

ПЛОВДИВСКИ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ „ПАИСИЙ ХИЛЕНДАРСКИ“



ФИЛОЛОГИЧЕСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ

ФИЛОЛОГИЯ

# НАУЧНИ ТРУДОВЕ

ТОМ 61, КН. 1, СБ. Б, 2023

ПЛОВДИВСКО УНИВЕРСИТЕТСКО ИЗДАТЕЛСТВО

ПЛОВДИВСКИ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ „ПАИСИЙ ХИЛЕНДАРСКИ“



ФИЛОЛОГИЧЕСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ

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# ПАИСИЕВИ ЧЕТЕНИЯ

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ЧУЖДООЕЗИКОВА  
ЛИНГВИСТИКА  
СЪПОСТАВИТЕЛНА  
ЛИНГВИСТИКА  
ПРЕВОДОЗНАНИЕ

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*Пловдив*

*2023 г.*

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НАУЧНИ ТРУДОВЕ

*том 61, кн. 1, сб. Б, 2023*

*Филология*

**PAISII HILENDARSKI UNIVERSITY OF PLOVDIV – BULGARIA  
RESEARCH PAPERS – LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE  
VOL. 61, BOOK 1, PART B, 2023**

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**ЧУЖДООЕЗИКОВА  
СЛАВИСТИКА  
СЪПОСТАВИТЕЛНА  
СЛАВИСТИКА**





## ЕЗИКОВА ИНТЕРФЕРЕНЦИЯ В НЕОЧАКВАНА СРЕДА

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### LANGUAGE INTERFERENCE IN UNEXPECTED ENVIRONMENT

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The paper deals with the interference markers in the Czech text of the diary of monk Sava of Hilendar born in Czechia as Slavibor Bräuer who wrote it in Hilendar monastery in 1881–1884. The language situation in this monastery is short presented and examples of interference are presented divided in 3 groups of type – names of local realy; terms from orthodox church ceremonies and parts of ritual garment; semantic and grammar transformations in the Czech language of the original text. The influences are exclusively from Church Slavonic and Bulgarian languages.

**Key words:** Language interference, Czech, Bulfarian, Mount Athos, Chilendar monastery, Czech monk at Athos monastery

Наблюденията, които искам да споделя тук, са почерпани от дневника на атонския монах Сава Хилендарец, воден през 1881 – 1884 г. Авторът произхожда от Кутна Хора – Чехия, където е роден в семейство с немски корени, но с чешко самосъзнание с името Славомир Бройер и е получил начално образование на немски език, а по-късно учи в гимназия в Прага – отначало на чешки, а след това отново на немски език. Живота си до началото на писането на дневника е прекарал предимно в Чехия, където се занимава със земеделие и междуременно пак там завършва земеделско училище. Преди пристигането си в Хилендарския манастир, където по онова време количествено преобладават монаси с български произход, той прекарва 2 – 3 години в Сърбия отново в земеделско стопанство (Черни, Нишева 2019) и благода-



рение на познанството си с духовници, свързани с Хилендарския манастир, решава да се насочи към монашеско поприще в Хилендар (Дожич 1907). По онова време Света гора е още под властта на Османската империя, но относителната независимост на тамошните манастири, особено що се отнася до вътрешните им дела, е била привлекателна за бъдещите монаси.

Да се опитаме да възстановим как е изглеждала най-общо езиковата ситуация в Хилендарския манастир и изобщо на Атон в епохата, към която се отнася дневникът. В голяма степен тя е била сходна с общата езикова ситуация в Османската империя, където носителите на всички езици от империята са общували помежду си повече или по-малко свободно, и то невинаги задължително на турски език. На първо място е господствалият в империята и особено във властовите центрове турски, от който идва и значителна част от тогавашната терминология. Освен него на второ място важна роля играе гръцкият език на околното население, както и на голяма част от манастирите, обитавани от гръцки монаси. Особено за обитателите на Света гора гръцкият език е играл важна роля и самият отец Сава неколкосткратно споменава в дневника си, че незнаенето на гръцки език било голяма пречка за него лично, защото ограничавало свободата му на общуване с хора извън манастира, особено с външните работници, които участвали в земеделските работи и част от които били гърци. Третият елемент, който съществено отличавал езиковата ситуация в Хилендар от общата ситуация в империята освен земите, населени с българи, е бил църковнославянският език на богослужението, с който новопостъпилите послушници е трябвало да бъдат подробно запознати от своите „старци“, т.е. монаси с дълъг стаж, които са поемали грижата за прехраната и обучението на всеки конкретен новодошъл в манастира. И не на последно място – трябва да отбележим българския език, на който голяма част от хилендарските монаси са били носители и който в официално нерегламентирана степен е могъл да въздейства върху езиковата им практика извън определената среда на богослужението. Именно това е необичайната характеристика на средата, в която родният чешки език на отец Сава взаимодейства с българския език. Освен българи по произход в манастира са живели и монаси сърби по рождение, както и отделни представители на гръцката и руската народност. В различните манастири богослужението се е извършвало на съответния език на преобладаващата народност, но благодарение на православния характер на всички манастири дори в богослужението е имало моменти на езиково смешение. Според данните от дневника на

големите празници за извършването на всенощното бдение са се канели изкусни певци от други манастири или от Карея и скитовете, които изпълнявали част от песнопенията на гръцки, докато местните псалти пеели съответните части на църковнославянски, като последователно изпълнявали една и съща самостоятелна част и на двата езика. Разгледаните обстоятелства създават много сложна езикова ситуация, при която на относителна регламентация се подчинява само същинското богослужение, изпълнявано в Хилендар на църковнославянски език, няколко пъти в годината редувано с пеене и служение и на гръцки език. За сметка на това във всекидневната комуникация конкретно в Хилендарския манастир е имало многостранно взаимодействие между славянските езици – български, сръбски и църковнославянски.

Специфичен е бил случаят на пристигналия през пролетта на 1881 г. в манастира нов послушник Славомир Бройер, след пострижението за монах – отец Сава Хилендарец, и на неговите трима възпитаници, които приемат православието и по-късно също стават монаси там<sup>1</sup>. Четиримата са носители на чешкия език, който остава непознат за останалите обитатели на манастира. Освен това отец Сава е владеел перфектно немски език, може да се каже, че той по рождение е бил двуезичен и дори че чешкият език при него е бил усъвършенстван след завършването на системното му немскоезично гимназиално и професионално (земеделско) образование. Както споменава в дневника си, неговите научни записки, водени на чешки и на немски език, са били безполезни за всички останали обитатели на манастира освен за тримата му млади възпитаници, защото и двата езика били непознати в манастирската езикова среда. Прави впечатление, че дори в комуникацията си с различни гости на манастира той използва немски език, специално е канен да приема гостите при посещения на хора от Австрия и Германия, които са негови носители. Дори разговорите му с някогашния руски аристократ, по онова време вече отец Константин – отшелник, свързан с руския светогорски манастир – се провеждат на немски език, тъй като и двамата са го използвали свободно.

Разгледаните по-долу примери за езиково взаимодействие засягат преди всичко приемането в чешкия език на дневника на елементи от българския език на монасите от манастира и на голяма част от гостите, които са идвали от България. Разбира се, най-естествено е бързото проникване в неговия чешки език на различни названия на ре-

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<sup>1</sup> Това са осиновените и отгледани от него Далибор, Сватош и Пршемисъл, които по-късно също стават монаси в Хилендар. – Б.а.

лии, които дотогава са били непознати или почти непознати за автора на дневника. Въпреки задълбочените си интереси в областта на ботаниката и зоологията (характерни през XIX и XX в. за цялото чешко общество), допреди идването си в манастира той не е познавал значителна част от билките и храните, които не са се срещали в Чехия с нейния по-хладен и влажен климат.

Ето няколко примера за лексикални елементи, които се появяват в записи към различни моменти от живота в манастира, с които е искал да запознае близките си в Чехия.

### 1. Местни реалии

Сред специфичните местни особености се открояват например названията на дините, пъпешите и тиквите, които се различават не само в отделните славянски езици, но и в диалектите на един и същи език – достатъчно е да се проследят названията им в българските говори (*диня*, *любеница*, *каунь* и т.н.). Трябва да се има предвид, че благодарение на климатичните условия на Балканите тук те се отглеждат в по-голямо количество и имат съответно по-голямо значение за прехраната на населението, отколкото в Чехия. В съвременния чешки език най-разпространено е названието *meloun* и то може да се употреби както със значение ‘диня’, така и ‘пъпеш’ със съответни определения към тях (чеш. *meloun vodní* ‘диня’ ~ *meloun cukrový* ‘пъпеш’). Затова като напълно естествено трябва да се разглежда заемането в текста на дневника на южнобългарското название *каунь* под формата *kavon*.

(1) *Melouny a kavony pěstují se v hojnosti.* ‘Дини и пъпеша се отглеждат обилно.’

(Запис към 2 юли 1881 г.)

(2) *Mezi tím jsem se vykoupal, nasytil se s fíky a hrozny, odpočinul sobě v chládku a občerstvoval se šťavnatými kavony.* ‘Междувременно се изкъпах, наядох се със смокини и грозде, починах си на хладничко и се освежавах със сочни пъпеша.’

(11 август 1882 г.)

Пример (1) се отнася към първото лято от престоя на бъдещия отец Сава в манастира и представя по-скоро общата характеристика на природата и стопанството тук. Пример (2) е вече конкретен разказ за приятно прекаран ден край морето, където е имал задължението да изпере чували, изцапани с вар.

В целия дневник специално внимание се отделя на названията и обстоятелствата, които са непознати в Чехия, посвоему екзотични и нови, защото именно тях авторът е оценявал като интересни за неговите близки там. Характерно за него е, че много преди идването си в манастира е станал вегетарианец и въпреки че по тази причина спазването на постите не е представлявало някаква трудност за него, на много места им отделя внимание именно като особеност, запознаваща с манастирските реалии и донякъде с практиката на останалите монаси. И въпреки че месната храна и животинската мазнина са били голяма рядкост, употребявали са се само няколко пъти в годината на най-големите празници, все пак са били допустими за монасите, а консумацията им е изрично дефинирана в църковния календар.

- (3) *Olej jmenuje se zde máslo postní a mastnota zvířecí – máslo blažný.* – ‘Тук зехтинът се нарича *постно масло*, а животинската мазнина – *блажно масло*.’

(3 декември 1881 г.)

Както се вижда, термините *постно* и *блажно* съвсем естествено навлизат и в неговия личен идиолект, въпреки че той осъзнава техния местен характер. При това заемането се подчинява на закономерностите на чешкия език и те са представени в чехизиран вариант с наставка *-ní/-ný*, която ги класифицира за целите на чешкото склонение съответно към мекия или твърдия тип прилагателни.

Към местните реалии, които авторът е сметнал за необходимо да сподели с близките си, можем да отнесем монашеските имена в православен вариант и названията на различните видове манастирски дейности – задължения на монасите, които споделя в дневника си и на които тук няма възможност да се спираме подробно. Пример (4) е само един представителен случай:

- (4) *Po propuštění přišel do Chilandaru, pásł kozy, a když se prodaly stal se lozarem, čili vinařem.* ‘След освобождаването си дошъл в Хилендар, пасъл козите, а когато козите бяха продадени, стана *лозар*, тоест *винар*.’

(19 март 1884 г.)

В чешкия език названията на гроздето и виното не се различават, а названията на лозата и мястото където се отглеждат лози, е от същия корен – *víno/(hrozhové) víno/hrozno* ‘грозде’ ~ *víno* ‘вино’, *vinohrad* ‘лозе’ ~ *vinná réva* ‘лоза’. Оттам идва и необходимостта да преведе за своите близки наименованието на службата *лозар* с чешкия термин

*винар*, въпреки че тези две названия на професии в български се различават значително. Това няма особено значение за носителите на чешкия език, тъй като там двата български корена имат само един еквивалент.

Значително място в дневника е отделено на хора, с които авторът е имал възможност да общува или които са влизали в някакви отношения с манастира. Така в неговия текст могат да се открият названия на народности и етнически групи, които са били в досег с Хилендарския манастир.

- (5) *Od několika neděl pasou zde Kucovlaši stáda svá. Jsou to vlastně Cincari kteří vedou kočovnický život živíce se od stád svých. Ponejvíce držejí ovce a vyrábějí zvláštní druh syru který jest v celém Turecku oblíben. V létě pasou až u Nišu na Suve planině a na zimu přitáhnou k moři, kde sněhu nemá. Mnohý jest majetníkem od několika tisíc ovec, má také dle toho mnoho čeládky živiti.* ‘От няколко седмици *куцовласи* пасат тук стадата си. Всъщност това са *цинцари*, които водят номадски живот, прехранвайки се от стадата си. Най-много гледат овце и произвеждат особен вид сирене, което е много обичано в цяла Турция. През лятото пасат [стадата си] чак край Ниш на Сува планина, а през зимата идват към морето, където няма сняг. Мнозина са собственици на по няколко хиляди овце, също така трябва да хранят и голяма челяд.’

(4 декември 1881 г.)

Освен двете етнически названия – *куцовласи* и *цинцари*, в по-големия откъс (5) могат да се наблюдават и прояви на същинска интерференция, т.е. отклонение от нормите на чешкия език: в самото начало на откъса изразът чеш. *od několika neděl* може да се разглежда като повлиян от бълг. *от няколко седмици*, защото, макар в чешки да се наблюдава употреба на предлог *od* за означаване на начална точка във времето, но когато става дума за действие, продължаващо и в момента на говоренето, е по-обичайно да се употреби чеш. *již několik neděl*. Интересна е и формата на народностните названия – в чешки именителната форма за мн. ч. на съществителните от м. р. най-често е с окончание *-i*, което предизвиква палатализация на предходните съгласни. Такъв случай наблюдаваме в названието *Kucovlaši* < *Kucovlach*, тъй като етнонимът *Vlach* е известен в Чехия с им. пад. мн. ч. *Vlaši*. За разлика от тях названието *цинцари* е без палатализация, както се употребява на български. Най-ярко влияние от българския език се вижда в края на пред-

последното изречение, където виждаме чеш. *přítáhnou k moři, kde sněhu nemá*. Екзистенциалната употреба на глагола *mít* не съвпада с предикативния начин на изразяване на съществуване в чешки, където за тази цел се използва глаголят *být* (чеш. *kde sněhu není*). Трябва да добавим и топонима *Сува планина*, който е подчинен изцяло на чешките формални изисквания и съответно е съгласуван по падеж.

## 2. Терминология, свързана с богослужението

Като напълно естествено трябва да се разглежда включването на редица църковнославянски термини в описанието на различни елементи от православната обредност, както и на облеклото на монасите. Употребата както на названията на реалиите, така и на богослужебната терминология не могат да бъдат смятани за прояви на същинска интерференция, тъй като при тях не се наблюдава нарушаване на нормите на чешкия език, а само заемане на названия, които не съществуват в чешкия език. Тук авторът споделя всекидневни битови обстоятелства, стремейки се да представи на близките си непознатите за тях елементи от новия му монашески живот.

- (6) *Při postřižení na mnicha budou se mne také ptáti, proč jsem do kláštera přišel, za kterou příčinou?* ‘При пострижението за монах ще ме питат също защо съм дошъл в манастира, по каква причина?’

(24 декември 1881 г.)

Интересен случай на частична интерференция представя пример (6), където е употребен православният термин *пострижение*, назоваващ тайнството на получаване на монашеско звание. Той има свой широко известен еквивалент в чешкия език – чеш. *postřižiny*, който се използва за назоваване на същото тайнство, но авторът е предпочел местния термин, най-вероятно спонтанно, защото вече многократно го е чувал във връзка с посвещаването в монашество. Най-вероятно минималната формална разлика между двата термина е била възприемана като специфична отлика между православната и католическата традиция. Подобен може би е мотивът и при названията в описанието на сбогуване на манастирското братство с негов починал член в пример (7):

- (7) *Tu bývá on opřeván, okaděn, činí se jemu mětání, poklony a celování.* ‘Тук го опяват, кадят, правят му се метани, поклони и целование.’

(25 април 1882 г.)

Всички действия, свързани с опелото и прощаването с покойника, са с български църковнославянски произход, в една или друга степен бохемизирани – опяването е частично приспособено към чеш. глагол *opřevovat*, който обаче е семантично по-близо до бълг. глагол *възпявам*. Подобен е случаят с каденето, което в българския език е термин за ароматизирането със запален тамян, за разлика от чешки, където означава по-скоро разпространяване на неприятна миризма. Въпреки това и двата глагола са употребени с тяхното българско/църковнославянско значение. Гръцкото название *метани*, прието и в български и църковнославянски (чеш. *mětaní*), в бохемизираната форма с *á* и *í* бързо става неразделна част от активния речник на бъдещия отец Сава и се среща и на много други места в дневника му. В названието чеш. *poklony* отново изпъква семантичен българизъм, защото тук явно се има предвид физическото действие покланяне, докато в чешки *poklona* означава ‘комплимент’. Това значение тук се изключва от контекста. И накрая терминът *целование* е зает изцяло с църковнославянска форма и семантика.

Подобен начин на заемане се наблюдава също при многократното споменаване в дневника на различните видове богослужение и свързаните с тях атрибути, пример за които е (8):

- (8) *První týden po hodu velikonočním světi se způsobem zvláštním. Nechodí se s klepalem okolo kostela, nýbrž vyzvání se všemi zvony, jak na pravidlo tak i na večernou.* ‘Първата седмица след Великден се празнува по особен начин. Не се ходи с *клепалото* около църквата, а се звъни с всички камбани както за *правило*, така и за *вечерня*.’

(13 април 1884 г.)

Както се вижда, *клепало* е заето без изменения, като термин, защото то не е известно в Средна Европа и обозначава специфичен начин за свикване на вярващите, характерен за балканската монашеска и въобще църковна традиция. Също като заемки трябва да се третират двете названия на богослужение от всекидневния цикъл – *правило* и *вечерня*, но за разлика от първата заемка, при която не се наблюдават други изменения освен прилагането на падежни форми (в случая за твор. пад.), при другите две названия имаме и словообразователна адаптация – вм. бълг. *правило* имаме замяна на наставката *-ло* с нейния чешки вариант *-dlo*, защото в чешки е широко използвана родствена форма *pravidlo*. Подобно е положението и с формата *na večernou*, където българският термин *вечерня* е заменен със субстантивирана употреба на прилагателното *večerná (bohoslužba)*, но скло-

нена по твърдия склонитбен тип, вместо традиционната в чешкия език форма за меко прилагателно *večerní*.

На подобна трансформация са подложени и други православни реалии (термините *расо*, *наметка*) и в примери (9) и (10):

- (9) *Svrchní oblek jest řasa široká to halena až k patám dosahujíc.*  
‘Горната дреха е расо, широка риза, дълга чак до петите.’  
(17 декември 1881 г.)

Тук расото е приспособено към чеш. *řasa* ‘водорасло’ по чисто формален признак. В запис (10) обаче, направен около 2 години по-късно, расото е по-близо до българското си звучене, въпреки че остава в ж. р., но без палатализация на *r > ř*. Във втория пример (10) се появява и още един важен елемент от монашеското облекло – наметката, която отново е приспособена към чешкото произношение като *námětka* с удължаване на гласната в първата сричка и палатализиране на *m* пред *ě*.

- (10) *Ráno, jde-li do kostela, vezme pouze rasu, přehodí námětku přes čepici a je hotov, kdež to já od hlavy až k patě oblekati se musím.*  
‘Сутрин, ако отива в църквата, вземе само расото, прехвърли наметката през шапката и е готов, докато аз трябва да се обличам от глава до пети.’  
(13 януари 1883 г.)

В пример (9) употребата е от момента на първоначалното му обличане с монашески дрехи, докато е още послушник, преди действителното пострижение за монах, докато (10) е вече от периода след пострижението, когато е подробно запознат с практическата страна от монашеския живот. Още един случай на заемка от български представя употребата на бълг. *побратим* в (11), както и чеш. *zakaľuděri se*, което е широко разпространен глагол в български, макар и с представка *по-* (*покалуѓери се*), независимо от това, че етимологията му отвежда към гръцки първоизточник.

- (11) *Budu mítí pobratima, neb se zakaľuděri ještě jeden mladý člověk jmenem Jeremije.* ‘Ще имам *побратим*, защото ще се *покалуѓери* още един млад човек на име Йеремя.’  
(23 март 1883 г.)

Подобен е случаят в (12) при употребата на термините *процесия*, *дякон* и *литургия*, които навлизат в оригиналния си вид, така както се използват на български за означаване на литургията и участниците в нея.



(12) *Před liturgií obdývalo se procesí kolem kláštera a při mši sloužilo prý 21 popů a 9 djakonů.* ‘Преди литургията е имало процесия около манастира, а литургията служили 21 свещеници и 9 дякони.’

(27 март 1884 г.)

Както вече беше споменато, повечето от тези заемки в текста на дневника нямат точни еквиваленти в чешкия език и по тази причина те много лесно заемат място в идиолекта на новия послушник, а след това и монах. Изключение прави терминът *литургия*, който е употребен в (12) заедно с чешкия си еквивалент *mše*. Трябва да отбележим, че всички заемки се подчиняват на граматичните изисквания на чешката падежна система.

### 3. Граматични и семантични измествания

Като същински прояви на интерференция можем да разгледаме случаите, когато употребата на дума или граматична конструкция е в противоречие с основните правила на чешкия език. Сред тях са няколко случая на замяна на чешки предлог с друг, характерен за определена популярна конструкция в български, както в (13) и (14).

(13) [*archimandrit*] *Makaríe nyní u Solun* ‘архимандрит Макарие сега у Солун’

(Запис към 7 декември 1881 г. – поименен списък на монасите)

В чешкия език Солун завършва на палатално *ň* и е от ж. р., докато в този запис завършва на твърда съгласна и е от м. р. Освен това чешкият предлог *v* е заменен с *u* очевидно под въздействието на местния говор на монасите от български произход.

(14) *Byl jsem celý den v mé zahrádce* на мої. ‘Прекарах цял ден в градинката си на морето.’

(7 април 1884 г.)

Аналогичен на (13) е случаят в (14), където популярната и в наше време конструкция бълг. *на морето* е повлияла върху чешкия оригинал на дневника, в който би трябвало да очакваме установената конструкция чеш. *u moře*, използвана в наше време стереотипно за означаване както на постоянно местонахождение край морето, така и на всякакви други туристически излети.

Пример (15) съдържа няколко характерни прояви на интерференция в идиолекта на отец Сава Хилендарец – сред тях една от мно-

жеството употреби на думата *метани*, в чешки вариант *metání*. Освен това употребата на глагола *přesídlit* е във възвратна форма, най-вероятно под влияние на *преместя се* с възвратна форма на български. Но най-интересна е употребата на глаголи от корена *прав-*, които в няколко последователни примера показват пълно разминаване със съвременното си значение в чешкия език. В пример (15) това е *Napravili (smlouvu)*, като глаголът в чешки се употребява със значение ‘поправя, ремонтирам’, докато в нашия случай определено се има предвид съставянето и подписването на договор, т.е. значението на *направя* в съвременния български език.

(15) *Přijat byl archimandrit Melchisedek do svazku obce klášterní a činil dnes příslušné metání. Jest rodem Rus a koupil od Chilandara jednu keliji as půl hodiny od kláštera vzdálenou již před několik let. Napravili s ním následující smlouvu: On přesídli se do starého kláštera na břeh mořský. ‘В манастирското братство беше приет архимандрит Мелхиседек и днес на събора направи съответните метани. Той е руснак по рождение и купи от Хилендар една килия на около половин час разстояние от манастира още преди няколко години. Направиха с него следния договор: Той ще се премести в стария манастир на морския бряг.’*

(31 март 1884 г.)

Като подобен семантичен българизъм трябва да се разглежда и употребата на глагола *popravit* в (16), (17) и (18), тъй като чешкото значение на глагола е ‘екзекутирам’, докато българското ‘поправям, ремонтирам’ е единствено допустимото от контекста в (16).

(16) *Před několika dny bratři popravili cestu od dešťové vody vymletou a dnes se již tam stěhovali kteří totiž noclehovati nahoře hodlají. ‘Преди няколко дни братята *поправиха* пътя, изровен от дъждовната вода, и днес вече се пренасяха онези, които планират да нощуват горе.’*

(19 септември 1882 г.)

Подобно значение предполага и употребата на глагола *popravit* в (17):

(17) *Od včera přescpaný žaludek se opět popravil. ‘Претовареният от вчера стомах отново *се (n)оправи*.’*

(20 февруари 1884 г.)

Същото може да се каже и за двете употреби на глаголи с корен *прав-* в (18), където безличните форми *napravit se* и *popravili se* могат да дадат логичен превод на български само с българското значение на съответните форми.

(18) *užitek následovně klášter nemá, ba spíše výlohy větší, neb napravil se vloni vodovod a popravili se všichni stavení.*  
'следователно манастирът няма полза, по-скоро разходите са по-големи, защото миналата година *се направи* водопровод и *се поправи* всички сгради.'

(15 април 1884 г.)

Употребите на тези форми още в записите от 1882 г. нататък са свидетелство за трайно проникване на българските им значения в идиолекта на отец Сава. Обстоятелството, че семантичното различие между тях в двата езика е съществено, категорично свидетелства за наличието на интерференция между двата езика в този случай. Към пример (18) може да се добави като отклонение от съвременната норма и употребата на формата за м.р. одушевени съществителни *všichni* за съществителното *stavení*, което е от ср. род. Това свидетелства за недостатъчната стабилност на нормата през онзи период, когато чешкият език не е институционализиран на държавно ниво, а може би и за нейното непълно овладяване от самия отец Сава.

Аналогичен характер на интерферентни отклонения от нормата имат и употребите на чеш. *mnoho* < бълг. *много* в случаите, означаващи абстракции или неброими субстанции (19), (20) и (21), за които в чешкия език се използва наречие *moc* или *velmi*. Нещо повече – в съвременната устна норма на чешкия език процесът е обратен – *moc* измества *mnoho* от съчетанията със съществителни, означаващи броими предмети.

(19) *Živých i mrtvých spomínati jest zvlášť u Rusů velmi rozšířený obyčej na který mnoho držejí a také mnoho platějí.* 'Да се споменават живите и мъртвите особено при русите е много разпространен обичай, *на който много държат* и също така *много* плащат.'

(31 март 1884 г.)

В (19) очевидно употребата на *mnoho* е неестествена за нормата на чешкия език, където количественото нарастване при абстракциите и действията, изразени със съответния глагол, се предава с помощта на наречие *velmi*, евентуално *moc*. Освен това целият израз *na který*

*mnoho držejí* е и явна, включително словоредна, калка от бълг. *на кой-то много държат*.

(20) *Druhého se chytají souchotiny a druzi dva jsou mnoho starý.*  
'Другият хваща охтика, а другите двама са *много* стари.'  
(24 март 1884 г.)

В (20) също употребата на *mnoho* като определение към прилагателното *star* не съответства на разпределението на наречията в книжовната норма на чешкия език.

(21) *Mnoho cením sobě, že se vyjádřil Dalibor příležitostně stran úmyslu svého pro budoucnost.* 'Аз *много* ценя това, че Далибор случайно беше споменал за своите намерения за бъдещето.'  
(22 април 1884 г.)

И в (21), аналогично на (19), съчетанието на *mnoho* със сказуемото *cením* е необичайно за чешката книжовна норма. Употребата на това наречие в нарушение на нормата се среща и на други места в текста на дневника, което е свидетелство, че обобщаването на *mnoho* като главен количествен показател е свързано с въздействието на българската езикова среда в манастира по онова време.

Много сложна е интерференцията в (22), където самият автор на дневника е усетил, че цитираният израз е непрозрачен за един чех и е направил опит да го преведе, като го е контаминирал с друг чешки глагол.

(22) *Mnichové sami nyní pravějí: „Starci se zbrkali“, t.j. přenáhliili se.* 'Самите монаси сега казват: „Старците *се сбъркаха*“, т.е. *прибързаха*.'  
(5 март 1882 г.)

Бълг. *сбъркам* в устната реч звучи доста подобно на чешкото наречие *zbrkle* 'прибързано, необмислено'. Затова на автора на дневника се е сторило логично да са употребили по-меката оценка 'постъпиха *прибързано*', вм. реално използвания български глагол, където наистина става дума за грешка, неправилно взето решение.

Тъй като в чешкия език съществува думата *blaho* 'благо', в (23) наблюдаваме употреба на глаголната форма *oblažiti*, която е изглеждала като разбираема за носителите на чешкия език, макар на чешки да е необичайна употреба на подобна глаголна форма.

(23) *Jde pak oblažiti klášter jiný přítomností svou.* ‘После отиват да облажат друг манастир с присъствието си.’

(7 март 1884 г.)

Тъй като отец Сава е оценявал употребата в неговата реч на български думи като потенциална опасност да бъде разбран неточно, в някои случаи той включва и маркерите за авторефлексия в своя текст, защото неизбежно са му се натрапвали езикови съпоставки и сравняване на българските с чешките изразни средства. Такива случаи наблюдаваме в (24), (25) и (26), където дори лексемите, които оценява като не съвсем ясни, получават и негов чешки превод. Ето пример за експресивна оценка на един от монасите в манастира, „старец“ на неговия възпитаник Сватош:

(24) *Všeobecně platí za lakomce a jmenují jej po bulharsku, srebrolubce, kurkuta, variklečkou a že jest mnoho „stegnuti“, tj. stahuje nebo strachuje se před nějakým vydáním.* ‘Той е всеобщо известен ция и на български го наричат сребролюбец, куркут, вариклечко и че е много „стегнат“, т.е. дърпа се или се страхува от някакъв разход.’

(2 март 1883 г.)

От записа се вижда, че повече от година и половина в манастира е помогнала на бъдещия отец Сава да се запознае и с експресивните думи в българския език и най-вече да започне да усеща тяхната експресивност и изразителност. Що се отнася до формата „стегнат“, цитирана от автора като българска оценка, допускам, че става дума за „стиснат“, която авторът не е запомнил точно, но от позицията на съвременен преводач няма как да се получи информация за тогавашния реален състав на експресивните думи и дали преди почти 150 години сребролюбиеето е било изразявано с думата *стегнат*, или още тогава е била в сила съвременната дума *стиснат*. Иначе той еднозначно посочва, че това са думите, с които човекът е бил оценяван именно на български език.

Употреба на авторефлексивния маркер *както се казва тук* наблюдаваме в (25):

(25) *Po mnoholetém trpění měl velmi lehkou smrt, zemřel, jak se zde říká, na pořou.* ‘След дългогодишни страдания смъртта му беше лека, умря, както се казва тук, на крака.’

(16 март 1884 г.)

Подобна бележка откриваме и в пример (26), от който става ясно, че народните названия на църковните празници са били в обращение в манастира, защото монасите са били свикнали с тях още преди пострижението си и са ги използвали в неофициалната комуникация.

(26) *Neděle a zároveň i svátek „Zvěstování panenky Marie“, čili po zdejším „Blagovec“.* ‘Неделя и същевременно „Благовещение на света Богородица“, тоест *по тукашному* „Благовец“.’  
(25 март 1884 г.)

Въпреки това, особено в названията на църковните празници, винаги използва първо пълното чешко наименование, а след това и българското им народно название, в което най-точно се отразява акуратността на автора и стремежът му да бъде точен.

Беше установен само 1 случай (27) на формална интерференция със сръбския език, с който отец Сава е бил в контакт в продължение на 2 години преди пристигането си в Хилендарския манастир.

(27) *Ze Srbska z Nišu přišel tamější vyslanec klášterní, jenž tam žíví na chilendarské metochii, bez všeho ohlašování, náhle a nepředvidaně.* ‘От Сърбия, от Ниш, пристигна тамошният манастирски пратеник, който *живее* там в хилендарски метох, без предварително известие, внезапно и непредвидено.’  
(23 ноември 1881 г.)

Както се вижда, използвана е сръбската форма *živí* вм. чеш. *žije* с частично бохемизиране на окончанието, което я приспособява донякъде към формите за 3 л. ед.ч. на чешкото IV спрежение (аналогично на чеш. *prosí, trpí*).

От представените тук примери може да се направи заключение, че в чешкия език на дневника на отец Сава Хилендарец елементите от местния говор на монасите засягат на първо място манастирските реалии – битови и свързани с православно богослужение, а проявите на същинска интерференция са преди всичко семантични трансформации при думи със сходно звучене, но с различна семантика в българския и чешкия език, което е естествено за човек без специална езикова подготовка, попаднал в южнославянската среда, където все пак комуникацията на славянски езици е била много по-малка спънка за общуването, отколкото например гръцкият език, който наистина би трябвало за тази цел да е изучаван специално. Следи от контактите със сръбския език открихме в (27), където е използвана формата *živí*

‘живее’ в м. чеш. *žije*, както и във формата на някои от личните имена на монасите, които не са обект на настоящия текст.

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## ЛИНГВОКОГНИТИВНА РЕПРЕЗЕНТАЦИЯ НА ПУРПУРНИЯ ЦВЯТ В БЪЛГАРСКИЯ И ЧЕШКИЯ ЕЗИК

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## LINGUOCOGNITIVE REPRESENTATION OF THE COLOR PURPLE IN THE BULGARIAN AND CZECH LANGUAGES

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The text is an attempt to trace the conceptualization of color linguistically explicated by the lexemes *purpuren*/*purpurový* in the Bulgarian and Czech languages. The research was provoked by a difference that we regularly come across in the process of teaching Bulgarian as a foreign language. When trying to translate and explain the Bulgarian lexeme *purpuren*, the students, regardless of their nationality, categorically insist on purple and reject the possibility that it is a shade of the color red. The focus is on deriving and interpreting linguistic facts with a view to national uniqueness through comparative linguocognitive and linguocultural analysis.

**Key words:** names of colors, conceptualization of colors, purple, Bulgarian, Czech

Идеята на настоящото изследване е да установи поне приблизително с какъв цвят се асоциират етимологично идентичните лексеми *пурпурен* и *purpurový* и дали в съзнанието на съвременните носители на два родствени езика се отнасят към един и същ езиков концепт за цвят – червено, синьо или лилаво/*červená*, *modrá* или *fialová*. Опитваме се да проверим дали е налице известно несъответствие между речниковото тълкуване и значението, с което реално се използват единиците за пурпурен цвят, както и причините за евентуалното лексикографско изоставане. Смятаме, че в по-широк план подобно сравнение



позволява уточняване и детайлен анализ както на българското, така и на чешкото цветовото пространство.

В теоретичен аспект рамката на проучването ни е зададена основно от идеите на А. Вежбицка, а методологията при натрупването на емпиричния материал – и от постановките на Люблинската етнолингвистична школа, включително провеждането на анкети и използването на ресурсите на електронните езикови корпуси. В процесите на категоризация и концептуализация съществена роля изпълняват „непосредственият човешки опит, свързан с тялото и сетивата, с пространството, както и метафорично-метонимичният характер на мисленето“ (Бартмински 2016: 140). С оглед на това приемаме, че „нито понятието *цвет*, нито названията за конкретни цветове са езикова универсалия“ (Вежбицка 2014: 312 – 312). Всички виждаме относително еднакво реалността около себе си, но говорим по различен начин за онова, което виждаме. Представата за цветя е само една от възможните (но не и задължителни за всички езици) проекции на концептуалното поле *зрение*. Основните езикови универсалии, свързани със зрението, вкл. и перцепцията на цветове, са три – 1) отграничаването на светлина/ден и тъмнина/нощ; 2) различаването на *фигура* и *фон* в психологията и 3) сравнението/подобие (иконичността) при предаването на зрителни възприятия (Вежбицка 2014: 331 – 314). В този смисъл в текста си съзнателно не използваме понятието *езиков концепт* по отношение на „пурпурно“. Очевидно става дума за неосновен<sup>1</sup> хибриден цвет, чието название следва да е част от периферията на езиковите концепти на цветовете, които влизат в състава му. Това позволява да обърнем теоретичноизследователската призма и да се опитаме да потърсим лингвокогнитивните и лингвопрагматичните особености на съвременната представа за пурпурен цвет, „скрита“ зад лексемите.

Информацията в българските и чешките етимологични речници относно съществителното име *пурпур/purpur*, словообразователна основа на прилагателното за цветя, е сходна. И в двата езика става дума за гръко-латинска заемка през немски (*порфѳра/porphŷrā – purpura – purpur*) – ‘яркочервена боя; яркочервен цвет; тъкан с такъв цвет’/*sytě rudá barva*’. Етимологично неясната гръцка лексема назовава както пурпурната мида, от която се получава пурпурната боя, така и червената мантия на монарх или кардинал. Впечатление прави различният нюанс на червения цвет на дрехата. Чешките лексикографски източ-

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<sup>1</sup> Според Берлин и Кей едно от условията за основен цвет е да не съдържа в тълкуването си названия на други цветове (Берлин, Кей 1969: www).

ници я определят като тъмноредена (tmavě červené roucho), докато българските не са така последователни и се срещат и определения като яркочервена<sup>2</sup>. При това в старобългарския е налице и пряка заемка *порзфир* от средногръцки, унаследена в *порфира* – букв. *багреница*. Тълкуването в българския език на историческата реалия, включително и на мотивиращата основа *багр/багр*, сякаш съдържа семантично противоречие (от яркочервен плат да се създаде тъмноредена дреха!). Всъщност приемаме това „несъответствие“ като доказателство за дългия, сложен и безспорно скъп производствен процес, при който тъканите се обагрят в зелен, жълт, син, лилав или червен цвят в зависимост и от конкретния вид мекотело от рода *Murex*. За най-добър краен резултат обаче векове наред се приемал цветът на засъхнала кръв, т.е. тъмнореденото<sup>3</sup>. Смятаме също, че *яркочервен* следва да се тълкува не толкова като *светлочервен*, а по-скоро като *интензивно червен* по един характерен и изразителен начин. Ако приемем тъмнореденото за най-добър пример, прототип на пурпурния цвят, то от съвременна гледна точка определяме самата лексема *пурпур* (*пурпурен*) като своеобразен езиков реликт, който пази идеята за макрочервеното. Става дума за изначално „противопоставяне на визуалния човешки опит на базата на хроматично : ахроматично възприемане. Червеното е „най-цветният“ цвят, т.е. най-изразителният. Определя се като цвят, който е в опозиция не само спрямо светлите и тъмните цветове, но и спрямо тъмно и матово студеният. В резултат това означава, че макрочервеното [...] има отношение към „яркостта“ (Вежбица 2014: 347).

Механизмът на оформяне на значението за цвят е идентичен и за двата съпоставяни езика. Очевидното метонимно пренасяне *дреха/плат* – *цвят* най-вероятно преминава през етап на семантична аморфност. Т.е. първоначално не става дума само за название за цвят, а по-скоро за комбинация от вида на тъканта (обикновено вълнена или ленена), скъпа и рядка + цвета, получен по съответната технология. Лексемите *пурпурен/purpurovŭ* така и не стават част от живата реч и не успяват да развият допълнителни значения, включително и за

<sup>2</sup> Например в Речник на българския език едно от значенията на *пурпур* е ‘скъпа яркочервена тъкан или дреха у богатите като признак на разкош или на величие’.

<sup>3</sup> Смята се, че естественото пурпурно багрило е открито от финикийците, а добиването му започва около 1500 г. пр.н.е. и процъфтява в района на Тир (днешен Ливан), като дава наименованието на най-качественото багрило – т. нар. тирски пурпур (Ото 1902: 1900).

нецвят. В резултат с изчезването на прототипа за цвят семантичните компоненти, които не са свързани само с перцепцията на конкретен диапазон от електромагнитния спектър – интензивен, евент. тъмен цвят, и с висока стойност, се запазват и петрифицират. Степента на абстрактност остава по-ниска в сравнение с названията на други неосновни смесени цветове (например *розово/ružová*), а самото название на пурпурния цвят – семантично монолитно и синкретично. Несъмнено за това допринася и обстоятелството, че еволюционно перцепцията на пурпурния цвят се свързва с още една референтна отправна точка. Имаме предвид синия цвят (техелет) според юдейската традиция на тъкани и конци, използвани в сакралната практика. Багрилото за този очевидно свещен цвят е добивано от точно определен подвид мекотело, изчезнал още в древността. „Ивритската дума се използва да обозначи различни нюанси на синьо – тъмносиньо, пурпурносиньо и небесносиньо“ (Шолем 1979: 90, цит. по Алмалех). Самият М. Алмалех обаче напомня, че субтропичното чисто небее по-тъмно и наситено от българското (Алмалех 2006: 139).

Следователно историческият опит на хората от конкретна етнокултура предимно с един от двата основни вида пурпур (т. нар. син/виолетов и червен пурпур), както и вероятното семантично кръстосване на названията им обуславят до голяма степен различията при концептуализацията на пурпурния цвят в съвременния български и чешки език. Немалко за това допринасят традициите на християнската византийска и италианска живопис, както и установените църковни обредни практики на източното православие и на римокатолицизма. Католическите литургични цветове не включват синьо (2002: 91<sup>4</sup>). Виолетовият/лилавият цвят обаче е основен по време на рождественския пост, при заупокойни молитви и др. (Змелик 2019: 28 – 30). Този цвят в чешкото езиково пространство се асоциира главно със смирение, покаяние, траур и смърт. Неслучайно до началото на миналия век в отделни региони на Чехия и Моравия традицията изисква траурните дрехи на вдовиците да са виолетови (Долгих 2012: 248). В православната практика синият цвят е цветът на Богородица, докато червеният, определян като пурпурен, е основен богослужебен цвят в периода между Пасха и Възнесение Господне<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> *Všeobecné pokyny k římskému misálu*. 2002. <[http://web.archive.org/web/20160304110214/http://www.ctuuk.cz/downloads/vseobecny\\_uvod\\_k\\_misalu.pdf](http://web.archive.org/web/20160304110214/http://www.ctuuk.cz/downloads/vseobecny_uvod_k_misalu.pdf)>

<sup>5</sup> Информацията е от официалния сайт на Варненската митрополия – <<https://www.mitropolia-varna.org/duhovna-prosveta/publikatzii/1105-bogoslužebni-odezhdi-i-insignii>>

Лексикографското тълкуване на лексемата *purpur* и деривата *purpurový* също са аргумент в посока на хипотезата ни, че чешкото пурпурно съдържа в много по-голяма степен синьо, отколкото българското. В енциклопедията на Ото в речниковата статия за производството на багрила *purpur* се определя като „най-стария цвят, открит вероятно през XV – XVI в. пр. н.е. [...] Цветът е виолетов“ (Ото 1903: 405). Срв. също

**purpur**, -u m. *světle červené barvivo s fialovým nádechem* (Хуйер и кол., т. IV/2. част, 1944 – 1948);

**purpur**, -u m. (6. j. -u) (z lat.) **1.** *sytě červené barvivo fialového odstínu (pův. získávané z mořských plžů); nach 1* **2.** *kniž. sytě červená barva, zbarvení; nach 2* (Хавранек и кол., т. IV/1964);

**purpur**, -u <l> *kníž. šarlat, nach 1.* *Sytě červená barva, zbarvení (s nádechem do fialová)* (Филипец и кол. 2006).

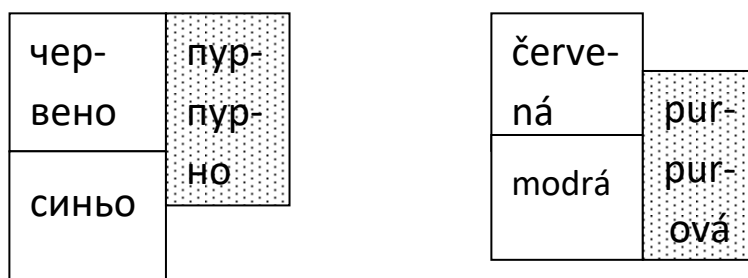
За носителите на чешкия език пурпурното означава наситен светлочервен цвят с лилав оттенък. В българския език обаче става дума за ярко- или тъмночервен, ален, кървавочервен цвят, но без лилав или син нюанс.

Внимание заслужават и посочваните синоними за пурпурен цвят – *šarlatový, nachový, brunatný*, които сякаш противоречат на хипотезата ни. Според тълковните речници на съвременния чешки език лексемите означават нюанси на червеното. *Šarlatový* е яркочервено, алено, а *brunatný* е тъмночервено, кафявочервено. В исторически план това обаче не са названия на същински пурпурни цветове, т.е. добивани от мекотели по оригиналната технология. *Šarlat/šarlatová* означава червен цвят, получаван и произвеждан от насекомото кошенил (*Coccus ilicis*). *Brunát* се появява в старочешки през немски като *‘sukno tmavé, červenohnědé barvy’*. Употребата на прилагателното име *brunatný* днес най-често се свързва с цвета на човешкото лице (Рейзек 2001: 93). *Nach* се среща само в чешки език при това с крайно неясна етимология. Една от хипотезите отвежда към метонимия от латинската дума *naccus, nachus (šarlatová) přikrývka na koně’* (Рейзек 2001: 401). Според Старочешкия речник лексемата има две значения – 1. наименование на наметка, плащ от скъп плат, обикн. пурпурен; 2. пурпурен цвят (Немец, ред. 1968: www). Т.е. от трите синонимни единици само последната *nach* в първото си значение за цвят и в значението си за тъкан се препокрива с *purpur*.

**nach**, -u m. (6. j. -u) **1.** *sytě červené barvivo fialového odstínu (pův. získávané z purpurových plžů); purpur 2.* *kníž. sytě červené zbarvení vůbec 3.* *látka zbarvená nachem, nachový oděv; purpur* (Хавранек 1964: 202).

Смятаме, че останалите синоними „избистрят“ семантиката на пурпурното с оглед по-скоро на други характеристики при перцепцията на цвета – наситеност, яркост и интензивност.

Анализът на лексикографските източници сочи, че в съвременния български и чешки език пурпурното назовава нюанс на червеното, но с различна степен на участие на синия цвят (вж. Фиг. 1).



Фигура 1

Анкетно проучване, направено сред носителите на двата езика, оформя по-различни резултати<sup>6</sup>. 17% от българските респонденти нямат идея какъв точно е пурпурният цвят. Само 27% от тях го определят единствено като червено или нюанс на червеното (ярък като кръв, наситен или тъмен). Повече от половината (56%) смятат, че става дума за лилав цвят или негов нюанс. Преобладават определения, които включват *тъмно*, *наситено*, както и описания на цвета като комбинация на лилаво с розово или с цикламено. Чешките респонденти категорично (100%) разпознават цвета и го описват като виолетов, евент. виолетово с розов или тъмночервен, винен оттенък. Лексемата *nachový* се определя като пълен синоним по отношение на назовавания цвят, но стилистично се възприема като книжна и поетична. Заслужава да отбележим, че същата стилистична характеристика българските анкетиранци посочват за *пурпурен*.

Резултатите от анкетата показват отклонение от лексикографското тълкуване и в двата езика. За българския обаче то е значително

<sup>6</sup>Анкетите са проведени в периода 2022 г. – 2023 г. в Гугъл хром формат и са достъпни съответно на [https://docs.google.com/forms/d/10Y6WhgkLB4WCB\\_cvM1FfpozlkcuH8jouAAQK0tDjDws/edit](https://docs.google.com/forms/d/10Y6WhgkLB4WCB_cvM1FfpozlkcuH8jouAAQK0tDjDws/edit) и [https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1vk3FdwWt18JcFNLd3wkKt5gwOKjIz1kpqrtB8-HS3\\_Y/edit](https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1vk3FdwWt18JcFNLd3wkKt5gwOKjIz1kpqrtB8-HS3_Y/edit). Реализирани са на български, респ. на чешки език, като респондентите българи са 104, а чехи – 97. Анкетираните са помолени да опишат цвета, който биха назвали с прилагателното *пурпурен*. Анкетата на чешки език включва и лексемата *nachový*, тъй като според данните от Чешкия национален корпус е най-често срещаният синоним на *purpurový*.

по-съществено. Т.е. лексемата *пурпурен* очевидно получава ново значение (*лилав цвят*). Единствената лексикографска регистрация на този семантичен компонент към момента откриваме в Българския национален корпус – „**дефиниция:** който е с наситен, тъмен цвят, подобен на цвета на кръвта; който е с една от няколко наситени отсенки на цвета с най-голяма дължина на вълната във видимия спектър“ (BulNet). В чешкия език обаче процесът на семантично разширяване е по-плавен, тъй като тълкуването съдържа изначално и виолетов нюанс. Смятаме, че причините са основно две. Безспорно, от една страна, прозира глобалното влияние на английския език, в който лексемата *purple* назовава (тъмен) червеникавосин цвят (‘a (dark) reddish-blue colour’) и е синонимна с *violet* (Уимейър 1993: 500). От друга, индустриализацията и високите технологии налагат цветова конкретизация, която намира езиково изражение в появата на много нови названия за цветове, както и в актуализацията на вече съществуващи.

Доказателство за верността на твърденията си откриваме и при превода на проучваните единици. Например *purple* от англоезичната специализирана литература, свързана с колоративистиката, на чешки редовно се превежда или директно *fialová*, или *purpurová*, но с пояснение в скоби, че става дума за виолетово (Змелик 2019: 28). Данните от Чешкия национален корпус също потвърждават хипотезата ни. В Таблица 1 са представени в проценти преводните еквиваленти общо на лексемите *purpurový* и *nachový* на български език.

Таблица 1

Чешки език %	Български език %
Purpurový (nachový) 100%	Пурпурен 43% Лилав 29% Ален (яркочервен) 28%

Етноспецифичните особености в представата за пурпурно на чехи и българи се изразяват най-вече в установените разлики.

Съвременният чешки език разполага с две лексеми за назоваване на пурпурен цвят. Смятаме, че заради сходните стилистични характеристики лексикално-синонимната еквивалентност между *пурпурно* и *nachová* е от по-висока степен, отколкото между *пурпурно* и *purpurová*.

Езиковият анализ на натрупаните емпирични данни подкрепя хипотезата, че в исторически план чешката представа за пурпурно еволюира семантично и „изпреварва“ българската въпреки общата за двата езика посока към концепта *лилаво/fialová*. Ако приемем, че съв-

ременното състояние на езика обхваща приблизително последните петдесет години, то идеята за *пурпурно* се намира между II и III, а за *purpurová* – между III и IV (вж. Табл. 2).

Таблица 2

Название за цвят	I	II	III	IV
Пурпурно	Тъмно-червено	Червено	Червено + синьо (мораво)	Лилаво
Purpurová/nachová	Rudá	Červená	Červená + modrá (červená + fialová)	Fialová

В двата езика е налице придвижване от един към друг езиков концепт. Динамиката е продължителна и сложна, най-малкото заради различните структурни особености на концептуалните ядра. Лилавото е бифокален хибриден цвят, а червеното – монофокален основен. В концептуален аспект червеното е устойчиво в ядрото и до голяма степен в периферията си, докато лилавото е в процес на оформяне. Носителите и на двата езика мислят за този цвят като за отделен, макар и да го определят като червено-синя комбинация. В чешкия език обаче културната значимост на лилавия цвят и наличието на ясно название на концепта<sup>7</sup> дават основание да определим езиковата концептуализация като по-стабилно установена в сравнение с българския. Именно поради тази, макар и относителна, стабилност концептът *fialová* допуска в приядрената си зона *purpurová*. Докато на българска езикова почва *пурпурно*, заради семантичното разширяване и последвалото актуализиране на иначе книжната лексема *пурпурен*, се движи от периферията на червеното към периферията на лилавото.

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**СЕМАНТИЧНИ И ФУНКЦИОНАЛНИ ОСОБЕНОСТИ  
НА НАРЕЧИЕТО *СКОРО* В БЪЛГАРСКИЯ ЕЗИК  
И ПРЕВОДНИТЕ МУ ЕКВИВАЛЕНТИ В ПОЛСКИЯ ЕЗИК**

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**SEMANTIC AND FUNCTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS  
OF THE ADVERB ‘SKORO’ IN THE BULGARIAN  
LANGUAGE AND ITS TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS  
IN THE POLISH LANGUAGE**

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In this study, we will examine the semantic potential of the adverb *скоро* ‘soon’ in the Bulgarian language, analyzing the individual meanings under the prism of comparison with the Polish language, and translating equivalents will also be proposed. Illustrative material is excerpted from original Bulgarian and Polish literary texts and their translations. The adverb *скоро* has a rich semantic structure, functioning as temporal adverb, tempo adverb as well as a durative adverb. When graded, disjunction from lexical meaning is also observed.

**Key words:** functional-semantic features, temporal adverbs, durative adverbs, tempo adverbs, comparative degree

При изследването на темпоралната проблематика у нас са постигнати значителни резултати. Засягана е била и темпорално-адвербиалната тематика както по отношение на българския език, така и по отношение на полския език (вж. напр. Гжегорчикова 1974; Георгиев 1978, 1981, 1983; Ковалик 1981; Пшибилска 1990; Витанова 1995, Витанова 1999/2000; Гугуланова 2001; Ефтимова 2010, Иванова 2023 и др.), но

все още има редица въпроси, които остава да бъдат анализирани, особено по отношение на функционално-семантичния потенциал на наречията както по групи, така и поотделно.

Това изследване представлява продължение на издадената в началото на 2023 г. монография за наречията за време в българския и полския език, в която се прави функционално-семантичен анализ на избрана група наречия, сред които наречието *скоро* е споменато единствено в рамките на общата група темпорални наречия.

Наречието *скоро* има богата семантична структура, което се вижда и от дефиницията му в *Речник на българския език*<sup>1</sup>:

„**СКОРО** нареч. 1. С бързина, с бързане; бързо. || Без бавене; незабавно, веднага. 2. Не много отдавна; наскоро. 3. След кратко време, по-дир малко. || В близко бъдеще. 4. За кратко време, в кратък срок. 5. Само в сравнителна степен – а) По-възможно, по-вероятно. б) По-точно. *Час по-скоро* – незабавно, веднага“ (<https://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/lang/bg/скоро/>).

По отношение на мястото на наречието *скоро* сред останалите наречия Л. Андрейчин го поставя сред групата на „наречията за означаване на някои общи понятия из областта на времето“, редом с наречия като *рано, късно, преди, после, одева, отдавна, веднага, постоянно, временно* и др. (вж. Андрейчин 1944: 398 – 399).

Ст. Георгиев разглежда наречията за време в няколко групи в зависимост от семантичната структура на категорията темпоралност според сумата от диференциални признаци (за повече подробности вж. Георгиев 1978). Първите два признака са *последователност/непоследователност* и *продължителност/непродължителност*. Наречието *скоро* се ориентира според третия признак – за *близост/отдалеченост*. Близостта се разделя на няколко признака: „за успоредност“ (изразява се в значението на наречията *скоро/отскоро, наскоро/доскоро*), като по-конкретно означава започване или завършване на действието в близост до ориентационния момент; „за минималност на дистанцията между ориентираното действие, което е обект на съобщението, и предхождащото го действие, взето за ориентир, или самия момент на съобщението“ (*веднага, току-що, тутакси*); „за отдалеченост“ (*тогава, донявга, донякога* и др.) (Георгиев 1978: 29 – 30).

Според нашите наблюдения *скоро* намира място в рамките на различни групи наречия в зависимост от различните си значения. Според

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<sup>1</sup> По-долу в изследването тези значения ще бъдат отбелязвани като *скоро 1, скоро 2, скоро 3, скоро 4, скоро 5 а), скоро 5 б)*.

семантичните им особености поделяме темпоралните наречия на три големи макрополета, всяко от които се сегментира на различни микрополета. Общото при трите обособени макрополета е, че съдържат *темпорален елемент* в семантиката си, който обаче в различните класове е с различна степен на застъпеност, тъй като при едни от наречията е определящ, а при други е съпътстващ други значения. При отделянето на *първата група* основен принцип е начинът, по който дадените наречия изразяват време. Тя представлява ядро на полето на темпоралната адвербиалност, тъй като изразява темпорални отношения в най-чист вид, т.е. това са наречия, които локализируют действието във времето, и се подчинява на правилата на широко приетата в тази работа темпоралност – в нея влизат наречия, които изразяват отношения спрямо момента на говорене, отношение между действие и действие, между действията и резултатите от действия помежду им и като цяло към изказването. Втората група се съставява от наречията, при които темпоралните признаци се съчетават с други признаци, присъщи на други полета, като аспектиалност, квантитативност, детерминативност – тук вече една част от наречията не са темпорални наречия в чистия смисъл на думата, но съдържат темпорален компонент в семантиката си. Третата група е по-особена – това е групата на оценъчните наречия. Тя е обособена според комуникативните възможности на наречията и повечето ѝ представители са членове и на другите две групи наречия (по въпроса вж. Иванова 2023).

В това изследване ще бъде разгледан семантичният потенциал на наречието *скоро* в българския език, като анализираме отделните значения така, както са представени в *Речник на българския език* (<https://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/>), под призмата на съпоставката с полския език, като ще бъдат предложени и преводни еквиваленти. Илюстративният материал е ексцерпиран от оригинални български и полски художествени текстове и техните преводи.

### **СКОРО 1**

Първото значение на наречието *скоро* се определя по следния начин: ‘с бързина, с бързане; бързо; без бавене; незабавно, веднага’. От това значение става ясно, че тук темпоралният компонент се явява като второстепенно изразен, докато на преден план излизат други признаци. В рамките на обобщената класификация на наречията за време, която прави М. Лакова в изследването си от 1993/1994 г., се споменава, че „могат да се обособят наречия за начин на осъществяване на действи-

ето във времето“, като тази група изследователката асоциира с категорията *Aktionsart* ‘начин на действие’ при глаголите (напр. *веднага, неведнага, незабавно* и под.). М. Лакова също така обръща внимание, че „тази подгрупа наречия семантично е много сходна с наречията за начин“ (Лакова 1993/1994: 479). Р. Гжегорчикова разглежда наречията за темпо като част от състава на квалифициращите наречия. В рамките на тази група анализира наречията *szybko, prędko, wolno*, като обръща внимание и на паралелните темпорални и дуративни семи, които притежават (Гжегорчикова 1975: 89). Като приемаме, че в наречията за темпо има ясно изразена сема, свързана с темпоралността – бързина в извършването, ускорен начин на протичане на времето, приемаме включването ѝ в рамките на периферията на темпоралните наречия. По подобен начин разглежда темпото и Я. Ковалик – като „категория, определяща бързината, с която се извършва действието“ (Ковалик 1981: 125). Следователно наречието *скоро* в първичното си значение може да бъде присъединено към групата на наречията, изразяващи най-общо темпо.

От преводните еквиваленти на полски език се вижда и пряката връзка със синонимното в случая наречие *бързо* и полския му еквивалент *szybko*: *Szybko jednak oderwała wzrok od tych czarujących szczegółów, oczy jak gdyby oślepty, surowość ściągnęła rysy. // Скоро обаче откъсна поглед от тези очарователни дреболии, седеше с невиждащи очи, суровост изопна чертите ѝ* (МК).

В това значение наречието *скоро* може да се употреби и степенувано, без да променя семантичния си обсег, като при еквивалентите в полски степената не е сравнителна, както в българския, а се заменя с превъзходна, и по-точно с израза *jak najszybciej*<sup>2</sup>: *За да стигнат по-скоро в Авила, Джек увеличи скоростта. // Jack dodał gazu, byle jak najszybciej dotrzeć do Avili* (ДД); *На другия ден Луис почувствува нетърпеливо желание да види по-скоро Фани Хорн. // Nazajutrz wstał z myślą, że musi jak najszybciej zobaczyć Fanny Horn* (ДД); *Случаят трябва да се изясни час по-скоро!* // *Trzeba to wyjaśnić jak najszybciej* (БМ).

В това значение се наблюдава и възможност за застъпване със семантичния обсег на третото значение („след кратко време, подир малко“), вж. напр.: *Скоро ще се върнем. // Wrócimy wkrótce* (ДТ) (Бързо / не след дълго ще се върнем); *Той ми беше писал, че ще ме посети през идната седмица, тъй че можех да го натоваря с проверката. Но скоро се отказах от тая злощастна идея.* (Но бързо / след кратко време се отказах...) // *Pisał, że w przyszłym tygodniu mnie odwiedzi, więc mógłbym*

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<sup>2</sup> Повече за възможните семантични трансформации при степенуването вж. по-долу.

*go poprosić o sprawdzenie. Jednak szybko zrezygnowałem z tego pomysłu* (ПВ); *Скоро ще престане дъждът. // Zaraz przestanie padać* (ДТ).

В същото значение в полските текстове се употребява и синонимното на *szybko* наречие *prędko*: *Jego czynna natura zaczęła się jednak prędko buntować. // Но действената му натура скоро се разбунтува* (ТДМ).

От речниковите статии и на двете полски наречия – *szybko* и *prędko*, се вижда, че употребата им се препокрива с първото и третото значение на наречието *скоро* в българския език<sup>3</sup>.

Когато *скоро 1* е употребено в подзначението ‘веднага’ или в смисъл на много кратка дистанция, по-често характерният еквивалент в полски е наречието *zaraz*: *Двамата слуги дойдоха в дюкяна скоро след него и Пенко ги подкара да пометат чисто, да подредят всичко добре, а и той работеше с тях усърдно. // Zaraz za nim zjawilo się dwoje slug, którym polecil zamieść podłogę, a potem wspólnie zabrali się do porządkowania towaru* (ДТ); *Choć jestem aptekarzem, jednak nie tam tak wiele rozsądku. Zaraz to zobaczysz. // Макара че съм аптекар, не съм кой знае колко благоразумен. Скоро ще се убедиш в това* (ЯИ).

## СКОРО 2

С оглед на второто си значение (‘не много отдавна; наскоро’) *скоро* се вписва в рамките на т.нар. чисто темпорални наречия, и точно в подкласа на наречията, изразяващи *разновременност*, като в рамките на разновременността изразява *предходност*, а в рамките на предходността експлицира *непосредствена предходност* (вж. Иванова 2023: 80). Както се вижда от тълкуванието на наречието *скоро*, поради деетимологизацията му, дължаща се на загубата на континуанта на старобългарското прилагателно *скоръ* ‘бърз’, то започва да се употребява не само относно предстоящ след кратък интервал от време момент, но и относно минал момент (Колева-Златева 2000: 128).

Когато това наречие се използва в споменатото значение – за непосредствена предходност, обикновено на полски се предава с наречието *niedawno*<sup>4</sup>, тъй като то отговаря именно за кратък период назад,

<sup>3</sup> *szybko* от прил. *szybki* „1. działający, poruszający się, wykonujący coś albo wykonywany w ciągu krótkiego czasu; prędko; 2. następujący, mający nastąpić zaraz, niedługo; natychmiastowy, niezwłoczny, rychły, raptowny“ (Речник на полския език 1981: 433); *prędko* „1. szybko, pośpiesznie, raźnie, żywo; 2. w niedługim czasie; wcześniej, rychło, wkrótce, niebawem, zaraz, wnet“ (Речник на полския език 1979: 923).

<sup>4</sup> *niedawno* „w niedalekiej przeszłości; dopiero co, przed chwilą“ (Речник на полския език 1979: 326).

като характерно за това наречие е употребата му единствено със значение „непосредствена предходност“, т.е. може да бъде употребено само в ретроспективен план, но не и относно предстоящи събития. Вж. примери: **Скоро** *отрязах една глава за такова нещо и сега плащам на вдовицата, защото покойният остави шест дребни деца, които мрат от глад.* // *Niedawno ściałem jednego za coś takiego, a teraz płacę wdowie, bo nieszczęśnik zostawił sześć drobnych dzieci, które głodem przymierają* (АД); *Лекарят, млад момък, сладкодурмен и пьргав, скоро назначен в този участък, го прегледа внимателно, сериозно, съсредоточено.* // *Lekarz, młody mężczyzna, rozmowny i energiczny, niedawno wyznaczony na ten rejon, zbadał go uważnie, z powagą i w skupieniu* (ГК).

Би могло да се каже, че в този случай наречието *наскоро* кореспондира по-убедително с неотдавна отминали събития, функция, присъща на полското наречие *niedawno* (за функциите на полското наречие вж. Пшибилска 1990: 108). Това наблюдение се потвърждава и количествено от броя на примерите, в които *наскоро* е употребено относно миналия план, които значително надвишават тези, в които *скоро* се употребява в подобен контекст, вж. напр.: *Пред тях имаше разхвърляни царевични стръци, ошмулкани и олигавени. Личеше, че тези стръци са рязани наскоро.* // *Przed nią rozrzucone były łodygi kukurydzy, obrane i oślinione. Widać było, że łodygi te ścięto niedawno* (ГК); *Последната книга бе издадена наскоро и захвърлена тук с оная апатия към безредието, която отличаваше наркоманите.* // *Książka była niedawno wydana i Fanny porzuciła ją tutaj z apatią właściwą narkomanom* (ДД).

Въпреки че в речниковата статия на наречието *наскоро* като второ значение се споменава и възможността да изразява и непосредствена следходност (1. Преди не много време; неотдавна. 2. След не много време – <https://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/lang/bg/наскоро/>), в това значение по-подходяща е употребата именно на *скоро*.

### СКОРО 3

Според третото си значение (‘след кратко време, подир малко; в близко бъдеще’) наречието *скоро* се вписва отново в групата на чисто темпоралните наречия, в рамките на която изразява *следходност* и в частност – *непосредствена следходност* (Иванова 2023: 84). Най-точното съответствие в полския език в този случай е наречието *wkrótce*, което в темпоралния план се свързва със следходни действия: *Konduktor będzie wkrótce zbierał zamówienia na śniadanie.* // *Скоро кондукторът ще дойде да вземе поръчките за закуска (ОТ); Но скоро след това се случи нещо,*

което отново ме накара да се замисля за съдбата на стареца. // *Wkrótce potem zdarzyło się coś, co znowu zmusiło mnie do zastanowienia się nad losem starca* (ПВ); – *Zastanowię się nad tym wszystkim, panie profesorze, i **wkrótce** dam panu odpowiedź.* // – Ще помисля за всичко това, господин професор, и **скоро** ще Ви дам отговор (ТДМ).

Други възможни съответствия на *скоро* в това значение са и синонимните на *wkrótce*, също характерни за следходни действия – *niedługo* и *niebawem*: *Аз беся за откраднатата черга, а **скоро** къщите ще зейнат празни като изкормени пилета. Аз застрелвам разбойника, а **скоро** разбойниците ще станат повече от честните хора.* // *Ja wiem za skradziony kilim, a **niedługo** domy będą ziały pustką jak wypatrzone kurczaki. Ja rozstrzeluję rozbójnika, a **niedługo** zbójców będzie więcej niż uczciwych ludzi* (АД); – *А ти все си ходиш низ планината.* – *Скоро* ще я оставя и ми е жал за нея. // *А ty tak wciąż po górach?* – *Niedługo* je opuszcze. *Niełatwo* przyjdzie mi się z nimi rozstać (ДТ).

*Niebawem* do udręk z powodu twarzy przybyła nowa męczarnia, nowa tajemnica: ciało. // *Скоро* към страданията за лицето се прибавиха нови мъки, нова тайна – тялото (МК); *Wierzył, że męczyzna ten **niebawem** zniknie. Jak dinozaur.* // *Вярваше, че този мъж **скоро** ще изчезне. Като динозавър* (ЯВ).

Ако за *wkrótce* и *niebawem* е по-характерна употребата в книжовния език, както и връзката им със следходността, то относно наречието *niedługo* следва да се отбележи, че е двузначно: в контекста на глаголи от свършен вид може да се отнася както към непосредствената следходност, така и към непосредствената предходност (вж. напр. *Niedługo Anna zasnęła. Niedługo przyjdzie Jan*), като същото важи и относно глаголи от несвършен вид, когато наречието е поставено в началото на изречението (*Niedługo Anna już spała. Niedługo Ewa będzie śpiewała*). Употребено след глагол от несвършен вид, това наречие означава продължителност (*Anna śpiewała niedługo. Ewa śpiewała niedługo*) (примерите са по Пшибилска 1990: 108–109, вж. там също и повече по въпроса).

#### **СКОРО 4**

Според четвъртото си значение (‘за кратко време, в кратък срок’) *скоро* се причислява към групата на дуративните наречия, но все пак е ясно изразен темпорален елемент, тъй като се експлицира продължителност във връзка с времето на протичане на действието.

*След това почна да взема всеки ден уроци по испански и да чете книгите, които бе донесла от Париж. Но **скоро** се отегчи.* // *Codziennie*



*brała lekcje hiszpańskiego i czytała książki przywiezione z Paryża, ale **wkrótce** zaczęło się jej nudzić (ДД); Osadził się lepiej, z nabożeństwem zaczął poić żonę. **Wkrótce** opadła na poduszki. // Намани се по-удобно и благоговейно започна да ѝ дава да пие. Тя **скоро** се отпусна на възглавницата (ЧМ); I Tomasz, i dzieci z wioski **wkrótce** już wiedziały, że lepiej jest nie chodzić na plebanię. // И Томаши, и децата от селото **скоро** вече знаеха, че е по-добре да не се ходи в племанията (ЧМ); **Wkrótce** dostaje się w złe towarzystwo, karcjarzy i rozpustników. // **Скоро** попада в лоша компания на картаджии и развратници (ЧМ).*

Както се вижда от ексцерпирания материал, подходящо съответствие според това значение в полския език е наречието *wkrótce*.

### **СКОРО 5**

Петото значение на наречието *скоро* е обособено от *Речник на българския език* с уговорката, че се отнася само за сравнителна степен (<https://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/lang/bg/скоро/>). Предложени са две разновидности на това значение: ‘по-възможно, по-вероятно; по-точно’. В нашето езикознание нееднократно е отбелязвано, че при някои степенувани наречия се наблюдава интересна особеност, характерна и за други славянски езици. Въпреки че по форма представят сравнителна или превъзходна степен от дадено наречие, в едни от значенията си действително се свързват с това наречие (както бе отбелязано относно значението на *скоро 1*), като не само по форма, но и по значение представляват определена степен на това наречие, а в други свои значения се откъсват от значението на изходното наречие и получават ново, самостоятелно значение (вж. Ничева 1964: 161). Наречието *скоро* е едно от тези наречия. Когато се губи връзката на значението с изходната форма, се наблюдават и скокове от един семантичен клас в друг или от един категориален вид в друг (по въпроса вж. Георгиев 1983; Буров 1992; Буров 2007). В този случай става дума за такова въздействие на граматичното значение върху лексикалното, при което лексикалното значение се променя (Буров 1992: 25).

Както е известно, наречията поясняват преди всичко глаголи. По отношение на *скоро* в значението на ‘по-точно’ обаче Ст. Буров уместно уточнява, че „наречието отстранява синтагматичната си връзка с глагола и започва да изпълнява функция на детерминатор на семантичното съдържание на цялото изречение“ (Буров 1992: 26), като изменя мястото си сред класовете наречия и функционира като „форма за ло-

гическо уточняване“ (Буров 2007: 47). В полския език най-чест еквивалент е *raczej*, чиято етимология се извежда във връзка с прилагателното име *rad* (вж. Брюкнер 1985: 452), и по-точно с наречието *rado* ‘chętnie, z ochotą, z przyjemnością’, като старополската форма на това наречие в сравнителна степен е *radszej*, заменена с *raczej* ([https://wsjp.pl/haslo/do\\_druku/7153/raczej](https://wsjp.pl/haslo/do_druku/7153/raczej)). В съвременните речници на полския език *raczej* се представя като частица (Универсален речник 2006: 869), т.е. тук се наблюдава не само скок от един семантичен клас в друг в рамките на наречията, но и промяна от един лексемен клас в друг. Вж. примери: *Mało zachwytu jeszcze widziałem. **Raczej** jesteś zachwycony na ropuro.* // *Засега не съм забелязал особено възхищение. **По-скоро** си възторжен в отрицателен смисъл (ЯИ); Świata jest za dużo. Należałoby go raczej zmniejszyć, a nie poszerzać, powiększać.* // *Светът е предостатъчно голям. **По-скоро** би трябвало да бъде намаляван, а не разширяван и уголемяван (ОТ).*

По-отношение на другото значение на степенуваното в сравнителна степен наречие *skoro* се откриват и други предложения за значението му – докато в *Речник на българския език* се определя като ‘*по-възможно, по-вероятно*’, то при Ст. Буров е представено малко по-различно – като ‘*повече, в по-голяма степен*’, тоест означава „приблизително съответствие на едно нещо с друго нещо“ (Буров 2007: 47). Примерите от ексцерпирания за целите на това изследване материал по-скоро потвърждават втората възможност: *Ako попаднеш в ръцете на полицията, Едит би предпочела **по-скоро** да ѝ изтръгнат езика, отколкото да каже от кого е получила стоката.* // *Gdyby nakryła ich policja, Edith wolalaby odgryźć sobie język niż powiedzieć, od kogo dostała towar* (ДД); *Женя съвсем не ядеше толкова бой от баща си, колкото би си помислил човек, когато го слуша. **По-скоро** се страхуваше да не яде бой.* // *Eugeniusz zawsze przesadzał w swych opowieściach o tym, jak to obrywa od ojca. Nie tyle obrywał, ile **raczej** bał się, że oberwie.* (БМ); *Te przywary Kolskiego nie wywoływały w Łucji oburzenia, **raczej** patrzyła na nie pobłażliwie.* // *Тези недостатъци на Колски не предизвикваха у Луця възмущение, **по-скоро** гледаше на тях снизходително (ТДМ).*

И в двата варианта, при които се наблюдава семантично откъсване от изходното наречие в български, най-често съответствие на полски е *raczej*, което в полския език се определя, както вече беше споменато, като частица в повечето си значения: 1) изразява колебанието на говорещия относно избора на определено мнение и в същото време склонност да приеме съобщаваното в изречението; 2) изразява убежде-

нието на говорещия, че една от двете възможности е по-вероятна в сравнение с другата; 3) изразява убеждението на говорещия, че дадено поведение е по-подходящо; 4) използва се в спонтанни изказвания с цел да се отменят предходните думи и да се заменят с нови, които по-добре характеризират ситуацията<sup>5</sup> (Универсален речник 2006: 869 – 870).

