

# A GEOGRAPHICAL MAP OF THE PHRASE (PART 1.)

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В статье рассматриваются фраземы, заимствованные в болгарском языке из соседних и несоседних языков. Автор останавливается на истории возникновения отдельных устойчивых выражений и предлагает комментарий ведущих языковых влияний на болгарский язык в течение разных периодов его развития. Предпринята попытка проследить калькирование во фразеологии путем сопоставления оригинальных текстов русских и западноевропейских авторов и их переводов эпохи Возрождения.

The article is a review of phrasemes, adopted in Bulgarian from neighboring and non-neighboring languages. The author discusses the history and the origins of the phrases and comments on the leading influences on the Bulgarian language in different periods of its development. An attempt to analyze the loan translations is made by the comparison of texts, written in Russian and Western European languages with their translations in Bulgarian, that were published during the Revival.

*Key words:* phraseology, calques, languages in contact, European and Balkan influence

Although phraseology is considered to be the most emblematic expression of national identity, careful research on the origin of expressions suggests that phrases are calqued and they enter languages more easily and imperceptibly than words (Andreychin 1953: 77). Nothing is transmitted or transferred at such a rate, nor is it stored with such extreme stability as aphorisms (Tolstoy 1995: 390). Even today, there are many researchers who try to define national mentality or values on the basis of set phrases used in one language or another. It is believed that “phraseology is one of the areas in linguistics most closely related to the discovery of ethnic and mental features of a nation” (Kochev 2006: 97). According to V. Mokienko, this view is rooted in the ideas of Romanticism, relevant in the first half of the nineteenth century, when the researchers of many countries conducted intense and emotional searches for the national spirit (Mokienko 2011: 37).

Despite common beliefs, calquing of phrases is extremely common; it characterizes the situations of bilingualism and multilingualism, as well as different types of cultural influence. Loan translations in this field are so popular that today it is very difficult to even talk about the Proto-Slavic core in phraseology. The two more serious attempts of N. Tolstoy, on the one hand, and of H. Walter and V. Mokienko, on the other, to determine expressions originating

from Proto-Slavic, did not achieve convincing results (Tolstoy 1995: 373–428, Mokienko, Walter 2019: 17).

In the following pages I will focus on the parallels in the phraseology of Bulgarian and some neighboring and non-neighboring languages. My aim is to show the directions of borrowing and get to the source of a particular phrase. Finding out calques creates certain difficulties for researchers, as they are reproduced in recipient languages through native elements (Pulchini et al. 2012: 10).

Phraseological calques are a complex phenomenon; they are multicomponent structures, between the elements of which there is a certain type of connection. Here, the retransmission to another language implies the adoption of meaning, sometimes of an image, and the semantics can be modified by falling into the system of the borrowing language. It is not uncommon to adopt syntactic models when borrowing phrases (which can lead to the formation of structures of a new type, as well as to an increase in the frequency of certain structural types under foreign influence). Thirdly, calquing affects the pragmatic component, it leads to the establishment of new discursive markers, fills in the composition of certain speech acts (greetings, invitations, etc.), alters the nature and register of formulas.

Finally, whole texts are calqued (for example, proverbs as a folklore genre), which is associated with certain changes in the target culture and the acquisition of new value models (Capuz 1997: 88–92).

Phraseological calques of various types are discussed in the following pages. As my attention is focused on creating a geographical map of the phrase, translations of phraseological units, proverbs, collocations and terms from neighboring and non-neighboring languages are commented.

In order to solve this task, at least in part, I first turn my attention to the most intense periods of foreign language influence. Secondly, we will review the publications of Bulgarian (rarely foreign) researchers, systematizing the convincing conclusions of individual authors. Where possible, Bulgarian translations of foreign literary works are studied; they are compared with the original texts, and at the same time a reference is made to the fixation of the respective phrase in domestic written records.

