

A GEOGRAPHICAL MAP OF THE PHRASE (PART II)¹

Yana Sivilova
St Kliment Ohridski University

Статья рассматривает влияние немецкого и английского языков на болгарскую фразеологию. Автор обращает внимание периодам особенно интенсивного языкового контакта и делает обзор публикаций на болгарском (реже чужим) в эту область. Для проработки путей заимствований и периодов, в течении которых утверждаются определенные фразы, объектами исследования являются два перевода эпохи болгарского Возрождения в сопоставлении с оригинальными текстами. Особое внимание обращено современным фразам – неологизмам, вторгающихся с английского.

The article examines the influence of German and English on Bulgarian phraseology. The author draws attention to the periods of particularly intensive language contact and reviews the publications of Bulgarian (rarely foreign) authors in this field. In order to study the ways of borrowing and the periods during which certain phrases are affirmed, the expressions of two Revival translations were studied in comparison with the original texts. Special attention is paid to modern phraseological neologisms coming from English.

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

This text is the second part of the publication from the last issue of the magazine, in which we discussed expressions that were adopted into Bulgarian from Turkish, Greek, and pointed out some parallels between Bulgarian and Romanian, but most of them have a Balkan distribution and the specific source is difficult to identify. We also touched on the influence of Russian and French.

With the second part of the *Geographical Map of the phrase*, I would like to end the research by paying attention to the expressions traced in German and English. It is known that calques are regarded as indirect borrowings, here foreign structures are reproduced in the recipient language through native elements (Pulchini et al. 2012: 10).

Analysts who impartially study the origins of the phrases quickly conclude that many of them are internationally popular. As H. Walter and V. Mokienko rightly point out, it is significant that the deeper the inter-Slavic and inter-European comparison of a phraseological unit is researched, the more common it appears to be (Mokienko, Walter 2019: 17). It is known that the

¹ Част I на статията е публикувана в *Съпоставително езикознание*, бр.1 от т.г.

change of the phraseological fund in the language takes place in three ways – structural (emergence of new combinations of words), semantic (emergence of new meanings of existing combinations), and borrowing. The renewal of phraseology is possible through the internal resources of the language itself or under an external influence (Marti Solano 2012: 178, 200, Veisbergs 1994: 43).

In this study, I focus on the last aspect. In the following pages, I will analyze the parallels in the phraseology of Bulgarian and German and English. My main goal is to explore the direction of borrowing expressions and, where possible, to get to the source of the particular phrase.

Expressions from German

German influence on Bulgarian dates back to the period before the establishment of the Bulgarian state, when Germanic and Slavic tribes occupied neighboring territories (Mladenov 1908: 18, Kocheva-Lefedzhieva 2004: 18, Pronk-Tetof 2013: 77).

It continued in the Middle Ages, although it left traces only in toponymy and hydronymy (Parashkevov 1981: 182) and became very clear in the second half of the 19th century (Pernishka et al. 2013).

German words and expressions became part of the language not only directly, but through Serbian, Croatian, and Romanian (Parashkevov 1981: 182). Some groups of lexemes are sometimes borrowed with semantic changes through Russian, Polish, and Czech (Yanev 2018: 39–51).

At the reorganization and modernization of the new Bulgarian state, a large number of borrowings enter the fields of printing, music, various branches of technology, textile production, chemical, and physical terminology, and fewer in pharmacy, medicine, and sports (Parashkevov 1981: 181–184). After the Liberation, Germans settled in Sofia in connection with the princely (and later royal) court (Kocheva-Lefedzhieva 2004: 25).

German fiction began to be actively translated in Bulgaria; private German secular schools and a Catholic girls' school were opened. From 1950 to the present German language remains very popular in the field of education.

Studying the interference in the language of Bulgarian migrants who live in Vienna Ana Kocheva outlines several phraseological calques: *вземам си живота* – *hat sich das Leben genommen* 'to commit a suicide'; *давам оценка* – *vergeben ein Eins* 'to put an excellent mark'; *играя си с мисълта* – *mit dem Gendanke spielen* 'to hesitate' and a small number of collocations with *голям* 'big' (*голямо впечатление* – *grosser Eindruck*, *голяма търговия* – *Grosshandel*), *правя* 'make' (*правя комплекси* – *Komplexe schaffen*, *правя*

изпит – Prüfung machen) and *имам* ‘have’ (имам страх – Angst haben vor, имам глад – ich habe Hunger). Neither of the groups was used outside the borders of the local community (Kocheva 2017: 172 – 174).

In the dictionary of H. Walter and V. Mokienko for calques from German to Russian and European languages are indicated: *auf die schiefe Ebene (Bahn) greaten (kommen)* – вървя по наклонената плоскост (walk on the inclined plane), *der rote Faden* – минавам като червена нишка (pass like a red thread), *etwas ins Visier nehmen* – взимам на мушка (aim at) – *Auf der Kimme (auf dem Kieker) haben, da lachen ja die Hühner (alle Hühner; die ältesten Hühner; Suppenhühner)* – за смях на кокошките; and also *Wo (selbst) der Kaiser zu Fuß hingeht* – където и царят ходи пеш (Where (even) the king goes on foot), *Jmd. Ist aufgedonnert wie ein Christbaum* – накичен като коледна елха (decorated like a Christmas tree), *Brüderschaft trinken* – пия брудершафт (drink brotherhood), *sich auf seine vier Buchstaben setzen* – сядам си на четирите букви (sit down on the four letters), *aus den Finger saugen* – смуча си от пръстите (suck out of your fingers), *durch die Finger sehen* – гледам през пръсти (see through your fingers, not to take care of your work) (Walter, Mokienko 2011).

