

## THE ROLE OF THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A PLACE'S IDENTITY

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The paper studies the linguistic expressions and their material realisations in two Bulgarian towns – Tryavna and Veliko Tarnovo – both of them places of historical significance and popular tourist locations. The author seeks to identify the underlying patterns in the public inscriptions and to explore the relationship between language and other semiotic systems that build the uniqueness of the two towns. The research and the discussion are carried out within the framework of Linguistic Landscaping Studies (LLS) and include ethnographic observation and data collection. The analysis is made within the theory of ethnopoetics and geosemiotics (both of them approaches to the study of the linguistic landscapes).

**Key words:** linguistic landscape, public inscription, place, structure

### *Introduction*

Linguistic landscaping studies is an interdisciplinary branch of sociolinguistics that intersects with anthropology, social geography, urban studies, and other disciplines. It explores the physical spaces inhabited by individual speakers or groups of speakers and how people communicate in these spaces using language and/or other systems of communication. Original studies of the linguistic landscape were quantitative; however, later qualitative approaches emerged, including geosemiotics, ethnographic methods, the sociolinguistics of complexity, ethnopoetics, and other strategies. In this paper, where we examine how a place's identity is constructed, we utilise the ethnopoetic method, developed by Dell Hymes (2003), as a theoretical framework to investigate the deeper structure of linguistic expressions in public space and how they cluster together to present a unified image of the town. We then explore the relationship between the linguistic expressions and their material realisations, utilising R. Scollon and S. W. Scollon's theory of geosemiotics along with J. Järlehed

and A. Jaworski's discussion of typographic landscaping. Both approaches are beneficial as the materials through and on which linguistic expressions are inscribed constitute an important part of their meaning.

### ***The approach of ethnopoetics***

The study of rhythmic structures in language originated with F. Boas in his study of the rhythmic structures of Indian songs. Rhythmic structures include the repeated use of identical elements (words, sounds, phrases, or motifs) to create rhythm or involve variations of an element, such as synonyms, related imagery, or themes, that maintain a sense of rhythm. Dell Hymes (2003: 21-35), building upon Boas's insights, extended the analysis of rhythmic structures to oral narratives. Through his work, Hymes demonstrated that oral narratives are organised in terms of lines, verses, stanzas, scenes, and acts, revealing regularities of recurrence that parallel the rhythmic patterns found in poetry and song. Hymes's approach is known as ethnopoetics and focuses on the study of the formal and aesthetic patterns of oral narratives. Through his study, Hymes revealed that the content of a story emerges to a large extent from how this story is told, indicating that narratives are forms of performance with inherent rhythmic qualities.

In this paper, we will extend Hymes's theory of ethnopoetics and apply it to the study of inscriptions in public spaces. We claim that these inscriptions also exhibit rhythmic structures, the study of which can lead us to a deeper understanding of forms that encompass rhythmic elements across various types of cultural expressions. Extending Dell Hymes's ethnopoetic framework to the examination of public inscriptions offers a novel perspective on how these texts function as expressions of identity. Although ethnopoetics has traditionally been applied to oral narratives, revealing their inherent rhythmic and structural patterns, analysing public inscriptions through this lens allows us to uncover their rhythmic structures and patterns. This approach will lead to a more nuanced understanding of their form and function within public discourse.

### ***The material aspects of language in public space: Geosemiotics and typographic landscaping***

In their geosemiotic approach to the analysis of the linguistic landscape, R. Scollon and S. W. Scollon (2003) maintain that an analysis of a public inscription must cover "all of the meaning systems that are based on the physical materiality of language (but also other code systems) in the world" (Scollon, Scollon 2003: 129). The authors pay special attention to some of the meaning systems that we normally associate with the inscribing

of language in the material world. Among the most important of them are fonts and material. By “fonts” or “letterform” we mean “any way in which letters or other written symbols are produced from handwriting and calligraphy through to word processing fonts and professional typefaces, including size and shape or color”. Material is “the physical substances on which the inscription is made, from granite monuments to sand writing on the beach” (ibid. 130). Some of the meanings that materials can convey are permanence, temporality, and quality (ibid. 135).