## **Greek Expressions**

Greek influence on Bulgarian language is the longest in time. It is believed that it began even before the settlement of Slavs on the Balkan Peninsula. The influence of the Greek language was very intense during the Old Bulgarian period and the Byzantine occupation. It continued during the Turkish yoke, especially in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the Greek language was of great significance in trade and was used as the language of all Christians in the Empire (Pernishka

et al. 2013: 143–4). The dominance of the Greek language was distinct at the beginning of the Bulgarian Revival, when a number of bright Bulgarians received their education in Greek schools.

According to O. Mladenova, the wish *за много години* (for many years) has Greek origin. The formula is a Balkanism, found in Bulgarian, (Ro) *la mulți ani*, (Al) *përshumë mot* and (Gr) *εις πολλά έτη* (Mladenova 1982: 261).

Several other publications briefly touch on the common units in Bulgarian and Greek phraseology. In 1964, Maria Filipova-Bayrova suggested the Greek origin of several expressions found in the *Chronicle of Manasseh*, translated in Bulgaria in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. She points to direct parallels between the two texts in the following phrases: *дясна ръка ми е* (he is my right hand) ‘he is very close to me, my first helper’ – (Gr) *τον έχω δεξί μου χέρι; съдра му (смъкна му) кожата* (he flayed his skin) ‘for someone who is mercilessly or severely punished’ – (Gr) *του ‘βγαλε το πετσί (το δέρμα)* (Filipova-Bayrova 1964: 340).

In one of his publications I. Duychev comments on a large number of phrases common to Bulgarian and Greek. Based on the considered material, he hypothesizes the existence of a Slavic-Byzantine community, which is characterized by a common folklore heritage (Duychev 1963: 358).

Duychev points to Greek correspondences of some very popular Bulgarian expressions and proverbs: *не му ца нито жилото, нито меда* (I want neither his sting nor his honey) – (Gr) *μηδέ μέλι μηδέ μέλισσα* ‘neither honey nor bee’, which is used for people who do not want to suffer something bad besides the good (Duychev 1963: 353); *чопля старата рана* (to pick an old wound) – (Gr) *κνίζειν ἔλκος; τραύματα ἀναζαίνειν; във водата дупка* (a hole in the water) – (Gr) *τρύπα στο νερό, κрѳвта вода не става* (blood does not turn into water) – (Gr) *Τὸ αἷμα ὕδωρ οὐ γένεται* (Duychev 1963: 358).

According to St. Ilchev the expression *гоня Михалѳа* (to chase Michael) (with variants: *дѳлжа на Михалѳа* (to owe to Michael) is an inappropriate translation from Greek, as the word *μυαλό* ‘brain, mind’ is misinterpreted as a proper name (Ilchev 1975: 111). As we have already pointed out, the knowledge of Greek among educated Bulgarians, both during the Old Bulgarian period and during the Revival, makes such a hypothesis meaningless. The expression is noted in N. Gerov in several variants: *дѳлжен е на Михалѳа, има да дава на Михалѳа, стяга го Михалѳѳ* (he owes Michael, he has to give to Michael, he is tightened by Michael), ‘безумен е, глупав е, не е с цѳль умѳ’ (he is mad, he is stupid, he is not in his whole mind) (Gerov 1977: 70). It corresponds exactly to the (Gr) *χρѳστάει το Μιχάλη* (he owes to Michalis) and more recently *αυτός χρѳστάει της Μιχαλѳς* (someone owes to Michaela) (Sarantakos 2007). It is found with a certain distortion of the first name, but also with a clear sign of its correspondence with Greek in Serbian: *Dugovati Kir Miki* (to owe to Mister Miki). It is possible that the expression is related to the cult of the Archangel Michael and older ancient notions of interpreting death as stupidity (Freyden-

berg 1997: 129). In any case, however, the phraseme is borrowed from Greek, which is clearly seen in the parallel of Greek and Serbian, and one cannot think of distorting a proper name, as St. Ilchev inappropriately suggests.

### Calques from Turkish

It is well known that a large part of Turkish words had entered Bulgarian orally through direct contacts of the local population with the settlers in Central and Northeastern Bulgaria, as well as in the Sub-Balkan regions during the yoke (Pernishka et al. 2013: 150). During the almost five-century period, although there is no purposeful linguistic assimilation, bilingualism was present in many places (Popov 1985: 128). We also associate a significant number of phraseological units with Turkish slavery.

