.M.)

(34) It is like jumping out of an airplane in the middle of the night without a parachute. You don't know where you're going. [...] It wasn't the unknown, I was prepared. I immigrated in 1978 but I was here in '75 and '76 for three months each time. I knew the city, I knew where streets were, where certain cafes were, where the best beer was... only these are touristic impressions. When I really arrived in 1978 I felt as if I was in a dark room. I didn't know what was going to happen to me and how I would go on. (D.K.)

The following response provides a good exemplification of what many immigrants encounter when they move to a new place:

(35) When I found myself in this place, I had problems communicating with the staff, with the people who I was working with but more in connection with the cultural differences rather than experiencing language or any other problems. (R.M.)

Many of the respondents in the present study implied that they had this feeling and experience, some without wording it explicitly.

The next response can be used as a summation of the experience of most Bulgarian-Canadians (and not only) with the feeling of neither here, nor there and the realization that they are neither truly Canadian nor Bulgarian. And that generally people have an acute need to communicate with others with whom they have a shared experience to a certain extend at least:



(36) Well, you have to know that right from the start, from the moment you arrive in Canada, your life changes completely... One has to adjust, you see, to the new life, the people, the nature, and this adjustment never ends, it goes on, I'm still adjusting, you know, for when you're twenty it's one kind of adjustment, and now that I'm fifty, I get to think, where will I grow old and who with, and one thing I know for sure is that I couldn't possibly live any longer in an environment where there are only *Québécois* – that at least is certain – so where do I go on from here? I can't return to Bulgaria because I've changed, and everything there has also changed, I wouldn't feel good, so obviously I need another immigrant environment, people who've lived a life like mine, so that we could... You know, at 60, or 70, or 80, you are somewhat more sensitive to the people you are with, so to me that's really a major question, where will I be, what will I do... (J.S.)

And another important point made in the above example is that although adjusting to a new society, to a new way of life, to a new environment has a start date, it does not have an end date but can be viewed as an ongoing, life-long process.

Traditions. Twenty-five interviewees said they celebrate holidays such as Easter and Christmas the Bulgarian way, including preparing traditional dishes and dying eggs; one admitted doing it until her children grew up and left home. Some also mentioned celebrating typical Bulgarian holidays such as name days, 1 March, when home-made martenitsi are given out to friends and relatives, and gathering with family and friends for 24 May, the date commemorating the Slavonic alphabet. Bulgarian cuisine was important to nineteen interviewees, and one admitted to still making his own pickled

cabbage every winter; five said they used to make their own home pickles (a typical pastime in Bulgaria, especially for older people) in the first years after arriving in Canada, but have since stopped. One said Canadian food was one of the first culture shocks, as she put on ten kilos in the first couple of months of living in Canada.

One of the respondents mentioned the observance of certain especially religious festivities that were originally celebrated in Bulgaria but were not encouraged, to say the least, during totalitarian times. Once on new soil, this respondent and his family renewed the tradition:

(37) I think that almost all the traditions, Bulgarian traditions, that we had, we have kept them – all the holidays we celebrate them, even some, yes... since in Bulgaria they were banned, which we are talking about now, right, I think, we are not talking about May 1 or November 7, we are talking about All Souls' Day, Trifon Zarezan, here they are celebrated usually, in several ways, and usually people go and visit each other, have fun... Most of the time in the church they observe these celebrations, which are the religious ones, and the others are celebrated among friends, you know, they get together, in the park they get together, it's announced by email, by word of mouth, and they do get-togethers in a park, because at one person's place to get together, it's very difficult and the one who has his house, he has to work, take care of everything, etc., so it is better to gather in public places. (A.A.)

One interviewee had never celebrated holidays Bulgarian-style in Canada; tellingly, this was J.V., who left Bulgaria at sixteen and who, out of three marriages, was married only once to a Bulgarian, for under a year. He also admitted, however, to having



retained his love of Bulgarian folk music and still listening to it. Another interviewee explained he had never been interested in customs and traditions; yet he is married to one of the other subjects who said she maintains traditions at home – and her husband did admit to making his own variety of Bulgarian ‘banitsa’ (a type of cheese-filled pastry).

Therefore, most subjects have kept certain Bulgarian traditions, and home cooking and celebrating certain holidays emerge as the second strongest bond to the country of origin after language. As to adopting new, Canadian customs, only five said that they had started celebrating certain local holidays such as Halloween, Thanksgiving, Memorial Day, Labour Day, Canada Day and Québec Day. However, almost all said they had adopted certain aspects of Canadian culture and way of thinking, in that they learnt to think and act more independently, and endeavoured to pursue their goals and stand up for their rights (examples 38 and 39).

(38) You really learn to feel free over here, and to know that you can say whatever you think is right, and that if perhaps other people do not think you’re right, they won’t laugh at you behind your back but will tell you so to your face, and maybe sometimes you will see things from another perspective and then you can decide what’s right and what isn’t. (P.B., car salesman, male, 45)

(39) My way of thinking today is much more cosmopolitan, because I live in Canada and I’ve mixed with people from different nationalities, and you can see for yourself how interesting it is, how it enriches you... right? You see how different things are, how diverse and varied this world is and what a good thing this is. [This is] definitely a consequence of living in Canada. Actually,

I have never been a pessimist, but the attitude that you should always first see the problems has always been part of me, because that is how people think in Bulgaria, while now I tell myself, wait a minute, let's see what's good about this situation and what can be done. (I.R.)

As a reflection on the question of what traditions they have kept and what new aspects of the way of life immigrants have adopted from the host country one of the respondents' reply can be adduced as a felicitous example of an attempt at integrating and combining the different cultures and traditions:

(40) We kept our names, we kept the language in the family. My children both speak Bulgarian despite being subjected to very strong assimilation by the school system and their connections and contacts with other children. What I took from these people... I tried to embrace their culture, to understand and to take into consideration that even if in some ways it was radically different from our understanding of culture we gave it respect: their culture is something that they created and we have to respect it and in order to live here we have to respect that culture in one way or another. (L.D.)

Social Contacts. It follows logically that if all the interviewees have more or less retained some Bulgarian traditions, their personal contacts out of the workplace should include compatriots. Indeed, all of them maintain contacts with Bulgarians, and twenty-six specified that their closest contacts are with Bulgarians (nine, all married to compatriots, even stated that their close contacts are solely with Bulgarians).

(41) My closest friends are Bulgarians; I am also in contact with some locals, but... if you want to have a really full



relationship with a local person, you have either to have been born here or to have studied here, for those are the years when people make close contacts and... yes, I do maintain contact with some work colleagues, but they can't compare to the friendships you've made by the time you're twenty, that's why most of my friends here are Bulgarian. (A.A.)

A.S. said her close friends are people of various nationalities and since she is not in favour of social organisations and events, she does exhibit interest in the Bulgarian community; still, she reads Bulgarian newspapers and goes to concerts of touring Bulgarian musicians.

(42) I think one thing I've retained from Bulgaria is that I don't like communities or groups very much, nor manifestations or societies or thing like that, I'm a bit... Perhaps I was an individualist even then, in Bulgaria... But I was young, sixteen, at that time, so I don't know... In general, I'm somewhat skeptical of associations and such, though I do keep track of what they're doing, I read the Bulgarian newspapers and like to be informed, to know what's happening, but I keep my distance... I know there is a Bulgarian Society here, and a Bulgarian church, but I prefer... Yes, I have friends I meet with and we talk in Bulgarian... (A.S.)

Having grown up in a totalitarian country, A.S. is wary of all forms of organized public life, carrying this feeling over to the host country. Another interviewee formulated their social contacts thus:

(43) I definitely keep in touch with Bulgarians, and this is not related to work, because with the people I have



met here after immigrating, with these people I have formed friendships and for me they are quite fulfilling... actually it is they that still make me feel a Bulgarian... Actually, if you're asking who my friends are, then these are definitely the Bulgarian Canadians. I do maintain contacts with some locals, but [these contacts] are not deep, not gratifying in terms of human relationships. (I.R.)

An interesting point was made by one of the respondents concerning social contacts and friendships made after emigrating; it seems to be hard to make new friends when you're an immigrant; such people tend to socialize more with other immigrants albeit from other ethnic and cultural communities:

(44) Well, when I was in *Gaspésie*, I had a friend there, a *Québécois*, but she died, unfortunately, for she was quite older than me, and since then... I think friendships here are not – they're quite different... We're immigrants and we can't have any real friends who are not immigrants too... I have a colleague who is also a friend, she is Bulgarian, my other friend is Cuban, and looking back, my friends were all of other nationalities... Somehow, you can't establish true friendship with the locals... yes, my friends are all immigrants from different countries, perhaps because we get on more easily and... you know ((laughs))... (K.G., shop assistant, female, 58)

It is worth noting that only eight subjects said they establish new contacts with Bulgarians through the Bulgarian church or school (one of them – R.M., had helped set up the school). The rest meet new Bulgarians through friends or family, mostly at parties, and they maintain contacts only with certain compatriots. Seven subjects emphasized that their contacts



are with some Bulgarians only; all three belong to the older generation of immigrants and, in their collective view, the more recent immigrants (since the 1990s) 'are too commercial', 'immediately started splitting into groups' and many 'have shamed the nation.' By far, Bulgarian-Canadians establish new contacts with other Bulgarian-Canadians, especially recent immigrants through friends:

(45) Well... I usually meet them through friends – you know, someone's just arrived and they are a friend of someone else, and we try to help them in the beginning, give them some guidance, help them get orientated so they don't spend months getting to know the bare essentials... That's how it usually happens, someone brings these new people over... All the people I've met I've met through someone else, I don't remember just meeting someone in the street and saying, Hi, I'm Bulgarian, I personally have never done that, I don't about other people... (J.S.)

One respondent pointed out that intermarriage within another ethnic group may lead to being accepted more easily into that other group and thus widen the circle of social contacts:

(46) And when you're married to someone of the same nationality as you, then the circle becomes even closer, because you are closing yourself up within the community – if you have a mixed marriage, then you enter another community, they accept you into it and you introduce them to yours, and that's when cultural exchange takes place...But when a marriage is within one nationality only, then the circle is very restricted and does not extend beyond that nationality... (J.M., car dealer, male, 44)

The interviewees with close contacts outside the Bulgarians community mentioned predominantly other Eastern Europeans (example 47) and Hispanics. Ten stated they are close in some way with Canadians – and these did not include A.S. from Montreal, who was married to a Canadian, and whose exact words were ‘I have friends from different countries but none from among the locals.’

(47) One of the guys I worked with for years is a Serb, he respects me a lot, I used to be his boss, when we talk, we see how close we are compared to the others who are Canadians. But come to think of it, if you are talking to a Serb in Bulgaria, you’ll see how different you are. So, closeness is a matter of perspective, it depends on where you stand. (M.E.)

In the above example, M.E. made an interesting observation: she felt close to a Serb in Canada but wouldn’t feel that close if the encounter happened in her native Bulgaria. This feeling obviously highlights the fact that closeness and otherness are relative concepts and that in the former case the respondent is searching for points of similarities, while in the latter similarities are taken for granted and the focus is on differences.

Of the ten people who did state close contacts with Canadians, three were referring to relatives, while the other seven (three live in Montreal, and the others moved from Montreal to Vancouver) were quick to accentuate they had Anglo-Canadian friends. Reasons given by the remaining subjects for not having close contacts with Canadians include: ‘immigrants can socialise easily only with other immigrants’; ‘Canadians are reserved and mean’; ‘they do not really let you get close to them’; ‘there is no common ground between us’; ‘I wouldn’t have anything to talk about with them’; ‘there can’t be anything in common if you didn’t grow up and go to school here’. In the words of



one interviewee, talking of Quebecers: ‘they don’t mix with the immigrants’:

(48) I hope the people from the Province don’t hear this, but with English-speaking Canadians here, though I consider myself a Francophone, yes, I do have close friends from the English-speaking Canadians, even if their mentality is quite different from ours. Whereas the locals, at the workplace, say, they themselves don’t mix much with the immigrants, which is very strange, because there’s no problem being an immigrant here, no one tries to stop you, so at the workplace there’s complete respect and everything, and you may even go out for a coffee together, but as to becoming true, close friends – I don’t see that happening, I haven’t seen or heard of such cases, perhaps they do exist, but they must be very few. (K.T.)

It thus emerges that Bulgarian immigrants in Canada maintain close contacts chiefly with other Bulgarians, although not necessarily through the official events organised by the Bulgarian community, or with other immigrants, and do not feel fully accepted on a personal level by the locals, especially in the French-speaking part of the country. Also, despite not being expressly asked about it, most pointed out that they maintain regular contacts with their families and close friends back in Bulgaria thanks to present-day facilitated travel and communication. If it is not a problem financially, relatives from Bulgaria visit; more often than not grandparents from Bulgaria cross the Atlantic to look after their grandchildren in Canada, while the parents work – a practice quite common in Bulgarian society, which has been transferred to the new country. Sometimes small children spend the summer holidays with their relatives in Bulgaria, especially those whose parents

insist on them preserving their heritage and keeping their use of the Bulgarian language alive.

Identity. Question 7, 'Would you call yourself Bulgarian, Canadian, Bulgarian Canadian or Canadian Bulgarian?' proved to be difficult to answer, with only ten people opting for one definite national identity over the other. Seven of them defined themselves as Bulgarian, or in their own words, 'always a Bulgarian', 'a 100% Bulgarian' (example 49), 'more a Bulgarian, though we're no good as a nation'.

(49) Well, in my view you define what you are first of all by the language you speak – the language you speak best is the one that defines your nationality... I speak my mother tongue, Bulgarian, best, so I define myself as Bulgarian through and through. Yes, it is true that changes take place, in one's mentality, attitudes, behaviour etc, but to my mind, I remain a 100% Bulgarian... If you take the children who were born here or the children who came here when very young, they don't speak Bulgarian well and they feel they are Canadians... They go to Bulgaria and feel like they are in a foreign country, they sense they are speaking broken Bulgarian... You know, they make mistakes we find amusing, with word order etc, and they feel Canadians... It's a question of origin, isn't it? Here, everyone is proud of their origin – the Poles are proud of their Polish origin, the Russians of their Russian origin, same with the Bulgarians, and the Greeks... Everyone sticks the flag of the country they come from on their car, even if they are third-generation... Nobody defines themselves as being purely Italian, say, because their grandmother was Italian – but they know they are of Italian origin and they are proud of it... So, I'm also proud that I'm



Bulgarian and try to make it known, when I can... That's about it. (A.A.)

A.A. went on to accentuate the vital part that one's age when arriving in the host country, along with the language one has grown up with, plays in forming one's sense of identity. As he pointed out, children who were either born in Canada or came to Canada very young do not speak Bulgarian very well despite their parents' efforts. When visiting Bulgaria they find themselves in a foreign country because of language difficulties, which makes them feel more Canadian than Bulgarian. In his opinion, all the ethnic minorities in Canada (Polish, Russian, Greek, etc.) are proud of their origin, even if they are third-generation immigrants, and he is no exception: he is proud to be Bulgarian and tries to make it known when possible. Only one of our interviewees, J.V., described himself as more Canadian than Bulgarian, the reason being 'because I grew up here.' Age and length of stay would to a great extent explain his answer: he was born in 1932, left Bulgaria in 1948, and has lived in Canada since 1954. While it can be seen from these dates that he did not grow up in Canada, he has spent over two thirds of his life in the country and naturally feels more affiliated to it. The fact, however, that only one interviewee felt more Canadian on account of time spent in Canada would indicate that length of stay does not seem to be a really major factor in immigrant acculturation, adjustment, and self-identification, which is in keeping with Banting's view that the integrative power of time has its limits. While Southern and Eastern Europeans 'come to feel they belong almost as much as those with ancestry in the United Kingdom and Northern Europe, racially distinctive minorities remain less confident they fully belong' (Banting 2010: 26). He goes on to underscore that the least integrated groups are two of the founding peoples of Canada who have been there the longest – Aboriginal Canadians and Québec Francophones.

The rest of the subjects of this research said they felt a mixture: seven replied with 'a Canadian of Bulgarian origin' (examples 50 and 52), citing their Canadian passports and paying Canadian taxes; two added, 'more a Canadian in my everyday life and more a Bulgarian in my deep roots'.

(50) Well, I would say that I am mostly a Canadian of Bulgarian origin and what makes me feel so – I would never say I am only Canadian – is the fact that when I go back to Bulgaria, I don't really feel at home anymore, and especially if I had to go back to work there, for me that would mean immigrating again. (I.R.)

One of the reasons she would not feel at home in Bulgaria, the subject further explained, were economic and cultural changes that she had noticed taking place on return visits to the homeland, some of which not only were not to her liking, but even angered her. Another reason, however, were changes that she realised had taken place in her own mentality: in her own words, in many ways she has come to think more like a Canadian, and people in Bulgaria notice these changes and react strangely. Even her own mother, she said, thinks she has become cold and aloof, although she would not agree:

(51) I don't think so, I am much more rational and have a much more positive attitude to things, meaning that when I am faced with a certain situation, I try to see what is good about it, while Bulgarians like to complain, to grumble all the time, and not to look for a reasonable solution. (S.T.)

Another respondent underlined his double identity thus:



(52) Personally, I was born a Bulgarian and I will remain a Bulgarian and I will die a Bulgarian. My children probably not. But if I have to identify myself in some way I would say that I am a Canadian of Bulgarian origin, a Canadian because I have a Canadian passport, I pay taxes in this country and I enjoy the benefits of this country and I cannot help but call myself a Canadian in that sense, but the Bulgarian remains in me and it will be with me as long as I live. (L.D.)

An almost identical answer was provided by another respondent when asked what she considers her identity to be:

(53) For me there is no single answer. I am Bulgarian, born and raised... I have never been ashamed or hidden this fact; on the contrary I have always been happy to know that I am Bulgarian and that is how I feel. But at the same time I've changed already in the sense that... you know, when you go to live in another place, another culture, you become... you start seeing things from another angle a little bit, another view of the world opens up to you, which has nothing to do with my nationality... what would I call myself... a tree without roots, I would call myself a Bulgarian tree without roots... (M.E.)

The role of age at the point of immigration and place where one's formative years have been spent come to the fore again in the reply of another interviewee:

(54) Well, the good thing about Canada is that everyone can be Canadian without losing their own identity, because Canada is a multi-ethnic society. Naturally, I'm Bulgarian first, because Bulgaria is where I grew up,



where I was born, so I couldn't say that I'm not Bulgarian. I spent nineteen years of my life there. It's hard to find the right words to answer this question, I live in Canada, I feel adjusted to this society, so I'm a Bulgarian living in Canada. (K.T.)

One statement expressing happiness with the fact of being a mixture of two national identities without being completely one or the other is the following:

(55) I wouldn't say I was a 100 percent Bulgarian or Canadian, I don't really know how to label myself, because I don't really think it matters how you label yourself, but I know that... the Canadian part of me, the part that I try to develop is the way of thinking, that there are many opportunities here, that everything is in my hands and that I have a strong motivation to succeed and to achieve what I want in life, that I believe in myself and this is the Canadian way of thinking in my opinion. The Bulgarian part of me is that I am warm-hearted, that I do come from a relatively different culture, that I am very close to my family, I care very much for my friends – all things that most Canadians don't feel, at least from my point of view. So I think that right now, after all this time, what you get is a very nice combination of the two. (C.B.)

Other answers along the lines of Dufoix's concept of hybridity (Dufoix 2008), although not necessarily containing delight at this state, were, 'a surrogate', 'neither one, nor the other', 'a Bulgarian living in Canada', 'a hybrid', 'a rootless tree.' A.S. said she would call herself 'a Montrealler' because that is where she lives – an example of 'reterritorializing identity at the level of the city' (Castles 2002). Her full reply once again



emphasized the importance of birthplace, age at the time of immigration, and length of stay in the host country:

(56) Well, I have a Bulgarian... a Canadian passport, and this is the country I live in, but whether I'm a Canadian – maybe in your eyes, because you look at me and think, she's been here for 37 years, so probably... Canadian, yes, more Canadian than Bulgarian, but it's not so easy to say, you know, to stick a label on someone and say, you're a Canadian of Bulgarian origin... But it's true that I live here and – actually, I would rather say I'm *Montreallaise*, because now I live in Montreal... As to whether I'm Bulgarian... Well, I was born in Bulgaria and lived there until the age of 16, and spoke Bulgarian and read in Bulgarian, and studied there... The first years are most important in one's life... But on the other hand, I came here quite young, it's not like arriving at 30 or 40, I don't think you can change at that age, then you remain Bulgarian... When I meet Bulgarians who have been here for only five or six years, I somehow feel they're more Bulgarian than me... But I can't really – you know, what I don't like here in *Québec* is when they say, *Vous êtes tous Québécois*, I don't like that at all, being told I'm *Québécois*... It's not a hundred percent true, maybe fifty or so... And I also look at the other side of the issue, if, let's say, a woman born here goes to Bulgaria and lives there for 37 years, and marries a Bulgarian man and has children – well, if I happened to meet that woman, would I tell her she's Bulgarian? If I were in Bulgaria, I would say she is a Canadian living there... To me she would still be a *Québécois*, though living in Bulgaria and speaking the language... I think one remains as one was born... (A.S.).

In conclusion, she said she preferred to think of herself above all as a free spirit rather than as the representative of a particular nationality, and that when she retired, she intended to live neither in Canada, nor in Bulgaria, but in some other country which she had not yet explored. As an answer to the question whether she had adopted any local Canadian traditions, or traditions typical for the province of Quebec, she said something that falls more into this category of identity, rather than traditions:

(57) No, I don't follow those either... I belong neither here nor there now... I tell myself, I've given the children what I could in that respect, though whether they wanted it or not I don't know ((laughs))... (A.S.)

