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DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF NEOSEMATIZATION ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE POLISH AND BULGARIAN LANGUAGE

Abstract

The formation of neosemanticisms has its origin in the expressiveness of communication and is caused by the need for naming new objects and phenomena, language fashion or results from contemporary linguistic tendencies such as internationalization or colloquialization of a language.

The phenomenon of neosematization (extending the meaning of words or taking on a new meaning by a lexeme) is a very interesting process. In Polish-Bulgarian confrontative linguistics there is a lack of works describing the process of neosematization for both languages. The text below is to introduce the reader to essential facts resulting from the initial confrontation of the Polish and Bulgarian language.

Keywords: neosemantisms, semantic neologisms, anglosemantisms, semantic borrowings, metaphor, metonymy.

1 Neosematization¹ is inevitable on account of constant development of a language. Processes which a natural language undergoes are not only its internal changes but also transpositions resulting from the influences of foreign languages on a given natural language. These processes are observed both in the Polish and Bulgarian language. In case of the latter they are described in detail by e.g. S. Kolkovska² (2008) who mentions two planes on which neosematization in the Bulgarian language takes place:

- ‘new meanings which came into being thanks to a native model of semantic derivation’ (as an example Kolkovska gives the verb *източвам* together with its expli-

¹One can read in more detail on the semantization of words under a foreign influence at A. Markowski (2006, p. 215).

²S. Kolkovska: “Семантично калкиране се наблюдава при лексикални единици, които развиват ново преносно значение, като възпроизвеждат семантичната структура на съответната многозначна дума (или устойчив израз) в чужд език (Благоева, 2003, р. 134). При развитието на семантична калка при една дума се повтаря моделът на семантично преосмисляне на съответна лексема в друг език, съотносителна в предишно свое значение (или значения).” (2008, р. 23–24).

cation ‘to cause a bank, business, etc. to become bankrupt as a result of using its capital in illegal activities or mindless use of its assets’ (PHДЗБЕ 2010).

- ‘new meanings which came into existence owing to a foreign model, most often as a result of semantic loan translation’ (as an example S. Kolkovska gives a new meaning of the noun *донор* together with its semantic explication: ‘financial institution or organization, creditor or fund providing somebody with help.’ (PHДЗБЕ 2010). The author emphasizes that the discussed meaning of the noun is ‘built’ on the basis of a foreign model and its realization can be found e.g. in the English, German and Russian language.

1.1 The processes described by Kolkovska (internal and external) are not reserved exclusively for the Bulgarian language. Obviously they are also present in other languages, including Polish. An illustration of an internal phenomenon in the Polish language can become expressivisms³: *suchar* (basic meaning: ‘a slice of specially dried bread’; new meaning: ‘a joke which is not funny’), *paszтет* (basic meaning: ‘a dish made from stewed or cooked meat which is minced and baked’; new meaning: ‘a person who is not comely’), *stoik* (basic meaning: ‘a glass dish for storing different substances’; new meaning: ‘a person working in Warsaw, who often comes from a small village and who is in the capital to make a living’), *wypasiony* (basic meaning: ‘of an animal: well fattened up’; new meaning: ‘of the highest quality, luxurious, attractive’; the verb *ściemniać* (basic meaning: ‘to dim the light’; new meaning: ‘to lie, make sth up’). Examples of the external process of neosemantization are e.g. the verbs: *generować* (basic meaning: ‘to create a certain form of energy or certain form of transferring energy’); new meaning: ‘to create, produce’), *nominować* (basic meaning: ‘official appointment to a post; new meaning: ‘selecting and presenting somebody or something’); expressivism: *kultowy* (basic meaning: ‘connected with a religious cult’; new meaning: ‘being the object of cult, but also popular’). The fashion for expressivisms is changing and the words overused today may soon become unattractive, just like other lexemes which were popular a few years ago. The process observed over the years results from a constant transformation of a language. One can expect that the words that are used at present will be replaced by other lexical units in the near future (cf. Kolkovska, 2008; Chaciński, 2005; Miodek, 2000).

1.2 Semantic neologisms (neosemantisms) constitute a narrower group which is part of a larger collection — a collection of neologisms. A word which already exists in a language and which changes or extends its meaning, thanks to a semantic internal development is not identical with a completely new lexical unit which begins to exist in the system of a given language. A word which undergoes, as A. Markowski⁴ writes ‘a phenomenon of taking on [...] a new meaning’ has a different genesis and reason for being rooted in the system of a natural language.