A. Veisbergs adds a few more phrases: *jemanden aufs halbe Wort verstehen* – разбирам н. от половин дума (understand from half a word), *die Oberhand nehmen* – вземам надмощие (get the upper hand); *auf etwas Kurs nehmen* – поемам курс към нещо (take an initiative towards), *Strohwitwe* – сламена вдовица (straw Widow), *unter aller Kritik* – под всякаква критика (this is beneath criticism), *freie Liebe* – свободна любов (free love), *Da ist der Hund begraben* – Ето къде е заровено кучето (That’s where the dog is buried) (Veisbergs 2012: 122–130).

The expression *гледам през пръсти*, which in the modern Bulgarian language is idiomatic, has been discussed in the study of Ts. Makedonska. She points out that it is the result of an abbreviation and lacks the preposition *каро* ‘as if’, which would give it a complete meaning (Makedonska 1960: 503), as is the case in Serbian *gledati kome kroz prste*, i.e., my vision is limited, dim. According to Walter and Mokienko, the phrase was originally accompanied by a motion of the hand and was characteristic of the behavior of jesters and fools. The term gained popularity because it was used in the translation of the Bible by Martin Luther (Leviticus 20: 4), but it is missing in the texts of Scripture in other European languages (Walter, Mokienko 2011).

During the Revival, it has the form fixed in Ts. Makedonska’s work (see also Guerov 1977). But with regard to its idiomatic character the prepositional phrase

after acquiring the meaning of the whole expression started to combine with other verbs such as *работя* ‘work’, *правя* ‘make’, *проверявам* ‘check’, etc.

A well-known and very popular German phrase *Da liegt der Hund begraben* – Ето къде (там) е заровено кучето was probably introduced in Bulgarian through Russian. As J. and W. Grimm pointed out it started to be mentioned in German sources more often since the 17 century but its origin was obscure (Grimm 1999). In 1965 A. Schirmer proposed a metonymical basis for its interpretation. According to him in some folk narratives as the dog guards the treasures, in that phrase the dog has replaced the jewels. Some references (including Goethe’s *Faust*) suggest that the black dog in some variants of the expression is one of the incarnations of the devil. Perhaps for this reason, in German, the phrase has another meaning ‘where the source of evil is’. Schirmer points to two other euphemisms where *a musician* or *a minstrel* is used instead of a dog: *Da liegt ein Musikant begraben*, *Da liegt der Spielman*. The penetration of the phrase in our country through Russian is prompted by its older and perhaps more common form – *ето къде е зарито кучето*. It is worth noting that the narrowing of the semantic volume is natural when borrowing foreign vocabulary and phraseology.

For this study, a comparison was made between the original text of the play *Robbers* by F. Schiller and its translation by N. Bonchev, published in the *Periodichesko spisanie* (1870–1872). The preparation of the play is related to his desire to introduce Bulgarian readers to the achievements of world literature.

For many years, the analysts of N. Bonchev’s activity were of the opinion that the translation of the play was made from Russian. This hypothesis is substantiated by some specifics in the spelling of proper names and the presence of Russisms in the vocabulary. According to N. Andreeva, however, N. Bonchev worked on the original, making comparisons with Russian translations. His proposed version of the publication shows the closest proximity to the version of Mikhail Mikhailovich Dostoevsky (Andreeva 2001: 176–177).

The review of the phraseological material testifies that in *Robbers* a large number of phrasemes related to ancient culture are included and calqued in Bulgarian: *златен век* (с една дума да доведеш назад **златний вяк** – mit einem Wort, **das goldne Alter** wieder zurückrufen), *рог на изобилието* (и ти бъдущте, разцъвтяло съ своят **рог на изобилието** – und du mit dem überquellenden **Füllhorn**, blühende Zukunft), *пръстът на Немезида* (Непознат **пръст** на богиня **Немезида** – O unbegreiflicher **Finger der rachekundigen Nemesis!**) и *желязото се кове, докато е горещо* (А сега наскоро, **догде е желязото горешто**, гони турците из Азия – **weil’s Eisen noch warm ist...**).

Other Revival translations show that some of these phrases were not mentioned by N. Bonchev for the first time. We find the expression *Golden Age* and *Elysian Fields* also in the Telemachus version published by P. Piperov in 1845: il sut qu'un de ces deux captifs qu'on avait pris pour des Phéniciens avait ramené l'âge d'or dans ces déserts presque inhabitables. – Он се научи как един от ония два роби, кои мислаха да са финикияни, беше донел **златний век** в безплодниа и ненаселяемиа пустини; Бози дароваха чистия радости в едно успокоение вечно у **Елисейския поля** – les dieux donnent des plaisirs purs dans une éternelle paix aux **Champs-Élysées**.

It is well known that the Fenelon text was used as a schoolbook for studying French, and other foreign languages in 20s and 30s of the 19th century. The French version, the Italian and Turkish translations were very popular in Bulgaria. It is likely that some of the phrases related to Antiquity were mentioned in other publications and in the press. The adoption of a new word or phraseological unit is a long process, which demands frequent uses in different sources for an extended period of time. It is obvious that the phraseological layer related to ancient mythology was not widespread in Bulgarian as it is not attested in Guerov's dictionary. Bonchev's translation has contributed to its introduction in Bulgarian.