A similar example of a sense of supranational identity, or the importance of self-identity and personal freedom over any feeling of national belonging, was given by K.T., the young man who had already spent seven years of his life as an immigrant in France before moving to Canada. In his view, Canada is a country which gives people excellent opportunity to attain that sense of freedom:

(58) This is an incredible society and the more I get acquainted with it, the happier I am that I'm here, because despite some things which are not going well and which people complain about, this society has been built in an incredible manner. North America for a lot of people means America, the USA, but the USA has nothing to do with Canada, because in Canada if you respect the law, and if you respect other people and don't interfere with them, then you can be an absolutely free person, free in all senses of the word. Over here, you can understand what freedom means. And nobody's



going to bother you because you're an immigrant or whatever, you can be yourself. (K.T.)

The above example, however, can be said to be more the exception rather than the rule. While most of the interviewees emphasized that Canada has changed their way of thinking, in a more positive, rational and optimistic way, in their opinion this change has not resulted in any specific sense of belonging:

(59) When I'm in Canada I don't feel that I belong because I'm treated as a Bulgarian immigrant, and when I'm in Bulgaria I feel an outsider because people think I've changed too much... I am a Canadian of Bulgarian descent. And I will remain such a surrogate all my life. I can't say that I'm more a Canadian or more a Bulgarian. On the other hand, I wouldn't be able to survive in Bulgaria as a Bulgarian – it would amount to second immigration, it would take time and effort to go back. (R.M.)

An interesting take on identity was provided by one of the respondents (see example 60 below), who underscored the fact that for her, identity was not just the way she felt, but also how she was perceived by both Canadians and Bulgarians. This underscores the fact that identity should not only be considered how the individuals feel but also how they are viewed from the outside, by the dominant cultural group that 'set' the tone and the rules.

(60) It's not just your personal mindset towards you and about yourself that makes you self-defining, it's also how people perceive you that puts you somewhere or doesn't put you somewhere and moves you from somewhere to somewhere. That is, who I am doesn't just depend

on me alone, it depends on who I am to others too. So for people here, I am a Bulgarian who emigrated to Canada. For my Bulgarian people I am a Bulgarian who emigrated to Canada too. That is, I am neither Bulgarian in their mind nor Canadian in the mind of the locals. I am a Canadian, at least on paper: I live in this country, I work here, I pay my taxes, I obey the laws, but at the same time I am nothing else, nothing more and nothing less than a Bulgarian. It is something that is given to you, it is not something you can change. (M.E.)

The same respondent made another noteworthy observation in regard to her identity, connected with the discrepancy of how she perceives herself and how she is looked upon by friends and institutions in Bulgaria:

(61) I thought that it was not me who was separating myself from Bulgaria, but as if Bulgaria was separating me from myself, that's the feeling I have. Bulgaria, in the face of my relatives, my friends, my colleagues, the state as an institution, it creates such a state where people look at you and they don't see you as the same person anymore. I am the same, I am me... Why do they see me differently? It's not because I am different, but because they think differently about me, I don't have a different mindset about them or about me or about my belonging. (M.E.)

Some of these responses resonate with Dayal's (1996) concept of doubleness as 'less a both/and more a neither just this/not just that' feeling of identity.

Childhood seems to play a vital role in forming a sense of identity, as all subjects with children pointed out that their sons or daughters would not have problems identifying themselves as Canadian. This is confirmed by the reply of



C.B., who arrived in Canada at thirteen; though also feeling a mixture of Canadian and Bulgarian, unlike most of the other interviewees, he did not appear unhappy about this, but rather content to have both ‘the optimistic, self-confident way of thinking of Canadians’ and ‘the hot blood of Bulgarians’. For those who emigrated at a more mature age, the predominant feeling seems to be that you feel a Bulgarian only when you leave your home country. I.R. realised this when, never having had the slightest interest in football, she went berserk when the Bulgarian national team came fourth at the 1994 World Soccer Cup – she painted the Bulgarian national flag on a couple of T-shirts and together with her husband went cheering in the streets of the Vancouver. Their actions drew the attention of the Canadian media and soon TV journalists were appealing to Bulgarians in the city to come forth and celebrate together – as a result of which an unplanned gathering of the Bulgarian community took place in a local restaurant. As she herself succinctly put it:

(62) You get a sense of ethnic belonging after you find yourself living outside your home country. (I.R.)

Generally, in intercultural relations several psychological processes are at play which have an important role. One is *stereotyping*: making generalizations about a group of people based on limited information or experience. Stereotyping can lead to biases and prejudices and can negatively impact intercultural interactions. *Prejudice* is a negative attitude or belief about a group of people, can lead to discrimination and can negatively impact intercultural interactions. Another one is *ethnocentrism*, or the belief that one’s own culture is superior to others. Ethnocentrism can lead to a lack of understanding and appreciation for other cultures and can negatively impact intercultural interactions. With *acculturation* it is a process of

adapting to a new culture. Acculturation can be challenging, and may involve changes in language, customs, and values. *Intercultural communication* is the process of communicating with people from different cultures. Effective intercultural communication requires understanding and respecting cultural differences and being aware of potential communication barriers. Another process is *cultural intelligence* which can be defined as the ability to understand and navigate cultural differences. High cultural intelligence can lead to more successful intercultural interactions. *Intergroup contact* means interacting with people from different cultural groups. Research has shown that positive intergroup contact can lead to reduced prejudice and increased understanding of other cultures. *Empathy* as the ability to understand and share the feelings of others is extremely important in intercultural interactions, as it allows individuals to understand and relate to the perspectives and experiences of people from other cultures. These psychological processes play a crucial role in intercultural relations and can have a positive or negative impact on the interactions and relationships that arise from cultural diversity.

In the study there were no replies that suggested that Bulgarians felt they were stereotyped on ethnic grounds, nor that they were discriminated against because they were Bulgarian, or to use the broader term – Eastern European. As will be mentioned in the concluding section below, most felt adapted to the new culture, albeit partially.

I would like to conclude this part with a quote from one of the interviewees which considers that intercultural relations and the immigration experience are an extremely positive and enriching process, which make you more compassionate:

(63) ...to me emigration is a positive thing, you get not only to read about a new culture and learn a new



language, but to actually experience that culture, feel it deep down in your heart and I think that makes you more humane... (J. S.)

4.6. Concluding remarks

This case study has provided the possibility to draw some general conclusions concerning the issues under scrutiny in this part about the characteristic features of the Bulgarian community in Canada, based on observations and interviews with the individuals who took part in the questionnaires. The representatives of the Bulgarian diaspora in Canada that were the respondents in this study were mostly part of the third immigration wave delineated above that started after the change of the regime in 1989. They are mainly well-educated, professional people, who enjoyed good jobs and good professional standing in Bulgaria and their reason for emigrating was an aspiration for a better life and wellbeing for their families. They either had a good command of English or French or enrolled for a language course and soon had the necessary level of the respective language which would allow them to function in society. Twenty-one were francophones and 24 anglophones, twenty-five males and 20 females, 22 had a university degree.

The aim of the newspaper *Bulgarian Horizons* elicited in an interview with the editor-in-chief is the preservation of a sense of national belonging and identity which is also evident in the choice of subject matter covered in the paper and it is in fact a Bulgarian newspaper for Bulgarians who happen to live and work in Canada.

The conclusion can be drawn that the most widely circulated Canada-based newspaper in Bulgarian perceives Bulgarians as living in close communities, interested mainly in events happening within it or in Bulgaria. But, according to the findings of our previous research, Bulgarians in Canada do



not live in one close community. They seem to opt for various smaller groups formed of close friends and relatives – most of the interviewees admitted they do not take part or interest in community events and rarely attend the Bulgarian church or community celebrations of national holidays.

In the interviews, a strong provincial affiliation, typical even for native-born Canadians comes to the fore. Therefore, *Bulgarian Horizons* remains a newspaper that is read mostly in Toronto, as Bulgarians in Vancouver or Montreal state that they resort to other ways of getting information. Another finding of the survey is that the length of stay in the country is an important factor – with immigrants spending longer time feeling more home-sick, whereas relatively recent immigrants concentrate their efforts on the new environment they have to adapt to.

Social, cultural and linguistic integration refers to the process by which immigrants become integrated into the host society, both socially and linguistically. The concepts are closely related, as language is often seen as a key marker of cultural identity and a key aspect of social integration. Social integration refers to the process by which immigrants become part of the host society in terms of their participation in social institutions and activities. This can include things like finding employment, participating in community organizations, and building social networks.

To be sociolinguistically integrated immigrants must learn and use the language of the host society, and be able to communicate with native speakers. This can include language proficiency, accent, and knowledge of colloquial expressions. Both social, cultural and linguistic integration are important for immigrants as they can have a significant impact on their ability to participate fully in the host society.

Achieving integration is quite often challenging for immigrants. They may face barriers such as discrimination, lack of access to language classes, and lack of support from the host society. Furthermore, some may choose to maintain their

original language and culture, rather than fully integrate into the host society.

Research has shown that social and sociolinguistic integration can be positively influenced by factors such as access to language classes, support from the host society, and social networks with native speakers.

In relation to their socio-cultural practices, Bulgarian-Canadians are influenced by both Bulgarian and Canadian culture. Many Bulgarian-Canadians maintain strong connections to their heritage and culture of origin, while also participating in Canadian society.

One of the most important cultural practices among Bulgarian-Canadians is the celebration of Bulgarian national holidays and traditional festivals such as Baba Marta, and Easter. These celebrations often involve typical Bulgarian food, music, and dance, and are an important way for Bulgarian-Canadians to connect with their heritage and community.

Another important cultural practice among Bulgarian-Canadians is the maintenance of the Bulgarian language. Most of the Bulgarian-Canadians interviewed speak Bulgarian at home and maintain a strong connection to the language, which is considered an important aspect of Bulgarian identity. Some Bulgarian-Canadians also participate in language classes and cultural events that are held in Bulgarian. Bulgarian-Canadians are known for their strong commitment to preserving the culture and heritage of Bulgaria.

Additionally, Bulgarian-Canadians are involved in different religious practices, as Bulgaria is an Eastern Orthodox country, and the Orthodox Church is an important part of Bulgarian culture and heritage. Many attend Orthodox churches and participate in religious celebrations. Overall, they maintain a strong connection to their Bulgarian heritage while also participating in Canadian society. They are proud of their culture and heritage and take steps to preserve it.



Concerning their own perceptions of themselves, the members of the Bulgarian diasporic community interviewed do not conform to Safran's (1991) model of a strong belonging and yearning to go back to the country of origin, and many of them realise that if they did decide to go back, they would not be going back to the same country they left years before. Yet in this age of unprecedented rate of movement of people and information they maintain relations with relatives and close friends they left behind and keep abreast of events and developments in the homeland (when asked to name an event that had dramatically changed his life since arriving in Canada, one subject cited the fall of communism in Bulgaria, even though he had left the country fifteen years previously). This is turning or has turned them into transmigrants who have allegiance and keep bonds with both original and host country. Most of the interviewees decided to emigrate because of what they perceived as better economic opportunities and better quality of life. Having gone through the legal immigration process, they expected to find jobs that matched their intellectual skills and educational achievements only to find out that they did not have the required Canadian experience, and experienced disillusionment when faced with reality in contrast to theoretical premises – and promises.

Most of the respondents feel they have adjusted to their new environment to a great extent, although in their majority they do not feel fully accepted on the personal level by Canadians. The degree of adjustment and acculturation depends on a number of factors. The study demonstrates that age in itself does not seem to matter much; rather, it is the age at which they immigrated and where they spent their growing-up years that plays a vital role. Degree of education did not emerge as a factor in the study either, as all but two of the interviewees had higher education degrees; it is whether they were educated in the host country or outside that seems to decide how integrated they feel in Canadian society. Finally, professional realisation according

to qualifications, if/when eventually achieved, is crucial in determining the extent of adjustment and integration.

The belief that Europeans integrate more seamlessly than ‘visible minorities’ seems to be corroborated by this study. The Bulgarian-Canadian respondents for the most part confirmed this, at least partially. They did not feel discriminated against on the basis of ethnic belonging or origin.

However, some if not most professionals expressed regret at not having the opportunity to have the same career they had in Bulgaria, although they were admitted to Canada legally on the points-based system. Therefore, for them there was a great discrepancy between expectations and reality. This finding is in sharp contrast to the study by Jurkova (2014) in which she claims that the majority of the polled subjects, or 75% had a similar career in Canada to the one they had in Bulgaria.

With most of the subjects, close bonds with the homeland and a feeling of incomplete acceptance by native Canadians have resulted in a belated sense of ethnic belonging. This sense of belonging, however, has apparently not led to the building up of a large, interconnected Bulgarian community. As seen, few of the interviewed subjects said they participate or in fact show any interest in activities organised by the official institutions of the Bulgarian community in Canada unless they had some direct involvement in them. Rather, most establish contacts with other Bulgarians through personal connections and maintain those contacts within the confines of a narrow circle and not of some overall ethnic community. This would explain the feeling of hybrid, neither-this-nor-that identity stated by the majority of interviewees, which conforms to the concept of paradoxical identity postulated by oxymoronic definitions of diasporic communities. On the one hand, despite – or perhaps precisely because of – Canada’s promoting itself as a multicultural, multiethnic society, Bulgarians apparently do not form any sense of complete belonging to their new home country; on the



other, they seem to prefer to gather in and socialise with small groups of compatriots and do not perceive themselves as part of a large community bound by national origin.

The question immediately arises then, to what extent is this true of Bulgarians only or is it a feature of other ethnic communities in Canada, as well? This could well be the subject of further research, a good starting point for which would be comparing the oral histories of Bulgarians with those of immigrants to Canada from the other countries participating in the CEACS identity project.

In general it can be said that most first-generation Bulgarian-Canadians have integrated well into Canadian society. This may be explained by the fact that this third wave of Bulgarian immigrants to Canada consisted mostly of well-educated, well-qualified, determined to succeed professionals, who left their home country voluntarily in search of a better life for themselves and their families. They also brought with them the fighter spirit typical of the Bulgarian psyche. In van Tubergen's terms, there is a good combination of the destination effects and origin effects that have ensured the comparatively unproblematic integration of this wave of Bulgarian-Canadians.



5. THE LANGUAGE OF FIRST-GENERATION BULGARIAN IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA

5.1. Linguistic and sociolinguistic features

The aim of this part of the analysis is to report results from investigating language mixing in the oral interviews conducted in Bulgarian with the above respondents (first-generation Bulgarian immigrants to Canada). The study attempts to shed light on the structural and sociolinguistic factors of code-switching, the different linguistic levels code switching occurs on, the parts of speech that most easily lend themselves to switches, as well as on the morphophonemic and morphosyntactic means of integration of language items in the L₁ language.

Interdisciplinarity in sociolinguistic research entails the integration of various fields of study in the exploration of language, society, and culture. It involves the combination of multiple approaches, theories, and methodologies from different disciplines such as linguistics, anthropology, sociology, psychology, language policy, and others to analyze and understand the complex nature of language use in diverse social contexts.

The interdisciplinary nature of sociolinguistics is essential in addressing complex sociolinguistic phenomena such as language variation, language change, language policy, and language ideology. For example, understanding how language is used in different social contexts requires the integration of sociological and linguistic perspectives. Sociological theories and concepts such as social class, race, ethnicity, gender, and power



are critical in examining how language is used to maintain social hierarchies and social identities. Linguistic approaches such as discourse analysis, pragmatics, and sociolinguistic variation are essential in studying how language use varies across different social contexts and how it reflects social relations and power dynamics.

Interdisciplinary research in sociolinguistics has also contributed to the development of new subfields such as linguistic anthropology and critical discourse analysis. In linguistic anthropology the perspectives of anthropology and linguistics are combined to explore the role of language in shaping culture and society. Critical discourse analysis unites the perspectives of linguistics, sociology, and critical theory to examine how language is used to reinforce or challenge social inequalities and power relations.

Another benefit of interdisciplinary research in sociolinguistics is the ability to bridge the gap between academic research and real-world applications, leading to the development of more inclusive and equitable policies and practices. For example, the integration of sociolinguistics with education and language policy has led to the development of language education policies that reflect the linguistic diversity of society. The integration of sociolinguistics with healthcare has led to the development of healthcare policies that reflect the cultural and linguistic needs of diverse patients.

Despite the benefits of interdisciplinary research in sociolinguistics, it also faces challenges such as the difficulty of integrating different theoretical and methodological approaches and the risk of oversimplifying complex sociolinguistic phenomena. Therefore, interdisciplinary research in sociolinguistics requires careful consideration of the strengths and limitations of different disciplines and the development of effective collaboration and communication strategies among researchers from different fields.

Nevertheless, interdisciplinary research in sociolinguistics is essential in understanding the complex nature of language, society, and culture. It offers a unique opportunity to integrate diverse perspectives and methodologies from different disciplines to address complex sociolinguistic phenomena.

The language of first-generation immigrants is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that requires an interdisciplinary approach to study effectively. First-generation immigrants often encounter language barriers and must navigate a new linguistic landscape, which can have significant implications for their social and cultural integration into the host society.

In the study of the phenomenon of code-switching, an interdisciplinary approach involves the integration of multiple disciplines to explore different aspects of code-switching in immigrants. Linguistics provides a framework for analyzing the linguistic features of code-switching, while anthropology and sociology offer insights into the cultural and social context of code-switching. Psychology contributes to the understanding of the cognitive and psychological factors that influence code-switching, while education offers perspectives on language learning and language policy.

Linguistic analysis is essential in understanding code-switching patterns and identifying the linguistic features that differentiate code-switching from other language practices. For example, linguistic studies have identified different types of code-switching, such as tag-switching, inter-sentential switching, and intra-sentential switching, and have analyzed the factors that determine which types of switching are more common in specific contexts. Sociolinguistic variation is a key aspect of the language of first-generation immigrants which involves the study of the social and linguistic factors that influence the use of different linguistic forms and varieties. It can help researchers understand how first-generation immigrants adapt their language use to different social situations, such as in



their interactions with other immigrants, with members of the host society, or with members of their heritage community.

Linguistic analysis is a key tool in understanding code-switching, or the alternation between two or more languages or language varieties within a single conversation or discourse. It can help identify the patterns and functions of code-switching in discourse, and shed light on the linguistic and sociolinguistic factors that influence code-switching. There are a number of linguistic approaches that can be used to analyze code-switching which are discussed in the paragraph below.

One such approach is structural analysis, which focuses on the grammatical and phonological structures of the languages involved in code-switching. This approach can help identify the grammatical and phonological constraints on code-switching, as well as the patterns of code-switching within and across sentences. For example, researchers can analyze the frequency and distribution of code-switching at different points in the discourse to understand its role in the organization of the conversation. Such an analysis involves examining the phonetic, morphological, syntactic, and discourse-level features of code-switched utterances. The linguistic constraints that govern code-switching include grammatical, semantic, pragmatic, and social factors that influence the choice of language or language variety in a given context. Another approach to analyzing code-switching is to examine the functions that it serves in communication. Code-switching can serve a variety of functions, such as conveying identity, signaling solidarity or social distance, clarifying meaning, expressing emotions, and accommodating the communication needs of interlocutors. Each of these functions is associated with different linguistic patterns and structures of code-switching.

A sociolinguistic analysis focuses on the social and cultural factors that influence code-switching. This approach can help identify the social meanings and functions of code-switching

in different contexts, such as in multilingual communities or in bilingual education programs. Sociolinguistic analysis can also help identify the social and cultural factors that motivate code-switching, such as language attitudes, identity, and socialization. Discourse analysis focuses on the organization and structure of language use in larger units of communication, such as conversations.

Anthropological and sociological perspectives offer insights into the cultural and social factors that influence code-switching behavior. These perspectives consider factors such as the social status and power dynamics of the languages being used, the cultural norms and expectations of the immigrant community and the host society, and the role of code-switching in identity formation and maintenance. Anthropological linguistics is an interdisciplinary approach that combines linguistic and anthropological methods to study the relationship between language and culture. This approach can be used to examine the cultural dimensions of language use among first-generation immigrants, including how language use reflects and shapes their cultural identities, values, and beliefs.

The psychology of language is another interdisciplinary approach that can be used to study the language of first-generation immigrants. It involves the study of the cognitive and psychological processes that underlie language acquisition, use, and learning. Researchers can use this approach to examine the factors that affect the acquisition and use of second languages by first-generation immigrants and that influence code-switching, such as motivation, language aptitude, attitude towards the L1 and L2 language proficiency, language dominance. These factors can affect an individual's code-switching behavior, and understanding them is critical to developing effective language policies and language teaching strategies.

Language policy is another interdisciplinary approach that can be used to study the language of first-generation



immigrants. Language policies can affect the linguistic choices of immigrants, as well as their access to education, employment, and social services. An interdisciplinary approach to language policy can help researchers understand the sociopolitical context of language use among immigrants and the role of language policies in shaping their linguistic and cultural identities.

Education offers insights into the role of language policy and language teaching in promoting or inhibiting code-switching. Education research has highlighted the importance of acknowledging and valuing linguistic diversity in the classroom, providing language support for heritage language maintenance, and promoting bilingualism and biliteracy among immigrant students.

An interdisciplinary approach to studying code-switching in immigrants allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon and its underlying factors. By integrating multiple perspectives, researchers can identify the linguistic, social, cultural, and psychological factors that influence code-switching, develop effective language policies and teaching strategies, and promote linguistic and cultural diversity and inclusion.

Therefore, this study will adopt an interdisciplinary approach with the ultimate aim of arriving at valid conclusions of the multifaceted aspects of the language used by first-generation Bulgarian immigrants to Canada.

