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## The Prehistory and Areal Distribution of Slavic \**gьlčěti* ‘Speak’

Razprava podrobno obravnava zemljepisno razvrstitev in pomenski razvoj leksema \**gьlčěti* v južnoslovanskih narečjih, tj. na področjih z migracijsko poselitvijo. Zastavlja tudi vprašanje o prvotni povezavi med jezikovnimi skupnostmi, v katerih se je leksem razvil v glavni izraz za pojem ‘govoriti’, in sicer v južnoslovanskem pa tudi v širšem slovanskem kontekstu. Posebna pozornost se posveča bolgarščini in vzhodni slovenščini, ki izpričujeta ta razvoj.

The paper examines in some detail the diatopic distribution and semantic development of \**gьlčěti* in South Slavic, i.e., the Slavic dialect areas settled by migration, and raises the question of the nature of the relationship among those dialects that have developed \**gьlčěti* as the primary neutral verb meaning ‘speak’ both in its South Slavic and broader Slavic contexts. Special attention is given to Bulgarian and Eastern Slovene dialects, which share this development.

### 0. Introduction

The student of the Slavic languages whose purview extends only to the standard languages and canonical Old Church Slavic might suspect that a small number of lexemes expresses the notion ‘speak’. S/he might presume that the putatively original Proto-Slavic word, attested by OCS *glagolati*, was, at an early stage following the beginning of literacy, replaced<sup>1</sup> by a relatively small number of lexemes, e.g., BCS *govoriti*, Be *гаварыць*, Bg *говоря*, Ru *говорить*, Sk *hovorit*, Sn *govoriti*; Cz *mluvit*, Po *mówić*, Uk *мовити*; Ma *зборува*; LS *rjac*, US *řečeć*. This ostensible simplicity disappears when one confronts the dialect variation, which reveals a highly variegated and dynamic picture. To give just a thumbnail sketch, in his survey of the Indo-European lexemes expressing this meaning, Buck (1915a, 1915b) noted 75 developments, of which 22 are found in Slavic languages, and the list of which could be extended further.

Among those lexemes for ‘speak’ that occur only in the dialects is PS \**gьlčěti*, a verb whose meaning was originally ‘make sound/noise’, as is evidenced by older attestations, e.g., OCS *gьlkъ*, *-a* ‘hluk, шум, Lärm, tumultus’ (*SJS* 1/8: 405); OCz *hlučěti*, *-u*, *-iš* ‘hlučeti, křičeti, schallen, lärm, schreien, rufen’, *hluk*, *-a* ‘hřmot, křik, prudkost, nepokoj, Lärm, Geschrei, Unruhe, Ungestüm’ (Gebauer 1970: 431, 432); ORu *гьлчати*,

<sup>1</sup> It has not, however, completely disappeared. It is attested in Čakavian dialects, e.g., on Dugi otok: *glagolāti* ‘razgovarati’ (Sali, Piasevoli 1993: s.v.); and on Vis: *glagoljāt* ‘govoriti narodnim jezikom (spram talijanskom u svakodnevnom i spram latinskom u crkvenom govoru)’ (Roki 1997: 122–123). These usages may exemplify reintroductions from Church language into everyday speech.

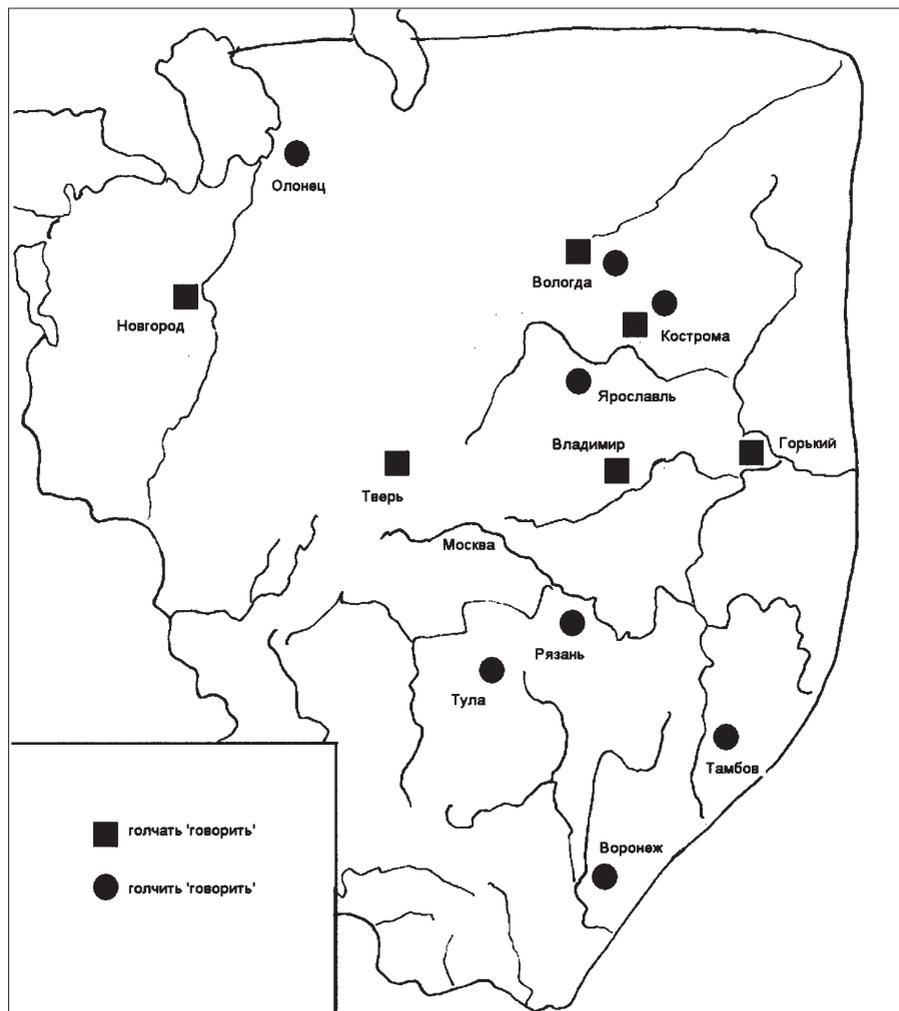
гълчу ‘кричать’, гълчание ‘шумъ, крикъ’, гълка ‘шумъ, мятежъ’ (Срезневский 1893: 611). The verb shifted to the meaning ‘speak’ in a subset of Slavic dialects, currently attested in three disparate regions of Slavic—northern and central Russian dialects and, in the South Slavic area, Bulgarian and Slovene dialects, a semantic shift that is paralleled in a number of cases both at the Indo-European and Slavic levels. The lexeme is lacking altogether in the BCS standard languages, notwithstanding similar-sounding verbs *gúčati*, *-čīm* ‘say the sound “gu”, babble’, *gúkati*, *gúče<sup>2</sup>* ‘coo’ (< \**gouk-*, cf. Ru dial. *гучать*, Sk *hučat*; Ru *гукать*, Sk *húkat*), and all but marginally in the dialects associated with them. With regard to Russian dialects, the verb *голчатъ* means ‘говорить’ in northern Russian dialects north of Moscow from Novgorod to Kostroma to Vladimir; *голчитъ* has the same meaning in a wider band running from north to south in a crescent-shaped area around Moscow from Vologda to Voronezh; in virtually all of these areas both forms also mean ‘кричать’ (ЭССЯ 7: 190; Даль I: 366; see Map 1).

Material for the words that are of interest to us here have not been collected systematically for the *Slovenski lingvistični atlas* (Vera Smole, p.c.), currently in preparation. This is not surprising, given that *govoriti* is generalized for most of the Slovene territory and the areal of \**gьlčēti* has long been known to be associated (exclusively?) with the Pannonian Slovene dialect.

Perhaps for the reason just mentioned there is no discussion of the lexeme in isolexical studies that include the Slovene territory prominently (e.g., Neweklowsky 1987, Куркина 1992). The word is mentioned in passing in Tolstoj’s lexical analysis of the South Slavic area in support of a view that South Slavic may be divided into peripheral and central zones, with Slovene and Bulgarian lying towards the peripheries, contrasting with the Western vs. Eastern division going back to Kopitar and Miklosich. A partial listing of Tolstoj’s lexical items is given in Table 1, where PS forms are given in place of the author’s modern forms (1974 [1997]: 234–235). The central vs. peripheral division of South Slavic goes back to the work of ethnographers (Gavazzi 1936, Bratanić 1951) studying types of plows and their nomenclature among the South Slavs (a thorough discussion of the topic, with references, is found in Šivic-Dular 1987). We agree with Bezlaj’s view that “[r]aba pluga in rala je bila odvisna od mnogih faktorjev in zelo dvomljivo je, da bi bilo današnje stanje v celoti podedovano” (Bezlaj 1955: 1). Bezlaj’s take on the matter is sensible in light of the fact that the innovations in technology and their reflection in the lexicon constitute a problem to be considered at the Indo-European and not the Proto-Slavic level (see Puhvel 1964). Nor do we endorse a view of prehistory that views material culture, language and ethnicity as isomorphic. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the lexeme under study in this paper fits into a pattern of correspondences linking all or part of Slovene with all or part of Bulgarian/Macedonian.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, even a casual

<sup>2</sup> These have become (nearly) homophonous in most BCS dialects because of the merger of PS \**u* and \**l*.

<sup>3</sup> Note also Bezlaj’s pertinent remarks on Slovene-Bulgarian isolexical correspondences and the better reliability of lexical than phonological evidence for discerning the heterogeneity of South Slavic settlement (Bezlaj 1955: 2; 1967, in particular p. 10).

**Map 1. *Голчатъ/голчить* 'говорить' in Russian (by oblast')**

glance at the equivalences in Table 1 demonstrate that there are no clear-cut lexical boundaries that would separate a central from peripheral zones. Rather, the correspondences are of a statistical and relative nature.

The present paper examines the areal distribution of the innovation in South Slavic in some detail and attempts to give a plausible theory of the development of the lexeme within Slavic with the hope that the discussion will contribute to a more detailed understanding of the dialect differentiation of the Slavic speech territory.

Table 1

Central	Peripheral	meaning
* <i>kys'a</i>	* <i>dъzd'ь</i>	'rain'
* <i>pravъ</i>	* <i>desnъ</i>	'right, dexter'
* <i>znojъ</i>	* <i>potъ</i>	'sweat'
* <i>čadъ</i> ~ * <i>čad'ь</i>	* <i>sad'a</i>	'soot'
* <i>vatra</i>	* <i>ogn'ь</i>	'fire'
* <i>lubenica</i>	* <i>dyn'a</i>	'melon'
* <i>ručati</i>	* <i>obědati</i>	'eat the main meal'
* <i>gurati</i>	* <i>рѣхати</i>	'push'
* <i>govoriti</i>	* <i>гълчѣти</i>	'speak'

The root \**gъlk-* evidently may be grouped with other Slavic verbal bases which are, according to Vaillant 'd'origine expressive' (1966: 395–396), and end in *k ~ č*, a subset of which have meanings relating to sound phenomena and are imitative of them, e.g., PS \**bręčęti* (IP), \**bręknę/yti* (P) 'make sound, strum' (OCS *bręčati*, Ru *брячатъ/бренчатъ, брякнуть/бренкнуть*); PS \**kričęti* (IP), \**kriknę/yti* (P) 'scream' (Ru *кричатъ, крикнуть*; Sn *kričati, krikniti*); PS \**kvičęti* (IP), \**kviknę/yti* (P) 'make shrill sounds' (Po *kwiczeć, kwiknąć*; Sn *cvičati, cvikniti*); PS \**vъrčęti* (IP), \**vъrknę/yti* (P) 'growl' (Po *warczeć, warknąć*; Sn *vřčati*). Some of these words were formed at least as early as the Balto-Slavic stage, e.g., Li *brinketeręti* 'clink, jangle' (with "momentive" suffix, see Stang 1942: 168), *krъk(š)ti* 'scream', *kvъkti* 'squeal', *veřkti* 'cry' (Vaillant: *loc. cit.*), formed with the extension *-k-*, e.g., \**bręk-* is related to a simplex form attested in Sn *brnęti* 'buzz', Po *brzmieć*, Bg *бръмча*, related to Ve *bhramarā-* 'bee', La *fremere* 'make noise, buzz' (< PIE \**b<sup>h</sup>(e)rem-*) (see Snoj 2003 s.v. *brnęti*). Likewise, PS \**gъlk-* may be analyzed as \**гъл-k-*, whereby the first element goes back to a PIE onomatopoeic root, either \**gal-* (Pokorny 1959: 350) or \**g<sup>h</sup>el-* (428). The latter appears to be the better fit insofar as apophonic variants are attested, cf. OHG *gellan* 'scream', *nahti-gala* 'nightingale', En *yell, nightingale*, and the Baltic and Slavic correspondences both point to reduced grade, BS \**GLK-* > La *gulkstēt* 'yell', Bg *гълча*.

Whatever the PIE provenience, of particular interest to the internal history of Slavic is the semantic shift of \**gъlk-* from 'yell, make noise' to 'speak'. The semantic development from 'make (a) noise' to 'speak' is a common one, for which Buck lists some twenty-two cases attested in Indo-European languages alone, e.g., PIE \*(*s*)*preg-* 'crackle' > Li *spragęti* 'crackle', Sn *prážiti* 'fry' vs. OHG *sprahhan*, OEn *sp(r)ecan*, Al *shpreh* 'I express' (Buck 1915a: 9); PIE \**g<sup>h</sup>e<sup>u</sup>-* 'make noise' > Gk *βοή* 'a shout', Ve *jóguve* 'shout', Li *gaūsti* 'make noise', OCS *говоръ* 'tumult' vs. Ru *говор* 'speech' (*ibid.*: 10; ЭССЯ 7: 75–76). The evidently universal nature of the development makes it difficult to decide whether the developments in the three distinct areas of Slavic go back to a single innovation or evidence parallel innovations. The matter must be decided on circumstantial evidence and the solution can only be of a probabilistic nature.

The semantic shift can be more easily understood when the formally parallel, but semantically antonymical roots BS \*MLK- (< PIE \*m(e)lh<sub>2</sub>k-) and \*GLK- (< \*g<sup>(h)e)lk-) are contrasted, cf. StSn *molčati*, *molči* ‘ne govoriti’ (SSKJ); Ru *молчать*, *молчит*; Bg *мълча* < \*mьlčēti, \*mьlči-.</sup>

**Table 2**

context	meaning	progress of semantic shifts
	*MLK-	*GLK-
1. sound/perception	silence	noise
2. human activity	being quiet	making noise
3. modal	keeping one’s mouth shut	gossiping
4. speech	remaining silent	speaking

### 1. Western South Slavic<sup>4</sup>

The Western South Slavic standard languages (Slovene, Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian) operate with a highly similar repertoire of verba dicendi, the neutral imperfective verb expressing the notion ‘speak, be able to speak’ usually being Sn *govoriti*, BCS *govoriti*, while *zboriti* is favored in Montenegrin. Transactional imperfectives are derived from the same base, Sn *pogovárjati se*, *pogovárjam se* ‘converse’; BCS *razgovárati*, *razgovárām* ‘idem’. Other verba dicendi, mostly perfective, come from a number of sources, Sn *povědati*, *pověm* ‘say, tell’; Sn *řéci*, *řěčem*; BCS *řěci*, *řěčem* ‘say’; Sn *práviti*, *právim* ‘say, tell’ (perfective and imperfective); BCS *kázati*, *kāžēm* ‘say’; Sn *velěti*, *velím* ‘order, say’; BCS *velím* (imperfective, no infinitive). Some combination of these verbs occurs throughout the area and they are widely represented in the dialects. Of these, *praviti* and (*veleti*), *velim* are the only ones not to be inherited as verba dicendi from Proto-Slavic. Apparently isolated is the verb *sloviti*, *slōvin* ‘speak’, marked as “archaic” for the locality of Bejska Tramuntana on Cres (Velčić 2003: 395).<sup>5</sup> Not without historical significance is the attestation of \**glagolati* ‘dicere’ in the Freising Folia: <glagolite> imper. 2<sup>nd</sup>, <poglagolani> ‘malediction’, both in the first of the three texts (BS: s.vv.).

<sup>4</sup> The western South Slavic material was assembled by MLG, the eastern South Slavic material by JS. The general parts were written collaboratively. MLG wishes to thank Grant Lundberg (Brigham Young University), Bernard Rajh (University of Maribor), Vera Smole (ZRC SAZU), and Marko Snoj (ZRC SAZU) for their assistance in preparing the data, the first three for providing data for particular dialect points, the fourth for arranging for speedy delivery of newly published materials pertaining to the Prekmurje dialect as well as, as always, providing a helpful discussion of etymological problems.

<sup>5</sup> This verbum dicendi is noteworthy in that it gives credence to explanations of the ethnonym \**slov’an-* as ‘speaker, Slav’ (in contrast to \**nēm-* ‘mute, German’). If this is so, it indicates a highly archaic usage for Bejska Tramuntana.

## 1.2 Slovene

As in BCS, *govoriti* is the most widespread neutral term for ‘speak’. Among the earliest attestations, confirming central Slovene usage, we find in the Kranj Manuscript (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.) a passage that fortuitously attests a range of verba dicendi: <...Khar khulj Vřwety wode naprey Vřetu. olli gouoryenu. khar edi Vřackhaterj refřche, olli gourj. tiga Nicomer pouedati...> (Mikhailov 1998: 183). De Sommaripa (1609 [1979]) lists s.v. *parlare* <gouorit, řraiat> (the second term from Ge *schreien* ‘scream’).<sup>6</sup> The Slovene reflex of \**gьlčęti* is attested first in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in texts originating in Prekmurje <od nyega ne gucsali> (1715) ‘they did not speak of him’, <řtero bom miszlo, gucsao> (1754) ‘what(ever) I think I shall say’, <gucste iřztino> ‘speak the truth’ (1754), <szo vszi z-edne fęle jezikom gucsali> (1833) ‘all spoke as with a single tongue’ (Novak 2006, all s.v. *gúčati*). The dialect word also appears normalized (based on etymological considerations such as \**ř* > *ol*) in the modern standard language as a reflection of dialect usage, e.g., in the prose of the Prekmurje writer Miřko Kranjec: “*V mlin pa nikdar?*” *ji je uřlo, čeprav se ni kanila pogolčavati z mlinarjem, z ‘očom’, ‘očimom’, ali kar ji je že bil* “‘And never into the mill?’ she blurted out, although she hadn’t intended to converse with the miller, with “Dad”, “Stepdad”, or whatever he was supposed to have been to her’ (Kranjec 1977).

The core area of the continuation of \**gьlčęti* in the meaning ‘speak’ is well known in Slovene dialectology to be within the Pannonian group, which includes Prekmurje, Slovenske gorice, Prlekija and Haloze. In particular, the usage has been known from the Prekmurje literary tradition, dating to the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, which can now be mined efficiently with the publication of Novak 2006. In this dialect not only is the verb *gučati* the prototypical term for the meaning ‘speak’, but it serves also as the basis for numerous derivatives, e.g., *nagúčati* ‘pregovoriti’, *pogúčati se* ‘pogovoriti se, dogovoriti se’, *vò zgúčati se* ‘izgovoriti se’; the verb *govoriti* is known in literary Prekmurje usage (Novak 2006: s.vv.). The Prekmurje dialect, including the Porabje region in Hungary, is fairly unified internally, with some minor phonological isoglosses dividing the area into three subdialects (Greenberg 1993) and a fairly distinct boundary running along the Mura between Prekmurje to the north and Prlekija and Medimurje to the south (Greenberg 2005). In the 1980s, when Greenberg was conducting fieldwork in Prekmurje and Porabje, a dialect speaker from Cankova explained to him that a salient characteristic of the region is that *Prekmurci gučimo, oni tam prek pa govoriyo ali se spominjajo*, a proposition that cannot be adequately translated into English. The utterance employs three different regional synonyms meaning ‘to speak’—*gučati* (standardized Sn *golčati*), *govoriti* and *spominjati se*, the latter two being used as neutral verbs for this activity (or ‘converse’) in localities in the Croatian Kajkavian and Slovene speech areas neighboring Prekmurje. The first is used as the neutral term for ‘speak’ in Prekmurje, e.g., *Doma smo slovenski gučali* ‘at home we spoke Slovene’ (Felsószölnök/Gornji Senik) (Kozar-Mukič 1988:

<sup>6</sup> If the term *řrajati* meant ‘govoriti’ for de Sommaripa, his younger neighbor Janez Svetokriřki (1647–1714) understood the word closer to its German meaning: <na vus glafř sazhne šrajat>, <Nikar nemolzhite, ampak govorite, inu na vus glafř šrajaite> (Snoj 2006: 426).

90). When used in a locally native context, the verb *gučati* serves also as a marker of in-group identity in addition to denoting the activity of speaking itself, insofar as the dialect is used alongside Standard Slovene (except in Hungary) by virtually all speakers. When used by outsiders as a borrowed term, the verb carries a different and richer meaning, ‘to speak as they do in Prekmurje’.

Outside of the Pannonian dialects we find scant and sporadic evidence for this verb, in fact, only one piece of it for the NW Sn dialect of Bovec: *gučáti, gučím* ‘brneti, neprekinjeno bučati’ and ‘govoriti, govoričiti, dajati nauke’ (Ivančič Kutin: s.v.),<sup>7</sup> meanings which closely parallel those found in Čakavian (see below). A spurious connection to the verb is found in Šašel’s lexicon for the Rož dialect (Carinthia), which has an inexact formal correspondence: *hóvšat, hovším* ‘šumeti’, *puđ Húmpřšćim mústam pa Drava hovší* ‘and the Drava rustles under the Humberk (Höhlenburg) Bridge’ (Hafner and Prunč IV: 59).<sup>8</sup> This verb is probably not from *\*gblčěti*, but *\*glušěti* ‘be/go deaf’ after vowel reduction (*houš-* < *\*həuš-* < *\*həʎš-* < *\*hʎš-*).<sup>9</sup>

Below are further details on the data in the Slovene Pannonian dialects.

### 1.2.1 *\*gblčěti*

Pleteršnik notes *gólčati, -ím* vb. impf. with the meanings ‘sprechen, reden’, which are both taken from earlier dictionaries dating to the 1860s (Cigale, Janežič) and Caf’s material, the latter of which is marked for eastern Styria and Prekmurje (*vzhŠt.* and *ogr.-C.*, respectively) (1894: 227). The material adduced from Josip Jurčič’s texts, representing Lower Carniolan usage, includes the closely related meaning ‘schwätzen’ with the example *tiho bodi! kaj pa golčiš!* ‘shut up! what are you prattling about!’<sup>10</sup> Other meanings are associated with making sound or noise, either produced by animals or in the atmosphere, *slavec golči* ‘die Nachtigall schlägt’ (Caf), *grlica golči* ‘die Taube girt’ (marked for Bela krajina), ‘dröhnen, tönen’ (Kojško, Štreklej),<sup>11</sup> and ‘tosen (o gromu)’ (Caf for Resia).

Prekmurje. The dialect is divided into three subdialects, Goričko (including Porabje) in the N, Ravensko in the SW, and Dolinsko in the SE, characterized by phonological isoglosses (for details see Greenberg 1993). The following forms may be adduced: Goričko: *gučajmo* (Martinje, Greenberg 1990: 62); Ravensko: *gúčati, zgučavati si, vòsà zgúčati; pregolči* ‘elszólja magát, megszakitja a csendet’ (Cankova, Pável 1909: 29), *gučijó, za'gučalí, nej' gučítí!* (Cankova, Greenberg field notes);

<sup>7</sup> MLG is grateful to Vera Smole for this datum from Ivančič Kutin’s dictionary, which is still in preparation.

<sup>8</sup> With gratitude to Vera Smole for this datum and to Tom Priestly for the identification of the bridge. Priestly (p.c.) notes that *č > š* would be a sporadic, if not isolated change in Rož dialect.

<sup>9</sup> MLG is grateful to Marko Snoj for this suggestion (p.c.).

<sup>10</sup> There are no specifically Lower Carniolan dialect glossaries to check. A query was put to dialectologist Vera Smole, a native speaker of eastern Lower Carniolan, who affirms that the word is unknown in her dialect.

<sup>11</sup> Štreklej adduces the forms *řowčat, řowčím* ‘dröhnen, tönen’ alongside morphologically parallel *mówčat* ‘schweigen’ (1887: 478). This dialect does not distinguish word-level contrastive pitch.

Dolinsko: *gučati*, *-in* ‘govoriti’; *nazáj gučati* ‘ugovarjati’; *gučau je* (Beltinci, Novak 1996: 49); *pogučávati si*, *-vlen si* ‘pogovarjati se, meniti se’, *pogúčati se*, *-in se* ‘dogovoriti se, zmeniti se’ (Novak 1996: 101); *pregúčati* ‘pregovoriti (koga)’, *kòmaj smo ga pregúčali* (Novak 1996: 111); *zgučávati si*, *-an si* ‘pogovarjati se’; *zagúčati se*, *-in se* ‘zagovoriti se’; *zgučati si*, *-in si* ‘dogovoriti se, reči (sam zase)’ (Novak 1996: 178); *goučati*, *po'goučo*, *goučalo se* (Bistrica, Greenberg field notes); *gučo*, *gučala* (Bükovje, Greenberg field notes). Pavel’s proposed Prekmurje standard: <gúcsati> ‘beszélni’ (Pável 1942: 100).<sup>12</sup>

Slovenske gorice. *gu'či:* (Črešnjevci, Koletnik 2001: 64, 83),<sup>13</sup> *zgu'či:mo* (Sveta Trojica, Koletnik 2001: 78), *gu'či:mo* (Benedikt, Koletnik 2001: 78; Negova, Koletnik 2001: 81), *gu'či:n* (Radenci, Koletnik 2001: 85), *gu'čā* Msg l-pcp (Spodnji Ivanjci, Koletnik 2001: 90), *guča* Msg l-pcp (Radenci, Koletnik 2001: 90), *unj si z no'benin hečejo gučati* (Koletnik 2001: 205), *tixo gu'čj* 2sg-imper (Koletnik 2001: 207).

Prlekija. *gu'čati*, *gu'či:n*, *gu'čā je* ‘he spoke’ (Cerkvenjak, Rajh 2002: 17 and p.c.), *gučati* ‘govoriti’ (Gomile pri Kogu, Zorko 1998: 72), *gučati*, *gu'či:n* (Radomerščak, Zorko: 1992: 473). Rajh (p.c.) confirms that this is the only neutral term for ‘speak’ in Slovenske gorice and most of Prlekija, for which he notes in particular Sv. Ana (Slovenske gorice), Trnovska vas, the environs of Ljutomer, and Markovci near Ptuj. In addition, speakers in the area around Ormož (Litmerk, Ivanjkovci) employ the verb *spominati se* in the sense of a transactional verbum dicendi ‘pogovarjati se (o čem)’. Derivatives: *z'gu'čati si* ‘agree’, *doj z'gu'čati* ‘dissuade’, *coj gu'čati* ‘persuade’; *gučliv* ‘talkative’; *z'gu'čano* ‘agreed’ (Cerkvenjak, Rajh, p.c.). Središče in the SE of Prlekija has *govoriti* as of the late 19th-early 20th centuries according to Ozvald’s materials and lacks *gučati* even today (Greenberg 1992: 142).<sup>14</sup>

Haloze. Central and eastern Haloze attest *gučati* (Belavšek, Lundberg, p.c.), *gučati*, *gu'či:n*, *gu'chi:mo* ‘to talk, I talk, we talk’ (Gorenjski vrh, Lundberg 1999: 100 and p.c.), but the western zone of Haloze has *govo'ri:* (Žetale, Lundberg, p.c.). To the east, immediately across the Croatian border the meaning ‘speak’ is rendered by *gevue'riti*, *ge'vu:eril* ‘speak, he spoke’ and a reflex of *\*gvlčēti* is evidently unknown (Brežani, Lundberg, p.c. and 2005). This is in accord with what can be surmised from

<sup>12</sup> Pável’s unpublished standard, prepared in 1942, reflects something of an average of Prekmurje varieties without distinctly local characteristics (e.g., it lacks the change of *jV > d'V* (*jžzik > d'žzik* ‘tongue’). Following Hungarian orthographic practice, long monophthongs are marked by the acute accent sign (*gúcsati*), which in the case of Prekmurje Slovene always coincides with the place of stress. Unstressed and stressed short monophthongs are left unmarked. In his dialect descriptions, Pável marks short stressed vowels with the grave accent mark, a practice followed also by Novak. The practices used in these original publications are carried over in the present paper.