Отделно наречието *скоро* може да бъде разгледано и в групата на наречията, които изразяват оценъчност спрямо темпоралността – въпрос, на който тук няма да се спираме (повече по него вж. Иванова 2023).

Като обобщение може да се каже, че наречието *скоро* има богата семантична структура, изразена не само в рамките на тясно разбираната темпоралност. Като наречие за темпо, със значението най-общо ‘бързо’, най-типичните функционално-семантични съответствия са *szybko*, *prędko*, а когато се явява с нюанс на моменталност, от типа на ‘веднага’, съответствие може да бъде и *zaraz*. В темпоралната му функция – да изразява непосредствена предходност, то се предава на полски с *niedawno*, а в опозитивната му, отново темпорална функция – да предава непосредствена следходност, еквиваленти са *wkróce*, *niebawem* и *niedługo*, като *wkrótce* е характерен еквивалент и при дуративната му употреба за кратка продължителност на период. По отношение на формата му в сравнителна степен, където наречието разширява своя лексико-семантичен обем и получава специфично ново лексикално значение, при което откъсването от темпоралното значение е най-категорично, най-характерното съответствие в полски е приеманата за частица *raczej*.

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<sup>5</sup> Превод мой – Л. И.

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DOI 10.69085/ntf2024b050

## ПРОФЕСИОНАЛНА РЕАЛИЗАЦИЯ НА АБСОЛВЕНТИТЕ СЛАВИСТИ: ПЕРСПЕКТИВИ И СФЕРИ НА ТРУДА<sup>1</sup>

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## PROFESSIONAL REALIZATION OF SLAVIC PHILOLOGY GRADUATES: PERSPECTIVES AND WORKFIELDS

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The main focus of the article is the study of the alumni association network of the Slavic philology students, who graduated from Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski” in the last decade. The text presents statistics on their job prospects, from which the needs of the labor market and the professional opportunities for philologists are evident. Through a statistical analysis of the data collected during the creation of the alumni club the article highlights the fields of work, as well as the prospects and challenges in front of Slavic studies alumni.

**Key words:** alumni club, professional realization, work fields, Slavic studies

Настоящата статия представя данните от статистическо проучване на абсолвентите на специалността „Славянска филология“, което е проведено в процеса на работа по изграждането на алумни клуба на същата специалност във Факултета по славянски филологии на Софийския университет „Св. Климент Охридски“. Целта на тази инициатива е създаването на институционална алумни мрежа и проследяването на професионалната реализация на завършилите. Статията систематизира основните показатели от събраната информация, въз осно-

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<sup>1</sup> Текстът е написан в рамките на проект с договор номер 80-10-207/22.5.2023 г. на тема „Славянска филология: създаване на алумни клуб и изследване на професионалната реализация на завършилите в периода 2017 – 2022 г.“, финансиран от Фонд „Научни изследвания“ на Софийския университет „Св. Климент Охридски“.

ва на които предлага коментар за пазара на труда и ползите от славистичното филологическо образование при кариерното развитие на възпитаниците на специалността.

### **Методи, обхват и резултати от допитването**

При регистрацията си в алумни клуба абсолвентите попълват въпросник, който включва няколко вида информация. На първо място, подават своите лични данни – името и фамилията си, имейл адрес, който не се публикува с оглед на защитата на предоставената лична информация (в съответствие с Общия регламент относно защитата на данните на физически лица), и снимка, която е препоръчителна, но незадължителна стъпка при регистрацията. На второ място, абсолвентите посочват своя випуск (година на дипломиране) и профила, в който са се обучавали – полски, чешки, словашки, украински или сръбски и хърватски. На трето място, допитването събира данни за кариерния път на завършилите дисциплината – сферата на професионалната реализация, позицията и местоработата. Секторът на пазара на труда се избира от списък с множество опции, като допълнително има възможност за добавяне на друга сфера, в случай че работата на анкетирания не е сред най-разпространените опции, изброени в списъка. Професионалната заетост (позиция и месторабота) изисква свободен отговор с цел прецизиране на работните длъжности и работодателите. По желание абсолвентите могат да предоставят свои контакти в социалните мрежи (Facebook, LinkedIn) за улеснена комуникация и връзка с останалите колеги от общността.

Регистрационната форма, както и индивидуалните профили на всеки възпитаник на специалността са достъпни на специално създадения сайт на алумни клуба на славистите, завършили Факултета по славянски филологии<sup>2</sup>. Към настоящия момент в изграждането на алумни общността на спец. „Славянска филология“ са се включили 100 абсолвенти. В рамките на проекта, финансиран от Фонд „Научни изследвания“ на Софийския университет, се планира проучване на реализацията на завършилите специалността „Славянска филология“ в периода 2017 – 2022 г. Въпреки това в процеса на общуване с абсолвентите много от тях споделят регистрационната форма със свои колеги<sup>3</sup>, което позволи анкетата да обхване и предишни випуски. Основна-

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<sup>2</sup> <https://slav-alumni.uni-sofia.bg/>. Представената информация е актуална към 29.11.2023 г., бел. авт.

<sup>3</sup> Това е свидетелство за значението на междуличностните отношения при изграждането на подобна институционална мрежа, чието развитие е свързано с уни-



та информация обхваща завършилите в последното десетилетие, между 2012 и 2022 г. (90% от анкетираните), но освен тях се включват колеги, дипломирали се през предходни години (между 1991 и 2011 г., вж. Фиг. 1). От тях 14% са мъже, докато останалите 86% са жени, като тази сравнително голяма диспропорция не е изненадваща с оглед на приема в хуманитарните (и конкретно филологическите) направления.

**Фиг. 1.** Брой absolventи в алулни клуба според годината на завършване

<b>Випуск</b>	<b>Брой absolventи</b>	<b>Випуск</b>	<b>Брой absolventи</b>
<b>1991</b>	1	<b>2012</b>	3
<b>1995</b>	1	<b>2013</b>	5
<b>2001</b>	2	<b>2014</b>	4
<b>2004</b>	3	<b>2015</b>	12
<b>2008</b>	1	<b>2016</b>	20
<b>2009</b>	1	<b>2017</b>	4
<b>2011</b>	1	<b>2018</b>	13
		<b>2019</b>	9
		<b>2020</b>	6
		<b>2021</b>	5
		<b>2022</b>	9

По-големият брой регистрирани absolventи в годините 2015 – 2018 може да се обясни както с намаляването на приема във филологически дисциплини от последните години<sup>4</sup>, така и с по-голямата активност на завършилите по-рано в инициативата около създаването на алулни клуба. Предположение на неговите създатели е, че дипломирали се преди няколко години вече имат по-представителна професионална реализация, която биха искали да споделят, а също така изпитват по-голяма носталгия към университета и своите студентски години от наскоро дипломирали се absolventи. Най-активни са колегите, завършили специалността „Славянска филология“ с чешки и полски профил (вж. Фиг. 2), като включването на по-ранните випуски

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верситетската инициатива и организация, но и със самоинициативата на участниците в нея.

<sup>4</sup> Допълнителен фактор за броя absolventи през 2020 и 2021 е и ковид пандемията, която оказва влияние върху образованието и успешното завършване в срок на част от студентите.

и разширяването на обхвата на алумни клуба може да промени това съотношение.

*Фиг. 2. Брой absolвенти в алумни клуба според езиковия профил*

Профил	Брой absolвенти
Чешки	31 <sup>5</sup>
Полски	26
Украински	19
Сръбски и хърватски	13
Словашки	11

Ключови за целите на алумни клуба са данните за професионалната реализация, които показват не само индивидуалното кариерно развитие на absolвентите, но и перспективите и предизвикателствата пред специалността „Славянска филология“. Успеваемостта на дипломираните се слависти е показателна за тяхната висока мотивираност и подготовка, а разнообразието от професии свидетелства за адаптивността на хуманитаристите в динамичната работна ситуация. Посочените отговори (Фиг. 3) не са изненадващи с оглед на сферите на заетост, те отразяват основни тенденции в търсенето и предлагането на пазара на труда. Все пак си заслужава да се посочат няколко специфички по отношение на събраната информация.

На първо място, част от absolвентите са посочили повече от една сфера на труда, което влияе върху процентното измерение в статистиката – анкетирани са сто колеги, които са дали 118 отговора за своята професионална заетост. Това се дължи на практикуването на повече от една професия – като превод и образование (особено висок процент от преподавателите във висшите учебни заведения посочват и превода като своя професионална реализация). От друга страна, някои от колегите, които работят в областта на аутсорсинга, допълнително отбелязват втора сфера на заетост, като информационни технологии, образование в корпоративна среда или превод и легализация.

На второ място, големият процент реализирали се в сферата на аутсорсинга се дължи и на възрастовия обхват на регистрираните колеги. Разширяването на алумни клуба в бъдеще очаквано би изменило процентното съотношение, особено при отделни сфери на труда (като

<sup>5</sup> От колегите, попълнили регистрацията, по един absolвент от бохемистичния и полонистичния профил е завършил преди 2012 г., както и петима – от украинистичния и трима – от профила със сръбски и хърватски език.

държавна администрация, дипломация, медии), които към настоящия момент обхващат по-малък дял от резултатите.

**Фиг. 3. Професионална реализация на абсолвентите в алуumni клуба**

<b>Сфера на труда</b>	<b>Брой абсолвенти</b>	<b>Процент от общия брой отговори</b>
Аутсорсинг	37	31,3
• Счетоводство и финанси	6	5
• Човешки ресурси	5	4,2
• Техническа поддръжка	4	3,3
• Логистика и обработка на данни	4	3,3
Образование и наука	28	23,7
• Висше образование	16	13,5
• Основно и средно образование	6	5
• Професионално обучение в корпоративна среда	2	1,6
• Наука и изследвания	1	0,8
• Учебен център	1	0,8
• Педагогическа работа	1	0,8
Превод и легализация	14	11,8
IT	12	10,1
Медии	6	5
Бизнес	6	5
• Търговия и продажби	3	2,5
• Спедиция и транспорт	1	0,8
• Обслужване на клиенти	1	0,8
• Недвижими имоти	1	0,8
Туризъм	5	4,2
Други:	10	8,4
• Държавна администрация	3	2,5
• Счетоводство	2	1,6
• Авиация	2	1,6
• Дипломация	1	0,8
• Печатарство	1	0,8
• Без отговор	1	0,8

### **Анализ на пазара на труда и въздействието на славистичното образование върху професионалната реализация**

В представената статистическа информация се забелязват определени тенденции относно състоянието на пазара на труда. Високият процент трудещи се в сферата на аутсорсинга е свидетелство за значението на трансрегионалните и глобалните пазари при отварянето на нови позиции, за които владенето на повече от един език е не просто предимство, а необходимост. Това, от една страна, прави професиите в аутсорсинга привлекателна възможност за дипломираните филолози, защото сферата е изключително динамична и постоянно се откриват нови работни места и проекти, нуждаещи се от кадри. Абсолвентите разполагат с основния инструмент за успешно преминаване на фазата на подбор – езиковите умения – и след започването на работата си могат с помощта на допълнително краткотрайно обучение да опознаят спецификите на продукта/услугата, които обслужват. Освен това съществува възможността за йерархическо израстване, която проличава при анализа на конкретните позиции, заемани от регистрираните в алуumni клуба. По-голямата част от тях започват професионалния си път от обслужване на клиенти на езика на своето обучение, но значителен процент от тях се специализират (например в областта на човешките ресурси и подбора на кадри на съответния език; като техническа поддръжка или контрол по качеството – *Quality assurance analysis*) или заемат ръководни позиции (ръководител на екип или специалист по корпоративно обучение).

От друга страна обаче, динамичността на тази сфера на заетост в някои случаи означава и непредсказуемост, защото определени решения за откриване или закриване на работни места се вземат на централно за международните корпорации равнище. Те отчитат глобални тенденции, търсене/предлагане и размер на работни възнаграждения, а също така се съобразяват с международни закони и рестрикции. Определена национална или международна спогодба може да доведе до невъзможност да се обслужва даден пазар извън определен географски ареал или до закриване на определена услуга, което неминуемо засяга работещите в тази област. Не на последно място, автоматизацията и езиковите модели на изкуствения интелект потенциално ограничават търсенето на оператори за обслужване на клиенти, което в краткосрочен или дългосрочен план може да се отрази на професионалната реализация в областта.

На второ място сред обобщените отговори на членовете на алуumni клуба се намира заетостта в сферата на образованието. Относително високият процент работещи в областта на висшето образование и научните изследвания (ВУЗ или научноизследователски центрове) е показателен за интереса към хуманитаристиката като професионален път за завършилите в последните години. Реализацията на абсолвентите, които се насочват към преподаване в основното и средното училище, е свидетелство за ползите от втората квалификация в рамките на славистичното образование (равноправната специалност „Българска филология“) и интереса към придобиване на правоспособност за работа като учител по български език и литература.

Филологическото образование логично произвежда и кадри, които задоволяват нуждите на пазара на труда в областта на превода и легализацията. Това обяснява факта, че тази сфера е на трето място след процентно по-добре представените опции – аутсорсинг и образование, макар че, както беше посочено, има и известно препокриване и съвместяване при част от анкетираните между тези професионални реализации. Традиционно характерни професии за абсолвентите на хуманитарните специалности, като журналисти, кореспонденти и екскурзоводи, очаквано имат свои представители сред завършилите специалността „Славянска филология“ през последното десетилетие.

В условията на намаляващ брой студенти, множество възможности за избор на висше образование и динамична и променлива работна среда за завършилите е важен въпросът доколко професионалната им реализация е повлияна и подпомогната от полученото образование. Джоузеф Миджън анализира ползите от образованието за последвалата трудова реализация, като се позовава на разсъжденията на Дъглас Далримпъл и Ленърд Парсънс относно мениджмънта на човешкия капитал:

Аксиома на маркетинга е това, че за да бъде успешна и да оцелее една организация, тя трябва да направи така, че нейните продукти или услуги да предоставят на клиентите ѝ повече ползи, отколкото те биха притежавали без тези продукти или услуги.

(Цит. по Миджън 1987: 183)

Американският изследовател обобщава отговорите на студенти в проведена от него анкета в Университета „Акрън“ (Охайо) – голям процент от анкетираните споделят, че „са получили повече работни задължения, по-голямо заплащане и повече уважение на работното си

място след придобиването на научна степен“ (Миджън 1987: 183). За Миджън това е аргумент в полза на ценността на завършената университетска специализация и доказателство за увеличаването на професионалните възможности за дипломиралите се като следствие от висшето образование.

Подобен въпрос не е насочен към абсолюентите на спец. „Славянска филология“ по време на работата около създаването на нейния алуumni клуб, тъй като това излиза извън непосредствените първоначални цели и задачи около събирането и систематизирането на данните за завършилите. Въпреки това прегледът на основните сфери на заетост категорично потвърждава връзката между полученото славистично образование и професионалната реализация на придобилите го. Разгледаните сфери на труда, които обхващат първите три места в анкетата (аутсорсинг, образование и наука, превод и легализация), отговарят за 66,8% от резултатите. Ако се добавят и резултатите за медии и туризъм, тази цифра става 76%, което показва ясна корелация между получените езикови, общофилологически, културни и хуманитарни познания и последвалата реализация на студентите<sup>6</sup>.

Останалите отговори показват още една характерна особеност, която може да бъде видяна като аргумент в полза на хуманитарното висше образование. Колегите, които упражняват професии, традиционно несвързани с по-тесния филологически профил, намират реализация в разнообразни сфери, което е свидетелство за адаптивността на абсолюентите на славистиката и уменияето да придобиват нови следдипломни квалификации и умения.

### **Влияние на алуumni общността върху професионалната реализация на абсолюентите и работата на университета**

Събраната информация при създаването на алуumni клуба на специалността „Славянска филология“ дава ценни данни за професионалния профил на абсолюентите. Освен това обаче инициативата има и допълнителни ползи както за университета, така и за самите абсолюенти, които участват в тази общност.

На първо място могат да се открият тези аспекти, свързани със самата професионална реализация. Алуumni клубовете могат да допри-

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<sup>6</sup> Разбира се, при професии, свързани с дипломацията (културни центрове и посолства), както и държавната администрация също може да се открие връзка между образованието и сферата на труда, което би повишило статистическия дял почти до 80%.

несат за улеснена връзка между висшето образование, хората, които го притежават, и работодателите, като това би довело до повече професионални възможности и сътрудничество в различни посоки. Участието в такава група спомага за обмена на информация между алумни членовете, които могат да предоставят обратна връзка за работодатели, възнаграждения и условия на труда. Усещането за принадлежност към дадена общност също е важен аспект при ангажираността на участниците в алумни клуба, които изграждат контакти, а също така се информират за следдипломната реализация и тенденциите на трудовия пазар.

На второ място са онези ползи от развитието на общностите на абсолвентите, които допринасят за функционирането на висшето учебно заведение и укрепването на връзките между завършилите и тяхната алма-матер. Тара Сингър и Арън Хюи разглеждат „интегралната и неразривна връзка“ между абсолвентите и техния университет (Сингър, Хюи 2002: 51). Тя е основа, върху която може да се изгради силно и плодотворно сътрудничество между алумни асоциациите и студентския живот, което е взаимноизгодно и за двете страни – едновременно „укрепва имиджа на институцията и подобрява преживяването на тези, които имат контакт с нея“ (Сингър, Хюи 2002: 52). Двамата автори проследяват основни сфери, в които университетските и студентските организации могат да се възползват от опита на дипломатите се възпитаници на образователната институция – от процеса на селекция и интервюиране на новоприети студенти през тяхното въвеждане в университетския живот (*welcome and orientation programs*) до формирането на алумни организации. Както посочват Сингър и Хюи:

Независимо от своята организационна структура студентските алумни организации съществуват, за да подсилят и поддържат историческия образователен опит, предлаган от институцията. Техните услуги и дейности помагат за предаването на институционалните ценности от едно поколение на следващото, което от своя страна обикновено води до силно чувство на свързаност с институцията. Тази свързаност генерира позитивни чувства за институцията у абсолвентите и ги приканва да участват в бъдещи начинания. Следователно за много колежи и университети е изключително полезно да инвестират активно в своите студентски алумни асоциации.

(Сингър, Хюи 2002: 59)

Освен че са от полза за самите висши учебни заведения<sup>7</sup>, алумни инициативите имат положително въздействие и върху самите участници в образователния процес, а също така върху техните общности<sup>8</sup>.

Не на последно място – опитът на абсолвентите е ключов за развитието на самите образователни институции и тяхното адаптиране към промените и предизвикателствата в началото на XXI в. Джоузеф Миджън използва разграничението между два типа организации, предложено от Филип Котлър – „отзивчиви“ (*responsive*) и „неотзивчиви“ (*unresponsive*) по отношение на потребностите на техните членове. За втория тип е характерно това, че тези институции „или предполагат, че знаят от какво се нуждаят техните членове, или всъщност не се интересуват какви са техните специфични нужди“ (цит. по Миджън 1987: 179). При увеличаването на конкуренцията и/или намаляването на търсенето подобни организации или институции срещат проблеми и предизвикателства с намирането на нови членове и клиенти, което може да доведе дори до изчезването им. Другата разновидност – „отзивчивите“ организации, се стремят „да открият нагласите и нуждите на своите членове, докато се опитват да постигнат своите цели“ (цит. по Миджън 1987: 180). Изводът е, че „в конкурентна среда с намаляващ брой клиенти (студенти) отзивчивите институции е вероятно да се развият и просперираат, докато неотзивчивите могат да срещат трудности с оцеляването си“ (цит. по Миджън 1987: 180). За да бъде една институция „отзивчива“, т.е. за да успява да отговори на потребностите на своите възпитаници и на предизвикателствата на пазара на труда, тя трябва активно да се вслушва в обратната връзка и да я използва за подобряване. В това отношение алумни клубовете могат да бъдат ценен източник на информираност и иновативност за специалностите, в които абсолвентите са получили своето образование. Според Филип Котлър това се осъществява посредством „интерес да се научат нуждите и удовлетвореността на членовете“ чрез събира-

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<sup>7</sup> В западния модел на функциониране на алумни общностите е важна финансовата мотивация на университетите и колежите да поддържат контактите със своите възпитаници, които често даряват значителни суми след завършването си. Пример за статистически анализ на демографските и професионалните данни на абсолвентите с оглед на потенциала им за дарения към университета предлагат Хашеми, Ле Бланк, Бахрами, Бахар, Трейуик 2009.

<sup>8</sup> Ан Кембъл и Арин Бакстър съпоставят в свое изследване три случая на алумни асоциации, при които освен индивидуалните успехи и реализация на членовете се отчита и потенциалът на подобни организации да допринесат за социална промяна за дадените общности (вж. Кембъл, Бакстър 2019).



не на информация (например чрез анкети), „стимулиране на членовете да задават въпроси, да споделят оплаквания и оценки“, „създаване на системи за улеснено събиране на тази информация“ и „адаптиране на продуктите и услугите [...] в съответствие с тази информация“ (цит. по Миджън 1987: 180).

### Заклучение

Събраната до този момент информация за реализацията на студентите слависти е едва отправна точка за развиването на добре функциониращ алумни клуб на славистиката, но тя дава ориентируваща представа за редица тенденции в образованието и професионалните решения на филолозите. Бъдещата съвместна работа между представители на образователната институция и абсолвентите на специалността следва да отчита промените на трудовия пазар, да помага за информираността на настоящите студенти и да поддържа съзнанието за принадлежност и приемственост, което би гарантирало успешна адаптивност и успеваемост за двете страни.

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**РАЗВИТИЕ НА АЛУМНИ ОБЩНОСТТА.  
ПЕРСПЕКТИВИ ПРЕД СЛАВИСТИКАТА**

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**DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALUMNI COMMUNITY.  
PERSPECTIVES FOR THE SLAVISTIC STUDIES**

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The aim of the article is to explore the history and significance of alumni clubs, highlighting their crucial role in facilitating communication among former, current, and prospective students. Alumni communities in humanities play a key role in supporting professional development and exchanging experiences. Maintaining current information about former students, conducting surveys on their career achievements, and organizing meetings are among the primary practices. In Bulgaria, the topic of alumni communities and their importance in the context of Slavic studies requires more attention. The implementation of specific measures and discussions would underscore their significance, ensuring a lasting contribution to education.

**Key words:** alumni, Slavic studies, humanities, career possibilities, communication

Настоящият текст<sup>1</sup> изяснява някои основни въпроси относно иницирането на общност на завършилите дадена специалност в университетите. Изследването разглежда последователно утвърдените стандарти в областта. Установените практики постепенно се проследяват в

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<sup>1</sup> Текстът е написан в рамките на проект с договор номер 80-10-207/22.5.2023 г. на тема „Славянска филология: създаване на алумни клуб и изследване на професионалната реализация на завършилите в периода 2017 – 2022 г.“, финансиран от Фонд „Научни изследвания“ на Софийския университет „Св. Климент Охридски“.

местата, където са се породили, за да достигнат до настоящия си вид. Важен аспект от изследването е предложеният S.W.O.T. анализ, чрез който се извеждат на преден план силните и слабите черти на подобно начинание, неговите възможности и рискове пред него (доколкото изобщо съществуват такива).

Терминът *алумни* идва от латински и буквално се превежда като „храненици, питомци“. Днес той се употребява за завършили възпитаници на учебно заведение, а двете задължителни характеристики на такава общност са, че членовете ѝ стават алумни от момента на своето дипломиране и остават участници в клуба до живот.

Белези на алумни обединения могат да се открият още в първите десетилетия след създаването на университетите в Болоня, Оксфорд и Париж (XI – XIII в.), когато випускници се събират на определени интервали от време и споделят спомени и текущи планове. Първият прототип на алумни клуб е Обединеният университетски клуб на Оксфорд и Кеймбридж, създаден през 1821 г. в Лондон, в който задължително условие за членовете му е да са възпитаници на един от двата университета. В този случай обаче клубът е затворен, в него се кандидатства допълнително, а участниците гласуват за и против новите кандидатури въз основа на вторични изисквания, например препоръки, поведенчески оценки и (до 1997 г.) пол. Ето защо първата действителна алумни общност, която се оформя единствено на базата на дипломиране, е на университета „Херият Уат“ в Единбург през 1854 г. Приблизително по същото време се създава и първата алумни общност в САЩ в колежа „Франклин енд Маршал“ в Ланкастър, Пенсилвания.

Корените на алумни безусловно показват общи характеристики, най-очевидната от които е усещането за престиж. Възпитаниците чувстват гордост от своята алма-матер, поради което изпитват необходимост да си спомнят годините, прекарани в нея. Друга обща черта е, че самите абсолвенти инициират подобна общност, задоволявайки потребността да общуват помежду си, а едва впоследствие университетите съдействат на начинанието и го подпомагат.

Макар че възниква постфактум, съучастието на учебното заведение в алумни общността е показателно за ползите от поддържането на тесни контакти със завършилите студенти. Наличието на абсолвентски обединения с редовни събирания оказва съществено въздействие върху реномето на университета сред широката общественост. Стабилните връзки между дипломираните се през различни години предоставят необходимото ноу-хау на завършващите при кариерното им ориентиране, намаляват рисковете от неподходящи професионални избори, което от

своя страна повишава шансовете за постигане на удовлетворение на работното място. Организирането на срещи между бивши и настоящи студенти увеличава мотивацията на учащите и индиректно подобрява учебния процес. Взаимопомощта и подкрепата, която си оказват членовете на алумни общността, често преминават отвъд рамките на професионалното и достига до защита на лични права, прераства в дълготрайни приятелства и партньорства. „Алумни могат да съветват новоприетите студенти, могат да изнасят лекции пред тях, да споделят техния опит с кандидатстването за различните стипендии към университета или международни стипендиантски програми, могат да изнасят практикуми, да организират алумни срещи, да извършват доброволческа дейност и др.“ (Стойков, Милков, Костадинов 2020: 18).

При създаването на алумни клуб показателите на силните страни са еквивалентни с тези на слабите страни, т.е. всеки аспект, който характеризира оформянето на такъв вид общност като положителна дейност, проявява и някои свои негативни черти (вж. Фиг. 1, горна лява и горна дясна клетка). Организирането на абсолвентска общност се характеризира с абсолютна свобода по отношение на степента на участие на всеки неин член. Всеки сам решава колко време да ѝ отдели, колко активен да бъде в нея, на какви събития ще присъства, в каква сфера и на кого да помага. От друга гледна точка доброволните начала в пълния смисъл на фразата разчитат изключително на самоинициативата и личния интерес, което обуславя и по-бавните темпове за постигане на видими резултати. Чувството за принадлежност към оформилия се алумни социум се създава постепенно, връзката между дипломираните студенти и университета често се къса и трудно се възстановява, но изградена с търпение и постоянство, тя остава стабилна във времето.

Тъй като иницирането на алумни общност преследва предимно нематериални цели и се основава на взаимната полза и доброволната взаимопомощ, рисковете на дейността са сведени до минимум. Очакваните резултати от наличието ѝ се залагат в дългосрочен план и разчитат на многобройните възпитаници, които се увеличават ежегодно. Това крие опасност от промяна на средата на комуникация, поради което биха могли да се забавят темповете на развитие на общността. Промяната на поколенческите модели на поведение например би могла да се окаже сериозна пречка пред развитието на един алумни клуб. Различията в ценностните системи между новопостъпилите и старите участници позволяват да се пренебрегнат вече утвърдени традиции и практики и те да се заменят с нови.

Именно опасностите, които биха могли да се появят поради дългосрочността на начинанието и поради непрестанното разрастване на алумни общността, налагат и все по-активното участие на университетската институция като съвременна тенденция. Нейната функция е главно медиаторна, университетът посредничи между завършилите през различни години възпитаници, но същевременно насърчава самоинициативността на членовете чрез създаването на специален сайт, организирането на редовни срещи и събития, както и с включването на алумни представители в различни дейности от академичния календар (вж. Фиг. 1).



**Фигура 1.** Анализ на силните и слабите страни, възможностите и рисковете (S.W.O.T. анализ) при организиране на алумни клуб в университет, факултет или специалност

Днес западноевропейските висши учебни заведения влагат значителни усилия и ресурси в изграждането и поддържането на една оживена атмосфера за своите алумни клубове, която съдейства за по-добрата реализация на техните кадри, а заедно с това повишава рейтинга им и подобрява тяхната репутация. Както стои въпросът с множество други дейности обаче, така и в коментиранията сфера следва да се посочи, че макар клубовете в Западна Европа и Северна Америка да възникват спонтанно на базата на емоционални и духовни потребности, в съвременността те се обвързват и с материални облаги. Затова не е никак случайно, че най-развитите алумни общности принадлежат на най-

богатите университети, наредили се в първата десетка на всички академични рейтингови системи: Оксфорд, Кеймбридж и Бръшляновата лига. Причините са в желанието на реализиралите се випускници, които осъзнават фундаменталността на компетенциите и знанията, придобити в университета, да се отблагодарят на институцията чрез дарения. В този контекст американският икономист Чарлз Клотфелтър дори заявява, че по-голямата част от даренията за различните образователни институции са именно от техни бивши възпитаници: „Въпреки че не всички личности [дарители – бел. авт. В.К., Т.Б.] в настоящото изследване са се дипломирали в тези колежи и университети, по-голямата част от тях са, затова в статията са съотнесени като алумни“ (Клотфелтър 2002: 114).

Състоянието на алумни клубовете към висшите учебни заведения в останалата част на света се различава съществено от тези на Запад. Организиран и последователен в политиката си обединения на завършилите студенти не съществуват в нито една славянска държава до края на XX в. Социалистическата форма на управление в страните от бившия Източен блок до 1989 г. не позволява възникването на елитарни групи в обществото, а академичните алумни са именно такива. Специални усилия в тази насока сред университетите от Централна и Източна Европа се полагат едва пред последното двадесетилетие. Към днешна дата всяка от големите образователни институции е организирала своя общност на завършилите. Общата практика на Ягелонския и Варшавския университет в Полша, на Карловия университет в Чехия е създаването на една общност на университетско равнище, но поради трудното обхващане на големия брой завършили по-малките клубове на равнище факултет и специалност се радват на по-голям интерес от страна на възпитаниците. Ето защо значителните постижения се постигат не от цялата университетска алумни общност, а от нейни подразделения. В тази връзка заслужава да се отбележи дейността на алумни на „Източноевропейски изследвания“ към Варшавския университет, който през 2010 и 2014 г. провежда две срещи, продукт на които са специални албуми, съдържащи снимки и информация за 539-те успешно завършили възпитаници. Особено активна е алумни общността на Медицинския колеж (факултет) към Ягелонския университет, която е създадена едва през 2018 г., но оттогава поддържа редовно обновяващ се информационен сайт относно различни събития, свободни работни позиции в професионалното направление, а също проект за ориентирани, в който випускниците могат да споделят опит, който се предава на следващите поколения.

Българските образователни институции следват точно общославянските процеси. Те са по-слабо функциониращи на общоуниверситетско равнище, докато на факултетно и на ниво специалност постигат по-забележими резултати. Тъй като изграждането на контактна мрежа за завършилите студенти се извършва с осезаемо закъснение, създаването на алумни клуб за цял университет, ако се следва западноевропейският подход от общото към частното, изглежда възможно от формално гледище, но е неефективно – от практическо. Алумни клубове, обединяващи бивши възпитаници на цели учебни заведения, без оглед на тяхната профилираност, съществуват още от началото на ХХІ в. със създаването на такъв за Софийския университет през 2004 г. Такива се откриват и на официалните сайтове на Нов български университет, оформен преди десет години, а също и на Техническия университет в София (от 2018 г.). В тази област по-скромно се представят Шуменският университет и Академията за музикално, танцово и изобразително изкуство в Пловдив, които нямат обособени алумни общности, но създават достъпни бази данни за завършилите студенти и тяхната реализация. Във всички посочени случаи продуктивността на обединенията е сведена до минимум поради големия брой завършващи и липсата на достатъчно общи интереси помежду им.

Към момента действащите и пълноценно развити алумни общности в България са предимно в природните науки, понеже естеството на работата в тях изисква екипност, а и темповете на нововъведения са по-бързи, което от своя страна налага и по-широк достъп до информация. Тази закономерност оформят клубовете на медицинските университети в София, Плевен, Варна и Пловдив, като те прерастват и естествено си посредничат със съсловни организации като Българския зъболекарски съюз, Българския фармацевтичен съюз и Българския лекарски съюз. Не по-малко динамични са и абсолвентските обединения в сферата на компютърните науки (например алумни клубът на Факултета по математика и информатика към Софийския университет) и в областта на правото, където специално внимание заслужават алумни кръговете на Юридическия факултет към Софийския университет и специалността „Право“ в УНСС. Посочените общности изтъкват като свой основен приоритет подобряването на репутацията и положителното обществено присъствие на специалността и университета си в страната и по света. Специалностите от посочените факултети проявяват сплотеност, играеща съществена роля както при споделянето на ин-

формация, отнасяща се до стажантски програми, партньорства и работни позиции, така и при обмен на последните издания от необходимата научна литература или други полезни връзки.

С изключение на юридическите науки останалите клонове на хуманитаристиката постигат епизодични или минимални успехи при организирането на своите алумни. Процесът обаче е все още в начална фаза. Опитът на Историческия факултет и на специалността „Класическа филология“ в Софийския университет е показателен. Интернет страницата на първия клуб предлага новини и информация за настоящи и завършили възпитаници на факултета, но участието на мнозинството абсолвенти в текущия академичен живот все още не е пълноценно. Вторият клуб стартира през 2019 г., но до момента не е приведен в реално действие. На различна стратегия залага Филологическият факултет на Пловдивския университет. Тяхната алумни общност ползва съществуващата и популярна платформа на фейсбук, като по този начин постига бърза и лесна свързаност между завършилите пловдивски филолози. Работният формат на клуба им го прави значително по-гъвкав и практичен.

Ако се съди единствено по актуалното състояние на алумни общностите в България, може да се стигне до погрешното заключение, че те са необходими най-вече на природните науки. Десетилетната практика от западноевропейските висши учебни заведения обаче доказват нуждата на завършилите хуманитаристи от връзка и помежду им, и с тяхната алма-матер. Филологията и в частност славистиката не е изключение от правилото. Студентите, които се дипломират, изпитват необходимост да се ориентират в пазара на труда, а предлаганите им от специалността „Славянска филология“ възможности варират от преводаческа дейност през туризъм, аутсорсинг сектор и журналистика до международна дипломация. Много от алумни представителите изпитват желание да се върнат към академичния живот и да помогнат със своите знания и умения да поддържат престижа на специалността, да мотивират младите си колеги и да създават или възстановяват ценни контакти. Ето защо изграждането на функциониращи алумни клубове за славистите е ценно с двустранни ползи за студентите и за образователната институция.



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**ЧУЖДООЕЗИКОВА  
ЛИНГВИСТИКА  
СЪПОСТАВИТЕЛНА  
ЛИНГВИСТИКА  
ЛИНГВИСТИЧНИ  
ПРОБЛЕМИ  
НА ПРЕВОДА**





## ON THE *NITTY-GRITTY* OF THE MAIN PATTERNS OF REDUPLICATION AS A WORD-FORMATION DEVICE IN ENGLISH AND THEIR BULGARIAN COUNTERPARTS

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In English and Bulgarian, reduplication is a widespread word-formation mechanism whose resultant constructions display a high degree of expressivity and in some cases, a full degree of lexicalization. In both languages, reduplicatives can be classified in different ways in terms of their form and meaning but there are also formations whose nature remains ambiguous. This study is an attempt to identify the similarities and differences between English and Bulgarian regarding reduplication as a word-formation device.

**Key words:** reduplicatives, word-formation, reduplication types, English, Bulgarian

### **I. Reduplication in English and Bulgarian – definition, terminology and research. The aim of the present study.**

In simple terms, reduplication is a morphological process that involves full repetition of a sound, a word (e.g. *bye-bye, goody-goody, pip-pip; бързо-бързо* [barzo-barzo], *много-много* [mnogo-mnogo], *цър-цър* [tsar-tsar]) or portion of a word (e.g. *criss-cross, teeny-weeny; мии-маи* [mish-mash], *сегиз-тогиз* [segiz-togiz]) to create a new formation with a modified meaning (see Mattiello 2013: 148–149).

Apart from the term reduplication, this phenomenon has also been referred to by other terms such as duplication, gemination, (re-)iteration, (morphological) doubling, repetition and replication (Mattiello 2013: 144; Schwaiger 2015: 468), which are sometimes attached to other similar, but still distinct, phenomena (Schwaiger 2015: 468).

The scope of reduplication seems to be difficult to delineate due to the large variety of opinions as to whether this phenomenon is inflectional, derivational or compositional, and whether it should include both syllabic

repetition (e.g. *bozo, kiwi*<sup>1</sup>) and syntactic repetition (e.g. *here here* (precisely here), or should be confined only to repetition of nonsense bases as in *hubba hubba* (Mattiello 2013: 144). Instances of syllabic repetition in Bulgarian would be *бебе* [bebe] or *джаджа* [dzhadzha]<sup>2</sup>, and syntactic repetition can be seen in *Зелен, зелен Гергьовден* [Zelen, zelen Gergyovden]<sup>3</sup>.

Schwaiger (2015: 478–479) indicates that “productive reduplication of whatever kind seems to be rare” in European languages and adds that *The World Atlas of Language Structures* (Haspelmath et al. 2005) “portrays Europe as a more or less blank spot concerning this feature”. The author relates this situation to the fact that reduplication is generally seen as a rare phenomenon in Indo-European languages (Schwaiger 2015: 478). As to the Slavic languages in particular, Kryuchkova (2000 cited in Koleva-Zlateva 2009: 59) regards them as languages where reduplication is rarely used.

Reduplication is “indexical of the user’s emotional states, or, at least of his ‘non-serious’ attitude” (Merlini Barbaresi 2008: 235 cited in Mattiello 2013: 142), which may largely explain why reduplicatives are frequently used in English slang or baby talk<sup>4</sup>. The attitudinal function of reduplication in English, alongside its word-formative function, is also indicated by Bauer et al. (2013: 411), whereas Burov and Petrov (2018: 38) emphasize the extensive use of reduplication as a means of forming emotionally expressive vocabulary in the Turkic languages, including Turkish. The two authors specify that it is namely Turkish that is considered to have played a major role in the wide distribution of reduplication in Bulgarian and the rest of the Balkan languages (Burov and Petrov 2018: 38). As to the creative effect of reduplicatives, in the sense of stylistic embellishment, Kovatcheva (2012: 40) argues that “it may still be *in the eye of the beholder*”.

As already suggested above, English differs from the other Western European languages in that it extensively employs reduplication as a mechanism of creating new words and expressing a certain attitude (Mattiello 2013: 141; Bauer et al. 2013: 411). Hence, it comes as no surprise that reduplication in English has long attracted the attention of linguists and some of the scholarly accounts of English reduplicatives include those provided by Jespersen (1942: 173–183), Thun (1963), Marchand (1969: 429–439), Minkova (2002: 133–169), Merlini Barbaresi (2008: 228–241),

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<sup>1</sup> The cited examples illustrate partial syllabic repetition.

<sup>2</sup> *Бебе* [bebe] and *джаджа* [dzhadzha] have been taken from Koleva-Zlateva (2009: 250; 2005: 268).

<sup>3</sup> This example has been taken from Bondzholova (2019: 654).

<sup>4</sup> See Mattiello (2008: 134; 2013: 148), Kovatcheva (2012: 40) and Thun (1963) regarding the use of reduplication as a word-formation device in English slang and baby talk.

Mattiello (2013: 141–168) and Bauer et al. (2013: 411–413) among others. Yet, referring to Zwicky and Pullum (1987) and Baldi (2000), Mattiello (2013: 143) points out, that despite the frequent and productive use of reduplication as a word-formation device in English, it is “still neglected by morphologists dealing with the English system, mainly because of its irregular mechanism of formation, which marginalizes it to extra-grammatical morphology or else to expressive morphology”.

Regarding the feature ‘reduplication’, Bulgarian is not registered at all on the typological map of *The World Atlas of Language Structures* online (<https://wals.info/feature/27A#2/28.3/149.2>), whereas Turkish is portrayed as a language with productive full and partial reduplication (<https://wals.info/valuesets/27A-tur>). Yet, it has already been made clear that reduplication is frequently employed in Bulgarian as well, but our attempts to find a recent comprehensive study of the various patterns of reduplication as a word-formation device in Bulgarian failed. Nevertheless, reduplication has undoubtedly stirred up academic interest among Bulgarian scholars, as evidenced by a number of linguistic descriptions that touch upon one aspect or another of the phenomenon in question such as those provided by Asenova (1984: 243–261), Koleva-Zlateva (2005: 264–272), Choroleeva (2007: 75–125), Bondzholova (2007: 112–114; 2019: 654–666), Radeva (2018: 331–343), and Burov and Petrov (2018: 37–83) among others.

That determining the scope of reduplication often poses some problems is also substantiated by the fact that the resultant formations have been referred to by a variety of labels. Some of the terms used in the English linguistic literature are “reduplicative compounds” (Jespersen 1942), “pseudo compounds” (Marchand 1969), “rhyme-motivated” and “ablaut-motivated compounds” (Bauer 1983: 212–213) or “compounds [that] have two or more constituents which are either identical or only slightly different” (Quirk et al. 1985: 1579) (see Mattiello 2013: 143–144). The terms used in the Bulgarian linguistic literature include “повторително-отзвучни думи” (repetition-based echo words) (Videnov 1993: 34 cited in Bondzholova (2007: 112), translation МК), “сложни думи за означаване на по-висока степен на това, което се изразява от съответната произвеждаща дума” (composite words expressing a higher degree of what is denoted by the motivating word) (Boyadzhiev et al. 1999: 270, translation МК), “повторителни конструкции, с които се изразява множественост и интензитет” (reduplication constructions expressing multiplicity and

intensity) or “(синтактични) редупликати” ((syntactic) reduplicatives<sup>5</sup>) (Burov and Petrov 2018: 37, 47).

The aim of the present study is to ascertain whether the main patterns of reduplication as a word-formation device in English are also represented in Bulgarian, and identify the similarities and differences between the two languages regarding this phenomenon. We have used as a starting point Mattiello’s (2013: 141–168) classification of the reduplication categories in English and then have looked at the corresponding Bulgarian reduplication patterns, where they are available. The study is focused on reduplication as a word-formation device, and hence structures that have the features of syntactic repetitions are excluded. Yet, in some cases, it is not easy to differentiate a genuine reduplicative from a syntactic repetition.

In addition, English formations like *brain-drain*, *cookbook*, *grandstand*, *payday* or *snail mail* that undeniably have the rhyming effect characteristic of reduplicatives, but meet the criteria of endocentric compounds in that they denote a subtype of what is denoted by the head, e.g. *payday* is ‘a kind of day’ and *snail mail* is ‘a kind of mail’, fall outside the category of genuine reduplicatives (Mattiello 2013: 147) and hence, are referred to as “false reduplicatives” (Thun 1963: 12–16 cited in Mattiello 2013: 147). These are clear examples of ordinary noun-centred compounds.

Another group of formations that fall outside the category of true reduplicatives despite their rhyming effect are some clipped compounds of the type *fro-yo* (*frozen yogurt*), *hi-fi* (*high fidelity*), *sci-fi* (*science fiction*) or *wi-fi* (*wireless fidelity*) (Mattiello 2013: 147–148). As Mattiello (2013: 147–148) points out, “it is their opaque morphotactics, more than their rhyming nature, that confines them to extra-grammatical morphology”. As to constructions of the type *face-to-face*, *step-by-step*, *word-for-word*, we support Mattiello’s (2013: 149) view that their formation does not seem to be based on purposeful reduplication.

The comparative analysis provided in section III confirms Schwaiger’s (2015: 478) observation that reduplication normally occurs with onomatopoeia in European languages, which is in line with Koleva-Zlateva’s (2005: 264–272) view that reduplication is essential in the formation of phonetically motivated words, especially sound-symbolic ones, in Bulgarian (*дждаджа* [dzhadzha], *джудже* [dzhudzhe]) and other languages as well<sup>6</sup>. According to Mattiello (2013: 147), monomorphemic

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<sup>5</sup> The translation ‘syntactic reduplicatives’ is mine.

<sup>6</sup> In a later study, Koleva-Zlateva (2009: 249, translation MK) observes that in Bulgarian and other Slavic languages, when a sound-symbolic word based on reduplication is

words like *baby*, *bozo*, *khaki*, *kiwi* or *puppy*, labelled “syllable rhymes”<sup>7</sup>, differ from genuine reduplicatives of the types *go-go* and *click-clack* in that they are made up of only one component and the syllabic similarity they display does not seem to be a result of intentional reduplication but is rather “due to phonological accident”. Yet, we believe that the analysis of reduplication in certain English and Bulgarian words of this type would inevitably entail looking deeper into their etymology, which is outside the scope of the present research. Thus, English and Bulgarian one-morpheme words based on full or partial syllabic repetition (e.g. *baby*, *bozo*, *cuckoo*; *бебе* [bebe], *дждаджа* [dzhadzha], *джудже* [dzhudzhe]), as well as some Bulgarian verbs displaying syllabic similarity (e.g. *бърборя* [barborya], *дърдоря* [dardorya], *къркоря* [karkorya]) will not be included in our comparative study.

## II. Distinguishing between reduplication and syntactic repetition in English and Bulgarian.

As already mentioned in section I, it is often difficult to differentiate full reduplicatives of the type *chuff-chuff* and *my-my* from syntactic repetitions as in *very, very nice* or *fun, fun friends*. According to Merlini Barbaresi (2008: 234 cited in Mattiello 2013: 146), syntactic repetition may be used to emphasise the identity of an item, e.g. *fur, fur* meaning ‘real fur’, the certainty of an action, e.g. *Are you leaving, leaving* ‘really leaving’ *now?*, or as a means of intensification, e.g. *here, here* ‘precisely here’.

Drawing on Thun (1963: 8–9), Mattiello (2013: 146) outlines the following criteria for distinguishing reduplicatives from syntactic repetitions in English:

- a) Reduplicatives acquire the left-hand stress pattern characteristic of English compounds (*býe-bye*, *prétty-pretty*), whereas simple repetitions preserve stress on each word repeated (*býe býe*, *prétty prétty*).
- b) Only reduplicatives can be pluralized (*bye byes*, *pretty-pretties* ‘useless ornaments’), or used as a base for derivation (*pretty-prettyness*).
- c) In a simple repetition such as *pretty pretty*, the repeated word retains its basic meaning, whereas the reduplicative form *pretty-*

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being formed, reduplication and sound symbolism are the two factors that shape the semantics of this word.

<sup>7</sup> Mattiello (2013: 147, 266) specifies that the term “syllable rhymes” is used by Dienhart (1999: 12) and adds that some of his examples do not involve proper rhyme (e.g. *khaki*).



*pretty* acquires a derogatory connotation when it occurs as an adjective (‘inanely or inappropriately pretty’), and a completely new meaning, but again with a derogatory nuance, when it occurs as a plural noun (‘useless ornaments’).

As regards Bulgarian, Burov and Petrov (2018: 37–38) indicate in their paper’s descriptive abstract that examples such as *бавно-бавно* [bavno-bavno], *рано-рано* [rano-rano] and *на вълни, на вълни* [na valni, na valni] are reduplication constructions that express multiplicity and intensity, and refer to them as word-formation patterns. At this point, the two authors do not make a distinction between reduplication as a word-formation device and syntactic repetition – even a construction involving the repetition of a prepositional phrase, i.e. *на вълни, на вълни* [na valni, na valni], is said to exemplify a word-formation pattern. Yet, later on in their paper, Burov and Petrov (2018: 46–47) point out that single and multiple repetitions, characteristic of all languages in cases of emphasis, are not instances of reduplication, because they express the speaker’s emotional state, but do not change the meaning of the source word, and do not express the speaker’s attitude to the referent. The authors illustrate the difference between reduplication and ordinary syntactic repetition with the following example: in *Рано, рано си дошъл* [Rano, rano si doshal], the repetition of the adverb *рано* (*early*) simply puts emphasis on the person’s early arrival, whereas in *Дошъл си рано-рано* [Doshal si rano-rano], the reduplicative *рано-рано* (*early-early*) expresses the speaker’s attitude and the whole structure means ‘I think you have come very early indeed, perhaps even too early’ (Burov and Petrov 2018: 46, translation MK).

Kovatcheva (2012: 41) offers a comparative degree test that can “show which reduplications are lexicalized and which remain on the syntactic level”. Thus, according to Kovatcheva (2012: 41), while *отгоре-отгоре* [otgore-otgore] can easily be used in the comparative, e.g. *Карай нó отгоре-отгоре* [Karaj po otgore-otgore], the structure “\**нó рано-рано* [po rano-rano] does not make sense”. In our view, what transpires from the proposed comparative degree test is that reduplicatives vary in terms of their degree of lexicalization – some appear to be more lexicalized than others and there are also forms that are fully lexicalized (see section III).

As a whole, in the Bulgarian linguistic literature, the discussion of reduplication as a word-formation method is not without confusion or vagueness. For instance, in Boyadzhiev et al. (1999: 270), adverbs like *много-много* [mnogo-mnogo] and *тихо-тихо* [tiho-tiho] are regarded as examples of word-formation by reduplication but the form *много-много* [mnogo-mnogo] is also cited as an instance of syntactic repetition

(Boyadzhiev et al. 1999: 645). This contradiction has been first discussed by Kovatcheva (2012: 40–41), who specifies that *много-много* [mnogo-mnogo] occurs in negative sentences only. She adds that the example *Той с нас много-много не приказва* [Toj s nas mnogo-mnogo ne prikazva], provided by Boyadzhiev et al. (1999: 645), “does not illustrate “degree of intensity” of the meaning of the derivational(?) base” and “the repetition, if anything, seems to weaken the meaning of the “base”. Cf. *без много-много приказки* [bez mnogo-mnogo prikazki] = *с малко приказки* [s malko prikazki]” (Kovatcheva 2012: 40–41).

Having detected the same problem regarding the nature of *много-много* [mnogo-mnogo] as used in *Той с нас много-много не приказва* [Toj s nas mnogo-mnogo ne prikazva], Burov and Petrov (2018: 48) explicitly indicate that in the given example, *много-много* [mnogo-mnogo] is a lexicalized and specialized reduplicative, meaning ‘(not) much indeed’<sup>8</sup>. The two authors also emphasize that true reduplicatives in Bulgarian are often difficult to identify (Burov and Petrov 2018: 47–48).

On the basis of the above-outlined ways of differentiating reduplicatives from ordinary syntactic repetitions in English and Bulgarian we can draw the conclusion that in both languages, important features of true reduplicatives are, on the one hand, their attitudinal function, and, on the other hand, their degree of lexicalization, which varies across the different patterns. Yet, offering a precise differentiation of true reduplicatives in both English and Bulgarian is a challenging task and certainly a matter for a separate study.

### **III. The main reduplication patterns in English and their corresponding patterns in Bulgarian.**

As mentioned in section I, our comparative analysis draws on Mattiello’s (2013: 141–168) classification of the reduplication patterns in English. Thus, a distinction is made between total reduplication, which is based on the full repetition of a word and gives rise to copy/exact reduplicatives (*goody-goody, win-win*), and partial reduplication, which involves the repetition of a portion of a word and results in ablaut reduplicatives (*dillay-dally*), rhyming reduplicatives (*hubble-bubble*) and rhyming compounds (*clap-trap, nitwit*) (Mattiello 2013: 148–154).

In ablaut reduplicatives, there is vowel alternation between the two elements, which are either obscure bases (*shilly-shally*) or one of them (left

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<sup>8</sup> ‘(Not) much indeed’ is my translation of the Bulgarian original ‘действително (не) много’.

or right) is meaningful (*wibble-wobble*) and sometimes both are meaningful (*sing-song*), whereas in rhyming reduplicatives, the onset of the copy is not identical with the onset of the original, there is a rhyming effect and only one of the two components is meaningful<sup>9</sup> (*child-schmild*, *hurly-burly*, *killer-diller*) (Mattiello 2013: 149–151).

A term commonly used in various language-contact oriented studies to refer to reduplicatives such as *child-schmild*, *killer-diller* or *паяци-маяци* [payatsi-mayatsi], where the onset of the copy is not identical with the onset of the original and the copy itself exists only in combination with the original element, is echo-word formation (Stoltz 2008: 108–109, 115). This includes *shm*-reduplication, *m*-reduplication, and reduplication involving a variety of options concerning the segmental variation on the copy (Stoltz 2008: 115–122). Thus, echo-word formation is in essence partial reduplication, although Stoltz (2008: 107–109) describes it as “a marked sub-species of total reduplication” or “total-reduplication-cum-variation (TRCV)”.

In both English and Bulgarian, there are reduplicatives that are fully lexicalized such as *yo-yo* (a type of toy), *brown-brown* (a mixture of cocaine and gunpowder), *knick-knack* (a cheap ornament), *flip-flops* (open shoes with a strap going between the toes), *nitty-gritty* (essence), *tussie-mussie* (a small bouquet of flowers); *врели-некипели* [vrelī-nekipeli] (nonsense), *минтири-минтири* [mintiri-mintiri] (nonsense), *цуну-рипи* [tsipī-ripi] (a crazy person), *цък-цък* [tsak-tsak] (a type of boys’ game), etc. In addition, many of the exact reduplicatives in English are foreign borrowings (Mattiello 2013: 148) and some of them are also used in Bulgarian, e.g. *beri-beri*/бери-бери [beri-beri], *bonbon*/бонбон [bonbon], *chow-chow*/чай-чай [chau-chau], *couscous*/кускус [kuskus]. On the other hand, Bulgarian contains some rhyming reduplicatives that are Turkish borrowings, not characteristic of English, e.g. *аман-заман* [aman-zaman], *чат-пат* [chat-pat].

So, English exact reduplicatives of the type *bye-bye*, *goody-goody*, *girly-girly*, *pretty-pretty*, *win-win*, etc., where the repeated element is an existing word, correspond to Bulgarian forms such as *барзо-барзо* [barzo-barzo], *далече-далече* [daleche-daleche], *едва-едва* [edva-edva], *къде-къде* [kade-kade], *много-много* [mnogo-mnogo], *рано-рано* [rano-rano], etc.

English reduplicatives containing extra material added to the first element such as *bumpety-bump*, *clankety-clank* or *cloppety-clop* are seen as

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<sup>9</sup> The meaningful element generally occupies the left slot (*super-duper*) but in some rhyming reduplicatives, it is positioned in the right slot (*hubble-bubble*), in others, both units are meaningful, though based on some alteration (*teeny-weeny*), and in still others, both elements are unmotivated (*hocus-pocus*) (Mattiello 2013: 151). See also footnote 16 for more information on *teeny-weeny*.

“a slight variant of the exact pattern” (Mattiello 2013: 149). Such English reduplicatives do not have a one-to-one corresponding pattern in Bulgarian but they are very similar to two types of Bulgarian reduplicatives whose second component contains an additional segment.

In one type, the second element is with a prefix, as in *бит-пребит* [bit-prebit], *дълъг-предълъг* [dalag-predalag], *скъп-прескъп* [skar-preskar], *ял-преял* [yal-preyal], etc. (the prefix *пре-* [pre-] has an intensifying function); *дочакали-недочакали* [dochakali-nedochakali], *влязъл-невлязъл* [vlyazal-nevlyazal], *облечен-необлечен* [oblechen-neoblechen]<sup>10</sup>, etc. (the prefix *не-* [ne-] indicates negation); *питат-разпитват* [pitat-razpitvat] or *лика-прилика* [lika-prilika]. Here we can also include *лека-полека* [leka-poleka] and its variant *полека-лека* [poleka-leka] – the prefixed component may occur first or second within the formation.

In another type, the second element is with a suffix<sup>11</sup> as in *гол-голеничък* [gol-golenichak], *див-дивеничък* [div-divenichak], *здрав-здравеничък* [zdrav-zdravenichak], *сам-самичък* [sam-samichak], *цял-целеничък* [tsyal-tselenichak] or *един-единствен* [edin-edinstven], where the second component is with the complex formative<sup>12</sup> *-ствен* [-stven].

Among the exact reduplicatives in English, Mattiello (2013: 149) has also identified a pattern where the repeated element is a result of shortening, as in *ju-ju* (from *marijuana*), *nonny-nonny* (from *nonsense*) or *rah-rah* (from *hurrah*). Such English reduplicatives seem to bear some formal similarity to Bulgarian formations where the repeated element, described by Kovatcheva (2014, 2017) as a deverbal ideophone, has predictably resulted from truncating the inflectional suffix(es) of a verbal form<sup>13</sup>, e.g. *миг-миг* [mig-mig] < *мигам* [migam]/*мигвам* [migvam]/*мигна* [migna], *примък-примък* [primak-primak] < *примъквам* [primakvam]/*примъкна* [primakna], *тич-тич* [tich-tich] < *тичам* [ticham], *хвър-хвър* [hvar-hvar] < *хвърча* [hvarcha]/*хвърквам* [hvarkvam]/*хвъркна* [hvarkna]/*хвъркам* [hvarkam],

<sup>10</sup> Constructions of the type *облечен-необлечен* [oblechen-neoblechen] are described by Mladenov (1975/2008 cited in Burov and Petrov 2018: 61) as reduplicated forms of participles and adjectives of which the second element is negative.

<sup>11</sup> Mladenov (1975/2008 cited in Burov and Petrov 2018: 61) describes formations of the type *здрав-здравеничък* [zdrav-zdravenichak] as етимологическо-деривационни повторения (etymological derivative reduplicatives) (translation MK).

<sup>12</sup> As regards complex formatives, see Radeva (2007: 71–72).

<sup>13</sup> According to Nitsolova (2008: 484), items like *блъс* [blas], *греб* [greb], *дръп* [drap], *лап* [lap], *мън* [man], etc. have been formed from verbs by clipping, whereas Kovatcheva (2014: 192–194; 2017: 39) provides arguments against describing their formation in terms of clipping and treats them as a type of ideophones formed by back-formation.

*щип-щип* [shtip-shtip] < *щипя* [shtipya] (see Kovatcheva 2014: 183, 190–191). Kovatcheva (2014, 2017) distinguishes deverbal ideophones formed by back-formation (*муш* [mush], *плис* [plis], *тич* [tich], *хвър* [hvar], *щип* [shtip]) from onomatopoeic ideophones (*бух* [buh], *друс* [drus], *пльос* [plyos], *фрас* [fras]) that can give rise to verbs (*бухна* [buhna], *друсна* [drusna], *пльосна* [plyosna], *фрасна* [frasna]). Both types of ideophones can be easily used to form exact reduplicatives in Bulgarian.

The type of ablaut reduplicatives in English such as *knick-knack*, *sing-song* or *see-saw* is represented in Bulgarian by examples like *миш-маш* [mish-mash] (a type of dish; confusion, disorder), *пинг-понг* [ping-pong] (table tennis), *тин-тон* [tin-top] (extremely good) or *хип-хоп* [hip-hop] (a type of music), which are, in fact, foreign borrowings in our language. It appears that most of the formations in Bulgarian that correspond to this reduplication type in English are onomatopoeic reduplicatives expressing various sounds, e.g. *бум-бам* [bum-bam], *бим-бам* [bim-bam], *пуф-паф* [puf-paf], *тик-так* [tik-tak], *тин-тан* [tin-tan], etc.

The English rhyming patterns *child-schild* and *hurly-burly* are structurally similar to the Bulgarian *вафли-мафли* [vafli-mafli] and *охльо-бохльо* [ohlyo-bohlyo] in that the onset of the copy is different from the onset of the original.

Formations like *вафли-мафли* [vafli-mafli], *кафе-мафе* [kafe-mafe], *овце-мовце* [ovtse-movtse], *понички-монички* [ponichki-monichki], *скайп-майп* [skaip-maip], *студенти-муденти* [studenti-mudenti], *спирки-мирки* [spirki-mirki], *торти-морти* [torti-morti], etc. exemplify the so-called *m*-reduplication, which is considered to have been copied into Bulgarian under the influence of Turkish; they occur mainly in the plural and express a dismissive attitude to the referent (Burov and Petrov 2018: 58, 67). English, by contrast, does not seem to utilize this particular reduplication pattern, except for some isolated examples<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> We did find some English rhyming formations whose second element starts with /m/ but it is either an independent meaningful item (e.g. *prissy-missy* as in *prissy-missy girls*) or etymologically related to a meaning-bearing unit (e.g. *pell-mell*, ‘confusedly, in an impetuous rush’, from the Old French *pesle mesle*, where *mesle* is derived from the verb *mesler* ‘to mix, mingle’ or *hugger-mugger*, ‘secretly, privately’, probably from *hucker-mucker*, where *mucker* is thought to have originated from the Middle English *mukre* ‘to hoard up, conceal’) or based on some alteration of a meaningful element (e.g. *holy-moly*, a euphemism for *holy Moses*) (www.etymonline.com). Benczes (2012) gives the example *hudder-mudder*, ‘concealment, secrecy, privacy’, specifying that the meaningful element here is the first one, whereas the second element, *mudder*, is of obscure origin but it has been most probably based on its rhyme with *hudder*, meaning ‘to huddle’.

On the other hand, the pattern of rhyming reduplicatives whose second element starts with the cluster *s(c)hm-* as in *apple-shmapple* and *child-schmild* is very rare in Bulgarian (Burov and Petrov 2018: 57), but it is frequently used in American English (Stoltz 2008: 115; Burov and Petrov 2018: 73–74). Similar to the *m*-pattern, *s(c)hm*-reduplication expresses irony or disparagement but it is considered to have been transferred to English from Yiddish (Burov and Petrov 2018: 73; Mattiello 2013: 153; Stoltz 2008: 115). A single example of this pattern in Bulgarian is *Маритци-Шмаритци* [Maritsi-Shmaritsi], provided by Burov and Petrov (2018: 57).

The English rhyming reduplicatives whose second element starts with /b/ as in *argy-bargy*, *hubble-bubble*, *hurly-burly*, *holus-bolus* or *itty-bitty* bear some formal resemblance to Bulgarian formations like *агънца-багънца* [agantsa-bagantsa], *ангел-бангел* [angel-bangel], *ежко-бежко* [ezhko-bezhko], *зайо-байо* [zayo-bayo], *охльо-бохльо* [ohlyo-bohlyo], where the second component also starts with /b/. In both languages, the meaningful element is normally the left one (*argy-bargy*, *ангел-бангел* [angel-bangel]); in English, it may rarely be the right one (*hubble-bubble*, *holus-bolus*) and sometimes, in both languages, the two components may be meaningful (*itty-bitty*<sup>15</sup>, *зайо-байо* [zayo-bayo]). Burov and Petrov (2018: 58–59) point out that such *b*-reduplicatives in Bulgarian are characteristic mainly of children’s speech but are also used to imitate children’s speech, rarely as vocatives (*Анче Банче* [Anche-Banche]) or as a model on which some spontaneous formations are created (*АЕЦ-БАЕЦ* [AETS-BAETS]).

The class of the so-called rhyming compounds in English, as proposed by Merlini Barbaresi (2008), includes formations that are based on rhyme like rhyming reduplicatives but are motivated by two meaningful components like canonical compounds (Mattiello 2013: 154). In Mattiello’s (2013: 154) words, rhyming compounds are “semantically non-compositional, and the overall meaning is neither literally nor metaphorically suggested by the two bases”, e.g. *artsy-craftsy* (frequently depreciative), *clap-trap* (pretentious nonsense), *nitwit* (a stupid person), *rumble-tumble* (a chaotic activity), *stinky pinky* (a type of word game). We found very few Bulgarian formations that bear some resemblance to the rhyming compounds in English in that they are made up of two rhyming and meaningful components but, unlike the English examples, they seem to display a somewhat higher degree of semantic transparency, e.g. *търчи-лъжи* [tarchi-lazhi] (deceiver), *чупи-*

<sup>15</sup> *Itty-bitty* is a baby talk form of *little bit* (www.etymonline.com). See also footnote 16 for more information on *itty-bitty*.

купи [chupi-kupi] (compensation for caused damage) and, perhaps, the less transparent *чупница-мелница* [chupnitsa-melnitsa] (devastating party, concert, etc.).

Another reduplication category in English, identified and discussed by Mattiello (2013: 155–157), is that of onomatopoeic reduplicatives, arranged in different semantic groups depending on the type of sound they denote, e.g. animal or human sounds, musical instruments, objects in movement, etc. On the basis of their phonological features, Mattiello (2013: 155–157) distinguishes copy, e.g. *woof-woof* (dog), *blah-blah* (chatting), *glug-glug* (liquid pouring from a bottle), *pip-pip* (motor car horn); ablaut, e.g. *trit-trot* (horse trotting), *hee-haw* (the bray of a donkey), *snip-snap* (shears), *twingle-twangle* (harp), *ding-dong* (bells), etc.; and rhyming onomatopoeic reduplicatives, e.g. *bow-wow* (the bark of a dog), *curmur* (cat purring), *yaw-haw* (noisy laughter), *hummel-bummel* (an imitation of mumbling), etc.

These three phonological types of onomatopoeic reduplicatives in English are also represented in Bulgarian. Thus, the copy type includes examples such as *га-га* [ga-ga], *грук-грук* [gruh-gruh], *кви-кви* [kvi-kvi], *мяу-мяу* [myau-myau], *цър-цър* [tsar-tsar], etc. (animal sounds); *мрън-мрън* [mran-mran], *ха-ха* [ha-ha], *хи-хи* [hi-hi], etc. (human sounds); *кръц-кръц* [krats-krats], *пляс-пляс* [plyas-plyas], etc. (objects in movement); *дум-дум* [dum-dum], *хрус-хрус* [hrus-hrus], etc. (general sounds). In some constructions, e.g. *чик-чирик* [chik-chirik], *цан-царан* [tsap-tsarap], there is an additional segment (-ри- [-ri-] or -ра- [-ra-]) inserted inside the second element.

Examples of ablaut onomatopoeic reduplicatives in Bulgarian are *бум-бам* [bum-bam], *бим-бам* [bim-bam], *пүф-пүф* [puf-paf], *тик-так* [tik-tak], *тин-тан* [tin-tan], etc. and the rhyming type is represented by forms that exhibit a higher degree of lexicalization such as *цигу-мигу* [tsigu-migu] (playing a musical instrument unskillfully), *шушу-мушу* [shushu-mushu] (talking behind someone's back; gossip), *фрас-прас* [fras-pras] (quickly and easily), *хър-мър* [har-mar] (discord, disagreement), *цър-пър* [tsar-par] (fried food or grilled fatty meat) and others.

According to Mladenov (1975/2008 cited in Burov and Petrov 2018: 61), there are two other reduplication patterns in Bulgarian: a) pairs of synonymous imperative forms, e.g. *иди-ела/иди-дойди* [idi-ela/idi-doydi], *кажи-речи* [kazhi-rechi], *прави-струвай* [pravi-struvaj] and b) pairs of words of opposite meaning, e.g. *горе-долу* [gore-dolu], *има-няма* [ima-nyama], *насам-натам* [nasam-natam], *нищо-нещо* [nishto-neshto], *тук-там* [tuk-tam]. The first pattern (*иди-ела/иди-дойди* [idi-ela/idi-doydi]) could be compared to a group of English formations like *hustle-bustle*,

*crack-rack* or *huff-puff*, described by Benczes (2014: 441–442) as rhyming compounds made up of two meaningful and synonymous units, “semantically related to the overall meaning of the compound as well”<sup>16</sup>, whereas the second pattern (*има-няма* [ima-nyama]) seems to correspond to what Bauer et al. (2013: 481) call disjunctive coordinative compounds in English like *true-false (question)* or *push-pull (gizmo)*, made up of two mutually exclusive elements. A detailed comparison between these two Bulgarian reduplication patterns and their English counterparts is in itself another research topic.

#### IV. Conclusions

On the basis of the conducted comparative analysis we can draw the following conclusions:

▷ Reduplication is frequently employed as a word-formation mechanism both in English and in Bulgarian but the classification of reduplicatives in both languages is not an easy task, given the divergent opinions regarding the scope of reduplication.

▷ Total and partial reduplication are manifested in both languages but there is not always a one-to-one correspondence between the various patterns.

▷ Bulgarian, unlike English, seems to have a wide variety of exact reduplicatives whose second component contains a prefix or a suffix (*бит-пребит* [bit-prebit], *дълъг-предълъг* [dalag-predalag], *лика-прилика* [lika-prilika], *сам-самичък* [sam-samichak], *цял-целеничък* [tsyal-tselenichak]). This pattern is not characteristic of English, but it bears some structural resemblance to English reduplicatives whose first element ends in *-ety* (*bumpety-bump*, *clickety-click*, *cloppety-clop*).

▷ The English exact reduplicatives in which the repeated element has resulted from shortening (*rah-rah* < *hurrah*) are formally similar to Bulgarian formations in which the repeated element is a deverbal ideophone (*мич-мич* [tich-tich] < *мичам* [ticham]).

▷ Ablaut and rhyming reduplicatives occur in both languages (*dilly-dally*, *roly-poly*, *killer-diller*; *бим-бам* [bim-bam], *ангел-бангел* [angel-bangel], *вафли-мафли* [vafli-mafli]). Copied from Turkish, *m*-reduplication

<sup>16</sup> The forms *itty-bitty* and *teeny-weeny*, cited above as examples of rhyming reduplicatives, can arguably be included in the class of rhyming compounds of the type *hustle-bustle*, described by Benczes (2014: 441–442), on the grounds that both their rhyming components are meaningful and synonymous. Yet, what makes them different from the *hustle-bustle* type is that their constituents have undergone some alteration.



(*вафли-мафли* [vaflī-maflī], *ефир-мефир* [efir-mefir], *кафе-мафе* [kafe-mafe]) has widespread use in Bulgarian but it is rather sporadic in English. By contrast, *s(c)hm*-reduplication (*apple-shmapple*, *child-schmild*, *table-shmable*) is very rare in Bulgarian, but it is used extensively in English, where it has been copied from Yiddish.

▷ Both English and Bulgarian contain instances of fully lexicalized reduplicatives (e.g. *knick-knack*, *flip-flops*, *nitty-gritty*; *тинтири-минтири* [tintiri-mintiri], *хър-мър* [har-mar], *цък-цък* [tsak-tsak]).

▷ Ultimately, this study has posed some questions for further research.

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## CONSTITUENTS OF ENGLISH AND BULGARIAN ALTERNATIVE INTERROGATIVE STRUCTURES AND THEIR FUNCTIONS WITHIN THE CLAUSE

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The article investigates the constituents of English and Bulgarian alternative interrogative structures (E&BAISs) and their functions within the clause. The qualitative and quantitative findings from the comparative corpus-based study indicate that E&BAISs most often function as direct objects, subject-oriented predicative complements and adjuncts. E&BAISs are often examples of binary unmixed coordination of noun phrases, prepositional phrases or (closed) interrogative subordinate clauses. The constituents are most often found in the same sentence. Preposing of the first constituent or of the whole alternative interrogative structure is a phenomenon common to Bulgarian alternative interrogative structures.

**Key words:** alternative interrogative structure, constituents, function, direct object, subject-oriented predicative complement, adjunct

### I. Introduction

The purpose of this article is to examine the constituents of English and Bulgarian alternative interrogative structures (E&BAISs) and their functions within the clause and to elaborate on the qualitative and quantitative findings from a comparative corpus-based study<sup>1</sup>. The investigation has been carried out on authentic examples of alternative interrogative structures (AISs) excerpted from eight corpora of written and spoken English and Bulgarian.

- English Fiction Corpus (EFC, 90 508 word forms) compiled by V. Spasova for the purposes of her PhD thesis.

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<sup>1</sup> The constituents of English alternative interrogative structures and their functions on the clausal level were studied in another article (cf. Spasova 2022a).

- English Corpus of Fiction Monologue (ECFM, 50 370 word forms) compiled by V. Spasova for the purposes of her PhD thesis.
- Charlotte Face-to-Face Corpus of Spoken English (CFCSE, 90 630 word forms). It is part of a larger corpus of spoken English, the Charlotte Narrative and Conversation Collection (CNCC, 198 295 word forms), included in the Open American National Corpus (OANC).
- Switchboard Telephone Corpus of Spoken English (STCSE, 50 476 word forms). It is part of a larger corpus of spoken English, the LDC Switchboard corpus (3 019 477 word forms), included in the Open American National Corpus (OANC).
- Bulgarian Fiction Corpus (BFC, 90 326 word forms) compiled by V. Spasova for the purposes of her PhD thesis.
- Bulgarian Corpus of Fiction Monologue (BCFM, 50 508 word forms) collected by Tzvetomira Venkova (Faculty of Classical and Modern Philology at Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”).
- Corpus of Spoken Bulgarian *Aleksova* (CSB–A, 89 959 word forms) collected by Krasimira Aleksova (Faculty of Slavic Studies at Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”).
- Corpus of Spoken Bulgarian *Nikolova–Venkova* (CSB–NV, 50 000 word forms) collected by Tsvetanka Nikolova and Tzvetomira Venkova.

Corpora data indicate that 126 English alternative interrogative structures (EAISs), i.e. 49.2 % of all 256 EAISs in the corpora, carry out functions on the clausal level. These AISs have the following distribution – 23 in EFC, 12 in ECFM, 60 in CFCSE, and 31 in STCSE.

The number of the Bulgarian alternative interrogative structures (BAISs) is similar – 133, i.e. 55 % of all 242 BAISs in the corpora. There are 33 in BFC, 22 in BCFM, 52 in CSB–A, and 26 in CSB–NV.

