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How to Build a "Folk" Song:  
Socialist Bulgarian Song Texts and Folkloric Language  
in the South Slavic Context

by

Cammeron Harper Girvin

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in  
Slavic Languages and Literatures  
and the Designated Emphasis  
in  
Folklore

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Ronelle Alexander, Chair  
Professor Emerita Johanna Nichols  
Professor Eve Sweetser

Summer 2016

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in the South Slavic Context

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by

Cammeron Harper Girvin

## Abstract

How to Build a "Folk" Song:  
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by

Cammeron Harper Girvin

Doctor of Philosophy in Slavic Languages and Literatures

Designated Emphasis in Folklore

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Ronelle Alexander, Chair

This dissertation attempts to investigate the notion of folkloric language in Bulgarian and other South Slavic languages by problematizing the position of newly composed “folk” songs in the cultural imagination of socialist Bulgaria. Ostensibly sung by Bulgaria’s new socialist “folk” and published alongside preindustrial texts in volumes of national “folk songs,” these texts were presented as a new part of Bulgaria’s national folklore canon. But although their content describes recent events of World War II and “modern” socialist ways of life, their linguistic structures often seem to have been modeled on those of more traditional texts. It is argued that the nonstandard linguistic features that characterize these socialist-era works were employed in order to lend the texts the air of “authenticity,” which marked them as legitimate representations of Bulgarian folk culture.

One finds a number of interesting linguistic features in these songs, including nonstandard orthographic representations of phonology, marked morphological and syntactic patterns, a distinct lexicon, and special poetic structures. Although folkloric texts in Bulgarian are often said to contain “dialectal” language, one finds in these songs relatively few representations of language representative of true regional dialects, that is, linguistic traits of a limited geographic area. Instead, most marked features of the texts seem to be archaic in nature: generally, either from Bulgarian as it was spoken in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, or from older Slavic and even Indo-European poetic traditions. It is supposed that these features are some of the salient markers of folkloric language in Bulgarian.

To test this hypothesis, a survey was conducted with native speakers of Bulgarian that asked informants to respond to prompts containing sample lines from folk songs both with and without the linguistic devices in question. Speakers did, in fact, generally find the marked prompts to sound folkloric, which supports the idea that the special linguistic features carry folkloric stylistic marking. When similar features were tested with song lines in Serbian, however, they seemed to have little effect on native speakers’ perceptions of

folkloric qualities. This suggests that folkloric language is primarily conceptualized within culturally specific national linguistic traditions.

As an additional point of comparison, two more song corpora were examined. One consisted of actual folk songs of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (“folk” but not socialist), and the other was a 1969 album from a popular Bulgarian singer (socialist but not “folk”). The traits originally identified as folkloric were found in abundance in the former corpus but were mostly absent from the latter, further confirming the theory that these traits are primarily limited to folkloric genres.

It is proposed that the specific bundle of nonstandard traits identified in the socialist songs form a linguistic register in Bulgarian that can be used to mark language as folkloric. However, speakers often refer to this register (imprecisely) as “dialectal” language. One consequence of this fact is that Bulgarians often have conflated perceptions of not only “folkloric” and “dialectal” language, but also of Macedonian. Nonetheless, the evidence suggests that this register has robust stylistic resonance, both in the socialist texts of the previous century as well as in the contemporary language.

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## List of Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the text and in interlinear glosses:

- 1PL – first-person plural
- 1SG – first-person singular
- 2PL – second-person plural
- 2SG – second-person singular
- 3PL – third-person plural
- 3SG – third-person singular
- ACC – accusative
- ADJ – adjective
- AN – adjective-noun
- AOR – aorist
- AUX – auxiliary
- CL – clitic
- COND – conditional
- COP – copula
- DAT – dative
- DEF – definite
- DIM – diminutive
- EXCL – exclamation
- IMPF – imperfective
- IMPT – imperfect
- IMPV – imperative
- INF – infinitive
- INST – instrumental
- INT – interrogative
- LPART – l-participle (past active participle)
- NA – noun-adjective
- NEG – negative
- NEUT – neuter
- OBJ – object
- OBL – oblique
- PF – perfective
- POSS – possessive
- PRES – present
- REFL – reflexive
- SOV – subject-object-verb
- SUB – subordinating particle
- SVO – subject-verb-object
- VERB – verb
- VOC – vocative

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## Chapter 1

# The Problem of “Folkloric Language”

*Ново време — нови песни*  
Народна пословица

*A new time — new songs*  
Folk proverb

– epigraph to Gencho Keremidchiev’s article  
“Народен живот и народна песен”  
 (“Folk Life and the Folk Song”)<sup>1</sup>

This work arose out of an investigation into a matter that has received surprisingly little scholarly problematization: the notion of “folkloric language” in Bulgarian. Both philologists and laypersons in Bulgaria seem to have the distinct sense that certain texts sound in some way like “traditional folklore,” but little rigorous analysis has been devoted to identifying the specific linguistic and poetic mechanisms that create such an impression in a speaker’s mind. For example, when talking about the various “linguistic resources” (“ресурси на езика”) on which authors can draw for stylistic purposes, one literary scholar invokes the concept of the “folk-song lexicon” (“народно-песенната лексика”) (Stavreva 1988:90), but does not explain what specific qualities are typical of words in this genre. Similarly, a musicologist may write that a song was composed “in a folk style” (“в народен стил”) without further explication (Zhivkov 1976:145). While it makes sense that scholars

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1. The aphorism (Keremidchiev 1950a:51) is clearly not actually native to Bulgarian (there are only three unique Google results for a search of the phrase), but instead reflects a borrowing from Russian. Unless otherwise noted, all translations in this study are my own.

from other disciplines working with lyrical texts might casually use such a term without elaboration, it is striking that little work by philologists has been devoted to the poetic qualities of Bulgarian folk texts. Much research has focused on the rhythmic and musical qualities of folk songs; for example, when a Bulgarian musicologist writes that a song has a “vividly national-folk character” (“ярко народностен характер”), he bases this assessment on “both its metric-rhythmic structure, as well as the melody itself” (“както от метроритмичната ѝ структура, така и от самата мелодика”) (Krǔstev 1958:29). However, to the best of my knowledge, no study has comprehensively addressed folkloric texts in Bulgarian in terms of their linguistic structures, by which I mean the phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and other textual devices that characterize them.

While it is not always clear what philologists have in mind when they say that a text sounds “folkloric,” one can seek hints at such an answer by looking at texts that are compared to traditional folklore. A good example of this approach can be found by examining a literary scholar’s analysis of the poetry of Elizaveta Bagriana:

Редица стихове от началото на нейния творчески път могат да служат като образец за творческо използване на изразните богатства на народната поезия. Ето един пример:

Да викна от връх Еленин,  
да викна, да ми олекне:  
— Чуйте ме, мури вековни,  
чуйте ме, бели камъни,  
чуй ме ти, Пирин планино... (“Пиринска песен”) (Ivanova 1982:48)

A series of verses from the beginning of her creative life can serve as a model of creative employment of the expressive riches of folk poetry. Here is an example:

Let me cry out from the Elenin peak,  
Let me cry out, that my burden might be relieved:  
— Hear me, oh ancient firs,  
hear me, oh white rocks,  
hear me, you Pirin mountain... (“Pirin Song”)

Apparently expecting her audience to recognize what she has in mind, Ivanova does not go into any detailed analysis of the stylistics of this text; presumably, a native speaker will simply agree that it sounds like folk poetry. However, upon examination, a linguist may recognize several devices that are marked or seen as atypical in the standard spoken language, such as repetition in the phrase *да викна* ‘to cry out,’ the vocative address of inanimate objects, noun-adjective word order in *мури вековни* ‘ancient firs’ (‘firs ancient’), and, in the phrase *Пирин планино* ‘Pirin Mountain,’ the apposition of a proper noun with

its common-noun referent.<sup>2</sup> One might assume, then, that Ivanova feels that these features are reminiscent of “folk poetry.”

Moreover, it is clear that speakers not only share an understanding of what makes texts folkloric, but they can also actively employ linguistic devices to lend them such stylistic marking. A widely known song, “Македонско девојче” (“Macedonian Girl”), was composed and recorded by the Macedonian singer Jonče Hristovski in 1964 and gained popularity not only in Macedonia, but across much of the rest of the former Yugoslavia as well as Bulgaria.<sup>3</sup> However, many Bulgarians today simply think of the song as a “folk song” (“народна песен”) of anonymous origin; most citations of the song on Bulgarian websites and Youtube, for example, will refer to it as such. Apparently, the linguistic structure of the song (in addition to the processes involved in its circulation) was sufficient to convince listeners that the song was created not by a single man in the twentieth century but by members of a collective, temporally distant “folk.”

It is noteworthy that speakers of Bulgarian possess the metalinguistic knowledge to recognize supposed “folk” songs based not on their musical qualities but on their linguistic structure. However, it is perhaps more remarkable that no scholar has attempted to undertake a methodical analysis of the specific linguistic traits that signal “This is folklore!” to a Bulgarian audience. This dissertation, then, attempts to address a modest piece of this question.

While it seems likely that there could be certain linguistic patterns that underlie multiple genres of verbal folklore in Bulgarian and other South Slavic languages more broadly, the enormity of this overarching topic has necessitated that the present study engage most directly with the language of songs in Bulgarian. It attempts to investigate not only what the most common linguistic features of folk songs actually are, but, in particular, which traits seem to be most resonant of the *concept* of “folk songs,” which, for ordinary speakers of Bulgarian, are the “traditional” texts created before industrialization and the massive social changes implemented under state socialism in the second half of the twentieth century. This study approaches these sociolinguistic questions with the assumption that, beyond the musical qualities of folk songs, a particular set of linguistic features that resonate with speakers is regularly employed in such texts, and that one can concretely identify these features.

In order to pinpoint the specificities of these features, this study examines particularly closely a body of texts produced during a distinct period in history: the early years of Bulgarian socialism. The texts were published in national collections of folk songs in the years following World War II and represent what could be seen as a new part of Bulgaria’s folklore canon that was disseminated to audiences in song volumes alongside older texts. The hypothesis with which the study proceeds is that the nonstandard linguistic features that appear prominently in these newly created texts (i.e., those that would not otherwise be used in the standard spoken language) are precisely those that sound “folkloric” to speakers. That is, such traits would not have been an expected part of the everyday speech

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2. These topics are discussed in §5.9.1, §5.1.1, §3.8, and §5.5.1, respectively, in this study.

3. For discussion of the problem of the Macedonian language and Bulgarians’ perception of it as “folkloric,” see §1.7 and §8.7.

of Bulgarians of the mid-twentieth century, but they also did not appear at random; rather they were employed in these songs specifically to reflect the poetic qualities of older folk songs on the tradition of which they appear to draw. By investigating the linguistic specificities of these texts, however, one can also see how questions of “authenticity” were exploited and manipulated in the time period in which the songs circulated most actively.

As such, this work simultaneously addresses matters relevant to the fields of linguistics, ethnography and folklore studies, and cultural history. While it looks closely at the use of rhetoric marked as belonging to a specific social group in a specific time and place, it emerges ultimately from an attempt to engage with basic structural questions about Bulgarian and South Slavic linguistics. It examines the potential origins of some of the most prominent features in folk texts, tests the extent to which they are truly seen as “folkloric,” and ultimately points to the fact that “folkloric language” in Bulgarian is represented by a specific combination of dialectal, archaic, and other peculiar linguistic features, most of which represent a nationally specific, Bulgarian phenomenon.

### **1.1. Songs in Socialist Bulgaria**

Indeed, the songs in question represent a particularly rich source of data because of the specific time and place in which they emerged. During World War II, Partisan soldiers in Bulgaria had fought against the foreign Axis powers, and, at its close, they succeeded in overturning the Bulgarian monarchy and helped to re-establish Bulgaria as a socialist state. Looking closely to the Soviet Union as a model, the new Bulgarian political leadership directed massive transformations in the social order of the country. Until the second half of the twentieth century, Bulgaria had been a primarily agrarian nation, with traditional measures of “modernity,” such as rates of urbanization and literacy, far lower than those of western Europe. Under the socialist government, traditional agricultural and rural ways of life were seen as “outdated” and disparaged, and massive initiatives were undertaken to “modernize” the new socialist state. Great social works projects were begun, and factories, large apartment blocks, and entire cities were constructed, so that peasants could adjust to urban lifestyles and begin work in industry. In part, these undertakings were accomplished thanks to the efforts of volunteer youth brigade workers, who went to labor on projects building up the national infrastructure around Bulgaria; several songs attributed to these workers appear in the corpus of songs with which this study works most closely.

Particularly key to the understanding of cultural artifacts produced during this time is the fact that socialist Bulgaria was a one-party state. Especially in the early decades of Bulgarian socialism, propaganda in various forms played an extremely prominent role in national culture. Newspapers promulgated optimistic messages about the successes of socialism while highlighting the social ills that were inherent in capitalist society. For adult citizens, official Party affiliation was key for social advancement, but even schoolchildren learned songs, recited pledges, and took part in official activities designed to strengthen their adherence to socialist ideology. One consequence of this, of course, is that contemporary scholars generally view academic literature and other ostensibly non-fiction works from this period with some skepticism: any individual publishing at this time would surely have had in mind the necessity of adhering to the Party line in order to ensure his

own social and personal well-being, and one cannot always assume that statements in texts of the socialist era are entirely accurate and not simply constructed for political reasons.

Moreover, the political leadership at the time can be seen as having initiated a Herderian nationalizing project of sorts as it worked to build a more nationally uniform and visible Bulgarian identity. In short, the soldiers and laborers involved in transforming the country's social and physical landscape were cast as a new kind of "folk," and the cultural artifacts associated with them were presented as a foundational part of modern Bulgaria's national culture. New song texts were consciously gathered and disseminated, and they could be found in all sorts of print media. An everyday citizen would encounter battle songs of Partisan soldiers, patriotic anthems extolling the glories of socialism, and work songs describing the joys of labor and new technology. For example, the newspaper for brigade workers constructing the city of Dimitrovgrad regularly printed songs and other texts created by these youths; an example of such a song appears in Figure 1.1.<sup>4</sup> Songs were cited in ethnographic descriptions of historical figures, such as the song included in Figure 1.2, a page from a volume detailing the struggles of a Partisan detachment in World War II. It is curious that writers quite often quoted only brief excerpts of songs amid larger texts. For example, in a historical volume describing a youth work brigade, a narrative unfolds as follows:

Йорданка Кръстева и Верка Попова с радост се върнаха към мирните си момински занимания – вземто. Взеха плата и отидоха в една къща. Там ги посрещнали с радост, намерили им конци и работата започнала. И двете едновременно започнали да везат аленото знаме. Около тях се натрупали любопитни жени и деца. Скоро подхванали и партизанския бисер

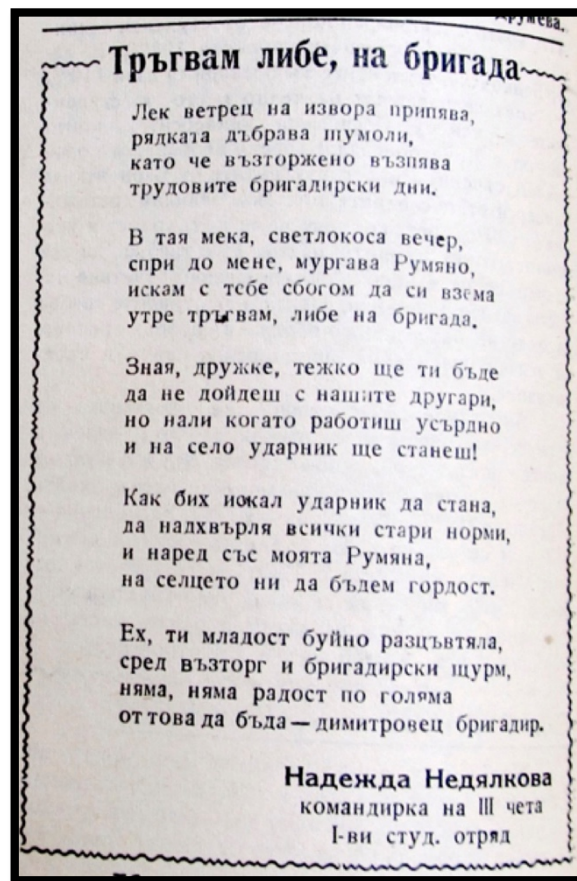


Figure 1.1: Nedialkova 1948

4. This text, which continues the tradition of songs in which a man bids farewell to his lover before heading to war, is particularly interesting. Not only does it have a female author but a masculine lyrical subject, it also uses a line-medial vocative (see §5.1) with the marked word *либе* 'lover' (see §4.1.3) in the title. It should be noted that poetry and song were seen as particularly important in the culture of the brigadier movement. These same newspapers often featured articles describing the songs sung by workers (e.g. Mihailov 1948), and the labor that took place was often metaphorically compared to a song, as in the headline of Shumkov 1948, "Нашият труд е волна песен" ("Our Labor is a Free-Flowing Song"). For more on the culture of youth brigade camps, see Zlateva 2006 and Bozova 2006.



Орел под облак летеше,  
червено знаме носеше.  
(Jordanov 1980:151)

Yordanka Krüsteva and Vera Popova joyfully returned to their peaceful maidenly undertakings – embroidery. They took the cloths and went into a house. There they were greeted with joy, thread was found for them, and the work began. And the two simultaneously began to sew up the scarlet flag. Around them gathered curious women and children. Soon they started taking up the Partisan gem:

An eagle was flying under a cloud,  
it was carrying a red flag...

Presumably, there was more to the song than these first two lines, but the writer cites only the beginning of the text and expects the reader to be familiar with the rest.<sup>5</sup> In addition to the sporadic appearance of song texts in other media, there were also entire volumes of song collections, such as that in Figure 1.3, a volume of songs gathered in youth brigade camps. It is clear that the early socialists felt that lyrical works were important and wished to highlight the extent to which citizens were engaged in song in the new socialist state.<sup>6</sup>

5. When such brief excerpts of songs are included in memoirs, novels, and the like, they are almost always indented and often appear in bold text. Having observed similar formatting of song excerpts in Soviet texts, I suspect that both the visual demarcation of these songs as well as the principle of regularly quoting only a few lines of songs is a practice borrowed from Soviet print culture.

6. One particular theme that is prominent in these songs is that which I would refer to as “metasinging.” Likely at least half of the songs in volumes of Bulgarian brigadier lore, for example, make some metalinguistic reference to the act of singing. For example, one song described as originating in the brigadier camps talks about young men and women singing on the way to a construction site:

Хей, непознати другари и вий хармонисти!  
Засрамете девойките, хайде да пеем! [...]  
Още утре в Хаинбоаз ний ще заселим  
пълен влак, пълен влак с бригадири и песни. (Radoev 1986:29)

Hey, stranger comrades and you musicians!

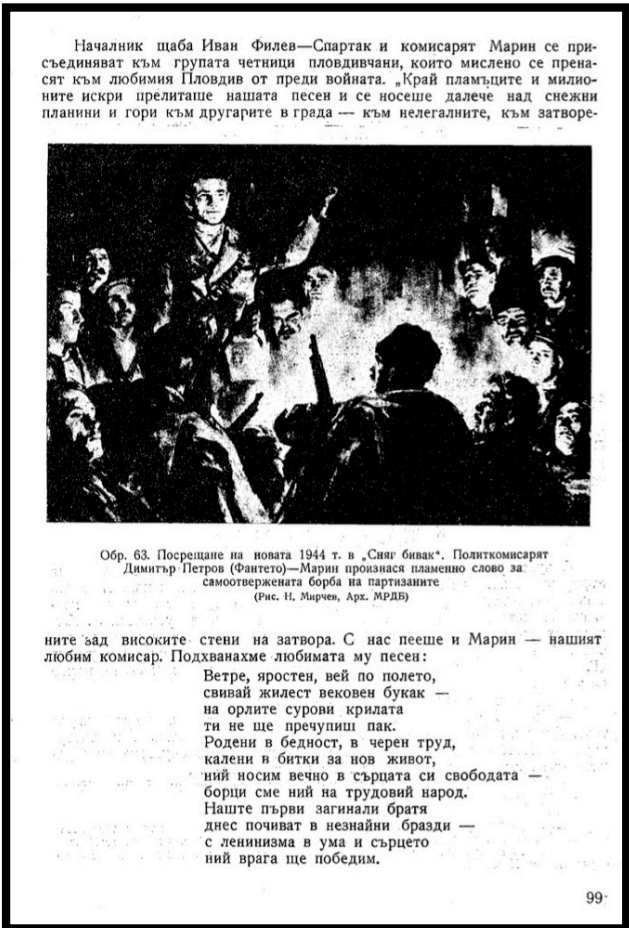


Figure 1.2: Koev 1962:99

## 1.2. Dialects and Socialist Bulgarian Language Policy

The desire to produce a culturally unified and modern state also had pronounced effects on Bulgaria's national language policies. Part of the agenda of the Bulgarian Communist Party can be expressed as "the development and perfect refinement of the literary language" ("развитието и усъвършенствуването на книжовния език") (Rusinov 1984:347). A large focus of this process involved the "democratization" ("демократизацията") of language, which was to be accomplished in part by a spelling reform that would make the written language more accessible and "създадат подходящи условия за ликвидиране на неграмотността и за издигане просветното и културното равнище на широките народни маси" ("create the necessary conditions for the eradication of illiteracy and for the raising of



Figure 1.3: Boiadzhiev 1950

the educational and cultural standards of the broad masses of the people") (ibid.). Using the typical fiery rhetoric of the time, scholars made proclamations such as:

Борбата за чистотата на езика е борба, е оръдие за културата. Колкото по-остро е това оръдие, толкова е то по-победоносно. Езика, за който се борим, езика на нашата нова литература и култура, езика на нашата социалистическа нация, този език ние сме длъжни не само да пазим, но и да го усъвършенствуваме, за да стане мощно оръжие на културата. (Stoianov 1952:46)

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Show up those girls, come on, let's sing! [...]  
By tomorrow in Hainboaz we'll settle in,  
a full train, full of brigadiers and songs.

In a song such as this, the mention of singing emphasizes to the listener that the brigadiers were engaging in their own spontaneous musical production; a reader encountering such references in volumes of collected lore later on would understand them to be "authentic." At the same time, however, one might argue that this reflexivity produces something of a semantic void: if one only sings about singing itself rather than events taking place in the wider world, it also creates the impression that there are no other more significant topics worthy of song.

The struggle for the purity of language is a struggle, it is an instrument of culture. The sharper this instrument is, the more it is triumphant. The language for which we are fighting, the language of our new literature and culture, the language of our socialist nation, we are obliged not only to guard this language, but also to perfect it, so that it can become a mighty weapon of culture.

The heavy emphasis on linguistic reform in the socialist era necessarily carried with it the idea that certain types of language were inherently positive and others were negative.

The greatest tenet of the movement, in fact, was the principle that the Bulgarian language needed to coalesce into a more unified standard norm. Scholars argued that such a process had begun at the time of Bulgaria's national liberation and that it was destined to reach its culmination under socialism. Much value was placed on the idea that language should represent the unification of the Bulgarian nation. For example, one sees assertions like:

Нашият литературен език се обогатява от говоримия народен език не според това дали писателят е от Източна или от Западна България, а според това доколко той може да направи художествен отбор от говоримия език, който да бъде понятен за цял народ. Нашият литературен език днес е на такъв стадий, когато трябва да се изучава неговата структура, неговият граматичен строеж и речников състав с оглед на понататъшното му развитие. Борейки се с езика, всеки наш писател трябва да чувства неговата фонетична двойственост и незавършеност. Всеки наш писател чувства, че нашият език е в процес на усъвършенстване. (ibid.)

Our literary language is enriched by the spoken language of the people not in accordance with whether a writer is from eastern or western Bulgaria, but in accordance with the extent to which he can make an artful selection from the spoken language that will be understood by the entire nation. Our literary language today is at a stage at which one must study its structure, its grammatical construction and its lexical makeup with respect to its eventual development. Fighting with this language, every one of our writers must sense its phonetic duality and incompleteness. Every one of our writers senses that our language is in the process of reaching perfection.

The implication of this, then, was that dialects were in complete opposition to this unified, perfected national language. As one linguist explains:

Нека още веднъж подчертаем — книжовният език е общонационална, наддиалектна, официална форма на българския език и затова крайно време е да престанем да го отъждествяваме или приравняваме с кой и да е български диалект, макар че от този диалект той би могъл “да заеме” интересна дума или езикова форма. (Georgieva 1982:116)

Let us emphasize once more — the literary language belongs to the entire nation, is super-dialectal, an official form of the Bulgarian language, and therefore it is time to cease to identify with or give equal status to any Bulgarian dialect at all, even if one could “borrow” from such a dialect an interesting word or linguistic form.

Accordingly, dialects were denounced as a hindrance to the development of a stylistically unified, pure, national language. As another linguist writes:

Вече самият факт, че се изгражда книжовен език, който трябва да обслужва целия народ, ограничава функцията на диалекта. Защото диалектът е такава езикова система, която е ограничена териториално, говори се от определена група хора, живеещи в едно селище или в един район. По диалекта можеш да познаеш от къде е твоят събеседник и нищо повече. Диалектът се говори в едно затворено общество, а най-главното изискване в него е всички да говорят еднакво. (Lilov 1981b:20)

The very fact that a literary language that must serve the entire nation is being constructed limits the function of the dialect. Because a dialect is a linguistic system which is territorially restricted, it is spoken by a particular group of people living in a single settlement or single region. From a dialect you can tell from where your interlocutor comes and nothing more. A dialect is spoken in a closed society, and the most important requirement of it is for all to speak in an identical way.

He adds:

Усвояването на книжовния език с така очертаните му функции изисква човек да се отдели от ограничения езиков колектив, да се освободи от усвоените в детството диалектни навици и да усвои други, представени от нормите на общонародния книжовен език. (ibid.)

The acquisition of the literary language with the functions thus described requires a person to separate himself from this restricted linguistic collective, to free himself from the dialectal habits acquired in childhood and to acquire new ones, represented by the norms of the nationally uniform literary language.

In fact, there seemed to be an understanding that a speaker of dialects would, consequently, not also know the standard language:

Ако ние разговаряме с един селянин от шопските села, който например вместо кмета, коня признася кмето, коно, вместо ще отида — ке ода, вместо мисля — сматрям, вместо горещ — жежок и др., ние веднага ще разберем, че този човек говори на своя диалект и не владее т. нар. норми на нашия книжовен език. (Kiuвлиева 1982:35)

If we converse with a peasant from the *Shop*<sup>7</sup> villages, who, for example, instead of saying *kmeta* ('the mayor') or *konja* ('the horse') says *kmeto* or *kono*, instead of *šte otida* ('I will go') — *ke oda*, instead of *mislja* ('I think') — *smatrjam*, instead of *gorešt* ('hot') — *žežok* etc., we will immediately understand that this person is speaking in his dialect and does not possess the so-called norms of our literary language.

The unspoken implication of this sentiment is that a speaker of dialect would be unable to function as an individual in modern society. Altogether, much rhetoric was devoted to this topic, but perhaps nothing as heavy-handed as one linguist's assertion:

Всичко, което пречи на яснотата на езика, което го затъмнява и покварява, връща го към плевела и тростката на първичните областни народни говори — а това са всевъзможните диалектизми, провинциализми, архаизми, тарикатски изрази, — няма място в литературния език, който е и трябва да бъде в истинския смисъл на думата «съкровищница» на езика. (Stoianov 1959:45-46)

Everything that stands in the way of clarity in the language, that obscures and corrupts it, returns it to the weeds and crabgrass of the elemental regional dialects — and these are all the sorts of dialectisms, provincialisms, archaisms, and slang phrases — has no place in the literary language, which is and must be in the truest sense of the word the “treasury” of the language.

The language of newly composed and published folk songs, then, would seem to be the product of a tension between two opposing principles. Traditionally, folk texts published prior to the socialist era reflected the nonstandard variants found in the speech of individual informants. Thus, folklorists, who had surely been trained to be sensitive to the nuances of speech, nonetheless felt compelled in the socialist era to normalize the language of the songs that they were publishing. While they had to produce texts that would appear legitimately “folkloric” (as they would sound dull and unconvincing if published in standard prose-like language), these works still needed to be comprehensible to the masses. In short, songs could be “folk” but not too “folk.” And although it was generally seen as appropriate to draw on the aesthetic sensibilities of the peasantry in moderation, any newly created cultural forms should, on the whole, reflect the values of educated, urban citizens.

One can see hints of this principle in the way that works of particular authors were critiqued by scholars. The poet Elizaveta Bagriana, for example, was praised as a literary figure who had been inspired by folklore, but still wrote in a modern, worldly style. She is described as follows:

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7. The *Shop* ethnic group lives in western Bulgaria; they are often viewed as the quintessentially rural peasants of Bulgaria.

Поетесата е така проникната от духа на народната песен, че преплита фолклорни езикови и поетически средства и в произведения, които по дух и стил са, общо взето, далече от народното творчество. (Ivanova 1982:49)

The poetess is so inspired by the spirit of the folksong that she weaves together folkloric linguistic and poetic resources even into works which are in spirit and style, for the most part, quite removed from the folkloric tradition.

In essence, this scholar says that one of the poet's talents was being able to employ hints of folklore in an appropriate, "modern" way. Similar assessments were given of the most beloved poet of the socialist regime, Nikola Vaptsarov:

Известно е, че в народната песен подобни изрази навсякъде се употребяват в една единствена, постоянна, дори клиширана форма. У Вапцаров обаче тези изрази запазват своя народнопесенен дух, но обикновено са измъкнати от постоянната им клиширана форма и се използват в стиха на поета обновени и изпълнени с ново съдържание. (Mutafchiev 1962:382)

It is well known that, in the folk song, similar expressions can be used everywhere in one singular, unchanging, even clichéd form. In Vaptsarov's work, however, these expressions retain their folk-song spirit, but are usually snatched out of their unchanging clichéd form and are used in the verse of the poet in an innovative manner and filled with new content.

Similarly positive values were ascribed to the work of the writer Georgi Karaslavov:

Караславов черпи от езика на народа широко, без да проявява слабост към непотребни диалектизми. Той познава тоя език така добре, както познава обществените отношения в село и психиката на селяните. Силата на неговия език е в реализма му, в неговата естественост, в простата постройка на фразата, в пълното улавяне на ритъма на разговорната реч, във внимателния подбор на думите за типизация и индивидуализация на образите. (Dinekov 1951:181)

Karaslavov borrows from the language of the people widely, without betraying any weakness for unnecessary dialectisms. He understands this language as well as he understands the societal relations of the village and the psyche of the peasants. The strength of his language is in its realism, in its naturalness, in the simple structure of the phrase, in his full grasp of the rhythm of colloquial speech, in his attentive selection of words for the typification and individualization of his characters.

In general, some of the most highly praised creators of popular literature were those who were able to bridge the gap between the aesthetic culture of the "folk" and the linguistic demands of contemporary, educated society.

One might see the creators of folk songs, then, as caught in a similar position. As this study attempts to show, these newly composed works seem to strike a balance between “traditionality” and “modernity” in terms of both their language and their textual content.

### 1.3. Thematic Content and Origins of the Songs

Without a doubt, the contents of the songs in this study create a bridge between the traditional themes of earlier folk works and novel content that more closely reflected the realities (or aspirations) of socialism. The songs describe a number of situations and events, but they typically fall into one of two major categories. On the one hand, several songs extol the new socialist way of life, typically glorifying the enjoyment of labor. In one song, the lyrical subject describes the construction of a new dam lake, and another remarks on the beauty of a female tractor driver. Romantic relations feature in several of these songs, as in one where a girl tells her mother that she will marry her lover, a miner, if he becomes successful as a shock worker.

The rest of the songs generally relate to World War II or the idea of political revolution. Several serve as a call to arms or glorify the soldiers struggling against Fascist powers. A number of songs describe the deaths of soldiers, often naming specific individuals who were lost. Interestingly, in accordance with the socialist movement’s stated advocacy for equality between men and women, the norms of gender are often overturned in these songs; for example, one lyrical subject suggests the inclusion of “Genka the maiden” (“мома Генка”) among the ranks of his military unit. In another, “Dragana” tells her mother that she will join her male lover to fight “for truth and for freedom” (“за правда и за свобода”).

The contents of these songs are particularly interesting, however, because they raise questions about their origins. For example, when a reader familiar with older Bulgarian folkloric material encounters the above-mentioned song about Dragana the fighter, he will immediately see resemblances between it and older songs of the national independence movement in which young men bid farewell to their mothers before leaving for battle. In fact, it seems that many socialist works borrowed heavily from older songs. For example, the lyrical subject of one socialist song in this study describes how he will die in Hungary (instead of returning to marry a woman back home, he will “be wedded to the Drava River”) because the song borrows elements of a song composed about Bulgaria’s war for national independence (Keremidchiev 1950a:155-156). Indeed, newly composed songs often draw heavily on the plots of older texts. The Bulgarian folklorist Petŭr Dinekov summarizes the situation as follows:

Какви нови явления се забелязват в областта на поетиката при съвременния фолклор? В настоящия момент от неговото развитие преобладават ония елементи, които идат от поетиката на традиционната народна песен. Във формално отношение съвременната народна песен е извънредно тясно свързана с традиционната. [...] Преди всичко срещат се случаи, когато новата песен изцяло ляга върху стара песен, като се извършват промени в съдържанието. (Dinekov 1963:288-289)

What new phenomena can be seen in the field of poetics in contemporary folklore? At the present movement of its development, the elements that predominate are those that come from the poetics of the traditional folk song. In a formal sense, the contemporary folk song is unusually tightly connected with the traditional one. [...] Above all, one sees instances in which the new song rests entirely upon an old song, with changes being made to the content.

He goes on to compare a song about a socialist political prisoner to one describing a revolutionary from the Ottoman era, and writes, “ситуацията в двете песни е една и съща” (“the situation in the two songs is exactly the same”) (ibid. 290).

It is clear that scholars of culture saw this as a natural process. The musicologist Venelin Krüstev, for example, writes:

Не се създават днес и песни на хайдушка тематика, песни за туркото робство, но жизнените интонации и на едните, и на другите могат и те наистина служат за основа на песни за теглото на народа през фашизма или на партизански революционни песни. Не малко героични песни за партизаните са създадени от народните певци в стила на старите, кралимарковски героични песни. И това съвсем не е някаква механична практика, а един от векове установен стил, предаващ се от поколение на поколения [sic]. [...] Вярно е, че общественоекономическите условия в България от времето на Крали Марко до Раковски и Хаджи Димитър съществено се различават от днешните, но нима и Крали Марко, и Раковски, и Левски, и партизаните-комунисти като носители на революционен морал, на народната правда, защитници на поробен народ не оживяват в съзнанието на народния певец като близки, сродни образи, носители на едни и същи високи идеали? А това води и до близост в музикалния стил на възплащаване. (Krüstev 1958:159)

Today no one creates songs on the theme of haiduks, or on songs of the Turkish occupation, but the vital meanings of both one and the other can in fact serve as the basis for songs about the suffering of the folk under fascism or for the Partisan revolutionary songs. Quite a few heroic songs about the Partisans were created by folk singers in the style of the old heroic songs of Prince Marko. And this was in no way some sort of mechanical practice, but rather a style established for centuries, passed on from generation to generation. [...] It is true that the socioeconomic conditions in Bulgaria at the times of Prince Marko up to those of Rakovski and Hadzhi Dimitar differed considerably from today's, but do not Prince Marko, and Rakovski, and Levski, and the Partisan Communists as carriers of the revolutionary spirit, of the truth of the people, defenders of an enslaved folk, come alive in the consciousness of the folk singer as familiar, kindred characters, carriers of the same greater ideals? This leads as well to similarity in the musical style of such reincarnations.



It is clear, therefore, that newly composed folk songs were presented as an organic continuation of older, established national traditions. Folklore scholars in the era of socialism, thus, were not only keen on showing how earlier forms of folklore had conveyed the same revolutionary spirit that inspired socialism, but they also explicitly granted legitimacy to newer socialist creations as authentic works belonging to the “folk.” Stalin famously established a mantra, promulgated throughout the Eastern Bloc, that socialist culture should be “national in form and socialist in content.” While the contents of these songs did, in fact, reflect newer sociopolitical attitudes, they could be seen by ordinary citizens as a familiar part of their own culture.

#### 1.4. Censorship and Political Uses of Bulgarian Folk Songs

The question of the individuals creating these songs, however, is somewhat more shaky. New socialist songs were presented as having come straight from the “folk”; for example, the folklorist Gencho Keremidchiev introduces the songs in his volume as follows:

Пеейки по-голямата част от своите традиционни народни песни и в съвременните обществено-политични и културни условия, нашият народ не престава да твори и нови поетически видове и образци — изразявайки по този начин настъпилите изменения в съдържанието на своя живот чрез значително изменени художествени похвати и средства. Така той опровергава нашите буржоазни фолклористи, както и някои непосветени в тази област, които твърдяха, че се намираме пред края на народното поетическо творчество, че векът на това творчество е вече завършил (Keremidchiev 1948:9).

In that they sing the greater part of their traditional folk songs under the contemporary sociopolitical and cultural conditions as well, our folk do not cease to create new poetic forms and models — reflecting in this way the changes that have taken place in the substance of their lives through significantly changed artistic devices and techniques. Thus, they refute the bourgeois folklorists among us, as well as those who are uninitiated into the discipline, who have asserted that we are nearing the end of folkloric poetic creativity, that the era of this folklore has already ended.

He then goes on to add, “Днес ние сме свидетели, че новата и най-нова българска народна поезия се твори пред нашите очи...” (“Today we are witness to the fact that the newest Bulgarian folk poetry is being created right before our eyes...”) (ibid. 11) Similarly, folklorist Tsvetana Romanska insists of Partisan songs: “Техни творци [...] са несъмнено самите партизани” (“Their creators [...] are undoubtedly the Partisans themselves”) (Romanska 1964:148) and says that these songs are “истински поетични творби на съвременния фолклор” (“real poetic creations of contemporary folklore”) (ibid.). Most folklorists did describe a division of sorts between the pre-socialist tradition and newly created works, but all took care to emphasize that these works were an important part of

Bulgaria's national folklore because they were cultural artifacts of the ordinary socialist citizen.

Even taking into account the distrust that many contemporary scholars might feel towards socialist academic writings, it seems only logical that these statements could be mostly true. On the whole, one should indeed expect that many individuals who believed passionately in the socialist cause were singing songs about the struggles they had been through and the new way of life they were coming to experience. Obviously, socialism came to take hold in Bulgaria because of the commitment of many men and women to political revolution; surely these individuals would have actively carried on the process of creating new works in the tradition in which they were brought up.

At the same time, one must in retrospect take into account the specific historical conditions under which citizens were singing and folklorists were collecting and publishing their work. There was clearly an awareness among political leaders that lyrical culture and folklore in particular made for effective propaganda. For example, the folklorist Tsvetan Minkov writes:

Фолклорът е едно от средствата за борба срещу политическите и културни угнетители, демонстрация на националната и културна обособеност. Развитието на фолклористиката съвпада със засилването прогресивно-демократическото течение в национално-обществените борби. (Minkov 1950:13)

Folklore is one of the means for fighting against political and cultural oppressors, a demonstration of national and cultural distinctiveness. The development of folkloristics coincides with the strengthening of the progressive and democratic movement in national social struggles.

This was the official line taken by members of the intellectual community: folklore and its study could, and, in fact, should be used for political purposes. In his 1973 address to scholars at the Second National Symposium of Folkloristics, for example, Veselin Hadzhinikolov, Director of the Ethnographic Institute and Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, informed his audience:

Нашата съвременна фолклористика се опира на марксистко-ленинската методология и си служи със специфични методи на изследване. Тя черпи опит и примери от най-видните съветски и други прогресивни фолклористи, включително и от традициите на българската революционна и демократична фолклористика, и се характеризира с няколко основни черти [...] (Hadzhinikolov 1976:8)

Our [Bulgarian] contemporary folkloristics is grounded in Marxist-Leninist methodology and makes use of specific methods of research. It draws on the experience and examples of the most eminent Soviet and other progressive

folklorists, including the traditions of Bulgarian revolutionary and democratic folkloristics, and is characterized by several features [...]

Among the features Hadzhinikolov lists are the presumption that Bulgarian folklore is used in a “struggle against oppression and exploitation” (“борба срещу потисничеството и експлоатацията”) and that “folklore, as one of the important forms of expression of national consciousness, strengthens national and socialist patriotism” (“народното изкуство като едно от важните форми за изява на националното самосъзнание укрепва народния и социалистическия патриотизъм”) (ibid.). It seems reasonable to assume that neither the texts analyzed in this study (all of which were compiled by folklorists, many of whom may have been present at this very same conference), nor those found in other types of works, are direct transcriptions of songs collected straight from ordinary citizens. In fact, while many published songs note a supposed place of origin, only a handful name the individual from whom the song was collected, and none provide any documentation of this process. Any collection of folklore published during this period would have been created at least with an awareness of the type of folklore that was most desired by the Communist Party and its functionaries, if not with the immediate goal of producing propaganda.

Although no specific details on the background of the songs in this study were uncovered, one can get insight into the way in which songs were gathered for political purposes at this time by examining the dynamics between the young people participating in youth brigade projects and party functionaries that were sent to work sites. Songs and other types of texts composed by the brigadiers were carefully collected and published widely; calls for such texts, such as the announcement of a contest shown in Figure 1.4, appeared regularly in workers’ publications. In the first years of the brigades, the youth workers had already developed their own practices of writing songs, poems, stories, and other personal accounts of their experiences, but in 1948, a decision of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Youth was made that cultural production at these sites should be shaped more directly. “Cultural brigades,” made up of official members of the Bulgarian Writers’ Union (who would have toed the Party line quite loyally), were sent to various sites to oversee the cultural production of the brigadeers and to give them “methodical and material”



Figure 1.4: *Mlada Gvardiia*, July 19, 1948, p.8

(Zlateva 2006:67) direction. Hints of this process can be found in a short interview with the composer of the official “Brigadier March,” Ivan Burin. When asked about the origins of the march, he first explains that he was one of the first to take part in the construction of the Pass of the Republic, a road through the central Balkan mountains. He says that a competition was announced for the creation of a brigadier march, and his song was selected. Then, however, a composer from the Central Committee was sent to help with the arrangement. Burin explains that, even though the song was originally his creation, the professional composer “helped” him to change it:

Карастоянов го прочете съсредоточено и каза, че текстът е подходящ за марш. Предложи ми да разменим куплетите. Исках да избягна фанфарността, която присъществуваше в много от тогавашните стихотворения, и започнах с картина: „Преливат речните корита”. Опитният творец препочете за начало куплет, който зовеше: „Елате, хиляди младежи”. Асен Карастоянов се обосновава така: един марш, особено младежки, и то за такова движение като бригадирското, трябва да почне ударно и призивно. (Klimentov 1986:15)

Karastoyanov read it attentively and said that the text was suitable for a march. He suggested to me that we switch around the verses. I had wanted to avoid the whole pomposity that characterized many of the poems of the time, and I had begun with a scene: “The river banks are overflowing.” The experienced creator preferred for the beginning a line that would ring out: “Come, thousands of youth.” Asen Karastoyanov justified this on the grounds that a march, especially a youth one, and at that, one for such a movement as the brigadiers’, had to begin forcefully and stirringly.

The above is an example of how the regime controlled brigadier cultural expression; it is clear that this work, attributed to an ordinary brigade worker, was no longer solely his own creation.<sup>8</sup> I might similarly expect that, even if certain songs may have had their origins in the mouths of ordinary citizens, editors of folk song volumes may have taken liberties with their publication. Textual evidence, as described in §8.3, points to the fact that this clearly occurred with orthographic details, but there is no way to be sure that it would not have taken place on a larger scale with other elements of texts as well.

### 1.5. The Problem of “Authenticity”

These historical facts, then, highlight the concern with “authenticity” that invariably comes into play when one works with folk texts of uncertain provenance. Various schools of folkloristics in different periods have approached the study of anonymously created representations of group identity in various ways. While earlier scholars often looked on folkloric creations as ancient treasures of a declining, pre-modern “folk” class to be

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8. In fact, this song was included in the March Corpus analyzed later in this study (see §1.8), and Burin later became a celebrated national poet himself.

preserved and treasured, scholars later came to explore the social processes that shaped the development of folkloric works, and, finally, have begun to address more reflexively the effect of their own involvement with cultural material. One might understand the songs analyzed in this study differently within all of these frameworks. Scholars such as Richard Dorson have devoted a great amount of attention to the social value of folklore, particularly by attempting to develop criteria and definitions for what is “genuine” folklore and what merely amounts to “fakelore.” According to Dorson, who coined this term, fakelore “falsifies the raw data of folklore by invention, selection, fabrication, and similar refining processes [...]” (Dorson 1959:4). He uses this term to refer to cultural representations in a form suitable for popular consumption particularly when they have been manipulated for “capitalistic gain” (ibid.), but he also clearly sees fakelore’s potential for political exploitation. In fact, Dorson criticizes methods of folklore research and publishing in the Soviet Union by describing a situation directly analogous to socialist Bulgaria:

The Soviet government has encouraged the writing of legends and heroic songs by the collective-farm workers, awarded them prizes, and honored them at the national conventions for Soviet writers. For the Communist Party ideology, folklore is made to order. (Dorson 1976:20)

He even cites Soviet songs about beautiful tractor drivers (ibid. 58-59), which resemble the song “Kalina the Tractor Driver” described in §1.3. Dorson and others from his school of analysis would likely view the songs included here with skepticism, disregarding them as inauthentic, impure “fakelore.”

Similarly, the European historian Eric Hobsbawm put forth the idea of “invented tradition,” defined as “a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historical past” (Hobsbawm 1983:1). Infusing newly developed practices with the idea of a long-established tradition, Hobsbawm goes on to show, lends authenticity to such practices so that they can be taken as legitimate representations of nationhood.

The newly created lore in socialist Bulgaria would seem to be a prime example of an invented tradition. The works analyzed in the present study often employ older linguistic and poetic styles, which give them a sense of timelessness. Theorists operating with Hobsbawm’s theories in mind would find this material to be less legitimately “folkloric,” however, because of its potential for propagandistic use and the immediacy with which it arose in the new socialist era. Hobsbawm also states that the invention of tradition is most common “when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which ‘old’ traditions had been designed, producing new ones to which they were not applicable” (ibid. 4). This would seem to describe exactly the situation in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia in the 1940s: socialism’s psychological break with the rural past rendered traditional forms of folklore obsolete, so updated canons of folklore and ways of presenting it had to be created for the new society. To be sure, one cannot with any certainty accept

the texts in this study as creations of anonymous individuals that became well-known solely as a result of organic circulation.

On the other hand, contemporary folklore theory might approach these texts with more nuance. As folklorist Regina Bendix (1997) has convincingly argued, the construct of “authenticity” is largely a superficial one, engendered in many ways by the discipline of folkloristics itself. Any work has to find its origins in one person or another, and examining the social import with which it is imbued in the present is a more precise and telling endeavor than attempting to ascribe value to it based on a locatable point of origin in the past. While it might now be impossible to track down a singular creator—be it a member of the “folk” or the intelligentsia—of any of these texts, one can certainly see how the authenticity of these works was constructed by their regular employment in representations of socialist culture.

In fact, one might attempt to build on Bendix’s theory and assert that, regardless of the uncertain origin of these songs, in a sense, they came to gain a type of authenticity over time. Many of the songs seem to have been performed often enough in socialist Bulgaria that members of the public ended up learning them by heart; whether or not every individual citizen identified with the song itself, the knowledge of socialist folk songs became something that joined together the citizens of Bulgaria and served as a symbol for the socialist society. Authorities were surely aware of this fact; speaking of certain songs that had been learned widely in socialist society, Venelin Krüstev states that “thanks to a simple formal construction, to the unusually accessible and familiar melodic language” (“благодарение на простата формална постройка, на извънредно достъпния и познат мелодичен език”) these songs “become immediately fixed in the mind of the mass audience” (“се запаметяват веднага от масовия слушател”) (Krüstev 1958:44). Moreover, the most telling evidence of the symbolic power these songs gained are the reactions of individuals in Bulgaria upon hearing about the research that made up this project. While almost everyone over the age of thirty or so could readily recall particular songs from the socialist era, the strength of their reactions to the idea of research into socialist-era songs varied from confusion to dismissive anger. For better or worse, it is clear that these songs had an important role in representing the culture of socialist society.

In addition, there is evidence that some of these works were not only learned in official social contexts like schools or public assemblies, but that they also circulated in a more “organic” fashion. One well-known song, “Имала майка едно ми чедо” (“Mother Had a Child”), originated in the Partisan era, but is now generally thought of as a “folk” song; when popular artists record it today, they usually cite it as such. Moreover, it can be found transcribed in various sources with, for example, either a western variant of the word ‘black’ (*цървено*) or the standard one (*червено*). The title line of the popular song “The Partisan Prepares to Go to War” can be found with standard word order (“Партизан за бой се стяга”) in some renditions, or with marked word order (“Партизан за бой се стяга,” using nonstandard clitic detachment described in §3.6.2.2) in others.<sup>9</sup> Even the song in my study that most vividly demonstrates socialist culture, “Kalina the Tractor Driver” (“Калина трактористката”), shows variations. While Makedonska (1988:199) explains that it was

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9. I am indebted to Borislav Georgiev for this observation.

created in 1949 as part of an agricultural campaign for the sowing season, it was also recorded in the villages of Resen, Rainino, Slomer, and Zhitnitsa with slight variations (Mollov 2014). While these songs may have had relatively clear dates of creation and even, occasionally, identifiable single authors, it would seem that they, and presumably other songs used in this study, did have value as texts that circulated among the broader population.

These facts, then, are what make the songs in question so valuable for the study of folkloric language. They may well have been constructed or at least shaped by members of the intelligentsia, far removed from the battlefields and construction sites from which the songs were purported to have come. More significantly, though, they were seen as resembling, at least to a passable extent, “real” folklore. Of course, socialist Bulgaria had numerous disaffected citizens, and surely not all Bulgarians bought into the idea of these songs or saw them as anything more than pathetic attempts at propaganda. On the whole, however, it would seem that these works held a strong enough position in society that they were ultimately considered to pass muster, as it were, as legitimate expressions of the Bulgarian people.

## **1.6. Folkloric Language as a Register**

Indeed, it is for this very reason that these songs were selected to form the backbone of an inquiry that is, at its heart, grounded in the discipline of linguistics. They represent a defined body of texts classified by socialist-era editors as “folkloric,” and therefore constitute material upon which quantitative analyses can be based. Furthermore, the fact that they are recent compositions allows for particularly pointed inquiry into the nature of their language. One could attempt to investigate concepts of “folkloric language” by working primarily with one of the classic collections of Bulgarian folklore gathered in the nineteenth century. However, such “timeless” songs have far murkier points of origin: although such songs were transcribed as early as the eighteenth century (Markov 2004:549), they were surely the product of a long period of prior cultivation. It would be difficult to say in such a case whether many of the linguistic aberrations that would be found in such texts were used relatively consciously as stylistic ornamentation, or whether they were present simply because they reflected the ordinary spoken language at the time of the song’s inception. In contrast, the songs in this study were clearly created in the middle of the twentieth century, at a time when phonological, morphological, and syntactic norms were more or less equivalent to today’s standards. Therefore, any linguistic features seen as unusual today in songs composed under socialism would likely have been used not because they were a part of ordinary speech at the time of their composition, but because they carried some sort of emblematic stylistic marking. That is, the nonstandard linguistic features that feature prominently in newly created “folklore” texts (i.e., those would otherwise not be used in the contemporary standard language) are likely precisely those that sound “folkloric” to speakers. They do not appear at random; rather, they were employed to create a particular feel and lend the idea of authenticity to the texts in question.

This points to the idea that the nonstandard textual features identified in these songs may form something of a linguistic register, a variety of language used in a defined social context. Certain types of linguistic markers may have become linked with folk songs as a genre, and creators of such works in the socialist era would have continued using this familiar register even in new texts. The present study proposes that the specific features identified in Chapters 2 through 5 are characteristic features of this register, one that carries with it notions of timelessness, folksiness, and, indeed, authenticity.

This study is not the first to address the concept of register in South Slavic folk works, even if only minimal attention seems to have been paid to the concept in Bulgarian folklore specifically. Comparative folklorist John Miles Foley is perhaps the most prominent scholar to have used the concept of register to describe the poetics of the “South Slavic” (i.e. Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian) epic (see especially Foley 1996), but his analyses mostly focus on larger structural phenomena—that is, the types of traits that are highlighted in the present work in Chapter 5—rather than grammatical and lexical variation of the type presented here in Chapters 2 to 4. But in fact, it seems arguable that at least the concept of a special register for South Slavic folk songs has been in the consciousness of philologists for decades. For example, Albert Lord was probably alluding to something similar in his classic *Singer of Tales* when he wrote:

In the months and years of boyhood, not very long indeed after he has learned to speak his own language, the future singer develops a realization that in sung stories the order of words is often not the same as in everyday speech. Verbs may be placed in unusual positions, auxiliaries may be omitted, cases may be used strangely. He is impressed by the special effect which results, and he associates these syntactic peculiarities with the singing of tales. (Lord 2000:32)

Although the most resonant stylistic features of folk songs in the Bulgarian tradition mostly differ from those of Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, as will be seen in following analyses, it would seem that a similar process to that described by Lord may have taken place not only as creators of Bulgarian verbal art learned their craft, but as ordinary speakers encountered such works in performance. Over time, that is, a number of particular linguistic devices gradually came to be associated with the idea of folk song texts such that they eventually coalesced into a distinctive register.

Indeed, the existence of a particular register that is characteristic of Bulgarian folk songs accords well with many of the contemporary concepts associated with the concept of register. When T. B. W. Reid (1956:32) first used the term to describe the use of different types of language in different “social situations,” he seemed mostly to have in mind the idea of varying levels of formality. Today, however, the term has become a bit broader in its reach, often referring to various situational and even generic contexts. Thus, it would seem that the specific register of Bulgarian proposed here is employed when a speaker wishes to convey the idea that he is performing in a folkloric mode. By using the particular linguistic features described in the chapters that follow, a speaker can create a text that resembles the older types of folk songs with which most competent Bulgarian speakers would be familiar.



## 1.7. Bulgarian in the Context of South Slavic

The question of the actual composition of this proposed register, however, is complicated by the fact that many of the features described in subsequent chapters of this study—those features that are unusual from the point of view of the standard language—are nonetheless found in various Bulgarian dialects or neighboring standard languages. Bulgarian has a tremendous amount of dialectical diversity considering the small size of the state in which it is spoken, to the extent that speakers from one region might struggle to understand fully the dialect of another area. Thus, an examination of the language of texts that are ostensibly of folkloric origin must necessarily take into account not only the standard language, but also the types of variation that can be found in different dialects.

Moreover, Bulgarian is only part of the larger South Slavic language group, which also includes the Slovene, Croatian, Bosnian, Serbian, and Macedonian national languages. While these standard languages may be distinct from one another, when one considers the dialects that make them up, it is more accurate to envision the South Slavic languages as one dialect continuum that spreads from Slovenia in the northwest to Bulgaria's Black Sea coast. A number of significant isoglosses divide up this territory, but there are no strong linguistic boundaries between the dialectal speech of one region and that of its immediate neighbors. Thus, for example, the variety of Slovene spoken near Slovenia's southeastern border is nearly identical to the language of northwestern Croatia. These South Slavic languages all share a common genetic origin and they remain, for the most part, fairly closely connected.

A particularly important consequence of this fact for the present study is the relationship between Bulgarian and Macedonian. There are important distinctions between the two languages, but there is also a great amount of mutual intelligibility. While standard Bulgarian was codified based largely on the dialects of central and eastern Bulgaria, Macedonian was codified based on its western dialects. Thus, while the standards are almost maximally distant, the language of the intermediate areas occupies a transitional space. This fact, which will be elaborated on more thoroughly in Chapter 8, has implications for the way speakers of Bulgarian perceive Macedonian. Because the Slavs of the area that makes up the present day state of Macedonia self-identified for the most part as Bulgarians prior to the nineteenth century, and because Bulgaria has controlled that territory over various periods in centuries past, Bulgarians often feel that contemporary Macedonia is really part of a greater historical Bulgaria. On top of this, the Macedonian language was fully standardized and implemented for official use only in the 1940's following the establishment of Macedonia as a republic of socialist Yugoslavia; consequently, many Bulgarians claim that Macedonian is simply a dialect of Bulgarian, and use this idea to attack not only the legitimacy of Macedonia's national language, but, sometimes, the state itself.<sup>10</sup> As I attempt to show throughout this work, many of the

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10. I would emphasize, however, that this sentiment is not as widespread as has often been claimed. Is my impression that most young people in Bulgaria, especially now that the country is a member of the European Union, pay little attention to the question of Macedonia or its language. Although Macedonian has often

nonstandard features that are found in Bulgarian folklore are not characteristic of standard Bulgarian, but are found in southwestern dialects and Macedonian. This affects many Bulgarians' perception of their own national folklore, their understanding of "dialects," and their view of the Macedonian language.

One additional goal of this study was to examine whether the traits of Bulgarian folkloric language are resonant only within the national tradition or, on the contrary, whether some might be shared with other closely related languages. While it would be fascinating to carry out a full comparison between Bulgarian and Macedonian in this regard, it would seem more straightforward to do so with a language that is more clearly differentiated from Bulgarian. Therefore, in Chapters 6 and 7, this study also examines how speakers of Serbian react to a number of devices that are saliently folkloric in Bulgarian. The analysis is necessarily brief, but initial results show that what is seen as "folkloric" in Bulgarian does not really seem to be transferrable to Serbian. Rather, it appears that ideas of "folkloric language" are mostly circumscribed within nationally specific traditions.

### **1.8. The Traditional, Innovative, and March Corpora**

With an understanding of the linguistic and social contexts of the songs used in this study as well as the concerns that their analysis hopes to address, one can consider the specifics of the actual data. In general, the massive amount of song material one encounters in print media from socialist Bulgaria covers a wide range of styles and content. However, in order to add an element of precision to what had the potential to be an unmanageably expansive body of works, I assembled a small body of texts that contained what could be seen as the most quintessential examples of new socialist "folk" songs, based on the following qualifications.

First of all, songs selected for analysis were those published in national folk song or folklore anthologies alongside established, canonical preindustrial songs. For example, the table of contents of Krlevski's *Български народни песни* (*Bulgarian Folk Songs*) contains the following sections:

- I. Трудови песни
- II. Битови песни
- III. Юнашки песни
- IV. Исторически песни
- V. Хайдушки песни
- VI. Партизански песни (Krlevski 1961:143-146)

#### **I. Work Songs**

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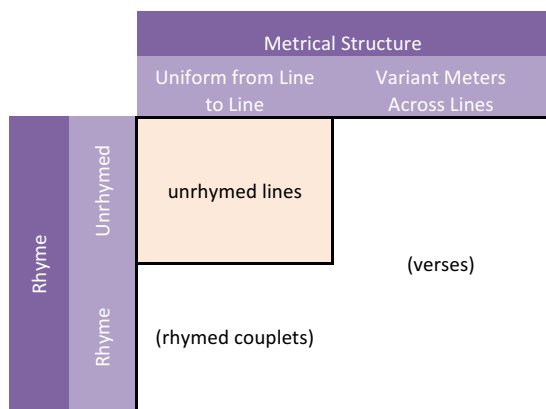
been treated as a "dialect" of Bulgarian within the discipline of linguistics in Bulgaria, this was not even the only official line under socialism. For example, a 1955 textbook for students of Bulgarian language pedagogy lists four South Slavic languages: Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian, and Slovene (Andreichin et al. 1955:4); the authors show no hesitation in ascribing full linguistic status to Macedonian. I say this not to overlook the disrespect with which Bulgarians have regarded the Macedonian language over the years, but merely to emphasize that the intensity of these nationalist attitudes may have been overstated.

- II. Songs of Everyday Life
- III. Songs of Heroes
- IV. Historical Songs
- V. Haiduk Songs
- VI. Partisan Songs

The arrangement of songs in this manner contextualizes post-World-War-II lore as a continuation of the folk song tradition from the earlier part of the twentieth century and before. It is clear that these Partisan songs are to be understood as a new kind of song, but one that was equally representative of Bulgarian culture as the texts of earlier days. The fact that folklorist editors selected these songs for inclusion in these volumes indicates that they felt these texts were some of the best examples of new, national folklore.

Of the songs in these volumes, I selected works that had clearly originated at the time of World War II or in the years following. Some songs could be readily dated thanks to the presence of specific names, such as Hitler, or a perspective clearly situated in a socialist present. Others, such as songs about soldiers dying in war, may have had less obvious temporal specificity, but when they were included in sections of books specifically labeled as “Partisan” (“партизански”) or “contemporary” (“съвременни”) songs, they were also included in the corpus. Songs also had to have at least eight lines, and to be a unique text: when two songs (either multiple versions within one volume or from separate volumes) had mostly identical lines, the longest version or the one with the earliest date of publication was included. In total, there were 35 unique songs in the six volumes of national folklore to which I could secure long-term library access. Given the context in which these texts were presented to readers, they could be seen as the most representative of new socialist folklore.

Initial analysis of these texts proceeded with the supposition that, in terms of their



**Figure 1.5: Song Structures**

contextual presentation, all of the works were part of the same tradition and, thus, equally “folkloric.” However, it soon became clear that one type of song stood apart from the others, an idea that is represented in a table as Figure 1.5.

Namely, the songs composed of unrhymed lines of regular syllable counts (the section highlighted in orange) had noticeably different frequencies of certain linguistic features than the rest of the songs. Indeed, the inherent structure of this type of song is unique: the other three types of songs have an organizational pattern that extends beyond the

single line. This can be a consequence of rhyme, which requires that the phonological patterns of neighboring lines be coordinated with one another, or of a meter in which multiple lines that have variant syllable counts are grouped into one larger cohesive verse unit. In the unrhymed-line songs, however, the only relevant organizational unit is the individual line. Therefore, in this latter group of songs, lines often function somewhat

independently of each other, often reading like a list of short clauses or sentential arguments, while songs of the other types more often continue a phrase or idea over several lines. For example, a typical unrhymed song would read:

Елено, моме хубава,  
стига си, сестро, плакала,  
стига си сълзи ронила,  
стига си вече пъшкала,  
истрий си, сестро, сълзите,  
посрещни партизаните,  
изнеси менци със вода  
и запей на свобода!

Elena, beautiful maiden,  
you have, sister, cried enough,  
you have shed tears enough,  
you have moaned enough,  
wipe away, sister, your tears,  
greet the Partisans,  
bring them copper jugs with water  
and sing out for freedom!

The lines of this song sound somewhat disjointed if read aloud as prose. In contrast, lines from a march, such as the following, are more cohesive:

Твоя син е веч загинал  
в боя люти със врага;  
той ни беше добър боец  
и отличен партизан.  
Вместо майка да заплаче,  
гордо вдигна тя глава,  
че изгледа такъв сина –  
за родината да мре.

Your son has perished  
in the fierce war with the enemy;  
he was a good soldier for us  
and a wonderful Partisan.  
Instead of crying, his mother  
lifted her head proudly,  
that she raised her son this way  
to fight for the homeland.

Here, one sees more fluent connection between lines and examples of more complex syntactic structures.

This observation corroborated an initial suspicion that some of the smaller-scale features that the study was prepared to address might pattern differently between the two types of songs. For this reason, the original body of these “folk” texts was divided into two separate corpora. The first, which consists of songs of unrhymed lines of uniform length, is referred to as the “Traditional Corpus,” because this style of song seems to be most typical of older Bulgarian songs. The other songs, whose structures were mostly composed of either rhymed couplets (sometimes with refrains) or multiple-line verses (both rhymed and unrhymed) all seem to reflect the influence of western-style verse songs, in particular military marches. Although none of these songs were accompanied by musical transcriptions in the volumes from which they were originally obtained, audio recordings or musical transcriptions were eventually located elsewhere for several songs of both types. In general, those from the Traditional Corpus had the fluid, ponderous phrasing typical of many sung Bulgarian folk melodies, and those in the other group often sounded like marches or hymns. This latter body of songs, then, is referred to as the “Innovative Corpus.” Because it was important that no particularly long songs should provide an inordinate amount of data, only the first 25 unique lines of songs that were longer than this were included in these corpora. (Nonetheless, certain analyses in Chapters 2 through 5 look beyond the first 25 lines in an attempt to track down characteristics of the songs as a whole.) All in all, the Traditional Corpus consisted of 29 songs with 523 lines counted, and the Innovative Corpus consisted of 9 songs with 192 lines counted.

It can be seen that this Innovative Corpus was not very large. The sum of the Innovative and Traditional Corpora represented all of the socialist songs that could be located in general national folklore anthologies, but I was nevertheless concerned that the particularly small size of the Innovative Corpus would not provide a broad enough sample of data to compare against the Traditional songs. In order to create another body of texts against which the older type of songs found in the Traditional Corpus could be compared, I assembled another collection of texts, referred to as the “March Corpus,” from a socialist volume of war songs (Dimitrov & Boichev). This book, published in 1949, consists of military-style marches and other songs to be sung at mass events. In contrast with the Traditional and Innovative Corpora, however, the songs in this volume contain named authors; in fact, many of the songs in it are musical settings of poems originally created as non-musical poetry. I included in the March Corpus the first song encountered in this volume by every unique lyricist, with one exception: two songs written by Ivan Burin, “Да строим!” (“Let’s Build!”) and “Бригадирски марш” (“March of the Brigadiers”) were included, because one finds a number of references to these songs in socialist literature and it seemed they were particularly popular in the era. Again, I included only the first 25 lines were included of longer songs, for a total of 21 songs and 363 lines.

These three corpora altogether represented a diverse collection of songs, the composition of which is presented in Appendix A. However, the songs might be conceptualized in a particular way. Both the Traditional and Innovative songs were presented as part of Bulgaria’s new “folklore,” because they were in volumes of “folk songs.” However, because of the fact that the songs in the Traditional Corpus represented older

styles of folk songs much more closely than did those in the Innovative Corpus, it seemed potentially more useful to compare the Traditional songs against those of the other two corpora. Thus, although the quantitative parts of this study compare all three corpora, its primary concern is identifying the traits of folkloric language that are most characteristic of the Traditional Corpus specifically.

### **1.9. Methodology**

Once these bodies of songs were assembled, some of the most striking elements of nonstandard language they contained immediately became apparent. This study set out with the assumption that those linguistic features found most commonly in newly composed “folk” songs—particularly in those of the Traditional Corpus—were the features most clearly characteristic of “folkloric language.” If a trait was found in the other corpora, however, especially in the March Corpus, I hypothesized that it would be more likely that it was not representative of folkloric language per se, but rather was simply a stylistic device typical in Bulgarian lyrical language in general. Quantitative analyses of these findings along with background information on the various traits in question can be found in Chapters 2 through 5, which look at some of the orthographic, morphosyntactic, and lexical peculiarities of the texts, along with marked poetic devices that are mostly restricted to the Traditional Corpus. These chapters represent the formation of a hypothesis of what the component linguistic features of a proposed “folklore” register might be.

These initial findings were then tested by looking at the identified traits in other contexts. A survey was created in which native speakers were presented with lines containing some of the traits that seemed most intriguing and were asked to rate how “folkloric” each line sounded. Two additional corpora were analyzed, one containing folk songs gathered several decades prior to World War II, and the other consisting of songs from a socialist pop music album, with the assumption that the devices identified earlier as potentially folkloric would occur commonly in the former but not the latter. The results of these findings are described in Chapter 6, and in Chapter 7 they are used to assess the extent to which all of the traits analyzed in this study probably should or should not be thought of as markers of folkloric language. Finally, Chapter 8 provides a synthesis of these findings. All in all, the study arrives at the conclusion that “folkloric language,” often referred to by speakers imprecisely as a non-geographically specific “dialect,” remains a murky concept; nonetheless, one can characterize it as a bundle of linguistic traits, mostly archaic in nature, that have become conventionalized as a register.

Needless to say, the production of language is infinitely open-ended, and it would be imprecise to attempt to ascribe definitive boundaries to what “does” and “does not” belong to any particular variety of language. Nonetheless, this study attempts to provide insight not only into what forms of language carry a particular kind of poetic resonance for speakers of Bulgarian, but also how these forms were exploited with the goal of creating “authentic” folklore.

## Chapter 2

### Phonology and Orthography

This chapter discusses peculiarities in the songs in the study that ultimately relate to matters of phonology. Of course, because these texts are accessible only as written transcriptions, such questions can only be discussed through the lens of orthography. The forms in which the songs are presented may have been intended to best represent the way in which a singer would have sung the texts, but they also necessarily reflect choices in transcription that were made at various levels: by fieldworkers presumably transcribing the texts *in situ*, editors assembling the texts from notes or archives, and/or publishers concerned with producing a volume that was acceptable in the prevailing sociopolitical climate. Part of this chapter is concerned with the problem of how faithfully the language of these texts might correspond to that of their original singers and reflect the dialects of the regions in which they originated.

In essence, the orthography of the songs in this study is fairly standard, but a few exceptions are noteworthy. Spellings used to reflect dialectal variants of the vowel *jat* (see §2.1) appear in many places, but seemingly for disparate reasons in songs of different genres. Similarly, nonstandard stress marks appear in several songs, presumably to indicate a particular regional pronunciation. Only a few other dialectal forms appear, and very sporadically at that. It would seem that the language of the volumes in which these songs appeared was edited in such a way as to be fairly standard, with only small, symbolic elements of dialect present to give the appearance of minor variation within an otherwise standard language. Various types of elision of consonants and vowels appear as well; the role of this elision, it appears, was to mark the oral quality of speech that would have characterized sung verse. On the whole, however, that the language of these songs seems to have represented a unified, standard Bulgarian that included only a small category of aberrant orthographic elements.

## 2.1. Dialectal *Jat* Variants

This section examines the occurrence of a dialectal vowel reflex in Bulgarian songs, namely, the reflex /e/ instead of standard /'a/ in words that historically contained the Common Slavic *jat* vowel. The isogloss that separates these two major reflexes traditionally divides the entirety of the Bulgarian language into western and eastern dialect groups, and the two vowel variants have acquired tremendous power to symbolize the social geography of the Bulgarian language; the appearance of a single nonstandard /e/ instead of /'a/ can dramatically alter a listener's perception of the register and stylistic nature of a text. In the songs in this study, the choice between one *jat* reflex or the other is not consistent across the data set or even within a particular song. This indicates that fluctuation between /e/ and /'a/ (that is, between the letters *e* (*e*) and *я* (*ja*) in orthographic representation) is, at least to some extent, facultative, and that a text's linguistic attributes may not be as faithful to the native dialect of its singer as one might suppose.

### 2.1.1. *Jat* in Bulgarian

Common Slavic contained a vowel phoneme that came to be represented in old Slavic texts by a letter referred to as *jat*. Appearing in Cyrillic as ѣ and most commonly transliterated as ě, its original phonological value likely approximated /æ/, although some scholars (e.g. Sussex & Cubberley 2006:118-119) surmise that the phonetic specificities of *jat* may never have been fully uniform in Common Slavic. In all of the modern standard Slavic languages and most dialects, this vowel has merged with various other vowels and is not retained as a separate phoneme.

As for Bulgarian, the standard language was established based on dialects from the central and eastern part of the country. In these dialects, broadly speaking, the realization of the old *jat* vowel depended on the phonological environment surrounding it. The environments in today's language in which etymological *jat* has become /'a/ are complex; the vowel must be: 1) stressed; 2) not before a syllable containing /i/ or /e/; 3) not preceding /j/ or a palatalized consonant; 4) not before /č/, /š/, or /ž/ or a consonant combination containing them. In most other cases, etymological *jat* is realized as /e/ (Hauge 1999:11).

In many western dialects, however, this variation does not occur, and all instances of etymological *jat* simply appear as /e/.<sup>11</sup> Thus, for example, while in standard Bulgarian the paradigm for the word for 'white' contains a vowel alternation between feminine /b'ala/ and plural /beli/, western forms are simply /bela/ and /beli/. Thus, words like /bela/—where a dialectal *e* (*e*) appears instead of *я* (*ja*)—represent dialectisms that would not be expected in standard speech or written representations thereof.

This division within Bulgarian is quite clearly pronounced to speakers of the language and has been discussed thoroughly in academic literature. On the one hand, the isogloss between /e/ and /'a/ is considered to represent the most primary division within Bulgarian dialects, as a great deal of other isoglosses pattern closely with it. However, the

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11. There is, in fact, greater variation within Bulgarian as a whole, but the East-West division between uniform and variant reflexes is the primary one. See Stoikov 1993:206-208 for more detailed information.



use of /e/ in words that have /a/ in the standard language is also a linguistic marker with high semiotic potential. Angelov (1999:56-57) notes its presence in both what he refers to as “high Sofia substandard” and “low Sofia substandard,” and Stoikov (1946:6) mentions it as a feature of Sofian student speech. Fielder (2014) perhaps best describes the variable’s resonance with contemporary speakers as sounding “hick.” Indeed, when speakers wish to sound lowbrow or to portray characters in popular media and contemporary folklore as working class or uneducated, they will often use this /e/ widely in their speech.

### 2.1.2. *Jat* and Genre Differences

In many of the songs in this study as well, one encounters *e* (*e*) in words where the standard language would expect *я* (*ja*). In order to determine how prominent this marked variable was, I looked within my corpora of songs for words containing a historical *jat* that would appear as *я* in the standard language.<sup>12</sup> Within each song I tallied only one instance of any particular root, but some words, such as *нема/няма* (*нета/нјата*) ‘there isn’t’ and *место/място* (*mesto/mjasto*) ‘place,’ appeared multiple times in the corpora as a whole.

On the whole, there appeared to be a small but noticeable amount of variation between the Traditional, Innovative, and March songs. Among these three corpora, there were 65 instances of words expected to contain the *я* (*ja*) reflex for *jat*: there were 28 in the Traditional Corpus, 19 in the Innovative one, and 18 in the March Corpus. Close to half of the words in the Traditional Corpus had the dialectal variant (e.g. *верна* (*verna*) ‘faithful’

	<e>	<ja>
Traditional Corpus	13	15
Innovative Corpus	4	15
March Corpus	1	17

**Figure 2.1: Dialectal *Iat* Variants**

for standard *вярна* (*vjarna*)), less than a quarter of those in the Innovative Corpus had it, and only one such token appears in the March Corpus; Figure 2.1 shows these results. Unfortunately, the conditions under which etymological *jat* appears as *я* (*ja*) in the standard language are sufficiently restrictive as to have yielded only this small number of test

cases. Thus, a chi-square test between the Traditional and Innovative corpora points only to a figure of  $p = .07$ , which is usually not considered statistically significant, and the  $p = .16$  figure between the Innovative and March Corpora is certainly not significant. When one compares the Traditional Corpus with the March Corpus, however, one sees a strong distinction, with  $p = .003$ . It appears, then, that songs in a more traditional style are allowed greater deviation from the standard language.

### 2.1.3. Dialectal Inconsistencies with *Jat*

The dialectal forms found in the anonymously authored Traditional and Innovative corpora would not, on the surface, be surprising. Many of the songs in the volumes

12. The vowel in the first syllable of forms derived from *нямат* (*nјатат*) ‘not have’ was historically /e/ and not /ě/, and only later became /a/ due to analogy with other verbs (Velcheva 1962). However, because it patterns with other words containing *jat*—appearing as *немам* (*нетат*) in western dialects and *нямат* (*nјатат*) in eastern dialects—it is traditionally included in synchronic analyses of *jat* and is included here as well.

examined were supposedly recorded in towns west of the *jat* isogloss, where speakers would be expected to use /e/ for historical *jat*. If these songs really were recorded as spontaneous folkloric pieces sung by individuals from a particular dialect region, it would make sense that the language of the songs would reflect regional peculiarities of those singers' speech. In this case, the appearance of *e* would be a “natural” part of the folkloric origin of a song.