<sup>13</sup> Both *guč* and *gučati*, evidently from Peter Dajnko’s (1787–1873) native dialect of Črešnjevci, entered the regional standard that he had invented, viz. (using Dajnko’s alphabet) <guu> ‘govor’, <guuati> ‘govoriti’, <gúu> ‘govori!’ (Rajh 1998: 165, 195).

<sup>14</sup> Moreover, Lundberg has recently confirmed in the field that *gučati* is not used in Središče today (p.c.).

Jedvaj's description for the Kajkavian dialect of Bednja, which similarly lacks a reflex of *\*gьlčēti* and instead has *\*govoriti* (Jedvaj 1956).

### 1.2.1.1 *\*gьlkъ*

The Slovene continuation of PS *\*gьlkъ* is attested in Pleteršnik *gôlk* 'das Tosen des Donners' (1894: 228) and is marked as originating only in the Resian dialect (NW), but it is evidently unattested in Steenwijk's modern material for Resia (Steenwijk 2001: 112). The meaning 'speaking, talking' is given in *SSKJ* for *gôlk* and marked as archaic in contemporary Slovene, though the term is limited to phrases contrasting with *môlk* 'silence' (e.g., *golk je srebro, molk je zlato* 'talk is silver, silence is golden'). No Slovene dialect data indicating the existence of *golk* outside of these sources has been found.

### 1.2.1.2 *\*gьlčъ*

Pleteršnik lists *gôlč*, *gólča* 'das Reden, die Rede' and *gólčati*, *im* (impf.) 'sprechen, reden' (*Cig., Jan, vzhŠt., ogr.-C.*) (1894: 227). Prekmurje: *gùč*, (Cankova, Pável 1909: 29); *gùč*, *-a* 'govor, govorjenje', *nèga gùča* 'no way' (Beltinci, Novak 1996: 49). Prlekija: *guč*, *-a*, loc. sg. *pr' gučī* 'speech'. Collocations indicate the range of uses of the term, from ability to speak to concrete instantiations of speech: *po guči spoznati* 'recognize someone by his/her voice', *guč je bija o ...* 'it was a matter of ...', *meti lepi guč* 'give a fine public speech', *dosta je guča* 'that's enough of that talk', *kaki guč je to* 'what sort of drivel (is that?)', *iti na guče* 'go for some conversation, gossip' (Cerkvenjak, Rajh, p.c.).

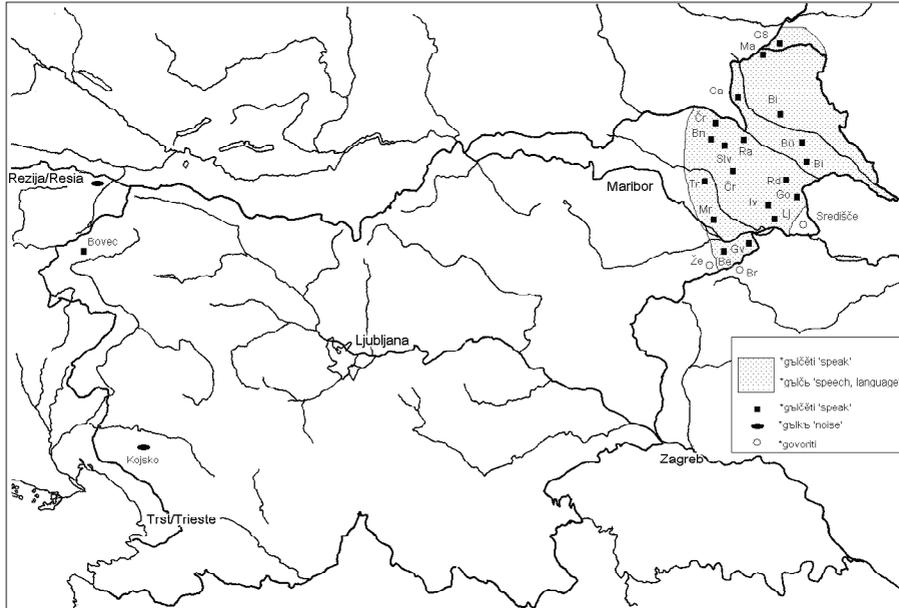
The short-stressed form in Prekmurje *gùč*, from which the standard form listed in Pleteršnik (*gôlč*, *gólča*) was constructed, is unlikely to have been inherited from Proto-Slavic, as there is no comparative evidence pointing to a laryngeal in the root nor, for that matter, any potential comparanda outside of a few parallels in Bulgarian (see below). Moreover, the related verb is mobile stressed. We can conclude, then, that *gùč* is a back formation. The short stress was assigned by default as the unmarked stress for monosyllabic nouns in the Prekmurje dialect, cf. *còl*, *-a* 'an archaic measurement = 2.5 cm' (< Ge *Zoll*, StSn *côla*), *cùg*, *-a* 'train' (< Ge *Zug*), *vrč*, *-a* 'jug' (StSn *vřč*).

Given the proximity of the lexeme's areal to Hungarian and the high number of words borrowed from Slavic dialects into it, we also consulted Kniezsa 1974. The word is not listed there.<sup>15</sup>

## 1.3 Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian

The reflexes of *\*gьlkъ*, (*\*gьlčъ*), *\*gьlčēti* are conspicuously absent from BCS sources, e.g., no mention of them is found in the historically oriented *Akademijin rječnik*, Skok's and Gluhak's etymological dictionaries, no evidence of them in a several dozen dialect grammar dictionaries and descriptions consulted, nor are BCS

<sup>15</sup> However, famously, the borrowings *beszéd* 'speech' and *beszélni* 'speak' (< PS *\*besēda*) do occur in Hungarian.

**Map 2. Distribution of \*g<sub>o</sub>lk- reflexes in Slovene**

NE: Prekmurje: Bi = Bistrica, Bl = Beltinci, Bū = Bükovje pri Polani, Ca = Cankova, GS = Felsőszölnök/Gorni Senik, Ma = Martinje; Slovenske gorice: Bn = Benedik, Čr = Črešnjevci, Ra = Radenci, Slv = Spodnji Ivanci; Prlekija: Cr = Cerkvjenjak, Go = Gomile pri Kogu, Iv = Ivanjkovci, Li = Litmerk, Mr = Markovci, Rd = Radomerščak, Tr = Trnovska vas; Haloze: Be = Belavšek, Gv = Gorenjski vrh, Že = Žetale; SW: Ko = Kojsko

reflexes adduced in broader Slavic dictionaries such as ЭССЯ. Only a few peripheral indications have been found, which are listed below.

### 1.3.1 Kajkavian

The *RHKKJ* s.v. *gučati* (Sv. 3, 1986: 688; there is no entry for *\*\*guk-* nor *\*\*guč-*) points to Belostenec's *Gazophylacium* of 1740, representing Kajkavian usage of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, where <Guchim> is found in the Latin-“Illyrian” volume s.v. *Ajo*, which is glossed as <Velim>, <govorim>, <Guchim> and <Befzedim>. Intriguingly, <Guchim> is marked as <rufticè>, indicating that the word was deprecated in the proto-standardization process owing to its rural provenience. It is conceivable that the word was known to Belostenec from usage in the areas that are today known as Slovene Pannonian dialects, though there is no way to know for certain. In any event, this establishes that *gučati* was known, at least to some extent, in Kajkavian speech territory in the past. In addition to this sociolinguistic hint, we note that the item is absent from Houtzagers' description of dislocated Kajkavian dialects, which were transplanted from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards, having become enclaves within

the Hungarian speech territory; rather, Hidegség and Fertőhomok Kajkavian (both spoken near Sopron) have *govòrit*, *govorîm*, as expected (Houtzagers 1999: 251). It is possible that none of these forms was inherited in Kajkavian or, for that matter, elsewhere in the dialects corresponding to BCS. In other Kajkavian lexicographical works from the 17–18<sup>th</sup> centuries a similar picture emerges with regard to *verba dicendi*, e.g., <Govorim> ‘loquor’, <Povedam> ‘narro’, <Rechem, Govorim> ‘dico’ (no \*\*<guchati>) (Habdelić 1670); s.v. *Fabulo* <govorim, zmišlyávam>, s.v. Loquor <Govorim>, Narro <Povédam, pripovédam, káfem, kazivam> (Jambrešić 1740).

### 1.3.2 Čakavian

The north-western Čakavian dialect of Kastav near Opatija attests the verb *gūčēt*, *gūčîn* ‘govoriti o čemu po selu’; *Sò selo guči* ‘govori se po cijelom selu’ (Jardas 1957: 392). The same usage is confirmed nearly a half century later for nearby Rukavac: *gūčēt*, *gučîn* (no accent listed on present tense) ‘brujati, na veliko govoriti o čemu’, *So selo guči* (Mohorovičić-Maričin 2001: s.v.) with the additional information that the word has both the older and newer meanings simultaneously, viz. ‘brujati’ ‘buzz, hum’ and ‘gossip’. There is no reason to think that the word has become the neutral word for ‘speak’ in these localities. Of particular interest are the attestations of the lexeme in outlying Čakavian dialects in Austrian Burgenland, where the speakers have been cut off from contact with the bulk of Čakavian for several centuries. Here the meaning ‘make a noise’ as well as the conflation of the two roots \**guk-*, \**głk-* indicate an earlier stage of the semantic development, e.g., *gučâti*, *gūčem*<sup>16</sup> (Hrvatski Cikljin/Spitzzicken), *gučîm* (Stari Hodas/Althodis) ‘gurren’, *Gòlub gūče na kròvu* (Hrvatski Cikljin/Spitzzicken) (Tornow 1989: 146).

### 1.3.3 Štokavian

No examples of the verb \**gьlčěti* have been found for the majority of Štokavian dialects with the exception of intrusions from neighboring Eastern South Slavic dialects. See below 2.3.9 Southeast Serbian (“Torlak”) dialects.

## 1.4 Analysis of the Western South Slavic material

In contrast to the more complex picture that will be seen below with regard to Eastern South Slavic, where the verb \**gьlčěti* in the meaning ‘speak’ competed with several other forms for the same or similar meaning, the Western South Slavic picture is relatively simple. The verb \**gьlčěti* has two distinct denotations that correlate with distinctly different areal distributions. In those areas that have the meaning ‘speak’, that is, the Slovene Pannonian dialect (Prekmurje and Porabje, Slovenske gorice, Prlekija and Haloze), the word has long been established as the primary verb for ‘speak’ and has given rise to derivatives with ‘speech/speaking’ as their common denominator. The isogloss between the Pannonian dialects is fairly sharp against both other Slovene as well as Croatian Kajkavian dialects. In the SE periphery of the Pannonian dialects, the important marketplace dialect of Središče ob Dravi in Prlekija and bits of W Haloze indicate a switch to the prevailing reflex of \**govoriti*, a situation

<sup>16</sup> No tones. The grave marks short, the caret long stress.

which can be explained by influence from surrounding dialects both on the Slovene and Croatian sides of the border. In remaining areas of Slovene and Čakavian, the attestations of \**gьlčěti* point to the more archaic meaning ‘to make noise’, ‘raise a ruckus’. Their attestations are sporadic and are found unsurprisingly in the periphery, indicating not so much that the form has all but disappeared in these areas, so much as that, in contrast to the Pannonian situation, the verb is highly marked and not central to everyday usage. The one outlier is Bovec in NW Slovene, which attests as one of its meanings ‘speak’ along with marked meanings ‘make a buzzing sound, constant muffled roaring noise’ (‘brneti, neprekinjeno bučati’) as well as a secondary meaning ‘lecture, dress someone down’ (‘dajati nauke’). With regard to the plain meaning ‘speak’ there are three logical possibilities: (1) the Bovec word could be organically connected to Pannonia through a later migration; (2) it could be connected to Pannonia as a rare retention of an earlier and much more widespread situation prior to the expansion of \**govoriti*; or (3) it could be an independent local innovation following the same path of semantic development as elsewhere, i.e., ‘yell’/‘make a noise’ > (‘gossip’/‘prattle’ >) ‘speak’. There is no evidence to point to (1). Possibility (2) is weak in light of the fact that related dialects in the surrounding areas have the more archaic meaning, to the extent that the lexeme is attested. Because the entire range of meanings is attested in Bovec, including the rather specific reference to the kind of noise noted for the lexeme in both Russian dialects and the archaic Slovene dialect of Režija (i.e., a buzzing/roaring noise in the distance), scenario (3) presents itself as the most plausible, i.e., that it is an independent local innovation.

The Pannonian usage is well attested in the earliest documents found there, that is, at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In view of the centrality of the notion ‘speak’ to everyday language, the compactness of the Pannonian dialect area in which \**gьlčěti* is found, the high productivity to which the verb is subject to there, as well as indications of its use as a marker of local identity, there is every reason to believe that the meaning ‘speak’ for is an old, inherited one, conceivably as old as the Slavic settlement of the “Pannonian” territory. The other ‘noise’ meanings are older still.

We shall now turn to the evidence in Eastern South Slavic before considering whether and, if so, how, to connect the Western South Slavic picture with that of other parts of the Slavic-speaking world.

## 2. Eastern South Slavic

### 2.1 Bulgarian

Modern Literary Bulgarian operates with two basic imperfective verbs of speech which do not implicitly require a direct object, viz. *говоря* and *приказвам* ‘speak, talk, converse’ (in contradistinction to *казвам* ‘tell, say’). Whereas dictionaries of the standard language make mention of equivalent dialect forms such as *думам* and *хортувам*, the verb *гълчѣ* is mentioned either not at all or only as a dialect equivalent of ‘shout; scold’. A similar brief notice is usually accorded a small series of nouns and

adjectives which are derived from the base \**gьlk-*, e.g., *гльч*, *-ът*, *гльчка* ‘clamor, uproar’ (see below).<sup>17</sup>

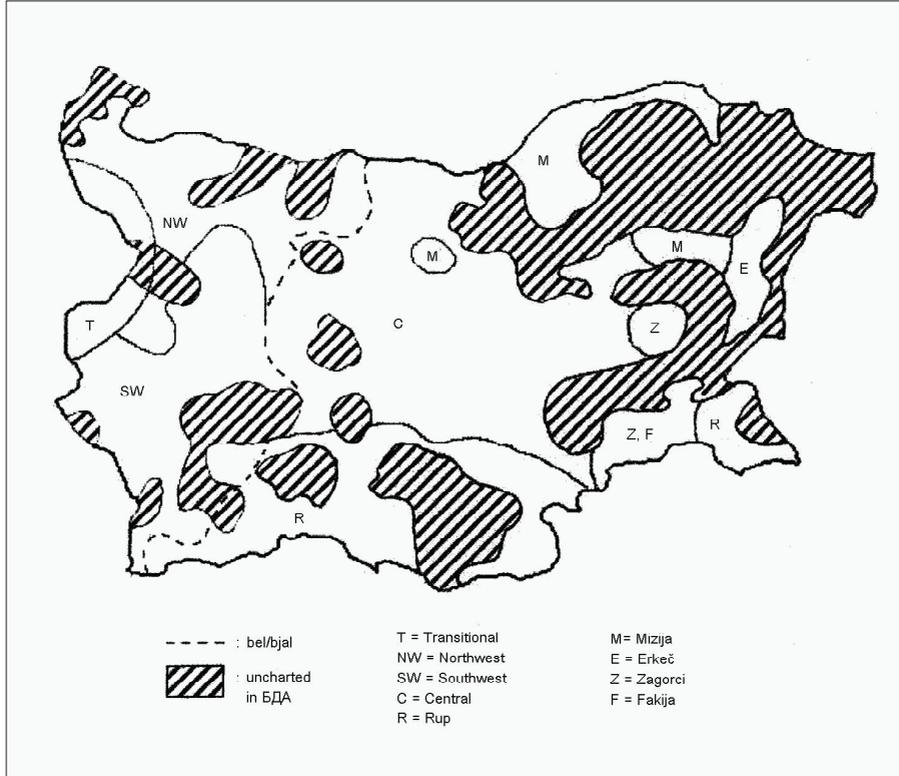
Nevertheless, dialect-colored texts from Bulgarian literature occasionally evidence the usage of \**gьlčēti* in various senses of speech, as indicated, for example, in lexicographical excerpts from the works of Ivan Vazov, cf. *гльчá* 1) ‘приказвам, говоря; converse, talk’, *Стига си ми по седенки с Камена безняла, заран-вечер на извора със него гльчали*; 2) ‘карам се на някого, мъбра; scold, nag’ ...и му гльча дълго с твърде решителен вид, със силни ръкомахания и с чести поглеждания към килията (Антонова-Василева, Керемедчиева 2001: s.v.). In one source which is partially devoted to dialectisms in Bulgarian literature of the 19–20<sup>th</sup> cc., there is no entry for \**гльчъ* itself, but the verb is used (along with *бърборя*) as a gloss for the ‘dialect’ form *гльчуля*, which occurs in the work of M. Javorski, cf. *Гльчуля аз, но не обичам да докачам чияка...* (Илчев, Иванова, Димова, Павлова 1974: 92).<sup>18</sup>

In addition, Gerov’s monumental and widely inclusive dictionary of the Bulgarian language (Геров 1895–1904) provides the following entry for \**gьlčēti* with the meanings ‘shout; converse with; upbraid’, cf. *гльчъ*, *-иш*, *-чал* 1) ‘говоря яката, викам (Ru кричать, орать, горланить)’, *Гльчат като Чифути в хавра*; 2) ‘гльча с някого, говоря, разговарям се, сборвам, ромоня (Ru говорить, разговаривать)’, *Гльчим си с Драгана*; 3) ‘хокам, карам се, викам, бьбра, мъбра, накръпелясвам (Ru бранить, журить, тазать, нарекать, порицать, распекать)’, *Аз го (му) гльчах, ала не слушина; гльчи се ‘чуе се гльч, вика се (Ru слышны крики)’, Из пътя се гльчи, някои минават*. We also find the prefixed verb *разгльчá* (*да се*), *-иш*, *-чал се*, *разгльчáвам се* with the meaning ‘(start to) raise a ruckus’, cf. ‘начинаем да гльчъ твърде много; развикам се (Ru раскричаться)’, *Разгльчали се като Цигани на пазар (като в Циганска механа, като на Циганска сватба)* (5: 18). It is interesting to note that the examples with the meaning ‘shout; raise a ruckus’ involve pejorative comparisons with the (unintelligible) speech of marginalized and/or foreign-speaking minorities (e.g., Jews and Gypsies) in a context where a group of people are shouting.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> The multi-volume *Речник на българския език* (1981) presents quite a different situation with respect to \**dumati* and \**duma*. Here, the verb is acknowledged (and well documented with citations from Bulgarian literature) as a “dialect” form in the sense ‘говоря, казвам, приказвам’, whereas the noun is clearly the basic Literary Bulgarian term of expression for ‘word, speech’ and is used in an extremely wide range of meanings and idioms.

<sup>18</sup> Various linguistic features of this example point to NE provenance, cf. the form of the first person pronoun (*аз*) (which excludes southern Bulgaria), apocope of the middle syllable of \**čelověkь* (widely encountered in E Bg dialects, see *БДА*), and vowel reduction in the first syllable of this same word

<sup>19</sup> Although the phonology and accentuation of Gerov’s dictionary reflect the west-central Stara Planina dialect base of his native Koprivštica (see with specific respect to accentuation, p. 50 of Gerov’s “Introduction”), the lexicon itself includes many words from both western and eastern dialects, all without indication of provenance (a telling example is the inclusion of both W Bg *разбой* and E Bg *стан* as words for ‘loom’). This of course is not surprising, since Gerov in the introduction to his monumental work tells us that he drew all of his data from the spoken speech and folklore of his compatriots in his quest to fashion a dictionary of the ‘living language of the Bulgarian people’ (‘речник на жив български народен език’ (see Геров

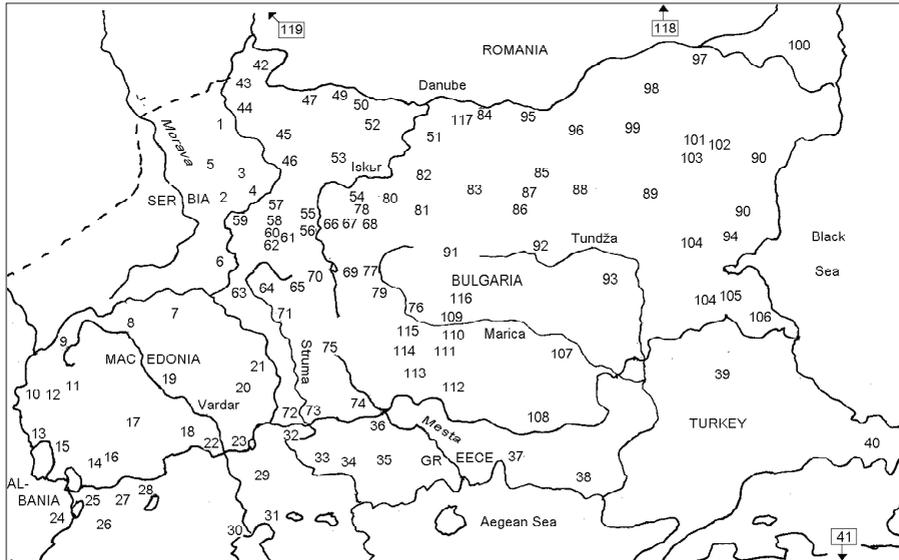
**Map 3. Bulgarian dialect areas**

### 2.1.1 Sources for *verba dicendi* in Bulgarian dialects

Our sources for *verba dicendi* in Bulgarian dialects fall into two main categories, viz. the Bulgarian Dialect Atlas (hereafter, *БДА*) and all the others.

In geographical terms, the four primary volumes of the *БДА* (i.e., those devoted to dialects situated within Bulgaria proper) are divided geometrically into four quadrants (SE, NE, SW, NW), approximately equal in area and defined by two straight lines, perpendicular to each other and intersecting at roughly the midpoint of Bulgaria. These four quadrants correspond only approximately to linguistically determined entities, such as “Northwest Bulgarian”, “Southwest Bulgarian”, “East Bulgarian”, “South Bulgarian”, etc., as defined in standard works on Bulgarian dialectology (see notably Стойков 1968).

1894, p. IV). These considerations notwithstanding, in the case of \**гълчѣти* it is quite possible that this particular verb occurred in the Koprivštica dialect of Gerov’s day, since *БДА*-SW indicates a continuous block of “гълчъ-dialects” immediately to the east of the town.

**Map. 4. Eastern South Slavic dialectal area. Key to place names**

Serbia: 1. Timok, 2. Lužnica, 3. Pirot, 4. Caribrod, 5. Svrlijig, 6. Bosilegrad; Macedonia: 7. Kumanovo, 8. Skopje, 9. Polog, 10. Debr, 11. Kičevo, 12. Galičnik, 13. Radožda-Vevčani, 14. Dihovo, 15. Ohrid, 16. Bitola, 17. Prilep, 18. Mariovo, 19. Veles, 20. Radoviš, 21. Maleševo, 22. Gevgeli, 23. Dojran; Albania: 24. Korča; Greece: 25. Lower Prespa, 26. Kostur, 27. Lerin, 28. Kajlar, 29. Kukuš, 30. Kulakia, 31. Solun, 32. Struma, 33. Belica, 34. Valovište, 35. Ziljaxovo, 36. Čeč, 37. Gjumurdžina, 38. Dedeagač; Turkey: 39. Lozengrad, 40. Čanakča, 41. Mandır; Bulgaria: 42. Vidim, 43. Kula, 44. Belogradčik, 45. Montana, 46. Berkovica, 47. Lom, 49. Kozloduj, 50. Orjaxovo, 51. Pleven, 52. Bjala Slatina, 53. Vraca, 54. Botevgrad, 55. Svoqe, 56. Sofia, 57. Godeč, 58. Graovo, 59. Трън, 60. Burel, 61. Pernik, 62. Pernik, 62. Radomir, 63. Kjustendil, 64. Dupnica, 65. Gorno Pole, 66. Elin Pelin, 67. Makocevo, 68. Pirdop, 69. Ixtiman, 70. Samokov, 71. Blagoevgrad, 72. Petrič, 73. Sandanski, 74. Goce Delčev, 75. Razlog, 76. Pazardžik, 77. Panagjurište, 78. Etropole, 79. Koprivštica, 80. Teteven, 81. Trojan, 82. Loveč, 83. Sevlievo, 84. Nikopol, 85. Veliko Търново, 86. Gabrovo, 87. Trjavna, 88. Elena, 98. Kotel, 90. Erkeč, 91. Karlovo, 92. Kazanlık, 93. Nova Zagora, 94. Ajtos, 95. Svištov, 96. Bjala, 97. Silistra, 98. Razgrad, 99. Popovo, 100. G. Čamurla, 101. Šumen, 102. Sьrt, 103. Pre-slav, 104. Zagorci, 105. Fakija, 106. Strandža, 107. Xaskovo, 108. Krumovgrad, 109. Plovdiv, 110. Asenovgrad, 111. Xvojna, 112. Smoljan, 113. Široka Lьka, 114. Devin, 115. Peštera, 116. S. Pavlikjan, 117. N. Pavlikjan; Romania: 118. Bucharest, 119. Banat

In addition to these four cardinal volumes, all of which are the product of collective teamwork directed by Stojkov, there are two additional continuations of the *БДА*, each devoted to dialects spoken in regions adjacent to the republic of Bulgaria, viz. eastern Aegean Macedonia (*БДА-Аег*; Иванов 1972) and extreme southeastern Serbia (*БДА-Trans*; Божков 1986). Although these last two volumes are produced in the same format as the first four, in contradistinction to the latter they were compiled by single authors who did not conduct fieldwork in situ, but rather worked with in-

formants who were either refugees from displaced populations (cf. *БДА*-Aeg) or who had emigrated to or were visiting in northwest Bulgaria (cf. *БДА*-Trans).

Sources other than the *БДА* are diverse in nature. They include dialect dictionaries of varying dimensions, lexicographical notes, dialect descriptions, unpublished archival materials, and Schallert's own field notes (for Ardino and Široka Lъka). Of these sources, the most useful have proved to be the dialect dictionaries and lexical observations. Since the authors of these latter two sources are themselves frequently native speakers of the given regional dialect or are thoroughly conversant with it, their testimony regarding lexical peculiarities and semantic nuances is of particular value.

