

Manner/Path Typology of Bulgarian Motion Verbs*

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Abstract: This study examines the Bulgarian motion verb system in terms of what information is typically conveyed by motion verbs in addition to motion itself. The theoretical framework is Talmy's (1985) typological theory, which divides languages into low-manner verb-framed languages and high-manner satellite-framed languages according to what additional information is typically conflated with motion in a motion event. Bulgarian motion verbs emphasize path of motion to a greater extent than do most other (non-Balkan) Slavic languages. Non-Balkan Slavic languages more often use verbs of motion expressing manner in combination with (satellite) prefixes indicating path, while Bulgarian focuses on verbs which express the path of motion, some of which are Bulgarian innovations. These verbs are often prefixed, but the prefixes may be fused to the root to the extent that an unprefixed form of the verb does not occur, and prefixation here is no longer productive. Typical examples include the frequent use of the path verb *izljaza* 'to exit, go out' when speakers could also use *izletja* 'to fly out' or *izmâkna* 'to sneak out'. This variation in the Bulgarian motion verb system brings Bulgarian closer to the other Balkan languages (especially Greek, with its parallel motion event conflation), and is viewed here as a possible instance of Balkan Sprachbund influence.

1. Introduction

The Bulgarian motion verb system appears to resemble that of other Slavic languages: most of the common Bulgarian verbs of motion correspond closely to cognates in the other Slavic languages, and Bulgarian, like other Slavic languages, makes extensive use of prepositionally-

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rooted prefixes for both spatial and metaphorical meaning. But it has diverged from other Slavic languages in several ways. Notably, Bulgarian differs from Russian, the language upon which many people base their general assumptions about Slavic languages. Unlike Russian, Bulgarian does not distinguish between one-way and round-trip motion, and it has no enforced distinction between vehicular and pedestrian motion. Although Bulgarian has a cognate of *idti*, the Bulgarian verb does not denote going on foot or in one direction, and there is no real counterpart to Russian *exat' / ezdit'* 'to go by vehicle'. Bulgarian is one of the most divergent of the Slavic languages in most respects¹ (equalled and perhaps exceeded in its divergence only by the closely related Macedonian), and it should therefore come as no surprise that its motion verb system shows differences as well, including possible Balkan Sprachbund influence.

The specific question addressed in this article is what information is typically communicated by Bulgarian motion verbs (in addition to the basic motion itself)? While a small number of motion verbs indicate only the idea of motion, most are associated with characteristic features of motion, which Talmy (1985, 1991, 2000) terms "coevents," expressing either manner of motion or path of motion. According to Talmy, in any given language there seems to be a preference for typically encoding either manner or path in motion verbs, although both options are available and used to varying degrees.² The preference for manner or path tends to be shared within a language family. Slavic languages more often conflate manner with motion, but Bulgarian shows a preference for encoding path in motion events. For example, where a Russian speaker might prefer to describe an owl coming out of a hole in a tree with the verb *vyletet'* 'fly out', a Bulgarian would be more inclined to simply use *izlizam* 'exit'. Following a brief discussion of Talmy's theory of motion verb typology (1985), I will demonstrate the divergence of Bulgarian.

¹ The Bulgarian verbal system, for example, has nine tenses, all in full use, including the aorist, but has lost its infinitive form. It also has a mood, the renarrative, used to express unwitnessed or unconfirmed events. Additionally, the nominal system has lost case declensions but gained a definite article. These are a few factors that make Bulgarian look unlike the other Slavic languages.

² Talmy's theory proves unsatisfying in some ways, but nevertheless provides an interesting cognitive semantic framework for analyzing motion verbs and comparing them across languages. Here I focus on what Talmy's theory can reveal about Bulgarian motion verbs; a thorough discussion of the drawbacks of this theory and suggested modifications will be reserved for future work.

Evidence illustrating Bulgarian motion verb usage will be drawn primarily from oral narratives gathered during fieldwork in Bulgaria.

2. A Motion-Verb Typology Based on Manner and Path Conflation

2.1. High Manner vs. Low Manner: Talmy's Theory

Talmy's cognitive semantic approach to motion verbs (1985) considers a language's preferred pattern of event conflation—the choice of either manner or path as a co-event—a typological category.³ Languages tending to encode the **path** of motion in the verb are verb-framed languages (V-languages), and those encoding **manner** of motion in the verb are satellite-framed languages (S-languages) (because the path of motion must be relegated to a "satellite" entity, such as a prefix or preposition). V-languages are also called "low-manner" languages because they indicate the manner of motion (either as a verbal coevent or in adverbial form) far less often than do S-languages, which have a stronger tendency to indicate the manner of motion and are thus called "high manner" languages.

2.2. Satellite-Framed, High-Manner Languages

English is the paragon of a high-manner S-language. Though it has many verbs expressing path of motion rather than manner of motion, such as the Romance-language-derived *enter*, *exit*, *ascend*, or the neutral motion verb *go*, which can be combined with any path preposition (*go in*, *go out*, *go up*), the more common motion verbs in colloquial English typically indicate manner of motion. Such verbs include basic manner verbs like *walk*, *run*, and *fly*, as well as more descriptive manner verbs like *stroll*, *gallop*, and *flutter*. With this latter type of verb, path of motion is indicated by a preposition in a satellite relationship to the verb. A sentence commonly used to illustrate the contrast between path of motion and manner of motion is that in (1) below:

- (1) The bottle floated into the cave. (English)

³ Other types of information, such as figure, may be conflated with motion (Talmy 1985, 2000), but because the inclusion of information other than path and manner is both typologically quite limited and irrelevant to European languages, I will not discuss it.

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

Although English has manner-neutral verbs that could be used here (e.g., *enter, go*), they sound less natural in this context. English, as a high-manner language, privileges manner of motion and favors the use of manner verbs when possible, resulting in the expectation of an expression of manner (Talmy 1975, 1985, 1991, 2000: vol. 2, Berman and Slobin 1994, Slobin 1996b, 2003, Narasimhan 2003).

The information not included in the verb in this example is the path of motion. The notion of ENTERING (crossing a boundary into an enclosed space) is expressed exclusively by the preposition *into*, which follows the verb as a satellite; other prepositions (*through, out of, past*) could be substituted for *into* and used with the same verb to indicate different paths, but the manner would remain constant.