Letterforms, fonts, and scripts are elements of the semiotic aspect of the landscape. The semiotic aspect is not identical with the totality of the physical landscape that we can perceive with our eyes and which embraces the terrain itself, the architectural buildings erected on it, and the human bodies that inhabit it and interact with it and within it. It is viewed as a dynamic entity or a social practice “through which discourses, communities, and identities are mediated and reproduced” (Järlehed, Jaworski 2015: 117). Typography is an autonomous semiotic mode and is linked to ideology. Its multimodal character, which allows for stylisation and creativity in expression, is a fundamental social force in the maintenance of diversity, individualisation, construction and preservation of identities. It is a powerful resource that people exploit in the process of semiotization of their social lives. Thus, typography can be said to play a vital role “in the construction of contemporary cityscapes, social identities, and relations” (ibid., 119).

### **The two places as the focus of LLS analysis**

We shall refer to the two places under discussion – Tryavna and Veliko Tarnovo as ‘towns’ as they are smaller than other cities in Bulgaria, like Sofia, Plovdiv and Varna. The linguistic landscape of Veliko Tarnovo has been discussed in detail elsewhere (Atanassova 2022); the focus of this paper, however, is a comparison between the holistic images constructed by the linguistic landscapes of the two towns. Both places lie in the North-Central part of Bulgaria and have historical significance relating them to the Bulgarian medieval past and the period of the Bulgarian Revival. Both are important tourist locations regarding their architecture and preservation of traditional crafts and folk arts. While in the central part of Veliko Turnovo (the former Bulgarian capital) we can observe a distinct demarcation line between the old part of the town in the face of the Old Market Street called “Samovodska charshiya” and the rest more modern part of it, in the central part of Tryavna no such demarcation is visible – the past and the present are fused into one place. We do not mean that the Old Market Street in Veliko

Turnovo is fully authentic, just the opposite, one can see many elements of modernity there, including a large number of English expressions – a sure sign of attracting foreign tourists and facilitating their visit to the town. Nor would we claim that Tryavna is backwards and uncaring about guests from other countries. We would aim to explore the different strategies through which the two towns construct and assert their identities.

### **Linguistic units for analysing the public inscriptions**

When we analyse linguistic expressions in the public space, it is difficult to analyse them as familiar linguistic units like words, phrases, sentences, etc. We can have different types of public writing (Kusheva 2020: 123), but writing in a public space is a writing mode in its own right. The language used in public space is rarely structured in the way we will normally find it in written or printed texts. We will assume, then, that each linguistic inscription that is found in front of an indexable unit (Scollon, Scollon 2003: 2-6) makes one unit for analysis without requiring that it is a complete sentence or phrase. We will refer then to each instance of public language use as “expression”. In the Appendix, we offer a complete list of the inscriptions chosen for discussion in this paper, and they are numbered for the convenience of the analysis.

Since signs co-exist in the landscape and do not function in isolation, we can examine them as a single “text” and try to identify structure in it. If we want to find some structure in the landscape, we have to look at it holistically. Ben Rafael (2009: 42-44) discusses the landscape as a gestalt, pointing out that its chaotic look is perceived by passers-by as a “forest” of signs. Yet, there is order in this superficial “chaos”, but the author discusses the structuration and the unity of the landscape from a sociological point of view. In this paper, we look for form, structure and pattern by exploring the fabrics of the linguistic structure of the public signs within the framework of the ethnopoetic analysis of Hymes. Next, we try to find the relationship between the linguistic and the other semiotic aspects of the public signs (their material expression).