The language used by first-generation Bulgarian immigrants in Canada can vary depending on a number of factors, including the individual's level of fluency in Bulgarian, their language practices and experiences in their country of origin, and their experiences and exposure to other languages in their new country.

For many first-generation Bulgarian immigrants in Canada, Bulgarian is expected to be their first language and the language they feel most comfortable speaking. However,

they may also be fluent in other languages, depending on their educational and linguistic backgrounds. In Canada, they may come into contact with English, which is widely spoken in the country, or French, and may eventually learn one of the two as a second language.

The language practices and preferences of first-generation Bulgarian immigrants may also change over time, as they continue to live and interact with others in their new country. For example, some immigrants may shift towards using more English in their daily interactions, especially if they have children who attend school in English, or if they are employed in an English-speaking work environment.

Therefore, it is expected that the language used by first-generation Bulgarian immigrants in Canada is likely to be influenced by a variety of factors, including their linguistic background, their experiences and exposure to other languages in Canada, and their changing language practices and preferences over time.

With every immigration and immersion in a new language and culture, there is undoubtedly a need for linguistic accommodation, which refers to the process by which individuals adjust their speech patterns, language use, or accent to align with those of their conversation partner or the surrounding community and occurs in both spoken and written language.

The process of linguistic accommodation can be influenced by a variety of factors, including the social context, the relationship between the speakers, and the individual's motivation to align with the speech patterns of their conversation partner.

There are different types of linguistic accommodation, including: convergence, divergence and compromise. Convergence occurs when an individual adjusts their speech patterns to become more similar to those of their conversation partner. This can include changes in pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar, while divergence arises when an individual

maintains their own speech patterns and accent, despite being in a conversation with someone who speaks differently. Compromise ensues when both parties make adjustments to their speech patterns in order to communicate effectively.

Linguistic accommodation can be a positive process that can help individuals to communicate more effectively and build stronger relationships with others. However, in some cases, it can also lead to negative consequences such as loss of identity, difficulty in maintaining the original language and culture and pressure to conform to the dominant culture.

Although there is a multitude of research that deals with code-switching between English and a Slavic language (compare Kay 1959; Milivojević 1990; Rakusan 1993; Šabec 1999), there are very few studies to date of spoken code-switching between English or French and Bulgarian. In addition, although belonging to the Slavic language family, Bulgarian is structurally different from all the other Slavic languages. From a highly inflected synthetic language historically, it has developed into an analytic language displaying at present a number of features that render it unique among the Slavic family, namely the obliteration of case declensions, the emergence of a post-positioned definite article, the absence of a verb infinitive, the evolution of verb forms to indicate non-evidential, retold, and equivocal action. Therefore, a study of language mixing between English or French and Bulgarian is expected to display specific features stemming from the unique character of the Bulgarian language within the Slavic family of languages (Vassileva, Yankova 2015). The purpose of this part of the study is an attempt to fill precisely this void and to add to our understanding of the phenomenon of code-switching.

A number of studies have been dedicated to code-switching but it still remains a process that is somewhat elusive. What triggers code-switching, what affects the activation of one or another language and their processing or

what role contact in language change plays is still very much a matter of discussion.

Myers-Scotton (1993: 4) defines code-switching as „the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation”.

In *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*, Blommaert (2010: 180) expresses the view that „such a sociolinguistics ought to be a sociolinguistics of mobile resources and not of immobile languages”, which is a shift away from the traditional Saussurean synchronic view of language tied up with a specific time and a specific place and spoken by the ideal native speaker. In the modern globalized world mobility of people, in our case immigrants, leads to mobility of language(s), which „forces us to consider linguistic signs detached from their traditional locus of origin, and instead re-placed, [...], in very different loci of production and uptake – where the conventional associative functions of such signs cannot be taken for granted” (ibid., p. 181).

This has led to the appearance of a number of prefixed terms to account for the new realities and oust the traditional notions of bilingualism and multilingualism. Garcia (2009: 141) talks about translanguaging, referring to „the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages”. The Copenhagen school of linguistics has introduced the terms languaging and poly-languaging where languaging is perceived as a human activity where human beings use language for communicative purposes and regardless of the rules and stipulations of (a) particular language(s). The term poly-languaging should replace bi-, tri-, and multi-lingualism and focus on real linguistic practices in context-bound environments rather than on deviations from the normative rules of specific languages involved (for more details see Rampton 2006, Jørgensen 2008, 2010, Moller 2009, Pennycook 2010, among others).

Following the above discussion and also considering the fact that the subjects of the experiment are both bilinguals and multilinguals, the standpoint that there are no principal differences between the two terms can be accepted, especially in view of the fact that for the majority of the world population multilingualism is the rule rather than the exception.

Thus, if language mixing (or code-switching) is viewed as heteroglossic practices that are natural in globalized environments with multi-lingual participants, then what should be considered is the immediate as well as the more distant social and historical contexts that would yield more precise descriptions of the ways and means of using more than one language in the same stretch of discourse, thus arriving at more clear-cut explanations of such occurrences. In the analysis below an attempt is made to consider at least some of these contexts.

Multiple reasons have been pointed out as to what leads to a code-switch, extending from lack of language proficiency, discourse strategy, group identification, lower frequency of a certain language item in L1, use of the two languages in specific contexts and specific topics, to ability to better express emotional variation. Researchers have discovered a dependency between proficiency and code-switching patterns (Myers-Scotton 2003) where more proficient L2 users demonstrate a better dissociation between the languages (Poulisse 2000). Nonetheless, quite a number of studies have revealed that code-switching is not necessarily rooted in lack of language proficiency. On the contrary, „the possibilities of transfer multiply as knowledge of L2 increases” (Marian, 2009: 163). Switches do not necessarily imply an inability to retrieve the appropriate expression, which is substantiated by the fact that quite often switched words are reiterated verbatim in the other language.

Undoubtedly, code-switching and borrowing across languages in multilinguals originates in two opposing

phenomena – and those are the similarities and the differences between the languages. Most earlier studies have focused on the influence that the first or native language exerts on the second or foreign language. Recently, some researchers have focused their academic efforts on how L2 can influence L1, embracing the idea that cross-linguistic influences can be two-way (Heredia and Altarriba 2001, Pavlenko and Jarvis 2002).

Language interaction in multilinguals can be overt, entailing the use of language items from the other language, or covert – a transfer without actively switching to the other language, i.e. using the target language semantically or syntactically inappropriately, but consistently with the non-target language (Marian, 2009: 163). Also, a differentiation is made between occasional and habitual code-switching, where in the former simpler mechanisms are at play (lack of proficiency, lack of access) and in the latter case, the two languages are highly activated.

Code-switching is triggered or restrained both by language-internal factors and sociolinguistic factors. It is generally believed that what can be expressed in one language can also be expressed in another. However, some languages are thought to be a better tool for expressing certain concepts or specific subtle differences between notions. For instance, while in English there is only one verb ‘to be’, the Spanish language avails of two – ‘ser’ and ‘estar’ making a distinction between a state that is more temporary or more permanent. Lexical or other language-specific gaps in the L1 language can provide a ripe ground for code-switches, where meticulous multilinguals will opt for a more specific word or structure from L1 to express a difference non-existent in L2. Therefore, language characteristics are believed to determine the level at which switches take place (Clyne 2003).

Switching is also dependent on macro- and microsociolinguistic factors such as societal regularities, social relationships, language status, immediate surrounding



environment. Whether the interviewer is a monolingual or a bilingual speaker, which language the event talked about happened in, can also prove decisive. Code change can symbolize social identity, social situation, setting, and social event. Sociolinguistic factors build upon language-specific characteristics in an attempt to explain code-switches.

Code-switching can occur at the level of the sentence or at the level of structures above the sentence, or in Poplack's (1980) terms intersentential or intrasentential code-switching. The differentiation between languages on the phonological level seems to be weaker and there tends to be a convergence not typical for other levels, especially with cognate words. Cross-linguistic overlap is thought to facilitate code-switching. What usually occurs with morphological switches is an arbitrary use of morphological markers or a total disregard of inflections. Concerning syntax, there are syntactic deviations in one of the languages that are imported from the grammar of the other language. Syntactic borrowing can include omission or addition of pronouns, inappropriate word order, inconsistent use of determiners, inadequate choice of tenses, among other things. According to Marian (2009: 166), syntactic transfers are more common when bilinguals use the first and most proficient language and this can be triggered by several factors. These include the distinction between L1 and L2 and the acquisition of new grammatical rules when learning a second language, the level of specificity of syntactic rules and syntactic distinctions across the two languages, or the level of proficiency in the two languages. A situation in which L2 has fewer grammatical distinctions than L1 may lead to a lessened awareness of the respective category when using L1. Such an instance is for example the category of gender where in a number of languages, Bulgarian including, there are three genders for inanimate objects as compared to one in English. The opposite can also be observed. When there is discrimination in L2 which is not extant in L1, sometimes

this differentiation can be applied to L1. An exemplification is sentence word order, which is much more flexible in Bulgarian than in English, but still not as flexible as in languages possessing well-developed case systems like Russian or German. English is less inflectional and thus more analytic than most European languages which are more inflected and morphologically marked. Another basic difference is that Bulgarian is a pro-drop language since all verbs in the sentence are marked for person, number and tense. Thus, Bulgarians who have been exposed to a non-pro-drop language like English, French, German, etc. for a long time tend to use a subject when speaking Bulgarian much more often than necessary or stylistically acceptable.

From the point of view of lexis, since ideas may be conceptualized differently cross-linguistically there may arise differences in the semantic representation in the two languages. Lexical code switches are resorted to when bilinguals strive to achieve language economy or express a concept more succinctly when there is no direct equivalent in L1, or when reference is to objects or phenomena that bilinguals have to deal with primarily in L2 (Yankova and Vassileva 2013). On the level of discourse, sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic patterns can be observed. These are phenomena on a suprasentential level, for instance in the cohesion of the text, in employing hedging devices, in turn-taking or in the overall discourse structure. This encompasses cases when speakers resort to L2 discourse markers, such as *oh, well, I mean, you know, bon*, etc. So far „it is rather unclear how discourse or gestures fit in a model of language production” (de Bot et al., 2009: 96) and trigger code-switches.

Switching can take various forms, for instance the syntax of one L1 can be employed with lexis from L2, pronounced like words from L1 or L3. „In other words, there are many possible states the system can be in, with each level being dominated by one language or another, without that dominance necessarily flowing to other levels” (de Bot et al., 2009: 97).

It is interesting to note which word classes are most often switched, although it would be impossible to make a generalization for all world languages. A number of researchers support the view that nouns are more frequently switched than verbs (cf. Myers-Scotton 1997, Vassileva 2012, among others). One linguistic explanation can be the fact that nouns are grammatically self-contained and less bound by syntactic restrictions compared to other parts of speech. Code-switching most repeatedly acts on open-class items, such as nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs. According to Marian (2009: 172):

language interaction that takes place at the lexical level influences nouns more than verbs (since nouns are more integrated conceptually and easier to access lexically) and language interaction that takes place at the conceptual level influences verbs more than nouns (since verbs are more distinct conceptually and more connected within a sentence).

Since switches are used within the grammatical system of another language, they are as a rule morphophonemically and morphosyntactically integrated. Individual words quite often abide by the morphological and phonological system of the matrix language.

To the best of my knowledge, there is a scarcity of studies of the speech of Bulgarians living outside of their home country. Bulgarian sociolinguists have researched various topics connected to bilingualism, language attrition, attitudes to native and acquired language, for instance Sotirov's (2000) research focuses on the way Bulgarian immigrants to Hungary speak Bulgarian, Pachev (2005) investigates code-switching in Bulgarians living in Slovakia, while Sivova-Tsankova (2006) studies the speech of Bulgarian students in Germany, and Krejcová (2015) the speech of Bulgarians in the Czech Republic.

Todorova (2019) examines the interference between English and Bulgarian when Bulgarian females living in the USA use Bulgarian to write in a Forum chat. Issa (c.f. 2018, 2020) has carried out extensive research of the language spoken by the Bulgarian diaspora in Australia, focusing on different aspects, such as the interlanguage of immigrant Bulgarians and their attitude towards the Bulgarian language, language contacts, code-switching, among others. Kocheva (2021) analysed the interlanguage of Bulgarians living in Vienna and code-switching between Bulgarian and German, while Almalech and Bentov (1997) investigated first language attrition in Bulgarian speakers in Israel.

Bulgarian immigrants in Canada, and generally all over the world, tend to integrate into the accepting culture and society rather than form closely-knit communities, such as the Turks in Germany, for instance. A marked lack of clear-cut concentrated large communities is also observed in Canada and there are loose connections to compatriots. This can be explained by the fact that the relative number of Bulgarian immigrants abroad is low compared to other nationalities. Bulgaria is a comparatively small country with a population of just below 7 million according to the 2021 census. One could hardly speak of large immigration waves throughout its history, maybe with the recent exception of post-1990 immigration when about one million people emigrated. Besides, Bulgarian immigration has always taken place more on a personal basis and not in whole communities like for instance the immigration of certain European religious communities that escaped to North America in order to avoid persecution in the 17th century. An exception has been observed by Almalech and Bentov (1997) who assert that the Bulgarian Jewish community in Israel demonstrates demographic concentration, having transferred collectively, especially in the period 1948-1949 and having settled within a small area, forming a close-knit

community, thus contributing to an extent to the preservation, maintenance and homogeneity of the Bulgarian language spoken by those immigrants.

Within the sample group of our interviewees no gender differences can be detected in terms of social networks – women are well-educated and are employed, they do not stay only in the house unlike some other groups of immigrants (e.g. Turks in Germany, Asians in the UK, see Sharma 2011). This is in keeping with the observations by other authors whereby „gender is not a major differentiating factor (...). This can be explained with the equal cultural, social and economic status that Bulgarian women have in Bulgarian society” (Jurkova 2014: 32). Coming from a home society where women were not discriminated against has its impact on the behaviour and practices of these women once in the host society.

First, the structural features of the linguistic patterns of code-switching, its syntactic constraints and the linguistic level on which the change has occurred will be highlighted. Then the phonological, morphological or syntactic integration of the switch will be discussed. And finally, an attempt will be made to provide a sociolinguistic explanation as to why bilinguals resort to a particular switch of language.

All the interviews were conducted in Bulgarian, and the code-switched items came from one of the two surrounding languages, namely English and French, depending on whether the subjects live in the mostly Anglophone or the Francophone part of Canada. The overall length of the recordings is approximately 22.5 hours. The average number of occurrences of code-switching – 0,6 per minute. Due to lack of other similar studies the latter results could only be compared to the investigation of code-switching of first-generation Bulgarian immigrants to Germany, where the occurrences are 0,3 per minute, i.e. half of those observed in the present corpus (Vassileva 2012). Considering the fact that the methodology of

data collection in the two cases was different – spontaneous speech in the former study versus structured interviews and preliminary choice of language in the present study, one would expect the ‘German Bulgarians’ to code-switch more frequently. It could thus only be assumed at this point that the difference is due, first, to the fact that some of the Canadian Bulgarian subjects have spent a large number of years outside Bulgaria and have had fewer connections to the country of origin and to other Bulgarians and, second, considering the factor ‘distance’, the German Bulgarians have been able to visit Bulgaria much more often and therefore keep a closer contact with the language as well.

The distribution of code-switching instances is irregular depending on the topic, the overall length of time the subject has spent in Canada and their immediate environment. Noticeably, subjects who have been longer in Canada and have lived in an almost exclusively Canadian environment both regarding work and family make much more frequent use of code-switching, which is only natural. This is the case, for instance, with a 60-year-old female who has lived in Québec since she was 18, and a 78-year-old male who had immigrated to Canada when he was 16. Another point to be mentioned is the surprisingly high percentage of calques as compared to direct use of English or French, probably partly due to the fact that the subjects chose to give the interviews in Bulgarian rather than in English or French. Calques are more frequently observed in phrases than in individual words and may be treated as cases of covert code-switching. Only part of the calques refer to typically Canadian experiences; the rest belong to ‘everyday words and phrases’ for which the subjects are evidently not able to automatically find the Bulgarian equivalent, although there is one (see Fig. 5 below).

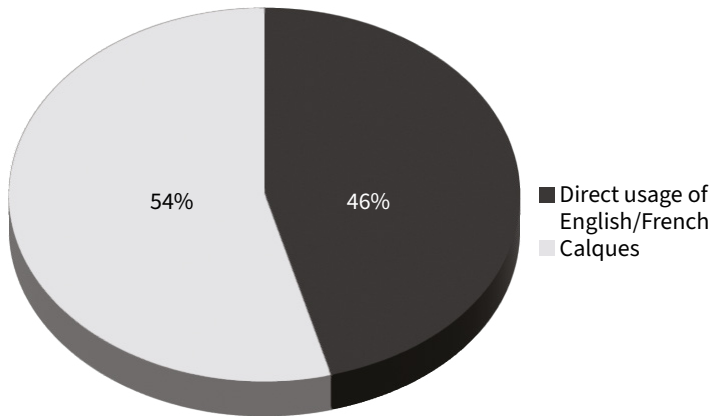


Fig. 5. Direct usage of English/French or calques

Linguistic means where code-switching is observed

Fig. 6 below shows the types of linguistic means where code-switching is observed, together with their frequency.

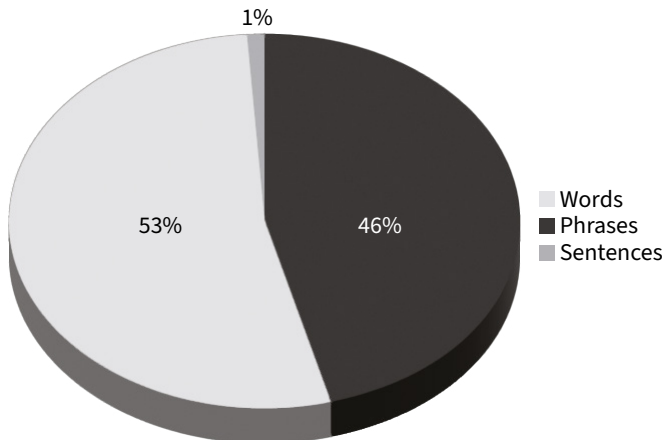


Fig. 6. Linguistic means where code-switching is observed

As Fig. 6 demonstrates, code-switching of individual words slightly prevails that of phrases (53% to 46%). Part of these

words are pronounced as in the original language (English or French), others are adapted to the Bulgarian pronunciation and it is practically impossible to differentiate between the types of words and the reasons for this difference. The originally pronounced words do not undergo any morphological integration, while the phonetically adapted words tend to be integrated both morphologically and syntactically.

As expected, the scope of reference of the words in the corpus was either culture-specific: *Halloween, judge, welfare, harass, acculturation, Québécois, pensionnat, anniversaire* etc., or non-culture-specific: *fit, experience, ingredients, staff, promote, majoritaire, omnipresente, paysans* etc.

While it is natural for the subjects to use culture-specific terms that do not exist in the L1 language, the incorporation of words which have (in this case) Bulgarian equivalents may be due to two reasons: the speaker is not able to find the Bulgarian word as easily as the English or French one or the words in question are very frequently used in the embedded language.

The phrases consist predominantly of calques that are morphologically and syntactically integrated into the L1 language (Bulgarian) as in the following two examples:

(64) *Секретно* направих нещата и ходих да си взема и... аз нямах паспорт, само някакъв лист от *амбасадата* и всичко на *скрито*... нали, от баща ми, от майка ми.

I did everything secretly and went to get and... I didn't have a passport, only a piece of paper from the embassy and everything was in secret... from my father, from my mother.

(65) Вторият период на емиграцията е да се опиташ да се *интродуцираш*...

The second period of immigration is to try and introduce...

There are only four instances of sentence code-switching, which are quotations, as in:

(66) Канадката каза: „I'll cheer for her” – мова как се казва – ще ѝ рѣкопляскам, ще я подкрепям.

The Canadian said: „I'll cheer for her” – how do you say that, I'll applaud her, I'll support her.

The following is an example of wrong use of a Bulgarian translation of an English verb:

(67) Но аз лично не мога да я *попитам* да го направи мова за мене.

But I can't personally ask her to do this for me.

The verb *ask* can be translated in several ways in Bulgarian, the most common translation choices being *попитам*, *помоля*. In example (67) the second translation equivalent *помоля* would be the correct choice and not the first *попитам* (which only has the meaning of 'ask a question' in Bulgarian and not 'ask a favour'), as was chosen by the interviewee and the correct sentence in Bulgarian would sound in the following way:

Но аз лично не мога да я *помоля* да го направи мова за мене.

All throughout the book the examples will be presented in the following way: the Bulgarian text will be written in the Cyrillic alphabet, followed by a translation in English, while

the English/French text will be given in the original. All the grammatical or lexical mistakes will be preserved, however incorrect from the point of view of modern Bulgarian language. Specific grammatical changes will be marked with bolded capital letters. A few of the examples will be given under several headings, illustrating different points.

Individual words

Fig.7 below presents the distribution of individual words in the corpus according to their part-of-speech classification.

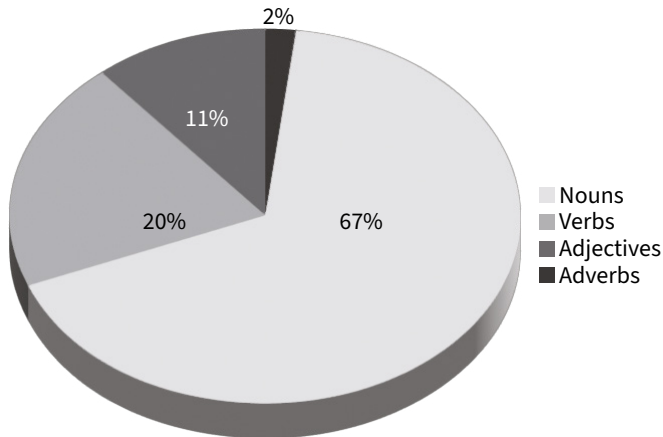


Fig. 7. Code-switched parts of speech

Nouns

The results confirm previous observations that nouns lend themselves to borrowing most readily. Besides, due to the lack of a case system in Bulgarian it is not problematic to borrow a noun without changing its grammatical form and without losing the overall meaning, as long as it is correctly positioned in the sentence.