2.3. Verb-Framed, Low-Manner Languages

The Spanish translation of (1) demonstrates the basic difference between a high-manner S-language and a low-manner V-language:

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

The verb *entrar* ‘enter’ is made up of the semantic components MOVE and INTO and lacks any semantic component describing the means by which the bottle entered the cave. If the speaker finds it necessary to indicate the means of entry, he may add the gerund *flotando* ‘floating’. For speakers of low-manner languages, however, manner of motion is secondary information and thus a less common feature of the narrative strategy.

⁴ The meaning of *float* with a medium of air rather than water is a later meaning (first citation dated in the OED as 1634, in Milton). This appears to be a metaphorical extension of the meaning of SUSPENSION IN WATER, with the manner retained as the salient feature and only the medium changing. As such, it provides some insight into the process of semantic broadening through metaphor.

This Spanish example illustrates another aspect of the manner of motion vs. path of motion theory: Spanish does have a manner verb, *flotar*, which is a close equivalent of English *float*, but its use for motion is restricted by its inability to express movement in a boundary-crossing situation (Slobin 1997, 2004).⁵ It is not that this verb is simply not preferred in the above example, but that it cannot be used when boundary-crossing is a component of the destination.

Typical low-manner V-languages include the Romance languages, Turkish, and Hebrew. The most commonly used motion verbs in these languages tend to express path of motion only, and additional information about manner, when deemed necessary, is expressed through additional verbal constructions. Languages of the Indo-European family, excepting the Romance languages and Hindi,⁶ are generally classified as high-manner S-languages. This of course includes the Slavic languages.

3. Motion Verb Typology Applied to Slavic

3.1. Manner and Path in the Slavic Languages

Early analysis of manner and path in the Slavic languages classifies the Slavic language family as satellite-framed and high-manner (Slobin 2004), based on research focusing primarily on Russian, Polish, and Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian (BCS). A Russian translation of (1) follows:

- (3) Butylka **zapylya** v peščeru. (Russian)
 'The bottle **floated** into the cave.'

The verb *zapylyt'* 'swim, float, sail' indicates the manner of motion: carried by water. Path of motion is determined by the preposition *v* 'in,

⁵ The basic idea of boundary crossing is the passing of a perceived border, be it marked or unmarked. Slobin explains, "It appears to be a universal characteristic of V-languages that crossing a spatial boundary is conceived of as a change of state, and that state changes require an independent predicate in such languages" (Slobin 1997: 441).

⁶ Early research in this typology states the Romance languages are the only verb-framed Indo-European languages, while later research includes Hindi as well. As this suggests, these typological classifications are not always cut and dry.

into'.⁷ Expression of manner is not quite optional in this case; most Russian motion verbs suggest some particular manner of motion, or at the very least exclude certain types of motion. Motion in water is generally expressed by verbs with the root *-ply-*.

As Slobin observes (2004: 226), Russian has no independent verb meaning COME; the path satellite *pri-* is prefixed to any one of several manner verbs, including *idti* 'go by foot', *exat'* 'go by vehicle', and *letet'* 'fly', so that manner is not an optional feature. The verb *idti* can take on a more generalized meaning of 'go' (while still excluding most vehicular options), but this is the only verb of this type, resulting in a strong tendency to use manner verbs for most motion events.

The lack of an independent verb meaning COME in Russian is not a feature of all Slavic languages, however, and thus not all Slavic languages lack manner-neutral path. Both Bulgarian and BCS, for example, have independent verbs meaning COME that are purely path verbs: *idvam/dojda* and *dolaziti/doći*,⁸ respectively. The availability of path verbs results in some differences in these systems from the Russian system. Consider some possible translations of (1) into Bulgarian:^{9,10}

- (4) Butilkata **otpluva** v pešterata.
 bottle_{DEF} from-swam in cave_{DEF}
 'The bottle **floated** into the cave.'

The above translation, elicited from a native speaker, is essentially identical to the Russian example in (3): the verb used is based on the root *pluvam*, meaning 'swim', 'sail', or 'float'. A random inquiry directed at other native speakers, however, produced the translations in (5) and (6):

⁷ An anonymous reviewer notes that the prefix *za-* asserts "that a trajectory goes from an accessible location to an inaccessible location."

⁸ Bulgarian traditionally lists aspectual pairs of verbs in the order "imperfective/perfective," while in BCS, the opposite order is standard. For consistency I will present all aspectual pairs in the order "imperfective/perfective." A number of basic Bulgarian verbs are simplex verbs (unpaired for aspect); these are listed alone.

⁹ The following four abbreviations are used in the interlinear glossing: ABL—ablative case; COMP—complementizer; DEF—definite; REFL—reflexive.

¹⁰ Although these examples were provided by native speakers, they do not encompass all possible ways to express *The bottle floated into the cave*. An anonymous reviewer points out that *otpluvam* is not the best translation of *float* because it suggests purposeful action and suggests *Vodata zavleče butilkata v pešterata* in place of the reflexive use of *zavleka* in (5).

- (5) Butilkata **se zavleče** v pešterata.
 bottle_{DEF} REFL dragged in cave_{DEF}
 'The bottle **washed** into the cave.'
- (6) Butilkata bavno **vleze** v pešterata (nosena ot voda).
 bottle_{DEF} slowly entered in cave_{DEF} carried from water
 'The bottle slowly **entered** into the cave (carried by water).'

These Bulgarian examples demonstrate two interesting features of the language. First, (5) uses a manner verb based on *vleka* 'drag, haul', but its meaning has been bleached and it means something closer to 'carried by water' rather than literally 'dragged by water'. (In colloquial usage this verb can be encountered with the neutral meaning go.) Second, (6) uses a pure path verb.¹¹ This type of construction is atypical for Slavic languages and looks more like a Romance construction. Both of these highlighted features indicate a semantic bleaching of motion verbs that has affected a number of Bulgarian motion verbs.

While it is possible to use a manner-neutral path verb to express the idea of ENTER in Bulgarian, this is not possible in Russian. For the same reason that there is no manner-neutral independent verb for COME, there is also no manner-neutral independent verb for ENTER. Instead, there are different ways to express ENTER depending on the mode of entry. The most basic Russian verb for ENTER is *vxodit'/vojtj*, but this can only be used for entry on foot. For entry by vehicle *v"ezžat'/v"exat'* is required; swimming or sailing in requires *vplyvat'/vplyt'*; and so on. Although Bulgarian has analogously formed verbs, their usage is not required in the same way as it is in Russian.

