Bulgarian Verbs of Motion: Slavic Verbs in a Balkan Context
by
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A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Slavic Languages and Literatures in the Graduate Division of the University of California, Berkeley

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Abstract

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

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

This research has discovered a number of ways in which the lexicalization patterning of Bulgarian motion verbs is not typically Slavic. Namely, Bulgarian focuses heavily on path constructions, and new motion verb vocabulary has developed around path constructions in ways not seen in BCS and Russian. Additionally, although Bulgarian verbal prefixation appears to be quite similar to that in Russian and BCS, the system is in fact much more limited; this may be a factor in the increased expression of path of motion in Bulgarian. Finally, this research has shown that Bulgarian lexicalization patterns are more similar to those in Greek, and raises the possibility that the Bulgarian motion verb system might have been influenced by Balkan contact phenomena.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE MYSTERIES OF THE SLAVIC MOTION VERB

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

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

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

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

² See Dickey 2000 for a comparative study of aspect across Slavic languages.
way in which these patterns compare with usage in two other Slavic languages, Russian and
Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian (BCS). Theoretical considerations of event conflation will be dis-
cussed at length in Section 1.2 below.

1.2 MANNER AND PATH CONFLATION

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

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

1.2.2 Satellite-framed, high manner languages

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

(1) The bottle floated into the cave.

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

---

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

4 The meaning of float with a medium of air rather than water, defined by the OED as “to move freely and gently in
or through the air, as if buoyed up or carried along by it,” is a later meaning (first citation dated in the OED as 1634,
in Milton). This is likely to be a metaphorical extension of the meaning of suspension in water, with the manner
retained as the salient feature and only the medium changing. As such, it provides some insight into the process of
semantic broadening through metaphor.
The manner component of the motion in the above example is not optional in English; the manner-neutral verb *enter* (borrowed from a Romance language) would not sound natural in this context; this verb seems to suggest agentive motion, and it is also more common in a more formal register. The manner-neutral verb *go* (as in *The bottle went into the cave*) fits the register, but also sounds unnatural, again because of connotations of agentivity. Additionally, however, English, as a high-manner language, privileges manner of motion and tends to use manner verbs more often than path verbs, resulting in the expectation of an expression of manner (Talmy 1975, 1985, 1991, 2000b, Berman & Slobin 1994, Slobin 1996, 2003, Narasimhan 2003).

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

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

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

(2) La botella *entró* a la cueva (*flotando*)

_The bottle entered [to] the cave (floating)._  

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

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

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

Typical verb-framed, low-manner languages include languages of the Romance family, Turkish, and Hebrew. The most commonly used motion verbs in these languages tend to express path of motion only, and additional information about manner, when deemed necessary by the speaker, is expressed through additional verbal constructions. Languages of the Indo-European
family, with the exceptions of the Romance languages and Hindi, are satellite-framed, high-manner languages, as is Chinese. The Slavic languages, as non-Romance Indo-European languages, are also classified as satellite-framed, high-manner languages.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bulgarian traditionally lists aspectual pairs of verbs in the order “imperfective/perfective,” while BCS uses the opposite order, and there is no firm standard for Russian. For simplicity and consistency, in this work I will present all aspectual pairs in the order “imperfective/perfective.” A number of basic Bulgarian verbs are unpaired for aspect, along with a smaller number of BCS verbs; these, of course, will be listed alone.
These examples will be discussed further in Chapter 2; for now it will suffice to note two interesting features of these examples. First, (5) uses a manner verb based on the root влека ‘drag, haul’, whose meaning is less neutral in this case, in that it means something closer to ‘carried by water’ rather than literally ‘dragged by water’. (This same verb, in colloquial usage, can even be encountered with the neutral meaning go.) Second, (6) uses a path verb, which is not seen in other Slavic examples. This type of construction is atypical for Slavic languages, and looks more like a Romance construction. The prefix в- on the verb ‘enter’ (влезам/влеза) appears to be a path satellite, but the root to which the prefix is affixed no longer has any independent meaning. (There are two other common Bulgarian verbs based on this no longer independently functioning root, излизам/изляза ‘exit’ and слизам/слиза ‘descend’, both path verbs; these will be discussed in Chapter 2.)

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

The above examples indicate that Bulgarian does not conform to the typological category of high manner, satellite-framed languages in the same way, or to the same extent, that Russian does. Indeed, the typology of motion verb lexicalization patterns is not framed in terms of a privative distinction between verb-framed or satellite-framed languages, but in fact in terms of a cline (Slobin 2004). Languages in the same typological classification with reference to manner of motion will not necessarily pattern the same. Languages will not only vary in the degrees to which they pattern as high or low manner languages, but can also move along this cline over time. Slobin (2004) cites several studies (Schwarze 1985, Hottenroth 1985, Kramer 1981) indicating this. For instance, Italian, perhaps through contact with German, makes greater use of directional adverbs with both path and manner verbs than other Romance languages (Slobin 2004: 246). Similar tendencies have been shown for Brussels French under the influence of Dutch contact, as well as for other Romance-German contact situations, and Romance-German contact-induced convergence has been found in Switzerland. The saliency of manner or path can vary over time in a given language, and even Latin once had a productive satellite-framed verb-prefix construction to associate paths with motion or manner verbs, comparable to that found in modern Slavic languages (Matellán and Mateu 2008). BCS path prefixes as well have become phonologically fused to a neutral verb for go (Filipović 2007), and there are other instances of Slavic path prefixes fusing with the verb stem, resulting in verbs that are “semi-transparent manner-path lexical items,” such as Russian взмывать/взмыйть ‘soar upward’, in which the root -мыть no longer contributes meaning to the verb (Slobin 2004: 246). These facts, in combination with the differences demonstrated between Bulgarian and Russian, suggest the need for further work in the area of Bulgarian motion verb lexicalization patterns to determine where Bulgarian is situated along this cline, and whether it may in fact be evolving in a different direction than other Slavic languages.
Furthermore, while the typological classification of verb-framed or satellite-framed is usually clear for any given language, Talmy (2000) cites one language as having a “parallel system of conflation,” meaning that, in most situations, a path verb or a manner verb can be used “with roughly comparable colloquiality in the representation of the same type of Motion event” (Talmy 2000b: 66). The one language given as an example of parallel conflation is (modern) Greek, one of the languages of the Balkan Sprachbund. For most path notions, Greek has both a path-satellite (in the case of Greek, a preposition) for use with a manner verb, and a path verb than can be accompanied optionally by a manner gerund. Talmy provides the following example (2000b: 66):

(7) a. ετρεξα μεσα στο σπιτι (etreksa mesa s-to spiti)
   ran.PST.1SG in to-the house
   I ran into the house.

   b. μπηκα (τρεχονδας στο σπιτι) (bikha trekhondas s-to spiti)
   enter.PST.1SG running to-the house
   I entered the house (running).

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

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

(8) Он, като излязъл из селото...
   he as exit.P.REN.3S from village-DEF
   He, when he exited from the village…

(9) Дете, като чуло гласа на майка си, и то излязло
   child-DEF as hear.P.REN.3S voice-DEF of mother REFL and it exit.P.REN.3S
   The child, when he heard the voice of his mother, also exited (/came out) of the well.

(10) Дяволът, като си знал името, изкокнал из кладенеца
    devil-DEF as REFL know.1.REN.3S name-DEF hop.P.REN.3S from well-DEF
    The devil, as he knew his name, hopped out of the well.

(11) Хвърли го в морето, а той ще ти излязе
    throw.S.IMP.3SG him in sea-DEF and he will you exit.PPRS.3SG

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

(12) Овчарят отвързал чувала, и Хитър Петър излязъл, а намясто него влязъл овчарят.

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

In (8) we have a straightforward example of a man leaving the village, in the course of making a journey to several different villages.

Example (9) refers to a boy coming up out of a well, using the same path verb as in (8). Example (9) provides a clear contrast with (8)—the subject is also coming out of a well, but this time, a manner verb is used, indicating the equal acceptability of two different verbs. These two sentences appear together in the story (although the order is reversed); given the context, there is no reason to assume a marked difference in the method in which the boy and the devil exit the well. (Indeed, in an earlier instance of the devil exiting the well, his emergence is described with the manner-neutral path verb излизам.) These examples are also interesting because they show that the path described by the path verb chosen expresses only the path out of a place, and not the upward motion that might be expected from such a situation—in Bulgarian, upward motion is not readily accessible as a path prefix.

Examples (11) and (12) show similar situations in which the exit might be expected to be more marked in a language that routinely uses manner verbs for motion events. Example (12) also illustrates the use of the verb with the opposite meaning of излизам, the verb влизам/влеза. In fact, for some boundary-crossing events of entering or exiting, an ordinary manner verb might be less likely to be used.

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

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

8 The preposition used, из, is archaic or dialectal in this usage, and now means ‘around’; today the expected preposition would be от, which is the standard preposition meaning ‘from’ or ‘out of’ across a wide variety of situations.
‘leave, set out’, насочвам се / насоча се ‘point, direct oneself’, движа се ‘move’, придвижвам се / придвижа се ‘move towards’, забързам / забързва ‘hurry’, шурам се ‘potter about; run about’, and both стъпвам / стъпя and пристъпвам / пристъпя ‘step; tread’. This demonstrates that the Bulgarian translators as often as not fail to translate the manner verb walk with what seems to be the closest Bulgarian manner verb equivalent, sometimes even choosing a path verb. This suggests that conflation of a motion event with manner is not necessarily the canonical lexicalization pattern in Bulgarian, as might be expected from a Slavic language. Moreover, the large number of roots seen in these various verbs used as the equivalent of walk is evidence of a motion verb system whose base is in essence very creative in that it produces motion verbs from a great variety of roots.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chapter 5 shifts to data from the spoken language. For this, I used narratives elicited using Mercer Mayer’s children’s picture book Frog, Where are You? This method has been used by numerous other linguists to elicit narratives in other languages, beginning with Dan Slobin’s
work (discussed further in 1.3 below). I recorded 27 oral narratives in Bulgaria, which I compare with similar narratives gathered by others for Serbian and Russian. I focus on six of the most salient motion events, but also discuss noteworthy usages in other motion events in the Bulgarian stories. While the oral narratives involve a great deal of individual interpretation of drawings and are therefore not as directly comparable as the literary translations discussed in Chapter 4, overall tendencies in usage of manner and path verbs are very revealing, and show a much greater reliance on path verbs in Bulgarian than in Russian. This supports my assertions that Bulgarian is developing in a different typological direction than Russian.

1.4 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

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

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

Talmy’s typological classification of languages based on lexical patterning in motion verbs has been continued and expanded on most notably by Slobin (1996, 1997, 2000b). Slobin brings several important contributions to the study of the cognitive semantics of motion verbs, among which are the observation that the act of crossing boundaries may be a feature determining whether a path verb or a manner verb can be used to describe a motion event in a verb-framed language. Thus, while verb-framed languages have plenty of motion verbs encoding manner, these verbs are not used to anywhere near the same degree as their counterparts in
satellite-framed languages, in part because they may be restricted to non-boundary crossing events. This restriction in use, in turn, results in a smaller semantic field for such verbs, and less recall by speakers of the languages.

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

Slobin’s work also provides the statement that first prompted my inquiry into this field, namely, his statement that Slavic languages have no independent verb meaning **COME** and hence must use a manner verb for ‘come’ (Slobin 2004).\[1\] This requires, at the least, a distinction of whether the motion toward is accomplished by vehicle or by foot. Although this is commonly considered a trait of Slavic languages (consider even the quote at the beginning of this chapter), this does not hold true for Bulgarian (or, in fact, for BCS). As mentioned above, in Bulgarian, the verbs of the aspect pair **идвам** / **дойдя** now simply mean **COME**, without any indication of how this action is to be achieved; that is, the distinction of whether the subject is coming by foot or by vehicle has been neutralized. This alone, regardless of other differences between the Russian and Bulgarian verbal systems, suggests that the possibilities for describing motion in Bulgarian will differ from those in Russian.

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

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

11
Finally, Filipović’s work (2007) on BCS provides a framework for examining changes in the Bulgarian verbal system related to prefixation. Filipović studies lexicalization patterns cross-linguistically, focusing on motion verbs and BCS. Filipović introduces the idea of fusion between the verbal prefix and root, suggesting that BCS may be in the process of a change whereby the category of path verbs is expanding. This change, though not pervasive in the language, looks surprisingly similar to what took place in Latin, a process which gave rise to the verb-framed lexicalization patterns of the Romance languages. Her term “fusion” is useful for describing what has occurred with a small group of high-frequency Bulgarian motion verbs as they have evolved from manner verbs to path verbs.

1.5 ABOUT THE BULGARIAN LANGUAGE

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

1.5.1 The development of the Bulgarian language in historical context

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

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

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

13 The actual number of Proto-Bulgarian words in Bulgarian is difficult to determine because of their Turkic origins, which lead some linguists to hypothesize that some Bulgarian words considered Turkisms might actually be Proto-Bulgarian words which assimilated with their Turkish cognates during the Ottoman period of Bulgarian history. However, the number of words currently considered to be of Proto-Bulgarian origin still in common use today number no more than a few dozen at most. (See Mirčeva & Haralampiev 1999 for a fuller discussion of the issue.)
By far the greatest outside influence on Bulgarian was exerted by Byzantine Greek. The Bulgarian language developed in direct contact with Greek from the time the South Slavic tribes moved into the Balkan Peninsula. Not only did the Slavic and Greek populations live in close proximity, but the official state language was Greek until (Old) Bulgarian became the state and church language in 893, and once again from 1018-1186, when Bulgaria fell under Byzantine rule. Furthermore, when the Ottoman Empire gained control of Bulgaria at the end of the 14th century, the Ottoman rulers united the Bulgarians and Greeks into one Christian community. In doing so, they abolished the autocephalous Bulgarian Orthodox Church, established as the first autocephalous Slavic Orthodox church in 927, and placed the Bulgarian Christians under the jurisdiction of the Greek Patriarchate. (The Bulgarian Church regained autocephaly in 1871.) The first Bulgarian-language primer, the “Riben Bukvar” (‘Fish Primer’, so called because of a picture of fish in the back), was published by Dr. Petar Beron in 1824, and in 1835, the first secular school with instruction in Bulgarian was established in Gabrovo. With these developments, the centuries-long influence of Greek on Bulgarian began to diminish.

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

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

Another major linguistic influence on the development of Bulgarian was established with the arrival of the Ottoman Turks in Bulgaria in the late 14th century. By 1381, the Bulgarian state had become part of the Ottoman Empire, and Turkish speakers began settling in the Bulgarian lands, both to fortify the new western borderlands in Europe, and to escape more crowded conditions in Anatolia. Over the next five centuries, thousands of words entered Bulgarian from Turkish, not only words for technical and Ottoman society-specific concepts, but also everyday vocabulary. At the beginning of the 19th century, the Bulgarian philologist B. Conev compiled a list of some 2000 Turkish words in use in Bulgarian at the time, organizing them into different categories: nature, minerals, plants, and animals; economy, household articles, family, craftsmanship, commerce, money, measurements, and weights; buildings and building parts; clothing and ornamental accessories; food, drink, and flavor, games, music, and amusements; the body, illnesses, and cures; the individual, society, faith, and nationality; government and justice; military; nicknames; and miscellaneous meanings (Mirčeva and Haralampiev 1999).
From at least the time of Beron’s “Riben Bukvar,” however, Bulgarian intellectuals began to replace Turkish words with Slavic whenever possible, using either original Bulgarian variants or borrowed Russian terms. Purification efforts met with a certain amount of success—many Turkish words common in the 19th century language are no longer familiar to today’s speakers. Still, hundreds of Turkish words remain in the everyday language, and are, in fact, an integral part of the vocabulary.

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

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

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

The first formal mention of what would become known as Balkanisms was by the Slovenian philologist Jernej Kopitar; his often quoted statement that in the languages south of the Danube “nur eine Sprachform herrscht, aber mit dreyerley Sprachmaterie” (Kopitar 1829: 86) is a gross simplification, but the commonalities that prompted him to make this observation are indeed striking. Miklosich (1861) singled out some of the distinct common features of the languages of the region, and since this time, linguists have discussed which features should be
considered part of the Balkan Sprachbund. In the following century Kristian Sandfeld (1930) identified more than 100 features as “concordances” among various languages of the Balkans, but the list of commonly accepted Balkanisms today generally ranges from half a dozen to a dozen.

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

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

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14 Asenova (2002) also considers the prevalence of the use of the aorist over the perfect as a Balkanism.
CHAPTER 2: THE BULGARIAN LANGUAGE AND ITS VERBAL SYSTEM

2.1 CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE BULGARIAN MOTION VERB: AN OVERVIEW

2.1.1 Aspect

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

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

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

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

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15 The Old Church Slavic tenses are present, aorist, imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, future (compound), and future perfect. The future form was not yet fully grammaticalized, and could be formed by more than one construction.
16 Present (сегашно време), aorist (минало свършено време), imperfect (минало неопределено време), perfect (минало неопределено време), pluperfect (минало предварително време), future (бъдеще време), future perfect (бъдеще предварително време), future in the past (бъдеще време в миналото), and past future perfect (бъдеще предварително време в миналото).
perfective form may be from any of the three conjugational classes, the derived imperfective will always be a third conjugation verb. Examples of such pairs include видял/вижда 'see', казал/каза 'say', купил/купя 'buy', отиел/отида 'go' and преписва/препиша 'copy'. The majority of paired verbs are prefixed verbs, but there are also a number of high frequency unpaired verbs in this group (such as the first three in this list, see, say, and buy).

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

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

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

The other type of verb unpaired for aspect in Bulgarian is the biaspectral verb. Biaspectral verbs are largely those with the derivational suffixes -ур-а-, -уб-а- and -уб-а-, which formally do not allow imperfectivization (Aronson 1985: 280). (In this way they differ from the

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17 This term is used in Bermel (1997) for this type of verb in Old Russian.
so-called simplex verbs whose stems morphologically could allow imperfectivization; a small number of them have indeed developed imperfective forms—e.g. каза ‘say’ > казвам/кажа.) Biaspectual verbs with the suffix -ир-а- are of foreign origin, and comprise a large category numbering over 500 verbs (Nicolova 2008: 250). Verbs with the suffix -ир-а- have a tendency to be drawn into the aspect system through the addition of prefixes (e.g., ангажирам → заангажирам), but the unprefixed forms are still used with far higher frequency than any prefixed forms. Verbs with the suffix -ув-а- are still biaspectual even after the addition of a prefix (e.g., пътувам ‘travel’ is formally classified as imperfective, without a perfective form, while the prefixed form отпътувам ‘set out, depart’ is considered biaspectual).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Anaspectual</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>пише</td>
<td>написва</td>
<td>напише</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aorist</td>
<td>писа</td>
<td>написва</td>
<td>написа</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>пишеше</td>
<td>написваше</td>
<td>напишеше</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

2.1.2 Prefixation

Slavic verbal prefixes are related to prepositions, and are often similar or identical in form to prepositions found in the modern languages, but the meanings of the prefixes may differ from the modern meanings of the related prepositions (both because of the development of figurative meanings in the prefixes and because of changes in the meanings of the prepositions themselves). Prefixes used with motion verbs typically add a spatial component indicating direction of motion. Generally speaking, basic Slavic motion verbs exist in an unprefixed form; prefixes can be added, and often are, to indicate the direction of motion or to otherwise qualify the action in some other way. In most Slavic languages, a set of basic motion verbs forms the foundation of the motion verb system. In Russian and BCS, for example, a number of verbs of motion are based on the verb meaning GO, ходить/идти and иći, respectively.
The system has developed somewhat differently in Bulgarian, however; for many of the basic motion verbs, prefixation results not in a perfective verb with a spatial meaning indicated by the prefix, as in Russian, but in a verb with a figurative, non-motion verb meaning. For example, adding the prefix из- to ходя results in изходя/изхождам, which does not mean ‘exit’, as might be predicted, but ‘originate, stem from’, as well as ‘go/walk all over’ (the first of these incorporates the modern meaning of the Bulgarian preposition из and the second the telic meaning of из—‘walk throughout an area to completion’). The verb ‘exit’ is formed by adding the prefix из- to a suppletive base, -лизам/-лазя. Because of such differences in the Bulgarian system, new basic motion verbs have arisen and the range of prefixes used with any given motion verb root is often smaller. Most notably, a number of motion acts expressed in Russian or BCS through the addition of a prefix to a basic verb meaning GO are expressed in Bulgarian with verbs formed from roots other than GO. This results in a less predictable system—prefixed motion verbs in Russian and BCS may or may not be expressed by prefixed verbs in Bulgarian, and when the Bulgarian cognate is a prefixed form, the verbal base is often different than that in other Slavic languages. Moreover, for some basic motion verbs (discussed below), prefixation results not in a motion verb indicating spatial trajectory, but in a figurative verb no longer in the semantic category of motion verb. Motion verb lexiconology will be discussed extensively below.

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

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

18 Whereas a slash has been used, as is conventional, to separate verbs in aspect pairs, here I used an en-dash to separate verbs of determinacy pairs, to indicate that there is no aspectual distinction between the two verbs in each pair.
indeterminate. According to K. Ivanova (1962), this distinction has been maintained because of the suppletive nature of this pair, which differentiates it from other motion verbs.¹⁹

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

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

2.1.4 Pedestrian versus vehicular motion

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

2.2 THE COMMON MOTION VERBS IN BULGARIAN

2.2.1 The problem of a standard Bulgarian motion verb set

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


²⁰ See K. Ivanova (1962) for a discussion of влеча (се) and влеча (се), and K. Čolakova (1960) for a discussion of плувам and плавам.
(determinate) or the verb refers to a two-way or repeated action (indeterminate). This distinction exists separately from aspect; each determinate/indeterminate pair consists of two imperfective verbs, both of which may be made perfective through prefixation. The number listed sometimes varies by source, but one generally finds a list of 12-16 such verbs, covering the basic ideas of RUN, CHASE, RIDE, WALK/GO, ROLL, CLIMB/CLAMBER, FLY, RUSH, SWIM/SAIL, CRAWL, all with intransitive meanings, as well as the transitive verbs meaning HAUL/CONVEY, LEAD, DRIVE, ROLL/CONVEY, CARRY, and DRAG. The basic list for Russian motion verbs (after Wade 1992) is given below.

**Table 2.2. The canonical Russian verbs of motion**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Determinate</th>
<th>Indeterminate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>идти</td>
<td>ходить</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ехать</td>
<td>ездить</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>бежать</td>
<td>бегать</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>лететь</td>
<td>летать</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>плыть</td>
<td>плавать</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>нести</td>
<td>носить</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>вести</td>
<td>водить</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>везти</td>
<td>возить</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>лезть</td>
<td>лазить</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ползти</td>
<td>ползать</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>тащить</td>
<td>таскать</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>гнать</td>
<td>гонять</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>брести</td>
<td>бродить</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘go, walk’
‘travel, ride’
‘run’
‘fly’
‘swim, float’
‘carry’
‘lead’
‘convey, transport’
‘climb’
‘crawl’
‘drag’
‘drive, chase’
‘roll’
‘wander’

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

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

**Table 2.3. Bulgarian equivalents of the canonical Russian verbs of motion**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Russian</th>
<th>Bulgarian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>идти/ходить</td>
<td>вървя, ида, отивам, ходя</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ехать/ездить</td>
<td>возя се, пътувам</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>бежать/бегать</td>
<td>бягам</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>лететь/летать</td>
<td>летя</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>плыть/плавать</td>
<td>плувам</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Russian</th>
<th>BCS</th>
<th>Bulgarian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ходить/идти</td>
<td>идти</td>
<td>ида</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>входить</td>
<td>уći/ulaziti</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>выйти</td>
<td>izći/izlaziti</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>доходит/дойти</td>
<td>доći/dolaziti</td>
<td>идям/дойда</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>заходить/зайти</td>
<td>заći/zalaziti</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>обойти</td>
<td>obići/oblaziti</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>otići/odlaziti</td>
<td>отирам/отида</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>перейти</td>
<td>preći/prelaziti</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>подойти</td>
<td>podići/podilaziti</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пойти</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>прийти</td>
<td>preći/prelaziti</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>проходить/пройти</td>
<td>proći/prolaziti</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As Table 2.3 shows, only a few Bulgarian translations of the Russian and BCS verbs based on cognates of iti are formed in the same way in Bulgarian. There are instead a several different roots on which Bulgarian forms of the above verbs are based, with no clear dependence on any single verb root. This represents a divergent development in the Bulgarian motion verb lexicon.

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

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

2.2.2 Towards a list of Bulgarian motion verbs

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

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| сойти | сићи/silaziti | --- | 'go down, descend' |
| --- | razici se/razilaziti se | разотида | 'disperse, scatter' |

21 Another set of verbs based on this root in Russian находилна́йти and Serbian nalazитна́ц ‘find’; these verbs are not listed, of course, because they are not motion verbs. As with most of the motion verb examples, however, the Bulgarian verb with the same meaning (намитатамер) is not based on any form of this root.

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

**TABLE 2.4 The most commonly used Bulgarian motion verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Category</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>COMING &amp; GOING</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>идвам/дойда</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>отивам/отида</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>вървя</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ходя</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>стъпвам/стъпя</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>пристъпвам/пристия</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>пътувам</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ARRIVING</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>стигам/стигна</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>пристигам/пристигна</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>кацам (кацва/кацна)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RETURNING</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>връщам се/върна се</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>завръщам се/завърна се</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>прибiram се/прибера се</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LEAVING, SETTING OUT</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>тръгвам/тръгна</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>заминавам/замина</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>поемам/поема</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ASCENDING</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>качвам се/кача се</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>катеря се (also покатеря се, изкатеря)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DESCENDING</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>слизам/слиза</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>смъквам се/смъкна се</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ENTERING</strong></td>
<td></td>
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This list is much more extensive than the standard list of Russian motion verbs, but several omissions are evident in comparison with the Russian list. First, the list does not include transitive motion verbs (variations on CARRY, LEAD, CONVEY), which are outside the scope of my study. Furthermore, transitive motion verbs in Russian show the determinate/indeterminate motion distinction characteristic of the basic set of Russian motion verbs, supporting their categorization as motion verbs, regardless of transitivity. Because Bulgarian motion verbs do not distinguish directional determinacy, however, transitive motion verbs are less readily categorizable as basic to the motion verb category. Additionally, the verbs meaning SWIM, FLY, CRAWL, and ROLL are also absent from the list of frequent Bulgarian motion verbs; this is simply because they are not among the more frequently used motion verbs in Bulgarian. They will be considered below, as they do cover some basic forms of motion, and because a basic question must be answered: are these verbs used less frequently only because people are less likely to travel by flying, swimming, crawling, or rolling than by other means, or is specific manner of motion less salient a feature of the Bulgarian verbal system? Comparisons of both overall frequency of usage relative to Russian and Serbian, as well as to comparisons with choices made by translators from other languages into these languages, should answer this question.

2.3 VERBS DENOTING COMING AND GOING

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

2.3.1 The COME/GO verbal complex

Some of the most frequently used motion verbs in Bulgarian belong to the complex based on the verb ида, expressing both COME and GO. The verb ида itself has two variants, meaning either COME or GO, with the meaning being aspect-dependent: ида₁ ‘come’ (movement toward the speaker) is imperfective, and ида₂ ‘go’ (movement away from the speaker) is perfective (Maslov 1963: 39-42). Ида₂ ‘go’, as a perpetual perfective, is not used as a finite form in the present tense, but rather only in commands and with the infinitive replacement phrases headed by да. More unusual (for a perfective form) is the fact that it is not used in the past tense, either. The imperfective form ида₁ ‘come’ is used in both the present and past (imperfect) tenses. The two forms of ида enjoy only limited usage; derived forms (to be discussed subsequently) are used far more often. The examples below demonstrate ида₁ and ида₂, respectively.

(1) Динко идеше от град-а…
Dinko come.I IMP.3SG from town-DEF
Dinko was coming from town… (D. Dimov)

(2) Иди утре в град-а…
go.P IMP. SG tomorrow in town-DEF
Go into town tomorrow… (E. Stanev)

The derived imperfective form of ида₁, идвах, means only COME (imperfective); the perfective form produced through the addition of the prefix до-, доида, also means COME (perfective); the prefix до- is consistent with the meaning of motion towards the speaker, but it is
apparently unnecessary for the imperfective form идваи. There is another imperfective verb, дохождаи 'come', often paired with perfective доида as its imperfective counterpart; many Bulgarian dictionaries list доида/дохождаи as an aspect pair, and list идваи as an unpaired imperfective (e.g., Deчева 1997). The verb дохождаи is not often used, however, and in this work идваи/доидаи will be treated as the aspect pair meaning COME.22 There is no difference in meaning between ида 'come' and идваи, but the latter is by far the more prevalent. The following examples show imperfective and perfective usages of идваи/доидаи:

(3) … никаква човешка следа не показваше някой да е идидал тук. be.PRS.3SG come-PTCP 23 here
… no human tracks showed that anyone had come here.  (E. Stanev)

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

The prefixed form отидаи and its derived imperfective отивам form the aspect pair meaning GO. The meaning is basically the same as that of the perfective form идда2, but with идда2 being reserved mainly for commands, and used slightly more often than отидаи in the imperative form. This motion verb is atypical of Bulgarian motion verbs in being the only one that expresses one-way motion; as mentioned above, the feature of determinacy of motion has generally been lost in Bulgarian. (The indeterminate counterpart for two-way motion, ходаи, is discussed below.) The following examples demonstrate typical imperfective and perfective usages of отиваи/отидаи:

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

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

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

22 This is common practice in western works on Bulgarian grammar, such as Rå Hauge (1999: 87) or Alexander (2000: 85-86, 93).
23 Verbs in the perfect tenses (perfect, past perfect, future perfect) will not be marked as such to avoid overcomplication of the interlinear glosses. The perfect tenses are formed with a form of the verb 'be' (съм) and the l-participle. As in other Slavic languages, the l-participle agrees with the subject in number and gender. Such information, however, will not be indicated in the interlinear gloss.
based on this root—the pairs идвам/дойда and отивам/отида represent the full extent of the series. The five verbs of this complex all express direction of motion (path), but are fully neutral for manner.

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

2.3.2 Ходя and its derived forms

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

Lindstedt argues that the verb ходя, like ида, has two separate meanings, differentiated by aspect. As an imperfective only, ходя₁, its meaning is ‘go, to walk’; in its biaspectual form, ходя₂, it means ‘go somewhere and come back, to visit’ (Lindstedt 1985: 236). Ходя₁ is inherently non-bounded (atelic), and is often interchangeable with вървя. Ходя₂, on the other hand, acts as the two-way motion counterpart to отивам/отида. Lindstedt argues that ходя₂ is biaspectral rather than perfective. It also has a habitual interpretation. Lindstedt claims that it has become biaspectral because of its use to denote two-way movement (Lindstedt 1985: 237-238).

Ходя₁ is often cited as the Bulgarian equivalent of ‘walk’, and ‘walk’ is included as part of its definition, but there is nothing in the semantics of the verb itself that suggests manner of any sort. However, if ходя is viewed as a verb with two distinct variants, as described above, then ходя₁ does show frequent usage with an implied manner WALK, while ходя₂, serving as the indeterminate counterpart of отивам/отида, in no way implies (and indeed, often excludes) the notion of WALK. If used to mean WALK, the manner must either be construed from context, or specified with the adverbial phrase пеша ‘on foot’. Here are some examples showing the use of ходя₁ and ходя₂:

(7) Изведнъж се счуха стъпки, като че някой ходеше край колибата.  
Suddenly she heard steps, as if someone were walking by the hut.  
(E. Stanev)

(8) Войниците ходят боси и се бият гладни…  
The soldiers go barefoot and fight hungry…  
(E. Stanev)

(9) Тази сутрин ми казаха, че си ходила по срещи с Рединготчето.  
This morning they told me that you’ve gone on dates with young Redingot.  
(D. Dimov)
The verbs in (7) and (8) are ходя₁—unbounded verbs with no specified path goal. That in (7) clearly suggests manner, but this is more from context than from any semantic component of the verb. That in (8) could suggest the manner WALK, primarily because the soldiers are described as barefoot. Without the qualification barefoot a reader would not interpret this verb as ‘walk’ (and even with barefoot specified, ‘go’ would probably be a better translation in English). In (9) the verb is clearly ходя₂: the goal is specified, and the meaning involves a plural number of round trips. In this case, there is no indication or implication of the manner of motion, only of the path (though it is a figurative path rather than a literal physical path). The above examples demonstrate that ходя itself encodes neither manner nor path, though ходя₁ comes closer to implying manner, while ходя₂ requires at least an inferred goal, with manner (WALK) being in no way suggested.

The Bulgarian verb ходя has developed directly from OCS hoděti, with little change in form and still less change in meaning. Its cognates in Russian and BCS are ходить and hodati, respectively. The Russian verb ходить is an indeterminate motion verb like ходя₂, but semantically closer to ходя₁ for the frequent implication of manner WALK; the BCS verb hodati does not participate in the distinction of determinate/indeterminate motion, but more clearly carries the semantic manner feature WALK.

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

2.3.3 Вървя

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

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

(10) Продължи да върви по пътеката…
    continue.P.AOR.3SG COMP walk.I.PRS.3SG along path-DEF
    [She] continued to walk along the path… (E. Stanev)
(11) ... се разгневи на тълпата, която му пречеше
dа върви.
... he grew angry at the crowd, which hindered him from walking.  (D. Dimov)

(12) Два дни бяхме вървели дотук...
In two days we had traveled to this point...  (D. Dončev)

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

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

2.3.4 Минавам/мина and its prefixed forms

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

(13) Овчарят прекрачи встрани и Караябрахим мина.
The shepherd stepped aside and Karaibrahim passed.  (A. Dončev)

(14) Минете пак по същото време – не по-късно и не по-рано.
Pass by again at the same time – no earlier and no later.  (E. Stanev)

(15) Вечерта минах още веднъж по тесните криви
evening passed пак once along narrow-def crooked
In the evening I passed once again along the narrow, crooked little streets. (E. Stanev)

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

...и отмина джамията, върху минарето на която светеше лампа.

...and he passed the mosque, on the minaret of which a lamp was glowing. (D. Dimov)

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

2.3.5 **Пътувам**

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

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24 It is also worth noting that the Latin cognate meō meāre also means both ‘go’ and ‘pass’, suggesting that this dual meaning is not unusual.
Although the verb пътувам denotes movement over a distance, which in this day and age suggests movement by means of a vehicle, the verb пътувам does not preclude motion on foot. As defined by Dečeva (1997), пътувам means “pass a certain, usually long distance, to move from one place to another by means of vehicle or on foot.” Here are examples showing typical usage of пътувам:

(18) Пътувахме цял ден по преки пътеки…
We traveled all day along straight paths… (A. Dončev)

(19) Сотиров пътува седем-осем пъти в годината…
Sotirov travels seven or eight times a year… (V. Mutafčieva)

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

(20) Разбира се, че не — иначе не би отпътувал…
Of course not — otherwise he wouldn’t have left [on his trip]… (V. Mutafčieva)

2.3.6 Стъпвам/стъпя

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

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

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25 Unless otherwise noted, all standard Bulgarian definitions from a Bulgarian monolingual dictionary come from Dečeva (1997).
26 минавам известно, обикновено дълго разстояние, предвижвам се от едно място на друго с превозно средство или пеша
27 1. слагам си крака, краката върху нещо; 2. ходя; 3. идам, дохождам; 4. влизам, навлизам
28 For example, OCS stopati as defined by Ivanova-Mirčeva and Davidov (2001): “1. вървя, крача. 2. настъпвам, вървя напред, напредвам.”
Here, as with the other instances of стъпвам/стъпя in the Bulgarian novels, the verb is used in the literal sense ‘step’, rather than in the broader meaning of ‘walk’.

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

(22) И сега, стъпвайки по улиците и тротоарите, представящи моя свят...
And now, walking along the streets and sidewalks that made up my world... (O. Pamuk)

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

The most commonly used prefixed forms of стъпвам/стъпя are пристъпвам/пристъпя ‘step, take a step, advance’ and отстъпвам/отстъпя ‘step back, step aside’. Пристъпвам/пристъпя can also convey inception of motion, but this is a secondary meaning, and inception is not implied by the verb alone. The first dictionary meaning, in fact, is “move step by step, to walk slowly.”

The second definition of пристъпвам/пристъпя indicates motion up to or approaching a goal, as is suggested by the prefix при-, the opposite motion of that described by the verb отстъпвам/отстъпя. Neither prefixed form is used with a frequency approaching that of the unprefixed стъпвам/стъпя.