However, what is interesting is that reflexes of *jat* by no means pattern consistently with the dialectal specificities of the regions in which the songs in which they appear were recorded. I examined further the entirety of every song in the corpus (that is, beyond the first 25 lines of longer songs) and noted whether a song had only *e* (*e*), only *я* (*ja*), or both variables. Of these, 26 of 38 songs provided data; that is, they contained at least one word in question with either *e* (*e*), *я* (*ja*), or both. For songs for which a place of recording was listed, I then determined whether that location's dialect would expect *e* (*e*) or *я* (*ja*) for the form in question. Figure 2.2 indicates the number of songs that contained either *e* (*e*), *я* (*ja*), or both, classified by the reflex that would be expected based on the region in which the song was recorded (if

identified in the volume). The shaded cells indicate cases where the reflexes of *jat* that appear in a song would not be expected if a song's language were truly based on a regional dialect; indeed, there are several such instances.

		Actual Reflex		
		only <e>	only <ja>	both <e> and <ja>
Expected Reflex	expected <e>	3	2	3
	expected <ja>	1	8	3
	not given / unclear	3	2	1

**Figure 2.2: Reflexes of Etymological *Jat***

First of all, of the eight songs recorded in regions where the local dialect uses non-alternating /e/, five contained at least one instance of a standard *я* (*ja*) for this variable. For example, one song, recorded in the village of Gorna Grashtitsa, far west of the *jat* isogloss, contains the following line:

(2.1) прах се вдига из цялото поле  
 prah se vdig a iz cjaloto pole  
 dust REFL raise around whole-DEF field  
*dust is kicked up across the whole field*

This song, which contains other non-phonological features characteristic of western dialects, uses a standard variant for the word *цялото* (*cjaloto*) ‘whole,’ which would presumably be realized as \**целото* (*celoto*) in the local dialect. Thus, even when other dialectal features are present, the vowel *jat* sometimes appears in texts as it would in the standard language. It is apparent that someone involved in the process of this song's publication—whether it be the original singer, folklorist, or editor—knew that the “correct” version of the word for ‘whole’ was *цял* (*cjal*), and selected this variant.

On the other hand, of the twelve songs recorded in areas east of the *jat* isogloss, four contain at least one instance of /e/. In one longer song from Peshtera, a town slightly to the east of the primary *jat* isogloss, a character says that he was nursed:

- (2.2) със чисто млеко българско  
 sŭs čisto mleko bŭlgarsko  
 with pure milk Bulgarian  
*with pure Bulgarian milk*

This line includes the western variant of *jat* in the word for ‘milk,’ *млеко (mleko)*, instead of the standard *мляко (mljako)*. What is even more striking is that this example represents the use of a nonstandard feature originating in a dialect outside of the singer’s own native region; a parallel phenomenon would be, for example, if a country music singer from Canada were to adopt emblematic features of Southern American English. Thus, transfer of “non-native” reflexes of this vowel occurs in both directions.

It should also be emphasized, as is apparent from the table above, that a total of seven songs out of the 26 containing a word in which *я (ja)* is the standard reflex contain *both* variants of *jat*.<sup>13</sup> This is a striking piece of data, as, theoretically, no speaker of Bulgarian would be expected to alternate between the two sounds. Nonetheless, the songs contain lines such as:

- (2.3) Иде чета, цяла намръщена  
 Ide četa cjala namrŭštена  
 comes detachment entire downcast
- а с четата млад го Кала нема  
 а s četata mlad go Kala nema  
 and with detachment young him Kalo-OBL isn’t.there

*There comes a detachment, completely downcast / but with the detachment, young Kalo is not to be found*

In these lines, the word *цяла (cjala)* ‘whole’ shows the standard reflex for *jat*, but the word *нема (nema)* ‘is not’ contains a dialectal variant. The relatively high frequency with both reflexes can appear in one song (again, considering that it would never be expected to happen in speech) indicates that the potential for selection of one variable or the other is quite flexible.<sup>14</sup>

13. In fact, the potential for variation is probably even higher than this number would indicate, as many songs contained only one instance of a variable *jat* and had to be classified as “consistently” containing either *e* or *я*, when their singers might, in a longer song, end up using both.

14. Two songs also show instances of hypercorrection, where a form that would have *e* in the standard language is spelled with *я (ja)* instead. This is a common phenomenon in contemporary Bulgarian, where speakers, afraid of using nonstandard /e/ variants where they “shouldn’t” instead extend /a/ to other forms in a paradigm that would expect /e/. In one song, there is an instance of *носяха (nosjaha)* ‘they were carrying’ (standard *носеха (noseha)*), and in another, *стояне* ‘standing around’ (standard *стоене (stoene)*). The standard forms would most likely be what a singer would have used, but it is possible that an editor unknowingly replaced these forms with what seemed like a more “correct” version.

One must be careful, of course, not to overstate these facts. Indeed, with such a small set of data, the number of actual instances of any of the above phenomena is fairly low. Even out of the 38 songs in the Traditional and Innovative Corpora, the number of words with *jat* reflexes expected to appear as *я* is quite small, and songs could be classified as containing both *e* and *я* even if they had only one instance of the variables. Nonetheless, I believe that these figures are telling: the presence of just one instance of *e* (*e*) in a song otherwise full of *я* (*ja*) variants shows that standard and dialectal variants can sometimes both appear in these texts regardless of a song's point of origin. I discuss potential reasons for this in Chapter 8, but, in any case, it is clear that geography does not tell the whole story of which *jat* variant a speaker might choose.

#### 2.1.4. Formulae and Phraseologisms with *Jat*

To some extent, it is possible that words with a certain *jat* reflex may have felt more natural to singers due to their presence in linguistic formulae. Just as lexical diffusion would allow for standard forms with /'a/ to gradually enter the dialect of a speaker who would otherwise uses /e/, fixed phraseologisms with words containing the /e/ reflex might be part of the “bank” of folkloric formulae that a singer has to draw from. Kerewsky Halpern (1977:128) notes that Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (henceforth, “BCS”) epic singers sometimes use regional reflexes for *jat* different from those of their native dialect, and it would not be surprising to find such flexibility in Bulgarian lyric traditions as well. Given that phraseologisms have the power to retain and transfer archaisms, dialectisms, and stylistically variant forms of speech, their existence in the lexicon of folk songs has probably contributed to the spread of /e/ and /'a/ for speakers who might otherwise use a different form in their own speech.

Though the number of data points in this analysis were so few that no phraseologisms containing words with *jat* appeared multiple times, there do indeed seem to be hints that nonstandard forms may sometimes appear in formulae or marked figures of speech. For example, in the line discussed above, “със чисто млеко българско” (“with pure Bulgarian milk”), the adjective ‘Bulgarian’ comes after the noun ‘milk.’ I suspect that many phrases with this nonstandard word order are fixed poetic formulae (see §3.8); the fact that nonstandard *млеко* (*mleko*) ‘milk’ occurs in such a phrase may not be a coincidence. On the other hand, the text containing this line also has several instances of words with the standard *я* (*ja*) reflex, but they all appear with ordinary word order. This suggests that the singer of this song may have learned that the phrase ‘Bulgarian milk’ not only occurs with a marked word order, but also that it uses the word *млеко* (*mleko*) instead of *мяко* (*mljako*) for ‘milk.’ Formulae, of which this phrase could be an example, may have led to the spread of certain phonological variants, including of reflexes of *jat*.

#### 2.1.5. *Jat* and Rhyme

In the case of songs supposedly gathered from the “folk,” the spread of alternative *jat* reflexes might be attributed to dialects, lexical diffusion, and more “organic” processes of language change. In the Innovative and March Corpora, however, it appears that it may

be the desire to create rhyme that most commonly leads a singer to employ an otherwise nonstandard *jat* reflex. Because the Traditional Corpus by definition consisted of songs of unrhymed lines, rhyme was clearly not a trigger for nonstandard vowel reflexes there. An examination of the places where nonstandard *jat* occurs in the other two corpora, however, points strongly to the possibility that rhyme may be a conditioning factor.

Even though the counts involved were too small to yield statistically significant results, the contexts in which *e* (*e*) and *я* (*ja*) variants were used within the Innovative Corpus were also examined. Of the four instances of *e* in these songs, two were used in the middle of lines, but the other two were used at the ends of lines to rhyme with other words. This would explain, for example, why one song begins:

- (2.4) Цар Борисе, немски пес,  
що те хвана тоя бес,  
та остави ни народа  
без хляб и свобода.

Tsar Boris, you German cur,  
what is this rage that has overtaken you  
to leave us, the people,  
without bread and freedom.

Here, the text shows the standard variant for ‘bread,’ *хляб* (*hljab*), but contains a western variant *бес* (*bes*) of the standard *бяс* (*bjas*) ‘rage’ in order to create a rhyme with *пес* (*pes*) ‘cur.’ In this case, the singer was probably not attempting to switch dialect or register between the second and fourth lines of the song, but rather felt that both *jat* variants were equally valid, at least when rhyme was necessary.

The evidence that *jat* alternation in Innovative texts is conditioned by rhyme is even stronger when one considers the data from the March Corpus. Throughout this entire body of texts, only one instance of a nonstandard *e* (*e*) for *jat* is found, and it is in a song originally authored as a non-melodic poem by Mladen Isaev:

- (2.5) Свеж вятър широко задуха  
от Дунав и Черно море —  
със вихър приижда Толбухин!  
Ден първи в Балкана изгре!

A fresh wind blows all around  
from the Danube to the Black Sea —  
Tolbuhin comes bursting in!  
The first sun [day] in the Balkans has risen!

The last word in this stanza, *изгре* (*izgre*) ‘arose,’ would be expected to be *изгрѝ* (*izgrja*) in the standard language. Given that no other song in this entire volume contains an instance of a nonstandard *jat* realization or any deviation from standard orthography other than

ellipsis, it is clear that this choice was “forced” onto the song in order to create a rhyme with *mope* (*more*) ‘sea.’ Speakers may use /e/ when necessary for rhyme without, it would seem, attempting to impart dialectal stylistics to a text.

### 2.1.6. Dialectal *Jat* Variants: Conclusion

In summary, there are many reasons that singers or others involved in the publication of these songs might choose to use one *jat* reflex over another, but the frequency with which words with etymological *jat* occur in the texts was too low to yield large quantities of data that might paint a definitive picture as to the specific motivations and contexts in which a particular form is likely to be chosen. One can say with certainty, however, that the western *e* (*e*) variant occurs with some regularity in these songs, even in those texts from regions in which one would not expect to encounter it. Furthermore, it is kept in (or possibly even added to) texts with otherwise fairly standard orthographic representations of phonology. In other words, the *e* (*e*) variant appears to have been “sanctioned” as appropriate for publication to an extent to which, as is shown later in §7.1.1, other dialectal phonological forms were not. One might therefore consider the *e* (*e*) *jat* variant to be a peculiarity that appeared in “modern” texts when necessary for rhyme, and a ready component of the “dialect register” that composers of folk songs could retain or even add to their songs as a marker of authenticity.

## 2.2. Stress Marking

In several of the songs in the corpora, grave accent marks appear over various words, presumably to indicate prosodic word stress. While accent is phonemic in Bulgarian, it is not typically marked orthographically in standard-language texts, save for in a few rare cases.<sup>15</sup> Accent marks indicating nonstandard stress appear only in the Traditional Corpus, in seven out of its 29 songs; however, the bulk of them are found in three longer songs. Because of their relatively limited and inconsistent appearance, I believe that accent marks mostly function symbolically to add occasional bits of dialectal “flavor” to texts, but that they do not represent a primary feature of song language or any particular genre thereof.

### 2.2.1. Stress Marking on Dialectal Words

Stress marking can often be found on dialectal words, i.e., those that are found only in certain regions of Bulgaria. Presumably, these marks are added to indicate to a potential readership from elsewhere in Bulgaria how one pronounces such a word correctly. In some cases, dialectal words are simply morphological variants of standard-language words. For example, in the passage:

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15. The short-form 3sg feminine indirect object pronoun *ù* (*i*) is typically written with a grave accent in order to differentiate it from the otherwise homonymous (and homophonous) conjunction *u* (*i*), ‘and.’ Additionally, accent marks are, in very rare circumstances, placed over words to specify which member of a homonymous pair of words is intended. For example, one might write *moŭ çème* (*toj čète*) ‘he read’ to clarify to the reader that the verb is in the aorist rather than the present tense, which would be *moŭ chemè* (*toj čètè*).

(2.6) зелена гора — спòмина  
 zelena gora — spòmina  
 green wood memorial.marker

руда поляна — грòбнина  
 ruda poljana — gròbnina  
 soft meadow grave

*the green woods — a spòmina / the soft meadow — his gròbnina*

the two appositives—both dialectal words—are easily understood to mean ‘memorial marker’ and ‘grave’ thanks to the familiar roots *пом-/пам-* (*пом-/пам-*) and *гроб-* (*grob-*) found in the standard-language equivalents *паметник* (*pametnik*) and *гроб* (*grob*). Nonetheless, because of their atypical prefixes and suffixes, the pronunciations of the words in this text would be uncertain to most readers, and the words are not found in most standard-language Bulgarian dictionaries. Most likely, the editors of songs containing words like these knew that most of their audience would not know the proper stress of these lexemes and, thus, added orthographic marking for good measure.

Other dialectal words with roots not found in the standard language also appear with stress marks. For example, in the line:

(2.7) земи си, синко, казмàта  
 zemi si sinko kazmata  
 take REFL son pickaxe-DEF  
*take, son, the pickaxe*

the editor has marked the stress of the word *казма* (*kazma*). In this text, one of two in the corpus that contain this word, the editor also marks the word with an asterisk, directing the reader to a glossary in the back, which identifies the word’s meaning as *курка* (*kirka*) ‘pickaxe.’ Stress is still given in the text itself for ready pronunciation, however. There are also, however, several words for which a meaning is not identifiable. For example, in the passage:

(2.8) Проклети немци-германци,  
 като лагера строиха,  
 апарата си закриха  
 и лужумèнти йзкопаха!

The cursed Germans,  
 they built their camp,  
 covered up their apparatus  
 and dug out their *lužumènti*!

it is unclear what the word *лужументи* (*lužumenti*) refers to. Given the borrowed technical term used in the previous line, one expects that this word might be a phonological reinterpretation of the word *инструменти* (*instrumenti*) ‘instruments.’ But this word, along with several others, does not appear in even the larger national dictionaries, nor does it have any recognizable word roots. Nonetheless, if a reader wanted to sing this song in the “authentic” way it was originally performed, she would know where the appropriate stress would be—even if the meaning was unfamiliar to her.

### 2.2.2. Clarifying Stress Marks

Beyond identifying dialectal words, accent marks can also be used to clarify the meaning or syntactic function of a particular word. For example, in passages such as:

(2.9) идеята оц по̑ ще светне  
 idejata ošt pò šte svetne  
 idea-DEF even more will shine  
*the idea will shine even more*

(2.10) под байраци — се̑ лични юнаци  
 pod bajraci sè lični junaci  
 under banners all great heroes  
*under the banners — all great heroes*

the words *no* (*po*) ‘more’ and *ce* (*se*) ‘all’ are marked to indicate that they are stressed. In this way, a reader knows that they are not the enclitic preposition or reflexive pronominal clitic, respectively, with which they are otherwise homonymous. One also finds stress in the phrase:

(2.11) Хитлер и пашàта  
 Hitler i pašàta  
 Hitler and pasha-DEF  
*Hitler and the pasha*

where it serves to distinguish *našà* (*pašà*) ‘pasha’ from *nàšua* (*pàša*) ‘pasture.’ This is the only appearance of a stress mark in a corpus other than that of the Traditional songs, and it is clearly not used to indicate a dialectism. In cases like these, the accent mark functions, as it does in the standard language, to disambiguate potentially confusing word pairs.

### 2.2.3. Stress Shifts

Accent marking is most interesting when it points to a prosodic phenomenon greater than that of the stress of an individual lexeme. Certain dialect regions are defined in part by the stress patterns of entire grammatical paradigms, and such accentual phenomena often carry strong sociolinguistic associations with the places in which they



can be found. In this corpus, two systematic trends related to the accentual paradigms of specific word classes can be seen: end stress on aorist verb forms, and stress retraction onto the first syllable of short feminine and neuter nouns. Notably, both of these stress patterns are emblematic of southwestern Bulgarian speech in particular.

In standard Bulgarian, the stress patterns of aorist verbs vary greatly: sometimes they pattern with other verbs in their class (see, for example, Alexander 2000:254), and sometimes individual lexemes assign stress idiosyncratically. In the standard language, many aorist verbs are stressed on the root, but others can be stressed on the desinence. In the songs studied here, a number of aorist verbs (and forms derived from the aorist, such as participles) that would have stress on the root in the standard language instead have stress markings on the desinence. (The opposite situation—a typically end-stressed aorist with stress marking instead on the root—is not attested in this corpus.) While these stress patterns would sometimes be expected in the regions in which the songs displaying them were recorded, the sporadicity with which the stresses of aorist verb forms are marked would indicate that editors may have inconsistently marked non-standard stress solely in order to highlight occasional instances of prosodic deviation from the standard language—and not to give a careful transcription of dialectal language.

Three songs contain instances of nonstandard stress on the desinence of aorist-stem verb forms. The first, recorded in Krasava in the Breznik region of western Bulgaria, contains forms like *наточѝа* (*natoč̣ia*) ‘poured’ and *извез̀ани* (*izvez̀ani*) ‘tied together’. In these words, the stress occurs on the verbal ending; it would be expected to occur on the root in the standard language. Another song, from the Chirpan region in central Bulgaria, contains similarly stressed forms, such as *показа̀* (*pokaz̀a*) ‘showed’, *стигна̀* (*stigǹa*) ‘was enough,’ and *напад̀на* (*napad̀na*) ‘attacked.’ A third song contains one more example of this phenomenon, this time on a participle: *им̀ала* (*im̀ala*) ‘had.’ This song is said to have been recorded in “Dimitrovo,” the specific location of which I have been unable to determine.

Given the dialect of the locale (Krasava) in which the first text was recorded, one would expect end stress to occur in almost every aorist verb form (Antonova-Vasileva et al. 2001:363-368). Thus, most forms that are marked in the text, such as *о̀й̀д̀о̀а* (*ojd̀òa*) ‘they went,’ and *приго̀т̀в̀ѝа* (*prigotv̀ia*) ‘they prepared,’ are consistent with the norms of the region. Some forms, such as *на̀ред̀ѝа* (*nareḍia*) ‘they ordered,’ are not marked, presumably because the form carries end stress in both the standard language and the local dialect, so marking is not necessary. But the text also contains other unmarked aorist forms, such as *пук̀на* (*pukna*) ‘it burst,’ and *изнеко̀а* (*izpek̀oa*) ‘they baked,’ which are normally stressed on the root in the standard language; in this region, one would probably expect to hear *пук̀на̀* (*pukǹa*) and *изнеко̀а̀* (*izpek̀òa*) instead, so it is curious that such marking is absent here. Furthermore, there are two aorist forms in which root stress—not generally seen in this region—is indicated: *въ̀зв̀ест̀ѝ* (*vŭzv̀esṭi*) ‘it announced,’ and *с̀ед̀о̀ше* (*s̀edoše*) ‘they sat.’ This second form is particularly unusual morphologically,<sup>16</sup> but even the first word

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16. It uses the extremely western 3pl formant *-ue* (*-še*), which is at odds with other forms listed above. These latter verbs appear to use a standard 3pl formant *-xa* (*-ha*) in which /h/ has apparently been elided intervocalically (see §2.4.1).



On the one hand, this fact is not necessarily surprising in that the Bulgarian literary language was standardized based primarily on eastern dialects; it would follow that most nonstandard stress patterns requiring specific marking would be from other areas, i.e., the west. But even so, there are no major instances in this corpus of peculiar stress patterns of dialects other than those of the southwest. Of the four songs with dialectal stress variation, two are from west of the *jat* isogloss, and two are from the east (one just barely so). But in general, when stress is marked, it is only to indicate western linguistic features. This, I would argue, is part of the overall trend in which linguistic markers from this region have a special place within Bulgarian poetics for conveying the folkloric nature of a text.

It bears repeating, however, that these stress marks are not consistent. They only appear with any regularity in a few songs and, when they are found, other words of the same verb or noun class that would probably expect similar markings do not have them. If song transcriptions are indeed faithful to the linguistic variety in which a singer originally sang, this would indicate that singers use mostly standard stress and only occasionally employ words with dialectal shifts. Such a practice is certainly possible, but it would seem unusual to have dialectally marked words occasionally “jumping out” in a song amid otherwise standard prosody. At the same time, it should be emphasized again that these features appear only in songs in the Traditional Corpus and not in Innovative or March songs. Nonstandard stress, or, at least the marking of it, is only maintained in songs of a more archaic style.

#### **2.2.4. Stress Marking: Conclusion**

Given the above evidence, it would appear that stress marking is used only sporadically and almost solely for visual effect. A reader who encounters the written text of a song in this corpus would see stress markings only occasionally on words, perhaps just once or twice on a page. This differs greatly from folkloric transcriptions of narratives told in dialect, in which almost every word has stress marking. Rather, the songs in this corpus were published in order to represent the Bulgarian nation as a whole, and the language in which they were written was, ultimately, fairly standard. Thus, infrequent stress marking would seem to have been thrown in so that editors might show just a hint of “dialect” to their audiences. Stress marking, then, is less a key feature of song language or a reliable tool for linguistic analysis than a device for conveying the authenticity of a “folk” song.

#### **2.3. Dialectal Phonology**

Given the relative pervasiveness of dialectal *jat* variants and the occasional appearance of nonstandard stress marking, the virtual absence of most other phonological dialectisms is striking. Many major phenomena involving, for example, variant reflexes of particular Common Slavic phonemes are used by dialectologists to characterize a particular variety of regional speech. Just as the contemporary Slavic languages can be classified with respect to their modern reflexes of, for example, Common Slavic nasal vowels or various clusters of consonants before \*/j/, so too can various Bulgarian dialects. Although scores of

phonological variables can be tracked in different parts of Bulgaria,<sup>17</sup> of interest in this section is the minimal occurrence of such nonstandard reflexes in the songs in the corpus. Across the entire corpus, I located eleven dialectal phonological and morphophonological reflexes not described elsewhere in this chapter, but, except for two traits that involve simple vowel shifts and one of syllable-initial simplification of /vǔ/ to /u/, each trait had only one song that displayed it, usually only in one token. In short, one finds that these miscellaneous dialectal features are, in the broader scope of the corpus, quite rare indeed.

### 2.3.1. Regional Dialectal Traits

Two types of vowel shifts appear multiple times in this corpus. The first is seen in tokens where the vowel /e/ has evidently shifted to /ə/ in accusative clitic pronouns. In three songs this occurs once, and in one more song it occurs three times. One sees examples such as:

(2.12) немски ма куршум прониза  
 nemski ma kuršum proniza  
 German me bullet pierced  
*a German bullet pierced me*

(2.13) и няма да са завърне  
 i nĵama da sa zavǔrne  
 and will.not to REFL return  
*and will not return*

In these two examples, the 1SG accusative pronoun *ма* (*ma*) and the reflexive accusative pronoun *са* (*sa*) would appear as *ме* (*me*) and *се* (*se*), respectively, in the standard language. I assume, however, that these innovative spellings are in fact intended to reflect the pronunciations /sə/ and /mə/. The centralizing of the vowel in these unstressed clitic forms is widespread in many parts of Bulgaria (Alexander & Zhobov 2016), and is also the most common of the small orthographic peculiarities found in these songs.

Another recurring dialectism involves a vowel shift accompanied by an additional contraction. In three songs—once each in two songs, and twice in another—the vowel /e/, always word-initially, contracts to a form spelled as *ѝ* (/j/). That is, the vowel not only reduces to /i/; it also no longer takes up the length of a full syllable. This can be seen, for example, in the line:

(2.14) Саатя по ѝдин и по два  
 Saatja po jdin i po dva  
 hours by one and by two

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17. In Antonova-Vasileva et al. (2001), the generalizing volume of the dialect atlas of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, there are 88 phonological variables mapped, not including the accentual phenomena that comprise a separate section.

*at one and two o'clock*

where the third word would ordinarily be spelled as *един* (*edin*). It is noteworthy that there are no instances in the text of unstressed *e* (/e/) being spelled as *u* (/i/) (nor any reflecting the standard reduction of /a/ to /ə/), particularly in that the reduction of unstressed /e/ to /i/ is, in fact, the norm across about half of Bulgarian territory (Antonova-Vasileva et al. 2001:134). This indicates that editors were not interested in transcribing ordinary vowel reduction; rather, they were mostly spelling words as they appear in the standard language, and the /e/ to /i/ reduction is reflected in orthography only because of the additional syllabic contraction (probably conditioned by metrical requirements) that takes place simultaneously.

One song contains five very marked phonological and morphophonological features, all of which are characteristic of far western dialects. This song, “Девети септември” (“September Ninth”), is something of an aberration, in that it contains a noticeably disproportionate number of unusual features, both phonological and otherwise. The first dialectal trait, whereby word-initial \*/vǔ/ and \*/vĩ/ became /u/, is found in Serbian but not standard Bulgarian. It can be seen, however, in both this song and one more, as in the line:

(2.15) пушка пукна, та у село екна  
puška pukna ta u selo ekna  
gun popped and in village resounded  
*a gun was shot, and it echoed through the village*

In this example, the preposition *y* (*u*) would be *в* (*v*) in the standard language.<sup>18</sup> Strangely enough, however, in the preceding line of the same song, one sees the variant:

(2.16) пушка пукна ю гòра зелена  
puška pukna ju gòra zelena  
gun popped in wood green  
*a gun was shot in the green woods*

While the form *y* (*u*) in 2.15 is found in a large part of Bulgaria (ibid. 179), nowhere does one find the form *ю* (*ju*), with an initial palatal glide. It is possible that this is an error in transcription, or it might also be an attempt by an editor to employ a variant that looks somehow even more unfamiliar and dialectal.

The four other dialectal features in this song are also markedly western. One, the appearance of the vowel /u/ as a modern reflex for the Common Slavic back nasal \*/q/, is found in the phrase:

(2.17) три пути су ситно извезани  
tri puti su sitno izvezani

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<sup>18</sup>. Indeed, while standard Bulgarian does have a preposition *y* (*u*), it would not be expected in this context.

three times are finely sewn.up  
*they are sewn up finely three times over*

Although the words *nymu* (*puti*) ‘times’ and *cy* (*su*) ‘are’ would be spelled in the standard language as *nъmu* (*pŭti*) and *ca* (*sa*) respectively, the vowels in these two words are pronounced the same, and are reflexes of the same Common Slavic vowel. The use of /u/ in these words, however, is the norm in standard Serbian. There are also instances in the song wherein word-initial \*/vs/ has metathesized to /sv/, just as in Serbian; this can be seen in the line:

(2.18) сѣс сви су се они рѣкува̀ли  
sŭs svi su se oni rŭkuvàli  
with all AUX REFL they shook.hands  
*they shook hands with all of them*

In standard Bulgarian, and most of the rest of Slavic, the root for ‘all’ begins with /vs/; consequently, this line, where the word for ‘all’ is *сви* (*svi*), looks decidedly Serbian, or at least non-Bulgarian. One also sees the 3PL present ending *-e* (*-e*) for second-conjugation verbs; it appears in the line:

(2.19) да си да̀ре народни герои  
da si dare narodni geroi  
to REFL give folk heroes  
*to give to the heroes of the nation*

The verb *да̀ре* (*dare*) would be realized as *да̀рѣт* (*darjat*) in standard Bulgarian, but the ending here is the standard Serbian form. One Macedonian-looking feature also appears in this song, an instance of a modern reflex of Common Slavic \*/tj/ in the word *цвеке* (*cveke*):

(2.20) да набѣрат цвеке нај- хубаво  
da naberat cveke naj- hubavo  
to pick flower most beautiful  
*to pick the most beautiful flower*

The Macedonian realization of this word is *цве́ке* (*cveќe*), in contrast with the Bulgarian *цвѣте* (*cvete*), and one is perhaps supposed to assume that the /k/ is palatalized in this word just as in Macedonian. Altogether, this combination of nonstandard features makes the text look decidedly dialectal, far more so than any other song.

In addition, there are several other features that are scattered throughout the rest of the corpus, but each of them also only occurs once. They include another nonstandard reflex of Common Slavic \*/q/, this time as /a/, in the line:

(2.21) дай да ви рака целуна  
daj da vi raka celuna

give to you hand kiss  
*give me your hand to kiss*

While the standard language would spell the third word, ‘hand,’ as *ръка* (*rŭka*), here it appears with the vocalic realization that is found primarily in southwest Bulgaria and much of Macedonia. One also sees a western reflex for the 1SG nominative personal pronoun, in the line:

(2.22) Я си му нищо не рекох  
Ja si mu ništo neg rekoh  
I REFL him nothing NEG said  
*I didn't tell him anything*

In the standard language, this form is *аз* (*az*), but *я* (*ja*) appears in the western and Rupic dialect regions (Stoikov 1993:250-251), as well as in Serbian. Similarly, some masculine plural l-participles end in *-ле* (*-le*) in one song. For example, one sees this in the line:

(2.23) заедно сме се бориле  
zaedno sme se borile  
together AUX REFL fought  
*together we have fought*

While these forms end in *-лу* (*-li*) in standard Bulgarian—in the above line one would instead expect the form *борили* (*borili*)—the *-ле* (*-le*) ending is the norm for Macedonian.

One final feature that can be found in Macedonian but not Bulgarian is the palatalized *-n'e/* ending of deverbal nouns. It can be found once, in one song:

(2.24) хайде, Миле, волове на ранџе  
hajde, Mile, volove na ran'e  
c'mon Mila-VOC oxen to plowing  
*c'mon, Mila, (prepare) the oxen for plowing*

Deverbal nouns like the word *ранџе* (*ran'e*) ‘plowing’ here end in *-не* (*ne*) in standard Bulgarian; in fact, the letter *ь* (*’*) can ordinarily only appear before the letter *о* (*o*).

Taken together, these dialectal forms found in the songs comprise a variety of reflexes that are generally more representative of standard Serbian and Macedonian. While they all clearly point to speech patterns of western dialects, the fact that they occur one time each in the corpus means that they might go almost unnoticed if one were not specifically looking for them.

There are also about ten tokens from the corpus that display other random phonological or orthographic deviations from the standard language, but which are not indicative of any particular regional variety of speech. For example, there is the token *фляват* (*fljavat*) ‘they enter’; however, this form simply reflects the devoicing of the initial prefix and a change in the root morphology—variations not associated with any particular

dialect. In another case, one finds *дедектив* (*dedektiv*) instead of *детектив* (*detektiv*), ‘detective,’ likely based on one informant’s idiolectal acquisition of an unfamiliar word. Strangely enough, there were also three variations on the common name *Георги* (*Georgi*): in two songs, the form *Гьорги* (*G’orgi*), and in one, *Гюрги* (*Gjurgi*). But all in all, none of these tokens betrays much about the regional background of a singer, only the mere fact that his performance of the standard language is less than “perfect.”

### 2.3.2. Standard Vowel Reductions

Moreover, there are two texts whose orthography makes standard oral speech look more dialectally marked than it really is. In one case, the standard verb form *обкръжиха* (*obkrūžihā*), ‘they surrounded,’ is spelled as *обкръжихъ* (*obkrūžihŭ*). This form, however, merely reflects the standard pronunciation of this word, in which *a* is used to spell word-final /ə/; nearly all varieties of Bulgarian would pronounce the ending this way anyway. Similarly, one song contains the letter *ŭ* (*j*) before post-vocalic *e* in words like *усоџе* (*usoje*) (standard *усое* (*usoe*)) ‘shady spot’ and *чуџе* (*čuje*) (standard *чџе* (*čue*)) ‘hear.’ In that phonetic jotation regularly occurs between two such vowels (Boiadzhiev et al. 1999:42), one wonders why the editor of this song decided to insert the palatal glide letter. It is likely that in both texts described here, underlying phonological principles were spelled out in order to craft a fully comprehensible text that otherwise looked regionally marked. That is, such a process helped create a “visually dialectal” form of a text that, in fact, would not sound any different if read aloud.

### 2.3.3. Inconsistencies within Songs

Further evidence also suggests that editors might have wanted “clean” texts that looked only marginally dialectal. The dialectal tokens described in this section appear at random points throughout long passages that contain otherwise mostly standard language. In fact, they often occur in tandem with tokens that display the standard counterpart of the very same dialectal variable, sometimes only a line or two away. Of the 11 traits described above, only two occur in songs without a parallel non-dialectal form: there are no instances of retained \*/vs/ in the song with *сџи* (*svi*), and no examples of an unpalatalized verbal noun ending in the song that contains *ранџе* (*ran’ē*). Otherwise, every other dialectal token discussed here is found in a song that contains other tokens with the standard-language reflex of the trait in question; this suggests that these traits are in free variation in the song text. For example, one finds both of the following passages in the same song:

(2.25) дай да ви рака целуна  
 daj da vi raka celuna  
 give to you hand kiss  
*give me your hand to kiss*

(2.26) и те си рџка целуват



i te si rŭka celuvat  
 and they REFL hand kiss  
*and they kiss their hands*

The first displays the dialectal reflex of the vowel in the word ‘hand,’ *рака* (*raka*), while the second contains the standard-language reflex of the Common Slavic \*/q/ vowel in *рѣка* (*rŭka*). The song containing the 3PL verb *даде* (*dare*) ‘they give,’ with the dialectal ending –*e* (–*e*), also contains verb forms of the same conjugational class displaying the ending used in the standard language, as in *направят* (*napravjat*) ‘they do.’ And in the only song that contains masculine plural l-participles ending in –*ле* (–*le*), one also sees standard forms ending in –*ли* (–*li*), such as *предали* (*predali*) ‘given up.’ Altogether, this is more support for the likelihood that either singers were not singing in consistent dialect, folklorists were not transcribing these forms accurately, or editors were inconsistent in their “corrections” to texts. Even when dialectal forms do appear, they are mostly in the broader context of the standard language, where one occasional dialectal variant will merely appear for “flavor” and will not affect a reader’s ability to understand the text.

Nonetheless, it is important to affirm that the dialectal forms that do appear are, for the most part, expected in the regions in which their songs were recorded. Figure 2.3 shows all of the traits described in this section and the locale in which the song containing them was recorded, followed by an indication of whether the feature would be expected in this area. Only one feature, that found in the word *цвеке* (*cveke*) ‘flower,’ wherein \*/tj/ has become /k/ (or possibly /k’/), does not map according to its location. Based on Antonova-Vasileva et al. (2001:211), the form *цвешче* (*cvešče*) would be expected here instead, but variants with /k’/ are found very nearby. Other than this one word, the dialectal traits that do appear are expected based on the regions of their singers.

Trait	Example in Text	Standard Equivalent	Location	Expected
/e/ > /i/	до йдин	до един	Chirpan	Yes
/e/ > /i/	докат му й	докато му е	Stara Zagora	Yes
/e/ > /i/	майка му се й	майка му се е	Batak	Yes
/v/ > /u/	у село	в село	Kjustendil	Yes
/v/ > /u/	у Горна Гращица	в Горна Гращица	Trŭn	Yes
Common Slavic */q/ > /u/	три пути	три пъти	Trŭn	Yes
Common Slavic */tj/ > /k’/	цвеке	цвете	Trŭn	No
/vs/ > /sv/	свите	всички	Trŭn	Yes
–*/ę̣t/ > /e/ in 3pl verb	даде	дарят	Trŭn	Yes
Common Slavic */q/ > /a/	рака	рѣка	Batak	Yes
/n'e/	ранѣ	оране	Trŭn	Yes
1sg /ja/	я	аз	Batak	Yes
–/le/	бориле	борили	Bajlovo	Yes

**Figure 2.3: Other Phonological Dialectisms in the Corpus**

#### 2.3.4. The Marginal Position of Dialectisms

This fact is in direct contrast with the situation surrounding other, more widely occurring nonstandard reflexes, such as that of etymological *jat*, of which both western and eastern variants can be found in songs from across the country. I would suggest that a trait like /e/ for *jat* occurs widely in folkloric language because it is part of the “dialect register” and represents an emblematic variable that makes folk speech sound “folk.” The less common features examined in this section, however, are probably not thought of as part of this register. They would almost certainly be recognized by speakers as characterizing rural speech, but, unlike /e/ for *jat*, they are almost entirely absent in these texts. This would suggest that their appearance marks *actual* dialect rather than the “dialect register,” which is made up of only a select group of features occurring in texts more regularly.

This of course, implies that at least one of two conditions characterized the production of these songs: either singers were mostly leaving these other features out of their language, or editors sanitized the texts of the songs to make them only marginally dialectal. Certainly, the former is not unlikely, at least to a certain extent. These songs were presumably sung by individuals involved with national socio-political movements; thus, they likely had some exposure to other regional or standard-language forms of speech, and may have been accommodating outside observers by using less regionally marked language.

At the same time, however, it is reasonable to assume that those assembling the collections of these songs must have been involved in standardizing the texts to produce a “cleaner,” more nationally appropriate variety of language. These songs appear in song books that were distributed throughout the whole of Bulgaria. Since the texts were intended for a popular audience, editors wanted to ensure that they would be accessible and easily comprehensible to citizens from all over the country. Small bits of dialectal material remain, but they would never impede comprehension. This might be contrasted with more specialized books intended for a scholarly audience, where transcriptions of texts demonstrate that singers do, in fact, sing in highly dialectal language. For example, a typical song in a specialized, multi-volume collection of Bulgarian national ballads opens:

(2.27) Завалѣ, Стоян, завалѣ,  
завалѣ завалията,  
завѣдил стадо голямо,  
че гласи Стоян, че трупа  
триста ми кила гълабе,  
петстотин кила ечумик.  
Рани ги Стоян, зобѣ ги  
сред зима, до Танасовден.  
Нали се зарѣ свършило,  
чуди се Стоян, мае се  
със какво стадо да храни.  
Почнало стадо да ѱмира. (Bogdanova et al. 1993:182)

It started raining, Stoyan, it started raining,  
the downpour started raining,  
he bred a great herd,  
and Stoyan prepared, he piled up  
three hundred kilos of doves,  
five hundred kilos of barley.  
Stoyan got them up, fed them,  
in the winter, until St. Atanas' Day.  
But didn't the grain get finished,  
Stoyan wonders, dawdles about,  
with what can he feed the herd.  
The herd started dying off.

To read such a song requires more focus for full comprehension than do the songs in the corpora in this study. It has noticeably more stress marking, spells out several instances of vowel reduction in this short number of lines, and even indicates a labialized /w/ sound in the last word; no such nonstandard character is found anywhere in the socialist-era corpora. In general, songs such as this one, recorded by folklorists and ethnographers and published in scholarly volumes, contain much more visibly dialectal speech. Songs in academic folklore collections also usually pay special attention to the region in which the song was recorded; the volumes that contain the songs in the socialist corpora do not highlight this information (it is often in an appendix), and sometimes they even exclude it entirely. Their focus is not on the poetic features of songs from a particular region, but rather on the potential for the song to demonstrate national unity.

This would suggest that the potential features mentioned in this section were mostly excised for publication by those who wanted to display these songs as new folk texts for the entire nation. Small bits of dialectal features remain occasionally, most likely just to add a bit of folk “color” to the mostly standard-language texts. It is striking that these dialectal features, so common in large regions of Bulgaria, are so rarely found in the corpus. It seems most probable that they are not part of the register proposed in Chapter 1, and, therefore, appear only minimally.

#### **2.4. Elision**

In colloquial varieties of spoken Bulgarian (just as in many languages), the elision of phonemes in particular environments is a common phenomenon. In the texts in this study, the elision of certain sounds—indicated orthographically with nonstandard spellings—is a moderately common phenomenon, appearing in 29 of the 38 songs in the Traditional and Innovative Corpora and 15 of the 21 March songs. However, there are two separate types of elision that can be found in these texts. One type, occurring more rarely, is when particular sounds, often including consonants, are dropped, which reflects the sounds of colloquial oral language. This occurs almost exclusively in the most traditional songs, those of the unrhymed line type. The other type of elision, which affects only vowels in specific contexts,

appears to be modeled after the lyric styles of older periods of Bulgarian literature and is used as a marker of higher poetic style. This type of elision appears throughout the songs in this study, but with particular prominence in the March songs.

#### 2.4.1. Elision and the Spoken Language

The first type of elision simply reflects the nuances of the spoken language. Most of the instances of this type of elision involve the simplification of consonantal sounds. In two songs, pre-vocalic /h/ (a voiceless velar fricative) is elided, resulting in forms like *уч* (*ič*), ‘at all,’ instead of standard *хуч* (*hič*), *оро* (*oro*), ‘circle dance,’ instead of *хоро* (*horo*), or *пруготвѝа* (*prigotvia*), ‘they prepared,’ instead of standard *пруготвѝа* (*prigotviha*). In several other cases, consonant clusters are simplified, yielding the forms *се* (*se*), ‘completely,’ instead of *все* (*vse*), and *зели* (*zeli*), ‘taken,’ instead of *взели* (*vzeli*). Individual consonant sounds are dropped only in songs of the unrhymed line type, that is, in the Traditional Corpus.

Another type of this “oral” elision is that in which syllables unstressed in the standard language are lost entirely in the text. This can be seen in forms such as *махлата* (*mahlata*), ‘the neighborhood,’ instead of standard *махалата* (*mahalata*), or *ош* (*ošt*), ‘still,’ instead of standard *оше* (*ošte*). One word, *кво* (*kvo*), ‘what,’ instead of standard *какво* (*kakvo*), appears in a song with rhymed couplets. The only other type of phonological reduction of this “oral” type that appears outside of unrhymed line songs is that in which the conjunction *и* (*i*) is contracted to *ѝ* (*j*), as in the second line of:

(2.28) Хитлер и пашàта  
 Hitler i pašàta  
 Hitler and pasha-DEF

ѝ цар Борис царуват —  
 j car Boris caruvat  
 and tsar Boris reign

*Hitler and the pasha / and Tsar Boris reign*

In a case like this, contraction allows for the reduction of the syllable count of the line, making each line six syllables in accordance with the parameters of the song. In general, these types of strictly oral elision are not extremely common, but they can be found with some regularity in songs of the various corpora, but primarily in the Traditional Corpus.

#### 2.4.2. Poetic Elision

However, there is another type of elision that is surprisingly systematic, and it seems that the songs in this study—March songs in particular—reify this type of elision as a poetic device. This type of elision, referred to here as “poetic,” involves the dropping or contraction of single unstressed vowels. It can occur in any type of song, and since it

appears in the works of writers from the Bulgarian National Renaissance period, it seems to be associated with high poetic style.

Within all types of songs, there are five particular contexts in which poetic elision occurs with great frequency. The first is in the personal pronouns *ние* (*nie*) ‘we’ and *вие* (*vie*) ‘you all,’ where the loss of word-final /e/ leads these forms to be written as *ниъ* (*nij*) and *виъ* (*vij*). For example, this occurs in the lines:

- (2.29) Със усилия здрави народни  
 Sŭs usilija zdravi narodni  
 With efforts healthy folk-ADJ
- ний създаваме чуден закон  
 nij sŭzdavame čuden zakon  
 we establish wondrous law

*With the hearty efforts of the people / we establish a wondrous law*

where the first word of the second line would generally be written *ние* (*nie*). These two pronoun variants can be found throughout both song corpora.

A second recurring type of elision is that in which the vowels marking person and number are dropped from the desinence of first- and second-person and reflexive articulated possessive pronouns. This can be seen in a line such as:

- (2.30) И мойта майка ще чака  
 I mojta majka ŝte čaka  
 and my mother will wait  
*And my mother will be waiting*

where the possessive pronoun *мойта* (*mojta*) would ordinarily be spelling *моята* (*mojata*). In articulated possessive pronouns, both the unstressed ending of the pronoun itself, *моя-* (*moya-*), and the attached definite article, *-та* (*-ta*), convey gender and number; such reduplication makes the pronominal ending redundant for conveying grammatical concord. While quite common, it bears noting that this phenomenon is not universal. In one song, for instance, the appearance of both the standard reflexive form *своята* (*svojata*) and the contracted *своѝта* (*svojta*) shows that these forms are in free variation:

- (2.31) Дай ми своята сила крилата  
 Daj mi svojata sila krilata  
 give me REFL-POSS strength winged  
*Give me your winged strength*
- (2.32) Че пред своѝта родина ранена  
 Če pred svojta rodina ranena  
 for before REFL-POSS homeland wounded

*For before my wounded homeland*

Like *ниў* (*nij*) and *виў* (*vij*), these forms are very common in all types of songs.

Another widespread type of elision is that in which the *-e* (*-e*) personal ending is contracted to *ў* (*j*) in the 3SG present form of first-conjugation verbs whose roots ends in a vowel. Thus, forms ending in *-ee* (*-ee*), for example, are spelled as *-eў* (*-ej*), and so on.<sup>19</sup> In these cases, the form is homophonous with imperative verb forms, but it is clear that a present-tense meaning is intended. For example, in the verse:

- (2.34) И свободата, в която  
толкова кръв аленей  
нека плющи в знамената,  
нека в сърцата живеј!

And the freedom in which  
so much blood turns scarlet  
let it wave in our flags,  
let it live in our hearts.

the final words of the second and fourth lines demonstrate this phenomenon; they would appear as *аленее* (*alenee*) and *живее* (*živee*) in the standard language. It should be noted that in this case the contraction does not appear for the purposes of forming rhyme; these two words would rhyme in their full standard form as well. Instead, these forms appear to be part of a stylized linguistic pattern.

A fourth common type of elision is that in which the final vowel of masculine definite adjectives is dropped. For example, in:

- |        |     |             |       |          |
|--------|-----|-------------|-------|----------|
| (2.35) | Ний | младата     | сме   | гвардия  |
|        | Nij | mladata     | sme   | gvardija |
|        | we  | young-DEF   | are   | guard    |
|        | на  | трудоѝ      | народ |          |
|        | na  | trudovij    | narod |          |
|        | of  | working-DEF | folk  |          |

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19. Russian shows a similar type of contraction wherein comparative forms ending in *-ee* (*-ee*) can appear as *-eў* (*-ej*) in poetic language. For example, the final word of the Soviet-era lyrics:

- (2.33) Весел напев городов и полей —  
Жить стало лучше, жить стало веселей! (Lebedev-Kumach 1936)

The joyous tune of the cities and fields —  
Living has become better, live has become happier!

in which *веселей* (*veselej*) appears in place of standard *веселее* (*veselee*), demonstrates this same phenomenon. It is possible that poetic Russian served as a model for this type of elision.

*We are the young guard / of the working people*

the word *трудоуї* (*trudovij*) reflects the absence of a final vowel, ordinarily realized as *трудоуя* (*trudovija*) in the standard language. Such forms are also extremely common, occurring in most texts more often than do the standard, fully articulated forms.

One final type of poetic elision is that in which the *-u* (*-i*) ending is dropped from the standard set of demonstrative pronouns. Instead of *мозу* (*tozi*) and *мазу* (*tazi*), for example, one finds forms like *моз* (*toz*) and *маз* (*taz*). An instance of this can be seen in the line:

(2.36) със тез проклети фашисти  
sŭs tez prokleti fašisti  
with these cursed fascists  
*with these cursed fascists*

Instead of *тез* (*tez*), one would expect here to see the standard word *тезу* (*tezi*), ‘these.’ The citation form *моз* (*toz*) is, in fact, identified in dictionaries as a “colloquial and poetic” (“разг. и поет.”) form of *мозу* (*tozi*) (Andreichin et al. 2008:973), and such shortened forms of demonstrative pronouns are found in many types of songs in this study.

The particular types of elision discussed in the first part of this section appear to represent cases in which the dropping of sounds simply mimics the phonology of everyday spoken language. With the exception of the elided vowel in articulated possessive pronouns, however, the five types of “poetic” vocalic elision mentioned here do not generally occur with great frequency in standard spoken Bulgarian (and they are certainly never written in standard prose).

However, examples of these five types of poetic elision are present in all types of songs, but particularly so in March songs, which otherwise typically display more standard forms of language. For example, while only two songs in the Traditional and three in the Innovative Corpus contain at least one instance of *виї* (*vij*) or *ниї* (*nij*), 11 of the 21 songs in the March Corpus have these forms.<sup>20</sup> The same is true for the other types of poetic elision: instances of the contracted form in the March songs generally outnumber those displaying standard orthography.

This is most likely the case because these forms of poetic elision carry particular semiotic value within the system of Bulgarian poetics. Indeed, all of these forms are widespread in the works of beloved national poets from the National Revival era. For example, Hristo Botev’s well-known poem “В механата” (“In the Tavern”), opens:

(2.37) Тежко, тежко! Вино дайте!  
Пиян дано аз забравя

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20. Of course, it is possible that this discrepancy in patterning may be due partially to the content of these songs; indeed, the marches often comment on the actions and values ascribed to “you” and “we” while the traditional songs are first- and third-person narratives.

туй, що, глупци, вий не знайте  
позор ли е или слава!

Да забравя край свой роден,  
бащина си мила стряха  
и тез, що в мен дух свободен,  
дух за борба завещаха!

Oh, woe! Give me wine!  
If drunk, hopefully I can forget  
that which, idiots, you do not know  
whether shame or glory!

To forget my native land  
my dear father's home  
and those, who bequeathed unto me,  
a free soul, a soul for fighting!

In this passage, one sees the personal pronoun *вуй* (*vij*) in the third line and the demonstrative pronoun *тез* (*tez*) in the third line of the second stanza. The 2PL form of the verb 'know' is spelled as *знайте* (*znajte*) instead of *знаете* (*znaete*); this form probably represents an example of the same type of contraction described above for 3SG forms, wherein the sequence *-ee* (*-ee*) in a verbal ending is contracted to *-e* (*-e*). An example of the contraction of definite adjectives can be found in part of Ivan Vazov's "*Тих бял Дунав*" ("The Quiet White Danube"):

(2.38) Карай      бързо      парахода  
Karaj      bŭrzo      parahoda  
sail      quickly      steamship

на      българский      бряг!  
na      bŭlgarskij      brjag!  
to      Bulgarian-DEF      shore

*Sail the steamship on quickly / to the Bulgarian shore!*

where the adjective meaning 'Bulgarian' appears with the bare *-уй* (*-ij*) ending instead of the standard *-ия* (*-ija*). Finally, another poem by Vazov, "*На България*" ("To Bulgaria"), displays elided vowels in possessive pronouns and a contracted 3SG present form:

(2.39) На теб, Българиио свещенна,  
покланям песни си сега.  
На твоите рани, кръв безценна,  
на твоята жалост и тъга,



на твоите сълзи и въздишки,  
на твоите страсти и тегло  
и на венеца мъченишки,  
кой греј на твоето чело.

To you, sacred Bulgaria,  
I now dedicate my songs.  
To your wounds, your priceless blood,  
to your pity and sorrow,  
to your tears and sighs,  
to your passions and suffering  
and to your martyr's crown,  
which shines on your forehead.

In these passages, the successive examples of contracted 2SG possessive pronouns (*твојте*, etc.) along with the verb *греј* (*grej*), normally appearing as *грее* (*gree*) in the standard language, exhibit further the presence of these poetic elisions in national Revival Era poetry.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, all such forms can be found throughout the works of Botev, Vazov, and other major writers of the era. The content of these works is devoted above all to patriotic praise for Bulgaria and declamation of the nation's virtues. In that these forms are found with such ubiquity in the works of the National Revival period, one can see how they have come to be associated not only with solemn, high registers of lyric language, but with the quality of “Bulgarian-ness” itself.

### 2.4.3. Elision: Conclusion

In conclusion, it seems crucial to differentiate the two types of elision and their patterning in the works in the socialist corpora. In occasional instances, such as when consonant clusters are simplified or the spelling of words otherwise reflects basic changes that linguistic economy might induce, one can simply see these peculiarities as reflecting the sounds of everyday speech. In many songs, editors have used various devices—such as writing /e/ for an etymological *јат* or accenting the place of nonstandard stress—to convey the specifics of a singer's dialect; these types of elision, then, are simply part of the same process. But poetic elisions occur in both the more standard-language March songs and in the works of National Revival poets. Their purpose is clearly to convey a specific feeling of patriotic solemnity and grandeur.

### 2.5. Phonology and Orthography: Conclusion

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21. One also sees an elided form of *мебе* (*tebe*), ‘you,’ an unarticulated definite in *песни* (*pesni*), noun-adjective word order, and the unarticulated relativizer *кој* (*koj*). Curiously, the possessive pronoun *твоето* (*voeto*), which could be contracted to *твојто* (*vojto*), is spelled in its full form here.

As has been seen, the language of the songs in this study—even those of the most traditional type—shows only a relatively minor amount of deviation in orthography from the norms of the standard language. A small amount of elision of consonants and vowels apparently functions to denote the oral nature of the songs. Otherwise, only two nonstandard features occur with much frequency throughout the corpus: nonstandard /e/ reflexes of etymological *jat*, and the marking of nonstandard stress. It is important to note that both of these features are characteristic specifically of western dialects of Bulgarian, and it would appear that they mark “dialect” in a way that is fairly unobtrusive and fully comprehensible to a reader familiar only with the standard language. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, I suspect that these are the phonological traits that speakers feel most clearly to mark “dialect,” and for this reason they have gained a special place in the register of folk songs.

## Chapter 3

# Morphology and Syntax

Within the songs in this study there abound numerous instances of linguistic peculiarities at the word and phrase level. This chapter deals specifically with those morphological and syntactic phenomena that would be prohibited or considered ungrammatical in the standard language as it is spoken today; phenomena that simply reflect marked usage or constitute otherwise interesting poetic phenomena are described in Chapter 5. It is proposed that the features described here are some of the primary markers of folkloric language that are permitted and regularly used within the genre of the folk song. The bulk of these features are most readily described as archaisms; they reflect obsolete morphological and syntactic patterns from older forms of Bulgarian, Common Slavic, and even Indo-European. Several other features, however, reveal the influence of dialectal language, albeit inconsistently and in a highly restricted form. Altogether, these types of traits add variation to some of the basic structural properties of the standard language and lend stylistic “flavor” to the songs in this study.

### **3.1. First-Person Plural Present-Tense Verbal Endings**

This section addresses the presence of marked first-person plural present conjugational endings in the songs in the corpora. Such forms have their origins in western Bulgarian dialects, but they appear here in songs from regions throughout Bulgaria. In this sense, they seem to be a dialectal marker that has spread more generally in the language of song. However, the form’s ubiquity in non-lyrical language and songs less marked as being of the “folk” indicates that it is likely of less emblematic value than most of the other features described in this study.

#### **3.1.1. Asymmetry and Dialect in First-Person Plural Verbal Endings**

The first-person plural endings of present-tense verbs in standard Bulgarian are asymmetrical across verbal paradigms. Bulgarian has three primary conjugational classes, distinguished by the theme vowel that appears in the second- and third-person singular and first- and second-person plural conjugational suffixes. Following this theme vowel, second- and third-person singular and second-person plural verbs all have the same personal endings regardless of conjugational class. For first-person plural verbs, however, those of the /e/ and /i/ conjugational classes (generally called the “first” and “second” conjugations) have the ending *-m*, while verbs of the /a/ (“third”) conjugation have the ending *-me*. This can be seen in Figure 3.1, in which the disparate endings are highlighted.

	I Conjugation	II Conjugation	III Conjugation
2 SG	– eš	– iš	– aš
3 SG	– e	– i	– a
1 PL	– em	– im	– ame
2 PL	– ete	– ite	– ate

**Figure 3.1: 1PL Verbal Endings**

The *-m* ending is, diachronically, the original ending of all three conjugational classes; the *-me* ending appears to have spread into verbs of the third conjugation from what was in Common Slavic the athematic verb class (Haralampiev 2001:138).<sup>22</sup> An important isogloss divides the entirety of South Slavic between West South Slavic, in which all first-person plural present forms end in *-mo*, and East South Slavic, where such forms end in *-m* or *-me* (Ivić 1972:67).

However, western dialects of Bulgarian do not maintain this distinction between conjugational classes, and instead, all first-person plural verbs end in *-me* or, more rarely, *-mo*. An isogloss within Bulgarian separating consistent first-person plural endings from the alternating type found in the standard language runs in a pattern similar to that of the major *jat* isogloss (Stoikov 1993:91). This neutralization between paradigms characterizes Macedonian and Serbian first-person plural verbs as well. Thus, with regard to conjugational endings, western Bulgarian dialects pattern more closely with their linguistic neighbors to the south and west. Accordingly, the presence of *-me* endings on first- and second-conjugation verbs is recognized by many contemporary speakers as a marker of substandard or dialect speech.

### 3.1.2. Appearance of First-Person Plural Forms in the Corpora

Western first- and second-conjugation first-person plural *-me* endings are found throughout the primary corpora (i.e. the Traditional and Innovative Corpora) of songs. When all instances of first- and second-conjugation first-person plural present verbs were tallied, there were 39 total: there were 25 forms in the Traditional Corpus, of which five (20%) had the *-me* ending, and 14 in the Innovative Corpus, of which three (21%) had this ending. The numbers are clearly too small to be of any statistical significance; moreover,

22. Townsend and Janda (1996:206) note that, when Slavic languages have developed first-person plural endings in which *-m* is followed by a vowel (e.g. BCS *-mo*, Polish *-my*), it is generally the case that 1sg forms end in *-m*; this development helps to keep 1sg and first-person plural forms separate. Indeed, this is the case for standard Bulgarian in the /a/ conjugation as well, where 1sg verbs end in *-m*.

some texts had disproportionately large numbers of tokens, so the data aren't representative of the spectrum of songs as a whole. This sample is particularly modestly sized because of the typical content of songs: most of the songs in this study, particularly those of the Traditional type, constitute descriptions of events, either in the past tense or in the third person—that is, in contexts that do not present first-person present tense marking. Nonetheless, it is clear that singers do include these nonstandard forms in their songs with some regularity.

### 3.1.3. Verbal Endings and Inconsistencies with Dialectal Norms

Of greater significance is the fact that, like other linguistic features discussed in this study, a surprising amount of free variation seems to exist in the language of these songs, allowing multiple reflexes to exist even within the same text. I examined the entirety of every text within the corpora (that is, beyond the first 25 lines) and noted whether a text contained only *-m*, only *-me*, or both endings. In total, 13 songs contained at least one instance of a first-person plural verb. Seven of these songs (54%) had only standard *-m* endings, one song had only *-me* endings, and five songs (38%) had both *-m* and *-me*.

It should be noted that the one song that had only *-me* endings is in many ways something of an anomaly: it seems to reflect a much more faithful adherence to the (western) dialect of its informant than do the other songs in the corpus; it is the only text to have case marking on nouns, for example. This song aside, it seems that the standard *-m* ending is indeed the default which most singers use in their songs.

Striking, then, are the five songs that include both variants. In natural speech, one would expect to find only one variant used consistently, at least assuming a speaker maintains his or her idiolect continuously and does not switch registers. However, passages such as the following show that this is not a rule in the language of these songs. In this example, verbs with standard endings are italicized, and those with dialectal endings are underlined:

- (3.1) На германските фашисти  
нищичко не ще *дадем*,  
а пък техните лакеи  
със куршум ще *наградим*.  
Със крилете на орлите  
ний летиме сред нощта —  
нападаме и рушиме  
и се губим без следа...

'To the German fascists  
we won't give anything,  
and those who follow them  
we'll bestow with a bullet.  
With the wings of the eagles  
we fly in the night —

we attack and we demolish  
and disappear without a trace...

Such vacillation between endings would be unexpected in ordinary speech. In sung language, however, it appears that such forms can be in free variation.

As is the case with *jat* reflexes, the choice as to whether a text uses *-m*, *-me*, or both variants seems to be independent of the actual dialect area in which it was collected. I compared the reflexes found in texts with the reflexes one would expect given their location of origin according to Stoikov (1993:91). 11 songs with first-person plural forms had identifiable locations of origin, and, in fact, seven of these songs—in highlighted fields in Figure 3.2

—had linguistic features that would be at odds with the actual dialect in which they were collected. As is apparent, one finds songs with only standard reflexes even from regions west of the isogloss, where consistent *-me* would be expected in “pure” dialectal speech. This is not particularly surprising; it has already been seen that the songs in these corpora are generally only “dialectal” in the sense that they allow for a limited set of regional markers; otherwise, their language more or less reflects norms of the standard.

More noteworthy are the four songs with instances of *-me* that come from regions in which *-m* would be the expected variant; all four of these songs, in fact, display both variants. By using first-person plural forms ending in *-me*, the creators of these songs are using a regionally marked linguistic feature foreign to their own dialect. Clearly, this optional *-me* ending has a well established position within the language of folk songs in

		Actual Reflex		
		only <i>-m</i>	only <i>-me</i>	both <i>-m</i> and <i>-me</i>
Expected Reflex in Dialect	expected <i>-m</i>	3	0	4
	expected <i>-me</i>	2	1	1
	not given / unclear	2	0	0

**Figure 3.2: Numbers of Songs in Traditional and Innovative Corpora Sorted by Actual and Expected 1PL Endings**

that many singers, even for whom it would theoretically not be native, use it so widely.

### 3.1.4. Variation and Spread of the *-me* Ending

There are several explanations as to why *-me* might be used by singers for whom the ending is not a native part of their dialect. Given that western *jat* reflexes and other linguistic traits of southwest Bulgaria appear to be emblematic of “folk” language, this is possibly one more feature included in the same bundle of traits that speakers can employ when they want their words to sound rural or folksy. Contemporary speakers often identify *-me* endings with the rural *Shop* ethnic group that contributed western dialectal forms to the Sofian vernacular; as such, it makes sense that *-me* endings are an easily borrowed linguistic emblem of the “folk.”

Nonetheless, the *-me* ending does not carry as much marking for colloquialness as do other dialectal features, such as /e/ *jat* variants. In contemporary Sofian speech, for example, using a nonstandard *jat* variant, such as saying *нема* for *няма*, ‘there isn’t’ or *видех* for *видях*, ‘I saw,’ would be more likely to elicit condescension on the part of an educated speaker than would the use of forms such as *видиме* for *видим*, ‘we saw’. First-person plural *-me* forms are not those prescribed by literary Bulgarian, but they are nonetheless fairly commonplace in everyday speech.

I attempted to quantify the frequency with which the contemporary written language permits these two separate variables by performing a short experiment using the Bulgarian National Corpus. I calculated the relative frequency of dialectal variants of common first-person plural verb forms as opposed to their standard counterparts (e.g. how often *ядеме* ‘we eat’ can be found instead of *ядем*). I then compared these results with the frequency of nonstandard variants of typical words containing etymological *jat* with their standard counterparts (e.g. how often *хлеб* ‘bread’ occurs instead of *хляб*). Indeed, first-person plural *-me* forms occurred, on the whole, more often than did dialectal *jat* forms. The Bulgarian National Corpus is composed primarily of standard-language prose works, so the higher frequency of first-person plural *-me* forms in it indicates that they are seen as more appropriate for publication in the non-lyrical literary language than are marked *jat* forms. The percentage of nonstandard forms out of the total counted, for both first-person plural verbs and nonstandard *jat* words, is shown in Figure 3.3, where *jat* forms are shaded and first-person plural forms are left white. The table, which is sorted from the lowest to highest frequency of nonstandard forms, shows that while dialectal *jat* forms range from .07%-1.54% of all realizations of a lexeme, first-person plural *-me* forms occur, overall, more often—anywhere from .38% to 2.06% of the time.

Tokens	Standard	Nonstandard	Percentage Nonstandard
трѣбва	406892	283	0.07%
вѣрвам	17898	23	0.13%
нѣмаше	163332	252	0.15%
тѣло	31931	66	0.21%
тѣсно	4457	11	0.25%
мѣсто	121861	386	0.32%
тѣрсим/е	4658	18	0.38%
нѣма	374956	1481	0.39%
правим/е	13522	77	0.57%
седнем/е	1186	8	0.67%
играем/е	2143	16	0.74%
млѣко	8380	67	0.79%
стоим/е	1871	15	0.80%
лежим/е	239	2	0.83%
хлѣб	12422	108	0.86%
четем/е	896	9	0.99%
седим/е	1346	19	1.39%
бѣгам	1601	25	1.54%
ядем/е	1460	30	2.01%

пишем/е	667	14	2.06%
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**Table B: Standard and Nonstandard Variants of Jat and First-Person Plural Forms in the Bulgarian National Corpus**

Moreover, looking at the wider contexts in which these forms appear, one finds that nonstandard *jat* words are common in texts that have prominently dialectal language used throughout the text. For example, *хлеб* appears in the passage:

- (3.2) Ага се оборнах, гледам пред мене още двамина с вдигнати тюфеци, също като порвия: барачища, рошави. — Кажете — викам пак — какво искате? Хлеб, сирене, пари — каквото имам, ще ви дам, та си ме пуснете да си ворвям.

When I turned around, I see in front of me a couple more with raised rifles, also like the first: wild-haired, disheveled. — Tell me — I say again — what do you want? Bread, cheese, money — everything I have I will give you, but allow me to go on my way.

In addition to /e/ for *jat*, this text has dialectal lexemes (e.g. *ага* ‘when,’ *тюфеци* ‘rifles,’ etc) and a nonstandard reflex for Common Slavic syllabic /r/. The use of /e/ for *jat* also seems to be common in fixed folk expressions, such as *хлеб и сол* ‘bread and salt,’ or in longer tale-like narratives. It is true that first-person plural forms in *-me* do seem to be found often in dialogues and representations of oral speech, but the language of most of the contexts in which they occur is usually less dialectally marked. It would seem, then, that while *jat* forms are particularly meaningful for representing highly marked dialect, first-person plural forms ending in *-me* are simply markers of casual, colloquial speech. In general, the contexts in which variant forms appear point to the fact that *-me* forms—at least in the written language—are not as strong a marker of folk speech as are /e/ *jat* forms.

Indeed, first-person plural *-me* forms are prevalent in the speech of many Bulgarians today, and linguists confirm this fact readily. Grammarians are careful to remind readers that the literary language does not permit *-me* endings, and textbooks include “warnings” for native-speaker students to avoid using these forms (e.g. Vlahova-Ruikova 2009:98). However, linguists also admit that the forms are gaining ground in contemporary speech; Krüstev, for example, writes with a note of premonition, “**For now** [засега], the literary norm considers these forms incorrect” (1992:97, my emphasis). Even the typically prescriptivist Petür Pashov writes:

Приетите от официалния правопис и правоговор форми окончават на *-м*, но доста често се срещат форми с *-ме* (както е в III спр.), напр. *ние можем* и *можеме*, *ние мислим* и *мислиме*. Тези форми са широко разпространени в народните говори, и то не само в западните, където са редовни, но и в източните. Редица автори приемат за допустими и правилни вариантите на *-ме*. Някои даже смятат, че възможността за избор между формите *мълчим* и *мълчине* може да бъде използвана за по-голямо благозвучие на речта. (Pashov 1999:141-142)



The forms accepted in official orthography and spoken language norms end in *-m*, but quite often one encounters forms with *-me* (like in the third conjugation), e.g. “we *možem* (can) and *možeme*,” “we *mislim* (think) and *mislime*.” These forms are widespread in varieties of folk speech, and, at that, not only in western varieties, where they are regular, but in the eastern ones as well. A number of authors find acceptable and correct variants ending in *-me*. Some even feel that the possibility to choose between the forms “*mŭlčim* (stay silent)” and “*mŭlčime*” can be used for greater euphony in speech.

The ubiquity of *-me* forms has even led Videnov (2002) to speculate whether the practice of using *-me* for all first-person plural verbs has become so entrenched that the alternation between *-m* and *-me* has little chance of being retained in the speech of speakers within one or two generations. Although these forms may have originated in western speech, they have become well represented in varieties across the Bulgarian linguistic space.<sup>23</sup> While this trend had likely not gained as much ground at the time my texts were composed, it is nonetheless not unreasonable to suspect that even then *-me* forms had found a place in the speech of those from regions well beyond where such forms could be found “naturally.”

### 3.1.5. The *-me* Verbal Ending and the Question of Meter

Nonetheless, it is possible that singers opted for these forms in songs not only because they lend a colloquial flavor, but also because the forms can be used to maintain particular metrical conditions. Whether their meter is organized around one or multiple lines, all of the songs in the corpora have restrictions on the particular syllable count of lines. It is likely that singers chose the *-m* or *-me* variants depending not on their dialect, but on how many syllables they needed in a song. For example, in the song “Вейте ми, ветри и хали” (“Blow, You Storms and Winds”) there are lines with both *-m* endings:

(3.3) Заедно борба да водим  
 Zaedno borba da vodim  
 together battle to lead-1PL

народа да освободим  
 naroda da osvobodim  
 folk-DEF to free-1PL

*Together let's wage a war / to free the nation*

---

23. Explanations vary for this phenomenon. Aleksova (2001:13) shows that the feature is one of the most emblematic of Sofian speech, regardless of the social background or region of origin of speakers; this may have led to it gaining social prestige. Murdarov (2000) argues that first-person plural *-me* forms have “entered the speech of all levels and ages of speakers” because they are seen as prestigious among the political elite.

and *-me* endings:

- (3.4) Достойно да се държиме  
 Dostojno da se dŭrŭzime  
 worthily to REFL hold-1PL  
*Let us hold tight with dignity*

Every line in this song has eight syllables; in both examples above, the choice to use *-m* or *-me* ensures that the syllable count remains uniform. Because *-me* endings necessarily add one syllable, variation between the two endings creates an easy way for singers to choose a verb form that satisfies their metrical needs.

### 3.1.6. The *-me* Ending Across Various Genres

Further evidence that *-me* forms are less a marker of register than a metrical device is the fact that their occurrence does not seem to be conditioned by genre. As noted in the previous chapter, western *jat* reflexes appear only rarely in the Innovative and March Corpora but are widespread in the Traditional Corpus. The quantity of data for first-person plural forms is smaller, but this rule does not appear to pertain here: although only three Innovative songs had any first-person plural forms at all, one song had only *-m* and two had both, which indicates that *-me* is free to occur even in newer styles of song. Figure 3.4 presents a comparison of the patterning of these forms in the two primary corpora. Moreover, an examination of the March Corpus shows that, unlike /e/ *jat* forms, the *-me*

		1pl reflexes present in songs		
		only <i>-m</i>	only <i>-me</i>	both <i>-m</i> and <i>-me</i>
Song Style	Traditional	6	1	3
	Innovative	1	0	2

**Figure 3.4: Number of Songs in Traditional and Innovative Corpora Sorted by Actual and Expected 1PL Endings**

ending can still occur in those songs. Of the 15 songs in which it appears, 12 have only *-m*, one has only *-me*, and two have both; that is, *-me* is not particularly infrequent in this genre, which generally adheres closely to the norms of the standard language. The choice between *-m* and *-me*, then, appears to be flexible in the language of all types of songs.

Finally, it should be noted that first-person plural forms appear optionally in non-musical poetry of the era as well. The poet Nikola Vaptsarov grew up in southwestern Bulgaria and would have had universal *-me* forms and /e/ *jat* forms in his own dialect. While he does not use the latter in his poetry, he does inconsistently include *-me* endings. For example, his “Ще строим завод” (“We Will Build a Factory”)—the title of which uses a standard first-person plural ending—also includes the lines:

- (3.5) А ние? – Бездушно

превива́ме врат  
и мълчи́ме,  
позорно мълчи́м.  
Прокара́хме мрежи  
и в тях укротена́ тече [...]

And as for us? — Soullessly  
we lower our heads  
and stay silent,  
shamefully stay silent.  
We've built our canals  
and in them, subdued, flows [...]

While the third and fourth lines of this example reflect both possible conjugational endings for *мълчим/е* '(we) remain silent,' it uses a standard personal pronoun with a standard reflex of *jat* in *тях* 'them.' That is, despite his native western dialect, Vaptsarov generally writes in a more or less standard variety of Bulgarian while still using *-me* forms. This is evidence that, even in the World War II era, these forms were not seen as particularly dialectal and were simply a more universal feature of Bulgarian poetic language.

### 3.1.7. The *-me* Ending as an Unremarkable Marker

To be sure, *-me* forms are found in written lyrical contexts more often than in ordinary prose. Stoikov (1993:234) writes that they “are accepted” in the written language, but notes that this is the case especially in poetry. While the counts of various first-person plural *-me* forms in the Bulgarian National Corpus detailed above show that these forms usually appear less than 1% of the time in prose (the Corpus does not include lyrical works), their appearance in songs and poems—both those in the primary song corpora and in the March Corpus—is much more common. It does seem, then, that the forms are marked with regard to genre, but with much less distinction than those traits that are key features of the “dialect register,” such as /e/ from etymological *jat*.

It bears noting as well that *-me* is not the only first-person plural ending that appears in actual Bulgarian dialectal speech. The *-mo* ending, along with phonetically reduced-vowel variants of both /me/ and /mo/, also appears in speech from within Bulgaria's national borders. These latter forms, however, are never found in the socialist corpora nor in contemporary written prose.<sup>24</sup> Thus, the *-me* ending does have an established place within standard varieties of the language: while not the only dialectal alternative to *-m* forms, it is the only one permitted to appear in these volumes of national folklore. In the sense that it is a sanctioned dialectism, it is similar to western *jat* forms, marked lexemes, and other traits that make up the dialect register.

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24. I verified this by searching the Bulgarian National Corpus for the same verbs used in Table X above with *-mo* endings (e.g. *търсимо*, *правимо*, etc). Of all of the verbs, only one hit—*пишемо*—was returned: it was in a document describing the conjugational paradigms of a regional dialect.

However, given their ubiquity in everyday spoken language and the fact that they do not pattern according to genre of song in the same way that *jat* forms do, it would seem that first-person plural *-me* forms are a semi-sanctioned colloquial alternative in the modern language, but they are not a key part of the dialect register. The forms can be found in the speech of Bulgarians from a wide variety of regions and social backgrounds, and do not necessarily imply regionalism. They are undoubtedly a characteristic feature of these songs, and one way in which songs are made “folk.” Overall, though, they are decidedly less marked than are many of the other traits I analyze in these chapters.

### 3.2. Synthetic Dative Marking

Several forms appear in the songs in this study in which the indirect object function of words is not explicitly marked. In contemporary Bulgarian, indirect objects are marked with either a dative clitic personal pronoun:

- (3.6) Давам ти книгата  
 Davam ti knjigata  
 give-1SG you-DAT book-DEF  
*I give you the book*

or, for other nominals, with the preposition *на*:

- (3.7) Давам мляко на котката  
 Davam mljako na kotkata  
 give-1SG milk-DEF to cat-DEF  
*I give milk to the cat*

*На* can also appear with long (i.e. non-clitic) direct object pronouns, as in:

- (3.8) Давам книгата на тебе  
 Davam knjigata na tebe  
 give-1SG book-DEF to you-OBJ  
*I give the book to you*

This usage places somewhat more emphasis on the indirect object than would forms illustrated in example 3.6 above.<sup>25</sup>

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25. An additional construction is possible in which the *на* occurs with an object pronoun *and* a reduplicative dative clitic pronoun:

- (3.9) Давам книгата на тебе ти  
 Davam knjigata na tebe ti  
 give-1SG book-DEF to you-OBJ you-DAT  
*I give the book to you*

In the songs in this study, however, several forms appear in which dative marking is not made explicit with a personal pronoun or the preposition *на*; rather, one infers the indirect object function of the words in question from context. Such constructions occur only in the Traditional Corpus, which generally maintains archaic linguistic structures more faithfully. There is one instance in which the personal object pronoun *мене* occurs without the preposition *на*:

- (3.11) *стори мене път да мина*  
*stori mene pŭt da mina*  
*make-IMPV me-OBJ road to pass-1SG*  
*make (for) me a road I can pass through on*

Such a form can be explained by looking at the diachronic phonology of the word *мене*. In Common Slavic, there were separate dative and accusative personal pronouns, *мьнѣ* and *мене* respectively. Following phonological developments, these two forms merged into homophonous pronouns as *мене*, even when separate dative and accusative pronouns still existed for other persons (Haralampiev 2001:113). Because of this homophony, the use of *на* became necessary for marking indirect object function when *мене* was used as a dative (and *на* was later extended to the other accusative personal pronouns, rendering long dative pronoun forms obsolete). Thus, it would appear that the form *мене* in the example above reflects an archaic form—one homophonous with its contemporary direct object counterpart—which does not use *на* to explicitly signal indirect object function.<sup>26</sup>

The absence of the expected preposition *на* can also be found with nouns. §3.4 describes the presence of several forms in the corpus in which archaic case endings mark the syntactic function of a word, as in:

- (3.12) *народу сме казали*  
*narodu sme kazali*  
*folk-DAT AUX said*  
*we have said to the people*

---

Alexander (2000:220) states that this type of construction, although longer, is somewhere between the neutral dative form shown in example 3.6 above and the highly emphatic construction shown in 3.8.