### 2.1.2 Inventory of *verba dicendi* in Bulgarian dialects

Because the lexical possibilities for expressing the notion 'to speak, talk' are so numerous in Bulgarian, and have therefore been collected in a relatively systematic fashion in Bulgarian dialectology, something must first be said here about the variety of forms encountered. According to the five volumes of the *БДА* which provide relevant maps and data, the sense 'приказвам, (говоря)' ('speak, talk') is rendered by the following thirteen verbs (and their morphological variants) in Bulgarian dialects:<sup>20</sup> (a) *бъбра*; (b) *думам*; (c) *говор'а*; (d) *гъгра*; (e) *гълча*; (f) *кликам*; (g) *кунуитисвам се*; (h) *лафим*, *лафовам*, *лафувам*, *лафуем*; (i) *приказвам*, *прикажувам*, *сказвъм*; (j) *оратим*; *хортувам*, *хортовам*; (k) *вел'а*; (l) *вревим*; (m) *зборувам*, *зборовам*, *зборуем*. On the basis of semantic and etymological criteria these verbs may be broken down into seven groups: (1) 'indicate' *приказвъм*, *сказвъм*; (2) 'think' *думам*; (3) 'will' *велим*; (4) 'make noise' *бъбра*, *говор'а*, *гъгра*, *гълча*, *вревим*;<sup>21</sup> (5) 'call' *кликам*; (6) (loanwords) 'talk' *лаф-*, *хорт-*/*орати-*, *кунуитисвам са*;<sup>22</sup> (7) 'gather'

<sup>20</sup> The only volume of the *БДА* which does not provide a map and commentary for dialect equivalents of standard Bg 'говоря, приказвам' is *БДА-SE*, the first volume published. The only published reference to the *БДА* materials for this questionnaire item that we have found is in Bunina (1963) (see discussion below of Bulgarian émigré dialects in Ukraine).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *\*bъbre-* (from *\*bъrbor-* with incomplete reduplication; *БЕР* 1:96), *\*гъgre-* (from *\*гъrgor-* with incomplete reduplication), *\*vrěvěti* (from IE *\*w[er]ē-*, perhaps by incomplete reduplication of *\*vrě-vra-*; *БЕР* 1: 298).

<sup>22</sup> From Turkish *laf* 'word' (cf. Persian *laf*), *horata* 'jest; loud noise' (archaic, see Redhouse) (cf. Gk *χωρατά*), and *konştu* pret. of *konuşmak* 'converse with' (with Gk suffix *-is-*). For the etymology of *кунуитисвам*, see *БЕР* 2:602. For the etymology of Bg *лаф* masc., *лафувам*, see *БЕР* 3:325–326. For the etymology of Bg *хората* fem., *хортувам*, *хорати*, etc. see Buck 1915b: 145 and Филипова-Байрова 1969: 17 (with literature). In the case of *хората*, etc., scholars disagree as to the extent to which Turkish served as a vehicle for transmission to Slavic. Tk *horata* itself is derived directly from Greek *χωρατά*, the pl. of *χωρατό* neut. 'jest', from *χώρα* 'countryside, region, place; town', which also served as the base for old loanword Bg *хора* 'country, region (obs.); people (post-13<sup>th</sup> c.)'. The Greek formations *χωρατό* and denominative *χωρατέυω* 'to jest' both apparently postdate the 11<sup>th</sup> century, since neither word is attested in Sophocles' monumental dictionary of the Roman and Byzantine periods (Sophocles 1887/1951). It is also unclear to what extent Gk *χωρατέυω* [*choratevo*] served as the prototype of the Slavic *-(u)va-*, *-ova-* suffixed formations. It would seem that the direct adaptation *хоратéвам* (cited by Filipova-Bajrova) was quite rare in Bulgarian (it is unattested in the

(if from *\*sъbor-*) *зборува-*. Our survey of other dialect sources has revealed no additional verbs of this kind, excluding onomatopoeic and metaphorical expressions which have not acquired neutral meaning.

In terms of chronological layering, these verbs of speech can be assigned to three distinct strata: 1) the older Slavic stock (regardless of etymological type); 2) Ottoman Balkan loanwords (based primarily on Turkish) or lexical calques (thus, perhaps, *zbor* ‘word’, according to the most widely accepted etymology); 3) Literary Bulgarian (cf. the intrusion of *приказвам* as a neutral verb of speech into regions other than its apparent “natural habitat” in the Stara Planina). Of course, in order to distinguish between *приказвам* as the product of the influence of Literary Bulgarian, on the one hand, and as the result of autochthonous semantic innovation, on the other, one must take into account factors such as the observations of the investigating dialectologist, the shape of the suffix, and the location of the dialect.

It is important to note at the outset that our verificatory survey of sources other than *BDA* has uncovered instances where *\*gьlčěti* (or some other non-standard verb of speech) is not indicated as a neutral *verbum dicendi* for a given region in *BDA*, but is in fact attested with this meaning in a dialect dictionary or description. Where such discrepancies arise, we are inclined to assume that the given usage of *\*gьlčěti* has probably eluded the notice of the *BDA* investigator(s). The fact that such an oversight is possible should come as no great surprise if we bear in mind the multiplicity of shades of meaning involved in the expression of verbs of speech and the comparatively rich etymological inventory from which Bulgarian dialects can derive words to express these different nuances.

### 2.1.3 Summary of the areal distribution of other *verba dicendi* in Bulgarian dialects

The geographical extent of the *verba dicendi* listed in the preceding section varies considerably. Detailed knowledge of this distribution can be determined for all Bulgarian dialects with relevant data in the *BDA* (i.e., all regions except those covered in *BDA*-SE). This picture can be supplemented (and at times revised) by the testimony of other sources. The resulting composite areal distribution can be summarized as follows (beginning with the two literary variants then proceeding alphabetically through the other types).

(1) According to *BDA*-NE, NW, SW, and Aeg, the verb “*приказвъм*” (as in Literary Bulgarian) occurs in a wide range of dialects, particularly in N Bg, cf. (a) the Danubian plain to the north of the Stara Planina (except for Vidin, Lom, and most of the stretch from Nikopol to Bjala); (b) throughout much of the Stara Planina itself, from Berkovica in the west to Kotel in the east (except for most of Trojan); (c) Erkeč and its colonies in the eastern end of the Stara Planina and to the north of Varna; (d) Mizija *o*-dialects, in Grebenci, Търговиște, Veliko Търново-Pavlikene, and other scattered points. To the south, we find “*приказвам*” in e) W. Pazardžik, Panagjuriște, E.

*BDA*). On the other hand, direct adaptation from the nominal base *\*xorat-* is clearly manifested in the denominative *i*-verb, which is still well attested in the dialects (particularly in the west) and is cited as early as the 17<sup>th</sup> c. (see our discussion of Bg Damascenes, below).

Goce Delčev; the variant “*приказувам*” in f) Aegean Macedonia (Џеџ, N. Ziljaxovo and C. Valovišta); and the variant “*приказувам*” in g) N. Goce Delčev, Sandanski, N. Petrič, S. Blagoevgrad. Lastly, an extremely rare prefixed form “*сказвам*” is attested in Botevgrad and Etropole.

(2) According to БДА-NW, NE, SW, the verb “*говоря*” (also as in Literary Bulgarian) serves as the basic verb of speech in a very small number of scattered dialects, almost all of which are located in N Bg, cf. Lom (pt. 175), the mouth of the Iskъr (pt. 204), NE of Pleven (pt. 705), N. Skopje (pt. 2183), an *o*-dialect to the west of Razgrad (pt. 903), in variation with *приказвъм* to the south of Pleven (7 pts.) and to the north of Pavlikene (pts. 1605, 1621), in variation with “*бъбра*” near Pirdop (5 pts.), and in variation with “*приказвам*” to the north of Koprivištica (pt. 2322).

(3) According to БДА-NW, SW, the verb “*бъбра*” is attested as a neutral verb of speech more frequently than “*говоря*”, but is found only in two disconnected clusters in W Bg, cf. (a) Vidin, Kula (in extreme NW Bg; approx. 30 villages); (b) Makosevo, Pirdop, Ixtiman, Panagjurište, Pazardžik (approx. 30 villages);

(4) According to БДА-Aeg, the verb “*вел’а*” occurs only in Aegean Macedonia, cf. (a) a roughly continuous band of five pts. in Belica and 12 pts. in Ziljaxovo. Other sources further indicate that \**velēti* occurs in many Macedonian dialects, as well as in Literary Macedonian, but only in the sense ‘say, tell’, thus functioning as the perfective of “*рече*” and the equivalent of Bg *казвам*. One might suppose that the use of \**velēti* in this function is reduced in dialects where \**dumati* is used for ‘say, tell’, but this aspect of the question requires further investigation.

(5) According to БДА-NW, SW, Trans, Aeg, the verb “*вревим*” is limited to extreme W Bg and a small number of Transitional dialects, and parts of Aegean Macedonia, cf. (a) Belogradčik, N. Temska (Serbia), and a band of dialects stretching from Трън, Radomir, Dupnica, Kjustendil Pijanec, and some Kjustendil Polčane, N. Blagoevgrad, some S. Blagoevgrad, S. Petrič; (b) Aegean Macedonian dialects of Struma, Valovište, S. Ziljaxovo. Other sources indicate that \**vrēvēti* occurs as far west as W Rup dialect of Goce Delčev, as far east as the W Rup dialect of Goce Delčev and in Macedonian dialects throughout much of SE Mac, including Solun, Gevgeli, Radoviš. БЕР 1: 183 lists more particular or pejorative meanings for “*вревя*” in Western dialects, cf. ‘разговряя’ (Bansko in Pirin Macedonia), ‘бърборя, шумя’ (Дебър in peripheral Western Macedonia), ‘говоря много’ (Трън in the Transitional dialect zone).

(6) According to БДА-SW, the verb “*думам*” is attested as the basic verb of speech only in the SW and South, cf. (a) the Transitional dialect of Bosilegrad and some adjacent points in N. Kjustendil (Kamenica, some Kraište); (b) N. Kjustendil Polčane and Kamenica; (c) 3 pts. in Radomir, 1 pt. in Dupnica; (d) Razlog; (e) South-Central Rhodope. Other sources indicate that “*думам*” is used as a basic verb of speech in parts of EMac (e.g., Maleševo), as well as in Bg émigré dialects in Romania and Ukraine, and in the 18<sup>th</sup> c. *Svištov Damascene*. The cognate *дума* (‘word, expressed thought’) is more widespread and, in contradistinction to the verb, survives well in Literary Bulgarian.

(7) According to *БДА*-NW, NE, the verb “*зъгра*” occurs as the basic verb of speech in just two small clusters of dialects, cf. (a) 5 pts. in E. Vraca in NW Bg (1361, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1433; in variation with ‘*приказвам*’ except in 1433); (b) 3 *o*-dialect pts. to the south of Kotel (2531, 2576, 2577).

(8) According to *БДА*-NW, SW, derivatives of \**събор-*, occur as the basic verb of speech in several morphophonological variants in the West, cf. (a) “*зборувам*” in NW Bg (\**o* > -ъ-) dialects to the north of Sofia, 4 pts. to the south of Razlog; (b) “*зборуем*” in W. Sofia, Transitional dialects of Slivnica, Pernik, Godeč, N. Caribrod (Serbia); (c) “*зборовам*” in 4 pts. in S. Goce Delčev (in variation with *лафовам*). Other sources indicate the occurrence of (d) “*зборва-*” (cf. type in -ъва-) in SW Mac (Korča); (e) “*зборим*” in Skopje (cf. the influence of Serbian *sboriti*); (f) “*зборува-*” in Central Macedonia.

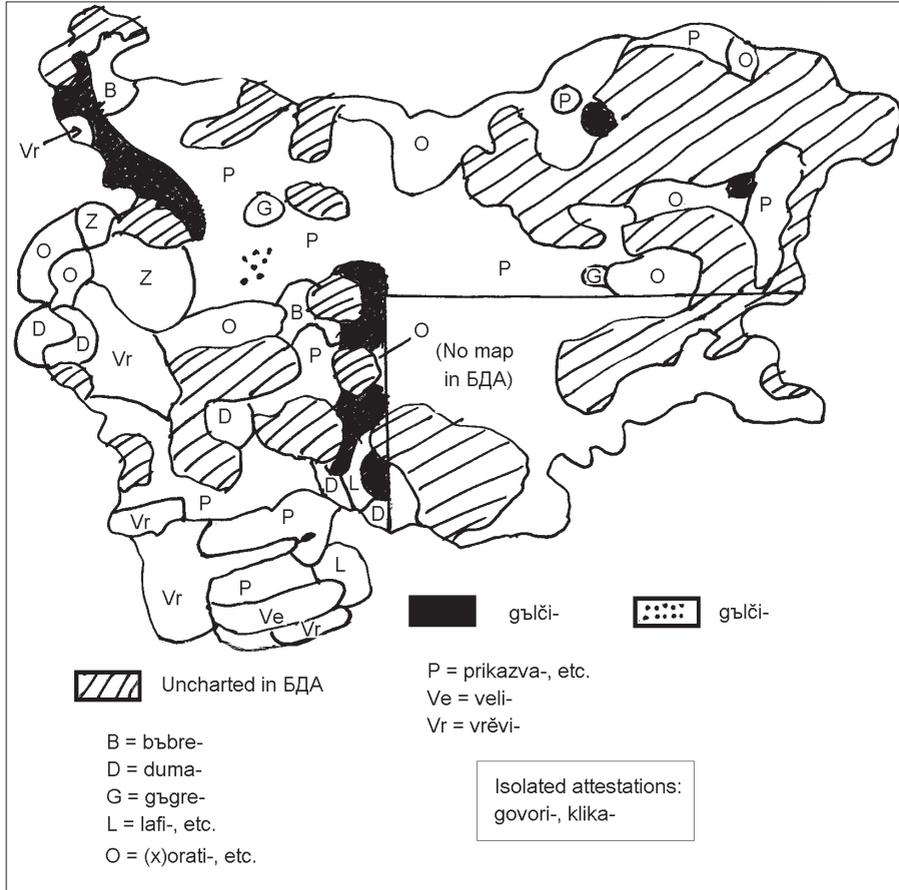
(9) According to *БДА*-SW, NW, Aeg, derivatives of Turkish *laf-* have supplanted other verbs as the basic verb of speech almost exclusively in various Rup dialects, cf. (a) S. Goce Delčev, Dospat, Central Rhodope (sometimes in variation with “*зълчъ*”), SE Drama (Aegean); but only rarely elsewhere, cf. “*лафуем*” in 2 Transitional dialect pts. in Kjustendil Kamenica, “*лафувам*” 1 village in Vraca in NW Bg (1362). In view of the widespread influence of Turkish on colloquial Balkan Slavic, the areal domain of this verb, at least as a variant (or marked variant), may actually be greater than *БДА* suggests. This hypothesis is supported by attestations from other dialect sources, as well as by the following listings for *лаф* in *БЕР* 3: 325–326: SE Mac: Negotino, Tikveš, Mariovo; Lower Vardar; Peripheral W Mac: Дебър; SW Bg: Pirdop (Smolско); NCE Bg: Elena, Sevlievo (Кръвеник); N. Thrace: Хасково; S. Thrace: Ksantija (Gabrovo); Gjumjurdžina (Съчанли).

(10) According to *БДА*-NE, NW, SW, derivatives of the Greek-Turkish Balkanism *xorata* occur as the basic verb of speech in a wide variety of dialects, cf. “*хортувам*” in (a) NW Bg dialects primarily in the vicinity of Vidin, Lom, but in isolated pts. in variation with “*приказвам*” near Bjala Slatina, Montana, Lukovit; (b) a large mass of NE Bg dialects in the Danubian plain from Nikopol to Bjala and Pavlikene, as well as scattered pts. in the Stara Planina (Botevgrad, Teteven, Trjavna, Ajtos dialects near the Erkeč group); (c) a plurality of Mizija *o*-dialects, including N. Zagorci dialects between Kotel and Erkeč; (d) in 5 N. Thracian dialects to the north of Asenovgrad; in the form “*оратим*” in (e) a mass of dialects to the south and east of Sofia (cf. S. Sofia, E. Sofia, Samokov, Ixtiman); (f) a few dialects to east of this mass (in variation with “*бъбра*”); (g) Transitional dialects of Трън and S.Caribrod; (h) a small number of Rup dialects, cf. 4 pts. in S. Goce Delčev; in the form “*хортовам*” in 3 N.Rhodope dialects near Asenovgrad. Other sources attest to the presence of “*хорати-*, *хоротовам*” in dialects as widely separated as Strandža (in extreme SE Bg) and the Bg émigré Pavlikjan dialect in Banat (a trait held in common with N.Pavlikjan). The verb does not seem to occur in Macedonian (including Ser-Drama and other Aegean dialects).

(11) According to *БДА*-Aeg, the verb “*клика*” serves as the basic verb of speech in a small number of Čeč dialects near the Mesta river to the south of the Bulgarian-Greek border and in variation with “*приказувам*” in 2 villages to the south thereof (cf. pts. 4141, 4143).

(12) According to *БДА-SW*, the Balkan Turkish loanword derivative *кунюштѣсвам са* occurs in variation with *зѣл'чем* in 2 villages in N. Devin in the Central Rhodopes.

**Map 5. Areal distribution of verba dicendi (as per *БДА-NE, NW, SW, Aeg, Trans*)<sup>23</sup>**



## 2.2 \*гълѣѣи

Having thus outlined the dialect geography of other *verba dicendi* in Bulgarian, we will now summarize the areal distribution of the verb “гълчѣ” (primarily as the basic verb of speech, but also as a marked or pejorative term), then briefly discuss

<sup>23</sup> Note that the map only reflects attestations in *БДА*, therefore a significant \*гълѣи cluster in Ixtiman (SW) is not included.

patterns of variation involving “*гълчъ*” and other verbs of speech. These introductory remarks are followed by a detailed presentation of the data provided by *БДА* and other sources.

### 2.2.1 Summary of areal distribution of \**гълчѣти* in Bulgarian dialects

In terms of geographical configuration, the distribution of \**гълчѣти* (primarily as a neutral verb of speech) in Bulgarian can be summarized as follows.

(1) According to *БДА*-NW, “*гълчъ*” predominates in a continuous belt of ca. 60 points situated in Northern Transitional (\**q* > -*u*-) dialects (Belogradčik, W. Montana), as well as immediately adjacent NW Bg dialects to the east thereof (E. Belogradčik, W. Lom, W. Montana, Berkovica). This extensive zone of “*гълчъ*” dialects is bounded on the north (i.e., towards Vidin), by “*бъбрем*” dialects, on the east by “*приказвам*” dialects, on the south by the uninhabited massif of the Stara Planina (on the southern side of which stretches a large zone of Transitional “*зборувем*” and W. Sofia-Svoге “*зборувам*” dialects), and in part on the west by Transitional “*вревим*” dialects. Roughly half of the “*гълчъ*” dialects exhibit variants with “*бъбрем*”, “*приказвам*”, or “*вревим*”. Our investigation of other sources reveals that in Serbian territory, to the immediate west of the zone of Transitional “*гълчъ*” dialects, lexicographers attest traces of “*гълчъ*” (but only in pejorative usage) in the Timok region (Northeastern Torlak).<sup>24</sup> We also find isolated occurrences of “*гълчъ*” to the north (cf. village of Гърци near Vidin) and east (cf. Studeno Buče and Върбовџец in Montana).

(2) According to *БДА*-NW, to the SE of Berkovica the zone of “*гълчъ*” dialects is interrupted by a solid wedge of “*приказвам*” dialects (NW Svoге, W. Vraca), then resumes in the form of a pocket of about 10 villages, all but one of which are situated in remote, mountainous, and scattered locales to the south and east of the Iskър river. To the east of this “Svoге pocket,” the zone of attestation of “*гълчъ*” is once again interrupted by a wide, continuous stretch of “*приказвам*” and “*сказвам*” dialects in S. Vraca, Botevgrad, most of Teteven, and E. Sofia. To the southeast of dialects in the E. Sofia plain, our investigation of other sources indicates (pace *БДА*-SW) that “*гълчъ*” is also found in the hilly region surrounding Ixtiman (in variation with “*оратим*” and “*бъбра*”) and (in the marked sense ‘говоря силно’) to the southwest thereof in the Samokov plateau (where “*оратим*” serves as the unmarked verb of speech). In connection with this marked usage in Samokov, it is interesting to note the neutral use of “*гълчъ*” in the émigré dialect of Čanakča. Although this dialect was once spoken in the vicinity of Istanbul and is now preserved in a small quarter in Šumen in NE Bg, it still exhibits clear traces of SW Bg origin (arguably from the vicinity of Samokov), a circumstance which links it with the “Fakija” émigré dialect type still found in SE Bg to the west of Strandža (see below). On the other hand, there is no evidence either in *БДА*-SW or in our other sources which would indicate that “*гълчъ*” has breached the massif of the Pirin mountain range, which rises up to the south of Samokov (cf. “*думам*” in Razlog, which is situated beyond this barrier).

<sup>24</sup> Note that more detailed information is required for verbs of speech in Torlak before we can draw any conclusions regarding the areal distribution of marked (and potentially, unmarked) occurrences of \**гълчѣти* in this region.

(3) According to *БДА-NW* and *БДА-SW*, to the east of the “*приказвам, сказвам*” dialects of Botevgrad and W.Teteven, a massive and virtually continuous zone of “*зълчъ*” dialects (ca. 80 villages in number) begins in the Stara Planina in E. Teteven, then extends through Trojan and southward down into the Tundža basin around Karlovo, whence it occupies the eastern Sredna Gora and Marica valley plain to the north of Plovdiv (including S. Pavlikjan dialects).<sup>25</sup> In the Marica valley to the southeast of Plovdiv and the northeast of Asenovgrad, *БДА-SW* indicates the presence of a small cluster of dialects of the N. Thracian (rather than Rhodope) type, in which the common verb of speech is “*хортувам*”, rather than “*зълчъ*”. With this exception, to the south of Plovdiv, the continuous zone of “*зълчъ*” attestation resumes in the Marica valley to the north of Asenovgrad, then continues into the north-central Rhodopes, extending in a broad band to the south and southwest as far as Smoljan and Devin (cf. the dialect regions of Xvojna, N. Smoljan, Široka Lъka, and N.Devin and Peštera dialects to the west thereof).<sup>26</sup> As to the delimitation of the territory with “*зълчъ*”, *БДА-SW* indicates that to the south of Trojan, this second and geographically more imposing massive of “*зълчъ*” dialects is bounded to the west by the nearly uninhabited eastern Sredna Gora centered around Koprivštica (beyond which there lies a belt of “*бъбра*” dialects in Panagjurište). Somewhat to the west of Plovdiv one encounters “*приказвам*” dialects. In the S.Ce Rhodope region, “*зълчъ*” gives way to “*лафовам*” and “*думам*”. As noted above, in the north, the Trojan pocket of “*зълчъ*” dialects is succeeded to the east by a large body of “*приказвам*” dialects, which extends eastward through the Stara Planina, encompassing Sevlievo, Gabrovo, Trjavna, Velikovo Tърново, and Elena, thus reaching as far as Kotel. Farther to the south, the territory to the east of the large zone of “*зълчъ*” dialects centered in the Sredna Gora, Marica valley and Rhodopes, falls within the purview of *БДА-SE*. Since this volume of *БДА* provides no map for dialect equivalents of Bg *приказвам, говоря*, we must have recourse to other sources, which with a small number of notable exceptions provide little lexical information pertinent to our topic.<sup>27</sup> Before proceeding to a summary of this remaining material, we note that considerations of general dialect continuity render it fairly likely that “*зълчъ*” occurs at least to the immediate east of Karlovo, Asenovgrad, and the upper course of the Arda river (in the southcentral Rhodopes). On the other hand, it is equally probable that “*думам*” continues to prevail in the extreme south (along the upper course of the Vърbnica) and fairly likely that reflexes of “*хортувам*” predominate in some of N. Thrace. Beyond the geographical scope of these projections into the uncharted domain of *БДА-SE*, we have the direct evidence of other sources which indicate the presence of “*зълчъ*” in Rup dialects, albeit those

<sup>25</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the Pavlikjan dialects, which occupy a special position in Bulgarian dialectology, see below.

<sup>26</sup> In the course of fieldwork, Schallert noted the occurrence of “*зълчъ*” as a neutral verb of speech (‘speak, talk’) in the Široka Lъka dialect of Stojkite (*зълча*) and in the Ardino dialect of Drenka (not listed in *БДА-SW* or *SE*) (*залчиџи* or perhaps *зал’чиџи*).

<sup>27</sup> With the exception of Strandža (in extreme SE Bg) (Горов 1961) and the S. Thrace dialects of Dervent (Бояджиев 1970, 1979) and Съчанли (1971, 1972), there are no available published monographs devoted to dialects which fall within the quadrant of *БДА-SE*. In addition, the published dialect descriptions which occur in article format are generally not very informative regarding lexical details.

situated at some remove from the central Rhodopes, cf. as a neutral verb in the S. Thracian dialect of Gjumjurdžina (Съчанли) and in the sense ‘scold’ in the extreme SE dialect of Strandža. We also find “зълчъ” with the meaning ‘scold’ in a remote Rup colony (cf. N. Pavlikjan) near the Danube in the vicinity of Nikopol. This scattered SE Bg material can be further supplemented with the evidence of certain Bulgarian émigré dialects in Ukraine, although none of these are of the classic Rup type (see below for discussion, as well as the list in the immediately following paragraph). Otherwise, there is also evidence for “ороти”, “урто(е)а” as the basic verb of speech in at least one S. Thracian dialect (Dervent).

(4) According to БДА-NE, “зълчъ” serves as the neutral verb of speech in a tiny number of N. Mizija *o*-dialects (cf. 2 villages of the Razgrad “Kapanci” dialect and 3 villages of the Сърт dialect). This sparse evidence of relic status can be supported with important testimony from a variety of other sources. First, the occurrence of “зълчъ” as ‘scold’ or ‘talk loudly’ is documented in autochthonous *o*-dialects in Silistra, Preslav, and Šumen. Second, Mladenov has described émigré dialects in Romania where “зълчъ” occurs as a basic verb of speech among Mizija dialect speakers in villages near Bucharest (see 2.2.3.5). Third, among Bulgarian émigré dialects in Ukraine (see 2.2.3.5), we find further support for the erstwhile existence of “зълчъ” among *o*-dialects speakers in E Bg, cf. an unglossed occurrence in the Kriničnoe Сърт dialect, neutral usage in the Suvorovo East Thracian dialect and the Loščinovki “Thracian” dialect, and marked (‘scold’) usage in the Ol’šane dialect. Finally, an unglossed occurrence of “зълчъ” is also attested in émigré dialects of the Čijsija type, which originated in NE Bulgaria, but which are differentiated from both the Mizija and Stara Planina types (see 2.2.3.5).

### 2.2.2 Dialect-internal variation involving \*gьlčьti

In general, the evidence of the БДА indicates that dialect-internal variation between “зълчъ” and other verbs of speech exhibits one of several distinct patterns. This picture of variation tends to be confirmed by the testimony of our other dialect sources. For the purposes of a provisional typology, these patterns of variation can be classified as either “binary” (involving two members) or “ternary” (involving three members), as follows.

First, we find binary variation between “зълчъ” and “приказвам”. In this sort of situation, “зълчъ” is sometimes described in the БДА as “older” (traditional) and less “cultured” than “приказвам”. These characterizations suggest that the literary language is the primary vehicle for the spread of “приказвам”. An insight into the sociolinguistic dynamics of this variation can be obtained by considering the commentary for the Montana village of Meljane (NW pt. 639), where the basic entry is *гличьм*, *приказвам* (по-ново) and the normative value judgment is apparent in *Приказвам, приказвам окаче, гличь’ата не е културно* (“*Prikazvat*, we call it (what you’re asking about) *prikazvat*, (using) *gličn’ata* isn’t cultured”), even though we find straightforward descriptions such as *Они глчът а йа слушам*. As might be expected, the frequency of “зълчъ” in such dialects varies, depending on the degree to which it has receded before the standard form. Thus, in some villages, the traditional lexeme

occurs “occasionally” and in the speech of “older” informants, cf. Vraca (NW pt. 1319) *приказвам*; понякога у старите и *гличме си*; Montana (NW pt. 588) *гличím* (по-старо).<sup>28</sup> Most commonly however, there is no indication of the relative status of the two variants and one must infer their relationship on the basis of systemic considerations, cf. Сърт (NE pts. 1889, 1895) *приказвам ~ гълчá*.

