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Augmentative and evaluative morphemes super(-), ekstra(-), mega(-) and hiper(-) in Polish – a corpus-based analysis

Abstract

This paper provides an analysis of four neoclassical morphemes *super*, *ekstra*, *mega* and *hiper*, both as prefixes and as free lexical items, in contemporary Polish as represented in the Polish National Corpus. The collected data containing instances of the morphemes have been analysed so as to define their syntactic functions and to obtain quantitative results, i.e., to determine the exact number of instances of the morphemes occurring as free lexical items and as bound morphemes followed by a hyphen as well as integral unhyphenated morphemes. Another aim of the study has been a quantitative analysis of the data, i.e., to record all the instances of the use of the morphemes, including rare uses. The semantic analysis has been aimed to assign the exact meaning to each occurrence of the morphemes and to make general conclusions concerning the frequencies. Still another purpose has been to measure the morphological productivity of the bound morphemes (prefixes) in question based on Baayen's (1992: 109–149) measure of productivity and Bauer's (2001) measure of the profitability of a morphological process. The results of the present study contribute to a better understanding of recent phenomena in contemporary Polish.

Key Words

neoclassical morphemes, language fashion, quantitative analysis, qualitative analysis, productivity, corpus

Streszczenie

Niniejszy artykuł ma na celu analizę czterech morfemów neoklasycznych *super*, *ekstra*, *mega* i *hiper*, spełniających funkcję zarówno przedrostków, jak i samodzielnych jednostek leksykalnych występujących we współczesnym języku polskim. Analiza przeprowadzona jest na podstawie danych językowych zgromadzonych w Narodowym Korpusie Języka Polskiego. Jednym z celów jest analiza morfemów pod kątem ustalenia ich funkcji składniowych i przedstawienia wyników ilościowych, tj. podania liczby przykładów występowania morfemów jako samodzielnych jednostek lub jako członów związanych – pisanych łącznie lub z użyciem łącznika. Kolejnym celem analizy jest uzyskanie wyników jakościowych, tj. odnotowanie wszystkich wyrazów powstałych z wykorzystaniem badanych morfemów występujących w korpusie zrównoważonym NKJP, włączając *hapax legomena*, tzn. wyrazy występujące tylko raz w badanym korpusie. Celem analizy semantycznej jest przyporządkowanie dokładnego znaczenia każdemu przypadkowi użycia morfemu oraz wyciągnięcie

ogólnych wniosków dotyczących częstotliwości występowania poszczególnych znaczeń. W celu oszacowania produktywności morfemów związanych (przedrostków) wykorzystana jest metoda obliczania produktywności Baayena (1992: 109–149) oraz metoda badania opłacalności procesu morfologicznego Bauera (2001). Wnioski płynące z przeprowadzonych analiz rzucają światło na zjawiska zachodzące we współczesnej polszczyźnie.

Słowa klucze

morfemy neoklasyczne, moda językowa, analiza ilościowa, analiza jakościowa, produktywność, korpus

1. Background considerations

A fairly recent fashion for certain Latin- and Greek-derived prefixes has been observed internationally (Bauer 1998; Lüdeling et al. 2002; Meesters 2004; Petropoulou 2009; Waszakowa 2003, 2005). An analysis of the word formation system in contemporary Polish also reveals that the number of complex words with neoclassical elements of Greek or Latin origin, such as *anty*- 'anti-', *post-*, *super-*, *hiper-* 'hyper-', *mega-*, *ekstra-* 'extra-', *eks-* 'ex-', *pro-*, *pseudo-*, *ultra-*, etc. is on the increase (Jadacka 2001: 112–122; Miodek 2010: 80; Waszakowa 2011). Neoclassical elements combine highly productively both with one another (e.g. *ekstragalaktyczny* 'extragalactic', *pseudopodium*) and with native elements (e.g. *ekstranowoczesny* 'extremely modern', *pseudonaukowiec* 'pseudoscientist'. Combinations of bound neoclassical morphemes with native elements result in so-called hybrid formations.¹ The multitude of hybrid structures reflects the tendency for the borders between the native and foreign linguistic subsystems to disappear (Waszakowa 2011: 16).

However, the morphological status of neoclassical morphemes is not very clear in the European languages. Since they are bound and generally do not correspond to any lexeme in the recipient language, they resemble affixes (Bauer 1979; Lehrer 1995; Marchand 1969; Williams 1981). On the other hand, although they are not syntactically free, they carry lexical meaning recognized by the language users, thus they are similar to roots. As they share properties of both affixes and roots, neoclassical morphemes are termed variously in the literature of the subject, e.g. confixes (Martinet 1979: 243), bound roots (Plag 2003: 74), classical roots (Baeskow 2004), affixoids (prefixoids/suffixoids) (Hansen et al. 1985: 86), semi-affixes (semi-prefixes/semi-suffixes) (Hansen et al. 1985: 6; Marchand 1969: 326), pseudo-prefixes/pseudo-suffixes (Cannon 1992: 488; Hansen et al. 1985: 123), quasi-affixes (Algeo 1991: 5, 7) and initial/final combining forms (Warren 1990: 111–132). In the Polish literature of the subject, formations with neoclassical morphemes are usually de-

 $^{^{\}rm l}$ See Kortas (2003), Obara (1986, 1989) and Warchoł (1986b) for detailed information on hybridisation.

scribed as examples of the analogical structures formation model (Waszakowa 2012), which is fairly productive, yet distinguishes itself from the Polish word formation system (Dunaj 2000: 35, Waszakowa 2001: 103). Polish linguists and researchers classify the neoclassical morphemes in various ways, either as a whole group of morphemes or as individual examples.² Since the scope of the present analysis covers the formation of new words by means of the morphemes *ekstra-*, *hiper-*, *mega-* and *super-*, further considerations are narrowed down to these elements.