One of the most curious studies in this area has been done by St. Mladenov. The great Bulgarian linguist puts forward the thesis that the origin of expressions can be determined on the basis of phonetic specifics. Alliteration is found in Turkish proverbs (in St. Mladenov's interpretation of initial consonances of vowels and consonants), while in Bulgarian parallels there is a rhyme or lack of stylistic form. Because alliteration is an older figure than rhyme, he defines as Turkish the following phrases: *Котката, от дето я хвърлиш, на краката си пада* (The cat wherever you throw it from falls on its feet), – (Tr) *Damdan düşeyse kedi gibi dört ayağı üstüne düşer* (like a cat, if it falls from the roof, it falls on all fours). The phraseological unit *не падам по гръб* (I do not fall on my back) originates from this comparison. From Turkish origin are also *сее на корена просо (ряпа)* (sow millet (turnip) on root) – (Tr) *dibine darı ekıyor; както дойде, тъй е добре* (as it comes, so it is good)<sup>1</sup> – (Tr) *gelişigüzel<sup>2</sup>, подлял му вода под рогозката* (he poured him water under the mat) – (Tr) *saman altından su yürüdür* (pours water under the straw)<sup>3</sup> (Mladenov 1939: 31–66).

The research of J. Zhelyazkova and B. Tsonev gives grounds to assume that for many of the expressions and proverbs that have penetrated into Bulgarian, the Turkish language is only a mediator. The huge amount of translated literature from the Persian language in the Ottoman Empire, help to borrow not only Persian vocabulary, but also a number of phraseological units, proverbs and sayings (Zhelyazkova 2007: 396). Some are still often used in our country: *от едното влиза от другото излиза* (from one it enters from the other it leaves) – (Tr) *Bir kulağından girip bir kulağından çıkmak*; *с единия крак в гроба* (with one foot in the grave) – (Tr) *bir ayağı çukurda olmak, игла да хвърлиш няма, къде да падне* (if you throw a needle, it has nowhere to fall) – (Tr) *İğne atsan, yere düşmez* (Zhelyazkova 2017: 397–408).

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned also in P. R. Slaveykov as Turkish.

<sup>2</sup> Today only the first part is used: *както дойде* (as it comes).

<sup>3</sup> Today also abbreviated – *подливам вода* (pour water).

From Persian via Turkish in Bulgarian enters the expression *падна ми пердето* (the curtain fell (over my eyes)). The word *perde* ‘curtain’ in Persian means ‘membrane’ and ‘hymen’. In its original form *пукна ми пердето* (my curtain popped) the phraseme is a metaphor for ‘feeling no shame, being rude’. As the original semantics is not recognized in Bulgarian (Assenova, Dukova 2005–6, quoted in Assenova 2016: 392), the expression began to be used in the form *падна ми пердето* (the curtain fell (over my eyes)), possibly by analogy with *падна ми пелена пред очите* (a veil fell before my eyes) meaning I was very angry. This phrase is abbreviated more and more often, and the main component *перде* ‘curtain’ now is used with the semantics of the whole expression ‘ruthless, impudent man’. Thus *перде*, coming from Turkish, which in the source language also means ‘shame, shyness’ (Dobrev 2009), is semantically transformed into its antonym in Bulgarian.

To conclude this brief review, I allow myself a speculation for which there is insufficient data in literature. The expression *бошлаф* (*boşlaf*) used in Turkish is calqued in Bulgarian according to Ts. Makedonska by I. Blaskov with *бабешки приказки*<sup>4</sup> (grandmother’s tales) (Makedonska 1966: 324). In Iv. Bogorov and in Franklin’s translation, made from French by S. Bobchev, the phrase *бабини дивотини* (grandmother’s wild things) (Min’e 1874: 28, Bogorov 1881) ‘nonsense, empty talk’ is found. Based on this data, it can be assumed that today’s idiom *бабини деветини* (grandmother’s nine) is a distorted calque from Turkish<sup>5</sup>.

