

The new Bulgarian: Turkisms and Europeanisms in the language of Bai Ganyo and Nov Život⁰

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Abstract: This talk explores the richness of borrowed vocabulary in Bulgarian by comparing two eras and genres: the 19th century Bulgarian of the Bai Ganyo stories and the 21st century Bulgarian of the online newspaper Nov Život. Turkish vocabulary has been plentiful in Bulgarian since Ottoman times and at least since the 19th century has had a particular stylistic flavor. In Bai Ganyo, Turkish words carried shadings of humor, irony, local color, vividness, coarseness, backwardness, and affection, making them a crucial (and hard-to-translate) part of the lexicon. Bai Ganyo also contains European borrowings, e.g. French and German, usually mangled by the main character in illustration of one of the stories' main themes; Bulgarians' unsuccessful striving to be European. Turkisms were frowned upon during the communist era and became almost nonexistent in print, but in the two decades since the change of government they have come back in full force. Turkisms abound in current Bulgarian journalistic writing, with much the same range of emotive meanings they had more than a century ago. Western European loans are perhaps even more pervasive, with anglicisms leading the pack, but with quite different overtones than in Bai Ganyo.

Like virtually all languages, Bulgarian has been in contact with other languages throughout its history, and has been influenced by various languages at various times. The well-known syntactic and morphological Balkanisms are one result of such contact, but not the only one. The lexicon of modern Bulgarian also bears witness to language contact leading to large-scale borrowing of words, most notably from Turkish, but also from other languages. In this lecture I explore the richness of borrowed vocabulary in Bulgarian by comparing two eras and two genres: the 19th century Bulgarian of the one of the classics of Bulgarian literature, the Bai Ganyo stories, and the 21st century Bulgarian of the online newspaper Nov Život.

The project grew out of two quite different experiences with Bulgarian texts. One is the process of translating *Bai Ganyo*, Aleko Konstantinov's late-19th-century masterpiece. The new translation, by Victor Friedman, Christina Kramer, Grace Fielder, and myself, was published last year (Konstantinov 2010).¹ Group translation turned out to be a fascinating exercise, and one of the most interesting aspects of it was standardizing our approach to the rich and varied language of the novel, especially its abundant Turkish borrowings and less numerous but still striking borrowings from European languages. The second experience is reading the current, 21st century Bulgarian press.² As the country found its way out of the communist era into the wide-open '90s and 2000s, more and more borrowed words appeared in the press. To a striking extent, though, many of those "new" words, especially the Turkisms, were reminiscent of the vocabulary we had wrestled with in *Bai Ganyo*; in fact, sometimes identical to that vocabulary. Turkisms have not so much multiplied or been newly borrowed as come back out of hiding; the "New" Bulgarian looks very much like Aleko Konstantinov's Bulgarian in its use of Turkisms. In the area of Europeanisms we see something different, however. Not only are many of the borrowings from English and other western languages truly new, they are used in new ways.

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¹ All four translators are past Naylor lecturers, as are two others involved in the translation project: Wayles Browne, who worked through the entire translation with us and made many valuable suggestions, and Howard Aronson, who sat in on some of the group editing sessions.

² This paper owes a huge debt of gratitude to my husband Ali Eminov, for collecting Turkisms and Anglicisms in his reading of the current press and for his help in translating the Turkish vocabulary.

For data on current journalistic usage I focus on just one source, the weekly online newspaper *Nov Život*, or “New Life” with its supplement *Perperikon*, though very similar things could be found in other print and broadcast media, books, music, and perhaps especially in facebook-ese, blogs, and other online sources. *Nov Život* is based in the Kârdžali area of southern Bulgaria, historically an area with a high concentration of ethnic Turkish population; however, it is written entirely in Bulgarian and is not untypical of Bulgarian newspapers in its use of Turkisms. It is quite common in *Nov Život* for a story to contain both Turkisms and Europeanisms. A story in the January 22, 2011 issue, headlined *Gligan otnema s xitrost puškata na lovec* ‘Wild boar cleverly takes away hunter’s gun’, has a subheading (1) containing both a Turkism and an Anglicism -- *avdžijskite* from the Turkish *avcı* ‘hunter,’ and *ekšan komedija* from the English *action comedy*.³

(1) Avdžijskite istorii na Sabri Sjulejman sa ekšan komedija ot sârceto na planinata.

Sabri Sjulejman’s hunters’ tales are an action comedy from the heart of the mountains.

Typically enough, the Turkish-derived word is used alongside its Slavic Bulgarian equivalent, *lovec* ‘hunter’ in the immediately preceding headline. Clearly the use of a Turkism was not necessary; the author could have chosen the Slavic Bulgarian adjective *lovdžijski* instead of *avdžijski* for the meaning ‘hunters’, but uses the Turkism on purpose for expressiveness or variety. The English *ekšan komedija* is perhaps more a concept that Bulgarian does not have a native word for. Further examples of both Turkisms and Anglicisms are presented below.

