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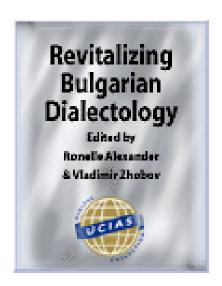Alexander, Ronelle
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Revitalizing Bulgarian Dialectology

Edited by Ronelle Alexander & Vladimir Zhobov

Introduction

This volume summarizes the results of a joint North American - Bulgarian research project in dialectology, which culminated in a joint field expedition in the summer of 1996. The project was co-directed by Professor Ronelle Alexander of the University of California, Berkeley, and Professor Todor Bojadžiev and then Assistant Professor Vladimir Žobov, both of Sofia University.

The field research team was composed of three teachers (in which Professor Alexander represented the American side and Vladimir Žobov and Georgi Kolev represented the Bulgarian side), three North Americans who were at the time graduate students in Slavic linguistics (Jonathan Barnes and Matthew Baerman at the University of California, Berkeley, and Elisabeth Elliott at the University of Toronto) and three Bulgarians who were at the time undergraduate students in Slavic philology at Sofia University (Tanya Delčeva, Kamen Petrov and Petър Šiškov); Krasimira Koleva of Šumen University also joined the team during the first phase of the expedition.

Field research was carried out in three different regions of Bulgaria: the villages of Kozičino and Golica (often referred to together as the "Erkeč" dialect, after the older name of the first of these villages) in eastern Bulgaria, the town of Trjavna (plus outlying villages) in north central Bulgaria, and the villages of Gela and Stikъl (near Široka Lъka) in the Rhodope mountains. The first of these areas is known as one of the most archaic and intriguing in Bulgarian dialectology, the second is located in the area which formed the basis for the Bulgarian standard language, and the third is located within one of the richest (and most completely studied) areas of Bulgarian dialectology.

The volume is divided into four sections and an epilogue. The first section gives background material and outlines the nature of the project being reported on, and the epilogue reports on the ultimate results of the project. The other three sections constitute the bulk of the volume, comprising ten individual research reports by expedition members. Some report on research experiments or projects initiated and carried out during (or as a direct result of) the expedition, while others integrate material gathered on the expedition into their larger ongoing research projects.

Section I includes two articles discussing Bulgarian dialectology as a general discipline. **Todor Bojadžiev** ("The Achievements and Tasks of

Bulgarian Dialectology") first gives a concise but substantive overview of the achievements and goals of Bulgarian dialectology (seen from within). **Ronelle Alexander** ("The Vitality, and Revitalizing, of Bulgarian Dialectology") follows with a brief view of Bulgarian dialectology seen from the outsider's perspective, and goes on to describe both the genesis of the current project and the methods of its implementation.

Section II is devoted to phonetics and phonology. It begins with a paper by **Jonathan Barnes** ("Palatalization in Bulgarian Dialects, an Experiment in Phoneme Categorization"), which reports on a listening test carried out in three different regions of Bulgaria, two of them locales visited in the course of the joint expedition and the third visited upon conclusion of the field expedition. This paper, although not part of Barnes' 2002 UC Berkeley Ph.D. dissertation, is tangentially related to it. Section II continues with a paper by **Petър Šiškov** ("Elision of Unstressed Vowels in the Erkeč Dialect"), taken from the author's 1998 Sofia University "diplomna rabota" (senior thesis), which itself was written on the basis of data gathered during the joint expedition. Section II concludes with a paper by **Vladimir Žobov** ("Uvulars in the Erkeč Dialect"), which reports on an experiment devised in Sofia intended to refine the author's understanding of data collected in the field.

Section III is the most varied in content. It opens with a long paper by **Tanja Delčeva** ("Towards a Lexicon of the Erkeč Dialect"). This work, substantially equivalent to the author's 1998 Sofia University "diplomna rabota" (senior thesis) presents a brief discussion on the significance of the Erkeč dialect for Bulgarian dialectal lexicology as a field, followed by a relatively complete lexicon together with English translations. Section III continues with a paper by **Elisabeth Elliott** ("Imam ('Have') Plus Past Passive Participle in the Bulgarian Erkeč Dialect") derived from the author's 2001 University of Toronto Ph.D. dissertation on constructions composed of the verb "imam" plus past participle, in which data from the Erkeč dialect are contrasted with those from other Slavic languages and dialects. Section III concludes with a report by **Krasimira Koleva** ("Third Person Pronouns in Bulgarian Dialects in the Erkeč and Teteven Areas"), which compares the pronominal system of the Erkeč dialect to that of another archaic dialect, the Teteven dialect.

Section IV is devoted to questions of accent, and specifically to problems of "double accent", the research topic out of which the project itself grew. It begins with a paper by **Ronelle Alexander** ("The Scope of Double Accent in Bulgarian Dialects") summarizing the state of work in progress on this topic and outlining perspectives for future research, with particular focus on

material recorded in Erkeč. This section continues with a brief report by **Matthew Baerman** ("Poststressing Complementizers in Erkeč [Kozičino]"), which views some of the same data from a different theoretical perspective; the topic of this report is related to but not identical with that of Baerman's 1999 UC Berkeley Ph.D. dissertation. The third paper in this section, by **Georgi Kolev** ("Dialectal Accent Shifts and Double Accent in the Bulgarian Linguistic Region"), discusses in detail the rhythmical nature of double accent. The final piece in section IV ("Hierarchies of Stress Assignment in Bulgarian Dialects") is co-authored by the three expedition leaders (**Vladimir Žobov, Ronelle Alexander, Georgi Kolev**). This is the key paper in the volume, not only because it presents new data and conclusions arrived at on the basis of a field experiment carried out by the team, but also because it exemplifies by its very organization the goals and achievements of the entire project, it is the key piece in the volume.

The volume's epilogue ("Towards a Revitalization of Bulgarian Dialectology") is co-authored by the editors (**Ronelle Alexander and Vladimir Žobov**). This piece assesses the results not only of this experiment but also of the expedition as a whole, places these results within the context of Bulgarian dialectology as a discipline, and outlines perspectives for future cooperative work.

Transliteration note: In the actual papers, standard Bulgarian is transliterated according to the "academic" system of transliteration, using š, ž, č, j and x where more "popular" systems often use sh, zh, ch, i and h. Additionally, the vowel letter pronounced as shwa and called "er-goljam" in Bulgarian is rendered by the actual Bulgarian letter, ъ. In the volume's title page and in its table of contents, however, the "popular" transliteration system is used.

The Achievements and Tasks of Bulgarian Dialectology

Todor Bojadžiev

Modern Bulgarian dialectology is heir to a rich scholarly tradition. Its founder is generally considered to be the Russian Slavist Viktor Grigorovič, who in 1848 published "A Sketch of Travels in European Turkey." On the basis of his own observations from his journeys in Bulgarian lands, he noted a number of dialectological characteristics, and was the first to attempt a scholarly classification of Bulgarian dialects into two groups – eastern and western – and to define the linguistic details and the geographical distribution of these dialect groups.

After the liberation of Bulgaria in 1878,[1] the interest of both Bulgarian and foreign scholars in popular speech grew significantly. Studies of individual dialects, however unsystematic and disorganized, were produced, and mainly dialect texts and dictionaries were published. The first professors of linguistics at Sofia University, Alexander Teodorov-Balan, Ljubomir Miletič, Benjo Conev, and later their students and successors such as Stefan Mladenov, Cvetan Todorov, and Kiril Mirčev and others, wrote complete and systematic works, separated dialectology from ethnographic and folkloric research, and transformed dialectology into a leading linguistic discipline addressing national language questions. In their works, written in the manner of comparative historical linguistics, dialects are used to reconstruct previous stages of the language, to bring linguistic evidence to bear on the complex issues surrounding the genesis of the Bulgarian dialect territory, to illuminate the history of the Bulgarian people and language, and to discover the archaic peculiarities and earliest changes which could clarify the specific course of the development and innovations in Bulgarian in comparison with the written corpus of Old Bulgarian. The conviction that the dialects had clear and strictly defined borders, through which it would be possible to reconstruct the ancestral situation, defined the central task of research in this period. This task was to separate dialects into genetic, historical, and typological groupings, which would assist in the scholarly classification and comparative description of the modern dialects. The next task was to study the creation and development of these dialects, and the relationships among them, with an

eye to both the shared features which link and unite them, as well as to those more specific features which differentiate them.

In the comprehensive works which enriched Bulgarian dialectology in this period, such as *Das Ostbulgarische* (1903),[2] *Die Rhodopemundarten der bulgarischen Sprache* (1912), *Dialektni studii (Dialectological studies*, 1904), *Za istočnobəlgarskija vokalizəm (On eastern Bulgarian vocalism*, 1890-91), *Severozapadnite bəlgarski govori* (*The northwestern Bulgarian dialects*, 1936), and others, we essentially see the beginning of Bulgarian historical dialectology. In these works dialects were taken as facts from the history of the language, and sometimes also as the object of linguo-geographical interpretation. Dialect boundaries were drawn according to reflexes of the Old Bulgarian nasals and *jers*, and the general direction of the main isoglosses which divide the territory was established. By far the prevailing understanding was that a complete uncovering of the history of the Bulgarian language must include also a reconstruction of the dialect geography of its territory at various periods of the development of the language, and that although individual dialects constitute systems with overwhelming similarity to one another, each has its own history as well as a history of intersystemic contacts with other dialects.

After World War II Bulgarian dialectology developed in qualitatively different circumstances, which were manifested in the large number of specialists and a multitude of dialectological publications, and in the founding within the Institute for the Bulgarian Language of a section for Bulgarian dialectology, which became a center for the organization and direction of dialectological work. Specialized publications began to appear, such as *Bəlgarska dialektologija, proučvanija i materiali,* and *Trudove po bəlgarska dialektologija*,[3] and new methods in linguistic geography were brought into use. The successes and significant results of this period are connected with the name and activity of Prof. Stojko Stojkov, who conducted large-scale field expeditions, set the foundations for the *Bəlgarski dialekten atlas*, and personally organized and led the work on the compilation of the first three volumes thereof.[4] On the basis of Prof. Stojkov's work, and through analysis of his findings Bulgarian dialectology continues to develop and to define its agenda even today. For instance, Stojkov defined the object and tasks of dialectology in a new way, raising it to the status of a science, without which it would be impossible to understand the organization of the national language as a unified system, bringing together in itself on the one hand, features common to the language as a whole, and on the other hand, features which vary throughout the dialect continuum. By examining the

dialects in his works as individual systems in the complete richness of their linguistic manifestations, excluding the differential[5] approach in their analysis, Stojkov transformed dialectology from an adjunct sphere of philology into a part of structural linguistics.

Already at its founding, the section for Bulgarian dialectology at the Institute for the Bulgarian Language had before it two vast and important collective tasks, the realization of which was planned to continue over a prolonged period: first, the compilation of a dialect atlas, and second, the compilation of a dialect dictionary. Bulgarian dialectology now has a national dialect atlas in four volumes.[6] Its compilation placed Bulgaria among the few countries in Europe in which linguistic geography was developing successfully and yielding results. Since these four volumes of the Bulgarian dialect atlas do not include the entire territory of the Bulgarian language, but only a significant part of it, regional atlases were also produced: *Atlas na govorite v Egejska Makedonija (Sjarsko, Dramsko, Ziljaxovsko, Valoviško)* and *Atlas na bъlgarskite govori v Bosiligradsko i Caribrodsko*. Work was also carried out on the publication of the *Trakijski dialekten atlas (za govorite v Iztočna i Zapadna Trakija)* and the *Rodopski leksikalen atlas*. On the basis of these atlases compilation was begun also of general thematic volumes, the maps of which will present completely all the territorial variants of the Bulgarian language.

The theoretical and practical significance of the atlas in the development of Bulgarian dialectology and linguistic geography is highly valued in the world of Slavic studies. It brought to specialists unique new material, collected in accordance with a unified program, with a single scholarly purpose, and for the first time precisely localized.[7]   The accumulated and generalized experience from the compilation of the atlas helped to work out a methodology for the collection of dialect materials, a theory for synthetic and generalizing mapping of entire fragments of dialect systems, and new conceptions for description and analysis.

The data from the modern dialects presented in the maps of the generalizing volumes of the atlas (which remain still to be produced),[8] will provide us with the opportunity to investigate the territorial variation of dialect phenomena systematically in a number of important directions. Firstly, it will allow us to define the typology of dialect systems, and to devise for them a new areal classification and grouping on the basis of the bundles of isoglosses and their configuration. This in turn will allow us to move from extensive study of the dialects toward an intensive focus on the linguistic area, as problems of center and periphery are approached through

comparison of archaisms and innovations. Secondly, in the maps of the atlas, questions of linguistic history also receive new solutions. For the first time we have presented in minute detail a synchronic picture of Bulgarian dialects along with a precise territorial stratification of Old Bulgarian phonetic phenomena. The rich historical information available from the maps will help reconstruct the earlier areal configuration and will aid in a rational and calm solution of the burning question of the character of Macedonian dialects and the cultural and historical content of the term "Macedonian." The atlas will accomplish this by widening our arsenal of linguistic resources for resolving the controversy, rather than petrifying the uniqueness and unity of the dialects of the Republic of Macedonia, and their history, as a closed object through politicization and ideologization.[9] Thirdly, the materials collected for the atlas in its archive constitute a reliable basis for further research dedicated to particular phenomena in the dialects and problems of a comparative-historical nature.

The realization of the other significant project, the compilation of a complete academic dialect dictionary, is still in the initial stages. It is necessary first of all to work out a well-ordered lexicographical approach to its production, as well as to supplement the file of index cards with new material, since in most cases the many dictionaries of individual dialects or dialect groups published to date are differential[10] and incomplete. Still lacking are sufficiently specialized studies of word formation and the lexicon, studies which would illuminate lexico-semantic processes in the modern dialects, usages of words, and changes in their phonetic shapes and semantics. The dialect dictionary is intended to show both the common and differentiating features of the eastern and western dialects, to define the corresponding cultural and regional variations in folk terminology and to reflect the dynamism in the formation of the lexical inventory.

Dialect lexicography will also be enriched by the compilation of the Ideographic dialect dictionary,[11] which is being produced in the Bulgarian language department of Sofia University on the basis of a vast lexical archive.

Among various dialect studies the descriptive direction in Bulgarian dialectology, for the most part in the form of monograph-length studies of the dialects, has always occupied a significant place. Under the influence of the literary language and of new social circumstances in the life of the villages, the traditional dialects are changing quickly and are being transformed into specific semi-dialects. This heightens the need for an increased tempo in the collection of materials. Moreover, it cannot be said that all Bulgarian dialects have been studied comprehensively and over an even territorial distribution.

Some regions, though few in number, have not received any systematic description at all; furthermore, the quality of studies produced in the past is by no means uniform.

The majority of the impressive number of investigations from the past few decades (for a complete bibliography of these see Stojkov's *Bălgarska dialektologija*)[12] deal with traditional themes and are differential with respect to the literary language. They limit themselves to description of facts gathered from field research on individual dialects or groups of dialects, and to a diagnostic characterization and analysis only of the differences these dialects exhibit from the written literary norm. In these descriptions dialect speech is usually equated with the speech of the oldest generation of speakers of the dialect, in order to focus on the features which are most characteristic of the dialect in question, and which separate it most saliently from the standard. This approach is based on the assumption that dialectology belongs to those sciences which are not able to examine the object of study completely in all its individual manifestations, and which are therefore forced to draw conclusions concerning this object from a corpus of limited size, which must of necessity be only representative, rather than complete or systematically described. In these cases one's attention is focused entirely on specific "dialectal" features of the corpus, and many questions remain unanswered, since all other phenomena receive little attention.

The enrichment of the general methodology of modern linguistic research has, if perhaps with a certain delay, left its mark on the methodological revitalization of Bulgarian dialectology. Discussions in Bulgaria at the end of the 1960's concerning diachrony and synchrony, and the ideas of structuralism for the methods of linguistics and the possibility of their application in dialectology, helped to reinforce the descriptive method; to overcome the old unsystematic approach to dialect phenomena and to a dialect as a communicative unit; to define more clearly and precisely both the object of dialectology and its research methods; and to redirect research predominantly towards the study of the internal regularities of the dialect, to its integrity as a system, and to its use as a means of communication. In this respect, of much significance to the development of Bulgarian dialectology were the complete and entire descriptions of the dialects of individual settlements and regions, made available in the twelve volumes of the series *Trudove po Bălgarska dialektologija* and in the ten volumes of *Bălgarska dialektologija, proučvanija i materiali*. The effectiveness of the monographs in these series is due to their approach, which takes the dialect as a linguistic idiom, as a relatively independent part of the language of the people as a whole, with its

own peculiarities on all linguistic levels. Alongside the traditional phonetic and to a certain extent morphological problems considered, these most recent descriptions include also problems of dialect morphophonology, accentuation, lexicon, word formation, and syntax. This forces us to take on, in addition to the modeling of dialect systems, an examination of a host of theoretical questions as well. These questions include the problem of the scope and content of the characterization of a dialect, the status of variants in its structure, the relationship of speakers to its norms, the role of dialectology in historical linguistics, the relationship between dialects and the standard language, and communication in the dialect environment. Such problems are addressed in, for example, B. Bajčev's book *Seloto, gradət i ezikət v loveškija kraj* (1996). The conclusion of the author is that in the modern linguistic situation Bulgarian dialects occupy an important place, and they remain as the main balancing force to the standard language.

Much attention in Bulgarian dialectology is also paid to Bulgarian dialects located outside the borders of the Republic of Bulgaria, such as those in Romania, Moldova, and Ukraine, spoken there by populations which left their ancestral places centuries ago. Studied in their entirety, for example, were the dialects of the Banat and Wallachia in Romania. Russian Bulgarianists have compiled their *Atlas bolgarskix govorov v SSSR* (1958). This research allows the history of individual dialects to be studied as changes in synchronic "slices."[13]

Much impact has also been made on the process of theoretical and methodological revitalization of Bulgarian dialectology by a large number of Slavists from other countries, including the United States, who have for a long time been demonstrating interest in Bulgarian dialects, widely applying the methods of descriptive dialectology, and searching for new classificatory criteria against the backdrop of Balkan and Slavic dialectology.

In this short overview, I have not attempted to present in detail all the works on Bulgarian dialectology. My goal has been rather to point out the most important directions and problems which define the progress of research and the results thereof up to the present day.[14]

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<u>Notes</u>

[1] The first stage in the liberation of Bulgaria was the uprisings of 1876 against the Ottoman rulers. These were suppressed with such brutality by the Ottomans as to bring the attention of Europe to the plight of the Bulgarians; this led to the Russo-Turkish wars of 1877-78, which resulted in Bulgarian independence. – Ed.

[2] This work appeared in Bulgarian translation, as *Istočnobъlgarskite govori*, only in 1989. – Ed.

[3] The first of these series contained separate articles, often with lexicographic material; and the second presented monographic descriptions of individual dialects or dialect areas (and in one case, the entire lexicon of a dialect). Unfortunately, these two series ceased to appear in 1981 and 1984, respectively. Albeit not at the same pace, dialect descriptions continue to be published in varying formats. – Ed.

[4] The first volume was published under the joint editorship of Stojkov and S.B. Bernštejn in 1964, and the second volume under the sole editorship of Stojkov in 1966. After Stojkov's premature death in 1969, the third and fourth volumes were published under the collective editorship of the Institute for the Bulgarian Language of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, in 1975 and 1981, respectively.

[5] The term "differential" in Bulgarian dialectology refers to the practice of noting only those dialectal features which are different from the literary standard. – Ed.

[6] The Bulgarian dialect atlas as conceived by Stojkov consists of four volumes, one for each of the four quadrants of the territory within the Republic of Bulgaria. Although most of the subsequent volumes appeared in the same format, many still think of the original four-volume atlas as a completed work on its own. – Ed.

[7] The uniqueness of this effort was in the combination of the unified program and the extremely dense and thorough network of geographically precise points covered. – Ed.

[8] This paper was originally written in 1998, before the appearance (in 2001) of the first three parts of the generalizing atlas, which comprise phonetics (172 maps), accentology (88 maps) and lexicology (108 maps). However, they were not published by the Institute for the Bulgarian Language but rather by the independent publishing house "Trud." – Ed.

[9] Even though the political issues have now been resolved, the question of the extent to which dialects spoken within the FYROM are Bulgarian continues to occupy Bulgarians at the scholarly level. – Ed.

[10] That is, they make reference only to features which are different from the standard language. – Ed.

[11] This project collates different dialectal terms for general concepts, organized according to correspondences with standard Bulgarian. – Ed.

[12] 1st edition 1962, 2d edition 1968, 3d edition (with expanded bibliography) 1993. – Ed.

[13] The 1990s saw the publication of two significant works which treat Bulgarian dialects spoken outside the borders of Bulgaria, Bojadžiev 1991 (on Bulgarian dialects spoken in westernmost Turkey) and Mladenov 1993 (on Bulgarian dialects spoken in southern Romania).

[14] Relatively complete bibliographical data of works on Bulgarian dialectology up to 1992, arranged by geographical region and by subject (but not by author) is available in the 3d edition of Stojkov's *Bʺlgarska dialektologija* (1993). A narrative description of the achievements of South Slavic dialectology (including but not limited to Bulgarian), with an extensive bibliography arranged by author's name, can be found in Alexander 2000 (a work which is unfortunately not yet available in major libraries as it was published privately as a part of a lecture series; proper publication of it is underway). – Ed.

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The Vitality, and the Revitalizing, of Bulgarian Dialectology

Ronelle Alexander

Dialectology is a solid and well-developed science in the South Slavic lands, especially in Bulgaria, where there continues to be a rich mine of available dialect data and where there is a solid tradition of recording these data. The fear of the early post-war years, that widespread literacy would lead to geographic uniformity of speech (and that village dialects were doomed to die out altogether in face of the obviously superior standard language), has proved to be ungrounded: although the massive social changes of the last fifty years have led to some changes in dialectal speech, the diversity of dialectal differentiation remains rich; furthermore it still accords, by and large, with the outlines documented roughly a century ago.

Led primarily by the highly talented Stojko Stojkov (1912-1969), Bulgarian dialectologists of the post-war period published an impressive amount of material, of several different sorts. Not only did they compile reference handbooks, atlases, and dictionaries, they also produced monograph descriptions of individual dialects, as well as analytic surveys devoted to a myriad of different topics, but all based on dialect material. Access to this material is sometimes uneven (both within Bulgaria and without), but in general scholars and interested laymen are able to find and read these works. Indeed, Bulgaria is renowned within the Slavic-speaking world for its achievements in dialectology: although all Slavic countries have worked assiduously towards the goal of a complete linguistic atlas, only Bulgaria has achieved this goal. It is true that Bulgaria could count on the combined advantage of a relatively small and relatively ethnically homogeneous land on the one hand, and the availability of constant government (not to say Soviet) support on the other, and that both these advantages gave the Bulgarians a large head start. Nevertheless, both the extent and the high quality of the finished work are due to the vision of Stojkov and to the thousands of hours of devoted labor which he and his co-workers expended towards this goal.

In light of these achievements, it might seem almost paradoxical to claim that Bulgarian dialectology is (or was) in need of revitalization. Yet at the

time the current project was first conceived, in the late 1980s, Bulgarian dialectology seemed to be at a standstill. The massive amount of work that had been accomplished had led to the assumption among Bulgarian linguists that all the major relevant questions of dialectology had been addressed and solved. When an outsider would pose a question about the relevance of dialectal material to a particular analytical issue, for instance, the typical Bulgarian response would be not to engage with the question as posed, but rather to refer the questioner to one or more maps in the massive, multi-volume dialect atlas. On a different plane, the difficult transition to a market economy left little or no material resources at the state level to support work of the sort that had been regularly carried out during the socialist period (a state of affairs which largely continues today). Thus, not only was little or no fieldwork being done, many Bulgarians were under the impression that no more really needed to be done.

The above is, of course, written from the Western point of view. Most Slavic linguists in the West are aware of the dialectal riches of the Slavic (and especially South Slavic) lands; yet, the very abundance of the available data often makes access difficult for these linguists. Not having the overview needed in order to make ready comparisons between data presented in the atlas format and those presented in the monograph description format, they are usually unable to extract the type of data needed to address analytical questions of current interest. The natural response, when faced with such richness and relative availability of dialect data, is to take this abundance at face value and to incorporate directly, into all levels of linguistic analysis, whatever data come to hand. There is a hidden danger in this practice, and that is that few Western scholars are sufficiently familiar with the methods of dialectology to realize the dangers of assuming that all dialectal data can be interpreted according to the same metric. There are significant differences, for instance, between monograph descriptions and dialect atlases.

Monographs (or shorter articles) describe the dialect of a single village or area, taking it as a self-contained system. Some are sketchy, and restrict themselves only to elements that deviate from the standard language; some give admirable detail, even discussing internal variation. In recent years, most dialect monographs also include "texts" – chunks of narrative that are transcribed with varying degrees of attention to phonetic detail. Careful study of these texts often yields examples that contradict statements made in the descriptive sections of the monograph. This does not mean that either the transcribed text or the monograph description is "wrong"; it means simply that the range of variation is much wider than the description suggests. The

advantage of the monograph as a dialect source is twofold: it gives a coherent overview of a dialect as a functioning linguistic system, and it creates a context within which to view the individual data items. The disadvantage of the monograph is that in order to see the broader distribution of any one phenomenon, one must not only search out and compare many different monograph descriptions, but must also take into account disparities between the skill of the investigator, the unconscious bias of the investigator (many are native speakers of the dialect they describe), and the requirements (and biases) of the investigator's supervisor.

The several volumes of the Bulgarian dialect atlas, by contrast, are organized around individual dialectal phenomena, either lexical items as such, or facts about individual words such as the shape of the root vowel, the place of accent, or the form of the ending. Such words are chosen as exemplary of particular categories, of course, and the presentation is then assumed to be true of the larger category. Still, the only data one can be absolutely sure of are those of the individual lexical items chosen (or those individual additional lexical items listed in the commentaries). The advantage of atlases is that they picture the geographical distribution of dialect variation in a form that is immediately perceptible, and that they cover a wide expanse of area. Furthermore, since the number of individual points investigated is very large, one obtains an impressively precise picture of dialectal variation. The disadvantage of atlases is that one can analyze only those specific phenomena that are depicted on the maps, and only in a relatively superficial manner, since there is no context in which to place the individual items. A further limitation of dialect atlases consists in the manner in which data were gathered. Because of the enormous number of points to be canvassed, it was necessary to use a large number of investigators, some of whom were relatively inexperienced and some of whom were non-native speakers of Bulgarian. The presentation of the maps suggests that all answers to questionnaire items are equally reliable, which is not always necessarily the case. In addition, the format "Bulgarian Dialect Atlas" is misleadingly uniform. Only the first four volumes were compiled according to Stojkov's original program. There are three additional volumes which were printed according to the same format, but which differ to a certain degree both in content and in intention. Finally, it must be noted that most of Bulgarian dialectology was carried out prior to the ready availability of tape recorders. Even the finest ear and the most intently focused attention cannot capture all the phonetic detail which become available only when one listens repeatedly to a tape.

It is thus that most Westerners end up highly frustrated: the data needed seem as if they *ought* to be near at hand, but the necessary data are in fact almost completely out of reach unless one goes into the field oneself. For all but a handful of Westerners, this is simply not possible. Lacking the training or opportunity to do fieldwork themselves, they end up mystified and discouraged by the seeming complexity of the enterprise of dialectology. In addition, the majority of Western linguists interested in the Balkans are concerned with the Balkan *Sprachbund*, and wish to study the trajectory of changes from "typically Slavic" to "typically Balkan" as concerns a number of significant structural elements. Moving with objectivity between three different national programs of dialectological research – Bulgarian, Macedonian and Serbian – is a task of no small difficulty for the Westerner. Among other reasons, this is because all three nationally-based efforts are to a great extent tied up with (and often hampered by) political factors underlying the need to classify. That is, in all three areas, there is great pressure (both conscious and unconscious) to use dialectological data to justify the drawing of political borders, and this factor must always be taken into account when working with dialectal data sources. Sometimes the political stance of a particular dialect study is clear, and sometimes it must be inferred; in addition, the particular point in the history of the Balkans when the work was undertaken must be taken into account in assessing the bias of the work. For over a century, the question of language borders (which in the case of dialectology means deciding whether a particular dialect should be assigned to Serbian, Macedonian or Bulgarian) has been a matter of great importance to scholars (and others) who are native to the area. In principle, all South Slavic (and Balkan) linguists are interested in the entire continuum comprising Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Serbian dialects, and most of these scholars are able to transcend the idea of political boundaries, to view dialectology within the science of general linguistics, and to evaluate dialectal data simply in terms of synchronic structure (gradations of sameness vs. difference) or diachronic change (different possible resolutions of a presumed common ancestor). The above is more true of outsiders than of native scholars, however. It is usually the case that the Westerner who wishes to concentrate on questions of language change and linguistic geography without reference to national labels must tread extremely carefully when working with scholars who are native to the area.

An additional factor in the equation is the prevailing climate in the field of general linguistics in North America. American linguistics of the post-war period has been characterized by an explosion of theoretical advances, some of

which have revolutionized completely the way we think about language. Theoretical innovation in linguistics moves so fast, in fact, that most graduate students must spend the majority of their study learning and keeping up with the different theories. Work with actual language data often seems subordinated to the need to prove or disprove a particular theory. Furthermore, data from actual languages are usually utilized at a selective and abstract level, since a primary goal of modern linguistics is to discover the underlying patterns of language structure. In such a framework, dialectology is often seen as a complicated and problematic appendage rather than as a possible approach. "Languages" to modern theoretical linguists are usually the codified standard languages, the kind which are described in dictionaries and grammars and which are spoken by educated adults (not unlike the very linguists who perform the analyses). It is true that more sophisticated linguistic analysis is now being performed on languages without a long written tradition (such as certain African or Native American languages), but each of these languages is nevertheless considered as a single standardized unit for the purposes of these analyses. To work with the rich, complex and multilayered variation presented by the dialectal mosaic of each of these languages would complicate matters too much, and would not allow one to focus sufficient attention upon "theory."

The unfortunate result of this state of affairs is that dialectology is essentially ignored by American linguists. Students are under heavy pressure to demonstrate their ability to manipulate theories, and to produce theoretically significant analyses of standard languages. A student who is unfashionable enough to want to delve into the complexity of dialectal variation must buck a very strong current. This situation is especially unfortunate for Slavists, who study languages and cultures with such available ethnographic riches as can be found in the Balkans. American students of Slavic linguistics have a vague sense that these riches are there, but they have little or no idea of how to access them. Furthermore, practically none of their teachers are in a position to tell them. Instead, these teachers (all of whom are respected scholars and excellent linguists) give brief lip service to the value of dialect data, but continue to produce linguistic analyses exclusively of standard languages. As in the case of all generalizations, there are a few shining exceptions. Nevertheless, much more work is necessary before Western scholars can feel at home in the field of dialectology.

In sum, at the time the above words were written (the early 1990s), there was indeed need for revitalization on both sides. On the Bulgarian side, the discipline of dialectology had produced a wealth of material which was

nevertheless unable to answer many of the really interesting questions of modern-day linguistics – either because of the static format into which the data had been slotted, or because of the (often emotional) nationalistic context of dialectological inquiry. On the Western side, scholars were hesitant to utilize this dialectal material at length because of an inability to overcome these limitations. They were even more hesitant to undertake dialectological research on their own, partly because of the scholarly climate in the West (in which modern theoretical advances are valued much more highly than the complexity of dialectal variation) and partly because of the difficulties of access.

A very simple means was proposed to initiate a revitalization that would benefit both sides. This was to take a combined group of Americans and Bulgarians into the field together, and to create situations that would allow each side to learn from the other. From Bulgarian participants, Americans would learn practical field techniques, and would develop a direct awareness both of the Bulgarian sense of traditional heritage and of the ability of Bulgarian students and scholars to keep a balance between the forest of the classificatory overview and the trees of individual dialect data. From American participants, Bulgarians would learn to go beyond the mere collection and classification of data, and would see practical instances of active analytical interaction with the data; in particular, they would watch Americans develop hypotheses and devise means to test these hypotheses on the spot in the field.

The inspiration for this expedition came from contact between Ronelle Alexander of the University of California, Berkeley, and four Bulgarian scholars (Maksim Mladenov, Todor Bojadžiev, Vladimir Žobov and Georgi Kolev) which had begun with a meeting between Alexander and Mladenov in the mid 1970s in Sofia, and had taken on solid collaborative form during a conference in Smoljan, on Rhodope dialects, in September, 1986. The concrete plan of the expedition was modeled after a similar collaborative effort between the same Bulgarian scholars and Peter Hill, at that time of Hamburg University. American-Bulgarian discussions proceeded throughout the late 1980s, and began to develop great momentum after the fall of the socialist government in late 1989 and the advent of real possibilities for Americans to go easily and directly into the field without first getting official government permission. Brief field trips were undertaken in 1990 and 1991, but the project was dealt a serious setback by Mladenov's untimely death in November of 1992. A somewhat longer field trip was taken on schedule in 1993, but it was only in 1994-95, when Žobov was a Fulbright scholar in

Berkeley, that plans were revived in earnest for a joint field expedition involving students from both sides, an endeavor which was finally actualized, with financial support from the International Research and Exchanges Board, in July, 1996. The original plan had been to take American graduate students in Slavic linguistics and Bulgarian graduate students in dialectology; however the economic strain of the transition was such that there were no graduate students in dialectology at Sofia University at that time. Three Bulgarian undergraduates with interest in dialectology were chosen, therefore, in the hopes that the field trip would induce at least one of them to choose an academic career with specialization in dialectology. The three North American students comprised two from the University of California, Berkeley, and one from the University of Toronto.

The expedition had four components. The first was a six-day stay in the eastern Bulgarian village of Kozičino (with side trips to the village of Golica, which, despite the relatively large intervening distance, had retained an archaic dialect almost identical to that of Kozičino). The entire area, known by Kozičino's earlier name, Erkeč, is one of great interest to Bulgarian dialectology. Because the area is quite inaccessible, it has not been studied sufficiently by Bulgarian dialectologists, despite the great scholarly value of the data. The team's focus in this area, therefore, was on data collection. Since the expedition roster comprised three teachers (each with extensive experience in field work), three American students and three Bulgarian students, field work was organized in teams of three (one teacher, one Bulgarian student and one American student), with shuffling of the teams until all possible combinations had worked together. Eventually the students gained enough experience to go off on their own; additional help in training the students was provided by Krasimira Koleva, an experienced dialectologist from Šumen University, who came to join this first component of the expedition.

The second component comprised six days in the north central Bulgarian town of Trjavna, with short visits to neighboring villages. Although some data collection was undertaken in these villages, the planned focus in this area was on transcription. Students were instructed in transcription techniques, were grouped into three teams, each comprising one Bulgarian and one American student, and were assigned to make exact transcriptions of the material which had been recorded in Erkeč. There was no shuffling of these teams; rather, each remained constant so that the students could develop a working rhythm in order to better learn from each other. Once sufficient material had been transcribed, each student began combing the material for

data relevant to the research topic he or she had chosen (American students) or been assigned (Bulgarian students) in advance. The time in Trjavna also included an unexpected but quite serendipitous research activity, in the form of a test devised on the spot to measure the extent of an unexpected dialectal phenomenon.

The third component of the expedition comprised three days in the Rhodope village of Gela, with visits to the neighboring village of Stikъl. Both data recording and data transcription were undertaken here. The time spent here was relatively short, since the Rhodopes have already been extensively documented by Bulgarian dialectologists; nevertheless because of the importance of these dialects for the history of Bulgarian, it was clear to all that no such expedition would be complete without a visit to them.

The final component of the expedition took place on return to Sofia. After a day to recover from the physical strain of fieldwork, participants met together to evaluate what they had learned and to prepare for the following day's meeting, which would be a public presentation of expedition results to prominent scholars of Bulgarian language not only from Sofia University but also from the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. "Results" at this point consisted of fresh impressions of the experience of working together, and interim reports on research in progress; the discussion from the floor was lively. More lasting results are reported upon in the volume of which this paper is one of two introductory pieces, primarily in the form of the research papers themselves and secondarily in the epilogue that concludes the volume. Both attest that a revitalization of Bulgarian dialectology has indeed taken place, and that prospects for more active work and more direct collaboration in the near future are extremely bright.

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Palatalization in Bulgarian Dialects: An Experiment in Phoneme Categorization[*]

Jonathan A. Barnes

1. INTRODUCTION

The phonemic status of palatalized consonants in Bulgarian has been a matter of dispute in the linguistic literature (see, for example, Scatton 1975, 1979), with some arguments for recognizing palatalized consonants as independent phonemes (i.e. as single segments), and others for analyzing them as sequences of consonant plus /j/. This dispute concerns specifically the status of coronals and labials, velars behaving somewhat differently, with automatic palatalization before front vowels neutralizing any putative contrast. Arguments for or against phonemic status for palatalized consonants in Bulgarian have traditionally been based on distributional facts, which in this case are unfortunately somewhat equivocal. Firstly, palatalized consonants are never found in syllable codas in Standard Bulgarian, whereas in related languages, e.g. Russian, the contrast between palatalized and unpalatalized consonants is not restricted in this way. This restriction could be understood either as part of a more general prohibition on coda obstruent + sonorant sequences in Bulgarian, or as a neutralization of secondary consonant features in coda position. Secondly, palatalized consonants are never found before front vowels in Standard Bulgarian,[1] whereas in Russian palatalization is automatic in this position. Since /j/ is also not found before front vowels in Bulgarian, this fact could be seen to support the cluster analysis, but again is not conclusive. This paper is an attempt to go beyond the distributional evidence by means of a psycholinguistic experiment that could more conclusively reveal the phonemic status of palatalized consonants in Bulgarian.

2. METHODS

Phonemic categorization can be tested experimentally in a variety of ways, from the measurement of reaction time to given stimuli to the measurement of galvanic skin response at certain stimuli after conditioning with mild electric shocks to the fingers (see, for example, Jaeger 1980). One important aspect of

the experiment described herein, however, is that it was carried out entirely under dialectological field work conditions, which is to say, on location in a number of villages in Bulgaria, without specialized equipment or access to a phonology laboratory or sound booths, and with local residents as subjects (rather than the university undergraduates most often used in such experiments). As a result, the design of the experiment had to be such that it was highly portable and possible to carry out with only tape recorders and pen and paper as equipment. The conditions under which the experiment was carried out presented numerous difficulties, from the relatively minor (livestock noise on recordings) to the more serious (lack of willing participants). In the spirit of the expedition, however, which had as its purpose the revitalization of the dialectological enterprise in Bulgaria, this pilot experiment is a good indication of what can be achieved in the field with few resources and a bit of ingenuity.

While the controversy concerning the phonemic status of palatalized consonants in Standard Bulgarian has been reviewed briefly in the introduction, it must be noted that no such controversy exists concerning these consonants in the northeastern dialects of Bulgarian. In these dialects palatalized consonants are found word-finally and in word-internal codas, their presence is automatic before front vowels, and /j/ is also allowed before front vowels. This distribution being roughly the same as that found in Standard Russian, palatalized consonants in the dialects in question are recognized to be separate phonemic entities from their unpalatalized counterparts. To establish a control on experimental results, then, we ran our experiment in three distinct dialect areas. The first locations were Kozičino and Golica villages in Northeastern Bulgaria (11 participants), the home of the Erkeč dialect. This dialect is among those showing uncontroversially phonemic palatalized consonants. The second spot was Trjavna (15 participants), a small town in the Central Balkan region of Bulgaria. Trjavna is said in Scatton 1979 (citing the Bulgarian Dialect Atlas) to belong to the dialects having no palatalized consonants in codas, no palatalized labials and coronals before front vowels, and no /j/ before front vowels, and thus could be argued to have no phonemic palatalization opposition for these consonants. It must be noted that in the process of conducting interviews in Trjavna, we recorded a number of natives of the town who did have some weak palatalization before front vowels. Located as it is near the isogloss for this phenomenon, Trjavna may in fact represent a transitional area. The third setting for the experiment was the town of Bankja (11 participants), located just to the northwest of Sofia, and thus firmly in the camp of the dialects

where the controversy is centered. By carrying out the experiment in these three areas, we can examine questions not only concerning the behavior of palatalized consonants vis-à-vis simple consonants and clusters in our results, but also concerning potential differences in the behavior of these consonants from dialect to dialect. The results from the zone with uncontroversial phonemic palatalization can thus serve as a yardstick in the evaluation of the results from the more controversial zones.

2.1. Design

This experiment is based in part on the word-blending experiment of M. Ohala (1996), in which she used a task causing Hindi speakers to produce nonce forms in order to derive novel utterances containing certain sequences of segments.[2] In our experiment, speakers were presented with two words of Bulgarian, usually forming a noun phrase or subject-verb sentence. Their task was to reverse the first two segments of these words in order to form two new, meaningless words. Speakers were told that the task was a game designed to see what sort of answers speakers of Bulgarian would produce. They were assured that any speaker of Bulgarian could participate, that no answers were unacceptable, and that they were not being tested in any way (this latter was necessary to state as some participants expressed reservations that perhaps they had not done well enough in high school language classes to give us accurate results). They were told that all possible answers sounded "silly," that this was indeed the point of the game, and that they should not be concerned about "getting it right," but that rather they should simply follow the model and say the first answer that occurred to them as quickly as possible.

The "model" mentioned above came in the form of twenty training tokens, a sort of practice test in which speakers were presented first with the stimulus words, and then with the novel words formed from them. This process was continued until the speakers were trained to quickly and reliably produce the novel words without prompting. Speakers were thus given, for example, first the words in (1a) and then those in (1b):

(1)   a.   [malka tapa]   '   b.   [talka mapa]
                [mlada kotka]   '   [klada motka]

Because of the nature of the experiment, the speakers were not told in so many words what they were meant to do, but rather were asked to intuit the pattern from the examples given. They did this in most cases with little difficulty. In

this way we avoided telling them to reverse the first "letters," "segments," "sounds," or "phonemes," and simply allowed them to reach their own conclusions as to the precise nature of the task. Numerous control stimuli with initial clusters were introduced in the sample test to insure that the speakers did not understand the task to be reversal of whole onsets, first syllables, or anything of the sort. After the speakers were trained the test itself was introduced. It consisted of 45 stimuli of the same sort, only now with crucial, previously unseen types of stimuli added: 22 of the 45 tokens in the test were of a type such that one of the stimulus words began with a palatalized consonant, and the other with an unpalatalized consonant as shown in (2).