2.3.7 Мъкна се

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

29 движа се стъпка по стъпка, вървя бавно
30 движи се бавно, трудно, едрав; вляча се
directional prefixes, and the path meaning is maintained literally in only izmicati se/izmaći se ‘slip out’. As a base for motion verbs, it seems that izmicati se/izmaći se is not an integrated part of the BCS motion verb system. Russian too has a cognate of мъкна—мчать ‘rush, whirl along (trans.)’, the reflexive form of which functions as a motion verb: мчаться ‘rush, race, tear along’. However, prefixed reflexive forms do not indicate motion, e.g. замыкаться/замкнуться ‘shut oneself up’ and смыкаться/сомкнуться ‘close (up)’.

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

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

### 2.4 VERBS DENOTING ARRIVAL OR RETURN

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

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

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

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

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

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31 The Oxford Russian-English Dictionary (1992) notes that мчать may be used colloquially as an intransitive verb.
The prefixed variant пристигам/пристигна has a meaning quite similar to стигам/стигна; the nuance can be expressed by the neutrality of arrive expressed by пристигам/пристигна, contrasted with the emphasis on the finality of the completion of a goal suggested by стигам/стигна. The prefix при- has the general meaning of ‘with, by’ in a physical sense, similar to the preposition при ‘at, near, by, close to’. There is also a prefixed form of this verb in до-, достигам/достигна; again, the meaning is quite similar to that of both стигам/стигна and пристигам/пристигна, with the additional meaning ‘catch up with’ (a meaning also expressed by the less frequently encountered synonym настигам/настигна). The prefixed verb пристигам/пристигна has a greater frequency in the spoken language than either стигам/стигна or достигам/достигна, although more tokens of стигам/стигна were found in the verbs from the works by Bulgarian authors (eight tokens of стигам/стигна, as opposed to four of пристигам/пристигна and three of достигам/достигна). Both пристигам/пристигна and достигам/достигна appear in the list of the 806 most frequent words (at rankings 265 and 359, respectively, although стигам/стигна probably represents a motion verb only in some uses; its other usage is discussed below), but достигам/достигна does not. Examples of both prefixed forms are given below:

(25) Когато пристигнах в стария град да извърша продажбата…
When I arrived in the old town to carry out the sale of the land… (E. Stanev)

(26) Бяхме вече достигнали зида…
We had already reached the wall… (E. Stanev)

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

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

2.4.2 Връщам се/върна се

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

32 As an example, a Google search for the phrase достигнахме върха ‘we reached the peak’ resulted in 509 tokens, while the same event expressed as стигнахме до върха resulted in 94,400 tokens.
върна се, and by and large the same usage. In all of these languages, the verb also exists as a non-reflexive, with the transitive meaning 'return'. No manner of motion is indicated with this verb. The following example illustrates its usage:

(27) … и пак се върна, подпухнала като момиченце след пев. bawl
… and again she returned, swollen like a little girl after a hard cry.  (V. Mutafčieva)

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

(28) … дали и тогава би се завърнал?
whether and then be.REFL return.P.REFL
… even then would he have returned?  (V. Mutafčieva)

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

2.4.3 Прибирам се/прибера се

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

(29) Той бърза да се прибере по-скоро в къщи…
he hurry.IMPF.3SG COMP.REFL return.P.REFL
He would hurry to return home sooner…  (D. Dimov)

(30) Старшията се прибра за обед в лошо настроение…
police.sergeant-DEF.REFL return.P.AOR.3SG for lunch in bad mood
The police sergeant returned home for lunch in a bad mood…  (D. Dimov)

(31) … до пътя, по който пленниците се прибираха в camp-DEF
beside road-DEF along which prisoners-DEF.REFL return.P.IMP.3PL to lagera
… beside the road by which the prisoners would return to camp  (E. Stanev)
As (29) and (30) show, the inclusion of the word къщи ‘home’ is optional—even without it, the destination HOME is implied. However, other destinations are possible as well, if explicitly stated; these destinations still function in some way as home or as a person’s place, as in (31). This relates to the probable origin of this new, more specific, meaning in Bulgarian: The verb прибирам се/прибера се has a secondary meaning of “concerning something loose, scattered, drawn-out – to contract, assume its normal position, place”; she gives, as an example of place, “the snail retreated into its shell.” Here one sees the connection with the Russian and BCS meanings of tidying or collecting oneself. By metaphorical extension, however, this Bulgarian verb has come to suggest ‘collect oneself into that place from which one originates’. It expresses an idea that could also be expressed by връщам се/върна се в къщи ‘home’ (a path verb of sorts with a path satellite to narrow the goal), and in fact, this is just how such an idea is expressed in Russian and BCS. In Bulgarian, however, прибирам се/прибера се has become a more specific path verb that can replace the satellite construction found in other Slavic languages.

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

2.5 VERBS DENOTING DEPARTURE OR SETTING OUT

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

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

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

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

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33 за нещо отпуснато, разпръснато, проточено – се прибира в черупката си.
2.5.1 Тръгвам/тръгна

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

(33) В тая усилина пролет тръгнах от Светогорската обител…
In that difficult spring I set out from the Svetogorski monastery… (A. Dončev)

(34) Борис тръгна към центъра на града…
Boris set out towards the town center… (D. Dimov)

(35) Ирина тръгна бавно по тротоара на пустата улица.
Irina set out slowly down the sidewalk of the empty street. (D. Dimov)

(36) Стоянов си тръгна.
Stojanov left. (V. Mutafčieva)

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

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

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

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

35 “потяглювам за някъде, упътвамся, кревам, таквам, навръвявам, отивам, отхождам” (Gerov 1904)
showing the wide range of manner verbs whose meanings are covered by тръгвам/тръгам. Gerov also includes a second definition of тръгвам/тръгам consisting of variations on ‘pull’, suggesting that the earlier meaning was still current at the turn of the 20th century.

2.5.2 Заминавам/замина

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

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

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

(37) Половникът току-що беше заминал…
colonel-DEF just be.PST.3SG leave.PTCP
The colonel had just left… (E. Stanev)

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

2.5.3 Напускам/напусна; пускам сепусна се

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

(38) Бях напуснал моя роден град отдавна…
be.PST.1SG leave.P.PTCP my-DEF birth town long.ago
I had left my native town long ago… (E. Stanev)

(39) Двама напуснаха лабораторията, която той заключи…
two leave.P.AOR.3PL laboratory-DEF which he P. AOR.3SG
The two of them left the laboratory, which he locked… (V. Mutafčieva)

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

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

2.6 VERBS DENOTING ENTERING AND EXITING

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

2.6.1 Влизам/влеза and излизам/изляза

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

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

(40) Майката влезе в стаята...
mother-DEF enter.P.AOR.3SG in room-DEF
The mother entered the room...
(D. Dimov)
… докато бе чакал да влезе приятелят му
while be.PST.3SG wait.PTCP to enter.PPRS.3SG friend-DEF him
… while he had waited for his friend to come in (V. Mutafčieva)

Излез, излез веднага!
exit.PIMP.SG exit.PIMP.SG immediately
Come out, come out immediately! (E. Stanev)

Щом излязоха от гората, водачът … спря
as.soon.as exit.PAOR.3PL from forest-DEF leader-DEF stop.PAOR.3SG
As soon as they came out of the woods, the leader … stopped his horse. (A. Dončev)

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

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

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

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

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

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

38 влизам някъде, обикно с усилие или незабелязано
Крадецът беше се вмъкнал през нощта…

The thief had snuck in during the night… (E. Stanev)

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

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

Ако той не тича да се измъкне като гонен…
If he didn’t run to slip away as if chased… (V. Mutafčieva)

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

2.7 VERBS OF ASCENDING AND DESCENDING

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

2.7.1 Слизам/сляза

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

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

(47) Ирина слизе долу…
Irina came downstairs… (D. Dimov)

(48) И като слязохме от конете, тръгнахме между каменните кръстове
And when we dismounted from the horses, we set off … (A. Dončev)

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

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

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

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

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40 Used in the phrase “Karaköy’de iskeleye zıpladım” ‘at Karaköy I jumped to the pier [from the ferry]’.
41 The verb възлизам/възляза, defined as “отивам, качвам се нагоре; възкачвам се” ‘go, raise oneself upward; to ascend’ (Dečeva 1997), is not yet classified as archaic. At the same time, its usage appears to be mainly restricted to, such as “възлязох в Иерусалим с Варнава” ‘I ascended into Jerusalem with Barnabus’ (Galatians 2:1).
Examples of both the prefixed and unprefixed forms of the verb follow:

(49) Марьола ... измоли разрешение да се качи
Mariola request.P.AOR.3SG permission COMP REFL ascend.P.PRS.3SG
на капрата...
in coach-DEF
Marjola … requested permission to come up in the coach… (E. Stanev)

(50) Искаш ли да се изкачим към параклиса
want.P.PRS.2SG Q COMP REFL out-climb.P.PRS.1PL toward chapel
над боровата гора?
above pine-DEF forest
Do you want to go up to the chapel above the pine forest? (D. Dimov)

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

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

The verb катер я се is not Slavic in origin, but is rather believed to have entered Bulgarian from a Balkan substratum language, either Thracian or Daco-Moesian. The root is *kater-, seen also in Romanian a se câţara ‘clamber; creep, climb (of a plant)’. The root is presumed to be the same Indo-European root seen in Russian катать ‘roll’ and скат ‘slope,
incline’, Latin *scateo, scato* ‘bubble up, gush out’, as well as Bulgarian *скача* ‘jump, spring’ and *скок* ‘jump, leap’.42

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

(51) Той ... покатери се на една стълба и почна да откачва низите с тютюн... He ... climbed up on a ladder and began to unhook the strings of tobacco... (D. Dimov)

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

2.7.4 *Смъквам се/*смъкна се

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

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

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

(52) смъкнах се до бюфета I went down to the canteen. (O. Pamuk/R. Samuilova, trans.)

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

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43 *слизам*, спускам се от нещо высоко, по стръмен наклон, из надолиние; падам, свличам се; Dečeva seems to have based her definition on Najden Gerov’s 1904 definition.
mannerless path verbs meaning DESCEND, *silaziti/siçi* and *spuskatsya/spustitsya*, respectively. In this case the Bulgarian translator could have used the verb *slizam/slia* equally well; *smyvam/semymi* *ce* is presumably not used to imply manner, as this would involve the character either falling down the stairs to the canteen or descending with great difficulty, and neither of these options is a possible choice based on the original text. Instead, here *smyvam/semymi* *ce* simply sounds more colloquial—a good English translation might be *I slipped down to the canteen*.

As noted above, although Russian and BCS both have close cognates of the Bulgarian verb *mykna*, there is no prefixed motion verb cognate of *smyvam/semymi* *ce* in either language.

### 2.7.5 Спускам селпушна се

Yet another Bulgarian verb meaning DESCEND is *spuskam selpusna ce* ‘descend, go down; fall; rush’. It is the reflexive form of a transitive verb meaning ‘let down, lower’. *Спускам селпушна се* does have close cognates with the same meaning in Russian and BCS, *spuskatsya/spustitsya* and *spustati se/spustiti se*. Like *smyvam/semymi* *ce*, *spuskam selpusna ce* is not among the most frequently used verbs, and appears far less often than *slizam/slia*, but it is by no means uncommon. It is also one of several motion verbs derived from the base verb *puskam/pusna*. *Спускам селпушна се* appears twice in the literary data; the example below is from a Bulgarian novel:

(53) Отрядът започна да се спуска към долината.

*The detachment began to go down into the valley.* (A. Donchev)

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

### 2.8 VERBS DENOTING HORIZONTAL DIRECTIONAL MOTION

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

#### 2.8.1 Обикалям/обиколя

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

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44 И. ходя, минавам около нещо; 2. обхождам, посещавам различни места
The verb обикалям/обиколя is similar to Russian обходить/обойти ‘go all round’ or BCS obilaziti/obilobići ‘go around, circle’, at least in meaning; in form, the prefixes are the same, but the roots are quite different. The Bulgarian etymological dictionary refers the reader to около ‘around’ and коло ‘wheel’, suggesting a motion verb derived from the root meaning ‘wheel’ with an added path prefix. However, in modern Bulgarian there is no unprefixed form of this verb. There is, in fact, a verb кола ‘slaughter’, but it seems unlikely that these verbs are related. There is also a verb търкалям/търколя ‘roll’ which could share a root with обикалям/обиколя. In this respect, the verb обикалям/обиколя seems to have a somewhat different origin than similar verbs in Russian and BCS.

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

(54)  A Сотиров ... сам взе да обикаля
but Sotirov self take.P.AOR.3SG COMP round-go.1.PRS.3SG
изследователските колективи
research-DEF collectives

But Sotirov ... himself took to making rounds of the research collectives. (V. Mutafсieva)

(55)  Слухът й различи бавни, нуверени стъпки на човек,
hearing-DEF her distinguish.P.AOR.3SG slow unsure steps of person
cойто обикаляше навън
who around.go.1.IMF.3SG outside

Her ears picked up slow, unsure steps of a person walking around outside. (E. Stanev)

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

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

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

45 Mladenov (1941) traces the root of търкалям/търколя to *тър-, and identifies к as a suffix or a root extension. But since he states that the root in търкалям/търколя is ancient, there may be no influence from колело and обикалям. His exact words are “същин. кор. е само *тър, а к е наст. или кор. разшир.; кор. в търкало, търкалим е старин., та може да не са влияли колело и обикалям.”
Where Bulgarian uses пресичам/пресека, Russian uses either пересекать/пересечь or переходить/перейти, while BCS uses prelaziti/preći in all cases but one, where ići popreko preko is used. The example below is from a Bulgarian novel:

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

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

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

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

2.8.3 Завивам/завия

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

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

(59) Жълтата кола пред него бавно зави.

The yellow car in front of him slowly turned [a corner]. (V. Mutafchieva)

2.9 VERBS DENOTING THE ACTION ‘RUN’

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

2.9.1 Бягам

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

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

(60) Дълго бягаше говедарчето върху дулото

The little cowherd ran a long time above the ridge. (A. Dončev)

(61) Освен това от пленническите лагери бягаха „роби”

Besides this from prisoner.of.war.-DEF camps run.1.IMF.3PL slaves

Besides this, “slaves” would escape from the POW camps. (E. Stanev)

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

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

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

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

(62) Жена му произхождаше от семейство ... избягало от Солун

His wife was from a family ... which had fled from Thessaloniki (D. Dimov)

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46 побягвам/побягнал: отдалечавам се с бягане, спускам се да бягам
47 побягвам/побягнал: бягам малко; потичам; побягвам: бягам от време на време
49 бягам надалече, на известно разстояние от някого или нещо, напускам някого или нещо, обикно, тайно или без разрешение
(63) Сам ти преди единайсет години побягна от пазара
oneself you before eleven years run.P.AOR.2SG from market-DEF
You yourself ran from the market eleven years ago. (V. Mutafchieva)

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

(64) Дребното говедарче тичаше върху широкото дULO
tiny-DEF cowherd-DIM run.l-IMF.3SG above wide-DEF ridge
The tiny cowherd was running above the wide ridge. (A. Donchev)

(65) изморените прислужници ... тичаха с мъка между масите
tired-DEF waiters run.1-IMF.3PL with pain between tables-DEF
The exhausted waiters … were having a hard time running between the tables.
(E. Stanev)

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

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

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

(66) Елица скочи от камъка и се затича насреща му
Elitsa jump.3SG from rock-DEF and REFL run.3SG opposite him
Elitsa jumped off the rock and rushed towards him. (A. Donchev)
2.9.3 Препускам/препусна

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

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

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

2.10 VERBS MEANING ‘JUMP’

2.10.1 Скачам/скоча

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

(68) Фриц скачаше отгоре ни с грозно ръмжене
Fritz jump.1.IMF.3SG from-above us with ugly growling
Fritz [a Doberman] would jump on us with ugly growling. (E. Stanev)

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

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

50 за кон или друго животно – (спускам се да) тичам силно, бързо.; за човек (пеца, на кон или с превозно средство) – (спускам се да) тичам, движи се бързо, с всичка сила
but has the additional meaning of ‘rise; come to the surface’ not present in Bulgarian изскачам/изскоча. And although the literal meaning of Bulgarian изскачам/изскоча is ‘jump out’, it is used perhaps more often with the meaning of sudden emergence, as seen in (71).

(70) Един заек изскочи отнякъде
one rabbit out-jump.P.AOR.3SG from-somewhere
A rabbit hopped out from somewhere. (D. Dimov)

(71) Котка изскочаше внезапно от някоя изба
cat out-jump.1.IMF-3SG suddenly from some cellar
A cat would suddenly dart out of some cellar. (E. Stanev)

2.11 VERBS MEANING ‘FLY’

Bulgarian has a common verb летя meaning FLY, as well as a less common verb хвърча, also meaning FLY. Both will be discussed below. Additionally, there is a verb литам, closely related to летя, meaning ‘fly off, fly away’; this verb will not be discussed separately. Also discussed below with verbs meaning FLY is the verb кацам ‘land’; this verb refers to the end of the act of flying, and suggests flight as a prerequisite.

2.11.1 Летя

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

(72) Падна град...та убиваше небесните птици, както летяха
fall.P.AOR.3SG hail and kill.1.IMF-3SG heavenly-DEF birds as fly.1.IMF.3PL
Hail fell … and it killed the birds as they flew through the sky. (A. Dončev)

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

(73) Неговият самолет е излетял в девет
his-DEF airplane be.PRS.3SG out-fly.PTCP at nine
His plane departed at nine. (V. Mutafčieva)
(74) Над околността беше прелетял германски цепелин above vicinity-DEF be.IMF-3SG across-fly.P.PTCP German zeppelin A German zeppelin had flown over the area. (E. Stanev)

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

2.11.2 Хвърча

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

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

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

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

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

51 нося се във въздуха; летя and движа се с голяма бързина
2.11.3 Кацам

The verb кацам means ‘alight, land, perch’; thus, while it does not denote fly, it connotes fly, as flying is a prerequisite to the action of the verb. The two standard dictionary definitions of кацам are ‘for a bird or insect: stop flying, fly and stop, step somewhere, onto something’ and ‘for an airplane or other flying apparatus: descend downward and stop on the ground or other surface’.  

Although кацам is a simplex verb, there is also a derived aspectual pair, кацвам/кацна, with the same meaning.

The verb кацам is of uncertain origin, but it does not seem to be Slavic. Russian and BCS use quite different, unrelated verbs to convey the meaning of Bulgarian кацам. The Greek verb κάθηµαι 'sit' bears some resemblance to кацам, but Mladenov states that the verb is ‘probably not from the base of the past tense of Greek καθηζω ‘sit’, ‘be seated’, but from the root in κατερα се [‘climb’]’. The non-Slavic origin of the word would explain the lack of a directional prefix (like the similar lack of a directional prefix on the previously mentioned verb катеря се). Slavic verbs meaning ‘land’ are seen in Russian посадить ‘plant’ or приземляться ‘land’ (the Russian verb contains the root of the word meaning ‘earth’, similar to the English verb land), and in BCS спустити ‘lower, bring down’, атерирати ‘land (an airplane, etc.)’ and слетети (formed through the combination of the verb летети ‘fly’ and the prefix с-, indicating descent).

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

(78) … на стария орех, на който през нощта кацваше някой чухал
(79) Ако в този миг... аз бих кацнал във Виена

... of old walnut on which through night land.1-IMF.3SG some owl
If I had landed in Vienna at that moment…  

(78) … of the old walnut tree, on which some owl would perch during the night.  

(79) If I had landed in Vienna at that moment...

2.12 VERBS DENOTING MOVEMENT IN WATER

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

2.12.1 Плавам

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

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

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52 И. За птица или насекомо — спирам да хвърча, да летя и заставам, стъпвам някъде, върху нещо; 2. за самолет или друг летателен апарат — спускам се надолу и заставам върху земята или друга повърхност
53 “навярно не от основен за миналото време на гръцки καθηζω ‘сидам’, ‘заседна’, а от корен в катеря се” (Mladenov 1941).
employed to describe the motion of water vessels, although other verbs of motion, such as пътувам 'travel', отивам 'go', or ходя 'go' (multi-directional) may also be used (though of the various options, only пътувам is widely employed).

2.12.2 Плувам

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

2.13 A LIST OF BULGARIAN MOTION VERBS, CATEGORIZED

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

The verbs in the following table have been selected using three criteria, the first of which is the data from Nikolova’s (1987) frequency dictionary of spoken Bulgarian. Nikolova’s dictionary is based on a corpus of approximately 14 hours of recorded conversation, selected from recordings made from 1975-1977, recorded without the knowledge of the speakers. The majority of the recordings are from the capital, Sofia. The approximately 14 hours of transcribed conversation needed to gather 100,000 word forms came from a much larger body of recordings (of unspecified size); the recordings ultimately used were selected according to sound quality and other technical considerations. In order to control for the occurrence of less commonly used words appearing at a disproportionately high frequency based on the topic of a particular conversation, the 100,000 words were divided into five even groups of 20,000 words each, after which frequency of distribution over these five groups was recorded, in addition to total number of tokens of a given word form. Thus, the frequency of a given word was judged not only on total number of tokens of that word in the corpus, but also on how well the word was represented across the five random groups of 20,000 tokens.\footnote{Nikolova gives a good example of this using the verb мълча 'to be silent' and the noun шаран 'carp'. Both occur 11 times in her corpus of 100,000 words, but whereas мълча 'to be silent' occurs at least once in each of the five groupings, indicating a common conversational distribution, шаран 'carp' occurs in only one of the five groupings, suggesting that the researchers happened to record a conversation in which 'carp' was a main topic.} The total number of words is comprised of some 6600 different lexemes, represented by 13,000 different forms (including verbs in various...
tenses and persons, nouns in various numbers, etc.), and 2,096 of the 6600 lexemes, or 22.8%,
are verbs. There are 806 words which comprise around 85% of the core words found in the
dictionary, and these are provided in an ordered list. Most of the verbs chosen for this study
appear in the list of the 806 core words. As Nikolova notes, verbs denoting movement are among
the most commonly used in the spoken language, and so it is not imprudent to assume that all of
the more common motion verbs which warrant inclusion will be recorded at least once in the
100,000 word corpus on which the dictionary is based.

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

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

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

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

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

Finally, the sixth column indicates whether the verb expresses manner of motion (M) or
path of motion (P). The verb ходя may be used either to express the manner verb ‘walk’ or as a
manner-neutral verb meaning ‘go’, and so is marked M/N, for manner verb/neutral verb. There
are also four verbs marked as M-P because they express both manner and path, and one verb
marked as (M)/P, because while it always expresses manner, the extent to which it consistently
expresses manner is ambiguous. (Later tables will introduce the abbreviation N for manner
neutral verbs, but the following table contains no verb classified as completely neutral for
manner.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motion verb</th>
<th>Basic meaning</th>
<th>Base verb</th>
<th>Literary frequency</th>
<th>Spoken frequency</th>
<th>Manner or path</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>COMING &amp; GOING</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ида1,2</td>
<td>'come1; go2'</td>
<td>ида</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>идам/дойда</td>
<td>'come'</td>
<td>ида</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>отивам/отъда</td>
<td>'go'</td>
<td>ида</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ходя1,2</td>
<td>'go; walk'</td>
<td>ходя</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>M/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>вървя</td>
<td>'walk; go'</td>
<td>вървя</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>минавам/мина</td>
<td>'pass; go'</td>
<td>мина</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пътувам</td>
<td>'travel'</td>
<td>пътувам</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>стъпвам/стъпя</td>
<td>'step; walk'</td>
<td>стъпя</td>
<td>.06%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ARRIVAL &amp; RETURN</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>стигам/стигна</td>
<td>'reach; arrive'</td>
<td>стигам</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пристигам/пристигна</td>
<td>'arrive'</td>
<td>пристигам</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>връщам се/върна се</td>
<td>'return'</td>
<td>връщам</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>прибирам се/прибера се</td>
<td>'return (home)'</td>
<td>прибера</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DEPARTURE/SETTING OUT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>тръгвам/тръгна</td>
<td>'set out'</td>
<td>тръгна</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>поемам/поема</td>
<td>'set out'</td>
<td>поема</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>заминавам/замина</td>
<td>'leave'</td>
<td>мина</td>
<td>.07%</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пускам се/пусна се</td>
<td>'embark, set out'</td>
<td>пускам</td>
<td>.0-</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>напускам/напусна</td>
<td>'leave, depart from'</td>
<td>напусна</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ENTERING &amp; EXITING</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>влизам/вляза</td>
<td>'enter, go in'</td>
<td>влизам</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>излизам/изляза</td>
<td>'exit, go out'</td>
<td>излизам</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>вмъквам се/вмъкна се</td>
<td>'steal, sneak into'</td>
<td>вмъкна</td>
<td>.05%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>измъквам се/измъкна се</td>
<td>'sneak away/out'</td>
<td>измъкна</td>
<td>.04%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ASCENDING &amp; DESCENDING</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>слизам/слиза</td>
<td>'go down, descend'</td>
<td>слизам</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>качвам се/кача се</td>
<td>'go up, ascend'</td>
<td>кача</td>
<td>.09%</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>(M)/P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>изкачвам се/изкача се</td>
<td>'go up, ascend'</td>
<td>изкача</td>
<td>.06%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>M-P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>катеря се</td>
<td>'climb up'</td>
<td>катеря</td>
<td>.0-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>M-P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>спускам се/спусна се</td>
<td>'descend'</td>
<td>спусна</td>
<td>.02%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>M-P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>смъквам се/смъкна се</td>
<td>'climb down'</td>
<td>смъкна</td>
<td>.01%</td>
<td>4*</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HORIZONTAL DIRECTIONAL MOTION</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>обикалям/обиколя</td>
<td>'go round, tour'</td>
<td>обикаля</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>прекосвам/преокося</td>
<td>'cross'</td>
<td>прекося</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пресичам/пресека</td>
<td>'cross'</td>
<td>пресека</td>
<td>.01%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>завивам/завия</td>
<td>'turn, wind'</td>
<td>завия</td>
<td>.07%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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As discussed in Section 2.8.1, the verb обикалям/обиколя clearly developed as the prefixed form of a verb, but the verb is now opaque and the root can no longer be discerned. For this reason, no root is given here.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MANNER: Running</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>бягам/побегна</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
<td>бягам</td>
<td>.06%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>М</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>избягам/избегна</td>
<td>‘escape’</td>
<td>бягам</td>
<td>.08%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>М-Р</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>тичам</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
<td>тичам</td>
<td>.08%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>М</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>затичвам се/затичам се</td>
<td>‘rush, dash’</td>
<td>тичам</td>
<td>.05%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>М</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>препускам/препусна</td>
<td>‘race’</td>
<td>пускам</td>
<td>.05%</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JUMPING</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>скачам/скоха</td>
<td>‘jump, leap’</td>
<td>скоча</td>
<td>.05%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>М</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>изскачам/изскоха</td>
<td>‘jump, rush out’</td>
<td>скоча</td>
<td>.06%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FLYING</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>летя</td>
<td>‘fly’</td>
<td>летя</td>
<td>.02%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>М</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>хвърча</td>
<td>‘fly’</td>
<td>хвърча</td>
<td>.01%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>М</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>кацвам/кацна</td>
<td>‘alight’</td>
<td>кацам</td>
<td>-0-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>М</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SWIMMING/SAILING</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>плувам</td>
<td>‘swim/sail’</td>
<td>плувам</td>
<td>-0-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>М</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 3: VERBS OF MOTION FROM BULGARIAN LITERATURE

3.1 THE DATA

3.1.1 The data set and its source

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

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

3.1.2 Statistical results

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

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

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

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

3.2 FREQUENCY AMONG BULGARIAN MOTION VERBS
3.2.1 The most frequent Bulgarian motion verbs

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

Table 3.1: The top 50% of motion verbs in the Bulgarian novels (M/P/N59)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th># of tokens</th>
<th>Manner or Path verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>идвам/дойдя</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>тръгвам/тръгна</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>отивам/отида</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>излизам/изляза</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>връщам се/върна се</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>вървя</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>M/N59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>минавам/мина</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>прибирам се/прибера се</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>влиза/влеза</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>слизам/слиза</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ходя</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>M/N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total         | 258         |

While a similar list in Russian or BCS would prominently feature an unprefixed GO verb descended from OCS *iti* (as will be demonstrated in Chapter 4), the Bulgarian form of this verb, *ида*, does not appear on this list. Moreover, because the verb *ида* is not as important for motion verb formation as is its cognate in other Slavic languages, only two prefixed forms of the verb are among the top 50% of motion verbs found in the literature, *идвам/дойдя* ‘come’ and *оти/отида* ‘go’ (it is significant, though, that these two are prominently placed as the first and third most used motion verbs, respectively). Instead, the root most often used is the root *излизам/изляза* ‘go out’, *влезам/влеза* ‘enter’, and *слизам/слиза* ‘go down’.

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

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

60 Both verbs meaning ‘walk’ in Table 3.1 can be used as manner verbs meaning ‘walk’, or as manner- and path-neutral verbs meaning simply ‘go’.
have a motion verb cognate in BCS, and which has a motion verb cognate of very limited usage in Russian—тронуться ‘set off’ (a motion verb only in the reflexive form of the perfective). All three Slavic languages have an innovative form to express the meaning ‘set off, leave’, but Russian and BCS also retain forms based on their cognates of идти: Russian идти and BCS иći.

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

(1) Ако мислиш така, почни да ходиш на църквата.

If you think so, then start going to church. (D. Dimov)

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

(2) зимните утра, в които Лила отиваше на училище без закуска...

…the winter mornings when Lila would go to school without breakfast (D. Dimov)

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

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

(3) овците с чанове... ходиха по-ситно

The sheep with bells … walked with smaller step. (A. Dončev)

The verb вървя appears in the data more often than ходя (25 times versus 15 times). Because вървя does not have an alternate meaning of indeterminate general motion, it is more available in the meaning of WALK, and contextual indicators show that most of its tokens in the
data, in contrast with tokens of ходя, indicate motion on foot. Here is an example of typical usage:

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.3 MANNER AND PATH IN BULGARIAN MOTION VERBS

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

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

### 3.3.2 Types of manner expression

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

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

TABLE 3.2. Manner verbs from the data sorted by type of motion
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motion Type</th>
<th>Bulgarian</th>
<th>English Description</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rapid movement towards a goal or away from a</td>
<td>втурна се 'rush'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>source (with emphasis on speed of movement)</td>
<td>дотичам 'run up to'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>завтека се 'run up (to), hurry, dash'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>затичам се 'rush, dash'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>изтичам 'run; run, run, rush out of'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>изтърча 'rush'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>побягна 'run away'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>притичам 'run over, across, towards'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>хукна 'dart off, rush off'</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escape</td>
<td>избягам 'flee; escape'</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>отърва се 'escape, get away'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate of motion as focal point</td>
<td>бързам 'hurry'</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>избързам 'hurry up'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forceful movement</td>
<td>нахлувам 'rush, burst in'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>хвърля се 'rush at; lunge; plunge'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decreasing pace</td>
<td>забавя крачка 'slow one’s step, slow down'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covering a distance</td>
<td>пътувам 'travel'</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement as focal point</td>
<td>изселвам се 'move, migrate'</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude</td>
<td>скитам 'wander'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motion away</td>
<td>махам се/махна се 'move away, step aside; vanish'</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other motor activity specific descriptions of</td>
<td>скача/скоча 'jump, spring, leap'</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motion</td>
<td>изскача/изскоча 'jump/leap/dash out'</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>прескача 'jump/vault over'</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jumping</td>
<td>запълзя 'begin to crawl'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>пълня 'crawl'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crawling</td>
<td>бльскам 'shove, push'</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushing</td>
<td>блъскам 'shove, push'</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smooth, continuous motion</td>
<td>изплъзна се 'slip, slip out'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>плъзга 'slide, glide; swarm'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>хлыгам се 'slide'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapid motion downward</td>
<td>свлека се 'slip down'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>спускам се 'descend, go down; rush'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stealthy/furtive motion</td>
<td>вмъкна се 'penetrate, slip in'</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>промъкна се 'sneak in, steal in'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furtive entrance</td>
<td>прониквам/проникна 'penetrate; break in'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sneaking out</td>
<td>измъкна се 'sneak, slip away/out'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climbing/ascending</td>
<td>изкача се 'go up, climb'</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.3 Walking

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

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

(8) той се влачеше подир строя
he REF drag.LIMF.3SG after formation-DEF
He straggled along after the formation. (V. Mutafčieva)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

62 “Пускам се в силен бяг; побягвам изведнъж”

63 Presumably the latter transitive form is the original construction, with the intransitive form developing later. The root of the verb препускам/препусна means ‘let go’, and as the meaning ‘let go’ developed into something along the lines of ‘release into a full gallop’, the sense of gallop would have grown more central to the meaning. Eventually, the full meaning of the verb seems to have shifted accordingly, except in some uses in which the focus of the sentence is on the person who sets his horse’s gallop into motion.
shepherd-DIM-DEF dart.off.P.AOR.3SG upwards along yellow-DEF field
The little shepherd darted up along the yellow field. (A. Dončev)

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

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

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

3.3.5 Other forms of rapid or forceful movement
Although the most common semantic category for rapid bipedal human motion is that containing the different verbs for run, several other verbs are loosely associated with this type of action, without necessarily implying run. These are listed in Table 3.2 under groupings for escape or rate of motion as focal point. The meanings of most of them are adequately conveyed by the definitions given herein and need no further discussion. A couple will be briefly described here, however. These are нахлувам/нахлуя ‘rush, burst in’ and хвърлям се/хвърля се ‘rush at; lunge; plunge’.

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

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

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

(16) когато полицията нахлуваше в тютюневите складове да
when police burst in tobacco warehouses to pacify the workers. (D. Dimov)

3.3.6 Covering distance

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

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

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

(18) Сотиров пътува седем-осем пъти в годината Sotirov travel.1.PRS.3SG seven-eight times in year-DEF
Sotirov travels seven or eight times a year. (V. Mutafčieva)

3.3.7 Smooth motion and stealthy motion

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

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

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

(19) Крадецът беше се вмъкнал през нощта
The thief had snuck in during the night. (E. Stanev)

3.3.8 Motion through air

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

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

(20) под закачената на стената лампа, край която хвърчаха и се бълскаха множество насекоми и нощни пеперуди... under hung-on wall-lamp by which fly-3mpl and refl multiple insects and night butterflies would fly and bump into each other (E. Stanev)

(21) Падна град... та убиваше небесните птици, както летяха... hail and kill-3sg heavenly-def birds as fly-3mpl Hail fell... and it killed the birds as they flew in the sky (A. Dončev)

3.3.9 Verbs of climbing and/or ascending

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

---

64 The consistency of the directional feature in Bulgarian кача се ‘go up, climb’ contrasts with the English verb climb. Although the basic meaning of the English verb climb connotes the grasping motion evoked in a phrase such as climb a tree, the verb can also refer to the notion of upward motion for which some noticeable effort is expended, e.g., the plane climbed to a cruising altitude of 7000 feet. When the idea of grasping motion is absent, climb is directional, invariably indicating motion upwards. In reference to motion entailing grasping effort, however, climb can be used for multiple directions, e.g., the cat climbed out on a limb or the cat climbed down the tree. The Bulgarian verb кача се does not include a semantic option for non-directional motion or motion in any direction other than up. This appears to have been discussed in Keith Allen’s Natural Language Semantics (2001) as well.
though the meaning is not so very different, изкача се does seem to convey more of an idea of effort involved in the ascent. It should be noted, though, that the distinction is not a firm one. In contrast, the verb покатери се, like its base form катери се, does unequivocally mean ‘climb’, even suggesting the use of both hands and feet.

These verbs are not the most common among the manner verbs, with a total of only four tokens in all (three of which are of изкача се), but are discussed here both because of the possible ambiguity in the distinction between manner and path, and because of the contrast with the path verb кача се (which, as previously stated, can be interpreted as ‘climb’ in the appropriate context). An example of each is provided in (22) and (23).

(22) Искаш ли да се изкачим към параклиса над боровата гора
want.PRS.2SG Q COMP REFL climb.P.PRS.1PL toward chapel above pine-DEF forest
Do you want to go up/climb up to the chapel above the pine forest? (D. Dimov)

(23) той ... покатери се на една стълба и почна
he climb.P.AOR.3SG REFL on one step-ladder and begin.P.AOR.3SG
da откачва низите с тютюн
unhook.P.PRS.3SG strings-DEF with tobacco
He … climbed up on a step ladder and began to take down the strings of tobacco.
(D. Dimov)

3.4 THE ROLE OF PREFIXATION

Slavic languages use prefixation to a high degree to create new verbs from already existing unprefixed verbs, and Bulgarian is no exception: the 127 different verbs encountered in these texts contain only 70 different roots. Thus, while around 45% of the verbs do not share a root with any of the other verbs in the text, the rest do. From the group of 24 verbs used five times or more, 12.5, or about 52%, are prefixed verb forms. Of those 64 least frequent verbs appearing only once, 49 are prefixed, or 76.5%.