26. Another form appears parallel to example 3.9, in the line:

- (3.10) *че мен ми жално дожале*  
*če men mi žalno dožale*  
*for me-OBJ me-DAT sorrowfully sorrowed*  
*for I became sorrowful*

This line would reflect a construction described by Vakareliyska (1994, 2002), in which *на* is dropped from doubled forms like those illustrated in example 3.9 above. Such a construction, which is common in informal varieties of the contemporary spoken language, is possible because the dative clitic pronoun explicitly conveys the indirect object function of the nominal phrase.

However, there are also three instances in which noun phrases occur as indirect objects with no morphological marking of this function. For example, one song (twice) contains the line:

- (3.13) Тошо другари        думаше  
Tošo drugari        dumaše  
Tosho comrades    say-IMPT  
*Tosho was saying to his comrades*

The contemporary language would ordinarily require the pronoun *на* before the indirect object *другари* ‘comrades,’ but instead, one must glean this function here based on the fact that the verb *думаше* ‘was saying,’ is a verb of speech that regularly takes indirect objects.<sup>27</sup> In addition to another example with the verb *думам* ‘to say,’ one also encounters this with the word *дапе* ‘they give’ (standard *дарят*). It is most likely that lines containing these forms directly reflect a continuation of the syntax of an older form of Bulgarian, one in which case endings still conveyed the dative function of such words and *на* was not necessary. While these endings have now been lost, there are likely formulaic line types with indirect objects that reflect these older syntactic patterns and can still occasionally be used in song language.

Although there are only several instances in the corpus in which dative functions are not explicitly marked, they certainly bear noting, as their syntax radically violates the norms of the standard language. Given the relatively low frequency with which they occur, they probably do not represent a particularly symbolic feature of Bulgarian folkloric language as a whole. Still, these forms must be seen as reflecting features of an intermediate stage of Bulgarian in which case loss was underway but the complementary analytic surface marking of syntactic roles had not yet fully taken hold.

### 3.3. Lack of Morphological Definite Marking

An extremely common peculiarity of these texts is the lack of definite marking in places where it would be expected. Bulgarian has a definite article that is generally attached to the end of the first word of a noun phrase, marking the specificity of a noun that, for example, has already been introduced or is already familiar to a listener. In such contexts in these songs, however, the article in many phrases seems to be missing, essentially violating the grammatical norms for semantically definite noun phrases. A possible reason for this is that such phrases, referred to here as “unarticulated definites,” represent a holdover from an earlier stage of South Slavic (parallel to the situation in most of the other contemporary Slavic languages) in which the definite article had not yet been fully grammaticalized.

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27. As will be described in section §4.1.1, *думам* is itself a nonstandard lexeme. However, it ordinarily takes arguments with the same marking as standard *казвам*; that is, the lack of *на* here is not due to any peculiar lexical properties of the word.

### 3.3.1. The Evidence for Missing Definite Articles

The definite article in Bulgarian is used in essentially the same contexts in which definite articles are found in other European languages, that is, to mark a particular noun that is understood to be familiar to a listener.<sup>28</sup> Among the standard Slavic languages, this definite article is unique to Bulgarian and Macedonian; it represents a development within Balkan Slavic wherein a postposed demonstrative pronoun was grammaticalized to become a regularly occurring marker for nominal definiteness.

In many of these songs, however, one finds clear cases in which a definite article would be expected but is absent; that is, a noun phrase has semantic definiteness but is unarticulated. There are four types of situations in which it seems safe to say that a noun phrase is clearly missing an expected definite article, which were counted for the purposes of this study.

The first of these situations comprises possessive constructions formed with the dative. In standard Bulgarian, a definite noun phrase can be used together with a dative pronoun to indicate its possessor. For example, in the phrase:

(3.14) котката ми  
kotkata mi  
cat-DEF 1SG-DAT  
*my cat*

a first-person singular dative pronoun follows the definite article to convey what would be rendered in English (and could also be rendered in Bulgarian) with a possessive pronoun. There were many such constructions in the corpus where the definite article, however, was lacking, as in:

(3.15) главатар им беше  
glavatar im beše  
chieftain 3PL-DAT was  
*their chieftain was*

In this case, we would expect to see:

(3.16) главатарят им беше  
glavatarjat im beše  
chieftain-DEF 3PL-DAT was  
*their chieftain was*

---

28. In Bulgarian, it is generally attached to possessive pronouns in attributive position as well.

The lack of a definite article here violates the rules of standard Bulgarian grammar, and I included all such instances of possessive constructions without definites in my tally.<sup>29</sup>

In another instance, the semantic properties of a particular noun would mean that, logically, that noun would have to be definite in a given context. For example, in the two passages:

(3.17) в юнашко чело учлучи  
 v junaško čelo ulučī  
 in heroic forehead struck  
*it struck (him) in (his) heroic forehead*

(3.18) в десен джоб си носи писмо партизанско  
 v desen džob si nosi pismo partizansko  
 in right pocket REFL carries letter Partisan  
*in (his) right pocket he carries / a Partisan letter*

one would expect definite articles, as in:

(3.19) в юнашкото [му] чело улучи  
 v junaškoto [mu] čelo ulučī  
 in heroic-DEF [3SG-DAT] forehead struck  
*it struck him in his heroic forehead*

(3.20) в десния джоб си носи / писмо партизанско  
 v desnija džob si nosi / pismo partizansko  
 in right-DEF pocket REFL carries letter Partisan  
*in his right pocket he carries a Partisan letter*

In 3.19, the specific victim (already introduced in previous lines) has, of course, only one forehead; the specificity of the forehead, then, is understood and should be marked as such. In 3.20, the soldier probably only has one right pocket to carry the letter in; it is in the right pocket, not a right pocket. When an indefinite noun phrase would not make sense in the context in which it appears, it was treated as an instance of a missing definite article.

In a third situation, indefinite noun phrases occur in a list together with other definite noun phrases under the same syntactic conditions, and there would be no reason to suspect that only that one noun phrase was intended to be seen as indefinite. For example, one song describes an attack on a village:

(3.21) Майките страшно пискаха,

---

29. As a caveat to the above rule, most kinship terms in standard Bulgarian do not take definite articles in these constructions. For example, one says 'his mother' as *майка му* (with no definite article) as opposed to *\*майката му* (with a definite article). I did not count any instances of kinship terms in these types of possessive constructions.



Majkite       strašno   piskaha,  
 mothers-DEF   horribly   screamed

кучета    грозно    лаеха, [...]  
 kučeta    grozno    laeha, [...]  
 dogs       uglily    barked

бабите               люто       кълняха  
 babite               ljuto       kŭlnjaha  
 grandmothers-DEF   angrily    swore

*the mothers were crying horribly, / [the] dogs were barking terribly, / [...] the old women were swearing angrily*

In such an event, there would be chaos, and surely not all of *the* mothers and *the* old women would be acting in uniform, with only *some* dogs joining in; that is, the singer could have very well used unarticulated forms to say ‘mothers were crying horribly,’ ‘grandmothers were swearing angrily,’ etc. But since she applied definite articles to these two nouns in the list, it would seem strange that the article would have been omitted from ‘(the) dogs.’ This is one of many instances in which parallel line types are repeated in a list (see §5.9.3). The omission of the definite article in only this line, then, would seem to be a consequence of the need to satisfy the metrical requirements of the song and arrive at a total of eight syllables for the line.

A fourth indication that an unarticulated noun should be understood as definite is when it functions as the “topic” of a sentence in the context of previously introduced information in the song. For example, one song contains the lines:

(3.22) тъмен    се    облак    зададе [...]  
 tumen    se    oblak    zadade [...]  
 dark      REFL   cloud   settled

под   облак    пиле   летеше  
 pod   oblak   pile   leteše  
 under cloud   bird   fly-IMPT

*a dark cloud settled [...] under [the] cloud a bird was flying*

We would expect to see a definite article attached to the second instance of *облак*, as the ‘cloud’ has already been introduced in the song and is now familiar. In this type of context as well, it seems clear that a definite article is missing according to the parameters of the standard language.

### 3.3.2. The Frequency of Unarticulated Definites in Songs

To see how prevalent this peculiarity was across the corpus of songs, I counted clear instances of noun phrases with demonstrable semantic definiteness that were unarticulated. For a noun phrase to be counted, it had to meet any of the conditions described above: 1) being used with a dative pronoun to show possession; 2) logically requiring definiteness based on semantics; 3) occurring in the same syntactic environment in a list of articulated phrases; or 4) having been introduced as a topic earlier in the song. Indeed, some of these reasons overlap with each other, and I did not attempt to track which rules were “broken” for each noun phrase that appeared without a definite article. But certainly, in any of the above cases, I could be fairly sure that a definite article would be expected in the standard spoken language.

A careful examination of all of the song corpora proved that this phenomenon was indeed quite

	Lines With	Lines Without
Traditional Corpus	61	462
Innovative Corpus	11	181
March Corpus	2	361

**Figure 3.5: Numbers of Lines with and without Unarticulated Definite Noun Phrases**

widespread. Figure 3.5 shows the relative frequency of unarticulated definites across all three corpora. It would have been an overwhelming task to count the number of semantically definite noun phrases that did have definite articles, so, in order to provide opposing figures for statistical purposes, the data are presented in terms of the number of lines that do and do not have the phenomenon in question. The difference between the Traditional and Innovative corpora is shown by a chi-square test to be statistically significant to a degree of  $p = .032$ , and the difference between the other two pairs of corpora rounds to  $p = .00$ . It is clear that songs of the unrhymed line type (those in the Traditional Corpus) are the most likely to display this feature, that other “folk” songs do so less often, and that the feature is quite rare in the Marches.

It should be emphasized as well that these counts included only entirely unambiguous cases of a missing definite marker. There were many more instances where it seemed that the meaning of definiteness was likely intended, but it couldn’t be known conclusively. For example, in one song, a girl tells her mother:

(3.23) Снощи си минах, заминах  
 Snošti si minah zaminah  
 last.night REFL passed passed

покрай миньорска бригада.  
 pokraj min’orska brigade.  
 along mining brigade

Всички миньори там бяха  
 Vsički min’ori tam bjaha  
 all miners there were

и мойто либе там беше  
 i mojto libe tam beše

and my beloved there was

*Last night I passed / by (the?) mining brigade. / All the miners were there / and my beloved was there too*

The lyrical subject in this song already knows that her beloved is a miner, and we would expect that there is only one mining camp in question; thus, she likely passed by *the* mining brigade that was already familiar to her. However, in instances like these, it was not possible to affirm based on the rules enumerated above that a definite meaning was clearly intended. It should be clear, though, that unarticulated definites are extremely numerous, probably even more so than the quantitative figures given above indicate.

### 3.3.3. Syntactic and Semantic Conditioning of Unarticulated Definites

The syntactic patterning for uninflected definites was less regular than for the other linguistic features described elsewhere in this chapter. Unmarked definites seemed to pattern without regard to syntactic conditions, appearing as subjects, objects, in prepositional phrases, and so on. Certainly, omitting the definite article seems to be widely possible throughout the Bulgarian lyrical language.

The one possible trend that could be identified, however, was that uninflected definites appeared most commonly with nouns that come from the core vocabulary of Slavic, that is, words that would have been continuously used in Bulgarian for centuries. For example, one often finds the lack of an article on words that describe the natural world (e.g. *слънце* ‘sun’), body parts (e.g. *рамо* ‘shoulder’), animals (e.g. *волоче* ‘oxen’), and so on. While the data weren’t plentiful enough to show unequivocally regular formulae, there were, for example, two instances of indefinite *глава* ‘head,’ and five of *село* ‘village.’ Although there were several instances of clearly non-Slavic roots missing a definite marker, such as *телефон* ‘telephone,’ this phenomenon was largely restricted to lexical items that would have been found in preindustrial folk songs as well.

### 3.3.4. Unarticulated Definites as a Potential Archaism

As the facts above might lead one to suspect, unarticulated definites can be understood to be a type of archaism; that is, they may represent an atavistic syntactic pattern that has persisted in Bulgarian poetic culture from an earlier period of the language’s development, when the definite article was not yet fully grammaticalized. For example, in Common Slavic (and in most other modern Slavic languages), the equivalent of the unarticulated Bulgarian phrase “в село” could mean ‘in a village’ or ‘in the village’; this is obviously the case in these songs as well. It is most likely, therefore, that this unarticulated phrase is found in a Bulgarian song with a definite meaning, then, it has simply retained an earlier syntactic form. As such, it would make sense that such forms would appear most often in the older style songs that make up the Traditional Corpus, and in the usage of nouns that have existed in the language for quite some time.

One should note as well that Bulgarians themselves find unarticulated definites to sound markedly poetic. For example, the Bulgarian philologist and writer Lyudmil Stoyanov notes the potential of the article to supposedly detract from the euphony of a poetic text, and he calls upon an examination of Hristo Botev's work to legitimize avoiding its use in poetic texts when it is not necessary:

Трябва да отбележим и друга важна особеност на българския език, чужда на останалите славянски езици: това е след поставеният [sic] член. Той е така органично свързан с езика, че е станал негова главна особеност. [...] То придава на езика ни оная твърдост, която отбелязват особено чужденците, странна за ухото поради непрестанното повтаряне на сричките **тъ-та-то**. [...]

Нужно ли е навсякъде да се членува? Може ли да се ограничи членуването?

Има случаи, когато може. Ботев често отбягва членната форма. В «На прощаване» например освен на две-три места той си служи с такива стилови форми, където членът става излишен: «Та *сърце*, майко, не трае/да гледа *турчин* как бесней над/*бащино* ми огнище.» [...] Тия примери показват дълбокото ботевско чувство за език и езикова разпоредба. [...]

Членната форма е, разбира се, органично свързана с основния строеж на езика ни, но писателите ни могат по примера на Ботев да работят с нея по-свободно, стига да си изработят навика да я заобикалят, където не е необходимо. (Stoianov 1973:44-45, emphasis in original)

We have to note yet another important peculiarity of the Bulgarian language, foreign to the other Slavic languages: that of the postposed article. It is so organically connected with the language that it has become its most noticeable feature. [...] It gives the language the hardness which foreigners in particular take note of, strange to the ear because of the incessant repetition of the syllables *tŭ-ta-to*. [...]

Is it necessary to use the article everywhere? Can use of the article be limited?

There are instances where it can. Botev often avoids using the articulated form. In 'At Parting,' for example, except for in two or three places, he makes use of stylized forms in which the article would be superfluous: 'For (the) *heart*, mother, cannot endure / seeing (the) Turk running mad over / my [indefinite] paternal home.'<sup>30</sup> [...] These examples demonstrate a deep Botevian feeling for language and its regulation. [...]

The articulated form is, of course, organically connected with the basic structure of our language, but our writers can, following Botev's example, work with it more freely, as long as they develop the habit of avoiding it in places where it is not necessary.

I believe this last point is critical: the instances in these songs in which the definite marker is missing do not cause the phrase to be interpreted as indefinite. Just as how in other Slavic

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30. Use of the unarticulated possessive pronoun makes this last phrase sound like "a paternal home of mine."

languages that lack a definite article, definiteness can generally be inferred from context. While such unarticulated definites would be ungrammatical in the modern spoken language, they have clearly retained poetic function in lyrical Bulgarian. I believe that the clearest explanation for this is that unarticulated words and phrases have been retained from older song traditions and reemployed here.

### **3.3.5. The Question of Dialectal Parallels to the Unarticulated Definite**

It is possible that a small amount of this deviation from the norms of standard Bulgarian may be due to dialectal variation with respect to which definites are marked. Macedonian, for example, allows for some amount of free variation as to whether kinship terms take a definite article when coordinated with a dative personal pronoun to show possession (Koneski 1967:336-337), and variation probably occurs within the transitional East South Slavic dialects as well. The variation with which certain kinship terms do or do not take a definite marker in this type of construction in standard Bulgarian (Alexander 2000:196) would also indicate that there is likely a bit of irregularity in national dialects.

It is more likely, however, that unarticulated definites are, rather than a dialectal phenomenon, a feature that is retained from an older stage of Bulgarian. The isogloss marking the region where postposed definite articles are present runs well to the west of the Bulgarian border (Belyavski-Frank 1983:225), and, aside from minor deviations in its patterns of use, we should expect to see regular use of the article everywhere within the territory of the contemporary Bulgarian language. Additionally, nowhere in these texts does one find instances of tripartite article systems, which are used in some dialects of Bulgarian; if those composing these texts had been drawing on dialectal linguistic features to determine the use of articles in their songs, we might possibly expect to see these morphological variants of articles as well. Consequently, it would seem that uninflected definites have maintained their position in the system of Bulgarian lyrical language as relics of older, unarticulated forms of words.

### **3.3.6. Lack of Morphological Definite Marking: Conclusion**

It may seem fallacious to assert that a definite article is truly “absent” from a line; because definite marking is mostly facultative, a listener or reader of a song text cannot claim to know the way a song was “supposed” to be. As was detailed above, however, there are various contexts in which a clear case can be made that unarticulated noun phrases must nonetheless be interpreted as semantically definite. The lack of morphological articulation of such phrases likely represents a syntactic archaism that is permitted in poetic language, particularly that of a more conservative style. The widespread presence of this feature in the texts in this study would indicate that it is a common marker of folkloric language as well.

## **3.4. Case Marking on Nouns**

Another aberration from the standard language that is found in these corpora are nouns with morphological case marking. Such forms mostly occur, however, only in highly restricted contexts: as oblique forms of male personal names, as simple dative forms, and, in only one case of each, as an oblique feminine form and as an etymologically masculine oblique form reanalyzed as a feminine noun. However, because of the inconsistency with which they occur and their appearance in songs from dialect regions where they would not be expected, it is probable that, rather than representing a full and productive underlying system of case marking for nominal forms in certain singers' dialects, the case endings that do appear in these songs have been mostly bleached of grammatical function, and simply serve as optional formulaic markers of "folksiness" in these texts.

### 3.4.1. Cases in Bulgarian

Bulgarian, like many of the other Balkan languages, is often said to have "lost case marking on nouns."<sup>31</sup> In fact, this straightforward characterization could be challenged on the basis of several factors: First of all, occasional "frozen" word forms show remnants of morphological case marking, such as *вкъщи*, 'at home' (cf. *къща*, 'house') or *посредством* 'by means of' (cf. *средство*, 'means'); however, the case endings found in these forms are no longer productive. Bulgarian also morphologically marks vocative address forms for many feminine and masculine nouns, as in the vocative form *Стояне* of the male name *Стоян*; syntacticians (e.g. Nitsolova 2008:74) would point out, however, that this type of nominal inflection does not reflect case per se, since it indicates a pragmatic rather than syntactic role. Finally, the standard language prescribes the masculine definite article *-ът/-ят* for nominative forms of nouns and adjectives and *-а/-ја* for oblique forms. This alternation cannot be found in any dialects of Bulgarian, however (Mayer 1984:35), and most linguists dismiss it as an artificial imposition of the literary language (ibid. 36). Thus, the most accurate way of summarizing case marking in Bulgarian is to say that it does not occur productively on unarticulated nouns in the contemporary standard language.

### 3.4.2. Oblique Case Marking on Masculine Nouns

As stated above, case forms of nouns appear in these songs in four contexts. Five songs contain instances of the first context, in which a masculine noun, generally a male personal name, is marked with an *-а* ending in an oblique case.<sup>32</sup> For example, in one song, a young woman tells her mother she wants to go:

(3.24) със      мойто      либе      Стояна  
           sŭs      mojto      libe      Stojana

31. Note that personal pronouns still distinguish separate nominative, accusative, and dative cases.

32. These endings are homophonous with object forms of articulated masculine nouns; indeed, the latter developed to some extent under the influence of the former (see, e.g., Mladenova 2007:74-75 and Mayer 1984:35-40). As such, arguments could be made that there are a couple more tokens (e.g. *от Пирин*, 'from (the?) Pirin') in the corpus that could be said to show case endings, but I believe the syntactic role of these endings is ambiguous and, as such, they are not addressed here.

with my lover Stoyan-OBL  
*with my lover Stoyan*

or in another, it is said that soldiers:

(3.25) на Тоша думаха  
na Toša dumaha  
to Tosho-OBL said  
*said to Tosho*

Of course, these oblique forms would not be expected in the standard language; instead, the names above would appear in all non-vocative contexts as *Стоян* and *Тошо*.

In addition to these onomastic forms, one form appears that represents what would have been a masculine noun, *коня* ‘horse’ (originally with a palatalized final consonant in earlier varieties of Bulgarian) for which the original *-a* object ending has been reanalyzed as part of the stem of a new nominative form, *коня*. Evidence for this is given in the feminine adjective that apparently agrees with the form in question, as:

(3.26) враня коня за държане  
vranja konja za dŭržane  
black-FEM horse for holding  
*a black horse to hold onto*

Georgiev (1985:290) notes that *коня*, consistently reanalyzed in this way as a feminine noun (he mentions, for example, the phrase *стара коня* ‘old horse’), appears as a “fossilized” (“вкамнели”) form that recurs in many Bulgarian folk songs. Because its *-a* ending does not mark case according to the syntax of the song in which it appears, it is of less relevance to the present topic.

### 3.4.3. Dative Case Marking

Case marking can also be found on indirect objects in these songs; remnants of the old dative case appear in three songs. For example, one sees:

(3.27) Мама Стояну думаше  
Мама Stojanu dumаше  
мама Stoyan-DAT said  
*Мама said to Stoyan*

in which the *-u* ending, a familiar marker of the dative case for masculine nouns in most other Slavic languages, indicates that ‘Stoyan’ is the indirect object of the clause. However, unlike the *-a* oblique forms, this ending is also found on inanimate nouns. One text contains the line:

(3.28) Народу сме казали  
 Narodu sme kazali  
 folk-DAT AUX said  
*We have told the people*

Perhaps even more interesting is the example of a feminine form in which case is marked not only with a vocalic desinence different from that of the nominative, but with consonant mutation in the stem as well:

(3.29) Драганка дума майци си  
 Draganka дума majci si  
 Draganka said mother-DAT REFL  
*Draganka said to her mother*

Here, the form *майци* reflects how the noun *майка* would have declined when Bulgarian still had dative case endings on nouns. These forms contrast with the analytic construction in contemporary Bulgarian, in which indirect noun objects are marked with the preposition *на* 'to'; in contemporary syntax, the examples above would be:

(3.30) на народа сме казали  
 na naroda sme kazali  
 to folk-DEF AUX said  
*We have told the people*

(3.31) Драганка дума на майка си  
 Draganka дума na majka si  
 Draganka said to mother REFL  
*Draganka said to her mother*

In the songs in question, however, a simple case form devoid of any prepositions marks the syntactic role of these indirect objects, so these synthetic dative forms are particularly striking when compared to the contemporary language.

#### 3.4.4. Feminine Accusative Case Marking

Beyond these slightly more widespread masculine animate oblique forms and dative forms, one song contains a feminine oblique form, in the line:

(3.32) Напой, Миле, волове на реку  
 Нарој, Mile, volove na reku  
 water-IMPV Mila-VOC oxen at river-ACC  
*Water the oxen at the river, Mila*



The *-u* ending on the word *реку* ‘river’ (ordinarily *река*) is the same ending found in accusative forms of many other contemporary Slavic languages. Here, however, because it conveys static location (‘at the river’), it appears on a word that, in a language with a fully developed case system, would instead probably have been in the locative case. The process of Bulgarian case loss occurred, overall, through a process whereby various other oblique cases came to be replaced by the accusative, which then merged with the nominative (Haralampiev 2001:183-198). This form, then, would come from a linguistic system showing a late but incomplete stage of case loss, in which the locative had been absorbed into the accusative but the latter had not yet merged with the nominative.

### 3.4.5. Frequency of Case Marking in the Corpora

Like several of the other linguistic features discussed in this study, case forms are primarily associated with songs of the unrhymed line type. No case forms appear in the March Corpus, and only one appears in the nine-song Innovative Corpus. In the Traditional Corpus, however, seven out of 29 songs (24%) show at least one form unambiguously demonstrating case marking. These statistics, of course, are too small to say much with certainty, but, of course, such trends might be expected. The Innovative and March songs, composed in a newer style, rely only minimally on most of the other archaisms examined in this study. Again, it is the songs of the unrhymed line type that make up the Traditional Corpus that show the highest rate of retention of archaic forms.

### 3.4.6. Literary Analogues with Case Marking

Despite their complete absence in contemporary standard Bulgarian, it should be noted that case forms of unarticulated nouns are not completely foreign to Balkan Slavic. The oblique *-a* ending for masculine names, inherited from the genitive-accusative ending that is still found in most other Slavic languages, was originally present in the eastern varieties of Bulgarian on which the literary language was based. Later on, the norms of western dialects, which lacked such marking, came to be accepted more widely and replaced case forms in everyday language; consequently, (and to avoid ambiguity between male oblique forms and female names ending in *-a*), writers begin to drop these endings even in the literary language. Their use began to wane by the end of the nineteenth century, even though they were theoretically required until the linguistic reforms of 1945 (Pashov 1999:78). For this reason, the early classic literary works of the Bulgarian National Revival era still have oblique *-a* endings on male names. For example, the second sentence of Aleko Konstantinov’s classic series of feuilletons, *Бай Ганьо тръгна по Европа* (*Bai Ganio Set Off for Europe*), reads:

(3.33) Ний с бай Ганя влязохме в бюфета  
 Nij s baj Ganja vljazohme v bjufeta  
 we with Bai Ganio-OBL entered in buffet-DEF  
*Bai Ganio and I went in to the buffet* (Konstantinov 2002:127)

As an object of the preposition *с*, ‘with,’ the name *Бай Ганьо* in this example appears as *Бай Ганя*. An oblique form such as *Тоша* for the name *Тошо* as in example 3.25 above, then, calls to mind the sounds of works from the Revival Era, a time that many Bulgarians recognize as a significant period of cultural production and a source of national pride. To a more contemporary ear, the forms are not so striking as to interrupt fluent comprehension. Rather, they convey the feel of an older but familiar type of text.<sup>33</sup>

### 3.4.7. Case Forms in Dialects

Furthermore, most of these case forms can still theoretically be found in dialect regions of Bulgarian. However, like several other linguistic traits examined heretofore, case forms do not necessarily appear in texts from areas where these forms would be expected. For example, masculine *-a* oblique forms can be found in many eastern dialects of Bulgarian (Stoikov 1993:228). Of the three songs in which these forms appear, however, one does not have an identified region of origin, one is from Chirpan, where the dialect is indeed of this eastern type, but one is from Razlog, where such a form would not be expected. Geographical data from only two songs do not say much, but in that at least one of the three songs containing these forms comes from a locale where such forms wouldn’t be found in local speech, it appears that dialect norms are not the primary factor in a singer’s decision to use case forms.

As far as the other case forms are concerned, the song containing the feminine *-u* oblique form is from the Trŭn region, where it would also be expected in the dialects. But there is more inconsistency with songs containing dative forms. The region of only one of the three songs can be identified with certainty, but it too (a different song) is from Trŭn; dative forms, however, are not described as being found there (ibid. 229). Again, this is curious: a highly regionally marked form of speech appears in a text from an area where it may not be found.

### 3.4.8. Inconsistency of Case Marking within Texts

Moreover, one can even see inconsistency in case marking within songs. Most of the songs that contain the forms in question are fairly short, and they display no instances of other tokens in a similar syntactic position. But three of the songs do have other words in a parallel position, and in all three instances, these similar tokens are unmarked for case. For example, in the song that contains example 3.25 above, one can also find:

(3.34)	ще	дойдем	Гено	да	вземем
	šte	dojdem	Geno	da	vzemem
	FUT	come-IPL	Geno-NOM	to	take-IPL

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33. In contrast, literary Macedonian still allows for the facultative marking of masculine proper and family names, kinship terms, and several other masculine animate lexemes. Friedman (2001:22) notes that these forms represent a dialectal feature of western Macedonian that has been incorporated into the literary language.

*We will come to take Geno*

where *Гено* appears without case marking.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, in the song with feminine oblique *-u* marking (example 3.32 above), one sees, for example:

- (3.35) a        c        четата  
         a        s        četata  
         and    with    detachment-DEF  
         *but with the detachment*

In a dialect that marks oblique forms of *река* as *реку*, one would probably expect the form *четумы* above. These facts are curious, and would suggest that case forms are used inconsistently not only across the language of song, but even within individual texts.

### 3.4.9. Case Marking on Nouns: Conclusion

Because of these inconsistencies, I would maintain that case forms are not a critical part of the syntax underlying the language of any of these songs. As has been explained in §2.3.4, almost all of the songs in my corpus are sung in a fairly standard variety of language, with certain features used optionally and with varying frequency. If the language of these songs faithfully reflected the idiosyncrasies of authentic dialectal speech from the regions from which they emanate, we would potentially see much more case marking on nouns. But, like features such as the marking of nonstandard stress, case marking appears only rarely, as if thrown in here and there to lend a folkloric feel to the text.

Nonetheless, while there many instances of standard-language forms appearing where dialectal norms might predict a case ending, it should be affirmed that, when case endings *do* appear, they are always employed “correctly”; that is, they are used in the same syntactic environments in which an older variety or dialect of the language would use them. One might contrast this pattern with the way many speakers hypercorrectly use the *ja* reflex of *jat*, discussed in §2.1, that is, in environments where etymology would not predict it. This text contains no instances, for example, of male names with oblique case endings used as subjects, or of dative forms used as direct objects. The case forms that do appear represent accurate usage according to the norms of the nineteenth-century literary language and more contemporary dialects.

Nonetheless, the randomness with which these forms are actually used leads to the suggestion that they can be thought of as formulae that are employed when poetically

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34. In this line, the character Geno has died, and the reference is to Geno’s body. In many texts from Old Church Slavic, the names of deceased male individuals are given not the typical masculine animate accusative *-a* ending, but instead the inanimate *-Ø* ending that is syncretic with the nominative. However, this morphological distinction is not, to the best of my knowledge, preserved in any contemporary Slavic languages—for example, the words that mean ‘deceased person’ still receive animate endings in all Slavic languages (Stefanović 2000:74)—and the Bulgarian declensional system is far removed from its OCS antecedents. Therefore, I would not expect that whether or not a character is living would influence the nominal declension his name could receive.

appropriate. The correct production of dative forms such as *майци* for *майка*, would be difficult for a contemporary speaker if such phrases were not learned in a fixed form; nowhere else in Bulgarian does one see evidence of the *k~c* alternation in feminine noun stems. Furthermore, this form can be found in other songs from this period; Koev (1962:194) gives the example:

- (3.36) майци            си        ръка    целуна  
 majci                si        rŭka    celuna  
 mother-DAT REFL hand kissed  
*he kissed his mother's hand*

from a song created by soldiers in the “Anton Ivanov” Partisan brigade. Moreover, when Pashov explains how dative forms can be used to convey an “archaic” feeling, the word he chooses as an example, *народу*, is the same as that in example 3.28:

- (3.37) Той    отдаде    младия        си    живот    народу  
 Toj    otdade    mladija        si    život    narodu  
 he    gave    young-DEF REFL life    folk-DAT  
*He gave up his young life for the people* (Pashov 1999:78)

This may not be a coincidence; it is possible that the set of nominal forms occurring with these case endings is limited, even in the poetic repertoire. The derivation of other forms, such as oblique case endings on masculine personal names, is fairly straightforward, and in that the contemporary language preserves the distinction between nominative, accusative, and dative cases in personal pronouns, these distinctions are still salient to a contemporary speaker. Thus, I would suggest that the possibilities for using case forms in folkloric language might only involve a stock set of formulae and very simple rules for inflecting personal names.

In this case, the inconsistency with which case forms are used might be explained partially by the problem of metrical requirements, which has been shown to be a factor influencing the appearance of other linguistic phenomena. Although it would not account for the vacillation between forms like *Тошо* and *Тоша*, the choice of a dative case form such as *народу*, ‘to the folk,’ yields one fewer syllable (as compared to *на народа*), or, for a personal name ending in a consonant in an oblique environment, such as *Замфира*, ‘Zamfir,’ one more (as compared to *Замфир*). Because many of the songs in which these forms appear require a particular number of syllables in each line, a writer can choose to employ a case form to arrive at that number more easily. Kerewsky Halpern (1977a:144) remarks that Serbian epic singers freely use non-grammatical declensional endings in order to change the syllable count of a line, so it makes sense that in Bulgarian, where case is far less significant for conveying syntactic relationships, singers would be able to resort to this practice as well.

It seems that speakers do feel that case forms are in some regard still an important part of the language. Lilov (1982:76) claims that dative forms make up part of a speaker’s passive linguistic knowledge, even if they can no longer be used actively:

Няма да може обаче да каже *разказах случката майце си*, като Ботев, защото през стотината години, които ни делят от написването на стихотворението “Майце си”, тази дателна форма е минала от стилистичното към езиковото богатство на езика, т.е. от онова, което ни е достъпно, което можем да избираме и да използваме, към онова, което разбираме и наблюдаваме, осъзнаваме, но не използваме. Работата не е в това, че няма да ни разберат, а в това, че употребата на такава форма ще изглежда необоснована, изборът ѝ — безсмислен.

One wouldn't be able to say, however, *I told my mother (majce si) about the incident*, like Botev does, because, over the hundred years that separate us from the writing of the poem “To My Mother” (“*Majce si*”), this dative form has been transferred from the linguistic wealth of the language, i.e. from that which is accessible, which we can select and use, to that which we understand and observe, and are aware of, but don't use. The problem isn't that we wouldn't be understood, but rather that the use of such a form would appear unfounded, such a choice would be meaningless.

Rather, scholars explain, these forms are still relevant specifically because they are a part Bulgaria's folkloric heritage. Pashov (1999:77) comments:

Да вземем за пример *Мама Стояну думаше* — началото на една народна песен. Във фолклора е напълно естествено да намираме падежни форми, защото народните песни са създадени твърде отдавна. По-късно *Стояну* се заменя с *на Стояна*, като името *Стоян* се поставя във винителен падеж, и най-накрая, както е сега, става *Мама на Стоян думаше*, без никаква промяна на името (само че в народната песен ще си остане, разбира се, *Мама Стояну думаше*). (Emphasis in original.)

Let's take as an example *Mama said to Stoyan (Stojanu)* — the beginning of a folk song. In folklore it is completely natural to find case forms, because folk songs were created a very long time ago. Later on *to Stoyan (Stojanu)* was replaced by *to Stoyan (na Stojana)*, when the name *Stoyan* was put in the accusative case and, finally, as it is now, it became *Mama said to Stoyan (na Stojan)*, with no change in the name (except that in the folk song it will remain, of course, as *Mama said to Stoyan (Stojanu)*).

Indeed, there seems to be a nostalgic feeling toward these forms. Stoianov (1959:44) even quotes the lament of the National Revival poet Ivan Vazov that Bulgarian has lost its case endings, and then goes on to say that they are not quite all gone:

Доколко отпадането на падежите и на неопределеното наклонение е недостатък на езика ни, това могат да кажат нашите поети. Вазов не случайно прави тази бележка. Трудностите в поезията поради отпадането на падежите в

книжовния ни език са лесно обясними. Това богатство например в руския език, където една дума има няколко падежни склонения (луна, луну, луне, луны, луной, лунам и пр.), помага за музикалното разнообразие, за живостта на руския език и стих. В нашия фолклор са запазени още някои падежни форми, като «майка Стояну думаше», «Пак еничарни Драгани дума», «Тя взе жива жаравина, та пусна Стани в пазуха» и други, което показва, че в литературния език биха могли да се използват (по-скоро да се запазят) някои от тях.

Our poets can say to what extent the loss of cases and the indefinite declension is a flaw in our language. It is not by chance that Vazov makes this observation. The roughness in our poetry due to case loss in the literary language is easily explained. The wealth in, for example, the Russian language, where one word has several case forms (*luna, lunu, lune, lunny, lunoj, lunam*, and so on), heightens lyrical variety and the liveliness of the Russian language and verse. In our folklore a few case forms are retained, such as “Mother said to Stoyan (*Stojanu*)”, “Again the janissaries said to Dragana (*Dragani*),” “She grabbed a live coal and set it on Stana’s (*Stani*) bosom,” etc, which shows that in our literary language writers could certainly employ (or, more accurately, retain) some of them.

In fact, he even seems to suggest that these forms should be guarded and consciously used more regularly when possible. To Stoianov, these forms have an undeniably positive aesthetic value.

Given the presence of various case forms in Revival-era texts and the positive assessments ascribed to them by scholars later on, it appears that many speakers find that case forms in Bulgarian carry associations with the best of their national literary heritage. It is likely that those creating the songs in this study would have had a similar evaluation of the sound of case forms. It is possible that oblique case forms on personal names in particular are strongly associated with the language of the National Revival era, and convey the lofty feeling of the poetry from this era. Other occasional case forms may have been retained as linguistic formulae, passed down in fixed expressions from a time when they were still productively formed. Although they appear with relatively little frequency in these texts overall, case forms are another archaism that singers have used to make the texts of these songs reminiscent of earlier national lyrical works.

### 3.5. Archaic Future Forms

In this section, I analyze a variety of non-standard future forms that appear in the songs. While some such forms have a basis in Bulgarian dialects, they are most interesting from the standpoint of historical South Slavic linguistics. I posit that the constructions in question—kept alive in the poetic language in particular due to the influence of post-Ottoman national writers—are seen as old-fashioned by contemporary speakers. For this reason, as well as for the flexibility they add to a song’s metrics, singers may choose to employ them in their works.

### 3.5.1. Historical Development of the Bulgarian Future

In contemporary standard Bulgarian, the affirmative future is formed by placing a future particle (*ще*) before a conjugated non-past verb.<sup>35</sup> For example, present-tense forms of the verb ‘to write’ are:

(3.38) пиша,    пишеш  
piša,    pišeš  
read-1SG read-2SG  
*I read, you read (etc.)*

and future forms are:

(3.39) ще    пиша,    ще    пишеш  
šte    piša    šte    pišeš  
FUT    read-1SG    FUT    read-2SG  
*I will read, you will read (etc.)*

Historically, this future particle is derived from the verb ‘want’ (*хотаму* in OCS); in this regard, the Bulgarian future tense is structurally similar to that of other Balkan languages that create future forms from verbs expressing volition. In older forms of the language, this future tense would have been formed with a truncated form of *хотаму* and an infinitive:

(3.40) штѣ    писати,    штѣши    писати  
štǫ    pisati,    šteši    pisati  
want-1SG write-INF want-2SG write-INF  
*I will write, you will write (etc.)*

Further developments (outlined here based on Haralampiev 2001:148) led to the future form as it currently exists in the modern language. First, as the infinitive began to lose ground, it was replaced by a phrase with the subordinating particle *да* and a non-past form of the verb. With today’s phonological reflexes, this stage would appear as:

(3.41) ща    да    пиша,    щеш    да    пишеш  
šta    da    piša,    šteš    da    pišeš  
want-1SG SUB write-1SG want-2SG SUB write-2SG  
*I will write, you will write (etc.)*

---

35. Some scholars have debated whether this “future tense” in Bulgaria should really be considered a tense, arguing that the particle *ще* sometimes performs various modal functions, such as marking hypotheticality and iterativity rather than a purely temporal relation (see, for example, Ianakiev 1962). Nonetheless, the forms in question in the texts I examine do appear to express basic temporal futurity, and I will treat them here solely as expressions of tense.

The 3SG form of the auxiliary verb, however, became fixed as a particle used with all persons and numbers, resulting in constructions such as:

- (3.42) 

ще	да	пиша,	ще	да	пишеш
šte	da	piša,	šte	da	pišeš
FUT	SUB	write-1SG	FUT	SUB	write-2SG

*I will write, you will write (etc.)*

In time, the subordinating particle was dropped, resulting in the contemporary structure represented above in example 3.39. The negative future followed a similar course, but uses a negative form of ‘have’ rather than ‘want,’ and maintains the subordinating particle. The first part of this section deals primarily with affirmative futures; nonstandard negative future forms are addressed later.

### 3.5.2. Frequency of Archaic Future Forms in the Corpora

While they are not overwhelmingly common, two types of archaic affirmative future constructions can be found in these texts. There were four instances of constructions composed unambiguously of a fixed future particle with subordinating particle (such as those in example 3.42 above), which I will refer to here as archaic future “type A,” e.g.:

- (3.43) 

ще	да	запеем
šte	da	zapееm
FUT	SUB	sing-1PL

*we will sing*

There was also one unambiguous instance of a conjugated future verb with subordinating particle (as in example 3.41 above), which I will refer to as “type B”:

- (3.44) 

щат	да	чакат
štat	da	čakat
FUT-3PL	SUB	sing-3PL

*they will wait*

Additionally, there were two instances of third-person singular future constructions using *ще* and *да*. In that the non-alternating future particle found in type A constructions is homophonous with the 3SG future verb in type B constructions, it is impossible to classify these phrases as representing one or the other type of construction. For example, the first word in:

- (3.45) 

ще	да	пита
šte	da	pita
FUT? / FUT-3SG?	SUB	ask-3SG

*she will ask*



could be interpreted as a later-stage fixed particle or the third-person singular form of a conjugating future auxiliary verb. Type A constructions are more common in the corpus and, being less archaic and found in nineteenth-century poetry, are probably more familiar to contemporary speakers. Therefore, it seems reasonable to suspect that these two phrases would likely belong to a broader paradigm of type A forms rather than type B forms. Nonetheless, their structure is such that they could be classified as either of the two types.

Given this ambiguity and the relatively small sample size overall of future forms, it would be impractical to complete a statistical analysis of all of the corpora in this study that separated Type A, Type B, and standard future forms. A comparison of standard and archaic forms, however, does point to a potential division between genres. Whereas the Traditional Corpus displayed several instances of archaic futures, only one was found in the Innovative Corpus, and none could be found in the March Corpus. The full summary appears in Figure 3.6. The distinctions between the Traditional and Innovative Corpora and the Innovative and March Corpora are not statistically significant, but the difference between the Traditional and March Corpora has a value of  $p = .02$ . These figures are small, but there is clearly a trend toward a retention of the archaic type in the older types of songs.

	Standard	Archaic
Traditional Corpus	19	6
Innovative Corpus	10	1
March Corpus	19	0

**Figure 3.6: Instances of Standard and Archaic Future Forms**

### 3.5.3. Inconsistencies in Future Marking within Songs

As has been the case with other features I have analyzed, however, many texts in my corpora displayed various types of future constructions inconsistently. I examined the entirety of songs (i.e. past the first 25 lines of longer songs) in the primary corpora and counted the types of future forms they displayed. 19 songs had some form of the future tense. In 11 of these songs (58%), only standard forms were found. In two songs (11%), only irregular forms could be found: one song had an example of the type A archaic future form (*ще да запеем*, ‘we will sing’), and one had a type B archaic form (*не щат иго да носят*, ‘they will not carry the yoke’). Six of these 19 songs (32%), however, had both standard and nonstandard future constructions. This high degree of facultativity can be seen, for example, in an excerpt from “Оженен за Драва река” (“Married to the Drava River”). In it, a standard form is italicized, type A and typologically ambiguous third-person singular nonstandard forms are underlined, and a type B form is bolded. The lines with future forms are:

(3.46) тука ще аз да загина [...]  
 tuka šte az da zagina

here	FUT	I	SUB	perish-1SG	
много		<b>щат</b>		майки	<b>да</b> <b>чакат</b> [...]
mnogo		<b>štat</b>		majki	<b>da</b> <b>čakat</b>
many		FUT-3PL		mothers	SUB wait-3PL
И	мойта		майка	<i>ще</i>	<i>чака.</i> —
I	mojta		majka	<i>šte</i>	<i>čaka</i>
and	my		mother	FUT	wait-3SG
тя	<u>ще</u>	за	мене	<u>да</u>	<u>пита:</u>
tja	<i>šte</i>	za	mene	<i>da</i>	<i>pita</i>
she	FUT/FUT-3SG	for	me	SUB	ask-3SG

*Here I will perish / [...] many mothers will be waiting / [...] My mother too will be waiting. She will ask about me:*

It is interesting that this singer uses standard forms together with both varieties of archaic futures. Although type A futures are overall more common in the corpus, both types are clearly present in the poetic repertoire of Bulgarian to an extent that singers can employ them when they wish. The language of Bulgarian songs allows for facultative alternation between standard and both types of archaic future forms.

### 3.5.4. Nonstandard Future Forms as Archaisms

As archaisms, these nonstandard future constructions call to mind older lyrical traditions and, in doing so, give the songs in the corpus an element of authenticity. Because of their use in earlier written traditions, nonstandard future forms are particularly associated with texts and individuals important to Bulgaria's national identity. Nitsolova (2008:304) indicates that forms with *ще да* (i.e., type A forms) were used in the language of the nineteenth century, and conjugated *ща да* forms (type B forms) could be found in poetry as late as the nineteenth and early twentieth century. More to the point, Pashov (1999:149) writes that forms with conjugated *ща* can be found "in the works of our old writers," and cites the national poet Botev as an example. These forms have acquired the ability to impart a lofty air due to their use in treasured national works, so it makes sense that they would be employed in newer "folk" songs for similar effect.

It should also be emphasized that these forms do not have much ground in contemporary dialects and are likely not a result of influence from a singer's dialect. Stoikov (1993:240-243) notes that a small number of dialects do make a formal distinction in future marking according to grammatical subject, but it is only between 1SG forms and all other conjugational forms. Constructions like those of archaic type B are, then, extinct in today's language. In several villages, the subordinating particle *да* is still used optionally in future constructions, as in *ще да опереш* (ibid. 243); this is parallel to the type A archaic forms. But this occurs in a limited area, and the songs here that contain such forms do not come from

the regions in question. In short, attributing the specific appearance of either type A or type B forms to dialectal influence seems unlikely; they are probably purely archaic in origin.

### 3.5.5. Archaic Future Forms and the Role of Metrics

This poetic nature of archaic future forms is surely significant, but the choice to opt for forms like *це да* or *ца да* is likely based on metrics as well. Every line in the song excerpt above has eight syllables. In the first line, adding *це* would yield an excess syllable; similarly, if *да* were not in the last line, it would be deficient. While most singers probably default to standard future constructions, it would seem that these archaic forms are something of a formula for marking futurity. If a singer needs an extra syllable, she can employ *це да*; if not, she will use the standard form. Of course, this does not explain the competition between type A and type B archaic forms within a song; except for in 2PL, where type B forms would have three syllables (*цете да*), all persons and numbers would have two syllables in either type of construction. I suspect that, because neither type A nor type B constructions are used actively in the contemporary spoken language, they are not distinguished in a speaker's linguistic repertoire. An individual singer might use conjugated forms for some persons and unconjugated ones for others. While there seems to be no straightforward reason why a singer would choose one form over another, it does seem clear that choosing either type A or type B forms over the standard future allows for metrical flexibility within a song.

### 3.5.6. Negative Future Forms

Thus far, analysis has focused primarily on affirmative futures, but the primary corpora also have three examples of negative future forms that are inconsistent with the parameters of the standard language; more such examples exist beyond the first 25 lines of some songs as well. As explained above, the negative future is formed in the standard language not with *це* (which, again, comes from a verb meaning 'want'), but with the invariant form *няма* (etymologically a third-person verb form meaning 'not have') and the subordinating particle *да*:

(3.47) *няма да пиша, няма да пишеш*  
*нјама да пиша нјама да пишеš*  
 NEG-FUT SUB write-1SG NEG-FUT SUB write-2SG  
*I will not write, you will not write*

Because it retains the subordinating particle, it represents a less advanced stage of syntactic development than the affirmative future, one parallel to the Type B affirmative future discussed in §3.5.2. There are several examples of this type of future construction in the corpus, such as:

(3.48) *няма да са завърне*  
*нјама да са завърне*

NEG-FUT SUB REFL RETURN  
*he will not return*

However, there are also two examples where the negative particle is used together with *ще* instead, such as:

(3.49) нищичко не ще дадем  
 ništičko ne šte dadem  
 nothing-DIM NEG fut give-1PL  
*We won't give up a thing*

and one example in which a negative particle is added to *ще* and *да*:

(3.50) не ще да ни гази  
 ne šte da ni gazi  
 NEG FUT? / FUT-3SG? SUB us trample-3SG  
*it will not trample us*

Forms like that in example 3.49 (parallel to archaic future type A) are certainly absent from today's standard language. Forms like that in example 3.50 are so marginal today that most grammarians (e.g. Alexander 2000, Boiadzhiev et al. 1999, Krüsteva 2003, Vlahova-Ruikova 2009) do not mention them at all, giving only *няма да*. Other scholars, while not specifically proscribing them, state that forms with *не ще* occur “more rarely” (Krüstev 1992:102) or “very rarely” (Banova 2005:21), or that *няма да* forms are used “much more often” (Pashov 1999:149). Nitsolova (2008:304) briefly discusses the place of *не ще*, saying that it occurs “rarely, primarily in written language today, mostly in an artistic style. In poetry the choice between one or the other type of negative form is tied in with metrical requirements.” As an example, she gives lines from a poem by Vaptsarov: “Не ще проклинам, няма да се вайкам” (“I will not curse, I will not wail”) (ibid.), which uses both a ‘not have’ and a negative ‘want’ future. Indeed, like the archaic affirmative future forms described above, singers may sometimes elect to use *не ще* forms in order to alter the number of syllables a phrase will contain. While not as common as archaic affirmative futures, *не ще* represents another metrical formula available to singers.

For the present purposes, *не ще* is probably best viewed as a dialectism, by now mostly excised from the standard language, but brought into these songs for stylistic marking. I have found little discussion of the spatio-temporal limits of *не ще* within Bulgarian proper; Hauge (1999:101) simply describes it as “archaic,” as do Franks & King (2000:59). A historical examination of South Slavic would tell a different story, however, as there is no evidence that a negative future form with *не ще* is older than a form with *няма да*. Future forms composed with ‘have’ verbs (i.e. *имати*) were the most common in OCS, particularly for negative futures, whereas forms with *хотати* arose later on (Mirchev 1963:201); this would imply that *няма да* is diachronically a more archaic form than *не ще*. Kramer (1997:409-410) also explains how the standard Macedonian negative future, *не ќе*—which is structurally identical to Bulgarian *не ще*—reflects a more advanced stage of

grammaticalization than the ‘not have’ future; for example, the latter retains the subordinating particle that standard affirmative future forms with *ще* have lost. Clearly, this parallel form in Bulgarian did not arise independently; rather, like the Macedonian futures, Bulgarian *не ще* reflects a newer development within the long view of South Slavic diachrony.

The synchronic picture, too, would indicate that these forms must be present in western Bulgarian dialects. To the best of my knowledge, there is little scholarly discussion of a distinction between *не ще* and *няма да* forms in Bulgarian dialects. However, because the Macedonian negative future is formed with a negative particle and future particle from ‘want’ and its Serbian counterpart is formed with an inflected negative ‘want’ verb, it is realistic to expect that negative futures composed of a negative and ‘want’ form exist in western Bulgarian dialects too. Kramer (1997:415) argues that the *want* future developed in Macedonia and spread outward to other Slavic and Balkan languages; this would also indicate that if these forms are encountered commonly in contemporary Bulgarian, they would be more grammaticalized in areas closer to Macedonia, i.e. the southwest.

Thus, when grammarians describe these forms as “archaic,” they are likely referring only to the literary language in the post-Ottoman era. Most probable is that the two types of negative forms were in competition as Bulgarian became standardized, and *няма да*—as the more eastern variant—ultimately won out. *Не ще*, then, would have occurred more in older prose simply because it had not yet been stricken from normal standard language. It is old-fashioned as a part of the modern literary language, but not obsolete from the viewpoint of South Slavic areal linguistics. Even though it must have a place in many dialects, its marginality in the standard language probably leads speakers to feel that it is a remnant of older forms of the language, and, consequently, it adds the idea of authenticity of “traditional language” to songs. Parallel to Macedonian *не ќе*, however, it probably also calls to mind the dialectal folklore of southwestern Bulgaria.

### 3.5.7. Archaic Future Forms: Conclusion

As the modern Bulgarian language has developed, there has been a great deal of lexical, morphological, and prosodic variability in forms used to express both the negative and affirmative future. While there is essentially only one form used for any particular such construction in today’s language, historically variant forms have been retained in the poetic register of Bulgarian, and they can be employed for stylistic purposes. Containing differing numbers of syllables than their standard-language counterparts, these forms also provide a way for singers to reach the desired metrics in any particular line. Thus, nonstandard future forms can simultaneously demonstrate an old-fashioned poetic sensibility while being of metrical use as well.

### 3.6. Clausal Clitics

The songs in this study show variation from the norms of standard Bulgarian with respect to the position and ordering of clausal clitics. Throughout this section, the use of the word “clitic” refers specifically to enclitics of this type, which, for Bulgarian, includes

short accusative and short dative personal pronouns (including reflexives) and auxiliaries and copulae; the negative, future, and interrogative particles also interact with the clitic string. The order and placement of these short, typically unaccented words within the clause varies across South Slavic, and, consequently, they have attracted a great deal of scholarly attention. In this study, the larger question of clitics can be broken down into several related issues: 1) nonstandard ordering within the string of verbal clitics, both of negative particles and copulae; 2) nonstandard postposition of the reflexive clitic; 3) future particles separated from their verbs; and 4) the appearance of verbal clitics in an unexpected position separate from their verb.

### 3.6.1. Problems of Clitic Ordering

Before proceeding, one must address the order in which clausal clitics appear. Clitic ordering is an important topic in South Slavic linguistics; all of the South Slavic languages have particular rules that determine in what order their clitics come, and these rules are generally very rigid in any one speech variety. In standard Bulgarian, one generally encounters clitics, when they appear, in the following order: the negative or future particles are proclitic, and they are followed by enclitic copulae (except third-person singular *e*), dative clitic pronouns, accusative clitic pronouns, and the third-person singular copula *e* in that order. In the songs in this study, however, there are a number of songs that show deviation from these rules. In general, the examples of nonstandard clitic ordering appear to pattern as several types.<sup>36</sup>

#### 3.6.1.1. The Pre-Verbal Negative Particle

The first type of pattern one encounters involves the negative particle. When it is present in the standard language, it must directly precede the clitic string. In two instances within the corpus, however, it comes later:

(3.51) ала **ме** не **е** грижа  
 ala **me** ne **e** griža  
 but 1SG-ACC-CL NEG 3SG-COP-CL concern  
*but it doesn't worry me*

(3.52) дъжд да **го** не вали  
 dŭžd da **go** ne vali  
 rain SUB 3SG-ACC-CL NEG rain-VERB  
*may it not rain on him*

In standard Bulgarian, we would instead expect to see:

(3.53) ала не **ме** **е** грижа

---

<sup>36</sup> In this section, I have marked clitics in examples in bold type.

ala ne me e griža  
 but NEG 1SG-ACC-CL 3SG-COP-CL concern  
*but it doesn't worry me*

(3.54) дъжд да не го вали  
 dŭžd da ne go vali  
 rain SUB NEG 3SG-ACC-CL rain-VERB  
*may it not rain on him*

In the first example, 3.53, the negative particle precedes the copula; this looks strikingly like BCS, in which the negative and third-person singular copula would appear in the same position in this order in one combined form, *nije*. In the second example, the negative particle also comes before the main verb, which, this time, is not a copula. This type of word order—clitics, followed by the negative particle, followed by the verb—is prohibited in standard Bulgarian, but it can, in fact be found in speech in various parts of Bulgaria, and, indeed, appears even in eastern dialects (Alexander 1999). Example 3.52 above, in fact, comes from the Kazanlŭk region in the central part of Bulgaria. But in that this directly pre-verbal negative word order is the norm just across the border in Serbian, one would expect that such a word order is particularly common in western Bulgarian as well.

Equally significant is the fact that this word order is perceived as “dialectal.” It is quite common in Bulgarian proverbs, as in:

(3.55) Мокър от дъжд се не бои  
 Mokŭr ot dŭžd se ne boi  
 wet from rain REFL-CL NEG fears  
*He who is wet does not fear the rain*

Moreover, it would seem that speakers feel this clitic order marks the language of “backwards” or “rural” speakers. For example, one commenter on an online news article uses it in a mocking post, along with misspellings that reflect vowel reduction and the dialectal word *što* ‘what’ to respond to the Eurovision win of an Austrian drag queen:

(3.56) Извинети, но може ли на български да го напишати ако убичати  
 Къде е Кончита, що е Вурст и къде се не види ЛГБТ-ту? (Dnevnik 2014)

Excuse me, but can you please write that in Bulgarian if you please  
 Where is Conchita, what is a Wurst, and where can't the LGBT be seen?

It would seem that this speaker feels that reflexive *se* before negative *ne* is part of the particular register that marks rural dialects and employs the device to convey this impression. The examples in my songs too probably have their basis in word order rules of a particular dialect, but they also may be felt to represent a particular variety of rural speech.

### 3.6.1.2. Irregular Third-Person Plural Copulae

Another type of aberration from the standard language involves third-person plural copulae. In the standard language, copulae other than that of the third-person singular usually precede personal pronouns within the clitic string. Two songs, however, have instances of the opposite word order:

(3.57) къде **ти**                **са**                левенти            овчари  
 kŭde **ti**                **sa**                leventi            ovčari  
 where 2SG-DAT-CL 3PL-COP-CL strapping        shepherds  
*where are your handsome young shepherds*

къде **ти**                **са**                подевки            девойки  
 kŭde **ti**                **sa**                podevki            devojki  
 where 2SG-DAT-CL 3PL-COP-CL maidens            maidens  
*where are your young maidens*

(3.58) Не **ми**                **са**                турци Плевен      разбили  
 Ne **mi**                **sa**                turci Pleven      razbili  
 NEG 1SG-DAT-CL AUX-3PL-CL Turks Pleven      shattered  
*the Turks have not taken Pleven*

In a construction like 3.57, dative personal pronouns are used with noun phrases to mark possession.<sup>37</sup> In standard Bulgarian, such pronouns generally appear in the noun phrase they modify, but they have the option of occupying the slot for dative pronouns within the clitic string of the entire clause, as they do here. In standard word order, however, we would expect the clitics in this example to appear as:

(3.59) къде **са**                **ти**                левенти            овчари  
 kŭde **sa**                **ti**                leventi            ovčari  
 where 3PL-COP-CL 2SG-DAT-CL strapping        shepherds  
*where are your handsome young shepherds*

къде **са**                **ти**                подевки            девойки  
 kŭde **sa**                **ti**                podevki            devojki  
 where 3PL-COP-CL 2SG-DAT-CL maidens            maidens  
*where are your young maidens*

37. In most cases, noun phrases in such constructions must be definite. In this particular example, however, the phrases *левенти овчари* and *подевки девойки* (actually a string of two nouns, see §5.5) do not have definite articles; this is a consequence of a tendency to drop definite marking in songs, which I describe in §3.3.



In contrast, the copula in the song come after the personal pronoun. Hauge (1976:196) mentions that third-person plural copulae can go at the end of the clitic string when coordinated with a predicative; these lines, then, could be demonstrating the syntactic extension of such a rule. Nonetheless, this rule is mentioned only by Hauge out of the several contemporary grammars of Bulgarian, and it seems to be somewhat inconsistently applied in the standard language. These examples, then, while not necessarily representing a sharp deviation from the norms of contemporary Bulgarian, still represent marked clitic patterns. Given that auxiliaries and copulae are homophonous, one might expect that in some varieties of Bulgarian, the third-person plural auxiliary could, like the copula, go to the end of the clitic string as well. In any case, the place of the third-person plural verb *ca* appears to be flexible within these songs.

### 3.6.1.3. Post-Verbal Reflexives

One other minor aberration with regard to clitics are instances where the reflexive clitic appears after the main verb. In standard Bulgarian, the clitic string precedes the main verb in the clause, unless the verb is the first constituent of the clause. In two songs, however, a reflexive clitic appears immediately following a verb that is not at the beginning of the clause:

(3.60) разшета **се**,        из        село        разтича        **се**  
 razšeta **se**,        iz        selo        raztiča        **se**  
 bustle REFL-CL, around village run.around REFL-CL  
*there is bustling about, there is running around the village*

(3.61) Нàди Мелна водила **се** бòрба  
 Nàdi Melna vodila **se** bòrba  
 on Melna led REFL battle  
*in Melna there was a battle*

In the first example, the nonstandard position of the second reflexive is possibly due to a singer's desire to create parallelism with the first part of the line, and in the second, the clitic may be prevented from appearing before the verb because of a pause that probably occurs between the fourth and fifth syllables of line. Nonetheless, the syntax in both of these examples would be ungrammatical in standard, spoken Bulgarian. I do not believe that this *verb + reflexive* pattern is derived from any particular dialectal or historical poetic tradition, but it is recorded here as another type of clitic ordering deviation from the norm.

### 3.6.2. Clitics in Nonstandard Positions

In addition to the violations of clitic ordering rules of standard Bulgarian, there are important ways in which clitics and clitic strings themselves appear outside of the typical position in the wider clause. In the standard language, clausal clitics must be directly adjacent to the verb—after the verb if it is in first position, or before the verb if there are

other words to occupy the first position. In two ways, one particularly pervasive, there are deviations from this norm in the songs in my study.

### 3.6.2.1. Future Particle Irregularities

One irregularity found in these songs involves the future particle. While morphosyntactic problems of the future tense were discussed in the previous section, the aberrations in question here violate standard prosodic rules. In contemporary Bulgarian, the future particle *ще* is a proclitic that immediately precedes the string of other verbal clitics (Franks & King 2000:58-59). As such, it should never be separated from the verb except for by personal pronouns and auxiliary and copula verbs. However, in eight instances across five songs, all of which are from the Traditional Corpus, *ще* is detached from the verb or the clitic string. In two cases, it is separated by a vocative address, as in:

(3.62) та    ще    се,            татко,    срещнеме  
           ta    šte    se,            tatko,    sreštname  
           and FUT REFL-CL Dad      meet-1PL  
           *and we will meet there, Dad*

This is best understood as part of a broader phenomenon of line-medial vocatives, which is discussed in §5.1.

In six other instances, though, one finds direct objects between *ще* and its verb:

(3.63) те    ще    затвора    разбият  
           te    šte    zatvora    razbijat  
           they FUT prison-DEF break  
           *they will break open the prison*

or adjuncts:

(3.64) ще    ти с    обич    хортувам  
           šte    ti s    obič    hortuvam  
           FUT you with love speak  
           *I will speak to you with love*

In any case, it is clear that *ще* is not required in songs of the unrhymed line type to be prosodically connected with a verbal clitic string. I suspect that, because a song's rhythm takes priority over the natural prosody of spoken language, sung language might remove particular restrictions on normal clitic rules. From a diachronic viewpoint, however, it is important to note that this word ordering would be completely acceptable at an earlier stage of the development of the Bulgarian future, in which *ще* was not yet fully cliticized; appearing in this detached position, it has the prosodic nature of a tonic word. This is another example of an archaic syntactic structure preserved in the more conservative variety of songs.

### 3.6.2.2. The Clitic + Tonic Word + Verb Line Type

A phenomenon that is both more regular and significant, however, is a recurring pattern in which the clitic string is separated from the main verb in a clause; this phenomenon too occurs only in the Traditional Corpus. Again, the general rule for clitics in Bulgarian is that they must be verb-adjacent and must precede the verb directly if the verb is not already in first position. There are many instances in the texts where clitics appear in this standard position, such as:

- (3.65) че      ме              чака   нова   чета  
         че      ме              čaka   nova   četa  
         that 1SG-ACC-CL   waits   new   detachment  
         *for a new detachment is waiting for me*

In these songs, however, another pervasive word pattern is that of a clitic string, followed by an adjunct or argument consisting of one tonic word, followed by the verb. For the sake of clarity, I will delineate all of the elements of this pattern separately in the following section. First, in terms of basic word order, one sees:

- (3.66) *clitic(s) + other word(s) + verb*

This pattern occurs with both simplex (present, imperfect, and aorist) and periphrastic (past indefinite) verb forms. Out of a corpus of 38 songs and 715 total lines, there are 35 instances of clitics separated from their verbs. Given the complexity of verbal clitic rules for Bulgarian (particularly when future, negative, and interrogative particles are present) and the specific nature of the pattern described here, I did not attempt to identify and count a “control” group of phrases with clitics in a standard position for comparison. But it should be noted that clitic strings overall are probably not as common in these songs as they would be in a prototypical piece of standard prose; therefore, this clitic pattern should be understood to be surprisingly common given the frequency with which clitics appear at all, and the fact that, again, it is prohibited in the standard language.

Syntactically, the clitics in question here can be of any type, including auxiliaries, short accusative pronouns, and short dative pronouns. The intervening word can be the subject or object of the clause, an adverb modifying the verb,<sup>38</sup> or another type of adjunct. There are also three instances of multiple constituents separating the clitics and the verb. The counts of all of these forms with examples thereof are in Figure 3.7. It is clear that clitics

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38. Bošković (2002:330) notes, citing several other scholars, that in contemporary Bulgarian, “for some speakers a few short adverbs can actually occur between the clitic cluster and the following verb,” but goes on to state that these adverbs are also clitics themselves. I believe this could be applied to one interrupting adverb in my findings, *вече* ‘already,’ but in the other two cases (*чевръсто* ‘nimble,’ and *рано* ‘early’) it certainly does not. More examples that point to irregularities with *вече* and the clitic string can be found in Billings (2002:82-85).

in these songs can be separated from the verb without regard to the type of clitic, syntactic function of the interrupting word, or type of verb form.

Intervening Word Type	Simplex Verbs – Counts and Examples	Periphrastic Verbs – Counts and Examples
<b>Subject</b>	9	7
	<i>немски <b>ма</b> куршум прониза</i> German <b>1sg-acc-cl</b> bullet pierced 'a German bullet pierced me'	<i>кога <b>е</b> Стефан погледнал</i> when <b>3sg.aux.cl</b> Stefan looked 'when Stefan looked'
<b>Object</b>	5	4
	<i>кмета <b>им</b> място показа</i> mayor-def <b>3sg-dat-cl</b> place showed 'when the mayor show them a place'	<i>снощи <b>съм</b> дума зачула</i> last.night <b>1sg-aux-cl</b> word heard 'last night I heard it said'
<b>Adverb</b>	1	3
	<i>и в земя <b>се</b> чевръсто забиват</i> and in land <b>refl-cl</b> nimbly beat.in 'and they are skillfully beaten into the land'	<i>що <b>ми е</b> рано ранила</i> which <b>1sg-dat-cl aux-cl</b> early arose.early 'which arose early'
<b>Adjunct</b>	4	0
	<i>тя <b>си</b> на трактор седеше</i> she <b>refl-cl</b> on tractor sat 'she would sit on her tractor'	–
<b>Multiple Types</b>	0	3
–		(see below)

Figure 3.7: Types of Verbs and Intervening Words with Clitics

One important note is that the counts presented above do not include another type of intervening word, that of the line-medial vocative. As will be seen in §5.1, vocative phrases have a tendency to appear in the middle of a line; often, this interrupts would-be *clitic + verb* phrases as well. I have not counted the numerous instances of these vocative interruptors here because they fill a pragmatic rather than syntactic role and because they seem to be replicating a particular poetically conditioned line type rather than only representing a syntactic peculiarity. Certainly, if such forms were counted, the number of clitics separated from verbs would be substantially higher.

Ignoring these vocative forms, one sees even more specificity with regard to the types of words that can come between a clitic and verb. It turns out that the three instances in which multiple types of constituents interrupting the clitic-verb construction—in each case, a subject with object or adjunct—are actually found in three lines of one song that all happen to repeat a similar pattern:

(3.67) дали са турци Плевен разбили,  
dali sa turci Pleven razbili,  
whether AUX-3PL-CL Turks Pleven shattered

или московци в Европа флели?  
ili moskovci v Evropa fleli?  
or Musovites in Europe entered

Не ми са турци Плевен разбили,  
Ne mi sa turci Pleven razbili,  
NEG 1SG-DAT-CL AUX-3PL-CL Turks Pleven shattered

а са московци в Европа флели  
a sa moskovci v Evropa fleli  
and AUX-3PL-CL Muscovites in Europe entered

*Have the Turks taken Pleven / or have the Russians entered Europe? / The Turks have not taken Pleven / but the Russians have entered Europe.*

As such, it might seem that clitics separated from a verb by multiple syntactic elements are a somewhat idiosyncratic phenomenon. Rather, what one encounters in these texts consistently is a pattern wherein the intervening words between the clitic and verb are part of only *one* verbal argument (subject, object) or adjunct (adverb or other). That is, modifying the initial characterization of this pattern, repeated here:

(3.68) *clitic(s) + other word(s) + verb*

one might instead describe the characteristic formula more specifically as:

(3.69) *clitic(s) + one argument or adjunct + verb*

In no cases other than the above four-line example, however, does one find more than one tonic word coming between the clitic(s) and the verb. The subjects or objects that intervene are only one word, as in:

(3.70) да ми жито порасте  
da mi žito poraste  
that 1SG-DAT-CL wheat grow  
*that the wheat will grow for me*

and the adjunct phrases consist of either one word or of a preposition (which are prosodically proclitic) with one word, as in:

(3.71) да се на робство предаде

da    se            na robstvo    predade  
 that REFL-CL to slavery    give.up  
*to give themselves up to enslavement*

Thus, only one tonic word can come between the clitics and the verb; the restrictions on this pattern are apparently prosodic as well. The 32 examples that, most precisely stated, consist of:

(3.72) *clitic(s) + argument or adjunct containing one tonic word + verb*

actually serve as evidence that a very consistent phrasal type—again, one prohibited in the standard language—seems to be well established in Bulgarian folk songs.

There is reason to suspect that this marked pattern of a clitic separated from the verb by one tonic word is something of an archaism. Certainly, the problem of clitic placement across Slavic with respect to space and time is extremely complex, but it does seem that clitics in Common Slavic were most commonly found after the first stressed element of a sentence (Rappaport 1988:319). This pattern, a Slavic example of Wackernagel’s Law, would have historical precedents in Indo-European. As Franks and King (2000:216) explain, modern Slavic languages generally have rules that require clausal clitics to be either in second (“Wackernagel”) position, as in BCS, for example, or adjacent to the verb, which is the case for standard Bulgarian. The latter situation in Bulgarian appears to be an innovation, whereas the former is likely older and more reflective of Indo-European; Alexander (1994:4) posits that the clitic placement rules in Bulgarian could be due to influence from other languages of the Balkan sprachbund. Unlike the clitics of standard Bulgarian, however, many of those found in these songs are in second position within their clause and, as such, they make up another feature of these texts that ultimately reflects a “pre-Balkan” Slavic syntax and the legacy of Indo-European.

It is critical to note, however, that the definition of “second position” in these examples is, at its core, conditioned by prosody rather than syntax. In BCS, which maintains strict clitic-second rules, the first constituent of the clause can be either prosodically or syntactically determined; that is, clitics can either follow the first tonic word of the clause or the first syntactic element (Browne 1975:112-113, and elaborated on especially in Alexander 2009).<sup>39</sup> For example, the copula clitic in the following BCS examples can appear in two different places within the clause:

(3.73) ova    je            mačka    crna  
 this    COP-3SG-CL    cat            black  
*This cat is black (clitic after first tonic word)*

(3.74) ova    mačka    je            crna  
 this    cat            COP-3SG-CL    black

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39. There is also the possibility for clitics to occur after what Alexander calls a “resumptive rhythmic structure constituent” (Alexander 2008:6), but this is not relevant to the present discussion.

*This cat is black* (clitic after first syntactic element)

In the case of the texts in the corpora, in almost every instance in which clitics are displaced from their verbs, the clitics follow the first accented word of the line, as is exemplified in example 3.73 above. In one example, however, the conjunction *u* ‘and,’ appears before a tonic word that is a prepositional phrase:

(3.75) и в земя се чевръсто забиват  
i v zemja se čevrŭsto zabivat  
and in land REFL-CL nimbly beat.in  
*and they are skillfully beaten into the land*

While in standard Bulgarian this conjunction can host a clitic, in BCS it is not a tonic word and cannot. The *u* in this example could simply be functioning as it does in BCS, though, as a proclitic, and the clitic *ce* in this line, then, would still only follow one tonic word.

It would appear, then, that detached clitics (clitics separated from their verb) can sometimes break up syntactic elements consisting of more than one tonic word. This is the case in seven of the 35 examples of clitics separated from verbs; in each of these instances, the clitic breaks up a noun phrase.<sup>40</sup> For example, one sees:

(3.76) немски ма куршум прониза  
nemski ma kuršum proniza  
German 1SG-ACC-CL bullet pierced  
*a German bullet pierced me*

(3.77) гъста е мъгла паднала  
gŭsta e mŭgla padnala  
thick AUX-3SG-CL fog fallen  
*a thick fog fell*

While clitics separated from their verbs are already ungrammatical in standard Bulgarian, these disjointed noun phrases sound particularly unusual. Even in BCS, where the above clitic placement is fully grammatical, it sounds marked to many speakers (Alexander 2008:9-11). Browne (1975:114) notes as well that these clitics that interrupt noun phrases in BCS sound “old-fashioned and literary”; certainly, they sound far more archaic in Bulgarian, which would ordinarily prohibit them entirely.

Regardless of this pattern of clitic detachment, its distribution throughout the texts points to a significant division between song genres. Only one instance of this pattern can be found in a song that is not composed in unrhymed lines.<sup>41</sup> Figure 3.8, which details the

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40. Each time, the clitic comes after an attributive adjective and before a noun; it is possible that only adjective-noun phrases—and not the marked noun-adjective phrases described in §3.8—can occur in this position.

41. Furthermore, the version of this march-like song in my corpus, which contains the word order in question in the line:

number of songs that do and don't contain at least one instance of this pattern, shows a strong correlation of the pattern in question with songs composed of unrhymed lines. A chi-square test shows that this correlation is statistically highly significant, with a value of  $p = .008$ . The correlation of this particular archaic prosodic pattern with songs of a more conservative type is not surprising. The separation of a clitic from the main verb is likely felt by speakers to be old-fashioned, and is therefore a feature that can mark "traditionality" in texts.

Instance of Clitic Separated From Verb	Traditional Corpus	Innovative Corpus
Yes	18 songs	1 song
No	11 songs	8 songs

**Figure 3.8: Numbers of Songs in Corpora with and without Clitic + Tonic Word + Verb Pattern**

### 3.6.3. Clausal Clitics: Conclusion

Clausal clitics are well known for highlighting important divisions within the prosodic and syntactic structures of the South Slavic languages, and it is clear that, even within these songs, they have the potential to deviate greatly from the norms of standard Bulgarian. Several features concerning both the ordering of clitics and their position within a clause, which originate in regional dialects and earlier stages of the language, are strongly correlated with Traditional songs of the unrhymed line type. This fact indicates that such syntactic and prosodic peculiarities have the potential to be highly marked features of Bulgarian song language.

### 3.7. Evidential-Like Forms

The Balkan Slavic languages are well known for their ability to encode evidentiality in verbs, a feature not present at the level of morphosyntax in other Slavic languages. In Macedonian and Bulgarian, different verbal forms are used to indicate the extent to which

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(3.78) партизан **се** за бой стяга  
 partizan **se** za boj stjaga  
 Partisan REFL-CL for battle prepare  
*The Partisan readies himself for battle*

can also be found recorded or performed elsewhere with the variant word order:

(3.79) партизан за бой **се** стяга  
 partizan za boj **se** stjaga  
 Partisan for battle REFL-CL prepare  
*The Partisan readies himself for battle*

where the reflexive clitic is in the expected verb-adjacent position. Thus, if I were to discount this instance of the marked clitic word order, it would otherwise be found exclusively in songs of the unrhymed line type.



a speaker is willing to vouch for the factuality of a statement. For example, one might say in Bulgarian:

(3.80) Той купи хляб.  
Toj kupi hljab.  
He bought-AOR bread  
*He bought bread.*

The verb *купи* here is in the aorist tense in the indicative mood. However, if the speaker wishes to express doubts as to whether the person in question did buy the bread, or if he doesn't feel he can vouch for the veracity of this statement, he would use a form considered to be the aorist tense in the "renarrated" mood:<sup>42</sup>

(3.81) Той купил хляб.  
Toj kupil hljab.  
He bought-LPART bread  
*He bought bread (supposedly).*

The renarrated mood is said to be common in preindustrial folk songs, and it is apparently something of a source of ethno-linguistic pride for many native scholars. In the songs in this study, however, very few forms of any kind seem to reflect evidentiality in the purest sense of the term. To be sure, renarrated forms occur in Bulgarian primarily in past tense forms, of which there are fewer in the corpus than one might expect. However, even when past-tense forms appear, few are unambiguously renarrated. Only one example of a renarrated form appears in the Innovative Corpus; the few others are only found in the Traditional songs. Instead, one sees a pattern in which formal distinctions in periphrastic verbs that are considered to be significant in the standard language appear to be instead in free variation. One also sees that some renarrated forms, often appearing alongside indicative aorists and imperfects, seem to function not to contrast levels of evidentiality but rather to mark narrative functions.