(2)   d'asna lapa
               a. lasna d'apa
               b. l'asna dapa

Given that participants were trained to switch only the first segments of words, which often resulting in removing the first segment of an initial cluster, the response shown in (2a), with the initial [dj] moved as a unit onto the second word, would represent a treatment of a palatalized consonant as a single unit. The response in (2b), on the other hand, with the palatalization left in the first word and applied to the newly attached [l], represents a treatment of a palatalized consonant as a cluster of /C/ + /j/, just like the /ml/ shown in (1b) above.

Participants in the study were 37 residents of the regions in question between the ages of 15 and 35. This age distribution was in effect foisted on the experiment from without. The original idea had been to work with pre-literate children, in order to avoid orthographic bias in responses. As it happened, children of this age turned out to be incapable of carrying out the task. Whether this was a function of "stage fright" before strangers, or of something else, is unclear. It must be noted, however, that, in general, the individuals capable of the fastest and most accurate responses to the test were over eighteen and university-educated. Teens in the rural northeast, mostly from an agricultural background, fared worse than their counterparts in the towns, with many ultimately incapable of completing the test. This direct correspondence between socio-economic/educational background and ability to perform on the experiment is worrisome, raising questions as to the nature of the knowledge being assessed in experiments of this kind. Are we tapping into tacit linguistic knowledge, or some more general skill in logic/problem-

solving that is stronger in individuals with more success in their education backgrounds? An answer to this question will ultimately be crucial to understanding the results of a broad class of psycholinguistic experiments, but the question cannot be adequately addressed in the present study. All participants were screened in advance to be certain that they and their families were natives of the dialect area in question.

The test was administered by a 35-year-old female speaker of Standard Bulgarian, who read the list of stimuli aloud, pausing after each stimulus to await the respondent's answer.[3] Respondents were corrected only during the training session. During the experiment itself, all queries as to the correctness of a given response were answered in the affirmative, regardless of their character. Participants were told additionally that the most important thing during the experiment itself was that they respond quickly in order to maintain "spontaneity." In fact, the speed of responses was hypothesized to be important to the test because of the danger of influence from the orthographic forms of the stimuli that could come with more time to consider each token. In this particular test, the influence of orthography could not be avoided entirely, regardless of the speed with which participants answered. The problem stems from the fact that the Bulgarian orthography has no separate graphemes for palatalized consonants, but rather marks palatalization either by the choice of vowel grapheme, or with a separate grapheme now existing specifically for this purpose, as shown in (3):

(3)	Orthography	Transliteration	Phonetic transcription
	място	m - ja - s – t - o	m^{j}asto
	гьол	g - j - o - l	g^{j}ol
	тютюч	t - ju - t - ju - n	t^{j}ut^{j}un

It should be clear from the above that a participant answering according to the strategy "reverse the first *letters* of the words" would naturally give a response supporting the cluster hypothesis every time, since the palatalization is never a part of the first letter. It is also likely, however, that this is precisely the strategy that most of the participants adopted. In fact, many of them confirmed when asked after the experiment that they had in fact been trying to reverse the first letters of the words. This effect was unavoidable, but the fact that participants responded on the test according to the phonemic-palatalization pattern as often as they did suggests that it was not a fatal problem for the experiment.[4]

All the tokens from the test are listed in Appendix 1. Words were chosen to include all vowels, and all places of articulation for the consonants in question. Of the 22 stimuli including a word beginning with a palatalized consonant, 11 had the palatalized consonant in the first word, and 11 had it in the second word. This was to be certain that responses were not biased by some preference for a certain type of answer based on the location of the consonant. Care was also taken to avoid stimuli for which one of the potential responses was an actual word in the language, as the presence of such an option would presumably cause participants to prefer it to options which were merely nonce forms. Four stimuli contained actual clusters in one of the words as a control to make certain that respondents were still proceeding according to the correct strategy.

3. RESULTS

Audio recordings of test sessions were analyzed by the author, with the initial onsets of response forms marked as containing or not containing palatalization. Results of the experiment for the crucial stimuli are given in Appendix 2. They are expressed in the form of rounded-off percentages of a given type of response out of total admissible responses. In many cases participants simply did not respond to a given stimulus, asking instead to go on to the next one. In other cases aberrant responses were produced. These included saying the same nonce word twice, adding segments not present in either stimulus, reversing syllables, or simply saying something with little discernible connection to the stimulus in question, except perhaps a segment or two. Such responses (or lack of responses), while sometimes interesting in their own right, were thrown out, and were not included in the total number of responses for the stimulus from which the percentages were derived. Ultimately, only four types of responses were admitted into the final tallies. I have already commented on the significance of responses in which palatalization was moved with a consonant and those in which it was not. There were, however, two other response types which warrant some discussion.

Often enough, palatalization was realized on both initial consonants of a response pair, and equally often palatalization was deleted entirely from the response pair, as is shown in (4a) and (4b), respectively:

(4) a. d'asna lapa   →   l'asna d'apa
     b. d'asna lapa   →   lasna dapa

These types of responses were received in all dialect zones, and while some speakers seemed perhaps more prone to them than others,[5] in general they were evenly distributed. These responses are paradoxical for analysis; on the one hand the speaker does move palatalization (or lack of palatalization) with one of the consonants, thus conforming to the phoneme hypothesis. One the other hand, the speaker does not move palatalization (or lack thereof) with the other consonant, which argues instead for the cluster hypothesis. From these facts alone it is unclear how to interpret these results. Looking, however, at the responses to the four stimuli containing uncontroversial clusters (numbers 12, 25, 28 and 36), we find evidence of the same patterns: in some instances, speakers repeated the second segment of the cluster in both nonce words, and in other instances they removed the second segment from their responses altogether, as shown in (5):

(5)　　a.　gъsta mreža　　→　　mrъsta greža
　　　　b.　kratka duma　　→　　datka kuma

In the case of true clusters, unlike that of the palatalized consonants, there is by definition no interpreting these responses as proof that the onsets are single phonemes. Rather, we must interpret them as errors or mis-speakings apparently common in the performance of this type of word-blending task. Because of their frequency and consistency, I have included them in the tally of responses, grouping both patterns together under the heading "Other", a class of responses we must unfortunately consider ambiguous and non-decisive in interpreting our results.

A quick glance at the percentages in Appendix 2 shows that the results vary widely both as to the treatment of certain stimuli in different dialect zones, and as to the percentage of a given type of response for one stimulus versus the percentage of the same response for another. The first type of variation can be seen, for example, in stimulus 23, where in the Eastern and Central dialects fifty percent of responses showed the "phoneme" (P) pattern, compared to only nine percent in the West, or in stimulus 30, where no participants in the East or the West chose the phoneme pattern, but thirty-one percent of the Central-dialect participants did choose it. The second type of variation can be seen by comparing the percentages of 'P' responses for stimuli 17 and 45 (0, 0, 0 and 22, 57, 18 respectively).

The first variation type seems to be simply the result of a certain degree of randomness inherent in this type of study. Were two of the dialects to pattern together consistently in this type of situation, or all three to show steady

patterns across the board, we might interpret this variation as some sort of systematic difference among the dialects. Since this is not the case, we must discount it. The second type of variation seems perhaps more prone to explanation. Unfortunately, the test is not long enough, nor are the patterns clear-cut enough, to allow any definitive solution to emerge. The following, however, might be noted in passing. The set of stimuli which were especially resistant to response 'P' included all instances of palatalized labial consonants (2, 3, 17, 20). Palatalized labials are distinct from the other segments under consideration here in that they involve the use of two articulators, the lips for the primary articulation and the tongue blade for the secondary. In most cases, the gesture of the primary articulator was transferred, while the gesture of the secondary articulator was left behind. This treatment of the palatalized labials is intriguingly reminiscent of Browman and Goldstein's conception of phonological representations as "gestural scores." Here, the respondents seem to have adopted a strategy whereby they move only one gesture out of the group of gestures making up a segment. In many other cases, palatalization was left behind systematically when moving it would have resulted in a $C^{'}V$ uncharacteristic for the language. Thus, stimuli 21 and 34, if answered according to the 'P' pattern, would yield sequences of palatalized velar + [a], of which there are only two in Standard Bulgarian (*g'aurin* 'infidel' and *k'ar* 'profit', both somewhat archaic Turkisms). For these and other stimuli, then, we might imagine that respondents shunned the 'P'-type responses when they would lead to the production of a "bad-sounding" form. This might lead us to exclude these stimuli from final percentages, thus raising the overall percentage of responses in favor of treating palatalized consonants as independent phonemes. At the present time, however, I do not believe that the case is strong enough to warrant doing this, and thus have left these stimuli in the final tallies.

Despite the wide variation seen in the data, a remarkable uniformity emerges when averages are taken for each response type in each dialect zone:

(6)   **Average percentages for each response-type**

	East	**Central**	**West**
Independent phoneme:	8	13	5
Cluster:	55	54	63

The average percentage of responses in favor of either hypothesis is, with some slight variation, almost identical in all three dialect areas. Whatever this experiment is telling us about the phonemic status of palatalized consonants in Bulgarian dialects, it is telling us the same thing about all three dialects investigated here, despite the differences in distribution of palatalized consonants among them noted above. What, then, if anything, does the experiment say to us? In deciding this, it is instructive to make a comparison of the percentages above with those of the results obtained for stimuli including uncontroversial clusters:

(7)   **Average percentages for stimuli with uncontroversial clusters**

	East	**Central**	**West**
Independent phoneme:	0	0	0
Cluster:	80	85	96

The percentages given above do not add up to one hundred due to the exclusion of ambiguous responses. What is important to note is that clusters are treated as clusters in a very high percentage of cases, and perhaps more importantly, that in no instance are they treated as independent phonemes. While a variety of aberrant responses were received for these stimuli as for all others, in no case did a participant, even accidentally, produce a response indicating treatment of a cluster as an independent phoneme. Compare now the averages across the three dialects for the stimuli containing palatalized consonants to the averages for those containing uncontroversial clusters:

(8)   **Average percentages for all three dialects: CJ vs CC**

	CJ	**CC**
Treated as single phoneme:	8.67	0
Treated as cluster:	57.33	87

While clusters are identified as clusters 87 percent of the time, palatalized consonants are treated as clusters only 57.33 percent of the time; while clusters are never mis-identified as single segments, palatalized consonants are treated as discrete segments in 8.67 percent of responses.

The raw numbers of responses, including ambiguous cases of the type discussed above, are shown in (9):

(9)   **Responses to stimuli containing CJ and CC sequences**

	CJ	CC	Total
Treated as single phoneme:	68	0	68
Treated as cluster:	425	119	544
Ambiguous treatment:	256	17	273
Total:	749	136	885

Applying a chi-square test to these results shows us the following. Expected results assuming no difference between CJ and CC stimuli in this test would be as shown in (10):

(10)   **Expected Responses to stimuli containing CJ and CC sequences**

	CJ	CC
Treated as single phoneme:	57.7	10.5
Treated as cluster:	460.6	83.6
Ambiguous treatment:	230.7	41.9

$chi^2 = 47.65$
$df = 2$
$p < .001$

We can see from this that the different types of stimuli, CJ and CC, are indeed being treated differently to a significant degree, which allows us to state with a great deal of certainty that palatalized consonants in Bulgarian are not clusters.

4. CONCLUSION

Though the above figures argue that palatalized consonants in Bulgarian should not be analyzed as clusters, the numbers themselves do not argue particularly strongly for a single segment analysis either: CJ sequences are treated in this experiment as clusters over half the time, ambiguously over a third of the time, and as single segments in slightly less than ten percent of the relevant stimuli. This taken by itself would in fact argue *for* the cluster analysis. In comparison with responses containing true clusters, we see that the number of cluster responses to CJ sequences is actually much lower than we would expect if the cluster hypothesis were true. The number of

ambiguous responses is substantially higher than we would expect, and perhaps most significantly, a certain percentage of CJ sequences are indeed treated as single segments, while CC stimuli are never treated this way. We must still wonder, however, why the number of single-segment responses, significant though it is, is not higher, or indeed why it does not constitute the majority response, if CJ is in fact to be analyzed as a single segment. Here I believe we must appeal to inherent and unavoidable flaws in the structure of the test itself. I have discussed above the problems created by orthographic representation of these sequences in Bulgarian, viz. the fact that palatalization of a consonant is marked either on the following vowel grapheme, or as a separate grapheme altogether, and never on the consonant itself. Since the task in this experiment was intuited by participants on the basis of a training session, and no concrete instructions were given, it is reasonable to assume that many participants understood the task as one of transposing orthographic symbols, and not "sounds". In this sense, the single-segment responses we did receive may have surfaced *in spite of* what participants were trying consciously to do, rather than because of it. Indeed, during the experiment itself there were numerous signs that participants were attempting to carry out an operation on written representations of the stimuli: Participants often gestured with their hands while producing responses, as though grasping something to one side of them and depositing it on the other. Similar gestures with eyes and head were observed, as though participants were coaxing letters off their visual image of one word and pushing them onto the other. More significantly, frustrated participants frequently said before responding something on the order of "let's see now... *r'atka* with a *k*.... *k'atka*." This orthographic bias in the test is unfortunately not quantifiable, but I submit that it is responsible for the rather low percentage of single-segment responses. Were there no such bias, we might expect this percentage to be much higher, and given that orthography does demand identical treatment of CJ and CC stimuli, the fact that we received single-segment responses to CJ stimuli *at all* (in the absence of such responses to CC stimuli) is extremely telling.

I have shown, then, that the pattern of responses to CJ vs. CC stimuli is quite uniform across the three dialect areas, and that this pattern suggests that participants represent CJ stimuli and CC stimuli very differently. I argue that this evidence shows, despite many difficulties with the design of the experiment, that all three dialects of Bulgarian examined here treat palatalized consonants identically, which is to say, not as CJ-clusters, but as independent segments, opposed to their unpalatalized counterparts. In addition, this

experiment adds a new tool to the repertoire of the field dialectologist in search of answers to difficult questions.

APPENDIX 1. THE TEST[6]

1. báven xot
2. gólo m'ásto
3. západen v'átъr
4. l'úta gózba
5. pѣlna kána
6. xúbava žába
7. gáden nómer
8. goréšto l'áto
9. mókъr k'ibrít
10. r'ádka káša
11. néšto páda
12. tlѣst petél
13. nášijat d'ádo
14. léka kolá
15. gѣbena súpa
16. d'ásna lápa
17. b'ála kófa
18. gol'ámo magáre
19. k'iló rak'íja
20. p'áxa bávno
21. k'órava pará
22. vódna pára
23. xájde s'ádaj

24. šáreno páte
25. snéžna zíma
26. xúbav d'urnék
27. n'ámam bábi
28. gѣsta mréža
29. mázana fúrna
30. lóš t'ut'ún
31. tópъl g'evrék
32. tésen móst
33. gol'áma d'un'á
34. kálen g'ól
35. náši pésni
36. krátka dúma
37. t'ásna kúla
38. n'áma tók
39. mákova k'ífla
40. dѣlъg kól
41. kaf'áva l'úspa
42. l'áva pártija
43. n'ákoj dáde
44. lóvno kúče
45. vádim r'ápa

APPENDIX 2.   RESULTS[7]

		East	Central	West
2. gólo m'ásto				
	P	0	0	9
	C	90	100	82
	O	10	0	9
3. západen v'átъr				
	P	0	14	18
	C	44	43	46
	O	56	43	36

4. l'úta gózba

P	0	13	9
C	56	60	27
O	44	27	64

8. goréšto l'áto

P	0	0	0
C	89	92	70
O	11	8	30

10. r'ádka káša

P	20	21.5	10
C	20	50	40
O	60	28.5	50

12. tlష́st petél

P	0	0	0
C	91	100	100
O	9	0	0

13. nášijat d'ádo

P	0	7	9
C	45.5	36	55
O	54.5	57	36

16. d'ásna lápa

P	10	7	0
C	30	27	70
O	60	66	30

17. b'ála kófa

P	0	0	0
C	90	92	100
O	10	8	0

20. p'áxa bávno

P	0	7	0
C	82	64	100
O	18	29	0

21. k'órava pará

P	0	0	0
C	80	77	70
O	20	23	30

23. xájde s'ádaj

P	50	50	9
C	40	22	46
O	10	28	45

25. snéžna zíma

P	0	0	0
C	80	87	92
O	20	13	8

26. xúbav d'urnék

P	10	15	9
C	10	8	55
O	80	77	36

27. n'ámam bábi

P	11	21	10
C	11	36	60
O	78	43	30

28. gŕsta mréža

P	0	8	0
C	62.5	77	100
O	37.5	15	0

30. lóš t'ut'ún

P	0	31	0
C	46	31	40
O	54	38	60

33. gol'áma d'un'á

P	9	22	0
C	27	14	50
O	64	64	50

34. kálen g'ól

P	11	0	0
C	78	85	91
O	11	15	9

36. krátka dúma

P	0	0	0
C	87.5	77	92
O	12.5	23	8

37. t'ásna kúla

P	0	0	0
C	87.5	92	100
O	12.5	8	0

38. n'áma tók

P	0	0	0
C	100	92	90
O	0	8	10

41. kaf'áva l'úspa

P	0	0	0
C	50	46	50
O	50	54	50

42. l'áva pártija

P	27	7	9
C	27	29	45.5
O	46	64	45.5

43. n'ákoj dáde

P	0	7	0
C	67	79	82
O	33	14	18

45. vádim r'ápa

P	22	57	18
C	33.5	14	27
O	44.5	29	55

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Notes

[1] With the already-noted exception of [k^j], [x^j] and [g^j], which are subject to automatic palatalization before front vowels.

[2] Other studies using nonce-word formation tasks or language games to elucidate speakers' representations of segmental affiliation or subsyllabic constituency include Barlow 2001, Davis and Hammond 1995, Pierrehumbert and Nair 1995, and Treiman 1983. See Barlow 2001 for a review and some discussion, and Bagemihl 1995 on language game evidence in particular.

[3] Using a speaker of Standard Bulgarian in   those role of course has potential negative consequences for this study, particularly for the analysis of the performance of respondents whose native dialect differs significantly from the standard. Specifically, respondents might have felt pressure to respond, to the extent they could, in the same prestige dialect in which they were being addressed. Whether this actually occurred is difficult to assess, though the consistent presence of automatic palatalization before front vowels in the test responses of Eastern dialect speakers suggests a minimum of influence from the standard (which, as noted above, does not allow palatalization of labials and coronals in this position). Barlow, in her 2001 study of interspeaker variation in a Pig Latin task avoids this problem altogether by using cues to the target words such as "What is the thing you wear on your foot?", prompting a response of the Pig Latin version of the word *shoe*. In this paradigm, the experimenter needn't actually pronounce the target words, nor is an orthographic representation introduced. Formulating effectual cues for the phrases used in the present study, however, would be a challenge (e.g. "I have no grandmas", "bad tobacco", "right paw", "snowy winter", "there is no electricity", and so forth).

[4] Barlow 2001 encounters a similar problem in using Pig Latin version of words beginning with [Cj-] sequences in English to test the segmental affiliation of the glide element in speakers' representations of the words in question. Since the [j] is not present orthographically, if speakers are operating on the assumption that Pig Latin

requires movement of initial *letters* of words (e.g. cute -> [utkej]), rather than initial sounds or clusters, they would be expected to ignore the glide portion of these onsets altogether. Barlow suggests trying the same experiment on preliterate children to avoid the problem of orthographic bias. See above for discussion of the difficulties encountered by this experimenter in attempting this study with children.

[5] One speaker from Trjavna produced responses of the sort in which palatalization was altogether deleted for over half the crucial stimuli. This same speaker, wholly unprompted, apologized after the test for his responses, explaining that he had over-imbibed the night before and was currently suffering the ill effects thereof.

[6] Vowel reduction, realized differently in the different dialects, is not represented in the transcription.

[7] Results are given as a percentage of admissible (see above, Section 3) answers for or against the hypothesis that palatalized consonants are separate phonemes in a given dialect. 'P' refers to responses in which palatalization was moved with the initial consonant to the new word, treating the palatalized consonant as a discrete unit. 'C' refers to responses in which palatalization was not moved with the initial consonant, in conformity with the cluster hypothesis. 'O' refers to the other two statistically significant types of responses discussed above.

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Elision of Unstressed Vowels in the Erkeč Dialect

Petър Shishkov

0. Introduction

The elision of unaccented vowels in Bulgarian dialects has attracted the attention of numerous researchers.   An early remark on this feature is found in Mirčev (1901) for the dialects of Voden and Kukuš, and Miletič (1903) provided examples from the eastern dialects. Mladenov is more specific in his book on Thracian dialects. He notes that vowels are frequently lost in the definite forms of nouns, adjectives, and numerals, and defines the change as "dissimilatory or haplological reduction" (1935: 45). Dropping of vowels was also described, with varying degree of details, in Stojkov 1966, Bojadžiev 1972, Bojadžiev 1991, and Xristov 1956. Aleksandrov, following Angelova 1931, points out that in most cases the vowel that is lost is the one in the first syllable following the accented one ([' - - - > ' - 0 -])[0] but in many cases such a rhythmic rule cannot be applied (1988: 3-15).

During our fieldwork in Kozičino and Golica I heard many forms with dropped vowels, just as the description led me to expect. But I was also hearing phonetic phenomena that I could not recall having read in the descriptions: compensatory lengthening of the preceding consonant (much more rarely of the preceding vowel), and various degrees of vowel loss – reduction, devoicing, open and close transition of stop clusters. For this reason I chose the problem of vowel elision as my contribution to the collective work.

My goal in this paper is twofold: to describe the conditions that lead to the loss of vowels, and to describe the stages between a relatively full, albeit unaccented, realization of a vowel and its complete loss.

1. Which Vowels Get Lost

Three factors seem to be involved in the process of elision: the morphological structure of the word, the preceding consonant, and the rhythmic pattern of the word.

The most regularly occurring vowel elision is in the plural definite forms of all word classes: nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and participles, in which the

plural ending -i is dropped.[1] After the consonants *n* and *l,* this rule is exceptionless:

altǽn':te	the Turkish gold coins	*altǽnite*
bál':te	the bales	*bálite*
bíul':te	the water buffaloes	*bíulite*
vátal':te	the handles [part of loom]	*vátalite*
varél':te,	the barrels	*varélite*
vǽglen':te	the coals [embers]	*vǽglenite*
dín':te	the watermelons	*dínite*
ergén':te	the bachelors	*ergénite*
erkéčan':te	the people from Erkech	*erkéčanite*
žén':te	the women	*žénite*
gradín':te	*t*he gardens	*gradínite*
gudín':te	the years	*gudínite*
jurgán':te	the quilts	*jurgánite*
kábel':te	the cables	*kábelite*
kam'ón':te	the trucks	*kam'ónite*
kréman':te	the flintstones	*krémanite*
kušár':te	the [sheep] pens	*kušárite*
magazín':te	the stores	*magazínite*
mamúl':te	the corn [pl. tant.]	*mamúlite*
pčél':te	the bees	*pčélite*
prjétel':te	the friends	*prjételite*
réman':te	the straps	*rémanite*

After *r* the elision is almost as regular. For example:

bakǽr':te	the cauldrons	*bakǽrite*
bǽlgar':te	the Bulgarians	*bǽlgarite*
darvár':te	the woodcutters	*darvárite*
kuledár':te	the Christmas revelers	*kuledárite*
kumár':te,	the mosquitoes	*kumárite*
lázar':te	the rain worshippers	*lázarite*
svadbár':te	the wedding guests	*svadbárite*

After *m* I have recorded *gul'ám:te* 'the big ones' [pl. adj.] (for *gul'ámite*) and *vraxámte* 'the long-sleeved tunics' (for *vraxámite*).

There are numerous instances of vowel elision in the same grammatical category after obstruents. For example:

béles:te	the scars	*bélezite*
visókte	the tall ones	*visókite*
kérleš:te	the ticks	*kérležite*
kós:te	the goats	*kózite*
kartóf:te	the potatoes	*kartófite*
mlát:e	the young ones	*mládite*
mladéšte	the young men	*mladéžite*
nášte	ours	*nášite*
pít:e	the flatbreads	*pítite*
širít:e	the stripes	*širítite*
trét:e	the third ones	*trétite*

In this latter environment elision is optional, cf. *velíkite* 'the great ones', *čerkézite* 'the Circassians'*, drúgite* 'the other ones'.

The consonants *n, l,* and *r* are palatalized before a dropped *i*. The body of the tongue (dorsum) assumes the position for the following vowel *i*, which is not pronounced but gives the consonant its secondary articulation.

In the loss of the plural ending both rhythmic patterns are attested:

[' - - -   > ' - 0 -]

      and

[' - - - - > ' - - 0 -] .

The loss of the singular endings, *-a* for feminine and *-o* for neuter nouns before the article, is also frequently attested. For example:

bábin:ta	the grandmother's [things]	*bábinata*
báštin:ta	the father's [things]	*báštinata*
búl:tu	the veil	*búloto*
vér:tu	[dishwashing liquid]	*véroto*
vín:tu	the wine	*vínoto*
venčíl:tu	the wedding	*venčíloto*
vretén:tu	the spindle	*vreténoto*
dǽn:tu	the bottom	*dǽnoto*
dǽrven:tu	the wooden [thing]	*dǽrvenoto*
žít:u	the wheat	*žítoto*
žíten:ta	the wheaten [things]	*žítenata*
zél':tu	the cabbage	*zéleto*

irínkin:ta	Irinka's [things]	*irínkinata*
jǽden:tu	the dish [of food]	*jǽdeneto*
kózin:ta	the goatskin	*kózinata*
kúpen:ta	the bought [things]	*kúpenata*
kurít:u	the washtub	*korítoto*
l'át:u	the summer	*l'átoto*
mínal:ta	the past [things]	*mínalata*
múl:tu	the mule	*múleto*
magár:tu	the donkey	*magáreto*
píjen:tu	the drink	*píjeneto*
píl:tu	the chicken	*píleto*
púštin:ta	the wastelands	*púštinata*
pamúčen:tu	the cotton [thing]	*pamúčenoto*
prás:tu (and *prá:stu*)	the piglet	*práseto*
préden:tu	the spinning	*prédeneto*
putkvásen:tu	the leavened [thing]	*potkvásenoto*
rál:tu	the plow	*ráloto*
rám:tu	the shoulder	*rámoto*
rešét:u	the sieve	*rešétoto*
sél:tu (and *sélutu*)	the village	*séloto*
ustánal:tu	the remaining	*ostánaloto*
uvésen:ta	the oaten [things]	*uvésenata*
čél:tu	the forehead	*čéloto*
červíl:tu	the lipstick	*červíloto*

However, this elision does not occur as regularly as that before a plural ending; compare the following forms with the vowel preserved:

gradínata	the garden
kabínata	the cabin
ml'ákutu	the milk
pl'ávata	the chaff
sǽmetu	the seed
sélutu	the village

Two things are worth mentioning: a) Vowel loss after obstruents is attested only in the rhythmic pattern [' - - - > ' - 0 -] ; (b) in the same rhythmic pattern, vowel loss does not happen after a voiced obstruent, for

instance *: bábata* 'the grandmother', *d'ǽt:u* 'the child' but *d'ádutu* 'the grandfather'.

In other grammatical categories, the crucial factors for vowel elision are the rhythmic pattern and the preceding consonant. The rhythmic pattern [' - - - > ' - 0 -] is by far more frequently attested. For example:

ergén:a	the bachelor	*ergénina*
jér:ta	small goats	*járeta*
kubíl:ca	cowl staff	*kobílica*
m'ǽsca (and *m'ǽhca*)	month [quantified]	*mǽseca*
natuvár':la	burdened [p.pl.fem]	*natovárala*
pálca	the thumb	*páleca*
pél:ni	diapers	*péleni*
pátka	path	*páteka*
píl:ta	chicks	*píleta*
prásta	piglets	*práseta*
prozórca	the window	*prozóreca*
rápti	jobs, matters	*ráboti*
šíl:ta	year-old lambs	*šíleta*
strán:ci	pages	*stránici*
túr':la	put [p.pl.fem]	*túrila*
určá:slu	bewitched [p.pl.nt.]	*uručásalo*
úl:ca	street	*úlica*
úr:ki	spells	*úroki*
xódli	walked [p.pl.pl.]	*xódila*
xrán':te	feed [2 pl. verb]	*xránite*

The rhythmic pattern [' - - - > ' - 0 -] is attested only in *kítenci*.

Another attested rhythmic pattern is [- - ' - - > - 0 ' - -].   For example:

amer:káncite	the Americans	*amerikáncite*
destína	ten [approximative]	*desétina*
dun:sé, (and *dun:cé*)	bring [3 sg.]	*donesé*
pundélnik	Monday	*ponedélnik*
ur:čáslu	bewitched [p.pl.pl]	*uručásalo*

The rhythmic pattern [- ' - - > 0 ' - -] may be regarded as a variety of the same, cf. *n:dǽl'a*. With the exception of *destína*, the decisive factor seems to be the preceding consonant – *r* or *n*.

Many cases of vowel elision within the same rhythmic pattern are recorded in phonetic words made up of an accented word and a clitic[2]. For example:

n: gú l': vid'áxte	didn't you see him	*ne gó li vid'áxte*
ku n: slúša	if he doesn't listen	*ako ne slúša*
ku n: stáne	if it doesn't happen	*ako ne stáne*
da m: tája	to wind [1 sg.]	*da motája*
ku da r:kǽ	if I were to say	*ako da rekǽ*
kakó da v: káža	how should I tell you	*kakó da vi káža*
decáta m: b'áa	my children were	*decáta mi b'áxa*
túj sa m: jer:táta	these are my little goats	*tuj sa mi jaretáta*
ku n: gí utbíiš	if you don't wean them	*ako ne gi otbieš*
da n: té sæd'at	so they won't sue you	*da ne te sædat*
ku n: gí tríeš	if you don't rub them	*ako ne gi tríeš*
da n: dígaš	that you don't lift	*da ne dígaš*
da n: tí se slúčva	so it won't happen to you	*da ne ti se slúčva*
ku n: v'árvate	if you don't believe	*ako ne v'árvate*

There are conditions that block vowel elision. A vowel is never dropped when it is preceded or followed by a consonant cluster. Examples:

ednóvr'æmešnite	the ones from the old days
zélkite	the cabbages
kl'učǽlkite	the locks
kukóškite	the hens
lopátkite	the shovels
sed'ǽnkite	the sewing bees

Voiceless affricates also block the elision. Examples:

kúčeta	the dogs
karúcite	the carriages
mumíčencetu	the little girl
mumíčetu	the girls
plóčite	the tiles
rusnácite	the Russians
úlicite	the streets

In this a position, when followed by a voiceless consonant, vowels are regularly devoiced.

2. Degrees of Vowel Reduction and Loss

As was noted above, vowels after voiceless affricates are never dropped but are pronounced as voiceless. There are other cases of vowel devoicing between voiceless obstruents. In the examples below, the penultimate vowel in each case is pronounced devoiced:

síčkite	all of them
bubuléčkite	the insects
s'átutu	the sowed [p. pl.]
sm'étkite	the bills

However, it is always the vowel in the syllable next to the stressed one that is devoiced, which complies with the rhythmic pattern [' - - - > ' - 0 -].

Another more subtle transition between devoicing and complete loss is the difference between an open transition, or a fully articulated stop in a cluster, such as occurs in *pǽtka* 'the path' *visókte* 'the tall [ones]'; and a closed transition, or a stop consonant without audible release, such as in the word *rápta* 'the job/work.' (For the terms "open and close transition", see Catford 1977: 222.)

3. Compensation

In many cases the elision of the vowel is compensated for by lengthening of the preceding consonant or the preceding vowel. Most regular is the lengthening of *n* and *l*. For example: *dín':te, daén:tu, varél':te, búl:to*.

The lengthening of *r* is quite frequent, but allows some variation. The examples *vér:tu, teftér':te* 'the notebooks' may also be pronounced *vé:rtu, tefté:rte*. On the other hand the lengthening of *r* is not of the same degree as that of *n* and *l*. It was noted that *n, l,* and *r* are palatalized before dropped *i*.

Lengthening of *m*: *gul'ám:te, rám:tu* are the only two examples in our records. In fact, in *gul'ám:te*, due to the anticipatory movement of the tongue, which assumes the position for the articulation of the following alveolar stop *t* in the middle of the articulation of *m* (that is, while the velum is still open), a nasal cluster *mn* is heard. Forms without compensatory lengthening of *m* are quite common: *gul'ámte, vraxámte* 'the [folk]coats' (or *gul'á:mte, vraxá:mte* with lengthening of the preceding vowel).

Lengthening of obstruents, more specifically of fricatives, is much less common. We have in our recorded data the forms *prás:tu, kartóf:te, kærleš:te*. In several cases it is not the consonant, but the preceding vowel

which is prolonged: *kó:ste, prá:stu, ur:čá:slu*. Finally, in numerous forms there is no compensation at all:

angǽšte	the cart rails	*angǽšite*
m'ǽsca (and *m'ǽhca*)	the month [quantified]	*m'ǽseca*
mǽšte	the men	*mǽžete*
mladéšte	the young people	*mladéžite*

In cases such as *žít:o* the prolonged consonant results not from compensation but from gemination.

The auditory impression of the compensatory lengthening of *n, l,* and *r* is one of the consonant devouring the following vowel. In some cases the duration of the long consonant is almost equal to the duration of the intended sequence of consonant+vowel, which gives the impression of a syllabic consonant*: xránte, mamúlte[3]*. However, it is hard to make statements about syllabification without testing the intuition of the native speakers and this will remain for further research.

It is obvious that only consonants characterized by the feature "continuant" can be prolonged, and in this group sonorants are more subject to prolongation than fricatives. If we go beyond the features, the following hierarchy of consonants may be established in terms of their prolongability: *n, l > r > m >* fricatives. I am aware that such a hierarchy does not completely coincide with established distinctive features, especially in its first part. The nasals *m* and *n* do not belong together, neither do the liquids *r* and *l*.

These seeming discrepancies may be explained on acoustic and aerodynamic grounds. The different behavior of the nasals is conditioned by their acoustic structure. Ohala & Ohala claim that "back nasals are less consonantal than front nasals" (1993: 234). They propose a twofold explanation: first, the further back a nasal is articulated, the higher, hence less detectable, the antiformant contributed by the oral cavity; and second, in front nasals the transitions are more rapid. To this explanation I can only add that the structure of the syllable in Bulgarian provides some phonotactic evidence in support of this claim. The onset of the Bulgarian syllable is characterized by the "increasing sonority" rule – clusters "obstruent+sonorant" are allowed, while clusters "sonorant+obstruent" are prohibited. The initial cluster *mn* appears in Bulgarian, albeit in very few words: *mnogo* 'much, many'*, mnenie* 'opinion'*, mnitelen* 'opinionated' ; but the initial cluster *nm* does not exist in Bulgarian.

The preference of long *l* over long *r* is due to aerodynamic constraints – the articulation of a long trilled *r* requires high airflow in order to keep the tongue tip vibrating. As I mentioned above, the most frequently occurring case of vowel elision can be explained by the morphological structure of the word – the unstressed ending before the article, which signifies gender and number redundantly, is dropped. But even in this case at least one phonetic factor is involved: the most regular elision is of the plural ending *i*, that is a high vowel, and high vowels are known to be shorter in many if not all languages (Tilkov and Miševa 1978). The other unstressed endings – *a* and *o* – are by definition reduced and non-low, but non-high as well and for this reason longer and less susceptible to elision.

Other things being equal, there is a preference for the rhythmic patterns [' - - - >' - 0 -] or [- ' - - > - ' 0 -]. It can be hypothesized that this is ultimately connected to the double-stress phenomenon in the Bulgarian dialects, since the same rhythmic pattern is followed.

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Notes

[0] An apostrophe followed by a hyphen indicates an accented vowel, a hyphen indicates an unstressed vowel, and the zero indicates an elided vowel.

[1] In the following, the normalized form, without elision, is given after the gloss. The colon indicates vowel or consonant length. When the vowel -i- is lost, the preceding consonant is pronounced palatalized.

[2] The negative particle is considered herein as a clitic.

[3] The -n- and the -l- are here syllabic.

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Uvulars in the Erkeč Dialect

Vladimir Žobov

The most salient phonetic feature of the Erkeč dialect is the low front vowel that appears as a reflex of Old Bulgarian "back nasal" [jus], "back jer" and "front jer", for example *mæš* 'man', *dæš* 'rain'. G. Georgiev, the first author who provided a detailed description of this dialect, wrote: "The "jer" in the word for 'rain' and the "jus" in the word for 'man' are pronounced as open *e* (*ä*) and sound very similar to the first sound of a baby when s/he cries or of a sheep when it bleats" (1907: 138-9). This purely impressionistic manner of description is nonetheless informative.

The Erkeč dialect is not unique in having a front reflex of the above-mentioned Old Bulgarian vowels; this feature is found in the Teteven dialect as well. But unlike the Teteven open *e*, which is a front open to half-open and often mid-centralized vowel, the Erkeč vowel typically is a maximally open front vowel – in fact almost identical to C4.[1] It differs from C4 not in the degree of openness but in being less marginal in frontness. The acoustic analysis shows that the first formant of *æ* is almost identical to the first formant of *a* or about 50 Hz lower: 650 Hz for *æ* and 700 Hz for *a* were measured for a male speaker from Golica, 750 for both for a female speaker from Kozičino. (All the acoustic data cited in this paper were obtained with the program "Speech analyser"). With such acoustic properties the vowel *æ* invaded the auditory space of *a* and caused a phonetic change, known as a "push-chain". In saying that the vowel *a* was pushed back, I use "back" in a purely auditory sense because on the level of articulation this auditory retraction is achieved with different movements that have very similar acoustic consequences (of the many works on that issue see, for instance, Ladefoged 1984).

After a labial consonant or a cluster containing a labial consonant, a back, centralized, low rounded vowel is pronounced – the same as *a* in the standard language and in the bulk of the dialects but rounded: *bába* 'grandmother'*,* *mándža* 'dish, meal', *spax* 'I slept', *vlažen* 'wet, damp'. After a velar consonant, a back low unrounded vowel is pronounced – in fact identical to C5: *kát,* 'floor [of a multi-story building]'*,* *káša* 'porridge', *magáre* 'donkey'. The retracted variant is almost invariably generalized in other phonetic

contexts, ecxept after postalveolar consonants, for example *tam* 'there' but *žaba* 'frog'. Both the rounded and the retracted are found only in stressed syllables. In unstressed syllables *a* is reduced to shwa, slightly more open than IPA shwa.

This vowel is no less salient than the open *e* mentioned at the beginning of the text, and did not go unnoticed by the first researchers. The first author who published data from the Erkeč dialect, G.G. Dimitrov, perceived the open *e* as a regular Bulgarian *a* and the Erkeč *a* as a rounded vowel (1895: 23). Georgiev, again in his impressionistic manner, wrote that "some of the vowels have a darker color" and that *a* is pronounced rather pharyngeally, which "gives a tinge of roughness to their speech" (1907: 187). He cited, without great disbelief, the local people who claimed that their way of speaking was due to the quality of the Erkeč water and air which fatten the throat (139).

Miletič also noted the different pronunciation of *a* in the Erkeč dialect and compared it to the kajkavian Croatian *a* (1989:104). Stojkov confirmed only the retracted variant after a velar consonant and defined it as "specific dark *a*" (1956: 353).

The retracted variant of *a* has a marked effect on the preceding velar stops (the velar fricative *x* is replaced in most positions by a voiceless, sometimes voiced laryngeal fricative *h* or E: *hajta* 'gadabout', *hitri* 'sly, crafty [pl.]'. The place of articulation is shifted further back to a post-velar or a uvular. For example:[2]

burqán	jar
diqán'a	threshing board
kraqá	legs
leqársvu	medicine
puqázvam	I show
taqánu	woven [p.pl.]
qánče	small pot
luqánka	spicy sausage
qábel	cable
qán'a	I invite
qána	pitcher
raqáf	sleeve
qáša	porridge
qáram	I drive
qálpav	breakable
qázvam	I say
Gášti	underpants

Gájda	bagpipe
maGáre	donkey
ciGára	cigarette
tuGás	then, at that time
uGádi	guess [3 sg.]
tiGán	frying pan
jurGán	quilt

In several cases the following consonant is affected:

páq	again
daráq	carding machine
áGance	small lamb

However this sound change is not as regular and the same words may be pronounced with velar consonants.

The high front vowel also affects the place of articulation, shifting it to palatal, as in the following (however, it is not always easy to decide whether these are palatals or fronted velars, see Keating & Lahiri 1993):

ezík'	tongue
ečemíc'	barley

Unfortunately I am not able to back up this claim with palatograms or other tools for studying articulation – our research team did not have the necessary equipment and even if we did, the use of such methods is problematic with respect to the spontaneous character of dialect speech. In the absence of such data I studied the acoustical characteristics of the velar (or the supposed uvular) consonants. In their comprehensive volume Ladefoged and Maddieson write: "There is very little published data on the difference between velar and uvular stops" (1996: 36). They cite Al-Ani who notes lower F2 after uvulars in Arabic. Ladefoged and Maddieson add, interpreting Al-Ani's spectrogram, that the major energy in the burst is lower for *q* than for *k* (36).

Such lowering of F2 exists for *a* in the Erkeč dialects – for a male speaker from Golica F2 is 1100 Hz in *káža* 'I say' vs. 1250 for unretracted *a* in *decá* 'children'. The question arises: which comes first? I think that the F2 lowering has to be attributed to the retraction of the vowel itself.

The retracted place of articulation of velars may be demonstrated by measuring the energy of their burst and comparing it with the burst of "canonical" velars. The phonotactics of the dialect allow pure velars only

before unstressed (reduced) *a*. Before rounded vowels, velars are labialized. This secondary articulation decreases the frequency of the noise in a similar way as does the retraction, which renders the comparison insignificant. Before a front vowel velars are changed to palatals.