According to Bartmiński (2000: 111) and Bralczyk and Majkowska (2000: 48) word-formation models with the said morphemes belong to prefixal derivation. Waszakowa (2005: 54-55, 71-72) also treats formations with super-, ekstra- and hiper- as prefixed, since the meaning conveyed by the foreign constituent (e.g. the meaning of 'intensity') in other cases may be expressed by derivative morphemes. As for formations with mega-, they are classified as derivatives with foreign prefixes by Zagrodnikowa (1982: 59) and as unilaterally motivated compounds with the bound initial combining form or as quasicompounds (i.e. formations that consist of two non-autonomous elements) by Waszakowa (2005: 55, 75). On the other hand, Mycawka (2000: 21) points to the unclear formal and grammatical status of the foreign element which cannot be perceived as part of a compound since it is not motivated by an independent lexeme adapted into Polish. Still, the fact that the Greek word mégas means wielki 'large', would allow us to treat formations with the element megaas compounds (Mycawka 2000: 21). Referring to the morphemes in question, Jadacka (2001: 35) uses the term prefixoids, i.e. the morphemes of intermediate character between the categories of root morphemes and prefix morphemes, while Rabiega-Wiśniewska (2006: 64) terms the morphemes pseudo-prefixes.

Words with evaluative/augmentative morphemes such as *super-*, *hiper-*, *ekstra-*, *mega-*, etc. belong to a group of fashionable lexical expressions, frequently used or even overused by certain social groups (Ożóg 2000: 87–94; 2001: 85–102). The highly expressive language of the youth is characterised by the presence of words expressing extreme positive values. Apart from other terms, *super, hiper* and *mega* are frequent, both as prefixes and as autonomous lexical items, e.g. *super zdrowie | superzdrówko* 'superhealth', *supermodna* 'superfashionable' (Zgółkowa 1999: 253).

Furthermore, language fashion can be stimulated by the mass media and in particular by the language of advertising. In modern mass culture there is a tendency to use exaggeration and to express extremes in order to emphasize the values of a given product, offer or phenomenon. Fashionable expressions usually contain a semantic component of 'a high degree of a property,

 $^{^2}$ For a detailed review of opinions of modern Polish linguists and researchers, see Kaproń-Charzyńska (2004).

maximum, positive value of a phenomenon' (Ożóg 2000: 90, 2001: 91). The dynamics of lexical expressive means in informal spoken Polish are reflected in their expansion into more formal registers (Waszakowa 2011: 5). Informal Polish abounds in lexical expressions referring to extreme degrees of properties, e.g. totalny 'complete, total' (e.g. totalna krytyka 'complete criticism', hiper (e.g. hiperświeży smak 'very fresh taste'), super (e.g. superkino 'a great film'), ekstra (e.g. ekstratrójwymiarowy komiks 'a great 3D comic'), mega (e.g. megaposter), giga (e.g. gigakapela 'a great music group') (Ożóg 2001: 210). In order to further intensify the property or the phenomenon, amplified epithets are used, e.g. superekstra (Waszakowa 2011: 15; 2005: 72), absolutny mega hit 'an absolute mega hit' (Ożóg 2001: 210). Waszakowa (2005: 72) speaks of the socalled 'gradation triad' which is composed of prefixes super-, hiper- and mega-, the last element expressing the highest intensity.

In the present paper the formations with bound morphemes *super-*, *ekstra-*, mega- and hiper- are treated as examples of derivatives with foreign prefixes since none of the foreign elements is motivated by an independent lexeme adapted into Polish. Certainly, in the course of the process of lexicalization some of the prefixes in question have already started to acquire an independent lexical status. Nevertheless, the new lexical items are accepted only under certain conditions. According to prominent Polish linguists the requirements of linguistic correctness³ limit the language users' freedom to treat the neoclassical morphemes as either prefixes (thus connected to the root words) or free words (thus written in separation). First of all, the morphemes in question when placed in the prepositive position (i.e. before the words they modify) ought to be connected in writing to the root words, e.g. superkonkurs 'supercompetition', meganagroda 'mega prize'. In the case of morphemes super and ekstra, they have already become free lexical items in the function of adjectives, e.g. Zabawa była super 'It was great fun', adverbs, e.g. Było super 'It was great' and exclamations, e.g. Jedziemy na wycieczkę. - Super! 'We're going on a trip. - Great!'. Nevertheless, it needs to be noted that, in the opinion of the abovementioned linguists, adjectives super and ekstra ought to be written as separate words only in the postpositive position (i.e. in the function of predicative adjectives), e.g. Ona jest super 'She is great', Ta czekolada jest ekstra 'This chocolate is great'. In other instances the morphemes ought to be treated as prefixes. As for restrictions on connectivity, it is highly recommended to attach the morpheme mega- to nominal root words. However, adjectival compounds, e.g. megakomfortowy 'mega-comfortable', are expected to gain acceptance as time goes by, by analogy to adjectival formations with super- and hiper-, e.g. superszybki 'superfast', hiperkrytyczny 'hypercritical', which are perceived as correct.

³ Based on recent opinions of Mirosław Bańko, Jerzy Bralczyk and Jan Grzenia expressed at an online linguistic counseling service of Polish Scientific Publishers PWN (available online at: http://poradnia.pwn.pl/).

1.1. Morpheme *super(-)*

Super(-) is one of the very fashionable and highly productive⁴ elements in contemporary Polish. It derives from the Latin adverb and preposition meaning 'over, above' and it is present in many European languages as a free or bound morpheme, where it is very productive (Przybylska 1995). Complex words with the morpheme super- are not a novelty in the Polish language. They had already been included in early dictionaries of Polish as specialist terms of Latin provenance, e.g. superarbiter 'umpire', superintendent, superoktawa 'superoctave', etc. (Linde 1807–1814: 466); superidealny 'extremely ideal', supernaturalistyczny 'supernaturalist', superracjonalizm 'super-rationalism', etc. (Karłowicz et al. 1900–1923: 513–514).

Neologisms with the morpheme *super*- seem to 'spring up' almost on a daily basis. The trend is especially noticeable in informal Polish and in the language of advertising. The neologisms can be divided into compound nouns (e.g. *supercena* 'a super price', *superoferta* 'a super offer', *superproducja* 'a super-production' etc.) and compound adjectives (e.g. *superciekawy* 'super-interesting', *supermodny* 'super fashionable', *superwydajny* 'super-efficient', etc.). Besides, *super* is used as a free morpheme⁵ in the function of an adjective, e.g. *pogoda super* 'the weather [was] super', or in the function of an adverb, e.g. *No i jak tam było? Super* 'How was it? Super'. Moreover, *super* forms derivatives, popular among students, e.g. *superowy* (adj.), *superowski* (adj.), *superowo* (adv.) (Przybylska 1995: 105).