3.2. The Manner-Path Continuum and Alternate Categorizations

The above examples suggest that Bulgarian does not conform to the typological category of high-manner, satellite-framed languages in the same way, or to the same extent, that Russian does. The typology of motion-verb lexicalization patterns is not framed in terms of a privative distinction between verb-framed or satellite-framed languages,

¹¹ The prefix *v-* on the verb 'enter' (*vlizam/vljaza*) appears to be a path satellite, but the root to which the prefix is affixed no longer has any independent meaning. There are two other common Bulgarian verbs based on this no longer independently functioning root, *izlizam/izljaza* 'exit' and *slizam/sljaza* 'descend', both path verbs.

but in terms of a cline (Slobin 2004). Languages of the same typological classification with reference to manner of motion still may not pattern the same. Languages will not only vary in the degree to which they pattern as high- or low-manner languages but can also move along this continuum over time. Slobin cites several studies (Schwarze 1985, Hottenroth 1985, Kramer 1981) supporting this, especially in contact situations (Slobin 2004). The saliency of manner or path can vary over time in a given language, and even Latin once had a productive satellite-framed verb-prefix construction to associate paths with motion or manner verbs comparable to that found in the modern Slavic languages (Matellán and Mateu 2008). BCS path prefixes as well have become phonologically fused to a neutral verb for go (Filipović 2007), and there are other instances of Slavic path prefixes fusing with the verb stem, resulting in verbs that are “semi-transparent manner-path lexical items,” such as Russian *vzmyvat’/vzmyt’* ‘soar upward’, to which *-myt’* no longer contributes meaning (Slobin 2004: 246).

While Talmy considers the typological classification of verb-framed or satellite-framed to be generally clear for any given language, he asserts that Modern Greek, a Balkan Sprachbund language,¹² has a “parallel system of conflation” (Talmy 2000), meaning that, in most situations, a path verb *or* a manner verb can be used “with roughly comparable colloquiality in the representation of the *same* type of Motion event” (Talmy 2000, 2: 66). For most path notions, Greek has both a path-satellite (preposition) for use with a manner verb, and a path verb that can be accompanied by a manner gerund. Talmy provides this example (2000, 2: 66):

- (7) a. Etreksa mesa s-to spiti. (Greek)
 [I] ran in to-the house
 ‘I ran into the house.’

¹² Although Talmy classifies Modern Greek as a system of parallel conflation, others (Papafragou, Massey, and Gleitman 2006, Papafragou 2007) point out restrictions on boundary crossing for motion verbs. In this preliminary work exploring Talmy’s theory I accept his classification, but with reservations and with the caveat that not all languages present such clear classification characteristics as, for example, English and Spanish. As (7a) above shows, manner verbs can occur in boundary-crossing events in Modern Greek.

- (7) b. Bika (trekhondas) s-to spiti.
 [I] entered running to-the house
 'I entered the house (running).'

This article argues that Bulgarian is in fact close to Modern Greek in this regard, and may be considered, like Modern Greek, to have a parallel system of conflation. Such a mixed system may be the result of an intense contact situation, including close contact with V-languages such as Turkish and the Balkan Romance languages.

3.3. Manner Verbs vs. Path Verbs in Bulgarian

Although Bulgarian has a full array of manner verbs and uses them freely, it also makes frequent and fully colloquial use of manner-neutral path verbs. Examples (8), (10), and (11) below demonstrate the use of a manner-neutral path verb over several motion events, while example (9) provides a neat contrast with (8). The verb in question is *izlizam/izljaza*, which means 'exit, come/go out', with no indication of manner. The examples here are from folktales (Arnaudov 1938) and essentially reflect standard colloquial usage.

- (8) Deteto, kato čulo glasa na majka si, i to
 child_{DEF} as heard voice_{DEF} of mother REFL and it
izljazlo.
 exited
 'When he heard the voice of his mother, the child also **came out** [of the well].'
- (9) Djavolât, kato si znal imeto, **izkoknal** iz kladeneca.
 devil_{DEF} as REFL knew name_{DEF} hopped from well_{DEF}
 'Since he knew his name, the devil **hopped** out of the well.'
- (10) Xvârli go v moreto, a toj šte ti **izljaze** sâs
 throw him in sea_{DEF} and he will you exit with
 stado ovci.
 flock sheep
 'Throw him into the sea, and he will **exit** with a flock of sheep.'

- (11) Ovčarjat otvârzal čuvala, i Xitâr Petâr **izljazâl**,
 shepherd_{DEF} untied sack_{DEF} and Clever Peter exited
 a namjasto nego **vljazâl** ovčarjat.
 but in.place.of him entered shepherd_{DEF}
 ‘The shepherd untied the bag and Sly Peter **got out**, and in his
 place the shepherd **went in**.’

Example (8) describes a boy coming out of a well using a basic path verb, while example (9) provides a contrast with (8): the subject is also coming out of a well, but a manner verb is used, showing the equal acceptability of both types of verbs. These two sentences appear together in the story, giving no reason to assume a marked difference in the method of movement. (In an earlier instance *izljaza* is used when the devil exits the well.) These examples also show that the verb chosen expresses only the path *out of* a place, and not the upward motion that might be expected in such a situation (in Bulgarian, upward motion is not readily accessible as a path prefix). Examples (10) and (11) above show similar situations in which the exit (from the sea or out of a bag) could just as well express manner in a language that routinely uses manner verbs for motion events.

The theory of typological differences in motion-verb lexicalization patterns predicts that speakers of a language that favors manner of motion will emphasize manner in their descriptions of motion events. Slobin (2004) analyses this in terms of codability and habitual expression: languages tend to add more lexical items to those domains receiving habitual expression. For a speaker of a language favoring manner, the cognitive load required to express manner in the verb root is less than that required to express manner outside of the motion verb, and thus the expression of manner requires less effort for speakers of high-manner, satellite-framed languages. For example, the Bulgarian verb *izletja* ‘fly out’ contains manner in the verb itself, while the expression *izljaza letejki* ‘exit flying’ relegates manner to an adverbial; the former verb should provide speakers with a way to express manner of motion without additional cognitive processing. Because speakers can easily refer to manner in the description of motion events, vocabulary should continue to develop around motion verbs expressing greater nuances of manner.