For standard Bulgarian, Tilkov and Bojadžiev give the following data about the concentration of noise in the burst of velars: 800-1000 Hz before *o*, *u* and 1500-1700 Hz before *a*, *ъ* (1977: 95). In my data from Erkeč the noise is concentrated as follows: before rounded vowel (labialized velars): 1000-1500 Hz for a female and 700-1000 Hz for a male speaker; before unstressed *a* (velar): 1200-3500 Hz for a female and 1300-2700 for a male speaker; before stressed *a* (uvular): 1000-1800 Hz for a female and 900-1500 Hz for a male speaker. It must be noted that the velars exhibit some energy in the higher portions of the spectrum – about 4000-5000 Hz, which never happens with the uvulars whose noise is more concentrated.

In order to check which parameter is crucial for the perception of a uvular consonant – lower F2 or lower noise of the burst – I recorded my own pronunciation of velar and uvular consonants in the names of the Arabic letters "kaf" and "qaf". I pronounced "kaf" with a velar stop as in standard Bulgarian and "qaf" with the consonant that appears in the Erkeč dialect before stressed *a*, or rather the best imitation I could manage. I asked Kheder Salfij, a colleague from Sofia University and a native speaker of Arabic from Syria, to judge whether these sounds qualified as good "kaf" and "qaf". To my surprise he approved fully my "qaf" but rejected my "kaf", correcting it to "caf" – with a strongly fronted velar and a front low vowel. Obviously, in his variety of Arabic the two consonants are dispersed according to the principle of maximum auditory distance, which in turn led to considerable allophonic variation of the following vowel. Then I played him a record on which I had spliced (in my own pronunciation) the vowel from "qaf" and pasted it to the burst of the stop from "kaf" and vice versa. He found neither of these to be naturally occurring sounds in his language. It seems that both cues are important for the perception of a uvular stop. In the measurements of the pronunciation of "kaf" and "qaf" by Mr. Salfij, the difference in the vowel quality is apparent: F1 is 700 Hz and F2 – 1580 Hz for the vowel in "kaf", whereas in "qaf" F1 is seen at about 750 Hz but is too close to F2 which is at 970 Hz and is clustered with it so that the program fails to detect it. The noise for *k* is most concentrated about 2100-2200 Hz and for *q* about 930-950 Hz.

I had planned to ask Mr. Salfij to judge whether the consonant in Erkeč words like *káša* is like an Arabic "kaf" or "qaf". However with the consonant in "kaf" so fronted in his pronunciation, he would judge all velar stops as

uvular or badly pronounced uvulars; therefore I did not do this.

I had also planned to check the possible influence the retraction might have on voicing in words with voiced uvular stops. My hypothesis was that in uvular stops voicing would be impeded to a greater degree than in velar stops, due to the smaller space left in the mouth. Some pitch contours show a significant decrease of F0 in uvulars, but generally the quality of the recordings do not allow any serious conclusion. Resolution of this question must wait until a good noise reduction program is available.

Three points can be made from the study of uvulars in Erkeč:

1. The vowel quality of back low unrounded vowels and the degree of backness of velars, retracted and fronted velars and uvulars are interrelated, as are their acoustic cues.
2. The change of the vowel *a* in the Erkeč dialects started as auditory retraction achieved by different articulatory movements: rounding or tongue retraction. This confirms the priority of acoustic over articulatory characteristics (see for example Jakobson, Fant, Halle 1952).
3. In its initial stage, a sound change may be manifested in exaggerated allophonic variation (in the case of Erkeč rounding of *a* after a labial and retraction after a velar consonant), and eventually one of the variants may become generalized. Or, in the title of John Ohala's 1989 article: "Sound change is drawn from a pool of synchronic variations."

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Notes
[1] C1, C2, etc. refer to cardinal vowels.
[2] The capital G denotes a voiced uvular stop.

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Toward a Lexicon of the Erkeč Dialect

Tanja Delčeva

The Erkeč dialect was originally spoken in the villages Golica, District of Varna, and Kozičino (until 1934 Erkeč, hence the name of the dialect), District of Pomorie. The first author who provided data from this dialect was G.G. Dimitrov (1895). Later researchers include L. Miletič (1989 [originally 1903]), G. Georgiev (1907) and S. Stojkov (1956). Miletič was the first scholar to include the Erkeč dialect in the Balkan group and this classification was confirmed in the most comprehensive work on Bulgarian dialects, Stojkov's *Bъlgarska dialektologija* (1962), where the Erkeč dialect is given as the sole representative of the subgroup "Eastern Balkan dialects."

Dimitrov was firmly convinced that the "erkečlii"[1] had migrated to their current home from the region of the Rupic dialect;[2] however he did not provide sound linguistic evidence. All later researchers rejected his claim, and in the absence of reliable historical data his hypothesis must be abandoned. However, it appears that the very use of the term "Eastern Balkan" has narrowed the search for the affinity of the Erkeč dialect to the Balkan group and has precluded comparison with other dialect groups, including Rupic. In fact the Rupic and Eastern dialects share important features: a low reflex of "jat" before "soft" syllables (*b'æli* 'white') and several accent paradigms: root stress in the plural forms of feminine nouns (*kózi* 'goats', *séstri* 'sisters'), and in the plural forms of monosyllabic masculine nouns (*grádove* 'cities', *sǽrpove* 'sickles'). These are frequently occurring features and Dimitrov could not have missed them. The same features are found in Moesian dialects[3] and this led serious scholars to believe that the speakers of the Sъrt dialect[4] migrated from the area of the Rupic dialects (for the history of this dispute see Stojkov 1970).

My native dialect is Thracian and sounds similar to the Erkeč dialect primarily because of the "jat" reflexes and the frequent ellipsis of unaccented vowels; another similarity is the sporadic occurrence of the so-called Romance perfect in Erkeč.[5] During our field work in Kozičino and Golica I concentrated on collecting lexical material and then decided to attempt a comparison between the Erkeč and Rupic dialects with respect to lexical items.

The problem with such a comparison is that the presence of only a few lexical items is not sufficient to make a claim about the affinity of dialect groups. For example, the Rupic dialects and the Erkeč dialect share words like *xumót'* 'yoke', *kótka* 'cat', *guréš* 'hot, boiling', but these words are common to all eastern dialects (Mladenov 1971; Stojkov 1993: 100). For this reason they do not allow us to make any claim of special lexical affinity between these groups. In order to speak reasonably about common lexical features, the shared words must be, if not unknown in other larger areas, at least of restricted use. A comparison would also be insignificant if one of the dialects possessed a word restricted to its own territory, although in such a case the word can be taken to represent a specific feature of the dialect (or group of dialects) and may help define its geographic extent.

My attention was drawn to the lexical similarities between the Erkeč and Rupic dialects in the first place by words like *bunéla* 'fork' and *zánca* 'closet, pantry' – the first because there are many different words for 'fork' in Bulgarian dialects and the second because it represents not only a common linguistic feature but also a common ethnographic feature, in this case the floor plan of a traditional house. Both words have limited use outside the area of the two dialects.

Other words that I had initially put into the same group turned out to occur in the Moesian dialect as well.[6] Thus, the word *xl'ax* 'stable' is found (in a different phonetic shape) in Moesian and in some Rupic dialects (around Ardino); the word *kadíl* 'smoke' has its correspondent in the words *kadéš* and *k'ad*, formed from the same root and used in Moesian and Rupic, respectively. Other words are common to the Erkeč and Moesian dialects but are not found in Rupic. Such words are *véšte* 'yet', *zóre* 'tomorrow', *zasáda* 'sets' (of the sun), *očíst'a* 'wipe' (one's hands), *mamúli* 'corn', *xtíšte* 'silkworm', and *jágoda* 'mulberry'. Yet other words are specific to the Erkeč dialect, such as *kamína* 'fireplace', *stagíca* 'rainbow'.

Up to this point I have mentioned words from the questionnaire for the Bulgarian Dialect Atlas. However, Dimitrov (1895) listed several words which he claimed to be specific for the Erkeč dialect; another list is provided in Stojkov 1956. As very few of these words were included in the questionnaire for the Bulgarian Dialect Atlas, I checked the distribution of these lexical items in the archive for the Ideographic Dictionary of Bulgarian Dialects. Given the enormous size of this archive (over two million index cards), it can be safely assumed that we have an adequate picture of the geographical extent of these words.

Some of these lexical items turned out to be specific to the area. Thus,

pastrilo 'paint' (noted by Stojkov) is found only in Erkeč and in the neighboring Balkan dialect of Jambol. The word *poločka* 'nest-egg' is found only in Erkeč and in the district of Varna (in villages that migrated from Erkeč). The word *kiča* 'sleeveless coat decorated with long tassels' is also restricted to Erkeč and the neighboring villages, but this is due to ethnographic reasons, in that the item itself is found only in these areas. Only the word *zapuška* 'cork' is well attested in both the Erkeč and Rupic dialects. The word *klepki* 'shoes' (noted by Dimitrov), with phonetic varieties *klevki* and *xlepki*, is found in Rupic dialects, but also in western dialects. The words *planica* 'strawberry' and *senec* 'bead' are common and equally well attested in the Erkeč, Rupic and Moesian dialects; the second of these words is also found in some western dialects. The words *kostena žaba* 'tortoise' and *vraxel* 'bracelet' link the Erkeč dialect to the Moesian group but not to the Rupic one, while the word *sad'a* 'more', although found in a few Rupic locations, is by far more common in Balkan dialects.

Another interesting word is *jelavo*, both with the initial stress and the *e*-vowel in the first syllable. I searched the archive of the Ideographic Dictionary of Bulgarian Dialects and found out that the initial stress is well attested in Western dialect, whereas the vowel *e* in the first syllable, besides Erkeč, is restricted to Strandzha dialect.

The result of the comparison, however inconclusive, leads to a revised version of the initial idea: there is indeed a lexical proximity among the Erkeč, Moesian and Rupic dialects. Some of the words are found in the whole group and others only in two of them, typically two adjacent ones. One striking exception is the word *letî* 'it's raining', exceptional both because it is common to the two marginal members of the group (while being absent from the central one), and because the Sърt dialect is the only non-Rupic dialect in which this word, considered one of the most diagnostic for the Rupic dialect, occurs. Based on my own analysis, we can neither confirm nor disprove Dimitrov's claim that the speakers of the Erkeč dialect migrated from the Rupic area. Rather, we are dealing with a classical example of a dialect continuum. This becomes even clearer when we take into account phonetic features such as the reflex of *jat'* and accentual patterns such as *kozá* (sg.) vs. *kózi* (pl.). In standardized linguistic usage, the Erkeč dialect is referred to as an Eastern Balkan dialect, which leads one to believe that the Erkeč dialect is supposed to sound in many ways like a Balkan dialect, simply because it happens to be spoken in the same mountainous region. But when we turn to the actual linguistic features, we see that this dialect actually belongs to another group, which should caution us as to the automatic use of labels.

Preface to the Lexicon of the Erkeč Dialect

What follows is not a complete dictionary of the Erkeč dialect, but rather represents an alphabetic listing of the words encountered during our field work in the Erkeč region in 1996. The words are given in broad phonetic transcription and wherever possible are given together with the context in which they occurred. All words are taken from tape recordings made in 1996; none of the words listed by Dimitrov (1895) or Stojkov (1956) are listed unless they also occurred in our tape-recorded material. The alphabetic order of the lexicon is that of the Cyrillic alphabet.

Each entry consists of three lines. The first line contains the word itself accompanied by basic grammatical information and an English translation of the word. The second line contains the sentential context in which it occurred, and the third line following that consists of the English translation of this sentential context.

The following abbreviations are used:

(adj)	adjective
(adv)	adverb
(coll)	collective
(conj)	conjunction
(f)	noun, feminine gender
(impf)	verb, imperfective aspect
(m)	noun, masculine gender
(n)	noun, neuter gender
(part)	particle
(perf)	verb, perfective aspect
(pl)	plural
(pl.t.)	pluralia tantum
(prep)	preposition
(pron)	pronoun

Lexicon of the Erkeč Dialect

ábalka   (f.)   apple
        ábal'ki a túka, dívi ábal'ki
                Here are apples, wild apples.

abǽ   (f.)   men's outer clothing from coarse cloth
        abǽ, s'íčku na rakǽ j napr'éd'enu
                An "abæ", is [from cloth] all spun by her hand.

awlukát (m.)   lawyer
        awlukáti – xič ne mlǽkwat
                Lawyers – they are never silent.

ágne   (n.)   lamb
        zakólet ágnetu
                They slaughter the lamb.

ágance (n.)   lamb (diminutive/hypochoristic)
        -s'á na g'erg'ófden' – ágance zakólet
                Now on St. George's Day they slaughter a little lamb.

adét' (m.)   custom
        máž'i tǽj za adét'
                Spread it like this for the sake of tradition.

azǽk   [it's a] pity
        azǽk na momíčetu
                Too bad for the little girl.

akǽl (m.)   mind, sense, reason
        ič akǽl n'ema
                He doesn't have a brain.

ako (conj.)   if
        ako vídite kóz'it'e
                if you see the goats

akrán (m.)   person of same age
    túj sa mójte akráni
        Here are my people.

altǽn (m.)   Turkish gold coin
    dv'e vǽrvi altǽni
        two strands of Turkish gold coins

ama (conj.)   but
    c'eftí tǽj, ama šušúl'kite dólu pádat
        It blooms like this, but the pods fall down.

ánže (adv.)   exactly, really
    ánže je daléč
        It's really far away.

aréswam (impf.)   like, be pleasing to
    aréswat sa, zgudét sa
        They like each other, they get engaged.

áugus (m.)   August
    znáeme segá - júni, júli, áugus
        We know now, June, July, August.

ači (part.)   and, well
    ači tó togás fána da íma víno
        And then the wine became available.

ačík (adv.)   open, spacious
    xarmána – ačík m'ásto
        a threshing field – an open area

bába (f.)   grandmother; midwife
    bábata d'ét babúvala
        the grandmother who has acted as midwife

bábine (fem.coll.)   group of grandmothers or old women
    bábine ni sa razkázwali

Our grandmothers were chatting.

babúvam (impf.)   act as midwife
        bábata d'et babúvala
                the grandmother who has acted as midwife

bad'émuv (adj.)   of almonds
         bad'émuva gradína
                an almond grove

badžanák (m.)   brother-in-law (sister's husband)
        níj sm'e badžanáci
                We are brothers-in-law.

báj (m.)   form of address to older man
        báj dójno
                ["Mr."] Dojno

bakǽr (m.)   copper water cauldron
         z'émat bakǽrt'e
                They take up the copper water cauldrons.

bámbaška (adj.)   different
         te bámbaška jezík govórat od nás
                They speak a different language from us.

báram (impf.)   touch
          ni bárajte s'á na číčkofcite
                Don't touch the uncles now.

barmá (m.)   castrated ram
        barmá mu víkame
                We call it a "barma".

bár'em (part.)   at least
        bárem dumátté, pipér'a takós
                At least the tomatoes [are OK], the peppers are like this
                (= are not good).

batálo (n.)   [milk] churn staff
        a tó e batálo
                And that's a churn staff.

bašká (adv.)   separately
        bašká s málkotu, d'étu j rodíla
                She is off in a separate place, with the child that she just
                gave birth to.

bǽbrek (m.)   kidney
        zabol'áxa ja bǽbrecit'e
                Her kidneys started to hurt.

bǽz   (m.)   elder
        navǽrzat bǽz, listá
                They decorate [it] with elder leaves.

bǽklica (f.)   wine or brandy jug
        za víno bǽklica
                a jug for wine

bǽlgarin (m.)   Bulgarian
        ut nášte edín bǽlgarin
                one of ours, a Bulgarian

bǽlxa (f.)   flea
        káta den bǽlxi íma
                Every day there are fleas.

bǽrdo (n.)   [part of a loom]

bǽrzam (impf.)   hurry
        bǽrzame za zbór
                We're hurrying to get to the festival.

bǽxt'a (impf.)   hit, strike
        za m'én kólku sa bǽxt'axa
                They fought that much for me.

beltǽk (m.) egg white

biwulíca (f.) female water buffalo
      biwulícata ímala maláčence
           The water buffalo has a small one.

bil'á (part.) even, just
      i bil'á ískaše da mu pláštame
           And he even wanted us to pay him.

blágu (adj .) containing fat (of food)
      sutrináta čák jadǽt blágu
           They eat fat foods only in the morning.

blagošt'in'é (n.) Annunciation
      I tóz dén' gu kázvat blaguštin'é
           And they call this day the Annunciation.

blestúlka (f.) firefly
      blestúl'k'i kat íma tǽj
           fireflies when you have them like this

bób (m.) beans
      bóba tój uzdr'á
           The beans are ripe.

bogoródica (f.) Virgin Mary; a bread baked at child's birth
      jálat'e da iz'edém bogoródicata
           Come and let us have a birth-commemorative bread.

bódove (m.pl.) spines (on hedgehog etc.)
      a takíva bódove íma
           And it's got such spines.

bój (m.) battle, fight
      bóišta ímaše togáva
           There were fights then.

brátov'ca (f.) sister-in-law (brother's wife)

búl'a mi ma naúči – brátov'ca
The bride taught me – my brother's wife.

bréšn'el' (m.)   ivy
don'esǽt bréšn'el'a
They [will] bring the ivy.

brús (m.)   whetstone
brús mu víkam'e
We call it a "brus".

buǽ (f.)   paint
buǽ za buedísvane
Paint that one paints with.

bubúnka (f.)   snowflake
rosí sn'ák – mál'ki tǽj bubúnki
It's snowing lightly – little flakes, this size.

budalǽ (m. f. n.)   fool, stupid person
budalǽ, štó ni gu ustávi
[What] a fool, why did he leave it for us?

budlív'ičk'i (pl.)   corn for popcorn
budl'ív'ičk'i sa víkat
They are called "budlivički".

bujénec (m.)   central figure in rain worship ritual
i bujéneca x sǽbuta gu natrúxet
And they dress up the "bujenec" on Saturday.

bulgúr' (m.)   bulgur, type of grain
bulgúr' mu víkaxa
They called it "bulgur".

búlka (f.)   wife; daughter-in-law
inǽta búlka je ud burgás
One of the daughters-in-law is from Burgas.

búľa (f.)   sister-in-law (brother's wife)
        búľa mi ma naúči
                My sister-in-law taught me [that].

bun'éla (f.)   fork
        e túj je bun'éla
                Here's the fork.

búra (f.)   storm
         strášna búra b'éše
                It was a terrible storm.

bustán' (m.)   watermelon patch
        ímam'e bustán'
                We have a watermelon patch.

buxčǽ (f.)   tablecloth
        sigá túj buxčǽ
                Now here's the tablecloth.

búča   (impf.)   spear
         buč'ét'e sír'en'e ma
                Spear me some cheese [on your fork].

búča sa   (impf.)   wander, grope
        zaštó še xód'a da sa búča is pr'éspit'e
                Why should I go out to wander in the snow?

b'el'á (f.)   mess, problem, trouble
         i práv'et b'eli
                And they make trouble.

vadanlǽk   (m.)   household belongings
        ímam gi síčkit'e vadanlǽci
                We have all the household things [we need].

vadžíški (adj.)   crafty
        vadžíški štéru

Crafty Štéru (name)

vazgǽna sa (perf.)   go bad, get messed up
    síčko sa vazgǽna
        Everything's gone wrong.

vazglávn'ica (f.)   pillow
    túj ja vazglávn'ica
        Here's the pillow.

válam (impf.)   knead
    vál'aš tám testóto
        You knead the dough there.

val'ánka (f.)   work-party to stretch leg-wrappings
    póčnat val'énki, da vál'at náwoe
        The work-parties to stretch the leg wrappings are starting.

vápcan (adj.)   colored, dyed
    túj si je vápcanu
        This [one] has been dyed.

vápcvam (impf).   color, dye
    i na velíkdén' čák vápcvat jajcáta
        They dye eggs even on Easter day.

varǽ (impf.)   go, walk
    t'á idvám varí
        She can hardly walk.

varǽ (impf.)   cook, boil
    f gǽlab'ec je var'ǽt
        They make [cook] it in Gelabec.

varv'éš (m.)   gait
    x varv'éša m'áza na bába
        The way she walks she looks like a grandmother.

várd'a sa (impf.)   take care

i tój sa várdi
> He too takes care [of himself].

vartél'ka (f.)   distaff
na inǽ vartél'ka gu slóžim
> We put it (the skein to be spun) on the distaff.

vartogláv (adj.)   crazy, abnormal (of animals)
tó inó vartoglávo
> That's an abnormal one.

varxǽ (impf.)   thresh
varxǽt po d'éset šiníka žíto
> They thresh ten measures [= 1/4 bushel] of grain each.

varšáne (n.)   threshing
varšántu s uólowe
> Threshing with oxen

varšéja (impf.)   thresh

varšéčka (f.)   threshing machine
d'ád nájden dokára varšéčka
> Grandpa Najden has brought the threshing machine.

vátali (m.pl.)   handles for moving parts on a loom
tós krák mrǽdneš, i s'ákvaš s vátal't'e
> You move this leg and you pull sharply on the handles.

vǽglen' (m.)   coal
napǽlni pr'astílkata sas vǽglen'i
> Fill your apron with coal.

vǽže (n.)   rope
vǽšto mi e napráeno
> My rope has been fixed.

vǽd'a (impf.)   breed, raise [animals]
vǽd'at dobítak, xód'at, pasǽt gu

They raise livestock, and take it out to pasture.

vǽzdux (m.)   air
        náj-cénnoto je vǽzduxa
                Air is the most valuable [thing].

vǽzrasen (adj.)   old, elderly
        tój kodžá vǽzrasen
                He's very old.

vǽlna (f.)   wool
        sabir'éš vǽlnata katu ustrížat ofcǽte
                You gather up the wool after they shear the sheep.

vǽln'en (adj.)   woolen
        kakwó je túka vǽln'enu
                What's woolen here?

vǽnka (adv.)   outside
        vǽnka nas'ádat
                They [will] sit down outside.

vǽrba (f.)   willow (tree)
         vǽrba kójtu íma
                whoever has a willow

vǽtak (m.)   woof [in weaving]
         i osnóvata, i vǽtaka
                both the warp and the woof

vvid'ǽ (perf.)   bring in
        vvid'ǽ gi krǽsnika i tólkos
                I bring in the godfather [at the wedding] and that's it.

veranósam (perf.)   hurt, cause someone pain
        xúbavutu mumíč'e gu veranósaxa
                They made the beautiful girl miserable.

vídi mi sa (v.)   it seems to me

v'ídi mi sa ša ja namér'a
     I think I'll find her.

víla (f.)   pitchfork
    vílata uót' ni z'é
        Why didn't he take the pitchfork?

vil'ígd'en' (m.)   Easter
    na vil'ígd'en' xód'em na č'érkuuta
        On Easter we go to church.

vinčé (n.)   spindle weight
    slágam'e žil'ážnu vinčé, gát je slábo vrit'énotu
        We put an iron spindle weight on when the spindle is [too]
        light.

víno (n.)   wine
    víno i rakíja píxme
        We drank wine and brandy.

vnúčanc'e (n.)   grandchild (diminutive/hypochoristic)
     mójto inótu vnúčanc'e
        one of my grandchildren

vód'a (impf.)   lead, take
    zakó da v'i vód'a
        Why should I take you [there]?

vrát (m.)   neck
    túrgat na mómaka na vratǽ
        They put [it] on the young man's neck.

vrátnik (m.)   gate
     tój sedí na vrátnika
        He sits [and waits] at the gate.

wraxám (m.)   woman's outer clothing
    ás si ubl'ákax pák p'etnájstija wraxám
        And then I put on the fifteenth piece of clothing.

vráštam sa (impf.)   return, come back
        nalívaš i sa vráštaš
                You go fill your water jugs and then you come back.

vr'áme (n.)   time
        ama gá míne vr'áme
                Well, when time passes …

vr'éd'en (adj.)   harmful
        tó n'é je vr'édnu
                That won't hurt [anyone].

vr'émi (n.)   time
        priz n'égou vr'émi
                during his time

wusójn'ica (f.)   horned adder
         kakwó šte da e – wusójn'ica
                Whatever it is, some sort of adder.

vɤ (interjection).
         vɤ, ti upl'ét'i l'si tant'élata
                Oh, did you finish [making] the lace?

v'es'elb'ǽ (f.)   celebration, good time
         ma to v'es'elbǽ da ti káža
                That was a good time, let me tell you.

v'eč'érka (f.)   evening star
        v'eč'érkata je drúga – v'éč'er ráno
                The evening star is different, it's early in the evening.

v'éči (adv.)   already
        s'étn'e v'éči tó zajákni
                Now he's already gotten stronger.

v'éštica (f.)   witch, enchantress
        t'á bilá v'éštica

They say she is a witch.

gavána (f.)   wooden bowl
        sír'en'e gu nósixm'e v gavána
                We brought the cheese in a wooden bowl.

gagál'ka (f.)   spool
        Nabúčiš vr'et'éntu i túriš gagál'kata
                You shove the distaff [into your belt] and put on the spool.

gazíca (f.)   ass, behind
        kakvát račíca pípa, takvás gazíca še nósi [idiomatic]
                Whatever your hand touches, that's what your rear will look
                like.

gal'čǽ (impf.)   to nag
        májka gal'čéše
                Mother was nagging.

gát (conj.)   when
        čák gát sa zgudí
                only when she got engaged

gátiš (collective)   fowl
         gátiš mu víkame
                We call them "fowl".

gǽba (f.)   mushroom
        kat gǽba
                like a mushroom

gǽrne (n.)   clay pot with lid
        mánžata f gǽrneta sas privlizlá
                The food [is] in pots with handles.

gevezǽ sa (impf.)   act foolishly
        veselǽt sa, gevezǽt sa
                They're having fun and acting foolishly.

glavnǽ (f.)   diseased wheat

    sas sín kámak gu bǽrkaxme, da n' právi glavnǽ

        We treated [the wheat] with copper vitriol so it wouldn't get
        diseased.

glǽtka (f.)   gulp, shot

    glǽtka rakíja

        a shot of brandy

gn'áx (m.)   anger

    gn'áx ja n'éja

        She is angry.

govéja (impf.)   fast; be silent (of new bride, ritual silence)

    i na t'áx gov'éj t'á

        She was silent for them too.

gov'ǽ (impf.)   to fatten

    zakól'at šupára, d'ét gu gov'át

        They slaughter the hog that they have been fattening.

gól (adj.)   naked

    gólu da ídiš, ubl'eč'éš sa

        Even if you go naked, you end up [being] dressed.

gól'č'i (n.)   baby which hasn't yet been christened

    gól'č'i mu víkaxa

        They called it a "golče".

gónna (f.)   year

    stána v'ék'e kólku gónni kat se ma usátvili

        It's been so many years since they left me.

górski (m.)   forester

    tój górski utíde u gurǽta

        He became a forester in the woods.

gráb'a (impf.)   grab

gráb'at ut sofráta
>They grab [it] from the table.

gradúška (f.)   hail
>zaval'álu gradúška
>>It began to hail.

grad'íšt'e (n.)   big city
>síčko b'ága f gradíštata
>>Everyone runs off to the big cities.

gránna (f.)   garden
>nalí gránnata t'i ukwásixa
>>They watered your garden, didn't they?

grǽb (m.)   back
>zad garbǽ ni govór'at
>>They are speaking behind our backs.

grib'en'éc (m.)   cockscomb
>na pitl'ít'e grib'én'cit'e nar'ázala
>>They say she cut the combs off of the roosters.

gruózduv (adj.)   made of grapes
>tǽs gruózdua máj še e
>>These are probably made of grapes.

gr'áx (m.)   sin
>da n' mǽ j gr'áx na dušǽta
>>Let there be no sin on my soul.

g'ubr'ǽ (f.)   garbage; manure
>saz g'ubrǽta gu smílat
>>They grind it [and mix it with] manure.

gudína (f.)   year
>osumnájsi gudíni
>>eighteen years

gúm'en (adj.) rubber

    s'étn'e izl'ázaxa t'ás gúmen't'e carwúli
        Lately rubber sandals have become available.

gúnna (f.) year

    drúga gúnna súša i pák birát
        Other years even in drought they get in [some] crops.

gurǽ (f.) woods, forest

    tój górski utíde u gurǽta
        He became a forester in the woods.

g'url'úk (m.) greenery

    sas g'url'úk takós gu navǽrzat
        They decorate it with greenery.

daléku (adv.) far away

    ustávenu í tám dal'éku
        It was left, and it's over there far away.

damažánka (f.) demijohn

    baštá mi me z'ém'e inǽ damažánka víno
        My father got me a demijohn of wine.

darák (m.) carder

    na daráka še je izvláčiš
        You'll card it on the carder.

darvárin (m.) woodcutter

    íma siméjstva darvári
        There are [whole] families of woodcutters.

daskǽ (f.) plank, board

    am daskǽ túrenu ej túka
        Well, there's a plank [that someone] put here.

daxčíčka (f.) small board or plank

    daxčíčka ja isprobíj

Make a hole in the small board.

dǽlag (adj.)   long
     dǽl'ga rábuta
          a long job

dǽrt (adj.)   old
     od nás po-dǽrti n'éma
          There aren't any [who are] older than us.

dǽš (m.)   rain
     enó wr'ámi – kat za dǽš
          at one time, as for the rain

dvanájsi (number).   twelve
     dvanájsi glaví
          twelve heads [of cabbage]

dvéste (number)   two hundred
     dvéste léva béše i tugás
          It was two hundred leva even then.

dwór (m.)   yard, courtyard
     n'émaše čušmǽ u dwóra
          There wasn't a well in the yard.

dén' (m.)   day
     trí dén'a
          three days

dért' (m.)   troubles
     fséki íma dért'
          Everybody has troubles.

devetnájsi (number)   nineteen
     d'evetnájsi m'éxca
          nineteen months

džúbri (pl.)   must (wine-making)

džúbrit'a – i t'áx sǽšto
　　[You keep] the must [in the barrel] also.

džugér' (m.)　　　　　liver
　　džug'ér'a – i n'égo pekǽt
　　　　[As for] liver, they also grill it.

džumérki (f.)　　　　cracklings
　　džumérki mu dúmame
　　　　We call it "džumerki".

džúna (f.)　　　　　lip

divindis'é (number)　　ninety
　　gudíni divindis'é
　　　　ninety years

dikan'á (f.)　　　　　threshing board
　　s'édn'eš na dikán'ata, bikál'at
　　　　You sit on the threshing board and they circle around.

dikémbri　　　　　December
　　téj – dikémbri, xeuruári
　　　　thus – December, February

dikísvam (impf.)　　　prepare
　　kakót ímat, dikísvat, za da nagótv'at
　　　　They prepare whatever they have in order to cook.

diláf   (m.)　　　　　tongs
　　níj diláf mu dúmami
　　　　We call it "tongs".

diré (n.)　　　　　　empty river bed
　　fáštat gu f inó diré
　　　　They catch him in a river bed.

dobítak (m.)　　　　livestock
　　s'éd'em dobítaka b'éxme zakláli

We had slaughtered seven animals.

dov'ǽ (impf.)   milk
     doví, doví – ta sa sékva
         You milk, you milk, until the animal stops giving milk.

dowólen (adj.)   satisfied
    síčki dowól'ni
        Everyone is satisfied.

dóda (perf.)   come
    prátixme xabér i tój dód'e
        We sent news and he came.

dožǽnvam (impf.)   harvest to completion
    n'éska štéli da dožǽnvat
        Today they said they were going to finish the harvesting.

dólen (adj.)   poor, wretched
    inóvr'ámešnite kǽšti ot tás po-dólni b'áxa
        Old-time houses were even more wretched than this one.

dol'č'inák (m.)   trough
    d'ét íma dol'č'inák da varí dǽta
        where there is a place for the water to flow into

dordé (adv.)   until
    udáržaha dordé kúpat kombájni
        They held on [to our money] until they bought harvesters.

dotégna (perf.)   get tired of
    xórata sa b'áset dét im dotégne
        People hang themselves when they get tired [of it all].

dóxtur (m.)   doctor
    na dóxtura otódet
        They go to the doctor.

drandór'a (impf.)   talk nonsense, chatter

xíč ne mlǽkvat s'é drandór'at
> They are never quiet, they are [always] chattering.

draxč'énce (n.)   twig, bough
> inó draxč'énce túr'aš túka
> > You put a little twig here.

drǽpna sa (perf.)   step aside
> da sa drǽpna na svétlo
> > Let me step back [so you have] light.

drǽška (f.)   handle
> drǽška íma na čekrǽka
> > There's a handle on the spinning wheel.

drúška (f.)   friend
> b'éxme drúški sas t'éxn'it'e
> > We were friends with their [friends].

duvár (m.)   wall
> íma dib'él duvár
> > There's a thick wall.

dugúl' (m.)   gold
> níj dugúl' mu víkame
> > We call it "dugul'".

dukát (conj.)   until
> dukát zamínet
> > until they leave

dumát' (m.)   tomato
> berém dumát'e, p'ip'ér
> > We pick tomatoes and peppers.

duxód'am (impf.)   come
> kat duxód'al túkancak
> > when he used to come around here

dušǽ (f.)   soul
        ne ní z'éma góspod dušǽta
                The Lord does not take our souls.

dušmánin (m.)   enemy
        ni sǽm i dušmán'in znáči
                It means I'm not her enemy.

d'áwol (m.)   devil
        d'áwoli ímaše
                There were devils [everywhere].

d'áwuliština (f.)   vampire, demon
        za d'áwulištin't'e mója d'ádo mi e rasprával
                My grandfather told me about demons.

d'áte (n.)   child
        kreštáva d'áte gá stáne tólkavu
                They christen a child when it gets that big.

d'év'et (number)   nine
         am tó d'évet' pǽt'e
                Well, [it takes] nine times.

d'ul'g'érin (m.)   mason
        d'ul'g'éri májstori d'ét sa, te znájat da prájat
                The master masons, they know how to do it.

d'uš'ék' (m.)   mattress
        jurgán, d'uš'ék', kakwót íma
                A quilt, a mattress, whatever there is.

d'ušemé (f.)   floor
        kójto n'éma dikán'a i na d'ušeméta stáva
                He who doesn't have a threshing board puts it on the floor.

 edín (number)   one
        edína mi sín go ubíxa

They killed one of my sons.

eléči (n.)   vest
    el'éčitu upr'édenu
        a knitted vest

erkéčenka (f.)   woman from Erkeč
    naprájxa ja erkéčenka
        They made her into an Erkeč girl.

žélt (adj.)   yellow
    n'ákoi mestá žélto ímat
        In some places they have yellow [things].

želtǽk (m.)   (egg) yolk

žéna (impf.)   reap, harvest

žétva (f.)   harvest
    počn'é žétvata wéči
        The harvest has already begun.

žil'ézen (adj.)   iron
    na platnóto túriš idín žil'ézen pǽrt
        You put an iron pawl on the cloth [while weaving].

žiná (f.)   woman
    t'á stára žiná
        [She is] an old woman.

žíca (f.)   thread
    žícata ja navívam na vrit'éntu
        I wind the thread onto the spindle.

žómenica (f.)   hide and seek (children's game)

žómunka (f.)   (same as "žomenica")

žúf (adj.)   alive
  sv'ékara kat b'éše žúf
       When [my] father-in-law was alive…

zabádam (impf.)   spear
  túka d'ét sa zabádat
       here where [things] are speared

zaberǽ (perf.)   complete one year of life and begin another
  osemnájsi godíni zabrá
       He's [just] turned eighteen.

zavárgan'e (n.)   competition
  práv'at zavárgan'e
       They are competing (holding a competition).

zagúb'en (adj.)   worthless, in vain
  t'á b'éše zagúb'ena rábuta
       That was wasted work.

zaímam (impf.)   to become pregnant

zajákna (perf.)   become strong
  s'étn'e v'éči tó zajákni
       After that it gets stronger.

zakačúl'en (adj.)   hooded, veiled
   tó b'éš'e zakačúl'enu
       It was hidden [from sight].

zaklávam (impf.)   kill, slaughter
  zakláva tríma bǽlgari
       They are killing three Bulgarians.

zakó (conj.)   why
  zakó da vi vód'a
       Why should I take you [there]?

zalinéja (perf.)   get sick, take ill
 obáči momáta zalin'ála
  The girl took ill however.

zal'úb'a (perf.)   take a liking to, fall in love with
 zal'úbili sa
  They took a liking to each other.

zamagl'én (adj.)   blurred, unclear
 f magláta sm'e zamagl'éni
  In the fog we cannot be seen clearly.

zaminúvam (impf.)   leave, set off
 da minúvaš i da zaminúvaš
  You pass by and then you leave.

zamrǽzna (perf.)   freeze
 wóluut'e zamrǽznali
  The oxen froze.

zan'esǽ (perf.)   bring, take
 jéd'ene zan'ésaxme
  We brought the food.

zánca (f.)   pantry, cellar
 zánca mu víkame
  We call it the "zanca".

zapádnal (adj.)   poor, backward
 od nás po-zapádnali n'éma
  There's none more backward than us.

zápartak (m.)   unhatched egg
 zápartak – ni móž' da sa izvidé
  A "zapartak" cannot hatch (will not yield a chick).

zapówn'uwam (impf.)   remember
 mlógo zapówn'uwa
  He remembers a lot.

zaprigál'nik (m).   part of a loom

zapr'án (adj.)   closed in
    íma zapr'áni swíni
        He has shut the pigs up [into their pen].

zapúšvam (impf.)   lock up
    f inǽ č'érkwa gi zapúšilii gi iskláli
        They locked them into a church and slaughtered them.

zápuška (f.)   bottle-cap, cork
    zápuška mu slágame
        We put a cork/cap on it.

zapcí (m.)   prongs, cogs
    idín pǽrt žil'ézen sas zapcí
        an iron bar with cogs [to prevent yarn from rotating
        backwards in weaving]

zarat (prep.)   because of, due to, for one's sake
    zarat wás i as si nal'áx
        For your sake I also poured myself some.

zatap'én (adj.)   stupid, dull
    t'ás dv'ét'e – zatap'éni momíč'enca
        Those two – they are stupid little girls.

zatǽkna (perf.)   close off, lock up
    tǽj xúbawu gu zatǽkni
        So lock it [up] well.

záxar (m.)   sugar
    usumd'és'e i p'ét l'éva záxar i tój stó l'éva óšt'e ša stáva
        Sugar is eighty-five leva and it's still going to go up, to a
        hundred leva.

zaxl'úp'a (perf.)   cover
    túri l'ába, zaxl'úpi gu

Put down the bread, cover it up.

začítam (impf.)　　　　　respect
　　　začítaxa pó-napr'ét
　　　　　Earlier they used to respect [it].

zǽlva (f.)　　　　　sister-in-law (husband's sister)
　　　kat dódax svárix dv'é zǽlvi
　　　　　When I came, I found [my] two sisters-in-law.

zǽmna (perf.)　　　　　take
　　　ku z'ǽm'n'et'e ša z'ǽmn'et'e
　　　　　If you take it, you'll take it.

zǽpam (impf.)　　　　　open mouth wide, gape
　　　zǽpat i tój im túrga sas inǽ lažíčka
　　　　　They open their mouths and he gives them a spoonful each.

zǽrno (n.)　　　　　grain, seed
　　　tój n'éma zǽrno
　　　　　He doesn't have [any] grain.

zberǽ (perf.)　　　　　gather
　　　na pul'ánkit'e zbirǽt sa
　　　　　They are meeting (gathering together) in the meadows.

zbór (m.)　　　　　festival
　　　bǽrzame za zbór
　　　　　We're hurrying to go to the festival.

zgud'eník (m.)　　　　　fiance
　　　is kašt'áta wód'at zgud'éncit'e
　　　　　They lead the engaged couple out of the house.

zevǽ　　　　　call, name
　　　táj je zevǽt
　　　　　That's how they call her.

zilén (adj.)　　　　　green

i zíme zilénu, i léte zilénu
　　It's green in winter, it's green in summer.

zímam (impf.)　　　　take
　　tó ne ja zímalo
　　　　He didn't take it/her.

zimǽ (f.)　　　　winter
　　ukwasí na tás zimǽ
　　　　Winter [this year] drenched us.

zíme (adv.)　　　　wintertime
　　i zíme, i léte
　　　　both in winter and in summer

zm'éj (m.)　　　　dragon
　　ímalo zm'éjov'e tugás
　　　　There used to be dragons then.

znáj (impf.)　　　　know
　　na mor'éto dǽnto znáj [id.]
　　　　He knows the bottom of the sea.

zorná (adv.)　　　　hard, painful
　　i dn'és pák zórna
　　　　Today also it's hard again.

z'án (m.)　　　　loss, spoilage
　　da n' stáva z'án
　　　　so that it won't go bad

z'ápam (impf.)　　　　stare at
　　níj z'ápaxm'e, z'ápaxm'e
　　　　We kept staring.

z'éle (n.)　　　　cabbage, sauerkraut
　　as z'életu f k'ačka gu práv'a
　　　　I prepare the sauerkraut in a small barrel.

z'éma (perf.)   take

idvám (adv.)   hardly, barely
        t'á idvám varí
                She can barely walk.

idín (number)   one
        da vi prudám inó járenc'e
                Let me sell you a kid (young goat).

iz (prep.)   around
        ša šétat túka is kǽšti
                They will work here around the house.

iz'ám (perf.)   eat up
         tíe gu izéli
                They ate it [all].

izbǽrša (perf.)   wipe
        čákaj da si izbǽrša rac'ét'e
                Wait for me to wipe my hands.

izbíja (perf.)   kill
        izbíet gi síčkit'e
                They kill them all.

izvǽrv'am sa (impf.)   come out
         izvǽrv'at sa idín pu idín
                They come out one by one.

izvedǽ (perf.)   hatch
        klováčkata si izvéde píl'encata
                The hen hatches her chicks.

izgǽna sa (perf.)   turn around
        ás da sa izgǽna da ja víd'a
                Let me turn around [so I can] see her.

izgladǽ (perf.)   cause to be hungry
        tój izgladí naróda
                He caused the people to starve.

izkǽrt'a (perf.)   break
        izkǽrtixa síčku kójtu móži
                They broke everything they could.

izláz'am (impf.)   go out
        v'ék'e ni móga da izláz'am
                I can't go out any more.

izlǽža (perf.)   lie, deceive
        kák mi zéxa sinǽ i gu izlǽgaxa
                the way they took [my] son and deceived him

izl'áza (perf.)   go out
        izl'ázlo odvǽn i tǽrtilo pudíre mu
                It went out and ran off after him.

izmítam sa (impf.)   disappear
         c'áltu s'élu sa izmítalu i b'ágalu
                The whole village disappeared – ran away.

izmód'a sa (perf.)   become fashionable
        tíj v'éke sa izmód'ixa
                They became fashionable already.

iznam'árgam (impf.)   consider
        tǽj iznam'árga za pó-dubr'é
                She considers [it] to be better this way.

izpráštan'e (n.)   seeing off
        n'i b'éš'e kat sigá da práv'at ispráštan'e
                Seeing [someone] off [for the army] didn't used to be the
                way it is now.

ijcé (n.)   egg
        t'á nósi inó ijcé

It (the hen) lays an egg.

ilá (imper.)   come!
           ilá túka
                   Come here!

il'índ'en' (m.)   St. Elijah's day (2 August new style)
             sigá na il'índ'en'tó a áxgus sigá
                         These days, St. Elijah's day is in August now.