### Phraseological parallels between Bulgarian and Romanian

Although there is no information about the initial stages of the formation of the Romanian nation, it is believed that the coexistence between Slavs and Romanians (Romanized Dacians) began with the settlement of Slavic tribes north of the Danube (Aleksova 1992: 21). The long period of bilingualism in the Wallachian lowlands lasted until the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Mirchev 1963: 69).

It is known that the influence of Bulgarian was felt throughout the Middle Ages. It was especially strong in the formation of the Romanian literary language (16<sup>th</sup> century) and slowly subsided in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Aleksova 1992: 21). On the other hand, during the Revival the territories beyond the Danube became important centers of Bulgarian political and economic activity. Signif-

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<sup>4</sup> Iliya Blaskov, „Poor men’s curses“, 1884, 35.

<sup>5</sup> Shortly before this text was published, I came across a folk etymology of the same expression. It is known that the commemorations on the third, ninth and twentieth days are called in some parts of the Bulgaria thirds, ninths, etc. In their implementation, certain prohibitions are often imposed. According to the informant, on the ninth day after the death people go to the grave, but the name of the deceased must not be mentioned. The relatives talk about other insignificant topics and this is where the expression *бабини деветини* ‘grandmother’s ninths’ originates.

icant Bulgarian emigration was concentrated in the cities of Bucharest, Brai-la and Galati. Cultural and educational societies, community centers, schools were formed there. Intensive journalistic, literary and educational activities were the reason for the adoption of a large number of Western European words in Bulgarian via the Romanian language (Simeonov 1974: 288).

According to O. Mladenova, some of the parallel expressions in Bulgarian and Romanian arise as a result of a common material and spiritual culture. Here she includes, for example, the phrases *държа изкъсо* (keep short) with variant *държа на къса юздичка* (keep on a short bridle) – a metaphor that, according to her, originates from horse breeding. The phrase is spared in – (Gr) *τον κρατώ από κοντά* and (Ro) *a ține din scurt* (1982: 221).

We owe the origin of other expressions to the common way of life and superstition (Mladenova 1982: 243). For example, *вдигам масата* (raise the table) – (Ro) *a ridica masa* has its origin from the practice (that existed until the end of thirties of XX century) for people to eat at a table (called *sinia*), which, when finished, they raised against the wall behind the door (Mladenova 1982: 244).

### Phraseological Calques from Russian

It is known that Russian influence on Bulgarian was extremely strong during the Revival. It intensified in the second half of the 18th century with the spread of Russian manuscripts and printed books in Bulgaria. Borrowing from Russian is also stimulated by Church Slavonic (Mirchev 1963: 85) used in monastery education and worship (Mirchev 1963: 85). The borrowing of Russian vocabulary was particularly intense during the period of the Provisional Russian Government (Pernishka et al. 2013: 159). It continued in the newly liberated Bulgarian state (Pernishka et al. 2013: 158)

The form of some expressions still used today discloses their Church Slavonic origin. Most of them originate from the biblical text: *притча во языцех, Тома неверний, камен преткновеня, хлеб насущний, изчадие адово, обетована земя, давам своята лепта, геена огнена, (чакам като) манна небесна, вавилонско стълпотворение, козел отпущения, Кесаревото кесарю, Божието – Богу.*

A. F. Veltman's novel *Райна, королевна болгарская* translated by E. Muteva (under the title *Райна, българската царкиня* (Raina, the Bulgarian Queen) was extremely popular. The analysis of the phraseology in the work makes it possible to trace the calquing of set phrases in the fifties of the 19th century; the qualities of translation were pointed out by analysts (Andreychin 1986: 205). The text was directly translated from Russian – the Bulgarianization is strongly limited. Pursuit of literal translation of foreign expressions is clearly absent. Some phrases of the same form are used in both languages, but it is difficult to

determine whether the coincidence is not due to an earlier (Pan-Slavic or independent) origin. Those are: *по сърце, от душа и сърце* (by heart, from heart and soul), used respectively in the original and in the translated text: (Царица Теофания избираше за царството си и за леглото си таквизи наставници и управници, които ѝ бяха **по сърце**- ...в правители и опекуны людей **по сердцу**); Чакаше Святослава, като да му беше обречена **от душа и сърце** – Райна ждала Святослава, как обреченная ему **душой и сердцем**, судом и рядом).

