



# ***i*-Apocope in Banat Bulgarian Revisited**

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## Outline

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## How I Came to Be Interested in Banat Bulgarian

- general interest in small standard languages
  - short visit to Star Bišnov in 2012
  - contact with a heritage speaker of Banat Bulgarian since fall 2013 (K.W.)
  - so far main interest in orthography (cf. Berger 2017)
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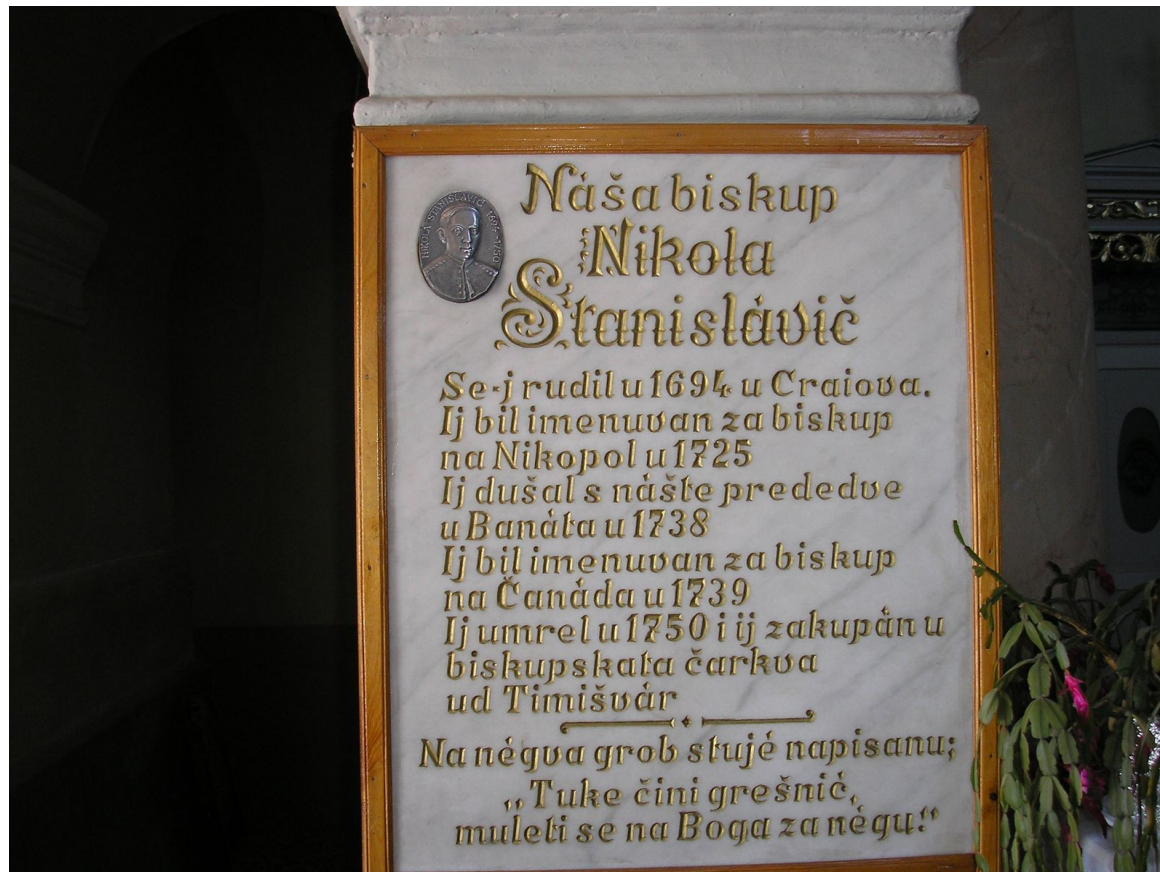


## Star Bišnov 2012





## Star Bišnov 2012





# Banat Bulgarians





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## *i*-Apocope, as Described by Stojko Stojkov