English and Bulgarian data reveal that

- on the clausal level the AISs most often function as direct objects, subject-oriented predicative complements and adjuncts

- the AISs are often examples of binary unmixed coordination of noun phrases (NPs), prepositional phrases (PPs) or (closed) interrogative subordinate clauses<sup>2</sup>
- the constituents are most often found in the same sentence.

In the examples to follow the constituents of the AIS are put in round brackets, whereas the AIS is enclosed in square brackets and is marked with single underlining. The coordination markers are in bold type. The abbreviated name of the corpus from which the example has been taken follows the example and is put in round brackets.

## II. Direct object

According to corpora data, the function of direct object is the most typical of EAISs. As we shall see, EAISs in this function are 2.5 times as many as those in the functions of subject-oriented predicative complement and adjunct. There are 49 EAISs altogether, which means that 38.9 % of all EAISs carrying out functions on the clausal level serve as direct objects. There are 7 AISs in EFC, 3 in ECFM, 27 in CFCSE, and 12 in STCSE.

As it turns out, BAISs in the function of direct object, subject-oriented predicative complement and adjunct have the same frequency. The AISs serving as direct objects are 33 in total, which makes 24.8 % of all BAISs with functions within the clause. There are 8 AISs in BFC, 4 in BCFM, 14 in CSB–A, and 7 in CSB–NV.

Corpora evidence indicates that the most frequent verbs that license AISs are *know* (12 occurrences) and *знам* (*know*) (10 occurrences). In English, next in frequency come *think* and *remember* (5 occurrences each), *wonder*, *decide*, *ask*, *say* (3 occurrences each), and *tell* (2 occurrences). In Bulgarian, *казвам* (*say, tell*) has 3 occurrences, while *викам* (meaning *казвам*), *разбирам* (*make out, understand*), and *виждам* (*see*) have 2 occurrences each. English verbs such as *mention*, *buy*, *care*, *bring*, and Bulgarian verbs such as *определям* (*determine*), *вземам* (*take*), *наемам* (*hire*), *мисля* (*think*) occur only once. An interesting fact is that *know* and *remember* always, while *знам* almost always, occur in their negative form.

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<sup>2</sup> The English terms “closed interrogative clauses” and “open interrogative clauses” are used here instead of the traditional Bulgarian terms „въпросителни изречения с въпросителни частици“ (“interrogative sentences with interrogative particles”) and „въпросителни изречения с пълнозначни въпросителни думи“ (“interrogative sentences with full interrogative words”).

E&BAISs are most often instances of binary unmixed clausal coordination, which means that they consist of two clauses that “belong to the same syntactic category” (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1326). The clauses are usually finite closed interrogative subordinate.

The clausal constituents of BAISs usually occur in elliptical form, which can be explained by the fact that Bulgarian clauses and sentences often lack an explicit subject, the phenomenon being called “pro-dropness” („нулева субектност“) (Osenova & Simov 2007: 40). In ex. (1) the pronominal subject *tya* (*she*) is dropped from each constituent clause.

(1) *Ми тя е стара мома. [(Мома **ли** е), (разведена **ли** е)], не знам, но каза, че е госпожица ... (CSB–A)*

*Mi ty a e stara toma. [(Moma **li** e), (razvedena **li** e)], ne znam, no kaza, che e gospozhitsa ... (CSB–A)*

*‘Well, she is a spinster. Whether she is a spinster or whether she is divorced I don’t know, but she said she was a Miss ...’<sup>3</sup>*

Additionally, different elements can be omitted from the structure of the second constituent of a BAIS. In ex. (2) the subject-oriented predicative complement *разцапана* (*smudged*) is left out so that the second constituent is reduced to the negator *не* (*not*) and the verb form *съм*.

(2) *... Не си погледнах очите, не видях [(разцапана **ли** съм) (**или** не съм)]. (CSB–NV)*

*... Ne si poglednah ochite, ne vidyah [(raztsapana **li** sam) (**ili** ne sam)]. (CSB–NV)*

*‘... I didn’t have a look at my eyes, I didn’t see if my make-up was or wasn’t smudged.’*

With EAISs the first clause is usually full, while the second is reduced to the negator *not*. Characteristic of the second constituent of BAISs as well, such a reduction may occur when the second clause differs from the first only in the negative form of the verb. In such cases it is left out with the exception of the negator *not* and *не* respectively which occupies the position after the coordinator *or* and *или* (or the correlative *или*) (Tisheva 2000: 28, 38). Thus, the AISs in ex. (3) and (4) can be regarded as reductions from *if you participate in that or you didn’t participate in that* and *вярно ли беше това или не беше вярно* (*whether that was true or that wasn’t true*).

<sup>3</sup> Single inverted commas indicate meaningful translation of the Bulgarian examples into English. Translation is mine.



(3) ... and I think that is just a a fabulous one, so ... I don't know [(if you participate in that) (or not)] but ... (STCSE)

(4) [(Вярно ли беше това) (или не)] – никога не разбра; а и не искаше. (BCFM)

[(Vyarno li beshe tova) (ii ne)] – nikoga ne razbra; a i ne iskashe. (BCFM)

'Whether that was true or not, she never made it out; besides, she didn't want to.'

As is evident from ex. (1) and (4), preposing of BAISs in the function of direct object is a common phenomenon. By contrast, EAISs are hardly ever preposed.

EAISs can also be instances of binary coordination of finite (ex. 5) or non-finite *to*-infinitival open interrogative subordinate clauses (ex. 6).

(5) ... you always want to get your kids everything and, uh, you don't care [(how much it costs) (or what it takes)] ... (STCSE)

(6) I mean, I've never been told [(what to wear) (or what not to wear)]. (STCSE)

In addition, corpora evidence suggests that some E&BAISs have phrasal constituents. The AISs in ex. (7) and (8), for instance, are NP-coordinations.

(7) And we're trying to make a decision whether to buy [(a beach place, beach house), (or a lake house), (or a mountain house)]. (CFCSE)

(8) Един път минавахме през Левски и брат му ни караше със кола, те трябваше нещо да влязат да вземат [(някаква дамаджана ли) (какво)]. (CSB–NV)

*Edin pat minavahme prez Levski i brat mu ni karashe sas kola, te tryabvashe neshto da vlyazat da vzemat [(nyakakva damadzhana li) (kakvo)]*. (CSB–NV)

'Once we were passing through Levski and his brother was driving us, they had to go into the house to take was it some demijohn or what.'

Let us note here that the EAIS in ex. (7) is made up of three NPs and therefore is an example of multiple coordination. Multiple coordination, however, is much less common across the corpora than binary coordination. Moreover, it is restricted to three-member AISs.

The constituents of still other E&BAISs belong to different syntactic categories and on that account the AISs can be considered cases of "mixed

coordination” (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1332). Thus, the AISs in ex. (9) and (10) represent a binary mixed clausal coordination as they are made up of one closed and one open interrogative subordinate clause.

(9) ... *and I didn't know* [*(whether it was a glider) (or what it was)*] *I hadn't heard the name U2 when I first arrived.* (CFCSE)

(10) *Имало два тролея, [(зад тролея ли са били), (как е било)] не знам, и пострада.* (CSB–A)

*Imalo dva troleya, [(zad troleya li sa bili), (kak e bilo)] ne znam, i postrada.* (CSB–A)

*‘There were two trolleybuses, were they behind the trolleybus or how was it, I don't know, but he got injured.’*

Another instance of mixed coordination is the EAIS in ex. (11) whose constituents are a finite declarative subordinate clause and an NP.

(11) *How long, I mean did the doctor just come and say* [*(she has got about six weeks left) (or one of those kinds of things)*] *did, did you know?* (CFCSE)

Last but not least, some EAISs in the function of direct object have their second constituent unexpressed as in ex. (12) in which the expressed constituent is a finite declarative subordinate clause.

(12) *Do you think* [*(he resents that now) (or --)*]? (CFCSE)

### III. Subject-oriented predicative complement

Corpora data indicate that 19 EAISs, i.e. 15.1 % of all EAISs with functions on the clausal level, serve as subject-oriented predicative complements. There are 3 AISs in EFC, 1 in ECFM, 8 in CFCSE, and 7 in STCSE.

Their Bulgarian counterparts are 32 in total, i.e. 24.1 % of all BAISs with functions in the clause. There are 10 AISs in BFC, 4 in BCFM, 13 in CSB–A, and 5 in CSB–NV.

The copular verbs which license the AISs are *be* and *съм*. EAISs follow *be*, whereas BAISs either precede (ex. 15) or follow *съм* (ex. 17). In these examples the constituents of the AISs are juxtaposed. However, some BAISs are split with the first constituent being fronted so that it precedes the copula *съм* (ex. 14, 18).

The constituents of E&BAISs are usually NPs.

(13) *And uh, I don't know who thought of it, I don't know if it was [(me) (or Jeff) (or Craig)] but uh, we uh, we had some cigarettes on us ...* (CFCSE)

(14) *Ама [(боя ли) е (или хоросан)]?* (CSB–A)

*Ама [(boya li) е (ili horosan)]?* (CSB–A)

*'But is it paint or mortar?'*

(15) *[(Възвишеност ли), (или мерзост), (или самозалъгване)] са моите книги?* (BCFM)

*[(Vazvishenost li), (ili merzost), (ili samozalagvane)] sa moite knigi?* (BCFM)

*'Are my books nobility, or vileness, or wishful thinking?'*

Some E&BAISs are made up of adjective phrases (APs).

(16) *She didn't know if he was being [(honest) (or polite and just southern)].* (EFC)

(17) *Нека най-после Тимая смъкне покривалото си, за да видим дали била [(хубава) (или грозна)].* (BFC)

*Neka naj-posle Timaya smakne pokrivaloto si, za da vidim dali bila [(hubava) (ili grozna)].* (BFC)

*'Let Timaya finally take off her veil so that we could see whether she is pretty or ugly.'*

Still other BAISs are instances of binary mixed phrasal coordination. Thus, the AIS in ex. (18) consists of an AP and an NP.

(18) *Видя ли как изглежда? Гледа ... хубаво искам да кажа, ма той много хубав, той [(напудрен ли) беше, (какво)].* (CSB–A)

*Vidya li kak izglezhda? Gleda ... hubavo iskam da kazha, ma toj mnogo hubav, toj [(napudren li) beshe, (kakvo)].* (CSB–A)

*'Did you see what he looked like? He looked ... good I mean, he is very handsome, was his face powdered or what.'*

Lastly, there are AISs with unexpressed final constituent as in ex. (19) and (20) in which the expressed constituents are two NPs and an AP respectively.

(19) *Do you feel like that's [(a Southern thing) (or a NC thing), (or –)]* (CFCSE)

(20) *Чий цигари са тия бе, [(У-еса) (или ...)] Японски. Джанан! Брей тия джанани ...* (CSB–NV)

*Chij tsigari sa tiya be, [(U-esa) (ili ...)] Yaponski. Dzhapan! Brej tiya dzharani ...* (CSB–NV)

*‘What are these cigarettes, American or ... Japanese. Japan! Oh dear, these Japanese ...’*

#### IV. Adjunct

EAISs serving as adjuncts are 20 in number, which makes 15.9 % of all EAISs with functions in the clause. There are 2 AISs in EFC, 4 in ECFM, 11 in CFCSE, and 3 in STCSE.

The respective BAISs are 32, i.e. 24.1 % of all BAISs that perform functions on the clausal level. There are 8 AISs in BFC, 9 in BCFM, 11 in CSB–A, and 4 in CSB–NV.

According to corpora data, the constituents of the AISs belong to a variety of syntactic categories – they are NPs, APs, PPs, adverb phrases (AdvPs), closed interrogative subordinate clauses. There are instances of both unmixed and mixed clausal or phrasal coordination.

Some E&BAISs exemplify “the ungoverned exhaustive conditional construction” functioning as an adjunct (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 985–6) and carry an “alternative conditional-concessive” meaning (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1100).

(21) *But of course when all the surrounding, the stores or whatever, everybody had lost money and so the whole economy was totally poor [(whether they actually lost money) (or not)].* (CFCSE)

(22) *[(Уважава ли ги) (или им се присмива)] – над него са, в техните ръце е силата ...* (BCFM)

*[(Uvazhava li gi) (ili im se prismiva)] – nad nego sa, v tehните ratse e silata ...* (BCFM)

*‘Whether he respects them or he laughs at them, they are his superiors, they have the power in their hands ...’*

The AISs in ex. (21) and (22) are made up of two closed interrogative subordinate clauses. The second constituent of the EAIS is reduced to the negator *not*. Let us illustrate Huddleston & Pullum’s views on the ungoverned exhaustive conditional construction by analyzing the EAIS. Its constituents “constitute an exhaustive set of [two] possibilities” (*ibid.* 2002: 986), *viz.* they actually lost money and they actually didn’t lose money. Each possibility “defines a condition or ‘case’” (*ibid.* 2002: 985) under which the economy was totally poor, i.e. it was totally poor if they lost money and it was totally poor if they didn’t lose money. The AIS is “ungoverned” because there is no item to govern it. The governed variant will be headed by the preposition *regardless of* or *irrespective of*,

or by the noun *matter* preceded by the determinative *no* (*ibid.* 2002: 985) so that the form of the structure will be *regardless of / irrespective of / no matter whether they actually lost money or not*.

As for the alternative conditional-concessive meaning that these AISs convey, I agree with Quirk *et al.* that each clausal coordination “is an alternative condition in that logically it combines the conditional meaning of *if* with the disjunctive meaning of *either ... or*” (*ibid.* 1985: 1100), while “the concessive meaning emerges from the unexpected implication that the same situation applies under two contrasting conditions” (*ibid.* 1985: 1100).

E&BAISs serving as adjuncts can also be made up of PPs, NPs, and AdvPs. Binary unmixed coordination prevails and is illustrated by the AISs in ex. (23 – 25) whose constituents are PPs (ex. 23, 24) and NPs (ex. 25).

(23) *Are there, are there any other specific things that, that you feel like, where, where you feel your privacy to be invaded [(on a day-to-day basis) (or either growing, on a growing frequency)]?* (STCSE)

(24) *Не знам, [(пред ядене **ли**) пикаят тия деца, (след ядене **ли**)]...* (CSB–NV)

*Ne znam, [(pred yadene **li**) pikayat tiya detsa, (sled yadene **li**)] ...* (CSB–NV)

‘I don’t know, do these children piss before meal or after meal ...’

(25) *Сега заминавам за Франция, не знам [(вторник **ли**), (сряда)] ще пътуваме, нали не бех тука и ...* (CSB–A)

*Sega zaminavam za Frantsia, ne znam [(vtornik **li**), (sryada)] shte patuvame, nali ne beh tuka i ...* (CSB–A)

‘Now I’m leaving for France, I don’t know if we’re travelling on Tuesday or Wednesday, you know, I wasn’t here and ...’

Binary mixed coordination of phrases is found in ex. (26) and (27) in which the constituents of the AISs are a PP and an AdvP.

(26) *Do you feel like, do you think it would have been different if you had gone to school [(in Boston) (or someplace else up north)]?* (CFCSE)

(27) *Довечера ще видим дали Кодов и Беровски са действували [(поотделно), (**или** в съдружие)].* (BFC)

*Dovechera ste vidim dali Kodov i Berovski sa deystvuvali [(pootdelno), (**ili** v sadruzhie)].* (BFC)

‘Tonight we’ll see whether Kodov and Berovski have acted separately or together.’

Finally, there are EAISSs with unexpressed final constituent as in ex. (28) in which the expressed constituents are NPs.

(28) *Do you, do you work like [(half days) (or half weeks) (or ... )]*  
(STCSE)

As we can see from the examples above, EAISSs in the function of adjunct usually take clause (or sentence) final position. BAISSs, however, are often preposed so that they take clause (or sentence) initial position (ex. 22, 25). In addition, frequent are BAISSs with preposing of the first constituent only (ex. 24).

Last but not least, AISs in the function of adjunct convey meanings other than alternative conditional-concessive. Thus, the above-discussed AISs belong to the semantic categories of frequency (ex. 23, 28), temporal location (ex. 24, 25), spatial location (ex. 26), and manner (ex. 27).

## V. Predicate

In both English and Bulgarian corpora fourth in frequency come AISs in the function of predicate. The EAISSs are 9 altogether, i.e. 7.1 % of all EAISSs carrying out functions on the clausal level. There are 2 occurrences in EFC, 2 in ECFM, and 5 in CFCSE. Their Bulgarian counterparts total 11, i.e. 8.3 % of all BAISSs with functions in the clause. There are 2 in BFC, 5 in CSB–A, and 4 in CSB–NV.

The constituents of the AISs are verb phrases (VPs). There are examples of both two- and three-member coordination.

(29) *And then I'll eventually get around to reading it and whether it [(stays) (or goes)] depends on what it's like!* (CFCSE)

(30) *[(„Слим“ **ли** е) това, (**какво** е)]?* (CSB–NV)

*[(“Slim” **li** e) tova, (**kakvo** e)]?* (CSB–NV)

*‘Is this “Slim” or what is this?’*

(31) *He then moved on to basic questions about whether they [(had been victims of crime), (had relatives in prison) (or were related to any police officers or prosecutors)].* (EFC)

(32) *Аз не знам детето му [(тъмно **ли** беше), (светло **ли** беше), (черно **ли** беше)].* (CSB–A)

*Az ne znam deteto mu [(tamno **li** beshe), (svetlo **li** beshe), (cherno **li** beshe)].* (CSB–A)

*‘I don’t know if his child was dark-haired or was fair-haired or was black-haired.’*

Let us note here that the EAIS in ex. (29) serves both as predicate and predicator. The rationale behind this analysis is that its constituents can be classed not only as VPs but also as lexical verbs (Vs). As the VPs have no complements or adjuncts, they coincide with the lexical verbs that fulfill the predicator function.

So far we have examined AISs whose constituents occur in the same sentence. English and Bulgarian corpora evidence, however, indicates that there exist some rare cases of AISs whose constituents are found in two adjacent sentences. This “division into two sentences has an information-packaging function: it presents the whole as a sequence of two messages” (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1735) and allows us to talk about inter-sentential coordination and AISs with inter-sentential constituents.

In the example below, the EAIS (and hence the predicate) is split with the second constituent being set off as a separate sentence.

(33) *And so is there anything in particular about growing up that you want to share that [(maybe changed you as a person)? (Or made you the person that you are)?]* (CFCSE)

## VI. Subject

EAISs in the function of subject are as numerous as those in the function of predicate – 9, i.e. 7.1 % of all EAISs with functions in the clause. There are 2 in EFC, 5 in CFCSE, and 2 in STCSE.

The respective BAISs are 6, i.e. 4.5 % of all BAISs with functions on the clausal level serve as subjects. There are 4 occurrences in BFC, 1 in CSB–A, and 1 in CSB–NV.

The AISs usually represent a binary NP-coordination.

(34) *... after you began to read on your own did sometimes [(your cousins) (or other people)] still read or tell stories to you even though you could read?* (CFCSE)

(35) *Кой, а, [(Любо и Дидка) (или ти и татко ти)] ми се смеят?* (CSB–A)

*Koj, a, [(Lyubo i Didka) (ili ti i tatko ti)] mi se smeyat?* (CSB–A)

*‘Who, speak up, are Lyubo and Didka or you and your dad laughing at me?’*

Ex. (35) is an instance of “layered coordination” (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1278–9). It occurs when “a coordination can function as a coordinate within a larger one” (*ibid.* 2002: 1278). In our case, first the

NPs *Любо* (*Lyubo*) and *Дидка* (*Didka*), and *ти* (*you*) and *татко ти* (*your dad*) are linked by means of the coordinator *и* (*and*) to form “the lower coordinations” (*ibid.* 2002: 1278) *Любо и Дидка* (*Lyubo and Didka*) and *ти и татко ти* (*you and your dad*). In their turn, these two coordinations are joined by *или* (*or*) to form the upper coordination (*ibid.* 2002: 1279) *Любо и Дидка или ти и татко ти* (*Lyubo and Didka or you and your dad*). This coordination is the AIS under analysis which serves as subject.

Whereas the subject function of the AISs in ex. (34) and (35) is easy to establish, it is not the case with EAISs like that in ex. (36) which is found in a sentence with existential *there*.

(36) *OK, well um, are there [(any particular stories related to this) (or anything else you enjoy reading now) (or )] um, I mean, is there anything looking at what you experienced ... (CFCSE)*

In this article I entertain the opinion that the existential *there* is the syntactic subject, while the AIS is the semantic subject. I adhere to Huddleston & Pullum’s view (2002: 1391) that *there* “fills the subject position”, while the element after the copula *be* can be considered “a displaced subject”. A displaced subject “is an internal complement of the verb that is not syntactically a subject but corresponds semantically to the subject” (*ibid.* 2002: 1391). On that account I treat the AIS in ex. (36) as a displaced subject.

As far as its constituent structure is concerned, the AIS is another example of a three-member AIS whose final constituent is not expressed, the expressed constituents being NPs.

## VII. Locative complement

In English and Bulgarian corpora there is an equal number of AISs that serve as locative complements – 7, which makes 5.6 % of all EAISs and 5.3 % of all BAISs with functions on the clausal level. There are 2 AISs in EFC, 1 in CFCSE, and 4 in STCSE. There is 1 AIS in BFC, 4 in CSB–A, and 2 in CSB–NV.

Locative complements occur with the verbs *be* and *съм* and “cover expressions associated with the [semantic] roles of source, goal, and location” (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 258). Thus, the AISs in ex. (37) and (38) indicate spatial location and source (or initial location) respectively, while those in ex. (39) and (40) indicate temporal location.

The AISs usually represent a binary unmixed coordination of PPs (ex. 37, 38) or NPs (ex. 39, 40).



(37) ... but I think they also should respect the sanctity of the American home whether it be [(in a house) (or in an apartment)]. (STCSE)

(38) Откъде е дядо Димитър беше? [(От Велес) (или от Шип)]? (CSB–A)

Otkade e dyado Dimitar beshe? [(Ot Veles) (ili ot Shtip)]? (CSB–A)

‘Where is was grandfather Dimitar from? From Veles or from Stip?’

(39) Well, you know, he was, uh, when was it, [(last year) (or year before last)], he was voted the sexiest actor in movies or something. (STCSE)

(40) Знайш какво значи, това беше [(януари ли), (февруари ли)], до юни тя не дойде в училището при мене. (CSB–NV)

Znaysh kakvo znachi, tova beshe [(yanuari li), (fevruari li)], do yuni tya ne dojde v uchilishteto pri mene. (CSB–NV)

‘You know what, this happened was it in January or in February, she didn’t come on a visit to me in the school till June.’

### VIII. Predicator

Only AISs testified in the English corpora serve as predicators in their respective clauses. There are 6 occurrences in total, i.e. 4.8 % of all EAISs with functions on the clausal level. There are 3 in EFC, 1 in ECFM, and 2 in CFCSE. No examples of AISs in the function of predicator are found in the Bulgarian corpora.

The EAISs are made up of two Vs.

(41) Um, are there any, you said you don’t remember reading anything in particular, like when you were older in school, were there any books that you read that you [(liked) (or hated)]? (CFCSE)

### IX. Other functions

The remaining 7 EAISs (5.6 % of all EAISs with functions in the clause) and 12 BAISs (9 % of all BAISs with functions in the clause) are used as

- part of the predicate – 5 EAISs (2 in EFC, 1 in ECFM, 1 in CFCSE, and 1 in STCSE) and 1 BAIS (in CSB–NV)
- part of the direct object – 5 BAISs (3 in BCFM and 2 in CSB–A)
- prepositional object – 1 EAIS (in STCSE) and 3 BAISs (2 in CSB–A and 1 in CSB–NV)

- part of the subject-oriented predicative complement – 1 EAIS (in STCSE) and 2 BAISs (in BCFM)
- object-oriented predicative complement – 1 BAIS (in CSB–NV).

Due to limitations of space, only some of these AISs are briefly discussed below.

For instance, the EAIS in ex. (42) forms part of a predicate. It consists of two non-finite bare infinitival clauses. It is complement to the head auxiliary verb *can* and together they make up the VP (put in curly brackets) that serves as predicate in the finite closed interrogative subordinate clause *whether he can export or at least set up trade*.

(42) ... *if he can raise enough, uh, coffee and bananas to, uh, where he's got something to protect other, you know, whether he {can [(export) (or at least, uh, set up trade)]}, and all then democracy of a considerable interest to him – (STCSE)*

There are two AISs in each example below. They constitute parts of a direct object (ex. 43) and a subject-oriented predicative complement (ex. 44). The examples are cases of layered coordination.

Thus, in ex. (43) two lower coordinations are formed when the constituent clauses of the AISs are joined by means of the correlative pairs *ли – ли* and *дали – дали* respectively. (To be precise, the second constituent of the *дали – дали* AIS is itself a coordination of clauses.) Then the resulting AISs are coordinated asyndetically to form the upper layer of coordination (enclosed in curly brackets). It is this upper coordination that functions as direct object to the head verb *отгатне* (*guess*). As each AIS is only a coordinate in the upper coordination, it is only part of the direct object, it is not a direct object in its own right.

(43) *Лицето само не може да си го представи, хем го е гледал хиляди пъти в съседния двор, не може да отгатне {[(намръщено ли е), (усмихва ли се)], [(дали устните са прехапани от ярост и усилие), (дали са открехнати и езиче ги близва като бърз камшик)]}*. (BCFM)

*Litseto samo ne mozhe da si go predstavi, hem go e gledal hilyadi pati v sasedniya dvor, ne mozhe da otgatne {[(namrashteno li e), (usmihva li se)], [(dali ustnite sa prehapani ot yarost i usilie), (dali sa otkrehnati i eziche gi blizva kato barz kamshik)]}*. (BCFM)

‘Only her face can’t he picture although he has seen it thousands of times in the neighboring yard, he can’t guess if it is puckering or if it is smiling, whether she is biting her lips out of fury and effort or whether they are half open and her tongue is licking them quickly like a whip.’

In its turn, the AISs *обаятелен или банален* (*fascinating or trite*) and *подъл или великодушен* (*mean or magnanimous*) in ex. (44) have AP-constituents. They occur in the same closed interrogative subordinate clause introduced by *дали* (*whether*). The clause is yet another example of layered coordination with two lower and one upper layer. The lower coordinations are formed by the two AISs whose constituents are linked by the coordinator *или* (*or*). On the upper level the AISs are joined asyndetically to form the coordination *обаятелен или банален, подъл или великодушен* (*fascinating or trite, mean or magnanimous*) (put in curly brackets). The upper coordination serves as subject-oriented predicative complement. The AISs are coordinates in the upper coordination, hence they make part of the subject-oriented predicative complement.

(44) ... но запитай ги дали този плат е {[*обаятелен*] (*или банален*)}, [*подъл*] (*или великодушен*)]}, никога не могат да ви отговорят. (BCFM)

... no zapitaj gi dali tozi plat e {[*(obayatelen)*] (*ili banalen*)}, [*(podal)*] (*ili velikodushen*)]}, nikoga ne mogat da vi otgovoryat. (BCFM)

‘... but when you ask them whether this cloth is fascinating or trite, mean or magnanimous, they can never answer.’

Finally, the BAIS in ex. (45) is made up of three PPs and serves as prepositional object to the head verb *говоря* (*say*).

(45) *Викам: Ами аз такива работи чул ли си ме да говоря, викам, [(пред баща ти) (или пред майка ти), (или пред тебе)]?* (CSB–NV)

*Vikam: Ami az takiva raboti chul li si me da govorya, vikam, [(pred bashta ti) (ili pred mayka ti), (ili pred tebe)]?* (CSB–NV)

‘I said: Why, have you heard me saying such things, I said, in front of your father or in front of your mother or in front of you?’

## X. Conclusions

The comparative qualitative and quantitative corpus-based investigation into the constituents of E&BAISs and their functions within the clause has pointed to the following conclusions:

1. 126 EAISs, i.e. 49.2 % of all AISs found in the English corpora, and 133 BAISs, i.e. 55 % of all AISs found in the Bulgarian corpora, carry out functions on the causal level.
2. The most common functions to E&BAISs have turned out to be those of direct object, subject-oriented predicative complement

and adjunct. BAISs performing these functions enjoy the same frequency. EAISs serving as direct objects, however, are 2.5 times as numerous as those serving as subject-oriented predicative complements and adjuncts.

Less characteristic of E&BAISs in the corpora are the functions of subject, predicate and locative complement. In addition, infrequent are EAISs serving as predicators and parts of predicates as well as BAISs serving as parts of direct objects. Sporadic are the occurrences of AISs in other functions.

3. *Know* and *знам* are the most common verbs that license AISs in the function of direct object, while *be* and *съм* are the verbs which license AISs in the functions of subject-oriented predicative complement and locative complement.
4. E&BAISs are usually examples of binary unmixed phrasal or clausal coordination. Their constituents are often NPs, PP and (closed) interrogative subordinate clauses. Also, they can be Vs, VPs, APs, AdvPs. There are examples of mixed coordination, as well. Last but not least, there are AISs whose final constituent is not expressed.
5. Examples of binary coordination are found much more frequently in English and Bulgarian corpora than those of multiple coordination. In the latter case E&BAISs are made up of three constituents.
6. The constituents of the AISs testified in the corpora are most often found in the same sentence. Examples of AISs with inter-sentential constituents are infrequent.
7. Preposing of the first constituent or of the whole AIS is a phenomenon typical of BAISs. By contrast, preposing has proved to be uncommon to the AISs found in the English corpora.

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## **CORRELATIONS BETWEEN GRAMMATICAL AND COMMUNICATIVE WORD ORDER IN ENGLISH AND THEIR BULGARIAN EQUIVALENTS**

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The article discusses the correlations between grammatical and communicative word order and the potential problems which the divergence between them might pose in teaching and translation practices. The communicative analysis is based on the FSP (Functional Sentence Perspective) theory elaborated by the Prague linguists. The differences in word order between English and Bulgarian, as well as some similarities, are illustrated by examples from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) and the Bulgarian National Corpus (BNC). The focus is on some practical grammar issues and not on teaching methodology or translation theory and practice.

**Key words:** word order, FSP theory, inversion, communicative analysis

The topic of this article occurred to me as the result of some observations in my teaching experience, which involves teaching translation and English Syntax, in which areas word order is a central issue. Word Order (WO) can be discussed from two perspectives: the general principles universal for all languages<sup>1</sup>, and the actual arrangement of the words in the sentence, i.e. the position of the basic sentence elements comprising the subject, verb, and object or predicative. In view of the second perspective, and taking into account the position of the verb, languages are typologically determined as having a verb initial, verb medial, and verb final word order. English has an SVO, or a verb medial type of word order, which is also characterized as highly grammaticalized and inflexible. In this it differs from

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<sup>1</sup> Among these are the grammatical principle, the principles of adjacency, precedence, rhythm and emphasis, topicalization, FSP, and the heavier element principle.

languages which have a relatively free word order, such as Bulgarian<sup>2</sup>, and which more easily comply with the requirements of communication and the distribution of communicative dynamism over the sentence elements.

However, English has compensatory mechanisms to reconcile the demands of grammar and communication and adapt the grammatical word order to the communicative word order. These can be grouped under two headings: word order changes (rearrangements) and fixed constructions. The first group includes the cases of dislocations, with or without inversion. In this article I will discuss only some interesting cases of inversion and leave the various dislocations and the fixed constructions for future research. Inversion is generally defined as the reversing the positions of subject and predicate (or operator). The basic elements outlining the grammatical WO are the Subject and the Verb (S-V), and of the communicative WO these are the Theme and the Rheme (Th-Rh)<sup>3</sup>. The Theme and Rheme are defined following the Prague School definitions (Firbas 1992), Grancharov's formal model (Grancharov 2010) for communicative analysis, and Grancharova's (Grancharova 2018) contribution to it, based on the following three criteria:

1. Informational – the Theme encodes old information (retrievable from the immediately preceding context), and the Rheme encodes new information including the focus (rheme proper).
2. Positional – the Theme precedes the Rheme in a neutral, unemotional statement.
3. Relational – also called the 'aboutness' criterion, according to which the Theme is what the sentence is about and the Rheme is what is said about the Theme.

The informational criterion is the most important one but when it is neutralized and the sentence contains elements carrying only old information or only new information, we resort to the other two criteria to identify the Theme and the Rheme. When analyzing isolated sentences without any context, for the purposes of illustration I will rely on the definite and indefinite articles to point to the Theme and the Rheme respectively. Thus, we can outline the following correlations between the grammatical and

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<sup>2</sup> For a detailed survey of the research on word order in Bulgarian linguistic literature, see Balabanova (2020).

<sup>3</sup> For simplicity I stick to only two elements to outline the direct and inverted WO, thus omitting the complementation of the verb in grammatical WO and the transition (Tr) in communicative WO.

communicative WO in a simple, declarative, positive, unemphatic, unemotional, objective sentence<sup>4</sup>:

- |                            |   |                           |
|----------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| 1. Direct grammatical WO   | – | Direct communicative WO   |
| S – V                      |   | Th – Rh                   |
| 2. Indirect grammatical WO | – | Indirect communicative WO |
| V – S                      |   | Rh – Th                   |
| 3. Direct grammatical WO   | – | Indirect communicative WO |
| S – V                      |   | Rh – Th                   |
| 4. Indirect grammatical WO | – | Direct communicative WO   |
| V – S                      |   | Th – Rh                   |

Indirect grammatical WO consists in inversion either full when the whole verb phrase is placed before the subject, or partial when only the auxiliary (also known as operator) changes places with the subject.

Inversion can be functional when its function is to form a certain type of sentence and in this case it is required by the grammatical rules of English. This is the type of inversion used in questions, exclamations, some conditional clauses, and optative sentences. However, the communicative value of inversion can become more obvious when there is an alternative structure without inversion, which illustrates the choice between neutral and emphatic use. Also, it is difficult to posit inversion in a language with a free or semi-free word order: if there is no fixed basic word order pattern, we cannot define any deviations from it. For that reason, inversion is rarely mentioned in Bulgarian linguistics, mainly as a stylistic device, in relation to the different styles and genres in which it can be found, the most popular examples being the postposition of attributes. In the Bulgarian online dictionary published by the Institute of the Bulgarian Language of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences inversion is defined as “a reversed order, a reversal, a change in the order of something”<sup>5</sup>. It is defined in literature, meteorology, chemistry, and music but there is no reference to inversion in grammar.

Therefore, the above-mentioned correlations between grammatical and communicative word order are expected to have a different effect in English and Bulgarian. Let us consider some examples bearing in mind that in an isolated sentence we accepted that the definite article would mark the

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<sup>4</sup> The canonical clause is usually defined as independent, non-coordinated, declarative, positive, unemphatic.

<sup>5</sup> My translation



Theme and the indefinite, the Rheme. However, it should be borne in mind that often in a sentence all noun phrases may be definite or indefinite, and we rely mainly on the immediately preceding context to ascertain the informational value of the sentence elements.

1. Direct grammatical WO – Direct communicative WO  
S – V Th – Rh  
*The large house stood on a hill in front of them.*  
*Голямата къща стоеше на един хълм пред тях.*
2. Indirect grammatical WO – Indirect communicative WO  
V – S Rh – Th  
*On a hill in front of them stood the large house.*  
*На един хълм пред тях стоеше голямата къща.*
3. Direct grammatical WO – Indirect communicative WO  
S – V Rh – Th  
*A large house stood on the hill in front of them.*  
*Една голяма къща стоеше на хълма пред тях.*
4. Indirect grammatical WO – Direct communicative WO  
V – S Th – Rh  
*On the hill in front of them stood a large house.*  
*На хълма пред тях стоеше една голяма къща.*

As can be seen in the above examples, all sentences, with or without inversion, are acceptable and relatively neutral, with the new information introduced by an indefinite noun phrase according to the principle of the linear modification of speech proposed by Bolinger (1952: 1117). The focus is not underscored by the inversion, neither in English, nor in the Bulgarian equivalents. Thus, the question arises why the grammatical inversion seems so normal, neutral, and acceptable in these examples. For English it has been established that some verbs and structures allow inversion more readily. These are verbs which appear in the “There” Existential Sentence. Here are some of them:

1. *be* and other verbs denoting state and position in space: *sit, stand, live, lie, wait, hang*, etc.
2. verbs denoting existence and appearing on the scene: *exist, appear, seem, emerge, occur, happen*, etc.
3. verbs of motion: *go, come, run, arrive, drive, fly, swim*, etc.
4. verbs in Progressive and Passive forms in which double inversion (known as verb phrase inversion) is also possible.

Quirk et al. (1985: 1408) describe the verbs, other than “be”, which are found in the existential sentences in the following way, “In the first place, the verb must be intransitive (exceptions are idiomatic or dubious), and of fairly general presentative meaning: verbs of motion (arrive, enter, pass, come, etc.), of inception (emerge, spring up, etc.), and of stance (live, remain, stand, lie, etc.)”. Here are some examples with the verbs mentioned by Quirk et al. The verbs in the Bulgarian translation equivalents present an equal readiness for inversion, the reason for which may be the relatively free word order in Bulgarian<sup>6</sup>:

*Then arrived Michael, the media specialist that had a love for jigsaw puzzles, [...] – (Corpus of Contemporary American English, henceforth COCA, 2018, FIC, Fan Fic)*

*Товага пристигна Майкъл, който имаше слабост към картините за нареждане, [...]*

*So entered Donald Trump onto the American stage. – (COCA, 2018, MAG, The Atlantic)*

*И така излезе Доналд Тръмп на американската сцена.*

*And so passed my one chance to have something in common with our president. – (COCA, 2010, MAG, American Spectator)*

*И така отмина единственият ми шанс да имам нещо общо с нашия президент.*

*Thus passed the glory of the world. – (COCA, 2012, BLOG, ...kesworldmagazine.com)*

*Така премина световната слава.*

*Out came the cameras to capture what would become an infamous set of photographs: [...] – (COCA, 2019, FIC, Sci Fi & Fantasy)*

*Показаха се камерите, за да уловят това, което щеше да стане срамен комплект от фотографии: [...]*

*The floor parted, and from below emerged a giant screen that turned the parlor into a screening room. – (COCA, 2008, SPOK, CBS\_Sixty)*

*Подът се разтвори и изотдолу се появи огромен екран, който превърна салона в зала за частни прожекции.*

*There once lived two large clans that lived side by side. – (COCA, 2012, BLOG, wisbites.com)*

*Там живели два големи клана, които живеели един до друг.*

*Underneath the modern cover there remained the older realities of sects, ethnicity, [...] – (COCA, 2008, ACAD, Middle EastQ)*

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<sup>6</sup> The translations of the examples are mine.

*Под модерното покритие оставаха старите реалности на секти, етноси, [...]*

*Nor in the city then Remained those rites of sepulture, with which That pious folk had evermore been wont<sup>7,8</sup> [...] – (COCA, 2012, WEB, classics.mit.edu)*

*В града тогава не останаха онези погребални ритуали, с които беше привикнал този благочестив народ [...]*

*Here stood the real thing, the unvarnished truth. – (COCA, 2018, FIC, Antioch Rev)*

*Тук стоеше истинското нещо, неподправената истина.*

It is clear that such cases of inversion in English present no difficulties for their Bulgarian translation. It is in inverse translation that students and translators feel uncertain and avoid using inversion in English. The prevailing view on English word order among them is that it is fixed and inflexible. By avoiding the various word order rearrangements, translators may misplace the communicative focus of the sentence, thus changing its overall information value.

Inversion is found in varying frequency across the styles and registers, mostly in written communication.<sup>9</sup> Dorgeloh (1997: 3) claims that inversion is frequent in children's tales, crime stories, novels, or guidebooks: "sometimes, in these kinds of discourse, or in specific subparts of them, inversions occur in virtual clusters, while in others, for long stretches of or the entirety of a text, one finds no occurrence at all". Obviously, it plays an important role in creative writing with the possibility of localizing the focus and providing additional emphasis on certain sentence elements. Thus, it is also regarded as a stylistic device, especially when there is a choice between alternatives with and without inversion. Often inversion is grammatically determined but also choice between two structures is possible. This happens with the fronting of an inversion operator with locative or temporal meaning, or a postfix of a phrasal verb such as *then, next, now, later, last, up, out, away*, etc. E.g.:

*Next came September 11, 2001. – (COCA, 2018, MAG, Vanity Fair)*

*После дойде 11-ти септември 2001.*

Alternatively, we can have:

*September 11, 2001, came next.*

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<sup>7</sup> Translation mine

<sup>8</sup> The spelling of the original is preserved.

<sup>9</sup> There is also colloquial inversion which is not discussed in this article due to lack of space.

*11-ти септември 2001 дойде после.*

*Away went the fisherman, and found his wife standing before a great castle.* – (COCA, 2012, WEB, worldoftales.com)

*Замина рибарят и намери жена си изправена пред голям замък.*

Alternatively:

*The fisherman went away and found his wife standing before a great castle.*

*Рибарят замина и намери жена си изправена пред голям замък.*

Often, as in the above examples with operator inversion, the inversion is facilitated by the verbs of motion. There are other factors which facilitate inversion apart from the type of verb and the fronting of operators. In other cases, the fronted element may be a rather lengthy adverbial modifier and the postponed subject is also a rather long phrase, thus complying with the *Heavier element principle* of word order, and the principles of *Rhythm* and *Emphasis*. E.g.:

*And out of the pickup came Robert Kincaid, looking like some vision from a never-written book [...].* (example borrowed from Dorgeloh (1997: 3))

*От пикапа излезе Робърт Кинкейд, приличащ на видение от не-написана книга [...].*

\**And out of the pickup came he.*

\**От пикапа излезе той.*

In the above examples the light pronominal subjects sound rather awkward at the end of isolated contextless sentences although in some contexts of connected texts they may be acceptable in varying degrees, especially in Bulgarian.

Another type of inversion is again facilitated by the verb “be”, which readily allows inversion and functions as an auxiliary in the progressive tense-aspect forms and in the passive. These structures allow full inversion and double inversion (verb phrase inversion). E.g.:

*An elderly man was waiting in front of the hotel.* (no inversion)

*Възрастен мъж чакаше пред хотела.*

*In front of the hotel was waiting an elderly man.* (full inversion)

*Пред хотела чакаше възрастен мъж.*

*Waiting in front of the hotel was an elderly man.* (double inversion)

\**Чакащ пред хотела беше възрастен мъж.*

Bulgarian lacks progressive tense-aspect forms and in translation this is compensated for by other grammatical and lexical means. In English, the participle in the progressive forms has a strong verbal meaning. When it preserves its adjectival meaning, it functions as a predicative and the verb “be” functions as a copula. E.g.:

*She is amusing.* (copula + predicative)

But an object or an adverbial modifier would expose the verbal character of the participle:

*She is amusing us.* (progressive form)

In Bulgarian the present active participle has very strong adjectival characteristics and in initial position resembles a fronted predicative. The direct word order in the following sentences would lend a completely different communicative value to the message because the communicative focus would not be located on the participle *учудващ*:

*Учудващ е не фактът, че загиват такъв голям брой кораби, а това, че този брой е толкова малък [...] – (Bulgarian National Corpus, henceforth BNC)*

*Фактът, че загиват такъв голям брой кораби, не е учудващ, а това, че този брой е толкова малък [...]*

*При жената водещи са слухът и чувството и тя иска ласка и романтичност. – (BNC)*

*Слухът и чувството са водещи при жената и тя иска ласка и романтичност.*

The English sentence with double inversion in the progressive tense-aspect forms has no direct translation equivalent in Bulgarian and other options should be applied to render the action and the emphasis, depending on the context. However, I have found a few examples with a similar structure in Bulgarian, which may not be very common and may have different degrees of acceptability. It is possible that they have come to be used under the influence of English. The following sentence in Bulgarian comes very close to what in English is referred to as double inversion with the participle displaying its verbal character because it takes an object:

*Водещ колоната е капитан Станко Велинов Станков (брат на известния вратар на ЦСКА по това време Георги Велинов) [...] – (from a Facebook post)*

*Leading the column is captain Stanko Velinov ...*<sup>10</sup>

In the following sentence the coordinated clause, which has an active verb in the present tense, enhances the verbal meaning of the Bulgarian present active participle although there is no object or adverbial.

*Водещи са груув рифовете на Alex, а ритъм-секцията играе само поддържаща роля. – (BNC)*

*Leading are Alex' groove riffs, and the rhythm section is playing only a supporting role.*

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<sup>10</sup> The translations of the examples into English are mine.

Often the participle has both a verbal and adjectival character, so both readings are possible:

*Подкрепящ е родителят, чието поведение включва освен забрани, но и окуражаване и обгрижване.* – Toteva (Google)

*Supporting is the parent whose conduct includes not only prohibitions but also encouragement and care.*

Apart from progressive structures with the -ing participle, double inversion is also possible with passive structures. Here are some sentences in the passive illustrating the options without inversion, with full inversion, and with double inversion in English.

*All the new books were arranged on the table.* (no inversion)

*Всички нови книги бяха подредени на масата.*

*On the table were arranged all the new books.* (full inversion)

*На масата бяха подредени всички нови книги.*

*Arranged on the table were all the new books.* (double inversion)

*Подредени на масата бяха всички нови книги.*

The sentences with double inversion in the Passive voice are easily translated into Bulgarian with similar structures. This may be due to the strong adjectival character of the past passive participle in both English and Bulgarian, and the similarity between the passive voice and the structure *copula + predicative*. Thus, these structures resemble full inversion with fronted predicative. The semantics of the verb and the presence/absence of an adverbial modifier could reinforce the verbal or the adjectival character of the participle respectively, thus switching between the two possible readings: passive with double inversion or fronted predicative with full inversion. Here are some more examples from the Bulgarian National Corpus:

*Обсъдени бяха въпросите, свързани с проблемите за развитието на рудодобива, ...* – (BNC)

*Discussed were the questions connected with the problems of the development of ore mining, ...*

*Предвидени са различни преходни периоди, с цел улесняване на влизането му в сила.* – (BNC)

*Planned are different transition periods, with the aim to facilitate it taking effect.*

*Проведени са консултации със заинтересовани страни по настоящия проектодокумент.* – (BNC)

*Conducted are consultations with the interested parties of this provisional document.*

*Направени бяха структурни и кадрови промени в правителството.* – (BNC)

*Carried out were structural and personnel changes in the government.*

One type of inversion which has been grammaticalized is triggered by initial placement of negative adverbials, negative phrases, phrases with limiting or quantifying connotations such as *never, rarely, seldom, not only, barely, only, little, much*, etc. The alternatives present direct word order without fronting the negative and limiting phrases, with a different communicative structure and localization of the focus. In Bulgarian there is no inversion, only dislocation (fronting) of the negative adverbial which places the focus on it:

*Never have I felt so strongly about the need to get out of the city.* – (COCA, 2012, WEB therestofeverest.com)

*Никога не съм чувствал толкова силно нуждата да напусна града.*

Alternatively:

*I have never felt so strongly about the need to get out of the city.*

*Не съм чувствал никога толкова силно нуждата да напусна града.*

It was intriguing to find out whether there exist sentences in the corpora with fronted negative and limiting expressions in which the direct word order is preserved. I found very few examples in books and the search in the corpus yielded only a few sentences in spoken communication. This type of inversion has been grammaticalized and offers an alternative emphatic structure. The uses with fronted negative adverbial without inversion are rare and may be due to careless speech. Here the comparison with Bulgarian is irrelevant because in Bulgarian there is no inversion, only fronting of the adverbial.

*Never I have done that.* – (COCA, 1994, SPOK, ABC\_PrimeTime)

*I don't think so because, in fact, never it has been our intention to set up an independent Kurdish state in northern [...] – (COCA, 1991, SPOK, ABC\_Brinkley)*

*Hardly I am quite capable<sup>11</sup> of doing for MYSELF.* – (COCA, 2012, BLOG gofatherhood.com)

*The hermit stepped forth From the boat And scarcely he could stand "Oh, shrive me, shrive me Holy man"<sup>12</sup> [...] – (COCA, 2005, TV, Justice League Unlim...)*

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<sup>11</sup> Original spelling preserved.

<sup>12</sup> Original spelling preserved.

## **Conclusion**

The fact that English word order is rather fixed and inflexible has established the practice of avoiding the inversion allowed by some verbs and fronted operators in Bulgarian-English translation. This often brings about a change in the communicative value of the sentence from emphatic to neutral speech.

An understanding of the compensatory devices for reconciling the grammatical and communicative word orders in English and Bulgarian would help translators preserve the communicative value of the sentence and place the focus on the relevant sentence element.

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## INTO THE BUSH: THE BULGARIAN TRANSLATION OF CONRAD'S *HEART OF DARKNESS*

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The paper offers a detailed discussion of the only Bulgarian translation to date of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, made by Grigor Pavlov in 1971 and subsequently republished. It examines the ways in which Pavlov deals with the challenges of the text, and highlights the major consequences of the translation's flaws (e.g. the substantial differences between Conrad's Marlow and Pavlov's Marlow). Finally, the paper suggests the need for a critical rereading of translations made during a period in the history of Bulgarian translation when the patronage of the socialist state is presumed to have ensured excellent quality standards.

**Key words:** (re)translation, Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, Grigor Pavlov

Some months ago I was asked to edit a new Bulgarian translation of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. It was a tempting offer – this is a book I love – but working on a translation of the novella when one already existed might, I was afraid, amount to self-indulgence. Indeed, the idea of justification is central to much retranslation theory – according to one succinct formulation, “retranslation needs to be justified; it cannot just be” (Massardier-Kenney 2015: 75).<sup>1</sup> Retranslation, from that perspective, also involves entering a battlefield – because it contests earlier translations, its position is at once “defensive” and “offensive” (ibid.). The prospect of girding up for battle is not necessarily appealing, however, and the battle could well be a losing one. With respect to Bulgarian translations of Conrad in particular, doubts have been voiced about the *raison d'être* of the

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<sup>1</sup> Massardier-Kenney herself does not share this view and chooses to present retranslation in positive terms. Like her and most translation scholars, I use the term *retranslation* to refer to “the act of translating a work that has previously been translated into the same language” (Baker, Saldanha 2009: 233).

retranslations of *Youth*, *Typhoon*, and *The Shadow Line*, where earlier translations prove superior (Asparuhov 2000: 340 – 341).

To make sure that a retranslation would be warranted, I needed to read the existing translation. That is how I came to study Grigor Pavlov's translation, first published in 1971 and subsequently republished in 1985 (within a five-volume selection of Conrad's work) and as recently as 2018.<sup>2</sup> Reading the opening two paragraphs dampened my enthusiasm somewhat. To begin with, the Bulgarian translation contains a physical impossibility – the same scene is set simultaneously at high tide (according to the first paragraph) and low tide (according to the second). In addition, an entire sentence has been omitted: “A haze rested on the low shores that ran out to sea in vanishing flatness” (Conrad 1995: 15).<sup>3</sup> That was not an auspicious beginning. Translation blemishes and blunders of various kinds accumulated as I read on, but even so it was a shock to reach, at one point, such a gross mistranslation as the following, in which the meaning of the sentence is reversed:

I almost envied him the possession of this modest and clear flame. [...]

I did not envy him his devotion to Kurtz, though. (91)

Почти му завиждах, че притежава този скромен и ясен пламък. [...]

Аз му завиждах за предаността му към Курц. (347)

Taking the translation as a whole, one must acknowledge that Pavlov makes a number of excellent linguistic choices; that as a rule his Bulgarian is rich, varied and idiomatic; that he successfully recreates the mood of the novella. At the same time, the translation contains far too many signal failures: the “ratio of loss and gain” inherent in all translation (Venuti 2013: 101) is skewed.

Some of the mistakes are elementary – the result, most typically, of a failure to distinguish between the different meanings of the same word and opting for the most common meaning, while disregarding the context. Thus, *external checks* (42) is rendered as *проверка* (304) rather than *външни ограничения*; “kind neighbours ready to cheer you or to fall on you” (82) is rendered as „любезни съседи, готови да ви развеселят или ухапят” (339); “she stopped as if her heart had failed her” (99) is rendered

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<sup>2</sup> References will be given to the 1985 edition as the most widely available (and the only one available online), though the examples of mistranslation and omission to be cited are common to all three editions. I will consider the differences between the editions further in the paper.

<sup>3</sup> All references to Conrad's original are made to the same edition.

as „тя се спря, сякаш бе спряло сърцето ѝ” (354) rather than *сякаш бе изгубила смелост*. Pavlov repeatedly disregards the logic of the fictional situation. When, for instance, Marlow compliments the chief accountant on his immaculate *linen* (36), the word clearly refers to the jacket, trousers, etc. the character is wearing – not to his underwear, as Pavlov renders the word (*бельото*: 299). The rendition is absurd: Marlow has just met the accountant, and in any case it is hard to imagine under what circumstances he could gain such intimate knowledge of the state of the accountant's underwear. Or consider this passage, in which an ironic Marlow describes his aunt's misguided enthusiasm for the enterprise he is about to join:

It appeared [...] I was also one of the Workers, with a capital – you know. Something like an emissary of light, something like a lower sort of apostle. (28)

Стана също ясно, че съм един от работниците с капитал. Разбирате, нали? Нещо като посланик на светлината. Нещо като апостол от по-низша категория. (292)

The mistranslation of the phrase *Workers, with a capital* is hard to explain or condone, considering that *Workers* is capitalized and that *capital* is used as a countable noun. The mistake is even harder to account for when we remember that the translation was made in the 1970s – the dominant ideology in Bulgaria at the time postulated an irreconcilable opposition between workers and capital; Pavlov, no less than anyone else, would have had an excellent grounding in that opposition.

Such mistranslations result in serious deformations. And sometimes Pavlov's automatic choice to render a word through its most common meaning leads to a complete communication breakdown. When Kurtz, lamenting his thwarted ambitions, says “And now for this stupid scoundrel –” (106), he means that the scoundrel has interfered with his plans (*ако не беше този глупав измамник*); Pavlov, however, renders this as „А сега за този глупав измамник...” (360), which is meaningless.

Another group of mistranslations seem to result from simple carelessness. When Pavlov renders Marlow's reflections that attacking is “only one way of resisting” (34) as „единственият начин да се съпротивяваш” (297), the reversal of meaning is probably the consequence of misreading the original (*only one way* vs. *the only way*). Numbers, too, can go wrong – this is Marlow describing the long trek to the Central Station:

Day after day, with the stamp and shuffle of sixty pair [*sic*] of bare feet behind me, each pair under a 60-lb. load. (39)

Ден след ден бях следван от тропота на шестдесет чифта боси нозе, всеки чифт превит под тежестта на сто и двадесет килограма. (301)

Clearly, Pavlov multiplied the sixty pounds by two instead of dividing them by two – an easy mistake to make, perhaps, but the result is a gross mistranslation that throws all common sense away: in what world are people able to carry 120 kg as a matter of course?

Another serious flaw of the translation are the numerous omissions. Individual words, phrases, even sentences are routinely omitted – sometimes for no apparent reason and sometimes presumably because they pose a serious challenge to the translator, or because in his judgement they do not have much to contribute. The omissions may result in a complete change of meaning – as when, in a description of the Intended, “the delicate shade of truthfulness upon those features” (116 – 117) is translated as „деликатния израз на тези черти” (369). Pavlov’s tendency to trim and prune inevitably diminishes Conrad’s fictional world. In the following sentence, Marlow describes the general manager’s uncle:

I saw him extend his short flipper of an arm for a gesture that took in the forest, the creek, the mud, the river [...] (58)

И махна с ръка към гората, заливчето, калта, реката [...] (319)

The translation of *his short flipper of an arm* as *ръка* fails to convey the ridiculousness of the character’s gesture (the contrast between his stubby arm and the immensity of the jungle he means to grasp) and thus blunts Marlow’s criticism of the absurd presumption of white man seeking to make Africa his own – a criticism central to the novella’s ideology.

The omissions also affect the depiction of a major character like Kurtz. Consider the following examples from a single descriptive passage – each of the segments in italics is omitted in Pavlov’s translation:

I could not hear a sound, but through my glasses I saw the thin arm extended commandingly, the lower jaw moving, the eyes of that apparition shining darkly far in its bony head *that nodded with grotesque jerks*. [...] His covering had fallen off, and his body emerged from it pitiful and appalling *as from a winding-sheet*. [...] Some of the pilgrims behind the stretcher carried his arms – two shot-guns, a heavy rifle, and a light revolver-carbine – *the thunderbolts of that pitiful Jupiter*. (97 – 98)

The omission of *that nodded with grotesque jerks* diminishes the impression of Kurtz as an “animated image of death”, as he is referred to a little later (97); the omission of *as from a winding-sheet* similarly weakens the recurrent motif of Kurtz as a “disinterred body” (80); and the omission of *the thunderbolts of that pitiful Jupiter* reduces the complexity of his characterization.

One type of omission that deserves special attention is related to the novella’s frequent use of verbal repetition for rhetorical effect. Here, too, Pavlov exhibits a tendency to trim; as often as not, he will eliminate the repetition – for instance:

Anything – anything can be done in this country. (57)

Тук всичко е възможно. (318)

Glamour urged him on, glamour kept him unscathed. (90)

Очарованието го тласкаше напред, то го предпазваше от удари. (346)

By the last gleams of twilight I could see the glitter of her eyes, full of tears – of tears that would not fall. (121)

В последните отблясъци на здрача видях горящите ѝ очи, пълни със сълзи, които не можеха да се отронят. (373)

Likewise, although Pavlov can render adequately the effects produced through the use of parallelism, asyndeton or polysyndeton, far too often he disregards them altogether. As a result, what in the original is stylistically marked appears in the translation as unmarked:

Instead of rivets there came an invasion, an infliction, a visitation. (54)

Вместо нитове върху нас врѣхлетя наказание, напаст божия. (315)

this strange world of plants, and water, and silence (60)

този странен [...] свят на растения, вода и тишина (320)

The consciousness of there being people in that bush, so silent, so quiet – as silent and quiet as the ruined house on the hill – made me uneasy. (93)

Мисълта, че там, в шубраците, се крият хора, тихи и безмълвни като порутената къща на върха на хълма, ме обезпокои. (349)

In all these instances – and the examples can be multiplied – the translation neutralizes the distinctive rhythms of the original and flattens out its emphases and its emotional heightening. Pavlov’s tendency to eliminate

verbal repetition and normalize syntactic patterning reduces a number of passages in the translation to bland summaries of the original – though they convey the text’s propositional content well enough, they fail to recreate its impact.

Though more subtly, the rhythm of the text is also affected by the way Pavlov repeatedly splits the long, labyrinthine sentences in which the novella abounds into two or more shorter sentences. On virtually every page of the translation there is at least one instance of such splitting; often, there will be multiple instances. But the rhythm of a sentence of average length is different from the rhythm of a long sentence (as are its logic and cohesion). Besides, the reduction to average length weakens the original’s contrasts between markedly long and markedly short sentences. A few of these splits seem inevitable – the choice is between splitting the sentence and violating the conventions of Bulgarian syntax. Those, however, are the exception. The majority of the splits could have been avoided, although that would have required a greater effort on the translator’s part. Finally, there are splits that seem completely unwarranted and unmotivated:

He was stand-offish with the other agents, and they on their side said he was the manager’s spy upon them. (45)

С другите агенти се държеше студено. А те от своя страна твърдяха, че е шпионин на управителя. (307)

It is unclear what difficulty – either for the translator or for the reader – is avoided here. Such indiscriminate splitting even of short, uncomplicated sentences suggests that with Pavlov the impulse to split became a sort of translator’s tic.

Another area in which the translation often disappoints is the broad area of character interaction and dialogue. Pavlov’s translation repeatedly misattributes actions and attitudes – the result, probably, of hasty reading and a disregard for the logic of the fictional situation. Thus, for instance, “He declared he would shoot me unless I [...] cleared out of the country” (92; spoken by the Russian) tells us that Kurtz wants to drive the Russian away. In the Bulgarian translation, it is Kurtz who is planning to go away: „Заяви, че ще ме застреля, [...] и след това ще се махне от страната” (348). Such gross mistranslations result in serious deformations. The dialogue in the novella is affected particularly seriously – words spoken by the doctor examining Marlow are misattributed to Marlow; words spoken by the general manager are again misattributed to Marlow; words spoken by Kurtz are misattributed to the general manager; etc. In one instance,

Pavlov's failure to translate a reporting clause signalling that Marlow is talking to the pilgrims ("I expounded": 73), rather than silently reflecting, makes the pilgrims' actions – a response to Marlow's shocking suggestion – incomprehensible. One of the most significant pragmatic distortions of a character's utterance occurs in the following passage:

At this moment I heard Kurtz's deep voice behind the curtain: "Save me! – save the ivory, you mean. Don't tell me. Save *me!* Why, I've had to save you. You are interrupting my plans now. [...]" (100; italics in the original)

В този миг чух дълбокия глас на Курц зад завесата: „Спасете ме! Искате да кажете слоновата кост? Не казвайте. Спасете *мене!* А трябваше аз да ви спася. Пречите на плановете ми. [...]" (355)

Talking to the general manager, Conrad's Kurtz is clearly echoing a preceding utterance which Marlow does not catch, and he is clearly outraged by the implied suggestion that the pilgrims are there to save him. Pavlov's Kurtz, by contrast, is begging to be saved. An appropriate translation here would be, rather, „Да ме спасите ли? [...] Мене да спасите?". The deformation stems from the translator's failure to consider either the immediate context – the implausibility of someone pleading to be saved and simultaneously complaining about being interrupted – or the character of Kurtz in its totality. As a result, the translation transforms Conrad's proud and fierce Kurtz into a pathetic supplicant.

Marlow's characterization, too, is radically affected by Pavlov's flawed translation. To begin with, the repeated splitting of longer sentences has important consequences not only for the rhythm of the prose and the reader's perception of individual scenes, but also for the rendition of Marlow's mind style, in Roger Fowler's term. The translation alters those "consistent structural options" which "cut[...] the presented world to one pattern or another" and "give rise to an impression of a world-view" (Fowler 1977: 76). Marlow's sinuous, serpentine syntax reflects his tortuous thought processes as he gropes towards understanding; to change the syntax is to change the man and the mind.

Marlow's complex and ambivalent character also falls victim to Pavlov's tendency to trim and prune. Conrad's Marlow often pauses to search for the right word, and tends toward tentative expressions like *seemed to* and *appeared to*; *of some sort* and *a kind of*; *as if* and *so to speak*. In Pavlov's translation, these markers of uncertainty are routinely omitted. As a result, Marlow's thought processes and experience are



simplified; the extent of his ignorance – a leitmotif in his characterization – is diminished; and the contrast between appearance and reality, subjective view and objective fact, is cancelled. A few examples will suffice:

You have no idea how effective such a ... a ... faculty can be. (42)  
Нямате представа колко ефектна може да бъде такава способност.  
(304)

What made this emotion so overpowering was – how shall I define it? – the moral shock I received [...] (104)  
Зашемети ме нравственият удар [...] (358)

We could have fancied ourselves the first of men [...] (62)  
Ние бяхме първите хора [...] (322)

It looked like a high-handed proceeding; but it was really a case of legitimate self-defence. (70)  
Това бе проява на своеволие, но всъщност бе акт на законна самозащита. (328 – 329)

In the last example, with the collapse of the distinction between appearance and reality, the sentence becomes meaningless.

Furthermore, while Conrad's Marlow is often unsure even about his own feelings and perceptions, Pavlov's Marlow appears to have direct access to the feelings and perceptions of others:

Suddenly she opened her bared arms and threw them up rigid above her head, as though in an uncontrollable desire to touch the sky [...] (100)  
Внезапно разпери големите [sic] си ръце и ги изправи високо над главата си, овладяна от непреодолимото желание да докосне небето [...] (354 – 355)

He seemed to think himself excellently well equipped for a renewed encounter with the wilderness. (103)  
Той вярваше, че е отлично екипиран за нова среща с джунглата. (357)

Not only does the Bulgarian Marlow speak authoritatively where the English Marlow registers a tentative impression or the realization of an erroneous judgement – the Bulgarian Marlow acts much more resolutely too:

I strode rapidly with clenched fists. I fancy I had some vague notion of falling upon him and giving him a drubbing. I don't know. (105)

Крчех бързо със свити юмруци. Щях да го намеря и да го пребия. (359)

Pavlov's translation also often diminishes Marlow's interaction with his friends on the *Nellie*. Conrad's Marlow makes his friends privy to his thought processes, to his uncertainty and ignorance; he appeals to them for a recognition of his difficulties, or seeks some common experiential or epistemological ground they share with him. The translation considerably weakens this aspect of the narration. Consider the following passages – each of the segments in italics is omitted in Pavlov's translation:

I made the strange discovery that I had never imagined him as doing, *you know*, but as discoursing. (79)

And there, *don't you see?* your strength comes in [...] (82)

I did not want to have the throttling of him, *you understand* – and indeed it would have been very little use for any practical purpose. (106)

And I wasn't arguing with a lunatic either. *Believe me or not*, his intelligence was perfectly clear [...] (107)

These omissions make Pavlov's Marlow very different from Conrad's. The English Marlow's repeated addresses to his audience reflect his need to make himself understood and his uncertainty that he *is* making himself understood; they reflect, too, his hope to find validation for his experience. The Bulgarian Marlow is marked by no such uncertainty or vulnerability – he is both a more confident narrator and a more monologic one.

Besides such omissions, the perception that Marlow is addressing an audience is also subtly weakened through the rendition of the personal pronoun *you*. In the translation, that sometimes disappears in a more impersonal construction, or is replaced by the first person singular:

You couldn't imagine a more deadly place for a shipwreck. (72)

А едва ли имаше по-ужасно място за корабкрушение. (330)

[E]ven while he was talking to you, you forgot that it was he – the man before your eyes – who had gone through these things. (91)

[Д]ори когато разговаряше с мен, забравях, че той – човекът пред очите ми – бе преживял всичко това. (347)

In the second example, the Bulgarian Marlow presents the experience as exclusively his own, while the English Marlow draws his friends into it and perhaps suggests for it a broader validity (the generic *you*). This verbal gesture is significant – it is a poignant attempt on Marlow’s part to counteract the truth about the human condition he states elsewhere: “We live, as we dream – alone ....” (50). The mistranslation of pronouns like *you* or *one* may have other important consequences, too. Consider the following:

You looked on amazed, and began to suspect yourself of being deaf – then the night came suddenly, and struck you blind as well. (67)

Огледахме се изумени и помислихме, че сме оглушали – след това нощта падна внезапно и ни ослепи. (327)

Pavlov’s choice to render the second person as the first person plural produces two unfortunate effects: not only does it weaken Marlow’s engagement with his audience, but it also blurs the distinction between him and the pilgrims – a distinction maintained throughout the novella. The effect of such false identification between Marlow and the pilgrims is particularly disastrous in the following passage:

[T]his suspicion of their not being inhuman [...] would come slowly to one. [...] [W]hat thrilled you was just the thought of their humanity – like yours – the thought of your remote kinship with this wild and passionate uproar. (62 – 63)

[П]одозрението, че те не са нечовеци [...] се вселяваше в нас бавно. [...] [М]исълта за тяхната човечност – като нашата – ни караше да тръпнем, мисълта за далечното ни родство с тази дива и страстна врява. (322)

In this passage, by *one* Marlow really means himself, and the use of *you* signals his attempt to share his experience with his audience. The pilgrims most certainly do not share the experience – they feel no kinship with the native people. Pavlov thus falsifies the fictional reality of Conrad’s novella. By blurring the distinction between Marlow’s and the pilgrims’ perceptions, Pavlov obscures the difference between their moral compasses – a difference central to the novella’s ideology. Pronouns, this passage reminds

us, must be handled with great sensitivity in translation – their inadequate rendition may destroy communities existing in the fictional world and create spurious ones.

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I have been talking of Pavlov's translation and Pavlov's choices, but of course translation is a joint effort. All the serious flaws of the Bulgarian translation are the responsibility of Pavlov himself, certainly, but also of his editors. The mistranslations and omissions discussed above are, as I said, common to all three editions of the translation. It seems highly unlikely that the editors read the original along with the translation: they seem to have read the translation alone, presumably in order merely to smooth out the rough edges. The editor of the first edition, Bogdana Zidarova, was an author in her own right, with a degree in German. Up to and including 1971, she had written a few books of poetry (two of them for children) and had compiled a volume of modern Scandinavian poetry, translating a portion of the poems and writing the preface. At that point, she had done no translation from English, although she was to do some later in her career.<sup>4</sup> Neither Zidarova's formal education nor her experience suited her to the task of editing Pavlov's translation; her appointment seems to have been determined by extraliterary factors. Even if she did read the English original along with the Bulgarian version, she was perhaps so certain of Pavlov's superior expertise or so awed by his reputation – he was a translator, interpreter for the government, and university lecturer in English and American literature – that she unquestioningly accepted even his most obviously flawed choices. That, of course, defeats the whole purpose of editing. But, again, it is far more likely that she did not compare the translation with the original at all.

Hristo Kanev, the editor of the 1985 edition, presents a different case. By 1985, he had translated several major novels from English, and was to translate even more, becoming a prominent translator of Victorian fiction in particular. Even more importantly, he is Bulgaria's most productive translator of Conrad – in the late 1960s and early 70s he translated *Lord Jim*, *Nostramo*, *The Shadow-Line*, and *Youth*. It is because he was so eminently suited to the task of editing Pavlov's translation that

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<sup>4</sup> A short bio-bibliographical note on Zidarova can be found at <https://literaturesviat.com/?p=131972>. Detailed information about her output as author and translator can be found in COBISS.

his work disappoints so. The differences between the 1985 and the 1971 edition are mostly minimal. Typically, Kanev makes minor alterations in phrasing – e.g. „Бяха се минали повече от тридесет дни” (1971: 34) becomes „Бяха изминали повече от тридесет дни” (1985: 294); „Той спря да говори” (1971: 18) becomes „Той млъкна” (1985: 284). Many of these alterations are slight improvements; substantial improvements – like the change from „този папие-маше Мефистофел” (1971: 58) to „този Мефистофел от папиемаше” (1985: 310) – are few. For the most part, Kanev tinkers with small details without fixing the serious problems; here is a representative example:

He had been absent for several months – getting himself adored, I suppose [...] (93)

Той бе отсъствал няколко месеца, радвайки се на обграждащото го, предполагам [...] (1971: 122)

Той отсъствувал няколко месеца, радвайки се, предполагам, на това, което го обгражда [...] (1985: 349)

The minor alterations are pointless when the phrase *getting himself adored* remains grossly mistranslated. Indeed, not only does Kanev fail to remove the major flaws from Pavlov’s translation – sometimes he actually adds to them. For example, he does some pruning of his own:

[T]he sound of her low voice seemed to have the accompaniment of all the other sounds, full of mystery, desolation, and sorrow, I had ever heard [...] (121)

[В] глухия ѝ глас се чува други звуци, изпълнени с тайнственост, пустош и мъка, звуци, които бях чувал [...] (1971: 161)

[В] глухия ѝ глас се чува други звуци, които бях чувал [...] (1985: 373)

While *изпълнени с тайнственост, пустош и мъка* does sound a little awkward, surely an editor’s job is to help polish the offending phrase – instead, Kanev gets rid of it altogether. Or consider the following passage (emphasis has been added):

*Now, as far as I did see, I could go to the right or to the left of this. I didn’t know either channel, of course. The banks looked pretty well alike, the depth appeared the same [...]. (74)*

*Реших да мина отдясно или отляво на тези островчета. Не познавах течението. Бреговете изглеждаха съвсем еднакви, а също и дълбочината [...]. (1971: 94)*

*Реших да мина отдясно или отляво на тези островчета. Бреговете изглеждаха съвсем еднакви, а също и дълбочината [...]. (1985: 332)*

Here, Pavlov neutralizes Marlow's tentativeness through omission, and Kanev, through further omission, eliminates his confession of ignorance as well, perhaps because he regards it as superfluous.

If Kanev, so superbly equipped to edit the Bulgarian translation of *Heart of Darkness*, does not live up to expectations, one can hardly hope for better from the editor of the 2018 edition. Kremena Boynova studied Classics and German and has mostly worked as a proofreader. She has translated two books – one from English and one from German; those are both slim popular romances (64 and 47 pages respectively) published in the early 1990s.<sup>5</sup> Her appointment as editor of the translation is a dubious choice; nor is it clear what the title “editor” stands for in this case – the 2018 edition is an almost exact replica of the 1985 edition, with only a handful of alterations of a proofreading kind (e.g. *Гринвич* is changed to *Гринуич*; *плувахме* is changed to *плавахме*). It seems fairly clear that no editorial work was done here. The publishing house, My Book, founded in 2018, apparently took for granted the quality of a text produced by one of the most renowned publishing houses of the recent past, Georgi Bakalov; or, alternatively, was unwilling to make a financial investment. It is regrettable that a publisher boasting the production of Conrad's work as proof of the refined literary tastes they cater to should have done nothing to offer the reader a text of good quality.<sup>6</sup>

The practice of editing a translation without comparing it with the original is one we tend to associate with the contemporary book industry. In contemporary publishing, translations are often assigned so-called editors for style, who often do not speak the language of the original; this makes the entire publication process quicker, easier, and cheaper – a major consideration when a publisher wants to churn out as many new books as

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<sup>5</sup> Information about Boynova's translations is available in COBISS. Her education background features in her Facebook account; information about the books she has proofread and the occasional book she has edited can be garnered from [biblioman.chitanka.info](http://biblioman.chitanka.info).