In an attempt to explain the phenomenon of great popularity of *super*-, attention should be paid to the influence of English on Polish, since a number of formations are lexical loans, e.g. *superboss*, *superhit*, *superkomputer* 'supercomputer' (Waszakowa 2005: 127) or loan translations of English words, e.g. *supergwiazda* 'superstar', *supersklep* 'supermarket', *supermocarstwo* 'superpower' (Przybylska 1995: 106). Besides, the frequent use of *super* as an individual lexeme, meaning 'great', is most probably the reflection of its use in English. Moreover, the syntactic multifunctionality of the morpheme *super*(-) i.e. its ability to act as a prefix, an adverb (e.g. *Wczoraj bawiliśmy się super* 'Yesterday we had a great time'), an adjective (*W naszej klasie są super dziewczyny* 'In our class there are great girls') and a noun (*Proszę dwadzieścia super* 'Twenty (litres) of super [premium gas], please') as well as its indeclinability, result in its practically unlimited lexical connectivity (Lubaś 2000: 62–63; Przybylska 1995: 106). Still, in many cases, it is hard to establish the exact function of the morpheme due to different combinations in writing, e.g. *superdziewczyna*

 $^{^4}$ See Waszakowa (2005: 121–124, 128) for a thorough analysis of productivity of *super*- in contemporary Polish.

⁵ The acceptability of occurrence of *super* as a free morpheme was first acknowledged in *Słownik języka polskiego. Suplement*, Bańko et al. (1993).

- *super dziewczyna* - *super-dziewczyna* 'supergirl'. The differences reflect the tendency to simplify the Polish syntax and morphology under the influence of the English syntax (Przybylska 1995: 106).

The meaning of *super(-)* can be summarized as 'of greatest quality, of greatest intensity, exceptional, etc'. The morpheme usually adds an air of superiority to the meaning of the root words, e.g. superkredyt 'a super loan', superokazja 'a super bargain', superpromocja 'a super offer', superbakterie 'bacteria extremely resistant to antibiotics', supermysz 'a mouse modified genetically'. It emphasizes a very good quality of the referent of the nominal root word, e.g. superelegancja 'super elegance', superpomysł 'super idea', superpralnia 'super laundry', superpamięć 'supermemory', superwynik 'super result', etc. It stresses the exceptional nature or a great scale of the event, e.g. superpremiera 'a super premiere, possibly with participation of celebrities', superimpreza 'a super party', superwidowisko 'supershow', etc. With names of technical equipment, the morpheme acquires the meaning of 'the most modern, of best technical parameters', e.g. superbroń 'superweapon', superradar 'super radar', supertelefon 'super telephone', etc. The morpheme can also suggest 'superiority in hierarchy', e.g. superinterwencja 'super intervention', superkomisarz 'super commissioner', superurzad 'super office', superreligia 'super religion', etc. In a number of formations *super*- acquires the meaning of 'additional, special, exceptional', e.g. superustawa 'a special bill', supernagroda 'super prize', superuprawnienia 'super permissions', etc. Besides, the negative value of a phenomenon can also be intensified by means of super-, e.g. superinflacja 'superinflation', superkrytycyzm 'super criticism', superoszustwo 'super fraud', superprzemoc 'super violence', etc.

1.2. Morpheme *ekstra*(-)

The morpheme derives from the Latin adverb and preposition *extra* meaning 'outside, except, beyond'. In the Polish linguistic system it belongs to the group of formants of medium derivative productivity (Waszakowa 2005: 131–132). It is used with nominal roots, both native and foreign. It can express two types of meaning: (1) 'of very good quality, very attractive, extraordinary', e.g. *ekstrababka* 'a great woman', *ekstraimpreza* 'a great party', *ekstrazabawa* 'a great fun'; or (2) 'additional', e.g. *ekstrasystem* 'an additional system', *ekstrawyjście* 'an additional emergency way out', *ekstrazasilanie* 'an additional power supply'. In (1) the morpheme is semantically and stylistically close to the morpheme *super* since they both act as intensifiers for the meaning of the root words. However, in order to interpret the meaning of derivatives such as *ekstraoferta* 'a great offer' v. 'an additional offer', *ekstralokata* 'a very profitable deposit' v. 'an additional deposit', *ekstrasystem* 'an outstanding system' v. 'an additional system', or *ekstrawyjście* 'a great social outing' v. 'an additional emergency way out', the context is essential. It has been already noted in the literature (Waszakowa

2005: 132) that the morpheme *ekstra* is gradually acquiring an independent lexical status, i.e. it is beginning to function as a free form in the following contexts: *ekstra wydatki* 'extra expenses', *usługi ekstra* 'extra services', *można było dostać ekstra do trzystu złotych* 'you could get up to three hundred zlotys extra', *koncert był ekstra* 'the concert was great', *coś ekstra dla miłośników rapu* 'something great for the rap music enthusiasts', *było ekstra* 'it was great'.

1.3. Morpheme *hiper(-)*

The morpheme derives from the Greek adverb and preposition *hypèr* meaning 'over, beyond'. It belongs to the group of formants of medium derivative productivity (Waszakowa 2005: 131–132). Its role is to intensify the meaning expressed by the nominal root word denoting abstract features or activities, e.g. *hiperkorupcja* 'hyperbribery', *hipermobilizacja* 'hypermobilization', *hipernowoczesność* 'hypermodernity', *hiperindywidualizm* 'hyperindividualism', *hiperintensywność* 'hyperintensity'. Besides, the lexical borrowing *hipermarket* 'hypermarket' is thought to have given rise to other structures, such as *hiperdelikatesy* 'hyper delicatessen store', *hipersklep* 'hypershop' or *hiperwyzysk* 'hyperexploitation (used in relation to hypermarkets)' (Waszakowa 2005: 132). Moreover, a number of loan translations from English connected with computers and IT have entered Polish quite recently, e.g. *hiperłącze* 'hyperlink', *hipertekst* 'hypertext', *hiperwątkowość* 'hyper-threading' (Waszakowa 2005: 132).

1.4. Morpheme *mega(-)*

According to Waszakowa (2005: 149), the morpheme *mega* belongs to the group of recent highly productive formants in Polish. It derives from the Greek adjective *mégas* 'great, huge'.

In Polish its derivatives appear as analogical formations (predominantly nominal) modelled on lexical loans from English such as *megastar*, *megahit*, *megastore*; or on loan translations from English, e.g. *megagwiazda* 'megastar', *megaprzebój*, 'mega hit', *megasklep* 'megastore'.