In Bonchev's translation, we see his zeal for expanding the expressiveness of the language and also for increasing the knowledge of Bulgarians about a prestigious culture and its achievements. The text includes also detailed notes with information about famous philosophers and thinkers and comments on political ideas.

The same trend is recognized in the use of several Latin phrases without translation, most often the Bonchev complements their meaning in parentheses to facilitate the reader: *memento mori* (повни, че ште да умреш!), *Si omnes consentiunt, ego non dissentio* (кога съ сички наедно и аз съм наедно. На! *Deus ex machina* (Бог от невидяно)².

It is noteworthy that Bonchev uses expressions from Antiquity, even when neither the original nor the Russian translation resorted to them (Ст! Ст! – **И стените имат уши**. – Тсъ! Тсъ! – **У него вездѣ есть уши** – **Pst doch! Pst!** – **Er hat so feine Ohren unter uns herumlaufen.**)

Along with the ancient phraseology, the translation includes a significant number of biblical expressions, probably already known in our country from sermons and liturgy: *заблудена овца* (*verlorne Schafe*), *божият пръст*

² We see the same trend in French phrases: And people see and have no shame, but say: "c'est l'amour qui a fait ça!" (love did that). "La bourse ou la vie!" (Your money or your life!)

(Ein Fingerzeig des göttlichen Willens), лоното Авраамово (den Schooß Abrahams). As the material collected by Sereznewski shows convincingly they were used in old Bulgarian translations (I would like to outline the phrase *твоя плът и кръв*, which has a literal correspondence in the original and the Russian translation (Ти си **негова плът, негова кръв**...—.... **ТЫ ЕГО ПЛОТЬ, ЕГО КРОВЬ** – du bist **sein Fleisch, sein Blut**) is also used in this form today, although it is not fixed with the same structure in the biblical translations into Bulgarian³ (Bible 1992). In this sense, it is possible that it may have a literary, not biblical, origin.

An appropriate equivalent has been selected for the phrase *заривам таланта си в земята* (Ти искаш, види се, да изветреят дарованията ти? Да заровиш таланта си? – Und du willst also deine Gaben in dir verwittern lassen? dein Pfund vergraben?). There the German weight measure *Pfund* (500 g) was replaced by the Greek *talent* (τάλατον – 32 kg). Despite the significant discrepancy in absolute values, the expressions follow the original metaphor of the Gospel of Matthew. In a very curious study, E. Rabinovich dwells on the original meaning of the word *talent* (τάλατον) in Greek, namely ‘burden, load’, suggesting that *talent* is a measure of weight equal to the burden that a healthy man can bear (Rabinovich 1991: 142). According to her, the modern meaning of the word *talent* in European languages mutated due to the parable told in Matthew about the servant who, unlike others, buries the gold given to him by his master, and does not try to multiply it. In Christian tradition, the parable teaches that our gifts should be used to support others. God punishes not only those who do evil but also those who do not use their talents to increase the good among people (Velimirovich 2016).

The predominant number of phrases in the translation are calques, which coincide in the three languages. We could classify them as the so-called natural phraseological units (Nicheva 1979: 178)⁴. Their non-specific nature makes it difficult to determine the source language. It is not simple to assume that such phrases are universal and arise at a certain stage of development in any culture.

The second largest group are phrases where we see Bonchev’s intent to keep the text closer to the original and when the expression is missing in Bulgarian to convey it with a phrase that repeats the key element, preserving the area from which the image originates: *Думите ми минуват у вас из едно*

³ [2:23] And the man said, Behold, this is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh (Genesis, see also Vatov 2002).

⁴ They are often common to many languages, they arise independently and have a common basis in natural phenomena, in the general physical and mental features of the man, and in the general conditions of development (Nicheva 1979: 178).

ухо в друго...Es schallt an euren Ohren vorüber – ihr habt niemals; Тежко и горко! Wehe über den; Таково стая, кога не гледаш децата с четире очи – nicht alle Augen auf die Kinder hat. Some translation decisions are obviously influenced by the Russian version (Но ако му падне да заколи някой земе-владетел, който **одира кожата** на своите селачене... – Но если придется ему пустить кровь помъщику, который **дереть шкуру** съ крестьянь своих – der seine Bauern wie das Vieh abschindet; **Гръм и мълния!** – **Громъ и молнія!** о чемъ напоминаете вы мнѣ! – **Wetter Element!** was erinnert Ihr mich an das?).

In the text of N. Bonchev there are several literally calqued expressions (Аз бих си дал **пръстът от дясната ръка**, ако можех да кажа, че той е лъжец, чер ядовит лъжец – Seht! **den Finger meiner rechten Hand** wollt' ich drum geben...; Искате ли с мотика и лопата да се мъчите и да потяете за един къс **сух хляб?** – einen Bissen **trocken Brod**). However, we can hardly consider the play as a conductor of German phraseology in Bulgarian. Apparently, the leading factor here was the desire to provoke a new type of search among the audience after the formation of a certain culture of reading.