<sup>6</sup> See the publisher's website: <http://www.my-book.bg/>. Conrad is the first of several authors cited to support the claim that My Book aims to offer literature of superior value and “the highest quality on the book market” (my translation).

possible (Pipeva 2020: 326 – 327). To judge from the 1971 and 1985 editions of the Bulgarian *Heart of Darkness*, book publishing in socialist Bulgaria – famous for its rigorous control over the entire process of translation and publication, and presumably not driven by ambitions for quick profit – was not above such dubious practices, leading to such shoddy results.<sup>7</sup>

And even if we assume that the editors of Pavlov’s translation were engaged merely as stylistic editors and were not expected to read the original, their work is still remarkably careless. One does not need to read the original in order to see, for instance, the absurdity of the same scene unfolding simultaneously at high and low tide, or of a man carrying a load of 120 kg. There are, in fact, a series of curious mistakes in the Bulgarian *Heart of Darkness* whose origin is hard to pinpoint and for which any combination of translator, possibly copyist, editor, compositor, and proofreader could be responsible. Thus, for example, “[s]trings of dusty niggers” (37) appears as „[г]рупа страшни негри” (299; instead of *прашни*); “This was the station’s mess-room” (42) appears as „Такъв бе стилът на лагера” (304; instead of *столът*); “neither that fireman nor I had any time to peer into our creepy thoughts” (64) appears as „Нито огънят ми, нито аз имахме време да надникнем в страховитите си мисли” (324; instead of *огнярът ми*); etc.<sup>8</sup> The translation even contains what seem to be traces of a first draft, with Pavlov wondering between different lexical and syntactic choices – e.g. the sentence “The Chapman light-house, a three-legged thing erect on a mud-flat, shone strongly” (17) appears as „Заблестя фарът Чапман – трикрака постройка, издигната върху калния бряг, – засия ярко” (282). Regardless of who was responsible for them, such faults disfigure the text no less than the mistranslations and omissions discussed earlier.

For over fifty years, then, Bulgarian readers have had a deeply flawed version of Conrad’s novella. In such a case, the idea of retranslation as a tribute to the fundamentally open nature of the literary text – as an avenue to diversity (Baker, Saldanha 2009: 233), mobility (Massardier-

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<sup>7</sup> The translation industry of socialist Bulgaria contrasted its principles and practices with those of earlier times – stressing, for example, that the nationalization of publishing houses minimized commercial motives (Zhechev 1977: 40), that translators were now committed to recreating not only the substance but also the style of the text, and that the increased role of editors safeguarded against deviations from the original (Vaseva 1977: 124, 126, 134).

<sup>8</sup> These mistakes, like the anomalous sentence that follows, appear in all three editions; as before, references are given to the 1985 edition.

Kenney 2015: 82), or re-accentuation (Peeters, Van Poucke 2023: 13) – seems like a luxury. Retranslation, this case study shows, can be a matter of a basic need for reliability; and existing translations need to be re-examined and re-evaluated regardless of established reputations – either individual or institutional ones.

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DOI 10.69085/ntf2024b133

**NAMING TROPES AND CULTURAL CONNECTIONS  
OF THE DREAMING:  
EXPLORING THE CHALLENGES OF TRANSLATING  
NEIL GAIMAN’S “THE SANDMAN”**

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Since its debut in 1989, Neil Gaiman’s seminal work “The Sandman” has been widely regarded as one of the most important comics ever published, with issue #19, winning the “World Fantasy Award” for original short story in 1991. Originally published by “DC Comics”, the series saw its first publication in Bulgarian in 2022, courtesy of “Artline Studios”, with issues #1-20 appearing in three collected editions. As the translator of the aforementioned three books and with the field of comics being of particular interest to this writer, it is the goal of the current paper to bring to light the cultural and literary aspects of “The Sandman” and the difficulties of transferring them to Bulgarian.

**Key words:** The Sandman, Comics, Translation, Neil Gaiman, Cultural Adaptation

## **THE BASICS**

For the purposes of this paper being accessible to a broader audience, it should be noted that while important elements of how comics generally work will be addressed, they are not the main point of the current text and are not explored in great detail. As such, the writer would like to point interested readers to Scott McCloud’s “Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art” (1993, Tundra Publishing). Instead, the main focus of the text is to provide examples of intertextuality, allusions, genre tropes featured throughout volumes 1 and 2 of “The Sandman”, along with proper argumentation of their translation and analysis of how said translation was dictated not merely by the target language, but also the limitations and requirements of comic books as a medium. For the sake of this analysis, we shall define translation as a method for carrying over verbal, written and, in

on the other hand, will cover all aspects that are familiar to most of the target audience – this includes elements of national, cultural heritage e.g. customs, references to everyday activities and pastimes – books, TV programs, etc. According to previous research, “In the first 8 issues of the comic, 181 intertextual references were found, the largest proportion of which were references to literature, religion and mythology. Comic book references were second highest in number, followed by music and finally references to films series and theatrical pieces which were the least common ones.” (Dakić, 2023: 63). Key among these will be analyzed.

### **PART 1: THE NAMES IN “THE SANDMAN”**

One of the great difficulties when it comes to translating comics is how character names should be interpreted, as often, especially in the superhero genre, names often relate to each particular character’s physical appearance, backstory, special powers and even purpose. As Mackova points out “...in some literary genres, for example in comedies, fairytales etc., connotations of the respective names have to be taken into consideration and the needs to be translated according to that (Newmark, A Textbook 214). The exact, generally applicable rules on translating, transferring and naturalization of names do not exist and the choice on this matter is usually the translator’s choice. [...] Some names have different functions in comics – comical effect, characterizing function, referential function, metaphoric function etc. Some names appear only in short, one-shot stories, and some re-appear throughout one or more long-running series.” (2012: 49-50)

One must also consider that such characters, currently, are often considered as merchandising opportunities, with them being adapted for movies and television, video-games, toys and collectibles, and any other form of marketable product imaginable. Thus, with multiple factors being present, there is no single approach to translating the name of each character.

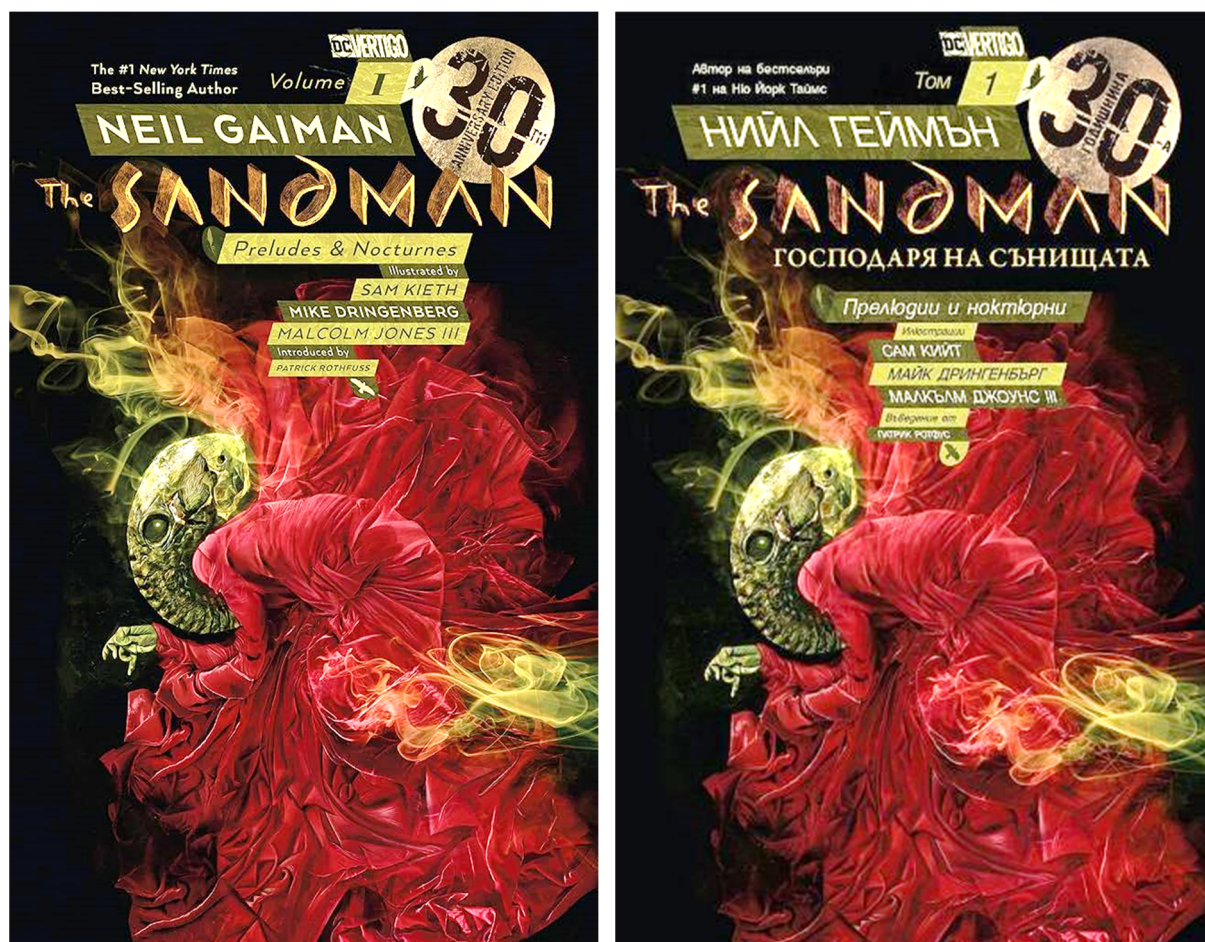
The techniques most commonly adopted include: direct translation (“Iron Man” – „Железния човек“), transcription (“Spider-Man” – „Спайдърмен“), transliteration (“Batman” – „Батман“) or reinterpretation/adaptation (“Wolverine” – „Върколак“).

The title character of *The Sandman* presented a curious case, as he shares a name with several completely different characters, appearing in publications of both “DC Comics” and competitors such as “Marvel Comics”, as well as a mythological figure of folklore (the connection with which will be analyzed more thoroughly later in this paper).

The first issue arises with the common association of names ending in „ман“ or „мен“, with an emphasis on the „man“ (not to be confused with the stress of more common last names such as “Goldman”, “Silverman”, etc.) with the superhero naming trope. As the character does not have a superhero persona (unlike most of his namesakes), presenting him as „Сандман“ or „Сандмен“ respectively would have potentially alienated audiences, who are not interested in the superhero genre and thus limit the broader appeal of the author, whose name is attached to the work. Thus, transcription or transliteration were almost immediately rejected as viable options.

We then turn to a potential direct translation, that being „Пясъчния човек“. Returning to the concept of alienating an audience, such a translation would have likely been rejected by the comic’s pre-established fan-base in Bulgaria, who, due to an official translation not existing, would most commonly simply refer to the character using his original name. Furthermore, a direct translation could easily become a target of criticism from readers, who are familiar with the concept of The Sandman of folklore, his connection to the plot of the book and his Bulgarian equivalent, Suncho (Сънчо). Yet another reason for wanting to avoid the direct translation is that „Пясъчния човек“ had long since been established in various media as the name of the villainous Sandman (Flint Marko) featured heavily in books by “Marvel Comics”.

In conjunction with the Bulgarian publisher, it was therefore decided that, for marketing purposes, the title of “The Sandman” shall remain in English on the cover of the books and any mentions of it throughout the plot of the book will be substituted in various ways (such as using the character’s in-universe name, Dream, or other descriptive titles). In an attempt to give insight on what the story is about to newcomers, a sub-heading – „Господаря на сънищата“, was then added. It was deemed that the addition of this translated interpretation of the title character could also be supported by the fact that during their original English-language publication, issues #1-8 featured the very same sub-heading – “Master of Dreams”. „Господаря на сънищата“ respectively became the main form for interpreting “The Sandman” as a sobriquet throughout the story.



*Fig. 1. Original (left) and Bulgarian (right) covers to “The Sandman” vol.1 (30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition)*

This, however, does not completely resolve the problematic nature of the name. A huge part of the initial storyline involves The Sandman trying to reacquire his tools of the trade, one of which is a pouch of magical sand, with his quest for it being the main plot point of issue #3 – “Dream a Little Dream of Me”. In a sequence from that story, the characters of John Constantine and Mad Hettie discuss the re-emergence of The Sandman after his long absence. In the translation process, I took advantage of their dialogue and used it as a way to gradually introduce the various concepts and potential translations for The Sandman, with him being referred to as “оня с пясъка“, „пясъчния човек“ and even being compared to „Сънчо“ in an additional short sentence, not present in the original story. This helped establish „Пясъчния човек“ as a valid translation where particular story sequences require it due to unavoidable plot threads or visual cues. A more detailed analysis of this scene is featured later in the paper.

With his more formal title now decided upon, it was time to focus on The Sandman’s “true” identity – that of Dream of the Endless. The Endless

are a family of seven anthropomorphic personifications of mythological and metaphysical entities, the names of which all start with the letter “D” – Dream, Destiny, Death, Desire, Despair, Delirium (formerly known as Delight) and Destruction. Despite only Dream and Death appearing in significant roles throughout volume 1, long-term plans for the series required all of the Endless’ names be considered carefully from the outset, so that the concept of the matching starting letters be preserved in the Bulgarian translation. Fortunate circumstances, that being that the Bulgarian words for both “dream” and “death” – „сън“ and „смърт“ respectively share the same starting letter, meant that “D” would be substituted with „С“. It was then a matter of trying to find words which both start with said letter and encapsulate to as close a degree as possible, the main concept of the characters. The list of The Endless’ names therefore turned out as follows:

*Dream – Сън*

*Death – Смърт*

*Destiny – Съдба*

*Desire – Страст*

*Despair – Слабост*

*Delirium – Смут*

*Delight – Сладост*

The name of the final Endless – Destruction – is still in development, as the character has not yet been mentioned within the first two volumes of the series. Options being currently considered include „Сеч“, „Съкрушение“ and „Страдание“.

In a paper focusing on the translation of volume 1, Jula Dakić points out that an identical approach, right down to the letter chosen, was also adopted for the Croatian translation by Tatjana Jambrišak (2023: 22)

Another alteration that was dictated by the changing of the letter was the quotation by character John Dee, included in the beginning of volume 1. While the original book features the line “D is for a lot of things”, the Bulgarian edition substitutes it with „Сънищата са истински“ – a line uttered by the same character, which fits the main concept of the book just as well.

Of particular interest in volumes 1 and 2, despite only being mentioned briefly, is Destiny, as the introduction to volume 2 puts an emphasis on the distinct connection between him and the “DC Comics” character Dr. Destiny (featured throughout volume 1). Naturally, as „Съдба“ had already been decided as the translation of Destiny, it would only make sense for the same word to be used for Dr. Destiny. However, a different character from the DC Universe – Dr. Fate – had already been established as „Д-р Съдба“ in Bulgarian throughout different media, such as the “Batman: The Brave and

the Bold” television series or the “Black Adam” theatrical feature. Thus, an alternate take was needed and Dr. Destiny was translated as „Д-р Участ“ instead. In an attempt to preserve the connection between Destiny of the Endless and Dr. Destiny, during the recap of events in the foreword to volume 2, the following sentence underwent slight alterations:

*„John Dee, the self-styled Doctor Destiny (but shouldn't that name belong to another? To someone like our neighbor, with his robe and his book?)“*

*„Джон Дий, дал си прозвището Доктор Участ (Участ... Съдба...дали това име не принадлежи на някой друг? Някой като нашия събеседник, с неговата роба и тази книга?)“*

Other characters of interest include incarnations of mythological figures such as The Norns of Norse mythology, introduced as “The Three-In-One” in the original book and established as „Тройната норна“ in their original appearance. It should be noted that, just like Dream, as the series progresses, they are also addressed as their equivalents from other cultures, such as the “The Moirai” or “The Fates”.

Mentions of the Erinyes or Eumenidies of Greek mythology as “The Kindly Ones” are adapted as „Благосклонните евмениди“ respectively.

Last but not least, we have Fiddler’s Green – a “place of perpetual mirth, where a fiddle never stops playing” from 19<sup>th</sup>-century English folklore, featured in volume 2 of “The Sandman” as an anthropomorphic personification, who, by the end of the story, has returned to its original physical form. In an attempt to have a more pleasing-to-read phrase as the character’s name, „Полето на покоя“ was chosen, as it also features alliteration – a common trope in naming comic-book characters. A more detailed meaning of the concept of “Fiddler’s Green” was included as a footnote during the introduction to volume 2.

The final element to be included in this section is a list of names of other characters, most of which with relatively minor roles, whose names underwent reinterpretation or adaptation, as opposed to direct translations:

*Brute – Грамадата*

*Glob – Буцата*

*Squatterbloat – Разплутин*

*Colonel Knowledge – Полковник Познание*

Of the examples above, of most interest would probably be „Полковник Познание“, as, in its translated form, it once again falls under the comic trope of alliterative names.



Further examples include:

*Dog Soup* – Дроб сарма

*Candyman* – Дон Бонбон

*Eye Guy* – Вади очи

*The Shades* – Цайса

*Boogeyman* – Торбалан

*Flay-by-night* – Среднощния кожодер

This second group of names belong to serial killers featured in the final issues of “The Sandman” vol.2. We, as readers, are not given too much insight into their specific methods and, as such, they are more open to interpretation. „Дроб сарма“, for example, is a multi-layered adaptation of the name, as it is once again a meal (although not soup) and it incorporates the Bulgarian colloquial phrase „направих се на дроб сарма“ – being in a good-for-nothing state (thus addressing what happens to the killer’s victims). And although not immediately noticeable to readers who might not be fluent in the foreign language, it also includes the notion of “chopped liver” used in English as a phrase signifying being ignored and left out (thus giving the character a notion of being a social misfit). “Candyman”, on the other hand, was much simpler, as the main goal here was simply to avoid potential confusion with the Clive Barker character of the same name, who debuted in 1985.

## PART 2: CONFINING DREAMS

With comics being a predominantly visual medium, naturally, there are cases where the translation is dictated not only by the written words, but also the visuals – an integral part of any form of comic-book translation. This section will also explore several examples of such occurrences. Speech bubbles and caption boxes, which are used to provide narration, character dialogue and internal monologues also limit the translator in terms of the number of characters they can use to carry over a particular phrase. As such, proper translation may sometimes need to be sacrificed for the sake of fitting the translation in the allotted space.

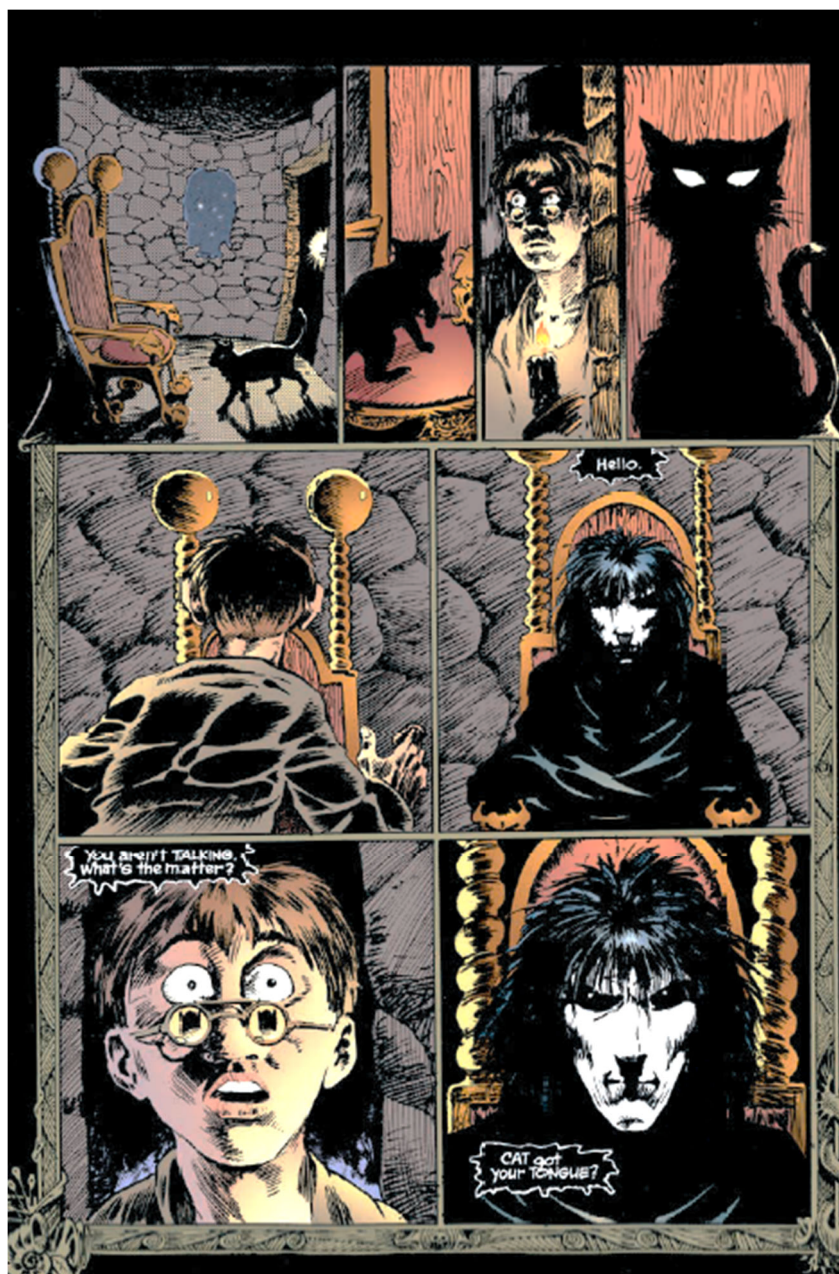
The title of issue #1 – “Sleep of the Just” is presented in a rigid grid, consisting of two groups of boxes, each box containing a single letter. Thus, the Bulgarian title of the issue was dictated by the fact that it needs to consist of at least 2 words, the first being 5 letters and the final – 4 letters, respectively. This ultimately led to the title „СЪНЯТ ТЪЙ БЛАГ“.



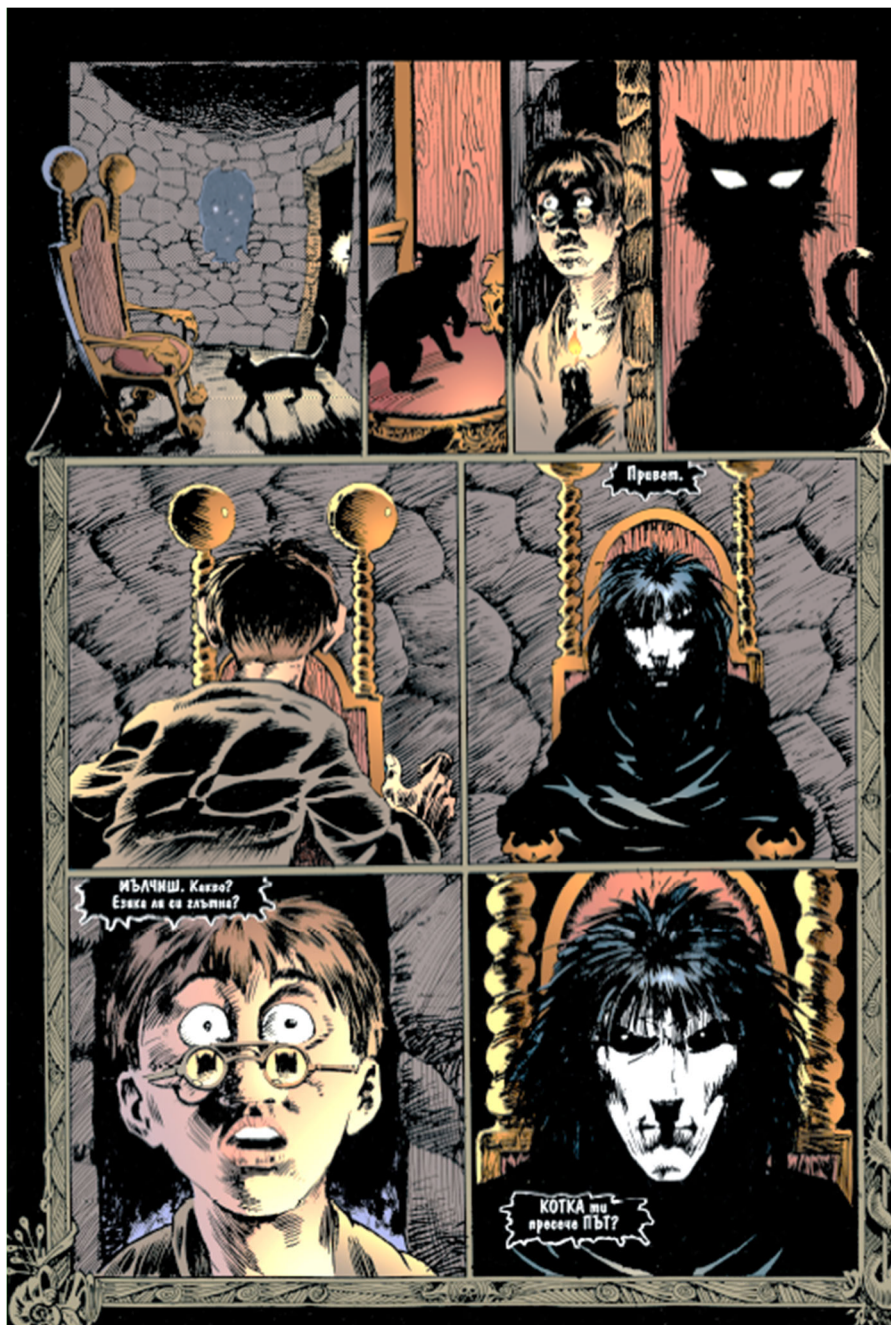


Fig. 2. “The Sandman” vol.1 (30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition), page 20 – Original (left) and Bulgarian (right)

Issue #1 also features a scene in which Morpheus has taken the form of a cat and, once he once again assumes anthropomorphic appearance, he turns to a man with the phrase “Cat got your tongue?”. The Bulgarian equivalent of this phrase, however, does not incorporate cats in any way. Therefore, the proper translation of “Cat got your tongue” was moved in an earlier speech bubble, which allowed for more letters to be fit (by replacing the sentence “You aren’t talking.” with the single word „мълчиш“), and an additional line involving cats was inserted, in order to preserve the connection to the visuals:







*Fig. 3. “The Sandman” vol.1 (30th Anniversary Edition), page 48, Original (top) and Bulgarian (bottom)*

### PART 3: CULTURAL CONJURING

While a lot of comics generally rely on allusions, this is especially true regarding Neil Gaiman’s work, where references to folklore, literature, pop-culture, etc, are abundant in nearly every issue of “The Sandman”. As Mackova points out, “...the translator often needs to trace these allusions to their source, which can be a demanding job. In addition, the translator may often encounter allusions to works which were not translated in his/her target

language and then s/he is confronted with a decision whether to translate such allusion (and how), substitute it with a different allusion, explain the original allusion somehow or leave it out” (2012: 52). Part 3 of the paper will explore but a few examples of this, encountered in the first two volumes of “The Sandman”.

### 3.1 A DREAM BY ANY OTHER NAME

One of the most captivating aspects throughout “The Sandman” is that it crafts its own universe by incorporating characters, plot threads and various other elements from mythologies from all over the world. Within volume 1 alone, for example, the reader encounters Cain, Abel and Lucifer of Christian religion, the Norns of Norse mythology. This acceptance of world culture extends heavily to the title character himself, as Morpheus appears to everyone encountered in accordance with their beliefs. To Nada, queen of a distant African kingdom, he is Kai’ckul, whereas to J’onn J’onzz of Mars, he is Lord L’zoril. This storytelling decision enabled the Bulgarian edition to feature a reference to our own equivalent of The Sandman, namely Suncho (СЪНЧО), as well as elaborate, albeit briefly, on the “sand” aspect of The Sandman for an audience that might not be thoroughly familiar with the concept. In a 2015 paper, Nieminen refers to this approach as being one of the modifying strategies which “Ruokonen places [in] four classes (2010:149–154). The first one (number 4 on the overall list), adding guidance, essentially involves allusions, where translator has added something to the original ST allusion. These additions include some brief contextual guidance, for example introductory phrases, and footnotes, but also different stylistic or formal markers, which deviate from those of the original ST.” (35)

This usage of a modifying strategy appears in issue #3, “Dream a Little Dream of Me” which features an interaction between John Constantine (a character well-versed into multicultural mythology) and a homeless lady by the name of Mad Hettie. Mad Hettie refers to the title character as “Morpheus”, the “Oneiromancer” and “The Sandman”, to which Constantine responds with the following statement:

*“Look, The Sandman’s a fairy story you tell kids to get them off to sleep. Sprinkles magic dust in your eyes and brings you sweet dreams.”*

For the Bulgarian translation, this line was slightly altered:

„Виж, това с Пясъчния човек е приказка за лека нощ. Като Сънчо. Вместо перце има вълшебен прах, поръсва те и ти носи сладки сънища.“

A proverbial “Have your cake and eat it too” solution aimed at pleasing every reader, this change dictated another line alteration which, ultimately, was abandoned, but will be explored in the next section.



**Fig. 4.** Panels from “The Sandman” vol.1 (30th Anniversary Edition), page 85, Original (left) and Bulgarian (right)

### 3.2 LULLABIES

As previously established, in order to bring a sense of familiarity to the reader, it is not uncommon for fiction to incorporate elements of real-world culture and pop-culture. In the current case, that is the usage of songs. And whereas in other types of media, e.g. a novel, titles and lyrics might remain as they were originally and a translation be provided in a footnote, so that the reader can grasp the significance of the reference, elaborate explanations are a luxury in the comic-book world and therefore, most of the time, translations become a necessity. Certain stories and characters may allow more room for improvisation. For example, books featuring Deadpool, a character known for his fourth-wall-breaking antics, would usually include references entirely for comedic purposes. Therefore, in order to bring about the same reaction in a Bulgarian reader, instead of translation proper, we can provide an equivalent that the target audience might be more familiar with. As such, in “Deadpool Kills Deadpool” („Дедпул убива Дедпул“, Студио Артлайн, 2018 г.) instead of saying “Holla at your boy” (a song by Nigerian singer Wizkid), he now says „Я елате пиленца при батко“, referencing the song „Къде си батко?“ by Milko Kalaydzhiev. Many examples of this variety exist in a multitude of titles translated from various languages to Bulgarian over the years, such as “Asterix” or “Tom & Jerry”.

An approach of this sort, however, would not be suitable for “The Sandman”, as it would ruin the suspension of disbelief and the serious nature of the story.

In regards to translation of songs, Osoblivaia makes the following observations:

*Semantics, syntax, language register, metrics, rhyme, rhythm, and choreography are combined in the writing, even the translation of an entire text. Here it is important to understand the process of creation of the songs, then analyze the overall meaning of the texts in question to apply this process in their translation.*

*Here are the factors that come into play when translating the lyrics of a song:*

#### ***Rhythm***

*[...] the lyrics must be in accordance with the rhythm of the song, except that many languages use more words than English to express the same idea. Therefore, if the word-for-word translated song is intended to be sung, it would be impossible to set certain lyrics to the rhythm. [...]*

### **References**

*Many songs are written about events, except that these references are not always known by the audience for which they are translated. You have to try to translate these references so that they are understandable, but there is always a word limit because of the rhythm.*

### **Style**

*Some song lyrics have a very particular style, with puns or alliterations, for example. This style is difficult to transcribe in a translation because of the number of words imposed by the rhythm. However, if this style is not respected, the song loses all its charm, and the presence of the author disappears.*

(2021)

Issue #3, which we previously explored, relies heavily on quotations from various songs, the lyrics of which include the word “dream”. The very title itself, “Dream a Little Dream of Me” is lifted straight out of the eponymous 1931 song, written by Fabian Andre, Wilbur Schwandt (music) and Gus Kahn (lyrics). While the loss of the potentially easily recognizable reference is unfortunate, an additional problem arises from the fact that we are provided with a lead-in to the title within the page itself, by using the lyrics of the song, as can be seen on pages 81 and 82 (though it should be noted that, in order to emphasize the transition between the pages Gaiman not only combines parts of the first two verses, but also alters “Say ‘nighty-night’” to “count ninety-nine” as one of the characters is in the middle of counting to a hundred):

*„Count ninety-nine and kiss me. Just hold me tight and tell me you’ll miss me. Birds singin’ in the sycamore trees. Dream a little dream of me.“*

*„До деветдесет и девет брой и целуни ме. С тъжен поглед здраво прегърни ме. Повеят на вятъра мислите ти ми шепти...  
...сън за мен сънувай ти.*





*Fig. 5. Page 82 of “The Sandman” vol.1 (30th Anniversary Edition), Bulgarian*

As with the numerous other songs, featured throughout the book, an attempt was made to have the lyrics not only be as accurate as possible, but to also match the original melodies and be singable. Serving the story-telling purposes, however, took precedence and therefore the word „dream” was never interpreted as „мечта“, but as „сън“ instead. Had the multitude of quotations remained in the source language it would not only have been visually unappealing, but their significance would be lost to those not fluent in it.



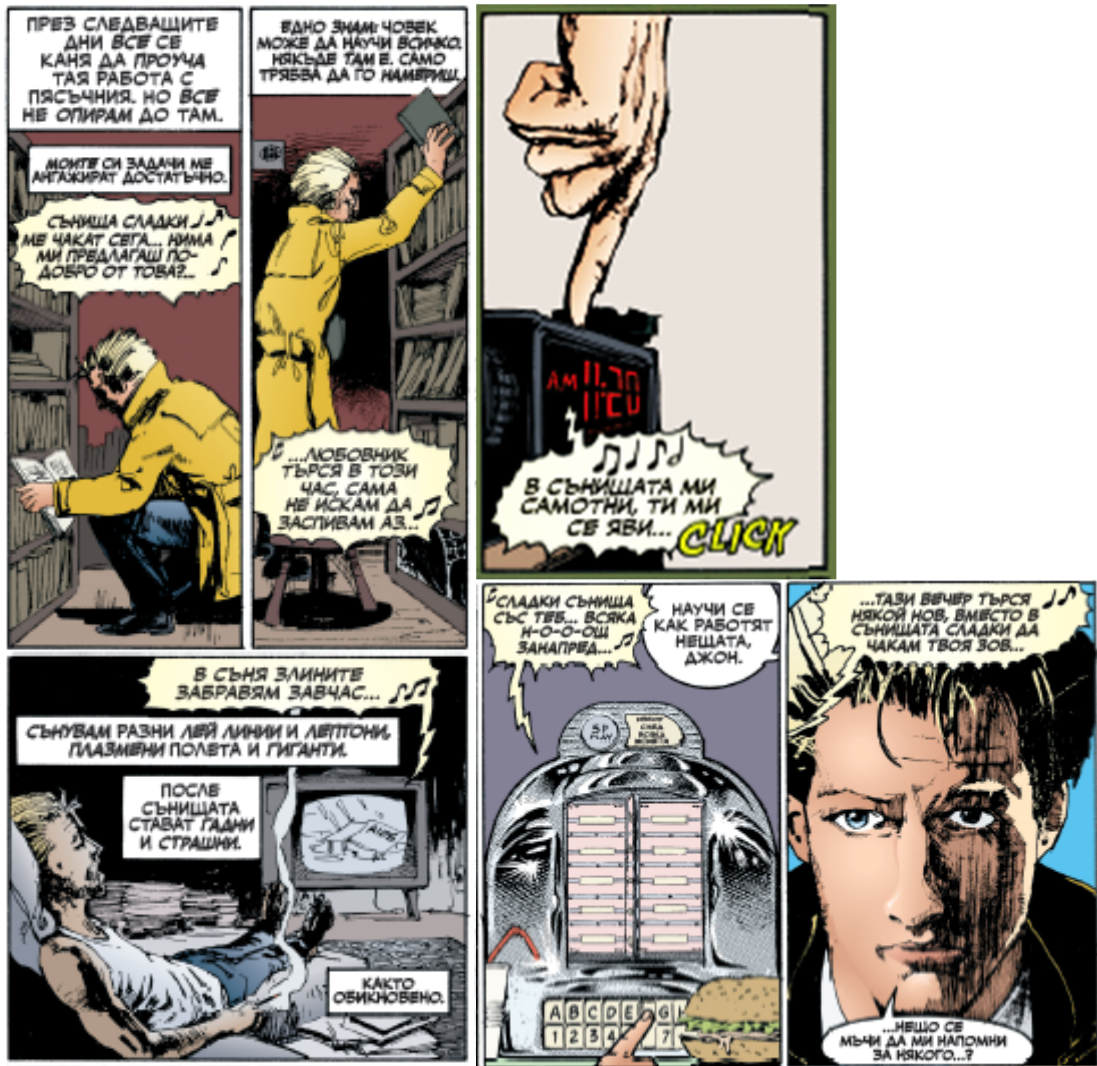


Fig. 6. Panels from “The Sandman” vol.1 (30th Anniversary Edition), pages 84 and 85, Bulgarian

Issue #3 wraps up with the character of John Constantine singing “Mr. Sandman” by The Chordettes in the final two panels of the page, as he wanders off into the night:

*„Mr. Sandman, bring me a dream... make her the cutest that I’ve ever seen... Give her the word that I’m not a rover... then tell me that my lonesome life is over...“*

Originally, as an additional reference, this was intended to be replaced with:

*„Сънчо иде от горица да ви каже лека нощ, дечица. Че е тъмно вече във. Време е за сън...“*

Late in the adaptation process, a change was decided upon by the publisher and therefore a translation of the original lyrics was provided, however, one done by the editor, not the translator:

*„Мистър Сандмен, със сън ме дари. Нея най-хубавата направи.  
Че скитник не съм кажи ѝ, а на мен – че самотата приключи...“*

Later in the book, page 173 has a scene where “The Addams Family” TV series is playing in the background, with its iconic theme-song being audible to the characters, as shown through the use of speech bubbles:

*„Their house is a mu-se-um. When people come to see ‘em, they really  
are a scree-um. The Addams Family.“*

Originally, it was intended for the pre-existing translation, used in the TV dub of the 1991 animated series to be used:

*„Домът им на музей прилича и всеки той привлича. Но види ли  
ги, с кръсък тича. Те са Семейство Адамс.“*

Sadly, due to space limitation, the translation needed to be altered and therefore a new one was made, lowering the number of characters with spaces used from 94 to 81.

*„Музей е цял домът им. Към тях щом се запътим, със страх ще  
се изпълним. Такива Адамс са.“*

This new translation also follows the original melody’s rhythm, unlike the pre-existing translation, which is simply recited and not sung in the dubbed version of the series.

### **3.3 COMIC CONCEPTS**

While bearing a significant importance as a piece of literature, “The Sandman” is also naturally dependent on various tropes of the comic-book medium, its early issues even more so, as they involve elements, characters and events from the broader DC Comics universe such as the aforementioned Dr. Destiny, John Constantine, Martian Manhunter, Batman, The Scarecrow. The featured versions of Cain and Abel are also pre-established in this universe, having first appeared in the late 1960s. As

such, personality traits, as minor as they may be, needed to be preserved. These include:

– Speech patterns:

John Constantine’s cockney accent – while an accent cannot be easily interpreted in written form, let alone in a different language, Constantine’s dialogue does not necessarily follow grammatical and spelling norms both in the source and target versions of the text. This is also in line with how his speech patterns had already been presented in the Bulgarian edition of “Batman: Damned” („Батман: Прокълнат“ книги 1-3, Artline Studios)

Etrigan’s rhymes – Issue #4, “A Hope in Hell”, features an appearance by popular DC character Etrigan (also known as The Demon), well-known for his rhymed speech (with even Morpheus pointing out that he’s “a rhymer now”, indicating his rise in Hell’s hierarchy). Thus, his rhyming dialogue needed to be preserved.

– References to other stories:

Page 90 features a panel of Constantine going through a series of books, all carrying the titles of other comic stories he has appeared in. Their translations needed to match the respective plots of said stories.

Pages 137-140 are based on Jack Kirby’s “Fourth World” series, which in itself required adherence to previously established translations of its terminology, although such exists in Bulgarian only within other media, e.g. television series.

– Naming tropes

A common trope in comic books, especially in the superhero genre, is the heavy use of alliteration, not only in speech, but also in naming characters and places. Volume 1 features appearances by Mister Miracle and Martian Manhunter. Due to pre-existing translations that needed to be adhered to for consistency’s sake, their translations – „Мистър Чудо“ and „Марсианския ловец“ respectively, do not follow this formula (although the translation „Мистър Маг“ was considered for Mister Miracle). The focus on the trope is a bit heavier in volume 2 of the series – “The Doll’s House” („Куклена къща“, Artline Studios, 2022). Part 3 – “Playing House” (Issue #12 of the series) revolves around a superhero referring to himself as “The Sandman”, whose roots run deep into the history of “DC Comics”. The man in question is named Hector Hall. His wife’s name, on the other hand, is Hippolyta Hall (although she is mostly referred to as “Lyta”) and their home – The Dream

Dome – also preserves the alliterative naming scheme. By doing this, Neil Gaiman shows clear understanding of the specifics of the genre, while managing to completely subvert expectations of what a comic featuring a superhero could be about. It also enables him to feature a connection between the previous characters who have carried the “Sandman” monicker (with the original Sandman, Wesley Dodds, having a cameo in volume 1) and his own radical re-interpretation. Thus, while the names of Hector and Lyta did not require alteration to preserve the trope, the aforementioned “Dream Dome” was adapted as „СЪННИЯ СВОД“, as opposed to „купол“.

#### **PART 4: MAKING A KILLING**

Issue #12 also features the first mentioning of a “Cereal Convention” (volume 2, page 100) which plays a significant role, as it is the scene for several important confrontations later on. What the reader does not know at this point in the story is that the naming actually features wordplay, as the convention in question is, in fact, a gathering for serial killers. Many options were considered here, such as wordplay between „палач“ and „палачинки“ or „труп“ and „труп“ respectively. A simpler option revolved around using „сериен“ in a phrase like „сериини събирачи“, but that too failed to carry the joke across.

*What makes wordplay particularly challenging for a translator is the fact that it employs particular structural characteristics of the source language for its meaning and effect. For these structural characteristics, it is often impossible to find a counterpart in the target language.*

(Koochacki 2016: 1)

Ultimately, “Cereal Convention” became „Семинар – Колене и пищяли“, where by simply shifting the stress of the words, in Bulgarian, one could get the phrase either as “Knees and shins” or “Stabbing and screaming”.



*Fig. 7. Panels from “The Sandman” vol.2 (30th Anniversary Edition), page 140, Original (top) and Bulgarian (bottom)*

This, according to Gottlieb (1997: 210), falls under the category of “Adaptation – to local setting, maintaining humorous effect”.

This change, however, provided a necessity for further alterations of some lines – the participants in the convention are, at one point, referred to as “Cereal growers. Or Eaters.” which in the Bulgarian translation was changed to „ортопедите или каквито са там“. Two panels further we have the following line:

*“So what do you think cereal fans are into, huh? Maybe they collect those little plastic figurines and old Captain Crunch whistles...”*

This was again altered to not address *cereal* in Bulgarian:

*„За какво ли ще си приказват на семинара? Сигурно за контузии, артрит и ревматизъм...”*

The convention is once more brought to light in issue #15, which opens with the convention attendees making various murder-related puns. They are presented below, alongside their translated versions:

*„The journey was a real killer“ – „Направо ми се видя сметката“*  
*„I wouldn't be seen dead here“ – „Убий ме, ама не бих стъпил тук“*  
*„I could murder a stake“ – „Бих пречукал някого за една хубавичка пържола“*

*„I could'a died“ – „Щях да пукна“*  
*„They do this chocolate fudge whip that is just to die for“ – „Правят убийствен шоколадов кекс.“*

*„He slays me“ – „Направо ме утрена.“*  
*„I thought the whole issue was dead and buried“ – „Мислех, че са се затрили“*

*„The TV version butchered it!“ – „Телевизионната версия? Осака-тили са филма!“*

The main purpose of the translation in this case was, once again, to not merely be a direct representation of the lines (as they are, ultimately, inconsequential to the plot), but also preserve the pattern they are all phrased in.

## CONCLUSION

While the paper, by no means, covers all aspects of the problematic nature of comic-book translation and that of “The Sandman” in particular, it nevertheless serves as an insight into a field, rarely explored by Bulgarian translators and scholars. Based on the examples provided, certain conclusions on commonly adopted translation strategies and procedures, and potential limitations of the medium can be drawn. The focus on more extensive adaptation, adherence to visual context and stylistic patterns such as puns, literary and pop-cultural references can also serve as a basic guide for other translators in their own endeavours. Further research will be aimed towards addressing the literary connections and references within the remaining volumes that have been translated in Bulgarian, as well as expanding the previous chapters with more examples.

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**DOS MANUSCRITOS DE LA CONQUISTA:  
MORFOSINTAXIS Y LÉXICO DEL CASTELLANO DEL S. XVI**

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**TWO MANUSCRIPTS OF THE CONQUEST:  
MORPHOSYNTAX AND 16TH CENTURY CASTILIAN  
LEXICON**

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The object of study are two manuscripts from the 16th century that have great importance as historical and linguistic documents for the development of the Spanish language. The objective of this work is to carry out an analysis of the morphosyntactic and lexical system as documented by our sources: the two versions of Lope de Aguirre's letter to King Philip II and the complete text of the *Relación de Vázquez-Almesto*.

**Key words:** 16th century Spanish language, conquest of America, letters of Lope de Aguirre, linguistic analysis

## **1. Introducción**

Durante el siglo XVI el castellano se impone como lengua común de España y se denomina tanto *lengua castellana* como *lengua española*. Según Menéndez Pidal, es precisamente entonces cuando “el idioma alcanza su edad adulta, como lengua española de todo el país; la lengua hablada adquiere los caracteres fonéticos que hoy la distinguen” (Menéndez Pidal 2020: 371).

Frente a los nuevos descubrimientos geográficos, llevados adelante por la Corona española, el español tuvo que asumir un papel importantísimo, el de ser portador de la cultura y la religión de los conquistadores en las Indias Occidentales. Es allí donde la lengua vive la



gran influencia de las lenguas indígenas que aportan su rico caudal léxico. El español llevado a ultramar tuvo que ir adaptándose para servir de puente entre los dos mundos, reflejando las nuevas realidades. Ante lo inusual y lo desconocido, se desborda la creación lingüística en un intento de denominar y, de este modo, de hacer suyo, todo lo nuevo. Es el primer contacto del castellano con las lenguas indígenas.

Podríamos afirmar que después del contacto de Europa con las nuevas tierras, la lengua castellana vive tres etapas que se entrelazan: lengua del descubrimiento, cuando más se enriquece el castellano, adoptando palabras de los nativos; lengua de la conquista, que corresponde a los años de intensas batallas para dominar los nuevos territorios, y es la de las relaciones y crónicas de los conquistadores que se caracterizan con un léxico cargado de palabras de agresión y violencia, y la tercera etapa es la de la lengua de la colonización, que se va cargando de palabras que revelan la influencia de la cultura europea mientras se crea la estructura social y jurídico-administrativa del Nuevo Mundo.

## **2. Un vasco en la conquista de América**

Un año y un nombre quedarán grabados en la historia de esta primera etapa del contacto de lenguas y armas: la jornada de Lope de Aguirre de 1559 – 1561. Nacida como una más de las búsquedas de el Dorado, la expedición del río Marañón se convierte en la primera rebelión contra la monarquía española y fue caracterizada por los investigadores<sup>1</sup> como una de las más violentas que ocurrieron durante la conquista. El Marañón, afluente del Amazonas, fue testigo de varias rebeliones, matanzas, traiciones, crueldades y un cúmulo de terror que cesó con la muerte de Aguirre, el conquistador que logró convertirse en Príncipe de sus marañones y se ha ganado la fama de El Tirano.

Lope de Aguirre es, además, autor de tres cartas a las autoridades españolas más altas de aquel momento: al Provincial de los dominicos en Santo Domingo, fray Francisco Montesinos, redactada en agosto de 1561, al gobernador de Venezuela, Pablo Collado, escrita en octubre de 1561, y al rey Felipe II, también de la misma fecha.

Dichas cartas forman parte de una copiosa correspondencia que llegó del Nuevo Mundo a España en los primeros años de la conquista. Sin embargo, no se adscriben a los documentos oficializados de aquella época, ni conviene catalogarlas bajo el lema de correspondencia. Es importante

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<sup>1</sup> Sobre Lope de Aguirre se han publicado numerosísimas investigaciones que recoge Ingrid Galster (Galster 2011).

subrayar que las cartas oficiales a las autoridades, a partir de 1574, se redactaban en base a un cuestionario oficial cumpliendo ciertas normas formales. En este sentido, las cartas de El Tirano no se ajustan a este molde. Para dar solo un ejemplo, la carta al monarca español no se limita a informar al soberano, sino que es, a la vez, una carta-justificación, carta-acusación, en fin, una carta que sobrepasa los límites de un simple relato de los sucesos vividos por Aguirre.

### **3. Objeto de estudio y objetivo del presente trabajo**

Son objeto de estudio del presente trabajo dos de los manuscritos de la carta de Lope que se considera su legado más importante, a saber: la carta al rey Felipe II. Tras varias consultas con especialistas de la Biblioteca Nacional Española y con lingüistas historiadores del castellano, hemos seleccionado la versión contenida en la *Relación del río Marañón*, junto con la versión de la misma carta que se encuentra en la *Relación de Vázquez y Almesto*. Para ampliar al máximo las fuentes documentales, basamos nuestro análisis también en el texto completo del manuscrito de la *Relación de Vázquez y Almesto*, que es, según opinión unánime de los investigadores, una de las más fidedignas<sup>2</sup>.

Dichos manuscritos pertenecen a los documentos de la primera oleada de la conquista de América. Los hemos elegido, en primer lugar, por su importancia como documentos históricos de aquel periodo y, en segundo, por su valor de testimonios de una etapa del desarrollo de la lengua castellana. La razón que más peso tuvo a la hora de seleccionarlos es que no están incluidos en el CORDE. Los manuscritos se encuentran digitalizados en la página de la Biblioteca Nacional Española.

Nos planteamos el objetivo de llevar a cabo un análisis lingüístico del sistema morfosintáctico que documentan los manuscritos y, también, de algunas curiosidades a nivel léxico-semántico del castellano del siglo XVI.

Para facilitar la lectura, hemos optado por las siguientes abreviaturas: citamos la carta de la versión de la *Relación del descubrimiento del Río Marañón* con *RM*, la de la *Relación de Vázquez-Almesto* con *VA* y con *Relación* los ejemplos tomados del texto completo de la *Relación de Vázquez-Almesto*.

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<sup>2</sup> Schlickers afirma que “la crónica coetánea más fiel fue redactada por otro miembro de la expedición, el bachiller Francisco Vázquez... Existen dos manuscritos, el segundo con modificaciones de Perdarias de Almesto” (Schlickers 2015: 96).

#### 4. Análisis de los aspectos morfosintácticos

Los manuscritos son una fuente muy interesante de fenómenos relacionados con la evolución del sistema morfosintáctico del castellano.

##### 4.1. Formas del perfecto

Se encuentran muchos ejemplos de cambios analógicos en las formas verbales del perfecto.

Del verbo *poder* los manuscritos recogen las siguientes formas: *podimos (VA) / podimos (RM)*.

Las variantes del verbo *poner* también documentan diferencias en la vocal, hallándose escritas algunas veces con *-u-*, y otras veces con *-o-*: *puniendo, poniendo (Relación)*.

La forma *podimos (VA)* es resultado de la evolución del perfecto fuerte, mientras que en *podimos* el autor de la versión *RM* ha conservado la *o* del infinitivo del verbo. Como explica Menéndez Pidal, se ha formado “el extraño *pudiendo*, por influencia del perfecto fuerte *pude*, en vez del ant. y pop. *podiendo*” (Menéndez Pidal 1985: 158).

Por su parte, la forma *puniendo* que se registra en la *Relación*, se explica por analogía con *pudiendo* (Menéndez Pidal 1985: 155).

También en la *Relación* encontramos las variantes *souiese / subiese* (< lat. *subīre*).

El ejemplo de *souiese* testimonia un proceso de cambio por analogía que solo se dio en muy pocos verbos. De hecho, el CORDE no registra ningún caso de dicha grafía en sus fuentes. Según el gran historiador de la lengua española, “sólo en la lengua antigua era posible el paso de estos verbos con *ū* al paradigma *o... -ir*: *adocir, somir, somí*, paso análogo al de *decir, freír, reír*” (Menéndez Pidal 1985: 159).

*escreuio, escreuir*

Las formas se documentan en la *Relación* y son variantes antiguas que no se han conservado en la lengua culta.

*resçeuio*<sup>3</sup>

La *Relación* documenta la forma etimológica, que en la lengua moderna ofrece *i*, siendo esta evolución “una de las pocas excepciones de verbos que cambiaron su vocal temática por analogía con un grupo minoritario” (Menéndez Pidal 1904: 159).

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<sup>3</sup> Es de notar que, en sus tratados de ortografía y gramática castellana, Nebrija también emplea la forma con *-e*: *recebir*.

El mismo manuscrito ofrece también los ejemplos de *aperçuimosnos*, *aperceviendolos*, *aperçevidos* y *desaperçuídos* (<lat. *percipĕre*).

*siguiria /consintian*

Los verbos *seguir* (<lat. vulg. \*sequĭre) y *consentir* (<lat. consentĭre) son unos de los pocos verbos de tercera conjugación con vocal temática *e* que se asimilaron a la clase de verbos de *i* ...-ir (Menéndez Pidal 1904: 195). Estas formas no se conservan hoy, pero sí eran usuales en la época que nos interesa:

“[...] antiguamente en los verbos -ir de vocal temática *o* ó *e*, á causa de su diptongo *ie*, sufría inflexión, de modo que su tema era igual que el de las mismas formas débiles del Pres. Subj.: *sirvien*, *diciemos*, *murien*, y lo mismo con -ia-: *requiria*, *sirvia*...” (Menéndez Pidal 1985: 187).

Estos ejemplos comprueban una vez más lo inestable de la norma no solo en cuanto a la ortografía, sino también en lo que respecta al sistema verbal. Allí donde deberíamos tener una *i* como resultado de la yod, y a la luz de la explicación por la analogía que acabamos de aducir, encontramos la conservación de la *e*- etimológica. Son formas cuyo uso ya en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI era muy limitado.

Una búsqueda comparativa en el CORDE para los años de 1550 al 1600 muestra lo limitadas que eran las formas con *e*:

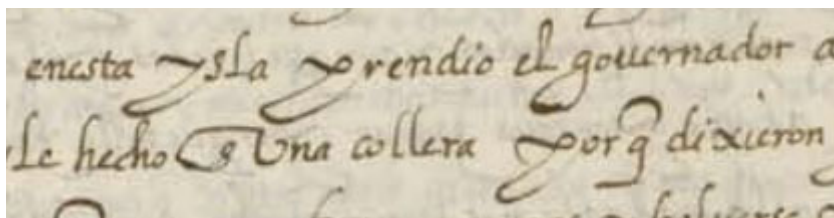
*siguientes*: 10 casos / *siguientes*: 136 casos;

*por conseguinte*: 2 casos / *por consiguiente*: 1186 casos;

*proseguendo*: 8 casos / *prosiguiendo*: 1372 casos.

La forma actual del gerundio *siguiendo* se encuentra en las dos versiones de la carta de Lope.

A propósito de *dixieron*, *dixiese* (*Relación*) afirma Menéndez Pidal (1904: 166) que era forma muy corriente, “usual hoy en asturiano”.



En el mismo manuscrito se detectan también las formas *truxo*, *truxesen* que son resultado del cambio de la vocal temática *a* del perfecto \**traxui* en *o* y el posterior cambio de ésta en *u*. La forma *trujiste* es

“anticuada y dialectal” (Menéndez Pidal 1904: 195). La forma moderna *traje* es resultado del perfecto latino *traxi*.

*adquirir VA – adquerir RM*

La fuerza de la analogía se observa en el caso de las dos variantes del étimo latino *adquirere*<sup>4</sup>.

*hezimos, hiçiesen (Relación), hezimos (VA) / hizimos (RM)*

Las formas arriba citadas se explican también por cambio analógico: “El resultado fonético de *fēci* es *fize*. El de *fēcīsti* es *feziste*, *fēcit fezo*, y en plur. *fezimos* ó *fiziemos*, *fezistes* o *fiziestes*, *fizieron*; pero en el mismo siglo XII se practicaba ya la uniformación *fizist*, *fizo*, que rige hoy *hice*, *hiciste*, *hiciese*, etc.” (Menéndez Pidal 1904: 196).

La *Relación* ofrece las formas etimológicas del perfecto *videre*, conservando todavía la *-d-* intervocálica, que persisten en la lengua moderna como formas “vulgares”<sup>5</sup>:

*que yo vido;*

*vido;*

*yaquesevido? encubierto de la vista -con el significado de “ ya que se vio encubierto de la vista”;*

*y vido estar un soldado;*

*y como vido el gobernador q venia gente.*

El ejemplo de *Vos conquistastes (RM)* documenta la forma de la terminación latina *-stis*, *-stes*, “que se usaba mayoritariamente hasta el s. XVII” (Menéndez Pidal 1904: 164 – 165).

## 4.2. Formas del imperfecto

Los documentos ofrecen como regla la conservación de la *-d-* intervocálica en las formas del imperfecto de indicativo y de subjuntivo, como también en el condicional:

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<sup>4</sup> Menéndez Pidal (1904: 195 – 196): “Los perfectos en *-si* se perdieron también en gran número; *-ēre*: *arsi*, *torsi*; *-ēre*: *planxi*, *junxi*, *strinxi*, *sumpsi*, *rexi*, *erexi*, *dirixi*, *finxi*, y los que se conservaron no resistieron mucho, olvidándose casi todos en la época moderna del idioma. Hasta ahora duran *dīxi*, *dixe*, *dije*; *dūxi*, *a-* *con-* *re-* *duje*; *traxi*, *traje*; *\*quaesi* (por *quaesii*, de *quaero*), *quise*. Pero hoy se sustituyeron por débiles los perfectos fuertes antiguos: *requisiemos*, hoy *requerimos*; *conquiso* (de *conquerir*, hoy *conquistar*)”.

<sup>5</sup> Menéndez Pidal (1904: 196): “Por su *ī* no tuvo estas vacilaciones: *vīdī*, *vide* (conservado hoy en el habla vulgar) *vid*, de donde el moderno *vi*, *vīdistī*, *viste*; *vīdit*, *vido* (hoy vulgar) *vío* (en los textos antiguos consonante de *río*), y moderno *vio* (§ 5 2), *viemos* ó *vimos*, etc”.

*ybades, dexauades, pensauades*  
*seriades...fuesedes*

En la *Relación* detectamos el ejemplo de *vian su perdiçion / si bia* que testimonian la forma resultante de la confusión de “-ē(b)a-, ī(b)a-, en ia- (como *vía, vía*)” (Menéndez Pidal 1904: 186).

#### 4.3. Formación del futuro y del condicional

El problema de la formación y fijación de las formas del futuro y el condicional en castellano ha llamado el interés de los investigadores. Como explica Kítova-Vassileva (Kítova-Vassileva 2018: 32):

“La evolución histórica del sistema verbal en su paso del latín al romance se caracteriza por la renovación del futuro imperfecto; el proceso halla su expresión en la paulatina degradación funcional de las formas de futuro latinas que acabarán siendo sustituidas por construcciones obtenidas a base de la gramaticalización (temporalización) progresiva de las mencionadas perífrasis modales”.

Encontramos en los manuscritos algunas perífrasis que expresan la inminencia del acto en su contexto, cobrando de esta manera el significado de futuro, aunque sin haber cumplido el proceso de gramaticalización:

*te a de venir*  
*no por eso te he de dexar de avisar*  
*se an de juntar*  
*curarlo emos y hazerle emos*

Este último ejemplo comprueba lo que Menéndez Pidal (1904: 202) denomina “el sentido de la composición<sup>6</sup>” y que permitía el uso de pronombres entre el infinitivo y el verbo *haber*.

La *Relación* documenta otra de las posibles soluciones que no ha llegado al castellano moderno, la metátesis, en las formas del Futuro y del Condicional, resultado de la antigua perífrasis de obligación *verbo+habere*:

*ternas, ternan;*  
*ternía, ternían;*  
*vernian.*

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<sup>6</sup> Menéndez Pidal (1904: 202): “La lengua no perdió el sentido de la composición de estos tiempos sino muy entrada la Edad Moderna. Hasta el siglo XVII se admitía la interposición entre el infinitivo y el auxiliar de uno ó más pronombres: *venir vos edes, por os vendréis, dar le has por le darás y dezir uos lo he, traer nos lo ha, holgaros híades*”.

Las mismas formas “especiales para el futuro” (Kítova-Vassileva 2018: 34 y sig.) se documentan en el *Diálogo de la lengua*, de Valdés, y son detalladamente analizadas por la autora.

#### 4.3.1. Futuro de subjuntivo

Acerca de la formación del futuro en castellano, recomendamos al lector interesado la consulta de Kítova-Vassileva (2018, 2019, 2020), que estudia su evolución desde el *Cantar del Mio Cid* hasta la época moderna. De los dos manuscritos, solo la *Relación* ofrece ejemplos muy limitados del futuro de subjuntivo:

*sea como v.m mandare*

*si vinieren çient mil honbres ninguno escape*

#### 4.4. Formas de imperativo

*abri el ojo y haze lo que digo*

El ejemplo revela la pérdida de la *-d* final (que antiguamente podía escribirse con *-t*) y que, según Menéndez Pidal, “estuvo de moda en nuestros clásicos: andá, haze, subí; como hoy por ejemplo es corriente en Argentina” (1985: 279).

En la forma *haze* se observa la tendencia a la unificación, conservándose la *-e* en la forma de imperativo: “Es de notar que *haz* no deriva del literario *fac*, sino del arcaico *façe*” (Menéndez Pidal 1985: 301).

#### 4.5. Participio

La *Relación* ofrece dos casos de participios fuertes que no se han conservado hasta hoy:

*surgió el nauio del prouinçial [...] como lo vio surto, puso su gente en orden*

*bienquisto*

#### 4.6. Formación de adverbios en *mente*

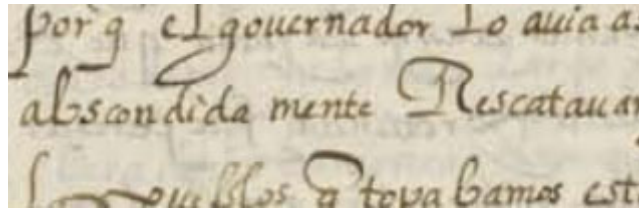
En nuestras fuentes abundan los ejemplos de adverbios en *mente* que no se han lexicalizado todavía, ya que se hallan escritos por separado, como se observa en los siguientes casos:

*bastante mente*

*cautelosa mente*

*çierta mente, çierta mTe*

*comun mente*



#### 4.7. Pronombre personal

La *Relación* ofrece muchos ejemplos que documentan la formación romance del pronombre personal de 1ª y 2ª persona del plural:

*nos.otros*

*nosiotros*

*vos.otros*

Tanto la *Relación* (con la versión *VA*) como la versión *RM* documentan la falta de regulación en la posición del pronombre personal en función de complemento.

Así, en los casos de la *Relación* se observa la asimilación de la *-r* del infinitivo al pronombre enclítico<sup>7</sup>:

*tomalle y roballe y abrasalle*

*vella (era gran lastima...)*

*yr a buscalla*

*yarroballos*

En la forma del imperativo *dezildas*, que encontramos en la *Relación*, se observa “la unión íntima de estos enclíticos con la palabra acentuada [...] mediante metátesis: dalde = dadle; dandos = dadnos” (Menéndez Pidal 1904: 144).

Encontramos ejemplos donde el pronombre en función de complemento se halla escrito separado de las formas no personales del verbo, tanto pospuesto como antepuesto, según lo comprueban los siguientes ejemplos:

*por tener me..., con servir los;*

*dando nos a entender;*

*por no te doler del trabajo*

*de no te dexar;*

*viniese a se juntar.*

<sup>7</sup> Menéndez Pidal (1904: 169): “La r final en algunos dialectos desaparece (andaluz, alto aragonés), y en otros se asimila al pronombre personal -l,- s-: vedallo, marchasse. Sólo merece notarse que la asimilación cogella, etc., no muy abundante en la Edad Media, se puso de moda en la corte de Carlos V por predilección de Garcilaso, y aunque la desecharon los secretarios de Felipe II, continuaron usándola los poetas durante todo el siglo XVII”.



En cuanto al pronombre proclítico, la *Relación* y la *VA* ofrecen el ejemplo de  *echar los* frente a  *hecharlos*, recogido en la versión *RM*.

En la *Relación* se encuentra también el caso de  *sin dexarle menear*.

También abundan las formas de verbo conjugado + enclítico, como en los siguientes ejemplos:

*estanse aposentados*

*ybanse*

*tomauase*

Los documentos objeto de estudio contienen ejemplos de los fenómenos de loísmo (en las dos versiones de la carta de Lope) y laísmo (en la *Relación*):

*si se contentasen con servir los como a hombres que les servyimos...*

*no las ossaron hechar casi carga* (a los navíos)

#### 4.8. Otros fenómenos

Es llamativa la presencia de muchas formas contractas:  *destas*,  *della*,  *conellos*,  *questos*; de formas que testimonian la inestabilidad de la regla para la formación del plural que detectamos en el ejemplo de  *reis* (*RM*) frente a la forma moderna  *reyes* (*VA*, *Relación*), junto con varios otros fenómenos que no detallamos por falta de espacio en el presente trabajo.

### 5. Análisis léxico-semántico

Dentro de lo mucho que se ha escrito sobre Aguirre y su carta, hemos podido encontrar solo un artículo<sup>8</sup> de José Garmendia (Venezuela 2015), que se basa en la lexicografía histórica, y que analiza el texto de la relación que Gutierre de la Peña redacta en 1562 sobre el Tirano Aguirre.

En este apartado nos proponemos el objetivo de comentar la acepción de ciertos vocablos para facilitar la comprensión correcta y la percepción más plena de los documentos estudiados. Analizaremos el proceso de cambio de significado de ciertos lexemas, así como el enriquecimiento del castellano con palabras de origen americano. Para más claridad de la exposición seguiremos un orden alfabético al presentar las palabras.

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<sup>8</sup> Según el autor, en el texto “se consigna el origen, vigencia, significado y otros aspectos del léxico propios de las acciones bélicas efectuadas en la ciudad de Nueva Segovia de Barquisimeto, en octubre de 1561, y que han de contribuir con la comprensión del hecho histórico de ese momento en particular” (José Garmendia 2015: 113).

### 5.1. Cambio de significado

*en cobro (puniendo en cobro a sus mugeres)*: según la RAE, tal expresión hoy está en desuso; usada en el significado de ‘a salvo’

*fuera de la conversaçion*: es una expresión con valor adverbial, que en la *Relación* testimonia el significado de ‘lejos’ en el ejemplo de *q esta fuera de la conuersaçión de las casas (la iglesia)*

*derrota: en la derrota que corrimos tiene mas de seis myll yslas*

Consideramos que el significado del lexema en el siglo XVI es el relacionado con el rumbo de los navíos, y la que el DRAE ofrece como tercer significado en su entrada lexicográfica de *derrota 1*. Nos sirve de argumento el que en el diccionario de Covarrubias (1611) se registra lo siguiente: “el viaje que hacen los navíos por la mar. úsase de este término también cuando se camina por tierra, aunque impropriamente”.

Profundizando nuestra búsqueda, encontramos en el diccionario de Franciosini (Franciosini 1620) “e propiamente il cammino, o viaggio che fanno i nauili per mare, e metaforicamente. vale, sentiero, strada, traccia, via. llebar la derrota – fare la strada, verso un luogo, andare a un luogo”.

En la carta de Lope se trata, tal vez, de este significado metafórico, ya que el lexema se halla en el sintagma “*caminando nuestra derrota*”. O sea, que tiene el significado de *derrota 1*, que ofrece el DRAE, en vez de la interpretación basada en *derrota 2* “acción y efecto de derrotar o ser derrotado”, que el lector fácilmente elegiría por tratarse de un contexto bélico de luchas, muertes, etc.

*dieron cabo presto detodo*: la expresión “dar cabo” se ha sustituido por la formación romance *acabar*

*Fábula: no tengas en mucho el seruiçio quete escriuieron tus oidores averte hecho por ques muy gran fabula si llaman seruiçio averte gastado ochoçientos mill pesos de tu rreal caxa*: significa ‘relación falsa, mentirosa, de pura invención’, que es exactamente la quinta acepción que ofrece el DRAE. Por primera vez la encontramos con este mismo significado en el diccionario de Vittori del 1609: “fable, conte, menterie, mensonge, etc”.

*haber*: se documenta el significado etimológico de ‘tener’

*que a por nonbre Margarita (RM) / que tiene por nombre La margarita (VA) / ubiesen mas menester (Relación)*

*pecho: no poder sufrir los grandes pechos...que nos dan tus ministros*

Covarrubias (1611) explica que “pecho, en otra significación, vale cierto tributo que se da al Rey” y estamos más inclinados a interpretarlo

así, teniendo en cuenta el contexto en que se halla el lexema, que en la acepción de ‘darse ínfulas’ (DRAE), que también podría ser admisible.

*yntimaron*

A propósito del arresto de uno de los criados de don Fernando de Guzmán, contra quien los marañones trataban de rebelarse buscando motivos, leemos en la *Relación*: “cosa çierto bien liuiana aunque ellos (la gente baxa y de poca suerte) la yntimaron mucho diziendo q avia sido grande afrenta qel gouernador le auia hecho siendo el cauallero y Alferez general del campo”.

Covarrubias recoge “publicar o hacer notoria alguna cosa. Lat. Intimare, denunçiare”.

Esta acepción se ha perdido en castellano moderno, pero es la que se deduce del párrafo, ya que el texto no se entendería correctamente si nos quedásemos con el significado actual de “requerir, exigir el cumplimiento de algo, especialmente con autoridad o fuerza para obligar a hacerlo”.

## 5.2. Americanismos

Además de los numerosos americanismos que hoy en día son parte del castellano, la *Relación* ofrece algunas palabras de interés:

*cacui*: la forma moderna es *cacuy*, con el significado actual de ‘ave nocturna de Argentina’. Por lo visto, el texto no se refiere a un ave precisamente de Argentina, sino del territorio de Venezuela. Tal vez esta información lingüística podría ser relevante para los ornitólogos, indicando que el ave en cuestión ha restringido su hábitat en la actualidad, mientras que en el siglo XVI se encontraba en una zona mucho más amplia del continente americano.

*caricuri*:

La búsqueda del significado del lexema *caricuri* nos ha llevado mucho tiempo, ya que los diccionarios académicos no lo recogen. Hemos podido encontrar la siguiente información: “Los hombres y las mujeres llevaban clavos de oro retorcidos que les atravesaban las narices, los cuales llamaban caricuris” (Duque Naranjo 2012). Según hemos podido comprobar, era característico para los indios de Santa Marta y aparece en muy pocos documentos (Freide 1951).

*escaupil*: del náhuatl *ichcatl* ‘algodón’ y *huipilli* ‘camisa’.

*manaues*: es un caso más de los muchos de confusión grafemática entre los grafemas -u- y -v- que testimonian los manuscritos. El lexema *manaues* debería referirse a una tribu, que sería, según la RAE, la de los

manabitas de Ecuador. No hemos encontrado ninguna entrada ni en el CORDE, ni en el NTTLE.

*manatre:*

Ningún diccionario académico recoge la forma que encontramos en el f. 32 de la *Relación*. Sin embargo, el diccionario de Vittori de 1609, recoge la entrada *manatí* que es definida como “vno certo animale del Peru, che viue in acqua, & in terra”.

Podemos afirmar con certeza que en la *Relación* se trata del así llamado manatí amazónico, y hay indicios de que ya desde la mitad del s. XVI se cazaba.

Otros lexemas interesantes, pero mucho más conocidos, son, por ejemplo, *mosquitos çancudos, yuca, mayz, rancho*.

## **6. Conclusión**

Este trabajo es fruto de nuestro interés por la historia del español y el encuentro de las cartas de un soldado excepcional de la época de la conquista de América. Hemos comprobado que estos testimonios históricos no están recogidos todavía en el CORDE y por este motivo hemos considerado importante analizar su contenido y el estado de lengua que testimonian para aportar un granito de arena al estudio del español del s. XVI.

La delimitación de los fenómenos de orden morfosintáctico y léxico está condicionada por dos peculiaridades de los manuscritos que dificultan a veces la lectura y la comprensión correcta de su contenido. La primera radica en la falta de regularidad ortográfica y en la continua confusión entre grafemas, como, por ejemplo, entre *-u-*, *-v-* y *-b-*, la *-c-* y la *-z-*, la *-i-* y la *-j-*. La segunda consiste en que en los textos escritos no se respetan los espacios entre las palabras. Así, por ejemplo, el texto de la versión *RM* no distingue “porque” de “por que”, así todos los ejemplos se leen “por que” indistintamente de si el nexos es causal o de finalidad. En algunos casos, cuando expresa el significado de ‘porque’, se encuentran ejemplos de contracción del ‘que’ con la segunda palabra, lo que denota que dicha conjunción causal no se percibe como una unidad léxica.

A pesar de estas peculiaridades, hemos podido observar y describir fenómenos de gran interés para la historia del castellano. Así, en los textos se documenta una etapa en la formación del futuro romance en base a perífrasis verbales, se pueden observar los esquemas para la fijación de algunas formas modernas del perfecto por analogía con otras formas verbales, se ofrecen pruebas de la formación de los adverbios en *-mente*, etc. En el sistema nominal se observa la fijación de las formas actuales de

los pronombres personales, la falta de precisión en la norma del uso de las formas clíticas, la inestabilidad de la norma de la formación del plural, entre otros fenómenos.

En lo que al léxico se refiere, los textos ofrecen múltiples casos del desarrollo del significado de las palabras, así como documentan la primera aparición de ciertos americanismos que serán recogidos por los diccionarios en épocas posteriores.