Although the root of prefixed verbs in Bulgarian is usually apparent, there are a small number of prefixed verbs which are no longer associated with unprefixed forms, even though the existence of several verbs based on the same root seems to point to a productive grouping. Nicolova gives as examples several verb sets which appear to be derived from an unprefixed verb that could exist, but in fact does not. These sets are поема ‘take; absorb’, заема ‘borrow’, отнема ‘take away’ (derived from what would be *ема if it existed in unprefixed form); събя ‘take off (shoes, lower garments), изуя (synonym) (> *уя); стисна ‘squeeze, press’, притисна ‘pinch’ (derived from the non-existing *тисна) (Nicolova 2008: 251). Several motion verbs belong in this category, including some from among the most frequently used: влизам/влеза ‘enter’, излизам/излеза ‘exit’, слизам/слиза ‘descend’; and обикалям/обиколя ‘go round’. In the case of these motion verbs in which the prefix is no longer separable from the verb root, the

65 The verb which was counted as half-prefixed comes from the suppletive pair идвам/дойдо̀ да, in which only the perfective form is prefixed. While perfectivization through prefixation is a normal event in Slavic languages, and therefore, aspect pairs may often consist of an unprefixed imperfective verb and its prefixed perfective partner, Bulgarian routinely derives prefixed imperfectives from perfective verbs derived through prefixation, and many common verbs are simplex imperfectives lacking a clear perfective partner.
root has lost its independent meaning and the prefix bears the greater semantic weight of the verb. In other words, these verbs began their lives as prefixed manner verbs, but have developed into pure path verbs.

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

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

### 3.4.1 The Bulgarian prefixes and their comparative frequency

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>general spatial meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>в(ъ)-</td>
<td>movement into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>въз-</td>
<td>movement upwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>връх-</td>
<td>movement from on high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>до-</td>
<td>movement up to a point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>за-</td>
<td>inception of action; movement behind</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{66}\) The list of prefixes is after Nicolova 2008: 251, with English glosses added.
Of the above prefixes, fifteen appear in the data consisting of 500 verbs from Bulgarian novels; these prefixes (along with two instances of double prefixation) are given in Table 3.4 below, along with the verbs with which they are combined. The five prefixes not found in the data are връх-، въз-، зад-، над-، and през-. Of these five, only над- has any real currency in motion verb usage; въз- combines with a very small number of motion verbs, and motion verbs with this prefix have generally fallen out of usage. (A good example of the loss of currency of въз- as a motion verb prefix is the shift in the word възлизам/възляза from the now archaic meaning ‘ascend’ to a new meaning of ‘amount to’; this is especially interesting because -лизам/-ляза is such a typical motion verb base in modern Bulgarian.) The prefix връх- is even dubious as a real prefix because it occurs only with one verb in the modern language, връхлитам/връхлетя ‘swoop down, jump into’. (This prefix also shows up on one additional verb—връхлете—in Najden Gerov’s 19th century dictionary.)

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

| Table 3.4. The prefixes and prefixed verbs in the Bulgarian novel data |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| **prefix** | **verb (aspect pair)** | **English gloss** |
| из- | избързвам/избързам | ‘hurry up’ |
| | избягвам/избягам | ‘run away, escape’ |
| | извивам/извия | ‘turn’ |
| | извървявам/извървя | ‘walk, cover (an expanse)’ |
| | изкачвам се/изкача се | ‘climb/go up’ |
| | излизам/изляза | ‘go out, exit’ |
| | излитам (излетявам)/излетя | ‘fly away, take off’ |
| | измъквам се/измъкна се | ‘get out of, squeeze out of, steal away’ |

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>изнизвам се/изнижа се</td>
<td>'file out; sneak away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>изплувам</td>
<td>'emerge, come to the surface'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>изплъзвам се/изплъзна се</td>
<td>'slip out of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>изравнявам се/изравня</td>
<td>'catch up, draw level'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>изселвам се/изселя се</td>
<td>'move/migrate to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>изскачам/изкоча</td>
<td>'jump /dart out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>изтичвам/изтичам</td>
<td>'slip across, run/dash out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>изтърчавам/изтърча</td>
<td>'rush, run (all over an area)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пре-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>превлям (превлявам)/превали</td>
<td>'cross, go across, crest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>прекосява/прекос</td>
<td>'cross, traverse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>прекрачвам/прекрача</td>
<td>'cross, step across'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>предлетява (прелитам)/предлетя</td>
<td>'fly over, flit past'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>преминавам/премина</td>
<td>'pass, pass over, traverse, cover (an expanse)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>препускам/препусна</td>
<td>'race, gallop, trot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пресичам/пресека</td>
<td>'cross, cut across'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>прескачам/прескоча</td>
<td>'jump over, spring across'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>прехвърлям/прехвърля</td>
<td>'fly across/over; flutter, flit (about)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>по-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>побягвам/побяга</td>
<td>'run away, flee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>покатервам се/покатеря се</td>
<td>'climb/clamber up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>поминавам/помина</td>
<td>'pass, pass by'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>посещавам/посетя</td>
<td>'visit; frequent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>последвам/последя</td>
<td>'follow, go after'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>потеглям/потегля</td>
<td>'set out, start (on a journey)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>потъвам/потъна</td>
<td>'sink, submerge'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>потътрям се/потътря се</td>
<td>'begin to shuffle, jog along; shuffle along a bit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>за-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>забивам крачка /забивя крачка</td>
<td>'slow one’s step'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>забягам/забега</td>
<td>'run away, flee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>завивам/завия</td>
<td>'turn (off) [a roadway]'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>завръщам се/завърна се</td>
<td>'return, come/go back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>заминавам/замина</td>
<td>'leave, depart (for)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>запълзвам/запълзя</td>
<td>'begin to crawl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>затичам се/затичам се</td>
<td>'rush, dash; break into a run'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>от-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>отбивам се/отбия се</td>
<td>'turn off; drop in'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>отделявам/отделеч</td>
<td>'move/walk away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>откривам се/отдърпна се</td>
<td>'draw back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>отивам/отида</td>
<td>'go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>отминавам/отмина</td>
<td>'pass on/by, leave behind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>отпътувам</td>
<td>'set off, depart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>оттеглям се/оттегля се</td>
<td>'withdraw, retreat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefix</td>
<td>Unprefixed Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>на-</td>
<td>наближавам/наближа</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>накацацам/накацацам</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>налитам (налетявам)/налетя</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>наминавам/намина</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>напускам/напусна</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>нахлувах/нахлюя</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>до-</td>
<td>доближавам (се)/доближа (се)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>довличам/доловела (се)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>достигам/достигна</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>дотичвам/дотичам</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>при-</td>
<td>приближавам се/прибера се</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>приближавам се/приближа се</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>пристигам/пристига</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>пристъпвам/притъпя</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>притичам/притичам</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>в-</td>
<td>вдигам се/вдигна се</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>влиза/влез за</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>вмъквам се/вмъква се</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>втурвам се/втурна се</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pro-</td>
<td>продължавам/продължа</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>промръдвам/промръдна</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>промъквам се/промъкна се</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>прониквам/проникна</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>раз-</td>
<td>раздвижавам се/раздъви се</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>разминавам се/размина се</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>разотивам се/разотида се</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>разхождам се/разходя се</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>с-</td>
<td>свличам се/слика се</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>слизам/слия</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>спускам се/спусна се</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>об-</td>
<td>обикалям/обиколи</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>под-</td>
<td>подкарвам/подкарам</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>у-</td>
<td>упътвам се/упътя се</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>за-</td>
<td>завтичам се/завтичам се</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>на-</td>
<td>навлизам се/навляза се</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th># of tokens</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>M-P</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>бълскам/бълсна</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>втурвам се/втурна се</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ела(те)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>максам се/макна се</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>напредвам/напредна</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>поемам/поема</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>праша</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пъпля</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>скитам</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>скърцам</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

67 This refers only to the verbs, discussed above, which do not occur in prefixed forms at all in the text. The total number of tokens of unprefixed verbs, including verbs which also occur in prefixed forms in the texts, is 214, represented by 42 different verbs. This amounts to 42.8%—not much below half—of the total number of verbs used.
68 The categories of manner and path, as well as the additional manner-path and neutral groupings, will be discussed further in section 3.4.4 below.
3.4.3 Root productivity in Bulgarian prefixed verbs

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

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

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

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

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

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69 This is actually quite rare, but the verb пиша, for example, can combine with 15 different prefixes, as well as a number of additional prefix combinations, such as понапиша and приподпиша.
texts used as data, the number of verb roots combining with more than one or two prefixes is actually rather small. Only three roots appear with more than three prefixes, and one of these is a root that has no unprefixed form. This suggests that the system of prefixation is not as integral to the formation of Bulgarian motion verbs as it may be in other Slavic languages, and it may even be the case that prefixed forms are conceived of more as separate lexical items in Bulgarian. If this is the case, and Bulgarian prefixes are not seen as being easily interchangeable parts, then a greater number of prefixed forms would represent a greater cognitive load for speakers of Bulgarian than for speakers of other Slavic languages. This might explain why the system of prefixation is comparatively less productive in modern Bulgarian.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root or unprefixed verb</th>
<th>Verb formed from root or unprefixed verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>минавам/мина 'pass'</td>
<td>заминавам/замина 'leave, depart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>намина/амина 'drop in, call on, come around'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>отминавам/отмина 'pass by; leave behind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>поминавам/помина 'pass, pass by'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>преминавам/премина 'cross, pass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>разминавам се/размина се 'walk past; pass by'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>тичам 'run'</td>
<td>дотичам/дотичам 'run up (to)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>завтичам се/завтека се 'run up (to); hurry, dash'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>затичам се/затичам се 'rush, dash'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>изтичам/изтичам 'run; run/rush out (of)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>притичам/притичам 'run over, across, towards'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-лизам/-ляза (no independent meaning)</td>
<td>влизам/вляза 'enter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>излизам/изляза 'go out, exit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>навлизам (се)/навляза (се) 'enter, penetrate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>слизам/слиза 'go down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>близ- 'near' (adj.)</td>
<td>доближавам/доближа 'approach, go near'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>наблюлявам/наближа 'approach, come near'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>приближавам се/приближа се 'approach, come near'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>бягам 'run'</td>
<td>забягвам/забегна 'begin to run'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>избягвам/избегам 'flee, escape'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4.4 Manner and path in prefixed verbs

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Prefixed verb</th>
<th>M-P</th>
<th>M-P</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>в-</td>
<td>вдигам се/вдигна се</td>
<td>'rise, soar'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>влизам/влеза</td>
<td>'enter'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>вмъквам се/вмъкна се</td>
<td>'penetrate; slip into'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>до-</td>
<td>дойда (only perfective is prefixed)</td>
<td>'come'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>доближавам/доближа</td>
<td>'approach, go near'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>доучивам/доуля се</td>
<td>'drag oneself somewhere'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>достигам/достига</td>
<td>'catch up with; reach'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>дотичам/дотичам</td>
<td>'run up (to)'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>за-</td>
<td>забягам крачка/забавя крачка</td>
<td>'slow one's step, slow down'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>забягам/забегна</td>
<td>'begin to run'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>завивам/завия</td>
<td>'turn'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>завръщам се/завърна се</td>
<td>'return, come back'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>завръщам се/завърна се</td>
<td>'run up (to), hurry, dash'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>заминавам/замина</td>
<td>'leave, depart'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>запълзявам/запълза</td>
<td>'begin to crawl'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>затичам се/затичам се</td>
<td>'rush, dash'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>из-</td>
<td>избързвам/избързам</td>
<td>'hurry up'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>избягам/избягам</td>
<td>'flee; escape'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>извивам/извия</td>
<td>'bend, twist'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>извършвам/извършам</td>
<td>'walk, cover (a distance)'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>изкачвам се/изкача се</td>
<td>'go up; climb'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>излизам/изляза</td>
<td>'go out, exit'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>излизам/изляза</td>
<td>'fly away, fly off'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>измъквам се/измъкна се</td>
<td>'sneak, slip away/out'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>излизам/изляза</td>
<td>'file, move in single file; sneak'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>изпълнявам</td>
<td>'emerge, come to the surface, swim to the surface'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>изпълнявам се/изпълни се</td>
<td>'slip, slip out'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>изравнявам се/изравня се</td>
<td>'fall in line, catch up with'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefix</td>
<td>Base Form</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>из-</td>
<td>изселвам/изсел</td>
<td>'move, migrate'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>из-</td>
<td>изскачам/изскоча</td>
<td>'jump out, leap out'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>из-</td>
<td>изтичвам/изтичам</td>
<td>'run, run, rush out of'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>из-</td>
<td>изтърчавам/изтърча</td>
<td>'rush'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>из-</td>
<td>наближавам/наближа</td>
<td>'approach, come near'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>из-</td>
<td>накацвам/накацам</td>
<td>'perch, alight'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>из-</td>
<td>напускам/напусна</td>
<td>'leave'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>из-</td>
<td>нахлувам/нахлуя</td>
<td>'rush, burst in'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>на-</td>
<td>отбивам се/отбия се</td>
<td>'drop in; diverge, deviate'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>на-</td>
<td>обиколя/обиколя</td>
<td>'go round; tour; circulate'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>на-</td>
<td>отдалечавам се/отдалеча се</td>
<td>'move away; walk away'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>на-</td>
<td>отдръпвам се/отдръпна се</td>
<td>'move back'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>на-</td>
<td>отивам/отида</td>
<td>'go'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>на-</td>
<td>отминавам/отмина</td>
<td>'pass by; leave behind'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>на-</td>
<td>отпътувам</td>
<td>'set out, depart'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>на-</td>
<td>оттеглям/оттегля</td>
<td>'withdraw, fall back'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>на-</td>
<td>отръвам се/отръва се</td>
<td>'escape, get away'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>по-</td>
<td>побягвам/побягна</td>
<td>'run away'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>по-</td>
<td>покатервам/покатеря</td>
<td>'climb up'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>по-</td>
<td>посетя/посетя</td>
<td>'visit'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>по-</td>
<td>постъпка/постъпка</td>
<td>'set out, depart'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>по-</td>
<td>потървам/потърва</td>
<td>'sink'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>по-</td>
<td>потътрям се/потътря се</td>
<td>'shamble, plod'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пре-</td>
<td>превлявам (превлявам)/превля</td>
<td>'cross, go across'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пре-</td>
<td>прекрачвам/прекрача</td>
<td>'stride over; step'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пре-</td>
<td>преминавам/премина</td>
<td>'cross, pass'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пре-</td>
<td>прекосявам/прекося</td>
<td>'cross, traverse'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пре-</td>
<td>прелетам/прелетя</td>
<td>'fly over'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пре-</td>
<td>препускам/препусна</td>
<td>'race; gallop'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пре-</td>
<td>пресичам/пресека</td>
<td>'cross'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пре-</td>
<td>прескачам/прескоча</td>
<td>'jump over, vault over'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пре-</td>
<td>прехвърлям/прехвърля</td>
<td>'fly about, fly over'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>при-</td>
<td>прибирах се/прибира се</td>
<td>'go home'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>при-</td>
<td>приближавам се/приближа се</td>
<td>'approach, come near'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>при-</td>
<td>пристигам/пристигна</td>
<td>'arrive'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>при-</td>
<td>пристъпвам/пристъпя</td>
<td>'step; approach'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>при-</td>
<td>притичам/притича</td>
<td>'run over, across, towards'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>при-</td>
<td>продължавам/продължа</td>
<td>'continue'</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefix</td>
<td>Verb Form</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Total Number of Prefixes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>промърдам</td>
<td>промърдна</td>
<td>'move, budge'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>промъквам</td>
<td>промъкна се</td>
<td>'sneak in, steal in'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>прониквам</td>
<td>проникна</td>
<td>'penetrate; break in'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>раз-</td>
<td>раздвижвам се/раздвижа се</td>
<td>'stir; get going'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>разминавам се/размина се</td>
<td>'walk past; pass by'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>разотивам/разотида</td>
<td>'disperse, scatter'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>разхождам се/разходя се</td>
<td>'stroll, take a walk'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>с-</td>
<td>свличам се/склеча се</td>
<td>'slip down'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>слизам/сляза</td>
<td>'go down'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>спускам се/спусна се</td>
<td>'descend, go down; rush'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>у-</td>
<td>упътвам се/упътя се</td>
<td>'make for, head towards'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total number of manner, path, manner-path, and neutral prefixed verbs**: 33 36 10 3

### 3.5 Conclusion

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

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

Furthermore, the data show examples of many verbs that are difficult to classify simply as path or manner. The manner/path distinction is often treated as a clear dichotomy in discussions of language typology, but the Bulgarian data show that not all verbs are so easily classified one way or the other, and that this distinction should not be considered in such strict binary terms.
CHAPTER 4: VERBS OF MOTION FROM TRANSLATED LITERATURE

4.1 WHY COMPARE TRANSLATED DATA?

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

4.2 THE DATA SET AND ITS SOURCE

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

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

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

4.3 Comparison of the Bulgarian motion verb sets

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

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

| total 258 | total 253 |
The verbs that do not appear among the top 50% in the translated literature are прибирам се ‘go home’ and ходя ‘walk; go’; the former appears seven times in the translated literature (rather than 18 times, as in the Bulgarian literature), and the latter, only four times (rather than 15). The lower frequency of both of these verbs seems to indicate differences in path and manner salience between Bulgarian and the source languages of the translated novels.

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

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

(1) Turkish: koşma koşma eve dön-up …
            running running home return-CONJ

(2) Bulgarian: да се прибера на бегом у дом-a
               COMP REFL return.home.P.PRES.1SG at at.a.run to home-DEF
to come home running

(3) Russian: я часто прибегал домой
             I often run.I.PAST.SG home
             I often came running home

(4) Serbian: да трчимkući
             COMP run.I.PRES.1SG home
             to run home

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

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70 The most common meaning of прибирам се is ‘go home’, but it can also mean to return to one’s homeland or one’s place in another sense, such as a snail retracting into its shell, or as in this example from Dimităr Dimov’s novel Тютюн: … после Ирина се прибра в стаячката си ‘afterwards Irina returned to her room’. 85
example separates the two motion acts, but because this translation best renders the Russian prefix при-, with its deictic focus of motion towards the speaker.)

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

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

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

One possible explanation for the much lower frequency of ходя in the novels translated into Bulgarian than in the original Bulgarian novels themselves, especially in comparison with вървя (which is used more often in the Bulgarian novels as well, but with a less dramatic frequency difference), is that ходя does not imply WALK as a manner of motion as clearly as does вървя. Therefore, when a translation of a verb meaning WALK is sought by the translator, the translator will tend to choose a verb that implies WALK as unambiguously as possible. For this, the most appropriate verb in Bulgarian is вървя. In the original Bulgarian, however, the manner distinction may not be considered as important, thus allowing a more free usage of ходя in alternation with вървя. This is supported by the evidence that the few instances of ходя in the translated novels are never used to translate verbs meaning WALK. Rather, вървя is used in most cases (10 out of 14). Interestingly, though, verbs clearly meaning WALK are often not translated into Bulgarian with a verb meaning WALK at all, but rather, with a verb encoding some other
aspect of the motion event which in the original is conveyed by an adverbial. Translations of verbs for *walk* and *go* into Bulgarian, Russian, and BCS will be discussed further below in 4.6.

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

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

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

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

In contrast, the greater frequency of *продължавам/продължка ‘continue’, is not a function of one single translator or one single author, as tokens of this verb are fairly well distributed across the four works. The two tokens of *продължавам/продължка* in the translation from Portuguese both translate the verb *seguir ‘follow*, in the context *seguir o meu caminho ‘follow my road*. Other translations are from verbs in other languages either directly or indirectly denoting ‘continue’: Turkish *devam etmek ‘continue’, German *weiterfahren ‘go*
further’, and English walk on. In the case of this last example, продолжавам/продължа translates a manner verb, but the idea of the continuation of the action is emphasized over the manner in the original English as well. Something similar occurs with one translation of Turkish yürümek ‘walk’—on one occasion it is translated using the verb for ‘continue’, emphasizing the continued nature of the action over the manner itself. Though the emphasis on continuance does not seem as important to Bulgarian in the works of the Bulgarian writers, it is natural enough that all of the translators make use of this verb, sometimes even allowing continuance of motion to take precedence over manner of motion.

4.4 THE BULGARIAN DATA FROM TRANSLATIONS

4.4.1 Bulgarian translated from high-manner languages

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

**Table 4.2. Frequency and type of motion verbs in Bulgarian, English, & German**

*(total motion verbs, total different verbs, frequency of manner vs. path)*

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

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

\(^{72}\) This count includes 26 tokens of the verb gehen, which sometimes functions as a manner verb (‘walk’), and sometimes as a path verb (‘go’). It is counted as a manner verb here, but its use as a path verb will be discussed below, following Table 4.3, gives examples of its translations into Slavic languages in the literary context.
The data in the table above indicate that the variety of manner verbs used in the Bulgarian translations of both English and German are similar to the variety of the original language in each case. However, the figures indicating manner verb usage as a percentage of all motion verbs are rather different between the original texts and the Bulgarian translations, especially in the translation from German. 48.7% of the English novel’s motion verbs are manner verbs, while only 39.2% of the verbs in the Bulgarian translation are manner verbs. The German novel has a slightly smaller percentage of manner verbs than the English novel, namely 42.9%, but a surprising 19.2% of the motion verbs in the Bulgarian translation are manner verbs. However, the German data have been artificially inflated by one particular verb, *gehen*. This verb is translated as either ‘walk’ or ‘go’. However, because ‘walk’ is the primary translation, it has been counted here as a manner verb. The frequency with which it might be translated ‘go’, however, results in the fact that Bulgarian (and indeed, BCS) translators frequently choose path verbs such as *отивам/отида* ‘go’. This is especially true for prefixed forms of *gehen*, suggesting that in German, too, a prefix may do more to the semantics of the verb root than the simple addition of a path satellite would imply. Were it not for this particular verb, the statistics for the percentage of motion verbs made up by manner verbs in Bulgarian would be closer to the German figure. This being said, and with the caveat that the data reflect only two different novels, the data suggest that Bulgarian relies on manner verbs less than the Germanic languages of German and English. Some examples of Germanic manner verbs translated into Bulgarian path verbs follow below.

(5) Хари загледа как бавно по тротоара минава
Harry began to watch as slowly along sidewalk.def pass.I.PRS.3SG
шантавата старица госпожа Фиг
crazy.DEF old.lady Mrs. Figg

*Harry began to watch as crazy old Mrs. Figg slowly passed on the sidewalk.*

…he watched Mrs. Figg, a batty, cat-loving old lady … amble slowly past.  (Rowling)

(6) Равик … мина през малката врата
Ravic pass.P.AOR.3SG through small.DEF door

*Ravic passed through the small door.*

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

(7) Той влезе в ендо бистро на ъгъла
*he enter.P.AOR.3SG in one bistro on corner.DEF*

*He entered a bistro on the corner.*

Er trat in ein Bistro an der Ecke
*he step.PAST.3SG in a bistro on the corner*

*He stepped into a bistro on the corner.*  (Remarque)

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

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Ravic … ging durch die schmale Tür
*Ravic walk.PAST.3SG through the narrow door*  (Remarque)
Let us return to the classification of the German verb meaning WALK. If the German verb gehen were analyzed differently, then the manner/path figures for German would change somewhat. That is, if the verb gehen is viewed as a path verb rather than a manner verb, then the percentage of German verbs represented by manner verbs decreases to 21%, approaching the figure of 19.2% for the Bulgarian translation. Similarly, classifying gehen as a path verb results in a path verb percentage of 69.8%, closer to the Bulgarian figure of 73.6%. However, the verb gehen is at times used in a sense that shows that it should be interpreted as WALK, conveying manner at least a basic level. In some cases, this is just a matter of logic—for instance, when the author says of the main character, Er ging ins Badezimmer ‘He walked into the bathroom’, the logistics of walking from one room to another inside a hotel suite (as occurs in the narrative) dictate that the character is walking. In other cases, however, the act of walking is more clearly stressed, most notably when accompanied by adverbs describing the mode of walking. For instance, when the protagonist’s female interest first appears, he observes, Sie ging schnell, aber sonderbar taumelig ‘She walked slowly, but in an oddly dizzy way’. An even clearer example of gehen unambiguously used in the meaning ‘walk’ is seen in (8).

(8) “Soll ich Sie mitnehmen, Ravic?”
   “Should I take you with me, Ravic?”
   “Nein, danke. Ich will gehen.”
   “No, thanks. I want to walk.”

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

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

The purpose of Table 4.3 is not to show the full range of motion verbs in the languages in question, but rather, to indicate which categories are most richly represented by each of the three languages. The categories that have been included are those with at least four different verbs in one or more of the languages. The categories are rather loose, by necessity. For instance some verbs in the category for “rapid movement” could possibly be put in the category “run” (or vice versa—one example is the verb препусна, which is translated as ‘gallop’ when used with horses, but ‘race’ when used with cars), some verbs for running could also be classified as “escape,” if such a category were included, etc. However, the main point is to show the areas in which each language seems to focus its semantic encoding.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Category</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Bulgarian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>walking</strong></td>
<td>amble</td>
<td>gehen ‘go; walk’</td>
<td>вървя ‘walk, go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>blunder (away)</td>
<td>treten ‘step’</td>
<td>закретам ‘(begin to) trudge, plod along’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pound</td>
<td></td>
<td>зализам ‘reel (about), stagger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stagger</td>
<td></td>
<td>засиптия ‘trip, totter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>step</td>
<td></td>
<td>зашляпам ‘begin to trudge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>step over</td>
<td></td>
<td>клатушкам се ‘wobble, sway’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stomp</td>
<td></td>
<td>крача ‘walk, step, stride’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stride</td>
<td></td>
<td>нагазвам ‘step in; trample’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stomp</td>
<td></td>
<td>повърля ‘walk (a little)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stroll</td>
<td></td>
<td>прекрача ‘stride over, step’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>totter</td>
<td></td>
<td>пристъпвам/пристъпя ‘step, approach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>walk</td>
<td></td>
<td>скитам се ‘wander’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>walk on</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘wend (one’s way home)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wander</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘come galumphing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wend (one’s way home)</td>
<td>kommen</td>
<td>‘come galumphing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>come galumphing</td>
<td>gehen</td>
<td>‘come galumphing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>running</strong></td>
<td>canter</td>
<td>fortlaufen ‘run away’</td>
<td>избягам ‘escape; run away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gallop</td>
<td>laufen ‘run; go; walk’</td>
<td>изприпкам ‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>run</td>
<td>weglaufen ‘run away’</td>
<td>тичам ‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sprint</td>
<td></td>
<td>потичам ‘(begin to) run, run (for a bit)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>препусна ‘gallop’ (of a horse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>driving</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>fahren ‘drive, go’</td>
<td>карам ‘drive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>weiterfahren ‘keep driving’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>rapid movement</strong></td>
<td>charge</td>
<td>schießen ‘shoot’</td>
<td>втурна се ‘rush’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>make a beeline</td>
<td></td>
<td>забързам ‘(begin to) hurry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>streak</td>
<td></td>
<td>профуча ‘fly by, whiz by’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zoom</td>
<td></td>
<td>стрелна се ‘shoot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>come shooting</td>
<td></td>
<td>устремя се ‘aspire to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>вхърля се ‘throw oneself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sliding movement</strong></td>
<td>glide</td>
<td>schleudern ‘skid’</td>
<td>изпьлзва се ‘slip (out/away)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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

---

92
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>crawling</strong></th>
<th><strong>jumping</strong></th>
<th><strong>flying</strong></th>
<th><strong>departure</strong></th>
<th><strong>returning</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>crawling</td>
<td>jump vault over</td>
<td>flying</td>
<td>departure</td>
<td>returning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crawl</td>
<td>jump</td>
<td>fly, soar, swoop</td>
<td>go on the run, leave, set off, escape</td>
<td>go back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plъgам се</td>
<td>zurвckprallen 'bounce back, rebound'</td>
<td>vlъtъ 'fly in(to)'</td>
<td>abziehen 'push off, go away'</td>
<td>vrъcktgeхen 'go back, return'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'glide, slide'</td>
<td>изъскъча 'jump out'</td>
<td>изълътъ 'fly away'</td>
<td>aufbrechen 'start out, set off'</td>
<td>отъвах/отъдъ 'go (away)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>шмъгънъ се</td>
<td>отскъчъ 'jump aside; ricochet'</td>
<td>изъхвърча 'fly away'</td>
<td>ausзиехъ 'set out, set off'</td>
<td>офъйкъм 'run off, take to one's heels'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'slip'</td>
<td>подскъчъ 'jump, leap'</td>
<td>полътъ 'fly off'</td>
<td>entъхънъ 'escape, avoid'</td>
<td>махъм се/махъна се 'move away; disappear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>попълъзъ 'crawl (a little)'</td>
<td>прехвърля се 'throw oneself (over/across)'</td>
<td>полътъ 'fly off'</td>
<td>фъртъгънъ 'leave'</td>
<td>напъсънъ 'leave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>прълъзъ 'crawl'</td>
<td>пръскъчъ се 'jump over, vault over'</td>
<td>отправънъ се 'set off, leave for'</td>
<td>отъгъва 'leave, depart'</td>
<td>отъпраъ 'leave, depart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пропълъзъ</td>
<td>ръпъна 'jump, leap'</td>
<td>отдъ 'leave, depart'</td>
<td>разотъдъ 'disperse, scatter'</td>
<td>тръгъвънъ/тръгъна 'leave, set off'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пръхъръля се</td>
<td>скъчъ 'jump, leap'</td>
<td>тръгъм</td>
<td>отъхънъ 'disappear'</td>
<td>тръгъ'вънъ/тръганъ 'leave, set off'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пръскъчъ се</td>
<td></td>
<td>wegъхънъ 'go, go away, leave'</td>
<td>wegъхънъ 'go, go away, leave'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement Type</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Latin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come back</td>
<td>return'</td>
<td>zurückkehren ‘return, come back’</td>
<td>zurückkommen ‘come back’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arriving</td>
<td>reach</td>
<td>erreichen ‘reach, arrive at’</td>
<td>nachsttigna ‘sreach, catch up with’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entering</td>
<td>get inside</td>
<td>hereinkommen ‘come in’</td>
<td>vælizam/vlaza ‘enter’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exiting</td>
<td>erupt from</td>
<td>herauskommen ‘come out’</td>
<td>излизам/изляза ‘exit’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>movement upward</td>
<td>scramble</td>
<td>klettern ‘climb’</td>
<td>извяс се ‘rise’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>movement downward</td>
<td>land</td>
<td>herunterbringen ‘bring down’</td>
<td>свлека се ‘slip (down)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>movement across/crossing</td>
<td>cross at a run</td>
<td>herüberkommen ‘come over, across’</td>
<td>кръстосвам ‘cross, traverse’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turning movement</td>
<td>wheel about</td>
<td>drehen sich ‘turn, rotate, spin’</td>
<td>врътна се завия</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most striking implication of the above table is the extent to which German focuses on path, and English focuses on manner. The differences are due to some extent to the subject matter of the two works of literature—the English novel generally presents more scenes of walking than the German novel, while the German novel has no scene involving flying, and thus no FLY verbs. However, regardless of differences in literary subject matter, English overall has
more descriptive verbs of motion than German. Even when German has several verbs listed under one category of movement, there are sometimes multiple verbs with the same root and different prefixes. The category of ‘running’, to give one example, lists three verbs, but all of them are forms of laufen ‘run’, two of which have path satellites attached as separable prefixes. Thus, though it may appear that German has several different verbs to express RUN, there is in fact only one.

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

(9) непрекъснато обикаляше тези улици
not.interrupted go.round.l.IMP.3SG these streets
He was constantly going round these streets… (Rowling)

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

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

4.4.3 Bulgarian data translated from low-manner languages

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

---

75 Snell-Hornby’s (1983) work on verb descriptivity in English and German, for instance, lists about 35% more descriptive verbs for English than for German.
The Bulgarian translations of the low-manner novels clearly show greater use of manner verbs in Bulgarian than in either Portuguese or Turkish. However, this difference is more dramatic in the Portuguese-to-Bulgarian data than in the Turkish-to-Bulgarian data, especially when viewing the percentages of manner verb usage rather than overall number of manner verbs.

The Portuguese novel, coincidentally, uses the same number of different motion verbs as does the Bulgarian translation. (I say “coincidentally” because this is not due to consistent, direct translation of given Portuguese verbs into one particular Bulgarian verb—e.g., the Portuguese verbs *andar* and *caminhar* both mean ‘walk’, and have indeed been translated with вървя ‘walk’ three times, but they have also been translated with обикалям ‘walk/go around, tour’, тръгна ‘set off, leave’, and поразходя се ‘take a walk’. Thus, the correspondence in the number of motion verbs is largely by chance.) Only 12.2% of the Portuguese verbs are manner verbs, while 26.6% of the Bulgarian verbs are manner verbs; this result is what we might expect when translating from a verb-framed to a satellite-framed language. What is less expected, however, is that Bulgarian shows a slightly higher usage of path verbs than does Portuguese: 69.4% of the Turkish original, versus 50.8% in the Bulgarian translation. This does not occur simply because the Bulgarian translator chooses more creatively from among the Bulgarian verbs encoding manner when translating Turkish verbs encoding the same; rather, the similarity in percentages of manner verb usage in the two languages is more or less due to chance. For example, one of the frequently used Turkish manner verbs is yürümek ‘walk’, which appears 18 times in the original text. The most direct

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

The Turkish data show something rather different. The Turkish author uses 34 different motion verbs in the first 125 motion events of the novel (also coincidentally, the same number as the Portuguese writer). The Bulgarian translator, however, has chosen a much greater variety of verbs in the translation: 70—over twice as many. Nevertheless, of these verbs, the percentages represented by manner verbs are roughly the same: 34.9% in the Turkish original, versus 35.7% in the Bulgarian translation. This does not occur simply because the Bulgarian translator chooses more creatively from among the Bulgarian verbs encoding manner of motion when translating Turkish verbs encoding the same; rather, the similarity in percentages of manner verb usage in the two languages is more or less due to chance. For example, one of the frequently used Turkish manner verbs is yürümek ‘walk’, which appears 18 times in the original text.
translation of yürümek in Bulgarian would be вървя, but вървя is, in fact, used to translate yürümek only once—12 other verbs are used to translate yürümek on other occasions, including both the path verbs тръгна ‘set off, leave’, насоча се ‘head for’ and придвижвам се ‘move forward, advance’, and the neutral verbs движа се ‘move’ and продължа ‘continue’. In several instances, speed of movement, indicated in the Turkish by adverbial phrases such as hızlı hızlı ‘rapidly; forcefully’ or koşar gibi ‘as if running’ is rendered by manner verbs encoding haste (e.g., разбързам се ‘begin to hurry, hustle’, потичам ‘have a (short) run’, and препускам ‘race; gallop’).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.5. Summary of manner and path verbs in the Bulgarian translations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage of</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>manner verbs</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation from English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation from German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation from Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation from Turkish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.4 Prefixation in the Bulgarian translations

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.6 Comparison of prefixation in the Bulgarian and translated literature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prefix</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>в-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>до-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>за-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In addition to using slightly fewer prefixed verbs than the original Bulgarian data, the translated works also appear to use fewer prefixes per root. While the original Bulgarian data set has 10 verb roots using three or more prefixes, the translated data set has only eight verb roots with three or more prefixes. Moreover, two of the verbs from the original Bulgarian data (минавам/мина ‘pass’ and тичам ‘run’) occur with five or six prefixes, while the verbs in the translated novels occur with a maximum of four prefixes. Interestingly, the verbs with the most prefixes in the two data sets are not the same. Table 4.7 below lists the verbs from each set of data with three or more prefixes.

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

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

4.4.5 Conclusions from the translated data

The data from the translations made into Bulgarian from four different languages show several different things. First, the typological classification of high-manner and low-manner may indicate tendencies in a language, but these tendencies do not necessarily manifest in similar ways for all speakers at all times. The English data demonstrate exactly what might be expected (higher incidence of manner verb usage than path verb usage, a large variety of different motion verbs, and rich semantic categories for certain types of motion), as do the German data.
(although, as noted, the figures for manner verb usage are probably inflated due to the ambiguous status of gehen ‘walk; go’). The Portuguese data also behave perfectly, demonstrating a high path verb to manner verb ratio. The Turkish data, on the other hand, do not illustrate the typological dichotomy so well. Although the ratio of path verbs to manner verbs is still significantly higher (at 1.7:1), it is actually quite similar to that of Bulgarian in the translation from Turkish, and lower than the Bulgarian translations of the German and Portuguese data. In other words, two of the Bulgarian translations show fewer manner verbs and more path verbs than the low-manner Turkish text. This could reflect either the position of Turkish on the manner-path spectrum, or the place of Bulgarian on that same spectrum (both absolutely and relative to Turkish), or both. In any case, it is clear that Turkish is not a verb-framed, low-manner language in quite the same way that Portuguese is.