As the expressions are not included in N. Gerov's dictionary, while Shansky and his co-authors point out that in Russian they are inaccurate calques from French (Shansky et al. 2001), we could assume Russian mediation in their adoption in Bulgarian.

The expression *примамвам в мрежите си* (за да **замами** чистата като гълъб душица в **мрежите си** –...чтоб **заманить** ее голубиную душу в **сети**) was also probably formed as a calque from Russian, although it is rarely used today.

In order to expand the observations on the adoption from Russian during the Revival, the translation by Nesho Bonchev of Gogol's *Taras Bulba* was specially analyzed for this study. The book was published in two consecutive issues of the *Периодическото списание* in 1872, but was not well received by critics. According to Hr. Botev, it was "difficult to read", "the language is raw, uncut and full of Russisms" (Aretov 1995). However, the analysis of the phrasemes in the text does not confirm this assessment. Of the 80 examples excerpted, the exact calques are only 10. Impressive is the translator's effort to choose the appropriate native correspondences for the expressions used (... до того загулялись, что **прогуляли всё, что ни было на теле**... Или са си **пропиле сичко от гърба**; **Не прошло часу** после их разговора, как уже грянули в литавры. – **Мина се не мина се час** след тоя разговор...). Turkish and folklore models are utilized, in rare cases so are expressions from Church Slavonic: (**все это было ему по плечу**. – Сичко му идеше от ръки; **Не достойна ли я вечных сожалений?** – **Тежко и горко** мене!). In the translation we come across figurative expressions in places where abstract vocabulary is used in the original. On the one hand, this speaks of the character of the Bulgarian language before the Liberation, and on the other hand, of N. Bonchev's desire to preserve the spirit of the original stylization. The original phrasemes characterizing Russian culture are preserved, which are to create color and convey essential features of the tradition (Неразумная голова, – говорил ему Тарас, – **терпи, казак, атаман будешь!** – „Глушава главо!“ говореше му Тарас: „**гърпи казаче, воевода да бъдеш!**“ – Теперь, по обычаю христианскому, **нужно перед дорогою всем присесть**. – Трябва на тръгване всички да поседнем...).

In N. Bonchev's translation, only a few phrases are borrowed from Russian: *ни жив, ни умрял* (neither alive nor dead) (Андрей **стоял ни жив, ни**

**мертв**, не имея духу взглянут в лицо отцу. – Андрей **стоеше ни жив, ни мъртав** и не смееше да погледне в очи башта си), *от сутрин до вечер* (from morning to evening) (Большая часть гуляла **с утра до вечера**... – Но повечето се веселяха **от утрина до вечер**), *убивам на място* (to kill on the spot) (**И ты не убил тутже на месте его**, чертова сына? – И ти го не **уби там на мястото**, проклетий син?) *превърна се цял(a) в слух* (he was all hearing), *проронвам дума* (to shed a word) (С возрастающим изумлением, **вся превратившись в слух, не проронив ни одного слова**, слушала дева открытую сердечную речь – ...Момата **се превърна цяла в слух** и слушаше тая сърдечна реч, **без да пророни една дума**), *на своя глава* (on his own head) (**На свою бы голову я врал?** – **На своя глава** да лъжа?).

Based on the specific text, we can assume that another two expressions used in the original by Gogol have Russian origin. They were replaced by N. Bonchev in his translated text in Bulgarian: *държа реч* (to hold a speech)<sup>6</sup> (Позвольте, панове запорожцы, **речь держать!** – Дозволете ми, панове запорожци, **дума да кажа**) и *набивам в главата* (hammer into the head) (Это все дрянъ, чем **набивают головы** ваши – Това дето ви **пълнят главите**, се е измет).