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DOI 10.69085/ntf2024b170

## VALORES SEMÁNTICOS Y ASPECTUALES DE LOS PREFIJOS LOCATIVOS Y TEMPORALES EN ESPAÑOL Y EN BÚLGARO

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## SEMANTIC AND ASPECTUAL VALUES OF LOCATIVE AND TEMPORAL PREFIXES IN SPANISH AND BULGARIAN

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The aim of this research is to synchronically analyze and compare the locative and temporal prefixes in the Spanish and Bulgarian languages and the prefixed structures to which they form. Attention is focused on the semantic and aspectual values of the different Bulgarian and Spanish prefixes that express spatial and temporal relationships, trying, at the same time, to establish the similarities and differences that occur between the two languages compared, which could be applied in the classroom.

**Key words:** prefixes, locative, temporal, semantic, aspect

### 1. Introducción

1.1. Lo que nos proponemos en este trabajo es analizar desde un punto de vista predominantemente semántico los prefijos locativos y temporales en la lengua española y búlgara. No será nuestro objetivo abarcar todas las cuestiones controvertidas que tienen que ver con la prefijación, aunque intentaremos abordar algunas de ellas, tales como la relación entre prefijo y preposición y la posibilidad del prefijo de modificar el aspecto de los verbos con que se combina. Lo que perseguimos es sobre todo establecer las correspondencias de significados entre los formantes búlgaros y españoles y marcar las principales diferencias que se dan entre ellos. El enfoque

comparativo permite aplicar los resultados del análisis en el aula que serían de utilidad en la enseñanza de la lengua extranjera.

**1.2.** En los estudios dedicados a la prefijación, por lo general, los sufijos espaciales (locativos, de lugar, locacionales) y los temporales (de tiempo) suelen estudiarse por separado (Alberto Miranda 1994; Georgieva 2009: 550; Henríquez Salido y Paula Pombar 1998: 58; Lang 1992; RAE y ASALE 2010: 175; Varela Ortega y Martín García 1999: 5011 – 5036). No obstante, puesto que muchas veces los valores de anterioridad o posterioridad posicional conviven con los de anterioridad y posterioridad temporal, en este trabajo se ha optado por analizarlos en conjunto. Una semejante solución vemos en Bajo Pérez (1997: 32), quien también agrupa los dos tipos de prefijos (prefijos que expresan nociones espaciales o temporales). Así, los prefijos españoles *ante-* y *pos(t)-* y, respectivamente, los búlgaros *пред-* y *зад-* pueden expresar la locación en el eje espacial (*ante-brazo* = *пред-мишница*; *pos-puesto* = *зад-поставен*; *зад-граничен* = tr. lit. detrás de la frontera) o en el eje temporal (*ante-nupcial* = *пред-брачен*; *зад-гробен* = *ultra-tumba*; *post-operatorio* = *след-оперативен*).

## 2. Contenido semántico de los prefijos locativos y temporales

**2.1.** Un rasgo característico de los prefijos es su autonomía semántica en la estructura de la palabra. Su función principal es la de aportar un nuevo matiz sémico, una nueva orientación semántica a la base a la que se adjunta (Almela Pérez 1999: 52; Álvarez García 1979: 38; Felíu Arquiola 2003; Garibova y Kitova 1996: 23; Lang 1992: 222; Seco 1980). Los significados de los prefijos suelen ser mejor definidos que los de los sufijos y no tienden a disolverse en la semántica general; todo lo contrario, se aíslan de las voces de una manera bastante clara y se utilizan con mayor libertad que los sufijos, manteniendo su integridad no solo semántica sino también formal. Este hecho se ve claramente reflejado en lo que respecta a los prefijos verbales. Los verbos prefijados no designan un nuevo tipo de acción, sino la misma acción que los verbos primitivos; los prefijos tan solo concretan y precisan dicha acción en el tiempo y el espacio (Boyadzhiev, red. 1999: 239). Por ejemplo, en búlgaro: *гоня* (correr tras alguien) > *изгонвам* (echar fuera, despedir a alguien), *подгонвам* (empezar a correr tras alguien; perseguir), *догонвам* (alcanzar a alguien), *разгонвам* (quitarse de encima, alejar algo o a alguien); en español: *escribir* > *inscribir*, *prescribir*, *suscribir*, *transcribir*, etc. La función del prefijo es de modificar el significado del verbo base. Sin embargo, los significados del verbo prefijado no siempre suman los significados de los dos componentes derivativos, la base y el prefijo, ya que



las relaciones entre ellos son mucho más complejas. Los componentes semánticos a través de los cuales se modifica el significado del verbo base pueden afectar a distintos aspectos de la acción, determinándola mediante características temporales, locativas o modales (Radeva 2007: 170 – 171; Sekaninová 1980).

**2.2.** La lista de los prefijos con significados locativos, tanto en español como en búlgaro, es bastante nutrida, designando los morfemas prefijales distintas posiciones en el plano espacial: “delante de” (*ante-montañoso* = *пред-планински*), “detrás de” (*post-estomacal* = *зад-стомашен*), “alrededor de” (*circun-navegar*, *около-светски*), “fuera de” (*extra-judicial* = *извън-съдебен*), “encima de” (*supra-renal* = *над-бъбречен*), “debajo de” (*sub-título* = *под-заглавие*), “en medio de, entre” (*inter-costal* = *между-ребрен*), también destino o dirección (*a-terrizar*, *im-portar*, *pro-seguir* = *при-земявам*, *в-насям*, *про-следявам*), entre muchos otros.

Además, a menudo los prefijos establecen oposiciones binarias, por ejemplo: en español, “encima” (*sobre-arco*, *super-puesto*) y “debajo” (*sub-suelo*, *infra-valorado*); y en búlgaro, “hacia el interior” (*за-бивам*, *на-пъхвам* = tr. clavar, meter) y “hacia abajo” (*под-копам*, *съ-барям* = tr. socavar, derribar). De la misma manera, muchos prefijados verbales búlgaros estructurados con el prefijo *от-* (con significado de ‘separación, alejamiento’) forman parejas antonímicas con otros verbos derivados de la misma raíz por medio de otros prefijos: *отлитам* (levantar el vuelo) vs. *долитам* (llegar volando), *отлепям* (despegar) vs. *залепям* (pegar), *отпушвам* (destapar) vs. *запушвам* (tapar), *отишивам* (descoser) vs. *зашивам* (coser). Por otra parte, algunas palabras locativas pueden expresar distintos matices significativos según el prefijo utilizado. Así, los prefijos españoles *intra-* y *endo-* pueden expresar simplemente la locación interna (*intramuscular*, *endoesqueleto*), y los alomorfos *entre-* e *inter-* pueden aludir a la posición “en medio de” (*entremezclar*, *interponer*). Es el mismo el caso de los formantes búlgaros *из-*, *по-*, *за-* y *о-* (*об-*). Añadidos a bases verbales, en general aportan el valor de ‘dirección de la acción encima de toda la superficie’, pero en la pareja *из-ливам* / *по-ливам* tienen el significado de ‘verter agua sobre algo, regar’, mientras que en los prefijados *заливам* y *обливам* añaden el matiz de ‘llenar o cubrir algo de agua, inundarlo’. Otro hecho interesante: pese a que *о-* y *об-* se consideran alomorfos de un mismo prefijo y tienen significado idéntico, a veces sirven para derivar parejas de verbos de significados distintos, a saber: *обковавам* (empastar con metal) vs. *оковавам* (encadenar), *обсъждам* (analizar, discutir) vs. *осъждам* (enjuiciar), *обграждам* (cercar < cerco) vs.

*ограждам* (cercar < cerca), *обкичвам* (cubrir con flores) vs. *окичвам* (adornar con flores) (Garibova y Kitova 1996: 27 – 27).

De la locación espacial pueden derivarse asimismo valores o significados secundarios de jerarquía gradual. Así, los prefijos que indican la locación espacial inferior dan lugar a grados menos altos en la jerarquía (*sub-comandante*, *под-полковник* = tr. teniente coronel). Algunos prefijos denotan la oposición espacial (“enfrente de”, “en la parte opuesta”: *contra-ventana*) y al mismo tiempo una oposición figurada entendida como noción semántica negativa (*contra-aviso*).

**2.3.** En lo que respecta a los prefijos temporales, las nóminas en las dos lenguas aquí contrastadas no son tan extensas; en español se suelen citar: *ante-* (*anteayer*), *pre-* (*predemocrático*) y *ex-* (*exministro*), con significado de anterioridad, y *pos(t)-* (*postmoderno*, *posgrado*), con significado de posterioridad. En búlgaro se dan: *пред-* (*предказвам* = predecir), *до-* (*доболничен* = anterior a la hospitalización), *екс-* (*еклидър* = exlíder), con significado de anterioridad, y *след-* (*следвоенен* = postmilitar) más los prefijos prestados *пост*<sup>1</sup> (*постсоциализъм* = postsocialismo), *нео-* (*неоконсерватор* = neoconservador), *пре-* (*препродажба* = reventa) *ре-* (*рефинансиране* = refinanciación), con significado de posterioridad.

### 3. Prefijos y aspecto verbal

**3.1.** Al igual que los sufijos, los prefijos requieren ciertas propiedades semánticas de las bases a las que se adjuntan. En español, en el caso de las bases verbales, la selección semántica suele tener relación con el aspecto léxico o *Actionsart*. Así, ciertos prefijos verbales pueden unirse únicamente a verbos perfectivos, por ejemplo, el sufijo *des-* con valor reversivo (*descoser*) o los prefijos *re-*, *sobre-* y *sub-* con significado de iteración (*reconstruir*, *sobreedificar*, *subdistinguir*). No obstante, los mismos prefijos con distintos valores significativos pueden seleccionar bases predicativas imperfectivas, por ejemplo: *des-* como negativo (*desobedecer*) y *re-*, *sobre* y *sub-* como intensivos (*reampliar*, *sobrecargar*, *subestimar*) (Martín García 1998).

**3.2.** La formación de verbos por prefijación es un proceso vivo y muy productivo en la lengua búlgara moderna. Lo más frecuente es que los prefijos se añadan a verbos ya existentes de aspecto imperfectivo. Son raros los casos en los que el verbo base es de aspecto perfectivo o perfectivo-imperfectivo. Además, cuando se adjunta a un verbo imperfectivo, el prefijo no se limita tan solo a crear un verbo nuevo con significado léxico distinto, sino que llega a desempeñar una función gramatical, ya que el verbo

<sup>1</sup> Citados por Georgieva (Georgieva 2009: 550).

formado se vuelve perfectivo (*Gramática* 1983: 216). Por ejemplo: el verbo *нууа* (escribir) es imperfectivo, pero las estructuras prefijadas *в-писвам* (inscribir), *до-писвам* (acabar un escrito), *из-писвам* (dar de alta), *на-писвам* (poner, componer), *о-писвам* (describir), *пре-писвам* (transcribir), *под-писвам* (suscribir), *за-писвам* (anotar), *пред-писвам* (prescribir) se vuelven perfectivas.

De hecho, a todos los prefijos verbales búlgaros es inherente la función perfectiva, pero ella acompaña, matiza y completa el proceso de derivación, puesto que los verbos prefijados siempre se distinguen semánticamente de los verbos base y es el prefijo el que aporta el rasgo semántico modificador. En función de los rasgos modificadores que aportan al significado del verbo base, predominan las relaciones espaciales, lo que se ha heredado de su función en el búlgaro antiguo.

#### 4. Prefijos y preposiciones

**4.1.** Es indiscutible la estrecha relación que existe entre prefijos y preposiciones. En la tradición española, desde Antonio de Nebrija (1492) hasta el *Esbozo* (1973) los prefijos se conciben como preposiciones en composición, distinguiéndose entre *preposiciones propias* (prefijos que coinciden con preposiciones españolas) y *preposiciones impropias* (elementos prefijales cultos). Pottier señala en distintos trabajos suyos que el prefijo es “otra” forma de la preposición, o bien, una de las funciones de la preposición (Pottier 1962: 198); y también, una variante combinatoria de la preposición en los casos en que un término de la relación no está expresado (Pottier 1972: 203). Insiste, asimismo, en que en el caso de prefijos y preposiciones “se trata de los mismos elementos exactamente, pero con una diferencia –no de naturaleza, sino de función–”, las preposiciones relacionan dos términos carentes de puntos comunes entre sí, mientras que los prefijos relacionan dos términos poseedores de una misma base semántica (Pottier 1970: 168). Iordan y Manoliu (1972: 38), a su vez, aseveran que “los prefijos proceden todos de preposiciones y adverbios”.

Los trabajos más recientes generalmente sostienen la identidad de los prefijos vulgares y establecen las diferencias semánticas y gramaticales con respecto a las preposiciones correspondientes. Así, según Almela Pérez, la aportación semántica de la preposición no es la misma que la de la prefijación. Aquella significa subordinación nominal, y esta significa adición sémica (Almela Pérez 1999: 56). Para Sancho Cremades (1995: 75) y Santana Suárez (2006: 40), la semejanza entre preposiciones y prefijos –tal vez mayor en otras épocas o en otras lenguas– en la actualidad en la

lengua española se reduce a una similitud fónica y muy pocas veces y con grandes variaciones idiomáticas, a una similitud semántica. La identificación entre preposiciones y prefijos solo puede entenderse diacrónicamente y, aun así, con reservas.

Siguiendo principios etimológicos y semánticos, en las lenguas romances se suele distinguir entre prefijos preposicionales (*antesala*, *encarcelar*) y prefijos adverbiales (*descontento*, *precocinar*). No obstante, no siempre resulta tarea fácil identificar cada uno de los prefijos españoles con una u otra categoría, ya que un mismo prefijo puede funcionar como preposición y seleccionar un argumento (*subterráneo* = ‘que está bajo la tierra’) o comportarse como un adverbio (*subyacer* = ‘yacer debajo’). De la misma manera, un mismo prefijo puede modificar la estructura argumental de la base y después exigir la presencia del argumento seleccionado (*volar (sobre el aeropuerto)* > *sobrevolar \*(el aeropuerto)*) o simplemente afectar a la semántica del predicado con que se combina (*sobrecargar* = ‘cargar demasiado’ / ‘cargar sobre algo’) (Varela Ortega y Martín García 1999: 4998).

De hecho, la mayoría de los prefijos españoles preposicionales proceden de preposiciones latinas (*in-útil*, *per-vivir*) o griegas (*perí-metro*, *para-militar*) de las que han heredado los valores semánticos correspondientes. Algunos siguen conviviendo con la preposición en el español moderno (*ante-*, *con-*, *contra-* *en-*, *entre-*, *sin-*, *sobre*, *tras-*); en otros casos, la preposición ha desaparecido de la lengua (*anfi-*, *anti-*, *circun-*, *ex-*, *extra-*, *infra-*, *post-*, *pro-*, *sub-*, *ultra-*). Por lo tanto, no se puede hablar rotundamente ni de una identidad total, ni de una homonimia entre determinados prefijos y preposiciones, pero hay que admitir “la existencia de entramadas relaciones entre ambas categorías, cuya distinción es, por otra parte, inseparable” (Stehlík 2011: 32).

Los prefijos que mantienen los valores semánticos de las preposiciones de las que proceden suelen adjuntarse a nombres y verbos. En las formaciones verbales, el prefijo especifica el eje espacial en el que se desarrolla la acción denotada por la base (*circunnavegar la isla* = ‘navegar alrededor de la isla’). Los prefijos que se combinan con nombres y adjetivos normalmente modifican sustancialmente la base (*antiarrugas*, *contraorden*, *intradérmico*). Cabe señalar también que la prefijación española muestra una tendencia a la pérdida progresiva de las relaciones de locación y a la especialización de los prefijos con otros significados derivados de las nociones espaciales (Varela Ortega y Martín García 1999: 5013).

**4.2.** En la lengua búlgara las cosas se ven de una manera totalmente distinta. Excluyendo los prefijos prestados (que, por cierto, en los últimos años vienen gozando de una productividad bastante grande) y los formantes

*пре-*, *про-* y *раз-*, a todos los demás prefijos búlgaros hoy en día siguen correspondiendo preposiciones idénticas y a menudo su empleo es paralelo, en el sentido de que los propios prefijos verbales requieren una determinada preposición homónima o sinónima, por ejemplo: *в-лизам в* (entrar en), *до-бирам се до* (escalar, llegar a, alcanzar), *за-минавам за* (partir a), *от-казвам се от* (negarse a, renunciar, desistir), *съ-гласявам се с (със)* (ponerse de acuerdo con) (*Gramática* 1983: 413).

Las antiguas preposiciones simples como prefijos tienden a relacionarse con bases verbales (raras veces con nominales): *без-действам* (no actuar), *зад-минавам* (adelantar), *за-минавам* (partir), *о-писвам* (describir), *с-веждам* (agachar, reducir); *без-душие* (desalmamiento), *въз-глас* (exclamación), *у-мисъл* (premeditación). En cambio, las nuevas preposiciones simples se combinan exclusivamente con bases nominales: *край-брежие* (litoral), *между-часие* (recreo), *сред-нощен* (en medio de la noche), *между-островен* (interinsular), volviéndose la prefijación de nombres y adjetivos uno de los procesos más activos de creación de nuevas palabras en el búlgaro moderno.

Siendo preposiciones por origen, los prefijos búlgaros suelen mantener su inicial significado espacial, por ejemplo, la preposición *в* expresa penetración y ubicación en el interior de una cosa. El prefijo *в-* transmite el mismo significado a las palabras formadas con él: *вносям*, *вдишвам*, *вписвам*, *въвеждам*, *вмятам* (importar, aspirar, inscribir, introducir, intercalar). Por otra parte, a lo largo de su evolución ciertas preposiciones han perdido algunos de sus significados espaciales que las caracterizaban en el búlgaro antiguo. No obstante, dichos significados siguen manteniéndose por los respectivos prefijos. Así, por ejemplo, el prefijo *за-* mantiene su valor espacial de la preposición *за* ‘posición o movimiento detrás de algo’ que vemos en *залязва*, *завръщам*, *завчера* (ponerse (el sol), regresar, anteayer). El prefijo *с-* matiza el verbo con su antiguo significado de la preposición *с* ‘movimiento desde arriba hacia abajo’: *слизам*, *спускам*, *сривам* (bajar, descender, demoler) (*Gramática* 1983: 413 – 414). Sin embargo, en el búlgaro moderno ambas preposiciones no tienden a utilizarse con estos significados, por lo tanto, ya no se puede afirmar que exista una correspondencia semántica completa entre preposiciones y prefijos.

En definitiva, en la actualidad se acepta la identidad gramatical de la prefijación, es decir, se reconoce la existencia de la prefijación como tal, como un fenómeno lingüístico distinto de la preposición, aun manteniendo con esta relaciones semánticas y formales.

## 5. Sinopsis de los prefijos españoles y búlgaros con correspondencias semánticas establecidas

A continuación, presentamos una sinopsis recogiendo los prefijos españoles espaciales y temporales y sus correspondientes semánticos búlgaros ilustrados todos con ejemplos de ambas lenguas aquí barajadas. Dicha sinopsis, aparte de presentar la riqueza prefijal del español y del búlgaro, podría servir asimismo a los específicos fines didácticos, revelando los enigmas del mundo sofisticado de la formación de palabras, porque tal como afirma Kanchev “los alumnos superan con menos esfuerzos las dificultades [...], si en el proceso de enseñanza los modelos que se les proporcionan van precedidos de conocimientos acerca de las identidades y diferencias entre la lengua de partida (la nativa) y la lengua de llegada (la que se enseña)” (Kanchev 2009: 9).

Prefijo	Valor	Ejemplos	Prefijo	Valor	Ejemplos
<b>a-/ad-</b>	dirección “a, hacia”	<i>apegarse,</i> <i>atraer,</i> <i>adjuntar</i>	<b>при-</b> <b>с-</b> <b>за-</b>	dirección “a, hacia”, “acercamiento”	<i>привличам</i> (atraer), <i>приближавам</i> (acercar); <i>сбирам</i> (juntar), <i>сдобрявам</i> (reconciliar); <i>завързвам</i> (atar), <i>залепвам</i> (pegar)
<b>anfi-</b>	posición “en torno a, alrededor de”	<i>anfiteatro</i>	<b>амфи-</b>	posición “en torno a, alrededor de”	<i>амфитеатър</i> (anfiteatro)
<b>ante-</b> <b>anti-</b>	posición “ante, delante de”	<i>antebrazo,</i> <i>antesala,</i> <i>antifaz</i>	<b>пред-</b>	posición “ante, delante de”	<i>предпоставка</i> (premisa), <i>предпоставен</i> (antepuesto)
	anterioridad	<i>anteayer,</i> <i>antenupcial,</i> <i>antepagar</i>		anterioridad	<i>предсказвам</i> (predecir), <i>предчувствие</i> (presentimiento)
<b>circun-</b>	posición “en torno a, alrededor de”	<i>circunnavegar,</i> <i>circunvalar,</i> <i>circunscribir</i>	<b>около-</b>	posición “en torno a, alrededor de”	<i>окологъбренчен</i> (perirrenal), <i>околоочен</i> (relativo al contorno de los ojos), <i>околосветски</i> (circunnavegación)
<b>contra-</b>	posición “contra, junto a”	<i>contraventana,</i> <i>contraportada</i>	<b>край-</b>	posición “al lado de”	<i>крайградски</i> (cerca de la ciudad), <i>крайморски</i> (cerca del mar)

<b>de(s)-/</b> <b>di(s)-</b>	procedencia “desde donde”, “separación, alejamiento”	<i>decaer,</i> <i>devenir,</i> <i>desasir,</i> <i>desviar,</i> <i>disculpar</i>	<b>от-</b>	dirección “separación, alejamiento”	<i>отделям</i> (separar), <i>отлитам</i> (despegar)
			<b>раз-</b>	dirección “separación”	<i>развързвам</i> (desatar), <i>разопаковам</i> (desenvolver)
<b>ecto-</b>	posición “por fuera, en el exterior”	<i>ectoparasito</i>			
<b>en-</b> <b>in-/im-</b>	posición “en donde”	<i>encerrar,</i> <i>envolver</i> <i>inscribir,</i> <i>imponer</i>	<b>в(ъв)-</b>	posición “en donde”, dirección “hacia dentro”	<i>вбивам</i> (enclavar), <i>внедрявам</i> (implantar), <i>въвеждам</i> (introducir)
<b>endo-</b>	posición “en el interior de, dentro de”	<i>endovenoso</i>			
<b>entre-</b>	posición “en medio de, entre”	<i>entremeter,</i> <i>entrecomillar,</i> <i>entreacto</i>	<b>между-</b>	posición “en medio de, entre”	<i>междуатомен</i> (interatómico), <i>междуребрен</i> (intercostal), <i>междудържавен</i> (interestatal)
<b>epi-</b>	posición “sobre, encima”	<i>epicentro,</i> <i>epiglotis</i>	<b>епи-</b>	posición “sobre, encima”	<i>епицентър</i> (epicentro), <i>епидермален</i> (epidérmico)
<b>ex-</b> <b>e(s)-</b>	dirección “de dentro a fuera”	<i>extraer,</i> <i>excavar,</i> <i>expulsar</i>	<b>из-</b>	dirección “de dentro a fuera”	<i>изкоренявам</i> (desarraigar), <i>изваждам</i> (sacar)
<b>ex-</b>	anterioridad	<i>exlíder,</i> <i>expresidente</i>	<b>екс-</b>	anterioridad	<i>екслидер</i> (exlíder), <i>експрезидент</i> (expresidente)
<b>exo-</b>	posición “fuera”	<i>exoesqueleto</i>			
<b>extra-</b>	posición externa	<i>extraterrestre,</i> <i>extraparlament</i> <i>ario</i>	<b>извън-</b>	posición externa	<i>извънбрачен</i> (extramatrimonial), <i>извънземен</i> (extraterrestre)
<b>hipo-</b>	posición “debajo de”	<i>hipocentro,</i> <i>hipodérmico</i>	<b>хипо-</b>	posición “debajo de”	<i>хипохондрия</i> (hipocondría)
<b>infra-</b>	posición “debajo de”	<i>инфрадотado,</i> <i>инфраvalorar</i>	<b>инфра-</b>	posición “debajo de”	<i>инфраструктура</i> (infraestructura), <i>инфрачервен</i> (infrarrojo)
<b>inter-</b>	posición “en medio de, entre”	<i>interlinear,</i> <i>intercostal,</i> <i>internacional</i>	<b>интер-</b>	posición “en medio de, entre”	<i>интернационален</i> (internacional), <i>интергалактически</i> (intergaláctico)

VALORES SEMÁNTICOS Y ASPECTUALES DE LOS PREFIJOS LOCATIVOS...

<b>intra-</b>	posición “en el interior de, dentro de”	<i>intramuros, intracelular</i>	<b>интра-</b>	posición “en medio de, entre”	<i>интравенозен</i> (intravenoso), <i>интрамускулен</i> (intramuscular)
<b>intro-</b>	posición “en el interior de, dentro de”	<i>introducción introspección</i>	<b>интро-</b>	posición “en el interior de, dentro de”	<i>интродукция</i> (introducción), <i>интроспекция</i> (introspección)
			<b>за-</b>	dirección “hacia el interior o el centro”	<i>забивам</i> (enclavar), <i>задълбавам</i> (entallar)
			<b>на-</b>	dirección “hacia el interior o el centro”	<i>напъхвам, натиквам</i> (meter)
			<b>у-</b>	dirección “hacia el interior o el centro”	<i>убождам</i> (picar), <i>увличам</i> (arrebatar)
<b>meta-</b>	posición “junto a, tras”, “más allá de”	<i>metatórax metafísica, metalenguaje</i>	<b>мета-</b>	posición “junto a, tras”, “más allá de”	<i>метаинформация</i> (metainformación), <i>метафизически</i> (metafísico)
<b>para-</b>	posición “al margen de, más allá de”	<i>paranormal, parapsicología</i>	<b>пара-</b>	posición “al margen de, más allá de”	<i>paranormal</i> (paranormal), <i>парапсихология</i> (parapsicología)
<b>per-</b>	posición “a través de, por”	<i>perdurar, pernoctar, perseguir</i>	<b>през-</b> <b>пре-</b> <b>про-</b>	posición/ dirección “a través de, por”	<i>презокеански</i> (transatlántico); <i>пренощувам</i> , (pernoctar), <i>преследвам</i> (perseguir); <i>продупчвам</i> (perforar), <i>прострелвам</i> (disparar)
<b>peri-</b>	posición “en torno a, alrededor de”	<i>periferia, pericardio, perímetro</i>			
<b>pos(t)-</b>	posición “detrás de”	<i>pospuesto postdorsal</i>	<b>зад-</b>	posición “detrás de”	<i>задграничен</i> (extranjero), <i>задстомашен</i> (postestomacal)
	posterioridad	<i>posgrado, postoperatorio, postparto</i>	<b>след-</b>  <b>пост-</b>	posterioridad	<i>следобеден</i> (de la tarde), <i>следпразничен</i> (de posfiesta), <i>постсоциализъм</i> (postsocialismo)



<b>pre-</b>	anterioridad	<i>prejuzgar,</i> <i>prefijar</i>	<b>пред-</b>	anterioridad	<i>предвиждам</i> (prever), <i>предизвестие</i> (preaviso)
	posición de primacía	<i>prevalecer,</i> <i>predominar</i>			
<b>pro-</b>	posición “delante de, hacia delante”	<i>promover,</i> <i>proponer</i>			
<b>re-</b>	posición “detrás de”	<i>recámara,</i> <i>refluir</i>	<b>ре-</b>	posterioridad	<i>ребалканизация</i> (rebalcanización), <i>рефинансиране</i> (refinanciación)
<b>retro-</b>	posición “detrás, hacia detrás”	<i>retrofaríngeo,</i> <i>retrovisor</i>			
<b>sub- so- soto- sota-</b>	posición “lugar más bajo”, “rango inferior”	<i>subtítulo,</i> <i>subrayar,</i> <i>someter,</i> <i>sostener</i> <i>socavar,</i> <i>subcomandante</i>	<b>под-</b>	posición “debajo de”, “rango inferior”	<i>подзаглавие,</i> (subtítulo), <i>подчертавам</i> (subrayar), <i>подводница</i> (submarino), <i>подполковник</i> (teniente coronel)
			<b>с(ъ)-</b>	dirección/ posición “hacia abajo, debajo de”	<i>свалям</i> (bajar), <i>събарям</i> (derribar)
<b>sobre-</b>	posición “sobre, encima”	<i>sobresalir,</i> <i>sobrenatural</i>	<b>над-</b>	posición “sobre, encima”	<i>надбъбречен</i> (suprarrenal), <i>надживявам</i> (sobrevivir), <i>надколенен</i> (por encima de la rodilla)
<b>super-</b>	posición “sobre, encima”	<i>supervivencia,</i> <i>superponer</i>			
<b>supra-</b>	posición “sobre, encima”	<i>supranacional,</i> <i>supradicho,</i> <i>suprarrenal</i>			
			<b>за-</b>	dirección/ posición “encima de todo”	<i>закривам</i> (cubrir), <i>заливам</i> (sumergir)
			<b>на-</b>	dirección “encima de”	<i>насолявам</i> (echar sal), <i>натрупвам</i> (amontonar), <i>нацапвам</i> (manchar)
			<b>пре-</b>	dirección/ posición “encima de todo”, “abarca todo”	<i>прегазвам</i> (pisotear), <i>преливам</i> (rebosar)

			<b>о- об-</b>	dirección/ posición “encima de todo, alrededor de todo”	<i>обхващам</i> (abarcар), <i>ограждам</i> (rodear)
			<b>по-</b>	dirección/ posición “encima de todo”	<i>посипвам</i> (polvorear), <i>поливам</i> (regar)
			<b>въз-</b>	dirección “hacia arriba, encima de”	<i>възнасям</i> (ascender), <i>възсядам</i> (sentarse encima)
<b>tras-</b>	posición “más allá de, al otro lado de”	<i>traslucir,</i> <i>trastienda,</i> <i>trasalcoba</i>			
<b>ultra-</b>	posición “más allá de, al otro lado de”	<i>ultrasonido,</i> <i>ultramar,</i> <i>ultravioleta</i>	<b>ултра-</b>	posición “más allá de, al otro lado de”	<i>ултразвук</i> (ultrasonido), <i>ултравиолетов</i> (ultravioleta)
<b>vice-</b>	posición “en vez de, en sustitución de”	<i>vicecónsul</i> <i>vicedirector</i>	<b>вице-</b>	posición “en vez de, en sustitución de”	<i>вицепрезидент</i> (vicepresidente), <i>вицепремиер</i> (vice primer ministro)

## 6. Conclusiones

**6.1.** La lengua búlgara es mucho más susceptible de formar verbos prefijados, hecho demostrable con el mayor número de formantes locacionales utilizados al efecto en comparación con el español. Además, es muy habitual que el prefijo añadido no solo modifique el verbo base semánticamente, sino también gramaticalmente, cambiando su aspecto de imperfectivo a perfectivo. La nómina de los prefijos búlgaros espaciales se ve ampliada asimismo por los sufijos prestados que, a su vez, dan lugar a muchos prefijos nominales y adjetivales.

**6.2.** La prefijación española paulatinamente va perdiendo las relaciones locativas, especializándose los prefijos en otros significados derivados de las nociones espaciales. En cambio, a la mayoría de los prefijos búlgaros hoy en día siguen correspondiendo preposiciones idénticas y a menudo los verbos prefijados rigen como preposición el mismo morfema que se integra en su estructura prefijada.

**6.3.** Los prefijos temporales en ambas lenguas contrastadas presentan unas listas muy reducidas. Ello se debe, tal vez, al hecho de que los formantes que aportan el valor de anterioridad o posterioridad suelen combinar el significado temporal con el espacial.

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DOI 10.69085/ntf2024b185

## LE SCHÉMA-CADRE « ACTIVITÉ MARKETING » DANS LE SYSTÈME DES TERMES DU FRANÇAIS

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## FRAME STRUCTURE OF „MARKETING ACTIVITY“ IN THE FRENCH LANGUAGE TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM

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From the point of view of modern cognitive linguistics, by means of language, key elements of the conceptual picture of the world are marked and explication of other pictures of the world becomes possible due to numerous models and frames. A frame is a cognitive model that conveys knowledge and views on a particular repetitive situation. The aim of this work is to characterize the features of the terminology of marketing in a cognitive context and to present the frame scheme of the “Marketing Activity”. After analysing one of the media marketing texts, a cognitive model of the event in the field of media industry and marketing was drawn in order to emphasize the pragmatic parameters of frames, which can reflect a significant amount of economic information.

**Key words:** basic concept, cognitive function, frame, marketing activity, professional context, corpus of terms

## 1. Introduction

L'homme dans son activité mentale et cognitive se sert d'unités opérationnelles qui se diffèrent selon le degré de complexité. Les linguistes affirment qu'en examinant des significations et l'emploi des mots et des énoncés au cours de l'analyse logique de dénotation on peut décrire d'une manière exhaustive des concepts de base localisés dans l'esprit humain, lorsque tout concept possède un contenu qui, de son côté, pourrait être décomposé en caractéristiques fonctionnelles qui constituent son côté sémantique (Sternine 1999: 69-72). Le concept peut définir non seulement des composants particuliers, mais également des combinaisons de ses composants qui présentent une similitude significative dans la mesure où elles participent à la description des concepts.

De sorte qu'un système linguistique est en grande partie un système de frames, l'activité langagière, selon M. Minsky, amène les gens à des associations et fait activer les parties pertinentes des frames qui coïncident chez des interlocuteurs différents lors des actes de langage productif (Minsky 1988: 281-309). De ce fait, une distinction faite entre les connaissances générales et les connaissances acquises par les situations vécues ne se montrent qu'au niveau de la faculté de compréhension réciproque entre interlocuteurs.

## 2. La corrélation des concepts dans la terminologie du marketing

Étant donné que des unités nominatives sont liées à la formation des concepts, la mise en relief des concepts clés du frame « activité marketing » nous donne une idée claire de l'appareil conceptuel sur lequel se fonde le caractère multidimensionnel des relations complexes entre les acteurs et les objets dans ce domaine. En d'autres termes, on ne peut pas comprendre le mécanisme de l'activité marketing sans avoir pénétré le sens de ses concepts fondamentaux tels que: *étude de marché* par étapes (état, dynamiques et structure des marchés, offre et demande); *environnement du marché* (relations entre les personnes et des sociétés); *acteurs principaux du marché* (producteurs, distributeurs, influenceurs, régulateurs, clients); *composantes de la stratégie marketing*, c'est-à-dire des 4 P (Produit, Prix, Place, Promotion) (Demeure 2008: 10-12).

Les termes dénotant des concepts du marketing constituent leur corpus et en termes pratiques, leur importance pour les acteurs de marketing n'est pas identique.

Une analyse qualificative du corpus marketing a montré que :

– Des termes économiques généraux (*budget* (m), *investissement* (m), *gestion* (f), *paiement* (m), *quota* (m) y occupent une place significative (environ 10 %). En effet, ils ne changent pas leur sens initial et servent de lien entre le corpus marketing et ceux de domaines connexes (finances, comptabilité, audit, économie d'entreprise, secteur bancaire, gestion) ;

– Des unités de la langue générale (*caractéristique* (f), *centre* (m), *échelle* (f), *part* (m), *projet* (m) entrent dans les syntagmes nominaux dont le nombre monte à 18,9 % (*échelle de puissance*, *part social*, *projet de recherche*) ;

– Le nombre de termes de marketing tels que *distribution* (f), *emballage* (m), *communication* (f), est de 24,6 % du total des unités terminologiques examinées (*circuit de distribution*, *communication média*, *emballage gratuit*)<sup>1</sup>.

Sur le plan fonctionnel 56,5 % des termes simples se combinent dans des collocations en se regroupant en fonction de l'usage autour des concepts de base et des sous-concepts. Plus concrètement, le concept de base *prix* (m) est associé à 76 syntagmes nominaux (*prix à l'unité*, *prix d'acquisition*, *prix de revient*, *prix hors-taxes*, *prix fluctuants*).

Le regroupement sémantique de tous les termes qu'on avait réalisés lors de l'analyse des textes et des dictionnaires spécialisés (plus de 8 700 unités lexicales) témoigne que le fait de verbaliser des concepts d'une manière plus détaillée est fréquent et reflète l'importance réelle de certains concepts; en parallèle, il en existe d'autres, plus concrets (*marché* m), qui ne nécessitent pas d'explication supplémentaire dont les définitions sont faites sur la base de conditions nécessaires et suffisantes en représentant à la fois la tradition et la norme selon Laurent Gautier (2017), comme on le voit dans l'exemple suivant :

(1) *La création de Bourses du gaz et de l'électricité, sur lesquelles se forment des prix de marché, répond au deuxième principe fondateur du modèle néolibéral... En France, l'entreprise de marché Powernext ouvre sa Bourse du gaz en 2008, avant que les marchés nationaux soient progressivement intégrés à l'échelle européenne*<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> L'étude en question a été présentée dans l'article de N. Demchuk (2017) La structure cadre des concepts de l'activité marketing en français <[https://chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://repository.sspu.edu.ua/bitstream/123456789/8671/1/Bahatska\\_Naratyvne%20vtilennia%20kontseptu.pdf](https://chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://repository.sspu.edu.ua/bitstream/123456789/8671/1/Bahatska_Naratyvne%20vtilennia%20kontseptu.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> Le Monde diplomatique, 2021.



Une étape importante dans la description du système des termes consiste à identifier la structure conceptuelle et linguistique propre à un domaine spécialisé, c'est-à-dire la structure des termes qui dénotent les concepts constituant le noyau de la structure terminologique, voire sa partie fondamentale.

## **2. Les étapes de la construction d'un frame**

La construction d'un frame est soumise à des régularités que l'on a généralisées et décomposées en quatre étapes principales :

1. Dégagement des concepts de base du domaine spécialisé
2. Détermination des principales relations au sein du système des termes
3. Identification des formes d'expression de concepts
4. Présentation schématique de l'organisation du système des termes.

Effectivement la constitution du frame rend plus facile la mise en ordre du système des termes. On peut imaginer un frame sous la forme d'un tableau dont les cellules en haut ont été remplies avant, pourtant les cellules en bas, encore vides, seront remplies lorsqu'on esquisse des bordures d'encadrement du tableau sur le texte afin d'en retirer des informations notionnelles. Chaque frame est lié d'une façon structurale et conceptionnelle à d'autres frames situés au-dessus et au-dessous: cela permet de déduire le contenu du frame placé en bas depuis le frame qui est situé en haut (autrement dit en raison de sa structure hiérarchique).

Les linguistes cognitivistes slaves interprètent un frame en tant que connaissances spécifiques d'un événement ou d'une situation « prototypique », verbalisées au moyen du langage naturel (Ageev 2002: 66-68; Astafurova 1997: 41). Marvin Minsky affirme qu'un frame se représente en tant qu'une base de données conçues pour que le cerveau humain perçoive une situation prototypique spécifique (Minsky 1988: 289). Selon A. Ziem *les frames c'est un outil d'analyse et de représentation des connaissances* (Ziem 2014).

Dans notre travail la première partie de l'analyse du frame des termes en marketing consiste à regrouper les unités destinées à nommer des concepts. Nous avons pris comme base des savoirs théoriques mis à jour en résultat de l'expérience acquise par des spécialistes, ainsi que des données mobilisées qui ont également servi de point de référence à la collecte du corpus spécialisé.

Le corpus exploité dans ce secteur d'activité économique contient des données linguistiques qu'on rencontre dans l'environnement naturel<sup>3</sup> dans des situations de communication des professionnels en marketing.

La taille du corpus analysé comprend des termes obtenus par la méthode d'échantillonnage de nombreux textes pédagogiques (*Marketing. Aide-mémoire* (2008), *Mercatique. Programme nouveau* (2006), *Le marketing* (2010), des périodiques français (*L'expansion*, *Courrier international*), ainsi que de quatre dictionnaires de l'économie et marketing (*Pratique de l'économie et des sciences sociales de A à Z* (1996), *L'anglais du marketing* (2008), *Marketing et techniques commerciales* (1992), *Dictionnaire pratique du commerce* (2009), ce qui nous a permis de décrire des usages des termes en marketing, ainsi que de les regrouper en plusieurs concepts-clés qui sont présentés dans notre article sous forme du frame « activité marketing ».

## 2.1 La définition du « cadre » (frame)

Le terme « cadre » est couramment utilisé pour désigner les différents types de structures cognitives. Toute personne possède son propre ensemble de cadres qui se forment au long de sa vie, par contre les cadres eux-mêmes se diffèrent peu chez les différentes personnes (sinon les gens ne se comprendraient pas !). Ce phénomène est également dû au fait qu'au sein d'une communauté linguistique donnée il existe le même mode de vision et de catégorisation du monde. Par conséquent, nous partageons la position de M. Minsky (1975) et R. Schank (1993) qui affirment qu'un système des termes a une structure analogue aux scénarios et frames (cadres) qui reflètent les connaissances sur un domaine déterminé et les présentent sous forme d'une structure organisée d'une manière concrète :

*Quand on rencontre une nouvelle situation, on sélectionne de la mémoire une structure appelée « cadre » (frame). Il s'agit d'une structure remémorée qui doit être adaptée pour correspondre à la réalité en changeant les détails nécessaires. Un cadre est une structure de données pour représenter une situation stéréotypée reconnue comme s'appliquant au problème (dans une certaine mesure)<sup>4</sup>.*

Dans la structure d'un cadre des concepts occupent une position dominante, ce qui permet de classer toutes les unités lexicales par

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<sup>3</sup> Cf Nous reprenons ici le terme « environnement naturel » de M.-C. L'Homme (2008).

<sup>4</sup> Cf M. Minsky (1975) et R. Schank (1993).

différentes étapes ou processus marketing. Une telle approche cognitive permet de construire un cadre en remplissant leurs emplacements et nœuds avec des informations appropriées.

Les systèmes de cadres sont reliés entre eux par un réseau de recherche d'information qui sera exploité pour trouver le cadre le plus adapté à la situation observée. Les liens intercadre rendent possible la représentation des connaissances à propos des faits, des analogies et d'autres informations utiles pour la compréhension<sup>5</sup>.

Nous prenons en considération qu'un concept est lié à deux types de frames différents : situationnel (actionnel) et classificateur. Cela dit, un frame évoque l'idée de la scène en entier, sinon il se concentre sur certains points de détail (épisodes) (Minsky 1979: 99). Dans différentes langues on observe la tendance à mettre en perspective un agent qui effectue l'action. En marketing, d'ailleurs, un frame peut décrire une certaine activité ayant pour mission une évaluation émotionnelle de ses acteurs et des phénomènes concernés.

## **2.2 Le scénario de Marketing**

Dans le cadre d'un scénario, les grandes étapes d'activité sont déterminées, y compris, l'élaboration d'un plan d'action marketing pour chaque type de biens (ou services) et le contrôle des actions et des résultats commerciaux. Dans les conditions actuelles la mise en œuvre d'un scénario du frame a certainement ses caractéristiques se différenciant selon les cas. Le processus de déploiement d'un scénario ne s'effectue pas simultanément : il comprend des étapes (des scènes), chacune ayant sa verbalisation particulière, c'est-à-dire des schémas conceptuels qui illustrent des relations entre les concepts de base.

Nous avons généralisé les résultats d'activité marketing (à partir de l'étude du marché jusqu'à la mise en place des opérations d'achats et de ventes), décrits par Carole Larmet-Demenay, en trois scènes suivantes :

Scène 1 : *Marketing d'études* qui envisage la réalisation d'une analyse complète de marché et a pour résultat la prise d'une décision stratégique.

Scène 2 : *Marketing stratégique* qui détermine les opportunités du marché (objectifs à attendre, cibles visées, positionnement).

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<sup>5</sup> Cf M. Minsky, R. Schank, *ibidem*.

Scène 3 : *Marketing opérationnel*, c'est-à-dire la mise en place d'un plan de marchéage adapté (Larmet-Demenay 2006: 14-15).

Cependant la structure et la disposition des scènes, ainsi que la relation entre les acteurs principaux restent inchangées et maintiennent des séquences d'événements et d'actions raisonnées.

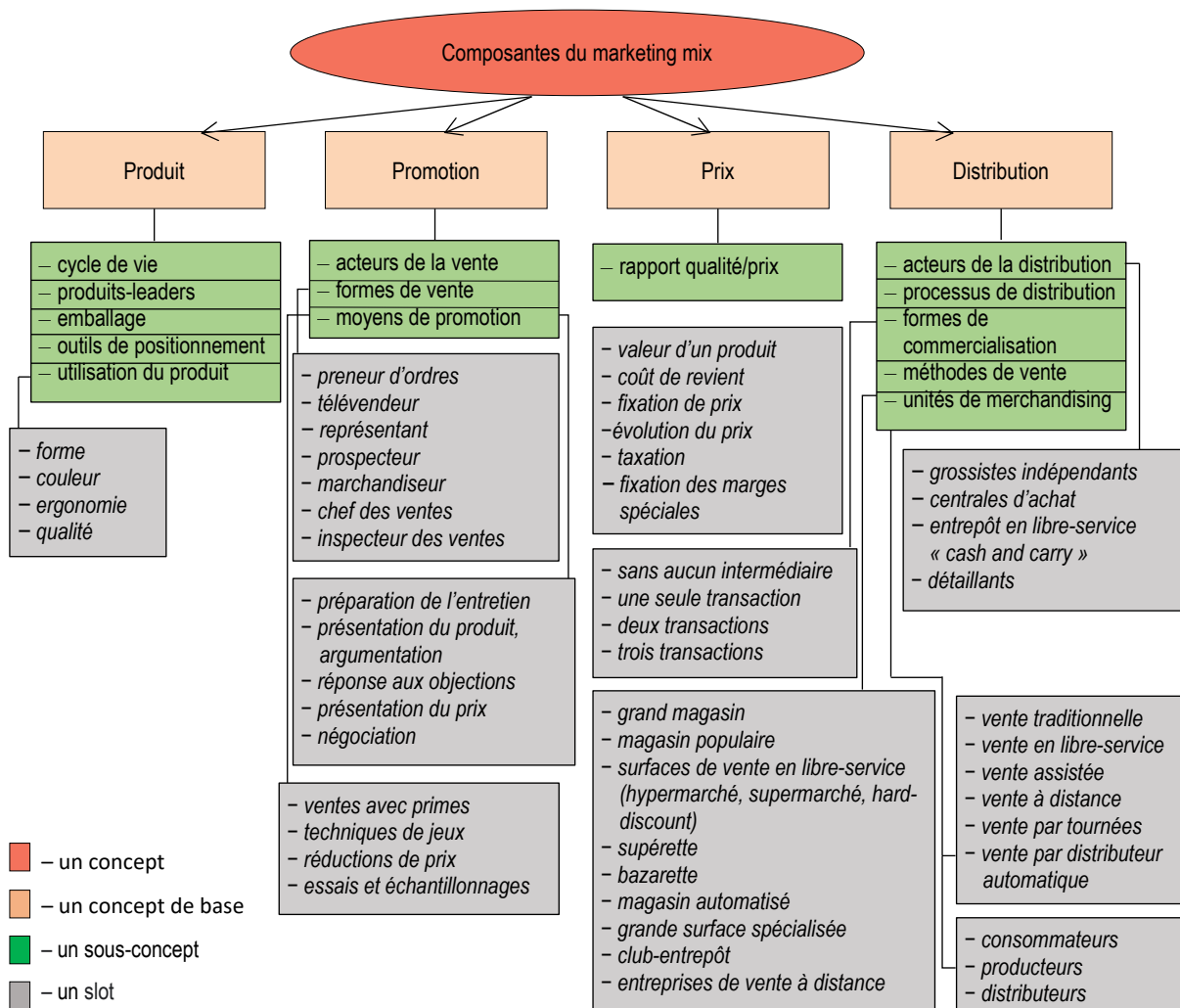
### **2.3 Le schéma-cadre « activité marketing »**

Il ne fait aucun doute que toute activité scientifique est un domaine relativement restreint avec ses caractéristiques lexico-sémantiques qui se déroule dans le cadre d'un scénario à un nombre limité de composants. Par conséquent, derrière chaque composant sémantique se trouve un frame qui décrit le rôle, les caractéristiques et les relations de ses éléments ou composants dans le contexte, construit en fonction de l'expérience de ses utilisateurs.

Selon Audrey Baneyx, le principal intérêt des terminologies est de réduire, voire supprimer, l'ambiguïté des termes, ce qui garantira la bonne compréhension entre les spécialistes :

Par définition, une terminologie de référence spécifie une norme pour un domaine donné, alors le sens de chaque terme est figé et il n'existe qu'une interprétation possible pour l'utilisateur. La possibilité de hiérarchiser les concepts permet de relier explicitement un terme générique imprécis aux termes plus spécifiques qui peuvent le préciser (Baneyx 2007: 24-39).

Le regroupement des caractéristiques présentées permet de recenser et classer des concepts du domaine et des termes qui les désignent. Nous considérons que l'évaluation de la signification pragmatique de certains groupes de termes facilite l'échange de connaissances dans une langue, ainsi que d'une langue à l'autre, pour les utilisateurs du vocabulaire marketing, au moyen d'y donner le plus de détails possibles.



**Figure 1 : Le schéma-cadre « activité marketing »**

Afin de décoder le contenu des concepts de base qui constituent le socle du schéma du frame du système des termes du marketing, il est nécessaire d'analyser plus en détail les Éléments-Frame et les slots qui en font partie. De ce fait, le repérage des sous-concepts de marketing par l'intermédiaire d'une classification hiérarchisée les a fait subdiviser en slots<sup>6</sup> comme le démontre *la figure 1*. À notre avis, le schéma-cadre trace le contour du lexique marketing car les concepts de base, reliés entre eux par des relations sémantiques, représentent quant à elles, un frame qui est structuré de manière conceptuelle.

<sup>6</sup> Le terme est évoqué par M. Bach (2020)

### 3.1 La structuration cognitive

Chaque cadre est associé à différents types d'informations. M. Minsky décrit un cadre sous forme d'une série de questions posées méthodiquement afin d'étudier la situation probable, ce qui permet de jeter un nouveau regard sur des choses habituelles (Minsky 1979: 64).

Pour le marketing nous avons distingué quelques questions dont la réponse peut renvoyer à l'identification des situations stéréotypes, ainsi qu'à comprendre plus largement ses phénomènes et processus :

- Quelle est la raison d'une action ? (intention)
- Quel est le but ? (objet)
- Qui (ou quoi) est concerné par cette action ? (agents)
- Par quels moyens cette action est-elle réalisée ? (outils).

Un aspect important du concept du cadre est l'étude des méthodes du traitement de l'information ou bien sa structuration. Suite à l'analyse du corpus effectué, les principales caractéristiques du cadre ont été sélectionnées : la manière d'organiser les connaissances, le schéma de compréhension et l'organisation structurelle des actions de parole basées sur une certaine expérience des participants de la communication. C'est au moyen de leur expérience communicative que les spécialistes peuvent prévoir les changements d'état et de position des objets extérieurs, le développement des événements et leur contenu, ainsi qu'assurer la liaison des événements, y compris dans leur aspect économique.

Une analyse détaillée du corpus linguistique du marketing nous amène à accorder une plus grande importance à l'ensemble des sous-concepts qui sont généralisés du point de vue du contenu et regroupés autour du « marché ». Selon notre classement il en existe trois :

- *l'étude de marché*, soit les critères de coexistence de l'offre et de la demande
  - *les agents du marché* (vendeurs, acheteurs, consommateurs)
  - *les formes de leur interaction* qui sont étroitement liés aux composantes du marketing mix (Produit, Prix, Communication, Distribution).

### 3.2 Le modèle cognitif en média marketing

En fonction d'un positionnement préétabli au terme de la structuration cognitive des cadres basée sur l'interaction sociale et la création de contenu, nous nous sommes servis des informations sur les dessous de la « Zemmourmania »<sup>7</sup>.

Notre analyse a pris appui sur le questionnaire proposé ci-dessous et représenté sur la Figure 2 régissant l'exécution des activités qui permettent de mettre en œuvre des moyens et mécanismes afin d'atteindre un objectif précis, dans le cas de la « Zemmourmania » – l'intention de la victoire du candidat aux élections présidentielles où

*Le But* prévoit de :

- Mettre sous les projecteurs le futur candidat, le rendre visible
- Tourner la conversation autour de lui, de son discours, de ses idées
- Monter en épingle certains faits
- Alimenter la conversation sociale
- Ramener l'audience vers le site concret.

*La Forme* comprend :

- Le débat public
- Un « un sujet tendance » (trading topic)
- Un sondage aux résultats spectaculaires inattendus
- Le commentaire permanent et immédiat.

En tant qu'*Instruments* sont utilisés :

- Un ton assertif du commentaire
- La titraille racoleuse
- Le martèlement des mêmes images et discours
- Les tweets politiques et d'information
- Les commentaires sur les réseaux.

Le but ne peut être atteint qu'avec la participation significative et l'implication *des Acteurs* de l'espace médiatique :

Les animateurs, les journalistes, les médias généralistes, les polémiques, les rivaux électoraux, les entreprises rivales, le personnel politique, les réseaux socio numériques.

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<sup>7</sup> Il s'agit de l'article « Des bulles et du buzz » décrivant l'encadrement éditorial pour la candidature d'Éric Zemmour que les responsables marketing de certains médias français ont mis en place en automne 2021, paru dans Le 1 hebdo, n 373, novembre 2021.



Les Mécanismes qui assurent le fonctionnement du marché de l'informatique peuvent être définis d'après la nature des mouvements de ses acteurs :

Une série de logiques médiatiques

La couverture médiatique

La saturation informationnelle (autour d'un candidat)

L'hypersegmentation du public (sur une thématique précise)

L'usage médiatique des sondages électoraux (la mésusage)

La réalisation des enquêtes préélectorales du sondage

La reconstitution des résultats du sondage par les journalistes.

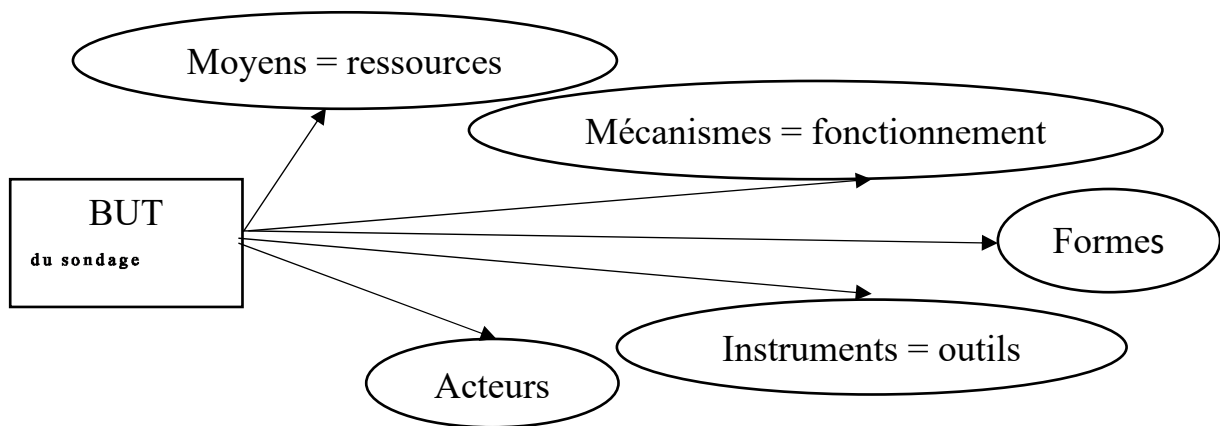


Figure 2 : Le modèle cognitif en média marketing

Assez souvent, les différents types de moyens et mécanismes sont utilisés successivement et constituent d'excellents outils pour mener à bien des marchés-tests (effet d'une campagne publicitaire ou promotionnelle, lancement expérimental de nouveau produit ou service, zone géographique).

#### 4. Conclusion

La caractérisation de la structure et des relations sémantiques entre termes du marketing renvoie le marketing aux terminologies formées de signes, qui dénomment un ensemble de concepts d'un certain fragment de représentation linguistique du monde. Sa comparaison avec les critères des systèmes de termes, représentés de façon normalisée, en approfondit les connaissances et permet la description plus détaillée.

Parmi les nombreuses caractéristiques du cadre, nous considérons comme les principales : la manière d'organiser les connaissances, le schéma de compréhension et l'organisation structurelle des actions



langagières, basées sur une certaine expérience des participants à la communication.

Le cadre « activité marketing » est réalisé en tenant compte de quatre concepts de base identifiés que nous considérons comme Frame-Éléments de l'activité marketing, à savoir : Marché, Composantes du marché, Composantes du marketing mix, Intermédiaire de l'interaction entre les sujets et les objets du marché et permet d'avoir une idée du fonctionnement mental des participants du marketing.

Sur le plan linguistique, au cours d'une analyse cognitive d'un des événements de média marketing – la victoire du candidat aux élections présidentielles, nous constatons que la communication fonctionne dans un système d'interaction, ce qui permet d'identifier les séquences typiques des actions, ainsi que leurs résultats.

D'ailleurs, les cadres peuvent refléter une quantité importante d'informations économiques que le locuteur est capable d'activer à tout moment dans des contextes socio-culturels bien concrets.

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DOI 10.69085/ntf2024b198

## ОБРЪЩЕНИЕТО КАТО КОМПОНЕНТ ОТ БЪЛГАРСКИЯ И ТУРСКИЯ НЕТИКЕТ

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### ADDRESS AS A COMPONENT OF BULGARIAN AND TURKISH NETIQUETTE

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In the present study, the functional-semantic characteristics of one of the speech acts important for effective interpersonal communication – the address – are examined, focusing on its uses in social networks (mainly in the Facebook platform and its Messenger application). We take Facebook not only as a public scene, but also as a type of interpersonal communication, from which conclusions can be drawn about the meaning and role of address as an important factor for modern speech interaction, for socio-cultural differences and conventions. The purpose of the report is to study the current use and specific cultural features of the address in the Bulgarian and Turkish online space.

**Key words:** address, netiquette, Facebook, Messenger

#### **Въведение**

За обръщението е писано много. В българската лингвистика има редица изследвания за обръщението, проучвано е от различни ракурси и с различни подходи, както и в съпоставителен план с други езици. Хр. Пантелеева (1994), М. Стефанова (1997) и К. Цанков (1988, 1994) го разглеждат като компонент на речевия етикет, Р. Ницолова (1984) изследва обръщението от морфологична гледна точка. Н. Паскалев (2006, 2009) и С. Александрова (2022) се фокусират върху обръщението във връзка с изразяването на учтивост. Чрез прагматичния подход М. Джонова (2014) проучва обръщението в устната реч, В. Шушлина

(2013) насочва вниманието си върху функциите на обръщението, Л. Кънчева-Иванова – върху неговите форми, а Н. Павлова (2015) се спира подробно върху обратните обръщания. С. Ким (1999) разглежда обръщението в семейния дискурс в българския и корейския език, Н. Стойкова (2015, 2021) проучва обръщението като фатическа единица за установяване и поддържане на речевото взаимодействие в руския и българския език, М. Стефанова (2012) и Р. Демирова (2018) съпоставят обръщението в българския и турския етикет, а Д. Константинова (2013) се съсредоточава върху различията в етикетните формули за обръщение и титулуване в официална среда между българи и словаци.

Разработките с предмет на изследване *обръщение* в турската лингвистика отбелязват ръст след 2000 година. Турският език притежава заvidно богатство от етикетен арсенал и в частност формули за обръщение, но може да се каже, че проблематиката все още стои в периферията на лингвистичния интерес на турските изследователи. Сред учените, занимаващи се с този въпрос, са: С. Аладжа (2014), С. Алиълмаз (2015), М. Демирбаг (2017), Н. Йълдъръм (2017), Й. Баюрт и А. Байрактароглу (2001), М. Юджеол (2004, 2019), в чиито разработки обръщението е във връзка с изразяването на учтивост. В изследването си за обръщението Н. Йозер и П. И. Акджан (2022) прилагат лингвистичен и прагматичен подход, а Е. Акташ и И. Йълмаз (2016) разглеждат формите за обръщение в езика на студентите педагози чрез социолингвистичния метод. З. Коркмаз (2011), Н. Хаджъеминоглу (1984), М. Ергин (2002), Х. И. Делидже (2008), Г. Караагач (2009), Т. Н. Генджан (1979), Л. Карахан (2004), С. Йозчелик и М. Ертен (2005), Б. Актан (2009), М. Йозмен (2013) и др. изследват обръщението от морфологичен аспект, докато Т. Динар (2014) и К. Юстюнова (2010) го разглеждат от синтактична гледна точка. Принос в съпоставителните изследвания имат Х. Имамова (2010), Б. Башер (2012), Б. М. Кесер и Л. Пачулиа (2021), Ф. Дагабакан (2021) и др. Обръщението е предмет на изследване и в българската туркология. Тук се открояват разработките на М. Салим и В. Хасан (2019) за обръщението в османските документи и на М. Шукриева (2022, 2023) за обръщението в турския речев етикет.

### **Обща характеристика на обръщението**

Обръщението е едно от основните езикови средства за осъществяване на речев контакт. Н. Формановская го определя като универсален феномен, „най-яркия и най-използван етикетен знак“ (Форманов-

ская 2005: 115 – 116), с помощта на който назоваваме и се обръщаме към адресата, привличаме неговото внимание, включваме го в речев контакт. Чрез обръщението отделяме адресата от другите, за да получим възможност да му кажем нещо, едновременно с това изразяваме оценката си към него. Така посредством обръщението показваме емоционално-оценъчното си отношение към някого, но и създаваме определен емоционален контекст, защото зад обръщението се крие пъстър калейдоскоп от разнообразни чувства, било то положителни, или отрицателни.

Въпреки че според изследователите обръщението е странична дума и не влиза в словосъчетание с друга дума от изречението (Пашов 1989: 319), то е абсолютно необходимо, без него не може да се създаде текст, тъй като езикът няма да изпълнява комуникативна функция (Станева 2001: 25, Ницолова 1984: 67). В позиция на обръщениа в българския и в турския език могат да бъдат: съществителни имена в основна, звателна и членна форма, прилагателни имена, лични и притежателни местоимения, числителни имена, междуметия, частици.

Чрез обръщението може да се отразяват разнородни обективни отношения между събеседниците – роднински, служебни, възрастови, или съществуващо фиктивно отношение между тях – например чрез обръщениата с псевдозначение. Изборът на обръщение обединява съвкупност от семантични и прагматически компоненти на авторовата оценка както за адресата, така и за предмета на речта (Станева 2001: 24 – 26). Според С. Петкова определящи за избора на конкретно обръщение са прагматическите: комуникативните и междуличностните намерения, социалният статус и условията, в които протича речевата интеракция – типът обстановка, каналът на комуникацията (Петкова 2005: 26). Що се отнася до канала на комуникацията, в нашия случай имаме отсъствие на визуален контакт и отдалечено разположение на комуникантите.

В официална (формална) обстановка в българското речево общуване различаваме следните обръщениа: антропоними, лексемите *господине, госпожо, госпожице*, етикетни единици от другите подсистеми на речевия етикет: *Извинете/Извинявайте, Може ли..., Бихте ли...,* обръщениа от типа: *младеж, младежо, девойко, момче, момченце, момиче, момиченце, малкият* и др. В неофициалното речево общуване се употребяват: собствени имена, обръщениа роднински названия, обръщениа с псевдоупотреба, членувани, обратни и квалификативно-оценъчни обръщениа.

Предвид че разглеждаме социалната мрежа *Facebook* и нейното приложение *Messenger*, предположенията ни са, че преобладават обръщенията, типични за неофициалното общуване, тъй като платформата се използва основно от познати и приятели. Изхождаме от факта, че проучването (най-вече в *Messenger*) се основава на личния ни фонд от потребителски съобщения. В изследването са ексцерпирани примери от личната кореспонденция на авторките, от „разговори“ в социалните групи, до които те имат достъп, както и по метода на скритото онлайн наблюдение.

От значение е и проявлението на разнородните функции на обръщението в различните по вид изказвания. В съобщителните изказвания с обръщението говорещият подканва слушателя да приеме предаваната информация, във въпросителните с обръщението се очаква слушателят да предаде липсващата информация, в подбудителните с обръщението говорещият изказва желанието си слушателят да стане вършител на действие или да даде позволения си за извършване на действието (от говорещия или от трето лице), както и да предаде заповедта на говорещия на трето лице, а в желателните изказвания с обръщението говорещият призовава слушателя да чуе пожеланието, свързано или не с него (Ницолова 1984: 42).

### **Общуване и нетикет**

Общуването в интернет е опосредствано чрез компютърно устройство общуване, при което се използва писмената реч, но опростена откъм конструкции, за да се доближи до спонтанната устна реч, т.е. имаме „написана форма на устен разговор“, „писмен разговор“ (Пехливанова, Буров 2010: 43) или както още Е. Буторина и Р. Коцев го наричат – „писмена разговорна реч“ (Буторина 1999: 1, Коцев 2016: 6). Именно липсата на визуален контакт налага използването на някои компенсаторни механизми, за да може интернет общуването да се доближи до устното. Това неминуемо се отнася и до обръщението. Като компонент от речевия етикет и служещо за изразяване на учтивост/неучтивост, обръщението (наред с други езикови средства) проявява свои специфики в интернет общуването.

Интернет промени представите ни за общуване освен с хора по местоживееене и по месторабота, но и с географски отдалечени близки и познати, а също така и с непознати индивиди, предимно със сходни интереси. С напредването на технологиите създадените в реална среда взаимодействия все по-често преминават и се развиват във виртуал-

ното пространство, там се създават и нови връзки. Така се преодоляват пречките, свързани най-вече с разстоянието и времето, и този вид комуникация става необходимост в живота на хората.

Една от най-използваните социални мрежи е *Facebook* (притежание на холдинговата компания „Мета“), често наричана социален феномен. По данни на турския сайт *Mediatrend* в края на третото тримесечие на 2022 г. *Facebook* има 2,96 милиарда активни потребители месечно по целия свят. Към 30 септември 2022 г. гигантът на социалните мрежи има 1,98 милиарда активни потребители дневно. Според данни на *Kerios* в платформата *Facebook* има 3,40 млн. български акаунта, а потребителите от Турция наброяват 34,40 милиона, сочи *Mediatrend*.

Съществуваща като платформа за онлайн комуникация, чрез нея може да се общува, да се споделят новини и идеи, да се отправят въпроси и да им се отговоря, да се потърси и даде съвет, да се подтиква и моли, да се искат и приемат извинения, да се отправят благодарности, поздравления, пожелания и т.н.

И в киберпространството има правила и норми за етично общуване, които трябва да се съблюдават – т. нар. *нетикет*, и те се отнасят както за съдържанието, така и за формата на общуване.

Във *Facebook* и *Messenger* преобладават „релационните отношения“ (Павлова 2010: 105), тъй като участниците са „приятели“ (роднини, колеги, познати, приятели), както и „приятели на приятелите“. В многопластовата структура на обръщението е заложена информация за взаимоотношенията между интерактантите, за характеристиките на събеседниците, за социокултурните особености на общуването, за влиянието на различни социолингвистични фактори, като пол, възраст, социален статус, местоживееене, познатост/непознатост и др. Тези характеристики на обръщението се проявяват и в интернет общуването.

### **Обръщението в българския нетикет**

В българския нетикет и конкретно в разглежданата социална мрежа и нейното приложение е налице превес на обръщението във второ лице единствено число предвид релевантността на социалния признак „познатост“ и на характера на общуването. Трябва да се отбележи обаче, че с речепартньор, който притежава по-висок социален статус или е непознат, обръщението е в учтивата *Vue* форма. При общуване между членове на академични общности или между студенти и преподаватели се съблюдават предписанията на речевия етикет за

употребата на макромодела: съответната академична длъжност или научна степен и фамилното име на адресата с придружаваща *Вие* форма: **Професор Попов**, за коя дата сте насрочили срещата? **Професор Бойчева**, бихте ли ни дали подробности за курсовата работа?

Общопотребими са антропонимите, с които се осъществява директно и конкретно номиниране на събеседника, чийто контакт се търси. Основно се използват умалителни и съкратени собствени имена заедно с *ти* форма, като например *Меги* (от Миглена), *Пени* (от Пенка, Петранка), *Тони* (от Антония, Антоанета), *Борко* (от Борислав), *Ели* (от Елена, Елица) и мн. др. Хипокористичните имена също не са рядкост: *Фани*, *Чефи*, *Тече* (от Стефка), *Чефо* (от Стефан), *Тоди* (от Методи) и др. При комуникация с близък събеседник в българския нетикет се среща употребата на фамилно име към съпруг/съпруга или роднина, с което се внася известна закачливост: **Николов**, ще ме вземеш ли от работа? **Каменова**, ще те чакам пред банката. Съществуват случаи и на специално подбрани груби форми на лични имена (изпълняващи роля на „парола“) с цел да се демонстрира особена привързаност и интимност със събеседника: *Маро* (към Мария), *Стефано*, *Стефанийо* (към Стефка).

Съвсем логично в българския нетикет преобладават обръщенията роднински названия, които са маркери за семейни отношения и могат да се използват както самостоятелно, така и в съчетание със собственото име на адресата. Екскерпирани са следните обръщения: *мамо*, *тате*, *татко*, *како*, *бабо*, *маминке*, *лельо*, *лельо Тони*, *чичо*, *вуйно*, *вуйне*, *братчед*. Роднинските апелативи се характеризират с хоризонтален релационен план, в който доминира всякаква по вид близост – физическа, психологическа, емоционална (Павлова 2015: 31 – 32).

При симетрични отношения (наличие на познатост, без съществена разлика във възрастта и социалния статус) между общуващите във *Facebook* и *Messenger* се използват обръщения с псевдоупотреба. За тях е характерна транспозиция на роднинските термини в ситуации извън наличие на родство с цел сближаване и скъсяване на дистанцията с речевия партньор: *маме*, *чедо*, *сестро*, *како*, *брат* и неговите семантични варианти: *братле*, *братче*, *брато*, *бро*, *бате*. Роднинското обръщение *маме* между жени (най-често в житейската роля на млади майки) е породено от стремеж към създаване на съпричастност и интимност, към идентификация по принадлежност към един и същ социалноролеви пласт.

Като дискурсивен маркер за предразполагане към доверие и приятелско отношение служат забелязаните нероднински обръщения



с псевдозначение: *приятелче мое, човек, колега, френд, жена, приятел, приятелю, бейби, принцесо*.

В българския нетикет се срещат и членувани обръщения, заедно с кратката или пълната форма на притежателното местоимение *мой*: *момичето ми, моето момиче, детето ми*. Те спомагат за създаване на непринуденост и дружеска атмосфера, докато нечленуваните придават по-официален характер на диалога.

Причина за появата на така наречените обратни обръщения според Р. Ницолова е, че се елиминира обектът на притежанието (посесумът), който е самият адресат, а се запазва само името на притежателя (посесора) (Ницолова 1984: 59). Обратните обръщения имат значително присъствие в българския речев етикет, но установяваме, че в нетикета тяхната употреба е ограничена. Като междуметни апелативни форми са забелязани единствено *маме* и *мамо*.

Честа употреба имат квалификативно-оценъчните обръщения, като тук се включват и умалително-гальовните апелативи, с които „говорещият“ включва събеседника си в определено отношение, изразява оценка или дава определена квалификация. Характерни са за неформалната комуникация между близки и приятели. Екцерпирани от мрежата са следните квалификативно-оценъчни обръщения: *душко, душа, мило, мили, скъпа, скъпо, слънце, хубавице, красавице, мацо, съкровище, пиле, коте, захарче, мише* и единични употреби на *скъпи* и *ежко*.

В българското онлайн общуване, най-вече в приложението *Messenger*, бе установена и липса на обръщение. Такова преминаване към „директен разговор“, без участие на обръщение към бъдещия събеседник вероятно се явява като продължение на предварително проведена комуникация или пък на такава, с кратък интервал от време от предходната. В тази връзка може да се отбележи и фактът, че понякога в групите на приложението *Messenger* се използва възможността за „готово“ обръщение с профилното име с цел по-голяма ефективност на комуникацията. Това обаче води до проява на безличност, отчужденост и дори на неучтивост.

В създадените по сходство на интереси или други общи признаци групи във *Facebook* се отчитат обръщения към повече от един адресат от типа на: *хора, мили хора, приятели, скъпи мои* и др.

Много често в начална позиция наред с апелативите присъстват и частици, междуметия в ролята на поздравни обръщения – *Ехо, Хей*.

## Обръщението в турския нетикет

И в турската интернет комуникация употребата на собствени имена (антропоними) е една от най-разпространените форми за обръщение. Според правилата на турския нетикет приятелството във *Facebook* не отменя социалната дистанция, съществуваща между комуникантите в реалния живот. За универсално уважително обръщение в турския език се приемат думите за титулуване *hanım* (госпожа) и *bey* (господин, като в словосъчетание със собственото име на събеседника името задължително е на първа позиция: *Meral Hanım* (госпожо Мерал), *Osman Bey* (господин Осман). С този тип обръщения е релевантна употребата на учтивата лингвистична форма *siz* (Вие). Често обаче колеги използват помежду си *hanım* (госпожа) и *bey* (господин), като пропускат употребата на *siz* (Вие) формата. Тук следва да се подчертае, че отношенията помежду им са симетрични (равнопоставени), докато при несиметрични отношения *siz* (Вие) формата е подходяща за речта на низшестоящия или по-младия комуникант.