In about 25% of the cases in the corpus the English/French nouns undergo morphological adaptation:

- 1) They receive a Bulgarian post-positioned article:

(68) На базата на *експириънс-а*, на опита, който съм имала с тях...

On the basis of the experience-ART., the experience I have had with them...

(69) На баща ми *контракт-ът* му свърши и трябваше да се върне в България.

My father's contract-ART. expired and he had to go back to Bulgaria.

In both cases above the article is assigned in the masculine form since the Bulgarian equivalents are masculine. In the first example the word 'experience' is translated immediately (onum), i.e. the speaker makes real efforts to find the Bulgarian word and succeeds in many cases.

2) They receive a Bulgarian plural ending:

(70) Трябваше да се бориме да останем, за да ни признаят за *рефюджу-та*, така наречени.

We had to struggle in order to stay, in order to be recognized as *réfugié-PLURAL*, so called.

(71) Добавяш по-ценните ингредиент-и, докато стане банитцата.

You add the more important ingredient- PLURAL until the banitsa is ready.

Examples (70) and (71) also demonstrate that the speakers follow the Bulgarian rules for assigning the plural depending on the final syllable.

3) They are assigned a gender, mainly by means of a determiner or an adjective, which are both marked for gender and number in Bulgarian:

(72) Тоя *gap*, тази празнина, която имаме фактически ни кара да предпочитаме българите пред канадците.

This+(MASCULINE) *gap*, this emptiness we have makes us in fact prefer Bulgarians to Canadians.

(73) И сега празнуваме това *аниверсер*...

And now we celebrate this+(NEUTER) anniversary...

In example 72 the word *gap* is assigned the masculine gender since it ends in a consonant – in such cases Bulgarian words are most likely to be masculine. In example 73 the lexeme *anniversaire*, which is masculine in French, acquires a neuter gender that does not exist in French. The Bulgarian equivalent, on the other hand, is feminine (*годишнина*). In such cases it is difficult to find a regularity or an explanation of the choice of the speaker to assign one or another gender to non-Bulgarian nouns. There are other similar examples in the corpus where especially English nouns are assigned neuter gender through the preceding adjective where the Bulgarian equivalents are feminine: *novo identity* ('new identity', *нова идентичност* in Bulgarian), *цялото къмюнити* ('the whole community', *цялата общност* in Bulgarian). These cases are most probably due to the fact that the English nouns end in an [i] which is the marker for plural in Bulgarian. Therefore, since the speakers are aware that they do not wish to express plurality, they opt for the neuter in order to mark the difference.

In most cases, as the examples demonstrate, when nouns undergo morphological changes, they also undergo phonetic

changes. In the rest of the cases English or French nouns are used in their original form, do not undergo any kind of adaptation and are simply positioned at the right place in the syntactic structure of the sentence:

(74) Беше въпрос на *секюрити*.

It was a matter of security.

As mentioned above, this does not hamper comprehension in cases where the interlocutor also speaks or at least understands both languages.

Another point to be made about the examples with code-switched nouns is that in some of the above cases, the lexical items could be used by monolingual speakers of Bulgarian as well, for instance *експириънс, контракт, ингредиенти*. One could come across the use of such items in the Bulgarian speech especially of the younger generation in Bulgaria who usually have at least a certain command of English, or have heard these words being used by peers.

Verbs

Contrary to nouns, over 70% of the verbs in the corpus are integrated into the rather complex Bulgarian morphological system and receive the respective endings for tense, number and person that are obligatory in Bulgarian:

(75) Ако искаш да успееш се налага да се *промоутваш*.
If you want to succeed you need to promote+
PERSON+NUMBER+TENSE yourself.

(76) Това минаване през Прага за мене беше моментът, в който *реализирах* в каква страна съм живяла и какво е било социализма.

This passing through Prague was the moment for me when I realised+PERSON+NUMBER+TENSE what kind of country I had lived in and what socialism was like.

(77) Структурата на обществото е такава, че тя е една мозайка и трябва да *фит-ваш*; когато едно парче от мозайката липсва и трябва да *фит-ваш* там.

The structure of society is such that it is a mosaic, and you have to fit, when a piece of the mosaic is missing you have to fit there.

In fact, the same tendency is observed in the speech of Bulgarians living in Germany (see Vassileva 2012), so one may conclude that the lack of morphological integration of verbs is felt to make the whole utterance difficult, if not impossible to comprehend regardless of the interlocutors' level of knowledge of the embedded language.

The rest of the verbs are used in English or French without any changes when speakers are obviously not able to find the Bulgarian equivalent:

(78) Добре е това, гето си говорим... но да не забравя да *менишън* хората, които ми помогнаха като гоудох първо тук, когато имах сериозна нужда от помощ.

It's good what we are talking about... but let's not forget to mention the people who helped me when I first came here, when I needed serious help.

or calqued:



(79a) Хората пак се казват католици.

(Literal translation) The people are also called Catholics.

(Meaning) The people also call themselves Catholics.

In the latter example the practically erroneous Bulgarian sentence is due to the fact that the verb *appeller* is polysemantic in French, while in Bulgarian there are two different verbs for naming oneself (казвам се) and naming others (наричам). The correct Bulgarian sentence would sound as follows:

Хората пак се наричат католици.

In order to understand better this example, the context of this sentence will be given:

(79b) Да, га, католицизма... и гаже хората сега казват, нали, че уж не са религиозни, не ходят на църква, но... пак се казват католици и пак така, манталитетът... той си остава...

Yes, yes, Catholicism... and even now people say that they appear not to be religious, that they don't go to church, but... they call themselves Catholics and again their mentality... it remains...

Adjectives and Adverbs

The adjectives that are not part of phrases are usually subject complements. They are used in their original form and do not receive Bulgarian endings for number and gender. This, however, does not hamper comprehension since the subject-complement agreement in Bulgarian does not carry meaning distinctions:

(80) Те са *диспърст*, те са *разпръснати*, не са *ограничени*.

They are dispersed, they are dispersed, not delineated.

The latter example demonstrates once again the desire of the speaker to eventually find the Bulgarian word which comes right after its English equivalent thus leading to cross-linguistic tautology.

In some cases, an adjective is used which has been borrowed into Bulgarian but with changes in meaning:

(81) Българските ми приятели са *мажоритарни* в момента.

My Bulgarian friends are *majoritaire* (in the majority) at the moment.

The point here is that the respective borrowing in Bulgarian is stylistically restricted to political discourse, while the French original has a much wider meaning. Needless to say, this is a phenomenon frequently observed in borrowings – widening, narrowing, change of meaning and/or genre, discourse or stylistic constraints. Besides, the example also demonstrates that in contrast to English-Bulgarian code-switching (see example 80), in French-Bulgarian code-switching subject-complement agreement is maintained since it is present in French as well.

There are only 2 cases of switched independent adverbs in the corpus, one of which is:

(82) Стани едун от нас или си *аут*, или си *отвън*.

You either become one of us or you are out, you are outside.

In the meantime, the word „out” has entered the Bulgarian language and is widely used by native Bulgarian speakers. Older immigrants, however, are usually unaware of changes in general and of the enormous influx of English words into Bulgarian in particular in the past 20 years and, as the example shows, try to find the L1 language equivalent.

Phrases

In the interviews, carried out in Bulgarian, one third of the code-switched phrases are in English or French and the majority of them (76%) refer to local Canadian entities or phenomena such as festivities, place names or culture-specific administrative issues, such as *Thanksgiving, Memorial day, Victoria day, Columbus day, Fête National des Québec, Saint Lawrence; Ville de Québec, United States Agricultural Department, Canadian experience, permanent residence status, landed immigrant visa, glass ceiling.*

The rest are frequently used everyday phrases, fillers and quotations:

(83) Да се чувствам щастлива от това, в смисъл
xenu абаят ум.

To feel happy about that, in the sense of happy about it.

In the latter case one can observe the opposite order of ‘clarification of meaning’ – the phrase is used first in Bulgarian and then in English as if the speaker wants to make sure that they have used the right phrase in Bulgarian.

(84) Децата непрекъснато искаха да ядат *шпан шог.*

The kids wanted to eat chien-chaud all the time.

(85) Коемо не обичам е камо казвам в Квебек: „Вуз-ет тус кебекоа“. Това не ми харесва га кажам „Вие сме кебекоа“.

What I don't like is when they say in *Québec*: „*Vous êtes tous Québécois*“. This is what I don't like them to say: „You are *Québécois*“.

Calques

Apart from a few exceptions such as a translated version of ‘Canadian experience’, the phraseological calques in the corpus do not refer to culture-specific issues but represent relatively frequently used everyday language:

(86) За га стигнеш от точка А до точка В може га ти струва цял ден.

To get from point A to point B may cost you a whole day.

(87) Това, че имам някаква нужда – тази нужда трябва га се *посрещне*, нали?

The fact that you need something – this need has to be met, doesn't it?

Some of the calques sound more or less acceptable in Bulgarian, others like *комуникират между себе си* (communicate among themselves) are comprehensible but rather unnatural for the native Bulgarian speaker.

Syntactic integration

Although the Bulgarian language has a complex morphological system and an especially complicated verb paradigm, it enjoys a relatively free word order, typical for most of the Slavic languages. As a result of this, and as the examples above demonstrate, the code-switched linguistic elements are easily integrated into the Bulgarian syntax.

Also, an interesting point to mention is that the interviewees tend to overgeneralize and overuse the grammatical subject of the sentence in Bulgarian. Bulgarian is a pro-drop language in which the verbal endings contain markers for person, number and tense, rendering the use of a subject in many cases superfluous. The use of the personal pronoun 'I' as subject in example (80) below is not necessitated grammatically or stylistically and may evoke a feeling of unnaturalness.

(88) Аз живея отвън града, в друг град съм.

I live out of town, in another town.

The ending of the conjugated verb 'живея (-я)' contains the morphological markers for 1st person singular, present tense and thus makes the personal pronoun as a subject redundant. This is clearly due to the influence of English or French, languages in which the subject can rarely if ever be dropped.

The results from the study have clarified to a certain extent some linguistic and sociolinguistic issues, connected to the language used by the interviewees. The choice and distribution of the linguistic means used in code-switching was not surprising in view of the specific features of the grammatical and lexical systems of the two languages. The corpus demonstrates that code-switching occurs most frequently in relation to culture-specific issues: festivities, toponyms, connected to immigration, work,

school etc. As expected, the frequency of code-switching depends on the length of stay in Canada, as well as on the subjects' immediate environment and degree of integration. Worth mentioning here is the fact that the phenomenon of language attrition is not observed even with immigrants who have spent very long time in Canada and have lived in a primarily Canadian environment, or at least – non-Bulgarian environment. That is, contrary to our anticipation, there are no cases of rejection and conscious 'failure' to keep up the mother tongue due to rejection of the communist regime earlier immigrants fled from. On the contrary, by maintaining their language the subjects declare to have maintained their identity. Thus, all the interviewees have retained their native language, which not only remains a major bond to the culture of their homeland but is also a basic component in their sense of self-identity (for more details see Yankova and Andreev 2012).

Secondly, code-switching occurs at all levels of language – phonetic, lexical (words and phrases) and sentential (syntactic). However, they are most common at the level of lexis, while at the level of phonology and morphology code-switched items follow the rules of the Bulgarian language, an observation also made by Kocheva (2021: 19). Code-switches on the level of phonology are outside the scope of this study, although differences would be expected based on some of the phonetic discrepancies between e.g. English and Bulgarian: the English distinction between long and short vowels, not present in Bulgarian, the missing phonemes in Bulgarian, e.g. /ð/, /æ/, /ʌ/; the devoicing of final voiced consonants in Bulgarian, which is inadmissible in English due to its semantic distinctive function.

Most code-switched verbs and nouns undergo morphosyntactic adaptation to the L₁ language due to its complex morphological system and pro-drop character. Those verbs and nouns also undergo phonetic adaptation, while all language units that are used without adaptation do not change their phonetic structure, either.

The corpus shows a very high percentage of calques, as well as repetition of a significant number of words and phrases in both languages immediately one after the other, which demonstrates the subjects' efforts to express themselves in Bulgarian even if they are not able to find the correct Bulgarian equivalent. Calques are also clear cases of covert code-switching. Habitual code-switching is observed with frequently used everyday phrases and so-called parasite words or phrases.

From a **methodological** point of view, the fact that the data was excerpted from structured interviews has several consequences. First, all subjects decided to have the interview in Bulgarian, but they were aware of their code-switches and, as many of the examples demonstrate, kept searching for the Bulgarian equivalents of words and phrases (the 'metalinguistic function' was present). Other studies (e.g. Vassileva 2012) show that in the case of recorded spontaneous speech the subjects are unaware of code-switching. Also, the subjects were aware of the fact that the interviewer could understand the code-switched elements, as well as help them to find the Bulgarian equivalents. In other words, they were conscious of the fact that there was no danger of misunderstanding or communication breakdown. And lastly, the topics were fixed and presented in a particular order, thus defining at least to a certain extent the frequency of use of English or French lexical items – topics related to realia and immediate life experience in Canada bring about a higher frequency of cases of code-switching.

In addition, it can be safely concluded that unstructured spontaneous speech might yield different results, while structured interviews, on the other hand, supply a better basis for comparison among subjects. The choice of the language and the knowledge of languages on the part of the interviewer play an important role in the study of code-switching as prerequisites for the subjects to make linguistic choices as well as to adjust their overall behaviour.

The present analysis did include the frequency of L2 code-switched items in relation to the number of the total L1 words in an utterance, sentence or text and there were no extreme examples of occurrence of overmixing the two languages as found by other linguists, for instance in the following example by Kocheva (2021: 151):

Всеки си *прави изпитите* различно. Някой *прави изпитите* след втория семестър, друг по-рано. Аз *щудирам*, но и работя, ходя с други в пропуснатата лекция. Една *лекция правя* заедно с тях, така съм се *замелнала* още в началото. Някои не се *замелват*. Може да те наемат само като *шлуселкрафт* по нареждане на работодателя, ако е харесал работата ти. Въпросът е да нямаш *пех*. За *музикунито* не му трябва на човек да го *замелват* някъде... Добре е ако имаш *ферайн*, ако си *митглед*, тогава се получава... Но има обяви, че търсят *митарбайтери*. Трябва да ходим ние до *форшунгсинститута*.

Kocheva (2017: 150-151) provides further information: the informant is an economics student in Vienna who arrived in Austria three and a half years before and has apparently a good command of the German language. There is no plausible or logical explanation in this case why the informant code-switched so many lexical items and amongst them *studieren*, *Mitglied* or *Mitarbeiter*, which have a perfectly straightforward translation equivalent in Bulgarian: *уча*, *член*, *сътрудник*. There were no such instances with the respondents in the present study who on average demonstrated a code-switched item with a lower frequency – as mentioned above at average intervals of 0,6 per minute.

Theoretical issues. To begin with, the general observations of the data (which cannot be presented in full here) demonstrate that the level of language proficiency does not necessarily lead to a better dissociation between languages, as Myers-Scotton (2003) maintains. Apart from the immediate context, personality characteristics also play an important role – introvert versus extrovert, degree of emotional engagement with the topic of conversation and, of course, age, education, etc. For instance, in a case of a very emotional subject poly-languaging within one utterance can be observed:

(89) Продължавам га съм винаги българин, льо
българ, льо българ, льо българ, гаже испанофоните,
с коумо съм работил, ми Букам ил българо.

I continue to be always Bulgarian, le bulgare, le bulgare,
le bulgare, even the Hispanophones I have worked with
call me il búlgaro.

In general, in this study, poly-languaging is viewed not as a deviation but as a norm in immigrant communities, as well as in multilingual communities of all kinds especially for particular communicative purposes such as better clarity of expression, higher degree of expressivity, conciseness, etc. Additionally, Bulgarians often resort to poly-languaging in written communication in electronic media since it is much easier to use the Latin alphabet instead of switching between Latin and Cyrillic alphabets, if the Cyrillic is available at all.

In view of the number of participants in the experiment and the characteristics of the Bulgarian diaspora in Canada (small, scattered and unorganized) the present research could not apply the most recent methods of nano-sociolinguistics (Blommaert, 2010) but it was decided to keep to a more traditional linguistic

analysis, at the same time trying to outline some sociolinguistic issues as well.

As noted in the theoretical section, assuming code-switching as heteroglossic practices, some more general social and historical contexts have to be considered, one of which is the role of the state and its language policy. Modern states are often accused of creating inequalities in societies consisting of people coming from different national, racial, religious and, of course, linguistic backgrounds, through imposing the paradoxical in our post-modern age nation-state language as the only legitimate means of communication, thus marginalizing (socially and/or economically) large portions of society. At the same time, super-diversity triggered primarily by processes of immigration and the phenomenon of refugees intrudes in the well-established norms of standardized national languages acting as a crucial part of the creation of nations, at least in Europe. The result at present is that in periods of economic crises nationalist movements that use as their weapon, among other things, the notion of purity of language, gain more and more supporters and minority groups are pushed further to the outer margins of society. This ideology is also reflected in the bulk of linguistics research of code-switching as an aberration rather than a natural norm and therefore needs explanations (see Woolard 2004).

Since the present study focuses on immigrant discourse in Canada, it would be felicitous to devote special attention to the application of the above approaches in this country. In contrast to Europe where nation-state countries and languages have long traditions, North America in general and Canada in particular are much younger countries, where Canada has always been seen and has proclaimed itself to be a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural society. Linguistically seen, however, there are two official languages and minority groups of speakers of other languages have a status not much different from the situation in Europe already described above. The latter fact was also

confirmed by the data from our interviews – Bulgarians use the respective official language exclusively outside the family and friends environment, and prefer keeping closer contacts with other Bulgarians rather than with Canadians. This observation confirms Gumperz' (1982: 66) claim that:

The tendency is for the ethnically specific, minority language to be regarded as the 'we code' and become associated with in-group and informal activities, and for the majority language to serve as the 'they code' associated with more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations.

Language seems thus to be just one of the aspects of marginalization, although it has to be admitted that the degree of tolerance towards immigrant cultures in Canada is much higher than in Europe. Actually, many of the subjects pointed out that they have favoured Canada to Europe because they perceive Europe as „intolerant” and even „racist”.

To sum up, this part of the study describes and attempts to explain the specific features of code-mixing observed in the speech of Bulgarian immigrants to Canada, points to some linguistic and sociolinguistic features, as well as to the importance and role of the methodological ways and means of data collection, and touches upon several theoretical issues related to terminology, the necessity to adopt a more adequate approach to multilingualism in modern globalized societies, as well as to problems associated with the consequences of mono- or bi-lingual only nation state language policies.



5.2. Language attrition

In all contexts of languages in contact, bilingualism, multilingualism, immigrant communities, the issue of language attrition arises, which refers to the gradual decline or loss of proficiency in a language that is no longer regularly used or practiced, and which can occur when an individual moves to a new country, becomes immersed in a different language environment, or experiences a lack of exposure to their native language over time. This process can result in difficulties with speaking, understanding, and writing in the language, and may also involve changes in accent and vocabulary use. It is particularly common in first-generation immigrants who move to a new country and are exposed to a different language and culture. They may initially maintain their proficiency in their native language, but over time, without regular use and practice, they may experience a decline in their language skills. This can be especially challenging for individuals who need to use both languages in their daily lives, such as in the case of bilingualism, and can lead to feelings of frustration, identity confusion, and social isolation.

The process of attrition can be affected by intralinguistic factors when there is a highly developed morphological system in a language that can more easily lend itself to errors, compared to other morphosyntactic phenomena, for instance the complex forms of the non-witness mood in the verbal system in Bulgarian. However, language attrition can also be influenced by individual factors which can be personal, for instance attitude to L₁ and L₂, perception of identity, or external – such as motivation, age, and the degree of exposure to the language, education, duration of time spent in the country of L₂; as well as on societal, public

or communal considerations: policies of assimilation and integration of immigrants, general immigration rules, etc.

Some notable authors and researchers who have made significant contributions to the study of language attrition in immigrant populations include Aneta Pavlenko (2005), known for her research on multilingualism, language acquisition, and language attrition in immigrant communities; Monika S. Schmid (2002), recognized for her research on the cognitive processes underlying language attrition in bilingual speakers; Jean-Marc Dewaele (2010), notable for his research on emotional aspects of language use, multilingualism, and language attrition in immigrant populations; Sharon Unsworth (2019), who researched the cognitive and linguistic factors involved in language attrition, with a particular focus on bilingualism and second language acquisition; Constant Leung and Tracey Costley (2020), focusing on the language development of multilingual learners, including issues of language attrition and maintenance in immigrant communities; Schmitt (2019) who presented a review of markedness theory with regard to attrition.

One of the main causes of language attrition among immigrants is reduced exposure to their native language. When immigrants move to a new country, they are often surrounded by a different language and culture, which can lead to a decline in their proficiency in their native language. According to a study by Hammarberg (2001), immigrants who are exposed to their native language less frequently are more likely to experience language attrition. This is because the brain requires regular exposure to a language in order to maintain and develop its proficiency in that language.