The analysis within the framework of ethnopoetics is qualitative rather than quantitative, but some simple counting will be useful for better illustrating the pattern of usage uncovered here. This will also enable us to explore the relationship between the use of English and Bulgarian, as well as the relationship between the use of the linguistic and the other semiotic codes. Thus, we have fourteen inscriptions for Tryavna and nineteen for Veliko Tarnovo. They were chosen for analysis randomly and were collected

in the central parts of the two places. For the fourteen inscriptions from Tryavna, we observe only one English expression, and this is a translation of one of the shop inscriptions (see Appendix A, 13). As for Veliko Tarnovo, of nineteen chosen expressions, eleven contain English or other foreign expressions (see Appendix B). For both towns, linguistic inscriptions form two different patterns of usage. We label these patterns “naming” and “descriptive” for Tryavna and “naming” and “interactive” for Veliko Tarnovo. Each of these patterns is further divisible into subpatterns, which are, again, different for the two places, thus leading to the construction of different identities.

For Tryavna, we first have the pattern of naming inscriptions, and we find only three naming inscriptions - 12, 13, and 14 (see Appendix A) versus eleven descriptive (the rest). By “naming expression” we mean an expression that states what kind of place something is, e. g. a café, a restaurant, a school, etc. and/or provides a personal name for it. We observe here three naming expressions versus eleven descriptive ones. Only one of the naming expressions contains writing in English (translation of the expression, Appendix A, 13). Of the naming expressions, there is only one that names the place directly – this is the PENSIONER’S CLUB (Appendix A, 12). СТАРИ ЗАНАЯТИ, translated as ‘OLD CRAFTS’ and ЦЕНТЪР УСТА ДАРИН (MASTER DARIN’S CENTRE) do not specify what kind of place this is. We can guess that the OLD CRAFTS expression denotes a place where old crafts (e. g. woodcarving) are practised and the objects produced are sold as souvenirs. Master Darin’s centre is even less clear, but it presupposes a place where similar activities are carried on.

Descriptive (in the very broad sense of the word) expressions in Tryavna form further subpatterns, including descriptions denoting a place, descriptions denoting the activity carried out at a place, descriptions evoking the town’s past and addressing the visitors, and interactive descriptions. Descriptions denoting place may describe a location (“at the love’s fountain”, Appendix A, 3) or the characteristic features of the place (authenticity, Appendix A, 4; healthy products to be found there, Appendix A, 1; products from rose oil sold at that place, Appendix A, 2), or the person related to this place (very skilled at his business, Appendix A, 5).

We can observe that some of these places are referred to by words like “home” and “house”, although they are shops. The word for shop occurs once in its obsolete variant “dyukyan”, and instead of naming the shop, the expression points out that it is located next to the fountain of love. The tavern is described as “a house belonging to someone called Kalincho”. The last place (a meat shop famous for the “kebapcheta” that it offers) is referred to

by a preposition – “при” meaning “at” the skilled butcher and cook called Zahari. The patterning of these expressions implies that the conversations that happened, happen, and will happen at these places are enacted in an atmosphere of warmth, in a context of familiarity, and between people who know each other and the place they live in very well.

The second descriptive pattern focuses on the activities carried out at a given place. These descriptions (Appendix A, 9 – 11) are unique for the construction of the verbal portrait of the town as they display the basic means of livelihood for the people of Tryavna – their two staple occupations, which are the production of cotton underwear and knitwear and woodcarving (an old craft still preserved and modernized there). These are company shops (10 and 11) offering items at attractive prices. As for woodcarving, its modern implementation focuses on the production of furniture, which is why furniture design comes first in 9, but works of art and small wooden souvenirs are offered along with it.

Another pattern (Appendix A, 6-8) evokes the town’s past and addresses its visitors (tourists). The town’s past is evoked by the use of obsolete words (шекерджийница, sweet shop, Appendix A, 7), obsolete language and style of speaking (the long text after the ‘паралиите’, which is a café, Appendix A, 8), obsolete spelling (майсторъ, Appendix A, 5, classified under another pattern but contributing to the evoking of the past), reference to the old way of slow boiling coffee on hot sand (A, 6). All these long chunks of language refer back to the times of the Bulgarian revival when Tryavna was a flourishing centre of crafts and learning, when people lived their lives slowly and were known for their proverbial hospitality.