Правилата на турската етикетна култура важат с пълна сила и за нетикета при обръщение, съдържащо длъжност, ранг, титла, чин, звание. Тези маркери на категорията социален дейксис често се съчетават с уважителните *sayın* (уважаеми, почитаеми), *muhterem* (уважаеми, почитаеми), *kıymetli* (скъпи), *değerli* (скъпи) и в по-малко ситуации *sevgili* (любими). Най-разпространеното прилагателно име е *sayın* (уважаеми, почитаеми), например: *Sayın vali* (уважаеми областен управител), *Sayın belediye başkanı* (уважаеми кмет), *Sayın büyükelçi* (уважаеми посланик), *Sayın başkonsolos* (уважаеми генерален консул) и др.

Една от характерните особености на обръщенията в турския нетикет е посесивността. Адресантът изпълнява ролята на посесор, като в обръщението, което отправя към адресата (в случая посесум) добавя към думата за титулуване афикс за притежание в 1 лице ед. ч. Така адресантът засвидетелства уважение и любезност, но в същото време изразява своеобразна близост и посесивност към отсрещната страна: *Sayın valim* (уважаеми мой областен управителю), *Sayın belediye başkanım* (уважаеми мой кмете), *Sayın başkanım* (уважаеми мой председателю, уважаеми мой кмете), *Sayın büyükelçim* (уважаеми мой посланик), *Sayın başkonsolosum* (уважаеми мой генерален консул) *Sayın müdürüm* (уважаеми мой директоре). Въпреки че се приема като платформа за сближаване на хората, *Facebook* не може да отмени вклинената в турското общество йерархичност на взаимоотношенията. Правилата на нетикета позволяват редуциране на посесивното об-

ръщение (при някои длъжности) като например: *müdürüm* (мой директоре), *başkanım* (мой председателю, мой кмете), *vekilim* (мой депутате) и др.

Турската етикетна норма не задължава студентите да се обръщат към преподавателите си с научна степен или академична длъжност. Учащите засвидетелстват своето уважение и респект с лексемата *hocam* (преподавателю мой, преподавателко моя), която се съчетава само с личното име на адресата (не се допуска комбинация с фамилно име), независимо от половата му принадлежност: *Ahmet Hocam* (преподавателю мой Ахмет), *Semra Hocam* (преподавателко моя Семра). Учениците се обръщат към учителя си с формулата *öğretmenim* (учителю мой/учителко моя), която също допуска съчетание единствено със собствено име.

При навлизане в неофициалния полюс на комуникацията във *Facebook* и *Messenger* установяваме употребата на обръщението *patron* (шефе, началник). Това фамилиарно обръщение се регистрира с по-висока честотност при адресант мъж, отколкото когато пишещият е жена. При обръщение към хора на изкуството от мъжки пол или към изявени в професионалната си област мъже се използват *üstat* (маестро) или посесивният вариант *üstadım* (маестро мой). Обръщението *usta* (майсторе) или неговият посесивен вариант *ustam* (майсторе мой) също се употребява, за да се демонстрира уважение към опитен и способен мъж.

Обръщението към съсед се осъществява с всеизвестния израз *komşu* (съседе, комшу) или с посесивния вариант *komşum* (съседе мой). Комуниканти, които са земляци или съотечественици (и поне единият от тях е извън пределите на Турция), често използват обръщанията *toprağım* (земляко) и *hemşehrim* (земляко).

За турския нетикет е характерно изключително богатство от лексикални средства за обръщение, отразяващи родствените отношения. Показателен пример е наличието на шест различни номинации за указване на роднинската връзка братовчед: *kuzen*, *amca oğlu*, *emmi oğlu*, *dayı oğlu*, *teyze oğlu*, *hala oğlu*.

В общуване с близки хора при отсъствие на маркера роднинство се използват обръщания родствени имена в зависимост от социалния фактор възраст: *abi* (батко), *abla* (како), *bacı* (сестро), *evladım* (чедо мое), *kardeş* (братко), *kardeşim* (братко мой), *kızım* (дъще моя), *oğlum* (сине мой), *yenge* (бульо; вуйно; стрино) и др.

Както в българския, така и в турския нетикет се наблюдава висока честотност на квалифицитивно-оценъчни обръщания, включи-

телно и умалително-гальовни думи. В комуникацията между мъже освен посочените по-горе се ползват и обръщенията *aslanım* (момко, юначе, букв. лъве мой), *azizim* (драги), *başkan* (началник), *bro*, *dadaş*, *kanka*, *kanki* (братко), *dostum* (приятелю), *haci* (хаджи), *kral* (кралю), *paşa* (паша), *reis* (началник, шефе), *oğlum* (синко) и др. Жените пък се обръщат една към друга чрез следните умалително-гальовни форми: *bebeğim*, *beboş* (скъпа, мила; бейби), *birtanem* (скъпа; едничка моя), *canım*, *canım benim*, *canımın canı*, *cano* (душо, душке, душице), *cicim* (миличкото ми, душко), *çiğirim* (мила; букв. дроб мой), *çiçeğim* (цвете мое), *güzelim* (красавице моя, хубавице моя), *hayatım* (скъпа; букв. живот мой), *kuzum* (мила; букв. агне мое), *şekerim* (сладур, захарче; букв. захар моя) и др.

Деминутивите се образуват с добавяне на афикс за умалителност -сік<sup>8</sup> + афикс за притежание в 1 лице ед.ч. към собственото или нарицателното име. Например: *Ali* → *Ali'ciğim* (Али → драги Али, *Zeuner* → *Zeuner'ciğim* (Зейнер → скъпа Зейнер).

При обръщение в турския нетикет (също и в българския) често се прибегва до съкращаване на лични имена: *İbrahim* → *İbo*, *Mehmet* → *Meto*, *Yurdanur* → *Nur* и др. Хипокористичните обръщения се образуват с помощта на афиксите -iş/-iş/-oş/-uş/-üş: *Zeuner* → *Zeunoş*, *Fatma* → *Fatoş*, *Emine* → *Emoş*, *Zeliha* → *Zeliş* и др.

В турското речево онлайн общуване се забелязва, макар и не много често, употребата на обратни обръщения. Образуват се с помощта на афикс за принадлежност за 3 лице – -si, -si, -su, -sü: *teyzesi* (букв. леля негова/нейна), *amcası* (букв. чичо негов/неин) и обикновено с тях си служат комуниканти с висока степен на близост.

Сред обръщенията, ексцерпирани от групите във *Facebook*, са установени: *arkadaşlar* (приятели, колеги<sup>1</sup>) или *değerli arkadaşlar* (скъпи приятели, скъпи колеги). При обръщение към жителите на определен квартал се използва лексемата *mahalleli* (съквартилци; уважаеми жители на квартала).

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<sup>1</sup> Еквивалент на думата *колега* в турския език е *meslektaş*. Словосъчетанията *iş arkadaş* и *mesai arkadaş* имат същото значение, но нито един от тези варианти не се използва като обръщение, съответстващо на българското *колега*. В официални приветствия е възможна употребата на *sayın meslektaşlar* (уважаеми колеги) или посесивната форма *sayın meslektaşlarımız* (уважаеми наши колеги). Като еквивалент на *колеги* или *скъпи колеги* в турското речево общуване се използват *arkadaşlar* или *değerli arkadaşlar*.

## Заклучение

От направеното съпоставително проучване на обръщението в българския и турския нетикет може да се извлекат някои важни изводи.

Турският нетикет разполага със сравнително по-богат арсенал от функционално-стилистични особености на обръщението.

Във формалното общуване турският нетикет е по-строг при прилагането на думи за титулуване и не допуска пренебрегване на социалната дистанция, докато българският нетикет позволява известни отклонения в определени ситуации.

В сравнение с българското виртуално общуване в турското употребата на учтивите форми е значително по-устойчива.

Характерна особеност на обръщението в турския нетикет е посесивността, с която се изразява положителна учтивост, предвид едновременната проява на уважение и близост.

Във формалното общуване и в двата езика най-употребими са лексемите *господине, госпожо* – самостоятелно или в съчетание с *име*. Разликата е, че в българския нетикет не се използват в съчетание със собственото име на събеседника, а само с фамилно име, докато в турския (и въобще в турския речев етикет) уважение се изразява с употребата на личното име, и то в препозиция на етикетните обръщания.

В турското академично общуване не е задължителна българската академична йерархия към преподавателите от страна на студентите с указването на академичните длъжности и научните степени, достатъчна е лексемата *Носат* + учтивата *Виѐ* форма.

При формалното речевзаимодействие в нетикета и на двата езика осезателно присъства богат набор от квалификативно-оценъчни обръщания, в това число и умалително-гальовни.

Въпреки наличното словно богатство от етикетни формули в ролята на обръщания с псевдозначение в двата езика (с лек превес на турския) във виртуалното пространство се забелязва ограничената им употреба.

Прилика и в двата нетикета е ограничената употреба на обратни обръщания.

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# *Докторанти*





## DIFFERENCES IN ENGLISH INTONATION PERCEPTION BETWEEN MALE AND FEMALE BULGARIAN LEARNERS OF ENGLISH

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Intonation is an important linguistic tool that people utilize to convey additional grammatical, focus-marking and attitudinal meaning at the suprasegmental level of language. The present study investigates the possible role of biological sex in the perception and comprehension of different intonation contours and their function by male and female Bulgarian learners of English.

**Key words:** intonation, intonation perception, intonation functions, biological sex

### Introduction

The matter of potential differences in how male and female language learners perceive intonation lies at the crossroads of linguistics, cognitive studies, and language acquisition. It focuses on investigating how intonation patterns are perceived and interpreted by male and female learners, which is an important part of language comprehension and communication. In English, intonation – the varying pitches used in speech – is essential for expressing emphasis, attitudes, and meaning. It plays an important role in distinguishing questions from statements, indicating the speaker's attitude, and structuring information. The perception of intonation can significantly impact language comprehension and the ability to engage in natural, fluent conversations.

Linguistic and cognitive research has suggested that male and female language users may perceive and process linguistic stimuli differently. Such potential differences can be attributed to a range of factors, including biological, cognitive, and socio-cultural influences. Various studies have examined the neurobiological differences between the sexes in terms of language over the last thirty years, examining both the structure and

functions of the brain in different populations at various stages of life. The goal of the many reports on sex variations in language processing is to correlate potential differences in linguistic ability with differences in brain activity.

However, the available empirical data seems to be contradictory and its interpretation is debatable. According to meta-analyses, there is no concrete proof that sex influences linguistic ability, lateralization, or the underlying structures and functions of the brain (Kansaku and Kitazawa, 2000; Kaiser et al., 2009; Sommer et al., 2004, 2008; Wallentin, 2009). Nevertheless, a few EEG studies showed slight but consistent temporal differences between men and women in the auditory processing of phonetic cues during both speech perception and production, despite the fact that reported differences in cortical activity between men and women were not supported by neurobiological studies of higher order language processing. It is interesting to note that there was a rather high agreement for N1/P2 latency differences (the N1-P2 complex is a cortical auditory evoked potential) between the sexes in EEG experiments that used speaking and passive listening. In fact, compared to male participants, female individuals in all these investigations consistently showed an earlier latency of N1/P2 auditory evoked responses. It is well known that the N1 and P2 auditory evoked components, which are primarily derived from the supratemporal plane of the auditory cortex in response to spectral and temporal cues of an auditory stimulation, represent synchronous neural activation in the thalamic-cortical segment of the central nervous system (Näätänen and Picton, 1987; Woods, 1995). Given these recognized and proposed roles for N1 and P2 components, it is possible that sex differences exist in the auditory feedback control of speech production as well as in the early auditory processing of spectral and temporal phonetic cues, as indicated by the observed modulation of N1/P2 latency during speaking and listening. According to this later theory, it is interesting to note that sex variations in speech production under modified or delayed auditory feedback have also been shown in earlier behavioral studies in which male speakers exhibited more speech disturbances such as slower vocal responses, increased dysfluencies, decreased articulation accuracy, and decreased speech rate (Bachrach, 1964; Timmons, 1971; Corey and Cuddapah, 2008; Chen et al., 2010). While the reason behind women's faster N1/P2 auditory evoked responses remains unclear, there are a number of potential factors that could account for some of the observed sex differences. These include differences in phonemic articulatory and acoustic spaces, owing to the widely recognized differences between men and women in the physiology of the vocal tract and its effects

on speech behaviors, (Klatt and Klatt, 1990; Ladefoged, 2006; Simpson, 2009); in anatomical connectivity, with better within-hemispheric connectivity seen in men and better between-hemispheric connectivity in women (Ingalhalikar et al., 2014); in grey matter volume and tissue density (Ruigrock et al., 2014); and in hormonal influences, even though there is no compelling proof that sex hormones have an impact on neurobiological language processing (Wallentin, 2009).

When it comes to the specific research of intonation, there are few studies that look at possible differences in its perception and comprehension that may be due to biological sex and they focus largely on perception and production of emotions and attitude. Li et al. investigated how biological sex affected perception and production of emotional intonation denoting willingness and reluctance among native Mandarin speakers (Li, Wong & Tu, 2020). They found that female listeners were better at perceiving emotional intonation and their utterances tend to be perceived as willing attitude. Conversely, Lausen and Schacht found that “the mixed pattern for emotion-specific effects, however, indicates that, in the vocal channel, the reliability of emotion judgments is not systematically influenced by speakers' gender and the related stereotypes of emotional expressivity” (Lausen and Schacht, 2018).

The contradictory data on the matter of the influence of biological sex on intonation perception and production indicate a gap in scientific understanding and is a prerequisite for further studies in this direction. The present study aims to investigate whether biological sex is a factor for the perception and comprehension of intonation and its functions.

### **Design of the study**

The purpose of the study is to investigate whether biological sex is an influential factor for the perception of English intonation by non-native female and male speakers (native Bulgarian speakers) and how it affects their understanding of sentence meaning, grammatical structure, and speaker attitude conveyed by different intonation patterns. The study involved 150 participants, all of whom were students in different undergraduate and graduate programs in the Faculty of Philology at Paisii Hilendarski University of Plovdiv. There were 114 female participants and 36 male participants. They were asked to respond to a questionnaire consisting of two parts.

The first part included 30 questions based on 30 English utterances, each one showcasing different intonation patterns that convey specific



meaning, grammatical structures or speaker attitudes. The participants were asked to listen to the recorded stimuli and then choose an answer that indicates the correct function of the intonation of the given spoken stimuli from a set of multiple choice answers. The recorded audio stimuli were spoken by native English speakers. Every sentence was recorded at least twice with different intonation patterns that serve a different grammatical, focus-marking or attitudinal function. The grammar and semantics of the stimuli were the same for each recording.

There were 3 tag questions, each recorded with a final rising intonation pattern and a final falling intonation pattern. They were used to test the participants' ability to perceive the degree of the speaker's certainty in what they are talking about based on the final intonation pattern of the tag.

There were 2 sentences, each recorded 3 times with different intonation patterns that marked the focus on different information units of the sentences. They were used to test the participants' ability to perceive the focus that the speaker placed on the information that they deemed important to convey.

There were 3 sentences with declarative grammatical structure which were recorded twice – once with final falling intonation pattern and once with final rising intonation pattern. They were used to test the participants' ability to perceive the grammatical function of intonation for indicating affirmative or interrogative sentences.

There were 3 sentences containing relative clauses which were recorded twice with different intonation patterns that indicated either a defining relative clause or a non-defining relative clause. They were used to test the participants' ability to perceive the grammatical function of intonation for marking a defining relative clause or a non-defining relative clause and their respective differences in meaning.

There were 3 sentences recorded twice with intonation patterns that expressed different attitudes or emotions. They were used to test the participants' ability to perceive the attitudinal function of intonation for expressing sarcasm, gratitude, interest, anger, and disbelief.

The second part of the questionnaire consisted of 30 additional questions which asked the participants to provide demographical data and other relevant information which may indicate possible factors that influence the perception of intonation by non-native speakers.

The questions pertaining to the audio stimuli were randomly asked and no two stimuli with the same sentence were presented one after the other. The participants' answers to the questions regarding the various stimuli were grouped according to the different functions of intonation that were tested

and were analyzed using descriptive statistics. The participants had to answer all of the questions for a given set of stimuli correctly in order for their answer regarding a given function of intonation to be counted as correct. Fisher's exact test was applied to explore whether there was an association between the biological sex (male or female) and the response (correct or wrong). Statistical significance was considered if the *p*-value was less than 0,05.

## Results

### 1. Intonation of question tags

Regarding the first set of stimuli which tested the participants' ability to perceive the degree of the speaker's certainty in what they are saying based on the final intonation pattern of the tag, 52,6% of female participants gave the wrong answer to all the questions in the group and 47,4% answered correctly when asked to indicate whether the speaker was unsure in what they were saying based on the rising final intonation of the tags. This is similar to the results for the male participants with 66,7% wrong answers and only 33,3% correct answers (see Table 1). There was no statistically significant association between biological sex and the perception of the rising intonation pattern of the tags and its function ( $p = 0,178$ ).

		Rising Intonation		Total	
		Wrong	Correct		
Sex	Female	Count	60	54	114
		% within Sex	52,6%	47,4%	100,0%
	Male	Count	24	12	36
		% within Sex	66,7%	33,3%	100,0%
Total		Count	84	66	150
		% within Sex	56,0%	44,0%	100,0%

**Table 1.** Results for the questions testing the rising intonation of tags and its function

Similar results were obtained for the set of stimuli testing the participants' ability to perceive and understand tags with falling final intonation and its function for expressing certainty on the speaker's part. The answers in both groups were predominantly wrong with 68,4% of female participants and 55,6% of male participants failing to give the correct answer (see Table 2). There was no statistically significant association between

biological sex and the perception of the falling intonation pattern of the tags and its function ( $p = 0,166$ ).

		Falling Intonation		Total	
		Wrong	Correct		
Sex	Female	Count	78	36	114
		% within Sex	68,4%	31,6%	100,0%
	Male	Count	20	16	36
		% within Sex	55,6%	44,4%	100,0%
Total		Count	98	52	150
		% within Sex	65,3%	34,7%	100,0%

**Table 2.** Results for the questions testing the falling intonation of tags and its function

## 2. Focus-marking intonation patterns

Another set of stimuli tested the participants' ability to perceive the focus that the speaker placed on the information they deemed important to convey by producing the relevant focus-marking intonation patterns. The two sentences that were used for this purpose were recorded 3 times with 3 different intonation patterns. The results were statistically analyzed for each of the two subsets of stimuli.

As to the first subset of stimuli, most of both male and female participants gave the wrong answers – 77,2% and 83,3%, respectively (see Table 3). Once again, there was no statistically significant association between biological sex and the perception and comprehension of focus-marking intonation ( $p = 0,493$ ).

		I've always been terrified of spiders		Total	
		Wrong	Correct		
Sex	Female	Count	88	26	114
		% within Sex	77,2%	22,8%	100,0%
	Male	Count	30	6	36
		% within Sex	83,3%	16,7%	100,0%
Total		Count	118	32	150
		% within Sex	78,7%	21,3%	100,0%

**Table 3.** Results for the questions regarding the sentence “I've always been terrified of spiders” which test the focus-marking function of intonation

Interestingly, with respect to the second subset of stimuli, a greater number of the participants in both groups provided correct answers – 57,0% of females and 52,8% of males, respectively (see Table 4). The calculated *p*-value of  $p = 0,702$ , however, is once again above the threshold under which a statistically significant association between the biological sex of the participants and the perception and comprehension of focus-marking intonation is indicated.

		Mary goes running in the park every Sunday			
		Wrong	Correct	Total	
Sex	Female	Count	49	65	114
		% within Sex	43,0%	57,0%	100,0%
	Male	Count	17	19	36
		% within Sex	47,2%	52,8%	100,0%
Total		Count	66	84	150
		% within Sex	44,0%	56,0%	100,0%

**Table 4.** Results for the questions regarding the sentence “Mary goes running in the park every Sunday” which test the focus-marking function of intonation

### 3. Affirmative versus interrogative sentence intonation

With respect to the participants’ ability to differentiate between affirmative and interrogative sentences only based on the final falling or final rising intonation pattern of the utterance, the participants in both groups gave more correct answers. 86,0% of females and 86,1% of males were able to correctly identify the affirmative sentences (see Table 5), while 63,2% of females and 58,3% of males correctly identified the interrogative sentences (see Table 6).

		Affirmative			
		Wrong	Correct	Total	
Sex	Female	Count	16	98	114
		% within Sex	14,0%	86,0%	100,0%
	Male	Count	5	31	36
		% within Sex	13,9%	86,1%	100,0%
Total		Count	21	129	150
		% within Sex	14,0%	86,0%	100,0%

**Table 5.** Results for the questions regarding affirmative sentence intonation

		Interrogative		Total	
		Wrong	Correct		
Sex	Female	Count	42	72	114
		% within Sex	36,8%	63,2%	100,0%
	Male	Count	15	21	36
		% within Sex	41,7%	58,3%	100,0%
Total	Count	57	93	150	
	% within Sex	38,0%	62,0%	100,0%	

**Table 6.** Results for the questions regarding interrogative sentence intonation

Nevertheless, there was no statistically significant association between the sex of the participants and the ability of the participants to perceive and understand affirmative intonation ( $p = 1,000$ ) and interrogative intonation ( $p = 0,694$ ).

#### 4. Defining versus non-defining relative clause intonation

The answers of the participants to the questions testing their ability to perceive and comprehend defining and non-defining relative clauses, based solely on their intonation contours, are overwhelmingly wrong. 71,9% of females and 63,9% of males were unable to correctly identify non-defining relative clauses (see Table 7), whereas the incorrect answers to the questions regarding the defining relative clauses were even more – 91,2% and 91,7%, respectively (see Table 8). There was no statistically significant association between the biological sex of the participants and their ability to perceive and understand the function of intonation for denoting defining ( $p = 1.000$ ) and non-defining ( $p = 0,406$ ) relative clauses.

		Non-defining relative clause		Total	
		Wrong	Correct		
Sex	Female	Count	82	32	114
		% within Sex	71,9%	28,1%	100,0%
	Male	Count	23	13	36
		% within Sex	63,9%	36,1%	100,0%
Total	Count	105	45	150	
	% within Sex	70,0%	30,0%	100,0%	

**Table 7.** Results for the questions regarding non-defining relative clause intonation

		Defining relative clause		Total	
		Wrong	Correct		
Sex	Female	Count	104	10	114
		% within Sex	91,2%	8,8%	100,0%
	Male	Count	33	3	36
		% within Sex	91,7%	8,3%	100,0%
Total		Count	137	13	150
		% within Sex	91,3%	8,7%	100,0%

**Table 8.** Results for the questions regarding defining relative clause intonation

### 5. Perception of the attitudinal function of intonation

The last set of stimuli tested the ability of the participants to determine the attitude or the emotion of the speaker based on the intonation patterns of their utterances. They had to choose from a set of given answers after listening to each recording. The results indicated that the participants were mostly unable to identify sarcasm with 86,0% of females and 83,3% of males giving wrong answers ( $p = 0,787$ ).

However, when it comes to the perception of the other tested attitudes and emotions, most of the participants in both groups were able to identify them. 67,5% of females and 80,6% of males were able to correctly identify gratitude ( $p = 0,148$ ); 90,4% of females and 94,4% of males were able to correctly identify interest ( $p = 0,735$ ); 64,9% of females and 75,0% of males were able to correctly identify anger ( $p = 0,312$ ) and 83,3% of females and 75,0% of males were able to correctly identify disbelief ( $p = 0,326$ ). There is no statistically significant association between the biological sex of the participants and their ability to perceive and identify the tested attitude or emotion based on the intonation contour of the utterances.

## Discussion

The results of the study do not support a statistically significant association between the sex of the participants and their ability to perceive and understand the patterns associated with the different grammatical, focus-marking and attitudinal functions of intonation. This points to the conclusion that sex is not a factor for the proper perception and understanding of English intonation by Bulgarian learners of English and there may be other factors that are significant and can account for the differences in the responses of the participants, such as the participants' English language proficiency level,

the time they spent studying the language, and others. The results are in line with most studies which found that sex does not influence linguistic ability, however, they contradict the findings of the few studies that showed slight but consistent temporal differences between men and women in the auditory processing of phonetic cues during both speech perception and production. This may be due to the fact that the participants in most of these studies were native speakers of the studied language. The contradictory data calls for further in-depth investigation of the role of biological sex in intonation perception and comprehension.

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## DO ENGLISH IDIOMS HOLD WOMEN BACK?

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A connection between gender and language studies exists, as language mirrors social, cultural and gender asymmetries. Hellinger and Bußmann (2015) indicated that language has built a male-centered worldview, while according to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Sapir 1929: 211): “the language is not only a product of a society, but also means of formation of its intellection and mentality”. Idioms convey principles of cultures, so they are the main source for gender-linguistic studies. The aim of this paper is to investigate, through corpora and dictionaries, whether idioms bear a sign of gender bias and if the English language has become more neutral.

**Key words:** gender, language, idioms, culture, corpora

### FEMINISM

According to the United Nations, the world population reached 8 billion people on 15th November 2022, while girls and women represent half of this vast population. However, the female population is systematically neglected compared to the male population since it has traditionally been perceived as the “weaker” sex and has been marginalized. De Beauvoir (1953) introduced “the second sex”, a term used to portray women in association with men in which “man” takes place upon “woman” as a center of reference. Society is characterized as “post-traditional” by Fairclough (1995), who quotes Giddens (1991), so in modern society, traditions should not be taken for granted, but there must be alternatives. Therefore, there is a criticism towards the fixity of gender categories, that is a fixed label cast on a person since birth with slight or no chances to be altered. The postmodern view of performativity (Butler 2007) considers gender as fluid, negotiable and as an action one performs, so what matters is “what you do rather than are” (Ruberg 2011: 8).

**Gender discrimination** is associated to explicit acts of behaving towards individuals or groups in a different way, while gender inequality is a structural and systematic issue that affects numerous aspects of society, such as education, economic resources and equal employment and it is hidden under the everyday spoken **language**. Rosalie Maggio (2015: 12) claimed that “Language both reflects and shapes society. Culture shapes language and then language shapes culture”. Language can play a fundamental role on the way gender is viewed in people’s minds. Every element of language, like vocabulary, grammar and colloquialisms can be traced back to its historical roots. There are two main frames that Lakoff (1973) identified regarding gender discrimination in language: 1) how women were taught to use language, and 2) how women have been treated in the language. The Lakoff-Whorf hypothesis indicates that language forms people’s thought, which in turn forms reality, as people’s outlooks towards the world vary depending on the languages they speak (Kay, Kempton 1984). Sapir (1929: 69) suggested that individuals “are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society...the ‘real world’ is to a large extent unconsciously built upon the language habits of the group”. Therefore, as Hellinger and Bußmann (2015) also claimed, social hierarchies of gender are reflected through language and there is constructed a male-centered worldview.

To illustrate this, gendered words, terms, and expressions referring to males may be considered more prominent while the ones related to women may be considered weaker. According to **Markedness theory**, additional markers are often required for feminine nouns, while the masculine ones are considered as “the norm”. The rise of feminism in the 20th century as well as the increased research on language and gender have led to a growing call for more **gender-inclusive language**, that is language which is more gender-neutral. This type of language attempts to prevent discrimination between genders by using for example “they” instead of “he” or “she”, or gender-neutral titles such as “firefighter”, “police officer” instead of “fireman” and “policeman”. According to Litosseliti (2021), the most momentous breakthrough in gender-inclusive language occurred during the 1960s and 1980s, when the second wave of feminism stimulated social equality for both sexes and the field of language and gender drew the public attention, while at the same time, feminist linguistics started examining the association between sexist language and gender inequality in society. Another factor that played a significant role was the fact that many women stopped being housewives and entered various and male-dominant professions after World

War II (Mallinson 2017). In this way, the traditional language forms started to be challenged, so the English language modified all new working titles ending with *-woman* instead of *-man* to meet the social needs (Mallinson 2017). Another example is the use of Ms. to refer to women instead of Miss or Mrs., as well as the binary genders, that is using corresponding feminine nouns for masculine nouns, such as *spokesman/spokeswoman*, *chairman/chairwoman*. The United Nations (2022) website defines gender-inclusive language as “speaking and writing in a way that does not discriminate against a particular sex, social gender or gender identity, and does not perpetuate gender stereotypes”.

### **GENDER ASYMMETRIES EXAMPLES – RESULTS – CORPORA – DICTIONARIES**

In this paper, the lexical structures that are mainly examined are **idioms**, which are figurative expressions and belong to what Hewstone (1987: 107) would call “novel metaphors”. They interpret an entity in terms of another from the base metaphorical source to the literal target domains. The representative example usually mentioned when outlining idioms is “to kick the bucket” (e.g. Everaert et al. 1995: 2, Gibbs 1995: 97, Tabossi, Zardon 1995: 273), but, as Prodromou (2008: 46) claims, there is a variety of fixed expressions also qualifying as idioms, ranging from simple commonplace phrases like “I don’t know” or “you know” to longer fixed expressions like proverbs or song texts.

The word “**stereotype**” is described as “an exaggerated belief associated with a category”, its function being to justify and rationalize human conduct in relation to that category (Hewstone, Giles 1997: 270). As Hewstone and Giles (1997: 270) quoting Lippman (1922: 1) put it, **stereotype** is: “the distinction between the world outside and the pictures in our heads”. **Gender stereotypes** are able to shape certain social expectations regarding genders, encouraging or negatively estimating features and qualities of people depending on their biological sex. For instance, the idiom “mummy's boy” reveals a humiliating color just because its structure includes the word “mummy's”. Similarly, tearfulness and softness are regarded as attributes of female behavior and are acknowledged as offensive for men. Remarkably, the pair of phraseological units “play the woman” and “play the man” indicates a negative sense when the word “woman” is used, but a positive one when the word “man” is used. What is more, phraseological units of lexical sets referring to females’ character and mental abilities indicate invalidating qualities, such as: talkative and petulant (old

cat, common scold), fussiness and recklessness (meddling duchess), while beneficially painted idioms prevail as far as males' qualities are concerned as illustrated by the following examples: honesty and reliability (a man of honor), boldness and endurance (a man of courage, a man of decision, a man of character), and will (master of situation, to play the master, a man of his word). Additionally, a predominating position is attributed to the man in the house (lord and master, master of the house), while at the same time, the woman is supposed to be the wife, the mistress and mother, characteristics that go without saying, while for the man to be the good family man is a separate virtue and a corresponding idiom ("family man") bears a positive shade of value.

**Gender asymmetry** can be recognized firstly through the number of idioms describing the social status of men, which surpasses four times the quantity of idioms declaring women's status, and secondly, via the fact that "man's" phraseological units related to a man's status are characterized by great thematic variety. This assumption has been proved by many **research studies**, such as the analysis of idioms conducted by Wiecha (2013) that includes gender-related biases listed in the *Dictionary of Idioms* (Fowler 1986), *English Idioms* (Seidl, McMordie 1989), and the *Oxford Dictionary of English Idioms* (Cowie, Mackin, McCaig 2009). Not only idioms using the words "man/men" and "woman/women", but all possible terms referring to gender, like "boy/girl", "lady/lord", "king/queen", "mother/father", "Mr./Mrs.", and so on were taken into consideration. Idioms that do not include such terms but are obviously gender-related in view of their meaning were also considered, like the saying "the hand that rocks the cradle" (rules the world) which is supposed to refer to mothers, as Cowie et al. (1996: 249) indicate in the dictionary entry. The mean ratio of the corresponding dictionary entries in the specific dictionaries of idioms is: 59.6% male-related, 17.7% female-related, and 22.7% related to both genders according to Wiecha's research (2013: 93). It was observed that in all of the three discussed idiom dictionaries lexical entries referring to males are prevalent.

Except for the dictionaries mentioned above, the *British National Corpus* was also analyzed in the same research, since it is a credible source. Specifically, McCarthy (2004: 1) defined a **corpus** as "a collection of written and spoken text, usually stored in a computer database". Corpus linguistics refers to the methodology of using large collections of texts to analyze through statistical methods (Gries 2009). Corpus linguistics analyses are based on evaluating the frequency of occurrence of certain linguistic elements, some elements may occur more frequently compared to others, and whether the frequency of certain elements aligns with the

researcher' expectation (Gries 2009). The results support the same findings, that is the percentage of gender-related idioms seems to be clearly on the side of the male variants. Specifically, according to Wiecha (2013: 96) 4 out of the 18 queried expressions (man of action, dirty old man, whipping boy, and Renaissance man) do not appear in the *British National Corpus* in the female form (i.e., \*woman of action, \*dirty old woman etc.). Despite the fact that many idioms can be applied to both genders, the corpus results show that most idioms are substantially more frequent in the male form than in the female. This result is also confirmed by Mutlovà's (2009: 59) research who found that "the majority of man-based idioms have evolved a woman-based alternative. Yet, the frequency of use of such alternatives is very low." The proportion of the female variants of all examined idioms in Wiecha's research (2013) is only 13.11%, compared to 86.89% of the male equivalents. Therefore, the results evidently indicate that there is a twofold imbalance in gender-related idioms, as far as their frequency is concerned. What is more, the semantic analysis of the corpus hits' individual use in context revealed that most gender-related idioms can bear either positive or negative connotations, but the handful of neutrally connotated cases are almost entirely male-related. Remarkably, this study (Wiecha 2013) lends further support to the claim that women and men are represented dissimilarly in the English idiomatic language. These conclusions accord with what others have brought to light, not only regarding idiomatic language use but with respect to the English language in general. According to Henley (1987: 5), "women and girls are [...] ignored in the language simply by not being the topics of discourse". Additionally, Graham (1975) discovered in his study that schoolbooks presented a proportion of four to one male compared to female references, while Kjellmer's (1986) study of the *Brown and Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen corpora* demonstrated that male pronouns and the words "man/men" were used quite more frequently than the female equivalents. In a more recent study, using the *British National Corpus*, Pearce (2008) also revealed that the words "man/men" are used almost one and a half times more regularly than the words "woman/women".

Another element that plays a major role is the context in which these idiomatic phrases are encountered, since, as Mills (2008: 136) supports, there are two types of sexism: overt, which is clear and straightforward, and indirect, which can be perceived contextually with respect to the interpretation of surrounding utterances. Wiecha's research (2013) carried out a semantic analysis of the connotations of the corpus results, so as to spot possible contextual differences between male-related idioms and female-related ones.

As Čermák (2001: 13) suggests, “idioms are a primary means for the expression of positive and negative attitudes”. The data collected for this **study** agree with this claim, since only one of the queried idioms (man/woman of few words) was mostly used in a neutral context, while the other 17 queried expressions, both male and female forms, were primarily used either with positive or negative connotations. The female-related terms tend to be used on either the positive or the negative side of the connotational spectrum, whilst many of the references to men are expressed in a neutral context. These results coordinate with Romaine’s (2000: 110) corpus findings according to which words with negative implications compile more often with female than male referents. She deduces that “[w]omen occupy what might be called a problematic or negative semantic space” (Romaine 2000: 103).

Hellinger and Bußmann (2015) examined 30 languages and the results demonstrated that linguistic gender inequality in language is ubiquitous, since in most of them, masculine words are regarded as the norm, whereas feminine words are secondary. Clearly, the use of false generics in English reaches a variety of idiomatic expressions (Hellinger, Bußmann 2015). The following examples support this view: 1) The use of “man” instead of “human” – “Every man for himself” and “A man is known by his friends”; 2) The use of masculine pronouns for hypothetical gender – “Everything comes to him who waits”. Using the masculine form to depict all people cross-refers to the traditional gender hierarchy in society, where male is regarded as the superior group and the norm, which leads to women’s marginalization and exclusion from public life. This perspective is reflected and reproduced in linguistic structures as well and as Caroline Criado Perez (2019) proclaimed, the male viewpoint promotes a broader socio-cultural problem according to which men’s experiences and perspectives are perceived as universal, while those of women are viewed as specialized or niche, which demonstrates that women’s views are not respected.

As mentioned before, **markedness theory** suggests that specific structures related to one gender are “marked” compared to those related to the other gender. The assumption which considers male as the norm and female as “the weaker sex” or “the second sex / the extra human” suggests that femininity is connected with weakness, therefore it is typical for the English language for masculine lexical categories to be treated as superb or unmarked, and feminine lexical categories as abnormal, and “marked” (Battistella 1996). Despite the fact that some words that represent professions and identities, such as “president and lawyer”, are not specifically marked with respect to gender, they are typically considered to

refer to men. In parallel, some jobs are by definition connected with females, such as “maid” and “nurse”. According to Hellinger and Bußmann (2015), stereotypes form the social roles that are considered appropriate for each gender. Nowadays, it is generally accepted that high status professions which require special skills and a high level of education are often assigned to males and in case a woman does the same job, her job title will be marked with “woman” / “lady” / “female”, e.g., *spokeswoman/chairwoman*.

In the English phraseological system, the word “woman” is perceived as a conception related to: 1) Appearance: a glamour girl (=a very beautiful girl); (as) red as a cherry = have roses in one's cheeks (=to have red cheeks), which indicates her beauty. 2) Character: mamma's darling (=a beloved son or daughter under mother's care); bitch kitty – a stubborn woman with heavy character. 3) Marital status: a grass widow (=a woman whose husband is far away); born under the rose (=born from illegal relations). 4) Social status: a woman of letters (=a woman-writer); a girl Friday (=a reliable secretary); principal boy (=an actress who performed man's roles); a golden girl (=a very popular girl); between (maid) girl (=a maid who assists a cook). 5) Age: an old girl (=an old single girl); a bit of fluff (=a young girl); a dolly bird (=young and silly girl); old trout (=old scolding woman). It is obvious that in terms of characterization of age marital status is very important in the English culture. 6) Behavior from a moral perspective: a woman of the streets (= a lightminded girl); scarlet lady (=a light-minded wandering woman). 7) Intellect: a woman's reason (=female logics), which bears irony regarding women's intelligence. To sum-up, it is ascertained that maternity is highly estimated as well as qualities of love, selflessness and self-sacrifice, while a negative attitude is observed concerning women's behavior, wife's character (scolding, unsatisfied), women's intellectual abilities and their emotional imbalance.

On the other hand, according to patriarchal notions, a man is the head of a family and he should be identified as far as the family is concerned, which can be illustrated by the following structures: lord and master, the good man of the house; to wear the pants/trousers. Furthermore, man's beneficial characteristics are power, leadership, managing, financial success, braveness and ownership, which can be depicted through the following phraseological units: lord and master, men in gray suits, a made man (=a person who reached high position himself), a man of mark (=man of high position), great lion (=powerful). Additionally, a man who grants power to his wife is negatively marked as he does not satisfy his typical behavioral norms. Among the most popular phraseological units are those which point at professional activities of men, such as: a boy in buttons (=a

boy working in hotel); a Jack of all trades (=a man of various occupations); a back room boy (=specialist); a man of rank (=a man of high position); a broken man (=robber). Men's appearance is displayed by a large number of units both with positive and negative emotional coloring, like: bald as a coot (=totally bald); admiral of the red (=drunkard with red nose); blue-eyed boy (=women's beloved man). Male personal features are characterized by several phraseological units, such as: (as) gentle as a lamb (=mild as a lamb); mamma's darling (=a beloved son (or daughter) under mother's care); a heart of oak (=brave, courageous man); a tough nut (=firm, resolute); Jack among the maids (=ladies' man). Social status interprets professional qualities: Men's spiritual world involves his intellectual abilities and willfulness: a sharp man, a man of wisdom, a clever Dick (=a clever person), which are antithetical to: a silly billy, a Simple Simon, a proper Charley (=foolish). Another image is the one of a man oppressed and commanded by his wife: a henpecked husband; to be tied to one's wife's apron strings, to live under the cat's foot / paw.

The theory of androcentricity in the English language and the deficiency of female images in speech (see Coates 1986) is illustrated through corpora analysis. There have been found gender-marked idioms related to: 1) Agentive comparative idioms, which indicate sex depending on the type of activities, professions, positions, titles. For instance: live like a king / a lord, work like a navy, swear / talk like a sailor / a trooper, shout / talk like a fishwife. 2) "Zoo- and phytomorphic symbols" typically refer to either male or female referents and they have the ability to convey that characteristic to the whole comparative idiom, such as: (as) big as an elephant, (as) strong as a lion, fight like a tiger, (as) gruff as a bear (masculinity) and (as) silly as a goose, (as) busy as a bee, (as) fair as a rose, (as) fresh as a daisy (femininity). The corpus of this study (Abadi 2015) is taken from the idioms found in the *Oxford Dictionary of English Idioms* 3<sup>rd</sup> edition and what was revealed was the fact that in some hypo-concepts such as "beautiful, attractive" man is depicted by a small number of comparative idioms, whereas woman is portrayed by a large amount. Contrary to this, the hypo-concept "strong" is supposed to be more proper for males. Baider emphasizes the fact that stereotypes of thought mirror beliefs, attitudes and prejudices which are dominant in a given community (Baider 2013: 1166; Armstrong 1996: 49). Stereotyped comparative idioms intend to outline the image of a human precisely but at the same time to highlight the conventional image of both sexes approved by the community. The results of the corpora analysis demonstrate that positive stereotypes of women have been formed (Nezhelskaya 2018). In particular: 1) "beauty, attractiveness"



which is supposed to be crucial for women: (as) beautiful as a (Dresden) doll /as a princess, (as) pretty as a picture / as paint; 2. “authority”, “ubiquity”: A woman knows a bit more than Satan; a lover is as sweet as eating raisins; 3) “the keeper of the hearth”: lady of the house / mistress of the house / lady of the frying-pan; 4) “mother”: mother country / Motherland/ Mother earth / mother tongue / mother’s milk (=daily bread, something too necessary). 5) “bossy”: the gray mare / woman holding her husband under her heel / wear the breeches (or pants) – rule in the house. 6) “industriousness”: (as) busy as a bee / as an ant; the fingers of a housewife do. However, negative characteristics can still be observed regarding the following categories: with reference to 1) above – “appearance”: (as) ugly as a witch, look like a wet hen; 7) “volubility”: chatter like a magpie; a woman’s hair is long, but her tongue is longer; 8) “excessive emotionality”: There is no fury like a woman’s fury. Hell hath no fury like a woman scorned; 9) “excessive fuss”: (as) busy as a bee (with two tails) / as a hen on a hot girdle /as a hen with one chicken; 10) “naivety”: (as) silly as a goose, behave like a dumb Dora; 11) “obedience”: A young woman married to an old man must behave like an old woman; 12) “prodigality”: A woman can throw out the window more than a man can bring in at the door; 13) “weeping”: It is as great pity to see a woman weep as to see a goose go barefoot. Additionally, there is noted the traditional negative attitude that males have towards women: 14) “way of dressing”: look like mutton, dressed (up) as a lamb, look like a scarlet woman; 15) “awkwardness”: as awkward as a cow on roller skate. On the other hand, the positive attitude that males have towards women is denoted by a small number of comparative idioms, which is a result of the patriarchal society even if, lately, as it can be observed through the corpus analysis, these comparative idioms have started to appear more often. This occurs mainly due to the socio-cultural changes that promote women’s equality, and consequently the language indicates the reassessment of values and the position of women in society (Butler 2007), for instance: a woman without a man is like a fish without a bicycle (=A woman needs a man like a fish needs a bicycle). Another observation relates to the fact that the male comparative idiomatic stereotypes do not cease highlighting masculine positive traits: “physical structure”: (as) strong as a bull / as a lion / as an ox, be built like a castle / like a tank; “boldness and determination” (as) hard as a flint/ as a nut / as a a rock; look like a stone wall; “bravery”: (as) bold / brave as a lion, (as) game as a cockerel, fight like a tiger, (as) game as Ned Kelly / (as) obstinate / stubborn as a mule /as an ox / as the devil, as firm / steady as a rock; “diligence”: work like a navy / like a slave /ahorse; “intelligence”: (as) clever as a devil, (as) wise as Solomon, (as) clever as a

dog; “trustworthiness”: a faithful friend is better than gold; better lose a jest than a friend; no doctor like a true friend. As far as the negative masculine stereotypes are concerned, they are related to: “male’s subjection to women”: behave like a mother’s boy / live like under the cat’s foot; “superiority”: a man doesn’t want a woman smarter than he is; “inclination to hard drinks”: (as) drunk as a beggar / as a fiddler / as a lord; “indelicate”: (as) gruff as a bear / be like a bull at a gate; “fierceness”: (as) fierce as a lion / as a tiger. What is quite positive is the fact that the stereotype that a man should be the holder of power in the family is gradually diminishing in the English mentality, which denotes the weakening of traditional patriarchal concepts in English families thanks to the rapid development of feminism in Europe. As follows from the semantics of phraseological statements, a man must earn the right to be called a man: play the man, write man – to have the right to be called a man (Shakespearean expression). As a result, it can be argued that male marked units mainly form a positive image of a man, whereas feminine ones mostly shape a negative image of women.

### **CONCLUSION**

This paper has yielded some pretty clear, unambiguous results concerning the different ways women and men are represented in English idioms. The different forms of idioms referring to either women or men indicate that women are on the losing end, since they are less frequently talked about, in idiomatic terms at least, and even in these cases, the connotations are more likely to be negative compared to male-related idioms. What is more, additional markers are sometimes needed for feminine nouns, while the masculine ones are accounted as “the norm”, according to the Markedness theory. These results illustrate gender asymmetry, as “man’s” phraseological units related to a man’s status are represented by great thematic variety. In the English phraseological system, the word “woman” is regarded as a notion related to appearance, personality, marital status, social status, age, behavior and mostly with the domestic sphere, while in line with patriarchal notions, a man is the head of a family and he should be identified with power, leadership, managing, financial success, braveness, ownership. In addition, idioms present male as the superior and wise, while females are assigned with inferiority and foolishness.

The gender inequality observed is an issue that impacts several domains, such as education, economy and equal employment and it is hidden under the everyday spoken language. This male-centered worldview affects negatively future generations by establishing gender stereotypes regarding roles and expectations that restrict young people’s ambitions and

opportunities. The results mentioned above call for alterations in modern society regarding relationships and identities, which need to be adjusted via an openness that includes more possibilities than the fixed relationships and identities of traditional society. Besides, as Halliday (1978: 2) suggests “people tend to behave in accordance with the stereotypes to which they are consigned”. In addition, the rise of feminism in the 20th century has given rise to a promising call for more gender-inclusive language, that is more gender-neutral. Therefore, English idioms have held women back and the role of this research model is to speak up for the female gender which is oppressed by these idioms and argue that the era of male chauvinism should become past since as Mey (2001: 313) has put it, “man-made language is a historical accident and not a natural condition that cannot be changed.”

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## DEVELOPMENT TRENDS IN THE MORPHOLOGICAL-TYPOLOGICAL PROFILE OF BULGARIAN. A QUANTITATIVE PERSPECTIVE

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The study investigates from a quantitative perspective the overall development of the morphology of the Bulgarian language in the past 100 years. It aims to determine whether and to what extent the language has become more or less analytic or synthetic. Additionally, the quantitative morphological differences between three text types – literary, scientific and journalistic – are measured and analysed. The study finds that Bulgarian has simultaneously become less analytic and less synthetic, resulting in a decrease of the grammatical information encoded in texts. A high level of syntheticity is measured in scientific texts, while literary works exhibit a relatively high level of analyticity.

**Key words:** typological profiling, analyticity index, syntheticity index, grammaticity, Bulgarian

### 1. Introduction

The rapid development of information and computing technologies and their growing capability to analyse large quantities of data swiftly and efficiently has enabled linguists in the past two decades to rely more and more on empirical and quantitative methodologies in their research. In addition, the novel technologies are also simultaneously opening up entire new fields of study with the emergence of artificial intelligence, machine translation and various other forms of natural language processing by computers. Nevertheless, older fields of linguistic research, like phonology, morphology, typology etc. can also profit substantially from the tools offered by powerful computers and the world wide web. Morphological typology lies in the foundation of what is nowadays considered linguistic typology. Pioneers in the field like A.W. Schlegel, W. von Humboldt and A. Schleicher were first intrigued precisely by the morphological differences between the ancient languages and the Indo-European languages of the 19th

century. The classification of languages according to particular criteria as well as the examination of their diachronic development has been going on for more than 150 years now, but it seems a large proportion of what has been done, especially in the early stages of the field's development, has been based on a qualitative research approach.

While qualitative research has yielded and continues to yield many valuable insights into the workings of linguistic systems around the world, quantitative research has the potential to supply empirical evidence and an increased level of objectivity to observations and conclusions that were originally based on rather subjective intuitions. Over the years, a number of linguists have noticed that, in their historical development, many Indo-European languages, including English, tend to abandon synthetic morphological structures, that encode grammatical information with the help of endings or vowel mutation, among other things, in favour of more analytic structures, that transmit grammatical information by using free grammatical markers, like auxiliary verbs, pronouns etc. (cf. Schlegel 1818: 17; Davenport 1992: 27; Siemund 2004: 169; Tristram 2009: 255; Haspelmath and Michaelis 2017: 2; Uktamovna 2023: 46). While the general analytisation of Indo-European languages seems to have established itself as a widely accepted fact, quantitative evidence could be very helpful in determining whether this is indeed correct and if so, what are the characteristics of this process. The present study aims to collect and evaluate precisely this type of evidence.

Nevertheless, it should be noted here that the idea of a process of general analytisation in the Indo-European languages has been challenged on multiple occasions in the recent years, as evidence for the emergence of new synthetic constructions in some languages in the family started to surface (cf. Ledgeway 2011: 384f.). In addition, the classification of languages within the framework of the analytic-synthetic continuum has also been criticised (cf. Schwegler 1990: xii; Hollmann 2009: 548f.), with some suggesting only linguistic constructions should be described in this way (cf. Hollmann 2009: 550). In addition, to the extent that it can be spoken of analytic or synthetic shifts within a language, it has been proposed that the morphological system of the Indo-European languages is not moving strictly in only one linear direction (i.e. towards greater analyticity or towards greater syntheticity), but instead its change is cyclic, i.e. there have been many interchanging periods of high analyticity and high syntheticity (cf. Hollmann 2009: 550; Szmrecsányi 2016: 93).



## **2. Aims and methodology of the study**

### **2.1. Aims**

The present study's goal is to create a quantitative morphological-typological profile of modern Bulgarian by measuring the levels of analyticity, syntheticity and the related metric of grammaticity of the morphological system of the language in a quantitative way across three distinct text types (literary, scientific and journalistic) by using corpus data. The differences between the individual text types are also analysed and discussed. Another aim is to track how the levels of analyticity, syntheticity and grammaticity of the language have changed diachronically over the past 100 years. In addition, after analysing the data, I attempt to provide possible reasons and explanations for the results. The same methodology was recently applied in a very similar study of German (cf. Stankov 2024, forthcoming). While a direct comparison between the two languages is envisioned for future works, some parallels between the two datasets are drawn here too. Since the Indo-European language family is one of the most widely spread around the globe, the same methodology could be adapted and applied to other languages within the family and eventually to languages from other language families in order to compare their morphological profiles and track the direction of their development.

### **2.2. Corpus composition and method of analysis**

The methodological basis for the current study comes from Szmrecsányi and Kortmann (2011), Szmrecsányi (2016) and Horsch (2021), which are in turn originally based on Greenberg (1960). However, it has to be pointed out that some changes have been introduced to the aforementioned researchers' approach in order to achieve a more complete account of the morphological system of the analysed language. As already mentioned, the adapted method has already been used once for a similar analysis of German texts (cf. Stankov, forthcoming). The main source of material for the analysis here are six corpora of approx. 50,000 word tokens each. The corpora were compiled manually and specifically for the purpose of the study from texts available on the Internet. This approach was preferred to using ready-made online corpora because free access to the text of the corpus was essential for the study, as the analysis is based on randomly selected samples from the corpora. In addition, by compiling the corpora manually, I was able to hand-pick the texts included in the corpora and ensure they match several important criteria: their time of publication, the text type to which they belong and the language in which they were written

originally (especially in the corpus of literary works attention was paid to make sure the texts were written by Bulgarian authors).

Three out of the six corpora contain texts from the period 1918-1922, while the other three comprise texts from the period 2018-2022. Within each of these two groups of three, one corpus contains literary texts (excerpts from novels by Bulgarian authors that were originally published within the respective period), one includes scientific texts (excerpts from scholarly and academic works published within the respective period) and one encompasses journalistic texts (articles from digitised newspapers and news websites from the respective period). Similarly to what was done previously for German (cf. Stankov, forthcoming), five thousand token samples were extracted from each of the corpora described here. The selection process was randomised with the help of a random number generator, which identified the section of corpus text to be extracted. Herein lies one of the differences from the approach taken by Szmrecsányi and Kortmann (2011: 173), who also used a randomised selection process, but in their version every single word in the sample is randomly selected. Apparently, this approach could only yield samples with incoherent text, which I find less representative of the actual state of the language than a sample of naturally composed, coherent text.

After selection and extraction each sample was run through a POS tagger software, called TagAnt, created by Lawrence Anthony (2022). This tool is based on the engine of the text annotating software TreeTagger by Schmid (1994; 1995). The tagset used for Bulgarian is described in detail by Simov, Osenova and Slavcheva (2004). TagAnt assisted the analysis by identifying the part-of-speech class of every word token in the analysed samples. Once processed, the tagged samples were examined manually, and the elements that contained grammatical meaning were categorised either as analytic tokens or as synthetic tokens. The following parts of speech were allocated to the analytic token class: pronouns (including personal, demonstrative, collective, possessive, interrogative, relative, negative and indefinite pronouns), auxiliary verbs, modal verbs (including *мога* ‘can’, *трябва* ‘must/should’ and *искам* ‘want’), conjunctions, subjunctions, prepositions, some particles (including negative, interrogative, auxiliary and gradable) and existential uses of the verbs *има* ‘there is’ and *няма* ‘there isn’t’. After the manual examination and the categorisation of the tokens, the number of analytic tokens in each sample was counted. The number of analytic tokens per 1,000 words is called the analyticity index (AI). A mean analyticity index (mean AI) was determined for each corpus by combining

the AI of every sample extracted from that corpus and dividing the sum by the number of samples.

In addition to the free grammatical markers listed above, which constitute the analyticity index, bound grammatical markers that encode grammatical meaning within the boundaries of the orthographically undivided word token were also identified and counted. The following types of bound markers were counted as synthetic tokens: case, number and grammatical gender markings on nouns, verb participles, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs and numerals (e.g. *-u* in *врати* ‘doors’ or *-a* in *негова* ‘his’); verb conjugation inflexions expressing tense, person and number (e.g. *-ше* in *бягаше* ‘he/she/it ran’ or *-ме* in *скачаме* ‘we jump’), including consonant mutation or the addition of elements to signal aspectual differences (e.g. the alternation between *-зв* and *-ж* in the verb couple *казвам/кажа* ‘I am saying/to say’ or the addition of *-в* in *чувам* ‘I hear/I am hearing’, distinguishing it from *чуя* ‘to hear’); grammatical markers deriving the various verb participles from their basic forms (e.g. *-н* in *видян* ‘seen’, derived from *видя* ‘to see’ or *-ейки* in *ходейки* ‘walking’, derived from *ходя* ‘walk’); the definite article (e.g. *-ът* in *човекът* ‘the man’ or *-та* in *масата* ‘the table’). The number of all bound grammatical markers in the thousand-token sample is its syntheticity index (SI)<sup>1</sup>. A mean syntheticity index (mean SI) was determined for each corpus by combining the SI of every sample extracted from that corpus and dividing the sum by the number of samples.

In addition to the two already described indices, a third index was calculated by combining the mean AI and the mean SI of every corpus. This grammaticity index (GI) represents the total number of overt grammatical markers (bound or free) per 1,000 words. However, a GI was not calculated for every sample, as it is above all, the mean grammaticity index (mean GI) that is of value for the discussion, and this could simply be calculated by adding up the mean AI and the mean SI of a corpus. The term *grammaticity* will be briefly discussed below, as it is not as common as analyticity and syntheticity. The indices of the samples gained from the corpora comprising 21st century texts as well as the mean indices (mean AI, mean SI and mean GI) can be found in Table 1. The same kind of data about the samples gained from the corpora comprising 20th century texts is available in Table 2.

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<sup>1</sup> Note that in case of multiple bound grammatical markers expressing the same information, they are counted as one single syntheticity token.

### 2.3. Corpus size remarks

In the study covering German (cf. Stankov, forthcoming), I argue that a corpus size of 50,000 tokens may appear quite insignificant when compared to modern corpora available online for free, but it should be sufficient for the purposes of the present kind of study. In summary, the main arguments in favour of this statement are the following: firstly, each corpus is designed with a particular text type and historical period in mind; secondly, the corpora are not the subject of the analysis, but only the samples that are extracted from them; and lastly, online corpora do not always offer free access to their entire text, which makes the extraction of samples impossible. They are, therefore, incompatible with the design of the study. Since the present study has the same design as the one examining German, the reader is advised to consult the aforementioned publication for a more detailed discussion of corpus size.

### 2.4. Concept definitions

This paper makes use of a number of concepts that should be defined in the context of the study, as they could be construed in different ways. These include: *analyticity*, *syntheticity*, *grammaticity*, *text type*, *literary*, *scientific* and *journalistic text* and *morphological-typological profile*. Since the definitions of these terms have already been discussed in the context of the study dealing with German, here I will only briefly expound on the two more rarely used concepts: *morphological-typological profile* and *grammaticity*. For a discussion of the other terms, the reader may review Stankov (forthcoming).

The concept of a *morphological-typological profile* can generally be understood as describing the morphological characteristics of a natural language system in the broad context of linguistic typology. While this is a useful definition, it must be pointed out that the present study aims to produce a quantitative morphological-typological profile and not a qualitative one. The latter would be a much larger undertaking than the scope of this paper allows. Therefore, in the current context the term should be understood as denoting the level of analyticity and syntheticity of the morphological system of a language. As can be seen, the concepts of analyticity and syntheticity play a central role in the definition of a quantitative morphological-typological profile. I believe this is acceptable for the following reasons: firstly, the two concepts are simultaneously sufficiently broad (i.e. they cover a number of easily identifiable linguistic features that a language may or may not possess, e.g. case markings or auxiliary verbs) and sufficiently distinguishing (i.e. the linguistic features

they incorporate are significantly different from one another, e.g. using prepositions to express relations between clause constituents is a significantly different strategy from using case markings). Secondly, the two concepts are widely accepted and well-known in the academic community, although it must be admitted that they have also been the object of a lot of criticism, especially in more recent years. Thirdly, although abstract in nature, the two concepts can be quantified, as, for example, Greenberg (1960) shows.

The other term that we need to explain here, as it may not be immediately familiar to the reader, is *grammaticity*. Here, this concept is borrowed from Szmrecsányi (2009: 322). He describes it as comprising “all explicit grammatical markers, but not word order” and “a ratio of the total number of grammatical markers [...] in a text to the total number of words”. Essentially, the concept of grammaticity measures the amount of grammatical information encoded in a text. For this reason it can be a valuable instrument in the study of the morphological-typological profile of a language.

### **3. Corpus data analysis**

#### **3.1. Literary text type**

We begin the analysis of the data with the literary text type. The mean AI for the 21st century literary corpus amounts to 411 and the mean SI to 525 (see Table 1). Comparing these results to those of the other two corpora for the same historical period, we see that this corpus exhibits the highest mean AI score within this corpus group. Interestingly, a very similar observation was made in the parallel study of German (cf. Stankov, forthcoming). In it, I attributed the high analyticity, measured in the samples from this corpus, to “the presence of dialogue in narrative-driven literary texts” (Stankov, forthcoming). Of course, an additional investigation of oral speech would have to be conducted, before this hypothesis could be confirmed. Alternatively, a more in-depth part-of-speech analysis of the literary corpora used here could also help discern whether the high level of analyticity is attributable to the imitation of everyday language, found in many fictional literary works. In any case, the measurements made in the present study support those from the study of German, because, though the two languages may be typologically different, the literary text type in both languages exhibits similar characteristics.

Taking a look at the results from the 20th century corpora, we discover a similar pattern: with a mean AI of 444 and a mean SI of 586, the literary

corpus has the highest mean AI in this group of corpora. However, it is also noticeable that both scores are higher than their 21st century counterparts. This means that over the course of the past 100 years literary texts have simultaneously become less analytic and less synthetic. As we will see below, this is a pattern that is also observed in the other corpora and indeed seems characteristic of the entire language system. Since both mean AI and mean SI affect the mean GI score, not surprisingly, the mean GI for the 21st century literary corpus (936) is lower than its 20th century counterpart (1030). In line with the explanation of the concept of grammaticity, provided above, this can be interpreted as a decline in the amount of grammatical information that Bulgarian literary texts encode.

### **3.2. Scientific text type**

The examination of the two corpora containing scientific texts also leads to some interesting, and perhaps anticipated, observations. In both the 21st and 20th century groups of corpora, the corpora containing scientific texts have the highest mean SI, compared to the other text types. Again, a similar observation was made in the study covering German (cf. Stankov, forthcoming), where scientific texts also exhibited the highest level of syntheticity. In that study, I suggest the high mean SI of scientific texts may be a consequence of their focus on detailed descriptions and explanations, which often involve the increased use of adjectives and nouns. In Bulgarian, these are some of the parts of speech that most often receive inflections, which is a synthetic strategy for the encoding of grammatical information. In addition, I have argued that there is a general tendency in academic texts to use a more sophisticated style of writing, which features heavier noun and verb phrases and consequently more cases of adding inflections. At the same time, scientific texts are generally unlikely to feature dialogues and everyday language. Just like in German, however, here too, a more comprehensive part-of-speech analysis will be necessary to test if and to what extent this explanation is viable.

While the 21st century scientific corpus exhibits the highest level of syntheticity, compared to the other two corpora from the same period, it also has the lowest mean analyticity index. Indeed, taking a look at the mean GI, we notice that the scores for the literary and scientific corpora are even at 936. Taken alone, these two observations suggest that there may be a trade-off between syntheticity and analyticity and that the total amount of grammatical information encoded in the different text types is virtually the same. However, the mean GI of the 21st century journalistic corpus tells a different story, as it reaches only 893. This difference between the mean GI

of literary and scientific corpora, on the one hand, and the mean GI of the journalistic corpus, on the other, is even more pronounced in the 20th century group. This discrepancy indicates that, even across different text types within the same language system, there are differences in the amount of grammatical information that texts carry, although on average these differences may be small.

Speaking of the results from the 20th century corpora, it is worth noticing that, similarly to what was observed in the literary corpora, here too we can recognise a decline in both analyticity and syntheticity for the scientific texts (see Table 1 and Table 2). However, the decrease in analyticity in the scientific texts (65 index points) is stronger than the decrease in analyticity in the literary texts (33 index points), whereas, when it comes to syntheticity, the opposite development is the case: the decrease in syntheticity in scientific texts (39 index points) is smaller than the decrease in syntheticity in literary texts (61 index points). While it is difficult to assess what are the precise factors influencing the speed of the decline in analyticity and syntheticity in these two text types, I would venture to speculate that scientific texts are slower to become less synthetic precisely because of the more linguistically conservative and rigid nature of scientific discourse and the preference for more complex expressions and structures, which, at least in Bulgarian, often involve higher usage of inflections. On the other hand, literary texts may lose syntheticity faster because of the relative freedom that authors of fiction enjoy when it comes to their choice of style and expression. In any case, whatever the reasons may be, from the current dataset it is evident enough that both metrics are registering a decline, which in itself is an insightful observation, as it suggests that analyticity and syntheticity are not necessarily two concepts constituting a continuum, and a decline in one metric does not necessarily entail an increase in the other, as a continuum situation would implicate.

### **3.3. Journalistic text type**

The 21st century journalistic corpus has a medium to low mean AI (377) and a comparatively low mean SI (516). The low analyticity in journalistic texts is something that was also observed in the parallel study dealing with German (cf. Stankov, forthcoming). There, I speculated that this may be due to the absence of everyday language and dialogue in this

type of text<sup>2</sup> and to a general preference for brief and economic expressions, designed to save reading time and printing space. The low syntheticity in these texts, on the other hand, may be attributable to the fact that these texts are not as focused on detailed descriptions and explanations as the other two text types. The aspiration to save time and space in modern day news reports and analyses may also be reflected in the mean GI score of 893, which is noticeably lower than that of the other two corpora. It appears as though this text type has been shaking off some of what can be considered unnecessary or expendable grammatical information or “ornament” as McWhorter (2001: 410 as cited in Kortmann and Szmrecsányi 2009: 267) calls it.

The results from Table 2 tell a similar yet slightly different story. In the group of 20th century corpora, the journalistic corpus exhibits both the lowest mean AI (393) and the lowest mean SI (536). However, both scores are higher than their 21st century counterparts. The difference is not big, though: 16 index points for mean AI and 20 for mean SI. A directionally similar but stronger decline in both metrics was registered in the journalistic corpora for German (cf. Stankov, forthcoming). While the decrease in Bulgarian is smaller, it is still an indicator for ongoing developments in the journalistic writing style that have occurred during the 20th and 21st centuries. In the case of German, I attribute this to what I perceive as a higher tendency for political commentary and ideological bias in the texts from the 20th century journalistic corpus and a greater focus on neutrality and matter-of-fact informativeness in the 21st century journalistic texts. For the Bulgarian counterparts I made very similar observations while processing the samples. The proposed explanation is of course a very tentative hypothesis that will have to be substantiated by a closer analysis of the texts from the respective corpora.

### **3.4. Comparison of overall results**

In linguistic circles Bulgarian is often portrayed as an analytic language, especially in comparison to other Slavic languages (cf. Hinrichs 2004: 381, Osenova 2010: 644, Levshina 2020: 73, Banasiak 2021: 1). While the comparatively high analyticity of Bulgarian among its genetic relatives is hard to deny, the results from the present study indicate that the Bulgarian morphology may still retain a relatively high level of syntheticity (overall mean SI for 21st century Bulgarian texts is 538) for a language that

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<sup>2</sup> Note that the journalistic corpora in the present study do not include interviews, which are journalistic texts that do include dialogue. The inclusion of interviews in the analysis could therefore alter the end result for this text type.



is viewed as an analytic one<sup>3</sup>. The overall mean SI of the 21st century corpora exceeds their overall mean AI by 154 index points, and this is no small gap. In the parallel study covering German, the difference between overall mean SI and overall mean AI for the 21st century texts is only 14 index points (cf. Stankov, forthcoming). This shows that German relies on a more balanced distribution of encoding strategies between analyticism and syntheticism, while Bulgarian uses synthetic strategies more heavily.

In the 20th century corpora for Bulgarian, the difference between the two overall metrics is similar – 156 index points. This observation suggests that the distribution of encoding strategies for grammatical information has not changed significantly in the past 100 years. However, if we compare the overall mean AI scores and the overall mean SI scores of the two groups of corpora, instead of the differences between them, it becomes easy to recognise that both metrics are lower in the 21st century corpora. The difference in overall mean AI is 38 index points, while the difference in overall mean SI is 40 index points. The results are similar, but not insignificant. Namely, they demonstrate that the morphology of the Bulgarian language has simultaneously become less analytic and less synthetic in the course of the last 100 years. As a result, the amount of grammatical information that texts in Bulgarian encode via morphological means has decreased. This is evidenced by a comparison of the overall mean GI scores of the two groups of corpora, which reveals a difference of 78 index points. In other words, this is a 7.8% decrease over a period of 100 years. This is an intriguing finding, but caution should be exercised before forming further reaching conclusions. An investigation of a different kind of data (as opposed to the corpus data used in the present study), such as survey data, and an examination of individual morphological features (cf. for example Kortmann and Szmrecsányi 2009: 270) in Bulgarian could be useful to test and prove the claims of the present paper. In addition, an analysis of Bulgarian syntactic structures may also prove fruitful, as the decrease in grammatical information encoded morphologically could be compensated for by a proliferation of syntactic encoding strategies.

#### **4. Conclusion**

The present quantitative study provides some general insight into the current level of morphological analyticity and syntheticity of the Bulgarian language and into the development of the language with regard to these two metrics over the past 100 years. However, qualitative research will be

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<sup>3</sup> For comparison, the overall mean SI for 21st century German texts is 446.

necessary to solidify and further elucidate the trends discovered here. Expanding the research field of the methodology employed in this study to other languages and historical periods could yield more valuable understanding into the general direction and speed of typological change in the major linguistic families of the world. In particular, as a next step, it would be interesting to see whether other Indo-European languages have also registered a decline in both morphological analyticity and syntheticity over the past century. Furthermore, looking at older periods and development stages of the languages could reveal whether this trend has been going on for a long time and whether morphological-typological change is indeed cyclical, as some have suggested (cf. Szmrecsányi 2016). This kind of research could also contribute towards measuring and analysing the development of the complexity of human language (cf. Kortmann and Szmrecsányi 2009). As a natural and almost inseparable part of human life, languages and their change over time could reveal much about the nature and history of humankind.

**Table 1**

Corpus	Sample 1		Sample 2		Sample 3		Sample 4		Sample 5				Mean AI	Mean SI	Mean GI
	AI	SI	AI	SI	AI	SI	AI	SI	AI	SI					
Literary corpus 21 Cent.	319	507	411	537	432	456	479	528	415	597	<b>411</b>	<b>525</b>	936		
Scientific corpus 21 Cent.	363	521	361	557	366	642	312	533	345	586	<b>363</b>	<b>573</b>	936		
Journalistic corpus 21 Cent.	369	536	301	378	376	569	426	563	411	537	<b>377</b>	<b>516</b>	893		
<b>Overall</b>											<b>384</b>	<b>538</b>	<b>922</b>		

**Table 2**

Corpus	Sample 1		Sample 2		Sample 3		Sample 4		Sample 5				Mean AI	Mean SI	Mean GI
	AI	SI	AI	SI	AI	SI	AI	SI	AI	SI					
Literary corpus 20 Cent.	406	635	445	614	470	499	432	598	468	585	<b>444</b>	<b>586</b>	1030		
Scientific corpus 20 Cent.	381	700	441	604	427	562	448	592	442	601	<b>428</b>	<b>612</b>	1040		
Journalistic corpus 20 Cent.	369	471	310	507	450	619	400	547	437	537	<b>393</b>	<b>536</b>	929		
<b>Overall</b>											<b>422</b>	<b>578</b>	<b>1000</b>		

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## ADVERBS AND THEIR INTEGRATION INTO THE STRUCTURE OF ENGLISH AND BULGARIAN CLAUSES

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This paper aims to contribute to the formation of a unitary theory that describes the positions of adverbs in sentences. It analyses high and low adverbs in Bulgarian and English, using Cinque's idea that adverbs are the specifiers of functional heads and form a universal hierarchy. The fundamental idea behind this approach is that verbs move around adverbs. Adapting Ledgeway and Lombardi's proposal of a clause-medial functional projection, YP, I have proposed that Bulgarian finite lexical verbs can target a head within the lower adverb space and move to the head of the functional projection YP, but they cannot target positions within the higher adverb space. In contrast, the positions of English finite lexical verbs are very limited. The paper also suggests that English and Bulgarian auxiliaries originate in two different places, with Bulgarian past auxiliaries offering a second Merge site – YP. The analysed examples demonstrate that active past participles in English cannot raise freely within the lower adverb class but could raise from VP to YP and optionally continue to raise higher. However, Bulgarian past participles behave differently depending on whether they are used with a present auxiliary or a past auxiliary.

**Key words:** high adverbs, low adverbs, verb movement, functional head, specifier

### 1. Introduction

The syntactic features of adverbs have been well documented in the comprehensive grammar books of English (Jacobson 1964, Quirk *et al.* 1985 and many others), and their placement in the sentence has been widely studied (Ballert 1977, Ernst 1984, Alexiadou 1997, Cinque 1999, and others). And yet, the way Ray Jackendoff begins his chapter on adverbs in his monograph 'Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar' still feels relevant: 'the adverb is perhaps the least studied and most maligned part of speech, . . . maltreated beyond the call of duty' (1972: 47). Up to this day,

there still has not been found a unitary theory that could describe the various positions of adverbs available in sentences thoroughly. Scholars such as Jacobson (1964), Dobbie (1965), Quirk *et al.* (1985), and more recently, Huddleston and Pullum (2002) analysed the puzzling functions of adverbs, trying to define them and describe how they are used in the sentence – a task that is quite difficult because as Halling notices, 'Adverb is often used as a generic term for leftover items that do not appear to belong elsewhere' (2018: 7). Adverbs undoubtedly have an intrinsic perplexity. Semantically, they have an undefined number of subtypes. Syntactically, they can be predicate-level adverbs describing how an action is performed and sentence-level adverbs showing the speaker's stance towards the proposition. Nevertheless, all those adverbs have one thing in common – they are regarded as modifiers. It is widely accepted that the primary function of adverbs is to modify verbs or verb phrases. Schachter and Shopen define adverbs as 'modifiers of everything except for nouns' (2007: 20). A significant part of the syntacticians dealing with adverbs build their research on the assumption that, even though within distinct domains, adverbs and adjectives are both modifiers. Therefore, in Generative Syntax, adverbs have been widely regarded as adjuncts.<sup>1</sup>

While the traditional look on adverbs classifies them as adjuncts, other suggestions have emerged as well. In his monograph 'Adverbs and Functional Heads', Cinque suggests that there exists a universal inventory of adverbs in each language (1999), which has an intrinsically fixed order. However, languages differ in that they may choose their way or ways of encoding functional content into specific morphological forms (adverbs, inflections, etc.). Rather than as adjuncts, Cinque looks at adverbs as the specifiers of different functional heads. He suggests that 'adverbs should not be seen as accessory appendices to clause structure (as the traditional notion of "adjuncts" would suggest), but rather as an integral part of it, despite their general optionality' (Cinque 2004: 693). He believes that different classes of AdvPs 'enter into a transparent Spec/head relation with the different functional heads of the clause', following a strict hierarchy (1999: vi). The cartographic theory takes syntax as central in explaining the functions and categories of adverbs and proposes that each adverb is individually licensed by a dedicated functional head. Cinque also proposes that it is verbs that move within the deep structure and raise to a given head, which takes a particular adverb as its specifier.