íme (n.)   name
          imen'á ímaxm'e
                   We had names.

imót (m.)   land, holdings
            kúpixme túrski imót ux prós'eník
                     We bought Turkish holdings in Prosenik.

indžikcíram (impf.)   inject
            ša ta indžikcíra i stán'eš darwó
                     I'll give you a shot and [your arm] will get [stiff] like wood.

isǽxna (perf.)   dry out
            síčko uv'áxna ma, isǽxna
                     Everything wilted and got all dried out.

isprobíja (perf.)   pepper with holes
            daxčíčkata ja isprobíj
                     He makes many holes in the small board.

isprus'én (adj.)   having taken holy communion
            i tíj v'ék'e isprus'éni si otód'at
                     And they, already having taken communion, are leaving.

istapán'a sa (perf.)   step forward
            t'á sa istapán'ala na kabínata
                     She stepped out in front of the cab [of the truck].

istráx (m.)   fear

túj sámo istráx, níšto n'éma
It's just fear, there's nothing [wrong].

ĭst'ena (f.)   truth
kázvam íst'ena
I'm telling the truth

ičum'án (adj.)   made of barley
obǽrkvam s ičum'áno brášnu i tíj jadǽt
I mix in barley flour and they eat [it].

ja   (part.)   yes

ja , ja   (part.)   yes!

javréjči (n.)   unchristened child
kakwó mi dád'e kumíc'e – javréjči
Godmother, what did you give me – an unchristened child?

jáguda (f.)   strawberry
túka jágudi ímaš'e
There used to be strawberries here.

jajcé (n.)   egg
ás túrix jajcáta
I put the eggs [into the basket].

jám (impf.)   eat
jéli, píli, xúbau
They ate and drank well.

jáma (f.)   pit
íma inǽ jáma utsr'éšte
There's a pit opposite [us].

jamurlúk (m.)   cloak
túj górnata dr'éxa je jamurlúk
This [piece of] outer clothing is a cloak.

járence (n.)   kid (young of goat)
        kláli járenca
                They slaughtered [several] kids.

jarmom'élka (f.)   grinder [to make fodder for livestock]
        jarmom'élka – m'éliš za prás'etu
                a grinder – to grind up [feed] for the pig

jé (pron.)   her
        nakazúvaxa jé
                They punished her.

jédar (adj.)   strong, healthy, big
        gol'ám narót – jédri xóra
                A strong nation – [it has] healthy people.

jéden'e (n.)   meal, food
         utídaxme, jéden'e zan'ésaxm'e
                We went out and took food [with us].

jedín (number)   one
        še ma otarv'ét'e ut jednóto
                You'll save me from this one.

jélavu (n.)   lead
        mójta bába báješe s jélavu
                My grandmother told fortunes with [molten] lead [dropped
                into water].

jelxǽ (f.)   fir
        tíj nanížat jelxǽta
                They decorate the [Christmas/New Year's] tree.

jemurlúk (m.)   cloak
        jemurlúk slága
                He puts on [his] cloak.

jenuári   January

jenuári, xeuruári, márt
  January, February, March

jérebička (f.)   partridge
  od jérebička krilc'étu
    a partridge's little wing

jérenc'e (n.)   kid (young of goat)
  jérenc'e mu víkam'e
    We call it "jerence".

jerxángelov dén   Archangel's day (8 November)

jérči (n.)   pullet
  víkat im d'ét mál'ki jérčeta
    They shout at them, the small pullets.

jésen (f.)   autumn
  am jésen b'éše, ás zabráwix
    But it was autumn [then], I forgot.

jurd'éčka (f.)   turkey
  z'éla na jurd'éčkit'e kadárcit'e
    She took the combs from the turkeys.

kadár'ec (m.)   comb (of rooster or turkey)
  z'éla na jurd'éčkit'e kadárcit'e
    She took the combs from the turkeys.

kadǽnč'e (n.)   Turkish girl
  ímalu inó kadǽnč'e
    There was a young Turkish girl [there].

kad'á (conj.)   where
  kad'á farčí, kad'á xódi
    Where is he flying [to], where is he going?

kad'él'ka (f.)   distaff

n'ámam kad'él'ka
I don't have a distaff.

káža (perf.)   say, tell
da ti káža v'éči
Let me tell you already.

kaílen (adj.)   in agreement, satisfied
a túka da ukwási, pák sam kaílna
Even if it should rain here, still I'm satisfied.

káj (impf.)   say, tell
samí, káj, ša si ídit'e
You'll leave by yourself, he says.

kajsíja (f.)   apricot
ímaxm'e n'ívi tám – bad'émuwa gradína i kajsíj
We used to have fields there – an almond grove and apricot
[trees].

kák (adv.)   how
kak da v'i ob'asn'ím
How can we explain [it] to you?

kakǽ (adv.)   how
kakǽ mu dúmat
How do they call it?

kakǽv bǽdi (pron.)   whatever, all sorts of
ráboti stávat kakví bǽdat
All sorts of things happen.

kakó (pron.)   what
sigá kakó da napráwjat
Now what should they do?

kál (f.)   mud
ubǽrkwat kál sas pl'áva
They mix mud with chaff.

kalabalák   crowded, a lot of people

      kalabalák b'éxm'e

            There were a lot of us (= we were a crowd).

kalmukán' (m.)   spool (part of loom)

      na kalmukán' ja navívam

            I wind it onto the spool.

kálpax (adj.)   lazy

      mládo, ama kálpawo íno

            a young but lazy one

kalcún'i   fabric wound around the ankles

       kálcun'i d'ét mu dúmame

            "kalcuni", as we call them

kal'éswam (impf).   invite

      x sǽbuta xód'at, kal'éswat sas bǽklica

            On Saturday they go and invite [people] with a
            [wine/brandy] jug.

kal'číšta (pl.t.)   tow, hemp

      čérgata – ut kal'číšta

            a rug made from hemp

kamína (f.)   fireplace

      ógan'a gorí f kamínata

            The fire is burning in the fireplace.

kámak (m.)   stone, pebble

      túri edín kámak na m'én'e

            Put a stone on me! (gambling)

kamtu (prep.)   near, by, around, towards

      kamtu vás kǽk'e

            How [are things] in your area?

kantarm'í (pl.t.)   reins

kantarm'í – nazád d'ét sa darží
     reins, [the ones] you hold from the rear

karamída (f.)   roof tile
     karamídi nabúta ut kǽštata
          tiles taken off of [the roof of] the house.

kartóf (m.)   potato, potato plant
     kartófi isǽxnaxa, lúk isǽxna
          The potato plants dried up, the onion plants dried up.

kasm'ét' (m.)   luck, fortune
     kat íma kasm'ét'
          when we get lucky

káta (adj.)   each, every
     karaúl – káta v'éčer
          A sentry – every evening [he makes the rounds].

katgá (conj.)   when
     napr'ét ás katgá zapóun'ux
          earlier, when I remembered

katója (f.)   day room
     katója za žuv'éen'e
          a room for everyday activities

káca (f.)   cask, vat
     i dv'é káci izgur'áxa
          Both casks burnt up.

káčka (f.)   small cask
     ás z'életu f káčka gu práv'a
          I prepare the sauerkraut in a small barrel.

kašlá (f.)   sheep pen
     utišlá faf inǽ kašlá
          (A sheep) went into a sheep pen.

kǽklica (f.)   corn-cockle
      íma kǽklica i xíč ni jé xkús'en xl'ába
            There are corn-cockles [in it] and the bread doesn't taste
            good at all.

kǽk' (adv.)   how
      kamtu vás kǽk'e
            How [are things] in your area?

kǽl'ča sa   (impf.)   twist, sway
      kǽl'čat sa napr'ét - nazát
            They were twisting and swaying back and forth.

kǽr (m.)   field
      duxád'al ut kǽra
            He was coming back from the field.

kǽrm'a (impf.)   feed
      dukát gu kǽrm'at
            while she is feeding [the animals]

kǽrpa (f.)   towel
      na svetá buguród'ica tǽs túrla kǽrpi
            On the day of the Virgin, she put the towels [on the icon].

kǽrpička (f.)   small towel
      tój im túrga inǽ kǽrpička
            He put a small towel on them.

kǽrt'a (impf.)   chip off, knock off
      n'émaše plóči – kǽrtexa gi
            There weren't any slabs, they knocked them [all] off.

kǽsičak (adj.)   short, little (diminutive/hypochoristic)
      tós krák – kǽsičak
            This foot is a little smaller [than the other one].

kǽsnu (adv.)   late
      v'ék'e stáne kǽsnu

It's gotten late already.

kǽšta (f.)   house
 tǽs mu e kǽštata
  That's his house.

kwás (m.)   yeast
 naléj tós kwás
  Pour that yeast in [here].

kiló (n.)   kilogram
 l'éva b'éše enó kiló záxar
  [You could get] a whole kilo of sugar for a lev.

kísel'ci (m.pl.)   sour apples
 kísel'ci – kát krúši, ábal'ki, dívi ábal'ki
  sour apples – like pears, apples, wild apples …

kíča (f.)   type of sleeveless coat decorated with long tassels
 dǽrtite ímat kíči
  The older people have [these special] coats.

kladǽ (impf.)   set, lay (a fire)
 tój kladǽ ógan
  He's laying the fire.

kladní (pl.t.)   stack of wheat
 mlógu xúbavi n'ív'i ímaše i naprávi golémi kladn'í
  He had very beautiful fields, and stacked the wheat in large
  piles.

klipáč (m.)   eyelid
 smídža s klipáči
  He winks (= twitches his eyelids).

klís (m.)   clay
 klís mu kázwat f nášto s'élo
  We call it "klis" in our village.

klováčka (f.)   brood hen
       klováčka j, kogát rodí píl'encata
           The hen becomes a brood hen when it has chicks.

klóčka (f.)   brood hen
       klóčkata sa oklóči sée dní
           The hen [finally] became a brood hen these [last few] days.

kl'úxam (impf.)   hew
       s brádvičkata go kl'úxat
           They hew it with the axe.

kó (pron.)   what
        kó da káža
           What can I say?

kóga (pron.)   whom
       kóga še čákaš
           Whom will you be expecting?

kógot (pron.)   who
       ubívat kógot svár'at
           They kill who[ever] they come upon.

kodžá (adv.)   very
       stánal v'ék'e kodžá god'íšan
           He's already gotten very old.

kólada (f.)   Christmas
       na kólada nas'ádwat túka
           They sit here at Christmas time.

kólaški (adj.)   Christmas (adj.)
       kólaškite pósti sváršixa
           The Christmas fast has ended.

kómkwam sa (impf.)   take holy communion
       gát sa kómkwami na wil'ígd'en'
           when they take communion on Easter

komšúja (m.)   neighbor
     komšúj sn'é s n'eja
         We are neighbors with her.

komšújka (f.)   neighbor (female)
    aná túka náša komšújka
        one of our neighbors here

kónska (f.)   ritual post-wedding visits paid by groom's sister to
                        bride's mother
    na kónska xód'eli
        The groom's sisters were going to visit the bride's mother.

konušmák (m.)   conversation
    málko na konušmák túka
        [We're] here just [to have] a small chat.

koráv (adj.)   hard
    ma n'sǽ edǽt – korávi sa
        But you can't eat [them], they're [too] hard.

kóren' (m.)   root, plant
    pu dv'é, pu trí na kóren'
        [You only get] two or three [blooms] per plant.

kót šté da e   such as it is
    inǽ koperácija, kót šté da e
        a collective farm, such as it is

kóxa (f.)   bucket
    n'ákoe kóxa li, sǽd
        some sort of bucket, container

kóšt'ena žába (f.)   tortoise
    inǽ kóšt'ena žába varí tám
        [There's] a tortoise walking [over] there.

kraváj (m.)   round bun

za vilígd'en' kraváj prájexa
They made round buns for Easter.

kravájče (n.)   small round bun
p'éjat i im dávat kravájče
They sing and they give them small buns.

kradǽ (impf.)   steal
kradǽt, jedǽt, ubívat
They steal, they eat, they kill.

krasotǽ (f.)   beauty
prav'ét gu za krasotǽ
They do it for beauty.

krastóvišt'e (n.)   crossroads
krastóvišt'e sa kázva – d'ét s'e sr'éštat dvá pǽt'a
It's called a crossroads, where two roads meet.

krǽw (f.)   blood
da sa kóli – krǽw da sa wídi
To do some killing [means] to see some blood.

krǽwnu (n.)   blood pressure
ás ímam krǽwnu
I have [high] blood pressure.

krǽg (m.)   bread board
isípim gu na kragǽ
We pour it (the dough) out onto the bread board.

krǽsnik (m.)   godfather
krǽsnika gi t'égli
The godfather drags them.

krǽst (m.)   waist
na krǽsta ímax opásanu
I had it wrapped around [my] waist.

krǽst'a sa (impf.)   cross oneself
     tíj sa krǽst'at
         They cross themselves.

krǽsci (m. pl.)   stack of sheaves
    na tǽs n'íva p'ét' krésci ako poiskára
        [If you can get] five stacks of sheaves on this meadow
        [you're doing well].

krǽčma (f.)   pub, tavern
    s'éd'am krǽčmi ímaše
        There were seven pubs [there].

kreštávam (impf.)   christen
    tój kreštáva d'áte
        He christens the child

krepǽ sa (impf.)   support oneself
    íma dv'é jér'ta i sa krepí ut t'áx
        He has two small goats and supports himself from them.

krúša (f.)   pear
    t'ás krúši napádnaxa
        These pears fell down.

kubíl'ca (f.)   yoke
    i túra kubíl'cata i izláz'am
        And I put on the yoke, and I go out.

kuzinák (m.)   hot cross bun (ritual bread for Easter)
    kuzinác'te f sǽbuta gi m'és'at
        They knead the hot cross buns on Saturday [before Easter].

kujá (conj.)   who, which
    kujá si j naprávila náwujte
        [the one] who made herself the leg wrappings

kumbalíčka (f.)   small group of people
    utód'a pak na drúgata kumbalíčka

He goes again to the other group.

kumbilizón (m.)   slip (woman's undergarment)
        drúga túrla kumbilizón
                another sort of underslip

kum'ét (m.)   mayor
         kum'éta utód'a na gróba tam
                The mayor goes over there to the grave.

kum'éc (m.)   bridegroom, in relation to the wedding godfather
        tój mi e na méne kum'éc
                He is my "kumec" [= I am his wedding godfather].

kum'ín (m.)   chimney
        glédam'e kój kumín sa dimí
                We look to see which chimney has smoke coming from it.

kumšíjka (f.)   neighbor (female)
        ednǽ kumšíjka ímame túka
                We have a neighbor here.

kundák (m.)   diaper
        kundák mu víkali
                We called it "kundak".

kundurží (m.)   shoemaker
         ímaše idín kundurží
                There used to be a shoemaker [here].

kundúri (pl.)   shoes
         kundúri gu dúmaxa
                We used to call them "kunduri".

kunóp (m.)   hemp
        kal'číšta ut kunóp
                chaff from hemp

kupóvam (impf.)   buy

ot túrcít'e gu kupóvat
>> They buy it from the Turks.

kurwárstwu (n.)   loose living, excessive womanizing
> kurwárstwu s'á, kakó stána
>> [There's] loose living now, that's how it's gotten to be.

kurmít (m.)   onions
> na lúka kázwat kurmít
>> They call onions "kurmit".

kurnaz'ája sa (impf.)   be arrogant, brag
> ne se kurnaz'ájte
>> Don't brag, don't show off.

kúsna (perf.)   taste
> rakíja n'éma l'kúsnit'e
>> Won't you have a taste of rakija?

kútkam (impf.)   cackle
> izl'ázax da víd'a kakwó kútka
>> I came out to see what [hen] is cackling.

kutl'énc'e (n.)   small copper pot
> kutl'énc'e še j dad'é
>> She will give her a small copper pot.

kušúm (m.)   harness
> kušúm mu v'íkam'e
>> We call it "kušum".

k'órav (adj.)   blind
> kat k'óravi sa blǽskame
>> We grope about like blind people.

lažǽ (f.)   lie, untruth
> kázvat lažǽ bílu túj
>> They say that it was a lie.

lažóven (adj.)   untrue, misleading
>   da n'é e lažównu, da e íst'ena
>   > [We hope] that it's not a lie, that it's the truth.

lázar (m.)   rain ritual before Easter
>   za lázara kázwaxa
>   > They were saying it at the rain ritual.

lalé (n.)   tulip

lapadáčki (pl.)   embroidery on neck and sleeves of a chemise
>   lapadáčki mu víkaxa
>   > They called it "lapadački".

lápam (impf.)   swallow
>   upičém i lápat
>   > We bake [it], and they swallow it.

lév (adj.)   left
>   túrim na lévata raká
>   > I put it in my left hand.

levandúla (f.)   lavender
>   ut s'ákavi – levandúla
>   > from all sorts [of things], lavender [and…]

lévata (f.)   a type of traditional dance
>   lévata íma
>   > There's the "levata".

léskaw (adj.)   shiny
>   páda inó léskawo kalbó
>   > A shiny ball fell.

lí (part.)   [used to mark a question]
>   dóktora lí b'éš'e ot tám
>   > Is it the doctor that was from there?

livandúla (f.)   a type of lavender
        livandúla íma túka
                There was lavender there.

likárstvu (n.)   medicine
        práwim gu za likárstvu
                I do / make it for medicinal purposes.

lipǽ (f.)   linden
        ud lipǽta ína cv'át
                A flower [like that] of the linden tree.

loxúsa (f.)   woman in childbirth
        kat rodí loxúsa i v'íkat
                When [a woman] gives birth they call her "loxusa".

lóšavo (adj.)   bad
        lóšavotu da otód'a pot krakǽ mi [idiomatic]
                Let that which is bad pass behind my back.

l'úb'a (impf.)   flirt, act the coquette
        xód'i da ja l'úbi
                He went to court her / flirt with her.

lúk (m.)   onions
        kartófi isǽxnaxa, lúk isǽxna
                The potato plants dried up, the onion plants dried up.

l'áp (m.)   bread
        naguótvi i up'eč'é l'áp
                She cooked [the meal] and baked the bread.

l'áte (adv.)   in the summer time
        l'áte i z'íme
                in summer and in winter

l'átu (n.)   summer
        i ž'én'it'e c'álu l'átu tám
                And the women are there all summer long.

l'ét'e (adv.)   in the summer
     tós i zíme zilénu, i l'ét'e zilénu
          It's green in the winter, and green in the summer.

l'ic'érna (f.)   lucerne, alfalfa
     íma l'ic'érna túka
          There's lucerne / alfalfa [around] here.

l'óx (part.)   [exclamation]
     l'óx, bóže
          Oh [my] God!

maglǽ (f.)   fog
     víždam v maglǽta, - glédam čil'áka
          I [can] see in the fog, I see the man.

majé (f.)   yeast
     tíj ši don'esǽt majé
          They will bring the yeast.

májkine (collective)   mothers
     májkine póčnat da si podávat
          Mothers begin to pass things around.

máju   May
     márt, apríl, pák máju
          March, April, and then May

málak (adj.)   little, small
     pó-mál'kija sin f burgás
          [My] younger son is in Burgas.

maláč'i (n.)   young of the water buffalo
     maláči sa v'íka
          It's called a "malači".

mále   Mother (vocative form)

túj lažǽ, mále
> He's lying, Mom.

mal'ína (f.)   raspberry
> malíni túka ímaše
>> There used to be raspberries here.

mamúlen (adj.)   of corn
> mamúlen čúkan' za zapúšvan'e
>> corn cob used as a cork

mamúli (m.pl.)   corn
> mamúli še séeš
>> You'll sow the corn.

mándža (f.)   meal, food
> i drúgi mándži, ama d'ét n'e e mázno
>> And other dishes [too], but only ones without fat

márt (m.)   March
> faf márta gu z'éxa
>> They took it in March.

marčǽ (impf.)   get dark, make something dark
> ás v'i marčǽ túka
>> I'm casting my shadow over you here.

máslo (n.)   butter
> máslo prájat tám
>> They make butter there.

masúr (m.)   spool
> masúr ja dét sa slága sovál'kata
>> You know, the spool that you put into the shuttle.

matriél (m.)   material
> darvá, matriél za drúgija
>> wood, material for the other [thing]

máśt'exa (f.)   stepmother
        dójde máśt'exa, t'ájko kat si dójde
                When dad came back, a stepmother came too.

mǽž (m.)   man; husband
        žená – t'á še slúša mažǽ
                The wife will obey her husband.

mǽrdam (impf.)   move, stir
        n'éma da mǽrda
                I won't budge.

mǽča (impf.)   torture
        kótk'it'e sa dáw'eli i m'ǽč'eli
                Someone was strangling and torturing the cats.

mǽča sa (impf.)   attempt
        mǽčixa sa da utkrádnat kuláta
                They tried to steal the car.

mǽčen (adv.)   hard, painful
        n'e ni b'éše mǽčno
                It wasn't hard for us.

méra (f.)   grazing area.
        m'erí íma li túka
                Are there grazing areas [around] here?

meraklíja (m.)   curious, eager [to learn something]
         mumčé kuét e meraklíja
                a boy who is curious / wants to learn

mésnus (f.)   place, locality
        x enǽ mésnus túka
                in a place around here

midicíncki (adj.)   medicinal, medical
        dóktor d'e, ama midicíncki féršel
                a doctor, one who has graduated from medical [school]

míla (f.)   pity
        sekǽ bes míla i dávam
                I cut [it down] without pity, and give [it away].

míninku (adv.)   little, small
        sas inǽ míninka lažíčka
                with a tiny spoon

minúvam   (impf.)   pass, go by
        da minúvaš ida zaminúvaš
                You pass by and then you leave.

misírka (f.)   turkey
         misírka ímalu xǽtre
                [Someone said that] there's a turkey inside.

mitlá (f.)   broom
        smítat gu s mitlá
                They sweep it [out] with a broom.

míč'i (n.)   girl (vocative)
        píj, mójtu míč'i
                Drink [some], my girl.

míščanc'e (n.)   (small) mouse
        don'és t'ás míščanca
                [The cat] brought these little mice.

mladinǽ (collective)   young people
        t'á mladinǽ, bóž'e, n'e móga, bóž'e
                All these young folk, my God, I can't [cope], my God.

mlǽkvam   (impf.)   be silent, fall silent
        xíč n'e mlǽkvat
                They are never silent.

mlógu (adv.)   very
         mumíčetu mlógu j dobró

The girl is [a] very good [one].

molébie (n.)   church service, prayers
        molébie, ama tr'ába pópa da e túka
                [For the] church service, there needs to be a priest here.

moléc (m.)   moth
        molcí... pasé gi, probíva gi
                Moths – they eat them (clothes), and make holes in them.

momíč'ance (n.)   little girl
        d'ét b'áxa ubl'éč'eni momíč'anca
                the little girls who were dressed

motowílka (f.)   cratch for yarn [in weaving]
        smotája gu n iná motowílka
                I wind it up on the cratch.

mrǽdna (perf.)   move
        tós krák mrǽdneš, tós krák
                [First] you move this foot, [and then] this foot.

mrǽkva sa (perf.)   get dark
        dord'é sa mrǽkni
                until it gets dark

mustáki (m.pl.)   mustache
         tój kat púsnal iní dǽlgi mustáki
                when he grew this long mustache

múxa (f.)   fly
        jéj, pústa múxa
                Oh, that damned fly!

muxab'ét' (m.)   celebration, party (including food, drink, music and
                            dancing)

múškam   (impf.)   poke, pierce, butt
        tíj jérita porásnaxa i ja – múškat

These kids (= young goats) have grown up and now they're butting [each other].

m'ázam (impf.)   resemble
        i f varv'éša m'áza na bába
                And her gait resembles that of a grandmother.

m'ásec (m.)   month
        idína m'ásec žénat
                One month they harvest, [and another month they thresh.]

m'ǽs'ec (m.)   month
        nakrája m'ǽxca, pák ša wád'at
                At the end of the month, they'll take it out again.

m'egdán' (m.)   open area, town square
        c'élija m'egdán' eee xoró
                All over the town square, hey! A dance!

m'engíši (pl.)   earrings.
        n'émax m'engíši
                I didn't have [any] earrings.

m'ed'eník (m.)   ritual bread used during the wedding ceremony
        m'ed'eníka tamán je tólakaf
                The wedding bread was just this size.

m'én'a (pron.)   me
        parí z'émat ud m'én'e
                They take money from me.

m'erósvam (impf.)   anoint
        m'erósvat gi d'acáta
                They anoint the children [as part of religious ceremony].

m'ušteríja (m.)   customer
        n'ákoj m'ušteríja še dójdi
                Some customer [or another] will come.

nabǽxtja (perf.)   beat up
        tój móže da ta nabǽxti
                He's able to beat you up.

nabližǽ (perf.)   approach, come close
        kat nabližǽt zét'a
                when they approach the [new] son-in-law

nablízko (adv.)   near, nearby
        níj b'éxme nablízku
                We were nearby.

nábor (m.)   of the same age group
        níj sm'e nábori
                We are of the same age group.

nabúča (perf.)   shove, push
        nabúčiš vr'et'énu i túriš gagál'kata d ja navíeš
                You shove the distaff [into your belt] and put on the spool.

navǽrža (perf.)   decorate
        sas g'url'úk gu navǽrzat
                They decorate it with greenery.

náwoi (pl.)   leg wrappings
        náwoit'e sa navívat
                Leg wrappings are wrapped [around the legs].

naglašéno   ready to use
        rálto mu naglašéno
                His plow is ready to use.

naddúmam sa (impf.)   agree
        víj sa naddúmajté i vzem'ét'i jéritu
                You [two] come to an agreement and take the small goat.

nadólu (adv.)   below
        zaminúvat nadólu

They are leaving to go down [there].

nadrubǽ (perf.)   chop into small pieces
    zakláxa gu, nadrubíx gu tám
        They slaughtered it and chopped it up [right] there.

naésen (adv.)   in the autum
    uórex túj – naésen stávat
        Walnuts [such as] these are ready in the autumn.

nakázuvam   (impf.)   punish
    nakázuvaxa jé
        They punished her.

nakísna (perf.)   soak
    smotája gu i gu nakísna
        I wrap it up and put it to soak.

napǽlnu (adv.)   completely
    i sa sríva napǽlnu
        It has completely fallen apart.

napít'a (perf.)   give trouble
    n'érvite ma napít'eli
        My nerves are giving me a hard time.

napréd'an   spun
    náujte gáštite napréd'ani
        leg wrappings and trousers [that have been] spun

napr'éd' (adv.)   before, earlier
    pó-napr'éd' dvésta - trísta d'áca b'áxa
        Earlier there were 200-300 children.

napúštam sa   (impf.)   leave, forsake
    pak s'egá sa napúštat síčki
        And now everyone is leaving.

narǽkom (adv.)   by hand

na rǽkom kos'éxme
      We did all the mowing by hand (= without machines).

nas'étn'a (adv.)   later, afterwards
    uttám nas'étn'a na rábuta n'i xód'ax
      From then on I didn't go to work.

naták (adv.)   further
    kat ídiš naták
      when you go further

natír'a (perf.)   drive out, expel
    tój gi natíri i ídi da si l'égni
      He drove them off and then went to lie down.

natóča (perf.)   pour out
    da vi natóča l'rakíja
      Can I pour you some rakia?

natrúx'am sa (impf.)   dress up
    tíj natrúx'eni kat túj momíč'i
      They're all dressed up like this girl [here].

natúrgan   set, ready
    síčkotu natúrganu
      Everything's set out.

nacǽfna (perf.)   bloom
    t'ás nacǽfnal't'e
      these [ones that have] bloomed

náči (part.)   that is, I mean, apparently
    túj náči v'ék'e tr'ábva da je val'álo
      Apparently here it must already have rained.

našǽr'a (perf.)   draw, paint
    šǽrki tám našǽr'at
      They are drawing designs over there.

negrámaten (adj.)   illiterate, unlettered
        tíj s'é negrámatni
                They are illiterate.

n'éja (pron.)   her
        komšúj sn'e s n'éja
                We're her neighbors [= live next to her].

nívga (adv.)   never
        tó n'é e kápalo nívga
                It has never rained [here].

níjd'e (adv.)   nowhere
         n'ta bolí níjd'e
                You don't hurt anywhere [now, do you?]

níkad'a (adv.)   nowhere
        n'éma gu túj ím'e níkad'a
                This name is not known anywhere around here.

níštel'ki (f.)   part of a loom

nosíe (f.)   folk costume, clothing
        nosíeta – sǽštata
                [They have] the same costume [as we do].

nóx (adj.)   new
        bagáša, d'éto j nóx
                the belongings that are new

nóxči (n.)   blade, small knife
        nar'éž'i sas nóxčito
                Cut [it] with the blade.

nóš (f.)   night
        c'ála nóš igráem
                All night long we play.

nóšt'en (adj.)   of night, at night

nóšno vr'ém'e kat mrǽkni
in the night time when it gets dark

nóštuva (f.)   wooden trough in which bread dough rises
nóštuva mu dúmat
We call it a "noštuva".

n'd'ál'a (f.)   Sunday; week
sidmícata kázwam'e inǽ n'd'ál'a
We call a week, a period of seven days, a "nǽdala".

n'éma (part.)   there isn't, there aren't
túka pó n'éma krážbi
There is less robbery here [than there used to be].

n'éska (adv.)   today
n'éska št'éli da dož'énvat
Today they said they would finish the harvest.

n'ixnitír' (m.)   wooden pitchfork used to separate wheat from
chaff
póčnem da véeme go sas n'ixnit'ír'e
We [will] begin to throw it up into the air with the wooden
pitchfork.

óbarč (m.)   hoop (on a barrel)
tarkál'al sa idín óbarč
They say that a hoop is rolling [somewhere].

obǽrkvam (impf.)   mix
obǽrkvam s ičum'áno brášno
I mix [it] with barley flour.

obǽrša (perf.)   wipe
dáj da obǽrša másata
Let me wipe off the table.

obikolǽ (perf.)   go around, tour

obikolǽt i póčnat da péjat
>They walk around and start to sing [as part of Easter custom].

običéj (m.)   custom, habit
>b'éš'e običéj
>>It was the custom.

oblekǽ (impf.)   dress [someone]
>pák gu oblekǽt
>>And again they dress him.

ovgǽ (f.)   skirt tied in back; characteristic regional dress
>ovgǽ – kato polá
>>an "ovge", like a skirt

ogarl'ák (m.)   collar of a shirt
>túka – ogarl'ák
>>Here is the collar.

odvǽn (adv.)   out, outside
>n'e móga odvǽn dvóra v'ék'e da izláz'am
>>I can't go outside of the courtyard any more.

oddé (adv.)   from where
>t'ás xóra odd'é sa
>>Where are these people from?

odd'el'énie (n.)   class (in school)
>do četvǽrto odd'el'énie še íma
>>[The school] probably goes up to the fourth grade.

oklóča sa (perf.)   cluck
>klóčkata sa oklóči
>>The hen is clucking.

októmbri   October
>septémbri, októmbri, s'éjat
>>In September and October they do the sowing.

ól'uu (n.)   cooking oil
     žén't'e d'ét dávaxa ól'uu
         the women who gave [us] the oil

ópas (m.)   belt
     dar'áwa na déw'era ópas
         They give the best man a woven belt [as part of the wedding
         ceremony].

opekǽ (perf.)   bake, roast
     kat se opekǽt, izwád'at gi
         When [the loaves of bread] are done, they take them out [of
         the oven].

orǽ (impf.)   plow
     ás sa fpr'ágam da orǽ
         I'm getting harnessed up to do the plowing.

ortalǽk (collective)   different people
     zbirǽ ortalǽka rábuti
         She gathers various people together, and works.

osamdisé (number)   eighty
     t'á stára žina – osamdisé i pét - šés gudíšna
         She is an old woman – 85 or 86 years old.

osams'é (number)   eighty
     móž da j osams'é i č'étiri
         Maybe he is 84 [years old].

osrigǽ (perf.)   shear
     kat osriž'ém ufc'ét'e
         when we shear the sheep

osumnájsi (number)   eighteeen
     osumnájsi gudíni zbíra ud ávgus
         In August he'll be seventeen (= start his eighteenth year).

otǽrvam sa (impf.)   rescue oneself
  tǽj sa otarvál
    He got himself out of it.

otbáwam (impf.)   wean
  sigá gu otbáwixm'e
    Now we weaned it.

otkólešen (adj.)   old, from the old times
  t'á j otkólešna kǽšta
    That's an house from the old days.

otód'a (perf.)   go
  na dóxtura otód'eš
    You [will need to] go to the doctor.

ottúkanak (adv.)   from here
  ispráv'en'i ottúkanak do táme
    [These things are] stretched out from here to there.

ocǽmna (perf.)   dawn, get light; see the day dawn
  kójto želáj da ocǽmni
    whoever wants to wait till dawn

oxcǽ (f.)   sheep
  katu ustrížat oxcǽta
    when they shear the sheep

óšt'e (adv.)   still, yet
  sigá ž'énat óšt'e
    Now they're still harvesting.

ošt'íp'a (perf.)   pinch
  túk še ja ošt'ípi
    He'll pinch her here.

páwl'uud'en'   St. Paul's day (30 June old style, 13 July new
    style)
  útre páwl'uud'en' šaj

Tomorrow will be St. Paul's day.

pázwa (f.)   neckline

      šíto je na pázwata

           It's sewed along the neckline.

pák (adv.)   again

      na il'ín'd'en' pák varǽt

           They boil [it] again on St. Elijah's day.

palamárka (f.)   wooden protective handpiece used when mowing

      v táz raká daržím palamárkata

           We hold the "palamarka" in this hand.

paníca (f.)   wooden bowl

      paníci razdáwat

           They hand out the wooden bowls.

pantalónči (n.)   trousers (diminutive/hypochoristic)

      dar'áwa pantalónči

           They give trousers [to wedding guests].

paralíja   rich, "moneyed" person

      nalí j paralíja, bugát

           You know, the one with money, the rich one.

parlapánin (m.)   selfish person, looking first to his own well-being

      níj sm'e pó-parlapáni

           We're more selfish [than they are].

parlív (adj.)   hot, spicy

      n'éma parlívi čúšk'i

           There aren't any hot peppers [here].

patlázi (pl.)   popcorn

      patlázi práv'at

           They're making popcorn.

patláci (pl.)   popcorn

nabúč'en šimšír, patláci upúkani
                            [You] put a box-tree bough and popped popcorn [there].

patúri (pl.t.)   a type of men's trousers
        patúri mu víkaxa
                They used to call them "paturi".

páša (f.)   pasture
        namírat si páša
                [The cattle] find themselves places to graze.

pǽlnu (adv.)   full
         pópa čité – naród pǽlnu
                The priest reads [the service], and [the church is] full of
                people.

pǽpeš (m.)   cantaloupe
        i pǽpeši íma
                And there are cantaloupes.

pǽpka (f.)   pimple

pǽrvi (adj.)   first
        pǽrvija sa udávi
                The first one drowned.

pǽrgav (adj.)   quick, agile
        na n'ákoe pǽrgavo
                [Give it] to someone [who is] quick.

pǽrt (m.)   twig, pole
        ž'el'éz'en pǽrt mu dúmaxme
                We used to call it an iron "pert".

pǽrč (m.)   he-goat (uncastrated)
        pǽrčove – tó je mǽškotu
                These rams – they are [real] males.

pǽt' (m.)   road, way

níj sn'a na pǽt'a v'éki
                We're already on the road.

pǽt'en (adj.)   relating to traveling
        ískaš'e da mu pláštam'e pǽtnite
                He wanted us to pay his travel expenses.

pekǽ (impf.)   bake, cook
        pekǽt krawájt'e
                They bake round buns.

péndžer (m.)   window
        aj tónink'i péndžerk'i
                Ah, little windows about this size..

peršulí (impf.)   drizzle, precipitate in small amounts
        peršulí sn'ák tǽj
                There's a light snowfall.

pétk'e (f.)   St. Petka's day (14 October)
        p'étk'e d'ét mu víkam'e
                [on] "Petka", as we call it

p'etnájs (number)   fifteen
        p'etnájs gudíni rabót'ax
                I worked for fifteen years.

píl'na (f.pl.)   diapers
        krǽsnicata nósi píl'ni
                The godmother brings the diapers.

pip'ér' (m.)   pepper
        pip'ér'a f kácata ftásal
                The peppers in the jug are already fermented.

pírgav (adj.)   quick, nimble
        kózit'e inǽ pírgava gi kára
                One nimble goat drives the [other] goats forward.

pírgi (pl.)   braids, long hair
   pírgit'e i do túkancak vis'ǽt
     [Her] braids hang down to here.

piró (n.)   feather
   túr'at túka inó piró
     They put a feather [down] here.

pitnájs (number)   fifteen
   na pitnájs d'éna b'éše
     It was [only] fifteen days old.

pišmén' (adj.)   sorry, regretful
   stánaxa mnógo pišmén'
     They regretted [it] very much.

pišták (m.)   outdoor oven
   slágat f pištáka
     They put it in the outdoor oven.

pišt'íčka (f.)   smaller outdoor oven
   kato tǽs pišťíčka gol'ámo
     as big as this outdoor oven

pl'áva (f.)   grass, chaff
   f inǽ štájga túr'a pl'ávata
     The put the chaff in a wooden crate.

pl'évnik (m.)   barn
   izguríxa ni pl'éwn'ika
     They burned down our barn.

póvn'a (impf.)   remember
   ás kámaka póvn'a
     I remember this stone.

pov'ǽ (impf.)   water [animals]
   trǽgnala da gu poví
     They said she set off to water [the animal].

póv'eč'i (adv.)   more
     z'émaj póv'eč'i
          Take some more!

podárok (m.)   gift
     podárok i nós'at kǽrpa
          [As part of the wedding ritual] they bring her a towel as a
          gift.

podíre (prep.)   after
     dobítaka b'ága podíre mu
          Some animal is running after him.

pódmoži (pl.t.)   pedals (of a loom)

podxǽrgam (impf.)   throw up in the air
     podxǽrgaš i to v'átara odn'es'é pl'ávata
          You throw [the grain] up and the wind carries away the
          chaff.

požǽna (perf.)   reap, harvest
     tíe požǽnaxa
          They did some harvesting.

pokán'a (perf.)   invite
     am xóra pokán'axm'e i utídaxm'e
          Well, we invited [some] people and went out [with them].

po kólko (adv.)   how long ago
     po kólko god'íni si ídval
          How many years ago was it that you came [here]?

poléka (adv.)   slowly, quietly
     poléka i príkazva da n'i čújat xórata
          She tells her quietly so that [other] people can't hear.

pol'wína (adv.)   half
     pol'wínata ni si dójdaxa

Half of us came back.

pó-napr'éd' (adv.)   earlier, before
       tó xúbavu b'éši pó-napr'éd'
             [Times] were better before.

poprecǽfna (perf.)   finish blooming
       s'á poprecǽfnaxa málku
             Now [the flowers] have nearly finished blooming.

por'áža sa (perf.)   cut oneself
       da n'se pur'éžeš kat ž'én'eš
             so that you don't cut yourself when you are reaping.

póstilka (f.)   bed, bedding
       i póstilkata, i tǽj
             and the bedding and such

póst'en (adj.)   without fat, fasting
       svar'át pósno, bób jadǽš
             They are cooking fatless meals [for the ritual fast], and they
             are eating beans.

pót (m.)   open area for stacking clothes
       níj pót gu zuw'ém
             We call it the "pot".

potopǽ (perf.)   dip
       síčkit'e s'édnat, potopǽt si ot n'égo
             Everyone sits down and dips into it (the common dish of
             food).

potsúča (perf.)   to begin to give milk to (a child or animal)
       izl'ézi da ja potsúči
             She went out to give it some milk.

pramatárin (m.)   shopkeeper
       kójto prodáva mu dúmaxm'e pramatárin
             We used to call the one who sells things "pramatarin".

pram'áswam (impf.)   move
       pr'am'ásvam'e sas víli
              We move it [elsewhere] with pitchforks.

práse (n.)   pig
       gát še kól'a prás'etu
              When he slaughters the pig

práxan' (m.)   tinder
       i práxan' íma
              There's tinder too.

prǽwnuka (f.)   great-grandchild
       ímam trí prǽwnučki
              I have three great-grandchildren.

prǽsna sa (perf.)   disperse
       kakó stána – prǽsna sa
              As it happened, everyone dispersed.

prǽst'en (adj.)   earthen, made of clay
       tó túgas prǽsteni paníci
              In those times bowls were earthen.

prǽčka (f.)   stick
       sas dv'é prǽčki gu slágat
              You [use] two sticks to put it [in there].

prevartǽ (perf.)   go crazy
       tój ja napúsna i t'á prevart'á
              He left her and she went crazy.

pregarbút'en (adv.)   bent over, hunched
       dǽrt čil'ák, pregarbút'en
              An old man, all bent over.

predúmvam (impf.)   convince
        predúmvat ja, t'á ni ráči

> They are trying to convince her [but] she didn't agree.

prepav'éčka (f.)   sister-in-law (bride's younger sister)
> prepav'éčkit'e prinós'at, slágat
>> The young sisters-in-law bring [things] and put [them]
>> down.

prepúskam (impf.)   allow
> n'égo n'éma da gu pr'epúskaš
>> You're not going to allow him [to do it].

presn'ák   milk
> b'ágat na presn'áka
>> They run [to get] the milk.

precǽfna (perf.)   finish blooming
> tó róza – ama precǽfna
>> This is a rose, but it's done blooming.

privizló (n.)   cord with which one carries a food container
> mánžata – faf garn'éta sas privizlá
>> The food is in clay pots with cord handles.

prijétel (m.)   friend
> ás ímam tám prijét'eli
>> I have friends there.

príkazka (f.)   speech, dialect
> príkaskata – sǽštata, nosíeta – sǽštata
>> [Our] speech is the same [as theirs] and [our] costumes are
>> the same.

priníkna (perf.)   sprout
> stánalu j m'és'ec, enó né e priníknalu
>> It's been a month and not a single [shoot] has sprouted.

pripádnalu   fallen, descended
> pripádnalu maglǽ
>> A [thick] fog has descended.

pripičǽ (perf.)   fry
       kat pripičǽ, maslótu izláz’a gór’e
              When it fries up, the fat comes up to the top.

provód’a (perf.)   send
       ša gi provód’a da pítat
              I’ll send them [to a place where] they can ask.

prodal’žávam (impf.)   continue
       túj prodal’žavam’e d’é
              Here we’re carrying on, [you see].

prodám (perf.)   sell
       še vi prodám, stíga da íštet’e
              I’ll sell it to you, you just have to ask [for it].

próčka (f.)   gate in a fence
       túka próčkata, n’éma da fl’áza
              There’s a gate here, but you can’t [use it to] get in.

pr’abrǽštam (impf.)   turn over
       tíj gu pr’abrǽštat i pekǽt
              They turn it over and cook [it on the other side].

pr’ágreda (f.)   barrier, screen
        pr’ágreda - zagrad’énu
              a barrier screen built up [there]

pr’áz (prep.)   through
       wóz’exa snópi pr’áz nívite
              They took the sheaves through the fields.

pr’akrǽštam (impf.)   rename
       kák gi pr’akrǽstixa karamandžǽ
              as they renamed them the Karamanlii

pr’áspiuam (impf.)   spend the night
       da n’ pr’aspíuat, če gi izbíuat

> They should not spend the night [there], they'll get killed.

pr'ásuk (m.)   bar on which cloth is rolled (during weaving)
>   presúkvam s pr'ásuka
> >   I roll it onto the bar.

pr'evárgam sa (impf.)   compete
>   b'ágat, pr'evárgat sa
> >   They race with each other.

pr'éd'eno (adj.)   spun
>   síčku b'éše pr'éd'enu
> >   All the spinning was done (= everything was all spun).

pr'éžba (f.)   yarn
>   i túkana ímaš pr'éžbata
> >   And there you have he yarn.

pr'em'enúvam (impf.)   go by, pass through
>   xórata pr'em'enúvat
> >   The people pass through [there].

pr'ésen (adj.)   fresh
>   sigá ja pr'és'en
> >   Now it's fresh.

pr'eskónd'a (perf.)   jump over
>   pústata da ta pr'eskóndi
> >   Let the damned thing jump over you.

pr'estapúlka (f.)   ritual bread for child who has taken first steps
>   pr'estapúlka mu víkat
> >   They call it "prestapulka".

pr'etáčam   (impf.)   pour from one container to another
>   s'éd'em d'éna gu pr'etáčam z'él'etu
> >   We change the liquid of the sauerkraut over seven days.

púl'anik (m.)   headscarf

púl’anik mu dúmat
We call it a "pulanik".

pul’ánka (f.)   open field, meadow
na pul’ánkit’e zberǽt sa
They gather out there on the meadows.

púl’na (adv.)   half
xórata púl’nata nalí ustánaxa
Isn't it the case that half of the people stayed?

pund’ál’nik (m.)   Monday
s’éd’em d’én s’édmica – pund’ál’nik, tórnik...
There are seven days in a week – Monday, Tuesday ..

p’ája (impf.)   sing
zǽlvite p’ájat
The sisters-in-law are singing [wedding songs].

p’ásen (f.)   song
xúbawi p’ásni p’ájat
They're singing beautiful songs.

p’edesé (number)   fifty
d’áset li sa p’edesé l’sa
[I don't know if there are] ten, or fifty [of them].

p’ep’el’éška (f.)   viper
mlógu p’ep’el’éšk’i íma
There are a lot of vipers [here].

p’ep’el’éšč’ence (n.)   small viper
sé p’ep’el’éšč’enca máninki
With all these little vipers ..

p’étroud’en’   (m.)   St. Peter's day (12 July old style, 29 July new
                             style)
p’étroud’en’ ja ubičájt’e
You know, the customs connected with St. Peter's day.

razbíja (perf.)   spoil, harm, break
        še gu razbíet'e kat vi kázwam
                You'll break it if I tell you.

razvličǽ sa (perf.)   stick
        kuét brášnu ne je xúbau, tǽj sa razvličé is nóštuwata
                The flour that isn't good sticks to the mixing trough.

rakíja (f.)   rakia, brandy
        víno i rakíja píxm'e
                We used to drink wine and brandy.

rálica (f.)   the Big Dipper (constellation)
        íma iná pak rálica
                There's one, now, "Ralica".

rápta (f.)   work
        kuít némat rápta
                the ones that don't have [any] work

raskǽsam (perf.)   tear apart, rip
        tíj n'éma gu raskǽsat'e s'egá
                They won't tear it apart now.

raskútkam sa (perf.)   to begin to crow (of a rooster)
        idín pǽt' misírkata sa raskútka
                One time the turkey started to crow.

rasprávam (impf.)   tell, narrate
        dvanájsi glávi l', kólku raspráv'axa
                Was it twelve heads [of cabbage], how many did they say?

rass'él'a sa (perf.)   migrate away
        rass'éli sa s'élotu
                They all left the village.