Finally, the descriptive inscriptions in the public space of Tryavna cluster together to create an interactive subpattern. They display interactive features but since public signs enter into complex networks of meanings referred to as “semiotic aggregates” (Scollon, Scollon 2001: 21-23), their grouping into discrete patterns is made only to facilitate the analysis. The interactive features are found in expressions 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 from Appendix A. These expressions either directly address the interlocutor or denote communication between people. The personal pronouns ‘your coffee on sand’ and ‘you are most welcome to the café of bai Stoyan’ address directly and recruit the visitors. The personal name “Stoyan” (probably the owner), together with the conversational and familiar word of addressing someone older than you with respect - “bay” presupposes communication on friendly terms, if not with the owner himself, at least with any member of the staff. “At Zahari, the master” suggests the possible answer to a possible question like “Where can I find....?”. The word “подаръци” (presents) suggests that

someone knows what you are looking for. The word “глезенки” (things to indulge oneself) suggests that someone cares for you and you can feel free to spoil yourself a little.

Of the nineteen expressions chosen from the landscape in Veliko Turnovo, eleven contain English. We classify thirteen of these expressions as naming expressions (see Appendix B, 1 – 13). Naming expressions here further cluster into three subpatterns. Some of the naming expressions are two-component, where one of the words will indicate the type of place, while the other will be the proper name of the place. The proper name can be Bulgarian (Vereya, Appendix B, 1 Zavera, Appendix B, 2), but it may also be English (Sammy, Appendix B, 3). It may be spelt in Cyrillic letters (1), but it may also be in Roman letters (2, 3, 4). There is a tendency for the word order of these expressions to follow the structural pattern of the English expression (name of place comes before the word denoting the type of place). There can be an alternative word order with the type of place coming first (Bar Gatto Nero, 4), but it is interesting to note that in this case, the name is Italian rather than English.

Another pattern of naming expressions contains just the name. They need not point out what kind of place this is, as it is obvious from the semantics of the name. Dress4less (Appendix B, 8) is a well-known name of a clothes shop, while the semantics of the names in ‘Zaharcho and Karamelka’ (names coined from the words for sugar (‘zahar’) and caramel (burnt sugar) indicate that this is a sweet shop (Appendix B, 7). Both are situated in the modern part of the centre.

The third pattern of naming inscriptions indicates what type of place it is: The obsolete words of Turkish origin for the sweet shop (shekerdzhynitsa, Appendix B, 9) indicate that the place is situated in the Samovodska charshiya street. The word ‘ателіе’ occurs twice (Appendix B, 10, 11), implying that the type of this place is not just a shop that sells things but is also a place where the objects sold are also manufactured by the owner. It is interesting to note that in the English translation, the word ‘craft’ is used instead of studio (Appendix B, 11). This implies that the objects sold are hand-made and that the place is to be found in Samovodska charshiya street (The Old Market Street). The expression ‘SOUVENIRS FOLK ART GALLERY’ seems difficult to classify, because ‘souvenirs’ does not denote a place but rather the things that are sold there. However, ‘gallery’ does denote a place where pictures and perhaps other works of art are displayed and sold. This, in combination with “folk art”, hints that the place is to be found in the Old Market Street again.

There is one naming expression (Appendix B, 6) that does not fall into any of the patterns discussed above but stands somewhat apart. It denotes the type of place by the items it sells – souvenirs, and provides the name of the shop – TSAREVETS. The name is the same as the name of the fortress (the former royal palace) near which the small souvenir shop is situated.

