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Bulgarian Verbs of Motion:  
Slavic Verbs in a Balkan Context

by

Traci Speed Lindsey

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Slavic Languages and Literatures

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

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Professor Dan Slobin

Spring 2011

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by  
Traci Speed Lindsey

## Abstract

### **Bulgarian Verbs of Motion: Slavic Verbs in a Balkan Context**

by

Traci Speed Lindsey

Doctor of Philosophy in Slavic Languages and Literatures

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Ronelle Alexander, Chair

This study examines the motion verb system of Bulgarian, focusing both on the structure of the Bulgarian motion verb itself, and on the information typically encoded in the Bulgarian verb of motion. It then compares the Bulgarian motion verb system with the motion verb systems of two other Slavic languages, Russian and Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian (BCS). The theoretical framework is Leonard Talmy's typological categorization of languages as either verb framed/low manner languages or satellite framed/high manner languages. The Slavic language family, like most other Indo-European languages families, is considered satellite framed and high manner: path of motion tends to be expressed by a satellite to the verb (in the form of a preposition and/or a prefix), leaving the verb root free to express manner. The expression of manner in the verb root itself results in a lower cognitive load for the processing of manner of motion, and consequently, speakers of satellite-framed languages tend to develop motion verb vocabulary around the expression of manner of motion.

For this research I collected a data set of 500 motion verbs from Bulgarian literature, and then another data set of approximately 500 motion verbs from each from Bulgarian, BCS, and Russian, from novels translated into these languages from two satellite framed/high manner languages (English and German) and two verb framed/low manner languages (Portuguese and Turkish). I also collected oral narratives using the picture book *Frog, Where Are You?*, and compared these data with similar data collected by other researchers for Serbian and Russian. This allowed me to not only to describe the Bulgarian motion verb system and its most common verbs of motion, but also to compare Bulgarian motion verb usage with other Slavic language motion verb usage.

This research has discovered a number of ways in which the lexicalization patterning of Bulgarian motion verbs is not typically Slavic. Namely, Bulgarian focuses heavily on path constructions, and new motion verb vocabulary has developed around path constructions in ways not seen in BCS and Russian. Additionally, although Bulgarian verbal prefixation appears to be quite similar to that in Russian and BCS, the system is in fact much more limited; this may be a factor in the increased expression of path of motion in Bulgarian. Finally, this research has shown that Bulgarian lexicalization patterns are more similar to those in Greek, and raises the possibility that the Bulgarian motion verb system might have been influenced by Balkan contact phenomena.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements .....	iii
CHAPTER 1: Introduction	
1.1 The mysteries of the Slavic motion verb .....	1
1.2 Manner and Path Conflation .....	2
1.3 Methodology .....	9
1.4 Review of literature.....	10
1.5 About the Bulgarian language .....	12
CHAPTER 2: The Bulgarian language and its verbal system	
2.1 Characteristic features of the Bulgarian motion verb: An overview .....	16
2.2 The common motion verbs in Bulgarian .....	20
2.3 Verbs denoting COMING and GOING .....	25
2.4 Verbs denoting arrival or return.....	33
2.5 Verbs denoting departure or setting out.....	36
2.6 Verbs denoting entering and exiting .....	39
2.7 Verbs of ascending and descending.....	41
2.8 Verbs denoting horizontal directional motion .....	45
2.9 Verbs denoting the action RUN.....	48
2.10 Verbs meaning JUMP .....	51
2.11 Verbs meaning FLY .....	52
2.12 Verbs denoting movement in water .....	54
2.13 A list of Bulgarian motion verbs, categorized .....	55
CHAPTER 3: Verbs of motion from Bulgarian Literature	
3.1 The data.....	59
3.2 Frequency among Bulgarian motion verbs .....	60
3.3 Manner and path in Bulgarian motion verbs.....	63
3.4 The role of prefixation .....	71
3.5 Conclusion .....	82
CHAPTER 4: Verbs of motion from translated literature	
4.1 Why compare translated data? .....	83
4.2 The data set and its source .....	83
4.3 Comparison of the Bulgarian motion verb sets.....	84
4.4 The Bulgarian data .....	88
4.5 The Serbian data .....	99
4.6 The Russian data .....	107
4.7 Slavic verbs expressing WALK .....	113
4.8 Conclusion .....	120
CHAPTER 5: Oral narratives	
5.1 <i>Frog, Where are You?</i> as oral narrative.....	122
5.2 Manner and Path in <i>Frog, Where are You?</i> .....	122
5.3 The Bulgarian narrations of <i>Frog, Where are You?</i> .....	123
5.4 Path and manner in the oral narratives .....	140
5.5 Serbian frog stories .....	143
5.6 Russian frog stories.....	151
5.7 Conclusion .....	160

5.8	Epilogue .....	161
CHAPTER 6: Conclusion		
6.1	The Bulgarian language between Slavic and Balkan languages.....	162
6.2	The non-Slavic nature of Bulgarian motion verbs.....	162
6.3	Prefixes and manner vs. path in Bulgarian motion verbs .....	163
6.4	The “Balkanization” of Bulgarian motion verb lexicalization patterns.....	165
6.5	Areas for further research .....	165
Bibliography .....		167
Appendix A: Bulgarian Frog Stories .....		171
Appendix B: Serbian Frog Stories .....		191
Appendix C: Russian Frog Stories.....		200

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This dissertation came about as a research topic for a seminar led by Johanna Nichols. We read some of Dan Slobin's work, grounded in Leonard Talmy's theories, on the coding of manner and path in motion verbs, with special reference to Russian. Reading this, I realized that Bulgarian motion verbs differed quite a bit in some regards, and I wanted to look into this further. I had already found a dissertation topic, for which I had written a prospectus, and so my study of Bulgarian motion verbs was intended to be just a seminar paper. However, the topic was interesting and I discovered there was much more to learn, so I continued work on it in a seminar with Allen Timberlake the following semester, and ultimately decided to make it my new dissertation topic. For this I have both Johanna Nichols and Allen Timberlake to thank, as well as Dan Slobin. Dan Slobin continued to give me useful advice and feedback along the way, and I wish I had consulted with him more often than I did. Johanna Nichols kept me working on my dissertation when I was discouraged, and helped me believe that I really was making a contribution to my field.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 THE MYSTERIES OF THE SLAVIC MOTION VERB

“And to say ‘go’ requires different Slavic verbs for going by foot, car, plane, boat or other conveyance. For Russians or Poles, the journey does matter more than the destination.”<sup>1</sup>

Slavic languages are known among those who study them for their rich motion verb systems, which not only encompass verbal aspect, but may also distinguish between one-way and round-trip motion, as well as an enforced (rather than optional, as in English) distinction for type of conveyance. The Russian verb *иду*, for example, means ‘go (on foot)’, but in one direction only; *ходить* also means ‘go (on foot)’, but is used in reference to round-trip or repeated motion. The verb *ехать* is similar to *иду* in that it denotes one-way motion, but *ехать* means ‘go (by vehicle)’. The multidirectional counterpart of *ехать* is *ездить*. In addition to these types of nuances, Slavic languages also have a broad vocabulary for types of motion within the different kinds of conveyance, especially human locomotion. Russian typifies this motion verb system well, and as both the most widely spoken and widely studied Slavic language, Russian is often held up as a model of the Slavic languages—students of Russian often assume that Russian grammatical features are typical of Slavic grammatical features. However, each Slavic language differs from the others, and even a prominent feature strongly shared among all of the Slavic languages, such as aspect, is manifested differently in each of the different Slavic languages.<sup>2</sup> The language which is the focus of this work, Bulgarian, is (along with the closely related Macedonian language) the most divergent of the Slavic languages in most respects, and this is true of the Bulgarian motion verb system as well.

The nature of the Bulgarian motion verb system will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2, but in brief, the most obvious difference between Bulgarian and Russian (and, to varying extents, other Slavic languages) is that Bulgarian mostly does not distinguish between one-way and two-way motion. Furthermore, Bulgarian generally does not have different verbs meaning GO depending on the mode of conveyance. In other ways the Bulgarian motion verb system seems to resemble those of other Slavic languages but, upon closer examination, Bulgarian does not rely on prefixation in the same way that other Slavic languages do. While Bulgarian shares many cognate motion verbs with other Slavic languages, it also has a number of primary motion verbs that, though mainly Slavic in origin, are not shared by other Slavic languages. These differences will be discussed in depth in Chapter 2 and to some extent in Chapter 4 as well.

Another focus of this work, in addition to the general system of motion verbs, is the question of what information is typically communicated by motion verbs (in addition to the basic fact of motion). While a small number of motion verbs indicate only the fact of motion, most motion verbs are associated with a co-event in the form of either manner of motion or path of motion. In any given language there seems to be a preference for the type of co-event (manner or path) typically encoded in motion verbs, although both types are available and used to varying degrees. Preferences for conflation of motion with a co-event, moreover, tend to extend to other languages of a language family. The Slavic languages, as will be discussed below, more often conflate manner with motion; this work will examine conflation patterns in Bulgarian, and the

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<sup>1</sup> “Tongue twisters.” *The Economist*. December 17<sup>th</sup>, 2009.

<sup>2</sup> See Dickey 2000 for a comparative study of aspect across Slavic languages.

way in which these patterns compare with usage in two other Slavic languages, Russian and Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian (BCS). Theoretical considerations of event conflation will be discussed at length in Section 1.2 below.

## 1.2 MANNER AND PATH CONFLATION

### 1.2.1 The theory of a typology based on manner and path conflation

The cognitive semantic perspective on motion verbs first developed in Talmy (1985) considers the information typically conflated with the fact of motion in a motion event. The most common types of information conflated with the fact of motion are a co-event (describing manner of motion) or a path-event (the path of motion). According to Talmy, a language's preferred pattern of event conflation should be considered a typological category.<sup>3</sup> Languages that tend to encode path in the verb itself are classified as verb-framed languages, while languages that encode manner of motion in the verb are called satellite-framed languages (because the path of motion must then be relegated to a satellite such as a prefix or preposition). Verb-framed languages are also called "low-manner" languages because they indicate the manner of motion (either as a verbal co-event or in adverbial form) far less often, whereas satellite-framed languages have a stronger tendency to indicate the manner of motion, and are thus called "high-manner" languages.

### 1.2.2 Satellite-framed, high manner languages

English is perhaps the best example of a high manner, satellite-framed language. While English does have many verbs that express path of motion rather than manner of motion, examples of which include *enter*, *exit*, *ascend*, and *descend*, the motion verbs more commonly used in colloquial English typically indicate manner of motion. These verbs include more basic manner verbs such as *walk*, *run*, and *fly*, as well as the more descriptive manner verbs like *stroll*, *sprint*, *gallop*, and *flutter*. In order to indicate the path of motion with this type of verb, a preposition is used in a "satellite" relationship to the verb. A sentence commonly used to illustrate the contrast between path of motion and manner of motion is that in (1) below:

- (1) The bottle floated into the cave.

The verb *float* describes how the bottle moves: suspended by a liquid, moving in a free and gentle manner.<sup>4</sup> The English verb 'float' may be unpacked into the semantic components of MOVE and WITH-THE-MANNER-OF, as in *The bottle moved into the cave, in the manner of being gently suspended in liquid*.

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<sup>3</sup> Other types of information may also be conflated with the fact of motion. For example, Talmy (1985) discusses the conflation of motion with *figure* in Atsugewi. (Talmy 2000a: 312 defines *figure* as "a moving or conceptually movable entity whose path, site, or orientation is conceived as a variable, the particular value of which is the relevant issue.") However, the conflation of the fact of motion with information other than path of motion or manner of motion is both typologically limited and irrelevant to this work, and thus will not be mentioned or discussed further.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning of *float* with a medium of air rather than water, defined by the OED as "to move freely and gently in or through the air, as if buoyed up or carried along by it," is a later meaning (first citation dated in the OED as 1634, in Milton). This is likely to be a metaphorical extension of the meaning of suspension in water, with the manner retained as the salient feature and only the medium changing. As such, it provides some insight into the process of semantic broadening through metaphor.

The manner component of the motion in the above example is not optional in English; the manner-neutral verb *enter* (borrowed from a Romance language) would not sound natural in this context; this verb seems to suggest agentive motion, and it is also more common in a more formal register. The manner-neutral verb *go* (as in *The bottle **went** into the cave*) fits the register, but also sounds unnatural, again because of connotations of agentivity. Additionally, however, English, as a high-manner language, privileges manner of motion and tends to use manner verbs more often than path verbs, resulting in the expectation of an expression of manner (Talmy 1975, 1985, 1991, 2000b, Berman & Slobin 1994, Slobin 1996, 2003, Narasimhan 2003).

The information not included in the verb in this example is the path of motion. The notion of ENTERING (boundary crossing) is expressed exclusively by the preposition *into*, which follows the verb as a satellite; other prepositions (*through, out of, past, beyond*) could be substituted for *into* and used with the same verb to indicated different paths, but the manner of the action would remain constant. (Indeed, the manner verb may be used alone and the path-satellite omitted entirely if the goal is unimportant.)

### 1.2.3 Verb-framed, low-manner languages

The Spanish translation of (1), shown below in (2), demonstrates the basic difference between a high-manner, satellite-framed language and a low-manner, verb-framed language:

- (2) La botella **entró** a la cueva (flotando)  
*The bottle **entered** [to] the cave (floating).*

The verb *entrar* ‘enter’, used in the place of *float* in the English example, lacks any semantic component describing the means by which the bottle entered the cave. If the speaker finds it necessary to indicate the means of entry, he may add the gerund *flotando* ‘floating’. For speakers of low manner languages, however, manner of motion is secondary information, and so its inclusion is not a common feature of the narrative strategy.

Unpacking this verb as was done for the verb *float* above would yield the semantic components of MOVE and INTO, showing the conflation of path with the fact of motion, in contrast to the conflation of manner with the fact of motion, as seen with *float*. Although the Spanish example does include a preposition, *a*, its function is quite different than that of *into* in the English version. The preposition *a* has a very broad range of uses, one of which is to express destination or result after verbs of motion when they are followed by an infinitive, a noun, or a pronoun. It does not affect the meaning of the utterance, both because its meaning is so general, and because the path of motion is already inherent in the semantics of the verb itself.

This Spanish example illustrates another important aspect of the manner of motion vs. path of motion theory: Spanish does have a manner verb, *flotar*, that is nearly equivalent in meaning to the English *float*, but its use for motion is restricted by its inability to express movement in a boundary-crossing situation (Slobin 1997, 2004). It is not simply that this verb is not preferred for the movement of the bottle in the above example, but that it cannot be used when the boundary-crossing destination is also a necessary component.

Typical verb-framed, low-manner languages include languages of the Romance family, Turkish, and Hebrew. The most commonly used motion verbs in these languages tend to express path of motion only, and additional information about manner, when deemed necessary by the speaker, is expressed through additional verbal constructions. Languages of the Indo-European

family, with the exceptions of the Romance languages and Hindi,<sup>5</sup> are satellite-framed, high-manner languages, as is Chinese. The Slavic languages, as non-Romance Indo-European languages, are also classified as satellite-framed, high-manner languages.

#### 1.2.4 The place of the Slavic languages in the path/manner motion verb typology

Much of the analysis of manner and path in the Slavic languages has been discussed by Slobin (2004), who classifies the Slavic language family as satellite-framed and high manner, using research focusing primarily on Russian, Polish, and BCS. A Russian translation of (1) follows:

- (3) Бутылка **заплыла** в пещеру  
 [The] bottle **floated** in(to) [the] cave.

The verb *заплыть* ‘swim, float, sail’ clearly indicates the manner of motion: supported by water. Path of motion is determined by the preposition *в* ‘in, into’. Expression of manner is not optional, because all Russian motion verbs suggest some type of motion, or at the very least exclude certain types of motion. For example, Slobin (2004: 226) observes that Russian has no independent verb meaning COME; the path satellite *pri-* is prefixed to any one of several manner verbs, including *ходить* ‘go by foot’, *ехать* ‘go by vehicle’, and *лететь* ‘fly’, so that manner is never an optional feature.

The lack of an independent verb meaning COME in Russian is not a feature of all Slavic languages, however, and thus not all Slavic languages lack manner-neutral path verbs in their motion verb systems. Both Bulgarian and BCS have independent verbs meaning COME that are purely path verbs, *идвам/дойда* and *doći/dolaziti*,<sup>6</sup> respectively. The availability of path verbs results in some differences in these systems from the Russian system. Consider the possible translations of (1) into Bulgarian:

- (4) Бутилката **отплува** в пещерата  
 bottle-DEF from-swim.B.AOR.3SG in cave-DEF  
 The bottle **floated** in(to) the cave.

The above translation, elicited from a native speaker, is essentially identical to the Russian example in (3): the verb used is based on the root *плувам*, meaning ‘swim’, ‘sail’, or ‘float’. Two other native speakers, however, produced the translations in (5) and (6):

- (5) Бутилката **се завлече** в пещерата  
 bottle-DEF REFL drag.P.AOR.3SG in cave-DEF  
 The bottle **washed** into the cave.

- (6) Бутилката бавно **влезе** в пещерата (носена от вода)  
 bottle-DEF slowly enter.P.AOR.3SG in cave-DEF carry.PTCP from water  
 The bottle slowly **entered** into the cave (carried by water).

<sup>5</sup> Early research in this typology stated the the Romance languages were the only verb-framed Indo-European languages, while later research included Hindi as well. Thus, these typological classifications have been known to change, and may change further as research continues in this area.

<sup>6</sup> Bulgarian traditionally lists aspectual pairs of verbs in the order “imperfective/perfective,” while BCS uses the opposite order, and there is no firm standard for Russian. For simplicity and consistency, in this work I will present all aspectual pairs in the order “imperfective/perfective.” A number of basic Bulgarian verbs are unpaired for aspect, along with a smaller number of BCS verbs; these, of course, will be listed alone.

These examples will be discussed further in Chapter 2; for now it will suffice to note two interesting features of these examples. First, (5) uses a manner verb based on the root *влека* ‘drag, haul’, whose meaning is less neutral in this case, in that it means something closer to ‘carried by water’ rather than literally ‘dragged by water’. (This same verb, in colloquial usage, can even be encountered with the neutral meaning GO.) Second, (6) uses a path verb, which is not seen in other Slavic examples. This type of construction is atypical for Slavic languages, and looks more like a Romance construction. The prefix *в-* on the verb ‘enter’ (*влизам/вляза*) appears to be a path satellite, but the root to which the prefix is affixed no longer has any independent meaning. (There are two other common Bulgarian verbs based on this no longer independently functioning root, *излизам/изляза* ‘exit’ and *слизам/сляза* ‘descend’, both path verbs; these will be discussed in Chapter 2.)

While it is possible to use a manner-neutral path verb to express the idea of ENTER in Bulgarian, this is not possible in Russian. For the same reason that there is no manner-neutral independent verb for COME, there is also no manner-neutral independent verb for ENTER; instead, there are different ways to express ENTER, depending on the mode of entry. The most basic Russian verb for ENTER is *входить/войти*, but this can only be used for entry on foot. For entry by vehicle, *въезжать/въехать* is required, swimming or sailing in requires *вливать/вливать*, and so on. Although Bulgarian does have verbs formed analogously to some of these Russian verbs, their usage is not required in the same way as it is in Russian. Only a few verbs have been mentioned here, but far more verbs will be listed and discussed at the appropriate points in the ensuing chapters.

The above examples indicate that Bulgarian does not conform to the typological category of high manner, satellite-framed languages in the same way, or to the same extent, that Russian does. Indeed, the typology of motion verb lexicalization patterns is not framed in terms of a privative distinction between verb-framed or satellite-framed languages, but in fact in terms of a cline (Slobin 2004). Languages in the same typological classification with reference to manner of motion will not necessarily pattern the same. Languages will not only vary in the degrees to which they pattern as high or low manner languages, but can also move along this cline over time. Slobin (2004) cites several studies (Schwarze 1985, Hottenroth 1985, Kramer 1981) indicating this. For instance, Italian, perhaps through contact with German, makes greater use of directional adverbs with both path and manner verbs than other Romance languages (Slobin 2004: 246). Similar tendencies have been shown for Brussels French under the influence of Dutch contact, as well as for other Romance-German contact situations, and Romance-German contact-induced convergence has been found in Switzerland. The saliency of manner or path can vary over time in a given language, and even Latin once had a productive satellite-framed verb-prefix construction to associate paths with motion or manner verbs, comparable to that found in modern Slavic languages (Matellán and Mateu 2008). BCS path prefixes as well have become phonologically fused to a neutral verb for GO (Filipović 2007), and there are other instances of Slavic path prefixes fusing with the verb stem, resulting in verbs that are “semi-transparent manner-path lexical items,” such as Russian *взмывает/взмыть* ‘soar upward’, in which the root *-мыть* no longer contributes meaning to the verb (Slobin 2004: 246). These facts, in combination with the differences demonstrated between Bulgarian and Russian, suggest the need for further work in the area of Bulgarian motion verb lexicalization patterns to determine where Bulgarian is situated along this cline, and whether it may in fact be evolving in a different direction than other Slavic languages.

Furthermore, while the typological classification of verb-framed or satellite-framed is usually clear for any given language, Talmy (2000) cites one language as having a “parallel system of conflation,” meaning that, in most situations, a path verb *or* a manner verb can be used “with roughly comparable colloquiality in the representation of the *same* type of Motion event” (Talmy 2000b: 66). The one language given as an example of parallel conflation is (modern) Greek, one of the languages of the Balkan Sprachbund<sup>7</sup>. For most path notions, Greek has both a path-satellite (in the case of Greek, a preposition) for use with a manner verb, and a path verb than can be accompanied optionally by a manner gerund. Talmy provides the following example (2000b: 66):

- (7) a. ετρεξα            μεσα σ-το σπιτι (etrekxa mesa s-to spiti)  
 ran.PST.1SG    in        to-the house  
*I ran into the house.*
- b. μπηκα            (τρεχονδας) στο σπιτι (bikha trekhondas s-to spiti)  
 enter.PST.1SG running        to-the house  
*I entered the house (running).*

This work will examine the question of whether Bulgarian is in fact actually closer to Greek in this regard, and whether Bulgarian should also be considered to have a parallel system of conflation like Greek, as well as the implications thereof.

Although Bulgarian certainly has a full array of manner verbs and uses them freely, it also makes full use of manner-neutral path verbs with full colloquiality. Examples (8)-(9) and (10)-(11) below demonstrate the fully colloquial use of a manner-neutral path verb over several motion events. The verb in question is *излизам/изляза*, which means ‘exit, come/go out’, with no indication of manner whatsoever. The examples here are taken from folktales published in 1938 (Arnaudov 1938). They do show some archaic elements (and I have normalized the spelling, using modern Bulgarian letters), but they largely reflect standard modern usage.

- (8) Он, като **ИЗЛЯЗЪЛ** из селото...  
 he as exit.P.REN.3S from village-DEF  
*He, when he **exited** from the village...*
- (9) Детето, като чуло гласа на майка си, и то **ИЗЛЯЗЛО**  
 child-DEF as hear.P.REN.3S voice-DEF of mother REFL and it exit.P.REN.3S  
*The child, when he heard the voice of his mother, also **exited** (/came out)[of the well].*
- (10) Дяволът, като си знаел името, **ИЗКОКНАЛ** из кладенеца  
 devil-DEF as REFL know.I.REN.3S name-DEF hop.P.REN.3S from well-DEF  
*The devil, as he knew his name, **hopped** out of the well.*
- (11) Хвърли го в морето, а той ще ти **ИЗЛЯЗЕ**  
 throw.S.IMP.3SG him in sea-DEF and he will you exit.P.PRS.3SG

<sup>7</sup> Although Talmy classifies Greek as a system of parallel conflation, others (Papafragou, Massey, & Gleitman 2006, Papafragou (2007) point out restrictions on boundary crossing for motion verbs. In this work I accept Talmy’s classification, but with the caveat that not all languages present such clear classification characteristics as, for example, English and Spanish. As (7a) above shows, manner verbs can occur in boundary-crossing events in Greek.

със стадо овци  
with flock sheep

*Throw him into the sea, and he will **exit** with a flock of sheep.*

- (12) Овчарят отвързал чувала, и Хитър Петър **излязъл**, а  
shepherd.DEF untie.P.REN.3SG sack-DEF and Clever Peter exit.P.PRS.3SG but  
намясто него **влязъл** овчарят  
in.place.of him enter.P.PRS.3SG shepherd.DEF

*The shepherd untied the bag, and Sly Peter **exited**, and in his place **entered** the shepherd.*

In (8) we have a straightforward example of a man leaving the village, in the course of making a journey to several different villages.<sup>8</sup> Example (9) refers to a boy coming up out of a well, using the same path verb as in (8). Example (9) provides a clear contrast with (8)—the subject is also coming out of a well, but this time, a manner verb is used, indicating the equal acceptability of two different verbs. These two sentences appear together in the story (although the order is reversed); given the context, there is no reason to assume a marked difference in the method in which the boy and the devil exit the well. (Indeed, in an earlier instance of the devil exiting the well, his emergence is described with the manner-neutral path verb *изляза*.) These examples are also interesting because they show that the path described by the path verb chosen expresses only the path *out of* a place, and not the upward motion that might be expected from such a situation—in Bulgarian, upward motion is not readily accessible as a path prefix. Examples (11) and (12) show similar situations in which the exit might be expected to be more marked in a language that routinely uses manner verbs for motion events. Example (12) also illustrates the use of the verb with the opposite meaning of *излизам*, the verb *влизам/вляза*. In fact, for some boundary-crossing events of entering or exiting, an ordinary manner verb might be less likely to be used.

Other manner-neutral path verbs in Bulgarian include the verbs for ‘come’ and ‘go’: *идвам/дойда*, *отивам/отида*, and *ходя*. These verbs express direction towards the speaker, away from the speaker, or indeterminate motion away from the speaker, respectively; but none express or imply manner of locomotion. (The verb *ходя* can be used to mean ‘walk’, but is used much more broadly as well; this is discussed in detail in Chapter 2, along with other major Bulgarian motion verbs.) Similarly, the verb *минавам/мина* ‘pass’ is a path verb, and is a very high frequency motion verb. Other commonly used path verbs include *тръгвам/тръгна* ‘leave, set off’, *стигам/стигна* ‘reach’ and *пристигам/пристигна* ‘arrive’, as well as the verbs meaning ‘ascend’ and ‘descend’, *качвам се/кача се* and *слизам/сляза*, respectively (both of which have less-used manner variants).

The Bulgarian verbs meaning WALK are also interesting. There are two Bulgarian verbs which can mean ‘walk’, *ходя* and *вървя*, but neither carries that meaning exclusively. The first can simply mean ‘go’, as previously mentioned, and the second also means ‘move’. Data from literary works used in this dissertation indicate that *ходя* is used more often in the native Bulgarian texts than in the translated texts, whereas *вървя* is used more often in the non-Bulgarian texts to translate manner verbs specifically meaning WALK. Many other verbs are also used to translate manner verbs meaning WALK into Bulgarian, including *тръгвам/тръгна*

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<sup>8</sup> The preposition used, *из*, is archaic or dialectal in this usage, and now means ‘around’; today the expected preposition would be *от*, which is the standard preposition meaning ‘from’ or ‘out of’ across a wide variety of situations.

‘leave, set out’, *насочвам се/насоча се* ‘point, direct oneself’, *движи се* ‘move’, *придвижвам се/придвижа се* ‘move towards’, *забързам/забързвам* ‘hurry’, *шурам се* ‘potter about; run about’, and both *стъпвам/стъпя* and *пристъпвам/пристъпя* ‘step; tread’. This demonstrates that the Bulgarian translators as often as not fail to translate the manner verb *walk* with what seems to be the closest Bulgarian manner verb equivalent, sometimes even choosing a path verb. This suggests that conflation of a motion event with manner is not necessarily the canonical lexicalization pattern in Bulgarian, as might be expected from a Slavic language. Moreover, the large number of roots seen in these various verbs used as the equivalent of *walk* is evidence of a motion verb system whose base is in essence very creative in that it produces motion verbs from a great variety of roots.

The aforementioned points will be developed here to demonstrate that the very basis of the Bulgarian motion verb system is rather different than that of either BCS or Russian. These two Slavic languages both make much greater use of the basic roots with the meaning of GO—the Russian pair *ходить/идти* (which means generally, but not always, ‘go by foot’) and the BCS verb *ići*, than does Bulgarian. Chapter 4 will show that in the literary texts I analyzed, approximately 38.6% of the motion verbs used in the Russian translations are based on *ходить/идти* (either those verbs themselves or prefixed forms thereof), and that in the Serbian texts,<sup>9</sup> 36.8% of the motion verbs are based on the BCS form *ići*.<sup>10</sup> In contrast, because Bulgarian has brought in several new roots to serve as the basis of smaller groups of motion verbs, only 13.8% of the motion verbs in the texts are based on the root *уда*, the Bulgarian equivalent of *ići* or *идти*.

Other research also indicates that BCS may also be participating in a process of change. Filipović (2007) suggests that BCS has been moving along the typological cline between verb- and satellite-framing, with perhaps the most important factor being the fusion of path prefix and stem for the high-frequency verb of locomotion, *ići*. According to Filipović, “The prefixes in perfective directional verbs are detectable, although the verbs themselves seem to be monomorphemic” (2007:77). She refers to this process as fusion, and such fusion of prefix to root will be discussed further in this work as it relates to Bulgarian phenomena. This fusion process, moreover, appears quite similar to that which took place in the change from satellite-framed Latin to verb-framed Romance languages. Filipović also notes that directional verbs have a higher token frequency than manner verbs in BCS, a finding which differs markedly from Slobin’s evaluation of the situation in Russian. Use of path verbs versus manner verbs in both BCS and Russian, and the way in which they compare with Bulgarian, will be discussed in Chapter 4.

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<sup>9</sup>Although the language system under discussion in this work is BCS, the texts chosen for comparison in Chapter 4, as well as the oral narratives discussed in Chapter 5, are all of the Serbian variant. Therefore, when the language system itself is mentioned, it will be called BCS, but references to any specific texts will note the language of the text as Serbian. There are many vocabulary differences among the three languages of the BCS family, and a few minor grammatical differences, but there is no evidence so far of any differences in the motion verb systems of Bosnian, Croatian, or Serbian.

<sup>10</sup> These figures represent all tokens of motion verbs. In terms of verb variety, 9.9% of the different verbs used in the Russian translations are based on *ходить/идти*, and 10.7% of the different verbs in the Serbian translations were based on *ići*. In contrast, only 3% of the different verbs in the Bulgarian translations are based on the Bulgarian cognate *уда*.

### 1.3 METHODOLOGY

Chapter 2 of this dissertation focuses on the Bulgarian motion verb system in its entirety and presents an analysis of the main motion verbs in the language, based on frequency of usage, dictionary definitions, and examples from Bulgarian literature. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 present research on usage. Each of these chapters has a slightly different focus. Chapter 3 studies motion verb usage in Bulgarian literature, Chapter 4 compares translations of motion verbs from four non-Slavic languages into Bulgarian, Russian, and Serbian, and Chapter 5 focuses on elicited oral narratives.

Chapter 3 is a study of 500 motion verbs from four different modern Bulgarian novels. To get this set of verbs, I started at the beginning of each novel and recorded each motion verb I encountered, until I had 125 verbs. My goal was to gather a set of 500 verbs that were fairly random, but also reasonably representative of usage in the literary language. Although using four different novels would certainly result in a non-identical set of 500 motion verbs, there was in fact enough consistency in the data for me to conclude that the overall usage trends would be quite similar, with real anomalies occurring only in the frequency of some of the lesser-used verbs that may have been used by only one author in the set. Because all conclusions are based on verbs used several times each, however, anomalous personal or idiolectic uses should not in any way skew the data or results.

After gathering the set of 500 Bulgarian motion verbs from the four novels, I then analyzed them to determine which were most frequently used, and what percentage of verbs represented manner verbs or path verbs. I also studied distinctions of different types of movement in manner verbs (such as verbs which describe acts of walking, running, etc.) Next, I looked at prefixation. In this chapter I discuss both the prefixes available for Bulgarian verbs and the prefixes actually found in the data, with the goal of determining which prefixes are most productive and how productive prefixation is in general for creating motion verbs. In addition to determining which prefixes are most productive, I have also sorted the verbs by roots, in order to determine which roots are used in combination with multiple prefixes. I also discuss the unprefixated motion verbs in the data to some extent.

Chapter 4 is similar to Chapter 3 in that the data sets used consist of approximately 500 motion verbs from four different novels, but the aim of Chapter 4 is to compare usage among Bulgarian, Russian, and BCS. In order to do this I chose novels translated into these three languages, two from high-manner languages (English and German), and two from low-manner languages (Turkish and Portuguese). I then compared translation choices, paying particular attention to manner and path choices and the way in which they differed from the motion verbs of the original works, as well as the way in which translation choices differed from one Slavic language to the next.

In Chapter 4 I first compare the differences between the Bulgarian data from the translated novels and that from Bulgarian literature, discussed in the previous chapter. Then for each language I examine the translations, and compare the use of manner and path verbs with that of the original novels. I also discuss which motion verbs are most frequently encountered in the translations in each language. Finally, I compare the use of manner and path verbs among the three languages, as well as differences in prefixation (both in terms of prefixes used and the most commonly prefixed roots).

Chapter 5 shifts to data from the spoken language. For this, I used narratives elicited using Mercer Mayer's children's picture book *Frog, Where are You?* This method has been used by numerous other linguists to elicit narratives in other languages, beginning with Dan Slobin's

work (discussed further in 1.3 below). I recorded 27 oral narratives in Bulgaria, which I compare with similar narratives gathered by others for Serbian and Russian. I focus on six of the most salient motion events, but also discuss noteworthy usages in other motion events in the Bulgarian stories. While the oral narratives involve a great deal of individual interpretation of drawings and are therefore not as directly comparable as the literary translations discussed in Chapter 4, overall tendencies in usage of manner and path verbs are very revealing, and show a much greater reliance on path verbs in Bulgarian than in Russian. This supports my assertions that Bulgarian is developing in a different typological direction than Russian.

#### **1.4 REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

This dissertation, like any other, rests on the work of many other linguists, some directly cited herein, but most not. The foundational research on which this work is based, however, begins with Talmy's (1985, 1991, 2000) typological theories of manner and path conflation with motion verbs. Talmy divides languages into two typological categories depending on lexicalization patterns in the motion verbs, with languages being either verb-framed languages, which express path of motion in the verb itself, or satellite-framed languages, which express path by means of a path satellite. An important significance of this distinction is that motion verbs in verb-framed languages already encode path in the verb root, and are therefore generally unable to encode manner of motion as well; satellite-framed languages, on the other hand, leave verb roots free to encode manner of motion, because the path of motion is encoded elsewhere. The path satellite may take the form of a preposition, a separable prefix, or a verb prefix. Talmy uses English and German as examples of satellite-framed languages expressing path with a preposition or separable prefix (respectively), and Russian and Latin as languages encoding path in a verb prefix.

Russian is often taken as representative of Slavic languages, an assumption which is correct enough in general terms, both because of structural similarities among the different Slavic languages and because Russian is relatively conservative in many regards. Additionally, more linguistic research is done on Russian than on other Slavic languages. But Talmy's example of Russian and Latin as satellite-framed languages with the same type of satellite used to encode path, mentioned above, brings up two important points: First, Talmy discusses only Russian, but what is true of Russian cannot be assumed to be true of Bulgarian, particularly when Greek, which is grammatically closer to Bulgarian than Russian in some ways, is indicated as typologically different (i.e., as having a system of parallel conflation) (Talmy 2000). Second, Latin is classified as a satellite-framed language with path encoded in the prefix, while the modern descendants of Latin (that is, all of the Romance languages), are verb-framed languages. If Latin's means of encoding path in the verb prefix is shared by Russian and other Slavic languages, it then becomes necessary to consider why all of the languages descended from Latin have shifted into a different typological category, and whether the same process might not be possible for Slavic languages.

Talmy's typological classification of languages based on lexical patterning in motion verbs has been continued and expanded on most notably by Slobin (1996, 1997, 2000b). Slobin brings several important contributions to the study of the cognitive semantics of motion verbs, among which are the observation that the act of crossing boundaries may be a feature determining whether a path verb or a manner verb can be used to describe a motion event in a verb-framed language. Thus, while verb-framed languages have plenty of motion verbs encoding manner, these verbs are not used to anywhere near the same degree as their counterparts in

satellite-framed languages, in part because they may be restricted to non-boundary crossing events. This restriction in use, in turn, results in a smaller semantic field for such verbs, and less recall by speakers of the languages.

Another important observation by Slobin is that, although the research in manner of motion is often framed to imply a privative distinction (i.e., with languages classified by whether their verbs express manner or motion), there is in fact a cline: Languages in the same typological classification with reference to manner of motion will not communicate manner of motion, or lack thereof, equally. Not only will languages vary in the degree to which they are high or low manner languages, but languages can move along this cline over time. In his article “The Many Ways to Search for a Frog” (2004), Slobin cites studies by several linguists indicating this variation; the conceptualization of high-manner or low-manner classifications as a cline rather than an absolute quality of a language, as well as the variation existing within languages families, suggest the need for further research on the role of language contact and convergence in the development over time both of the extent to which manner is encoded in a language, and the classification of languages into a verb-framed versus satellite-framed typology.

Slobin’s work also provides the statement that first prompted my inquiry into this field, namely, his statement that Slavic languages have no independent verb meaning COME and hence must use a manner verb for ‘come’ (Slobin 2004).<sup>11</sup> This requires, at the least, a distinction of whether the motion toward is accomplished by vehicle or by foot. Although this is commonly considered a trait of Slavic languages (consider even the quote at the beginning of this chapter), this does not hold true for Bulgarian (or, in fact, for BCS). As mentioned above, in Bulgarian, the verbs of the aspect pair *идвам/дойда* now simply mean COME, without any indication of how this action is to be achieved; that is, the distinction of whether the subject is coming by foot or by vehicle has been neutralized. This alone, regardless of other differences between the Russian and Bulgarian verbal systems, suggests that the possibilities for describing motion in Bulgarian will differ from those in Russian.

Along the lines of Slobin’s description of manner of motion as a cline, with the understanding that not all high-manner languages are equally high-manner, and not all low-manner languages are equally low-manner, Snell-Hornby (1983) discusses the idea of verb descriptivity. Snell-Hornby’s work specifically concerns English and German, and concludes that a descriptive verb can be divided into a core of verbal action and a descriptive modifying complex which can be paraphrased with one or more adjectives or manner adverbs (1983:43). She analyzes 500-600 English and German descriptive verbs, a number of them in the semantic field of “movement and position.” Her work has been useful to my dissertation because it demonstrates the tendencies of high-manner languages to add to the quantity and complexity of their manner verb stock and presents a way to unpack manner verbs into a core meaning (e.g. *walk* is a manner verb, but with a basic level of descriptivity) and a core meaning plus additional characterization, either of actual locomotion or attitude (e.g., *stalk* may be analyzed as a core meaning of *walk* combined with a manner description of “in a stiff or erect way,” or with a subjective evaluation of “with affective dignity”). This provides a further tool for analyzing manner in manner of motion verbs—while *walk*, *stalk*, *strut*, and *saunter* are both manner verbs, they are not manner verbs in the same way, and the discussion of verb descriptivity helps to qualify the distinction among these verbs.

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<sup>11</sup> Slobin has, however, come to see the Russian pair *ходить/идти* ‘walk; go’ as a generalized motion verb in some cases, especially in prefixed forms (p.c.).

Finally, Filipović's work (2007) on BCS<sup>12</sup> provides a framework for examining changes in the Bulgarian verbal system related to prefixation. Filipović studies lexicalization patterns cross-linguistically, focusing on motion verbs and BCS. Filipović introduces the idea of *fusion* between the verbal prefix and root, suggesting that BCS may be in the process of a change whereby the category of path verbs is expanding. This change, though not pervasive in the language, looks surprisingly similar to what took place in Latin, a process which gave rise to the verb-framed lexicalization patterns of the Romance languages. Her term "fusion" is useful for describing what has occurred with a small group of high-frequency Bulgarian motion verbs as they have evolved from manner verbs to path verbs.

## **1.5 ABOUT THE BULGARIAN LANGUAGE**

Bulgarian is among the lesser-studied of the Slavic languages, in large part because of the relatively small population of the country (currently under 8 million, with fewer than 7 million inhabitants who speak Bulgarian as their first language). In order to understand why a study focusing primarily on Bulgarian is necessary, one must first understand how the Bulgarian language (along with the closely-related, but even less widely spoken, Macedonian) differs from the other Slavic languages. What follows is a brief description of the history of the language, which does a great deal to explain why its development has moved in an unusual direction for the Slavic language family. Chapter 2 details structural differences in the Bulgarian motion verb system.

### **1.5.1 The development of the Bulgarian language in historical context**

The Bulgarian language is a Slavic language, classified as Eastern South Slavic. Speakers of the dialect from which Bulgarian descends began crossing the Danube southward, into the area of the Byzantine Empire which would later become Bulgaria, around the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. At this early date, dialectal differences among the various groups of Slavic speakers must have been negligible, since the South Slavic dialect used by Constantine and Methodius for missionary work was still suitable for Slavs as far northwest as Moravia some 300 years later.

The Turkic language-speaking Bulgars migrated from the Kuban region of southern Russia into the regions of the Balkans settled by Slavs in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and together the Bulgars and the Slavs battled the Byzantine Empire. The first Bulgarian state was established in 681, ruled by the Central Asian Bulgars, but with Byzantine Greek as the official administrative language. According to historical sources, by the reign of King Boris I in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the Central Asian Bulgars and the previously settled Slavic-speaking inhabitants had thoroughly merged (Ivanova-Mirčeva & Haralampiev 1999), and the Proto-Bulgarian language had given way to the local Slavic language, leaving only a small number of Proto-Bulgarian words in modern Bulgarian.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> What I refer to as BCS, Filipović refers to "Serbo-Croatian." The designation "Serbo-Croatian" was standard before the break-up of Yugoslavia, but has largely fallen out of favor among linguists outside of the Balkans. Linguists from the former states of Yugoslavia, as well as from some other areas in the geographic vicinity, have not universally adopted the term "BCS."

<sup>13</sup> The actual number of Proto-Bulgarian words in Bulgarian is difficult to determine because of their Turkic origins, which lead some linguists to hypothesize that some Bulgarian words considered Turkisms might actually be Proto-Bulgarian words which assimilated with their Turkish cognates during the Ottoman period of Bulgarian history. However, the number of words currently considered to be of Proto-Bulgarian origin still in common use today number no more than a few dozen at most. (See Mirčeva & Haralampiev 1999 for a fuller discussion of the issue.)

By far the greatest outside influence on Bulgarian was exerted by Byzantine Greek. The Bulgarian language developed in direct contact with Greek from the time the South Slavic tribes moved into the Balkan Peninsula. Not only did the Slavic and Greek populations live in close proximity, but the official state language was Greek until (Old) Bulgarian became the state and church language in 893, and once again from 1018-1186, when Bulgaria fell under Byzantine rule. Furthermore, when the Ottoman Empire gained control of Bulgaria at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman rulers united the Bulgarians and Greeks into one Christian community. In doing so, they abolished the autocephalous Bulgarian Orthodox Church, established as the first autocephalous Slavic Orthodox church in 927, and placed the Bulgarian Christians under the jurisdiction of the Greek Patriarchate. (The Bulgarian Church regained autocephaly in 1871.) The first Bulgarian-language primer, the “Riben Bukvar” (‘Fish Primer’, so called because of a picture of fish in the back), was published by Dr. Petar Beron in 1824, and in 1835, the first secular school with instruction in Bulgarian was established in Gabrovo. With these developments, the centuries-long influence of Greek on Bulgarian began to diminish.

Although Greek was much more widely spoken in Bulgaria, Balkan Romance languages also came into contact with Bulgarian. When the Bulgarian Slavs first entered the territory, Roman settlements already existed south of the Danube, though still in relatively close proximity to the river. Roman settlements were thick closest to the river, with up to 30 settlements in the region from the mouth of the Timok to Silistra, while there were only two important centers further inland (Mirčev 1978: 76-77). In the northeastern region of the country (the region known as Mizia), however, place names attest to immediate contact between the Slavs and the Romanized population. In addition, the Slavic tribes entering the Balkan Peninsula from the north caused the Romanized population to disperse throughout the Balkans during the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, increasing contact between Slavs and Romance speakers over a much wider region.

It is difficult to determine the degree of influence exerted by Balkan Romance on Bulgarian, but some ascribe to its influence the loss of case inflection in Bulgarian; according to Mirčev, the local Romance language spoken in the Bulgarian region at the time the Bulgarian Slavs settled there had only two oblique cases (Mirčev 1978: 77). The lexical impact on Bulgarian of the language of the Romanized population is difficult to determine because Romance-origin words in Bulgarian can have more than one possible source. The number of words from Romanian, however, is relatively low, usually dialectal, and often consisting of vocabulary related to sheep-herding and its byproducts, attesting to the presence of transhumant Romance speakers in Bulgaria.

Another major linguistic influence on the development of Bulgarian was established with the arrival of the Ottoman Turks in Bulgaria in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century. By 1381, the Bulgarian state had become part of the Ottoman Empire, and Turkish speakers began settling in the Bulgarian lands, both to fortify the new western borderlands in Europe, and to escape more crowded conditions in Anatolia. Over the next five centuries, thousands of words entered Bulgarian from Turkish, not only words for technical and Ottoman society-specific concepts, but also everyday vocabulary. At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Bulgarian philologist B. Conev compiled a list of some 2000 Turkish words in use in Bulgarian at the time, organizing them into different categories: nature, minerals, plants, and animals; economy, household articles, family, craftsmanship, commerce, money, measurements, and weights; buildings and building parts; clothing and ornamental accessories; food, drink, and flavor, games, music, and amusements; the body, illnesses, and cures; the individual, society, faith, and nationality; government and justice; military; nicknames; and miscellaneous meanings (Mirčeva and Haralampiev 1999).

From at least the time of Beron's "Riben Bukvar," however, Bulgarian intellectuals began to replace Turkish words with Slavic whenever possible, using either original Bulgarian variants or borrowed Russian terms. Purification efforts met with a certain amount of success—many Turkish words common in the 19<sup>th</sup> century language are no longer familiar to today's speakers. Still, hundreds of Turkish words remain in the everyday language, and are, in fact, an integral part of the vocabulary.

Although the overall grammatical structure of Turkish differs radically from Bulgarian, certain grammatical similarities between Turkish and Bulgarian suggest the possibility that these characteristics may have reinforced native linguistic tendencies in Bulgarian. One example of this is the evidential mood in both the Bulgarian and Turkish verbal systems. This feature is considered by many linguists to be an example of a "Balkanism" as well; the presence of so-called Balkan features in Bulgarian, as well as the relationship of Turkish to the Balkan languages, is discussed below.

### 1.5.2 Bulgarian as a Balkan language

The geographic and historical factors involved in the development of Bulgarian have resulted in a language that clearly demonstrates its genetic membership in the Slavic language family from which it descends, while simultaneously displaying core features atypical of this same language family. Many features separate Bulgarian from the other non-Balkan Slavic languages (that is, all Slavic languages except for Macedonian; Serbian, to some extent, shares Balkan features, but only its eastern dialects are generally considered to be part of the Balkan *Sprachbund*), and it is these features which are shared with other Balkan languages. The other major Balkan languages—Macedonian, Romanian, Albanian, and Greek—are all Indo-European, but with the exception of Macedonian, none are in the Slavic language family. Romanian is by far the largest of several Romance languages spoken in the Balkans (along with Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian, and Judeo-Spanish), and Albanian and Greek each form their own branch of the Indo-European language family. Despite being only distantly related, however, all of these languages share a number of features—features, moreover, often lacking in the non-Balkan languages of the families. These languages are consequently considered to form a sort of linguistic union based on contact-induced convergence; this is generally referred to by the German term *Sprachbund*. The Balkan *Sprachbund* was the first *Sprachbund* designated as such and remains the prototypical example.

Although Turkish was spoken in the entire region of the Balkan *Sprachbund* languages for several centuries, and has undeniably influenced at least the vocabulary of every language spoken in the Balkans, it is not part of the Balkan *Sprachbund*. At best, Turkish is what Schaller refers to as a Balkan language of the "third degree" (Schaller 1975), meaning that it is only peripheral to the Balkan *Sprachbund*, though nevertheless not unrelated. Turkish does share a couple of features typical of Balkan *Sprachbund* languages (including an evidential mood and analytic forms of comparison, both discussed below), but is typologically too different to undergo the grammatical changes of the Balkan *Sprachbund* languages.

The first formal mention of what would become known as Balkanisms was by the Slovenian philologist Jernej Kopitar; his often quoted statement that in the languages south of the Danube "nur eine Sprachform herrscht, aber mit dreierley Sprachmaterie" (Kopitar 1829: 86) is a gross simplification, but the commonalities that prompted him to make this observation are indeed striking. Miklosich (1861) singled out some of the distinct common features of the languages of the region, and since this time, linguists have discussed which features should be

considered part of the Balkan *Sprachbund*. In the following century Kristian Sandfeld (1930) identified more than 100 features as “concordances” among various languages of the Balkans, but the list of commonly accepted Balkanisms today generally ranges from half a dozen to a dozen.

Lindstedt (2000: 232-234) lists 12 features as grammatical Balkanisms: ENCLITIC ARTICLES (his term for the more commonly termed “postpositive definite article”); OBJECT REDUPLICATION of both direct and indirect objects, PREPOSITIONS INSTEAD OF CASES, DATIVE / POSSESSIVE MERGER (often referred to elsewhere as dative/genitive merger, but distinguished by Lindstedt as not a full merger of the two cases in all instances); GOAL / LOCATION MERGER (for prepositions and adverbs, including the interrogative adverb ‘where’); RELATIVUM GENERALE (use of an uninflected marker to introduce relative clauses); AUXILIARY (COMPLEMENT) + FINITE VERB (traditionally called “infinitive loss”); *VOLO* FUTURE (a future tense marked by a grammaticalized auxiliary from a verb meaning ‘want’); PAST FUTURE AS A CONDITIONAL; *HABEO* PERFECT (a perfect tense formed with the auxiliary ‘have’ and a verbal participle); EVIDENTIALS (a grammaticalized verbal mood often described as distinguishing witnessed from non-witnessed events in the speech act); and ANALYTIC COMPARISON (adjectives forming the comparative and superlative degrees with particles instead of suffixes). Not all features are present in all Balkan languages, and some features occur in a given language only as tendencies, or in the spoken language only. Macedonian exhibits all of the above features, and Bulgarian, all but the *habeo* perfect (except dialectally). Both object reduplication and *relativum generale* are features of the colloquial language rather than of the standard literary language, but both features are widely used.

The Balkan *Sprachbund* features that cause Bulgarian to stand out among Slavic languages are generally those that make the structure of Bulgarian so different from other Slavic languages. These changes are especially notable in the nominal system. The Bulgarian verbal system, by contrast, appears much more stable; although the tense system is far more complex than that found in other modern Slavic languages, it is in fact more similar, in many ways, to the Old Slavic tense system from which it developed, possessing nine tenses (all fully utilized), including clear descendents of the older aorist<sup>14</sup> and imperfect. However, other verbal characteristics have developed in Bulgarian, including the renarrative mood for the narration of events not witnessed by the speaker. Categorical changes of this nature suggest the possibility of other systemic differences in less easily defined areas, such as verbal semantics; exploring this area is one purpose of this investigation.

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<sup>14</sup> Asenova (2002) also considers the prevalence of the use of the aorist over the perfect as a Balkanism.

## CHAPTER 2: THE BULGARIAN LANGUAGE AND ITS VERBAL SYSTEM

### 2.1 CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE BULGARIAN MOTION VERB: AN OVERVIEW

#### 2.1.1 Aspect

One of the most distinctive features of the Slavic language family is that of verbal aspect. All Slavic languages have this grammatical category, which has both morphological and semantic characteristics. Aspect is defined by Comrie (1976: 3) as “different ways of viewing the internal temporal consistency of a situation.” The “internal temporal consistency” contrasts with, and is independent of, verb tense. A number of subtle concepts are involved in aspect; Dickey (2000: 2) includes among these the view of a situation as a completed event, as an ongoing process, or with reference to its repetition or duration.

The two categories of verbal aspect are *perfective* and *imperfective*. A standard interpretation of the perfective aspect is of a situation as viewed “in its entirety, without regard to internal temporal consistency” (Comrie 1976: 12). The imperfective focuses attention on the “internal temporal consistency” of a situation (Comrie 1976: 24). Dickey adds that “the perfective forms generally express an action as a completed event, whereas imperfective forms often express an action as an open-ended process” (Dickey 2000: 2); this definition conveys the idea of ‘complete’ inherent in the meaning of *perfect*. Slavic verbs generally exist in aspectual pairs consisting of one perfective and one imperfective verb. The difference between the verbs in a pair is generally grammatical rather than lexical (although there may be some degree of lexical difference as well, with some verbs more so than with others).

Some of what is expressed by verbal tense in English and many other languages is expressed by aspect in Slavic languages. For example, the English progressive tenses give a partial idea of what may be expressed by the imperfective aspect, while the simple past tense may indicate the sort of completion of an action often conveyed in the perfective aspect. In most Slavic languages, conversely, aspect expresses some elements of what tense expresses in other languages, and there is a tendency in Slavic languages toward a simplified tense system with only three tenses: past, present, and future. The simplified tense system common to modern Slavic languages stands in stark contrast to the system of Old Church Slavic, which has seven verbal tenses,<sup>15</sup> but an aspectual system still in the early stages of development. The Bulgarian language differs from most of the other Slavic languages in this regard—it has inherited the complex tense system found in Old Church Slavic (though not without changes), and the tense system has only grown more complex, such that it now has a total of nine verbal tenses,<sup>16</sup> as well as the aforementioned evidential mood (more often called “renarrative” in reference to Bulgarian, as a translation of the Bulgarian term *преизказно*). The Bulgarian aspect system has also developed in the direction typical of Slavic languages, but perhaps not to the same extent.

As in other Slavic languages, most Bulgarian verbs are paired for aspect. The difference between two paired verbs is purely grammatical—the imperfective verb in the pair is derived from the perfective verb, and there is no lexical difference between the two. Aronson (1985) notes that the imperfective form can be predicted based on the perfective, and while the

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<sup>15</sup> The Old Church Slavic tenses are present, aorist, imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, future (compound), and future perfect. The future form was not yet fully grammaticalized, and could be formed by more than one construction.

<sup>16</sup> Present (*сегашно време*), aorist (*минало свършено време*), imperfect (*минало несвършено време*), perfect (*минало неопределено време*), pluperfect (*минало предварително време*), future (*бъдеще време*), future perfect (*бъдеще предварително време*), future in the past (*бъдеще време в миналото*), and past future perfect (*бъдеще предварително време в миналото*).

perfective form may be from any of the three conjugational classes, the derived imperfective will always be a third conjugation verb. Examples of such pairs include *виждам/видя* ‘see’, *казвам/кажа* ‘say’, *купувам/купя* ‘buy’, *отивам/отида* ‘go’ and *преписвам/препиша* ‘copy’. The majority of paired verbs are prefixed verbs, but there are also a number of high frequency unpaired verbs in this group (such as the first three in this list, *see*, *say*, and *buy*).

In addition to the verbs grouped into aspect pairs, however, there are two types of Bulgarian verbs which are formally unpaired: the so-called *simplex* verbs and *biaspectual* verbs. Simplex verbs have no purely grammatical aspectual partner, and Bulgarian grammarians classify them as imperfective. Perfective verbs are formed from simplex verbs through prefixation, but a prefix adds lexical meaning, resulting in a new lexical item: a perfective verb from which a new imperfective verb will be derived. The derivation of a new imperfective verb based on the prefixed perfective form will create an aspectual pair. While all Slavic languages have some number of aspectually unpaired verbs, such verbs play a far greater role in the Bulgarian system; this may be due to both the ease with which new imperfectives can be derived from prefixed perfectives, and to what Aronson (1985) calls *subordinated* aspect (discussed below). Examples of Bulgarian simplex verbs are *вървя* ‘walk, go’, *пиша* ‘write’, *пия* ‘drink’, *пея* ‘sing’, and *чета* ‘read’.

The verbs commonly referred to as simplex verbs in reference to Bulgarian (and called *anaspectual* by Bermel [1997] in reference to Old Russian) may be better classified as *anaspectual*.<sup>17</sup> Although they are considered imperfective verbs, they are regularly used in their unprefixated forms in situations in which a perfective verb might be expected; Nicolova (2008: 249) gives as an example the sentence *Искам да пия една бира* ‘I want to drink a beer’, in which the *anaspectual* verb *пия* ‘drink’ is used with essentially perfective meaning. The prefixed perfective form *изпия* ‘drink up’ can be used in such a context, but gives a slightly different lexical meaning, with more emphasis on drinking down the entire beverage. All simplex verbs can be prefixed to form clearly perfective verbs, but some change in meaning results. That the resulting prefix acts lexically in addition to grammatically is suggested by the fact that the derivation of the secondary imperfective from the prefixed perfective, gives a new set of two verbs paired for aspect. In the case of *пия*, for instance, the prefixed perfective form *изпия* is paired with the prefixed imperfective *изпивам*. This process takes place with all Bulgarian prefixed perfective verbs, unless a verb already has a derivational suffix blocking further imperfective suffixation (a situation which is discussed below).

The frequency and usage patterns of simplex verbs, along with Maslov’s (1963) demonstration that a number of simplex verbs can be used “perfectively,” have led Aronson to suggest that these verbs stand outside of the paradigmatic aspectual system. Aronson contends that if these verbs, as a class, lack the formal opposition +I/-I, then they cannot be classified as “perfective” or “imperfective,” and their aspectual marking must be at a lexical level only (1985: 283). For the reasons cited here I will refer to these verbs with Bermel’s (1997) term *anaspectual*. The presence of a class of verbs standing outside of the grammatical system of aspect is unusual in a modern Slavic language, but not as unusual when viewed in light of the verbal system in Old Church Slavic, with its combination of a complex tense system and a weak aspectual system.

The other type of verb unpaired for aspect in Bulgarian is the *biaspectual* verb. *Biaspectual* verbs are largely those with the derivational suffixes *-up-a-*, *-yв-a-*, and *-в-a-*, which formally do not allow imperfectivization (Aronson 1985: 280). (In this way they differ from the

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<sup>17</sup> This term is used in Bermel (1997) for this type of verb in Old Russian.

so-called simplex verbs whose stems morphologically *could* allow imperfectivization; a small number of them have indeed developed imperfective forms—e.g. *кажа* ‘say’ > *казвам/кажа*.) Biaspectual verbs with the suffix *-ир-а-* are of foreign origin, and comprise a large category numbering over 500 verbs (Nicolova 2008: 250). Verbs with the suffix *-ир-а-* have a tendency to be drawn into the aspect system through the addition of prefixes (e.g., *ангажирам* → *заангажирам*), but the unprefixated forms are still used with far higher frequency than any prefixed forms. Verbs with the suffix *-ув-а-* are still biaspectual even after the addition of a prefix (e.g., *пътувам* ‘travel’ is formally classified as imperfective, without a perfective form, while the prefixed form *отпътувам* ‘set out, depart’ is considered biaspectual).

All Bulgarian verbs (with the exception of *съм* ‘be’) do, however, participate in an aspectual distinction in the past tense, in the distinction between the aorist and imperfect tenses. Aronson (1985) terms this *subordinated* aspect, which he contrasts with *superordinated* aspect—aspect as a formally marked grammatical category present in each verb. And while there is a great deal of overlap between the two systems in the past tenses, in that although perfective verbs tend to be used with the aorist and imperfective verbs with the imperfect tense, the two aspectual distinctions function independently and do not always correspond. The following table illustrates the possible forms of the anaspectual verb *пиша* ‘write’ in its subordinated aspectual forms, along with the imperfective/perfective pair *написвам/напиша* ‘write (down)’; 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular forms are shown:

TABLE 2.1. Subordinate and superordinate aspect of the verb WRITE

Aspect ↻ Tense ⚙	Anaspectual	Imperfective	Perfective
Present	пише	написва	напише
Aorist	писа	написва	написа
Imperfect	пишеше	написваше	напишеше

Table 2.1 illustrates both the basic workings, and some of the complexity, of the Bulgarian aspectual system. The system generally exhibits the same aspectual tendencies of the other Slavic languages, but as has every modern Slavic language, Bulgarian has developed some tendencies of its own that differentiate it from its sister languages. The Bulgarian aspectual system, however, has been further complicated by the maintenance in Bulgarian of a rich tense system that also interacts with morphological aspect.

### 2.1.2 Prefixation

Slavic verbal prefixes are related to prepositions, and are often similar or identical in form to prepositions found in the modern languages, but the meanings of the prefixes may differ from the modern meanings of the related prepositions (both because of the development of figurative meanings in the prefixes and because of changes in the meanings of the prepositions themselves). Prefixes used with motion verbs typically add a spatial component indicating direction of motion. Generally speaking, basic Slavic motion verbs exist in an unprefixated form; prefixes can be added, and often are, to indicate the direction of motion or to otherwise qualify the action in some other way. In most Slavic languages, a set of basic motion verbs forms the foundation of the motion verb system. In Russian and BCS, for example, a number of verbs of motion are based on the verb meaning GO, *ходить/идти* and *ići*, respectively.

The system has developed somewhat differently in Bulgarian, however; for many of the basic motion verbs, prefixation results not in a perfective verb with a spatial meaning indicated by the prefix, as in Russian, but in a verb with a figurative, non-motion verb meaning. For example, adding the prefix *из-* to *ходя* results in *изходя/изхождам*, which does not mean ‘exit’, as might be predicted, but ‘originate, stem from’, as well as ‘go/walk all over’ (the first of these incorporates the modern meaning of the Bulgarian preposition *из* and the second the telic meaning of *из*—‘walk throughout an area to completion’). The verb ‘exit’ is formed by adding the prefix *из-* to a suppletive base, *-лизам/-лазя*. Because of such differences in the Bulgarian system, new basic motion verbs have arisen and the range of prefixes used with any given motion verb root is often smaller. Most notably, a number of motion acts expressed in Russian or BCS through the addition of a prefix to a basic verb meaning GO are expressed in Bulgarian with verbs formed from roots other than GO. This results in a less predictable system—prefixed motion verbs in Russian and BCS may or may not be expressed by prefixed verbs in Bulgarian, and when the Bulgarian cognate is a prefixed form, the verbal base is often different than that in other Slavic languages. Moreover, for some basic motion verbs (discussed below), prefixation results not in a motion verb indicating spatial trajectory, but in a figurative verb no longer in the semantic category of motion verb. Motion verb lexicology will be discussed extensively below.

### 2.1.3 Directedness of motion

All Slavic languages distinguish two verbal aspects, perfective and imperfective; in many modern Slavic languages there is an additional distinction in motion verbs only, similar in some ways to aspect, between *determinate* and *indeterminate* motion. This is seen in Old Church Slavic verb pairs such as *nesti* (*nesŏ*) – *nositi* (*nošŏ*)<sup>18</sup> ‘take, carry [by foot]’, *vesti* (*vedŏ*) – *voditi* (*voždŏ*) ‘lead’, and *vesti* (*vezŏ*) – *voziti* (*vožŏ*) ‘convey [by vehicle]’. Both verbs in each pair are imperfective in aspect, but as Mirčev describes it, the first verb in each pair indicates linear motion with a definite goal (*определен глагол за движение* ‘definite or determinate motion verb’), while the second indicates motion without a definite direction (*неопределен глагол за движение* ‘indefinite or indeterminate motion verb’) (1978: 207). These two types are often referred to as *unidirectional* and *multidirectional*, which accurately describes their function in modern Russian, or as *determinate* and *indeterminate*; it is the latter set of terms which I will use in this work. This characteristic has remained an important feature of the motion verb systems in many Slavic languages, but has disappeared in BCS and Bulgarian.

The OCS verbs above have developed into modern Russian *нести–носить*, *вести–водить*, and *везти–возить*, respectively, with the first verb in each pair indicating determinate motion, and the second, indeterminate. In contrast, in modern Bulgarian there remains from each of these pairs only a single verb: *нося*, *водя*, and *возя*; these have developed from the indeterminate member of the pair. All of these examples are simplex verbs of imperfective aspect. Only one example of motion verb determinacy remains in contemporary Bulgarian: the verbs *уда–ходя* ‘go’ (each of which will be discussed extensively below). Although these verbs are not clearly paired in the same way as Russian *идти–ходить*, and in fact *уда* itself is not among the more commonly used motion verbs, *уда* can be considered determinate and *ходя*,

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<sup>18</sup> Whereas a slash has been used, as is conventional, to separate verbs in aspect pairs, here I used an en-dash to separate verbs of determinacy pairs, to indicate that there is no aspectual distinction between the two verbs in each pair.

indeterminate. According to K. Ivanova (1962), this distinction has been maintained because of the suppletive nature of this pair, which differentiates it from other motion verbs.<sup>19</sup>

In most cases, the other verb from the former OCS determinate/indeterminate pairs has not completely disappeared from modern Bulgarian, but has developed an alternate meaning. For example, from the OCS pair *plouti/plavati* ‘swim’ Bulgarian has developed *плувам* and *плавам*. *Плувам* is defined first as ‘swim’, but can also mean ‘sail’ or ‘float’; *плавам* is defined first as ‘float’ or ‘sail’. (Russian has one pair of verbs, *плавать* and *плыть*, expressing both of these meanings; *плавать* is indeterminate and *плыть* is determinate.) Another such pair is *влека* and *влача*, both meaning ‘drag’, from OCS *vlěšti–vlačiti*. These verbs are near synonyms, and are sometimes considered phonetic doubles.<sup>20</sup>

One common feature of the Balkan languages mentioned above is the merger of the once-distinct categories of direction and location. This merger is evident in Bulgarian both in the existence of only a single word meaning ‘where’, *къде*, expressing both the ideas of ‘where to’ and ‘where at’, as opposed to the separate words for these distinct categories found in other Slavic languages (cf. Russian *куда* ‘where to’ and *где* ‘where at’), as well as in the lack of either prepositional or case distinctions for direction versus location. In Old Bulgarian, determinate motion verbs were associated with prepositions marking the goal of motion and nouns in the accusative, genitive, or dative cases. Verbs for state or indeterminate motion were associated with prepositions with a static function and nouns in the prepositional or instrumental cases (Spasova-Mihajlova 1964). In modern Bulgarian, however, prepositions no longer distinguish case function, and nouns following them do not change form to indicate case. Thus, for instance, there is no difference in the preposition or its object in the phrases *влизам в стаята* ‘[I] enter the room’ or *седя в стаята* ‘[I] sit in the room’. These changes in Bulgarian are often cited as a primary reason why Bulgarian motion verbs no longer maintain the older Slavic distinction for determinacy of motion.

#### 2.1.4 Pedestrian versus vehicular motion

Another important distinction in Russian motion verbs which does not exist in Bulgarian is the distinction between motion by foot versus motion by vehicle. This distinction will be discussed below in the section dealing with Russian. This distinction in Russian increases the prevalence of manner encoding because the speaker must choose the motion verb based partly on the means of motion, thus limiting the possibilities for manner-neutral motion verbs. The absence of such a distinction in Bulgarian, however, makes the manner-neutral motion verb more readily available.

## 2.2 THE COMMON MOTION VERBS IN BULGARIAN

### 2.2.1 The problem of a standard Bulgarian motion verb set

Textbooks of Russian generally list a canonical set of motion verbs, determined less by frequency of usage than by the presence of the characteristic feature of determinacy. As mentioned above, determinacy of motion refers to whether the motion is in one direction only

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<sup>19</sup> “Закрепила се е единствено двойката *ида/хода*, по всяка вероятност поради суплетивния си характер, който изобщо я прави да стои изолирано от другите двойки. Тя също е претърпяла известни деформации и има по-друга съдба.” (K. Ivanova 1962: 412).

<sup>20</sup> See K. Ivanova (1962) for a discussion of *влека* (*се*) and *влача* (*се*), and K. Čolakova (1960) for a discussion of *плувам* and *плавам*.