Second, we find binary variation between “*гълчъ*” and another “traditional” onomatopoeic Slavic verb. This pattern is found in the NW and seems to have developed due to dialect contact.<sup>29</sup> Most frequently it involves competition with “*бъбра*” (cf. especially W. Belogradčik), less commonly with “*еврим*” (cf. W. Belogradčik pts. 127, 551, 552, 555) The encroachment of one such verb upon the more neutral domain of the other may in fact be reinforced by the prior existence of the intrusive, “more expressive” verb in the lexicon.

Third, one observes binary variation between “*гълчъ*” and a non-onomatopoeic Slavic verb of speech, such as \**думам*. This pattern occurs occasionally in the Rhodopes (cf. Asenovgrad, Madan). It is quite probable that this kind of variation reflects the natural evolution of competition between an originally marked verb of speech on the one hand and a metaphorically derived (but unmarked) verb of speech on the other. Differences in valence patterns may also have contributed to the coexistence of these two verbs, since *думам* can easily be accompanied by an internal object *дума* (and in this respect is analogous to verbs derived from \**kazati*), whereas “*гълчъ*” does not display such governance. In some dialects, “*гълчъ*” is limited to its expressive status, whereas “*думам*” is neutral (e.g., the Ol’šane émigré dialect in Ukraine).

Fourth, we encounter binary variation between “*гълчъ*” and a borrowed non-Slavic verb of speech which has been introduced within the context of the polyglot Ottoman Balkans, cf. “*хорати-*, *хортувам*”, “*лафи-*, *лафувам*”, or “*куношитисвам са*”. Since these verbs have been in circulation for much longer than “*приказвам*” (at least in its Literary Bulgarian form), it is not surprising that they have in some cases been more successful in gradually supplanting “*гълчъ*”, cf. Montana (NW pt. 1281) *орáтим*, *гличím* “многo рядкo”.

Fifth, some dialects exhibit a more complex, ternary dynamic, whereby competition between “*гълчъ*” and another traditional onomatopoeic verb is overlaid by the recently introduced literary form, cf. Kula (NW pt. 92) *гличím*, *бъбрем*; 95, 96, 97 *гличíme*, *бъбреме* (Най-новата дума е *приказваме*). Belogradčik (NW pt. 122) *гличíme*, *приказвам*, *бъбрем*; *И си глчáле двáмата* (“And the two of them were talking together”); *Български гълчят* (“They speak Bulgarian”);<sup>30</sup> *Седím си тукa и си глчíme* (“We’re sitting here together and talking to one another”); *Стой мánко*

<sup>28</sup> Note that when more than one speaker is involved, a plural form of “*гълчъ*” is frequently accompanied by a reflexive dative pronominal particle (cf. *седím си тукa и си глчíme* Belogradčik, NW pt. 122). This does not seem to be the case with “*приказваме*”.

<sup>29</sup> For the partial settlement by Transitional dialect speakers of lower-lying river valleys between the western Stara Planina and towns such as Vidin and Lom, see the historical introduction to БДА-NW and Стойков 1968: 101.

<sup>30</sup> This represents an interesting example of “*гълчъ*” used in the sense ‘to speak a language’.

да погълчѝме (“Stay a bit so we can have a chat”); *Такá ви приказвам* (“That’s what I’m telling you”);<sup>31</sup> *Бъбра́ с н’ѐга* (“I/you/he/she talked with him”). In some instances, it is clear that one of the two traditional variants is now the dialectal norm, cf. Teteven (NW pt. 2307) *гълчѝм, приказва, пубъбрим* (по-рядко).

Sixth, analogous to the preceding type, but far rarer, is the ternary opposition of two onomatopoeic verbs and a loanword, cf. “*гълчъ ~ бѣбрем ~ ортувам*” in Vidin (NW pts. 136, 137, 140).

This typology of variation can easily be applied to other combinations involving dialectal verbs of speech.

### 2.2.2.1 Evidence for \*gьlčĕti in the Bulgarian Dialect Atlas (БДА)

The attestation of “*гълчъ*” in the meaning ‘приказвам, говоря; talk, speak’ («Как се казва в говора: *говоря* с някого или *вrevим* с някого; *гѣгра, гълча, зборувам, приказвам, хортувам* и др.» БДА-SW, p. 221)<sup>32</sup> in the pertinent volumes of БДА is as follows.<sup>33</sup>

(a) БДА-SE (no map for dialect equivalents of ‘приказвам’);

(b) БДА-NE (Map 282 ‘приказвам’, Commentary p. 134) – \**гълчъ* is attested in only 5 pts. (all of them Mizija o-dialects),<sup>34</sup> cf. Сѣрт 1892 \**гълчѣ*, 1889, 1895 *приказвам ~ гълчá*; Разград 911, 912 *ортувам ~ гълчѣ*;

<sup>31</sup> Note that this example is not strongly diagnostic, since the sense still seems to reflect the object-oriented valence pattern of “приказвам”.

<sup>32</sup> Note that this is just the lead question, which serves as a heading in the questionnaire. In point of fact, it appears from some of the material provided in the commentaries to the БДА that the range of appropriate contexts in which any given basic verb of speech was recorded is considerably wider (cf. ‘speak a language’, ‘tell somebody something’), although it is unclear how extensively the volume of tokens actually recorded for different points might vary.

<sup>33</sup> As a rule, data are cited in the commentaries to the maps in the БДА only when the forms recorded in the course of fieldwork differ in some phonological or morphological respect from the headform listed in the legend of the corresponding map, or when variation is observed either in the production of a single form or due to the occurrence of more than one lexeme. Thus, the amount of data provided in the commentaries varies considerably. Fortunately for our purposes, in the case of \**gьlčĕti* the documentation in the commentaries is extensive for a variety of reasons, viz. a) the root lends itself to phonological variation; b) the verb is frequently attested in NW Transitional dialects with the non-typical -*m* 1sg. desinence; (c) the verb is frequently attested in the 1pl. form; d) the verb is occasionally cited in a preterite form. In the present study, we also generate asterisked (\*) forms for dialect points not represented in the commentary, i.e., in cases where the data are evidently identical to the form cited in the legend of the corresponding map (cf. \**гълчѣ*).

<sup>34</sup> The Mizija “o-dialect” type is quite distinct from other NE Bg dialects. One of its most salient features is the occurrence of -o as the reflex of the strong *jer* in the masc. def. sg. desinence (e.g., *гпадо* < \**gordъ-тъ*), in contradistinction to -ъ or -ѣ in the vast majority of other NE Bg dialects. This feature was first identified by Miletič, who used it effectively as a primary diagnostic in his ground-breaking study of E Bg dialects and introduced the term “o-dialect” into Bulgarian dialectology (see Miletič 1903). Amongst other distinctive traits, certain Mizija dialects (chiefly those situated near Šumen) exhibit desinential stress in the def. sg. of nouns which elsewhere in NE Bg (and in literary Bg) show uniform root stress (see Schallert 1993).

(c) БДА-SW (Map 301, Commentary pp. 221–222) – \**гълчъ* is found in an eastern band of dialects running from south to north from the central Rhodopes (Madan, Smoljan, Ardino, Široka Lъka, Devin, Xvojna), through Asenovgrad, Plovdiv, S. Pavlikjan, 2 pts. to the west of Pazardžik (cf. pts. 3614, 3618), and Karlovo, thus forming a continuum into Trojan in БДА-NW. With the exception of Karlovo, most of Plovdiv, most S.Pavlikjan points, a few points to the south of Asenovgrad, and pt. 3614 in Pazardžik, all of these dialects exhibit the classic S Bg (“Rup”) feature of initial stress in the 1sg. pres. form, where proclisis has been generalized in most verb classes, regardless of Common Slavic accentual paradigm. Some of these same dialects add *-m* to the 1sg. vocalic desinence (cf. *-em*, *-am*), while retaining the first-syllable stress of the older form. Forms with the desinence *-im* are to be interpreted as 1pl. (e.g., *гълчим*, *бъбрим*), except in the case of Transitional dialects in Montana, Berkovica, Lom, and Kula, where they represent the 1sg. The data are presented here by district, proceeding roughly from south to north, cf. Madan 4664 *гълч’ем*; 4673 *лáfем*, *дúмем*, *гól’чем*; 4676 *гól’чем*, *лáfем*; 4685 *гól’чем*, *дúмам*; Smoljan 4635(a?) *гал’чим* (1pl.?),<sup>35</sup> 4643 *гól’чем*; 4647 *гал’чим* *си* (1pl.?), 4660 *гól’чем*; Ardino 4648 *гал’чим* *си* (1pl.?), 4650 *гól’чем*; 4651 *гъл’чам*; Široka Lъka 4195 *гól’ча*; 4198 *гól’ча*; 4630, 4631, 4632 *гól’ча*; Devin 4141, 4143 *гól’чем*, *куноштúсам* *са*; 4144 *гál’че*; 4149 *гъл’ча*; 4151 *гъл’чем*; 4152 *гól’чам*; 4192 *гól’чам*; 4620 *гál’чем*; Xvojna 4169, 4170, 4171 *лáf’ам*, *гъл’ч’ем*; 4184 \**гълчъ*, \**лафóвам*; 4185 \**гълчъ*; Asenovgrad 3703 *гъл’ча*, *приказвам*; 3708 *гълчъ*, *приказвъм*, *уртувъм* 4173, 4174 *гъл’чам*; 4175 *гълчъ*, *хуртóвам*; 4177 *гъл’ча*; 4178 *хортóвам*, *гál’чам*; 4179, 4180, 4181 *гълчъ*; 4182 *гъл’чам*, *лафóвам*; 4183 \**гълчъ*; 4189 *гól’чам*; 4194 *дúмам*, *гал’чиме*; 4201 *гъл’чам*, *лафóвам*; 4202 *гъл’чим*, *лафóвам’е*; 4203 *гъл’чам*, *лафóвам*; 4204 *гъл’чим*, *лафóвам’е*; Peštera 3633 *приказувам*, *гъл’чам*; 4138 *гъл’чам*; Pazardžik 3614 *гъл’чим*, *приказуваме* *си*; 3618 *гъл’ча*; Plovdiv 3007, 3008 *гъл’чим*; 3028 \**гълчъ*, \**приказвам*; 3041, 3043, 3044 \**гълчъ*; 3029, 3030 *гълчá*; 3032 *гъл’чим*; 3038 *гъл’чим*; 3048 *гъл’чú*, *приказувам* (по-рядко); 3053 \**гълчъ*; 3648 *гъл’чим*, *приказуваме*; 3651 \**гълчъ*, \**приказвам*; 3653 *галчъ*; 3654, 3655, 3656, 3658 \**гълчъ*; 3657 *гъл’чим*; 3660 *гълчъ*, *приказуам*; 3661 *гъл’чим*, *приказвъм* (ново); 3671, 3675 *гъл’ча*; 3677 *гълчá*; 3692 *гълчáх*; 3702 *гъл’чим*; 4165, 4166 *гól’чам*; S. Pavlikjan 3028 \**гълчъ*, 3035 *гълчъ*, *приказуъм*; 3037, 3040 3040a \**гълчъ*; 3665 *гъл’ча*; 3717 *гъл’ча*; Karlovo 2368 *гъл’чим*; 3000, 3004 *гъл’чим*; 3012 *гъл’чим*; 3014 *бъбрим*, *гъл’чим* (по-старо); 3017 \**гълчъ*; 3023, 3024 (not underlined on Map) *гъл’чим* *си*; 3025 *гъл’чим*; 3026 (not underlined on Map) *гъл’чим* *си*; 3042 *гълчъ*, *приказвъм* (по-ново); 3046, 3048 *гъл’чú*, *приказувам* (по-рядко).

(d) БДА-NW (Map 377 ‘приказвам’ p. 242) – \**гълчъ* occurs in the SE in Trojan and in a band of western dialects in Berkovica, Belogradčik, and Kula (often of the Transitional Bg-Serbian type), as well as in isolated points in Svoge to the N of Sofia, cf. (from SE to NW) Trojan 2308 *гъл’чиме*; 2336 *приказвъм*, *гълчъ*; Loveč 1526 *приказвъм*, *гълчъ*; Teteven 1471 (Galata) *бъбра*, *гълчá*, *приказвам*; 2307 *гъл’чим*, *приказва*, *пубъбрим* (по-рядко); Botevgrad 1405 *гъл’чим*; Svoge 1352 *приказвам*, *погълчáме* (*си*); 2173 *гълчáт*; 2180 *гъл’чиме* *си*; 2247 *приказваме*, *гъл’чиме*; Vraca

<sup>35</sup> Although forms in *-im* (*si*) are not indicated as 1pl. in the БДА commentary, they are interpreted here as such on the basis of the suffixal vowel and end stress.

649 *приказвам, гълчѝм*; 1319 *приказвам*; Понякога у старите и *гълчѝме си*; 1374 *приказвам, гълчѝ*; 1397 *приказвам, гълчѝм*; 1401, 1402 *приказвам, гълчѝ*; 1347 *гълчѝ*; Montana<sup>36</sup> 583 *гълчѝми, приказвами*; 584 *гълчѝм*; 585 *гълчѝм, приказваме* (ново); 588 *гълчѝм* (по-старо), *орѝтим*; 591 *гълчѝм, приказвам*; 596 622 *гълчѝм* (по-често), *приказвам*; 627, 628 *гълчѝм, приказвам*; 631, 633 *гълчѝм*; 639 *гълчѝм, приказвам* (по-ново); *приказвам, приказвам окаме, гълчн'ата не е културно, они' гълчѝт а ѝа слѝшам*; 1281 *орѝтим, гълчѝм* (много рядко); 1285 *гълчѝм*; Berkovica 640 *гълчѝме*; 1298 *гълчѝм*; 1299 *гълчѝме*; 1301 *приказваме* 'разговаряме', *гълчѝм* 'говоря'; 1303 *гълчѝм*; 1304 *приказвам, гълчѝ*; 1306 *гълчѝ*; 1311 *гълчѝм*; 1312 *гълчѝме*; 1314 *гълчѝме*; 1315 *гълчѝм*; Velogradčik 77 *бѝбрѝм, гълчѝм*; 116 *гълчѝм*; 119 *гълчѝмо*; 122 *гълчѝме, приказвам, бѝбрѝм*; *И си гълчѝле двѝмата; бѝлгарски гълчѝт; седѝм си тука и си гълчѝме; стой мѝнко да погълчѝме; така ви приказвам; бѝбрѝ с н'ѝга*; 123 *гълчѝмо си*; 124 *гълчѝмо*; 125 *гълчѝмо си*; 126 *гълчѝмо*; 127 *врѝвим, гълчѝм*; 128 *гълчѝмо*; 129 *гълчѝмо, бѝбрѝмо, приказваме*; 142 *бѝбрѝме, гълчѝме, приказваме*; 143 (as per pt. 122) *гълчѝме, приказвам, бѝбрѝм*; *И си гълчѝле двѝмата; бѝлгарски гълчѝт; седѝм си тука и си гълчѝме; стой мѝнко да погълчѝме; така ви приказвам; бѝбрѝ с н'ѝга*; 147 *гълчѝме, приказвам, бѝбрѝм*; 149 *гълчѝм*; 551, 552 *врѝвим, гълчѝм*; 554 *гълчѝм*; 555 *врѝвим, гълчѝм*; 560 *гълчѝм*; 566 *гълчѝмо*; 570, 574 *гълчѝм*; 578 *врѝвимо, гълчѝмо, бѝбрам*; 579 *гълчѝме*; Lom 146 *бѝбрѝм, гълчѝм, приказвам*; Kula 92 *гълчѝм, бѝбрѝм*; 95, 96, 97 *гълчѝме, бѝбрѝме* (Най-новата дума е *приказваме*); 112 *гълчѝме, бѝбрѝме* (Най-новата дума е *приказваме*); 115 *гълчѝм*; Vidin 114, 117 *гълчѝм*; 135 *бѝбрѝм, гълчѝме*; 136, 137 *бѝбрѝм, ортувам, гълчѝм*; *е там бѝбрѝ с една; ортувам кво ли не; гълчѝмо си*; 139 *бѝбрѝме, гълчѝме, приказваме*; 140 *бѝбрѝм, ортувам, гълчѝм ~ гълчѝм*.

In addition, there are several points in БДА-NW where the verb *гълчѝ* occurs with the meaning 'shout loudly' ('викам високо', see Map 378, cf. Montana 655, 656; Vraca 1411, 1414; Elin Pelin 2263). All of these villages are located within the immediate or proximate vicinity of points where "гълчѝ" is attested as a neutral verb of speech.<sup>37</sup>

(e) БДА-Aeg (Map 215 'приказвам') – \**гълчѝти* is not attested.

(f) БДА-Trans (Map 312 'приказвам') – \**гълчѝти* unattested.

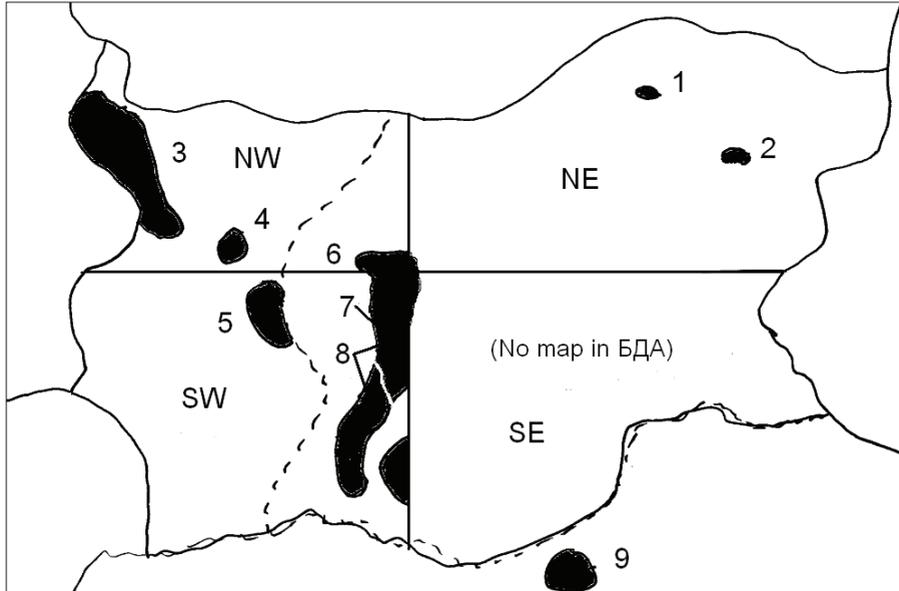
#### 2.2.2.2 Evidence for \**гълчѝти* and other neutral *verba dicendi* in other sources for Bulgarian dialects

The survey given here covers only a representative sample of sources for Bulgarian dialects. The focus is primarily upon geographically defined idioms for which lexical material has been collated in dictionary form, although reflexes of "vocalic" liquids and the relevant sections on verbal morphology were also consulted in a variety of other sources. Wherever possible, the material is correlated with the evidence of БДА.

<sup>36</sup> At the time of publication of БДА-NW, "Montana" was still named "Mixajlovgrad".

<sup>37</sup> For un glossed examples of \**гълчѝти* in isolated points in Montana and Vraca, see our discussion on p. 42 of data from Тодоров, 1936.

**Map 6. Distribution of \**gьlčĕti*- in the neutral meaning ‘приказвам, говоря’ in Bulgarian**



1. Каранци (o-dial.). 2. Сърт (o-dial.). 3. Belogradčik, Berkovica (some Transitional dial.). 4. Svoге. 5. Ixtiman (Младенов 1967). 6. Trojan, Sevlievo. 7. Karlovo. 8. S. Pavlikjan, N. Се. Rhodope. 9. Сьчанли (Бояджиев 1971). All as attested in БДА, except 5, 9. Émigré dialects in S. Ukraine: Loščinovki (Fakija-Thracian) and Suvorovo (Mizija Zagorci). Mizija émigré dialect in Romania (Младенов 1993). Istanbul-Šumen Fakija émigré dialect of Čanakča (Денчев 1979).

The macro-dialect affiliations here are as per Stojkov (Стойков 1968), cf. NE “Balkan”, NE “Mizija” (o-dialect type), SE (“Rup”), SW (where the critical feature is \**q* > -*a*-, cf. *daб*, together with *ekavian* reflex of *jat*’), NW where the critical features are \**q* > -*ь*-, together with *ekavian* reflex of *jat*’), Transitional (where the critical feature is \**q* > -*u*-, as in Serbian). Rup dialects can be further subdivided into Western Rup (Razlog, Goce Delčev), various Rhodope dialects, Strandža, and North Thracian, as well as dialects situated outside of Bulgaria (cf. eastern Macedonian Aegean/Ser-Drama, South Thracian).

### 2.2.2.3 Northeast dialects (Mizija type)

Silistra “Grebenci” (primarily the village of Požarevo) (Кочев 1969). When describing phonological differences in the 1<sup>st</sup> sg. pres. form, Кочев (112) cites *гьл’чэ* ‘укопявам, мърям’ as characteristic of the Silistra region as a whole. Since БДА-NE indicates *приказвам* as the neutral verb of speech for most dialects of the Silistra region, including Požarevo (NW pt. 42), we may infer that \**gьlčĕti* has been restricted here to its marked usage.

Mizija (émigré dialects in Romania) (Младенов 1993). Mladenov documents the presence of *\*gьlčěti*, as well two other neutral verbs of neutral speech, cf. *гьлчѣм* ‘приказваме, разговаряме’ (Vъгъšt) 315; *дѹмѣм* ‘говоря, казвам; мисля, предполагам’ (provenance not indicated) 315; *уртѹвѣм* (Vъгъšt, Kiseletu, Чергъšt) ~ *хуртѹвѣм* (Vъгъšt, Кнјаѣа., Milošešt) ~ *фуртѹвѣм* (Ерѹгъšt Сърb) ‘говоря, разговарам’ 315. Note that the shades of meaning for “*хортува*” overlap partially with each of the other two verbs. The coexistence of continuations of *\*gьlčěti* and *\*dumati* recalls the situation in S-Ce rhodope dialects and seems to be maintained at least in part by subtle differences in meaning. Of particular note is the fact that “*думам*” continues to retain its original meaning (i.e., ‘think, suppose’) alongside the metaphorical one. This is unusual, in view of the predominance of *\*mysliti* in South Slavic.

Popovo (Palamarca) (Miletič 1903). Miletič cites only the noun *гѣѣкъ* 93.

Preslav (Imrenčevo) (Попиванов 1940b). In the dialect lexicon which accompanies his detailed “supplement” to Miletič’s original description of the Mizija *o*-dialect, Popivanov adduces *гьлчѣ*, *-иш* (actually probably *\*гьлчѣиш*) ‘говоря високо, мъря, укорявам’ 380. Compare БДА-NE (pt. 1803), where the basic verb of speech is represented by *хуртѹвѣми* (*\*хortuva-*).

Razgrad (Каранци) (Младенов 1985). In a brief, but highly informative listing of distinctive Каранци dialect vocabulary, Mladenov (336) cites *гьл’чѣ* ‘карам се, давам наставления, напѣтствувам’, with the following examples *Ас кѣт сѣм и мѣйкѣ ѣѣ гьлчѣ* (‘Since I’m her mother, I’m scolding/instructing [?] her’), *Гѣл’чѣт мѣ синѹвѣте* (‘My sons are telling me what to do’). According to БДА-NE, *ортѹвам* is the basic verb of speech in Razgrad dialects, although two “Каранци” villages (Senovo 911, Krivnja 912) exhibit *гьлчѣ* as a variant.

Razgrad (Хъгсои) (Ангелова 1931). Angelova makes no mention of *\*gьlčěti* in her comparatively brief list of reflexes of vocalic *\*/j/* (p. 139), nor in the examples for palatalized *-л’-* (ibid.).

Šumen, Сърt (Miletič 1903). Miletič makes no reference to *\*gьlčěti* in his description of the reflexes of vocalic *\*/j/*, nor in the verbal morphology of the Šumen Сърt dialect (for *гѣѣкъ*, cf. Popovo, above). Kočev, however, adduces the 1<sup>st</sup> sg. pres. form *гьлчѣ* for Šumen in the contrast to the Silistra type *гьл’чѣ* (see above). It is not quite clear whether the pejorative gloss noted above also applies to the example from Šumen.

Сърt émigré (Northern Dobruđa) (Gorna Čamurla) (Добрева 1986). In the excerpts from Добрева’s dissertation which we consulted, the following example was cited to illustrate the simple “statement of fact” narrative aorist — *Тѹѹ ѡѡѡ чѣсѣ гьл’чѣ* (3sg. aor.), *ас кѹнѣѹ* (1 sg. aor.) 239. The meaning appears to be neutral, i.e., ‘He talked for two hours, while I hoed’.

#### 2.2.2.4 Northeast dialects (Stara Planina type)

Elena (Петков 1974). Petkov’s extensive dictionary (ca. 170 pp.) contains no entry for *\*gьlčěti*, *\*bьbri-*, *\*velěti*, *\*vrěvēti*, but provides evidence for two neutral verbs of speech (*\*dumati*, *\*хortuva-*) and one (*\*gьgre-*), which also can convey a

more intimate, deprecatory tone,<sup>38</sup> cf. *дѹмъм* ‘говоря, казвам’, *Дѹмъм му дѣйди зъ дѣрвѣ* (‘I’m telling him to go for wood’) 37 (note that this sentence actually exemplifies the meaning of *Вг казвам*); ‘наричам, именувам’ *Мѣнь мѣ дѹмът Стуйѣне* 37; cf. noun *дѹма*, *Пуйтъм дѹма* (‘slander’) 37; *хуртѹмъм* ‘приказвам, говоря, съветвам’, *Слушѹи мѣ къко ти хуртѹмъм нѣма дѣ збѣркѹи* (‘Listen to what I’m saying and/so you won’t get confused’) 163; *гѣгръ* ‘говоря, разговарям; бѣбря’, *Сигѣ нидѣй ми гѣгръ, шъ спѣ* 30; *гѣгрим се* ‘говорим си, бѣбрим си’, *Чи идѣвѹи, кугѣту си хѣлѣк дѣ си гѣгрим* (‘[S]he’ll come by when [s]he gets’ an urge to have a chat’) 30. Also of particular interest is the verb *збурумъм*, which has two meanings, cf. 1) ‘на сбор сѣм, на панаир’ (farmer’s market, fair); 2) ‘говоря много’, e.g., *Стѹга збурумъм, дай рѣт и нѣ други да кѣжѣт нѣшту* 44. The second meaning here is remarkable inasmuch as the collective testimony of *БДА* and our other sources indicates that “*зборувам*” does not occur as a verb of speech (marked or otherwise) outside of Western dialects. One fundamental feature which distinguishes the Erkeč dialect from neighboring Stara Planina and Mizija dialects alike is the reflex *-ѣ-* for both \*ъ and \*ѧ. If in fact not related to the generally accepted etymological origin of “*зборувам*” as a “Balkan” verb of speech, perhaps this use of the verb here is a secondary development involving metonymic extension from the primary meaning of “*зборувам*” in the local dialect (i.e., ‘attending the market; marketing’ > ‘bargaining’ > ‘talking a lot’).