1.3 Examples of neosemantisms⁵ in the formal and informal Polish: *góra* (basic meaning: ‘elevation of the earth’s crust’; new meaning: ‘upper half of a room’; ‘superiors (in a company, institution)’); *pole* (basic meaning: ‘an area of land intended for farming’; new meaning: place of activity, field); *pilot* (basic meaning: ‘a person with qualifications for flying an aircraft’; some new meanings: ‘a fragment of a film, programme etc. which encourages the viewer to watch the whole’, ‘an electronic device’); *jaszczur* (basic meaning:

³Also known as: emotionalisms, expressive words (cf. *Dictionary of Grammatical Terms*).

⁴Term used in linguistic works, e.g. at Markowski.

⁵In the bibliography a list of printed and Internet sources is given from which the neosemantisms discussed in the chapter were excerpted.

‘an extinct reptile from the Mesozoic era’; new meaning: ‘an ugly boy’); *slimak* (basic meaning: ‘a slow-crawling mollusc which usually has a shell’; new meanings: ‘a roadway in the shape of a spiral’, ‘a kiss’).

Examples in the Bulgarian language: *артикулация* (basic meaning: ‘a way of uttering sounds by a person speaking but also by a singer or an instrumentalist’; new meaning: ‘to express, to present’); *вирус* (basic meaning: ‘a living organism much smaller than a bacteria’; new meaning: ‘a computer program which gets into the computer system without the user’s knowledge and against their will and changing or destroying information stored in it’); *агресия* (basic meaning: ‘hostile behaviour’; also: strong negative emotions or armed invasion of one country by another’; new meaning: ‘very active’); *точене* (basic meaning: ‘a warning’; new meaning: ‘to download files from the Internet’); *запис* (basic meaning: ‘writing something down on paper’; new meaning: ‘recording on a computer disc’); *маймунка* (basic meaning: ‘a small monkey’; new meaning: ‘the name of a graphic sign — ©’).

Neosemanticisms, also known as semantic neologisms concentrate around the meaning of a given word. Their otherness in a group of neologisms consists in active extension of meanings of already existing words, which significantly distinguishes them from neologisms whose most essential role is the creation of a completely new word. (cf. Satoła-Staśkowiak, 2013).

2 The process of neosematization takes place by means of different linguistic measures. The basic ones are metaphorization and metonymization described in point 3.0. Apart from them it is worth noticing other activities which favour the creation of new meanings such as: generalization, shortening or the opposite, the contrariness of description which is a kind of language game. These activities are at present extensively used by the bearers of a language and multiply the phenomenon of ‘taking on’ a new meaning by given lexemes. In the Polish language it can be presented on the following examples:

Opposites: Pol. *kruszywa* (about a very fat woman or man), *zainteresowany* (about a man who is ostentatiously bored), *gadatiwa* (about a taciturn woman)

Univerbation through the ellipsis of a specifying term: cf. centre of entertainment — centre with the ellipsis of entertainment (most often contextually comprehensible): Pol. *centrum* (centre of footwear, centre of children’s culture, centre of sliding doors, radio centre, etc.), *salon* (furniture salon, hairdressing salon, footwear salon, etc.)

Shortening: Pol. *fryz* (instead of: *fryzura*) (hairstyle), *dobry* (good) (instead of: good morning)

Analogical processes concerning the creation of neosemanticisms as a result of building opposite meanings and generalizations are observed in case of the Bulgarian language:

Opposites: Bulg. *бетон* (about a clever, inventive, crafty man⁶)

Univerbation through the ellipsis of a specifying term: Bulg. *център* (*културален център*, *университетски център*, *областен център*, and the like.), Bulg. *салон* (*козметичен салон*, *фризьорски салон*, and the like.).

It is interesting that among the Bulgarian neosemanticisms a considerably smaller number of abbreviations is noted⁷, which are quite popular in case of the Polish language.

3 Metaphor and metonymy are systematic processes which lead to neosematization. In the process of metaphorization the basis is a similarity of phenomena, their relation. However, most often a relation which was noticeable in the beginning starts to fade away with

⁶Cf. *Речник на неологизмите в новогovor*.

⁷The author mentions this phenomenon in another article which is being prepared for going to press, cf. Satoła-Staśkowiak *Contemporary Tendencies of Polish and Bulgarian Language*.

time (Tokarski, 2001), until it finally ceases to be legible and only deeper linguistic analyses will be able to indicate it. Metaphor is the basis of such Polish jargon semanticisms as: *truteń* ('someone who doesn't work and lives off other people'), *ściemnianie* ('deceiving, making things up'), *strzał* ('a statement or behaviour which is aimed at teasing and hurting somebody'), *banan* ('a wide smile'). Metaphor is based on a similarity of features and functions that are described. Bulgarian neosemanticisms are based on psychological and physical similarity of designates and their functions: *зарибявам* ('attract, catch someone, make somebody a regular customer by selling them a product more cheaply or for free or win someone over, attract someone to a party or sect, and the like') (Kolkovska, 2008), *бойлер* (a fatty, a lump), *агресивен* ('very active' or 'very strong'), (Blagoeva, 2005b), *въздух* (empty-headed 'a mediocre person').