- main sources:
    - Стойков, Стойко: Едно ново явление в българския вокализъм (Изпадане на гласната и в края на думата в говора на с. Бешенеов, Банат). *Български език* 9/1, 1959, 12–19.
    - Стойков, Стойко: *Банатският говор*. София 1967. Pages 120–124
  - phonological conditions
  - consequences for the morphology
  - diachronic evolution
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## Phonological Conditions

- a) unstressed *i* is lost at the **end** of words after a simple consonant
    - дицàта са блй гулèм – трий квартаыр
  - b) unstressed *i* is **preserved** after groups of consonants
    - йàсли – тйкви – слòбудны
  - c) unstressed *i* is lost in the middle of words between full syllables
    - нàште – усèнца – хòдла – нувнè
  - d) combination of condition b and c
    - сме хòдли – сти кўпли
  - e) no devoicing of voiced consonants
    - кож – крав – риб
  - f) the phenomenon also applies to unstressed *e*
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## Consequences for Morphology

- obligatory elision of *i* in the past tense
  - obligatory elision of *i* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person of the present tense
  - no consequent elision in the plural of masculine and feminine nouns and of adjectives
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## Diachronic Evolution

- according to Stojkov, the phenomenon is restricted to the dialect of Star Bišnov
  - it must be rather recent, since Miletič did not note it in 1895, but it occurs frequently in dialect texts, recorded since the 1930-s
  - the phenomenon is not reflected in orthography, cf. the example of a letter from 1953
  - Romanian influence is improbable, since
    - contact between Romanian and Banat Bulgarian began only after 1920
    - Romanian *i*-apocope is connected with palatalization
    - the same phenomenon occurs in some Bulgarian dialect in South East Bulgaria (region of Haskovo)
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## Letter of 1953

Milna Anika deléčna,

Nia sinca ud duma ti puzdrá-  
vem i ti žélimi mlogu zdravi  
ud g. Boga, inia du dnés smi zdra-  
vi sinca i na mir i ti javevam či  
smi ti pratli pu poštata dunyata,  
pérna, buda, bukange, zokni, kalcune,  
rakavici i malku jádeniji, pi-  
smu u pakéta ne imalu, či nabar-  
ži sam gu právil, májcat i bila na  
rabota, drugu tuka satu i na dubre,  
ti kako za mi ubádiš, kaće ti utažde  
škulata, kolku sti u klasa, ampa ko-  
sta kaće vu i spanjétu? Hodiš li na  
mozi pu neku pač? Ali na teatru?  
Ga neti dosta jádenijétu pa si  
kupuvaj lep, nide da gladuvaš, kni-  
gyi i diktandure himaš li ud satu i  
pazi da ti j čistu, pamečta da si  
paziš u glavata i ud nivályanu druš-  
tvu se pazi da némaš rabota. Ti  
puzdravem još idnaš sinca i te ba-  
cvami mlogu pate tojte milni rod-  
nici i kaka.

Мылна Аника делéчна,

нийа сынца уд думà ты пуздrà-  
вем и ти жéлым млогѹ здрав  
уд гуспудйна бога и нийа ду днэс  
смы здрãви сынца и на мир и  
ти йавèвам, чы смы *m* прãтле пу  
пòштата дѹн'ата, пèрна, бѹда, бу-  
кãнце, зòкни, калцѹне, рѣкãвыц  
и мãлкѹ йãден'ã. Пйсмѹ у пакèта  
нè\_ймалу, чы набѣрж\_сьм гу  
прãвыл. Мãйк'а т и билà на рãбòта.  
Дрѹгѹ тѹка сѣту й на дубрè. Ти  
кãко за *m* убãдыш? Как'è утажде  
шкѹлата? Кòлкѹ сты у класѣ?  
Ам па кòста, как'è ву й спãн'èтѹ?  
Хòдыш лы на мòзи пу нèкѹ  
пѣк'? Ал на теãтру? Га не *m* дòста  
йãден'èтѹ, па с купѹвай лèп, ныдè  
да гладѹваш. Кнйг'ã и диктãндуре  
химаш лы ут сѣтѹ и пãзи да ти й  
чйстѹ, пãмек'гѣ да *c* п`зиш у  
главѣта и уд нивãл'анѹ дрѹштву се  
пãзи да нèмаш рãбòта. Ты пуздрã-  
вем йòш иднѣш сынца и те бã-  
цвам млогѹ пѣте тòйте мылны  
рòдниц и кãка.



