

**Phonology and Morphology of Paševik  
Pomak with Notes on the Verb and  
Fundamentals of Syntax**

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## **Declaration**

I, Susan Sandry, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

## Abstract

This thesis describes the variety of Pomak spoken in the Greek village of Paševik, where the term *Pomak* is used to refer to the south Slavonic dialects spoken in the region of Greek Thrace. The data were collected during fieldwork in the area between 2005 and 2010 with the help of language informants and by observing spontaneous speech in a variety of settings. To date no comprehensive grammar of this variety has been produced.

The introduction contains short descriptions of Paševik, its inhabitants and language use within the community. In addition, four Pomak grammars based on other varieties of Pomak are described briefly and evaluated (Papadēmētriou et al 1996; Kokkas 2004; Theoxaridēs 1996; Panagiōtidēs 1997). Chapter two deals with the phonology of Paševik Pomak, chapters three to ten deal with the morphology and chapter eleven covers various parts of the syntax. Some features of Paševik Pomak are contrasted and compared with standard Bulgarian and with the other varieties of Pomak described in the above grammars, particularly in the chapters dealing with nominal morphology. The final chapter contains the narrated text of a folk tale which has been glossed, translated, and provided with commentary.

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<b>Table of Contents Synoptic</b>		
	Table of Contents Detailed	6
	List of Tables and Diagrams	11
	Apparatus	15
<b>Chapter 1</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	20
<b>Chapter 2</b>	<b>PHONOLOGY</b>	39
<b>Chapter 3</b>	<b>NOUNS: GENDER, NUMBER, DEFINITENESS</b>	71
<b>Chapter 4</b>	<b>NOUNS AND CASE</b>	116
<b>Chapter 5</b>	<b>NAMES</b>	133
<b>Chapter 6</b>	<b>ADJECTIVES</b>	140
<b>Chapter 7</b>	<b>PRONOUNS</b>	153
<b>Chapter 8</b>	<b>NUMERALS</b>	166
<b>Chapter 9</b>	<b>DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY: AUGMENTATION AND DIMINUTION</b>	173
<b>Chapter 10</b>	<b>VERBS</b>	204
<b>Chapter 11</b>	<b>SYNTAX</b>	234
<b>Chapter 12</b>	<b>TEXT: POMAK FOLKTALE</b>	269
	Conclusion	274
	Bibliography	275

<b>Table of Contents Detailed</b>		
	<b>List of Tables and Diagrams</b>	11
	<b>Apparatus</b>	15
	Transliteration and Transcription	15
	List of Grammatical Categories	17
	Symbols for Glosses	18
	Abbreviations for References	18
	Other Abbreviations	19
<b>Chapter 1</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	20
1.1	Fieldwork and Methodology	21
1.2	Paševik	23
1.3	The People	23
1.4	Language Situation and Use	25
1.5	Pomak	30
1.6	Descriptions of Pomak	34
<b>Chapter 2</b>	<b>PHONOLOGY</b>	39
2.1	Vowels	39
2.1.1	Vowels <i>ö</i> and <i>ü</i>	41
2.2	Consonants	42
2.2.1	Consonant Clusters and their Distribution	47
2.3	Word Stress	61
2.3.1	Verbs	61
2.3.2	Adjectives	62
2.3.3	Common Nouns	62
2.3.3.1	Indefinite Nouns	62
2.3.3.2	Definite Nouns	64
2.3.4	Names	64
2.3.5	Contrastive Stress	65
2.4	Vowel Alternation	65
2.5	Consonant Alternation	68
2.6	Final Obstruents and Devoicing	68
2.7	Vowel Syncope	69
2.8	Minimal Pairs	70
<b>Chapter 3</b>	<b>NOUNS: GENDER, NUMBER, DEFINITENESS</b>	71
3.1	Singular Indefinite	71
3.1.1	Neuter Indefinite	71
3.1.2	Feminine Indefinite	72
3.1.3	Masculine Indefinite	78

3.2	Plural Indefinite	81
3.2.1	Neuter Indefinite	81
3.2.2	Feminine Indefinite	83
3.2.3	Masculine Indefinite	85
3.2.3.1	Regular Plural Indefinite	86
3.2.3.2	Quantified Plural	93
3.2.4	Indeterminate Gender	96
3.3	Singular Definite	97
3.3.1	Neuter Definite	97
3.3.2	Feminine Definite	98
3.3.3	Masculine Definite	100
3.4	Plural Definite	104
3.4.1	Neuter Definite	105
3.4.2	Feminine Definite	106
3.4.3	Masculine Definite	107
3.4.4	Indeterminate Gender	110
3.5	Summary of Plural Noun Suffixes and Formation of Definite	111
<b>Chapter 4</b>	<b>NOUNS AND CASE</b>	116
4.1	Singular Indefinite	116
4.1.1	Neuter	117
4.1.2	Feminine	117
4.1.3	Masculine	119
4.2	Plural Indefinite	125
4.3	Singular Definite	125
4.3.1	Neuter	126
4.3.2	Feminine	126
4.3.3	Masculine	127
4.4	Plural Definite	128
4.5	Summary of Noun Declensions	129
4.6	Vocative Forms	131
<b>Chapter 5</b>	<b>NAMES</b>	133
5.1	Singular	134
5.1.1	Declension 1	134
5.1.2	Declension 2	135
5.1.3	Declension 3	136
5.1.4	Declension 4	137
5.2	Plural Indefinite	137
5.3	Plural Definite	138
5.4	Summary of Indefinite Name Declensions	139

<b>Chapter 6</b>	<b>ADJECTIVES</b>	140
6.1	Indefinite	140
6.1.1	Nominative	140
6.1.1.1	Adjectives Ending in a Consonant	140
6.1.1.2	Adjectives Ending in a Vowel	144
6.1.1.3	Indeclinable Adjectives	145
6.1.2	Dative	145
6.2	Definite	146
6.2.1	Nominative Singular	146
6.2.2	Dative Singular	147
6.2.3	Nominative and Dative Plural	147
6.3	Comparative and Superlative of Adjectives	148
6.4	Possessive Suffixes	149
6.4.1	Nominative	149
6.4.2	Dative	151
6.4.3	Possessive Suffixes and Inanimate Nouns	152
<b>Chapter 7</b>	<b>PRONOUNS</b>	153
7.1	Personal Pronouns	153
7.2	Possessive Pronouns	155
7.3	Demonstrative Pronouns	158
7.4	The Relative Pronoun	160
7.5	Indefinite Pronouns	160
7.6	Interrogative Pronouns	162
7.7	Negative Pronouns	164
<b>Chapter 8</b>	<b>NUMERALS</b>	166
8.1	Cardinal Numerals	167
8.1.1	Indefinite	167
8.1.1.1	Nominative	167
8.1.1.2	Dative	168
8.1.2	Definite	169
8.1.2.1	Nominative	169
8.1.2.2	Dative	170
8.1.3	Qualification of Slavonic Numerals	171
8.2	Ordinal Numerals	171
8.3	Summary of Declension of Cardinal Numerals	172
8.4	Numerals of Turkish Origin	172
<b>Chapter 9</b>	<b>DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY: AUGMENTATION AND DIMINUTION</b>	173
9.1	Augmentation	173
9.1.1	Nouns	174



9.2	Diminution	180
9.2.1	Nouns	181
9.3	Stress in Augmentative and Diminutive Nouns	190
9.4	Consonant Alternations in Nouns	192
9.5	Adjectives	196
9.6	Names	200
<b>Chapter 10</b>	<b>VERBS</b>	204
10.1	Inflection	205
10.2	Conjugations	207
10.2.1	Conjugation <i>a</i>	207
10.2.2	Conjugation <i>e</i>	209
10.2.2.1	<i>e</i> Conjugation with Fixed Stress	209
10.2.2.2	<i>e</i> Conjugation with Mobile Stress	210
10.2.3	Conjugation <i>i</i>	213
10.2.3.1	<i>i</i> Conjugation with Fixed Stress	213
10.2.3.2	<i>i</i> Conjugation with Mobile Stress	215
10.2.4	Conjugation <i>i/e</i>	217
10.2.4.1	<i>i/e</i> Conjugation with Fixed Stress	217
10.2.4.2	<i>i/e</i> Conjugation with Mobile Stress	221
10.3	Irregular Verbs	222
10.4	Irregularities	225
10.5	Phonology Specific to Verb Inflection	228
10.5.1	Vowel Syncope	228
10.5.2	Consonant and Vowel Elision	228
10.5.3	Vowel Alternations	230
10.5.4	Consonant Alternations	230
10.6	Tables of Final Vowels of Verb Stems	232
10.6.1	Non-Past and Other	232
10.6.2	Past	233
<b>Chapter 11</b>	<b>SYNTAX</b>	234
11.1	Level of the Clause	234
11.1.1	Independent Clauses	234
11.1.2	Copula	236
11.1.3	Kinds of Predicate	237
11.1.3.1	Subject Only – Intransitive Verb	237
11.1.3.2	Subject Plus Object – Transitive Verb	237
11.1.4	Ambitransitive Verbs	238
11.2	Impersonal Verbs	239
11.3	Interrogatives Plus their Negatives and Indefinites	241

11.4	Relative Clauses	242
11.5	Complement Clauses	243
11.6	Sentences Made up of Two or More Clauses	244
11.6.1	Compound (Co-ordinated) Sentences	244
11.6.2	Complex Sentences	245
11.7	Conjunctions	245
11.7.1	Co-ordinating Conjunctions	245
11.7.2	Subordinating Conjunctions	247
11.8	Noun Phrase	248
11.8.1	Possessives	248
11.8.2	Quantifiers, Demonstratives, Adjectives	251
11.9	Agreement	254
11.10	Dubitative Particle	256
11.11	Distribution	258
11.12	Order of Pronouns	259
11.13	Reflexive Pronouns	259
11.13.1	Reflexive <i>sa</i>	259
11.13.2	Reflexive <i>si</i>	262
11.14	Reciprocals	263
11.15	Prepositions	263
<b>Chapter 12</b>	<b>TEXT: POMAK FOLKTALE</b>	269
	Conclusion	274
	Bibliography	275

<b>List of Tables and Diagrams</b>		
Diagram 0.1	Map showing location of Pomak speakers	14
Table 0.1	Transliteration	16
Table 1.1	Languages spoken in the home	26
Table 1.2	Impact of education and migration on languages spoken at home	27
Table 1.3	Self-assessment of language ability	30
Table 1.4	Number of Pomak speakers	31
Table 1.5	Phonological features	32
Table 1.6	Lexical features	32
Table 1.7	Paradigms of <i>kra'va</i>	36
Table 1.8	Paradigm of <i>valk</i>	37
Table 2.1	Vowels	39
Table 2.2	Distribution of vowels and stress	41
Table 2.3	Turkish endings of Pomak words in final <i>ö</i>	42
Table 2.4	Distribution of consonant phonemes	46
Table 2.5	Number of consonant clusters	47
Table 2.6	Distribution of consonant clusters	48
Table 2.7	Clusters of two consonants part 1	49
Table 2.8	Clusters of two consonants part 2	50
Table 2.9	Clusters of three consonants part 1	51
Table 2.10	Clusters of three consonants part 2	52
Table 2.11	Vowel alternation in nouns	66
Table 2.12	Vowel alternation <i>do'rvu</i>	66
Table 2.13	Vowel alternation with mobile stress	67
Table 2.14	Consonant alternations	68
Table 2.15	Vowel syncope in nouns	69
Table 3.1	Neuter	111
Table 3.2	Neuter nouns with mobile stress in definite	111
Table 3.3	Feminine	111
Table 3.4	Feminine nouns with mobile stress in definite	112
Table 3.5	Masculine	113
Table 3.6	Masculine ending in <i>u</i>	113

Table 3.7	Masculine nouns with mobile stress in definite	114
Table 4.1	Indefinite neuters and feminines	129
Table 4.2	Indefinite masculines	130
Table 4.3	Definite neuters and feminines	130
Table 4.4	Definite masculines	131
Table 5.1	Declension 1	134
Table 5.2	Declension 2	135
Table 5.3	Declension 3	136
Table 5.4	Declension 4	137
Table 5.5	Indefinite plural	137
Table 5.6	Definite plural dative decl 1 and 2	138
Table 5.7	Definite plural dative decl 3 and 4	138
Table 5.8	Summary of indefinite name declensions	139
Table 6.1	Dative indefinite	146
Table 6.2	Dative definite singular	147
Table 6.3	Names belonging to declensions 1, 3 and 4	149
Table 6.4	Masculine nouns denoting humans	150
Table 6.5	Names belonging to declension 2	150
Table 6.6	Feminine nouns denoting humans	151
Table 6.7	Neuter nouns denoting animates	151
Table 6.8	Dative	151
Table 7.1	Personal pronouns	154
Table 7.2	Indefinite possessive pronouns	155
Table 7.3	Definite possessive pronouns	156
Table 7.4	Dative of possessive pronouns	157
Table 7.5	Demonstrative pronouns	158
Table 7.6	Relative pronoun	160
Table 7.7	Indefinite pronouns	160
Table 7.8	Interrogative pronouns	162
Table 7.9	Negative pronouns	164
Table 8.1	Declension of 'one'	166
Table 8.2	Declension of 'two'	166

Table 8.3	Definite of 'one'	170
Table 8.4	Definite of 'two' to 'four'	170
Table 8.5	Declension of <i>porv</i> 'first'	171
Table 8.6	Summary of declension of cardinal numerals	172
Table 9.1	Augmentative nouns and dative case	180
Table 9.2	Diminutive nouns and dative case	190
Table 9.3	Dative of diminutive adjectives	200
Table 9.4	Names and case	203
Diagram 10.1	Verb conjugations	207
Table 10.1	Paradigm <i>ču'ka-</i>	208
Table 10.2	Paradigms <i>i'ma-</i> , <i>se'ta- sa</i>	209
Table 10.3	Paradigm <i>kla'ne- sa</i>	209
Table 10.4	Paradigms conjugation <i>e</i> with mobile stress	212
Table 10.5	Verbs conjugation <i>e</i> with mobile stress	213
Table 10.6	Paradigm <i>du'mi-</i>	214
Table 10.7	Paradigms conjugation <i>i</i> with mobile stress	216
Table 10.8	Verbs conjugation <i>i</i> with mobile stress	217
Table 10.9	Paradigms conjugation <i>i/e</i>	218
Table 10.10	Verbs conjugation <i>i/e</i>	219
Table 10.11	Paradigms conjugation <i>i/e</i> verbs in <i>yem</i>	221
Table 10.12	Paradigm <i>nabi''yi/e-</i>	222
Table 10.13	Paradigm <i>sa''-</i>	223
Table 10.14	Paradigm <i>nište'</i>	223
Table 10.15	Paradigms monosyllabic verbs	224
Table 10.16	Consonant alternation <i>k ~ č</i>	231
Table 10.17	Consonant alternation <i>g ~ ž</i>	231
Table 10.18	Consonant alternation <i>s ~ š</i>	231
Table 10.19	Consonant alternation <i>z ~ ž</i>	232
Table 10.20	Non-past: final vowel all conjugations	232
Table 10.21	Past: final vowel conjugations <i>a</i> and <i>e</i>	233
Table 10.22	Past: final vowel conjugation <i>i</i>	233
Table 10.23	Past: final vowel conjugation <i>i/e</i>	233

Diagram 0.1 Map showing location of Pomak speakers



The dark grey areas indicate the location of Pomak speakers.

# APPARATUS

## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

The names of Greek towns, villages and prefectures are transliterated except where a standard anglicized form exists. All towns and Pomak villages other than Paševik are given in their Greek forms except when they occur in examples, where they are glossed with the Greek name and transliterated. The names of authors are also transliterated. Stress is not marked in place names or names of authors. All other Greek or Bulgarian words are given in the original script, with the exception of the examples given in section 2.2 under Greek loan words, where Latin script is used when contrasting two phonemes in Pomak and Greek.