Erkeč (Delčeva, unpublished ms.).<sup>39</sup> Delčeva’s recent study of the Erkeč lexicon lists *gal’čѣ* ‘to nag’, *Mѣjka gal’čѣse*; *priказka* ‘speech, dialect’, cf. *Priskata saštata, nosieta – saštata* (‘They have) the same dialect (way of speaking) and the same clothes (as us)’; “*Ulou’ dѹma sigѣ* (‘Now he says he means tin’ or perhaps ‘Now he’s calling it *ulou*’); “*Urki’ mu dѹmame* (‘We call the evil eye *urki*’, cf. \**u-roki*); *Šamšir mu kѣzvam’e*; *brus mu wikam’e* (‘We call a whetstone *brus*’). There is also one example of \**govori-*, cf. *zad garbѣ ni govor’at*. *БДА*-NE indicates forms of \**priказvam* in all 27 Erkeč villages (with variants in \**xortuva-* for only two points).

Erkeč (Георгиев 1907; Стойков 1956). Neither Georgiev, nor Stojkov make any reference to \**gъlčѣti* in their brief remarks on the Erkeč lexicon. The verb is also absent in Georgiev’s list of reflexes of vocalic \*/l/ (p. 184–185), whereas *говор’ѣ* is cited elsewhere (p. 197).

Karlovo (Vojnjagovo) (Ралев 1977). Ralev’s dialect description includes an extensive lexicon (pp. 102–189), which cites the following forms of \**gъlčѣti*: *гѣлчѣ*, *гѣлчиѹи*, *гѣлчѣл* (sans gloss) 40; *гѣлчѣ* ‘говоря, приказвам’ 115, *Кѣлчим* (колкото пѣти) *сѣ срѣшнѣт*, *виздѣн гѣлчѣт и ни сѣ нѣгѣлчѣвѣт – ѹ’ѣлу силѣ жѣ удѹмѣт*; ‘съвятвам някого’ 115, *Гѣлчиѣ гу дѣ сѣ врѣштѣ нѣврѣми, чи се пу сукѣцѣти скитѣри тѣвѣ вѣцѣишкѣ*<sup>40</sup> *ѹтѣ* ‘Advise (tell) him to get back on time, ‘cause that damn kid likes to wander around the streets’ 115. Of special interest here is the use

<sup>38</sup> Note that somewhat to the east of the Elena dialect, \**gъgre-* is used as a neutral verb of speech in three *o*-dialects in the vicinity of Kotel.

<sup>39</sup> The Erkeč dialect exhibits a series of accentual, phonetic, and lexical traits which tend to associate it more closely with Rup or Mizija dialects than with other dialects of the Stara Planina type, to which it is traditionally assigned.

<sup>40</sup> From *важдѣиѣ*, a regionalism of obscure origin (see БЕР 1: 111).

of the Slavic *Aktionsart* formation in *nagъlčavati se*, for which the perfective is also cited, cf. *нъгълчъ съ* (as an example of “извършаване на действието до насита”). Cognate nominal forms are also adduced, cf. *гълч, гълчкъ* 21. Not attested are *\*dumati, \*duma; \*vrěvēti; \*velěti, \*govoriti, \*lafuva-, \*sъboruva-*. There is an entry for *\*prikazova-, \*prikaza-*, cf. *приказоѡм, приказъ* ‘приказвам; одумвам (i.e., ‘slander’), but it is interesting that the only example provided illustrates the specifically pejorative meaning, with direct object governance, cf. *Ни нуси тоѡ гуч сукманъ, ѡтъ ни приказоѡ ц’алту силѡ* 156. The secure position of *\*gъlčěti* as a neutral verb of speech in the Vojnjagovo dialect is confirmed by the testimony of *БДА-SW*, which indicates *гълчъ* without variant for pt. 3017.

Kazanлъk (Enina) (Китиров 1970). Kitirov’s relatively detailed lexicon (pp. 107–152) contains no entries for *\*gъlčěti, \*dumati, \*bъbre-, \*laf-*, but documents *уртувѡм* ‘говоря, убеждавам’, *Уртувѡм, ѡмъ кой мѡ чувѡ* 143, as well as the cognate fem. noun *урѡтъ* ‘събаране не жените на улицата на приказки’ 143. On the other hand, the Turkish loanword *laf* and the onomatopoeic base *\*bъbr-* are represented only by their nominal forms, cf. respectively *лаф* ‘дума, говорене’, *Къжи идиѡ лаф* 127, and *Ѳрѡтъ вѡче стѡнъле, ну пѡтъ ѡтъ съ чувѡ бѡбър* (‘the murmur of voices’) 110. Since the village of Enina is situated in the quadrant of *БДА-SE* (cf. pt. 2461), Kitirov’s data thus shed light on a dialect which is not represented in *БДА* for this question. According to *БДА-NE*, dialects immediately to the north in Gabrovo and Trjavna show a preponderance of “*приказва*”, but a small number of points to the immediate north of Trjavna exhibit *уртувѡм*, just as in Enina (cf. pts. 2418, 2427).

Kotel (Петров 1911). Petrov’s exceedingly brief lexical notes include no reference to *\*gъlčěti*, cf. rather the noun *хурѡтъ* ‘събрани няколко души, за да работят и праказват’ 222.

Nikopol (émigré dialect in Romania) (Младенов 1993). Mladenov cites the two variants *урѡтиѡм, уртувѡм* ‘говорим, приказвам’ 238. In *БДА-NW*, we also find both of these forms in the vicinity of Nikopol, sometimes in variation with “*приказвам*”.

Pleven (Тръstenik) (Евстатиева 1971). Evstatieva’s detailed dialect lexicon (pp. 151–243) attests *\*gъlčěti* only in its pejorative sense (‘scold’), cf. *гълчѡ* ‘карам се’, *Не гълчиѡ детѡто ма* 165. At least one other semantically relevant verb of speech (*\*xoroti-, \*xortuva-*) is represented in a more neutral meaning, cf. *орѡтъ, ортувам* ‘приказвам, говоря’, *Двѡте орѡтиѡ* (‘talking, conversing’) *край вратникъ* 204. In addition, one of the glosses for “*думам*” suggests that it can also be used in a similar meaning (cf. *дѡмам* ‘казвам, говоря’ 169), although the examples cited take an explicit or implicit *dicendum*, cf. *Аз му дѡмам* (‘am telling’), *ма кой мѡ слуѡа* 169, *Кви грѡзни дѡми му дѡмѡ* (‘spoke, said’) 169. One of the derived nouns also indicates a more general meaning, cf. *дѡман’е* ‘говорене’ (as well as the customary *дѡмъ* ‘дума, слово’) 169. *БДА-NW* Тръstenik (pt. 725) shows only *приказвам* (without variation or commentary).

Рорѡво (Braknica) (Денчев). Denčev’s limited lexical selection of “distinctive” vocabulary reveals no examples of “*гълчъ*”. This village is not incorporated in *БДА-NE*.

Sevlievo (Кгъvenik) (Ковачев 1970). The entry for \**gъlčĕti* in Kovačev's lexical material (pp. 8–52) indicates that this verb is used in both neutral and pejorative senses, cf. *гълчъ* 'говоря; мъря някого (scold)', *Мамъ мъ гълчи* 116. There are no listings for \**dumati*, \**bъbre-*, \**gъgre-*, \**xortuva-*, or \**lafuva-*, although we do find *лаф* 'дума, разговор', *ут лафъ нъ лафъ и мръкнъ* 29. БДА-NE indicates only *приказвъм* for Кгъvenik (pt. 2396), perhaps since only the pejorative sense of "гълчъ" was detected by the investigators.

Teteven (Стойчев 1915). Stojčev's extensive dialect dictionary contains no entry for \**gъlčĕti*, but the verb is cited in the sections on verbal morphology (cf. *гъла* [unglossed], *гъл'ах*, *гъл'ал*, *гълан*, *гъли* inv. *гъла-шта* 93) and the reflexes of vocalic \*/l/ (cf. *гълиш* Tet. ~ *галчиш* G. Željazna, *гълава* Tet. ~ *галчава* G. Žel. 17). It is possible that the presence of \**gъlčĕti* in the Teteven dialect has contributed to the creation of what appears to be a hybrid formation with \**gъtati* 'swallow', cf. *гълна*, -*еш* 'да престане да плача от крайно истощаване и омал'аване на гласът' 252. Since БДА-NW indicates "гълчъ" as a neutral verb of speech in one village with a Teteven *ĕ*-dialect (pt. 2306) and one immediately adjacent village (pt. 2307), it is possible that Stojčev's verb also could convey such a meaning.

Trojan (Ковачев 1968). Kovačev's dialect dictionary (pp. 161–243) includes the entry *гълчъ* 'приказвам, говоря' 197, as well as *гъгр'ъ* 'приказвам' 197, *Стъга сти гъгръли*, *ъми спѣти* 197. In addition we find the noun *лаф* 'дума, разговор', *Дъ си ръзбирѣм уд лафът суга* 212, *Събрали съ нъ лафъ муъбѣт* (cf. Tk *lafmuhabeti*) 212. There are no entries for \**bъbre-* (but cf. *бъбриць* 'човек, който приказвам много') 192), nor for \**duma-*, \**xortuva-/xorati-*, \**zboruva-*. The presence of "гълчъ" in neutral usage is consistent with the testimony of БДА-NW for a cluster of villages surrounding the town of Trojan, although this same source cites no variants with "гъгре" for Trojan (note that such forms are not cited only in two villages to the south, near Karlovo, see БДА-SW 3011 *бъбрим си*, 3014 *бъбрим си*, *гълчим* 'по-старо'). According to Stojkov (Стойков 1968: 73–74) Trojan is one of the few regions where the "old Bulgarian" population has not been replaced by settlers from other parts of the Stara Planina.

Sevlievo, Trojan, Teteven (Попиванов 1962). In his brief summary of the distinguishing characteristics of these central Stara Planina dialects, Popivanov (pp. 165–183) notes several distinctive lexical items, including *гълчъ* 'говоря' 179, but does not indicate its specific provenance. Once again, the inclusion of Sevlievo in this domain is not consistent with the testimony of БДА-NW, but is supported by the testimony from the village of Кгъvenik just cited above.

Veliko Търново (town) (Гъбюв 1896). Гъбjuv's list of 13 roots with vocalic \*/l/ does not include \**gъlčĕti* (p. 463).

### 2.2.2.5 Southeast dialects (*Rup* type)

#### 2.2.2.5.1 West Rup

Goce Delčev/Nevrokop (Мирчев 1936). Мирчев's discussion of reflexes of vocalic \*/l/ is of little diagnostic worth for our present purposes, since it contains only three

items, cf. *укъльцѣм, ж'ълч'кѣ, сѣлзѣм'е* 36. Nor is there any reference to *\*gьlčĕti* in the comparatively brief, yet highly informative glossary. The latter, however, does include several notable verbs of speech with commentary, cf. *вели* 117 (used most frequently in the 3sg. pres. as a substitute for *каже, кае*), *врѣв'е* 'казвам, приказвам, говоря' 123 ("Глаголът е много обикновен по говорите на цяла Източна Македония", an observation which echoes Šarkarev's previous claim), *зборювам* 'говоря' 117. Mirčev's citation of *\*vrĕvēti* in such a wide employ constitutes the easternmost attestation of this verb and is thus of historical significance for determining the SW delimitation of *\*gьlčĕti* at a stage prior to the collection of data for *БДА*, inasmuch as *\*vrĕvēti* seems to have served as an in-group, expressive *verbum dicendi* among speakers of dialects which lacked *\*gьlčĕti* for this purpose. This historical value of Mirčev's testimony is even more apparent when we compare it to that of *БДА-SW*, which indicates primarily "*приказвам*" (SE Goce Delčev, i.e., mainly to the east of the Mesta river), "*приказувам*" (most villages to the N of the town, including Mirčev's Ogenovo, pt. 4563), "*оратим*" (4 pts. in the north, including Mirčev's Baldevo, pt. 4560), "*лафовам*" (SW pts., including Mirčev's Dělčev, pt. 4556). Several villages in *БДА-SW* also attest "*зборовам*" (including Mirčev's Tešovo, pt. 4588), but "*греви-*" is cited only in 2 pts. (4122, 4125) of the southern Razlog type, situated farther up the Mesta valley beyond the northern limit of the Goce Delčev dialect region (in variation with "*зборовам*") and in 1 pt. (4555) on the western fringe of Goce Delčev (in variation with "*лафовам*"). It would thus appear that in Mirčev's time, the Nevrokop (i.e., Goce Delčev) dialect operated with two colloquial verbs of speech (*врѣв'е* and *зборювам*) and that this state of affairs also characterized outlying villages of the S. Razlog type (the latter were explicitly excluded by Mirčev from consideration for the Nevrokop dialect) and continues today in *БДА-SW* pts. 4122, 4125 (whereas the core Razlog dialect pts. of the Razlog-Bansko basin exhibit only *\*дума-*). The potential status of suffixed derivatives of *\*prikazati* in Mirčev's day can not be determined, since he makes no specific mention of them.

Razlog (Bansko) (Молерови, Д. и К. 1954; Велянова 1997). There is no attestation of *\*gьlčĕti* in the list of 17 roots with vocalic *\*/l/* which is found in the grammatical introduction to the collection of folktales assembled by the Molerov brothers. The verb is also not listed in Veljanova's monographic lexicon of the Bansko dialect, which tends to focus more upon distinctive nominal vocabulary.

Razlog (Молеров 1905, Алексиев 1931). Neither Aleksiev's description of the Razlog dialect, nor Molerov's study of its "double" accentuation contain any reference to *\*gьlčĕti*. Molerov cites 1sg. pres. *бърборе, збърборе* (sans gloss) 177.

#### 2.2.2.5.2 Rhodope

Central Rhodope (Стойчев 1965). The first and most extensive installment of Stojčev's three-part "Rhodope Dictionary" (Родопски речник, see Стойчев 1965, 1970, 1983) is devoted primarily to the Central Rhodope region (see *БД* 2: 119–315), where we find "*гълчъ*" attested in a variety of local dialects with different reflexes of vocalic *\*/l/*, cf. *гъл'чѣм* (Davidkovo/Ardino),<sup>41</sup> ("Pas", probably a misprint for

<sup>41</sup> The corresponding pt. 4210 in *БДА-SE* has -ъ- as the reflex of vocalic *\*/l/*.

“Pis”, = Pisanica/ Smoljan),<sup>42</sup> Padina/Ardino 142; *гъл'чѣм, Збѣраме са вѣчѣро, та хми гъл'чѣм* (Smoljan, Ardino, Asenovgrad, Manastir/Smoljan, Devin) 146; *гъл'чѣм* (Oreховec/Ardino = SW pt. 4651, Bani Лѣдѣа/Ardino = lacking in БДА, Zlatograd = SE pt. 4758, Pavelsko/Xvojna = lacking in БДА, Xvojna = SW pt. 4171) 149. Collocation of two separate entries reveals a rare instance of variation between \**gьlčĕti* and \**dumati*, cf. *гъл'чѣм* 142, *дѣмѣм* ‘говоря’ 155 (Xambardere, Ardino). Stojčev’s materials also provide rare evidence of the pejorative use of \**xorati*-/ \**xoratoва-*, cf. *хоратѣм* ‘говоря, приказвам’, but also pejoratively ‘приказвам лоши, неприятни думи, злословя’, *Нимой хоратѣм сакѣва дѣми* (Smoljan, etc.) 296; *хорат'овам* (= *хоратѣм*) (Smoljan) 296; fem. noun *хоратѣ* ‘лоша дума, клюка’, *Нимой кѣзва гълѣма хоратѣ* (Smoljan, Ardino, Asenovgrad) 296. БДА-SW provides no evidence for \**xorati-*, etc. in CeRhod, except on the northern periphery, cf. Asenovgrad (pts. 4175, 4178). On the other hand, the wide attestation of \**lafĭ*-/ \**lafova-* is consistent with the witness of БДА-SW, cf. *лафѣм* ‘говоря, приказвам’ (mainly among Bulgarian Muslims), *Нимой ми лафи, ѣунѣче* 198; *лафѣвам* (Smoljan, Ardino, Asenovgrad, Madan, Devin) 198; cf. also the base noun *лаф* ‘дума, мълва, приказка’, *Нимойте прѣви лаф!* (Smoljan, Ardino, Asenovgrad, Madan, Devin, Mg), ‘обещание’, *Дѣли са лаф на мѣмѣченѣ* 198. The verb \**gьgre-* is attested only in its expressive meaning, cf. *гѣгр'ам* ‘дърдоря, бръщолевя’ (Slavejno.) 145. There are no entries for \**vrĕvi-*, \**zboruva-*.

Devin (Mugla) (Стойков 1970). Stojkov’s discussion of verbal morphology includes the following present tense paradigm of \**vrĕvĕti* \**gьlčĕti* (sans gloss): *ѣѣ гълчѣм, ти галчѣи, то галчѣ, не галчѣме, ве галчѣте, тѣ галчѣт* 66.

Krumovgrad (Tixomir) (Кабасанов 1963). There is no listing for \**gьlčĕti* in Kabasanov’s brief dialect lexicon.

Smoljan (Momeilovci) (Кабасанов 1956). Kabasanov cites *гълча* ‘говоря’ 72, and also the noun *гълчѣва* ‘шум, говор’ (Канева-Николова 2001: 19). Канева-Николова’s study shows that Kabasanov’s forms are still in use nearly fifty years later, cf. *гъл'ча* ‘говоря’ 162, *Гъл'чам хи да си утвара очѣне на чѣтри* (here used in the sense ‘tell’); cf. fem. noun *гъл'чѣва* ‘високо и шумно говорене’, *Чу ѣе гул'ѣма гъл'чѣва* 162. These examples are important since they show that a pejorative meaning in a noun such as “*голчѣва*” does not necessarily imply the existence of this meaning in the verb.

Southeast Rhodope (Стойчев 1983), West Rhodope (Стойчев 1970). These installments of Stojčev’s Rhodope dictionary contain no entries for \**gьlčĕti* or \**dumati*.

### 2.2.2.5.3 Pavlikjan

Pavlikjan dialects (from the “Paulician” Catholic heresy) constitute a particular type within Bulgarian. They are commonly believed to have originated in the SE Rhodope region, but their present geographical distribution is as follows: (a) S. Pavlikjan (several villages in the general vicinity of Plovdiv and to its north); (b) N. Pav-

<sup>42</sup> The corresponding pt. 4652 in БДА-SW has -ѣ- as the reflex of -ъ.

likjan (near the Danube in the vicinity of Nikopol); (c) Banat (in SW Romania); (d) near Bucharest. The migration from northern Bulgaria to Romania was undertaken following the Čiprovec rebellion of 1688. At a subsequent date, some of the Banat Pavlikjans returned to Bulgaria, settling near Nikopol.

South Pavlikjan (БДА-SW). Since no published material of any significance on S. Pavlikjan has appeared since Miletič 1912,<sup>43</sup> for the sake of comparison we repeat the data from БДА-SW to demonstrate the use of “*гълчъ*” as a neutral verb of speech, cf. 3028 \**гълчъ*, 3035 *гълчъ*, *приказуъм*; 3037, 3040 3040a \**гълчъ*; 3665 *гълча*; 3717 *гълча*.

North Pavlikjan (Неделчев 1994). In his lexical notes, Nedelčev cites the marked usage of “*гълчъ*” for ‘scolding’, cf. *гълчи* ‘кара се, мъмри’, whereas “*хортува*” is used in a neutral sense, cf. *уртувъм* ‘говоря, разговарям’ 362.

Banat Pavlikjan (Стойков 1968). In his exhaustive dictionary of the Banat dialect (more than 400 pp.), Stojkov makes no mention of \**гълчѣти*, but cites rather *хуртувам* ‘изричам, произнасим думи’ *Дитѣту хуртува на тѣнку*; ‘разговарам, приказвам’ *Знай да хуртува мацѣрск’и* ‘уговарям, споразумявам се’ *Дойѣт у мумѣта съз гѣдларе и тугѣз хуртувѣт гудѣжѣ* 265; dialect glosses *казвам, ричъ* 265; *дѣмам* ‘говоря; мисля, смятам’ pp. 74. The data for related nouns of speech are as follows: Banat *хуртъ* f. ‘дума’ 265, *Влашка хуртъ*, *Кѣк’ѣ са хуртыте на тѣзы песмѣ? Ни размѣва бѣлгарск’ите хурты* 265; *дѣма* («нов.»), *Туй и палк’ѣнска дѣма* 74; *рѣч* ‘говор, говорене; дума’ 205, dialect glosses *дѣма, хуртъ* 205.

Bucharest Pavlikjan (cf. Popešt-Leorden, Čopljа) (Младенов 1993). On the basis of Mladenov’s lexical notes, we may conclude that the Bucharest Pavlikjan system of verba dicendi is similar to that of North Pavlikjan, cf. *гълчи* ‘кара се, мъмри’, *уртувъм* ‘говоря, разговарям’ 362.

Comparative analysis of the differences in the four branches of the Pavlikjan dialect reveals several interesting facts. First, S. Pavlikjan (i.e., the branch which is situated closer to the putative homeland of the Pavlikjan dialect) has retained \**гълчѣти*, the Ce Rhodope ‘speak’ lexeme of Slavic origin. Second, the other branches of Pavlikjan reflect a later stage, in which \**xortuva-* has replaced \**гълчѣти* as the basic verb of speech, although N. Pavlikjan and Bucharest Pavlikjan have retained \**гълчѣти* in the sense ‘scold, mutter’, whereas this verb is now lacking in the Banat dialect. Third, since the Banat Pavlikjans emigrated to Romania after the Čiprovec rebellion of 1688, thereby severing direct linguistic ties with their fellow Bulgarians, it would appear that the late 17<sup>th</sup> c. constitutes the *terminus ad quem* for the introduction and entrenchment of \**xortuva-* (this is consistent with the evidence of 17<sup>th</sup>-century Bulgarian vernacular Damascene texts from the West Central Stara Planina region, see 2.3.6). Fourth, at least the Banat dialect has at some point acquired or developed \**dumati* as a verb of speech, albeit one which warrants less attention than \**xortuva-*. Fifth, whereas \**xor(o)ta* serves as the basic word for ‘word, speech’ in Banat, \**duma* is deemed to be more recent.

<sup>43</sup> Note that only pt. 3665 (General Nikolaevo) and pt. 3717 (Sekirovo) retain the characteristic “Rup” feature of initial stress in the 1sg. present form.

#### 2.2.2.5.4 North Thracian

Plovdiv (Češnegivoro) (Попгеоргиев 1907) Popgeorgiev provides a detailed list of words containing reflexes of vocalic \*/l/, but cites no forms of \**gьlčěti*. Elsewhere, we find the 3pl. aorist or imperfect form *уртуваа* 425. This is consistent with the evidence of *БДА-SW* (pt. 3701), for which “*уртува*” is indicated as a neutral verb of speech.

Haskovo (town) (Димчев, Кювлиева 1970). The authors provide no entry for \**gьlčěti*, \**dumati*, or other potentially neutral verbs of speech, but do cite pejorative \**gьgre-*, cf. *гьгръ* ‘постоянно гьлча някого, постоянно досаждам’ 66, *Стулъ си мь гьгрил!* 66, as well as the noun *лаф* ‘разговор, приказни’ 78.

Haskovo (Nova Nadežda) (Христов 1956). Xristov provides no evidence of \**gьlčěti* in the discussion of reflexes of vocalic \*/l/, nor in the small lexicon (ca. 18 pages).

#### 2.2.2.5.5 South Thracian (NE Aegean Greece and European Turkey)

Dedeagač (Derwent) (Бояджиев 1970). According to the oral tradition of its original inhabitants (who now reside in Elxovo SE Bg), the village of Derwent was originally founded by settlers from Kruševo, which is situated to the NE of Solun. This circumstance would serve to explain the presence of SE Mac features in the dialect, such as *рьзбóй* 237 and the masc. def. sg. desinence *-ум*.<sup>44</sup> The E Mac origin of the dialect is also manifested in the form *прикъзнь* ‘приказване, думи’. Thus it is not surprising that Bojadžiev’s brief contrastive dialect dictionary (pp. 223–245) does not list continuations of \**dumati* or \**gьlčěti*, although the absence of \**vrěvěti* and \**velěti* is somewhat unexpected. Instead we find *урóтъ* ‘говоря’, *Т’а мλόгу урóти* 240, *уртóъм* ‘говоря’, *Ти уртóвъй сьгá* 241. This verb appears to have been acquired due to contact with other Thracian dialects, a circumstance which would also explain the presence of the Rup *-ova-* suffix (as opposed to *-uva-* or *-va-*) in the variant *уртóъм*. The particular example cited for \**prikaz(ъ)va-* suggests that the dialect speaker may be adapting his speech to that of the investigator, cf. *И ние въз вас* (според вас) *нак тъка приказъме* (‘According to you we also speak that way’) 225.

Gjumurdžina (Sъčanlı) (Бояджиев 1971). In his richly documented lexicon, Bojadžiev cites *гьл’чь* ‘говоря, приказвам’ 20, *Гьл’чьт пу д’ук’анету* (‘People are talking in the stores’), ‘карам се’ *От’ гьл’чийи децáтъ* (‘Why are you scolding the children?’). Also of particular interest is the entry *дүмъм* ‘говоря, казвам’ 25, *Мірчу нумáцим дүмъше* (spoke to) (folksong; note dat. pl. of ‘Ромак’), especially when this verb is used in the sense ‘to speak a language’, cf. *Турькуту с д’ате учьт турьку дь дүмъ* 25, as well as its original sense ‘мисля’, cf. *Иед’ал’ан и си дүмъл* 25. Further meanings of “думам” in this dialect include ‘наричам, именувам’ *Тька му дүмъхъ*; ‘клеветя, разправям’ *Нъ нупрел’лки, нъ межй, нъ ору и нъ с’акде ги дүмъли, чи сь срьвливи* 25. In addition we find *приказъъм* (literary form), *приказувъм* (the

<sup>44</sup> The EMac desinence \**-ot* occurs only in unstressed position, elsewhere we generally find *-ьт*, which is the more common Rup ending.

dialect form *-ova-* with vowel reduction?) ‘говоря’,<sup>45</sup> *Йа с’а приказвѣм със тебе, ъмъ н’амъм тай мисль дѣ ти приказвѣм* 73; *Н’амъ кѣко дѣ ви приказувѣм* 73; *прикъскъ* ‘говор, език; приказка’; *приказувѣне* ‘приказване’ 73. While there is no entry for \**govoriti*, we do find the unusual impfv. formation *рекуѣм, рекуѣм* (from *рекъ*). Boajdziev’s glossary thus provides important evidence for the usage of \**gьlčĕti* as a basic verb of speech in SouthThracian dialects, notably those situated in close proximity to the southeastern Rhodopes. The semantic overlap of “*гълчъ*” and “*думам*” is only partial, since both verbs can mean ‘говоря’, but there seems to be a distinction between \**gьlčĕti* ‘приказвам; talk’ (i.e., ‘occupy oneself with talking’) and \**dumati* ‘казвам; tell’ (i.e., ‘convey one’s intention, express one’s thoughts’).

Lozengrad (Павлова, 1988). Pavlova’s discussion of accentual alternations includes a reference to \**gьlčĕti*, cf. *гъл’чъ* ~ *гъл’чѣх* (sec. 4.12). Although the Lozengrad dialect exhibits a mixture of SW (Fakija) and SE Bg traits (contrast respectively 1sg. *ѣас* with initial stress in both forms of the imperative *зѣпъли, зѣпълите*), the presence of palatalized *-л’-* in the forms of \**gьlčĕti* is probably attributable to the presence of the Rup Strandža dialect element, an assertion which is consistent with the presence of \**gьlčĕti* in the latter region (v.s.).