Two very characteristic German expressions caught my attention in N. Bonchev's translation – *пия побратимство* (аз се прилепвам до него като репей и пия с него побратимство! – *ich mich meinem Candidaten an wie eine Klette, saufte Brüderschaft mit ihm*). In Schiller's original the phrase is reinforced by the expressive verb *saufen* 'swig', in the Russian version the phrase is a semi-calque (пить с ким брудершафтъ), and in Bonchev's translation – a calque. As far as it is used today in Bulgarian, it follows the Russian model.

In the Bulgarian text Bonchev also uses the expression *за чиста монета*, common to the Slavic languages (Rus.) *за чистю монету*, (Pl.) *za czystą monetę*) and (De.) (*etwas für baare Münze zu nehmen*) Ehrlicher Name! – **wahrhaftig eine reichhaltige Münze**, mit der sich meisterlich schachern läßt, wer's versteht, sie gut auszugeben). However, he inaccurately conveys the original thought and confuses the reader. For this reason, apparently, despite the common element, it is not used in the Russian translation.

One last trend in the transposition of expressions from the original and the search for appropriate equivalents, we should mention the inclusion of Church Slavonic phrases (какви козни ковете – Was für Kabalen habt ihr angezettelt); Probably by the time the translator works, they are already part of the Bulgarian phraseological system and are recognizable to the public.

Based on the analyzed examples, we can conclude that in *Robbers* the borrowing of phrases is much more common than in the translation of *Taras Bulba*

by Gogol, made a few years later. Probably, apart from the experience gained, the reason for this is the fact that Bonchev knew Russian culture better and allowed himself more freedom in interpreting the text by N. Gogol. In the preparation of *Robbers*, the Bulgarian translator remained very close to the sources of the original metaphors and transmitted them with the closest expression in Bulgarian, containing one or more common elements.

Secondly, it is obvious that translations of texts by Western European writers (and their Russian versions) underlie the borrowing of international phraseology related to ancient mythology and literature. They may have played a role in establishing some biblical phrases in the literary language that are used today in a form not attested in Scripture translations, but coinciding with their structure in Russian and Western European languages.

The influence of the German language on the formation of the Bulgarian phraseological system is limited. It must be studied in detail in the different periods of language development. Based on the small amount of data we have presented; we can assume that this is done mostly through other languages (mainly Russian).

Calques from English in Bulgarian phraseology

At the last stage of this research, I would like to draw attention to the calquing of English in Bulgarian phraseology. I will focus on some expressions that have a long history after borrowing, as well as on the neologisms.

Although the influence of the English language on Bulgarian is the latest, nowadays it is extremely large. The specific circumstances in the last decades make the authors of the academic *Bulgarian lexicology* talk about a situation of non-contact bilingualism (Pernishka et al. 2013).

As early as the beginning of the XXI century D. Crystal declares English to be a global language, as it is used by a quarter of the world's population or 1.5 billion people (Crystal 2003: 6). The „neological explosion“⁵, the entry of new words in the fields of economics, political life, technology, the entertainment industry, sports, medicine, and many other fields, is accompanied by the calquing of phraseological combinations.

Today, the English invasion covers a wide range of phenomena. In linguistics, the term *anglicism* expands its meaning and begins to refer also to elements at levels above the lexical, namely in the field of phraseology and syntax. European languages borrow semantic, pragmatic, stylistic, and cultural features (Pulcini et al. 2012: 5).

⁵ According to Popova's observation (Pernishka et al. 2013: 219)

It is known that in English phraseology the largest share of expressions from literary sources is related to Shakespeare's work. Their number exceeds 100 units (Smith 1956: 120). Widely used in our country is Hamlet's remark *има нещо гнило (в Дания)* – Something is rotten in the state of Denmark, and also the titles *много шум за нищо* – Much Ado About Nothing, *укротяване на опърничавата* – The taming of the shrew, as well as some phrasemes that form a sentence: *да бъдеш или да не бъдеш, (Това е въпросът)* – To be, or not to be, that is the question; *И ти ли, Бруте?* – And you too, Brutus; *О слабост, твоето име е жена!* – Frailty, thy name is woman; *Краткостта е душата на остроумието* – Brevity is the soul of wit; *Всичко е добре, когато свършива добре.* – All is well that ends well; *Останалото е мълчание* – The rest is silence and etc.

As Amossova points out, those works can be defined as a source of expressions only conditionally, because in them the phrases are used as free combinations and became phraseological units only when utilized in a context other than the original, which is indicative of acquiring a new meaning (Amossova 1965: 102).

On the other hand, L. Smith notes that many of the phrases that gained popularity through Shakespeare's plays were known in popular speech, but to create an idiom requires the power of a word that only he possessed (Smith 1959: 125). We can consider that this is a manifestation of one of the tendencies of the Renaissance, when writers take from folklore not only separate lines, and motives but also whole plots, which they freely rework and combine.

At the first stage of the development of modern Bulgarian, English literature and philosophy were presented through adaptations of the original works or translations of English authors from French and Russian (Russev 1978: 199–204).

However, my research has shown that as early as 1858, Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was published in Istanbul.

There is no doubt that the book which provoked the war between the North and the South and caused the abolition of slavery in the United States is not accidentally translated for the Bulgarian audience.