The morpheme *mega* introduces the meaning of 'great, huge, gigantic, on a great scale', e.g. *megadzielnica* 'mega district', *megahurtownia* 'mega warehouse', *megawolność* 'complete freedom', *megazamach* 'a large scale (terrorist) attack', etc.⁷; or, less frequently, by an adjectival root word (Mycawka 2000), e.g. *megaplatynowy* 'mega-platinum'. Moreover, the morpheme *mega*- can point to a distinctive and exceptional feature of an object or phenomenon, e.g. *mega-*

⁶ The examples from *Inny słownik języka polskiego* (Bańko 2000).

⁷ The meaning can be figurative as in: Świat staje się mega-areną i mega-bazarem 'The world is becoming a mega-stage and a mega marketplace' (Waszakowa 2005: 153).

horoskop 'mega horoscope', megaimpreza 'mega party', megakoncert 'mega concert', megasukces 'mega success', megazabawa 'mega fun'. The morpheme is also used, though to a lesser extent, with nouns denoting people, e.g. megagwiazda 'megastar', megadyktator 'mega dictator', megakłamca 'mega liar' (Waszakowa 2005: 153). The language of the media, the 'aggressive' language of advertising in particular, makes frequent use of the morpheme mega as an amplifier, e.g. megamarket 'mega market', megatelewizor 'mega television set', megawyprzedaż 'mega sale' (Waszakowa 2005: 153).

2. The analysis

The current analysis is based on the data from the Polish National Corpus (Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego, henceforth NKJP), a language source which can be accessed online at http://www.nkjp.uni.lodz.pl/ and is searchable by means of advanced tools (Poliqarp and PELCRA, the latter being used for the analysis). The collection of texts included in NKJP contains literary classics, newspapers, journals, transcripts of conversations, and various internet texts.

The corpus is reliable since it contains a high number of words of running text as well as a diversity of texts with respect to the subject and genre. The conversations transcribed in the part of a spoken corpus represent both male and female speakers, in various age groups, coming from various regions of Poland.

The balanced subcorpus constitutes a linguistically representative⁸ sample of texts chosen according to criteria set for different stylistic registers and genres. The representative character of the corpus implies such proportions of frequencies of words and linguistic constructions, collocations (typical associations) and other lexical and grammatical features that the average member of the Polish-speaking community is likely to actually read or hear, as the selection of texts is based on the research on readership. The balanced subcorpus of Polish encompasses 240,192,461 words of running text (as of December 2012).

My research focuses on four neoclassical morphemes which seem popular in contemporary Polish, namely *ekstra-*, *hiper-*, *mega-* and *super-*. The analysis has been limited to the data included in the balanced subcorpus of NKJP. For the analysis of the data in question, both the qualitative and quantitative research⁹ is employed. The qualitative research can be expected to allow for the identification of various aspects of usage of items in question in the language,

⁸ For the discussion of the problem of representativeness of a written part of the Polish general-reference corpus see Górski (2008: 119–124).

 $^{^{9}}$ See McEnery and Wilson (2001: 76–77) for differences between qualitative and quantitative corpus analyses.

including the rare phenomena. On the other hand, the quantitative research allows us to classify and count the identified items. The rationale behind such a twofold approach is that the qualitative analysis can provide greater richness and precision, while the quantitative analysis provides statistically reliable and generalisable results (McEnery and Wilson 2001: 77).

3. Objectives of the analysis

This paper is aimed to:

- analyse the collected data so as to obtain quantitative results, i.e. to count
 the exact number of instances of the morphemes in question (occurring as
 free lexical items and as bound morphemes followed by a hyphen as well as
 integral unhyphenated morphemes);
- analyse the collected data so as to obtain qualitative results (i.e. to record all the instances of the use of the morphemes, including rare occurrences);
- measure the morphological productivity of the bound morphemes (prefixes);
- define the exact meaning of the morphemes in all the corpus data;
- examine the data in order to check whether the morphemes *super*-, *ekstra*-, *hiper* and *mega* (conveying the meaning of size or emotion) are used interchangeably, i.e. whether they can occur with the same roots, or their connections are fairly fixed.

The collected data are expected to provide an answer to the question whether evaluative/augmentative morphemes *super-*, *hiper-*, *ekstra-* and *mega-*belong to a group of fashionable, commonly overused lexical expressions.

4. Data collection

The corpus data were collected and copied into individual word files in order to be examined manually. The reason for the manual examination was the lack of tagging in the corpus searched with the PELCRA search engine. Besides, although search results obtained by means of the Poliqarp engine are tagged for grammatical categories and classes, the tagging has been of little help due to the fact that the morphemes in question are perceived as alien or unknown forms, and as such are either left unannotated or are assigned a fixed grammatical category (adjective, without exceptions).

The search results obtained for the morphemes functioning in Polish as autonomous lexical items were copied into individual files and then carefully examined, one by one, within the context of their occurrence, in order to annotate each item with a proper syntactic function. In the case of complex

words formed with the bound morphemes in question, data collection was done in a step-by-step fashion (by means of individual letter extensions, e.g. megaa*, megab*, megac*, etc.) as due to some imperfections of the PELCRA tools, the number of results received in a single search (e.g. mega*) was far from complete. The next step was to examine the collected data, delete the redundant results (i.e. repetitions of the same occurrences) or wrong/misleading results (e.g. proper names derived from foreign languages, e.g. Super Bowl, Superbrand etc., titles of newspapers, e.g. Super Express, names of television and radio stations)¹⁰ and annotate the results with proper syntactic functions. The subsequent examination of the data was devoted to the assignment of the meaning and sense within the general meaning to each lexical item. The next step was to isolate and mark the subgroups of specialized terms (i.e. technical, medical, etc. terminology). All the results were counted manually as to different syntactic and semantic functions. Additionally, comprehensive lists containing numbers of occurrences of each word, together with the list of hapax legomena were made.