Turkisms in Bai Ganyo

Let us start by looking at 19th century usage of Turkisms as seen in *Bai Ganyo*. The book is a collection of stories, originally published as separate “feuilletons,” featuring the same central character, a Bulgarian by the name of Ganyo Balkanski. Each chapter is a tale by one of a group of young men who try to outdo each other by telling funny or outrageous stories about this character. In the earlier sections of the book Ganyo, a rose oil merchant, is travelling in Europe and the stories poke fairly gentle fun at his social gaffes and his quest for free meals. In the later chapters Ganyo returns to Bulgaria and the mood turns darker, as stories of election fraud and raw opportunism mirror the author’s increasing disillusionment with the state of Bulgarian politics and society.

Aleko Konstantinov, the author, universally known to Bulgarians as “Aleko”, was part of the western-oriented, educated elite of post-Ottoman Bulgaria. His creation, Bai Ganyo Balkanski, embodies characteristics and stereotypes that this elite were trying to move beyond. He is crude, unsophisticated, still has one foot in the Ottoman empire, though he is also eager to share in the wealth of Western Europe, and has the energy, vitality, and self-confidence to set out to get himself a piece of the pie. The handsome young Bai Ganyo on the cover of the new translation, with his half-eastern, half-western dress and cocky attitude, gives way to an older, less appealing character in the later stories. All Bulgarians are familiar with Bai Ganyo, and their attitude toward him is ambivalent -- he represents the best and worst aspects of the Bulgarian national character.

Both aspects are indexed by elements of his speech, which is colloquial, colorful, and suffused with Turkish borrowings. Much of the novel’s humor derives from his often inappropriate or stylistically inconsistent language. One of the challenges of translating the book was finding effective ways to

³ In all examples, the Turkism or other item under discussion is underlined. The English gloss of Bai Ganyo examples (including sometimes non-standard transcription) is from the new translation (Konstantinov 2010); other translations and transcriptions are mine.

convey the flavor of his vocabulary, and in particular of his many Turkisms. As noted by Kramer (1992), in a few cases Bai Ganyo himself comments on his own use of Turkisms, or another character or the narrator does. In (2) Ganyo tries to avoid using a Turkish term:

- (2) — Tova kakvo li e, supa li e? A, az običam supa. Čorbata e tursko jadene. I nij sega poveče supa jadem. [...] — Ja mi podajte ošte edno kâšče xlebec. Vij sâvsem bez xljab jadete — učudva se baj Ganjo. — Na bulgarijata daj xljab; nie mnogo hljab jadem; da ne se xvalja, ama s takvazi čorba, pârdon, s takvazi supa cjal samun xljab izjadam. Bas dârža.
“What’s this, is it soup? I love soup. Soup is a European dish, but chorba is Turkish. Nowadays, we eat more soup than *chorba*.” [...] “Hey, pass me another piece of bread, will ya. You people eat with no bread at all,” marveled Bai Ganyo. “As for us Bulgarians—we eat a lot of bread; I don’t want to brag, but with a chorba like this, *pardonne*, with a *soup* like this, I can eat up a whole loaf. You betcha.”
(Bai Ganyo at Jirechek’s)

Here the Turkism *čorba* is a synonym of the non-Turkish *supa* -- but it sounds so much thicker, tastier, and spicier, even if less sophisticated. Bai Ganyo wants to impress his hosts by suavely eating European *supa*, and overtly comments that *čorba* is Turkish, but his repeated slipping into *čorba*, along with his slurping and bread-gobbling, confirms that he really is a peasant, Balkan, eastern, not fully European.

In the next example Bai Ganyo dictates a flowery and flattering letter to a government official, and his lawyer friend judges the Turkish conjunction *xem ... xem* inappropriate for such formal usage.

- (3) ...“I da se pregârnem bratski xem s rusite, xem s nemicite ...” Tju! da gi porazi gospod! ...
— Ne, xič ne ujdîsva taka! Kakvo e tova “xem-xem”? Pred knjaz taka li se govori — zajavi advokatstvujuštijat Gunjo.
...‘And to embrace fraternally the Russians and the Germans to boot.’ Pfui! May God strike them dead!” “No, that doesn’t fit at all! What’s this ‘to boot’ business? Does one talk like that to a prince?” the lawyerly Gunjo protested.
(Bai Ganyo Returns from Europe)

These two examples show different approaches to translation of Turkisms. In the first one, with *čorba*, we chose to simply leave the word untranslated, preserving the sense of a foreign word being used. The translation comes with a glossary of 22 words which we consistently kept in the original language, the majority of which are Turkisms.

- (4) Glossary of Konstantinov 2010 (some definitions abbreviated)

bachka - a card game.

bashibozuk - Turkish irregular troops, paramilitaries noted for their ferocity.

boza - lightly fermented, sweet grain-based drink, about as strong as near-beer.

Chifut (plural **Chifuti**) - Jew (derogatory), miser.