Another factor that contributes to language attrition among immigrants is the pressure to assimilate to the new culture. Many immigrants feel that they need to learn the language of their new country in order to succeed and integrate into society. This can lead to a reduced focus on their native language, which

can result in a decline in their proficiency over time. According to a study by Schmid and Dusseldorp (2010), immigrants who have a stronger desire to integrate into the new culture are more likely to experience language attrition.

Schmid (2007), however, did not find a cause-and-effect relationship between the frequency of use of L1 and L1 attrition. She looked for an explanation of the attrition process in the extensively rehearsed language acquired by adulthood in a monolingual environment. She maintains that when the critical period is reached the frequency of use of L1 does not play such an important role.

Having studied speakers of Spanish as L1 in Norway, Vulchanova et al. (2020) found that the oversimplification of deictic reference in first-generation Spanish L1 speakers was not dependent on time spent in Norway or the frequency of use of L1. They showed the same tendencies as the control group of native speakers in Spain, and in corpora of the modern language, only the process was faster due to bilingual use.

The effects of language attrition on immigrants can be significant. For example, immigrants who experience language attrition may have difficulty communicating with family members who remain in their home country, which can lead to feelings of isolation and disconnection. They may also have difficulty accessing services or resources that are only available in their native language. This can be particularly challenging when it comes to healthcare, as medical terminology can be complex and difficult to understand even for those who are fluent in the language.

To mitigate the effects of language attrition, there are various strategies that immigrants can use. One strategy is to maintain regular contact with their home country and to use their native language as much as possible. This can help to keep the language fresh in their minds and prevent it from fading over time. Another strategy is to seek out opportunities to use their

native language, such as attending cultural events or joining a language exchange group. Finally, immigrants can also make an effort to teach their native language to their children, which can help to ensure that the language is passed down to future generations.

There are still quite a number of unresolved issues relating to studies on language attrition. Some of them include topics like what linguistic phenomena should be included in such studies, or what should be considered an indication of attrition. In addition, as argued by Schmid (2002: 38): „A further issue that has been widely debated in the literature on language attrition is whether attrition is a phenomenon of performance or competence...”

Therefore, the cases of attrition that ensue from the present study will be discussed only as potential examples of attrition, since further investigation is needed to confirm or reject some of the conclusions.

The most common code-switch in the study is at the level of lexicology, the reasons for which were discussed above in 5.1. The lexically attrited items consisted mainly of English borrowings or calques, of untypical lexical choice in Bulgarian and uncommonly derived words. In some cases when at a loss of a precise word or expression and if a matching term was not easily recalled, the respondents opted for paraphrasing in Bulgarian or provided the English or French equivalent.

However, the fact that there is a code-switch does not automatically imply that the lexical item in L₁ has been subjected to attrition. This can be corroborated by the many examples in this study when an item is code-switched with an L₂ item, but then immediately after rephrased with the corresponding correct item from L₁ (see examples 68, 72, 80, and 112 which follows). Or, in some instances, respondents may feel that a certain borrowed lexical item might express a given concept

better, especially in the cases of phenomena that they first came across in Canada.

The instances of phraseological calques in the corpus may also be an instance of attrition. In most cases they are comprised of everyday language concepts (e.g. in examples 78, 80, 115), where a semantic transfer from L2 to L1 (c.f. de Bot and Clyne 1994) occurs.

The switches on the level of morphology, e.g. gender (examples 72, 73) are not that common in the corpus and again do not necessarily signal attrition. The respondents may be trying to fit the English or French lexical item into the Bulgarian morphological gender system, relegating the gender of the original Bulgarian word to oblivion in a particular conversational exchange.

Switches on the (morpho)syntactic level are not that frequent, either, but can be discerned in a few instances, such as in example number (117), where the respondent opts for the French word order of a noun, followed by the adjective: *чепма българска* in exchange of the typical Bulgarian word order which would be the noun, preceded by the adjective: *българска чепма*. Also, the overuse of the grammatical subject in example (88) is not required by the rules of Bulgarian syntax, especially in spoken, informal discourse, therefore it could be considered as an example of attrition and transfer of L2 rules: in English syntax, the grammatical subject can almost never be omitted.

In order to make valid conclusions about language attrition in this specific case, all the above conclusions need to be corroborated by further research, which would represent a more thorough analysis of L1 attrition process and product. In Schmid's view (2002), findings from the study of immigrant language need to be compared with data gathered from a monolingual control group and certain variables excluded from the study process, e.g., various dialects or sociolects within the immigrant group; in addition, more native speakers should be employed as

informants and as experts on the use of the language samples. In her study of changes in German as a L1 in German Jewish immigrants to an English-language environment after 60 years of immigration, she concluded that although emigration date is significant in language attrition, the most important factor in either preserving or losing L1 is attitude towards L1, the speaker's identity and their self-perception.

In a similar vein, the respondents in the present study did not demonstrate indisputable aspects of language attrition of L1. Not all of the above code-switches can be explained or analysed from the viewpoint of attrition. On the contrary, most participants showed explicit or implicit pride in using Bulgarian (and not English or French, which they had the option to choose) as the language of the interview (see section 4.5), trying to use proper grammatical structures and lexis, therefore confirming Schmid's (2002: 192) argument that:

attrition may be dependent to a very large degree on how the speaker wants to be perceived. Someone who wants to belong to a speech community and wants to be recognized as a member is capable of behaving accordingly over an extremely long stretch of time.

In exploring the relationship between first language attrition and language dominance, Köpke and Genevska-Hanke (2018) demonstrate the temporariness of some attrition phenomena, stating that attrited language may be reactivated in the environment of immersion and reexposure and that often attrition results from competition of related processing strategies, especially when L2 was acquired at a post-child stage. Therefore, language loss can be considered susceptible to language environment. As Köpke and Genevska-Hanke (2018) further point out their findings demonstrate „the temporary nature of cross-linguistic influence as observed in attrition,

affecting language processing and depending on a complex interaction of language exposure and use on the one side and language status as determined by age and order of acquisition on the other”.

To sum up, the linguistic knowledge and skills of the L1 may not be lost, the language errors and code-switches may arise out of insecurity connected to the speaker’s attitude to the language and the former competence can be revived in case the individual desires it.



5.3. Functions and mechanisms of code-switching

Code-switching refers to the ability of an individual to alternate between different languages or varieties of a language in different social situations. It is a common phenomenon among bilingual and multilingual speakers. There are several functions and mechanisms of code-switching, which can be studied from three perspectives:

Communicative functions: Code-switching can be used for communicating more effectively with different groups of people. For example, switching to a different language can indicate a change in topic or level of formality. Additionally, code-switching can be used to signal specific ethnic or social group membership or identity.

Social functions: Code-switching can also be used for expressing social relationships and power dynamics. For example, code-switching can be used to assert dominance or to signal subservience. Additionally, it can be used to indicate solidarity or to create social distance.

Psychological functions: It can also have an effect on the speaker's own identity and sense of self: switching to a different language can be used to express different aspects of one's identity or to signal a shift in mood or attitude.

Code-switching can also be triggered by various internal and external factors, such as the topic of conversation, the social context, and the presence of other speakers. It can happen at different levels of language, such as at the level of words, phrases, or even grammar, and it can be done consciously or unconsciously. Overall, code-switching is a

complex and dynamic process that serves different functions and is influenced by various factors. It can be a sign of bilingual and multilingual proficiency, but it can also be a sign of social and communicative competence.

This part will consider in detail discourse-related code switching of first-generation Bulgarian immigrants to Canada to reveal how particular factors within the conversation where code switching takes place exert impact on the language behaviour of immigrants. The aim is to study the degree of interference between native and adopted languages and the extent to which alternating languages allows the speakers to mark shifts in context or to change the role they assume in the course of the interaction. The results show the types of contexts and the reasons for incorporating English or French words, phrases and even whole sentences into a conversation held in Bulgarian. The main conclusions are that most commonly code switching is resorted to when speakers refer to concepts, ideas, phenomena, situations, interactions they have to deal with in the second language and it is a result of the uneven distribution in the use of first and second language.

The present study assumes a sociocultural perspective in order to look at „discourse-related switching” (Auer 1998: 8) observed in the discourse of first-generation Bulgarians in Canada. The results are expected to show the types of context where English words, phrases and whole sentences are incorporated into a conversation held in Bulgarian. An attempt is also made to elucidate the functions of code-switching and the reasons for the phenomenon, i.e. why bilingual speakers code-switch and what factors influence code choice. The investigation also includes analyses of the grammatical units occurring most frequently in the corpus. Concerning studies of code-switching in the Slavic languages, according to a recent publication (Lauersdorf 2009) presenting a comprehensive overview of Slavic studies in North America, in over 30 pages

of bibliographical references there are about 20 dealing with immigrant Slavic languages (prevaingly Yugoslavian, Czech and Slovak) and there is not a single publication on Bulgarian and besides, just a handful of the above studies deal directly with code-switching issues and they shall be discussed in the analysis below in order to serve as a basis for comparison.

The use of more than one language in one and the same stretch of discourse (where 'discourse' is understood in its widest sense as including both spoken and written varieties, as well as extralinguistic forms, see e.g. Fairclough 1992) is not a new phenomenon and one could date it back to the times after the Tower of Babel. Nevertheless, more in-depth research on the behaviour of bilinguals and multilinguals commenced as late as the 1950s, when the first approaches were prescriptive rather than descriptive and started from the assumption that alternation of languages was primarily due to insufficient knowledge of one or both of the languages concerned or to language interference. For instance, in his fundamental paper on language contact Weinreich (1968: 73) maintains that the ideal bilingual is someone who „switches from one language to another according to appropriate changes in the speech situation [...], but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence". The definition presumes that those bilinguals who do not adhere to the rules are 'imperfect'.

Without going into details into issues such as language contact, and bilingualism and multilingualism, what follows is a discussion of some of the most influential lines of research in the study of code-switching (hereinafter CS). In the first place, no one has so far refuted Gumperz's (1982: 64) claim that code-switching is predominantly observed in minority groups who speak a native language and the majority language. Moreover, contrary to the above-mentioned essentialist approaches, one cannot but agree with Gumperz (ibid.) that „code-switching does not necessarily indicate imperfect knowledge of the grammatical

systems in question". This understanding has more recently been enhanced by a broader definition of bilingualism including „not only the ‘perfect’ bilingual [...] or the ‘balanced’ bilingual [...] but also various ‘imperfect’ and ‘unstable’ forms of bilingualism, in which one language takes over from the other(s) on at least some occasions and for some instances of language use” (Dewaele, Wei and Housen 2003: 1). Along these lines, and in view of the subjects of the present study, the analysis also starts from the assumption that CS is not an indicator of deficiencies in the command of the respective languages but is triggered by other, predominantly sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic factors.

The term has created a number of further controversies concerning its definition depending on the approach involved, and these need to be elucidated here as well. Some authors maintain that CS comprises all instances of language alternation (the term is used, e.g., by Auer 1995 as an alternative for CS), others (Kachru 1983, Sridhar & Sridhar 1980) treat as cases of CS only intra-sentential switches while inter-sentential examples belong to code-mixing. Still others (e.g. Muysken 2000) use code-mixing as a blanket term for both code-switching and borrowing, where the former is intra-sentential and the latter is inter-sentential.

From a more general perspective, three directions from which the phenomenon has been approached so far can be identified: structural, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic.

Structuralists have been interested in the ‘points of code-switching’ and the mechanisms that operate and restrict it through the search for universally applicable models (MacSwann 2000, Jake, Myers-Scotton and Gross 2002). The most influential and widely used is Myers-Scotton’s (1993, 1998, 2000) Markedness Model containing the Matrix Language Frame model (MLF) and its recently added sub-models: the 4-M model and the Abstract Level model (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000a, b, 2001). The Matrix Language Frame model proposes that in any instance

of code-switching, one language, called the matrix language, provides the grammatical frame for the entire utterance, while the other language, called the embedded language, provides the inserted content. The matrix language and embedded language are determined by examining the grammatical and lexical features of the code-switched utterance.

According to the MLF model, code-switching serves pragmatic functions such as emphasizing a particular point, clarifying a difficult concept, signaling a particular relationship between the interlocutors, or expressing group identity. The MLF model has been applied to a wide range of bilingual and multilingual settings, including Spanish-English code-switching in the US, Tamil-English code-switching in India, and French-English code-switching in Canada.

In addition to the Matrix Language Frame model, Carol Myers-Scotton has also developed the Markedness Model (MM) for code-switching. The Markedness Model proposes that code-switching occurs when a speaker chooses a marked linguistic form (one that is less common or less expected) over an unmarked form (one that is more common or more expected) in a particular context.

According to the MM, the decision to code-switch is influenced by three main factors: 1) the relative markedness of the linguistic forms available to the speaker, 2) the communicative needs of the speaker, and 3) the social context of the communication event.

The MM has been applied to a range of code-switching phenomena, including Spanish-English code-switching in the United States, Swahili-English code-switching in East Africa, and Quechua-Spanish code-switching in Peru. Like the MLF model, the MM highlights the pragmatic functions of code-switching and emphasizes the role of social and cultural factors in shaping bilingual language use.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, as early as in 1929 Sapir accused linguists of being obsessed with their „petty patterns” (1929: 214) without being able to look beyond them where language is intertwined with social, anthropological, cultural and other much more general aspects of human existence.

Therefore, an ample body of research that followed in linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics, and other related areas has delivered interpretive and interactional understandings of code switching in context, or how code-switching relates to the wider social and cultural context (the sociolinguistic approach). Following the psycholinguistic approach, back in 1954 Vogt (1954: 368) focused on the fact that code-switching is an extralinguistic phenomenon: „Code-switching in itself is perhaps not a linguistic phenomenon, but rather a psychological one, and its causes are obviously extralinguistic“, whereas Stroud (1998: 322) argues that it is a social phenomenon „that [...] cannot really be understood apart from an understanding of social phenomena” (see also Heller 1988, 1992, Auer 1984, Woolard 2004, among others).

Another unresolved theoretical controversy in the field, which is of crucial importance for the structuralist approach, is the distinction between CS and borrowing. While Poplack (1978, 1980, 1981) and her followers believe that single words ‘imported’ from another language should be treated differently and do not belong to CS which requires longer stretches of discourse (see also Poplack, Wheeler, and Westwood 1987, Sankoff, Poplack, and Vanniarajan 1990), a larger group of scholars including Myers-Scotton (1972, 1976, 1983) and Bentahila & Davies (1983) assert that code-switching may also consist of insertion of a single word or a phrase.

Poplack (1980) maintains that if a word is phonologically, morphologically and syntactically integrated in the recipient, base or ‘matrix language’ (to use Myers-Scotton’s term), then it should not be treated as CS.

Being a prominent sociolinguist Poplack has conducted extensive research on code-switching in bilingual communities. Her model is based on the principle of functional load, which refers to the frequency and importance of a particular linguistic feature in a given language. She posits that code-switching occurs when a particular language lacks the necessary resources to convey a particular meaning or nuance effectively. In such cases, bilingual speakers may switch to another language that has the required linguistic resources to express the intended message accurately. Poplack's model also takes into account the social and cultural factors that influence code-switching behavior. According to her, bilingual speakers may switch languages to signal their social identities, establish rapport with interlocutors, or express attitudes or emotions.

One of the key contributions of Poplack's model is its emphasis on the role of linguistic structure in code-switching behavior. Poplack's research has shown that certain linguistic features, such as verb morphology or phonological structure, are more likely to trigger code-switching than others. As mentioned in Part 5.1., the model is based on three main types of code-switching: tag-switching, intersentential code-switching, and intrasentential code-switching, commonly observed in bilingual communities. Tag-switching refers to the insertion of a word or phrase from one language into a sentence or phrase predominantly in another language. According to the author, it often occurs at the end of a sentence and is typically used for pragmatic purposes such as emphasis or to convey a particular tone or attitude.

Intersentential code-switching involves switching between languages in different sentences or utterances. Poplack notes that intersentential code-switching is often used for discourse markers, greetings, and addressing someone in a different language.

Intrasentential code-switching involves switching between languages within the same sentence or utterance. Poplack

suggests that intrasentential code-switching can be used for various pragmatic purposes, such as clarification, emphasis, or providing additional information. Overall, Poplack's model highlights the importance of understanding the pragmatic functions of different types of code-switching in bilingual communication. It also emphasizes the complexity of bilingual communication and the need for a nuanced approach to studying the phenomenon. The model provides a useful framework for understanding the complex interplay of linguistic, social, and cultural factors that influence code-switching behavior in bilingual communities.

In the present study Myers-Scotton's (1993) views are quite pertinent, namely that (1) CS and borrowings belong to a continuum which is difficult to delineate; (2) borrowings do not necessarily 'fill in gaps' in the vocabulary of the recipient language (those she calls „cultural borrowings“) but may also have equivalents there („core borrowings“); (3) true borrowings may partly be identified as such taking their frequency of use as a criterion. The latter, however, at least from the point of view of the present research cannot be applied since Bulgarian as the recipient language is involved, for which there are, unfortunately, no frequency dictionaries or databases that could be considered reliable enough. Besides, Bulgarian, like most languages from the former Eastern Bloc, has been in the process of constant and very rapid change since 1990, especially concerning the influx of foreign (primarily English) words and whole discursive structures, so that it is extremely difficult to chart this process. What complicates the problem even more is the fact that the use of English in different social domains and especially age groups varies to a considerable extent. Therefore, since the subjects of the investigation have left Bulgaria at various times and have kept different types of contact (if at all) with their home country, it turns out, as will be seen later in the analysis, that some of the English words and phrases they assume they use as inserted and

thus try to explain or translate, have actually, in the meantime, become relatively widely used in Bulgarian.

By definition, I concur with Eastman (1992: 1), who maintains that „efforts to distinguish codeswitching, codemixing and borrowing are doomed” and that we have to „free ourselves of the need to categorize any instances of seemingly non-native material in language as a borrowing or a switch” (ibid.). In other words, fruitful as they may be for the study of grammatical features of CS, the grammatical approaches fail to account for the elucidation of the reasons why CS occurs.

Considering the definitions quoted above, it can be assumed that conversational code-switching is not only a linguistic, but also a social, psychological and pragmatic phenomenon that may be manifested at all levels of language – phonetic, lexical, phrasal, sentential, and the discourse level. Another premise that is adopted here is that code-switching may occur both consciously and unconsciously.

What follows is the description of the case study among members of the Bulgarian Canadian bilingual community in Canada, followed by the results from the surveys. Data was collected by means of three methods: recorded interviews, questionnaires, observation. Semi-structured interviews of a total of 22.5 hours were conducted with 45 first-generation Bulgarian immigrants to Canada (for a detailed description of data collection, and respondents’ profile, please see section 4.4. above).

According to Sebba (2009: 42-43) there are three types of social factors that define the choice of CS (1) „factors independent of the particular speaker” such as prestige, power relations, economic circumstances; (2) factors that depend on the speakers’ language competence and their social networking, and (3) „factors within the conversations where CS takes place” (ibid., p. 43). The first factor represents social circumstances that are practically the same in the case of our subjects; as to the second factor, subjects

vary depending on the time spent in Canada, age, certain social factors, and needs special attention in a separate study.

The methodology in this study combines Gumperz's (1982) conversational functions of CS with Appel & Muysken's (1987) functions of language, which will shortly be explained below.

Probably the most frequently applied and quoted list of conversational functions of CS is Gumperz's (1982: 75-79) comprising: (A) Quotations, (B) Addressee Specification, (C) Interjections, (D) Reiteration, (E) Message Qualification, and (F) Personalization versus Objectivization. One is message qualification, which means that the code-switched item expands on a previous message; another is quotation – this refers to the use of a phrase or sentence from another language within a larger discourse. For example, a speaker may use a French phrase in an otherwise English conversation to convey a particular meaning or tone. In the case of quotations the speaker reports someone else's words either as reported speech or as direct quotation. Addressee specification is another function of a code-switched item and involves the use of a particular language to address a specific individual or group within a multilingual context. For example, a speaker may use Spanish when addressing a group of Spanish-speaking individuals, even if the speaker is otherwise fluent in English. Personalization or objectification refers to the use of a particular language to either personalize or objectify a message or meaning. For example, a speaker may switch to their native language to express a more personal or emotional message, while using a second language to express a more objective or factual message, thus vacillating between a more personal or a more objective tone. Another function is repetition or reiteration, referring to the repetition of a particular word or phrase in another language to emphasize a point or to clarify a message. For example, a speaker may repeat a word or phrase in both English and Spanish to ensure that their message is fully understood, and the sixth function is when an

interjection is code-switched: the use of a word or phrase from another language to express a particular emotion or reaction. For example, a speaker may use a Spanish exclamation to express surprise or excitement within an otherwise English conversation.

However, the application of Gumperz's model does not always specify which discourse function the speaker accomplishes by, for instance quotation, interjection or message qualification. Therefore, the model will be applied only in order to explicate the functions of CS.

Appel & Muysken (1987: 29) draw on Jakobson's six functions of language (referential, conative, emotive, phatic, metalingual and poetic) and consider them appropriate for the study of code-switching in combination with the domain approach, which examines patterns of language use across domains in general. This classification shall partly be adopted in this study along with Gumperz's model.

1. The referential function – the case where the speakers change the language either because they are not able to find the right word, or the word does not exist. This function of language is concerned with conveying information or referring to objects, events, or concepts. It is the primary function of language in many contexts, such as in scientific writing, news reporting, or instructional texts. Grosjean (1982: 125) calls this „the phenomenon of the most available word” that saves the speaker time and efforts to find the exact word in the current language spoken.