### 3.7.1. Stylistics and Resonance of Evidential-Like Forms

Evidential forms are often described as a common feature of many Bulgarian folk songs, and the exoticism that is often ascribed to them as a rare feature of European languages seems to be a matter of pride for many who are aware of this fact. Pashov tells readers that "[t]hese forms are not found in any other Slavic language" ("Такива форми няма в нито един друг славянски език") (Pashov 1999:185), and Krüstev states, "The renarrated mood is a mood specific to the Bulgarian language. It is not found in the other

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42. "Renarrated" is an imprecise label because it is not sufficiently comprehensive for all its uses; for example, speakers often use this mood to express emotions such as disbelief and surprise and, as will be discussed later, to structure a narrative. Moreover, not all instances of renarrated speech would necessarily occur in this mood. I use it simply as a direct translation of the Bulgarian term.

Slavic languages” (“Преизказното наклонение е специфично за българския език наклонение. То не се среща в другите славянски езици”) (Krǔstev 1992:120).<sup>43</sup> In fact, some feel that the renarrated mood is an important part of what makes a text “folkloric.” Krǔsteva writes, for example, “**Authentic** Bulgarian folk tales are in the renarrated mood” (“Българските **автентични** народни приказки са в преизказно наклонение”) (Krǔsteva 2003:135, my emphasis).<sup>44</sup> Georgieva even seems to imply that the renarrated mood is somehow a more “authentic” part of the Bulgarian language because of its origins in the mouths of the “folk”:

Заклученото в глаголните форми значение е едно от основните за преизказното наклонение в българския език, по което той се различава от всички славянски езици. По-особеното развитие на българския език довежда до проникването на това наклонение в българската глаголна система не по книжовен път, а по устен, по народен път. Това може би е обусловило обичайният и най-естествен терен на това наклонение да бъде фолклорът, а не книжовноезиковата практика, макар че и в нея то има доста установени и реални позиции. На това наклонение понякога до голяма степен се дължи и очарованието на народния песенен фолклор. (Georgieva 1981:118)

The meaning contained in its verbal forms is one of the primary ones of the renarrated mood in the Bulgarian language by which it differs from all other Slavic languages. The peculiar development of the Bulgarian language has led to the emergence of this mood in the Bulgarian verbal system not by literary means, but by oral means, that of the folk. This perhaps led to the fact that the typical and most natural site of this mood is in folklore, and not in the practice of the literary language, even though there are established and practicable roles for it there as well. This mood is often the thing that, to a large extent, lends folk singing its charm.

Vlahova-Rujhova (2009:117) also mentions that these forms are characteristic of “genres like folk tales and legends, or in stylized language that reflects their peculiarities” (“жанрове като приказки и легенди или при стилизация, която почива на техните особености”), and cites an example from Yovkov’s 1927 “Старопланински легенди” (“Legends of the Balkan Mountains”), a well-known work intended to mimic oral forms of storytelling. It seems clear that renarrated forms are not only tacitly understood as symbolizing folk language, but also acknowledged as forming an important part of these genres of texts.

### 3.7.2. Renarrated Forms in the Corpus

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43. Of course, these writers are unwilling to recognize Macedonian as a separate language, where evidentiality is also found. For more on the question of Macedonian in Bulgaria and linguistic nationalism, see section §1.7 and §8.7.

44. Ironically, as an example of such “authentically Bulgarian” folklore, Krǔsteva cites an excerpt from the folk tale “Мара пепеляшка” (133), a version of the Cinderella tale, which, of course, is found in many traditions outside of Bulgaria.

However, renarrated forms are not found with much frequency in the songs in this study. This is partially due to the content of the songs themselves rather than a stylistic aberration from the convention of the genre, however. In Bulgarian, renarrated forms appear primarily in past-tense constructions, and the “traditional” folk songs that use these forms describe people and events that happened “long ago and far away”; using renarrated forms creates the feeling of temporal distance. The songs in this study, however, were recorded almost immediately after the events that they describe. Additionally, they tell of occurrences that many singers themselves witnessed; for example, rather than reporting a war story that they had heard vague accounts of, singers might have actually taken part in the battle or been present for the destruction of a town themselves. Because many of the events they are describing have in fact often been very vividly witnessed, it would be inappropriate to use renarrated forms. This fact also means that many singers of the songs in the corpus describe events in the first person, in which renarrated forms are not formally distinct from those of the indicative past indefinite (see below). Finally, many of these songs do not even sing about past events at all: in accordance with the socialist message, singers are often concerned with describing the wonders of the new socialist state they are building (for which they use future tense constructions) and directing citizens to unite and be inspired by the recent political changes (which leads them to use imperatives and other optative constructions). Singers employ many linguistic techniques to convey a sense of classic “timelessness” in these songs, but they apparently do not often feel that the temporal distance created by the literary renarrated mood is appropriate given the content of the songs.

### 3.7.3. Free Variation in Auxiliary Verbs

The question of evidentiality is relevant in these songs, however, with regard to two points. The first concerns the matter of form. In standard Bulgarian as described by most contemporary grammarians, the forms of the renarrated aorist tense (the most common past tense, and the only tense found in these songs in the renarrated mood)<sup>45</sup> are nearly identical to those of the indicative “past indefinite” (“минало неопределено,” sometimes also referred to as the “present perfect.”) In the first and second persons, the two forms are the same; they contain an auxiliary ‘be’ verb and a form generally referred to in English as an “L-participle” (a present active participle formed from the aorist stem). In the third person (both singular and plural), however, the renarrated aorist differs from the past indefinite indicative solely in the absence of the auxiliary verb; it is formed with a bare L-participle. Thus, the aorist renarrated form shown in example 3.81 above differs from the indicative present perfect form:

(3.82) Той е купил хляб.  
Тој е купил хляб.

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45. In addition, one song contains a renarrated form of the “future-in-the-past” tense (“бъдеще в миналото”), *цтели да дойдат*, ‘would come (supposedly).’ This is of little relevance to the current discussion, however: the lyrical subject of the song is specifically addressing her lover in direct speech.

He AUX bought-LPART bread  
*He has bought bread.*

solely in the former's lack of the simple auxiliary verb *e*.

Indeed, the similarity between these two forms has engendered one of the most contentious debates in Balkan Slavic linguistics, as various scholars over the past century have attempted to define the forms and parameters of the Bulgarian verbal system. Although most linguists from Andreichin (1942) onwards have agreed on the clear existence of a separate set of evidential forms, usually treating them as forming a distinct verbal mood, there is also the recognition among scholars that forms resembling the past indefinite indicative (those forms with auxiliary verbs and L-participles, henceforth “+AUX” forms) can serve a function related to that of the renarrated mood: they are often used for actions that a speaker has not personally witnessed, but of which he has no reason to explicitly doubt the factuality. A classic structuralist description by Aronson characterizes +AUX forms as marked neither as “confirmative” nor “reported” (i.e., neutral with respect to evidentiality), and aorist renarrated forms (i.e. those without auxiliary verbs, henceforth “-AUX”) as marked as “reported” (Aronson 1967:96). Friedman (1982), however, gives a radically different analysis. He claims that aorist and imperfect forms make up a “confirmative” category, which functions in a binary opposition to a nonconfirmative past indefinite tense in which the presence or absence of an auxiliary verb is simply a stylistic option (Friedman 1982:159-160). That is, for him, the +AUX and -AUX forms really carry identical grammatical meanings.

With regard to the contemporary spoken language, Friedman's description of these forms seems to be inaccurate, as most native speakers do generally feel a strong difference in meaning between +AUX and -AUX forms. However, it would seem that, in the case of these songs, Friedman's description of the verbal system may hold some validity. For one thing, similar forms in songs may vary with regard to the presence or absence of an auxiliary verb. For example, one song reads:

(3.83) Пристигли са скъпи партизани,  
със сви су се они ръкували,  
с моми, момци братски прегръщали,  
старци, баби от радос са се разплакали,

There arrived [+AUX] dear Partisans,  
they shook hands [+AUX] with everyone,  
they embraced [-AUX] lasses and lads in a brotherly way,  
old men and grannies began crying [+AUX] from happiness

This part of the song describes what happened as Partisan soldiers returned home, and presumably the narrator could attest to all of the simultaneous events with equal certainty. Even though the verb form for ‘embraced’ in the third line contains no auxiliary verb, there is no reason to see it as somehow more doubtful in the mind of the singer. That is, the +AUX and -AUX forms would seem to be in free variation.

As an additional example, one might also compare the opening lines of two songs:

- (3.84) Паднала слана есенна  
There fell [-AUX] a great frost

and:

- (3.85) Гъста е могла паднала  
A thick fog fell [+AUX]

These lines are both essentially unrelated to the primary content of the rest of the songs in which they are found; they merely serve as a kind of opening before the main actions of the songs commence, and they can probably be considered identical in their narrative functions. The fact that they seem to be able to occur either with or without auxiliary verbs, however, indicates that this formal distinction may not be so important in this opening structure. Instead, the presence or absence of the auxiliary verb in such a context may indeed be a stylistic choice.

A combination of historical and metrical factors may account for this variability. First of all, diachronic studies have shown that both the +AUX and renarrated -AUX forms in question developed historically from older perfect forms. In a nutshell, the Common Slavic present perfect (i.e. that which became the “past indefinite” in contemporary Bulgarian) was used to mark events of which the effect in the present was more significant than the specific past time at which they occurred. (For the latter, the aorist tense was normally used.) In turn, the focus of these perfect forms could be more on the action itself or more on the result of the action. Over time, however, the position of the third-person auxiliary verb came to be weakened. In forms of the older perfect in which it had been elided (i.e. verb forms with a bare I-participle), came to be associated with a focus on the action itself; when it was retained, more emphasis was seen to be on the statal results of the action (Fielder 2000:81-82). This process has yet to be fully grammaticalized even in the present day; however, it would seem that the virtually free variation between some of the +AUX and -AUX forms in my corpora would be reminiscent of this earlier stage in the language when auxiliary variation was a much more fluid process.

If the difference in evidentiality expressed in -AUX and +AUX forms in these songs is minimal, then, the presence or absence of the auxiliary verb might depend instead on other conditions, such as meter. In the two lines above, for example, the auxiliary might be present in the second example only to give the line a total yield of eight syllables. Evidence supporting this possibility can be found in BCS, where the presence of the auxiliary verb sometimes depends on metrical conditions. The presence or absence of the auxiliary verb in these songs may seem in some cases to be essentially bereft of grammatical significance, and this may be parallel to the situation in older forms of Bulgarian.

#### 3.7.4. Backgrounding and Foregrounding in Evidential-Like Forms

As was explained above, it seems that neither –AUX nor +AUX forms are very correlated with the idea of evidentiality as it is thought of in the standard language, i.e., marking the extent to which a speaker can vouch for the factuality of a statement. However, there are hints that both of these forms seem to be coordinated with indicative forms to structure the narrative. In many cases, +AUX or –AUX forms will precede an indicative form. The +AUX and –AUX forms seem to introduce a historically prior and perhaps less dynamic event, and the indicative forms seem to indicate an action of importance to the development of the plot of the song. For example, in the opening of one song:

(3.86) Какво е чудо станало  
 във старо село Спасово!  
 В село германци дойдоха  
 и на общината отидоха,

What a wonder took place [+AUX]  
 in the old village of Spasovo!  
 Into the village came [AOR] Germans  
 and they went [AOR] to the municipality building

The first two lines contain a +AUX form and the last two use simplex indicative forms. Because the coming of the Germans is a specific part of the “wonder” that took place, one would probably expect that all three actions could be expressed with the same type of verb: if the second two actions were witnessed, the first should have been as well. Instead, the initial two lines seem to “set the stage” for the rest of the song.

A different example can be seen with a –AUX verb and followed by an indicative form:

(3.87) Имала, мама, имала  
 един син Стоян на мама,  
 той за син, той за дъщеря.  
 Мама Стояну думаше:

Мама had [–AUX], oh, Mama had [–AUX]  
 only one dear son Stoyan,  
 as a son and as a daughter.  
 Mama said [IMPT] to Stoyan

The lyrical subject uses an indicative verb<sup>46</sup> to mark the fact that Mama ‘said’ something to her son Stoyan; if this fact is therefore asserted as true, it would necessarily follow that the

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46. The verb *думаше* here is actually in the imperfect tense, and not the aorist as in the previous example. In this instance and one or two others in the corpus, imperfect forms seem to characterize what would really be expected to be seen as a punctuated, not durative action—i.e., the kind of action that would be expressed by an aorist verb. My familiarity with preindustrial Bulgarian folk songs leads me to believe that a broader use of imperfects where aorists would otherwise be expected in the standard language may be an important linguistic property of many folk songs; this assertion is also tested in the survey I carried out (see §6.1).

narrator would also know with certainty that Mama ‘had’ this son as well, and there should be no reason that the verb ‘had’ would be in a renarrated form. Instead, it seems that both +AUX and –AUX forms mark not evidentiality, but rather backgrounding.

One might see this transition from background to foregrounding on a larger scale in the opening of a longer song that gradually draws the listener into the action:

(3.88) Гъста е могла паднала  
над Боховската планина,  
на Еничова равнина.  
Тъкмо е чета стигнала  
на туй овчарско пладнище,  
буен е огън наклала,  
дрехите да си изсушат.  
Кога е Стефан погледнал,  
полиция е съгледал.  
Чета команда дочува  
и бързо место заема.  
Сипе се сиво олово,  
води се борба сурова...  
Във тая битка кървава  
Стефан и Вельо паднаха.

A thick fog fell [+AUX]  
over the Bohovska Mountain  
onto the Enichova Plain.  
The detachment had just reached [+AUX]  
the shepherd’s grazing ground,  
had started a roaring fire, [+AUX]  
to dry out their clothes.  
When Stefan checked [+AUX]  
the police spotted them. [+AUX]  
The detachment hear the command [PRES]  
and quickly take their place. [PRES]  
Lead rains down, [PRES]  
a fierce battle ensues... [PRES]  
In this bloody fight  
Stefan and Velyo fell. [AOR]

There are three separate blocks in this passage in which verbal forms are all of the same type. The setting is established with +AUX forms, in which actions leading up to the battle occur. Once more dynamic action begins, the narrator switches to historical present forms,

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However, due to insufficient data in the songs in my study, I have been unable to address this question in detail in the present work.

temporarily merging the cognitive worlds of the listener and the story.<sup>47</sup> When the narrator arrives at the results of the battle, he uses the indicative aorist. The changes in the type of the verbal forms here do not seem to be tied to the extent to which the narrator can vouch for the accuracy of the events; surely if he actually witnessed the deaths of these soldiers, he would have been present to witness the battle itself taking place as well. Instead, this progression of verbal forms can be seen as building up the dynamism and emotional intensity of the entire sequence of events.

Such a situation has parallels in the standard language. Fielder has argued convincingly that the difference between +AUX and –AUX forms in the contemporary standard language is not strictly one of evidentiality, but rather of discourse. She claims that “[i]n the third person, where the auxiliary may be omitted to distinguish the evidential from the non-evidential form, the use of the auxiliary for BACKGROUNDING and its omission for FOREGROUNDING occurs in a context which has already been established as evidential” (Fielder 1995:597). Of more relevance for the situation here, however, she has observed shifts in Old Bulgarian texts between indicative forms on the one hand and +AUX and –AUX forms on the other. In the story of Ivan Rilski in the seventeenth-century Tihonvraov *damaskin*, for example, she describes an early stage in the development of grammaticalized evidentiality: “The I-participle does not consistently signal reported events, but rather serves to background events with respect to the definite past” (Fielder 1998:359). Although the forms in Fielder’s study are contrasted with indicative past forms and those in this example are opposed to the indicative present, it looks like these forms may be following a similar principle. It is not so much evidential distinctions that are conveyed, but rather changes in the progression of the narrative.

### 3.7.5. Conclusion: Evidential-Like Forms

Both the fact of vacillation in the presence of the auxiliary verb and the discourse functions that +AUX and –AUX L-participle forms seem to convey point to the fact that renarrated forms in these texts often do not concord with the way they are described in normative grammars. To be sure, the texts, which describe events of the recent past and also discuss the future, do not always include many past-tense forms, and when they do, many are simply in the indicative mood. However, when +AUX and –AUX forms appear, it would seem that the presence or absence of the auxiliary verb is of little significance. Instead, these forms work alongside forms of the indicative to structure the narrative.

### 3.8. Noun-Adjective Word Order

This section addresses the ordering of nouns and their modifiers within noun phrases. With few exceptions, attributive adjectives and other nominal modifiers in standard Bulgarian can appear only before the nouns they modify. In the songs in my study, however, the high frequency with which noun phrases appear with a postposed adjective

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47. The shift to historical present is a well studied phenomenon: it has been shown to structure the narrative rather than to ascribe any changes in temporal meaning.



would indicate that this rule does not apply in song texts. Indeed, the wide presence of these noun-adjective phrases is one of the most visible syntactic peculiarities of the songs.

### 3.8.1. Word Order in Standard-Language Noun Phrases

The ordinary position of attributive adjectives in standard Bulgarian, immediately before their head nouns, is the one most commonly found in these songs. For example, in the phrase:

- (3.89) Сипе се сиво олово  
 Sipe se sivo olovo  
 pours REFL grey lead  
*Grey lead pours down*

the adjective *сиво* ‘grey,’ comes before the noun; the adjective-noun phrase *сиво олово* ‘grey lead,’ would sound natural in standard-language prose or speech. However, noun-adjective word order is also regularly encountered in these songs, as in a phrase like the following:

- (3.90) момък славен се явил  
 momŭk slaven se javil  
 young.man glorious REFL appeared  
*an honorable young man appeared*

Here, the modifier *славен* ‘glorious’ comes after the noun it modifies, *момък* ‘young man.’ Such inversion is widespread in these songs, and the ubiquity of this device would indicate that noun-adjective word order is an emblematic feature of Bulgarian song language.

### 3.8.2. Historical Background of Noun-Adjective Word Order

The possibility for noun-adjective word order in song texts is almost certainly inherited from an earlier Indo-European tradition. Although the evidence is not fully conclusive, many linguists believe that the basic word order in Indo-European noun phrases was adjective-noun (Lehmann 1974:69). Delbrück (1900, v.5:94-95), citing examples from Sanskrit, Ancient Greek, Latin, and other early Indo-European languages, demonstrates this convincingly. At the same time, however, he posits that when an adjective comes after its noun, it places emphasis on the special quality of that adjective. For example, the Sanskrit noun-adjective phrase:

- (3.91) *áśvaḥ śvētáḥ*  
 horse white

really carries the meaning of “a horse, and, indeed, a white one” (“*ein Pferd, und zwar ein weisses*”) (96). More to the point of the present study, Clackson (2007:166) remarks that

noun-adjective word order is found in Indo-European “particularly in poetic or highly stylised texts.” Because noun-adjective word order appears in similar contexts in Slavic, it seems reasonable to assume that it is a feature of Indo-European that has been retained for use as a poetic device.

Indeed, when this inherited syntactic pattern appears in South Slavic contexts, it almost always carries some sort of specialized stylistic marking. It is likely that, once adjective-noun word order became fixed in Slavic, the only contexts in which noun-adjective word order could be found were performative genres, such as tales and epic songs, that had their origins in an earlier Indo-European tradition. As such, this word order became emblematic of folkloric language. A noun-adjective phrase would be marked in any case because of its nonstandard word order, but I suspect that it conveys this particular type of folkloric marking precisely because of its origin in Indo-European lyrical contexts and retention in traditional poetic language.

Relevant here also is the notion of the formula. Parry (1930) explains how singers of epic songs make use of repeated instances of the same phrase in order to be able to compose lines of a complex song in the moment of singing: He explains that singers make use of “formulas,” which he defines as “a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea” (Parry 1930:80). Essentially, as Lord (2000:30-67) explains in more detail, particular noun phrases would come to be used in the fixed form, and singers could use not just random words but especially these set phrases to readily compose lines of a certain length or meter. Since these formulae, which included many noun-adjective phrases, were used repeatedly, the structures eventually became fixed and began to circulate throughout South Slavic linguistic culture in this form.

Clackson (2007:181) also notes that while many scholars have embraced Parry’s idea of the formula, they do not always feel that the “metrical conditions” he mentions are critical for the establishment of a particular formula across genres, since the same formulas recur throughout texts of different meters and, indeed, different genres. As he explains, “We are therefore left with the formula defined as the fixed expression of an essential idea” (ibid.). This, I expect, explains how particular noun-adjective phrases come to reappear throughout the different songs in this corpus. While the songs vary in their metrical structures and musical styles, this more generalized definition of the “formula” offers an explanation for why particular noun phrases—including those with noun-adjective order—can be found multiple times throughout the different types of songs in this study.

### **3.8.3. Frequencies of Noun-Adjective Word Order and Methodology**

While noun-adjective word order seems ubiquitous upon even a quick perusal of the songs in these corpora, I wanted to ascertain precisely how characteristic this syntactic pattern is in comparison with unmarked noun-adjective word order and what exactly triggers its appearance. Suspecting that other types of noun modifiers might have similar word order patterns, I also created separate lists of nouns with attributive possessive pronouns, pronominal adjectives, ordinal numbers, and passive participles. I intended to track active participles as well, but none were found as attributive modifiers in any of the texts.

In order to ensure that my lists reflected an accurate representation of the linguistic material that made up the texts, I imposed several limitations on the word pairs I recorded. These songs contain many repeated lines and phrases, and there are many instances where the same noun-modifier phrase appears several times. Therefore, I recorded only the first instance of each unique combination of noun and modifier. Secondly, when a noun was modified by more than one word, I counted only the one closest to the noun. For example, in:

(3.92) След тая сурова война  
 Sled taja surova vojna  
 after this harsh war  
*After this harsh war*

I recorded the phrase *сурова война*, without the pronominal adjective *тая*. Some nouns contained modifiers both before and after the noun, as in:

(3.93) Дай ми своята сила крилата  
 Daj mi svojata sila krilata  
 give me your strength winged  
*Give me your winged strength*

In such a case, I recorded the modifier-noun and noun-modifier pairs separately; this example would be recorded as both *своята сила* and *сила крилата*.<sup>48</sup> Expecting that proper nouns could have relatively inflexible word order rules, I did not record instances of phrases that were proper nouns. Geographical names, such as the Bulgarian *Стара планина* ('Balkan Mountain,' literally 'Old Mountain'), were excluded. I also did not record phrases where the noun was a proper name, skipping, for example, *млади Денчо* and *млад Славчо* from the line:

(3.94) Млади Денчо и млад Славчо  
 Mladi Denčo i mlad Slavčo  
 young Dencho and young Slavcho  
*the young Dencho and young Slavcho*

Similarly, I skipped phrases containing possessive adjectives formed from personal names, such as *Аленова майка* 'Alen's mother.' Adjectives describing qualities of a proper noun, such as *царибродска* 'of Tsaribrod,' however, were included. Any noun phrases syntactically interrupted by another word, such as a clitic, were excluded; I only recorded

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48. One might suspect that noun-adjective-noun phrases behave in a special manner. There were 16 such phrases altogether across the Innovative and Traditional Corpora. For the most part, they resembled the qualities of most other noun-adjective phrases. However, it was apparent that the postposed adjective in these phrases was more likely to be a derived adjective or one reflecting the qualities of a proper noun, as in phrases like *нашта гара сливенска* 'our Sliven railroad station' or *нови дрехи хайдучки* 'new hajduk clothes.' Nine such phrases contained this structure.

instances where modifiers were directly adjacent to their head nouns.<sup>49</sup> Interrogative pronouns were also skipped, as I suspected their potential for word order variation would be more limited. Therefore, in the lines:

(3.95) Партизани сговаряха  
 Partizani sgovarjaha  
 Partisans plotted

кои друми да ударят  
 koi drumi da udarjat  
 which roads to strike

*The Partisans were plotting / which roads to strike*

the phrase *кои друми* was skipped because it constituted part of an embedded question.<sup>50</sup> Even barring all of these types of phrases that were excluded, a total of 414 noun phrases were counted, which was quite enough to note both qualitative and quantitative trends.

### 3.8.4. Semantic Characteristics of Noun-Adjective Word Order

The resulting lists of noun-modifier and modifier-noun phrases revealed no firm rules, but they did point to some tendencies in word order patterning for noun phrases. The presence of both specific formulae and general semantic patterns for noun-adjective and adjective-noun phrases were uncovered, as were certain factors that condition the appearance of marked noun-modifier phrases.

Overall, phrases appearing in marked noun-adjective word order tended to be associated with more emotively marked concepts. Nouns and adjectives from such phrases were often associated with domestic life and romantic spheres of lexicon, such as the natural world, family, and country. Typical phrases of this type include: *друми безкрайни* ‘endless roads,’ *братство велико* ‘great brotherhood,’ *борец народен* ‘people’s fighter,’ *полята родни* ‘native fields,’ and *партио* [sic] *славно* ‘glorious party.’ These phrases also

49. For more on noun phrases that are split by intervening clitics, see §3.6.2.2.

50. Note that there were also several instances of reduced relatives; in these cases, a word may appear to be a postposed attributive adjective, but it actually functions as the predicative adjective for a reduced relative. For example, in the lines:

(3.96) Да се чака друго време, / по- добро за бой  
 Da se čaka drugo vreme, po- dobro za boj  
 to REFL wait other time, more- good for fight  
*To wait until another time, / better for fighting*

a quick glance may give the impression that *по-добро* is the attributive modifier of *време*, but in fact it modifies an underlying relativizer, (i.e. *което* ‘which’); the syntax would be more explicitly translated as ‘another time, which would be better for fighting.’ Because they do not represent single noun phrases, they were not included in this study.

seemed to be more commonly about abstract rather than concrete ideas. More objective, straightforward, and non-emotively marked phrases usually appeared in standard adjective-noun word order. Examples of such phrases include *бял ориз* 'white rice,' *десен джоб* 'right-side pocket,' *дребни куршуми* 'little bullets,' *ловджийска коптура* 'hunter's shanty,' *сиво олово* 'grey lead,' *сребърен прашек* 'silver dust,' and *трудов празник* 'worker's holiday.' Certainly, given the romantic nature of these songs, along with the fact that standard adjective-noun word order was still more common, there were many vividly poetic phrases in standard word order, such as *народни синове* 'native sons,' *сини езера* 'blue lakes,' and so on. However, very few phrases referring to the mundane or unremarkable could be found in marked word order; almost all appeared as standard adjective-noun phrases.

Accordingly, this trend of describing personal and sentimental concepts in noun-adjective order means that, in songs describing both the Bulgarian people and an adversary of some kind, noun-adjective phrases were also often more positively marked, and tended to describe concepts related to a specifically Bulgarian experience. Only a few noun-adjective phrases, such as *предател тъп* 'dumb traitor,' relate to an ostensible fascist enemy, and several others, such as *скръб голяма* 'great anguish,' represent a negative but still intimately Bulgarian wartime experience. Phrases relating to an enemy, such as *брутална гордост* 'brutal pride' or *германските орди* 'the German hordes,' generally appear in standard word order. As such, all three instances of the adjective 'Bulgarian' (*държава българска* 'Bulgarian state,' *войници български* 'Bulgarian soldiers,' *млеко българско* 'Bulgarian milk') appear in noun-adjective order, while all eight instances of 'fascist' (e.g. *фашистката ламя* 'fascist dragon,' *фашистки враг* 'fascist enemy') are in standard word order. Thus, the romantic sentiment conveyed by noun-adjective word order to some extent leads it to be employed pragmatically to signal "Bulgarian-ness" as well.

I see these general semantic trends as perhaps the strongest conditioning factor for noun-adjective word order. Although they only describe tendencies rather than rules, there does seem to be a general principle in place for marking the local, familiar, and nationally cherished with noun-adjective word order.

### 3.8.5. Noun-Adjective Word Order and the Question of Formulas

Additionally, the possibility of the existence of several formulaic phrases emerged from the data. Three noun-adjective phrases appeared multiple times: *гора/горо зелена* 'green forest' (four times), *моме хубава* 'pretty girl' (two times), *поле широко* 'wide field' (three times). Because I recorded only one instance of a set phrase per song, this means that multiple texts had instances of these phrases. Moreover, simple internet searches for these phrases reveal hundreds of hits from what appear to be numerous unique texts, and they can be spotted among many preindustrial songs as well. Because noun-adjective word order does not occur in the standard language, the fact that many instances of these phrases can be found in other songs from before and after the socialist era indicates that they are likely set formulae that have circulated in Bulgarian poetic contexts.

### 3.8.6. Noun-Adjective Word Order and Vocative Function

I also tested the noun phrases in the corpus to see whether vocative function had any influence on their word order. Slavic epithets, curses, and other formulae of address can, at times, appear with modifiers following their head noun. Indeed, some phrases can be fixed this way. For example, the Bulgarian phrase:

(3.97) гад такава!  
gad takava!  
pest such  
*what a pest!*

regularly occurs with this noun-modifier position, which, again, would be prohibited for the most part in the standard language. A Google search shows 213 results for “*такава гад*” and 218 for “*гад такава*,” but a cursory examination of the results shows that those from the former set are used syntactically within a sentence, whereas those of the latter type are used as vocatives or phrasal interjections.<sup>51</sup> Since noun-modifier phrases often take on these roles in modern spoken Bulgarian, I suspected this pattern might also characterize the phrases in my songs that are used as vocatives.<sup>52</sup>

Indeed, such a pattern was shown to be the case; vocative phrases in the songs in the Traditional, Innovative, and March Corpora collectively occurred more often with marked noun-adjective word order than did non-vocative phrases. The results of this examination can be seen in Figure 3.9. While both vocative and non-vocative phrases can readily occur with both word order patterns, a chi-square test shows that noun-adjective patterning for vocatives is, with statistical significance to a degree of  $p = .025$ , more likely. Thus, the pragmatic function of a noun phrase—specifically, that of vocative function—can also determine its word order in songs.

Function	Word Order		
	Unmarked	Marked	% Marked
Vocative	22	17	44%
Non-Vocative	215	77	26%

Figure 3.9: Counts of Vocative and Non-Vocative Noun Phrases Occurring in Unmarked and Marked Word Order

### 3.8.7. The Relevance of Rhyme and Genre to Noun-Adjective Word Order

I also considered the possibility, however, that the linguistic structure of a song itself could affect noun phrase word ordering. Some songs in this study have strict rhyme

51. Search conducted April 1, 2014.

52. Other Indo-European languages permit special word order variation for vocative phrases as well. For example, Clackson (2007:168), citing Hale, explains that in Avestan left-detachment is only possible for vocatives.

schemes, while others lack rhyme entirely. I hypothesized that rhyme might influence the word order of nouns and adjectives: a composer putting effort into creating a rhymed text might be more likely to employ syntactically variant—that is, noun-adjective—phrases in order to increase his possibilities of finding an appropriate word to complete a rhyme. Therefore, texts in which rhyme is an organizing factor might have a greater proportion of noun-adjective pairs than would a text comprised of unrhymed lines.

To test this hypothesis, I grouped unrhymed texts from the Innovative Corpus with the songs in the Traditional Corpus (all of which were unrhymed), and compared these songs with the remaining rhymed songs from the Innovative Corpus. Surprisingly, the presence of rhyme did not seem to affect the order of noun phrases in the way I expected. In fact, noun-modifier word order occurred *more* often in unrhymed texts (in 27% of noun phrases) than in rhymed texts (in 12% of such phrases). Rhyme alone clearly did not influence how likely a composer was to use nonstandard word order.

I then considered the possibility that syntactic patterns might be more readily influenced by genre. In that noun-adjective phrases likely continue older Indo-European poetic structures, it seemed possible that they might be correlated more consistently with older types of songs, in this case, those that make up the Traditional Corpus. In fact, to some extent, this appeared to be the case. Figure 3.10 shows the percentage of noun phrases in the three corpora, sorted by modifier type, occurring in unmarked (UM) and marked (M) word order, with the total percentage of the latter. Overall, the Traditional Corpus has the highest frequency of noun phrases occurring with marked noun-modifier word order; this is particularly evident when one examines phrases of just nouns and attributive adjectives. Curiously, the March Corpus had a great deal more phrases in marked word order than did the Innovative Corpus; for most linguistic features analyzed in this study, it is the least marked of the three. Although there was no statistical difference between the March and Innovative Corpora or the March and Traditional Corpora, one does see a statistically significant difference between the Traditional and Innovative Corpora with a degree of  $p = .041$ .

	Adjective			Poss. Pronoun			Pron. Adjective			Ord. Number			Pass. Participle			TOTAL		
	UM	M	% M	UM	M	% M	UM	M	% M	UM	M	% M	UM	M	% M	UM	M	% M
<b>Traditional</b>	93	47	34%	18	0	0%	8	0	0%	1	0	0%	2	0	0%	<b>122</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>28%</b>
<b>Innovative</b>	36	7	16%	6	1	14%	4	0	0%	0	0	0%	2	0	0%	<b>48</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>14%</b>
<b>March</b>	108	40	27%	21	2	9%	10	0	0%	1	0	0%	3	4	57%	<b>143</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>24%</b>

**Figure 3.10: Counts of Noun Phrases in Corpora with Unmarked and Marked Word Order Sorted by Modifier Types**

These results are more readily accounted for than are those that considered the potential effects of rhyme. It is logical that word ordering tendencies might vary in some way according to the style of song, while there would be no reason to suspect that rhyme itself would trigger *fewer* noun-adjective phrases. It is possible that adherence to an older style of unrhymed song might lead authors to employ the more markedly poetic noun-adjective word order pattern.

However, it is also worth noting in the above tables that noun-possessive pronoun phrases and noun-passive participle phrases occurred only in the Innovative and March Corpora, that is, only in songs of a newer style; moreover, they only occur in those songs that have rhyme. While these results are not statistically significant, they do point to a pattern that makes sense. In an effort to create rhymed pairs of words, composers may have stretched the limits of traditional grammatical rules for songs, putting not only adjectives, but also possessive pronouns and passive participles after their head nouns as well. Both of these latter categories have a great deal of rhyming potential due to similar inflectional endings across person (e.g. *мој* ‘my,’ *твој* ‘your,’ *свој* ‘one’s own’) for possessive pronouns and the common *-en* and *-an* endings for passive participles. Thus, they lend themselves readily to being rhymed and, when rhyming was a priority for a composer, they could have provided a ready source of euphonious phonological material for him to employ.

### **3.8.8. Noun-Adjective Word Order: Conclusion**

Overall, it can be seen that noun-adjective word order, a syntactic pattern not permitted in standard South Slavic languages, appears widely as a folkloric marker in song texts. Noun-adjective phrases are particularly common for describing ideas that carry a sense of national intimacy and romantic sentimentality, and several such phrases seem to be fossilized remnants of traditional lyrical formulae. These noun phrases are found more commonly in songs composed of individual unrhymed lines with a regular number of syllables than in newer styles of songs, and they are used particularly often for marking vocative expressions. It seems that this word order pattern, a relic of Indo-European poetics, still carries strong marking in modern South Slavic lyrical culture.

### **3.9. Morphology and Syntax: Conclusion**

Although it is not possible to discuss every instance of an unusual linguistic form in the songs in this study, the eight features described in this chapter recur with enough frequency that they can be seen as part of a pattern: they are probably the morphological and syntactic traits most likely to resonate with speakers as markers of the language of folk songs. Although several the traits, in particular “western” first-person plural verbal endings and noun-adjective word order, can be found in decent numbers in all types of songs, the other features appear most readily in songs of the unrhymed line type, i.e. those that make up the Traditional Corpus. Perhaps one of the most interesting facts about several of the features in this section is the inconsistency with which they appear, often even within one individual song. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, this variation could be attributed to the actions of an editor or publisher, but it could also point to the idea that these features comprise a set of devices that can be optionally added to folkloric texts. Certainly, it seems that the various features described in this section are important markers of the language of folk songs.



## Chapter 4

### Lexicon

This chapter addresses the presence of nonstandard lexemes within the primary corpora in this study. It concerns what are conceived of here as two somewhat distinct groups of words. The first includes several key words that appear fairly regularly throughout the songs. Five of these words—*думам* ‘to say,’ *мома* ‘young woman,’ *момък* ‘young man,’ *либе* ‘lover,’ and, to a lesser extent, *уда* ‘go/come’—all occur throughout the Traditional and Innovative Corpora and appear to be regular markers of folkloric language. Two more—*че*, ‘because/for,’ and *уо*, which has a variety of meanings—seem to serve as short, one-syllable stand-ins for other words and allow for greater brevity within a line. The other group includes a number of nonstandard words that occur only one or two times throughout the corpus. Because they are marked as dialectal or otherwise poetically resonant, they lend an archaic or rural quality to songs otherwise composed of mostly standard words. Both of these groups of words function on the lexical level to enhance the folkloric quality of a song.

#### 4.1. Key Folkloric Words

This section looks at a set of words that occur commonly throughout the songs in this study; these words regularly appear in place of other, more standard words with the same meaning. Although the processes that caused them to become identified with lyrical texts are of various natures and are not always entirely clear, their repeated appearance in those songs that are most identified with the “folk” indicates that they should be considered strong markers of folkloric language. In the following sections, these words are addressed one by one.

##### 4.1.1. *думам*

The verb *думам* and its perfective counterpart *продумам* appear often in place of the standard word for ‘say,’ *казвам* (pf. *кажа*). Various dictionaries<sup>53</sup> describe the word *думам* as “folk” (“народно”) (dictionaries B and D), or “dialectal” (“диалектно”) (dictionary C). Certainly, the word does not appear in neutral contexts in the standard language. All of the examples from literature given in dictionary C, for example, appear in excerpts of dialogue presumably representing “folk” speech rather than neutral third-person literary narration. Indeed, even in dictionary A, originally published in 1895 when the modern literary language was in a more fluid stage of standardization, one example given of usage is the sentence *Мама Стояну думаше* ‘Mama was saying to Stoyan,’ in which the indirect object has an obsolete dative case marker (see section §3.4.3); another example is a succession of lines from a folk song. In short, the contexts in which *думам* appears are highly marked and not representative of contemporary standard verbal culture.

In the songs in this study, however, *думам* and its perfective counterpart *продумам* appear nine times, exclusively in the Traditional Corpus. In contrast, its counterpart in the literary language, *казвам/кажа*, appears only five times: three in Traditional songs, once in an Innovative song, and once in a March. While again, these numbers are too small to make strong assertions, *думам* occurs only in folk songs of an older style and not at all in songs of a more contemporary type.

At the same time, *думам* does not completely subsume *казвам* as the word for ‘say,’ even in Traditional songs. In one such song, for example, one encounters both verbal roots, in the lines:

- (4.1) Пък снахата ни продума  
 Pŭk snahata ni produma  
 but daughter.in.law us said  
*But our daughter-in-law said to us*

and:

- (4.2) Я и бабата казахме  
 Ja i babata kazahme  
 I and grandmother-DEF said  
*The grandmother and I said*

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53. This chapter refers to dictionaries using the following abbreviations (“dictionary A,” etc):

A — Gerov 1895/1975 (a six-volume dictionary)

B — Romanski et al. 1954 (a three volume dictionary)

C — Cholakova et al. 1977 (the dictionary of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, thus far consisting of 14 volumes of the letters A through П)

D — Andreichin et al. 2008 (a contemporary single-volume dictionary)

E — Mladenov 1941 (a single-volume etymological dictionary)

F — Georgiev et al. 1971 (the etymological dictionary of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, thus far consisting of 7 volumes of the letters A through the beginning of T)

In the imperfective, conjugated forms of both *думам* and *казвам* would have the same number of syllables, but the perfective variant *продумам* would have one more syllable than perfective *кажа* in all grammatical forms. Thus, it may be that *продумам* is selected instead of *кажа* precisely when a singer needs to add an extra syllable to her line.

It is also possible that *думам* permits an unusual pattern of syntactic agreement that *казвам* does not. Indirect objects of Bulgarian verbs of communication ('say,' 'speak,' 'talk,' etc.) take dative agreement, and for non-pronominal objects, this relationship is indicated with the preposition *на*. For example, the typical way to say 'Mama was saying to Stoyan' would be:

- (4.3) Мама казваше на Стоян  
 Мама kazvaše na Stojan  
 Мама say-IMPT to Stoyan  
*Mama was saying to Stoyan*

where the preposition *на* identifies *Стоян* as the indirect object of *казваше*. However, there are two instances of *думам* in separate songs in which the indirect object is not morphologically marked:<sup>54</sup>

- (4.4) Тошо другари думаше  
 Tošo drugari dumaše  
 Tošo comrades say-IMPT  
*Tošo was saying to the comrades*

and:

- (4.5) Димитър дума момчета  
 Dimitŭr duma momčeta  
 Dimitŭr say-AOR boys  
*Dimitŭr said to the boys*

These sentences would not be grammatically possible in the standard language with the verb *казвам/кажа*. There are instances in which the case of indirect objects is marked not with *на* but rather obsolete case endings, with both *думам*:

- (4.6) Драганка дума майци си  
 Draganka duma majci si  
 Draganka said-AOR mother-DAT REFL  
*Draganka said to her mother*

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54. For more elaboration on this phenomenon, see section §3.2.

and standard *кажа*:<sup>55</sup>

- (4.7) Народу сме казали  
Narodu sme kazali  
folk-DAT AUX say-LPART  
*We have said to the people*

However, in the phrases in examples 4.4 and 4.5 above, found only with the marked word *думам*, syntactic relations can be understood only from context. As discussed earlier, the dropping of *на* in dative constructions is found in other places as well, and it may be coincidence that the only examples of this phenomenon with verbs of communication are found with *думам*. Nonetheless, based on this modest amount of evidence, it would seem that *думам* may optionally appear with something closer to an archaic syntactic pattern, one that more closely reflects a stage before the development of analytic *на* for datives.

The word *думам*, it would seem, is a prototypical feature of the dialect register. Standard Bulgarian dictionaries all contain the word, but they generally classify it as “folk” or “dialectal.” On the one hand, there does appear to be a regional nature of *думам*; it appears in small clusters throughout southwestern Bulgaria (Stoikov 1975 v. 3) but does not appear in the Bulgarian Academy of Science’s dialect atlases of the other three quadrants of Bulgaria (ibid. v. 1, 2, 4). However, a more recent dictionary shows verbs of this form attested in many areas throughout Bulgaria, including Veliko Tŭrnovo, Dobrich, Ruse, Montana, and Haskovo (Boiadzhiev et al. 2012:756-757).<sup>56</sup> It may be that the word is encountered more as a typical lexeme in the southwest of Bulgaria but appears in some registers of speech in much of the rest of the country. *Думам* also seems to enjoy a privileged status in the national language, as it is included in a national “dialect dictionary” (Antonova-Vasileva & Keremidchieva 2001:71-72). This is a reference work that lists a large number of words perceived to be “dialectal”, but does not ascribe to these words any information about the specific regions in which they are used. In fact, the dictionary cites *думам* in a passage by national poet Hristo Botev; the implication would seem to be that the word is significant for the literary culture of all Bulgaria. Although not the only verb used to mean “say” in these songs, *думам* appears with such frequency and only in texts of the Traditional Corpus, so it appears to be closely linked with folkloric language.<sup>57</sup>

#### 4.1.2. *мома* and *момък*

The word *мома* refers to a young, unmarried woman, especially one considered to be of “suitable” age for marriage. It might be translated best as ‘maiden’ or, especially, ‘lass,’

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55. These examples with case endings are discussed in §3.4.

56. Schallert and Greenberg (2007:26) indicate that unspecified “other sources” show that words with the *duma-* root also occur in eastern Macedonian, Bulgarian dialects of Romania and Ukraine, and in certain eighteenth-century *damaskini*.

57. Note as well that another dialectal word with this meaning, *хортувам*, appears twice in this corpus. Its frequency is therefore much less than that of *думам*, but it points to the idea that perhaps this sememe is one for which dialectal substitutions are particularly commonly used or considered acceptable for printing.

in that this latter term for a young unmarried woman in most varieties of English is generally restricted to older poetic contexts. In contemporary (and, in particular, urban) Bulgarian, the word *момма* is not generally used, possibly because the “marriageability” of a woman is no longer a category one explicitly identifies.<sup>58</sup> *Момиче*, which shares the same root and is the most typical word for ‘girl,’ is probably the closest contemporary synonym. *Девојка*, another word for ‘girl,’ is also relatively common; otherwise, one might simply refer to a person of this age as a *млада жена* ‘young woman.’

Dictionaries generally do not characterize the word *момма* as “folk” or “dialectal” (although dictionary C does classify the vocative form *моме* specifically as “folk,” “народно”).<sup>59</sup> Possibly, it is assumed that explicitly characterizing a woman by her marital status would be unusual in contemporary society anyway, but that this word would still be neutral if someone cared to convey this information. Even so, it would seem that there is a good basis for treating *момма* as a “folk” word. Rusek (1984:114) mentions that *момма* is mostly characteristic of “women’s” folk songs (“*zasadniczo do pieśni ludowej i [...] tylko w pieśniach żeńskich*”); he also says that the word was “avoided” (“*unikany*”) in most early literary texts despite appearing somewhat regularly in the damaskins (ibid.). While he does not explain the reasons for this stylistic division, it does seem to have long-standing roots in the history of the language. A more contemporary hint of recognition of the register of *момма* is one of the definitions found in dictionary A, who says that a *момма* is “a village girl — as opposed to a city lady” (“*селска девојка — за разлика от градска госпожица*”). Because he emphasizes that this word describes “rural” individuals, it would seem that *момма* probably has a stronger association with the language of the “folk” than standard dictionaries would indicate.

Correspondingly, *момма* is extremely widespread in the “folk” songs in the corpus. It occurs in 21 unique lines, altogether in nine Traditional songs and two Innovative songs, but never in Marches. Of possible synonyms for this word, only *девојка* appears at all, and in two of the three lines that contain *девојка*, it is in the *figura etymologica* *подевка девојки*. I expect that this is a regularly occurring formula, like those discussed in §3.8.5. Except for this phrase, whenever young women appear in these songs, they are almost always referred to as a *момма*.

A less quantitatively significant but parallel relationship can be seen with the word *момък*, of the same etymological root as *момма*. *Момък* could probably be translated as ‘boy’ or ‘lad,’ like *момма*, and many definitions of this word mention the fact that a *момък* is a male who is old enough to be married but is not yet. While no contemporary standard-language speaker would unironically refer to anyone as a *момък*, dictionaries do not generally attribute stylistic descriptors to the word. Nonetheless, Rusek (1984:114) writes that, historically, *момък* came to be associated with “folk lexicon” (“*śłownictwa ludowego*”), although he offers no explanation for this process. Indeed, this word appears six times, in five separate songs, all of which are in the Traditional Corpus; the most semantically

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58. Similar to English “Ms.” and “Mrs.,” there is a distinction made between *госпожица* and *госпожа*, but these words are used mostly as terms of address and are based more upon the age of the referent than her marital status.

59. For more on the stylistic associations with vocative forms ending in *-e*, see Girvin 2013.

equivalent word, *момче*, the unmarked word for ‘boy,’ appears only two times. Thus, this word appears to be a regular marker of folkloric language.

It should be noted as well that, in three of the four instances in which *момък* appears in an adjective phrase, the adjective is postposed; that is, the noun phrase appears in noun-adjective word order.<sup>60</sup> As discussed in §3.8.5, noun-adjective word order may indicate that the noun phrase is a regular formula learned as a fixed phrase by singers. Moreover, Rusek (1984:113) cites an early occurrence of this word in Wallachian Bulgarian legal documents of the fifteenth century, where it appears in the phrase *млади момъци*; this same phrase is seen in one of the instances found in the corpus. While the genres of the songs in this study and the Wallachian documents are entirely different, and ‘young’ would not be an unexpected modifier for this noun anyway, it is possible that *момък* might be regularly coordinated with *млади*. Both of these points would support the idea that *момък* has been retained in folkloric language partially because singers know it as part of a ready-made formula.

Given the frequencies with which *момък* and, in particular, *мома* appear in comparison with more standard-language equivalents, it would seem that both words are highly emblematic of folkloric language.

#### 4.1.3. либе

The word *либе* appears to be a regional realization of a Common Slavic root that later gained national currency as a folkloric word. A noun of neuter gender that can refer both to men and women, *либе* would generally be translated as “lover,” “love” (in the personified sense), or “beloved.”

*Либе* seems to have strong associations with folk texts in Bulgarian, although dictionaries do not always indicate this. Dictionary D gives no stylistic information, but does provide two definitions of the word: the first is “a person, whom someone male or female loves,” and the sole example given is from a folk song; the second definition reads “Primarily in songs: husband, wife.” Dictionary B describes the word as “folk” (“народен”), and gives four examples: the first comes from a poetic work by Petko Slaveikov that has unrhymed lines and eight syllables per line, and appears to be metrically identical to the songs in the Traditional Corpus;<sup>61</sup> the third and fourth examples are from a folk song and a proverb. Whether or not dictionaries state so explicitly, *либе* appears to be restricted almost entirely to folkloric texts.

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60. In one of these three instances, *с моми, момци братски прегръщали* ‘they embraced lasses and brotherly lads,’ it is quite possible that the modifier *братски* is not an adjective modifying *момци*, but rather an adverb modifying the verb *прегръщали*, which would instead render this phrase ‘they embraced lasses and lads in a brotherly way.’ In this case, only two out of four noun phrases with *момък* would show unambiguous noun-adjective word order.

61. The folk song citation is “Черней, горо, черней, душо, двама да чернеем; / ти за твойте листе, горо, аз за първо либе.” These lines are a variant of the Macedonian song on which Aleksandar Sarievski’s “*Зайди, зайди, ясно сонце*,” a newly composed folk song generally assumed to be “traditional” in Bulgaria, was based.

Indeed, *либе* is found quite commonly in the songs in this study: it appears a total of eight times across five songs (four Traditional and one Innovative) in the corpus, such as in the line:

(4.8) при тебе, либе, ще дойда  
 pri tebe, libe, šte dojda  
 before you love FUT come  
*I will come to you, my love*

The word does not appear in March songs.<sup>62</sup> While a total of eight instances is not overwhelming in and of itself, a comparison with more literary words with similar meanings is telling. The corpora contain no instances of any of the following words: *любов* ('love'), *любовник* ('lover,' male), *любовница* ('lover,' female), *съпруг* ('husband'), *съпруга* ('wife'), *гадже* ('boyfriend/girlfriend,' colloquial), *любим* ('beloved'), *мъж* (as 'husband' rather than generic 'man'), *жена* (as 'wife' rather than generic 'woman'). There are only two instances of words in the entire corpus containing the *ljub-* root: *залюби*, 'fall in love,' and *любя*, 'to love,' and two more containing the more specifically Bulgarian *obič-* root: *обичам*, 'I love,' and *обич*, 'love.' The fact that there are eight instances of the word *либе* and only four other words of any part of speech related to the concept of love indicates that when singers need to speak of love, they generally do so by having a character or the lyrical subject address another as *либе*. This markedly dialectal word is the primary word associated with love in folk songs.

The word *либе* is of particular interest in this study because, while it appears to be widespread in Bulgarian texts, the underlying phonology of its root points to an origin within a fairly restricted area. An etymological dictionary (F) indicates that the word *либе* reflects a dialectal phonological realization wherein the vowel in the Common Slavic /l'ub/ 'love' root was delabialized and went from /u/ to /i/. While I have been unable to uncover any dialectological data on this root specifically, similar vocalic transformations of two other roots, those in *ключ* 'key' and *лют* 'spicy,' occur primarily in two clusters in eastern Bulgaria along with several other very small regions (Antonova-Vasileva et al. 2001:123, 124). On the whole, the areas where this transformation occurs in the two roots do not make up a very large area of Bulgaria, probably 10-15% at the most.

Crucially, however, these regions in which /u/ was delabialized appear around Koprivshtitsa, part of the area in which the literary elite were most active at the time of Bulgaria's National Revival. It appears that, while speakers maintained orthographic norms (likely influenced by Russian and Church Slavic) for words already a widespread part of the national language (such as *любов*), they allowed for more regional words to be spelled in a way that reflected local norms of pronunciation. In the folk songs and poems gathered in Karavelov's 1878 *New Songbook* (*Нова песнопойка*), for example, there are many instances of the noun *любов*, 'love,' the verb *любя*, 'love,' and derivations thereof. For nouns meaning 'lover,' however, the volume contains only *либе*. It would appear that the *l'ub-* root was

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62. (Given the typical content of marches, however, this is hardly surprising.)

used in literary and more formal styles, but the *lib-* spelling and pronunciation was allowed to take hold in this word because it was found mostly in texts of a folkloric nature.<sup>63</sup>

It seems that *либе* has ultimately circulated as a folkloric word across East South Slavic territory. In the older dictionary A, the lexeme is listed, but it directs the user to a variant that more directly reflects its etymological origin, *люба*. *Люба* appears in its current form in all standard dictionaries by the middle of the twentieth century, and has apparently made its way into Macedonian as well; even there, it is described as occurring “particularly in folk poetry” (“*naročito u narodnoj poeziji*”) (Koneski 1961). Moreover, the locations of origin for two of the songs in this study in which *либе* appears can be identified; both locations appear to be outside the region in which the /u/>/i/ change takes place in dialects.

Thus, *либе* is clearly no longer a local dialect word, but rather one that has spread and gained an important place in the national language. The word has strong folkloric significance as the primary lexeme associated with ‘love’ in folk texts.

#### 4.1.4. *ида*

The verb *ида* reflects a direct continuation of the Common Slavic verb *идти*, meaning ‘go,’ that is found in most contemporary Slavic languages. In standard Bulgarian, however, this verb is not commonly used in its basic meaning; while it still appears in expressions such as *иде ми отръки* ‘I’m handy/skilled at it’ (literally ‘it comes to me from my hands’), the derived verbs *идвам/дойда* are generally used to express ‘come,’ and *отивам/отуда* are used to express ‘go.’ In the songs in this study, though, *ида* occurs noticeably often—probably because of both its archaic status and its brevity—and therefore seems to be a marker of folkloric language.

Dictionaries typically treat *ида* as two separate lexemes. The first is considered to occur only as an imperfective, with the meaning of ‘come,’ equivalent to *идвам*. In dictionaries C and D, it is not described with any stylistic markers. The second *ида* occurs only as a perfective, meaning ‘go,’ like standard *отуда*. This latter lexeme is said to be “colloquial” (“разговорно”) in dictionary D, and “dialectal” (“диалектно”) in dictionary C.<sup>64</sup>

In any case, the status of *ида* in the contemporary spoken language seems to be somewhat marginal. Based on frequency lists from Nikolova 1987 and her own analysis of literary texts, Lindsey’s data show that *ида*—with both meanings of the lexeme treated as one—is relatively infrequently used. It appears 52 times in Nikolova’s corpus of 100,000 words, compared with 345 instances of *идвам/дойда* and 317 of *отивам/отуда*. Additionally, both instances of *ида* together comprise only 1.2% of motion verbs in a corpus of literary texts (Lindsey 2011:57). Since both of these tabulations probably include instances

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63. Note that the first name of Karavelov himself is *Любен* and not *Либен*. The name *Либен*, presumably a dialectal variant of *Любен*, seems to carry connotations of a “village” identity for contemporary Bulgarians; it is not generally given to babies today but does grace the name of a dairy company, “Дядо Либен” (“Uncle Liben”), that features a jolly cartoon man in traditional folk costume as its mascot.

64. It is possible, though, that, for many speakers, the supposed difference between the two lexemes—to the extent that they are used at all—is not always this distinct, both because of their homophony and because the meanings of the two verbs are so close.



of *уда* that form fixed expressions, such as the one described above, and may also include data where a speaker or writer was attempting to use non-standard language for a particular effect, there was likely fairly restricted use of *уда* as an ordinary motion verb. Evidence from the Bulgarian National Corpus also points to this conclusion. There are 25 results for *удехме*, the imperfect first-person plural form of *уда*, but eight times as many, 199, for *удвахме*, the standard imperfect counterpart. Significantly, there were no results for *\*удох*, *\*удохме*, *\*удохте*, or *\*удоха*, the aorist forms of *уда* that would be orthographically distinct from those of the present. As such, this verb appears to be defective; if it had a regular position in the lexicon, one would expect that it would certainly appear in the aorist. I emphasize these points to indicate that, even though *уда* is not marked as such, it is clearly not often used in everyday language.

Nonetheless, there are ten instances of *уда* in the Traditional Corpus. Of these, three seem to be describing the idea of “coming” (that is, the “first” *уда*, not explicitly identified as “colloquial”), as in:

- (4.9) Иде чета, цяла намръщена,  
а с четата млад го Кала нема.

There comes a detachment, completely downcast,  
but among the detachment young Kalo is not there.

and seven describe a “going” motion (the “second” *уда*, described as “colloquial”), as in:

- (4.10) Ази в Балкана ще ида  
със мойто либе Стояна,  
за правда да се бориме

I will go into the Balkan Mountain  
with my lover Stoyan  
to fight for truth.

One might question whether the supposed distinction between two separate lexemes is necessarily maintained, however. In most cases of *уда*, those instances probably meaning ‘come’ could be imperfectives, and those meaning ‘go’ could be perfective, but the distinction does not always seem to be unambiguous. Rather than trying to analyze separately the supposedly opposing meanings of *уда*, I would propose that it can be thought of as one lexeme that makes regular appearances in the language of these songs.

It seems that *уда* appears more regularly in folkloric language because it is something of a linguistic archaism. As a direct continuation of Common Slavic *\*idti*, this verb is etymologically older than now standard verbs like *отуда* that have been derived from it. A number of phonological and morphological archaisms appear in these texts, and it would make sense that a lexeme that no longer appears with much regularity in the contemporary language might still be more present in the songs of folklore.

This is likely also another case where the need for brevity has probably conditioned the retention and employment of a lexeme. While various paradigmatic forms of *ida* would not be any shorter than equivalent forms of “come” (*идвам/дойда*), they would necessarily be a syllable shorter than standard forms of “go” (*отивам/отуда*). Even if *уда* were not used actively in the spoken language, singers might still be aware of its existence, and would use it as a substitute for *отуда* in order to rid lines containing motion verbs of an unnecessary syllable.

Unlike words like *либе* and *думам*, however, *уда* is probably not as strongly identified with specifically folkloric language, and it does not replace its standard-language counterparts in these songs as commonly as the other key words have been shown to. There are still five instances of *отуда*, the standard perfective ‘go’ verb (and four more of its imperfective form, *отивам*), and one instance of *идвам* (along with 13 of perfective *дойда*). *Ида* merely seems to be an optional variant that a singer can employ instead of standard equivalents, for stylistic effect or metrical design. It should be noted as well that one instance of *уда* occurs in the March Corpus, where it probably functions as a perfective verb with the meaning ‘go.’ There are no instances of standard *отивам/отуда* in this corpus, and only one of *идвам*, so it is hard to say whether *уда* would occur with a similar frequency in marches as it does in “folk” songs. Thus, I would hesitate to classify the word as strictly “folkloric,” but I do believe that it should be considered to be poetically marked.

#### 4.1.5. **ЩО**

The word *що* can have a variety of meanings in Bulgarian, and it seems to occur with all of these meanings in the songs in this study. Although dictionaries do not always mark *що* as characteristic of any particular register (dictionary D, for example, marks one use as “colloquial,” “разговорно”) and another with no stylistic descriptor), for each possible use of *що* there is a standard literary word that is used more commonly. *Що* does appear in the literary language in a few set expressions, and in informal contexts it can serve as a stand-in for a number of other words. In certain cases, it replaces *какво* and *колко* as the interrogative pronouns ‘what’ or ‘how much’ respectively, and it can also appear as a truncated version of *защо* ‘why.’ Additionally, it can serve as a non-declining relative pronoun instead of words like *който* ‘which.’ However, the regularity with which *що* appears in these texts—in all of these types of functions—indicates it is best analyzed as a single, folkloric word form.

In four instances—three in Traditional songs and one in an Innovative song, *що* appears as a truncated version of *защо* ‘why.’ For example, it functions this way in the line:

(4.11) *Що не си стоиш, Драгано*  
*Što ne si stoiš, Dragano*  
 why NEG REFL stand Dragana-VOC  
*Why won't you stay, Dragana*

In comparison, the more standard *защо* appears three times. In two such instances of *защо*, it is unclear whether the intended meaning of *защо* is ‘why’ or an unarticulated *що* ‘because.’

Although these counts are too low to make any strong assertions, it would seem that *що* occurs at least as often as its standard counterpart *защо*, and perhaps more so.

*Що* can also mean be an interrogative pronoun meaning ‘what,’ and it appears with this meaning once in the corpus, in a Traditional song:

- (4.12) *що ми се глас дочуваше*  
*što mi se glas dočuvaše*  
 what me REFL voice heard  
*What is this voice I was hearing*

This sentence would appear to have an ambiguous grammatical subject; there may be an elided *за* ‘for,’ in a sentence that would read:

- (4.13) *що ми се за глас дочуваше*  
*što mi se za glas dočuvaše*  
 what me REFL for voice heard  
*What (kind) is this voice I was hearing*

In any case, the word seems to mean ‘what’ (or possibly ‘what kind’). The standard variant for this, *какво*, appears once in the corpus with this function as well. Thus, *що* seems at least as likely to appear as *какво*.

Additionally, *що* appears four times as a relative pronoun, i.e., a non-declining equivalent of the *којто* series, as in:

- (4.14) *с нашата стара майчица,*  
*s našata stara majčica*  
 with our old mother-DIM
- що ни е нази родила,*  
*što ni e nazi rodila*  
 REL us AUX us bore

*with our old dear mother, / who gave birth to us*

Clearly this use is substandard; it would not be used in the literary language in formal contexts today. Dictionaries A, B, and D do not supply stylistic indicators for the word with this use.<sup>65</sup> Hauge (1999:60) on the other hand, describes it as “archaic,” and in the open-source, online dictionary “Wiktionary” it is considered “dated.” There are three instances of

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65. Dictionary B does, however, describe in different ways two seemingly parallel expressions that use the word: *Било що било* ‘the past is the past’ is said to be “colloquial” (“разговорно”), and *Правя що правя* ‘despite everything’ is supposedly “folk” (“народно”). This not only indicates that the word may have some association with substandard varieties of the language, but also provides evidence that the distinction between “colloquial” and “folk” is not necessarily clear-cut.

the stylistically more standard equivalent *който* ‘which,’ so this substandard phrase actually appears as an equally common variant.

Of these nine instances of *що*, eight are in Traditional songs, and one is in an Innovative song. The word *що* does not appear at all in the March songs, other than as part of the standard phrase *myǎ що*, ‘just, only now.’ Nonetheless, I would be hesitant to describe it as necessarily “folkloric.” While it is a more colloquial way to express ‘what,’ ‘why,’ and so on, the word appears in many types of Bulgarian texts from various periods. I suspect that its absence in the March Corpus is due more to the nature of this genre: quite simply, marches issue commands, proclamations, and declarations; there are few questions of any kind. The more traditional folk lyric, on the other hand, displays a large number of rhetorical questions addressed to people and natural phenomena, and therefore, interrogative pronouns appear more in these texts.

Like *че*, described below, the monosyllabic quality of the word might also explain its prevalence in these texts. When *що* appears in place of *защо*, *какво*, and the like, it frees up a syllable that can be used for more semantically rich parts of a clause, such as nouns and verbs. This, in turn, allows for songs—many of which feature lines of only eight syllables—to contain more vivid words of poetic significance rather than being burdened by complex syntactic constructions. *Що*, then, is simply a short variant that can stand in for other words, and I suspect this is why it is employed commonly in lyrical texts.

#### 4.1.6. *че*

The word *че* has a number of related meanings and functions, but its patterning in song texts appears to be different from in non-lyrical language. In the standard language, *че* functions primarily as the basic subordinating conjunction. For example, it would be required in a sentence like:

- (4.15) Виждам, че книгата е голяма.  
 Viždam, če knjigata e goljama.  
 see-1SG that book-DEF is big  
*I see that the book is big.*

Standard dictionaries often list several other uses beyond that of pure grammatical subordination. It can also be used as a coordinating conjunction, with various dictionaries giving words such as *на*, *та*, and *и* as synonyms, all of which might be translated as ‘so’ or ‘and.’ For example:

- (4.16) Ядяха раци от планинските потоци.  
 Jadjaha raci ot planinskite potoci  
 ate crabs from mountain-ADJ-DEF streams
- Че и медец намираха тук-там.  
 Če i medec namirah tuk- tam.  
 and and honey found here there

*They ate crayfish from the mountain streams. And they also found some honey here and there. (dictionary B)*

Additionally, it is said that it can be used as a particle “for emphasis” (ibid.), as in:

(4.17) Бре, че то голям огън, бе!  
Bre, če to goljam ogŭn, be!  
VOC so this big fire VOC  
*Hey, wow, that's a big fire! (ibid.)*

Essential for the following argument, however, is the fact that *че* can be used to introduce a clause that explains the reasons behind the information given in the main clause, where it would best be translated into English as “because” or “for.” This function can be found in a folk expression, for example:

(4.18) Търколила се тенджерата, че си намерила похлупака.  
Tŭrkolila se tendžerata, če si namerila pohlupaka.  
clattered REFL pot because REFL found cover  
*The pot clattered, for it had found its lid. (ibid.)*

In many instances of *че* other than those of a basic subordinating conjunction, I would argue, there is a certain amount of ambiguity as to how the word would be best analyzed: whether it indicates consequentiality, sequentiality, and so on, and whether it would best be rendered in English as ‘so,’ ‘and,’ ‘for,’ or something else.

However, in the songs in this study, *че* hardly ever occurs in its standard-language function as a subordinating conjunction. Among all three corpora, *че* appears a total of 27 times: 17 times in the Traditional Corpus, 7 times in the Innovative Corpus, and 3 times in the March Corpus. These frequencies do not appear to reflect any disparity between genres of statistical interest, but the ways in which *че* is used are striking. There are only four instances of *че* in which its function would probably best be described as a subordinating conjunction, such as:

(4.19) Прощавай, стара свекърво,  
Proštavaj, stara svekŭrvo,  
forgive old mother.in.law  
  
че съм ти грижа създала  
če sŭm ti griža sŭzdala  
that AUX you concern created

*Forgive me, old mother-in-law, for having caused you concern*

Most of the time, *че* seems to coordinate two clauses. Sometimes it seems to indicate a subsequent proposition, as in:

(4.20)	тук	Гено	ще	си	оставим,
	tuk	Geno	šte	si	ostavim,
	here	Geno	FUT	REFL	leave
	че	ко	би	момент	намерим,
	če	ko	bi	moment	namerim,
	če	if	COND	moment	find
	ще	дойдем	Гено	да	вземем.
	šte	dojem	Geno	da	vzemem.
	FUT	come	Geno	to	take

*We will leave Geno here, and if we find a moment, we will come to take Geno.*

Several times, it seems to be a more or less empty “filler” word, as in:

(4.21)	Че	във	теб	са	мрели /	партизани	смели
	Če	vŭv	teb	sa	mreli /	partizani	smeli
	če	in	you	AUX	died	partisans	brave

*In you [a forest], brave partisans have died.*

But most of the time, *че* seems to indicate the reason behind the information given in the preceding clause; that is, it functions like ‘because’ or ‘for,’ as in:

(4.22)	Ич	недей	да	се	лъжете, /	че	ще	видите	българин
	Ič	nedej	da	se	lŭžete, /	če	šte	vidite	bŭlgarin
	at.all	don't	that	REFL	lie	če	FUT	see	Bulgarian

*Don't even try to fool yourself / for you will see a Bulgarian*

Certainly, there is no clear division between the various functions of this most basic of words, and I suspect that in some examples there would even be disagreement among syntacticians about the best way to analyze it. However, in that almost all instances of the word appear to be acting as something other than a basic subordinating conjunction, its function in folkloric texts is markedly different from its standard canonical role.

A more categorical way of seeing the marked role of *че* in sung language has to do with its position within the line. In all but two instances of *че* throughout the three corpora (one in an Innovative song and one in a March song), the word appears line-initially. Of the two instances in which it appears elsewhere within the line, it is unambiguously a subordinating conjunction, as in:

(4.23)	Септември,	а	сякаш	че	май	е
	Septemvri,	а	sjkaš	če	maj	e
	September	but	as.if	če	May	is

*It is September, but it's as if it were May.*

Of the 25 line-initial instances of *че*, however, 23 seem to be coordinating, rather than subordinating conjunctions. That is, the position within the line and the syntactic function of *че* appear to be closely linked. Likely, there is a standard, subordinating *че* that appears as it would in standard speech, like in the example above, and a quintessentially “lyrical” *че* that is line-initial and mostly coordinates clauses.

I suspect that the strong tendency for *че* to appear as the first word in a line may be based on a particular metrical formula, whereby singers know that *че* “likes” to occupy this first syllable slot. Because *че* is necessarily followed by any verbal clitics that may appear in a clause, the clitic cluster would appear first, and be followed by other tonic words, as in:

(4.24) *стори мене път да мина, / че не ми е за стояне*  
*stori mene pŭt da mina, / ĉe ne mi e za stojane*  
*make me road to pass ĉe NEG me COP for standing*  
*Make me a road I can pass by on, for I don't want to stand around*

Given the strong influence that metrical prosody exerts over clitic placement, it would make sense that *че*, which precedes verbal clitics, would be linked to a particular part of the metrical phrase. However, since the subordinating *че* does not appear in this position as readily as does coordinating *че*, it seems there are more poetic or formulaic factors involved.

Additionally, it should be noted that *че* seems to be the only way in songs to introduce clauses that supply reasons. The standard word for ‘because,’ *защото*, appears nowhere in the corpora.<sup>66</sup> Singers may opt for the one-syllable word *че* simply because it leaves two

66. There are, however, two successive lines in one song that have an ambiguous interpretation:

(4.25) *А вий сте наши българи,*  
*A vij ste naši bŭlgari,*  
*and you COP our Bulgarians*

*но сте от турци по-лоши!*  
*no ste ot turci po-loši!*  
*but COP than Turks more bad*

*Защо народа гоните,*  
*Zašto naroda gonite,*  
*Zašto folk-DEF chase*

*защо дечица плашите!*  
*zašto dečica plašite!*  
*zašto children-DIM scare*

Here the word *защо* may be the standard-language interrogative pronoun ‘why,’ which would render the translation:

*And you are our Bulgarians, but you are worse than the Turks! Why do you chase out the people, why do you scare the children?*

more syllables for the rest of the clause than would *защото*, but its consistency indicates that it has a regular place in sung language. Overall, because *че* is described with a fair amount of variability even in dictionaries of the standard language, it cannot be said that it behaves in these texts in a way that would not be encountered at all outside of folklore. But certainly, the consistency with which it appears with a function atypical for the standard language and with such regularity at the beginning of lines likely makes the line-initial, non-subordinating *че* a marker of lyrical speech.

#### 4.1.7. The Role of Key Folkloric Words

The words described in this section occur repeatedly and would seem to make up a miniature vocabulary of “folklorically” marked lexemes. The reasons why these words in particular came to be recognized as iconically folkloric are largely murky; for a word like *думам*, with its origins in Bulgarian dialects, it may be that it stood as a well-known counterpart to the standard word *казвам*. As *казвам* gained ground as the default word in the standard language, *думам* came to acquire the marking of a substandard variant that was retained most stringently in the conservative language of folklore. For a word like *уда*, the archaic nature of the verb was probably more significant. Short words like *че* and *цо* probably came to appear with such regularity because of their brevity. Regardless of their origins, however, these words (possibly with the exception of *уда*) seem to be closely coordinated with texts of a specifically folkloric nature.

The semantic categories into which the verbs and nouns mentioned here fall are particularly striking. *Думам* and *уда* carry the meanings of two of the most common verbs in any language: ‘say’ and ‘go.’ Probably the constant need to describe these basic concepts ensured their retention in folkloric texts while other, less frequent actions that also might have once been described with a dialectal lexeme became replaced by more standard verbs. But the three nouns in this study, *момма*, *момък*, and *любѐ* clearly occupy a particular sphere of lexicon related to romantic life. This would seem surprising in songs that, on their face, are about traditionally “masculine” pursuits such as going into battle and working in heavy labor. The fact that words relating to romantic love appear so commonly even in songs about unrelated topics would point to the heavy strength and focus with which South Slavic lyric culture glorifies traditional, heterosexual relationships and the procreative imperative toward which it directs its audience. Certainly, these values were important to the nascent socialist society as well, and it would make sense that such themes would continue to be highlighted in newly composed texts of this era.

In short, the lexemes identified in this section seem to have gained poetically iconic status for various reasons, but their regular appearance in these texts allows them to be identified as key markers of folkloric language.

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On the other hand, it is possible that these words reflect an instance of *защото* ‘because’ in which the definite article was dropped, and the passage would read:

*And you are our Bulgarians, but you are worse than the Turks! Because you chase out the people, because you scare the children!*



## 4.2. Other Dialectal Words

The words described in the previous section occur with such regularity that they would seem to be iconic markers of folkloric lexicon. However, numerous other marked words appear in the songs in my study. Almost all, however, are restricted to the Traditional and Innovative folk songs. While Marches occasionally contain words with more “lofty” coloring, their lexicon is usually made up of straightforward, clear, standard language. Thus, the presence of nonstandard words in “folk” style songs creates an immediate, highly visible contrast in style.

### 4.2.1. Variations in Roots

Marked lexemes in these songs differ from their standard counterparts in a number of ways. First of all, there are a number of instances in the songs in which otherwise standard lexemes appear in a slightly different form, most commonly with a nonstandard suffix or ending. While a number of variants of standard words can be attributed to the regularly occurring phonological and morphological changes discussed in the preceding chapter, others are more idiosyncratic. Examples of this include forms like *най-напреж* ‘first of all,’ instead of standard *най-напред*, or *влязнаха* ‘they entered,’ instead of standard *влязоха*. There are two particular such changes, however, that appear to occur regularly throughout the corpus. The first of these is the voicing of the final consonant and addition of an *-i* or *-e* desinence to the 1PL and 2PL personal pronouns *нас* and *вас*, resulting in *нази*, *назе*, *вази*, and *вазе*. Such forms appear throughout six songs, and seem to be the result of a regular process, probably when an extra syllable was needed to complete a line.<sup>67</sup> Additionally, one encounters the form *могаз*, ‘then,’ instead of standard *могава* in three separate songs. Dictionary D describes this form as “colloquial” (“разговорно”) and “poetic” (“поетически”); however, in that in one song *могава* and *могаз* appear together, it is likely that this form appears also in order to save a syllable, as standard *могава* is apparently still an active part of the singer’s lexicon.

### 4.2.2. Standard Variants

Of course, most words of lexicological interest have entirely different roots from their standard counterparts. There are a number of words throughout the corpus that have a strong poetic marking compared to more ordinary literary words. For example, one encounters the words *друм* ‘road’ and *друмниче* ‘traveler,’ which are etymologically Greek variants of the more standard Slavic *път* and *пътник*; Dictionary D describes these words as both “folkloric” and “poetic” (“народно” and “поетически”). Similarly, there appear alternate words for ‘moon’: *месчина* (sic) and *месеу*, which are older Slavic words for the contemporary standard *луна*. Interestingly, while these meanings are not marked with any

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67. Additionally, one more song contains the 1sg form *азу* instead of standard *аз*. This form may also have been created in order to yield an extra syllable, possibly based on analogy with *нази* and *вази*.

special stylistic classifiers in dictionary D, Antonova-Vasileva & Keremidchieva (2001) do include *месечина* in their “dialectal” dictionary. Some of the other such words that are probably best seen as poetic variants rather than truly “dialectisms,” and can still be found in a standard contemporary dictionary (i.e., dictionary D) include:

- *дорде* ‘while,’ instead of *докато*
- *заран* ‘morning,’ instead of *сутрин*
- *китка* ‘bouquet,’ instead of standard *букет*
- *лани* ‘last year,’ instead of *миналата година*
- *мегдан* ‘square,’ instead of standard *площад*
- *туря* ‘put,’ instead of standard *сложа*
- *хабер* ‘piece of news,’ instead of *вест* or *новина*

In general, these words are stylistically marked because they are based on either archaic Slavic roots or borrowings from another Balkan (i.e. non-western) language.