Chingene - Gypsy (derogatory).

disagi - a kind of saddlebag ...

chorba - soup (from Turkish).

efendi - Turkish title of respect, now archaic.

kalpak - a high, circular, brimless, woolen cap ...

kelepir - free lunch, unearned profit, windfall, freebie.
kilim - A flat-weave Turkish rug...
komitadji - member of a *komita*, a Slavic, Christian insurgent band ...
kvass - lightly fermented grain-based drink, about as strong as near-beer.
kyoravo - something for nothing.
mastika - anise flavored unaged grape brandy.
muskal (plural **muskali**) - a measure of rose oil ...
muzhik - peasant (Russian).
nazdar - hello (Czech).
oka - a measure of weight equal to about two and a half pounds (1225 grams).
rakia - brandy.
Shumi Maritsa ... Bulgarian national anthem from 1886 to the end of World War Two.
traktir - inn, tavern (Russian)

In the second example, with *xem ... xem*, we approached the translation issue in a different way, attempting to give the inappropriately colloquial flavor of the Turkish expression by adding an inappropriately colloquial English phrase, *to boot*, to the sentence.

A third instance of commenting overtly on a Turkism is in the narrator's voice, not Bai Ganyo's; not only Bai Ganyo himself, but other Bulgarians too are said to be out for a free lunch, in a way that can only really be expressed with Turkish words, *kyoravo* or *kelepir*:

- (5) Nikakvi dejstvija i otnošenija njamaxa smisâl za Bodkova - tâj se kazvaše toj, - ako ot tjax ne proiztičaše nešto *kjoravo*, njakoj *kelepir*. (Dali ima v evropejskite ezici dumi, sâotvetstvujušti na tija, v tova im značenie?)

No actions or relationships made sense for Bodkov—that was his name—unless they resulted in some unearned profit, something for nothing, what we call in Bulgarian *kyoravo* or *kelepir*. (Are there any expressions in the European languages that can express the true meaning of these words?)

(Bai Ganyo Goes Visiting)

Turkisms since Bai Ganyo

Although the Bulgarian language has changed in many ways in the past century, the status of Turkisms has remained very similar to what it was. In the following example from 2010, just as in the 19th century Bai Ganyo examples, a Turkish borrowing gives color and flavor, with a definite hint of lack of refinement.

- (6) Mlada, no veče dostatačno patila ot tvârdoglavieto na bâlgarite, osobeno v čužbina, ženata se opitvaše da ni predpazi ot tipičnija ni balkanski *inatlâk*.

The woman, young but already experienced enough in the bull-headedness of Bulgarians, especially abroad, attempted to warn us off our typical Balkan stubbornness.

(Perperikon 8, 2/26-3/5/2010, p. 2)

The writer has the purely Slavic word *tvârdoglavie* available for the concept of 'stubbornness, hard-headedness' (and in fact uses it in the first line), but when the Balkan character of the stubbornness is emphasized, the phrase *balkanski inatlâk* seems much more appropriate and expressive.

Turkish vocabulary has had ups and downs throughout the history of Bulgarian, especially in the public sphere. As has been documented by Kramer (1992) and Friedman (1986), among others, huge numbers of Turkish words were borrowed into all of the Balkan languages during Ottoman times, and all of the newly independent Balkan countries made efforts to expunge these borrowings as nationalist consciousness arose and the Ottoman empire fell. There have been attempts to rid Bulgarian of its Turkish vocabulary at various times in the 19th and 20th centuries. Some Turkish words simply became obsolete as technology and government systems changed: words for ox-cart harnesses and parts of the Ottoman tax code are seldom used nowadays. Others were replaced by Slavic or western words. But large numbers of Turkisms have remained in Bulgarian, as in the other Balkan languages. Some of these were fully nativized, to the point that Bulgarians are unaware of their origin. The word for umbrella, *čadâr*, for example, is no more felt to be Turkish than English speakers feel *beef* to be a French word; it is entirely assimilated into Bulgarian. However, others remained as a special stratum of vocabulary with a variety of emotive connotations, ranging from affectionate and intimate to crude and uneducated.

This special layer of Turkisms might have seemed to disappear from the language during the 20th century if one only paid attention to the written language. Almost all types of writing, and in particular, journalistic writing of the communist period used few Turkisms, in stark contrast to current journalistic style. Not only were Turkisms all but invisible in newspapers and other written materials in the period from 1944 through 1990, but the use of any Turkish at all became highly politicized at some points. After an earlier period of encouraging literacy and socialist education in Turkish for the substantial Turkish-speaking minority in the country, the government increasingly discouraged Turkish language use. In the 1980's Bulgarian official policy actually decreed that no Turks existed in Bulgaria -- a baldfaced lie -- and speaking Turkish in public became a crime.⁴

But Turkisms did not disappear from the Bulgarian language. They merely went underground, into colloquial speech registers and intimate settings. After the change of government in 1989, Turkisms roared back into journalistic use to such an extent that barely 10 years later a dictionary of "Turkish words in the Contemporary Bulgarian Press" (Krâsteva 2000) was published. Apparently at least some Bulgarian readers were unfamiliar with some of the Turkisms they were seeing in newspapers and other media, and although earlier dictionaries of Turkisms existed (for instance Milev et al 1972), a new one specifically defining words in current journalistic use was felt to be necessary. Another dictionary of Turkisms with a more historical focus, Grannes et al 2000, was published around the same time, with usage labels; some are marked obsolete or dialectal, but many carry labels such as "colloquial" or no label at all, indicating that they are currently in use.