Pomak names are transcribed with the letter <x> in the thesis but are glossed with the letter <h>.

### Other Sources

When quoting from other sources, the original transcription employed by the author is used, including any diacritics and markings for stress. It has not always been possible to reproduce a form exactly as it appears in the original given the limitations of my word processing software. In such instances, a diacritic or the marking for stress follows the letter it modifies. Where the author has employed two scripts, either Latin and Greek or Latin and Bulgarian, both are given. Any inconsistencies and/or apparent mistakes in the original examples are reproduced.

In tables of paradigms, but not in examples or glossaries, the hyphen is used to segment words in P7 and T6. There are also rare instances of such segmentation in D6. With the exception of the examples given in section 1.6, the segmentation of words taken from the Pomak and Bulgarian grammars is my own in all instances and where there is a hyphen in the original this is not transcribed unless it follows my system of segmentation. The original form of a word is given in square brackets where a hyphen has been removed.

In T6 feminine and neuter nouns are often segmented after the final consonant of the stem. Where I have given examples of such nouns in the indefinite, I have removed the hyphen and included the final stem vowel. The original forms of these nouns are given in square brackets.

### Bibliography

In the bibliography only the names of authors or editors and the places of publication are transliterated but the stress is not marked.

## Transliteration of Greek and Bulgarian

The transliteration systems used for Greek and Bulgarian in this thesis are shown in table 0.1 below. The Bulgarian letters are transliterated according to the table in Comrie and Corbett (1993: xii-xiii).

<b>Bulgarian</b>		<b>Greek</b>	
а	a	α	a
б	b	αυ	au
в	v	β	v
г	g	γ	g
д	d	δ	d
е	e	ε	e
ж	ž	ζ	z
з	z	η	ē
и	i	θ	th
й	j	ι	i
к	k	ϊ	ĩ
л	l	κ	k
м	m	λ	l
н	n	μ	m
о	o	ν	n
п	p	ξ	ks
р	г	ο	o
с	s	οι	oi
т	t	ου	ou
у	u	π	p
ф	f	ρ	r
χ	h	σ	s
ц	c	τ	t
ч	č	υ	u
ш	š	φ	f
щ	št	χ	x
ъ	ă	ψ	ps
ь	'	ω	ō
ю	ju		
я	ja		



## Stress

Stress is marked on Pomak words in this thesis following the vowel of the stressed syllable.

## LIST OF GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

I follow the Leipzig rules for the list of grammatical categories. Glosses may be combined as in M.DAT 'masculine dative'.

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
ART	article
AUG	augmentative
AUX	auxiliary
CMPR	comparative marker
COMP	complementizer
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal
DUB	dubitative particle
EXT	stem extension
F	feminine
FUT	future
IMP	imperative
IPFV	imperfective
M	masculine
MED	medial
N	neuter
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
OBL	oblique
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRO	pronoun

PROH	prohibitive
PROX	proximal
PRS	present
PST	past
PTCP	participle
Q	question particle/interrogative
QPL	quantified plural
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
SG	singular
SUP	superlative marker

### **Note on glossing**

In the chapter on verbs I distinguish non-past and past forms rather than present and past. In grammatical glosses the abbreviation PRS is used to denote a non-past suffix.

### **SYMBOLS FOR GLOSSES**

The following symbols are used in the thesis to mark morpheme boundaries:

-	inflection
	gender and plural forms
=	derivation, including definite articles

### **ABBREVIATIONS FOR REFERENCES**

The following works are referred to many times and so for clarity and brevity I have abbreviated them:

A8	Aronson (1968)
H9	Hauge (1999)
K4	Kokkas (2004a)
D6	Papadēmētriou (1996)
P7	Panagiōtidēs (1997)
S3	Scatton (1993)
T6	Theoxaridēs (1996b)

## OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

A	animate
B	Bulgarian
CONS	consonant
Decl	declension
DEF	definite
f	female
G	Greek
HUM	human
INDEF	indefinite
m	male
MOB	mobile
NP	noun phrase
P	Pomak
PP	past participle
Q	question
QUANT	quantified
STR	stressed
T	Turkish
UNDRV	underived
UNSTR	unstressed
V	vowel

# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

### Aims of the Thesis

The central aim of this thesis has been to provide the first grammar of a Greek Pomak variety in the English language. The thesis describes, not exhaustively but in considerable detail, the variety spoken in one village in Greece

Another aim has been to fill a gap in our knowledge of south-east Slavonic dialects in Greece. Pomak has been neglected to a great extent although there are a limited number of books published in Greek and listed in the bibliography which describe varieties other than Paševik Pomak. Very little material is available on Pomak in English however, amounting to no more than a website with a bilingual dictionary of 1000 words<sup>1</sup> and three articles by Adamou on specific features of Greek Pomak (2010b, 2010c, 2011). *The Languages and Linguistics of Europe* is a volume of over 900 pages and the term Pomak occurs only once, but only as an ethnonym (Kortmann and Auwera 2011: 734). No reference is made to the language itself.

It has also been the aim of this thesis to provide a lasting record of a language that is endangered.

A further aim has been to furnish material that can be used by future linguists as a starting point for further research, in particular Slavists, Balkanists and linguists interested in language contact. However this thesis is aimed not only at the specialist and for this reason it does not aim for a maximum of theoretical economy. I have therefore allowed for a certain amount of repetition. It is my hope that in addition to specialists such as those mentioned above, general linguists and Turkologists, it will also be read by the interested layperson, Pomak speakers and those with an interest in endangered languages or the south-east Balkans.

Although the thesis is not a comparative grammar or a survey of south-east Slavonic dialects, where relevant I have highlighted differences between Paševik Pomak and standard Bulgarian and the varieties of Greek Pomak described in other grammars. However, it was not an aim of this thesis to show the differences between Pomak and south-east Slavonic dialects outside Greece. It remains for dialectologists to compare this variety of Slavonic with other south Slavonic varieties.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://pomakdictionary.tripod.com/index/index.html>

As the thesis is a descriptive grammar of Paševik Pomak and not a comparative study of south-east Bulgarian dialects, it does not cite or list in its bibliography extensive references to the dialectological literature.

## **General**

This thesis describes the variety of Pomak spoken in the Greek village of Paševik, in Greek Paxnē. The term *Pomak* is used in this thesis to refer to the south Slavonic dialects spoken in the region of Greek Thrace. It shares many features with south-eastern Bulgarian dialects, including specific vowel changes related to Proto-Slavonic *jat'*, the softening of consonants before /i/ and /e/, the use of case forms with nouns and adjectives and three-way suffixal deictics. All eight lexical items cited by Stojkov for Rup dialects are found in Paševik Pomak (1993: 122). However, the formation of the first person plural non-past exclusively with the suffix *-me* is a feature shared with western Bulgarian dialects. Greek and Turkish loan words can be found in all Bulgarian dialects, particularly those in the south of Bulgaria, but in Pomak the number of such loan words is much higher.<sup>2</sup> *Pomak* is referred to as *puma'tsku* in the vernacular and *πομακικά* in Greek. Pomak speakers belong to the Muslim minority of Thrace, the majority of whom speak Turkish as their mother tongue. They refer to themselves as either *puma'ci* 'Pomaks' or *tu'rci* 'Turks'. Greeks refer to these Slavonic speaking Muslims as *Πομάκοι*. In this thesis I have used the term *Pomak* to designate Pomak speakers.

### **1.1 FIELDWORK AND METHODOLOGY**

The highest concentration of Pomak speakers reside in the prefecture of Ksanthē, where also the best bus service to the Pomak villages is provided. For these reasons I decided to choose a village from this prefecture in which to carry out my research. A Greek friend who had taught in Paševik recommended this village to me and after a positive first visit I made a preliminary decision to base my research on the language variety spoken there. Further visits proved fruitful and the choice was cemented.

Before commencing research on Pomak I knew both Greek and Bulgarian and had a good spoken command of Croatian. Having spent five years in Thessalonica I had learnt sufficient Greek to be able to deal with the demands of fieldwork. With a prior knowledge of Croatian I then took a module in Bulgarian at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies in London as part of a master's degree. This provided me with an academic knowledge of the Bulgarian language.

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<sup>2</sup> Stojkov 1993: 130-131, 328; Sussex and Cubberley 2006: 510-513; S3: 244-247.

It had been my intention to spend some time living in Paševik in order to immerse myself in the language and culture. Dixon describes as “ideal” such a situation, “where there is a community in which the language is in daily use and where the linguist can live and hear the language spoken around them” (2010a: 325). Unfortunately, for various reasons it was not possible for me to live in the village, severely restricting my exposure to Pomak and the scope of my research. For example, I was not able to collect sufficient data to make an in-depth analysis of the verb and so the description of the verb is cursory. During the main period of fieldwork, from 2005 to 2009, I made visits three times per week. Being dependent on public transport meant that I was unable to stay beyond the afternoon as there was a limited service, and there were therefore occasions when I was unable to attend special events.

Language data were collected and transcribed by hand into notebooks during my visits to Paševik. People were very reluctant to have their voices recorded and I was able to obtain only three recordings during my years of research. The ubiquitous notebook however was accepted by most. The manual transcription of data was not ideal as it was slow, there was no possibility of checking the original utterance and in the case of longer texts I had to ask informants to repeat themselves.

In order to obtain language data I collected texts, wrote down vocabulary, phrases and sentences from everyday conversations and occasionally elicited data from informants in order to try to clarify various grammatical points. On my first visits to the village I mainly met people in shops, cafés and on the street, but as I made friends I was invited into homes, taken on visits to neighbours and relatives on special occasions, and I observed and helped people at work. I spent many hours as a participant observer of all aspects of tobacco production. My exposure to many different situations provided numerous opportunities to observe both language use and the culture.

I worked with several language informants but in order to preserve their anonymity I have not supplied any biographical data. In the language examples in the thesis, each informant is given a distinct code, for example [Aa].

I also conducted twenty-nine short interviews using a questionnaire I designed, which focused on schooling and language use. I decided to elicit the information orally from interviewees irrespective of education and literacy, so that all responses would be collected under the same conditions. All of the interviewees were originally from the village of Paševik but some had moved to the town of Ksanthē, two were attending university in a Greek city and some had lived outside the village in a variety of locations.

## 1.2 PAŠEVİK

The village of Paševik is located in the Rhodope mountains of north-eastern Greece, twenty-nine kilometres north of the town of Ksanthē. Its population was recorded as 1,093 in the 2001 census.

Paševik is a closed, homogeneous village. All the inhabitants are Sunni Muslims and with the exception of two or three women from the Turkish community who have married local men, all speak Pomak as their mother tongue.

Until 1995 access to and from Paševik for both residents and outsiders was restricted to those who were granted a pass as it fell within a military zone which included all the Pomak villages of Ksanthē. The Greek government was protecting its border with Bulgaria and feared that the Slavonic speaking Pomaks might collaborate with the Bulgarians in the event of an invasion. Today the situation is dramatically different: there is a regular flow of traders to the village from both Greece and Bulgaria and local residents travel freely to Ksanthē and beyond. A primary school and nursery school in the village provide for the educational needs of the younger children. There is also a mosque, several general shops and a number of cafés.

## 1.3 THE PEOPLE

Islam is at the centre of village life. Ramadan is observed by most people and the two Muslim feasts, *šeke'r bayra'm* 'sugar festival' (Eid al-Fitr) and *kurba'n bayra'm* 'festival of sacrifice' (Eid al-Adha) are the highlights of the year. Daily life is marked by prayer, both formal and personal. Married men and women do not generally mix unless they are related and they move in different social and religious spheres: cafés are frequented only by men or boys; women go to the mosque only on very rare occasions and usually when no men are present; men absent themselves when women visit female friends in their homes; in visits to pilgrims who have returned from the hajj the sexes are always segregated; women do not attend burials but mourn at home with other women; and at weddings or other public events men and women eat in separate locations.

Folk religion on the other hand is practised mainly by women and those who are considered to be gifted in a particular sphere are sought out by others. For example, some women are said to be able to heal those who have undergone a severe shock while others can cure headaches. All babies and young children and sometimes even animals such as donkeys wear a talisman as protection from the evil eye and from evil spirits.

As in all the Pomak villages the men wear standard Western dress, only deviating from this in the matter of headwear. Some wear a crocheted prayer hat outside the mosque and those who

are entitled to do so are proud to wear a *čelmo'* 'a red fez with a white or yellow band'.<sup>3</sup> The yellow band denotes a haji and the white band a religious teacher, imam or hafus.

A coloured headscarf, often with an elaborate crocheted edging, is worn by the women of the village. No special head covering exists to distinguish those who have been on the hajj. Most young girls wear a headscarf only for Koranic school and it is optional for older girls and younger unmarried women outside the religious sphere. To preserve modesty, most married women and some older unmarried ones wear a *sayō'* 'black ankle-length coat' over their clothes when outside the home. Older women usually wear ankle-length skirts or dresses under the *sayō'*, but younger women often wear trousers. Unmarried young women and girls generally wear standard Western clothes.

All children attend nursery school for two years from the age of four, where they are taught in Greek by non-Pomak speakers. At the age of six they move to the minority primary school, where instruction is provided in Turkish as well as Greek, in accordance with the Treaty of Lausanne.<sup>4</sup> An equal amount of time is given to each language. Although education is compulsory in Greece until the age of fifteen, it is only in recent years that some girls and most boys have attended secondary school. The education of girls in particular was not seen as important in the past as it was expected that they would marry and work in the fields, whereas boys were expected to find employment to provide for a future family. The nearest secondary school is located in another village. It is a mainstream school and instruction in Turkish is limited to approximately two hours per week of religious education. Some attend mainstream secondary schools in Ksanthē. A small minority of parents have sent their children to Turkey to be educated at boarding school from the age of ten. Some young people win a place at university and several of the villagers have degrees.

In addition to a secular education, children are sent from an early age to study the Koran and receive religious instruction. Classes are usually held on most days of the week. When a child has recited the entire Koran, often by the age of ten, a special ceremony, *xa'tim*, is held to mark the event.

Opportunities for employment in Paševik are few and economic migration is common among the men, although with the present economic crisis it is increasingly difficult to find work anywhere. Tobacco cultivation has been an important part of village life for many years, although its importance is diminishing as people abandon the practice because of poor returns. Women are predominant among the local workforce. Most people grow vegetables and sometimes also cereal crops for their own consumption.

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<sup>3</sup> The term *čelmo'* is also used to refer to the band alone.

<sup>4</sup> The treaty defends the right of the Muslim minority of Greece to receive instruction in their mother tongue, but provision is made only for Turkish (Treaty of Peace with Turkey Signed at Lausanne, July 24, 1923). Note that instruction is given only in Greek in nursery schools.



#### 1.4 LANGUAGE SITUATION AND USE

Pomak as mother tongue and Turkish and Greek as the languages of wider communication are spoken in Paševik. Although many are at least bilingual and Turkish is the language of prestige, it is Pomak that is most frequently heard on the street, in cafés and shops, in the school playground, in homes and on the school bus. Pomak is however essentially restricted to informal settings, unless someone is providing interpretation for an individual in a formal situation, such as in a doctor's surgery.

Responding to my questionnaire, twenty-five out of twenty-nine interviewees reported speaking only Pomak at home as children. Three young people between the ages of fourteen and sixteen reported speaking two languages at home: two girls who had moved to Ksanthē for their education spoke Pomak and Greek at home, while one boy who had not left the village spoke Greek and Turkish. Seven of the twenty-five respondents who spoke only Pomak at home as children reported that they now also spoke one or two additional languages in the home. All respondents reported that Pomak was the dominant home language. In total, Turkish was spoken in the home by five interviewees and Greek by eight: six spoke Pomak and Greek, three spoke Pomak and Turkish and two spoke Pomak, Greek and Turkish. In summary, there has been a shift to speaking Greek and/or Turkish in the home for seven speakers and three young people speak two languages at home.