The pattern of the naming expressions within this milieu indicates the type of place and the proper name it has. Some of them will have only the name (the semantics of which indexes the type of place), others will just mention the type of place (where the word chosen indicates the location, e. g. obsolete vocabulary will guide us to the old market street); still others will have both the type of place and its name. Some of these naming expressions can be expanded – they will contain additional information. The additional information can be direction – “down the bridge” for “Sammy’s bar” (Appendix B, 3), or the name of the owner – Maria Gorsova (Appendix B, 4) or it may indicate that the place has dual function (a shop and a manufactory at the same time, Appendix B, 5).

The five inscriptions that are discussed below are classed as interactive, though some of them state directly what place they index. We class them as interactive because they perform functions other than simply stating what kind of place this is. The function which sets them apart from the rest is their potential to involve the visitor/citizen in an active process of communication. One of them appears on a bench, which has been donated by a company called Kronospan (Appendix B, 15). This message is summoning because the company that performed the donation requires (in an indirect way) that all citizens contribute to the neatness and orderliness of the town by keeping it clean and by not destroying public facilities. The message of the inscription in the Appendix, B 14 patterns with the one discussed above because it says that he who destroys something must pay for it or repair it afterwards. The message is based on a Bulgarian proverb that has the form of a rhyme (literal translation – ‘break (something) – buy (it)’). At the same time, it also functions as a recruitment sign because it addresses a possible clientele in a light-hearted way through the use of this proverb.

The mixed inscription (Appendix B, 16) in front of a restaurant has the form of an incomplete sentence (if we just provide the verb “is”, we will have the whole sentence: The Green restaurant is for good food and friends). Instead of the English verb, we have an expression in Bulgarian – ЗЕЛЕНИЯ ПЪБ. The words do not address the visitors directly but indirectly refer to them as “good friends”, advertising “good food”. The repetition of the word “good” creates rhythm and evokes an atmosphere of ease and friendliness.

The expression in front of a café (Appendix B, 18) is a list (similar to the shopping lists we make) and provides an inventory of the items offered at this shop. The items listed index the location of the café – it is to be found in the old market street.

Instead of enumerating the items, the expression in Appendix B, 17 relies on the use of the collective noun – “jewellery”, which encapsulates the different objects offered there. What seems to be more important than listing individual decorations is the fact that they are handmade. The audience is addressed directly by the claim that all decorations are made “in front of their eyes”. The words “unique” and “ethno” index the Old Market Street again.

The welcoming inscription (Appendix B, 19) contains two complete sentences, which, in a casual way, by making an association to the two weekend days and by calling them ‘better days’, signal leisure time to the visitors. There is nothing to index the belonging of this sign to the Old Market Street (though it does belong there). The list is made up of heterogeneous items – a welcoming expression, the type of place, the kind of music performed there and an imperative construction (functioning as a wish). It is not difficult to reconstruct the whole message and convert the list into a “normal sentence” – “Welcome to the art bar and enjoy the hipster music played here!” but the design of the message in the form of a list targets a different effect – instead of the neutral welcoming with too many words in it, the key words in the list envisage a special kind of audience – young, in a hurry, and eager to entertain themselves. If we compare this sign with the interactive sign from Tryavna (Appendix A, 8), we will see that in Veliko Turnovo even longer messages are communicated not through full sentences and whole texts, but by individual words (in the form of a list or an incomplete sentence), while the public users are left to construct the sentence themselves and are free to interpret the message in the way they need to do it.

### ***The “voice” of the material***

The striking aspect about the material expressions of the inscriptions from Tryavna is the dominant tendency to put these expressions on a wooden plate, where the letters are carved on the wood. Seven out of the fourteen inscriptions collected for this paper are carved on a wooden plate (see Appendix A). As far as possible, the woodcarvers have tried to inscribe the letters in such a way as to resemble the Old Bulgarian script. This material representation can be observed not only in shops offering souvenirs and coffee on the sand, but on modern shops, for example, in the pensioners’ club (see Appendix A). Some of the inscriptions written in modern-style letters are also placed on wooden boards. Woodcarving has been an