In 2010 Nov Život published a statement about the use of Turkisms; almost a manifesto, or at least a justification of their editorial policy; I reproduce the entire short editorial here:

(7) **Renesansât na turcizmite**

Vsjaka radikalna promjana v političeski, socialen ili ikonomičeski aspekt vodi i do promjana v ezika. Veče 20 godini ne polzvame ideologiziranite klišeta na socializma. Togava v mediite s mnogo dumi se podnasjaše oskâdna realna informacija.

⁴ See Eminov 1997 for a history of Turkish language policy in Bulgaria.

Sega vestnicite i elektronnite sredstva za osvedomjavane târsjat poveče efektivnost i funkcionalnost. Točno v tova târsene otkrixa naj-lesnoto -- ezika na ulicata. Za njakoi tova e demokracija, a za drugi -- bezvkusica ot dumi.

Filologât Turxan Rasiev ot Varna v izsledvanieto si po temata posočva, če v bâlgarskija ezik se izpolzvat blizo 6 000 turcizmi. I ošte poveče nabâbvat. Pričinata e v tova, če v stremeža si da privlekat poveče čitateli, mediite vse poveče nabljagat na žargona.

Specialistite sa na mnienie, če turcizmite v bâlgarskija ezik v momenta izživjavat svoja renesans.

The Renaissance of Turkisms

Every radical change in political, social, or economic aspects leads also to a change in the language. For 20 years already we have not been using the ideological clichés of socialism. Back then the media employed many words to convey almost no real information.

Now newspapers and electronic information media seek greater effectiveness and functionality. It is in this search that they have discovered the easiest thing -- the language of the streets. To some this is democratization, but to others it is bad taste in words.

The philologist Turxan Rasiev from Varna in his study on this topic points out that in the Bulgarian language nearly 6,000 Turkisms are used. And the number is growing. The reason lies in the fact that, in their efforts to attract more readers the media increasingly emphasize slang.

Specialists are of the opinion that Turkisms in Bulgarian language are currently undergoing a Renaissance.

(Nov Život 12/23/2010 Issue #223, p. 4)

As this Nov Život mini-editorial suggests, the increased use of Turkisms in the press is surely due in large part to the changed function of the press in Bulgaria today as opposed to the mid 20th century. The Rabotničesko Delo of the 1950's or 1980's, or even the earlier, pre-1989 incarnation of Nov Život, was a government monopoly which published mainly official proclamations of 5 year plans and quotas fulfilled, with long and deadly dull accounts of the speeches made by delegations from apparently interchangeable fraternal socialist nations. In stark contrast, the 21st century press is a free-wheeling marketplace, with newspapers and magazines competing for audience attention. Their language as well as their pictures are colorful, eye-catching, lively and sometimes downright vulgar or sensationalistic. Much of this color and energy comes from the use of Turkisms (along with other borrowings and slang). The editorial argues that using "the language of the streets" is not a sign of bad taste but part of a linguistic "renaissance" in which functional and effective language, including thousands of Turkisms, replaces empty "ideological clichés" of the past.

Some Turkisms may indeed be new, as suggested by the editorial above, but most are words which have long been in use in Bulgarian colloquial language; neither their form nor their usage has changed. As a small demonstration of this, I present here a few cases of Turkish words used both in Bai Ganyo and in Nov Život. One of the examples we have already seen from Bai Ganyo was the conjunction *xem ... xem*, used several times in the book. This conjunction is used with some frequency in Nov Život as well. Two examples are given in (8):

- (8) a. Dostignax onazi dostolepna vâzrast, v kojato stavaš xem po-mâdâr, xem po-prikazliv.
I reached that splendid age, at which you become both wiser and more talkative.
(Perperikon 7, 2/20-26/10, p. 2)

- b. Ako može xem da sa avangardni, xem da radvat okoto.
If possible, let them be not only avant-garde but also pleasing to the eye.
(Nov Život 10/17/09, p. 3)

In both cases the author could have used Bulgarian expressions like *i ... i* ‘both... and’ or *ne samo, ... no i* ‘not only ... but also’ instead of *xem ... xem*. But the Turkish expression is more forceful as well as more colloquial.

Another Turkism with strong emotive coloring is the expression *aman*, which can be translated as ‘have mercy’ or ‘enough of this’. In (9) we see two examples, one from Nov Život and one from Bai Ganyo, with very parallel uses of *aman ot X* to mean ‘that’s enough of X’, with a markedly sneering tone in both.

- (9) a. Aman ot niskointeligentni kretionoidi s ramkovo radikalno mislene kato teb!
Enough of unintelligent cretinoids with closed-minded radical thinking like you!
(Nov Život 8/11/09 p. 4)
- b. Aman ot suxoežbina!
We’re through roughing it!
(Letter from Bai Ganyo to Konstantin Velichkov)

Similarly negative is the word *rezil* ‘disgrace’, which again is used in completely parallel ways in Bai Ganyo’s speech and in Nov Život. Using *rezil* instead of a Slavic Bulgarian synonym emphasizes the shamefulness of the situation in both of the following examples.