In table 1.1 below I have indicated the education completed by each respondent and where they have lived to ascertain whether these had any impact on the language spoken at home. Those who attended primary school completed six years of education at the minority school in Paševik, unless otherwise indicated. Those who had lived outside the village relocated within Greece, to Turkey or went elsewhere overseas, 'other'. Note that there is no entry for 13 as I discovered that the respondent, although a long-term resident, was not originally from Paševik.

Table 1.1 Languages spoken in the home						
NO	AGE	SEX	HM LANG AS CHILD	HM LANG NOW	EDUCATION	LIVED AWAY
1	43	f	P	P G	p	no
2	33	f	P	P	p	no
3	35	m	P	P	p + T	no
4	70	m	P	P	p -	G
5	16	f		P G	p + G	G
6	15	f		P G	p + G	G
7	61	f	P	P	p	no
8	60	f	P	P	p	G
9	55	m	P	P	p -	other
10	77	f	P	P	p	no
11	65	m	P	P T	p ++	other
12	22	f	P	P	p	no
14	23	f	P	P G	p ++ G	G
15	45	f	P	P	p	no
16	38	f	P	P G T	p + T	G
17	28	f	P	P G T	p/G + G	G
18	14	m		P T	p + G	no
19	15	f		P	p + G	no
20	38	f	P	P	p	no
21	58	f	P	P	p	no
22	65	f	P	P	p	no
23	71	m	P	P G	p	no
24	61	m	P	P	p	no
25	37	f	P	P G	p	no
26	16	m		P	p + T	no
27	19	m	P	P	p ++ G	G
28	68	m	P	P	p +	G
29	30	f	PT	PT	p + G T	T
30	47	f	P	P	p	no

**Abbreviations for Table 1.1**

- p completed primary school
- p/G mainstream primary school with instruction in Greek only
- p - did not complete primary school
- p + educated beyond primary school level
- + T secondary school or vocational training, Turkish main language

- + G mainstream secondary school or vocational training, Greek only
- p ++ higher education
- ++ G higher education in Greek

<b>Table 1.2 Impact of education and migration on languages spoken at home</b>						
HOME LANGUAGES	P	P + G	P + T	P + G T	TOTAL P +	TOTAL
EDUCATION						
PRIMARY	13	3	0	0	3	16
PRIMARY +	5	3	3	2	8	13
LOCATION						
VILLAGE	13	3	1	0	4	17
BEYOND VILLAGE	5	3	2	2	7	12

In table 1.2 <P +> indicates that Greek and/or Turkish were spoken in the home in addition to Pomak, <primary > indicates education up to primary level and <primary +> education beyond primary level.

Using Pomak in certain situations in the village is inappropriate and may be strongly discouraged. Children learn from the age of four that Greek is the language to be used at nursery school. When they start primary school, the use of Pomak is not allowed in the classroom: Turkish or Greek must be used according to the language of instruction. In the playground during breaks however, schoolchildren communicate with each other in Pomak. At Koranic school instruction is given in Turkish and Turkish is the language used inside the mosque. Official wedding ceremonies are conducted in Turkish. In discussions of a scientific or technical nature, which would take place only among the more educated with a better knowledge of Greek or Turkish, the speakers would use one of these languages.

Unlike some Pomak villages where Turkish is the dominant language after Pomak, or is even replacing it as the first language, in Paševik Greek is the better known second language for most residents. This observation was borne out by responses to the questions on language ability in the questionnaire: seventeen out of twenty-nine respondents said that they knew Greek better than Turkish, ten responded that they knew both languages equally well and two reported that they knew Turkish better than Greek.

It could be argued that for practical purposes there should be greater incentive to speak Greek rather than Turkish: it is needed for employment outside the village within Greece, for official business, when going to town, for social intercourse with Greeks and for talking to a child's teachers.

The fact that the majority of Pomaks in Paševik feel more comfortable conversing in Greek rather than in Turkish in no way displaces Turkish as the main language of prestige. Islam is central to the lives of Pomaks and as stated previously the language used to teach the religion is Turkish. It would be unthinkable for religious instruction to be given in Greek. Pomaks identify with Turks as fellow Muslims rather than with Christian Greeks, and a reverence for the Turkish language accompanies the identification.

Pomak, even in the eyes of those who claim it is the only language they can use, enjoys little prestige. Various reasons are given: it is spoken only in a small area; it is not written; it contains so many loan words that it cannot be considered to be a real language; and it does not have its own state. One person said to me *ni mo'žiš si'čku da ka'žiš na puma'tsku, ni mo'žiš da na'ydiš re'čki* 'you can't say everything in Pomak, you can't find the words' [Ai]. Many Pomaks from the village share this sentiment.

In the past Pomak held a strong position. Paševik was isolated from most non-Pomak speakers by reason of its inclusion in the restricted military zone. In addition, its distance from Greek and Turkish speaking settlements coupled with a ban on the ownership of private vehicles for Pomaks was a strong deterrent to travel. Before the advent of television, children and adults were not exposed to Greek and Turkish in the home.<sup>5</sup> Most children came into contact with Greek and Turkish for the first time when they began primary school, as the nursery school is of more recent origin. Young people used to sing Pomak folk songs as they worked but these have not been passed down and the younger generation today listen to modern songs in Greek and Turkish.

A Pomak's knowledge of Greek and Turkish depends on educational opportunities, age, sex, work and whether they have lived outside their village. I have not come into contact with anybody in Paševik who has completed primary school education who cannot communicate in Greek to some degree. However, there are some people in their late forties and fifties who state that they cannot speak Turkish as there was no Turkish speaking teacher when they went to school.

Literacy is often a question of age and sex. In bygone years boys and girls were educated separately, with boys being taught mainly academic subjects and girls being taught practical subjects such as weaving. Conversational Greek was taught to girls in this era but they were not taught to read and write, although in religious education they were taught the Arabic alphabet so that they could recite the Koran.

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<sup>5</sup> There was no consensus between informants as to when television first came to the village and dates were given between 1967 and 1973. For some years televisions were to be found only in cafés and it was not until the early 1980s that most families had their own television set. All broadcasts were in Greek until the late 1980s.

In their late teens or after completing their education, men in Greece are required to complete a period of military service. This exposes Pomak men to Greek and means that they are comfortable conversing in the language even in later years.

Many men work outside the village and for this it is necessary to know Greek, Turkish or another language. Fewer women have had work opportunities away from home until more recent years, but during the Bulgarian occupation of Thrace from 1941 until 1944 (Stavrianos 2000: 785) many families fled from Paševik, some moving to Ksanthē. A number of women learnt Turkish as children during that time and still speak the language well today.

In summary, in Paševik young children up to the age of four generally speak only Pomak. Children between the ages of four and six speak some Greek and those of six and above speak Greek and Turkish. Young people speak Greek and Turkish well but they are more confident in Greek, unless they have been educated in Turkey or at a religious school. All men of all ages speak Greek reasonably well and some speak it extremely well, but the standard of Turkish varies considerably, with some men having very little knowledge of the language. Women are generally less confident in speaking either Greek or Turkish unless they have been educated beyond primary school or have lived outside the village. It is not uncommon for women to have little or practically no knowledge of Turkish and some older women claim not to know any Greek. The older a woman is, the less confident she tends to be in using either Turkish or Greek. One Greek market trader has learnt sufficient Pomak so that he can sell his goods to those who are unable or unwilling to speak Greek. Women of eighty and above are likely to be monoglots.

Interviewees were asked to assess their production and comprehension of Pomak, Greek and Turkish on a scale of 1 – 4, with 1 being low. Respondent number ten did not assess her ability in Pomak, but she is fluent and has perfect understanding. Respondent twenty-eight rated his comprehension of Pomak below his speaking ability, but he has hearing difficulties.

Table 1.3 Self-assessment of language ability								
NO	AGE	SEX	LANGS SPOKEN			LANGS UNDERSTOOD		
			P	G	T	P	G	T
1	43	f	4	2	-1	4	2	1
2	33	f	4	2	2	4	2	2
3	35	m	4	4	2	4	4	3
4	70	m	4	3	0	4	3	0
5	16	f	4	4	4	4	4	4
6	15	f	4	4	1	4	4	3
7	61	f	4	1	1	4	3	3
8	60	f	4	1	1	4	2+	2
9	55	m	4	2	1	4	2	2
10	77	f	-	0	0	-	1	1
11	65	m	3	2	3	3	3	3
12	22	f	4	2	1	4	2	1
14	23	f	3	4	1	3	4	2
15	45	f	3	2	2	3	2	2
16	38	f	4	2	3	4	4	4
17	28	f	4+	4	4	4	4	4
18	14	m	4	3	2	4	4	2
19	15	f	4	4	2	4	4	2
20	38	f	4	2	2	4	3	3
21	58	f	4	1	0	4	3	0
22	65	f	4	1	-1	4	1	0
23	71	m	4	3	1	4	4	2
24	61	m	4	3	1	4	4	1
25	37	f	4	1	1	4	2	2
26	16	m	4	2	2	4	3	3
27	19	m	4	4	3	4	4	4
28	68	m	4	1	1	3	3	3
29	30	f	4	4	4	4	4	4
30	47	f	4	2	2	4	4	2

## 1.5 POMAK

### Number of Speakers

Pomak is spoken in all three prefectures in Thrace: Ksanthē, Rhodope and Evros, with the fewest number of speakers in Evros. No questions have been asked about mother tongue or

language use in the national census since 1951 (Kokkas, Konstantinidēs and Mexmetalē 2003: 97; Trudgill 2000: 250), so the current number of speakers of Greek Pomak is unknown. Table 1.4 below showing data from the 1951 census lists the number of people who reported that their mother tongue was Pomak and the number who usually spoke the language (Ethnikē Statistikē Upēresia tēs Ellados 1958: 184, 244-248, 260, 292-293). Only five respondents outside the region of Thrace reported that they were mother tongue speakers of Pomak.

**Table 1.4 Number of Pomak speakers**

PREFECTURE	MOTHER TONGUE	USUAL
KSANTHĒ	16,926	16,813
RHODOPE	1,628	1,037
EVROS	112	0
OTHER	5	4
TOTAL	18,671	17,854

Within the prefecture of Ksanthē, Pomak is spoken in all the mountain villages and in the places to which Pomaks have migrated, such as the town of Ksanthē and some low-lying settlements. Provisional data from the 2011 national census reveal that 15,530 people live in the municipality of Mukē (ELSTAT 2011), which covers the area where all the Pomak mountain villages in the prefecture of Ksanthē are located. These villages, with the exception of a handful of Turkish women who have married into the community, are exclusively inhabited by Pomaks. Therefore the total number of Pomak speakers in Ksanthē can be estimated at well over 15,000. Not all those who have left their villages have transmitted their language to their children however, so there is not an exact correspondence between the number of Pomaks and the number of Pomak speakers. In the prefectures of Rhodope and Evros there has been a more pronounced switch to Turkish by Pomak speakers. In one village I visited in Rhodope none of the old men or women understood Pomak and used Turkish as their main language. The only Pomak speaker I found was a young woman from a higher village. Adamou (2007, 2010a, 2010c) conducted language research in a village in Evros and reports that the children now learn Turkish as their mother tongue but that Pomak is still spoken by the older generation (2007: 3).

### **Relationship to Bulgarian**

The following two tables compare and contrast phonological and lexical features from Paševik Pomak, south-east Bulgarian dialects and standard Bulgarian. The data is taken from Stojkov (1993) and page numbers follow each entry. In table 1.5 the Smolyan dialect is contrasted with Paševik Pomak and standard Bulgarian. Where loan words are used in table 1.6 the source language is indicated.

Table 1.5 Phonological features					
		PAŠEVİK	SMOLYAN	STANDARD B	GLOSS
1a	broad o	son	сѡн (202)	сън	dream
1b		gl'õ'dam	гл'õ`да.м* (130)	гледам	to look 1SG
2a	broad e	gulä'm	гул'ë`м (130)	голям	big
		gulä'mi	гул'ë`ми	големи	
2b		yam	йë`м (130)	ям	to eat 1SG
3		tri	триы` (130)	три	three
4	unstressed o	mo'ma	ма.ма`* (131)	мома	girl
		mumi'ne			
5	epenthesis	bra'dva	ба.ра̀два.* (131)	брадва	axe
6		korv	кѡрф (130)	кръв	blood

\* Any word with an a followed by a full stop has a dot underneath the letter in the original but no such symbol is available in my word processing programme.

Table 1.6 Lexical features			
PAŠEVİK	SE BG DIALECT	STANDARD B	GLOSS
po'dzima	пѡдзима (132)	есен	autumn
siro' σειρά G	р'õ`д (130)	ред	row
sarmi'	а̀ра̀ци (132) G?	сарми	stuffed cabbage rolls
bu akša'm T	тѡра (132) тѡра 'now' G	довечера	tonight
buba'yku	бу̀ба̀йко (328)	баща	father
deni'z T	мѡре (122)	море	sea

### Dialect Variation

I am familiar only with the Pomak spoken in the prefecture of Ksanthē and the comments below on dialect variation are restricted to the mountain villages in Ksanthē.

The variety of Pomak spoken differs noticeably from village to village in pronunciation, lexicon and grammar. This is true even of villages that are as little as three kilometres apart. Some differences in grammar are described later in the chapters on nouns, particularly with regard to case.

Listed below are some sample words that may vary from village to village, with the examples from Paševik set out in the left hand column:



marauška	mra'vka	ant
mendi'l	pre'stelnik	apron
verespi't	podil'ato	bicycle
tumafi'l	araba'	car
patu're	bija'mi	loose trousers
kalču'n	čora'p	sock
uru'mtsku	gī'rtski	Greek

Differences in pronunciation may affect both vowels and consonants, although vowels are affected more frequently. The word may also be stressed differently:

pi'tam	pī'tom	to ask
yam	yem	to eat
zna'yem	znam, znom	to know
sedō't	sede't	they sit
kaxvenö'	kaxvene'	café
ki'tka	ki'tkî	flower
kupa'č	kapa'č	hoe
mu'fka	mi'fko, ma'fko	a little
xič	xüč	at all
pari'	parî, para'	money
mi'sku	mi'čko, mu'čko ma'ško, mu'ško	small
yele'k	ale'k	waistcoat
vo'da	o'da, vada'	water
u'denica	vo'denica	water mill
o'rexi	xorexî'	walnuts
de'ti	dečya', deca'	children
ro'ka	raka'	hand
že'na	žona', žena'	woman

### Lexicon

One of the striking differences between standard Bulgarian and Greek Pomak is in the lexicon, where a large number of loan words from Greek and Turkish has been assimilated. The basic grammar however is Slavonic as will be seen in the following chapters, and established loan words have been adapted to conform to Pomak inflection. Loan words of more recent origin may be indeclinable: see section 6.1.1.3 for examples of indeclinable adjectives derived from

Turkish. Verbs derived from Greek or Turkish have the suffix =*isv*, which is attached to the stem before the inflectional ending.<sup>6</sup>

xari'svam 1SG	χαρίζω	to pardon
kulandi'svam 1SG	kullanmak	to use

## 1.6 DESCRIPTIONS OF POMAK

Although Pomak is basically unwritten, it has been transcribed in the grammars described below and in some collections of folk tales and traditional songs (Kokkas 2004b; Roggo and Kokkas 2005; Roggo 2004; Theoxaridēs 1995) as well as in a school primer (Moumin and Omer 1997), in two fairy tales for children (Kokkas 2006, 2007) and in four dictionaries (Karaxotza 1996; Theoxaridēs 1996a, 1996c; Kokkas 2004c). All these publications are transcribed in Latin script with the exception of three dictionaries,<sup>7</sup> the school primer and the songs and folk tales included in the book by Theoxaridēs (1995). None of the material is written in Paševik Pomak and the residents of Paševik are largely unaware of these publications.

Although four grammars of Pomak written in Greek have been produced, none describes the Pomak of Paševik. No grammar of Pomak exists in the English language but Adamou, a Greek linguist based in Paris, has published four papers in English and three in French on Pomak, based on short field trips to the region. Minimal references are made to Adamou's work in this thesis.