5. Data analysis

The analysis of the collected data allows us to make the following remarks:

- 1) The cumulative frequency of occurrence of the morphemes *ekstra*, *hiper*, *mega* and *super* in the subcorpus is 0,014 percent, i.e. 33 341 instances of both bound and free morphemes plus derivatives. The frequencies for each separate morpheme are as follows: *super* (0,007 percent), *ekstra* (0,004), *hiper* (0,002), and *mega* (0,001). The results allow us to conclude that the morphemes in question are not overused in Polish. Nevertheless, nowadays there is a noticeable language fashion for the abovementioned morphemes to be used in spoken informal language, especially by speakers of the younger generation as well as in informal public television conversations. Therefore, the listeners (receivers) of the language may be left with a slightly misleading impression of the omnipresence of the morphemes *super*, *mega*, *hiper* and *ekstra* in contemporary Polish.
- 2) The highest number of occurrences has been noted in the case of the morpheme *super*(-), both as a bound (10 392 instances) and a free morpheme (5168 instances). Smaller numbers have been recorded for the morpheme *ekstra*(-), namely 7849 instances of use as a bound morpheme and 946 as a free morpheme. In the case of *hiper*(-), 5236 instances of use as a bound

¹⁰ In order to estimate the exact frequency of the morphemes in question, the number of the deleted results has been subtracted from the overall number of words included in the subcorpus. Thus, the exact volume of the subcorpus taken into consideration has diminished to 240,184,522 running words.

morpheme are accompanied by only 29 occurrences of a free morpheme. The bound morpheme *mega*- has been noted 2224 times and the free morpheme *mega* 275 times. The analysis of the numbers allows us to draw the conclusion that *super* and *ekstra* have already acquired an independent lexical status, *mega* is slowly becoming lexicalized, while *hiper*- seems to function in the mental lexicon of the speakers predominantly as a prefix. Besides, referring to the types of texts the instances derive from, the free morphemes *super*(-) and *ekstra*(-) have been noted in all stylistic registers and genres included in the subcorpus, with the highest frequencies noted in the transcripts of conversations and the language of Internet forums. In the case of the free morpheme *mega*, its use in the language of conversations significantly outnumbers the occurrences in Internet sources, not to mention its only occasional occurrence in other genres included in the subcorpus.

- 3) The morphemes *ekstra*(-), *hiper*(-), *mega*(-) and *super*(-) perform a variety of syntactic functions, either as bound morphemes (i.e. prefixes) used with nouns (predominantly), adjectives and adverbs (the lowest number of occurrences) or as free morphemes in either the prepositive position, e.g. *Były ekstra obiady* 'There were great lunches', or the postpositive position, e.g. *Naleśniki były ekstra* 'The pancakes were great' in the function of adjectives, adverbs, exclamations and even nouns (see Appendix 1).
- The morphemes can be perceived as polysemous (see Appendix 2) although some semantic differences may be minor. With regard to the morpheme super(-), the largest number of occurrences has been noted in the case of the prefix expressing the meaning of excessive size of the entity expressed by the root (27,4% of all occurrences), which is partly due to the fact that supermarket has been noted 3749 times. The next in line, with 18,2% of all the occurrences, stands the prefix super- expressing the great quality and the attractiveness of the entity expressed by the root, thus adding a flavour of approval. The meaning of the prefix super- expressing the exceptional features of the entity or the extraordinary intensity of the feature expressed by the root has been noted in 12,5% of instances. The prefix is used to intensify the feature, usually an approving one, expressed by the adjacent adjective or adverb (9,1% of instances). With regard to super as an individual word, it is used as an adjective (13,5%) and as an adverb (6,7% of instances). In the case of ekstra- as a prefix, its meaning predominantly emphasizes the good quality or the attractiveness of the entity or property expressed by the root – 83,6% of all the instances of the morpheme. In the case of the prefix *hiper*-, 72,2% of all the occurrences express the meaning of excessive size of the entity expressed by the root. However, the overall number has been inflated by 3760 instances of a very popular lexeme hipermarket. In the case of the morpheme mega(-), although its tradi-

tional meaning expressing measurement (i.e. one million times the unit expressed by the root, e.g. *megatona* 'megaton') has been attested in 41,1% of all the occurrences, its more and more popular use is in reference to excessive size of the entity expressed by the root (e.g. *megaamfiteatr* 'mega amphitheatre'), with 39,4% of all the occurrences. Also worth mentioning is the fact that the number of instances expressing this meaning has not been inflated by one type of lexeme (as in the case of *supermarket* and *hipermarket*). On the contrary, the prefix has been noted to be attached to a large number (145) of different bases (e.g. *bank*, *gwiazda* 'star', *koncert* 'concert', *miasto* 'city', *zysk* 'profit'). The next in frequency of occurrences stands its meaning of the great degree, intensity (e.g. *megaawantura* 'mega row') or the attractiveness (e.g. *megagwiazda* 'megastar') of the referent of the root (28,3% of all the occurrences of the morpheme *mega*).

- 5) In written language there is a considerable inconsistency between language users as to the syntactic functions of the morphemes in question since users sometimes view the morphemes as prefixes and attach them to root words, while in other cases they perceive the morphemes as free lexical items in the function of adjectives or adverbs. The tendency of perceiving the morphemes as free lexical items might be attributed to the fact that they are written as separate items when used in the postpositive position, therefore they are treated in the same fashion, i.e. as free morphemes, also in the prepositive position. Besides, the sense of relative novelty of such formants results in their weak integration into the morphological system of Polish.
- 6) The use of *ekstra*, *hiper*, *mega* and *super* as free morphemes has become a fairly common phenomenon in contemporary Polish, mainly in the informal language of spoken and Internet conversations. In fact the morpheme *super* is becoming more and more common as a free lexical item in the function of adjective or adverb (5168 instances) compared to its traditional use as a bound morpheme (10 463 instances). Such a change can be attributed to the influence of English syntax (Mycawka 2000: 20; Szymanek 2005: 436; Zabawa 2012: 151).
- 7) Thirty nine instances have been noted, mainly in informal spoken Polish, in which amplified epithets are used in order to further intensify the property or the phenomenon expressed by a modified noun (a variety of combinations in writing, including prefixal doublets e.g. (literal translations) superekstra miasto 'super extra city', ekstrasuper tabletki 'extra super pills', and other combinations, e.g. mega super ekstra firma 'mega super extra company', mega hiper supergwiazda 'mega hyper superstar'), expressed by an adjective (e.g. superekstra śmieszny tekst 'super extra funny text', super hiper ekstra nowoczesny salon 'super hyper extra modern (hair) salon') or expressed by an adverb (super hiper extra bomba szałowo 'super hyper extra awesome terrific'; super ekstra odlotowo 'super extra cool').