[ni] ráča (perf.)   agree

pr'edúmvat ja, t'á ni ráči
>> They are trying to convince her [but] she didn't agree.

rač'eník (m.)   headscarf
pl'etǽt, rač'eníci práwet
>> They are knitting, they are making headscarves.

rǽž (f.)   rye
sigá sa na s'ae rǽž
>> Now they don't sow rye.

rǽž'en' (adj.)   of rye
ból'ni xóra – rǽž'en' l'áp jad'éli
>> They say that sick people used to eat rye bread.

rǽka (f.)   hand, arm
z'émn'e gu na dv'ét'e si rǽce
>> He takes it with both hands.

rekǽ (perf.)   say
cár'a rekǽl
>> The czar said …

ríbica (f.)   filet of pork
ríbicata, nasolíš je
>> [You take] the filet, and salt it.

rivǽ (impf.)   howl, cry
t'á inǽ samá i s'e riv'é
>> She's all alone and is always crying.

rimarké (n.)   trailer
id́ina sín íma rimarké
>> One [of my] sons has a trailer.

róza (f.)   rose
tó róza, ama precǽfna
>> This is a rose, but it's done blooming.

rosí (impf.)   drizzle
>   rosí takós, isǽxna síčkotu
>>   [All it does is] drizzle like this, and everything has dried up.

runnína   relatives
>   priznávat sa za runnína
>>   They consider themselves related to each other.

r'ádko (adv.)   rarely
>   r'átko ímaši da n' sa gud'ávat
>>   It used to be rare that [a couple] wouldn't have a formal
>>   engagement.

r'áka (f.)   river
>   še ídiš na r'ekǽta
>>   You'll go [down] to the river.

r'edówno (adv.)   regularly
>   ama ni duxód'a r'edówno
>>   But he doesn't come regularly.

r'éman'i (m. pl.)   straps
>   ami sas r'éman'i
>>   but with straps

sabáxka (f.)   morning star
>   sabáxkata j ogr'ála
>>   The morning star has risen.

sabirǽ (perf.)   gather, collect
>   sabiréš vǽlnata n'éska
>>   You'll collect the wool today.

sabláčam (impf.)   undress
>   še gu sabláčat góličku
>>   They will undress him completely.

savs'ám (adv.)   completely

savs'ám drúgo stána
     It became [something] completely different.

sazdardísam (perf.)   make "sazdarma" (a kind of sausage)
     dv'é č'énžerki móže da sazdardíšaš
          [With] two pans you can make sazdarma.

sajván (m.)   shelter
     íma, túka, pot sajvána
          It's here, under the shelter.

sál (adv.)   only
     i sál inó na májka, na baštá
          She is the only child of her mother and father.

sandǽk (m.)   storage chest
     ímame si sandǽk
          We have a chest [of our own].

sánkim (part)   isn't it, don't they, etc. [tag question]
     ama sánkim, kázvat, ni val'álu natátak
          But they say it's not raining over there, don't they?

santím (m.)   centimeter
     dvájsi santíma l'
          Was it twenty centimeters?

sapún (m.)   soap
     tvá e sapún
          This is soap.

saxán (m.)   copper bowl
     še j dad'é n'ákoj saxán
          She'll give her some copper bowl [or another].

sǽbuta (f.)   Saturday
     p'étak, sǽbuta
          Friday, Saturday

sæm   be (copula)
       ás n'e sǽm píla
              I haven't drunk [anything].

sǽmnalo (adv.)   at dawn
       na sǽmnalu čák si xuód'at
              They leave even at dawn.

sǽrp (m.)   sickle
       sǽrp ni si li víždal
              Haven't you [ever] seen a sickle?

sǽšto (adj.)   the same
        nosíeta – sǽštata
              [Our] costumes are the same [as theirs].

sváko (m.)   uncle
       svákofc'it'e dójdaxa
              The uncles came.

svár'a (perf.)   find, come across, catch
       t'ájko ja swári
              [Her] father caught her.

swékar (m.)   father-in-law (of bride)
       mója swékar – pópof sín
              My father-in-law is the priest's son.

swekǽrva (f.)   mother-in-law (of bride)
       swekǽrvata postéli túj
              [My] mother-in-law spread it out here.

svíd'i mi sa   regret
       útre i da umrá, n'éma da m'sa svíd'i
              Even if I die tomorrow, I won't regret it.

svídno (adv.)   have strong feelings for, miss, care for
       ni mú li j svídnu za d'ecáta
              Don't the children mean anything to him?

swín'e (f.pl.)   pigs

        kójto móži, xráni swín'e

                Whoever can, feeds the pigs.

sv'áš (f.)   candle

        pu enǽ sv'áš f recǽt'e im

                Each [has] a candle in his hands.

sv'aštíčka (f.)   small candle

         nuós'at si sv'aštíčki

                They [all] carry small candles.

sé (adv.)   constantly

        t'á inǽ samá i sé rív'e

                She's all alone and is always crying.

sée (pron.)   these

        klóčkata se oklóči sée dní

                The hen has been cackling these days.

sekǽ (impf.)   cut

        sekǽ bés míla i dávam

                I cut [it down] without pity, and give [it away].

sigá (adv.)   now

         ama sigá izm'en'í sa naróda

                But now the people have changed.

sidimnájsi (number)   seventeen

         momíč'tu – am sidimnájsi gudíni

                a girl of, well, seventeen years.

sidmíca (f.)   week

        sidmíca – s'éd'em d'én'a

                A week [has] seven days.

síl'en (adj.)   strong

        xóra, ama síl'ni

[Those are] people, but strong ones!

sindžír' (m.)   chain
      sindžír'e bíl zakopčán na rakǽta
            He was in handcuffs [= his hands were chained].

sinivríja   second day of the new year
     sl'ét súrvaki – slédnija d'én sinivríja
            After the "survaki" New Year's custom, the next day is
            "sinivria".

siníja (f.)   small round table
     slóžat gu na siníjata
            They [will] put it out on the table.

sínca (pron.)   all, everyone
     nakúpi ni carúli na sínca
            She bought shoes for everyone.

sírišt'e (n.)   rennet
      ímalu xúbawu sírišt'e, ma gu xǽrlila
            There was good rennet [there], but she threw it out.

sirnǽ (f.)   side
     ut tás sirnǽ íma idín kámak
            On this side there's a stone.

skapotíja (f.)   hard times when everything is expensive
     sigá trúdno – skapotíja
            It's difficult now, everything is expensive.

skǽp (adj.)   expensive
     to síčku skǽpu
            Everything is expensive.

skopóswam (impf.)   preserve
     kat gu skopósaš, ímaš gu
            When you preserve it, [then] you have it.

skripcí (m.pl.)   pulley (part of a loom)

slanǽ (f.)   hoarfrost
     slanǽ kogát íma is dvóra – tǽj
          When you have hoarfrost out in the yard, [it's like] this.

slučáva sa (impf.)   happen, occur
     čás li sa slučáva
          Is this happening now, that soon?

slúčej (m.)   instance
     edín slučéj íma túka
          There's an instance of this here.

sl'áza (perf.)   come down, descend
     tǽs xóra ud nib'éto sl'ézli
          These people, as if they've come out of the blue!

smél'a (perf.)   grind
     kúp'at zǽrnu i gu smél'at
          They buy grain and grind it.

smotája (perf.)   wrap
     smotája gu i gu nakísna
          I wrap it up and put it to soak.

sm'átam (impf.)   reckon, consider
     tój sm'áta, talasǽm gu fíri
          He thinks that a demon is chasing him.

sm'ášen (adj.)   funny
     da ti káža – sm'ášna rápta
          Let me tell you this funny thing.

sm'éja sa (imp.)   laugh
     ma kólku sa sm'éxm'e
          Ah, but how much we used to laugh!

snóp (m.)   sheaf

s koláta snópe wózet
>They bring in sheaves on the carts.

sn'ág (m.)   snow
>rosí sn'ág – mál'ki tǽj bubúnki
>>Snow is drifting down, small drifts like this.

soválka (f.)   shuttle (on a loom)
>gu xǽrgaš sas soválkata
>>You throw the shuttle.

sól (f.)   salt
>sámo da z'éma sól
>>Let me just get [some] salt.

sofrá (f.)   table
>gráb'at ut sofráta
>>They grab it from the table.

spǽ (perf.)   sleep
>ni spǽt na n'ívata
>>They don't sleep [out] in the meadow.

sredǽ (f.)   middle
>razr'ázan f sredǽta
>>cut through the middle

srešt'é (prep.)   preceding
>i srešt'é pun'd'él'nik v'éči
>>the day before Monday already

sríwam sa (impf.)   fall apart
>gát sa sríwa ráptata, sríwa sa
>>When everything falls to pieces, it falls to pieces.

srína (perf.)   destroy
>loz'áta srínaxa
>>They destroyed the vineyard.

stagíca (f.)   rainbow

    inó šár'eno kat s'e pojaví – stagíca slét dǽš

        There's this colored [thing] that appears, a rainbow after rain.

stán (m.)   loom

    ímaxm'i stán, za da tač'éš

        We used to have a loom, to weave with.

stǽlp (m.)   pillar

    tós stǽlp túka

        this pillar here

stíga (part.)   it's sufficient

    ša vi prodám, stíga da íšt'et'e

        I'll sell it to you, you just have to ask [for it].

stovǽ (impf.)   stand, be on duty

    s'étn'e tój stov'á straž'ér'

        Later he served as a guard.

strǽwen (adj.)   steep

    tí palzís – tó strǽwno

        You [have to] crawl, it's steep [here].

streléc (m.)   grass snake

    na smóka mu víkam'e streléc

        We call [this kind of snake] a "strelec".

stríko (m.)   uncle (father's brother)

    stríko j, téjko j otídaxa

        Her uncle and her father left.

stuárgam (impf.)   unload

    u pópuv'e gu stuárgat

        Even the priests [work to] unload it.

suádba (f.)   wedding

    suádba prájexa

They were putting on a wedding.

subód'en (adj.)   free
        d'ecáta da sa subódni
                so that the children can be free.

suglásen (adj.)   in agreement
         ni b'áxa suglásni za túj
                They didn't agree with this.

sumúxč'enc'e (n.)   a small loaf of bread
        kakwí sa t'ás sumúnč'enca
                What sort of little loaves are these?

súrvak'i   those who perform the New Year's day ritual
        na súrvak'i inó vr'ém'e kravájčita sa práv'eše
                In olden times they would make round buns for the
                "survakari".

sutrinǽta (adv.)   in the morning
         sutrinǽta xód'ax na xúrna
                In the morning I would go to the bakery.

suxrǽ (f.)   low table
        slóžat gu na suxrǽta
                They put it on the table.

s'ája (impf.)   sow
        ás n'émam n'e kój da s'áj
                I don't have anyone to do the sowing.

s'ákoj (pron.)   each, every
        s'ákoj si znáj ráptata
                Everyone knows his own job, minds his business.

s'áno (n.)   hay
        s'áno kos'éxme
                We were mowing the hay.

s’éd’em (number)   seven
        s’éd’em kolí xód’axm’e
                [There were] seven cars [in which] we were riding.

s’ept’émbri   September
        s’ept’émbri, októmbri s’éjat
                They sow in September and October.

s’ét’en   next, following
        dígat si gu, na s’étnija d’én’ pák
                They lift it, and [then] on the next day [they lift it] again.

s’étn’e (adv.)   after, later
        s’étn’e búlkata i dadé n’ákoj l’éf
                Next, the bride gives her a lev.

tad’ášen (adj.)   from here, native to the area
         tí ku si tad’ášen
                and you, if you’re from here

táj (adv.)   thus
        táj gu zapóun’ix
                I remembered it like this.

takǽf (adj.)   such, like this
        vǽlko – takǽf vojvóda
                Velko, such a leader!

talárč’e (n.)   small plate

talasǽm (m.)   demon, apparition
        talasǽm gu fïri
                The demon is chasing him.

tamán (adv.)   just, exactly
        tamán da vi prudám inó jér’enc’e
                just [as I was about] to sell you this kid

tant'éla (f.)   lace
        tant'éli pl'etǽxme
                We used to crochet lace.

taraléšek (m.)   hedgehog
        utída – tám idín taraléšek
                It went off, a hedgehog over there.

tarikáški (adj.)   modern
         to pu tarikáški mašá mu dúmat
                In modern terms, you call it tongs.

tarkulǽ (perf.)   roll
        dójdat, tarkulǽt gi, svin'é pu dv'ést'e kilá
                They [will] come, they [will] roll them over, pigs of 200
                kilos.

tarsínenik (m.)   sieve
        tarsínenik mu víkame
                We call it a "tarsinenik".

téžko (adv.)   slowly
        tǽs pó-téžko gu pičé, onǽs bǽrzo gu pičé
                This [oven] bakes more slowly and that [one] bakes quickly.

ték'ejs'e (n.)   collective farm (T.K.Z.S.)
        na rábuta xód'ax na t'ék'ejs'étu
                We would go to work at the collective farm.

tǽj (adv.)   thus, in this manner
        tój im túrga tǽj inǽ kǽrpička
                He puts a small towel on it in this way.

tǽpauwica (f.)   full-mill
        ša gu dáwam da sa t'épa na tǽpauwicata
                I'll give it to be fulled at the full-mill.

tǽrs'a (impf.)   look for
        xód'i da gu tǽrsi

He's going to look for him.

tǽrt'a (perf.)   start off
    tój tǽrti da b'ága
        He set off at a run.

tǽs (pron.)   this
    tǽs mu e káštata
        This is his house.

tigánči (n.)   a small frying pan
    tigánči mu dúmam'e
        We call it a "tigánče".

tíe (pron.)   they
    dádax da idǽt, ama tíe gu iz'éli
        I gave them [something] to eat, but they ate it all up.

tíkv'enik (m.)   fool
    štó varíš tós tíkv'enik da gu čákaš, be
        Why do you go [there] to wait for this fool, man?

tislá (f.)   claw-hammer
    kój brádva, kój tislá
        One [will use] an ax, and another [will use] a claw-hammer.

tós (pron.)   this
    tós krák mrǽdneš, tós krák
        [First] you move this foot, [and then] this foot.

tólkos (adv.)   so much
    stánalo tólkos práx
        There got to be this much dust.

tóničkus (adv.)   very little
    s'ed'emd'esé l'éva dávam za tóničkus
        I pay seventy leva and all I get is this.

torbǽ (f.)   bag, sack

tós mi don'ése inǽ torbǽ
This one brought me a sack [of…]

tórnik (m.)   Tuesday
pun'd'ál'nik, tórnik
Monday, Tuesday

trǽvn'i (f.pl.)   beehive
tó trǽvn'it'e inǽ pléten' dét b'áxa
[There are] some woven beehives of the sort that used to be.

trǽgna (perf.)   leave, set out
t'á trǽgnala, obáč'e n'e s'é sr'éšnaxa
She left, but they didn't meet.

trǽškam (impf.)   bring down, fell
čúma l' gu trǽška č'érnata
The black plague brought them down.

trendáfil (m.)   rose
slágat gu na trendáfila
They put it [a piece of thread] on the rose.

trivǽ (f.)   grass, herb
i ot tǽs trivǽ
also from this herb

trísta (number)   three hundred
dvéste - trísta d'áca b'áxa
There were two or three hundred children [there].

tróskot' (m.)   couchgrass
kopáli tróskot'
They dug up the couchgrass.

tugás (adv.)   then, at that time
ás b'áf náj-málak tugás
I was the smallest one [back] then.

tugášen (adj.)   of that time
      trísta l'éva b'éše iní kundúri tugášno vr'ém'e
          300 leva could buy you a pair of shoes at that time.

túka (adv.)   here
      túka pó n'éma krážbi
          There is less robbery here [than there used to be].

túkancák (adv.)   around here
      túkancak ie záncata
          Here is the pantry.

túrgam (impf.)   put
      i tój túrga sas inǽ lažíčka
          And he puts a spoonful [in each of their mouths].

túr'a (perf.)   put
      n'éma da túr'a kráj
          I won't put an end [to it].

t'ájko (m.)   father, dad
      t'ájko utíd'e x ujnáta
          Dad went off to war.

t'ápovica (f.)   fulling-mill
      na t'ápovica g' uvál'axa
          We fulled the cloth at the fulling mill.

t'ás (pron.)   this
      t'ás sámo kášta ustáva
          This is the only house remaining.

t'ás (pron.)   these
      am t'ás xóra oddé sa
          And where are these people from?

t'ásto (n.)   dough
      xód' na xúrnata za t'ásto
          I go to the baker's for dough.

t'erlík (m.)   slippers
        inó vr'ém'e t'erlíc'i nós'exm'e
                In the old days we used to wear slippers.

ub'ála (perf.)   peel
        ub'álixa mi učít'e
                They peeled my eyes [sic].

ubǽrna (perf.)   turn
        i ti ubǽrni ukótu
                He turned [his] eye to you too.

uv'ána (perf.)   fade, wilt
         síčku uv'ána
                Everything's faded.

ugád'a (perf.)   sense, feel
        usp'á ti, č'e ugád'i
                You succeeded because you guessed right [= you sensed it].

ugradílo (n.)   wheel; circle
        nas'ádat na zimǽta pidisé lázark'i – ugradílo
                Fifty "lazarki" sit on the ground in a circle.

údar (m).   stroke
         rabót'ex i polúčix údar
                I was working and I got a stroke.

udart'ávam (imp.)   age, get old
        tí udart'ála si w'ék'e
                You're old already.

udǽ (f.)   water
        s udǽ še gu ukwási
                You'll dampen it with water.

udǽnca (f.)   mill

xód'i da gu m'éli na udǽncata
>> She goes to grind it at the mill.

uddét (adv.) from where
> ud gór'e si dójdaxa, tíj uddét ískat uttám
>> They came [down] from on top, they come from wherever
>> they want.

udžák (m.) hearth
> tám íma kamína uógan', a udžák
>> [Wherever] there's a fireplace and a fire, there [you have] a
>> hearth.

už'én'en married
> túka sam už'én'ena
>> I got married here [and now live here as a married woman].

uzdréja (perf.) ripen
> kat uzdr'éjat slívit'e
>> when the plums ripen

uzdr'ávam (impf.) ripen
> bóba – tój uzdr'á v'ék'e
>> The beans are ripening already.

ujnǽ (f.) war
> tugás bilá ujnǽta
>> There was a war on then.

ujník (m.) soldier
> tój utíd'e ujník
>> He went into the army.

ukwás'a (perf.) moisten, soak, dampen
> n'éka zavalí, da ukwási mamúlit'e
>> Let it rain, so the corn can get some moisture.

ulóu (n.) lead [metal]
> ulóu dúma sigá

He says [we need] lead now.

úl'a (f.)   leather pouch
     uderí kóžata, isuší ja i a nadíplaš i stáva úl'a
         You skin [the animal], dry the skin, fold it, and you've got a
         leather pouch.

úm (m.)   mind
     n'e mi uxád'a na umǽ
         I can't remember (= it doesn't come to my mind).

un'ás (pron.)   that
     xítrite xóra lǽžet un'ás
         Clever people lie to others.

uól (m.)   ox
     orǽt s uóluut'e
         They do the plowing with oxen.

uórex (m.)   walnut, walnut tree
     uórexa septémbri m'és'ec stáva
         Walnuts get ripe in September.

uós'em (number)   eight
     ama s'éd'em - uós'em d'éca
         [a small house], but with seven or eight children

uót' (conj.)   because
     uót' n'e píem
         Because we don't drink.

up'arát'en   operated
     dv'ét'e mi učí sa up'arát'eni
         I had an operation on both eyes (= both my eyes were
         operated on).

urǽ (impf.)   plow
     tráktorite z'éxa da urǽt
         The tractors started to plow.

úrki (pl.)   spells (sorcery)
    úrki mu dúmame
        We call them "urki".

ur'ét (adv.)   everywhere
    xód'at v'ék'e ur'ét
        They go everywhere nowadays.

ustá (f.)   mouth; part of a loom
    i pósle kat tač'éš m'átaš x ustáta i is'ákvaš s vátal't'e
        Later when you weave, you throw [the shuttle] in the "usta"
        and you pull forward sharply on the "vatali".

ustan'ávam (impf.)   stay, remain
    be ustan'ávajt'e, be ustan'éte
        Stay a bit, folks, stay!

usumd'esé (number)   eighty
    usumd'esé i p'ét l'éva záxar
        Sugar's eighty five leva [now].

ut (prep.)   from
    ut kábleškowo utták
        from Kableškovo [which is] over there.

utwór'a (perf.)   open
    kat ídat utwór'at buxčít'a
        When they go [to the cellar], they open the barrels.

utída (perf.)   go
    i utišlǽ x kašlǽta
        And they went into the pen.

utód'am (impf.)   go
    utód'a na gróba tám
        He's going to the grave there.

utsr'éšt'e (adv.)   across from

íma enǽ jáma utsr'éšt'e
>   There's a pit across [from here].

utták (adv.)   from over there; farther than
>   dal'éči i – utták sófija
>   It's far away, [even] farther than Sofia.

uxtómri   October
>   žíttu s'ájat x uxtómri
>   They sow the wheat in October.

uč'elá (pl.)   eyeglasses
>   dádaxa mi uč'elá
>   They gave me glasses.

fajdá (f.)   use, advantage
>   što sam nam'ér'la fajdá
>   what I found to be of use.

farčǽ (impf.)   fly
>   kad'á farč'í, kad'á xód'i
>   where it flies, where it goes

féršel (m.)   field physician, paramedic
>   tój féršel b'éš'e
>   A field physician is what he was.

fír'a (impf.)   chase
>   tój sm'áta, talasǽm gu fíri
>   He thinks that demons are chasing him.

fl'ávam (impf.)   go in, enter
>   tíe fl'ávat tám
>   They are going in there.

fpr'ágam (impf.)   harness
>   ás sa fpr'ágam da orǽ
>   I'm getting harnessed up to do the plowing.

fs'ǽki (pron.)   each, every
> fs'ǽki si rabót'i
>> Every one does his [own] work.

ftásal   ferment
> pipér'a f kácata ftásal v'éč'i
>> The peppers in the jug are already fermented.

x (prep.)   in, into; on, onto
> x sǽbuta xód'at
>> They go [there] on Saturday.

xab'ér' (m.)   news
> prátixm'a xab'ér' i tój dóde
>> We sent [him] the news and he came.

xajdútin (m.)   bandit, brigand
> xajdútite xóra lǽžat budalít'e
>> Bandits deceive foolish people.

xalvǽ (f.)   halvah
> jadǽt xalvǽ
>> They are eating halvah.

xalkǽ (f.)   [brass] ring
> s enǽ xalkǽ gu ispruvírat
>> They put it through a brass ring.

xambár' (m.)   barn
> túj xambár'– glédaj
>> Go look in the barn.

xamén' (adv.)   almost
> gudíni divindis'é v'ék'e xamén'
>> I'm almost ninety years old by now.

xarízwam (impf.)   give a present

da xarízwat mu víkam'e
  We call it to "xarizvam".

xartúna (f.)   snowstorm
  kat íma sn'ák xartúna tugás
    When there's a lot of snow, then there's a snowstorm.

xatlí (pl.)   quilts, bedcoverings
  ímam nóvi xatlí
    I have new quilts.

xáštam (impf.)   catch, grasp
  xáštat'e l'sa
    Do you get it?

xǽrgam (impf.)   throw
  túj š'e gu xǽrgam'e
    This one, we'll throw it out.

xǽrna (perf.)   throw
  ímalu, ma gu xǽrlila
    There used to be [one], but apparently she threw it out.

xǽtre (adv.)   inside
  misírka ímalu xǽtre
    [Someone said that] there's a turkey inside.

xéle (part.)   finally; nevertheless
  xéle naprájxa xoróto
    Finally they started the dance.

xeptén' (adv.)   completely
  xeptén' n'e stáva xúbawo
    It doesn't come out nice at all.

xés (m.)   fez
  mumč'état a nós'eli xésov'e kat túrc'it'e
    The boys were wearing fezes, like the Turks.

xeuruári   February
            d'ekémbri, jenuári, xeuruári
                        December, January, February

xítar (adj.)   crafty
        xítrite xóra lǽžet
                    The crafty [sorts of] people [will] cheat [you].

xíč (part.)   not at all
        xíč ni čit'é
                    He doesn't read anything at all.

xláz'am (impf.)   go in, enter
         i xláz'a x kǽšti
                    And she goes into the house.

xód'a (impf.)   go, walk
        ni zná d'é ša xód'i
                    He doesn't know where to go.

xór'emak (m.)   pub
        ídat po xór'emác'i
                    They go pub-crawling.

xrán'enič'e (n.)   adopted child
         inó xrán'enič'e si z'éxa
                    They took on another's child (= they adopted a child).

xristijénči (n.)   a newly christened child
        nós'a ti gu xristijénči
                    I'm bringing you the newly christened baby.

xrusála (f.)   the Wednesday following Pentecost
         po xrusála náj-mnógo kl'úki stávat
                    The most gossip happens on the Wednesday after Pentecost.

xtásam (perf.)   ferment, be ready
        katu xtása, ídim na kazána
                    When it's fermented, we go to the still.

xúrka (f.)   distaff
      póčniš sas xúrkata da príd'eš
            You start [the] spinning [process] with the distaff.

xúrna (f.)   [town] oven (or one's own individual oven)
      xód'i na xúrnata, z'émi xl'áp i tólkos
            She goes to the baker's, gets bread, and that's all.

carúl (m.)   [folk] sandals
      carúl'i še izwád'iš
            You'll take the sandals [out of storage].

cǽrkwa (f.)   church
      xód'exa na cǽrkwata
            They were going to church.

cíganin (m.)   Gypsy, Rom
      cígan't'e pómn'iš li
            Do you remember the gypsies?

cúkam (impf.)   suck
      da cúkam pománinku
            so I [can] suck little by little..

c'ál (adj.).   all, entire
      c'álto s'élu sa izmítalu i b'ágalu
            The whole village disappeared – ran away.

č'arwén (adj.)   red
      sas túka č'arwénu ubl'éč'enu
            dressed in red like this

čás (m.)   hour
      d'és'et česǽ stána
            It's gotten to be ten o'clock.

čatál'če (n.)   bifurcated stick; spit
        upič'ém na čatál'č'e
                We roast [it] on a spit.

čevrǽst (adj.)   quick, nimble
         na n'ákoe, koét čevrǽsto e
                [Give it] to some [child] who is nimble.

čekrǽk (m.)   spinning wheel
        túj čekrǽk gu víkam'e
                We call this a "čekrek".

čénžerka (f.)   [cooking] pot
        dv'é čénž'erki móže da sazdardísaš
                [By using] two pots you can strain [it].

čérga   (f.)   rug
         post'él'at im iná čérga na zimǽta
                They put a rug on the floor for them.

čérkwička (f.)   small church
         napráwili málka čérkwička
                They built a small church [there].

čérp'a (impf.)   treat, host
        zgud'éncata č'érp'i síčkit'e
                The engaged couple treats everyone.

čésan (m.)   garlic
         plítka č'ésan i lukǽ plítka práim
                We make garlic braids and also onion braids.

čésna (adj.)   virgin(al)
         búlkata n'é e čésna
                The bride wasn't a virgin.

čést'en (adj.)   honorable
         xórata b'éxm'e čésni óšt'e
                We were still honorable people.

četvǽrtak   Thursday

       sr'áda, četvǽrtak

             Wednesday, Thursday

četvǽrti (adj.)   fourth

       do četvǽrto oddelénie še íma

           [The school] probably goes up to the fourth grade.

čét'iri (number)   four

       na néja uveličíxa – čét'iri xíl'adi dávat

          They raised hers, [now] they're giving [her] four thousand.

čéše (f.)   glass, cup

       n'e vi dádax čéše za rakíjata

          I didn't give you a brandy glass.

či (conj.).   that, because

       tós mi don'és 'e inǽ torbǽ brášno, či mésix l'áp

          He brought me a sack of flour, because I was kneading the

          bread dough.

čil'ák (m.)   man, person

       dǽrt čil'ák pregarbút'en

          An old man, [all] hunched over.

čil'ík' (m.)   children's game

       na čil'ík' mu izvád'ixa okótu

          While playing "čilik", they put out his eye.

čiréša (f.)   cherry, cherry tree

       čiréšit'e uzdr'áxa

          The cherries are ripe.

čitvartít (adj.)   square

       čitvartítu taká

          square like that

číčko (m.)   "uncle", older person (to a child)

dáj rábutit'e na číčkofcit'e
> Give the things to the older guys.

čišm'é (f.)   well, spring
> ídat na čišm'éta i tám naléet odǽ
>> They go to the wells and fill their water jugs there.

čov'ék'a (m.pl.)   people, men
> fláz'at tríma čov'ék'a
>> Three men are coming in.

čubánin (m.)   shepherd
> tíj síčkit'e čubán'e
>> They are all shepherds.

čúzd (adj.)   foreign, alien
> níkakaf čúzd krák
>> [We don't allow] any sort of alien feet [to enter here].

čúka (f.)   crag, cliff
> góli čúki l'sa
>> Are they bare cliffs?

čúkan' (m.)   [corn]cob
> mamúlen čúkan' za zapúšvane íma
>> There's a corncob used as a cork.

čúkička (f.)   rock
> áj na unǽs čúkička sa sabíraxa
>> Look, this is the rock they used to meet [behind].

čúma (f.)   plague
> čúma l'gu trǽška čérnata
>> Is it the plague that lays him low?

čúrkam (impf.)   drip, leak, dribble
> čušmǽta čúrka
>> The spring dribbles [water].

čuflík (m.)   farm
    osrigǽt velnata, xód'at ja nós'at is čiflíc't'e
        They shear the wool, and they go to carry it to different
        farms.

čušmǽ (f.)   well, spring; source of water
    ot čusm'ǽta máj ni čákam'e
        We don't rely on the well (= we are independent).

ša (part.)   will (future particle)
    ša vi prodám, stíga daištéte
        I'll sell it to you, you just have to ask [for it].

šamšír (m.)   boxtree
    šamšír mu kázwam'e
        We call it a "šamšir".

šarúpka (f.)   shell (nut, egg, etc.)
    odvǽnka šarúpkata
        the shell on the outside

šǽrka (f.)   design
    šǽrki tám našǽr'at
        They are drawing designs over there.

še (part.)   will (future particle)
    še ma otarv'éte ut jednóto
        You'll relieve me from [taking care] of one [of them].

šenlík' (m.)   good mood
    am šenlík' da stáva
        Well, let's have a good time.

šés (number)   six
    ímaše šés dašt'éri
        He had six daughters.

šétam (impf.)   move around, do housework

dvá - trí d'én'a ša šétat túka is kǽšti

  For two or three days they'll bustle around the house here.

šíli (n.)   yearling (of sheep)

  šíli inó l'še j, dv'é li

    Was it one yearling or two?

šimšír (m.)   box-tree

  nabúčen bosílek, šimšír, patláci upúkani

    [You] put basil, a box-tree bough and popped popcorn

    [there].

šiník (m.)   measure equalling a quarter of a bushel

  pu idín šiník brášno

    One measure (= 1/4 bushel) of flour each

šišé (n.)   bottle

  iná šišé rakíja kupí

    He bought a bottle of brandy.

šódrev (adj.)   abnormal, insane

  inǽ š'ódreva gu z'é túkana

    Some crazy person bought it here.

šóždam (imp.)   resemble

  pák si šóždat

    Still, they look like each other.

šopár (m.)   hog

  na kólada šopár kól'exa

    They slaughtered a hog at Christmas.

[ni] štá (impf.)   not want

  ni štát gu

    They don't want it.

štájga (f.)   crate

  f inǽ štájga túr'a pl'áva

    The put the chaff in a wooden crate.

štaklá (pl.)   eyeglasses
      dáj mi štakláta da čitǽ v'ésnika
           Give me [my] glasses so I can read the newspaper.

štíp'a (impf.)   pinch
      ni sǽ ma štípali m'én'e
           They didn't pinch me.

šúpna (perf.)   rise
      ostáwim gu da šúpn'e
           I set it [the bread dough] to rise.

šúr'e (m.)   brother-in-law (wife's brother)
      zamína f šúr'etu
           He went to see his brother-in-law.

šušúlka (f.)   pod
      ceftí tǽj, ama šušúl'kit'e dólu pádat
           It blooms like this, but the pods fall [down].

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Notes
  [1] "Erkeč" [place name] + "li" [Turkish form meaning 'resident of'] + "-i" [plural suffix]. – Ed.
  [2] In Bulgarian dialectology, the term "Rupic" refers to the larger southeastern dialect area (including both the Rhodopes and Thrace). – Ed.
  [3] This dialect area corresponds to the classical region of Moesia, corresponding to present-day northeastern Bulgaria. – Ed.
  [4] This dialect group comprises 12 villages located between Šumen and Provadija in central northeastern Bulgaria. – Ed.
  [5] Although very few examples were heard in Erkeč, the significance is that they

were heard at all. Among these are: *Némam níkakvo ̀sjato* 'I haven't planted/sowed anything'; and *Víe segá pítate za tová ama go némate vídeno* 'You ask about that now, but you haven't seen it'. See Elliott 2004 (this volume).

[6] My primary sources were the Bulgarian Dialect Atlas and the archives of the Ideographical Dictionary of Bulgarian Dialects, in preparation.

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Imam ('Have') plus Past Passive Participle in the Bulgarian Erkeč Dialect[1]

Elisabeth M. Elliott

This paper examines linguistic characteristics of a construction comprised of *imam* ('have'), or its negated form *njamam*, plus a past passive participle (*minalo stradatelno pričastie*) as it is found in the Bulgarian Erkeč dialect.[2] The Erkeč dialect is spoken in the villages of Kozičino (Pomorie region) and Golica (Varna region) in eastern Bulgaria. Examples are taken from tape-recorded conversations with native speakers of the Erkeč dialect made during a dialect field expedition there in summer 1996.[3] Comparison of the Erkeč examples will be made with a similar construction found in other Bulgarian dialects. Brief discussion concerning the origin of the *imam* construction will also be presented. Finally, the Erkeč examples will be contrasted with the Macedonian *ima* present perfect, thereby illustrating that the Erkeč construction is not a present perfect.

The Erkeč dialect has been studied on several occasions (see Miletič 1903; G. Georgiev 1906/07; Stojkov 1956; and *Bălgarski dialekten atlas* I [1964] and II [1966]). Since the previous studies primarily focus on phonological and morphological features of the dialect, it is not surprising that no documentation of the *imam* plus past passive participle construction occurs.[4] Furthermore, none of the works dedicated to the *imam* construction in other Bulgarian dialects has documented its existence in this dialect (for example, Bojadžiev 1968 and 1991; V. Georgiev 1957; Mladenov 1993; Teodorov-Balan 1957; and Vasilev 1968). Examples of the *imam* construction from the Erkeč dialect are:

1a. **ném´m**   *ník´vu*   *s'átu* [Erkeč B][5]
     don't have-1sg.pr.   none-neut.   **planted**-ppp.neut.imp.
       I haven't planted any.

b. **ném´te**   *gu*   *vídenu*   *tuj*   *n'éštu*
                                                            [Erkeč B]
     don't have-2pl.pr.   it-neut.   **seen**-ppp.neut.per.   such   thing-neut.
       You haven't seen such a thing.

In these examples the verb *imam* is in present tense and agrees in person and number with the grammatical subject. The past passive participle is formed only from transitive verbs (the above examples *s'atu* 'planted' and *videnu* 'seen' are typical). The participle concords in gender or number with the grammatical direct object, which is explicit in all examples. Phonological reduction of unstressed /o/ is common in eastern Bulgarian dialects including the Erkeč dialect (Stojkov 1968:65 and 74). Thus, the expected neuter ending of the participle, viz. /-o/, is realized here as [-u]. There are no restrictions on the aspect of the participle, i.e. the participle may be formed from imperfective (1a) and perfective (1b) verbs. As we will see, the concordance between the past passive participles and the direct objects (i.e., the participles agree in gender and number with the explicit direct objects) is one of the defining features that illustrates that this construction is not a grammaticalized perfect, but rather a lexical, non-paradigmatic resultative construction. (1a) and (1b) above are examples of a lexical resultative construction. The English glosses with grammaticalized perfects (*haven't planted* and *haven't seen*, respectively), however, suggest that the Bulgarian examples are perfects. To more closely capture the meaning of the Bulgarian examples (1a) and (1b) above, the following non-grammatical English glosses are better: 'I don't have any planted' and 'You don't have such a seen thing.'