(determinate) or the verb refers to a two-way or repeated action (indeterminate). This distinction exists separately from aspect; each determinate/indeterminate pair consists of two imperfective verbs, both of which may be made perfective through prefixation. The number listed sometimes varies by source, but one generally finds a list of 12-16 such verbs, covering the basic ideas of RUN, CHASE, RIDE, WALK/GO, ROLL, CLIMB/CLAMBER, FLY, RUSH, SWIM/SAIL, CRAWL, all with intransitive meanings, as well as the transitive verbs meaning HAUL/CONVEY, LEAD, DRIVE, ROLL/CONVEY, CARRY, and DRAG. The basic list for Russian motion verbs (after Wade 1992) is given below.

TABLE 2.2. The canonical Russian verbs of motion

Determinate	Indeterminate	
идти	ходить	'go, walk'
ехать	ездить	'travel, ride'
бежать	бегать	'run'
лететь	летать	'fly'
плыть	плавать	'swim, float'
нести	носить	'carry'
вести	водить	'lead'
везти	возить	'convey, transport'
лезть	лазить	'climb'
ползти	ползать	'crawl'
тащить	таскать	'drag'
гнать	гонять	'drive, chase'
катить	катать	'roll'
бродить	бродить	'wander'

Absent from this list are verbs such as COME, LEAVE, ENTER, and EXIT, because in Russian, these verbs are formed from more basic verbs in the set of motion verbs by adding a directional prefix to the appropriate basic motion verb, thereby indicating the manner of coming, leaving, entering, exiting, whether by walking, running, and so on. There are many more verbs in Russian which express self-propelled, intransitive motion from one point to another, but these, though indeed motion verbs, are not part of the group designated as the Russian verbs of motion.

Because Bulgarian has almost completely lost the distinction of determinate versus indeterminate motion, the Bulgarian language has no equivalent set of motions verbs which easily distinguish themselves from all other verbs, and the task of determining a manageable list of motion verbs presents challenges. A Bulgarian list of motion verbs modeled on the verbs from the standard Russian motion verb list would be as follows:

TABLE 2.3. Bulgarian equivalents of the canonical Russian verbs of motion

Russian	Bulgarian	
идти/ходить	вървя, ида, отивам, ходя	walk, go
ехать/ездить	возя се, пътувам	drive, go (by vehicle)
бежать/бегать	бягам	run
лететь/летать	лятя	fly
плыть/плавать	плувам	swim, sail, float

нести/носить	нося	carry
вести/водить	водя	lead
везти/возить	возя, карам	convey, transport
лезть/лазить	качвам се/кача се, катеря се	climb
ползти/ползать	пълзя	crawl
тащиться/таскаться	влача се	drag oneself
катиться/кататься	търкалям се/търколя се	roll
брести/бродить	бродя, обикалям, скитам	wander

The list above suffices for Russian because it lists not only the Russian transitive motion verbs that distinguish determinate/indeterminate motion, but also the most commonly encountered motion verbs in Russian. The Russian, Serbian, and Bulgarian texts used for motion verb analysis for this work show that approximately one third of the verbs expressing self-propelled intransitive motion in Russian are based on forms of *ходить/идти* ‘go, walk’, with similar figures for verbs based on *ići* in the Serbian data (38.6% and 36.8%, respectively). While some of the most commonly used Bulgarian motion verbs are also based on forms of the Bulgarian cognate of *ходить/идти* or *ići*, tokens of these verbs nevertheless account for only 13.8% of all instances of motion verbs.

This disparity is striking, and can be accounted for by a very simple difference between Bulgarian on the one hand, and Russian and Serbian on the other. In Russian and Serbian, there are many more different prefixed forms of the verb that developed from the Common Slavic *iti*. The forms found in the texts used for comparison show 11 different Russian forms and 11 different Serbian forms, but only four different Bulgarian forms. Compare the forms in Table 2.3 below:

TABLE 2.3. Modern cognates of Common Slavic *iti*

Russian	BCS	Bulgarian	
ХОДИТЬ/ИДТИ	ići	ида	‘go; walk’
ВХОДИТЬ	ući/ulaziti	---	‘go in, enter’
ВЫЙТИ	izići/izlaziti	---	‘exit, go out’
ДОХОДИТЬ/ДОЙТИ	doći/dolaziti	идвам/дойда	‘reach’
ЗАХОДИТЬ/ЗАЙТИ	zaći/zalaziti	---	<i>Russian</i> ‘drop in on’, <i>BCS</i> ‘go behind’
ОБОЙТИ	obići/oblaziti	---	‘go round, pass’
---	otići/odlaziti	отивам/отида	<i>BCS</i> ‘leave, go’, <i>Bulg.</i> ‘go’
ПЕРЕЙТИ	preći/prelaziti	---	‘cross, go over’
ПОДОЙТИ	podići/podilaziti	---	<i>Russian</i> ‘approach, go up to’, <i>BCS</i> ‘pass under’
ПОЙТИ	---	---	[perfective of <i>идти</i> ]
ПРИЙТИ	preći/prelaziti	---	<i>Russian</i> ‘come, arrive’, <i>BCS</i> ‘approach, go up to’
ПРОХОДИТЬ/ПРОЙТИ	proći/prolaziti	---	‘pass, go by’

сойти	sići/silaziti <sup>21</sup>	---	‘go down, descend’
---	razići se/razilaziti se	разотида се	‘disperse, scatter’

As Table 2.3 shows, only a few Bulgarian translations of the Russian and BCS verbs based on cognates of *iti* are formed in the same way in Bulgarian. There are instead a several different roots on which Bulgarian forms of the above verbs are based, with no clear dependence on any single verb root. This represents a divergent development in the Bulgarian motion verb lexicon.

One factor in the development of the Bulgarian motion verb in a separate direction is that the Old Bulgarian word *laziti*, meaning ‘crawl’, developed a secondary meaning ‘walk’; after the loss of distinction between determinate and indeterminate motion this verb became a suppletive base for verbs previously formed from OCS *iti/hoditi*. Mateev (1952) discusses this in terms of the semantic development of verbal prefixes as well: As spatial prefixes developed alternate Aktionsart meanings for temporality or telicity, homonymous verbs resulted, one with a spatial meaning, the other with a figurative meaning. Thus, once a prefixed form of *ходя* developed a more abstract meaning, such as *изходя/изхождам* ‘go/walk all over’ or ‘originate, stem from’ (discussed above), a new form arose to disambiguate the spatial meaning ‘go out of, to exit’ from the new abstract meaning. With some motion verbs, the loss of determinacy of motion allowed one member of the pair to take on the new figurative meaning, while the other member kept the original spatial meaning. The verbs based on *iti/hoditi* took a more complex route: The original spatial perfective was based on the determinate member of the pair, *iti*, but the imperfective form took a suppletive base from the verb *laziti*. Subsequently in Bulgarian a new perfective arose, also based on the verb *laziti*. This resulted in *излизам/изляза* ‘exit’, with not a hint of the early meaning ‘crawl’. According to Mateev, the verbs *влизам/вляза* ‘enter’ and *слизам/сляза* ‘descend’ were coined by analogy with *излизам/изляза*. In modern Bulgarian there is no longer an unprefixated motion verb from Old Bulgarian *laziti*.

There are some small similarities in the development of the OCS verb *iti* in BCS. The BCS cognate of *iti*, *ići*, is a fully productive motion verb base, unlike its Bulgarian cognate, but the imperfective forms of prefixed perfectives based on *ići* are all formed from the base *-laziti*, rather than from a derived imperfective of *ići*. The BCS verb *laziti*, though rarely encountered in its unprefixated form, still maintains the status of an independent verb. Several of the Serbian verbs shown above with the root *ići* in the prefixed perfective and *laziti* in the imperfective are found in Bulgarian with the root *-liza-/ljaza*: *влизам/вляза* (*ulaziti/ići*), *излизам/изляза* (*izlaziti/izići*), *навлизам/навляза* (*zalaziti/zaći*), *слизам/сляза* (*silaziti/sići*). These four verbs more or less exhaust the category of commonly used Bulgarian verbs based on *-liza-/ljaza*; other verbs are based on various other roots, with no one root predominating in the system.

### 2.2.2 Towards a list of Bulgarian motion verbs

Based on Nikolova’s (1987) frequency dictionary of spoken Bulgarian, 22 of the 806 most frequently used words in her corpus of spoken Bulgarian are motion verbs. However, the inclusion of almost half of these verbs among the most commonly used motion verbs is questionable because their use as motion verbs is context-dependent, and the list gives no context or indication of which meaning is conveyed. Furthermore, reflexive verbs are listed as reflexive

<sup>21</sup> Another set of verbs based on this root in Russian *находить/найти* and Serbian *nalaziti/naći* ‘find’; these verbs are not listed, of course, because they are not motion verbs. As with most of the motion verb examples, however, the Bulgarian verb with the same meaning (*намирам/намеря*) is not based on any form of this root.

only if they are used with the reflexive particle in every instance of their occurrence; otherwise, there is no way to know if a given verb was used reflexively, and for some verbs, this is a factor in determining which sense of the meaning applies. Comparing Nikolova's list with my data based on 1000 randomly occurring motion verbs from both Bulgarian literature and literary works translated into Bulgarian, I found that the following verbs appear to be the most commonly used motion verbs in Bulgarian:

TABLE 2.4 The most commonly used Bulgarian motion verbs

Semantic Category	Verb	
COMING & GOING	идвам/дойда	'come'
	отивам/отида	'go'
	вървя	'go, move, walk'
	ходя	'go, walk'
	стъпвам/стъпя	'tread, step, walk'
	пристъпвам/пристъпя	'tread, step, walk'
	пътувам	'travel'
ARRIVING	стигам/стигна	'reach, arrive'
	пристигам/пристигна	'arrive'
	кацам (кацвам/кацна)	'alight'
RETURNING	върщам се/върна се	'return'
	завръщам се/завърна се	'return'
	прибирам се/прибера се	'go home'
LEAVING, SETTING OUT	тръгвам/тръгна	'leave'
	заминавам/замина	'leave'
	поемам/поема	'undertake'
ASCENDING	качвам се/кача се	'ascend'
	катеря се (also покатеря се, изкатеря)	'climb'
DESCENDING	слизам/сляза	'descend'
	смъквам се/смъкна се	'descend'
ENTERING	влизам/вляза	'enter'
	вмъквам се/вмъкна се	'enter, slip into'
EXITING	излизам/изляза	'exit'
	измъквам се/измъкна се	'exit, slip out of'
VARIOUS DIRECTIONAL	минавам/мина	'pass'
	обикалям/обикаля	'go around, about'
	прекосявам/прекося	'cross, cut through'
	завивам/завия	'turn, wind'
RUNNING	бягам (побягвам/побягна)	'run'
	избягам/избегна	'flee'
	тичам	'run'
	препускам/препусна	'race, gallop, trot'
JUMPING	скачам/скоча	'jump'
	изскачам/изскоча	'jump out, pop out'

This list is much more extensive than the standard list of Russian motion verbs, but several omissions are evident in comparison with the Russian list. First, the list does not include transitive motion verbs (variations on CARRY, LEAD, CONVEY), which are outside the scope of my study. Furthermore, transitive motion verbs in Russian show the determinate/indeterminate motion distinction characteristic of the basic set of Russian motion verbs, supporting their categorization as motion verbs, regardless of transitivity. Because Bulgarian motion verbs do not distinguish directional determinacy, however, transitive motion verbs are less readily categorizable as basic to the motion verb category. Additionally, the verbs meaning SWIM, FLY, CRAWL, and ROLL are also absent from the list of frequent Bulgarian motion verbs; this is simply because they are not among the more frequently used motion verbs in Bulgarian. They will be considered below, however, as they do cover some basic forms of motion, and because a basic question must be answered: are these verbs used less frequently only because people are less likely to travel by flying, swimming, crawling, or rolling than by other means, or is specific manner of motion less salient a feature of the Bulgarian verbal system? Comparisons of both overall frequency of usage relative to Russian and Serbian, as well as to comparisons with choices made by translators from other languages into these languages, should answer this question.

### 2.3 VERBS DENOTING COMING AND GOING

Of the most frequently used motion verbs, a large number express the basic idea of coming or going. Lexicalization patterns in these verbs more commonly express path rather than manner, but both are possible. The verbs below are the ones most frequently encountered in this semantic category.

#### 2.3.1 The COME/GO verbal complex

Some of the most frequently used motion verbs in Bulgarian belong to the complex based on the verb *уда*, expressing both COME and GO. The verb *уда* itself has two variants, meaning either COME or GO, with the meaning being aspect-dependent: *уда<sub>1</sub>* ‘come’ (movement toward the speaker) is imperfective, and *уда<sub>2</sub>* ‘go’ (movement away from the speaker) is perfective (Maslov 1963: 39-42). *Ида<sub>2</sub>* ‘go’, as a perpetual perfective, is not used as a finite form in the present tense, but rather only in commands and with the infinitive replacement phrases headed by *да*. More unusual (for a perfective form) is the fact that it is not used in the past tense, either. The imperfective form *уда<sub>1</sub>* ‘come’ is used in both the present and past (imperfect) tenses. The two forms of *уда* enjoy only limited usage; derived forms (to be discussed subsequently) are used far more often. The examples below demonstrate *уда<sub>1</sub>* and *уда<sub>2</sub>*, respectively.

- (1) Динко                    идеше                    от    град-а...  
 Dinko                    come.I.IMF.3SG    from   town-DEF  
*Dinko was coming from town...*    (D. Dimov)
- (2) Иди                    утре                    в    град-а...  
 go.P.IMP.SG    tomorrow    in   town-DEF  
*Go into town tomorrow...*    (E. Stanev)

The derived imperfective form of *уда<sub>1</sub>*, *идвам*, means only COME (imperfective); the perfective form produced through the addition of the prefix *до-*, *дойда*, also means COME (perfective); the prefix *до-* is consistent with the meaning of motion towards the speaker, but it is

apparently unnecessary for the imperfective form *идвам*. There is another imperfective verb, *дохождам* ‘come’, often paired with perfective *дойда* as its imperfective counterpart; many Bulgarian dictionaries list *дойда/дохождам* as an aspect pair, and list *идвам* as an unpaired imperfective (e.g., Dečeva 1997). The verb *дохождам* is not often used, however, and in this work *идвам/дойда* will be treated as the aspect pair meaning COME.<sup>22</sup> There is no difference in meaning between *уда* ‘come’ and *идвам*, but the latter is by far the more prevalent. The following examples show imperfective and perfective usages of *идвам/дойда*:

- (3) ... никаква човешка следа не показваше някой да  
 no.kind.of human track NEG show.I.IMF.3SG someone COMP  
 е идвал тук.  
 be.PRS.3SG come-PTCP<sup>23</sup> here  
 ... *no human tracks showed that anyone had come here.* (E. Stanev)

- (4) Искаше й се той да дойде непременно още  
 want.I.PAST.3SG her REFL he COMP come.P.PRS.3SG at.any.cost still  
 веднъж...  
 once  
*She wanted him to come once more at any cost...* (E. Stanev)

The prefixed form *отива* and its derived imperfective *отивам* form the aspect pair meaning GO. The meaning is basically the same as that of the perfective form *уда*<sub>2</sub>, but with *уда*<sub>2</sub> being reserved mainly for commands, and used slightly more often than *отива* in the imperative form. This motion verb is atypical of Bulgarian motion verbs in being the only one that expresses one-way motion; as mentioned above, the feature of determinacy of motion has generally been lost in Bulgarian. (The indeterminate counterpart for two-way motion, *ходя*, is discussed below.) The following examples demonstrate typical imperfective and perfective usages of *отивам/отива*:

- (5) Всяка вечер Елисавета отиваше да навести учителя...  
 every evening Elisaveta go.I.IMF.3SG COMP visit.PRS.3SG teacher-DEF  
*Every evening Elisaveta would go to call on the teacher...* (E. Stanev)

- (6) Отиде да навести учителя...  
 go.P.AOR.3SG COMP visit.P.PRS.3SG teacher-DEF  
*[She] went to call on the teacher...* (E. Stanev)

The verb *уда* and its derived forms have developed from the OCS verb *iti* and have clearly analogous cognates in other Slavic languages: Russian *идти*, BCS *ići*, Polish *iść*, etc. Unlike the other Slavic languages, Bulgarian does not have an extensive series of motion verbs

<sup>22</sup> This is common practice in western works on Bulgarian grammar, such as Rå Hauge (1999: 87) or Alexander (2000: 85-86, 93).

<sup>23</sup> Verbs in the perfect tenses (perfect, past perfect, future perfect) will not be marked as such to avoid overcomplication of the interlinear glosses. The perfect tenses are formed with a form of the verb ‘be’ (*съм*) and the l-participle. As in other Slavic languages, the l-participle agrees with the subject in number and gender. Such information, however, will not be indicated in the interlinear gloss.

based on this root—the pairs *идвам/дойда* and *отивам/отуда* represent the full extent of the series. The five verbs of this complex all express direction of motion (path), but are fully neutral for manner.

Although the form *уда* is used less often than other motion verbs, the prefixed derived forms are listed in Nikolova’s frequency dictionary as the most common motion verbs in spoken Bulgarian, and these verbs, along with the verb *тръгвам* ‘leave’ (discussed further below), are also the most prevalent motion verbs found in the literary sources for this research. Nikolova’s data indicate that the most commonly used motion verb in Bulgarian is *идвам/дойда*, followed closely by *отивам/отуда* (ranked in the 52<sup>nd</sup> and 56<sup>th</sup> positions, respectively). The unprefixed form *уда* comes in 10<sup>th</sup> place among motion verbs, and is ranked 231st for general frequency.

### 2.3.2 *Ходя* and its derived forms

Bulgarian has other verbs expressing the basic idea of GO. The two which come closest to being path-neutral and manner-neutral words for GO are *ходя* and *вървя*; each of these may, however, also express the idea of WALK (particularly the latter, which will be discussed separately further below).

Lindstedt argues that the verb *ходя*, like *уда*, has two separate meanings, differentiated by aspect. As an imperfective only, *ходя*<sub>1</sub>, its meaning is ‘go, to walk’; in its biaspectual form, *ходя*<sub>2</sub>, it means ‘go somewhere and come back, to visit’ (Lindstedt 1985: 236). *Ходя*<sub>1</sub> is inherently non-bounded (atelic), and is often interchangeable with *вървя*. *Ходя*<sub>2</sub>, on the other hand, acts as the two-way motion counterpart to *отивам/отуда*. Lindstedt argues that *ходя*<sub>2</sub> is biaspectual rather than perfective. It also has a habitual interpretation. Lindstedt claims that it has become biaspectual because of its use to denote two-way movement (Lindstedt 1985: 237-238).

*Ходя*<sub>1</sub> is often cited as the Bulgarian equivalent of ‘walk’, and ‘walk’ is included as part of its definition, but there is nothing in the semantics of the verb itself that suggests manner of any sort. However, if *ходя* is viewed as a verb with two distinct variants, as described above, then *ходя*<sub>1</sub> does show frequent usage with an implied manner WALK, while *ходя*<sub>2</sub>, serving as the indeterminate counterpart of *отивам/отуда*, in no way implies (and indeed, often excludes) the notion of WALK. If used to mean WALK, the manner must either be construed from context, or specified with the adverbial phrase *неша* ‘on foot’. Here are some examples showing the use of *ходя*<sub>1</sub> and *ходя*<sub>2</sub>:

- (7) Изведнъж ѝ се счуха стъпки, като че някой  
 suddenly her REFL hear.P.AOR.3PL steps as SUB someone  
 ходеше край колибата.  
 walk.I.IMF.3SG past hut-DEF  
*Suddenly she heard steps, as if someone were walking by the hut.* (E. Stanev)
- (8) Войниците ходят боси и се бият гладни...  
 soldiers-DEF go.I.PRS.3PL barefoot and REFL fight.I.PRS-3PL hungry  
*The soldiers go barefoot and fight hungry...* (E. Stanev)
- (9) Тази сутрин ми казаха, че си ходила по срещи  
 this morning me tell.P.AOR.3PL SUB be.PRS.2SG go.PTCP on dates  
 с Рединготчето.  
 with Redingot-DIM-DEF  
*This morning they told me that you’ve gone on dates with young Redingot.* (D. Dimov)

The verbs in (7) and (8) are *ходя*<sub>1</sub>—unbounded verbs with no specified path goal. That in (7) clearly suggests manner, but this is more from context than from any semantic component of the verb. That in (8) could suggest the manner WALK, primarily because the soldiers are described as barefoot. Without the qualification *barefoot* a reader would not interpret this verb as ‘walk’ (and even with *barefoot* specified, ‘go’ would probably be a better translation in English). In (9) the verb is clearly *ходя*<sub>2</sub>: the goal is specified, and the meaning involves a plural number of round trips. In this case, there is no indication or implication of the manner of motion, only of the path (though it is a figurative path rather than a literal physical path). The above examples demonstrate that *ходя* itself encodes neither manner nor path, though *ходя*<sub>1</sub> comes closer to implying manner, while *ходя*<sub>2</sub> requires at least an inferred goal, with manner (WALK) being in no way suggested.

The Bulgarian verb *ходя* has developed directly from OCS *hoděti*, with little change in form and still less change in meaning. Its cognates in Russian and BCS are *ходить* and *hodati*, respectively. The Russian verb *ходить* is an indeterminate motion verb like *ходя*<sub>2</sub>, but semantically closer to *ходя*<sub>1</sub> for the frequent implication of manner WALK; the BCS verb *hodati* does not participate in the distinction of determinate/indeterminate motion, but more clearly carries the semantic manner feature WALK.

In Nikolova’s frequency dictionary the verb *ходя* is the third motion verb listed, after *идвам/дойда* and *отивам/отиде*, and is ranked as the 83<sup>rd</sup> most used word in the Bulgarian language. In the data from Bulgarian literary sources the verb *ходя* represents 3% of all motion verbs, making it the 11<sup>th</sup> most frequently used motion verb (this is somewhat less frequent usage than in the spoken language). In the translated novels, however, *ходя* represents less than 1% of all verbs used. It is used much more frequently in the novels by Bulgarian authors than in the translated works perhaps because *ходя* does not clearly represent either ‘go’ or ‘walk’, and thus it is not the closest choice for translating these words from other languages into Bulgarian. The verb most often chosen to translate the English verb *walk* (or Turkish *yürümek*, Portuguese *andar*) is the verb discussed below, *вървя*.

### 2.3.3 *Вървя*

The verb *вървя* may be translated as ‘go, walk, move’. The data from Bulgarian novels show *вървя* to be used primarily, but not exclusively, for motion on foot, and the manner feature WALK is usually incidental to the description. This is the verb most often cited, along with *ходя*, as the nearest equivalent of the manner verb *walk*. A major difference between *вървя* and *ходя*, however, is that *вървя* is not used with a stated path goal.

Nikolova’s dictionary of frequency lists *вървя* as the 256<sup>th</sup> most frequently spoken Bulgarian word (and the 12<sup>th</sup> motion verb in this list), ranking it rather below *ходя* in frequency in spoken Bulgarian, but *вървя* appears much more frequently in the literary works examined, especially in the novels translated into Bulgarian. Whereas *ходя* represents only 3% of all motion verbs in the Bulgarian literary data, *вървя* represents 5%; the verb *вървя* ranks 6<sup>th</sup> in the list of motion verbs used in the literary works, as compared with 11<sup>th</sup> for *ходя*. The examples below illustrate some of the range of usage of *вървя*:

- (10) Продължи                    да    върви                    по    пътеката...  
 continue.P.AOR.3SG    COMP    walk.I.PRS. 3SG    along    path-DEF  
 [She] continued to walk along the path...    (E. Stanev)

- (11) ... се разгневи на тълпата, която му пречеше  
 REFL anger.P.AOR.3SG at crowd-DEF which him hinder.I.IMF.3SG  
 да върви.  
 COMP walk.I.PRS.3SG  
*... he grew angry at the crowd, which hindered him from walking.* (D. Dimov)
- (12) Два дни бяхме вървели дотук...  
 two days be.IMF.1PL go.PTCP to.here  
*In two days we had traveled to this point...* (D. Dončev)

In (10) and (11) the subjects are walking, but in (12), the subjects are on horseback, and so ‘walk’ is not a felicitous translation. It seems that although *вървя* is the motion verb most nearly expressing the semantic manner feature WALK, it can still be used as a manner-neutral verb. However, not only is it also path-neutral, but it generally precludes use with a stated goal.

The verb *вървя* is a native Slavic verb in origin, but its function as a motion verb represents an innovation. The Bulgarian Academy of Science’s *Български етимологичен речник* cites the origin of *вървя* as the noun *върв* ‘cord, string’. According to this source, the original verbal meaning was “*движи се в редица (във вид на върв)*” ‘move in a row (in the aspect. of a string)’; it is related to BCS *vrvljeti* ‘stream, flow’ and *vrveti* ‘swarm, teem (of a crowd of people)’.

#### 2.3.4 *Минавам/мина* and its prefixed forms

The verb pair *минавам/мина* is another of the more common motion verbs: It ranks at 143 in Nikolova’s list of the most frequently used words, making it the seventh most frequent motion verb in the list, and in my data accounts for 4.2% of the motion verbs from Bulgarian novels and 5% of the motion verbs in the translated novels. The most basic meaning of *минавам/мина* is ‘pass, go by’, cognate with Russian *миновать* and BCS *minuti*. While Russian *миновать* shares the meaning of Bulgarian *минавам/мина*, BCS *minuti* means ‘pass by; to end, stop’, while *minoizlaziti/minoici* has a meaning similar to Bulgarian *минавам/мина*: ‘pass (by)’. The prefixed form *preminuti* (perfective only) means ‘die’. Even so, the usage is not the same, and in the translations I consulted of various languages into Bulgarian, Russian, and Serbian, the verb *минавам/мина* does not correspond either to Russian *миновать* or BCS *minuti* or *minoizlaziti/minoici*, but rather, in most cases, with a motion verb with the prefix *pro-*. The following examples illustrate typical Bulgarian usage of *минавам/мина*:

- (13) Овчарят прекрачи встрани и Караибрахим мина.  
 shepherd-DEF step.P.AOR-3SG aside and Karaibrahim pass. P.AOR.3SG  
*The shepherd stepped aside and Karaibrahim passed.* (A. Dončev)
- (14) Минете пак по същото време – не по-късно и  
 pass.P.IMP-2PL again at same-DEF time NEG more-early and  
 не по-рано.  
 NEG more-late  
*Pass by again at the same time – no earlier and no later.* (E. Stanev)
- (15) Вечерта минах още веднъж по тесните криви  
 evening- DEF pass.P.AOR.1SG still once along narrow-DEF crooked

улички.  
streets.DIM

*In the evening I passed once again along the narrow, crooked little streets.* (E. Stanev)

- (16) ... по шосето мина двуколката на младежа, с  
along highway-DEF pass.P.AOR.3SG buggy-DEF of youth-DEF with  
когото Ирина бе разговаряла на лозето  
whom Irina be.AOR.3SG converse.PTCP in vineyard-DEF  
*... along the highway passed the buggy of the young man with whom Irina had conversed  
in the vineyard.* (D. Dimov)

Although I have translated each of the verbs in (13) - (16) with the English verb *pass* in order to demonstrate this element of the meaning, with the exception of the first (13), each of them could just as well be translated using *come* as in (14) or *go* as in (15) and (16). The semantic element of motion past a particular object or point has been broadened to include motion along a path. To convey a more direct meaning of passing a point or object, *минавам/мина* is often used in its prefixed form, *отминавам/отмина*, as below:

- (17) ... и отмина джамията, върху минарето на която  
and from-pass.P.AOR.3SG mosque-DEF upon minaret-DEF of which  
светеше лампа.  
glowed.I.IMF.3SG lamp.  
*... and he passed the mosque, on the minaret of which a lamp was glowing.* (D. Dimov)

In some ways, it seems that though the meaning of *минавам/мина* has not changed much since OCS *minōti*, which Vasmer defines as “пройти” ‘pass by or through’. However, its meaning has become somewhat more generalized so that, unlike its cognates in Russian and BCS, it has become one of the most common motion verbs in the language. The meaning ‘pass by or through’ is better expressed in modern Russian by *проходить/пройти* and in BCS by *prolaziti/proići*, that is, by the basic GO verb prefixed with *pro-* ‘through’. As discussed above, the Bulgarian cognate of the general GO verb, *уда*, is far less productive in terms of prefixation than its Russian or BCS counterparts, and there is no equivalent *\*проуда*; instead, *минавам/мина* has taken on this function, and conveys the meanings of both Russian *пройти* and BCS *proići*, as well as Russian *миновать* and BCS *minuti*. It is probable that this already broader meaning, perhaps in combination with the absence of a directional prefix, has facilitated the generalization in meaning seen in *минавам/мина*.<sup>24</sup>

### 2.3.5 Пътувам

The biaspectual verb *пътувам* means ‘travel’. It is among the more frequently used motion verbs, but not within the top ten. There is little difference in usage between *пътувам* and its BCS and Russian cognates, *putovati* and *путешествовать*, respectively, although in the translated novels I consulted, *пътувам* is chosen in Bulgarian slightly more often than *putovati* in Serbian or *путешествовать* in Russian. The root of this verb in all of these Slavic languages is the OCS noun *poŭi* ‘path, road’.

<sup>24</sup> It is also worth noting that the Latin cognate *meō meāre* also means both ‘go’ and ‘pass’, suggesting that this dual meaning is not unusual.

Although the verb *пътувам* denotes movement over a distance, which in this day and age suggests movement by means of a vehicle, the verb *пътувам* does not preclude motion on foot. As defined by Dečeva (1997),<sup>25</sup> *пътувам* means “pass a certain, usually long distance, to move from one place to another by means of vehicle or on foot.”<sup>26</sup> Here are examples showing typical usage of *пътувам*:

- (18) Пътувахме цял ден по преки пътеки...  
 travel.I.AOR.1PL all day along straight paths  
*We traveled all day along straight paths...* (A. Dončev)
- (19) Сотиров пътува седем-осем пъти в годината...  
 Sotirov travel.I.PRS.3SG seven-eight times in year-DEF  
*Sotirov travels seven or eight times a year...* (V. Mutafčieva)

The verb *пътувам* also occurs in the prefixed form *отпътувам*, though much less often. In the Bulgarian novels consulted *отпътувам* actually does appear almost as often as *пътувам*, with five tokens, compared to six tokens of *пътувам*, but it does not appear in the translations, nor is it recorded in Nikolova’s frequency dictionary as having occurred even once in her 100,000 word sample. This suggests that *отпътувам* is more of a literary form in modern Bulgarian. The prefixed form emphasizes departure, the inception of travel, as in the following example:

- (20) Разбира се, че не — иначе не би  
 understand.I.PRS.3SG REFL SUB NEG otherwise NEG be.COND.3SG  
 отпътувал...  
 away-travel.PTCP  
*Of course not — otherwise he wouldn’t have left [on his trip]...* (V. Mutafčieva)

### 2.3.6 Стъпвам/стъпя

The verb *стъпвам/стъпя* has the literal meaning ‘step’, but also the figurative meaning synonymous with *ходя* or *вървя*. Its definitions include ‘place one’s feet upon something’, ‘walk’, ‘come’, and ‘enter’.<sup>27</sup> Other Slavic cognates include BCS *stupati/stupiti* and Russian *ступать/ступитъ*; the Indo-European root of this verb, *\*step-/\*steb-/\*stob-* (Vasmer 1953), also shows the relationship with English *step*. The wider meaning of ‘walk’ appears to be a case of metonymy, in which the taking of a step metaphorically stands for the repeated process of step-taking inherent in walking; this wider meaning has been a part of the word since OCS.<sup>28</sup>

*Стъпвам/стъпя* is among the higher-frequency verbs in Nikolova’s data, ranked at number 479, and represents 1% of the 500 motion verbs I gathered from Bulgarian novels. The following example is typical of the usage of *стъпвам/стъпя* found in the set of motion verbs from Bulgarian novels:

<sup>25</sup> Unless otherwise noted, all standard Bulgarian definitions from a Bulgarian monolingual dictionary come from Dečeva (1997).

<sup>26</sup> *минавам известно, обикновено дълго разстояние, предвижвам се от едно място на друго с превозно средство или пеша*

<sup>27</sup> 1. *слагам си крака, краката върху нещо*; 2. *ходя*; 3. *идвам, дохождам*; 4. *влизам, навлизам*

<sup>28</sup> For example, OCS *stopati* as defined by Ivanova-Mirčeva and Davidov (2001): “1. *вървя, крача*. 2. *настъпвам, вървя напред, напредвам*.”

- (21) ...човек можеше да стъпи на покрива [на вилата],  
 person can.I.IMF.3SG COMP step.P.PRES.3SG on roof-the [of villa-DEF]  
 ако се приближеше откъм гърба ѝ.  
 if REFL approach.P.IMF.3SG from-toward back-DEF her  
 ... a person could step onto the roof, if he approached from the back [of the villa]  
 (E. Stanev)

Here, as with the other instances of *стъпвам/стъпя* in the Bulgarian novels, the verb is used in the literal sense ‘step’, rather than in the broader meaning of ‘walk’.

A good example of *стъпвам/стъпя* used as ‘walk’ does appear, however, in the Bulgarian translation of Orhan Pamuk’s novel *Yeni Hayat (New Life)*, in a sentence in which the Turkish verb *yürüme* ‘walk’ is translated with *стъпвам/стъпя*, shown in (22) below.

- (22) И сега, стъпвайки по улиците и тротоарите,  
 and now step.I.PTCP along streets-DEF and sidewalks-DEF  
 представляващи моя свят...  
 represent.I.PART my-DEF world  
 And now, walking along the streets and sidewalks that made up my world... (O. Pamuk)

Unlike (21) in which the verb clearly refers to taking a single step, the verb in (22), as a translation of the original Turkish *sokaklarda yürürken* ‘walking on the streets’, means ‘walk’. Because of the root meaning of ‘step’ inherent in the verb *стъпвам/стъпя*, however, this verb more clearly emphasizes the manner of movement than would the other verbs often translated as ‘walk’, *ходя* and *вървя*. Hence, *стъпвам/стъпя* conveys WALK in a language whose more common verbs for WALK do not express the idea of WALK unequivocally, providing an option to focus on the manner of motion when the speaker (or, as here, the translator) desires.

The most commonly used prefixed forms of *стъпвам/стъпя* are *пристъпвам/пристъпя* ‘step, take a step, advance’ and *отстъпвам/отстъпя* ‘step back, step aside’. *Пристъпвам/пристъпя* can also convey inception of motion, but this is a secondary meaning, and inception is not implied by the verb alone. The first dictionary meaning, in fact, is “move step by step, to walk slowly.”<sup>29</sup> The second definition of *пристъпвам/пристъпя* indicates motion up to or approaching a goal, as is suggested by the prefix *при-*, the opposite motion of that described by the verb *отстъпвам/отстъпя*. Neither prefixed form is used with a frequency approaching that of the unprefixes *стъпвам/стъпя*.

### 2.3.7 Мъкна се

The verb *мъкна се* is interesting not because it is used frequently, for it is not, but rather because it has become a productive base for new Bulgarian motion verbs. The verb *мъкна се* means “move slowly, with difficulty, barely; to drag oneself.”<sup>30</sup> It comes from Proto-Slavic *\*тъкнѹти (se)* ‘move, set in motion’ (Duridanov 1995: 385), and has developed into motion verbs in other Slavic languages as well, though not always of the productive type as in Bulgarian. For example, the BCS form *maći se/maknuti se* ‘move’ does have directional prefixes: *izmicati se/izmaći se (or izmaknuti se)* ‘slip out’, *umaći/umaknuti* ‘escape, run away’, *zamaći/zamaknuti* ‘disappear’ (note that the last two verbs are *not* reflexive), but there are only a few forms with

<sup>29</sup> *движа се стъпка по стъпка, вървя бавно*

<sup>30</sup> *движа се бавно, трудно, едвам; влача се*

directional prefixes, and the path meaning is maintained literally in only *izmicati se/izmači se* ‘slip out’. As a base for motion verbs, it seems that *izmicati se/izmači se* is not an integrated part of the BCS motion verb system. Russian too has a cognate of *мъкна—мчатъ* ‘rush, whirl along (trans.)’,<sup>31</sup> the reflexive form of which functions as a motion verb: *мчатъся* ‘rush, race, tear along’. However, prefixed reflexive forms do not indicate motion, e.g. *замыкаться/замкнуться* ‘shut oneself up’ and *смыкаться/сомкнуться* ‘close (up)’.

The only Bulgarian form of *мъкна се* with a directional prefix that can be considered a frequently used verb is *измъквам се/измъкна се* ‘sneak out/away, steal away’. The verb *измъквам/измъкна* ranks at number 701 on Nikolova’s list of most frequently used words, though this includes transitive usage as well as reflexive motion verb use; the motion verb, however, is used only once in the Bulgarian literature surveyed. This verb will be discussed further below in Section 2.6.

Other prefixed motion verbs derived from *мъкна се* include, in approximate order of frequency of usage, *вмъквам се/вмъкна се* ‘enter, penetrate’, *смъквам се/смъкна се* ‘climb down, descend’, *домъквам се/домъкна се* ‘drag oneself (to a destination)’, *замъквам се/замъкна се* ‘trudge along’, and *намъквам се/намъкна се* ‘get in, squeeze in’. The first two verbs in the series, *вмъквам се/вмъкна се* and *смъквам се/смъкна се*, will be discussed in the appropriate sections below, while the last three will not be discussed further because of their relative infrequency.

## 2.4 VERBS DENOTING ARRIVAL OR RETURN

Bulgarian has three important motion verbs denoting reaching a goal or returning to a starting point. Each of these verbs expresses path rather than manner. It is possible to motion to a certain point using a manner verb with a path satellite, but such usage is less common.

### 2.4.1 *Стигам/стигна, пристигам/пристигна*

The verb *стигам/стигна* ‘reach, arrive’ is a native Slavic verb, cognate with Russian *достигать/достигнуть* ‘reach; to achieve, attain’ and BCS *stizati/stići* (or *stignuti*) ‘arrive, come’. Whereas both Bulgarian and BCS have an unprefixated form used as a motion verb with the sense of reaching a physical place as the goal of the motion act, Russian no longer has an unprefixated form of this verb. The prefixated form *достигать/достигнуть* is rarely used as a motion verb (unlike its cognates in both Bulgarian and BCS). The following examples illustrate the Bulgarian verb *стигам/стигна*:

- (23) Когато стигнах вкъщи, разказах приключението на  
 when reach.P.AOR.1SG to-home narrate.P.AOR.1SG adventure-DEF to  
 майка си.  
 mother REFL  
*When I arrived home, I recounted my adventure to my mother.* (E. Stanev)

- (24) Той стигна до голямото кафене на площада...  
 he reach.P.AOR.3SG until large-DEF café on square-DEF  
*He reached the large café on the square...* (D. Dimov)

<sup>31</sup> *The Oxford Russian-English Dictionary* (1992) notes that *мчатъ* may be used colloquially as an intransitive verb.

The prefixed variant *пристигам/пристигна* has a meaning quite similar to *стигам/стигна*; the nuance can be expressed by the neutrality of arrive expressed by *пристигам/пристигна*, contrasted with the emphasis on the finality of the completion of a goal suggested by *стигам/стигна*. The prefix *при-* has the general meaning of ‘with, by’ in a physical sense, similar to the preposition *при* ‘at, near, by, close to’. There is also a prefixed form of this verb in *до-*, *достигам/достигна*; again, the meaning is quite similar to that of both *стигам/стигна* and *пристигам/пристигна*, with the additional meaning ‘catch up with’ (a meaning also expressed by the less frequently encountered synonym *настигам/настигна*). The prefixed verb *пристигам/пристигна* has a greater frequency in the spoken language than either *стигам/стигна* or *достигам/достигна*, although more tokens of *стигам/стигна* were found in the verbs from the works by Bulgarian authors (eight tokens of *стигам/стигна*, as opposed to four of *пристигам/пристигна* and three of *достигам/достигна*). Both *пристигам/пристигна* and *стигам/стигна* appear in the list of the 806 most frequent words (at rankings 265 and 359, respectively, although *стигам/стигна* probably represents a motion verb only in some uses; its other usage is discussed below), but *достигам/достигна* does not. Examples of both prefixed forms are given below:

- (25) Когато пристигнах в стария град да извърша  
 when arrive.P.AOR.1SG in old-DEF town COMP accomplish.P.PRS.1SG  
 продажбата...  
 sale-DEF  
*When I arrived in the old town to carry out the sale of the land...* (E. Stanev)

- (26) Бяхме вече достигнали зида...  
 be.IMF.1PL already reach.P.PTCP wall-DEF  
*We had already reached the wall...* (E. Stanev)

Example (26) demonstrates the normal usage of *достигам/достигна* followed by a direct object rather than a preposition, whereas as (24) shows *стигам/стигна* followed by the preposition *до*. These two variants amount to the same meaning, but the unprefixed form followed by the preposition *до* appears to be more common.<sup>32</sup>

The Bulgarian verb *стигам/стигна* has an additional meaning not shared with the BCS or Russian cognates, that of ‘suffice, be enough’. In this respect, the resulting semantic range is more similar to the Romanian verb *a ajunge* and the Greek *φθάνω* (alternately *φτανω*), both with the same range of meaning as Bulgarian *стигам/стигна*, than to the Slavic cognates. This is indicative of the general Balkan lexical patterning seen in numerous vocabulary items in the Balkan languages, and will be discussed further in Chapter Four below.

#### 2.4.2 *Връщам се/върна се*

The act of returning to a place from which one started is most often expressed by means of the reflexive verb *връщам се/върна се* (although a different word is often used when that place is one’s home; see below). The BCS cognate is *vraćati se/vratiti se*, and the Russian cognate is *возвращаться/возвратиться*; both have the same meaning as Bulgarian *връщам се*

<sup>32</sup> As an example, a Google search for the phrase *достигнахме върха* ‘we reached the peak’ resulted in 509 tokens, while the same event expressed as *стигнахме до върха* resulted in 94,400 tokens.

*върна се*, and by and large the same usage. In all of these languages, the verb also exists as a non-reflexive, with the transitive meaning ‘return’. No manner of motion is indicated with this verb. The following example illustrates its usage:

- (27) ... и пак се върна, подпухнала като момиченце след  
 and again REFL return.P.AOR.3SG swollen like girl-DIM after  
 реф.  
 bawl  
 ... *and again she returned, swollen like a little girl after a hard cry.* (V. Mutafchieva)

In Bulgarian, there is a prefixed variant of this verb, *завръщам се/завърна се*, whose meaning is generally unchanged by prefixation. It is used far less often than *върщам се/върна се*, but is far from rare. An example follows:

- (28) ... дали и тогава би се завърнал?  
 whether and then be.COND.3SG REFL return.P.PTCP  
 ... *even then would he have returned?* (V. Mutafchieva)

*Връщам се/върна се* is a high-frequency verb, representing 5% of the motion verb tokens from the Bulgarian novels, and is included in Nikolova’s list of the 806 most frequently used words. (The actual ranking, 132, is misleading, however, because Nikolova does not distinguish between reflexive and non-reflexive usage; only the reflexive verb is a motion verb, and the non-reflexive is extremely common.)

### 2.4.3 Прибирам се/прибера се

The verb *прибирам се/прибера се*, the reflexive form of the verb meaning ‘gather up’, itself means ‘go home’ or ‘return to one’s place’. Although this verb does have cognates in Russian and BCS (*прибираться/прибраться* and *pribirati se/pribirati se*, respectively), the meanings in these two languages are quite different and have no motion meaning at all (meaning rather, to collect or tidy oneself). Following are three examples of usage:

- (29) Той бързаше да се прибере по-скоро в къщи...  
 he hurry.I.IMF.3SG COMP REFL return.P.PRS.3SG more-soon to home  
*He would hurry to return home sooner...* (D. Dimov)
- (30) Старшията се прибра за обед в лошо настроение...  
 police.sergeant-DEF REFL return.P.AOR.3SG for lunch in bad mood  
*The police sergeant returned home for lunch in a bad mood...* (D. Dimov)
- (31) ... до пътя, по който пленниците се прибираха в  
 beside road-DEF along which prisoners-DEF REFL return.P.IMP.3PL to  
 лагера  
 camp-DEF  
 ... *beside the road by which the prisoners would return to camp* (E. Stanev)

As (29) and (30) show, the inclusion of the word *къщи* ‘home’ is optional—even without it, the destination HOME is implied. However, other destinations are possible as well, if explicitly stated; these destinations still function in some way as home or as a person’s place, as in (31). This relates to the probable origin of this new, more specific, meaning in Bulgarian: The verb *прибирам се/прибера се* has a secondary meaning of “concerning something loose, scattered, drawn-out – to contract, assume its normal position, place”; she gives, as an example of *place*, “the snail retreated into its shell.”<sup>33</sup> Here one sees the connection with the Russian and BCS meanings of tidying or collecting oneself. By metaphorical extension, however, this Bulgarian verb has come to suggest ‘collect oneself into that place from which one originates’. It expresses an idea that could also be expressed by *връщам се/върна се* plus *в къщи* ‘home’ (a path verb of sorts with a path satellite to narrow the goal), and in fact, this is just how such an idea is expressed in Russian and BCS. In Bulgarian, however, *прибирам се/прибера се* has become a more specific path verb that can replace the satellite construction found in other Slavic languages.

The verb *прибирам се/прибера се* is a high frequency motion verb, occurring 18 times in the Bulgarian novel data (i.e., representing 3.6% of the motion verbs) and ranking at number 312 in Nikolova’s list.

## 2.5 VERBS DENOTING DEPARTURE OR SETTING OUT

Bulgarian has several verbs to express departure or setting out (the inception of motion). The prefix *от-*, related to the preposition *от* ‘from’, is often added to verbs to indicate motion away: *отпътувам* ‘set out, depart’, *отлитам/отлетя* ‘fly away’, *откарвам/откарам* ‘drive away’, etc. More frequently used, however, are two verbs without this prefix, *заминавам/замина* and the unprefix *тръгвам/тръгна*; both of these words mean ‘depart’, but the meaning of *тръгвам/тръгна* is actually somewhat broader.

Another common word for setting off is *поемам/поема*. This verb will not be discussed separately because it is not among the most frequently used, but it is worth noting that this verb meaning ‘take, absorb’ has also developed a motion component, usually in combination with the preposition *към* ‘toward’. Dečeva (1997) defines the word simply as “тръгвам” ‘leave’, with the example sentence “поехме към планината” ‘we set off towards the mountain’. The following illustrative example is from the Bulgarian translation of a Turkish novel:

- (32)    знаех,                    че    лека-полека    поемам                    път    без  
           knew.I.IMF.1SG    that    little-by.little    undertake.I.PRS.1SG    road    without  
                                   възможност    за    връщане.  
                                   possibility    for    returning  
           *I knew that little by little I was setting off on a path of no return.*    (O. Pamuk)

The original Turkish phrase in (32) is *yol aldiğımı* ‘that I was taking a road’, which allows us to see an interesting correspondence between Turkish *almak* ‘take’ and Bulgarian *поемам/поема*. While *поемам/поема* is found a number of times in the various novels translated into Bulgarian, it is not found (as a motion verb) in the data set from the novels originally written in Bulgarian.

<sup>33</sup> *за нещо отпуснато, разпръснато, проточено – свивам се, заемам нормалното си положение, място. Охлювът се прибра в черупката си.*

### 2.5.1 *Тръгвам/тръгна*

The verb *тръгвам/тръгна* is commonly translated as ‘leave, depart, set off/out for’. The emphasis is on the inception of the action, and the path component may suggest either movement away from the starting point or movement towards a goal, but directed motion is always implied. The verb is entirely manner neutral. The following examples demonstrate various possible usages of *тръгвам/тръгна*, including emphasis of the source (33), emphasis on the goal (34), emphasis on the path along which the motion is directed (35), and emphasis on the fact of departure, implying motion away from a source without explicitly stating the source or the goal (36):

- (33) В тая усилна пролет тръгнах от Светогорската обител...  
in that difficult spring leave.P.AOR.1SG from Svetogorski-DEF monastery  
*In that difficult spring I set out from the Svetogorski monastery...* (A. Dončev)
- (34) Борис тръгна към центъра на града...  
Boris leave.P.AOR.3SG toward center-DEF of town-DEF  
*Boris set out towards the town center...* (D. Dimov)
- (35) Ирина тръгна бавно по тротоара на пустата улица.  
Irina leave.P.AOR.3SG slowly along sidewalk-DEF of empty-DEF street  
*Irina set out slowly down the sidewalk of the empty street.* (D. Dimov)
- (36) Стоянов си тръгна.  
Stojanov REFL leave.P.AOR.3SG  
*Stojanov left.* (V. Mutafčieva)

The final example, (36), also demonstrates a common usage of *тръгвам/тръгна* with the reflexive pronoun *си*; such usage is more common when neither goal nor source is explicitly stated.

The verb *тръгвам/тръгна* is among the most common of Bulgarian motion verbs. Nikolova ranks it as the 170<sup>th</sup> word by frequency, putting it in at least the top ten of the most used verbs of motion in spoken Bulgarian, and its use in literature ranks much higher: in my data from Bulgarian novels, it is exceeded in frequency of occurrence only by *идвам/дойда* ‘come’, and in the translated novels, only *отивам/отида* ‘go’ is used more frequently.

Since the more definitive etymology dictionary being compiled by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences has not yet reached the letter T, we must look to other sources. Of these, Mladenov (1941) attributes its origin to OCS *тръгнѣти*, *тръгнати* and *тръзати*, meaning ‘tear’. This is cognate with BCS *trgnuti/trzati* ‘draw, pull’ and Russian *терзать* ‘tear to pieces’, but the reinterpretation as a motion verb is, among the Slavic languages, unique to Bulgarian.<sup>34</sup> The only meaning of the verb in Bulgarian is now the motion verb meaning, but Gerov (1904) defines *тръгвам/тръгам* (note the change in the perfective form) with a number of words, many now archaic, meaning ‘set off for somewhere, to make for, to go, to walk away’.<sup>35</sup> The Russian synonyms *пойти*, *отходить*, *отезжать*, *отправляться*, *покатить* are also given,

<sup>34</sup> Mladenov does, however, cite Gothic *thragjan*, ‘to run’, as a cognate motion verb, which indicates the development of a motion verb from this form occurred in at least one Germanic language as well.

<sup>35</sup> “потяглювам за някъде, уптъвамся, кревам, таквам, навръвявам, отивам, отхождам” (Gerov 1904)

showing the wide range of manner verbs whose meanings are covered by *тръгвам/тръгам*. Gerov also includes a second definition of *тръгвам/тръгам* consisting of variations on ‘pull’,<sup>36</sup> suggesting that the earlier meaning was still current at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### 2.5.2 *Заминавам/замина*

The verb *заминавам/замина* is one of the several prefixed forms of the common motion verb *минавам/мина* (the other ones being *отминавам/отмина* ‘pass by’ and *преминавам/премина* ‘cross, pass’). It is slightly less frequent in usage than *тръгвам/тръгна*, but still ranks as the 282<sup>nd</sup> most used word in Nikolova’s list (as compared to *тръгвам/тръгна* at number 170).

Though a Slavic word, *заминавам/замина* does not have a cognate with a similar meaning in either Russian or BCS, which is consistent with the difference in usage between Bulgarian *минавам/мина* and Russian *миновать/BCS minuti*. The prefix *за-* of *заминавам/замина* denotes the inception of action; the action in question is, in this case, the more generalized meaning of *минавам/мина* discussed above, i.e., GO rather than PASS.

The following example shows the typical usage of *заминавам/замина*:

- (37) Полковникът току-що беше заминал...  
 colonel-DEF just be.IMF.3SG leave.PTCP  
*The colonel had just left...* (E. Stanev)

As shown by (37), the usage of *заминавам/замина* is quite similar to *тръгвам/тръгна* or *отивам/отида*, and either of these verbs would be suitable in its place. Like these verbs, *заминавам/замина* does not suggest any manner of motion.

### 2.5.3 *Напускам/напусна; пускам се/пусна се*

There is yet another verb denoting the act of leaving a place, *напускам/напусна*. Its classification as a motion verb is debatable, but the semantics of the verb do denote an action which could be described as well by other verbs more secure in their status as motion verbs. *Напускам/напусна* is less common than those verbs discussed above, but still fairly frequent. And like the above verbs, *напускам/напусна* describes only the path away from a starting point, without any indication of manner. This verb is used as a motion verb nine times in the Bulgarian novels, representing almost 2% of all motion verbs used. The verb takes a direct object, and can mean either to leave or to abandon; it is defined as ‘exit from somewhere or leave, abandon someone, to stop being somewhere or with someone’.<sup>37</sup> Two examples of *напускам/напусна* are given below:

- (38) Бях напуснал моя роден град отдавна...  
 be.PST.1SG leave.P.PTCP my-DEF birth town long.ago  
*I had left my native town long ago...* (E. Stanev)
- (39) Двама напуснаха лабораторията, която той заключи...  
 two leave.P.AOR.3PL laboratory-DEF which he lock.P.AOR.3SG  
*The two of them left the laboratory, which he locked...* (V. Mutafchieva)

<sup>36</sup> “дръпам, дръпинам, опиnam, тръзам, тягля, тягна” (*ibid*).

<sup>37</sup> *излизам от някъде или оставям, изоставям някого, преставам да бъда някъде или с някого*

This usage is parallel to that of BCS *napuštati/napustiti*, and is somewhat similar to the colloquial Russian verb *напускаться/напуститься* ‘fly at, go for’. These verbs can be traced back to the OCS *pustiti* ‘free, release’ and *napustiti* ‘send’; this verb has also given rise to a reflexive motion verb meaning DESCEND and a verb meaning RUN or RACE, both of which will be discussed further below. The OCS verb *pustiti* seems to have undergone a semantic shift through metaphorization: The original meaning constructs a situation in which the agent is stationary and the object/patient moves away (upon release). In the newer meaning, however, the action essentially remains the same, but it is now the agent rather than the patient that moves away (either literally or metaphorically). The metaphor does not shift much before the agent undergoes a transition from an object or person to a place, and the act of releasing this place and going from it becomes the basis for a new motion verb.

One variation in Bulgarian on *напускам/напусна* can be seen in the use of the reflexive form of the nonprefixed form: thus, *пускам се/пусна се* used as a motion verb meaning ‘embark on, set out’. The meaning is quite similar to *напускам/напусна*, but *пускам се/пусна се*, being reflexive and thus precluding a direct object, directs the semantic focus towards the act of leaving and away from the place being left. The dictionary sentence demonstrating usage, for example, is “пусках се като орел” ‘I rushed away like an eagle’, with the emphasis on the speed of departure rather than on place being left.

## 2.6 VERBS DENOTING ENTERING AND EXITING

Bulgarian has one high-frequency verb meaning ENTER (*влизам/вляза*) and another high-frequency verb meaning EXIT (*излизам/изляза*), both based on the same root. This root, however, is no longer productive, and only exists in prefixed form, in a few verbs. In addition to the two common words for ENTER/ EXIT, there is also another set, based on the root *мъкна* ‘drag’.

### 2.6.1 *Влизам/вляза* and *излизам/изляза*

The Bulgarian verbs *влизам/вляза* and *излизам/изляза* are quite similar to BCS *ulaziti/ ući* and *izlaziti/izići* and Russian *входит/войти* and *выходит/выйти*, but the root is different, not being based on the *уда*, the Bulgarian descendent of OCS *iti*. The root on which these verbs are based cannot stand alone. The root developed from OCS *laziti*, which meant both ‘crawl’ and ‘walk’, but the new root is completely manner-neutral. Although some would consider the verb to not be a true path verb because the path is indicated by prefixation, generally considered a satellite mode of path expression, I would argue that the root’s dependence on the prefix for its very existence as a word indicates a strong fusion of the prefix in the cases of *влизам/вляза* and *излизам/изляза*, to the point that *в-* and *из-* are too integral to the verbs to be considered merely prefixes. (The same argument does not apply to the Russian or BCS verbs, although BCS has some similarities to Bulgarian in this respect; this will be discussed further in Chapter 4.)

*Влизам/вляза* and *излизам/изляза* are both high in frequency: *излизам/изляза* is the fourth motion verb on Nikolova’s list of most often used words (and at number 119 overall), and *влизам/вляза* ranked as the sixth most used motion verb (number 138 on the list of 806 words). These rankings are similar to what I found in the Bulgarian novels: *излизам/изляза* is also the fourth most frequent motion verb in that series, while *влизам/вляза* is slightly less common than in spoken Bulgarian, in ninth place. Examples of typical usage follow:

- (40) Майката влезе в стаята...  
 mother-DEF enter.P.AOR.3SG in room-DEF  
*The mother entered the room...* (D. Dimov)

- (41) ... докато бе чакал да влезе приятелят му  
 while be.PST.3SG wait.PTCP to enter.P.PRS.3SG friend-DEF him  
 ... *while he had waited for his friend to come in* (V. Mutafchieva)
- (42) Излез, излез веднага!  
 exit.P.IMP.SG exit.P.IMP.SG immediately  
*Come out, come out immediately!* (E. Stanev)
- (43) Щом излязоха от гората, водачът ... спря  
 as.soon.as exit.P.AOR.3PL from forest-DEF leader-DEF stop.P.AOR.3SG  
 коня си.  
 horse-DEF REFL.DAT  
*As soon as they came out of the woods, the leader ... stopped his horse.* (A. Dončev)

As the above examples suggest, the ENTER verb uses the preposition on which the prefix is based: *в* ‘in, into’. The EXIT verb, however, takes a preposition quite different from the prefix: *от* ‘from’, as opposed to *из*. The Bulgarian preposition *из* has changed in meaning from ‘out of’ to ‘around, through’, while the prefix retains the original meaning ‘out of’. An archaic use of *из* to mean ‘out of’ is demonstrated in (42), from Arnaudov’s collection of folk tales, *Български народни приказки* (1938):

- (44) Он, като излязъл из селото...  
 he as leave.P.AOR.REN.3SG from village-DEF  
*He, as he left the village...* (M. Arnaudov)

This is different from BCS, in which the common preposition for each ENTER and EXIT verb corresponds to the prefix (that is, the prepositions *у* and *из* correspond to the prefixes *у-* and *из-*, respectively). In Russian, however, there is, as in Bulgarian, a difference between the prefix for the EXIT verb and the preposition which follows. In the case of Russian, it is the prefix which has changed from the older form—*из-* has been replaced by *вы-*.

### 2.6.2 *Вмъквам се/вмъкна се* and *измъквам се/измъкна се*

While the above path verbs for ENTER and EXIT, *влизам/вляза* and *излизам/изляза*, are by far the most common, there exists another set of verbs, *вмъквам се/вмъкна се* and *измъквам се/измъкна се*, which encompass manner. These are reflexive forms based on the verb *мъкна* ‘drag, haul, lug’ which is obviously a transitive verb. Each of these verbs also has a transitive, non-reflexive form, meaning, ‘insert’ and ‘pull or draw out’, respectively. Unlike the root of *влизам/вляза* and *излизам/изляза*, the verb *мъкна* does exist independently of its prefixes, and thus the manner inherent in the root verb is carried over into the derived forms *вмъквам се/вмъкна се* and *измъквам се/измъкна се*, resulting in manner verbs with a path satellite in the form of a prefix.

The verb *вмъквам се/вмъкна се* is defined as ‘enter somewhere, usually with effort or unnoticed’<sup>38</sup>; a good English translation might be ‘sneak in’. Indeed, the word is often used for criminal acts, as in (45) below:

<sup>38</sup> *влизам някъде, обикн. с усилие или незабелязано*

- (45) Крадецът беше се вмъкнал през ношта...  
 thief-DEF be.PST.3SG REFL in-drag.P.PTCP through night-DEF  
*The thief had snuck in during the night...* (E. Stanev)

In the novels translated into Bulgarian, Russian, and Serbian, *вмъкна се* appears three times; in all three instances, the Serbian translator has simply chosen *ući*, the path verb meaning ENTER, while the Russian translator chose a different verb each time: *войти*, *зайти*, and *попасть*. In these cases, two different Turkish verbs appear in the original: *girmek* ‘enter’ (twice) and *sokulmak* ‘be inserted, (for someone) to slip or squeeze into’. To translate *girmek*, the Bulgarian translator chose a manner verb in place of the original Turkish path verb, but in translating *sokulmak*, she apparently felt that the Bulgarian word corresponded perfectly to the Turkish, both in terms of meaning and structure (the Turkish word is the passive form of *sokmak* ‘insert’, here functioning as a reflexive suggesting ‘insert oneself’, exactly along the lines of the Bulgarian *вмъквам се/вмъкна се*).

The verb *измъквам се/измъкна се* is similar to *вмъквам се/вмъкна се* in that it combines the directional prefix *из-* with the reflexive form of the verb *мъкна*, which gives a manner verb of motion with a satellite path prefix. The literal translation of the dictionary definition of *измъквам се/измъкна се* is ‘exit unnoticed, furtively’;<sup>39</sup> good English equivalents are ‘sneak out/away’ or ‘slip out/away’. Here is an example of usage:

- (46) Ако той не тича да се измъкне като гонен...  
 if he not run.I.AOR.3SG COMP REFL out-pull.P.PRS.3SG as chased  
*If he didn't run to slip away as if chased...* (V. Mutafchieva)

The verb *измъквам се/измъкна се* appears only once in the Bulgarian novels, but three times in the translated novels, generally in the meaning of ESCAPE, where it is synonymous with the more standard *избягвам/избягам* (discussed below). Greater usage of both *вмъквам се/вмъкна се* and *измъквам се/измъкна се* in the translated novels than in the original Bulgarian novels could indicate an increase in the frequency of these verbs, but the sample size is too small to determine this.

## 2.7 VERBS OF ASCENDING AND DESCENDING

Bulgarian has several common pairs of verbs for indicating the motions of ascent and descent, some which express manner and some which are manner neutral. By far the most commonly used of these are the manner-neutral verbs, *слизам/сляза* ‘go down’ and *качвам се/кача се* ‘go up’; these will be discussed first.

### 2.7.1 Слизам/сляза

*Слизам/сляза* ‘go down, descend’ is one of the small number of verbs based on the no longer productive root *-лизам/-ляза* (discussed above). Although the directional prefix *с-* is still productive with the meaning of DOWNWARD, but I have classified this verb as a pure path verb because there is no way to separate the path prefix from the stem, which means that the prefix is no longer a path satellite. Like *влизам/вляза* and *излизам/изляза* above, the verb *слизам/сляза* has close cognates in both Russian and BCS. Both of the latter, however, are based on the verb GO which is cognate with OCS *iti* (Russian *сходиться/сойти* and BCS *silaziti/sići*). In addition to

<sup>39</sup> *излизам незабелязано, скришом*

being used to connote descent, *слизам/сляза* is also commonly used to mean getting out of vehicles. This usage presumably traces back to a time when most vehicles were high enough to require descent. This usage is therefore parallel to Turkish *inmek* ‘descend, come/go down, get off of/out of a vehicle’. Examples of *слизам/сляза* from Bulgarian literature include:

- (47) Ирина слезе                                    долу...  
 Irina descend.P.AOR.3SG    below  
*Irina came downstairs...*    (D. Dimov)
- (48) И като слязохме                            от конете,                            тръгнахме                            между  
 and as descend.P.AOR.1PL    from horses-DEF    set.off.P.AOR.1PL    between  
           каменните                            кръстове  
           stone-DEF                            crosses  
*And when we dismounted from the horses, we set off ...*    (A. Dončev)

*Слизам/сляза* is high on Nikolova’s list of most frequently used words, at number 258, and represents 3.4% of the motion verbs in the Bulgarian novels examined for data. In the translated novels it corresponds at times to Russian *сходить/сойти* and BCS *silaziti/sići*, but also at times to Russian *спускаться/спуститься* ‘descend, go down’. In one interesting example from the translations of Orhan Pamuk’s *Yeni Hayat*, the Turkish verb *zıplamak* ‘jump’<sup>40</sup> is translated by *iskočiti* ‘jump, leap out’ in Serbian and *прыгнуть* ‘jump off, leap down (from)’ in Russian, but simply with *сляза* in Bulgarian, showing the translator’s choice to emphasize path over manner in this instance. There are other Bulgarian verbs which combine the satellite path prefix with a manner verb to result in a manner verb for downward direction (two of which will be discussed below), but *слизам/сляза* is without a doubt the most often used motion verb for self-propelled downward motion.

### 2.7.2 *Качвам се/кача се and изкачвам се/изкача се*

Although there is a Bulgarian verb *възлизам/възляза* ‘ascend’, formed in the same way as *слизам/сляза*, it is only rarely encountered<sup>41</sup> and has long been displaced by the verb *качвам се/кача се* ‘go up’. *Качвам се/кача се* ‘go up’ is the reflexive form of the transitive verb *качвам /кача* ‘take up, put up, raise’.

Though *качвам /кача* is more often used in its unprefixated form, there is also a prefixated form, similar in meaning, *изкачвам се/изкача се*. The former has a manner-neutral meaning, while the latter implies climbing or scaling upwards; however, *качвам се/кача се* is nevertheless often used in contexts where *изкачвам се/изкача се* would be fully appropriate (in descriptions of climbing mountains, for instance, in which either verb may be employed). The prefix *из-* in motion verbs usually carries the meaning ‘out of’, as does its cognates in Russian and BCS, but here the meaning is different, indicating completion. Such completion is often conveyed in English with the prepositions *up* or *out*, as in *use up* or *run out*. The prefix *из-* can have a similar meaning in Bulgarian with non-motion verbs, and its atypical meaning here is probably due to the later development of a motion verb meaning in *изкачвам се/изкача се*.

<sup>40</sup> Used in the phrase “Karaköy’de iskeleye zıpladım” ‘at Karaköy I jumped to the pier [from the ferry]’.

<sup>41</sup> The verb *възлизам/възляза*, defined as “отивам, качвам се нагоре; възкачвам се” ‘go, raise oneself upward; to ascend’ (Dečeva 1997), is not yet classified as archaic. At the same time, its usage appears to be mainly restricted to, such as “възлязох в Иерусалим с Варнава” ‘I ascended into Jerusalem with Barnabus’ (Galatians 2:1).

Examples of both the prefixed and unprefixed forms of the verb follow:

- (49) Марьола ... измоли позволение да се качи  
 Mariola request.P.AOR.3SG permission COMP REFL ascend.P.PRS.3SG  
 на капрата...  
 in coach-DEF  
*Marjola ... requested permission to come up in the coach...* (E. Stanev)
- (50) Искаш ли да се изкачим към параклиса  
 want.P.PRS.2SG Q COMP REFL out-climb.P.PRS.1PL toward chapel  
 над боровата гора?  
 above pine-DEF forest  
*Do you want to go up to the chapel above the pine forest?* (D. Dimov)

The verb *качвам се/кача се* does not have a motion verb cognate in the other Slavic languages, but in fact, Russian, BCS, and Bulgarian all have completely different verbs for ASCEND. The cognate of *качвам се/кача се* in BCS is *kačiti/okačiti* ‘hang’, with the same meaning as Bulgarian *качвам/кача*, but the reflexive form does not have a motion verb meaning in the standard languages. This verb does not have a cognate in Russian, and the most probable source is the Balkan Romance verb whose current form in Romanian is *a acăța, a agăța* ‘hang (up)’. (In Romanian, however, there is no motion verb meaning.) In this sense, *качвам се/кача се* appears to be a native Bulgarian innovation; however, both Russian and BCS have verbs meaning ASCEND based on the reflexive forms of verbs meaning LIFT (*подниматься/подняться* and *peti se/popeti se*, respectively; BCS uses a verb descended from Common Slavic *\*pęti, \*ръпѣ* ‘stretch’, cognate with Russian *пнуть* ‘kick’). Russian has retained its equivalent of the practically archaic Bulgarian *възлизам/възляза: всходитъ/взойти*. Although BCS has, like Russian, a far more productive system based on the GO verb than Bulgarian, it has not retained a cognate of Bulgarian *възлизам/възляза*.