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## The Situation Today

- my own experience with spoken and written Banat Bulgarian shows that the situation must have changed since the 1960-s
  - the heritage speaker K.W. in Tübingen uses elided forms even more than the speakers about whom Stojkov wrote – and she is not from Stár Bišnov, but from Bréšća (near Denta)
  - elision is attested in written texts to an huge amount
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## Some Remarks on Banat Bulgarian Orthography

- Józu Rill (1866) proposed a phonetic orthography with many diacritical signs
    - Piší tâj, kàcé právu bâlgàrsçi húbave i dubrê hurtúvaš!
  - unstressed *o* and *e* are written as *u* and *i*
  - distinction of *a* and *á* (i.e. *ə* and *a*), and of *e* and *é*
  - *ć* is used for palatalized *k*
  - weak standardization
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## Written Texts in Banat Bulgarian

- a rather limited number of books, including the New Testament (*Svetotu pismu*), which are available at the web page
    - <http://falmis.org/virtualna-biblioteka>
  - the newspaper *Náša glás* which can be found at the web page *Sveta ud pukraj námu*
    - <http://starbisnov.blogspot.com/>
  - the facebook group *Balgarete palćene ud Banata / Bulgarii din Banat*
    - <https://www.facebook.com/BalgaretePalcene/>
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## A Text from *Náša glás* (16<sup>th</sup> October 2015)

### Žábata i divite gasći

Žábata ij žuvela u idna bára. Vaz тази bára seku gudina sa dvádeli divi gasći. Naidnaž sas prulečta, divite gasći sa stigali i sa žuveli i tija pukraj тази bára du jesénjta, gá sa se mánvali kantu po-gurašti mestá, détu zimata ná bilá taj ostra i studéna. Žábata ij bilá ninavidna na tezi gasći, kujatu ne trebalu da tarpat stuć i mráz prez dalgjite studéni zimsći deni. Idin denj žábata se-j udlačila da hurtuva sas gasćite za da ja zémat i néja sas tej gá se mánat kantu po-gurašti mestá. Gasćite sa bili saglásni da zémat i žábata i, kátu tá ne mogala da farka, dve gasći sa uluváli sas klavnicite nji dváta krája na idin prat, a žábata ij zahápala prata na srede i taj sa farkali. Menali sa tija nad idno sélu kadetu horata sa bili na ulicata. Idin čeleć si-j izdignal pogleda, ij videl kaćé žábata „farka“ nosina ud gasćite i, sas učudvanji, ij viknal:

— Gladejti, hora! Žábata farka!

Sate hora sa pugladeli na nagore i sa se čudili. Idin čeleć ij zapital na glás:

— Ama koj da-j imál тази ideja, da nosat žábata na prata?

Žábata falosa, za da ni já nekuj da misli, či prostite gasći sa mogali da imat тази ideja, ij viknala:

— Áz!

No kočé si-j utorila ustáta, žábata ij pusnala prata, ij pádnala na zemete i se-j raztratila.

Častu pate takozí neštu se dugážde i sas horata, kujatu sa mlogu falosi i sami se vazdigat. Ud kolkutu čeleka se vazdiga po-više, ud tolkusi, ga dodi vremeto da pádni, za se udári po-jáku. Zaštotu ij pisanu, či sekuj kojtu samičec se vazdiga, toj za badi punizén.



## Žábata i divite gasci

Žábata ij žuvela u idna bára. Vaz tazi bára seku gudina sa dvádeli divi gasci. Naidnaž sas prulećta, divite gasći sa stigali i sa žuveli i tija pukraj tazi bára du jesénjta, gá sa se mánvali kantu po-gurašti mestá, détu zimata ná bila taj ostrá i studená. Žábata ij bilá ninavidna na tezi gasći, kujatu ne trebalu da tarpat stuć i mráz prez dalgjite studéni zimsći deni. Idin denj žábata se-j udlačila da hurtuva sas gasćite za da ja zémat i néja sas tej gá se mánat kantu po-gurašti mestá. Gasćite sa bili saglásni da zémat i žábata i, kátu tá ne mogala da farka, dve gasći sa uluváli sas klavnicite nji dváta krája na idin prát, a žábata ij zahápala prata na srede i taj sa tárkali. Menali sa tija nad idno sélu kadetu horata sa bili na ulicata. Idin čeleć si-j izdignal pogleda, ij videi kaćé žábata „lárka“ nosina ud gasćite i, sas učudvanji, ij viknal:

– Gladejti, hora! Žábata farka!