However, in terms of phraseology, it does not provide rich material as often, since the text is too far removed from the original (Той стояше **навъсел като стара планина**.. – while Sam's face was immovably composed into the **most doleful gravity**; Сем като цар връз всичко що бе наоколо, **с накривена шапка**... – Sam, as monarch of all he surveyed, sat with his palm-leaf cocked rejoicingly to one side, and patronizing Andy at his right hand). Of the 87 expressions (used in the first 86 pages of the publication stored in

the Regional Library of Veliko Tarnovo), only 17 can be considered as loan translations or loan renditions.

Comparing the text of D. Mutev and the original, only three phrases were found in which we can suppose linguistic influence: *проправям си път с лакти* – to elbow (one’s) way (a man of low social status **who is trying to elbow his way upward in the world** – Човек от ниско произхождение, **който с лакти си заляга да си пробие път**); the proverb *далече от очите, далече от сърцето* – out of sight, out of mind, which in Mutev’s text lacks stylistic decoration and can be easily overlooked when reading (**out of sight, out of mind**, you know – щото не виждаш, за него не мислиш); and a racist comparison often used in colloquial practice today, which in the novel has a different value perspective and probably was not adopted at that stage of language development (Why–but you were married to *me*, by the minister, as much **as if you’d been a white man!**” said Eliza, simply – Как зер ти не мя си зел с поп, **като да си бил бял човек**).

Occasionally phraseological units are used for the translation of phrasal verbs (Като човек, който **бърза да свали от шията си една тягост...** like a man that **hurries to get over some disagreeable business**). With regard to phraseology, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* repeats the specific features of Revival translations already discussed and does not provide convincing evidence for the influence of the English language in this field.

During the National Revival, the *Almanacks* and *Memoirs* of B. Franklin were published in Bulgarian, but analyses show that they were translated from other European languages (Greek, French, etc.).

Only after 1900 in the work of P.P. Slaveykov and P. Yavorov can speak of direct literary influences.

Until the middle of the twentieth century, the influence of English on Bulgarian remained limited; it was closed in several thematic areas. English words are borrowed through other languages, and their number is insignificant. It was not until the 1950s that with the growing role of the United States in international organizations, English became the main international language – words and expressions began to enter Bulgarian both directly and through the then leading foreign language – Russian.

During this period, phrases from socio-political phraseology began to be used: *гореща точка* – hot spot, *война на нерви* – war of nerves, *лов на вещици* – witch hunt, *човек от улицата* – man in the street, *ефектът на доминото* – the domino effect, *мозъчен тръст* – think tank (Merriam-Webster 2022).

Although their widespread popularity is due to their use in English, some of these expressions have been coined in other cultures. The phrase *brainwashing*

is a calque from Chinese, *third world* was created by the French demographer and economist Alfred Sauvy, and the term often used nowadays *deep country* has a Turkish origin (*derin devlet*).

Throughout the twentieth century, the role of English increased internationally. In Bulgaria, it became dominant after 1989.

English is also associated with some common proverbs: *Пътят към ада е постлан с добри намерения* – The road to hell is paved with good intentions (Aperson 2006: 276), *Не вижда гората от дърветата* – Can't see the forest for trees (Heywood 1874:107), *Няма нищо сигурно освен смъртта и данъците* – There is nothing certain except death and taxes, etc. The last sentence became popular in the formulation of B. Franklin. He used it in a letter to his friend Jean-Baptiste Leroy on the occasion of the new constitution: “Our new Constitution is now established, and has an appearance that promises permanency; but in this world, nothing can be said to be certain, except death and taxes” (Franklin 1904: 161).

The growing influence of English is the reason for the use of loan translations in politics, economics, and entertainment. Numerous colloquial phrasemes related to specific realities make their way. The phrase *заложил на куц кон* – back the wrong horse or bet on the wrong horse refers to the traditional English passion for sports and betting. The phrase *моркова и тоягата* – the carrot and stick is also borrowed from English. It is related to the use of rewards and reprimands as educational measures or as means of management. The expression originates from the practices around the training of horses and is fixed in the source language in the 19th century (Ammer 1997).

As early as the 1960s, English words and phrases began to be adopted in Bulgarian slang. They are used mainly in oral speech, but references in the Bulgarian National Corpus show that some of them are fixed in the translations of popular literature (crime novels, thrillers, fantasy, etc.). Here I will indicate only: *За танго са нужни двама* – It takes two to tango; *Топката е в теб* – It's your ball; *не е краят на света* – It's not the end of the world; *Когато адът замръзне* – When hell freezes over; *Как е времето горе?* – Is it cold up there?) (Partridge 1985).

Many of them are speech phenomena that will not remain permanently in the language. Like lexical neologisms, they are recently coined (in our case, borrowed!) units that, although repeated in native speakers' speech, are still unknown to most members of the community (see Kerremans et al. 2012: 60). Neologisms are thought to have some variability in meaning, and their understanding relies heavily on the context. Instability is also observed concerning certain formal features.

New calqued phrases are distributed through Internet publications, magazines, and blogs – most often as elements of texts translated from English. They are common in multilingual environments, among computer professionals as well as marketing and advertising professionals – generally in areas where professional duties require more English than native language speaking.

Some of the phrases are disseminated via informal communication. For example, the phrase *вземете си стая* – get a room is fixed in translations of popular literature and movie subtitles (BNC). We find it on the Internet in publications with entertainment content: *Антонио Бандерас: Вземете си стая!* (Eva.bg); „Някои хора ще ни погледнат и ще си помислят „Вземете си стая“ и ще искаме да си кажем „Светът е нашата стая“ (Dama.bg).