Asia Minor (Mandър) (Цанова 1986). Consultation of the chapter on accentuation in Canov’s dissertation yielded the following unglossed examples of \**gьlčĕti*: 1sg. pres. *гълч’ъ* 168, *гълч’ъ* 185, 2sg. pres. \**гълч’ѣи*, 1sg. aor., 1sg. impf. \**гълч’ѣи* 185.

In addition to these sources, we have consulted the descriptions of reflexes of vocalic \*/l/ and verbal morphology for all the relevant chapters in Bojadžiev’s detailed, monographic survey and atlas of S. Thracian dialects (Бояджиев 1991), but have found no examples of \**gьlčĕti*.

#### 2.2.2.5.6 Strandža

Our principal source for this dialect region (Горов 1962) provides important evidence for the areal domain of \**gьlčĕti* (at least in its marked usage) to the east of the Rhodopes. In the lexicon (pp. 64–159) we find *гълче* ‘карам се’, *Фѣтѣи си рѣботѣта од вр’ѣме, че тѣткѣ ти ше те гълчи* ‘do a bit of work once in a while or your father will give you a talking to (scold you)’ 78. In the section on verbal morphology, we have pres. *гълче, гълчиѣи, гълчи*, imperf. *гълчѣх, гълч’ѣше*, aor. *гълчѣх, гълчѣ* 35. Otherwise, the basic verb of speech appears to be *хурѣтѣвѣм* ‘приказвам, говоря’, *Друкъ пѣк’ дѣ знѣѣш кѣко хурѣтѣвѣш* ‘Next time you’ll know better what to say/how to speak’ 153.<sup>46</sup> The generalized meaning of this verb is reflected in the cognate fem. noun *хурѣтѣ* ‘говор, диалект’, *Йа не мѣ дѣ се с’ѣте нѣ хурѣтѣ нѣ*

<sup>45</sup> The dialect of Sьčanli is not a mixed one, therefore the presence of the literary variant here can likely be attributed to the interaction between the investigator and the dialect speaker.

<sup>46</sup> Note that in addition to the characteristic Rup *-ova* suffix (rather than *-uva*), the Strandža form also displays the rare (and etymologically correct) *-a-* vowel of the second syllable of the root (in contradistinction to the more widely attested forms with apocope or *-o-*, cf. “*хортува*” and “*хоротува*”).

*žǎgórɥume* ‘I can’t seem to understand the dialect those Zagorci speak’ 153. There are no entries for \**vrěvēti*, \**dumati*.

### 2.2.3.1 Southwest dialects

Blagoevgrad (Padež, Leško) Стоилов 1904, 1905). Stoilov cites no examples of \**gьlčěti* in his general description of the dialect (1905), nor in his study of its accentuation (1904). Whereas Stoilov’s list of 20 *ě/i*-verbs does not include \**gьlčěti*, the list of *i*-verbs cites *говору* (1905, p. 213).

Botevgrad (Trudovec, formerly Лъžane) (Тодоров 1936). Todorov cites the intriguing example *ногличу* 120 (sans gloss), but does not identify the form. The latter can nonetheless be determined by accentual criteria, which indicate that this is the imperative sg. rather than a form of the aorist singular.<sup>47</sup> This appears to be a hypochoristic usage, which has sheltered “*гьлчъ*”. According to *БДА-NW* the corresponding pt. 2254 is a “*сказвам*” dialect.

Botevgrad (Попиванов 1940a); (Илчев 1962). Пчев’s small dictionary (pp. 185–205) contains no entries for \**gьlčěti*, \**dumati*, or other remarkable verbs of speech.

Botevgrad (Skravena) (Тодорова 1999). Todorova’s concise, informative lexicon (pp. 104–133) includes an entry for \**gьlčěti* in its marked usage, cf. *гьлча* ‘говоря високо’ 108. In *БДА-NW* (p. 242), Skravena (pt. 2252) shows *приказвам, орута*.

Fakija (SW Bg émigré dialects in SE Bg) > Čanakča (Istanbul/Šumen) (Денчев 1979).<sup>48</sup> Denčev’s brief lexical material (pp. 343–349) includes *гьлча* ‘говоря’, *Гьлча с момчето си* 344.<sup>49</sup> Since the ancestors of Fakija dialect speakers most probably originated from south of the Stara Planina (cf. Samokov and regions to the west thereof), this attestation is very intriguing, although we can not completely exclude the possibility of influence from the dialect of the town of Šumen, where Čanakča speakers occupy a small quarter.

Ixtiman (Младенов 1967). Mladenov’s richly documented lexicon (pp. 3–197) includes *гьлча* ‘говоря, приказвам’, 51, *Ѓа му гьлча*, cf. also *гьчóли се* ‘говори се, шуми се’, *Гьчóли се вánка* 51; *гьчлиѳ* ‘приказлив’ 51; *гьч* ‘гьчка, шум, врява’ 51; *гьчка* ‘викавица, шум’ 51. Although the Ixtiman dialect region is *not*

<sup>47</sup> Лъžane/Trudovec is situated in the zone of “semi-retracted” stress (where all prefixed aorists are stressed on the root, see *БДА-NW*, map 186, where no variation is indicated for pt. 2254), but also in the zone of oxytonic stress in the imperative sg. (see *БДА-NW*, map 192, where no variation is indicated for pt. 2254).

<sup>48</sup> Fakija dialects are situated in SE Bg to the west of the Strandža region. There is considerable linguistic evidence to support the ethnographic and historical indications that these dialects originated in SW Bg (ca. 16<sup>th</sup> c.), perhaps in the general vicinity of Samokov (see Кочев 1964; Schallert 2001). The Fakija region itself served as the base for colonization into southern Thrace (Lozengrad, Čanakča), where speakers of the Fakija dialect often came into close contact with speakers other dialects, then later emigrated to Ukraine (cf. probably Ternovka), Dobrudža, and Šumen.

<sup>49</sup> Oxytonic, rather than initial, stress in the 1sg. pres. form is not a characteristic SW Bg dialect feature and may reflect influence of the Mizija *o*-dialect of the town of Šumen, to which Čanakča speakers emigrated in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

marked for \**gьlčěti* in БДА-SW, one is loathe to challenge the authority of Mladenov, an eminent and highly observant dialectologist, who worked as a school teacher for many years in the Ixtiman region (see introduction to Младенов 1967). According to БДА-SW, for ‘приказвам’ N. Ixtiman dialects usually have forms of \**оратим* (rarely in variation with \**приказвам*), whereas S. Ixtiman dialects exhibit either forms of \**бъбра* or \**бъбра* ~ \**оратим*. Mladenov also lists forms of the latter two verbs (and cognates of \**орати*), cf. *ората* ‘приказвам, говоря’ 126, *Т’а и не орати*. *Орати си каквó си ниé орати́м, орати́в* ‘приказлив, общителен’ 126; *ората* ‘разговор, приказване’, *Оди́хме на ората́ у ни́х* ‘говор, език’, *Такáва си ни е ората́та. Той се позна́ва по самáта ората́; ба́бра* ‘говоря’ 37, *Ба́бре му каквó иска; ба́бре се* ‘говори се’, *На нóго местá се дру́гойче ба́бре; ба́бре си* ‘разговарам с някого’, *Се́дни и слу́шай каквó си ба́брем*.

Ixtiman (Dolna Banja) (Тодоров 1936). Not listed in БДА-SW, Dolna Banja is presently a small town located several kms. south of Ixtiman and to the east of Raduil (Samokov). Todorov cites *гличме* 120 (without gloss).

Kjustendil (Умленски 1965). There is no reference to \**gьlčěti* in Umlenski’s detailed monograph of the Kjustendil dialect in its regional varieties, cf. Kjustendil Pijanec, Polčane, Kamenica, Kraište (the last-named being a Transitional dialect).

Kjustendil Polcane (Бояджиев 1932). Neither Bojadžiev’s lexicon (pp. 320–329), nor his summary of reflexes of vocalic \*/j/ list \**gьlčěti*.

Makocevo (Стоянов 1972).<sup>50</sup> Although Stojanov’s monograph-length article on the Makocevo dialect contains no reference to \**gьlčěti* in the modest-sized lexicon, we do find unglossed forms of the verb in the detailed discussion of vocalic \*/j/ and verbal morphology, cf. respectively *глича*, *гличи́и* 190 and *глича*, *гличи́и*, *гличáх*, *гличáне* 241. БДА-SW (pt. 2288) indicates *ба́бра* and *орота* as the neutral verbs of speech. It is therefore likely that we are dealing here with marked usage of \**gьlčěti*.

Pirdop (Smolsko) (Кънчев 1968). There is no entry in the detailed dialect dictionary (pp. 86–155) for \**gьlčěti*, although we do find *гличáва*, *гличка* ‘гльчка, кавга, шумни расправия’ 95. There are also no listings for \**govori-*, \**veli-*, \**vrěvi-*, \**duma-*, or \**zborva-*. Instead, the two most basic verbs of speech appear to be “*бъ-бръ*” and “*орати*”, cf. *ората*, *-иш* ‘говоря’, *Орати́ли си за млади́то вре́ме* 128; *ората́* ‘говор, реч’, *Ората́ му е сé на кавга́* 128; *ба́бра*, *-еш* ‘говоря, приказвам, преговарям, обсъждам’, *Ни́а вéче бабра́хме за телéто, ама то́й мáлко да́ва* 88. Other verbs of speech have more limited meanings, cf. *прика́зувам*, *прика́жа*, *-еш* (the formal equivalent of Literary Bulgarian *приказвам*, *прикажа*), which is used specifically to refer to a brief conversation held upon meeting someone (‘заговарям при среща, не отминавам мълком или само с поздрав’), e.g., *Като ма срéшне, се ите са за́нре и ите са прика́же* 136, whereas the noun *прика́ска* has a wide range of meanings (‘реч, говор, начин на говорене’), *Нему прика́ската е сé на кавга́*, ‘пословица, поговорка’ 136. As in Botevgrad, situated somewhat to the northwest,

<sup>50</sup> Although not listed as a separate regional dialect in standard works on Bulgarian dialectology, the dialect of Makocevo as described by Stojanov in effect constitutes a transition between those of E. Sofia and Pirdop.

we also find *скáзвам* ‘разказвам’, *Нáшата бáба чéсто ни скáзваше за чу́мата* 142.

Samokov (Вакарелска-Чобанова 2005). Vakarelska-Čobanova’s authoritative dictionary (pp. 17–392) cites *\*gьlčĕti*, but only in its expressive sense, cf. *гьлчím* ‘говоря силно’ 67 (cf. *дерем се, джаголим, джакам*); *Гьлчí, та гóра вéе; Днéска дóма гьлчáхте нéшто* 67. The neutral verb of speech is evidently *орáтим (си)* ‘говоря (си)’ (cf. also *говóрим си, моабéтим си*) 246, *Нóгу обíчам с вáзе да си орáтим, Орáтиме си сос нéа цíгански* 246, *Васíлко, ми дúма, не óрати такá* 96, although the dialect glosses would suggest that *говóрим си* and the adapted Turkism *моабéтим си* are equivalent in meaning to *оратим*. All told, this description is consistent with that of БДА-SW, where *оратим* is indicated as the basic verb for ‘приказвам’ throughout the Samokov region. Not cited by Vakarelska-Čobanova are *\*орати* (predominant to the west according to БДА-SW), and *\*бъбре*, which occurs to the east in Ixtiman. The verb *\*dumati* functions as a verb of speech, but only in the sense of ‘tell, say’, cf. *дúмам* ‘казвам’ 96, *Васíлко, ми дúма, не óрати такá*, thus serving as a counterpart to *\*kazivati/\*kazati*, cf. *казúвам* (impfv.), *кажем* (pfv.) ‘казвам’ 146, *Йа не казувам на мажó ми, да не óка*. In addition, *\*dumati* retains its primary meaning, ‘think’, cf. *Ни се дúмам, ни се раздúмувам* ‘не искам да зная’ 96.

Samokov (Raduil) (Ангелова 1948). In her listing of reflexes of vocalic liquids (pp. 310–312), Angelova cites (but does not translate) both *гьчáт, гьчíли* (sic!) and the nouns *гьчка, гьчка*. БДА-SW (pt. 3555) indicates only “*орáтим*” as a basic verb of speech.

Samokov (Govedarci) (Стойков et al. 1956). There is no attestation of *\*gьlčĕti* in the list of reflexes of vocalic /l/ (p. 264), nor in the lexicon. Instead we once again find *орáтим* ‘говоря’ 317 (thus also pt. 3519, БДА-SW).

West Sofia (Dobroslavci) (Гьлѣбов 2000). Гьлѣбов’s monumental dictionary of the dialect of Dobroslavci (pp. 59–835) contains no entry for *\*gьlčĕti*, nor for *\*vrĕvēti* or *\*velĕti*, in any usage, but does document the presence of several related nouns, cf. *гьч* ‘шум, викане, врява’, *Какóв бéше тоа гьч ноцéска у Кíрови?* 139; *гьчáва, гьчка* (cf. *гьч*) 139. If such forms presuppose the erstwhile existence of the verb *\*gьlčĕti*, then it most likely would have been used only in the original (non-neutral) sense. The attested unmarked verbs of speech are as follows: 1) *збрúвам, збрúем* ‘говоря, разговорям, приказвам’, *Цáла сáран збрúва саз жeníте на чеши́мата* 267; *збор, -тá* ‘говор, говорене’, *У збортá бíе на бацá си, ‘приказка, разговор’ Отишлá на збóр при жeníте* 267; 2) *Говóри* (‘збрува’) *налéво и надéсно* 267; 3) *приказвам* ‘говоря, разправям’, *Не мóже да приказва, óти го боли́ гьлото* 631; ‘разговорям, беседвам’, *Приказвáа си нéшто, ама не разбрáх зaштó бéше* 631. The verb *\*dumati* is used for speech, but (in contradistinction to Kjustendil dialects to the west) only with an implicit or stated complement, cf. *дúмам* ‘говоря’, *Сéки ден му дúмам да не ргá текá по улиците* 199, *Нáна му дúма, а óн па си тáа* 199; *Кáзвам* (‘думам’) *прáво/напрáво уочи (у очите)* 199. Note that neither *думам* nor *дума* (198–199) means ‘think’, ‘thought’, cf. rather *мíслим* 412. The particular form *збрúвам* (with apocope) is also the one cited in БДА-NW for pt. 2212.

West Sofia<sup>51</sup> (Gorna Banja, Bojana, Gurmazovo, Knjaževo, Mirovjane, Suxodol, Filipovci) (Божков 1962). Božkov's lexical material indicates the presence of the pejorative nominal formation *гълчава* 'гълчка' 246. Otherwise, we find *\*zboruva-* as a basic verb of speech, *\*duma-* in the sense 'say, tell', and *\*vrēvi-* only in its onomatopoeic and pejorative usage, cf. *зборувам* 'говоря' 249, *думам* 'казвам' 247, *врѣвим* 'карам се, говоря сърдито' 244 (despite the absence of an entry for this last verb in Гълъбов's dictionary of the Dobroslavci dialect). The entries are not attributed to specific villages.

### 2.2.3.2 Northwest dialects

Aside from *БДА-NW*, an important source providing evidence for "*гълчѣ*" in NW Bg is Todorov's monumental survey of NW Bg dialects (see Тодоров 1936), which contains at least 10 citations of this verb (two of which actually pertain to Transitional or SW Bg dialects, v.s.). Only one of these examples is glossed, albeit significantly as 'говорили' (cf. Гърци, Vidin). Other sources consulted provide no attestations of "*гълчѣ*" in NW Bg (see below for references from Mladenov's study of Bulgarian émigré dialects in Romania and Xitov's lexicon of Radovene, a Vraca dialect).

Bjala Slatina (Enica) (Тодоров 1936). Cf. the noun *глчава* 120, 244. Since the village of Enica is the product of settlement from Botevgrad and Etropole to the south, it was not listed in *БДА-NW*. Given that neighboring villages between Bjala Slatina and the Iskър river attest *приказвам* (sometimes in variation with *хортувам* or *гъгра*) as the neutral verb of speech, one may assume that the noun *глчава* which Todorov cites most likely designates 'uproar, tumult'.

Bjala Slatina (émigré dialect in Romania) (Младенов 1993). Whereas Mladenov adduces only *думам* 'казвам, приказвам' 169, *БДА-NW* indicates "*приказвам*" near Bjala Slatina, once in variation with "*хортувам*". This suggests either that *думам* is an archaism (and thus no longer used in Bjala Slatina) or that the investigators of *БДА-NW* observed its use only in the sense of 'казвам'.

Kula (Gramada) (Тодоров 1936). Todorov cites the unglossed verbal forms *гълчала*, *гълчале* 121. *БДА-NW* (pt. 96) indicates variation between pres. *гълчѣме*, *бѣбреме* (with the note "Най-новата дума е *приказваме*"). Thus, Todorov's verb may also represent a neutral term of speech.

Kozloduj (Čibr-Ogosta émigré dialect in Romania) (Младенов 1993). Mladenov cites only *оротува* 'говори, приказва' 117. *БДА-NW* provides no data for dialects in the immediate vicinity of Kozloduj, but the adjacent villages of E. Lom and W. Orjaxovo indicate only "*приказвам*", a circumstance which suggests that "*оротувам*" was more common in the NW between Lom and Nikopol in the past and that it has subsequently been replaced by the standard form.

Lom (Dolno Linjavo) (Тодоров 1936). Todorov provides *гълчѣт* (sans gloss) 121. Although not included in *БДА-NW*, Dolno Linjavo (local pronunciation "Li-

<sup>51</sup> For Коваџика the data are as follows: *згѣсти*, *зѣб*, *кѣшта*, *мѣчат*, *сѣбота*, *сѣшото* ~ *зуските*, *мути*, *муџика*, *прут*, *пручка*, *рука* *БДА-NW*, p. 28.

nevo”) is situated on the Danube several kms. to the east of Lom. According to БДА-NW, the nearest village Kovačica (pt. 175) attests *говóрим*, whereas other proximate points indicate either *приказвам* or *ортувам*. In fact, according to БДА-NW the nearest point which exhibits “*зьлчъ*” even as a variant neutral verb of speech is situated considerably to the west (cf. *злчím*, pt. 146). Thus, the testimony of БДА-NW militates against interpreting the form cited by Todorov in an unmarked sense. On the other hand, БДА-NW (Map 14) indicates that Kovačica and pt. 178 both exhibit variation between /ъ/ and /u/ as the reflex of \**ǫ*,<sup>52</sup> although once again the nearest villages showing similar variation are situated considerably to the west. Thus, there is evidence that villages immediately to the west of Lom could represent earlier settlements from Transitional dialects in the northwestern Stara Planina, where “*зьлчъ*” commonly occurs as a basic verb of speech.<sup>53</sup> If such is the case, then the form *зьлчѣт* which Todorov cites may actually represent another example of this usage.

Montana (Gabrovnica) (Тодоров 1936). Cf. *зьлчáле* 121 (Studeno Buče) (Тодоров 1936). Cf. *зьлчím* 121. Although neither of these villages is listed in БДА-NW, Gabrovnica is located 13 kms. to the N of Montana and Studeno Buče 4 miles to the NW thereof. Villages in this vicinity attest “*приказвам*” as neutral, but villages in the foothills of the Stara Planina to the west show “*зьлчъ*”. In addition, one village farther to the east (pt. 649) displays “*зьлчъ ~ приказвам*” (thus representing the easternmost outcropping of “*зьлчъ*” in dialects to the north of Vraca). Since the village of Studeno Buče was excluded from the network of БДА-NW due to its “extremely heterogeneous” population (see p. 19), it is quite possible that the presence of “*зьлчъ*” in this case should be attributed to the influence of Transitional dialect speakers. There is no discussion of the grounds for excluding Gabrovnica.

Pleven, Maraš (émigré dialect in Romania) (Младенов 1993). Mladenov lists *оратí* ‘говори’ 192. БДА-NW indicates that the form *орати* survives in two Pleven villages (pts. 1439, 751) as well as in two adjacent Nikopol points (pts. 746, 751). In other villages, the most common forms are “*приказвам*” and “*говор’а*” followed by “*(х)ортувам*”.

Vidin (Гърци, formerly Gradec) (Тодоров 1936). Todorov’s citation of *зьлчáле* with the gloss ‘говорили’ (p. 387) is quite unexpected, since the corresponding БДА-NW pt. 11 is situated in the midst of a cluster of uniform “*бъбрем*” dialects. This would require the loss of \**ǫlčĕti* in unmarked usage within less than one full generation.

Vidin-Lom (émigré dialect in Romania) (Младенов 1993). In his remarks on the lexicon Mladenov cites no data on special *verba dicendi* (p. 64).

Vraca (Тодоров 1936). Since the form *зьлча* 121 is not glossed, we cannot determine if this verb represents the unmarked usage which in БДА-NW is attested in pt. 1347 to the south and pt. 1374 (in variation with “*приказвам*”) to the east.

<sup>52</sup> See Стойков 1968: 101 and the historical introduction to БДА-NW, p. 19, for discussion of such migrational patterns.

<sup>53</sup> The dialect of Radovene (situated on the Iskър, to the west of Lukovit), exhibits many E Bg lexemes (cf. *кراك, риза, котка, късам, недей, той* vs. NW *нога, кошул’а, мачка, немой, он*), but cf. also *йа/йазе* vs. NE *аз*.

Vraca (Radovene) (Хитов 1979).<sup>54</sup> Хитов's extensive and well-illustrated dictionary (pp. 223–342) cites no entries for continuations of \**gьlčěti*. Instead, we find two neutral verbs of speech, cf. *приказвам, приказам* (i), *прикажна, прикажа* (p) 308 (for *приказвам* cf. also *БДА-NW* pt. 1408) and *ората* 'говоря, приказвам' (not cited in *БДА-NW*), *Какво ми орати толко!* 290. The latter verb also can be used pejoratively (as in some Rhodope dialects), cf. 'пускам слухове', *Ис село оратат што ли не* 290. The cognate base noun is also used in both senses, cf. *оратъ, оротъ* 'говор, реч; дума; слух, мълва, клюка', *Извѣдѣна на момичѣто оротъ, без да има зашто* 290. There are also no listings for \**bьbre-*, \**dumati*, or \**vrěvěti*, but \**gьgre-* is found in its pejorative onomatopoeic sense, cf. *гъгра* 'бъбря, говоря неразбрано', *Момите гъграат на пък'а* 238.

### 2.2.3.3 Transitional dialects

The term "Transitional" is employed in contemporary Bulgarian dialectology (as in Стойков 1968: 115–117) to designate linguistically cognate dialects which are situated in extreme NW Bulgaria and immediately adjacent Serbian territory, cf. (in Bulgaria) Belogradčik, western Berkovica, Трън, Breznica, and (in Serbia) Caribrod, Bosilegrad. In general these dialects exhibit classic typological traits of the Balkansprachbund type (such as the postposed definite article, drastically reduced case system, near absence of an infinitive) together with genetically determined phonological and morphological features of a Serbian type (cf. \**q* > *u*, \**ь* and \**ь* > *ь*, retention of voiced stops in auslaut, medial /l/, absence of the phoneme /f/, 1pl. -*mo*, fem. pl. -*e*, 3pl. aor. -*še*), whereas still others admit of more complex interpretations (cf. \**tj*, \**dj* > *ч*, *и* and *т'*, *д'*). In geopolitical terms, the regions concerned which are now situated on the Serbian side of the border were part of Bulgaria prior to 1918.

Although published sources for Transitional dialects other than *БДА* provide little information in general regarding continuations of \**gьlčěti*, our survey yielded examples of \**gьlčěti* only from the Belogradčik region. No attestations of this verb are cited in Transitional dialects to the south of the Stara Planina massif (cf. Godeč, Burel, Graovo, Трън). This distribution is consistent with the detailed picture one obtains from *БДА-NW*, SW, where "гълчъ" predominates to the north of the Berkovska Planina, but does not breach the Stara Planina chain to the south thereof.

Belogradčik (Ol'sane) (Берберска 1931). In her discussion of reflexes of vocalic \*/l/, Berberska cites both the verb and a cognate noun (both sans gloss), cf. *глчиши* 92, *глчѣва* 92. This does not contradict the testimony of *БДА-NW* (pt. 125), where we find *глчѣмо си* in the sense 'приказвам'.

Belogradčik (Vьrbovčec) (Тодоров 1936). Cf. *гълчѣт* 398, *кълчѣмо* (sic!) ('гълчѣмо') 121. The foothill village of Vьrbovčec was excluded from the network of *БДА-NW* (p. 19) due to the strong presence there of western Stara Planina (i.e., Transitional dialect) settlers. Note further that Vьrbovčec is located several kilome-

<sup>54</sup> The dialect of Radovene (situated on the Iskьr, to the west of Lukovit), exhibits many E Bg lexemes (cf. *крак, риза, котка, късам, недей, той* vs. NW *нога, кошул'а, мачка, немой, он*), but cf. also *ѡа/ѡазе* vs. NE *аз*.

ters to the east of Belogradčik, i.e., where according to *БДА*-NW neighboring villages attest “*зълчъ*” with the meaning ‘приказвам’.

Belogradčik-Timok (Vratarnica)<sup>55</sup> (Sobolev 1994). In his discussion of reflexes of vocalic \*/l/, Sobolev cites several forms of \**gьlčěti* (including an Aktionsart form with \**za-* + *se*), cf. *злчѣмо*, *злчѣмо*, *заглчѣла се* 90, as well as the cognate noun *злчка* 90.

Burel (Любенов 1993). Ljubenov’s extensive and well illustrated dialect lexicon (pp. 15–155) contains no entries for \**gьlčěti*, \**bьbьre-*, \**vel-*, nor \**dumati*, but does cite \**vrěvēti* and \**zboruje-* as ‘speak, talk’ in neutral usage, cf. *врѣвим* ‘говоря, приказвам’, *Мужу, трѣбе да врѣвим на синотога вѣчим да се жѣни* 26, *зборуѣм* ‘говоря’, *Млого е срамл’иѣ – у народ не зборуѣ, само си траѣ и глѣда* 48, *че зборуѣмо* 10, *збор* ‘говор’. In contrast, the verb \**prikazati* is restricted in its usage, cf. *приказуем се, приказѣм се* ‘общувам и уважавам стари роднински връзки’ 112.

Godeč (Виденев 1978).<sup>56</sup> Videnov’s otherwise extremely thorough description contains neither a dictionary nor a systematic discussion of the lexicon. There is no evidence of “*зълчъ*” in the brief summaries of the reflexes of the *jers* (33–34) and vocalic liquids (50–52). On the other hand, a discussion of verbal polysemy notes that *думам* can mean both ‘разказвам’ and ‘заповядвам’ 93. *BDA*-NW indicates only “*зборуѣм*” for Godeč.

Graovo (Мартинов 1958). Martinov’s condensed lexicon of the Graovo dialect contains no entries for \**gьlčěti*, \**bьbьre-*, and \**velěti*, but cites instead \**vrěvēti* and \**zboruje-* as basic verbs of speech, cf. *врѣвим* ‘говоря’, *Шо ми врѣвиш одѣмо* 775, *зборуѣм, зазборувѣли се* (from *збор* ‘говор’, *Збор се чуѣ некуда* 777). This is consistent with *БДА*-*SW*, *NW*, where the Graovo region to the north of Breznik straddles the somewhat diffuse isogloss between “*врѣвим*” dialects to the west and “*зборуѣм*” dialects to the east.