emblematic craft for the Tryavna people for the last centuries. With the advance of technology, however, woodcarving has become less popular and profitable as a way of living. People engaged in this craft not only have to strive for survival, but at the same time they have to strive to prevent from oblivion this traditional craft which they have inherited from their ancestors. The development of modern tourism offers a way of keeping traditions alive, therefore, woodcarvers produce more souvenirs, small objects of art and furniture. One way of advertising this craft is to emplace it in the public landscape. Carved inscriptions advertise not only old crafts but modern vocations as well. Another occupation, characteristic of Tryavna and related to the socialist past, is the production of knitwear and underwear. Small company shops abound in the town along with traditional cafes, taverns and restaurants. What unifies them all is the homogeneous pattern of inscriptions engraved on wooden plates, which evoke the town's glorious past and at the same time shape it as an attractive tourist destination.

Veliko Tarnovo constructs its identity through different tools. The public inscriptions are aestheticised in a modern way - public writers here exploit different fonts, colours, and codes to inscribe the expressions. They resort to the imitation of handwriting (Appendix B, 4) and the use of informal keyboard writing (Appendix B, 8). The materials of the boards on which they put their inscriptions are metal, plastic, wood and glass, and none of them is directly related to any of the occupations practised in the town. The boards themselves have various forms – round, rectangular, and arrow-like. Like Tryavna, Veliko Tarnovo also prides itself on its rich historical past. This is revealed in the public landscape, but inscriptions related to the historical past are to be seen in the Old Market Street called Samovodska charsiya. It is there where one can see carved inscriptions – not as dominant as they are in Tryavna, but still there – two out of the nineteen chosen for the present analysis. Their presence in the landscape indicates a meaning different from the meaning they have in Tryavna. While for Tryavna we can interpret an inscription carved on a wooden plate as a town's emblem, for the landscape of Veliko Turnovo it simply indexes a small craft shop in the old market street. Associations with the historical past of the old capital of Bulgaria are evoked through one more resource – through the imitation of the Old Bulgarian script (Appendix B, 10, 18). Along with this, both in the old market street and the modern part of the centre, we can observe the persistent presence of English, not only as translations from Bulgarian but in mixed expressions, too (Appendix B, 2, 3, 6, 12, 16, 17, 19). This reveals the tendency towards merging with the globalising world, and towards letting the globalised world permeate the local space.

### **Conclusion**

As becomes visible from the analysis of the linguistic expressions and their material realisations in the public space of Tryavna, the image of the city can be defined as asserting its identity by evoking the past, by adapting but not by changing its cultural heritage. Veliko Tarnovo, on the other hand, reveals a different image – while preserving the relationship with the past, it transforms it by letting other elements reside there – other codes, other items sold, other services.

Unlike Tryavna, there is a tendency for the expressions in Veliko Tarnovo to exploit the deeper semantics of the words to render background meanings such as the type of place or the location of the shop in the town. Secondly, the tendency for constructing interactive messages in Veliko Tarnovo is to use incomplete sentences and lists of individual words, where participants in communication are free to form the grammatical structure and interpret its message from their point of view. Thirdly, public buildings and places of interest in Veliko Tarnovo have proper names, hence the greater number of naming expressions. The holistic image of the town, then, is made from the composite totality of the separate individual places. In this respect, Tryavna's holistic image displays a collective identity – places do not normally have proper names, the linguistic resource that presents them in the landscape is descriptive and what embraces them as a collective image is the dominance of the material design – most inscriptions are carved on wooden boards. As far as the content of the inscriptions is concerned, public inscriptions in Veliko Tarnovo not only advertise items to be sold in different shops, but they are not limited to evoking the glorious past of the place. They appeal to the contemporary inhabitants to contribute to the positive image and the prosperity of the town.