### 2.7.3 Катеря се

The verb *катеря се* means ‘climb, scale’, and is a manner equivalent of the path verb *качвам се/кача се*. It is a reflexive (intransitive) verb, but there is no corresponding transitive form. For this, as for *качвам се/кача се*, the path verb meaning ASCEND, BCS uses *peti se/popeti se*, and Russian uses *лезть*. All three of these words are innovations, although both Russian *лезть* and BCS *peti se/popeti se* are original Slavic words which have undergone semantic shifts. Russian *лезть* comes from a word originally meaning CRAWL, cognate with OCS *съlaziti* ‘crawl’, Old Norse *lágr* ‘low’ and *lægja* ‘make or become lower’, Middle High German *laege* ‘flat’, and Greek *λαχρς* ‘low’. The element of the original meaning maintained by Russian seems to be the idea of LOW or FLAT, and the semantic connection seems to be that climbing involves a proximity to the surface being climbed reminiscent of vertical crawling.

The verb *катеря се* is not Slavic in origin, but is rather believed to have entered Bulgarian from a Balkan substratum language, either Thracian or Daco-Moesian. The root is *\*kater-*, seen also in Romanian *a se cățara* ‘clamber; creep, climb (of a plant)’. The root is presumed to be the same Indo-European root seen in Russian *катать* ‘roll’ and *скат* ‘slope,

incline’, Latin *scateo, scato* ‘bubble up, gush out’, as well as Bulgarian *скачам* ‘jump, spring’ and *скок* ‘jump, leap’.<sup>42</sup>

The verb *катеря се* is a simplex imperfective verb, but has the prefixed forms *покатервам се/покатеря се* and *изкатервам се/изкатеря се*. The prefixed forms vary little in meaning from the unprefixed verb. Here is an example of usage from Bulgarian literature:

- (51) Той ... покатери се на една стълба и почна да  
 he climb.P.AOR.3SG REFL on one ladder and begin.P.AOR.3SG COMP  
 откачва низите с тютюн...  
 unhook.I.PRS.3SG strings-DEF with tobacco  
*He ... climbed up on a ladder and began to unhook the strings of tobacco...* (D. Dimov)

The manner verb *катеря се* and its prefixed variants are used far less frequently than the path verb *качвам се/кача се*, but this verb deserves a mention because it is the manner equivalent of *качвам се/кача се*, and is by no means uncommon. It appears in the Bulgarian novels only one time (in the form *покатервам се/покатеря се*), and appears twice in the translations, in both of the prefixed forms (*покатервам се/покатеря се* and *изкатервам се/изкатеря се*).

#### 2.7.4 *Смъквам се/смъкна се*

The verb *смъквам се/смъкна се* is another common verb meaning GO DOWN, though far less common than *слизам/сляза*. *Смъквам се/смъкна се* does not appear in Nikolova’s list of the 806 most frequently used words, nor is it among the 500 motion verbs used in the Bulgarian novels, but it appears once in the translated novels. It is included here not based on general frequency of usage, but because it is one of the more common verbs formed from the productive base verb *мъкна* ‘drag, haul’, and because it is, to some extent, a manner counterpart to the far more common path verb *слизам/сляза*.

As a derived verb based on the verb *мъкна се* ‘move slowly, with difficulty; to drag oneself’ (discussed in Section 2.3.7 above) plus a directional prefix, it seems logical that *смъквам се/смъкна се* would mean ‘move downward slowly, with difficulty’. However, it is in fact defined as ‘go down, descend from something high, along a steep incline, downhill; fall, to slip’.<sup>43</sup> Despite the absence of manner in this definition, speakers of Bulgarian may still perceive in *смъквам се/смъкна се* the notion of going downward with difficulty, depending on context.

As the verb *смъквам се/смъкна се* is not used in the 500 verbs gathered from the Bulgarian novels, the example below is from the Bulgarian translation of the Turkish novel *Yeni Hayat*:

- (52) смъкнах се до бюфета  
 down-pull.P.AOR.1SG REFL until canteen-DEF  
*I went down to the canteen.* (O. Pamuk/R. Samuilova, trans.)

The above phrase is a translation of the original Turkish phrase *kantine indim* ‘I went down to the canteen’, which uses the path verb *inmek* ‘descend’. Both BCS and Russian also use

<sup>42</sup> *Български етимологичен речник*. 1986. София: Българската академия на науките.

<sup>43</sup> *слизам, спускам се от нещо високо, по стръмен наклон, из надолнище; падам, свличам се*; Децева seems to have based her definition on Najden Gerov’s 1904 definition.

mannerless path verbs meaning DESCEND, *silaziti/sići* and *спускатъся/спуститъся*, respectively. In this case the Bulgarian translator could have used the verb *слизам/сляза* equally well; *смъквам се/смъкна се* is presumably *not* used to imply manner, as this would involve the character either falling down the stairs to the canteen or descending with great difficulty, and neither of these options is a possible choice based on the original text. Instead, here *смъквам се/смъкна се* simply sounds more colloquial—a good English translation might be *I slipped down to the canteen*.

As noted above, although Russian and BCS both have close cognates of the Bulgarian verb *мъкна*, there is no prefixed motion verb cognate of *смъквам се/смъкна се* in either language.

### 2.7.5 *Спускам се/спусна се*

Yet another Bulgarian verb meaning DESCEND is *спускам се/спусна се* ‘descend, go down; fall; rush’. It is the reflexive form of a transitive verb meaning ‘let down, lower’. *Спускам се/спусна се* does have close cognates with the same meaning in Russian and BCS, *спускатъся/спуститъся* and *спуштити се/спустити се*. Like *смъквам се/смъкна се*, *спускам се/спусна се* is not among the most frequently used verbs, and appears far less often than *слизам/сляза*, but it is by no means uncommon. It is also one of several motion verbs derived from the base verb *пускам/пусна*. *Спускам се/спусна се* appears twice in the literary data; the example below is from a Bulgarian novel:

- (53) Отрядът            започна            да    се    спуска            към  
 detachment-DEF    begin.P.AOR.3SG    COMP    REFL    down-let.I.PRS.3SG    toward  
                           долината  
                           valley-DEF  
*The detachment began to go down into the valley.*        (A. Dončev)

Although *спускам се/спусна се* can be used as a manner verb of sorts, when it has the meaning of RUSH or FALL, manner is clear only from context, and the verb more often emphasizes the path meaning DESCEND.

## 2.8 VERBS DENOTING HORIZONTAL DIRECTIONAL MOTION

Bulgarian has several verbs describing directional horizontal motions; these are all path verbs rather than manner verbs. Like the verbs based on the no longer productive root *-лизам/-ляза*, some of these verbs appear to have satellite path constructions because of their path prefixes, but in some cases the prefixes are connected to bases with either no independent meaning or no motion verb meaning without the prefix. The prefixes of these verbs can be considered to be fused to the verb, or to be in the process of fusion.

### 2.8.1 *Обикалям/обиколя*

The verb *обикалям/обиколя* means ‘go around, tour’. The verb is given two definitions: ‘1. walk, pass by/round something; 2. go around, travel, visit different places’.<sup>44</sup> Illustrative examples given with the definition include “*обикалям около къщата*” ‘I am walking round the house’ and “*обикаля кръчмите*” ‘He makes the rounds of the pubs’.

<sup>44</sup> 1. *ходя, минавам около нещо*; 2. *обхождам, посещавам различни места*

The verb *обикалям/обиколя* is similar to Russian *обходить/обойти* ‘go all round’ or BCS *obilaziti/obići* ‘go around, circle’, at least in meaning; in form, the prefixes are the same, but the roots are quite different. The Bulgarian etymological dictionary refers the reader to *около* ‘around’ and *коло* ‘wheel’, suggesting a motion verb derived from the root meaning ‘wheel’ with an added path prefix. However, in modern Bulgarian there is no unprefixated form of this verb. There is, in fact, a verb *коля* ‘slaughter’, but it seems unlikely that these verbs are related. There is also a verb *търкалям/търколя* ‘roll’ which could share a root with *обикалям/обиколя*.<sup>45</sup> In this respect, the verb *обикалям/обиколя* seems to have a somewhat different origin than similar verbs in Russian and BCS.

The verb *обикалям/обиколя* is not in Nikolova’s list of the most frequent words, but is used 13 times in the literary texts. Typical examples follow:

- (54) А Сотиров ... сам взе да обикаля  
 but Sotirov self take.P.AOR.3SG COMP round-go.I.PRS.3SG  
 изследователските колективи  
 research-DEF collectives  
*But Sotirov ... himself took to making rounds of the research collectives.* (V. Mutafčieva)
- (55) Слухът ѝ различи бавни, нуверени стъпки на човек,  
 hearing-DEF her distinguish.P.AOR.3SG slow unsure steps of person  
 който обикаляше навън  
 who around.go.I.IMF.3SG outside  
*Her ears picked up slow, unsure steps of a person walking around outside.* (E. Stanev)

Despite the surface similarity between Bulgarian *обикалям/обиколя*, BCS *obilaziti/obići*, and Russian *обходить/обойти*, the translations of foreign novels into Bulgarian, Serbian, and Russian show almost no parallel usage of these verbs. When Bulgarian *обикалям/обиколя* is used to translate a foreign motion verb into Bulgarian, various different verbs are found in the Serbian and Russian translations, including BCS *lutati* ‘wander’, *putovati* ‘travel’, and *hodati* ‘walk’, and Russian *бродить* ‘wander’, *огибать/обогнуть* ‘round, skirt’, *ходить* ‘go [on foot]’. This demonstrates another usage of *обикалям/обиколя* meaning ‘wander’, an extension of the meaning of ‘going around’ to ‘going around aimlessly’. This is perhaps derived from the notion that circling is indirect, and therefore, without aim.

### 2.8.2 *Пресичам/пресека; прекосявам/прекося; преминавам/премина*

Unlike BCS and Russian, Bulgarian does not have a verb based on a cognate of OCS *iti* meaning CROSS (in the sense of moving across a geographic expanse, such as a field, a street, or a river), similar in construction to BCS *prelaziti/preći* or Russian *переходить/перейти*. Instead, the most common verb meaning CROSS, *пресичам/пресека*, is constructed in the same way as Russian *пересекать/пересечь* ‘cross, intersect, traverse’. (Though BCS has a cognate of this verb, *presečati/preseći*, that verb has a literal meaning of ‘cut in two, bisect’, rather than the expected meaning of a motion verb signifying of ‘traverse’.) In the Bulgarian novels, *пресичам/пресека* appears only once, but in the translated novels, *пресичам/пресека* is used six times.

<sup>45</sup> Mladenov (1941) traces the root of *търкалям/търколя* to \**тър-*, and identifies *k* as a suffix or a root extension. But since he states that the root in *търкалям/търколя* is ancient, there may be no influence from *колело* and *обикалям*. His exact words are “същин. кор. е само \**тър*, а *k* е наст. или кор. разшир.; кор. в *търкало*, *търкалям* е старин., та може да не са влияли *колело* и *обикалям*.”

Where Bulgarian uses *пресичам/пресека*, Russian uses either *пересекать/пересечь* or *переходить/перейти*, while BCS uses *prelaziti/preći* in all cases but one, where *ići popreko preko* is used. The example below is from a Bulgarian novel:

- (56) Видяхме ги, когато пресичаха изгърбения каменен мост  
 saw.P.AOR.1PL them when cross.I.IMF.3PL hunchbacked-DEF stone bridge  
*We saw them when they were crossing the arched stone bridge.* (A. Dončev)

The verb *пресичам/пресека* is clearly based on the verb *сека* ‘cut’. There is another Bulgarian verb meaning CUT, *кося* ‘cut with a scythe’, and it too serves as the base for a motion verb meaning CROSS, *прекосявам/прекося*, perhaps formed by analogy with *пресичам/пресека*. Cognates of *кося* exist in both Russian and BCS, with the same meaning, but this is not the case with the prefixed form *прекосявам/прекося*. BCS does have a prefixed form *prekositi*, but the dictionary definition is ‘mow’; it can be found with the meaning ‘cross’ in expressions such as *prekositi liniju* ‘cross a line’ or *prekositi srce* ‘cross one’s heart’, but these expressions are not common, and do not express CROSS in the sense of a motion verb. The Russian form *перекосить* has two meanings, either ‘mow’ or ‘warp, distort’, but no motion verb meaning. The Bulgarian verb *прекосявам/прекося* appears twice in the 500 motion verbs from Bulgarian novels, and 10 times in the translations. When the Bulgarian verb *прекосявам/прекося* is chosen in the translated novels, the Russian and Serbian *пересекать/пересечь* and *prelaziti/preći* are sometimes chosen by the respective translators, but other choices, such as Russian *пройти* ‘pass by, through’, *обойти* ‘go round, pass’, or Serbian *proći* ‘pass through, go by’, *ići* ‘go’, are also used. This may suggest a slightly more general meaning for *прекосявам/прекося*, with less emphasis on the transitive act of crossing something, and more emphasis on the fact of movement across a terrain. An example of *прекосявам/прекося* from the Bulgarian novels follows:

- (57) Измъчена от мислите си, тя прекоси площада  
 tortured from thoughts-DEF REFL she cross.P.AOR.3SG square-DEF  
*Tortured by her thoughts, she crossed the square.* (D. Dimov)

The third common verb meaning CROSS is *преминавам/премина*, derived from the common motion verb *минавам/мина*. (This verb may have the meaning of crossing terrain or a boundary, it can also denote passing into another space, either literally or metaphorically.) The meaning, ‘cross, pass’, is rather close to the meaning of *минавам/мина*. Russian and BCS do not have equivalents of this verb based on their cognate verbs meaning PASS; as with the example of *прекосявам/прекося* above, each language has a verb constructed in the same manner with the same base and prefix, but the meanings are different, and the prefixed verb in each case is not a motion verb. (Russian *переминовать/переминуть* means ‘bypass’ and BCS *preminuti* means ‘die’.) The shift toward greater generality of motion in the Bulgarian verb *минавам/мина* was discussed above (with *заминавам/замина* serving as an example of a form in which the semantic bleaching of the base verb stands out); it is perhaps the absence of a corresponding shift in Russian and BCS that has discouraged the development of a motion verb from the equivalent forms in these languages. Bulgarian *преминавам/премина* is used three times in the Bulgarian novels, but is not found in data from the translated novels. The following example shows a typical usage of *преминавам/премина*:

- (58) Бе преминавал граници на шлеп или с джип  
 be.IMF.3SG cross.I.PTCP borders on barge or with jeep  
*He had crossed borders by barge or by jeep.* (V. Mutafčieva)

In the above example, the unprefixd verb *минавам/мина* could serve as well, with the same meaning.

### 2.8.3 *Завивам/завия*

The verb *завивам/завия* has more than one meaning, depending on transitivity; it is the intransitive form that is a motion verb, meaning ‘turn’, while the transitive meaning is ‘wrap’. *Завивам/завия* is the prefixed form of the verb *вия* ‘bend, curve; to twist; to wind’. The cognates of this inherited Slavic word are very similar in Russian and BCS: *вуть* and *viti*, respectively. These three cognates in Bulgarian, Russian, and BCS still share similar meanings, primarily the ideas of TWIST and WIND, but the motion verbs meaning TURN are not based on the cognates of *вия* in Russian and BCS. Instead, BCS uses the verbs *skretati/skrenuti* and *okretati/okrenuti*, prefixed forms of the verb *kretati/krenuti* ‘move; to begin to move; to set out’, from Proto-Slavic \**krę-*, also meaning ‘move’. Russian uses *повертывать(ся)/повернуть(ся)* or *поворачивать(ся)/поворотить(ся)*, related to the Bulgarian verb *въртя*. The verb *въртя* also means TURN, but only with a transitive meaning (as in ‘rotate an object’).

The verb *завивам/завия* only comes up once in the Bulgarian novels, but six times in the translated novels. In the novels translated from non-Slavic languages, where the Bulgarian translator has chosen *завивам/завия*, the Serbian translator has chooses *skrenuti*, and the Russian translator, either *повертывать(ся)/повернуть(ся)* or *поворачивать(ся)/поворотить(ся)*. *Завивам/завия* is not among the 806 most frequently used words in Nikolova’s frequency list. An example from a Bulgarian novel follows:

- (59) Жълтата кола пред него бавно зави  
 yellow-DEF car before him slowly turn.P.AOR.3SG  
*The yellow car in front of him slowly turned [a corner].* (V. Mutafčieva)

## 2.9 VERBS DENOTING THE ACTION ‘RUN’

Bulgarian has two different verbs meaning RUN, *бягам* and *тичам*, and another verb, *препускам/препусна*, which emphasizes speed of movement, and is semantically closer to RACE than RUN. The two RUN verbs are used with similar frequency; the verb denoting RACE is far less frequent, but still not uncommon. It will be discussed in this section not so much because of frequency of usage but because it is related to the verb *пускам/пусна* and its variants discussed above.

### 2.9.1 *Бягам*

The verb *бягам* is a simplex verb meaning RUN, the modern Bulgarian form of the OCS *běžati*, also RUN. The Russian cognate is *бежать/бегать*. The BCS cognate, *bežati/pobeći*, has shifted in meaning to ‘run away, flee’. Such a semantic shift has not taken place in Bulgarian, but there are signs that it might be underway. The synonym *тичам* is frequently used instead of *бягам*, especially for the motion of running itself, while *бягам* is often used to mean ‘run away, flee’.

The verb *бягам* ranks at number 482 in Nikolova's frequency list, well above *тичам*. However, in its unprefixated form, it appears slightly less frequently than *тичам* in the Bulgarian novels (four times), and is not used at all in the translated novels (while *тичам* is used three times). Examples of *бягам* from the Bulgarian novels include:

- (60) Дълго бягаше говедарчето върху дулото  
 long run.I.IMF.3SG cowherd-DIM-DEF above ridge-DEF  
*The little cowherd ran a long time above the ridge.* (A. Dončev)
- (61) Освен това от пленническите лагери бягаха „роби“  
 besides this from prisoner.of.war.-DEF camps run.I.IMF.3PL slaves  
*Besides this, “slaves” would escape from the POW camps.* (E. Stanev)

The verb *бягам* also has prefixed forms, the most common of which are with the prefixes *из-* and *по-*. These prefixes lend a range of meanings to the verbs. In the standard dictionary treatment, each prefixed form of *бягам* results in one derived imperfective, but two separate derived perfective forms; it is these two derived perfective forms which distinguish the two different meanings of the derived prefixed pairs.

The form prefixed with *по-* has two slightly different forms in the monolingual dictionary. The first, *побягвам/побягна*, has a perfective formed with the suffix *-на*, and is defined as ‘distance oneself with running, dash off at a run’.<sup>46</sup> This form is differentiated from *побягвам/побягам*, which is defined as ‘run a little’ or, in the imperfective form only, ‘run from time to time’.<sup>47</sup> The Academy bilingual dictionary<sup>48</sup> lists only *побягвам/побягна*, defined as ‘take flight, run away, break into a run, flee’; this suggests some semantic overlap with *избягвам/избягам*, below.

Just as the addition of the prefix *по-* resulted in two sets of verbs, so does the addition of the prefix *из-*. Here too, the two sets of verbs are distinguished by the derived perfective forms, but only one of these derived pairs, *избягвам/избягам*, is a motion verb. The Academy bilingual dictionary defines *избягвам/избягам* as ‘run/get/break away, escape, flee’, and *избягам/избягна* as ‘avoid, evade, avert, prevent’. The standard definitions are similar, but not identical. *Избягвам/избягам* is defined as ‘run far away, to a certain distance from someone or something, usually secretly or without permission’.<sup>49</sup> To *избягам/избягна* (or *избегна*) is ascribed a greater range of meaning, but only *избягвам/избягам* indicates the physical change of place affected in the action of a motion verb.

The verb *избягвам/избягам* is used more frequently than the derived forms of *бягам* prefixed with *по-*. *Избягвам/избягам* is used seven times in the Bulgarian novels, compared with only once for *побягвам/побягна*, and it is used twelve times in the translations, while *побягвам/побягна* is used only once. Examples of each include:

- (62) Жена му произхождаше от семейство ... избягало от Солун  
 wife him originate.I.IMF.3SG from family fled.I.PTCP from Thessaloniki.  
*His wife was from a family ... which had fled from Thessaloniki* (D. Dimov)

<sup>46</sup> *побягвам/побягна*: *отдалечавам се с бягане, спускам се да бягам*

<sup>47</sup> *побягвам/побягам*: *бягам малко; потичвам; побягвам: бягам от време на време*

<sup>48</sup> Academy Bulgarian-English volume (1988).

<sup>49</sup> *бягам надалече, на известно разстояние от някого или нещо, напускам някого или нещо, обикн. тайно или без разрешение*

- (63) Сам ти преди единайсет години побягна от пазара  
 oneself you before eleven years run.P.AOR.2SG from market-DEF  
*You yourself ran from the market eleven years ago.* (V. Mutafčieva)

### 2.9.2 Тичам

The verb *тичам* is synonymous with *бягам*. *Тичам* is the modern Bulgarian form of the OCS *tešti, teko* ‘flow, pour’, and figuratively, ‘run’. The metaphorical extension of FLOW to RUN is easily conceived of, especially when the discussion is framed in English, where the verb *run* is interchangeable with the verb *flow* (although the reverse is not true). This metaphorical extension, however, does not seem to have taken hold in Russian *течь* or BCS *teći*, which both mean only ‘flow’. (Such metaphorical extension is not present in the neighboring Balkan languages of Greek or Romanian, either.) Following are two examples of *тичам* from the Bulgarian novels used as data; compare (64) with (60) above for an example of usage synonymous with *бягам*.

- (64) Дребното говедарче тичаше върху широкото дуло  
 tiny-DEF cowherd-DIM run.I-IMF.3SG above wide-DEF ridge  
*The tiny cowherd was running above the wide ridge.* (A. Dončev)
- (65) изморените прислужници ... тичаха с мъка между масите  
 tired-DEF waiters run.I-IMF.3PL with pain between tables-DEF  
*The exhausted waiters ... were having a hard time running between the tables.*  
 (E. Stanev)

Although Nikolova’s frequency list indicates less usage of *тичам* in the spoken language than *бягам*, with *тичам* ranking at number 652 (compare the ranking of 482 for *бягам*), the verb *тичам* is used slightly more than *бягам* in both the Bulgarian novels and the translated novels, with five tokens in the former and three in the latter. Like *бягам*, however, *тичам* also has prefixed forms; the prefixed forms of *тичам* appear in the data somewhat less often than the prefixed forms of *бягам*. The most common prefixed forms of *тичам* are *потичвам/потичам* ‘have a (short) run’ and the reflexive form *затичвам се/затичам се* ‘run, dash; break into a run’.

In the novels translated into Bulgarian *потичвам/потичам* is used twice, once in a translation of the very idiomatic *to make a beeline* (with the verbs *pohrliti* and *nomonati* as the Serbian and Russian choices), and again a translation of the Turkish *koşar gibi yürümek* ‘walk as if running’, where the Serbian and Russian choices are the more direct *trčati* and *бежать*, simply ‘run’. The verb *потичвам/потичам* does not appear in the 500 verbs from the Bulgarian novels.

The prefixed form *затичвам се/затичам се* is found four times in the translated novels, used to translate Turkish *koşmak* ‘run’ and *kaçmak* ‘escape, flee’; the Serbian and Russian equivalents used are *potrčati* and *побежать*, respectively, each suggesting the inception of action (‘break into a run’). *Затичвам се/затичам се* appears once in the Bulgarian novels, shown in (66) below:

- (66) Елица скочи от камъка и се затича насреща му  
 Elitsa jump.P.AOR.3SG from rock-DEF and REFL run.P.AOR.3SG opposite him  
*Elitsa jumped off the rock and rushed towards him.* (A. Dončev)

### 2.9.3 Препускам/препусна

The verb *препускам/препусна* means ‘race, gallop, trot; to rush/speed/tear along’. It is used most frequently to describe the running action of horses or horseback riders, but may also for people in various contexts. There are two senses of *препускам/препусна*: ‘for a horse or other animal: to run with full effort, fast’ and ‘for a person (on foot, on horseback or by vehicle): to run, to move quickly, with full strength.’<sup>50</sup> The motion GALLOP is often specified through the addition of *галоп* or *в галоп* in Bulgarian, despite the fact that ‘gallop’ is generally given as one of the English translations of the verb.

*Препускам/препусна* is one of the prefixed motion verbs formed from the verb *пускам се/пусна се*, discussed above. Both Russian and BCS have verbs formed on the pattern of *препускам/препусна*, but the meanings are quite different, and neither has a motion verb meaning. The Russian form *перепускать/перепустить* means ‘let flow’, while the BCS *preprištati/prepustiti* means ‘leave, give up, surrender’. Bulgarian *препускам/препусна* is not among the most common motion verbs, but it is met often enough; it is used three times in the translated novels and twice in the Bulgarian novels. An example from a Bulgarian novel follows:

- (67) Защо сетне бе препускал към аерогарата  
why then be.IMF.3SG race.PTCP toward airport-DEF  
*Why he had then raced toward the airport?* (V. Mutafčieva)

## 2.10 VERBS MEANING ‘JUMP’

### 2.10.1 Скачам/скоча

The verb *скачам/скоча* means ‘jump’, and is clearly similar to the Russian and BCS equivalents *скакать/скокочить* and *skakati/skočiti*; these in turn show little change from OCS *skakati*, although this earlier form of the verb is defined as ‘run, wander’. Bulgarian *скачам/скоча* is used with some frequency, appearing (in its unprefix form) four times among the 500 verbs from Bulgarian novels and once in the translated novels. Examples of *скачам/скоча* follow:

- (68) Фриц скачаше отгоре ни с грозно ръмжене  
Fritz jump.I.IMF.3SG from-above us with ugly growling  
*Fritz [a Doberman] would jump on us with ugly growling.* (E. Stanev)

- (69) Елица скочи от камъка и се затича насреща му  
Elitsa jump.P.AOR.3SG from rock-DEF and REFL run.P.AOR.3SG opposite him  
*Elitsa jumped off the rock and ran towards him.* (A. Dončev)

Common prefixed forms are *изскачам/изскоча* ‘jump out, dart out’ and *прескачам/прескоча* ‘jump over’. The former is found three times in the Bulgarian novels and three times in the translated novels, while the latter is found twice in the Bulgarian novels and once in the translated novels. Although the unprefix meaning JUMP is quite similar in usage to the corresponding forms in Russian and BCS, the prefixed form *изскачам/изскоча* ‘jump out, dart out’ does not have an equivalent from in Russian; the BCS *iskočiti/iskakati* also means ‘jump out’,

<sup>50</sup> за кон или друго животно – (пускам се да) тичам силно, бързо.; за човек (пеша, на кон или с превозно средство) – (пускам се да) тичам, движа се бързо, с всичка сила

but has the additional meaning of ‘rise; come to the surface’ not present in Bulgarian *изскачам/изскоча*. And although the literal meaning of Bulgarian *изскачам/изскоча* is ‘jump out’, it is used perhaps more often with the meaning of sudden emergence, as seen in (71).

- (70) Един заек изскочи отнякъде  
 one rabbit out-jump.P.AOR.3SG from-somewhere  
*A rabbit hopped out from somewhere.* (D. Dimov)
- (71) Котка изскачаше внезапно от някоя изба  
 cat out-jump.I.IMF-3SG suddenly from some cellar  
*A cat would suddenly dart out of some cellar.* (E. Stanev)

## 2.11 VERBS MEANING ‘FLY’

Bulgarian has a common verb *лятя* meaning FLY, as well as a less common verb *хвърча*, also meaning FLY. Both will be discussed below. Additionally, there is a verb *литвам*, closely related to *лятя*, meaning ‘fly off, fly away’; this verb will not be discussed separately.

Also discussed below with verbs meaning FLY is the verb *кацам* ‘land’; this verb refers to the end of the act of flying, and suggests flight as a prerequisite.

### 2.11.1 *Летя*

The verb *лятя* is a simplex verb meaning ‘fly’. It is similar in form and usage to its cognates in other Slavic languages, including Russian *летитъ/летать* and BCS *leteti*. It is a common verb, but not among the 803 most common verbs listed by Nikolova. The unprefixated form is found only twice in the verbs from the Bulgarian novels and not at all in the translated novels, although there are five tokens total of three different prefixed forms of *лятя*. One example is shown below:

- (72) Падна град...та убиваше небесните птици, както летяха  
 fall.P.AOR.3SG hail and kill.I.IMF-3SG heavenly-DEF birds as fly.I.IMF.3PL  
*Hail fell ... and it killed the birds as they flew through the sky.* (A. Dončev)

The verb *лятя* is very productive through prefixation, although some of the derived forms are often used figuratively, with no literal meaning of FLY (these common figurative meanings are also included in the definitions). The most common prefixed forms are *влитам/влетя* ‘fly in’, *долитам/долетя* ‘fly from, come by flying; rush’, *излитам/излетя* ‘fly off/away; rush, dash away’, *отлитам/отлетя* ‘fly away; fly, slip by’, *политам/полетя* ‘fly off; rush, dash’, *прелитам/прелетя* ‘fly over’, *връхлитам/връхлетя* ‘swoop down, jump on; run into; attack’, and *налитам/налетя* ‘fall upon, spring upon; run into, stumble across’. The prefixed forms of *лятя* which appear in the novels used for data include *излитам/излетя* (three tokens in the Bulgarian novels), *налитам/налетя* (one token in the Bulgarian novels), and *прелитам/прелетя* (two tokens in the Bulgarian novels), while the translated novels contain *влитам/влетя*, *излитам/излетя*, and *политам/полетя*. Examples of these verbs from the Bulgarian novels follow below.

- (73) Неговият самолет е излетял в девет  
 his-DEF airplane be.PRS.3SG out-fly.PTCP at nine  
*His plane departed at nine.* (V. Mutafčieva)

(74) Над околността беше прелетял германски цеppelin  
 above vicinity-DEF be.IMF-3SG across-fly.P.PTCP German zeppelin  
*A German zeppelin had flown over the area.* (E. Stanev)

(75) Гладни деца и бедняци налитаха на гроздето  
 hungry children and poor.people on-fly.I.IMF.3PL on grapes-DEF  
*Hungry children and poor people descended on the grapes.* (E. Stanev)

### 2.11.2 Хвърча

The verb *хвърча* ‘fly; rush’ is not among the most frequently used motion verbs but is of interest because it is somewhat unusual. Although the verb does appear to be Slavic in origin, it does not have a cognate meaning ‘fly’ in other Slavic languages. Both Mladenov and Skok make the rather surprising suggestion that *хвърча* is an onomatopoeia from the sound made by a flying bird. Mladenov identifies the initial *h-* as epenthetic, and proposes a Common Slavic root of \**ver-ch-* ‘make the sound f-f’. Mladenov lists as cognates BCS *vrknuti* ‘fly’, Slovenian *vršeti* ‘rumble, roar’, and Ukrainian *ворох* ‘crackle, pop’.

The verb *хвърча* is a simplex verb, but has some interesting variants. *Хвърча* has the two definitions of ‘carry oneself in the air; fly’ and ‘move with great speed’.<sup>51</sup> The dictionary’s usage examples include the saying *времето хвърчи* ‘time flies’, a variation on the (more common) *времето лети*—the same saying, using the more common verb *летя* ‘fly’. In addition to *хвърча*, however, Децева also lists the pair *хвърквам/хвъркна* and the imperfective verb *хвъркам*. The pair *хвърквам/хвъркна* she defines as “Започвам да хвъркам, да хвърча, да летя; литвам, отлитам” ‘begin to fly [with synonyms]; to fly off, fly away’. She defines the imperfective verb *хвъркам* (no perfective form listed) as “Хвърча леко, с лекота или малко, от време на време” ‘fly lightly, with lightness or a little, from time to time’. This definition is interesting in that a shade of difference often achieved by a prefix is here attributed to a form with neither prefix nor suffix.

*Хвърча* is used only once in the 500 motion verbs in the Bulgarian novels, but the prefixed form *прехвърквам/прехвъркна* (the prefix *пре-* indicating motion over or across) appears three times. An example of each form follows:

(76) ... под закачената на стената лампа, край която хвърчаха и се  
 under hung-DEF on wall- DEF lamp by which fly.I.IMF.3PL and REFL  
 бълскаха множество насекоми и нощни пеперудки  
 bumped.I.IMF.3PL multiple insects and night butterflies  
*... under the lamp hung on the wall, around which a multitude of insects and moths would fly and bump into each other.* (E. Stanev)

(77) Караманол завардил два прохода ...та не давал  
 Karamanol guard.P.REN.3SG two passes and NEG give.P.REN.3SG  
 пиле да прехвъркне  
 chicken COMP across-fly.P.PRS.3SG  
*Karamanol laid ambush to two passes ... and wouldn’t allow a chicken to fly across.*  
 (A. Dončev)

<sup>51</sup> *нося се във въздуха; летя* and *движа се с голяма бързина*

### 2.11.3 *Кацам*

The verb *кацам* means ‘alight, land, perch’; thus, while it does not denote FLY, it connotes FLY, as flying is a prerequisite to the action of the verb. The two standard dictionary definitions of *кацам* are ‘for a bird or insect: stop flying, fly and stop, step somewhere, onto something’ and ‘for an airplane or other flying apparatus: descend downward and stop on the ground or other surface’.<sup>52</sup> Although *кацам* is a simplex verb, there is also a derived aspectual pair, *кацвам/кацна*, with the same meaning.

The verb *кацам* is of uncertain origin, but it does not seem to be Slavic. Russian and BCS use quite different, unrelated verbs to convey the meaning of Bulgarian *кацам*. The Greek verb *κάθηναι* ‘sit’ bears some resemblance to *кацам*, but Mladenov states that the verb is “probably not from the base of the past tense of Greek *καθίζω* ‘sit’, ‘be seated’, but from the root in *катеря се* [‘climb’]”.<sup>53</sup> The non-Slavic origin of the word would explain the lack of a directional prefix (like the similar lack of a directional prefix on the previously mentioned verb *катеря се*). Slavic verbs meaning ‘land’ are seen in Russian *посадить* ‘plant’ or *приземляться* ‘land’ (the Russian verb contains the root of the word meaning ‘earth’, similar to the English verb *land*), and in BCS *spustiti* ‘lower, bring down’, *aterirati* ‘land (an airplane, etc.)’ and *sleteti* (formed through the combination of the verb *leteti* ‘fly’ and the prefix *s-*, indicating descent).

The verb *кацам* (in its perfective form *кацна*) is among the 803 most frequently used verbs, according to Nikolova’s data, appearing at number 644 on her list. However, it appears only twice in the Bulgarian novel data and not at all in the translated novels, suggesting a higher frequency in the spoken language. Both examples from the Bulgarian novels follow.

(78) ... на стария орех, на който през нощта кацваше някой чухал  
of old-DEF walnut on which through night-DEF land.I-IMF.3SG some owl  
... of the old walnut tree, on which some owl would perch during the night. (E. Stanev)

(79) Ако в този миг ... аз бих кацнал във Виена  
if in this moment I be.COND.1SG land.P.PTCP in Vienna  
If I had landed in Vienna at that moment... (V. Mutafchieva)

## 2.12 VERBS DENOTING MOVEMENT IN WATER

There are two closely related Bulgarian verbs denoting movement through water: *плавам* and *плувам*. Neither verb appears in the 1000 motion verbs gathered from the Bulgarian novels and the novels in translation, as none of the events in the stories take place in or around water.

### 2.12.1 *Плавам*

The verb *плавам* means ‘float, sail, drift’. The medium may be either water or air, but the close etymological connection with *плувам* ‘swim’ suggests that, like the English verb *float*, the primary meaning originally indicated buoyancy in water. The verb can also mean ‘travel by boat or by ship’ or ‘swim’, as in the sentence *момчето не умее да плава* ‘the boy cannot swim’.

*Плавам* does not appear in Nikolova’s frequency dictionary at all, indicating a low frequency in spoken language (at least outside of a specific context). It is, however, regularly

<sup>52</sup> 1. За птица или насекомо – спирам да хвърча, да летя и заставам, стъпвам някъде, върху нещо; 2. за самолет или друг летателен апарат – спускам се надолу и заставам върху земята или друга повърхност

<sup>53</sup> “навярно не от основен за миналото време на гръцки *καθίζω* ‘сядам’, ‘заседна’, а от корен в *катеря се*” (Mladenov 1941).

employed to describe the motion of water vessels, although other verbs of motion, such as *пътувам* ‘travel’, *отивам* ‘go’, or *ходя* ‘go’ (multi-directional) may also be used (though of the various options, only *пътувам* is widely employed).

### 2.12.2 *Плувам*

The verb *плувам* means ‘swim’. It can also be used similarly to *плавам*, meaning ‘sail’, in the case of water vessels; the fourth dictionary definition given by Dečeva for *плувам* is, in fact, “плавам.” *Плувам* meaning *плавам* seems to be used more with smaller vessels (e.g., *лодки* ‘boats’) than with larger vessels (e.g., *кораби* ‘ships’); this is logical if one analyzes the meaning of *плавам* as focusing on the medium of motion, but *плувам* as adding additional manner of motion to the medium of motion. While *плавам* may describe motion in either water or air, however, if the action described by *плувам* were to take place in air, the act would be described by a different verb, *летя* FLY. There is also a verb derived from *плувам* through the suffix *-в-*: *плувам/плувна* ‘be bathed, be soaked’, as in *плувам/плувна в пот* ‘be drenched in sweat’. This verb is not a motion verb, but this derivation also indicates that the medium of a liquid is the more salient feature of *плувам*.

## 2.13 A LIST OF BULGARIAN MOTION VERBS, CATEGORIZED

The creation of a list of basic motion verbs for Bulgarian analogous to the commonly referenced list of motion verbs for Russian is not possible because Bulgarian has lost the distinction between one-way and two-way motion, and it is this distinction on which the Russian motion verb list is based. The table below summarizes the information presented above, listing 42 of the most common or most productive transitive motion verbs in Bulgarian. Although transitive motion verbs are rarely omitted from a discussion of Russian motion verbs, I here omit verbs of this type. This is because, in my view, the pragmatic focus of these verbs is the object transported. Because the fact of motion is secondary, I view them as peripheral to the present study.

The verbs in the following table have been selected using three criteria, the first of which is the data from Nikolova’s (1987) frequency dictionary of spoken Bulgarian. Nikolova’s dictionary is based on a corpus of approximately 14 hours of recorded conversation, selected from recordings made from 1975-1977, recorded without the knowledge of the speakers. The majority of the recordings are from the capital, Sofia. The approximately 14 hours of transcribed conversation needed to gather 100,000 word forms came from a much larger body of recordings (of unspecified size); the recordings ultimately used were selected according to sound quality and other technical considerations. In order to control for the occurrence of less commonly used words appearing at a disproportionately high frequency based on the topic of a particular conversation, the 100,000 words were divided into five even groups of 20,000 words each, after which frequency of distribution over these five groups was recorded, in addition to total number of tokens of a given word form. Thus, the frequency of a given word was judged not only on total number of tokens of that word in the corpus, but also on how well the word was represented across the five random groups of 20,000 tokens.<sup>54</sup> The total number of words is comprised of some 6600 different lexemes, represented by 13,000 different forms (including verbs in various

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<sup>54</sup> Nikolova gives a good example of this using the verb *мълча* ‘to be silent’ and the noun *шаран* ‘carp’. Both occur 11 times in her corpus of 100,000 words, but whereas *мълча* ‘to be silent’ occurs at least once in each of the five groupings, indicating a common conversational distribution, *шаран* ‘carp’ occurs in only one of the five groupings, suggesting that the researchers happened to record a conversation in which ‘carp’ was a main topic.

tenses and persons, nouns in various numbers, etc.), and 2,096 of the 6600 lexemes, or 22.8%, are verbs. There are 806 words which comprise around 85% of the core words found in the dictionary, and these are provided in an ordered list. Most of the verbs chosen for this study appear in the list of the 806 core words. As Nikolova notes, verbs denoting movement are among the most commonly used in the spoken language, and so it is not imprudent to assume that all of the more common motion verbs which warrant inclusion will be recorded at least once in the 100,000 word corpus on which the dictionary is based.

The second criterion for inclusion in the list is the frequency with which a verb appears in the data gathered from literary sources. These sources are gathered from eight novels, four of which were written originally in Bulgarian, and four of which are novels translated into Bulgarian (from English, German, Turkish, and Portuguese). The first 125 motion verbs used in each novel were selected to form a list of 1000 motion verbs.

The final criterion is based not on frequency, but on productivity or interest. Some verbs are productive bases for prefixed motion verbs, even if the resulting verbs are not themselves high-frequency. A few verbs have been chosen simply because they are in some way interesting in their formation. Such cases have been noted in their descriptions above, and will stand out in the table below based on their relatively low frequency in comparison with the mostly high-frequency verbs listed.

Each verb in the table is followed by its most basic definition, but most do have a wider range of meaning, discussed in the previous section. In the third column, the root of each verb appears. This is given to facilitate comparison of the productivity of various roots and to indicate the source of each verb, which is often a different root than that used for similar verbs in other Slavic languages.

The fourth column indicates what percentage of the total of 1000 verbs from the two sets of literary comparisons is represented by the given verb.

The number in the fifth column represents to some extent the spoken language frequency. This number shows how many tokens of each verb (perfective and imperfective forms combined) appear in Nikolova's corpus of the spoken language. Because of the absence of context for each verb, however, these numbers do not always represent usage of each verb as a motion verb, and can therefore only be very rough estimates of motion verb usage. This is especially true for verbs marked with an asterisk, indicating that for such verbs the frequency count includes both transitive and reflexive forms of the verb, but only the reflexive form is a motion verb. (In such cases, the figure provided for the frequency of the verb in the literary data is far more useful as an indicator of frequency.) To give some indication of what the numbers mean, the most frequently used word, *съм*, the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular of the verb *be*, has 4041 tokens; the word listed in 100<sup>th</sup> place for frequency, *къде* 'where (adv.)', has 155 tokens; the word *връзка* 'connection (acquaintance, intercession)', at number 420, has 21 tokens.

Finally, the sixth column indicates whether the verb expresses manner of motion (M) or path of motion (P). The verb *ходя* may be used either to express the manner verb 'walk' or as a manner-neutral verb meaning 'go', and so is marked M/N, for manner verb/neutral verb. There are also four verbs marked as M-P because they express both manner and path, and one verb marked as (M)/P, because while it always expresses manner, the extent to which it consistently expresses manner is ambiguous. (Later tables will introduce the abbreviation *N* for manner neutral verbs, but the following table contains no verb classified as completely neutral for manner.)

TABLE 2.5. The most common Bulgarian motion verbs, categorized semantically

Motion verb	Basic meaning	Base verb	Literary frequency	Spoken frequency	Manner or path
COMING & GOING					
ида <sub>1,2</sub>	'come <sub>1</sub> ; go <sub>2</sub> '	ида	1.2%	52	P
идвам/дойда	'come'	ида	5.8%	345	P
отивам/отида	'go'	ида	6.7%	317	P
ходя <sub>1,2</sub>	'go; walk'	ходя	1.9%	192	M/N
вървя	'walk; go'	вървя	3.9%	44	M
минавам/мина	'pass; go'	мина	3.3%	91	P
пътувам	'travel'	пътувам	1.8%	17	M
стъпвам/стъпя	'step; walk'	стъпя	.06%	18	M
ARRIVAL & RETURN					
стигам/стигна	'reach; arrive'	стигам	2.4%	26	P
пристигам/пристигна	'arrive'	стигам	1%	42	P
върщам се/върна се	'return'	върщам	3.9%	106*	P
прибирам се/прибера се	'return (home)'	бера	2.5%	33*	P
DEPARTURE/SETTING OUT					
тръгвам/тръгна	'set out'	тръг-	6.5%	74	P
поемам/поема	'set out'	поема	1%	5	P
заминавам/замина	'leave'	мина	.07%	38	P
пускам се/пусна се	'embark, set out'	пускам	-0-	68*	P
напускам/напусна	'leave, depart from'	пускам	1.3%	6	P
ENTERING & EXITING					
влизам/вляза	'enter, go in'	-лизам	3.2%	97	P
излизам/изляза	'exit, go out'	-лизам	4.5%	128	P
вмъквам се/вмъкна се	'steal, sneak into'	мъкна	.05%	n/a	M
измъквам се/измъкна се	'sneak away/out'	мъкна	.04%	11*	M
ASCENDING & DESCENDING					
слизам/сляза	'go down, descend'	-лизам	2.6%	44	P
качвам се/кача се	'go up, ascend'	кача	.09%	52	(M)/P
изкачвам се/изкача се	'go up, ascend'	кача	.06%	n/a	M-P
катеря се	'climb up'	катеря	-0-	4	M-P
спускам се/спусна се	'descend'	пускам	.02%	2	M-P
смъквам се/смъкна се	'climb down'	мъкна	.01%	4*	M
HORIZONTAL DIRECTIONAL MOTION					
обикалям/обиколя	'go round, tour'	--- <sup>55</sup>	1.3%	5	P
прекосявам/прекося	'cross'	кося	1%	n/a	P
пресичам/пресека	'cross'	сека	.01%	4	P
завивам/завия	'turn, wind'	вия	.07%	13	P

<sup>55</sup> As discussed in Section 2.8.1, the verb *обикалям/обиколя* clearly developed as the prefixed form of a verb, but the verb is now opaque and the root can no longer be discerned. For this reason, no root is given here.

MANNER: RUNNING					
бягам/побегна	'run'	бягам	.06%	17	М
избягам/избегна	'escape'	бягам	.08%	8	М-Р
тичам	'run'	тичам	.08%	12	М
затичвам се/затичам се	'rush, dash'	тичам	.05%	n/a	М
препускам/препусна	'race'	пускам	.05%	n/a	М
JUMPING					
скачам/скоча	'jump, leap'	скоча	.05%	11	М
изскачам/изскоча	'jump, rush out'	скоча	.06%	1	М
FLYING					
лятя	'fly'	лятя	.02%	1	М
хвърча	'fly'	хвърча	.01%	2	М
кацвам/кацна	'alight'	кацам	-0-	12	М
SWIMMING/SAILING					
плувам	'swim/sail'	плувам	-0-	3	М

## CHAPTER 3: VERBS OF MOTION FROM BULGARIAN LITERATURE

### 3.1 THE DATA

#### 3.1.1 The data set and its source

To get a general idea of motion verb usage in the standard literary language, I have compiled a data base of 500 motion verbs as they are used in Bulgarian novels.<sup>56</sup> These verbs have been taken equally from four novels, 125 verbs from each. The essential goal was to collect the first 125 motion verbs encountered in each novel, beginning with the first page. The novels were written by modern Bulgarian authors in the standard language, and were published over a period of twenty years, from 1955 to 1975. These four Bulgarian novels were chosen because they are well-known novels by well-known modern authors; It is assumed, therefore, that the prose will reflect standard usage. The four Bulgarian works used are Dimitâr Dimov's *Тютюн* 'Tobacco' (1955),<sup>57</sup> Anton Dončev's *Време разделно* (translated into English as *Time of Parting*) (1964), Emilijan Stanev's novella *Крадецът на праскови* 'The Peach Thief' (1948),<sup>58</sup> and Vera Mutafčieva's *Алкивиад Малки* 'Alkiviad the Lesser' (1975).

Although my goal was to achieve a fairly random selection of the most commonly used motion verbs; however, it must be noted that because none of the novels deal specifically with water travel, verbs of motion through water are underrepresented. Another problem with a data set of this type is that one author's heavy reliance on a particular verb could skew the data to make the verb in question appear more common than it really is. Every writer has his or her linguistic idiosyncrasies, though, and a data set would need to be much larger than is feasible here to create a sample vast enough to avoid this altogether. Although a similar study carried out with a different set of authors would certainly yield slightly different results, I believe this sample size to be representative enough of the written language to allow me to draw conclusions about motion verb usage.

#### 3.1.2 Statistical results

The 500 verbs extracted from the four novels comprise 126 different verbs. I have sorted the verbs into aspect pairs when such pairs exist; the two verbs comprising one aspectual pair are counted as tokens of the same verb. For example, *идвам* and *дойда* are the imperfective and perfective members, respectively, of the (suppletive) aspect pair meaning COME; tokens of either are counted as instances of the same verb. Of the 126 different verbs, 64, or barely more than half, appear only once. These 64 verbs which appear only once represent the less frequently used motion verbs on one end of the spectrum; these verbs are less likely to appear in a random sampling of a similar number of verbs from a different set of novels, and many of them would be

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<sup>56</sup> I have collected an additional 500 motion verbs from novels translated into Bulgarian; these will be discussed in Chapter 4 and compared with translations of the same novels into Russian and Serbian.

<sup>57</sup> The novel *Тютюн* was originally published in 1951, but political criticism that the novel's characters and ideals were not sufficiently Marxist prompted Dimov to rewrite large sections. The newer version was not only a highly acclaimed work of socialist realism that entered into the Bulgarian school curriculum, but also a very popular novel among Bulgarians, ranking as the third most popular novels among Bulgarians in the 2008 television contest "Голямото четене" ('The Big Reading') sponsored by Bulgarian National Television. (The full list of the top 12 novels chosen by Bulgarian viewers is available online at <http://4etene.bnt.bg/bg>.) I have chosen to use the revised version which came out in 1955, although the original has again been in print since 1992, because I assume it to be the more widely known.

<sup>58</sup> *Време разделно* was selected by the Bulgarian television audience as the second most popular novel in the above-mentioned televised literary event.

replaced by verbs which do not appear here, and which might be used only once in other texts. On the other end of the spectrum are the high-frequency verbs; these verbs are used several times at least, and more often appear in more than one of the texts. The decision of how often a verb should appear before being designated high-frequency is somewhat arbitrary, but looking just at the verbs that appear at least five times, we see that these verbs in each of their tokens, added together, comprise 335 of the 500 motion verbs in the set: expressing this in percentages, 19% of the assorted motion verbs used represent 67% of all tokens of motion verbs in the text samples.

### 3.2 FREQUENCY AMONG BULGARIAN MOTION VERBS

#### 3.2.1 The most frequent Bulgarian motion verbs

The Bulgarian data present 24 motion verbs that are used five times or more, comprising 67% of all motion verb tokens. Furthermore, the verbs used at least 15 times each represent over half (51.6%) of the motion verbs used. For these 11, see Table 3.1 below.

TABLE 3.1: The top 50% of motion verbs in the Bulgarian novels (M/P/N<sup>59</sup>)

Verb		# of tokens	Manner or Path verb
идвам/дойда	‘come’	31	P
тръгвам/тръгна	‘leave, set off’	30	P
отивам/отида	‘go’	30	P
излизам/изляза	‘go out’	29	P
връщам се/върна се	‘return’	25	P
вървя	‘walk; go’	25	M/N <sup>60</sup>
минавам/мина	‘pass’	21	P
прибирам се/прибера се	‘go home’	18	P
влизам/вляза	‘enter’	17	P
слизам/сляза	‘go down’	17	P
ходя	‘walk; go’	15	M/N
<i>Total</i>		258	

While a similar list in Russian or BCS would prominently feature an unprefixated GO verb descended from OCS *iti* (as will be demonstrated in Chapter 4), the Bulgarian form of this verb, *ида*, does not appear on this list. Moreover, because the verb *ида* is not as important for motion verb formation as is its cognate in other Slavic languages, only two prefixed forms of the verb are among the top 50% of motion verbs found in the literature, *идвам/дойда* ‘come’ and *отивам/отида* ‘go’ (it is significant, though, that these two are prominently placed as the first and third most used motion verbs, respectively). Instead, the root most often used is the root *-лизам/-ляза*, which has no independent form, but which is found in the verbs *излизам/изляза* ‘go out’, *влизам/вляза* ‘enter’, and *слизам/сляза* ‘go down’.

Another difference between Bulgarian on one hand and BCS and Russian on the other is that the second most frequently used motion verb, *тръгвам/тръгна* ‘leave, set off’, does not

<sup>59</sup> This column identifies the category of manner verbs (M), path verbs (P), and verbs which are neutral as to manner or path (that is, are neither one nor the other) (N).

<sup>60</sup> Both verbs meaning ‘walk’ in Table 3.1 can be used as manner verbs meaning ‘walk’, or as manner- and path-neutral verbs meaning simply ‘go’.

have a motion verb cognate in BCS, and which has a motion verb cognate of very limited usage in Russian—*тронуться* ‘set off’ (a motion verb only in the reflexive form of the perfective). All three Slavic languages have an innovative form to express the meaning ‘set off, leave’, but Russian and BCS also retain forms based on their cognates of *уда*: Russian *идти* and BCS *ići*.

The list of the highest frequency motion verbs contains two verbs meaning both WALK and GO, *вървя* and *ходя*. Of the two, *вървя* is a Bulgarian innovation, while *ходя* is clearly cognate with Russian *ходить* and BCS *hodati*, both meaning ‘walk’. Neither of the verbs strongly suggests or even necessarily requires a walking motion (i.e., motion on foot), but may suggest walking in context; of the two, however, it is only *ходя* that regularly means ‘go’, particularly in the sense of regularly going to a destination and returning. In this sense, any WALK meaning is only incidental, and form of transportation is irrelevant. Example (1) demonstrates *ходя* in the sense of regularly going somewhere and returning:

- (1) Ако мислиш така, почни да ходиш на  
 if think.I.PRS.2SG so begin.P.IMP.2SG COMP go.I.PRS.3SG to  
 черквата  
 church-DEF  
*If you think so, then start going to church.* (D. Dimov)

In this particular meaning, *ходя* and its counterpart *отивам/отуда* are the only Bulgarian verbs that participate in the determinate/indeterminate motion verb distinction. A contrasting example showing the one-way emphasis of *отивам/отуда* is found on the same page of the novel in which (1) appears:

- (2) зимните утра, в които Лила отиваше на училище  
 winter-DEF mornings in which Lila go.I.IMP.3SG to school  
 без закуска  
 without breakfast  
*...the winter mornings when Lila would go to school without breakfast* (D. Dimov)

Example (2) shows repeated one-way trips, for which the determinate verb *отивам/отуда* is more suited than the indeterminate *ходя*. However, this distinction is not as strictly maintained in Bulgarian as in Russian, where determinacy is still an important feature of the motion verb system, and *отивам/отуда* and *ходя* in Bulgarian are not thought of as paired for determinacy of motion the way that *идти* and *ходить* are in Russian.

The verb *ходя* with a clear meaning of WALK specifically appears only a few times in the data—perhaps four or five of the 15 tokens of *ходя* emphasize a walking motion, rather than simply GO. Typical examples indicated the manner of motion with an accompanying adverb, as in (3) below:

- (3) овците с чанове ... ходиха по-ситно  
 sheep-DEF with bells walk.I.AOR.3PL more-finely  
*The sheep with bells ... walked with smaller step.* (A. Dončev)

The verb *вървя* appears in the data more often than *ходя* (25 times versus 15 times). Because *вървя* does not have an alternate meaning of indeterminate general motion, it is more available in the meaning of WALK, and contextual indicators show that most of its tokens in the

data, in contrast with tokens of *ходя*, indicate motion on foot. Here is an example of typical usage:

- (4) цяла вечер вървя покрай оживения канал  
 whole evening walk.I.AOR.3SG along crowded-DEF canal  
*All evening he walked along the crowded canal.* (V. Mutafčieva)

Here, no further adverbial modification is necessary to indicate that the subject moved by foot along the canal. However, the meaning of *вървя* is not sufficiently unambiguous to render the added information ‘on foot’ redundant, as is seen in (5):

- (5) Еничарите вървят само пеша  
 janissaries-DEF walk.I.PRS.3PL only on.foot  
*The janissaries go only on foot.* (A. Dončev)

Another example in the same novel describes a man on horseback using *вървя* for his motion:

- (6) Два дни бяхме вървели дотук  
 two days be.I.IMF.1PL go.PTCP to-here  
*In two days we had traveled to this point.* (A. Dončev)

Although *вървя* can be used in the manner-neutral sense of GO, most of the 25 tokens of *вървя* refer specifically to walking, whether or not motion by foot is emphasized, suggesting that *вървя* is the verb most likely to take over the function of the WALK manner verb in Bulgarian. Another factor which emphasizes the dichotomy between the functions of *вървя* and *ходя* is the distinction between usage for destination and location. *Ходя* necessarily suggests destination in its function as an indeterminate motion verb (used as the counterpart to the determinate *отивам/отуда*), but no destination or endpoint is necessary when *ходя* is used as a manner verb meaning WALK. *Вървя*, on the other hand, is generally not used with destinations, and its directional use is usually limited to motion *towards* (often indicated by the preposition *към* ‘toward’). *Вървя*, when not used with an adverb describing the type of walking (such as *бавно* ‘slow’, etc.) is most often used with locations: *вървя по пътеката* ‘walk along the path’ or *вървя в гората* ‘walk in the woods’, for example. This usage is more similar to what is seen in manner verbs in V-framed low-manner languages, in which manner verbs are not used for boundary crossing situations, and are often not used for destinations either. When *вървя* is used with destinations, it is not paired with the directional prepositions *в* or *на* ‘to, into’ (in the directional sense), but with *до* ‘up to’, as in (6) above. The preposition *до* is, in fact, becoming increasingly more common in the colloquial language with expressions of destination using other motion verbs (such as *ходя* or *отивам/отуда*) as well, but its use is not optional with the verb *вървя* when indicating a destination—a factor which may be of some importance in the evaluation of the direction in which the Bulgarian language is evolving in its motion verb typology.

### 3.3 MANNER AND PATH IN BULGARIAN MOTION VERBS

#### 3.3.1 Frequency of manner verbs and path verbs

Of the 11 most frequently used Bulgarian motion verbs, representing just over 50% of all motion verbs in the data, all but two are path verbs. Of the two manner verbs, *вървя* and *ходя*, it seems that only the former is commonly used as a manner verb. Thus, from the motion verbs representing half of all motion verbs in the data, only around 10% express manner.

As we expand the scope to include lesser used verbs, manner verbs increase as a percentage of all motion verbs. Looking at those verbs which occurred five times or more in the data set from the novels, 18 express path of motion, while four clearly express manner of motion. On the other end of the spectrum stand the 64 verbs used only one time each; of these, 14 can clearly be analyzed as path verbs, while 36 can be considered manner verbs (the remaining 14 are either neutral verbs of motion or verbs encoding both manner and path, such as *отървам се/отърва се* ‘escape, get away’). The data here indicate that almost 90% of the most frequently used verbs express path of motion rather than manner of motion, while well over half of those verbs used much less frequently express manner of motion rather than path of motion.

### 3.3.2 Types of manner expression

The Bulgarian manner verbs in the data primarily show varieties of walking motion, varieties of running motion, or motion through a particular medium (e.g., air, water). However, there are many other types of motion as well; many manner of motion verbs focus on speed of motion, ease of motion, or factors such as stealth. Table 3.2 below lists the manner of motion verbs from the Bulgarian data, sorted according to types of motion.

TABLE 3.2. Manner verbs from the data sorted by type of motion

basic type of motion	specific nuance conveyed	Bulgarian verb		tokens
<i>walking motion</i>	basic ‘walk’	<i>вървя</i>	‘walk; go’	25
		<i>ходя</i>	‘go; walk’	15
		<i>извървя</i>	‘walk, cover (a distance)’	1
	‘step’	<i>стъпя</i>	‘step’	5
		<i>пристъпвам</i>	‘step; approach’	1
		<i>крача</i>	‘walk, step, stride’	2
		<i>прекрача</i>	‘stride, step over’	5
	varieties of walking: motor	<i>влача се</i>	‘trudge; slither; wander around’	2
		<i>довлека се</i>	‘drag oneself somewhere’	1
		<i>куцам</i>	‘limp’	1
		<i>потътря се</i>	‘shamble, plod’	1
	varieties of walking: attitude	<i>разхождам се/разходя се</i>	‘stroll, take a walk’	4
	<i>running motion</i>	basic ‘run’	<i>тичам</i>	‘run’
<i>бягам</i>			‘run’	4
<i>търча</i>			‘run’	1
<i>забегна</i>			‘begin to run’	1
varieties of running		<i>препускам</i>	‘race, gallop’	2
		<i>праша</i>	‘raise dust; dash’	1

	rapid movement towards a goal or away from a source (with emphasis on speed of movement)	втурна се	'rush'	1
		дотичвам	'run up to'	1
		завтека се	'run up (to), hurry, dash'	1
		затичам се	'rush, dash'	1
		изтичам	'run; run, rush out of'	1
		изтърча	'rush'	1
		побягна	'run away'	1
		притичам	'run over, across, towards'	1
		хукна	'dart off, rush off'	2
<i>escape</i>		избягам	'flee; escape'	7
		отърва се	'escape, get away'	1
<i>rate of motion as focal point</i>	rapid movement	бързам	'hurry'	3
		избързам	'hurry up'	1
	forceful movement	нахлувам	'rush, burst in'	1
		хвърля се	'rush at; lunge; plunge'	1
	decreasing pace	забавя крачка	'slow one's step, slow down'	1
<i>covering a distance</i>	reason for movement	пътувам	'travel'	6
		изселвам се	'move, migrate'	4
	attitude	скитам	'wander'	1
<i>motion away</i>	attitude	махам се/ махна се	'move away, step aside; vanish'	2
<i>other motor activity specific descriptions of motion</i>	jumping	скачам/скоча	'jump, spring, leap'	4
		изскачам/изскоча	'jump/leap/dash out'	3
		прескоча	'jump/vault over'	2
	crawling	запълзя	'begin to crawl'	1
		пъпля	'crawl'	1
	pushing	блъскам	'shove, push'	2
<i>smooth, continuous motion</i>	slipping or sliding	изплъзна се	'slip, slip out'	1
		плъзна	'slide, glide; swarm'	1
		хлъзгам се	'slide'	1
	rapid motion downward	свлека се	'slip down'	1
		спускам се	'descend, go down; rush'	1
<i>stealthy/furtive motion</i>	sneaking in	вмъкна се	'penetrate, slip in'	2
		промъкна се	'sneak in, steal in'	1
	furtive entrance	прониквам/ проникна	'penetrate; break in'	1
	sneaking out	измъкна се	'sneak, slip away/out'	1
<i>motion upwards</i>	climb-ascend	изкача се	'go up, climb'	3

<i>with effort</i>	climb-emphatic	покатеря се	'climb up'	1
<i>motion in a medium</i>	air	летя	'fly'	2
		хвърча	'fly'	1
		излетя	'fly away/off'	3
		прехвърквам/ прехвъркна	'fly about/over'	3
		прелитам/прелетя	'fly over'	2
	air: landing	налитам	'fly, fall, rush, land on/upon'	1
		кацвам/кацна	'land, alight'	2
		накацам	'perch, alight'	1
	water	изплувам	'emerge, come to the surface'	1
	unspecified	потъна	'sink'	2
vehicular motion	подкарам	'drive on'	1	
<i>non-primary motion</i>	attitude: casual	отбия се	'drop in; diverge, deviate'	1
<i>defined by intention</i>	social; short-term	посещавам/ посетя	'visit'	1
<i>defined by a co-event</i>	concurrent sound	скърцам	'creak, squeak'	1

### 3.3.3 Walking

Among manner verbs with no directional prefixes, types of walking are among the most common in the data. Including both prefixed and unprefixed verbs, there are 14 different verbs describing some variety of walking motion. Several of these are prefixed forms based on unprefixed forms also included in this list. For example, *извървя* 'walk, cover (a distance)' is based on *вървя* 'walk; go'; *разхождам се/разходя се* 'stroll, take a walk' is formed from *ходя* 'walk; go'; *пристъпвам* 'step, approach' is formed from *стъпя* 'step'; *прекрача* 'stride, step over' is based on *крача*; and *довлека се* 'drag oneself somewhere' is a prefixed form of *влача се* 'trudge; slither, wander around'. The main distinctions are among generic walking (*вървя, ходя*), stepping (*стъпя, крача*), and considerations of more descriptive categories of walking (strolling, walking single-file, walking to-and-from, or bustling about).

Although there are a number of verbs to describe the action of walking, few of them are highly descriptive in terms of describing motor activity in varieties of walking (such as English *clomp, lumber, stagger*, and the like). Such verbs do exist in Bulgarian (and some will be seen in Chapter 4, in the translations of high-manner language novels into Bulgarian), but judging by the verbs encountered in the data, they are not frequently employed. The only descriptive verbs for motor activity as walking in the data are *влача се* 'trudge, slither, wander around', *довлека се* 'drag oneself somewhere', *куцам* 'limp', and *потътря се* 'shamble, plod'. The first, *влача се*, is simply the reflexive form of the verb *влача* 'pull, haul'; though it is used twice in the literature, the first usage is in the more literal sense of dragging oneself, as seen below in (7):

- (7)    тя       виждаше       образа       на   пленника,       който   днес   беше       се  
 she    see.I.IMF.3SG image-DEF of prisoner-DEF who today be.PST.3SG REFL  
       влачил    по   земята   да   се   нахрани  
       drag.PTCP along earth-DEF COMP REFL feed.P.PRS.3SG  
*She saw the image of the prisoner, who today had dragged himself along the ground to  
 get enough to eat.* (E. Stanev)

Only in the following example is *влача се* used in reference to walking:

- (8)    той    се       влачеше       подир   строя  
 he    REFL drag.I.IMF.3SG after formation-DEF  
*He straggled along after the formation.* (V. Mutafchieva)

Here too the DRAG element is prominent (referring to a man who continues to walk even after he has been shot), but *влача се* has developed a much wider range of meaning as well. The Academy bilingual dictionary lists possible English definitions as ‘crawl, creep, trail, drag along, straggle, draggle, lag/trail behind, trudge, tail/trail/lollop along, drag oneself along, run after someone, tag at someone’s heels’, and even ‘hang out at or frequent a place’; thus, except in the meaning closest to the original ‘pull’, the range of meaning for *влача се* is more varied than specifically descriptive.

There is a fairly wide range of meaning in the verbs conveying the idea STEP, ranging from a simple movement made by lifting and lowering the foot to a meaning synonymous with walking. The verb *стъпя* is used in the data in this first meaning, while *крача* is used with the meaning of WALK. The prefixed forms in the data, however, do not maintain these correspondences; the one token of *пристъпвам* is used in the meaning of ‘approach, walk toward’, and demonstrates more of an affinity with WALK, while the five tokens of *прекрача* tend to indicate a single step over or across something, or at least emphasis on individual steps, seen in (9) below:

- (9)    като   прекрачи       тежко       няколко   крачи  
 as    stride.P.AOR.3SG heavily       several   steps  
*As he strode several heavy steps...* (A. Dončev)

Arguably the most descriptive of the manner verbs meaning WALK from the data is *куцам* ‘limp’. Interestingly, it is used not on its own, but as an active participle alongside *влача се*, as seen in (10) below:

- (10)   Марин   продължи       да   крачи,       куцайки  
 Marin   continue.P.AOR.3SG COMP walk.I.PRS.3SG limp.PTCP  
*Marin continued to walk, limping.* (V. Mutafchieva)

### 3.3.4 Running

Verbs of walking are exceeded in variety only by verbs describing running. There are at least 15 different verbs of this type,<sup>61</sup> of which three are unprefixated forms meaning RUN specifically (*тичам, бягам, търча*), and another seven are prefixated forms based on these three (mostly on *тичам*, but all three are represented). The prefixes are mostly directional in nature. The unprefixated forms *тичам* and *бягам* are used most frequently (with tokens and four tokens, respectively); only two other verbs from the 15 have more than one token.

Most of the verbs for denoting running emphasize the speed of movement towards a goal, rather than any element of the motor activity of running, and many of these could be defined as ‘rush’ as well as ‘dash’ (which generally connotes RUN). The verb *втурвам се/втурна се* is an example of such a verb, but context indicates which meaning is intended, as in (11):

- (11) Като я видяха, кучетата се втурнаха към нея и  
 when her see.P.AOR.3PL dogs-DEF REFL rush.P.AOR.3PL toward her and  
 завряха глави в престилката ѝ  
 thrust.P.AOR.3PL heads in apron-DEF her

*When they saw her, the dogs rushed/dashed towards her and buried their heads in her apron.*  
 (A. Dončev)

In the case of *втурвам се/втурна се* in (11) above, the verb should be interpreted as indicating that the dogs ran towards the woman, because running is the only way dogs in a hurry locomote. However, if applied to a human inside an office building, *втурвам се/втурна се* would probably be interpreted merely as ‘rush’, unless otherwise specified, because humans are usually discouraged from running indoors. In fact, though, an unambiguous interpretation may not always be possible.