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## ***i*-Apocope in Modern Spoken Banat Bulgarian**

- elision of all cases *i* at the end of the word, even after some consonant groups (*gasci*)
  - unclear interpretation of cases like *tazi*
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## ***i*-Apocope in written texts**

- many cases of the elision of *i* in medial position
    - in literary texts including the Bible
    - the newspaper texts are rather conservative
  - some cases of elision of *i* in final position
    - lexicalized cases in the Bible, but not in other literary texts
    - more frequent in the internet
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## *i*-Apocope in the Middle of the Word

- examples from the Bible
    - Tija sa *bli* ribáre i tamánj sa farleli *mrežte* u udata.
    - Katu sa si utvádeli, sa *kupli* meriševi ulije.
    - Ángjela navisti *purudénjtu* na Ivána Kraštitela
    - *Prurocte* i zákuna du Ivána sa *svedočli* tuj i aku štéti da znájtí
  - no elision in other forms of the same lexemes (*pruroci* – *purudénji*)
  - other literary texts (*Kasa istorija na banátsćite balgare*)
    - Zašto nekuja sa dumali, či nášte prededve sa bli eretici?
    - ... u unezi vremená, katu cela Balgárija ij blá pud robstvotu na Osmánskija imperija
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## *i*-Apocope at the End of the Word

- one lexicalized case in the Bible, *ráždenj* ‘East’
    - mudrácte ud na ráždenj
    - but also: Taze planina ij na ráždenji ud Jeruzálem.
  - quite common on the internet
    - [...] sate 50 gudisni zini i mazjie, rudin u Star Bisnov u 1965 gudina, sa puzvan u sabta 3.10.2015 u 19.00 sahate, na Obstinata ud selu [...]
    - Kojtu ij puzilin za po vise informaciji moz da se javi na gosp. Marijka Serban na nr. 0758 244 271.  
(Facebook 29–09-2017)
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## Orthographic Restrictions

- in all cases of *i*-apocope in final position the word ends in *nj* or *n*
  - in principle, I expect that other cases could occur as well, but I have not found them yet
  - it seems plausible that *i*-apocope is especially improbable in cases where the last consonant is voiced, e.g. *tazi*, *tezi*, *unazi*, *unezi* etc.
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## Unclear Points

- phonetic realization?
- exact conditions of preservation of *i*
  - in medial position
  - in final position



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## And What about Diachrony?

- if the Banat Bulgarian system is really so different from other Bulgarian dialects, I would assume the following scenario
  - a tendency present in the dialects from which Banat Bulgarian emerged was reinforced by contact with Romanian
  - Romanian also had an influence on the orthographical system
  - nevertheless, Banat Bulgarian is not entirely modelled on Romanian



## A Last Example



### Balgarete palcene ud Banata/Bulgarii din Banat



29. Februar 2016 · 🌐

U 4 marta, u petak, posle pladne sas pocnivanji ud 17 sah sate mumicta, studentci, mumi, zini sti puzvan u Centralnotu sedaliste na Balgarskotu Druzstvu ud Piata Unirii ud Timisvar, na idno priatelsku srestenj za dene na zinite. Na tuje srestenji, 4 mladi Andrea Caradzov, Anka Serban, Mirela Munteanu i jos idna cosmeticiana za napravat idnija interesni predstavjenjita ud moda, design vestimentar, machiaj, organizari evenimente i activitati caritabile. Sekuja ud tejna domeniu za hurtuva i pukazva. Sti cekan sas radus!

Übersetzung anzeigen







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## Literature

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