Likewise, speakers of a language in which motion verbs gradually lose manner expression (as happened, for example, with the Bulgari-

an motion verbs based on *-ljaza*, formerly meaning ‘crawl’) will find it increasingly taxing to describe manner of motion when many motion verbs no longer express manner. If these verbs are among the high frequency motion verbs in the language, speakers would be expected to decrease their focus on manner when describing motion events. For this to have any substantial effect on the language, a number of the most common motion verbs would need to be affected. This has occurred in Bulgarian, as many new (unprefixed) path verbs have developed and now number among the most frequently used, and the most frequent motions verbs generally do not express manner. This change has resulted in a readily accessible category of path verbs, easily utilized as speakers shift their focus away from the expression of manner in describing motion events.

4. Evidence from Oral Narratives

4.1. What We Talk about When We Talk about Frogs

The data here come from my fieldwork in Bulgaria, in which I used the children’s picture book *Frog, Where Are You?*, by Mercer Mayer, to elicit oral narratives. The book consists of 24 line-drawings depicting a boy who puts a frog in a jar before going to bed, only to discover in the morning that the frog has escaped. The boy and his dog set off to find the frog and have many adventures along the way. Telling the story of these adventures aloud necessitates heavy usage of motion verbs. The description of the same incidents by many different informants allows comparisons to be made among their choices.¹³

Whereas a speaker of a satellite-framed language may describe the scene showing an owl coming out of a tree by saying *an owl flew out of the hole*, using a manner verb, speakers of verb-framed languages tend to say *an owl exited the hole*, indicating only path; indeed, they may not even have the option of using a manner verb. A coverb encoding manner may be included in the narrative (e.g., *an owl exited the hole flying*) but rarely is. This could be because of the increased cognitive load required or may simply be due to a lesser focus on manner of motion among speakers of verb-framed languages. Though Bulgarian often behaves

¹³ *Frog, Where Are You?* has been used with many languages already to test manner versus path in motion verbs, making the book a useful tool for comparison between languages as well. (See, for example, Berman and Slobin 1994 and Slobin 2004, 2005, 2006.)

as a satellite-framed language, it also has and frequently employs independent path verbs for many motion events.

In 2007 I recorded 27 native Bulgarian speakers, primarily in eastern Bulgaria, narrating the frog story. They ranged in age from their mid-20s to approximately 60. All had at least a high school education, and many were primary-school teachers. About three quarters were female. The informants did not look at the book in advance but narrated as they looked at each page. Most provided very skilled narrations.

Not all speakers mention all events or even interpret all events in the same way, so the narratives are not always directly comparable. However, there is a fair degree of conformity among the narratives, and the number of Bulgarian narratives collected is high enough to allow conclusions to be drawn concerning tendencies for motion-verb usage in describing the events of this story.

4.2. The Salient Motion Events from *Frog, Where Are You?*

The 24 scenes in the book present approximately 12 motion events. Not all events are equally salient: only nine are consistently mentioned by most speakers, and only seven are interpreted similarly enough by most speakers to be easily comparable. These seven are:

Event 1: The boy and the dog are asleep in bed, and the pet frog can be seen **sneaking out** of the jar. Both the position of the frog's right leg, hanging over the edge of the jar as he lifts himself out, as well as the backward glance the frog is casting towards the boy, suggest stealth.

Event 2: The boy and the dog are seen outside the boy's house, and the boy seems to be calling the frog. The dog sniffs the air as a swarm of bees passes. Most informants describe the boy and his dog as **setting out** to find the frog.

Event 3: On the left-hand page, the boy is calling into a hole in the ground, while on the facing page, a groundhog has come out of the hole. Informants consistently mention the creature's **emergence** from the hole.

Event 4: The boy is in a tree; 85% of the informants mention his act of **ascent**.

Event 5: An owl appears to have **come out** of a hole in the tree quite suddenly, wings spread. The boy is lying on the ground

below, presumably having been frightened or attacked by the owl.

Event 6: The boy is on top of a boulder, holding on to what looks like a branch. Informants commonly mention the boy's **ascent** of the rock.

Event 7: The boy is hanging over the head of a buck, between its antlers; the "branch" from the previous scene was actually the antlers of the buck. The buck **is running** towards the edge of an abyss with the boy on his head.

The first six of these seven events will be analyzed below.¹⁴ The most common types of events focus on motion out of a place or motion upward. The following table lists the verbs used for these six primary events discussed here.

4.2.1. The Frog Escapes from the Jar (Event 1)

The first motion event is the frog's escape, depicted in a way that readily invites a manner interpretation. Özçalışkan and Slobin (2003: 263) record the following verbs used by English speakers to describe this scene: the frog *runs away*, *jumps out*, *hops out*, *climbs out*, *crawls out*, *creeps out*, *slips out*, *sneaks out*, *steps out*, *tiptoes out*, *escapes*. English *exit* would be highly unnatural here.

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

- (12) Kurbağa kavanoz-dan dışarı çıkmış. (Turkish)
 frog jar_{ABL} outside exited
 'The frog went out of the jar.'

¹⁴ The seventh event is interesting for its use of verbs meaning RUN, as well as for the use of two verbs together, e.g., *Elena ... trâgnal da bjaga* 'The deer set out to run', but is more complex in its description and needs more discussion than the other events. For that reason, it will not be discussed here.

Table 1. Verbs used for motion events in the Bulgarian frog story narratives

M = manner verbs, P = path verbs, M-P = verbs encoding both manner and path,
N= verbs neutral for both manner and path

Event	Verb	English gloss	tokens	M	P	M-P	N
Event 1: frog gets out of jar	<i>izbjagam</i> <i>izljaza</i> <i>izmâkna (se)</i> ¹⁵ <i>izskoča</i> <i>skoča</i>	'flee, escape' 'come/go out, exit' 'sneak out' 'jump out, pop out' 'jump'	3 8 6 7 1				
Event 2: boy & dog set out	<i>vâroveja</i> <i>izljaza</i> <i>otivam</i> <i>prodâlža</i> <i>trâgna</i>	'walk, go' 'come/go out, exit' 'go' 'continue' 'set out, leave'	2 3 1 1 19				
Event 3: rodent emerges	<i>izljaza</i> <i>izskoča</i> <i>pokaža se</i>	'come/go out, exit' 'jump out, pop out' 'appear, come out'	9 10 7				

Event 4:	<i>kača se</i>	'go up, climb'	9	•
<i>boy goes up</i>	<i>pokaterja se</i>	'climb up'	6	•
<i>the tree</i>	<i>pokača se</i>	'go up, climb up'	6	•
	<i>skoča</i>	'jump'	1	•
Event 5:	<i>izletja</i>	'fly out'	2	•
<i>oval emerges</i>	<i>izliza</i>	'come/go out, exit'	9	•
	<i>izskoča</i>	'jump out, pop out'	11	•
	<i>pokaža se</i>	'appear, come out'	1	•
Event 6:	<i>izkačvam se</i>	'climb'	1	•
<i>boy gets</i>	<i>kača se</i>	'go up, climb'	15	•
<i>onto rock</i>	<i>pokaterja se</i>	'climb up'	5	•
	<i>pokača se</i>	'go up, climb up'	2	•
TOTALS			145	40 73 23 9

15 As one reviewer noted, and many readers will likely observe, the verbs *izmâkna se*, *izletja*, and *izskoča* might be considered manner-path verbs because of the added meaning provided by the prefix. I consider this one of the shortcomings of Talmy's theory—prepositions and prefixes are both considered satellites, although a single prefix may function in different ways even in the same language. Here I am accepting Talmy's interpretation, with the caveat that this is one of many features that bear further examination.