Of course, there are other words without a more standard synonym that appear in a standard dictionary but may be thought of as marked as well. For example, *менци* ‘copper kettles,’ is classified in dictionary D as “folk” (“народно”); *дамар*, which refers to a seam in a rock or piece of wood that can easily be split, is called “colloquial” (“разговорно”). Certainly, some of these words might not be part of a contemporary urban speaker’s everyday lexicon. They might still be familiar to some, but the concept to which they refer is so specific or of a specialized nature that they are still felt to be outside the realm of ordinary language; in a sense, many almost make up a rural jargon of sorts. This is probably the reason that many such words have disparate identifications as “dialectal” or “folk”—or nothing at all—depending on which dictionary they are found in.

#### 4.2.3. Regionally Marked Words

A great deal more words, however, are unequivocally dialectal; that is, they are not actively known by speakers of the language from all regions. Some such words, like *кошуля* ‘shirt,’ are well known in dialectology as being characteristic of a specific region (Antonova-Vasileva et al. 2001:471). Several words are identified in the volumes themselves as dialectisms by editors who provide explanations or “translations” in standard Bulgarian, such as the word *казма*, explained with the synonym ‘*кирка*’ ‘pickaxe.’<sup>68</sup> Other such words include:

- *белия* - ‘white wheat’
- *кенарени* - decorated with *кенари*, special threads or yarn sewn into homemade cloths
- *хортувам* - ‘speak’

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68. In some cases, these explicitly identified dialectisms are also given stress marking; for more information, see §2.2.1.

On the whole, however, editors simply include dialectal words with no explanation. A couple such words are not in standard dictionaries, but can be found in special dialectal dictionaries such as Antonova-Vasileva & Keremidchieva (2001) or Ilchev et al (1974). Examples of these words include:

- *гробнина* - 'grave'
- *каурка* - a non-Muslim woman
- *подойница* - the mother of a suckling animal
- *саат* - a variant of *сахат*, 'hour'

More words, however, cannot be found in any readily accessible repository of dialectal lexemes. A sense of the meanings of these words can often be gleaned from context and familiar roots that may appear in them; however, these words could not be identified with any certainty:

- *белешити* - an adjective or possibly a past participle, possibly meaning 'embroidered'
- *борунова* - an adjective probably meaning either 'hilly,' from the dialectal word *борун* or *бурун*, meaning 'a small rise in the land'; or meaning 'protective, fortified,' from the dialectal word *боруна*, meaning 'armor.'
- *насящам* - a verb, possibly meaning 'find out' or 'overhear'
- *подевки* - appears to be synonymous with *девойка* 'girl'
- *послани* - either a third-person singular aorist verb or a plural noun that indicates something bad that happens to crops, possibly in tandem with or as a synonym of *попаря* 'blight'
- *спомина* - appears to be a variant of *паметник* 'memorial'

#### 4.2.4. The Place of Other Dialectal Words

As such, it can be seen that a wide variety of colorful words can be found throughout these songs. However, even in the most "folkloric" of texts, almost all words that appear are fairly standard; they could be found in any dictionary and would be an active part of the vocabulary of all contemporary speakers. Nonstandard and dialectal words appear only occasionally and simply add a bit of "local flavor" to songs otherwise composed of fairly unremarkable lexemes. Longer narrative songs of unrhymed lines contain more of these words, and shorter songs—which probably circulated among a large group of people before being recorded, and may have been more intentionally composed and disseminated—have relatively few. The special vocabulary described in this section, then, should be seen as only an inventory of the types of dialectal words that occasionally made their way into texts of primarily standard language.

#### 4.3. Lexicon: Conclusion

Even in songs with various plots, character types, and narrative styles, several generalizations can be made about the types of words that appear in songs. Marches

generally contain almost entirely standard lexicons, and even those songs that make up the Traditional and Innovative Corpora do to a large extent as well. This latter group, however, contains not only dialectal and nonstandard words at a greater frequency, but is also characterized by the particularly regular appearance of several key words. It does bear noting that these particular words are not related to any markedly “folk” concepts, however; the words that recur the most commonly are lexical substitutions made for everyday words.

The nonstandard words that appear here, however, are particularly indicative of how lexical choices on the part of a singer can color an audience’s perception of a text. These nonstandard words point to the value that “folk” texts place on archaisms and dialectisms, and they illustrate how words can come to be selected on the basis of linguistic economy. While the stylistic classifications of such words might not always be consistent among various dictionaries, it is clear that nonstandard lexemes are a large part of what makes a text sound “folkloric.”

## Chapter 5

### Stylistic & Poetic Structures

It should be clear from the preceding chapters that a number of factors seem to be closely coordinated with the language of many newly composed folk songs. I have proposed that the specific phonological, morphological, and syntactic features that appear in the songs in this study make up the “grammar” of what Bulgarian speakers think of as “folkloric language.” However, there are additional ways in which the songs in question convey to their audiences that they are to be conceived of as successors to those of the preindustrial folklore tradition. Beyond the level of grammar, one finds larger-scale structural traits that mimic similar patterns in preindustrial songs. This chapter looks at specific types of line patterns, rhetorical figures, and other narrative structures that recur throughout the texts. While the features described in previous chapters are grammatical abnormalities, i.e. elements of language that would be prohibited or deemed ungrammatical according to the standard, the features in this chapter represent broader-scale devices that are poetically marked due to the way they affect the larger narrative structure.

#### **5.1. Vocatives and the Line-Medial Position**

This section addresses the large number of vocative forms found in many songs in this study. It is clear that vocatives—nominal forms that indicate to whom a speaker’s words are addressed—have a stylistic purpose in these songs beyond that of their most canonical pragmatic function. That is, rather than simply calling for the attention of a supposed listener, many vocative forms seem to be genre-specific elements regularly inserted for the purpose of lending a poetic quality to the texts. This is particularly the case in songs in the Traditional Corpus, where vocative addressees are often grammatically singular non-humans or individually named characters within the world of the song. These semantic characteristics, along with a marked metrical structure affecting the placement of vocative

forms within a line, are those that seem to make such forms of address particularly emblematic of “folk” style music.

### 5.1.1. Types of Vocatives

Morphologically, the vocative forms in these songs generally appear as the rules of the standard language would prescribe. In Bulgarian, only some feminine and masculine singular nouns can mark the vocative morphologically; for example, the *-a* ending of most feminine nouns will be replaced by *-o* or *-e*, and most masculine consonantal nouns add an *-e* ending. Neuter nouns and plural nouns of all genders do not have special vocative endings. Today, morphological marking of the vocative is in many contexts often not considered obligatory; both the inflectional endings of vocative endings and their associated pragmatic nuances are rapidly evolving (Girvin 2013). With the exception of several minor orthographic peculiarities, there were no instances of forms in the text that would violate generally accepted morphological rules.

Vocative forms in these songs refer to various types of referents. As is common in the standard language, vocative forms can be used to address named individuals, as in:

- (5.1) я хайде, Станке, на блока  
 ja hajde, Stanke, na bloka  
 IMPV IMPV Stanka-VOC to housing.block-DEF  
*Come on, Stanka, to the housing block*

They can also refer to generic persons as well, as in:

- (5.2) борци, другари, братя  
 borci, drugari, bratja  
 fighters comrades brothers  
*Fighters, comrades, brothers*

However, many vocative forms in these songs refer to non-humans. The lyrical subject can address animals:

- (5.3) Ой, орле, орле, пиринско пиле  
 Oj, orle, orle, pirinsko pile  
 oh eagle-VOC eagle-VOC Pirin-ADJ chicken  
*Oh, eagle, eagle, you bird of the Pirin*

inanimate objects:

- (5.4) Наше знаме, развявай се с песен  
 Naše zname, razvjavaj se s pesen  
 our flag wave-IMPV REFL with song  
*Our flag, flourish with a song*

and even elements of the landscape:

- (5.5) Ой те, горо ле с хладни усои  
Oj te, goro le s hladni usoi  
oh you wood-VOC oh with cool dark.recesses  
*Oh you, wood, with cool shady spots*

Certainly, the presence of these non-human referents makes the language of these songs distinct from the everyday spoken language, in which most addressees of speech are human.<sup>69</sup> Indeed, a full 27% (49 out of 179 total) of vocatives across the corpora are found with non-human nouns. Moreover, a few more forms, such as *майко хайдушка* in:

- (5.6) Горо ле, майко хайдушка  
Goro le, majko hajduška  
wood-VOC oh mother-VOC haiduk-ADJ  
*Oh, wood, you haiduk mother*

metaphorically refer to non-humans; in this example, the ‘wood’ is called a ‘haiduk mother.’ All three corpora contain references to both human and non-human beings.

### 5.1.2. Frequency of Vocatives in Song Genres

Among all three corpora, a total of 179 vocative forms were found. This figure includes counts for separate instances of the same form in different lines, but only one count for forms in whole lines that were repeated multiple times. Clearly, vocative forms are extremely plentiful in these songs.

However, there are distinct differences in the frequency of vocatives among the different song types: in general, vocatives are found more often in songs of the Traditional unrhymed line type. Figure 4.1 shows the number of forms in expanded versions of the three corpora: that is, the texts of entire songs were counted beyond the first 25 lines. Dividing the number of lines in each corpus by the number of forms found therein shows that vocatives occur on average notably more often in the Traditional Corpus than in the other two corpora. This patterning is not statistically significant in all regards: if one operates with the premise that a vocative form will only occur once per line,<sup>70</sup> a comparison of lines with and without vocative forms shows that the breakdown between each of the three corpora is

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69. While many grammarians (e.g. Hauge 1999:32) write that inflected vocative forms are theoretically possible for all masculine and feminine nouns that contain the right type of *casus generalis* endings, others (e.g. Boiadzhiev et al. 1999:481) emphasize that most non-human nouns do not typically appear as vocatives. I would claim, however, that this latter statement is true not because of grammatical restrictions on these nouns, but rather the reality of everyday life: most speakers do not regularly address entities that cannot understand them.

70. This is an admittedly imprecise premise, as a few lines contain multiple vocatives, but it is the most accessible way to analyze this trait in binary terms for statistical purposes.

less categorical. Relative frequencies given in Figure 4.2 show a statistically significant difference between the Traditional and the Innovative Corpora, but not between the other two pairs of corpora. Nonetheless, these figures do point to a picture in which the Traditional songs are more frequently characterized by the appearance of vocative forms.

Traditional	Innovative	March
905 lines in corpus	202 lines in corpus	377 lines in corpus
123 forms	17 forms	39 forms
<b>7.4 lines/form</b>	<b>11.9 lines/form</b>	<b>9.7 lines/form</b>

**Figure 4.1: Numbers and Frequency of Vocative Forms in the Corpora**

Traditional	Innovative	March
123 lines w/ vocative	17 lines w/ vocative	39 lines w/ vocative
782 lines w/o vocative	185 lines w/o vocative	338 w/o vocative

**Figure 4.2: Relative Frequency of Vocative Forms**

### 5.1.3. Frequency of Inflected Vocative Forms

Additional differentiation between song genres can be seen when one compares the number of vocative forms that show marked morphological inflection. In the line:

- (5.7) Калино, моме хубава  
 Kalino, mome hubava  
 Kalina-VOC girl-VOC beautiful  
*Kalina, you beautiful girl*

the words *Калина* and *моме* appear with vocative *-o* and *-e* endings respectively. In a line like:

- (5.8) там да се, татко, видиме  
 tam da se, tatko, vidime  
 there SUB REFL dad see-1PL  
*that we should meet there, Dad*

however, there is no separate form for the word ‘dad,’ which appears in both the *casus generalis* and the vocative as *татко*. There are also sporadic instances in the corpora in which a vocative inflection would be possible but does not appear, as in the second phrase in:

- (5.9) Калино, стройна топола  
 Kalino, strojna topola  
 Kalina-VOC sturdy poplar



### *Kalina, you sturdy poplar*

Here, the *casus generalis* form of ‘poplar,’ *топола*, would appear as *тополо* if the singer had opted to mark the word morphologically.

When looking specifically at the vocative forms that show marked inflection, one sees that songs of the Traditional and Innovative Corpora show a greater proportion of inflected address forms than do March songs. Figure 4.3 shows that the distinction between all three corpora is statistically significant to a degree of  $p = .03$  between the Traditional and Innovative Corpus and  $p = .01$  between the other two combinations of corpora. Comparing their frequency in the Traditional and March Corpora, it seems that these inflected vocative forms appear to be more closely linked with songs presented as coming from the “folk” (i.e., Traditional and Innovative songs) than with March songs.<sup>71</sup> Inflected vocative forms in Bulgarian, particularly for feminine nouns that take an -o suffix, can be felt at times to sound somewhat “archaic” (e.g. Nitsolova 1984:49), and, therefore, it is not surprising that songs composed in a traditional vein would employ a greater frequency of them.<sup>72</sup>

Traditional	Innovative	March
60 inflected	13 inflected	10 inflected
63 uninflected	4 uninflected	29 uninflected

Figure 4.3: Relative Frequency of Inflected Vocative Forms

#### 5.1.4. Semantic Types and Pragmatic Functions of Vocative Forms

However, a large factor behind the disparity in the frequencies of inflected vocative forms is actually the type of nouns that different kinds of songs employ. Most commonly, Traditional songs feature the address of individual (i.e. grammatically singular) entities and specific, named characters. These are exactly the types of words that more readily take morphologically distinct vocative endings. Marches, however, most commonly address a supposed audience of many; these forms, usually in the plural, do not inflect. Although both types of songs contain plenty of vocative forms, their patterning indicates that the types of vocatives that typify Traditional songs as opposed to Innovative and March songs might best be regarded as separate phenomena entirely.

The distinction between the vocatives of these two sets of songs can be seen first of all with feminine singular nouns. While the few feminine nouns that appear in the

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71. It is strange, however, that songs from the Innovative Corpus display an even greater proportion of these forms, as they are often more formally similar to songs in the March Corpus. Six of these forms are all from one somewhat atypical song; if its results were excluded, the results would be somewhat less disparate.

72. It bears noting that flexibility between vocative and nominative forms is well documented in South Slavic. Not only did many masculine personal names in Macedonian evolve from older vocative forms, but examples of variation between the nominative and vocative for metrical reasons is well attested in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian epic song. For example, the vocative form of ‘Prince Marko,’ *Kraljeviću Marko* is regularly employed in place of the grammatically expected nominative, as it contains a ready set of six syllables to occupy the second part of a *deseterac* (Lord 2000:34). These facts point to an established potential for fluidity between vocative and nominative forms, particularly in South Slavic poetics.

Innovative Corpus are of an assortment of types, there is a clear distinction between the nouns that appear in Marches and Traditional songs. 42 feminine singular nouns appear in the Traditional Corpus. A large number of these nouns refer both to named and generic people, as in *Калино* ‘Kalina,’ or *моме* ‘girl’; notably, there are also 13 instances of words for ‘mother’ (*майко*, affectionate *мамо*, and diminutive *майчице*). This points to the fact that these songs, even when composed in the context of and topically centered around war or industrial labor, make common reference to domestic relationships. For example, in one song, a worker’s mother instructs him to gather his tools and set out for work; he repeatedly addresses her as ‘mother,’ such as in the lines:

(5.10)	Аз	ще	да	стана	комбайнер
	Az	šte	da	stana	kombajner
	I	FUT	SUB	become-1SG	combine.operator
	комбайнер,	мамо,	ударник		
	kombajner,	момо,	udarnik		
	combine.operator	mom-VOC	shock.worker		

*I will become a combine operator / a combine operator, mother, a shock worker*

Women are quite present in traditional songs, even when their primary topics revolve around what is often thought of as the “masculine” world.

Additionally, this corpus contains many references to inanimate feminine objects, including six instances of ‘mountain’ (*гора* and diminutive *горице*). In the March Corpus, however, there are only nine feminine singular vocative forms, and all but one refer to abstract patriotic concepts: there are four counts of *партио* [sic] ‘party,’ two of *Републико* ‘republic,’ and four of *родино* ‘motherland.’ Clearly the types of nouns a lyrical subject might commonly address in these songs are extremely limited. While the address of human and non-human feminine entities is typical in the Traditional songs, it is much more restricted outside of the “folk” mode.

The patterning of masculine nouns too points to a distinct difference between the kinds of words that appear in different types of songs. The corpora contained 49 total instances of masculine singular forms, but 44—that is, almost all—were from the Traditional Corpus; the Innovative Corpus contained three such forms and the March Corpus contained only two. Most of the forms found in the Traditional songs were either personal names, as in:

(5.11)	мене, Бояне,	да	хванат
	mene, Bojane,	da	hvanat
	me Bojan-VOC	SUB	catch-3PL
	<i>to catch me, Bojan</i>		

kinship terms, as in:

(5.12) я влезѝ, синко, в мазето  
 ja vlezi, sinko, v mazeto  
 IMPV go-IMPV son-DIM in cellar-DEF  
*go, son, into the cellar*

or other names used to designate male humans:

(5.13) Я стани, стани, капитан  
 Ja stani, stani, kapitan  
 IMPV get.up-IMPV get.up-IMPV captain  
*Get up, get up, captain*

The common factor among these groups of nouns is that they all refer to individual characters in the world of the songs. In example 5.11, the lyrical subject addresses her lover, in 5.12 a mother instructs her son, and in 5.13, one soldier summons another.

Plural masculine forms, on the other hand, are found in large supply in both the Traditional and March Corpora; there are 20 such forms in the former and 18 in the latter. In fact, the March Corpus is smaller in length, so it has an even greater relative frequency of plural masculine forms. In general, in both corpora these words refer almost only to groups of people, such as *другари*, ‘comrades,’ or *братя*, ‘brothers.’<sup>73</sup> This is the one major common lexical sphere of vocatives in the two types of songs.

However, this apparent semantic overlap between the vocatives of Traditional and Innovative songs is actually shown to be less substantive when one considers the pragmatic roles of the forms in the separate corpora. In March songs, vocatives almost always seem to address a theoretical listener. Often followed by explicit imperatives or descriptions of matters to which a listener should pay attention (and commonly punctuated in texts with exclamation marks), these forms mostly serve as a “call to arms” of sorts. For example, Polianov’s march “In the Path of Levski” (“По пътя на Левски”) contains the stanzas:

(5.14) Другари, сетен час удари!  
 На пост с поглед прикован!  
 На крак! Борбата се разгаря  
 навред в размирния Балкан. [...]  
 Борци, другари, братя с честно,  
 калено в битките сърце,  
 на цял народ събата днес е  
 във нашите ръце.

Comrades, the final hour has struck!  
 To your posts with a iron gaze!  
 Arise! The battle has blazed up

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73. The only three exceptions to this are *градове*, ‘cities,’ *народи*, ‘peoples,’ and *ветру*, ‘winds,’ and the first two of these nouns still arguably refer to populations of people, if only abstractly.

all over the tumultuous Balkans. [...]  
Fighters, comrades, brothers with an honest heart,  
tempered in battles,  
the fate of the entire people today is  
in your hands.

Here, the audience is implicitly included among the ‘comrades’ being called into action. In that a primary function of marches is to generate excitement and coordinate the actions of a group of people, it is not surprising that they would mostly contain such direct forms of address.

The lyrical subjects of the Traditional songs, on the other hand, almost never speak directly to a supposed actual listener. Sometimes, as mentioned earlier, singers address natural phenomena, as in *поле широко*, ‘wide field,’ or *гора зелена*, ‘green wood.’ I would surmise that this practice in poetic texts could draw from a much earlier tradition, perhaps one influenced by an animistic belief system, in which non-human entities could be summoned to intervene for the benefit of the singer. It bears noting that vocative phrases of non-humans are often marked with noun-adjective word order, which hints at their possible origin as Indo-European formulae.<sup>74</sup> Pashov offers another take on this phenomenon: “In poetry, sometimes a form of address refers not so much to an interlocutor, even an imaginary one, but rather it is a way to indicate from the start the subject being discussed, which is the basis of strong feeling” (“В поезията понякога обръщението не изразява толкова събеседник, макар и въображаем, а повече е начин да се посочи в самото начало предметът, за който се говори, който е причина за силно чувство”) (Pashov 1999:394). In any case, the address of plants, animals, and other elements seems to be a feature restricted mostly to traditional genres.

Moreover, traditional songs also contain a large inventory of characters identified by a first name. While named individuals are never addressed in the March Corpus, there are many instances of forms like *Драгано*, ‘Dragana,’ and *Стояне*, ‘Stoyan’ in the Traditional Corpus. These characters—generally a speaker’s family members, fellow soldiers, or lovers—are never introduced to the listener, however. Rather, lyrical subjects address them as familiar, often in the first line of the song; this generates something of an *in medias res* effect for a listener. Certainly, the ubiquity of these named, but otherwise generic characters (“Dragana,” for example, could easily be replaced by any three-syllable feminine name) is a common feature of the traditional style of song.

### 5.1.5. The Formulaic Line-Medial Position

Important differences can be found in the frequencies, semantic spheres, and pragmatic functions of vocatives in Traditional and Innovative songs, but perhaps the most interesting difference concerns where vocative forms are used in the texts themselves. Vocatives in marches typically occur in a position that would seem fairly natural in the spoken language, but a great number of vocative forms in the Traditional Corpus occur in

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74. For more on noun-adjective word order, see section §3.8.

the middle of lines, even when this would sometimes interrupt normal syntax. For example, in the line:

- (5.15) погледай, татко, народа  
pogledaj, tatko, naroda  
look.at-IMPV dad people-DEF  
*Look, father, at the people*

the verb is separated from its object by the vocative form. While the flow of this line simply sounds disjointed, it is not ungrammatical per se; however, other forms discussed later, in which clitic phrases are broken, would be considered impossible in the standard spoken language. An analysis of placement rules for vocatives indicates that the strict line-medial position of vocatives is quite emblematic of songs of the unrhymed line type.

In order to assess the factors conditioning line-medial vocatives, a tally was made of lines in which vocatives occupied an unambiguously middle position: these lines all contained vocative forms bounded on both ends by non-vocative elements. Thus, a line such as:

- (5.16) Обичам, майко, желая  
Običam, majko, želaja  
love-1SG mother-VOC desire-1SG  
*I love, mother, I desire*

would be counted, whereas a line like:

- (5.17) с тебе, Републико наша  
s tebe, Republiko naša  
with you republic-VOC our  
*with you, our Republic*

would not, as the vocative phrase *Републико наша* was not followed by a non-vocative element. This line-medial position proved to be extremely characteristic of traditional style songs. Out of the 123 vocative forms in the Traditional Corpus, 41 were found in this position. This should be viewed as a significant number in that most lines contained only one long vocative phrase or a succession of vocative phrases or, more commonly, a vocative phrase and a non-vocative element on only one side or the other. That is, when there was room for three distinct “slots” in a line (not a common occurrence in texts mostly containing lines of only eight syllables), the vocative almost always occurred in the second. Only two lines in March songs displayed this word order, however; the position seems to typify only texts of a more conservative style.

It seems that this tendency may be grounded in a particular structure that is determined not by syntax, however, but by metrical patterns. Most of the songs in the Traditional Corpus are composed of lines of eight syllables. Of the 41 forms found in medial position, 37 were in eight-syllable lines; of these 37 medial vocatives in eight-syllable lines,

34 occurred in lines surrounded on both sides by three-syllable non-vocatives; that is, the vocative forms occupied the fourth and fifth syllables. Both lines with simplex non-vocative constituents, such as:

(5.18) комбайнер,            мамо,            ударник  
 kombajner,            mamо,            udarnik  
 combine.operator    mom-VOC    shock.worker  
*a combine operator, mother, a shock worker*

and ones with multiple words, such as:

(5.19) пусни            ме,    мамо,            не    спирай  
 pusni            me,    mamо,            ne    spiraj  
 release-IMPV    me    mom-VOC    NEG    stop-IMPV  
 Let me go, Mother, don't stop me

typified this structure, which appears to be a standard rhythmic pattern in Bulgarian folk songs.

In fact, the weight of this specific metrical structure appears to be corroborated by aberrations in syntax that it leads to; it would seem that the tendency to place vocatives in the fourth and fifth syllables is apparently so strong as to allow for the violation of standard clitic rules. As was discussed in §3.6.2.2, many songs with unrhymed lines display archaic clitic-second word order patterns that produce surface structures considered ungrammatical in today's language. Here, however, there seems to be an additional violation of normal clitic rules permitted, whereby vocatives are placed between a clitic and its would-be prosodic host. For example, in the line:

(5.20) та            ще    се,    татко,    срещнеме  
 ta            šte    se,    tatko,    sreštname  
 and    FUT    REFL    dad    meet-1PL  
*and we will, Dad, meet*

the verbal clitics—which are generally required to be verb-adjacent (Franks & King 2000:216)—would be expected to appear directly before the verb *срещнеме*. This very striking—and, again, otherwise ungrammatical—type of structure resembles the unusual clitic patterns discussed in §3.6.2.2, but it appears to be triggered specifically by the fixed metrical position of vocative phrases.

The rules that apparently influence the placement of vocative forms in traditional songs should be contrasted with the much more general context in which such forms appear in texts of a less traditional style. Here too, their position does not seem to be random, but it seems to be determined by pragmatic rather than metrical factors. In most march songs, vocatives appear early in a phrase: if not line-initial, they are almost always at the beginning of a stanza. As explained above, vocatives in march songs generally have a pragmatic link with the real world. As such, a song might first call out for an audience's attention at the

beginning of a stanza, and then go on to relay a message to the supposed listener. For example, the unattributed “March of the Youth” (“Младежки марш”) opens:

(5.21) Напред, другари млади,  
през пламъци и дим,  
през кръв и барикади  
кат вихър да летим!

Onward, young comrades,  
through flames and smoke,  
through blood and barricades  
let us fly like a whirlwind!

In what would be a logical progression, the lyrical subject here first summons the attention of his fellow ‘comrades’ and then goes on to issue them directives. These tendencies toward line-initial vocative position in marches are obviously quite different from those that affect the placement of vocative forms in traditional songs.

#### 5.1.6. Vocatives and the Line-Medial Position: Conclusion

As has been shown, vocatives in traditional songs appear often in specifically poetic contexts; this should be contrasted with the function of the vocative in the spoken language. Generally, linguists describe only the straightforward, pragmatic function of these forms. Nitsolova (1984:42), for example, writes that the vocative is used “to secure contact with the addressee by indicating that the speaker is addressing a particular appeal precisely to him.” However, I would argue that the examples shown in this study indicate that in traditional song texts the vocative is more than anything a stylistic device. On the one hand, as mentioned above, many instances of vocatives, such as ‘wide field’ (*поле широко*), do not actually invoke the attention of an entity that could respond. But even in cases where a hypothetical addressee is a human with the ability of linguistic comprehension, many vocative forms could be considered to be nothing but superfluous. In the 22-line song “Станке ли, добруджанка ле” (“Oh, Stanka, Woman of Dobrudža”), the supposed listener, Stanka, is called out to seven times, including six by name, and three times in successive lines:

(5.22) — Станке ле, добруджанке ле,  
я хайде, Станке, на блока  
хитото, Станке, да плевим, [...]  
После ще, Станке, да идем [...]  
Сега се, Станке, лудува, [...]  
тъй ще се, Станке, наведа, [...]

Oh, Stanka, woman of Dobrudža,  
come on, Stanka, to the housing block

to weed out, Stanka, the wheat, [...]  
 Afterwards, Stanka, we will go [...]  
 Now is the time, Stanka, to revel [...]  
 that is how, Stanke, I will bend down, [...]

Surely, this emphatic repetition of Stanka's name is not meant to ensure that the character's attention does not wane; rather, it should be seen to function as a dramatic stylistic device that indicates that the singer is performing in this particular traditional mode.

I mention this point only to emphasize my theory that the vocative forms that appear in songs composed in the traditional, unrhymed style have a primarily stylistic function. March songs contain a large number of vocatives, but they mostly serve to directly call to attention and action a supposed audience in the real world. Vocatives in traditional texts, on the other hand, are spoken by one individual in the world of the song to another. Occurring often in metrically regular positions and describing both non-human beings and individual human characters, these forms are typical of songs of the unrhymed line type. Given the numerous ways in which such forms are distinguished from the simple vocatives of Innovative songs, I would describe the vocative forms of Traditional texts as highly emblematic of sung poetic language.

## 5.2. Phrases with *Още*

A particular type of line is so pervasive in the texts in this study that it deserves to be analyzed here on its own. In such lines, the word *още* 'still,' coordinates two parallel constituents of a phrase or sentence, such as:

(5.23) *родила,        още   кърмила*  
*rodila,         ošte   kŭrmila*  
*gave.birth   still   nursed*  
*gave birth and nursed*

These forms can be found only in the Traditional Corpus. Because the word *още* appears with a nonstandard meaning consistently in the middle of a line and is restricted to this genre of songs, I would argue that this line type containing *още* is a set structural formula that singers know they can employ in folk songs.

In standard Bulgarian, *още* functions an adverb, indicating, for example, the continuation of an action or state (as in English 'still'):

(5.24) *още   сме        в   София*  
*ošte   sme        v   Sofija*  
*still   COP-1PL   in   Sofia*  
*we're still in Sofia*

or the strengthening of its validity or truthfulness (like English 'even' or 'more'):



(5.25) аз съм още по- сигурен  
 az съм ošte po- siguren  
 I am even more- sure  
*I am even more sure*

In folk songs, however, *още* can instead take on the function of a coordinating conjunction. Andreichin et al. (2008) list this as a separate meaning under the same primary headword in their dictionary, which is classified as an adverb. However, its definition reads: “Със значение на съединителен съюз: и, та, па, че, също” (“With the meaning of a coordinating conjunction: *and, so, well, for, also*”). Similarly, Cholakova et al. (1979) give under the same headword the definition: “Като съюз за присъединяване и” (“Like the conjunction *and* for coordination”), and Romanski et al. (1954) say this meaning is “като съюз” (‘like a conjunction’). It is noteworthy that, even though the syntactic function of this marked use of *още* appears to have shifted, dictionary writers continue to describe it formally as the same part of speech as the primary meaning. It would seem that *още* in this marked use might best be translated as an emphatic ‘and.’ For example, the lines:

(5.26) сявайте семе есенно, / есенно, още пролетно  
 sjavajte seme esenno, / esenno, ošte proletno  
 sow-IMPV seed fall-ADV fall-ADV and spring-ADV

would best be rendered in English as ‘sow the seeds in the fall, in the fall *and even* in the spring’ or ‘sow the seeds in the fall, in the fall *and on into* the spring.’ It is striking that the language has innovated what appears to be a novel conjunction from an adverb. Although I have found no discussion about the diachronic processes involved in this transformation, this use of *още* is highly nonstandard.

However, the markedness of lines containing *още* in folk songs extends beyond lexical and syntactic peculiarities. In these types of texts, *още* occurs only in line-medial position. In the songs in this study, it is found only in lines of eight syllables: one word occupies the first three syllables, then the word *още* takes syllables four and five, and another word that is the same part of speech as the first follows over the remaining three syllables. The same meter characterizes all ten examples given in the four dictionaries consulted (Cholakova et al. 1979, Andreichin et al., Gerov 1975, Romanski et al. 1954), with only one containing a slight metrical deviation:

(5.27) Така са се двама сговорили,  
 Така са се dvama sgovorili  
 thus AUX REFL two agreed

сговорили още залюбили  
 sgovorili ošte zaljubili  
 agreed still fell.in.love

майстор Манол и бяла Айкуна

majstor	Manol	i	bjala	Ajkuna
master	Manol	and	white	Ajkuna

*Thus the two came to agree / came to agree and fell in love / the tradesman Manol and the beautiful Ajkuna (Cholakova et al. 1979)*

In the song given in this example, lines are ten syllables long, and *оуе* occupies the fifth and sixth syllables. Again, however, this is the absolute medial position for the line.

Particularly striking about this structure is the fact that the position occupied by *оште* within the line is identical to that of the line-medial vocatives described in §5.1. Both *оуе* and these two-syllable address forms occur on syllables four and five of an eight-syllable line. Similarly, the word *оуе* appears to interrupt the flow of the line; it always appears in transcription following a comma, just as do the vocative forms. This is yet another piece of evidence for the supposition that second or middle positions in lines continue to be prosodically significant in accordance with principles that dictate other Wackernagelian phenomena.

Often, lines with *оуе* also structure the larger narrative of the song by repeating words from the previous line. Generally, the first word of the line with *оуе* will be a repetition of the final word of the previous line. In the two previous examples, one sees that the words *есенно* ‘spring’ and *сговорили* ‘agreed’ are both repeated. In five of the ten examples cited in the four dictionaries, and in four of the five examples in the corpus, the line containing *оуе* repeats the final word of the preceding line. In the one remaining example from the corpus, the initial, rather than final, word is repeated from the previous line:

(5.28)	агенти	щели	да	дойдат /	агенти,	оуе	стражари
	agenti	šeli	da	dojdat /	agenti,	ošte	stražari
	agents	were-LPART	to	come	agents	still	guards
	<i>special agents would come / special agents and guards</i>						

While this type of repetition is apparently not obligatory, it seems that that most canonical lines with *оуе* occur in repetitive patterns similar to that in 5.26.

It can be ascertained as well that this special use of *оуе* is restricted solely to songs of a more archaic type; again, it is only in the Traditional Corpus. Five times it has the marked lexical meaning and prosodic position described above, but it occurs twice more with the standard meaning (‘yet’ or ‘still’), both times elsewhere in the line.<sup>75</sup> This indicates that the marked conjunctive meaning of *оуе* is probably only possible in restricted line-medial position. Although they make no specific claims about its prosodic requirements, dictionaries do describe this marked meaning of *оуе* as occurring only in nonstandard

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75. In fact, in these two cases, the word is actually spelled *оу* and therefore occupies only one syllable. I do not believe that the elision of the final unstressed vowel is a necessary feature of *оуе* in songs when it is used with its most common standard meaning, but rather that its truncated form in both of these instances is simply coincidental.

contexts. Both Cholakova et al. (1979) and Andreichin et al. (2008) designate the word as “dialectal” (“диалектно”), and Romanski et al. (1954) state that the non-standard use is usually found in folk songs. As an example, they cite the lines:

(5.29) Седнала мама да яде,  
Sednala mama da jade,  
sat mama to eat

да яде, още да пие  
da jade, ošte da pie  
to eat still to drink

със девет сина рождени  
sŭs devet sina roždeni  
with nine sons born

*‘Mother sat down to eat / to eat, and also to drink / with the nine sons she had born.’*

All three of these dictionaries, along with Gerov (1975), cite examples of conjunctive *още* from folk songs and/or National Revival poets such as Botev and Vazov, who often mimicked folk patterns in their work. No examples appear of this use of *още* in prose. As is the case with several other phenomena described earlier, descriptive linguistic works—in this case, both Andreichin et al. (2008) and Cholakova et al. (1979), the two most authoritative contemporary Bulgarian dictionaries—use a stylistic descriptor (“dialectal”) to describe a marked pattern from folk songs, when, in fact, it would seem that this conjunctive use of *оште* is restricted not so much stylistically but rather generically.

Thus, there are several specific characteristics of this marked structure, which appears to occur only in songs of the traditional, unrhymed-line type. The word *още* appears with a nonstandard meaning, where it functions as a coordinating conjunction, and links together two words of the same part of speech. It always appears in line-medial position, and the line containing it often begins with the final word of the preceding line. While it would seem that linguists have already described the lexical properties of a marked stylistic use of *още*, the further conditions that engender its use suggest that this feature is not simply a “dialectal” way of using a particular lexeme, but rather an entire poetic structure that contains it.

### 5.3. The Negative Antithesis

One of the most well-known poetic devices in Slavic verbal folklore is the negative antithesis. Commonly known especially in earlier scholarship as the “Slavic antithesis,” this device is also referred to by various scholars as the “negative comparison,” “negative analogy,” or “negative simile.” The negative antithesis appears in its most canonical form in three passages in the songs in this study, and there are several more instances of similar rhetorical devices involving negated propositions.

### 5.3.1. Elements of the Negative Antithesis

The negative antithesis is a poetic device wherein a speaker identifies a phenomenon or entity (often the sight or sound associated with a particular character) in contrast to what that phenomenon is not. For example, in this fragment of a Russian *bylina*:

(5.30) Не буря л' в поле подымается, —  
А добрый мoлoдeц да отправляется (Sokolov 1948:487)

It is not a storm rising up in the field, —  
But rather a fine young man setting off

it is implied that the “young man” character—or at least some qualities that he possesses—could be mistaken for a storm. Some of the most classic instances of the device are more complex, such as the well-known passage quoted by Vuk Karadžić:

(5.31) Šta se b'jeli u gori zelenoj?  
Al' je snijeg, ali' su labudovi?  
Da je snijeg, već bi okopnio;  
Labudovi već bi poletjeli.  
Nit' je snijeg, nit' su labudovi,  
Nego šator age Hasan-age; (Karadžić 1954, v. 3:548-539)

What shines white there in the green wood?  
Is it snow, or is it swans?  
If it were snow, it would have already melted away;  
The swans would have already flown off.  
It is neither snow, nor is it swans,  
But rather the tent of Hasan Aga.

Here, the lyrical subject puts forth a set of rhetorical questions: first, the whiteness of Hasan Aga's tent is mentioned, and only after saying what this color is not associated with is its ultimate source identified.

Krafčik (1976:20) states that the negative antithesis is often (simplistically, according to her) characterized by a formula such as “A is not B, A is C.” The richest and most canonical examples of the negative antithesis are also those which are most complex: a sight or sound is observed, and initial suggestions are offered as to what that cause of that sight or sound could be. These suggestions are then denied, and a new, correct identification is made. However, perusing Maticki's (1970) thorough overview of the possible types of negative antithesis structures, it is clear that a number of factors can vary within the device, such as the number of false identifications made, whether a question is included (as in the second of the two examples above), and whether the correct identification is included as an initial suggestion. The critical component of the negative antithesis, however, would be that a

positive, correct identification of a particular phenomenon is offered alongside at least one false identification.

### 5.3.2. Rhetorical Effects of the Negative Antithesis

In effect, the negative antithesis functions as a roundabout way of expressing metaphor in a way structurally distinct from that of, for example, a simile (Bowra 1961:271). For example, a poet can express the same meaning of a straightforward sentence like “Marko flew like a falcon,” with the stylistically more interesting negative antithesis equivalent, “It was not a falcon flying, but rather Marko”; this construction implies that a falcon and Marko could be mistaken for each other, so Marko is *like* a falcon. Krafcik emphasizes that, because of the metaphorical implications of the negative antithesis, it is what the identified phenomenon is said *not* to be that is its critical component: “The accumulation of impressions channeled in to one final image suggested by the tenor is indeed a synthesis of impressions, perhaps comparable to the synthesis in the Hegelian dialectic of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. The vehicle image, although negated, reinforces the effect of the tenor image” (Krafcik 1976:22). She summarizes her argument as such: “It is the power of this total interplay of images, actors, and actions which affords the device its stunning poetic effect” (ibid. 20).

Moving to the realm of the folk song, the negative antithesis has properties that make it particularly appealing for singers trying to capture an audience’s attention. It allows for a singer “to give a fuller significance to what he describes by creating expectation and surprise” (Bowra 1961:270); an audience will be kept entranced and excited if they are waiting to find out who or what is behind the thundering noise or cloud of dust gathering in the background. This type of narrative device might be considered analogous to the way in which epic singers employ “ornaments” (Lord 2000:88) in their songs, amplifying and extending complex descriptions of various parts of the story in order to produce a lengthier and more dramatic narrative. Another critical piece of the listener’s reception of this device is that the negative antithesis “reflects a natural experience” (Bowra 1961:270): a real-life witness to an unfamiliar phenomenon might first be confused as to its identity or cause, and would only subsequently arrive at a clear, positive identification. Thus, while the negative simile violates basic norms of direct language, its effects lend it strong rhetorical power.

### 5.3.3. The Negative Antithesis in the Corpora

For these reasons, it is understandable that singers trying to tell dramatic stories of revolutionary change might invoke the traditional negative antithesis. And indeed, there are three clear instances in which this device is employed in these texts. The first resembles example 5.30 cited above, wherein the fury created by the movement of individuals is compared to disruptive natural phenomena:

(5.32) Дали гърми, ил’ се земя тресе,  
ил’ се рови Каменна могила?  
Нито гърми, ни се земя тресе,

ни се рови каменна могила...  
Сбор се сбират във Горна Гращица,  
сбор се сбират, язовир да правят.

Is it thundering, or is the earth quaking,  
or is Kamen Hill being dug up?  
It's not thundering, nor is the earth quaking,  
nor is Kamen Hill being dug up...  
A gathering has gathered in Gorna Graštica,  
a gathering has gathered to build a dam lake.

The thundering and quaking earth are characteristic effects of the force behind the actions of Prince Marko and other brave heroes of Slavic lore; in this song, therefore, the youth brigade workers that have gathered are intertextually depicted as heroes as well.

In two other examples, the negative antithesis functions to emphasize not (presumably “masculine”) virility, but rather feminine beauty and delicateness. In the passage:

(5.33) Що ми се глас дочуваше  
от равно поле загорско,  
дали кавали свиреха,  
или славеи пееха? [...]  
Нито кавали свиреха,  
нито славеи пееха,  
най била стройна Калина,  
Калина трактористката.

What was this voice resounding  
from the level Zagora field,  
were *kavals*<sup>76</sup> playing,  
or nightingales singing? [...]  
Neither were *kavals* playing,  
nor were nightingales singing,  
but rather it was the slender Kalina,  
Kalina the tractor driver.

it is not only stated directly that Kalina possesses physical womanly beauty (the intermediary lines call her a “beautiful maiden,” “моме хубава”), but metaphor in the negative antithesis implies that her voice is high-pitched and melodious, characteristics generally considered to be marked as feminine. The association with *kavals* also brings in positive associations of the pastoral and the traditional, authentic “folk.” Such a depiction is

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76. Often associated with shepherds, the *kaval* is an end-blown flute and one of the primary instruments of Balkan folk music.

in sharp contrast with her traditionally masculine vocation, and concords with the emerging socialist ideal of a woman who maintains her femininity while taking on all the strength and industriousness of a man.

A third example also depicts the delicate qualities of a female character:

(5.34) Нецо ми се чује  
в зелено усойе,  
нецо ми се чује, нане,  
в зелено усойе —  
дали мома пейе,  
ели агне блейе?  
Нито мома пейе,  
нито агне блейе,  
я най ми ње било  
Аленова майка,  
Аленова майка  
за Алена плаче

Something is sounding  
from the green shady spot,  
oh, something is sounding,  
from the green shady spot —  
is it a maiden singing,  
or a lamb bleating?  
Neither is a maiden singing,  
nor is a lamb bleating,  
but rather it was  
Alen's mother,  
Alen's mother  
crying for Alen

Here, however, the associated qualities of the maiden and lamb that are compared with Alen's mother matter more than the direct sensory phenomena experienced by the lyrical subject. That is, the sound of a woman crying would likely not be mistaken for that of a singing girl, and certainly not that of a bleating lamb (a sound which would probably strike few listeners as "feminine"). Rather, this passage conveys the idea that Alen's mother is like a lamb and a maiden in her gentleness and innocence. It makes her grief in the wake of her son's death all the more poignant by contrasting these qualities she possesses with the circumstances under which her son was killed.

In all three of these examples, metaphor functions within the text, but there are intertextual associations with "traditional" South Slavic folklore as well. Many of the sights and sounds with which individuals are compared appear elsewhere in Slavic folklore; for example, the comparison between the singing of nightingales and beautiful maidens seen in the example with "Kalina the Tractor Driver" above is attested in stories from all over

Bulgaria and surrounding countries (Mollov 2014)<sup>77</sup>. A very similar example to the story about Alen's mother can be found in another song of the era:

(5.35) Глас ми се изчува  
нейде в долината —  
дали мома нее,  
или акне более?  
Не е било, мамо  
ни мома да нее,  
ни агне да более,  
а най ме е била  
Райчовата майка  
на гроба му да плаче... (Dinekov 1963: 294)

A voice sounds out to me  
somewhere in the valley —  
is it a maiden  
or a lamb in pain?  
It was not, mother  
neither a maiden  
nor a lamb in pain,  
but rather it was  
Raycho's mother  
crying at his grave...

This example would indicate that the trope of a mother crying like a singing girl and a lamb was probably a theme with regular circulation in oral verse.<sup>78</sup> Perhaps most striking, however, is a preindustrial song that opens with the exact same line (right down to the same elided vowel) as example 5.32 above:

(5.36) Дали гърми, ил' се земя тресе,  
ели стадо за агненца блее,  
ели ветер по планина пое,  
ели змия низ грамада свире,  
ели вода от високо тече?  
Нито гърми, ни се земя тресе,  
нито стадо за агненца блее,  
нито ветер по планина пое,  
нито змия низ грамада свире,  
нито вода от високо тече -

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77. List of texts available at: <http://liternet.bg/folklor/motivi-3/moma-slavey-nadpiavane/content.htm>.

78. Certainly, the theme of a woman crying after discovering the bodies of men fallen in battle is a familiar trope in South Slavic folklore; the Serbian song of the Kosovo Maiden is probably the best example.



Марко бие неговото любне!

Is it thundering, or is the earth quaking,  
or is a flock of lambs bleating,  
or is the wind picking up along the mountain,  
or is a snake hissing along its pile of earth?  
or is water flowing from above?  
It is neither thundering, nor is the earth quaking,  
nor is a flock of lambs bleating,  
nor is the wind picking up along the mountain,  
nor is a snake hissing along its pile of earth,  
nor is watering flowing from above –  
Marko is beating his lover! (Mollov 2014)<sup>79</sup>

In this example, originally from Macedonia, the thundering and quaking of the earth is likened to the force behind Marko's beating of his lover; one might understand that the original audience of this song was to interpret the intensity of Marko's violence as an expression of might and virility. It appears this formula is very firmly established as a South Slavic poetic formula, as a variation can even be found in the Serbian Erlangen Manuscript, which was compiled in the early eighteenth century:

(5.37) Ili grmi il' se zemlja trese,  
ili more bije o bregove,  
ili bije more o mramorje?  
Niti grmi nit se zemlja trese,  
niti bije more o mramorje,  
već pucaju na Zadru lubarde.

Either it is thundering or the earth is quaking  
or the sea is beating against the banks,  
or is the sea beating against the marble?  
It is neither thundering nor is the earth quaking,  
nor is the sea beating against the marble,  
but rather they're shooting cannons at Zadar (Medenica & Aranitović 1987:242)

Given the broad spans in time and place from which these examples come, it would appear that comparison to thundering and the quaking of the earth is a well-established formula that singers know they can borrow when they intend to demonstrate the physical force with which a person or group of people are endowed. The familiarity that twentieth-century listeners would have had with the metaphors in these songs surely helped call to their minds the folkloric texts which composers of these socialist songs were referencing: the sound of

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79. Original citation: *Български народни песни от Македония*. Събрал Панчо Михайлов. София, 1924. No. 355.

the earth quaking is not produced only by Prince Marko, but by strong modern heroes as well.

#### 5.3.4. The Negative Antithesis as an Unstable Device

At the same time, it is clear that the status of the negative antithesis is only that of an ornamental device; it is rarely if ever crucial to the plot of a song itself. Evidence for this can be found in two variants of a particular song from the socialist era. When constructing the corpus of texts for analysis, if there were multiple variants available for any one song, I chose only the first in a volume. The variant in the socialist song corpus, from the village of Kalotina, opens with a straightforward description of elements of a natural landscape:

(5.38) Тъмен се облак зададе  
откъде Стара планина,  
от партизанска равнина.  
Под облак пиле летеше,  
червено знаме носеше...

A dark cloud settled  
from on the Balkan Mountain  
from the Partisan plain.  
Under the cloud a bird was flying,  
carrying a red flag...

However, in the second variant of the song in the same volume, from Růževo Konare, the dark cloud is said to be the soldiers themselves:

(5.39) Тъмен се облак зададе  
от връх от Рила планина,  
от хайдушката равнина.  
Не ми е било облаче,  
а най ми било четата  
на Демиревски войвода.

A dark cloud settled  
from the peak of the Rila Mountain  
from the hajduk plain.  
It wasn't a little cloud,  
but rather it was the detachment  
of Demirevski the fighter.

Quite interesting is that, even within what appears to be an otherwise mostly uniform song pattern, the negative antithesis can be entirely “optional.” While the critical component of the negative antithesis, the dark cloud, is found in both songs, the comparative aspect of its

function is missing in the first example. This points to a fluid and perhaps unstable property of the negative antithesis. Singers can use it for the purpose of ornamentation, but it might not remain in a song in a subsequent performance or in the version of a different singer. This makes it all the more remarkable that it does appear in the three examples in my relatively small corpus; it might also have been found in some versions of many of the other songs as well.

### 5.3.5. The Negative Antithesis and Similar Constructions

Moreover, one could propose that the resonance of the negative antithesis as a rhetorical device in South Slavic is strong enough to have influenced the creation of another similar structure in which positive and negative propositions are contrasted, even though the metaphorical quality linking them is absent. Several other passages found in the song texts are composed of structures essentially expressing the idea “not X, but rather Y.” In this case, however, the constituents X and Y are not likened to each other, but are rather mutually exclusive or even opposites. Nonetheless, the conjunctions and clausal connectors introducing propositions, such as *дали*, ‘whether,’ *не*, ‘not,’ and *най*, and *а*, ‘but rather,’ are often the same as in the negative thesis. For example, in one passage, the lyrical subject asks an eagle passing by:

(5.40) дали са турци Плевен разбили,  
или московци в Европа фтели?

have the Turks ravished Pleven,  
or have the Muscovites entered Europe?

and receives the response:

(5.41) Не ми са турци Плевен разбили,  
а са московци в Европа фтели

The Turks have not ravished Pleven,  
but the Muscovites have entered Europe.

Here, the relationship between the two propositions is not one of similarity: that is, the fact that Muscovites have, in fact, entered Europe is not compared to the possibility that the Turks have ravished Pleven. Rather, the situation is one of contrast, wherein the truth values of the various propositions are independent of each other. Another example in which one proposition is denied but another is given in its place is the passage:

(5.42) Стъпил Хитлер, стъпил Хитлер  
на руската земя  
да си цели, да си цели  
на Кремъл звездата.

Не цели, не уцели  
на Кремъл звездата,  
най уцели, най уцели  
клетото си сърце...

Hitler stepped, Hitler stepped  
onto Russian soil  
in order to aim, in order to aim  
at the star of the Kremlin.  
But he didn't aim, didn't aim  
at the star of the Kremlin,  
but rather aimed, rather aimed  
at his cursed heart...

Strictly speaking, these are not examples of the classic negative antithesis, in that their meaning is not one of simile. Still, their structures, along with those of several other passages, are similar to that of the negative antithesis: propositions are presented, but they are then negated and another proposition is offered instead. Certainly, passages such as these could arise independently of the negative antithesis tradition, and similar structures surely exist in many world traditions that lack the negative antithesis; it would seem to be a simple fact of rhetoric that one can heighten focus on the positive truth value of a statement by emphasizing the false value of its opposite. Nonetheless, it is possible that structures like these might be more common because of the poetic tradition of the negative antithesis. Singers may be aware that the suggestion and then denial of a proposition is a common way to state an idea in folk songs. It is thus possible that the frequency with which these counterfactual statements appear may be due to an established habit on the part of singers for including negative and positive propositions in succession.

### 5.3.6. The Negative Antithesis in Slavic Folk Traditions

Thus far, I have attempted to demonstrate the strength of the negative antithesis as a poetic device in the songs in the corpus, both by showing examples of its explicit appearance as a metaphorical device, but also by presenting other structures that the negative antithesis may have influenced. Certainly, however, the negative antithesis is already one of the best established and most thoroughly researched features of Slavic folk poetics. Oinas (1976:379) notes that Jakob Grimm, in 1823, and Nikolaj Gnedič, in 1825, were the first to describe the device,<sup>80</sup> but many other scholars have remarked on its seeming ubiquity in Slavic folk texts. Bowra (1961:270), for example, writes that the device can be found in “all branches of Slavonic poetry,” and Talvj (1850:324), who regards Slavic poetry as non-western and exotic, describes the phenomenon in Russian and Serbian texts as “peculiar.” Sokolov (1938:236)

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80. Original citations: Jakob Grimm, in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, unter der Aufsicht der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 177-78 Stück, Den 5. November, 1823; N. I. Gnedič, *Prostonarodne pesni nynešnix grekov* (SPb., 1825), xxxiii-xxxiv.

notes its particular prominence in the Russian *bylina* tradition. Clearly, it is not only a feature of Bulgarian or South Slavic songs, but rather is characteristic of Slavic folklore as a whole.

Indeed, when the negative antithesis appears in almost any context in a Slavic text, it seems to be somehow tied to the idea of the “folk.” Examples of the negative antithesis can be found in verse in many Slavic languages from many time periods, but it almost always seems to be linked to folklore. Early instances of the device can be found in the Erlangen Manuscript and in Vuk’s collections of Serbian songs, illustrated above in examples 5.37 and 5.31, respectively. Krafcik (1976:18) gives examples of how the negative antithesis contributed to “literary folk stylizations” in the poetry of both Pushkin and Nekrasov. Although these nineteenth-century Russian poets are generally thought of as belonging to the elite literary establishment, their works in which the negative antithesis appears are still related to a folkloric tradition: it is well known that Pushkin borrowed extensively from folk language and folktale themes, and the instance cited by Krafcik in the “verse tale” (ibid.), “The Robber Brothers” (“Братъя разбоники”) appears to be characterized by an epic-style plot. The other instance she cites, Nekrasov’s *Red-Nosed Frost*, (“Мороз, красный нос”), tells the story of a personified “Grandfather Frost” character who torments Russian peasants; Ransome (1998:576) states that “[a] great love of the peasantry and respect for its virtue and fortitude undoubtedly pervade the whole poem.” These authors were likely attempting to employ a rhetorical device linked with the idea of “folk speech” in order to make the language of their texts match that of the *narod* that appears in them.

Additionally, Mitrev (1966:367) describes the use of the negative antithesis in texts created by the Macedonian folklorist and poet Konstantin Miladinov. Noting that Miladinov “wrote his poetry in the language spoken by the people of Struga, and often used elements of folk poetry,” the text Mitrev cites as an example, which presumably contains a negative antithesis in the last two lines, “could easily be included in a collection of folk poetry without being distinguished as the product of an individual poet” (ibid.):

- (5.43) Pearl girl, Pearl girl,  
For whom is that string of pearls?  
For whom are you making presents ready?  
I do not want pearls as a present,  
But I want the young girl Bisera.<sup>81</sup> (ibid., Mitrev’s translation)

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81. It would seem that Mitrev felt that this song included an instance of the “Slavic antithesis” (ibid.) in the final two lines. This passage is arguably structurally closer to the non-metaphorical contrastive structures described above, but it clearly illustrates how the negative antithesis is linked with other “not X but rather Y” devices. Curiously, the passage resembles very closely one such example found in the socialist song corpus:

- (5.44) Що не си стоиш, Драгано, [...]  
да готвиш тѣнки дарове [...]  
Драганка дума майци си:  
— Пусни ме, мамо, не спирай,  
мене не требват дарове [...]  
Ази в Балкана ще ида [...]
- Why don’t you stay, Dragana, [...]

In the Macedonian case as well, it would seem that the negative antithesis was consciously used to create a work reminiscent of a more “organic” folk text.

Even more interesting for the present study is the fact that folklorists have mentioned the use of this device in socialist poetry. Dinekov (1979:7) remarks that the negative antithesis is among the many folkloric devices used by Nikola Vaptsarov. It is unclear to me to what specifically he may be referring as negative antitheses, but he references the poem “Майка” (“Mother”), which contains passages such as the following:

(5.45) Не слушай,  
не гледай,  
а нанкай сега. (Vaptsarov 2009/1946:125)

Do not listen,  
do not look,  
but rather sleep now.

This passage does not function metaphorically in the way that the classic negative antithesis does, but it would seem to be an example of “affirmation through negation” (“*утвърждаването чрез отрицание*”) that Dinekov (1979:7) offers as an additional characterization of the negative antithesis. In any case, it is significant that a folklorist would use a marker of a rhetorical device tied to folklore to describe the works of a poet who was depicted under socialism as a poet of the “folk” (see §1.2). Such a statement not only reaffirms the fact that the negative antithesis is a device intimately associated with folk poetry, but it is another instance in which a scholar takes care to identify a socialist hero with the culture of the “folk.”

### 5.3.7. The Negative Antithesis in World Traditions

Certainly, the plethora of examples of the negative antithesis in Slavic texts cited by scholars, of which the above are only a small sample, point to the visible role this device has in Slavic folk poetics, and might well justify use of the term “Slavic antithesis” used by many scholars. However, evidence from other poetic traditions points to the fact that the device is by no means limited to Slavic tradition, and may well have a point of origin far earlier than the origin of the Slavs as a distinct group of people. Nezirović (2007:35) makes this argument most directly:

It is also surprising that one stylistic figure is given a ‘one-race’ qualifier, indicating that it is in the ‘race’s’ possession. Fortunately, towards the end of the nineteenth century, such an

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to make fine presents [...]  
Draganka said to her mother:  
– Let me go, mother, don’t stop me,  
I don’t need presents [...]  
I will go into the Balkans [...]

illogical appropriation was recognized by A.N. Veselovskij, who proposed the name negative parallelism, followed by others who called it the negative analogy or negative comparison. After all the examples we have given, and it was only a few, we are of the opinion that calling this stylistic figure the Slavic Antithesis has no place [...] We should opt for another term, many of them being already in use. It would exclude any racial reference, for artistic creation is universal, as much as thought is, belonging to all, regardless of time and space.

While my immediate concern is more philological than political, I would agree that it is clear that the negative antithesis belongs to more poetic traditions beyond that of the Slavs. Indeed, it can be found in almost all modern branches of Indo-European: Romance (Ladino, Catalan, Spanish, and Portuguese, per Nezirović 2007:8-29; Romanian, per Oinas 1976:379; Albanian; Germanic; Hellenic (ibid.); Celtic; Baltic; and even Indo-Iranian, per Sims-Williams 2011:79-94). Oinas also notes that this device is used widely in Finnic folk texts, and proposes that it is likely the result of Russian influence (1976:382-385). Of particular interest is the fact that Lönnroth employed such devices in the *Kalevala*, even though their equivalents cannot be located in the folk songs on which the text was based (ibid. 380). This could mean that the device is emblematically poetic in Finnic linguistic culture as well, and was therefore employed to make this national epic sound even more “folkloric.”

The negative antithesis also appears in texts from other traditions that were written down before the device was documented in Slavic. There are examples from as early as Homer (Kakridis 1949:108-120)<sup>82</sup>, and it “was encountered very early in almost all Romance folk literatures, starting from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a few centuries before it appeared in Croatian *bugaršticas*” (Nezirović 2007:34). Consequently, it would seem that scholars are hesitant to pinpoint a clear time and location of origin of the negative antithesis. Amid his overview of the phenomenon in Celtic texts, Sims-Williams (2011:79-94) arrives somewhat ambivalently at the suggestion that the negative antithesis may have had a polygenetic origin in Europe (88).<sup>83</sup> Still, I would argue that the wide variety of examples from throughout Europe, along with its attestation in texts preceding the earliest Slavic examples by several centuries, likely points to an old, generally European origin. While it is impossible to say whether the device is a relic of a common Indo-European tradition *per se*, the device is clearly an archaism with its roots deep in folkloric tradition.

### 5.3.8. The Negative Antithesis: Conclusion

The negative antithesis, then, might well be regarded as an archaism that has survived for quite a long time. As such, it is remarkable that it continues to be used in the twentieth-century texts in this study. Some of the song text examples cited above, such as that which likens brigade workers to thunder or the earth quaking, appear to have been

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82. Sims-Williams (2011:88) describes these examples as “unclear,” but I find several of them to be quite clearly analogous to examples of the device in Slavic texts.

83. Although possible, he claims, the spread of the negative antithesis from Celtic to Slavic via contact is unlikely in that it is not found in areas between these two groups (i.e. central and western Europe). He also doubts the possibility that this device was originally used more broadly in Europe but ended up remaining only at the periphery because of a “lack of clear examples in ancient poetry” (88).

borrowed fairly directly from other poems, but the appearance of other rhetorical structures with negative contrasts affirming a positive may also reflect the influence of the negative antithesis. The use by singers under socialism of the device in their works can be seen as yet one more example of effort to create the sense of authentic, timeless texts.

#### 5.4. The Ethical Dative

This section deals with the regular appearance of the first-person singular dative personal pronoun *ми* in what are frequently referred to as “ethical dative” constructions. In standard Bulgarian, possession can be expressed with short-form clitic pronouns attached to definite noun phrases, as in:

- (5.46) Той счупи очилата ми.  
 Toj sčupi očilata mi.  
 He broke glasses-DEF 1SG-DAT  
*He broke my glasses.*

In some contexts, however, this dative pronoun can appear instead in the ordinary pre-verbal spot for verbal clitics, as in:

- (5.47) Той ми счупи очилата.  
 Toj mi sčupi očilata.  
 he 1SG-DAT broke glasses-DEF  
*He broke my glasses.*

This word order is particularly common when the possessed is closely linked to or inalienable from the possessor (as might be a body part or piece of clothing), and structures like it, in which an effect is felt on the pronominal referent itself as well as the direct object, are sometimes called “ethical datives.” Similar phenomena occur in BCS as well, and the use of dative clitics to mark possession is often regarded by scholars as a phenomenon of the Balkan sprachbund.

However, the phenomenon addressed in this section is a somewhat more restricted variation on the construction shown in the second example above. In the songs in this study, one can note the widespread appearance of phrases in which the first-person singular pronoun *ми* forms an ethical dative construction. However, it seems to serve mostly as a pragmatic marker and does not refer to actual possession or inalienability on the part of the speaker. For example, in a line like:

- (5.48) He ми са турци Плевен разбили  
 Ne mi sa turci Pleven razbili  
 NEG 1SG-DAT AUX Turks Pleven destroyed  
*The Turks have not destroyed Pleven*



the speaker presumably knows that the Turks have not destroyed Pleven, but she has not played any role in saving the town from destruction. The first-person singular pronoun is not an indirect object of the verb, and it plays no syntactic role in the sentence.

This section will refer to constructions such as the one above with the term “ethical dative,” although this term is often applied to slightly variant phenomena, and the specific type of phenomenon described here is also referred to with a variety of labels by scholars from different philological traditions (Kendall 1980:385). König and Haspelmath (1997:529) list a number of descriptors for constructions like this, including *dativus ethicus*, *dativus (in)commodi*, and *dativus sympathicus*. To be clear, I am concerned here only with those constructions in which dative pronouns appear with no syntactic meaning, but rather demonstrate interest or affect on the part of the speaker.

The ethical dative is another feature that appears to be an important characteristic of South Slavic folk texts. It appears more commonly in the socialist song texts than one would expect in the standard spoken language, and possesses both poetic and metrical properties that make it a handy device for singers to employ. It is probably best described as neither a dialectism nor an archaism, but rather as a device that has become a regular part of folkloric language because of its own innate properties.

#### 5.4.1. Overview of Ethical Dative Phenomena

Admittedly, the distinction between ethical datives and other constructions in which dative clitics do mark some kind of possession is not always so stark. In a line such as:

(5.49) Какво ми прави Тодорчо  
Kakvo mi pravi Todorčo  
what 1SG-DAT does Todor-DIM  
*What is (my) little Todor doing?*

the dative clitic does convey the sense that the speaker, a mother inquiring about the infant son she has left behind, has personal concern about her child. While it does not necessarily mark explicit possession in the same way the possessive pronoun *мој* would, it does indicate an intimate connection. One could consider this a somewhat “grey” example in which the ethical dative approaches a possessive meaning. In other examples, it may seem that a possessive interpretation is possible, but upon closer examination, the appearance of the *ми* pronoun could only be considered an ethical dative. For example, in the line:

(5.50) и да ми жито порасте  
i da mi žito poraste  
and that 1SG-DAT wheat grows  
*so that the wheat will grow*

one might initially interpret the *ми* as marking possession of the speaker's own individual wheat.<sup>84</sup> However, in context, this interpretation would not make sense:

(5.51) я хайде, Станке, на блока  
хитото, Станке, да плевим,  
хляба народен да спасим  
от тези пусти плевели  
и да ми жито порасте,  
по-красив блокът да стане!

C'mon, Stanka, to the apartment block,  
to weed, Stanka, the wheat,  
to save the people's bread  
from these damned weeds  
so that the wheat will grow  
and the apartment block will become more beautiful!

Because the speaker is addressing his lover, Stanka, and (as a good socialist) is thinking of the wheat as communal property, the first-person *ми* pronoun would not make sense as a possessive; rather, the singer is emphasizing his own interest in and commitment to the growth of the wheat.

Of course, there are also clear-cut cases in which, like example 5.48 above, there is no way the ethical *ми* could be interpreted as a possessive marker. For example, the line:

(5.52) до два ми черни орела  
do dva mi černi orela  
until two 1SG-DAT black eagles  
*two black eagles*<sup>85</sup>

occurs in the wider context:

(5.53) Кога си Тошо погледа  
към Димитровта кория,  
към тази руда поляна,  
дето са Гено оставили:  
Над Гено са вияха  
до два ми черни орела

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84. Note that in this line, 'wheat' is indefinite. In the standard language, with a few exceptions (all kinship terms), the possessed element necessarily appears with a definite article. However, there is a widespread lack of definite markers in these songs (see §3.3) and one regularly encounters possessive constructions with unarticulated possessed nouns.

85. It is unclear to me how the word *до* functions in this line; I suspect it may be used primarily to occupy a syllable for metrical purposes.

When Tošo looked  
toward Dimitrov's grove  
toward that ore field,  
where they had left Geno:  
Above Geno were circling  
two black eagles

Here, the lyrical subject is describing something that Tošo—and, presumably, not she herself—witnessed. There is no way that the two black eagles somehow belong to or were directed toward the speaker; rather, the only logical interpretation is that this pronoun forms an ethical dative.

Because the division between possessive and ethical datives is not always so distinct, it is difficult to provide a definitive count of occurrences of the ethical dative in the corpus, but there are twelve such phrases in eight songs total that one could probably say are fairly unambiguous examples. It seems safe to say that this frequency is much greater than would be expected in spoken prose.

#### 5.4.2. The Ethical Dative in Slavic and World Languages

In fact, across Slavic, the ethical dative is generally quite restricted in its appearance. DuFeu 1998 provides an overview of the discussion of ethical datives in the major Slavic languages; she notes that it is generally a feature of colloquial, and not standard, varieties, and many authors of standard-language grammars either overlook the phenomenon entirely or explicitly proscribe its use.

Grammarians of South Slavic languages typically agree that there is an element of colloquialness in the ethical dative. In Bulgarian, Nitsolova (2008:156) claims that the ethical dative occurs “in everyday colloquial language” (“в битово-разговорната реч”) and marks an “emotional reaction” (“емоционална реакция”). Even in his 1933 grammar, Beaulieux offers no comment on the register of the ethical dative, but states that it functions by “marking the interest that one shows toward the action” (“*marquant l'intérêt qu'on peut prendre à l'action*”) (Beaulieux 1933:82). BCS grammarians offer similar explanations: Stanojčić and Popović (2011:290) refer to the device as the “dative of interest” (“*dativ interesovanja*”) and say that it occurs “in conversation” (“*u razgovoru*”) and “shows interestedness or some other personal stance toward that which is presented in the sentence” (“*pokaže zainteresovanost ili neki drugi lični stav prema onome što se iznosi rečenicom*”). Similarly, Mrazović (2009:528) describes the device as expressing “personal involvement in some action or event or sympathy toward the interlocutor” (“*lično učestvovanje u nekoj radnji ili zbivanju ili simpatija prema sagovorniku*”). Scholars have also found instances of the device in OCS (e.g. Lunt 2001:149, Vaillant 1950, vol. 5:86).

What is clear in all of these cases, however, is that the pronouns appearing in ethical dative constructions do not have a syntactic function. The descriptor Shibatani (1994:465) uses to describe similar phenomena across a variety of world languages, “extra-thematic,” would seem to describe well the way these forms work. Shibatani elucidates this, explaining: “By ‘extra-thematic,’ I mean a situation where an argument exists that is not part of the case

frame of the verb with which it occurs, or that does not bear a theta role specified by the verbal head” (ibid.). Although there may be slight disparities in the kinds of constructions that occur from language to language, the ethical dative is certainly not a phenomenon unique to South Slavic.

### 5.4.3. Cognitive Explanations for the Ethical Dative

Indeed, the most relevant feature of the ethical dative, its pragmatic value, is understood best from the vantage point of cognitive linguistics. Kendall provides a simple but elegant explanation as to why datives specifically can convey the idea of affect on the part of the speaker: “What the dative case signals in all these instances is direction toward a person, either literally or metaphorically. In other words, the dative can mean direction toward in an inner sense, direction toward cognitive or emotional states” (Kendall 1980:385). Several scholars, such as Haspelmath (1999:113) and Šarić (2002:15), note that, because the ethical dative marks some kind of emotive response, it is generally seen as indicating either a positive or negative—but not neutral—evaluation of the action. There also seems to be an understanding on the part of many scholars that the use of the ethical dative marks a connectedness between the real world in which the speech act takes place and the world of the story. For example, Tsivian (1999:92), addressing the use of the ethical dative in folk texts specifically, offers such an assessment:

...правомерно говорить на столько об эмоциональности, сколько о помещении говорящего «внутри текста», о его если не участии, то хотя бы присутствии в мире данного текста (*и я там был*). В этом случае происходит нейтрализация пространственной оппозиции *внутренний/внешний*, ее вариантов *близкий/далекий*, *наш мир/иной мир* и ее соответствия в другом коде модели мира (ММ) — *свой/чужой*.

...it is reasonable to speak not so much about emotionality, but rather about the insertion of the speaker “inside the text”, about, if not participation, then at least his presence inside the world of the given text (“*I was there too*”). In this case a neutralization occurs of the spatial opposition between *internal/external*, and its variants *close/far*, *our world/another world*, and its equivalent in another representation of the model of the world (ММ) — *one’s own/not one’s own*.

In a performative situation, in which singers have the task of making a tale as vivid to a listener as possible, the demonstration of emotion and the creation of cognitive connections between a listener and the world of the song is critical. For such purposes, the ethical dative could be an important device.

### 5.4.4. The Ethical Dative as Folkloric

Although, as mentioned above, the ethical dative is most commonly found in colloquial speech and would appear to be a naturally effective rhetorical device, the critical

question for the present study is whether it is, in fact, regarded as “folkloric.” Although they do not explicitly address the question of genre in their discussions of ethical datives, scholars do sometimes mention folk genres as a context in which ethical datives can appear. Andreichin (1949:354), for example, without explicitly limiting it to this context, states that “in folk language (“в народном языке”) the short dative case of personal pronouns of the first and second person is used to convey the expression of a note of intimacy (“интимности”) or emotionality (“душевности”).” Similarly, Vaillant (1950, vol. 5:86) notes the use of the “double ethical dative” (described below) in BCS in “the old folk song” (“la chanson populaire ancienne”). And when Tsivian (1999:94) offers a thorough list of examples of the ethical dative in Balkan languages, she explicitly uses items from a “cross-generic selection of examples of Balkan folklore,” including epic songs, ballad songs (“песни балладного характера”), laments (“причитания”), carols (“коляды”), and folk tales (“сказки”).” While none of these scholars comments further on the problem of register, it would seem that there is some understanding that it may mark folk language in particular.

One can find other such hints from scholars of literary texts as well. For example, in discussing the problems of translation of a similar ethical dative from Czech in Hašek’s *The Good Soldier Švejk*, Georgiev (1998) turns to the use of this construction in Bulgarian folk songs:

Знаем го от много негови прояви, най-впечатляващите от които носи българската народна песен: “че ми е пролет пукнала, все ми излязло на трева”, “че ми седна Марко на трапеза”, “що си ми черен почернял”. Смесловите стойности на това “ми” са точно толкова загадъчни, колкото и названието мутетичен дателен (dativus ethicus). Каквото и да е, не завиждам на преводача на български народни песни, който се заеме да му търси адекватни. Как ще се предаде това маркирано сродяване на говорителя с предмета на изказа, един бог знае.

We know it from many of its appearances, the most striking of which can be found in the Bulgarian folk song: “that spring has sprung (to me), everything has come out grass (to me)”, “that Marko sat (to me) at the dinner table”, “why have you turned black (to me)”. The notional values of this “to me” are as enigmatic as is its term, the ethical dative (dativus ethicus). In any case, I do not envy the translator of Bulgarian folk songs, who has to engage with finding adequate analogues. How one can convey that marked joining of the speaker with the object of discourse, God only knows.

Although I would not describe these constructions in quite the mystical way that Georgiev seems to view them, it is clear that he finds them to be an inseparable element of folk songs. Not surprisingly, it appears that the stylistic properties of the ethical dative are similar in Macedonian as well. Kitanov (2001) mentions the ethical dative in the works of the Macedonian poet Mateja Matevski, which, he says, have “a balladic tone (“баладичен тон”) and specific linguistic expression, poetry that corresponds with the sounds and rhythm of the folk song (“народната песен”), with the lexicon and syntax of our oral poetic tradition” (Kitanov 2001:144); he goes on to include the ethical dative as one of several “expressive

devices characteristic of the folk song” (ibid. 146). Again, these scholars are not specifically concerned with the genre in which the ethical dative appears, but by mentioning it as a rhetorical device linked to folklore, it would seem that they are at least aware that register is a relevant conditioning factor for its appearance.

#### 5.4.5. Historical Development of the Ethical Dative

The point of origin for the ethical dative as a folkloric device, however, is somewhat murky. While there certainly seem to be no dialectal factors conditioning its use, I do not feel either that the ethical dative can be thought of as an “archaism,” which is the best way to classify most of the other poetic devices I have catalogued thus far. König and Haspelmath (1997) view external dative possession, of which the ethical dative is a variant, as a Europeanism. They claim that the dative external possessor apparently already existed in Proto-Indo-European (ibid. 551), and note that it has developed in Basque and Maltese as well (ibid. 555-556), presumably under the influence of contact with neighboring languages. At the same time, Luraghi (forthcoming:21) convincingly cites examples from a number of ancient and modern Indo-European languages, and notes that the dative external possessor has not always been a consistent part of many European languages throughout their attested histories. Referring to the construction as “quite unstable,” she instead suggests that it could have been borrowed in and out of languages over the centuries, disappearing and reemerging later on. Thus, she argues that dative external possession might not be a Proto-Indo-Europeanism per se, but rather a feature that is easily borrowed. Moreover, while the underlying grammar might be slightly different in some cases, similar types of external possession are found in a variety of world languages, including Haya (Niger-Congo) and Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan) (Shibatani 1994:475, 476). As such, I would be hesitant to accept König and Haspelmath’s assertion, and would not necessarily classify dative external possession—let alone the specific pragmatic type of ethical dative that appears in my corpus—as an archaism that has been maintained in poetic tradition.<sup>86</sup>

#### 5.4.6. Rhetorical Ethical Datives as a Balkanism

One might consider the idea, however, that the ethical dative in South Slavic is similar to the device in other Balkan languages, both in the ways in which it patterns and with regard to its potential as a marker of folkloric language. Tarpomanova (2014:512) suggests that there are similarities in the ways in which the ethical dative functions in the Balkan languages that differentiate it from the ethical datives of other Slavic or European languages.

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86. Coincidentally, one might note that an analogous phenomenon, the English “personal dative” “(on) me” has emerged as a marker of “folksiness” in American songs. One can see this in a line from Joni Mitchell’s “Urge for Going,” for example:

x) I had **me** a man in the summertime (Horn 2008:170)

Presumably because it is perceived of as characteristic of dialects in which American folk music emerged, this construction is particularly prominent in “traditional country and mountain ballads” (ibid. 169).