Though this construction is new to the description of the Erkeč dialect, it is not new to other Bulgarian dialects. The *imam* construction has been documented in the Bulgarian Thracian dialects (Bojadžiev 1991) and in the Bulgarian dialects spoken in Romania (Mladenov 1993). It is also found colloquially in urban Sofia speech (V. Georgiev 1957 and Teodorov-Balan 1957).[6]

In the other dialects and in colloquial Sofia speech the *imam* construction is comprised of the appropriate form of *imam*, which agrees with the subject for person and number, and an appropriate transitive past passive participle, which concords for gender or number with the direct object. In the majority of the collected examples *imam* is in the present tense. Past tense, viz. *imax* 'had' plus participle, however, is also possible, though infrequent (see examples in V. Georgiev 1957). Thus, examples (1a) and (1b) from the Erkeč dialect resemble the *imam* constructions found elsewhere in Bulgarian. Compare (1a-b) above with examples (2a-c):

2a. *Az* **imam** **napisani** *lekcii*...
(Georgiev 1957:36)
[Coll B]

   I   **have**-1sg.pr.   **written**-ppp.pl.per.   lectures-pl.
   I have written lectures... (= I have lectures that are written...)

b. *gi* **ímam** **práeni**
   them   **have**-1sg.pr.   **done**-ppp.pl.imp.

téjâ *rábuti* *lɘní* (Bojadžiev 1968:460) [Th. B]
those   works-pl.   last year
   I have that work finished last year.

c. *nɘ* *vrɘtátɘ* **ímɘm** **túrnɘtu**
   On   door-the   **have**-1sg.pr.   **placed**-ppp.neut.per.

uglidáltu (Mladenov 1993:219) [B in Rom.]
mirror-the-neut.
   I have the mirror placed on the door.

The *imam* plus participle construction is not considered to be native to Bulgarian. The origin of this construction varies according to the region where it is found. The *imam* construction in the Bulgarian dialects spoken in Romania is attributed to Romanian influence, since Romanian has a productive 'have' perfect (Mladenov 1993). The Thracian Bulgarian construction is attributed to contact with Greek, which also has a productive 'have' perfect (Bojadžiev 1991). Since the *imam* construction has not previously been examined in the Erkeč dialect, no hypothesis exists regarding its origin. It is known, however, that migrations of southern Bulgarian speakers on their way to the north of Bulgaria went through the Erkeč dialect speaking villages (see Miletič 1903 or Stojkov 1968:79). Therefore, a possibility is that the *imam* plus participle construction exists in the Erkeč dialect due to contact with southern, namely Thracian, Slavic speakers, who had this construction in their dialect.

The question of the semantic function of this *imam* plus participle construction as it is found outside the Erkeč dialect has generated some debate in the linguistic press. There are basically two schools of thought. The first claims that the *imam* construction is synonymous with the Bulgarian 'be' present perfect or *l*-form, and, thus, functions as a present perfect, i.e. a past

event whose result has present relevance (see V. Georgiev 1957; Bojadžiev 1968; and Asenova 1987). Furthermore, it is claimed that this construction is in transition to becoming a new verbal category (ibid.). The other school of thought argues that the *imam* construction is not a present perfect, and is not synonymous with the Bulgarian *l*-form present perfect, though it may have resultative meaning (see Teodorov-Balan 1957; Kostov 1972; and Mirčev 1973).[7] It is also argued that these forms do not constitute a new verbal category or even the beginnings of one (ibid.). The obvious question that remains is: is the *imam* construction a new present perfect or not? Based on the Bulgarian examples already presented, one can see that the *imam* construction does resemble the possessive perfect as found in other languages. Both the Bulgarian construction here and grammaticalized possessive perfects in other languages are comprised of 'have' and a perfect participle generally homophonous with the past passive participle, or at least diachronically related to the past passive participle. Important differences, however, do exist. Comparison of formal features of the *imam* construction with those of a 'have' present perfect in another language will help answer this question. Such a comparison will illustrate that important formal distinctions exist between the Erkeč *imam* plus participle construction and the grammaticalized *ima* present perfect as found in Macedonian.

In languages that have some degree of nominal and adjectival inflection and grammaticalized possessive perfects (e.g., Macedonian, German, Dutch, French, Spanish), the perfect is typically comprised of the auxiliary 'have' plus an invariant participle.[8] The participle of a 'have' perfect never agrees with the direct object. Often the invariant perfect participle has been grammaticalized from a (past) passive participle. Such is the case in Macedonian, which has a grammaticalized 'have' present perfect.[9] Here the perfect participle is invariant and descended from the past passive participle (-*n*(-)/-*t*(-) participle). Examples are presented in (3a-c).

3a.	**Ima**	**Peeno**	vo	xorot
	has-3sg.pr.	**sung**-inv.imp.	in	choir-the

"Zlatno slavejče"		vo	treto	i	četvrto
"Little Golden Nightingale"	in	third		and	fourth

oddelenie ("Magija: ne im treba magija." *Ekran* [*Nova Makedonija*], 15.X.1998:12-13). [M]
Grade

[Jovan Jovanov] has sung in the choir "Little Golden Nightingale" in the third and fourth grades.

b. Lizi,   dojdi   vamu.
   Liz   come   here

Gostite   **imaat**   **dojdeno** (Skopje; Conversation with native
                                        Macedonian speaker).[10] [M]
guests-the   **have**-3pl.pr.   **arrived**-inv.per.
   Liz, come here. The guests have arrived.

c. Vinoto   go   **ima**   **fateno**. [M]
   wine-the   him   **has**-3sg.pr.   **gotten**-inv.per.
   The wine has gotten him (Friedman 1977:84).

As can be determined from examples (3a-c), the Macedonian 'have' present perfect is comprised of the appropriate present tense form of *ima*, which agrees with the subject in person and number, plus an invariant perfect participle, which is homophonous with the neuter singular passive participle (cf. Dete ima *dojdeno* 'A child has arrived' with *Dojdeno*-to dete e tuka '?The arrived child is here').[11] The perfect participle can be formed from transitive (3a and c) and intransitive (3b) verbs. In the standard language the *ima* perfect can be formed from any verb except *sum* 'be' and *ima* 'have' and marginally from *saka* 'want, like', though 'have' perfects with these verbs occur in the southwestern Macedonian dialects, e.g., Ohrid and Bitola dialects. The invariant perfect participle may be formed from both imperfective (3a) and perfective (3b and c) verbs; it may also be formed from anaspectual verbs.[12] The *ima* perfect with a transitive verb may occur with direct objects (3c) or without (3a).

Comparison of the Macedonian *ima* present perfect, examples (3a-c), with the Bulgarian Erkeč *imam* construction, examples (1a-b), shows that from a formal perspective some similarities and several key differences exist between these two constructions. The differences illustrate that the Erkeč *imam* construction is not a present perfect. The feature crucial to revealing that the Erkeč construction is not a 'have' present perfect is that *imam* and the participle are not a complex verb phrase. The Macedonian *ima* present perfect is a complex verb phrase. In the Erkeč *imam* construction the participle is adjectival, modifying the direct object, and is part of the complex direct object noun phrase. Since in the Macedonian present perfect, however, the participle

is invariant, it cannot be adjectival in this construction. Thus, it is a member of the complex verb phrase together with the auxiliary *ima*. In the Erkeč examples the participle inflects to agree with the direct object for gender (or number), as is standard for adjectives.[13] *Imam* is the only verb in these examples and, therefore, it is the only verbal element in the verb phrase.

Significant differences also concern transitivity and the presence or absence of direct objects. Unlike the Macedonian perfect participle, which can be formed from most any verb (except for the three mentioned above) regardless of transitivity, the participle in the Erkeč dialect appears to be restricted to only transitive verbs.[14] In Macedonian possessive perfects the direct object may or may not be present; but in the Erkeč dialect it appears that the direct object is always present in the *imam* construction. This last point is also true of the *imam* construction in the rest of the Bulgarian dialects and colloquial Sofia speech where it is found to occur. That is, not a single example was found without a direct object in the data collected by V. Georgiev (1957), Teodorov-Balan (1957), Bojadžiev (1968 and 1991), and Mladenov (1993). This further supports the position that the participle in these examples functions as an adjective and, therefore, is part of the direct object noun phrase and is not a member of the verb phrase.

As for the similarities, in both the Erkeč construction and the Macedonian perfect 'have' is in the present tense and inflects to agree with the subject. In the Macedonian present perfect *ima* agrees with the subject because it is the auxiliary, which is the inflecting part of the complex verb phrase, and, thus, subject-verb agreement is necessary. In the Erkeč *imam* construction *imam* also inflects for agreement with the subject, not because it is the auxiliary of a complex verb phrase, but rather because in this construction *imam* is the main and only verb of a simplex verb phrase. Therefore, subject-verb agreement is also necessary. The last similarity is that the participle may be formed from both imperfective and perfective verbs. This is not surprising for the Erkeč *imam* construction because throughout Bulgarian it is possible for the past passive participle (*minalo stradatelno pričastie*) to be formed from either aspect.[15] The findings discussed here are summarized in Table 1. In the table the descriptions above the double line are the differences; those below the double line are the similarities.

Table 1: Comparison of Erkeč *imam* construction with Macedonian *ima* present perfect

Erkeč *imam* + participle	Macedonian *ima* present perfect
participle agrees with direct object	invariant participle
participle only from transitive verbs	no restrictions on transitivity
direct object present	direct object optional
simplex verb phrase	complex verb phrase
imam/ ima in present tense	
agreement between *imam/ima* and subject	
no restrictions on aspect of participle	

The foregoing discussion has illustrated that the *imam* plus concordant past passive participle, already documented elsewhere in Bulgarian (see discussion above), also occurs in the Erkeč Bulgarian dialect. Furthermore, in comparison with the Macedonian 'have' present perfect this Erkeč construction is not a 'have' present perfect. The Macedonian 'have' present perfect, and, I would argue, 'have' present perfects of other languages, are complex verb phrases comprised of an auxiliary 'have' plus an invariant participle. The Erkeč *imam* construction is comprised of the appropriate form of the main verb, *imam*, followed by a direct object noun phrase comprised of a noun and a past passive participle that inflects to agree in gender (or number) with the noun it modifies. It is not a complex verb phrase, but rather a simplex verb phrase with the verb *imam* followed by the complex direct object noun phrase. The structure of the verb phrase is by far the crucial feature in determining that the Erkeč construction is not a possessive present perfect.

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Notes

[2] *Imam* will be used throughout the paper to refer to Bulgarian 'have' regardless of person, number, or negativity. *Ima* is used for Macedonian.

[4] It should be noted that Miletič (1903) does examine some verbal forms. Most of his observations, however, focus on the phonological realizations of verbal forms and endings. He does not examine the semantic function of verbal constructions or new verbal forms. Furthermore, he discusses neither the use nor form of *imam*, except for one mention in the Tetevo dialect where *ne ima* 'not have' is found for the expected, contracted *nema* (1903:159).

[5] The following abbreviations are used in this paper: B in Rom. = Bulgarian dialects in Romania; Coll B = Colloquial Bulgarian as spoken in Sofia; Erkeč B = Erkeč Bulgarian dialect; imp. =   imperfective aspect; inv. = invariant; M = Macedonian; masc. = masculine; neut. = neuter; per. = perfective aspect; pl. = plural; ppp. = past passive participle; pr. = present tense; Th.B = Thracian Bulgarian dialects; 1sg. = 1st person singular; 1pl. = 1st person plural; 2pl. = 2nd person plural; 3sg. = 3rd person singular; and 3pl. = 3rd person plural.

[6] Similar constructions have been documented in the rest of the Slavic languages and/or major dialects except in Upper and Lower Sorbian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian (see Elliott [forthcoming]).

[7] Aronson (1967) also states that it has resultative meaning.

[8] Present perfects are also found with the auxiliary 'be' plus a participle, often invariant. In some languages, such as in many of the Slavic languages, the 'be' perfect occurs with a participle that agrees with the subject for gender or number. Since in this paper I am only concerned with constructions with 'have', the 'be' constructions will not be treated.

[9] Within the Slavic languages a   grammaticalized 'have' present perfect also exists in Kashubian and a similar semantic construction is found in northwestern Russian dialects (see Elliott [forthcoming] for further details). Macedonian is discussed in this

paper because of its obvious linguistic closeness to Bulgarian, i.e., since they are both South Slavic languages. Finally, though a past perfect with *imaše* 'had' also exists in Macedonian (e.g., toj *imaše dojdeno* 'he *had arrived*'), this paper is limited to discussion of the present perfect since the Erkeč construction is found only with *imam* in the present tense.

[10] Example (3b) was spoken to me by a native Macedonian speaker during my fieldwork on the Macedonian resultative constructions, which I completed in Macedonia in 1998 and 1999.

[11] Tomić (1997:305) calls the invariant participle that only occurs in the Macedonian *ima* perfect a 'past participle.' The participle that inflects for agreement with the noun it modifies is termed 'passive participle.' I have decided to call the former, i.e., the invariant participle, the invariant perfect participle or invariant participle, since it is invariant and only occurs in the *ima* perfect.

[12] For a discussion of the terms   *anaspectual* (*nonaspectual*, or *aspectless*) vs. *biaspectual* and on the function of anaspectuals of borrowed verbs in Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian see Schuler (1994).

[13] One point remains to be considered concerning the   Erkeč examples. Since the Erkeč examples (1a) and (1b) are with neuter participles, how can we be certain that the participle is not already invariant? That is, perhaps the participle in the Erkeč examples is like the Macedonian invariant perfect participle, which is homophonous with the neuter past passive participle. Without further research on this construction we cannot be completely certain. It is more probable, however, that the Erkeč examples are identical to examples from the other Bulgarian dialects, discussed above (examples 2a-c), that do not have invariant participles and do not have grammaticalized possessive perfects (see Elliott forthcoming). For instance, it seems unlikely that a new perfect would arise in the Erkeč dialect before it would, for example, in the Bulgarian dialects spoken in Romania, where Bulgarian speakers also speak Romanian which has a productive possessive perfect. Note that Mladenov (1993) considers that the *imam* construction functions as a perfect in the Bulgarian dialects spoken in Romania ("...rezultat ot glagolno dejstvie, izvъršeno v minaloto" [1993:219] '...a result from verbal action completed in the past'), though he does not believe that this construction constitutes a new verbal category (*ibid*.). In Elliott (forthcoming), I present arguments for why this construction is not a fully grammaticalized possessive perfect, but rather is a pre-grammaticalized form of the possessive perfect that functions as a present resultative, i.e., a present state that exists as a result of a past action. See also Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994:51-105) for discussion of how possessive perfects (in their terms "anteriors") can grammaticalize from resultatives in many of the world's languages. Clearly further research of this construction in the Erkeč dialect is necessary. However, based even on just these two examples, (1a-b), it is this author's opinion that the *imam* construction in the Erkeč dialect is not a possessive perfect.

[14] In some of the world's languages a semantic distinction is made between verbs that only form the present perfect with the auxiliary 'have' (usually these are transitive verbs) and those that only form the present perfect with the auxiliary 'be' (usually these are intransitive verbs); e.g., in German and Dutch. Thus, one might argue, the fact that the Erkeč examples are formed only with transitive verbs is not sufficient evidence that the Erkeč 'have' construction is not a present perfect. As a formal observation in isolation it would not be sufficient evidence; in combination with the other features, however, I believe that it is.

[15] Though the past passive participle is formed based on the aorist stem, in Bulgarian imperfective aorists are possible, and, thus, imperfective past passive participles also. See Aronson (1981) for a semantic examination of imperfective aorists and perfective imperfects.

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Third Person Pronouns in Bulgarian Dialects in the Erkeč and Teteven Areas

Krasimira Koleva

The old community of the two still extant dialects in the area of Erkeč and Teteven is well known (Gъlъbov 1963). A comparison between them on the morphological level (which is distinguished by its relative stability) and focusing particularly on their pronoun systems, one of the slowest of word categories to change, provides us with an opportunity to investigate the developing tendencies in two dialects that are of especial interest for the history of the Bulgarian language. They are traditionally classified as a member of the "Balkan" dialect group, which is characterized by a great diversity of dialect-internal differences distinguishing them from other types of northeastern dialects, namely the comparatively uniform Moesia dialect area. The second feature that marks the dialects under investigation is that they are peripheral Balkan dialects as contrasted with the central Balkan varieties. At the same time, they are situated within transitional dialect areas and are in contact with other dialectal macrosystems. The Teteven dialect is situated within the *jat'* isogloss zone, which helps to explain the specific phonetic features in the third-person pronouns. In connection with the Erkeč dialect, one must bear in mind the conditions under which it functioned. Isolated in the past in the eastern Balkans among Turkish villages, it has preserved a series of archaic characteristics. In its original place today, it constitutes an island in the Moesia area; and in the Dobrudža district, where inhabitants from Erkeč resettled in the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century, it has been in contact with eastern Thracian dialects in addition to the Moesia dialects, as well as with central Balkan and sub-Balkan varieties (Mladenov 1974).

The Teteven dialect also has an island-like distribution, in the west-central Stara Planina range. In addition, the Teteven dialect is spoken in two villages in the northwestern dialect area – Poletkovci, 10 km south of Kula and Smoljanovci, 40 km northwest of Montana – two areas whose compact population moved there from the Teteven "Balkan" area and preserved their distinctive dialect. Due to their specific way of life, the influence of the

standard language on the dialects under investigation is weak. This has been confirmed by recent research. There are no sociolinguistic questions of particular import here.

The material for the present study was collected in the field in 1996 and has been compared with data in the *Bulgarian Dialect Atlas* (BDA), volumes 1, 2, and 4. Because the material from Kozičino and Golica is new, only examples from these two villages are cited herein.

Isoglosses typical of the eastern dialects for 3d singular pronouns for all three genders – *toj, t'a, to* – link the two dialect areas**.** Following are examples from Erkeč. In these and subsequent examples, (G) designates Golica and (K) designates Kozičino.

toj pæl'en mésica (G)	The moon – it's full.
rot mi j toj Væl'chu (G)	He is my relative, [this] Velcho.
Sǽbi, toj kuren'ák (G)	Sebi – he's a native [of here].
toj stána na dvájs ftóra gudína (K)	He got to be 22 years old.
t'a sa natrúxi za Sóxija (G)	She got all dressed up for Sofia.
t'a j slátka zárdzala (G)	It's a sweet fruit. [prunus armeniaca]
t' a suvijánka li j (K)	Is she a Sofia native?
to sakǽsčitu pracǽfnalu (K)	It [a particular flower] bloomed.
to pučína d'ádutu (K)	He died, my grandfather.

These pronouns are well preserved also in the villages Poletkovci and Smoljanovci, where they are surrounded by the western pronoun systems – *on, oná, onó*. According to the BDA, vol. 4, only in Jablanica do we find simultaneous use of the forms *toj / on, t'a / oná,* and *to / onó*, and in the 3d plural *te / oní*. While the other Teteven villages lie isolated in the Balkan mountains, Jablanica is a link in the communication flow between eastern and western Bulgaria and is in contact with neighboring villages to the west of the *jat'* boundary. The parallel use of both types of 3d person pronouns is one of the sources of evidence for the graduated transition between eastern and western dialects.

There are differences in the 3d plural subject pronouns, which reflect two tendencies. On the one hand, the forms do not coincide in the two dialects; on the other, they are variant in the Teteven dialects and monolithic in the Erkeč varieties. The only feature common to the two dialects is the lack of contrast in gender, characteristic for the western dialects. The most commonly found form in the Balkan dialects, namely *te*, is lacking in the Erkeč region, and in

the Teteven area it is used simultaneously with other forms. This contrast between the center and the periphery can be explained by external influences and/or likewise by independent developments. The Erkeč variety uses the form *tij*, typical of Moesian dialects; for example:

tij sa ni krǽsnikofcitæ (G)	They are our godfathers.
tij mlógu sa ímat (K)	They respect each other.

This form can also be found as the only form in other Balkan dialects east of the Central Balkans and in contact with Moesian dialects; in the eastern lower Balkans (Sliven area) and around the Vъrbica Pass, the Balkan varieties are linked with the Moesian dialects. The link with the Moesian dialects is supported by the fact that this is the only form in use among the villagers who have migrated from the central Balkans into the Dobrudža region. Nowadays in Golica and Kozičino, one can also find in rare instances the forms *te* / *tæ*, which are innovations under the influence of the standard language; for example:

i tæ, i nij sé smi vǽjkofci, vǽjaci (G)	Both they and we are "vaj"-sayers.
te trópat na xurótu (G)	They stamp when dancing the "horo".

In the Teteven variety, competing with the forms *te* / *t''e* (Brusen) we find the forms *tíe* (Gložene, Polaten) and *tíja* (Goljama Željazna), *tíjъ* (Poletkovci), by analogy to the patterns for 1pl and 2pl, as well as the form *oní* (Jablanica, see below). That the variation is the result of interaction with neighboring western dialects is substantiated by two facts: (1) in the other two western Balkan varieties, around Pirdop and Panagjurište, under the heavier influence of western dialects, only phonetic variants of the form *tía* are used; (2) in the speech of migrants now living in Poletkovci (south of Kula), one finds only the form *tíjъ*, typical of varieties in the Bjala Slatina-Pleven dialect area.

In the forms for the direct object masculine and neuter singular, there are also short forms and they do not differ from the isoglosses typical for Bulgarian *négo* / *go* (without reduction in the Teteven area and with reduction around Erkeč); for example:

(1) masculine:

kat prajadé, pak ut négu sa upráv'a (K)	When he overeats, he recovers by means of it.

sǽ za négu mísli Maríjka (K)	Marijka thinks only of him.
d'at Kól'u go zavárga gol (G)	Grandfather Kolju catches him naked.
tri pɛ́ti tæj ša gu ubikál'aš na glavǽta (K)	You roll it three times around your head.
mánim gu za kal'číšta (G)	We pound it [hemp] for the strands.

(2) neuter:

čúzdutu ni gú ískam (G)	The foreign thing, I don't want it.

The full forms for the feminine *néja* (Teteven), *néja, néjъ* (Erkeč) also coincide:

na néja daj busíl'ak li šъj, drúgu li (K)	Give her either basil, or something else.
uročásana sam ut néjъ (K)	I was bewitched by her.

There are distinguishing characteristics in the short forms, however. In the Erkeč area there is but one typical form *ja / jъ / jæ*:

ni móga ja zimá túkancъk (K)	I can't bring her here.
poddúj ja, za da súči jéritu (K)	Hold her [the goat], so that the kid can suckle.
x muménta ni jǽ rǽžim (G)	At the moment we are not cutting her.

In the Teteven area, in addition to the *jat'* variants – *ja* (Polaten, Gložene, Jablanica, Goljama Željazna, Sъevo), *jъ* (Poletkovci) and *je* (Brusen), non-*jat'* forms *e* (Teteven) and *a* (Goljama Željazna, Sъevo) are also found. This is due to the influence of western varieties that also occur in other western Balkan dialects. Two forms are used concurrently only in Goljama Željazna and Sъevo (*ja, a*). The variety of phonetic variants is due to various reflexes of the unstressed jotated back nasal vowel, of which that pronominal form is the direct descendant.

The greatest number of phonetic variants can be found in the full forms of the 3d plural direct object pronoun, whose generalized from *t'ax* – eastern in its type – is the common variant in the two dialects. An exception is represented by the form *nix / nix'* in Jablanica, which, analogous to the forms

for the nominative, is used concurrently along with the eastern type of personal pronoun. The difference is due to phonetic changes. The form *t'ax* can be found in both varieties:

na golíčanki – na t'ax kasák'a im kǽso do krǽsta (G)	The women of Golica have [to them is] a short jacket, to the waist [only].
za t'ax da fčúkaš bɤs (K)	You [should] pulverize the elder for them.
d'at Iván dádi brášnu za t'ax (K)	Grandfather Ivan gave them flour.

The variants *tæj / tæ* occur in Golica and Kozičino:

kúma tuj pri tæj (K)	Come here to them.
sǽ vlækǽ za tæ, za fcéti (K)	I follow them, the sheep.
zimǽs, fevruvári, sæm pri tæ (K)	In the winter, in February, I stay with them.

The change in the vowel is in accord with the Erkeč variety of the reflex of *jat'*. Before front vowels, palatal and postalveolar consonants the stressed reflex of *jat'* in Erkeč is a low front vowel, while in other stressed positions the reflex is *'a*. These forms are lacking in the Teteven variants, in which *jat'* develops only into *'a/e* – a tendency for hypercorrection typical of the western Balkan dialects, distinguishing them sharply from the neighboring western dialects. The remaining variants in these two dialects are similar in that there are changes in the consonants. They occur most frequently with the phoneme *x* in accordance with its specific distribution in Bulgarian. It disappears only in the Teteven area: *ta / t''a* (Goljama Željazna, Sъevo), *k'a* in Poletkovci, and changing to *j*: *t'aj* (Brusen, Gložene, Teteven area) and *tæj* (Erkeč, Golica). Only in Erkeč does *x* become *f* or the bilabial voiceless fricative:

s t'af stígnal dux pulvínata pul'ána (G)	Together with them he arrived at the middle of the meadow.
sal' na t'af dáli sémenca (K)	They gave seeds only to them.
zarat t'af sa prǽsnala kumpánijata (G)	The group dispersed because of them.
xásal ut t'af madžúrina náuchil bǽlgarcki (G)	It's from them that the immigrant learned Bulgarian.

These are likewise non-stable elsewhere in Bulgarian dialects and change into the labio-velar semi-vowel *w*: *t'aw*, as in Moesian variants and some Balkan dialects. Changes in the initial consonant occur only in Teteven varieties. Palatal *t'* changes from a medial variant *t''* into *k'*: *t''ax* / *k'ax* and *t''a* / *k'a* (Goljama Željazna, Sъevo), which is a characteristic feature of the varieties west of Teteven. The proof is the sole use of *k'a* in Poletkovci. It is interesting that this change cannot be found in other western Balkan dialects, but is present in all eastern Balkan dialects (Kotel, Elena and Drjanovo regions) with the exception of Erkeč. Totally isolated, the Erkeč dialect went through fewer changes, most probably preserving an older state of the language.

The short form for the plural direct object form is *gi* / *g'i* (Kozičino, Golica); for example:

venčél'nitæ dréi gi kupúvat kræsnicitæ (K)	The godparents bought the wedding clothes.
tugís gi sataráža ot d'ušék'a (K)	They took them out of the mattress.
rémanitæ g'i dádi Sæbi (G)	The straps, Sebi gave them.
zapóvnix g'i t'as búlki (K)	These brides, I remembered them.

There is likewise no difference in the short forms of the indirect object pronoun. This pronoun is *mu* for the masculine and neuter singular:

(1) masculine:

kat sъ svǽrši interésa, mu pukázva drúga móda (K)	When he loses interest, he shows him another fashion.
Kól'u ni mú napráil dǽrveni bǽčvi (G)	Kolju didn't make him wooden barrels.

(2) neuter:

bába ša mu dadé purtukál na Zlatínču (G)	Grandma will give an orange to Zlatinčo.
	[reduplicated object]

For the feminine singular, it is *i* as in other Balkan dialects.

na kuzǽta i íma béleci (K)	There are scars on it, on the goat.

négova d'ádo i dal kóšnik z drǽška za grózdi (G)	His grandfather gave her a basket with a handle for grapes.
ni í fǽrgat véki kámani (G)	They don't throw stones at her any more.

For the plural the pronoun is *im* :

Ači im gi kázvax bílkitæ (K)	So I was telling them about the herbs.
daj im mlǽkoč 'mlečka' na prasétata (K)	Give them spurge, to the piglets.
ni ím ískam kuperácijata (G)	I don't want their collective. (= the collective to them)

In the use of the full forms of the indirect object there is, aside from phonetic differences (see below), a far more important feature. It is on the grammatical plane and is linked with the presence or absence of the synthetic forms *nemu* (masculine and neuter), *nej* (feminine) and *tjam* (plural), codified in the written language from the central Balkan variety. The presence or absence of full indirect object forms is determined by two factors: (1) the degree of markedness of the respective member of the paradigm, and (2) the hierarchy and typology of the grammatical categories and oppositions. These are subject to the uneven course of development of the Bulgarian language from a synthetic to an analytic type (Gerdžikov 1987). For example, the form for the 3d plural, *t'am*, as the most marked, disappeared earliest and is now lacking in the two *æ* - dialects. Synthetic forms are used only in Teteven dialects in the singular, parallel with analytical forms. Synthetic forms occur only in the village Brusen: *nému* and *nej*. In Jablanica, speakers use only *nej* for the feminine; along with *nému* for masculine and neuter they likewise use *na négo*. The opposite situation prevails in Poletkovci. Surrounded by western variants, lacking residual features of case, the synthetic form (masculine and neuter) *nému* has been preserved parallel with *na négo*, because it is maximally non-marked and has lost the synthetic form for the feminine, replaced by *na néja*. Partially preserved indirect object forms can be found in Gložene *nému, na négo* and *nej / na néja*. In Polaten, Goljama Željazna and Sъevo, only analytical forms can be found: *na négo, na néja / na néje*. This diversity of systems is ample evidence for the uneven course of development from synthetic to analytic. The process which has been completed in the Erkeč variety is that which makes use solely of analytic forms: *na négu, na néja:*

masculine, neuter:

na négu mu istǽrgali lúka (K)	It's him for whom they plucked the onions.
Na kóga d'at Kól'u slóži t'ax čépki? – Na négu (G);	For whom did Grandfather Kolju put out these grapes? For him.
feminine:	
na Lázari na néja dáli altǽni (G)	On St. Lazar's day they gave the Turkish gold coins to her.
plitǽ ilék i blúza na néja (G)	I knit a jacket and blouse for her.
na néja dáli bréšn'al' i sin krem (G)	To her they gave ivy and iris.

This stands in contrast with the surrounding Moesian dialects, in which in addition to preserved synthetic forms, back-formations such as *na nému* also occur. Consequently, analytical patterns for the indirect object in the Erkeč dialect can be viewed as the result of an independent development. A comparison between the remaining western Balkan dialects would be instructive here. In the Teteven region, in the Panagjurište and Pirdop areas, where indirect object forms are still used for personal names (Stojkov 1968: 149), only synthetic forms occur for 3d singular pronouns, and they occur in a full paradigm that sharply distinguishes these dialects from those in the Teteven area, which have progressed further in this regard.

An analysis of the 3d person pronouns in the two Balkan *æ* - varieties can be generalized in two respects. The general features are:

– Like dialects of the western region, the Teteven and Erkeč dialects are distinguished by variation in their paradigms.

– Despite the generalizing tendencies, the direct object forms show the greatest variety. There are also more patterns for the plural. At the same time, the plural lacks differentiation for gender, a feature characteristic for some varieties to the west of the Teteven region.

– In the category of gender, forms for the feminine predominate. This substantiates the dependence on the extent of markedness in the change from the synthetic to the analytic type. There are full forms for both direct and indirect object (masculine and neuter). This is a characteristic feature of all Balkan dialects.

– In the Teteven area the clitics are uniform, while in the Erkeč varieties they are subject to the rules of reduction.

– The full forms appear in several phonetic variants. Both dialects are peripheral in the Balkan group and contrast with dialects of the center and

those of the subgroups in which they can be classified.

The dialects investigated are at the same time on the boundary between different dialect areas, one of the factors underlying their differences.

The Teteven varieties, in contrast with those in the Erkeč area, are not uniform. In the Teteven dialects we encounter many more forms, a feature attributable to the contacts these dialects maintain with neighboring western varieties. In the Erkeč area, only the plural has more than one form, demonstrating its dependence on the degree of markedness of the paradigm members in the development to an analytic type. The Erkeč dialect is more monolithic, since it was isolated for a long period and has undergone an independent development. There were fewer external influences on this dialect; they are more recent and stem from more closely related dialects (Moesian), in contrast with the Teteven varieties.

The current state of the two *æ* - dialects substantiates the more archaic nature of the Erkeč variety due to the specific nature of its functioning. The Teteven varieties exhibit a greater number of changes in phonetic features – the most dynamic plane of language – marking these as a more open system.

Differing phonetic variants are a result both of interdialectal influences and independent developments. They are also dependent on the feature typical of Balkan varieties, namely vowel reduction. This feature is fully represented in the Erkeč dialects, but is virtually absent from the Teteven varieties and their western neighboring dialects.

There are only three typological differences, but they are essential. In Teteven, the plural subject case forms are related to various pronominal isoglosses, while the Erkeč dialects reflect external influence, from the Moesian dialects. The parallel use of western-type pronoun forms in the Teteven area can be readily explained. The most essential difference lies in the presence of synthetic forms for the singular indirect object in the Teteven dialects, contrasted with the absence of such forms in Erkeč. More archaic in other respects, the Erkeč dialect ended up with a more varied pronominal system than all other northeastern dialects. In fact, dialects which combine more archaic phonology with more innovations in their morphology are no exception in Bulgarian (such as those on the periphery of our dialectal continuum). The fact that in the Teteven dialect area, synthetic forms are used only in isolated instances and that parallel analytic forms predominate, is evidence for the uneven development from synthetic to analytic.

This process, with its concomitant phonetic changes, is one of the reasons for the emergence of differences in third-person pronouns in the two

genetically related dialects. A diachronic analysis based on adequate data should cast more light on this question.

While the independent development of each dialect is important, interdialectal influences also play a significant role. Today we must likewise take into account the unifying processes exerted by the standard language.

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The Scope of Double Accent in Bulgarian Dialects

Ronelle Alexander

Introduction

The topic of this paper is "double accent," a well-known phenomenon within Bulgarian dialectology. Traditionally, a dialect is said to have double accent (henceforth DA) when polysyllabic lexical or prosodic words are attested more or less regularly with two and sometimes (though rarely) more accents. This paper will review the scope of double accent in the traditional view, will offer certain criticisms, and will make brief suggestions in the direction of a revised view.

Any discussion of the accentuation of Bulgarian dialects is best conducted within the larger Bulgaro-Macedonian area called Balkan Slavic. This paper begins, therefore, with a brief description of the larger Balkan Slavic complex, especially the southern portion thereof. The dialects of Balkan Slavic run from the Albanian border in the west to the Black Sea in the east, covering all of present-day Macedonia and Bulgaria;[1] the Balkan Slavic area also extends further south, into northern Greece, and further north, into southern Serbia. Word accent in all Balkan Slavic dialects is dynamic and expiratory. In the far west (i.e. southwest Macedonia) accent is fixed with respect to the word boundary, on the antepenultimate syllable. (A very few dialects have accent fixed on the penultimate syllable; an even smaller number of dialects have accent fixed on the initial syllable.) In the central and eastern parts of Balkan Slavic (covering all of Bulgaria, the southeastern corner of Serbian, and the eastern third of Macedonia) accent is free to occur on any syllable of the word. Furthermore, in practically all these dialects the accent is mobile (that is, it participates in paradigmatically-conditioned alternations). In central western Balkan Slavic (the remaining areas of Macedonia) accent is essentially limited to penultimate and antepenultimate position: although there are numerous different systems attested, the strongest tendency is towards penultimate accent.[2]

Another factor relevant in the description of Balkan Slavic accentuation is the rich inventory of clitics in all the dialects. Balkan Slavic clitics, examples of which are given below, are grammaticalized particles (pronouns, verbal

auxiliaries or conjunctions)[3] which carry no accent of their own; rather, they "lean upon" a neighboring word. The different implementations of the prosodic bond between clitics and the words to which they are attached are quite significant in Balkan Slavic accentual systems.[4]

As in most linguistic systems, the presence of a word accent in Balkan Slavic signals the existence of a lexical word, and each word is marked by only one accent. Clitics are reckoned together with their head lexical word for purposes of accentuation, and this larger entity (lexical word plus attendant clitics) is usually called a "prosodic word."[5] The prosodic word, like other words, also has but one accent.

Clitics which occur commonly in Balkan Slavic include the post-posed definite article, short form pronoun objects, the reflexive particle, and verbal auxiliaries (sometimes also used as the copula). While not normally reckoned as clitics *per se*, the negative particle, the future particle, and various normally monosyllabic conjunctions can also form part of the prosodic word. In standard orthography, all clitics except the post-posed definite article are written as separate words; only the article is written together with its head as one word. For ease of analysis, definite nominal forms will be cited herein with a hyphen separating head word and article; all other clitics (and clitic-like forms) are written as in the standard orthography.[6]

Double Accent, Historiography

In various areas of Balkan Slavic, additional accents appear with some regularity. The phenomenon known as "dvojno udarenie" (DA) was noted as early as 1893, and received its first systematic description in 1905.[7] It was subsequently described by Bulgarian and foreign scholars working both from material gathered in the field,[8] and from accented manuscripts based on dialectal speech.[9] Data from all these studies were collated in Todorov1939, an extensive study which both discussed the synchronic and diachronic scope of DA, and provided a map of its currently known spread.

The phenomenon was sufficiently well known within Bulgarian dialectology that maps depicting it were included in volume III of the Bulgarian Dialect Atlas and in the atlas of Bulgarian dialects in Aegean Macedonia.[10] It has also been included in numerous descriptions of southern Macedonian dialects, especially those located in the Aegean zone of northern Greece. A second survey article of DA (Ivanov 1971), similar in format to that of Todorov (1939), was able to profit from more recent dialectological studies and to extend the geographical scope of known DA in Bulgarian dialects. Basing his views partly on an unpublished review (by Kiril

Mirčev), Ivanov took sharp issue with Todorov's interpretations of the rise of DA. On the basic descriptive facts of DA, however, both agreed.

Double Accent, Description

That upon which they agreed, and that which is meant in Bulgarian and Macedonian dialectology by the term DA, is the appearance of two (and sometimes more) [11] accents within the domain of a single word, distributed according to a basic rhythmic model. Although the additional accent is usually referred to as "secondary," published sources rarely indicate whether this additional accent is in fact a phonetically measurable secondary stress. The implication is that the "second" accent is simply an additional accent and that the two accents are usually of equal strength.[12] Indeed, the fact that most treatments of DA usually make reference to etymology, at least obliquely, suggests that the term "secondary" may have more of a historical meaning (referring to an accent which is presumably not the "original," inherited one), in addition to (or in place of) a possible phonetic meaning. It is largely because of this complex of unsolved questions that most scholars have chosen to use the term "double" rather than the term "secondary."

   The area of DA, as summarized in the Todorov and Ivanov surveys and in the dialect atlas treatments, covers a relatively compact area in southwestern Bulgaria and neighboring regions of Macedonia and Greece. Throughout these areas, DA occurs on alternating syllables throughout the word. Sometimes the domain of DA is the lexical word, as exemplified in (6)-(9) below; and sometimes it is the prosodic word, as exemplified in (1)-(5) below. Because the word frame which supports DA must contain at least three syllables (and usually four or more), the morphosyntactic contexts of its occurrence are relatively circumscribed. The examples below represent a typical (but by no means exhaustive) listing.

(1)   *víkamé go*   we call him
                1st pl. pres. verb [+ PRN]
(2)   *práznuválo sé e*   it was celebrated
                verbal participle + RFL + AUX
(3)   *da sá izmíení*   that they are washed
                CNJ + AUX + verbal participle
(4)   *pásmo-tó*   the skein
                singular noun + DEF
(5)   *kýrvavíci-té*   the blood sausages
                plural noun + DEF

(6)   *krástavíca*   cucumber
                singular noun
(7)   *kládenéc*   wellspring
                singular noun
(8)   *tólková*   thus, so much
                adverb
(9)   *kázvamé*   we say
                verb, 1ˢᵗ pl. present

As the above examples demonstrate, DA can occur on trisyllables attested alone, as exemplified in (7)-(9). It occurs much more frequently[13] in trisyllables, however, when a clitic follows, as exemplified in (1). Although the presence of examples (8) and (9) in the above lists suggests that DA occurs freely on trisyllables, in actual fact DA is quite rare in such words unless there is a clitic following, as seen in (1), or unless the final syllable is a definite article, as seen in (4). Furthermore, examples such as (7), in which DA appears on a final closed syllable, are particularly rare (partly because accented final closed syllables are in general infrequent in the lexicon).   The additional accent assigned by DA can occur on clitics, but only if another clitic-like form follows (as in (2)) or precedes (as in (3)).[14]

"Canonical" DA
DA is almost always implemented on alternate syllables. This gives a highly striking, metrically regular rhythm to the speech pattern. Indeed, this rhythm is so memorable to anyone who has heard it in the field, and seems to pervade the speech chain so thoroughly, that it has apparently seemed natural to cast the description of it in predictive terms. Thus, most accounts of DA state that whenever a word of the requisite number of syllables occurs, DA will necessarily (*zadəlžitelno*) also be present. Furthermore, because DA appears to occur solely at the word level, it is relatively easy to give lists of sample occurrences (categorized either according to metrical shape or to morphosyntactic category). The similarity of the lists of words attested in different dialects has led to the tacit conclusion that DA is a unified phenomenon, capable of an abstracted description. The existence of this generalized description, and the frequency of its mention in works devoted to dialectal accentuation, have produced a sort of evaluatory metric, which has allowed dialectologists to decide whether or not a particular dialect is characterized by DA.

As a result, the discipline of Bulgarian dialectology now includes a perception of what one might call "canonical DA," according to which DA is identified either with a particular abstractly-defined word frame, the vivid acoustic memory of a particular "singing" speech rhythm, or a pre-defined region on a dialect map. Usually, the term DA connotes a concatenation of all three of these factors.

Other Types of Additional Accents

But there are also numerous other instances, scattered throughout the broader Bulgarian dialectal landscape, where additional accents appear within the prosodic word (more rarely, also within the lexical word). No particular term is used to describe these instances, and no consistent study has been made of them. Apparently because the term DA is so thoroughly identified with the well-circumscribed phenomenon described above, and because that particular phenomenon is so very striking, other possibly similar accentual phenomena have paled in comparison. The present contribution questions the justification of this general interpretation, and proposes that a broader view be taken: it presents two other instances of additional accents within Bulgarian dialects, and poses a series of questions. The abbreviation AA is provisionally adopted to denote this phenomenon of additional accents; indeed, for now, one may view DA as a particular sort of AA.