- 8) It has been observed that speakers coin derivatives from the morphemes in question (e.g. *supcio* (Adj/Adv), *superancki* (Adj), *hiperek* (N), *ekstrasy* (N pl), *megaśny* (Adj) etc.). Ninety nine instances of such derivatives have been noted, the most productive being the morpheme *super* (87 derivatives) (see Appendix 1 for details). Definitely, it is not a feature of standard written Polish but rather everyday informal speech or the language of Internet communication, straddling the boundary between informal speech and informal written language.
- 9) In the case of the adjective and the adverb *ekstra* meaning 'additional/ additionally', sixteen instances have been noted in which *ekstra* is either followed or preceded by its native equivalent *dodatkowy/dodatkowo/dodatek* 'additional/additionally/addition', probably by way of clarification. Furthermore, four instances have been identified of *ekstra* prefixed to *dodatek*. While it may be possible to analyse the prefix as expressing the meaning 'extraordinarily good', this seems less likely and the resulting constructions are examples of tautology.
- 10) Taking into account the informal language of Internet conversation, it is worth noting that the morpheme *ekstra* spelled with *-ks-* in accordance with the Polish spelling rules (102 occurrences) is outnumbered by its foreign spelling *extra*¹¹ (177 occurrences), which can probably be attributed to the influence of the English spelling. Nevertheless, the instances of the morpheme with the foreign spelling have not been analysed in this study.
- 11) It has been noted that certain root words tend to be used with particular bound morphemes (prefixes) intensifying the feature expressed by the root (e.g. superkumpel 'super friend' but not hiperkumpel* or megakumpel*), while other roots occur with different evaluative morphemes conveying similar meanings of great size, intensity or great quality (e.g. superatrakcja, hiperatrakcja 'super/hyper attraction'; superszybki, hiperszybki, ekstraszybki 'super/hyper/extra fast'; ekstraciuchy, superciuchy 'extra/super clothes'). The same observation relates to the free morphemes functioning as adjectives and adverbs. However, in the case of free morphemes they are used to modify a variety of words, the choice of the morpheme being dependent on the speaker's perception of the meaning the morpheme conveys.
- 12) Augmentative morphemes (both bound and free) mega(-), super(-), hi-per(-) (excluding ekstra(-)) can also be attached to roots expressing pejorative sense thus serving the function of intensifiers of the negative connotation e.g. (literal translations) superbałwan 'super moron', superidiota 'super

¹¹ In accordance with the recommendation of the Council for the Polish Language (Rada Języka Polskiego) published in a newsletter entitled Announcements of the Council for the Polish Language at the Presidium of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Komunikaty Rady Języka Polskiego przy Prezydium Polskiej Akademii Nauk) (2003, Nr 1/12: 42) the only correct spelling of the prefix *ekstra* is in *-ks-* not *-x-*.

idiot', superlajdak 'super scoundrel', superlotr 'super villain', supernaiwniak 'super sucker', megadupek 'super arsehole', megagówno 'mega shit', megakiczowaty 'mega kitschy', megatandeta 'mega trash', megaściema 'mega baloney', megasnob 'mega snob', hiperkiczowaty 'hyper kitschy', hiperbubel 'hyper dud', hiperbezczelny 'hyper insolent', hiper-debilizm 'hyper imbecility', mega głupi 'mega stupid', mega tępy 'mega thick-headed'.

The morphological productivity of the bound morphemes (prefixes) in question has been measured based on Baayen's (1992: 109–149) measure of productivity¹² and Bauer's (2001) measure of the profitability of a morphological process:¹³

prefix	number of types	number of hapax legomena n ¹	total number of tokens N	productivity $P = n_1/N$	profitability ¹⁴ $\pi = V/N$
ekstra-	177	123	8851	0,0138967	0,0199977
hiper-	299	178	5237	0,0339889	0,0570937
mega-	334	217	2231	0,0972658	0,1497086
super-	1304	766	10463	0,0732103	0,1246296

The results of the calculations demonstrate that the prefixes in question are not extremely productive in Polish. Such ratings of productivity are slight-

 $^{^{12}}$ The 'productivity in the narrow sense' P is the quotient of the number of hapax legomena $n_{_{I}}$ (i.e. words of the given category that occur only once in the corpus) with a given affix (prefix in the case of the present study) and the total number of tokens N of all words with the affix (prefix) in question: $P = n_{_{I}}/N$ (Baayen 1992). A large number of hapax legomena leads to a high value of P, which indicates a productive morphological process. Conversely, a large number of high frequency items leads to a high value of tokens N, thus to a decrease of P, which indicates low productivity (Baayen and Lieber 1997).

¹³ According to Bauer (2001), productivity is perceived as a bipolar morphological process composed of availability and profitability. The availability is a binary 'yes/no' state which informs us whether a certain process is available and alive at a certain time or unavailable and dead. The profitability is the extent to which the availability is exploited in language use, i.e., it deals with the number of lexemes the available process coins.

¹⁴ Token frequency is not a sufficient indicator of productivity on its own as unproductive processes tend to carry a large number of tokens, since repeated occurrences of the same word count as tokens (Aronoff 1983 after Fernandez-Dominguez 2009: 155). The higher the type frequency (V) the lower the distribution of token frequency (V) among the coined types thus the word-formation process is profitable and productive. Conversely, in less profitable and unproductive processes fewer new words are coined (lower type frequency V) thus the same derivatives are used constantly (higher token frequency V). The type/token ratio, expressed as the indicator of profitability $\pi = V/N$, favours types in productive processes and tokens in less productive processes (Fernandez-Dominguez 2009: 155; 2010: 210). Thus, the higher the final figure the higher the profitability of the process in question, and vice versa.

ly counter-intuitive. Although the prefix ekstra- could be expected to exhibit quite high productivity based on a large number of hapax legomena comprising above 69% of the overall number of types, it is rated the least productive of all the prefixes in question. The reason for the low productivity might be the fact that the frequency of two popular words formed with the prefix ekstra-, namely ekstraklasa 'premiership' (6990 instances) and ekstraliga 'premier league' (1003 instances), is high in the analysed corpus and consequently the token count is raised dramatically. Therefore it can be concluded that the token frequency seems an imperfect indicator of productivity as the number of tokens is easily inflated by a small number of very common types. The second least productive prefix is hiper-. In this case again, the number of tokens is raised significantly by one lexeme, hipermarket with 3761 instances. In the case of the prefixes superand mega-, which are rated the most productive of the four prefixes, the frequencies of tokens belonging to particular types are comparable. The highest productivity of the four prefixes has been noticed in the case of mega-. The prefix has become fairly popular in everyday conversation and widely accepted by the speakers, its popularity being increased by marketing companies and advertisers which invent a number of product names incorporating the prefix.