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

4.5 The Serbian data

4.5.1 Frequency and type of motion verb usage in Serbian

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serbian verb</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
<th># of tokens</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>odlažiti /otići</td>
<td>‘leave, go away’</td>
<td>5 35 40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ići</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>31 31 62</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stići</td>
<td>‘arrive, come’</td>
<td>- 24 24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vračati se /vratiti se</td>
<td>‘return’</td>
<td>1 22 23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dolaziti/doći</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
<td>9 12 22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulaziti/ući</td>
<td>‘enter’</td>
<td>8 13 21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prolaziti/proći</td>
<td>‘pass, go through’</td>
<td>6 12 18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hodati</td>
<td>‘walk, pace’</td>
<td>16 - 16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kretati (se)/krenuti (se)</td>
<td>‘move; set off, leave’</td>
<td>2 11 14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

76 Includes, in addition to the verbal forms, the nominal form dolazak ‘arrival’.

77 Including the forms, the nominal form dolazak ‘arrival’.

78 Including the forms, the nominal form dolazak ‘arrival’.

79 Including the forms, the nominal form dolazak ‘arrival’.

80 Including the forms, the nominal form dolazak ‘arrival’.

81 Including the forms, the nominal form dolazak ‘arrival’.

82 Including the forms, the nominal form dolazak ‘arrival’.

83 Including the forms, the nominal form dolazak ‘arrival’.

84 Including the forms, the nominal form dolazak ‘arrival’.

85 Including the forms, the nominal form dolazak ‘arrival’.

86 Including the forms, the nominal form dolazak ‘arrival’.

87 Including the forms, the nominal form dolazak ‘arrival’.
The first obvious difference between the Bulgarian data and the Serbian data is that there are fewer verbs comprising the top 50% of verbs used in Serbian than in Bulgarian—while 15 verbs are included in the Bulgarian top 50%, the Serbian top 50% comprises only 12 verbs. The smaller number of verbs in the Serbian list indicates that Serbian makes use of a smaller number of high-frequency motion. However, the most frequently used Serbian verb pair, 
oti 
ti i 
oti 
i 
, is the BCS cognate of the most frequently used Bulgarian verb pair, 
oti 
 
 
 
 
. The difference in frequency of these verbs is very slight, with 40 tokens in Serbian, compared with 37 in Bulgarian. Other than the congruence between this shared high-frequency verb pair, though, the two lists diverge quite a bit.

The Bulgarian list of the most-used motion verbs includes only two verbs based on the Bulgarian verb 
 
 
, whereas the Serbian list includes six verbs based on the BCS cognate 
 
 
. Interestingly, though, BCS shares something with Bulgarian that it does not share with Russian. The imperfective forms of verbs based on 
 
 
 are suppletive, derived not from the verb 
 
 
, but from the verb 
 
 
, which originally meant ‘crawl’. This is the verb on which a small series of high-frequency motion verbs in Bulgarian is based, including two in the top 50% in the data, 
 
 
 
 and 
 
 
. Other cognates shared with Bulgarian in the top 50% are 
 
 
 
, 
 
 
, and 
 
 
. The last verb differs significantly from its Bulgarian cognate. The Bulgarian form is prefixed, differentiating it from 
 
, but it is the prefix which gives the Bulgarian verb 
 
 the same meaning as the unprefixed (in the imperfective) BCS 
 
. In BCS, however, there has been a semantic shift in the original unprefixed verb, necessitating that another verb, 
 
, take over the function of 
 
.

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

### 4.5.2 Manner and path in the Serbian data

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>putovati</th>
<th>‘travel’</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>-</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>●</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bežati/pobeci</td>
<td>‘flee; run away’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>izlaziti/izici</td>
<td>‘exit, go out of’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: Total number of tokens

| total number of tokens | 249 | 3 | 9 |
high-manner and low-manner languages (respectively) corroborate this to some extent. Interestingly, the figures for Serbian are quite similar to those for Bulgarian, even where they deviate greatly from the manner verb versus path verb figures for the original language.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Portuguese novel</th>
<th>Serbian translation</th>
<th>Turkish novel</th>
<th>Serbian translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>total motion verb tokens</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number of different motion verbs</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>46</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
4.5.3 Prefixation in BCS motion verbs

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
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<th>verb variety coefficient</th>
<th>27.6%</th>
<th>26.1%</th>
<th>27%</th>
<th>36.5%</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>number of different manner verbs</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>total manner verb count</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>41</td>
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<tr>
<td>manner verbs as a percentage</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
<td>34.9%</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>number of different path verbs</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>total path verb count</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>72</td>
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<tr>
<td>path verbs as a percentage</td>
<td>62.6%</td>
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<td>different manner-path verbs</td>
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<td>total manner-path verb count</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>manner-path-neutral verbs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>total neutral verb count</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prefix</td>
<td>verb (/aspect pair)</td>
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<tr>
<td>do-</td>
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<tr>
<td>do-</td>
<td>dogalopirati</td>
<td>‘come galloping’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>do-</td>
<td>dolaziti/doći</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>do-</td>
<td>doktrišati se</td>
<td>‘come rolling’</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>do-</td>
<td>doleteti</td>
<td>‘come flying’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>do-</td>
<td>dospeti</td>
<td>‘arrive, reach, get to’</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>do-</td>
<td>dotrcati</td>
<td>‘come running’</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>iz-</td>
<td>izbeći</td>
<td>‘escape, flee, evade’</td>
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<tr>
<td>iz-</td>
<td>iščeznuti</td>
<td>‘disappear’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iz-</td>
<td>izgubit se</td>
<td>‘get lost, disappear’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iz-</td>
<td>izlaziti/izići</td>
<td>‘exit, go out of’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iz-</td>
<td>izjuriti</td>
<td>‘run out, rush out’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iz-</td>
<td>izletati/izleteti</td>
<td>‘fly out’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iz-</td>
<td>ispasti</td>
<td>‘fall out’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iz-</td>
<td>iseliti se</td>
<td>‘move, migrate’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>iz-</td>
<td>iskočiti</td>
<td>‘jump out, leap out’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-</td>
<td>naići</td>
<td>‘come across, meet’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-</td>
<td>nalaziti se/naći se</td>
<td>‘come across; be located’</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-</td>
<td>napuštati</td>
<td>‘leave, abandon’</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-</td>
<td>nastaviti</td>
<td>‘continue’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-</td>
<td>načiniti (korak)</td>
<td>‘make (a step)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-</td>
<td>okretati (se)/okrenuti (se)</td>
<td>‘turn’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-</td>
<td>osvrnuti se</td>
<td>‘turn, look back’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>od-</td>
<td>odgalopirati</td>
<td>‘gallop away’</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>od-</td>
<td>odlaziti/otići</td>
<td>‘leave, go away’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>od-</td>
<td>odjezditi</td>
<td>‘trot away; pass by’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>od-</td>
<td>otkoračati</td>
<td>‘step away’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>od-</td>
<td>odleteti</td>
<td>‘fly off, fly away’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>od-</td>
<td>odmaći</td>
<td>‘move away’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>od-</td>
<td>otpuziti</td>
<td>‘crawl away’</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>od-</td>
<td>otskakati/otskočiti</td>
<td>‘jump away’</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>od-</td>
<td>odšunjati se</td>
<td>‘sneak away’</td>
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<tr>
<td>od-</td>
<td>otrčati</td>
<td>‘run off’</td>
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<tr>
<td>od-</td>
<td>odtrupkati se</td>
<td>‘stomp off’</td>
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<tr>
<td>od-</td>
<td>odvesti (perf. of odvoditi)</td>
<td>‘lead away’</td>
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<tr>
<td>od-</td>
<td>odvesti se (perf. of odvoziti)</td>
<td>‘drive, ride away’</td>
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<tr>
<td>po-</td>
<td>pobeći</td>
<td>‘flee, run away’</td>
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<tr>
<td>po-</td>
<td>pohitati</td>
<td>‘hurry’</td>
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<td>po-</td>
<td>pohrliti</td>
<td>‘throw’</td>
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<tr>
<td>po-</td>
<td>polaziti/poći</td>
<td>‘leave, depart’</td>
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<tr>
<td>po-</td>
<td>pojaviti se</td>
<td>‘appear’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slavic</td>
<td>English</td>
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<tr>
<td>pojuriti</td>
<td>‘begin running, rush, dash’</td>
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<tr>
<td>poletati/poleteti</td>
<td>‘take off (flying), rush off’</td>
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<tr>
<td>popeti se</td>
<td>‘climb, rise, ascend’</td>
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<tr>
<td>pomeriti se</td>
<td>‘move’</td>
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<tr>
<td>poskočiti</td>
<td>‘jump, hop, bound’</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>postajati (bliži)</td>
<td>‘become (closer)’</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>poterati</td>
<td>‘begin to drive (cattle); hurry, press’</td>
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<tr>
<td>potrcati</td>
<td>‘begin to run’</td>
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<tr>
<td>povoditi se</td>
<td>‘stumble, stagger’</td>
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<tr>
<td>povući</td>
<td>‘pull oneself, move’</td>
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<tr>
<td>podići (podignuti)</td>
<td>‘lift out of’</td>
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<tr>
<td>pre-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>prelaziti/preći</td>
<td>‘go across’</td>
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<tr>
<td>preskočiti</td>
<td>‘jump across, over’</td>
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<tr>
<td>pri-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>približavati se/približiti se</td>
<td>‘approach, draw near’</td>
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<tr>
<td>pridizati</td>
<td>‘lift (a little), go up’</td>
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<tr>
<td>prilaziti/priči</td>
<td>‘approach, walk up to’</td>
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<tr>
<td>pro-</td>
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<tr>
<td>probiti se</td>
<td>‘make one’s way, push one’s way through’</td>
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<tr>
<td>procunjati</td>
<td>‘pass through’</td>
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<tr>
<td>produžiti</td>
<td>‘continue’</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>prolaziti/proći</td>
<td>‘go, pass’</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proletati/proleteti</td>
<td>‘fly by, through’</td>
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<tr>
<td>promuvati se</td>
<td>‘wander through’</td>
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<tr>
<td>propasti</td>
<td>‘fall through’</td>
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<tr>
<td>prošetati</td>
<td>‘walk, stroll (through)’</td>
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<tr>
<td>s-</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>silaziti/siči</td>
<td>‘go down, descend’</td>
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<tr>
<td>sjuriti se</td>
<td>‘run down, come running’</td>
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<tr>
<td>skretati/skrenuti</td>
<td>‘turn’</td>
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<tr>
<td>sleteti</td>
<td>‘land (from flying)’</td>
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<tr>
<td>skinuti</td>
<td>‘remove’ (trans.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>sruciti se</td>
<td>‘plunge, fall, throw oneself’</td>
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<tr>
<td>u-</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>udenjivati se/udaljiti se</td>
<td>‘move away’</td>
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<tr>
<td>ugažiti</td>
<td>‘step into’</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulaziti/ući</td>
<td>‘enter, go in’</td>
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<tr>
<td>uleteti</td>
<td>‘fly into; dash, run into’</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>umaći</td>
<td>‘escape, run away’</td>
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<tr>
<td>uputiti se</td>
<td>‘set off, start’</td>
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<tr>
<td>ustremiti se</td>
<td>‘lunge’</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ustuknuti</td>
<td>‘step back; flinch’</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>učiniti (pokret)</td>
<td>‘make (a move)’</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubrzniti ( hod, korak)</td>
<td>‘hasten (pace, step)’</td>
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<tr>
<td>uz-</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>uzleteti</td>
<td>‘take off in flight (airplane, etc.)’</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uzmači</td>
<td>‘step back, draw back; withdraw’</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
From Table 4.11 we see that the most commonly used prefix in the Serbian data is *po*-, followed by *od-*,-, and *pro*-. The first of these prefixes is not a directional prefix, but the following three are. The fifth most common prefix in the data is *za*- which can be either directional or an Aktionsart prefix; the definitions of the verbs with this prefix show that the majority of the verbs with the prefix *za*- express Aktionsart—only the verb *zaći* ‘go behind’ conveys the original spatial meaning.

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

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

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

**TABLE 4.12. Common verb roots found in the data and their prefixed forms**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leteti/izleteti</th>
<th>fly out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Odleteti</td>
<td>fly off, fly away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poleteti/poleteti</td>
<td>take off (flying), rush off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proletati/proleteti</td>
<td>fly by, through</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sleteti</td>
<td>land (from flying)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uleteti</td>
<td>fly into; dash, rush into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzleteti</td>
<td>take off in flight (airplane, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izkociti</td>
<td>jump out, leap out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otskakati/otskočiti</td>
<td>jump away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poskakivati/poskociti</td>
<td>jump, hop, bound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preskočiti</td>
<td>jump across, over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trčati</td>
<td>dotrčati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otrčati</td>
<td>run off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potrčati</td>
<td>begin to run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juriti</td>
<td>izjuriti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pojuriti</td>
<td>begin running, rush, dash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sjuriti se</td>
<td>run down, come running</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maknuti</td>
<td>odmači</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umači</td>
<td>escape, run away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzmači</td>
<td>step back, draw back; withdraw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bezati</td>
<td>izbeći</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pobeći</td>
<td>flee, run away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Činati</td>
<td>učiniti pokret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Načiniti korak</td>
<td>make a step</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koračati</td>
<td>otkoračati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zakoračiti</td>
<td>take a step, step across</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kretati/krenuti</td>
<td>okretati (se)/okrenuti (se)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skretati/skrenuti</td>
<td>turn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galopirati</td>
<td>dogalopirati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odgalopirati</td>
<td>gallop away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasti</td>
<td>ispasti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Propasti</td>
<td>fall through</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-putiti</td>
<td>uputiti se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaputiti se</td>
<td>leave, depart, set out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voditi</td>
<td>odvoditi/odvesti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Povoditi se/povesti se</td>
<td>stumble, stagger</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.12 demonstrates just how productive ići is in the BCS motion verb system. It also shows that leteti ‘fly’ is very productive with prefixation—far more so than its Bulgarian cognate летя (Bulgarian also uses the verb хвърча in this meaning). Another interesting feature seen in
the table above is the prominence of trčati, the innovative BCS verb for RUN, which boasts more prefixed forms in the data than the common Slavic form bežati.

4.6 THE RUSSIAN DATA

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Russian verb</th>
<th># of tokens</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l/i</td>
<td>P/d</td>
<td>total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>идти/ходить</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пойти</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>возвращаться/вернуться</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>уйти/ходить</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>выйти/выходить</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пройти/проходить</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>войти/входить</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>прийти/приходить</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>бродить/побродить</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>бегать/бежать</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>двигаться/двинуться</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пересекать/пересечь</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>подниматься/подняться</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>отправляться/отправиться</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>доходить/дойти</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>попасть</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>шагать/зашагать</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>добираться</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ездить/ехать</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>зайти/заходить</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>подойти</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total number of tokens</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

79 This column and the next indicate the number of imperfective (I) forms and perfective (P) forms for each verb (when both forms are present in the translated literature), except for the verbs from the set of Russian verbs of motion which participate in the determinate/indeterminate distinction; for these verbs, these columns indicate the number of determinate (d) versus indeterminate (i) motion verb tokens.
80 Includes, in addition to the verbal forms, the nominal form выход ‘exit’.
Despite the large difference in number, however, there is one strong similarity between the Russian data and the Serbian data: both rely strongly on the common Slavic base verb meaning ‘go’ (Russian идти, Serbian иći). If one includes in the count the indeterminate form ходить, 10 of the 21 verbs in Table 4.13, or 47.6%, are formed from идти.

### 4.6.1 Path and manner in the Russian data

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Portuguese novel</th>
<th>Russian translation</th>
<th>Turkish novel</th>
<th>Russian translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>total motion verb tokens</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number of different motion verbs</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb variety coefficient</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number of different manner verbs</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 4.16. Russian prefixes found in the data and their corresponding verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>Russian verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>в-</td>
<td>влететь ‘fly in(to)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>входить/войти ‘go in, enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>выехать ‘enter, ride in(to), drive in(to)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>вскочить ‘leap up, into’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>вступить ‘enter (into); mount, go up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>вз-</td>
<td>взбираться ‘climb (up), clamber (up)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>вы-</td>
<td>выбраться ‘get out; manage to get to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>вывести ‘lead out, bring out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>вылетать/вылететь ‘fly out; rush out, dash out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>вырасти ‘appear, rise up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>высочиться ‘jump out, leap out, spring out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>выйти/выходить ‘go out, exit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>до-</td>
<td>добраться ‘get to, reach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>доскакать ‘jump up to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>доходить/дойти ‘reach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>за-</td>
<td>забраться ‘get into, climb into’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>завернуться ‘turn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>заглядывать ‘look in, drop in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>задеть ‘brush against’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>заковылять</td>
<td>‘begin to hobble’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>закружиться</td>
<td>‘begin to spin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>заложить вираж</td>
<td>‘make a turn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>занести</td>
<td>‘carry away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>заходить/зайти</td>
<td>‘call on, drop in on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>зашагать</td>
<td>‘begin to walk, set out on foot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>навещать</td>
<td>‘visit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>найти</td>
<td>‘come upon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>налетать</td>
<td>‘fly into; swoop down on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>направляться</td>
<td>‘make for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>обойти</td>
<td>‘go around, walk around; bypass’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>оборачиваться (на бегу)/обернуться</td>
<td>‘turn at a run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>отбивать</td>
<td>‘round, go round, skirt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>опередить</td>
<td>‘outstrip, leave behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>опуститься</td>
<td>‘lower oneself; sink; fall; go down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>отвести</td>
<td>‘lead, take’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>отлучаться/отлучиться</td>
<td>‘absent oneself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>отойти</td>
<td>‘move away/off, leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>отправляться/отправиться</td>
<td>‘set off/out, start out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>отскочить</td>
<td>‘jump aside; bounce off’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>отступать/отступить</td>
<td>‘step back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>отыскивать</td>
<td>‘find, track down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>перебираться</td>
<td>‘get over’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>перевернуться</td>
<td>‘turn over’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>передвигаться</td>
<td>‘move, shift’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>перейти</td>
<td>‘get across, get over’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>перелезть</td>
<td>‘climb over’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>перемахнуть</td>
<td>‘jump over, leap over’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>перемешать</td>
<td>‘shuffle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пересекать/пересечь</td>
<td>‘cross, traverse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пересесть</td>
<td>‘change places, take another seat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>перескочить</td>
<td>‘jump over, vault over’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>переступить</td>
<td>‘step over’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>перетащить</td>
<td>‘drag over, carry over’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>побежать</td>
<td>‘break into a run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>побрести</td>
<td>‘plod; start wandering’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>побродить</td>
<td>‘wander for some time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>поворачиват(ь)/повернуться(ся)</td>
<td>‘turn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>повести</td>
<td>‘move’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>погрузиться</td>
<td>‘sink (into), plunge (into), submerge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>поехать</td>
<td>‘set off, depart; go for a ride’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пойти</td>
<td>‘begin (to go, to walk)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>покатить</td>
<td>‘start rolling; roll off/away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>понести</td>
<td>'carry (pf.); rush off (after); tear along'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>попасть</td>
<td>'get, find oneself (somewhere)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>поползти</td>
<td>'crawl, creep along (pf.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>потопать</td>
<td>'sink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пошатнуться</td>
<td>'stagger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>подкатиться</td>
<td>'roll (under)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>подниматься/подняться</td>
<td>'rise; ascend; climb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>подпрыгиваться</td>
<td>'jump up, leap; bob up and down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>подойти</td>
<td>'come up (to), go up (to), approach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>подъехать</td>
<td>'drive up (to)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>прибежать/прибежать</td>
<td>'come running'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>приближаться/приблизиться</td>
<td>'approach, draw near (to)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>принести</td>
<td>'bring, fetch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>приплыть</td>
<td>'swim up; sail up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>приходить/прийти</td>
<td>'arrive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пробежать</td>
<td>'run by, run past'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пробраться</td>
<td>'make one’s way; steal (past, through)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>провалиться</td>
<td>'fall through, come down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>проводить</td>
<td>'lead, conduct’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>продвинуться</td>
<td>'advance, move, push forward’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>продолжать (наступать)</td>
<td>'continue (to advance)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пройти</td>
<td>'pass (by, through); drive (by, through)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>проложать путь</td>
<td>'lay a path, pave the way’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пролезть</td>
<td>'lie, run (by, along)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пронести</td>
<td>'carry (by, past, through)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пронестись</td>
<td>'rush (by, past, through)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пропасть</td>
<td>'disappear, vanish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>проскользнуть</td>
<td>'slip in, creep in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>протопать</td>
<td>‘beat, make (a path)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>проходить/пройти(сать)</td>
<td>'pass, go, walk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>разбежаться</td>
<td>'take a run; run up; scatter, disperse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>разбредаться</td>
<td>'disperse; straggle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>развернуться</td>
<td>'turn, swing about/around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>разъехаться</td>
<td>'depart; disperse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>сбывать</td>
<td>'take off, deduct; throttle back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>сбегать</td>
<td>'run down (from above)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>сворачивать</td>
<td>'roll up; turn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>сделать шаг, движение</td>
<td>'take a step, make a movement’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>сдвинуться</td>
<td>'move, budge; come together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>споткнуться</td>
<td>'stumble (over)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>спуститься/спуститься(ся)</td>
<td>'go come down, descend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>спрыгнуть</td>
<td>'jump/leap off/down (from)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.16 contains many more prefixed verbs than the corresponding lists for Serbian or Bulgarian. This is due in part to the greater variety of verbs used in Russian (and hence a greater number of verbs overall), but is also attributable to a greater reliance on prefixes in Russian. The Russian data show far fewer unprefixed verbs than the Bulgarian or Serbian data. Table 4.17 below demonstrates also that Russian has a larger number of roots that can occur with several prefixes than in Bulgarian and Serbian.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root or unprefixed verb</th>
<th>Verb formed from root or unprefixed verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ходить/идти</td>
<td>входить/войти 'go in, enter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>выйти/выйти 'go out, exit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>доходить/дойти 'reach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>заходить/зайти 'call on, drop in on'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>найти 'come upon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>обойти 'go around, walk around; bypass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>отойти 'move away/off, leave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>перейти 'get across, get over'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>подойти 'come up (to), go up (to), approach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>пойти 'begin (to go, to walk)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>приходить/прийти 'arrive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>пройти 'pass, go, walk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>сойти 'go/come down (from), descend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>уходить/уйти 'leave, go away, depart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>браться</td>
<td>взбираться 'climb (up), clamber (up)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>выбираться 'get out; manage to get to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>добираться 'get to, reach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>забраться 'get into, climb into'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>перебираться 'get over'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>пробраться 'make one’s way; steal (past, through)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>собираться</td>
<td>‘get together, gather together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>убираться</td>
<td>‘clear off, beat it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ехать/ездить</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>въехать</td>
<td>‘enter, ride in(to), drive in(to)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>подъехать</td>
<td>‘drive up (to)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>поехать</td>
<td>‘set off, depart; go for a ride’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>проезжать</td>
<td>‘pass (by, through); drive (by, through)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>разъехаться</td>
<td>‘depart; disperse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>съехать</td>
<td>‘go/come down; slide/slither down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>уехать</td>
<td>‘leave, depart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>бегать/бежать</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>побежать</td>
<td>‘break into a run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>прибегать/прибежать</td>
<td>‘come running’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пробежать</td>
<td>‘run by, run past’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>разбежаться</td>
<td>‘take a run; run up; scatter, disperse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>сбежать</td>
<td>‘run down (from above)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>убежать</td>
<td>‘run away, make off, escape’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### 4.7 Slavic Verbs Specifying Walk

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

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

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

(12) Kann ich mitgehen?
Can I go with you? (Remarque)

Можно мне пойти с вами?
Can I go with you?

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

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

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

A standard English-Serbocroatian Dictionary (Benson 1999) translates walk as šetati or ići. The former is very explicit as to the manner of walking, while the latter indicates any kind of motion, and is translated in the Serbocroatian-English bilingual dictionary as ‘to go, walk, ride, come’. However, šetati is not commonly used in the unmarked meaning WALK; it is better translated as ‘stroll’. (The diminutive form, šetkati, was in fact used to translate English stroll in the current database.) The verb šetati is used once in its base form (to translate Turkish aşağı
yukarı yürümek ‘walk up and down’), once in the aforementioned diminutive form, and once in
the prefixed form prošetati, to translate the Portuguese dar um passeio ‘take a walk’.

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

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

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

(13) Começou a andar sem pressa pela praça. (Coelho)

He began to walk unhurriedly through the square.

Тръгна бавно през площада.

He set off slowly through the square.

Кренуо јe тргом без журбе.

He set off through the square unhurriedly.

Не торопясь, юноша плоддeл по площади.

Not hurrying, the young man plodded along the square.
(14) Começou a andar sem rumo pela cidade. (Coelho)
He began to walk without direction through the city.

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

Besciljno hodajući gradom…
Aimlessly walking through the city…

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

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

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

Șetao sam se po plaži tamo-amho.
I strolled back and forth along the beach.

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

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

Тръгнах по коридорите.
I set out along the corridors.

Koračao sam kroz hodnike.
I stepped through the corridors.

Я прошел по коридорам.
I passed along the corridors.

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

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

Pokraj nje je Mehmed … hodao kao neki zao duh…
Alongside her Mehmed … walked like some evil spirit…

Рядом с ней шел Мехмед в светло-сером пиджаке—он брел по снегу словно злой дух…
Beside her walked Mehmet in a light gray jacket—he strolled through the snow like an evil spirit…
(18) He could barely walk under Dudley's bulk. (Rowling)

че едва върви с тая Дъдли на гръб
… that he could barely walk with that Dudley on his back.

ejeda može da hoda pod Dadlijevom masom
He could barely walk under Dudley’s bulk.

с Дадли на плечах едва може идти —
With Dudley on his shoulders he could barely walk.

(19) He walked quickly. (Rowling)

Крачеше бързо.
He stepped quickly

On ubrza korak.
He quickened his step

Он ускорил шаг.
He quickened his step

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

нямащо да можеш хем да вървеш, хем да говориш
You wouldn’t be able to both walk and to talk...

ne bi mogao da hodaš i govoriš istovremeno
You couldn’t walk and talk at the same time.

одновременно идти и разговаривать
… at the same time to walk and to converse.

(21) Sie ging schnell. (Remarque)

She walked/went quickly.

вървеше бързо
She walked quickly.

Koračala je brzo
She stepped quickly.

Она шла быстро
She walked quickly.

(22) Ich will gehen. (Remarque)

I want to walk.

предпочитам да повървя
I prefer to walk a bit.

Hoću da pešačim
I want to walk.

Хочу пройтись.
I want to take a stroll.
In addition, there is an example from the German novel, given below, for which each Slavic translator inserted a path verb where the original has no motion verb at all:

(23) … bis sie unten waren. (Remarque)
… until they were downstairs.

… докато слязоха.
… until they went down.

… dok nisu sišli.
… until they went down.

… пока они не сошли вниз.
… until they went (down) downstairs.

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

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

(24) … stomping over to the window. (Rowling)

Отиде с тежка стъпка при прозореца.
He went with a heavy step to the window.

Odtrupkavši do prozora…
Stomping away to the window…

Тежелым шагом идя к окну…
Going/walking to the window with a heavy step…

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WALK verb</th>
<th>Bulgarian translations</th>
<th>Serbian translations</th>
<th>Russian translations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andar</td>
<td>вървя 2</td>
<td>hodati 3</td>
<td>зашагать 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>обикалям 1</td>
<td>krenuti 2</td>
<td>идти 1</td>
</tr>
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<td>Язык</td>
<td>Поразходя се</td>
<td>proći</td>
<td>отыскивать</td>
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<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>щурам се</td>
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<td>шагать</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
4.8 CONCLUSION

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Manner verbs by percentage</th>
<th>Path verbs by percentage</th>
<th>Verb variety coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English novel (Harry Potter)</td>
<td>48.7%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>54.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgarian translation</td>
<td>39.2%</td>
<td>49.6%</td>
<td>60.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian translation</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
<td>46.7%</td>
<td>56.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian translation</td>
<td>71.9%</td>
<td>21.9%</td>
<td>57.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German novel (Arc de Triomphe)</td>
<td>43.7%</td>
<td>47.1%</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgarian translation</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>47.9%</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian translation</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
<td>70.7%</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian translation</td>
<td>80.5%</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
<td>41.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese novel (O Alquimista)</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>62.6%</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgarian translation</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
<td>69.4%</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian translation</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
<td>66.1%</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian translation</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish novel (Yeni Hayat)</td>
<td>34.9%</td>
<td>59.5%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The other difference in the Slavic languages indicated by the data in this chapter and Chapter 3 is that the role of verb roots and prefixation is rather different in the three languages, with Bulgarian showing the greatest diversity. On one hand, Bulgarian shows a similar range of prefix usage in terms of the number of different prefixes: there are 14 different prefixes found in the Bulgarian translations, compared with 13 in Serbian and 16 in Russian. Thus, though Russian has slightly more prefixes, the numbers of prefixes used in these data is similar for all three languages. However, there is much greater variation in the roots onto which the prefixes are attached. In both Serbian and Russian, the most commonly prefixed root is идти, cognate with Bulgarian ида. Twelve of the 13 prefixes found in the Serbian data are used with идти in the same data, while 14 of the 16 Russian prefixes are used with идти. In comparison, Bulgarian ида is used with only three different prefixes in these data. Both Russian and Serbian, in fact, have a number of other verbs which appear with a number of different prefixes, as indicated by the tables above, but Bulgarian verbs in these data never appear with more than three or four different prefixes. Though these spatial and aspectual prefixes in Bulgarian still play a strong role in the verbal system, conveying directional information much of the time, their role in verb formation is much weaker. Instead, the system relies on a greater number of verbal roots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bulgarian translation</th>
<th>35.7%</th>
<th>50.8%</th>
<th>55.6%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Serbian translation</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
<td>57.1%</td>
<td>36.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian translation</td>
<td>74.8%</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 5: ORAL NARRATIVES

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

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

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

5.2  MANNER AND PATH IN FROG, WHERE ARE YOU?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Event 2: In the eighth picture, the boy and the dog are seen outside the boy’s house, near a grove of trees. The boy’s mouth is open and his hands are cupped around it in a manner that suggests that he is calling the frog. The dog’s nose is in the air, apparently sniffing at a passing swarm of bees. Although this particular scene does not depict a motion event in progress, most informants interpreted the drawing to indicate that the boy and his dog are setting out to find the frog, and so they used motion verbs associated with setting out.
Event 3: The ninth picture in the book depicts the boy calling into a hole in the ground, while the dog stands on his hind legs and barks at or tries to get a beehive hanging from a tree. In the 10th scene, on the facing page, a subterranean rodent has emerged from the hole with an aggrieved expression on its face, while the boy holds his hands to nose, suggesting that he has been bitten. Informants consistently mention the animal’s emergence from the hole (although they are often dubious as to what the creature itself should be called).

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

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
<th>tokens</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>M-P</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Event 1: frog gets out of jar</td>
<td>избягам</td>
<td>‘flee, escape’</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>изляза</td>
<td>‘come/go out, exit’</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>измъкна</td>
<td>‘sneak out’</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>изскоча</td>
<td>‘jump out; pop out’</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>скоча</td>
<td>‘jump’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 2: boy &amp; dog set out</td>
<td>вървя</td>
<td>‘walk; go’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>изляза</td>
<td>‘come/go out, exit’</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>отивам</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As seen in Table 5.1, there is some variation in the motion verb usage for each event; most of the verbs are manner verbs, but a few path verbs are widely used as well. Each event is discussed below, and illustrated by examples.

5.3.2 Event 1: The frog escapes from the jar

The first motion event in the narration is invariably the frog’s escape from his glass prison. As described in 5.3.1, his escape is depicted in such a way that it readily invites a manner interpretation from speakers inclined to use manner verbs of motion. Özçalışkan and Slobin record the following verbs used by English speakers to describe this scene: the frog “runs away, jumps out, hops out, climbs out, crawls out, creeps out, slips out, sneaks out, steps out, tiptoes out, escapes” (Özçalışkan and Slobin 2003: 263). The English path verb *exit*, though not ungrammatical, would be highly unnatural in this narration.
A low manner, verb-framed language such as Turkish can use manner verbs to describe this scene, but can use path verbs with an equal or greater felicity. A typical example occurs in the following narration from Berman and Slobin (1994: 626):

(1) Kurbağ'a kavanoz-dan dışarı çıkmış
frog jar-ABL outside go.out-PAST
_The frog exited the jar._

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

The Bulgarian data with respect to this event include a higher number of manner verbs than path verbs; however, the path verb излизам/изляза ‘exit’ was used eight times, making it more frequent, by one token, than any individual manner verb81. The majority of the verbs chosen contained the prefixed with из-, which usually indicates motion out of a place. Here are several examples from the narratives:

(2) жабата изскочила от буркана
frog DEF out-jump.P.REN.3SG from jar DEF
_The frog hopped out of the jar._

(3) [жабата] измъкнала от буркана и избягала незнайно къде
frog DEF out-sneak.P.REN.3SG from jar DEF and flee P.REN.3SG unknown where
_[The frog] sneaked out of the jar and fled to who knows where._

(4) на жабока му омъръзило да стои в буркан, и
to frog DEF him tire P.REN.3SG comp stand PRS.3SG in jar and
скочил на свобода
jump P.REN.3SG to freedom
_The frog got tired of staying in a jar, and jumped to freedom._

(5) през нощта палавата жаба излязла тайно от буркана
through night DEF mischievous DEF frog exit P.REN.3SG secretly from jar DEF
_During the night, the mischievous frog secretly exited the jar._

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

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

81 One example does not refer to the specific event of the frog exiting the jar on this evening, but rather, describes the boy’s surprise at finding the jar empty, because “обыкновено жабата не излизала от буркана” ‘usually the frog didn’t _exit_ from the jar’.
conditioned by the species of the animal which performs the action.) These two examples contain manner verbs with a path prefix. Example (4), by contrast, has an unprefixed manner verb. Here, the emphasis is not on whence the frog comes, but on his destination: “to freedom.”

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

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

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

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

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

(6) Решели двамата да тръгнат през гората и да търсят жабата
decide.P.REN.3PL two-DEF COMP set.out.P.PRS.3PL through forest.DEF and COMP search.for.PPRS.3PL frog-DEF

The two of them decided to set out through the woods and to look for the frog.
The verb тръгна was also used in combination with other verbs, such as вървя, as seen in (7), or as a precedent to the manner verb supplementing the act of setting out, as seen in (8).

(7) Тръгнали те, вървяли, вървяли, вървяли, и
съединили до гората
They set out, and they walked and walked and walked, and reached the forest.

(8) Хваналя кучето в ръце и тръгнало да търси
жабока... Ходили из полето
He took the dog in hand and set off to search for the toad. They walked through the field.

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

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

(9) излязоха на полето близо до гората
They went out in the field near the forest.

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

5.3.4 Event 3: The gopher-like creature comes out of the hole
The third motion event was also highly salient for the Bulgarian informants. It consists of two pictures in sequence, the first showing a hole in the ground, and the second showing an animal halfway out of the same hole. The boy appears to have been either surprised or injured by the creature. The animal’s emergence from its den, of course, is the event of interest. Of the 27 Bulgarian informants, 25 (92.6%) mentioned this event; one even mentioned it twice, first saying that the frog came out of the hole, correcting herself to state, using a different verb, that a mouse had come out. Curiously enough, many Serbian informants overlooked this event altogether.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\(^{82}\) Note too that изляза ‘exit’ is constructed on the same root and with the equivalent prefix as Russian вылезь ‘crawl out, climb out’, or colloquially ‘get out’; but the Russian verb still retains the idea of CRAWL or CLIMB. Thus, even when Russian informants use the cognate form of this verb in the same scene, the meaning is different, because the Russian verb, unlike the Bulgarian, is a manner verb. For a full discussion of излизам/изляза, see 2.6.1.
description of motion events is seen by the fact that показа се is used seven times for this event (representing 27% of all tokens).

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

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

(16) Дяволът, като си знаял името, изскокнал из кладенеца
devil-DEF as REFN know.REN.3SG name-DEF jump.P.REN.3SG from well-DEF
The devil, since he knew his name, jumped out of the well.54

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

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

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

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

83 These examples are from the story “Дяволът и ученикът му,” pages 42 and 43.
84 The only other instance of characters coming out of wells in the story occurs in the sentence following this one, which reads, “като чухо гласа на майка си, и то излизо” ‘when [the child] heard his mother’s voice, he too exited’. For this speaker, at least, the path verb seems more readily available than the manner verb.
The choices of verbs above are interesting for two reasons. First, they show that even for an event which requires an overt climbing action, such as that conveyed by the English verb *climb* or the Bulgarian verb *(po)катерям се*(по)категоря се, Bulgarians are likely to use the more manner-neutral verb *качвам се*/кача се—this verb was used nine times by informants. The prefixed form *покачвам се*покача се ‘go up; climb up’ implies more the sense of English *climb* than *качвам се*кача се, though the difference between the two forms is not strong; this form was used six times. The verb *(po)категорям се*(по)категоря се ‘climb’ conveys the physical aspect of climbing, the clambering action, and was used (in its prefixed form *покатеря се*) six times. There is thus a slight contrast with the usage in the description of Event 6, when the boy gets up on top of a rock to achieve a better vantage point from which to search for his frog.