2. The directive and integrative function of language is concerned with influencing the behavior or attitudes of the listener. It is often used in persuasive or directive language, such as in advertisements or political speeches. „By using standard greetings, conventional modes of address, imperatives, exclamations, and questions contacts are made with others and enough of an interactive structure is created to ensure cooperation” (Appel & Muysken 1987: 29).

3. The expressive function of language is concerned with conveying the speaker's emotions, attitudes, and personal opinions. It is often used in literary works, poetry, or personal narratives. „By making one's feelings known one can present oneself to others as a unique individual" (ibid.).

4. The phatic function is observed when the speaker tries to keep communication channels open. This function of language is concerned with establishing and maintaining social relationships between speakers. It is often used in greetings, small talk, or other forms of polite conversation.

5. The metalinguistic function refers to the case when the speaker makes explicit references to one of the languages involved. This function of language is concerned with referring to language itself, as opposed to its referential content. It is often used in language learning or in discussing language as a topic of study.

6. The poetic function of language is concerned with the aesthetic qualities of language, such as its rhythm, rhyme, or imagery. It is often used in poetry or other forms of creative writing. It denotes cases where speakers change the language when they tell jokes or use word-play in another language, or when they try to avoid taboo words and phrases in the main language used in the particular conversation.

These six functions of language can be used in combination or separately, depending on the context and purpose of the communication.

There have certainly been quite a few attempts at similar classifications (e.g. McClure and McClure 1988; Romaine 1989; Nishimura 1997; Zentella 1997, Gardner-Chloros 1991) but they have often been criticized for their lack of clarity or confusion of form and function (see e.g., Auer 1995). Bailey (2002: 77) notes that: „The ease with which such categories can be created – and discrepancies between the code switching taxonomies at which researchers have arrived – hint at the epistemological problems of such taxonomies". Therefore Nilep's (2006: 10) suggestion

will be accepted, namely „to observe actual interaction rather than start from the assumption about the general effects of code switching” and thus make use of some of the classification categories discussed above without, however, sticking to them strictly; and an explanation shall be attempted of the concrete reasons for code-switching in particular repetitive cases of CS.

Since the main focus of the interviews was the identity of the first-generation immigrants they were not too conscious or weary of eventual code-switches, in other words they were not aware that their language use might later on be analysed and therefore focussed more on the content of their answers. As mentioned before, all participants in the interviews, although given a choice between Bulgarian, English or French, chose to speak in Bulgarian.

Functions of code-switching. In view of the classification adopted for this study, the corpus demonstrated instances predominantly of the referential, the expressive and the phatic function. There were no instances of the directive, the poetic or the metalinguistic functions. The distribution can be seen on Fig. 7.

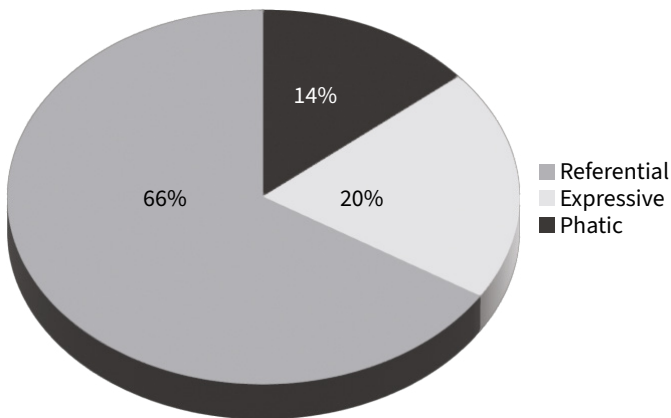


Fig 7. Distribution of functions in the corpus

1. The referential function

Not surprisingly, most of the instances of code-switching demonstrated a dominant referential function – they served to emphasise the message’s denotative purpose in reference to the context or co-text. Three subcategories of the referential code-switches were observed: to refer to culture-specific concepts or realia, to express oneself with a shorter form, and to refer to objects and phenomena the subjects have to deal with primarily in English or French. Each of the subcategories will be discussed more detail.

a. The first subcategory subsumes code-switches which interviewees resort to owing to the fact that they cannot find an immediate **direct equivalent** in the Bulgarian language because there might not be one, or its usage might be rare. For instance:

(90) Много е важно да се знае, че въпреки че когато ме подбират – дошли сме тук с одобрение, в смисъл с виза, с всичко, легално сме влезли в страната с *лендед имигрант виза*, но в крайна сметка излиза, че...

It is very important to know that although when they select you – we arrived here with approval, in the sense of a visa, and everything, we entered the country legally with a *landed immigrant visa*, but in the end it turns out that...

The term *landed immigrant* does not exist in Bulgarian and therefore the interviewee had no choice but to employ the L2 term. Although it has become obsolete in Canadian official documents and replaced by the term *permanent resident* it is still part of the Canadian vocabulary, and is sometimes even present in some government forms. Lack of a Bulgarian equivalent is also the explanation for the CS in example (2):

(91) ...има един елемент на *глас стилинг* както се нарича, където има някакъв вид дискриминация спрямо източноевропейци, което се прогуктува от цялата тази култура на Студената война, и хората от източния блок са били, как да кажа, *рендърт*...

...there's this element of the *glass-ceiling*, as it is called, where there's some kind of discrimination against Eastern Europeans, which is dictated by this whole culture of the Cold war and the people from the Eastern Bloc have been, how should I say, *rendered*...

The idea of a *glass-ceiling* is not part of the Bulgarian conceptual system. For years, there has been no discrimination on the principle of gender in the pay or in the rise to elite positions of females. On the contrary, women were encouraged to perform typically male jobs, especially after World War II. This equality of possibilities also explains the virtual absence of any notable or robust feminist movement in the modern history of Bulgaria. The concept of the glass-ceiling has fairly recently entered the Bulgarian language as a direct translation mainly from books and films.

Example (92) below presents an interesting case: although the word *judge* is present in L₁, the code-switch can be explained by the different procedures of obtaining a citizenship. In Bulgaria, after filling in the appropriate documents, followed by an interview with officials at the Ministry of Justice and the respective checks carried out by the Ministry and other governmental bodies if the need arises, the applicants are informed in writing, i.e. there's no official ritual similar to the Canadian Taking the Oath of Citizenship ceremony, which is presided by a judge.

(92) Друго голямо събитие за мен беше речта... на едн, как се казва той, той е обществена личност, който е *гъбгж*, който води процедурата, когато ставаш канадски гражданин, който изнесе една реч...

Another big event for me was the speech of a... what do you call it, he is a public person, who is a *judge*, who leads the procedure when you become a Canadian citizen, who held a speech...

The context is different however in example (93):

(93) Защитих доктората си в университета на Монреал и получих *меншън*, който се дава веднъж на 30-40 години.

I defended my PhD at Montreal university and received a *mention* which is given once every 30-40 years.

In the above example the interviewee code-switched the word *mention*, and understandably so, since it a concept that does not exist in Bulgarian universities. According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, the meaning of 'honorable mention' (as is the full phrase) is „a distinction conferred (as in a contest or exhibition) on works or persons of exceptional merit but not deserving of top honors”. Bulgarian universities do not bestow *cum laude*, *magna cum laude*, *summa cum laude* for students who excelled in their studies, nor award honorable mentions, hence the code-switched English word.

b. Code-switches are sometimes resorted to by bilinguals or multilinguals in order to achieve **language economy** or **express a concept more succinctly** or more precisely.

(94) Поглеждаш една жена и тя ти казва „Ти ме харасваш“, поглеждаш един мъж и той ти казва „Ти ме харасваш“.

You look at a woman and she says: You're *harassing* me, you look at a man and he says you're *harassing* me.

Harass in the above example is used in the sense of sexual harassment. In order for this notion to be rendered in Bulgarian one would need to use a whole phrase, e.g. *упражнявам сексуален тормоз* and even then, the content of the concept itself would not be quite clear since this is not considered an offence that is triable under Bulgarian law.

The same holds true for examples (95) and (96):

(95) Тогава нямаше *уелфър*.

There was no *welfare* then.

(96) Отидохме в един мол, където продаваха бели тениски и можеш да си *стамп-ваш* нещо и направихме герба и българското знаме.

We went to a mall where they sold white t-shirts, and you can *stamp* something and we did the coat of arms and the Bulgarian flag.

The respective L1 term for *welfare* would be *социална помощ за безработни* and is much longer than the concise L2 term *welfare* which communicates the exact semantic message that the addresser strives to convey.

c. By far the most frequent employment of the referential function of code-switching is to refer to **objects and phenomena**

the interviewees have to deal with primarily in L2 – English or French. An example, given earlier can be adduced to show introducing a French word within the Bulgarian discourse, because of lack of knowledge of it in Bulgarian:

(97) Аз предпочитам да кажа, че съм монреалез,
защото сега живея в Монреал.

I'd rather say I am a *Montréalaise*, because now I live in Montreal.

There is the word *монреалец* in Bulgarian, but this is hardly expected to be known by the emigrant before arriving in Canada and besides the word is not very often used to denote a person from Montreal and even Bulgarians living in Bulgaria might find it strange due to this comparatively rare usage.

Therefore, in such cases there is an equivalent term or phrase in the Bulgarian language but the code-switch is warranted by the differential use of the language. Usually these are situations, concepts and phenomena that interviewees have to deal with outside of their home and consequently revert to English or French. In other words, most formal contacts are effectuated in English or French and most informal interactions in Bulgarian. This clearly shows in the following instances from the corpus:

(98) Това, което ме учуди е да срещна жени на
възрастта на майка ми, които бяха родили да кажем
6 деца, или дванайсет, или тринайсет, петнайсет,
без *гардери*. Каква беше гумата за това?

What really surprised me was meeting women the same age as my mother who had given birth to, say, six children, or twelve, or thirteen, fifteen, and that really

surprised me because, without a... ...*garderie*, what was the word for that?

(99) Всички искаха тука да имам така наречения „*кънейдиън експириънс*“.

Everybody here wanted me to have the so-called *Canadian experience*.

The code-switched words in the following examples are again used when the interviewee is talking about concepts first encountered in the host country. They have their Bulgarian translation, but the immigrant may not be aware of it.

(100) Когато попагнах тука през 1971 година това беше *мвман дьо либерасион де фам* и аз влязох в тази вълна, така да кажем и за *авортъман*... и ми се стори, че не била толкова напреднала тази страна и че жените не са *егал*... на мъжа...

When I found myself here in 1971 that was *mouvement de liberation des femmes* and I entered this wave, so to say, and also for *avortement*... and it seemed to me that this country was not that advanced and that women aren't *egales*... to men...

Quebecois, *les Canadienne*, and *anglo* in example (101) below, are concepts that the interviewee first came across in Canada itself, so it would be very hard indeed to find an equivalent in Bulgarian, especially in rapid speech, therefore, she switched to French for help.

(101) Веднага попагнах в прекрасна френско-канагска фамилия, като казвам френско-



канадска... тогава още не беше известен този изкуствен термин *кебекоа*, който беше измислен по политически причини от сепаратистката партия. Тогава френските канадци се казваха *ле канадиен*, а на другите канадци им казваха *англо*.

Immediately I happened upon a wonderful French-Canadian family, when I say French-Canadian... this artificial term *Quebecois* did not exist then, it was coined for political reasons by the separatist party. Then French-Canadians were called *les canadiennes* and the other Canadians were called *anglo*.

(102) Но лошите намерения са били точно в тия *пансиона*, защото там са им сменили имената, те са ги облекли еднакво, те са ги остригали, нали... А това е такъв ужас, че... и те са искали, те са ги християнизирани. Нали, защото... а като чете човек колко, нали, индианската митология, това е е... *лю католицизм* в сравнение с тая религия това е... много бедна и за съжаление тази страна, която е толкова голяма и природата ѝ е толкова *омнипрезан* да кажем тука има повече природа отколкото хора, нали в процент да кажем само индианците са, те са хора, които са в *комюниен*, те са в *комюниен* с природата и с животните, с които живеят и това е много *респе*... какво беше...?

But the bad intentions came out precisely in those *pensionnats*, because that's where they changed their names, and dressed them all alike, and cut off their hair... The horror of it all...They wanted to Christianise them, didn't they? And when one reads about, learns more about, the Indians' mythology, it's a... In comparison, *le*

Catholicism is a very poor religion and the unfortunate thing is that this country, which is so big and nature is *omnipresente*, we could say there is more nature here than people, percentage-wise, and the Indians are people who are in *communion*, in *communion* with the nature and the animals they live with, and show great – respect... what was the word for that...?

(103) ...моята приятелка кубинката не беше ходила в Куба изобщо 45 години, мисля и сега изведнъж се върна там, защото тя става 65-годишна нали, как се казва *рьотрет... пансион* ще има другата година и според мен тя вижда, че и тя е горе-долу като мене, сама е дошла, и тя не иска да бъде тука, нали... да си кара старите години и се върна в Куба и сега... месец-два и така всяка година.

I have a friend who's Cuban, she hadn't been to Cuba for 45 years, I think, and now suddenly she went back because she's already 65, she's – what do you call it – *retraite* – she'll get a *pension* next year and I think she feels more or less like me, she came here on her own and she doesn't want to spend her last years here, so she's started going back to Cuba for a month or two ever year.

(104) И когато решаваха дали можем да получим гостатъчно точки да се квалифицираме за *пърманент резидънт стейтъс* тука, те изискваха съответно професионални качества, ниво на знаене на език и т.н.

And when they were deciding if we could get sufficient points to qualify for the *permanent resident status* here,

they required respectively professional qualities, level of language command, etc.

In examples (98) – (104) above, the concepts of refugees, Canadian experience, *mouvement de liberacion des femmes*, *avortement*, *egalite*, *pensionnats* (residential schools) are all connected with situations the interviewees had to deal with outside of their home, in a more or less formal English or French-speaking environment. When they have to retrieve the term for the concept, it naturally emerges in the language of its predominant (and perhaps only) use.

(105) В първите години много гържахме на всичките български празници и ритуали да се възпроизвеждат мука доколкото може повече, но и включително да се празнуват всичките празници, които са тук местни, примерно като *тенксгивинг*, *халовин*, което е нещо, което тогава не познавахме.

In the early years we were very insistent that all the Bulgarian holidays and rituals should be reproduced here as much as possible but also including celebrating all the holidays that are local here like *Thanksgiving* and *Halloween*, which is something we didn't know back then.

Thanksgiving and Halloween have now become popular in Bulgaria through the permeation of English-language culture mostly through the influence of American books, films, TV programmes, etc. but they were hardly known and consequently not celebrated at the time the interviewee emigrated to Canada more than fifty years ago.

2. The expressive function

The second in number of incidence is the group of code-switches whose dominant function is expressive. These switches are oriented to the addresser of the message and reflect their response to a situation. They do not modify the denotation of what is being said but provide additional information concerning the internal state of the addresser – their emotions or attitudes.

(106) И всичко могава вече беше добре, съвсем *файн*.

And then everything became fine, absolutely *fine*.

(107) Аз разбрах, че моят град е Монреал без да съм го виждал, защото беше 3 часа сутринта, тъмно, нищо не се вижда, егун *хайвей*, егун автобус...

I realized that my city was Montreal without having seen it, because it was 3 o'clock in the morning, dark, you can't see a thing, a *highway*, a bus...

Some researchers (Romaine 1995) have discerned an analogy between style-shifting in monolinguals and code-switching in bilinguals. Bailey (2009: 358) following Zentella (1997) holds the view that if languages are not ascribed specific functional domains, „the search for a function of a particular switch may be akin to trying to explain why a monolingual speaker selects one synonym or phrasing or another”. In examples (106) and (107) there is an attempt to create an aesthetic, emotional effect and to underscore the difference between ‘us’ and ‘them’, or in Gumperz’s (1982) terms this exemplifies a switch between the ‘we-code’ and the ‘they-code’, categorizing the message in terms of solidarity. In example (131) (in the following Part 4.5), the nationality ‘Bulgarian’ is rendered in three other languages – English, French and Spanish to reinforce more eloquently the idea of the Bulgarian identity

that the speaker feels he has retained. The resort to the English word 'highway' in example (107) can be explained not because this word is missing in the vocabulary of the Bulgarian language, but again as an attestation of this old-new, before-now, us-them dichotomy characteristic of immigrants. It is meant to express the difference from home, the embrace of a new way of life, where even most immediate surrounding objects are different.

3. The phatic function

There were few instances of phatic code-switches found in the corpus for understandable reasons. The phatic function, which is meant to check the working of the channel of communication, to initiate, or discontinue communication, to attract or keep the addressee's attention, was not dominant in a pre-agreed, structured interview, where the interviewer and the interviewee had each other's full attention. Therefore, there was practically no need for this function, and this is displayed in the corpus. The few examples of code-switches serving a phatic function are given below:

(108) ...камо почнеш от храната и стигнеш го
начина, по който се изразяваш. *Енд ъф стори.*

...starting from the food and going to the way you
express yourself. *End of story.*

(109) Аз мисля, че имам български, бо, канадски
паспорт.

I think I have a Bulgarian passport, *bon*, Canadian
passport.

The choice of code-switches in examples (90) to (109) was based on their being illustrative of one more or less dominant

function. The corpus was replete with instances where several functions intertwined in one stretch of discourse, as is certainly characteristic of most kinds of communication. Some of these examples will be adduced further on.

As mentioned above, three functions of CS were not observed in the corpus. This fact could tentatively be explained by the following facts: (1) The directive and integrative function, expected to ensure cooperation proved redundant in the case of these interviews since the interviewer knew the subjects personally quite well; (2) The absence of the metalinguistic function could also be explained by the already described format of the interviews – they were primarily directed toward the content rather than the ways and means of expression and the subjects code-switched unconsciously, aiming mainly at making themselves understood correctly; (3) The poetic function, according to its definition, is not really clearly delineated from the expressive function, so from a practical point of view, all such instances were classified under the ‘expressive function’, while from a theoretical point of view the two functions do not need to be distinguished.

Compensatory mechanisms

The focus of this section falls on some of the mechanisms employed by the interviewees when they switch codes and what is achieved by the particular CS. The corpus presented instances of reiteration, message qualification, quotations, interjections, as well as resort to calques. It will be enough to adduce some examples which present a mixture of functions and mechanisms, demonstrating the complex factors that accompany the process of switching between two or more languages.

Here is an example of message qualification. The speaker first says RVs and then qualifies and clarifies the message further by offering the full text of the abbreviation (note also the code-switched *customer service*, which falls under the referential

function as a concept that until recently was not very much present in the Bulgarian language):

(10) Единственият човек, който ми даде шанс беше холандка, която ме назначи да работя като *кътълър сървис* в една компания, даваща пог наем *арвис*, това какво беше – *रिकреийшънъл вийкълс*...

The only person who gave me a chance was a Dutch woman, who gave me work as *customer service* in a company, renting out *RVs*, what was that – *recreational vehicles*...

(11) ...създава се впечатление в съзнанието на хората, че те са нещо различно, че са някаква група, която се третира като нещо различно – *дифрѐнт*, като *ди ъдър*, в кавички сложено и това продължава, както казвам да се *реинфорс бай мас мидия и кълчър* чрез филми.

...an impression is created in people's minds that they are something different, that they are a group that is treated as something different – *different*, like *the other*, in quotation marks, and this continues as they say to be *reinforced by mass media and culture* in films.

In example (11) we are witnessing a reiteration – the word *different* is code-switched with the aim of highlighting, of amplifying the meaning, then comes a reformulation, or message specification by the code-switched *the other* with the idea of further emphasizing the distinctness, the difference.

More often than not, there is a code-switched word in English or French, followed by a repeated word or phrase in

Bulgarian, making an attempt to gloss it. The speaker cannot immediately think of the respective word or phrase in L1, but then when it comes to him or her, it is reiterated in Bulgarian as in the following four examples:

(112) Аз не бях опитвал *пийнът бътър*, фъстъчено
масло.

I hadn't had peanut butter before, *peanut butter*.

(113) Така че мисля, че тези *кебекоа*, те са имигранти но не искат да си го признаят, за тях това е, знаете, *сюже делика*, деликатна тема и дори сега, като празнуват 400 години на *вил дьо Кебек* може да видиш едиг-двама индиански вождя защото така изглежда по-добре. Аз съм много против религията, защото тези колони...Аз съм антиколониалист...

So I think, these *Québécois*, they are immigrants but they don't want to admit it, to them it's a, you know, *sujet délicat*, and even now, as they celebrate 400 years of this *Ville de Québec*, you can see one or two Indian chiefs because, you know, it looks better that way...I am very much against religion because these coloni...I'm an anti-coloniste...

(114) И така взех самолета до Гандер и когато слязох, поисках *емиграцион*, емиграция. Така се случи.

So I took the plane to Gander and when I got off I requested *emigracion*, emigration, and... That's how it happened.

(115) Как да празнуваме това *аниверсер* като знаем, че като са дошли от Франция, те са дошли с идеята да ги конвертирам за *католицизм* и те са казали тия хора са *соваж*, *дивиаци*.

How can we celebrate this *anniversaire* when we know that they came from France, with the idea of converting them for *Catholicisme* and they said these people are *sauvage*, *sauvage*.

In the example below, the interviewee is having trouble finding the right word in Bulgarian for *creativity*. Her compensatory mechanism is rather interesting: she code-switches the word in French, then reiterates it in English and then attempts a translation in Bulgarian:

(116) През 1986 година ме поканиха на няколко лекции за *креацион*, *криейшън*, за създаването, творчеството – искаха да ме назначат за преподавател, редовен в *университе дьо Монреал*.

In 1986 they invited me for a few lectures about *creation*, *creation*, creativity – they wanted to employ me as a lecturer, full-time, at *Université de Montréal*.