Not only metaphor but also metonymy forms the basis for creating neosemanticisms. Here the basis is a close occurrence of designatums in space (Grabias, 2001). In the Polish language, e.g.: *cash* (money, doosh); in the Bulgarian language: *джиесем* (a general name of mobile phones which comes from the name of an operator).

4 Semantic calques⁸

At the turn of the centuries in case of the Polish language there occurred semantic loan translations e.g. from such languages as Russian, French, German, Italian, Czech or English.⁹ In recent years the most semantic loanwords have come from English. It is connected with the popularity of this language not only in Poland but all over the world. The English language (mainly its American version) is sometimes called the Latin of the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries. In case of the borrowings from this language the following factors are enormously helpful: better than in the 70s knowledge of English, particularly among young people, popularity of portals such as Facebook and Twitter as well as the success of other media promoting Anglo-Saxon culture and art, copying American standards of behaviour or using announcements in English in order to reach the biggest possible audience.

In recent years, similarly to Polish, the Bulgarian language has remained under a strong influence of an American version of the English language. For the last fifteen years reinforcing of specific linguistic phenomena has been observed. We also witness, as Kolkovska remarks, 'rapid aging' and 'forgetting' some words and expressions (as e.g. *дановка*, *горяни*, examples after Kolkovska, 2008). The need for incorporating the newest lexis and developing new meanings results from the desire to replace the gap in the system of a natural language and the fashion for definite and foreign vocabulary, e.g. computer.

5 H. Kurkowska in her work from 1976 gives hints which may help in distinguishing the process of 'transferring meaning' from a foreign language onto the Polish ground from the phenomenon of simultaneous development of meanings of words in both analysed languages or the borrowing of a homonymous word. It is not an easy thing since part of the neosemanticisms is not recognised well by the users of the language and often considered as an element of this language. Among the criteria given by H. Kurkowska there are: concurrence of semantic changes in several languages, the rift between a 'classical' meaning and its newer version, a lack of information about the course of the change of meaning,

⁸Cf. Buttler 1979; Smólkowa 1997; Markowski 1994, 2006; Jadacka 2001, 2010; Satoła-Staškowiak 2013; Blagoeva 2003, 2005b, 2006; Колковска 2007, 2011; Попова 1999, 2009.

⁹H. Kurkowska (1976/1991) wrote in the 70s and later about the mechanisms of semantic borrowings in the Polish language and their changes under the influence of the Russian, French and English language.

occurrence of neosemantisms in uses linked phraseologically or lexically and reference of neosemantisms to foreign social, cultural, etc. contexts in a language.

6 If there is a two big semantic divergence between a classical and a new meaning of a word, it may suggest that we have to do deal with a homonymous lexeme and not a neosemantism.

In case of anglosemantisms one should agree with A. Markowski's thesis who thinks that all the (above mentioned) criteria can today be combined into one 'more general' criterion connected with the time when a word appeared in the Polish and English language (Markowski, 2006: 217). If a given meaning of a lexeme existed earlier in the English language, what can be checked thanks to lexicographical works and appropriate dictionaries, and it 'came' to the Polish and Bulgarian language later, then we can accept with high certainty that it is a neosemantism in the Polish or Bulgarian language. Among Polish lexemes which may cause difficulty in language analysis there are words such as: obraz or computer terms such as: *widok*, *mysz*, *okno*, or a lexeme: *przyjazny* (in the meaning: 'not having a negative influence'), as although they are anglicisms, their meaning was transferred onto ethnically Polish words. We can observe an analogous linguistic situation for, among other words, Bulgarian computer terms: *мишка*, *прозорец*, *маймушка*.

6.1 Anglosemantisms in the Polish and Bulgarian language are often overused. Among the most popular one can indicate, e.g. *inteligentny* (in the meaning: 'able to function, act in a desirable way'), *filozofia* (in the meaning: 'an idea for something, concept, thought'), *dedykowany* (in the meaning: 'devoted'), *produkcja* (in the meaning: 'efficiency', 'work or stage performance'), or *definiowanie* (in the meaning: determining), etc. In the Bulgarian language e.g.: *продукция* (in the meaning: 'efficiency', 'work or stage performance'), *сензитивен* (in the meaning: 'exceptional ability to perceive'), *агресивен* (in the meaning: 'very active' or 'very strong'), *интелигентен* (in the meaning: 'able to function, act in a desirable way').