Тгън (Господинкин 1921; Петричев 1931). Gospodinkin’s brief glossary makes no reference to verbs of speech, nor does his fairly extensive list of reflexes of vocalic \*/l/ contain any example of \**gьlčěti* (pp. 44–45). Petričev makes no reference to \**gьlčěti* in his exhaustive list of words with vocalic \*/l/ (p. 173), while citing only \**vrěvēti* as a distinctive, but neutral verb of speech, cf. *врѣвим* ‘говоря’, *Дѣста ви*

<sup>55</sup> The village of Vratarnica was founded near the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. by settlers from the neighboring Transitional dialect region of Belogradčik in Bulgaria (see Sobolev 1994: 14–15). Situated at the same latitude as Rakovica (Belogradčik) Vratarnica represents the northernmost point in Serbian territory for which an attestation of \**gьlčěti* has been found in the sources consulted for the present study.

<sup>56</sup> The Godeč region in many respects represents a zone of overlap between classic “Transitional” and NW Bg (East Sofia) features, cf. considerable local variation in the form of an east-west gradation of features, with productive spread of W. Sofia dialects features, not those of Lit-Bg or the “pure” Transitional dialects to the west; thus, Videnov, the author of the primary source, cites much of his data from centrally located villages, where a prominent W. Sofia feature such as the masc. def. sg. *-o* co-exists with “Serbian” phonetic reflexes of \**q > u*, and morphological traits such as 3pl. aor. In *-še* and 1pl. *-mo*)

*вревѝл – глава́ ме заболѝ 200; Си́де де, не вревѝ ми мло́го 200.* БДА-NW shows mainly “*вревим*” for the Трѝн region.

For Transitional dialects on the Serbian side of the border, we have the evidence of БДА-Trans, which confirms the absence of \**гълѣѝти* (at least as a neutral verb of speech) to the south of the Timok and Pirot dialect regions, cf. (from north to south) “*зборурѝм*” (N. Caribrod), “*орѝтим*” (S. Caribrod, Трѝн), and “*о̀думам*” (Bosilegrad). All of these forms constitute direct continuations of the isoglosses which begin on the Bulgarian side of the border, south of the Stara Planina. For evidence of \**гълѣѝти* in Serbian Torlak dialects to the immediate north of these regions, see the following section. Where attested, the past tense forms of \**гълѣѝ-* exhibit *-i-* rather than the reflex of *-ě-* as the stem vowel, as in some Russian dialects (see Introduction).

### 2.2.3.4 Southeast Serbian (“Torlak”) dialects

Our survey of East South Slavic (“Balkan Slavic”) may be extended to include those dialects which in many respects constitute a continuation of the “Transitional” dialects on the Serbian side of the border with Bulgaria, but are located to the west and north thereof, (cf. Timok-Lužnica, Svr̥ljig-Planina). Sources for these dialects provide evidence for the occurrence of \**гълѣѝти*, primarily in districts which are situated in fairly close proximity to the Serbian-Bulgarian border. When glossed, the verb is onomatopoeic, as are the cognate nouns (with one notable exception in Dinić’s material from Timok).

Тимок (Динић 1988a) (specific provenance not indicated) *г̀лчи́* ‘галами; приго-вара, гунѝа’, *Море, чу му однесѝм тој едан-пу́т да ми ви́ше не г̀лчи́* 49. Cf. also *г̀лч* ‘тишина, мир; жагор’, *г̀лча́ње* ‘галама, врева, мумлање’ 48; (Динић 1988b) (no indication of specific provenance) *г̀лчи́је* ‘јасније, гласније’, *Де ма́лко г̀лчи́је, сла́бо те чу́ем* 397 (note that Dinić derives this comparative form from the “imperative” of *г̀лчи*), cf. also *г̀лчка* ‘врева, разговор, ѝаскање’ 397. Of particular interest here is the semantic extension of *г̀лчка* to include a more neutral meaning (cf. ‘разговор’).

Тимок-Lužnica (Белић 1905). In his monumental survey of SE Serbian dialects, Belić cites several examples of \**гълѣѝти* and its cognate nouns in his discussion of reflexes of vocalic /l/. Where glossed, the verb is still strongly onomatopoeic, cf. Kraljevo Selo/Novi An. *г̀лче* 94; Radoševci *г̀лчи́* 94; Tijelovac<sup>57</sup> *г̀лчи́ли су* ‘ровеоме’ 94. The same can be said of its cognates, cf. Novo Korito<sup>58</sup> *г̀лчи́је* ‘више, јасније, пре’ 94, G. Roman *г̀лѝач* ‘урлање’ 106; although there is one apparent exception, cf. Novo Korito *г̀лчка* ‘разговор’ 94.

Тимок (Sobolev 1998). Sobolev’s linguistic atlas of SE Sb and NW Bg (for our purposes equivalent to E. Torlak and Transitional Bg) is based on extensive fieldwork as well as an exhaustive collation of material from published sources. In the detailed

<sup>57</sup> Tijelovac is located near the southern bank of the Nišava, ca. 20 kms. NW of Pirot and 7 kms. SE of Bela Palanka.

<sup>58</sup> Novo Korito is located within a few kms. of the Sb-Bg border at the same latitude as Rabiša (Belogradčik).

discussion of reflexes of vocalic \*/l/ (pp. 137–164), we find Crni Vrh<sup>59</sup> *gľčú* (sans gloss) (Exp. 1995)<sup>60</sup> 142. For neighboring regions, we find the following attestations of \**gľčěti* and cognate nouns, all unglossed.

Pirot (Sobolev 1998). The Pirot dialect region is situated to the south of the Timok region and immediately NW of the Caribrod transitional dialect. Sobolev adduces Sopot<sup>61</sup> *iskľčim* 143 (citing Златковић 1989: 247); Gradašnica<sup>62</sup> *iskľčil* 143 (citing Златковић 1989: 39); Rosomač<sup>63</sup> *gľčilo* 144 (citing Златковић 1988: 38); Vojnjegovac<sup>64</sup> *iskľčim* 145 (citing Златковић 1989: 247).<sup>65</sup>

Lužnica (Sobolev 1988). Sobolev lists Donji Striževac<sup>66</sup> *klčemo* 144 (citing Curić 1983: 25–28).

Svrljig (Sobolev 1988). This region represents the westernmost limit of attestations of \**gľčěti* in our study. Sobolev quotes Beli Potok<sup>67</sup> *gľčí* 142 (citing Богдановић 1979: 15–18).

Thus, when compared to Belič's data, the most recently gathered material would indicate the relative stability of \**gľčěti*, etc. over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

A review of Broch's general survey of Torlak dialects (Broch 1903) and of Alexander's description of their accentual systems (Alexander 1975) yielded no further examples of continuations of \**gľčěti* or its cognates.

### 2.2.3.5 Bulgarian dialects in Ukraine

Bulgarian dialects in Ukraine are spoken by the descendants of immigrants who settled primarily in Bessarabia and Tavrija over the course of nearly a century from the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Almost all of the colonization came from NE and SE Bg, although some of the dialects exhibit W Bg features, which probably reflect prior migration and settlement in S. Thrace. Some villages exhibit evidence of dialect mixture due to different waves of settlement. The two major sources on all of these dialects are Deržavin's monumental survey (Державин 1915) and a series of publications by Russian scholars who conducted fieldwork after WWII (see primarily the series *СМБД*). Here we cite only attestations of \**gľčěti* and its cognate nouns.

Čijsjija dialect type<sup>68</sup> (Чешко 1952). Cf. *галчá* (not glossed) 79.

<sup>59</sup> Crni Vrh is located adjacent to the Bg border just south of the latitude of Gorni Lom.

<sup>60</sup> "Exp. 1995", etc. refers to the year of dialect expedition during which the material for the Atlas was collected.

<sup>61</sup> Sopot is located 11 kms. N of Pirot.

<sup>62</sup> Gradašnica is situated 3 kms. N of Pirot.

<sup>63</sup> Rosomač is situated due W of Pirot near the Bg order and Berkovska Planina.

<sup>64</sup> Vojnjegovac is located ca. 10 kms. S of Pirot, near the Caribrod dialect region.

<sup>65</sup> We assume provisionally that forms with root-initial voiceless velar (\**iz-kľčí-*) are cognate with the similar form cited for Belogradčik by Todorov (see above, Bg Transitional dialects) and glossed by him as equivalent to \**gľčí-*.

<sup>66</sup> Donji Striževac is located ca. 30 kms. west of Pirot.

<sup>67</sup> Beli Potok is located ca. 20 kms. W of Knjaževac, to the north of the Svrljiški Timok basin.

<sup>68</sup> According to Deržavin, the Čijsjija dialect is of NE Bg origin, but does not embody the

Kriničnoe<sup>69</sup> (Журвалев 1962). Cf. *гал'чи́* (unglossed) 32.

Loščinovki (Чешко 1952). Cf. *гáл'чи*,<sup>70</sup> *Гáл'чи с нéзи, т'а у тилифóна* 27, *гал'чáти* pl. inv. 65. The occurrence of *\*gьlčěti* in a neutral sense here is of particular significance, due to the complex nature of the dialect's composition. Češko identifies the Loščinovki dialect as primarily of SE Bg "Kajraklija" Thracian origin, with admixtures of influence from Eastern Rhodope and NE Bg "Čišija" types. Our own analysis of certain features in the dialect indicates that the "Thracian" element here is most probably of SW Bg origin, cf. mobile stress in the imperative, lexical features such as *разбóй* 'loom' (op. cit.) 27 (vs. E Bg *стан*), *штéрка* (vs. E Bg *дъщeря*) 27 (albeit in variation with *дащeрá* 65), and perhaps even the sporadic occurrence of masc. def. sg. *-o* in the speech of some older informants (p. 30), e.g., *ну нѣт'у* 31. Further, the regular occurrence of *-'a-* (and less commonly *-'ä-*, *-čä-*) as the reflex of *jat'* in Loščinovki is not inconsistent with our hypothesis regarding an older SW Bg substratum in the dialect, since the presence of such reflexes (particularly the archaic *-ä-*) is clearly documented in SW Bg émigré dialects of the Fakija type (see maps for reflexes of *jat'* in БДА-SE). It is impossible to determine if the neutral which is attested in Loščinovki represents the former state of affairs in SW Bg dialects such as Samokov, where today we find only the pejorative sense of 'loud talking'.

Ol'sane (Бунина 1953, 1954). In her glossary of the Ol'sane dialect, Bunina (1954) cites *гал'чá* 'ругать' 16, *гал'чá са* 'ругаться, браниться, ссориться', but also *дү́мам* 'говорить, называть' 20. Whereas the apparently neutral sense of *\*dumat'i* as a verb of speech may represent an archaism which has vanished in modern NE Bg, the occurrence of *\*gьlčěti* is consistent with other evidence for the Ol'sane dialect, which appears to combine features of the Mizija type (cf. masc. def. sg. in *-o*, notably in conjunction with unusual instances of mobile stress, e.g. *кpáс, кpастó, бон, бубó* Бунина 1953:57) with striking characteristics of the Erkeč dialect type (cf. /ä/ < *\*q, \*ъ, \*ьr/\*ьl*). Although the Sьrt and Erkeč dialects are situated in relatively close proximity to each other, it is conceivable that the assortment of traits exhibited by the Ol'sane dialect reflects dialect mixture which occurred after settlement in Ukraine rather than in Bulgaria. We do note, however, that the pejorative (rather than neutral) sense is the one attested for *\*gьlčěti* in the modern Erkeč dialect (v.s.). Suvorovo (Полтораднева-Зеленина 1955). Poltoradneva-Zelenina notes the occurrence of *\*gьlčěti* in a neutral sense, cf. *гал'чá* 'говорить, беседовать' 75. Generally classified as an East Thracian o-dialect (see Бернштейн, Журавлев, Сенкевич Толстой 1953) by Deržavin, Suvorovo exhibits accentual features which tend to preclude Rup origin (cf. oxytonesis in 1sg. present and the sg. imperative). On the other hand,

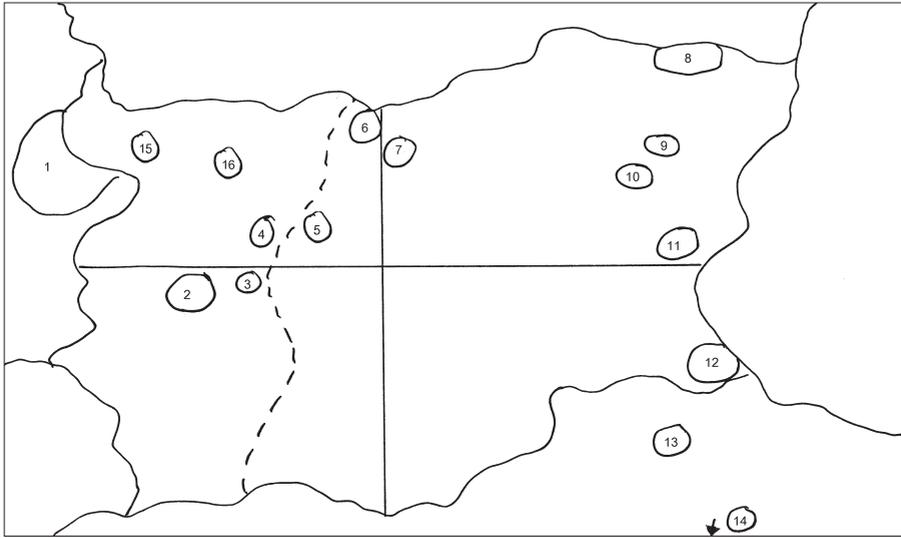
standard Stara Planina type, despite the presence of *-ъ* (rather than Mizija *-o*) in the masc. def. sg. form.

<sup>69</sup> The Kriničnoe dialect is of the classic Sьrt o-dialect type, see Журавлев 1955: 18–63. As such it retains stress on the first syllable in nouns such as *\*тогука*, cf. *мóт'ка скь́рца* 29 'the hoe got broken'.

<sup>70</sup> This symbol was first used by Deržavin to indicate the "non-tense" lower schwa-like vowel found in most E Bg dialects, in contradistinction to the so-called "tense" (higher, more closed) articulation which occurs in Sьrt and Sьrt émigré dialects. Later Russian scholars often followed this tradition.

the masc. def. sg. *o*-desinence and the archaic *jat'* reflex are incompatible with the Stara Planina type. All of this points towards the so-called “Zagorci” *o*-dialect presence as significant, although the *-a* 1sg pres. desinence is admittedly problematic for this interpretation. The usage of \**gьlčěti* as a neutral verb of speech enhances the probability that the Suvorovo dialect has Zagorci origin, in view of the genetic connection between Zagorci dialects and Mizija *o*-dialects to the north, where this same usage has been retained in a small number of Sьrt and Razgrad dialects.

**Map 7. Distribution of \**gьlčěti* (onomatopoeic-pejorative usage; unglossed examples)**



Onomatopoeic, pejorative usage: (1) NE Torlak, (2) Samokov, (4) Botevgrad, (6) N. Pavlikjan, (7) Pleven, (8) Silistra, (9) Šumen, (10) Preslav, (11) Erkeč, (12) Strandža; Unglossed: (1) NE Torlak, (3) Makocevo, (5) Teteven, (13) Lozengrad, (14) Mandьr, (15) Montana, (16) Vraca. Romania: Pavlikjan (pejor.); Ukraine: Ol'šane (pejor.), Čišija (unglossed), Kriničnoe (unglossed).

**2.2.3.6 Bulgarian Damascenes of the 17–18<sup>th</sup> centuries**

The so-called “Damascene” texts provide unique and invaluable evidence on the state of the Bulgarian and to a lesser degree Macedonian vernacular language of the 17–18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The texts derive their name from the Greek author Damascene Studite, whose religious anthology *Θησαυρος* (Slavic *Сокровище*) was translated into Church Slavonic of the Bulgaro-Serbian recension in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, then into the vernacular.

The majority of the best Damascenes originate in the West Central Stara Planina region of Bulgaria. Of particular note are the so-called *Tixonravov*, *Trojan*, and *Koprivštica Damascenes*. In her magisterial study of the *Tixonravov Damascene*, the Russian scholar Demina (Демина 1968) documents the presence in this manuscript of two characteristic imperfective verbs of speech, viz. *хорату-* (cf. “статъи группы *тогива*”)<sup>71</sup> and *дума-* (cf. “статъи группы *тогива* и группы *тогази*”). Demina further notes that modern dialects of the Loveč region appear to lack *дума* utterly (thus Демина 1985: 222–223, and, tacitly, *БДА*), while usually exhibiting *хортува* or *прикажува* (actually *БДА* shows *приказвам*). Having previously established that the *Tixonravov* version was composed in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century in the general vicinity of the Loveč eparchy, Demina proposes the possibility that *хорату-* was more widely used at that time than in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> c. and was subsequently partially replaced by *приказвам*. Thus, it appears that *\*dumati* was the older Slavic verb of speech, which was in the process of being replaced by *\*xorati-* in the 17c. The latter verb was then superseded by the morphologically productive type *хортува-*, which in turn has been subject to replacement by literary (and prestige dialect?) *прикажува-*. A similar development seems to have occurred in the Mizija *o*-dialect region farther to the east, except that here the old Slavic verb was probably *\*gьlčĕti* (which, unlike *\*dumati*, still survives in some isolated localities as the basic verb of speech).

The *Svištov Damascene* of 1753 is of particular interest from the point of view of Bulgarian dialectology, inasmuch as it documents the possible erstwhile presence of the Mizija *o*-dialect to the north and west of the modern borders of this type (see Милетич 1923: 3–4). Our preliminary survey of selected passages from this text reveals of selected passages reveals no occurrence of *\*xorati-*, but suffices to document the usage of *\*dumati* as a neutral verb and *\*duma* as its nominal counterpart, whereas *\*kazati*, *\*kaže-* is used to introduce quotations, cf. *чюдеши са и думаше, що ще да бѣде туй* 369;<sup>72</sup> *начеха да думать в’ бѣди-кой род’ и племе* 203; *И като чо царь Валакъ тѣзи думы, каже Валааму: чи аз та зовах’ да ги проклѣнешь, а ты ги благословѣваш. Каже му Валаамъ: азъ ты и по-напред’ рекох’ туй, оти щото ми рече богъ мой, туй щѣ да думамъ, що са гнѣвашь на менѣ!* 35; *Треперамъ от думата, дето щѣ да вѣ ѿ каже* 494. In addition, we find what appears to be one of the earliest documented examples of a nominal cognate of *\*gьlčĕti* in vernacular Bulgarian, cf. *И стори са този день мльва и метежъ голѣмъ из’ чаршията. И разбра се този гльчъ и до светого николаето що съ ѿ сторило по чершията* 485. It is clear from the context that the usage of *гльчъ* here is pejorative (cf. parallelism with the apparent Russian Slavonisms *мльва* and *метежъ*).

<sup>71</sup> On the basis of linguistic and textual evidence, Demina attributes the composition of those chapters of the *Tixonravov Damascene* which are written in the vernacular to two traditions, which she designates by means of their distinct lexemes for ‘then’, cf. *тогази* and *тогива*. Of the four scribes whose various hands can be discerned in the manuscript, the large majority of the chapters written by the primary scribe exhibit the adverb *тогази* (see Демина 1968: 72–76).

<sup>72</sup> The numbers here refer to the pagination of the manuscript.

### 2.3 Macedonian

Macedonian sources provide no evidence of \**gьlčēti*. The most abundantly illustrated imperfective verb of speech in Koneski's monumental and authoritative three-volume dictionary is *зборува* (with a separate one-line listing for the variant *збори*). Equal status is also accorded the related noun of speech *збор*. Among the other possible verbs of speech, *вели* seems to occupy second place in terms of range of meaning and fullness of documentation, whereas *говори* is merely listed without examples. In the sense of 'telling tales, stories', 'talking about someone', we find the prefixed verb *прикаже, прикажува* 'раскаже, раскажува; многу зборува' (cf. Serbian '*ispričati, pripovedati*'), whence the term for 'story, folktale' *приказна* (less commonly *прикаска*).

Of verbs whose primary meaning is different from 'speak', *вика* 'shout' can also be used in a neutral sense (cf. *татко вика дека е добро детето*),<sup>73</sup> whereas the employment of *вреву* ('raise a ruckus, roar', cf. Serbian 'larmati, galamati') or *дума* (Serbian '*misлити; pamтити; govorити*') for this purpose (cf. Serbian '*govoriti, pričati*') is deemed 'dialectal'. The related nouns are *велење, врева*.

Significantly, there is also no reference to \**gьlčēti* in a major two-volume dictionary of Macedonian folk poetry (see *Речник на македонската народна поезија*).

#### 2.3.1 The evidence of Macedonian dialects

Since at present we lack a Macedonian dialect atlas, one must gather lexical data from the kinds of sources cited above in connection with Bulgarian, cf. dialect descriptions, dialect lexicons, etc. Our collation of this data makes no claim to exhaustiveness. The grouping of dialects follows the classification provided by Vidoeski (Видоески 1998, 1999).

In his major collection of Macedo-Bulgarian lexical material, Šapkarev (Шапкарев 1891–1894/2001) provides extensive documentation for a range of dialects, primarily those of the south.<sup>74</sup> His writings contain no reference to \**gьlčēti*, nor to \**dumati* as a verb of speech, but do document the presence of \**velēti* and \**vrēvēti*. Šapkarev (2001: 29–30) glosses *велам, велиш* as 'казвам', which suggests 'say' rather than 'speak, talk, converse'. He notes that this verb occurs in folk tales and is thus, in his estimate, an 'echo' (*отглас*) of the living language, in contradistinction to the earlier assertion of Djuvernua (Дювернуа 1885–1889), who claimed that it was found in Macedonia only in songs. In the case of *врéвам, врéвиш*, Šapkarev (ib., 37–38) provides one example of its primary meaning (*Малчи бре чоече, не туку врeви 'вЪобще правя мълва, т.е. глЪчка'*), then asserts that 'in Strumnica and throughout almost all of eastern Macedonia' the verb is synonymous with *говóря*. The examples which he cites to illustrate this claim are in fact all taken from Verkovič's collection

<sup>73</sup> Schallert has noted the use of *викам* as an interpolated verbum dicendi, roughly equivalent to English 'I mean', as in 'It's (the book) on the table, I mean'.

<sup>74</sup> A native of Ohrid, Šapkarev worked over a period of roughly thirty years as a teacher in his native town, as well as in Struga, Prilep, Kukuš, Bitola, and Solun. He conceived of "Upper Bulgarian" and "Macedonian" as two major dialects of a single Bulgarian language and sought unsuccessfully to fashion a single inclusive common national ('племен') language.

of women's folksongs, cf. *Стана си мете рамните дворе, ем двори мете, ем на слънце вреви* Verk. 17; *Данината стара майка по двор ходи, Дана вреви* Verk. 23; *Димитар луда гидия, Немой ми вревиш, да не ти кажувa* Verk. 56; *Друшки, мили друшки! Немой ми вревейте, да не ви кажувa* 159.<sup>75</sup> Šapkarev further notes that only the second meaning (i.e., that of 'говоря') is found in Djuvernua. The presence of \*vrěvėti in SE Macedonia would appear to represent a continuation of the body of "вревим" dialects described in БДА-SW (cf. the Petrič region in the extreme south-western corner of Bulgaria, Map 301) and БДА-Aeg (cf. dialects along the Struma river, Map 215).

In his extensive survey of Macedonian dialects, Vidoeski (1998, 1999) makes not a single reference to \*gьlčėti in the sections in each dialect description devoted to the reflexes of syllabic \*/l/. The typical inventory of forms cited to illustrate this reflex includes \*blъxa, \*vьlkъ, \*dъlg-, \*gьltati, \*mьlčėti, \*pьln-, \*slъza, \*sьlnьce, \*tьlči, \*vьlna, \*žьlt-. Our own survey of published sources on Macedonian dialects (cf. dialect studies, dialect dictionaries, sample texts), as well as selected materials from the archives for the Macedonian Dialect Atlas in Skopje, also reveals no occurrence of \*gьlčėti, while at the same time yielding an inventory of verbs denoting 'speak, say tell' which is nearly as extensive as that found in Bulgarian. Below we summarize the results of our investigation.

### 2.3.2 East Macedonian dialects

Gevgeli (Иванов 1932). Ivanov's glossary makes no mention of \*gьlčėti, but instead cites \*vrěvi- in both neutral and pejorative usages, cf. *врėвум* 'говоря, дрънкам (prattle, chatter)' 124, whereas the notion 'say' is rendered by *вėлюм* 'казвам' 124. There also is no reference to \*gьlčėti in Ivanov's discussion of reflexes of vocalic \*/l/, which lists nearly a dozen roots (p. 73).

Kajlar (Дрвошанов 1993). There is no reference to \*gьlčėti among reflexes of vocalic \*/l/. Drvošanov's study does not include a lexicon.

Kostur (Шклифов 1973). Šklifov makes no mention of \*gьlčėti in the list of reflexes of vocalic \*/l/ (pp. 36–37). (Шклифов 1977). Šklifov provides no entry for \*gьlčėti in his 120-page detailed dictionary of the Kostur dialect, nor for \*dumati, \*duma, \*(x)orati-. The attested inventory of verbs of speech consists of \*zborva- 'speak, talk', \*veli- 'say (as impfv. to \*rek-), and \*vrěvi- 'chatter', cf. *вėл'a* 'говоря, казвам', *То, шо ти рėку фчėра, и вoйден ти вėл'a* 216; *вėли, вėли и на вėли* 'повтаря едно и също' 216; *Се вėли* 'говори се' 216; *збoрвам* 'говоря', *Срамлїва єсти чу̀ната* (the girl), *не збoрви со гoстите* [Gal.] 241; cf. adj. *зборовїт* 'разговорлив' 241; *врėва* 'бърборя', *Мно̀гу врėве жėните, ми е бyчe глaвата* [Kond.] 219; *врėва* f. 'говор, врява' 219.

Kukuš (Пеев 1998). Peev's extensive dialect dictionary (pp. 17–212, vol. 2) has no entry for \*gьlčėti. Instead the most fundamental verb of speech appears to be \*laf-, cf. *лaфe* 'зборува', *ка к'и-фaтe дa-лaфe, дa не му сa-уддєлиш уд-лaфo* 67, *лaф* 'збор' 67. Otherwise we find various pejorative verbs of speech (e.g., *гaлaтe*

<sup>75</sup> Note the marked, reproachful nuance in *vrěvi* in these examples.

‘зборува неконтролирано’ 37) and \**veli-* as ‘say’, cf. *веле* ‘кажува’, *они вел’ат и ти си бил тамă* 30. The adjective *вривлиф* (‘многу зборлив’ 31) seems to imply the (erstwhile?) existence of \**vrěvi-*, which we anticipate on the basis of Šarkarev’s general observation regarding (south)east Macedonian dialects, but the meaning conveys a nuance of excess. The verbs \**zboruva-* and \**govori-* are notable by their absence, although the latter is used in dialect glosses of other words, cf. *враже* ‘вража; нóгу гувóре’ 31.

Gospel of Kulakia (Mazon, Vaillant 1938). This interesting vernacular Gospel was composed ca. 1860 in the town of Kulakia, near the mouth of Vardar river. The contrast between \**zboruva-* ‘speak’ and \**veli-* ‘say’ can be clearly seen in the following passage: *Mlado detěnci, těb ti vel’am, pa stāni si. I zasednā mirfīnut, i fati da zburúva* (p. 273, entry 35, line 8). The verb \**govori-* is used occasionally in 3sg. aorist in the sense ‘replied’, cf. *guvorí* ‘répondre’ 216, and the example *A guvorí Pětro, ričė na nėgo...* (p. 263, entry 18, line 8). The fundamental semantic similarity between \**prikažuva-* (*sę*) and \**lafi-* (*si*) (in the sense ‘converse’) is apparent in the following quote *Vii sā prikažúvaa migu niħ za sīti vía čúdbi šo sā činile. Da támo šo si láftia i sā čúdaa...Da mu ričė na niħ: Čii sa vii prikāzni, šo sā láftiti migu vds...* (p. 253, entry 4, lines. 5–8). There are no entries for \**duma-* (in any sense), nor for \**vrěvi-*.