Interestingly enough there were instances of the opposite – a word or phrase initially uttered in Bulgarian, and then clarified further in French or English:

(117) Баща ми е от Сухингол и аз се чувствам близо до селото, селяните – *ле пейзаж* – и мисля, че българинът има уважение към земята и тази черта българска я намирам в индианците.

My father is from Suhindol and I feel close to the countryside, to the villagers – *les paysans* – and think that Bulgarians have respect for the land and this Bulgarian trait I find in the Indians.

(118) Монреал беше моят град интуитивно. На другия ден разбрах нещо. Имало река – Свети Лаврентий, *сейнт Лорънс*.

Montreal was intuitively my city. The following day I found out why. There was a river – St Lawrence, *St Lawrence*.

The speaker in example (117) obviously wants to make sure that she has used the right Bulgarian word and just in case is repeating it in French in order to elucidate the intended meaning. In (118) the interviewee is not quite certain if he has translated the name of the river appropriately in Bulgarian and whether the interviewer understands which river he has in mind, therefore offers further clarification by reiterating the name in English.

Reiteration and repetition can also have the purpose of creating coherence within the speech of the bilingual, without sounding impolite or arrogant.

There are three instances of CS in the example below.

(119) Контактувам си с хора, като например музиканти като А. Л. примерно. Която прави концерти и се опитва да, как се казва – ту *промоут* ...*еницей*, да, гледай как не ми идва българската гума, да утвърждава или да *презентира* българската култура чрез музика.

I'm in contact with people, such as for example the musician A.L., for example, who has concerts and is trying to, how you say it – to *promote*... anyway, yes, see how the Bulgarian world does not occur to me, to strengthen or *present* Bulgarian culture through music.

Using the English verb *promote* can be classified under the third subgroup of referential meaning above. Then there's the interjection 'anyway' which seems to convey the feeling that the bilingual speaker has at that moment assumed the role of an English-language speaker and the previous code-switched word has acted as a trigger for maintaining the change of codes. The last instance of a CS is the word *презентура* which is a calque of the verb *present*. The interviewee is not even aware that she is code-switching, she is trying to look for the Bulgarian word for *promote* and thinks she has found it by means of the calque.

The interviewees did not resort quite often to quotations – there were only four instances in the corpus – one of the switches was to French, two others to English and the fourth to Serbian.

(120) Както казват в Квебек: *Vous êtes tous Québécois.*

They say in Québec: *You are all Quebecers.*

(121) И могава ми казаха: „Юџр гомџр ис абсџлумли бџмуфџл“.

And then they said: *„Your daughter is absolutely beautiful“.*

Quotations provide the speaker with another voice with which to encode a message, allows for a shift of point of view. They are rendered in the language they were spoken. This is in

keeping with the rule postulated by Gumperz (1982: 82) that „a message is quoted in the code in which it was said”.

Another characteristic of the speech of the interviewees was the extensive use of language transfer on all language levels. Starting from phonetic interference from L2 and transfer into L1 (Québec pronounced as [kebek], c.f. the standard Bulgarian pronunciation [kvebek]) to lexical:

(122) Тогава разбрах, колко са важни *конекциите* между емигрантите... а и между хората изобщо.

Then I realized how important the *connections* between immigrants were... and among people in general.

to phraseological interference as in:

(123) Те не дойдоха в Канада *поради въпроси на фамилия*.

They did not come to Canada *because of family matters/ issues*.

Calques can be considered part of the covert interaction (Marian 2009: 163) in the language production of bilinguals since they are used in L1 in a way that is semantically or syntactically inappropriate for L2.

The linguistic means by which code-switching is performed is exceptionally important from a research point of view. Issues connected to the phonology, lexis, syntax and discourse characteristics of code-switching such as words from which grammatical class are most often switched, the morphophonemic integration of code-switched items, the creation and characteristics of an interlanguage, etc., merit a more detailed discussion and remain outside the scope of the present study.



5.4. Some further pragmatic considerations in code-switching: the „why”

In this section the reasons for alternating languages in a stretch of spoken discourse will be further discussed in more detail and code-switches will be examined beyond the semantic content of language items. The relation between structural (grammatical) patterns and pragmatic functions and how bilingual speakers employ these patterns to achieve their communicative goal, as well as which factors are at play in determining the switches – external or internal, have been considered the focal point in research on the topic. Studies on code-switching have generally tried to answer these two principal questions: **how** they happen, and which grammatical principles govern code-switches on the one hand, and **why** they occur, on the other. The latter is concerned with the social, pragmatic, etc. functions of code-switching and is connected to variables such as participants in the communication, topic specification, attitude, emphasis, among others. It is precisely the 'why' that will be the focus of this section.

Several classification models that further develop the ones discussed in the previous section will be highlighted and examples from the corpus of this study will be adduced.

We need to start with the pragmatic functions of language in general, which refer to the way language is used in different contexts to achieve particular communicative goals. Here are some examples of how different well-known authors who need no referencing have identified and described pragmatic functions of language.

J.L. Austin proposed the concept of „speech acts“ as a way to describe the pragmatic functions of language. He argued that



when people speak, they are not only conveying information, but also performing actions, such as making promises, giving orders, or expressing opinions. According to Austin, speech acts can be analyzed based on three dimensions: locutionary (the literal meaning of the words), illocutionary (the intended function of the speech act), and perlocutionary (the effect on the listener). Grice suggested that speakers and listeners have certain expectations for how conversations should be structured and how language should be used. He proposed the concept of „conversational implicature“ to describe the ways in which speakers imply meanings beyond the literal content of their words. Grice identified four maxims of conversation: quantity (providing the right amount of information), quality (speaking truthfully), relevance (staying on topic), and manner (being clear and concise).

Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson developed a theory of politeness to explain how people use language to show respect and maintain social relationships. They proposed that politeness is based on two principles: positive face (the desire to be liked and respected) and negative face (the desire to be free from imposition or constraint). According to Brown and Levinson, speakers use different strategies to balance these two principles and avoid threatening the listener's face.

John Searle expanded on Austin's theory of speech acts by proposing five categories of speech acts: assertives (making statements), directives (giving commands), commissives (making commitments), expressives (expressing attitudes or emotions), and declarations (creating new social realities). Searle also argued that speech acts are subject to „felicity conditions,“ or criteria that must be met in order for the speech act to be successful.

The concept of „face“ to describe the social identity that individuals present to others was used by Erving Goffman. He argued that face is a delicate balance between the desire for

social approval and the desire for autonomy and independence. Goffman identified several strategies for managing face, including „face-saving“ (preserving one’s own face) and „face-giving“ (recognizing and validating the face of others).

These are just a few examples of the many ways in which scholars have analyzed the pragmatic functions of language which have a bearing on the use of monolinguals and bi- or multilinguals alike. Therefore, pragmatic aspects of code-switching refer to the social and contextual factors that influence the use of code-switching in communication focusing on how meaning is conveyed through language use in different contexts, and how it is used to achieve specific pragmatic functions.

Some broad pragmatic aspects of code-switching can be subsumed under several categories. Code-switching can signal social identity and membership in a particular community or group or social distance. For example, a bilingual speaker might use one language to communicate with family members and another language in a professional setting to signal their competence and professionalism. It can be used to signal social distance between interlocutors, such as to emphasize a power differential or to distance oneself from a particular social group.

It can be used as a tool for accommodation, where speakers adjust their language use to fit the needs of their conversational partner. A speaker might switch to a language that is more comfortable for their conversation partner, such as speaking English with someone who is more proficient in English than the speaker’s other language. Code-switching can be resorted to in order to create humor or irony: using a word or phrase from one language in a context where it is unexpected.

Code-switching can be used to emphasize a particular point or to convey a particular emotion. For example, a speaker might switch to a language that is more expressive or has a richer vocabulary to express a particular emotion or to add emphasis to a point they are making or highlight the novelty



or importance of a word or expression. Another use can be to clarify meaning or to provide additional information in cases when a speaker might switch to a language that has a more specific term or phrase to explain a concept that is difficult to express in another language, such as by using a term from another language to explain a technical term or to provide additional context. This can help to avoid ambiguity and ensure that the intended message is accurately conveyed.

Switching between the two language systems can be used to establish or reinforce group dynamics. For example, a group of bilingual speakers might switch to a common language to include or exclude members of the group or to signal the group's identity and cohesion. It can create a sense of in-group rapport by establishing a shared linguistic and cultural experience. This can enhance social bonding and create a more comfortable atmosphere for communication.

Another reason for code-switching can be that it can serve as a discourse marker to signal changes in topic, emotion, or attitude. For instance, switching to a different language or language variety can be used to signal a shift in conversational tone or to emphasize a particular point. Code-switched items can also be used as fillers and hedges: using code-switching to fill gaps in one's knowledge or to soften the impact of a statement. For example, a speaker might use a phrase from another language as a filler when searching for the right word in the dominant language.

There have been many classifications of pragmatic code-switching, which have included various criteria. In his seminal study, Gumperz (1982) provides six functions of code-switching as a conversational strategy which highlight the diverse ways in which speakers use multiple languages to convey meaning and communicate effectively in multilingual contexts. From structuring discourse and qualifying messages to establishing

social relationships and referring to cultural concepts, code-switching serves a valuable function in facilitating communication and conveying meaning in multilingual settings

In his much-quoted work, after criticizing extreme theories of code-switching that are, in his view, doomed to failure, Auer (1995: 132) suggests adding a third domain in studying the functions of code-switching:

between the grammar of code-alternation on the one hand and its social meaning for the bilingual community at large on the other, there is a third domain that needs to be taken into account: that of the sequential embeddedness of code-alternation in conversation.

Baker (2006) proposed twelve over-lapping purposes of codeswitching:

1. for emphasis, or when a specific point requires highlighting or is key in an utterance;
2. for substituting a word that the speaker does not know in the language: this may occur when the speaker switches languages in different spheres (e.g. between personal and professional domains);
3. for expressing a concept with no equivalent in the other language (for instance, the Canadian term *allophone*, a resident whose first language is neither French nor English, does not exist in Bulgarian);
4. for reinforcing a request: a command or request may be repeated as a code-switch to accentuate on it or emphasize authority;
5. for clarifying a point through repetition: the idea is that repetition adds support and fortifies comprehension;
6. for communicating friendship or the need to be accepted by peers;

7. for reporting a conversation that occurred in L2;
8. for interjecting into a conversation: switching languages may be used to signal intervening in a conversation;
9. for easing tension and for humorous effect – a code-switch may indicate a shift in mood;
10. for signaling a change of attitude: it may express narrowing of social distance, may convey solidarity and empathy;
11. for excluding people from a verbal exchange – for instance using the minority L1 in public places when speakers do not want to be understood by speakers of the majority language;
12. for introducing topics.

Studying the language situation in Quebec, Heller (1992, 1995) considers the phenomenon of code-switching as a political tactic whereby dominant groups resort to specific language alternative to reinforce and maintain their perceived domination, and subordinate groups may choose code alternation to reformulate the value of symbolic language resources. According to Heller, when alternating codes, individuals can assume the role of two identities so that anglophones in Quebec can attain a place in a business environment where francophones are in charge and simultaneously holding on to an anglophone identity, which is extremely valuable economically on an international level. Therefore in her view, socio-political factors are influential in the incidence of code-switching.

These are just several of the many classifications by researchers who study why bilinguals chose to use code-switching in a sentence or between sentences. Quite often, some of the categories are not well-defined and are not always unambiguous. For instance, as Auer (1995: 120) points out, typologies „often confuse conversational structures, linguistic forms and functions of code-alternation” and gives as an example

reiteration, which is not necessarily used to provide emphasis, since emphasis and reiteration are on different levels: a function of code-alternation and a conversational structure, respectively.

Another aspect of these classifications is that they are an open set, which implies that code-switching is a creative activity and every and any single instance can have a function in a verbal exchange. No classification can encompass the whole broad range of pragmatic possibilities; therefore, any such lists can only be used to indicate the possible functions a switch can have. In addition, the question that always remains in such studies is which switches have a pragmatic motivation?

Not all switches are pragmatically determined – there are lexical items, words or expressions, that are predominantly resorted to when there are lexical gaps between the two languages (c.f. Auer 1995). Poplack (1985) considers that code-switching does not carry any pragmatic significance. In the same vein, Barredo (2003) found that Basque-Spanish bilinguals may code-switch with Spanish for various reasons, one being linguistic: the code-switched Spanish lexical item was used to compensate for either a momentary or permanent lexical gap in Basque. So some switches are conditioned not by specific pragmatic considerations but by the need to express something in L2 that does not exist in L1 or the speaker does not know the correct term or expression.

Overall, these classifications provide a useful framework for understanding the different ways in which language is used in social contexts to achieve communicative goals. Different contexts and situations may require different pragmatic functions, and speakers may use a combination of functions in order to achieve their communicative goals.

While these models differ in their focus and approach to classifying code-switching, they all highlight the important role of pragmatic factors in shaping bilingual language use. By examining the social, emotional, and interactional functions of

code-switching, these models provide insight into the complex ways in which bilingual speakers use language to negotiate their identities and manage their social interactions.

It is important to note that these categories are not mutually exclusive, and that code-switches can serve multiple functions at the same time. For example, a code-switch might be used to signal in-group identification as well as to clarify a meaning.

One challenge in studying the pragmatic functions of code-switching is that they can be highly context-dependent on factors such as the speakers' identities, the social norms of the community, and the communicative goals of the conversation. Thus, many researchers have argued that a thorough analysis of code-switching must take into account not only the linguistic features of the code-switch, but also the broader sociocultural context in which it occurs.

In the corpus under study there were instances of various pragmatic functions of code-switched items. Several examples will be given as an exemplification of why code-switches were used under broad generalized headings of pragmatic functions. Some have already been discussed under different headings but will be adduced here as instances of different pragmatic functions.

Some switches can be described as situational – when a contextualized situation is given, and **the speaker assumes a different role** in the communication act as in the following three examples:

(124) Много им е лесно на канадците да си намерят работа и могат да те нарекат *лүзър*, ама не е точно така.

It's easier for Canadians to find a job and they can call you a *loser* but that's not quite right.

(125) Да, то има едно таква понятие изобщо в Северна Америка, не само в Канада, което се използва за емигранти от Европа... Викам ни *гайт траш*...

Yes, there is such a concept in general in North America, not only in Canada, which is used about emigrants from Europe... they call us *white trash*...

(126) Казваха ми – трябва много *хард ърк* преди изобщо да си помислиш да постигнеш нещо като емигрант.

They said to me – there's a lot of *hard work* before you can think of achieving anything as an immigrant.

In the above instances the speakers use a quotation to distance themselves from their own identity and present a locution that was uttered by someone else. Moreover, in the first two cases the speakers demonstrate disapproval of and to a certain extent irony towards what is being said, therefore the switches carry an **emotional function** as well. An emotional function is also demonstrated in the following example, where the item *suckers* is switched – expressing a negative attitude to the people referred to. It is also used because of a lack of a precise Bulgarian equivalent of the English word *sucker*:

(127) Те са *съкър-и*.

They are *suckers*.

The next example can be considered as an instance of the **self-identification function**:

(128) Как се чувствам ли? Еми не бих се върнал
обратно, *период*.
How do I feel? Well, I wouldn't go back, *period*.

The speaker above starts the sentence in Bulgarian and ends it in English whereby the code-switch specifies this double identity and is meant to demonstrate their English language proficiency as a manifestation of this second identity. The code-switched expression can also be said to have a **topic-related function**. The speaker clearly signals the end of this topic or at least all they are prepared to say on that topic.

In quite a number of instances, the switch was used as a means of **clarification of meaning** or with a **metalinguistic purpose**. In such cases, the speaker offers information as clarification or explanation of a meaning of a word or expression as in:

(129) Еми брат ми и баща ми бяха ги взели в кемп...
в лагер и аз затуй избягах..

Well, my brother and father were taken to a *camp*...
camp and that's why I ran away.

(130) Тогава нямаше *allocations de chômage*... помощи
за безработни...

There were no *allocations de chômage*... unemployment
benefits...

It is interesting to note, as mentioned earlier, that the clarification function can be performed by an L1 or an L2 item, as the two sentences above demonstrate.

Another pragmatic function that code-switches can have is **connotational implication**. The sentence below is such an example (already discussed under a different section):

(131) Продължавам да съм винаги българин, но българ, но българ, но българ, гаже испанофоните, с които съм работил ми викам *il bulgare*.

I continue to be always Bulgarian, *le bulgare*, *le bulgare*, *le bulgare*, even the Hispanophones I have worked with call me *il bulgare*.

The code-switched *le bulgare* and *il bulgare* could have been easily rendered by the Bulgarian word *българин*. It can hardly be said that the speaker has difficulties remembering the word. The three words in Bulgarian, in French and in Spanish have the same denotation. What is different in this case and what warrants the switch is the connotation that the speaker thinks the respective words in French and Spanish carry – namely importance, uniqueness, authority. This connotation was also reinforced in the manner of speaking and the tone of voice of the speaker.

Some switches, as mentioned above, can be considered as **linguistically motivated** – they were either items that speakers lacked in their native language, or items that would lead to language economy because the code-switched term would lead to a better understanding of the concept. This can be observed in the following examples:

(132) Децата от началото още започнаха да ягат *путин* – това е една загост... пържени картофи и нещо като извара, полято с кафяв сос...

The kids started eating *poutine* from the very beginning – this is disgusting – French fries with something like cheese curd and gravy...

(133) Има едни такива изисквания за работа... първоначално – га си работил преди га гоїдеш

В Канада, да имаш образование, трябва да си бил
волънтиър...

There are some work requirements... initially – you
have to have worked before you come to Canada, to
have a degree, you have to have been a *volunteer*...

(134) Аз си останах българин като *айгентити*
мака да се каже...

I have remained a Bulgarian as *identity* so to speak...

The word *identity* in example (134) certainly does exist in Bulgarian with the same Latin root, but when the interviewee left Bulgaria, the origin society was rather homogeneous, and topics of identity were not commonly discussed, so the interviewee would have difficulties recalling the word in Bulgarian, therefore resorting to a switch. In other words, the use of a code-switch in the above examples is not conditioned by pragmatic considerations or inferencing, but simply because the speaker does not know the term and as such these instances are related to the speakers' linguistic competence more than to a pragmatic motivation unless linguistic necessity is looked upon as a pragmatic reason.

There were no instances in the corpus under study of **addressee-oriented** code-switches, or switches that can signal or specify **participants' position or relationship** or their **inclusion or exclusion**. This can be explained by the fact that all the recorded conversations were not free and spontaneous speech per se but were under the form of an interview with clear roles of interviewer and interviewee, thus there was no pragmatic need to mark these interlocutor aspects of the conversation.

In conclusion, the brief look at some of the pragmatic functions of code-switching in the study has shed light on

this complex linguistic phenomenon, revealing the many ways in which speakers use code-switching to achieve their communicative goals. By examining the functions and types of code-switches that occur in different contexts, a deeper understanding can be gained of the role that code-switching plays in multilingual communication, as well as the ways in which it reflects and reinforces social identity and relationships.

Code alternation is a complex linguistic behavior that serves multiple pragmatic functions, including social identity negotiation, emotion regulation, and discourse management. Pragmatic models provide valuable tools for classifying and understanding code-switching and can help better understand the social and linguistic factors that shape bilingual language use. By examining the ways in which bilingual speakers use code-switching in different contexts, a deeper appreciation can be gained for the rich and varied ways in which language is used in everyday life.



5.5. Concluding remarks

Undoubtedly, the complex phenomenon of code-switching allows for a multitude of diverse interpretations depending on the type of perspective – linguistic, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic and on the type of tasks researchers set themselves. On the basis of the recorded interviews an attempt has been made to shed some light on the process of CS in the language of Bulgarian Canadians. Many reasons for CS have been highlighted by previous research, ranging from difference in the discourse strategy, aspiration to solidarity with a group, prestige, lack of formal knowledge in the languages, among others.

The results of the study give sufficient grounds to conclude that the most frequent function of CS is to refer to concepts, ideas, phenomena, situations, interactions that speakers have to deal with in L2, or culture-specific concepts and realia that cannot be referred to in L1, therefore leading to expressing the concept with a word or phrase from L2.

The study suggests that several reasons for CS can be singled out. The most common one is the uneven distribution in the use of L1 and L2, with L1 mostly used for personal, informal, family communication, while reserving the formal functions – work, communicating with official bodies, for the L2. Hence the harder retrieval of words or phrases which come from the less frequently used domain in that language. Another reason for CS that arose in the process of this study is that speakers resort to switching in order to express a message more succinctly, or more clearly in one language than in another. Some concepts and ideas are much more easily rendered in English or French than in Bulgarian.

The above claims are based both on the presented results and on the overall discussions of these problems with the interviewees, which cannot be included here since the texts would be too long.

The study is also in line with some more recent tendencies to look at migrant communities' language performance „locally and ethnographically” (Bucholz and Skapoulli 2009: 2), without opposing it to a dominant nation-state language. Categories like „transmigration” (Stein 2008) and „super-diversity” (e.g., Blommaert 2010, among others) attempt at explanations going beyond typically European monolingual nation-state ideologies and understand code-switching as a natural phenomenon (not as an exception in need of research!) reflecting the increased mobility of people, languages, cultures and artefacts. Bailey (2009) points to the negative effects of essentialist ideologies in Europe, reflected strongly in the educational systems as well. Whether this is the case in officially bilingual Canada is a political dispute that has no place here but seems an interesting point of departure for future research.

From a purely linguistic point of view, it seems that modern sociolinguistics is dominated by the Danish school of scholars who have introduced new terms such as ‘*linguaging*’, and ‘*poly-linguaging*’ under the conditions of superdiversity and start from the assumption that the traditional view of ‘*a language*’ no longer reflects and serves the needs of present-day multicultural societies (Jorgensen 2010, Moller 2009 among others). This approach is even better applicable to the well-recognized multicultural Canadian society and is definitely worth employing in further investigations.