Some of the similarities she mentions, such as affective marking (ibid. 514) are not restricted to the Balkan languages (see above), but others are, such as the fact that the ethical dative often appears in sentences with admirative evidentiality in both Albanian and Bulgarian (ibid. 515), or that it regularly occurs with deictic particles in Bulgarian, Greek, and Romanian (ibid. 517-518). A particularly strong piece of evidence that points to sprachbund influence on this device is the fact that Romanian (Graur et al. 1966:150), BCS (Vaillant 1950, vol. 5:86), Albanian (Tarpomanova 2014:516) and Bulgarian (Nitsolova 2008:156) can all include a “double” ethical dative, wherein both first-person singular and second-person singular pronouns appear in succession, as in the BCS line:

(5.54) poče ti mi hrubar [sic] junak staroj majci govoriti  
 began 2G-DAT 1G-DAT brave hero old-DAT mother-DAT speak-INF  
*The brave young hero began to speak to his old mother* (Vaillant 1950:86)

Although in the texts in the corpus one finds only examples with the first-person singular pronoun *mu*, the fact that there are several points of similarity in the use of ethical datives among the Balkan languages might indicate that it has emerged in South Slavic folklore specifically in part due to sprachbund effects. And in fact, there may be cross-linguistic parallels in the stylistic marking of the device as well. In Romanian, for example, the ethical dative is said to be used “especially in folk literature (*literatura populară*) and in writers influenced by it...” (Graur et al. 150), again, ostensibly for the purpose of showing narratorial interest or affect. While the ethical dative might not be thought of as an Indo-Europeanism, it may well be, at least in part, a Balkanism.

#### 5.4.7. The Ethical Dative and Meter

As is the case with several other phenomena described in this study, one should not overlook the relevance of meter as a conditioning factor for the appearance of these constructions. Because it necessarily occupies only one syllable, the ethical dative *mu* pronoun can be used whenever a single syllable is needed in a line. It would seem to be a particularly flexible device in this regard, because the ethical dative is syntactically always “optional,” not affecting the logical meaning but only the emotive coloring of the text. A line containing the ethical dative, such as:

(5.55) Звезда зорница, що ми е рано ранила  
 Zvezda zornica, što mi e rano ranila  
 star morning.star which 1SG-DAT AUX early rose.early  
*The morning star, which rose early*

could very well appear without the pronoun *mu*, and would have exactly the same grammatical meaning. Thus, I suspect that *mu* may form a polysyllabic metrical unit together with other words (such as, possibly, the pronoun *що* and the auxiliary clitic *e* in the above example), or simply be inserted on its own. In this way, it is not so much pragmatics that affects the appearance of *mu*, but simply a reliance on established metrical formulae.

#### 5.4.8. The Ethical Dative: Conclusion

In any case, the regularity with which the ethical dative appears in these songs indicates that it should be considered a marker of folkloric language. Neither retained as an archaism nor appearing as a dialectism used to mimic rural “folk” language, the ethical dative instead has poetic functions due to its rhetorical potential and may be a useful metrical device as well. Certainly, it would seem to be one of the primary poetic devices that characterize South Slavic folk songs.

#### 5.5. Binomial Compounds

A particular syntactic peculiarity present in several of the songs in this study is that in which two semantically related nouns appear in apposition with what would seem to be a marked poetic meaning. Such words are not linked by any conjunction, but in transcription they often appear linked with a dash. Similar constructions can also be found in other Slavic and European traditions, most notably in Russian, and seem to be a relic of a much older poetic pattern. Approximately 16 unique forms were found in five songs total, all of which were in the Traditional Corpus.

##### 5.5.1. Two Types of Binomial Compounds

These phrases, which are referred to here as “binomial compounds,” can be roughly grouped into two types. On the one hand, many compounds contain two synonyms with different roots. For example, one line appears as:

(5.56) Проклети    немци-    германци  
Prokleti    nemci-    germanci  
cursed    Germans    Germans  
*Cursed Germans*

in which the first word in the phrase, *немци*, reflects the native Slavic root, and the second, *германци*, is the Latin-derived noun more common in standard Bulgarian. Similarly, the line:

(5.57) Ой,    те    тебе,    пътниче-    друмниче  
Oj,    te    tebe,    pŭtniče-    drumniče  
oh    you    you    traveler    traveler  
*Oh, you, traveler*

uses both a Slavic and a Greek word meaning ‘traveler.’ There is also one instance of a line containing two variant words of the same root *dev-* ‘girl’:

(5.58) пропъдиха    подевки    девойки



chased.away girls girls  
*they chased away the girls*

Duplication of the nouns in these cases does not carry any syntactic meaning; rather, such phrases seem to be stylistically marked tautologies.

On the other hand, some phrases are composed of a general noun and a more specific noun that would be a subset of the first. For example, in:

(5.59) събуди пиле славейче  
sŭbudi pile slavejče  
awoke bird nightingale  
*the nightingale awoke*

the second word in the phrase, 'nightingale,' is a type of 'bird'.<sup>87</sup> Likewise, in:

(5.60) за една мома унгарка  
za edna moma ungarka  
to one maiden Hungarian.woman  
*to a young Hungarian woman*

the 'Hungarian woman' is a more specific type of 'maiden.' One could also consider in this category phrases such as:

(5.61) във старо село Спасово  
vŭv staro selo Spasovo  
in old village Spasovo  
*in the old village of Spasovo*

and:

(5.62) да гледаш звезда зорница  
da gledaš zvezda zornica  
to see star Morning.Star  
*to see the Morning Star*

While both phrases, particularly the first, could be normal constructions in the spoken language, they are also necessarily tautological: the listener presumably knows that *Спасово* refers to a village, and that *Зорница* is the name of a specific star.<sup>88</sup> These types of binomial

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87. Note that *пиле* generally means 'chicken' in the standard language, but often carries this more general meaning of 'bird' in folk texts.

88. Scholars of other Slavic languages have examined similar phrases in their discussion of binomial compounds. Keller (64), for example, includes in his exhaustive list of such forms the "Serbocroatian" parallel *zvijezdu danicu*, 'North Star,' and Potebnia (1968:127) treats the Russian phrase *река Дунай*, 'Danube River' similarly.

compounds are probably not completely discrete, but they do point to some variety in the types of compounds that characterize these songs.<sup>89</sup>

### 5.5.2. Binomial Compounds as a Type of Reduplication

Although I have not been able to find any discussion of the nature of these binomial compounds in literature specifically on South Slavic, it appears that many parallel forms are generally seen as being marked as folkloric in other languages. Kiparsky (1975) examines Russian copulative “dvandva” compounds, in which a form composed of two roots refers to a greater whole. He says that such compounds, such as *гусилебеду*<sup>90</sup> ‘waterfowl,’ composed of *гуси* ‘geese’ and *лебеду* ‘swans,’ are found in the modern language only in “folk expressions” (“in den volkstümlichen Ausdrücken”) (Kiparsky 1975:344), and other scholars also use similar descriptors of forms like these. With regard to English, one might consider possibly parallel diminutive constructions such as *kitty cat* and *bunny rabbit*. Although these forms do not necessarily resonate as “folkloric,” they do belong to a more colloquial register.

In general, however, most linguists look at these binomial compounds as part of a broader phenomenon wherein other parts of speech are reduplicated in compounds; often, this general reduplication is described as characteristic of folk speech. For example, Borowska discusses a type of reduplication in Russian folk poetry (“*poésie populaire*”) she calls “synonymic gemination” (“*gémiation sémantique*”), where “the semantic element of the word” (“*l’élément sémantique du mot*”) is reduplicated (Borowska 1951:272). She gives examples such as *лошадьку-конька* ‘horse-horse’ and *разбойники-поленици* ‘brigands-warriors,’ (279), which are very similar to the above examples. However, she also mentions instances of reduplicated adjectives like *строгий-грозный* ‘severe-menacing’ (ibid. 280), pronouns, as in *с этим-тым* ‘with this-that’ (ibid. 281), and even prepositions, as in *для-ради обороны* ‘for-because of defense’ (ibid. 282). Although only nominal compounds seem to feature in the Bulgarian songs in my study, Borowska’s assessment would include them as part of this greater pattern of semantic reduplication.

In fact, most analysis of semantic reduplication in folk speech has been devoted to verbal compound-like constructions. Weiss (1993) examines what he refers to as the “serial verb” (“*двойной глагол*”) in which two verbs occur in direct succession without a conjunction and express one conceptually bounded process, such as:

(5.63) *сижу*                    *молчу*  
*sižu*                      *molču*  
 sit-1SG-PRES    keep.silent-1SG-PRES  
 ‘I sit and keep silent’ (Weiss 1993:74)

89. Note that these compounds are a phenomenon entirely different from the noun-noun compounds that have begun to emerge in Slavic in which the first noun modifies the second, such as Bulgarian *екшън герои* ‘action heroes.’ These are a relatively recent development, generally influenced by English and German, and bear little relation to the forms addressed in the present study. For more information, see Vakareliyska & Kapatsinski 2014 and Kapatsinski & Vakareliyska 2013.

90. (Often, this compound is spelled as two separate words.)

His study references binomial forms, such as *птицы-звери*, ‘birds-beasts,’ as a similar type of construction (ibid. 74). Although Weiss does not go into the same level of analysis of noun-noun compounds, he does mention that pairs of semantically similar verbs, such as *напился-наелся* ‘got drunk-got stuffed on food,’ are of a “marked folkloric character” (“*подчеркнуто фольклорным характером*”) (ibid.), and those in which both verbs are of one root, as in *ждет-пожидает* ‘waits-waits a while’ also “carry the smell of folklore” (“*пахнет фольклором*”) (ibid. 75).<sup>91</sup> Wälchli (2005:204) also notes that reduplicated forms like these “evoke associations with the sphere of folklore.” He cites a passage from the Russian novelist Erofeev’s *Москва-Петушки* (*Moscow to Petushki*), written from 1969 to 1970, in which verbal compounds such as *узнавать-выяснять* [sic] ‘know-find out’ and *сыщем-отыщем* ‘seek-search’ create the feeling of a “folkloristic style” (ibid. 205). Although these scholars are primarily focused on verbal phenomena, they do consider binomial constructions to be part of a broader trend involving reduplication.

### 5.5.3. The Question of Formulaicity in Binomial Compounds

Like other structures examined heretofore, such as noun-adjective phrases, many binomial compounds would probably seem to be fixed forms that are learned and circulated as whole units. For example, Keller (1922:9) cites examples from several Indo-European languages in which the equivalent of ‘father-mother’ is a phrase meaning ‘parents.’ The same phrase is widely documented in Russian (*отец-мать*), and may be somewhat formulaic in BCS, albeit linked with the conjunction *i*, ‘and,’ in the latter (*otac i majka*). However, it appears that the repertoire of binomial phrases is not restricted to older inherited forms, but rather that the noun-noun compound structure itself is felt to be a folklorism. At least two such phrases from my corpus contain words that would reflect political and technological developments of the mid-twentieth century:

(5.64) борба водят със немци- фашисти  
 borba vodjat sŭs nemci- fašisti  
 fight lead-3PL with Germans fascists  
*They engage in battle with fascist Germans*

and:

(5.65) возьмите пушки- маузеры  
 vze:majte puški- mauzeri  
 take-IMPV guns Mauser.guns  
*take up your Mauser guns*

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91. Included in this former category is possibly the most emblematic marker of folk tales in Russian, the opening verbal sequence *жил-был* (‘lived-was,’ or, ‘there once lived...’).

Because these forms use words (*фашисту* and *мазери*) that would presumably not have been in circulation in preindustrial Bulgaria, the structure in question would seem to be a productive one, ready to be adapted to new content.

#### 5.5.4. Origins of Binomial Compounds

Historical and comparative evidence points to the idea that these forms do reflect a common Slavic tradition. As has been described, numerous parallel forms in Russian folk texts involve appositive noun compounds. Although he claims that in BCS there are fewer instances of the asyndeton, a phrase in which conjunctions are omitted, Keller (1922:63-64) notes a number of such forms, such as *desnica ruka* ‘right-hand, hand.’ A particularly visible example comes as well in the name of the character from one of the most important Serbian epic songs, the *Kosovka devojka* ‘Kosovan-girl maiden.’ Keller also provides evidence of reduplicated forms in West Slavic and marginal evidence from Old Church Slavic, such as *гради виждь* ‘come see’ in the Codex Marianus, which would be expected to appear as *гради и виждь* ‘come and see’ otherwise. Tkachenko (1979) provides a broad catalogue of asyndeton forms from various Slavic languages as well. Most of the forms he lists for Bulgarian, such as *син-зелен* ‘blue-green,’ are less syntactically interesting, but it does seem that such compounding can occur to at least a modest extent throughout Slavic.

More diachronic evidence, however, points to the use of binomial compounds as a common feature of Indo-European poetic texts. Delbrück (1900, v.5:181-190) compares asyndeton phrases in Slavic with examples from other Indo-European languages, including Sanskrit, Ancient Greek, and Lithuanian, pointing to them as a shared feature derived from a common source. Watkins (1995) goes so far as to trace the appearance in several Indo-European languages of a specific merism (see also §5.6 in this study): he notes phrases composed of the words for ‘barley’ and ‘wheat’ or ‘spelt,’ such as Hittite *halkiš ZÍZ-tar* ‘barley wheat,’ which stand in for “a global indication of all cereals” (ibid. 45), and points out similar phrases in English and Sanskrit, indicating that they probably arose an Indo-Europeanism (ibid. 47-49).

It does seem, however, that areal phenomena may be at play in the creation of these phrases. Tkachenko (1979:144) argues that the widespread appearance of many such compounds in Russian folk texts are the result of a possible Finno-Ugric substratum, and even points to the iconic Russian *жил-был* construction (see footnote 91 above) as a borrowing from Mordvinic languages. Stepanova (2011:133) shows how such “semantic parallelism” is a feature shared between Karelian and Baltic laments, presumably because of contact. Wälchli (2005:205) argues that, because these compounds are “marginal” in Indo-European as a whole, are generally restricted today to Russian, Tokharian, and some Indo-Aryan languages, and have parallels in non-Indo-European languages with which they have contact, their continued use in these languages is probably not conditioned solely by genetic ancestry but rather by areal influence as well. Still, he admits, “Even if the areal factor cannot be denied, Indo-European languages have co-compounds of their own, rather than just borrowed Turkic, Uralic, Caucasian, or Dravidian co-compounds” (206). All in all, it is difficult to make a categorical assessment about the origin of the binomial forms in the corpus. It would seem that there may have been an Indo-European origin for many such

compounds and the possibility of their productive formation, but that they were then lost in most areas where influences from another language family did not contribute to their survival. Certainly, the Bulgarian forms here appear to be parallel to the noun-noun compounds found in many Russian folk texts. However, whether this is because they share an original Indo-European or Common Slavic point of origin is difficult to say.

### 5.5.5. Binomial Compounds and Rhetorical Factors

In any case, there would appear to be reasons for the persistence of this type of structure beyond that of direct ancestry, particularly in texts of an oral or folkloric nature; certainly, many seemingly tautological forms are used in folk texts for a variety of rhetorical effects. Reduplication can occur for emphasis, that is, to make sure a listener doesn't miss a particular point in a passage. As has been seen with other linguistic features of the texts, singers also sometimes include an extra syllable or word in order to complete the expected syllable count of a line. These basic factors should, of course, never be overlooked when assessing the impetus behind the inclusion of a marked stylistic device in an oral text.

One possible consideration is that creators of a text may wish to add stylistic richness by including a more varied vocabulary: rather than using one word to convey a simple piece of information, they can use multiple synonyms to add dimensionality. Such a practice has been demonstrated, for example, in Latin poetry, where, as Roberts (1985:149) claims, students were taught to memorize long lists of synonyms and to employ multiple words for the same idea within a text. Thus, constructions similar to those in the corpus, such as *radicum fila*, 'threads of roots,' appear in the fourth-century poetry of Juvencus (ibid. 150). Although in this example, the successive nouns form a syntactically logical genitive phrase rather than a simple binomial compound, it is still a tautology: the two nouns refer to one and the same thing; that is, the 'threads' *are* the 'roots.' Obviously, this is a somewhat different phenomenon from that which characterizes the forms in the socialist texts, but it is an example of how the desire for elaborate language might lead to a succession of nouns referring to a singular entity.

However, the specific conditions of oral performances of a text may also lead to seemingly pleonastic reduplication. Wälchli (2005:264) claims that binomial compounds are particularly present in oral texts in part because of the "low information rate—information rate is the amount of new information per time" that characterizes the oral performance. When creating a song text in the moment of its performance, singers need to rely on ready-made formulae and other rhetorical devices (see, for example, Lord 2000:13-29). As greater focus is placed on affective development, the elaborate descriptions, repetition of words and phrases, and other stylistic markers characteristic of the genre mean that the plot itself advances relatively slowly in such songs. Therefore, binomial compounds—which use two words for one concept—might have become a particular rhetorical device that singers could use to "buy time" when mentally constructing a subsequent line; the fact that this device occurs only in songs of the unrhymed type, which most closely resemble the old South Slavic epic style, would support this theory. As a consequence of its use in performance, then, the "accumulation of favorable contexts for co-compounds entailing a higher frequency of co-compounds [...]" in turn has the consequence

that co-compounds in certain domains can be conventionalized, and that the average textual markedness of co-compounds is lowered generally” (ibid. 264). Essentially, that is, a “snowball” process occurred in which, because of an earlier more frequent pattern of binomial compound use in epic-style songs, this device came to be seen as characteristic of the genre, and it ultimately assumed its position as a characteristic of the genre.

### 5.5.6. Binomial Compounds: Conclusion

In any case, it seems that the ultimate origins of these forms are hard to pin down. Scholars have linked binomial compounds with various other phrasal phenomena, such as the asyndeton and serial verbs, which themselves, however, are quite different from each other. The fact that similar but not identical forms appear in other Slavic and European languages in some ways makes the picture all the murkier. Nonetheless, the fact that these syntactically atypical forms can be found regularly but only in the Traditional Corpus for my study would indicate that those constructing these folk songs find them to be a resonant structure of folkloric texts.

### 5.6. Merisms

Another type of binomial expression in these texts is that of the merism, which Watkins (1995:45) describes as a phrase in which two nouns “index the whole of a higher taxon.” There are only several such examples in the corpus, but they merit a separate examination because they reflection the continuation of a well-documented feature of broader Indo-European poetics. In four instances, a pair of two neuter adjectives appears coordinated with a singular verb to create a collective meaning of ‘everyone.’ This occurs once with adjectives meaning ‘old’ and ‘young’, and three times with adjectives literally meaning ‘small’ and ‘big’ (but also expressing the idea of ‘old’ and ‘young’ in this context). For example, one line reads:

(5.66) Мало,            големо    плачеше  
 Malo,            golemo    plačeše  
 small-NEUT    old-NEUT    cried-3SG  
*young and old were crying*

Similarly, one sees:

(5.67) навача    се    и    старо,    и    младо  
 navača    se    i    staro,    i    mlado  
 grab-3SG    REFL    and    old-NEUT    and    young-NEUT  
*young and old joined in*

These phrases are striking because not only are they apparently not found in the contemporary standard language, but also because they do not take expected verb agreement. When two nominalized adjectives form the subject of a Bulgarian verb, that verb

must ordinarily be plural; the verbs in all of these cases are singular. It is clear that these are marked, formulaic phrases in the texts.

Merisms are a well-studied feature of Indo-European poetics; Watkins (1995) cites numerous examples from antiquity (see, for example, p. 45). It would seem that these phrases—which, of course, appear in English with the same meaning—are a long-surviving remnant of Indo-European still employed in Bulgarian folkloric language.<sup>92</sup>

### 5.7. The Figura Etymologica

As will be explained in §5.9, the repetition of various elements of the text is a common poetic device in these songs (along with those of many other world traditions). However, a special kind of repetition in these songs bears noting, as it represents a feature that is particularly emblematic of Slavic folk language but possibly continues an Indo-European prototype. The feature in question could be described using the classic philological term *figura etymologica*, but the reduplicated parts of speech that occur in the devices analyzed here indicate that the Slavic case is a broader phenomenon than what is generally described under this label.

In these texts, a small but noteworthy number of phrases appear in which one lexical root appears in two words of different parts of speech.<sup>93</sup> For example, in the line:

(5.68) тя      си      ми      дума    продума  
tja    si    mi    duma   produma  
she   REFL   me-DAT   word   said

*She said a word to me ('She said a say to me' or 'She worded a word to me')*

the root *дума* is used as both the direct object of the sentence and in the verb *продумам*. This kind of reduplicative device would be considered a type of *figura etymologica*, an “etymological figure,” of which similar examples in English would be “live a life,” “dream a dream,” “die a death,” and so on. This Latin term was coined in mid-19<sup>th</sup>-century Germany as a translation of Eustathius’s own original Greek term (Clary 2009:2); as such, the *figura etymologica* has been identified as a concrete poetic device for nearly a millenium. Most canonically, and when originally used to describe figures in Ancient Greek, the term *figura etymologica* refers to devices in which the verb and the direct object share a common root, as in the example above. Such devices can present interesting dilemmas for syntactic analysis, as many examples can be found in which ordinarily intransitive verbs nonetheless have this type of reduplicative object (see, for example, Ó Huiginn 1983:124, and example 5.70 below). In English, for example, the verb *die* is usually intransitive but can occur in phrases with *death* as an object. Such a phenomenon, also now commonly called the “cognate object construction” is relatively well researched in world languages.

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92. Note, however, that in English, this merism conforms to standard syntax. For example, one says, “Young and old read this book” and not “Young and old \*reads this book.”

93. One might consider this as an “inverse” of the binomial compounds addressed in §5.5, in which two word roots are used to describe one constituent of the clause.

The general scholarly consensus seems to be that the *figura etymologica* was an important poetic device in Indo-European. Ivanov notes phrases meaning ‘to word a word’ and ‘to think a thought’ in languages as diverse as Sanskrit, Homeric Greek, and Hittite (Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1984:835). The *figura etymologica* was also a feature of Old Irish, poetically important enough to be imitated in Hiberno-Latin (Stifter 2006:246). Within Slavic, the device has been commented on as a folkloric device of the language group as a whole and in specifically Bulgarian contexts. In his 1949 grammar, Andreichin writes that “in folk songs in particular” (“особенно в народных песнях”) a direct object will sometimes contain the same roots as its verb, as in the syntactically logical:

(5.69) Троица      братя      града      градяха  
Troica      bratja      grada      gradjaha  
threesome    brothers    city-DEF    built  
*Three brothers were building the city*

but also in:

(5.70) ден    денувам  
den    denuvam  
day    spend.day  
*I spend the day*

This latter sentence, according to Andreichin, demonstrates, seemingly paradoxically, that “intransitive verbs can take a direct object” (“прямое дополнение могут иметь и непереходные глаголы”) (Andreichin 1949:352), because *денувам* ‘to spend a day’ is not usually considered to be able to take object arguments. This is a classic example of the *figura etymologica* that is parallel to those cited heretofore.

However, in both my texts and in other Slavic traditions, similar reduplicative phenomena link other entities of a sentence as well. One sees in these songs verbs modified by adverbs of the same root, as in:

(5.71) що    ми      е      рано    ранила  
što    mi      e      rano    ranila  
which me-DAT    AUX    early    arose.early  
*which arose early* (‘*which arose early earlily*’)

a verb linked with a noun in a prepositional phrase:

(5.72) Заробиха със    фашистко    робство  
zarobiha sŭs    fašistko    robstvo  
enslaved with    fascist      slavery  
*They enslaved with fascist slavery*

and a noun and adjective pair:



(5.73) две ниви с бяла белия  
 dve nivi s bjala belija  
 two fields with white white.wheat  
*two fields with white white wheat*

among other types of constructions. Although such reduplication in Bulgarian has been less thoroughly analyzed than has the classic *figura etymologica* in other languages, it would seem that Bulgarian folk language includes various devices characterized by multiple words of the same root, not just the more restrictive verb-direct object pairs shown first in this section.

As is the case with poetic devices described in other sections, it is also possible that many of these phrases have become fixed as set formulae. Certainly, it appears that the adverb *рано*, ‘early,’ is regularly coordinated with verbs of the same root. Mechkova-Atanasova (1995:15) cites the line:

(5.74) рано ранила Петкана  
 рано ranila Petkana  
 early-ADV arose.early Petkana  
*Petkana arose early (Petkana arose early early)*

from a Bulgarian folk text; this adverb-verb pair is, of course, the same found in example 5.71 above. But beyond Bulgarian, the phrase “*урашила рано*,” ‘arose early’ also appears as a figure of note in BCS epic songs (Bradaš 2013:147-148). This indicates not only that this figure probably has a common South Slavic origin, but also that it contains some amount of formulaic stability. Similarly, one might look at another phrase from a song in my study:

(5.75) те са двамка лика и прилика  
 te sa dvamka lika i prilika  
 they are two-DIM likeness and similarity  
*the two are one and the same*

In this case, the *лика* root is reduplicated, but *лика* is not generally found in the standard language when not coordinated with *прилика*. Moreover, the word also appears in the same set phrase in Macedonian, as in:

(5.76) тие двајца си се лика- прилика  
 tie dvaјca si se lika- prilika  
 they twosome REFL are likeness similarity  
*those two are one and the same (Koneski 1961)*

It would seem, then, that at least some of these phrases may not be new productive formations, but rather that many phrases may be learned and reemployed as set constructions.

Of course, this also raises the question of how specific these types of figures are to Bulgarian, South Slavic, or the Slavic language group more broadly. Certainly, similar phenomena have been documented in other Slavic languages. Tolstoi notes a type of figure in which verbs are linked with instrumental constructions of the same root, as in the BCS:

(5.77) *begom begati*  
 run-INST run-INF  
*to run at a run* (Tolstoi 1971:350)

He points out that such forms can be found in Old Church Slavic, as in:

(5.78) *сѣмрѣтъж оумѣретъ*  
*sǫmrŭtĭjŏ umĭretŭ*  
 death-INST die-3SG  
*dies a death* (ibid. 352)

from the Codex Marianus, and they are in Russian as well. Critical to the stylistic argument presented here, Tolstoi writes that such forms should be considered “an important formal poetic device of Slavic folklore” (“важным формальным поэтическим средством славянского фольклора”) (ibid. 354). What is more, however, he notes that, in Russian, such constructions often form novel nominal forms from verbal roots, as in:

(5.79) *пльвом пльть*  
*plyvom plyt'*  
 swim-INST swim-INF  
*to swim at a swim* (ibid. 351)

where the underlying form of the first word, \*plyv, is not otherwise a standard noun. Serbo-Croatian, on the other hand, instead forms new verbs from existing nouns:

(5.80) *srcem srdisati*  
 heart-INTR heart-INF  
*love with my heart (heart with all my heart)* (ibid. 351)

The verb *srdisati*, ‘to take to heart, to love’ is unattested outside of this construction. This contrast in the rules of the formation of cognate constructions in Russian and BCS points to the fact that, although the two languages share the same basic device, intralinguistic developments have clearly taken place among the various Slavic languages, all of which may have their own characteristic ways of using repeated roots in formulae.<sup>94</sup>

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94. Many forms of instrumental origin in the Slavic languages have become fixed and are now considered by many linguists to be better described as adverbs. Thus, although etymologically distinct, these instrumental forms in BCS and Russian are essentially syntactically identical to the Bulgarian example [*rano ranila*] with a verb and an adverb above.

Indeed, it would seem that Bulgarian may have its own idiosyncratic patterns of reduplication. Mechkova-Atanasova (1995:16) compares Bulgarian examples linked to “folklore” (“народното творчество”) with the classic *figura etymologica* found in German, as in *einen gerechten Kampf kämpfen* ‘to fight a righteous fight.’ She notes that Bulgarian has extended its permitted patterns of reduplication. Thus, one encounters subject-verb etymological figures, as in:

- (5.81) кмет кметува  
 kmet kmetuva  
 mayor mayor-3SG  
*the mayor mayors* (ibid. 15)

Like the Russian and BCS examples above, Bulgarian can also innovate words:

- (5.82) Бог богува  
 bog boguva  
 God god-3SG  
*God gods* (ibid.)

and contains forms with old instrumental case endings parallel to the Russian and BCS examples:

- (5.83) Баба му се чудом чуди  
 baba mu se čudom čudi  
 grandmother him-DAT REFL wonder-INST wonder-3SG  
*His grandmother wondered wonderingly* (ibid.)

Clearly, the varieties of constructions involving lexical reduplication in Bulgarian are significantly greater than the basic verb-direct object construction found more broadly in Indo-European.

It looks likely, then, that Indo-European had a type of *figura etymologica* composed of verbs and direct objects, but that Slavic, and maybe Bulgarian especially, may have expanded on the types of reduplicative figures that could occur, extending verb and direct object coordination to verb and subject coordination, verb and adverb coordination, and so on. Nonetheless, types of *figurae etymologicae* are “widespread outside the Indo-European world” (Watkins 1995:169), with similar types of cognate objects occurring in, for example, Korean, Arabic, and Igbo (Csuri 1998). Repetition in and of itself is not a feature peculiar to Slavic, of course; many folk traditions employ it as a poetic device. Therefore, it is possible that the types of *figurae etymologicae* discussed here are innovations based on an Indo-European verb-direct object prototype, but they may also simply be repetitive patterns that emerged on their own.

## 5.8. Verb-Final Word Order

Another phenomenon that appears in these songs is that of marked word order at the clause or sentence level. As was shown in Chapter 3, there occur in the texts various aberrations in word order that would be considered more or less ungrammatical in the standard spoken language, such as noun-adjective word order or nonstandard clitic ordering. There is, however, another trend in the texts whereby constituents of a clause do not appear in their most typical order for the standard language. While not ungrammatical, deviations from the standard subject-verb-object (“SVO”) word order are decidedly marked. On the one hand, they may be attributed to the intentional placement of focus on certain parts of a clause or to effects of the process of song composition, but they could also reflect the sentence structure of older Indo-European texts.

In Bulgarian, the basic word order for full clausal constituents (i.e. nouns and fully lexical verbs—not clitics) is SVO. To be sure, this word order can be found in the corpora, as in:

(5.84) Димитър    дума   момчета  
 Dimitŭr        дума   момčeta  
 Dimitŭr        said   boys  
*Dimitŭr said to the boys*

The bulk of lines in the corpus, in fact, contain clauses with clitic verbs and objects, or only part of a clause; for example, lines might contain just the subject of a clause:

(5.85) Твоето    момче   капитан  
 Tvoeto     момче   kapitan  
 your        boy    captain  
*Your boy, the captain*

or a prepositional phrase:

(5.86) покрай    миньорска    бригада  
 pokraj     min'orska    brigada  
 along       miner-ADJ    brigade  
*by the miners' brigade*

However, when one does encounter a line that contains a full subject, verb, and object, the verb is overwhelmingly more commonly found at the end of a line, as in:

(5.87) Кмета        им    място    показа  
 Kmeta        im    mjasto    pokazava  
 mayor-DEF    them   place   showed  
*The mayor showed them a place*

Moreover, in lines in which a verb is present with only a subject or an object, or when there are other types of clausal constituents such as adverbial clauses, the verb still tends to appear at the end of a line, as in:

(5.88) Ка щем във гора да ходим  
 Ка štem vŭv gora da hodim  
 how FUT in forest to go  
*How will we go into the forest*

or:

(5.89) дето са Гено оставили  
 deto sa Geno ostavili  
 where AUX Geno left  
*where they had left Geno*

In fact, the placement of non-AUXiliary verbs at the end of a line seems to be the overwhelmingly most common position in the Traditional Corpus. A number of factors determine word order in Bulgarian, and in that verb-final word order is not prohibited in Bulgarian anyway, it would not be fruitful to try to quantify the extent to which this phenomenon occurs. Even a quick skim through most of the song texts, however, demonstrates that this marked word order permeates the corpus.

Certainly, there are important factors related to information structure that might trigger verb-final word order. Slavic languages tend to put new information (the “comment”) at the end of a sentence. Placing verbs at the end of a line might be a way of focusing more attention on the action of a plot line rather than the characters. For example, the line-final imperatives in a passage like:

(5.90) я си са мари турчете,  
 ja si sa mari turčete,  
 IMPV REFL REFL EXCL become.Turkish-IMPV

наши туркини станете,  
 naši turkini stanete,  
 our Turkish.women become-IMPV

българска вяра махнете!  
 bŭlgarska vjara mahnete!  
 Bulgarian faith remove-IMPV

*become Turks, become our Turkish women, get rid of your Bulgarian faith!*

place emphasis on the repeated commands being given to the addressees in the song. This also accords with the tendency towards grammatical parallelism described in §5.9.3.

However, I do not believe that principles of information structure explain the phenomenon fully. There are many lines where the verb is seemingly less meaningful than other parts of the clause. For example, in:

- (5.91) Батак на пепел ще стане!  
Batak na pepel šte stane!  
Batak to ash FUT become  
*Batak will turn to ash!*

the speaker is already describing the negative consequences if his actions are disobeyed. That is, the lexically simple word *стане* ‘become’ simply conveys the idea of futurity; the most striking information in the line is that the town will be turned “to ash.” In the ordinary spoken language, one would probably say:

- (5.92) Батак ще стане на пепел!  
Batak šte stane na pepel!  
Batak FUT become to ash  
*Batak will turn to ash!*

It is clear from this and countless other examples that other factors are at play in triggering verb-final word order beyond those tied to information structure.

On the one hand, it is possible that the process of composition in the moment of performance leads singers to create lines that do not follow ordinary syntax. Lord (2000:52-67) shows how epic singers of BCS compose songs by placing set formulae at the beginnings and ends of lines; there are certain places where a particular group of words might fit best metrically. That is, composition depends less on syntax than on the way words of different syllables fit together. If such factors were equally relevant for the creation of these texts, verbs might often end up in a place other than their usual position.

However, it is also reasonable to suppose that, in part, this word order might reflect older Indo-European traditions. Although there appear to be suggestions that verb-initial word order marked narratives or texts with special poetic function (Herring 2001:205), most scholars agree that the basic word order in Indo-European was SOV (Shields 1992:108). Needless to say, this is an extremely dense topic with many factors at play, but it is conceivable that, like several other linguistic features discussed heretofore, the texts in the Traditional Corpus continue a form of syntax that has been retained in poetic texts even in the face of changes in the standard spoken language.

In short, it is difficult to say what conditions verb-final word order in the texts in my study; most likely, there are a number of factors involved. Given the extreme prevalence of the pattern, however, it seems likely that it should be viewed as a common feature of Bulgarian folk songs.

## 5.9. Structural Repetition

Throughout this chapter, there have already been mentions of various instances of repeated words or phrases. One could also consider the binomial compounds described in section §5.5 above as a kind of semantic repetition, wherein the same idea is presented twice with different words. This section, however, concerns the idea of structural repetition, wherein whole or partial lines of text or types of grammatical frames are repeated. Altogether, such repetitions are characteristic of the structures of preindustrial folk songs. Although they are by no means a unique feature of South Slavic verse, they should be given attention here as identifiable features of older forms of the tradition that are mirrored in these contemporary texts.

### 5.9.1. Repetition of Lines

The repetition of entire lines is not extremely common in the songs in the corpus. Of course, many of these texts are relatively short; in a song of, say, twelve lines, repeated lines could sound overly ponderous or uninteresting. Two songs, however, feature regular repetition of phrases structured into verses of a consistent form. For example, the latter song begins:

- (5.93) Жътвари жътва жънеха, мила мамо,  
жътвари жътва жънеха  
на Еловската планина, мила мамо,  
на Еловската планина.  
Партизани борба водеха, мила мамо,  
партизани борба водеха [...]

The harvesters were harvesting the harvest, mother dear,  
the harvesters were harvesting the harvest  
on the Elovaska Mountain, mother dear,  
on the Elovaska Mountain.  
The Partisans were engaging in battle, mother, dear,  
The Partisans were engaging in battle [...]

and the song continues in such a manner with every phrase repeated following an interjected *мила мамо* ‘mother dear.’ There are only one or two other places in the corpus where lines are repeated in immediate succession, as in the following:

- (5.94) Викна мома, викна, та заплака;  
ала шепот шепне из шумака,  
ала шепот шепне из шумака,  
сякаш че е гласът на юнака:  
“Залюби си, който ти хареса  
и бъди му вярна ти, другарко,  
и бъди му вярна ти, другарко,  
либе мило, чиста гълъбице...

A maiden cried out, and began crying;  
but then a whisper whispered from the foliage,  
but then a whisper whispered from the foliage,  
as if it were the voice of the soldier:  
“Love whomever you like  
and be faithful to him, comrade,  
and be faithful to him, comrade,  
dear lover, pure dove...

In this song (which otherwise mostly contains rhymed couplets and has been analyzed as part of the Innovative Corpus), only a fraction of lines are repeated in the printed text. Traditional songs of the unrhymed line type, it would seem, do not repeat entire lines in immediate succession; such a device is apparently more typical of Innovative rhymed couplet or verse songs. It is possible, of course, that other songs in the corpus would have been sung with multiple iterations of lines, but editors concerned with conveying only the sum of raw textual material did not publish songs with every repetition spelled out. From the best evidence available, however, regular repetition of lines in immediate succession does not appear to be a feature of unrhymed-line songs.

In longer songs, however, one does occasionally see identical lines appearing much later on in the same text. For example, one song introduces blocks of quoted speech with the line “Тошо другари думаше” (“Tosho said to his comrades”) three times throughout the song. This would seem to be a ready-made, eight-syllable line that the singer had on hand as a formula for introducing long quotations. One song even contains a block of three lines that are repeated again 52 lines later: “при Богдювите пожаре / при големите извори / при студената водица” (“by the Bogdjuvi fires / by the big springs / by the cold stream”). Lord (2000:58) notes that singers of BCS epic songs often rely on “larger groups of lines which the singer is accustomed to use often, and through habit they are always found together.” It would seem that this is an example of such a ready-made group of lines employed by the singer.

### 5.9.2. Terracing and Anadiplosis

A more common phenomenon, however, is when only a word or phrase is repeated from one line to the next. Foley, who has studied this rhetorical pattern in both South Slavic and Greek texts, employs the term “terracing” to refer to “repetition in the following line of a word or words employed in an initial line” (Foley 1990:163), apparently without specific regard to the position of such words.<sup>95</sup> On the one hand, this can occur where two or more lines share the same opening. For example, one song contains the passage:

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95. Although Foley uses this term more generally, it was coined by Austerlitz in 1958 specifically to describe instances in which one word or phrase from the end of one line was repeated in the beginning of the next line. Austerlitz explains that he created the term “terracing” to describe a more restricted instance of the German concept of “Kettenbau,” which refers to passages in which the final word in one line begins the following line, and this continues over multiple lines to string together a passage of “chains” (Austerlitz



(5.95) Сега ме грижа хванала,  
сега се сърце нажали [...]

Now worry has grabbed me,  
Now the heart despairs [...]

The word *сега* ‘now’ coordinates these two successive lines. Similarly, a phrase can be repeated:

(5.96) Пушка пукна ю гора зелена,  
пушка пукна, та у село екна,

A gun burst in the green wood,  
a gun burst, and in the village it resounded.

Repetitions of fully accented initial words over multiple lines are not particularly common in these songs, although they do occur periodically.

More common and more stylistically distinctive, however, are instances of anadiplosis, the repetition of a word or phrase from the end of one line at the beginning of the next. Anadiplosis seems to be a resonant pattern of South Slavic epic songs that is found in many of the texts. It is found in its simplest form in successive lines such as:

(5.97) да се гордея със тебе,  
сът тебе, синко, в махалата

to be proud of you,  
of you, son, in the neighborhood

where the phrase *със тебе* ‘with (of) you’ appears at the end of the first line and the beginning of the second. Occasionally, phrases can be found with what might be termed “imperfect” anadiplosis, where the repeated phrase uses a similar construction but not an exact duplicate of material from the previous line, as in:

(5.98) па елате борбата да водим,  
да я водим, да се освободим

so come to fight the battle  
to fight it, to free ourselves

---

1958:65). Austerlitz’ notion of “terracing” refers only to two lines joined in such a way—that which is described here as “anadiplosis”; clearly, however, there is variation and overlap in the way these terms are employed.

In the first line, the object, *борбата* ‘battle,’ is explicit, but in the second line it appears as a clitic pronoun, *я* ‘it.’ There are also several instances in which the repeated phrase is inverted, as in:

(5.99) Паднала слана есенна  
есенна слана голяма

There fell an autumnal frost,  
a great autumnal frost  
(There fell a frost autumnal  
an autumnal frost great)

In the first line, the noun *слана* ‘frost’ appears before its adjective, *есенна* ‘autumnal.’ In the second line, however, it occurs after the adjective, with an additional adjective describing it afterwards. There are only a handful of similar instances in the text, however. For the most part, anadiplosis occurs with an exact word or phrase repeated in exactly the same form, as in example 5.97 above. In addition to the specific *оуе* clauses described in §5.2, there are dozens of other occurrences of basic anadiplosis in the text.

Both terracing (as Foley uses the term, i.e. line-initial repetition) and anadiplosis are well established as features of traditional South Slavic lyrical works. It is generally acknowledged that the former occurs because of the inherent “thrift” of South Slavic epic works: in that singers rely on a limited number of formulae to express any one particular idea (Parry 1971:83-84), it is inevitable that many of the same words and phrases will recur—especially in the same position—across multiple lines (Foley 1990:164). Anadiaplosis, on the other hand, is a natural consequence of the principle of South Slavic poetics wherein the line is generally “a self-contained unit” (Foley 1990:164).<sup>96</sup> When singers wish to express a thought or sentence that requires more syllables than a line allots, then, they can establish continuity between these lines by linking some of the words from one line to the next. This helps prevent the “interruption of syntactic order” (“att avbryta den syntaktiska ordningen”) (Bjelobaba 2014:140). In effect, the second line is merely “an optional enrichment of the main thought” (Foley 1996:21) or “a sort of sequel of its first half” (Jakobson 1987a:159).

Indeed, when it occurs in these texts, anadiplosis generally builds on a statement made earlier, adding an additional adjective to describe a previously introduced noun, for example, or introducing a verb to a list of actions already mentioned. For example, it typifies many of the phrases with *оуе* described in §5.2, as in:

(5.100) що    ни е    нази    родила  
          što    ni e    nazi    rodila  
          which us AUX    us    gave.birth

---

96. However, this alone is not a feature unique to South Slavic. Watkins (1995:39) writes that “a widespread Indo-European convention or rule of poetic grammar, which surely goes back to the proto-language, is the convention ‘verse line=sentence,’” and that this rule is possibly cross-linguistically universal.

родила,	още	кърмила
rodila,	ošte	kŭrmila
gave.birth	still	nursed

*who to us gave birth / gave birth and nursed*

Moreover, anadiplosis in particular seems to be a resonant feature of South Slavic lyrical language. Bjelobaba (2014:140) notes that the effect is common in “Central South Slavic” (“centralsydslavisk,” i.e. BCS), and that the pattern is emblematic enough of South Slavic epics that translators have used it to mimic the style even in phrases where it is not present in the original. Pollok (1964:83-84) also notes the construction’s wide use in South Slavic and includes both Macedonian and Croatian examples to illustrate this. Certainly, it would seem that the creators of the songs in this study found anadiplosis to be a resonant feature that they employed widely.

### 5.9.3. Parallelism

There are also many passages in my songs in which identical grammatical structures are repeated through blocks of multiple lines. The term “parallelism” was created in 1779 by Robert Lowth to describe such a poetic phenomenon (Jakobson 1987a:146), and was elaborated on by Sapir, who was interested in the expression of “identical relational concepts in an identical manner” (Sapir 1921:89). As was stated above, the basic line of South Slavic verse contains one bounded syntactic unit; songs generally have minimal enjambment. Therefore, when a singer wishes to express an idea of some complexity (i.e. one which would require several lines of worth of syllables to express), he employs multiple iterations of simple lines rather than deferring to more syntactically complex grammatical subordination. Therefore, parallelism, this repetition of short lines in succession, occurs with some frequency in these songs.

Various types of structures can appear in parallel lines. For example, the passage:

(5.101) порушиха белите градове,  
запалиха китните селища,  
пропъдиха левенти юнаци,  
пропъдиха подевки девойки.

they destroyed the white cities,  
they lit on fire the quaint villages,  
they chased away the sturdy young men  
they chased away the maiden girls.

consists of four lines all composed of third-person plural aorist verbs, plural adjectives, and direct object plural nouns. Passages of parallel lines, such as the one above, often read like lists or “catalogues.” The example above describes offenses committed by Fascist soldiers

against Bulgarian villagers, and the following passage (from a different song) describes events taking place at the time of such an attack:

(5.102) Майките страшно пискаха,  
кучета грозно лаеха,  
добитък в обор мучеше,  
бабите люто кълнях

The mothers were screaming terribly,  
dogs were barking horribly,  
the cattle were struggling in the barn,  
the grandmothers were cursing sharply.

The lines in this example consist of an initial subject, an adverb or adjunct, and an imperfect-tense verb; each line is an individual, syntactically independent clause. This is not the case for all sequences of parallel lines, however. The following passage not only contains a good example of terracing, it also shows that dependent clauses may be strung together in long succession:

(5.103) Кмета им място показа:  
във спасовските баири,  
до Найденовото килиме,  
до Сираковото боазче,  
до Райковото кладенче,  
зад ловджийската коптира,  
зад нея Остра могила.

The mayor showed them a place:  
in the Spasovo hills,  
by Nayden's fallow,  
by Sirak's pass,  
by Raykov's well,  
beyond the hunter's shanty,  
beyond it, the Ostra Hill.

Even though they are not independent clauses, these lines of individual prepositional phrases are easily parsed as discrete units. Moreover, they are all additive in nature: removing one line would not destroy the syntax of the song; it would merely make it less impressive in terms of narrative detail.

Parallelism like that in the examples shown here plays a significant role in South Slavic folk poetry. However, there is general agreement that it is a cross-linguistically common phenomenon, and possibly a linguistic universal. Jakobson (1987a:146), for example, cites studies of the phenomenon in Finno-Ugric, Turkic, and Mongolian. Hopkins (1959) felt that grammatical parallelism was one of the most quintessential devices that

makes verse what it is, and writes that parallelism leads a text “to be heard over its own sake and interest over and above its interest of meaning.” Accordingly, these successive parallel lines should be seen as an important structural feature of the texts in question, but not necessarily one that makes them distinctively South Slavic.

#### **5.9.4. Structural Repetition: Conclusion**

While repetition in general is likely a feature of poetic traditions worldwide, it is clear that the types of repetition that occur in texts are often dependent on genre. In the Innovative and March texts, repetition occurs at the line level with lines in immediate succession or at regular intervals, seemingly functioning as a chorus or refrain. In Traditional songs of the unrhymed line type, however, repetition of whole lines may occur occasionally at distant points in a text, presumably because these lines represent the regular combinations of particular formulaic devices. More common in this type of texts, however, is the repetition of single words or phrases, or repeated syntactic structures. Thus, while repetition of any kind imposes a feeling of order on texts, it is clear that the type of order inherent in texts of different genres can be quite dissimilar.

#### **5.10. Stylistic & Poetic Structures: Conclusion**

As has been shown, a number of “traditional” poetic features characterize the songs in this study. While not necessarily ungrammatical, these features nonetheless structure the narrative in a marked way that no doubt reminds both singers and their audiences of preindustrial songs. Several of these features appear to be quite old, in that they reflect elements of Indo-European poetic tradition. Several also consist of specific formulaic line types whose metrical patterns mirror those of texts that were composed in the moment of performance. When the grammar and lexicon of “folkloric language” that was described in the previous three chapters occurs in tandem with the structures described here, one can imagine that such texts sound to speakers very folkloric indeed.

# Chapter 6

## Comparative Data

The previous four chapters identified the unusual grammatical, lexical, and structural features that appeared most prominently in the corpora composed of national “folk” songs from the early socialist era. While some of these features also appeared in march songs and, therefore, did not show as much promise as specifically folkloric devices, it was my hypothesis that most of these features were exactly those which convey to Bulgarians the notion that a text is composed in a folkloric mode.

In order to test this hypothesis, I decided to look at how these different types of traits appear in other contexts. First of all, I conducted a survey with native speakers asking for their assessments of passages marked by some of the traits. I also worked with two additional corpora—one a collection of folk songs recorded before World War II and the advent of Bulgarian socialism, and one a recording of popular music from the socialist era. All in all, the data from both methods of analysis suggested that most of the traits that appeared among the socialist “folk” songs did, in fact, seem to convey the idea of folkloricity to speakers. This chapter discuss the general findings of both of these undertakings.

### **6.1. Survey**

#### **6.1.1. Survey: Introduction**

In order to assess the stylistic force of some of the various linguistic traits identified in the corpora of folk songs, a survey was conducted with native speakers of Bulgarian and Serbian. The survey attempted to measure the extent to which the features in question were actually salient markers of folkloric language in Bulgarian, and it also provided insight into whether certain analogous markers of folkloric language were nationally specific to the Bulgarian tradition or might also be shared with Serbian, a closely related South Slavic

language. In short, consultants were asked to rate how “folkloric” they felt various snippets of text to be; some of these phrases contained various grammatical permutations and lexical markers of those identified in the preceding chapters, and others contained similar material in an unmarked form. Respondents were told that the prompts “might be part of a folk song” and were asked to indicate whether each prompt sounded to them “not folkloric,” “possibly folkloric,” or “very folkloric.” At the conclusion of the survey, they were given the option of describing “what makes a folk song sound folkloric.” Examples of the surveys conducted in Sofia, Belgrade, and Banja Luka, localized according to the linguistic norms of each city, can be found in Appendix C.<sup>97</sup>

Of course, grammatical variables could only be analyzed when mapped onto specific words and phrases. For example, in order to see whether noun-adjective word order was indeed felt to be a marker of folkloric language, it was necessary to create a line that contained at least a noun and an adjective. A primary concern was that the lexical material in each prompt should affect to the least extent possible the reaction of speakers to the trait being assessed. To this end, phrases were used that contained words that could probably be seen as neutral in both folkloric contexts and the contemporary language. For example, to test the Bulgarian poetic structure consisting of a line-medial vocative, the survey used equivalents of the phrases ‘look, Dad, at the water’ and ‘we see, Mom, the river.’ The verbs ‘see’ and ‘look’ and the nouns ‘dad,’ ‘mom,’ ‘water,’ and ‘river’ could certainly occur readily in both folkloric texts and the contemporary spoken language.

Moreover, the study was designed in such a way that the linguistic factors in question—orthographic differences that reflected nonstandard phonology, unusual morphological patterns, nonstandard word order, and key lexical markers—could be analyzed irrespectively of the broader lines that contained them. For each factor, there were two separate prompts created, and in each testing site, there were two versions of the survey. On one survey, consultants encountered the material of one prompt in its experimental form, and the other prompt in an unmarked, control form. For example, in order to test whether the line-medial vocative signals “folklore” to speakers, version A of the Bulgarian survey contained the experimental version of one prompt:

(6.1) погледни, татко, водата  
 pogledni, tatko, vodata  
 look-IMPV dad-VOC water-DEF  
*Look, Dad, at the water*

and a presumably less marked, control version of the complementary prompt:

(6.2) виждаме реката, мамо  
 viždame rekata, mamо  
 see-IPL river-DEF mom-VOC

---

97. I am enormously grateful to Vlado Zhobov and Nikola Petaković, who both took the time to understand the goals of this study and to help me craft Bulgarian and Serbian prompts that would likely be meaningful for speakers. Milutin Janjić kindly assisted with the localization of the version for Banja Luka.

*We see the river, Mom*

Version B, on the other hand, contained the control form:

(6.3) погледни водата, татко  
pogledni vodata, tatko  
look-IMPV water-DEF dad-VOC  
*Look at the water, Dad*

and the experimental form of the second prompt:

(6.4) виждаме, мамо, реката  
viždame, mamo, rekata  
see-1PL mom-VOC river-DEF  
*We see, Mom, the river*

In this way, consultants never encountered the same lexical material twice on one survey, but it was still possible to compare results for each marked feature with the same material in an unmarked form across the two sets of surveys. In this way, even if the semantics of a prompt did color consultants' assessment of its folkloricity, this effect could be controlled for when comparing results from the experimental and control forms of the prompt.

The survey also attempted to assess speakers' reactions to dialectal material that was otherwise not found in the present study's corpora of newly composed songs. That is, such prompts reflected *actual* dialect rather than those traits that speakers might simply *think of* as "dialectal." The Bulgarian prompt used in the indicative present tense a verbal form, *каже* 'says,' that is perfective in the standard language but imperfective in some dialects; such a construction would not be possible in the standard language. The Serbian prompt contained a word with a nonstandard stress marking along with an aorist verb with a less typical prefix.

Finally, the survey included a "dummy prompt" that included phrases containing contemporary slang (Bulgarian *готини пичове* and Serbian *kul frajleri*, both the equivalent of English 'cool dudes'). Most native speakers are well aware that these lexical items are recent innovations, and a willingness to accept them as coming from a "folk" song (at least in the traditional sense of the word—as most non-specialists understand the concept of "folklore") would generally indicate that an informant was inattentive in filling out the survey; thus, those surveys on which these slang phrases were marked as "maybe folkloric" or "very folkloric" (about 10% of the total collected) were discarded from my sample results.

Since it was intended that respondents could complete the survey in five minutes or less, it was not possible to include on it all of the traits discussed heretofore, but I attempted to select a variety of phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic features that seemed likely to be particularly salient to speakers. The content of the Bulgarian and Serbian surveys varied, of course. Several traits could appear in parallel form in both Bulgarian and Serbian, such as the line-medial vocative. Other traits did not have a direct correspondence, so I attempted to find the closest Serbian analogue, as in the less common Serbian verb for 'to say,' *reći*, to compare with nonstandard *думам* 'to say' in Bulgarian. Certain traits were



only relevant in Bulgarian, such as the lack of a definite article (as Serbian has no definite article in the first place). The survey also tested several uniquely Serbian traits that I hypothesized might be part of its “folkloric language.” The traits tested, along with the abbreviations that refer to them in this section, are seen in Figure 6.1.<sup>98</sup>

	Trait	Shorthand	Number on Bulgarian Survey (Control, Experimental)	Number on Serbian Survey (Control, Experimental)
Phonology	nonstandard reflex for <i>jat</i>	JAT	19, 8	Belgrade: 15, 7 Banja Luka: 7, 15
Morphology	first-person plural <i>-me</i> ending	1PL	13, 5	—
	lack of expected definite marking	DEF	17, 29	—
	case marking on nouns	CASE	16, 4	—
	nominative case for expected accusative	NOM ACC	—	13, 4
	vocative case for expected nominative	VOC NOM	—	12, 21
	future tense with subordinating conjunction	FUT	3, 23	3, 18
	dative form without preposition	DAT	10, 30	—
Syntax/Word Order	noun-adjective word order	NA	26, 9	24, 8
	subject-object-verb word order	SOV	14, 7	10, 6
	line-medial position of vocative	VOC	6, 18	5, 14
	nonstandard clitic order with negative verb	NEG V	20, 11	—
	strict second position for clitics	CL POS	22, 12	17, 9
Poetics	line with imperfect tense	IMPT	27, 15	22, 11
Lexicon	use of <i>dumam</i> for 'to say'	DUMAM	24, 1	—
	use of aorist <i>reknuti</i> for 'to say'	REK	—	19, 1
	use of <i>moma</i> , 'maiden'	MOMA	28, 21	—
	use of <i>momak</i> , 'lad'	MOMAK	—	23, 16
(Authentic Dialect)	dialectal material not found in corpora	DIAL	25	20
("Dummy" Question)	contemporary slang	DUMMY	2	2

**Figure 6.1**

### 6.1.2. Survey: Methodology and Observations

I originally attempted to obtain results from a general swath of the population in four sites: Sofia (Bulgaria), Belgrade (Serbia), Banja Luka (Republika Srpska within Bosnia and Herzegovina), and Zagreb (Croatia). Carrying clipboards, pens, and paper copies of my survey, I approached adults relaxing in parks and public squares and asked whether they would be willing to participate in a brief survey about “folkloric language”; I also asked

98. On the Serbian surveys, ekavian forms—those standard in Belgrade—are item 15, and ijekavian forms—the norm in Banja Luka—are item 7. Reactions to ekavian and ijekavian are compared in §7.1.2.

several friends and acquaintances (who did not know the details of my research) to take part. Of course, because I was working in larger, metropolitan areas, consultants' values and backgrounds mostly represented those of an urban population. Those individuals who consented to participate often seemed to do so out of intellectual curiosity; I would expect that my sample group in each area was perhaps somewhat more educated than the average population. I avoided approaching people who appeared to be intoxicated, mentally disabled, or extremely elderly, as I had found in previous work that such persons often struggled to understand or complete the task at hand. In general, given the environments in which I was conducting my survey, the bulk of my informants were young men and women out socializing with friends, or parents and younger grandparents (primarily women) supervising children at play. However, because I was concerned primarily with testing responses to the two versions of the survey against each other, and because versions A and B were given randomly, I did not ask for consultants' demographic information. The makeup of both pools of informants for each local survey should be considered to be equivalent for all intents and purposes.

Even before analyzing the data that I gathered, I began to notice interesting patterns during the process of its collection. The reactions of respondents when I was explaining the task for the survey and the comments they made to me after I debriefed them made it quite clear that citizens of Bulgaria and the various Yugoslav successor states had different understandings of “folkloric language” and even “folklore” from one another.

I had the easiest time conducting my survey in Sofia. On the whole, my Bulgarian consultants spoke with pride about their national musical heritage, and there was less general surprise that a foreigner who had studied Bulgarian would have come to the country for such a study. Many assumed at first that I was a musicologist, perhaps because of the large number of scholars from other parts of the world who are interested in Bulgarian music and dance and come not only to study the practice of these traditions but to participate in them directly. I got the sense that Bulgarians expected foreigners to be interested in their musical culture, and that they have a clear sense of what a “folk song” is and why it would be of scholarly concern.

In Belgrade and Banja Luka—where most citizens identify as Serbs—consultants were also interested in my work, but they seemed to have a greater expectation that my study of “folk songs” would be focused primarily on epic singing. Serbs were very aware of this tradition, and after completing the survey quite a few respondents were eager to tell me what they knew about Vuk Karadžić. It was clear that Vuk embodies national folk culture in a more vivid way than does any other individual personage in a South Slavic culture. I also told these respondents that I was carrying out a comparative study of Bulgarian and Serbian, trying to find out what markers of folkloric language are shared and which are nationally specific. As an example, I told them that Bulgarian folk singing does not have a strong tradition of the *deseterac*. The fact that all of the Belgrade and Banja Luka respondents knew what this term referred to indicates the strength of their awareness of their epic tradition. Consultants were also clearly conscious of matters regarding the linguistic standards of BCS: when I told them that I was doing a comparison between Bulgarian and Serbian, several respondents suggested that I should carry out my survey in Niš or another area with transitional dialects. I also observed that quite a few of the consultants in this area solemnly

read each line out loud, emphasizing dramatically (sometimes accompanied by a slight motion of the hand) the accentual and prosodic contours of each prompt. This would seem to underscore the importance of metrics and intonation as major characteristics of “folk” songs for these speakers. Overall, it was clear that residents of Belgrade and Banja Luka had a definite impression that the epic singing tradition is their most important and defining type of lyrical folk tradition.

I attempted to conduct my survey in Zagreb as well, using a version localized for Croatian. There, however, I had more limited success convincing consultants to take part in my project. In general, there were fewer locals gathered for leisure in public spaces during the day, so simply identifying potential consultants took more patience. Furthermore, many of those individuals I approached insisted that they could not take part in my study because they didn’t have a clear sense of what “folkloric language” was. Even those who began the survey asked me several times to clarify “what kind of folklore” or which region’s folklore I had in mind. Croatians generally seemed to be well aware of the disparate geographic, cultural, and linguistic regions that make up the country, and it was apparent that the consultants in Zagreb had a less defined notion of a unified national style of folklore. In fact, I even mentioned this impression to several interviewees after the survey and they were inclined to agree, affirming that they did not have a strong sense of a type of folklore that would represent the entire state as a whole. Because I was unable to gather a large amount of data in Zagreb, and because notions of “folklore” were clearly so different there, I decided not to include these results in my set of data.

Place	Set 1 Code	Count	Set 2 Code	Count	Total for Region
Sofia	A	23	B	24	<b>47</b>
Belgrade	C	20	D	19	<b>39</b>
Banja Luka	E	9	F	8	<b>17</b>
Combined Serbian	C/E	29	D/F	27	<b>56</b>

Figure 6.2

### 6.1.3. General Results of the Survey

The total number of responses I was able to gather was modest, but it was nonetheless sufficient to produce discernable results. Figure 6.2 shows the number of surveys remaining once those surveys were discarded on which the DUMMY prompt was marked as either “maybe folkloric” or “very folkloric.” The survey versions from Banja Luka (E and F) were relatively few in number, but, other than the fact that they were in ijekavian instead of ekavian, they were identical to the versions from Belgrade (C and D, respectively). I was not able to discern any major differences between the Banja Luka and Belgrade responses. For this reason, the Belgrade and Banja Luka surveys are analyzed together as an amalgamation that I refer to in this section as “Serbian.”<sup>99</sup> Most surveys were completed in

99. I realize that this term is somewhat problematic as a label for the speech of citizens of Bosnia, but because most residents of Banja Luka identify as Serbs and consider their speech to be “Serbian,” I feel that this is the most precise and straightforward way of referring collectively to the speech of Belgrade and Banja Luka. I

their entirety, but several had one or two prompts that respondents had left blank; these blank responses, along with those in which two answers had been marked, were not counted among the total results. For the most part, however, I had a full set of responses to all of the prompts on the survey.

Overall, the survey did point to some clear trends. In particular, it verified that many of the traits selected for testing in the Bulgarian survey did in fact seem to resonate with speakers as folkloric. In this part of the study, there was even a discernable gradation of various traits, such that some apparently triggered more consistently strong evaluations than others. On the whole, it seems that Bulgarians respond most readily to the presence of nonstandard individual words rather than other types of features. With regard to Serbian, however, almost all of the traits selected for testing had only marginal effects on speakers' perceptions of the prompts. This indicates that, despite a shared South Slavic linguistic heritage and many cultural ties, Bulgarian and Serbian have significantly different ways of marking folkloric language.

#### 6.1.4. Bulgarian Results of the Survey

All in all, speakers did consistently assess phrases containing experimental forms of prompts as more folkloric than their standard, control counterparts. Figure 6.3 shows a list of all of the trait variables assessed in the surveys. Each row shows the percentage of respondents who rated the control (C) or experimental (E) versions of a particular trait (as well as the dialectal trait, D) as “not folkloric,” “maybe folkloric,” or “very folkloric”; these factors are sorted in increasing order of “folkloricity,” an index obtained by averaging the “maybe folkloric” and “very folkloric” ratings.<sup>100</sup> For all of the factors, the experimental versions (with gray backgrounds) had percentages higher than their control counterparts of both “very folkloric” ratings and of the combination of “very folkloric” and “maybe folkloric” ratings.<sup>101</sup> Moreover, almost the entire set of experimental prompts were rated as more “folkloric” than almost any of the control prompts. Clearly, all of the experimental variables stood out to a large enough extent that many speakers recognized them as nonstandard and assigned them folkloric ratings. A visual representation of the average ratings that the experimental versions of each factor received can be seen in Figure 6.4.

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fully recognize the importance of affirming Bosnian's existence as a national language and only use the descriptor here that I expect most of my consultants use.

100. These figures represent the average of the two percentages from survey A and survey B. For example, 68% of respondents to survey A and 58% of respondents to survey B (an average of 63%) rated the MOMA prompt in its experimental form as highly folkloric.

101. The experimental and control versions of the 1PL trait had the same percentage of “very folkloric” ratings, but the former had more “maybe folkloric” ratings.

Factor	Condition	Not	Maybe	Very
NEG V	C	89%	8%	2%
1PL	C	87%	11%	2%
DEF	C	83%	17%	0%
FUT	C	81%	19%	0%
JAT	C	79%	21%	0%
1PL	E	70%	28%	2%
MOMA	C	68%	21%	11%
CASE	C	68%	26%	6%
NA	C	66%	23%	11%
DAT	C	66%	23%	11%
DUMAM	C	62%	25%	13%
SOV	C	61%	28%	11%
IMPT	C	57%	26%	17%
VOC	C	53%	34%	13%
DEF	E	49%	42%	9%
IMPT	E	43%	34%	23%
CL POS	C	40%	45%	15%
DAT	E	35%	46%	20%
CASE	E	34%	34%	32%
NA	E	28%	44%	28%
CL POS	E	26%	22%	52%
SOV	E	23%	41%	36%
JAT	E	20%	39%	41%
NEG V	E	19%	46%	35%
VOC	E	15%	50%	35%
FUT	E	13%	41%	46%
DUMAM	E	8%	38%	53%
DIAL	D	8%	23%	68%
MOMA	E	6%	30%	63%

Figure 6.3

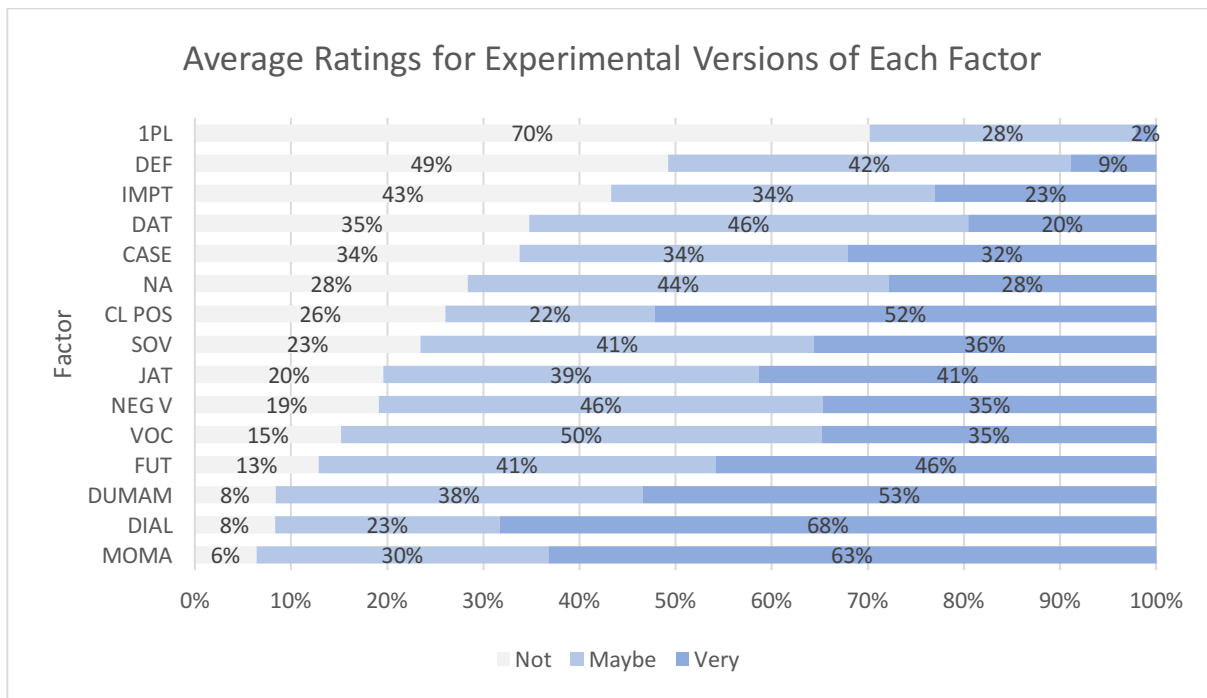


Figure 6.4

It is clear, however, that there was significant variability in respondents’ intuitions. The instructions on the survey mentioned that the lines “could be part of a folk song,” and it would seem that some individuals took this description to heart, seeing folkloric potential even in the control prompts—all of which could also be fairly ordinary phrases in the everyday spoken language. There were quite a few surveys on which individuals had rated almost all prompts at least “maybe folkloric.” Significantly, there was no control prompt not rated by at least a handful of respondents as “maybe folkloric,” and all but three control prompts received at least one “very folkloric” rating. Among this latter category are even basic phrases such as ‘one doesn’t do it that way’ (*така не се прави*, the NEG V control prompt showing standard clitic ordering) and ‘beautiful girl’ (*хубаво момиче*, a standard-lexeme version of the MOMA variable). Similarly, even those prompts that received the most “highly folkloric” responses still received a number of detractors assigning “not folkloric” ratings. In short, results were variable and far from absolute; there was nothing that served as an unambiguously folkloric marker for all speakers.

Perhaps the broadest statement that can be made based on these data is that markers at the word level are those most likely to be salient for speakers as folkloric. The experimental factors most highly rated as “folkloric” were DUMAM and MOMA. As was argued in §4.1.7, words like these that make up the “folklore lexicon” are simple but powerful markers of “folkloric language,” in part because of the readiness with which they can be substituted for their more standard-language counterparts. The DIAL prompt, which also received high marks, also employs a nonstandard lexeme. And in fact, even the high ratings given to the FUT prompt were telling. Since this trait represents not a nonstandard nominal or verbal lexeme but rather reflects an archaic grammatical form, it might seem to be an outlier. However, the experimental versions of FUT phrases contain an extra subordinating particle (*да*) as compared to contemporary control versions. Thus, one could say that it was the appearance of marked, freestanding words—and not parts of words or the order in which words occur—that consultants were most likely to view as folkloric.

Version A	Percentage	Version B	Percentage
1PL	4%	1PL	0%
IMPT	4%	DEF	4%
DAT	13%	SOV	17%
DEF	14%	CASE	25%
CL POS	17%	DAT	26%
NA	18%	NA	38%
VOC	22%	NEG V	38%
JAT	30%	FUT	42%
NEG V	32%	DUMAM	42%
CASE	39%	IMPT	42%
FUT	50%	VOC	48%
SOV	55%	JAT	52%
DUMAM	65%	MOMA	58%
MOMA	68%	CL POS	87%

Figure 6.5

Further evidence for the importance of lexicon and, concomitantly, semantics, can be seen when one compares the results from survey A and survey B. Figure 6.5 shows the percentage of “very folkloric” ratings each experimental prompt received for the two versions of the survey. If speakers had been somehow able to look at grammatical variables out of the context of particular phrases, one would expect that each factor would have received similar ratings across the two sets of data. But, of course, this was not possible, and in some cases the semantic differences between two prompts apparently led to quite different results. It is possible that, with a larger number of surveys, the differences between certain variables might be diminished, but some disparities were so great that it is clear that a larger sample size would not obscure them. For the IMPT prompt, for example, survey A contained the phrase ‘Stoyan was watering the sheep’ (*Стоян поеше овцете*) and survey B had ‘Mila was feeding the chicken’ (*Мила хранеше пилето*). These phrases are quite parallel in structure: both the personal names, verbs, and animal direct objects would seem to be fairly unremarkable, and both phrases describe mundane duties of animal husbandry. But for one reason or another, roughly ten times as many respondents rated ‘Mila was feeding the chicken’ as “very folkloric” as they did ‘Stoyan was watering the sheep.’ The reason for this disparity may simply be that, because folk songs often describe maidens engaged in domestic tasks, the former version was more readily accepted as a line from a folk song. I had attempted to minimize semantic influence by creating two versions of the surveys of which results could be averaged, but it is clear that, if new versions of the survey were created with different phrases, there would probably still be some variability in the results.

Factor	1) A Control	1) B Experimen tal	1) % Increase	2) B Control	2) A Experimen tal	2) % Increase	Mean Increase
IMPT	74%	92%	18%	13%	22%	9%	13%
CL POS	78%	96%	17%	42%	52%	11%	14%
1PL	13%	29%	16%	13%	30%	18%	17%
DAT	23%	57%	34%	46%	74%	28%	31%
DEF	9%	33%	25%	26%	68%	42%	33%
CASE	39%	54%	15%	25%	78%	53%	34%
SOV	17%	67%	49%	61%	86%	25%	37%
NA	30%	75%	45%	38%	68%	31%	38%
VOC	43%	78%	35%	50%	91%	41%	38%
DUMAM	26%	88%	61%	50%	96%	46%	54%
JAT	14%	83%	69%	29%	78%	49%	59%
MOMA	26%	92%	66%	38%	95%	58%	62%
FUT	17%	83%	66%	21%	91%	70%	68%
NEG V	4%	71%	66%	17%	91%	74%	70%

Figure 6.6

For this reason, it was useful to compare the differences in rankings not only among the categories of individual linguistic variables, but also with regard to the two specific prompts that were used to test each trait. For example, one could compare the ratings of group A’s control version of a prompt with group B’s experimental version of the same prompt, and vice versa. Figure 6.6 and Figure 6.7 display this information directly. Figure 6.6 shows the combined total of “maybe folkloric” and “very folkloric” ratings that each version of each prompt received. For example, for the JAT factor, the left side of the table shows the ratings for one prompt, ‘this summer,’ in the control version from survey A (*това лято*) and the experimental version from survey B (*това лето*). The third column shows the difference between these two figures, which can be conceived of as the amount by which the use of a nonstandard marker (in this case, a dialectal *e* vowel letter) increased the percentage of speakers who found the material to sound folkloric. The right side of the table shows the ratings for the second prompt, ‘that snow.’ It compares the control form (*онзи сняг*) from survey B with the experimental form (*онзи снег*) from survey A, and again shows the difference in ratings. Finally, the percentage in the blue column shows the average of the differences of the two sets of prompts.

Factor	1) B		2) B		2) A		Mean
	1) A Control	Experimen tal	Content 1	Control	Experimen tal	Content 2	
1PL	17.4	29.2	11.8	12.5	34.8	22.3	17.0
IMPT	104.3	133.3	29.0	16.7	26.1	9.4	19.2
DAT	31.8	82.6	50.8	58.3	87.0	28.6	39.7
DEF	8.7	37.5	28.8	26.1	81.8	55.7	42.3
CL POS	108.7	182.6	73.9	41.7	69.6	27.9	50.9
NA	39.1	112.5	73.4	50.0	86.4	36.4	54.9
CASE	43.5	79.2	35.7	33.3	117.4	84.1	59.9
VOC	56.5	126.1	69.6	62.5	113.0	50.5	60.1
SOV	21.7	83.3	61.6	78.3	140.9	62.6	62.1
DUMAM	34.8	129.2	94.4	66.7	160.9	94.2	94.3
JAT	13.6	134.8	121.1	29.2	108.7	79.5	100.3
NEG V	4.3	108.3	104.0	20.8	122.7	101.9	102.9
FUT	17.4	125.0	107.6	20.8	140.9	120.1	113.8
MOMA	34.8	150.0	115.2	50.0	163.6	113.6	114.4

Figure 6.7

Figure 6.7, the essence of which is presented more graphically in Figure 6.8, attempts to represent an attempt to add nuance to these data by creating a “folkloric score” for each variable. The folkloric score gives more weight to the “very folkloric” responses than to the “maybe folkloric” responses, consisting of the sum of the “maybe folkloric” percentage and *twice* the “very folkloric” percentage, expressed as a single number. One can see that the relative folkloricity of the factors varies somewhat when assessed with this formula as compared to the simple comparison given in Figure 6.6. On the whole, though, there is a



fair amount of consistency. A group of five factors—MOMA, FUT, NEG V, JAT, and DUMAM—have the highest scores according to both tests, SOV, VOC, CASE, and NA appear in the middle, and CL POS, DEF, DAT, IMPT, and 1PL all have the lowest scores. While it would be impossible to derive a consistent quantitative measure for the relative stylistic weight that various linguistic variables carry, this folkloric score would seem to be the best way of isolating the influence of the linguistic markers in question from the semantic contexts in which they appeared on the surveys. The results of these rankings for each individual trait are discussed in Chapter 7, but it is clear that the presence of almost all of the experimental traits selected for study did, in fact, lead speakers to find phrases to sound more “folkloric.”