In the chapter on phonology to a small extent and in certain sections on morphology to a greater extent, the Pomak of Paševik is compared and contrasted with standard Bulgarian and with other varieties of Pomak described in the four grammars.

The most detailed of the Pomak grammars was published by the Δ' Σώμα Στρατού, '4th Army Corps' (D6), and was written by three Greek linguists and two Pomak graduates of a teacher training college in Thessalonica. The variety of Pomak described is that spoken in the community of Mukē, which differs quite substantially in some points from the Pomak of Paševik. Comprehensive tables of paradigms are included in all the sections and a few examples of usage are listed. The Greek alphabet is used to transcribe Pomak and two or three consonants, rather than diacritics, are used to represent the phonemes which do not exist in Greek: ζζ for example is used to represent the phoneme ž (4). Diacritics are used however to distinguish between the vowels: ö and o, for example, are both listed and correspond to the letters used to transcribe these phonemes in Paševik Pomak in this thesis (8-9).

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<sup>6</sup> The stem of some Slavonic verbs also ends in =*isv*, such as *pi'sva*- 'to write'.

<sup>7</sup> In one dictionary by Theoxaridēs (1996c) the Pomak entries are transcribed in both Greek and Latin script.

The textbook *Úchem so pomátsko*, 'I am learning Pomak' (K4), consists of twenty-five Pomak lessons for Greek-speaking language learners. The author is a schoolteacher and moved to the Ksanthē area to research Pomak folklore for a PhD degree. His textbook has been used in evening classes for adults in Ksanthē with a Pomak native speaker as teacher. The variety of Pomak taught is almost identical to that in D6 and the author states that it is the variety spoken in the area of Sminthē and Mukē. Latin letters are used to transcribe Pomak. Diacritics are not used for the Pomak consonants for which single letters do not exist, but rather two letters: for example *bráshno* 'flour' (16). Although this book is not strictly speaking a grammar, paradigms and grammar explanations are given throughout.

The author of *Γραμματική της πομακικής γλώσσας*, 'Grammar of the Pomak Language', Petros D Theoxaridēs (T6), taught in the mountain villages of Ksanthē for twelve years and later produced his grammar. He does not state which variety of Pomak is described, but the frequency with which variant examples are listed in the paradigms suggests that the grammar is based on several distinct varieties of Pomak spoken in the villages in the Ksanthē prefecture. This contrasts with the first two grammars which describe the Pomak of one specific area. Pomak is transcribed in both Latin and Greek script, using diacritics with both consonants and vowels to distinguish distinct Pomak phonemes: *šarka* 'hat', for example, is transcribed in the Greek script with a wedge over the letter <σ>, *σ̃άπκα* (14). In most examples stress is marked only in the Greek script. Many examples of usage are given in each chapter and the second half of the book is made up of sample phrases and sentences.

Nathanaël M Panagiōtidēs' grammar forms part of the book *Οι Πομάκοι και η γλώσσα τους* 'The Pomaks and their Language' (P7), which begins with an introduction to the Pomaks and ends with a section of Pomak phrases and sentences, and a glossary. Pomak is transcribed in the Greek script, with only one diacritical sign used to distinguish the vowel phonemes *o* and *ö* (61). The consonant phonemes *š*, *ž*, *c* and *dz* are not listed in a table showing the sounds of Pomak (61). See section 2.2 for more details. The variety of Pomak described in P7 is markedly different to Paševik Pomak and to the Pomak varieties described in the other grammars, so it is conceivable that loss of phonemes has occurred; on the other hand the description may suffer from under-differentiation of phonemes. The location of the dialect described is not given but the grammar was published in Aleksandroupolē, suggesting that the data may have been provided by speakers from the prefecture of Evros. There is no known contact between Pomak speakers from Evros and Ksanthē, which would account for the marked differences in the varieties.

D6 and K4 are the clearer, better written and more reliable of the grammars. Tables and paradigms are clearly set out and presented in a consistent manner. In D6 in particular many examples are listed in each section and clear explanations are given. In T6 and P7 the paradigms are not set out so clearly, explanations are sometimes lacking, some incorrect

information is given and in T6 there are several typographical errors. The treatment of nouns, articles and numerals in the grammars is described briefly below to illustrate these points.

### Nouns and Names

In T6 and P7 paradigms of nouns are not listed separately according to definiteness, but nouns are segmented with a hyphen: in the former, the segmentation occurs after the final consonant of the singular stem; in the latter, after the full singular stem for singular nouns and after the plural suffix for plural nouns. Case suffixes are not segmented:

Table 1.7 Paradigms of <i>kra'va</i>			
CASE	T6	P7	GLOSS
NOM	κράβ-ανα krav-ana	κράβα-τα	cow
OBL	κράβ-ανα krav-ana	κράβα-τα	
DAT	κράβ-ουνεχι krav-unehi	κράβ(α)-έϊτέϊ	
VOC	κράβ-α krav-a	κράβα	
PLURAL			
NOM	κράβ-ινε krav-ine	κράβι-τε	cows
OBL	κράβ-ινε krav-ine	κράβι-τε	
DAT	κράβ-ινεμ krav-inem	κράβι-εμτεμ	
VOC	κράβ-ι krav-i	κράβι	

The information in the table is extracted from T6 (45) and P7 (65).

In P7 (64-65) a vowel in parentheses appears before the stem is segmented in the dative singular of all feminine nouns and in the dative plural of all masculine nouns. No explanation is given. With regard to feminine singular nouns, it might be assumed that the vowel is not pronounced but is included in the paradigm because segmentation occurs after the final vowel of the stem for the other three forms. This hypothesis cannot be applied to masculine plural nouns unless the data are incorrect.

It appears from the paradigms of the five masculine nouns listed in P7 that the nominative and oblique indefinite plural forms are identical to the nominative and oblique indefinite singular forms. This would be highly unusual for Pomak nouns. I hypothesize that these plurals should have the plural suffix |ε, which occurs in the vocative forms:

CASE	P7	ASSUMED	GLOSS
NOM	βάλκ-ατ		wolf
OBL	βάλκ-αρ		
DAT	βάλκ-ουτε		
VOC	βαλκ		
PLURAL			
NOM	βάλκ-τε	va'lk ε=te	wolves
OBL	βάλκ-τε	va'lk ε=te	
DAT	βάλκ(ε)-εμτεμ		
VOC	βάλκε		

The information in the table is taken from P7 (64).

Typographical errors occur in the noun paradigms in T6, as well as in other parts of the grammar. The segmentation is not always consistent and there are some errors in transcription between the Greek and Latin forms of the same words. In the noun 'mother', the segmentation occurs after the final consonant of the nominative singular stem in the Greek script, but in the Latin script it occurs after the final vowel: *μάικ-ανα*, *majka-na* (45). In the noun for 'daughter' the final vowel of the singular stem is transcribed with <α> in the Greek script but with <e> in the Latin script: *ντόσ'τερ-ανα*, *došter-ena* (46).

T6 incorrectly lists possessive suffixes as dative suffixes for four nouns and two names, sometimes giving alternative dative forms. The dative of the name *Ριντβάν*, *Ridvan* is given as *Ριντβάν-βου*, *-ουφ*; *Ridvan-vu*, *-uf* (45), while three dative suffixes are listed for 'man', the final one of which is a possessive suffix: *τσ'ουλά'κ-ουνε*, *-ουουνε*, *-βου*; *čulă'k-une*, *-omune*, *-vu* (44).<sup>8</sup>

In D6 and K4 separate paradigms of nouns are given for the definite and indefinite forms. Nouns are not segmented, with very few exceptions in D6 only. Numerous examples of nouns are given in D6, classified according to declension type. No obvious errors occur in either grammar.

<sup>8</sup> Note the typographical error in the second dative suffix, where the first consonant is transcribed as *v* in the Greek script but as *m* in the Latin script.

## Articles

In D6 (22) and K4 (46) the three definite articles =s, =t and =n are listed together with examples, and an explanation of their usage is given. In P7 only examples with the =t suffixes occur (64-67, 70-71). The absence of any mention of the definite suffixes =s and =n could be accounted for if this grammar describes a variety of Pomak spoken in Evros. Adamou reports that in one village in this prefecture the article =n is no longer used and that the article =s occurs only occasionally (2010c: 35). In the section describing the definite article in T6 only the definite suffixes with =n are listed (39). On the same page examples of the use of definite suffixes in clauses are given and these include two with the articles =t and =s. The segmentation of the definite suffix is my own: *ότβουριτε κιτάπε=τε, ντιέτι / otvurite kitape=te, diēti* 'Open your books children', *κινίγκα=σα γιε τσ'όρνα ίλι μπιάλα; / kiniga=sa ye tšorna ili biala?* 'Is the paper black or white?'.

## Numerals

The thoroughness and reliability of the grammars can be summarized by briefly noting their treatment of the cardinal numeral 'two'. D6 lists the numerals *ντβα* and *ντβε*, gives definite and dative forms for both and explains that *ντβα* is masculine and used for non-animates, while *ντβε* is feminine and neuter(116). K4 lists only the numerals *dve* and the Turkish loan word *iki*, with no further information (38). T6 lists the numerals *dva* and *dve* (53) but includes only *dve* in a table showing the inflection of the numeral 'two' and the numeral 'one' (54). It does not give the gender of *dve* but does list the definite and dative forms. P7 gives only the numeral *τβε* with no additional information (74). It later lists the ordinal numerals and states that all ordinals are derived from Turkish, with the first example the Slavonic *πάρβου* 'first'. (74).

## Chapter 2

### PHONOLOGY

The sound system of Pomak is described below. I have chosen to use letters of the Latin alphabet to denote the morphophonemes of the language rather than use phonetic symbols. Diacritics have been used where necessary. Each morphophoneme is represented by a distinct letter and these are the letters that are used to transcribe Paševik Pomak throughout the thesis. In examples illustrating the phonology of Paševik Pomak I have tried to use words of Slavonic origin.

#### 2.1 VOWELS<sup>9</sup>

Table 2.1 Vowels					
FRONT		CENTRAL	BACK		
UNROUNDED	ROUNDED	UNROUNDED	UNROUNDED	ROUNDED	
î	Û		î	u	CLOSE
e	ö	ä	a	o	OPEN

î	front close unrounded		î'gla            needle isti'f            bale of tobacco barči'na        mountain blizna'k        twin suvaji'         plasterer bulga'rski      Bulgarian
Û	front close rounded		Ûč                three ütû'ye           iron (for pressing clothes) tütû'n            tobacco gÛvö'da          cattle koršÛ'            lead (Pb)
î	back close unrounded		sîn                son kîymö'           minced meat altî'                six
u	back close rounded		u'yku            maternal uncle

<sup>9</sup> D6 (8-9) and K4 (25) describe the same vowel phonemes. In P7 only six vowels are listed, the vowels ä, î and Û are not included (61). T6 lists 8 vowels, excluding the vowel Û (14, 16). H9 lists six vowel phonemes for standard Bulgarian (1). The vowels ä, ö and Û do not occur.

		usta'	mouth
		blagu'ška	apple (variety)
		buna'r	well
		se'lu	village
		Duygu'	personal name
e	front open unrounded	e'mir	command
		efka't	lawyer
		se'me	seed
		so'lmen	snail
		ayse'	now
		kru'še	pear
ö	front open rounded	örde'k	duck, swan
		mök	soft
		te'njöra	saucepan
		šišö'	bottle
a	back open unrounded	a'bla	older sister
		alenti'k	torch
		ba'ba	grandmother, mother-in-law
		marango'z	carpenter
		Musa'	Moses
		nipo'rtka	adder
o	back open rounded	o'braz	face
		son	dream
		arpo'	barley
ä	central open unrounded	rä'ka	river
		vätärčö'	wind DIM
		bälä'	difficult

Table 2.2 shows the distribution of vowels in Pomak and indicates whether they carry stress. In seven instances it has been possible to give the exact number of occurrences of vowels in my data, but in all other instances the frequency is indicated by the symbol <+>: <+> indicates rare, <+++> indicates quite frequent, <++++> indicates frequent.



	INITIAL		MEDIAL		FINAL	
	STR	UNSTR	STR	UNSTR	STR	UNSTR
ı	+++	+++	+++	+++	++	++
ü	1	3	++	++	3	
ı̇			++	++	+	
u	5	+++	+++	+++	4	+++
e	5	++	+++	+++	+	+++
ö		3	++	1	++	
a	+	++	+++	+++	+ <sup>10</sup>	+++
o	+++		+++		+++	
ä			++	+	+	

### 2.1.1 VOWELS ö AND ü

The vowels ö and ü occur in Turkish but not in Bulgarian or Greek.

#### ö

Although the vowel ö is a phoneme of Turkish, it is found in my data in only seven loan words of Turkish origin in both the Turkish and the Pomak. In addition to these, there are many words of Turkish origin that end in stressed ö in Pomak but not in Turkish. No nouns or adjectives of Turkish origin with final a or e in Pomak end in ö in Turkish.

<b>Pomak</b>	<b>Turkish</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
çöp	çöp	twig
göl	göl	lake
ömü'r	ömür	life
örde'k	ördek	duck, swan
dört	dört	four
öretme'n	öğretmen	teacher
tövbeti'svam 1SG	tövbe etmek	to repent

Most Pomak feminine nouns in final ö are Turkish loan words, for which the corresponding Turkish word has no form with the vowel ö. This may be a Pomak innovation. See section 3.1.2 for many examples of nouns ending in ö. Most of these nouns end in a vowel in Turkish, with two ending in a consonant, as listed in table 2.3 below. I do not know a form of Turkish which has rounded vowels in these words.

<sup>10</sup> Stressed a occurs quite frequently in final position in names from declension 2, but this is a restricted usage.

Ending	No	Turkish	Pomak	Gloss
a	7	boya	buyö'	paint
e	29	şişe	šišö'	bottle
i	3	cami	jümayö'	mosque
ı	1	ormancı	ürmanyö'	forester
y	1	güvey	güvö'	son-in-law
k	1	melek	meleykö'	angel

Only one adjective in Pomak ends in *ö*: *gebö'* 'pregnant'.<sup>11</sup> This is indeclinable and is derived from the Turkish *gebe*.

The vowel *ö* occurs quite frequently in Slavonic words: *tö'šek* 'heavy', *mö'su* 'meat', *nöxt* 'finger or toe nail', *söm* 'I sieve, sow, suckle', *ušö'* 'ear', *glö'dam* 'I look' and *zö'mam* 'I take'.

This phoneme also occurs as the final stem vowel in the third person plural of some verbs in the present tense, such as *piyö't* 'they drink, smoke', *sedö't* 'they sit, live', *kusö't* 'they reap (with a scythe)', *varvö't* 'they go, walk', *sadö't* 'they sow', and *puyö't* 'they read, sing, study'.

In some nouns with mobile stress the definite singular suffix is formed with the vowel *ö*:

laxt	laxt=ö'n	elbow
ze'me	zem=ö'na	floor, ground
den	den=ö'n	day

## **ü**

The vowel *ü* occurs in several Pomak words of Turkish origin, such as *üč* 'three', *gün* 'day', *güvö'* 'son-in-law, bridegroom', *yüz* 'hundred', *bülbü'nt* 'binoculars', *fürčö'* 'brush' and *gübrö'* 'manure'. More interestingly, *ü* is sometimes found in Slavonic words, such as *güvö'da* 'cattle' and *čük* 'hammer'. In some Slavonic words, *ü* is used where in Bulgarian or another Slavonic language the vowel *u* would have been preceded by a consonant plus *y* or a palatalized consonant, for example *lü'dye* 'men', Croatian *ljudi* 'people'; *lü'tu* 'sour', Bulgarian *лют* 'hot, peppery'; *slü'nki* 'saliva', Bulgarian *слюнка*.

## **2.2 CONSONANTS**

Twenty-one consonant phonemes occur in Paševik Pomak.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The adjective *gebö'* is used only of animals in Pomak.