Examples (1)-(9) above were drawn from the southwest Bulgarian dialect of Bansko, situated in the center of the area of strongest DA within Bulgaria proper.[15] Another, especially widespread, type of AA occurs in a particular sort of prosodic word, seen in (10)-(14):[16]

(10)   *ne gó poznávam*   I don't know him
        NEG + PRN + verb
(11)   *ne já vîžda*   he doesn't see her
        NEG + PRN + verb
(12)   *ne smé go namérili*   we haven't found it
        NEG + AUX + PRN + verbal participle
(13)   *ne mú ja e pokázala*   she hasn't shown it to him
        NEG + PRN + PRN + AUX + verbal participle
(14)   *ne sté mu go podaríli*   you haven't presented him with it
        NEG + AUX + PRN + PRN + verbal participle

That is, when one or more pre-verbal clitics follow the negative particle, the resulting prosodic word receives a second accent on the [first] clitic [in the

string]. The effect of this pattern on speech rhythms is striking, in that the clitic element immediately following NEG often bears not only dynamic stress but also very high tone, giving this syllable seemingly even greater prominence than that which bears the lexical accent.

What is absent, however, is the metrically regular pattern of alternating accents found in [canonical] DA. The two relevant features which govern the accentuation seen in (10)-(14) are that (a) although several clitics may be present in the string, only the first can be accented; indeed, this one *must* be accented; and (b) the lexical place of accent in the verb form is not altered. Thus, although it is possible to hear a pattern of alternating accents, as in (10), one can also find both successive accents, as in (11), and instances of two, three, or as many as four syllables separating the two accents (as in (12), (13) and (14), respectively).

Another type of AA has been reported in the eastern Bulgarian dialect of Erkeč. In the particular sort of prosodic word composed of noun plus post-posed definite article, a second accent often appears on the article morpheme itself. Although such accentuation is heard sporadically in all nouns, it is heard with by far the greatest regularity in plural nouns with the post-posed article ("-te"). Examples are given in (15)-(19):[17]

(15)   *máži-té*   the men
                plural noun + DEF
(16)   *dóktori-té*   the doctors
                plural noun + DEF
(17)   *fráskavici-té*   [contamination of *krastavicit*e?
                plural noun + DEF   'the cucumbers']
(18)   *sínov'té*   the sons
                plural noun + DEF
(19)   *kón'-té*   the horses
                plural noun + DEF

The rhythm is striking in these examples as well, and functions to draw special attention to the end of the word. Indeed, the final syllable in this sort of AA bears such strong accent that the preceding syllable, the plural marker, is often lost.[18] For instance, the indefinite forms of (18) and (19) are *sínove* and *kóni*, respectively.

As in the first instance of AA (in negative verb phrases), here too it is possible to encounter the characteristic alternating rhythm of canonical DA. Here too, however, many other rhythms are also present. That is, if the

indefinite form in question happens to bear penultimate accent, then the presence of an additional accent on the definite article will yield the rhythmic pattern expected for DA, as in (15). If the indefinite form bears antepenultimate stress, however (or, more rarely, pre-antepenultimate stress), there will be two or even three syllables separating the two accents (as in (16) and (17), respectively). Conversely, accents can appear on succeeding syllables, as in (19).

Unresolved Questions

The existence of these various different types of accentuation, found at various points throughout the Bulgarian dialectal landscape, poses many interesting questions. Several of these are enumerated below. In an attempt to bring more clarity to a complex situation, these questions are divided into those concerning descriptive questions (under the rubric "synchronic") and those concerning historical origin (under the rubric "diachronic").

Synchronic

* Should the term DA apply only to the canonical form as exemplified by (1)-(9)? Or should the general concept be expanded to include other instances of AA, including but not limited to those exemplified in (10)-(19)? That is, can we describe all forms of AA (DA included) as in essence the same throughout their geographical spread? Do the attested differences (a) simply amount to a matter of greater or less frequency or occurrence; (b) represent different basic types of DA; or (c) constitute two clear categories (DA and AA) which are sufficiently different to exclude all possibility of generalization?

* What is the phonetic nature of DA? Is the additional accent a phonetically measurable secondary stress? Are the phonetic features implementing it the same as for the main word accent? If not, what is it that characterizes them? Are the phonetic features of DA distinguishable from those of AA?

* What conditions the occurrence of DA? Is it the number of syllables, the shape of the syllables, or the lexical or grammatical characteristics of the word or syntactic string? Can the occurrence of DA be predicted? Are the answers to these questions different, in any significant manner, for AA?

* What is the rhythmic and prosodic relationship between DA and/or AA (a word level prosodic phenomenon) and intonation (a phrase- and sentence-level prosodic phenomenon)?

* Which descriptive model most successfully captures the nature of DA? Should one speak in metrical terms (trochee, iamb, etc.) of the spoken chain,

or should one focus upon the types of words, and especially the types of clitic strings, which seem to evince it most? Or is there another possible model which combines both these factors? Can the same questions be formulated for AA?

Diachronic

* What is the causal relationship between DA in Balkan Slavic and the typologically similar phenomenon in Greek? What is the relevance, to any supposed causal relationship, of the fact that the Greek phenomenon (whereby a second accent is assigned to the penultimate syllable whenever the addition of post-posed clitics creates a unit bearing accent on the fourth syllable from the end) is more limited in scope than the Balkan Slavic one?

* Does DA provide historical evidence for morphologically conditioned stress shift within Slavic? For instance, does a form such as *náberéte* (imperative plural) represent an intermediate stage between inherited *naberéte* and the retracted stress in the innovative *náberete*? Conversely, does *grádovéte* (definite plural of the noun *grad*) represent an intermediate stage between inherited *grádove* and the innovative stress pattern *gradové*, thought to have arisen by analogy to the definite form *gradovéte*?[19] Do other instances of DA represent relics of less transparent stress shifts (also presumed to be morphologically conditioned)? Is the complex of such evidence proof that DA is internally motivated (i.e. purely a Slavic development)?

* Does DA represent an intermediate stage in the development of fixed antepenultimate stress in southwestern Macedonian (and the Macedonian literary language)?[20] If so, what are the other stages of development?

* What is the relationship between DA and certain syntactic changes known to be due to convergence phenomena related to the Balkan Sprachbund? Do innovations such as the affixing of the definite article, the rise of possessive constructions expressed by a post-posed pronominal clitic, or word order changes affecting clitics, give rise to the presence of additional accents? Conversely, could a prosodic structure containing these additional accents have contributed to the development of these morphosyntactic phenomena associated with the Balkan convergence area?

* Are either DA or AA currently productive, or is either (or both) but a remnant of earlier processes, however these may be defined? Is there a difference between DA and AA in this regard?

These and other questions have intrigued scholars since the discovery of the extent of DA in Balkan Slavic dialects. Some of them are well known in the literature, and some are posed here for the first time, especially those

concerning the possible connections between DA and AA. A unified account offering unequivocal (and satisfactory) answers to all of them is perhaps not possible; indeed, the possibility that both DA and AA as presently defined could be part of the same historical development is remote.[21]   However, it is clearly time for a fresh approach to the data, and it is almost certain that such an approach will yield greater understanding of these questions than has been possible until now, given the force of the prevailing interpretations of DA within Bulgarian dialectology.

Towards Some Possible Answers

Collaborative work towards a new interpretation of DA began in the early 1990s. A key element in this work has been the joint perceptions of a native speaker and of a non-native speaker, both of whom have worked for many years in Bulgarian dialectology. Extensive fieldwork, spread out over seven years,[22] was undertaken in which long stretches of narrative were recorded from many different areas of Balkan Slavic, including but not limited to areas with canonical DA. Detailed analyses are being prepared of representative discourse samples from each dialect, without prejudgment as to the nature of DA or expectations of its occurrence. It is intended that the resulting comparison of these analyses, made with attention paid both to each dialectal system as a self-contained whole and to the principles of linguistic geography, will give a better understanding both of the present scope and the historical development of Bulgarian (and Balkan Slavic) accent.   The present contribution concludes with a brief summary of two of the six regions, and makes certain tentative suggestions. The full treatment is in preparation.

DA/AA in Bansko and Erkeč

These two areas are Bansko, in southwestern Bulgaria; and the Erkeč dialect, in northeastern Bulgaria. The Bansko dialect is one of the traditional exemplars of DA: everyone agrees that it has canonical DA, and expects a description of it to accord with the well-known facts. The Erkeč dialect has long been known for certain remarkable prosodic features, including the presence of noticeable length in stressed syllables.[23] Several decades ago, a secondary accent was noted sporadically in word-final position in this dialect. The term "double accent" was explicitly avoided in the description of this "secondary accent."[24]

    The collaborative team began its field investigation of this question in the region of Bansko.   Upon first listening, it appeared that the Bansko dialect did indeed assign additional accents to all prosodic words with the requisite

shape. Close analysis of the recordings, however, showed that the situation was much more complex. First, the phonetic nature of the additional accent varied considerably, such that it was in several cases impossible to tell whether there actually was an additional "accent" or not. Sometimes the putative second accent sounded like a slightly elongated vowel, sometimes like a phrase-penultimate high tone. It would be interesting to examine this material spectrographically; but without a constant frame against which to judge, it would be very difficult to make any significant measurements. At this point, one can only make the very general statement that first-run spectrographic representations of amplitude and frequency often contradicted the ear's intuition. Second, although DA was found frequently in both lexical and prosodic words of the requisite number of syllables, it was by no means present in all of them. The speaker added a second accent here, and did not add it there; and there was no immediately obvious motivation for her choices – some seemed due to elements of discourse rhythm, some to syntactic constituency of the particular phrase, while others appeared simply arbitrary.

The concatenation of these two observations – the phonetic variability of acoustic impressions and the unexpectedly facultative nature of second stress assignment – demonstrates clearly that canonical DA is nowhere near as systematic as has been suggested in the literature. Yet it is markedly and vividly present, even in the speech of young children and of educated bi-dialectal speakers. Furthermore, it does appear to be primarily connected with rhythmic factors: all the clearest and most unambiguous instances of DA fit the metrical model of alternating stresses within a well-defined lexical or prosodic word. Examples (1)-(9) above are drawn from Bansko; similar examples abound.

The Erkeč dialect, by contrast, does not fit this rhythmic model. And yet two clear types of secondary/additional accents were heard there with great frequency. The first of these is the additional accent on the definite article, as exemplified in (15)-(19) above. Fieldwork in 1996 not only verified the frequent presence of this type of accentuation, but also discovered a new context for additional accents.[25] In this second instance, prosodic words in which clitic elements occurred after certain conjunctions were frequently heard with a second accent on the first of these clitics. Two conjunctions (*ako* 'if', often heard in a shortened form, *ko;* and *kat* 'when, as', a contracted form of *kato*) regularly occasioned this second accent. So also – although with less frequency – did the subordinating conjunction *da* 'that', and the coordinating conjunction *i* 'and'. This accentuation is exemplified in (20)-(25) below.

(20)   *kat gí izvedé*   when she takes them out
            CNJ + PRN + verb
(21)   *ko sté gu vížddali*   if you saw her
            CNJ + AUX + PRN + verbal participle
(22)   *kat sé pensionírat*   when they retire
            CNJ + RFL + verb
(23)   *ko ví e bezsólno*   if it isn't salty enough for you
            CNJ + PRN + COP + adverb
(24)   *i sé odúmili*   and they agreed
            CNJ + RFL + verbal participle
(25)   *da gó týrsi*   that she look for him
            CNJ + PRN + verb

In the Erkeč dialect, as in the majority of Bulgarian dialects, additional accents were also heard, with great regularity, on clitics after the negative particle (cf. (10)-(14) above). What is interesting here is that both these patterns can be described according to a single model. In each case a monosyllabic particle heading a verb phrase composed of proclitic(s) plus verb causes an additional accent to occur on the [first] clitic [in the string]. It is necessary only to specify which particles are included in this statement for which dialect.

Concluding Remarks

Additional accents occur over a broad range of the Bulgarian dialectal landscape. In a certain limited area to the southwest the phenomenon is well catalogued, under the name of "double accent" (referred to herein as DA), and is described in an abstracted, almost "canonical" form. Although additional/secondary accents occur in other areas of Bulgaria, both in the same form as found in the southwest and in other forms, the only systematic mention of such accents found in dialect descriptions from these areas refers to the secondary accent on the clitic following the negative particle (a pattern also found in the standard language). It is here proposed to refer to all instances of additional / secondary accents found in Bulgarian dialects by the general term AA; the examples given herein have been taken specifically from the Erkeč dialect. This term is still provisional. It could be taken in the most inclusive sense ("there is another accent somewhere in the prosodic word") or it could be taken in a more specific, exclusionary sense ("there is another accent in the prosodic word, but the conditions of its occurrence are not those found in [canonical] DA"). Alternatively, one could view the use of

AA simply as an intermediate stage in a process that would eventually allow a much broader understanding of the idea of "double accent."

Such questions will be taken up in more detail elsewhere. Here two points are to be noted: first, the "double accent" of Bansko is nowhere near so regular and easily describable as has been thought until now; and second, the accentuation of Erkeč admits of additional accents in a much more regular fashion than has been thought until now. There seem to be noticeable differences between the two systems, but more detailed analysis is needed before these differences can be adequately characterized. Stress assignment in the Bansko dialect seems to follow a primarily rhythmic pattern, and that in Erkeč seems to be more syntactically determined. One might even utilize the distinction between "syllable-time" and "stress-time" languages in speaking of these two different dialectal centers. Since both are clearly part of the same language continuum, however, it is desirable to seek a description that unifies rather than separates. In both areas one finds doubly accented prosodic words, some of which involve additional accents on clitics and some of which implement a rhythmic pattern of alternating accents. The question of whether these similarities should be viewed on the one hand as superficial and random, or as part of a unified underlying process on the other, remains to be solved.

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Notes

[1] The full, official names of the present political units are the Republic of Bulgaria, and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia; in the latter instance, the unofficial term "Republic of Macedonia" is used much more frequently.

[2] See Alexander 1994 for a fuller survey of the accentual types of Balkan Slavic.

[3] The term "particle" is conveniently loose; it is, of course, problematic, since it makes minimal reference to grammatical distinctions which are highly relevant to the descriptive issues in question. The term "clitic" is more precise, but

scholars disagree as to the exact membership in this category. In particular, there has been considerable discussion as to the distinction between "clitic" and "affix," a discussion which is rendered more complex by the frequent usage of the verb "affix" in a diachronic sense (for instance, the fact that the definite article is often described as a "demonstrative pronoun which has been affixed to the first element of the noun phrase" does not necessarily imply that the article is an "affix"). The current discussion focuses upon dialectal facts, and leaves the definition of the term "clitic" intentionally loose.

[4] This question is discussed in more detail in Alexander 1993 (for South Slavic in general) and Alexander 1999 (for the southeastern Thracian area).

[5] The term "accentual unit" is sometimes used for this concept.

[6] In the following analysis, the role of clitics and clitic-like elements in phrasal accentuation will be highlighted by the use of capitalized three-letter abbreviations. The following abbreviations are used:

DEF definite article
PRN short form object pronoun
RFL reflexive particle
AUX verbal auxiliary
COP copula
NEG negative particle
FUT future particle
CNJ conjunction

[7] See Novaković 1893 and Molerov 1905.

[8] See Stoilov 1905, Šiškov 1906, and Małecki 1934-36.

[9] See Conev 1903, Romanski 1928, Mirčev 1931 and Mirčev 1936.

[10] Volume 3 of the Bulgarian Dialect Atlas was produced by a collective team at the Institute for the Bulgarian Language of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and appeared in 1975. The Aegean atlas, focusing on dialects of the Serres-Drama area, is the work of Jordan Ivanov, and appeared in 1972.

[11] Subsequent discussion will refer to all additional accents in the singular, with the understanding that the circumstances conditioning the third accent in a word, should it appear, are the same as those conditioning the second one.

[12] This is borne out by experimental tests in the field; see below.

[13] Frequency statements made in this paper refer both to the listings given in published literature and to the author's own field experience.

[14] In discussions of DA, reference is often made to the existence of a similar phenomenon in Greek, which since ancient times has restricted the occurrence of word accent to the last three syllables of the word. Because clitics following a word are reckoned together with it for purposes of accent assignment, it sometimes occurs that the larger prosodic unit thus created is accented on the fourth syllable

from the end. In such instances, Greek obligatorily assigns a second accent to the penultimate syllable of this unit. The rule in Greek is more restrictive than that in Balkan Slavic, as Greek adds a second accent *only* when clitics are post-posed.

[15] Examples are taken from field recordings made by the author in 1990.

[16] This accentuation is accepted (indeed, now prescribed) in the literary standard; it is also attested in a wide range of Bulgarian dialects, and is mentioned in many dialect descriptions.

[17] This accentuation was noted by Bajčev 1971, and was heard regularly in the field by the author in 1996. Most of the above examples are from recordings made by the joint expedition in 1996; example (17) is quoted from Bajčev.

[18] See Šiškov (2004) for further discussion.

[19] The particular examples are taken from Todorov 1939, whose discussion implicitly suggests the questions that are formulated explicitly here.

[20] See Alexander 1993 for a brief discussion of this hypothesis, and Baerman 1999 for a much more detailed exposition of it, from the point of view of Optimality Theory.

[21] The observant reader will have noticed that only the final question in the "Diachronic" section made reference to AA at all.

[22] See Žobov et al. (2004) for more detail on the several field trips.

[23] See Stojkov 1955, Georgiev 1907.

[24] Bajčev 1971 consistently uses the term "vtorično udarenie."

[25] See Baerman (2004), and Žobov et al. (2004).

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Poststressing Complementizers in Erkeč (Kozičino)

Matthew Baerman

The data from Erkeč provide evidence which may help to shed light on one of the more puzzling issues in Bulgarian prosody, namely the behavior of the negative particle *ne*. Though itself unstressed, it has the property within verb phrases of inducing stress on an immediately following pronominal (1) or verbal (2) clitic. If the following syllable is instead part of a stressed verb form, *ne* has no prosodic effect (3).

(1)   ne   sí   me   vidjál
        NEG   AUX.2SG   me.ACC   seen
        'you haven't seen me'

(2)   ne   mé   e   vidjál
        NEG   me.ACC   AUX.3SG   seen
        '(he) hasn't seen me'

(3)   ne   vidjál
        NEG   seen
        '(he) hasn't seen (apparently)'

Two analyses of this have been proposed. The majority view appears to be that *ne* is inherently stressed, but is lexically specified as post-stressing, i.e. its stress is manifested on a following element (cf. Hauge 1976, Penčev 1984, Avgustinova 1997). A precondition for this is that the following element has no lexical stress of its own, so only clitics are affected. An alternative view was proposed by Halpern (1995), whereby *ne* is likewise inherently unstressed. However, whereas the pronominal and verbal clitics are specified as enclitics, *ne* is specified as a proclitic. When the two come together, the proclitic and enclitic fuse to form a viable prosodic word, which by default phonological rules is assigned stress (though its position must still be specified).

The issue remains unresolved, because the arguments for or against either approach must be based on principle, or on theory-internal considerations. *Ne*

is the only word in Standard Bulgarian to behave this way, so there is nothing to compare it to. Nor is anything known of its prosodic history. The data from Erkeč redress some of these empirical lacunae. There, *ne* behaves just as in Standard Bulgarian. The surprise comes in the behavior of the complementizers *kat* 'when' and *ku* 'if', corresponding to Standard Bulgarian *kató* and *áko*, respectively. In Erkeč they exhibit the same prosodic behavior as *ne*, i.e. they are unstressed, but induce stress on immediately following pronominal and verbal clitics. Examples with *kat* are shown in (4-8), with *ku* in (9-13).

(4)   Sétne   <u>kat   gú</u>   swъršém,   zberém   gu
         later   when   it.ACC   finish.1PL   gather.1PL   it.ACC
         'Later, when we finish it, we'll gather it.'

(5)   na   víš   <u>kъt   já</u>   pusréšniš   kъkwó stáwъ
         just   look   when   her.ACC   meet.2SG   what   happens
         'Just look what happens when you meet her.'

(6)   Péjъt   igrájъt   dodé   se   opekǽt,   <u>kat   sé</u>   opekǽt…
         sing.3PL   dance.3PL   until   REFL   bake   when   REFL   bake.3PL
         'They sing and dance while they're baking; when they've baked…'

(7)   i   <u>kat   sí</u>   sidím …
         and   when   REFL   sit.1PL
         'And while we're sitting around…'

(8)   pъk   <u>kъt   é</u>   málku   tó   stuví
         and   when   is   small   then   stands
         'And when he's small, he stands.'

(9)   <u>ku   gú</u>   xaréswat ilí <u>ku jé</u>   ot   pó-   xúbawu   siméjstvo…
         if   him.ACC   like.3PL   or   if   is   from   more   good   family
         'If they like him or if he's from a better family…'

(10)   ás   <u>ku mí</u> …   <u>ku mí</u>   b'áše   edín   sín   žúf…
         I   if   me.DAT   if   me.DAT   was.3SG   one   son   alive
         'If I… if I had one son left alive…'

(11) <u>ku mú</u>   dadǽt   drǽj   to   se   oblečé
      if   him.DAT   give.3PL   clothes   then   REFL   dresses
      'If they give him any clothes, he'll get dressed.'

(12) tí   <u>ku sí</u>   tъdášen…
      you   if   are.2SG   from-here
      'If you're from here…'

(13) dugudína   pák   še   dódete   <u>ku stí</u>   žiwu-zdráwu
      next-year   again   AUX-FUT   come.2PL   if   are.2PL   alive-healthy
      'You'll come back next year if you're in good health.'

It seems reasonable to suppose that the forms *kat* and *ku* are reduced versions of forms which were similar to, if not identical with, the *kató* and *áko* of Standard Bulgarian. That is, they are descended from words which were lexically stressed. The most economical way to account for the loss of stress on *kat* and *ku*, and the concomitant appearance of stress on following clitics, is to assume that a shift of stress occurred diachronically. This may help to fill in the missing link in the history of *ne*: since it displays the same prosodic behavior, perhaps it too is descended from an originally stressed ancestor (cf. Baerman 2001 for further evidence for this from western dialects of Balkan Slavic). Translated into synchronic terms, this favors the first of the interpretations outlined above, namely that *ne* is underlyingly stressed, but stress is realized on a following element. An interpretation along the lines of Halpern (1995) would entail a more extreme restructuring of the system, for which there is no positive evidence.

There is one further phenomenon that warrants being noted in this context. The system in Erkeč makes it possible for multiple post-stressing clitics to occur in sequence, something which of course cannot occur in Standard Bulgarian. How do they interact? Unfortunately, the data are limited to two examples:

(14) kъt   ne   béha…
      when   NEG   were.3PL
      'When they weren't…'

(15) kъt   ni   túriš   kráj…
      when   NEG   put.2SG   end
      'When you don't put a stop to it…'

Since a stressed verb form is not an appropriate host, *ne* does not assign stress. *Ne* in turn does not receive stress from *kat* (*kət*), though it is not clear exactly why. Perhaps it simply falls out of the range of possible hosts (by being underlyingly stressed?). A perhaps more pleasing solution is to suppose that where *ne* precedes a stressed verb form – not an appropriate host for its stress – it procliticizes to it, become part of a single prosodic word. The same process would then apply to *kat*: since *ne* is construed as part of the stressed word, it finds no host for its stress, and likewise becomes proclitic.

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Dialectal Accent Shifts and Double Accent in the Bulgarian Linguistic Region

Georgi Kolev

There is a phenomenon which has long been well-known as an inherent characteristic of certain Bulgarian dialects. This phenomenon is the appearance of a second accent in polysyllabic tonic words and in phonological words (consisting mostly of four syllables or more). For some of the dialects in question (for example, West Rupic dialects), this phenomenon is considered to be so indisputable that it is often included in university textbooks (Stojkov 1968:145; Stojkov 1993:224 and references therein). The phenomenon called *double accent* has been under observation by Bulgarian dialectology for some time now, such that the dialect area characterized by double accent is now well-known (BDA-III, map 153; BDA-OT, maps 51, 52, 55, 76; Ivanov 1972, map 68; Kočev 1993; Vidoeski 1999). It is also known that as of the 16th century those dialectal accent shifts which might have been connected with double accent had either been completed or were already in progress (for examples, see Ničev 1987: 45-56), and that the contemporary form of double accent had been completely established by the middle of the 19th century (proof of this can be found in the Tърlinski Gospel [Mirčev 1932; Ivanov 1971]). Today we can state with certainty that at that time the area of the phenomenon was broader than it is today, that is it might have affected all dialects in the Rhodopes as well as dialects in the western part of Southern Thrace (Kodov 1935:72; Bojadžiev 1991:63-64; BDA-III, Kočev 1993: 289). This conclusion is based on the facts of certain manuscripts which have recently been made available to the scholarly community (Kolev 2001). The scholarly community is also now familiar with the syllabic peculiarities of accentual units that provoke the occurrence of a second accent, that is, those syllabic structures in which the occurrence of double accent can be expected or can be predicted with some degree of certainty. When this syllabic structure is connected with dialects in the south of Bulgaria, the prediction is so reliable that the absence of double accent in such instances causes surprise (see, for example, Molerov 1904:178-182; Ivanov 1971).

In spite of all this, however, we have almost no knowledge of the acoustic and perceptual characteristics of the second accent, nor even of its origin. Nor do we know how the second accent is connected with the "first" accent, nor to what extent it is etymological. For example, there are words like *névestáta* 'the bride', in which neither of the two accented syllables is "etymologically" accented. On a more general level, there is a lack of clarity with respect to a very basic problem: given that this syllable structure causes (or is considered to cause) a second stress in some dialects, why does it not do so in others? Why, in these other dialects, do the same phonetic entities obey different tonic laws (for example: fixed antepenultimate stress, fixed penultimate stress, free stress, fixed initial stress, fixed final stress, or varieties and combinations of different accentual types)?

Many authors have been concerned with the reasons for the appearance of a second accent in polysyllabic words and accentual entities in Bulgarian dialects. Mieczysław Małecki attempted to prove that the occurrence of a second accent in Bulgarian dialects is due to positional restrictions of accent that were valid for Balkan languages, and relates the second accent of Bulgarian dialects to a similar accent in Greek dialects.[1] Although not everyone agreed with this idea, it was nevertheless quite productive. Kiril Mirčev (1937:64), however, rejected this idea.

Mirčev was the first Bulgarian linguist whose opinion was accepted as an authoritative explanation of the phenomenon. Noting that the alternation of accented and unaccented syllables in polysyllabic paradigmatic forms and syntagms (for example, *mómčetáta* 'the boys' or *kúpi_mí_go* 'buy it for me'[2]) creates a particular rhythm, Mirčev concluded that "the appearance of a second accent is due to a particular accentual rhythm which arose in the dialects in which it exists today" (1937:65). According to this statement (or explanation), double accent is simultaneously a reason (a source), and a consequence (a result). It is evident that Mirčev views a particular *accentual rhythm* as a precondition for the appearance of a second accent. The question Mirčev does not answer, however, is this: what creates this special accentual rhythm if not the second stress? Logically interpreted, his explanation runs as follows: There is a particular accent rhythm that arises from the presence of a second accent, the appearance of which (the second accent) is caused by this accentual rhythm.

The term *rhythmic accent*, introduced by Mirčev to characterize double accent in Bulgarian dialects, explains neither the reasons for the occurrence of a second accent nor the nature of the phenomenon itself. This is why I believe that this term is devoid of linguistic content. It is related to perception, or

rather, to the result of the perception of double accent, but it has no connection with the rule for the occurrence of double stress, nor does it explain the reasons for its existence in Bulgarian dialects today.

The occurrence of a second stress is not due to a "striving of the language" towards a rhythmic organization of polysyllabic words, lexical groups, or phrases. The rhythm in a sentence can also occur as the chance result of combinations of words in the sentence.[3] For example : *kúpi bélo víno* 'buy white wine' or *zém'_si b'ǽla drópka* 'take the liver', *kaží_na_ májka* 'tell mother', *vid'jáxa baštá_ti* 'they saw your father', *žená dobrá i_úmna* 'a good and smart woman'. Such rhythm can occur in dialects with different accent systems, in which the phenomenon of double accent may be unknown.

Of more recent authors, J.N. Ivanov accepted both Mirčev's term and explanation "without reservations" (1971: 213; 1977: 142).[4] Ivanov attempted to give additional explanations of the phenomenon and to specify more precisely the reasons for its occurrence appearance by focusing on the acoustic peculiarities of the stressed vowels in dialects with "double accent". According to Ivanov, "the stressed vowels in doubly accented words tend to be longer; the second stress also tends to be longer than the first stress" (1971: 213, n.4).[5] Thus, he thinks that the reason for the occurrence of a second stress lies in "prolonging the stressed vowel in the local dialects of the area of where polysyllabic words are characterized by double accent" (1971: 213-214). He also holds the opinion that "the slowing of the speech rhythm caused by the lengthening of the stressed vowel cannot last more than one syllable, so that the following syllable needs a second accent" (1971: 214).

Ivanov uses the terms *speech rhythm* and *accent rhythm* inconsistently. At one point he claims that speech rhythm causes the occurrence of a second stress (see his statement quoted above), but later in the same work he states the cause is the accent rhythm: "Accent rhythm as a factor, as an original cause for the occurrence of the double accent, can be seen best in polysyllabic words with three accents, as well as in individual phrases and lexical forms" (1971: 216). Apart from this terminological confusion (speech rhythm and accent rhythm are different phenomena after all), there remain several other unclear points in his explanation. These can be summarized as follows:

1) Why is it that the lengthened stressed syllable which slows down the speech rhythm, "cannot last more than one [unstressed] syllable"?

2) If Ivanov's assertion is true, why does a final (oxytonic) second accent occur only exceptionally, as in forms like *ftórijǽ* 'the second', *l'ubenícatá* 'the watermelon' (1971: 203), and not regularly?[6]

3) Why does the same rhythmic principle not cause a third "rhythmic" accent in lexical forms like *vózlavnícata* 'the pillow', *nátováreni* 'loaded down' and others, in which the last (second) accent is in antepenultimate position? The vowel carrying this accent is longer than the two preceding accented ones, and should cause accent-rhythmic forms like **vózlavní:catá:*, *nátová:rení:* and others.

4) Why in such words is there not a "second" oxytonic model reduplicated "as a further development of the penultimate model" – for example **vɤ́zlavnícatá* 'pillow' from *vɤ́zlavnícatá_xi* 'their pillow', or **pókašnínatá* 'furnishings' from *pókašnínatá_si* 'one's furnishings'? (Initial example forms are taken from Ivanov 1971: 201.)

Suppose that one were to formulate Ivanov's explanation so as to postulate that the slow speech rhythm caused by the lengthening of the stressed vowel cannot last more than two unstressed syllables (which is the norm in forms like *pátika* 'path', *gráʒ́dane* 'townpeople', *bɤ́rbore* '(I) speak', *séloto* 'the village', and others). Even so, this would not give a satisfactory explanation of regular instances like *tóledʒǽf* 'so [large], so [small]', *kládenéc* 'well' (but *kládenci* 'wells'), *nášenéc* 'fellow townsman/villager' (but *nášenci* 'fellow villagers'), *pijávičǽf* 'pertaining to a leech', *valǽvičén* 'pertaining to the fulling-mill', and other examples reported by Molerov (1904:180).[7]

Recently Ivan Kočev (1993) has dealt with the phenomenon of "second accent" in Bulgarian dialects. He includes the occurrence of a second stress in the broader context of a specific rhythm not only as concerns entire sentences (such as *já če óʒ́nem ón dodéka dójde* 'I will harvest until he comes') but also as concerns phonological and tonic words (such as *ot Bánsko lé si?* 'are you from Bansko?' *krástavíca* 'cucumber', and others). Kočev sees the second stress as related to the following two tendencies:

1) "the tendency towards stabilization of the accent on a fixed non-final syllable in the forms of certain grammatical categories" (1993: 283)

2) "the tendency towards the stabilization of the accent in particular rhythmic-intonational groups" (1993: 286).

According to Kočev, the above two tendencies are a result of the more general, "typologizing" tendency toward stabilization of the accent on a fixed non-final syllable of the word in Bulgarian dialectal speech. For him the non-final syllable is in fact the penultimate one. He claims that in most Bulgarian dialects there is a tendency towards a "penultimate-accent organization" of words, and consequently of phrases.

In contrast to other authors, Kočev thinks that accent shifts in words and word forms are related to accent rhythm in a more complex way. On the one

hand, he states clearly that "the designation of the pre-final syllable (more rarely the pre-pre-final syllable) as a special position with respect to accent, and also the alternation at regular intervals of penultimate [accent] (and sometimes antepenultimate) in the sentence, is the primary reason for the formation of rhythmic groups in the southwestern dialects" (1993: 288). On the other hand, he claims that "the tendency towards stabilization of the accent on a syllable further to the front, except in instances of a functioning accent shift between forms of different *morphological categories*, is … also supported by the appearance of particular *rhythmic intonational groups* at the boundaries of the phonological word (word, combination) or even phrase (sentence)" (1993: 282). Thus, Kočev is not able to avoid the vicious circle of the links between accent shifts and accentual rhythm, asserting in his conclusion that "the tendency towards the stabilization of accent on a fixed syllable in the word appears consistently in numerous forms, at the basis of which lie different sorts of rhythmic-melodic laws" (1993:291).

What can be considered rational in Kočev's theory is the idea is that the occurrence of "a second fixed and obligatory accent on the pre-final syllable in tetrasyllabic (and polysyllabic) words with initial accent" is a special case of the tendency toward stabilization of the accent on the penultimate syllable (1993: 289).[8] In this theory it is claimed that the occurrence of a second fixed penultimate accent, obligatory in polysyllabic words, is of great importance for the stabilization of paroxytonic rhythm in southwestern Bulgarian dialects (1993: 290).

Double accent as a prosodic phenomenon in Bulgarian dialects has not only been discussed from different points of view: it has also been rejected by some linguists. According to Blagoj Šklifov, there are no words or lexical combinations with double accent. What is usually considered to be double accent is for Šklifov in fact "the length or prolonging of a vowel, which some authors perceive as an additional accent" (1995:27-28).[9] He even discovers accentual-rhythmic units (ARU) of up to seven syllables in which there is only one stress and one syllable in which the vowel is lengthened or long (1995: 19-27; 27).[10]

It is curious that no modern author writing on this topic has cited Stefan Mladenov's opinion about the connection between dialectal accent shifts in the Bulgarian linguistic region and the occurrence of a second accent (Mladenov 1979: 184-186). In commenting on southern Bulgarian dialect systems, he distinguishes two accent types in polysyllabic words: two-syllable accent, and three-syllable accent.[11] Three-syllable accent is defined as an accent that shifts from the final syllable to the third syllable from the

end: this is "the system of three-syllable stress" (pattern - - ' - ' - '). There are two kinds of two-syllable accent. In one, "the last two syllables are accented preferentially (pattern - - - ' - ' -)", and in the other "the stress is carried by the second and third syllables from the end (pattern - - ' - ' - -) (Mladenov 1979:185-186). Mladenov's observation on these types, and their connection with accent shifts, can be summarized in the following quotation: "The paroxytones remain while the oxytones have to become paroxytones. But words which are accented on the fourth syllable from the end rarely become proparoxytones, but rather decompose into two paroxytones. Thus instead of general Bulgarian *mésečina* 'moon', *krástavica* 'cucumber' and the like, they say *mésečína*, *krástavíca* and so forth (and not *meséčina*, *krastá(v)ica*, as in the regions with the 'antepenultimate' accent" (1979: 186). Mladenov concludes that in the Bulgarian dialectal southwest there are speech regions which "preferentially accent the pre-final syllable (pattern - - - ' - -)," and those which "are distinguished by the tendency to accent the third syllable from the end of the word or the lexical group" (1979:186).

These observations of Mladenov, in my opinion, suggest the solution to the mystery of the phenomenon of double accent in Bulgarian dialects. Double accent is not only connected with more recent accent shifts, but it is also linked to restrictions and prohibitions with respect to the position of accent. Mladenov is the only author whose analysis of the phenomenon of "double accent" does not depend on rhythmic reasons.

I believe that the accentual diversity presently found in Bulgarian dialects is due to two tendencies active in the realization of two basic accent types:

1) free stress, characterizing northern Bulgarian dialects
2) limited (non-free) stress, characterizing southern Bulgarian dialects

The term "limited stress" should be interpreted as a relatively free stress within the framework of the last three syllables (final, penultimate and antepenultimate), i.e. three-syllable and two-syllable in Mladenov's terminology.

As a rule, stress in initial position is not excluded in trisyllabic words in any Bulgarian dialect (there is one exception to this rule: the dialect of Boboštica). Most accent differences in Bulgarian dialects are connected with to the place of stress in words of three syllables or more. In most Bulgarian dialects, stress is permitted in final position: exceptions are dialects with the so-called fixed penultimate stress ("disyllabic"), fixed antepenultimate stress ("trisyllabic"), and fixed initial stress. The area covered by these dialects is quite small. In the dialects which I define as those with "non-free stress, there

is a tendency towards non-final stress; this tendency has been fully implemented only in certain southwestern regions.

In dialects with regular penultimate or antepenultimate stress, there must have been a tendency towards an "internal" (non-final and non-initial) stress in words or word forms of three, four and more syllables. Thus, the tendency towards non-final stress has been realized due to positional restrictions such as "no further from the end of the word than the antepenultima" and "no further from the beginning of the words than the penultima". According to this tendency, oxytones become paroyxtone or proparoxytone through a stress retraction, and words of four or more syllables with original initial stress become paroyxtone or proparoxytone through a stress advancement. We may say for these dialects that the process of retraction (movement of stress towards the beginning of the word) is no longer relevant as a means for attaining a particular accentual organization of the polysyllabic word (syntagm). The process of advancement, however (movement of stress towards the end of the word), is still relevant, given the restriction "not further than penultima or antepenultima." The so-called fixed accent is in essence a mobile accent which falls on different syllables in different forms of the same word (i.e. which differ only in terms of the number of syllables): however, it always falls on either the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable. For example: *stárec - staréco - starcatógo - starcítim* 'old man' [indefinite, definite, accusative, plural definite oblique]; *krastá(v)ičar - krasta(v)íčarot - krasta(v)ičárite* 'cucumber vendor' [singular indefinite, singular definite, plural definite]. The only truly fixed accent is found in the extreme southwestern region – an initial stress which never shifts from the initial syllable.

The accentual organization of words (syntagms) with penultimate and antepenultimate stress is based on the principle "first out, last in". That is, the final syllable is the one which is important, not the initial syllable or the number of syllables that follow it.[12] Thus, the prefinal and the pre-prefinal syllable seem to be the most important structurally for marking the boundaries of accentual (phonetic) units (word forms, syntagms); and it is constant contrast between the accented syllable (penultimate or antepenultimate) and the end of the word which signals this boundary. Kočev also speaks about the special position of the prefinal syllable with respect to accent (1993: 289).

However, the boundaries of the accentual unit are marked differently in those southern Bulgarian dialects with fixed initial stress and in the dialects with the occurrence of a second accent. In these dialects there is a clear restriction against advancement of stress (shift towards the end of the word)

from antepenultimate or preantepenultimate syllables. Since antepenultimate stress does not break the rule "not further than the third syllable from the end," dialects with double accent frequently exhibit forms like *glásove* 'voices', *rédove* 'rows', *gráduve* 'towns', *snópitu* 'the sheaves', *kupítutu* ' the hoof', *ímetu* 'the name', *pátika* 'pathway', *lúbenícata* 'the watermelon', *rắžeme* '(we) cut', *bắrbore* '(I) speak', and others: such forms are quite regular there. Forms and syntagms which are irregular in these dialects, however, are those such as *réduvetu* 'the rows', *gráduvetu* 'the towns', *kúčetata* 'the dogs', *pátikata* 'the pathway', *rắžeme_ja krắxčinata* '(we) cut the lean meat', *zábъrbore* '(I) begin to speak', and others. In these forms the contrastive syllable is the fourth from the end. I believe that the occurrence of a second accent on the penultimate syllable in such forms is due to compensatory restoration of the contrast between the final syllable and the penultimate or antepenultimate. This explains the consistence and the regularity in these dialects of forms such as *réduvétu*, *grádovétu*, *kúčetáta*, *pátikáta*, *rắžemé_ja krắčxináta*, *zábъrbóre* and others.[13]

Dialects with a fixed initial stress are at first glance sharply differentiated from other southwestern dialects. In actuality they correspond to the Boboštica dialect and more generally to the tendency to maintain the contrast between penultimate and final syllables. In these dialects it is the penultimate syllable which is the contrasting one, although in this case the means of contrast is not stress but vowel lengthening. For example: *pŕs* 'finger'- *pŕsti* 'fingers', but *pŕsti:te* 'the fingers'; similarly *járъmbi:ca* 'partridge', *téndžerina:ta* 'the cooking pot' (for more examples see Vidoeski 1999 and Šklifov 1979). From the Golobъrdo Bulgarian villages in Albania, where the stress is fixed on the third syllable from the end, we may cite examples like *pláni:na* 'mountain', *goléma:ta* 'the large' [feminine noun follows or is understood], and others (examples from my personal archive). As these examples show, there is no correlation between the number of syllables and the position of the initially stressed syllable in relation to the penultima. The signalizing of the contrast is not acoustically equivalent (or adequate). I am convinced that acoustic signals are perceived differently by speakers of different dialect groups. In some dialects the contrast is a second stress which marks a phonetic [phonological] word, while in others this will not be the case: for their speakers, other acoustic (phonetic) signals are more important for marking the boundaries of a phonetic-semantic unit.

Generally speaking, the signals of contrast are connected with differences in perception: it can be a second accent, a long vowel (which some also hear as accented), a voiceless vowel, or a rise in intonation. This assertion, of

course, is subject to experimental proof. It is possible that the second accent seen in the phenomenon of "double accent" in southern Bulgarian dialects could have "developed" on the basis of an originally lengthened vowel in the penultimate syllable.