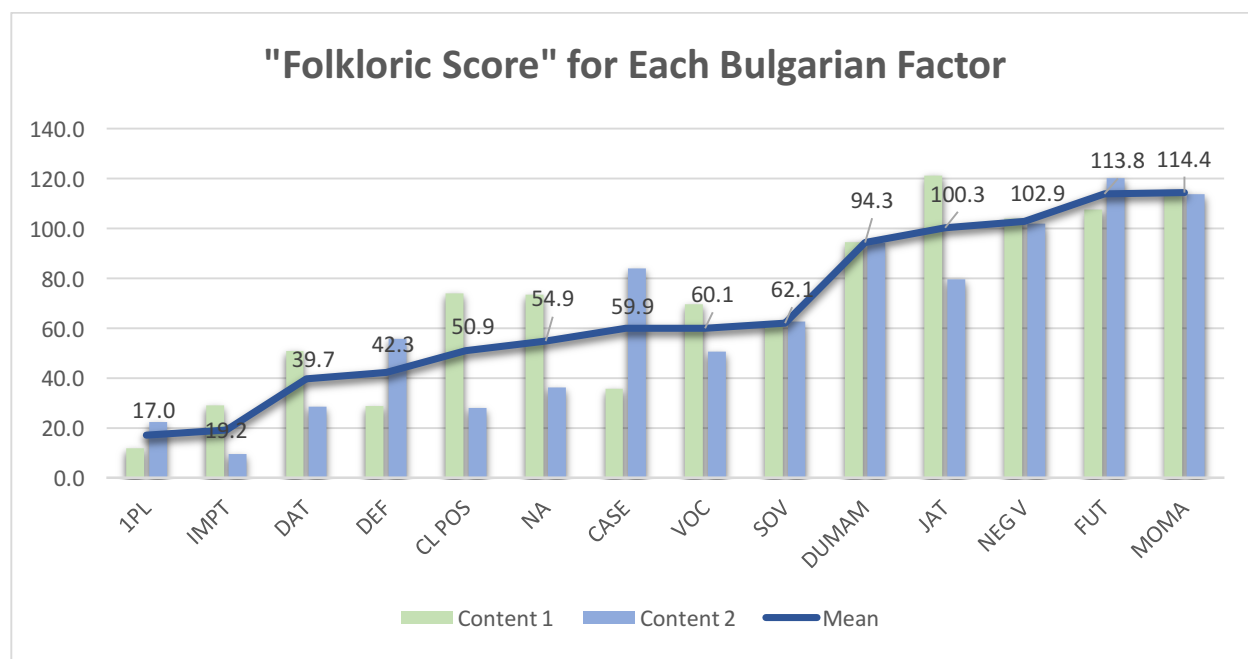


Figure 6.8

### 6.1.5. Serbian Results of the Survey

The primary goal of conducting a Serbian version of the survey was to compare Bulgarian and Serbian. If speakers of Bulgarian found a particular linguistic trait to be a salient marker of folkloric language, would speakers of Serbian react similarly? At the same time, however, it was hoped that a clearer sense could be gathered of what “folkloric language” might mean to speakers of Serbian in their own terms. While the quantitative part of the survey did not produce as clear results with regard to this latter matter, it did point to the fact that the linguistic traits that mark a shift to folkloric language in Bulgarian didn’t work the same way in Serbian.

Figures 6.9 and 6.10, which are counterparts to the Bulgarian Figures 6.3 and 6.4, show something of a similar, albeit less defined pattern in Serbian. Most experimental prompts tended to be ranked as more “folkloric” than the control prompts. However, in this case, the FUT control form and NOM ACC forms were actually ranked higher in their control

forms. This is understandable for the FUT variable (see §7.2.5), but somewhat surprising for the NOM ACC one (see §7.2.4), which shows nonstandard case marking in its experimental form. The juxtaposition of Figure 6.10 with Bulgarian Figure 6.4 also makes visually apparent the fact that most of the Serbian prompts had lower folkloric rankings than did those on the Bulgarian survey.

Factor	Condition	Not	Maybe	Very
VOC NOM	C	57%	29%	14%
<b>VOC NOM</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>17%</b>
REC	C	54%	37%	9%
SOV	C	52%	30%	18%
JAT	C	50%	43%	8%
MOMAK	C	47%	33%	20%
CL POS	C	46%	32%	22%
<b>VOC</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>24%</b>
IMPT	C	46%	33%	21%
VOC	C	44%	34%	22%
<b>MOMAK</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>26%</b>
<b>FUT</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>39%</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>18%</b>
NA	C	38%	34%	28%
<b>JAT</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>45%</b>	<b>19%</b>
DIAL	D	36%	33%	31%
FUT	C	30%	45%	25%
<b>NOM ACC</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>18%</b>
<b>CL POS</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>15%</b>
<b>NA</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>36%</b>
NOM ACC	C	27%	51%	22%
<b>SOV</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>34%</b>
<b>REC</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>23%</b>
<b>IMPT</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>61%</b>

Figure 6.9

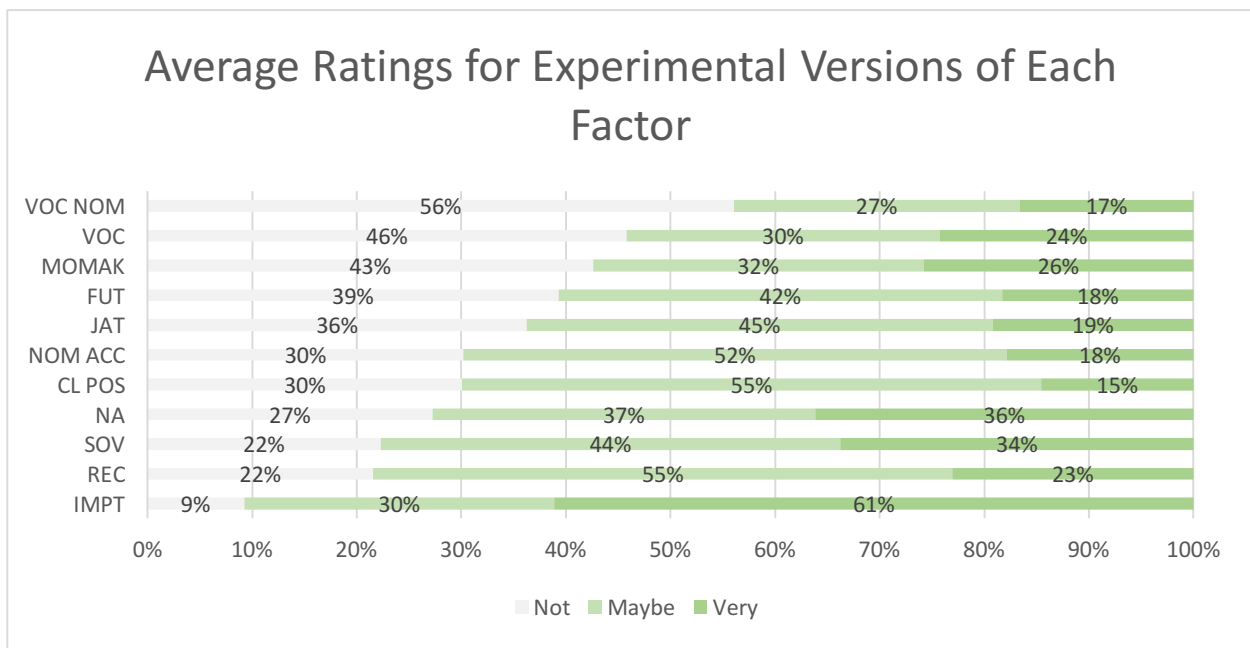


Figure 6.10

Again, one can see some disparity between the two versions of the Serbian prompts in Figure 6.11. Some versions of similar prompts simply ended up sounding closer to the “folklore” with which speakers were familiar. For example, the VOC experimental version ‘we see the clouds, mother’ (*vidimo, majko, oblake*) was found by 45% of respondents to sound “very folkloric,” but the similar ‘look at the fox, dad’ (*pogledaj, tata, lisicu*) received this score from only 4% of respondents. Figures 6.12, 6.13, and 6.14, which show data similarly to Figures 6.6, 6.7, and 6.8 from Bulgarian, make this fact just as obvious. In many cases, there was a great disparity between the two prompts used to test each linguistic variable in Serbian. Presumably, with a larger number of prompts, one might be able to derive a more consistent average ranking for each variable.

Versions C&E	Percentage	Versions D&F	Percentage
CL POS	7%	VOC	4%
NOM ACC	17%	JAT	7%
VOC NOM	18%	FUT	12%
FUT	25%	VOC NOM	15%
REC	28%	NOM ACC	19%
MOMAK	29%	REC	19%
JAT	31%	SOV	19%
VOC	45%	CL POS	22%
NA	46%	MOMAK	23%
SOV	48%	NA	26%
IMPT	56%	IMPT	67%

Figure 6.11

Factor	1) C&E Control	1) D&F Experimental	1) % Increase	2) D&F Control	2) C&E Experimental	2) % Increase	Mean Increase
FUT	66%	50%	-16%	74%	71%	-3%	-9%
NOM ACC	79%	74%	-5%	67%	66%	-1%	-3%
VOC	41%	22%	-19%	70%	86%	16%	-2%
VOC NOM	38%	31%	-7%	48%	57%	9%	1%
MOMAK	61%	58%	-3%	44%	57%	13%	5%
NA	69%	74%	5%	56%	71%	16%	10%
JAT	45%	48%	3%	56%	79%	23%	13%
CL POS	82%	78%	-4%	26%	62%	36%	16%
SOV	59%	69%	11%	37%	86%	49%	30%
REC	55%	74%	19%	37%	83%	46%	32%
IMPT	59%	93%	34%	50%	89%	39%	36%

Figure 6.12

Factor	1) C&E Control	1) D&F Experimental	Content 1	2) D&F Control	2) C&E Experimental	Content 2	Mean Increase
FUT	93.1	61.5	-31.6	96.3	23.2	-73.1	-52.3
NOM ACC	96.6	92.6	-4.0	92.6	82.8	-9.8	-6.9
VOC	55.2	25.9	-29.2	100.0	131.0	31.0	0.9
VOC NOM	51.7	46.2	-5.6	63.0	75.0	12.0	3.2
CL POS	110.7	100.0	-10.7	40.7	69.0	28.2	8.8
MOMAK	85.7	80.8	-4.9	59.3	85.7	26.5	10.8
NA	103.4	100.0	-3.4	77.8	117.9	40.1	18.3
JAT	48.3	55.6	7.3	68.0	110.3	42.3	24.8
SOV	82.8	88.5	5.7	48.1	134.5	86.3	46.0
REC	65.5	92.6	27.1	44.4	110.3	65.9	46.5
IMPT	86.2	159.3	73.1	65.4	144.4	79.1	76.1

Figure 6.13

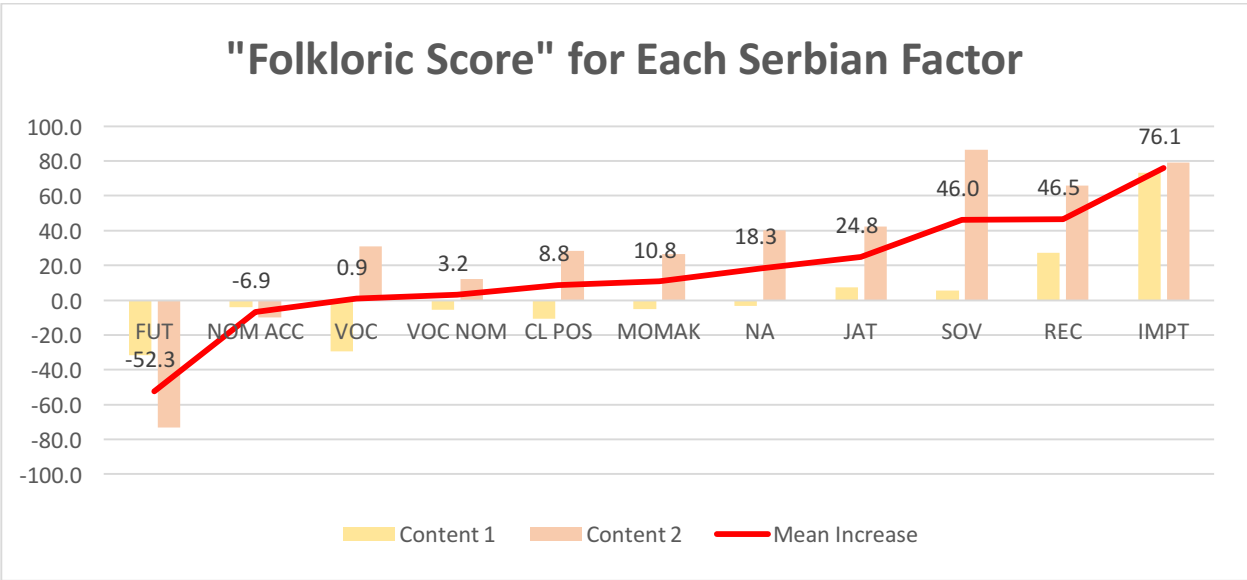


Figure 6.14

Nonetheless, these data are useful in that they show that the grammatical variations that sound folkloric to Bulgarians simply do not operate the same way in Serbian. Figure 6.13 shows that, not only do a couple of similar factors actually *decrease* the likelihood that the line will be perceived as folkloric, but the other factors have much more modest effects. Whereas the average increase between control and experimental prompts for Bulgarian linguistic traits was 41%, the average Serbian score increased by only 13%. Comparing the Serbian folklore scores from Figure 6.13 with the Bulgarian ones in Figure 6.7 points to a similar pattern: the bulk of Bulgarian variables have a folkloric score above 50, and the average Bulgarian score is 66.6, but only the IMPT variable in Serbian scores this highly, and the average Serbian score is only 17.5.

To be sure, several of the traits that were analyzed did show at least a marginally positive increase in their folkloric score. However, it is likely that nonstandard language of just about any type would probably lead at least a few more speakers to the idea that such a phrase was folkloric than would ordinary phrases of standard language, simply because they would recognize the former as marked. Given this possibility, it would seem that the modest folklore scores that the variables on the Serbian surveys received show that these traits are, for the most part, far less significant for Serbian “folkloric language” as they are for Bulgarian.

It should be emphasized that not all of the Bulgarian traits corresponded neatly to an analogous phenomenon in Serbian. Even features with the same shorthand that were tested in both languages sometimes describe phenomena that function differently in Bulgarian and Serbian. For example, the imperfect tense is an archaism in Serbian (and was compared on the survey to the ordinary past tense), whereas the Bulgarian imperfect is a perfectly productive tense (tested in the survey against the aorist). And in fact, many of the traits in Bulgarian didn’t correspond to Serbian at all. To the best I was able, I simply selected devices to test in Serbian that were formally as close as possible to their Bulgarian counterparts—even though I expected that, given the differences between the two languages, many Serbian prompts would not have the same resonance with speakers. The disparate results between the Bulgarian and Serbian surveys, then, only emphasize the extent to which folkloric language seems to be marked in fairly nationally specific ways.

### 6.1.6. Qualitative Responses to the Survey

Beyond the various levels of quantitative analysis described thus far, the survey also allowed for more qualitative assessments. At the bottom of the survey, speakers were presented with the question: “In your opinion, what makes a song sound ‘folkloric’ (*‘narodna/o’*) or folkloric (*‘folklorna/o’*).” The majority of respondents skipped this question—many, it would seem, did not see it, and others likely wanted to get back to their own activities—but the responses that were given proved to be very telling about how speakers of Bulgarian and Serbian conceive of “folkloric language.” 14 out of 47 Bulgarian surveys and 7 out of 56 Serbian surveys had some response to this question; the minor disparity in the rates of response to this question is, in fact, of statistical significance ( $p = .03$ ), and may serve as evidence for the trends described in §6.1.2. It seems that some Bulgarians had a more clearly defined understanding of “folkloric language” and for this reason were more likely to respond.

Bulgarian respondents listed a number of factors that they found characterized folkloric language. Five respondents mentioned the presence of archaisms, referring to “obsolete words” (“остарели думи”) and “an older Bulgarian language” (“по-стар български език”). Three mentioned word order, claiming that “inversion” (“инверсията”) and “reversed word order” (“обърнат словоред”) were characteristic of this register of language. Two other respondents mentioned prosodic factors, such as “intonation in the words” (“интонация в думите”) and the “specific rhythmic” (“специфичната ритмика”) of songs. Only two respondents mentioned content: one said, “there’s some history to the song” (“има история в песента”) and the other mentioned the presence of “mystical beings

– nymphs, *samodivas*, etc. Aspects of the daily life of a village person” (“мистичните създания – нимфи, самодиви, и др. Битови елементи от живота на селския човек”).

One particularly striking result was the number of respondents who mentioned “dialects.” In addition to the above comment referring to a “village person,” seven (exactly half) of respondents referred to “dialects” or something described as “dialectal.” One speaker, for example, mentioned “phrases and dialects, which creates uniqueness and originality” (“фрази, диалекти, което [sic] създава уникалност и самобитност”). It would seem that, for this speaker, “dialect” serves as an abstract shorthand for “dialectal forms.” Several of the respondents, however, invoked the concept of dialect by mentioning “dialectal words” (“диалектни думи”). In some cases, responses to this question, such as those mentioning word order, may have been influenced by the nonstandard traits that respondents had just encountered on the survey. It should be noted, however, that only one actual dialectal word appears on the survey: *каже* ‘says,’ which was found in the DIAL prompt and actually represents a nonstandard grammatical aspect of an otherwise standard root. In short, only the two instances of the lexemes *думам* ‘say’ and *мома* ‘maiden’—which are not actually regionally specific (see §4.1)—would have reminded speakers of the importance of lexicon. Instead, it would seem that many had their own preconceptions that “folkloric language” is marked by “dialectal” forms.

The Serbian responses to this question were noticeably different. Although there were only seven responses, five mentioned archaisms, describing, for example, “older expressions, old words, descriptions of old-fashioned names” (“*stariji izražaji, stare reči, opisi starinskih imena*”) and “if it sounds a little archaic and expressive but less oral” (“*ako zvuči po malo arhaično i zvučno a manje govorno*”). Interestingly, two comments specifically mentioned archaic tenses: “the use of the aorist” (“*upotreba aorista*”) and “special tenses (e.g. pluperfect, aorist)” (“*određena vremena (npr. pluskammerfekt, aorist)*”), even though the imperfect was the only nonstandard tense to actually appear in the survey.<sup>102</sup> Three mentioned content, specifically naming “rituals, traditions, etc.” (“*običaja, tradicije, itd.*”), saying that songs “mark and represent the nation and its origins, as well as its philosophy,” (“*obeležavaju i predstavljaju zemlju i poreklo, kao i filosofiju*”), and indicating that “what’s most important is what’s being sung about” (“*ali je najvažnije o čemu peva*”). Only one speaker alluded to the idea of dialect, simply including within his longer response the word “ijekavian” (“*ijekavica*”). Overall, Serbs seemed to have more of a sense that folklore’s authenticity is found in its timeless wisdom and reflection of older linguistic and cultural norms, but, unlike Bulgarians, did not seem to equate “folklore” with an (imagined) ruralism.

These comments come from a fairly small set of surveys and, of course, do not necessarily reflect the beliefs and impressions of all speakers of Bulgarian and Serbian. But they do point to an apparent difference in the qualities both groups feel to be most characteristic of what makes the language of their folklore special.

### 6.1.7. Survey: Conclusions

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102. It is worth noting, however, that this variable on the survey was the only one to receive a fairly high folklore score, and it is, in fact, the most straightforwardly archaic one as well.

The results of the survey were undoubtedly telling. The data show that speakers of Bulgarian found prompts marked with experimental variables to sound more folkloric than their unmarked counterparts. Results were significantly less distinct in Serbian; this points to a disparity in the way Bulgarian and Serbian mark a shift into folkloric speech. Written comments from respondents also pointed to some different ways in which Bulgarian and Serbs conceptualize folkloric language in an abstract sense.

However, the particular survey carried out was sufficient only for making general observations rather than precise, large-scale statements. Indeed, it would be virtually impossible to assess the stylistic impact of grammatical variables on speakers without allowing respondents to be influenced by the semantic contexts in which these variables were found. This is clear from the wide disparity between the results of some individual prompts containing identical grammatical variables shown in Table 2 and Chart 2 for Bulgarian, and, in particular, Table 6 and Chart 4 for Serbian. Comments from consultants painted a similar picture. For example, one consultant in Banja Luka did not have her reading glasses but still expressed a strong desire to participate, and I agreed to read the prompts out loud and mark the answers for her.<sup>103</sup> When I read her the line ‘Mila was carrying the milk,’ she asked, “Who was carrying the milk?” I repeated, ‘Mila was carrying the milk,’ and she said “Aha, *Mila*. Very folkloric.” Similarly, one young man in Sofia was commenting to himself as he completed the survey and read the line, ‘Stoyan watered the sheep.’ He remarked out loud, ‘Well, if it’s about sheep, that means it’s folkloric.’

Indeed, it would seem that some lines simply sound more folkloric than others, and the grammatical specificities that make them up are only a minor factor. As mentioned above, certain prompts were more likely to garner high folkloric ratings than other similar forms. But many linguistic traits themselves seemed to have a strong stylistic effect only in certain lines. This can be seen in the wide disparity between the folkloric scores between the two prompts in the Serbian data in Table 8 and Chart 4. For example, looking at the data for the SOV trait, one prompt, ‘Jovan reads a letter,’ had almost the same responses regardless of the order in which the words appeared. However, the other prompt, ‘Nikola sings a song,’ received a significantly higher folklore score when it appeared in experimental word order than in its control form. The reasons underlying the differences in these responses would be impossible to tease out entirely, and could only be minimized with a much larger-scale study consisting of a large number of unique prompts.

Certainly, a study of such a size would have been ideal, and other modifications could have made the results more telling. Because many consultants avoided extremes, marking many prompts simply as “maybe folkloric,” either a more granular rating system or a simple binary of “probably not folkloric” and “probably folkloric” ratings might have led to more distinct results. It is also possible, of course, that the particular order in which prompts appeared on the survey affected scores. Ideally, prompts could appear in a random order on

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103. Admittedly, my oral delivery of the prompts, which I attempted to do with maximally neutral inflection, could have influenced the consultant’s responses. This was the only survey given where consultants did not read the prompts to themselves, and I do not believe that its results differed from the rest of the pool as a consequence.

each survey; with paper-based surveys, however, this would have made scoring an impossibly arduous task. And certainly, there were many more traits I had hoped to test; perhaps a larger-scale version of this study might be conducted to assess the effects of factors such as the appearance of stress marks, marked use of the word *ošte*, the negative antithesis, and so on. Clearly, there is more one could discover with the appropriate resources.

At the same time, this survey helped to form an important part of my understanding of the “folklore register.” Although its results were more impressionistic than definitive, it supports the idea that many of the nonstandard features found in the songs in my study do, in fact, function for speakers of Bulgarian as markers of folkloricity, and that, on the other hand, analogues in Serbian for the most part do not.

## 6.2. Comparative Corpora

The information provided in the survey by native speakers was incredibly valuable and pointed to the readiness with which particular linguistic features can trigger the feeling that a song belongs to the “folk.” Even though the passages in the study were created by a non-native speaker working in the twenty-first century (i.e. me), the presence of some of the particular linguistic markers identified earlier was sufficient to convince many speakers that the passages could have come from a folk song. It would seem that the appearance of particular linguistic features in a text is as important for creating a particular stylistic assessment in a speaker’s mind as are the actual origins of a text.

However, I was also interested in seeing how closely my findings would correspond with data from older folk songs with a more thorough history of documentation (i.e., those generally considered to be “traditional” and “authentic”)—that is, whether the features that speakers identified as sounding folkloric in my survey were also those that most distinctly characterized texts of the existing national canon. In other words, were speakers’ perceptions of the language of folk songs grounded in actual awareness of the linguistic nature of these texts? In order to address this matter, I analyzed two corpora of songs, referred to here as the “Comparative Corpora.” One, which I have called the “Preindustrial Corpus,” was made up of texts that were gathered prior to World War II from various sites around Bulgaria; they comprised a readily accessible body of texts transcribed from anonymous individuals in rural settings—that is, exactly the type of singers that Bulgarians feel represent the “folk.” I also examined the texts of a 1969 album from singer Lili Ivanova, a Bulgarian artist especially popular in the era of socialism. Balladic and lyrical, Ivanova’s songs were generally modeled on Western musical structures, and, as a major national artist, her stardom contrasted with the humble circumstances of most rural Bulgarians. This small corpus, then, represented another type of control group of songs, which I refer to as the “Popular Corpus.”

My assumption was that these two groups of songs would reflect markedly different varieties of language. Presumably, the Preindustrial Corpus would contain most of the same marked features that typified the socialist “folk” songs in my study. It was expected that the songs in the Popular Corpus might contain some linguistic devices as well, but that they could simply be attributed to the flexibility inherent in sung speech. More to the point, it



would seem logical that the linguistic features that appeared in both the preindustrial and socialist “folk” songs, but not in the works of popular music from the era, would be the specific features that were not just poetic or lyrical, but decidedly “folkloric.”

### 6.2.1. The Preindustrial Corpus

At the outset of this study, it was my expectation that the unusual linguistic traits identified heretofore appeared in the socialist songs because they were reminiscent of features of pre-existing folk songs. To test this, I decided to find songs that were gathered before the start of state socialism in Bulgaria, and which would be seen as prime examples of Bulgaria’s folk song heritage to compare with these more newly composed works. I assembled a Preindustrial Corpus consisting of works from *Вековно наследство* (“*Age-Old Heritage*”), a collection of various folk texts edited by the great Bulgarian folklorist Mikhail Arnaudov (1976). The entire series contains other types of material such as proverbs and riddles, but the first two volumes contain hundreds of songs, none of which have anything to do with World War II or the socialist era. In other words, their content can be seen as representative of the “traditional” type of lyrical verse that Bulgarians generally find to be representative of their national culture. Moreover, all of the songs in Arnaudov’s volumes had been published previously in other collections, mostly in the *Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжина* (*Collection of Folk Lore, Wisdom, and Literature*) published annually by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. Because of this, I was able to compare the original texts of the songs, many of which were published at the end of the nineteenth century, with the versions that appeared in Arnaudov’s edition.

Overall, the Preindustrial Corpus was of modest size, but of but sufficient length to supply a representative sample of texts from across Bulgaria that varied as to their location of origin and theme. I assembled the corpus by selecting one song every 75 pages, given that it was at least eight lines long. I also only used songs that were recorded inside the boundaries of the present-day Bulgarian state (i.e. not from Serbia, Romania, or elsewhere), and that had been originally published prior to 1941. In total, the Preindustrial Corpus consisted of 20 songs of 437 lines total; the details of its contents can be seen in Appendix B.

Indeed, the songs in the Preindustrial Corpus resembled in many ways the socialist “folk” songs in the Traditional Corpus surprisingly closely. Almost all of the traits identified in Chapters 2 to 5 appeared in this corpus as well, mostly at about the same frequency, and there were even identical lines shared between the two corpora. It was quite clear that the the types of songs of this earlier canon of folk songs had served as a model for the works that made up the Traditional Corpus.

### 6.2.2. The Popular Corpus

While it was gratifying to see the same set of features identified in the socialist songs recurring throughout the Preindustrial Corpus, I wanted to be sure that these features were, in fact, those of *folk* songs, and not just those that characterized sung language in Bulgarian in general. To this end, I decided to compare my data with a group of songs from the same

time period that would be as removed from the idea of “folkloric” as possible. Given restrictions on time, and the scarcity of audio recordings of popular music from the early socialist era in Bulgaria, I was unable to compile an extensive corpus of multiple artists and albums, but because they were readily available online, I decided to work with the songs that made up the 1969 album “Камино” (“*Camino*”) by Lili Ivanova. Often referred to jokingly as “the Bulgarian Cher” because of her aesthetic sensibilities and decades-long celebrity status, Ivanova represents possibly the most successful and nationally recognized recording artist in Bulgarian history. Although she originally hailed from the small northeastern town of Kubrat, the celebrity that Ivanova has attained and the close associations Bulgarians have between Ivanova’s songs and her persona as an individual performer are sufficient evidence that her works should clearly not be considered folk songs.<sup>104</sup>

This album represented a small but sufficient body of textual material in which to search for marked linguistic features. The title track, one of Ivanova’s signature songs, is sung in Spanish (“*Camino*,” ‘Road’) and was not included in the corpus, but the rest of the album is in Bulgarian. All in all, the corpus was made up of 304 lines total (some of which, however, are repeated choruses and refrains). As the work of one performer from only one album, “Камино” (“*Camino*”) can certainly not be said to represent the entirety of popular music during the socialist era; however, it did provide a ready corpus for comparison.

More to the point, the album was large enough to display several specific linguistic features, many of which I had already begun to suspect were more generally “lyrical” than “folkloric.” Most common were instances of noun-adjective word order. There were fourteen such phrases, such as:

(6.5)    съня            дълбок  
           sŭnja            dŭlbok  
           sleep-DEF    deep  
           *deep sleep*

which were found throughout eight of the ten songs that made up the corpus. There were also a number of times in which verbs came at the end of the line without the apparent motivation of rhyme or focus, as in:

(6.6)    Тоз    пламък    сенките    плете  
           Toz    plamŭk    senkite    plete  
           this    flame    shadows    weaves

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104. Of course, many of the songs Ivanova recorded were written as collaborations with others; the names of these individuals would generally not be familiar to the wider public. Thus, in a way, the works are those of a semi-anonymous, collective authorship. One might also consider the fact that many of Ivanova’s songs are likely as familiar to the Bulgarian public today as any “traditional” folk song might be. These facts point to the idea that the line between “folk” and “popular” is not always so distinct. Nonetheless, these songs do ultimately have a documented point of origin and, more importantly, are not thought of by the public as “folklore.” As this study focuses on the perceptions of speakers, the defining point for my work is whether speakers think of something as “folkloric,” and Lili Ivanova’s works, for them, would definitely not be.

и	древна	истина	разкрива
i	drevna	istina	razkriva
and	ancient	truth	uncovers

*This flame weaves shadows / and uncovers ancient truths.*

Both of these word order patterns seem to be acceptable and common in lyrical verse. Additionally, instances of the “poetic elision” described in §2.4.2 appear, as in *моз* (in place of *мозу*), ‘this’ and *мойта* (in place of *моята*), ‘my.’ All of these traits appeared regularly in the March Corpus and even in poetry of the National Revival period. This should serve as even stronger evidence that the traits are not particularly folkloric but rather types of general poetic ornamentation.

Otherwise, there were only a few other phrases that contained traits similar to those described in the the previous chapters. In one song, the lyrical subject address an inanimate object, the wind, as in:

(6.7) Ветре мой, мой самотнико  
 Vetra moj, moj samotniko  
 wind-VOC my my loner-VOC  
*Oh, my wind, my recluse*

As was explained in §5.1.1, the marking of inanimate nouns is sometimes said to be “archaic,” but more likely is that it is not used in everyday contemporary speech simply because one rarely has the need to address inanimate objects and abstract phenomena. Moreover, the vocative forms here are not of the line-medial type that seems most visibly to distinguish folk songs. One song also uses evidential forms, but in a context where they emphasize unwitnessed actions that took place long ago; that is, their function is much closer to the prototypical use of such forms in the standard language. Neither of these features seems to be used in the same way that they appear in folk songs.

While the corpus was not very large, it was entirely bereft of almost any of the features identified in Chapters 2 to 5. Thus, it seems to have served its purpose well as a body of texts for comparison.

## Chapter 7

### Assessments of Specific Linguistic Factors

This chapter deals with the extent to which the features described in Chapters 2-5 are in fact emblematic markers of folkloric language. It seemed possible that some of these features would have been found in the texts for reasons other than those of stylistics, and others could have simply been features of Bulgarian lyrical language in general. Reactions to a number of these traits were tested in the survey described in the previous chapter, and their patterning was also tracked in preindustrial (“folk” but not socialist-era) and popular (socialist-era but not “folk”) songs. The synthesis of these various approaches produced a clearer picture of exactly which traits seemed to be most typical of folk songs specifically and how emblematic of folklore each one was.

The following section discusses the orthographic, morphological, syntactic, and structural features that were presented in Chapters 2 to 5 and included in the survey for Bulgarian and, where relevant, Serbian. Of course it would be simplistic and imprecise to state categorically that certain traits are or are not part of the typical linguistic register of folk songs. Rather, this section attempts to present an impressionistic analysis of what devices seem to be most closely tied to the the idea of the language of Bulgarian folk songs.

#### **7.1. Phonology**

##### **7.1.1. Dialectal Phonemes and Stress Marking**

As was discussed earlier, it is difficult to comment on the underlying phonology of songs that are available only in written form. More legitimately, one can make statements about the orthography of a text and attempt to evaluate the extent to which it permits the reflection of nonstandard phonological traits that may have been present in an original oral performance. With respect to the socialist texts, one regularly encounters dialectal variants

of Common Slavic *jat*; otherwise, there are only sporadic instances of other dialectal traits, stress marking, and the elision of letters representing individual phonological segments.

Of course, without access to original audio recordings of these songs (except for those of the Popular Corpus), one cannot know the extent to which editors shaped the representation of the phonology of songs with their orthographic decisions. In fact, it would seem that this process might have been quite extensive. The songs in the socialist corpora use, for the most part, fairly standard orthography, with the occasional exceptions mentioned above; thus, one cannot tell whether singers themselves would have been singing in standard language and employing dialectal traits seemingly at random, or whether editors had standardized the language, but to an incomplete extent.

Evidence from the Preindustrial Corpus, however, suggests that the songs in the socialist corpora were, in fact, likely fairly heavily edited. As was described in §6.2.1, the Preindustrial Corpus consists of texts randomly selected from two volumes of folk songs assembled and republished by the prominent folklorist Mikhail Arnaudov (1976). Overall, the orthography of these songs is relatively standard.<sup>105</sup> Essentially, one sees nonstandard /e/ variants of *jat* in five songs (all in texts collected in areas where such a variant would be expected), and there are a limited number of other dialectal phonological realizations. Figure 7.1 lists these traits and the number of texts in which they are found; all such traits appear in texts collected in regions where the trait would be expected in local dialects. Otherwise, the orthography mostly follows the norms of standard Bulgarian.

Trait	# Texts
/e/ > /a/	6
/b/ > /e/	1
inserted jer > /a/	2
/ʌ/ > /o/	1
/vʌ/ > /u/	3
/q/ > /a/	1
/ve/ > /v'e/, /ne/ > /n'e/	2
/tj/ > /k'/	2
/tj/ > /š/	2
/tj/ > /č/	1
/n' > /n'/	1
/ka/ > /k'a/	1
/o/ > /ü/	1
/dj/ > /zd/	1
/e/ > /i/	1
/e/ > /'o/	1
/l/ > /el/	1

Figure 7.1

However, when one examines the original volumes from which Arnaudov selected texts for republication, it is clear that the texts had undergone a thorough reworking of the

105. To be sure, they contain noticeably more dialectal lexemes, especially those of non-Slavic origin, than the socialist songs; consequently, some texts are rather difficult to understand on a first reading.

orthography. The spellings of many words from the original volumes were changed to reflect orthographic norms following the 1945 reform; thus, for example, *добыла* ‘received’ was changed to *добила*, *дъщерѣж* ‘daughter’ to *дъщеря*, *въ* ‘in’ to *в*, and so on. Moreover, pre-reform spellings in the original publications still used the traditional *jat* letter (ѣ), which in Arnaudov’s version had been changed to *я* or *е* depending on the expected realization of *jat* in the dialect of the song.

All of these changes would have been made in the republication of any older text following the reform, with the exception that, for a standard-language text, one would spell reflexes of *jat* in accordance with the standard language. However, the editorship also apparently made other changes that resulted in the texts assuming a more “normal” appearance. Reduced vowels from the original texts were spelled as they would be in the standard language, such that *думаши* ‘he was thinking’ was rewritten as *думаше*, *уткак* ‘since’ as *откак*, and so on. Similarly, spellings used to represent underlying voicing assimilation and palatalization were standardized, such that *шеѣба* ‘walk’ became *шешба* and *турахме* ‘we were putting’ became *туряхме*. In addition, stress markings were removed entirely, even from songs that in their original version featured it over nearly every word—often in nonstandard positions.<sup>106</sup> But moreover, almost all of the interesting dialectal reflexes were removed. Thus, what appeared as *рака* ‘hand’ in the original transcription was normalized to *ръка*, obliterating the visibly southwestern reflex of the first vowel in the word. As a result of these changes, the texts in Arnaudov’s volume end up looking decidedly less distinctive.

Thus, it would seem, the editorial process involved in the publication of folk songs at this time was clearly one of purification: it is likely that editors of the socialist texts, like Arnaudov, were intentionally taking at least some dialectal features out of song texts. One cannot know exactly how the songs in the socialist corpora originally sounded in the moment of their ostensible performance, but assuming that the process of their publication was similar to that of the older songs that were republished under socialism, the songs in their original forms would likely have contained more dialectal sounds than were ultimately printed.

The inconsistency with which the editing process was undertaken, then, is most curious. Both the Preindustrial Corpus and the socialist corpora contain similar dialectisms with comparable frequencies. Essentially, it seems, only certain nonstandard features were “permitted” in these songs. Dialectal forms of *jat* were apparently completely acceptable. The texts that Arnaudov republished originally used the phonologically ambiguous *jat* character: for example, the word *върна* ‘faithful’ in an original text could have been pronounced as *верна* or *вѣрна* depending on a speaker’s dialect. When Arnaudov republished these texts using only post-reform letters *е* and *я*, he and his editors consciously made the choice to use nonstandard *е* in all texts where this reflex would be expected. Thus, western *е jat* variants were apparently a feature that did not need to be excised and, in fact, were embraced, even when standardizing a dialectal text for a national audience.

At the same time, other dialectal features occasionally slipped through the cracks. Just about every song in the Preindustrial Corpus contains one or two instances of a

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106. It remains over words in two instances solely for the purpose of disambiguation of homonyms.

dialectally distinctive phonological reflex. It would seem that these forms were retained only when they would not lead to confusion. For example, the dialectal form бачва is unclear on its own, but when one sees it in the phrase “бачва вино червено” (“a barrel of red wine”) it is clear that it is simply a dialectal variant of бѣчва ‘barrel.’ These forms are present to a large enough extent that it is obvious that their retention was conscious, but, given the way in which the texts are otherwise cleaned up, it seems that such variants were allowed to remain only as a bit of “safe” stylistic decoration. In both the socialist corpora and the Preindustrial Corpus, with the exception of alternate *jat* forms, dialectal reflexes and stress marking are minimized to produce a relatively orthographically standard set of texts.

### 7.1.2. Dialectal *Jat* Variants

Given the regular appearance of nonstandard reflexes of the *jat* vowel in the texts in this study, it seemed that they might be thought of as an emblematic part of a folkloric language. Therefore, the Bulgarian versions of the survey included prompts, shown in the chart below, containing standard and nonstandard reflexes of this variable. The survey showed that the nonstandard /e/ reflex of etymological *jat* is an important sociolinguistic marker.

	Control	Experimental
<b>Prompt 1</b>	ТОВА ЛЯТО	ТОВА ЛЕТО
	this summer	this summer
<b>Prompt 2</b>	ОНЗИ СНЯГ	ОНЗИ СНЕГ
	that snow	that snow

JAT

Bulgarian Folklore Score: 100.3

Nonstandard forms of *jat* received one of the highest folkloric scores on the Bulgarian survey. As has been stated earlier, these forms are extremely common in spoken Bulgarian, and *ekanje* (the use of /e/ in place of standard /'a/) is denounced by prescriptive grammarians; many people are highly aware that such forms are nonstandard. Individuals from Sofia, where this survey was conducted, are probably particularly conscious of the nonstandard quality of these forms, in that they are more common in Sofian speech (Angelov 1999:127).

*Ekanje* is an important sociolinguistic marker in Bulgarian. The presence of such forms in an individual's speech is often taken to be an indicator that he is uneducated or blue-collar. Such characters in television shows and movies generally use these forms, but they can appear in writing too. For example, a farcical book that is presented as a collection of narratives by Bulgarian Prime Minister Boiko Borisov uses forms with *ekanje* to characterize the politician as a gruff and unintelligent boor. This can be seen in one chapter, which contains an epigraph with a translated quotation from Aristotle and a response by “Boiko Borisov”:

(7.1) Вярвам в невъзможното, което ми звучи убедително, и го предпочитам пред възможността, която не ме убеждава!  
– Аристотел

Нема невъзможни неща, Аристотеле!  
– Бойко Б.

I believe in the impossible, which to me sounds convincing, and I prefer it to the possibility, which doesn't convince me!  
– Aristotle

There ain't no impossible things, Artistotle!  
– Boiko B. (Mitev et al. 2011:37)

In the first quotation, the word *вярвам* 'I believe' contains the standard reflex of etymological *jat*, but the response from "Boiko B." uses a dialectal form in the word *нема* 'there isn't'. *Ekanje* is undoubtedly a linguistic feature that stands out to Bulgarians.

Because of the visibility of *ekanje*, speakers were probably particularly attuned to the prompts on the survey that contained nonstandard *jat* forms. Given the expectations speakers have that folkloric language is "dialectal" (see §6.1.6), they probably saw these nonstandard forms as representative of rural or "folk" speech. This is why the forms had such a high folkloric score.

Indeed, these forms do appear widely in folk songs. They are the one dialectal feature that appears consistently, even in the texts edited and republished by Arnaudov. *Ekanje* seems to be the prototypical feature of dialectal speech, and is both highly visible to speakers and a regular part of Bulgaria's published folk song heritage.

	Control	Experimental
Prompt 1	ovog leta	ovog ljeta
	this summer	this summer
Prompt 2	onog snega	onog snijega
	that snow	that snow

JAT

Serbian Folklore Score: 24.8

The historical vowel *jat* also poses a major issue for the sociolinguistics of BCS, in that BCS dialects are generally classified according to the reflexes of *jat* in the modern linguistic system: in ekavian dialects, which are the standard in Serbia, one finds the vowel /e/ in place of what was once *jat*, and in ijekavian dialects, the norm of Bosnian, Croatian, and Montenegrin—as well as Serbian as spoken in Bosnia—one finds /je/ or /ije/. BCS epic singers sometimes use different reflexes of *jat* within their songs, however (Kerewsky Halpern 1977:128), so it seemed that variation these forms might be an interesting phenomenon to test with the survey.



It bears emphasizing that this matter is entirely different from the Bulgarian case, however, where the use of dialectal forms of *jat* represents a deviation from the standard language. In the Serbian case, testing ekavian and ijekavian forms meant, instead, comparing the standard forms of two different regional variants: ekavian, the norm in Belgrade, and ijekavian, the norm in Banja Luka. The folkloric score for this variable in Serbian indicates the extent to which ijekavian forms were rated as more folkloric than ekavian forms. This number is not exceedingly large, but it does indicate that, at least in general terms, speakers felt ijekavian forms were more likely to have come from folk songs.

However, when one analyzes the responses of speakers from Belgrade and Banja Luka separately, one can see that this disparity is mostly due to the reaction of speakers from Belgrade, where ekavian forms are the norm. Figure 7.1 shows that, while Banja Luka residents gave mostly similar assessments to ekavian and ijekavian forms, Belgrade residents were noticeably more likely to rate ijekavian forms as “very folkloric” and less likely to consider them “not folkloric.” Although residents of Banja Luka speak ijekavian, most identify as Serbs and usually refer to their language as “Serbian.” They see themselves as participants in Serbian culture and look to Belgrade as a cultural center; consequently, they are regularly exposed to ekavian Serbian such that it sounds quite natural to them.

	Ekavian			Ijekavian		
	Not	Maybe	Very	Not	Maybe	Very
Belgrade	47%	44%	8%	29%	49%	23%
Banja Luka	55%	40%	6%	54%	34%	12%

Figure 7.1

Citizens of Belgrade, however, are surrounded by ekavian speech and, in the post-Yugoslav context, have relatively little everyday exposure to ijekavian speech; it is probably most familiar to them from older epics and other ijekavian folk texts. Thus, for Serbs in Belgrade, ijekavian has a greater marking as unfamiliar. Space precludes a more detailed investigation here of how speakers of Serbian and BCS overall interpret the various reflexes of etymological *jat*; however, given the potential for ekavian and ijekavian alternation in Serbian folk texts and the fact that Serbs are more likely to rate ijekavian forms as “folkloric,” it can be seen that variation in reflexes of *jat* potentially represents a significant marker of folk language in Serbian as well.

### 7.1.3. Elision

It was suggested in §2.4 that two different types of elision characterize Bulgarian lyric texts. The first is when particular vowels are dropped or consonant clusters simplified in order to reflect the sounds of actual oral language. These forms appear in the Traditional and Innovative Corpora, and they occur in the Preindustrial Corpus as well—in other words, only in texts presented as having a “folk” origin. Presumably they are not a marker of folkloric language specifically, but they simply represent an attempt to transcribe songs in a way that conveys the phonetics of actual oral performances.

The other type of elision is found in both folkloric and non-folkloric varieties of song language. In section §2.4.2 this was described as “poetic elision,” in which certain vowels and consonants are dropped from specific paradigmatic forms. In addition to the March Corpus and Revival-era poetry, this type of elision was present in the Popular Corpus. It could be seen in lines like *тоз пламък сенките плете* ‘this flame entwines the shadows’ (standard *този* ‘this’) and *че е земна мойта обич* ‘that my love is of this world’ (standard *моята* ‘my’). Poetic elision is clearly an established stylistic device, but obviously not one that characterizes “folklore” per se.

#### 7.1.4. Phonology: Conclusion

Overall, it does not seem that phonology and orthography in printed texts play a large role in conveying the idea of folkloricity to a national audience. The elision of letters from complex syllables presumably occurs to represent the details of oral speech, and some dialectal features are allowed, but only to a limited extent. The one major exception is that of /e/ for *jat*, which is not only common in printed folk texts but a highly visible feature to speakers. Otherwise, folk texts published for national, popular consumption are presented in a relatively “clean” and easily comprehensible form; phonology and orthography would not seem to play a large role in the types of devices used to make a text sound “folkloric.”

#### 7.2. Morphology and Syntax

Whereas the place of phonological and orthographic features in the stylistic makeup of folk texts is fairly weak, morphosyntactic features are much more visible and regularly encountered. Several such traits characterized both the socialist folk corpora and the comparative Preindustrial Corpus; data from survey respondents also show that many of these features are particularly salient to speakers as features of folkloric language.

##### 7.2.1. First-Person Plural Verbal Endings

	Control	Experimental
<b>Prompt 1</b>	ние четем	ние четеме
	we read	we read
<b>Prompt 2</b>	ние търсим	ние търсиме
	we seek	we seek

1PL

Folklore Score: 17.0

The first-person plural present *-me* ending, which appeared in a number of the socialist texts, would seem not to be closely linked with the idea of folkloric language. Although still considered nonstandard, the *-me* ending on first-person plural verbs has spread widely in today’s language. Although they are often reminded by prescriptivists that such forms are nonstandard, most speakers apparently do not find them to be folkloric

either. These verbal endings were tested on the Bulgarian version of the survey, but they received the lowest overall ratings of folkloricity and the lowest folkloric score of any trait tested.

Moreover, the patterning of these forms in the various corpora shows that they occur outside of strictly folkloric texts. They appear in all corpora besides the Popular Corpus, including the individually authored march texts. These forms seem to be a substandard variant that is nonetheless freely permitted within the relatively flexible framework of lyrical language.

### 7.2.2. Synthetic Dative Forms

	Control	Experimental
<b>Prompt 1</b>	даде на Сашо шишето	тя даде Сашо шишето
	gave to Sasho the bottle	she gave Sasho the bottle
<b>Prompt 2</b>	дава на Таня кравата	той дава Таня кравата
	gives to Tanya the cow	he gives Tanya the cow

DAT

Folklore Score: 39.7

In §3.2 I described the appearance in the corpus of several forms in which indirect objects had no case marking and no preposition, but I was uncertain how contemporary speakers would respond to these phrases, which reflected the syntactic (but not attendant morphological) patterns of older Bulgarian. Therefore, I decided to test similar forms on my survey. Experimental phrases contained indirect objects not marked with the usual preposition *на* ‘to’ (and with an extra subject pronoun so that both versions of the prompt contained the same number of syllables). These forms received a fairly low folklore score, and it may be that they simply confused my informants. One would-be respondent, frustrated with the nonstandard language in several of the prompts, crossed out several forms that he declared were “garbage” (“божук”) and declined to complete the survey; the experimental prompt of this trait was one of the ones he objected to. Another speaker had marked several forms, including the experimental dative form, as “incorrect” (“грешно”) The survey results indicated fairly clearly that this is not a device that many speakers are familiar with.

Moreover, corpus results show that these forms appear to be truly anomalous, since there were no instances of them in the comparative corpora. They are certainly curious from the viewpoint of the contemporary language, but they are obviously not key elements of folkloric language.

### 7.2.3. Lack of Morphological Definite Marking

	Control	Experimental
<b>Prompt 1</b>	Имаме хубава къща / в къщата има три стаи	Имаме хубава къща / а в къща има три стаи
	We have a nice house / in the house are three rooms	We have a nice house / and in (the) house are three rooms
<b>Prompt 2</b>	Навън има старо дърво / на дървото има птица	Навън има старо дърво / а на дърво има птица
	Outside there's an old tree / on the tree there is a bird	Outside there's an old tree / and on (the) tree there is a bird

DEF

Folklore Score: 42.3

The lack of a definite article on semantically definite nouns seems to be a widespread pattern in folk songs, even if it is apparently not one of the most visible to speakers. This trait was tested in the survey with prompts containing two lines: one introduced a noun as a topic, and the second contained an articulated form of the noun in control versions and an unarticulated form in the experimental prompts (with an extra conjunction *a* ‘and’ to keep the syllable counts the same). Overall, the experimental forms of these prompts received the second lowest total percentage of “folkloric” ratings from speakers, and the feature had the fourth lowest folkloric score. To some extent, this may have been affected by the thematic content of the prompts, especially the first: since it describes rooms in a house—not a common topic of folk songs—speakers may have had trouble finding even the marked version convincingly folkloric. More significantly, however, the experimental forms are not unambiguously ungrammatical if the ‘house’ and ‘tree’ in the second lines are understood to be newly introduced topics. In short, the survey failed to elicit reactions showing that definite forms without articles are clear markers of folk songs.

Nonetheless, this feature was common in the Traditional Corpus, and it was found to occur with similar frequency in the Preindustrial Corpus; 17 unique forms in nine songs in the latter corpus met the definition of an unarticulated definite form as defined in §3.3. In fact, this number was quite significant: most songs are characterized by a relatively fast pace in which new subjects and themes are constantly being introduced. Consequently, there are fewer nouns appearing as recurring topics (and, therefore, semantically definite) than one might expect; in fact, there are very few articulated semantically definite nouns with which they could be contrasted. Nevertheless, while this feature might be hard to test on a survey and difficult to quantify in terms of a precise frequency, it does appear to be a characteristic feature of traditional verse in Bulgarian, likely one that reflects the way lines of a text appeared before the grammaticalization of the definite article.

### 7.2.4. Archaic Case Marking

	Control	Experimental
<b>Prompt 1</b>	дали са го на Митьо	дали са го на Митя
	they gave it to Mityo	they gave it to Mityo
<b>Prompt 2</b>	показал го е на Пенчо	показал го е на Пенча
	he showed it to Pencho	he showed it to Pencho

## CASE

Folklore Score: 59.9

In Bulgarian, case marking (primarily on personal names) seems to be a genuine feature of folk songs as well as one that is recognized by speakers as emblematic of the genre. Respondents on the Bulgarian survey found case marking on nouns to be moderately folkloric. In assessing this trait, I used unmarked control prompts with noun objects without case endings, and experimental prompts in which objects had endings. For both prompts, I used personal names as the objects because, throughout the development of the Bulgarian literary language, these nouns retained this marking longer than other nouns. It is possible, of course, that some educated respondents may have been aware of this fact and seen the forms more as relics of older literary texts than those of folk songs, but in any case, the forms still appeared to be resonant for many respondents and received a moderate folkloric score.

Case forms had appeared in the Traditional Corpus, and they were found in wide use in the Preindustrial Corpus as well. Nine out of 20 songs featured personal names with case endings, and one more had the dative form of an inanimate noun, *босилку* ‘basil.’ In fact, there were minimal instances of personal names without case marking; clearly, case marking was the norm for personal names appearing in oblique position in this corpus. Curiously, for indirect objects, there were several instances of both old dative forms as well as names with oblique (etymologically accusative) endings appearing after the preposition *на* ‘to,’ both of which were valid constructions for indirect objects during the development of the language.

Case marking on nouns, particularly on personal names, is not limited to the language of folklore; it also appears in Revival-era texts with which many educated Bulgarians would be familiar. However, it seems to be a characteristic grammatical device in folk songs and is also apparently well recognized by speakers.

	Control	Experimental
<b>Prompt 1</b>	Vidim tamo mladog Branka	Vidim tamo mladi Branko
	I see there young Branko	I see there young Branko
<b>Prompt 2</b>	Ubili su starog Marka	Ubili su stari Marko
	They killed old Marko	They killed old Marko

## NOM ACC

Folklore Score -6.9

	Control	Experimental
Prompt 1	Moj brat Ivan mi je rekao	Brate Ivan mi je rekao
	My brother Ivan told me	(Oh) brother Ivan told me
Prompt 2	Moj brat Miloš tako kaže	Brate Miloš tako kaže
	My brother Miloš says so	(Oh) brother Miloš says so

VOC NOM

Folklore Score 3.2

It is of course not possible to test an analogous trait in Serbian, as nominal case marking is not an aberration but rather an ordinary fact of Serbian morphosyntax. As other phenomena related to case marking, however, I decided to test on the survey two nonstandard morphological substitutions that occur in Serbian epic songs. One concerns the matter of the substitution of nominative for accusative forms, which is sometimes used when a singer needs to use a masculine form with one fewer syllable (Skendi 1953:343). The control forms of this prompt showed ordinary accusative marking on direct objects, but the experimental forms used nominative marking; in order to ensure that the metrics would be identical between control and experimental prompts, I used masculine names ending in -o, which would have two syllables in both nominative and accusative prompts. The other trait tested involved the substitution of vocative for nominative forms, which occurs in epic poetry (Alexander 2006:304) in instances where singers need an extra syllable. To test this feature on the survey, I used experimental prompts in which vocative forms occurred as subjects, and control forms with nominative subjects (and an extra word ‘my’ so that prompts had equal numbers of syllables).

As it turned out, both of these traits received more or less null folkloric scores. Although both could certainly be found in actual folk texts, it seemed that contemporary speakers encountering these forms in isolation simply found them to be nonsensical, “wrong” Serbian. Thus, while archaic case marking is a resonant feature of Bulgarian folk language, nonstandard morphologically marked forms in Serbian—at least, out of context on a survey—do not evoke the same reaction.

### 7.2.5. Archaic Future Tenses

	Control	Experimental
Prompt 1	ще видите	ще да видите
	you will see	you will see
Prompt 2	ще търсите	ще да търсите
	you will look for	you will look for

FUT

Folklore Score 113.8

The archaic future tenses present something of an interesting problem in that their resonance with speakers as folkloric is apparently very high, but the actual rates of their appearance in song texts is relatively low.

On the survey, speakers were presented with prompts in which control forms used standard future constructions with the typical uninflecting particle *ue*, and experimental forms used archaic constructions with the same particle *ue* but with an additional subordinating particle *da*. Clearly, speakers recognized these archaic experimental forms as marked; they had the second highest folkloric score of any trait.

However, the archaic forms are fairly rare in actual folk texts. Archaic future forms appeared in a number of texts in the Traditional Corpus, but no archaic variants of any type (see §3.5.2) appeared in the Preindustrial Corpus. There were, in fact, a number of standard future constructions in this latter corpus (sometimes with dialectal variants *ue* or *ue* instead of *ue*), so the absence of these marked forms was not a question of minimal need to use future constructions in general. Looking through lines beyond the first 25 of the songs that made up this corpus, it was possible eventually to locate nonstandard future forms with *ue da*, often appearing in tandem with standard forms with just *ue*. Archaic and standard future forms also occurred in apparently free variation in the socialist songs. This indicates that, at the time these songs were composed, singers were surely using the contemporary construction in their own speech, but nonetheless were aware of the optional *ue da* construction. This archaic future was clearly not the norm, however.

It is quite possible, then, that the respondents on the survey simply responded to this device because they were familiar with it as a marked archaic form. As noted above, it occurs relatively rarely in actual folk texts, which suggests that it may have actually been reemployed in the socialist corpora more frequently than is typical of traditional songs because of stylistic reasons. Because this construction is found in many older written works of Bulgarian literature, it not only captures something of the marked language of folk songs but also conveys the sense of antiquated grandeur inherent in Revival-Era texts. This is probably why speakers reacted so positively to these forms, and why, even if they were not the most characteristic forms of folk texts, these forms continued to appear in the newly composed works.

	Control	Experimental
Prompt 1	će da traži	će tražiti
	will look for	will look for
Prompt 2	će da sluša	će slušati
	will listen	will listen

FUT Serbian  
Folklore Score -52.3

While in Bulgarian song texts, one can mark the future tense either using a standard form or one of two types of archaic constructions, there are also two ways to form the future

tense in Serbian, but both are used in the standard language.<sup>107</sup> Both use an inflected form of the verb *hteti* (*htjeti* in ijekavian) ‘to want/will,’ accompanied by either an infinitive or by a clause with subordinating particle *da* and a conjugated form of the main verb. In Serbian, forms with the infinitive are generally marked as more literary, and those with *da*-clauses are more common in the everyday spoken language. Thus, unlike the alternate forms in Bulgarian, both constructions in Serbian are valid and widespread in the contemporary language. Nonetheless, I was curious to see whether they might have different stylistic markings for speakers as concerns the concept of folklore.

Future constructions with infinitives occur regularly in BCS epic songs, and, in that such constructions differ from the *da*-clauses that characterize the everyday spoken language, it was originally expected that speakers might rate future forms with infinitives as more folkloric than those with *da*-clauses. As such, the survey treated forms with *da*-clauses as control forms and those with infinitives as experimental. In fact, the results were completely contrary to these expectations: on the whole, speakers overwhelmingly rated *da*-clause constructions as more folkloric, which resulted in a substantial negative folkloric score. It is possible that prompts with infinitives simply reminded speakers of the higher-style, non-folkloric literary texts that they encounter every day. The infinitive is formally the more conservative construction, and in this case, its use probably awakened the idea of a literary rather than folkloric text. It is possible as well, however, that the prompts confused respondents: because they began with enclitic forms (*će* ‘will’) which cannot ordinarily be clause-initial, some speakers may have discounted the validity of the prompts. The initial impression here, however, is that future constructions with the *da*-clause are seen by the average speaker as more likely to be found in folklore.

### 7.2.6. Clausal Clitics

As was described in §3.6, the question of nonstandard clitic phenomena is twofold: it concerns both the position of clitics in a line and the effects on clitics when the negative particle is required to precede the verb directly. Both of these phenomena seem to be resonant with speakers as devices linked with folklore.

	Control	Experimental
<b>Prompt 1</b>	силен вятър го откърши	силен го вятър откърши
	a strong wind broke it off	a strong wind broke it off
<b>Prompt 2</b>	тия хора са от тука	тия са хора от тука
	these people are from here	these people are from here

CL POS Bulgarian

Folkloric Score: 50.9

107. There also exists another type of construction, the “exact future,” but it occurs in much more restricted contexts and is irrelevant to the discussion at hand.



	Control	Experimental
Prompt 1	jak vetar ga lomi	jak ga vetar lomi
	a strong wind broke it	a strong wind broke it
Prompt 2	ovi ljudi su odavde	ovi su ljudi odavde
	this people are from here	these people are from here

CL POS Serbian

Folkloric Score: 8.8

One trait tested in the Bulgarian survey was the marked word order found in lines with so-called “clitic detachment,” where clitics occur in prosodic second position in the line, separated from their verbs. This word order violates the rules of standard Bulgarian, but it is extremely common in folk texts; indeed, in such contexts it seems almost to be more the rule rather than the exception. It occurred widely in the Traditional Corpus and it was found extensively in the Preindustrial Corpus as well. In the latter case, it was found in 51 lines within 15 of the 20 songs. This is a tremendously large number of examples in a relatively small corpus.

Participants in the survey did find these types of lines to sound folkloric, although to a less overwhelming extent than I had expected given the form’s ubiquity in song texts. On the survey, control forms contained a clitic after a noun-adjective phrase and before a predicate, and in experimental forms the clitic interrupted the noun-adjective phrase. Overall, speakers did rank these forms as more folkloric, although the other trait involving clitics had a much higher folklore score. It is possible that, as with other prompts, the language of the experimental forms so violated speakers’ senses of the basic rules of the language that they simply didn’t know how to react to such forms.

I tested the same phenomenon in Belgrade and Banja Luka as well. In Serbian, these clitics also usually appear in the standard language following the noun phrase—i.e., in a syntactically (but not necessarily prosodic) second position; their appearance in second prosodic position in the middle of the noun phrase would be more expected in Croatian. In my survey, however, this factor had a negligible impact on speakers’ interpretations of the lines. In fact, in one of the two prompts the marked position actually garnered a negative folkloric score, meaning that, altogether, speakers found the control prompt to sound more folkloric. Of course, because this word order is possible throughout the BCS linguistic sphere, and is the preferred form in Croatian, it is perhaps not surprising that it did not receive strong folkloric scores in Serbian. However, it certainly does seem to be an important characteristic of folk songs in Bulgarian.

	Control	Experimental
<b>Prompt 1</b>	така не се прави	така се не прави
	it's not done that way	it's not done that way
<b>Prompt 2</b>	не му давам нищо	не давам му нищо
	I don't give him anything	I don't give him anything

NEG V

Folkloric Score: 102.9

Another major matter related to clitic phenomena concerns the the prosodic requirements of the negative particle *не* and its effects on the placement of clitics in the line. This trait was tested in the survey as well. In control prompts, the negative particle appeared in a standard position separated from the verb by another clitic, but the experimental prompts featured a more typically western clitic order (in fact, the one required in Serbian) in which the negative particle occurs immediately before the verb. For one experimental prompt this meant that the clitic *му* came after the verb, and in the other, the reflexive particle *се* and the negative particle *не* occurred in the order opposite of that which is standard.

Basic scores for the experimental versions of this prompt alone were only moderately high, perhaps because the content of the phrases themselves sounded too much like mundane topics from everyday conversation and not part of poetic narratives. The dramatic increase between control and experimental forms for the NEG V factor, however, resulted in the highest folkloric score of any of the traits involving word order. Many proverbs use this word order; for example, negative gnomic statements or prohibitions in proverbs more often than not have the *се не* word order (see §3.6.1.1). Most likely, speakers were familiar with this word order from the proverb genre and have come to recognize it as a marker of folkloric speech.

This word order was found a number of times in the Traditional Corpus, and it appeared in the Preindustrial Corpus as well, as in lines like:

(7.2) Че му кересте не стигна  
 Će mu kereste ne stigma  
 for him material NEG reached  
*but the building material wasn't enough for him*

Standard word order here would require:

(7.3) Че каресте не му стигна  
 Će kareste ne mu stigma  
 for material NEG him reached  
*but the building material wasn't enough for him*

This word order is noticeably nonstandard in the contemporary language, and, judging by the response of my informants to prompts that used it as well as its widespread appearance in both of these folkloric corpora, it would clearly seem to be a robust marker of folkloric language.

The rules for clitic placement in the contemporary standard South Slavic languages are generally seen as relatively invariable. However, the data from the survey and the various corpora of songs demonstrate that such rules are not only somewhat fluid in folk texts, but that the nonstandard patterns they produce can be salient markers of folkloric language.

### 7.2.7. Evidentiality and Evidential-Like Forms

The question of the role of evidential forms in song texts seems to be rather thorny. Certainly, evidentiality does not function in these texts as it is said to in the standard language, and it is probably true, as was proposed in §3.7, that the opposition in meaning between +AUX and –AUX forms may be essentially neutralized in these texts. Beyond this, however, it is difficult to make definitive assessments as to the role of evidential forms in folk songs.

Although I did not test evidential forms on the survey, there were several instances of them in the comparative corpora I later examined. One song in the Popular Corpus, “Боянският майстор” (“The Boyana Craftsman”), uses renarrated forms in one of the typical contexts described in standard grammars: to create the feeling of temporal distance. First, the song opens:

- (7.4) Във ранната утрин пропява камбана  
и буди старите спомени  
Имало майстор във Бояна  
имало майстор на икони

In the early morning the bells begin [PRES] to sing out  
and awaken [PRES] old memories.

There was [–AUX] once a craftsman in Boyana  
there was [–AUX] once a maker of icons.

This song directly invokes the trope of “old memories” before switching into renarrated forms for most of the rest of the song. The shift to the renarrated form appears clearly to refer to memories of distant events and to underscore the fact that the lyrical subject of the song did not witness these events directly.

In the Preindustrial Corpus, however, renarrated forms were found in four songs with far less clear functions. In several instances, –AUX forms or a cluster of –AUX and +AUX forms seem to present a background for the song. For instance, one song opens:

- (7.5) Имала мама, имала,  
до двама сина близнака,  
Стоян и Никола двамата.

Храни ги мама, пази ги,  
растнаха, та порастнаха [...]

Mother had [-AUX], had [-AUX]  
two twin sons,  
the two Stoyan and Nikola.  
Мама fed [AOR] them, kept them safe [AOR],  
they grew [AOR], and grew up [AOR] [...]

The first line, which also appears in the Traditional Corpus, is a formulaic opening of many folk songs (in fact, a quick perusal of almost any Bulgarian folk song volume will reveal a song or two with this opening line). More importantly, however, it seems to present a general background before the song introduces more dynamic and lexically specific verbs in the indicative.

To the extent that there is any significance at all in the alternation between +AUX and -AUX forms on the one hand, and indicative forms on the other, it seems that the former introduce general background information while indicative forms describe dynamic action. Although this usage has been described in the standard language, there has been little attention paid to the phenomenon in folk songs specifically, and with so few examples from the various corpora in my study, I may well be seeing a pattern in a chaotic system that really presents linguistic noise. Andreichin et al. (1977:271), for instance, simply say that, in folk texts, “forms of the indicative and renarrated tenses are used interchangeably, without being differentiated according to their meaning” (“формите на изявителните и преизказните времена се употребяват смесено, без да се разграничават по смисъл”). In any case, the distinction between renarrated and indicative forms in songs is not one of evidentiality in the classical sense.

On the other hand, the alternation between +AUX and -AUX forms really does seem to be one of essentially free variation. Andreichin et al. (ibid.) also note: “In addition to the indicative and renarrated form of the aorist tense, one encounters in folk songs forms of the past indefinite tense [+AUX forms], used in the manner of storytelling” (“Напред с изявителната и преизказната форма на минало свършено време в народните песни се срещат и форми от минало неопределено време, употребени разказвателно”) and cites the passage:

(7.6) Влязла е в мала градинка,  
набрала цвете всякакво,  
накити китка шарена.

She went [+AUX] into a small garden,  
picked [-AUX] all kinds of flowers,  
and bouqueted [AOR] a colorful bouquet.

This passage looks like many of the ones encountered in both my Preindustrial and Traditional Corpora, in which +AUX and -AUX forms co-occur with seemingly no difference

in meaning. Because the presence or absence of auxiliary verbs can change the metrics of a line, and because the style of these songs may have been developed when the evidential system was less systematically developed (see §3.7.3), it would seem that free variation in the appearance or absence of auxiliary verbs in these forms is certainly a quality of folk song language.

Scholars regularly mention evidential forms as a characteristic feature of folk narratives, and it does seem that they can occur with some regularity in traditional styles of folk songs. Because I was unable to fit them into my survey, I do not feel justified in asserting that the average speaker necessarily feels that they strongly convey the idea of folkloric language, although I suspect that it is the case. Nonetheless, the parallels in the way evidential forms are used between the Traditional and Preindustrial Corpora do indicate that those composing folk songs in both periods seem to have had a sense of the relatively free way in which evidential forms can be used in folk songs.

### 7.2.8. Noun-Adjective Word Order

Noun-adjective word order was found to be a surprisingly common phenomenon in all of the socialist corpora I examined, including that of the march songs. For this reason, I hypothesized that it was not necessarily restricted only to “folk” songs per se, but—given its ubiquity in the Traditional Corpus—that it was at least a common feature of songs of such a nature.

The comparative corpora confirmed with startlingly similar statistics not only how widespread noun-adjective word order is in songs but also how little the frequency varies according to genre. As with the other corpora as described in §3.8.3, I counted adjective-noun and noun-adjective phrases in the Popular and Traditional Corpora, and found that 16 out of 55 phrases with nouns and adjectives in the Popular Corpus and 22 out of 90 such phrases in the Preindustrial Corpus occurred with marked noun-adjective word order.<sup>108</sup> As can be seen in Chart \$, this means that the Traditional and Preindustrial Corpora—which, as songs of unrhymed lines of uniform syllable counts, are of the same style, and are highlighted on the chart—do not pattern in a distinct way from songs of other styles. This indicates that this syntactic phenomenon is not genre-dependent and, rather, seems to be a feature of lyrical language in general.

	Control	Experimental
<b>Prompt 1</b>	зелената трева	тревата зелена
	the green grass	the grass green
<b>Prompt 2</b>	синьото небе	небето синьо
	the blue sky	the sky blue

NA Bulgarian  
Folklore Score: 54.9

<sup>108</sup>. To simplify the results, I did not count totals of nouns with various other types of modifiers.

	Control	Experimental
Prompt 1	zelena trava	trava zelena
	green grass	grass green
Prompt 2	plavo nebo	nebo plavo
	blue sky	sky blue

NA Serbian

Folklore Score: 18.3

When I tested this feature with native speakers, responses did show that Bulgarians found this word order to remind them of folk song language. Noun-adjective word order had a moderate folklore score, enough to indicate that the marked word order does indeed carry stylistic marking. Given its ubiquity, I had expected this feature to be ranked somewhat higher than it was, but it is clear that the placement of a mundane noun and adjective in that order is enough to create folkloric associations for many speakers.

I was also surprised to find that the same was not the case with Serbian speakers, particularly because this word order as a poetic feature is shared not only among Slavic languages but seems to be derived from an Indo-European tradition. Together, the two prompts on the Serbian survey received a much more modest folklore score than did the Bulgarian prompts. But what was particularly interesting was that while one prompt, ‘blue sky’ generated a modestly noteworthy folklore score of 40.1, the other, ‘green grass’ actually received a negative folklore score of -3.4, which is statistically negligible. This means that, on the whole, such speakers found ‘green grass’ with inverted word order to be just about as folkloric as the phrase in standard order. It may be that this word order is more common in folk songs with only certain noun phrases, and ‘blue sky’ happens to be one of them. In any case, this feature does not seem to stand out in Serbian to the extent that it does in Bulgarian.

### 7.2.9. The Imperfect Tense

	Control	Experimental
Prompt 1	Стоян напои овците	Стоян поеше овците
	Stoyan watered the sheep	Stoyan was watering the sheep
Prompt 2	Мила нахрани пилето	Мила хранеше пилето
	Mila fed the chicken	Mila was feeding the chicken

IMPT

Bulgarian Folklore Score: 19.2

The problem of imperfect verbs in Bulgarian describing seemingly punctuated actions was mentioned only as a footnote in section 3.7.4, but at the time this survey was created, it was foreseen as a potentially significant trait that merited greater attention in the study. Bulgarian folk songs frequently include lines in which an imperfect verb is used to describe an action that, logically, would be seen not as durative or iterative (the basic

meanings conveyed by the imperfect), but rather as punctuated (the basic meaning of the aorist). For example, the very first song of the Traditional Corpus opens with the line:

- (7.7) Мама Драгана      спираше /      спираше      и      я      питаше  
 Мама Dragana      spiraše /      spiraše      i      ja      pitaše  
 Мама Dragana      stop-IMPT      stop-IMPT      and      her      ask-IMPT  
*Мама was stopping Dragana / was stopping her and was asking*

and then proceeds into direct speech from Dragana's mother. Later on, there is one line:

- (7.8) Драганка      дума      майци      си  
 Draganka      дума      majci      si  
 Draganka      said-AOR      mother-DAT      REFL  
*Draganka said to her mother*

and then a long narrative from Dragana. Imperfect verbs in the former line would ordinarily imply that the stopping and asking was repeated a number of times when, later on, Dragana responded only once. But since the narrative seems to describe a conversation, it seems likely that one would expect aorist verbs in the first passage. However, there were few other equally clear examples of this phenomenon in the socialist songs.

A comparison with the Preindustrial Corpus, then, proved quite interesting. There were five examples across four songs of phrases with imperfect verbs marking what would seem to be a punctuated event; however, all of them used the word *думаше* 'was saying' at the end of lines that could be divided metrically into 3, 2, and 3, syllables. For example, one line reads:

- (7.9) Иванчо      Пенки      думаше  
 Ivančo      Penki      dumaše  
 Ivancho      Penka-DAT      say-IMPT  
*Ivancho was saying to Penka*

Not only does the verb *думам* seem to be a folklorically marked lexeme (see §4.1.1 and §7.3), but the 3-2-3 line meter (found in the line-medial vocatives and *оуце* phrases described in §5.1 and §5.2) and verb-final word order (see §5.8) also seem to be major folkloric devices. This unusual use of the imperfect in such contexts, then, suggests that it might be tied to a formulaic type of line.

It was decided to test this phenomenon on the survey, although it was not really possible to show in a single-line prompt that a particular action should be seen as punctuated. Nonetheless, prompts were created in which control forms had aorist verbs and experimental forms had imperfect verbs. In fact, the overall folkloric score for this prompt was relatively low; it was the second-lowest scoring trait, meaning that, in isolation, Bulgarian speakers found imperfect forms to sound only slightly more folkloric than equivalent aorist forms.

This is probably not surprising, since there is nothing unusual about imperfect verbs in Bulgarian; they are used widely in the contemporary language to mark durative or iterative actions. It is probably for this reason that speakers did not feel that experimental forms on the survey such as ‘Mila was feeding the chicken’ were particularly folkloric. However, it is possible that imperfects for punctuated actions occur mostly with *думаше* ‘was saying,’ or that a line-final imperfect verb might more closely match what seems to be a specific formula, and that such forms would have yielded higher folkloric scores on the survey. There does seem to be something unusual about the way imperfect verbs are used in Bulgarian folk songs, but as of now, the specifics of such a formula are not entirely clear.

	Control	Experimental
Prompt 1	Stojan je išao kroz šumu Stojan walked through the woods	Stojan iđاشة kroz šumu Stojan was walking through the woods
Prompt 2	Mila je nosila ml(ij)eko Mila carried the milk	Mila nošaše ml(ij)eko Mila was carrying the milk

#### IMPT

Serbian Folklore Score: 76.1

Because it had been anticipated that imperfect verbs would have some folkloric resonance in Bulgarian, it was decided that similar prompts might make for an interesting test on the Serbian survey as well. In Serbian, however, the imperfect holds an entirely different position within the language: it is distinctly archaic, having essentially fallen out of productive use in the contemporary language. Therefore, while the Serbian survey used prompts that were formally very similar to those on the Bulgarian survey, their meanings and associations with speakers would have been entirely different; the Serbian imperfect forms should not be seen as readily comparable with the Bulgarian ones. On the Serbian survey, experimental prompts with imperfect forms were compared to control prompts with ordinary past-tense verbs (and not aorist forms, because the Serbian aorist—unlike in Bulgarian—is also highly marked).

The imperfect forms on the Serbian survey scored very high: they ended up receiving the highest folklore score of any trait. Speakers are still aware of these forms even if they no longer use them, so the prompts on the survey were probably seen as very visibly marked. Surprisingly, the survey revealed that some speakers even had a sense of how to form imperfects: although the survey had used the prescribed form *nosaše* ‘was carrying,’ a couple of speakers told me that I had made an error and supplied me with the form that follows the rules for derivation of another class of verbs, *nošaše*. These forms can be found in older folk texts, and apparently speakers recognized their archaic nature and attributed this stylistic marking to them.

Thus, it can be seen that the use of the imperfect has very different meanings in the two linguistic traditions. In Bulgarian, as a regular part of the contemporary language, the imperfect may only be resonant as folkloric in limited contexts. In Serbian, however, where it represents a distinct archaism, speakers are more likely to respond to forms of the tense as representative of folklore.



### 7.3. Lexicon

	Control	Experimental
<b>Prompt 1</b>	хубаво момиче	хубава мома
	pretty girl	pretty maiden
<b>Prompt 2</b>	младо момиче	млада мома
	young girl	young maiden

МОМА

Folkloric Score: 114.4

	Control	Experimental
<b>Prompt 1</b>	да ти кажа нещо	да ти думам нещо
	to tell you something	to tell ( <i>dumam</i> ) you something
<b>Prompt 2</b>	Марко ми каза	Марко ми дума
	Marko told me	Marko told ( <i>duma</i> ) me

DUMAM

Folkloric Score: 94.3

Lexical items clearly seem to be some of the most distinctive markers of the linguistic register of Bulgarian folk songs. Those words described as key in Chapter 4 appear regularly in the Traditional and Preindustrial Corpora but not often in the other corpora in my study. Dictionaries give different assessments of these words, variously marking them as “dialectal,” “colloquial,” and occasionally “poetic.” However, it seems clear that, as far as published works of literature go, these words are encountered almost exclusively in folk songs.