The newly introduced phrases find a place in the speech of bilinguals – foreign citizens who do business in Bulgaria and Bulgarians who have studied and live abroad. They are also promoted through personal blogs: „Хората с **отворени умове** са неуморни търсещи, души в добрия смисъл на думата и винаги са готови да се учат от всеки и всичко. (Sainte Anastasie).

The texts are often ridiculously translated. Not only the phraseological units, but also the word order and some grammatical absurdities show that the original was written in English: „**Хората, които нямат умствена отвореност, са малко или нищо гъвкави** и те се страхуват от промяната, защото се страхуват от неизвестното. ‘People who lack open-mindedness have little to no flexibility and are afraid of change because they fear the unknown’. We can even suppose that a machine translation has taken place. The newly calqued expression *с отворен ум* is found in several other blogs in different variants: *важно е да имате открит и гъвкав ум* ‘it is important to have an open mind and to be flexible’ and also perhaps the most adequate Bulgarian translation *открито съзнание* (bg.psychologyinstructor.com). We will not quote all the mentions of the phrase here, but it’s worth to outline that a publication from 2013 comments on its’ source language and meaning of the expression. A fact which could be perceived as an indicator that in this period the phraseme is regarded as new and vague and there was a need to introduce it to the Bulgarian public: *Оказва се, че с възрастта все по-трудно възприемаме знания. И колкото повече пълним главата си с факти и опит, толкова по-малко нови идеи имаме. На английски има хубав израз – open minded: означава буквално „с отворен ум“* (lechenieotiztoka.com).

Seven years later in 2020, we find on the website of the Bulgarian National Radio in the title of the first interview of the newly appointed director-general Andon Baltakov: „Андон Балтаков: Ще вляза в БНР с изключително отворен ум и никакъв багаж” ‘I will enter the Bulgarian National Radio with

an extremely open mind and no baggage'. The expression is combined with another set metaphor. As it becomes clear from the dialog in the studio, in recent years the director has lived in the US and worked as a journalist for the Associated Press and CNN. His utterance was probably influenced by a foreign environment. But it didn't need an explanation for the mass audience.

The phrase is recorded only twice in the Bulgarian National Corpus, in translated texts. Interestingly, however, one of the translations was made from French. This shows that the phraseme is already spread in other European languages and could be adopted not only directly but also through them. The expression is found also in several publications on the software developers' website dev.bg in job descriptions and employee interviews.

From this brief analysis, we can conclude that the expressions calqued from English are adopted in Bulgarian with the help of the English speakers, they are used informally but also in official statements, published on the internet or in blogs commenting on the personal interests of their authors (psychology, esotericism, etc.). Loan translations are also found in fiction translated not always from English but also other European languages influenced by English. In Bulgarian, the phrase *open-minded* is adopted repeatedly. It is rarely used as a traditional metaphor common for another culture, most often it has an ideological connotation as a positive trait for successful presentation in the professional field and life in general.

A small number of the new phrases are related to current political and economic events in the United States. They appear in news programs and electronic publications and calque down popular slogans. Thus in news in 2020 the phrase *Black life matters* was introduced. It was used in three versions: *животът на черните е от значение, животът на черните има значение, Животът на чернокожите е от значение*. (actualno.com, 9.06.2020) Along with it, the expression *синята стена на мълчанието* (the blue wall of silence) spread (dnevnik.bg/analizi/2021/08/17).

From the portal for computer specialists Dev.bg we can add a few more neologisms: *правя света едно по-добро място* – make the world a better place, *най-доброто тепърва предстои* – the best is yet to come, *обратна връзка* – feedback, *трудно хапче за преглъщане* – a difficult pill to swallow. One single phrase of those discussed here has become more widespread: *новият световен ред* – the new world order. Probably the reason for its growing use is its original markedness, as well as the fact that the term has been used for more than 30 years in the Bulgarian context. According to BNC data, it has been fixed in translations and original works of art since the 1990s and is now used sporadically in scientific journals and political documents.

The preservation and validation of the phraseological neologisms in the language depend on many factors and require systematic research.

According to Gottlieb, borrowed expressions are temporary phenomena (Gottlieb 2012: 194), aimed mainly to achieve euphemism, and wit; they fill lexical gaps, and name old realities, giving them an attractive sound for advertising purposes (Gottlieb 2012: 174). Tracking their use in the medium and long term involves working with a rich body of literary and media texts, Internet publications, and oral speech.

Although limited in the initial stages of the development of the modern Bulgarian literary language, the influence of English on the Bulgarian phraseological system today is enormous. It covers all aspects of modern life; it is present in book styles and informal communication, and is one of the manifestations of long-term and defining linguistic contact. The use of calqued phrases is not always realized by the speakers.

Conclusion

In the *Geographical Map of the Phrase*, we made a brief overview of the main influences on phraseology, going through expressions borrowed from Greek, Turkish, some Balkan parallels, as well as loan translations from Russian, French, German, and English. We commented on their origin and history. Where they are known, the cultural specifics that led to their appearance were also presented.

Despite the limited material, we were able to outline two opposing trends in phraseology:

- traditional – the language keeps expressions associated with distant cultures, and
- innovative – more and more often even written texts open to the penetration of new formations with short life and function, which are similar to the original metaphors and metonymies.