The various verbs for RUN tend to be synonyms (*тичам, бягам, търча*) or prefixated forms of these synonyms that do not greatly change the basic meaning. Less common are actual varieties of running. The verb *хуквам/хукна* stresses the suddenness and strength of the running movement (compare the dictionary definition ‘break out in a strong run; to suddenly begin running’).<sup>62</sup> The verb *препускам/препусна* means either ‘race’ or ‘gallop’, and is often (but by no means exclusively) used with reference to horses. When used for horses, the verb can be used transitively or intransitively: for example, *конят препусна* ‘the horse galloped’ or *препусна коня си* ‘he set his horse galloping’.<sup>63</sup> In addition to indicating a variety of RUN, however, it can also mean ‘race’ by vehicular means, as seen in (13). The verb *праша* is related to the word *прах* ‘dust, powder’, and usually means ‘raise dust’; however, as a motion verb, it indicates a running or dashing movement. *Праша* is perhaps less a variety of running than an evocative motion verb; for lack of a better category, however, I classify it with varieties of running. Examples of usage for each of these verbs are shown below in (12), (13), and (14).

- (12) Овчарчето ... хукна нагоре по жълтата поляна

<sup>61</sup> The two verbs describing ESCAPE have been put in a separate category, because running is not a necessary component of escape. They too, however, are often used to describe running.

<sup>62</sup> “Пускам се в силен бяг; побягвам изведнъж”

<sup>63</sup> Presumably the latter transitive form is the original construction, with the intransitive form developing later. The root of the verb *препускам/препусна* means ‘let go’, and as the meaning ‘let go’ developed into something along the lines of ‘release into a full gallop’, the sense of GALLOP would have grown more central to the meaning. Eventually, the full meaning of the verb seems to have shifted accordingly, except in some uses in which the focus of the sentence is on the person who sets his horse’s gallop into motion.

shepherd-DIM-DEF dart.off.P.AOR.3SG upwards along yellow-DEF field  
*The little shepherd darted up along the yellow field.* (A. Dončev)

(13) Когато препусках насам, бях убеден, че ...  
 when race.I.IMF.1SG this.way be.IMF.SG convinced SUB  
*While I was racing here, I was convinced that...* (V. Mutafčieva)

(14) от заран неяли, но много живи хлапета прашеха през  
 from morning unfed but very lively boys raise.dust.I.IMF.3PL through  
 мегдана  
 square-DEF  
*Boys who had not been fed since morning but were still very lively dashed through the square.* (V. Mutafčieva)

Other than the verbs above, which are not themselves highly descriptive, there is not a wide range of manner for verbs of running. There are, however, several synonyms for RUN, and this category of manner verb is used with relative frequency.

### 3.3.5 Other forms of rapid or forceful movement

Although the most common semantic category for rapid bipedal human motion is that containing the different verbs for RUN, several other verbs are loosely associated with this type of action, without necessarily implying RUN. These are listed in Table 3.2 under groupings for ESCAPE or RATE OF MOTION AS FOCAL POINT. The meanings of most of them are adequately conveyed by the definitions given herein and need no further discussion. A couple will be briefly described here, however. These are *нахлувам/нахлуя* ‘rush, burst in’ and *хвърлям се/хвърля се* ‘rush at; lunge; plunge’.

The verb *нахлувам/нахлуя* ‘rush, burst in’ actually has both a manner and path meaning. It could fit in a RUN-type category classified as RUSH, but also has the accompanying element of ENTER. The verb *нахлувам/нахлуя* is derived from the unprefix verb *хлуя* ‘gush, rush, stream’, but the prefixed form is different enough in meaning that this verb should not be considered a manner verb with a satellite in the form of a prefix. The now relatively uncommon verb *хлуя* is used primarily for the flow of wind, cold, or smells, rather than the self-directed movement of people.

The verb *хвърлям се/хвърля се* ‘rush at; lunge; plunge’ is often used when the subject is in fact running, but it may also indicate a more literal use of the verb *хвърлям/хвърля* ‘throw, cast’; such a literal meaning is seen (15) below. (Although the verb *хвърлям/хвърля* is found once in the data from translated novels to translate English *charge*, the single usage in the Bulgarian novels conveys the literal meaning of ‘throw’.) The verbs in (15) and (16) both emphasize the speed and the force of the action.

(15) Да се хвърлим под влака ли?  
 COMP REFL throw.P.PRS.1PL under train-DEF Q  
*Should we throw ourselves under a train?* (D. Dimov)

(16) когато полицията нахлуваше в тютюневите складове да

when police-DEF burst.in.I.IMF.3SG in tobacco.DEF warehouses COMP  
 усмирява работниците  
 pacify.I.PRS.3SG workers-DEF  
*...when the police were bursting into the tobacco warehouses to pacify the workers.*  
 (D. Dimov)

### 3.3.6 Covering distance

Among the more common motion verbs expressing manner are those suggesting the distance covered: *пътувам* ‘travel’, *изселвам се* ‘migrate’, and *скитам* ‘wander’. These three verbs represent 11 tokens, with *пътувам* being the most frequent and *скитам* being the least frequent. Although these are not manner verbs in the sense of describing the motion itself, they do convey some degree of the intent of the journey, and in this way evoke certain images of manner.

The verb *пътувам* can refer to the motion directly, or can describe the act of taking a trip. In (17) the means of travel is not indicated in any way (in this case, it appears to be by horse), but the use of the verb *пътувам* evokes the length of the journey. The verb in (18), by contrast, evokes the trips themselves, but again emphasizes distance (and, within the context, freedom):

(17) Пътувахме цял ден по преки пътеки  
 travel.I.IMF.1PL all day along straight paths  
*We traveled all day along straight paths.* (A. Dončev)

(18) Сотиров пътува седем-осем пъти в годината  
 Sotirov travel.I.PRS.3SG seven-eight times in year-DEF  
*Sotirov travels seven or eight times a year.* (V. Mutafčieva)

### 3.3.7 Smooth motion and stealthy motion

Two other types of motion which are fairly well represented are smooth, continuous motion (slipping or sliding) and stealthy, furtive motion (sneaking). There are five tokens of each of these two categories.

The verbs describing smooth, continuous motion can be divided into one category which denotes slipping or sliding unspecified for direction, and one for rapid downward motion. In the verbs including the path prefix for downward motion (*с-*), direction takes precedence over manner, and these verbs can describe a fairly wide range of motion that seems to be smooth and continuous (such as running) because of its speed. The verbs emphasizing a sliding manner over direction are based on *плъзгам/плъзна* or *хлъзгам се/хлъзна се*, both meaning ‘slide’. These verbs are similar in that they both containing the unit *-лъз-* (perhaps representing an instance of sound symbolism).

Most of the verbs indicating sneaking are prefixed forms of the verb *мъкна се* ‘move slowly, with difficulty’, discussed in Chapter 2. This verb takes several directional prefixes, not all of which are represented here. The one verb for furtive action which is not based on *мъкна се* is *прониквам/проникна* ‘penetrate; break in’, based on the verb *никна* ‘sprout’. See (19) below for an example of the usage of *вмъкна се* ‘sneak in’, the only of these verbs mentioned in 3.3.7 to be used more than once.

(19) Крадецът беше се вмъкнал през нощта

thief-DEF be.I.IMF.3SG REFL sneak.PTCP through night-DEF  
*The thief had snuck in during the night.* (E. Stanev)

### 3.3.8 Motion through air

There are a number of verbs denoting motion through some medium (generally water or air), but most of such verbs which are used in the texts concern motion through air. Of these, forms of FLY are most common. These include both the more common Slavic form *летя* and prefixed variations thereof, as well as the more innovative *хвърча* and related prefixed forms. Another verb in the category of motion through air is *кацам* ‘land, alight’; although this verb focuses on the descent rather than the act of flying itself, nevertheless it does imply a descent made through air. In all there are 15 tokens of verbs meaning FLY or LAND found in the texts, with just over half of them represented by *летя* or derived forms of *летя*.

Although tokens of verbs for motion through air are exceeded in number only by tokens of verbs for walking or running motion, the verbs for FLY do not express much variation for manner of flying. However, there may be some differences in connotation between *летя* and *хвърча*, with *хвърча* also being used for shorter, less fluid flying motions, such as ‘flit’. Such differences do not show up in most dictionary definitions of the verbs, but examples of usage suggest them. Thus, the two basic verbs meaning FLY are not wholly synonymous; an example of each is given in (20) and (21). (For more on the Bulgarian verbs meaning FLY, see Chapter 2, Section 2.11.)

(20) под закачената на стената лампа, край която хвърчаха и се  
 under hung-DEF on wall-DEF lamp by which fly.I.IMF.3PL and REFL  
 блъскаха множество насекоми и нощни пеперудки  
 bumped.I.IMF.3PL multiple insects and night butterflies  
*... under the lamp hung on the wall, around which a multitude of insects and moths  
 would fly and bump into each other* (E. Stanev)

(21) Падна град ... та убиваше небесните птици, както летяха  
 fall.P.AOR.3SG hail and kill.I.IMF-3SG heavenly-DEF birds as fly.I.IMF.3PL  
*Hail fell ... and it killed the birds as they flew in the sky* (A. Dončev)

### 3.3.9 Verbs of climbing and/or ascending

Bulgarian has two basic verbs for motion upwards, *кача се* ‘go up, climb’ and *покатеря се* ‘climb up’. These verbs encode both path and manner in their roots. The former, *кача се*, has not been counted as a manner verb because no manner is necessarily implied in its base meaning. Rather, it may be interpreted as ‘climb’ (with the implication of a grasping motion or heavy effort in the upward ascendance) in the appropriate context, but the notion of upward direction is always present.<sup>64</sup> I have classified its prefixed form *изкача се* as a manner verb, however;

<sup>64</sup> The consistency of the directional feature in Bulgarian *кача се* ‘go up, climb’ contrasts with the English verb *climb*. Although the basic meaning of the English verb *climb* connotes the grasping motion evoked in a phrase such as *climb a tree*, the verb can also refer to the notion of upward motion for which some noticeable effort is expended, e.g., *the plane climbed to a cruising altitude of 7000 feet*. When the idea of grasping motion is absent, *climb* is directional, invariably indicating motion upwards. In reference to motion entailing grasping effort, however, *climb* can be used for multiple directions, e.g., *the cat climbed out on a limb* or *the cat climbed down the tree*. The Bulgarian verb *кача се* does not include a semantic option for non-directional motion or motion in any direction other than up. This appears to have been discussed in Keith Allen’s *Natural Language Semantics* (2001) as well.



root has lost its independent meaning and the prefix bears the greater semantic weight of the verb. In other words, these verbs began their lives as prefixed manner verbs, but have developed into pure path verbs.

In addition to prefixed motion verbs based on semantically bleached roots, Bulgarian has several verbs that are motion verbs in their prefixed forms only. The roots of these verbs are regularly used, productive roots with no motion connotations, but certain of their prefixed forms have developed meanings indicating motion events. Common examples of such verbs include *прибирам/прибера* ‘go home’ and *прекосявам/прекося* ‘cross, traverse’ (whose unprefixed forms mean, respectively, ‘pick, gather’ and ‘cut (with a scythe), mow’). This process of creating motion verbs from non-motion verb roots results in a greater number of different roots from which motion verbs are formed.

There are up to 20 different prefixes which can be added to verbs in Bulgarian (at times in combination with one or more other prefixes). Almost all of these prefixes can be used with verbs of motion. These prefixes are related to prepositions (from which they developed), but the meanings are often different from either the original prepositional meanings or from the meanings that the related prepositions have today, both because of metaphorical extensions of the prefixes themselves and because of lexical shifts in some Bulgarian prepositions. Each prefix has one or more typical Aktionsart meanings, but the meanings of the verbs resulting from prefixation are not always predictable. Furthermore, for many prefixes there exist both spatial and temporal meanings. Both types of prefixes (spatial and temporal) are used with motion verbs; obviously, however, the spatial meanings are most relevant for directional verbs of motion. Table 3.3 lists the 20 Bulgarian prefixes, as well as a very general description of their most common meanings when paired with verbs of motion.<sup>66</sup> (The extent to which the general expected meanings of the prefixes do or do not conform with the actual meanings of the resulting prefixed verbs can be judged by comparing these meanings with the list of prefixed motion verbs and their definitions seen in Table 3.4.)

### 3.4.1 The Bulgarian prefixes and their comparative frequency

All 20 prefixes in Bulgarian are available to motion verbs. Prefixes may give motion verbs either spatial meanings or more abstract Aktionsart meanings, and the possibility of either type of meaning can make it difficult at times to determine the exact role of the prefix. Moreover, because prefixed verbs become separate lexical units in their own right, their meanings may continue to develop or shift after coinage through prefixation, and such changes may further render the exact role played by the prefix less than obvious. Table 3.3 below lists the Bulgarian prefixes and their approximate spatial meanings, but it should be kept in mind that many prefixes are not easily analyzed.

TABLE 3.3. Bulgarian prefixes and their meanings

prefix	general spatial meanings
в(ъ)-	movement into
въз-	movement upwards
върх-	movement from on high
до-	movement up to a point
за-	inception of action; movement behind

<sup>66</sup> The list of prefixes is after Nicolova 2008: 251, with English glosses added.

зад-	movement beyond
из-	movement out of, away from
на-	movement into
над-	movement on or over
о-(б)-	movement around, from all sides
от-	movement away from
по-	movement along or over a surface
под-	movement under, below; getting an action underway
пре-	movement through, over
през-	movement through
при-	movements towards, drawing inward
про-	movement through
раз-	movement in various directions, dispersal
с(ъ)-	movement downwards
у-	<i>resultative (no spatial meaning)</i>

Of the above prefixes, fifteen appear in the data consisting of 500 verbs from Bulgarian novels; these prefixes (along with two instances of double prefixation) are given in Table 3.4 below, along with the verbs with which they are combined. The five prefixes not found in the data are *връх-*, *въз-*, *зад-*, *над-*, and *през-*. Of these five, only *над-* has any real currency in motion verb usage; *въз-* combines with a very small number of motion verbs, and motion verbs with this prefix have generally fallen out of usage. (A good example of the loss of currency of *въз-* as a motion verb prefix is the shift in the word *възлизам/възляза* from the now archaic meaning ‘ascend’ to a new meaning of ‘amount to’; this is especially interesting because *-лизам/-ляза* is such a typical motion verb base in modern Bulgarian.) The prefix *връх-* is even dubious as a real prefix because it occurs only with one verb in the modern language, *връхлитам/връхлетя* ‘swoop down, jump into’. (This prefix also shows up on one additional verb—*връхлея*—in Najden Gerov’s 19<sup>th</sup> century dictionary.)

The prefixes given in Table 3.4 are listed in order of frequency. These 15 prefixes are used in the formation of 83 different verbs, over half of which utilize just five different prefixes. These top five prefixes, *из-*, *пре-*, *по-*, *за-*, and *от-*, are used at least seven times each. Three of them are directional prefixes, but *по-* and *за-* have Aktionsart meanings. Verbs with more than one imperfective form have the alternative form indicated in parentheses.

TABLE 3.4. The prefixes and prefixed verbs in the Bulgarian novel data

prefix	verb (aspect pair)	English gloss
из-	избързвам/избързам	‘hurry up’
	избягвам/избягам	‘run away, escape’
	извивам/извия	‘turn’
	извървявам/извървя	‘walk, cover (an expanse)’
	изкачвам се/изкача се	‘climb/go up’
	излизам/изляза	‘go out, exit’
	излитам (излетявам)/излетя	‘fly away, take off’
	измъквам се/измъкна се	‘get out of, squeeze out of, steal away’

	изнизвам се/изнижа се	'file out; sneak away'
	изплувам	'emerge, come to the surface'
	изплъзвам се/изплъзна се	'slip out of'
	изравнявам се/изравня се	'catch up, draw level'
	изселвам се/изселя се	'move/migrate to'
	изскачам/изкоча	'jump /dart out'
	изтичвам/изтичам	'slip across, run/dash out'
	изтърчавам/изтърча	'rush, run (all over an area)'
пре-	превалям (превалявам)/преваля	'cross, go across, crest'
	прекосявам/прекося	'cross, traverse'
	прекрачвам/прекрача	'cross, step across'
	прелетявам (прелитам)/прелетя	'fly over, flit past'
	преминавам/премина	'pass, pass over, traverse, cover (an expanse)'
	препускам/препусна	'race, gallop, trot'
	пресичам/пресека	'cross, cut across'
	прескачам/прескоча	'jump over, spring across'
	прехвърквам/прехвъркна	'fly across/over; flutter, flit (about)'
по-	побягвам/побягна	'run away, flee'
	покатервам се/покатеря се	'climb/clamber up'
	поминавам/помина	'pass, pass by'
	посещавам/посетя	'visit; frequent'
	последвам/последя	'follow, go after'
	потеглям/потегля	'set out, start (on a journey)'
	потъвам/потъна	'sink, submerge'
	потътрям се/потътря се	'begin to shuffle, jog along; shuffle along a bit'
за-	забавям крачка /забавя крачка	'slow one's step'
	забягвам/забегна	'run away, flee'
	завивам/завия	'turn (off)' [a roadway]
	завръщам се/завърна се	'return, come/go back'
	заминавам/замина	'leave, depart (for)'
	запълзявам/запълзя	'begin to crawl'
	затичвам се/затичам се	'rush, dash; break into a run'
от-	отбивам се/отбия се	'turn off; drop in'
	отдалечавам/отдалеча	'move/walk away'
	отдръпвам се/отдръпна се	'draw back'
	отивам/отида	'go'
	отминавам/отмина	'pass on/by, leave behind'
	отпътувам	'set off, depart'
	оттеглям се/оттегля се	'withdraw, retreat'

на-	наближавам/наближа	‘approach, draw near to’
	накацам/накацам	‘perch, alight’
	налитам (налетявам)/налетя	‘fly/fall/rush/land (on/upon)’
	наминавам/намина	‘drop in, look in, come round’
	напускам/напусна	‘leave, depart from’
	нахлувам/нахлуя	‘rush/burst/force one’s way in’
до-	доближавам (се)/доближа (се)	‘approach, draw near’
	довличам се/довлека се	‘drag oneself/totter to’
	достигам/достигна	‘reach’
	дотичвам/дотичам	‘run up (to), run over (to)’
	дойда ( <i>perfective of</i> идвам)	‘come’
при-	прибирам се/прибера се	‘come/go home, come back’
	приближавам се/приближа се	‘come/draw nearer, approach’
	пристигам/пристигна	‘arrive’
	пристъпвам/пристъпя	‘step, take a step, advance’
	притичвам/притичам	‘run over/across (to)’
в-	вдигам се/вдигна се	‘rise, soar’
	влизам/вляза	‘go in, enter’
	вмъквам се/вмъкна се	‘sneak/creep into’
	втурвам се/втурна се	‘rush, dash’
про-	продължавам/продължа	‘continue, go on’
	промръдвам/промръдна	‘begin to move’
	промъквам се/промъкна се	‘steal/slink (by), squeeze through’
	прониквам/проникна	‘penetrate, make one’s way (into)’
раз-	раздвижвам се/раздвижа се	‘stir, get going’
	разминавам се/размина се	‘pass each other, walk past each other; cross’
	разотивам се/разотида се	‘disperse, scatter’
	разхождам се/разходя се	‘walk (about), take a walk’
с-	свличам се/свлека се	‘slide/come down’
	слизам/сляза	‘go/come/get down, descend’
	спускам се/спусна се	‘descend, go/get/climb down, fall/drop down’
об-	обикалям/обиколя	‘go about, go/walk/drive round, tour’
под-	подкарвам/подкарам	‘drive, urge onward’
у-	упътвам се/упътя се	‘make (for), set out (for)’
за-в-	завтичвам се/завтичам се	‘run up (to), hurry, dash (at)’
на-в-	навлизам се/навляза се	‘enter, penetrate, invade’

### 3.4.2 Unprefixed verbs

Although this section focuses on prefixed verbs, it is a useful contrast to note the verbs which do not occur prefixed in the text. Most of them can be prefixed, but not all, and some which can take a prefix seldom do. These verbs, given below in Table 3.5, are ordered alphabetically rather than by frequency; the only verb that stands out for its frequency is *тръгвам/тръгна* ‘leave, set out’. This verb, which is one of the most frequent motion verbs in Bulgarian, occurs in these texts 30 times. (The verb *тръгвам/тръгна* does have prefixed forms, but they no longer carry a motion verb meaning—*потръгвам/потръгна* means ‘begin to do well’, and *изтръгвам/изтръгна* means ‘root out’.) The next most common unprefix verb is *ела(те)*, a form borrowed from Greek which is the suppletive command form of *идвам/дойда*; this verb form cannot be prefixed.

The other verbs either have no prefixed forms (an example is *втурвам се/втурна се* ‘rush’), have very rarely used prefixed forms, generally *за-* or *по-* (such as *заснова* ‘begin to walk to and fro’), or are not normally used as motion verbs, and thus would not be expected to have directional prefixes (examples are *праша* ‘raise dust’, in the meaning ‘go while raising dust’ and *скърцам* ‘go while creaking’). Directional prefixes for the above verbs are uncommon. The verb *хлъзгам се/хлъзна се* ‘slip, slide’ has variant forms—*хлъзвам (I), хлузвам(хлузгам)/хлузна*—and it is this second set of variants that seems more productive with directional prefixes.

The total number of tokens of unprefix verbs is 57, or 11.4%—a small fraction of the total number of verbs used.<sup>67</sup> The unprefix verbs show a strong tendency to express manner of motion rather than path: in this sample there are 11 manner verbs, but only four path verbs (as well as one each of verbs that communicate both manner and path, and verbs that communicate neither).<sup>68</sup> Table 3.5 lists the unprefix verbs in alphabetical order. In addition verbs expressing manner (M), path (P), or manner-path (M-P), there is one verb in the group which is manner-neutral (N).

TABLE 3.5: Verb in the data which do not have prefixed for and their frequency

Verb		# of tokens	M	P	M-P	N
блъскам/блъсна	‘push, jostle’	2	●			
втурвам се/втурна се	‘rush, dash’	1	●			
ела(те)	‘come ( <i>imperative only</i> )’	5		●		
махам се/махна се	‘move away, step aside’	2			●	
напредвам/напредна	‘advance, move onwards’	1		●		
поемам/поема	‘set out, start’	2		●		
праша	‘raise dust; dash’	1	●			
пъпля	‘creep, crawl’	1	●			
скитам	‘wander, roam’	4	●			
скърцам	‘creak, squeak’	1	●			

<sup>67</sup> This refers only to the verbs, discussed above, which do not occur in prefixed forms at all in the text. The total number of tokens of unprefix verbs, including verbs which also occur in prefixed forms in the texts, is 214, represented by 42 different verbs. This amounts to 42.8%—not much below half—of the total number of verbs used.

<sup>68</sup> The categories of manner and path, as well as the additional manner-path and neutral groupings, will be discussed further in section 3.4.4 below.

снова	‘walk/go/hurry to and fro’	1	●			
суеѝа се	‘bustle/scurry about’	1	●			
трьгвам/трьгна	‘leave, depart, set out’	30		●		
хващам/хвана	‘begin, commence’	1				●
хвърлям се/хвърля се	‘throw oneself, pounce, rush’	1	●			
хлъзгам се/хлъзна се	‘slip, slide’	1	●			
хуквам/хукна	‘bolt, dart (off), tear away’	2	●			
total numbers for manner and path categories			11	4	1	1

### 3.4.3 Root productivity in Bulgarian prefixed verbs

Although most Bulgarian verbs can take one or more prefixes, some verbs have only one or two prefixes with which they can combine, while others may combine with as many as 15.<sup>69</sup> However, in actual practice, not all of the possible forms are commonly used; Table 3.6 below shows the root-prefix combinations of all the verbs in the data which combine with more than one prefix. The verbs are listed in order of productivity, beginning with the most productive (i.e., those which combine with the most prefixes in the textual data).

The most productive verb, *минавам/мина*, combines with six different prefixes. *Минавам/мина* ‘pass’ is already among the most frequently used motion verbs, ranked 7<sup>th</sup> in order of frequency in Nikolova’s (1987) frequency dictionary. The prominence of *минавам/мина* among the most common motion verbs is an independent development in Bulgarian, not reflected in the other Slavic languages, in which its cognates, though not uncommon, are nevertheless used in more restricted circumstances. This makes the fact that this verb is the most productively prefixed motion verb in the Bulgarian data even more interesting. In most Slavic languages, the modern reflex of OCS *iti* is usually the most productively prefixed motion verb, or among the most productive. Clearly, however, Bulgarian has developed in a separate direction in this regard.

The second most productive root, after *минавам/мина*, is *тичам* ‘run’. This also represents a Bulgarian development, in that the verb *тичам* seems to be moving ahead of the verb *бягам* ‘run’ (a cognate shared with other Slavic languages) as the most common verb meaning RUN. It is interesting that a similar change has taken place in BCS, where the verb *trčati* is now the common verb for RUN. *Бягам*, with three prefixed forms, appears further down the list, but as the glosses indicate, some prefixed forms of *бягам* no longer denote literal acts of running but rather refer to other types of motion that imply speed without necessarily entailing running, such as *избягвам/избягам* ‘flee’.

The third most productive root is the no longer independent *-лизам/-ляза*; it developed from a verb meaning CRAWL, but as a root no longer has any real meaning at all, least of all any remnant of CRAWL. Three of its prefixed forms, *влизам/вляза* ‘enter’, *излизам/изляза* ‘exit’, and *слизам/сляза* ‘descend’, are very common; the form *навлизам/навляза* ‘enter, penetrate’, formed with a double prefix, is less common. This root and its prefixed forms were discussed in depth in 2.6.

The list of the most productive roots in Table 3.6 demonstrates that although prefixed motion verbs are far more common in Bulgarian than unprefixed motion verbs, in the literary

<sup>69</sup> This is actually quite rare, but the verb *пиша*, for example, can combine with 15 different prefixes, as well as a number of additional prefix combinations, such as *понапиша* and *приподпиша*.

texts used as data, the number of verb roots combining with more than one or two prefixes is actually rather small. Only three roots appear with more than three prefixes, and one of these is a root that has no unprefixed form. This suggests that the system of prefixation is not as integral to the formation of Bulgarian motion verbs as it may be in other Slavic languages, and it may even be the case that prefixed forms are conceived of more as separate lexical items in Bulgarian. If this is the case, and Bulgarian prefixes are not seen as being easily interchangeable parts, then a greater number of prefixed forms would represent a greater cognitive load for speakers of Bulgarian than for speakers of other Slavic languages. This might explain why the system of prefixation is comparatively less productive in modern Bulgarian.

Despite a system with fewer possible prefixes per verb, however, Bulgarian does allow an unusual degree of multiple prefixation. Some examples of verbs with two prefixes are seen in Table 3.6 with *навлизам/навляза* and *завтичам се/завтека се*, but Bulgarian has verbs with three or four stacked prefixes as well. This demonstrates that prefixation is still highly productive in Bulgarian, if in a slightly different way than in other Slavic languages which less frequently use multiple prefixes. But why would a language that relies less on prefixation than related languages have a greater number of verbs with multiple prefixes, along with more a greater number of stacked prefixes allowable per verb? It is possible that if Bulgarian speakers are more likely to conceive of prefixed words more as independent lexical entities (rather than two combined units), this could make it cognitively easier to stack prefixes. In this case, the addition of a second prefix may not be conceived of as a secondary prefixation, but rather, as the simple prefixation of basic lexeme that happens to begin with a prefix.

TABLE 3.6. The most productive roots and the verbs formed from these roots

Root or unprefixed verb	Verb formed from root or unprefixed verb	
минавам/мина 'pass'	заминавам/замина	'leave, depart'
	наминавам/намина	'drop in, call on, come around'
	отминавам/отмина	'pass by; leave behind'
	поминавам/помина	'pass, pass by'
	преминавам/премина	'cross, pass'
	разминавам се/размина се	'walk past; pass by'
тичам 'run'	дотичвам/дотичам	'run up (to)'
	завтичам се/завтека се	'run up (to); hurry, dash'
	затичвам се/затичам се	'rush, dash'
	изтичвам/изтичам	'run; run/rush out (of)'
	притичвам/притичам	'run over, across, towards'
-лизам/-ляза (no independent meaning)	влизам/вляза	'enter'
	излизам/изляза	'go out, exit'
	навлизам (се)/навляза (се)	'enter, penetrate'
	слизам/сляза	'go down'
близ- 'near' (adj.)	доближавам/доближа	'approach, go near'
	наближавам/наближа	'approach, come near'
	приближавам се/приближа се	'approach, come near'
бягам 'run'	забягвам/забегна	'begin to run'
	избягвам/избягам	'flee, escape'

	побягвам/побягна	'run away'
ида 'go'	идвам/дойда	'come'
	отивам/отида	'go'
	разотивам/разотида	'disperse, scatter'
летя 'fly'	излитам/излетя	'fly away, fly off'
	налитам/налетя	'fly, fall, rush, land on/upon'
	прелитам/прелетя	'fly over'
мъкна* 'drag'	вмъквам се/вмъкна се	'penetrate; slip into'
	измъквам се/измъкна се	'sneak, slip away/out'
	промъквам се/промъкна се	'sneak in, steal in'
пускам 'release'	напускам/напусна	'leave'
	препускам/препусна	'race, gallop'
	спускам се/спусна се	'descend, go down; rush'
път 'path' ( <i>noun</i> )	пътувам	'travel'
	отпътувам	'set out, depart'
	упътвам се/упътя се	'make for, head towards'
вия се 'wind'	завивам/завия	'turn'
	извивам/извия	'bend, twist'
влача се 'drag'	довличам се/довлека се	'drag oneself somewhere'
	свличам се/свлека се	'slip down'
скачам/скоча 'jump, hop'	изскачам/изскоча	'jump out, leap out'
	прескачам/прескоча	'jump over, vault over'
стигам/стигна 'reach'	достигам/достигна	'catch up with, reach'
	пристигам/пристигна	'arrive'
тегля* 'pull'	оттеглям/оттегля	'withdraw, fall back'
	потеглям/потегля	'pull; start, set off'

\*Unprefixed form does not appear in the data set.

### 3.4.4 Manner and path in prefixed verbs

The prefixed verbs in the Bulgarian data are not predominantly either manner verbs or path verbs, as seen in Table 3.7 below. The numbers of manner and path verbs are almost equal: 33 and 31, respectively, while another 11 verbs express both manner and path. A further three are neutral for either manner or path.

In order to classify the verbs as either manner or path verbs, I consulted their dictionary meanings, and considered the verbs in their literal motion meanings (rather than their usage in idioms or fixed phrases). Some verbs clearly express direction, or path, of movement, while indicating no means of manner of movement—this leaves the means by which the subject moves in the direction indicated completely unspecified, to be determined only by context. A typical example of such a verb is *дойда* 'come': the subject moves towards the speaker or towards a given point of reference, but the movement can be of any sort, including walking, crawling, driving or flying. These verbs are unequivocally path verbs. Other verbs describe only how a movement is carried out, without indicating direction or path. An example of such a verb is *тичам* 'run'. A subject can run without any path or goal being indicated at all; if direction or path is indicated, this is often done by means of a satellite, such as a preposition, as in *тичам към града* '[I] ran **towards** the town'. Verbs classified here as manner verbs may express

manner in the motor movement—that is, the manner describes the actions of the body, as does the verb *тичам* ‘run’—or they may express manner in terms of attitude of the subject, such as *бързам* ‘hurry’.

However, not all verbs fit clearly into these black and white categories. There is difficulty in determining manner or path with some verbs such as *избягвам/избягам* ‘escape’, which combine elements of both manner and path. Such verbs have been placed in an additional category, “manner-path.” In most cases, these are prefixed motion verbs, but the prefixed verb differs in meaning from its unprefixed counterpart in more than simply the addition of a path. For instance, while the unprefixed verb *бягам* clearly describes RUN, the prefixed verb *избягвам/избягам* does not. Furthermore, some verbs communicate neither manner nor path, only the fact of movement. A typical example is *движа се* ‘move’. A verb like *движа се* can be modified by either manner or path adverbials, but in itself indicates nothing other than the fact of movement.

TABLE 3.7. Prefixed verbs sorted by manner or path: Bulgarian

Prefix	Prefixed verb		M	P	M-P	N
В-	вдигам се/вдигна се	‘rise, soar’		●		
	влизам/вляза	‘enter’		●		
	вмъквам се/вмъкна се	‘penetrate; slip into’	●			
ДО-	дойда ( <i>only perfective is prefixed</i> )	‘come’		●		
	доближавам/доближа	‘approach, go near’		●		
	довличам се/довлека се	‘drag oneself somewhere’	●			
	достигам/достигна	‘catch up with; reach’		●		
	дотичвам/дотичам	‘run up (to)’	●			
за-	забавям крачка/забавя крачка	‘slow one’s step, slow down’	●			
	забягвам/забегна	‘begin to run’	●			
	завивам/завия	‘turn’		●		
	завръщам се/завърна се	‘return, come back’		●		
	завтичам се/завтека се	‘run up (to), hurry, dash’	●			
	заминавам/замина	‘leave, depart’		●		
	запълзявам/запълзя	‘begin to crawl’	●			
	затичвам се/затичам се	‘rush, dash’	●			
ИЗ-	избързвам/избързам	‘hurry up’	●			
	избягвам/избягам	‘flee; escape’			●	
	извивам/извия	‘bend, twist’		●		
	извървявам/извървя	‘walk, cover (a distance)’	●			
	изкачвам се/изкача се	‘go up; climb’			●	
	излизам/изляза	‘go out, exit’		●		
	излитам/излетя	‘fly away, fly off’	●			
	измъквам се/измъкна се	‘sneak, slip away/out’	●			
	изнизвам се/изнижа се	‘file, move in single file; sneak’	●			
	изплувам	‘emerge, come to the surface, swim to the surface’	●			
	изплъзвам се/изплъзна се	‘slip, slip out’	●			
	изравнявам се/изравня се	‘fall in line, catch up with’		●		

	изселвам се/изселя се	'move, migrate'			●	
	изскачам/изскача	'jump out, leap out'	●			
	изтичвам/изтичам	'run; run, rush out of'	●			
	изтърчавам/изтърча	'rush'	●			
на-	наближавам/наближа	'approach, come near'		●		
	навлизам (се)/навляза (се)	'enter, penetrate'		●		
	накацвам/накацам	'perch, alight'	●			
	налитам/налетя	'fly, fall, rush, land on/upon'	●			
	наминавам/намина	'drop in, call on, come around'				●
	напускам/напусна	'leave'		●		
	нахлувам/нахлуя	'rush, burst in'	●			
от-	отбивам се/отбия се	'drop in; diverge, deviate'			●	
	обикалям/обиколя	'go round; tour; circulate'		●		
	отдалечавам се/отдалеча се	'move away; walk away'		●		
	отдръпвам се/отдръпна се	'move back'		●		
	отивам/отида	'go'		●		
	отминавам/отмина	'pass by; leave behind'		●		
	отпътувам	'set out, depart'		●		
	оттеглям/оттегля	'withdraw, fall back'		●		
	отървавам се/отърва се	'escape, get away'			●	
по-	побягвам/побягна	'run away'	●			
	подкарвам/подкарам	'drive on'	●			
	покатервам се/покатеря се	'climb up'			●	
	поминавам/помина	'pass, pass by'		●		
	посещавам/посетя	'visit'			●	
	последвам/последя	'follow, go after'		●		
	потеглям/потегля	'pull; start, set off'		●		
	потъвам/потъна	'sink'			●	
	потътрям се/потътря се	'shamble, plod'	●			
пре-	превалям (превалявам)/преваля	'cross, go across'		●		
	прекрачвам/прекрача	'stride over; step'			●	
	преминавам/премина	'cross, pass'		●		
	прекосявам/прекося	'cross, traverse'		●		
	прелитам/прелетя	'fly over'	●			
	препускам/препусна	'race; gallop'	●			
	пресичам/пресека	'cross'		●		
	прескачам/прескоча	'jump over, vault over'	●			
	прехвърквам/прехвъркна	'fly about, fly over'	●			
при-	прибирам се/прибера се	'go home'		●		
	приближавам се/приближа се	'approach, come near'		●		
	пристигам/пристигна	'arrive'		●		
	пристъпвам/пристъпя	'step; approach'	●			
	притичвам/притичам	'run over, across, towards'	●			
про-	продължавам/продължа	'continue'		●		

	промръдвам/промръдна	‘move, budge’				●
	промъквам се/промъкна се	‘sneak in, steal in’	●			
	прониквам/проникна	‘penetrate; break in’	●			
раз-	раздвижвам се/раздвижа се	‘stir; get going’				●
	разминавам се/размина се	‘walk past; pass by’		●		
	разотивам/разотида	‘disperse, scatter’		●		
	разхождам се/разходя се	‘stroll, take a walk’	●			
с-	свличам се/свлека се	‘slip down’			●	
	слизам/сляза	‘go down’		●		
	спускам се/спусна се	‘descend, go down; rush’			●	
у-	упътвам се/упътя се	‘make for, head towards’		●		
<i>total number of manner, path, manner-path, and neutral prefixed verbs</i>			33	36	10	3

### 3.5 CONCLUSION

As mentioned previously, Bulgarian has no clearly distinct class of motion verbs, as does Russian. Additionally, Bulgarian has no clear set of motion verb roots that combine with a large number of prefixes. The verb used with the greatest number of prefixes in the Bulgarian data is *минавам/мина* ‘pass’, which is used with six different prefixes. As Chapter 4 will show, Bulgarian differs from Russian and BCS both in the number of new verbs created from a single root among the higher-frequency verbs, and in the verb roots which are used most often with a greater number of prefixes. Most notably, Bulgarian lacks a large number of prefixed forms of the verb descended from OCS *iti*, the verb set which makes up a notable percentage of prefixed motion verbs in both Russian and BCS.

We also see in Bulgarian a large number of path verbs: among the prefixed motion verbs, path verbs comprise almost half. The almost equal distribution of manner and path verbs suggests that path description is an important feature of the Bulgarian verbal system. The number of prefixed path verbs used also brings up questions about the role of prefixes in Bulgarian, and the validity of the classification of the prefix as a satellite indication of path in all cases. When the prefix seems to change more than just the path meaning of a verb, or indeed, is affixed to a verb with either no independent motion verb meaning, or even no independent meaning at all, the role of the prefix as a satellite must be reexamined. This, the role of the prefix, will be discussed further in Chapter 4 (in 4.4.4, 4.5.3, and 4.6.2 in particular).

Furthermore, the data show examples of many verbs that are difficult to classify simply as path or manner. The manner/path distinction is often treated as a clear dichotomy in discussions of language typology, but the Bulgarian data show that not all verbs are so easily classified one way or the other, and that this distinction should not be considered in such strict binary terms.

## CHAPTER 4: VERBS OF MOTION FROM TRANSLATED LITERATURE

### 4.1 WHY COMPARE TRANSLATED DATA?

While discussions of Bulgarian motion verb usage and an examination of data culled from Bulgarian novels has merit on its own as a description of the modern Bulgaria motion verb system, a valid discussion of how Bulgarian resembles or differs from other Slavic languages is not possible without comparative data. In order to introduce a standard by which to measure the Bulgarian data, I have included an additional data set of 500 motion events in non-Slavic literature, and compared them with their translations into Bulgarian, Russian, and Serbian (the latter of which represents BCS). These data are described below.

### 4.2 THE DATA SET AND ITS SOURCE

The four novels in translation from which the data were gathered were chosen to represent both high-manner and low-manner verb languages. The novels from the two low-manner languages are Orhan Pamuk's novel *Yeni Hayat*, written in Turkish, and Paulo Coelho's novel *The Alchemist*, written in Portuguese. The novels from the two high-manner languages are J.K. Rowling's novel *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix*, written in English, and Erich Maria Remarque's novel *Arc de Triomphe*, written in German.

As with the Bulgarian novels discussed in Chapter 3, my method of analysis was to choose the first 125 motion verbs in each novel, yielding a total of 500 verbs. However, because of occasional differences in translation, there are fewer than 500 motion verbs in the Russian and Serbian lists. The verbs in the Bulgarian translations were chosen first, and then the corresponding verbs were found both in the original novel and in the other two translations. When only the Bulgarian novel used a motion verb to express an event, that verb was discarded; however, when one or both of the other Slavic languages also used a motion for the same event, the verb was counted, even when the original novel did not have a motion verb in this place. As a result, there are 500 Bulgarian verbs, but only 487 Serbian verbs and 458 Russian verbs. Furthermore, not all of the Russian and Serbian verbs are true motion verbs—some verbs are non-motion verbs used to represent a motion event (this occurs most frequently among those verbs used only once). But although an optimal comparison would provide equal numbers of true motion verbs for each language, these data nevertheless provide over 450 representative motion verbs each for Serbian and Russian, supplied by four different translators (minimizing differences caused by personal writing style). Because the focus of this work is the Bulgarian verbal system, this number suffices.

One problem with using works in translation as a basis for linguistic comparison is that verb choices in a translated work may not reflect choices made by native speakers when writing in their original language. The translator must produce good prose in the target language, while still expressing as closely as possible the original intent of an author writing in a different language with different linguistic tendencies. It is likely, therefore, that the attempt to remain as faithful as possible to the original may flavor the language of the translation. However, this same potential shortcoming also provides an opportunity to observe which motion verb characteristics are easily maintained in a translation, from both low-manner and high-manner languages motion verb languages. The choices made by translators, that is, whether the translators consistently retain manner and path choices made by the original author, can give insight into which qualities of the source language are considered both necessary and natural in the target language. Keeping in mind that language choice in a translation may differ to some degree from the unconstrained

choices of a novelist writing in his native tongue, first we will examine the differences in the motion verb sets from the four Bulgarian novels and the four novels translated into Bulgarian.

#### 4.3 COMPARISON OF THE BULGARIAN MOTION VERB SETS

This set of 500 verbs, from novels translated into Bulgarian, contains 132 motion verbs; in percentage terms this is quite close to the findings for the novels originally written in Bulgarian, where out of the 500-verb set, 126 are motion verbs. That is, there is a slightly larger variety of motion verbs found in the translated novels, but not substantially so. However, the translations also show greater variety in the most frequently used half: over 50% of the verb tokens in the Bulgarian novels are represented by a set of only 11 different verbs, while in the translated novels this set comprises 15 different verbs. And while the top five verbs are the same in each set (albeit in different frequencies and orders), there are greater differences in the verbs that follow. Two of the verbs in the top 50% of the verbs from Bulgarian novels are not found in the top 50% of the verbs from the translations, suggesting differences in usage between Bulgarian and the languages from which the novels were translated. The following table lists the motion verbs used at least half the time in each set of data. The numbers refer to the number of tokens in each instance.

TABLE 4.1. Motion verbs representing 50% of each set of data: Bulgarian

Verbs from the Bulgarian novels (Chapter 3)			Verbs from the translated novels (Chapter 4)		
идвам/дойда	'come'	31	отивам/отида	'go'	37
тръгвам/тръгна	'leave, set off'	30	тръгвам/тръгна	'leave, set off'	35
отивам/отида	'go'	30	идвам/дойда	'come'	27
излизам/изляза	'go out'	29	излизам/изляза	'go out'	18
връщам се/върна се	'return'	25	връщам се/върна се	'return'	17
вървя	'walk; go'	25	влизам/вляза	'enter'	16
минавам/мина	'pass'	21	стигам/стигна	'reach'	16
прибирам се/ прибера се	'go home'	18	вървя	'walk; go'	14
влизам/вляза	'enter'	17	избягам (избегна)	'run away, flee'	13
слизам/сляза	'go down'	17	минавам/мина	'pass'	12
ходя	'walk; go'	15	пътувам	'travel'	12
			ела(те)	'come!'	9
			обикалям/обиколя	'go round; tour'	9
			продължавам/ продължа	'continue'	9
			слизам/сляза	'go down'	9
<i>total</i>		258	<i>total</i>		253

The verbs that do not appear among the top 50% in the translated literature are *прибирам се/прибера се* ‘go home’,<sup>70</sup> and *ходя* ‘walk; go’; the former appears seven times in the translated literature (rather than 18 times, as in the Bulgarian literature), and the latter, only four times (rather than 15). The lower frequency of both of these verbs seems to indicate differences in path and manner salience between Bulgarian and the source languages of the translated novels.

The lower frequency of usage of *прибирам се/прибера се* ‘go home’ in the translated novels primarily reflects the absence of a motion verb with this meaning in the source languages. Bulgarian *прибирам се/прибера се* is, in this sense, an unusual path verb, but the meaning presumably originated more prosaically simply as ‘return’, and only later developed the added specificity of returning home. In the translations, several different verbs are translated with Bulgarian *прибирам се/прибера се*.

The Turkish-Bulgarian data set contains three tokens of *прибирам се/прибера се*, all of which are translations of the Turkish verb *dönmek* ‘return’. In two instances the Turkish explicitly specifies ‘home’ as the destination (*eve dönmek*), and in the third instance, ‘home’ is clearly implied (a boy is leaving his house, and his mother asks him what time he will return). In two instances the Russian and Serbian translators render *dönmek* with the basic verb meaning ‘return’: Russian *вернуться* and Serbian *vraćati se/vratiti se*. Consider, however, the following examples, showing the original Turkish phrase from Pamuk’s novel *Yeni Hayat* and its translations into the three Slavic languages:

- (1) Turkish: koşa koşa eve dön-üp ...  
 running running home return-CONJ  
*return home running*
- (2) Bulgarian: да се прибера на бегом у дом-а  
 COMP REFL return.home.P.PRES.1SG at at.a.run to home-DEF  
*to come home running*
- (3) Russian: я часто прибежал домой  
 I often run.I.PAST.SG home  
*I often came running home*
- (4) Serbian: да трчим кући  
 COMP run.I.PRS.1SG home  
*to run home*

The examples above present only the verb(s) used in the construction ‘run home’ and the most immediate complements. Both the original Turkish and the Bulgarian translations specify the act of returning home and the concurrent act of running separately, relegating ‘run’ to an adverbial expression, thereby emphasizing the path verb. The entire focus of the Russian and Serbian translations, however, is on manner, with the only verb in each translation being ‘run’. (Note that the English translation of Russian *прибегать* is ‘come running’, not because the Russian

<sup>70</sup> The most common meaning of *прибирам се/прибера се* is ‘go home’, but it can also mean to return to one’s homeland or one’s place in another sense, such as a snail retracting into its shell, or as in this example from Dimităr Dimov’s novel *Тютюн*: ... *после Ирина се прибра в стаичката си* ‘afterwards Irina **returned** to her room’.

example separates the two motion acts, but because this translation best renders the Russian prefix *при-*, with its deictic focus of motion towards the speaker.)

Similarly, there are two tokens of Bulgarian *прибирам се/прибера се* found in the translation of the German novel, and both focus on path rather than manner. In each case these translate the German verb *fahren* ‘drive’ (they are translated into Serbian as *odvesti se* ‘drive’ and into Russian once as *поехать* ‘drive’ and once as *покатить* ‘bowl along, tear’. In the first example in each of these two tokens, the goal is specified as the driver’s home; in the second, the goal is specified as the character’s room in a residential hotel. While the Bulgarian equivalent of *fahren*, *карам*, is used four times, it is never used with the goal of ‘home’. Two tokens of it specify the goal as another destination, one is an imperative that does not specify a goal [*Хайде, карайте!* ‘Come on, drive!’], and one token is modified by an adverb telling someone how to drive [*карайте по-бавно* ‘drive slower’].)

The English-Bulgarian data set also provides two tokens of *прибирам се/прибера се*. One of these is not a translation of a motion verb, but rather of the expression ‘the right time to be home’ (*приличното време човек да се прибира вкъщи* ‘the proper time for a person to return home’). This is rendered with a motion verb in Russian as well (*возвращается как раз вовремя* ‘he returns exactly on time’), and with the nominalization of a motion verb in Serbian (*pravo vreme za dolazak kući* ‘the right time for a return home’). The other token of *прибирам се/прибера се* from the English novel data, however, is a translation of a manner verb of sorts, *wend*. To translate the phrase *wending his way home*, all three Slavic languages choose a path verb: Bulgarian chooses *се прибираше, без да бърза особено* ‘[he] was returning home, without hurrying especially’; Russian chooses *возвращается домой в сопровождении своей шайки* ‘he returns home accompanied by his gang’; and Serbian chooses *koji se uputio kući* ‘who set off for home’. Although all three Slavic languages use a path verb of sorts, only the Bulgarian implies the goal as well.

The lower frequency of *ходя* ‘walk; go’ in the translated literature compared with the Bulgarian literature bears further examination as well. Here, the difference is rather more dramatic than that discussed above with the verb *прибирам се/прибера се*, in that there are 14 tokens in the Bulgarian literature vs. only four in the translated literature (as opposed to 18 vs. seven for *прибирам се/прибера се*). Although *ходя* is one of the verbs commonly translated as ‘walk’, none of the four tokens of *ходя* from the translated literature are translations of verbs meaning ‘walk’ in the original languages; rather, they translate Portuguese *vir* ‘go’, English *go*, English *be* (in the expression *be to tea*, translated as *ходя на гости*), and German *fahren* ‘drive’.

One possible explanation for the much lower frequency of *ходя* in the novels translated into Bulgarian than in the original Bulgarian novels themselves, especially in comparison with *вървя* (which is used more often in the Bulgarian novels as well, but with a less dramatic frequency difference), is that *ходя* does not imply WALK as a manner of motion as clearly as does *вървя*. Therefore, when a translation of a verb meaning WALK is sought by the translator, the translator will tend to choose a verb that implies WALK as unambiguously as possible. For this, the most appropriate verb in Bulgarian is *вървя*. In the original Bulgarian, however, the manner distinction may not be considered as important, thus allowing a more free usage of *ходя* in alternation with *вървя*. This is supported by the evidence that the few instances of *ходя* in the translated novels are never used to translate verbs meaning WALK. Rather, *вървя* is used in most cases (10 out of 14). Interestingly, though, verbs clearly meaning WALK are often not translated into Bulgarian with a verb meaning WALK at all, but rather, with a verb encoding some other

aspect of the motion event which in the original is conveyed by an adverbial. Translations of verbs for *walk* and *go* into Bulgarian, Russian, and BCS will be discussed further below in 4.6.

There are six verbs in the top 50% of the verbs from the translated works which do not appear in the top 50% of the verbs from the Bulgarian novels; these are *стигам/стигна* ‘reach’, *избягам (избегна)* ‘run away, flee’, *пътувам* ‘travel’, *ела(те)* ‘come!’, *обикалям/обиколя* ‘go round; tour’, and *продължавам/продължа* ‘continue’. In the untranslated Bulgarian data, *стигам/стигна* and *избягам (избегна)* are still higher frequency verbs, occurring eight and seven times, respectively, while *пътувам* appears six times. The verb form *ела(те)*, which is not itself an independent verb, but a suppletive imperative form of *идвам/дойда* ‘come’, is used five times in the untranslated Bulgarian data. The verb *обикалям/обиколя* is found four times in the untranslated Bulgarian data; the verb *продължавам/продължа*, not a motion verb in and of itself, but used at times to express motion events, appears as a motion verb only twice in the data base from untranslated Bulgarian novels.

Of these verbs which are used with much greater frequency in the translated literature than in the literature written originally in Bulgarian, the first three (*стигам/стигна*, *избягам/избегна*, *пътувам*) need no special mention—though they are not among the top 50% in usage, they are nevertheless high in frequency. The use of the other three (*ела[те]*, *обикалям/обиколя*, *продължавам/продължа*), however, warrants some interpretation.

The unexpectedly high use of both *ела(те)* and *обикалям/обиколя* occurs primarily in one translated work each. Namely, *ела(те)* is used five times in the translation of the German novel, and only once elsewhere, while *обикалям/обиколя* is used seven times in the translation of the Portuguese novel, and only once in each the Turkish and English translations. In the first instance, the greater frequency of *ела(те)* seems to be a matter purely of the content of the original novel: the author uses the German imperative *Komm* ‘come’ or *Kommen Sie mit* ‘come with [me]’ several times, and *ела(те)* is the most direct translation into in Bulgarian.

In the second instance, the verb *обикалям/обиколя* is not used to translate any one particular word or phrase. Of the seven tokens, two are translations of the verb *correr* ‘run’, while each of the other five translates a different word or expression (*percorrer* ‘travel, go through’, *viajar* ‘travel’, *estar* ‘be’, *andar* ‘walk’, and one instance of no verb at all in the original). Although the verb *обикалям/обиколя* is a path verb, but only a vague path is suggested: ‘around’, ‘about’. In the translations from the Portuguese novel, it is this vagueness of path that is rendered by *обикалям/обиколя*; where Bulgarian uses *обикалям/обиколя*, the Russian translation most often uses *бродить* ‘wander’ and the Serbian translation most often uses *hodati* ‘walk’ or *putovati* ‘travel’. For example, the two tokens of *обикалям/обиколя* as translations of *correr* ‘run’ interpret *correr* not as a manner verb in these instances, but as a verb describing a wandering trajectory, e.g. *vontade de correr o mundo* ‘[a] wish to run about [roam] the world’. The translator could have made another choice such as *скитам* ‘wander’ or *пътувам* ‘travel’, each of which focuses more on the subject’s intention or attitude towards his movement, but instead chose *обикалям/обиколя*. This verb connotes some degree of the attitude inherent in *wander*, but is essentially a path verb.

In contrast, the greater frequency of *продължавам/продължа* ‘continue’, is not a function of one single translator or one single author, as tokens of this verb are fairly well distributed across the four works. The two tokens of *продължавам/продължа* in the translation from Portuguese both translate the verb *seguir* ‘follow’, in the context *seguir o meu caminho* ‘follow my road’. Other translations are from verbs in other languages either directly or indirectly denoting ‘continue’: Turkish *devam etmek* ‘continue’, German *weiterfahren* ‘go

further’, and English *walk on*. In the case of this last example, *продължавам/продължа* translates a manner verb, but the idea of the continuation of the action is emphasized over the manner in the original English as well. Something similar occurs with one translation of Turkish *yürümek* ‘walk’—on one occasion it is translated using the verb for ‘continue’, emphasizing the continued nature of the action over the manner itself. Though the emphasis on continuance does not seem as important to Bulgarian in the works of the Bulgarian writers, it is natural enough that all of the translators make use of this verb, sometimes even allowing continuance of motion to take precedence over manner of motion.

#### 4.4 THE BULGARIAN DATA FROM TRANSLATIONS

##### 4.4.1 Bulgarian translated from high-manner languages

Table 4.2 below shows the frequency and type of motion verbs in the original English and German language novels, compared with their Bulgarian translations. The total number of motion verb tokens for the English and German data is slightly lower than for the Bulgarian translations because, as stated above, I originally looked for motion verbs in Bulgarian translations of the novels; in several instances, a motion verb was used in Bulgarian when none was used in English or German.<sup>71</sup> The number of different verbs used to describe motion events is indicated too, by the designation “verb variety.” Comparative verb variety is a useful measure of manner vs. path in that a language which focuses on manner of motion more than on path of motion in its motion verb typology is expected to show increased verbal descriptivity. Thus, the relative position of a language on the manner of motion cline affects not only its use of manner verbs vs. path verbs for motion events, but also the number of different manner verbs employed to describe motion events. Additionally, the differences in variety of motion verbs used between the original and the Bulgarian translation may reflect tendencies by the Bulgarian translator to translate either more or less creatively. In order to indicate relative verb variety among languages, I have created a “verb variety coefficient” by dividing the number of different motion verbs used in each text by the total number of motion verbs.

TABLE 4.2. Frequency and type of motion verbs in Bulgarian, English, & German  
(total motion verbs, total different verbs, frequency of manner vs. path)

	English novel	Bulgarian translation	German novel	Bulgarian translation
Total motion verb tokens	117	125	119	125
Number of different motion verbs	64	76	48	40
Verb variety coefficient	54.7%	60.8%	42.4%	32%
Number of different manner verbs	41	37	13	16
Total manner verb count	57	49	51 <sup>72</sup>	24
Manner verbs as a percentage	48.7%	39.2%	42.9%	19.2%

<sup>71</sup> For example, the sentence “Harry knew perfectly well that Dudley had not been to tea anywhere,” from J.K. Rowling’s novel, is rendered in Bulgarian with the verb *ходя* ‘go’ in place of the English *be* (“Хари знаеше прекрасно, че Дъдли не *ходи* на никакво гости”). This has been counted in my data as a motion event, since the corresponding Bulgarian verb is a motion verb.

<sup>72</sup> This count includes 26 tokens of the verb *gehen*, which sometimes functions as a manner verb (‘walk’), and sometimes as a path verb (‘go’). It is counted as a manner verb here, but its use as a path verb will be discussed below, following Table 4.3, gives examples of its translations into Slavic languages in the literary context.

Number of different path verbs	15	30	27	20
Total path verb count	48	62	57	92
Path verbs as a percentage	41%	49.6%	47.9%	73.6%
Different manner-path verbs	2	4	5	3
Total manner-path verb count	2	5	9	8
Manner-/path-neutral verbs	6	5	1	1
Total neutral verb count	8	8	1	1

The data in the table above indicate that the variety of manner verbs used in the Bulgarian translations of both English and German are similar to the variety of the original language in each case. However, the figures indicating manner verb usage as a percentage of all motion verbs are rather different between the original texts and the Bulgarian translations, especially in the translation from German. 48.7 % of the English novel's motion verbs are manner verbs, while only 39.2% of the verbs in the Bulgarian translation are manner verbs. The German novel has a slightly smaller percentage of manner verbs than the English novel, namely 42.9%, but a surprising 19.2% of the motion verbs in the Bulgarian translation are manner verbs. However, the German data have been artificially inflated by one particular verb, *gehen*. This verb is translated as either 'walk' or 'go'. However, because 'walk' is the primary translation, it has been counted here as a manner verb. The frequency with which it might be translated 'go', however, results in the fact that Bulgarian (and indeed, BCS) translators frequently choose path verbs such as *отувам/отуда* 'go'. This is especially true for prefixed forms of *gehen*, suggesting that in German, too, a prefix may do more to the semantics of the verb root than the simple addition of a path satellite would imply. Were it not for this particular verb, the statistics for the percentage of motion verbs made up by manner verbs in Bulgarian would be closer to the German figure. This being said, and with the caveat that the data reflect only two different novels, the data suggest that Bulgarian relies on manner verbs less than the Germanic languages of German and English. Some examples of Germanic manner verbs translated into Bulgarian path verbs follow below.<sup>73</sup>

- (5) Хари загледа как бавно по тротоара минава  
Harry begin.to.watch.P.AOR.3SG as slowly along sidewalk.def pass.I.PRS.3SG  
шантавата старица госпожа Фиг  
crazy.DEF old.lady Mrs. Figg  
*Harry began to watch as crazy old Mrs. Figg slowly passed on the sidewalk.*  
*...he watched Mrs. Figg, a batty, cat-loving old lady ... amble slowly past.* (Rowling)
- (6) Равик ... мина през малката врата  
Ravic pass.P.AOR.3SG through small.DEF door  
*Ravic passed through the small door.*

<sup>73</sup> In examples in this chapter, taken from translated literature, the first line of the example is the Slavic translation, followed by an interlinear gloss and an English rendering of the gloss. Following this line is the line from the novel in the original language, also followed by an interlinear gloss and translation if the original line is not English. The author is listed next to the line from the novel.

Ravic ... ging                    durch   die   schmale   Tür  
 Ravic    walk.PAST.3SG through the narrow door  
*Ravic ... walked through the narrow door.* (Remarque)

The use of path verbs in the translations from high-manner languages also indicates greater reliance on path verbs in Bulgarian, though again, the data in the translation from the German novel are somewhat skewed by the German verb *gehen*, which is classified as a manner verb here, but which also has some degree of path usage as GO rather than WALK. The English data show that 41% of the first 125 English motion verbs occurring in the novel are path verbs, while 49.6% of the verbs in the Bulgarian translation are path verbs. In the German data, 47.9% of the verbs are path verbs, while 73.6% of the verbs in the Bulgarian translation are path verbs. This difference between the Bulgarian and the German data is affected by the verb *gehen*, but is not predicated exclusively on the classification of *gehen*; the effect on the data of classifying *gehen* differently will be discussed at the end of this section. In addition making path choices for this particular German verb, which is not only ambiguous in terms of path versus manner but is also frequently used, the Bulgarian translator chose a number of path verbs for the translation of German manner verbs. Here is an example of one such rendering:

- (7) Той    влезе                    в    едно    бистро    на    ъгъла  
 he    enter.P.AOR.3SG in one    bistro    on corner.DEF  
*He entered a bistro on the corner.*
- Er trat                    in    ein    Bistro    an    der    Ecke  
 he step.PAST.3SG in a    bistro    on the corner  
*He stepped into a bistro on the corner.* (Remarque)

Example (7) above is interesting because the German manner verb that is translated by a Bulgarian path verb is only a prefix away from being a path verb itself. Had the author chosen to use *eintreten* ‘go/come in, enter’ rather than *treten* ‘step’, the German would also show a path verb in this example. This demonstrates two things: First, there may be a greater propensity in Bulgarian toward path verbs over manner verbs than in German. Second, the greater number of path verbs in Bulgarian than in the higher-manner languages, English and German, may not be due merely to a greater number of verbal roots which encode path over manner. Rather, the relative abundance of path verbs in Bulgarian may have come about through a number of prefixed motion verbs whose prefixes seem to affect the verb such that path encoding overshadows manner encoding in the root. German also contains verbs, such as *eintreten*, whose roots are manner verbs, but whose prefixed forms become path verbs, losing the manner in the root. It seems, though, that the German language’s pattern of manner-coding preferences privileges unprefixated forms, helping to retain a wide range of high frequency manner verbs. On one hand, this tendency to retain manner in the verb root seems to be part of the linguistic typology of satellite-framed languages in contrast with verb-framed languages; on the other hand, the example of the Romance language family within the Indo-European grouping shows that this feature does not necessarily remain static over time. Changes in the ratio of manner verbs to path verbs in a language undoubtedly play a role in diachronic changes in motion verb typology, and any tendency demonstrated by verb prefixes to bleach the manner of the verb root may help explain how the mechanism of such changes.

Let us return to the classification of the German verb meaning WALK. If the German verb *gehen* were analyzed differently, then the manner/path figures for German would change somewhat. That is, if the verb *gehen* is viewed as a path verb rather than a manner verb, then the percentage of German verbs represented by manner verbs decreases to 21%, approaching the figure of 19.2% for the Bulgarian translation. Similarly, classifying *gehen* as a path verb results in a path verb percentage of 69.8%, closer to the Bulgarian figure of 73.6%. However, the verb *gehen* is at times used in a sense that shows that it should be interpreted as WALK, conveying manner at least a basic level. In some cases, this is just a matter of logic—for instance, when the author says of the main character, *Er ging ins Badezimmer* ‘He walked into the bathroom’, the logistics of walking from one room to another inside a hotel suite (as occurs in the narrative) dictate that the character is walking. In other cases, however, the act of walking is more clearly stressed, most notably when accompanied by adverbs describing the mode of walking. For instance, when the protagonist’s female interest first appears, he observes, *Sie ging schnell, aber sonderbar taumelig* ‘She walked slowly, but in an oddly dizzy way’. An even clearer example of *gehen* unambiguously used in the meaning ‘walk’ is seen in (8).

- (8) “Soll ich Sie mitnehmen, Ravic?”  
 should.PRS.1SG I you with.take.inf Ravic  
 “Should I take you with me, Ravic?”
- “Nein, danke. Ich will gehen.”  
 no thanks I want.prs.1sg walk.inf  
 “No, thanks. I want to walk.” (Remarque)

#### 4.4.2 Semantic categorization of motion verbs in Bulgarian, English, & German

The English and German novels used for data, despite being written in languages from the same language families, show substantial variation in motion verb usage. As Table 4.3 below demonstrates, the English motion verbs are rich in manner description, whereas the German motion verbs focus more on path descriptions. Although Bulgarian does not display quite the range of descriptive manner verbs that English does, there is nevertheless a large number of manner verbs in the Bulgarian data from the English and German translations. The Bulgarian verbs from the two translations have been combined, but most of the manner verbs are from the translation from English (as the figures from Table 4.2 above indicate).

The purpose of Table 4.3 is not to show the full range of motion verbs in the languages in question, but rather, to indicate which categories are most richly represented by each of the three languages. The categories that have been included are those with at least four different verbs in one or more of the languages. The categories are rather loose, by necessity. For instance some verbs in the category for “rapid movement” could possibly be put in the category “run” (or vice versa—one example is the verb *препусна*, which is translated as ‘gallop’ when used with horses, but ‘race’ when used with cars), some verbs for running could also be classified as “escape,” if such a category were included, etc. However, the main point is to show the areas in which each language seems to focus its semantic encoding.

TABLE 4.3. Semantic categories of motion in Bulgarian, English, &amp; German

Semantic Category	English	German	Bulgarian <sup>74</sup>
<i>walking</i>	amble blunder (away) pound stagger step step over stomp stride stroll totter walk walk on wander wend (one's way home) come galumphing	gehen 'go; walk' treten 'step'	вървя 'walk, go' закретама '(begin to) trudge, plod along' залитам 'reel (about), stagger' заситня 'trip, totter' запляпам 'begin to trudge' клатушкам се 'wobble, sway' крача 'walk, step, stride' нагазвам 'step in; trample' повървя 'walk (a little)' прекрача 'stride over, step' пристъпвам/пристъпя 'step, approach' скитам се 'wander'
<i>running</i>	canter gallop run sprint	fortlaufen 'run away' laufen 'run; go; walk' weglaufen 'run away'	избягам 'escape; run away' изприпкам 'run' тичам 'run' потичам '(begin to) run, run (for a bit)' препусна 'gallop' (of a horse)
<i>driving</i>		fahren 'drive, go' weiterfahren 'keep driving'	карам 'drive'
<i>rapid movement</i>	charge make a beeline streak zoom come shooting	schießen 'shoot'	втурна се 'rush' забързам '(begin to) hurry' профуча 'fly by, whiz by' стрелна се 'shoot' устремя се 'aspire to' хвърля се 'throw oneself'
<i>sliding movement</i>	glide	schleudern 'skid'	изплъзна се 'slip (out/away)'

<sup>74</sup> Bulgarian verbs are given only in the aspect in which they are used in the data. The citation of an aspect pair, therefore, indicates that both perfective and imperfective forms appear in the translations.