The Bulgarian survey showed that these terms are highly resonant with speakers. In it, marked lexemes *мома* ‘maiden’ and *думам* ‘say’ appeared in experimental prompts, and *момиче* and *кажа* appeared in respective control prompts. Consultants responded to the marked lexical items with some of the highest “folkloric” ratings in the study. It is clear that their use almost immediately leads speakers to see a text as folkloric.

	Control	Experimental
<b>Prompt 1</b>	lep mladić	lep momak
	handsome young guy	handsome lad
<b>Prompt 2</b>	visok mladić	visok momak
	tall young guy	tall lad

МОМАК

Folkloric Score: 10.8

	Control	Experimental
Prompt 1	da ti kažem nešto	da ti rečem nešto
	to tell you something	to tell you something
Prompt 2	Jelena mi kaže	Jelena mi reče
	Jelena tells me	Jelena tells me

REC

Folkloric Score: 46.5

I attempted as well to test parallels to these words in Serbian, using the word *momak* ‘lad’ instead of an equivalent female term for Bulgarian *мома* ‘maiden,’ on the advice of a native speaker, who felt it was of a more similar stylistic register than any equivalent female terms would be. I also used the word *reći* ‘to say’ as a counterpart to Bulgarian *думам* ‘to say’; while it, unlike *думам*, is used in the standard language, it is much more common in past-tense and imperative forms, and on the survey it was in the present tense. As it turns out, the word *reći* did have a moderately significant folklore score, showing that Serbian speakers found it to sound more folkloric than the more standard lexeme *kazati*, but the word *momak* was regarded as hardly different from what was taken as the non-folkloric equivalent, *mladić* ‘young guy.’

In the case of Bulgarian, both the restrictions on the types of texts in which these marked words can appear and speakers’ reactions to them indicates that they should be seen as one of the most direct ways to signal the register of folkloric language. While there are no doubt particular lexemes that speakers of Serbian feel are characteristic of their national folklore, the overall weaker response to equivalents in Serbian affirms that there is no general cross-linguistic tendency in South Slavic for words of the same semantic nature to carry the same resonance in different national traditions.

#### 7.4. Structural Phenomena

It is clear that most of the unusual structural phenomena identified in Chapter 5—almost all of which were entirely or mostly restricted to the Traditional Corpus—have a regular place in the poetics of folk songs. Because these structural patterns appear in that corpus as well as the Preindustrial Corpus, and not elsewhere, it is fairly obvious that these special traits are used as patterns only within traditional, unrhymed-line songs. (The one exception to this is verb-final word order, which certainly marks the language of folk songs but is not exclusive to the genre.) Respondents to the survey recognized both of the structural features that were tested, yielding results with relatively substantial folklore scores. Although I was only able to test two such traits in the survey, evidence from the texts shows that the larger line- and phrase-length structural features are some of the most generically exclusive types of features in my study.

##### 7.4.1. Line-Medial Vocatives

	Control	Experimental
<b>Prompt 1</b>	погледни водата, татко	погледни, татко, водата
	look at the water, Dad	look at, Dad, the water
<b>Prompt 2</b>	виждаме реката, мамо	виждаме, мамо, реката
	we see the chicken, Mom	we see, Mom, the chicken

VOC

Bulgarian Folklore Score: 60.1

	Control	Experimental
Prompt 1	pogledaj lisicu, tata	pogledaj, tata, lisicu
	look at the fox, Dad	look, Dad, at the fox
Prompt 2	vidimo oblake, majko	vidimo, majko, oblake
	we see the clouds, Mother	we see, Mother, the clouds

VOC

Serbian Folklore Score: 0.9

As was seen in §5.1, there seems to be a particular line type that appears regularly in folk songs wherein vocative forms appear line-medially. While it is clear that vocative forms of both inanimate objects and named individuals are a common element of traditional verse, it was suspected that the medial syllables of a line—that is, syllables four and five of an eight-syllable line—was a particularly marked position for such forms.

Both the Bulgarian and the Serbian surveys attempted to assess whether the appearance of vocative forms in specifically this position was of stylistic significance. Control prompts used two-syllable vocative forms at the ends of eight-syllable lines, and experimental prompts used the same lines, but with the vocative occupying the medial (fourth and fifth) syllables. A relatively significant folkloric score from the Bulgarian survey indicates that, in fact, speakers did find forms with line-medial vocatives to be noticeably more folkloric than those in a less marked position at the end of lines. For Serbian, though, the folklore score was essentially null. With as much resonance as this line type has in Bulgarian, it seems to be meaningless in Serbian. This may be due to the importance of the deseterac meter in Serbian folklore, in which ten-syllable lines contain a caesura after the fourth syllable. A line of only eight syllables, which is divided into three-, two-, and three-syllable segments, does not fit within this system, and would not have been a metrical pattern that was salient to speakers.

Data from the comparative corpora did, however, underscore the connection between line-medial vocatives and folk songs in Bulgarian. While line-medial vocatives appeared regularly in the Traditional Corpus, they also appeared in nine lines total across six songs of the Preindustrial Corpus, as in:

(7.10) Помниш            ли,    Пенке,            знаеш    ли  
 Pomniš            li,    Penke,            znaeš    li  
 remember-2SG INT Penka-VOC know-2SG INT

*Do you remember, Penka, do you know*

The feature was not found in other corpora, however. Thus, both the assessments of speakers on the survey as well as the data from the corpora confirm that line-medial vocatives are marked as folkloric in Bulgarian.

#### 7.4.2. Lines with *Още*

In §5.2, it was described how a number of songs in the Traditional Corpus contained lines in which the word *още* occupied the fourth and fifth syllables of a line and coordinated two words of the same part of speech. This position in a line clearly seems to be metrically significant, in that, as described above, bisyllabic vocative forms regularly occupy it as well.

Similar forms appeared in the Preindustrial Corpus in three songs. For example, one song contains the lines:

(7.11) 

мама	му	го	е	съдила,
ma	mu	go	e	sŭdila
mom	him-DAT	him-ACC	AUX	reproached

съдила,	още	питала
sŭdila,	ošte	pitala
reproached	still	asked

*his mother reproached him / reproached and asked*

Because this type of line appears in the Traditional and Preindustrial Corpora only, it can be seen as characteristic specifically of this style of folk song.

However, it might be more apt to describe such lines as simply a common form of the broader phenomenon of terracing in which *още* carries an unusual meaning. An abundance of similar passages in the Preindustrial Corpus made it clear that other words with different numbers of syllables can take on the same linking function, as in:

(7.12) 

либе	отпри	мен	станало,
libe	otpri	men	stanalo,
lover	before	me	stood

станало	и	е	бегало
stanalo	i	e	begalo
stood	and	AUX	run

*my lover stood up in front of me / stood up and ran*

The reaction of speakers to such forms with *още* was not tested, but its lexical use in the function of a coordinating conjunction word is restricted to folk songs, and since it was

employed in both the Traditional and Preindustrial Corpora, it would seem that such lines do have stylistic significance as a folkloric device.

### 7.4.3. The Negative Antithesis

Given its close association not only with Bulgarian and Serbian folklore but also that of Slavic as a whole, the negative antithesis has been well established as an important rhetorical device. The several examples of its use in the Traditional Corpus are striking, and one appearance of the device in the Preindustrial Corpus illustrates how directly these devices could be reemployed in the socialist songs. It reads:

(7.13) Припаднала темна магла  
по планина, по рудина;  
ту припада, ту се дига.  
Не е било темна магла,  
на е било Нойкьо чобан  
сас своето стадо.

A dark fog fell  
on the mountain, on the mountain pasture;  
it both falls and rises.  
It wasn't a dark fog  
but rather it was Noikio the shepherd  
with his flock.

A very similar device can be found in an alternate version of one of the songs in the socialist corpus:<sup>109</sup>

(7.14) Тъмен се облак зададе  
от връх от Рила планина  
от хайдушката равнина.  
Не ми е било облаче,  
а най ми било четата  
на Демиревски войвода. (Romanska 1964:151).

A dark cloud fell  
on the peak of the Rila Mountain  
on the plain of the haiduks.  
It wasn't a cloud  
but rather it was the detachment  
of Demirevski the warrior.

---

109. The song was listed in the same volume with same title, and has the same overall plot; however, the variant in the corpus was chosen because it contained more lines.

There can be no doubt that the other examples of the negative antithesis that are in the Traditional Corpus are not coincidental; rather, the device is closely connected with the narrative structures of Bulgarian folk songs.

#### 7.4.4. The Ethical Dative

The ethical dative is another device that clearly marks folkloric texts. It was not tested in the survey of native speakers, but the appearance of several forms in both the Preindustrial and Traditional corpora (and not the others) indicate that it is another device restricted to this type of song in particular. An example from the Preindustrial Corpus reads:

(7.15) Че го завели, завели  
 Če go zaveli, zaveli  
 and him led-3PL led-3PL

в едно ми доле дълбоко  
 v edno mi dole dŭlboko  
 in one me-DAT valley deep

*and they led him, led him / into (to me) a deep valley*

The narration tells the story of a third party and there are no other hints in the song of even the existence of a lyrical subject involved in the world of the song; the dative *mi* form clearly has no grammatical meaning. Such is also the case in the songs in the Traditional Corpus, where such forms appear to mimic the lines of older styles of verse.

#### 7.4.5. Binomial Compounds

A number of binomial compounds were identified in the socialist corpora in my study, and a number more can be found in the Preindustrial Corpus. Several forms with two common nouns appeared in the latter, as in:

(7.16) братче- близначе  
 bratče- bliznače  
 brother-DIM twin-DIM  
*brother-twin*

but particularly noticeable were forms in which a proper noun was in apposition with a common noun referent, as in:

(7.17) Солуна града  
 Soluna grada  
 Solun-OBL city-DEF

*the city of Solun*

or:

- (7.18) денчок    Гьоргювден  
denčok    G'orgjuvden  
day-DIM    St.George's.Day  
*the day of St. George's Day*

This latter type appears to be part of the same phenomenon as the simple binomial compounds; both types occur frequently in the Preindustrial and Traditional Corpora, and not elsewhere. This seemingly tautological feature seems to be a regular device in South Slavic verse.

#### 7.4.6. Merisms

Section §5.6 described a particular merism from the primary corpora in my study wherein several forms meaning “big and small” refer to “everyone.” This particular merism is the only structural device identified in Chapter 5 not found in the Preindustrial Corpus as well. I assume that its preponderance in the primary corpora is not simply a coincidence, but, nonetheless, it is clearly not among the most common of rhetorical devices in the language of Bulgarian folklore.

#### 7.4.7. The *Figura Etymologica*

The *figura etymologica* appears to be widespread in Bulgarian lyrical verse. It occurs a number of times in the Traditional Corpus, not only with nouns and verbs, but also adjectives, adverbs, and the like. In the Preindustrial Corpus as well, eight songs contain a total of twelve such forms, again with variant parts of speech, as in:

- (7.19) болен    разболи  
bolen    razboli  
sick    fell.sick  
*fell sick*

or:

- (7.20) китки    да ме    китят  
kitki    da me    kitjat  
bouquets to me    make.bouquet  
*to make me into a bouquet*<sup>110</sup>

---

110. The lyrical subject of the song is a flower.

A few such figures seem to be fixed formulae, as in the verb-adverb combination *рано раня* ‘to get up early earlyly,’ variants of which appear in the Preindustrial Corpus and the Traditional Corpus and are described in scholarly literature as well. However, most forms encountered in the corpora are unique, which would indicate that the creation of these forms may be productive and not restricted to particular lexical items. In any case, it seems to be a widespread pattern in Bulgarian lyrical verse.

#### 7.4.8. Verb-Final Word Order

	Control	Experimental
<b>Prompt 1</b>	Митко прочете писмото	Митко писмото прочете
	Mitko read the letter	Mitko the letter read
<b>Prompt 2</b>	Мария запява песен	Мария песен запява
	Maria begins to sing a song	Maria a song begins to sing

SOV

Bulgarian Folklore Score: 62.1

	Control	Experimental
<b>Prompt 1</b>	Jovan čita pismo	Jovan pismo čita
	Jovan reads a letter	Jovan a letter reads
<b>Prompt 2</b>	Nikola p(j)eva p(j)esmu	Nikola p(j)esmu p(j)eva
	Nikola sings a song	Nikola a song sings

SOV

Serbian Folklore Score: 46.0

Although §5.8 briefly discussed what appears to be a propensity for verbs to appear at the end of lines, it was difficult to affirm that this word order was inherently folkloric and not simply used for parallelism or to convey nuances in information structure. I was curious to explore this pattern further on both Serbian and Bulgarian versions of the survey, where I used subject-verb-object (SVO) word order in control forms and subject-object-verb (SOV) word order in experimental forms.

In both Bulgarian and Serbian, SOV word order was clearly seen by speakers as more folkloric. In the Bulgarian case, this trait received a moderately high folkloric score. In Serbian it was somewhat lower, but was still the third highest scoring trait overall. Other things being equal, therefore, speakers of both languages more readily recognize a line as sounding folkloric when its verb comes at the end.

The pattern was most common in the Traditional Corpus, and it is frequent in the Preindustrial Corpus as well; nearly every song contains an example where the verb comes at the end of the line for no apparent reason. But because this trait was found in the Popular Corpus and it can also be found in the March Corpus, it seems that verb-final word order may, in fact, be of stylistic significance not only for folkloric texts, but may simply be a characteristic of the relatively free word order of poetic verse. Thus, while it may sound more



folkloric to speakers than lines with ordinary subject-object-verb word order and be a typical feature of folk songs, it might be understood most precisely to be a poetic device with broader use.

#### **7.4.9. Structural Repetition**

As seen above, there are different types of structural repetition that can occur in folk songs, whether in parts of lines, whole lines, entire verses, or of grammatical patterns. In songs of a more contemporary style, one often sees lines or groups of lines repeated in such a way as to divide the song into verses of identical length, or reappearing as a refrain. This type of repetition was common in the Innovative Corpus, and in every one of the eleven songs in the Popular Corpus, phrases of at least two lines are repeated multiple times throughout the song.

In traditional folk songs, however, whole lines occasionally appear multiple times, but only at random intervals. Such lines seem to consist of learned by rote. More commonly, one encounters a great deal of anadiplosis, terracing, and grammatical parallelism. These types of repetition were found in both the Traditional and the Preindustrial Corpora in abundance. This is another way in which the socialist songs of the Traditional Corpus employ structural features of older types of folk songs.

#### **7.4.10. Structural Phenomena: Conclusion**

It would seem that most of the structural features seen in the songs of the Traditional Corpus are closely linked with songs of the unrhymed line type, for they appear widely in songs of the Preindustrial Corpus as well, but not in other types of songs. While it is at least possible for morphological, orthographic, and lexical features to be transferred among different types of songs, larger structural patterns seem to be more closely tied to this particular style. Indeed, all but one of the patterns identified in Chapter 5 do appear regularly in the Preindustrial Corpus as well. It would seem that verb-final word order (which is treated as a structural rather than a syntactic phenomenon because it is not explicitly prohibited by the rules of standard grammar) may be in a different category, in that it seems to be a poetic feature of many styles of lyrical texts. Otherwise, the special kinds of structural features present in the Traditional Corpus of socialist songs do seem to be the same ones found in those of the era preceding the advent of socialism.

## Chapter 8

### What is Folkloric Language?

The previous chapters have addressed a number of linguistic devices and tropes that appear in various types of Bulgarian songs, with the goal of identifying those features most common in texts that are representative of “traditional” folklore. In general terms, we may say that the language of these folk songs consists primarily of archaisms and a limited amount of dialectal forms along with a number of conventionalized poetic devices, many of which are conditioned by meter and the specifics of composition at the moment of performance. These features seem to have come together to form a stylistically meaningful register, which, in that they reflect the language of older folk songs, lends the idea of authenticity to the socialist works. What is particularly interesting about this group of features is that they are also seen as characteristic of the speech of an imagined, rural “folk,” which appears to have led many Bulgarians to think of them as forming a type of “dialect.” This view, of course, runs counter to the accepted scholarly definition of a dialect. The strength with which this fallacious perception has taken hold affects popular perceptions of actual dialects, nonstandard lexicon, and even Macedonian. What we appear to be dealing with is instead a specific register of language, and the goal of this final chapter is to describe the contexts in which this register can be employed and its sociolinguistic import.

#### **8.1. The Place of Archaisms**

A great many of the traits that have been shown to be characteristic of folk songs would be best described as archaisms, a term that designates features that were present in an older stage of the language but are no longer regularly used. In fact, “archaism,” particularly in this context, presents something of a vague term: not only do the various archaisms in the songs in this study represent remnants of widely divergent periods in the development of Bulgarian, but their characterization as archaisms rests as much on a

perception that they are old as much as it does on the actual historical facts of their development. Altogether, the various archaisms give these texts an air of authenticity by creating the impression that they are a continuation of the tradition of folkloric texts created by older generations.

Generally speaking, the archaic features present in the texts stem from two markedly different historical periods; in turn, these two groups of features are both characteristic of different spheres of language. Two of the most striking syntactic features, noun-adjective word order and verb-final word order, appear to be stylistic devices that have survived from the time of Indo-European. Both of them occur not only in Bulgarian and other South Slavic languages but in other contemporary Indo-European languages and even, to some extent, in English.<sup>111</sup> They may have been retained continuously from Indo-European, or they may have been reintroduced or become more frequent in Bulgarian as a result of the influence of translations of the Bible and other religious texts. Because noun-adjective word order could be used to add a rhetorical flourish to special noun phrases in classical Greek and Latin, and because both involve on their surface only a simple inversion of words or phrases, these devices could be easily calqued and transferred from language to language in the same way that so many rhetorical patterns found their way into Old Church Slavic via Greek.

These historical facts may explain why the features in question seem to be less restricted to folklore proper and instead represent a more general feature of poetic Bulgarian. As was seen above, noun-adjective and marked verb-final word order occur in a variety of lyrical genres, and are just as present in the non-folkloric

**Figure 8.1: Visking 2005 displaying marked word order**

111. While the syntax of English prevents much play with word order, these same features are evidently still possible in the more flexible language of poetry and song. See, for example, the mid-twentieth-century advertisement for frankfurters in Figure 8.1 (Visking 2005). In the text accompanying an image of hot dogs singing, phrases such as “casings pure” and “casings clear” demonstrate inverted word order in noun phrases, and the clause “Our meat its own good surface forms” shows highly marked verb-final word order. I would not consider these forms to sound “folkloric” in English, but rather they seem to be used in order to generate a particular rhythm and rhyme scheme.

March and Popular Corpora of this study as in the other, more folkloric ones. The composers of songs in the former might not have been mimicking older texts as directly as the creators of socialist folklore appear to have done, but rather, they may have found noun-adjective word order to be a simple device that lent them more lyrical flexibility and also created an air of somewhat old-fashioned loftiness by calling to mind the works of Revival-Era national poets. Overall, these word order patterns seem to impart a kind of grand, poetic style.

The other archaic traits, however, represent characteristics of Bulgarian from the post-Common Slavic period, when it had already developed into a language distinct from the rest of South Slavic (or at least West South Slavic—Slovene and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian). It is probably not coincidental that these traits are also mostly restricted to “folk” texts. For example, dative and masculine oblique case endings (see §3.4) can be found in the Traditional and Preindustrial Corpora; they reflect the morphosyntax of Bulgarian at a time before these cases had been mostly lost, namely, the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.<sup>112</sup> Similarly, variation in the appearance of the auxiliary verb in renarrated-like forms (see §3.7.3) is found in these same corpora. This variation was present in some of the earliest of Slavic texts, and while it still represents something of a phenomenon of much complexity, one can speak of a kind of grammaticalization of the appearance of the auxiliary verb around the time of the Bulgarian Renaissance (Fielder 2000:81). The free variation that appears in the texts in this study, then, would seem to date to some time before the mid-1800’s. The situation with respect to clitics is similar; while rules regarding the placement of clitics vary in different South Slavic dialects, the second-position clitics that are characteristic of many lines in the Traditional and Preindustrial Corpora would be most typical of Bulgarian up until about the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries (Pancheva 2005).

In short, several of these marked morphosyntactic traits reflect the grammar of Bulgarian as it was spoken several centuries ago. I would propose that it was around this time that the eight- or ten-syllable line type of song came to coalesce into a distinct national genre, one that retained some of the linguistic features of the era that are now obsolete elsewhere. Perhaps not coincidentally, it has been shown that increased patterns of migration across Bulgaria took place at this same time and would have contributed to the spread of such folk songs and led to their growth in more urban locales (Markov 2004:249). Thus, one might suspect that, as this type of song grew into a distinct genre, some of the characteristic linguistic patterns of the day came to be associated with the genre as well.

It is noteworthy, however, that not all of these archaic forms appear consistently throughout any of the texts; instead, they seem to be optionally employed at the whim of singers. Bulgarian songs from several centuries ago might have used morphological case marking on nouns consistently, as this would have been the sole way of marking syntactic relationships, but they are no longer the only way such relationships are marked in the Traditional Corpus or even the Preindustrial Corpus. Obviously, even in these more conservative types of songs, the language has mostly adapted to modern syntax. It has

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112. Note that no instrumental or locative forms appear, however, which would place such texts from well into the second half of the last millennium.

retained obsolete traits that the standard language has not, but they become over time only optional features used for stylistic marking.

Instead, it would seem that such forms are retained passively in the poetic memory of the language, and speakers employ them when they are rhetorically useful. Just as an English-language singer might use an archaic pronunciation of the word “again” to rhyme with “pain” or “cane,” Bulgarian composers may also have employed archaic forms when it would help them more easily meet the requirements of a song’s structure. For example, in the line discussed in §3.2:

(8.1)    стори            мене        път    да мина  
         stori            mene        pŭt    da mina  
         make-IMPV    me-DAT    road    to pass-1SG  
         *Make (for) me a road I can pass through on*

the singer used an archaic dative pronoun homophonous with the accusative form instead of using a syntactically standard form like:

(8.2)    стори            на мене        път    да мина  
         stori            na mene        pŭt    da mina  
         make-IMPV    to me-OBJ    road    to pass-1SG  
         *Make for me a road I can pass through on*

because the latter line would have had too many syllables. The syntax in the rest of the song is fairly ordinary, but this form better fit the desired metrics of the line.

Thus, archaisms are features that singers find familiar and reemploy because they know them to be characteristic of a particular way of singing. However, the rhetorical effect of these forms in newly composed folk works was probably consciously desired and intended. Almost certainly, neither singers nor listeners have any concrete knowledge about the history of archaic forms; their view is simply that they sound “old.” Among English speakers, for example, forms like “thou” and “thee” might be retained in one’s passive knowledge, and someone trying to create a song that sounded “old-fashioned” might use one of these words in place of “you” (even if not in a historically correct way, such as using “thee” as a grammatical subject). I would argue that a similar process was taking place when the creators of newly composed folk songs used forms that were by then long obsolete: they were intentionally trying to create the sounds of older types of texts in order to lend these new works authenticity. In fact, one description of Bulgarian stylistics invokes this very concept when explaining why contemporary writers might use older forms in their works: “Те придават колорит и автентичност на описваните събития и герои от по-стари епохи и на тяхната реч с характерните за времето и тогавашното общество реалии” (“They lend coloring and authenticity to described events and heroes from older epochs and to their language with realia characteristic of the era and society at that time”) (Marovska 1998:11). Another discusses the use specifically of markedly archaic words, claiming: “И новите съвременни писатели, които искат да останат верни на духа и обстановката на по-старото време [...] избират тъкмо тези синоними, свързани с по-старата езикова

практика” (“Even new contemporary writers who wish to remain faithful to the spirit and situation of an older era [...] select exactly those synonyms which are connected with older linguistic practice”) (Popov & Popova 1975:106). Although these latter scholars have in mind authors of prose works, their idea could be applied to the use of archaisms more broadly. In general, the point is that speakers have strong associations with forms of the language that they no longer use but still recognize as characteristic of older texts. These scholars point to the fact that archaisms can be used in a somewhat superficial way: simply scattered throughout an otherwise standard-language text to add a bit of color.

Official artistic culture during the early years of socialism was largely focused on heralding the new, revolutionary socialist way of life and embracing modernity. As such, it might seem counterintuitive that songs were composed using forms of language seen as old or outdated. At the same time, one could argue that this practice helped allow newly composed songs to be recognized as a continuation of older folk traditions. When singers and composers used some of the typical linguistic features of older songs that ordinary citizens already recognized as their own, it was easier for these new songs to be accepted as familiar and embraced by the people.

## 8.2. Dialects and “Dialects”

As the results from the survey of native speakers showed, Bulgarians are very attuned to the idea of “dialect” as a characteristic feature of folkloric language. However, the appearance of regionally restricted forms in Bulgaria’s national folk-song tradition would actually seem to be rather limited. Instead, it appears that speakers use the term “dialect” to refer to any linguistic variety that is substandard or markedly different from the standard language, particularly when it is associated with the idea of an abstract “folk.” Moreover, there seems to be a specific bundle of linguistic traits comprising a register that speakers think of as “dialectal,” but which is actually characteristic of a stylistic register associated with folklore and not with a specific place. This confusion of terms and labels not only affects the way that Bulgarians think about their folklore, but it also is reflected in lexicographers’ characterizations of particular styles of language and even public attitudes towards forms of regional speech and the Macedonian language. The following sections attempt to untangle some of these factors.

It is important to emphasize that, in their accepted scholarly meanings, the terms “dialect” and “dialectal” refer specifically to patterns or forms of language that are found only in geographically limited parts of Bulgaria. In the songs in all of the corpora in this study, one finds orthographic representations of spoken language, albeit of a non-geographically specific variety. For the most part, this is reflected in the elision of unaccented vowels or consonants in complex clusters, which would often be dropped in fluid speech.<sup>113</sup> While certain types of elision are common even in the March and Popular Corpora, possibly due to the influence of older forms in high poetic literature, the other such instances of elision are

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<sup>113</sup> Many Bulgarians might well still think of these types of features as “dialectal,” because their only ordinary appearance in the written language would be in representations of colloquial or unintellectual speech.

simply intended to mark more naturally the rhythmic patterns of ordinary spoken language. This should not be considered “dialect.”

Otherwise, one sees very little textual representation of regionally specific features in these songs. The one exception to this, however, are western /e/ reflexes of etymological *jat*, which actually occur with notable regularity. As was demonstrated in §7.1.1, Arnaudov (1976) intentionally selected orthographic representations of this feature when he republished older texts that had originally used an ambiguous *jat* letter. Clearly, this feature is seen as characteristic of folklore, as speakers on the survey responded highly to it, and it is a regular feature in printed folk songs. The *-me* ending for certain first-person plural verbs, which originated in Western dialects, appears as well, but it was shown in §3.1.4 that it has essentially become a colloquial feature of the national language as a whole. Only infrequently does one encounter other orthographic dialectal features, however, in both the socialist and preindustrial folkloric corpora. Quite simply put, one would have very little to go on if trying to locate the region of origin of any particular text simply on the basis of dialectal linguistic features.

This fact is particularly striking when one considers some of the other major dialectal features of Bulgarian that are not found at all in such songs. For example, in addition to first person plural *-me* endings, verb forms with *-mo* endings can be found in Bulgarian dialects as well, but such forms are nowhere to be found in any of the corpora. Similarly, one never sees third-person accusative *ux* pronouns, only standard *Ѹu*, and no first-person plural nominative *mu* pronouns, only standard *hue* or *huŭ*—just to list a few of the iconic variants well known to South Slavic dialectologists. Based on the transcriptions of these texts, it would seem that those creating these songs mostly avoided using actual dialectal language.

### 8.3. Dialectal Inconsistencies and the Role of Editors

As has been mentioned in previous sections, however, a particularly interesting fact about dialectal features in these works is that, when they do appear, they often pattern somewhat inconsistently. One may encounter within the same text both *e* and *я* forms for etymological *jat*, for example, and occasionally one sees other forms that would not be expected in the dialect of the region in which a song was recorded.

There are several reasons that the discrepancy between the variants employed in a song and the dialect of the song’s place of origin might occur. Perhaps the most obvious would be the possibility of human travel. Certainly, individuals move from one dialect region to another; in these cases, they can retain certain features of their native speech system even while adopting others. Obviously, just because a song comes from a particular region does not mean that its singer originally does. But while this would be a ready explanation for the consistent use of one variant in a song from an area that has the other, it is a less suitable explanation for why a song might display both variants simultaneously. Instead, one could consider potential factors such as lexical diffusion via dialect mixing, editing and censorship, and intentional choices on the part of the singer.

Regarding the first of these factors, it is certainly possible for individual words to develop new forms within a speaker’s idiolect over time. A person might, over time, learn a new pronunciation for a word that she originally learned to say a different way. One may

envision in particular a speaker who grew up speaking a nonstandard dialect and then gradually learned that some words were to be pronounced differently according to the standard language. This scenario is particularly plausible for the early socialist period, as large numbers of Bulgarians experienced the transition from agricultural to industrial ways of life and were exposed to national media for the first time. A speaker might have learned, for example, that he was supposed to say the common word *няма* ‘there is not/will not’ instead of *нема* in order to sound educated, but would have retained his native pronunciation of *хлеб* rather than *хляб* for ‘bread.’ The Bulgarian sociolinguist Mikhail Videnov states that individuals from rural locales with less education may attempt to adapt their speech to the standard of the nearby urban area, but generally do not manage to do so fully. He states that this group “[gets] rid of just the most conspicuous phonetic and lexical dialectal markers, and then considers its adaptation to the demands of the town as completed” (Videnov 1999:21). For those who are more successful at adaptation, however, he says that “their rural background ‘shows through’ in just some insignificant details” (ibid.). This type of situation could explain why particular dialectal reflexes appear inconsistently in the language in the songs. That is, singers could have been making an attempt to adapt their language to standard norms but, like the speakers Videnov discusses here, not have been fully successful.

However, it does seem that, to some extent, there was a moderate amount of “cleaning up” of dialectal text on the part of editors. In §7.1.1 it was explained how Arnaudov (1976) normalized the orthography of some of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century texts in his edited volume, and it appears that this process occurred in the socialist period as well. After having analyzed my linguistic data from the socialist corpora, I happened to come across two songs from the Traditional Corpus published elsewhere in less “refined” versions. Although no attribution was given in the national folklore volumes from which I gathered the songs for the corpus, these songs were described in a special volume as having been originally created by the “folk singer” (“народен певец”) Diado (“Grandfather”) Vicho Bonchev. Photographed as a grizzled old man (see Figure 8.2), Diado Vicho Bonchev was ostensibly a source of a wide variety of songs, both those describing traditional historical personages and mythological heroes as well as contemporary events



**Figure 8.2: Diado Vicho Bonchev (Keremidchiev 1954)**



that he himself had witnessed. In a volume of songs originally attributed to him, these songs appear without the heavy editing that had apparently been undergone by the versions in the Traditional Corpus. For example, the first four lines of the song titled “Партизани — народни отмъстители” (“Partisans — Avengers of the People”), which had been normalized in the version used in this study as:

- (8.3) Какво е чудо станало  
във старо село Спасово!  
В село германци дойдоха  
и на общината отидоха (Keremidchiev 1948:190)

What a wonder occurred  
in the old village of Spasovo!  
Into the village came Germans  
and they went to the municipality building

appeared in the other volume as:

- (8.4) Къко и чуду стъналу  
във стару село Спасуву!  
В селу гирманци дудохъ  
и нъ ўбщинатъ утивът (Keremidchiev 1954:244)

One can see that in the national volume (actually published earlier, but by the same editor), the consonant cluster that had been simplified in Diado Vicho Bonchev’s original *къко* ‘what’ has been written as standard *какво*, nonstandard stress markings have been removed, and reduced and contracted vowels (ъ, и, and у) have been spelled as they are in the standard language (i.e. *a, e, o*). Later on in the original version, one can find entire lines that have been removed from the more closely edited version. In several instances, this may have been done to reduce what the editor saw as redundancy; for example, the line “Пруклети немци-германци” (“Cursed Germans-Germans”) appeared in the original once and then again five lines later; one might suspect that Diado Vicho Bonchev had used this repeated line as a device of retardation, that is to allow him mentally to prepare the next section of the song. Another line that was removed from the original contained a nonstandard form, *пуцът*, of *пукат* ‘they allow,’ and in another line, a word that appears possibly to be a variant of Turkish *ođlum* ‘my son,’ in:

- (8.5) И тва̀ им, холъм, ни стигнъ!  
And this, *holŭm*, was not enough for them!

was replaced by *вече* ‘still/already’:

- (8.6) И то им вече не стигна, —  
And even this was not enough for them

It would appear that, when a singer's works became part of a folklore collection chosen to represent the entire nation, they had to be rendered in a way that was linguistically more acceptable.

Most likely, similar processes took place when songs were prepared for publication in national folklore volumes. One folklorist, in fact, essentially admits to this in the introduction to her volume:

С оглед на използването ѝ като учебно помагало и поради обстоятелството, че в отделните издания на народни умотворения особеностите на диалектите не са отбелязани навсякъде последователно и правилно, фонетично записаните текстове са до известна степен нормализувани. Изобщо фонетичните особености са запазени само до такава степен, доколкото предават местен колорит на произведението. Морфологичните и лексикалните диалектни особености на образците са запазени според както са отбелязани от самите записвачи. (Romanska 1964:4)

In consideration of its use as an educational handbook, and because of the fact that in individual editions of folkloric verbal art the peculiar elements of dialects are not always indicated consistently or correctly, the phonetically transcribed texts are to a great deal normalized. In general, the phonetic peculiarities are retained only in so far as they lend local coloring to the work. Morphological and lexical dialectal features of the transcripts are retained according to the way in which they were recorded by the transcribers themselves.

While one should not view the motivations of folklorists at this time as disingenuous, one can see that their aspirations for preparing accessible texts for national consumption probably led to a distortion of the dialectal features that may have been characteristic of songs when they were first performed.

On the whole, then, there is no reason to believe that dialectal forms abounded even in unedited transcriptions of these texts, but whatever forms may have been present in an original performance would have been mostly removed for the national volumes from which the corpora in this study were prepared. Hints of dialectal speech, in particular, western /e/ reflexes of *jat*, ensured that texts had some “character,” but these songs were ultimately shaped into a more nationally representative form. The overall assumption was apparently that dialects were seen as ultimately a source of contamination, which is why dialectal forms were highly limited in publication.

#### **8.4. “Dialect” as a Register**

The fact remains, however, that Bulgarians generally consider “dialect” to be a primary feature of folklore. Given the rather general way that this label is used, it seems instead to describe a particular linguistic register that is characterized by many of the traits described in Chapters 2 through 5. These features were most commonly found in the

Preindustrial and Traditional Corpora, which would indicate that the register is used mostly in songs of the unrhymed line type. This “dialectal” register of language allows for occasional dialectal forms, but it is characterized much more by archaisms and other poetic features that have become conventionalized over time. I would propose that speakers employ this “dialect” register when they wish to create a text that sounds like traditional and authentic folklore.

Indeed, this register could well be what the scholars cited in Chapter 1 were tacitly referring to when describing “folkloric” elements of the works of national poets: a type of language that unconsciously calls to mind the idea of traditional folklore. Viewing this as a specific register would could be used to explain how individuals so readily came to recognize the texts included in socialist volumes as authentic folklore, and it can also explain otherwise seemingly cryptic statements such as the following:

Поетиката на народното творчество отделя фолклорната творба от литературната. Езикът също характеризира народното творчество със своеобразието си. Диалектен в основата си, той не е типично диалектен, защото показва тенденция за използване на повече общонародни елементи. (Makedonska 1975:10)

The poetics of folk art separates works of folklore from works of literature. Language also characterizes folk art with its peculiar nature. Dialectal at its core, it is not dialectal in the typical sense, because it demonstrates a tendency to use more generally national elements.

On its face, this statement would seem to be paradoxical. A dialect is a type of speech characteristic of a specific region: how can something that is “dialectal” use “generally national elements”? Moreover, how can something be “dialectal at its core” but “not dialectal in the typical sense”? Instead, the author seems to be referring to something that is only pseudo-dialectal, or written in the “spirit” of a dialect. But more importantly, what seems to be oxymoronic here may actually explain the heart of the problem that this study has attempted to address: it seems that Bulgarians have a sense of “dialect” as a characteristic feature of folkloric language, but those familiar with academic scholarship understand that their use of the term clashes with its accepted scholarly meaning.

What is happening, I believe, is that a type of register, thought of as “dialect” by many speakers, is employed when a speaker wishes to convey the idea that he is performing a folkloric text. He knows that by using features such as /e/ forms for *jat*, a special set of words, verb-final word order, and so on, the text will sound in such a way that it will resemble the older types of texts from Bulgaria’s national folklore tradition with which he is familiar. As was explained in Chapter 1, the use of these stylistic features in newly composed texts—possibly by members of the folk, but also possibly on the part of professional folklorists who shaped the texts—seemed to have granted these songs the appearance of authenticity as legitimate representations of Bulgarian folk culture. In Asif Agha’s (2004:35) formulation, the use of a particular register in a text, even in novel contexts, “may confer some legitimacy – a peppering of prestige – upon its speaker/author”. He cites examples such as that of a

layman attempting to convey a sense of authority by using “legal and military terminology” (ibid.), but one could easily see individual singers (or perhaps folklorists) using this register to make their works sound just as “timeless” as those of a century earlier.

To be sure, this is not the only case in which a lyrical work from one era draws upon the poetics of an earlier tradition for stylistic reasons. Richard Bauman introduced the term “traditionalization” to describe the way a twentieth-century Icelandic folk poet shifts his language rhetorically (by means of grammar, meter, prosody, and so on) in order to reflect the language of an older narrative. Observing that the poet is “[...] directly and explicitly engaged in an act of symbolic construction, drawing the links of continuity by which he may tie his story to past discourses as part of his own recounting of it. This is the act of traditionalization, and it is part of the process of endowing the story with situated meaning” (Bauman 1992:136), he then goes on to add:

Specifically, traditionalization here is an act of authentication, akin to the art or antique dealer’s authentication of an object by tracing its provenance. [The poet] establishes both the genuineness of his story as a reliable account and the legitimacy and strength of his claim to it by locating himself in a direct line of transmission [...] that reaches back to [...] the original speaker of those reportable words that constitute the point of the narrative. (ibid. 137)

One might see the situation with the texts in this study as a parallel example of traditionalization. When used in these twentieth-century texts, the folkloric “dialect” register helped convey the authority of the authentic and traditional.

Moreover, it seems that these socialist texts are not only making use of this register but also reifying its existence and significance as a marker of authentic, national texts. In Agha’s terms, the original creators of songs and editors of the volumes in which they appeared would be “producers” or “senders,” and those who encountered the works and came to recognize the features in them would be “communicative participants” (Agha 2007:203). While these producers certainly borrowed from older types of linguistic traditions, upon reception of these texts, ordinary citizens would have seen how the register was typical of “folk songs.” In such a way, the idea of this register would have only been sharpened.

It therefore seems apt to envision the bundle of linguistic traits that characterize these songs as a register. Not only typified by a number of commonly co-occurring features, they are clearly linked with a particular genre (the unrhymed-line folk song) and a specific social class (the “folk”). As has been shown, this register not only conveys the idea of a particular mode of performance but also the vivid emotional and connotative associations with the idea of authentic, national folklore.

## **8.5. The Dual Poetics of Socialist Texts**

While this “dialect” register does seem to be a fairly well established phenomenon within Bulgarian linguistic culture, one must consider the differences between the language of the socialist texts examined in Chapters 2 through 5 and the language of preindustrial

“traditional” folklore. Various examples in previous chapters have suggested that linguistic tropes from the poetry of the Bulgarian Renaissance era seemed to have been borrowed in the socialist texts. For the most part, this was the case in texts of the March Corpus. Many of the songs in that volume actually originated as non-melodic poetry, and there is no doubt that the writers of those texts continued creating works in poetic styles similar to those of writers like Hristo Botev and Ivan Vazov.

However, it seems that some of these devices made their way into some of the “folk” songs from national volumes. §2.4.2 described the appearance of “poetic elision”; it occurs mostly in the March and Innovative Corpora, but is also found in lines in the Traditional Corpus like:

(8.7) Ний ще те вече оставим  
‘We will now leave you’

and:

(8.8) Продължете нашия път  
‘Continue on our road’

in which *ний* ‘we’ (standard *ние*) and *нашия* ‘our’ (standard *нашия*) represent shorter forms of standard words. Forms like these are extremely common in Revival-Era poetry. The dictionary of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, for example, describes the form *ний* as “poetic” (“поетически”) (Cholakova et al. 1979); the *-ий* masculine article, common for some writers in the 1860s and 1870s, was later abandoned in favor of full *-ия* forms in the orthographic reform of 1899 but remained in poetry even afterwards (Rusinov 1980:175-176). Similarly, it was noted in §7.2.8 that noun-adjective word order, a feature of Bulgarian poetry more generally, was actually most common in the Traditional Corpus and patterned differently from the Preindustrial Corpus to a statistically significant degree.

Thus, even in the socialist texts that seem to be most closely modeled on preindustrial folk songs (i.e. the Traditional Corpus), some features were actually more characteristic of written poetry than sung works. Tsvetana Romanska, the editor of a volume of songs from the Partisan movement, hints at this fact:

Партизанските песни имат важно значение за фолклористиката като истински поетични творби на съвременния фолклор, при които се наблюдават влияния както от традиционното народно поетично творчество, така и от литературата. (Romanska 1964)

The Partisan songs have great significance for folkloristics as real poetic works of contemporary folklore in which one can observe the influences of both traditional poetic folklore as well as of literature.

For the most part, one can understand this as a reference to the variety of song types that appear in her volume; Romanska is likely describing the same stylistic difference among

songs as that which prompted me to separate the socialist works into the Traditional and Innovative Corpora.

At the same time, however, one can see why it would have been desirable for the creators of these songs to include forms that resembled works from the National Revival era. The works of major national poets from that period were an important source of national pride, even in the socialist era. The boundaries of registers are constantly changing (Agha 2004:37), and one certainly would not expect the language of songs created in the 1940s to pattern exactly as those from the previous century. One could see, then, how the occasional employment of these more literary poetic traits could have been an addition to the more generally established register of traditional folk songs.

## 8.6. “Dialectal” Lexemes in the National Language

What, then, are the differences between “folkloric language” and the register proposed above? In general, this type of expression, often referred to as “dialectal,” seems to be associated with texts that Bulgarians see as having been created by the “folk.” However, use of the term “dialect” as a catchall way of describing nonstandard language of a vaguely folkloric nature can also be seen as particularly pertinent in the way Bulgarians think about and describe words. Chapter 4 showed that there is a particular set of lexemes that seem to occur in folk songs commonly as synonyms for some of the most basic Bulgarian words, and §7.3 demonstrated that these items were some of the most resonant with speakers on the survey. It would seem that speakers are particularly attuned to the nuances of individual words, and that the average Bulgarian thinks of regional speech as marked more by peculiar lexemes than phonological or morphosyntactic phenomena.

Consequently, the popular understanding of “dialect” seems to reflect above all the idea of nonstandard lexemes. This matter was alluded to in §6.1.6, but it bears repeating here. One might see as an example the following post (originally interspersed with emoticons) from a popular Bulgarian web forum:

Лято е. Всеки ходи нанякъде...на почивка, на гости...Срещаме се с много хора...Винаги ми е било интересно по-колко различен начин се говори в нашата иначе малка старна По някои места направо не им се разбира какво говорят  
**Кажете какви диалекти сте срещали...**и по възможност от кой край са. Ще ми бъде интересно, а надявам се и за другите. Има наистина безумни неща

ето набързо от мен:

в Шуменско хавлията за баня наричат **..бурнуз** /ако не се лъжа/,

**-кастронче** -купичка /това май нещо от френски/

**тумани** -вълнени чорапи

Някъде из южна България май Свиленград беше:

**карпуз**-диня;

**каун**-пъпеш;

**фъркулица**-вилаца ...но тези май са по-известни

може да ме поправяте...

имаше и други, ама по-нататък пак ще се включа (Venera 2008) (punctuation, orthography, and bold text as in the original)

It's summer. Everyone is headed somewhere... on vacation, on visits... We're meeting with lots of people... It's always been interesting to me in what various ways people speak in our otherwise little country. In some places you can't even understand what it is they're saying.

**Share what dialects you have encountered...** and, if possible, what area they come from. It will be interesting to me and I hope to others too. There are some truly crazy things:

Here are a few quickly from me:

In the Shumen region they call a bathrobe ... **burnuz** (if I'm not mistaken)

**kastronče** – cup (this is, I guess, something from French)

**tumani** – wool socks

Somewhere in southern Bulgarian, I think it was in Svilengrad:

**karpuz** – watermelon

**kaun** – honeydew melon

**fürkulica** – fork ...but these are probably better known

You can correct me...

There were others, but later on I'll join back in.

This post clearly attracted some attention in that it received 191 responses; it seems obvious that this is a matter Bulgarians find particularly interesting. However, the question in the post and the responses it generated are curious: while respondents were surprisingly aware of the wide diversity of lexemes across Bulgaria, matters of pronunciation or morphological variation within word forms are hardly even mentioned throughout the entire thread.

In some ways, attitudes about what is “dialectal” may even be reflected in the ways that Bulgarian lexicographers have elected to categorize certain words. Namely, one has the feeling that this term is often used not so much to describe markedly regional words, but rather to mark words which are associated with rural life or an imagined “folk.” The 1954 dictionary of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences classifies words as “диалектна” (“dialectal”) when they are “свойствени на един или няколко народни говори” (“characteristic of one or several varieties of local speech”), or it labels them as “народна” (“folk”) when they “се срещат в повечето народни говори или означават понятия от народния бит, за които в книжовния език няма друга дума” (“are encountered in most varieties of local speech or they name concepts from daily folk life for which the literary language has no other word”) (Romanski et al. 1954:xiii). One might question the specifics of what really makes a variety of speech “local” (“народен,” also commonly translated as “folk”), but this dictionary at least nominally restricts use of the term “dialectal” to words

found in a limited area. The 1979 dictionary, however, contains only the label “dialectal” (“диалектни”); it is used for words:



**Figure 8.3: Antonova-Vasileva & Keremidchieva 20**

литература” (“belles-lettres literature”) and “публикувано народно творчество” (“published folklore”) (ibid.), but it seems as though they are concerned with labeling words as “dialectal” when they are characteristic of a particular social sphere rather than a specific geographical area.<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps even more striking are “dialect dictionaries” of Bulgarian that seem to be more about a particular register of language than a limited region. Certainly, resources exist for specialists (such as Boiadzhiev et al. 2012) which give information about the specific locales in which regionally marked words can be found. However, there are also volumes intended for more popular consumption, such as that depicted in Figure 8.3 (Antonova-Vasileva & Keremidchieva 2001). Its editors say that their volume describes the “dialectal lexicon” (“диалектна лексика”) “with which the contemporary reader is most commonly confronted” (“с която съвременният читател най-често се сблъсква”) and go on to say that these words are encountered “в художествената литература за деца, ученици и студенти; [...] от българския фолклор, широко застъпен в съвременното обучение по литература; [...] диалектни названия на основни предмети и реалии от бита [...]” (“in belles-lettres literature for children and school-age and university students; [...] from

които нямат съответствия в книжовния език и означават реални, свързани със селския бит [...], които са омоними на думи от книжовния език [...], а също и диалектни думи, които по време на формирането на книжовния ни език са били широко разпространени в книжнината от Възраждането, а днес са само диалектни [...]

(Cholakova et al. 1979:13)

that do not have equivalents in the literary language and refer to real objects connected with village life [...] that are homonyms of words in the literary language [...] and also dialectal words which at the time of the formation of our literary language were in wide circulation in the literature of the Bulgarian Renaissance, but today are only dialectal [...]

The editors say that they have selected words in this dictionary from both “художествена

14. There also seems to be a discrepancy in that the dictionary is said to describe the “literary” (“книжовен”) (5) language, but the editors’ description of dialectal words would seem to imply that such words are no longer “literary.”



Bulgarian folklore, widely included in contemporary literary education; [...] dialectal terms for basic objects and realia of daily life”) (9). Essentially, the “dialectal” words in this volume are those with which “modern” readers might not be familiar. More striking, however, is the fact that no actual geographical information is given for any of the words in the dictionary. The implication, of course, is that the words in this volume are of significance for all of Bulgarian national literary culture, and examples of excerpts that contain the words in this volume are given from national writers such as Botev and Yavorov. Thus, while these words are considered to be “dialectal,” they are nonetheless treated here as an “official” part of the broader national language.

Overall, the idea of “dialects” in the minds of both ordinary individuals (and even some scholars) seems to be tied in with the idea of marginal, nonstandard, and abstractly rural speech.

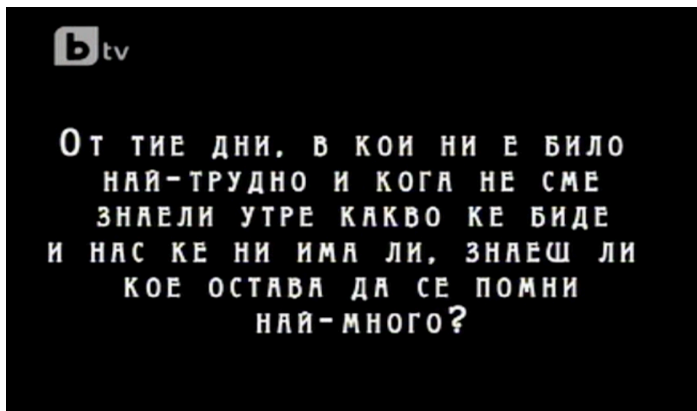
### **8.7. Bulgarian “Dialects” and Macedonian**

An additional consequence of this imprecise concept of “dialect” is that it plays into how Bulgarians perceive the Macedonian language. As was described in §1.7, many Bulgarians are reluctant to recognize Macedonian as a separate language, and instead refer to it as just a “dialect” of Bulgarian. There is an unarguably high level of mutual intelligibility between the two languages, largely due to the facts of their historical development and structural similarities, but one could propose that this perception is conditioned in part by Bulgarians’ encounters with the language of national folklore.

The crux of this idea centers around the fact that, in general, speakers of Bulgarian consider those features of folklore that to them are unfamiliar or nonstandard to be representations of their vaguely conceived ideas of “dialect.” Because several of the primary features with which Macedonian differs from Bulgarian are also characteristic of Bulgarian folkloric language, when Bulgarians hear spoken Macedonian, many of these features jump out at them and sound to them as “folkloric.” The folklore tradition of Pirin Macedonia (a region that makes up southwestern Bulgaria), particularly its songs, is generally treated as an important part of Bulgaria’s folklore heritage, and indeed, the language of that region is particularly well represented among the folk songs that Bulgarians grow up learning. Because “Macedonian” sounds like “folklore” and “folklore” is “dialectal,” the resulting picture in Bulgarians’ minds is one in which all three of these concepts overlap.

As an example, one might cite the way Macedonian verbal culture was depicted in a June 2010 “Evening of Macedonian Songs” television special hosted by the well-known musician and late-night entertainment personality Slavi Trifonov (Shouto 2010). Texts appears on screen as the show opens (see Figure 8.4), which, put together, read:

От тие дни, в кои ни е било най-трудно и кога не сме знаели утре какво ќе биде и нас ќе ни има ли, знаеш ли кое остава да се помни нај-многу? От трудните дни се не помни какво и как са приказвали тия, што ги имаме ние за врагове. А се помни нај-многу как са мълчале тие, што сме ги имали за пријатели...



**Figure 8.4:** A “Macedonian” Text

dramatic (albeit not entirely clear in its message), the details of its linguistic structure merit particular attention. Several characteristic features of Macedonian are present, but they are not always used in a way that is consistent with the standard language. For example, the Macedonian plural l-participle ending *-e* appears, but only on one of four such forms in the passage; the future particle is spelled as *ке* instead of Bulgarian *че*, but without the diacritic that appears on the Macedonian letter *ќ*; and the third-person demonstrative/personal pronoun is alternately spelled as Bulgarian *тия* or Macedonian *тие*. Essentially, this text is a quasi-Macedonianized version of Bulgarian, still using Bulgarian orthography and only inserting Macedonian features in a relatively superficial and haphazard way.

However, a few features of this text are also like those folkloric features identified in the songs earlier in this study. The relative pronoun *коу* is usually articulated with the suffix *-mo* in Bulgarian but not in Macedonian; in the form in this text it is reminiscent of the unarticulated definite forms described in §3.3. The uninflecting relative pronoun *што* is used here as it would be in standard Macedonian, but, as was argued in §4.1.5, it is also a characteristic word of Bulgarian folklore. In other words, the actual Macedonian that appears here shares some of the basic features of Bulgarian folkloric language. Particularly interesting, however, is the *се не* word order that appears to follow clitic ordering rules common neither to standard Bulgarian nor Macedonian, but which does appear in various dialects. In §3.6.1 it was explained that this form seems for Bulgarians to be emblematic of folklore, and it appears to be used in this passage in an effort to make the “Macedonian” text sound like a folkloric narrative from “Bulgaria’s” distant past.

Later on in the same show, following a series of musical performances and sketches, the popular contemporary actor Kalin Vrachanski recites a story about a *voivode* who is taught a lesson by a witch about the supposedly dual good and evil natures of women (see Figure 8.5). The narrative is recited in the renarrated mood; this fact, along with Vrachanski’s playfully dynamic delivery of the text, indicates that

Of those days in which it was hardest for us, and when we hadn’t known what was to come the next day and whether we would still exist, do you know what remains the most to be remembered? Of those hard days, it is not remembered how those who we had as enemies spoke. But rather, it is remembered how those who we had as friends remained silent...

Although the content of this text is

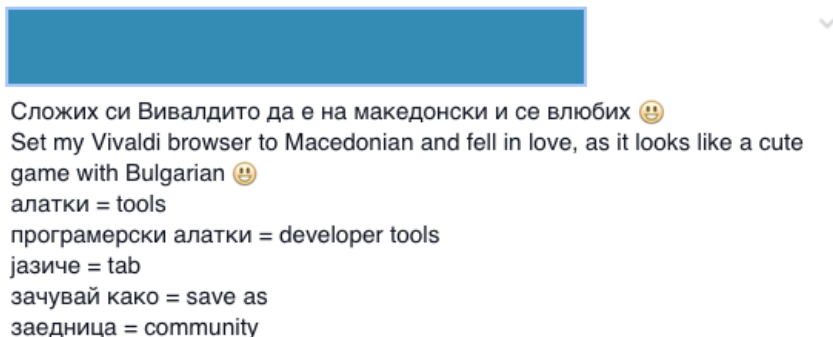


**Figure 8.5:** A “Macedonian” Tale

the audience is clearly supposed to view it as a sort of “folk tale” from distant ages past. However, Vrachanski’s tale, like the opening text, would seem to be a kind of cross between Bulgarian and Macedonian, as he indiscriminately uses many forms that Bulgarians probably simply see as “dialectal.” While he does manage to use many features of Macedonian speech correctly, he nonetheless employs, for example, the markedly Macedonian lexeme *сакам* ‘want,’ interchangeably with the Bulgarian equivalent *искам*. Other traits of his language, however, include the Bulgarian dialect form *млогу* in place of standard Bulgarian and Macedonian *многу* ‘many,’ and the end-stressed aorist-derived forms such as *послушъл* found in Bulgarian dialects, compared to standard Bulgarian *послушал* and standard Macedonian *послушал*). I have been unable to locate the ultimate source of Vrachanski’s text, and it is possible that it did originate as a dialectal text from somewhere within Macedonia proper. Nonetheless, it is certainly not standard Macedonian, and the impression that the recitation of a “Macedonian” text of this sort conveys to a Bulgarian audience is that Macedonian is a language more suited for Bulgaria’s folkloric past than a modern present, and that, as Vrachanski performed it, Macedonian is really just Bulgarian with a number of generally “dialectal” traits thrown in.

These examples illustrate the lack of nuance that Bulgarians have when imagining the Macedonian language. In fact, it may be that the overlap between popular conceptions of “Macedonian” and “folkloric language” have led to the reluctance of Bulgarians to accept Macedonian as a valid language. Sometimes, this perception is relatively benign. For example, Figure 8.6 shows a Facebook user’s post in which he says Macedonian sounds “cute.” Some of the Macedonian words he cites

sound like substandard Bulgarian words or are made up of recognizable Bulgarian morphemes in a novel combination. However, the more sinister side of this perception is that it can lead to intense nationalistic claims. Based on their perception that



**Figure 8.6: “Macedonian” on Facebook**

Macedonian is a dialect of Bulgarian, Bulgarian nationalists often claim that the language was “made up” during its codification in the 1940s; by extension, they would say, the nation itself is imaginary, and Macedonians are really just “confused” Bulgarians. This, unfortunately, can lead to ugly debates. One can take as examples the comments posted below a clip on Youtube. The song of the clip in question, “Македонско девојче” (“Macedonian Girl”), is sung throughout the Balkans in somewhat more Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Serbian variants, even though, as was mentioned at the beginning of this study, it was created by a Macedonian composer in the 1960s. Nonetheless, members of all three Balkan Slavic nations now think of it as “their” folk song, and it serves as an immediate trigger for viewers to weigh in on the question of Macedonian nationhood. Some of the moderate comments include:

Какви македонци каква нация македонска!? Такова чудо няма измислена нация... , Нека да си стоят в измислената си държава [...]

What Macedonians, what Macedonian nation?! Such a thing does not exist, a made-up nation... Let them sit in their little made-up country [...]

and:

“Седи си “македонецОт” и гледа Луната. Както си гледа и въздъхнал с мъка: “Еееех , Луно , Луно , земльо македонска!”. Та така се шегуваме с тях. То и Луната била македонска.”<sup>15</sup>

The Macedonian sits and looks up at the Moon. As he watches it he sighs with distress: “Ehh, Moon, Moon, you Macedonian land!” That’s how we joke with them. That the moon was supposedly Macedonian.

but others are more violent. Clearly, the confusion between “Macedonian” and “dialect” can take on a wide variety of implications for speakers.

Given the close historical relationship between Macedonian and Bulgarian, it is perhaps not surprising that the two nations might lay claim to the language and culture of the other. This confusion may be heightened, however, by the fact that standard Bulgarian was codified based on the norms of eastern dialects, as Grace Fielder puts it, “effectively excluding [southwestern] Balkan (= Macedonian) speakers” (Fielder 2014). Consequently, western dialects took on a subordinate position within Bulgarian educated culture. When speakers of the standard language imagine or attempt to depict the language of the “other” within Bulgaria, they most often use features of these western dialects, many of which are indeed shared with Macedonian. The consequences of these geographical and historical realities are another reason that “Macedonian” and “dialect” are conflated in the everyday Bulgarian’s mind.

It is clear that the way folklore has been canonized in Bulgaria has played a role in this perception. Several of the features that distinguish Macedonian from Bulgarian are also some of the characteristic markers of folkloric language: the /e/ reflex for *jat*, the lack of the definite-like marker on relative pronouns, and words like *уо* all stand out to a Bulgarian ear in both folklore and Macedonian. Moreover, when Bulgarian folkloric texts are less thoroughly normalized, other features characteristic of Macedonian can appear, such as *ке* instead of the future marker *уе*, which was found in the Preindustrial Corpus. The inevitable consequence of this, however, is that for many Bulgarians, the concepts of “folklore,” “dialect,” and “Macedonian” all overlap significantly, and they often end up with the idea that Macedonian is a familiar sounding language that uses a number of

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<sup>15</sup> The mocking language in this latter comment emphasizes the Macedonian form of the masculine definite article, *-от*, but it also contains adjective-noun inversion and an inanimate feminine vocative form in the phrase *земльо македонска* ‘Macedonian land,’ folkloric traits describe in §3.8 and 5.1.1.

indistinguishably “dialectal” traits. This faulty perception has led to a variety of social and political consequences, and it is no doubt also a factor in the politicization of both language and folklore in the Balkan Slavic countries.

### 8.8. Folkloric Language: Songs and Beyond?

The language of folk songs, which this study suggests is a register also thought of in vague terms as “dialect,” appears in a number of contexts, often with strong emotional associations. As was stated at its outset, however, the original intent of this work was to explore a phenomenon, “folkloric language,” that does not necessarily seem to be restricted to a particular genre. Those who are generally familiar with Bulgarian folklore will have likely noticed that many of the features identified as characteristic of folk songs in the previous chapters are also associated with the idea of folklore more broadly, and that they can regularly appear in other genres. A number of these features are found in written poetry. In Vaptsarov’s poem “Крaли Марко” (“Prince Marko”) for example, the lyrical subject summons the titular hero of South Slavic folklore to help fight Bulgaria’s fascist enemies. While the textual content of this poem obviously makes a rich topic for analysis, one might also consider its language. For example, in the line:

- (8.9) Шест сме века чакали напразно  
 six AUX centuries waited in.vain  
*For six centuries, we have waited in vain.* (Vaptsarov 2009/1941:146)

one sees clitics following the same rule described in §3.6.2.2, appearing in nonstandard, phonologically determined second position. A number of features described throughout Chapters 2 to 5 are found in proverbs as well. For example, the inverted *ce ne* word order described in §3.6.1.1 can be seen in a proverb such as:

- (8.10) Мокър от дъжд се не бои.  
 Mokŭr ot dŭžd se ne boi.  
 wet from rain REFL NEG fears  
*A wet person does not fear rain.*

where one might also consider the initial adjective to be an unarticulated semantic definite. One also sees verb-final word order, as in:

- (8.11) Много думи пари не струват.  
 Mnogo dumŭ pari ne struvat.  
 many words money NEG be.worth  
*A bunch of words is not worth any money.*

In fact, verb-final word order is closely linked with the idea of gnomicity in proverbs (Girvin 2010). One also commonly finds noun-adjective word order and marked words like *мома* ‘maiden,’ as in proverbs like:

(8.12) Мома гиздава, глава гнидава.  
Moma gizdava, glava gnidava.  
maiden pretty head nitty  
*A pretty maiden, a foolish head.*

Moreover, one might also take into account the assertion made in a study of cognate reduplicative patterns (*figurae etymologicae*) that such devices are common to “народното творчество” (“folklore”) in general; its author specifically identifies “песни, поговорки, пословици” (“songs, sayings, proverbs”) (Mechkova-Atanasova 1995:16). Clearly, many of the features described in this study are by no means specific to sung language.

Of course, there are numerous types of works of verbal art that are felt to be folkloric in Bulgarian. This fact, along with the lack of any formal boundaries for these various genres, makes it clear that a holistic analysis of folkloric language in Bulgarian, let alone in the whole of South Slavic, is beyond the scope of this project. It is certain, however, that an investigation into the concept of “folkloric language” in a broader sense would reveal interesting ways in which various folkloric genres share linguistic traits, and how such features have come to be salient to speakers. However it may have come into being, and while its boundaries may be vague and ever shifting, there is no doubt that “folkloric language” has tremendous stylistic power in Bulgarian and, indeed, that it is a living force.

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## Appendix A: Socialist Song Corpora

Traditional Corpus						
Title/First Line	Found in Volume(s)	Version Used in Corpus	Total Lines	Lines in Corpus	Region Recorded (if Given)	Singer/Author (if Given)
Драгана партизанка	a	a	18	18		
Ой ти, поле равно, та широко	a	a	25	25		
Паднала слана есенна	a	a	21	21		
Проклети да сте, фашисти	a	a	58	25		
Запей за свобода	a, b, c, f	a	8	8	Богдан, Левскиградско	
Ой, горице горунова	a, c, d, e, f	a	13	13	Трънско	
Жътвари жътва жънеха	b, f	b	9	9	Брезнишко	
За народа и за свобода	b	b	14	14	Трънско	
Мома Генка - байрактарка	b	b	12	12	Карловско	
Оженен за Драва река	b	b	27	25	Чирпанско	
Партизани - народни отмъстителители	b	b	25	25	Чирпанско	
Песен на Ливаневски	b	b	39	25	Карловско	
Гъста е могла паднала	b, c, d, f	d	21	21		Славчо Трънски
Хей, поле широко	c, d	d	19	19		
Калина трактористката	d	d	20	20	Стара Загора	Петкана Захариева
Девети септември	e	e	36	25	Красава, Брезнишко	Райна Граовска
Имала, мама, имала	e	e	18	18	Димитрово - ?	Цветанка Стоянова Мииланова
Как са се всички събрали	e	e	12	12	Славяново, Харманлийско	
Миньорски	e	e	14	14	Димитрово (?)	Цветанка Стоянова Мииланова
Песен за микроязовира в село Горна Гращица	e	e	20	20	Горна Гращица, Кюстендилско	
Среща с двама сина и снаха партизани	e	e	158	25	Батак, Пещерско	
Станке ле, добруджанке ле	e	e	22	22	Крушаре, Толбухинско (Добрич)	
Вейте ми, ветри и хали	d, e	e	85	25	Байлово, Елинпелинско	
Майка плаче за сина си	d, e	e	15	15	Разлог	
От Пирина слизат млади партизани	b, d, e	e	13	13	Враня, Санданско	
Тъмен се облак зададе	b, d, e	e	14	14	Калотина, Годечко	
Бояне, либе Бояне	e, f	f	20	20	Джугурово, Санданско	
Гората и партизани	f	f	12	12	Разложко	
Московци в Европа влезли	f	f	8	8	Долен, Гоцеделчевско	
29 songs			523 lines in corpus			

Innovative Corpus						
Title/First Line	Found in Volume(s)	Version Used in Corpus	Total Lines	Lines in Corpus	Region Recorded (if Given)	Singer/Author (if Given)
Партизан за бой се стяга	b, d	b	20	20	Копривщенско	
По долини и рътлини	b	b	24	24	Карловско	
Победно ний се бихме	b	b	16	16	Трънско	
Политзатворнишка песен	b	b	32	25	Казанлъшко	
Средногорски партизани	b	b	19	19	Карловско	
Стига варварство и робство	b	b	24	24	Трънско	
Стъпил Хитлер	b	b	19	19	Брезнишко	
Тиха Ерма се вълнува	b	b	20	20	Трънско	
Я излез, Гюрге моме	e	e	28	25	Момино село, Пловдивско	
9 songs			192 lines in corpus			

March Corpus						
Title/First Line	Found in Volume(s)	Version Used in Corpus	Total Lines	Lines in Corpus	Region Recorded (if Given)	Singer/Author (if Given)
Септември	g	g	22	22		Матеев, Пантелей
По пътя на Левски	g	g	12	12		Полянов, Д. И.
Партизани	g	g	20	20		Зидаров, Камен
Партизани	g	g	12	12		Георгиев, Веселин
Привет	g	g	12	12		Исаев, Младен
Ой те, горо ле	g	g	12	12		Радевски, Хр.
Славянско братство	g	g	12	12		Мадолев, Г. Т.
Здравей, родино	g	g	10	10		Георгиева, Катя
Към армията	g	g	16	16		Райнов, Богомил
Бий врага!	g	g	13	13		Кръстев, Венелин
Вей се, първомайско знаме	g	g	16	16		Пипков, Любомир
Първомайска песен	g	g	14	14		Божилов, Божидар
Наше знаме, развявай се смело	g	g	20	20		Пенев, Крум
Слава на героите	g	g	20	20		Геров, Александър
Велико име	g	g	32	25		Панчев, Веселин
Бий, сърце!	g	g	28	25		Кюлявков, Крум
Младежки марш	g	g	29	25		Димитров, Г.
Да строим!	g	g	16	16		Бурин, Ив.
Бригадирски марш	g	g	21	21		Бурин, Ив.
Бригадири	g	g	24	24		Босев, Крум
Нашата партия	g	g	16	16		Масларски, К.
21 songs			363 lines in corpus			

#### Sources:

- a: Burin 1964
- b: Keremidchiev 1948
- c: Krlevski 1961
- d: Makedonska 1988
- e: Romanska 1964
- f: Vakarelski 1961

Appendix B: Preindustrial Corpus

Pre-Industrial Corpus		
Title/First Line	Lines in Corpus	Region Recorded
Слънце и Грозданка	25	Котленско
Сънят на Играл	25	Еленско
Господ, архангел и чума	25	Копривщица
Нойко чобан и беликчий	25	Софийско
Мъжко дете в кула	18	Софийско
Провикна се из гора зелена	11	Копривщица
Петлите пеят на саминяло	10	Белослатинско
Отидох в росни ливади	24	Михайловградско (Монтана)
Гора се с гора ставила	10	Софийско
Караш ме, мале ле, караш ме	18	Мичуринско (Царево)
Какво са й хоро завило	21	Северна Добруджа
Делба на двама братя	25	Търновско
Пенка изменя на либето си	25	Търновско
Крали Марко погубва Жълта Базиргяна и спасява Света гора	25	Софийско
Дете голомеше погубва църна арапина при сватбата на тимешварин гюро	25	Софийско
Ненчо войвода освободен от Радан войвода	25	Търновско
Юначна Янка освобождава брата си	25	Сливенско
Болен войвода	25	Търновско
Магда невеста пленена от татари	25	Софийско
Погубването на Салих ага	25	Ахъчелебийско (Смолян)
20 songs	437	

## Appendix C: Surveys

The following six pages contain all of the versions of the surveys distributed (see §6.1). In order, they are:

- Bulgarian (version A) — distributed in Sofia, Bulgaria
- Bulgarian (version B) — distributed in Sofia, Bulgaria
- Serbian (version C) — distributed in Belgrade, Serbia
- Serbian (version D) — distributed in Belgrade, Serbia
- Serbian (version E) — distributed in Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Serbian (version F) — distributed in Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina

The instructions on all versions read:

*Below you will see phrases and lines that may be part of a folk song. We request that you read through each phrase and indicate how “folkloric” it sounds. Select:*

- **not folkloric** — *if it doesn’t sound especially folkloric*
- **maybe folkloric** — *if it could be part of a folk song or if you are not sure*
- **very folkloric** — *if it sounds like part of a folk song*

*You may skip any phrases that give you difficulty. When you are answering, rely on your intuition. On the whole, the survey should not take more than five minutes. Thank you very much for your participation!*

По-долу ще видите фрази и стихове, които може да са част от народна песен. Ще Ви помолим да прочетете всяка фраза и да посочите колко “фолклорно” тя звучи. Изберете:

- **не фолклорно** — ако не звучи особено фолклорно
- **може би фолклорно** — ако може да бъде от народна песен или ако не сте сигурен/а
- **много фолклорно** — ако звучи като част от народна песен

Можете да пропуснете фразите, които Ви затрудняват. Когато отговорите, разчитайте на интуицията си. Като цяло, анкетата не трябва да отнеме повече от пет минути. Много Ви благодарим за участието!

1) **Марко ми дума**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

2) **готини пичове**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

3) **ще видите**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

4) **показал го е на Пенча**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

5) **ние търсиме**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

6) **погледни водата, татко**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

7) **Мария песен запява**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

8) **онзи снег**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

9) **небето синьо**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

10) **даде на Сашо шишето**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

11) **не давам му нищо**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

12) **тия са хора от тука**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

13) **ние четем**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

14) **Митко прочете писмото**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

15) **Мила хранеше пилето**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

16) **дали са го на Митьо**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

17) **Имаме хубава къща / в къщата има три стаи**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

18) **виждаме, мамо, реката**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

19) **това лято**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

20) **така не се прави**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

21) **млада мома**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

22) **силен вятър го откърши**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

23) **ще да търсите**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

24) **да ти кажа нещо**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

25) **он каже на Вера**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

26) **зелената трева**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

27) **Стоян напои овцете**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

28) **хубаво момиче**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

29) **Навън има старо дърво / а на дърво има птица**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

30) **той дава Таня кравата**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

Според Вас, какво прави една песен да звучи “народна” или “фолклорна”?



По-долу ще видите фрази и стихове, които може да са част от народна песен. Ще Ви помолим да прочетете всяка фраза и да посочите колко “фолклорно” тя звучи. Изберете:

- **не фолклорно** — ако не звучи особено фолклорно
- **може би фолклорно** — ако може да бъде от народна песен или ако не сте сигурен/а
- **много фолклорно** — ако звучи като част от народна песен

Можете да пропуснете фразите, които Ви затрудняват. Когато отговорите, разчитайте на интуицията си. Като цяло, анкетата не трябва да отнеме повече от пет минути. Много Ви благодарим за участието!

1) **да ти думам нещо**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

2) **готини пичове**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

3) **ще търсите**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

4) **дали са го на Митя**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

5) **ние четеме**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

6) **виждаме реката, мамо**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

7) **Митко писмото прочете**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

8) **това лето**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

9) **тревата зелена**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

10) **дава на Таня кравата**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

11) **така се не прави**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

12) **силен го вятър откърши**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

13) **ние търсим**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

14) **Мария запява песен**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

15) **Стоян поеше овцете**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

16) **показал го е на Пенчо**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

17) **Навън има старо дърво / на дървото има птица**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

18) **погледни, татко, водата**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

19) **онзи сняг**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

20) **не му давам нищо**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

21) **хубава мома**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

22) **тия хора са от тука**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

23) **ще да видите**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

24) **Марко ми каза**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

25) **он каже на Вера**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

26) **синьото небе**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

27) **Мила нахрани пилето**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

28) **младо момиче**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

29) **Имаме хубава къща / а в къща има три стаи**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

30) **тя даде Сашо шишето**

не фолклорно     може би фолклорно     много фолклорно

Според Вас, какво прави една песен да звучи “народна” или “фолклорна”?

U nastavku sledi spisak ponuđenih fraza i stihova, koji mogu biti deo narodne pesme. Molimo Vas pročitajte svaku frazu i izaberite u kojoj meri ona “folklorno” zvuči. Izaberite:

- **ne folklorno** — ako ne zvuči naročito folklorno
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- **veoma folklorno** — ako zvuči kao deo narodne pesme

Možete preskočiti fraze, koje su vam teške. Kada odgovarate, oslonite se na intuiciju. U suštini, popunjavanje ankete ne bi trebalo da Vam oduzme više od pet minuta. Unapred Vam zahvaljujemo na izdvojenom vremenu!

**1) Jelena mi reče**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**2) kul frajeri**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**3) će da traži**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**4) ubili su stari Marko**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**5) pogledaj lisicu, tata**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**6) Nikola pesmu peva**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**7) onog snijega**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**8) nebo plavo**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**9) ovi su ljudi odavde**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**10) Jovan čita pismo**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**11) Mila nošaše mleko**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**12) Moj brat Ivan mi je rekao**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**13) vidim tamo mladog Branka**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**14) vidimo, majko, oblake**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**15) ovog leta**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**16) visok momak**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**17) jak vetar ga lomi**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**18) će slušati**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**19) da ti kažem nešto**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**20) ona pronađe pismo**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**21) brate Miloš tako kaže**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**22) Stojan je išao kroz šumu**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**23) lep mladić**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**24) zelena trava**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

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ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**4) vidim tamo mladi Branko**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**5) vidimo oblake, majko**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**6) Jovan pismo čita**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**7) ovog ljeta**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**8) trava zelena**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**9) jak ga vetar lomi**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**10) Nikola peva pesmu**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**11) Stojan iđase kroz šumu**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

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ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**14) pogledaj, tata, lisicu**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**15) onog snega**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**16) lep momak**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**17) ovi ljudi su odavde**

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**18) će tražiti**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**19) Jelena mi kaže**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**20) ona pronađe pismo**

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**21) Brate Ivan mi je rekao**

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**23) visok mladić**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**24) plavo nebo**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

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U nastavku slijedi spisak ponuđenih fraza i stihova, koji mogu biti dio narodne pjesme. Molimo Vas pročitajte svaku frazu i izaberite u kojoj mjeri ona “folklorno” zvuči. Izaberite:

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ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

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**6) Nikola pjesmu pjeva**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

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**14) vidimo, majko, oblake**

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ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**23) lijep mladić**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**24) zelena trava**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

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**5) vidimo oblake, majko**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**6) Jovan pismo čita**

ne folklorno     moguće folklorno     veoma folklorno

**7) ovog ljeta**

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**9) jak ga vjetar lomi**

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