Özçalışkan and Slobin encountered fewer manner verbs in the Turkish narrations than in their English counterparts: *kurbağa: kaçıyor, atlıyor, tırmanır, sıyrılır* ‘the frog: flees, jumps, climbs up, sneaks off’ (Özçalışkan and Slobin 2003: 263). They calculate the percentage of manner verbs used in the Turkish frog stories at 30%, versus 54% for English frog stories. Path verbs predominate in the Turkish narrations in their study, at 62%, versus only 30% for English.

The Bulgarian data for these events include a higher number of manner verbs than path verbs; however, the verb most frequently used overall was the path verb *izlizam/izljaza* ‘exit’. The majority of the verbs included the prefix *iz-*, indicating motion out of a place. Three examples follow:

- (13) Žabata izskočila ot burkana.
frog_{DEF} out-jumped from jar_{DEF}
‘The frog hopped out of the jar.’
- (14) Žabkata prez noštta se izmâknala ot burkana
little.frog_{DEF} during night_{DEF} REFL out-sneaked from jar_{DEF}
i izbjalaga neznajno kâde.
and fled unknown where
‘During the night the little frog sneaked out of the jar and fled to who knows where.’
- (15) Prez noštta palavata žaba izljazla tajno ot
through night_{DEF} mischievous_{DEF} frog exited secretly from
burkana.
jar_{DEF}
‘During the night, the mischievous frog secretly exited¹⁶ the jar.’

These examples show several verb choices, including two clear manner verbs and the path verb *izljaza* ‘exit’, used by eight of the 27 informants (29.6%). As example (15)—rich in narrative description—shows, the use of a path verb rather than a more descriptive manner verb does indicate simplification. *Izljaza* ‘exit’ is simply a pragmatically neutral choice

¹⁶ In a few places I have used ‘exit’ in my translation rather than the more natural sounding ‘get out’ because it seems to me to better retain the inherent path element of the Bulgarian verb.

used to describe movement out of a place, parallel to the usage of the Turkish *çıkılmak* 'exit' shown in example (12).

Although the Bulgarian informants employed manner verbs more frequently than path verbs for this scene, the actual number of different manner verbs was no greater than in the low-manner language Turkish and was in fact quite similar in variety. (One hallmark of a high-manner language is a greater range of different motion verbs showing manner in regular use.) The manner verbs used by Bulgarian informants show the same range of meaning as those used by the Turkish speakers ('flee', 'jump', and 'sneak off'¹⁷), with the exception of the Turkish verb *tırmanmak* 'climb', the Bulgarian equivalent of which was not used at all by the Bulgarian speakers in describing this event.

One might note a significant structural difference between *izljaza* and *çıkılmak*, the Bulgarian and Turkish verbs meaning 'exit'. The Bulgarian verb has a path prefix, while the Turkish is formed on the bare root *çık-*; however, the base of the Bulgarian verb, *-ljaza*, is never an independent form, no longer carries any meaning (other than that of neutralized, general motion), and is found in only three common verbs, and so the prefix *iz-* should not be considered a satellite form because without it the verb does not occur.

Though the prefix of *izljaza* 'exit' can be considered fused to the no-longer-independent root, the same cannot be said of the other two verbs most commonly used for this event, *izmâkna se* 'sneak out' (six tokens) and *izskoča* 'jump out' (seven tokens). However, even with these two verbs, the prefix adds more semantically than simply path, and the sum of the whole is greater than the parts. The verb *izskoča* could convey the literal meaning 'jump out' implied by the concatenation of prefix plus root, but it generally means 'pop out' or 'exit quickly, unexpectedly'. The verb *izmâkna se* 'sneak out' has an element of stealth not conveyed by the unprefix form of the verb, which means 'drag, trudge'. The other verb used with some regularity to describe this event, *izbjagam* 'flee, escape', also has a meaning not present in the literal meaning of the root (*bjagam* 'run') in its prefixed form.

¹⁷ The Turkish verb *stırılmak*, which Özçalışkan and Slobin define as 'sneak off', is commonly defined as 'wriggle (out)'. This renders it similar to the Bulgarian counterpart in the frog stories, *izmâkva se/izmâkna se*, which comes from a verb meaning 'pull' and more literally means to pull oneself out or to extract oneself from a tight place—the type of situation which would connote the idea of *wriggle*.

4.2.2. The Boy and Dog Set out to Search for the Frog (Event 2)

The second motion event described by most informants is the act of setting off to go look for the frog. The path here is generally implied rather than specified, but the verb most often chosen by the Bulgarian informants to describe this event is *trâgvam/trâgna* ‘set out, leave’, which can take an explicit path, as seen in (16):

- (16) Rešili dvamata da trâgnat prez gorata i da
 decided two_{DEF} COMP set.out through forest_{DEF} and COMP
 târsjat žabata.
 search.for frog_{DEF}

‘The two of them decided to set out through the woods and to look for the frog.’

The Bulgarian verb *trâgvam/trâgna* ‘to set off, leave’ is not found as a motion verb in BCS, and this meaning is only peripheral to the Russian reflexive *trogat’/tronut’* ‘to touch’. Its widespread use in Bulgarian (19 tokens for this event alone) represents a significant lexical shift, in which a metaphorical extension takes over as the only meaning, and the resulting verb is among the highest frequency verbs in the language.¹⁸

The verb used with the second greatest frequency to express the departure of the boy and the dog is *izlizam/izljaza* ‘exit, go out’, with three tokens. Two of these clearly refer to the act of setting out, as in (17):

- (17) Izljazoxa na poletu blizo do gorata.
 exited on field_{DEF} near by forest_{DEF}

‘They went out in the field near the forest.’