			плъзгам се 'glide, slide' шмугна се 'slip'
<i>crawling</i>	crawl		запълзя '(begin to) crawl' плъзгам се 'glide, slide' попълзя 'crawl (a little)' пропълзя
<i>jumping</i>	jump vault over	zurückprallen 'bounce back, rebound'	изскоча 'jump out' отскоча 'jump aside; ricochet' подскоча 'jump, leap' прехвърля се 'throw oneself (over/across)' прескоча 'jump over, vault over' рипна 'jump, leap' скоча 'jump, leap'
<i>flying</i>	fly soar swoop take off		влетя 'fly in(to)' излетя 'fly away' изхвърча 'fly away' полетя 'fly off' политна 'fly off; lose (one's) balance'
<i>departure</i>	go on the run leave set off escape	abziehen 'push off, go away' aufbrechen 'start out, set off' ausziehen 'set out, set off' entgehen 'escape, avoid' entkommen 'escape, get away' fortgehen 'leave' verlassen 'leave; abandon' verschwinden 'disappear' weggehen 'go, go away, leave'	отивам/отида 'go (away)' офейкам 'run off, take to one's heels' махам се/махна се 'move away; disappear' напусна 'leave' отправя се 'set off, leave for' отпраша 'leave, depart' разотида се 'disperse, scatter' тръгвам/тръгна 'leave, set off'
<i>returning</i>	go back	zurückgehen 'go back,	върна се 'return'

	come back	return' zurückkehren 'return, come back' zurückkommen 'come back'	завърна се 'come back, return' прибирам се/прибера се 'return, come home'
<i>arriving</i>	reach	erreichen 'reach, arrive at'	настигна 'reach, catch up with' пристигна 'arrive' стигам/стигна 'reach'
<i>entering</i>	enter get inside	hereinkommen 'come in'	влизам/вляза 'enter'
<i>exiting</i>	erupt from	herauskommen 'come out'	излизам/изляза 'exit' измъкна се 'steal away, sneak out'
<i>movement upward</i>	scramble	klettern 'climb' steigen 'climb, mount' hinaufgehen 'go up'	извися се 'rise' кача се 'go up; climb'
<i>movement downward</i>	land fling oneself down	herunterbringen 'bring down' heruntergehen 'come down, descend'	свлека се 'slip (down)' сляза 'go down, descend' приземя 'land'
<i>movement across/ crossing</i>	cross cross at a run	herüberkommen 'come over, across' kreuzen 'cross' quer übergehen 'go straight over, across' überqueren 'cross over'	кръстосвам 'cross, traverse' прекосявам/прекося 'cross, traverse' пресичам/пресека 'cross, traverse'
<i>turning movement</i>	turn wheel about wheel around	drehen sich 'turn, rotate, spin' einbiegen 'turn (off a roadway)' umdrehen 'turn (around, back)'	врътна се завия завъртя се обърна се свия

The most striking implication of the above table is the extent to which German focuses on path, and English focuses on manner. The differences are due to some extent to the subject matter of the two works of literature—the English novel generally presents more scenes of walking than the German novel, while the German novel has no scene involving flying, and thus no FLY verbs. However, regardless of differences in literary subject matter, English overall has

more descriptive verbs of motion than German.<sup>75</sup> Even when German has several verbs listed under one category of movement, there are sometimes multiple verbs with the same root and different prefixes. The category of ‘running’, to give one example, lists three verbs, but all of them are forms of *laufen* ‘run’, two of which have path satellites attached as separable prefixes. Thus, though it may appear that German has several different verbs to express RUN, there is in fact only one.

The Bulgarian category of ‘running’, by contrast, contains five verbs, only two of which are formed from a single root (*тичам* and *нотичам*). Many of the motion categories show Bulgarian verbs formed from several different roots, but there are categories which, like the German examples, are formed primarily from one root. One of these is the category of ‘flying’—five different verbs are listed, but three are simply prefixed forms of *летя*, and the verb *политна* is closely related to *летя*. Even in this category, though, Bulgarian can use the verb *изхвърча*, a verb meaning ‘fly’ which is completely unrelated to *летя*. Table 4.3 shows clearly that Bulgarian has and makes use of a relatively large number of manner of motion verbs, although path verbs still more prevalent. Many high-manner English verbs have been translated with high-manner Bulgarian verbs in the translation of the novel—hence, tokens such as *заситня*, *измъкна се*, *клатушкам се*, and *профуча*—but a number of high-manner English verbs have also been translated with path verbs in Bulgarian, often modified by an adverb to convey the meaning of the English manner verb. Three examples are given below.

- (9) непрекъснато      обикаляше              тези      улици  
not.interrupted      go.round.I.IMP.3SG      these      streets  
*He was constantly going round these streets...*

*For he had pounded these streets so often lately...* (Rowling)

- (10) вуйчото      прекоси              тромаво      кухнята  
uncle-DEF      cross.P.AOR.3SG      clumsily      kitchen-DEF  
*His uncle clumsily crossed the kitchen.*

*He pounded across the kitchen.* (Rowling)

- (11) Вуйчото      на      Хари      излезе              важно-важно              от      всекидневната  
uncle-DEF      of      Harry      exit.P.AOR.3SG      importantly-importantly      from      living.room-DEF  
*Harry's uncle came all importantly out of the livingroom.*

*Harry's uncle came galumphing out of the living room.* (Rowling)

#### 4.4.3 Bulgarian data translated from low-manner languages

Table 4.4 shows the frequency and type of motion verbs in the low-manner language data from Turkish and Portuguese, compared with the Bulgarian translations from these languages.

<sup>75</sup> Snell-Hornby's (1983) work on verb descriptivity in English and German, for instance, lists about 35% more descriptive verbs for English than for German.

TABLE 4.4. Frequency and type of motion verbs in Bulgarian, Turkish &amp; Portuguese

	Portuguese novel	Bulgarian translation	Turkish novel	Bulgarian translation
total motion verb tokens	123	124	126	126
number of different motion verbs	34	34	34	70
verb variety coefficient	27.6%	27.4%	27%	55.6%
number of different manner verbs	8	14	14	33
total manner verb count	15	33	44	45
manner verbs as a percentage	12.2%	26.6%	34.9%	35.7%
number of different path verbs	20	17	15	28
total path verb count	77	86	75	64
path verbs as a percentage	62.6%	69.4%	59.5%	50.8%
different manner-path verbs	3	2	3	5
total manner-path verb count	6	3	4	6
manner-/path-neutral verbs	1	0	1	3
total neutral verb count	2	0	1	6

The Bulgarian translations of the low-manner novels clearly show greater use of manner verbs in Bulgarian than in either Portuguese or Turkish. However, this difference is more dramatic in the Portuguese-to-Bulgarian data than in the Turkish-to-Bulgarian data, especially when viewing the percentages of manner verb usage rather than overall number of manner verbs.

The Portuguese novel, coincidentally, uses the same number of different motion verbs as does the Bulgarian translation. (I say “coincidentally” because this is not due to consistent, direct translation of given Portuguese verbs into one particular Bulgarian verb—e.g., the Portuguese verbs *andar* and *caminhar* both mean ‘walk’, and have indeed been translated with *вървя* ‘walk’ three times, but they have also been translated with *обикалям* ‘walk/go around, tour’, *тръгна* ‘set off, leave’, and *поразходя се* ‘take a walk’. Thus, the correspondence in the number of motion verbs is largely by chance.) Only 12.2% of the Portuguese verbs are manner verbs, while 26.6% of the Bulgarian verbs are manner verbs; this result is what we might expect when translating from a verb-framed to a satellite-framed language. What is less expected, however, is that Bulgarian shows a slightly higher usage of path verbs than does Portuguese: 69.4% of the Bulgarian motion verbs can be classified as path verbs, while a slightly smaller 62.6% of the Portuguese verbs can. (Although it may seem impossible for Bulgarian to have a higher percentage of both manner and path verbs than Portuguese, the fact is that Portuguese has more manner-path verbs, encoding both manner and path, and neutral verbs, encoding neither—this is where Portuguese makes up the difference.)

The Turkish data show something rather different. The Turkish author uses 34 different motion verbs in the first 125 motion events of the novel (also coincidentally, the same number as the Portuguese writer). The Bulgarian translator, however, has chosen a much greater variety of verbs in the translation: 70—over twice as many. Nevertheless, of these verbs, the percentages represented by manner verbs are roughly the same: 34.9% in the Turkish original, versus 35.7% in the Bulgarian translation. This does not occur simply because the Bulgarian translator chooses more creatively from among the Bulgarian verbs encoding manner of motion when translating Turkish verbs encoding the same; rather, the similarity in percentages of manner verb usage in the two languages is more or less due to chance. For example, one of the frequently used Turkish manner verbs is *yürümek* ‘walk’, which appears 18 times in the original text. The most direct

translation of *yürümek* in Bulgarian would be *вървя*, but *вървя* is, in fact, used to translate *yürümek* only once—12 other verbs are used to translate *yürümek* on other occasions, including both the path verbs *тръгна* ‘set off, leave’, *насоча се* ‘head for’ and *придвижвам се* ‘move forward, advance’, and the neutral verbs *движи се* ‘move’ and *продължа* ‘continue’. In several instances, speed of movement, indicated in the Turkish by adverbial phrases such as *hızlı hızlı* ‘rapidly; forcefully’ or *koşar gibi* ‘as if running’ is rendered by manner verbs encoding haste (e.g., *разбързам се* ‘begin to hurry, hustle’, *потичвам* ‘have a (short) run’, and *препускам* ‘race; gallop’).

The Bulgarian translation of the Turkish novel does not show the same frequency of path verb usage as does the the translation of the Portuguese novel. Whereas the Turkish motion verbs are 59.5% path verbs, the Bulgarian motion verbs are only 50.8% path verbs—still a fairly high percentage, at just over half the verbs used, but less than the original Turkish piece. The percentage of verbs represented by path verbs in the translation of the Turkish novel is also lower than the percentage of path verbs in the Portuguese and German data. This is probably due to some extent to the relatively high percentage of manner verbs used in the Turkish novel and its Bulgarian translation. This percentage is much higher than the translations of any the other languages except English, and only slightly lower than the translation of the English data (in which 39.2% of motion verbs were manner verbs).

TABLE 4.5. Summary of manner and path verbs in the Bulgarian translations

	Percentage of manner verbs	Percentage of path verbs	Verb variety coefficient
Translation from English	39.2%	49.6%	60.8%
Translation from German	19.2%	73.6%	32.0%
Translation from Portuguese	26.6%	69.4%	27.4%
Translation from Turkish	35.7%	50.8%	55.6%

#### 4.4.4 Prefixation in the Bulgarian translations

Prefixation of Bulgarian motion verbs was discussed at length in 3.4 above, but because verbal prefixation is an important segment of this chapter, prefixation in the Bulgarian translations will also be discussed here to some extent.

In the Bulgarian literature data base (examined in Chapter 3) there are 214 tokens of unprefixated verbs, representing 42.8% of all verbs. There are 42 different unprefixated verbs. In the data base drawn from translations into Bulgarian, there are 180 tokens of unprefixated verbs, with 37 different unprefixated verbs. These represent 35.9% of the verbs used. The two sets of figures are similar, but there is nevertheless a slightly higher usage of prefixed verbs in the original Bulgarian literature than in the translated literature. The prefixes used in each data set are shown in Table 4.6 below, which also gives the numbers of verbs occurring with each prefix in each set of data.

TABLE 4.6 Comparison of prefixation in the Bulgarian and translated literature

Prefix	Original Bulgarian	Translated literature	Prefix	Original Bulgarian	Translated literature
в-	4	3	от-	7	7
до-	5	3	по-	8	12
за-	7	13	под-	1	2

за-в-	1	0	пре-	9	8
за-об-	0	1	при-	5	7
из-	16	18	про-	4	5
на-	6	6	раз-	4	3
на-в-	1	1	с-	3	4
о-/об-	1	4	у-	1	1

In addition to using slightly fewer prefixed verbs than the original Bulgarian data, the translated works also appear to use fewer prefixes per root. While the original Bulgarian data set has 10 verb roots using three or more prefixes, the translated data set has only eight verb roots with three or more prefixes. Moreover, two of the verbs from the original Bulgarian data (*минавам/мина* ‘pass’ and *тичам* ‘run’) occur with five or six prefixes, while the verbs in the translated novels occur with a maximum of four prefixes. Interestingly, the verbs with the most prefixes in the two data sets are not the same. Table 4.7 below lists the verbs from each set of data with three or more prefixes.

TABLE 4.7 Comparison of root productivity in the Bulgarian and translated literature

Verb root	Prefixes in original Bulgarian data						Prefixes in translated data			
<i>близ-</i>	до	на	при				до	при		
<i>бягам</i>	за	из	по				из	по		
<i>ида</i>	до	от	раз				до	от	раз	
<i>летя</i>	из	на	пре				в	за	из	по
<i>-лизам/-ляза</i>	в	из	на·в	с			в	из	на	с
<i>минавам/мина</i>	за	на	от	по	пре	раз	за	под		
<i>мъкна се</i>	в	из	про				в	из	с	
<i>пускам/пусна</i>	на	пре	с				на	пре	с	
<i>пълзя</i>	за						за	по	про	
<i>скачам/скоча</i>	из	пре					из	от	под	пре
<i>тичам</i>	до	з·ав	за	из	при		за	из	по	

The somewhat more limited nature of the prefixes in the translated data suggests the possibility that the prefixed forms of some verbs might convey nuances of meaning salient for the Bulgarian speaker, but not so distinct that numerous different prefixed forms become necessary when translating literature into Bulgarian. Whether this is a factor in the literature translated into Russian or BCS cannot be judged here because this work uses no data equivalent to the 500 verbs from Bulgarian novels for either Russian or BCS novels. However, 4.5 and 4.6 below will show that the translators of these two languages do not seem to choose from a more limited palette of prefixation in the same way that the Bulgarian translators have done.

#### 4.4.5 Conclusions from the translated data

The data from the translations made into Bulgarian from four different languages show several different things. First, the typological classification of high-manner and low-manner may indicate tendencies in a language, but these tendencies do not necessarily manifest in similar ways for all speakers at all times. The English data demonstrate exactly what might be expected (higher incidence of manner verb usage than path verb usage, a large variety of different motion verbs, and rich semantic categories for certain types of motion), as do the German data

(although, as noted, the figures for manner verb usage are probably inflated due to the ambiguous status of *gehen* ‘walk; go’). The Portuguese data also behave perfectly, demonstrating a high path verb to manner verb ratio. The Turkish data, on the other hand, do not illustrate the typological dichotomy so well. Although the ratio of path verbs to manner verbs is still significantly higher (at 1.7:1), it is actually quite similar to that of Bulgarian in the translation from Turkish, and lower than the Bulgarian translations of the German and Portuguese data. In other words, two of the Bulgarian translations show fewer manner verbs and more path verbs than the low-manner Turkish text. This could reflect either the position of Turkish on the manner-path spectrum, or the place of Bulgarian on that same spectrum (both absolutely and relative to Turkish), or both. In any case, it is clear that Turkish is not a verb-framed, low-manner language in quite the same way that Portuguese is.

Both the Romance language family (including Portuguese) and Turkish are often held up as classic examples of verb-framed, low-manner languages. Separating these languages, though, is a major structural difference: while Turkish path verbs encode path into an original root (*git-* ‘go’, *çık-* ‘go out/up’, etc.), many Portuguese path verbs have become path verbs through prefixation, although the original prefix has long since become “fused” to the root in such a way that it is no longer perceived as a prefix (e.g., *entrar* ‘enter’, *descer* ‘descend’).

#### 4.5 THE SERBIAN DATA<sup>76</sup>

##### 4.5.1 Frequency and type of motion verb usage in Serbian

The Serbian data show some significant differences from the Bulgarian data given in Section 4.3, Table 4.1. Table 4.1 lists the Bulgarian motion verbs used in at least 50% of all motion verb occurrences in the Bulgarian data; Table 4.8 below lists the same information for the Serbian data.

TABLE 4.8. Top 50% of verbs by frequency: Serbian

Serbian verb	English gloss	# of tokens			M	P
		I	P	total		
odlaziti /otići	‘leave, go away’	5	35	40		●
ići	‘go’	31	-	31		●
stići	‘arrive, come’	-	24	24		●
vraćati se /vratiti se	‘return’	1	22	23		●
dolaziti/doći <sup>77</sup>	‘come’	9	12	22		●
ulaziti/ući	‘enter’	8	13	21		●
prolaziti/proći	‘pass, go through’	6	12	18		●
hodati	‘walk, pace’	16	-	16	●	
kretati (se)/krenuti (se) <sup>78</sup>	‘move; set off, leave’	2	11	14		●

<sup>76</sup> So far, this work has referred to the languages that emerged from the former Serbo-Croatian after the break-up of Yugoslavia as BCS, an acronym referring to the common code underlying the now separate languages of Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian. In the gathering of data from translated novels, however, I have striven for linguistic consistency by using only novels translated into Serbian (three of them published in Serbia proper after the break-up of Yugoslavia, and one before, according to the “eastern,” or Serbian, variant of Serbo-Croatian). Despite some differences among Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian, there seems to be no reason to assume that these differences affect the realm of motion verb typology I therefore believe that the Serbian data used here is a fair representation of all of BCS.

<sup>77</sup> Includes, in addition to the verbal forms, the nominal form *dolazak* ‘arrival’.

putovati	‘travel’	14	-	14	●	
bežati/pobeći	‘flee; run away’	1	12	13	●	
izlaziti/izići	‘exit, go out of’	2	11	13		●
<i>total number of tokens</i>				249	3	9

The first obvious difference between the Bulgarian data and the Serbian data is that there are fewer verbs comprising the top 50% of verbs used in Serbian than in Bulgarian—while 15 verbs are included in the Bulgarian top 50%, the Serbian top 50% comprises only 12 verbs. The smaller number of verbs in the Serbian list indicates that Serbian makes use of a smaller number of high-frequency motion. However, the most frequently used Serbian verb pair, *odlaziti /otići*, is the BCS cognate of the most frequently used Bulgarian verb pair, *отувам/отуда*. The difference in frequency of these verbs is very slight, with 40 tokens in Serbian, compared with 37 in Bulgarian. Other than the congruence between this shared high-frequency verb pair, though, the two lists diverge quite a bit.

The Bulgarian list of the most-used motion verbs includes only two verbs based on the Bulgarian verb *уда* ‘go’, whereas the Serbian list includes six verbs based on the BCS cognate *ići* (that is, 50% of the Serbian verb list, as opposed to 13.3% of the Bulgarian list). Interestingly, though, BCS shares something with Bulgarian that it does not share with Russian. The imperfective forms of verbs based on *ići* are suppletive, derived not from the verb *ići*, but from the verb *laziti*, which originally meant ‘crawl’. This is the verb on which a small series of high-frequency motion verbs in Bulgarian is based, including two in the top 50% in the data, *влизам/вляза* and *излизам/изляза*.

Other cognates shared with Bulgarian in the top 50% are *vraćati se/vratiti se* ‘return’ (Bulgarian *връщам се/върна се*), *stići* ‘reach’ (Bulgarian *стигам/стигна*), *putovati* ‘travel’ (Bulgarian *пътувам*), and *bežati/pobeći* ‘flee, run away’ (*избягвам/избягам*). The last verb differs significantly from its Bulgarian cognate. The Bulgarian form is prefixed, differentiating it from *бягам* ‘run’, but it is the prefix which gives the Bulgarian verb *избягвам/избягам* the same meaning as the unprefixed (in the imperfective) BCS *bežati/pobeći*. In BCS, however, there has been a semantic shift in the original unprefixed verb, necessitating that another verb, *trčati*, take over the function of RUN.

The list of the most frequent motion verbs in BCS thus shows less variety than the list for Bulgarian, both in the number of verbs most frequently used and in the etymological origin of the most frequent verbs. The BCS verbs are largely conservative, based on the most fundamental Slavic motion verb. Some older verbs have shifted meanings, such as *bežati/pobeći* ‘flee, run away’ (mentioned above), but most have retained earlier connotations. One major difference, though, is that the verb *hodati* ‘walk’ has continued to mean WALK, just as does its Russian cognate *ходить*, but *ići*, the cognate of Russian *идти*, has not retained any connotation of WALK. (The Bulgarian cognate *ходя* has retained some connotation of WALK, but only to a moderate degree; Slavic WALK verbs are discussed in detail in 4.6.)

#### 4.5.2 Manner and path in the Serbian data

The verbs in Table 4.8 are mostly path verbs; there are only three manner verbs in the group. This suggests relatively low manner verb usage in BCS (for a satellite-framed language); the comparisons shown in Tables 4.9 and 4.10, comparing the translations into Serbian from

<sup>78</sup> Includes, in addition to the verbal forms, the nominal form *kretanje* ‘movement’.

high-manner and low-manner languages (respectively) corroborate this to some extent. Interestingly, the figures for Serbian are quite similar to those for Bulgarian, even where they deviate greatly from the manner verb versus path verb figures for the original language.

TABLE 4.9. Frequency and type of motion verbs in Serbian, English, & German

	English novel	Serbian translation	German novel	Serbian translation
total motion verb tokens	117	122	119	116
number of different motion verbs	64	69	48	41
verb variety coefficient	54.7%	56.6%	42.4%	35.3%
number of different manner verbs	41	39	15	16
total manner verb count	57	51	52	23
manner verbs as a percentage	48.7%	41.8%	43.7%	19.8%
number of different path verbs	15	23	26	19
total path verb count	48	57	56	82
path verbs as a percentage	41%	46.7%	47.1%	70.7%
different manner-path verbs	2	4	5	4
total manner-path verb count	2	6	9	8
manner-/path-neutral verbs	6	2	1	2
total neutral verb count	8	2	1	3

Table 4.9 indicates that Serbian uses the largest percentage of manner verbs when translating the highest manner language, English. The manner verb percentage, at 41.8%, is slightly higher than Bulgarian, with 39.2%; both are noticeably lower than English, but still rich in manner verbs.

As in the Bulgarian data, the manner verb figures for the translation of German are much lower than the original language: both of these Slavic languages use manner verbs for fewer than 20% of the verb translations, which is interesting in comparison both with the figure for the original German and in comparison to the figures for the translations from English. Clearly both Serbian and Bulgarian *can* use manner verbs at a moderately high rate, but in this case, neither does.

Table 4.10 below shows the figures for translation from low manner languages into Serbian. Again, the figures are similar to the Bulgarian figures—for the Portuguese text, as with the German, the Serbian and Bulgarian figures are much closer to each other than to the original. The higher percentage of manner verbs in Serbian compared with the original Portuguese, at 25.2%, closely mirrors the Bulgarian figure of 26.6%. The Turkish figures for all three are quite similar, with Serbian displaying the lowest manner verb usage, but not by much: manner verb usage in Bulgarian (at 35.7%) slightly exceeds that in Turkish, while the manner verb usage in Turkish is slightly greater than in Serbian, but the difference between Bulgarian and Serbian, on each end of the spectrum, is only 3.2%.

TABLE 4.10. Frequency and type of motion verbs in Serbian, Portuguese, & Turkish

	Portuguese novel	Serbian translation	Turkish novel	Serbian translation
total motion verb tokens	123	115	126	126
number of different motion verbs	34	30	34	46

verb variety coefficient	27.6%	26.1%	27%	36.5%
number of different manner verbs	8	12	14	24
total manner verb count	15	29	44	41
manner verbs as a percentage	12.2%	25.2%	34.9%	32.5%
number of different path verbs	20	15	15	19
total path verb count	77	76	75	72
path verbs as a percentage	62.6%	66.1%	59.5%	57.1%
different manner-path verbs	3	2	3	2
total manner-path verb count	6	8	4	5
manner-/path-neutral verbs	1	1	1	1
total neutral verb count	2	2	1	2

### 4.5.3 Prefixation in BCS motion verbs

Of the most frequent motion verbs in the BCS data (Table 4.8 above), only five of the 12 are prefixed verbs. All of the prefixed verbs are path verbs, but then, so are four of the unprefixed verbs. However, this does indicate a higher correspondence of prefixation with path verbs than with manner verbs. Significantly, all of the prefixed verbs in this table are based on the same root, *ići* ‘go’. This root accounts for a disproportionately large number of the path verbs in BCS. In the data as a whole, there are 12 verbs based on *ići* which are used to translate motion events, although in fact only 10 of them are real motion verbs (the other two are *nailaziti/naići* ‘appear; come across, meet’ and *nalaziti/naći* ‘find’). As noted in Chapter 3, no root in the Bulgarian data occurs with more than six prefixes, and in the translated data, no root occurs with more than four prefixes.

Other than the verbs based on *ići*, however, the Serbian data do not indicate a great deal of reliance on particular roots for motion verb formation. The most frequently used root after *ići* is *leteti* ‘fly’, with eight prefixed forms, and after that, *skakati* ‘jump, leap’, with four prefixed forms (the same number as the Bulgarian cognate in the data from the Bulgarian translations). Other roots have no more than three different prefixed forms, and there are only a few roots with this many. Table 4.11 lists the prefixes used in the Serbian data, along with the verbs formed from these prefixes. Table 4.12 shows the most common verb roots, along with their prefixed forms found in the data. If only one aspectual form of the verb was used in a text, that is the only form given in the table; otherwise, verbs are listed in aspect pairs. Reflexive verbs include the reflexive particle *se* in the listing, while (*se*) indicates that the verb is used in the texts both with and without the reflexive particle.

One of the most salient features of the Serbian motion verb system is the centrality of path-oriented, mannerless motion verbs based on *ići*. Neither *ići* itself nor the verbs formed from it express manner. Furthermore, Filipović (2010) argues against viewing the prefixes as satellite path features, because the suppletive imperfective forms, based on *laziti* ‘creep, crawl’, have lost any sort of meaning derived from this verb—in this sense, she argues, the prefix can be said to be fused with the root, and it carries the main meaning of the verb. Although this neutralization of the manner meaning of the root alone is not seen in a large number of verbs in BCS, it is clearly seen in the most commonly used set of motion verbs derived from *ići*.

TABLE 4.11. Serbian prefixes found in the data and their corresponding verbs

prefix	verb (/aspect pair)	
do-	dogalopirati	‘come galloping’
	dolaziti/doći	‘come’
	dokotrljati se	‘come rolling’
	doleteti	‘come flying’
	dospeti	‘arrive, reach, get to’
	dotrčati	‘come running’
iz-	izbeći	‘escape, flee, evade’
	iščeznuti	‘disappear’
	izgubiti se	‘get lost, disappear’
	izlaziti/izići	‘exit, go out of’
	izjuriti	‘run out, rush out’
	izletati/izleteti	‘fly out’
	ispasti	‘fall out’
	iseliti se	‘move, migrate’
	iskočiti	‘jump out, leap out’
na-	naići	‘come across, meet’
	nalaziti se/naći se	‘come across; be located’
	napuštati	‘leave, abandon’
	nastaviti	‘continue’
	načiniti (korak)	‘make (a step)’
o-	okretati (se)/okrenuti (se)	‘turn’
	osvrnuti se	‘turn, look back’
od-	odgalopirati	‘gallop away’
	odlaziti/otići	‘leave, go away’
	odjezditi	‘trot away; pass by’
	otkoračati	‘step away’
	odleteti	‘fly off, fly away’
	odmaći	‘move away’
	otpuziti	‘crawl away’
	otskakati/otskočiti	‘jump away’
	odšunjati se	‘sneak away’
	otrčati	‘run off’
	odtrupkati se	‘stomp off’
	odvesti ( <i>perf. of odvoditi</i> )	‘lead away’
	odvesti se ( <i>perf. of odvoziti</i> )	‘drive, ride away’
po-	pobeći	‘flee, run away’
	pohitati	‘hurry’
	pohrliti	‘throw’
	polaziti/poći	‘leave, depart’
	pojavit se	‘appear’

	pojuri	'begin running, rush, dash'
	poletati/poleteti	'take off (flying), rush off'
	popeti se	'climb, rise, ascend'
	pomeriti se	'move'
	poskočiti	'jump, hop, bound'
	postajati (bliži)	'become (closer)'
	poterati	'begin to drive (cattle); hurry, press'
	potrčati	'begin to run'
	povoditi se	'stumble, stagger'
	povući	'pull oneself, move'
	podići (podignuti)	'lift out of'
pre-	prelaziti/preći	'go across'
	preskočiti	'jump across, over'
pri-	približavati se/približiti se	'approach, draw near'
	pridizati	'lift (a little), go up'
	prilaziti/prići	'approach, walk up to'
pro-	probiti se	'make one's way, push one's way through'
	procunjati	'pass through'
	produžiti	'continue'
	prolaziti/proći	'go, pass'
	proletati/proleteti	'fly by, through'
	promuvati se	'wander through'
	propasti	'fall through'
	prošetati	'walk, stroll (through)'
s-	silaziti/sići	'go down, descend'
	sjuriti se	'run down, come running'
	skretati/skrenuti	'turn'
	sleteti	'land (from flying)'
	skinuti	'remove' ( <i>trans.</i> )
	sručiti se	'plunge, fall, throw oneself'
u-	udaljivati se/udaljiti se	'move away'
	ugaziti	'step into'
	ulaziti/ući	'enter, go in'
	uleteti	'fly into; dash, run into'
	umaći	'escape, run away'
	uputiti se	'set off, start'
	ustremiti se	'lunge'
	ustuknuti	'step back; flinch'
	učiniti (pokret)	'make (a move)'
	ubrzati (hod, korak)	'hasten (pace, step)'
uz-	uzleteti	'take off in flight (airplane, etc.)'
	uzmaći	'step back, draw back; withdraw'

za-	zabaciti se	‘hurl’
	zabatrpati	‘stagger’
	zaći	‘go behind’
	zakoračiti	‘take a step, step across’
	zaljuljati	‘swing, rock’
	zapotiti se	‘leave, depart, set out’
	zavijati/zaviti	‘turn, curve’

From Table 4.11 we see that the most commonly used prefix in the Serbian data is *po-*, followed by *od-*, *u-*, and *pro-*. The first of these prefixes is not a directional prefix, but the following three are. The fifth most common prefix in the data is *za-*, which can be either directional or an Aktionsart prefix; the definitions of the verbs with this prefix show that the majority of the verbs with the prefix *za-* express Aktionsart—only the verb *zaći* ‘go behind’ conveys the original spatial meaning.

The relevant question here is the extent to which the verbs used here reflect native Serbian usage versus some influence from the language from which they have been translated. While there is no reason to think that the translators would use language that does not sound natural in Serbian, it should also be noted that the most common spatial prefixes in BCS are said to be *od-* and *do-* (Filipović 2010: 249). Although *od-* is in fact the most common spatial prefix used in the translations, the table above shows that *do-* is used much less often. It is therefore possible that native speakers, in spontaneously generated speech, would employ prefixed verbs in a somewhat different distribution than that listed above.

Table 4.12 below lists which roots are most productive in the Serbian data, that is, the ones that produce the greatest number of prefixed forms. The roots are listed in order of most productive to least productive. All verbs occurring in the data base in at least two prefixed forms are listed. Not all of the unprefixes verbs on which the prefixed forms are based occur in the data, however; when the unprefixes form is not used in the data (or not used as a motion verb, as is the case with some examples), the base verb is given in brackets.

TABLE 4.12. Common verb roots found in the data and their prefixed forms

Root or unprefixes verb	Verb formed from root or unprefixes verb	
ići	dolaziti/doći	come
	izlaziti/izići	exit
	nailaziti/naići	come across; come, appear
	nalaziti se/naći se	come across; get tired from walking
	odlaziti/otići	go (away), leave
	polaziti/poći	leave, depart
	prelaziti/preći	go across
	prilaziti/prići	approach, walk up to
	prolaziti/proći	go, pass
	silaziti/sići	go down, descend
	ulaziti/ući	enter, go in
	zalaziti/zaći	go behind
leteti	doleteti	come flying

	izletati/izleteti	fly out
	odleteti	fly off, fly away
	poletati/poleteti	take off (flying), rush off
	proletati/proleteti	fly by, through
	sleteti	land (from flying)
	uleteti	fly into; dash, rush into
	uzleteti	take off in flight (airplane, etc.)
skakati/skočiti	iskočiti	jump out, leap out
	otskakati/otskočiti	jump away
	poskakivati/poskočiti	jump, hop, bound
	preskočiti	jump across, over
trčati	dotrčati	come running
	otrčati	run off
	potrčati	begin to run
[jurit]	izjurit	run out, rush out
	pojurit	begin running, rush, dash
	sjurit se	run down, come running
[maknuti]	odmaći	move away
	umaći	escape, run away
	uzmaći	step back, draw back; withdraw
bežati	izbeći	escape, flee, evade
	pobeći	flee, run away
činiti	učiniti pokret	make a move
	načiniti korak	make a step
koračati	otkoračati	step away
	zakoračiti	take a step, step across
kretati/krenuti	okretati (se)/okrenuti (se)	turn
	skretati/skrenuti	turn
[galopirati]	dogalopirati	come galloping
	odgalopirati	gallop away
[pasti]	ispasti	fall out
	propasti	fall through
[-putiti]	uputiti se	set off, start
	zapatiti se	leave, depart, set out
[voditi]	odvoditi/odvesti	lead away
	povoditi se/povesti se	stumble, stagger

Table 4.12 demonstrates just how productive *ići* is in the BCS motion verb system. It also shows that *leteti* ‘fly’ is very productive with prefixation—far more so than its Bulgarian cognate *летя* (Bulgarian also uses the verb *хвърча* in this meaning). Another interesting feature seen in

the table above is the prominence of *trčati*, the innovative BCS verb for RUN, which boasts more prefixed forms in the data than the common Slavic form *bežati*.

#### 4.6 THE RUSSIAN DATA

The Russian data present a different picture than either the Bulgarian or the Serbian data. As seen in Table 4.13, there are far more verbs comprising the top 50% of the data translated into Russian than in either of the other two Slavic languages. Whereas Serbian and Bulgarian had 12 and 15 verbs in the top 50%, respectively, Russian has 21—a striking difference.

TABLE 4.13. Top 50% of verbs by frequency: Russian

Russian verb		# of tokens			M	P	N
		I/i <sup>79</sup>	P/d	total			
идти/ходить	‘walk, go (on foot); run (of trains, etc.)’	38	3	41	●		
пойти	‘walk (for a while)’	27	-	27	●		
возвращаться/вернуться	‘return’	2	20	22		●	
уйти/уходить	‘go away, leave’	6	16	22		●	
выйти/выходить <sup>80</sup>	‘go out, come out’	2	14	17		●	
пройти/проходить	‘pass (by, through), go (by, through)’	5	12	17		●	
войти/входить	‘enter, go in(to), come in(to)’	1	11	12		●	
прийти/приходить	‘come, arrive’	10	2	12		●	
бродить/побродить	‘wander, roam, stroll’	9	2	11	●		
бегать/бежать	‘run’	1	9	10	●		
двигаться/двинуться	‘move, advance; get going’	2	8	10			●
пересекать/пересечь	‘cross, traverse’	2	7	9		●	
подниматься/подняться	‘rise, go up; climb, ascend’	3	6	9		●	
отправляться/отправиться	‘set out, start off; leave, depart’	1	6	7		●	
доходить/дойти	‘reach’	1	5	6		●	
попасть	‘get (to), find oneself (in)’	-	6	6			●
шагать/зашагать	‘step, walk, stride’	3	3	6	●		
добраться	‘get to, reach’	-	5	5		●	
ездить/ехать	‘go (by animal or vehicle); ride, drive’	3	2	5	●		
зайти/заходить	‘call on, look in on; find oneself (in)’	4	1	5	●		
подойти	‘approach, come /go up to’	5	-	5		●	
<i>total number of tokens</i>				238	7	12	2

<sup>79</sup> This column and the next indicate the number of imperfective (I) forms and perfective (P) forms for each verb (when both forms are present in the translated literature), except for the verbs from the set of Russian verbs of motion which participate in the determinate/indeterminate distinction; for these verbs, these columns indicate the number of determinate (d) versus indeterminate (i) motion verb tokens.

<sup>80</sup> Includes, in addition to the verbal forms, the nominal form *выход* ‘exit’.

Despite the large difference in number, however, there is one strong similarity between the Russian data and the Serbian data: both rely strongly on the common Slavic base verb meaning ‘go’ (Russian *идти*, Serbian *ići*). If one includes in the count the indeterminate form *ходить*, 10 of the 21 verbs in Table 4.13, or 47.6%, are formed from *идти*.

#### 4.6.1 Path and manner in the Russian data

Table 4.13 demonstrates that the motion verbs in the top 50% of Russian verbs in the data are more heavily made up of manner verbs than those in the top 50% of either the Serbian or the Bulgarian verbs: a full third of the verbs are manner verbs, compared with a quarter of the Serbian verbs and only one fifth of the most frequent Bulgarian verbs. Part of the reason for this is that some verbs based on *идти* retain their manner meaning of WALK in Russian, unlike their counterparts in Bulgarian and Serbian. However, this is only a small part of the explanation, because most of the prefixed forms are classified here as path verbs rather than manner verbs. Verbs such as *прийти/приходить* ‘arrive’, though based on the verb *идти*, do not necessarily encode the idea of WALK, in the sense of ‘arrive on foot’. Thus, the salient part of the meaning is arrival, rather than WALK + ARRIVE. Though the meaning of the root is not fully neutralized, as in Serbian (there is, indeed, still a common verb *приехать/приезжать*, with the meaning ‘arrive [not on foot]’), manner is very much secondary to path in many of these prefixed verbs.

Tables 4.14 and 4.15 below show how the translations into Russian compare, in terms of manner and path verbs, with the original high- or low-manner languages from which they were translated.

TABLE 4.14. Frequency and type of motion verbs in Russian, English, & German

	English novel	Russian translation	German novel	Russian translation
total motion verb tokens	117	114	119	113
number of different motion verbs	64	66	48	47
verb variety coefficient	54.7%	57.9%	42.4%	41.6%
number of different manner verbs	41	49	13	33
total manner verb count	57	82	51	91
manner verbs as a percentage	48.7%	71.9%	42.9%	80.5%
number of different path verbs	15	12	27	11
total path verb count	48	25	57	19
path verbs as a percentage	41%	21.9%	47.9%	16.8%
different manner-path verbs	2	0	5	0
total manner-path verb count	2	0	9	0
manner-/path-neutral verbs	6	4	1	3
total neutral verb count	8	10	1	3

TABLE 4.15. Frequency and type of motion verbs in Russian, Turkish & Portuguese

	Portuguese novel	Russian translation	Turkish novel	Russian translation
total motion verb tokens	123	100	126	111
number of different motion verbs	34	52	34	50
verb variety coefficient	27.6%	52%	27%	45%
number of different manner verbs	8	38	14	35

total manner verb count	15	72	44	83
manner verbs as a percentage	12.2%	72%	34.9%	74.8%
number of different path verbs	20	11	15	12
total path verb count	77	21	75	22
path verbs as a percentage	62.6%	21%	59.5%	19.8%
different manner-path verbs	3	0	3	0
total manner-path verb count	6	0	4	0
manner-/path-neutral verbs	1	4	1	3
total neutral verb count	2	8	1	6

#### 4.6.2 The role of prefixation in the Russian data

Russian, far more than Bulgarian or BCS, relies heavily on a number of common roots for the source of new prefixed motion verbs. Like BCS, Russian utilizes the basic motion verb *идти* as the source of a great many of its motion verbs—in these data alone, there are 15 different prefixed forms of *идти/ходить*, more even than in the Serbian data. Unlike the Serbian data, though, the Russian data shows a number of other roots with many different prefixed forms. The verb *браться* ‘touch; undertake’ (though not a motion verb itself) appears in these texts in eight different prefixed forms; *ехать/ездить* ‘go (by vehicle)’ has seven prefixed forms; three other verbs occur in six different prefixed forms. Table 4.16 lists the Russian prefixes found in the data and their corresponding verbs; Table 4.17 lists the common verb roots found in the data and their prefixed forms.

TABLE 4.16. Russian prefixes found in the data and their corresponding verbs

prefix	Russian verb	
в-	влететь	‘fly in(to)’
	входить/войти	‘go in, enter’
	въехать	‘enter, ride in(to), drive in(to)’
	вскочить	‘leap up, into’
	вступить	‘enter (into); mount, go up’
вз-	взбираться	‘climb (up), clamber (up)’
вы-	выбраться	‘get out; manage to get to’
	вывести	‘lead out, bring out’
	вылетать/вылететь	‘fly out; rush out, dash out’
	вырасти	‘appear, rise up’
	выскочить	‘jump out, leap out, spring out’
	выходить/выйти	‘go out, exit’
до-	добраться	‘get to, reach’
	доскакать	‘jump up to’
	доходить/дойти	‘reach’
за-	забраться	‘get into, climb into’
	завернуться	‘turn’
	заглядывать	‘look in, drop in’
	задеть	‘brush against’

	заковылять	‘begin to hobble’
	закружиться	‘begin to spin’
	заложить вираж	‘make a turn’
	занести	‘carry away’
	заходить/зайти	‘call on, drop in on’
	зашагать	‘begin to walk, set out on foot’
на-	навещать	‘visit’
	найти	‘come upon’
	налетать	‘fly into; swoop down on’
	направляться	‘make for’
о(б)-	обойти	‘go around, walk around; bypass’
	оборачиваться (на бегу)/обернуться	‘turn at a run’
	огигать	‘round, go round, skirt’
	опередить	‘outstrip, leave behind’
	опуститься	‘lower oneself; sink; fall; go down’
от-	отвести	‘lead, take’
	отлучаться/отлучиться	‘absent oneself’
	отойти	‘move away/off, leave’
	отправляться/отправиться	‘set off/out, start out’
	отскочить	‘jump aside; bounce off’
	отступать/отступить	‘step back’
	отыскивать	‘find, track down’
пере-	перебираться	‘get over’
	перевернуться	‘turn over’
	передвигаться	‘move, shift’
	перейти	‘get across, get over’
	перелезть	‘climb over’
	перемахнуть	‘jump over, leap over’
	перемешать	‘shuffle’
	пересекать/пересечь	‘cross, traverse’
	пересесть	‘change places, take another seat’
	перескочить	‘jump over, vault over’
	переступить	‘step over’
	перетащить	‘drag over, carry over’
по-	побежать	‘break into a run’
	побрести	‘plod; start wandering’
	побродить	‘wander for some time’
	поворачивать/повернуть(ся)	‘turn’
	повести	‘move’
	погрузиться	‘sink (into), plunge (into), submerge’
	поехать	‘set off, depart; go for a ride’
	пойти	‘begin (to go, to walk)’
покатить	‘start rolling; roll off/away’	

	понести	‘carry ( <i>pf.</i> ); rush off (after); tear along’
	попасть	‘get, find oneself (somewhere)’
	поползти	‘crawl, creep along ( <i>pf.</i> )’
	потопать	‘sink’
	пошатнуться	‘stagger’
под-	подкатиться	‘roll (under)’
	подниматься/подняться	‘rise; ascend; climb’
	подпрыгиваться	‘jump up, leap; bob up and down’
	подскочить	‘jump up; run up to’
	подойти	‘come up (to), go up (to), approach’
	подъехать	‘drive up (to)’
при-	прибегать/прибежать	‘come running’
	приближаться/приблизиться	‘approach, draw near (to)’
	принести	‘bring, fetch’
	приплыть	‘swim up; sail up’
	приходить/прийти	‘arrive’
про-	пробежать	‘run by, run past’
	пробраться	‘make one’s way; steal (past, through)’
	провалиться	‘fall through, come down’
	проводить	‘lead, conduct’
	продвинуться	‘advance, move, push forward’
	продолжать (наступать)	‘continue (to advance)’
	проезжать	‘pass (by, through); drive (by, through)’
	пролагать путь	‘lay a path, pave the way’
	пролегать	‘lie, run (by, along)’
	пронести	‘carry (by, past, through)’
	пронестись	‘rush (by, past, through)’
	пропасть	‘disappear, vanish’
	проскользнуть	‘slip in, creep in’
	протопать	‘beat, make (a path)’
проходить/пройти(сь)	‘pass, go, walk’	
раз-	разбежаться	‘take a run; run up; scatter, disperse’
	разбредаться	‘disperse; straggle’
	развернуться	‘turn, swing about/around’
	разъехаться	‘depart; disperse’
с-	сбавлять	‘take off, deduct; throttle back’
	сбежать	‘run down (from above)’
	сворачивать	‘roll up; turn’
	сделать шаг, движение	‘take a step, make a movement’
	сдвигнуться	‘move, budge; come together’
	споткнуться	‘stumble (over)’
	спускаться/спустить(ся)	‘go/come down, descend’
	спрыгнуть	‘jump/leap off/down (from)’

	собираться	‘get together, gather together’
	сойти	‘go/come down (from), descend’
	съехать	‘go/come down; slide/slither down’
у-	убежать	‘run away, make off, escape’
	убраться	‘clear off, beat it’
	удаляться/удалиться	‘move off, away’
	уехать	‘leave, depart’
	улететь	‘fly (away)’
	унестись	‘speed away’
	уплывать	‘swim away, steam/sail away’
	ускорить шаг	‘quicken one’s pace’
	устроиться	‘settle down, get settled’
	уходить/уйти	‘leave, go away, depart’

Table 4.16 contains many more prefixed verbs than the corresponding lists for Serbian or Bulgarian. This is due in part to the greater variety of verbs used in Russian (and hence a greater number of verbs overall), but is also attributable to a greater reliance on prefixes in Russian. The Russian data show far fewer unprefixated verbs than the Bulgarian or Serbian data. Table 4.17 below demonstrates also that Russian has a larger number of roots that can occur with several prefixes than in Bulgarian and Serbian.

TABLE 4.17. Common verb roots found in the data and their prefixed forms

Root or unprefixated verb	Verb formed from root or unprefixated verb	
ХОДИТЬ/ИДТИ	входить/войти	‘go in, enter’
	выходить/выйти	‘go out, exit’
	доходить/дойти	‘reach’
	заходить/зайти	‘call on, drop in on’
	найти	‘come upon’
	обойти	‘go around, walk around; bypass’
	отойти	‘move away/off, leave’
	перейти	‘get across, get over’
	подойти	‘come up (to), go up (to), approach’
	пойти	‘begin (to go, to walk)’
	приходить/прийти	‘arrive’
	проходить/пройти(сь)	‘pass, go, walk’
	сойти	‘go/come down (from), descend’
уходить/уйти	‘leave, go away, depart’	
браться	взбираться	‘climb (up), clamber (up)’
	выбраться	‘get out; manage to get to’
	добраться	‘get to, reach’
	забраться	‘get into, climb into’
	перебраться	‘get over’
	пробраться	‘make one’s way; steal (past, through)’

	собираться	‘get together, gather together’
	убраться	‘clear off, beat it’
ехать/ездить	въехать	‘enter, ride in(to), drive in(to)’
	подъехать	‘drive up (to)’
	поехать	‘set off, depart; go for a ride’
	проезжать	‘pass (by, through); drive (by, through)’
	разъехаться	‘depart; disperse’
	съехать	‘go/come down; slide/slither down’
	уехать	‘leave, depart’
бегать/бежать	побежать	‘break into a run’
	прибегать/прибежать	‘come running’
	пробежать	‘run by, run past’
	разбежаться	‘take a run; run up; scatter, disperse’
	сбежать	‘run down (from above)’
	убежать	‘run away, make off, escape’

The above table shows that the Russian system of motion verbs is structurally similar to the Bulgarian and BCS systems in its origins (as one would expect), but the BCS and Bulgarian systems rely less on particular roots for the formation of other motion verbs.

#### 4.7 SLAVIC VERBS SPECIFYING WALK

Not all languages have a motion verb meaning specifically WALK; many have a GO verb that can also function as a WALK verb. The presence or absence of an unambiguous verb meaning ‘walk’, moreover, is not a function of a language’s categorization as high-manner or low-manner. The high-manner English language and the low-manner Turkish and Portuguese languages all have unambiguous WALK verbs (English *walk*, Turkish *yürümek*, Portuguese *andar/caminhar*) alongside more general GO verbs (English *go*, Turkish *gitmek*, Portuguese *ir*), while the high-manner German language has only one verb, *gehen*, meaning both ‘walk’ and ‘go’ (although it does have a separate verb, *fahren*, meaning specifically ‘go by vehicle’). Although the Slavic languages have all inherited a general GO verb, there is a great deal of variation when it comes to describing the motion WALK. First of all, not all of the languages discussed here have an unambiguous verb meaning WALK; and second, the availability of such a verb does not necessarily translate into the preferred use of such a verb whenever the motion WALK is at issue.

Generally speaking, the three Slavic languages in question here all lack an unambiguous verb WALK, such as English, Turkish, and Portuguese have. That is, Slavic speakers faced with translating the verbs *walk*, *yürümek*, or *andar/caminhar*, into their own languages may experience difficulty in finding a single verb that really gives a complete translation. To varying extents, these Slavic languages are more like German, with its verb *gehen* ‘walk; go’: there are verbs implying ‘walk’ in certain contexts, but these verbs are also used for generalized motion. However, the South Slavic languages come much closer to having verbs for WALK than does Russian.

Part of the problem Russian has with respect to the verbal idea WALK arises from the mandatory opposition between motion by foot and motion by vehicle. Because motion by foot is

expressed by the verb pair *ходить/идти*, this is the verb pair meaning ‘walk’. If one looks up *walk* in an English-Russian bilingual dictionary, one finds the entry “ХОДИТЬ/ИДТИ (ПЕШКОМ)” (Katzner 1984). However, because *ходить/идти* may function for other types of generalized motion, this verb does not necessarily mean ‘walk’ each time it is used. With some exceptions, the verb *ходить/идти* has a restriction against movement by vehicle, but even this restriction may not apply if the fact of vehicular motion is not relevant to the context. For example, in Remarque’s *Arc de Triomphe*, Joan asks Ravic, “Can I come with you?,” which is given below both in the original German and the Russian translation:

(12) Kann ich mitgehen?  
 can.PRS.1SG I with.GO.INF  
*Can I go with you?* (Remarque)

Можно мне пойти с вами?  
 possible me go.P.INF with you  
*Can I go with you?*

The verb form *пойти* (the perfective form of *идти*) is used even though in the next scene Ravic goes outside and takes a taxi to his destination. Joan is not asking if she can *walk* with Ravic, but rather, if she may *go* with him, by whatever means he himself may be going. Thus, because the mode of transport is not important, the verb *пойти* can be used as a generalized motion verb.

It is for this reason that, in an analysis of path and manner in Russian motion verbs, therefore, the classification of the basic manner verb *ходить/идти* ‘walk’ poses a dilemma. The manner implied is less than that of English *walk*, which refers to a very specific bipedal motion of no more than a certain moderate speed. At the same time, it is greater than that of cognate verbs in Bulgarian and BCS, which have no restrictions on or implications of manner of any sort. While the verb *ходить/идти* ‘walk’ and prefixed forms thereof appear frequently as translations of WALK verbs, they also appear as translations for verbs meaning ‘go’, ‘arrive’, ‘enter’, ‘exit’, ‘reach’, and more, a fact which demonstrates the looseness of the connection between *ходить/идти* and ‘walk’.

Translations of unambiguous WALK verbs from the novels into Russian were often made with *ходить/идти*, but another frequent choice is *шагать/зашагать* ‘march, step’. There are six tokens of *шагать/зашагать*, translating Portuguese *andar* ‘walk’, Turkish *yürümeek* ‘walk’ and *hızlı hızlı yürümeek* ‘walk quickly’, English *walk very quickly*, and German *gehen* ‘walk’. Each of the preceding verbs was translated once with *шагать/зашагать* except for *hızlı hızlı yürümeek*, with was rendered as *шагать/зашагать* twice. In contrast, *ходить/идти* was used to translate *andar* once, *yürümeek* five times, *hızlı hızlı yürümeek* once, *walk* three times, and *gehen* twice. Thus, although this basic verb is more ambiguous in terms of manner than *шагать/зашагать*, it is nevertheless the more neutral choice.

A standard English-SerboCroatian Dictionary (Benson 1999) translates *walk* as *šetati* or *ići*. The former is very explicit as to the manner of walking, while the latter indicates any kind of motion, and is translated in the SerboCroatian-English bilingual dictionary as ‘to go, walk, ride, come’. However, *šetati* is not commonly used in the unmarked meaning WALK; it is better translated as ‘stroll’. (The diminutive form, *šetkati*, was in fact used to translate English *stroll* in the current data base.) The verb *šetati* is used once in its base form (to translate Turkish *aşağı*

*yukarı yürümek* ‘walk up and down’), once in the aforementioned diminutive form, and once in the prefixed form *prošetati*, to translate the Portuguese *dar um passeio* ‘take a walk’.

A verb which is closer to English walk is BCS *hodati* ‘walk’, cognate with Russian *ходить* ‘go (by foot)’ and Bulgarian *ходя* ‘go, walk’. This verb indicates an unambiguous walking action, like *šetati*, but without the connotation of *stroll*. The verb *hodati* was used frequently (with 16 tokens in all, making it the 8<sup>th</sup> most frequent verb in the data from the Serbian translations), and only the translator of the German work did not employ it. Otherwise, *hodati* was the first choice among the other translators when rendering the WALK verbs *andar*, *caminhar*, *yürümek*, and *walk*: in all of these instances, it was used with greater frequency than *ići*.

Bulgarian comes closest to having a high-frequency verb for WALK. The standard English-Bulgarian bilingual (BAN 1990) translates *walk* as ‘вървя, ходя; вървя/отивам пеш’. The verbs *вървя* and *ходя* can both be used for walking movement, but neither implies walking exclusively; to avoid ambiguity, the modifier *пеш* ‘by foot’ may be added. Of the verbs *вървя* and *ходя*, the former is used more often in the sense of ‘walk’, while the latter is used more often in the sense of ‘go’. Even so, *вървя* was often not the most frequent choice for the translators when translating WALK verbs from the novels into Bulgarian (and *ходя* was not used at all). Instead, WALK verbs were often rendered with path verbs, such as *тръгна* ‘set out, leave’ or *отивам/отуда* ‘go’ (especially in the German translation, where it was used to translate the verb *gehen*, which can mean either ‘walk’ or ‘go’).

At times, even verbs clearly meaning ‘walk’ are not translated with verbs clearly indicating ‘walk’ in the Slavic languages. In some cases this may be because the physical motion of walking is less salient to the translator than other facets of the motion even, such as direction, pace, or the walker’s attitude. These translation choices may say more about the individual translator’s interpretation of the event than the motion implied by the Slavic verbs usually translated as ‘walk’. To determine how the several translators perceived the distinctions inherent in the verbs discussed above, it is helpful to look at a few events from the novels which unequivocally denote the bipedal motion conveyed by English *walk*, and to examine the choices the translators made. Several such examples are given below. Unlike most examples in this work, the examples below are not provided with interlinear glossing because of the length of the citations. Instead, the original sentence is translated into English (if necessary), and the motion verb representing the WALK verb is given in boldface both in the original and each of the translated forms—Bulgarian, Serbian, and Russian translations, respectively. An English version of each of the Slavic translations follows it directly.

- (13) Começou a **andar** sem pressa pela praça. (Coelho)  
*He began to **walk** unhurriedly through the square.*

**Тръгна** бавно през площада.  
*He **set off** slowly through the square.*

**Krenuo** je trgom bez žurbe.  
*He **set off** through the square unhurriedly.*

He торопясь, юноша **побрел** по площади.  
*Not hurrying, the young man **plodded** along the square.*

- (14) Começou a **andar** sem rumo pela cidade. (Coelho)  
*He began to **walk** without direction through the city.*

**Тръгна** безцелно из града.  
*He set off aimlessly through the city.*

Besciljno **hodajući** gradom...  
*Aimlessly **walking** through the city...*

Сантьяго **зашагал** по улицам куда глаза глядят.  
*Santiago **began to walk** aimlessly through the streets.*

- (15) Kumsalda aşağı yukarı **yürüdüm**. (Pamuk)  
*I **walked** up and down the sandy bank.*

**Щурах се** напред-назад по пясъка.  
*I **ambled** back and forth along the sand.*

**Şetao** sam se po plaži tamo-amo.  
*I **strolled** back and forth along the beach.*

Я **бродил** по песчаному берегу.  
*I **strolled** along the sandy bank.*

- (16) Mimarlık koridorlarında **yürüdüm**. (Pamuk)  
*I **walked** along the architecture corridors.*

**Тръгнах** по коридорите.  
*I **set out** along the corridors.*

**Кораќао** sam kroz hodnike.  
*I **stepped** through the corridors.*

Я **прошел** по коридорам.  
*I **passed** along the corridors.*

- (17) Yanında Mehmet, kurşuni bir ceketle, kötü bir ruh gibi karda iz bırakmadan **yürüyordu**.  
(Pamuk)  
*At her side Mehmet, in a lead-gray jacket, **walked** in the snow like an evil spirit, leaving no tracks.*

Редом **пристъпваше** в сивото си сетре Мехмед като зъл демон...  
*Beside her **stepped** Mehmed, in his gray jacket, like an evil demon...*

Покрај нје је Mehmed ... **hodaо** kao neki zao duh...  
*Alongside her Mehmed ... **walked** like some evil spirit...*

Рядом с ней **шел** Мехмед в светло-сером пиджаке—он **брел** по снегу словно злой дух...  
*Beside her **walked** Mehmet in a light gray jacket—he **strolled** through the snow like an evil spirit...*

- (18) He could barely **walk** under Dudley's bulk. (Rowling)  
че едва **върви** с тоя Дъдли на гръб  
*... that he could barely **walk** with that Dudley on his back.*  
jedva može da **hoda** pod Dadlijevom masom  
*He could barely **walk** under Dudley's bulk.*  
с Дадли на плечах едва может **идти** —  
*With Dudley on his shoulders he could barely **walk**.*

- (19) He **walked** quickly. (Rowling)

**Крачеше** бързо.  
*He **stepped** quickly*  
On **ubrza** korak.  
*He **quickened** his step*  
Он **ускорил** шаг.  
*He **quickened** his step*

- (20) ... to **walk** and talk at the same time. (Rowling)

нямаше да можеш хем да **вървиш**, хем да говориш  
*You wouldn't be able to both **walk** and to talk...*  
ne bi mogao da **hodaš** i govoriš istovremeno  
*You couldn't **walk** and talk at the same time.*  
одновременно **идти** и разговаривать  
*... at the same time to **walk** and to converse.*

- (21) Sie **ging** schnell. (Remarque)  
*She **walked**/went quickly.*

**вървеше** бързо  
*She **walked** quickly.*  
**Koračala** je brzo  
*She **stepped** quickly.*  
Она **шла** быстро  
*She **walked** quickly.*

- (22) Ich will **gehen**. (Remarque)  
*I want to **walk**.*

предпочитам да **повървя**  
*I prefer to **walk** a bit.*  
Ноџу да **пеџаџим**  
*I want to **walk**.*  
Хочу **пройтись**  
*I want to **take a stroll**.*

In addition, there is an example from the German novel, given below, for which each Slavic translator inserted a path verb where the original has no motion verb at all:

- (23) ... bis sie unten **waren**. (Remarque)  
 ... *until they **were** downstairs.*
- ... докато **слязоха**.  
 ... *until they **went down**.*
- ... dok nisu **sišli**.  
 ... *until they **went down**.*
- ... пока они не **сошли** вниз.  
 ... *until they **went (down)** downstairs.*

The above example indicates a preference in all three languages both to specify a motion verb rather than retaining the existential construction of the original, and to use a path verb (in the South Slavic languages) or a verb with a satellite path prefix (in Russian), with all three verbs clear cognates of each other. Despite many differences in the lexicalization patterns among the three language, in this instance they follow a single pattern in a strikingly similar manner.

Table 4.18 gives the translation choices in Bulgarian, Serbian, and Russian for each of the verbs with the basic meaning WALK from the novels. In most cases, Bulgarian and Russian reflect a greater variety of translation choices than Serbian. However, for the high-manner walk verbs in English, the Serbian translator made greater use of descriptive manner verbs, while the Russian translator more often chose *ходить/идти* or a prefixed form thereof, and the Bulgarian translator used slightly more path verbs than manner verbs. This is illustrated in (24).

- (24) ... **stomping** over to the window. (Rowling)
- Отиде** с тежка стъпка при прозореца.  
*He **went** with a heavy step to the window.*
- Odtrupkavši** do prozora...  
***Stomping** away to the window...*
- Тяжелым шагом **идя** к окну...  
***Going/walking** to the window with a heavy step...*

The verbs in Table 4.19 are arranged in alphabetical order, rather than by frequency, because the frequencies for many of the verbs are quite similar. The first column indicates the original language and its WALK verb, followed by the Slavic verbs used in each language to translate the original WALK verb. The number in the column after each Slavic verb column indicates the number of tokens of that verb used to translate the original language WALK verb.

TABLE 4.18. Slavic verbs used to translate walk from four languages

WALK verb	Bulgarian translations		Serbian translations		Russian translations	
Portuguese						
andar	вървя	2	hodati	3	зашагать	1
	обикалям	1	krenuti	2	идти	1

	поразходя се	1	proći	1	отыскивать	1
	тръгна	2			побрести	1
					погонять	1
					пройтись	1
caminhar	вървя	1	hodati	1	---	
Turkish						
yürümek	вървя	1	hitati	1	бродить	1
	движа се	4	hodati	6	идти	5
	насоча се	1	ići	1	обойти	1
	поема	1	koraçati	1	отвести	1
	потеглям	1	krenuti	2	отправиться	1
	прекося	1	otići	1	подойти	1
	придвижвам се	1	pešaçiti	1	пойти	2
	пристъпвам	1	povući	1	пройти	2
	продължа	1	proći	2	шагать/зашагать	3
	разбързам се	2	šetati	1		
	стъпвам	1	žuriti	1		
	тръгна	2				
	щурам се	1				
English						
amble	минавам	1	koraçati	1	идти	1
blunder away	залитам	1	tumarati	1	ковылять	1
come galumphing	изляза	1	dogalopirati	1	выйти	1
pound	обикалям	1	tumarati	1	ходить	1
	прекося	1	odtrupkati	1	протопать	1
stagger	закретам	1	teturati se	1	заковылять	1
stomp	отида	1	odtrupkati	1	идти	1
stride	тръгна	1	otkoraçati	1	пойти	1
stroll	клатушкам се	1	šetkati	1	идти не торопясь	1
totter	заситня	1	teturati se	1	ковылять	1
walk	вървя	3	hodati	3	двинуться	1
	забързам	1	ubrзati hod/korak	2	зашагать	1
	крача	1	produžiti	1	ускорить шаг	1
	продължа	1			ходить/идти	3
German						
gehen	вървя	3	ići	5	вернуться	1
	върна се	1	koraçati	3	выйти	2
	дойда	1	odlaziti/otići	1 2	идти	2
	залитам	1	pešaçiti	1	отправляться	1
	ида	3	poći	3	повернуться	1
	изляза	2	povoditi se	1	пойти	5
	отивам/отида	8	proći	1	пройти	4
	мина	1	vratiti se	1	пройтись	1

	повървя	1			сдвинуться	1
	пристъпвам	1			ступать	1
	сляза	1			уходить/уйти	5
	тръгвам/тръгна	4			шагать	1
treten	вляза	1	ući	1	войти	1

#### 4.8 CONCLUSION

The data from the translated novels illustrate several characteristic tendencies of each of the three Slavic languages discussed in this chapter. As Table 4.19 below makes clear, however, there is a great deal of variation among translations, and with only one novel from each of the four non-Slavic languages, there is not sufficient data to do more than identify tendencies in each language. One thing the data do consistently show, however, is that Russian displays the highest manner percentage of manner verbs and the lowest percentage of path verbs of these three Slavic languages. This is partially due to an issue similar to that discussed above in the categorization of the German verb *gehen* ‘walk; go’: Russian has a set of high-frequency motion verbs, based on the root *идму* ‘walk, go (on foot)’, which are clearly manner verbs when they refer to walking, but which lose a great deal of manner saliency when prefixed, in which case they take on a meaning closer to ‘go’. However, because the root largely retains a restriction against using these verbs for vehicular motion, I have counted them as manner verbs in interpreting manner and path usage in the data for this chapter. This underscores the point that low-manner languages can describe most motion events with a path verb rather than a manner verb in part because of the simple fact that they possess enough manner-neutral verbs that are semantically unconstrained from taking on path meanings. Both Bulgarian and BCS have developed a number of verb forms which indicate no manner of motion, leaving them open to develop as path verbs. Though this has not happened to any real extent in Russian, the ambiguous position of the set of motion verbs based on *идму* ‘walk, go (on foot)’ indicates one developmental path through which such a change might occur. Table 4.19 sums up the manner and path usage in all three languages, discussed in the relevant sections above.

TABLE 4.19 Comparisons among the non-Slavic novels and their Slavic translations

Language	Manner verbs by percentage	Path verbs by percentage	Verb variety coefficient
English novel ( <i>Harry Potter</i> )	48.7%	41%	54.7%
Bulgarian translation	39.2%	49.6%	60.8%
Serbian translation	41.8%	46.7%	56.6%
Russian translation	71.9%	21.9%	57.9%
German novel ( <i>Arc de Triomphe</i> )	43.7%	47.1%	42.4%
Bulgarian translation	42.9%	47.9%	42.4%
Serbian translation	19.8%	70.7%	35.3%
Russian translation	80.5%	16.8%	41.6%
Portuguese novel ( <i>O Alquimista</i> )	12.2%	62.6%	27.6%
Bulgarian translation	26.6%	69.4%	26.6%
Serbian translation	25.2%	66.1%	26.1%
Russian translation	72%	21%	52%
Turkish novel ( <i>Yeni Hayat</i> )	34.9%	59.5%	27%

Bulgarian translation	35.7%	50.8%	55.6%
Serbian translation	32.5%	57.1%	36.5%
Russian translation	74.8%	19.8%	45%

The other difference in the Slavic languages indicated by the data in this chapter and Chapter 3 is that the role of verb roots and prefixation is rather different in the three languages, with Bulgarian showing the greatest diversity. On one hand, Bulgarian shows a similar range of prefix usage in terms of the number of different prefixes: there are 14 different prefixes found in the Bulgarian translations, compared with 13 in Serbian and 16 in Russian. Thus, though Russian has slightly more prefixes, the numbers of prefixes used in these data is similar for all three languages. However, there is much greater variation in the roots onto which the prefixes are attached. In both Serbian and Russian, the most commonly prefixed root is *ići/uđmu*, cognate with Bulgarian *uđa*. Twelve of the 13 prefixes found in the Serbian data are used with *ići* in the same data, while 14 of the 16 Russian prefixes are used with *uđmu*. In comparison, Bulgarian *uđa* is used with only three different prefixes in these data. Both Russian and Serbian, in fact, have a number of other verbs which appear with a number of different prefixes, as indicated by the tables above, but Bulgarian verbs in these data never appear with more than three or four different prefixes. Though these spatial and aspectual prefixes in Bulgarian still play a strong role in the verbal system, conveying directional information much of the time, their role in verb formation is much weaker. Instead, the system relies on a greater number of verbal roots.

## CHAPTER 5: ORAL NARRATIVES

### 5.1 *FROG, WHERE ARE YOU?* AS A BASIS FOR ORAL NARRATIVE

The 1969 children's picture book *Frog, Where Are You?*, by Mercer Mayer, has been used by many linguists to elicit oral narratives. These narratives have been used to study many different linguistic features, particularly various aspects of childhood language acquisition, and the book has proven suitable for studying motion verb usage as well.

There is no print in the book at all. Rather, it consists of 24 line drawings. These scenes tell the story of a boy who puts a frog in a jar before going to bed, only to discover in the morning that the frog has escaped. The boy and his dog set off to find the frog, and have many adventures along the way. To tell the story of these adventures verbally, one must use motion verbs; the description of the same incidents by many different informants allows linguists to compare the usage of manner verbs versus path verbs between speakers of low manner, verb framed languages and speakers of high manner, satellite framed languages. Because *Frog, Where Are You?* has been used with so many languages already to test manner versus path in motion verbs, the book is a tool of particular value.

### 5.2 MANNER AND PATH IN *FROG, WHERE ARE YOU?*

One common use for the narratives based on *Frog, Where Are You?* is to test Talmy's typology of verb-framed and satellite-framed languages (Talmy 1985, 1991, 2000). As discussed in Chapter 1, verb-framed languages tend to express path of movement in the main verb in the clause (e.g., *exit, enter*), while satellite-framed languages express path in an element outside of the verb, typically a preposition or verbal prefix (e.g., *come/go in, come/go out*), leaving the main verb free to encode manner of motion. Slobin (1994, 2004, 2005, 2006) discusses the use of *Frog, Where Are You?* to study manner salience in Spanish, Hebrew, Turkish, English, German, and Russian, and makes several observations about the narrative tendencies of verb-framed languages in contrast with satellite-framed languages.

Verb-framed languages, as discussed in Chapter 1, tend to describe motion events with verbs encoding path rather than manner. While a speaker of a satellite-framed language may describe an owl coming out of its tree by saying *an owl flew out of the hole*, a speaker of a verb-framed language will tend to say *an owl exited the hole*, and indeed, may not even have the option of using a manner verb (because of the focus on boundary-crossing in this event). A co-verb encoding manner may be included in the narrative (e.g., *an owl exited the hole flying*), but rarely is. This may be because of the increased cognitive load required, or it may simply be due to a lesser focus on manner of motion among speakers of verb-framed languages. (English, for example, privileges manner, and a construction of the sort *an owl came flying out*, combining a path verb with a co-verb encoding manner, is quite common in the colloquial language.)