Thus I believe that both the occurrence of a second accent and vowel lengthening in the penultimate unstressed syllable of polysyllabic words (and forms) are connected with the prohibition against stress advancement from initial syllables whenever the syllable structure of a word increases. This restriction prevents the initial stress from becoming a pre-antepenultimate stress (on the fourth syllable from the end of the word), which would break the contrast between the final syllable and the antepenultimate/penultimate one. However, there is still no answer to the important question of why it is exactly these two syllables that are so important for the accentual organization of the word (syntagm). Rhythm is only a consequence of the occurrence of a second stress in different phonetic entities: it is not the reason for its occurrence. In this sense I consider that rhythmic melody at the sentence level (Kočev 1993:289) could in no way have supported (and did not support) either the stabilization of accent on non-final syllables or the appearance of a second accent in polysyllabic words and syntagms. In my opinion, the occurrence of this second accent (either within a single word or within a syntagmatic phrase) in southern Bulgarian dialects) is connected with two factors: recent shifts in word accent, and positional limitations on the occurrence of word accent.

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Notes

[1] Subsequently it was also admitted that there was a possibility that contact with Greek or Albanian dialects had supported or influenced accent changes in Bulgarian. See Kočev 1993: 286.

[2] The underscore between words means that they are components of a single accentual unit. – Ed.

[3] See Kočev (1993:287-288) for more examples illustrating what is to him the tendency to constructing the rhythm in phrases.

⁴ See Ivanov 1971 for the history of the problem in the linguistic literature.

⁵ That is, some kind of principle of "increasing quantity" would have to operate as one moves from the initial to the final syllable.

⁶ J. N.   Ivanov himself points out that the   oxytonic second accent is the least frequently appearing double accent type, and that it does not occur in any position or word category with any regularity. He believes that "oxytonic accents must have arisen in the context of paroxytonic ones [...] (word + enclitic), for example *ftórijŕ (mu)* '(his) second', *lubenícatá (si)* '(one's) watermelon'." He regards such examples "as a later development of paroxytonic [accents]" (1971: 202-203). Molerov however, who undoubtedly knew his native Razlog dialect better than did Ivanov, points out that "every trisyllabic word whose usual stress falls on the first syllable has two accents if the word ends with a consonant" (1904:179).

⁷ Already in 1904 Molerov described the phenomenon with greater precision than Ivanov: "After the stressed syllable there may occur [...] two unstressed syllables *only at the end of the word*, and only when the word *ends in a vowel*" (1904:180).

⁸ Here I am completing   Kočev's thought: in his 1993 article he does not use exactly these words.

⁹ One wonders why   Šklifov is the only one who always hears a long vowel and thinks that the combination "stress + vowel sound," (which depends on the vowel's position in the syllabic structure), is a phenomenon basically characteristic of the southern and southwestern dialects. It is also not clear why the existence of this combination in the Kostur region should be a reason for the absence of double accent in the Razlog region or in the Rhodopes, where I have also heard it. In support of his assertion, Šklifov also cites examples from the Jambol-area villages Irečekovo and Nedjalsko: *gróbišta:ta* 'the graveyards', *pečátnica:ta* 'the printing press', and others. Insofar as it concerns the Bulgarian south, these forms are "admissible", but as Šklifov does not mention anything about his source, these forms remain to be confirmed.

¹⁰ Šklifov defines its position counting from the initial syllable.

¹¹ Mladenov made a distinction between bisyllabic and trisyllabic accent on the one hand, and two-syllable and three-syllable accent on the other. By the first, he meant stress fixed on the second or third syllable from the end of the words, and by the second he meant stress no further from the end of the word than the second or third syllable.

¹² Compare Molerov's statement: "In the Razlog dialect many unstressed syllables are tolerated before the stressed syllable in a word. For example, *govedarúvam* 'be a cowherd', *vodeničarúvam 'be a miller', vodeničaruváli* 'was a miller' [past active participle]" (1904:179).

¹³ All examples are from the   Razlog region and were collected during the expedition on double accent led by Prof. Ronelle Alexander.

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Hierarchies of Stress Assignment in Bulgarian Dialects

Vladimir Žobov, Ronelle Alexander & Georgi Kolev

It is well known that Bulgarian verb phrases including clitics often bear two distinct accents. One such instance, in which a second stress is assigned within a verb phrase to the first clitic following the negative particle *ne*, is known in most Bulgarian dialects and is invariably heard in the standard language. Compare the difference between the stress patterns of an affirmative utterance and its negative reformulation:

> (1) *Tój*   *mu*   *go*   *dáva*.
>   He   to him   it   give-3sg.
> He gives it to him.

> (2) *Tój*   *ne*   *mú*   *go*   *dáva*.
>   He   not   to him   it   give-3sg.
> He doesn't give it to him.

Other than this particular pattern, widespread throughout Bulgarian, the phenomenon of double accent (whereby a second accent is added under certain conditions) is generally thought to be confined to southwestern Bulgarian dialects.

During the mid 1980s, however, during a brief field session in the northeastern Bulgarian dialect of Golica, one of us (Žobov), had noticed a second accent on pre-verbal clitics immediately following certain conjunctions, in instances such as the following:

> (3) *Ako* *gó*   *znáeš*   *kaží*   *mi*.
>   If   him   know-2sg.   tell-imper.   me
> If you know him, tell me.

Having heard sporadic instances of the same phenomenon in the speech of university colleagues born in the central Balkan dialectal region, he resolved to investigate the issue further when the occasion arose.

This occasion came about with the inception of collaborative work seeking a new interpretation of double accent. In the late 1980s, another of us (Alexander), initiated a large-scale study of double accent, based on the hypothesis that double accent was not limited to southwestern Bulgaria but was to be found over a much wider geographical area, and that the generalized idea of double accent could refer to a number of different actual implementations. Joint fieldwork by the three of us, focused partly on double accent and partly on other phenomena of dialectal syntax, began in 1990 and concluded in 1996.[1] Throughout this time, nearly 35 village dialects were investigated (spanning many different areas of Bulgaria), and extensive stretches of narrative were recorded in each one.[2] A key element in this work was the combined perceptions of two native speakers (Žobov and Kolev) and one non-native speaker (Alexander), all of whom had extensive experience in Bulgarian dialectology.

During the final joint field trip of this collaboration, we decided to pay specific attention to the putative post-stressing conjunctions. Indeed, it was largely for this reason that the 1996 joint field team chose to visit both the Erkeč area (the site where the phenomenon had first been noted) and Trjavna, the locus of one of the most typical central Balkan dialects. Two specific hypotheses were chosen to be tested: the first was that such stress patterns indeed existed, and the second was that they represented not an archaism but rather an innovation. That is, since with few exceptions[3] such accentuation had not been reported before (despite the exhaustive field work undertaken in the 1950s during data collection for the four-volume *Bulgarian Dialect Atlas*[4]), it seemed likely that this accentual phenomenon had only recently become regularized in the dialects in question. A thorough investigation of the first dialect, therefore, would allow a more precise description of this accentuation, and would possibly give insight into the cause of its origin. Testing of a second area for the existence of this accentuation would yield verification that the innovation was spreading, and would allow insight into the degree and manner of its spread. In short, we hoped to witness an instance of language change in progress.

Fieldwork in Erkeč completely confirmed the initial hypothesis: accented clitics occurred with varying degrees of regularity after the conjunctions *KATO* and *AKO*[5]. This gave solid support to our hypothesis that the well-known pattern, whereby the negative particle *NE* caused accent to fall upon an

immediately following pre-verbal clitic, could be seen as part of a broader syntactic phenomenon. Namely, certain clause-initial particles, of which the negative particle is one, occasion an additional accent upon the immediately following pre-verbal clitic. In accordance with other work elsewhere in this volume, this phenomenon will be termed AA, meaning "Additional Accentuation."[6] Indications that AA represents change in progress were seen in very sporadic occurrences of this accentuation also after the conjunctions *DA* and *I*. Such accents were heard much more rarely in Erkeč than after *KATO* and *AKO*. Finally, it seemed possible that AA could occur after the future particle.[7] However, fieldwork in Erkeč did not yield any unambiguous instances of the latter.

Moving to Trjavna in the central Balkan zone, we found similar accentuation with one exception. This is that AA occurred significantly less frequently after *KATO* than after *AKO*. It was also heard after *DA* and *I*, but extremely sporadically. The data were sufficient, however, to suggest that AA is not restricted to one local dialect within Bulgaria but rather represents a change in progress over a broader domain. Faced with this realization while still in the field, we decided to use much of the time devoted to analysis of the freshly-recorded material (and especially, to work with the dialect speakers still at hand) to analyze, test and probe for a clearer characterization of this change. We began by asserting that it was clause-initial particles (and especially conjunctions) that triggered AA. Secondly, we observed that while AA occurred after the negative particle without exception, there seemed to be a hierarchy among conjunctions with respect to the potential for triggering AA.

At this point, we made a rough statistical count of the Erkeč material, after extracting all examples of clitics following conjunctions from approximately thirty hours of running narrative. This count showed nearly equal regularity of AA after *AKO* and *KATO,* with slightly greater frequency after *KATO* than after *AKO*. The impression that *DA* and *I* triggered AA much less frequently than *AKO* and *KATO* was borne out; the data also showed, however, that AA after *DA* is significantly more frequent than after *I*.

The following figures give the data for the generalized Erkeč dialect, which includes two villages, Golica (G) and Kozičino (K). The notation "+AA" means that a second accent was heard on a clitic following the conjunction in question, and the notation "-AA" means that a conjunction plus clitic sequence was heard without a second accent. The first figure given in each column is the number of instances, and the second is the percentage of the total. The figures are based upon frequency of occurrence within recorded

textual material, encompassing lengthy conversations with a number of informants over a specific period of six days.

	Golica	Kozičino	Erkeč (total)
KATO			
+ AA	98 / 91%	229 / 97%	327 / 95%
- AA	10 / 9%	8 / 3%	18 / 5%
AKO			
+ AA	14 / 88%	29 / 94%	43 / 91%
- AA	2 / 12%	2 / 6%	4 / 9 %
DA			
+ AA	7 / 41%	12 / 23%	19 / 35%
- AA	10 / 59%	26 / 68%	36 / 65%
I			
+ AA	1	3	4
- AA	(many)	(many)	(many)
DOKATO			
+ AA	2	6	8
- AA	(many)	(many)	(many)

Table 1: Frequency of occurrence of AA in the Erkeč dialect

Although the sample analyzed in Trjavna was considerably smaller, the figures are striking. Especially striking is the fact that AA was heard after *AKO* with much greater regularity than after *KATO*, in contrast to our experience in the Erkeč area where the calculations showed only a slight difference. Material was drawn from four different villages in the Trjavna region, Černovrъx (C), Bangejci (B), Prestoj (P) and Stančev Xan (S). Calculations were made only for the conjunctions *AKO* and *KATO*, as the data for the conjunctions *DA* and *I* were so insignificant as to be uninteresting.

	C	B	P	S	Total
AKO					
+ AA	17	10	5	2	34 / 98%
- AA			1		1 / 2%
KATO					
+ AA	6	5	4	4	19 / 24%
- AA	15	25	2	19	61 / 76%

Table 2: Frequency of occurrence of AA in the Trjavna dialect

What do these data mean? How do we evaluate the existence of AA in these two dialects of Bulgarian , one of which (that of Erkeč) is considered to be quite archaic and the other of which (that of Trjavna) is recognized as one of the primary bases of the modern literary standard? Given that the pattern represents an innovation,[8] what is the source of this innovative pattern, and what seems to be conditioning its spread? Of these two questions, that of the source is the more difficult. One obvious possible solution presented itself in the fact that the disyllabic conjunctions *KATO* and *AKO* often appeared in contracted form (*KAT'* and *'KO*). One naturally wonders, therefore, whether this lost syllable could be associated with the rise of AA. Upon analysis of the material, it quickly became clear that this could not be the case. Not only did the material contain a number of instances of contracted conjunctions *not* followed by AA, but (and this is considerably more significant) it included eleven instances of disyllabic *KATO* with AA, and only one instance of it without.

Deciding that this first question (of the ultimate origin of AA) must be put off to a later time, we turned our attention to the question of the spread of AA, and to the degree of its internalization within the system. For several reasons, the dialect of Trjavna presented the natural focus of such an investigation. First, it appears from the data that the innovation is less firmly established (and therefore more recent) in Trjavna than in Erkeč: working with Trjavna speakers would thus give us a better chance of catching glimpses of the change in progress. Second, the position of the Trjavna dialect with relation to the Bulgarian literary standard allowed us a valuable opportunity to test language attitudes. This is because the town of Trjavna is located in the center of the dialect zone taken as the source for the codification of the literary language, a process which was still being actively carried out less than a

century ago, with the result that Trjavna residents retain conscious pride in the "purity" of their local dialect and its importance within the history of Bulgarian letters. Testing the attitude of such speakers towards possible change in their own native dialect, therefore, would yield not only insight into the neutral process of language change, but also into the dynamic tension between natural language change and the force of a prescriptive standard.

With all these questions in mind, we devised[9] a listening test to gauge the acceptability among native Trjavna speakers of putative instances of AA. The essential hypothesis was that if AA represents a change in progress, one should be able to chart its path along a continuum ranging from "active production" through "passive acceptance" to "active rejection." If the change is indeed spreading throughout the community of speakers, and throughout the lexicon of conjunctions, it should also be possible to discover the relative location of various conjunctions with respect to AA along this continuum. The sociolinguistic nature of the problem was additionally intriguing because of the strongly prescriptive nature of standard Bulgarian. All educated speakers of Bulgarian are taught the difference between the several dialects and the one standard, and nearly everyone is convinced that there is only one truly "correct" form of the language. The conscious pride felt by Trjavna residents in their speech thus has a double source: in speaking their own local dialect, they feel that they are also naturally speaking "pure" and "correct" Bulgarian.

The issue of "correct" Bulgarian is further complicated by the fact that a basically eastern dialect (that of the central Balkans) forms the basis of a language whose present cultural center (Sofia) is located within a western dialect zone. Certain western features were initially integrated into the literary standard such that the accepted literary standard is now a mix of the two. Thus, "correct" Bulgarian consists of some forms found naturally in eastern dialects and some found naturally in western dialects. It is the nature of language, however, to develop naturally within its own surroundings. Therefore, it is also the case that certain other forms not accepted by prescriptivists as "correct" are in widespread use among western speakers, and others among eastern speakers. Each group accepts its own set of forms as a marker of solidarity, and correspondingly rejects those of the other as a mark of "otherness."

These facts allowed us to insert a control into the experiment. According to the pattern we devised in the field, the experiment consisted of twenty sentences, testing eight conjunctions. Within each sentence, the conjunction was followed by a preverbal clitic. Half of the clitics were accented, and half were not. Of the eight conjunctions, seven appeared in two examples each,

and one (*DA*) in three.[10]   Of the remaining three sentences, one was a camouflage, containing no remarkable features. The other two constituted the sociolinguistic control: each of these contained one of two possible lexemes for the verb 'count' (in the phrase 'count one's money'). One of these (*broja*) is marked for "western" usage, and is also the prescribed standard form. The other (*četa*) is marked for "eastern" usage and is not accepted in the literary standard. Informants who accepted the "eastern," non-standard form without comment, therefore, were judged to have a good sense of their native dialect and consequently to be apt to provide reliable evidence for internal change in the local Trjavna dialect: all informants in fact accepted this form as the norm.

The sentences were randomized, and were recorded by one of the student members of the team (whose birthplace was the eastern Bulgarian town of Xaskovo).[11]   Informants were sought in various public parts of the town, usually in city parks, and were asked whether they would mind participating in a linguistic experiment. Before the experiment began, each informant was given the following introduction, the purpose of which was to stimulate each informant's pride in his or her speech (both as local dialect and as the essence of standard Bulgarian), to give a natural sounding justification for the experiment, and subtly to alert the informant's ear for questions of accent placement.[12]

"We all know that the Bulgarian language is in a state of confusion. Each speaks as he or she likes, and there are frequent discussions in the media as to which of these ways of speaking is correct, since decisions must constantly be made. For instance, we hear people saying both *víno* and *vinó*, *čélo* and *čeló*, *čéti* and *četí*, and no longer know which is the right way to say it. This is why our university has sent us here to Trjavna, a town about which it is known that its spoken Bulgarian is the least corrupted. They want us to get information which will help the Bulgarian language find its pure roots, and to make sure that the best decisions are made."[13]

The tape was then played twice. After each sentence, the informant was asked, "Is this the way it would be said in good Trjavna language?" Whenever the answer was negative, the informant was asked to specify what it was in the particular sentence that did not sound right. The responses were then tabulated and analyzed. Fully aware that the experiment was but a trial run, since it was devised on the spot and conducted within a very short period of time, we nevertheless feel that the preliminary results obtained are significant as an indicator of language change in progress.

Following is the text of the experiment. Sentences are given in the order read to informants, and the conjunctions included as possible triggers of AA are capitalized. Sentences read with AA (that is, with accent on the following clitic) are marked with **, and those read without AA (without accent on the following clitic) are marked with *.

*	1.	*AKO si ottuka, še poznavaš xorata.*
		If you're from around here, you'll know the people.
**	2.	*Ne iska DA gu pozdravi.*
		She doesn't want to greet him.
	3.	*Taka stana naj-dobre.*
		That way turned out the best.
**	4.	*ŠTOM gu prodavat tɤj skɤpo ne gu kupuvaj.*
		Since they're selling it for so much, don't buy it.
*	5.	*Tolkus mnogo rabotil ČE se pregɤrbil.*
		He worked so much that he became humpbacked.
**	6.	*Tolkus go stegnal magareto TA gu udušil.*
		He tied the donkey up so tightly that he caused it to choke.
*	7.	*KAT sa ubljakɤl, izljazɤl.*
		When he finished dressing, he went out.
	8.	*Pročeti parite i bjagaj.*
		Count the money and get moving.
**	9.	*AKO sɤ poznavat, po-dobre.*
		If they know each other, so much the better.
*	10.	*Štom iska, neka DA gi čaka.*
		Since he wishes, let him wait for them.
**	11.	*Tuj ŠE se razbere, ama da mine vreme.*
		They'll come to an understanding, but it will take time.
*	12.	*Govori, usukva, TA mu omrɤzna.*
		He talked on so much that she got fed up with him.
*	13.	*V sɤbota ŠE se ženjat.*
		They are getting married on Saturday.
**	14.	*Še vikaš njakoj DA ti pomaga.*
		You'll call someone to help you.
**	15.	*Ne minavaj ottam ČE še padneš.*
		Don't go that way, you'll fall.
	16.	*Čakaj malko da prebroja parite.*
		Wait a bit until I count the money.

*   17. *ŠTOM ti davat zaplata, sičko e dobre*.
> As long as they pay you, everything's OK.

**   18. *KAT gu krъštavat, pak gu obličat*.
> After they christen it, they wrap it up again.

*   19. *Napadnali gi I gi ugrabili*.
> They supposedly attacked them and robbed them.

**   20. *Sedjat I si pijvat rakijata*.
> They're sitting and sipping their rakia.

Sentences were read with vowel reduction patterns appropriate to an eastern dialect. Additionally, the sentences were consciously composed to include certain extremely common eastern dialectal traits, such as the ellipsis of initial *v-* in *vsičko* 'everything,' the replacement of the reflexive particle *se* by *sъ*, the simplification of the future particle *šte* to *še*, and the replacement of the conjunction *kato* by the shortened form *kat*. The latter two decisions proved to be a tactical error, though. The simplified forms of the conjunction *KATO* and the particle *ŠTE* (*KAT* and *ŠE*) had been heard repeatedly in the field during the first days of work in Trjavna; we had correspondingly decided to have them read that way in the test sentences. Many (though not all) informants, however, rejected these forms as "not the way I would say it." For this reason, therefore, the data in these test sentences, at least as concerns the viability of AA, is not completely reliable.

Informant responses fell into the following four categories:

(i) correction of -AA to +AA
(ii) general acceptance of +AA
(iii) general rejection of +AA
(iv) correction of +AA to -AA

The tabulation of responses given below is approximate and partial. Specifically, it includes only those responses which were clearly focused upon the problem at hand. When the reasons for the rejection of a sentence were determined to be unrelated to accentuation, such instances of rejections are not included within category (iii); this category is therefore less indicative than the other three. Category (ii) is also potentially inconclusive, in that acceptances were made sometimes with hesitation, and the reasons for the hesitation could not always be verified. Nevertheless, even a partial acceptance of a sentence with +AA counts as evidence, and these instances are therefore included in the count of category (ii).

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)
AKO	1	9		
KAT		3		1
I		6	4	
DA		4	3	4
TA		3	3	5
ŠE		3	3	5
ŠTOM			5	6
ČE			2	8

Table 3. Hierarchies of stress assignment in the Trjavna dialect

Although the test summarized in Table 3 was modest both in terms of the range of data and in the number of informants, the results nevertheless clearly show a hierarchy of acceptance of AA within the modern Trjavna dialect. The figures are the more significant in that the majority of informants were young, intelligent speakers who are constantly exposed to the standard language, and who presumably belong to a social class marked by high upward mobility. Even passive acceptance of +AA forms, therefore, is proof that AA is a productive pattern within their native dialect. The fact that only one of the informants made an active correction of -AA to +AA, and in only one instance, should not be dismissed lightly. On the contrary, even a single instance of a conscious correction of a standard accentual pattern – in a direction away from the prescribed standard and towards conformity with a presumably innovative dialectal accentual pattern – is highly significant, and constitutes strong proof that the change is clearly underway and well rooted within the dialect.

The conjunctions are given in Table 3 according to the hierarchy established by the experiment. As expected, the two conjunctions *AKO* and *KATO* scored the most highly. The paucity of reliable figures for *KATO* is highly unfortunate, as it was certain that the majority of the informants rejected the sentences not on grounds of accentuation but because of the form of the conjunction itself. Even the one informant who actively restated the sentence with -AA, thereby forcing the inclusion of his answer into category (iv), obviously did so to emphasize his dissatisfaction more with the shape of

the conjunction than with the sentence's accentuation. Still, the fact that no one explicitly rejected the instances of +AA on the basis of accentuation, and that three even accepted them, is proof that *KATO* ranks relatively high on the hierarchy.

Next highest, somewhat surprisingly, is the conjunction *I*. The figures here may not be as reliable as would be desired, owing to the fact that the semantics of one of the two test sentences were highly favorable to all informants: not only did sentence 20 refer to an agreeable activity (the drinking of rakia with friends) but it also marked the conclusion of an experiment which was perhaps beginning to become tiresome. Nevertheless, the fact that no one corrected non-standard accentuation in the direction of standard accentuation may still be significant.

The remaining conjunctions show a decreasing rate of acceptability. Nevertheless, AA is still significantly more possible with *DA* and *TA* than with *ŠE*, *ŠTOM* or *ČE*. The figures of acceptance *vs*. rejection in the case of *DA* and *TA* are approximately equal, and in the case of these conjunctions, only half the informants actively replaced +AA by -AA. As concerns *ŠE*, the problem is similar to that with *KATO*: informants reacted more to the shape of the particle itself than to the accentuation of the sentence. Thus, although all informants rejected +AA with *ŠE*, only half of them actively reformulated the +AA sentences as -AA. This stands in clear opposition to *ČE* and *ŠTOM*, the final two entries on the chart. For these conjunctions, informants uniformly rejected   +AA and in every instance restated the sentence with -AA.

In sum, the experiment has proved conclusively that a dialectal accentual pattern which had previously gone all but unnoticed by dialectologists is consistently present in two non-contiguous Bulgarian dialects, and suggests strongly that this pattern seems to be spreading throughout the Bulgarian language territory. Subsequent to performing this experiment, in fact, one of us (Žobov) noticed such accentuation occurring with very high frequency after the conjunction *AKO* in widely varying regions throughout Bulgaria.[14]   Since Bulgarian dialectology is a highly developed discipline, and Bulgarian dialects are among the most thoroughly documented, the confirmed existence of something quite new is an exciting contribution. Even more exciting is the fact that the "new" phenomenon is neither limited to a single word, sound or grammatical form (but rather affects both phonology and syntax more broadly), nor limited to a single local dialect (but rather appears to be an innovation that is spreading). The results outlined herein are preliminary insofar as the documentation of geographical spread is based only on two

areas, and the documentation of the hierarchy of grammatical spread is based on a relatively rudimentary field experiment. Further work should be undertaken to determine the extent of the spread and to verify the proposed hierarchy.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that such impressive results could never have been obtained in such a short time without the prior long-term collaboration of the three of us, the extension of whose collaboration into the field leadership of the 1996 joint Bulgarian-American field expedition allowed the formulation and implementation of the experiment in a very short time span. It was our earlier work together on numerous problems (including but not limited to those related to double accent) which allowed us to notice the nature and extent of AA so quickly, to immediately formulate the appropriate hypotheses so precisely, and to devise and carry out the innovative field experiments so successfully.

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Notes

[1] A number of field trips were made to different regions of Bulgaria during the following periods: two days in 1990 (Alexander, Kolev and Radko Šopov), three days in 1991 (Alexander and Maksim Mladenov), two weeks in 1993 (Alexander, Žobov and Kolev) and two weeks in 1996 (Alexander, Žobov, Kolev, Jonathan Barnes, Matthew Baerman, Elisabeth Elliott, Tanya Delčeva, Petar Šiškov, and Kamen Petrov).

[2] Analysis of this material is currently underway. The Alexander 2004 report is devoted to the general topic of double accent; studies are also underway by other team members on other aspects of dialectal syntax. The raw material now forms part of the "Sofia-Berkeley Archive of Bulgarian Dialect Speech," which will eventually be made available (at least in part) for general use.

[3] These few exceptions are found in dialect texts recorded and published by Bajčev (1970) under the rubric "Dialectal materials" (detailed phonetic transcriptions of dialect texts from various areas). Although Bajčev wrote a study

devoted to conjunctions in the dialect of Golica (1977), he made no explicit mention of this accentuation, and these particular examples have gone unnoticed until now. Another example from Golica is also to be found in Stojkov (1955: 366, based on material collected in 1951), after a conjunction which, according to the present investigation, is much more rarely found with such accentuation. In this example – *Te dodaxa i ma napaštat, če sæm im kral xlopka* 'They came and they accused me of stealing their cowbell' – the clitic *sæm*, occurring after the conjunction *če*, is accented.

It is curious that Stojkov notes this accentuation after a conjunction which, according to our results, is least expected to trigger this phenomenon, while at the same time he fails to note a similar accentuation after the two conjunctions (*kato* and *ako*) where it must have occurred more consistently. Namely, he also records the examples *I az kato čux, kat sa šibnax ottuk* 'And when I heard, when I hit myself…' (1955:365) and *Ku ja nakara da valja* 'If he makes her full [the wool]..' *(*1955:366), in which the clitics after *kat* 'when' and *ko* 'if' are clearly unaccented. One possible explanation might be that he considered such accentuation to be so regular as to be unworthy of note; this explanation is the more likely since he failed to note the accent on a clitic following the negative particle, where it occurs almost universally throughout Bulgarian dialects: *Pak katu ne gu iska* 'Since he doesn't want it then...' (1955:366).

[4] In fact, certain examples are given in the commentaries to Map 223 in Vol. III (southwestern Bulgaria; see BDA 1975: 174-176) and map 287 in Vol. IV (northwestern Bulgaria; see BDA 1981: 199-202), which summarize the usage of the conjunction *što*. Interspersed in the long listings of subordinate clauses following *što* are a number of instances of the sequence "*što* + stressed clitic" (16 instances in BDA III and five in BDA IV). Because they have been nowhere highlighted in dialectal studies, these data have also gone unnoticed until now. From the examples found in the commentary lists, it appears that the phenomenon is most frequent in the areas around Sofia, Radomir, Ixtiman and Slivnica. Note, however, that these data do not allow any conclusions to be drawn about the territorial extent of this phenomenon; the reason for the lack of information is simply that field workers had been instructed to attend consistently only to phenomena which corresponded to specific questions in the program for the collection of the data. Indeed, it is only because the questionnaire included an item devoted to the occurrence of the conjunction *što* (as opposed to other relative conjunctions) that partial recovery of these data is possible at all, and then only in the west (that is, the fact that *što* does not occur in eastern dialects means that the other two volumes of BDA give no information at all).

[5] Henceforth conjunctions which are suspected to cause stress on a following clitic (including the negative particle) are cited in capital letters and italicized.

[6] AA is defined as follows: a second accent occurs on a clitic immediately following certain clause-initial conjunctions or particles and immediately preceding the verb, with the understanding that only one or more additional clitics can occur between the accented clitic and the verb form. See Alexander 2004 for more discussion.

[7] The future particle in this dialect is ŠE (as opposed to ŠTE in the literary standard).

[8] It is possible, of course, that we are here dealing with an archaic feature which is dying out, and that the greater consistency of occurrence in Erkeč could be due simply to the fact of that dialect's general conservatism. While recognizing that the limited amount of data does not allow for an unambiguous conclusion, our strong instincts are that it is an innovation which is spreading.

[9] The primary architect of the test was Žobov, although all three of us (as well as all the student team members) participated in the design and implementation.

[10] The higher frequency of the conjunction *DA* within the test corresponds to its relatively higher frequency of usage in potentially different meanings. Unfortunately, we could not include the conjunction *ŠTO* in the test, since it is not used in this dialect. This deprived us of the opportunity to correlate our findings with those found in the commentaries in two of the four volumes of the Bulgarian Dialect Atlas (see fn. 4 above).

[11] Xaskovo was judged to be more representative of "eastern" speech in general, as opposed to the speech of the capital city of Sofia (the birthplace of most of the other Bulgarian team members). The test sentences were constructed so as to avoid any of the major differences between the dialects of Trjavna and Xaskovo, and to highlight the similarities between them, which consist primarily of the noticeably more "eastern" patterns of vowel reduction and consonant softening.

[12] These words were not read verbatim to each informant but were rather embedded in various ways into the conversation preceding the actual test.

[13] The intention of this statement was to direct the attention of informants to their sense of "pure" Bulgarian, regardless of what was written in standard grammars. "Pure" Bulgarian, for the sake of this experiment, meant clearly informants' intuitions about their own native dialectal speech. In addition, the inclusion of examples of variation in accent placement was intended to alert them subconsciously to listen for this feature.

[14] It has not yet been possible to carry out a statistical survey of these instances or even to collect structured data on them. It is worth noting, however, that all instances have been heard from educated speakers who were born in areas (such as Kjustendil and Dragoman) which are quite far from the two centers of innovation tested for the experiment reported herein.

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Towards a Revitalization of Bulgarian Dialectology

Ronelle Alexander & Vladimir Žobov

This volume has presented the concrete research that has resulted from a joint Bulgarian-American field expedition carried out in 1996; the expedition and the volume together comprise the project known under the title "Revitalizing Bulgarian Dialectology." The very design and implementation of the project represented a significant innovation for both Bulgarian and North American scholarship, and the fruit that it has borne is obvious, if only (and at the very least) in the present volume of papers. Consequently, the volume itself is unique in that each paper is to a great extent the direct outgrowth of an experience that was for each of the participants something quite new. Undergraduate students, graduate students, junior faculty and senior faculty worked in the field together more or less as equals for a period of two weeks, and despite language and cultural barriers managed not only to learn a very great amount from each other but also to accomplish much more work together than had been anticipated even with the most optimistic of expectations.

Among the expedition accomplishments stand not only the recording of some sixty hours of valuable field material, which now form part of the "Sofia-Berkeley Archive of Bulgarian Dialectal Speech," but also its attention to the transcription of this material. Because the expedition program required team members to work with the recorded material while it was still fresh, nearly one-quarter of the recorded material was transcribed while still in the field. More importantly, this material was transcribed not according to the traditional Bulgarian system, but according to a system that is more accessible to Western scholars. Because all dialectal material quoted in the present volume has been transcribed according to this more generalized Western system, the volume itself is a step on the road towards helping Bulgarian dialectology make the shift away from its traditional system (which, because the phonetic symbols used did not correspond to those used in the West, prevented most Western scholars from being able to use Bulgarian data sources effectively) and towards the use of one that opens the way to better collaborative work with Western scholars. Indeed, the greatest overall contribution of the expedition is the concrete proof that collaborative

fieldwork between Bulgarian and Western scholars is not only possible but indeed highly productive.

Each in its own way, the papers in this volume demonstrate the unique nature of the expedition. Two of them (Barnes, and Žobov et al.) are especially notable in that they report on listening tests carried out in the field. This American practice, of testing hypotheses on the spot (rather than in abstract terms later on), was applied for what appears to be the first time in the Bulgarian field situation during the 1996 expedition. Although one of the experiments (that conducted by Barnes) had been devised in advance, it was refined considerably while in the field; and that by Žobov et al. was completely devised on the spot, after unexpected data were encountered. All team members were aware of the two experiments; indeed practically everyone in the team participated in the actual process of creating and administering this second test. The practical experience, together with the excitement of being part of something so new to Bulgarian dialectology, was a key part of the expedition.

The papers by Delčeva and Šiškov are also of note: each represents a portion of the author's undergraduate thesis, which was in each case begun during (and inspired by) the expedition experience. Delčeva's contribution is additionally unique in that it is one of the few times that a complete dialectal lexicon has been translated into English. The lexical stock of the Erkeč dialect, and especially the sentences in which each of the lexical items occurred, give the outsider a much deeper and richer picture of the actuality of dialect speech. Although Delčeva has not continued with dialectology, her work represents a particular achievement of the 1996 expedition. Šiškov, on the other hand, has begun graduate work in dialectology at Sofia University, and is now preparing his doctoral thesis. His topic represents an outgrowth of his senior thesis, which in turn is work that was initiated during and inspired by the 1996 expedition. Participation in the expedition thus not only gave Šiškov the basis to apply for and win admission to graduate school but has also supplied him with the raw material for what promises to be an outstanding doctoral thesis.

Elliott's paper is also directly related to her doctoral dissertation. Although that work spans a much larger area of Slavic and includes only brief reference to the Erkeč material discussed herein, the importance of the expedition for Elliott's career is very great in that it gave her the impetus to spend a longer research period in the Balkans and to reorient her research in the direction of South Slavic dialectology. Baerman's case is similar in that he was able to profit much more from his already-scheduled research period in

the Balkans after having worked with the expedition. All three American graduate students have acknowledged the great value, for their professional understanding of Slavic linguistics, of the experience of carrying out actual work in the field together with native speaker dialectologists. Each has completed the Ph.D. (Baerman in 1999, Elliott in 2001 and Barnes in 2002) and each is now employed in an entry-level position in Slavic linguistics.

The research by the teachers is largely centered upon the topic of double accent, and its subsidiary, "additional accent." This fact is of note because it was precisely a joint interest in this topic that formed the basis of the initial collaborative ties between the Bulgarian and American expedition leaders. Their work on the so-called double accent has led them to the discovery that it, and related phenomena, are much more widespread throughout the Bulgarian language territory than had previously been thought, and has occasioned new thinking on the phenomenon itself, both on the Bulgarian and American sides. The process of collaborative work on double accent, which began in 1990, has been an important factor in the revitalization of Bulgarian dialectology partly because it forged the bonds of trust and international collaborative spirit that allowed the expedition to come about at all, and partly because it forced the large-scale recording of long stretches of connected speech. Because data had not been gathered in this way prior to this point (at least not on this large a scale), it had not been possible to study questions of syntax, discourse, prosody or the like. The collectively-authored paper by Žobov, Alexander and Kolev both demonstrates the efficacy of this research method, and stands as a testimony to the effectiveness of this collaborative research team.

Although not all of the research papers by the teachers included in this volume concern double accent, the trait common to them all is that in each case material gathered in Erkeč (or in other locations visited on the expedition) gave these individual researchers new insights into problems they had already been working on. Indeed, although each participated in the field expedition both as researcher and as teacher, each in retrospect probably sees his or her primary role in the expedition as that of teacher or mentor, and takes satisfaction in having helped several members of the upcoming generation achieve a fuller, more balanced knowledge of the field of Bulgarian dialectology that each of these younger people will eventually pass on to the generations that follow after them. The American younger scholars, having seen that field work in the dialects of a foreign language is a real and actual possibility, are now building this possibility into their future research plans and will build it into the training of their students. Having also grasped the

obvious fact that such work achieves best results when Americans and Bulgarians go into the field together, they are taking active care to cultivate and keep alive collaborative research ties with their Bulgarian colleagues. Bulgarian students, having experienced the excitement of seeing their American colleagues develop hypotheses and devise experiments to test these hypotheses, all while still in the field, are approaching their own research (and their eventual teaching) with this sort of analytical experimental work in mind. Furthermore, having witnessed the greater degree of "give and take" that obtains between American teachers and students in the field, in which all work together more or less as equals but still maintain the structure that must obtain in the teacher-student relationship, they are not only more open to the idea of continued collaborative work with American colleagues but are also beginning to restructure their own work relationships.

It is theoretically possible that results such as these could have been achieved by cross-cultural lectures, in which an American professor would outline his or her research methods to Bulgarian students, or in which a Bulgarian professor would discourse to American students on field techniques. It is doubtful, however, that any such lecture would produce the sort of results that have been seen from the joint field expedition. The difference, of course, lies in the fact of "doing" rather than just "hearing about." Students (and teachers) who took part in the expedition were constantly learning from each other, and the mere fact of spending two weeks filled with work (but also with some play) constantly in each other's presence meant that they could not avoid learning from each other. The energy generated by this process, and the fact that each realized on the spot how much he or she was learning, is what will lead to lasting results in the academic lives of the several individual participants.

The teaching of dialectology at Sofia University has been transformed by the experience of the expedition. Although regular classes in dialectology are required, additional classes in field methods are optional: since the expedition enrollments in these optional classes have mushroomed. In addition to simply learning from books what previous eminent scholars have stated about dialectological classification, students are now learning dialectology via the empirical method. Examples of actual field material are played during nearly every class, which allows students to see directly that dialects are not collections of archaic relic forms but rather are living, changing linguistic systems. On the basis of their active encounter with this recent field material, students are led to devise hypotheses of their own on the basis of what they hear rather than simply learning by rote what others have concluded.

Furthermore, students are challenged to use the available dialectal data in order to test their hypotheses, to the point where they can see that a claim is either successfully proven, or else rejected. Bulgarian students are quite energized by this method of study, because it allows them to participate directly and actively in the process of learning. This means of teaching and learning, so common in American education, is something very new and exciting for Bulgarian teachers and students. Although it is gradually taking root in Bulgaria on a broader scale as closer ties with the West are forged, the introduction of such methods into the teaching both of dialectology and of phonetics is a documented result of the 1996 expedition.

The teaching of dialectology in this way is possible in turn because of the large amount of recorded data that is available for use. This extensive tape archive consists almost completely of tapes made by the expedition team members, both on the 1996 joint expedition and on several preceding expeditions (1990, 1991, 1993). Through selective use of material from these tapes, every statement about dialectal differentiation can be directly illustrated. Furthermore, because the tapes consist primarily of long stretches of running speech, they can be used not just to illustrate the more traditional elements of dialectal speech such as phonology, morphology and the lexicon, but can also provide material of value to those interested in sociolinguistics, pragmatics, narratology, discourse analysis, or folklore. In addition, since the tapes present the actual process of field work so vividly, they function to draw students into the world of the village and of field work itself, thus acting as a magnet to attract more students towards the fascination of dialectology.

This tape archive, whose active use has revitalized the teaching of Bulgarian dialectology at Sofia University, also exists in a parallel set in the U.S.; the entire holdings are known as the *Sofia-Berkeley Archive of Bulgarian Dialect Speech*. Cataloguing of the tapes is now underway on both sides of the ocean; when this process is complete, American and Bulgarian researchers will be able to consult the same data directly without the need to travel to the other's location. This, plus the increasing availability of electronic communication, will make collaborative research much more effective and real. The archive had been in existence before the 1996 expedition, but has only begun to be an effective teaching and research tool in the years subsequent to the expedition. Eventually, portions of this archive will be made available to a larger public. The possibility to do research on the basis of primary data (sound recordings), and not the secondary data found in atlases or monograph descriptions, will certainly bring a thorough and lasting revitalization to Bulgarian dialectology.

The presence of this tape archive in California is one of the direct results of the1996 expedition in the U.S. Although dialectology is still studied much less in the U.S. than other branches of Slavic linguistics, interest in dialectology has grown, and students seem both less mystified by it and more ready to approach the challenges of field work in a foreign language. Plans for a second joint American-Bulgarian expedition are underway, and there should be no lack of interested North American participants.

The revitalization process engendered by the field expedition has also had effects on a broader scale. Those Bulgarian scholars who attended the round table discussion, which took place in Sofia immediately following the conclusion of the field expedition, could not remain unaware of the fact of the collaborative project, nor were they unaffected by the obvious energy that the two weeks together in the field had generated in each of the participants. Not all who attended the round table discussion were convinced that Bulgarian dialectology was in need of revitalization; indeed, many felt that the closed atlas format was still the best way to carry out Bulgarian dialectology, especially those scholars who view Bulgarian dialectology as a scholarly adjunct to (and necessary tool for) the definition of the extent of Bulgarian national identity and territory (and who doubted that foreigners could play an effective role in this process). Others who attended the discussion, however, were open to the idea that dialectology should move more directly into the realm of general linguistics, and that attention should indeed be turned more towards the solution of analytic problems and to the testing of hypotheses by the means of listening tests and the like. In particular, most younger scholars fell into this latter group, a result of obvious significance since it is they who will be the senior linguists of the next generation.

Similarly, although a number of the older generation among Slavists in the West still believe that standard languages (and complex linguistic theories) ought to remain the central focus of Slavic linguistics, much more interest is now being paid to disciplines such as sociolinguistics, pragmatics, and dialectology. The inclusion of a position paper devoted to "Dialectology" in the recent Indiana University symposium on the future of Slavic linguistics is concrete proof that American Slavists are beginning to integrate dialectology into their conception of the field as a whole.

Nevertheless, although Slavic dialectology in general (and Bulgarian dialectology in particular) is becoming more known in the West, the main fruits of the process of "revitalizing Bulgarian dialectology" are being seen, as expected, in Bulgaria itself. Just as the immediate pre-war and post-war years saw a great revitalization of Bulgarian dialectology with the advent of

structuralism in linguistics and the masterful guiding hand of Stojko Stojkov, so have the immediate post-socialist years seen a second, albeit more modest, revitalization of Bulgarian dialectology. That is, while in no way even beginning to think that our own very modest efforts can come anywhere near the enormous achievements of Stojkov and his school, we nevertheless believe that the increase of communication throughout the world in general, and the specific instance of successful collaboration between American and Bulgarian dialectologists in particular, have brought new life to Bulgarian dialectology and given it new future perspectives.

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