- (10)a. Za sâžalenie pak stranata ni stana za rezil.
Unfortunately, our country has once again fallen into disgrace.
(Nov Život 12, 1/20/10, p. 2)
- b. Će ostavete tâmnoto, nego koj mu gleda — ama rezil pred sârbite stanaxme.
Never mind the darkness, who cares about that, but we’ve lost face in front of the Serbs.
(Bai Ganyo at the Prague Exhibition)

On the other hand, the word *kef* has strongly positive connotations. It can refer to a good mood, pleasure, enjoyment, satisfaction, high spirits, and it is common both in Bai Ganyo and in current journalistic usage. Bai Ganyo often uses the word *kef* when getting comfortable or enjoying himself (sometimes to the discomfort of his more refined companions):

- (11) a. —Ja se pootmesti malko kâm kraja da si slozha i drugia krak. Xâ taka! Bravo! E-e-e-x!
Majka mu stara! Kef!
“Listen, move over a bit so I can put up my other leg too. Ahh! That’s it! Good! Ahhh! Eh, Goddamn! What a pleasure!”
(Bai Ganyo at the Prague Exhibition)
- b. —Xâ, vidjaxte li sega! E-e-e-e-x! Gel, kefim, gel!
“Aaah, that’s more like it. Hey, hey, c’mon, let’s have some fun, c’mon”
[Gel, kefim, gel = literally ‘come, my *kef*, come’]
(Bai Ganyo Goes Visiting)
- c. U edin baj Ganjov rodnina beshe izpadnala edna râčna xarmonika s klavishi, ta segiz-togiz, kato se nameri na kef, i baj Ganio si e chupil prâstite da izkalâpi njakoja pesen.

An accordion had fallen into the hands of one of Bai Ganyo's relatives, and every once in a while, when he found himself in the mood, Bai Ganyo would pound his fingers on it trying to bang out some song.

(Bai Ganyo Goes Visiting)

Kef is also used in Nov Život:

- (12) Naprotiv, i vârlite cigaradžii se kefixa, če očite im ne smâdjat ot dim, dokato poxapvat pica.
On the contrary, even the hard-core smokers enjoyed not having their eyes stung by smoke while they were eating pizza.
(Nov Život 37, 2/25/10, p. 5)

Kramer (1992) lists almost 300 Turkisms used in Bai Ganyo, a fairly short book that obviously includes just a small fraction of the Turkisms in common usage in 19th century Bulgarian. I have made no effort to count the Turkisms in Nov Zhivot, but they also run into at least the hundreds, if not thousands. A small sample collected by browsing through random issues of the paper from the past year are given in (13), with a star indicating those which Kramer lists as being used also in Bai Ganyo.

(13)	apaš	‘bully, thug’ ⁵
	arkadaš	‘friend’
	*armagan	‘gift’
	aršin	‘unit of measure; about a yard’
	*babait	‘gangster, swashbuckler, brave’
	balâk	‘fish’
	bambaška	‘totally different’
	bardak	‘drinking glass’
	*belja	‘trouble’
	*bereket	‘abundance, plenty, fruitfulness’
	bitpazar	‘flea market’
	bokluk	‘garbage’
	čaršija	‘market’
	čeverme	‘roast on a spit’
	*dalavera	‘intrigue, trick’
	damadžana	‘large bottle, demijohn’ ⁶
	dere	‘creek’
	djulger	‘carpenter’
	dušmanin	‘enemy’
	fidan(ka)	‘sapling’

⁵ *Apaš* is listed in Milev et. al. as being from French *apache* ‘pickpocket’, ultimately from the Apache tribe. There is also a Turkish word *apaş* ‘bully, thug,’ and Milev et. al. also list the clearly Turkish-derived *apaşlâk* ‘thievery’. The etymology deserves further study, but I assume Turkish is somehow involved in the entry of *apaš* into Bulgarian; perhaps Turkish originally borrowed the word from French. I am grateful to Leslie Scott for bringing the French etymology to my attention.

⁶ *Damadžana* is originally from French *dame-jeanne*, but comes into Bulgarian through Turkish, according to Milev et. al.

gurbet/gurbetčija	‘work/worker abroad’
iftar	‘evening meal breaking Ramadan fast’
jufka	‘noodle’
*kat	‘story (of a house)’
kavârma	‘roast’
kaxâr	‘worry, grief’
*komšija	‘neighbor’
kurban bajram	‘feast of sacrifice’
*kusur	‘fault, defect’
kâr	‘outdoors’
kâsmet	‘luck’
*maxala	‘neighborhood’
*megdan	‘village square’
*merak	‘curiosity, interest, desire’
*para	‘money’
pazardžija	‘merchant’
*perdeta	‘curtains’
potura	‘traditional wool trousers’
*raxat/raxatlâk	‘peace, comfort, ease’
sergija	‘market stall, display’
vilaet	‘province’
xair	‘charity, good deed’
xarami	‘robber, bandit’
*xič	‘not at all’
zarzavat	‘vegetable’