Although Bulgarian, like the other Slavic languages, is classified as a satellite-framed language, it does have independent path verbs for many motion events, and makes extensive use of these verbs in a wide variety of linguistic circumstances. Because of such differences, it is necessary to test Bulgarian against other Slavic languages (in this case, BCS and Russian) before drawing conclusions about lexicalization patterns in Bulgarian on the basis of patterns in other Slavic languages.

### 5.3 THE BULGARIAN NARRATIONS OF *FROG, WHERE ARE YOU?*

In 2007 I made recordings, primarily in eastern Bulgaria, of a number of speakers narrating the frog story. These Bulgarians represented the three largest ethnic groups in Bulgaria (Bulgarian, Turkish, and Roma) Of the approximately 40 narratives I recorded in Bulgarian, Turkish, and Romani, 27 are in Bulgarian. The informants were all adults, most of them native to the Târgoviște district of northeastern Bulgaria. All informants who narrated in Bulgarian were native speakers of Bulgarian. The Bulgarian informants ranged in age from their mid-20s to approximately 60. All speakers had at least a high school education, and many were employed as teachers at a local primary school. Slightly more than three quarters of the informants were female.

Informants in the Bulgarian study did not look at the book in advance, but instead narrated as they looked at each page. Because the story is readily evident from the drawings, this did not appear to cause a problem for the informants, although there was some confusion in identifying a couple of the features in the line drawings. When several informants were being interviewed at one sitting, they were first separated so that no informant would hear another informant's narrative before his or her own turn. Most informants provided very skilled narrations.

Not all speakers mention all events, or even interpret all events in the exact same way, and there is therefore enough variation that the narratives are not always directly comparable. However, there is a fair amount of conformity among the narratives, and the number of Bulgarian narratives collected, is certainly high enough to allow conclusions to be drawn concerning tendencies for motion verb usage in describing the events of this story. Section 5.3.1 describes the salient motion events mentioned by most informants; Table 5.1 summarizes the motion verbs used in these situations, and sections 5.3.2-5.3.8 give detailed analyses of each event and the corresponding verb usage, along with several illustrative examples.

### **5.3.1 The salient motion events from *Frog, Where Are You?***

The story in the book is told in 24 pictures. Both the boy and his dog can be seen in each picture, with the exception of one picture in which the dog seems to be hiding. Because the boy and dog are independent actors, there may be more than one event in each pictorial scene. The pictures span one to two pages, and each scene is delineated by a border so that it is unambiguous whether or not the illustrations on facing pages should be considered as one or two scenes. The 24 scenes present approximately 12 motion events. Not all events are equally salient—of these different events, only nine of them are consistently mentioned by most speakers, and only seven are interpreted similarly enough by most speakers to be easily comparable. The seven most easily comparable events are:

Event 1: In the picture in the book, the pet frog, which the boy has placed in the jar before going to bed, can be seen sneaking out of the jar. The boy and dog are asleep in the bed, and the moon appearing in the window indicates that it is night time. Both the position of the frog's right leg, hanging over the edge of the jar as he lifts himself out, as well as the backward glance the frog is casting towards the boy, suggest stealth.

Event 2: In the eighth picture, the boy and the dog are seen outside the boy's house, near a grove of trees. The boy's mouth is open and his hands are cupped around it in a manner that suggests that he is calling the frog. The dog's nose is in the air, apparently sniffing at a passing swarm of bees. Although this particular scene does not depict a motion event in progress, most informants interpreted the drawing to indicate that the boy and his dog are setting out to find the frog, and so they used motion verbs associated with setting out.

Event 3: The ninth picture in the book depicts the boy calling into a hole in the ground, while the dog stands on his hind legs and barks at or tries to get a beehive hanging from a tree. In the 10<sup>th</sup> scene, on the facing page, a subterranean rodent has emerged from the hole with an aggrieved expression on its face, while the boy holds his hands to nose, suggesting that he has been bitten. Informants consistently mention the animal’s emergence from the hole (although they are often dubious as to what the creature itself should be called).

Event 4: The 11<sup>th</sup> scene has two focal points: the bees beginning to exit the beehive and the boy up in a tree. Although the actual act of climbing the tree is not shown, most of the Bulgarian informants (85%) mention the act of ascent. There are few possible verbs available to describe this in Bulgarian, and they are indeed the same verbs used for Event 6 below. However, there is a slight contrast between the frequencies of the verbs used for the two events.

Event 5: The 11<sup>th</sup> scene presented the boy up in a tree, peering into a hollow in the tree; in the 12<sup>th</sup> scene, we see an owl, who seems to have been using this very hollow as a shelter. The boy is now lying on the ground below, presumably having been either frightened or physically assaulted by the owl. In the same scene, the dog flees from the now angry swarm of bees. The emergence of the owl from the hole is consistently interpreted as a major motion event of this scene.

Event 6: Scenes 13 and 14 depict the boy first standing beside a boulder, and then up on top of the same boulder, steadying himself by holding onto a branch as he calls out for the frog. Informants commonly mention the boy’s having ascended the rock as a discrete motion event.

Event 7: In the 15<sup>th</sup> picture, the boy is hanging over the head of a buck, between his antlers. (We realize that the “branch” on which the boy steadied himself in the previous scene was actually the antlers of the buck.) The following scene shows the buck heading towards the edge of an abyss of some sort with the boy on his head, while the dog runs alongside the pair.

In addition to the seven highly salient events described above, three other scenes tend to be included in the narratives. There is not enough consistency among the verbs used to describe these events to allow for comparison; however, the verbs used are of some interest, and thus these events will be mentioned as well. These events include the fifth and sixth scenes in the book, in which the boy calls out the window for the frog while the dog, who has gotten the frog’s jar stuck on his head, falls out of the window; with respect to various scenes, primarily elements from the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> drawings, in which the bees leave their hive and chase the dog; and the 17<sup>th</sup> scene, at which point the buck stops at the edge of the abyss, and the boy either falls or is thrown from his antlers, into a body of water below.

Table 5.1 below lists the verbs used for the seven primary events discussed above.

TABLE 5.1. Verb used for motion events in the Bulgarian frog story narratives

Event	Verb	English gloss	tokens	M	P	M-P	N
Event 1: <i>frog gets out of jar</i>	избягам	‘flee, escape’	3			●	
	изляза	‘come/go out, exit’	8		●		
	измъкна	‘sneak out’	6	●			
	изскоча	‘jump out; pop out’	7	●			
	скоча	‘jump’	1	●			
Event 2: <i>boy &amp; dog set out</i>	вървя	‘walk; go’	2	●			
	изляза	‘come/go out, exit’	3		●		
	отивам	‘go’	1		●		

	продължа	‘continue’	1				•
	тръгна	‘set out, leave’	19		•		
Event 3: <i>rodent emerges</i>	изляза	‘come/go out, exit’	9		•		
	изскоча	‘jump out; pop out’	10	•			
	покажа се	‘appear, come out’	7				•
Event 4: <i>boy goes up the tree</i>	кача се	‘go up; climb’	9		•		
	покатеря се	‘climb up’	6			•	
	покача се	‘go up; climb up’	6			•	
	скоча	‘jump’	1	•			
Event 5: <i>owl emerges</i>	излетя	‘fly out’	2	•			
	изляза	‘come/go out, exit’	9		•		
	изскоча	‘jump out; pop out’	11	•			
	покажа се	‘appear, come out’	1				•
Event 6: <i>boy gets onto rock</i>	изкачвам се	‘climb’	1			•	
	кача се	‘go up; climb’	15		•		
	покатеря се	‘climb up’	5			•	
	покача се	‘go up; climb up’	2			•	
Event 7: <i>deer runs away, carrying boy</i>	(за)почна да бягам	‘begin to run’	3	•			
	затичам	‘begin to run’	1	•			
	побягам/побягна	‘begin to run’	6	•			
	понеса	‘carry’	5	•			
	продължа да бягам	‘continue to run’	1	•			
	тръгна да бягам	‘set out at a run’	3		•		
	търтя да бягам	‘dash off at a run’	1	•			
	хукна	‘dart off, rush off’	1			•	
	хукна да бягам	‘dart off at a run’	6			•	
	(за)почна да бягам	‘begin to run’	3	•			
	тичам	‘run’	1	•			
затичам	‘begin to run’	1	•				

As seen in Table 5.1, there is some variation in the motion verb usage for each event; most of the verbs are manner verbs, but a few path verbs are widely used as well. Each event is discussed below, and illustrated by examples.

### 5.3.2 Event 1: *The frog escapes from the jar*

The first motion event in the narration is invariably the frog’s escape from his glass prison. As described in 5.3.1, his escape is depicted in such a way that it readily invites a manner interpretation from speakers inclined to use manner verbs of motion. Özçalışkan and Slobin record the following verbs used by English speakers to describe this scene: the frog “runs away, jumps out, hops out, climbs out, crawls out, creeps out, slips out, sneaks out, steps out, tiptoes out, escapes” (Özçalışkan and Slobin 2003: 263). The English path verb *exit*, though not ungrammatical, would be highly unnatural in this narration.

A low manner, verb-framed language such as Turkish can use manner verbs to describe this scene, but can use path verbs with an equal or greater felicity. A typical example occurs in the following narration from Berman and Slobin (1994: 626):

- (1) Kurbağa kavanoz-dan dışarı çıkmış  
 frog jar-ABL outside go.out-PAST  
*The frog exited the jar.*

Özçalışkan and Slobin encountered manner verbs as well in the narrations of this scene, but the manner verbs used were far fewer in number than their English counterparts: “*kurbağa: kaçıyor, atlıyor, tırmanır, sıyrılır* ‘the frog flees, jumps, climbs up, sneaks off’ (Özçalışkan and 2003: 263). Though they do not specify how often manner verbs were used rather than path verbs for this scene in particular, they calculate the percentage of manner verbs used in Turkish frog stories at 30%, versus 54% for English frog stories. Path verbs predominate in the Turkish narrations in their study, at 62%, versus only 30% for English. (English shows slightly more neutral verbs, however: 15%, as opposed to 7% in Turkish.)

The Bulgarian data with respect to this event include a higher number of manner verbs than path verbs; however, the path verb *излизам/изляза* ‘exit’ was used eight times, making it more frequent, by one token, than any individual manner verb<sup>81</sup>. The majority of the verbs chosen contained the prefixed with *из-*, which usually indicates motion out of a place. Here are several examples from the narratives:

- (2) жабата изскочила от буркана  
 frog-DEF out-jump.P.REN.3SG from jar-DEF  
*The frog hopped out of the jar.*
- (3) [жабата] измъкнала от буркана и избягала незнайно къде  
 frog-DEF out-sneak.P.REN.3SG from jar-DEF and flee.P.REN.3SG unknown where  
*[The frog] sneaked out of the jar and fled to who knows where.*
- (4) на жабока му омръзило да стои в буркан, и  
 to frog-DEF.3SG him tire.P.REN.3SG comp stand.PRS.3SG in jar and  
 скочил на свобода  
 jump.P.REN.3SG to freedom  
*The frog got tired of staying in a jar, and jumped to freedom.*
- (5) през нощта палавата жаба излязла тайно от буркана  
 through night.DEF mischievous.DEF frog exit.P.REN.3SG secretly from jar-DEF  
*During the night, the mischievous frog secretly exited the jar.*

These four examples show several possibilities used to describe the motion event EXIT in Bulgarian; they utilize three different manner verbs and one path verb.

Examples (2) and (3) are typical manner verbs expressing the moment of exit. (The picture itself does necessarily suggest jumping or hopping; verb choices encoding HOP may be

<sup>81</sup> One example does not refer to the specific event of the frog exiting the jar on this evening, but rather, describes the boy’s surprise at finding the jar empty, because “обикновено жабата не *излизала* от буркана” ‘usually the frog didn’t exit from the jar’.

conditioned by the species of the animal which performs the action.) These two examples contain manner verbs with a path prefix. Example (4), by contrast, has an unprefixated manner verb. Here, the emphasis is not on whence the frog comes, but on his destination: “to freedom.”

Eight of 27 informants used the path verb *изляза* ‘exit’. As the example shows, the use of a motion verb denoting path, rather than a more descriptive manner verb, does not indicate that the informant was simplifying the narrative or avoiding description in any way—the frog itself is described (‘mischievous’), and the act of exiting is described with the adverb *secretly*, making this scene of the narrative relatively rich in description. This example, along with the seven other tokens of *изляза* used by other informants to describe this scene, indicates that *изляза* is a common, pragmatically neutral choice used to describe movement out of a place.

Although the Bulgarian informants employed manner verbs more frequently than path verbs for this scene, verb usage in this scene shows clear similarities with that in the Turkish frog stories described above. The variety of Bulgarian manner verbs used in these narratives was somewhat greater than that of the Turkish manner verbs, but the path verb *изляза* ‘exit’ is very much like the Turkish verb *çıkma* ‘exit’. The significant structural difference between the two verbs is that the Bulgarian verb has a path prefix; however, the root of the Bulgarian verb, *-ляза*, is not an independent form, and no longer carries any meaning (other than that of neutralized, general motion), and so the prefix *из-* cannot be considered a satellite form.

Though the prefix of *изляза* ‘exit’ can be considered fused to the no longer independent root, the same cannot be said of the other two verbs most commonly used for this event, *измъкна се* ‘sneak out’ (six tokens) and *изскоча* ‘jump out’ (seven tokens). However, even with these two verbs, which are also found in unprefixated manner verb forms, the prefix adds more semantically than simply path—the sum of the whole is greater than the parts. The verb *изскоча* may convey the literal meaning ‘jump out’ implied by the concatenation of prefix plus root, but it can also mean ‘pop out’ or ‘exit quickly, unexpectedly’, as will be seen in 5.3.4 and 5.3.5. The verb *измъкна се* ‘sneak out’ has an element of stealth not conveyed by the unprefixated form of the verb, which means ‘drag, trudge’. The other verb used with some regularity to describe this event, *избягам* ‘flee, escape’ also has a meaning not present in the literal meaning of the root (*бягам* ‘run’) in its prefixated form.

### 5.3.3 Event 2: *The boy and dog set out to search for the frog*

The second motion event described by most informants is the act of setting off to go look for the frog. Some may question whether or not this act is indeed a motion event, according to classifications of motion event that consider path an obligatory component of motion-event expressions (cf. Slobin 1994, etc.). Though the act of leaving or setting out does not require an explicit path, however, there is nevertheless a path implied, even if it is not specified. Furthermore, the verb most often chosen by Bulgarian informants to describe this event is *тръгна* ‘set out, leave’, which can take an explicit path, as seen in (6):

- (6) Решили                    двамата    да    тръгнат                    през    гората    и  
 decide.P.REN.3PL two-DEF COMP set.out.P.PRS.3PL through forest.DEF and  
       да    търсят                    жабата  
       COMP search.for.PRS.3PL frog-DEF  
*The two of them decided to set out through the woods and to look for the frog.*

The verb *тръгна* was also used in combination with other verbs, such as *вървя*, as seen in (7), or as a precedent to the manner verb supplementing the act of setting out, as seen in (8).

- (7) Тръгнали те, вървяли, вървяли, вървяли, и  
 set.out.P.REN.3PL they walk.REN.3PL walk.REN.3PL walk.REN.3PL and  
 стигнали до гората  
 reach.P.REN.3PL until forest-DEF  
*They set out, and they walked and walked and walked, and reached the forest.*

- (8) Хванало кучето в ръце и тръгнало да търси  
 take.P.REN.3SG dog-DEF in hand and set.out.P.REN.3SG COMP search.for.PRS.3SG  
 жабока... Ходили из полето  
 toad-def walk.REN.3PL around field-DEF  
*He took the dog in hand and set off to search for the toad. They walked through the field.*

The reason this event is seldom mentioned in frog-story research focused on verb-framed and satellite-framed languages is because there is no boundary-crossing situation, and one distinction of verb-framed languages is that they often preclude manner verbs for boundary-crossing events. This event is discussed here, however, because of the way in which it illustrates how Slavic verb choices may be either fundamentally the same from one Slavic language to the next, or quite different. For example, the verb used in most cases in Bulgarian, *тръгна* (with 19 tokens), is not found as a motion verb in Russian or BCS, and thus its widespread use in Bulgarian represents a significant lexical shift. Moreover, the frequent usage of the verb *тръгна* in oral narratives mirrors its frequent use in the literary language, an equivalence not seen in all of the high-frequency verbs from the literary data discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

The verb used with the second greatest frequency to express the departure of the boy and the dog to look for the frog is *изляза* ‘exit, go out’. One of the three instances of *изляза* ‘exit, go out’ could refer to the exit from the house required for the search (although, in fact, the boy and dog are already outside when they decide to set off), but the other two seem clearly to refer to the act of setting out, as in (9):

- (9) излязоха на полето близо до гората  
 exit.P.AOR.3PL on field-DEF near by forest-DEF  
*They went out in the field near the forest.*

The fact of the boy and dog setting out on their search was perhaps the most consistently mentioned event in the story for Bulgarian informants, with 96.2% of the participants describing the the event, and 70.3% of them using the same verb, *тръгна*, each time. Thus, although this event may not prove highly salient as a motion event for speakers of some languages, the fact of setting out or departure was highly salient for Bulgarian speakers.

### 5.3.4 Event 3: *The gopher-like creature comes out of the hole*

The third motion event was also highly salient for the Bulgarian informants. It consists of two pictures in sequence, the first showing a hole in the ground, and the second showing an animal halfway out of the same hole. The boy appears to have been either surprised or injured by the creature. The animal's emergence from its den, of course, is the event of interest. Of the 27 Bulgarian informants, 25 (92.6%) mentioned this event; one even mentioned it twice, first saying that the frog came out of the hole, correcting herself to state, using a different verb, that a mouse had come out. Curiously enough, many Serbian informants overlooked this event altogether.

As indicated in Table 5.1, the rodent's emergence was described primarily by two verbs, *изляза* 'exit' and *изскоча* 'jump out; pop out'. The verb *изляза*<sup>82</sup> encodes only the path, while *изскоча* encodes manner in the form of suddenness. (Although *изскоча* literally means 'jump out', it is often used to indicate sudden emergence, and is better translated as 'pop out' in such instances; this meaning, common in Russian as well, will come up again in 5.3.5. Below are two examples of each verb, illustrating the fact that there is no contextual difference in usage between the manner verb and the path verb. (It should be noted as well that no animal closely matching the drawing in the book lives in Bulgaria, so the informants' taxonomy varied from one account to another.)

(10) в този момент от дупката изскочил лалугер  
 in this moment from hole.DEF out-jump.P.REN.3SG groundhog  
*At that moment, out of the hole popped a groundhog.*

(11) отвътре изскочил един мишок  
 from.inside out-jump.P.REN.3SG one big.mouse  
*A big mouse popped out from within.*

(12) един плъх излязъл от земята  
 one rat exit.P.REN.3SG from ground.DEF  
*A rat came out of the ground.*

(13) И като излязла къртицата момчето се оплашило  
 and as exit.P.REN.3SG mole.DEF boy.DEF REFL frighten.P.REN.3SG  
*And when the mole came out, the boy was frightened.*

(14) от дупката се показва къртица  
 from hole.DEF REFL show.P.AOR.3SG mole  
*From the hole, a mole appeared.*

Example (14) contains the verb *покажа се* 'appear'. While *покажа се* is not a true motion verb, it is used to express sudden appearance, which implies (rather than describing) a motion event. Moreover, because *покажа се* can be used (as above) in combination with a path of motion, it functions very much like that of a true motion verb. Its relative frequency in

<sup>82</sup> Note too that *изляза* 'exit' is constructed on the same root and with the equivalent prefix as Russian *вылезть* 'crawl out, climb out', or colloquially 'get out'; but the Russian verb still retains the idea of CRAWL or CLIMB. Thus, even when Russian informants use the cognate form of this verb in the same scene, the meaning is different, because the Russian verb, unlike the Bulgarian, is a manner verb. For a full discussion of *излизам/изляза*, see 2.6.1.

description of motion events is seen by the fact that *покажа се* is used seven times for this event (representing 27% of all tokens).

There was not much motion verb variation in depictions of this scene; this may be one reason why the scene typically receives little discussion. Even in English, the language with the highest manner of motion, there are not many likely different ways to describe an animal coming out of its hole, and the path verb *come* might be the most common choice there as well. In this sense, then, the high frequency of *изляза* alongside *изскоча* does not reveal much. However, (15) and (16),<sup>83</sup> taken from an early 20<sup>th</sup> century book of folk tales (Arnaudov 1938), show similar distributions of *изляза* and *изскоча*, in a situation in which a manner-rich language might be expected to make higher use of manner. This suggests equal ease in Bulgarian with path and manner verbs, at least in some circumstances.

(15) Излязъл дяволът и запитал бабата  
 exit.P.REN.3SG devil-DEF and ask.P.REN.3SG grandmother-DEF  
*The devil came out and asked the grandmother...*

(16) Дяволът, като си знаел името, изкокнал из кладенеца  
 devil-DEF as REFL know.REN.3SG name-DEF jump.P.REN.3SG from well-DEF  
*The devil, since he knew his name, jumped out of the well.*<sup>84</sup>

### 5.3.5 Events 4 and 6: *Climbing up the tree or onto the rock*

Both the fourth and sixth events of the story involve climbing, and basically the same set of verbs were used for each event, only with different frequency distributions. The two verbs generally used for vertical motion upwards are *качвам се/кача се* and *катеря се* (both of which can be prefixed with *из-* and *по-*; when used with these verbs, *из-* does not have the spatial meaning seen in earlier examples, but denotes thoroughness or completion of the action). The verb *катеря се* means ‘climb’ (and even lends its name to that most proficient of tree climbers, the squirrel: *катеричка*), while *качвам се/кача се* is usually translated as ‘go up’; in Bulgarian, however, *качвам се/кача се* is often used where an English speaker would use ‘climb’. (Both of these verbs are discussed at length in 2.7.2 and 2.7.3.) Because these two verbs (and prefixed forms thereof) were the main verbs used for both climbing events, they will both be discussed in this section for ease of comparison. Frequencies will be compared in Table 5.2 below, at the end of Section 5.3.5.

The fourth event is illustrated by a drawing of the boy sitting on a tree branch, looking into a hollow in the tree. Most of the Bulgarian informants described this in terms of a climbing event, using variations on one of two verbs, *(но)качвам се/(но)кача се* ‘go up; climb’ or *(но)катервам се/(но)катеря се* ‘climb’; one informant used *скача*, the perfective verb in the pair *скачам/скача* ‘jump’, thinking that the boy had jumped up in the tree in his hurry to get away from the bees on the facing page. Examples of each verb are given below.

(17) малкото момченце се качило на дървото  
 little-DEF boy-DIM REFL go.up.P.REN.3SG on tree-DEF  
*The little boy went up in the tree.*

<sup>83</sup> These examples are from the story “Дяволът и ученикът му,” pages 42 and 43.

<sup>84</sup> The only other instance of characters coming out of wells in the story occurs in the sentence following this one, which reads, “като чуло гласа на майка си, и то излязло” ‘when [the child] heard his mother’s voice, he too exited’. For this speaker, at least, the path verb seems more readily available than the manner verb.

- (18) Петъо се покачил на дървото  
 Petjo refl climb.P.REN.3SG on tree-DEF  
*Petjo climbed up the tree.*
- (19) Гого се покатери на едно дърво  
 Gogo REFL climb.P.PRS.3SG in one tree  
*Gogo climbed up a tree.*
- (20) скочило да се скрие в хралупата  
 jump.P.REN.3SG COMP REFL hide.P.PRS.3SG in tree.hole-DEF  
*[He] jumped to hide in the tree hole.*

The choices of verbs above are interesting for two reasons. First, they show that even for an event which requires an overt climbing action, such as that conveyed by the English verb *climb* or the Bulgarian verb *(но)катервам се/(но)катеря се*, Bulgarians are likely to use the more manner-neutral verb *качвам се/кача се*—this verb was used nine times by informants. The prefixed form *покачвам се/покача се* ‘go up; climb up’ implies more the sense of English *climb* than *качвам се/кача се*, though the difference between the two forms is not strong; this form was used six times. The verb *(но)катервам се/(но)катеря се* ‘climb’ conveys the physical aspect of climbing, the clambering action, and was used (in its prefixed form *покатеря се*) six times. There is thus a slight contrast with the usage in the description of Event 6, when the boy gets up on top of a rock to achieve a better vantage point from which to search for his frog.

In Event 6, the boy has fled from the owl, and arrives at a boulder. In the next picture, the owl has receded into the background, and the boy is standing atop the rock, calling for his frog. Most of the Bulgarian informants (81.5%) mentioned the ascent onto the rock; nevertheless, this event was still mentioned less frequently than the previously discussed event, Event 4, climbing the tree.

For Bulgarian informants describing the boy’s ascent of the rock, the unprefixd verb *качвам се/кача се* ‘go up’ (along with some prefixed variations thereof) was the most common verb of choice, used 60.9% of the time. This verb encodes path over manner, but may still suggest some degree of effort (in contrast to a verb encoding only path, such as *издигам се* ‘rise’). The verb *качвам се/кача се* was also used, but with much lower frequency; it denotes motion upwards that is effortless on the part of the subject as well, such as *качвам се/кача се с асансьор* ‘go up by elevator’. The prefixed forms *покачвам се/покача се* and *изкачвам се/изкача се* may suggest manner (in the form of effort) to a greater degree than the unprefixd forms. These two verbs accounted for 9% and 4.5% of the tokens, respectively. The verb *катеря се* ‘climb’, in its prefixed form *покатеря се*, was used five times to describe this event, representing 22.7% of all tokens.

The following examples describe the boy’s ascent onto the rock using the verbs *кача се* ‘go up’, its prefixed form *покача се*, and the verb *покатеря се* ‘climb’.

- (25) Качило се на един камък  
 go.up.P.REN.3SG REFL on one rock  
*He got up on a rock.*

- (26) Бягало момчето и стигнало до едно хълмче ... и  
 run.REN.3SG BOY-DEF and reach.P.REN.3SG until one hill-DIM and  
 се покачило на него  
 REFL climb.up.P.REN.3SG on it  
*The boy ran and reached a small hill ... and he climbed up on it.*
- (27) реши да се покатери на скалата  
 decide.P.AOR.3SG COMP REFL climb.P.PRS.3SG on rock-DEF  
*He decided to climb/clamber onto the rock.*

The unprefixd form of the verb *качвам се/кача се* is more common than the prefixed forms, both in the oral narratives and in Bulgarian in general. It is perhaps for this reason that the prefixed forms seem more marked. The prefixed forms emphasize the completion of the action and the goal of the verb; perhaps because of this, the possibility of completion seems more tenuous, and thus the marked completion more of an achievement. It is this markedness that lends the appearance of manner (+ effort) to an act which could be interpreted as exclusively path oriented. In both events of the story of the story events which depict climbing, unprefixd *качвам се/кача се* is most often the verb of choice. The fact that it is used more often in the event of climbing the rock than the tree; this may be because the rock is not particularly high, and thus the motor activity associated with CLIMB is less salient. However, the verb that best expresses the motor activity inherent in climbing, *покатервам се/покатеря се*, is used only slightly more often when describing the ascent into the tree than the ascent onto the rock. The prefixed form of *качвам се/кача се*, *покачвам се/покача се*, is clearly much more preferred for climbing the tree, compared with its use for climbing the rock; this supports the notion that the prefixed form carries a great connotation of manner than the unprefixd form.

TABLE 5.2. Comparative usage of Bulgarian verbs meaning ASCEND/CLIMB

Verb of ascent		tree climbing	rock climbing
качвам се/кача се	'go up'	40.9%	65.2%
покачвам се/покача се	'go up; climb'	27.3%	8.7%
изкачвам се/изкача се	'go up; climb'	--	4.3%
покатервам се/покатеря се	'climb'	27.3%	21.7%

### 5.3.6 Event 5: *The owl comes out of its hole*

This fifth event, that of the owl emerging from a hole in the tree, has been much discussed in the literature, perhaps more so than any other event in the story. Like the motion event discussed in 5.3.4 (the gopher coming out of its burrow), this episode involves a boundary-crossing event. But because the subject here is a bird that flies, there are more manner verbs readily available to describe the event.

Despite the expectation that the default mode of locomotion for a prototypical bird will generally be flight, most of the Bulgarian informants focused on the element of suddenness in the owl's emergence from within the tree, describing this event with the verb *изскоча* 'jump out; pop out' (45.8% of all tokens). Of the 23 informants who mentioned the owl's emergence, only two employed the verb *излетя* 'fly out' (8.3% of all tokens)—far fewer than those informants using the path verb *изляза* 'exit', which was used nine times (37.5%); one informant used both of these verbs, as seen in (24). Reasons for this choice are not limited to manner versus path

choices in Bulgarian, however; the picture in question depicts the owl with its wings spread wide as though for flight, but possibly still perched on the tree from which it emerged—the unclarity of the two-dimensional line drawing makes it difficult to determine whether the owl is, indeed, in flight. Nevertheless, as comparisons with Serbian and Russian data below will make clear, Bulgarian and Serbian informants were far less likely to use a verb for FLY in their narratives than Russian speakers. Several examples from the informants follow:

- (21) от хралупата излетял един бухал  
 from tree.hollow-DEF out-fly.P.REN.3SG one owl  
*An owl flew out of the tree hollow.*
- (22) от хралупата изскочила една сова  
 from tree.hollow-DEF out-jump.P.REN.3SG one owl  
*An owl popped out of the tree hollow.*
- (23) оттам изведнъж излезе един бухал и размаха своите криле  
 from.there suddenly exit.P.AOR.3SG one owl and flap.P.AOR.3SG its-DEF wings  
*An owl suddenly came out of there and flapped its wings.*
- (24) оттам излезе ношната птица бухал; тя излетя от  
 from.there exit.P.AOR.3SG night-DEF bird owl she out-fly.P.AOR.3SG from  
 хралупата  
 tree.hole-def  
*The night bird, the owl, came out of there; it flew out of the tree hole.*

Although the final example, (24), uses a verb cognate to the Russian *вылазить/вылезть* ‘crawl/climb out’ (also used by a Russian speaker, and discussed in that section), it must be re-emphasized that the Bulgarian cognate has no sense of CRAWL or CLIMB—or, indeed, of any particular sort of motion.

As with the emergence of the gopher from its hole, the verb *покажа се* ‘appear’ is used here, but only once. Additionally, several informants acknowledged the appearance of the owl without indicating motion at all, simply by stating the presence of the owl (e.g., *А в самото дърво се намирал бухал* ‘and in that very tree there was an owl’). Failure to mention the owl’s sudden appearance was relatively rare among the Bulgarian or Russian informants, but somewhat more prevalent among the Serbian informants.

### 5.3.7 Event 7: *The deer runs off with the boy*

The final motion event of the story described by most informants is that of the deer running off with the boy on his antlers. There are two common ways to talk about this—either the deer’s locomotion itself is described (*the deer ran*, etc.), or the transport of the boy is emphasized (*the deer carried the boy*). This description tends to be more complicated because of the concurrent actions depicted, and many informants described this scene with more than one verb. The use of multiple verbs in the examples means that these descriptions show greater variation; for this reason, a greater number of examples will be given below.

(28) Еленът хукнал да бяга, заедно с момченцето  
 deer-DEF dart.OFF.P.REN.3SG COMP run.PRS.3SG together with boy-DIM-DEF  
*The deer darted off at a run, together with the little boy.*

(29) Елена се изплашил и тръгнал да бяга.  
 deer-DEF REFL scare.P.REN.3SG and set.off.P.REN.3SG COMP run.PRS.3SG  
 Бягал бягал и кучето тръгнало след детето  
 run.REN.3SG run.REN.3SG and dog-DEF set.off.P.REN.3SG after child-DEF  
*The deer took fright and set off at a run. He ran and ran, and the dog set off after the child.*

(30) И елена като видял, че стършелите ги нападнали,  
 and deer-DEF as see.P.REN.3SG SUB hornets-DEF them attack.P.REN.3PL  
 тръгнал да бяга, и ги закарала  
 set.off.P.REN.3SG COMP run.PRS.3SG and them take.P.REN.3SG  
 до едно езеро  
 until one lake  
*And when the deer saw that hornets were attacking them, he set off at a run. And he took them up to a lake.*

Each of the three examples above uses the verb *бягам* ‘run’ to describe the movement of the deer, but each also precedes the verb with a co-verb indicating the inception of the motion, a common tactic among the Bulgarian informants (utilized, in various forms, by 13 of the 23 informants). Bulgarian, like other Slavic languages, has the ability to express a similar idea with an inceptive prefix on the verb, and the verbs *побягам* ‘begin to run; run for a short time’ and *затичам* ‘begin to run’ were both used (six times and once, respectively), but this conveys the inception of action less overtly and less descriptively than the combination of another verb plus *бягам*. Bulgarian usage also differs slightly from that of Russian and BCS with respect to the use of two verbs rather than one prefixed verb. In (29) and (30), the co-verb of *бягам* is the path verb *тръгна* ‘set off; leave’, which combines path and manner, while in (28), a verb expressing both path and manner (*хукна* ‘dart off’) is combined with the pure manner verb *бягам*. These examples show the importance of both manner and path for Bulgarian speakers. Furthermore, (25) has the additional element of *закарам* ‘take; lead; drive’. This example makes it explicit that the boy is riding the deer, adding an additional manner element to the utterance.

In (31) and (32) this additional element is presented as the main verb, *понеса* ‘carry along’. However, this verb expresses less manner than *закарам*—while *закарам* explicitly emphasizes the element of transportation (it is derived from the root *карам* ‘drive’), the verb *понеса* is less specific as to how the object is carried. In these two examples, *понеса* used in conjunction with an adverbial; in (31) it is a simple adverbial phrase (‘with great speed’), while in (32) it is the active particle ‘running’, a subordinated verbal form which further elaborates manner.

(31) един хубав елен, който го понесъл със голяма скорост  
 one pretty deer who him carry.P.REN.3SG with large speed  
 към брега на едно блато  
 towards bank-DEF of one swamp  
*... a pretty deer, who carried him with great speed towards the bank of a swamp.*

- (32) ... се появи елен, който закачи момченцето на своите рога,  
 REFL appear.P.AOR.3SG deer who lift.P.AOR.3SG boy-DIM-DEF on his-DEF antlers  
 и го понесе напред тичайки  
 and him carry.P.AOR.3SG ahead run.PTCP  
*A deer appeared, who lifted the boy up onto its antlers, and carried him ahead running.*

### 5.3.8 Other motion events

The six motion events described above are the most salient for the largest number of informants, but several other events were described often enough to warrant some discussion. Some of these events are interesting because, like several of the events described above, the informants have the choice of using either manner or path verbs, and both types of verb appear in descriptions of the scene. Others may be interesting for other reasons, which will be discussed along with the event. The events will be discussed, whenever possible, in the order in which they appear in the story.

The first event is the departure of the boy and his dog through the window. It is seen clearly that the dog falls, but the boy's descent from the window to the ground below is not pictured. The most interesting feature of the way informants describe this event is the lack of prefixed motion verbs indicating motion out of a place (this will be contrasted with Serbian and Russian in 5.4.8 and 5.5.8 below). For example, both (33) and (34) describe the exit through the window using unprefixed manner verbs:

- (33) скочили през прозореца  
 jump.P.REN.3PL through window-DEF  
*They jumped through the window.*

- (34) кучето падна от него, на земята .... момчето  
 dog-DEF fall.P.AOR.3SG from it on ground-DEF boy-DEF  
 слезе долу  
 descend.P.AOR.3SG below  
*The dog fell from it [the window], onto the ground ... The boy went down.*

In (34) the informant described the boy's descent using not only the unprefixed verb *падна* 'fall' without a path satellite on the verb (only the preposition *от* 'from' before the pronoun replacing 'window'), but also the path verb *сляза* 'descend'. In (35) the verb *падна* is used without a prefix in the same context, but it is also modified with the adverbial participle *бягайки* 'running'. There is a deictic prefix in the utterance, however, on the verb *тичам* (a synonym for *бягам* 'run'):

- (35) И бягайки, паднало от прозореца ... момченцето бързо се  
 and run.PTCP fall.P.REN.3SG from window-DEF boy-DIM-DEF quickly REFL  
 притичало  
 come-run.P.REN.3SG  
*And running, [the dog] fell from the window. The boy quickly came running.*

The deictic prefix in (35) can indicate more than one directional path, since the idea of COME is actually expressed by the combination of the prefix and the reflexive pronoun; this

usage is often found in the expression *притичвам се на помощ* ‘come to [someone’s] aid’. Furthermore, the prefixed form of the verb, particularly when used reflexively, does not necessarily imply literal running, but rather the idea of making haste (as when coming to help someone in need).

The fact that original manner verbs change when prefixed may be a factor in the prevalence of unprefixed forms of certain verbs in certain situations, as illustrated in (33). Thus, while *скоча* means ‘jump’, *изскоча* often does not mean ‘jump out of’ in the literal sense of jumping from an enclosed place. Instead, it indicates suddenness of motion, so that Bulgarian speakers use *скачам/скоча* in its unprefixed form when speaking of jumping out of, for example, a window. This explains the usage of *скачили през прозореца* ‘they jumped through the window’ above.<sup>85</sup>

The next event is in fact a series of events which are set in motion when the dog begins barking at the beehive. This he does while the boy is looking in the gopher hole, after which the bees take notice of him and begin to chase him. This action is carried out over several scenes. In fact, because the action is not pictured in one discrete scene, informants tend to mention the bees at different points, and thus emphasize different details. Interestingly, though, only four informants used a verb explicitly meaning FLY (*летя* ‘fly’ or a form thereof, or *разхвърча се* ‘fly away, scatter’) to describe the movement of the bees. For example:

- (36) кошера, от който излетели пчеличките  
hive-DEF from which out-fly.P.REN.3PL bees-DIM-DEF  
... *the beehive, out of which flew the little bees.*

The other informants used various motion verbs. A common choice was *гоня* ‘chase’. It is seen in (37) used in combination with the path verb *тръгна* ‘set out; leave’; it is used alone in other oral narratives not shown here.

- (37) кучето бутнало кошера и пчелите избягали, и  
dog-DEF push.P.REN.3SG hive-DEF and bees-DEF escape.P.REN.3PL and  
тръгнали да гонят детето и кученцето  
set.out.P.REN.3PL COMP chase.PRS.3PL child-DEF and dog-DIM-DEF  
*The dog pushed the hive and the bees fled, and set out to chase the child and the little dog.*

Here is another combination of verbs, this time a motion verb showing both manner and path combined with a non-motion verb:

- (38) роякът пчели които са хукнали да жият кученцето  
swarm-DEF bees which be.PRS.3PL dart.off.PTCP COMP sting.PRS.3PL dog-DIM-DEF  
... *the swarm of bees, which darted off to sting the little dog.*

By contrast, another informant describes the movement of the bees by means of the generic EXIT verb seen in so many other examples (it also suggests the common difficulty

<sup>85</sup> Lest it seem that the use of an unprefixed verb may be conditioned here by the preposition *през*, which is often used for motion over an enclosure, such as a fence or the railing of a balcony, it should be noted that the expression *скачам/скоча от прозорец* ‘jump **from/out of** a window’ is also frequently used.

informants from other cultural backgrounds often have in identifying the beehive drawn in the book):

- (39) нещо интересно, което виси на едно дърво и от него  
 something interesting which hang.PRS.3SG on one tree and from it  
 излизали пчели  
 exit.I.REN.3PL bees  
*... something interesting which is hanging on a tree, and from it bees comes out.*

The next event to be discussed concerns the moment when the running deer stops suddenly at the edge of a cliff, and the force of inertia throws the boy from the deer's antlers and into the water below. Verb-framed languages do not stack paths the way I did in the previous sentence: *from the deer's antlers and into the water*, because each path element is shown within the verb itself. Because each segment requires a separate motion verb in verb-framed language, fewer path segments are likely to be mentioned due to the increased cognitive load required. Satellite-framed languages whose path satellites consist of inseparable prefixes, however, are slightly more constrained than other satellite-framed languages.

Slobin (1997, 2004) provides an extensive discussion of this scene of the book in terms of path segmentation, and the differences in the narrative descriptions of this scene between speakers of path-framed languages and satellite-framed languages. He has found that there were an average of 3 path segmentations for this event among speakers of Germanic languages and 2.8 path segmentations among speakers of several Slavic languages (Russian, Polish, and Serbo-Croatian): namely, 86% of the Germanic language speakers used at least three path segments in this description, while 76% of Slavic speakers used at least three path segments. In contrast, speakers of the verb-framed languages studied used fewer path segments on average, and far fewer of them used at least three path segments: the Romance speakers used an average of 2.1 segments, and Hebrew speakers, two segments; in both groups, only 30% of the informants used at least three segments (Slobin 2004, 236-237).

Analyzing the segmentation patterns for the Bulgarian narratives is not straightforward. Path stacking, however, is not seen much; on one hand, this might be expected because of the role of inseparable prefixes in path production in Bulgarian; on the other hand, many of the verbs involved in the descriptions do not have path prefixes, and path is shown instead with prepositions only. Here are some typical examples selected from the oral narratives:

- (40) оттам Митко падна със всичка сила долу в блатото;  
 from-there Mitko fall.P.AOR.3SG with all force below in marsh-DEF  
*Mitko fell with full force down into the marsh;*

след него полетя и кучето ...  
 after him fly.off.P.AOR.3SG and dog-DEF  
*and the dog flew after him.*

цопнаха момчето и кучето във блатото  
 plop.P.AOR.3PL boy-DEF and dog-DEF in marsh-DEF  
*The boy and the dog plopped into the marsh.*

- (41) спрял се елена на една скала  
 stop.P.REN.3SG REFL deer-DEF at one cliff  
*The deer stopped at a cliff;*

момченцето и кученцето паднали в водата  
 boy-DIM-DEF and dog-DIM-DEF fall.P.REN.3PL in water-DEF  
*the little boy and the little dog fell in the water.*

In these examples, the tendency is for each path segment to contain a verb, much as would be expected in a verb-framed language. (Even in verb-framed languages, however, this is only a tendency, and is mitigated by structural considerations in each language; verb-framed languages with cases like the ablative, such as Turkish, for example, can more easily combine more than one path.) Examples (42) and (43) are rather similar. Two more examples, both using the verb *литна* ‘fly’ (*pf.*) or its prefixed form *политна* ‘fly off’, are similar; however, only (42) combines the verb with a path in a single segment, whereas (43) breaks this journey into two segments, with two separate verbs.

(42) момченцето литнало в бездната на долу  
 boy-DIM-DEF fly.P.REN.3SG in abyss-DEF to below  
*The little boy flew into the abyss below.*

(43) а момчето полита и пада във реката  
 and boy-DEF fly.OFF.I.PRS.3SG and fall.I.PRS.3SG in river-DEF  
*And the boy flies off and falls in the river.*

As the story comes to its conclusion, the boy and the dog have only to get out of the water, find the fugitive frog, and head home. The act of getting out of the water was described by a large number of the Bulgarian informants (88.9%), some of whom used manner verbs, and others of whom used path verbs. Eight informants (33.3% of those mentioning the event) described the motion in the water using the verb meaning SWIM, a figure demonstrating that while such a verb is a natural choice, it is not the most common. For an example of usage, see (45), also of interest because it demonstrates both unprefixes and prefixed forms of the verb.

(45) плували и стигнали до един дънер; хванали се  
 swim.REN.3PL and reach.P.REN.3PL up.to one log catch.P.REN.3PL REFL  
 за дънера, и така изплували до брега  
 by log-DEF and so out-swim.P.REN.3PL until bank-DEF  
*They swam and reached a log; they grabbed the log, and in this way swam out onto the bank.*

Other informants used path verbs for the motion in or emergence from the water; of these, *излизам/излиза* ‘exit’, as in (46) is the more common by far.

(46) водата била много плитка и двамата щастливо излизат  
 water-DEF be.REN.3SG very shallow and two-DEF happily exit.I.PRS.3PL  
 на другия бряг  
 on other-DEF bank  
*The water was very shallow and the two of them happily exit on the other bank.*

- (47) и двамата пълзешком се измъкнаха от блатото  
 and two-DEF crawl.PTCP REFL out-drag.P.AOR.3PL from marsh-DEF  
*And the two, crawling, dragged themselves out of the marsh.*

Like the verb for SWIM (in its various prefixed and unprefixed forms), the verb for EXIT (*излизам/излиза*) was used eight times. Often, descriptions of this event included more than one verb. For instance, one tactic was to describe the acts of getting to the bank and then getting out were separately; another was to describe the actions of the boy and dog separately. Here are examples of each type of description:

- (48) те изплували и излезли на брега  
 they out-swim.P.REN.3PL and exit.P.REN.3SG on bank-DEF  
*They swam out and exited on the bank.*

- (49) приближил се до едно съборено дърво  
 approach.P.REN.3SG REFL up.to one fallen tree  
 ... кученцето, което плувало зад него  
 ... dog-DIM-DEF who swim.I.REN.3SG after him  
*[The boy] approached a fallen log. ...the dog, who swam after him...*

The end of story is finally reached when the boy takes his frog (or one of his frog's offspring—the ending is ambiguous in this regard), and goes home. Many Bulgarian informants did not mention the boy's return home; for them, the farewells exchanged with the frogs constituted the final event. However, among those who did mention this homeward trip, the verb *тръгвам/тръгна* 'set out; leave', seen so much elsewhere in the narrative (particular in the beginning as the two friends set out on their search), was the most common. Of the 17 informants who described the departure for home using a motion verb, half chose this verb. Here are two examples, one of which combines the path verb *тръгна* with the path verb *излиза* 'exit'.

- (50) и тръгнало на път за къщи много много радостно от  
 and set.out.P.REN.3SG on path for at.home very very happy from  
 случките през деня  
 events-DEF during day-DEF  
*And he set off on the path home very, very happy from the day's events.*

- (51) и тръгнало да излиза от реката доволно,  
 and set.out.P.REN.3SG COMP exit.I.PRS.3SG from river-DEF satisfied  
 ръкомахайки на останалите жаби  
 wave.PTCP at remaining-DEF frogs  
*And, satisfied, he set off to exit from the river, waving at the remaining frogs.*

Other common choices in the description of this event were *връщам се/върна се* 'return' (two tokens), *отправлям се/отпращам се* 'set off for, make one's way' (two tokens), and *прибирам се/прибера се* 'go home, return' (three tokens). The verbs used by Bulgarian informants

for this scene are quite different than those favored by either Russian or Serbian informants, who more often chose verbs based on their cognates of Common Slavic *iti* ‘go’.

#### 5.4 PATH AND MANNER IN THE ORAL NARRATIVES

The oral narratives discussed above demonstrate two important features of Bulgarian. First, Bulgarian does have a variety of manner verbs indicating high manner salience for some motion expressions. Second, path verbs are often chosen as well, although less frequently than manner verbs.

The verb usage in this sample varied with respect to scene. For some scenes, informants used a high proportion of manner verbs, such as the deer running to the edge of the precipice (66.6% manner verbs and another 23.3% manner-path verbs). For other scenes, they used primarily path verbs, like the scene in which the boy and the dog begin their journey (88.5% path verbs) or when the boy climbs the rock (65.2% path verbs, with 34.8% manner-path verbs and no pure manner verbs). In other scenes informants used only slightly more manner verbs than path verbs. For instance, in describing the moment when the frog sneaks out of the jar and thus sets in motion the events of the narrative, 56% of the informants chose manner verbs, and another 12% chose manner-path verbs; when the owl comes out of its hole in the tree, 56.5% chose manner verbs. To describe the moment when the gopher-like creature comes out of its hole, ten chose manner verbs and nine chose path verbs, along with another seven instances of the neutral verb *покажа се* ‘appear’.

Relatively high path verb usage requires the availability of a stylistically unmarked path verb for each situation; for Bulgarian speakers, such a verb does exist for most situations. The verb is often based on the now-empty root *-лизам/-ляза*, as we see in the oral narratives with the high-frequency *излизам/изляза*. The verb *излизам/изляза* is so common that it appears in every scene in which motion out of a place is described. In some cases it is the less common choice, but even in the owl scene, there are nine tokens of *изляза* (compared with 11 of *изскоча* ‘jump out’). The frequency of *излизам/изляза* in the gopher scene is almost equal to *изскоча* ‘jump out’ (the most common other motion verb used), and in the first scene, in which the frog escapes from the jar, it is the single most often used verb (with eight tokens). Other path verbs with this root include *влизам/вляза* ‘enter’ and *слизам/сляза* ‘descend’. *Влизам/вляза* ‘enter’ appears several times in the oral narratives, for example, in (34). *Слизам/сляза* ‘descend’ is used only once in a description of one of the motion events discussed above—when the boy and the frog set off: *продължили по-надалеч от къщата ... влезли във гората* ‘[they] continued further from the house ... they entered the forest’ (the rarity of this verb may owe to a lack of salient motion *into* a place in the story).

The other high-frequency path verb found in these narratives is *качвам се/кача се* ‘go up’. Though this verb can be translated as ‘climb’ as well as ‘go up’, depending on context, the verb primarily encodes path, and is regularly used in most situations when a subject is moving upwards under his own propulsion (e.g., *качвам се/кача се с асансьор/по стълбите* ‘go up with the elevator/the stairs; also, to board transportation vehicles: *качвам се/кача се в кола/на влак/на колело* ‘get into a car/on a train/on a bicycle’). This verb is used in variation with an actual verb for ‘climb’ in situations where the act of climbing is emphasized—the following examples are taken from the Internet: *Но аз защитавам живота си, когато се катеря сам без въже* ‘But I protect my life when I climb without a rope [in reference to mountain climbing]’; *Баба не ми позволяваше да се катеря по оградата* ‘My grandmother wouldn’t let me climb on the fence’; *Със сигурност никога повече няма да се кача в асансьор, та ако ще*

*и да се катеря неш до 25-ия етаж* ‘I am definitely never going to get into an elevator again, even if I have to climb to the 25<sup>th</sup> floor by foot’—this final example uses the verb *катеря се* in contrast to the unmarked verb *качвам се/кача се* to emphasize the difficulty of climbing 25 flights of stairs, and thus to demonstrate the adamancy of the speaker’s refusal to ever again take an elevator.

#### 5.4.1 Comparisons between the oral narratives and the literary data

It is not possible to make a direct comparison between the oral narratives and the data from the written texts examined in Chapters 3 and 4, because the texts themselves are so different. The elicited oral narratives are by their very nature relatively spontaneous and therefore show little evidence of crafting, while the excerpted material from Bulgarian literature discussed in Chapter 3 is the artistic creation of four well known and respected Bulgarian authors. Moreover, the data from Chapter 4 come from translated literature, and it is quite possible that in some cases the choices made by translators concerning manner or path in verbs may have been influenced by the original texts. Nevertheless, general tendencies will be noted, and then summarized in Table 5.2.

The Bulgarian literature data examined in Chapter 3, consists of 500 verb tokens, comprising 125 different verbs. This gives a variety coefficient (demonstrating the degree to which different verbs, many of which are synonyms or near-synonyms, are used) of .25. Looking at the more frequent 50% of the verbs (i.e., the top 258 tokens), we see that 218 are path verbs, and that 40 can be classified as manner verbs. The 218 path verb tokens comprise nine different verbs, while the 40 manner verb tokens comprise only two verbs, *вървя* ‘walk; go’ and *ходя* ‘walk; go’. Both of these two verbs can be used in the manner-neutral sense of GO as well, and such usage is particularly frequent with the latter verb, *ходя*. Because there are fewer directional path possibilities, however, there will always be more tokens of any individual Bulgarian path than of individual manner verbs, because there are fewer directional path possibilities. When we look at the full array of verbs in the Bulgarian literature data set, including a large number of verbs used only one time each (63), the ratio changes somewhat. Now, 28% of the 500 verb tokens are manner verbs; 65.6% are path verbs; another 5.2% of the verbs encode both manner and path, and a total of seven verb tokens are neutral for both manner and path.)

Chapter 4 discussed a data set drawn from literature translated into Bulgarian from two high manner languages and two low manner languages. The data consist of 500 verb tokens, comprising 132 different verbs. At .26, the variety coefficient is slightly higher than that of the original Bulgarian literature, but just barely. However, there is greater variation in the top 50% of verbs used: this group is represented by 253 tokens, but 15 different verbs (rather than 11 in the data set from the original Bulgarian literature; see Table 4.1 for these verbs). In this set of data there are three manner verbs (*вървя* ‘walk; go’, *избягам* ‘escape; flee’, *пътувам* ‘travel’), but still only 40 tokens, compared with 213 path verbs. When all verbs are taken into account, 30.2% of the motion verbs encode manner, while 60.8% encode path. This is a slight difference from the data from original Bulgarian writings (of 28% and 65.6%, respectively).

The oral narratives, in contrast, comprise a much smaller number of different verbs, as each narrative describes roughly the same plot (with some room for individual interpretation). Here, however, the difference is the number of informants (i.e., material from 18 different speakers, as opposed to four different writers for each set of literary data) creates room for more linguistic variation. For the major events discussed in the narratives, 21 different verbs were used, for a total of 175 tokens (these verbs and the number of tokens of each are listed in Table

5.1); the variety coefficient for the oral narratives is thus much lower than for the written narratives (.12 in this case), but is not relevant for comparison. The narratives all discuss the same events, thus, the greater the number of informants, the lower the variety coefficient would be expected to get—each time an informant repeats a verb already used by previous informants, variety (as a ratio) decreases. Because we cannot calculate a consistent ratio for verb variety for the oral narratives, an objective comparison with the Serbian and Russian data (in the sections below) is more difficult. However, some tendencies in the data are nevertheless clear.

Manner and path also differ in the oral narratives: almost half of the verbs in the oral narratives, 43.9%, are manner verbs, while 46.3% encode path (7.3% encode manner and path, and 2.4% encode neither).

TABLE 5.2. Comparison of Bulgarian data from three sources (from Chapters 3,4, & 5)

	Bulgarian novels	Translated novels	Oral narratives
Manner verbs (%)	28%	30.2%	34.3%
Path verbs (%)	65.6%	60.8%	43.4%
Variety coefficient	.25	.26	.12
Most frequent verbs (top ten by number of tokens)	идвам/дойда 'come'	отивам/отида 'go'	излизам/изляза 'exit'
	тръгвам/тръгна 'leave, set off'	тръгвам/тръгна 'leave, set off'	изскачам/изскоча 'jump out, pop out'
	отивам/отида 'go'	идвам/дойда 'come'	качвам се/кача се 'go up'
	излизам/изляза 'exit'	излизам/изляза 'exit'	тръгвам/тръгна 'leave, set off'
	връщам се/върна се 'return'	връщам се/върна се 'return'	бягам 'run'
	вървя 'walk, go'	влизам/вляза 'enter'	покатервам се/се покатеря се 'climb'
	минавам/мина 'pass'	стигам/стигна 'reach'	показвам се/покажа се 'appear'
	прибирам се/прибера се 'go home, go back'	вървя 'walk, go'	покачвам се/покача се 'go up, climb'
	влизам/вляза 'enter'	избягам (избегна) 'flee, escape'	измъкна се 'slip out, sneak out'
слизам/сляза 'descend'	минавам/мина 'pass'; пътувам 'travel' (both 10 <sup>th</sup> )	побягам/побегна 'begin to run'	

The data above support other research which suggests that satellite-framed languages will not only make greater use of manner verbs, but will also show greater variety in their motion verb vocabularies. They also indicate slightly higher rates of manner verb usage in the oral narratives than in the written texts. The oral narratives should not be viewed in isolation, however. Rather, they should be compared with similar narratives produced by speakers of other Slavic languages. Sections 5.5 and 5.6 will do just that, looking briefly at frog stories in Serbian

and Russian; Section 5.7 will bring the results together to suggest what conclusions can be drawn from the comparative data.

The data from Serbian and Russian frog stories presented below are taken from narratives gathered by researchers working with Dan Slobin. Much of this research focused on language acquisition, and consequently, the majority of the informants were children. I have tried to use adult narratives to make the data more directly comparable with that from the Bulgarian informants, but the number of adult informants was too small to get a good representation. Therefore, I added a few narratives from 10- or 11-year olds to round the number of informants for each Serbian and Russian data set up to 12. Although the number of narratives for each Serbian and Russian of these languages is less than half the number of Bulgarian narratives presented above, there is enough consistency within the event descriptions to suggest that these 12 narratives present a reasonably accurate picture of lexicalization patterns in the two languages. These data sets, therefore, can serve adequately as a means of comparison with the Bulgarian data above.

## **5.5 SERBIAN FROG STORIES**

### **5.5.1 Data source**

The data for the Serbian oral narratives based on the book *Frog, Where Are You?* were recorded by Svenka Savić of the University of Novi Sad and her students in 1995.<sup>86</sup> The interviews took place in Novi Sad. The interviews were recorded with informants from different age groups, mostly children; here, I will discuss four interviews with adults, and eight with children in the oldest age group, 11-year olds. This differs from the Bulgarian narratives above, which were collected only from adults; Savić's data, however, contain only four interviews with adults. Slobin (2004) states of manner and path verb usage that "these patterns are true at all ages. That is, the lexical encoding of manner is a stable characteristic of a language, acquired early and maintained through life" (Slobin 2004: 205). Therefore, although it would be ideal to have data exclusively from adult informants to compare with the Bulgarian data, differences due to age group factors should not be significant (and indeed, my own reading of the narratives convinces me that some of the 11-year old informants are more skilled at developing the narrative than some of the adults).

The narrations of the Serbian speakers are similar in many ways to those of the Bulgarian speakers, but not all events are equally observed by the two groups. For example, while almost all Bulgarian speakers describe the gopher-type animal coming out of its hole in some way, many of the Serbian informants make no mention of the creature at all (though when they do, they all seem certain that it is a mole). However, the Serbian informants were slightly more likely to note both the moment when the boy and dog exit through the window, and the final event, when the boy and dog set off for home. Having introduced the possibility of differences (beyond actual word choice) in the descriptions of the events by Serbian informants, I will describe in some detail the common motion verb choices in the same scenes discussed in Section 5.3 above. Appendix B gives the excerpted phrases from the Serbian informant interviews describing each motion event.

Table 5.3 shows the motion verb choices for the seven main events discussed below.

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<sup>86</sup> The data was provided to me by Dan Slobin, for which I am most grateful; it was gathered in collaboration with Slobin and the Institute of Human Development at the University of California, Berkeley.

TABLE 5.3. Verb used for motion events in the Serbian frog story narratives

Event	Verb		tokens	M	P	M-P	N
Event 1: <i>frog gets out of jar</i>	iskočiti	‘jump out’	2	●			
	iskrasti se	‘steal out’	1	●			
	išunjati se	‘sneak out’	1	●			
	izlaziti/izići	‘exit’	4		●		
	izvući se	‘pull oneself out’	1		●		
	pobegnuti	‘flee; escape’	2			●	
	prišunjati se	‘sneak up’	1	●			
Event 2: <i>boy &amp; dog set out</i>	ići	‘go’	2				●
	krenuti	‘set out’	5		●		
	otići	‘go [away]’	4		●		
	poći (na potragu)	‘start (in pursuit)’	1				●
Event 3: <i>rodent emerges</i>	izići	‘exit’	2		●		
	iskočiti	‘jump out’	1	●			
Event 4: <i>boy goes up the tree</i>	ispeti se	‘rise, climb’	1			○	
	penjati se/popeti se	‘go up, climb, rise’	5			○	
	pentrati se	‘climb’	1			●	
Event 5: <i>owl emerges</i>	izići	‘exit’	2		●		
	izleteti	‘fly out’	3	●			
	pojavit se	‘appear’	1				●
Event 6: <i>boy gets onto rock</i>	penjati se/popeti se	‘go up, climb, rise’	7			○	
Event 7: <i>deer runs away, carrying boy</i>	nositi	‘carry, bring, take’	5				●
	otići	‘go [away]’	1		●		
	poći nositi	‘begin to carry, take’	1				●
	poći trčati	‘run’	1	●			
	poneti	‘take, carry off’	1				●
	potrčati	‘begin to run’	2	●			

### 5.5.2 Event 1: *The frog escapes from the jar*

The Serbian descriptions of the frog leaving the jar have much in common with their Bulgarian counterparts. Both favor manner verbs over path verbs for this event, with only 32% of the Bulgarian verbs and 33.3% of the Serbian verbs represented by path verbs. Furthermore, only one pure path verb is used in each language set, and these verbs are cognates: *izlaziti/izići* in Serbian and *излизам/изляза* in Bulgarian, both meaning ‘exit’.

However, the Serbian informants use a greater variety of manner verbs in their narratives. While the 25 Bulgarian informants who described this event used a total of only five different verbs, the 12 Serbian informants describing the event used seven different verbs. Part of this difference comes from the three verbs used in Serbian to mean ‘steal away’ or ‘sneak’, as

opposed to one in Bulgarian (although two of these Serbian verbs are different prefixed forms of the same verb). Thus, though the manner-to-path ratios are essentially the same for the Bulgarian and Serbian narratives, there is a greater variety of manner verbs in the Serbian data.

Another small difference between the Bulgarian and the Serbian narratives is seen in path segmentation and the number of paths typically described. Path segmentation in these cases involves describing first the exit from the jar itself, and then the final escape. Of the 25 Bulgarian narratives discussed in 5.3.2, 12 of them (48%) include two path segments in the frog's escape, whereas seven out of 12 of the Serbian narratives (58.3%) include two segments. There does not seem to be any correlation in either the Bulgarian or the Serbian narratives between the manner or path verb usage in the first segment and the propensity to include a second segment. Of the three examples from the Serbian data quoted, (52) gives the simplest construction, while (53) and (54) show two variations with two path segments.

(52) žaba izlazi  
frog exit.I.PRS.3SG  
*The frog exits.*

(53) ali je žabica izašla iz tegle, iskočila je  
but be.PRS.3SG frog.DIM exit.P.PTCP FROM jar out-jump.P.PTCP be.PRS.3SG  
*But the frog exited from the jar, it jumped out.*

(54) žabac se polako, polako iskrao iz staklene posude  
male.frog REFL quietly quietly out-steal.P.PTCP from glass vessel  
i odskakutao  
and off-jump.P.PTCP  
*The frog stole softly out of the glass container and hopped away.*

The contrast between (53) and (54) consists in the fact that (53) could be presenting either two parts of the path (an exit from the jar, followed by a final jump to freedom), or the manner verb could be clarifying or elaborating on the path verb; whereas (54) uses two descriptive path verbs to describe a two-segmented path; the two segments are indicated in part by the change in prefixes from *iz-* 'out of' to *od-* 'away'.

### 5.5.3 Event 2: *They set off to search for the frog*

The Bulgarian informants used the verb *тръгна* 'set off; leave' with fair consistency to describe the event of the boy and dog going to search for the frog—26 of the 27 informants mention the event, and 73.1% use this verb. The Serbian informants chose the Serbian equivalent of this verb, *krenuti* (often seen in the Serbian literature translations in instances when the Bulgarian translator used *тръгна*), but used it less than half the time (five tokens or 41.7%). Instead, the Serbian informants relied slightly more on *ići* 'go' (two tokens) or *otići* 'go (away)' (four tokens); these two verbs based on *ići* comprise half of all verb tokens for this event. Although two Bulgarian informants used the manner verb *вървя* 'walk', no Serbian informants used a manner verb for this scene. Here are three examples, showing the use of *krenuti*, *ići*, and *otići* 'go (away)'.

(55) krenuli su u šumu  
set.OFF.P.PTCP be.PRS.3PL to forest  
*They set out into the forest.*

(56) išli su kroz šumu  
 go.PTCP be.PRS.3PL through forest  
*They went through the forest.*

(57) oni su otišli malo dalje od kuće – otišli  
 they be.PRS.3PL go.away.P.PTCP little further from home go.away.P.PTCP  
 do šume  
 until forest  
*They went a little further from home—they went to the forest.*

Example (57) also demonstrates partial segmentation into two paths, using the same verb twice: the first path describes the motion from the house, while the second emphasizes the trip to the woods. Although the path is the same one and not physically segmentable, the deictic information is different; if Serbian had an ablative case, it would be employed in the first segment.

The verb *otići* ‘go (away)’ is used in a third of all narrations of this event. In the Bulgarian narratives, however, the Bulgarian cognate of *otići*, *отувам*, is used only once—that is, in 4% of the narratives. This distinctive difference between Bulgarian and Serbian usage demonstrates the relative importance in BCS of deictic prefixes (discussed at length in Filipović 2010).

#### 5.5.4 Event 3: *The gopher-like creature comes out of the hole*

The third salient motion event in the story is apparently not as salient for Serbian informants as for Bulgarian informants. A few informants did not mention it at all, and three noted that the animal bit the boy, without mentioning the creature’s exit from its hole. For the five informants from the group who mentioned the gopher’s exit, however, the path verb *izići* ‘exit’ was used in three instances, while the remaining two informants used *iskočiti* ‘jump out, pop out’. Two contrasting examples are given below. Note that in (56) the phrases connected with the verbal event (*at that very moment, from somewhere underground*) suggest the suddenness of the mole’s emergence, but the path verb employed does not.

(58) u istom momentu, odnekud iz zemlje izide krtica  
 in same moment from.somewhere from ground exit.P.AOR.3SG mole  
*At that very moment, from somewhere in the ground a mole came out.*

(59) dečak je tražio u rupi ... žaba nije bila  
 boy be.PRS.3SG search.FOR.PTCP in hole frog be.NEG.PRS.3SG be.PTCP  
 tu, nego je iskočila krtica  
 here but be.PRS.3SG out.jump.P.PTCP mole

The boy searched in the hole .... The frog wasn’t there, but a mole jumped out instead.

The Bulgarian descriptions also rely largely on the Bulgarian cognates of *izići* and *iskočiti*, but Bulgarian informants used the manner verb *iskočiti* slightly more. In contrast to the Serbian examples, Bulgarian informants frequently used the verb *покажа се* ‘appear’ (in 26.9% of all cases).

### 5.5.5 Events 4 and 6: *Climbing up the tree or onto the rock*

As did the Bulgarian informants discussed in 5.3.5, the Serbian informants largely used the same verbs for the two events of the boy going up in the tree and onto the rock. There was, however, even less variation among the Serbian informants. The data set is small, with only seven of the 12 informants mentioning each of these two events, but the seven verbs for each event are extremely consistent: all informants used forms of the verb *penjati se/popeti se* ‘climb, rise, go up’. Almost all used an unprefixated form of either the perfective or imperfective of this pair, but one used the variation *pentrati se*, defined in a basic bilingual dictionary (1999) simply as ‘climb’ (as opposed to ‘climb, rise, go up’), and one used the prefixed form *ispeti se* ‘rise, climb’.

Like Bulgarian, Serbian uses a reflexive verb based on a verb meaning ‘lift’ as the motion verb meaning ‘go up, climb’, rather than a verb with an original meaning CLIMB. Also like Bulgarian, there is another, unrelated verb—*verati se*—that emphasizes the motor activity suggested by English *climb*, and which may also be translated as ‘clamber’. Unlike Bulgarian, however, this verb is used much less frequently than the Bulgarian word *катеря се* ‘climb, clamber’, and BCS speakers can use this verb as either a path verb or a manner-path verb, with the choice determined by context; clearly, the amount of climbing entailed in *popeo se uz stepenice* ‘I went up the stairs’ is different from that required for *prije tri godine popeo se na Mt. Kilimanjaro* ‘three years ago he climbed Mt. Kilimanjaro’.<sup>87</sup> The verb *penjati se/popeti se* can also mean ‘rise’ as in *Broj poginulih popeo se na 378* ‘the number of dead rose to 378’. This wide range of usage makes the Serbian verb *penjati se/popeti se* much more general than its Bulgarian counterpart. The lack of concern with distinction of manner in upward motion is a feature of BCS that is remarkably similar to verb-framed languages.

Here are three examples, one of each event using *penjati se/popeti se* ‘climb, rise, go up’, as well as the example with *ispeti se* ‘rise, climb’.