## Stops

p	unvoiced bilabial stop	pe'sne	song
		la'pavica	hail
		dula'p	cupboard
t	unvoiced dental stop	to'rnik	Tuesday
		yete'k	skirt
		xaydu't	thief, outlaw
k	unvoiced velar stop	ko'sta	house
		ska'kal	grasshopper
		luk	onion
b	voiced bilabial stop	bob	bean
		ri'ba	fish
d	voiced dental stop	den	day
		kade'	where
		led	ice
g	voiced velar stop	gudi'na	year
		maga're	donkey
		sneg	snow

---

<sup>12</sup> In D6 (4-8) and K4 (25) twenty-two consonants are given phonemic status, the extra phoneme being the affricate *dz*. In P7 eighteen consonants are listed as phonemes. An analysis of Pomak words in P7 compared with their cognates in Paševik Pomak reveal that the consonant phonemes *c* and *č*, *s* and *š*, and *j* and *ž* are not differentiated (61). The following examples show the transcription of these consonants in words from P7 and Paševik Pomak:

	P7	PAGE	PAŠEVIK	GLOSS
c/č	λεσίτσα	174	lesi'ca	fox
	μέτσκα	63	me'čka	bear
s/š	σέστρα	63	se'stra	sister
	σεκέρι	186	šeke'r	sugar
	ίμας	83	i'maš	to have 2SG
j/ž	τζένα	63	že'na	woman
	τζουμαγιά	189	jūmayō'	mosque

In T6 twenty consonant phonemes are listed; the consonant *c* is not included (14, 16). Words with the phoneme *c* in Paševik Pomak are transcribed with the phoneme *č* in T6. H9 classifies the phonemes of standard Bulgarian differently, distinguishing for example palatalized and non-palatalized consonants (1-10). If this detailed analysis is ignored, the only extra phoneme included is *dz*.

## Fricatives

f	unvoiced labiodental fricative	fa'tam tumafi'l čarša'f	I catch car sheet
x	unvoiced velar fricative	xläb laxu't max	bread chick pea moss
v	voiced labiodental fricative	vo'da červe'n korv	water red blood

## Hissing Fricatives (= Sibilants)

s	unvoiced hissing fricative	sux ko'sa glas	dry hair, scythe voice
z	voiced hissing fricative	zi'ma ko'za mraz	winter goat cold NOUN

## Hushing Fricatives (= Shibilants)

š	unvoiced hushing fricative	ša'pka beši'k loš	hat cot bad
ž	voiced hushing fricative	že'na mi'žu nož	woman paternal uncle knife

## Affricates

c	unvoiced hissing affricate	cist lesi'ca me'sec	clean fox month
---	----------------------------	---------------------------	-----------------------

č	unvoiced hushing affricate	čulä'k	man
		ku'če	dog
		kupa'č	hoe
j	voiced hushing affricate	jümayö'	mosque
		lenjepe'rin	farmer
		xaj	hajj

### Nasals

m	voiced bilabial nasal	mo'ma	girl
		sama'r	saddle
		susa'm	sesame
n	voiced dental nasal	nov	new
		ni'kana	never
		kon	horse

### Other

l	voiced dental lateral approximant	le'lka	aunt
		bo'lan	sick
		manga'l	brazier
r	voiced alveolar flap	ra'buta	work
		čere'she	cherry
		bako'r	copper
y	voiced palatal glide	yak	strong
		ču'yem	I hear
		znoy	sweat

Table 2.4 below shows the distribution of consonant phonemes in Pomak. See section 2.6 on final devoicing of voiced obstruents.

### c and dz

In standard Bulgarian and some other Slavonic languages the sounds *c* and *dz* are classified as distinct phonemes. Footnote 12 (section 2.2) shows that D6 and K4 also classify them in this way. After analyzing my data, I came to the conclusion that in Paševik Pomak the sound *dz*

occurs so rarely that it should not be granted the status of a phoneme. There are only five occurrences of the sound in my data, all of which occur medially. In contrast, the sound *c* occurs frequently, although it rarely appears in final position; there are only four such instances in my data. However, *c* occurs eighteen times in initial position and 112 times medially. Given the frequency with which this sound occurs and the fact that it is found in all three positions, I have listed it above as a distinct phoneme.

**Table 2.4 Distribution of consonant phonemes**

	INITIAL	MEDIAL	FINAL
p	+++	++	+
t	+++	+++	++
k	+++	+++	++
b	+++	+++	
d	+++	+++	
g	+++	+++	
f	+++	+++	++
x	+++	+++	++
v	+++	+++	
s	+++	+++	++
z	+++	+++	
š	++	+++	+++
ž	++	+++	
c	++	+++	4
č	+++	+++	++
j	++	+++	
m	+++	+++	+++
n	+++	+++	+++
l	+++	+++	++
r	+++	+++	++
y	+++	+++	++

### Greek Loan Words

Pomak has no fricatives corresponding to Greek  $\theta$  and  $\delta$  and so they are generally replaced by *t* and *d* respectively in loan words. The word *δάσκαλος* ‘teacher’ becomes *da’skal* and *Αθήνα* ‘Athens’ becomes *A’tina*. Some younger or more proficient speakers retain the original pronunciation.

The Greek voiced palatal fricative  $\gamma$  (Arvaniti 2007: 112-114) has no *pendant* in Pomak and is realised as *g* in loan words by many speakers. In my opinion the voiced palatal glide *y* would be

a closer match to Greek  $\gamma$ , but I hypothesize that Pomak speakers can detect the difference between the two sounds and for that reason realize the Greek phoneme as  $g$ .

GREEK	POMAK	GLOSS
$\gamma$ imna'sio	gimna'sio	secondary school
$\gamma$ imnastiki'	gimnastiki'	exercise
$\gamma$ i'ros	gi'ro	kebab

### 2.2.1 CONSONANT CLUSTERS AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION

I made an analysis of the consonant clusters that occur in Pomak and their distribution using the lexical entries in my database and a list of personal names. The clusters are categorised according to the first consonant. Consonant clusters in Pomak may begin with any of the consonant phonemes. The maximum number of consonants that can form a cluster are three, but most clusters are formed with two consonants. A total of 227 consonant cluster combinations occur in Pomak, although some are single occurrences or very rare. Of these 227 clusters, only thirty-two are formed of three consonants. Six clusters of two consonants that occur only in medial position are found exclusively in personal names.

With the exception of only seven consonant clusters, two of which are formed of three consonants, all clusters occur in medial position. The seven exceptions occur only in initial position. A total of sixty clusters occur in initial position, of which eight are formed of three consonants. All the clusters formed of three consonants which occur in initial position commence with the hissing fricative  $s$  or  $z$ . Only sixteen clusters occur in final position, of which one is formed of three consonants.

A summary of the total number of consonant clusters appears in table 2.5:

INITIAL		MEDIAL		FINAL		SUBTOTAL		<b>total</b>
TWO	THREE	TWO	THREE	TWO	THREE	TWO	THREE	
52	8	189	30	15	1	195	32	227

The distribution of consonant clusters is detailed in table 2.6. Note that the subtotal is not necessarily the sum of the number of clusters in the preceding columns as the same cluster may occur in more than one position.

Table 2.6 Distribution of consonant clusters									
	INITIAL		MEDIAL		FINAL		SUBTOTAL		total
	TWO	THREE	TWO	THREE	TWO	THREE	TWO	THREE	
p	4		9				9	0	9
t	2		9	1			9	1	10
k	3		11		1		11	0	11
b	2		2				2	0	2
d	3		7	1			8	1	9
g	3		5				5	0	5
f	9		7	1	1		11	1	12
x	2		10	1			10	1	11
v	4		11				11	0	11
s	8	5	11	6	1		11	7	18
z	7	3	9	4			9	5	14
š	1		7		1		7	0	7
ž			3				3	0	3
c	1		2				3	0	3
č			6				6	0	6
j			1				1	0	1
m	2		12	2			12	2	14
n	1		15	4	4		15	4	19
l			16	2	2		16	2	18
r			20	5	5	1	20	5	25
y			16	3			16	3	19

The following tables (2.7 – 2.10) show the consonant clusters that occur in Pomak. The numerals 1, 2 and 3 indicate whether the clusters occur in initial, medial or final position respectively. The six clusters that are marked with an asterisk occur only in personal names in my data. Clusters formed of two consonants are shown in tables 2.7 and 2.8.



Table 2.7 Clusters of two consonants part 1											
	p	t	k	b	d	g	f	x	v	s	z
p		2	2						2	1,2	
t	2		2				2		1,2		
k		2		2					1,2	2,3	
b											
d				2					1,2		2
g									2		
f	1	1,2,3	1,2							1	
x		2	2	2*	2*				2		
v				1,2	1,2	2					2*
s	1,2	1,2,3	1,2				2	2*	1,2		
z				1,2	1,2	1,2			1,2		
š		1,2,3	2						2		
ž					2	2			2		
c			2						1		
č		2	2						2		
j				2							
m	2	2	2	2					2	2	2
n		2,3	2,3	2	2	2	2		2	2	2
l	2	2,3	2	2	2	2	2	2,3	2	2	
r	2,3	2,3	2	2	2	2	2,3	2	2	2,3	2
y		2	2	2	2	2		2*	2	2	

Table 2.8 Clusters of two consonants part 2										
	š	ž	c	č	j	m	n	l	r	y
p			2	1,2			2	1,2	1,2	
t				2		2	2	2	1,2	
k	2			2		2	2	1,2	1,2	2
b								1,2	1,2	
d						2	2	1	1,2	2
g						2	1,2	1,2	1,2	
f	1		2	1,2		1	2	1,2	1,2	
x				1,2		2	2	1,2	2*	
v				2	2	2	1,2	2	1,2	2
s				2		1,2	1,2	1,2	1,2	
z						1,2	1,2	1,2	2	2
š				2		2	2	2		
ž										
c							2			
č						2	2			2
j										
m	2			2	2			1,2	1,2	
n	2		2,3	2,3	2			2		1,2
l			2	2	2	2	2			2
r	2	2	2	2,3	2	2	2	2		2
y	2		2	2	2	2	2	2	2	

Table 2.9 Clusters of three consonants part 1											
	p	t	k	b	d	g	f	x	v	s	z
p											
t	tpr2										
k											
b											
d						dgr2					
g											
f										fsk2	
x										xsk2	
v											
s	spl12 spr12	str12 sty2	skr12								
z					zdr12 zdy2	zgl12 zgn2 zgr1					
š											
ž											
c											
č											
j											
m	mpy2									msk2	
n		ntr2			ndr2		nfr2			nsk2	
l					ldz2					lsk2	
r		rtk2								rsk2 rsl2 rst23 ršk2	
y		ytv2								ysv2	

	š	ž	c	č	j	m	n	l	r	y
p										
t										
k										
b										
d										
g										
f										
x										
v										
s			scv2			smr1				
z										
š										
ž										
c										
č										
j										
m										
n										
l										
r										
y							ynv2			

Examples of words and names containing the consonant clusters follow.

**P**

pc	kapco'l	press stud
pč	pče'la	bee
	kepčö'	spatula
pk	ro'pka	pit for grave
pl	plani'na	lunch
	di'pluma	certificate, diploma
pn	pu'pnam	l hit
pr	pra'ska	peach
	kupri'va	nettle
ps	pso'vanye	cursing
	tepsö'	baking tray
pt	šu'ptam	l whisper
pv	sno'pve	hayricks

**T**

tč	muxabe'tčinka	chatter box
tf	mutfa'k	kitchen
tk	ki'tka	flower
tl	patlaža'n	aubergine
tm	yetmi'š	seventy
tn	se'tne	later
tp	o'dpušem	I remove lid from a bottle
tr	tri'yem	I file, rub
	u'tre	tomorrow
tpr	udpre'š	at the front
tv	tvoy	PRO.POSS.2SG
	četvo'rtak	Thursday

**K**

kb	tekbi'r	prayer recited during Eid al-Adha
kč	aylkč'i'	pensioner
kl	klin	pie
	užakl'f'k	seedbed
km	tukma'k	sledge hammer
kn	ni'kakna	nothing
kr	kra'va	cow
	pukri'vaš	you cover 2SG
ks	anoksi'di	stainless steel
	boks	boxing
kš	akša'm	evening
kt	mektu'p	letter
kv	kvas	sour dough starter
	ti'kva	marrow, pumpkin
ky	bekya'r	bachelor

**B**

bl	blag	sweet
	o'blak	cloud
br	bra'šnu	flour
	bu'brek	kidney

**D**

db	sva'dba	wedding
dgr	o'dgradem	I open (gate)

dl	dlög	long
dm	o'dmaxnam	I take away, take off
dn	xla'dnu	cold
dr	drug	other
	u'driyem	I hit, inject
dv	dva	two
	bra'dva	axe
dy	beledyö'	town hall, municipality
dz	edzanö'	pharmacy

## G

gl	gla'va	head
	ugle'dalu	mirror
gm	e'nfragma	heart attack
gn	gnoy	pus
	ya'gne	lamb
gr	gre'ben	comb
	i'gram	I play
gv	ne'gvi	PRO.POSS.3SG.PL

## F

fc	o'fca	sheep
fč	fče'ra	yesterday
	ufča'r	shepherd
fk	fka'rvam	I put, keep
	mu'fka	a little
fl	fli'zam	I enter
	ra'flu	loose
fm	fmu'xlen	mouldy
fn	karvno'	the blood
fp	fpi'ram	I touch
fr	fre'za	harrow
	sufro'	meal
fs	fse	always
fsk	vaki'fski	belonging to the mosque
fš	fši'vam	I walk fast with a purpose
ft	fta'sa	rises (of bread) 3SG.PRS
	yefi'n	cheap
	čift	pair

**X**

xb	Vexbi'	personal name
xč	xčö'pem baxčö'	I exhaust, push over garden
xd	Zuxdi'	personal name
xk	ši'xkam	I push
xl	xläb ra'xle	bread desk
xm	da'daxme	we gave 1PL.PST
xn	me'xnam	I resemble
xr	Baxri'	personal name
xsk	mo'xski	masculine, male
xt	naxta'r	key
xv	kaxvö'	coffee

**V**

vb	vbï'vam tövbeti'svam	I smell I repent
vč	do'včem	I chew
vd	vdï'gam guvdi'nka	I take up, pick up breast (of bird)
vg	gevgi'r	ladle
vj	avji'	hunter
vl	xavli'ye	towel
vm	re'vma	electricity
vn	vnuk raka'vnica	grandchild glove
vr	vrata' Evro'pa	interior door(s) Europe
vy	kra'vye	cow's
vz	Nevza't	personal name

**S**

scv	ra'scvetem	I flower, bloom
sč	rasči'kam	I break, split
sf	asfa'liye	insurance
sk	skop do'ska	expensive plank of wood, section of a field
skr	skrafi'sam o'skruška	I shave, cut hair (men only) pear (very small and round)

sl	sli'va	plum
	ma'slu	butter
sm	smok	grass snake
	kîsmä't	fate
smr	smrači' sa	it went dark 3SG.PST
sn	sni'mam	I take off
	pe'sne	song
sp	spöm	I sleep
	ispi'nam	I stretch
spl	spli'tam	I plait
	ispla'knuvam	I rinse
spr	sprel	stopped
	ispra'vem	I correct, stand up straight
sr	sra'da	Wednesday
	masra'f	expenditure
st	ston	loom
	bi'star	clear
	cist	clean
str	stra'na	side, page
	se'stra	sister
sty	gli'stye	worms (intestinal)
sv	svat	father-in-law of one's child
	pi'svam	I write
sx	Isxa'k	Isaac