Still another reason for such low productivity of the prefixes in question might be the fact that the morphemes begin to function as independent lexemes, which results in their lower frequency as prefixes.

6. Conclusions

The paper has attempted to analyse the instances of four neoclassical morphemes super(-), ekstra(-), mega(-) and hiper(-), in contemporary Polish, based on the resources of the Polish National Corpus. The morphemes have been noted to perform different syntactic functions, e.g. prefixes used with nouns (predominantly), adjectives and adverbs (infrequently) as well as free morphemes in the function of adjectives, adverbs, exclamations and nouns (occasionally). The analysis demonstrates that super and ekstra have already undergone the process of lexicalization, mega is slowly acquiring an independent lexical status, while hiper still functions predominantly as a prefix. The quantitative results demonstrate that the morphemes are not overused in the analysed linguistic data, which comes contrary to the popular impression. The results of calculations of morphological productivity show that the overall productivity of the prefixes has proved quite low, which seems to contradict the assumptions made before the calculations. The semantic analysis shows that the most frequent meaning of the morphemes in question is the one of aug-

mentation of the feature as well as positive evaluation of the phenomenon or object expressed by the root or the modified word.

The results presented here have been based on a subcorpus. If a similar study were conducted on the full corpus of Polish, the number of instances of the morphemes as well as examples of innovative uses of the morphemes would certainly be more numerous, which would probably influence the ratings in productivity measurement. However, while such a task is worth considering, it would be comparatively much more challenging and time-consuming.

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Appendix 1

The results of the quantitative analysis of the corpus data.

MORPHEME 'SUPER'

morpheme	number of occurrences			
super	bound morp	free morpheme		
	10463		5168	
	integral, unhyphenated followed by a hyphen			
	10311	152		

bound morpheme (integral, unhyphenated prefix)					
in prefixed nouns in prefixed adjectives in prefixed adverbs			xed adverbs		
8962		1319		30	
	specialist terms		specialist terms		specialist terms
	659		62		_

bound morpheme				
(prefix) followed by a hyphen				
in prefixed nouns	in prefixed adjectives	in prefixed adverbs		
110	40	2		

free morpheme				
adjective	adverb	exclamation ¹⁵	conversation gap filler ¹⁶	
2842	1602	371	353	

DERIVATIVES FROM 'SUPER' (number of occurrences):

Adjectives: supcio (3), superowy (19), superowski (1), superek (1), superasty (2), superancki (5) Adverbs: supcio (8), superowo (22), superowsko (7), superosko (1), superek (1), superasko (1), superancko (12), superanko (2)

Nouns: superowość (1), superas (1)

¹⁵ The function of an exclamation has been assigned to such instances in which the free morpheme, appearing to be in adverbial function, can be substituted with a nominal exclamation (e.g. *rewelacja* 'revelation') without the infringement of syntactic rules.

¹⁶ Conversation gap fillers are interjections, lacking grammatical connection and with an unidentified syntactic function.

MORPHEME 'EKSTRA'

morpheme	number of occurrences		
ekstra ¹⁷	bound morpheme (prefix)		free morpheme
	8855		940
	integral, unhyphenated followed by a hyphen		
	8841	14	

	bound morpheme (integral unhyphenated prefix)				
in prefix	in prefixed nouns in prefixed adjectives in prefixed adverbs				xed adverbs
8465 365		11			
	specialist terms	16	specialist terms		specialist terms
	371		97		3

bound morpheme (prefix) followed by a hyphen			
in prefixed nouns	in prefixed adjectives	in prefixed adverbs	
13	1	_	

Adjective	adverb	exclamation	conversation gap filler
687	210	29	14

DERIVATIVES FROM *EKSTRA*: Nouns – *ekstrasy* (pl) (3)

¹⁷ In the case of free morpheme *ekstra*, it is hard to assign the exact syntactic function of either an adjective or an adverb, e.g. *On musi zaproponować coś ekstra*, 'He must propose something extra', i.e. something additional (adj) or additionally, in addition (adv).

MORPHEME 'HIPER'

morpheme	number of occurrences		
hiper	bound morpheme (prefix)		free morpheme
	5237		29
	integral, unhyphenated	followed by a hyphen	
	5224	13	

bound morpheme (integral unhyphenated prefix)					
in prefixed nouns in prefixed adjectives in prefixed adverbs				xed adverbs	
4839 377		8			
	specialist terms	16	specialist terms		specialist terms
	684		195		4

bound morpheme (prefix) followed by a hyphen	11 41	
in prefixed nouns	in prefixed adjectives	in prefixed adverbs
10	3	-

free morpheme				
adjective adverb exclamation conversation g				
23	6	-	_	

DERVATIVES FROM HIPER:

Nouns: *hiper / hiperek* (= clippings of *hipermarket*) (8)

MORPHEME 'MEGA'

morpheme	number of occurrences		
mega	abound morpheme (prefix)		free morpheme
	2231		275
	integral, unhyphenated	followed by a hyphen	
	2205	26	

bound morpheme (integral unhyphenated prefix)					
in	in prefixed nouns in prefixed adjectives in prefixed adverbs				
2037	2037 159		9		
	specialist terms		specialist terms		specialist terms
	1332		123		9

bound morpheme (prefix) followed by a hyphen				
in prefixed nouns	in prefixed adjectives	in prefixed adverbs		
23	3			

free morpheme		N W	
adjective	adverb	exclamation	noun
168	79	6	22 (<i>mega</i> = clipping of <i>megabajty</i> 'megabytes')

DERVATIVES FROM *MEGA*: Adverb: *megaśnie* (1)

Appendix 2

The results of the qualitative analysis of the corpus data.