Although the studies on the National Revival texts were briefly sketched, they outlined some general points, but also some specifics in the processes of borrowing phraseological units during different stages of the development of the language. First of all, these are periods of drastic language changes, during which the desire to fit (including through language resources) into a more prestigious cultural framework is visible.

On the other hand, the traditional Bulgarian phraseology was widely used during the National Revival. But the borrowing of phrases is limited, a great part of the literally translated expressions doesn't get widespread and today

are unknown to the native speakers, and those that remain are used in another form, which leads us to other sources of influence and their later establishment in language.

Today, the traditional phraseology is gradually disappearing, it is unknown to younger generations, as the established family structure is destroyed and oral communication between generations is reduced. On the other hand, and through blogs, popular literature, movie subtitles, through the speech of bilinguals, foreign phrases are constantly entering, but they don't get widely spread. They remain closed in a certain social environment and have limited reproducibility. This leads to the fragmentation of the phraseological system, limits its possibilities for development, and is a pledge for the impoverishment of the language. The borrowed expressions retain their expressive functions, but the content they signify remains unclear.

However, reaching firm conclusions about foreign language influences in the field of phraseology requires much more analysis, giving these diachronic studies a hypothetical character.

REFERENCES

- Ammer, Ch. 1997. *The American Heritage Dictionary of Idioms*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Amossova, N. 1965. О diahronicheskom analize frazeologicheskikh yedinit. – V: *Issledovaniya po angliyskoy filologii*. Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo universiteta. [Амосова, Н. 1965. О диахроническом анализе фразеологических единиц. – В: *Исследования по английской филологии*. Ленинград: Издательство Ленинградского университета.]
- Andreeva, N. 2001. *Nemskata literatura v Bulgariya prez Vazrazhdaneto*. Sofiya: Kralitsa MAB. [Андреева, Н. 2001. *Немската литература в България през Възраждането*. София: Кралица МАБ.]
- Apperson, G. L. 2006. *Dictionary of Proverbs*. Ware: Wordsworth Editions.
- Aretov, N. 1990: *Prevodnata beletristika ot parvata polovina na XIX v*. Sofiya: UI „Sv. Kliment Ohridski“ [Аретов, Н. 1990. *Преводната белетристика от първата половина на XIX в*. София: УИ „Св. Климент Охридски“.]
- Beecher Stowe, H. 1995. Uncle Tom's' Cabin. at: <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/203/203-h/203-h.htm> (1 March 2022). Бълг. Превод Д. Мутев. Цариград, 1858.
bg.psychologyinstructor.com at: <https://bg.psychologyinstructor.com/potencialt-na edin-otvoren-um/> (4 April 2022).
- Bible 1992: *Bibliya*. Sofiya: Sveti Sinod na BPTS. [Библия. София: Свети Синод на БПЦ.]
Blitz.bg at https://blitz.bg/svyat/mazalo-v-sashch-pod-mototo-zhivott-na-chernite-ima-znachenie-video_news304674.html.
- BNC: Bulgarian National Corpus at: <http://dcl.bas.bg/bulnc/> (5 April 2022).
bnr.bg at <https://bnr.bg/hristobotev/post/101219612> (4 April 2022).
- Crystal, D. 2003. *English as a Global language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Dama.bg at: <https://dama.bg/article/ljubovta-v-koiato-vse-oshte-si-struva-da-viarvame/29883> (1 April 2022).
- Eva.bg at: <https://eva.bg/article/36149> (1 May 2021)
- Franklin, B. 1904. *The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, v. XII. New York & London, G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- Gottlieb, H. 2012. *Phraseology in flux. Danish Anglicisms beneath the surface*.
- Heywood, J. 1874. *The Proverbs of John Heywood*. London: Georges Bell and Sons.
- Kerremans et al. 2012. Kerremans, D., S. Stegmayr, HJ. Schmid. The NeoCrawler: identifying and retrieving neologisms from the internet and monitoring ongoing change. – In: *Current Methods in Historical Semantics*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 59–96.
- Kocheva-Lefedzhieva, A. 2004. *Nemski leksikalni elementi v balgarskite govori*. Sofiya: Multi print. [Кочева-Лефеджиева, А. 2004. *Немски лексикални елементи в българските говори*. София: Мулти принт.]
- Köster, R. 1999. *Duden, Redensarten: Herkunft und Bedeutung*. Mannheim/Leipzig/ Wien/ Zürich: Dudenverlag.
- lechenieotiztoka.com at: <https://lechenieotiztoka.com/tag/%D0%BE%D1%82%D0%B2%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%B5%D0%BD-%D1%83%D0%BC/> (4 April 2022).
- Makenonska, Cv. 1960. Danni za proizhoda i razvoya na nyakoi ustoychivi slovosachetaniya v balgarski ezik. – *Balgarski ezik*, kn. 6, 497–504. [Македонска, Цв. 1960. Данни за произхода и развоја на някои устойчиви словосъчетания в български език. – *Български език*, кн. 6, 497–504.]