As phrasemes from Russian to Bulgarian came quotes and titles of works by Russian writers, for example: *от ума си тегли* – горе от ума, *мъртви души* – мертвые души, *унижените и оскърбените* – униженные и оскорбленные и пр.

A number of expressions from Russian which originate from other European languages or the Antiquity were adopted in our country during the Revival, and later on. The role of the Russian language as a mediator in the calquing of French phraseology is known in science. When discussing the struggle of Iv. Bogorov against the Russian influence in our country, I. Shishmanov cites the following anecdotes. In his desire to oppose influential publications, the purist is not afraid to resort to cynicism: “Maritsa, speak (issue 14, 1878) something about back thoughts<sup>6</sup> (Shishmanov 1899: 18). “We don’t know, B. notices, if there are people whose thoughts can come out of their b...” (Shishmanov 1899: 18). Let’s give another curious example – Bogorov writes: A newspaper reports: “The mayor is taking all measures.” – And then what will the sellers measure their goods with? (Shishmanov 1899: 17).

Only on the basis of the included elements I would suggest a Russian origin of the expressions: *плетя козни*, *на последни издихания*, *всявам смут*, *вземам се в ръце*, *мъртва хватка*, *удрям по джоба*, *мъките на словото*, *Москва не вярва на сълзи etc.*

According to V. Vinogradov, the expression *удрям по джоба* – (Rs) *бить по карману* (beat on the pocket), arises by analogy with *удрям през ръцете* –

<sup>6</sup> (Fr) *arrière-pensées*, (Bg) *задни мисли*.

(Rs) бить по рукам (beat on the hands). The phrase was formed in Russian in the 1830s and originated in the jargon of publishers and booksellers. The phrase reflects their practice of blackmailing each other, forcing their colleagues to get rid of certain people they hate or envy, threatening to “hit them in the pocket” if they don’t do it. The specific phrase denotes the practice of insulting an edition, unnecessarily pointing out some minor omissions that damage its prestige in the eyes of readers. Thus, in the end, the ill-wishers inflict financial losses on the publisher (Vinogradov 1999: 57).

The influence of Russian phraseology and borrowing of expressions from it continued during the period of socialism. This tendency is characteristic not only for Bulgaria, but also for all socialist countries (Skorupka 2001: 167). During these years, copying of the Soviet press was typical, the journalists had a habit of translating verbatim, and Bulgarian publications closely followed the language and topics of the party official *Rabotnicheskoto Delo* (Stoyanov 2017: 452). Reality was located in the field of current politics through phrases such as: *запретвам ръкави* – (Rs) засучивать рукава, *рамо до рамо* – (Rs) плечом к плечу, *вземам залька от устата на* – (Rs) отнимать кусок хлеба у кого-л., *откривам нова ера в* – (Rs) открывать новую эру, *поставям на място* – (Rs) указать свое место кому-л., *водя безпощадна война* – (Rs) водить безжалостную войну, *времето на (чорбаджиите) мина* – время кого-л. прошло и пр. (Стойанов 2017: 459).

According to S. Skorupka, a large number of phrases enter from Russian into Polish, among which he points out the expression *влача се на опашката* – (Rs) тащиться на хвосте (Kurkowska, Skorupka 2001: 167).

### Phrasemes from the French language

French had a significant influence on the formation of our literary language, as it was the leading Western European language in the Ottoman Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Pernishka et al. 2013: 169). French lexemes and expressions, even syntactic models were adopted in Bulgaria not only directly, but also through Russian, as well as through other Balkan languages (Pernishka et al. 2013: 169). The influence of French language took place both through numerous vocabulary elements and through literal or adapted translations of phraseological units, some stylistic features, expressions, and sentences, adjusted in the French manner (Petkanov 1981: 159).

It is known that Bulgaria is one of the countries where in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century French culture took deep roots in all fields of spiritual and material life (Stankov 1990: 520).