Yet, a lexeme which seems to have the greatest frequency and has been present in the Polish language more or less since the beginning of the 90s of the 20th century, i.e.: pol. *dokładnie* (ang. *exactly*, in the meaning: 'yes', 'just so', 'certainly'), for comparison in the Bulgarian language an overused anglosemantism is: bulg. *определено* (ang. *definitely*, in the meaning: 'yes', 'absolutely').

The phenomenon of anglosemantization¹⁰ does not lose its strength, therefore one can expect that many meanings 'borrowed; from English become practical norm in the Polish and Bulgarian language. As examples we can take the following anglicisms popular in Polish and Bulgarian: pol. *indeksacja*, bulg. *индексация*; pol. *agresywny*, bulg. *агресивен*; pol. *promocja*, bulg. *промоция*; pol. *nominacja*, bulg. *номинация*; pol. *klubowy*, bulg. *клубен*; pol. *kopiować*, bulg. *копирам*; pol. *artykułować*, bulg. *артикулирам*.

6.2 Despite enormous popularity of anglosemantisms, a phenomenon of native neosemantization — whose typical example is: *wieża* (new meaning: 'playing equipment, a device for playing music'), which is not in any way consistent with the first meaning of this word — is equally active. The most examples of native (Polish and Bulgarian) neosemantization is observed in colloquial, jargon lexis, e.g.¹¹ *magnes* (new meaning: 'a person who collects all sorts of scrap with the aim of selling it in a collection point'), *taboret* (new meaning: 'someone short'), *gaśnica* (new meaning: 'a drink for washing down vodka').

¹⁰ *Urban Dictionary of Slang and Colloquial Speech*, further as: www.miejski.pl.

¹¹ www.miejski.pl.

Examples of Bulgarian neosemanticisms: *кушон* (new meaning: a party, social meeting), *замразявам* (new meaning: ‘action related to prices, income’), *връзвам* (new meaning: ‘to kid’, ‘to lie’); *вирус* (‘a computer program which gets into the computer system without the user’s knowledge and against their will and changing or destroying information stored in it’).

7 Described here to equal degree and present in both collated languages process of neosemantization is dependent on a strong influence of the English language. It is one of many noticeable globalization processes of contemporary times. It is an inevitable process resulting from the need for faster communication (interpersonal, social), also as a result of language fashion. Native words are driven out for the sake of internationalisms facilitating communication on the Internet forums, using computer software, tablets, smartphones, etc.

7.1 A large group of neosemanticisms discussed above, including anglosemanticisms, which are first of all characteristic of practical and journalistic texts meet with criticism of linguists when e.g. their presence is noticed in official communication, e.g. on an official site of a ministry. Such situation is regarded as ‘particularly blatant’ (K. Kłosińska), op.cit.: There is no justification for neosemantization of words *delegate* and *address* in quotations taken from texts of the Ministry of Education: *Combining a function of a director and a class tutor keeps the director from fulfilling their basic functions connected with e.g. delegating tasks to tutors and exercising control over the realisation of these tasks (instead of allocating tasks); These actions have to be complemented with skillfully conducted professional counselling addressing itself to young people (instead of : directed).*

7.2 Internal and external neosemantization is one of many possibilities of enriching vocabulary. The reason why semantic neologisms are created, as in the case of other neologisms, is the need for naming new things, phenomena or a wish to add variety to the language of communication. In the Polish and Bulgarian language the areas (specialised vocabulary: technical, IT, youth vocabulary, etc.), the ways (semantic borrowings, metonymy, metaphor, the opposites, shortening and univerbation) and reasons for creating new meanings (language fashion, the need for naming new things, phenomena or the need for adding variety to the language of communication, e.g. expressiveness of the language, the willingness to exist in virtual or media reality) coincide in both languages (what is proven by the work we have been doing for many years on *Parallel Polish-Bulgarian-Russian Corpus*¹², *Bulgarian-Polish Online Dictionary*¹³, *Contemporary Bulgarian-Polish Dictionary*¹⁴, *Russian-Bulgarian-Polish Dictionary*¹⁵ (cf. Koseska-Toszewa, Satoła-Staškowiak,

¹²Parallel Polish-Bulgarian-Russian Corpus is being compiled by the Team of Computational Linguistics and Semantics of the Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences (PAS) (V. Koseska-Toszewa, J. Satoła-Staškowiak, W. Sosnowski, A. Kisiel) taking part in a European project Clarin (Common Language Resources and Technology Infrastructure). The founders of Clarin ERIC are Austria, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Germany, Holland and Poland. The main aim of the project is to combine resources and language tools for the European languages into one common uniformed network which is to become an important tool of work for academics from broadly understood humanistic branches of science.