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## APPENDIX

### A. The Landscape of Tryavna as Represented by Linguistic Inscriptions:

1. **ДОМЪТ НА КРАСОТАТА ЗДРАВЕ ОТ ПРИРОДАТА // THE HOME OF BEAUTY HEALTH FROM NATURE** // modern font, inscription on glass
2. **КЪЩАТА НА РОЗАТА // THE HOUSE OF THE ROSE** // modern font
3. **ДЮКЯНЪТ ДО ЛЮБОВНАТА ЧЕШМА // THE SHOP NEXT TO THE LOVE'S FOUNTAIN** // modern font on wooden board
4. **МЕХАНА КАЛИНЧЕВА КЪЩА АВТЕНТИЧНАТА ТРЯВНА // KALINCHEVA KASHA (HOUSE) TAVERN THE AUTHENTIC TRYAVNA** // modern font on a large board
5. **ПРИ МАЙСТОРЪ ЗАХАРИ // AT ZAHARI THE MASTER** // imitation of old script, obsolete spelling, on the wall of the building
6. **ВАШЕТО КАФЕ НА ПЯСЪК // YOUR COFFEE ON THE SAND** (Fig. 1) // woodcarving
7. **ШЕКЕРДЖИЙНИЦА ГЛЕЗЕНКИ ОТ БАБИНО ВРЕМЕ // SWEET SHOP GRANNY'S SWEETS TO INDULGE ONESELF** (Fig. 2) // woodcarving
8. **ПАРАЛИИТЕ // THE WELL-TO-DO** (Fig. 3) // woodcarving  
*ДОБРЕ СТЕ ВИЙ ДОШЛИ В КАФЕДЖИЙНИЦАТА НА БАЙ СТОЯН! ПРОСТ ИМ Е ТОЙ ПОСТ – КАФЕТО ЩО ВЕЧЕ Е ИЗПИТО, НО ОБИЧАЙ НАРОДЕН ГО Е ТЪЙ ОБРЕКЪЛ - : „КОЛЧАВЪ ПЕСЪЧИНКИ СА, ЩО КАФЕТО СГРЯВАЛИ – ТЪЙ В КЕСИЯТА НА ОНОГОВА (ЩО) С КЕФ ГО УПОТРЕБЛЯВА И ЛЮБЕЗНО Е РАЗПЛАТИЛ – БОЛЪ ГРОШОВЕ ДА ДРЪНКАТ, ПЪК КЪСМЕТЪТ НЕИЗМЕННО ДА ГО ПРЕХВАЩА. // YOU ARE MOST WELCOME TO THE CAFÉ OF BAY STOYAN! LET YOUR*

*BREAKING OF THE FAST BE FORGIVEN – THE COFFEE HAS ALREADY BEEN DRUNK, BUT HERE IS WHAT TRADITION SAYS ABOUT IT – MAY THE PURSE OF THIS PERSON, WHO HAS DRUNK THE COFFEE WITH GREATEST DELIGHT AND HAS BEEN SO KIND AS TO PAY FOR IT, JINGLE WITH MONEY – AS MANY COINS AS WERE THE SAND-GRAINS THAT HEATED THE COFFEE AND MAY GOOD FORTUNE ALWAYS BE ON HIS SIDE.*

*// woodcarving*

9. **ИНТЕРИОРИ И ЕКСТЕРИОРИ ДИЗАЙН МЕБЕЛ УНИКАТ ДЪРВОРЕЗБА ПОДАРЪЦИ** // *INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR DESIGN FURNITURE ONE-OF-A-KIND WOODCARVING PRESENTS* // *imitation of old script on a wooden board*
10. **ПРОИЗВОДСТВО НА БЕЛЪО И ТРИКОТАЖ** // *MANUFACTURE OF UNDERWEAR AND KNITWEAR* // *modern font, italics*
11. **МЕДЕЯ ПРОИЗВОДСТВО НА ТРИКОТАЖ** // *MEDEYA MANUFACTURE OF KNITWEAR* // *woodcarving*
12. **КЛУБ НА ПЕНСИОНЕРА** // *PENSIONERS' CLUB* // *woodcarving*
13. **СТАРИ ЗАНАЯТИ** *OLD CRAFTS* // *woodcarving*
14. **ЦЕНТЪР УСТА ДАРИН** // *MASTER DARIN'S CENTRE* // *woodcarving*