## Z

zb	zbi'ram	I pick
	izbe'r	by heart
zd	zdi'gam	I pick up
	gi'zdem sa	I dress up
zdr	zdravo'vam	I greet
	razdra'l	torn
zdy	gro'zdye	grapes
zg	zgö'lpen	tangled
	brä'zgav	hoarse
zgl	zglä'vam	I seem, look
	vo'zglavnica	pillow
zgn	izgni't	rotten
zgr	zgro'palen	skimpily dressed



zl	zla'tu	gold thread or paint
	güzlü'ci	glasses
zm	zmi'ye	snake
	kazmo'	pick axe
zn	zna'yem	I know
	blizna'k	twin
zr	uzrä't	ripe
zv	zvä'zda	star
	ka'zvam	I say
zy	ko'zye	goat's
<b>Š</b>		
šč	beleščö'	wrist, bracelet
šk	kuko'ska	chicken
šl	ašlami'	young tobacco plants
šm	češmó'	tap
šn	vi'snica	sour cherry
št	štörb	toothless
	ko'sta	house
	gröšt	window (of whistle)
šv	ko'sve	beehives
<b>Ž</b>		
žd	ro'žda	rust
žg	vä'žga	eyebrow
žv	mi'žvica	aunt (wife of paternal uncle)
<b>C</b>		
ck	mu'ckam	I suck
cn	ure'cnuva ma	I like
cv	cvät	flower
<b>Č</b>		
čk	zu'nička	strawberry
čm	gečmi's o'lsun	get well soon
čn	u'čna	aunt (wife of maternal uncle)
čt	üčte'	at three o'clock
čv	klü'čve	locks
čy	uručya'sam	I get the evil eye

**J**

jb mejbu'r compulsory

**M**

mb peygambe'r prophet  
 mč ima'mče long bead on Muslim prayer beads  
 mj pa'demjik tonsil  
 mk sla'mka straw (from a traditional broom)  
 ml mlad young  
 dumli'v talkative  
 mp šampua'n shampoo  
 mpy kompyu'ter computer  
 mr mraz cold NOUN  
 mo'mrem I grumble  
 ms i'msak time of day when fasting begins in Islam  
 msk staruvre'mski old  
 mš šimša'k mug  
 mt imtixa'n examination  
 mv ja'mve panes of glass  
 mz zemze'm holy water from Mecca

**N**

nb o'nbeš fifteen  
 nc ye'rence kid  
 konc thread  
 nč kai'nče brother-in-law (wife's brother)  
 piri'nč rice  
 nd manda'lka latch  
 ndr ku'ndri shoes  
 nf karanfi'l carnation  
 nfr e'nfragma heart attack  
 ng manga'l brazier  
 nj ye'lenjik<sup>13</sup> weasel  
 nk kapi'nka blackberry  
 kepe'nk trapdoor  
 nl terjumanlī'k translation  
 ns insa'n people  
 nsk la'nski last year's

<sup>13</sup> Three informants attested the variant *ge'linjik*. Other speakers either did not accept this variant or did not know it.

nš	i'nšalax	God willing
nt	ma'ntu	coat
	bülbü'nt	binoculars
ntr	alentr'i'k	torch
nv	sta'nvam	I get up, stand, become, happen
ny	nye'ga	PRO.3SG.M.OBL
	si'nyek	lizard (with blue and green head)
nz	benzi'n	petrol
<b>L</b>		
lb	xo'lbuk	hip
lc	te'lce	calf
lč	kalču'n	sock
ld	baldo'za	sister-in-law (wife's sister)
ldz	so'ldza	tear
lf	kalfu'n	crest (on bird's head)
lg	dalgo'	wave
lj	filja'n	cup
lk	sadi'lka	dibber
lm	čelmo'	red fez with a yellow or white band
ln	zubi'lnica	nose bag (for horse)
lp	pu'lpa	type of animal feed
ls	sa'lsa	tomato ketchup
lsk	yeve'lski	old, traditional
lt	alto'n	gold
	žölt	yellow
lv	žö'lva	tortoise
ly	bi'l'ye	weed
lx	bo'lxa	flea
	polx	mouse, rat
<b>R</b>		
rb	bu'rbun	hornet
rc	so'rce	heart
rč	barči'na	mountain
	borč	compulsory
rd	perdö'	curtain
rf	karfi'ca	pin
	čörv	worm
rg	yo'rgan	quilt

rj	güverji'	pigeon
rk	gube'rka	large curved needle for sewing sacking
rl	terli'k	slipper
rm	tu'rma	smoke
rn	so'rna	deer
rp	perperu'da	butterfly
	gorb	upper back
rs	bursu'k	badger
	pors	earth
rsk	po'rskam	I spray
rsl	arsla'n	lion
rst	ko'rsta	lower back
	porst	finger
rš	čarša'f	sheet
ršk	bu'ršku	quickly
rt	ürtü'ye	roof
	sîrt	ridge
rtk	vo'rtka	roundabout
rv	do'rvu	wood
rx	yarxa'm	thick cloth to cover open coffin
ry	ka'vurye	unbelievers
rz	zarzava't	vegetable
rž	do'ržem	I hold

## Y

yb	Nuseybe'	personal name
yc	buba'yci	fathers
yč	ma'yčîn	mother's
yd	do'ydam	I come
yg	ga'yga	bagpipe
yj	kalayji'	tinker
yk	u'yku	maternal uncle
yl	na'ylun	plastic
ym	maymu'n	monkey
yn	ba'ynik	bead
ynv	aynva'	PRO.DEM.DIST.N
yr	čeyre'k	quarter
ys	ayse'	now
ysv	aysva'	PRO.DEM.PROX.N
yš	ayša'm	evening

yt	ayta'm	there
ytv	aytva'	PRO.DEM.MED.N
yv	xayva'n	animal
yx	Ayxa'n	personal name

## 2.3 WORD STRESS

Although some clear patterns of word stress exist in Pomak and are outlined below, stress is mobile in those words that do not fall into any of the patterns given. Not all exceptions are listed below but they can be found in the appropriate chapters.

### 2.3.1 VERBS

#### First Person Singular Present

In verbs whose stems are of more than one syllable the final syllable is not stressed, with the sole exception of *ništo'-m* 'I do not want':

i'ma-m	I have
se'de-m	I sit, live

#### Third Person Plural Present

The final syllable of non-past verb stems in the third person plural are stressed only when they end in the vowel *o* or *ö*.

i'ma-t	they have
du'me-t	they speak
guvo'-t	they fast
sedö'-t	they sit, live

#### Past Participle

The gender or plural suffix of past participles is never stressed:

bil	bi'l a	bi'l u	bi'l i	was, were
-----	--------	--------	--------	-----------

#### Imperative

The imperative suffix is never stressed:

ču'k-a(y)	ču'k-a(y)-te	knock, bang
slu'š-ey	slu'š-ey-te	listen
du'm-i	du'm-i-te	speak

### 2.3.2 ADJECTIVES

Case, gender and plural suffixes are never stressed in adjectives. See the chapter on adjectives for examples.

The final vowel of indeclinable adjectives may be stressed. All such adjectives in my data are derived from Turkish, with the exception of *plasto'* 'forged', which is derived from the Greek *πλαστογραφικός* 'forged'.

taze'	fresh
faydo'	healthy
gebö'	pregnant

### 2.3.3 COMMON NOUNS

With the exception of neuter nouns in final *u*, inflection in nouns does not trigger stress shift. The formation of the definite or the derivation of the diminutive or augmentative trigger stress shift under certain conditions described below.

#### 2.3.3.1 Indefinite Nouns

##### Neuter

In neuter nouns in final *u* the stress shifts from the singular stem to the suffix when the plural is formed:

se'lu	sel a'	village
-------	--------	---------

This stress shift is maintained when the definite of the plural is formed:

sel|a'=na

##### Feminine

The final syllable of all feminine nouns ending in final *o*, *ö* and *ü* is always stressed:

meleykö'	angel
bino'	high rise building
mîxtü'	mufti

Feminine nouns ending in any other vowel are not stressed on the final syllable:

se'stra	sister
i'gla	needle
ske'mle	chair

### **Masculine**

All masculine nouns ending in final *i* are stressed on the final syllable:

fîrînji'	baker
dukyanji'	shopkeeper
terzi'	tailor

Other masculine nouns ending in a vowel are not stressed on the final syllable, with two exceptions:

kumšu' <sup>14</sup>	neighbour
buba'	dad

### **Plural**

The stress does not shift in masculine and feminine nouns and in neuter nouns ending in *e* when the indefinite plural is formed:

ko'te	ko'tet a	cat
se'stra	se'str i	sister
meleykö'	meleyk e'	angel
bino'	bin i'	high rise building
fîrînji'	fîrînji' ye	baker
kumšu'	kumšu' ye	neighbour

---

<sup>14</sup> A variant of *kumšu'yin*.

### 2.3.3.2 Definite Nouns

The stress shifts from the stem to the definite suffix in nouns of all genders which form the definite with a suffix containing the vowel o or ö:

INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	
bra'snu	brašn=o'nu	flour
gla'va	glav=o'na	head
korv	karv=no'	blood
sîn	sîn=o'n	son
du'se	duš=ö'na	soul, spirit

If such nouns have a plural form, the plural suffix is stressed when the plural definite is formed. See sections 3.3.1 - 3.3.3 and 3.4.1 - 3.4.3 for full details.

gla'va	gla'v j	glav j =ne
sîn	sî'n ve	sîn ve'=ne

### Diminutive and Augmentative

The formation of the definite does not trigger stress shift in the diminutive and augmentative for most nouns. However, when the diminutive or augmentative suffix is attached to an underived noun with mobile stress in the definite, the stress shifts from the stem to the suffix:

sîn	sîn=čö'	sîn=čö't a	son
vo'lek	valč=i'ste	valč=i'st a	wolf

Other nouns have fixed stress:

za'yek	za'yč=ište	za'yč=išt a	rabbit, hare
mum	mu'm=če	mu'm=čet a	candle

### 2.3.4 NAMES

All names are stressed on the final syllable in the nominative. This stress is fixed and does not change when the names inflect for case or number, when the diminutive and augmentative forms are derived or when the possessive suffix is attached. See sections 6.4 and 9.6 for more details.



Mexme't  
Baxri'  
Meriye'm  
Fatme'

### 2.3.5 CONTRASTIVE STRESS

The following six examples of contrastive stress exist in my data:

bu'ba	creepy-crawly
buba'	dad
i'mam	I have
ima'm	imam
be'li	he peels
beli'	it is clear, obvious
mumi'shte	big girl
mu'mište	big candle
da'de	he gave
dade'	he gives
ka'na	henna
kana'	what

### 2.4 VOWEL ALTERNATION

#### **Vowel Alternation in Nouns**

Vowel alternation occurs regularly in nouns with monosyllabic stems in which the stress shifts from the stem vowel *ǎ*, *o* or *ǒ* when the underived definite is formed. Such nouns also undergo vowel alternation when the diminutive or augmentative is derived. See table 2.11.

In neuter nouns ending in *u* the stress also shifts when the underived plural is formed, triggering vowel alternation in one noun in my data with the stressed stem vowel *o*: *do'rvu* 'wood'. The vowel change is maintained for all forms where the stem vowel is not stressed. See table 2.12 below.

	SG		PL		GLOSS
	INDEF	DEF	INDEF	DEF	
UNDRV	zob	zab=o'n	zo'bji	zab i'=ne	tooth
DIM	zab=čö'	zab=čö'=nu	zab=čö't a	zab=čö't a=na	
AUG	zab=i'šte	zab=i'šte=nu	zab=i'št a	zab=i'št a=na	
UNDRV	ro'ka	rak=o'na	ro'kji	rak i'=ne	hand
DIM	rač=i'nka	rač=i'nka=na	rač=i'nkji	rač=i'nkji=ne	
AUG 1	rač=i'šte	rač=i'šte=nu	rač=i'št a	rač=i'št a=na	
AUG 2	rač=a'ku	rač=a'ku=nu	rač=a'kji	rač=a'kji=ne	
UNDRV	o'ku	uk=o'nu	o'čji	uč i'=ne	eye
DIM	uč=i'nku	uč=i'nku=nu	uč=i'nkji	uč=i'nkji=ne	
AUG	uč=i'šte	uč=i'šte=nu	uč=i'št a	uč=i'št a=na	

	SG		PL	
	INDEF	DEF	INDEF	DEF
UNDRV	do'rvu	do'rvu=nu	darv a'	darv a'=na
DIM	do'rv=ce	do'rv=ce=nu	darv=c a'	darv=c a'=na
AUG	darv=i'šte	darv=i'šte=nu	darv=i'št a	darv=i'št a=na

A full list of underived nouns that undergo vowel alternation when the definite suffix is attached is provided in sections 3.3.1 – 3.3.3 and tables 3.2, 3.4 and 3.7. Many similar examples are given of diminutive and augmentative forms in sections 9.1.1 and 9.3.

Table 2.13 below shows the vowel alternations which occur and the number of occurrences. Each lexeme was counted once in each category, with plural forms and the definite of augmentatives and diminutives being discounted. It should be noted that it was not possible in the time allocated to fieldwork to obtain the diminutive and augmentative forms of all the nouns which shift stress and undergo vowel alternation when the definite of the underived noun is formed.

It is not possible to predict which nouns undergo the vowel alternation *o ~ a* or *o ~ u*. However, the vowel *ä* only alternates with *e*. In addition, although the numbers are small, it can be seen that *ö* alternates with *e* in masculine and neuter nouns, but with *u* for the one feminine noun which is listed.

ALTERNATION	UNDRV				DIM				AUG			
	M	F	N	total	M	F	N	total	M	F	N	total
ä ~ e	3	2		<b>5</b>	1			<b>1</b>	2			<b>2</b>
o ~ a	9	6	2	<b>17</b>	4	5	2	<b>11</b>	5	4	2	<b>11</b>
o ~ u	5	9	1	<b>15</b>	1	7	1	<b>9</b>	3	7	1	<b>11</b>
ö ~ e	3		1	<b>4</b>	2		1	<b>3</b>	2			<b>2</b>
ö ~ u		1		<b>1</b>		1		<b>1</b>		1		<b>1</b>

Although most words showing vowel alternation have monosyllabic stems, the following exceptions occur: the feminine noun *do'stere* 'daughter' and five masculine nouns of two syllables in which vowel syncope occurs when the underived definite and the augmentative and diminutive are formed. See sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3 for details.

In the noun *vä'tar* 'wind' vowel alternation *ä ~ e* does not occur in the diminutive, where this form is based on the bisyllabic stem. The vowel alternation occurs regularly in forms based on the syncopated stem:

vetr=o'n  
wind=ART

vätar=čö'  
wind=DIM

vetr=i'ste  
wind=AUG

### **Vowel Alternation in Verbs**

Vowel alternation *o ~ a* and *o ~ u* occurs in verbs when the stress shifts from the stem vowel in inflection. In my data the vowel alternation *o ~ a* occurs six times and the alternation *o ~ u* occurs twelve times. It is not possible to predict whether the vowel *o* will alternate with *a* or *u*. Only one verb of three syllables undergoes vowel alternation. See section 10.5.3 for full details:

1SG	2SG	
bo'xt-am	baxt-e'š	to beat
bro'y-em	bruy-i'š	to count

## 2.5 CONSONANT ALTERNATION

Table 2.14 shows the consonant alternations which occur in the nominal and verbal systems. For the nominal system the forms and genders which are affected by the changes are listed. The most common alternations are listed first. For diminutives, augmentatives and adjectives the gender listed is that of the underived noun. Examples of the alternations are given in the relevant chapters.

It should be noted that consonant alternation is very rare in adjectives. Although three alternations are listed, there is only one example in my data of each alternation. However, as these alternations occur in other nominals it seemed pertinent to list the occurrences in adjectives also.

There is only one occurrence of consonant alternation in the underived noun and that is restricted to masculine nouns but it is productive. In all masculine singular nouns ending in *k* this consonant alternates with *c* when the plural is formed. The plural suffix *|i* is attached to the final consonant.