¹³The authors of the dictionary are: from Bulgaria — L. Dimitrova, from Poland — V. Koseska-Toszewa, J. Satoła-Staškowiak (R. Dutsowa has taken on the task of designing a computer program for supporting an electronic Bulgarian-Polish Dictionary).

¹⁴The authors of *Contemporary Bulgarian-Polish Dictionary* are J. Satoła-Staškowiak, V. Koseska-Toszewa (from Poland) in cooperation with L. Dimitrova (from Bulgaria). The first booklet of the Dictionary is to be published in Poland in 2014.

¹⁵Initially the authors of the project were to be: Maksim Duszkin, Violetta Koseska-Toszewa,

Sosnowski, 2013), as well as research on other natural languages I am interested in which describe contemporary linguistic tendencies)

7.3 The fact that is worthy of particular attention is a major role that young people have in shaping contemporary Polish and Bulgarian language. Thanks to their linguistic activity, the need for expressive description of the surrounding reality and the willingness to stand out from the crowd a large number of neologisms and neosemantisms are created and immediately popularized on the Net as a result of the youngest users' competence in using electronic devices. The process of neosemantization is constant and unavoidable.

This development has been noted by all the researchers concentrating on the observation of the contemporary linguistic world. Their reflections are emphasized by such linguistic works as: *Nowy słownik gwary uczniowskiej* by H. Zgólkowa (2004), *Hip Hop Słownik* by P. Fliciński and S. Wojtowicz (2007), *Słownik Hip-Hopu* by K. Koślicka (2006), *Slang UG. Słownik slangu studentów Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego Miejski słownik slangu i mowy potocznej* edited by M. Widawski (2010) and *Wyczesany słownik najmłodszej polszczyzny* by B. Chaciński (2005) or *Wypasiony słownik najmłodszej polszczyzny* (2003) of the same author. An invaluable source of knowledge about the newest words are Internet dictionaries such as e.g. *Miejski słownik slangu i mowy potocznej*¹⁶, *Słownik studencki*¹⁷, *Słownik studenta*.¹⁸ Vocabulary collected in these dictionaries is systematically updated and thanks to it it is never delayed in relation to the language reality of the users.

We can read about the newest Bulgarian language, including internal and external neosemantisms in: *Съвременен тълковен речник на български език с приложения, трето издание* by Burova, Bondžolova, Ilieva, Pechlivanova; *Речник на новите думи в българския език, първо издание* (2010) by Perniška, Blagoeva, Kolkovskij; in *Неологичен речник* (2003) by Bondžolova, *Bulgarsko-polski słownik leksyki potocznej* (2011) compiled by Sotirova, Mostowska, Mokrzycka; *Речник на неологизмите в новогovor*.¹⁹ An invaluable source of information are also Polish and Bulgarian specialist language forums: e.g. a forum of Bulgarian linguists gathered around the institute of bulgarskich językoznawców skupionych wokół instytutu of Bulgarian language of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (cf. <http://neolex-bg.org/en/>) or language corpora²⁰ (J. Satoła-Staškowiak within the European project Clarin coordinates Parallel Polish-Bulgarian-Russian Corpus (KRPBR)), Internet forums.²¹

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Joanna Satoła-Staškowiak and Anastasja Tsoneva. At present W. Sosnowski, V. Koseska-Toszewa and A. Kisiel are taking part in further works. The publication of the first booklet is planned for the year 2014.

¹⁶<http://www.miejski.pl/>.

¹⁷<http://nonsensopedia.wikia.com/wiki/S%C5%82ownik:Studencki>.

¹⁸<http://www.wiaderko.pralka.pl/sloownik-studenta,141.html>.

¹⁹<http://www.strangerzone.info/forum/index.php?showtopic=1848>.

²⁰Cf. e.g.: Korpus PWN: <http://korpus.pwn.pl/>; Korpus referencyjny języka polskiego PELCRA: <http://korpus.ia.uni.lodz.pl/index.php>; Korpus Języka Bułgarskiego (IBL BAS): <http://search.dcl.bas.bg/> or Polsko-Bułgarsko-Rosyjski Korpus Równoległy (IS PAS).

²¹Cf. e.g.: <http://www.forum-informatyka.net/>; <http://www.math10.com/informatika/viewtopic.php?t=3795>.

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