The fact of the boy and dog’s setting out on their search was perhaps the most consistently mentioned event in the story for the Bulgarian informants, with 96.2% describing the event, and 70.3% using the same verb, *trâgna*, each time. This event may not seem like a typical motion event because it focuses on the inception of the action without expectation of an explicit path and goal, but it was highly salient for the Bulgarian informants, and often did include path specification.

¹⁸ Nikolova (1987) ranks it as the 170th most frequent word overall in the spoken language.

4.2.3. The Gopher Comes out of the Hole (Event 3)

This scene was another highly salient event for the Bulgarian informants, with 25 of the 27 (92.6%) mentioning it. (One even mentioned it twice, correcting the choice of animal and using a different verb each time.) The informants primarily used two verbs, *izljaza* ‘go out, get out, exit’ (34.6%) and *izskoča* ‘jump out, pop out’ (38.5%). The verb *izljaza*¹⁹ encodes only path, while *izskoča* encodes manner in the form of suddenness. Below is one example of each verb, illustrating the lack of contextual difference in usage between the manner verb and the path verb.

- (18) V tozi moment ot dupkata izskočil laluger.
 in this moment from hole_{DEF} out-jumped groundhog
 ‘At that moment, out of the hole popped a groundhog.’
- (19) Edin plâx izljazâl ot zemjata.
 one rat exited from ground_{DEF}
 ‘A rat came out of the ground.’

Another frequently used verb, shown in example (20), is *pokaža se* ‘appear’. While not a true motion verb, it is used to express sudden appearance, implying rather than describing a motion event. It functions much like a motion verb in the way it can be used in combination with path prepositions, and its seven tokens here (27% of all tokens) attest to its frequency in the description of motion events.

- (20) Ot dupkata se pokaža kârtica.
 from hole_{DEF} REFL showed mole
 ‘From the hole, a mole appeared.’

There was not much motion-verb variation for this scene. Even in English, the language with the highest manner of motion, there are not many ways to describe an animal coming out of its hole, and the path verb *come* might be the most common choice. In this sense, then,

¹⁹ Note too that *izljaza* ‘exit’ is constructed on the same root and with the equivalent prefix as Russian *vylezt’* ‘crawl out, climb out’, or colloquially ‘get out’; but the Russian verb still retains the idea of CRAWL or CLIMB. Thus, even when Russian informants use the cognate form of this verb in the same scene, the meaning is different, because the Russian verb, unlike the Bulgarian, is a manner verb.

the high frequency of *izljaza* alongside *izskoča* does not reveal much. However, examples (9) (shown earlier) and (21),²⁰ both from Arnaudov's folk tales (1938), show similar distributions of *izljaza* and *izskoča* in a situation in which a manner-rich language might be expected to make higher use of manner. This suggests equal ease in Bulgarian with path and manner verbs.

- (21) *Izljazâl djavolât i zapital babata...*
 exited devil_{DEF} and asked grandmother_{DEF}
 'The devil came out and asked the grandmother...'
- (9) *Djavalât, kato si znajal imeto, izkoknal iz kladeneca.*
 devil_{DEF} as REFL knew name_{DEF} jumped from well_{DEF}
 'The devil, since he knew his name, jumped out of the well.'

4.2.4. Climbing up the Tree or onto the Rock (Events 4 and 6)

Basically the same set of verbs was used for each the two climbing events, with different frequency distributions. The two usual verbs for motion upwards are *kačvam se/kača se* and *katerja se* (neither has a path prefix but both of which can be prefixed with *iz-* or *po-* to denote thoroughness or completion of the action). The verb *katerja se* means 'climb', often with effort or difficulty, suggesting grasping with the hands and feet. The verb *kačvam se/kača se* is usually translated as 'go up/ascend', and suggests no manner, only path. In Bulgarian, however, *kačvam se/kača se* is often used where an English speaker would use 'climb'. Frequencies are compared in Table 2 on p. 72.

Most of the Bulgarian informants described the fourth event, showing the boy sitting on a tree branch, in terms of a climbing event, using variations on the verbs discussed above, for example:

- (22) *Malkoto momčence se kačilo na dârvoto.*
 little_{DEF} little.boy REFL went.up on tree_{DEF}
 'The little boy went up in the tree.'

²⁰ These examples are from the story "Djavalât i učeníkât mu," (The Devil and his Pupil), pages 42 and 43.

- (23) Gogo se kateri na edno dârvo.
 Gogo REFL climbed in one tree
 'Gogo climbed up a tree.'

The choices of verbs show that even for an event requiring an overt hand-over-hand upward scrambling action, Bulgarian speakers are likely to use the more manner-neutral verb *kačvam se/kača se*, the verb used nine times by the informants. While this verb is often used with upward motion involving some sort of effort (e.g., in ascending stairs, in which case we might use *climb* in English), effort is not necessarily implied. This is the standard verb used, for example, to describe going up in an elevator (*kačvam se/kača se s asansjor*). The prefixed forms *pokačvam se/pokača se* and *izkačvam se/izkača se* 'go up, climb up' may convey more of the sense of English CLIMB than *kačvam se/kača se*, though the difference between the two forms is small. This form was used six times. The verb (*po*)*katervam se/(po)katerja se* 'climb' conveys the physical aspect of climbing, the clambering action, and was used (in its prefixed form *pokaterja se*) six times. There is a slight contrast with the usage in the description of Event 6.

In Event 6, the boy is seen standing on a boulder. Most informants (81.5%) mentioned the ascent onto the rock using the verb *kačvam se/kača se* 'go up' 65.2% of the time. The prefixed forms *pokačvam se/pokača se* and *izkačvam se/izkača se* accounted for 8.7% and 4.3% of the tokens, respectively. The verb *katerja se* 'climb, clamber up', in its prefixed form *pokaterja se*, was used five times, representing 21.7% of all tokens. Example (24) below is typical, and (25) shows a variation with *pokaterja se*:

- (24) Kačilo se na edin kamâk.
 went.up REFL on one rock
 'He got up on a rock.'
- (25) Reši da se pokateri na skalata.
 decided COMP REFL climb.up on rock_{DEF}
 'He decided to climb/clamber onto the rock.'