(60) onda se dečak popeo na jedno drvo  
then REFL boy go.up.PTCP on one tree  
*Then the boy climbed up a tree.*

(61) se ispeo na jedno drvo i radozvalo gledao u otvor u drvetu  
REFL climb.PTCP on one tree and curiously look.PTCP in hole in tree  
*[He] climbed up a tree and with curiosity looked into a hole in the tree.*

(62) dečak se popeo na jedan kamen veliki  
boy refl go.up.PTCP on one rock large  
*The boy climbed up on a [very] big rock.*

### 5.5.6 Event 5: *The owl comes out of its hole*

This event from the frog story literature is one of the most discussed motion events from the story in studies based on frog narratives, but like the previous episode, it is seemingly somewhat less salient for the Serbian informants. While all informants eventually mentioned the owl, not all of them noted it immediately, and thus they omitted mention of its sudden emergence from the tree. Only half of the informants described the owl leaving its hollow, leaving a very small sample from which to draw conclusions. In the six narratives that mentioned the owl

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<sup>87</sup> These examples and the one following were taken from a random Google search.

coming out, three informants use the verb *izleteti* ‘fly out’. Two more used *izići* ‘exit’, and one used *pojaviti se* ‘appear’. Examples of each are given below.

(63) tu i sova izleće  
 here and owl out-fly.P.AOR.3SG  
*Now an owl also flew out.*

(64) iz njega [šupljinu] je izašla sova  
 from it hollow be.PRS.3SG exit.P.PTCP owl  
*From it [the hollow] exited an owl.*

(65) i iznenada iz otvora se pojavi sova raširenih krila  
 and suddenly from opening REFL appear.AOR.3SG owl wide.spread wings  
*And suddenly from an opening there appeared an owl with wide-spread wings.*

No clear preference for either path or manner emerges in the Serbian data. One informant who chose the verb *izići* seems to have begun with the verb *izleteti* (the transcript contains a segment of the word, *izlet*, in brackets, followed by the full verb form *izašla*). The manner verb *izleteti*, used by half of the Serbian informants, was far from the most common choice for Bulgarian informants, having been used by only 8.7%. However, the Serbian sample is too small to draw firm conclusions.

### 5.5.7 Event 7: *The deer runs off with the boy*

The final event discussed by most of the Bulgarian informants is that of the deer running off with the boy on his antlers (and ultimately throwing him into the water). This event was discussed, to one extent or another, by all Serbian informants as well (though one only said that the deer took fright, and described the result without motion verbs). Most informants (63.6%) described the scene using the verb for CARRY, which only 18.5% of the Bulgarian informants did. Of the four remaining verbs, three are manner verbs meaning RUN, and one is the path verb GO. An example of each is given below.

(66) ... jelen, koji ga je nosio tako – do neke provalije  
 deer who him be.PRS.3SG carry.I.PTCP thus up.to some chasm  
*... a deer, which carried him this way, up to some chasm.*

(67) jelen je potrčao, a Saša mu još uvek  
 deer be.PRS.3SG begin.to.run.P.PTCP but Saša him still always  
 je bio na glavi  
 be.PRS.3SG be.PTCP on head  
*[The] deer began to run, with Saša still on his head.*

(68) jelen se naljutio, otišao  
 deer REFL anger.P.PTCP go.P.PTCP  
*[The] deer got angry, [he] went (away).*

Unlike the Bulgarian narratives, most of the Serbian informants focused on the fact that the deer carried the boy, rather than the deer's manner of motion (running). The Serbian narratives also contain fewer constructions combining two verbs (18% versus 51.9% of the Bulgarian narratives). Furthermore, while the Bulgarian informants often combined two motion verbs showing manner (e.g., *хукна да бяга* 'darted off at a run'), both Serbian examples using a two-verb construction combine BEGIN with a motion verb, as seen in (67) and (68).

(69) jelen je počo njega da nosi prema jednoj uvali  
 deer be.PRS.3SG begin.P.PTCP him COMP carry.I.PRS.3SG towards one valley  
*[The] deer began to carry him towards a valley.*

(70) jelen je podigo glavu i počo da trči  
 deer be.PRS.3SG lift.P.PTCP head and began.P.PTCP COMP run.I.PRS.3SG  
 prema rupi  
 towards hole  
*[The] deer lifted his head and began to run towards a hole.*

Because there are only three manner verbs in the Serbian narratives, it is difficult to conclude anything about the differences in predominant constructions in the Bulgarian and Serbian narratives. All of the Bulgarian informants who used a two-verb construction for this event combined the first verb (either a verb for BEGIN, as in the two examples above, or motion verb) with a motion verb showing manner; the Serbian data contain only three manner verbs for this event, all based on the same verb (*trčati* 'run'). With more manner verbs in the data, perhaps the predominant pattern would change. However, the lack of any verb combined with *trčati* other than BEGIN suggests that BCS lexicalization patterns may be less likely than Bulgarian to show stacked manner verbs of this type—this would be an interesting inquiry for future research.

### 5.5.8 Other motion events

Like the Bulgarian frog stories, there are several less salient events in the story that nevertheless are described by enough informants to warrant discussion. Moreover, because the Serbian informants sometimes focus on different events than the Bulgarian informants, some events not discussed at length in Section 5.3 need more discussion here. As with the Bulgarian events, these will be discussed in the order in which they generally appear in the narratives.

Eleven of the 12 informants specifically mentioned the dog going out the window near the beginning of the story. Five of the informants (45.5%) described him as falling (*pasti* 'fall' or *ispasti* 'fall out of'), much like the 45.8% of the Bulgarians who described the exit this way. One difference, however, is that Serbian informants tended to use the prefixed form *ispasti* if the fall was specifically described as being 'through the window' (*kroz prozor*), whereas all 12 Bulgarian tokens of FALL are unprefixes, regardless of whether or not the window itself was mentioned. Three examples follow: (71) and (72) contrast the prefixed and unprefixes forms *pasti* and *ispasti*, with the former emphasizing the source and the latter. A Bulgarian example is given for contrast in (73).

(71) i odjednom je ispao kroz prozor  
 and all.at.once be.PRS.3SG out-fall.P.PTCP through window  
*And all of the sudden he fell out the window.*

- (72) odjednom se Ben oklizno sa prozora i pao je  
 all.at.once REFL Ben slip.PRS.3SG from window and fall.P.PTCP be.PRS.3SG  
*All of the sudden Ben slipped from the window and fell.*
- (73) изведнџж кученцето Шарко се подхлъзнало и паднало от  
 suddenly little dog-DIM-DEF Šarko REFL slip.REN.3SG and fall.REN.3SG from  
 прозореца  
 window-DEF  
*Suddenly the little dog Šarko slipped and fell from the window.*

A similar pattern is seen with the verb JUMP in Bulgarian and Serbian. The Bulgarian data show nine tokens of JUMP, all referring to the dog jumping from the window, but only two of these have the prefix meaning ‘out of’ (*из*). The Serbian data only have two tokens of JUMP, but both are prefixed (*iskočiti*). While in the Serbian examples the use of the preposition *is-* seems to be conditioned by the preposition following (*is-* with *kroz* ‘through’, but not with *sa* ‘from’), there does not seem to be any real correlation of this sort in the Bulgarian data.

The next event in the narrative involves the bees. The bees are often discussed in two different contexts—first, when they come out of their hive, and second, when they chase the dog, who has destroyed their hive. The interesting question for is the event is whether the movement of the bees is narrated with a verb for FLY or with other motion verbs instead. In the Serbian narratives, verbs for FLY are not the most common choice.

Four informants described the first incident, when the bees leave their hive. Of these four, half used the verb *izleteti* ‘fly out’, and half, *izići* ‘exit’. This ratio is, however, a higher manner verb ratio than that used for the bees’ exit in the Bulgarian narratives, in which 70% of the informants described this event with exit (*излизам/изляза*); the other verbs used by Bulgarian informants were *избягам* ‘escape’, *излетя* ‘fly out’, and *изскоча* ‘jump out, pop out’ (one token of each).

The segment in which the bees chase the dog was described by most Serbian informants (as with most Bulgarian informants) with a verb meaning CHASE, either *juriti*, *pojuriti*, or *vijati*—there were six tokens of these all together. Only one informant used a verb meaning FLY: *proleteti* (*iznad njega proleti roj pčela* ‘a swarm of bees flew out from above him’). For both the Serbian and Bulgarian informants, the chase was more salient than the manner of the bees’ travel.

The final event of the story, when the boy, his dog, and their frog say good-bye to the family of frogs and go home, was mentioned by a number of Serbian informants. Three-quarters of them used a motion verb to describe the departure. The difference between the Bulgarian and Serbian narratives, though, is that 47.1% of the Bulgarian informants use the verb of departure *тръгвам/тръгна* ‘leave, set off’, while only 22.2% of the Serbian narratives have the Serbian equivalent, *krenuti*. Instead, more Serbian informants (66.7%) chose the verb *izlaziti/ići* ‘go (away)’ (sometimes paired with *kući* ‘home’); not one Bulgarian informant used the equivalent of this verb. For Bulgarian informants who chose to focus on the destination and say that they ‘went home’, the tactics ranged from adding *към дома/къщи* ‘towards home’ to *тръгвам/тръгна*, or using the verbs *прибирам се/прибера се* ‘return, go home’ or *връщам се/върна се* ‘return’ with ‘home’.

### 5.5.9 Conclusion

The Serbian versions of the frog story show many similarities with the Bulgarian narratives in terms of lexical patterning, but also several differences. For some events, the first event in particular (the frog’s exit from the jar), the Serbian narratives show a wider variety of manner verbs; for others, such as the climbing events, however, the Serbian range is more limited. Thus, while conclusions can be drawn for certain types of events, fewer conclusions can be drawn to encompass the narratives as a whole.

While the Serbian informants were slightly more likely to use forms of common manner verbs such as FLY, they did not distinguish between more narrow distinctions of upward motion by using a verb that clearly evokes the motor activity inherent in CLIMB (using instead a verb that can mean ‘climb’ or simply ‘ascend’, depending on context).

The Serbian informants also made greater use of path prefixes, especially *is-* ‘out of’. Although this prefix was used frequently by Bulgarian informants, it is less pervasive in the data. On the other hand, there is not a wide range of different prefixes found in the Serbian data. The common BCS deictic prefix *od-* was employed, but primarily with the verb *odlaziti/otići* ‘go (away)’. This verb itself was used with far more frequency and for a wider range of situations than the Bulgarian cognate *отивам/отида*.

Because Bulgarian and BCS are both South Slavic languages, spoken in bordering countries, one would expect their lexicalization patterns to be similar in many ways. The next question to ask is the extent to which the patterns of these languages resemble those of the East Slavic language Russian. This will be discussed in Section 5.6 below.

## 5.6 RUSSIAN FROG STORIES

### 5.6.1 Data source

The data for the Russian oral narratives based on the book *Frog, Where Are You?* were recorded in Berkeley by Yana Anilovich and Dan Slobin, as part of Slobin’s research on language acquisition. The informants were recent immigrants from Russia. Of the 12 Russian narratives I used, nine informants are adults (these nine represent all of the adult narratives), and three are 10-year olds. The phrases containing the motion events from the stories are listed in Appendix C.

The only notable differences in event salience with the Russian narratives occur in the cases of the gopher coming out of its hole and the owl leaving the hole in the tree. Several speakers did not explicitly mention these events. The verbs used with the seven main events from the story appear in Table 5.4 below; the discussion following is organized in the same manner as the Bulgarian and BCS discussions above.

TABLE 5.4. Verb used for motion events in the Russian frog story narratives

Event	Verb		tokens	M	P	M-P	N
Event 1: <i>frog gets out of jar</i>	выбираться	‘(manage to) get out’	1	●			
	вылезть	‘crawl out, climb out’	6	●			
	выпрыгнуть	‘jump out, spring out’	1	●			
	выскочить	‘jump out’	1	●			
	сбежать	‘run away’	1			●	
	убежать	‘run away, escape’	1			●	

	уйти	‘go away, leave’	1	○			
Event 2: <i>boy &amp; dog set out</i>	выйти	‘go/come out’	1	○			
	зайти	‘go on, continue after’	1	○			
	идти	‘go (on foot)’	1	○			
	отправиться	‘set out, depart’	2		●		
	побежать	‘run; break into a run’	1	●			
	пойти	‘go, begin to walk’	4	○			
Event 3: <i>rodent emerges</i>	выйти	‘come/go out’	1	○			
	вылезать/вылезть	‘crawl out, climb out’	5	●			
Event 4: <i>boy climbs up the tree</i>	залезть	‘climb up, onto’	5	●			
	лезть	‘climb, clamber, crawl’	1	●			
Event 5: <i>owl emerges</i>	вылетать/вылететь	‘fly out’	4	●			
	выскочить	‘jump out, spring out’	1	●			
	показаться	‘appear’	1				●
Event 6: <i>boy climbs onto rock</i>	влезть	‘climb in, into, up’	1	●			
	взбираться	‘climb (up), clamber (up)’	1	●			
	забираться/забраться	‘get onto, climb onto/into’	2	●			
	залезть	‘climb up, on, to; creep in’	4	●			
	облазить	‘climb round, climb all over’	1	●			
Event 7: <i>deer runs away, carrying boy</i>	бежать	‘run’	3	●			
	побежать	‘run; break into a run’	2	●			
	помчаться в скачь	‘bound off at a run’	1	●			
	понести	‘carry; bolt’ (of horses)	4	○			○
	понестись	‘rush off, tear off’	1	●			
	потащить	‘begin to drag’	1	●			
	убежать	‘run away, run off’	1	●			

### 5.6.2 Event 1: *The frog escapes from the jar*

The first event of the story was highly salient for the Russian informants, as it was for the Serbian and Bulgarian informants. All twelve informants mentioned the frog’s exit using a motion verb, and the resulting data show an array of seven different verbs (as do the Serbian data). These seven verbs differ from those in the Bulgarian and Serbian data in a couple of ways.

First, while the Bulgarian and Serbian informants both made frequent use of verbs meaning SNEAK, the Russian informants did not use such a verb at all. Verbs connoting stealth account for one quarter of the Serbian responses and 24% of the Bulgarian responses, but none of the Russian responses. The Bulgarian verb *измъкна се* ‘sneak out’, used by six informants, also has a secondary meaning of ‘wiggle out’ or ‘escape’, making it possible that not all Bulgarian informants were describing a stealthy act. Some informants, though, included additional phrases after *измъкна се*, such as *без те да забележат* ‘without them noticing’ or *леко на*

*пръсти* ‘softly on tiptoe’, suggesting that at least some of the informants unambiguously emphasized the frog’s sneakiness.

Second, excepting the possibility that some Bulgarian informants used the verb *измъкна се* in the sense of ‘wiggle out’, the act of climbing or crawling (out of the jar) was not suggested by any of the manner verbs used by the Bulgarian or Serbian informants. The Russian informants, however, used the verb *вылезть* ‘crawl out, climb out’ in 50% of the narrations—this was by far the most common verb choice (each of the other six verbs used had only one token each). An interesting point here is that the Bulgarian and BCS cognates of *вылезть* (*излизам/изляза* and *izlaziti/izici*, respectively), are also the most-often used verbs for each language (with four tokens in BCS and eight in Bulgarian), but the meanings are completely different from the Russian. The verbs in BCS and Bulgarian have no connotation of manner whatsoever—not only do they not mean ‘crawl’ or ‘climb’, but they convey no information beyond the abstract concept of motion with a path (‘out of’). The difference in meaning in the these roots will come up again with other motion events (most notably, the climbing events in Section 5.6.5), and this difference and its repercussions in the language will be discussed further in the conclusion to Chapter 5. Here is an example of a typical expression.

- (74) а лягушка начала тихо вылезть из банки  
and frog begin.P.PST.3SG quietly out-climb.I.INF from jar  
*And the frog began to quietly climb out of the jar.*

All other informants but one also used manner verbs to describe the frog’s exit, most either focusing on the frog’s flight from captivity or the springing motion used to hop out. Here is an example of this event described by a manner verb other than *вылезть* ‘climb out’.

- (75) лягушка пытается выпрыгнуть из банки  
frog tries out-spring.P.INF from jar  
*The frog tries to spring out of the jar.*

Only two informants (16.7%) used JUMP to describe the frog’s action, the same number found among the Serbian informants; this contrasts with the 28% of Bulgarian informants who chose a verb for JUMP; as noted elsewhere, however, Bulgarian *изскоча* also carries a more general meaning of ‘pop out’, and is thus more widely used in a variety of situations than a verb merely meaning ‘jump’ might be used.

Only one Russian informant used a verb that does not show manner, *уйти* ‘go away, leave’, in contrast to the relatively large number of Bulgarians and Serbians who used a path verb for this event. This verb does restrict the motion event to motion on foot rather than by vehicle, but the manner description is no more precise than that. (The informant who used this verb was one of the adult informants, so there is no question of immature language development as a factor in this choice.) The emphasis in this utterance, shown below in (76), is merely that the frog left.

- (76) и она ушла из банки  
and she away-walk.P.PST.3SG from jar  
*And it left from the jar.*

The Russian verbs used for this event, also like the Serbian verbs, show three different prefixes: *вы-*, *с-*, and *у-*. All twelve verbs are prefixed. The first prefix, *вы-*, is the cognate of BCS *из-* and Bulgarian *уз-*, and is the most common by far; it makes up 75% of the Russian examples, and the BCS equivalents make up 75% of the Serbian examples. The other two prefixes, *с-* and *у-*, are also spatial prefixes, meaning ‘out of’ and ‘away from’, respectively, while tokens of the Serbian prefixes are *по-*, a perfectivizing prefix not indicative of any spatial characteristics. All 25 of the Bulgarian verbs but one are prefixed, but only one prefix is used—*уз-*, which appears on four of the five verbs. This reflects greater generalization in Bulgarian prefixation, with fewer distinctions made among spatial prefixes.

### 5.6.3 Event 2: *They set off to search for the frog*

Ten of the twelve Russian informants mentioned the departure of the the boy and dog to look for the frog, slightly fewer than either the Bulgarian informants (26 out of 27 of whom mentioned it) or the Serbian informants (all of whom mentioned it), but even this number indicates the event’s salience as a motion event. Despite the relatively small number of verbs (10 tokens), six different verbs were used, with 70% of these verbs based on the verb *идти* ‘go, walk’. The most favored verb is *пойти* ‘go, begin to walk’, which conveys the idea of setting out. The next most commonly used verb, with two tokens, is *отправиться* ‘set out, depart’, also expressing this idea. The Russian informants relied on *идти* and prefixed forms thereof to a greater extent than the Serbian informants, and the Bulgarian informants did not use a cognate of this verb at all.

It is difficult to categorize these verbs based on *идти* as manner verbs. They are not considered path verbs because the prefixes are satellites, and the verb *идти* can be used independently, without prefixation (and indeed does occur here once in its unprefixated form). However, *идти* itself does not have an invariant manner meaning. It is often defined as ‘walk’ because it cannot be used for vehicular motion, and therefore often indicates motion by foot; however, there is also an argument to be made that *идти* is also used for generalized motion (cf. Nessel 2010). While we know from looking at the pictures in the book that the boy and dog were walking when they set off to look for their frog, the verbs used by most informants only partially specify this. The only verb unambiguously expressing manner used by the Russian informants is *побежать* ‘begin to run’, by used by an informant who said that the boy and dog ran off after the frog.

Here are examples with the two most common verbs, *пойти* ‘go, begin to walk’ and *отправиться* ‘set out, depart’.

(77) и пошли они в лес  
and begin.to.walk.P.PST.3PL they in forest  
*And they set off into the forest.*

(78) тогда мальчик с собачкой решили отправиться в лес  
then boy with little dog decide.P.PST.3PL set.out.INF in forest  
*Then the boy and the little dog decided to set off into the forest.*

### 5.6.4 Event 3: *The gopher-like creature comes out of the hole*

The motion event in which the gopher emerges from his hole was slightly more salient for Russian speakers than for Serbian speakers, with five of the twelve informants mentioning it; this still does not approach the 96.3% of Bulgarian informants who described the event. Russian speakers used one of two verbs, *вылезать/вылезть* ‘crawl out, climb out’ or *выйти* ‘go/come

out'. All speakers used *вылезать/вылезть*, but one rephrased the response, after figuring out what kind of animal was emerging from the hole, and employed *выйти* in the second clause. Examples of each follow, both from this aforementioned speaker who described the event twice.

(79) там вылезла такая странная зверушка  
 there out-crawl.P.PST.3SG such strange creature  
*Such a strange creature crawled out there.*

(80) там вышла мышка из этой норки  
 there out-go.P.PST.3SG mouse from this hole  
*There a mouse came out from this hole.*

Notably absent from the Russian descriptions is a verb like Bulgarian *изскоча* or BCS *iskočiti*, meaning 'jump out, pop out'. This verb was the most common choice for Bulgarian informants. However, many of the Bulgarian speakers (34.6%) used a path verb, as did 66.9% of the (admittedly few) Serbian speakers. The only non-manner or low-manner verb used by a Russian informant was the verb *выйти*, shown in (80), and even this followed a previous usage of *вылезать/вылезть* by the same speaker. Though Bulgarian and BCS cognates of *вылезать/вылезть* were commonly employed by the Bulgarian and Serbian informants, the meanings, of course, are quite different from that of the Russian verbs, and the Bulgarian and BCS cognates represent pure path verbs.

#### 5.6.5 Events 4 and 6: *Climbing up the tree or onto the rock*

Half of the Russian informants described the boy's act of climbing the tree, and all used the verb *лезть* 'climb, clamber, crawl' (one token) or its prefixed form *залезть* 'climb up, onto' (5 tokens). Three quarters of the informants described the boy's ascent onto the rock, and this act was described with a greater variety of verbs than the previous one. In addition to three prefixed verbs based on *лезть* (*влезть* 'climb in, into, up', *залезть* 'climb up, onto', and *облазить* 'climb round, all over'), there are two verbs based on the reflexive form of *брать* 'take': *взбираться* 'climb (up), clamber (up)' and *забираться* 'get into, climb into'. These latter two also convey the notion of managing to get to a place with some effort. The following three examples illustrate the verbs used in one description of the tree-climbing and two descriptions of the rock-climbing.

(81) мальчик залез в дерево  
 boy up-climb.P.PST.3SG in tree  
*[The] boy climbed the tree.*

(82) затем он залез на камень  
 after.that he up-climb.P.PST.3SG on rock  
*After that he climbed onto the rock.*

(83) он забрался на большой камень  
 he onto.get.P.PST.3SG on big rock  
*He climbed onto a big rock.*

The major difference between the Russian narratives on the one hand and the Serbian narratives on the other is that Russian has a verb unambiguously meaning ‘climb’, and Serbian does not. The verb meaning ‘climb’ in Russian has shifted in BCS to a meaning of generalized motion, and has been replaced with a reflexive (intransitive) form of the verb meaning ‘lift, raise’ (*peti*); the resulting verb can mean ‘climb’, but it also means ‘rise, ascend, go up’. The additional meaning in the Russian verb *лезть* of ‘crawl, clamber’ clearly conveys the motor activity evoked by English *climb*. Bulgarian has undergone the same change as BCS, except that it uses a different, non-Slavic verb meaning ‘lift, raise’ (*кача*) as the basis of its new reflexive verb meaning ‘climb, ascend, go up’, but Bulgarian has also developed a new unambiguous CLIMB verb as well. This verb, *катеря се*, appears to be more marked, however, and is used with less frequency than *кача се* (as discussed in 5.3.5). Thus, the semantic shift of the Slavic CLIMB verb in BCS and Bulgarian has resulted in the replacement of a manner verb by a path verb (or a manner-path verb) in these two languages, although Bulgarian has developed a new manner verb to supplement the new path verb.

#### 5.6.6 Event 5: *The owl comes out of its hole*

Slobin’s research using the frog stories focuses on this event in particular, largely because of the boundary-crossing component. Slobin’s data (2004) show that the Russian descriptions of the owl coming out of the hole consist solely of manner verbs. The manner verbs are all prefixed with either *вы-*, indicating motion out of a place, or *при-*, indicating deictic motion towards the speaker. Of these choices, *при-* is far less common, suggesting that the boundary-crossing event is more salient to the informants than the deictic component. The verb used with the prefix *при-* in the narratives is *летитъ*; *прилететь* is used by 11% of the informants used in Slobin’s 2004 analysis.

The data I have used are also from Slobin’s work, but are compiled from a smaller set of narratives produced by a greater ratio of adult to juvenile speakers. Although this event is considered highly salient, only six of the twelve informants described the owl leaving its hole. Of these, one focused on the suddenness of appearance rather than the motion itself, using the verb *показаться* ‘appear’. Another used a motion verb with the same emphasis on sudden appearance: *выскочить* ‘jump/spring out’; since owls do not actually jump, it can be assumed that the meaning implies something along the lines of ‘popping out’. The other four speakers, i.e., 66.7%, used *вылетитъ* ‘fly out’, which accords with Slobin’s data described above.

The motion verb FLY was used far more by the Russian speakers than the Bulgarian or Serbian speakers. The difference between the choices made by the Russian informants and the Serbian informants is not drastic, with half of the BCS speakers using *izleteti* ‘fly out’, but only 8.7% of the Bulgarian speakers used a verb meaning ‘fly’. Instead, 47% used *искоча* ‘jump out, pop out’ (almost equaling the number of BCS speakers who used *izleteti* ‘fly out’), and a full 39.1% used a path verb (*изляза* ‘exit’) rather than a manner verb. One third of the Serbian informants used the path verb equivalent in BCS, but no Russian speakers used mannerless path verbs to describe this event.

Another interesting choice among Slobin’s Russian informants is the verb *вылезитъ*, though this verb does not appear in the data set I used, and seems to be more common among children than adults. Though the verb *вылезитъ* might literally be translated as ‘crawl out’, it belongs to the semantic continuum of CRAWL/CLIMB/CLAMBER, common in many languages. As an owl is not exactly a crawling creature, we might assume that the action meant by informants

employing this verb is in the range of CLIMB,<sup>88</sup> perhaps focusing on the grasping action of the owl's claws (their very name a clue to their ability to *climb*, or *claw* their way along a surface, either vertically or horizontally).

The three sentences below give an example of each of the three verbs used by the Russian informants for this event.

- (84) из дупла вылетела сова  
 from hole out-fly.P.PAST.3SG owl  
*Out from the hole flew an owl.*
- (85) из дупла выскочила сова  
 there hole out-jump.P.PAST.3SG owl  
*Out from the hole jumped an owl.*
- (86) на дереве показался совёнок  
 in tree show-REFL.P.PAST.3SG owl.DIM  
*In the tree a little owl appeared.*

### 5.6.7 Event 7: *The deer runs off with the boy*

All Russian informants described the deer running away with the boy on his head. As in the Bulgarian and Serbian narratives, the choice of verbs focused either on the running action itself, or on the deer's transport of the boy. Though over half of the Serbian informants used CARRY as their motion verb, more Russian speakers focused on the motor activity of running in their descriptions. (The Bulgarian speakers, overall, did not take this tactic, as discussed in 5.3.7; only 18.5% used CARRY at all, and one of those combined it with a verb meaning 'run': *и го понесе напред тичайки* 'and he carried him forward, running'.)

The Russian verb choices for this event also highlight an interesting feature of Russian—the secondary meaning of the verb *понести* 'carry', which can also mean 'bolt' in reference to horses, as in 'dash away'. The verb *понести* was the verb with the most tokens (four). This alternate meaning introduces the possibility of ambiguity into the narratives in reference to the deer running away—it is both true that the deer is bolting, and that the deer is carrying the boy. However, some of the narratives disambiguate the utterance by including a direct object, as in (87):

- (87) олень испугался, и понес мальчика вперед  
 deer frighten-REFL.P.PST.3SG and carry.P.PST.3SG boy forward  
*The deer got frightened, and carried the boy forward.*

With the exception of one token of the verb *потащить* 'begin to drag', all other informants used various verbs for RUN. The vast majority of these are forms of the verb *бежать* 'run', in its base form or different prefixed forms. Two examples appear below.

<sup>88</sup> While the narrative elicited the verb *вылезть* from some informants, I will note here that not all native speaker informants accept the verb *вылезть* to describe the action of the owl—one Russian speaker from Ukraine, when asked about this usage, classified it as *по-дуратски* 'idiotic'. This choice may sound less marked for children than adult speakers. (With thanks to Igor Fisun for his input.)

(88) олень, с мальчиком на голове бежит к обрыву  
 deer with boy on head run.i.PRS.3SG toward precipice  
*[The] deer, with the boy on his head, runs towards the precipice.*

(89) олень побежал  
 deer begin.to.run.P.PST.3SG  
*[The] deer began to run.*

Unlike the Serbian and Bulgarian narratives, the Russian narratives contain no combined verbs. The nearest construction to the two-verb constructions commonly found in the Bulgarian narrations of this event is *олень помчался в скачье* ‘the deer began to rush at a leap’. Moreover, all inception of motion is expressed through prefixation, with the prefix *no-*, seen on five of the seven verbs used, with nine total tokens of verbs prefixed by *no-*.

### 5.6.8 Other motion events

Three quarters of the Russian informants mentioned the dog’s egress from the window. Six of these (66.9%) used the verb FALL to describe the process—either the unprefixated *падать* (one token), or the prefixed forms *выпасть* ‘fall out’ (two tokens) or *упасть* ‘fall’ (three tokens). The token of the unprefixated form comes from a child’s narrative, and is shown in (90) below. Although there is in fact a boundary crossing event in the story, the informant described it in such a way that that this is neglected, and this may be the motivation behind the use of an unprefixated verb rather than a prefixed verb. Prefixed verbs, however, are clearly preferred by most of the informants.

(90) собака падает с этажа вместе с банкой  
 dog fall.i.PRS.3SG from story together with jar  
*[The] dog falls from the [upper] floor together with the jar.*

Three informants described the trajectory of the dog’s motion, one using JUMP and two using FLY. One form of each verb is in the past tense, and each is prefixed with *вы-*, indicating motion out of a place. As with (90), however, one informant narrated in the present tense and used an unprefixated verb, *лететь* ‘fly’, in what is unambiguously a boundary-crossing situation. This is illustrated in (91):

(91) собака летит через окно вместе с банкой  
 dog fly.i.PRS.3SG through window together with jar  
*[The] dog flies through the window together with the jar.*

Russian informants were, in general, more likely than the Bulgarian or Serbian informants to describe the dog’s trajectory as a fall rather than a leap or simply an exit.

Three-quarters of the Russian informants also described the flight of the bees, either their exit from the hive or their chasing of the dog, with motion verbs. With two exceptions, one of two verbs were used consistently: FLY or CHASE. Two informants used two verbs in their descriptions, describing different segments of the bees’ paths. The total number of tokens of verbs meaning ‘fly’ is six, comprising *вылетать/вылететь* ‘fly out’ (four tokens), *улетать*

‘fly away’ (one token), or *полететь* ‘begin to fly’ (one token). All verbs for FLY but the last refer to the bees leaving their hive.

Three informants used verbs for CHASE, one token of each *знать* ‘chase’, *догонять* ‘catch up with’, or *погнать* ‘begin to chase’. One informant used *понестись* ‘rush off’, and one 10-year old informant employed the verb *пойти* ‘go, begin to walk’, shown in (92).

- (92) а пчёлы пошли за собачкой  
and bees set.off.P.PST.3PL after dog-DIM  
*and the bees set off after the little dog*

The use of *пойти* seems unusual in this example—it could reflect either the informant’s age and level of linguistic sophistication, or the tendency to use forms of *идти* for generalized motion. What is more striking is that the verb FLY is much more prevalent in the Russian narratives than in either the Bulgarian or Serbian narratives.

Seven of the informants (58.3%) used a motion verb to express the moment when the boy, the dog, and their frog left to go home. No one verb predominated in this episode. Two informants used *отправляться/отправиться* ‘set out, depart’, and five used forms of *ходить/идти* ‘walk, go (on foot)’. This lack of a dominating verb illustrates both the difference between Russian and Bulgarian in the accessibility of a verb meaning ‘set off’ (which exists in Bulgarian in the form of *тръгвам/тръгна*, and the reliance in Russian on verbs based on *ходить/идти* for situations in which Bulgarian regularly uses an unrelated verb.

### 5.6.9 Conclusion

The Russian narratives display a couple of differences from the Bulgarian and Serbian narratives. The first and most typologically salient difference is that Russian makes greater use of manner verbs in all situations than do Bulgarian and BCS. Some of this heightened use of manner verbs can indeed be attributed to the infrequency of pure path verbs in Russian. For many situations in which Bulgarian and Serbian informants employed *излизам/изляза* or *izlaziti/izici* ‘exit’, for example, Russian has no available path verb, and thus Russian speakers must utilize a manner verb. However, even in situations in which a path verb exists—the event in which the boy and dog set out to search for the frog, for instance—manner verbs (largely prefixed forms based on *идти* ‘walk, go’) are used far more frequently than the available path verb *отправляться/отправиться* ‘set out, depart’. Russian lexicalization patterns favor manner verbs over path verbs, and speakers of the language tend to utilize these patterns even when they have the choice to do otherwise. Anomalous (yet correct) utterances such as that shown in (90) demonstrate that mannerless expressions are possible, but unlikely.<sup>89</sup>

Another difference between Russian and the South Slavic languages is that Russian still makes use of an original Slavic verb meaning ‘climb, crawl’, a verb which has undergone a substantial semantic shift in Bulgarian and BCS. This has left Bulgarian and BCS without true manner verbs to express these concepts. BCS has responded by filling in this gap with a verb that can mean either ‘climb’ or ‘ascend’, depending on context, much as similar verbs in verb-framed languages can be interpreted differently according to context. Bulgarian developed a new verb on the same principle as BCS, though from a different root, but also coined a verb unambiguously meaning ‘climb’. However, this verb is used far less often than the manner-path verb meaning

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<sup>89</sup> It could be argued that *пойти* is a manner verb because its root means ‘walk’, but it is clear from the context that the verb in (90) is not being used to mean ‘walk’, since the subject of the verb is the bees, who are flying.

either ‘climb’ or ‘ascend’, suggesting that this distinction is now less important in Bulgarian than in Russian, although the distinction can in fact be made. Changes of this sort provide insight into the probable process of change from a satellite-framed language into a verb-frame language, a process that the Romance languages underwent quite early in their development.

## **5.7 CONCLUSION: WHAT DO SLAVIC SPEAKERS TALK ABOUT WHEN THEY TALK ABOUT FROGS?**

The Bulgarian and Serbian data from the oral narratives are more similar to each other than to the Russian data. This is not surprising considering that the former two languages belong to the same South Slavic family, while the latter language is East Slavic. However, the similarities between the two, in contrast with Russian, go beyond this in three important ways.

First, as discussed in 5.6.9 above, both Bulgarian and BCS have more verbs available that show path rather than manner. The Russian verb *идти* ‘walk, go’ may approach generalized motion, but it has many restrictions on it that prevent it from being interpreted as a neutral motion verb, and it retains full meaning and frequent usage in its unprefixated form. Many of the path verbs available in Bulgarian have developed from the verb that means ‘climb’ or ‘crawl’ in Russian, which means not only that Bulgarian gained several path verbs when the prefixes fused to the no longer independently existing roots, but that Bulgarian lost the manner verb meaning ‘climb’, resulting in the development of yet another path verb. Though BCS path verbs are often based on *идти* ‘go’, which still exists independently, imperfective prefixated forms of this verb are formed from *лазити*, which is rarely used alone, and which no longer retains any connotation of ‘crawl’ or ‘climb’ when prefixated.

Second, Russian often uses manner verbs rather than path verbs even when path verbs are a possibility, as discussed in 5.6.9; this represents a different form of expression in Russian than in Bulgarian or BCS. This does not mean, however, that BCS and Bulgarian do not frequently express manner, only that Russian speakers might place more emphasis on the expression of manner, or distinguish manner in some situations in which Bulgarian or BCS speakers are less likely to do so.

Finally, the use of prefixes is different in all three narratives. In this regard, however, BCS may be as close to Russian as it is to Bulgarian. In a continuum, Russian makes the greatest number of distinctions in prefixation, with both spatial and Aktionsart prefixes. The Serbian verbs from the data make use of fewer prefixes than the Russian, and appear more similar to the Bulgarian verbs in this way. The Bulgarian verbs exhibit even fewer different prefixes, however, and are also more likely to appear in unprefixated forms. This is not unexpected, considering that Bulgarian makes use of a greater number of different verb roots than either Russian and BCS, and thus verbal prefixes carry less of the semantic load in differentiation between one verb and the next.

Although the Slavic languages are all very similar in many ways, the oral narratives gathered using the book *Frog, Where Are You?* show some systemic differences among the languages that affect not only present lexicalization patterns, but also reinforce existing patterns and encourage further development in the same direction.

## 5.8 EPILOGUE

At this point, the responsible author would assure the audience that no frogs were harmed in the writing of this dissertation, and indeed, that is the case. Nevertheless, I would like to conclude with the final words of the very first frog story I recorded when I began my fieldwork in Bulgaria:

*Но все пак то вземало своята жабка в ръчичка... при което не е много ясно дали то пак ще я вземе в своя буркан, където тя е обречена абсолютно сигурно на смърт, тъй като жабката се храни само с живи летящи предмети—мушички и други такива, и във буркан не може да отцелее с каквато и да е храна, която ѝ запуска.*

“But all the same, he took his frog in hand... and it’s not very clear whether he will put it in the jar, where it is most certainly doomed to death, since a frog subsists only on living, flying objects—little flies and other such things, and in a jar it couldn’t survive no matter what sort of food you give it.”

Despite this pessimistic outcome, I believe all linguists are grateful for the sacrifice of these little frogs in the service of scientific research on lexicalization patterns and motion verb typology. No actual frogs were harmed in the process of this research.

## CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

### 6.1 THE BULGARIAN LANGUAGE BETWEEN SLAVIC AND BALKAN LANGUAGES

Although the Bulgarian language has retained a large number of inherited features typical of other Slavic languages, it has also developed in new directions as a result of contact with other languages on the Balkan Peninsula. The result is a verbal system that is relatively conservative in the structural areas of tense and aspect, but innovative in terms of verbal mood and the motion verb lexicon. Chapter 2 described the Bulgarian verbal system, and showed ways in which Bulgarian has added a great many new motion verbs to its lexicon, many of which have attained extremely high frequency. The inherited Slavic motion verbs with cognates in other Slavic languages are still present, including *ида* 'go; come', *ходя* 'go', *бягам* 'run', *лятя* 'fly', and *яхам* 'ride'. However, *ида* is no longer particularly common either in its unprefixated form or as a base for more than a small handful of prefixated verbs, and the other verbs have been joined by innovations in Bulgarian, including *вървя* 'walk, go', *тичам* 'run', *хвърча* 'fly', and *карам* 'drive'. In addition, Bulgarian has developed completely new directional verbs which have attained high frequency within the language, such as *тръгвам/тръгна* 'leave, set off', *качвам се/кача се* 'go up, ascend, climb', and the small set of motion verbs based on the root *-лизам/-ляза*: *влизам/вляза* 'enter, come/go in', *излизам/изляза* 'exit, come/go out', and *слизам/сляза* 'descend, come/go down'. Much of the new vocabulary in the Bulgarian motion verb lexicon focuses on path of motion rather than manner of motion, and many of these forms are analogous to those in other languages of the Balkan *Sprachbund*, including Greek and Romanian.

### 6.2 THE NON-SLAVIC NATURE OF BULGARIAN MOTION VERBS

On the whole, Bulgarian differs considerably from Russian, and less so from Serbian. This situation is not surprising, since both Bulgarian and Serbian are part of the South Slavic branch of the Slavic languages, while Russian is East Slavic. Bulgarian and Russian do have one trait in common, however, and that is that they both exceed BCS as concerns the number of different prefixes in the translated data, described in Chapter 4.

However, Bulgarian differs considerably from both Russian and BCS in an important way: Bulgarian has a large open class of words that count as motion verbs, as opposed to Russian, BCS, and other Slavic languages, in which a great portion of the motion verb system relies on a smaller set of motion verbs, in a more restricted category. The absence of a canonical category of motion verbs in Bulgarian has not been sufficiently emphasized in the literature, nor has adequate research been devoted to it.

The motion verb sets in Russian and BCS rely heavily on prefixation, and Russian motion verbs (along with those in some other Slavic languages) clearly distinguish between determinate and indeterminate motion. Chapter 4 demonstrated the extent to which Russian and BCS lean on several high-frequency motion verb roots, in combination with a large number of prefixes (up to 14, in the case of Russian *ходить/идти*, and 12 in the case of BCS *ići*). The Bulgarian motion verb system is very different, as seen from the translated data, where no single verb base appeared with more than four prefixes, and even from the original Bulgarian language data as well, where the maximum number of prefixes seen with any verb (in this case, *минавам/мина* 'pass') was six.

There are also significant differences between Bulgarian and the other two languages as concerns the organization of their respective verb systems by verbal roots. In addition to the differences in prefixation discussed above, Bulgarian has a number of innovative forms. These

two features are undoubtedly related—either a greater number of innovative forms results in less dependence on prefixation as a means of expressing greater nuances in the motion verb system, or other constraints on prefixation or the lack of a basic set of motion verbs encourage innovation in the motion verb lexicon.

Manner and path usage varies between Bulgarian and the other languages, though less so between Bulgarian and BCS, largely because BCS, like Bulgarian, has a number of high-use path verbs. Bulgarian diverges from the typical Slavic pattern in that a large percentage of the most commonly used motion verbs in Bulgarian are path verbs rather than manner verbs, and most of the specifically Bulgarian innovations in the Bulgarian lexicon are path verbs rather than manner verbs. Some of the Bulgarian path verbs have never had any particular manner meaning: two such verbs are *минавам/мина* and *връщам се/върна се*. Others are historically derived from manner verbs with prefixes; cognates of these verbs still function as manner verbs in Russian. Transparent examples include *отивам/отида*, *идвам/дойда*, *излизам/изляза*, *влизам/вляза*, and *слизам/сляза*. Even *прибирам се/прибера се*, which simply means ‘go home’, comes from a root (no longer productive as a motion verb root in Bulgarian) which still conveys a measure of manner in Russian. Similarly, *обикалям/обиколя* probably began as a verb based on *коло* ‘wheel’, implying wheeled vehicular transport, but there is no sense of this presumed earlier meaning in the modern verb—the prefix meaning ‘around’ is still there, but the verb is now a pure path verb. Although high-manner, satellite-framed languages tend to add motion verb vocabulary encoding path rather than manner, the tendency in Bulgarian is toward the addition of path verbs.

Not all new additions to the Bulgarian motion verb vocabulary stock focus on path verbs, of course. Verbs based on *мъкна се* ‘drag oneself’ are also fairly common in the data. These verbs, with path prefixes meaning ‘into’ or ‘out of’, convey the notion of sneaking in or out (though the stealth factor is not present with the prefix meaning ‘down’). Thus, the focus on path verbs in Bulgarian does not come at the exclusion of manner verbs. Bulgarian retains a rich manner verb vocabulary, and evidence of such can be seen in the data discussed in Chapters 3-5.

This work has also studied the category of verbs meaning WALK in the three Slavic languages discussed. This question of what verbs often translated as ‘walk’ actually convey has been neglected, though some work has been done on the extent to which Russian *ходить/идти* ‘walk, go’ can be considered a generalized motion verb (for example, Nessel 2010). This work has contributed to the understanding of expressions of generalized motion in Russian, BCS, and Bulgarian, in particular on verbs expressing WALK in Bulgarian, an area given too little attention before now.

### 6.3 PREFIXES AND MANNER VS. PATH IN BULGARIAN MOTION VERBS

Bulgarian prefixation was discussed extensively in Chapter 3, and compared with prefixation in BCS and Russian in Chapter 4. On the surface, the Bulgarian system of prefixation appears very similar to that of Russian (perhaps even more so than to that of BCS). The number of prefixes used in Bulgarian and Russian is roughly equal, and these are only slightly higher than the number in BCS. However, both Russian and BCS use a greater number of prefixed verbs than Bulgarian on the whole. Moreover, a number of basic, high frequency motion verbs in Bulgarian are unprefixated. Among these are *тръгвам/тръгна* ‘leave, set off’, which is never prefixed, and *вървя* ‘walk; go’, which is most often unprefixated, and can only take a very small number of prefixes). The verbs in BCS and Russian which take the most prefixes (in particular, BCS *ići* and Russian *идти* ‘go’, respectively, both meaning ‘go’) can combine with only a small

number of different prefixes in Bulgarian. Thus, although Bulgarian has the rich variety of prefixes seen in its sister languages, these prefixes no longer show the same versatility as in other Slavic languages.

Another issue that arises with prefixation is the way in which the prefix affects the semantics of the verb in terms of its manner-encoding root. On the one hand, it is clear that Bulgarian can, in fact, combine manner verbs and path prefixes and/or prepositions, thereby encoding both manner and path in a single verb plus satellite; this shows that these two elements are not mutually exclusive in Bulgarian. On the other hand, there is a clear tendency in Bulgarian for prefixed manner verbs to evolve into path verbs. Some examples of such verbs discussed in this work include *отивам/отида*, *идвам/дойда*, *излизам/изляза*, *влизам/вляза*, *слизам/сляза*, *обикалям/обиколя*, and *прибирам се/прибера се*. In the case of verbs such as these—particularly with the last four pairs of those just listed—the prefix no longer functions as a satellite to the verb, because it carries the full meaning of verb. In other words, the prefixed verbs in this list are *not* combinations of manner and path, because the root itself carries no meaning beyond, in some cases, pure motion.

Bulgarian, in short, seems to be undergoing a shift of its high-frequency prefixed manner verbs into path verbs, in a process similar to that which took place in the Romance languages. The loss of manner in the root of prefixed verbs is not unknown in other Slavic languages, either. Russian examples include prefixed forms of *ходить/идти* ‘walk; go’, which lose their meaning of WALK when prefixed, and instead become generalized motion verbs. Another example is the verb *взмываеть/взмыть* ‘shoot upwards’ (of a bird), the root of which no longer carries any meaning at all in this verb. The process, though, has been highly accelerated in Bulgarian, and the question is, what factors have led to this acceleration?

The theory behind the typological differences in motion verb lexicalization patterns makes this prediction: speakers of a language that favors manner of motion in the roots of motion verbs will emphasize manner of motion in their descriptions of motion events. This emphasis occurs in part because the cognitive load required to express manner in the verb root is less than that required to express manner outside of the motion verb itself, and thus, the expression of manner requires less effort for speakers of high manner, satellite framed languages. Because such languages emphasize manner of motion in the description of motion verb events, vocabulary increasingly develops around motion verbs which express greater nuances of manner.

According to this theory, the speakers of a language in which the motion verbs denoting manner gradually lose manner will find it increasingly taxing to describe manner of motion when using verbs which no longer express manner. If these verbs are among the high frequency motion verbs in the language, speakers of the language would be expected to decrease their focus on manner when describing motion events. It would stand to reason that, for this to have any substantial effect on the language, a number of the most common motion verbs would need to be affected. This has indeed occurred in Bulgarian; similarly, many new (unprefixed) path verbs have developed, and now are numbered among the most frequently used (the best example of this is the verb *тръгвам/тръгна* ‘depart, set out’). This change is significant because it has resulted in a readily accessible category of path verbs, which are more readily utilized as speakers shift their focus away from the expression of manner in describing motion events.

#### **6.4 THE “BALKANIZATION” OF BULGARIAN MOTION VERB LEXICALIZATION PATTERNS**

Chapter 1 discussed the typological theory of lexical patterning in which languages are classified as either verb-framed or satellite-framed. According to this typology, verb-framed

languages tend to encode path of motion in motion verb roots, and satellite-framed languages tend to encode manner of motion much more readily. Bulgarian, like other languages of the Slavic family, can be classified as essentially a satellite-framed language: basic verbs tend to show manner, and a combination of prefixes and prepositions show path of motion. However, not all languages are necessarily either verb framed or satellite framed in their motion event conflation patterns. Talmy describes modern Greek as a “system of parallel conflation” (2000b: 66), that is, a language that does not conform to one of the two typological patterns. My work has shown that the neighboring language Bulgarian is similar in many ways, which provides additional evidence that the distinction between verb-framed language and satellite-framed language is not as dichotomous as the categories of typological classification would imply. Motion verb typology has not been sufficiently studied in other Balkan languages, but the presumption is that Romanian, as a Romance language, is verb-framed; research is needed both to confirm this, and to find out where Albanian fits into this system.

The motion verb lexicalization patterns of Bulgarian allow the speakers of the language to specify both path of motion and manner of motion because these two components are encoded in different lexical units which are not mutually exclusive. However, motion verb typology should be seen as a cline, and one of the findings of this study is that Bulgarian is situated much closer to the verb-framed languages on this cline than are most other Slavic languages. The method used to establish this finding, namely the comparison of Bulgarian motion verbs with other Slavic motion verbs using a data set of literatures translated from low-manner and high-manner languages into Slavic languages, has not been previously used in the study of motion verb typology.

A possible source for increased reliance on path verbs in Bulgarian is the influence of neighboring languages. Turkish and Balkan Romance are both verb-framed languages, and Balkan Romance is, like Bulgarian, a language of the Balkan *Sprachbund*. Greek is another Balkan language which has been in intense contact with Bulgarian, and it is a language equipollent for path and manner. Some of the high-frequency unprefixated path verbs in Bulgarian also have analogous forms in other Balkan languages as well.

Other changes in the motion verb system can be seen in Bulgarian. These include the replacement of the earlier Slavic verb for WALK with the innovative *вървя*, as the earlier verb denoting WALK became a generalized motion verb, and the innovation of a new verb for RUN, *тичам*, as *бягам* developed more non-literal prefixed meanings.

## 6.5 AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This work has presented a description of the Bulgarian motion verb system with a focus on the encoding of path and manner in the motion verb system, on specific Bulgarian innovations in the motion verb system, and on ways in which the Bulgarian system of prefixation has shifted away from typical Slavic prefixation patterns. In all of these areas, however, much remains for further study.

One important question yet unanswered is the degree to which shift in the Bulgarian verbal system might be due to Balkan linguistic contact. Because so much of what is different about Bulgarian in comparison with other Slavic languages can be attributed to potential convergence phenomena, it is logical to inquire whether the changes discussed above may have been encouraged by language contact. It is suggestive to draw a parallel with Greek, which has a similar system of conflation of motion verbs, but more work is needed to determine just how similar or dissimilar the Greek system is from the Bulgarian. Research into the parallel system of

conflation in modern Greek may give insight into changes in both Greek and Bulgarian. Further research may indicate whether Greek has changed due to Slavic influence, Bulgarian has changed due to Greek influence, or the two languages have converged due to contact both with each other and with neighboring languages. Furthermore, little work has been done on Romanian and its place within the Romance language family in terms of path and manner encoding, and such work may shed light on the Bulgarian system as well.

More work could also be done in Bulgarian motion verb semantics in the areas of prefixation and the development of new motion verb vocabulary. The interaction between prefix and root and the tendency for the root to lose manner expression in some circumstances warrants further study. How does manner retention differ in languages which express path in a preposition rather than in a prefix? Furthermore, how do prefixes and prepositions interact? When prepositions shift in meaning, as they have sometimes done in Bulgarian (in particular, the preposition *уз*, the meaning of which has shifted from ‘out of’ to ‘around’), how does this affect the interaction between path prefixes and prepositions? And how does the changing role of prepositions in a language which has shifted from synthetic to analytic (such as Bulgarian or, to some extent, Greek) affect verbal prefixation?

In addition, there remains the question of whether or not there really is a tendency to coin new path verbs at a greater rate than new manner verbs. Further research should focus not only on the most modern forms of the language, but on the language in recent centuries (to the extent possible). When innovative Bulgarian motion verb forms have arisen, how did they interact with older forms before replacing them, and is there reason to believe that these forms were created by analogy with forms in neighboring languages? The Internet, with its profusion of both colloquial and literary forms, provides a useful platform for studying modern usage and future research into this area could take this into account.

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## APPENDIX A BULGARIAN FROG STORIES

The following lines are excerpted from my Bulgarian informant interviews, and are chosen to illustrate the range of verbs used for each motion event in the story. The letter corresponding to each informant is consistent throughout the list, so that A, for example, always refers to the same informant interview. If a letter is omitted, this indicates that the informant did not mention the event. In some cases, I have included an informant's statement about the event even though it does not include a motion verb, in order to indicate other ways informants described the events pictured in the book. In these cases, there is no boldfaced verb in the excerpted information. Motion verbs in co-events are set in boldface type even when they are not directly related to the event at hand, simply in order to better indicate the range of motion verbs used by informants. The relevance of a given co-event to the event in question should be clear from the English translations. The events are organized in the chronological order (that is, in the order in which they appear in the stories), and cross-referenced to the section of this dissertation in which they are discussed.

I have translated each phrase, but have not provided interlinear glossing. However, the motion verb is set in boldface type in both the original and the translation. I have tried to strike a balance between a natural English translation and a literal rendering of motion verbs in order to clearly convey the verb choices of the Bulgarian informants. A few items stand out in the translations because of this. The verb pair *излизам/изляза* 'exit, come/go out' has been consistently translated as 'exit'. Although this often sounds unnatural in the English translation, where the deictic path verbs *come out* or *go out* would be used (depending on the context), I have chosen a literal translation to make a clear distinction between *излизам/изляза* and the Bulgarian deictic path verbs *идвам/дойда* 'come' and *отивам/отидна* 'go'. Additionally, with verbs such as *излизам/изляза* 'exit, come/go out' or *слизам/сляза* 'descend', Bulgarian speakers often add adverbials such as *навън* 'outside' or *долу* 'down', even though these are implied in the meaning of the verbs themselves. These additional words have been included in the English translations to indicate their presence, even though they sound unnatural in English when a path verb is used.

### Event 1: The frog escapes from the jar (§5.5.2)

- A ... **се измъкнала** от буркана и **избягала** незнайно къде.  
*[The frog] sneaked out of the jar and fled who knows where.*
- B Любопитната хабка **избягала** от буркана.  
*The curious little frog escaped from the jar.*
- C Жабата **изскочила** от буркана.  
*The frog jumped out of the jar.*
- D Една нощ жабата **излязла** от буркана.  
*One night the frog exited from the jar.*
- E На жабока му омързило да стои в буркан, и **скочил** на свобода.  
*The frog got tired of staying in the jar, and jumped to freedom.*
- F През нощта палавата жаба **излязла** тайно от буркана.  
*During the night the mischievous frog secretly exited from the jar.*

- G Малката палавница **изляза** тихо от буркана и се **запътило** неznайно къде.  
*The little mischief-maker **exited** quietly from the jar and **set off** who knows where.*
- H Той **излезе** от буркана и **тръгна** на някъде.  
*It **exited** from the jar and **set out** somewhere.*
- I То **се измъкна** от буркана без те да забележат.  
*It **sneaked out** of the jar without them noticing.*
- J Жабчето тайно **се измъкнало** от буркана.  
*The little frog secretly **sneaked out** of the jar.*
- K Но жабчето **излезе** от буркана и **пое** своя път.  
*But the little frog **exited** from the jar and **set off** on its way.*
- L Жабката **изскочила** от буркана.  
*The little frog **jumped out** of the jar.*
- M Но една нощ, жабката **изскочила** от буркана и **избягала** на неznайно място.  
*But one night, the little frog **jumped out** of the jar and **fled** to an unknown place.*
- N ... защото обикновено жабата не **излизала** от буркана.  
*... because usually the frog didn't **exit** from the jar.*
- O Жаба тихо **изскочила** от буркана и **избягала**.  
*[The] frog quietly **jumped out** of the jar and **escaped**.*
- P Тя **се измъкна** леко на пръсти и **изчезна**.  
*It **sneaked out** softly on tiptoe and **disappeared**.*
- Q И **се измъкна** от своя затвор ... и тъй като прозореца беше отворен, тя **избяга** през него.  
*And [it] **sneaked out** of its prison ... and since the window was open, it **escaped** through it.*
- R **Покатери се** по стъкленницата, много трудно **се изкачи** до горе ... успя да **избяга**.  
*[It] **climbed up** the glass, with great difficulty it **got up** to the top ... [it] succeeded in **escaping**.*
- S Лекичко **се измъкнала** от буркана.  
*[It] softly **sneaked out** of the jar.*
- T ... за да **избяга** от буркана.  
*... in order to **escape** from the jar.*
- U Жабката **изскочи** от буркана и **избяга**.  
*The little frog **jumped out** of the jar and **escaped**.*
- V Жабката **изчезнала**.  
*The little frog **disappeared**.*
- W Жабката **измъкна** едното си краче от буркана, след това и другото, и **цопна** на земята. След това бързо **изскочи** от стаята.  
*The little frog **slipped** one of its little legs out of the jar, and then the other, and **popped** onto the ground. After that it quickly **jumped out** of the room.*

- X А жабчето **излезе** от буркана и **изчезна**.  
*But the little frog **exited** from the jar and **disappeared**.*
- Y През нощта жабата **извади** първо едното краче, след това другото, и **изскочи** от буркана.  
*During the night the frog pulled out one of its little legs, and then the other, and **jumped out** of the jar.*
- Z Жабчето **изскочи** от буркана.  
*The little frog **jumped out** of the jar.*
- Zz Но жабчето през нощта е **излязъл** от буркана и **избягал**.  
*But the little frog during the night **exited** the jar and **escaped**.*

**Event:** The boy and dog leave (via the window) (§5.3.8)

- A **Скочили** през прозореца.  
*[They] **jumped** through the window.*
- B Хванало това приятел малкото кученце, и **тръгнали** да издирват жабчето.  
*[He] grabbed this friend the little little dog, and they **set off** to search for the little frog.*
- C Отворили прозореца да я търсят и кучето **паднало**.  
*[They] opened the window to look for it and the dog **fell**.*
- D И **бягайки паднало** от прозореца ... Момченцето бързо **се притичало**.  
*... and **running**, [he] **fell** from the window ... The little boy quickly **ran up** to him.*
- E И **тръгнали** из стаята да го търсят ... През прозореца **се показали**.  
*And they **set off** throughout the room to look for it ... They **appeared** through the window.*
- F И когато **се** бяха **показали** на прозореца, кучето **падна** от него, на земята...  
Момчето **слезе** долу.  
*And when they had **appeared** at the window, the dog **fell** from it, onto the ground... The boy **descended** below.*
- G И **паднало** от прозореца.  
*And [he] **fell** from the window.*
- H Кучето **падна** от прозореца.  
*The dog **fell** from the window.*
- I Тогава кучето **скочи** от прозореца и реши да **тръгнат** да го търси.  
*Then the dog **jumped** from the window and decided to **set out** to look for it.*
- J Тогава решили да **излязат** навън ... Отворили прозореца и **тръгнали** извън къщи да търсят своя любимец.  
*Then [they] decided to **go out** outside ... [They] opened the window and **set off** outside the house to look for their pet.*
- K Кучето без да иска **се подхлъзна** и **падна** на земята.  
*The dog accidentally **slipped** and **fell** to the ground.*
- L Тогава то **скочило** от прозореца ... Петьо...бързо **слязъл** от прозореца.  
*Then he **jumped** from the window ... Petyo...quickly **descended** from the window.*

- M Момчето **се показало** през прозореца ... тогава кучето **скочило** от прозореца.  
*The boy **appeared** through the window ... Then the dog **jumped** from the window.*
- N И то **скочило** ... когато **слязъл** долу.  
*And he **jumped** ... when he **descended** below...*
- O Но без да иска **паднало** ... Момчето...**изскочило** от къщата.  
*But he accidentally **fell** ... The boy...**jumped out** of the house.*
- P И така **изскочи** на прозореца ... Кучето **падна** от прозореца.  
*And thus he **jumped** out at the window ... The dog **fell** from the window.*
- Q То **падна** на земята.  
*He **fell** on the ground.*
- R Стъкленницата...го повлече на долу, през прозореца.  
*The jar...**pulled him down**, through the window.*
- S Изведнъж кученцето Шарко се **подхлъзнало** и **паднало** от прозореца.  
*Suddenly the little dog Šarko **slipped** and **fell** from the window.*
- T Шаро...**изскочи** през прозореца навън, всъщност, **падна** от прозореца.  
*Šaro...**jumped out** through the window outside, actually, [he] **fell** from the window.*
- U Неочаквано **падна** долу; Ваньо **скочи** след него.  
*[He] **unexpected fell** down; Vanyo **jumped** after him.*
- V То **скочи** заедно със буркана от прозореца.  
*He **jumped**, together with the jar, from the window.*
- W Че той **цопна**, без да иска, долу на земята през прозореца ... момче...бързо **изскочи** навън.  
*So he **plopped**, accidentally, down on the ground through the window ... [The] boy...**quickly jumped out** outside.*
- X Тогава кучето **скочи** от прозореца.  
*Then the dog **jumped** from the window.*
- Y Главата му натежа и той **тупна** на земята.  
*His head got heavy and he **thumped** onto the ground.*
- Z Кученцето **падна** от прозореца.  
*The little dog **fell** from the window.*
- Zz И Чарли **пада** със бурканчето на главата си във тревата.  
*And Charlie **fell** with the little jar on his head into the grass.*

**Event 2: They set off to search for the frog (§5.3.3)**

- A **Тръгна**ли те, **вървяли**, **вървяли**, **вървяли**, **вървяли**, и **стигна**ли до гората.  
*They **set out**, they **walked**, and **walked**, and **walked**, and **arrived** at the forest.*
- B **Тръгна**ли, търсили, търсили, но не могли да го намерят.  
*They **set out**, they **searched**, and **searched**, but they **couldn't find** it.*

- C **Тръгна**ли да я търсят извън къщата, към гората.  
*They **set out** to look for it outside of the house, towards the forest*
- D Решили двамата да **тръгнат** през гората и да търсят жабата.  
*They decided, the two of them, to **set off** through the woods and to look for the frog.*
- E Хванало кучето в ръце и **тръгнало** да търси жабока ... **Ходили** из полето.  
*[He] took the dog in hand and **set out** to look for the frog ... They **walked** around the field.*
- F Те продължили да го търсят навън, сред дърветата, в гората.  
*They continued to look for it outside, among the trees, in the forest.*
- G **Тръгна**ли да го търсят в полето и гората.  
*They **set out** to look for it in the field and the forest.*
- H Решиха да погледнат във гората до близката къща.  
*[They] decided to look in the forest nearby the house.*
- I Двамата със момчето решиха да **тръгнат** на път.  
*The two of them decided to **set off** on their journey.*
- J **Продължили** по-надалеч от къщата ... **Влезли** във гората.  
*[They] **continued** further from the house ... They **entered** the forest.*
- K **Тръгна**ха да дирят своя приятелче по полянката ... **Стигна**ха до гората.  
*[They] **set out** to search for their little friend in the field ... They **reached** the forest.*
- L Двамата **тръгна**ли да търсят жабката ... Петьо **вървял** и викал жабката.  
*The two **set off** to look for the little frog ... Petyo **walked** and called the little frog.*
- M Тогава двамата **тръгна**ли да търсят жабката; **наближили** гората.  
*Then the two of them **set off** to look for the little frog; they **neared** the forest.*
- N **Тръгна**ли двамата приятели да търсят навън жабока; **минали** през гората.  
*The two friends **set out** to look for the frog outside; they **passed** through the forest.*
- O Двамата заедно **тръгна**ли във близката околност да търсят жабката.  
*The two **set out** together in the nearby vicinity to look for the little frog.*
- P Решиха да **тръгнат** към гората.  
*They decided to **set out** towards the forest.*
- Q И заедно със кучето **тръгна**ха да търсят новия си приятел; **вървяха, вървяха** към гората.  
*And together with the dog they **set out** to look for their new friend; they **walked** and **walked** towards the forest.*
- R **Тръгна**ха да търсят извън дома; **тръгна**ха по пътеката.  
*They **set out** to look outside; they **set out** along the path.*
- S **Тръгна**ли да търсят своя домашен любимец, а **тръгна**ли към гората.  
*[They] **set out** to look for their pet, and **set out** towards the forest.*
- T **Излязо**ха навън във гората.  
*[They] **exited** outside in the forest.*

- U **Излязоха** на полето близо до гората.  
*[They] exited onto the field near the forest.*
- V Решиха заедно да **излезнат** да търсят новия се приятел жабката. Дълго **вървяха** по една пътечка.  
*[They] decided together to exit to look for their new friend, the little frog. [They] walked a long time along a little path.*
- W **Тръгнаха** да търсят жабката извън къщата; **вървяха, вървяха** и **стигнаха** във гора.  
*[They] set out to look for the little frog outside the house; they walked and walked and reached the forest.*
- X Двамата заедно продължиха да търсят жабчето Жужи; **стигнаха** до парка.  
*The two together continued to look for the little frog Žuži; they reached the park.*
- Y Двамата приятели продължиха своята [...] дейност ... **Тръгнаха** към гората.  
*The two friends continued their [...] activity ... They set out towards the forest.*
- Z **Тръгнаха** да търсят към гората.  
*[They] set out to look towards the forest.*
- Zz Започва да го търсят. **Отиват** във гората.  
*[He] begins to look for him [They] go to the forest.*

**Event 3: The gopher<sup>90</sup> comes out of the hole (§5.3.4)**

- A Един плъх **излязъл** от земята.  
*A rat exited from the ground.*
- B Отвътре **изскочил** един мишок.  
*From inside a big mouse jumped out.*
- C И като **излязла** къртицата, момчето се уплашило.  
*And when a mole exited, the boy was startled.*
- D Животното, което **изскочило** от дупката, това било къртицата.  
*The animal that jumped out of the hole, this was a mole.*
- E В този момент от дупката **изскочил** лалугер.  
*At this moment, from the hole, out jumped a ground squirrel.*
- F От дупката **се показва** къртица.  
*From the hole appeared a mole.*
- G От земята **излязла** една малка—това не знам какво е, но ми се струва, че не е къртица—някакво животно, което има очи.  
*From the ground exited a small—I don't know what it is, but it seems to me that it's not a mole—some kind of animal that has eyes.*

<sup>90</sup> The English word *gopher* can refer to more than one type of burrowing rodent, but such a rodent was presumably unfamiliar to most of the Bulgarian informants, who used a number of different words to describe the creature. The word *лалугер* ‘ground squirrel’, used by three informants, is probably the best equivalent, but other informants chose variations on *mouse*, *rat*, or *mole*, with two informants even using the words for *beaver* and *badger* (one token of each).