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<sup>1</sup> See, among others, Jackendoff (1972), Ernst (1984), and Shaer (1998).

The aim of this research is to examine adverbs and verb movement with finite lexical verbs, auxiliary verbs, and active past participles in English and Bulgarian, using Cinque's proposals as a cornerstone. The paper is organised as follows. Section 1 clarifies the motivation for the work presented, discusses some of the names that form the research topic's background, and introduces the reader to Cinque's theory of high and low adverbs. Section 2 elaborates on Cinque's ideas, providing a theoretical basis for his proposal in connection with how adverbs integrate into the structure of the English and Bulgarian clauses. The section's fundamental idea is that verbs move around adverbs in a given structure. For that reason, the section is divided into three parts: Adverbs and Finite Lexical Verbs, Adverbs and Auxiliaries, and Adverbs and Active Past Participles. Section 3 closes with implications and an indication of some additional issues. An undertaking of this kind will require delimitations, and this paper will not deal with the movement of past passive participles, negation, and interrogative sentences. For the illustrative purpose of this research, examples taken from the British National Corpus and the Bulgarian National Corpus will be used throughout the different sections.

### **1.1. Cinque's (1999) Theory of High and Low Adverbs**

Ignored at first, nowadays, adverbs are the main focus of the research of numerous scholars because, as Dobbie explains, 'among the many problems posed by Modern English word order, for both the native speaker and the foreign learner, one of the most difficult is the placement of adverbs' (1965: 205). Generative Syntax relies highly on the functional-head theory, which differentiates between lexical and functional heads. While Negation and Tense are the two globally accepted functional heads, other suggestions have appeared throughout the years, especially such connected to the extended verbal projection. Guglielmo Cinque's cartographic approach is aimed precisely at these functional heads, analysing them in both clause and internal phrase structures. In his 'Adverbs and Functional Heads' from 1999, he views adverbs as specifiers of distinct functional heads and claims that verbs raise from VP into the heads of these phrases. An important distinction made by Cinque is the one between low and high adverb space. Comparing examples from several typologically different languages, Cinque suggests an adverb hierarchy, placing some adverbs in the Lower (pre-VP) AdvPs category and others in the Higher (Sentence) AdvPs category. Observing the raising abilities of active past participles, Cinque defines the lower adverb space as 'delimited on the left by the leftmost position that an (active) past



participle can come to occupy and on the right by a complement (or the subject) of the past participle' (1999: 4). On the other hand, higher adverbs are mainly speaker-oriented. After comparing sentences containing two or more adverbs, Cinque suggests the following hierarchy (taken from Cinque (1999: 106)):

- 1) [*frankly* Mood<sub>speech act</sub> [*fortunately* Mood<sub>evaluative</sub> [*allegedly* Mood<sub>evidential</sub> [*probably* Mod<sub>epistemic</sub> [*once* T(Past) [*then* T(Future) [*perhaps* Mood<sub>irrealis</sub> [*necessarily* Mod<sub>necessity</sub> [*possibly* Mod<sub>possibility</sub> [*usually* Asp<sub>habitual</sub> [*again* Asp<sub>repetitive(I)</sub> [*often* Asp<sub>frequentative(I)</sub> [*intentionally* Mod<sub>volitional</sub> [*quickly* Asp<sub>celerative(1)</sub> [*already* T(Anterior) [*no longer* Asp<sub>terminative</sub> [*still* Asp<sub>continuative</sub> [*always* Asp<sub>perfect(?)</sub> [*just* Asp<sub>retrospective</sub> [*soon* Asp<sub>proximative</sub> [*briefly* Asp<sub>durative</sub> [*characteristically(?)* Asp<sub>generic/progressive</sub> [*almost* Asp<sub>prospective</sub> [*completely* Asp<sub>SgCompletive(I)</sub> [*tutto* Asp<sub>PLCompletive</sub> [*well* Voice [*fast/early* Asp<sub>celerative(II)</sub> [*again* Asp<sub>repetitive(II)</sub> [*often* Asp<sub>frequentative(II)</sub> [*completely* Asp<sub>SgCompletive(II)</sub>]

## 2. Adverbs and Verb Movement in Bulgarian and English

Even though, in theory, the whole adverb hierarchy can be realised in one sentence, due to syntactic length and limitations of memory, we use only several adverbs in one sentence explicitly. This hierarchy proves to be observed in positional terms concerning the verb or other adverbs in various languages, including English and Bulgarian, as we will see in this next section. The theoretical approach adopted in the generative literature that V starts out in VP, i.e., below all adverbs, and then raises to one of the functional projections in the clause will be the backbone of this work. This section will back up Cinque's claim that verbs in different languages have different obligatory and optional raising options within lower and higher adverb space (1999: 45). It will also try to test empirically to what extent Cinque's proposals can handle the differences between English and Bulgarian word order regarding finite lexical verbs, auxiliaries, and active past participles<sup>2</sup> in affirmative sentences.

<sup>2</sup> Languages such as Bulgarian have distinct participles for active and passive uses. For the Bulgarian examples included in this work, I will be using only Past Active Aorist Participles and Past Active Imperfect Participles ending in -л /l/, -ла /la/, -ло /lo/, -ли /li/.

## 2.1. Adverbs and Finite Lexical Verbs

Linguists have observed throughout the years that finite lexical verbs in English cannot be placed to the left of an adverb. In generative terms, this restriction has been explained as due to the absence of overt V movement to the left of the adverb, giving rise to ungrammaticality of sentences such as (2):<sup>3</sup>

- 2) a) \*I eat *always* in the morning.  
 b) \*She woke up *perhaps*.

However, when it comes to the adverbs *well* and *early*, English can actually form grammatical sentences with these adverbs positioned to the right of the verb:

- 3) a) I ate *well* today.  
 b) She woke up *early*.

So, the question arises as to why this is the case. Cinque's division between low and high adverbs and his theory of verb movement to the heads of clausal functional projections that contain the adverbs as their specifiers give a relatively sophisticated account of the 'behaviour' of the English language. Finite lexical verbs can be seen in a variety of positions because they do not have a fixed site and may occupy different positions (Cinque 1999: 49–51). English finite lexical verbs start in the VP below all adverbs, high and low, and then raise although to a limited number of positions: either to the left of *early* or to the left of *well*, hence the grammaticality of (3). What is interesting about English is that the finite lexical verb cannot raise any higher and has to stay on the left of the adverb *well*. This is why we cannot have sentences such as (2). In (2a), the verb has raised above *always*, but according to Cinque's adverb hierarchy, while both *always* and *well* are low adverbs, *always* is located above *well* in the adverb hierarchy in (1). Since we already noted that the finite lexical verb in English must remain to the left of *well*, it cannot have risen to the left of *already*, hence the ungrammaticality of (2a). The same analysis can be applied to (2b) with the difference that *perhaps* is a high adverb. Nevertheless, since English finite lexical verbs obligatorily remain to the left of the lowest portion of adverbs, in particular to the left of *well*, (2b) is expectedly ungrammatical. This is the reason why in English, high and low adverbs, with the exception of *well* and *early* (and the other adverbs which are part of the *Voice* and *Asp<sub>celerative(II)</sub>*)

<sup>3</sup> The sentence is grammatical if the adverb is focused, cf.(i):

(i) I eat *always* in the morning and *never* in the evening.

In this paper, we will not consider sentences involving adverb focalization.

groups), are always observed to the left of finite lexical verbs, as illustrated by the examples in (4):

- 4) a) But he *never* kept his word.  
b) She *almost* expected him to salute.  
c) Nowadays, she *probably never* even gave him a second thought.

Bulgarian mimics English in that the finite lexical verb in Bulgarian cannot raise to the right of *early* or between *fast* and *early*. However, as I claim in Mateva (2023), in contrast to English finite verb movement, Bulgarian finite lexical verbs do not obligatorily stop to the left of the low VP-adverb *well*:

- 5) a) Никога не пропускаше деня за среща и идваше винаги по едно и също време.  
Nikoga ne propuskashe denya za sreshta i idvashe vinagi po edno i sashto vreme.  
\*He never missed the appointment date and came *always* at the same time.<sup>4</sup>  
b) Но ти каза *вече* това.  
No ti kaza veche tova.  
\* But you said *already* that.

Examples such as (5), taken from the Bulgarian National Corpus, show that the Bulgarian lexical verb can optionally continue to raise higher, all the way up to the phrase whose specifier is the highest adverb in the low adverb space, namely *вече* (*already*). The question is why this should be the case?

In their paper 'Verb Movement, Adverbs and Clitic Positions in Romance', Ledgeway and Lombardi notice that 'Cinque's so-called "higher sentence adverbs" are invariably excluded from interpolation structures' and that 'adverbs found in interpolation structures belong exclusively to the lower portion of the clause, a class of adverbs termed by Cinque "lower pre-VP adverbs" since they occupy a syntactic space delimited to the left by presuppositional adverbial negators (cf. Italian *mica* 'not') and to the right by arguments of the VP' (2005: 81). Based on this and other relevant findings, Ledgeway and Lombardi propose the existence of a clause-medial functional projection, YP, which is 'sandwiched between the higher adverb space (HAS) and the lower adverb space (LAS)' (*ibid.* 2005: 83). Following this proposal, we could claim that the Bulgarian lexical verb raises optionally up to YP, as illustrated in (5). Nevertheless, a careful look at the

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<sup>4</sup> The examples are personally translated in accordance with the Bulgarian word order.

frequency results from the Bulgarian National Corpus shows that the word order in (5) is not the typical word order in Bulgarian. More frequent results show up with the word order shown in (6), where the verb is to the right of the adverb<sup>5</sup>:

- 6) a) В края на краищата, *винаги* идваше утрото.  
 V kraya na kraishtata, *vinagi* idvashe utroto.  
 \*After all, *always* came the morning.
- b) Както *вече* каза, имаше толкова много други неща...  
 Kakto *veche* kaza, imashe tolkova mnogo drugi neshta...  
 \*As *already* (he) said, there were so many other things...

The examples in (5), which illustrate the point of view that the lexical verb in Bulgarian optionally raises from the head of the Voice phrase to other higher heads until it reaches *already* *T(Anterior)*, were harder to find, and the frequency ratings suggest that it is actually the examples in (6) that reflect the canonical word order, while those in (5) correspond to more specific cases, whose correctness is somewhat stylistically marked. Nonetheless, I will regard them as grammatical, given that they are taken from the Bulgarian National Corpus.

Therefore, it can be concluded that Bulgarian finite lexical verbs can target a head within the lower adverb space or move to the head of the functional projection YP. If they do the latter, they obligatorily remain there and cannot target positions within the higher adverb space. On the other hand, in English, high and low adverbs, with the exception of adverbs which are part of the Voice and *Asp<sub>celerative(II)</sub>* groups, are always observed to the left of finite lexical verbs.

## 2.2. Adverbs and Auxiliaries

Examples containing a compound tense in English show that auxiliaries (and modals) typically appear to the left of all adverbs:

- 7) a) You **have** *probably* noticed how much I look like them.  
 b) In fact, he **has** *completely* failed to take into account this very important development.  
 c) She and Charlie **had** *always* remained very close friends.

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<sup>5</sup> For example: 975 examples of the combination *VERB in Aorist* + *скоро* (*soon*) and 5 231 of the combination *скоро* (*soon*) + *VERB in Aorist*; 2 578 examples of the combination *VERB in Aorist* + *винаги* (*always*) and 7 232 of the combination *винаги* (*always*) + *VERB in Aorist*; 11 454 examples of the combination *VERB in Aorist* + *вече* (*already*) and 23 326 of the combination *вече* (*already*) + *VERB in Aorist*.

But where exactly do they originate? To answer this question, let us start by observing how finite perfect auxiliary verbs behave within the lower adverb space when we have sentences with complex verbs. Going through data from the British National Corpus, we see that perfect auxiliary verbs in English are always to the left of those adverbs and cannot separate two low adverbs, as (8d) shows:

- 8) a) We must ensure that hospitals **have** *well* thought out discharge plans for every individual.
- b) The steam **had** *almost completely* cleared now.
- c) This is because an egg that **has** *already almost* reached the womb could still be implanted after the operation.
- d) \* I *already* **have** *almost* finished my homework.

The examples in (8) allow us to speculate that perfect finite auxiliary verbs in English originate in a position above the low adverbs, which we previously labelled as YP, following Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005). However, as Baker notices, there are two special cases where some auxiliaries and modals can follow adverbs: "The first is that in which the finite auxiliary is emphasised, the second that in which the constituent following the auxiliary has been deleted" (Baker 1971: 171).

- 9) a) He loves her now, and he *always* **HAS** loved her.
- b) You may continue lying, but I *no longer* **WILL**.

What is interesting is that sentences such as (9) are only possible with adverbs that are higher than *almost* in the hierarchy. This was observed by Cinque, who says that 'along the hierarchy of adverbs seen here, certain modals and auxiliaries can remain as low as the position to the immediate right of *almost* (or higher), but not any lower' (shown in (6), (7), (8), (9) from Cinque 1999: 132, repeated here as (10) (11) (12) (13):

- 10) He said he would destroy it
  - a. \*? . . . and he completely will/has.
  - b. \*? . . . and he will/has completely.
- 11) He said he would do his homework somehow by tonight
  - a. \* ... and he well will/has.
  - b. \* ... and he will/has well.
- 12) He said he would wake up by himself
  - a. \* . . . and he early will/ has.
  - b. \* ... and he will/has early.

- 13) He said he would finish his homework by tonight  
 a. \* ... and he fast has/will.  
 b. \* ... and he has/will fast.

The examples allow Cinque to believe that these auxiliaries could be generated to the immediate right of *almost* (or higher). Whether this is a plausible solution or auxiliaries in English are indeed generated in YP is a question that will need further research. Nonetheless, for the purposes of this paper, we will accept the theory that YP separates lower and higher adverbs, and auxiliaries in English originate there.

The examples in (14a) and (14b) show that Bulgarian can mimic traditional English word order with respect to complex verbs when there is a past auxiliary form in the sentence but does not do so when there is a present auxiliary form<sup>6</sup> as we can see in (14c) and in (14d):

- 14) a) След което **беше** вече изчезнал.  
 Sled koeto **beshe** *veche* izcheznał.  
 After which (he) **had** *already* disappeared.  
 b) В коридорите сражението **беше** вече почти завършило.  
 V koridorite srazhenieto **beshe** *veche* pocti zavarshilo.  
 In the corridors, the battle **had** *already* almost finished.  
 c) \* Аз **съм** вече направил своя избор.  
 Az **sam** *veche* napravil svoya izbor.  
 I **have** *already* made my choice.  
 d) \*Той е *добре* написал книгата.  
 Toj e *dobre* napisal knigata.  
 \*He **has** *well* written the book.

A plausible explanation is that in (14a) and (14b), the Bulgarian past auxiliary originates in YP located between the higher and the lower adverb space and is followed by the AdvPs and the active participle, which is still in VP (just like in the English structure). However, the same analysis cannot be applied to (14c) and (14d) as the present auxiliary cannot be placed in front of low adverbs such as *veche* (*already*) and *добре* (*well*). Despite the correctness of (14a) and (14b), what is a rather more preferred word order is exemplified in (15), where the adverbs are placed in front of the present and the past auxiliaries. This structure is impossible in English under an analysis of the auxiliaries in English as originating in YP.

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<sup>6</sup> This is due to the difference in the distribution of BE auxiliaries in Bulgarian. For more information on this topic, see Krapova (1999).

- 15) a) Не, благодаря, вече съм ял.  
 Ne, blagodarya, *veche sam* yal.  
 \*No, thanks, *already* (I) **have** eaten.  
 б) Изглежда, просто съм припаднала.  
 Izglezhda, *prostoto sam* pripadnala.  
 \*It seems that *just* (I) **have** passed out.  
 в) Почти бяха забравили.  
*Pochti byaha* zabravili.  
 \*Almost (they) **had** forgotten.

What the contrasts in (15) show is that finite auxiliary verbs in Bulgarian originate lower than YP and, therefore, lower than they do in English. A logical assumption is that both past and present auxiliaries in Bulgarian originate below the lowest '*completely Asp<sub>Sg</sub>Completive(process)*' to the left of VP. However, past auxiliaries allow for a second internal merge option – YP, thus forming sentences such as (14a) and (14b). On the other hand, present auxiliaries in Bulgarian obligatorily merge below the lowest '*completely Asp<sub>Sg</sub>Completive(process)*' to the left of VP and do not allow for a second internal merge option.

Adopting the theory that finite auxiliary verbs in English originate in YP, we can claim that they can optionally continue to raise higher within the high adverb space, allowing for sentences such as (16):

- 16) a) He **had** *honestly* believed he could take the place of everything she had ever known.  
 б) ...the physiologist carried on an operation in his sleep which *probably had often* occurred to his fancy when at his work...  
 в) Grove House **had** *once* been a convent with a chapel.

In contrast, Bulgarian auxiliary verbs do not raise within the higher adverb space. As we observed, they originate to the left of VP, with past auxiliary verbs optionally being merged in YP. However, word order like the one observed in (16) is not possible in Bulgarian sentences:

- 17) a) \*Аз бях вероятно ходил там.  
 Az **byah** *veroyatno* hodil tam.  
 I **had** *probably* been there.  
 б) \*Той е нарочно ходил там.  
 Toj e *narochno* hodil tam.  
 He **has** *deliberately* been there.

The ungrammaticality of (17) can be taken to be proof that finite auxiliary verbs in Bulgarian do not raise higher than YP on their own and do not move freely within the higher adverb space, as the examples in (18), taken from the Bulgarian National Corpus show:

- 18) a) През нощта сънувах всевъзможни глупости, повечето от които, като се събудих, за *щастие* **бях** вече забравил.  
 Prez noshtta sanuvah vsevazmozhni gluposti, povecheto ot koito, kato se sabudih, za *shtastie* **byah** veche zabravil.  
 During the night (I) dreamt about all kinds of foolish things, most of which, when I woke up, *fortunately* (I) **had already** forgotten.
- b) Явно **беше** вече доста понапреднал с чашите.  
 Yavno beshe veche dosta ponaprednal s chashite.  
*Apparently* (he) **had already** drunk one glass too many.
- c) Той потвърди един факт, който *явно винаги* **беше** знаел със сигурност.  
 Toj potvardi edin fakt, koyto yavno vinagi beshe znael sas sigurnost.  
 He confirmed a fact, which (he) *apparently always* **had** known for sure.

In (18a) and (18b), the past auxiliary is in YP, and the higher adverbs are on its left, while the lower ones remain on its right. In (18c), the auxiliary is to the left of VP, below the lowest 'completely Asp<sub>Sg</sub>Completive(process)', where it originates in a separate AUX projection, while the high adverb *явно* (*apparently*) and the low adverb *винаги* (*always*) are to its left, in the order we would expect them to due to their hierarchy – *apparently* coming first, followed by *always*.

In conclusion, I suggest that finite auxiliary verbs in English originate in a position between high and low adverb spaces, which we labelled YP, following Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005). In contrast, Bulgarian auxiliaries originate immediately to the left of VP, but past auxiliaries offer a second merging site – YP, mimicking, to some extent, English word order. In addition, English auxiliaries can optionally raise higher within the higher adverb space, whereas Bulgarian auxiliaries cannot.

### 2.3. Adverbs and Active Past Participles

Interesting observations can be made regarding the participle movement in both languages. If, as speculated in the previous section,



English auxiliaries originate in YP (and optionally raise higher within the higher adverb space) and active past participles originate in VP, the examples in (19) give us the standard English word order:

- 19) a) Failure, he **had often said** to himself, was not a part of his life.  
b) The previous section **has briefly examined** three theoretical perspectives in sociology.

However, sentences such as (20) show us that English past participles could optionally move out of VP to the head of a given projection hosting AdvP in its specifier:

- 20) a) Since then he and Eddie **have met again**.  
b) John still looked strained but Angela **had recovered quickly** and was radiant.

Interestingly, the examples above contain adverbs from the higher adverb class. When going through the British National Corpus and searching for relevant examples, the only ones that I found show that past participles cannot move freely within the lower adverb space. The examples in (20), together with the ungrammatical sentences in (21), allow us to conclude that if they raise, the first landing site of active past participles is YP. Therefore, active past participles in English can raise from VP to YP, which is located between the low and high adverbs, and optionally continue to raise higher but cannot move freely within lower adverbs.

- 21) a) \* She **had fallen** asleep *almost*.  
b) \* The girls **had cooked** *already*.

Bulgarian active past participles also act interestingly. In the previous section, we claimed that present auxiliaries originate immediately to the left of VP. This claim accounts for the word order in (22) below:

- 22) a) Виждаш ли, слънцето *почти е залязло*.  
Vizhdash li, slantseto *pochti e zalyazlo*.  
You see, the sun *almost has set*.  
b) Те *винаги са имали* прекрасни системи за превод.  
Te *vinagi sa imali* prekrasni sistemi za prevod.  
They *always have had* wonderful systems for translation.

Since the Bulgarian present auxiliary form merges to the left of VP and cannot be merged into YP (unlike past auxiliaries in Bulgarian), Bulgarian present auxiliaries must always be to the right of the lower adverbs, hence the ungrammaticality of (23):

- 23) a) \* Той е *тъкмо* пристигнал.  
 Toj e *takmo* pristignal.  
 He **has just arrived**.  
 б) \* Тя е *винаги* казвала, че го обича.  
 Tya e *vinagi* kazvala, che go obicha.  
 She **has always said** that she loves him.

The reason for this is that the present auxiliary verb is a clitic and ‘needs’, for prosodic reasons, to stay close to the participle.<sup>7</sup> However, examples such as (24) show that when the active past participle accompanies the present auxiliary, the sentence can be grammatical:<sup>8</sup>

- 24) a) Рано беше още, както **съм казал** вече.  
 Rano beshe oshte, kakto **sam kazal** *veche*.  
 It was still early, as (I) **have said** *already*.  
 б) Единият става детектив, какъвто е **искал** *винаги* да бъде.  
 Ediniyat stava detektiv, kakavto e **iskal** *vinagi* da bade.  
 One of them becomes a detective, as (he) **has wanted** *always* to be.

We can speculate that in (24), the participle has moved from VP to the merge point of the present auxiliary (immediately to the left of VP) and together, as a clitic, they can optionally move to a head within the lower adverb space. Using the examples above, we can conclude that this is possible because the active participle moves together with the present auxiliary. Otherwise, we saw that the present auxiliary remains in its base position and does not raise any higher. Due to length limitations, this article will not look deeper into the clitic status of the auxiliary.

In terms of participle movement with past auxiliaries within the lower adverb space, we can expect the two most common word orders in Bulgarian to be: one where the past auxiliary is immediately to the left of VP, with the past participle remaining in VP – (25), and one where the past auxiliary is internally merged in YP, with the active past participle once again in VP – (26):

- 25) a) Почти **бях изгубил** надежда.  
 Pochti **byah izgubil** nadezda.  
 Almost (I) **had lost** hope.  
 б) Вече **бяха достигнали** първите дървета.  
*Veche* **byaha dostignali** parvite darveta.  
*Already* (they) **had reached** the first trees.

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<sup>7</sup> See Steven and King’s *A Handbook of Slavic Clitics* (2000) for more information.

<sup>8</sup> We are ignoring negative sentences for the time being, as they most probably need a different approach, and we are focusing only on affirmative sentences.

- 26) а) **Бях почти смачкал** инстинкта си за самосъхранение.  
**Byah pochti smachkal** instinkta si za zamosahranenie.  
(I) **had almost crushed** my instinct for self-preservation.  
б) Всеки от министрите си **беше вече намерил** своето оправдание.  
Vseki ot ministrite si **beshe veche nameril** svoeto opravdanie.  
Each of the ministers **had already found** their excuse.

However, active past participles can also raise out of VP. The word order in (27) allows us to speculate that there is a special position to the immediate left of the lowest adverbs which they obligatorily raise to:

- 27) а) Но тъй като **бях казал вече**, че ще мога сам, трябваше да стисна зъби и да продължа.  
No taj kato **byah kazal veche**, che shte moga sam, tryabvashe da stisna zabi i da prodalzha.  
But since (I) **had said already** that (I) could (do it) myself, I had to bite the bullet and to continue.  
б) Маркварт разпозна този поглед, тъй като го **беше виждал често**.  
Markvart razpozna tozi pogled, taj kato go **beshe vizdal често**.  
Markvart recognised this look as (he) it **had seen often**.

Since, as we already noted in the previous section, Bulgarian auxiliaries do not raise to the higher adverb space, and the highest position they can reach is YP, Bulgarian present and past participles can never be found to the left of YP. Therefore, high adverbs in Bulgarian are always to the right of YP and to the right of the auxiliary and the participle:

- 28) а) **Вероятно беше научил** за готварските хитрости с портокаловия сос.  
*Veroyatno* **beshe nauchil** za gotvarskite hitrosti s portokaloviya sos.  
(He) *Probably* **had learned** about the cooking tricks with the orange sauce.  
б) **Явно беше разбрала**, че да убие човек не е толкова лесно.  
*Yavno* **beshe razbrala**, che da ubie chovek ne e tolkova lesno.  
(She) *Apparently* **had realised** that to kill a person is not that easy.

To sum up, in this section, I have theorised that active past participles in English cannot raise freely within the lower adverb class. They can, however, raise from VP to YP and optionally continue to raise higher. In

contrast, Bulgarian participles behave differently depending on whether they are used with a present or a past auxiliary. Active past participles move out of VP to the merge point of the present auxiliary (immediately to the left of VP), and together, they form a clitic. Then, they can optionally move to a head within the lower adverb space. When used with a past auxiliary, active past participles can also raise out of VP, but they obligatorily raise to a special position to the immediate left of the lowest adverbs. Since Bulgarian auxiliaries do not move within the higher adverb space, the highest point Bulgarian active past participles can reach is to the right of YP.

### 3. Implications and Conclusions

Throughout the years, names such as Ernst (1984), Alexiadou (1997), and Cinque (1999) have left their marks on the theory of adverbs, and yet still, to this day, the topic of adverbs is one of the most arduous ones in generative syntax. The current paper relies heavily on Cinque's groundbreaking 'Adverbs and Functional Heads a Cross-Linguistic Perspective', where he proposes that adverbs should be considered as specifiers of distinct maximal projections (1999). Using Cinque's work as the foundation of this paper, I have briefly explored and analysed the differences between English and Bulgarian in terms of adverb position in the sentence, focusing on the behaviour of high and low adverbs.

The first part of Section 2 deals with finite lexical verbs and illustrates and theorises on where English and Bulgarian finite lexical verbs start and where they raise to. To prove my point, I have adopted Ledgeway and Lombardi's proposal that there exists a clause-medial functional projection, YP, located between the higher and the lower adverb spaces. I have concluded that Bulgarian finite lexical verbs can target a head within the lower adverb space and move to the head of the functional projection YP. If they raise to the head of YP, they remain there and cannot target positions within the higher adverb space. On the other hand, English finite lexical verbs raise either to the left of *early* or to the left of *well* but not any higher, which makes their positions within the adverb hierarchy very limited compared to Bulgarian word order.

The second part of Section 2 focuses on auxiliaries. I have proposed that auxiliaries in English and Bulgarian originate in different positions, with the English ones originating in YP and the Bulgarian ones originating immediately to the left of VP. However, past auxiliaries in Bulgarian offer a second Merge site – YP. This part of the section has also put forward the

idea that while English auxiliaries can optionally raise higher within the higher adverb space, Bulgarian auxiliaries cannot.

The third part of Section 2 deals with the movement of active past participles and shows that the two languages have many differences concerning this part of the syntax. I have tried to prove that active past participles in English cannot raise freely within the lower adverb class but could raise from VP to YP and optionally continue to raise higher. The situation with Bulgarian participles has proved to be even more difficult as I have discovered that they behave differently when they are used with a present auxiliary and with a past auxiliary. (29) below summarises the origin sites of all the verbal forms discussed in this paper:

(29)

[*frankly* Mood<sub>speech</sub> act [*fortunately* Mood<sub>evaluative</sub> [*allegedly* Mood<sub>evidential</sub> [*probably* Mod<sub>epistemic</sub> [*once* T(Past) [*then* T(Future) [*perhaps* Mood<sub>irrealis</sub> [*necessarily* Mod<sub>necessity</sub> [*possibly* Mod<sub>possibility</sub> [*usually* Asp<sub>habitual</sub> [*again* Asp<sub>repetitive(I)</sub> [*often* Asp<sub>frequentative(I)</sub> [*intentionally* Mod<sub>volitional</sub> [*quickly* Asp<sub>celerative(1)</sub> ]**YP** **ENG Auxiliaries/BG Past Auxiliaries**<sup>2</sup> [*already* T(Anterior) [*no longer* Asp<sub>terminative</sub> [*still* Asp<sub>continuative</sub> [*always* Asp<sub>perfect(?)</sub> [*just* Asp<sub>retrospective</sub> [*soon* Asp<sub>proximative</sub> [*briefly* Asp<sub>durative</sub> [*characteristically(?)* Asp<sub>generic/progressive</sub> [*almost* Asp<sub>prospective</sub> [*completely* Asp<sub>SgCompletive(I)</sub> [*tutto* Asp<sub>PPLCompletive</sub> [*well* Voice [*fast/early* Asp<sub>celerative(II)</sub> [*again* Asp<sub>repetitive(II)</sub> [*often* Asp<sub>frequentative(II)</sub> [*completely* Asp<sub>SgCompletive(II)</sub> ]**BG Auxiliaries** ]**VP** **BG Finite Lexical Verbs/** **ENG Finite Lexical Verbs/** **ENG Active Past Participles/** **BG Active Past Participles**

As all the above pages have demonstrated, adverb movement is indeed a complex topic. This paper sheds at least some light on the differences between English and Bulgarian verb movement in relation to the positions occupied by adverbs. All in all, I believe this work succeeded in providing valid arguments and supporting them with solid evidence. The current paper also sparked some new and exciting questions – as I believe every scholarly work should. The findings of this work will hopefully be of interest and help to students, teachers, and scholars alike. Nevertheless, for the topic to be given full justice, further research that would include a broader range of examples, an experimental study, and an analysis of negative sentences, among others, must be conducted.

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## THE PRESUPPOSED FOCUS – SOME REMARKS ON THE ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH IT-CLEFTS

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The aim of this paper is to report on some new findings related to the basic English cleft constructions. The analysis is based on Lambrecht's extensive works on clefts (1994; 2001) and presents a new reading into the focus and assertion areas of the cleft constructions by introducing a new category: the presupposed focus. The purpose of adding this new category is to unpack the grammatical need and/or motivation for the choice of this grammatical structure. The context and the surrounding non-linguistic prompts play a vital role; hence, the presupposed focus aims to communicate any agreements and/or disagreements the speaker tries to convey based on the addressee's knowledge database.

**Key words:** information packaging, information structure, clefts, topic, focus

### INTRODUCTION

Cleft constructions share similarities with dislocations as they both emphasize specific parts of a sentence by dividing a basic declarative sentence into two segments – consequently, the name “cleft”. While resembling fronting constructions, clefts appear to be less overtly rhetorical; the speaker's emphasis is not placed on the rhetorical devices, but rather on conveying their message in a clear and efficient manner. One distinctive characteristic of cleft sentences is their consistent bi-clausal nature, always having a mono-clause equivalent. Fundamentally, these are straightforward declarative sentences wherein a constituent is highlighted for importance by being “cleft” within the sentence structure. Consider the following pairs of examples:

1. Adam initiated the debate. → It is Adam who initiated the debate. (*IT-cleft* construction)
2. Adam has requested a work permit. → What Adam has requested is a work permit. (*WH-cleft* construction)



3. Adam needs a break. → A break is what Adam needs. (*reversed WH-cleft* construction)

As it is evident from the examples above, cleft constructions divide declarative sentences into two parts, often to introduce contrast, allowing the focused element to stand out prominently. This focus can manifest early (or the beginning of the sentence), as seen in *IT-clefts* and *reversed WH-clefts*, or later (or towards the end of the sentence), as observed in *WH-clefts*. Theoretically, the emphasized element is termed “foregrounded,” while the less emphasized element is termed “backgrounded”. For instance, in example (1) “Adam” serves as the foregrounded element, while in example (3), the focused element is “a break”. In example (2), the foregrounded element appears at the end of the sentence, namely “a work permit”. Notably, the foregrounded element in example (1) functions as the subject of the declarative sentence, whereas the focused elements in examples (2) and (3) serve as the direct objects in their respective declarative counterparts.

Jespersen characterizes *IT-clefts* as a distinctive form of declarative sentence in which the subject is replaced by the subject personal pronoun “it”. For example, he explains the sentence “It is pop music he enjoys the most” by drawing a connection to the equivalent sentence “Pop music is what he enjoys the most”, wherein “pop music” is substituted with the subject pronoun “it” (1927: 89). However, in his later work, Jespersen challenges his own concept through an examination of English and other languages (1937: 83 – 89). Initially referred as a relative clause, the so-called “parenthetical clause” evolves into a cleft sentence and thus Jespersen acknowledges the departure from the fixed English SVO word order. His theory is grounded in the common features shared by cleft sentences in various languages (qtd. by Lambrecht 2001: 464).

## METHODOLOGY

The present study aims to overview the *IT-cleft* type of emphatic construction in a quantitative and qualitative manner. My objective is to explore examples from the living language through the use of the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) for the quantitative analysis and then examine those examples qualitatively within the framework that Lambrecht proposes in his 2001 work. McEnery and Hardie claim that characterizing corpus linguistics as a method is inappropriate, asserting instead that the corpus alone should be the exclusive foundation for generating hypotheses about language (McEnery and Hardie 2012: 6).

Therefore, my goal is to investigate the information packaging examples void of assumed hypotheses based on any linguistics studies.

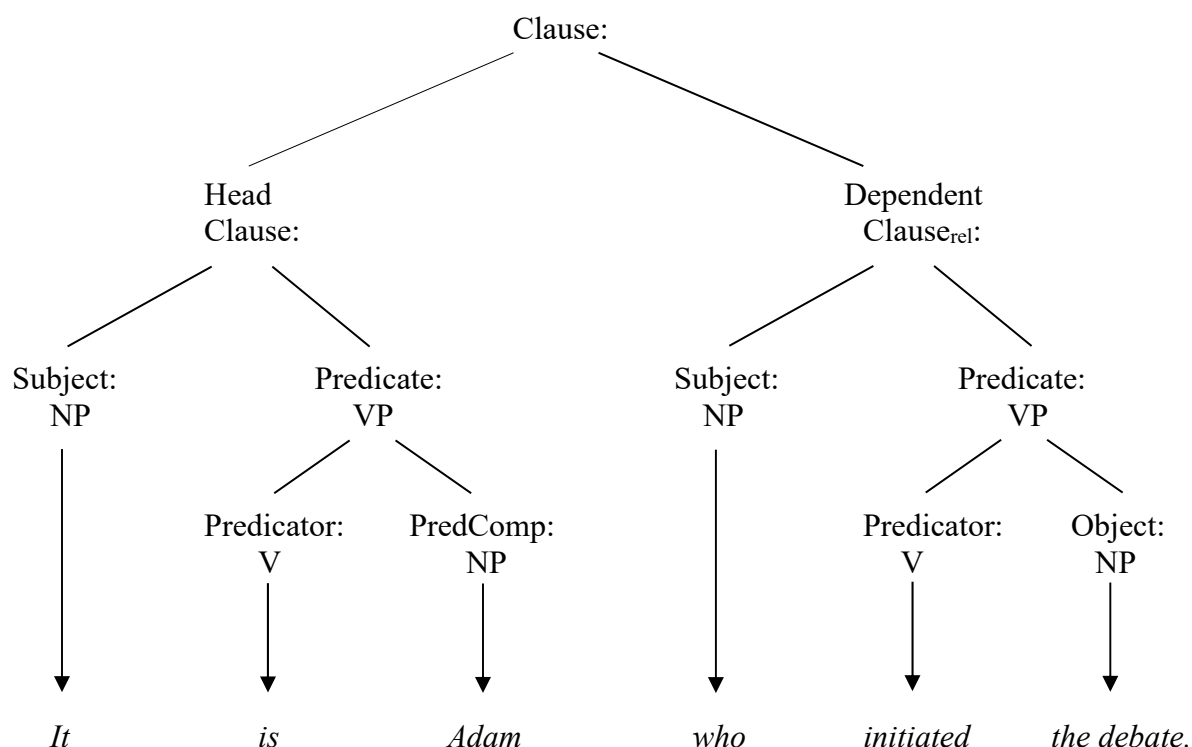
The COCA Corpus does not allow the search for language data on a syntactic level, the search query is limited to “it BE adj. that”. Two types of genres will be the objective of main investigation in this paper – spoken and academic language. Comparing these two genres provides a rich opportunity to uncover the nuances of language use in diverse contexts. It allows the exploration of how language adapts to different communicative purposes, audiences, and sociolinguistic contexts. The investigation may reveal contrasts in linguistic features, such as formality, register, and the role of context, offering insights into the varied ways language functions in spoken and academic settings.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The *IT-cleft* construction exhibits considerable flexibility in capturing various forms of basic declarative statements. Within the *IT-cleft*, the focused element can be a noun phrase functioning as a subject or object, or part of a prepositional phrase in the original declarative sentence. This type of cleft is composed of the following components:

- the pronoun “it”, which functions as a dummy pronoun subject;
- the verb “be”, which may be accompanied by the negative particle “not”, a modal verb, or an adverb;
- a focused element, which can be a noun phrase, prepositional phrase, adverb phrase, adverbial clause, adjective phrase (in rare instances); and
- a relative dependent clause, introduced by pronouns such as “who”, “which”, “that”, or a zero pronoun.

The following syntactic tree illustrates what the structure of an *IT-cleft* is like. Example (1) can be outlined syntactically as follows (adapted from Huddleston and Pullum 2007: 252):



This example highlights the distinction between a cleft relative clause and the typical constituent of a relative clause. According to Huddleston and Pullum, “Adam initiated the debate” is clearly an integrated relative clause; however, it does not function as a syntactic constituent independently of Adam” (2007: 187). In contrast, a standard integrated relative clause, such as in “Adam who initiated the debate has been dismissed by the competition authorities” is syntactically projected as a cohesive constituent within the noun phrase. Another differentiating factor is the obligatory use of the pronoun “that” in a cleft sentence, unlike in an integrated relative clause in which its omission is occasionally acceptable. The exclusion of “that” is prevailing within conversational English.

Lambrech posits that cleft sentences function as matrix clauses, forming two predicative constructions (1994: 26). The elements within the matrix clause are linked by a copula, typically the verb “to be”. In the context of an *IT-cleft*, the primary component is a relative clause, as exemplified by “who initiated the debate” in example (1). Lambrecht contends that the “relativized argument should be [is] co-indexed with the predicative argument of the copula” (1994: 110). This implies that in the sample sentence “Adam” should be associated with and share a co-index with the relative pronoun who”, or “who” has “Adam” as its antecedent.

Chankova (2016) studies focusing constructions from a similar theoretical perspective but brings in some formal syntax insights, i.e. she analyzes various displacement operations based on an approach integrating information packaging theory tools within the major line of enquiry of late Minimalism. In various cases, certain constituents facilitate a more pronounced focus on elements within declarative clauses, while others exhibit less emphasis. As an illustration, Cowan provides seven instances of constituents where the adjective phrase portrays a scenario indicative of a less commonly employed *IT-cleft* (adapted from Cowan 2008: 521):

1. a. *Jennifer* decorated the Christmas tree. (*subject noun phrase*)  
    b. It was *Jennifer* who decorated the Christmas tree.
2. a. Mark passed his driving test *two years ago*. (*time adverb*)  
    b. It was *two years ago* that Mark passed his driving test.
3. a. The school authorities do not allow frequent school trips *to avoid accidents*. (*adjunct of purpose*)  
    b. It is *to avoid accidents* that the school authorities do not allow frequent school trips.
4. a. My brother leaned *on the freshly painted wall* while waiting for the results. (*prepositional phrase*)  
    b. It was *on the freshly painted wall* that my brother leaned on while waiting for the results.
5. a. She likes driving *red cars*. (*adjective phrase*)  
    b. It is *red cars* that she likes driving.
6. a. *How you respond to the last question* is crucial. (*subject interrogative clause*)  
    b. It is *how you respond to the last question* that is crucial.
7. a. She conducted some more research *because she wanted to explore some more details about the case*. (*adverbial subordinate clause*)  
    b. It was *because she wanted to explore some more details about the case* that she conducted some more research.

Even though both types of cleft sentences divide a sentence into two elements to highlight one, they each have a particular discourse purpose. Cowan identifies three main situations where the *IT-cleft* is employed for specific purposes (adapted from Cowan 2008: 524 – 525):

- presenting a contrast: this is a highly typical scenario where speakers or writers often use the *IT-cleft*. Typically, the new constituent is presented in the emphasized element, making it easy for the listener or reader to discern the contrast from the preceding point. For example:

A: *Klara was absent from the meeting yesterday.*

B: *No, it was Clare who was absent from the meeting yesterday.*

- arguing a point: this occurs when the speaker or writer aims to persuade a point that may seem out of place or has not gained much prominence. This usage is commonly applied when introducing a cause-and-effect relationship. For example:

*Rap music evolved at some point to the hip-hop genre. Actually, it is the rap music that paved the way to contemporary hip-hop music.*

- introducing a topic: this is a frequently employed method for commencing a topic using an *IT-cleft*. This effectively captures the listener's or reader's attention and maintains sentence focus. For example:

*It was the murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand that started World War One. He was visiting Sarajevo, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, to meet with the local nobility.*

## **INFORMATION PACKAGING PECULIARITIES OF IT-CLEFTS**

Information packaging or information structure, as per Lambrecht, represents a pivotal aspect of linguistic analysis that delves into how speakers strategically organize information within a discourse to convey meaning effectively. Lambrecht's framework emphasizes the arrangement of information to draw attention to significant elements and establish coherence in communication (2001). In Lambrecht's conceptualization, information structure encompasses various components, including topic and focus. The "topic" refers to the familiar or given information, often serving as a reference point that the speaker assumes the listener is already aware of. "Focus" refers to new information, drawing the listener's attention to the speaker's intended point of emphasis.

Lambrecht presents the concept of "information packaging" as a concept through which speakers manipulate syntactic and prosodic features to signal the organization of information within a sentence or larger discourse unit. One of the notable tools in this regard is the use of cleft constructions, such as *IT-clefts*, to foreground specific elements and enhance the communicative impact. These structures allow speakers to strategically position new or contrastive information, therefore influencing the overall

interpretation of a proposition. Furthermore, Lambrecht emphasizes the dynamic nature of information structure, illustrating how speakers adapt their communicative strategies based on the context, discourse goals, and their assumptions about the listener's knowledge. This dynamic interplay between topic and focus contributes to the overall coherence and effectiveness of any linguistic discourse. In this manner, Lambrecht's exploration of information structure offers a valuable insight through which to analyze how speakers shape and organize their utterances to convey meaning in a nuanced and contextually sensitive manner. The interplay between topic and focus, as well as the use of specific linguistic constructions like cleft sentences, stresses the intricate ways in which speakers manipulate language to achieve their communicative goals.

The COCA Corpus retrieves 127 cleft sentences in the spoken genre and 36 in the academic. This difference clearly contradicts what Biber *et al.* claim about the distribution of *IT-clefts* across the different registers (2003: 422). This discrepancy indicates that the actual distribution of *IT-cleft* constructions in the spoken genre is more than three times more frequent compared to the academic genre.

In this excerpt from PBS NewsHour, Michael Oppenheimer, a representative of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), emphasizes the importance of public engagement and political will in addressing climate change. He acknowledges that while scientific evidence is crucial in setting the foundation for addressing the issue, it alone is insufficient:

WILLIAM-BRANGHAM: I'd like you to take off your IPCC hat for a section. I want to ask a question about political will. Five days ago, we saw four million people on the streets demanding action. On Monday at the U.N., we saw world leaders relatively minor commitments to fight climate change. Do you think this evidence is going to be enough to move the needle?

MICHAEL-OPPENHEIMER: Science is never enough. Science can set the basis for solving a problem, but **it's people that have to decide they want it solved**, and they have to tell their leaders that they want it solved. That's my personal opinion. IPCC doesn't criticize or comment on governments. So it's very encouraging to someone like me, who has worked on this problem for 35 years, to see the young people in the streets demanding action. My generation didn't solve the problem. Now it's going to be on their shoulders. They know it, and they're angry about it. And I think

that this is going to result in political change, not fast enough, but I think it's coming. But a part of the problem I'm really worried about is, you cannot solve the coastal problem just by reducing emissions.

(PBS: *PBS NewsHour*, 2019 (19-09-25), *PBS NewsHour*, SPOK genre)

The boldfaced *IT-cleft* sentence is used to perspectivise and highlight the important part in a mono-clause equivalent (i.e. *People have to decide they want it solved*). The initial position is occupied by the plural countable noun “people” which in its own terms employs the focus function of the proposition. The pragmatic presupposition or topic in this example would be “that have to decide they want it solved”. In other words, the emphasis in this sentence is on the “people” who need to address the problem they are facing. The *IT-cleft* construction allows the speaker, Michael Oppenheimer in this case, to highlight the essential role of the human agency in solving the issues related to climate change. The sentence before aims to determine what the solution to the problem might be, but then with the use of the *IT-cleft* this solution is disproved. This allows the accentuation on the focus of the *IT-cleft*, thus making it more compelling compared to the mono-clause equivalent construction. This in turn will force the relative clause to be unaccented despite the use of the simple aspectuality with the main verbs, i.e. “have to” and “want”. If these were the focus of the *IT-cleft*, it would then become decentralized, i.e. it would create confusion and miscomprehension. Consequently, this signifies one of the main uses of an *IT-cleft* construction – to emphasize a particular element in a sentence.

Syntactically, the topic of the *IT-cleft* reveals other interpretations related to the defining relative clause following immediately after the plural noun “people”. Even though the aim of the speaker is to further inform the addressees of what these people are like, he is also trying to elaborate on a unified definition of the individuals within the discussion so that there will be no confusion. The relative clause helps the speaker to narrow down and label the subgroup of people, emphasizing that he refers only to those who are actively involved in the decision-making process. The emphasis is further manifested through the use of the semi-modal verb “have to” and its implications of the part of the whole proposition. The modal verb “have to” implies a necessity or requirement and in this context, it suggests that the responsibility for deciding is a crucial and unavoidable task. Its use emphasizes that the decision is not merely optional or discretionary, but rather something that is unavoidable. This implies that the individuals (i.e. the “people”) bear a moral or ethical duty to decide whether they want the problem solved or not and that this responsibility is not to be taken lightly.

This framing emphasizes the active role that people need to play in taking ownership of the issue and participating in the decision-making process.

To implement Lambrecht's ideas on reading an information packaging construction, the structure would take the following form (2001: 475):

- **Context sentence:** Science is never enough.
- **IT-cleft sentence:** Science can set the basis for solving a problem, but it's people that have to decide they want it solved, and they have to tell their leaders that they want it solved.
- **Presupposition:** "x have to decide they want it solved"
- **Focus:** "people"
- **Assertion:** "x = people"

What this scheme suggests is that the speaker's open relative clause proposition "x have to decide they want it solved" is pragmatically presupposed and hence it suggests that the audience should understand or infer the assumption that individuals must actively choose to address the issue at hand. Lambrecht uses the term "knowledge presupposition" (or K-presupposition, for short), but the core concept remains centered around referencing information already known or unknown to the addressee (2001: 474). The speaker's pragmatic assertion, which Lambrecht describes as "the effect the utterance of the sentence has on a hearer's knowledge or belief state" (*ibid.*), is demonstrated by introducing the focus variable "people" in this open proposition.

Lambrecht recognizes that employing a non-canonical structure requires contextual support. It would seem peculiar to mention the monoclausal canonical equivalent without providing some context or implicit guidance regarding the pragmatic assertion. This item of information is expected to be brought to the forefront of the addressee's mind through inferable references. Therefore, Lambrecht introduces the term "consciousness presupposition" (C-presupposition). In essence, when someone uses C-presupposition, they are expecting that the audience already has a certain concept or idea in their immediate memory, and the speaker builds on this assumption to convey their message effectively. It reflects a reliance on shared or recently activated knowledge between the speaker and the addressee for effective communication (2001: 475).

The referent or proposition assumed through C-presupposition may be completely activated or merely accessible, as described by Prince's concepts of "discourse-old" and "inferable" (1994: 247 – 249). However, this alone does not provide a complete understanding, as the assertion must also



convey pertinent information related to the ongoing proposition, establishing a connection with the present discourse. Consequently, Lambrecht introduces another essential assumption on the part of the speaker – the topicality presupposition (or T-presupposition). T-presupposition indicates that the speaker expects that the addressee will find a specific element relevant and important to the ongoing conversation, considering it a likely subject for further discussion. The definition further notes that a topical denotatum, which is the subject of the presupposition, is inherently a relatively predictable element in a proposition. This means that, based on the context or shared knowledge, the addressee can reasonably anticipate the inclusion of this element in the conversation (2001: 476).

From a logical standpoint, the fulfillment of the T-presupposition assumption requires a level of activation in the minds of those engaged in the discourse. In other words, the precondition for topicality is the prior satisfaction of the C-presupposition. Therefore, the outlined scheme above can be further detailed as follows:

- **Context sentence:** Science is never enough.
- **IT-cleft sentence:** Science can set the basis for solving a problem, but it's people that have to decide they want it solved, and they have to tell their leaders that they want it solved.
- **Presuppositions:**
  - K-presupposition: “x have to decide they want it solved”
  - C-presupposition: “the K-presupposed proposition has been activated”
  - T-presupposition: “the K-presupposed proposition is of current interest”
- **Focus:** “people”
- **Assertion:** “x = people”

In this scenario, the speaker's assumptions have prompted the selection of a specific grammatical form for the current expression. Specifically, the speaker opts for the IT-cleft construction to fulfill certain discourse-related assumptions:

- his recipient knows or believes the (open) proposition “x have to decide they want it solved” evoked by the relative clause;
- this proposition is currently activated in the addressee's short-term memory evoked by the preceding open clause “science can set the basis for solving a problem”; and
- this proposition is of current interest in the conversation evoked by the lexical item “problem”.

The discussion above seems to overlook the triggers in the assertion domain that align with the focus denotatum. Put differently, it is interesting to consider how the speaker establishes a connection with the assumed information, enabling the addressee to comprehend or accept it at the moment of the utterance. Let us detach the sentence from its context. In the absence of activated referents leading to the presupposed focus of the utterance, the addressee would find it impossible to perceive an information unit as novel. This process necessitates not only inferable or relatable referents but also a pre-existing extensive understanding of the subject matter. By extensive knowledge, I do not refer to professional or specialized expertise (as in medical, engineering, legal, etc. terms), but rather to a broad knowledge base that can be readily activated and/or revisited. For example, if we substitute the focus of the IT-cleft with something else such as a concrete group of individuals like “paleoclimatologists”, the addressee’s comprehension of the focus denotatum might entirely be lacking due to the lack of general knowledge on the topic of conversation. Therefore, the prior general knowledge of the addressee becomes crucial in determining the grammatical construction choice. For this reason, a new area of exploration is necessary, and, on that account, I employ the following three categories to further describe a domain that will help tackle the focus projection. The additional term is labeled as the presupposed focus, and it is an elaboration on Lambrecht’s concept of unpredictability (2001: 474):

- *Fully knowledgeable*: The focus component exists in the addressee’s knowledge database and can be readily invoked at any time.
- *Semi-knowledgeable*: The focus component exists in the addressee’s knowledge database but cannot be readily evoked or fully recalled at the moment the utterance is made.
- *Unknowledgeable*: The focus component is absent from the addressee’s knowledge database.

Taking into account this elaboration, the following explanation can be suggested:

- **Context sentence**: Science is never enough.
- **IT-cleft sentence**: Science can set the basis for solving a problem, but it’s people that have to decide they want it solved, and they have to tell their leaders that they want it solved.
- **Presuppositions**:
  - K-presupposition: “x have to decide they want it solved”

- C-presupposition: “the K-presupposed proposition has been activated”
- T-presupposition: “the K-presupposed proposition is of current interest”
- **Focus:** “people”
- **Assertion:** “x = people”
  - Presupposed focus: “fully knowledgeable as the word “people” is something that exists in most people’s knowledge database and its meaning can be evoked anytime, anyplace”

More precisely, it can be suggested that the speaker chooses the *IT-cleft* to fulfill the following assumptions within the discourse:

- his recipient knows or believes the (open) proposition “x have to decide they want it solved” evoked by the relative clause;
- this proposition is currently activated in the addressee’s short-term memory evoked by the preceding open clause “science can set the basis for solving a problem”;
- this proposition is of current interest in the conversation evoked by the lexical item “problem”;
- the presupposed focus item is fully knowledgeable as it is a lexical item that can easily be evoked and associated with something concrete. The speaker assumes that this concept is familiar and easily accessible in the addressee’s knowledge database, and it can be readily invoked at any time.

The following academic study explores the work of Wicomb, who offers a cautionary perspective on the dangers of nationalism in the aftermath of liberation, challenging the trend of invoking racial or ethnic nationalism in South Africa and beyond. In her novel “David’s Story”, South African author Zoe Wicomb expresses skepticism towards nationalism in the post-liberation era, particularly the ethnic nationalism. Wicomb sees ethnic nationalism as predisposed to the absolutism and intolerance reminiscent of the apartheid era in South Africa. She views nationalism as a strategy that has outlived its usefulness and suggests that healing should focus on individuals rather than the nation:

...Wicomb confirms this in interviews conducted around the time of the novel’s publication, in which she discusses nationalism as a formerly useful strategy that has now outlived its utility: What South Africans have done could not have been done without a sense of nationalism. Unfortunately Spivak falls short of discussing what happens next. Part of the ugly things that are told

in my novel is the result of nationalism. Of course it is not a nation that is going to be healed--that's nonsense. **It's people that will be healed.** Let's just forget about the bloody nation now, because it has run its course. It's done its job. We know what it led to in Europe. I know what it means in Scotland. (qtd. in Willemsse 151-52; see also Meyer and Oliver 92.) Read in this light, David's Story might become a cautionary Fanonesque tale about the pitfalls of nationalism in the post-liberation era. Indeed, the novel seems to fly in the face of a growing tendency for both ruling and opposition parties to invoke racial or ethnic nationalism in ways that echo disturbing histories in South Africa and around the world. (*Studies in the Novel*, 2008, "This Text Deletes Itself": Traumatic Memory and Space-Time in Zoe Wicomb's "David's Story")

The use of the *IT-cleft* construction in the excerpt above is employed by the author to emphasize the focus on individual healing rather than the nation as a whole. By splitting the sentence into two parts, the author places emphasis on the idea that the true beneficiaries of the healing process are individuals. The use of "it" and "be" in the first part of the sentence helps isolate and highlight this specific point, making it more prominent in the reader's mind. In the broader context of the passage, this emphasis on the individual healing aligns with the author's overall skepticism towards nationalism and its potential pitfalls. The author suggests that the emphasis on people rather than the nation is a crucial perspective in the post-liberation era, challenging the notion that national identity alone can lead to healing. The *IT-cleft* structure serves as a rhetorical device, effectively conveying the author's viewpoint on the nature of healing and contributing to the overall clarity and impact of the passage. It also helps in clearly conveying the key point and provides a structured way to present the evidence or assertion.

In terms of information packaging, the following explanation can be provided:

- **Context sentence:** Of course it is not a nation that is going to be healed--that's nonsense.
- **IT-cleft sentence:** It's people that will be healed.
- **Presuppositions:**
  - K-presupposition: "x will be healed"
  - C-presupposition: "the K-presupposed proposition has been activated"
  - T-presupposition: "the K-presupposed proposition is of current interest"

- **Focus:** “people”
- **Assertion:** “x = people”
  - Presupposed focus: “semi-knowledgeable as the collective noun “people” does not refer to any previously mentioned country. The addressee should be guided to the full understanding of this lexical item”

The focus of the assertion is on “people”, and the analysis suggests that the presupposed focus is semi-knowledgeable because the term “people” lacks a specific reference to a previously mentioned state or country. The term “people” is a collective noun that generally refers to a group of individuals. However, it lacks specificity in terms of which people or community are being discussed in this context. It does not point to a previously mentioned group or entity, making the reference somewhat vague. Without additional context or clarification, the term remains somewhat open-ended and requires more information for a complete understanding. The addressee, according to the analysis, should be guided to a full understanding of this lexical item, indicating that the term “people” may require additional context or explanation for a complete understanding, especially regarding its specific application or relevance in the given context. More precisely, it can be suggested that the speaker decides on the *IT-cleft* to observe the following assumptions within the discourse:

- his recipient knows or believes the (open) proposition “x will be healed” evoked by the relative clause;
- this proposition is currently activated in the addressee’s short-term memory evoked by the preceding open clause “Of course it is not a nation that is going to be healed--that’s nonsense”;
- this proposition is of current interest in the conversation evoked by the lexical item “people”;
- the presupposed focus is semi-knowledgeable as the collective term “people” lacks reference to any previously mentioned country. Additional guidance is needed for the addressee to attain a comprehensive understanding of this lexical item.

## CONCLUSION

The exploration of information packaging, as outlined by Lambrecht (1994; 2001), provides a valuable framework for understanding how speakers strategically organize information within a given discourse to convey meaning in a clear and effective manner. Lambrecht’s emphasis on the arrangement of information to establish coherence and draw attention to

significant sentence elements aligns with his conceptualization of information packaging which includes components such as topic and focus. The introduction of the three key presuppositions, knowledge presupposition (K-presupposition), consciousness presupposition (C-presupposition), and topicality presupposition (T-presupposition), helps for the better understanding of the message the speaker aims to convey to the addressee. These presuppositions also reveal how speakers rely on shared or recently activated knowledge, inferable references, and the anticipation of specific elements' relevance to effectively convey their message. However, the part that is missing is the link to the broader context of linguistic analysis and discourse interpretation related to the addressee's cognitive state at the time the utterance has been delivered. The introduction of the concept of presupposed focus, categorized as fully knowledgeable, semi-knowledgeable, or unknowledgeable, enriches the understanding of how speakers tailor their expressions based on the assumed familiarity of the audience with the focus point of the message. This categorization delves into the intricacies of speaker-addressee dynamics, shedding light on the adaptability of linguistic structures to align with the addressee's cognitive state. Further studies are needed to explore how this presupposed focus can affect the message delivery through other agencies besides the grammar and syntax means.

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## CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR AND CONCEPTUAL METONYMY IN DICKENS' SHORT FICTION

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The paper explores the role of cognitive conceptualization in literary language. This research draws on the work of George Lakoff and Mark Turner on the significance of cognitive conceptualization in understanding literature, specifically their book *More than Cool Reason*. The focus of the paper is to attempt to establish an approach to identifying conceptual metaphors and metonymies in literature. The text presents the essential theoretical background necessary for the topic, which is followed by specific examples from a literary excerpt from a short story by Charles Dickens.

**Key words:** metaphor, metonymy, conceptualization, literature

### Introduction

Cognitive conceptualization<sup>1</sup> and how it is reflected in language is a major focus of Cognitive Linguistics (CL). Literary language is also anchored in the same process of conceptualization and holds a literary text together. Nevertheless, interest in the coherence of a text because of conceptualization has been mostly sidelined or kept in the background of the plethora of academic work based on CL. One of the first major publications on this topic is Lakoff and Turner's *More than Cool Reason*, which is a study of the role of conceptual metaphor in our understanding of poetry and the world. The authors focus their investigation on poetry alone because of the fact that language in poems is almost always exclusively metaphorical in nature, making it simple to find examples to analyze. They contend that our thought process relies to such an extent on metaphor that we practice it continuously, without even realizing it. Moreover, because of metaphor accessibility to practically everyone, it becomes an integral component of our understanding of thought, and, by extension, literature

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<sup>1</sup> From now on cognitive conceptualization will be referred to as conceptualization.



(Lakoff and Turner 1989). An increasing number of scholars have published research connected to CL and literature since then (Freeman 2007, Tucan 2021). They argue that CL can change the way we study literature, while acknowledging that there is still some resistance to this new wave (Tucan 2021: 5-7). Harder also welcomes the overlapping of the two fields of study, while still maintaining a hint of hesitation to its importance until more evidence is provided (Harder 2007: 1256-58). In this paper, I will attempt to identify both conceptual metaphors and metonymies in a literary text, identify the drawbacks of the earlier methods, and observe how this would influence the understanding of conceptualization as formulated in CL.

### **Theoretical Background**

To begin with, in this section of the paper I will present the following:

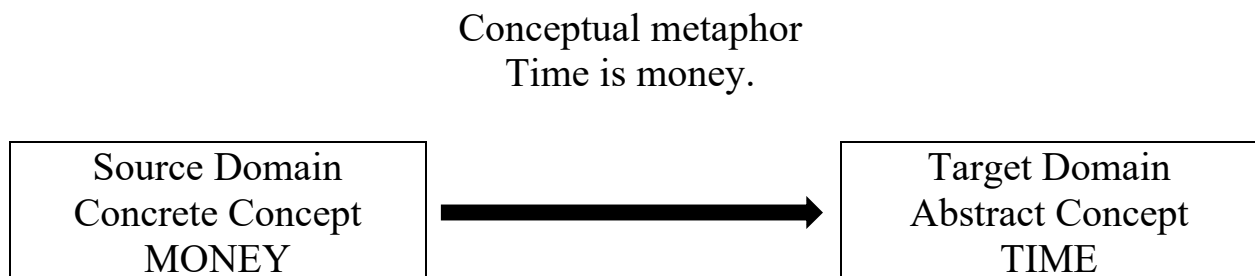
1. A definition of conceptual metaphor
2. A definition of conceptual metonymy
3. A method of identifying metaphors in close reading
4. A method of identifying metonymies in close reading
5. The parameters of a joint approach to identifying both in a short literary excerpt

The definitions I propose for both metaphor and metonymy are the ones formulated by Antonio Barcelona and Zoltán Kövecses:

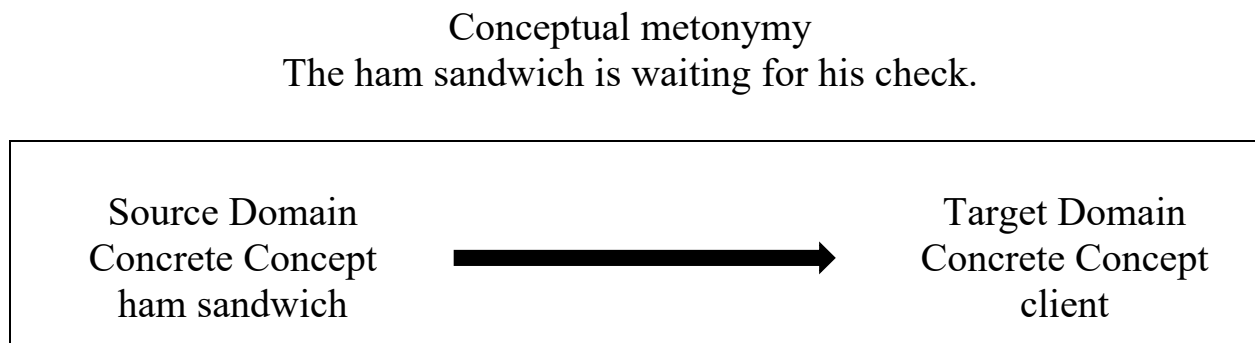
Metaphor is the cognitive mechanism whereby one experiential domain is partially ‘mapped’, i.e. projected, onto a different experiential domain, so that the second domain is partially understood in terms of the first one (Barcelona 2003: 3).

Metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual element or entity (thing, event, property), the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity (thing, event, property), the target, within the same frame, domain or idealized cognitive model (ICM). (Kövecses 2006: 99).

Conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies<sup>2</sup> share many similarities as far as the mechanism of conceptualization is concerned, but there are some significant differences. They both work through *source domains* and *target domains*, meaning that one concept is used to understand and express another concept. Moreover, in both cases this can occur only in one direction, meaning that a source domain is used to understand the target domain, but the opposite is practically impossible. Nevertheless, there are dissimilarities. While metaphors connect two domains, metonymies connect two concepts in the same domain. Also, in metaphors concrete concepts are used to structure abstract concepts, but metonymies are used only for reference. The above-mentioned information is visible in the following illustrations:



**Figure 1**



**Figure 2**

In Figure 1 we can see that the source domain is a concrete concept expressed by the word *money* and that the target domain is an abstract concept expressed by the word *time*. In other words, we use our knowledge of the concept of MONEY in order to understand TIME, but the opposite would be awkward. This trait of metaphors is also described by Ungerer and Schmid, who emphasize that it showcases how metaphors are not just

<sup>2</sup> From now on conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies will be referred to as metaphors and metonymies.

linguistic tools of language, but that they are an integral part of conceptualization because they allow us to understand the target domain (TIME) through the source domain (MONEY) (Ungerer and Schmid 2006: 4). In Figure 2 we can see that not only the source domain is a concrete concept but the target domain as well, highlighting the difference between metaphors and metonymies. In this example, the source domain (*ham sandwich*) is used to identify the target domain (*client*). Evans and Green attribute this difference to the dissimilar conceptual processes behind metaphors and metonymies. While metaphors depend on conceptual similarity, metonymies rely on conceptual proximity (Evans and Green 2006: 311-12).

Lakoff and Johnson identify three categories of metaphors: structural, orientational and ontological. For this paper I will concentrate on ontological metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson discuss ontological metaphors as the product of our experience with our own bodies and our interaction with the physical objects in the world. This experience then serves as the foundation for our ability to perceive “events, activities, emotions, ideas, etc., as entities and substances” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 25-26). In other words, ontological metaphors depict the basis of the conceptual system behind our understanding of language. Not only do we use our experience with the physical aspects of the world to structure language but we also need it in order to comprehend it. Without ontological metaphors, a plethora of examples of language would not make sense. One metaphor that will come up in the discussion section of this paper will be WORDS ARE OBJECTS. This is an ontological metaphor since we perceive a very abstract concept along the lines of our experience with a physical object. Words are treated as entities or substances and can thus be used in language metaphorically. If ontological metaphors were not a vital part of our conceptual system, expressions like “throwing insults at someone” would be incomprehensible. Lakoff and Johnson also point out that ontological metaphors are so entrenched in our conceptual system that they are almost undetectable. However, they are present and are used incessantly to refer to, categorize, group, and quantify our experience of events, actions, activities, and states as entities or substances (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 25-27). This undetectable nature of ontological metaphors proves to be the most interesting aspect of it since it makes identifying them more challenging.

Having provided definitions for both metaphor and metonymy, I now turn to the methods of identifying these phenomena in a short excerpt from Charles Dickens’ short story “Doctor Marigold”. For this, I have singled

out two previously proposed approaches that provide a good starting point for breaking down a short text. The first one, referred to as “metaphor identification procedure” (MIP), has been developed by the Pragglejaz Group. It involves the following steps:

1. Read the entire text–discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.

2. Determine the lexical units in the text–discourse

3. (a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.

(b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be:

- More concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste.
- Related to bodily action.
- More precise (as opposed to vague)
- Historically older.

Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.

(c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current–contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical. (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3)

The second one is a method that steps on the MIP approach and other alternatives and tries to use this foundation to create a reliable option for the identification of metonymy (Biernacka 2013: 117). This procedure involves the following:

1. Read the entire text to get a general understanding of the overall meaning.

2. Determine lexical units.

3. Decide on the metonymicity of each lexical unit:

a. For each lexical unit establish its contextual meaning – taking into account how it applies to an entity in the situation evoked by the text, as

well as co-text (i.e. the surrounding text; what is said before and after the examined expression). Take co-text into account.

b. For each lexical unit determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the meaning in the given context.

c. If the lexical unit has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, and the contextual and basic meanings are different, determine if they are connected by contiguity, defined as a relation of adjacency and closeness comprising not only spatial contact but also temporal proximity, causal relations and part whole relations.

4. If a connection is found in step 3c that is one of contiguity: check backwards and forwards to determine if any other lexical unit(s) belong(s) together semantically, thus determining the extent of the metonymy vehicle; and mark the lexical unit (or lexical units which belong together) as metonymy vehicle. (Biernacka 2013: 117)

As one can observe in the two methods outlined above, the processes of identifying metaphor and metonymy are quite similar and immediately create challenges to the issue of separation of the two phenomena. However, this will become more obvious once the results are presented. In addition to the two sets of procedures provided, it is of importance to mention that both require that there must be consistency in the search for the meaning of the lexical units. This means that only specific dictionaries should be used to determine the meaning of the words. This consistency of dictionaries ensures that whenever multiple people are involved in this process regarding the same text, there is no overlapping of definitions and results of analysis. For this reason, I have chosen to use the Oxford Learner's Dictionary (OD) and the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (MWD). I will rely mostly on OD since the text is of British origin, but in case of doubt MWD will be used as well. Moreover, while the proponents of the two methods do point out the importance of context in order to identify metaphor and metonymy, I believe that context in the approaches above is used in its general meaning. For reasons of clarity, I would like to offer a definition for context as well: “. . . a context is what is defined to be relevant in the social situation by the participants themselves” (Van Dijk 2009: 5). This definition, which is also included in research by Kövecses and Littlemore (2015 & 2015), aids in the process of identifying metaphor and metonymy in literature since it highlights the importance of context for both participants – in this case, the author and the reader who might be from different ages and cultures. In other words, the two methods treat context as simply the local environment of the words in the sentence –

what is before and/or what is after the potential metaphors or metonymies. The methods, however, do not take into consideration many other facets of context. Context includes much more than just the text itself. Context includes almost everything that is connected to the two participants and more. The background of the producer, in this case the writer, and the receiver, in this case the reader, regarding family, society, politics, etc., as well as language change are immediately highlighted as of higher importance than before. Additionally, there is one criticism that has been expressed by a number of scholars regarding the limitation to lexical units. Both the MIP and Biernacka's method treat a lexical unit as a single word. Biernacka's method includes the idea of combining the word with a previous or following one. Since metaphors and metonymies regularly occur in fixed phrases, it becomes rather counterproductive to analyze the lexical unit on its own (Littlemore 2015: 124). For this reason, whenever necessary, lexical units will be examined as a phrase in order to verify if there is metaphorical or metonymic meaning present. By phrase, I mean virtually any combination of words together, as long as this combination of words represents a meaning that would not be otherwise recognized as metaphorical or metonymic.

As discussed in the introduction of the paper, this attempt to identify metaphors and metonymies in a literary extract is performed in order to gain a better comprehension of the process of conceptualization and the understanding of a text; more specifically, what conceptualization is and what some of its foundations are. The idea of including literature in this process is not new and has been supported by scholars like Mark Turner, who brings up the point of the comprehensive ability of the reader of literature because of the consistency in the process of conceptualization: "The language of great writers does not differ in kind from the language of ordinary speakers. Shakespeare's contemporaries can appreciate his mastery exactly because he is using conceptual resources they use, and speaking a language they know" (Turner 1991: 13). I would like to add to this that not only Shakespeare's contemporaries were able to appreciate this mastery because of the same conceptual resources, but also the generations that followed. In other words, metaphors and metonymies are relatively stable in time, at least as far as we can track them down linguistically.

### **Discussion and Results**

In order to discuss specific metaphors and metonymies, I shall present the whole excerpt first:

Maybe those were harder words than I meant 'em; but from that time forth my wife took to brooding, and would sit in the cart or walk beside it, hours at a stretch, with her arms crossed, and her eyes looking on the ground. When her furies took her (which was rather seldomer than before) they took her in a new way, and she banged herself about to that extent that I was forced to hold her. She got none the better for a little drink now and then, and through some years I used to wonder, as I plodded along at the old horse's head, whether there was many carts upon the road that held so much dreariness as mine, for all my being looked up to as the King of the Cheap Jacks. So sad our lives went on till one summer evening, when, as we were coming into Exeter, out of the farther West of England, we saw a woman beating a child in a cruel manner, who screamed, "Don't beat me! O mother, mother, mother!" Then my wife stopped her ears, and ran away like a wild thing, and next day she was found in the river. (Dickens 2005)

The first instance of metaphorical usage that becomes apparent in the excerpt is “harder”. In OD, the meaning that is used in the excerpt is the seventh meaning provided for this adjective: “showing no kind feelings or sympathy” (OD). This metaphorical instance of the word “hard” could lead us to the metaphor WORDS ARE OBJECTS. Words are not concrete items, yet they are used in this way all the time. Other examples based on the same metaphor are the verbs “swallow” and “throw”. Both verbs can be used in connection to words and they are based once again on the metaphor WORDS ARE OBJECTS. For example, “I found their explanation *hard to swallow*”. In this case the fifth meaning of the verb “swallow” is used: “to accept that something is true; to believe something” (OD). In the same manner, “The mayor was surprised by the *insults thrown at them* by the citizens” has the same basis to Dickens’ example. Furthermore, there is another example that proves to be interesting in connection to this metaphor – “soft language”. Neither of the dictionaries has an entry that could justify the usage of “soft” and “language” together. Various sources on the Internet claim that it was the comedian George Carlin who coined the phrase. However, even though there is no definition per se in our dictionaries, I believe that no one would have any trouble understanding this term, and that is because of the ontological metaphor WORDS ARE OBJECTS. As discussed above, ontological metaphors

belong to the entrenched metaphors, which makes them harder to identify. All of these examples, together with the one present in the excerpt, support the notion that many aspects of language are readily understood because of the conceptualization process behind it. In this case, WORDS ARE OBJECTS makes it possible to comprehend “harder words” without a problem. This is also the main argument of Lakoff and Turner, who reason that any linguistic expression with metaphorical meaning in a literary text, be it simplistic or unique, has an underlying metaphor that allows it to be readily understood by essentially anyone (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 49-50). And this is the reason why the newly coined phrase by George Carlin is immediately understood.