MORPHEME 'SUPER'

Number of the analysed occurrences: 15 631

	meaning	number of occurrences	percent- age	examples
prefix	 exceptional; additional; of extraordinary intensity; on a great scale; exceeding some contextually determined value of property associated with the root; 	1961	12,5%	superfinał 'super-final' superego superjednostka 'super (military) unit' superedycja 'super-edition'
	of greater quality;more impressive;more attractive;better;	2844	18,2%	superagent superbelfer 'super teacher' superbohater 'superhero'
	 large in size or scale exceeding the conventionally expected size of the entity in the root; 	4278	27,4%	supermarket supermaraton 'super-marathon' supertankowiec super-tanker'
	superior in hierarchy;higher in rank;	352	2,3%	superzwierzchnik 'super manager' superurząd 'super office'
	(with names of technical equipment) - the most modern; - of best technical parameters; - of the latest generation;	203	1,3%	superambulans 'super ambulance' superbombowiec 'super bomber' superekran 'super screen'
	(super + adj/adv) - exceeding the conventional value of the property expressed by the root;	1430	9,1%	superszybki 'super-fast' supertajny 'super-confidential' supertani 'super-cheap'

adjec- tive	- extremely good or attractive;	2113	13,5%	super inicjatywa 'great initiative' super pogoda 'great weather' super urlop 'great vacation'
	 exceeding the conventionally expected value of the property associated with the root; exceptional; additional; 	221	1,4%	super wymagania 'exceptional/ad- ditional require- ments' super kara 'additional fine/ of exceptional severity' super siłacz 'super strongmen'
adverb	(super + adj) – extremely;	286	1,8%	super nowoczesny 'super modern' super szybki 'super fast'
	excellently;fantastically;	1045	6,7%	czuję się super 'I feel super'

MORPHEME 'EKSTRA'

Number of the analysed occurrences: 9795

	meaning	number of occurrences	percent- age	examples
prefix	 of very good quality; very attractive; great; extraordinary; exceptional; 	8192	83,6%	ekstraklasa 'premiership' ekstrakonto 'very attractive bank account' ekstraliga 'premier league'
	- additional;	73	0,7%	ekstrapremia 'additional bonus' ekstrazysk 'addi- tional profit' ekstrawypłata 'additional payment'

prefix	(ekstra + adj/adv) - extending beyond the scope of the property or entity denoted by the root;	456	4,7%	ekstraordynaryjny tryb 'extraordinary procedure' ekstrasensoryczny 'extrasensory' ekstrasolarny 'ex- trasolar'
	 (ekstra + adj/adv) extremely; exceeding the conventionally expected degree of the property expressed by the root; 	30	0,3%	ekstrachudy 'ex- tremely thin' ekstralekki 'extra light' ekstrakomiczny 'extremely funny'
adjec- tive	great;wonderful;	229	2,3%	jesteś ekstra 'you are great' ekstra facet 'great guy' ekstra film 'great film'
	exceptional;of very good quality;	262	2,7%	coś ekstra 'some- thing exceptional' mleko klasy ekstra 'extra class milk'
	additional;added to what is normal;	188	1,9%	ekstra inspekcja 'ad- ditional inspection' ekstra koszty 'ad- ditional costs' ekstra wydatki 'ad- ditional expendi- tures'
adverb	extremely;extraordinarily;	32	0,3%	ekstra mocne 'extra strong'
	additionally;more than ordinary;	105	1,1%	ekstra płatne 'paid additionally'
	excellently;fantastically;	72	0,7%	było ekstra 'it was fantastic'

MORPHEME 'HIPER'

Number of the analysed occurrences: 5266¹⁸

	meaning ¹⁸	number of occurrences	percent- age	examples
prefix	 having too much of the property associated with the root; excessive; exceeding by far the conventionally expected degree of the property associated with the root; 	863	16,4%	hiperagresja 'hyper-aggression' hiperaktywny 'hyper-active'
	great in degree or intensity;on a great scale;	130	2,5%	hiperczujność 'hyper-alertness' hiperinwazja 'hyper-invasion'
	 exceeding the conventional- ly expected size of the entity denoted by the root; 	3801	72,2%	hiper market 'hypermarket' hiperkolejka 'hyper-queue' hiperkomputer 'hyper-computer'
	of very good quality;very attractive;very impressive;	24	0,5%	hiperbuty 'great shoes' hiperrolki 'great rollerblades'
	(hiper + adj/adv) – extremely;	101	1,9%	hiperprzystojny 'extremely hand- some' hiperprofesjonalny 'extremely profes- sional'

¹⁸ The assignment of the exact meaning to the prefix *hiper*- in certain lexemes is problematic since a number of words have been coined in relation to *hipermarket* 'hypermarket', e.g. judging from the context, *hiperkonflikt* is not a huge conflict but a local disagreement over the prospect of building another hypermarket. Besides, a significant number of lexemes present in the corpus are terms connected with computers and IT which are usually loan translations from English, e.g. *hipertekst* 'hypertext', *hiperwatkowość* 'hyper-threading', or words coined in relation to 'hyper' technology.

adjec- tive	- great in degree or intensity;	18	0,34%	hiper alergia 'hyper allergy'
	- excellent;	5	< 0,001%	coś hiper 'something great'
adverb	(hiper + adj) – extremely;	6	< 0,001%	hiper fajowski 'fantastic'

MORPHEME 'MEGA'

Number of the analysed occurrences: 2506

	meaning	number of occurrences	percent-	examples
prefix	(expressing measurement) one million times the unit denoted by the root;	1030	41,1%	megawat 'mega- watt' megatona 'megaton'
	impressive;very attractive;on a great scale;	708	28,3%	megaafera 'mega scandal' megaawantura 'mega row' megagwiazda 'megastar'
	– large in size or scale;	988	39,4%	megaamfiteatr 'mega amphithea- tre' megabankiet 'mega banquet' megabateria 'mega battery'
	(mega + adj/adv) – extremely;	51	2,0%	megazielony 'mega green' megawypalony 'mega burnt out' megauśmiechnięty 'mega smiling'
adjec- tive	– great in degree or intensity;	58	2,3%	mega dyskomfort 'mega discomfort' mega zemsta 'mega revenge' mega pompa 'mega fanfare'

adjec- tive	- large in size or scale;	39	1,6%	mega transparent 'mega banner' mega dekolt 'mega neckline' mega firma 'mega company'
	excellent;very attractive;	5	0,2%	mega technika 'mega technology'
adverb	(mega + adj) – extremely; – extraordinarily;	75	3,0%	mega długi 'mega long' mega ciekawy 'mega interesting' mega niska (cena) 'mega low (price)'
	excellently;fantastically;	3	0,1%	jest mega 'it is mega'