- H Възмутен, **се показа** един полски плъх.  
*A field rat **appeared**, confused.*
- I Изведнъж от дупката **се показа** къртицата.  
*Suddenly, from the hole **appeared** a mole.*
- K Оттам **излезе** едно мишле.  
*From there a little mouse **exited**.*
- L Изведнъж от дупката **се показало** едно мишле.  
*Suddenly from the hole **appeared** a little mouse.*
- M От дупката **се показила** една мишка.  
*From the hole a mouse **appeared**.*
- N От дупката **се показъл** мишок, сърдит.  
*From the hole a big mouse **appeared**; [it was] angry.*
- O От дупката във земята **изскочи**ло едно разтревожено мишле.  
*From the hole in the ground **out jumped** a perturbed little mouse.*
- P От дупката **изскочи** не жабата, а мишка.  
*From the hole **jumped out** not the frog, but a mouse.*
- Q От тази дупка **изскочи** една къртица.  
*From this hole **out jumped** a mole.*
- R Беше домът на една мишка.  
*It was the home of a mouse.*
- S От дупката **излязъл** един лалугер.  
*From the hole a ground squirrel **exited**.*
- T По това време **се показа** и жабката от дупката ... От дупката **изляза** не жаба, а мишка.  
*Around this time the frog also **appeared** from the hole ... From the hole **exited** not a frog, but a mouse.*
- U От дупката **излезе** язовец.  
*From the hole a badger **exited**.*
- V Оттам изведнъж **изскочи** един едър плъх.  
*From there suddenly **out jumped** a large rat.*
- W Изведнъж от дупката **изскочи** един голям плъх.  
*Suddenly from the hole **out jumped** a large rat.*
- X ... от която **излезе** голям плъх.  
*... from which a large rat **exited**.*
- Y Оттам **изскочи** един лалугер.  
*From there a ground squirrel **jumped out**.*
- Z Но от дупката **изскочи** едно бобърче.  
*But from the hole **out jumped** a little beaver.*

Zz От самата дупка **излиза** едно плъхче.  
*From the very hole a little rat **exits**.*

**Event:** The bees (chase the dog, etc.) (§5.3.8)

A Роякът пчели които са **хукнали** да жият кученцето...  
*The swarm of bees which **darted off** to sting the dog...*

B Кучето бутнало кошера и пчелите **избягали**, и **тръгна**ли да **гонят** детето и кученцето.  
*The dog pushed the hive and the bees **escaped**, and **set out** to **chase** the child and the dog.*

D А кученцето ... съборило кошера, от който **излетели** пчеличките.  
*And the little dog ... knocked down the hive, from which **flew out** the little bees.*

E А пчелите **подгонили** кучето.  
*And the bees **chased** the dog.*

F Пчелите **подгониха** кучето.  
*The bees **chased** the dog.*

G ... нещо интересно, което виси на едно дърво, и от него **излизира**ли пчели.  
*... something interesting hanging from a tree, and from it **were exiting** bees.*

H Пчелите, организирани вече, бяха **погна**ли приятеля му кучето, и двамата със бяг **се спуснаха да бягат** към гората.  
*The bees, already organized, had chased his friend, the dog, and the two of them at a run **rushed to run** towards the forest.*

I Изведнъж покрай тях **мина** ято от пчели; от него [кошера] **излязоха** всички оси; кучето **хукна да вяга** от осите.  
*Suddenly next to them **passed** a flock of bees; from it [the hive] **exited** all the wasps; the dog **darted off at a run** from the wasps.*

J Пчели **погна**ли кучето ... кучето **бягало**.  
*Bees **chased** the dog ... the dog **ran**.*

K Оттам **излязоха** пчели.  
*From there **exited** bees.*

L От топката...**излязъл** рой пчели ... Кученцето, преследвано от роят пчели, **побягна**ло.  
*From the ball...**exited** a swarm of bees ... The dog, followed by the swarm of bees, **fled**.*

M И пчелите го **подгонили** ... кучето **затичало** силно през гората.  
*And the bees **chased** him ... The dog **began running** hard through the forest.*

N Пчелите най-накрая **отгонили** кучето.  
*The bees finally **chased off** the dog.*

O И пчелите **изскочили** ... от него ... Пчелите вече били **подгонили** кученцето ... Кучето **се затичало** към ...  
*And the bees **jumped** ... from it ... The bees had already **chased** the little dog ... The dog **dashed** towards ...*

- P Кучето **побягна**, **побягна** със всичка сила от лошите оси.  
*The dog **ran** and **ran** with all his might from the bad wasps.*
- Q И всички пчели **изскочиха** от там ... А горските пчели **подгониха** неговия приятел кучето.  
*And all the bees **jumped out** of there ... And the forest bees **chased** his friend, the dog.*
- S И започнали да ги **гонят** и **преследват**  
*And they began to **chase** and **track** them.*
- T Пчелите **излязоха** и зажузаха около тях ... А пчелите **подгониха** Шаро  
*The bees **exited** and began to buzz around them ... And the bees **chased** Šaro.*
- U А пчелите от кошара **се разхвърчаха** ... Кошарът падна от дървото и пчелите **излязоха** от него ... Роякът пчели **подгони** Рекс, който **се втурна да бяга**  
*And the bees from the hive **flew all around** ... The hive fell from the tree and the bees **exited** from it ... the swarm of bees chased Rex, who **darted to run**.*
- V Пчелите **се разжузаха** и започнаха бързо да **летят** около момчето ... Роко също **избяга** от пчелите.  
*The bees **buzzed around** and began quickly to **fly** around the boy ... Roko also **fled** from the bees.*
- W ... които **излизаха** от кошера ... Пчелите **се разлитяха** и **подгониха** и момчето и кучето.  
*... which **came out** of the hive ... The bees **flew off** and **chased** both the boy and the dog.*
- X Кучето във това време **бягаше** подплашено от рой пчели.  
*The dog at this time **was running**, scared of the swarm of bees.*
- Y Пчелите...**погнаха** малкия дакел...Той **хукна** напред.  
*The bees...**chased** the little dachshund... He **darted** ahead.*
- Z Пчелите **погнаха** кученцето, то **хукна да бяга**.  
*The bees **chased** the little dog, he **darted off at a run**.*
- Zz Започват да ги **гонят**.  
*[They] began to **chase** him.*

#### Event 4: The boy climbs<sup>91</sup> the tree (§5.3.5)

- C **Скочило** да се скрие в хралупата.  
*[He] **jumped** to hide in a tree hole.*
- D То **качило се** на едно дърво.  
*He **went up** in a tree.*
- E Момчето **се качило** на дървото до хралупата.  
*The boy **went up** in the tree to the tree hole.*

<sup>91</sup> For the translations in this event, as well as in Event 6 (in which the boy climbs onto a rock), the verb pair *качвам се/кача се* 'go up, ascend; climb' has been translated as *go up*, although *climb* sounds better in English. This translation distinguishes the low manner verb *качвам се/кача се* from the high manner verb *катеря се* 'climb, clamber', as well as from prefixed forms of *качвам се/кача се*, which may imply more manner.

- G Малкото момченце **се качило** на дървото.  
*The little boy **went up** in the tree.*
- H Момчето реши да надникне в хралупата на близкото дърво.  
*The boy decided to peek into the tree hole in the nearby tree.*
- I Оттам момчето **се покачи** на едно дърво.  
*From there the boy **got up** in a tree.*
- J Митко решило да надникне там.  
*Mitko decided to peek in there.*
- K Момчето **се качи** и погледна вътре.  
*The boy **went up** and looked in.*
- L Петьо **се покачил** на дървото.  
*Petyo **got up** in the tree.*
- M То **се покатерило** на дървото.  
*He **climbed up** in the tree.*
- N Като момчето **се покачил** на клон...  
*When the boy **got up** on the branch...*
- O **Покачило се** за да погледа.  
*[He] **got up** to look.*
- P **Покатери се** Митко на едно огромно, старо дърво.  
*Mitko **climbed up** on a huge old tree.*
- Q През това време момчето **се покатери** на друго дърво.  
*At this time the boy **climbed up** in another tree.*
- R **Покатери се.**  
*[He] **climbed up**.*
- S Петьо във бързината **се покатери** на едно дърво.  
*Petyo in his haste **climbed up** in a tree.*
- T Той **се качи** на дървото.  
*He **went up** in the tree.*
- U Ваньо се изплаши и **се качи** на дървото.  
*Vanyo got scared and **went up** in a tree.*
- V Мони **се качи** на едно дърво.  
*Moni **went up** in a tree.*
- W Момчето **се качи** на едно близко дърво.  
*The boy **went up** in a nearby tree.*
- X А Гого **се покатери** на едно дърво.  
*And Gogo **climbed up** in a tree.*
- Y **Качи се** върху него.  
*[He] **went up** on it.*

Z Сашо **се качи** на едно дърво.  
*Sašo went up in a tree.*

Zz Бобчето **се качвал** на едно дърво.  
*Bobby was going up in a tree.*

**Event 5: The owl<sup>92</sup> comes out of its hole (§5.3.6)**

A От хралупата **излетял** един бухал.  
*From the tree hole an owl flew out.*

B От хралупата **изскочила** една сова.  
*From the tree hole an owl jumped out.*

C Оттам **изскочил** един бухал.  
*From there an owl jumped out.*

D Но оттам **изскочила** една кукумявка.  
*But from there an owl jumped out.*

E В този момент от хралупата **изскочил** бухал.  
*At this moment from the tree hole out jumped an owl.*

F А в самото дърво се намирал бухал.  
*But in that very tree there was an owl.*

G ... от която **излязъл** един бухал.  
*... out of which an owl exited.*

H Частната собственост беше защитена яростно от един бухал.  
*The private property was fiercely protected by an owl.*

I Изведнъж от дупката **изскочи** сова.  
*Suddenly from the hole out jumped an owl.*

K Оттам изведнъж **излезе** един бухал и размаха своите криле.  
*From there suddenly an owl exited and flapped its wings.*

L От дупката на дървото **излязъл** един бухал.  
*From the hole of the tree an owl exited.*

M Оттам **излязъл** един бухал.  
*From there an owl exited.*

O Но отвътре **изскочил** един бухал.  
*But from within out jumped an owl.*

P От хралупата **изскочи** стар бухал.  
*From the tree hole out jumped an old owl.*

Q От тази хралупа **изскочи** един бухал.  
*From this tree hole an owl jumped out.*

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<sup>92</sup> Three different Bulgarian words are used for owl, but each is translated simply as 'owl' in English. The words are *бухал*, *кукумявка*, and *сова*; these are all birds of the order *Strigiformes*. The *бухал* is the *Bubo bubo*, but the words *кукумявка* and *сова* can each refer to more than one genus and species.

- R Оттам **излезе** нощната птица бухал; тя **излетя** от хралупата.  
*From there the night bird, owl, **exited**; it **flew out** of the tree hole.*
- S В това вековно дърво живеел стария бухал... **Излязъл**, размахал със криле.  
*In this ancient tree lived the old owl... [It] **came out**, and flapped its wings.*
- T Оттам **се показва** бухал ... бухала **летеше** след Ваньо.  
*From there **appeared** an owl ... The owl **flew** after Vanyo.*
- V От хралупата **излезна** бухал, който беше много ядосен.  
*From the tree hole **out came** an owl, who was very angry.*
- W Изведнъж оттам **изскочи** един грамаден бухал.  
*Suddenly from there **out jumped** an enormous owl.*
- X От хралупата изведнъж **излезе** един бухал.  
*From the tree hole suddenly an owl **exited**.*
- Y От най-голямата хралупа **изскочи** мъдрата птица, бухала.  
*From the largest tree hole **out jumped** the wise bird, the owl.*
- Z От дупката, която мислеше, че е жабчето, **изскочи** една сова.  
*From the hole, which he thought was the frog's, an owl **jumped out**.*
- Zz От самата дупка **излиза** един бухал.  
*From this very hole an owl **exits**.*

**Event 6: The boy climbs up on a rock (§5.3.5)**

- A **Отиде, се качи** на един камък на високо.  
*[He] **went**, and **went up** on a rock up high.*
- B **Качило се** на един камък.  
*[He] **went up** on a rock.*
- C Намерило една скала ... **Качило** то по нея и гледал там.  
*[He] **found** a rock ... He **went up** on it and looked there.*
- D То **качило се** на един връх.  
*He **went up** on a peak.*
- E **Бягало** момчето и **стигнало** до ендо хълмче ... и **се покачило** на него.  
*The boy **ran** and **reached** a little hill ... and [he] **got up** on it.*
- F Момченцето **тича**, и **се качи** на един камък.  
*The little boy **ran**, and **went up** on a rock.*
- G Видели един голям камък ... Малкото момченце **се качило**.  
*[They] saw a large rock ... The little boy **went up**.*
- H **Качи се**.  
*[He] **went up**.*
- J Митко **се качил** там.  
*Mitko **went up** there.*

- K **Качиха се** на една висока скала.  
*[They] went up on a high rock.*
- L Петьо започнал да **се изкачва** по камъните.  
*Petyo began to climb up on the rocks.*
- M **Покатерило се** на нея.  
*[He] climbed up on it.*
- N Момчето **се качил** на висока камара от камъни.  
*The boy went up on a high pile of rocks.*
- O **Покачило се** на скалата.  
*[He] got up on the rock.*
- P На един висок камък той **се покатери**.  
*He climbed up on a high rock.*
- Q И момчето реши да **се покатери** върху него.  
*... and the boy decided to climb up on it.*
- U След това **се качи** на скалата.  
*After this [he] went up on the rock.*
- V Мони **се качи** върху скалата.  
*Moni went up on the rock.*
- W Реши да **се покатери** на скалата.  
*[He] decided to climb up on the rock.*
- X Гого **се покатери** на една скала.  
*Gogo climbed up on a rock.*
- Y **Качи се** Наско на камарата.  
*Nasko went up on the hear.*
- Z **Качи се** на един камък.  
*[He] went up on a rock.*
- Zz Бобчо **се качва** на една купче на камени.  
*Bobby goes up on a pile of rocks.*

**Event 7: The deer runs off with the boy (§5.3.7)**

- A Еленът **хукнал да бяга**, заедно с момченцето.  
*The deer darted off at a run, together with the little boy.*
- B Елена се изплашил и **тръгнал да бяга; бягал бягал** и кучето **тръгнало** след детето.  
*The deer got scared and set off at a run; [he] ran and ran and the dog set off after the boy.*
- C И елена като видял, че стършелите ги нападнали, **тръгнал да бяга**.  
*And when the deer saw that the hornets were attacking them, [he] set off at a run.*

- D И **побягнал** елена със него, а кучето, пред него.  
*And the deer **started running** with him, and the dog, in front of him.*
- E И еленът с глава го **понесло**.  
*And the deer **carried** him on its head.*
- F От другата страна на камъка се появи елен, който...го **понесе** напред **тичайки**.  
*From the other side of the rock a deer appeared, which...**carried** him ahead, **running**.*
- G ... един хубав елен, който го **понесъл** със голяма скорост към брега на едно блато.  
*... a pretty deer, which **carried** him at great speed towards the bank of a marsh.*
- H Еленът подметна малкото момче на главата си и **започна да бяга** ... Всички **препуснаха в галоп**.  
*The deer swept the little boy onto its head and **began to run** ... They all **broke into a gallop**.*
- I Еленеът **продължи да бяга** към една пропаст.  
*The deer **continued to run** towards an abyss.*
- J Еленът грабнал момчето между рогата си и, ядосен ... **Хукнал да бяга**.  
*The deer clutched the boy between its horns, angry ... [It] **darted off at a run**.*
- K Момчето се оказа отгоре на неговата глава ... Елена ... **побягна** към една пропаст.  
*The boy ended up on its head ... The deer ... **began to run** towards an abyss.*
- L Петьо се озовал върху главата на един елен ... Той се оплашил и **побягнал**.  
*Petyo ended up on the head of a deer ... It got scared and **began to run**.*
- M Елена закачил момчето на рогата си и **затичал** силно заедно с него.  
*The deer hung the boy on its horns and **began to run** hard with him.*
- N И метнал детето върху рогата си; **хукнал** еленът.  
*And [it] swept the boy onto its horns; the deer **darted off**.*
- O Елена...**тръгнал да бяга** към близката река.  
*The deer...**set off at a run** towards the nearby river.*
- P Елена **побягна**.  
*The deer **began to run**.*
- Q Елена...**започна да бяга** напред.  
*The deer **began to run** ahead.*
- R **Хукна да бяга**.  
*[It] **darted off at a run**.*
- S **Хукнало е да бяга**.  
*[It] **darted off at a run**.*
- T И той **побягва** заедно със него.  
*And it **began to run** together with him.*
- U И **побягна** заедно със него ... Рекс...**тичаше** след елена.  
*And it **began to run** together with him... Rex ... **was running** after the deer.*

- V И го **понесе** към близката пропаст.  
*And it **carried** him towards a nearby abyss.*
- W Елена изскочи изведнъж от дървото ... че **хукна да бяга**.  
*The deer jumped out suddenly from the tree ... and it **darted off at a run**.*
- X Така еленът го **понесе**.  
*So the deer **carried** him.*
- Y Той **търти да бяга**, уплашен.  
*It **dashed off at a run**, scared.*
- Z И **хукна да бяга** ... Елена **тичаше** много бързо.  
*And [it] **darted off at a run** ... The deer **was running** very fast.*
- Zz И **почва да бяга**.  
*And it **begins to run**.*

**Event:** The deer causes the boy to fly over the cliff<sup>93</sup> (§5.3.8)

- A Запратил момченцето в една голяма пропаст.  
*[He] sent the little boy into a big abyss.*
- B От спирането детето **паднало**, кучето и то ... И така се озовали в блатото.  
*From the stopping the child **fell**, and the dog too ... And so [they] ended up in the swamp.*
- C Оттам елена пуска момчето в езерото, и кучето **пада** ... И там ги хвърля и двамата във водата, ги пуска във водата.  
*From there the deer dropped the boy into the lake, and the dog **fell** ... And there [it] threw both of them into the water, dropped them into the water.*
- D Спрял се елена на една скала ... Момченцето и кученцето **паднали** в водата.  
*The deer stopped at a rock ... The little boy and the little dog **fell** into the water.*
- E А момчето **полита** и **пада** във реката.  
*And the boy **flew off and fell** into the river.*
- F Той **тичаше** към една пропаст ... и хвърли момченцето *от* пропастта.  
*He **ran** towards an abyss ... and threw the little boy from the abyss.*
- G Момченцето **литнало** в бездната на долу.  
*The little boy **flew** into the abyss below.*
- H Така **бягайки стигнаха** до една пропаст ... Еленът заковра рязко, момчето **изхвъркна** от главата му.  
*Thus **running** [they] **reached** an abyss ... The deer froze sharply, the boy **flew** from his head.*
- I Разтърси глава, и момчето **падна** в пропастта.  
*[It] shook its head, and the boy **fell** into the abyss.*

<sup>93</sup> In this event, agentive motion verbs are marked (for both the deer and the boy, although the boy's trip is the focus of the action in this section). Many informants simply stated that the deer *threw the boy into the abyss*, or some variation thereof; consequently, these utterances may not have any motion verb indicated.

- J Оттам изхвърлил момчето от главата си ... Накрая **цапнали** в една рекичка.  
*From there [it] threw the boy from his head ... In the end [they] **plopped** into a little river.*
- K Когато **стигна** до ръба на пропастта, елена се спря, и момчето и кучето **изхвърчаха** и **попаднаха** във блатото.  
*When he **reached** the edge of the abyss, the deer stopped, and the boy and dog **flew** and **fell** into the swamp.*
- L **Стигнал** до ръба на една пропаст ... Елена незапно спрял и Петьо и кученцето **паднали** във реката.  
*[He] **reached** the edge of an abyss ... The deer suddenly stopped and Petyo and the little dog **fell** into the river.*
- M Елена хвърлил момчето от рогата си и то, заедно с кученцето, **полетели** надолу към водата ... и двамата **цапнали** във водата.  
*The deer threw the boy from it horns and he, together with the little dog, **flew off** down into the water ... and the two of them **plopped** into the water.*
- N Еленът ги хвърлил във едно не дотам дълбоко блато.  
*The deer threw them into a not so very deep swamp.*
- O Еленът незапно спрял и момчето **излетяло** към водата.  
*The deer suddenly stopped and the boy **flew off** towards the water.*
- P Оттам Митко **падна** със всичка сила долу в блатото ... след него **полетя** и кучето ... **цопнаха** момчето и кучето във блатото.  
*From there Mitko **fell** with all his might down into the swamp ... after him **flew** the dog too ... The dog and the boy **plopped** into the swamp.*
- Q И изведнъж момчето и кучето **паднаха** от рогата на елена и **цопнаха** във едно блато.  
*And suddenly the boy and the dog **fell** from the horns of the deer and **plopped** into a swamp.*
- R Спря незапно. момченцето и кучето **полетяха** надолу.  
*[It] stopped suddenly; the little boy and the **dog flew** off below.*
- S Поспрял се, много силния удар; Петьо и кученцето **паднали** в реката.  
*[It] stopped, a very strong blow; Petyo and the little dog **fell** into the river.*
- T **Вягайки, пристигнаха** до една пропаст. Елена се спря рязко, а Ваньо и Шаро **полетяха** в пропастта.  
***Running**, [they] **arrived** at an abyss. The deer stopped sharply, and Vanyo and Šaro **flew off** into the abyss.*
- U И Ваньо и неговото куче **паднаха** във един вир.  
*And Vanyo and his dog **fell** into a pool.*
- V Елена закова на място и той **излитна** пред него заедно със Роко.  
*The deer froze on the spot and he **flew off** before it together with Roko.*

- W Изведнъж видя пропастта, закова на място, но силата на инерцията пласна момчето, и със него и кучето ... към пропастта; двамата **цопна** за радост във водата.  
*[It] suddenly saw the abyss, and froze on the spot, but the force of inertia jolted the boy, and with him the dog too ... towards the abyss; the two **plopped** into the water, luckily.*
- X Момчето и кучето изведнъж **цопнаха** във един вир.  
*The boy and the dog suddenly **plopped** into a pool.*
- Y Той успя да спре до ръба на една пропаст ... **Търколи се** през главата му, **падна**, и **цопна** във водата.  
*[It] managed to stop at the brink of an abyss ... [The boy] **rolled** over its head, **fell**, and **plopped** into the water.*
- Z Елена хвърли от рогата си Сашко ... Детето започна да **пада** ... Детето **падна** във водата  
*The deer threw Saško from its horns ... The child began to **fall** ... The child **fell** in the water.*
- Zz Еленчето ги хвърли във реката, те **падат** във реката.  
*The little deer throws them into the river, they **fall** into the river.*

**Event:** The boy and the dog get to a log (§5.3.8)

- C Водата била много плитка и двамата щастливо **излизат** на другия бряг.  
*The water was very shallow and the two of them luckily **exit** on the other bank.*
- D **Плували** и **стигнали** до един дънер; хванали се за дънера, и така **изплували** до брега.  
*[They] **swam** and **reached** a log; they caught the log, and in this way **swam** out to the bank.*
- E Със усилие успели да **изплуват**.  
*With effort they managed to **swim** out.*
- F И **стигнаха** до един дънер; те започнаха до го **обикалят**.  
*And [they] **reached** a log; they began to **go around** it.*
- G **Тръгна** лека по лека.  
*[They] **set out** little by little.*
- H Те **приблжиха** до падналото дърво ... Няколко малки жабочета **изскочиха** и **тръгнаха**, **квакайки** радносно към тях.  
*They **approached** the fallen tree ... Several little frogs **jumped out** and **set off**, **croaking** happily towards them.*
- I **Продължиха** по-нататък, **излизайки** от блатото, пред тях се изпречи дънер ... **Прескочиха** го със големи усилия.  
*[They] **continued** further, **exiting** the swamp, before them loomed a log ... They **jumped over** it with a great effort.*

- J И момчето и кучето **изплували** на брега ... Решили да **се преметнат** през него; **прескочили** го отгоре отдолу.  
*And the boy and the dog **swam out** onto the bank ... They decided to **vault over** it [the log]; they **jumped over** it from top to bottom.*
- K **Излязоха** на брега до един дънер ... Тяхното жабче ... **заскача** към тях.  
*[They] **exited** on the bank by a log ... Their frog ... **jumped** towards them.*
- L Двамата **изплували**, **стигнаха** до един пън ... Скоро **прехвърляйки се** през пъна, те се озовали...  
*The two of them **swam out, reached** a stump ... Quickly **jumping over** the stump, they ended up...*
- M Но тъй като реката била плитка те **изплували** и **излезли** на брега ... **Прескочили** един дънер.  
*But since the river was shallow they **swam out and exited** onto the bank ... They **jumped over** a log.*
- N Момчето и кучето **цопнали** дружно и успели да **излязат** на брега ... **Преметнали се** през него  
*The boy and the dog **plopped** together and managed to **exit** onto the bank ... They **vaulted over** it [the log].*
- O **Приближил се** до едно съборено дърво ... Кученцето...**плувало** зад него ... След това двамата **се подхвърлили** през дървото.  
*[He] **approached** a fallen tree ... The little dog...**was swimming** behind him ... After this the two **vaulted over** the tree.*
- P Кучето **се покатери** на празното кухо дърво.  
*The dog **climbed onto** the empty hollow tree.*
- Q **Достигнаха** до едно кухо дърво.  
*[They] **reached** a hollow tree.*
- R Видяха един дънер ... **Добраха се** до него ... **Приближиха се** до дънера.  
*[They] saw a log ... They **got up to** it ... They **approached** the log.*
- S Той **изплувал**, и кученцето заедно със него **достигнали** до брега ... Когато **прескочили** дънера...  
*He **swam out**, and together with the little dog they **reached** the bank ... When they **jumped over** the log...*
- T Ваньо успя да **се измъкне** ... Те **отидоха** близо да нея.  
*Vanyo managed to **slip out**... They **went** near it [the frog].*
- U И го изведе до бряга. **Доплуваха** до един дънер и **се качиха** върху него.  
*And [he] led him to the bank. They **swam up to** a log and they **went up** onto it.*
- W И двамата **пълзешком**, **се измъкнаха** от блатото.  
*And the two, **crawling, slipped out** of the swamp.*
- X **Излязоха** на брега и **стигнаха** до един дънер.  
*[They] **exited** onto the bank and **reached** a log.*

- Y Двамата приятели **излязоха** на бързо на брега.  
*The two friends **exited** quickly onto the bank.*
- Z Успяха да **излязат** на брега, живи и здрави.  
*[They] managed to **exit** onto the bank, alive and well.*
- Zz Той **излязъл** от реката.  
*He **exited** from the river.*

**Event: The boy, dog, and new baby frog go home (§5.3.8)**

- B И **тръгнало** на път за къщи, много много радостно от случките през деня.  
*And [he] **set off** on the path for home, very very happy from the day's events.*
- D Хванало жабчето, и **тръгна** с него.  
*[He] caught the little frog, and **set off** with it.*
- E И **тръгнало** да **излиза** от реката доволно, ръкомахайки на останалите жаби.  
*And [he] **set off** to **go out** of the river satisfied, waving at the remaining frogs.*
- F На края си взеха техния приятел, и семейството жабчета ги изпратиха.  
*In the end [they] took their friend, and the family of little frogs sent them off.*
- H Доволен и щастлив **тръгна** към дома.  
*Satisfied and happy, he **set off** towards home.*
- I Заедно със кучето, щастливо **тръгнаха** към къщи.  
*Together with the dog, [they] happily **set off** towards home.*
- J [Жабчето] помолило майка и баща си да му разрешат да **замине** със Митко отново в неговия дом.  
*[The little frog] asked his mother and father to allow him to **depart** with Mitko again to his house.*
- K И ги оставиха да живеят спокойно.  
*And [they] left them to live peacefully.*
- L Скоро двамата заедно със жабата...**отпътували** към къщи.  
*Soon the two of them, together with the frog, **began the trip** towards home.*
- M И **си тръгна** заедно с кученцето към къщи.  
*And [they] **set off** together with the little dog towards home.*
- N И отново **се прибра** във дома на Петър.  
*And again [the frog] **went home** to Peter's house.*
- O И така щастливи си **тръгна** към дома.  
*And so [they] happily **set off** towards home.*
- P И **се отпра**весел към къщи.  
*And [he] **headed**, happy, towards home.*
- Q **Тръгна** да **се приберат** във къщи.  
*[They] **set off** to **go back** home.*

- R И заедно със кучето **се отправиха** към своя дом.  
*And together with the dog [they] **headed** towards their house.*
- S Така **се прибрали** във къщи.  
*Thus they **went back** home.*
- U И заедно със Рекс щастливи **се върнаха** у дома.  
*And together with Rex, happy, they **returned** home.*
- X Така доволни и весели момчето Гого и неговото куче Ласи **се върнаха** у дома.  
*Thus satisfied and happy, the boy Gogo and his dog Lassie **returned** home.*
- Zz И **си тръгва** през реката.  
*And [he] **sets off** over the river.*

## APPENDIX B SERBIAN FROG STORIES

The following lines are excerpted from the Serbian informant interviews based on the frog story, discussed in 5.5. The stories were collected in 1995 by Svenka Savić of the University of Novi Sad and her students, and are used here with the permission of Dan Slobin. The letter corresponding to each informant is consistent throughout the appendix, so that A, for example, refers to the same informant interview throughout the appendix. If a letter is omitted, this indicates that the informant did not mention the event. In some cases, I have included an informant's statement about the event which does not include a motion verb, in order to indicate other ways informants described the events pictured in the book. In these cases, there is no boldfaced verb in the excerpted information. The events are organized in the chronological order (that is, in the order in which they appear in the stories), and cross-referenced to the section of this dissertation in which they are discussed. Informants A-D were adults, and informants E-L were 11-year olds.

As with the Bulgarian translations in Appendix A, the verb for 'exit, come/go out' (BCS *izlaziti/izići*) has been translated literally as 'exit' in the sentences below. Although an English speaker would use *come out* or *go out* as dictated by context, the translation with *exit* distinguishes the verb pair *izlaziti/izići* from the deictic path verbs *odlaziti/otići* 'go' and *dolaziti/doći* 'come'. For other verbs, I have tried to strike a balance between translating into natural English, and conveying what exactly is expressed by the BCS verb used by the informant.

The original files compiled by Svenka Savić and her students include dashes to indicate pauses. These have been left in the Serbian citations, but such pauses are generally not indicated in the translations.

### Event 1: The frog escapes from the jar (§5.5.2)

- A Ali je žabica **izašla** iz tegle, **iskočila** je.  
*But the little frog **exited** from the jar, it **jumped out**.*
- B Njemu žaba **pobegne** iz tegle.  
*His frog **fled** from the jar.*
- C Žaba **izlazi**.  
*The frog **exited**.*
- D Žabac **se** polako, polako **iskrao** iz staklene posude i **odskakutao**.  
*The frog slowly **stole out** of the glass vessel and **hopped away**.*
- E Žaba je **pobegla**.  
*The frog **fled**.*
- F Žaba **se** tiho **prišunjala** i **pobegla** kroz prozor.  
*The frog quietly **sneaked up** and **fled** through the window.*
- G Žaba polako **iskočila** – i **otišla** je – iz kuće.  
*The frog softly **jumped out** and **went (away)**, out of the house.*
- H (Jedne noći) žaba mu je **iskočila** iz tegle – i **pobegla**.

*One night his frog **jumped out** of the jar and **fled**.*

- I Žabac je polako **izvukao se** iz tegle – i **pobegao** je.  
*The little frog quietly **extracted itself** from the jar and **fled**.*
- J Žaba je polako ... **izašla** iz tegle.  
*The frog slowly **exited** from the jar.*
- K Žaba **se išunjala** iz svoje tegle, i počela da **beži**.  
*The frog **sneaked out** of its jar, and began to **flee**.*
- L Žaba je **izašla** iz kuće.  
*The frog **exited** from the house.*

**Event: The boy and dog leave (via the window) (§5.5.8)**

- A Kuće ... zajedno s tom teglom je **iskočio** kroz prozor ... Pas je slomio teglu dok je **iskakao** napolje.  
*The mutt, together with that jar, **jumped out** through the window... The dog broke the jar when it **jumped out** outside.*
- B **Izašao** je kroz prozor.  
*He **exited** through the window.*
- C Pas je prvi **krenuo**, dečak — **skače** da mu pomaže.  
*The dog **set out** first — the boy **jumped** to help him.*
- D I **poleti** sa prozora zajedno sa posudom – na zemlju.  
*And he **flew** from the window, together with the vessel, onto the ground.*
- E Onda ju je tražio napolje.  
*Then he looked for it outside.*
- F Onda je pas **pao** sa teglom na glavi – **pao** je na zemlju.  
*Then the dog **fell** with the jar on his head – he **fell** on the ground.*
- G Pas je **iskočio** kroz prozor.  
*The dog **jumped out** through the window.*
- H **Izašao** je (hm) na prozor ... Njegov pas je stajao na prozoru i odjednom je **ispao** kroz prozor ... dečak je **sišao** na ulicu da ga uhvati.  
*He **exited** at the window... His dog was standing at the window and suddenly **fell out** through the window... The boy **went down** onto the street to get him.*
- I Odjednom **se** Ben **oklizno** sa prozora i **pao** je – na ulicu; Saša je brzo i žurno **istrčao**.  
*Suddenly Ben **slipped** from the window and **fell** onto the street; Saša quickly and hurriedly **ran out**.*
- J Odjednom je pas slučajno **ispao** kroz prozor, a za njim i dečak.  
*Suddenly the dog accidentally **fell out** of the window, and after him, the boy as well.*
- K Pas, pošto je imao teglu na glavi, bio je težak, pa je **pao** dole sa sprata ... Onda je **sišao** dečak.

*The dog, because he had a jar on his head, he was heavy, and he **fell** down from the (upper) floor... Then the boy **went down**.*

- L I pasu se zavukla boca na glavu i onda je on **izašo** napolje; i dečak je **izašo** za njim.  
*And the dog got his head into a bottle and then he **exited** outside; and the boy **exited** after him.*

**Event 2: They set off to search for the frog (§5.5.3)**

- A I onda je zajedno s njim—**krenuo**—kao u neku šumicu, negde napolje, izvan kuće, da je traži.  
*And then he **set out**, together with [the dog], into some kind of woods, somewhere outside, outside the house, to look for it.*
- B **Išli** su kroz šumu.  
*They **went** through the woods.*
- C **Krenuli** su u – šumu.  
*They **set off** into the woods.*
- D I **krenuli** su da potraže žapca.  
*And they **set off** to look for the little frog.*
- E Onda je dečak **otišao** do šume.  
*Then the boy **went (away)** to the woods.*
- F I **krenuli** su prema šumi.  
*And they **set off** toward the woods.*
- G Oni su **otišli** malo dalje od kuće – **otišli** do šume.  
*They **went off** a little further from the house—they **went off** to the woods.*
- H Onda su **otišli** ... da traže žabu ... Otišli su u šumu  
*Then they **went off** to search for the frog ... They **went off** into the woods.*
- I Oni su **pošli** u potragu da nađu njihovog žapca ... i **išli** su po šumama.  
*They **started out** on a search to find their little frog ... and **went** through the woods.*
- J **Otišli** su u šumu.  
*They **went off** into the woods.*
- K Posle su oni **krenuli** da je traže.  
*Afterwards they **set out** to look for it.*
- L I oni su tako **išli** i naišli su na jedan osinjak.  
*And thus they **went** and they found themselves at a wasp's nest.*

**Event 3: The gopher-like creature comes out of the hole (§5.5.4)**

- C Dečko dole nešto traži ... Istražuje teren ... Dečko je uplašen.  
*The boy is looking for something below ... He's looking on the ground ... The boy is frightened.*
- D U istom momentu, odnekud iz zemlje **iziđe** krtica.  
*At that very moment, from somewhere in the ground, a mole **exits**.*

- E Dečak je tražio u nekoj rupi ... **Izašla** je krtica.  
*The boy looked in some kind of hole ... A mole **exited**.*
- F A dečak je zavirivo u rupu—tu je naišo na krticu—ona ga je ujela bila za nos.  
*And the boy peered into a hole—and there he came upon a mole—it bit him on the nose.*
- G Dečak je tražio u rupi ... Žaba nije bila tu, nego je **iskočila** krtica.  
*The boy looked in a hole... The frog wasn't there, but a mole **jumped out**.*
- H Dečak je tražio žabu u rupama pod zemljom.  
*The boy looked for the frog in holes in the ground.*
- I A odjednom je odatle **iskočila** krtica.  
*But suddenly a mole **jumped out** of there.*
- J Dečaka je ujela krtica.  
*The mole bit the boy.*
- K Jedna životinja ga je ujela.  
*An animal bit him.*
- L Iz ove rupe je **izašla** krtica.  
*From this hole a mole **exited**.*

**Event:** The bees (chase the dog, etc.) (§5.5.8)

- A I onda su pčele **izašle** ... Tako da su ove pčele počele da **jure** psa – on je **bežao** od njih.  
*And then the bees **exited** ... And so these bees began to **chase** the dog – he **ran** from them.*
- B **Izletao** je roj pčela i **pojurio** ih.  
*A swarm of bees **flew out** and **chased** them.*
- D I pčele **jurnu** ... a tik iznad njega **proleti** roj pčela, koji je **jurio** za psom.  
*And the bees **pursued**... and just there above him **flew by** a swarm of bees, which **chased** after the dog.*
- E Pas ... počeo je da **beži** jer su ga **vijale** pčele.  
*The dog ... began to **run** because bees were **chasing** him.*
- F Psa su napale ose ... a pas je bio tužan jer su ga izujedale pčele.  
*Wasps attacked the dog ... and the dog was sad because the bees had been stinging him.*
- G Pas je srušio košnjak i **izletele** su ose ... ose su počele da **jure** psa.  
*The dog knocked down the bee hive and wasps **flew out** ... The wasps began to **chase** the dog.*
- H Njegov pas ... srušio je košnicu ... i njega su počele da **vijaju** čele.  
*His dog ... knocked down the beehive and the bees began to **chase** him.*
- I A Ben je brzo bežao od osa, koje su **izašle** iz osinjaka.  
*And Ben quickly fled from the wasps, which had **exited** from the wasp nest.*
- J A psa su **pojurile** pčele ... psa su i dalje **vijale** velike pčele.  
*And the bees **set out chasing** the dog ... The large bees **chased** the dog even further.*

- K ... pošto su pčele i ose **krenule** na psa.  
*... after which the bees and wasps **set out** after the dog.*
- L A psa su počele da **jure** ove pčele.  
 And these bees began to **chase** the dog.

**Event 4: The boy climbs the tree (§5.5.5)**

- A Dečak je tu **popo se** na neko drvo, zavirivao.  
*Here the boy **climbed up** some tree, looked inside.*
- D Nego **se ispeo** na jedno drvo i radoznalo gledao u otvor u drvetu.  
*But he **climbed** a tree and curiously looked into an opening in the tree.*
- E Dečak je stajao na drvetu.  
*The boy stood in a tree.*
- F I on **se pentro** po drveću.  
*And the boy **climbed** a tree.*
- G Onda **se** dečak **popo** na jedno drvo.  
*Then the boy **climbed** a tree.*
- I Saša je dotle – **otišao** na drvo, **popo se**.  
*Then Saša **went** to a tree, **climbed up**.*
- J Zatim je dečak tražio u drvetu.  
*Then the boy looked in a tree.*
- K A dečak **se popo** na drvo.  
*And the boy **climbed** a tree.*
- L A dečak **se popo** na drvo.  
*And the boy **climbed** a tree.*

**Event 5: The owl comes out of its hole (§5.5.6)**

- A Tu i sova **izleće**.  
 Now an owl also **flew out**.
- B Naišli su na ptice.  
*They came upon [some] birds.*
- C Interesuje ga šta se nalazi u toj rupi u – drvetu ... Dečko je uplašen.  
*He's interested in what's in that hole in the tree... The boy is frightened.*
- D I iznenada iz otvora **se pojavi** sova – raširenih krila ... (several clauses later) I počela da lupa krilima iznad dečaka.  
*And suddenly from the opening **appeared** an owl, with widespread wings... And it began to beat its wings over the boy.*
- E Napadale su ga ptice.  
*The birds attacked him.*
- F Dečak je pao sa drveta jer ga je napala sova.  
*The boy fell from the tree because an owl had attacked him.*

- G Sova ga je gurnula.  
*The owl pushed him.*
- H Gledao šupljinu tog drveta – iz njega je **izašla** sova.  
*He looked in the hollow of that tree – from it an owl **exited**.*
- I Odatle je {izlet}<sup>94</sup> **izašla** sova.  
*From there an owl **exited**.*
- J **Izletela** je jedna sova.  
*An owl **flew out**.*
- L Sa drveta je **izletela** sova.  
*From the tree an owl **flew out**.*

**Event 6: The boy climbs up on a rock (§5.5.5)**

- A Pa **se popeo** na neko, neki kamen.  
*And he **climbed** onto something, some rock.*
- C Ide da **se penje** na (hm) kao neku stenu.  
*He went to **climb** onto, like, some wall.*
- D Dečak je **bežao** na jednu stenu — i čudno se dogodi.  
*The boy **ran away** to a wall—and something strange happened.*
- F On je **se** ponovo **popeo** na jedan veliki kamen.  
*He again **climbed** onto a large rock.*
- H I dečak **se popeo** na – jedan kamen veliki.  
*And the boy **climbed** onto a [really] big rock.*
- I Kasnije **se** on **popeo** na tu stenu.  
*Later he **climbed** onto this wall.*
- J Dečak **se popeo** na taj kamen.  
*The boy **climbed** onto this rock.*
- K **Popo se** na stenu jednu.  
*He **climbed** onto a wall.*

**Event 7: The deer runs off with the boy (§5.5.7)**

- A Onda ga je pokupio—rogovima—i **nosio** ga je tako ... Pas se tu opet stvorio, **trčao** je za njima.  
*Then [the deer] collected him up with its horns—and **carried** him this way... The dog appeared again, and **ran** after them.*
- B Jelen se uplašio ... gurnuo je dečaka u provaliju.  
*The deer took fright... It pushed the boy into the chasm.*

<sup>94</sup> The partial word “izlet” appears in the transcript in brackets. Presumably the informant starting to say that the owl flew out (*izleteti* ‘fly out’), but changed the verb to *exited* (*izići*) mid-utterance.

- C Jelen ga **nosi** ... Međutim jelen i dečka i psa – **sruši se**.  
*The deer **carried** him ... Meanwhile, the deer and the boy and the dog—**plunged**.*
- D I – na svojim rogovima poneo dečaka. A pas zabrinut ... **juri** ispred jelena ... Jelen, **noseći** dečaka tako na rogovima, nije video kuda **ide** ... **Stigne** do jedne provalije.  
*And—it carried the boy on its horns. And the dog, worried ... **raced** ahead of the deer ... The deer, **carrying** the boy this way on its horns, didn't see where it was **going** ... It **arrived** at a chasm.*
- E I – jelen se naljutio, **otišao**.  
*And—the deer got angry, [and] **went away**.*
- F Jelen je počeo njega da **nosi** prema jednoj uvali, tamo gde je bila močvara.  
*The deer began to **carry** him towards a valley, to a place where there was a swamp.*
- G Jelen je podigao glavu i počeo da **trči** prema – rupi.  
*The deer lifted its head and began to **run** towards a hole.*
- H I jelen ga je onda **nosio** tako.  
*And the deer then **carried** him this way.*
- I Jelen je **potrčao** {sa} a Saša mu još uvek bio na glavi.  
*The deer **began to run** and Saša was still on its head.*
- J Taj jelen je **nosio** tako dečaka.  
*This deer **carried** the boy this way.*
- K **Potrčo** je, s njim na glavi.  
*It **began to run**, with him on its head.*
- L Jelen koji ga je **nosio** tako – do neke provalije...  
*The deer that **carried** him this way – to some kind of chasm...*

**Event:** The deer causes the boy to fly over the cliff (§5.5.8)

- A **Naišli** su na jedan deo, gde više nije bilo podloge, tako da su dečak i pas **pali** dole—pa su **pali** u neku kao močvaricu.  
*They **came across** a part, where there was no longer any support, so that the boy and the dog **fell down**—and they **fell** into some kind of bog.*
- B Ali na dnu se nalazila—reka—jedna bara ... i dečak se, uplašen, obradovao.  
*But at the bottom was—a river—a swamp ... and the boy, frightened, cheered up.*
- C **Pali** su oboje u vodu.  
*Both of them **fell** into the water.*
- D Dečak i pas su **upali** u provaliju.  
*The boy and the dog **fell** into the chasm.*
- E I bacio ga u jezero.  
*And it threw him into a lake.*
- F Onda je on obadva, i psa i dečaka, je bacio—bacio u močvaru.  
*Then it threw the two of them, the boy and the dog, it threw them into a bog.*

- G I jelen je gurnuo i psa i dečaka u močvaru.  
*And the deer pushed both the boy and the dog into the swamp.*
- H I ubacio ga je u močvaru.  
*And it threw him into a swamp.*
- I I odjednom su **naišli** na neke velike provalije i Saša i Ben su **upali** u tu provaliju.  
*And suddenly they **cam across** some great chasm and Saša and Ben **fell** into this chasm.*
- J Jelen ga je bacio zajedno sa psom u baru.  
*The deer threw him, together with the dog, into a swamp.*
- K On ih je srušio niz jednu nizbrdicu; oni su **pali** u jednu reku.  
*He knocked them down a slope; they **fell** into a river.*
- L Onda su **pali** u neku baru.  
*Then they **fell** into some swamp.*

**Event:** The boy and the dog get to a log (§5.5.8)

- A Sad se odjednom nalaze izvan te močvare ... Tu neko stablo prevrnuto, koje je šuplje, i tu se **motaju** oko njega.  
*Now they suddenly they find themselves outside this swamp ... Here some tree trunk is overturned, which is hollow, and now they **mill** around it.*
- C Ipak **idu** iza drveta.  
*Still, they **go** behind the tree.*
- D I polako su **izišli** iz te vode ... **Stigli** su do jednog balvana ... pa su oni **skakali** preko balvana, **provlačili se** kroz balvana.  
*And gradually they **exited** from this water ... They **reached** a log ... and they **jumped** over the log, they **pulled themselves** over the log.*
- E { ... } **skočio** preko jednog stable.  
*... [he] **jumped** over a tree-trunk.*
- F Tu su **naišli** na jedno stablo od drveta.  
*Now they **came across** a log from the trunk of a tree.*
- I I oni su **došli** do tog stabla, **popeli** su se.  
*And they **came up** to this log, and **climbed** onto it.*
- J **Došli** su do jednog starog drveta; pas je **plivao**.  
*They came to an old tree; the dog **swam**.*

**Event:** The boy, dog, and new baby frog go home (§5.5.8)

- A **Krenuli** su verovatno nazad.  
*The **set off** probably [to go] back.*
- C Pozdravljaju se i **odlaze**.  
*They said goodbye and **went away**.*
- E Kasnije je pozdravio žabine roditelje i **otišao** kući.  
*Later they said goodbye to the frog's parents and **went [away]** home.*

- F Pozdravio se s njima.  
*He said goodbye to them.*
- F On se pozdravio sa njima i **otišao** je svojoj kući.  
*He said goodbye to them and **went [away]** to his house.*
- G Oni su uzeli jednu manju žabicu i **otišli** su kući.  
*They took a smaller frog and **went [away]** home.*
- I I oni su tako svi zajedno su srećno **otišli**, i igrali su se.  
*And thus everyone **went away** together happily, and they played.*
- J Tako su **se** oni sretno **vratili** kući.  
*Thus they **returned** home happily.*
- K Oni su uzeli svoju žabu i **krenuli** su kući.  
*They took their frog and **set off** for home.*
- L I onda su uzeli jednu žabu i **otišli**.  
*And then they took a frog and **went away**.*

APPENDIX C  
RUSSIAN FROG STORIES

The motion events from the Russian frog stories appear below, organized in the same manner as the preceding material from the Bulgarian and Serbian frog stories. These stories were collected by Yana Anilovich and Dan Slobin, and are discussed in 5.6. Informants A-I were adults, and informants J-K were 10-year olds. The narratives have been left in the form in which they were provided to me (and in which excerpts from them have been published), namely, transliterated into the Latin alphabet from Cyrillic.

**Event 1: The frog escapes from the jar (§5.6.2)**

- A Poka mal'chik s sobachkoj spali l'jagushjonok **ubezhal**.  
*While the boy and the dog slept, the little frog **escaped**.*
- B A kogda oni legli spat', l'jagushka uzhe **vylezla** iz banki i verovatno **ubezhala**.  
*But when they lay down to sleep, the frog had already **climbed out** from the jar and probably **ran away**.*
- C A l'jagushka nachala tixo **vylazit'** iz banki.  
*But the frog began to quietly **climb** out of the jar.*
- D No l'jagushke ne zaxotelos' sidet' v banke, i **sbezhala** iz banki.  
*But the frog didn't feel like sitting in the jar, and **ran away** out of the jar.*
- E A l'jagushonok v èto vremja i **vylez** iz banki, tak kak èto svobodoljubjashchee zhivotnoe, i **uskakal**, v neizvestnom napravlenii.  
*But at that point the little frog **climbed out** from the jar, since it was a freedom-loving animal, and **bounded away**, in an unknown direction.*
- F L'jagushka **vyberaetsja** iz banki.  
*The frog **manages to get out** of the jar.*
- G L'jagushonok kogda pochuvstvoval chto ego druz'ja krepko spjat **vyskochil** iz banki potomu- chto on xotel uvidet' zhizn'.  
*When the little frog felt that its friends were sleeping soundly, it **jumped out** of the jar, because it wanted to see the world.*
- H L'jagushka reshila posmotret' a kak ustroena zhizn' u cheloveka i ona **ushla** iz banki.  
*The frog decided to see what life was like among people and it **exited** from the jar.*
- I L'jagushka pytaetsja **vyprygnut'** iz banki.  
*The frog tries to **spring out** of the jar.*
- J Odin raz, kogda vse spali, l'jagushka **vylezla** iz banki i kuda-to **ubezhala**.  
*Once, when everyone was sleeping, the frog **climbed out** of the jar and **ran away** somewhere.*
- K A potom on zasnul a zhabka **vylezla** i **uskokala**.  
*But then he fell asleep and the frog **climbed out** and **hopped away**.*
- L Iz banki **vylezaet** l'jagushka.  
*The frog **climbs out** of the jar.*

**Event: The boy and dog leave (via the window) (§5.6.8)**

- B Zatem sobaka **upala** s podokonnika i razbilas'.  
*Then the dog fell **fell** from the window sill and got hurt.*
- C Sobaka popytalas' **vzjat'** sled, **vyprygnula** iz okna; mal'chik takzhe **vyprygnul**.  
*The dog tried to **follow**, he **sprung out** the window; the boy also **jumped out**.*
- E ... chto shchonok **vypal** vmeste s bankoj na golove.  
*... that the puppy **fell out** together with the jar on his head.*
- F Sobaka s bankoj na golove **vypalas** iz okoshka; mal'chik **vyprygnul** za nej v bol'shix sapogax.  
*The dog, with the jar on his head, **fell out** of the window; the boy **sprang out** after him in his big boots.*
- G Banka peretjanula ravnovesie Billa i on **upal** na zemlju.  
*The jar tipped Bill's balance and he **fell** onto the ground.*
- I Mal'chik smotrit iz okna kak sobaka **letit** cherez okno vmeste s bankoj.  
*The boy looks out the window at the dog **flying** through the window, together with the jar.*
- J Sobachka **zalezla** v banku i nachala vsjo njuxat' ... sobachka sluchajno **vyletela** iz okna.  
*The little dog **crept** into the jar and began to smell everything; the dog accidentally **flew out** of the window.*
- K Sobaka vlezla v banku ... Sobaka **upala** i razbilas' — èta — net — banka razbilas'.  
*The dog crawled into the jar... The dog **fell** and hurt himself — this — no — the jar broke.*
- L Sobaka **padaet** s ètazha vmeste s bankoj.  
*The dog **falls** from the (upper) story together with the jar.*

**Event 2: They set off to search for the frog (§5.6.3)**

- A I togda mal'chik s sobachkoj reshili **otpravit'sja** v les, iskat' ljagushjonka, oni **xodili** po lesu.  
*And then the boy and his little dog decided to set out into the forest, to look for the little frog, they **walked** through the woods.*
- B Potom **zashli** v kusty, kuda-to v les.  
*Then they **got into** the bushes, somewhere in the woods.*
- C I oni **poshli** v les kuda-to.  
*And they **set out** into the woods somewhere.*
- E I **poshli** oni v les.  
*And they **set out** into the woods.*
- F **Vyshli** na poljanu i zovut ljagushku.  
*They **went out** into the field and they call the frog.*
- G Obyskav vokrug doma i ne najdja ljagushonka, druzhja **otpravilis'**; oni **pustilis'** v puteshevstvie.  
*Having looked around the house and not finding the little frog, the friends **set off**; they **set out** on a journey.*
- H Oni **pobezhali** za ljagushkoj v les, dumaja chto ona mozhet byt' v lesu.

*They **began to run** after the frog into the forest, thinking that it might be in the woods.*

- I On **idjot** s sobakoj, razyskivaet po vsej verojatnosti ljagushku.  
*He **walks** with the dog, he is most likely searching all over for the frog.*
- J I oni **poshli** iskat' ejo po gorody.  
*And they **set off** to look for it in the town.*
- K A potom oni **poshli** i- tam znachit- nu- i oni **poshli**.  
*And then they **started off** and – you know – well – and they **set off**.*

**Event 3: The gopher-like creature comes out of the hole (§5.6.4)**

- A Ètot myshjonok **vylez** iz norki i sprosil mal'chika...  
*This little mouse **crept out** of the hole and asked the boy...*
- B Ottuda **vylez** kakoj-to tam- zhivotnoe.  
*Some kind of animal **crept out** of there.*
- C Mal'chik popytalsja **vlezt'** v ètu noru; no ego, po moemu ukusil kakoj-to xomjak.  
*The boy tried to **climb into** this hole; but I think that some kind of hamster bit him.*
- D Mal'chik do ètogo iskal ljagushku v nore, v kotoroj zhivjot podobie kakoj-to krysy.  
*The boy before this looked for the frog in a hole, in which something like a rat lived.*
- E Zdes' vygljanula myshka, Naruzhka.  
*Here a mouse, Naruzhka, peeped out.*
- F Iz norki **vylezaet** krot.  
*From the hole a mole **crawls out**.*
- G No v èto vremja ot tuda **vylezla** iz norki mysh kotoruju on probudil oto sna.  
*But at this time out of the hole **crawled (out)** a mouse, which he had awakened from sleep.*
- J Okazyvaetsja èto byla norka xomjachka  
*It turns out that this was a hamster's hole.*
- K I tam byla takaja norka znachit-i tam **vylezla** takaja strannaja zverjushka ... A tam **vyshla** myshka iz ètoj norki i on ispugalsja.  
*And there was some kind of hole, that is, and from there some kind of strange animal **crawled out**... And then a mouse **came out** of this hole and [the boy] got scared.*
- L Mal'chik i smotrit v krysinnuju noru ... Ukusila za nos myshka.  
*The boy looks in the rat hole... A mouse bit him on the nose.*

**Event: The bees (chase the dog, etc.) (§5.6.8)**

- A Pchjoly razozlilis' chto mal'chik **zalez** na derevo i nachali kusat' ego sobachku.  
*The bees got angry that the boy **climbed** a tree and they began to sting his little dog.*
- B Zlye pchjoly stali **vyletat'** ... V èto vremja pchjoly **pognalis'** za sobakoj.  
*The malicious bees began to **fly out** ... At that time the bees began to **chase** the dog.*
- C Tem vremenem pchely **gnalis'** za sobachkoj.

*All the while the bees **chased** the little dog.*

- D Osy **vyleteli** iz svoego gnezda, i stali pristovat' k sobachke.  
*The wasps flew out of their nest, and began to pester the little dog.*
- E I v èto vremja pchely brosilis' **dogonjat'** sobachku.  
*And at that time the bees stopped **chasing** the little dog.*
- F Pchely **uletajut** s ul'ja.  
*The bees **fly away** from the beehive.*
- G A pchjoly **poneslis'** za Billom.  
*And the bees **rushed off** after Bill.*
- J A sobaka poka smotrela na pchel; oni **vyleteli** iz ul'ja ... A za sobakoj **poleteli** pchely; oni xoteli ejo kusat'.  
*And the dog was watching the bees; they **flew out** of the beehive... And the bees **began to fly** after the dog; they wanted to sting him.*
- K A pchjoly **poshli** za sobachkoj.  
*And the bees **started out** after the little dog.*
- L Sobaka vsjo-taki uronila ulej i pchely **vyleteli** ... Na ètoj kartinke ja vizhu chto- i èti pchely **pognalis'** za sobakoj.  
*The dog all the same caused the beehive to collapse and the bees **flew out**... In this picture I see that these bees **chased** the dog.*

**Event 4: The boy climbs the tree (§5.6.5)**

- A **Zalezli** na derevo i nashli tam duplo.  
*They **climbed** a tree and found a hollow [in the tree] there.*
- B Mal'chik v èto vremja **zalez** na derevo i stal iskat' v duple.  
*At that time the boy **climbed** a tree and began to look in a hollow.*
- C Mal'chik zagljadyvaet tuda.  
*The boy starts looking in there.*
- F Mal'chik zagljadyvaet v duplo na dereve.  
*The boy starts looking in a hollow place in the tree.*
- I A mal'chik **zalez** na kronu dereva.  
*And the boy **climbed** on a branch of the tree.*
- J Mal'chik **zalez** v derevo i nachal smotret' v duple.  
*The boy **climbed** the tree and began to look in the tree hollow.*
- K On **zalez** na derevo.  
*He **climbed** the tree.*
- L Mal'chik **lezet** na derevo, v duplo.  
*The boy **climbed** the tree, [looked?] in the tree hollow.*

**Event 5: The owl comes out of its hole (§5.6.6)**

- A I togda iz dereva—na dereve **pokazalsja** sovjonok.  
*And then from the tree—in the tree an owl **appeared**.*
- B Iz dupla **vyletela** sova.  
*From the hollow of the tree an owl **flew out**.*
- C Iz dupla **vyskochila** sova, sbrosila ego.  
*From the hollow of the tree an owl **jumped out**, threw him down.*
- D Iskat' ljagushku v duple dereva; on nashel tam sovu, kotoraja ispugala ego.  
*They look for the frog in the hollow of a tree; he found an owl there, which frightened him.*
- E A v duple zhil filin; mal'chik ispugalsja ot neozhidannosti i **upal** s vetki.  
*But in the hole lived an owl; the boy was frightened by the surprise and **fell** from the branch.*
- F Iz dupla **vyletaet** sova.  
*From the hollow of the tree an owl **flies out**.*
- G No razbudil spjashchuju sovu.  
*But he woke a sleeping owl.*
- H No sova tozhe ne xotela chtoby kto-to smotrel v ejo gnezdo.  
*But the owl didn't want anyone looking in its nest either.*
- I Vdrug on uvidel sovu, sidjashchuju na dereve i ispugalsja; **svalilsja** vniz.  
*Suddenly he saw an owl sitting in the tree and got frightened; he **fell down** below.*
- J Iz ètogo dupla vdrug **vyletela** sova.  
*Suddenly from that tree hollow **out flew** an owl.*
- K Posmotrel v duplo i tam byla sova.  
*He looked in the hollow of the tree and there was an owl.*
- L Iz dupla **vyletel** filin.  
*From the tree hollow an owl **flew out**.*

**Event 6: The boy climbs up on a rock (§5.6.5)**

- A Kogda on uvidel ètot kamen' on reshil **zalezt'** na nego i pokrichat' ottuda.  
*When he saw that rock he decided to **climb** onto it and shout from there.*
- B Zatem on **zalez** na kamen'.  
*Then he **climbed** onto the rock.*
- C Zatem mal'chik **vlez** na kakoj-to kamen' i krichit.  
*Then the boy **climbed** onto some kind of rock and he shouts.*
- D On **zabraljsja** na bol'shoi kamen'.  
*He **climbed** onto a big rock.*
- E Oni **oblazili** vse kusty, kamni.  
*They **climbed all over** all the shrubs and rocks.*
- F **Zaberaetsja** na bol'shoj kamen'.  
*He **climbed** onto a big rock.*
- G V èto vremja oni uvideli vozvyshannost' obkatannuju snegom; Tom **zabraljsja**.

*A that time they caught sight of some place high covered with snow; Tom **climbed up**.*

- I V èto vremja on zamechaet kakuju-to gorku; **vzbiraetsja** na nejo.  
*At that time he notices some kind of hillock; he **climbs up** on it.*
- J On nachal prjatat'sja ot sovy za kamen'; i tam kak budto-by stojali derev'ja i on **zalez** tuda.  
*He began to hide himself from the owl behind a rock; and there stood some kind of tree, and he **climbed up** there.*
- K I **zalez**, dumal chto vetki i zacepilsja; na ètoj kartinke mal'chik **zalez** na bol'shoj kamen'.  
*And he **climbed up**, he thought these were branches and caught hold of them; in this picture the boy **climbed up** on a big rock.*

**Event 7: The deer runs off with the boy (§5.6.7)**

- A A olen' podxvatil mal'chika rogam i vmeste s sobachjonkom **pobezhal** so skaly.  
*And the deer grabbed the boy with its horns and together with the tiny little dog it **ran** from the cliff.*
- B Iz-za kamnja olen' **vyskochil** i posadil mal'chika na roga, i **ponjos** k obryvu.  
*The deer **jumped out** from behind the rock and seated the boy on its horns, and **carried** him to the precipice.*
- C Pojavilsja kakoj-to olen', kotoryj vzjal na roga mal'chika, i **pones** kuda-to vpered; sobaka **bezhit** rjadom.  
*Some kind of deer appeared, which took the boy on its horns, and **carried** him somewhere up ahead; the dog is **running** alongside.*
- D ... kotoroe podnjalo ego- na svoju golovu i **poneslos'** i **poneslos'** vmeste s nim na kraj propasti.  
*... which lifted him on its head and **rushed off** and **rushed off** together with him to the edge of the chasm.*
- E Olen' ispugalsja, i **pones** mal'chika vpered, no ego vernyj drug ne ostavljal ego v bede; olen' tam **bezhhal**, **bezhhal**, no vdrug rezko ostanovilsja, potomu-chto vperedu byla opasnost'.  
*The deer got frightened, and **carried** the boy forward, but his faithful friend didn't leave him in his trouble; the deer **ran** and **ran**, but suddenly stopped sharply, because there was danger ahead of him.*
- F Olen', s mal'chikom na golove **bezhit** k obryvu i sobaka **bezhit** s nimi rjadom.  
*The deer, with the boy on his head, **runs** to the precipice and the dog **runs** along beside them.*
- G Olen' **pomchalsja v skach'**.  
*The deer **began to rush off at a bound**.*
- H Olen' **pobezhal**.  
*The deer **began to run**.*
- I Mal'chik **vzobratsja** na olenja, derzhas' za ego roga; **ubegaet** ot sovy vmeste s olenem.  
*The boy **clambered up** on the deer, and holding it by the horns; he **runs away** from the owl together with the deer.*
- J Podnjaj ego, i uzhe xotel sbrosit'; i ètot olen' **ponjos** ego.

*It lifted him, and already wanted to throw him off; and this deer **carried** him.*

- K Olen' vstal i nachal **bezhat'** a sobaka tozhe za nim **nachala**.  
*The deer rose and began to **run**, and the dog also **started** after him.*
- L Na ètoj kartinke ja vizhu chto s bol'shogo kamnja snjal ego olen'; i ètot olen' - i ètot olen' **potashchil** ego k obryvu.  
*In this picture I see that a deer took him down from the big rock; and this deer – and this deer **began to drag** him to the precipice.*

**Event:** The deer causes the boy to fly over the cliff (§5.6.8)

- A I kogda olen' **pobezhal** k skale mal'chik s sobachjonkom **upali** so skaly v boloto.  
*And when the deer **began to run** towards the cliff, the boy and the tiny little dog **fell** from the cliff into the marsh.*
- B Zatem on skinul mal'chika, sobaka rjodom **bezhala**; oni **buxnuli'** v vodu.  
*Then he threw down the boy; the dog **ran** alongside him; they **fell with a thud** into the water.*
- C U samogo obryva olen' sbrosil mal'chika i sobachku; oni **xljupnulis'** v vodu.  
*At the very precipice the deer threw down the boy and the little dog; they **fell** into the water.*
- D Kogda olen' **zabral'sja** na kraj obryva, on skinul mal'chika.  
*When the deer **got to** the edge of the precipice, he threw down the boy.*
- E Ot ostanovki mal'chik i ego drug pjosik **upali** v boloto.  
*From the [deer's] stopping, the boy and his friend, the doggie, **fell** into the marsh.*
- F Olen' sbrasyvaet mal'chika i sobaku v vodu; mal'chik i sobaka **pljuxajutsja** v vodu.  
*The deer throws the boy and the dog into the water; the boy and the dog **plopped** into the water.*
- G **Podskochil** k kraju obryva, uvidel chto èto kraj i sbrosil tuda ix.  
*[The deer] **came bounding up** to the precipice, saw that this was the edge, and threw them in.*
- H I sbrosil mal'chika v ozero; net, skoree èto bylo ne ozero a boloto.  
*And it threw the boy into the lake; no, it was more like a marsh than a lake.*
- I V èto vremja olen' sbrasyvaet mal'chika s sebja i mal'schik vmeste s sobakoj **letjat** v propast' ... Da, vsjo-taki mal'chik **upal** vmeste s sobakoj v boloto .  
*At this time the deer throws the boy off and the boy and the dog **fly** into the chasm... Yes, all the same the boy and the dog **fell** into the marsh.*
- J On **pobezhal** i sbrosil ego v boloto, vmeste s sobachkoj.  
*It began to **run** and threw him into the marsh, together with the little dog.*
- K Olen' sbrosil v prud.  
*The deer threw [him] into a pond.*
- L Olen' sbrosil mal'chika v obryv vmeste s sobakoj.  
*The deer threw the boy into the precipice together with the dog.*

**Event:** The boy and the dog get to a log (§5.6.8)

- A Oni **vylezli** na ètot ostravok.  
*They **climbed out** onto this little island.*
- B Oni **vylezli** iz vody ... Zatem oni **perelezli** cherez derevo.  
*They **climbed out** of the water... Then they **climbed over** a tree [log].*
- C Oni **priplylil** k kakomu-to ostrovu na ktorom bylo truxloe derevo.  
*They **swam up to** some kind of island on which there was a rotten tree.*
- D Oni **perebralis'** cherez kusok povalennogo dereva.  
*They **climbed over** a piece of a rotten tree.*
- F **Pereberajutsja** cherez derevo.  
*They **climb over** a tree.*
- G Oni tixonechko **podplyli** k ètomu derevu; Bill uzhe ne bojalsja **plavat'**.  
*They quietly **swam up to** this tree; Bill was no longer afraid to **swim**.*
- H Oni **vybralis'** na suxoe mesto k derevu.  
*They **climbed out** onto a dry place toward the tree.*
- I **Vzobravshis'** na kakoe-to derevo v bolote, malchik zhdjot chtoby k nimu **podplylal** sobaka.  
***Clambering up** onto some kind of tree in the marsh, the boy waits for his dog to **swim up to** him.*
- J Kogda oni **doshli** do odnogo dupla mal'chik skazal sobachke byt' potjshe; oni **vlezli** na duplo.  
*When they **came** to a hollow in a tree trunk, the boy told the little dog to be quiet; they **climbed into** the hollow.*
- L Oni **vyshli** na bereg.  
*They **got out** onto the shore.*

**Event:** The boy, dog, and new baby frog go home (§5.6.8)

- A I togda oni sprosili mamu i papu l'jagushat chto-by oni otpustili s nimi ixnego l'jagushenka **poguljat'**.  
*And they they asked the mother and father frog if they would let their little frog **take a walk** with them.*
- B Pomaxali rukoj semejstvu.  
*They waved to the family.*
- C I vzjal ejo, poprashchalsja s semeistvom dovol'nyj.  
*And he took it [the frog], and said goodbye to the family, satisfied.*
- E Mal'chik ot radosti sxvatil l'jagushonka, i **poshli** medlenno, veselo domoj.  
*The boy, from happiness, grabbed the little frog, and **set off** slowly, happily home.*
- F Mal'chik nashel svoju l'jagushku i vmeste s sobakoj prjamo v reke, **otrpravljajutsja** k sebe domoj.  
*The boy found his frog and together with the dog directly in the river [sic], they **set off** to their home.*

- G Tom skazal spasibo vsem ego druž'jam, kotorye provozhali ego sidja na brevne, i druž'ja, ustavshie na radost'jax, **otpravilis'** v obratnyj put'.
- Tom said thank you to all his friends, who were seeing him off seated on a log, and the friends, filled with joy, **set off** on the return trip."*
- H Oni **uxodili** ochen' schastlivye, oni zabrali svoju podružhku.
- They **left** very satisfied, and they took their little friend.*
- I Mal'chik ochen' dovolen, sobaka s nim; ljagushka so vsem potomstvom **idut** za nim sledom'.
- The boy is very satisfied, and the dog too; the frog and all of his descendants **walk** after them.*
- J Vzal odnu ljagushku, skazal do svidan'ja vsem ostal'nym i **ushel**.
- He took one frog, said goodbye to all the remaining ones, and **left**.*
- K A potom on vzjal ljagushku odnu i poprashchalsja.
- And then he took one frog and took his leave.*
- L Oni podružhilis' i mal'chik vzjal odnogo ljagushonka.
- They made friends and the boy took one little frog.*