The unprefixed verb *kačvam se/kača se* has a much higher frequency than the prefixed forms both here and in general, rendering the prefixed forms more marked. The prefixed forms emphasize the completion of the action and the goal of the verb. Because of this, the pos-

sibility of completion may seem more tenuous, and thus the marked completion more of an achievement. It is this markedness that lends the appearance of manner (+ effort) to an act which could be interpreted as exclusively path oriented. For both of these events, the unprefixed *kačvam se/kača se* is employed most often. Though the motor activity associated with CLIMB may be less salient for the rock because it is lower and less vertical than the tree, the verb more strongly expressing this, *pokatervam se/pokaterja se*, is used only slightly more often to describe ascending the tree than for climbing the rock. The prefixed form of *kačvam se/kača se* is more preferred for climbing the tree than the rock. This supports the notion that the prefixed form carries a greater connotation of manner than the unprefixed form.

Table 2. Comparative usage of Bulgarian verbs meaning ASCEND/CLIMB

Verb of ascent		tree climbing	rock climbing
<i>kačvam se/kača se</i>	'go up'	40.9%	65.2%
<i>pokačvam se/pokača se</i>	'go up, climb'	27.3%	8.7%
<i>izkačvam se/izkača se</i>	'go up, climb'	–	4.3%
<i>pokatervam se/ pokaterja se</i>	'climb, get on top of'	27.3%	21.7%

4.2.5. The Owl Comes out of Its Hole (Event 5)

The owl's emergence from a hole in the tree is the most discussed event in literature on the frog story. Like the gopher's exit from its burrow, this episode involves boundary crossing, but with the added possibility of using a manner verb to denote flight.

Despite the expectation a bird will generally fly, most of my Bulgarian informants focused on the suddenness of the owl's emergence, describing this event with the verb *izskoča* 'jump out, pop out' (45.8% of all tokens). Only two of the 23 informants mentioning this event used *izletja* 'fly out' (8.3% of all tokens). This was far fewer than those using the path verb *izljava* 'exit', which was used nine times (37.5%). One informant who used *izljava* 'exit' added the adverb *izvednâž* 'suddenly', maintaining the emphasis on the suddenness of the emergence while still using a path verb rather than the commonly used manner verb *izskoča* 'jump out, pop out'. Another informant used both of these verbs,

as seen in (29). Comparisons with Serbian and Russian data show that both Bulgarian and BCS informants were far less likely to use a verb for FLY in their narratives than Russian speakers. Representative examples follow:

(26) Ot xralupata izletjal edin buxal.
 from tree.hollow_{DEF} out-flew one owl
 'An owl flew out of the tree hollow.'

(27) Ot xralupata izskočila edna sova.
 from tree.hollow_{DEF} out-jumped one owl
 'An owl popped out of the tree hollow.'

(28) Ottam izvednâž izleze edin buxal i razmaxa
 from.there suddenly exited one owl and flapped
 svoite krile.
 its_{DEF} wings
 'An owl suddenly came out of there and flapped its wings.'

(29) Ottam izleze noštnata ptica buxal;
 from.there exited night_{DEF} bird owl
 tja izletja ot xralupata.
 she out-flew from tree.hollow_{DEF}
 'The night bird, owl, came out from there and it flew out of the hole.'

4.2.6. Other Motion Events

In addition to the six commonly mentioned events discussed above, there were other interesting elements in other events that bear mention here, involving choices made in descriptions of either flying or swimming.

Flying bees. In one scene the dog stirs up a beehive; the bees fly out and chase the boy and his dog. This action is carried out over several scenes and informants mention the bees at different points, emphasizing different details. Most informants use variations on the verb CHASE (*gonja, podgonja, otgonja*), but a number of other verbs come up as well. Interestingly, though, only four informants use a verb explicitly

meaning FLY (either *letja* ‘fly’ or a form thereof, or *razxvârča se* ‘fly away, scatter’) to describe the movement of the bees. Example (30) uses a verb one might expect.

- (30) ... košera, ot kojto izleteli pčeličkite.
 hive_{DEF} from which out-flew little.bees_{DEF}
 ‘... the beehive, out of which flew the little bees.’

The most common choice, however, was *gonja* ‘chase’; some variation of which was used by 48.5% of informants. In (31) it is used in combination with the path verb *trâgna* ‘set out, leave, start’. Note as well that in (31) the bees’ flight is described with the verb *izbjagam* ‘flee’, the root of which means RUN, demonstrating the loss of the root’s manner in this prefixed form.

- (31) Kučeto butnalo košera i pčelite izbjagali, i
 dog_{DEF} pushed hive_{DEF} and bees_{DEF} escaped and
 trâgnali da gonjat deteto i kučenceto.
 set.out COMP chase child_{DEF} and puppy_{DEF}
 ‘The dog pushed the hive and the bees escaped, and set out to chase the child and the little dog.’

Another informant describes the movement of the bees with the generic EXIT verb seen in so many other examples:

- (32) ... i ot nego izlizali pčeli.
 and from it exited bees
 ‘... and bees were coming out of it.’

Movement in water. At the story’s end, the boy and the dog must get out of some water. The act of getting out was described by 88.9% of the Bulgarian informants with both manner and path verbs. Eight informants (33.3% of those mentioning the event) described this motion in the water using the verb meaning SWIM, demonstrating that such a verb is a natural choice but not the most common. Example (33) demonstrates both unprefixated and prefixated forms of the verb while also incorporating the motion verb *stigna* ‘reach’ in the first clause.

- (33) *Pluvali i stignali do edin dâner; xvanali se
swam and reached up.to one log caught REFL
za dânera, i taka izpluvali do brega.
by log_{DEF} and thus out-swam up.to bank_{DEF}
'They swam and reached a log; they grabbed the log and in this
way swam out onto the bank.'*

The same number use the verb *izlizam/izljaza* 'exit,' as in (34).

- (34) *Toj izljazâl ot rekata.
he exited from river_{DEF}
'He exited from the river.'*
- (35) *I dvamata pâlzeškom se izmâknaxa ot blatoto.
and two_{DEF} crawling REFL out-dragged from marsh_{DEF}
'And the two, crawling, got out of the marsh.'*

5. Path and Manner in the Oral Narratives (Summary)

These oral narratives confirm that Bulgarian has a variety of manner verbs indicating high manner salience for some motion expressions but also demonstrate that path verbs are quite prominent as well. Some of the scenes discussed here elicited primarily path verbs, e.g., when the boy and the dog begin their journey (88.5% path verbs) or when the boy climbs the rock (65.2% path verbs, with 34.8% manner-path verbs and no pure manner verbs). In other scenes the informants used slightly more manner verbs than path verbs. To describe the frog escaping from his jar, 56% of the informants chose manner verbs, and another 12% chose manner-path verbs, although manner seems highly salient in the drawing. When the owl flies out of its hole in the tree, 56.5% chose manner verbs. Manner and path verbs were almost even for the gopher coming out of its hole (ten vs. nine, along with another seven instances of the neutral verb *pokaža se* 'appear').