Shortly before the Liberation, in 1875, the translation of the vaudeville story of Alain-René Lesage *The Devil upon Two Sticks* (*Le Diable boiteux*), was published. The text is the work of the only 19-year-old A. Shopov, who later

had a glamorous career as a politician and public figure. As N. Aretov points out, shortly after its publication, an anonymous critic described the publication as “secondary” and “unnecessary” (Aretov 1999: 57). However, a cursory review of the original and translated text shows that during the Revival the connecting elements that ensure the coherence of the Bulgarian text were calqued and taken from French:

*En un mot* (in the translation с една дума), *de temps en temps* (transl. от време на време), *de son côté* (transl. от своя страна), *d’un autre côté* (transl. от друга страна), *pour la dernière fois* (transl. за последен път), *en même temps* (transl. в същото време). An important role in the construction of the Bulgarian literary language is due to the borrowing of collocations: *отплащам се за услугата* (je ne puis trop **payer le service** – не ще мога да се **отплатя за заслугата**); *следвам съветите на някого* (je ne devais pas **suivre vos conseils** – аз не трябваше да **следвам вашите съвети**); *имам сляпо доверие* (L’un **avait une confiance aveugle** – имаше сляпо поверение).

Literal translations in Lesage’s text we find in the expressions: *на крак* (in the original: **Tout le monde est encore sur pied** dans cette grande maison à gauche – in translation: **Всичкия свят е йоще на крак** в тази къща на ляво); *оставям на мира* (N’espérez pas que **je vous laisse en repos** – Ни мислете, че ще *ви оставя на мира*).

According to L. Vankov, the adoption of French words in Bulgarian takes place in different ways. Undoubtedly, a single appearance in the press or personal correspondence is not enough to adopt a word; it is taken repeatedly and remains in the language only if it meets certain conditions (1965: 197). We could extend this observation to the field of phraseology. The study of Revival texts will give an opportunity to determine the content of the phraseology during this period and the ways for its expansion.

Future research on the use of French expressions should cover the writings of *F. Fénelon* and *Marie Leprince de Beaumont*, which were used as teaching texts.

It is believed that the expression *apporter des oranges* (bring oranges), i.e. visiting someone in prison is of French descent. According to French phraseologists, in 1892, on the accusation of Senator Rene Berge, who was an advocate of moral purity and a passionate opponent of pornography, four girls were brought to justice for disorderly conduct. They walked almost naked through the streets of Paris during the festive parade of the School of Arts. Among them was Marie-Florentine Roger, better known as Sarah Brown. While awaiting sentencing, the poet, Raoul Ponchon, wrote the epigram:

“O! Sarah Brown! Si l’on t’emprisonne, pauvre ange,”

(Oh, Sarah Baun, if they shut you up, poor angel)

Le dimanche, j’irai t’apporter des oranges.”

(I will come to bring you oranges on Sunday). (Planelles 2018:775).

This brief overview of the loan translations in Bulgarian showed that calquing in languages is more a rule than an exception. We've discussed units adopted from Balkan and European languages. Some of them originated in the community from which they were adopted but others were just transferred in a period when the medium language was in contact with Bulgarian and influenced its' spoken and written discourse.

At the end of the first part of this paper a question was raised on what made calquing such a popular practice, and why the phraseological system of a language is so instable and constantly permeable for foreign units.

As the phrasemes represent images even though they stem from a foreign culture, they can easily suit another context and be accepted in another community. On the other hand, if they are idioms and could not be analyzed and understood, that would provoke and stimulate the imagination, captivating the members of the affected culture. Thus, through their minds and speech the expressions would find a place in different circumstances and within different societies.

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## ГЕОГРАФСКА КАРТА НА ФРАЗАТА (ЧАСТ 1)

Яна Сивилова

СУ „Св. Климент Охридски“

В статията се прави преглед на фраземи, заети в български от съседни и несъседни езици. Авторката се спира на историята на възникване на отделни изрази и коментира водещите езикови влияния върху български през отделните периоди на езиковото развитие. Опит да се проследи калкирането във фразеологията се прави чрез съпоставяне на текстовете на оригиналите на руски и западноевропейски автори и техните възрожденски преводи.