The next illustration of metaphorical usage is visible not in a lexical unit by itself, but in a phrase. The phrase “took to brooding” presents a case of interest in the sense that it is an example of a verb that obtains a metaphorical meaning when combined with a preposition and that there is a combination of two metaphors. The first meaning provided by OD is “to go away to a place, especially to escape from danger”, but in the excerpt the second meaning “to begin to do something as a habit” is valid. The first meaning is based on the physical motion of X taking Y to Z. However, it then turns to X and Y becoming the same entity and gaining metaphorical meaning. To put it differently, one is “taking” themselves somewhere. Here one can observe the combined occurrence of metaphor and metonymy. “Take to” is used in the metaphorical way, since the wife does not go anywhere, but rather “goes” to an emotional state. In other words, the metaphor MENTAL AND EMOTIONAL STATES ARE LOCATIONS is present here. Moreover, “brooding” proves to be an interesting sample, since the second meaning in OD is “brood (something) if a bird broods, or broods its eggs, it sits on the eggs in order to hatch them (= make the young come out of them)”. Of course, in the text the first meaning “brood (over/on/about something) to think a lot about something that makes you annoyed, anxious or upset” is used, but this resembles the metonymy PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION. Nevertheless, the actual emotion felt by the wife character is melancholy and it becomes clear by the lack of activity from her side. As mentioned by the narrator, she spent most of her time brooding and nothing else. One very common result of deep sadness is the inability to continue with one’s usual routine. So, the combination of this phrase promotes the idea that the physiological effect, brooding, combined with the time spent on it stands for melancholy. In the steps mentioned above, whenever definitions are compared, the idea of conceptual



contiguity has to be considered, which appears to be true in this case. Even if not consciously noticed, one does understand the subtle connection between the two definitions because they are conceptually close. This subtle but effective process of conceptualization is pointed out by Littlemore: “Metonymy thus has the potential to be a more manipulative trope than metaphor, because it is more subtle and less likely to be noticed” (Littlemore 2015: 103-104).

The next example of metaphorical meaning can be spotted again in a phrase. If the word “stretch” is examined by itself, it would probably not be marked as metaphorical. However, “hours at a stretch” does provide another example of lexical units needing to be analyzed together. OD defines stretch as a “stretch (of something) an area of land or water, especially a long one”, but in this case the second meaning “a continuous period of time” is more appropriate. The recurring pattern of having to group lexical units together in order to pragmatically establish the nature of their meaning in context does validate the criticism towards the MIP approach mentioned above. Only if one considers the phrase together can the metaphor TIME IS A LINE be identified.

However, the most significant finding in the first sentence is located in the final words – “her arms crossed” and “her eyes looking on the ground” immediately stand out as perfect examples of metonymy. The second example is a clear instance of the metonymy with a metaphor basis in DOWN IS BAD. In this scene, Dickens needs no more than to mention the direction of her gaze for the reader to understand the emotional state of the character. This is only possible through the concept of the shared conceptualization process that every reader, and writer, has access to. Dickens could explain the miserable state of the wife with many words or a short explanation, but a metonymy proves enough. The same is true for the first example – “her arms crossed” is probably the most interesting example up to now, because it showcases something that has not really been targeted by CL in its literature yet; at least not directly in connection to literary research. The metonymic nature of gestures and their importance in literature becomes immediately apparent if one analyzes this example. This example can be identified as the PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION metonymy that has been discussed as the physiological manifestation of human emotions by Lakoff (Lakoff 1987: 382). Other instances of similar metonymies are *sagging shoulders* and *head held high*. Just like the previous example, instead of describing the wife’s emotional state of mind, Dickens simply mentions her body posture. This, as Littlemore has stated, proves more effective than

any lengthy or short explanation could ever be. By simply mentioning gestures, Dickens allows the reader to almost subconsciously comprehend the emotions of the wife – “her arms crossed” stands in for the emotion of sadness and the reader is able to accept this only because of common conceptualization.

The last comment brings back the argument of the importance of ontological metaphors. As seen in the WORDS ARE OBJECTS example in the excerpt, conceptualization, in the form of metaphors and metonymies, prove to be significant because of their accessibility by practically anyone. The same is true for the metonymic basis of gestures. Even if there are cultural differences between the languages and the people using them, the same process stands behind it. People understand gestures because they stand for something, just like metonymies. In this case, the “crossed arms” and the “eyes looking down” stand for the melancholy the wife is experiencing. Even if the “crossed arms” may have a variety of meanings regarding emotions, they are anchored in similar conceptualization processes.

The importance of gestures in literature has not been extensively investigated yet. Ungerer has pointed out the powerful influence gestures and physical movements can have in his research of metaphors and metonymies in advertising (Ungerer 2003: 322-23). He uses a lot of pictures to discuss this phenomenon. However, lack of pictures does not limit literature in this case, since the descriptive language and the constant clarity of the movement of the characters compensates for this rather effectively. Moreover, Francisco José Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez uses body movement and gestures to discuss the metonymic basis of metaphors once again supporting the importance of gestures in conceptualization (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez 2003: 121-123).

The second sentence, having a lot of repetition, provides us with less material to discuss, but there is one interesting case here nonetheless. By writing “the furies took her”, Dickens provides us with an example of the metaphor ANGER IS AN OPPONENT. The definition for “furies” is “extreme anger that often includes violent behaviour”. However, in combination with the verb “took”, this phrase immediately turns into an excellent paradigm for the metaphor in question. This metaphor has been discussed by George Lakoff and he has pointed out that one of the correspondences between the source (STRUGGLE) and the target (ANGER) is *losing is having anger control you* (Lakoff 1987: 392). In other words, anger, as your opponent, triumphs over you by gaining control. We can see this effect very clearly in this sentence, since the wife loses so much

control that her husband has to physically hold her so that she does not harm herself. Other examples of the metaphor ANGER IS AN OPPONENT are *their rage took control of them* and *she surrendered to her wrath*. Of course, there is also the hint of a reference to the ancient Greek goddesses that punished people for their crimes, but this wordplay does not really influence the metaphor behind the phrase that we are discussing. Though one could argue that there is a connection between this and the personification of emotions aspect in connection to conceptualization.

By this point it has become evident that the methods mentioned above do not really apply when it comes to metaphors and metonymies. The methods might help identify figurative language, but regarding the focus of this paper, looking at every single word is unnecessary. For the third sentence, only the words and phrases that are deemed to be metaphors or metonymies will be discussed. The phrase “held so much dreariness” is an example of EMOTIONS ARE SUBSTANCES/OBJECTS. In this case, to physically hold an emotion like dreariness is impossible, but we do understand without difficulty what is meant here. Other examples of the same metaphor would be *we had mixed feelings when we saw the announcement* and *I go dancing when I have the blues*. In all of these examples emotions are treated as items to be had or not, which would be impossible to comprehend if the metaphor EMOTIONS ARE SUBSTANCES/OBJECTS was not the basis of them.

In the third sentence one can also find an example of a metonymy in the word “cars”. This is an instance of the POSSESSED FOR POSSESSOR metonymy. In this context, the word “cars” is used to refer to the people who own them. Once again, we have a conceptualization sample that is so entrenched that we would probably not think of it as such, but after some thought it becomes obvious. The “cars” cannot “hold dreariness” but the people that they belong to can. Other instances of this metonymy are *I want to marry money* and *the BMW gave the lowest tip*.

In the fifth sentence, after having looked at every word separately once again, only one instance of non-literal language becomes a point of interest. In the sentence there is a metonymy within metaphor. In this case, “stopped her ears” is an ATTENTION IS A MOVING PHYSICAL ENTITY metaphor and the ears act as the metonymy EAR FOR ATTENTION in it. The wife attempts to turn her attention to something else, but finds herself unable to do so. This is why she tries to “stop her ears”. The reader is able to immediately recognize the meaning behind these words because of the conceptualization process behind it. This example is an excellent illustration of how entrenched both metaphors and

metonymies are, since we see both of them in action. Goossens offers another example of a metonymy within metaphor that we use to better understand it: *She caught the Prime Minister's ear and persuaded him to accept her plan* (Cited in Evans and Green 2006: 320). Other instances with the same metonymy are *lend me your ear* and *keep one's ears open*. In all of these examples one can observe how attention is indeed treated as a physical entity that has to be “stopped”, “caught”, “lent”, etc. This is another illustration of the importance of ontological metaphors, since once more we see how our experience of the world guides us to conceive abstract concepts as physical concepts. Moreover, the role a metonymy can play also becomes apparent in our last sentence. Only because of this conceptualization of the world can we access the meaning of the phrase in the last sentence of the excerpt and all the other examples.

### **Conclusion**

The role of ontological metaphors and how they function have been presented in the theoretical part, but more so in the discussion later in the text. Two established methods of identification of metaphors and metonymies have been presented, but their shortcomings and drawbacks when it comes to identifying samples of metaphors and metonymies have been highlighted in the theory and in the analysis of the excerpt by Dickens. Examples of metaphors and metonymies such as WORDS ARE OBJECTS and POSSESSED FOR POSSESSOR have been singled out. It has become clear that more focus on combinations of words and phrases and the context of the literary work as a whole is needed. Furthermore, the significance of gestures in texts and their metonymic value have been pointed out. The merits of understanding conceptualization and the emerging metaphors and metonymies, and how literary texts are grounded in them, become apparent. While George Lakoff and Mark Turner turned their focus only to poetry, one can argue that any piece of literature can benefit from understanding the cognitive capabilities used by people when they experience language. Understanding the conceptualization process present in the writer's mind, in this case Dickens, and the reader's mind is of vital importance, since it only adds to the reading experience of any literary work and the meaning lurking beyond it.

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## ПОСЛЕДОВАТЕЛНОСТТА ОТ РЕПЛИКИ В ТЕЛЕВИЗИОННОТО ИНТЕРВЮ

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## THE SEQUENCE AND STRUCTURE OF RETORTS IN TV INTERVIEWS

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This paper explores the process of communicative exchange in television interviews. The analysis is based on transcribed material from the Spanish Late night TV show *Late Motiv*, hosted by Andreu Buenafuente. The object of study is the usage of pragmatic strategies in the guests' answers. Interviewees resort to different devices and tactics to model and redirect the conversation. The analysis takes place in the context of recent advances in pragmatic theory and conversational analysis, while also taking into account some specific characteristics of the television programme.

**Key words:** pragmatic strategies, conversation analysis, adjacency pairs, speech acts

В настоящата статия се изследва процесът на обмен на реплики в телевизионното интервю. Анализът се осъществява въз основа на транскрибиран материал от испанското предаване *Late Motiv* с водещ Андреу Буенафуенте. Цел на изследването е да се открие как водещ и гост комуникират помежду си и как реагират един на друг в интервютата, като основният акцент е върху това как интервюиращите структурират своите отговори, за да управляват и пренасочват разговора. Възщност, когато говорим за последователност, поддържаеме идеята на конверзационния анализ, че репликите в общуването не са просто последователно подредени, тоест идват една след друга, а те имат ло-

гическа последователност. В общуването ответната реплика показва на говорещия как събеседникът интерпретира изказването му чрез вербална или невербална реакция (Хътчби, Уофит 1998). Едно от основните понятия в конверзационния анализ е диалогичното единство (вж. по въпроса Шеглоф 2007). Това са две изказвания, които са тясно свързани и взаимнозависими, като например речевите актове *въпрос/отговор*, *поздрав/поздрав*, *обвинение/извинение* и др. (Адамс 1981: 73). В настоящата статия обект на изследване е диалогичното единство въпрос/отговор, като фокусът е върху стратегиите, които прилагат гостите в своите отговори.

Отговорите на въпросите зависят до голяма степен от това как е зададен въпросът и какъв тип информация се търси: дали водещият търси обективна информация, мнението на госта по дадена тема, или се стреми към постигане на съгласие. В зависимост от типа въпрос отговорът може да бъде формулиран и структуриран с помощта на различни комуникативни стратегии: чрез директна и прозрачна комуникация, забавяне на отговора, завоалиран отказ и др. Тези стратегии играят важна роля за структурирането на репликите в текста. Последователността от *въпрос/отговор* не се ограничава до обмен от две изказвания, тъй като ответната реплика не винаги задоволява очакванията на говорещия и се налага събеседникът да бъде подтикнат да добави допълнителна информация, което води до „обмен от три реплики или верига от диалогични единства“ (Тсуи 1989: 547). При анализирането на примерите от телевизионното интервю не бива да забравяме и медийния характер на предаването, чиято основна цел е получаването на информация от гостите. В телевизионното интервю винаги интервюиращият е този, който води разговора, който поставя и сменя темата, контролира посоката на разговора. Мая Василева нарича телевизионния водещ „двигател за творчески процеси във вечерното токшоу“, тъй като неговите качества и умения са важни за успешното създаване на естествена обстановка за дискусии на емоционални и понякога провокативни теми (Василева 2021: 65). Все пак се наблюдават и случаи, в които гостът успешно пренасочва комуникацията в желаната от него посока.

В по-нататъшното изложение ще се спрем на видовете реакция в зависимост от типа на въпроса. Така например при задаването на въпроси, ориентирани към конкретна информация, гостите обикновено отговарят директно. Тук е важно да отбележим, че в телевизионно предаване участието на гостите е доброволно и те са готови да отговарят на въпроси по конкретни теми. Телевизионното предаване (вж.



Василева 2021) дава среда, в която гостите имат възможност да представят своите лични и професионални качества, да споделят информация за най-новите си проекти, поради това в някои случаи могат да използват стратегии за забавяне на отговора, които им позволяват да го формулират по-добре. Това се наблюдава в следващия пример от интервюто с испанската щангистка Лидия Валентин.<sup>1</sup>

1) *AB: ¿Cómo se, cómo se emociona una con una medalla 10 años después?*

*LV: Es complicado.*

*AB: Sí, sí, sí.*

*LV: Es complicado, la emoción. Pero sí que es. Realmente yo sentí este martes cuando se me entregó en el comité olímpico español...*

*AB: Sí.*

*LV: ...esa emoción. Está claro que me privaron in situ de ese sentimiento, de esa emoción compartida. Pero bueno, al final me la hicieron vivir esta semana y estoy contenta, estoy feliz, con muchas ganas de que se me entregue la de Londres también. (...)*

В този пример водещият задава частен въпрос, с който апелира към емоционалното състояние на госта в конкретната ситуация, която е тема на разговор. Лидия Валентин в началото забавя отговора си, като посочва, че е сложно за обяснение, и така се опитва да спечели време да събере мислите си и да ги формулира по-точно. Водещият на предаването прекъсва гостенката два пъти с репликата „Sí“, като с това цели да покаже внимание и заинтересованост, а не да вземе думата. В крайна сметка гостенката отговаря на поставения въпрос и дава подробни обяснения за своите преживявания и емоции.

Горепосоченият пример за забавяне на отговора не е свързан с нежеланието на госта да предостави търсената информация, а по-скоро с търсенето на по-адекватна формулировка. Често водещият задава допълнителни въпроси, за да улесни и насочи госта към желаната информация, а също така да му даде повече време. Това се наблюдава в следващия пример от интервюто с актьора Педро Алонсо<sup>2</sup>.

2) *AB: ¿Ya se te dan bien estos cueros, estos malos con recodos?*

*PA: Es que soy muy asqueroso. (Se ríe).*

*AB: ¿No te da rabia? A mí me parece que eres un buen tipo, te acabo de conocer, nos hemos hablado buen ratito de camino y no sé, uno*

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<sup>1</sup> Цитираният пример е от интервюто с Лидия Валентин от 19.01.2018 г.

<sup>2</sup> Цитираният пример е от интервюто с Педро Алонсо от 5.12.2019 г.

*empieza a tener medio ojo para esto. Pero me parece que eres un tío con ganas de vivir y que eres un disfrutón y...*

*PA: Sí.*

*AB: ...en cambio se te han etiquetado allí, ¿eh?*

*PA: Sí, mira, cuando me cambió digamos el perfil de casting, yo venía de hacer un personaje que era como Chanquete y Tintín en una serie en la televisión autonómica gallega, que era un cuento en clave de comedia.*

*AB: Anda.*

*PA: Eso fue como yo empecé a hacer personajes más adultos. Inmediatamente después hice un personaje en Gran Hotel, una serie que me metió en personajes más maduros y turbios. (...)*

В указания пример актьорът отговаря незадоволително на първоначално зададения въпрос и това налага Буенафуенте да допълни въпроса си с уточняваща реплика, в която запознава госта с мнението си, като по този начин го предразполага и стимулира. С репликата „Sí“ се вижда, че гостът го прекъсва и започва да формулира отговора си, но Буенафуенте довършва своята мисъл, като изказва конкретното си мнение и търси потвърждение от страна на госта. Педро Алонсо от своя страна изразява съгласие, като обяснява, че е започнал да играе характерните персонажи на антигерои и злодеи по стечение на обстоятелствата. В този случай водещ и гост се прекъсват взаимно, водени от желанието за комуникативно сътрудничество и взаимодействие.

Според Венера Димитрова (Димитрова, В. 2020) прекъсванията могат да бъдат от кооперативен и некооперативен тип. Прекъсванията от кооперативен тип попълват пропуски в разговора и могат да покажат загриженост и интерес, а некооперативните прекъсвания са конфронтационни, свързват се обикновено с нарушаването на принципа на учтивост и принципа на сътрудничество, тъй като може да се приемат като израз на неуважение, на липса на учтивост и на незачитане на мнението на събеседника. С тях най-често говорещият се опитва да смени темата и да изкаже своето субективно отношение, което най-често е различно от това на събеседника. В указания по-горе пример обаче двамата участници се прекъсват, водени от желанието да уточнят и развият темата на разговора и да осъществят по-пълноценно комуникативните си намерения.

В следващия пример водещият разговаря с аржентинския актьор Чино Дарин<sup>3</sup>. В този пример Андреу Буенафуенте въвежда те-

<sup>3</sup> Цитираният пример е от интервюто с Чино Дарин от 1.12.2017 г.

мата на интервюто, като представя твърдение, което се нуждае от потвърждение.

3) *AB: Y ese va a ser el hombre que va a probar todo, ¿no?*

*CD: Está mal. Ese es una especie de cobaya humana que tenemos en el programa que lo sometemos a...*

*AB: Él sabe, ¿no? Sabe que trabaja de eso, ¿no?*

*CD: Bueno, creo que lo hizo a conciencia. Habrá firmado un contrato y lo sometimos, sí, a un montón de cosas.*

Тук отново се среща прекъсване от кооперативен тип, тъй като, докато Чино Дарин отговаря, Буенафуенте го прекъсва, като му задава уточняващи въпроси, с които се търси изясняването на специфичен аспект от коментара му. Отговорът на актьора е именно потвърждение на предположението на водещия.

В някои случаи уточняващите въпроси на Андреу Буенафуенте създават ситуация, в която гостът има избор и може да си позволи да отговори само на един от тях. Това е продиктувано, от една страна, от желанието за избягване на отговор, а от друга, може да се разглежда като стратегия за забавяне на ответната реакция. Пример за това е последователността от реплики с актрисата Конча Веласко<sup>4</sup>, която избира да отговори само на общия въпрос.

4) *AB: ¿Hasta cuando vas a trabajar? ¿Ya lo has decidido?*

*CV: Pues sí. Sí. Sí. (Se ríe).*

*AB: ¿Y qué has decidido, Concha?*

*CV: A mí me gusta llegar, si no encuentro a un señor, rico, mayor y potente que me lleve en alfombra mágica por el mundo, me parece que voy a tener que trabajar hasta que me muera.*

Обикновено се очаква участниците в общуването да сътрудничат и да реагират на зададените въпроси, но понякога гостите се опитват да бъдат уклончиви (вж. по въпроса Клейман 2001). В тези ситуации ролята на интервюиращия е много важна, защото той може да насочи разговора в желаната посока. В цитирания пример, след като не получава търсения отговор, водещият на предаването задава допълнителен въпрос, с който препраща към първоначално зададения частен въпрос „Докога ще работиш?“. С репликата „И какво си решила, Конча?“ настоява за отговор, който получава, защото не позволява на интервюираната да избегне темата на разговора.

При задаването на въпроси, с които се търси конкретна информация, рядко се наблюдават случаи, в които гостите не могат да отго-

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<sup>4</sup> Цитираният пример е от интервюто с Конча Веласко от 20.09.2017 г.

ворят, тъй като темите на предаването са предварително уточнени. Но понякога гостите са затруднени да отговорят веднага. Интересно е да се проследи как гостите се справят в такива ситуации. Ето пример от интервюто с актьора Алекс Брендемюл<sup>5</sup> (съкратено ABR).

5) AB: *¿Y en qué idiomas sueñas, por ejemplo?*

ABR: *Eso es, eso es un tema que no he resuelto aún. No sé, no lo sé.*

AB: *¿No sueñas?*

ABR: *No sueño, para evitar el problema.*

AB: *¿Has llegado a decir que igual si estás practicando, haciendo una peli en inglés, puede ser que esa noche el sueño sea en inglés?*

ABR: *Sí, me pasa cuando me esfuerzo mucho por hablar un idioma. Porque tengo que interpretar un personaje en ese idioma, acabo hablando conmigo mismo en ese idioma, si es en francés, en inglés o en vasco.*

В този пример водещият пита за нещо, което Алекс Брендемюл осмисля в процеса на разговора, като се оправдава, че няма готов отговор на този въпрос. Андреу Буенафуенте обаче не се отказва и представя хипотетична ситуация, с която се опитва да му даде допълнителна насока, за да го улесни. В крайна сметка гостът се съгласява с твърдението на водещия и дава релевантен отговор, който съдържа достатъчно информация.

Нека разгледаме още един пример от интервюто със същия актьор:

б) AB: *A mí me parece que, me da esa sensación, te conozco poco, pero que te tomas muy en serio, ¿no? Como el oficio que es, ¿no?*

ABR: *Sí, no. Yo creo como todos. Tantos actores que no están trabajando, que igual no tienen la suerte de estar trabajando y que se lo tomarían igual, igual de en serio, ¿no? Yo creo que conforme va pasando el tiempo y cuando ya tengo más trayectoria me lo tomo más en serio. Yo creo que cada vez es como que asumes más, no sé por qué, no es consciente, pero asumes más responsabilidad en lo que haces.*

Формулировката на въпроса е свързана с известна степен на несигурност от страна на Буенафуенте и е ориентирана към потвърждение от страна на госта. Такъв тип въпроси Стефана Димитрова нарича „демагогически въпроси, в които говорещият проявява мнима осведоменост, за да получи точно сведение за нещо“ (Димитрова, С. 1999: 68). На пръв поглед отговорът „Sí, no“ може да изглежда противоречив, но той изразява първоначалното съгласие, а после уточнение, че твърдението на водещия се отнася не само за него, но и за всички ак-

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<sup>5</sup> Цитираният пример е от интервюто с Алекс Брендемюл от 28.06.2017 г.

тъори. Интервюираният признава сериозността на актьорската професия и обяснява, че много актьори, независимо дали работят, или не, се отнасят към нея отговорно.

Въпросите, при които се търси мнението на събеседника, често включват като стимул мнението на самия интервюиращ. В подобни ситуации невинаги е налице съгласие и съвпадение на мнението на събеседниците. В този случай е интересно да се анализират стратегиите, които използват гостите, за да изразят несъгласието си. Ще разгледаме още един пример от интервюто с аржентинския актьор Чино Дарин<sup>6</sup>, в което той по много умел начин показва, че не подкрепя изцяло убеждението на Буенафуенте по темата.

7) *AB: Ya. ¿Y tú crees que la gente va ganando conciencia poco a poco? Yo creo que sí, pero...*

*CD: Me gusta pensar que sí, pero no estoy, no estoy muy seguro. Y un poco a eso viene el programa. Me parece que es una especie de tire y afloje entre ganar conciencia y sucumbir a las tentaciones de las cosas que se van creando. Uno va a cualquier sitio a comprar cosas y predominan los alimentos precocinados, procesados, precongelados.*

*AB: Sí, sí.*

*CD: Y de alguna forma uno tiende a ir a lo más fácil de esta industria. Estamos acostumbrados. Antiguamente cazábamos, recolectábamos. Hoy en día no lo hacemos.*

*AB: Ya, ya, ya. Oye, por cierto, en Argentina sois también de comer bien, ¿eh?*

Андреу Буенафуенте задава въпрос, който директно търси мнението на госта, но едновременно с това с репликата си „Yo creo que sí“ той отразява собственото си мнение и желанието да провери дали гостът е съгласен с него. Според Лийч в общуването, когато говорещият изразява своите убеждения, по-често срещана стратегия е събеседникът да се съгласи, отколкото да отхвърли твърдението (Лийч 2014). В цитирания пример Чино Дарин изразява своето мнение по-предпазливо и подкрепя отговора си с допълнителни обяснения, с които се опитва да защити гледната си точка, която не съвпада с тази на водещия. В последната реплика на интервюиращия виждаме, че той приема отговора за задоволителен и сменя темата.

Процесът на обмен на реплики в телевизионното интервю е сложно и динамично взаимодействие на комуникативни стратегии между водещ и гост. Анализът на диалогичното единство въп-

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<sup>6</sup> Цитираният пример е от същото интервю с Чино Дарин от 1.12.2017 г.

рос/отговор в телевизионното интервю показва, че естеството и начинът на задаване на въпроса обуславят до голяма степен съответната реакция. Въпросите могат да бъдат ориентирани към търсенето на обективна информация, към субективна рационална или емоционална оценка от страна на събеседника, към разяснение, постигане на съгласие и други. При търсенето на конкретна информация гостите най-често отговарят директно. Понякога сменят темата на разговора, когато предпочитат да не отговорят, а в някои ситуации те забавят отговора си, водени от желанието да намерят по-адекватна формулировка. Поради естеството на разговора рядко се наблюдават ситуации, в които интервюираните не отговарят на въпросите на водещия, тъй като темите на предаването са предварително уточнени. В подобни ситуации гостите отговарят частично на въпросите или се опитват да дадат по-общ отговор. Стратегиите, използвани от гостите, играят ключова роля в управлението, а понякога и в пренасочването на разговора, но водещият е този, който контролира диалога, като връща или сменя темата на разговора. Прекъсванията също са важна част от структурирането на обмяна от реплики поради това, че отразяват естествения характер на интервюто като жанр. Те могат да бъдат от кооперативен и некооперативен тип, като в телевизионното интервю по-често те са кооперативни, което се дължи на желанието на участниците в разговора да осъществят попълноценно комуникативните си намерения. Контекстът, експлицитен и имплицитен, определя в известна степен структурирането на диалогичното единство и последователността от репликите в диалога, тъй като в телевизионното интервю се предполага, че темите на разговор се определят предварително. Динамичният характер на разговора, в който водещ и гост си партнират в диалога, допринася за генерирането на последователности от реплики и илюстрира употребата на различни стратегии с цел поддържане на комуникативното сътрудничество.

Представеното изследване дава възможност за по-задълбочено осмисляне на начина, по който водещ и гост общуват, реагират един на друг и използват различни стратегии за управление и пренасочване на разговора. Тъй като в рамките на една статия е невъзможно да бъдат включени и анализирани всички стратегии за осъществяване на комуникативните намерения на участниците в телевизионното интервю, вниманието се фокусира главно върху модели, ориентирани към взаимодействието на субективната и обективната част на репликите, към съотношението на имплицитната и експлицитната информация в диалогичния текст, с което се отваря допълнително поле за бъдещи изследвания.

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## ЕЛЕКТРОННИ ИЗТОЧНИЦИ

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## EL SIGNIFICADO CONNOTATIVO DE LAS UNIDADES FRASEOLÓGICAS Y LA TRADUCCIÓN

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## THE CONNOTATIVE MEANING OF PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS AND TRANSLATION

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The provided text discusses the translation of colloquial, vulgar and historical-cultural expressions in literary works, specifically focusing on three novels penned by the Spanish writer Arturo Pérez-Reverte. The analysis emphasizes the importance of conveying connotative values and secondary meanings present in phraseological units (UFs). The conclusion underscores the positive practice of translators who go beyond conventional meaning of the UFs, seeking equivalents that capture the nuances and stylistic elements of the original language. It suggests that the successful transmission of connotative meanings is a crucial criterion for a translation to be considered comprehensive and satisfactory.

**Key words:** Pérez-Reverte, phraseology, idioms, translation

La fraseología moderna suele contemplar las unidades fraseológicas (UFs) desde dos enfoques: uno amplio y otro estrecho. El planteamiento del significado fraseológico, como un rasgo constitutivo de la UF o como una característica no discreta, es una de las discrepancias entre las dos concepciones de la fraseología (Corpas Pastor 2001: 15). Para los lingüistas partidarios del concepto estrecho, el significado fraseológico es un rasgo constitutivo de las unidades fraseológicas y por ende ellos acogen en el campo de la fraseología sólo las combinaciones estables, que conllevan un significado unitario, idiomático, que realiza una nominación de segundo



rango. Para estos estudiosos, las UFs surgen a base de un proceso metafórico, más opaco o más transparente en la lectura sincrónica, y su fin es crear fórmulas expresivas y emotivas y revelar la actitud valorativa del hablante con respecto a parcelas de la realidad concreta o abstracta del mundo extralingüístico. Esta visión se comparte por buena parte de los investigadores búlgaros (Kyuvlieva-Mishaykova 1986: 15; Nícheva 1989: 19; Kaldieva-Zaharieva 2005: 34; Vatev 2015: 289; Boyadjiev 2022: 307). Los adeptos de la tendencia ancha incluyen en el campo de la fraseología todas las combinaciones estables: las que incorporan un significado que no se desprende del significado recto de sus elementos constituyentes y cuyo papel comunicativo resulta de segundo orden, y también las que presentan un significado literal y desempeñan una función únicamente denominativa del tipo *en público, de ida y vuelta, en resumen*, etc. Una lista extensa de los estudiosos de la concepción ancha hace García Page (2008: 27). Sin embargo, estos investigadores de la fraseología también tienden a destacar la capacidad de las UFs de añadir matices emocionales y expresivos al significado denotativo, generando así un rico tejido de significados de valores secundarios. Los valores secundarios son los que convierten las UFs en miembros marcados con respecto a palabras y frases con las que guardan relaciones sinonímicas. Vúcheva (2008: 97) subraya que la diferencia entre sinónimos como *ser tonto de remate = ser muy tonto, faltarle a alguien un tornillo = estar loco*, etc., está en el espesor del sentido: el de las UFs es mucho más saturado, creando una imagen lingüística impregnada de muy variadas connotaciones.

Corpas Pastor (1996: 125 – 131) destaca cuatro grandes grupos de connotaciones de las locuciones: connotaciones estilísticas, pertenecientes a diferentes registros de la lengua; connotaciones geográfico-sociales que indican diferencias diatópicas o presentan fijación en grupos específicos; connotaciones histórico-culturales, motivadas por acontecimientos históricos, aspectos culturales, citas, anécdotas, topónimos; connotaciones expresivas que revelan el enfoque emocional del hablante hacia el objeto de la comunicación y los participantes en la misma y constituyen convenciones sociales de uso.

En la literatura, como apunta Kyuvlieva-Mishaykova (1986: 50 – 51), es propio el uso de las UFs en diálogos, donde se convierten en un recurso potente para diseñar el perfil de los personajes, pero también pueden formar parte del discurso del autor, puesto que con su cercanía a la lengua familiar, las UFs son buscadas por los autores para recrear el ámbito en el que viven tales personajes.

La investigadora de la Universidad de Alicante L. Timofeeva (2008: 330) señala que la traductología y la fraseología bilingüe tradicional fundamentaron sus planteamientos casi exclusivamente en el parámetro denotativo del significado fraseológico y destaca la propuesta de Kopylenko y Popova, que deja claro que el parámetro connotativo es inherente a aquel, por lo que cualquier comparación interlingüística debe tener en cuenta, y de manera igualatoria, tanto el parámetro denotativo como el connotativo. Considerando esta opinión oportuna y muy recomendable, analizaremos desde el prisma del significado connotativo la transposición del español al búlgaro de ciertas locuciones.

Los ejemplos son extraídos de tres novelas de Arturo Pérez-Reverte: *La carta esférica*, *La Reina del Sur* y *Falcó*. En la monografía *Pérez-Reverte: el estilo de un autor de nuestros siglos* Milton M. Azevedo (2016: 19) destaca que unas de las características del estilo del novelista y periodista español es el empleo del lenguaje coloquial y la representación de la oralidad, que abarca acentos forasteros, hablas regionales y sociolectos. Como la esfera natural de las locuciones es el discurso informal (Boyadzhiev 2022: 317), el rasgo del lenguaje revertiano del que habla Azevedo resulta acuñado, en gran medida, por el uso de buen número de UFs. La abundancia de UFs en las obras de Pérez-Reverte viene corroborada por Jaime Lorén (2016), que proporciona una lista de 192 refranes y locuciones encontrados en la novela *Hombres buenos*, y generaliza que la obra de Pérez-Reverte incluye un importante número de estas unidades lingüísticas, un recurso que viene de la antigua tradición española practicada en el Siglo de Oro.

### **1. Traducción de locuciones de connotación coloquial**

Presentaremos dos cortos diálogos de la novela *Falcó*, entre el protagonista, que es un agente de los servicios de la inteligencia, y el Almirante, su jefe, persona sin escrúpulos y sin pelos en la lengua, cuyo discurso está cargado de locuciones. En el primer fragmento el protagonista se da cuenta de que demasiada gente está enterada de su futura misión secreta y pide explicaciones a su jefe, y el Almirante le contesta a su típica manera:

–¿Eso incluye también al otro bando?

–Basta –lo miró con severidad–. No me hagas numeritos de rufián ofendido. Sabes cómo funciona todo esto, con todo el mundo metiéndose la cuchara en la sopa. (*Falcó* 2016: 78)

– Това включва ли и някои от другия лагер?

– Стига – погледна го строго. – Не ми се прави на ошипана госпожица. Знаеш как стават тия работи, всички си врат гагата в чуждата паница. (Фалко 2017: 83)

En la réplica del Almirante aparecen dos locuciones. La primera es *hacer numeritos* con el significado ‘realizar una acción escandalosa o inconveniente’ (DFDEA), de registro coloquial, según el mismo diccionario, y ampliada con *de rufián ofendido*. La segunda es *meter (la) cuchara* con el significado de ‘introducirse en una conversación o en un asunto ajenos’ (DFDEA), estipulada como coloquial también, y ampliada de nuevo en el texto con *en la sopa*.

La traducción, muy acertadamente, ofrece dos equivalentes fraseológicos, que logran transmitir los significados connotativos: el registro familiar del Almirante y la expresividad de su habla que manifiestan la forma de tratar sin contemplaciones al agente, en la primera ocasión, y la actitud desaprobadora hacia los demás interesados en la misión, en la segunda. En la traducción de la primera UF la ampliación *de rufián ofendido* se ha introducido en la UF búlgara (tr. lit. no te hagas de señorita pellizcada). En cuanto a la ampliación de la segunda UF *en la sopa*, la traducción ha conseguido reflejarla con la muy adecuada (tr. lit. en el plato ajeno), que presenta parte de otra UF búlgara (tr. lit. miro en el plato ajeno).

El siguiente ejemplo lo representa una frase que se ubica a caballo entre las locuciones oracionales y las fórmulas rutinarias: *Más te vale*. El fragmento corresponde a un momento, en el que el Almirante no está precisamente de buen humor y lo exterioriza claramente en la conversación con su subordinado.

–Cierra esa boca estúpida. No te metas en lo que no entiendes.

–A la orden.

–Pues, sí, coño, a la orden... Más te vale. (Falcó 2016: 236 – 237)

– Затваряй си тъпата уста. Не се бъркай в това, което не разбираш.

– Тъй вярно.

– Точно така, по дяволите, тъй вярно... Иначе лошо ти се пише. (Фалко 2017: 248 – 249)

El significado de *Más te vale*, en general, no es ningún reto para la traducción, ya que se trata de una frase de uso relativamente frecuente, cuyo significado es ‘*especie de consejo, a veces teñido de amenaza, que se dice a alguien cuando acepta hacer lo que se le manda, o cuando comunica que va a hacer algo. Viene a ser algo como “es mejor para ti”*’(DDFH). Sin

embargo, aunque la comprensión es fácil, no es tarea sencilla plasmar la frase en búlgaro. Una variante posible sería transmitir el significado con el sinónimo “*es mejor para ti*”, con las pérdidas incluidas del registro coloquial y sobre todo de la tonalidad amenazante. En la traducción de la novela se ha optado por una frase mucho más apropiada para la oralidad del personaje, que, además consigue dejar patente la chispa de intimidación: *Иначе лошо ти се пише* (tr. lit. De lo contrario, se te escribe mal).

## **2. Traducción de locuciones de connotación vulgar**

La traducción de las expresiones argóticas y de los vulgarismos está poco estudiada en la traducción al búlgaro. U. Eco (Karapetkova 2016: 50), basándose en las traducciones de sus obras, concluye que las diferentes lenguas abordan la traducción de palabras soeces y vulgarismos de forma diferente, presentando muy variados niveles de atrevimiento. En cuanto a la lengua búlgara, la gran traductora Bozhilova (cf. Karapetkova 2016: 51) comenta que la lengua coloquial se ha integrado muy tarde en la literatura búlgara, lo que supondría un difícil camino de la implantación de las UFs coloquiales, y sobre todo de las vulgares, en la traducción. Las UFs de connotación vulgar se abren paso arduamente incluso en los diccionarios. Nícheva (1993: 19) señala que ha incluido en su *Nuevo diccionario fraseológicos de la lengua búlgara* (1993) algunas UFs vulgares que no tuvieron cabida en el *Diccionario fraseológico de la lengua búlgara* (1974) por el rechazo de las otras autoras de introducir tales unidades en el primer diccionario fraseológico de la lengua búlgara. Nícheva (1993: 19) apunta que las UFs vulgares son de imágenes vivas, son unidades impactantes y muy expresivas. Sin embargo, la fraseóloga búlgara subraya que algunas de ellas no se perciben como vulgares, puesto que, debido a su uso frecuente, los componentes vulgares pierden por completo la semántica originaria original. La incorporación tardía de la lengua coloquial, y respectivamente vulgar, en la literatura búlgara, por una parte, y, por otra, la doble faceta de los vulgarismos, funcionando algunos como expresiones del más bajo nivel de la lengua, y otros situándose más cerca al nivel informal, convierten su traducción en una labor complicada. Nénkova (2014: 92 – 97) demuestra con ejemplos la praxis traductora del español al búlgaro en verter las expresiones socialmente inconvenientes a través de eufemismos o expresiones menos chocantes.

A continuación, brindaremos ejemplos que evidencian una actitud traductora más cercana a la interpretación vulgar, y otra, más próxima a la lengua familiar. En la novela *La carta esférica* el protagonista Coy, un

marino que se ha quedado sin trabajo, resulta involucrado en la búsqueda del tesoro de *Dei Gloria*, un barco desaparecido hace siglos en la mar. En el complicado puzzle de peligrosas intrigas, turbios personajes y apetitosos intereses, el leal y sencillo marino a veces rompe con su postura apacible y llega a ser violento. En un momento, en el que a Coy se le insinúa una buena compensación a cambio de espiar a la mujer de la que está enamorado, los vulgarismos le salen de estampida.

–Váyase a tomar por el culo.

–¿Perdón?

[...]

–Lo que he dicho. Sodomizar. Porculizar. Romperle el ojete. ¿Me explico? (*La carta esférica* 2000: 156)

– Да ви го начукат отзад.

– Моля?

[...]

– Казах ви. Содомия. Отзад. Да ви го начукат, там дето слънце не грее. Ясен ли съм? (*Морската карта* 2002: 157)

La locución *tomar por el culo* [alguien] ‘vulg realizar la cópula anal como sujeto pasivo’ (DFDEA) está representada con el equivalente del mismo registro en búlgaro. La traducción de *romper el ojete* [a alguien], variante de la locución romper/partir el culo, *vulg* ‘sodomizar’ (DFDEA), también se sitúa en el mismo nivel vulgar del búlgaro. La elección de la traductora de mantener el registro vulgar está arropada por partida doble: la connotación de la locución a nivel convencional y la rabia y la negación de Coy de convertirse en mera ficha de cambio en el juego sucio de su interlocutor.

El siguiente ejemplo es de la novela *La Reina de Sur*, ambientada en el mundo del tráfico de drogas. El discurso de la mayoría de los personajes abunda de palabras y locuciones de tono vulgar, característicos de su argot de contrabandistas. Citaremos un trozo de una conversación en la que los transportistas de drogas negocian las condiciones de una operación, y quien va a arriesgar su vida navegando con la droga, no está de acuerdo con las normas que intentan imponerle sus “compañeros”.

–Esta carga es importante.

–Para mí todas lo son, mientras las paguen. Y no estoy acostumbrado a que me digan cómo tengo que trabajar.

- Las normas son las normas.
- No vengáis *dando por culo* con las normas. Este es un mercado libre, y yo tengo mis propias normas.
- [...]
- Los llanitos no ponen tantas pegas –insistió Cañabota. [...]
- De los llanitos no os fiáis tanto como de mí.
- Eso lo dices tú.
- Pues hacedlo con ellos y no vengáis a *tocarme los cojones*. (*La Reina del Sur* 2011: 173 – 174)

- Тази пратка е важна.
- За мен всички пратки са важни, щом си плащат за тях. И не съм свикнал да ме учат как да си върша работата.
- Правилата са си правила.
- *Не ми излизайте с тоя номер за правилата*. Това е свободен пазар и аз си имам собствени правила.
- [...]
- Гибралтарците не поставят толкова условия – настояваше Канябота.
- [...]
- На гибралтарците им нямате такова доверие, каквото на мен.
- Това го казваш ти.
- Тогава работете си с тях и повече *не ме закачайте*. (*Кралицата на Юга* 2003: 153 – 154)

Las locuciones vulgares son *dar por el culo* [a alguien], ‘*vulg* realizar [con él] la cópula anal como sujeto activo’ (DFDEA) y *tocar los cojones* ‘*vulg* molestar o fastidiar’ (DFDEA). La traductora de la novela, que es la que escribe el presente artículo, ha dado interpretaciones pertenecientes al nivel coloquial (tr. lit. No me salgáis con ese número de las normas, para la primera, y tr. lit no me toquéis, para la segunda). Y si para la segunda locución es difícil encontrar un parangón más expresivo (*VOX Gran Diccionario Español-Búlgaro* tampoco ayuda, ofreciendo sólo *досаждам* (fastidiar)), para la primera locución, replanteando el asunto desde la perspectiva del significado connotativo, podría pensarse en una traducción más osada, por ejemplo, *Майната им на правилата ви* (tr. lit. A la madre vuestras normas) o incluso *Не ме ебавайте с вашите правила* (tr. lit. No me jodáis con vuestras normas).

### **3. Traducción de locuciones de connotación histórico-cultural**

La traducción de UFs con connotaciones histórico-culturales puede ser un desafío debido a la riqueza y complejidad de las asociaciones culturales

y contextuales que llevan consigo. Vlahov y Florín (1990: 208 – 209) opinan que el recurso más adecuado para la transmisión de este tipo de UFs es el calco o el análogo si existe tal en el idioma de destino. Aquí ofrecemos dos muestras, en las cuales la traducción ha optado por diferentes vías. El primer ejemplo es:

–*Moros en la costa* –apuntó el Piloto. (*La carta esférica* 2000: 349).

– *Маври на брега* – произнесе Ел Пилото древната фраза, която предупреждавала за опасност. (*Морската карта* 2002: 352)

Paralelamente con el calco podemos observar una ampliación realizada en el discurso del autor que hace referencia al origen y al significado de la locución castellana (tr. lit. pronunció El Piloto la frase antigua, que avisaba sobre un peligro), una decisión que consideramos muy oportuna, ya que preserva el colorido histórico-nacional sin impedir la lectura fluida por parte de la audiencia.

La siguiente locución es *dar el paseo* [a alguien] que se remonta a la Guerra Civil de 1936 y significa ‘llevarse[lo] por fuerza y matar[lo] sin juicio previo’ (DFDEA).

Veinte mil pesetas tuve que pagar a los de la CNT para que pusieran en libertad a mi cuñado, al que querían *dar el paseo* por ser hermano mayor de una cofradía de Semana Santa. (*Falcó* 2016: 105)

Двайсет хиляди песети трябваше да платя на онези от Националната конфедерация на труда, за да освободят шурея ми, когото искаха да разстрелят само защото е ръководител на църковното братство, участващо в процесии по време на Страстната седмица... (*Фалко* 2017: 111)

En este caso la traducción se ha ejecutado a través de un equivalente léxico (tr. lit. fusilar) que guarda el significado de la locución prescindiendo del calco, que podría crear incompreensión. El contexto (se trata de un diálogo largo y tendido entre el protagonista y el cónsul alemán que ha logrado salvar a su familiar) transfiere claramente el ambiente histórico de la guerra y la forma de actuar de los dos bandos.

## Conclusión

Los valores connotativos presentes en las UFs las convierten en elementos estilísticamente marcados. Gracias a esa característica dichas unidades pueden desempeñar un papel significativo en la caracterización de los personajes en la literatura. En este artículo se han destacado seis fragmentos extraídos de tres novelas de A. Pérez-Reverte que poseen connotaciones coloquiales, vulgares, impregnados de marcados matices expresivos, e histórico-culturales. Los análisis mínimos proporcionados aquí resaltan la práctica positiva de la traducción, que consiste en buscar diversos métodos para transponer el significado convencional y esforzarse por ofrecer equivalentes que capturen los matices y los valores secundarios, subrayando en uno de los ejemplos el posible cambio del enfoque traductor en función de la transformación de la actitud social hacia ciertas UFs. La transmisión efectiva del significado connotativo de las UFs emerge como un criterio importante para considerar una traducción como completa y satisfactoria, ya que mantener la riqueza semántica y estilística de las UFs contribuye a preservar la autenticidad y la intención del autor, permitiendo que la obra conserve su tono y atmósfera originales.

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DOI 10.69085/ntf2024b325

**SOBRE EL PLUSCUAMPERFECTO ESPAÑOL Y BÚLGARO.  
EQUIVALENTES DE TRADUCCIÓN DE LA FORMA *HABÍA  
CANTADO* EN LA LENGUA BÚLGARA**

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**DISCUSSING THE SPANISH AND THE BULGARIAN  
PLUSCUAMPERFECT. TRANSLATIONAL EQUIVALENTS  
OF THE FORM *HABÍA CANTADO* IN BULGARIAN**

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The object of the present article is the verb form *había cantado* in Spanish and its correlate in Bulgarian *бях нял*. The main goal is through the method of comparative analysis to present the systemic meaning of these grammemes in both languages, to discuss their place in the temporal system, to reveal some of the translational equivalents of the form *había cantado* in modern Bulgarian.

**Key words:** Pretérito pluscuamperfecto, compound verb forms, tense, aspect, functional equivalents, Bulgarian

Los objetivos principales de este trabajo son dos: en primer lugar, presentar el significado invariante (sistémico) del pluscuamperfecto de indicativo (Pl.) en el español contemporáneo y compararlo con el pluscuamperfecto (Pl.) búlgaro y, en segundo lugar, analizar un corpus de diez novelas de ficción, escritas en español y traducidas al búlgaro, para destacar los posibles equivalentes de traducción de la forma *había cantado*. Las denominaciones principales con las que se puede encontrar esta forma verbal son: antecopretérito (Bello 1903 [1847]) y pluscuamperfecto (GRAE 1931; GRAE 2009). Sin embargo, la GRAE destaca que *había cantado* “parece ser, más bien, un *antepretérito*” (GRAE 2009: 1787, §23.16b). En la lingüística búlgara este gramema se denomina con los términos de

pluscuamperfecto, presente resultativo relativo (búl. *относительно резултативно сегашно време*) (Kutsarov 2008: 260) y, tradicionalmente, en la didáctica se usa el término pasado anterior (búl. *минало предварително време*). Aquí se prefiere la denominación de pluscuamperfecto (Pl.)<sup>1</sup> con tal de unificar la terminología entre las dos lenguas comparadas.

Para los fines de este trabajo hay que aclarar varias nociones. Lo que se entiende bajo el concepto de categoría morfológica (CM) es “un sistema de relaciones de formas de palabras opuestas entre sí de contenido homogéneo” (Kutsarov 2007: 26; Bondarko 1976: 10 – 11)<sup>2</sup> dentro de una misma clase de palabras. Sostenemos que el sistema temporal de las dos lenguas se forma a base de tres categorías morfológicas que interactúan entre sí: tiempo verbal, plano (o taxis) y la categoría del perfecto<sup>3</sup>. La categoría morfológica de tiempo verbal se considera fundamental en la estructura del sistema temporal y su contenido semántico se basa en la orientación temporal (de anterioridad, simultaneidad o posterioridad) de una situación verbal (no perfecta o perfecta) con respecto a un momento referencial (el momento de hablar u otro momento referencial que, por su parte, es anterior al momento de hablar) (p. ej. *canté ~ canto ~ cantaré; hube cantado ~ he cantado ~ habré cantado; cantara<sub>1</sub><sup>4</sup> ~ cantaba ~ cantaría; ø ~ había cantado ~ habría cantado*). La CM de plano (o taxis) y la CM del perfecto también forman parte del campo semántico-funcional de la temporalidad. El contenido semántico de la CM de plano se basa en la relación entre una situación verbal (perfecta o no perfecta), orientada hacia un momento referencial del pasado, y una situación verbal (perfecta o no), no orientada hacia un momento referencial del pasado (p. ej. *canto ~ cantaba*) (Tabakova

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<sup>1</sup> Hay que hacer notar que se trata del gramema indicativo de la lengua española (el Pl. de indicativo), no obstante, en adelante no se hará esta especificación.

<sup>2</sup> Las traducciones del búlgaro, inglés y ruso en el texto son mías (excepto las traducciones de las novelas de ficción analizadas) – P. T.

<sup>3</sup> El término *perfecto* no se identifica con el significado aspectual de la *perfectividad*, sino que viene a representar las formas verbales perfectas (compuestas), en este caso, indicativas, a saber: *he cantado, habré cantado, hube cantado, había cantado*, que forman una categoría morfológica, junto con las mismas formas del subjuntivo español, y que se interpretan como punto de intersección entre la temporalidad, la aspectualidad y la modalidad. Para lograr una comodidad operativa de la comparación, aceptamos la perfección como un conjunto de semas que, debido a su desarrollo específico, tiene diferente realización en el español, donde se percibe como retrospectividad, y en el búlgaro, donde se presenta como resultatividad.

<sup>4</sup> Consideramos que la forma *cantara* tiene origen indicativo y que actualmente participa tanto en el paradigma indicativo como en el subjuntivo, por lo tanto, con *cantara<sub>1</sub>* nos referimos al valor indicativo y con *cantara<sub>2</sub>*, al valor modal.

2023). El contenido semántico de la CM del perfecto se basa en la relación entre una situación perfecta y una situación no perfecta dentro de un mismo momento referencial (p. ej. *canto* ~ *he cantado*). Según el principio de A. I. Smirnitskij, que se sigue consistentemente, “una sola forma de palabra no puede unir simultáneamente formas categoriales de una misma categoría [...]. Si en inglés se observa la vinculación de la forma “perfecta” con la forma “progresiva” (cfr.: *He has been waiting*) (esp. *Él ha estado esperando* – P. T.), en este caso, sin duda, las formas pertenecen a dos categorías diferentes” (Smirnitskij 1959: 9).

Al ser una forma del paradigma de la categoría del perfecto, las diferentes teorías y enfoques interpretan el Pl. español desde perspectivas diferentes de tipo temporal, aspectual y modal, lo cual complica el proceso de adquisición. A partir del planteamiento temporal que defiende que las formas verbales perfectas expresan la anterioridad, el Pl. se presenta como forma verbal que “designa una situación pasada y concluida, anterior a otra igualmente pasada, que puede mencionarse o no” (GRAE 2009: 1786, §23.16a). Desde el punto de vista didáctico y el funcionamiento de *había cantado* en el discurso, la definición citada es relevante, no obstante, desde el punto de vista estrechamente lingüístico, es necesario especificarla.

Siguiendo el modelo temporal de Coseriu (Coseriu 1996), Vucheva indica que el Pl. con su significado de anterioridad es el correlato inactual del aoristo (A) (*canté*) por su sinonimia con la forma *cantara*<sub>1</sub> (Vucheva 2020: 307). Esta opinión es lógica, pero según el concepto actual en el significado unitario del Pl. se deben tener en cuenta varios significados: la relatividad, la perfección y la simultaneidad, por lo cual percibimos este gramema como marcado en las categorías del perfecto y plano (o taxis), y como no marcado en la CM de tiempo verbal. Por un lado, si se acepta que el Pl. es el miembro no marcado en la CM de tiempo verbal y expresa la simultaneidad relativa de una situación perfecta, se podría argumentar que conforme el principio de la neutralización el Pl. es capaz de expresar los significados de anterioridad relativa de una situación perfecta y posterioridad relativa de una situación perfecta. Por otro lado, es posible que la capacidad del Pl. para expresar situaciones anteriores a un momento referencial del pasado se deba a la especificidad de las formas perfectas que presentan la situación como retrospectiva<sup>5</sup>. No estamos dispuestos a aceptar la idea de que *había cantado* se perciba como un correlato relativo de *canté*, ya que llenar la posición vacía no nos parece necesario, teniendo en cuenta, por un lado, el potencial semántico (independientemente del motivo de su

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<sup>5</sup> En nuestra opinión, la anterioridad y la retrospectividad son contenidos diferenciables.

generación) del Pl. para cubrir el subcampo funcional de la anterioridad relativa y, por otro, la percepción de *cantara*<sub>1</sub> como elemento constitutivo del paradigma indicativo temporal<sup>6</sup>.

En oposición al concepto temporal, en los marcos de un paradigma modal, Blestel dedica gran parte de sus estudios al Pl. español, llegando a una de sus conclusiones fundamentales de que *había cantado* no expresa la anterioridad, tal como defienden la GRAE (GRAE 2009: 1787) y Rojo & Veiga (Rojo 1974; Rojo & Veiga 1999: 2779 – 2780), que siguen la idea del *antepretérito* (Blestel 2014). La investigadora apoya sus afirmaciones con ejemplos en los que el Pl. no solo que no expresa una situación anterior, sino que incluso expresa posterioridad. Aquí podríamos ofrecer un ejemplo similar en el que el funcionamiento de Pl., a nivel sintáctico, presenta la situación expresada por esta forma verbal como posterior (véase [1]):

[1] **Habían pasado** casi siete meses desde que sufrió el accidente.  
(búl.: *Бяха изминали седем месеца след катастрофата, която претърпя.*) (JN/XH)

Es posible que la interpretación del Pl. como portador de la semántica posterior en el ejemplo mencionado sea provocada por la mezcla de los niveles lingüísticos: el tiempo morfológico (tiempo verbal) y el tiempo sintáctico o textual. A nivel sintáctico, las referencias textuales determinan la secuencia cronológica de los acontecimientos y, desde este punto de vista, en los marcos del contexto con el Pl. se verbaliza una situación posterior en relación con las formas verbales del aoristo (*sufrió* en [1]). No obstante, a nivel morfológico, el Pl. no se ancla en la forma *sufrió* en [1] porque con *habían pasado* se genera un momento de orientación adicional que es anterior al momento de hablar. Sostenemos que con las formas del Pl. se expresa la simultaneidad de una situación perfecta, actualizada en un momento anterior al momento de hablar, a pesar de que esta referencia no esté siempre marcada con otra forma verbal pretérita o algún adverbio, sino que se proyecta en la conciencia del hablante (u oyente) con la inclusión del Pl. en el discurso.

Según Blestel, la cronología de los acontecimientos no necesariamente tiene la prioridad cuando se recurre al Pl. La investigadora propone que *había cantado* se comprenda como la combinación de un presente

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<sup>6</sup> Rojo menciona que la función de *había cantado*, (O–V)–V, se puede ejercer por la forma *cantara*<sub>1</sub> (con su función indicativa), considerando esta última una restauración literaria, una variante literaria de la función (O–V)–V, no obstante, esta opinión no se sostiene en este trabajo (Rojo 1974: 106 – 107).

inactualizador con un participio globalizante, el cual permite cierto distanciamiento con la conceptualización de un proceso o de una situación (Blestel 2014). De esta manera se explican también otros usos que de otro modo no encajan en el significado de la anterioridad, ya que es posible que la situación continúe incluso en el momento de hablar (es el caso, por ejemplo, de los usos persistentes, que son típicos del perfecto (P), *he cantado*, con verbos atélicos, donde la interpretación aspectual de la situación resulta ser imperfectiva y el Pl. se puede sustituir por un imperfecto (I) (véase [2]).

[2] Él siempre **había intentado** (= *intentaba* – P. T.), con los niños, a su manera modesta y tímida, suplir en lo posible la figura de Tomás, y, tras sufrir nuestras nuevas pérdidas, se brindó discretamente a hacerme a mí de padre también. (búl.: *Той винаги се бе опитвал (се опитваше – P. T.), по своя си начин, скромно и стеснително, да замести, доколкото е възможно, бащата на децата ми, фигурата на Томас, а след като понесохме новите загуби, дискретно се постара да бъде и мой баща.*) (JM/XM)

A nuestro juicio, el mencionado distanciamiento por parte del hablante para evaluar y concluir la situación se logra gracias al significado de relatividad con el que está marcado el gramema del Pl., pero tampoco deben subestimarse los razonamientos en el paradigma de la lingüística del signifiante (Molho 1984) que no vinculan el potencial del participio pasado necesariamente a la finalización del proceso, sino a una visión externa y distanciada del evento.

Próximo al concepto aquí defendido está el de Bello, quien asigna al Pl. español la posición de ante-co-pretérito, mencionando el elemento de coexistencia en el contenido de *había cantado* (Bello 1903 [1847]: 167, §646). Defendemos que el Pl. es la forma imperfecta de la perífrasis perfecta *haber + participio*, lo cual explica las comunes características modales y aspectuales entre las formas *cantaba* y *había cantado*, como, por ejemplo, la distribución de los usos iterativos (cíclicos) del I hacia su correlato perfecto, cfr.:

[3] *A esa hora, los viernes Eugenio había salido del trabajo.* (GRAE 2009: 1787, §23.16c),

así como los usos modales de cortesía, resultado de una transposición en la categoría de plano (o taxis) (Pl. sustituye a P de manera análoga a la que el I sustituye al presente (Pr.), cfr.:

[4] *Así que **habíamos pensado** que si convencieras a su señoría para que le echara una mano [...].* (GRAE 2009: 1787, §23.16d)

Cabe señalar que la GRAE considera que el I español es un gramema imperfectivo y, por otro lado, el Pl. es perfectivo, puesto que no se dan usos de la perífrasis progresiva, *estar + gerundio*, en forma de Pl. (cfr. *\*había estado cantando*), lo cual se destaca como un argumento a favor de la naturaleza perfectiva de *había cantado* (GRAE 2009: 1787, §23.16c). En nuestra opinión, este argumento no es convincente, dado que el aoristo (A) (*canté*) también se describe como forma perfectiva, pese a que su combinación con la perífrasis progresiva sea un fenómeno posible y frecuente (cfr.: *estuve cantando*). Según la visión del carácter secundario y no morfológico de la aspectualidad en español, señalaremos que el Pl. no expresa la perfectividad a través de la categoría del perfecto, sino que la interpretación aspectual se realiza composicionalmente, en dependencia del modo de acción del verbo, a nivel léxico, y de los elementos del predicado completo, a nivel sintáctico. Por lo tanto, consideramos que el Pl. español podría tomar parte tanto en situaciones perfectivas como en imperfectivas, aunque, quizás, cuantitativamente la semántica perfecta tiende a asociarse más a menudo con la interpretación perfectiva, visto que la categoría del perfecto, cuyo significado invariante se percibe como retrospectividad, de manera similar a la anterioridad, da un campo de acción más amplio para la realización del significado perfectivo.

Maslov define el Pl. búlgaro como análogo al P en cuanto a significado, pero anclado en otro plano temporal. Según el investigador, el Pl. puede significar, por un lado, un estado existente en el pasado, causado por una acción anterior, y, por otro lado, una acción que es anterior a un momento del pasado y actual en ese momento del pasado (Maslov 1982: 262). Tanto a la hora de definir el significado del Pl. español como del Pl. búlgaro, el énfasis se pone a menudo en la expresión de una acción anterior, cfr.: “[...] significa una acción pasada que ha tenido lugar antes de un momento de orientación adicional en el pasado [...]” (Andreychin et al. 2020: 230). El problema del carácter resultativo de las formas perfectas búlgaras surge al definir las formas verbales compuestas, ya que, según algunos lingüistas, el significado resultativo es invariante y, según otros, tiene carácter facultativo. En palabras de Andreychin et al., por lo general,

el Pl. búlgaro tiene un matiz resultativo y significa la presencia de un resultado de una acción previa en un momento pasado del que se está hablando, cfr.:

[5] В това време музиката **беше престанала**. – На улицата **бяха се струпали** хора. (esp.: *En ese momento la música **había parado***. – *La gente se **había reunido** en la calle.*) (Andreychin et al. 2020: 230)

Sin embargo, según los autores, en muchos de los casos el Pl. búlgaro expresa solamente la anterioridad de la acción sin matiz resultativo, cfr.:

[6] Като беше живял дълго време между турци, той **беше запознат** добре с нравите и с езика им (Ivan Vazov). (esp: *Como **había vivido mucho tiempo entre los turcos, él **había conocido** bien sus costumbres y su idioma.***) (Andreychin et al., *ibid.*)

Defendemos la tesis, que en parte coincide con la de Kutsarov (Kutsarov 2007: 260), de que las formas del Pl. búlgaro (en su significado común) expresan la simultaneidad de una situación perfecta (que en búlgaro se describe como resultativa) con un momento referencial que, por su parte, es anterior al momento de hablar. En dependencia del aspecto verbal (perfectivo, imperfectivo o iterativo)<sup>7</sup> se puede actualizar el resultado (significado estatal) o la acción (significado accional) (Stankov 1969: 117 – 118). Nitsolova también destaca que el Pl. búlgaro es un tiempo resultativo: significa una acción que se realiza en el plano del pasado antes de un intervalo referencial del pasado, pero que su resultado está presente en el intervalo referencial del pasado (Nitsolova 2008: 302). Por su naturaleza resultativa los significados del P y del Pl. generalmente coinciden, pero la diferencia principal entre los dos consiste en los momentos referenciales, por lo cual el Pl., orientado hacia un momento del pasado, designa una acción evidencial de primera mano (lleva el morfema **-x/-ш** – P. T.), y el P, orientado hacia el momento de hablar, no designa (forzosamente – P. T.) una acción evidencial (Nitsolova 2008: 302).

En el papel de equivalentes funcionales de traducción del Pl. español (*había cantado*) en la lengua búlgara se puede esperar una variedad de formas verbales, teniendo en cuenta la especificidad del significado perfecto y el potencial funcional de este gramema en términos temporales y aspectuales. En primer lugar, con mayor frecuencia en el corpus analizado

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<sup>7</sup> Sobre la tríada del aspecto verbal búlgaro, véase Chakarova 2003.



se dan los casos donde la forma española está traducida al búlgaro con el Pl. perfectivo:

[7] Procedía de una dinastía de indianos que **habían hecho** fortuna en las Américas con el negocio del azúcar y que, a su regreso, **habían hincado** el diente en la suculenta tajada de la electrificación de la ciudad. (búl.: *Произлизаше от династия на някогашни емигранти, които бяха натрупали състояние в двете Америки от търговия със захар, а след нейното западане се бяха захванали с друга твърде доходоносна дейност – електрифицирането на града.*) (CRZ/КРС)

Tampoco son raros los casos de traducción del Pl. español con el Pl. imperfectivo o iterativo en búlgaro, lo cual podría apoyar la opinión del carácter no perfectivo del gramema en la lengua española. En la traducción de [8] está usada la forma imperfectiva activa, mientras que en la traducción de [9] se elige la variante pasiva del Pl. iterativo, puesto que la modificación del lexema requiere el cambio en la diátesis, sin que esto impida la transmisión del sentido.

[8] Desde Buenos Aires lo **había visto** en fotografías de revistas ilustradas; incluso un par de veces en noticieros de cinematógrafo, con el fondo musical de su tango famoso. (búl.: *От Буенос Айрес насам го беше виждал на снимки в илюстровани списания.*) (APR/АПР)

[9] y de allí sólo **había salido** para las ostensiones, y siempre bajo estrictas medidas de seguridad. (búl.: *Тя беше изваждана от там само за да бъде показвана, като винаги се предприемаха много строги мерки за сигурност.*) (JN/ХН)

Considerando el rico potencial funcional del aoristo, que cubre en cierta medida el campo semántico-funcional del Pl., es comprensible que con sus formas perfectivas (véase [10]) o imperfectivas (véase [11]) se transmita con éxito la semántica del Pl. español en la lengua búlgara.

[10] **Se había hecho** amiga de Paola, así que de cuando en cuando cenaban los cuatro, e incluso **habían pasado** algún fin de semana en Capri. (búl.: *Сприятели се с Паола, така че от време на време вечеряха четиримата заедно, и дори прекараха един хубав уикенд заедно на Капри.*) (JN/ХН)

[11] **Había llorado** en el vientre de su madre y nació con los ojos abiertos. (búl.: *Плака в корема на майка си и се роди с отворени очи.*) (GGM – CADS/ГГМ – СГС)

Más inusual resulta la traducción del Pl. español con el I imperfectivo búlgaro (véase [12]), mientras que el I perfectivo no fue registrado como variante de traducción, probablemente por las restricciones sintácticas de este gramema búlgaro.

[12] [...] te apareces así, chorreando agua, un agua gris de tormenta y de frío, una negación aplastante de lo que yo tanto **había esperado** mientras me sacaba poco a poco de encima a tus hermanos y trataba de guardar fuerzas y alegría [...]. (búl.: [...] *появяваш се тук, и от теб тече вода, сивата вода на бурята и студа, смазващо отрицание на онова, което толкова очаквах, докато малко по малко се отърсвах от братята ти и се опитвах да запазя сили и радост [...].*) (JC/XK)

Un equivalente adecuado de *había cantado* en las traducciones búlgaras es el P perfectivo (véase [13]) o imperfectivo (véase [14]). Es posible que en estos casos no se haya usado el Pl. búlgaro, ya que es un gramema que gramaticaliza la evidencialidad de primera mano. Aparentemente, el hablante debe verbalizar una actitud no evidencial, por no haber participado (conscientemente) en la situación comunicada. El uso del P en vez de Pl. se hace posible gracias a la ausencia de una regla de correlación temporal entre la oración principal y la oración subordinada en la lengua búlgara, es decir, se admite la neutralización en la CM de plano (taxis).

[13] Estaba tan ensimismado que ni siquiera comprendió la alegría de todos cuando su padre y su hermano alborotaron la casa con la noticia de que **habían logrado** vulnerar el cascote metálico y separar el oro de Úrsula. (búl.: *Беше толкова въодушевен, че дори не разбра радостта на всички, когато баща му и брат му дигнаха къщата на глава с новината, че са успели да уязвят металната шлага и да отделят златото на Урсула.*) (GGM – CADS/ГГМ – СГС)

[14] Agregó que Beatriz siempre se **había distraído** con Álvaro. Превод: Прибави, че Беатрис винаги е **чела** Алваро с удоволствие. (JLB – EA/ХЛБ – А)

El participio pasado pasivo búlgaro fue registrado como equivalente de traducción del Pl. español en solo uno de los ejemplos extraídos (véase [15]):

[15] Ni Tom ni Berta, que **habían nacido** en agosto y septiembre respectivamente, habían cumplido los quince cuando acordaron ‘salir’ o ‘ser novios’, como se decía entonces, y se sinceraron. (búl.: *Нито Том, нито Берта, родени съответно през август и септември, бяха навършили петнайсет, когато се „свалиха“ или „станаха гаджета“, започнаха да излизат заедно и споделиха чувствата си.*) (JM/XM)

Al igual que la variedad de correspondencias funcionales que forman el plano narrativo de la memoria, en el corpus de traducción búlgaro también destaca el plano narrativo de la renarración con una serie de posibles formas verbales búlgaras con las que se traduce el Pl español como, por ejemplo, el Pl. renarrado perfectivo (véase [16]) o el Pl. renarrado imperfectivo (véase [17]):

[16] Pero Meme le contó también que el muchacho **había regresado** a su país y no había vuelto a dar señales de vida. (búl.: *Но Меме му разказа също, че момчето се било завърнало в своята страна и повече не дало признаци на живот.*) (GGM – CADS/ГГМ – СГС)

[17] Nadie, ni siquiera un médico, **había entrado** en esa casa a las 6.45 de la mañana. (búl.: *Никой, дори лекар, не бил влизал в тази къща в шест и четирийсет и пет сутринта.*) (GGM – CUMA/ГГМ – ХЕПС)

El I renarrado imperfectivo también se usa como equivalente de traducción del Pl. español (véase [18]). Es interesante que tanto en el plano de la memoria como en el plano de la renarración no se registraron ejemplos de I perfectivo en tal posición.

[18] No **había pasado** un siglo sin un intento de robo o sin un incendio, y en los últimos años lo más cerca que se había estado de los autores siempre arrojaba un balance desolador: no tenían lengua. (búl.: *Не минавал и век, в който да няма опит за кражба или пожар, а в последните години, през които най-много се бяха приближили до извършителите, винаги се стигаше до една печална равностетка: заподозрените нямаха език.*) (JN/XH)

Sin embargo, a diferencia del I renarrado, *había cantado* frecuentemente se traduce al búlgaro con el A renarrado, en su variante

perfectiva (véase [19] e imperfectiva (véase [20]), mas el uso del gramema perfectivo predomina en el corpus investigado.

[19] Pura Vicario le contó a mi madre que **se había acostado** a las once de la noche después de que las hijas mayores la ayudaron a poner un poco de orden en los estragos de la boda. (búl.: *Пура Викарио разказала на майка ми, че си легнала в единайсет вечерта, след като поголемите дъщери ѝ помогнали да сложи малко ред подир опустошенията на празненството.*) (GGM – CUMA/ГГМ – ХЕПС)

[20] En realidad, **habían tenido** la primera discrepancia. (búl.: *Всъщност те вече имали и първото разногласие.*) (GGM – CUMA/ГГМ – ХЕПС)

El plano de la constatación ofrece formas diferentes de traducción del Pl. español y, probablemente, una de las razones por las que se eligen formas conclusivas búlgaras se debe a la necesidad de evitar el uso de formas evidenciales de primera mano en la lengua búlgara. El Pl. pasivo conclusivo, que se registra como equivalente de traducción de *había cantado*, se da con bastante frecuencia (véase [21]). Es interesante destacar la observación de que en el paradigma conclusivo no encontramos formas activas del Pl. conclusivo búlgaro como correlato de traducción del Pl. español, sino solo formas pasivas.

[21] No se le había ocurrido pensar hasta entonces que la literatura fuera el mejor juguete que se **había inventado** para burlarse de la gente, como lo demostró Álvaro en una noche de parranda. (búl.: *Не му бе хрумвало да мисли дотогава, че литературата е най-хубавата играчка, която е била измисляна, за да се подиграват с хората, както го доказа Алваро в една веселбарска нощ.*) (GGM – CADS/ГГМ – СГС)

A pesar de que las formas del P indicativo y el A conclusivo búlgaros coincidan, el A conclusivo perfectivo (véase [22]) e imperfectivo (véase [23]) se puede identificar solo en los marcos del contexto.

[22] Se había empapado su historia, y así supo que desde que estuvo en poder de la Casa de Saboya, el lienzo **había sobrevivido** a varios incendios. (búl.: *Той бе проучил нейната история и така бе узнал, че откакто е станало притежание на Савойската династия, платното е преживяло няколко пожара.*) (JN/XH)

[23] Nívea opinó que todos los hijos anteriores **habían sido** puro entrenamiento para producir finalmente esa criatura perfecta. (búl.: *Нивеа реши, че всички преждедородивши се деца са били просто една тренировка, докато най-сетне било сътворено това перфектно създание.*) (IA/IA)

En el texto original de [24] el verbo auxiliar de la perífrasis aspectual está conjugado en Pl., que al búlgaro está traducido con una forma del *futurum praeteteriti* (FP) conclusivo.

[24] Sufrió con estoicismo las curaciones, que eran muy dolorosas, pero cuando el cirujano le dijo que **había estado a punto de morir** de una septicemia, Dahlmann se echó a llorar, condolido de su destino. (búl.: *Понасяше стоически болезнените процедури, но когато хирургът му каза, че насмалко е щял да умре от сепсис, Далман се разплака, обзет от жалост към съдбата си.*) (JLB – ES/XЛБ – Ю)

En conclusión, el significado invariante del Pl. se puede definir como simultaneidad de una situación perfecta con un momento referencial del pasado, no obstante, en español, la situación se percibe como retrospectiva y en búlgaro, como resultativa. Desde el concepto de la aspectualidad composicional, consideramos el Pl. español una forma temporal que, a nivel de oración, puede participar tanto en situaciones perfectivas como en situaciones imperfectivas. Los equivalentes de traducción del Pl. español en la lengua búlgara representan un rico inventario, puesto que se registran formas verbales perfectivas, imperfectivas e iterativas del paradigma indicativo, conclusivo y formas del paradigma de la renarración.

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**Пловдивски университет  
„Паисий Хилендарски“**

**НАУЧНИ ТРУДОВЕ  
том 61, кн. 1, сб. Б, 2023**

*Филология*

*Коректор: Гергана Иванова*

*Предпечатна подготовка: Гергана Георгиева*

*Печат и подвързия: Пловдивско университетско издателство*

Пловдив, 2024

ISSN 0861-0029