ALTERNATION	UNDRV NOUN			DIM			AUG			ADJ			VERBS
	M	F	N	M	F	N	M	F	N	M	F	N	
k ~ c	+												
k ~ č					+	+	+	+	+	+			+
k ~ 0				+									
c ~ č					+		+	+	+		+		
x ~ š					+		+	+					
g ~ ž					+		+	+			+		+
s/z ~ x				+									
s ~ š													+
z ~ ž													+

## 2.6 FINAL OBSTRUENTS AND DEVOICING

Obstruents in nouns and adjectives are unvoiced when in final position or followed by an unvoiced consonant. In addition, the demonstrative *ayso'z* and the preposition *ud* 'from' are unvoiced when followed by an unvoiced consonant.

The list below shows pairs of nouns in which the final obstruents are pronounced identically when the nouns are in final position or followed by an unvoiced consonant. However, when the

final obstruents in the nouns on the right are followed by a vowel or a voiced consonant, they are voiced:

küp 'plant pot'	xläb 'bread'
efka't 'lawyer'	kava'd 'shirt'
buk 'beech tree'	rog 'horn' (anatomical)
čarša'f 'sheet'	raka'v 'sleeve'
glas 'voice'	praz 'ram'
fiš 'plug'	yež 'hedgehog'
ključ 'lock'	xaj 'hajj'

## 2.7 VOWEL SYNCOPE

### Nouns

The ten masculine nouns in table 2.15 below are the only nouns in my data in which the final stem vowel is syncopated under certain conditions.

SG INDEF	SG DEF	PL INDEF	PL DEF	Q PL	DIM	AUG	GLOSS
ska'kal	ska'kl=an	ska'kl ije	ska'kl ije=nu	ska'kl a	ska'kal=če	ska'kl=ište	grasshopper
ko'kal	ko'kl=an	ko'kal je	ko'kal je=nu	ko'kl a	ko'kal=če	ko'kl=ište	bone
za'yek	za'yk=an za'yk=en	za'yc j	za'yc j=ne	za'yk a	za'y=če	za'y=čište	rabbit, hare
pa'yek	pa'yk=an	pa'yc j	pa'yc j=ne	pa'yk a	pa'y=če	pa'yč=ište	spider
vo'lek	valk=o'n	vo'lk uve	valk uve'=ne	vo'lk a	valčö'=nce	valč=ište	wolf
mo'zag	muzg=o'n	mo'z gve	muzg uve'=ne	mo'zg a	none	none	brain, marrow
vä'tar	vetr=o'n	vä'tar je	vä'tar je=nu	ve'tr a	vätar=čö'	vetr=ište	wind
pä'sak	pesk=o'n	none	none	none	päsak=čö' <sup>15</sup>	päsač=ište	sand
o'gan	o'gn=en	o'gn uve	ugn uve'=ne	o'gn e	o'gan=če	o'gn=ište	fire
pete'l	petl=o'n	petl i'	petl i'=ne	pete'l a	petel=čö'	petl=ište	cockerel

Vowel syncope occurs in all the nouns when the singular definite is formed and additionally for most of the nouns when the plural, quantified plural and definite plural of the underived noun are formed. The noun *pä'sak* does not have a plural form and vowel syncope does not occur in the plural definite and indefinite forms of *vä'tar* and in the quantified plural form of *pete'l*. Syncope

<sup>15</sup> The form *päsač=ö'k* was also attested by one informant.

also occurs in all the nouns when the augmentative is derived, with the exception of *pă'sak*. The derivation of the diminutive form shows more variation: syncope occurs only in the nouns *za'yek*, *pa'yek* and *vo'lek*. The latter noun is irregular: the final stem vowel is syncopated, but the vowel *ö* is then inserted between the stem and the suffix. See the entry for *vo'lek* in section 9.2.1. No diminutive or augmentative form exists for *mo'zag*.

Note that in the nouns *vo'lek*, *mo'zag*, *vă'tar*, *pă'sak* and *o'gan* vowel alternation occurs in some forms when the stress shifts from the stem. See sections 3.3.3 and 3.4.3 for more details.

### Adjectives

Vowel syncope occurs in the non-masculine forms of many adjectives in which the last stem vowel of the masculine singular is unstressed *a* or *e*. See section 6.1.1.1 for more details.

bo'lan bo'n|a bo'n|u bo'n|j| ill  
mi'šek mi'šk|a mi'šk|u mi'šk|j| small

### Verbs

Vowel syncope occurs in five verbs in my data when the past participle is formed. The last stem vowel of all five masculine past participles is unstressed *a*. Full details can be found in section 10.5.1.

mo'ga-l mo'g-l|a mo'g-l|u mo'g-l|j| to be able

## 2.8 MINIMAL PAIRS

Segmental minimal pairs are rare in Pomak. The following occur in my data:

ko'sa 'hair'	ko'za 'goat'
sorp 'sickle'	gorb 'upper back'
vaš PRO.PERS.2PL	naš PRO.PERS.1PL
yalnī's 'only'	yalnī'š 'guilty'
praz 'ram'	prax 'dust'
po'šta 'postal worker'	ko'šta 'house'

## Chapter 3

### NOUNS: GENDER, NUMBER, DEFINITENESS

This chapter deals with the noun in its various nominative forms. See the chapter on nouns and case for details of Pomak declension.

In the singular there is a three-way gender division in Pomak and it is often possible to predict the gender of a noun from its ending. With very few exceptions all nouns distinguish singular from plural forms. Many masculine nouns take a distinct plural suffix when preceded by a numeral other than *yedi'n* 'one'. Most nouns, singular and plural, also inflect for definiteness by means of a postposed definite article. The definite form is used to refer to a specific object, animate or non-animate, with the exception of some kinship terms, including the first time it is mentioned. It is also used in possessive constructions formed with dative pronouns or the possessive suffix. See 11.8.1.

All obstruents are unvoiced when they occur in final position and there are no examples of minimal pairs involving voiced/unvoiced obstruents. See section 2.6.

#### 3.1 SINGULAR INDEFINITE

##### 3.1.1 NEUTER INDEFINITE

In the indefinite singular neuter nouns end in *e* or *u*.<sup>16</sup> The final syllable is not stressed.<sup>17</sup> All neuter nouns denoting animates end in *e*.

##### Nouns Ending in *e*

ko'te	cat
ku'če	dog
de'te	child
bi'lye	weed
ko'pče	button, press stud
se'me	seed
slo'nce	sun
so'rce	heart

<sup>16</sup> P7 lists neuter nouns as ending in  $\epsilon$  and  $ou$  (66-67), whereas the distinction in K4 (56, 144) and D6 (63-69) is between nouns ending in *e* or  $\epsilon$  and *o*. T6 states that neuter nouns may end in  $\epsilon / e$ , *o* or  $ou / u$  (43). D6 also lists one neuter noun ending in *ɪ* (63-65). In standard Bulgarian most neuter nouns end in *e* and *o*, with very few ending in another vowel (H9: 19).

<sup>17</sup> In standard Bulgarian the final syllable may be stressed in nouns ending in *e*: *кyлé* 'compartment', *ðemé* 'child' (H9: 19).

svi'ne            pig

### Nouns Ending in *u*

se'lu            village  
miya'lu        washbasin, sink  
ura'lu        plough  
li'stu        leaf  
kula'nu        knee  
bra'snu        flour  
mō'su        meat  
o'ku        eye  
u'su        ear

### 3.1.2 FEMININE INDEFINITE

With only five exceptions in my data, all feminine nouns end in one of four non-close vowels: *a*, *e*, *ö* or *o*.<sup>18</sup>

### Nouns Ending in *a*

In the indefinite singular most feminine nouns end in *a*. The final vowel is never stressed.<sup>19</sup> Most feminine nouns denoting animates end in *a*, although there are three nouns denoting animates which end in *e*, three which end in *ö*, three which end in *o*, one which ends in *ü* and one which ends in a consonant.

se'stra        sister  
ma'yka        mother  
ma'ca        table  
že'na        woman  
mo'ma        girl, daughter  
pče'la        bee  
le'lka        aunt  
ku'kla        doll

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<sup>18</sup> No other Pomak dialect has four endings for feminine nouns. D6 is the only grammar to list a class of feminine nouns ending in *ä*, but there are only two other endings: *α* and *ε* (56, 61). All of the feminine nouns in K4 end in *a* with one exception ending in *ä* (46, 56, 71-72, 144). P7 lists nouns in *α* and *ε* (65) while T6 lists nouns in *α* / *a* and stressed *o* (45-46). In standard Bulgarian many feminine nouns end in *a*, although there are a number of nouns ending in consonants, many of which are “abstract nouns with the suffix *-ocm/ecm*” (H9: 19).

<sup>19</sup> In D6 (57-62), K4 (56, 71, 144) and H9 (19) there are examples of feminine nouns ending in *a* which are stressed on the final syllable.



ku'kuvica	cuckoo
me'čka	bear
muli'tva	sacrifice
i'gla	needle
po'šta	postal worker
ko'šta	house
bra'da	beard, chin
gla'va	head
me'tla	broom
ro'ka	hand, arm
mo'gla	fog
vo'da	water
o'fca	sheep
ko'za	goat

A number of feminine nouns denoting humans are derived from masculine nouns and end in =ka. The suffix is added directly to the stem of the masculine noun, with the exception of nouns ending in =in.

xaji'=ka	haji
abanji'=ka	stranger
baxče=ji'=ka	market gardener
dukyan=ji'=ka	shopkeeper
fīrīn=ji'=ka	baker
kalay=ji'=ka	tinker
pazar=ji'=ka	market trader
tütün=ji'=ka	tobacco grower
futugraf=či'=ka	photographer
aylık=či'=ka	pensioner
kirpiži'=ka	Gypsy
saibi'=ka	owner, mistress
terzi'=ka	dressmaker
maji'r=ka	foreigner
efka't=ka	lawyer
arkada'š=ka	friend
bekya'r=ka	spinster
dukto'r=ka	doctor
dušma'n=ka	enemy
midu'r=ka	mayoress, female mayor
müslüma'n=ka	Muslim

terjuma'n=ka	interpreter
vayi'z=ka	preacher

When feminine nouns are derived from masculine nouns ending in =in, this final syllable is dropped before the suffix =ka is added: *bulga'r=in* 'Bulgarian', *bulga'r=ka*. There is one exception where =ka is added to the stem plus =in: *tu'rč=in* 'Turk', *tu'rč=in=ka*.<sup>20</sup>

ka'vur=ka	unbeliever
kumšu'=ka	neighbour
lenjepe'r=ka	farmer
arga't=ka	worker
musefi'r=ka	guest, visitor
uru'm=ka	Greek
zengi'n=ka	rich woman
amerika'n=ka	American

Four nouns in my data which are derived from masculine nouns take the suffix =ica. These are irregular as changes occur to the masculine stem when the feminine is formed. In *da'skal* and *galeni'k* the stress shifts to the penultimate syllable; in *gla'venik* and *galeni'k* the final syllable *ik* elides before the feminine suffix is added; in *mi'žu* the final vowel elides and the consonant *v* is added to the stem before the suffix =ica is attached:

da'skal	daskal=i'ca	teacher
gla'venik	glaven=i'ca	fiancée
galeni'k	galen=i'ca	girlfriend
mi'žu	mi'žv=ica	aunt (wife of paternal uncle)

### Nouns Ending in e

There are nineteen feminine nouns in my data ending in e. The final syllable is never stressed:

ske'mle	chair
pe'sne	song, poem, music
čakí'ye	penknife
du'le	quince
xalu'ye	thick carpet
kupa'he	large bowl, water trough
mumi'ye	headscarf
ürtü'ye <sup>21</sup>	roof

<sup>20</sup> The form is *turkinja* in standard Bulgarian (A8: 106).

ra'xle	desk
do'stere	daughter
ütü'ye	iron (for pressing clothes)
zmi'ye	snake
kuku'ye	perfume
du'se	soul, spirit
žö'be <sup>22</sup>	pocket
ze'me	ground, earth
šö'se	road
xo'že	religious teacher
küprü'ye	bridge

### Nouns Ending in ö

More than forty nouns in my data end in ö and all are stressed on the final syllable. These are mostly Turkish loan words and include:

meleykö'	angel
devö'	camel
kanö'	kind of bird
šišö'	bottle
baxčö'	garden
belexčö'	wrist, bracelet
bufö'	kitchen cupboard
buyö'	ink, paint, make up
jenazö'	funeral, dead body
jümayö'	mosque
češmö'	tap
kaxvö'	coffee
edzanö'	pharmacy
furčö'	broom, brush
gezmö'	outing, holiday
gübrö'	manure
sayö'	black ankle-length coat
kaxvenö'	café
kepčö'	spatula
beledyö'	town hall, council, municipality
dünyö'	world

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<sup>21</sup> The variant *örtü'ye* also exists.

<sup>22</sup> The variant *jö'be* also exists.

xanö'	family
mayö'	yeast, swimming costume
metresö'	religious school
muxarabö'	war
perdö'	curtain, cataract
sürkyö'	vinegar
šiltö'	cushion
šimšiyö'	umbrella
teyerö'	aeroplane
güvö'	son-in-law, bridegroom
ürmanyö'	forester, forestry commission

### Nouns Ending in o

There are thirty-one nouns in my data that end in *o* and they are always stressed on the final syllable.<sup>23</sup> As with nouns ending in *ö*, most of these nouns are Turkish loan words and include:

baklo'	broad bean
arabo'	wheelbarrow, pushchair, car
arpo'	barley
burmo'	screw
čelmo'	red fez with a white or yellow band
xalko'	ring, bread roll
xavo'	weather, air
kasabo'	town
kazmo'	pickaxe
kîymo'	minced meat
kiro'	rent
minaro'	minaret
namazlo'	prayer mat
sadako'	offering, gift
yaro'	wound, sore
kabo'	courtyard of a mosque
bino'	high rise building
ašlamo'	young tobacco plant
maxalo'	neighbourhood

<sup>23</sup> T6 has two examples of nouns ending in stressed *o*: *κασαμπό* / *kasabo* [*κασαμπ-όνα* / *kasab-ona*] 'town' and *μεσελιό* / *meselio* [*μεσελι-όνα* / *meseli-ona*] 'story' (46). The stress is not marked in the Latin script and no forms are listed without the article. The equivalent of *meselio*' is *masa*' in Paševik but I have heard it used only once. I was told that this was a Turkish word and that the Pomak term is *pri'kaznica*.

jandarmo'	police officer
farfaro'	chatterbox
azo'	councillor
fukaro'	poor person

### Nouns Ending in *ü*

One noun ends in stressed *ü*:

mîxtü'	mufti
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### Consonant-Final

Five feminine nouns end in a consonant:

geli'n <sup>24</sup>	daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, bride
korv <sup>25</sup>	blood
pors	soil, earth
rož	rye
noš <sup>26</sup>	night

### Note on Agreement

There are two kinds of agreement, morphological or natural agreement. Nine feminine nouns listed above which frequently or exclusively denote men. One of these nouns is the male kinship term *güvö'* 'son-in-law'. The nouns *farfaro'* and *fukaro'* may refer to males or females. The remaining six nouns denote occupations or a position:

ürmanyö'	forester
jandarmo'	police officer
xo'že	religious teacher
po'sta	postal worker
azo'	councillor
mîxtü'	mufti

<sup>24</sup> This noun is listed as γκελίνα in Karaxotza (1996).

<sup>25</sup> In standard Bulgarian кръв 'blood' is feminine (H9: 19).

<sup>26</sup> This noun is non-productive and indeclinable. It occurs only in the collocation *că'la noš* 'all night' and the compound noun *srede'noš* 'midnight'. The usual term for 'night' is *ve'čer*.

There is disagreement between speakers about whether and which of these final six terms can refer to women. Most speakers use these nouns with feminine agreement irrespective of their views on the sex of the referent:

*jandarmo'=na*            *ye*            *fa'ti-l|a*            *čulä'k* [Ae]  
 police.officer=ART.DIST be.AUX 3SG.PRS catch-PTCP.PST|F man  
 'The police officer arrested a man.'

However, there are a few speakers who state that the agreement must be masculine when the referent is masculine. One speaker stated that the agreement could be masculine or feminine for a male referent but that it could not be masculine for a female referent.