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

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

The following examples describe the boy’s ascent onto the rock using the verbs *кача се* ‘go up’, its prefixed form *покача се*, and the verb *покатеря се* ‘climb’.

(25) Качило се на един камък

He got up on a rock.
(26) Бягало момчето и стигнало до едно хълмче … и
run.REN.3SG BOY-DEF and reach.P.REN.3SG until one hill-DIM and
се покачило на него
REFL climb.up.P.REN.3SG on it

The boy ran and reached a small hill … and he climbed up on it.

(27) реши да се покатери на скалата
decide.P.AOR.3SG COMP REFL climb.P.PRS.3SG on rock-DEF

He decided to climb/clamber onto the rock.

The unprefixed form of the verb качвам се/кача се is more common than the prefixed forms, both in the oral narratives and in Bulgarian in general. It is perhaps for this reason that the prefixed forms seem more marked. The prefixed forms emphasize the completion of the action and the goal of the verb; perhaps because of this, the possibility of completion seems more tenuous, and thus the marked completion more of an achievement. It is this markedness that lends the appearance of manner (+ effort) to an act which could be interpreted as exclusively path oriented. In both events of the story of the story events which depict climbing, unprefixed качвам се/кача се is most often the verb of choice. The fact that it is used more often in the event of climbing the rock than the tree; this may be because the rock is not particularly high, and thus the motor activity associated with CLIMB is less salient. However, the verb that best expresses the motor activity inherent in climbing, покатервам се/покатеря се, is used only slightly more often when describing the ascent into the tree than the ascent onto the rock. The prefixed form of качвам се/кача се, покачвам се/покача се, is clearly much more preferred for climbing the tree, compared with its use for climbing the rock; this supports the notion that the prefixed form carries a great connotation of manner than the unprefixed form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb of ascent</th>
<th>tree climbing</th>
<th>rock climbing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>качвам се/кача се</td>
<td>‘go up’</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>покачвам се/покача се</td>
<td>‘go up; climb’</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>изкачвам се/изкача се</td>
<td>‘go up; climb’</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>покатервам се/покатеря се</td>
<td>‘climb’</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.6 Event 5: The owl comes out of its hole

This fifth event, that of the owl emerging from a hole in the tree, has been much discussed in the literature, perhaps more so than any other event in the story. Like the motion event discussed in 5.3.4 (the gopher coming out of its burrow), this episode involves a boundary-crossing event. But because the subject here is a bird that flies, there are more manner verbs readily available to describe the event.

Despite the expectation that the default mode of locomotion for a prototypical bird will generally be flight, most of the Bulgarian informants focused on the element of suddenness in the owl’s emergence from within the tree, describing this event with the verb изскоча ‘jump out; pop out’ (45.8% of all tokens). Of the 23 informants who mentioned the owl’s emergence, only two employed the verb излетя ‘fly out’ (8.3% of all tokens)—far fewer than those informants using the path verb изляза ‘exit’, which was used nine times (37.5%); one informant used both of these verbs, as seen in (24). Reasons for this choice are not limited to manner versus path
choices in Bulgarian, however; the picture in question depicts the owl with its wings spread wide as though for flight, but possibly still perched on the tree from which it emerged—the unclarity of the two-dimensional line drawing makes it difficult to determine whether the owl is, indeed, in flight. Nevertheless, as comparisons with Serbian and Russian data below will make clear, Bulgarian and Serbian informants were far less likely to use a verb for fly in their narratives than Russian speakers. Several examples from the informants follow:

(21) от хра̀лупата излетял ѐдин бухал
    from tree.hollow-DEF out-fly.P.REN.3SG one owl
    An owl flew out of the tree hollow.

(22) от хра̀лупата изскочила ѐдна сова
    from tree.hollow-DEF out-jump.P.REN.3SG one owl
    An owl popped out of the tree hollow.

(23) оттам извед̀ньж излѐзе ѐдин бухал и размаха́ своите криле
    from.there suddenly exit.P.AOR.3SG one owl and flap.P.AOR.3SG its-DEF wings
    An owl suddenly came out of there and flapped its wings.

(24) оттам излѐзе но̀чната птица бухал; тя излетя от
    from.there exit.P.AOR.3SG night-DEF bird owl she out-fly.P.AOR.3SG from
    хра̀лупата
    tree.hole-DEF

    The night bird, the owl, came out of there; it flew out of the tree hole.

Although the final example, (24), uses a verb cognate to the Russian вылазить/вылезть ‘crawl/climb out’ (also used by a Russian speaker, and discussed in that section), it must be re-emphasized that the Bulgarian cognate has no sense of CRAWL or CLIMB—or, indeed, of any particular sort of motion.

As with the emergence of the gopher from its hole, the verb показа се ‘appear’ is used here, but only once. Additionally, several informants acknowledged the appearance of the owl without indicating motion at all, simply by stating the presence of the owl (e.g., А в само̀то дърво се намирал бухал ‘and in that very tree there was an owl’). Failure to mention the owl’s sudden appearance was relatively rare among the Bulgarian or Russian informants, but somewhat more prevalent among the Serbian informants.

5.3.7 Event 7: The deer runs off with the boy

The final motion event of the story described by most informants is that of the deer running off with the boy on his antlers. There are two common ways to talk about this—either the deer’s locomotion itself is described (the deer ran, etc.), or the transport of the boy is emphasized (the deer carried the boy). This description tends to be more complicated because of the concurrent actions depicted, and many informants described this scene with more than one verb. The use of multiple verbs in the examples means that these descriptions show greater variation; for this reason, a greater number of examples will be given below.
(28) Еленът хукнал да бяга, заедно с момченцето
deer-DEF dart.OFF.P.REN.3SG COMP run.PRS.3SG together with boy-DIM-DEF
The deer darted off at a run, together with the little boy.

(29) Елена се изплашил и тръгнал да бяга.
deer-DEF REFL scare.P.REN.3SG and set.off.P.REN.3SG COMP run.PRS.3SG
The deer took fright and set off at a run. He ran and ran, and the dog set off after the child.

(30) И елена като видял, че стършелите ги нападнали,
and deer-DEF as see.P.REN.3SG SUB hornets-DEF them attack.P.REN.3PL
тръгнал да бяга, и ги закарала
depart.P.REN.3SG COMP run.PRS.3SG and them take.P.REN.3SG
до едно езеро
until one lake
And when the deer saw that hornets were attacking them, he set off at a run. And he took them up to a lake.

Each of the three examples above uses the verb бягам ‘run’ to describe the movement of the deer, but each also precedes the verb with a co-verb indicating the inception of the motion, a common tactic among the Bulgarian informants (utilized, in various forms, by 13 of the 23 informants). Bulgarian, like other Slavic languages, has the ability to express a similar idea with an inceptive prefix on the verb, and the verbs побягам ‘begin to run; run for a short time’ and затичам ‘begin to run’ were both used (six times and once, respectively), but this conveys the inception of action less overtly and less descriptively than the combination of another verb plus бягам. Bulgarian usage also differs slightly from that of Russian and BCS with respect to the use of two verbs rather than one prefixed verb. In (29) and (30), the co-verb of бягам is the path verb тръгнал ‘set off; leave’, which combines path and manner, while in (28), a verb expressing both path and manner (хукнал ‘dart off’) is combined with the pure manner verb бягам. These examples show the importance of both manner and path for Bulgarian speakers. Furthermore, (25) has the additional element of закарам ‘take; lead; drive’. This example makes it explicit that the boy is riding the deer, adding an additional manner element to the utterance.

In (31) and (32) this additional element is presented as the main verb, понеса ‘carry along’. However, this verb expresses less manner than закарам—while закарам explicitly emphasizes the element of transportation (it is derived from the root карам ‘drive’), the verb понеса is less specific as to how the object is carried. In these two examples, понеса used in conjunction with an adverbial; in (31) it is a simple adverbial phrase (‘with great speed’), while in (32) it is the active particle ‘running’, a subordinated verbal form which further elaborates manner.

(31) един хубав елен, който го понесъл със голима скорост
one pretty deer who him carry.P.REN.3SG with large speed
към брега на едно блато
towards bank-DEF of one swamp
... a pretty deer, who carried him with great speed towards the bank of a swamp.
A deer appeared, who lifted the boy up onto its antlers, and carried him ahead running.

5.3.8 Other motion events

The six motion events described above are the most salient for the largest number of informants, but several other events were described often enough to warrant some discussion. Some of these events are interesting because, like several of the events described above, the informants have the choice of using either manner or path verbs, and both types of verb appear in descriptions of the scene. Others may be interesting for other reasons, which will be discussed along with the event. The events will be discussed, whenever possible, in the order in which they appear in the story.

The first event is the departure of the boy and his dog through the window. It is seen clearly that the dog falls, but the boy’s descent from the window to the ground below is not pictured. The most interesting feature of the way informants describe this event is the lack of prefixed motion verbs indicating motion out of a place (this will be contrasted with Serbian and Russian in 5.4.8 and 5.5.8 below). For example, both (33) and (34) describe the exit through the window using unprefixed manner verbs:

(33) скочили през прозореца
jump.p.ren.3pl through window-DEF
They jumped through the window.

(34) кучето падна от него, на земята …. момчето
dog-DEF fall.p.aor.3sg from it on ground-DEF boy-DEF
слезе долу
descend.p.aor.3sg below
The dog fell from it [the window], onto the ground … The boy went down.

In (34) the informant described the boy’s descent using not only the unprefixed verb падна ‘fall’ without a path satellite on the verb (only the preposition от ‘from’ before the pronoun replacing ‘window’), but also the path verb слеза ‘descend’. In (35) the verb падна is used without a prefix in the same context, but it is also modified with the adverbial participle бягайки ‘running’. There is a deictic prefix in the utterance, however, on the verb тичам (a synonym for бягам ‘run’):

(35) И бягайки, паднало от прозореца … момченцето бързо се
and run.ptcp fall.p.ren.3sg from window-DEF boy-dim-def quickly refl
притичало
come-run.p.ren.3sg
And running, [the dog] fell from the window. The boy quickly came running.

The deictic prefix in (35) can indicate more than one directional path, since the idea of come is actually expressed by the combination of the prefix and the reflexive pronoun; this
usage is often found in the expression притичвам се на помощ ‘come to [someone’s] aid’. Furthermore, the prefixed form of the verb, particularly when used reflexively, does not necessarily imply literal running, but rather the idea of making haste (as when coming to help someone in need).

The fact that original manner verbs change when prefixed may be a factor in the prevalence of unprefixed forms of certain verbs in certain situations, as illustrated in (33). Thus, while скоча means ‘jump’, изскоча often does not mean ‘jump out of’ in the literal sense of jumping from an enclosed place. Instead, it indicates suddenness of motion, so that Bulgarian speakers use скачам/скоча in its unprefixed form when speaking of jumping out of, for example, a window. This explains the usage of скочил прем прозорец ‘they jumped through the window’ above.\(^85\)

The next event is in fact a series of events which are set in motion when the dog begins barking at the beehive. This he does while the boy is looking in the gopher hole, after which the bees take notice of him and begin to chase him. This action is carried out over several scenes. In fact, because the action is not pictured in one discrete scene, informants tend to mention the bees at different points, and thus emphasize different details. Interestingly, though, only four informants used a verb explicitly meaning FLY (летя ‘fly’ or a form thereof, or разхвърча се ‘fly away, scatter’) to describe the movement of the bees. For example:

\[(36)\]  
кошера, от който излетели пчеликите  
hive-DEF from which out-fly.P.REN.3PL bees-DIM-DEF  
... the beehive, out of which flew the little bees.

The other informants used various motion verbs. A common choice was гоня ‘chase’. It is seen in (37) used in combination with the path verb тръгна ‘set out; leave’; it is used alone in other oral narratives not shown here.

\[(37)\]  
кучето бутнало кошера и пчелите избягали, и  
dog-DEF push.P.REN.3SG hive-DEF and bees-DEF escape.P.REN.3PL and  
тръгнали да гонят детето и кученцето  
set.out.P.REN.3PL COMP chase.PRS.3PL child-DEF and dog-DIM-DEF  
The dog pushed the hive and the bees fled, and set out to chase the child and the little dog.

Here is another combination of verbs, this time a motion verb showing both manner and path combined with a non-motion verb:

\[(38)\]  
роякът пчели които са хукнали да жилят кученцето  
swarm-DEF bees which be.PRS.3PL dart.off.PTCP COMP sting.PRS.3PL dog-DIM-DEF  
... the swarm of bees, which darted off to sting the little dog.

By contrast, another informant describes the movement of the bees by means of the generic EXIT verb seen in so many other examples (it also suggests the common difficulty

\(^85\) Lest it seem that the use of an unprefixed verb may be conditioned here by the preposition през, which is often used for motion over an enclosure, such as a fence or the railing of a balcony, it should be noted that the expression скачам/скоча от прозорец ‘jump from/out of a window’ is also frequently used.
informants from other cultural backgrounds often have in identifying the beehive drawn in the book):

(39) something interesting which hang.PRS.3SG on one tree and from it exit.1.REN.3PL bees

… something interesting which is hanging on a tree, and from it bees comes out.

The next event to be discussed concerns the moment when the running deer stops suddenly at the edge of a cliff, and the force of inertia throws the boy from the deer’s antlers and into the water below. Verb-framed languages do not stack paths the way I did in the previous sentence: from the deer’s antlers and into the water, because each path element is shown within the verb itself. Because each segment requires a separate motion verb in verb-framed language, fewer path segments are likely to be mentioned due to the increased cognitive load required. Satellite-framed languages whose path satellites consist of inseparable prefixes, however, are slightly more constrained than other satellite-framed languages.

Slobin (1997, 2004) provides an extensive discussion of this scene of the book in terms of path segmentation, and the differences in the narrative descriptions of this scene between speakers of path-framed languages and satellite-framed languages. He has found that there were an average of 3 path segmentations for this event among speakers of Germanic languages and 2.8 path segmentations among speakers of several Slavic languages (Russian, Polish, and Serbo-Croatian): namely, 86% of the Germanic language speakers used at least three path segments in this description, while 76% of Slavic speakers used at least three path segments. In contrast, speakers of the verb-framed languages studied used fewer path segments on average, and far fewer of them used at least three path segments: the Romance speakers used an average of 2.1 segments, and Hebrew speakers, two segments; in both groups, only 30% of the informants used at least three segments (Slobin 2004, 236-237).

Analyzing the segmentation patterns for the Bulgarian narratives is not straightforward. Path stacking, however, is not seen much; on one hand, this might be expected because of the role of inseparable prefixes in path production in Bulgarian; on the other hand, many of the verbs involved in the descriptions do not have path prefixes, and path is shown instead with prepositions only. Here are some typical examples selected from the oral narratives:

(40) оттам Mitko падна със всичка сила долу в блатото; from-there Mitko fall.P.AOR.3SG with all force below in marsh-DEF

Mitko fell with full force down into the marsh;

след него полетя и кучето … after him fly.off.P.AOR.3SG and dog-DEF

and the dog flew after him.

цопнаха момчето и кучето във блатото plop.P.AOR.3PL boy-DEF and dog-DEF in marsh-DEF

The boy and the dog plopped into the marsh.

(41) спрял се елена на една скала stop.P.REN.3SG REFL deer-DEF at one cliff

The deer stopped at a cliff;
In these examples, the tendency is for each path segment to contain a verb, much as would be expected in a verb-framed language. (Even in verb-framed languages, however, this is only a tendency, and is mitigated by structural considerations in each language; verb-framed languages with cases like the ablative, such as Turkish, for example, can more easily combine more than one path.) Examples (42) and (43) are rather similar. Two more examples, both using the verb *литна* ‘fly’ (pf.) or its prefixed form *политна* ‘fly off’, are similar; however, only (42) combines the verb with a path in a single segment, whereas (43) breaks this journey into two segments, with two separate verbs.

(42) момичето *литнало* в бездната на долу
boy-DIM-DEF fly.P.REN.3SG in abyss-DEF to below
*The little boy flew into the abyss below.*

(43) а момчето *полита* и *пада* във реката
and boy-DEF fly.OFF.I.PRS.3SG and fall.I.PRS.3SG in river-DEF
*And the boy flies off and falls in the river.*

As the story comes to its conclusion, the boy and the dog have only to get out of the water, find the fugitive frog, and head home. The act of getting out of the water was described by a large number of the Bulgarian informants (88.9%), some of whom used manner verbs, and others of whom used path verbs. Eight informants (33.3% of those mentioning the event) described the motion in the water using the verb meaning SWIM, a figure demonstrating that while such a verb is a natural choice, it is not the most common. For an example of usage, see (45), also of interest because it demonstrates both unprefixed and prefixed forms of the verb.

(45) плували и стигнали до един дънер; хванали се за дънера, и така изплували до брega
swim.REN.3PL and reach.P.REN.3PL up.to one log catch.P.REN.3PL REFL by log-DEF and so out-swim.P.REN.3PL until bank-DEF
*They swam and reached a log; they grabbed the log, and in this way swam out onto the bank.*

Other informants used path verbs for the motion in or emergence from the water; of these, *излизам/изляза* ‘exit’, as in (46) is the more common by far.

(46) водата *била* много плитка и двамата щастливо излизат
water-DEF be.REN.3SG very shallow and two-DEF happily exit.I.PRS.3PL
на другия бряг
on other-DEF bank
*The water was very shallow and the two of them happily exit on the other bank.*
And the two, crawling, dragged themselves out of the marsh.

Like the verb for **swim** (in its various prefixed and unprefixed forms), the verb for **exit** (излизам/изляза) was used eight times. Often, descriptions of this event included more than one verb. For instance, one tactic was to describe the acts of getting to the bank and then getting out were separately; another was to describe the actions of the boy and dog separately. Here are examples of each type of description:

(48) **те изплували и излезли на брега**

they out-swim.P.REN.3PL and exit.P.REN.3SG on bank-DEF

They swam out and exited on the bank.

(49) **приближил се до едно съборено дърво**

approach.P.REN.3SG REFL up.to one fallen tree

… кученцето, което плувало зад него

… dog-DIM-DEF who swim.I.REN.3SG after him

[The boy] approached a fallen log. …the dog, who swam after him…

The end of story is finally reached when the boy takes his frog (or one of his frog’s offspring—the ending is ambiguous in this regard), and goes home. Many Bulgarian informants did not mention the boy’s return home; for them, the farewells exchanged with the frogs constituted the final event. However, among those who did mention this homeward trip, the verb **тръгвам/тръгна** ‘set out; leave’, seen so much elsewhere in the narrative (particular in the beginning as the two friends set out on their search), was the most common. Of the 17 informants who described the departure for home using a motion verb, half chose this verb. Here are two examples, one of which combines the path verb **тръгна** with the path verb **изляза** ‘exit’.

(50) **и тръгнало на път за вкъщи много много радостно от случките през деня**

and set.out.P.REN.3SG on path for at.home very very happy from events-DEF during day-DEF

And he set off on the path home very, very happy from the day’s events.

(51) **и тръгнало да излиза от реката доволно, ръкомахайки на останалите жаби**

and set.out.P.REN.3SG COMP exit.I.PRS.3SG from river-DEF satisfied wave.PTCP at remaining-DEF frogs

And, satisfied, he set off to exit from the river, waving at the remaining frogs.

Other common choices in the description of this event were **връщам се вкъщи** се ‘return’ (two tokens), **отправям селопът да излиза се** ‘set off for, make one’s way’ (two tokens), and **прибирам селприферие се** ‘go home, return’ (three tokens). The verbs used by Bulgarian informants
for this scene are quite different than those favored by either Russian or Serbian informants, who more often chose verbs based on their cognates of Common Slavic iti 'go'.

5.4 PATH AND MANNER IN THE ORAL NARRATIVES

The oral narratives discussed above demonstrate two important features of Bulgarian. First, Bulgarian does have a variety of manner verbs indicating high manner salience for some motion expressions. Second, path verbs are often chosen as well, although less frequently than manner verbs.

The verb usage in this sample varied with respect to scene. For some scenes, informants used a high proportion of manner verbs, such as the deer running to the edge of the precipice (66.6% manner verbs and another 23.3% manner-path verbs). For other scenes, they used primarily path verbs, like the scene in which the boy and the dog begin their journey (88.5% path verbs) or when the boy climbs the rock (65.2% path verbs, with 34.8% manner-path verbs and no pure manner verbs). In other scenes informants used only slightly more manner verbs than path verbs. For instance, in describing the moment when the frog sneaks out of the jar and thus sets in motion the events of the narrative, 56% of the informants chose manner verbs, and another 12% chose manner-path verbs; when the owl comes out of its hole in the tree, 56.5% chose manner verbs. To describe the moment when the gopher-like creature comes out of its hole, ten chose manner verbs and nine chose path verbs, along with another seven instances of the neutral verb покажа се 'appear'.

Relatively high path verb usage requires the availability of a stylistically unmarked path verb for each situation; for Bulgarian speakers, such a verb does exist for most situations. The verb is often based on the now-empty root -лизам/-ляза, as we see in the oral narratives with the high-frequency излизам/изляза. The verb излизам/изляза is so common that it appears in every scene in which motion out of a place is described. In some cases it is the less common choice, but even in the owl scene, there are nine tokens of изляза (compared with 11 of изскоча 'jump out'). The frequency of излизам/изляза in the gopher scene is almost equal to излиза 'jump out' (the most common other motion verb used), and in the first scene, in which the frog escapes from the jar, it is the single most often used verb (with eight tokens). Other path verbs with this root include влиза/влез /влез 'enter' and слизам/слиза 'descend'. Влизам/влез 'enter' appears several times in the oral narratives, for example, in (34). Слизам/слиза 'descend' is used only once in a description of one of the motion events discussed above—when the boy and the frog set off: продължили по-далеч от къщата … влезли във гората 'they continued further from the house … they entered the forest' (the rarity of this verb may owe to a lack of salient motion into a place in the story).

The other high-frequency path verb found in these narratives is качвам се/куча се 'go up'. Though this verb can be translated as 'climb' as well as 'go up', depending on context, the verb primarily encodes path, and is regularly used in most situations when a subject is moving upwards under his own propulsion (e.g., качвам се с асансьор/постъпиле 'go up with the elevator/the stairs; also, to board transportation vehicles: качвам се с асансьор се в колата/във колело 'get into a car/an a train/on a bicycle'). This verb is used in variation with an actual verb for 'climb' in situations where the act of climbing is emphasized—the following examples are taken from the Internet: Но аз защитавам живота си, когато се катеря сам без въже 'But I protect my life when I climb without a rope [in reference to mountain climbing]'; Баба не ни позволява да се катеря по оградата 'My grandmother wouldn’t let me climb on the fence'; Със сигурност някоя повече няма да се кача в асансьор, та ако ище
I am definitely never going to get into an elevator again, even if I have to climb to the 25th floor by foot—this final example uses the verb катеря се in contrast to the unmarked verb качвам се/кача се to emphasize the difficulty of climbing 25 flights of stairs, and thus to demonstrate the adamancy of the speaker’s refusal to ever again take an elevator.

5.4.1 Comparisons between the oral narratives and the literary data

It is not possible to make a direct comparison between the oral narratives and the data from the written texts examined in Chapters 3 and 4, because the texts themselves are so different. The elicited oral narratives are by their very nature relatively spontaneous and therefore show little evidence of crafting, while the excerpted material from Bulgarian literature discussed in Chapter 3 is the artistic creation of four well known and respected Bulgarian authors. Moreover, the data from Chapter 4 come from translated literature, and it is quite possible that in some cases the choices made by translators concerning manner or path in verbs may have been influenced by the original texts. Nevertheless, general tendencies will be noted, and then summarized in Table 5.2.

The Bulgarian literature data examined in Chapter 3, consists of 500 verb tokens, comprising 125 different verbs. This gives a variety coefficient (demonstrating the degree to which different verbs, many of which are synonyms or near-synonyms, are used) of .25. Looking at the more frequent 50% of the verbs (i.e., the top 258 tokens), we see that 218 are path verbs, and that 40 can be classified as manner verbs. The 218 path verb tokens comprise nine different verbs, while the 40 manner verb tokens comprise only two verbs, вървя ‘walk; go’ and ходя ‘walk; go’. Both of these two verbs can be used in the manner-neutral sense of GO as well, and such usage is particularly frequent with the latter verb, ходя. Because there are fewer directional path possibilities, however, there will always be more tokens of any individual Bulgarian path than of individual manner verbs, because there are fewer directional path possibilities. When we look at the full array of verbs in the Bulgarian literature data set, including a large number of verbs used only one time each (63), the ratio changes somewhat. Now, 28% of the 500 verb tokens are manner verbs; 65.6% are path verbs; another 5.2% of the verbs encode both manner and path, and a total of seven verb tokens are neutral for both manner and path.

Chapter 4 discussed a data set drawn from literature translated into Bulgarian from two high manner languages and two low manner languages. The data consist of 500 verb tokens, comprising 132 different verbs. At .26, the variety coefficient is slightly higher than that of the original Bulgarian literature, but just barely. However, there is greater variation in the top 50% of verbs used: this group is represented by 253 tokens, but 15 different verbs (rather than 11 in the data set from the original Bulgarian literature; see Table 4.1 for these verbs). In this set of data there are three manner verbs (вървя ‘walk; go’, избягам ‘escape; flee’, пътувам ‘travel’), but still only 40 tokens, compared with 213 path verbs. When all verbs are taken into account, 30.2% of the motion verbs encode manner, while 60.8% encode path. This is a slight difference from the data from original Bulgarian writings (of 28% and 65.6%, respectively).

The oral narratives, in contrast, comprise a much smaller number of different verbs, as each narrative describes roughly the same plot (with some room for individual interpretation). Here, however, the difference is the number of informants (i.e., material from 18 different speakers, as opposed to four different writers for each set of literary data) creates room for more linguistic variation. For the major events discussed in the narratives, 21 different verbs were used, for a total of 175 tokens (these verbs and the number of tokens of each are listed in Table
5.1); the variety coefficient for the oral narratives is thus much lower than for the written narratives (.12 in this case), but is not relevant for comparison. The narratives all discuss the same events, thus, the greater the number of informants, the lower the variety coefficient would be expected to get—each time an informant repeats a verb already used by previous informants, variety (as a ratio) decreases. Because we cannot calculate a consistent ratio for verb variety for the oral narratives, an objective comparison with the Serbian and Russian data (in the sections below) is more difficult. However, some tendencies in the data are nevertheless clear.

Manner and path also differ in the oral narratives: almost half of the verbs in the oral narratives, 43.9%, are manner verbs, while 46.3% encode path (7.3% encode manner and path, and 2.4% encode neither).

| Table 5.2. Comparison of Bulgarian data from three sources (from Chapters 3, 4, & 5) |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
|                                 | Bulgarian novels | Translated novels | Oral narratives |
| Manner verbs (%)                | 28%              | 30.2%             | 34.3%           |
| Path verbs (%)                  | 65.6%            | 60.8%             | 43.4%           |
| Variety coefficient             | .25              | .26               | .12             |
| Most frequent verbs             |                   |                   |
| (top ten by number of tokens)   |                   |                   |
| идвам/дойда ‘come’              | отивам/отида ‘go’  | излизам/изляза ‘exit’ |
| тръгвам/тръгна ‘leave, set off’ | тръгвам/тръгна ‘leave, set off’ |                   |
| отивам/отида ‘go’               | идвам/дойда ‘come’ |                   |
| излизам/изляза ‘exit’           | излизам/изляза ‘exit’ | тръгвам/тръгна ‘leave, set off’ |
| връщам се/върна се ‘return’     | връщам се/върна се ‘return’ |                   |
| вървя ‘walk, go’               | влизам/влъза ‘enter’ |                   |
| минавам/мина ‘pass’             | стигам/стигна ‘reach’ |                   |
| прибирам се/прибера се ‘go home, go back’ | вървя ‘walk, go’ |                   |
| влизам/влъза ‘enter’            | избягам (избегна) ‘flee, escape’ |                   |
| слизам/слиза ‘descend’          | минавам/мина ‘pass’; пътувам ‘travel’ (both 10th) |                   |

The data above support other research which suggests that satellite-framed languages will not only make greater use of manner verbs, but will also show greater variety in their motion verb vocabularies. They also indicate slightly higher rates of manner verb usage in the oral narratives than in the written texts. The oral narratives should not be viewed in isolation, however. Rather, they should be compared with similar narratives produced by speakers of other Slavic languages. Sections 5.5 and 5.6 will do just that, looking briefly at frog stories in Serbian.
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and Russian; Section 5.7 will bring the results together to suggest what conclusions can be drawn from the comparative data.

The data from Serbian and Russian frog stories presented below are taken from narratives gathered by researchers working with Dan Slobin. Much of this research focused on language acquisition, and consequently, the majority of the informants were children. I have tried to use adult narratives to make the data more directly comparable with that from the Bulgarian informants, but the number of adult informants was too small to get a good representation. Therefore, I added a few narratives from 10- or 11-year olds to round the number of informants for each Serbian and Russian data set up to 12. Although the number of narratives for each Serbian and Russian of these languages is less than half the number of Bulgarian narratives presented above, there is enough consistency within the event descriptions to suggest that these 12 narratives present a reasonably accurate picture of lexicalization patterns in the two languages. These data sets, therefore, can serve adequately as a means of comparison with the Bulgarian data above.

5.5  SERBIAN FROG-STORIES

5.5.1 Data source

The data for the Serbian oral narratives based on the book *Frog, Where Are You?* were recorded by Svenka Savić of the University of Novi Sad and her students in 1995. The interviews took place in Novi Sad. The interviews were recorded with informants from different age groups, mostly children; here, I will discuss four interviews with adults, and eight with children in the oldest age group, 11-year olds. This differs from the Bulgarian narratives above, which were collected only from adults; Savić’s data, however, contain only four interviews with adults. Slobin (2004) states of manner and path verb usage that “these patterns are true at all ages. That is, the lexical encoding of manner is a stable characteristic of a language, acquired early and maintained through life” (Slobin 2004: 205). Therefore, although it would be ideal to have data exclusively from adult informants to compare with the Bulgarian data, differences due to age group factors should not be significant (and indeed, my own reading of the narratives convinces me that some of the 11-year old informants are more skilled at developing the narrative than some of the adults).

The narrations of the Serbian speakers are similar in many ways to those of the Bulgarian speakers, but not all events are equally observed by the two groups. For example, while almost all Bulgarian speakers describe the gopher-type animal coming out of its hole in some way, many of the Serbian informants make no mention of the creature at all (though when they do, they all seem certain that it is a mole). However, the Serbian informants were slightly more likely to note both the moment when the boy and dog exit through the window, and the final event, when the boy and dog set off for home. Having introduced the possibility of differences (beyond actual word choice) in the descriptions of the events by Serbian informants, I will describe in some detail the common motion verb choices in the same scenes discussed in Section 5.3 above. Appendix B gives the excerpted phrases from the Serbian informant interviews describing each motion event.

Table 5.3 shows the motion verb choices for the seven main events discussed below.

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86 The data was provided to me by Dan Slobin, for which I am most grateful; it was gathered in collaboration with Slobin and the Institute of Human Development at the University of California, Berkeley.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event 1: frog gets out of jar</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>tokens</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>M-P</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iskočiti</td>
<td>‘jump out’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iskrasti se</td>
<td>‘steal out’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>išunjati se</td>
<td>‘sneak out’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>izlaziti/izičić</td>
<td>‘exit’</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>izvući se</td>
<td>‘pull oneself out’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pobegnuti</td>
<td>‘flee; escape’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prišunjati se</td>
<td>‘sneak up’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 2: boy &amp; dog set out</td>
<td>ići</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krenuti</td>
<td>‘set out’</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otići</td>
<td>‘go [away]’</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poći (na potragu)</td>
<td>‘start (in pursuit)’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 3: rodent emerges</td>
<td>izići</td>
<td>‘exit’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iskočiti</td>
<td>‘jump out’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 4: boy goes up the tree</td>
<td>ispeti se</td>
<td>‘rise, climb’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>○</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penjati se/popeti se</td>
<td>‘go up, climb, rise’</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>○</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pentrati se</td>
<td>‘climb’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 5: owl emerges</td>
<td>izići</td>
<td>‘exit’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>izleteti</td>
<td>‘fly out’</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pojaviti se</td>
<td>‘appear’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 6: boy gets onto rock</td>
<td>penjati se/popeti se</td>
<td>‘go up, climb, rise’</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>○</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 7: deer runs away, carrying boy</td>
<td>nositi</td>
<td>‘carry, bring, take’</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otići</td>
<td>‘go [away]’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poći nositi</td>
<td>‘begin to carry, take’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poći trčati</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poneti</td>
<td>‘take, carry off’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potrčati</td>
<td>‘begin to run’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**5.5.2 Event 1: The frog escapes from the jar**

The Serbian descriptions of the frog leaving the jar have much in common with their Bulgarian counterparts. Both favor manner verbs over path verbs for this event, with only 32% of the Bulgarian verbs and 33.3% of the Serbian verbs represented by path verbs. Furthermore, only one pure path verb is used in each language set, and these verbs are cognates: izlaziti/izičić in Serbian and излизам/излизам in Bulgarian, both meaning ‘exit’.

However, the Serbian informants use a greater variety of manner verbs in their narratives. While the 25 Bulgarian informants who described this event used a total of only five different verbs, the 12 Serbian informants describing the event used seven different verbs. Part of this difference comes from the three verbs used in Serbian to mean ‘steal away’ or ‘sneak’, as
opposed to one in Bulgarian (although two of these Serbian verbs are different prefixed forms of the same verb). Thus, though the manner-to-path ratios are essentially the same for the Bulgarian and Serbian narratives, there is a greater variety of manner verbs in the Serbian data.

Another small difference between the Bulgarian and the Serbian narratives is seen in path segmentation and the number of paths typically described. Path segmentation in these cases involves describing first the exit from the jar itself, and then the final escape. Of the 25 Bulgarian narratives discussed in 5.3.2, 12 of them (48%) include two path segments in the frog’s escape, whereas seven out of 12 of the Serbian narratives (58.3%) include two segments. There does not seem to be any correlation in either the Bulgarian or the Serbian narratives between the manner or path verb usage in the first segment and the propensity to include a second segment. Of the three examples from the Serbian data quoted, (52) gives the simplest construction, while (53) and (54) show two variations with two path segments.

(52) žaba izlazi
frog exit.I.PRS.3SG
The frog exits.

(53) ali je žabica izšla iz tegle, iskočila je
but be.PRS.3SG frog.DIM exit.P.TTCP FROM jar out-jump.P.TTCP be.PRS.3SG
But the frog exited from the jar, it jumped out.

(54) žabac se polako, polako iskrao iz staklene posude
male.frog REFLECT quietly quietly out-steal.P.TTCP from glass vessel
i odskakutao and off-jump.P.TTCP
The frog stole softly out of the glass container and hopped away.

The contrast between (53) and (54) consists in the fact that (53) could be presenting either two parts of the path (an exit from the jar, followed by a final jump to freedom), or the manner verb could be clarifying or elaborating on the path verb; whereas (54) uses two descriptive path verbs to describe a two-segmented path; the two segments are indicated in part by the change in prefixes from iz- ‘out of’ to od- ‘away’.

5.5.3 Event 2: They set off to search for the frog

The Bulgarian informants used the verb тръгна ‘set off; leave’ with fair consistency to describe the event of the boy and dog going to search for the frog—26 of the 27 informants mention the event, and 73.1% use this verb. The Serbian informants chose the Serbian equivalent of this verb, krenuti (often seen in the Serbian literature translations in instances when the Bulgarian translator used тръгна), but used it less than half the time (five tokens or 41.7%). Instead, the Serbian informants relied slightly more on иći ‘go’ (two tokens) or otići ‘go (away)’ (four tokens); these two verbs based on иći comprise half of all verb tokens for this event. Although two Bulgarian informants used the manner verb върва ‘walk’, no Serbian informants used a manner verb for this scene. Here are three examples, showing the use of krenuti, иći, and otići ‘go (away)’.

(55) krenuli su u šumu
set.OFF.P.TTCP be.PRS.3PL to forest
They set out into the forest.
They went through the forest.

They went a little further from home—they went to the forest.

Example (57) also demonstrates partial segmentation into two paths, using the same verb twice: the first path describes the motion from the house, while the second emphasizes the trip to the woods. Although the path is the same one and not physically segmentable, the deictic information is different; if Serbian had an ablative case, it would be employed in the first segment.