The examples are presented in alphabetical order with no attempt at grouping by type or meaning; they cover a fairly broad semantic range, from criminal activity to foods. Some of these words are considered standard Bulgarian: *bokluk* is quite a neutral word for garbage, and *para*, especially in the plural form *pari*, is the normal word for ‘coin, money’. However, most of the Turkisms have some stylistic or semantic coloring: colloquial, slang, or in a few cases specifically muslim. *Kurban bajram* and *iftar* were used in stories about a muslim holiday; not surprisingly, stories about Easter and Christmas do not contain many Turkisms. Aside from the few religious terms, the Turkisms seem to be used mostly to give color and pizzazz to the newspaper’s prose.

Turkisms are also occasionally used in a playful way as the basis for lexical innovation; for example, a collection of silly sayings in the Feb. 26, 2011 Nov Zivot, is titled *bošlaforizmi*: a cross-linguistic blend of Turkish *boşlağ* ‘nonsense’ and Bulgarian (though originally borrowed from some western language, perhaps French) *aforizmi* ‘aphorisms’.

Clearly Turkisms continue to be a living (and lively) part of present day Bulgarian, and their usage is very similar to that of the earlier era.

Europeanisms in Bai Ganyo

I turn now to the second main strand of the lecture, words and expressions borrowed from Western European languages. While Turkisms are a thread of continuity between the language of Bai Ganyo and 21st century Bulgarian, the use of western borrowings is a point of contrast. Europeanisms in Bai Ganyo were relatively few, and were generally mispronounced (as indicated by misspelling) or

awkwardly used, showing Bai Ganyo's lack of sophistication and the clumsiness of his attempts to act European. The most frequently appearing languages are German and French, with a sprinkling of Czech, Russian, Latin, and Romanian, among others. No English appears in *Bai Ganyo*, probably because he does not travel to English-speaking places in the book. Anglicisms do occur in Konstantinov's other well-known work, *Do Chicago i Nazad* 'To Chicago and Back', in which Bai Ganyo visits the United States.

We have already seen one example of Bai Ganyo's use of French, in (1), part of which is repeated here:

- (14) ... ama s takvazi čorba, pârdon, s takvazi supa cjal samun xlab izjadam.
... but with a *chorba* like this, *pardonne*, with a *soup* like this, I can eat up a whole loaf.
(Bai Ganyo at Jirechek's)

We took Konstantinov's odd spelling of the French word as an indication that it is mispronounced, and attempted to give the same effect by misspelling it in the English translation as well. Several other examples of Bai Ganyo's use of German and French follow. In (15), Bai Ganyo expresses his distrust of hotel porters in Vienna.

- (15) Zašto se uvivat? Migar dobroto ti misljat? Ajnc, cvaj! Gut morgin, pa vse gledat da dokopat nešto.
Why are they hovering? You think they want to do you a favor? *Ein, zwei, gut morgin*, but all the time they're trying to swipe something from you.
(Bai Ganyo Sets Off)

In (16) he attempts to communicate with his Czech hosts in German, not entirely successfully; in fact, he eventually resorts to pantomime to indicate his pressing need for a restroom.

- (16) sâčinjavaše v uma si edna fraza po nemski, kojato da otgovarja na našeto: "De e onova, za goljama rabota?" - i naj-setne ot bukvalnija prevod skombinira frazata: "Wo is diese für gross Arbeit?"
... he mentally composed a phrase in German that would correspond to our "Where is the you-know-what for number two?" and finally cobbled together as a translation the phrase, "*Wo ist diese für gross Arbeit?*" (literally 'where is this for big job')
(Bai Ganyo Goes Visiting)

In (17) he again tries out his German on the Czechs, in an attempt to impress them.

- (17) Was ist das? - popita baj Ganyo s edin snizxoditelen ton, ne tolkova ot želanie da se zapoznae s kulinarното izkustvo na čexite, kolkoto da pokaže, če e vrjal i kipjal iz Evropa i gi znae tezi raboti, pa znae i po nemski da govori. -Supa, nali? Supa gotvite? Znaja az. Ich verstehen supa! "*Was ist das?*" Bai Ganyo asked in a condescending tone not so much out of a desire to familiarize himself with the culinary arts of the Czechs as to show that he'd been around Europe and knew about such things, and that he knew German to boot. "Is that soup? Are you preparing soup? I know. *Ich fersten supa!*"
(Bai Ganyo Goes Visiting)

In (18) he speaks very bad French to a waiter in a Swiss cafe, and then congratulates himself on his ability to do so. The French words are mispronounced, the grammar wrong, and the Bulgarian colloquial vocative particle *be* is incongruously attached to the French *g(a)rçon* ‘waiter’.

(18) - Gârson be, xej! Jun kave - izvika Baj Ganjo.

-Monsieur! - otzova se pârgavijat garson.