**B. The Landscape of Veliko Tarnovo as Represented by the Linguistic Inscriptions:**

1. **БЕРЕЯ** *OPTIC STORE* // *VEREYA OPTIC STORE* // *modern font*
2. **ZAVERA CRAFT BEER SHOP** // *modern font on a decorated board*
3. **SAMMY'S BAR** *НАДОЛУ ПО МОСТА* // *SAMMY'S BAR DOWN THE BRIDGE* // *modern font on a large board*
4. **BAR GATTO NERO MARIA GORSOVA** // *modern font, the personal name in italics*
5. **МАГАЗИН ПЕНДАРА РАБОТИЛНИЦА** // *PENDARA (COIN) SHOP MANUFACTURE* // *imitation of old script on a glass door*
6. **СУВЕНИРИ ЦАРЕВЕЦ** *SOUVENIRS* // *modern font*
7. **ЗАХАРЧО И КАРАМЕЛКА 2020** // *ZAHARCHO (sugar) AND KARAMELKA (caramel, burnt sugar) 2020* // *modern font*
8. **DRESS 4 LESS** // *modern font, informal keyboard writing (use of numbers in the place of letters)*
9. **ШЕКЕРДЖИЙНИЦА** // *SWEET SHOP* // *woodcarving*

10. **АТЕЛИЕ ЗА ДЪРВОРЕЗБА // WOODCARVING STUDIO** (*Fig. 4*) // imitation of old script
11. **КОЖАРСКО АТЕЛИЕ LEATHER CRAFT // LEATHER CRAFT STUDIO** // imitation of old script
12. **SOUVENIRS FOLK ART GALLERY** // modern script
13. **КУЮМДЖИЯ // GOLDSMITH** // woodcarving
14. **ГРЪНЧАРСКА РАБОТИЛНИЦА ЧУПИ-КУПИ // POTTERY WORKSHOP 'BREAK-BUY'** // modern script
15. **ЗАЕДНО ЗА ЕДИН ПО-КРАСИВ ГРАД! ДАРЕНИЕ ОТ KRONOSPAN // LET'S COME TOGETHER AND MAKE THIS TOWN MORE BEAUTIFUL! DONATED BY KRONOSPAN** // modern font on a wooden bench
16. **THE GREEN RESTAURANT ЗЕЛЕНИЯ ПЪБ FOR GOOD FOOD & FRIENDS** (*Fig. 5*) // modern font
17. **HAND-MADE JEWELLERY, UNIQUE ETHNO JEWELLERY MADE RIGHT IN FRONT OF YOU OF NATURAL MATERIALS** // modern font
18. **КАФЕНЕ КАФЕ НА ПЯСЪК БЯЛО СЛАДКО БЛИЗАЛКИ БОНБОНИ** // COFFEE SHOP COFFEE ON THE SAND WHITE SPOON SWEET LOLLIPOPS CANDIES // first word – imitation of old script; the list of items in modern font
19. Better days are coming. They are called Saturday and Sunday. **WELCOME ART BAR HIPSTER ENJOY THE MUSIC** (*Fig. 6*) // modern font on wooden arrow-shaped boards

Note: All expressions from public inscriptions are given in capital letters and without punctuation except when the original inscription contains punctuation. Translation is preserved where it occurs in public space. The author provides translation for those inscriptions that are written only in Bulgarian, and it is marked off by the slashes.

## PICTURES



Fig. 1. Tryavna



Fig. 2. Tryavna



Fig. 3. Tryavna



Fig. 4. V. Tarnovo



Fig. 5. V. Tarnovo



Fig. 6. V. Tarnovo