The verb _otići_ ‘go (away)’ is used in a third of all narrations of this event. In the Bulgarian narratives, however, the Bulgarian cognate of _otići_, _омушаи_, is used only once—that is, in 4% of the narratives. This distinctive difference between Bulgarian and Serbian usage demonstrates the relative importance in BCS of deictic prefixes (discussed at length in Filipović 2010).

5.5.4 Event 3: _The gopher-like creature comes out of the hole_

The third salient motion event in the story is apparently not as salient for Serbian informants as for Bulgarian informants. A few informants did not mention it at all, and three noted that the animal bit the boy, without mentioning the creature’s exit from its hole. For the five informants from the group who mentioned the gopher’s exit, however, the path verb _izći_ ‘exit’ was used in three instances, while the remaining two informants used _iskoći_ ‘jump out, pop out’. Two contrasting examples are given below. Note that in (56) the phrases connected with the verbal event (at that very moment, from somewhere underground) suggest the suddenness of the mole’s emergence, but the path verb employed does not.

At that very moment, from somewhere in the ground a mole came out.

The boy searched in the hole …. The frog wasn’t there, but a mole jumped out instead.

The Bulgarian descriptions also rely largely on the Bulgarian cognates of _izći_ and _iskoći_, but Bulgarian informants used the manner verb _iskoći_ slightly more. In contrast to the Serbian examples, Bulgarian informants frequently used the verb _покажа се_ ‘appear’ (in 26.9% of all cases).
5.5.5 Events 4 and 6: Climbing up the tree or onto the rock

As did the Bulgarian informants discussed in 5.3.5, the Serbian informants largely used the same verbs for the two events of the boy going up in the tree and onto the rock. There was, however, even less variation among the Serbian informants. The data set is small, with only seven of the 12 informants mentioning each of these two events, but the seven verbs for each event are extremely consistent: all informants used forms of the verb *penjati se* / *popeti se* ‘climb, rise, go up’. Almost all used an unprefixed form of either the perfective or imperfective of this pair, but one used the variation *pentrtati se*, defined in a basic bilingual dictionary (1999) simply as ‘climb’ (as opposed to ‘climb, rise, go up’), and one used the prefixed form *ispeti se* ‘rise, climb’.

Like Bulgarian, Serbian uses a reflexive verb based on a verb meaning ‘lift’ as the motion verb meaning ‘go up, climb’, rather than a verb with an original meaning CLIMB. Also like Bulgarian, there is another, unrelated verb—*verati se*—that emphasizes the motor activity suggested by English *climb*, and which may also be translated as ‘clamber’. Unlike Bulgarian, however, this verb is used much less frequently than the Bulgarian word *kamerni se* ‘climb, clamber’, and BCS speakers can use this verb as either a path verb or a manner-path verb, with the choice determined by context; clearly, the amount of climbing entailed in *popeo se uz stepenice* ‘I went up the stairs’ is different from that required for *prije tri godine popeo se na Mt. Kilimanjaro* ‘three years ago he climbed Mt. Kilimanjaro’. The verb *penjati selpopeti se* can also mean ‘rise’ as in *Broj poginulih popeo se na 378* ‘the number of dead rose to 378’. This wide range of usage makes the Serbian verb *penjati selpopeti se* much more general than its Bulgarian counterpart. The lack of concern with distinction of manner in upward motion is a feature of BCS that is remarkably similar to verb-framed languages.

Here are three examples, one of each event using *penjati selpopeti se* ‘climb, rise, go up’, as well as the example with *ispeti se* ‘rise, climb’.

(60) onda se dečak popeo na jedno drvo
then REFL boy go.up.PTCP on one tree
*Then the boy climbed up a tree.*

(61) se ispeto na jedno drvo i radoznalo gledao u otvor u drvetu
REFL climb.PTCP on one tree and curiously look.PTCP in hole in tree
*[He] climbed up a tree and with curiosity looked into a hole in the tree.*

(62) dečak se popeo na jedan kamen veliki
boy refl go.up.PTCP on one rock large
*The boy climbed up on a [very] big rock.*

5.5.6 Event 5: The owl comes out of its hole

This event from the frog story literature is one of the most discussed motion events from the story in studies based on frog narratives, but like the previous episode, it is seemingly somewhat less salient for the Serbian informants. While all informants eventually mentioned the owl, not all of them noted it immediately, and thus they omitted mention of its sudden emergence from the tree. Only half of the informants described the owl leaving its hollow, leaving a very small sample from which to draw conclusions. In the six narratives that mentioned the owl

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87 These examples and the one following were taken from a random Google search.
coming out, three informants use the verb *izleteti* ‘fly out’. Two more used *izići* ‘exit’, and one used *pojaviti se* ‘appear’. Examples of each are given below.

(63) tu i sova izleće
here and owl out-fly.P.AOR.3SG

*Now an owl also flew out.*

(64) iz njega [šupljinu] je izašla sova
from it hollow be.PRS.3SG exit.P.PTCP owl

*From it [the hollow] exited an owl.*

(65) i iznenada iz otvora se pojavi sova raširenih krila
and suddenly from opening REFL appear.AOR.3SG owl wide.spread wings

*And suddenly from an opening there appeared an owl with wide-spread wings.*

No clear preference for either path or manner emerges in the Serbian data. One informant who chose the verb *izći* seems to have begun with the verb *izleteti* (the transcript contains a segment of the word, *izlet*, in brackets, followed by the full verb form *izašla*). The manner verb *izleteti*, used by half of the Serbian informants, was far from the most common choice for Bulgarian informants, having been used by only 8.7%. However, the Serbian sample is too small to draw firm conclusions.

5.5.7 Event 7: The deer runs off with the boy

The final event discussed by most of the Bulgarian informants is that of the deer running off with the boy on his antlers (and ultimately throwing him into the water). This event was discussed, to one extent or another, by all Serbian informants as well (though one only said that the deer took fright, and described the result without motion verbs). Most informants (63.6%) described the scene using the verb for *CARRY*, which only 18.5% of the Bulgarian informants did. Of the four remaining verbs, three are manner verbs meaning *RUN*, and one is the path verb *GO*. An example of each is given below.

(66) … jelen, koji ga je nosio tako – do neke provalije
deer who him be.PRS.3SG carry.L.PTCP thus up.to some chasm

*… a deer, which carried him this way, up to some chasm.*

(67) jelen je potrčao, a Saša mu još uvek
deer be.PRS.3SG begin.to.run.P.PTCP but Saša him still always
je bio na glavi
be.PRS.3SG be.P.PTCP on head

*[The] deer began to run, with Saša still on his head.*

(68) jelen se naljutio, otišao
deer REFL anger.P.PTCP go.P.PTCP

*[The] deer got angry, [he] went (away).*
Unlike the Bulgarian narratives, most of the Serbian informants focused on the fact that the deer carried the boy, rather than the deer’s manner of motion (running). The Serbian narratives also contain fewer constructions combining two verbs (18% versus 51.9% of the Bulgarian narratives). Furthermore, while the Bulgarian informants often combined two motion verbs showing manner (e.g., хукна да бяга ‘darted off at a run’), both Serbian examples using a two-verb construction combine begin with a motion verb, as seen in (67) and (68).

(69) jelen je počeo njega da nosi prema jednoj uvali deer be.PRS.3SG begin.P.PTCP him COMP carry.I.PRS.3SG towards one valley [The] deer began to carry him towards a valley.

(70) jelen je podigao glavu i počeo da trči deer be.PRS.3SG lift.P.PTCP head and began.P.PTCP COMP run.I.PRS.3SG towards hole [The] deer lifted his head and began to run towards a hole.

Because there are only three manner verbs in the Serbian narratives, it is difficult to conclude anything about the differences in predominant constructions in the Bulgarian and Serbian narratives. All of the Bulgarian informants who used a two-verb construction for this event combined the first verb (either a verb for begin, as in the two examples above, or motion verb) with a motion verb showing manner; the Serbian data contain only three manner verbs for this event, all based on the same verb (trčati ‘run’). With more manner verbs in the data, perhaps the predominant pattern would change. However, the lack of any verb combined with trčati other than begin suggests that BCS lexicalization patterns may be less likely than Bulgarian to show stacked manner verbs of this type—this would be an interesting inquiry for future research.

5.5.8 Other motion events

Like the Bulgarian frog stories, there are several less salient events in the story that nevertheless are described by enough informants to warrant discussion. Moreover, because the Serbian informants sometimes focus on different events than the Bulgarian informants, some events not discussed at length in Section 5.3 need more discussion here. As with the Bulgarian events, these will be discussed in the order in which they generally appear in the narratives.

Eleven of the 12 informants specifically mentioned the dog going out the window near the beginning of the story. Five of the informants (45.5%) described him as falling (pasti ‘fall’ or ispasti ‘fall out of’), much like the 45.8% of the Bulgarians who described the exit this way. One difference, however, is that Serbian informants tended to use the prefixed form ispasti if the fall was specifically described as being ‘through the window’ (kroz prozor), whereas all 12 Bulgarian tokens of FALL are unprefixed, regardless of whether or not the window itself was mentioned. Three examples follow: (71) and (72) contrast the prefixed and unprefixed forms pasti and ispasti, with the former emphasizing the source and the latter. A Bulgarian example is given for contrast in (73).

(71) i odjednom je ispao kroz prozor and all.at.once be.PRS.3SG out-fall.P.PTCP through window And all of the sudden he fell out the window.
All of the sudden Ben slipped from the window and fell.

Suddenly the little dog Šarko slipped and fell from the window.

A similar pattern is seen with the verb JUMP in Bulgarian and Serbian. The Bulgarian data show nine tokens of JUMP, all referring to the dog jumping from the window, but only two of these have the prefix meaning ‘out of’ (из). The Serbian data only have two tokens of JUMP, but both are prefixed (iskočiti). While in the Serbian examples the use of the preposition is- seems to be conditioned by the preposition following (is- with kroz ‘through’, but not with sa ‘from’), there does not seem to be any real correlation of this sort in the Bulgarian data.

The next event in the narrative involves the bees. The bees are often discussed in two different contexts—first, when they come out of their hive, and second, when they chase the dog, who has destroyed their hive. The interesting question for is the event is whether the movement of the bees is narrated with a verb for FLY or with other motion verbs instead. In the Serbian narratives, verbs for FLY are not the most common choice.

Four informants described the first incident, when the bees leave their hive. Of these four, half used the verb izleteti ‘fly out’, and half, iziči ‘exit’. This ratio is, however, a higher manner verb ratio than that used for the bees’ exit in the Bulgarian narratives, in which 70% of the informants described this event with exit (излизам/изляза); the other verbs used by Bulgarian informants were izbíjam ‘escape’, izletja ‘fly out’, and izskóchta ‘jump out, pop out’ (one token of each).

The segment in which the bees chase the dog was described by most Serbian informants (as with most Bulgarian informants) with a verb meaning CHASE, either juriti, pojuriti, or vijati—there were six tokens of these all together. Only one informant used a verb meaning FLY: proleteti (iznad njega proleti roj pčela ‘a swarm of bees flew out from above him’). For both the Serbian and Bulgarian informants, the chase was more salient than the manner of the bees’ travel.

The final event of the story, when the boy, his dog, and their frog say good-bye to the family of frogs and go home, was mentioned by a number of Serbian informants. Three-quarters of them used a motion verb to describe the departure. The difference between the Bulgarian and Serbian narratives, though, is that 47.1% of the Bulgarian informants use the verb of departure трьвам/трьняга ‘leave, set off’, while only 22.2% of the Serbian narratives have the Serbian equivalent, krenuti. Instead, more Serbian informants (66.7%) chose the verb izlazitići ‘go (away)’ (sometimes paired with kući ‘home’); not one Bulgarian informant used the equivalent of this verb. For Bulgarian informants who chose to focus on the destination and say that they ‘went home’, the tactics ranged from adding към домакъщи ‘towards home’ to трьвам/трьняга, or using the verbs прибирам се/прибера се ‘return, go home’ or връщам се/върна се ‘return’ with ‘home’.

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5.5.9 Conclusion

The Serbian versions of the frog story show many similarities with the Bulgarian narratives in terms of lexical patterning, but also several differences. For some events, the first event in particular (the frog’s exit from the jar), the Serbian narratives show a wider variety of manner verbs; for others, such as the climbing events, however, the Serbian range is more limited. Thus, while conclusions can be drawn for certain types of events, fewer conclusions can be drawn to encompass the narratives as a whole.

While the Serbian informants were slightly more likely to use forms of common manner verbs such as *fly*, they did not distinguish between more narrow distinctions of upward motion by using a verb that clearly evokes the motor activity inherent in *climb* (using instead a verb that can mean ‘climb’ or simply ‘ascend’, depending on context).

The Serbian informants also made greater use of path prefixes, especially *is- ‘out of*. Although this prefix was used frequently by Bulgarian informants, it is less pervasive in the data. On the other hand, there is not a wide range of different prefixes found in the Serbian data. The common BCS deictic prefix *od- ‘away’ was employed, but primarily with the verb *odlatiloići ‘go (away)’. This verb itself was used with far more frequency and for a wider range of situations than the Bulgarian cognate *отивал/омида*.

Because Bulgarian and BCS are both South Slavic languages, spoken in bordering countries, one would expect their lexicalization patterns to be similar in many ways. The next question to to ask is the extent to which the patterns of these languages resemble those of the East Slavic language Russian. This will be discussed in Section 5.6 below.

5.6 Russian Frog Stories

5.6.1 Data source

The data for the Russian oral narratives based on the book *Frog, Where Are You?* were recorded in Berkeley by Yana Anilovich and Dan Slobin, as part of Slobin’s research on language acquisition. The informants were recent immigrants from Russia. Of the 12 Russian narratives I used, nine informants are adults (these nine represent all of the adult narratives), and three are 10-year olds. The phrases containing the motion events from the stories are listed in Appendix C.

The only notable differences in event salience with the Russian narratives occur in the cases of the gopher coming out of its hole and the owl leaving the hole in the tree. Several speakers did not explicitly mention these events. The verbs used with the seven main events from the story appear in Table 5.4 below; the discussion following is organized in the same manner as the Bulgarian and BCS discussions above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>tokens</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>M-P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Event 1: frog gets out of jar</td>
<td>выбирается ‘(manage to) get out’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>вылезть ‘crawl out, climb out’</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>выпрыгнуть ‘jump out, spring out’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>высокочь ‘jump out’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>сбежать ‘run away’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>убежать ‘run away, escape’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event 2: boy &amp; dog set out</td>
<td><strong>уйти</strong></td>
<td>‘go away, leave’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>○</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>выйти</strong></td>
<td>‘go/come out’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>○</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>зайти</strong></td>
<td>‘go on, continue after’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>○</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>идти</strong></td>
<td>‘go (on foot)’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>○</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>отправиться</strong></td>
<td>‘set out, depart’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>побежать</strong></td>
<td>‘run; break into a run’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>пойти</strong></td>
<td>‘go, begin to walk’</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>○</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Event 3: rodent emerges | **выйти** | ‘come/go out’ | 1 | ○ |
| | **вылезать/вылезть** | ‘crawl out, climb out’ | 5 | ● |

| Event 4: boy climbs up the tree | **залезть** | ‘climb up, onto’ | 5 | ● |
| | **лезть** | ‘climb, clamber, crawl’ | 1 | ● |

| Event 5: owl emerges | **вылетать/вылететь** | ‘fly out’ | 4 | ● |
| | **выскочить** | ‘jump out, spring out’ | 1 | ● |
| | **показаться** | ‘appear’ | 1 | ● |

| Event 6: boy climbs onto rock | **влезть** | ‘climb in, into, up’ | 1 | ● |
| | **взбираться** | ‘climb (up), clamber (up)’ | 1 | ● |
| | **забираться/забраться** | ‘get onto, climb onto/into’ | 2 | ● |
| | **залезть** | ‘climb up, on, to; creep in’ | 4 | ● |
| | **облазить** | ‘climb round, climb all over’ | 1 | ● |

| Event 7: deer runs away, carrying boy | **бежать** | ‘run’ | 3 | ● |
| | **побежать** | ‘run; break into a run’ | 2 | ● |
| | **помчаться в скачь** | ‘bound off at a run’ | 1 | ● |
| | **понести** | ‘carry; bolt’ (of horses) | 4 | ○ |
| | **понестись** | ‘rush off, tear off’ | 1 | ● |
| | **потащить** | ‘begin to drag’ | 1 | ● |
| | **убежать** | ‘run away, run off’ | 1 | ● |

### 5.6.2 Event 1: The frog escapes from the jar

The first event of the story was highly salient for the Russian informants, as it was for the Serbian and Bulgarian informants. All twelve informants mentioned the frog’s exit using a motion verb, and the resulting data show an array of seven different verbs (as do the Serbian data). These seven verbs differ from those in the Bulgarian and Serbian data in a couple of ways.

First, while the Bulgarian and Serbian informants both made frequent use of verbs meaning sneak, the Russian informants did not use such a verb at all. Verbs connoting stealth account for one quarter of the Serbian responses and 24% of the Bulgarian responses, but none of the Russian responses. The Bulgarian verb измъкна се ‘sneak out’, used by six informants, also has a secondary meaning of ‘wriggle out’ or ‘escape’, making it possible that not all Bulgarian informants were describing a stealthy act. Some informants, though, included additional phrases after измъкна се, such as без те да забележат ‘without them noticing’ or леко на
пръсти ‘softly on tiptoe’, suggesting that at least some of the informants unambiguously emphasized the frog’s sneakiness.

Second, excepting the possibility that some Bulgarian informants used the verb измъкна се in the sense of ‘wriggle out’, the act of climbing or crawling (out of the jar) was not suggested by any of the manner verbs used by the Bulgarian or Serbian informants. The Russian informants, however, used the verb вылезть ‘crawl out, climb out’ in 50% of the narrations—this was by far the most common verb choice (each of the other six verbs used had only one token each). An interesting point here is that the Bulgarian and BCS cognates of вылезть (излизам/изляза and излизати/излиши, respectively), are also the most-often used verbs for each language (with four tokens in BCS and eight in Bulgarian), but the meanings are completely different from the Russian. The verbs in BCS and Bulgarian have no connotation of manner whatsoever—not only do they not mean ‘crawl’ or ‘climb’, but they convey no information beyond the abstract concept of motion with a path (‘out of’). The difference in meaning in these roots will come up again with other motion events (most notably, the climbing events in Section 5.6.5), and this difference and its repercussions in the language will be discussed further in the conclusion to Chapter 5. Here is an example of a typical expression.

(74) а лягушка начала тихо вылезать из банки

and frog begin.P.PST.3SG quietly out-climb.1.INF from jar

And the frog began to quietly climb out of the jar.

All other informants but one also used manner verbs to describe the frog’s exit, most either focusing on the frog’s flight from captivity or the springing motion used to hop out. Here is an example of this event described by a manner verb other than вылезть ‘climb out’.

(75) лягушка пытается выпрыгнуть из банки

frog tries out-spring.P.INF from jar

The frog tries to spring out of the jar.

Only two informants (16.7%) used JUMP to describe the frog’s action, the same number found among the Serbian informants; this contrasts with the 28% of Bulgarian informants who chose a verb for JUMP; as noted elsewhere, however, Bulgarian изскоча also carries a more general meaning of ‘pop out’, and is thus more widely used in a variety of situations than a verb merely meaning ‘jump’ might be used.

Only one Russian informant used a verb that does not show manner, уйти ‘go away, leave’, in contrast to the relatively large number of Bulgarians and Serbians who used a path verb for this event. This verb does restrict the motion event to motion on foot rather than by vehicle, but the manner description is no more precise than that. (The informant who used this verb was one of the adult informants, so there is no question of immature language development as a factor in this choice.) The emphasis in this utterance, shown below in (76), is merely that the frog left.

(76) и она ушла из банки

and she away-walk.P.PST.3SG from jar

And it left from the jar.
The Russian verbs used for this event, also like the Serbian verbs, show three different prefixes: вы-, с-, and у-. All twelve verbs are prefixed. The first prefix, вы-, is the cognate of BCS из- and Bulgarian из-, and is the most common by far; it makes up 75% of the Russian examples, and the BCS equivalents make up 75% of the Serbian examples. The other two prefixes, с- and у-, are also spatial prefixes, meaning ‘out of’ and ‘away from’, respectively, while tokens of the Serbian prefixes are po-, a perfectivizing prefix not indicative of any spatial characteristics. All 25 of the Bulgarian verbs but one are prefixed, but only one prefix is used—из-, which appears on four of the five verbs. This reflects greater generalization in Bulgarian prefixation, with fewer distinctions made among spatial prefixes.

5.6.3 Event 2: They set off to search for the frog

Ten of the twelve Russian informants mentioned the departure of the the boy and dog to look for the frog, slightly fewer than either the Bulgarian informants (26 out of 27 of whom mentioned it) or the Serbian informants (all of whom mentioned it), but even this number indicates the event’s salience as a motion event. Despite the relatively small number of verbs (10 tokens), six different verbs were used, with 70% of these verbs based on the verb идти ‘go, walk’. The most favored verb is пойти ‘go, begin to walk’, which conveys the idea of setting out. The next most commonly used verb, with two tokens, is отправиться ‘set out, depart’, also expressing this idea. The Russian informants relied on идти and prefixed forms thereof to a greater extent than the Serbian informants, and the Bulgarian informants did not use a cognate of this verb at all.

It is difficult to categorize these verbs based on идти as manner verbs. They are not considered path verbs because the prefixes are satellites, and the verb идти can be used independently, without prefixation (and indeed does occur here once in its unprefixed form). However, идти itself does not have an invariant manner meaning. It is often defined as ‘walk’ because it cannot be used for vehicular motion, and therefore often indicates motion by foot; however, there is also an argument to be made that идти is also used for generalized motion (cf. Nesset 2010). While we know from looking at the pictures in the book that the boy and dog were walking when they set off to look for their frog, the verbs used by most informants only partially specify this. The only verb unambiguously expressing manner used by the Russian informants is побежать ‘begin to run’, by used by an informant who said that the boy and dog ran off after the frog.

Here are examples with the two most common verbs, пойти ‘go, begin to walk’ and отправиться ‘set out, depart’.

(77) и пошли они в лес
and begin.to.walk.PST.3PL they in forest
And they set off into the forest.

(78) тогда мальчик с собачкой решили отправиться в лес
then boy with little dog decide.PST.3PL set.out.INF in forest
Then the boy and the little dog decided to set off into the forest.

5.6.4 Event 3: The gopher-like creature comes out of the hole

The motion event in which the gopher emerges from his hole was slightly more salient for Russian speakers than for Serbian speakers, with five of the twelve informants mentioning it; this still does not approach the 96.3% of Bulgarian informants who described the event. Russian speakers used one of two verbs, вылезать/вылезть ‘crawl out, climb out’ or выйти ‘go/come
out’. All speakers used вылезать/вылезь, but one rephrased the response, after figuring out what kind of animal was emerging from the hole, and employed выйти in the second clause. Examples of each follow, both from this aforementioned speaker who described the event twice.

(79) там вылезла такая странная зверушка
there out-crawl.P.PST.3SG such strange creature
Such a strange creature crawled out there.

(80) там вышла мышка из этой норки
there out-go.P.PST.3SG mouse from this hole
There a mouse came out from this hole.

Notably absent from the Russian descriptions is a verb like Bulgarian изскоча or BCS изскочи, meaning ‘jump out, pop out’. This verb was the most common choice for Bulgarian informants. However, many of the Bulgarian speakers (34.6%) used a path verb, as did 66.9% of the (admittedly few) Serbian speakers. The only non-manner or low-manner verb used by a Russian informant was the verb выйти, shown in (80), and even this followed a previous usage of вылезать/вылезь by the same speaker. Though Bulgarian and BCS cognates of вылезать/вылезь were commonly employed by the Bulgarian and Serbian informants, the meanings, of course, are quite different from that of the Russian verbs, and the Bulgarian and BCS cognates represent pure path verbs.

5.6.5 Events 4 and 6: Climbing up the tree or onto the rock

Half of the Russian informants described the boy’s act of climbing the tree, and all used the verb лезть ‘climb, clamber, crawl’ (one token) or its prefixed form залезть ‘climb up, onto’ (5 tokens). Three quarters of the informants described the boy’s ascent onto the rock, and this act was described with a greater variety of verbs than the previous one. In addition to three prefixed verbs based on лезть (влезть ‘climb in, into, up’, залезть ‘climb up, onto’, and облазить ‘climb round, all over’), there are two verbs based on the reflexive form of брать ‘take’: взбираться ‘climb (up), clamber (up) and забираться ‘get into, climb into’. These latter two also convey the notion of managing to get to a place with some effort. The following three examples illustrate the verbs used in one description of the tree-climbing and two descriptions of the rock-climbing.

(81) мальчик залез в дерево
boy up-climb.P.PST.3SG in tree
[The] boy climbed the tree.

(82) затем он залез на камень
after.that he up-climb.P.PST.3SG on rock
After that he climbed onto the rock.

(83) он забрался на большой камень
he onto.get.P.PST.3SG on big rock
He climbed onto a big rock.
The major difference between the Russian narratives on the one hand and the Serbian narratives on the other is that Russian has a verb unambiguously meaning ‘climb’, and Serbian does not. The verb meaning ‘climb’ in Russian has shifted in BCS to a meaning of generalized motion, and has been replaced with a reflexive (intransitive) form of the verb meaning ‘lift, raise’ (пети); the resulting verb can mean ‘climb’, but it also means ‘rise, ascend, go up’. The additional meaning in the Russian verb лезть of ‘crawl, clamber’ clearly conveys the motor activity evoked by English climb. Bulgarian has undergone the same change as BCS, except that it uses a different, non-Slavic verb meaning ‘lift, raise’ (кача) as the basis of its new reflexive verb meaning ‘climb, ascend, go up’, but Bulgarian has also developed a new unambiguous CLIMB verb as well. This verb, катеря се, appears to be more marked, however, and is used with less frequency than кича се (as discussed in 5.3.5). Thus, the semantic shift of the Slavic CLIMB verb in BCS and Bulgarian has resulted in the replacement of a manner verb by a path verb (or a manner-path verb) in these two languages, although Bulgarian has developed a new manner verb to supplement the new path verb.

5.6.6 Event 5: The owl comes out of its hole

Slobin’s research using the frog stories focuses on this event in particular, largely because of the boundary-crossing component. Slobin’s data (2004) show that the Russian descriptions of the owl coming out of the hole consist solely of manner verbs. The manner verbs are all prefixed with either вы-, indicating motion out of a place, or при-, indicating deictic motion towards the speaker. Of these choices, при- is far less common, suggesting that the boundary-crossing event is more salient to the informants than the deictic component. The verb used with the prefix при- in the narratives is лететь; прилететь is used by 11% of the informants used in Slobin’s 2004 analysis.

The data I have used are also from Slobin’s work, but are compiled from a smaller set of narratives produced by a greater ratio of adult to juvenile speakers. Although this event is considered highly salient, only six of the twelve informants described the owl leaving its hole. Of these, one focused on the suddenness of appearance rather than the motion itself, using the verb показаться ‘appear’. Another used a motion verb with the same emphasis on sudden appearance: высочитъ ‘jump/spring out’; since owls do not actually jump, it can be assumed that the meaning implies something along the lines of ‘popping out’. The other four speakers, i.e., 66.7%, used вылетить ‘fly out’, which accords with Slobin’s data described above.

The motion verb FLY was used far more by the Russian speakers than the Bulgarian or Serbian speakers. The difference between the choices made by the Russian informants and the Serbian informants is not drastic, with half of the BCS speakers using излетети ‘fly out’, but only 8.7% of the Bulgarian speakers used a verb meaning ‘fly’. Instead, 47% used искоша ‘jump out, pop out’ (almost equaling the number of BCS speakers who used излетети ‘fly out’), and a full 39.1% used a path verb (изляза ‘exit’) rather than a manner verb. One third of the Serbian informants used the path verb equivalent in BCS, but no Russian speakers used mannerless path verbs to describe this event.

Another interesting choice among Slobin’s Russian informants is the verb вылезеть, though this verb does not appear in the data set I used, and seems to be more common among children than adults. Though the verb вылезеть might literally be translated as ‘crawl out’, it belongs to the semantic continuum of CRAWL/CLIMB/CLAMBER, common in many languages. As an owl is not exactly a crawling creature, we might assume that the action meant by informants
employing this verb is in the range of CLIMB, perhaps focusing on the grasping action of the owl’s claws (their very name a clue to their ability to climb, or claw their way along a surface, either vertically or horizontally).

The three sentences below give an example of each of the three verbs used by the Russian informants for this event.

(84) из дупла вылетела сова
from hole out-fly.PAST.3SG owl
Out from the hole flew an owl.

(85) из дупла выскочила сова
there hole out-jump.PAST.3SG owl
Out from the hole jumped an owl.

(86) на дереве показался совёнок
in tree show-REFL.PAST.3SG owl.DIM
In the tree a little owl appeared.

5.6.7 Event 7: The deer runs off with the boy

All Russian informants described the deer running away with the boy on his head. As in the Bulgarian and Serbian narratives, the choice of verbs focused either on the running action itself, or on the deer’s transport of the boy. Though over half of the Serbian informants used CARRY as their motion verb, more Russian speakers focused on the motor activity of running in their descriptions. (The Bulgarian speakers, overall, did not take this tactic, as discussed in 5.3.7; only 18.5% used CARRY at all, and one of those combined it with a verb meaning ‘run’: и го понесе напред тичайки ‘and he carried him forward, running’.)

The Russian verb choices for this event also highlight an interesting feature of Russian—the secondary meaning of the verb понести ‘carry’, which can also mean ‘bolt’ in reference to horses, as in ‘dash away’. The verb понести was the verb with the most tokens (four). This alternate meaning introduces the possibility of ambiguity into the narratives in reference to the deer running away—it is both true that the deer is bolting, and that the deer is carrying the boy. However, some of the narratives disambiguate the utterance by including a direct object, as in (87):

(87) олень испугался, и понес мальчика вперед
deer frighten-REFL.P.PST.3SG and carry.P.PST.3SG boy forward
The deer got frightened, and carried the boy forward.

With the exception of one token of the verb потащить ‘begin to drag’, all other informants used various verbs for run. The vast majority of these are forms of the verb бежать ‘run’, in its base form or different prefixed forms. Two examples appear below.

While the narrative elicited the verb вылезть from some informants, I will note here that not all native speaker informants accept the verb вылезть to describe the action of the owl—one Russian speaker from Ukraine, when asked about this usage, classified it as по-дуратски ‘idiotic’. This choice may sound less marked for children than adult speakers. (With thanks to Igor Fisun for his input.)
Unlike the Serbian and Bulgarian narratives, the Russian narratives contain no combined verbs. The nearest construction to the two-verb constructions commonly found in the Bulgarian narrations of this event is олень помчался в скачь 'the deer began to rush at a leap’. Moreover, all inception of motion is expressed through prefixation, with the prefix no-, seen on five of the seven verbs used, with nine total tokens of verbs prefixed by no-.

5.6.8 Other motion events

Three quarters of the Russian informants mentioned the dog’s egress from the window. Six of these (66.9%) used the verb FALL to describe the process—either the unprefixed падать (one token), or the prefixed forms выпасть ‘fall out’ (two tokens) or упасть ‘fall’ (three tokens). The token of the unprefixed form comes from a child’s narrative, and is shown in (90) below. Although there is in fact a boundary crossing event in the story, the informant described it in such a way that this is neglected, and this may be the motivation behind the use of an unprefixed verb rather than a prefixed verb. Prefixed verbs, however, are clearly preferred by most of the informants.

(90) собака падает с этажа вместе с банкой
dog fall.I.PRS.3SG from story together with jar
[The] dog falls from the [upper] floor together with the jar.

Three informants described the trajectory of the dog’s motion, one using JUMP and two using FLY. One form of each verb is in the past tense, and each is prefixed with вы-, indicating motion out of a place. As with (90), however, one informant narrated in the present tense and used an unprefixed verb, лететь ‘fly’, in what is unambiguously a boundary-crossing situation. This is illustrated in (91):

(91) собака летит через окно вместе с банкой
dog fly.I.PRS.3SG through window together with jar
[The] dog flies through the window together with the jar.

Russian informants were, in general, more likely than the Bulgarian or Serbian informants to describe the dog’s trajectory as a fall rather than a leap or simply an exit.

Three-quarters of the Russian informants also described the flight of the bees, either their exit from the hive or their chasing of the dog, with motion verbs. With two exceptions, one of two verbs were used consistently: FLY or CHASE. Two informants used two verbs in their descriptions, describing different segments of the bees’ paths. The total number of tokens of verbs meaning ‘fly’ is six, comprising вылетать/вылететь ‘fly out’ (four tokens), улетать
‘fly away’ (one token), or полететь ‘begin to fly’ (one token). All verbs for FLY but the last refer to the bees leaving their hive.

Three informants used verbs for CHASE, one token of each знать ‘chase’, догонять ‘catch up with’, or погонять ‘begin to chase’. One informant used понестись ‘rush off’, and one 10-year old informant employed the verb пошь ‘go, begin to walk’, shown in (92).

(92) а пчелы пошли за собачкой
and bees set off after dog-DIM
and the bees set off after the little dog

The use of пошь seems unusual in this example—it could reflect either the informant’s age and level of linguistic sophistication, or the tendency to use forms of идти for generalized motion. What is more striking is that the verb FLY is much more prevalent in the Russian narratives than in either the Bulgarian or Serbian narratives.

Seven of the informants (58.3%) used a motion verb to express the moment when the boy, the dog, and their frog left to go home. No one verb predominated in this episode. Two informants used отправляться/отправиться ‘set out, depart’, and five used forms of ходить/идти ‘walk, go (on foot)’. This lack of a dominating verb illustrates both the difference between Russian and Bulgarian in the accessibility of a verb meaning ‘set off’ (which exists in Bulgarian in the form of тръгвам/тръгна, and the reliance in Russian on verbs based on ходить/идти for situations in which Bulgarian regularly uses an unrelated verb.

5.6.9 Conclusion

The Russian narratives display a couple of differences from the Bulgarian and Serbian narratives. The first and most typologically salient difference is that Russian makes greater use of manner verbs in all situations than do Bulgarian and BCS. Some of this heightened use of manner verbs can indeed be attributed to the infrequency of pure path verbs in Russian. For many situations in which Bulgarian and Serbian informants employed излизам/изляза or izlaziti ‘exit’, for example, Russian has no available path verb, and thus Russian speakers must utilize a manner verb. However, even in situations in which a path verbs exists—the event in which the boy and dog set out to search for the frog, for instance—manner verbs (largely prefixed forms based on идти ‘walk, go’) are used far more frequently than the available path verb отправляться/отправиться ‘set out, depart’. Russian lexicalization patterns favor manner verbs over path verbs, and speakers of the language tend to utilize these patterns even when they have the choice to do otherwise. Anomalous (yet correct) utterances such as that shown in (90) demonstrate that mannerless expressions are possible, but unlikely.89

Another difference between Russian and the South Slavic languages is that Russian still makes use of an original Slavic verb meaning ‘climb, crawl’, a verb which has undergone a substantial semantic shift in Bulgarian and BCS. This has left Bulgarian and BCS without true manner verbs to express these concepts. BCS has responded by filling in this gap with a verb that can mean either ‘climb’ or ‘ascend’, depending on context, much as similar verbs in verb-framed languages can be interpreted differently according to context. Bulgarian developed a new verb on the same principle as BCS, though from a different root, but also coined a verb unambiguously meaning ‘climb’. However, this verb is used far less often than the manner-path verb meaning

89 It could be argued that пошь is a manner verb because its root means ‘walk’, but it is clear from the context that the verb in (90) is not being used to mean ‘walk’, since the subject of the verb is the bees, who are flying.
either ‘climb’ or ‘ascend’, suggesting that this distinction is now less important in Bulgarian than in Russian, although the distinction can in fact be made. Changes of this sort provide insight into the probable process of change from a satellite-framed language into a verb-frame language, a process that the Romance languages underwent quite early in their development.

5.7 CONCLUSION: WHAT DO SLAVIC SPEAKERS TALK ABOUT WHEN THEY TALK ABOUT FROGS?

The Bulgarian and Serbian data from the oral narratives are more similar to each other than to the Russian data. This is not surprising considering that the former two languages belong to the same South Slavic family, while the latter language is East Slavic. However, the similarities between the two, in contrast with Russian, go beyond this in three important ways.

First, as discussed in 5.6.9 above, both Bulgarian and BCS have more verbs available that show path rather than manner. The Russian verb идти ‘walk, go’ may approach generalized motion, but it has many restrictions on it that prevent if from being interpreted as a neutral motion verb, and it retains full meaning and frequent usage in its unprefixed form. Many of the path verbs available in Bulgarian have developed from the verb that means ‘climb’ or ‘crawl’ in Russian, which means not only that Bulgarian gained several path verbs when the prefixes fused to the no longer independent existing roots, but that Bulgarian lost the manner verb meaning ‘climb’, resulting in the development of yet another path verb. Though BCS path verbs are often based on иди ‘go’, which still exists independently, imperfective prefixed forms of this verb are formed from лазити, which is rarely used alone, and which no longer retains any connotation of ‘crawl’ or ‘climb’ when prefixed.