- Martí Solano, R. 2012. Multi-word loan translations and semantic borrowings from English in French journalistic discourse. – In: *The Anglicization of European Lexis*.
- Mladenov, St. 1908. *Starite germanski zaemki v slavyanskite ezitsi*. Sofiya: Pechatnitsa St. Atanosov. [Младенов, Ст. 1908. *Старите германски заемки в славянските езици*. София: Печатница Ст. Атаносов.]
- Merriam-Webster 2022: at: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/> (12 March 2022).
- Nicheva, K. 1979. Patishta za vaznikvane na frazeologizmite (Varhu material ot balgarskiya ezik). – V: *Vaprosi na savremenniya balgarski knizhoven ezik. Izv. na Inst. za balg. ezik*. Kn. XXIII. Sofia: BAN, 181–214.] [Ничева, К. 1979. Пътища за възникване на фразеологизмите (Върху материал от българския език). – В: *Въпроси на съвременния български книжовен език. Изв. на Инст. за бълг. език*. Кн. XXIII. София: БАН, 181–214.]
- Parashkevov, B. 1981. Nemski, niderlandski i skandinavski zaemki v balgarskiya ezik. – *Sapostavitelno ezikoznanie*, kn. 3–5, 181–189. [Парашкевов, Б. 1981. Немски, нидерландски и скандинавски заемки в българския език. – *Съпоставително езикознание*, кн. 3–5, 181–189.]
- Partridge, E. 1985. *A Dictionary of Catch Phrases: British and American, from the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day*. London/ New York: Routledge.
- Pronk-Tiethoff, S. 2013. *The Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic*. Amsterdam/New York.
- Pulcini, V., C. Furiassi, F. Rodríguez González 2012. The lexical influence of English on European languages; from word to phraseology. – In: *The Anglicization of European Lexis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Rabinovich, E. 1991. Merno bremya. – V: Noosfera i khudozhestvennoe tvorchestvo. Moskva: Nauka, 139–153. Мерное бремя. – В: *Ноосфера и художественное творчество*. Москва: Наука, 139–153. Рабинович, Е. 1991.
- Russev, R. 1978. Pronikvaneto na angliyskata literatura v Bulgariya prez XIX i nach. na XX v. – V: *Problemi na sravnitelното literaturoznanie*. Sofiya: BAN, 192–206. [Русев, Р. 1978. Проникването на английската литература в България през XIX и нач. на XX в. – В: *Проблеми на сравнителното литературознание*. София: БАН, 192–206.]
- Schiller, F. 2004. *Die Räuber*. DigBib 2004. (бъл. прев. Н. Бончев. 1972, рус. прев. М.М. Достоевский.)
Sainte Anastasie at: <https://bg.sainte-anastasie.org/articles/psicologia/el-enorme-potencial-de-una-mente-abierta.html>. (1 March 2022)
- Smith, L. 1959. *Frazeologiya angliyskogo yazyka*. Moskva: Gosudarstvennoye uchebno-pedagogicheskoye izdatel'stvo Ministrestva prosveshcheniya RSFSR. [Смит, Л. 1959. *Фразеология английского языка*. Москва: Государственное учебно-педагогическое издательство Министерства просвещения РСФСР.]
- Veisbergs, A. 1994. Borrowing of English idioms in Latvian. – In: *Journal of Baltic Studies*, vol. 25, № 1, pp. 43–52.
- Veisbergs, A. 2012. *Borrowed Phraseology in Latvian (17th–21st century)*. LU: Akadēmiskais apgāds, 2012.
- Velimirovich, Sv. N. 2016. *Evangelieto za talantite*. [Велимирович, св. Н. 2016. *Евангелието за талантите*.] At <https://www.pravoslavie.bg> (26 February 2021).
- Walter, H., V. Mokienko 2011. (K) *Ein Buch mit sieben Siegeln. Historisch-etymologische Skizzen zur deutschen Phraseologie*. Greifswald: Ernst Moritz Arndt Universität Greifswald.
- Walter, H., V. Mokienko 2019. Praslavyanskaya frazeologiya: mif ili real'nost' – *Jazykovedný časopis*, 2019, № 1, 5–32. [Валтер, Х., В. Мокиенко 2019. Праславянская фразеология: миф или реальность? – *Jazykovedný časopis*, 2019, № 1, 5–32.]
- Yanev, B. 2018. Za interferentnata izmenchivost i semantichnata adaptatsiya na nyakoi nemski nomina appellativa, zaeti v balgarskiya s posrednichestvoto na drugi slavyanski ezitsi (intuitsiya i kompetentnost). – *Balgarska rech*, кн. 1, 37–55. [Янев, Б. 2018. За интерферентната изменчивост и семантичната адаптация на някои немски поминатива, заети в българския с посредничеството на други славянски езици (интуиция и компетентност). – *Българска реч*, кн. 1, 37–55.]

ГЕОГРАФСКА КАРТА НА ФРАЗАТА (Ч. II)

Яна Сивилова

Софийски университет „Св. Климент Охридски“

Статията разглежда влиянието на немския и английския език върху българската фразеология. Авторката обръща внимание на периодите на особено интензивен езиков контакт между двата германски езика и български. Тя прави преглед на публикациите на български (по-рядко чужди) автори, в които са дискутирани фраземи, калкирани у нас от немски и английски. Неин собствен принос е изследването на изразите в два възрожденски превода и сравняването им с устойчивите словосъчетания в оригиналните текстове.

С оглед на мащабното влияние на английския върху съвременните европейски езици са проучени и някои актуални пътища за навлизането на изрази. Сред тях изпъкват филмовите продукции, преводите на популярната литература, блоговете, интернет сайтове с развлекателно съдържание и речта на билингвите.

В заключение въз основа на ограничените данни е направен опит за очертаването на специфичните процеси в българската фразеология през Възраждането и днес.