The respondents in the present study did not demonstrate indisputable aspects of language attrition of L1. Not all of the code-switches can be explained or analysed from the viewpoint of attrition. On the contrary, most participants showed explicit or implicit pride in using Bulgarian (and not English or French,

which they had the option to choose) as the language of the interview (see section 4.4), trying to use proper grammatical structures, lexis and syntax.

Quite a few of the examples in the study show that just after a code-switched word or phrase immediately follows a word or phrase in L1, which testifies that this is not a case of attrition *per se*. So as to reach valid conclusions about attrition, data collected from the language in immigrant communities should be contrasted with the speech of a control group made up of monolingual native language speakers, excluding dialects or sociolects in the immigrant group; moreover, native speakers should be used as experts and informants in relation to the collected language data.

Therefore, the evidence in this study relating to language attrition is inconclusive. More research needs to be carried out to confirm that the interlanguage, used by the first-generation Bulgarian Canadians signals the attrition of certain language aspects of L1.

The pragmatic functions of the code-switches elicited in the present study can be grouped under different headings: situational, emotional, self-identification, clarification of meaning, connotational implication. There were no instances in the corpus under study of addressee-oriented code-switches, or switches that can signal or specify participants' position or relationship or their inclusion or exclusion.

The pragmatic classification of code-switching can have important implications for language policy and language education. By understanding the communicative purposes that code-switching serves in different contexts, educators and policymakers can better support multilingual and multicultural communities and promote effective language use. Furthermore, by recognizing the diversity of communicative functions that code-switching can serve, researchers and educators can help to challenge the stigma and stereotypes that are often associated with multilingualism and language mixing.



6. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the study was to present an interdisciplinary sociolinguistic and sociocultural analysis of first-generation Bulgarian immigrants to Canada in order to fill in a void in current research on this particular topic. In order to achieve this comprehensive representation, the study was divided into subtopics which were analysed within the broad-based topic. Thus, conclusions were reached on each subtopic: motives for emigrating, with view to how welcoming or not the Canadian immigrant policy is; the image of Canada in Bulgaria, the cultural identity of Bulgarians in Canada, the ease with which these first-generation immigrants integrated in Canadian society, their sociocultural experiences, and the level and reasons of code-switching between Bulgarian and English or French; and how it reflects on the language they use.

Since the beginning of its existence Canada has been viewed as a welcoming immigrant nation – one-fifth of the total population was born outside of Canada (Pison 2019), and with its multicultural policy has thus proved attractive for immigrants pursuing economic prosperity, life free of religious constraints, lack of political oppression, security and safety. Although the Canadian model of integrating immigrants undeniably demonstrates downsides as was discussed in the relevant section, Canada retains high appeal for many who are contemplating moving to another country either for short periods for work, or to remain there permanently and this also applies to Bulgarian immigration to Canada. Therefore, the Canadian multicultural policy can definitely be considered as one of the pull factors for Bulgarian immigrants.



Another pull factor for immigrating is the image that Bulgarians have of Canada and the Canadian way of life, which was studied through the genres general editors of Bulgarian publishing houses choose to have translated and present to the Bulgarian reading public, and the image young people in Bulgaria (home and overseas students) have, based on questionnaires conducted with the respondents. It was revealed that Bulgarian publishers abide by global trends in the choice of literature to translate – mainly fiction and popular non-fiction in the form of novels with a dearth of poetry or short-story collections. Ethnic and regional literature is also not on the list. Therefore, although Canadian culture is firmly established amongst the Bulgarian reading public through the translated literature, Bulgarian readers do not have full access to the rich diversity of Canada.

When surveyed about their knowledge and impressions of Canada, the 28 Bulgarian students and 22 overseas students in Bulgaria were not well-versed on Canadian topics, especially concerning the country's social policy (one of the great prides of Canadians), or in general factual knowledge on geography, history or politics. Most students, however, expressed the view that Canada could be described as a tolerant, democratic, social, and immigrant country. The surveyed students based their perception of Canada on feature films and documentaries (50%), the internet (40%), accounts of friends and relatives with first-hand experience of Canada (nearly 30%), personal first-hand experience from the student who had been to the country, and video games. All in all, there was a marked positive perception of Canada among the respondents.

The image that Bulgarians have of Canada and the Canadian way of life is consequential to the present study since to a certain degree it might be considered to provide the reasons for immigration, especially for young people, and the ensuing structure of the Bulgarian diaspora in Canada.

Section Four presented a study of different aspects of the Bulgarian Community in Canada, starting with the periods, reasons, accommodation of the Bulgarian immigrants in the host country. Three immigration waves were defined – the first spanning after the liberation from Ottoman rule until the end of World War II, the second from the end of World War II until the changes in 1989 and the third and present one since 1989. All periods are marked by predominant reasons for immigration: in brief, the first immigration wave was made up of economic immigrants, mostly unskilled labourers, the second mainly consisted of individuals leaving Bulgaria for political reasons, and the third period, which started with economic crises and political instability, witnessed well-educated, professional immigrants, with good jobs in Bulgaria, but aspiring for a better life. The respondents in the survey predominantly belong to the third wave of immigrants.

Another aspect of the Bulgarian community in Canada that was studied was the information interests of the Bulgarian community in Canada through the Toronto-based *Bulgarian Horizons*, the longest-running and most widely circulated biweekly for Bulgarians living in Canada. The conclusions that can be drawn are that Bulgarians in Canada tend to live not in one close community, but in various smaller groups formed of close friends and relatives and are interested mainly in things happening within it or in Bulgaria. Most respondents confessed to not taking an active part or interest in community events and rarely attend the Bulgarian church or community celebrations of national holidays. Thus, despite the goals the newspaper proclaims to have, it does not play a significant part in the everyday life of Bulgarian Canadians. In addition, another conclusion that can be drawn from the survey results is that immigrants demonstrate a strong provincial affiliation, which is also typical in general even for native-born Canadians. A further finding is that what a respondent reads is contingent on the



time they have spent in the country and what their age group is, with greater homesickness observed with immigrants who have spent a longer time away from their home country, while recent immigrants are more oriented towards adapting to the realities in the host country. And another expected result that came up in the survey: the younger a person is, the less likely they are to rely on newspapers for information.

The respondents in this second survey were 25 male and 20 female first-generation Bulgarian immigrants to Canada, varying in age from twenty-five to seventy-six, with most in their forties and fifties, who left the home country between 1948-1998, and settled in the host country between 1954-2005; fifteen living in Montreal, nineteen in Toronto and eleven in Vancouver.

Their responses were analysed from three perspectives: interviewees' own perception of cultural identity and their reflection on sociocultural practices; the linguistic and the sociolinguistic behaviour of the respondents: the factors of code-switching and the manner in which it is integrated into respondents' speech, the linguistic level of the switch, the parts of speech that are most commonly switched, the degree of interference between the native and adopted language, among others. One interesting observation that resulted from this study is related to respondents' desire to go back to the home country: contrary to Safran's findings (1991), most members of the Bulgarian diaspora did not manifest this yearning to go back, nor did they express or feel a strong belonging to the home country. However, they admitted to keeping in contact with relatives and close friends in Bulgaria and staying *au courant* with current affairs in the home country. As a result, it can safely be concluded that they can be rightfully called transmigrants with ties and loyalty to both countries.

Another important conclusion that can be drawn is that there is a tangible feeling of hybrid identity expressed by the majority of respondents, in tune with the notion of paradoxical identity postulated by oxymoronic definitions of

diasporic communities. Thus, although Canada is viewed as the quintessential multicultural and multiethnic society, Bulgarians ostensibly do not display categorical and unconditional belonging to their host country. Nor do they identify themselves as part of a larger community tied by national origin but rather choose to socialize with small groups of Bulgarians.

The predominant number of respondents opted for immigrant life because of what they anticipated as better opportunities in Canada only to discover that there is a catch-22: even if you have the appropriate educational level and the required skills you need Canadian experience and in order to accumulate work experience in Canada, you have to be hired. Therefore, the highly-skilled, educated immigrants of the third wave who are the object of this study suffered disenchantment created by the discrepancy between their expectations and the reality once they were legally admitted to Canada based on precisely these qualifications.

Most immigrants considered themselves well-adjusted to the working environment in Canada, although not so on a personal level. The factors that were influential for the integration and acculturation of the Bulgarians were the following: the age at which they immigrated (not their current age) and where they spent their growing-up years, their professional realisation related to qualifications, which turned out to be crucial in determining the extent of adjustment and integration. Educational level did not appear to be significant in this respect, what seems to have a bearing on how integrated they consider themselves in Canadian society is where they received this education – in the home or host country.

The next set of conclusions ensuing from the analysis is based on the language mixing observed in the oral interviews with the same group of respondents. The aim of that part of the research was to highlight the reasons for code-switching, the linguistic levels where it most often takes place, whether it is

nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, etc. that are most effortlessly prone to switches, and the ways language items are integrated in the L1 language phonemically, morphologically, and syntactically.

It can be deduced that the cohort under investigation most commonly resorted to code-switching when referring to notions, ideas and experiences that are specific to L2 culture which are non-existent or difficult to express in L1. Various explanations for code-switching were found with the most frequent the asymmetrical distribution in the use of both languages, the native Bulgarian and the acquired English or French. Understandably, when communicating on the personal, casual, or family level, the respondents expressed a marked preference for L1, whereas in official settings, such as interaction in their job, or with official institutions they opted for L2, which explains the harder retrieval of words or phrases which come from the less frequently used domain in that language. Another reason for code-switching that evolved in the process of this study is when respondents had to convey a message more succinctly or clearly in one language than in another since some notions are much more effortlessly rendered in English or French than in Bulgarian.

One of the widely discussed questions in relation to code-switching in immigrant societies is whether this phenomenon relates to language attrition – to the loss of L1 or at least to the loss of certain grammatic, lexical, etc. aspects of the L1 system. The conclusions reached in this study point out that code-switching does not necessarily entail L1 attrition. Many of the examples demonstrate that the code-switched item, be it a word or a phrase, leads to language economy – it is resorted to in order to formulate and articulate a particular concept better. To support that statement, there are many examples adduced in this study when the code-switched item is immediately rephrased with the corresponding correct item in L1. Moreover, respondents

expressed (or manifested implicit) pride in speaking Bulgarian, their L1 during the interviews. More data is needed in order to reach convincing conclusions about the process and product of language attrition: a larger experiment needs to be conducted where the language use of the study group of immigrants is analysed against the backdrop of the language use of native speakers in a monolingual context.

Code-switching fulfils various pragmatic functions, such as performing a specific social identity, expressing self-identification, negotiation, emotion, discourse organisation. Pragmatic models provide valuable tools for classifying and understanding code-switching and can help better understand the social and linguistic factors that shape bilingual language use. By examining the ways in which bilingual speakers use code-switching in different contexts, a deeper appreciation can be gained for the rich and varied ways in which language is used in everyday life.

In conclusion, an interdisciplinary approach to studying the language of first-generation immigrants is essential for understanding the complex and multifaceted nature of the phenomenon. By integrating multiple perspectives and methods, a more comprehensive understanding can be achieved of the social, cultural, psychological, and linguistic factors that influence the language of first-generation immigrants and develop effective strategies to promote their integration into the host society.



7. FURTHER RESEARCH

The aim of the present study was to carry out a sociolinguistic and sociocultural analysis of first-generation Bulgarian immigrants to Canada in order to fill in a void in current investigations of this particular topic. There are several directions of research that could ensue from this study.

One line of research could be geared to a deeper and more comprehensive study of specific aspects of code-switching between English or French and Bulgarian with a focus on different genres or different types of communication. In addition, the linguistic means by which code-switching is effectuated presents a worthwhile research topic: phonological, lexical, syntactic and discourse characteristics of code-switching, the morphophonemic integration of code-switched items, the creation and characteristics of an interlanguage, etc., definitely merit a more detailed discussion.

In the present corpus there were instances when a code-switched item in English or French was followed by a repeated word or phrase in Bulgarian, trying to gloss it. Examples were also observed of the opposite phenomenon – a word or phrase initially uttered in Bulgarian, and then clarified further in French or English. It would be curious to further examine the reasons especially for the latter trend.

Another broad line of research could be directed at the sense of belonging in diasporic communities. An insignificant number of the interviewed individuals demonstrated any interest in activities organised by the Bulgarian community in Canada. Bulgarians seem not to form a feeling of complete belonging to Canada, but simultaneously do not identify as part

of a large community of compatriots by origin. Whether this is relevant for Bulgarians only or whether it is typical and to what extent of other ethnic communities in Canada, could well be the subject of further research.

It would be worthwhile pursuing another research venue: a study of second-generation immigrants who were born in the host country that their parents emigrated to in order to explore the extent to which and the way they combine their (at least two, or more) cultural identities, how they perceive this culture mix and what the challenges they face are. Is their sense of belonging very different from that of their parents? This could include the examination along the lines of Van Tubergen's destination effects, origin effects, and community effects in relation to their integration as well as their attitude to their heritage culture. Research can be directed at the intergenerational experiences of Bulgarian-Canadians, including the transmission of cultural and linguistic traditions from one generation to the next, and the ways in which the experiences of first-generation immigrants shape the experiences and identities of their children and grandchildren.

In addition, what remained outside the scope of the present study and can be additionally investigated is the degree to which the mass media helps form the identity of immigrants: especially since the younger generation relies much less on printed newspapers and magazines for obtaining relevant information, the role other types of media play in ethnic communities – especially radio, TV, and the internet.



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APPENDIX

ВЪПРОСНИК ЗА СТУДЕНТИ

ВЪПРОСИ ЗА ЗНАНИЯ

1. Къде се намира Канада на географската карта и с кои държави граничи? Коя е столицата ѝ?
2. Можете ли да назовете три града в Канада?
3. Какво е населението ѝ и коя погрешка е по големина на територията в света?
4. Кога е основана държавата Канада: 1660, 1789, 1867, 1903 или 1969?
5. Какво е държавното устройство на Канада (република, монархия, княжество)? Кой е държавният глава?
6. Кои са официалните езици в Канада?
7. Каква е националната валута на Канада?
8. Можете ли да назовете някои известни канадци (музикални изпълнители, актьори, режисьори, писатели, политици, спортисти)?
9. Какво знаете за социалната политика/нивото на претъпнатост/преобладаващите религии в Канада?
10. Най-ранните жители на Канада са:
 - а) американци
 - б) англичани и французи
 - в) индианци и ескимоси
 - г) викинзи



ВЪПРОСИ ЗА ВЪЗПРИЯТИЯ

1. Били ли сте в Канада? Кога, защо, за колко време?
2. Ако не сте били, бихте ли искали да отидете и защо?
3. Как си представяте средностатистическия канадец (в съпоставка с американец, британец, българина, французина)?
4. Какво е първото нещо, което си представяте, когато чуете името Канада?
5. Какво според Вас определя най-точно Канада?
6. Кои от следните прилагателни се отнасят до Канада: толерантна, демократична, социална, социалистическа, нестабилна политически, тоталитарна, световна сила, имигрантска, миролюбива, империалистична, полицейска?
7. Какво са впечатленията ви за отношенията между хората и начина им на живот?
8. Защо според вас много българи са емигрирали и продължават да емигрират в Канада?
9. На какво се основават отговорите на предишните въпроси – впечатления от престой в Канада, филми, книги, разкази на приятели, музика, информационни медии?
10. Какво бихте искали да научите за Канада?



QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS

KNOWLEDGE QUESTIONS

11. Where is Canada situated and which countries does it border? Which is the capital of Canada?
12. Can you name three cities in Canada?
13. What is the population of Canada and which place does it occupy in territory worldwide?
14. When was the state of Canada founded: 1660, 1789, 1867, 1903 or 1969?
15. Is Canada a republic, monarchy, principality? Who is the Head of State?
16. Which are the official languages in Canada?
17. What is the currency in Canada?
18. Can you name any famous Canadians (musicians, actors, film directors, writers, politicians, sportsmen/women)?
19. What do you know about the social policy/crime level/predominant religions in Canada?
20. The earliest settlers in Canada are:
 - (a) Americans;
 - (b) Englishmen and Frenchmen;
 - (c) Indians and Inuits;
 - (d) Vikings.



ATTITUDE QUESTIONS

1. Have you visited Canada? If yes, when and why? If not, would you like to go and why?
2. If you haven't been would you like to go and why?
3. How do you imagine the average Canadian (compared to the average American, Brit, Frenchman, Bulgarian)?
4. What is the first thing you imagine when you hear the name of Canada?
5. Which qualifications do you think best describe Canada as a country?
6. Which of the following do you think apply to Canada and Canadians: tolerant, democratic, immigrant, imperialistic, social, socialist, unstable politically, totalitarian, World Power, peace-loving, a police state?
7. What are your impressions about the relationships between people and their lifestyle?
8. Why do you think so many Bulgarians have immigrated and continue to immigrate to Canada?
9. What are your answers based on – your stay in Canada, films, books, accounts by friends, music, the media?
10. What is it you would like to know about Canada?



ВЪПРОСНИК ЗА ИНТЕРВЮТО С ПЪРВО ПОКОЛЕНИЕ БЪЛГАРИ В КАНАДА

1. На кой език предпочитате да проведем интервюто? На родния език ли или да минем на английски/френски?
2. Кога сте родени?
3. Кога напуснахте родината си?
4. Защо избрахте Канада?
5. Какви бяха трудностите, с които се сблъскахте след пристигането си в Канада?
6. Кои родни традиции и обичаи запазахте и какви нови такива възприехте?
7. Бихте ли са нарекли днес българин? Или канадец? Или канадец от български произход? Кажете ми какво ви кара да се чувствате повече канадец отколкото българин (или обратното – повече българин отколкото канадец)?
8. Поддържате ли връзки с други българи от своята етническа група в Канада? Как осъществявате контакт с тях? Чрез църквата, клуб, асоциация или друго неформално сдружение, чрез вестник, библиотека?
9. Кои са хората, с които поддържате тесен контакт – роднини, колеги или приятели? Към каква националност принадлежат?
10. Кое събитие след идването ви в Канада е оставило особен отпечатък в съзнанието ви и е променило живота ви в положителен или отрицателен аспект?



**QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FIRST-GENERATION
BULGARIAN DIASPORA MEMEBRS IN CANADA**

1. In which language do you feel more comfortable? Shall we stick to the mother tongue, or shall we switch to English/French?
2. What is your date of birth?
3. When did you leave Bulgaria?
4. Why did you choose Canada?
5. What were the initial difficulties adjusting to the new country?
6. Which regular customs/habits did you keep, and which ones did you adopt?
7. Would you call yourself X (for example Bulgarian), Y (Canadian) or XY (Bulgarian Canadian, Canadian Bulgarian)? Tell me exactly what makes you feel more X than Y (or more Y than X as the case may be?): language, customs, family ties, memories, etc.
8. Do you keep in touch with your ethnic community in Canada (if any)? How? Church, ethnic association, newspaper, club, library?
9. Who are your major connections (relatives, colleagues, friends etc.)? What nationalities are they?
10. Mention one particular event since coming to Canada that deeply affected your entire life. In a positive or a negative manner?



ПРОФИЛ НА ИНТЕРВЮИРАНИЯ

Име за идентификация: (не попълвай)

Фамилно име: Собствено: Бащино:
Възраст: Мъж () Жена ()

Националност:

Образование:

Професия:

Година на имиграция в Канада:

Притежава канадско гражданско от: година

Име и национална принадлежност на съпруг(а):

Имена на децата (ако има такива):

Основни места, където е живял(а) в Канада:

Роден език:

Роден език на бащата на интервюирания:

Роден език на майката на интервюирания:

Какъв език използва за общуване:

(1) у дома: (ако е повече от един моля упоменете в процент в каква степен се използва всеки език)

(2) на работното място:

(3) с приятели:

(4) с роднините и близките си:

Образование:

Моля уточнете вида на училището и езика използван за обучение:

– Основно образование:

– Средно образование:

– Висше образование:

Настояща работа:

С настоящето давам съгласието си моето интервю, било в устна или писмена форма, както и в превод, да бъде използвано само с научно-изследователска цел, във връзка с работата по проекта „Диаспорите на централно-европейските страни“ на Централно-европейската асоциация по канадски изследвания.

Дата:

Погнус:

INTERVIEWEE PROFILE

ID: (do not fill in)

Surname: First names:
Age Male () Female ()
Nationality:
Education:
Profession:
Date of immigration:
Citizen of Canada since when:
Spouse's nationality/name:
Names of children (if any):
Main place(s) of residence up to this point in your life (mention the corresponding periods in brackets):

Native language:
Father's mother tongue:
Mother's mother tongue:
Language(s) spoken
(1) at home: (if more than one, please give the average % use of each)
(2) at work
(3) with friends
(4) with the extended family

Education

Language of instruction and school profile, where appropriate:
– Primary school:
– Secondary school:
– Higher education (if any):
Current occupation:

I hereby give permission for this interview recording and the resulting translations, and /or transcriptions to be used for research purposes – the CEACS Diaspora Project.

Date:

Signature:

This book explores issues of multiculturalism and is the first study to apply a comprehensive analysis of the social, cultural and linguistic characteristics of the Bulgarian diaspora in Canada. Specific questions that are addressed are the Canadian emigration policy and its pull factors, the cultural identity of Bulgarians in Canada, their ability to integrate into Canadian society, their socio-cultural experience, and the process of code switching from their native Bulgarian to English or French.

Professor Diana Yankova, D.Litt., is Chair of the Department of Foreign Languages and Cultures, New Bulgarian University, and two-term President of the Central European Association for Canadian Studies.



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