Second, Russian often uses manner verbs rather than path verbs even when path verbs are a possibility, as discussed in 5.6.9; this represents a different form of expression in Russian than in Bulgarian or BCS. This does not mean, however, that BCS and Bulgarian do not frequently express manner, only that Russian speakers might place more emphasis on the expression of manner, or distinguish manner in some situations in which Bulgarian or BCS speakers are less likely to do so.

Finally, the use of prefixes is different in all three narratives. In this regard, however, BCS may be as close to Russian as it is to Bulgarian. In a continuum, Russian makes the greatest number of distinctions in prefixation, with both spatial and Aktionsart prefixes. The Serbian verbs from the data make use of fewer prefixes than the Russian, and appear more similar to the Bulgarian verbs in this way. The Bulgarian verbs exhibit even fewer different prefixes, however, and are also more likely to appear in unprefixed forms. This is not unexpected, considering that Bulgarian makes use of a greater number of different verb roots than either Russian and BCS, and thus verbal prefixes carry less of the semantic load in differentiation between one verb and the next.

Although the Slavic languages are all very similar in many ways, the oral narratives gathered using the book Frog, Where Are You? show some systemic differences among the languages that affect not only present lexicalization patterns, but also reinforce existing patterns and encourage further development in the same direction.
5.8 **EPILOGUE**

At this point, the responsible author would assure the audience that no frogs were harmed in the writing of this dissertation, and indeed, that is the case. Nevertheless, I would like to conclude with the final words of the very first frog story I recorded when I began my fieldwork in Bulgaria:

“No все пак то вземало своята жабка в ръчичка... при което не е много ясно дали то пак ще я вземе в своя буркан, където тя е обречена абсолютно сигурно на смърт, тъй като жабката се храни само с живи летящи предмети—мушички и други такива, и във буркан не може да отцелее с каквато и да е храна, която ѝ запуска.

“But all the same, he took his frog in hand… and it’s not very clear whether he will put it in the jar, where it is most certainly doomed to death, since a frog subsists only on living, flying objects—little flies and other such things, and in a jar it couldn’t survive no matter what sort of food you give it.”

Despite this pessimistic outcome, I believe all linguists are grateful for the sacrifice of these little frogs in the service of scientific research on lexicalization patterns and motion verb typology. No actual frogs were harmed in the process of this research.
6.1 The Bulgarian Language Between Slavic and Balkan Languages

Although the Bulgarian language has retained a large number of inherited features typical of other Slavic languages, it has also developed in new directions as a result of contact with other languages on the Balkan Peninsula. The result is a verbal system that is relatively conservative in the structural areas of tense and aspect, but innovative in terms of verbal mood and the motion verb lexicon. Chapter 2 described the Bulgarian verbal system, and showed ways in which Bulgarian has added a great many new motion verbs to its lexicon, many of which have attained extremely high frequency. The inherited Slavic motion verbs with cognates in other Slavic languages are still present, including иди ‘go; come’, ходя ‘go’, бягам ‘run’, летя ‘fly’, and яхам ‘ride’. However, иди is no longer particularly common either in its unprefixed form or as a base for more than a small handful of prefixed verbs, and the other verbs have been joined by innovations in Bulgarian, including вървя ‘walk, go’, тичам ‘run’, хвърча ‘fly’, and карам ‘drive’. In addition, Bulgarian has developed completely new directional verbs which have attained high frequency within the language, such as тръгвам/тръгна ‘leave, set off’, качвам се/кача се ‘go up, ascend, climb’, and the small set of motion verbs based on the root -лизам/-ляза: влиза/вляза ‘enter, come/go in’, излиза/изляза ‘exit, come/go out’, and спускам/спляза ‘descend, come/go down’. Much of the new vocabulary in the Bulgarian motion verb lexicon focuses on path of motion rather than manner of motion, and many of these forms are analogous to those in other languages of the Balkan Sprachbund, including Greek and Romanian.

6.2 The Non-Slavic Nature of Bulgarian Motion Verbs

On the whole, Bulgarian differs considerably from Russian, and less so from Serbian. This situation is not surprising, since both Bulgarian and Serbian are part of the South Slavic branch of the Slavic languages, while Russian is East Slavic. Bulgarian and Russian do have one trait in common, however, and that is that they both exceed BCS as concerns the number of different prefixes in the translated data, described in Chapter 4.

However, Bulgarian differs considerably from both Russian and BCS in an important way: Bulgarian has a large open class of words that count as motion verbs, as opposed to Russian, BCS, and other Slavic languages, in which a great portion of the motion verb system relies on a smaller set of motion verb roots, in a more restricted category. The absence of a canonical category of motion verbs in Bulgarian has not been sufficiently emphasized in the literature, nor has adequate research been devoted to it.

The motion verb sets in Russian and BCS rely heavily on prefixation, and Russian motion verbs (along with those in some other Slavic languages) clearly distinguish between determinate and indeterminate motion. Chapter 4 demonstrated the extent to which Russian and BCS lean on several high-frequency motion verb roots, in combination with a large number of prefixes (up to 14, in the case of Russian ходить/идти, and 12 in the case of BCS идти). The Bulgarian motion verb system is very different, as seen from the translated data, where no single verb base appeared with more than four prefixes, and even from the original Bulgarian language data as well, where the maximum number of prefixes seen with any verb (in this case, минавам/мини ‘pass’) was six.

There are also significant differences between Bulgarian and the other two languages as concerns the organization of their respective verb systems by verbal roots. In addition to the differences in prefixation discussed above, Bulgarian has a number of innovative forms. These
two features are undoubtedly related—either a greater number of innovative forms results in less dependence on prefixation as a means of expressing greater nuances in the motion verb system, or other constraints on prefixation or the lack of a basic set of motion verbs encourage innovation in the motion verb lexicon.

Manner and path usage varies between Bulgarian and the other languages, though less so between Bulgarian and BCS, largely because BCS, like Bulgarian, has a number of high-use path verbs. Bulgarian diverges from the typical Slavic pattern in that a large percentage of the most commonly used motion verbs in Bulgarian are path verbs rather than manner verbs, and most of the specifically Bulgarian innovations in the Bulgarian lexicon are path verbs rather than manner verbs. Some of the Bulgarian path verbs have never had any particular manner meaning; two such verbs are минавам/мина and връщам се/върна се. Others are historically derived from manner verbs with prefixes; cognates of these verbs still function as manner verbs in Russian. Transparent examples include отивам/отида, идвам/идда, излизам/изляза, влизам/ляза, and слизам/ляза. Even прибирах се/прибери се, which simply means ‘go home’, comes from a root (no longer productive as a motion verb root in Bulgarian) which still conveys a measure of manner in Russian. Similarly, обикалям/обиколка probably began as a verb based on коло ‘wheel’, implying wheeled vehicular transport, but there is no sense of this presumed earlier meaning in the modern verb—the prefix meaning ‘around’ is still there, but the verb is now a pure path verb. Although high-manner, satellite-framed languages tend to add motion verb vocabulary encoding path rather than manner, the tendency in Bulgarian is toward the addition of path verbs.

Not all new additions to the Bulgarian motion verb vocabulary stock focus on path verbs, of course. Verbs based on мъкна се ‘drag oneself’ are also fairly common in the data. These verbs, with path prefixes meaning ‘into’ or ‘out of’, convey the notion of sneaking in or out (though the stealth factor is not present with the prefix meaning ‘down’). Thus, the focus on path verbs in Bulgarian does not come at the exclusion of manner verbs. Bulgarian retains a rich manner verb vocabulary, and evidence of such can be seen in the data discussed in Chapters 3-5.

This work has also studied the category of verbs meaning WALK in the three Slavic languages discussed. This question of what verbs often translated as ‘walk’ actually convey has been neglected, though some work has been done on the extent to which Russian ходить/идти ‘walk, go’ can be considered a generalized motion verb (for example, Nesset 2010). This work has contributed to the understanding of expressions of generalized motion in Russian, BCS, and Bulgarian, in particular on verbs expressing WALK in Bulgarian, an area given too little attention before now.

6.3 PREFIXES AND MANNER VS. PATH IN BULGARIAN MOTION VERBS

Bulgarian prefixation was discussed extensively in Chapter 3, and compared with prefixation in BCS and Russian in Chapter 4. On the surface, the Bulgarian system of prefixation appears very similar to that of Russian (perhaps even more so than to that of BCS). The number of prefixes used in Bulgarian and Russian is roughly equal, and these are only slightly higher than the number in BCS. However, both Russian and BCS use a greater number of prefixed verbs than Bulgarian on the whole. Moreover, a number of basic, high frequency motion verbs in Bulgarian are unprefixed. Among these are тръгна/тръгна ‘leave, set off’, which is never prefixed, and вървя ‘walk; go’, which is most often unprefixed, and can only take a very small number of prefixes. The verbs in BCS and Russian which take the most prefixes (in particular, BCS иди and Russian идти ‘go’, respectively, both meaning ‘go’) can combine with only a small
number of different prefixes in Bulgarian. Thus, although Bulgarian has the rich variety of prefixes seen in its sister languages, these prefixes no longer show the same versatility as in other Slavic languages.

Another issue that arises with prefixation is the way in which the prefix affects the semantics of the verb in terms of its manner-encoding root. On the one hand, it is clear that Bulgarian can, in fact, combine manner verbs and path prefixes and/or prepositions, thereby encoding both manner and path in a single verb plus satellite; this shows that these two elements are not mutually exclusive in Bulgarian. On the other hand, there is a clear tendency in Bulgarian for prefixed manner verbs to evolve into path verbs. Some examples of such verbs discussed in this work include отивам/отида, идва/идойда, излизам/изляза, влиза/вляза, слизам/сляза, обикалям/обиколя, and прибирам/прибиера се. In the case of verbs such as these—particularly with the last four pairs of those just listed—the prefix no longer functions as a satellite to the verb, because it carries the full meaning of verb. In other words, the prefixed verbs in this list are not combinations of manner and path, because the root itself carries no meaning beyond, in some cases, pure motion.

Bulgarian, in short, seems to be undergoing a shift of its high-frequency prefixed manner verbs into path verbs, in a process similar to that which took place in the Romance languages. The loss of manner in the root of prefixed verbs is not unknown in other Slavic languages, either. Russian examples include prefixed forms of ходить/ходить ‘walk; go’, which lose their meaning of WALK when prefixed, and instead become generalized motion verbs. Another example is the verb взмывать/взмыть ‘shoot upwards’ (of a bird), the root of which no longer carries any meaning at all in this verb. The process, though, has been highly accelerated in Bulgarian, and the question is, what factors have led to this acceleration?

The theory behind the typological differences in motion verb lexicalization patterns makes this prediction: speakers of a language that favors manner of motion in the roots of motion verbs will emphasize manner of motion in their descriptions of motion events. This emphasis occurs in part because the cognitive load required to express manner in the verb root is less than that required to express manner outside of the motion verb itself, and thus, the expression of manner requires less effort for speakers of high manner, satellite framed languages. Because such languages emphasize manner of motion in the description of motion verb events, vocabulary increasingly develops around motion verbs which express greater nuances of manner.

According to this theory, the speakers of a language in which the motion verbs denoting manner gradually lose manner will find it increasingly taxing to describe manner of motion when using verbs which no longer express manner. If these verbs are among the high frequency motion verbs in the language, speakers of the language would be expected to decrease their focus on manner when describing motion events. It would stand to reason that, for this to have any substantial effect on the language, a number of the most common motion verbs would need to be affected. This has indeed occurred in Bulgarian; similarly, many new (unprefixed) path verbs have developed, and now are numbered among the most frequently used (the best example of this is the verb тръгвам/тръгна ‘depart, set out’). This change is significant because it has resulted in a readily accessible category of path verbs, which are more readily utilized as speakers shift their focus away from the expression of manner in describing motion events.

6.4 The “Balkanization” of Bulgarian Motion Verb Lexicalization Patterns

Chapter 1 discussed the typological theory of lexical patterning in which languages are classified as either verb-framed or satellite-framed. According to this typology, verb-framed
languages tend to encode path of motion in motion verb roots, and satellite-framed languages tend to encode manner of motion much more readily. Bulgarian, like other languages of the Slavic family, can be classified as essentially a satellite-framed language: basic verbs tend to show manner, and a combination of prefixes and prepositions show path of motion. However, not all languages are necessarily either verb framed or satellite framed in their motion event conflation patterns. Talmy describes modern Greek as a “system of parallel conflation” (2000b: 66), that is, a language that does not conform to one of the two typological patterns. My work has shown that the neighboring language Bulgarian is similar in many ways, which provides additional evidence that the distinction between verb-framed language and satellite-framed language is not as dichotomous as the categories of typological classification would imply. Motion verb typology has not been sufficiently studied in other Balkan languages, but the presumption is that Romanian, as a Romance language, is verb-framed; research is needed both to confirm this, and to find out where Albanian fits into this system.

The motion verb lexicalization patterns of Bulgarian allow the speakers of the language to specify both path of motion and manner of motion because these two components are encoded in different lexical units which are not mutually exclusive. However, motion verb typology should be seen as a cline, and one of the findings of this study is that Bulgarian is situated much closer to the verb-framed languages on this cline than are most other Slavic languages. The method used to establish this finding, namely the comparison of Bulgarian motion verbs with other Slavic motion verbs using a data set of literatures translated from low-manner and high-manner languages into Slavic languages, has not been previously used in the study of motion verb typology.

A possible source for increased reliance on path verbs in Bulgarian is the influence of neighboring languages. Turkish and Balkan Romance are both verb-framed languages, and Balkan Romance is, like Bulgarian, a language of the Balkan Sprachbund. Greek is another Balkan language which has been in intense contact with Bulgarian, and it is a language equipollent for path and manner. Some of the high-frequency unprefixed path verbs in Bulgarian also have analogous forms in other Balkan languages as well.

Other changes in the motion verb system can be seen in Bulgarian. These include the replacement of the earlier Slavic verb for WALK with the innovative вървя, as the earlier verb denoting WALK became a generalized motion verb, and the innovation of a new verb for RUN, тичам, as бягам developed more non-literal prefixed meanings.

6.5 AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This work has presented a description of the Bulgarian motion verb system with a focus on the encoding of path and manner in the motion verb system, on specific Bulgarian innovations in the motion verb system, and on ways in which the Bulgarian system of prefixation has shifted away from typical Slavic prefixation patterns. In all of these areas, however, much remains for further study.

One important question yet unanswered is the degree to which shift in the Bulgarian verbal system might be due to Balkan linguistic contact. Because so much of what is different about Bulgarian in comparison with other Slavic languages can be attributed to potential convergence phenomena, it is logical to inquire whether the changes discussed above may have been encouraged by language contact. It is suggestive to draw a parallel with Greek, which has a similar system of conflation of motion verbs, but more work is needed to determine just how similar or dissimilar the Greek system is from the Bulgarian. Research into the parallel system of
conflation in modern Greek may give insight into changes in both Greek and Bulgarian. Further research may indicate whether Greek has changed due to Slavic influence, Bulgarian has changed due to Greek influence, or the two languages have converged due to contact both with each other and with neighboring languages. Furthermore, little work has been done on Romanian and its place within the Romance language family in terms of path and manner encoding, and such work may shed light on the Bulgarian system as well.

More work could also be done in Bulgarian motion verb semantics in the areas of prefixation and the development of new motion verb vocabulary. The interaction between prefix and root and the tendency for the root to lose manner expression in some circumstances warrants further study. How does manner retention differ in languages which express path in a preposition rather than in a prefix? Furthermore, how do prefixes and prepositions interact? When prepositions shift in meaning, as they have sometimes done in Bulgarian (in particular, the preposition из, the meaning of which has shifted from ‘out of’ to ‘around’), how does this affect the interaction between path prefixes and prepositions? And how does the changing role of prepositions in a language which has shifted from synthetic to analytic (such as Bulgarian or, to some extent, Greek) affect verbal prefixation?

In addition, there remains the question of whether or not there really is a tendency to coin new path verbs at a greater rate than new manner verbs. Further research should focus not only on the most modern forms of the language, but on the language in recent centuries (to the extent possible). When innovative Bulgarian motion verb forms have arisen, how did they interact with older forms before replacing them, and is there reason to believe that these forms were created by analogy with forms in neighboring languages? The Internet, with its profusion of both colloquial and literary forms, provides a useful platform for studying modern usage and future research into this area could take this into account.
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Възможно е някои от теоремите в книгата на Ронел Alexander въз основа на практически приложения, които българските народни приказки изпълняват, да бъдат популярни в света на науката. Това е много важно и интересно следване, както и за най-важните разкази, които са закрепени в науката за българските приказки. Тук има много интересни примери за това как приказките могат да бъдат използвани в разпределението на научните разкази.
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**Literary Works Used:**

**Bulgarian works:**


**Works in translation:**


APPENDIX A
BULGARIAN FROG STORIES

The following lines are excerpted from my Bulgarian informant interviews, and are chosen to illustrate the range of verbs used for each motion event in the story. The letter corresponding to each informant is consistent throughout the list, so that A, for example, always refers to the same informant interview. If a letter is omitted, this indicates that the informant did not mention the event. In some cases, I have included an informant’s statement about the event even though it does not include a motion verb, in order to indicate other ways informants described the events pictured in the book. In these cases, there is no boldfaced verb in the excerpted information. Motion verbs in co-events are set in boldface type even when they are not directly related to the event at hand, simply in order to better indicate the range of motion verbs used by informants. The relevance of a given co-event to the event in question should be clear from the English translations. The events are organized in the chronological order (that is, in the order in which they appear in the stories), and cross-referenced to the section of this dissertation in which they are discussed.

I have translated each phrase, but have not provided interlinear glossing. However, the motion verb is set in boldface type in both the original and the translation. I have tried to strike a balance between a natural English translation and a literal rendering of motion verbs in order to clearly convey the verb choices of the Bulgarian informants. A few items stand out in the translations because of this. The verb pair излизам/изляза ‘exit, come/go out’ has been consistently translated as ‘exit’. Although this often sounds unnatural in the English translation, where the deictic path verbs come out or go out would be used (depending on the context), I have chosen a literal translation to make a clear distinction between излизам/изляза and the Bulgarian deictic path verbs идвам/дойда ‘come’ and отивам/отида ‘go’. Additionally, with verbs such as излизам/изляза ‘exit, come/go out’ or слизам/слиза ‘descend’, Bulgarian speakers often add adverbials such as навън ‘outside’ or долу ‘down’, even though these are implied in the meaning of the verbs themselves. These additional words have been included in the English translations to indicate their presence, even though they sound unnatural in English when a path verb is used.

**Event 1:** The frog escapes from the jar (§5.5.2)

A … се измъкнала от буркана и избягала незнайно къде. [The frog] sneaked out of the jar and fled who knows where.

B Любопитната хабка избягала от буркана. The curious little frog escaped from the jar.

C Жабата изскочила от буркана. The frog jumped out of the jar.

D Една нощ жабата излязла от буркана. One night the frog exited from the jar.

E На жабока му омързило да стои в буркан, и скочил на свобода. The frog got tired of staying in the jar, and jumped to freedom.

F През ношта палавата жаба излязла тайно от буркана. During the night the mischievous frog secretly exited from the jar.
The little mischief-maker exited quietly from the jar and set off who knows where.

It exited from the jar and set out somewhere.

It sneaked out of the jar without them noticing.

The little frog secretly sneaked out of the jar.

But the little frog exited from the jar and set off on its way.

The little frog jumped out of the jar.

But one night, the little frog jumped out of the jar and fled to an unknown place.

because usually the frog didn’t exit from the jar.

[The] frog quietly jumped out of the jar and escaped.

It sneaked out softly on tiptoe and disappeared.

And [it] sneaked out of its prison ... and since the window was open, it escaped through it.

[It] climbed up the glass, with great difficulty it got up to the top ... [it] succeeded in escaping.

[It] softly sneaked out of the jar.

... in order to escape from the jar.

The little frog jumped out of the jar and escaped.

The little frog disappeared.

The little frog slipped one of its little legs out of the jar, and then the other, and plopped onto the ground. After that it quickly jumped out of the room.
X  А жабчето излезе от буркана и изчезна.
*But the little frog exited from the jar and disappeared.*

Y  През нощта жабата извади първо едното краче, след това другото, и изскочи от буркана.
*During the night the frog pulled out one of its little legs, and then the other, and jumped out of the jar.*

Z  Жабчето изскочи от буркана.
*The little frog jumped out of the jar.*

Zz  Но жабчето през нощта е излязъл от буркана и избягал.
*But the little frog during the night exited the jar and escaped.*

**Event:** The boy and dog leave (via the window) (§5.3.8)

A  Скочили през прозореца.
*[They] jumped through the window.*

B  Хванало това приятел малкото кученце, и тръгнали да издирват жабчето.
*[He] grabbed this friend the little little dog, and they set off to search for the little frog.*

C  Отворили прозореца да я търсят и кучето паднало.
*[They] opened the window to look for it and the dog fell.*

D  И бягайки паднало от прозореца … Момченцето бързо се притичало.
*… and running, [he] fell from the window … The little boy quickly ran up to him.*

E  И тръгнали из стаята да го търсят … През прозореца се показали.
*And they set off throughout the room to look for it … They appeared through the window.*

F  И когато се бяха показали на прозореца, кучето падна от него, на земята...
*Momcheto slesе dolu.*

G  И паднало от прозореца.
*And [he] fell from the window.*

H  Кучето падна от прозореца.
*The dog fell from the window.*

I  Тогава кучето скочи от прозореца и реши да тръгнат да го търси.
*Then the dog jumped from the window and decided to set out to look for it.*

J  Тогава решили да излизат навън … Отворили прозореца и тръгнали извън къщи да търсят своя любимец.
*Then [they] decided to go out outside … [They] opened the window and set off outside the house to look for their pet.*

K  Кучето без да иска се подхълзя и падна на земята.
*The dog accidentally slipped and fell to the ground.*

L  Тогава то скочило от прозореца … Петьо…бързо слязъл от прозореца.
*Then he jumped from the window … Petyo…quickly descended from the window.*
Тръгнали те, вървяли, вървяли, вървяли, и стигнали до гората.
*They set out, they walked, and walked, and walked, and arrived at the forest.*

Тръгнали, търсили, търсили, но не могли да го намерят.
*They set out, they searched, and searched, but they couldn’t find it.*
C They set out to look for it outside of the house, towards the forest.

D They decided, the two of them, to set off through the woods and to look for the frog.

E [He] took the dog in hand and set out to look for the frog … They walked around the field.

F They continued to look for it outside, among the trees, in the forest.

G They set out to look for it in the field and the forest.

H [They] decided to look in the forest nearby the house.

I The two of them decided to set off on their journey.

J [They] continued further from the house … They entered the forest.

K Then the two of them set off to look for the little frog; they neared the forest.

L The two set off to look for the little frog … Petyo walked and called the little frog.

M The two friends set out to look for the frog outside; they passed through the forest.

N The two set out together in the nearby vicinity to look for the little frog.

O They decided to set out towards the forest.

P And together with the dog they set out to look for their new friend; they walked and walked towards the forest.

Q They set out to look outside; they set out along the path.

R They set out to look for their pet, and set out towards the forest.

S [They] set out to look for their pet, and set out towards the forest.

T [They] exited outside in the forest.
They exited onto the field near the forest.

They decided together to exit to look for their new friend, the little frog. They walked a long time along a little path.

They set out to look for the little frog outside the house; they walked and walked and reached the forest.

The two together continued to look for the little frog Žuži; they reached the park.

The two friends continued their [...] activity ... They set out towards the forest.

The two together continued to look for the little frog Жужи; they walked, walked and reached the forest.

The two together continued to look for the little frog Жужи; they set out towards the forest.

They set out to look towards the forest.

They set out to look towards the forest.

They set out to look for him [They] go to the forest.

A rat exited from the ground.

From inside a big mouse jumped out.

And when a mole exited, the boy was startled.

At this moment, from the hole, out jumped a ground squirrel.

From the hole appeared a mole.

From the ground exited a small—I don’t know what it is, but it seems to me that it’s not a mole—some kind of animal that has eyes.

The English word gopher can refer to more than one type of burrowing rodent, but such a rodent was presumably unfamiliar to most of the Bulgarian informants, who used a number of different words to describe the creature. The word лалугер ‘ground squirrel’, used by three informants, is probably the best equivalent, but other informants chose variations on mouse, rat, or mole, with two informants even using the words for beaver and badger (one token of each).
H Възмутен, се показа един полски плъх.
A field rat appeared, confused.

I Изведнъж от дупката се показа къртицата.
Suddenly, from the hole appeared a mole.

K Оттам излезе едно мише.
From there a little mouse exited.

L Изведнъж от дупката се показало едно мише.
Suddenly from the hole appeared a little mouse.

M От дупката се показала една мишка.
From the hole a mouse appeared.

N От дупката се показъл мишок, сърдит.
From the hole a big mouse appeared; [it was] angry.

O От дупката във земята изскочило едно разтревожено мише.
From the hole in the ground out jumped a perturbed little mouse.

P От дупката изскочи не жабата, а мишка.
From the hole jumped out not the frog, but a mouse.

Q От тази дупка изскочи една къртица.
From this hole out jumped a mole.

R Беше домът на една мишка.
It was the home of a mouse.

S От дупката излязъл един лалугер.
From the hole a ground squirrel exited.

T По това време се показа и жабката от дупката ... От дупката изляза не жаба, а мишка.
Around this time the frog also appeared from the hole ... From the hole exited not a frog, but a mouse.

U От дупката излезе язовец.
From the hole a badger exited.

V Оттам изведнъж изскочи един едър плъх.
From there suddenly out jumped a large rat.

W Изведнъж от дупката изскочи един голям плъх.
Suddenly from the hole out jumped a large rat.

X ... от която излезе голям плъх.
... from which a large rat exited.

Y Оттам изскочи един лалугер.
From there a ground squirrel jumped out.

Z Но от дупката изскочи едно бобърче.
But from the hole out jumped a little beaver.
From the very hole a little rat exits.

**Event:** The bees (chase the dog, etc.) ($5.3.8$)

A. The swarm of bees which darted off to sting the dog...

B. The dog pushed the hive and the bees escaped, and set out to chase the child and the dog.

D. And the little dog ... knocked down the hive, from which flew out the little bees.

E. And the bees chased the dog.

F. The bees chased the dog.

G. ... something interesting hanging from a tree, and from it were exiting bees.

H. The bees, already organized, had chased his friend, the dog, and the two of them at a run rushed to run towards the forest.

J. The bees jumped ... from it the dog dashed towards ...
Кучето побягна, побягна със всичка сила от лошите оси.
The dog ran and ran with all his might from the bad wasps.

И всички пчели изскочиха от там … А горските пчели подгониха неговия приятел кучето.
And all the bees jumped out of there … And the forest bees chased his friend, the dog.

И започнали да ги гонят и преследват
And they began to chase and track them.

Пчелите излязоха и зажужаха около тях … А пчелите подгониха Шаро
The bees exited and began to buzz around them … And the bees chased Šaro.

And all the bees jumped out of there … And the forest bees chased his friend, the dog.

And they began to chase and track them.

The bees buzzed around and began quickly to fly around the boy … Roko also fled from the bees.

… which came out of the hive … The bees flew off and chased both the boy and the dog.

The dog at this time was running, scared of the swarm of bees.

The bees chased the little dachshund… He darted ahead.

The bees chased the little dog, he darted off at a run.

[They] began to chase him.

Event 4: The boy climbs the tree (§5.3.5)

Скочило да се скрие в хралупата.
(He) jumped to hide in a tree hole.

То качило се на едно дърво.
He went up in a tree.

Момчето се качило на дървото до хралупата.
The boy went up in the tree to the tree hole.

91 For the translations in this event, as well as in Event 6 (in which the boy climbs onto a rock), the verb pair качвам се / кача се ‘go up, ascend; climb’ has been translated as go up, although climb sounds better in English. This translation distinguishes the low manner verb качвам се / кача се from the high manner verb катеря се ‘climb, clamber’, as well as from prefixed forms of качвам се / кача се, which may imply more manner.
Малкото момченце се качило на дървото.
The little boy went up in the tree.

Момчето реши да надникне в хракулата на близкото дърво.
The boy decided to peek into the tree hole in the nearby tree.

Оттам момчето се покачи на едно дърво.
From there the boy got up in a tree.

Митко решило да надникне там.
Mitko decided to peek in there.

Момчето се качи и погледна вътре.
The boy went up and looked in.

Петео се покачил на дървото.
Petyo got up in the tree.

То се покатерило на дървото.
He climbed up in the tree.

Като момчето се покачил на клон...
When the boy got up on the branch...

Покачило се за да погледа.
[He] got up to look.

Покатери се Митко на едно огромно, старо дърво.
Mitko climbed up on a huge old tree.

През това време момчето се покатери на друго дърво.
At this time the boy climbed up in another tree.

Покатери се.
[He] climbed up.

Петео във бързината се покатери на едно дърво.
Petyo in his haste climbed up in a tree.

Той се качи на дървото.
He went up in the tree.

Ваньо се изплаши и се качи на дървото.
Vanyo got scared and went up in a tree.

Мони се качи на едно дърво.
Moni went up in a tree.

Момчето се качи на едно близко дърво.
The boy went up in a nearby tree.

А Гого се покатери на едно дърво.
And Gogo climbed up in a tree.

Качи се върху него.
[He] went up on it.
Z  Сашо се качи на едно дърво.
Sašo went up in a tree.

Zz  Бобчето се качвал на едно дърво.
Bobby was going up in a tree.

Event 5: The owl\textsuperscript{92} comes out of its hole (§5.3.6)

A  От хралупата излетял един бухал.
From the tree hole an owl \textit{flew out}.

B  От хралупата изскочила една сова.
From the tree hole an owl \textit{jumped out}.

C  От там изскочил един бухал.
From there an owl \textit{jumped out}.

D  Но от там изскочила една кукумявка.
But from there an owl \textit{jumped out}.

E  В този момент от хралупата изскочил бухал.
At this moment from the tree hole \textit{out jumped} an owl.

F  А в само то дърво се намирал бухал.
But in that very tree there was an owl.

G  … от която излязъл един бухал.
… \textit{out of which an owl exited}.

H  Частната собственост беше защитена яростно от един бухал.
The private property was fiercely protected by an owl.

I  Изведнък от дупката изскочи сова.
Suddenly from the hole \textit{out jumped} an owl.

K  От там изведнък излезе един бухал и размаха своите криле.
\textit{From there suddenly an owl exited} and flapped its wings.

L  От дупката на дървото излязъл един бухал.
\textit{From the hole of the tree an owl exited}.

M  От там излязъл един бухал.
\textit{From there an owl exited}.

O  Но отвътре изскочил един бухал.
But from within \textit{out jumped} an owl.

P  От хралупата изскочи стар бухал.
\textit{From the tree hole out jumped} an old owl.

Q  От тази хралупа изскочи един бухал.
\textit{From this tree hole an owl jumped out}.

\textsuperscript{92} Three different Bulgarian words are used for owl, but each is translated simply as ‘owl’ in English. The words are бухал, кукумявка, and сова; these are all birds of the order \textit{Strigiformes}. The бухал is the \textit{Bubo bubo}, but the words кукумявка and сова can each refer to more than one genus and species.
From there the night bird, owl, exited; it flew out of the tree hole.

From this ancient tree lived the old owl... [It] came out, and flapped its wings.

From the tree hole out came an owl, who was very angry.

Suddenly from there out jumped an enormous owl.

From the largest tree hole out jumped the wise bird, the owl.

From this very hole an owl exits.

The boy climbs up on a rock (§5.3.5)

He went, and went up on a rock up high.

He went up on a rock.

He found a rock ... He went up on it and looked there.

He went up on a peak.

The boy ran and reached a little hill ... and [he] got up on it.

The little boy ran, and went up on a rock.

[They] saw a large rock ... The little boy went up.

Mitko went up there.
Event 7: The deer runs off with the boy (§5.3.7)

A  Еленът хукнал да бяга, заедно с момченцето.
*The deer darted off at a run, together with the little boy.*

B  Елена се изплашил и тръгнал да бяга; бягал бягал и кучето тръгнало след детето.
*The deer got scared and set off at a run; [he] ran and ran and the dog set off after the boy.*

C  И елена като видял, че стършелите ги нападнали, тръгнал да бяга.
*And when the deer saw that the hornets were attacking them, [he] set off at a run.*
D And the deer started running with him, and the dog, in front of him.

E And the deer carried him on its head.

F From the other side of the rock a deer appeared, which... carried him ahead, running.

G ... a pretty deer, which carried him at great speed towards the bank of a marsh.

H The deer swept the little boy onto its head and began to run ... They all broke into a gallop.

I The deer continued to run towards an abyss.

J The deer clutched the boy between its horns, angry ... [It] darted off at a run.

K The boy ended up on its head ... The deer ... began to run towards an abyss.

L Petyo ended up on the head of a deer ... It got scared and began to run.

M The deer hung the boy on its horns and began to run hard with him.

N And [it] swept the boy onto its horns; the deer darted off.

O The deer... set off at a run towards the nearby river.

P The deer began to run.

Q The deer began to run ahead.

R [It] darted off at a run.

S [It] darted off at a run.

T And it began to run together with him.

U And it began to run together with him... Rex ... was running after the deer.
And it carried him towards a nearby abyss.

The deer jumped out suddenly from the tree ... and it darted off at a run.

So the deer carried him.

It dashed off at a run, scared.

The deer was running very fast.

And it begins to run.

**Event:** The deer causes the boy to fly over the cliff (§5.3.8)

Zz И почва да бяга.

And it begins to run.

93 In this event, agentive motion verbs are marked (for both the deer and the boy, although the boy's trip is the focus of the action in this section). Many informants simply stated that the deer threw the boy into the abyss, or some variation thereof; consequently, these utterances may not have any motion verb indicated.
Оттам изхвърлил момчето от главата си … Накрая цапнали в една рекичка.
*From there [it] threw the boy from his head … In the end [they] plopped into a little river.*

Когато стигна до ръба на пропастта, слена се спря, и момчето и кучето изхвърчаха и попаднаха във блатото.
*When he reached the edge of the abyss, the deer stopped, and the boy and dog flew and fell into the swamp.*

Стигнал до ръба на една пропаст … Елена незапно спрял и Петьо и кученцето паднали във реката.
*[He] reached the edge of an abyss … The deer suddenly stopped and Petyo and the little dog fell into the water.*

Елена хвърлил момчето от рогата си и то, заедно с кученцето, полетели надолу към водата … и двамата цапнали във водата.
*The deer threw the boy from it horns and he, together with the little dog, flew off down into the water … and the two of them plopped into the water.*

Еленът ги хвърлил във едно не дотам дълбоко блато.
*The deer threw them into a not so very deep swamp.*

Еленът незапно спрял и момчето излетяло към водата.
*The deer suddenly stopped and the boy flew towards the water.*

Оттам Митко падна, със всичка сила долу в блатото … след него полетя и кучето … цопнаха момчето и кучето във блатото.
*From there Mitko fell with all his might down into the swamp … after him flew the dog too … The dog and the boy plopped into the swamp.*

И изведнъж момчето и кучето паднаха от рогата на елена и цопнаха във едно блато.
*And suddenly the boy and the dog fell from the horns of the deer and plopped into a swamp.*

Спря незапно. момченцето и кучето полетяха надолу.
*[It] stopped suddenly; the little boy and the dog flew off below.*

Поспрял се, много силия удар; Петьо и кученцето цопнали в реката.
*[It] stopped, a very strong blow; Petyo and the little dog fell into the river.*

Вигайки, пристигнаха до една пропаст. Елена се спря рязко, а Ваньо и Шаро полетяха в пропастта.
*Running, [they] arrived at an abyss. The deer stopped sharply, and Vanyo and Šaro flew off into the abyss.*

И Ваньо и неговото куче паднаха във един вир.
*And Vanyo and his dog fell into a pool.*

Елена закова на място и той излита пред него заседно със Роко.
*The deer froze on the spot and he flew off before it together with Roko.*
W  Изведнъж видя пропастта, закова на място, но силата на инерцията плесна момчето, и със него и кучето … към пропастта; двамата попадна за радост във водата.
[It] suddenly saw the abyss, and froze on the spot, but the force of inertia jolted the boy, and with him the dog too … towards the abyss; the two plopped into the water, luckily.

X  Момчето и кучето изведнъж попаднаха във един вир.
The boy and the dog suddenly plopped into a pool.