-Jun kave e aport gazet bulgar - porâča baj Ganjo i setne, kato se obârna kâm mene, dobavi:

-Ne sâm gi zabravil tija vadžii frenskite.

“Hey, you, gerçon! Yun kavé!” called Bai Ganyo.

“Monsieur!” responded the bustling waiter.

“Yun kavé e aport gazet bulgar,” ordered Bai Ganyo and then, turning toward me, added, “I haven’t forgotten that damned French stuff.”

(Bai Ganyo in Switz.)

In (19) he shows off for his Bulgarian cronies by speaking German to a group of tourists, and by flaunting his acquaintance with Vienna’s Prater amusement park; as with some of the earlier examples this attempt at using a Western language is a failure, as the surprised tourists do not respond.

(19) I za da pokaže na svoite prosti drugari koi sa v sâstojanie da go razberat, toj se približi kâm edna ot veseljaštite se grupi, pri kojato se târkaljaxa njakolko izcedeni bureta ot bira, i kato izobrazi edna ironičeska usmivka, pokaza s oči kâm goricata i izreče: “Das ist bulgariše Prater, xa-xa-xa!...”

And in order to demonstrate to his simple companions who was in a position to understand him, he approached a group of carousers who were surrounded by empty beer kegs, and putting on an ironic smile, he indicated the woods with his eyes and said, “Das ist bulgarische Prater, ha-ha-ha!”

(Bai Ganyo Returns from Europe)

Europeanisms in Nov Život

Unlike their awkward and often unsuccessful use by Bai Ganyo, in the current press words from Western languages are used with easy fluency. Their purpose is not to communicate with non-Bulgarians, since the newspaper is aimed at an entirely Bulgarian audience, nor (at least in most cases) does the point seem to be showing off the writer’s sophistication. A further obvious difference is that the vast majority of western borrowings in current journalistic usage are from English, a language that, as mentioned earlier, seems not to have been on Bai Ganyo’s radar at all. Nonetheless, Anglicisms in the current press do, at some level, have a similar function or at least index a similar aspiration to Bai Ganyo’s attempts at speaking German; 21st century Bulgaria, much like 19th century Bulgaria, is looking westward and aspiring to be European at a time of unrest and social change, and this desire to join the western world is reflected in vocabulary. Using European words shows one is modern and forward-moving.

A recent article on controversy among business owners over being required to go smoke-free contains the following passage, with three English words in a fairly short space, and no emphasis on their foreignness:

- (20) Dimitâr Asenov se zanimava s tozi biznes ot 17 godini, vsjava respekt sred učenicite. Navân obače njama koj da zabrani na tijnejdžârite da pušat.
 Dimitâr Asenov has been in this business for 17 years and commands respect among the students. However, outside there is no one to forbid the teenagers to smoke.
 (Nov Život 223, 12/23/10, p. 4)

The highest concentration of Anglicisms (and other Europeanisms) is in articles about business, pop culture, or other features of post-socialist life such as parking lots. For example, an article about music has the following headline and subheadings, thickly sprinkled with European terms, mostly English:

- (21) “NEW STAGE BAND” S NOVO LICE Grupata kâm džaz-kluba v Kârdžali sviri xitove bâlgarski i svetovni parčeta samo na živo v sâbota. [...] -Svirim izključitelno na živo, vsičko e sto procenta lajf, obeštava na melomanite Milan Karapeev.
 “NEW STAGE BAND” WITH A NEW FACE The group at the jazz club in Kârdžali plays Bulgarian and world hit pieces, all live, on Saturday. [...] “We play exclusively live, everything is 100% live”, Milan Karapeev promises music fans.
 (Nov Život 198, 11/18/10, p. 5)

“Melomanite” presumably is from French *melomane* ‘music aficionado’ -- *melomaniac* does exist in English, but is not exactly a common word. But *hitove* and *lajf* are English, as are quite a few other terms in the same article, not to mention the names of the band, “New Stage Band,” and of the club, “Stage”, both spelled repeatedly in Latin letters. The following are all found within just a few paragraphs:

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| (22) kitarist | ‘guitarist’ |
| baskitarist | ‘bass guitarist’ |
| vokalist | ‘vocalist’ |
| frontmen | ‘front man’ |
| bend lider | ‘band leader’ |
| debut | ‘debut’ (first appearance of the band) |
| angažimenti | ‘engagements, gigs’ |
| aranžiment | ‘(musical) arrangement’ |
| kavârite | ‘(the) covers (of songs)’ |

A simple example from the area of business and management, where Anglicisms are rife, is given in (23) and a short sample of business terms in recent issues of Nov Život in (24).

- (23) Diskutirat v Kârdžali menidžmânta v zdraveopazvaneto.
 ‘Management in health services is discussed in Kârdžali’ (headline)
 (Nov Život 209, 12/3/10, p.1)

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| (24) brifing | ‘briefing, news conference’ |
| broker | ‘broker’ |
| biznismen | ‘businessman’ |
| gratisen period | ‘grace period’ |
| lider | ‘leader’ (in many contexts: sport, politics, music...) |
| ekofond | ‘eco-fund’ |

bojkot	‘boycot’
globalist	‘globalist’

Examples (25) and (26) show the very common use of English-derived vocabulary for the trappings of modern, especially urban life; words having to do with shopping, traffic, sports, politics, technology, and other aspects of contemporary society.