Lerin (Gorno Kalenik) (Hill 1991), Hill lists no attestation of \**gьlčěti* in the dictionary, nor in the section on reflexes of vocalic /l/. The basic verbs of speech are *zborva* ‘talk, speak’ (244), *zborva vaka* (‘he speaks our dialect’, 240) and *vele* (classified as the impfv. of *reče* pfv.) ‘say’, cf. *od velen’e do praen’e ima nogu* ‘Easier said than done’, *veliš* (dubitative particle) 241.

Maleševo (Delčevo) (Кушевски 1958). Kuševski’s list of 13 roots with vocalic \*/l/ does not contain \**gьlčěti* (p. 70). Nor is there any reference to verbs of speech in the brief lexicon (pp. 95–104).

Maleševo (Umlena) (Schallert: fieldnotes). The most commonly used neutral verb of speech is *думам*.

Maġiovo (Бинев, Кацаров). The authors note the fatalistic saying *За вѣкот сбóрваме – вѣкот на врата* 160. (Конеска 1951). For the village of Rožden, Koneska cites *лафам* ‘зборувам’.

Radoviš (Божковска 2003). Bojkovska’s informative 30-page dictionary of less commonly used words includes neither \**gьlčěti* nor \**velěti*, but lists *врєве* ‘зборува’ (while explicitly excluding \**zboruva-*, cf. “зборува не се среќава”), *Те, врєвни, де, родитџл си; Едєн нека врєве* 209.<sup>76</sup> There is also no entry for \**govori-*, although the latter verb is used in glosses, cf. *мџче – нишчо не говоре* 3pl. pres. 38. On the other hand, whereas \**dumatī* is not listed, we do find the noun *дума* ‘збор’, *Сџа мџсле шо а тџа дџма* 211. The list of examples for roots with vocalic /l/ contains no reference to \**gьlčī-*, cf. *бџа, вџк, бџсна, вџна, гџта, дџги, дџжєн ми е пари, жџт, жџчка,*

<sup>76</sup> The occurrence of the rarely attested semelfactive-perfective suffixed imperative form *врєвни* is interesting, since it suggests that *врєве* has become neutral enough in meaning to require a derived equivalent of the imperative *кажи*.

*мѣчија* Зрл. аор., *засѣне, закѣнен, измѣзих, јабѣка, кѣѣа* (кокошката колва трева), *кѣбѣса, кѣ*, рл. *кѣкови, мѣче* – нишчо не говоре, *пѣх, напѣнат, сѣзи, сѣнцето* 37–38. We also note the use of *вика* as a *verbum dicendi* in folk tales, e.g., 288.

Solun (Zarovo) (Вацева-Хотева, Керемедчиева 2000). Вацева-Хотева and Керемедчиева's exhaustive dialect dictionary (more than 400 pages) contains no entry for *\*gьlčēti* or its cognate nouns, but documents *\*vrěvēti*, *\*velēti*, and *\*kazuva-/\*kaza-*, *\*prikazuva-* as basic verbs of speech, cf. *вѣл'ъ* 'казвам, говоря', *Иѣс му вѣл'ъ дѣ стѣн'у* 123–124; *вр'ѣй* 'говоря', *Многу хубуу вр'ѣй* 128; *Сѣ зѣ л'уцкѣт'ъ рѣбутъ вр'ѣй* 128; *Ш'том, сѣ субирѣт двѣминъ зарувѣл'ий и фѣтѣт дѣ вр'ѣйтъ зѣ Зѣрвинѣцъ* 128; *Иѣс вр'ѣйтъ – иѣс чуйтъ* (сѣветите ми са безполезни) 128. Also documented is the deverbative neuter noun *вр'ѣйн'у* 'говорене, приказване', *Зѣ вр'ѣйн'у вр'ѣйтъ, ѣмъ вр'ѣйн'у курѣм н'у пѣл'н'у* 128; *кѣзуѣм, кѣжѣ* 'говоря, казвам', *Фр'ѣт кѣзуѣт, чи нѣ ѡ'адѣ ум'асѣм* 222; *Кѣш ми кѣлку и сѣѣтѣ!* 222; 'разказвам, разправам' *Мѣл'ч'ѣт'у, мѣл'ч'ѣт'у, чи бѣбѣ кѣзуѣ прикѣскѣ* 222; 'казвам наизуст' *Кѣзѣх мул'итѣтѣ нѣ ид'ин сулѣк* 222 (and several other meanings); *приказуѣм* 'говоря', *Прикѣзуѣ многу, ѣмъ мѣлку рѣбѣт'у* 317 (the only example for this brief entry). There are no entries for *\*bьbre-*, *\*dumati* or *\*duma* (in any sense, cf. rather *\*mysliti*), *\*govoriti*, *\*gьgre-* (only *\*gьgne-*, cf. *гьгн'ъ* 'говоря неясно, мѣнкам' 149), *\*xorati-/\*xortuva-*, *\*zboruva-*.

Solun (Suxo and Visoka) (Małecki 1936). Małecki's detailed dialect dictionary contains no listing for *\*gьlčēti*, nor for *\*zboruva-* or *\*dumati*,<sup>77</sup> but attests to the presence of *\*vrěvēti* and *\*velēti* as basic verbs of speech, alongside of *\*(pri)kazuva-*, cf. *vr'ām* S, *wr'āv'a* V, *vr'āvīš* S, V ~ *vr'ās* V 'mowię'; *vr'āva*, *vr'avāta* 'mowa, język' 128; *wel'a* S V, ~ *vilim* S, *viliš* S, V 'mowię, powiadam', *si vili sǎ umo* 'mowi do siebie', *što vili* 'co znaczy', *ja vilim* 'nazywam ja', *vili pak da gu fati* 'chce go znnowu złapać' S, *vili da fl'aj n'etr'q* 'chce wejść przez bramę' S 126; *prikázuvam* 'opowiadam, rozmawiam S, *vazi d'en' prikázuvaxa* S, *si prikázuvaš* 'spowiadasz się' V 89; *kázuvam* 'mówię, (o)powiadam', *kazúvani* 'opowiadanie, gadanie' S, V, *n'āji za kazuvani* 'nie da się opowiedzieć' S, as well as the original meaning of 'show', cf. *kazuvam* 'pokazuje' S, *mu ja kaza* 'pokazał mu (fotografję)' S, *sǎ kazuvam* 'zgłaszam się, podaję się za' S 49. Thus, *\*velēti* and to a lesser extent *\*kazati* are still polysemous, whereas *\*vrěvēti* has been reduced to a simple verb of speech.

Peev's three-volume dictionary of SE Macedonian dialects (Dojran, Gevgeli; Kukuš, Solun Пеев 1999) contains no listing for *\*gьlčēti* (pp. 297–298), but cites Małecki and Verkovič to document *\*vrěvēti* (p. 230)

Šklifov and Šklifova's small lexicon which accompanies dialect texts from Aegean Macedonia (Шклифов, Шклифова 1999) contains no entries for *\*gьlčēti* or *\*dumati*, but lists *вѣлѣм* 'казвам, нареждаш' and *збор* 'дума'.

### 2.3.3 Central West Macedonian dialects

The absence of *\*gьlčēti* in CW Mac dialects is reflected in Literary Macedonian. This analysis is confirmed by a review of detailed descriptions of core dialects.

<sup>77</sup> The verb *\*dumati* is not even attested in Suxo and Visoka in its primary sense 'think', cf. rather *misl'am*, *mislīš* 'myślę' Suxo, *sǎ um'ǎ(m)* in Visoka (Małecki 1936: 67).

Kičevo (Видоески 1957). Vidoeski's thorough description of reflexes of vocalic \*/j/ lists more than 15 roots, none of them \**gьlčěti*. (p. 49).

Kičevo (Тажмишки) (Видоески 1958). Vidoeski's extensive list of more than 20 examples of roots with vocalic \*/j/ contains no entry for \**gьlčěti* (p. 24).

Prilep (Конески 1949). The verb \**gьlčěti* does not occur in the 9 examples cited by Koneski for roots with vocalic \*/j/ (p. 252).

Veles (Reiter 1964). Reiter's annotated glossary (pp. 149-206) contains no reference to verba dicendi other than the collocation *laf čini*. Nor is \**gьlčěti* contained in the seemingly exhaustive list of roots (cf. more than 15 in number) with vocalic \*/j/ (p. 56).

### 2.3.4 Peripheral West Macedonian dialects

Debar (Григоров 1907). The inventory of verbs of speech in the glossary of Grigorev's fundamental study of the Дебар dialect contains no reference to \**gьlčěti*, but it suffices to indicate that \**zborva-* serves as the basic verb of speech and \**laf-* denotes conversation and speech, whereas \**vrěvi-* indicates chattering or making noise, cf. *збóрва ~ збóвра, -иш* 'говоря, пирказвам' 295, *лафа (се), -иш* 'правя разговор, говоря, беседувам' 297, *врéва, -иш* 'бърборя, правя шум' 293.

Galičnik/Mala Reka (Белић 1935). Belić includes no reference to \**gьlčěti* in an extensive list of words containing reflexes of vocalic \*/j/, 104–105, nor is this verb to be found in the index of forms which concludes his authoritative study. This work is of particular significance, not only because of its detailed synchronic description, but also due to its extensive citation of data from Pulevski's dictionary.

Galičnik (Golema Reka, Mala Reka) (Поповски 1959). Popovski makes no reference to \**gьlčěti* in the several lists (typically consisting of 7–8 roots) which illustrate local varieties of reflexes of vocalic \*/j/ (p. 109, 111).

Korča (Boboščica, Džänovene; Albania) (Mazon 1936). Mazon's detailed lexicon makes no mention of \**gьlčěti*, but does document \**zborvi-* (speak) and \**lafosa* (converse) as the two basic verbs of speech, cf. *zborvi* 'il parle' 453, *lafosa (da), -vi* 'parler avec, entretenir' 417. Together with their cognate nouns *zbor* 'parole, propos' 453, *laf* (from Turkish *laf*) 'parole' 417, and idiomatic expressions such as *najdoje na lafo, panaje vo laf* 417. As did Grigorev in his description of the Дебар dialect, Mazon also provides contra-indication for the extension of neutral meaning to the verb \**vrěvěti*, cf. *vrjävi* 'il fait du bruit' and the noun *vrjäva* 'bruit' 452.

Lower Prespa (Шклифов 1979). Šklifov's lexical observations include references to *збóра* (sans gloss) 128 and *вéл'а* 'казвам' 146, but make no reference to \**gьlčěti*, or marked verbs of speech such as \**vrěvěti*.

Ohrid (Якимова 1911). Jakimova does not cite \**gьlčěti* in her list of approximately 15 roots which exhibit reflexes of vocalic \*/j/ (p. 238).

Consultation of several other sources confirms the absence of \**gьlčěti* in dialects of the western Macedonian periphery, cf. Dihovo (Groen 1977), Radožda-Vevčani

(Hendricks 1976). Nor did Schallert note any trace of this verb in the course of field-work conducted in the Kostur dialect of Vrbnik in western Albania.

### 2.3.5 Northern Macedonian dialects

A survey of sources for Northern Macedonian dialects yielded no evidence for \**gьlčěti*, cf. Skorje (Угринова 1951), Polog (Селищев 1929), Куманово (Видоески 1962). The latter source is of particular significance, due to the extensive word index which Vidoeski provides.

### 2.4 Analysis of the Eastern South Slavic material

Our sample analysis of the evidence for verbs of speech in the literary languages and dialects of Eastern South Slavic permits us to draw certain conclusions regarding the position of \**gьlčěti* and to propose certain theories in view of the additional light which the fate of this verb may shed upon the settlement of the southern Balkan peninsula by speakers of early Slavic dialects.

In terms of linguistic geography, we have determined that the principal distinctive regions in which \**gьlčěti* can mean ‘speak, talk’ are situated in the following areas: 1) the far NE (cf. archaic Mizija *o*-dialects, which are viewed as “autochthonous” to the Danubian plain by Stara Planina settlers); 2) the SE (centered in the Rhodopes, with outcroppings to the east, cf. the margin of S. Thrace, but not to the west, cf. Pirin, Goce Delčev, Struma, Aegean Macedonia); 3) the NW (centered along the northern arc of the western Stara Planina and its foothills, including to a lesser degree NE Torlak in Serbia); 4) dialects situated due north of the central Rhodopes (in the Marica valley, Sredna Gora, and part of the WCe Stara Planina surrounding Trojan) as well as more isolated pockets located between the Rhodope-Trojan massif and that of the NW Stara Planina (cf. Svoge to the N of Sofia and Ixtiman to the southeast). Our analysis of sources other than *БДА* enables us to extend the attested domain of \**gьlčěti* ‘talk’ to a wider domain, thus including Ixtiman in SW Bg, Gjumjurdžina in S. Thrace, Sevlievo (cf. Кръвеник), Vidin (cf. Гърци), Mizija (Romania). We have also considered how émigré dialects such as that of Suvorovo (Ukraine) and Čanakča (SE Thrace) appear to shed light on the erstwhile presence of \**gьlčěti* as a neutral verb of speech in Mizija *o*-dialect colonies in the south (“Zagorci”) and Samokov (“Fakija”) colonies in the far southeast.

It is noteworthy that several of these regions are characterized by long-standing older populations (cf. Mizija, Rhodopes, Trojan, NW Stara Planina). It is most probable that these regions are those in which the verb has existed for the longest time, a circumstance which would provide it with more opportunity to undergo semantic evolution from a purely onomatopoeic or pejorative verb of speech to a neutral one (without necessarily entirely losing its onomatopoeic meaning).

In addition to these core areas, where \**gьlčěti* has acquired the role of a neutral verb of speech, we have located various adjacent localities in which only marked onomatopoeic (‘make noise’) and/or pejorative (‘scold’) meanings have been attested, cf. (1) in the SW — Samokov (to the west of Ixtiman), Botevgrad (between Teteven and Svoge); (2) Strandža (in the SE corner of Bulgaria); (3) parts of NE Torlak; (4) certain

Mizija dialects other than those mentioned above (cf. Silistra, Preslav, Šumen); (5) Erkeč (in the extreme East Stara Planina, not far from Mizija territory); (6) N. Pavlikjan (whereas S. Pavlikjan retains the neutral meaning). Finally we have attempted to show how other émigré dialects such as Loščinovki (Ukraine) indicate the presence of *\*gьlčěti* in NE dialects of a type distinct from those of Mizija and the Stara Planina.

In contradistinction to these zones of attestation, we have at least provisionally established that no trace of *\*gьlčěti* is to be found in Macedonia (including Aegean and Pirin Macedonia) or adjacent dialects in SW Bg (cf. most of the territory south of the Stara Planina and west of the Rhodopes). It is also quite possible that *\*gьlčěti* (even in its onomatopoeic and pejorative meanings) is in no sense native to other parts of Bulgaria (cf. eastern Stara Planina dialects such as that of Elena), but the extent to which this is the case is at present difficult to determine with respect to the onomatopoeic and pejorative usages, since our most detailed picture still remains *БДА* (which describes principally the neutral usage).

### 3. Discussion and synthesis

The distribution observed for Eastern South Slavic is consistent with the proposition that *\*gьlčěti* was brought to the southern Balkan peninsula from the Danube basin (i.e., primarily from the northeast, thus conceivably relating to the points in northern and central Russian dialects, adduced above) rather than from the northwest, a movement consistent with archaeological and linguistic observations on the migration patterns of the South Slavic settlement in recent years (see Andersen 1999 and literature cited there). This proposition is supported by the likelihood that the Slovene Pannonian dialect was settled from the southeast via the Danube and Sava basins by speakers of an early Slavic dialect or dialects in which *\*gьlčěti* had also taken root. It also dovetails with the apparent total absence of *\*gьlčěti* in BCS (with the exceptions noted here for NE Torlak and above for points in Kajkavian and Čakavian), since the Morava and Vardar valleys would have most likely served as the primary channels for settlement of Macedonia, where the verb is also not found.

In terms of potential cognate relations among early Slavic speakers who spoke dialects in which *\*gьlčěti* played a central role as a verb of speech, one can only construct hypotheses. It is noteworthy that the *-ny-* || *-nq-* isogloss separates Slovene Pannonian from the rest of Slovene (Andersen 1999: 50–51) in roughly the same pattern as *\*govoriti* || *\*gьlčěti* and that both of these bifurcations can be viewed as inherited pre-migration cleavages. With regard to Bulgarian, in view of the various archaic features which Mizija and Rhodope dialects have in common, the additional presence of *\*gьlčěti* serves to strengthen the theory of their underlying genetic connection, which may be derived from an easternmost group of early accentual parallels between Mizija dialects and much of the Rup area (cf. initial stress in words such as *\*mótyka*, *\*žélězo*, i.e., with absence of shift onto the medial “recessive acute”, and in plurals such as *\*vólove*, both phenomena as observed by Nikolaev and noted in the map at the end of *OCA* 1990).

It would be premature to attempt to draw any firm conclusions as to potential deeper relations among the remaining regions of major attestation of *\*gьlčěti* (cf. those from Karlovo-Trojan in the east to Belogradčik in the far NW). It is conceivable, however, that the Trojan and Karlovo passes at one time served as channels for migration from the Danubian plain and central Stara Planina to the Marica valley (cf. Plovdiv) and Rhodopes to the south (note that the river valleys due south of Asenovgrad also lead to the Central Rhodope regions with the highest concentration of *\*gьlčěti* reflexes in БДА-SW). The neutral usage of *\*gьlčěti* could then be a hold-over from earlier way-stations along the path of migration. Farther to the west, one may propose a similar pattern of migration from the Danubian plain into the WCe and NW Stara Planina, but with little apparent penetration south thereof (other than Ixtiman and Samokov). Later linguistic evolution would then have led to increasing differences between the Mizija and Rhodope proto-dialects, on the one hand, and those to the west, particularly those which underwent influence from dialects with deep Serbian affinities. It is also possible that new, different waves of settlement from the west led to the introduction of a different kind of Stara Planina dialect, one which today is characterized by a marked preference for oxytonesis in the nominal system (in contradistinction to the Mizija and Rhodope systems). These speakers would either not have adapted *\*gьlčěti* at all or at least not as a neutral verb of speech.

Viewing the problem from the perspective of linguistic structure, we might propose that in Slavic the semantic zone occupied by the concept of a neutral verb of speech tends to be filled by suppletion from two competing sources, “onomatopoeic” verbs (such as *\*glagolati*, *\*govoriti*, *\*gьlčěti*, *\*vrěvēti*, *\*bьbьre-*) and “notional” verbs, such as *\*dumati*, *\*ret’i*, *\*velěti*, and derivatives of *\*kazati*). Since verbs of the notional type are intrinsically more goal-oriented than the onomatopoeic type, within the same dialect system they can more easily coexist with the latter as suppletive neutral verbs of speech than can alternative onomatopoeic roots. In terms of delimitation by competing onomatopoeic verbs, the domain of *\*gьlčěti* as a neutral verb of speech is constrained in Bg by the employment of *\*vrěvēti* in this capacity in the SW (and NW), and in a more limited fashion by *\*bьbьre-* in the NW and Ixtiman in the SW (where there appears to be overlap). The apparent role of *\*gьgre-* in this dynamic is minimal (cf. its presence in a tiny number of Mizija Zagorci dialects spoken in the vicinity of Kotel). Elsewhere the primary competition has come from earlier Slavic notional verbs of speech, such as *\*dumati* (cf. SCe Rhodope, Mizija-Romania, Gjumjurdžinaa)<sup>78</sup> and imperfective derivatives of *\*prikazati* (less commonly *\*sьkazati*).<sup>79</sup> The evidence of Bg Damascenes further suggests that *\*dumati* may have replaced *\*gьlčěti* in parts of the Mizija north (e.g., Svištov) prior to being overtaken itself by *\*xortuva-*. A similar role was enacted on a smaller scale by another loanword (*\*lafī-*, *\*lafova-*) in the SCe Rhodopes.

<sup>78</sup> It appears that *\*dumati* has played a similar role in its relationship to onomatopoeic *\*vrěvēti* in the SW (cf. Kjustendil, E Mac, Pirin Mac).

<sup>79</sup> It should be borne in mind that the current zones of attestation of impfv. derivatives of *\*prikazati* outside of the Stara Planina can not be automatically ascribed to contact with Stara Planina dialect speakers or the influence of Literary Bulgarian, since such derivatives also flourish in the south (cf. Pazardžik, Goce Delčev, and with the diagnostic non-standard *-uva-* suffix in Sandanski, Blagoevgrad).

A similar, if simpler, situation obtained in the proto-dialects underlying modern Slovene. Here “onomatopoeic” verbs *\*gьlčēti* and *\*govoritī* each functioned as the neutral verb for ‘speak’ and these two verbs distributed geographically in Pannonian vs. non-Pannonian dialects, respectively. Both of these verbs persisted alongside “notional” verba dicendi (*povědati*, *\*ret’i*, *\*velēti*, *\*praviti*) and each of the “onomatopoeic” verbs developed a full set of parallel derivatives.

### Symbols and abbreviations

\* = reconstructed form, \*\* = unattested form, ◇ = pre-modern textual attestation; BCS = Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (standards), Be = Belarusan, Bg = Bulgarian, BS = Balto-Slavic, Cr = Croatian, Cz = Czech, En = English, Gk = Greek, Hi = Hittite, IP = imperfective, IE = Indo-European, La = Latvian, Li = Lithuanian, Lit = Literary, LS = Lower Sorbian, Lv = Latvian, OCS = Old Church Slavonic, Ma = Macedonian; MHG = Middle High German, O- = Old, OPru = Old Prussian, P = perfective, Po = Polish, PS = Proto-Slavic, Ru = Russian, Sb = Serbian, Sk = Slovak; Sn = Slovene; St = Standard, Uk = Ukrainian, US = Upper Sorbian, Ve = Vedic

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### Prazgodovina in zemljepisna razvrstitev psl. \**gьlčěti* ‘govoriti’

V slovanskih knjižnih jezikih je izpričano sorazmerno majhno število glagolov za pojem ‘govoriti’. Poleg stcsl. *glagolati* najdemo še bolg. *говоря*, bhs. *govoriti*, blr. *гаварыць*, rus. *говорить*, slš. *hovorit*, sln. *govoriti*; češ. *mluvit*, pol. *mówić*, ukr. *мовити*; mak. *зборува*; dls. *rjas*, gls. *rěčec*. Slika v narečjih je precej bolj zapletena. Med leksemi za pojem ‘govoriti’, ki so izpričani izključno v narečjih, je tudi psl. \**gьlčěti*, ki je prvotno pomenil ‘povzročati hrup, šumenje; kričati’, kot kažejo starejši pisani primeri, npr. stcsl. *gьlkъ, -a* ‘hluk, шум, Lärm, tumultus’; stčes. *hlučěti, -u, -iš* ‘hlučeti, křičeti, schallen, lärm, schreien, rufen’, *hluk, -a* ‘hřmot, křik, prudkost, nepokoj, Lärm, Geschrei, Unruhe, Ungestüm’; strus. *гьлчати, гьлчу* ‘кричатъ’, *гьлчание* ‘шумъ, крикъ’, *гьлка* ‘шумъ, мятежь’. V nekaterih slovanskih narečjih se je pomen razvil v ‘govoriti’, ki je danes izpričan na treh različnih področjih: v osrednjih in severnih ruskih, v bolgarskih in v slovenskih narečjih. Enak pomenski razvoj se opaža tudi pri drugih leksemih tako v indoevropsčini kot v slovanščini. Leksem \**gьlčěti* je povsem odsoten v bhs. knjižnih jezikih; izpričan je samo v obrobni narečjih, in sicer v kajkavščini pod vplivom slovenščine in v srbsčini pod vplivom bolgarščine.

Razprava podrobno obravnava zemljepisno razvrstitev in pomenski razvoj leksema \**gьlčěti* v južnoslovanskih narečjih, tj. na področjih z migracijsko poselitvijo, zastavlja pa tudi vprašanje o prvotni povezavi med jezikovnimi skupnostmi, v katerih se je leksem razvil v glavni izraz za pojem ‘govoriti’. V obravnavi se precizira zemljepisna razvrstitev leksema, ki je tu prvič podana sintetično za celotno južnoslovansko področje. Avtorja prihajata do zaključka, da je verjetna povezava med slovenskim panonskim narečjem in arhaičnimi bolgarskimi narečji in da ta povezava sega v čas naselitve. Leksem so prinesli migranti po Donavi na Balkan s severovzhoda (kot je razvidno iz enakega razvoja v osrednjih in severnih ruskih narečjih), nato pa v slovensko panonsko narečje. Analiza podpira domnevo, da so slovanske selitve v podalpski in balkanski prostor vključevale raznovrstne praslovanske narečne skupine.

### The Prehistory and Areal Distribution of Slavic \**gьlčěti* ‘Speak’

The Slavic standard languages attest a relatively small number of expressions for the notion ‘speak’. In addition to OCS *glagolati* one finds today BCS *govoriti*, Be *гаварыць*, Bg *говоря*, Ru *говорить*, Sk *hovorit*, Sn *govoriti*; Cz *mluvit*, Po *mówić*, Uk *мовити*; Ma *зборува*; LS *rjas*, US *rěčec*. However, the picture in Slavic dialects is much more complex. Among those lexemes for ‘speak’ that occur only in the dialects is PS \**gьlčěti*, a verb whose meaning was originally ‘make sound/noise’, as is evidenced by older attestations, e.g., OCS *gьlkъ, -a* ‘hluk, шум, Lärm, tumultus’; OCZ *hlučěti, -u, -iš* ‘hlučeti, křičeti, schallen, lärm, schreien, rufen’, *hluk, -a* ‘hřmot, křik, prudkost, nepokoj, Lärm, Geschrei, Unruhe, Ungestüm’; ORu *гьлчати, гьлчу* ‘кричатъ’, *гьлчание* ‘шумъ, крикъ’, *гьлка* ‘шумъ, мятежь’. The verb shifted to the meaning ‘speak’ in a subset of Slavic dialects, currently attested in three disparate regions of Slavic—central and northern Russian dialects and, in the South Slavic area, Bulgarian and the Slovene dialects, a semantic shift that is paralleled in a number of

cases both at the Indo-European and Slavic levels. The lexeme is lacking altogether in the BCS standard languages and is attested all but marginally in the dialects associated with them, this being due to secondary influence from the direction of Slovene as regards Kajkavian Croatian and from Bulgarian as regards Serbian.

The paper examines in some detail the diatopic distribution and semantic development of \**gьlčěti* in South Slavic, i.e., the Slavic dialect areas settled by migration, and raises the question of the nature of the relationship among those dialects that have developed \**gьlčěti* as the primary neutral verb meaning ‘speak’. In the process, the precise geographical distribution of the lexeme is made for the first time in a synthetic manner, covering the whole South Slavic area. The authors reach the conclusion that there is a probable connection between Pannonian Slovene and archaic Bulgarian dialects with regard to this lexeme, dating to the time of settlement, that was carried via the Danube to the Balkans from the northeast (as reflected in central and northern Russian dialects today) and then northwards to Slovene Pannonian dialects. The analysis supports the view that the Slavic migrations to the sub-Alpine and Balkan regions were of heterogeneous dialectal origins.