Heavy path-verb usage requires the availability of a stylistically unmarked path verb (i.e., one available in any register) for each situation. For Bulgarian speakers such a verb does indeed exist for most situations. The verb is often based on the bound root *-lizam/-ljaza*. The verb *izlizam/izljaza*, for example, appears frequently in every scene with

any kind of motion out of a place. Even in the owl scene, where a FLY verb might be expected, there are nine tokens of *izljaza* (compared with 11 of *izskoča* ‘jump out’); similarly, this was a common choice to describe bees coming out of their hive. The frequency of *izlizam/izljaza* in the gopher scene is almost equal to the other common choice, *izskoča* ‘jump out’, and it is the single most used verb for the frog’s escape from his jar (eight tokens). Other path verbs with this root include *vlizam/vljaza* ‘enter’ and *slizam/sljaza* ‘descend’. *Slizam/sljaza* ‘descend’ appears several times in these narratives in utterances such as *Pet’o... bârzo sljazâl ot pro-zoreca* ‘Pet’o ... quickly got down from from the window’. *Vlizam/vljaza* ‘enter’ is used only once, when the boy and the frog set off: ... *vlezli vâv gorata* ‘...[they] entered the forest’. But this verb’s low frequency is due to the lack of corresponding situations in the story.

The other high-frequency path verb in the narratives is *kačvam se/kača se* ‘go up’. Though sometimes translated into English as both ‘climb’ and ‘go up’, depending on context, the interpretation as ‘climb’ may owe more to expectations of manner expression in English; it is the standard verb in situations in which a subject is moving upwards, regardless of the actual manner of motion (e.g., *kačvam se/kača se s asansjora/po stâlbite* ‘go up with the elevator/the stairs’; also, ‘to board transportation vehicles’: *kačvam se/kača se v kola/na vlak/na kolelo* ‘get into a car/on a train/on a bicycle’). This verb alternates with an actual verb meaning ‘climb up’ (*katerja se*) in situations where the act of climbing is emphasized; the following examples appear online: *No az zaštitavam života si, kogato se katerja sam bez vâže* ‘But I protect my life when I [mountain] climb alone without a rope’; *Baba ne mi pozvoljavaše da se katerja po ogradata* ‘My grandmother wouldn’t let me climb on the fence’; *Sâs sigurnost nikoga poveče njama da se kača v asansjor, ta ako šte i da se katerja peš do 25-ija etaž* ‘I am definitely never going to get into an elevator again, even if I have to climb to the 25th floor by foot’. This final example uses the verb *katerja se* in contrast to the unmarked verb *kačvam se/kača se* to emphasize the difficulty of climbing 25 flights of stairs, and thus to demonstrate the adamancy of the speaker’s refusal to ever again take an elevator.

The most frequently used manner verbs in the narratives discussed here do not show a great deal of variety. Except in the scenes involving climbing, the most commonly used manner verb, across several scenes, is *izskoča* ‘pop out, jump out’. There are also several instances of *izmâkna se* ‘sneak/creep out’ in the very first scene, when the frog escapes. Finally, the verb *pokaterja se* ‘climb up’ is used in both scenes where it could

more detail, focusing specifically on path of motion. This supports the idea that Bulgarian places greater cognitive focus on path of motion than non-Balkan Slavic languages (2014: 259). Such a difference is not surprising when considered along with other areal phenomena in evidence in Bulgarian.

Bulgarian has a number of features non-typical for members of the Slavic language family. Alongside the many inherited Slavic motion verbs, including *ida* 'go, come',²¹ *xodja* 'go', *bjagam* 'run', *letja* 'fly', and *jaxam* 'ride', there exist Bulgarian innovations, including *vârvoja* 'walk, go', *xvârča* 'fly', *katerja se* 'climb, clamber up', and *karam* 'drive'. In addition, Bulgarian has developed directional (path) verbs which have attained high frequency within the language, including *trâgvam/trâgna* 'leave, set off', *kačvam se/kača se* 'go up, ascend, climb', and *obikaljam/jobikolja* 'to go around'. The high frequency of these path verbs reinforces path saliency in the description of motion events for Bulgarian speakers, conceivably increasing the likelihood that new verbs will favor the encoding of path rather than manner. Such conceptual shifts presumably underlie shifts along the manner-path continuum.

Bulgarian is a language geographically surrounded by verb-framed languages (Turkish, Romanian) and a language showing parallel conflation (Modern Greek), and bilingualism has been common on Bulgarian territory over the past millenium. Thus, contact influence from the verb-framed languages might be expected. Previous research on BSC may also shed light on the process of change towards verb-framing of motion events. Filipović (2007) suggests that BCS has been moving along the typological continuum between satellite- and verb-framing, with perhaps the most important factor being the fusion of path prefix and stem for the high-frequency verb of locomotion *ići* 'go'. According to Filipović, "The prefixes in perfective directional verbs are detectable, although the verbs themselves seem to be mono-morphemic" (2007: 77). She refers to this process as "fusion." This idea of fusion applies to Bulgarian in many instances as well, particularly with the high-frequency verbs based on the no longer independent root *-lizam/-ljaza* (the root for 'enter', 'exit', and 'descend'). This fusion process appears quite similar to what took place in the change from satellite-framed Latin to verb-framed Romance languages.

²¹ The verb *ida* means either 'come' or 'go' depending on aspect but exists alongside the less ambiguous forms *otivam/otida* 'go' and *idvam/dojda* 'come'.

Because the shift of Bulgarian along the typological continuum for motion verbs has brought it closer typologically to the other Balkan languages, this change should be looked at as a contact phenomenon at the least and possibly even as a Balkan linguistic feature. The similarity of the Bulgarian situation with that in Modern Greek is especially informative, and more comparative work is needed between Bulgarian and Modern Greek, as well as among the Balkan languages as a whole. Despite some ambiguities in the conception of a typological category based on manner and path in motion verbs, motion-verb typology could prove to be an interesting feature of Balkan Sprachbund research.

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