- (25) Parkingite pred magazina bjaxa blokirani ot koli v ranni zori. Dviženieto po bulevard “Belomorski” kraj xipermarketa se zadrâsti kâm 8,20 časa.
The parking areas in front of the store were blocked with cars at dawn. Traffic on Belomorski Boulevard near the shopping center clogged up around 8:20.
(Nov Život 204, 11/26/10, p. 1)

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (26) rafting | ‘rafting’ |
| rali | ‘rally’ (car race) |
| finiširam | ‘to finish (a race)’ |
| fenovete | ‘the fans’ (sport fans, movie fans) |
| ranglista | ‘ranking (rank list)’ |
| rapâr | ‘rapper’ |
| mele | ‘melee, fight’ |
| seksapilen | ‘sexy, having sex appeal’ |
| prestîžen | ‘prestigious’ |
| terorât | ‘terror’ |
| softuerni produkti | ‘software products’ |
| skrap | ‘scrap (metal)’ |
| kontejnâr | ‘(trash) container’ |

The trendiness of English is evident in its frequent use in ads, including names of companies and products. Most of the words in (27) are from advertisements; for real estate, groceries, hotels. The last three items in the list are from an article on new strains of tobacco and whether they should be allowed to dilute the traditional Bulgarian cultivars (Nov Život 199, 11/19/10, p. 7).

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| (27) Mega Bild | ‘mega-build’; name of a construction company |
| Panorama Siti | ‘Panorama City’ (a vacation/apartment complex) |
| lajt salam | ‘lite salami’ |
| čips | ‘chips’ |
| Krakauer Miks | ‘Krakow Mix’; mixed cold cuts variety pack (German + English) |
| premium šokolad | ‘premium chocolate’ |
| fitnes | ‘fitness’ (fitness room at hotel) |
| sauna i džakuzi | ‘sauna and jacuzzi’ |
| barbekju | ‘barbeque’ |
| silver san | ‘silver sun’ |
| viržinia blend | ‘Virginia blend’ |
| alajans uan tâbaco | ‘Alliance One Tobacco’ |

Among the advertisements which run regularly in Nov Život is one for a wedding-planning agency called “Bouquet” (spelled in Latin letters). The full text of the ad is:

(28) BOUQUET **Svatbena i parti agencija**. Svatbena ukrasa s voali v različni cvetove, balonna dekoracija i kalâfi za vsički stolove v zavedenieto.

BOUQUET **Weddding and party agency**. Wedding adornments with veils in various colors, balloon decorations and covers for all the chairs in the establishment.

In addition to the English (or French) name of the company, this ad includes both an anglicism, *parti*, in an English-influenced construction, *parti agencija*, and a Turkism, *kalâf* ‘pillow slip, cover’, as well as the originally French *voal* and *balon*.

In most cases in the current press Anglicisms and other Europeanisms are used without explanation, indicating that the audience is expected to be familiar with them; but occasionally an English word or phrase is clarified by rephrasing in older Bulgarian words:

(29) Masata se upravljava i se nasočva ot marketingovite menidžâri, specialistite po reklam i reklamnite agencii.

The table is managed and directed by the marketing managers, specialists in advertising and advertising agencies. (Nov Život 204, 11/26/10, p. 2)

In earlier times Turkish had not only lexical influence on the Bulgarian language, but also at least a small amount of grammatical influence; there are Turkish-derived suffixes such as *-džija* for occupations, a possible Turkish connection in the development of evidential forms of verbs, and so on. In a similar way, anglicisms now seem to be introducing some new grammatical forms into Bulgarian. Vakareliyska (2010) shows changes in the use of gender suffixes under English influence and a new, possibly productive Noun-Noun compound construction entering the language through English loans. A few examples of this Noun-Noun construction have appeared above:

(30) bend lider	‘band leader’
ekšün komedija	‘action comedy’
parti agencija	‘party agency’

Note however, that not all borrowings follow this construction; addition of Bulgarian adjective-forming suffixes to English and other Western nouns in modifying constructions is also common, as for example in the phrases *balonna dekoracija* seen in (29) and *gratisen period* in (24). It is unclear what conditions favor one type of phrase over the other.

Conclusion

The new Bulgarian is a vital, organic, and exuberantly expressive mix of elements. The basic Slavic foundation of the language is enlivened with a traditional and deeply emotive layer of Turkisms and a burgeoning new layer of Europeanisms, especially Anglicisms. The language of the Bulgarian press is both forward-looking, with its innovative use of English, and deeply rooted in the world of Bai Ganyo. It would be interesting to look at other styles and genres, to see how the use of Turkisms and Anglicisms in journalistic prose compares to spoken language, more formal types of writing, or artistic literature. Many issues invite future study; for instance, whether and how usage or attitudes toward Turkisms or Anglicisms vary by gender, age, ethnicity, situation, topic, or other variables.

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