Y  Той успя да спре до ръба на една пропаст … Търколи се през главата му, падна, и попадна във водата.
[It] managed to stop at the brink of an abyss … [The boy] rolled over its head, fell, and plopped into the water.

Z  Елена хвърли от рогата си Сашко … Детето започна да пада … Детето падна във водата.
The deer threw Saško from its horns … The child began to fall … The child fell in the water.

Zz  Еленчето ги хвърли в реката, те падат във реката.
The little deer throws them into the river, they fall into the river.

Event: The boy and the dog get to a log (§5.3.8)

C  Водата била много плътка и двамата щастливо излизат на другия бряг.
The water was very shallow and the two of them luckily exit on the other bank.

D  Плували и стигнали до един дънер; хванали се за дънера, и така изплували до брега.
[They] swam and reached a log; they caught the log, and in this way swam out to the bank.

E  Със усилие успели да изплуват.
With effort they managed to swim out.

F  И стигнаха до един дънер; те започнаха до го обикалят.
And [they] reached a log; they began to go around it.

G  Тръгнали лека по лека.
[They] set out little by little.

H  Те приближиха до падналото дърво ... Няколко малки жабчета изскочиха и тръгнаха, квакайки радостно към тях.
They approached the fallen tree ... Several little frogs jumped out and set off, croaking happily towards them.

I  Продължиха по-нататък, излизайки от блатото, пред тях се изпречи дънер ...
Прескочиха го със големи усилия.
[They] continued further, exiting the swamp, before them loomed a log ... They jumped over it with a great effort.
The boy and the dog swam out onto the bank … They decided to vault over it; they jumped over it from top to bottom.

They exited on the bank by a log … Their frog … jumped towards them.

The two of them swam out, reached a stump … Quickly jumping over the stump, they ended up …

He approached a fallen tree … The little dog… was swimming behind him … After this the two vaulted over the tree.

The boy and the dog plopped together and managed to exit onto the bank … They vaulted over it.

They reached a hollow tree.

He swam out, and together with the little dog they reached the bank … When they jumped over the log…

Vanyo managed to slip out... They went near it [the frog].

And [he] led him to the bank. They swam up to a log and they went up onto it.

And the two, crawling, slipped out of the swamp.

They exited onto the bank and reached a log.
The two friends exited quickly onto the bank.

[They] managed to exit onto the bank, alive and well.

He exited from the river.

And set off on the path for home, very very happy from the day’s events.

[He] caught the little frog, and set off with it.

And [he] set off to go out of the river satisfied, waving at the remaining frogs.

In the end [they] took their friend, and the family of little frogs sent them off.

Satisfied and happy, he set off towards home.

Together with the dog, [they] happily set off towards home.

[The little frog] asked his mother and father to allow him to depart with Mitko again to his house.

And [they] left them to live peacefully.

Soon the two of them, together with the frog, began the trip towards home.

And [they] set off together with the little dog towards home.

Again [the frog] went home to Peter’s house.

And so [they] happily set off towards home.

And [he] headed, happy, towards home.

[They] set off to go back home.
R  И заедно със кучето се отправиха към своя дом.
   *And together with the dog [they] headed towards their house.*

S  Така се прибрали във къщи.
   *Thus they went back home.*

U  И заедно със Рекс щастливи се върнаха у дома.
   *And together with Rex, happy, they returned home.*

X  Така доволни и весели момчето Гого и неговото куче Ласи се върнаха у дома.
   *Thus satisfied and happy, the boy Gogo and his dog Lassie returned home.*

Zz И си тръгва през реката.
   *And [he] sets off over the river.*
APPENDIX B
SERBIAN FROG STORIES

The following lines are excerpted from the Serbian informant interviews based on the frog story, discussed in 5.5. The stories were collected in 1995 by Svenka Savić of the University of Novi Sad and her students, and are used here with the permission of Dan Slobin. The letter corresponding to each informant is consistent throughout the appendix, so that A, for example, refers to the same informant interview throughout the appendix. If a letter is omitted, this indicates that the informant did not mention the event. In some cases, I have included an informant’s statement about the event which does not include a motion verb, in order to indicate other ways informants described the events pictured in the book. In these cases, there is no boldfaced verb in the excerpted information. The events are organized in the chronological order (that is, in the order in which they appear in the stories), and cross-referenced to the section of this dissertation in which they are discussed. Informants A-D were adults, and informants E-L were 11-year olds.

As with the Bulgarian translations in Appendix A, the verb for ‘exit, come/go out’ (BCS izlaziti/izći) has been translated literally as ‘exit’ in the sentences below. Although an English speaker would use come out or go out as dictated by context, the translation with exit distinguishes the verb pair izlaziti/izći from the deictic path verbs odlaziti/otići ‘go’ and dolaziti/dotići ‘come’. For other verbs, I have tried to strike a balance between translating into natural English, and conveying what exactly is expressed by the BCS verb used by the informant.

The original files compiled by Svenka Savić and her students include dashes to indicate pauses. These have been left in the Serbian citations, but such pauses are generally not indicated in the translations.

Event 1: The frog escapes from the jar (§5.5.2)

A Ali je žabica izašla iz tegle, iskočila je.
*But the little frog exited from the jar, it jumped out.*

B Njemu žaba pobegne iz tegle.
*His frog fled from the jar.*

C Žaba izlazi.
*The frog exited.*

D Žabac se polako, polako iskrao iz staklene posude i odskakutao.
*The frog slowly stole out of the glass vessel and hopped away.*

E Žaba je pobegla.
*The frog fled.*

F Žaba se tiho prišunjala i pobegla kroz prozor.
*The frog quietly sneaked up and fled through the window.*

G Žaba polako iskočila – i otišla je – iz kuće.
*The frog softly jumped out and went (away), out of the house.*

H (Jedne noći) žaba mu je iskočila iz tegle – i pobegla.
One night his frog jumped out of the jar and fled.

I Žabac je polako izvukao se iz tegle – i pobegao je.
The little frog quietly extracted itself from the jar and fled.

J Žaba je polako … izašla iz tegle.
The frog slowly exited from the jar.

K Žaba se išunjala iz svoje tegle, i počela da beži.
The frog sneaked out of its jar, and began to flee.

L Žaba je izašla iz kuće.
The frog exited from the house.

Event: The boy and dog leave (via the window) (§5.5.8)

A Kuče … zajedno s tom teglom je iskočio kroz prozor … Pas je slomio teglu dok je iskakao napolje.
The mutt, together with that jar, jumped out through the window… The dog broke the jar when it jumped out outside.

B Izašao je kroz prozor.
He exited through the window.

C Pas je prvi krenuo, dečak — skače da mu pomaže.
The dog set out first — the boy jumped to help him.

D I poleti sa prozora zajedno sa posudom – na zemlju.
And he flew from the window, together with the vessel, onto the ground.

E Onda ju je tražio napolje.
Then he looked for it outside.

F Onda je pas pao sa teglom na glavi – pao je na zemlju.
Then the dog fell with the jar on his head – he fell on the ground.

G Pas je iskočio kroz prozor.
The dog jumped out through the window.

H Izašao je (hm) na prozor … Njegov pas je stajao na prozoru i odjednom je ispao kroz prozor … dečak je sišao na ulicu da ga uhvati.
He exited at the window… His dog was standing at the window and suddenly fell out through the window… The boy went down onto the street to get him.

I Odjednom se Ben oklizno sa prozora i pao je – na ulicu; Saša je brzo i žurno istrčao.
Suddenly Ben slipped from the window and fell onto the street; Saša quickly and hurriedly ran out.

J Odjednom je pas slučajno ispao kroz prozor, a za njim i dečak.
Suddenly the dog accidentally fell out of the window, and after him, the boy as well.

K Pas, pošto je imao teglu na glavi, bio je težak, pa je pao dole sa sprata … Onda je sišao dečak.
The dog, because he had a jar on his head, he was heavy, and he fell down from the (upper) floor… Then the boy went down.

L I pasu se zavukla boca na glavu i onda je on izašao napolje; i dečak je izašao za njim.
And the dog got his head into a bottle and then he exited outside; and the boy exited after him.

Event 2: They set off to search for the frog (§5.5.3)
A I onda je zajedno s njim—krenuo—kao u neku šumicu, negde napolje, izvan kuće, da je traži.
And then he set out, together with [the dog], into some kind of woods, somewhere outside, outside the house, to look for it.
B Išli su kroz šumu.
They went through the woods.
C Krenuli su u – šumu.
They set off into the woods.
D I krenuli su da potraže žapca.
And they set off to look for the little frog.
E Onda je dečak otišao do šume.
Then the boy went (away) to the woods.
F I krenuli su prema šumi.
And they set off toward the woods.
G Oni su otišli malo dalje od kuće – otišli do šume.
They went off a little further from the house—they went off to the woods.
H Onda su otišli … da traže žabu … Otišli su u šumu
Then they went off to search for the frog … They went off into the woods.
I Oni su pošli u potragu da nađu njihovog žapca … i išli su po šumama.
They started out on a search to find their little frog … and went through the woods.
J Otišli su u šumu.
They went off into the woods.
K Posle su oni krenuli da je traže.
Afterwards they set out to look for it.
L I oni su tako išli i naišli su na jedan osinjak.
And thus they went and they found themselves at a wasp’s nest.

Event 3: The gopher-like creature comes out of the hole (§5.5.4)
C Dečko dole nešto traži … Istražuje teren … Dečko je uplašen.
The boy is looking for something below … He’s looking on the ground … The boy is frightened.
D U istom momentu, odnekud iz zemlje izide krtica.
At that very moment, from somewhere in the ground, a mole exits.
The boy looked in some kind of hole … A mole exited.

And the boy peered into a hole—and there he came upon a mole—it bit him on the nose.

The boy looked in a hole… The frog wasn’t there, but a mole jumped out.

The boy looked for the frog in holes in the ground.

But suddenly a mole jumped out of there.

The mole bit the boy.

An animal bit him.

From this hole a mole exited.

And then the bees exited … And so these bees began to chase the dog – he ran from them.

A swarm of bees flew out and chased them.

And the bees pursued… and just there above him flew by a swarm of bees, which chased after the dog.

The dog … began to run because bees were chasing him.

Wasps attacked the dog … and the dog was sad because the bees had been stinging him.

The dog knocked down the bee hive and wasps flew out … The wasps began to chase the dog.

His dog … knocked down the beehive and the bees began to chase him.

And Ben quickly fled from the wasps, which had exited from the wasp nest.

And the bees set out chasing the dog … The large bees chased the dog even further.
K … pošto su pčele i ose **krenule** na psa.
… after which the bees and wasps **set out** after the dog.

L A psa su počele da **jure** ove pčele.
And these bees began to **chase** the dog.

**Event 4: The boy climbs the tree** (§5.5.5)

A Dečak je tu **popo se** na neko drvo, zavirivao.  
*Here the boy **climbed up** some tree, looked inside.*

D Nego **se ispeo** na jedno drvo i radoznalo gledao u otvor u drvetu.  
*But he **climbed** a tree and curiously looked into an opening in the tree.*

E Dečak je stajao na drvetu.  
*The boy stood in a tree.*

F I on **se pentro** po drveću.  
*And the boy **climbed** a tree.*

G Onda se dečak **popeo** na jedno drvo.  
*Then the boy **climbed** a tree.*

I Saša je dotle – **otišao** na drvo, **popeo se**.  
*Then Saša went to a tree, **climbed up**.*

J Zatim je dečak tražio u drvetu.  
*Then the boy looked in a tree.*

K A dečak **se popeo** na drvo.  
*And the boy **climbed** a tree.*

L A dečak **se popeo** na drvo.  
*And the boy **climbed** a tree.*

**Event 5: The owl comes out of its hole** (§5.5.6)

A Tu i sova **izleće**.  
*Now an owl also **flew out**.*

B Naišli su na ptice.  
*They came upon [some] birds.*

C Interesuje ga šta se nalazi u toj rupi u – drvetu … Dečko je uplašen.  
*He’s interested in what’s in that hole in the tree… The boy is frightened.*

D I iznenada iz otvora **se pojavi** sova – raširenih krila … (several clauses later) I počela da lupa krilima iznad dečaka.  
*And suddenly from the opening **appeared** an owl, with widespread wings… And it began to beat its wings over the boy.*

E Napadale su ga ptice.  
*The birds attacked him.*

F Dečak je pao sa drveta jer ga je napala sova.  
*The boy fell from the tree because an owl had attacked him.*
G Sova ga je gurnula.
   The owl pushed him.

H Gledao šupljinu tog drveta – iz njega je izašla sova.
   He looked in the hollow of that tree – from it an owl exited.

I Odatle je izletela ižašla sova.
   From there an owl exited.

J Izletela je jedna sova.
   An owl flew out.

L Sa drveta je izletela sova.
   From the tree an owl flew out.

Event 6: The boy climbs up on a rock ($5.5.5$)

A Pa se popeo na neko, neki kamen.
   And he climbed onto something, some rock.

C Ide da se penje na (hm) kao neku stenu.
   He went to climb onto, like, some wall.

D Dečak je bežao na jednu stenu — i čudno se dogodi.
   The boy ran away to a wall—and something strange happened.

F On je se ponovo popeo na jedan veliki kamen.
   He again climbed onto a large rock.

H I dečak se popeo na – jedan kamen veliki.
   And the boy climbed onto a [really] big rock.

I Kasnije se on popeo na tu stenu.
   Later he climbed onto this wall.

J Dečak se popeo na taj kamen.
   The boy climbed onto this rock.

K Popo se na stenu jednu.
   He climbed onto a wall.

Event 7: The deer runs off with the boy ($5.5.7$)

A Onda ga je pokupio—rogovima—i nosio ga je tako … Pas se tu opet stvorio, trčao je za njima.
   Then [the deer] collected him up with its horns—and carried him this way… The dog appeared again, and ran after them.

B Jelen se uplašio … gurnuo je dečaka u provaliju.
   The deer took fright… It pushed the boy into the chasm.

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94 The partial word “izlet” appears in the transcript in brackets. Presumably the informant starting to say that the owl flew out (izleteti ‘fly out’), but changed the verb to exited (izići) mid-utterance.
The deer carried him ...Meanwhile, the deer and the boy and the dog—plunged.

And—it carried the boy on its horns. And the dog, worried ... The deer, carrying the boy this way on it horns, didn’t see where it was going ... It arrived at a chasm.

And—the deer got angry,[and] went away.

The deer began to carry him towards a valley, to a place where there was a swamp.

The deer lifted its head and began to run towards a hole.

And the deer then carried him this way.

This deer carried the boy this way.

It began to run, with him on its head.

The deer that carried him this way— to some kind of chasm...

Both of them fell into the water.

The boy and the dog fell into the chasm.

And it threw him into a lake.

Then it threw the two of them, the boy and the dog, it threw them into a bog.
G I jelen je gurnuo i psa i dečaka u močvaru.
And the deer pushed both the boy and the dog into the swamp.

H I ubacio ga je u močvaru.
And it threw him into a swamp.

I I odjednom su naišli na neke velike provalije i Saša i Ben su upali u tu provaliju.
And suddenly they cam across some great chasm and Saša and Ben fell into this chasm.

J Jelen ga je bacio zajedno sa psom u baru.
The deer threw him, together with the dog, into a swamp.

K On ih je srušio niz jednu nizbrdicu; oni su pali u jednu reku.
He knocked them down a slope; they fell into a river.

L Onda su pali u neku baru.
Then they fell into some swamp.

Event: The boy and the dog get to a log ($\S5.5.8$)

A Sad se odjednom nalaze izvan te močvare … Tu neko stablo prevrnuto, koje je šuplje, i tu se motaju oko njega.
Now they suddenly they find themselves outside this swamp … Here some tree trunk is overturned, which is hollow, and now they mill around it.

C Ipak idu iza drveta.
Still, they go behind the tree.

D I polako su izšli iz te vode … Stigli su do jednog balvana … pa su oni skakali preko balvana, provlačili se kroz balvana.
And gradually they exited from this water … They reached a log … and they jumped over the log, they pulled themselves over the log.

E {…} skočio preko jednog stable.
… [he] jumped over a tree-trunk.

F Tu su naišli na jedno stablo od drveta.
Now they came across a log from the trunk of a tree.

I I oni su došli do tog stabla, popeli se.
And they came up to this log, and climbed onto it.

J Došli su do jednog starog drveta; pas je plivao.
They came to an old tree; the dog swam.

Event: The boy, dog, and new baby frog go home ($\S5.5.8$)

A Krenuli su verovatno nazad.
The set off probably [to go] back.

C Pozdravljaju se i odlaze.
They said goodbye and went away.

E Kasnije je pozdravio žabine roditelje i otišao kući.
Later they said goodbye to the frog’s parents and went [away] home.
F Pozdravio se s njima.
He said goodbye to them.

F On se pozdravio sa njima i otišao je svojoj kući.
He said goodbye to them and went [away] to his house.

G Oni su uzeli jednu manju žabicu i otišli su kući.
They took a smaller frog and went [away] home.

I I oni su tako svi zajedno su srećno otišli, i igrali su se.
And thus everyone went away together happily, and they played.

J Tako su se oni sretno vratili kući.
Thus they returned home happily.

K Oni su uzeli svoju žabu i krenuli su kući.
They took their frog and set off for home.

L I onda su uzeli jednu žabu i otišli.
And then they took a frog and went away.
APPENDIX C
RUSSIAN FROG STORIES

The motion events from the Russian frog stories appear below, organized in the same manner as the preceding material from the Bulgarian and Serbian frog stories. These stories were collected by Yana Anilovich and Dan Slobin, and are discussed in 5.6. Informants A-I were adults, and informants J-K were 10-year olds. The narratives have been left in the form in which they were provided to me (and in which excerpts from them have been published), namely, transliterated into the Latin alphabet from Cyrillic.

Event 1: The frog escapes from the jar (§5.6.2)

A  Poka mal’chik s sobachkoj spali ljagushjonok ubezhal.  
  *While the boy and the dog slept, the little frog escaped.*

B  A kogda oni legli spat’, ljagushka uzhe vylezla iz banki i verojatno ubezhala.  
  *But when they lay down to sleep, the frog had already *climbed out* from the jar and probably *ran away*. 

C  A ljagushka nachala tixo vylazit’ iz banki.  
  *But the frog began to quietly *climb* out of the jar.*

D  No ljagushke ne zaxotelo’ sidet’ v banke, i sbezhala iz banki.  
  *But the frog didn’t feel like sitting in the jar, and *ran away* out of the jar.*

E  A ljagushonok v èto vremja i vylez iz banki, tak kak èto svobodoljubjashchee zhivotnoe, i uskakal, v neizvestnom napravlenii.  
  *But at that point the little frog *climbed out* from the jar, since it was a freedom-loving animal, and *bounded away*, in an unknown direction.*

F  Ljagushka vyberaetsja iz banki.  
  *The frog *manages to get out* of the jar.*

G  Ljagushonok kogda pochuvstvoval chto ego druz’ja krepko spjat vyskochil iz banki potom-chto on xotel uvidet’ zhizn’.  
  *When the little frog felt that its friends were sleeping soundly, it *jumped out* of the jar, because it wanted to see the world.*

H  Ljagushka reshila posmotret’ a kak ustroena zhizn’ u cheloveka i ona ushla iz banki.  
  *The frog decided to see what life was like among people and it *exited* from the jar.*

I  Ljagushka pytaetsja vyprygnut’ iz banki.  
  *The frog tries to *spring out* of the jar.*

J  Odin raz, kogda vse spali, ljagushka vylezla iz banki i kuda-to ubezhala.  
  *Once, when everyone was sleeping, the frog *climbed out* of the jar and *ran away* somewhere.*

K  A potom on zasnul a zhabka vylezla i uskokala.  
  *But then he fell asleep and the frog *climbed out* and *hopped away.*

L  Iz banki vylezaet ljagushka.  
  *The frog *climbs out* of the jar.*

Event: The boy and dog leave (via the window) (§5.6.8)
B Zatem sobaka upala s podokonnika i razbilas’.  
*Then the dog fell from the window sill and got hurt.*

C Sobaka popytalas’ vzjat’ sled, vyprygynula iz okna; mal’chik takzhe vyprygnul.  
*The dog tried to follow, he sprung out the window; the boy also jumped out.*

E … chto shchonok vypal vmeste s bankoj na golove.  
*… that the puppy fell out together with the jar on his head.*

F Sobaka s bankoj na golove vypalas iz okoshka; mal’chik vyprygnul za nej v bol’shih sapogax.  
*The dog, with the jar on his head, fell out of the window; the boy sprang out after him in his big boots.*

G Banka peretjanula ravnovesie Billa i on upal na zemlju.  
*The jar tipped Bill’s balance and he fell onto the ground.*

I Mal’chik smotrit iz okna kak sobaka letit cherez okno vmeste s bankoj.  
*The boy looks out the window at the dog flying through the window, together with the jar.*

J Sobachka zalezla v banku i nachala vsjo njuxat’ … sobachka slucajno vyletela iz okna.  
*The little dog crept into the jar and began to smell everything; the dog accidentally flew out of the window.*

K Sobaka vlezla v banku … Sobaka upala i razbilas’— èta— net— banka razbilas’.  
*The dog crawled into the jar… The dog fell and hurt himself — this — no — the jar broke.*

L Sobaka padaet s ètazha vmeste s bankoj.  
*The dog falls from the (upper) story together with the jar.*

**Event 2: They set off to search for the frog** (§5.6.3)

A I togda mal’chik s sobachkoj reshili otpavat’ v les, iskat’ ljagushjonka, oni xodili po lesu.  
*And then the boy and his little dog decided to set out into the forest, to look for the little frog, they walked through the woods.*

B Potom zashli v kusty, kuda-to v les.  
*Then they got into the bushes, somewhere in the woods.*

C I oni poshli v les kuda-to.  
*And they set out into the woods somewhere.*

E I poshli oni v les.  
*And they set out into the woods.*

F Vyshli na poljanu i zovut ljagushku.  
*They went out into the field and they call the frog.*

G Obyskav vokrug doma i ne najdja ljagushonka , druzhja otpavilis’; oni pustilis’ v puteshestvie.  
*Having looked around the house and not finding the little frog, the friends set off; they set out on a journey.*

H Oni pobezhali za ljagushkoj v les, dumaja chto ona mozhet byt’ v lesu.
They began to run after the frog into the forest, thinking that it might be in the woods.

I On idjot s sobakoj, razyskivat po vsej verojatnosti ljagushku. He walks with the dog, he is most likely searching all over for the frog.

J I oni poshli iskat’ ejo po gorody. And they set off to look for it in the town.

K A potom oni poshli i- tam znachit- nu- i oni poshli. And then they started off and – you know – well – and they set off.

Event 3: The gopher-like creature comes out of the hole (§5.6.4)

A Ètot myshjonok vylez iz norki i sprosil mal’chika… This little mouse crept out of the hole and asked the boy…

B Ottuda vylez kakoj-to tam- zhivotnoe. Some kind of animal crept out of there.

C Mal’chik popytalsja vlezt’ v ètu noru; no ego, po moemu ukusil kakoj-to xomjak. The boy tried to climb into this hole; but I think that some kind of hamster bit him.

D Mal’chik do ètogo iskal ljagushku v nore, v kotor oj zhivjot podobie kakoj-to krysy. The boy before this looked for the frog in a hole, in which something like a rat lived.

E Zdes’ vygljanula myshka, Naruzhka. Here a mouse, Naruzhka, peeped out.

F Iz norki vylezaet krot. From the hole a mole crawls out.

G No v èto vremja ot tuda vylezla iz norki mysh kotoruju on probudil oto sna. But at this time out of the hole crawled a mouse, which he had awakened from sleep.

J Okazyvaetsja èto byla norka xomjachka. It turns out that this was a hamster’s hole.

K I tam byla takaja norka znachit-i tam vylezla takaja strannaja zverjushka … A tam vyshla myshka iz ètoj norki i on ispugalsja. And there was some kind of hole, that is, and from there some kind of strange animal crawled out… And then a mouse came out of this hole and [the boy] got scared.

L Mal’chik i smotrit v krysinnuju noru … Ukusila za nos myshka. The boy looks in the rat hole… A mouse bit him on the nose.

Event: The bees (chase the dog, etc.) (§5.6.8)

A Pchjoly razozlilis’ chto mal’chik zalez na derevo i nachali kusat’ ego sobachku. The bees got angry that the boy climbed a tree and they began to sting his little dog.

B Zlye pchjoly stali vyletat’ … V èto vremja pchjoly pognalis’ za sobakoj. The malicious bees began to fly out … At that time the bees began to chase the dog.

C Tem vremenem pchely gnalis’ za sobachkoj.
All the while the bees **chased** the little dog.

D Osy **vyleteli** iz svoego gnezda, i stali pristovat’ k sobachke.  
The wasps **flew out of** their nest, and **began to pester** the little dog.

E I v êto vremja pchely **brosilis’ dogonjat’** sobachku.  
And **at that time** the bees **stopped chasing** the little dog.

F Pchely **uletajut** s ul’ja.  
The bees **fly away from** the beehive.

G A pchjoly **poneslis’** za Billom.  
And the bees **rushed off** after Bill.

J A sobaka poka smotrela na pchel; oni **vyleteli** iz ul’ja … A za sobakoj **poleteli** pchely; oni xoteli ejo kusat’.

And the dog was watching the bees; they **flew out of** the beehive… And the bees **began to fly** after the dog: they wanted to sting him.

K A pchjoly **poshli** za sobachkoj.  
And the bees **started out** after the little dog.

L Sobaka vsjo-taki uronila ulej i pchely **vyleteli** … Na êtoj kartinke ja vizhu chto- i èti pchely **pognalis’** za sobakoj.  
The dog all the same caused the beehive to collapse and the bees **flew out**… In this picture I see that these bees **chased** the dog.

**Event 4:** The boy climbs the tree (§5.6.5)

A **Zalezli** na derevo i nashli tam duplo.  
They **climbed** a tree and found a hollow [in the tree] there.

B Mal’chik v êto vremja **zalez** na derevo i stal iskat’ v duple.  
At **that time** the boy **climbed** a tree and began to look in a hollow.

C Mal’chik zagljadyvaet tuda.  
The boy starts looking in there.

F Mal’chik zagljadyvaet v duplo na dereve.  
The boy starts looking in a hollow place in the tree.

I A mal’chik **zalez** na kronu dereva.  
And the boy **climbed** on a branch of the tree.

J Mal’chik **zalez** v derevo i nachal smotret’ v duple.  
The boy **climbed** the tree and began to look in the tree hollow.

K On **zalez** na derevo.  
**He climbed** the tree.

L Mal’chik **lezet** na derevo, v duplo.  
The boy **climbed** the tree, [looked?] in the tree hollow.

**Event 5:** The owl comes out of its hole (§5.6.6)
A I toga iz dereva—na dereve pokazalsja sovjonok. And then from the tree—in the tree an owl appeared.

B Iz dupla vyletela sova. From the hollow of the tree an owl flew out.

C Iz dupla vyskochila sova, sbrosila ego. From the hollow of the tree an owl jumped out, threw him down.

D Iskat’ ljagushku v duple dereva; on nashel tam sovu, kotoraja ispu gala ego. They look for the frog in the hollow of a tree; he found an owl there, which frightened him.

E A v duple zhil filin; mal’chik ispu galsja ot neozhidannosti i upd s vetki. But in the hole lived an owl; the boy was frightened by the surprise and fell from the branch.

F Iz dupla vyletaet sova. From the hollow of the tree an owl flies out.

G No razbudil spjashchuju sovu. But he woke a sleeping owl.

H No sova tozhe ne xotela chtoby kto-to smotre l v ejo gnezdo. But the owl didn’t want anyone looking in its nest either.

I Vdrug on uvidel sovu, sidjashchuju na dereve i ispu galsja; svalilsja vniz. Suddenly he saw an owl sitting in the tree and got frightened; he fell down below.

J Iz etogo dupla vdrug vyletela sova. Suddenly from that tree hollow out flew an owl.

K Posmotrel v duplo i tam byla sova. He looked in the hollow of the tree and there was an owl.

L Iz dupla vyletel filin. From the tree hollow an owl flew out.

Event 6: The boy climbs up on a rock (§5.6.5)

A Kogda on uvidel etot kamen’ on reshil zalezt’ na nego i pokrichat’ ottuda. When he saw that rock he decided to climb onto it and shout from there.

B Zatem on zalez na kamen’. Then he climbed onto the rock.

C Zatem mal’chik vlez na kakoj-to kamen’ i krichit. Then the boy climbed onto some kind of rock and he shouts.

D On zabratsja na bol’shoi kamen’. He climbed onto a big rock.

E Oni obla zili vse kusty, kamni. They climbed all over all the shrubs and rocks.

F Zaberaetsja na bol’shoj kamen’. He climbed onto a big rock.

G V eto vremja oni uvideli vozvyshannost’ obkatannuju snegom; Tom zabratsja.
A that time they caught sight of some place high covered with snow; Tom climbed up.

I V četo vremja on zamechaet kakiju-to gorku; vzbiraetsja na nejo. At that time he notices some kind of hillock; he climbs up on it.

J On nachal prjatat’ja ot sovy za kamen’; i tam kak budto-by stojali derev’ja i on zalez tuda. He began to hide himself from the owl behind a rock; and there stood some kind of tree, and he climbed up there.

K I zalez, dumal chto vetki i zacepilsja; na ètoj kartinke mal’chik zalez na bol’shoj kamen’. And he climbed up, he thought these were branches and caught hold of them; in this picture the boy climbed up on a big rock.

Event 7: The deer runs off with the boy (§5.6.7)

A A olen’ podxvatil mal’chika rogami i vmeste s sobachjonkom pobezhali so skaly. And the deer grabbed the boy with its horns and together with the tiny little dog it ran from the cliff.

B Iz-za kamnja olen’ vyskochil i posadil mal’chika na roga, i ponjoš k obryvu. The deer jumped out from behind the rock and seated the boy on its horns, and carried him to the precipice.

C Pojavilsja kakoj-to olen’, kotoryj vzjal na roga mal’chika, i pones kuda-to vpered; sobaka bezhit rjadom. Some kind of deer appeared, which took the boy on its horns, and carried him somewhere up ahead; the dog is running alongside.

D … kotoroe podnjalo ego- na svoju golovu i poneslos’ i poneslos’ vmeste s nim na kraj propasti. … which lifted him on its head and rushed off and rushed off together with him to the edge of the chasm.

E Olen’ ispugalsja, i pones mal’chika vpered, no ego vernyj drug ne ostavljal ego v bede; olen’ tam bezhal, bezhal, no vdrug rezzo ostanovilsja, potomu-chto vperedi byla opasnost’. The deer got frightened, and carried the boy forward, but his faithful friend didn’t leave him in his trouble; the deer ran and ran, but suddenly stopped sharply, because there was danger ahead of him.

F Olen’, s mal’chikom na golove bezhit k obryvu i sobaka bezhit s nimi rjadom. The deer, with the boy on his head, runs to the precipice and the dog runs along beside them.

G Olen’ pomchalsja v skach’. The deer began to rush off at a bound.

H Olen’ pobezhali. The deer began to run.

I Mal’chik vzobral’sja na olenja, derzhas’ za ego roga; ubegaet ot sovy vmeste s olenem. The boy clambered up on the deer, and holding it by the horns; he runs away from the owl together with the deer.

J Podnjal ego, i uzhe xotel sbrosit’; i ètot olen’ ponjos ego.
It lifted him, and already wanted to throw him off; and this deer carried him.

The deer rose and began to run, and the dog also started after him.

In this picture I see that a deer took him down from the big rock; and this deer – and this deer began to drag him to the precipice.

Event: The deer causes the boy to fly over the cliff (§5.6.8)

A I kogda olen’ pobezhal k skale mal’chik s sobachjonkom upali so skaly v boloto. And when the deer began to run towards the cliff, the boy and the tiny little dog fell from the cliff into the marsh.

B Zatem on skinul mal’chika, sobaka rjadom bezhala; oni buxnuli’ v vodu. Then he threw down the boy; the dog ran alongside him; they fell with a thud into the water.

C U samogo obryva olen’ sbrosil mal’chika i sobachku; oni xljupnulis’ v vodu. At the very precipice the deer threw down the boy and the little dog; they fell into the water.

D Kogda olen’ zabrałsja na kraj obryva, on skinul mal’chika. When the deer got to the edge of the precipice, he threw down the boy.

E Ot ostanovki mal’chik i ego drug pijosik upali v boloto. From the [deer’s] stopping, the boy and his friend, the doggie, fell into the marsh.

F Olen’ sbrasyvaet mal’chika i sobaka v vodu; mal’chik i sobaka pljuxajutsja v vodu. The deer throws the boy and the dog into the water; the boy and the dog plopped into the water.

G Podskochil k kraju obryva, uvidel chto èto kraj i sbrosil tuda ix. [The deer] came bounding up to the precipice, saw that this was the edge, and threw them in.

H I sbrosil mal’chika v ozero; net, skoree èto bylo ne ozero a boloto. And it threw the boy into the lake; no, it was more like a marsh than a lake.

I V èto vremja olen’ sbrasyvaet mal’chika s sebja i mal’chik vmeste s sobakoj letjat v propast’ … Da, vsjo-taki mal’chik upal vmešte s sobakoj v boloto . At this time the deer throws the boy off and the boy and the dog fly into the chasm… Yes, all the same the boy and the dog fell into the marsh.

J On pobezhal i sbrosil ego v boloto, vmeste s sobachkoj. It began to run and threw him into the marsh, together with the little dog.

K Olen’ sbrosił w prud. The deer threw [him] into a pond.

L Olen’ sbrosil mal’chika v obryv vmeste s sobakoj. The deer threw the boy into the precipice together with the dog.

Event: The boy and the dog get to a log (§5.6.8)
A Oni vylezli na ètot ostravok.
*They climbed out onto this little island.*

B Oni vylezli iz vody … Zatem oni perelezli cherez derevo.
*They climbed out of the water... Then they climbed over a tree [log].*

C Oni priplyli k kakomu-to ostrovu na kotorom bylo truxloe derevo.
*They swam up to some kind of island on which there was a rotten tree.*

D Oni perebralis' cherez kusok povalennogo dereva.
*They climbed over a piece of a rotten tree.*

F Pereberajutsja cherez derevo.
*They climb over a tree.*

G Oni tixonechko podplyli k ètomu derevu; Bill uzhe ne bojalsja plavat’.
*They quietly swam up to this tree; Bill was no longer afraid to swim.*

H Oni vybralis' na suxoe mesto k derevu.
*They climbed out onto a dry place toward the tree.*

I Vzobravshis' na kakoe-to derevo v bolote, malchik zhdjot chtoby k nimu podplylal sobaka.
*Clambering up onto some kind of tree in the marsh, the boy waits for his dog to swim up to him.*

J Kogda oni doshli do odnogo dupla mal’chik skazal sobachke byt’ potj she; oni vlezli na duplo.
*When they came to a hollow in a tree trunk, the boy told the little dog to be quiet; they climbed into the hollow.*

L Oni vyshli na bereg.
*They got out onto the shore.*

**Event:** The boy, dog, and new baby frog go home (§5.6.8)

A I togda oni sprosili mamu i papu ljagushat chto-b y oni otpustili s nimi ixnego ljagushenka poguljat’.
*And they asked the mother and father frog if they would let their little frog take a walk with them.*

B Pomaxali rukoj semejstvu.
*They waved to the family.*

C I vzjal ejo, poprashchalsja s semeistvom dovol’nyj.
*And he took it [the frog], and said goodbye to the family, satisfied.*

E Mal’chik ot radosti sxvatil ljagushonka, i poshli medlenno, veselo domoj.
*The boy, from happiness, grabbed the little frog, and set off slowly, happily home.*

F Mal’chik nashel svoju ljagushku i vpointe s sobako j prjamo v reke, otrpravlajutsja k sebe domoj.
*The boy found his frog and together with the dog directly in the river [sic], they set off to their home.*
Tom skazal spasibo vsem ego druz’jam, kotorye provozhali ego sidja na brevne, i druz’ja, ustavshie na radost’jax, otkravelis’ v obratnyj put’.

Tom said thank you to all his friends, who were seeing him off seated on a log, and the friends, filled with joy, set off on the return trip.

H Oni uxoili ochen’ schastlivye, oni zabraли svoju podrzhku.

They left very satisfied, and they took their little friend.

I Mal’chik ochen’ dovolen, sobaka s nim; ljagushka so vsem potomstvom idut za nim sledom’.

The boy is very satisfied, and the dog too; the frog and all of his descendants walk after them.

J Vzjal odnu ljagushku, skazal do svidan’ja vsem ostal’nym i ushel.

He took one frog, said goodbye to all the remaining ones, and left.

K A potom on vzjal ljagushku odnu i poprashchalsja.

And then he took one frog and took his leave.

L Oni podrzhilis’ i mal’chik vzjal odnogo ljagushonka.

They made friends and the boy took one little frog.