I have observed only feminine agreement used with the consonant-final feminine noun *geli'n* 'daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, bride'.

### 3.1.3 MASCULINE INDEFINITE

#### Consonant-Final

In the indefinite singular, most masculine nouns end in a consonant.<sup>27</sup> The stress may fall on any syllable.

top	ball
pul	stamp, sequin
kos	blackbird
brat	brother
kon	horse
smok	grass snake
čörv	worm
grex	sin
xläb	bread, loaf
ska'kal	grasshopper
da'skal	teacher
peygambe'r	prophet
müslüma'n	Muslim
dro'ben	clod of earth
ko'kal	bone
xaydu't	outlaw

<sup>27</sup> This is also true of standard Bulgarian and the Pomak dialects described in the four grammars (H9: 19; D6: 14, 32-47, 51; K4: 56; T6: 43-45; P7: 63-64).

guveda'r	cowherd
za'yek	rabbit, hare
barda'k	drinking glass

There is a group of eleven nouns which end in *=in* and denote humans.<sup>28</sup> They are never stressed on the final syllable:

arga't=in	worker
kumšu'y=in	neighbour
uru'm=in	Greek
bulga'r=in	Bulgarian
musefi'r=in	guest, visitor
tupana'r=in	drummer
lenjepe'r=in	farmer
zengi'n=in	rich man
amerika'n=in	American
tu'rč=in	Turk
ka'vur=in	unbeliever

Five of these nouns sometimes occur without the final syllable *=in* but it is unclear whether this alters the meaning.<sup>29</sup> The noun *kumšu'y=in* 'neighbour' also loses the final consonant *y* in its shorter form:

kumšu'	neighbour
musefi'r	guest, visitor
tupana'r	drummer
lenjepe'r	farmer
ka'vur	unbeliever

### Nouns Ending in *i*

There are over twenty nouns ending in *i* in my data and the final vowel is always stressed.<sup>30</sup> All these nouns except two denote humans and all are derived from Turkish. Most of these nouns denote occupations and the majority are derived from inanimate nouns with the derivational suffix *=ji'*, unvoiced form *=čj'*:

<sup>28</sup> In standard Bulgarian some nouns describing a person's provenance end in *=in*: *селянин* 'villager', *българин* 'Bulgarian' (H9: 23). More than thirty such nouns are listed in D6 (55). T6 gives one example of a masculine noun ending in *=in* (45).

<sup>29</sup> A8 gives variant forms in Bulgarian for some nouns ending in *=in*: *derviš*, *dervišin*, 'dervish' (53).

<sup>30</sup> This class of nouns is found only in D6 (52-54) and K4 (56).

xaji'	haji
gazeta=ji'	journalist
av=ji'	hunter
baxče=ji'	gardener
buya=ji'	painter
kuruji'	guard of pasture land
pustaji'	postman
suva=ji'	plasterer
abanji'	stranger
fīrīn=ji'	baker
dukyan=ji'	shopkeeper
kalay=ji'	tinker
pazar=ji'	market trader
kaxve=ji'	owner of café
tütün=ji'	tobacco grower
aylık=či'	pensioner
futugraf=či'	photographer
saibi'	owner, master
terzi'	tailor
kirpiži'	Gypsy
mušteri'	customer
yemeni'	shoe
güverji'	pigeon

### Nouns Ending in *u*

Six kinship terms end in unstressed *u*:<sup>31</sup>

dä'du	grandfather, father-in-law
ba'tu	older brother
kale'ku	uncle (husband of aunt)
u'yku	maternal uncle
mi'žu	paternal uncle
buba'yku	father

<sup>31</sup> In standard Bulgarian (H9: 23; A8: 51), D6 (42) and K4 (56, 71-72), the cognates of these kinship terms end in *o*. There is one exception in D6, where the nominative of 'older brother' ends in *ε*: *μπάτε* [*μπάτ-ε*] (48).



## 3.2 PLURAL INDEFINITE

### 3.2.1 NEUTER INDEFINITE

#### Nouns Ending in e

The plural of most neuter nouns ending in *e* is formed with the suffix |a. This is added after the consonant *t* has been attached to the singular stem. The plural suffix is never stressed:

ko'te	ko'tet a	cat
ku'če	ku'čet a	dog
bi'lye	bi'lyet a	weed

Two neuter nouns in *e* have final stem consonant *c*: *so'rce* 'heart' and *slo'nce* 'sun'. When the plural of the noun *so'rce* is formed, the final vowel elides and the plural suffix |a is attached directly to the stem.<sup>32</sup> The plural suffix is stressed, which triggers vowel alternation in the first syllable. Most speakers state that there is no plural of the noun *slo'nce*.

so'rce	sarc a'	heart
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The nouns *de'te*<sup>33</sup> and *svi'ne*<sup>34</sup> are irregular. The plural of *de'te* is formed with the suffix |i, which is added to the final consonant of the stem after the final vowel is dropped. The final consonant of the noun *svi'ne* is palatalized to form the plural.

de'te	de't i	child
svi'ne	svi'n je	pig

The noun *gro'zdy|e* 'grapes' is plural in form and meaning but has no corresponding singular form.<sup>35</sup> To specify one grape it would be necessary to use the phrase *yenno' zo'rmu gro'zdy|e* 'one grain of grapes'. Although plural in reference, this noun takes singular neuter agreement. This is in contrast to masculine singular nouns with plural meaning which take plural agreement:

<sup>32</sup> In standard Bulgarian neuter nouns with final stem consonant *ɥ* form the plural in this way (H9: 25; A8: 55-56). No such nouns are listed in the Pomak grammars.

<sup>33</sup> In standard Bulgarian 'child' is *demé* SG and *deu|á* PL (H9: 26), in T6 (47) *vréte / dete* [*vrét-enu / det-enu*] SG and *vrét|i / det|i* [*vrét-ive / det-ine*] PL and in K4 (56) *déte* SG, *dečy|a'* PL. A speaker of the dialect described in K4 stated that the alternative plural *de't|i* also occurs. This noun is not listed in D6 or P7. I have heard the plurals *dec|a'* and *dečy|a'* used in villages in the prefecture of Ksanthē.

<sup>34</sup> In K4 (56) the plural of *svi'ne* is also *svinye* but in P7 (66) the plural is *σφίνετ|α*. In standard Bulgarian the noun is feminine.

<sup>35</sup> Boyanova et al (2001) translate *προζδη* as 'grapes' and *προζδοβο зърно* as 'grape'.

gro'zdy|e=nu      ye                      bi'-|u                      lú't|u [Ak]  
 grape|PL=ART.DIST   be.AUX.3SG.PRS   be-PTCP.PST|N   sour|N  
 'The grapes were sour.'

insa'n=at              do'yda-xa [Af]  
 people=ART.MED   come-3PL.PST  
 'The people came.'

### Nouns Ending in *u*

Neuter nouns ending in *u* form the plural by eliding the final vowel of the indefinite singular stem and attaching the plural suffix |a. This plural suffix is always stressed:<sup>36</sup>

se'lu	sel a'	village
miya'lu	miyal a'	washbasin, sink
ura'lu	ural a'	plough
li'stu	list a'	leaf

The noun *li'stu* has an alternative plural form *li'sty|e*. The final vowel of the stem is palatalized before the vowel *u* is replaced by the plural suffix |e, which is not stressed.

The noun *kula'nu* is slightly irregular as the second stem vowel *a* changes to *e* in the plural form when the stress shifts from the stem.<sup>37</sup> This change could not be predicted as it does not follow the rules for vowel alternation in Pomak:

kula'nu	kulen a'	knee
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Two neuter nouns ending in *u* form the plural with the suffix |i. In addition, the vowel *k* of the noun *o'ku* 'eye' alternates with *č* when the plural suffix is added:

o'ku <sup>38</sup>	o'č i	eye
u'su <sup>39</sup>	u's i	ear

<sup>36</sup> In Standard Bulgarian most neuter nouns form the plural with the suffix |a' but three nouns also have an alternative plural suffix |e' (H9: 25-26).

<sup>37</sup> A similar change takes place in standard Bulgarian, where in *коля'но* 'knee' the second vowel of the stem is replaced by *e* to form the plural *колен|á* or *колен|é* (H9: 26).

<sup>38</sup> In standard Bulgarian the noun 'eye' is *око* SG and *очи* PL (H9: 26). In D6 this noun is feminine (57). The singular is *акá* but the plural is *óσσ|i*.

<sup>39</sup> The plural in standard Bulgarian is *уш|у'* 'ears' (H9: 26). In K4 this noun is listed as neuter but a speaker of the dialect challenged this and stated that the noun is feminine (56).

The noun *usta* 'mouth' has no singular form.

I was unable to elicit the plural of the following two nouns when in the village:

bra'snu	flour
mö'su	meat

### 3.2.2 FEMININE INDEFINITE

With the exception of feminine nouns ending in *e*, one noun ending in *ü* and two nouns ending in a consonant, all feminine nouns drop the final vowel of the stem to form the plural and add the plural suffix *|i* or *|e*.<sup>40</sup>

#### Nouns Ending in *a*

Most feminine nouns ending in *a* form the plural with the suffix *|i*. The final vowel of the stem elides and the plural suffix *|i* is attached. This suffix is not stressed.

se'stra	se'strji	sister
ma'ca	ma'cji	table
že'na	že'nji	woman, wife
mo'ma	mo'mji	girl, daughter
gla'va	gla'vji	head
bra'da	bra'dji	beard, chin

All feminine nouns derived from masculine nouns by the addition of the feminine suffix =*ka* also form the plural with *|i*:

dukyan=ji'=ka	dukyan=ji'=kji	shopkeeper
xaji'=ka	xaji'=kji	haji
aylık=či'=ka	aylık=či'=kji	pensioner
terzi'=ka	terzi'=kji	dressmaker

Seven underived feminine nouns in my data ending in *a* form the plural with the suffix *|e*, five of which are animates and have the final stem consonant *c*:

ko'sta	ko'stje	house
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<sup>40</sup> In K4 (56, 144) and D6 (56) the plural suffix *|i* is listed rather than *|i / i*. All feminine nouns form the plural with the suffix *|u* in standard Bulgarian with the exception of two nouns, which take the suffix *|e* (H9: 24-25; A8: 55). Two other feminine nouns may form the plural with *|u* or *|e* (H9: 25).

i'gla	i'gl e	needle
o'fca	o'fc e	sheep
la'stuvica	la'stuvia ce	swallow, house martin
lesi'ca	lesi'c e	fox
karti'ca	karti'c e	mole
vo'senica	vo'senic e	caterpillar, worm

The four derived nouns ending in the feminine suffix =ica also form the plural with the suffix |e:

daskal=i'ca	daskal=i'c e	teacher
glaven=i'ca	glaven=i'c e	fiancée
mi'žv=ica	mi'žv=ic e	aunt (wife of paternal uncle)
ga'len=ica	ga'len=ic e	girlfriend

The nouns *trǎ'va* 'grass' and *ro'sa* 'dew' have no plural.

### Nouns Ending in e

Feminine nouns ending in e have no distinct plural form in the indefinite. The segmentation as given implies plural suffix |e which elides the preceding stem-final e.

pe'sne <sup>41</sup>	pe'sn e	song, poem, music
ske'mle	ske'ml e	chair
du'le	du'l e	quince
mumi'ye	mumi'y e	headscarf

The noun *ze'me* 'ground, earth' has no plural form.<sup>42</sup>

### Nouns Ending in ö

All nouns ending in ö form the plural with the suffix |e, which is always stressed:

meleykö'	meleyk e'	angel
šišö'	šiš e'	bottle
teyerö'	teyer e'	aeroplane
xanö'	xan e'	family

<sup>41</sup> In P7 (65) and in standard Bulgarian (H9: 24) the plural form is πέσν|ι.

<sup>42</sup> This noun has a plural form in Bulgarian (H9: 24) and D6 (62).

### Nouns Ending in o

All nouns ending in *o* take the plural suffix |j'.<sup>43</sup> This suffix is always stressed.

maxalo'	maxal j'	neighbourhood
baklo'	bakl j'	broad bean
bino'	bin j'	high-rise building

The nouns *kīymo*' 'minced meat', *arpo*' 'barley' and *xavo*' 'weather' have no plural forms.

### Nouns Ending in ü

The noun *mīxtü*' takes the plural suffix |ye, following the pattern of masculine nouns ending in stressed *i*:

mīxtü'	mīxtü' ye	mufti
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### Consonant-Final

The noun *geli'n* forms its plural with the suffix |ve. This is added directly to the stem of the singular form:

geli'n	geli'n ve	daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, bride
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The noun *korv* forms the plural with the suffix |jiye:

korv	ko'rv jiye	blood
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There is no plural of the nouns *pors* 'soil, earth' and *rož* 'rye'.

#### 3.2.3 MASCULINE INDEFINITE

Masculine nouns in Paševik Pomak have a regular plural and also a quantified plural.<sup>44</sup> There are nine nouns in my data which do not have a plural form.

<sup>43</sup> In T6 two nouns ending in *o* are listed (46). One forms the plural with the suffix |j' / *i* and the other with the suffix |é / *e*: *μισελι|é* / *miseli|e* [*μισελι-ένε* / *miseli-ene*] 'stories' and *κασαμπ|j'* / *kasab|j'* [*κασαμπ-ίνε* / *kasab-ine*] 'towns'. Note the vowel *i* rather than *e* in the first syllable of the Latin form of *μισελιέ*. All other forms of the word in the Latin script have the vowel *e*.

<sup>44</sup> None of the Pomak grammars makes any reference to the quantified plural although it occurs in standard Bulgarian (H9: 24; A8: 57-58).

### 3.2.3.1 Regular Plural Indefinite

#### Consonant-Final

Masculine nouns ending in a consonant form the plural with |ve,<sup>45</sup> |e or |i.<sup>46</sup> The final consonant of some nouns is palatalized before the suffix |e is added.

#### **Plural in |ve**

Most nouns which form the plural with the suffix |ve are monosyllables.<sup>47</sup> Equally, most monosyllabic nouns form the plural with |ve. The suffix is attached directly to the stem:

top	to'p ve	ball
mum	mu'm ve	candle
pul	pu'l ve	stamp, sequin
nož	no'ž ve	knife
sap	sa'p ve	handle
xläb	xlä'b ve	bread, loaf
grex	gre'x ve	sin
praz	pra'z ve	ram

In five monosyllabic nouns in my data the vowel *u* is added to the stem before the plural suffix is attached:

gorb	go'rb uve	upper back
laxt	la'xt uve	elbow
polx	po'lx uve	rat, mouse
dreb	dre'b uve	lung

<sup>45</sup> This suffix is always preceded by a vowel in standard Bulgarian (H9: 21), K4 (56, 144), D6 (31-35, 41-42, 46-48) and T6 (44).

<sup>46</sup> In P7 (64) no plural forms are given for the nominative of masculine nouns in the indefinite. Plural forms are provided for the vocative. It seems highly improbable that no masculine nouns have distinct plural forms in the dialect described when such forms exist in the other Pomak dialects in Greece and in standard Bulgarian.

<sup>47</sup> In K4 (56), D6 (33, 47) and T6 (44), there are a few examples of polysyllabic nouns which form their plural with this suffix: *bubáýko* 'father', *bubáýk|ove* 'fathers' (K4: 56), *τουρκοιλάκ* 'wheel', *τουρκοιλάκ|οβε* 'wheels' (D6: 33). In standard Bulgarian, the suffix is restricted almost entirely to monosyllabic nouns. The three exceptions listed are nouns of two syllables in which the final vowel is syncopated when the plural is formed: *céntər* 'centre', *céntr|ove* (A8: 52).

dož(d) <sup>48</sup>	do'žd uve	rain
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Four nouns of two syllables form the plural with the suffix |ve:

bekya'r	bekya'r ve	bachelor
mezi'n	mezi'n ve	muezzin
stupa'n	stupa'n ve	kind of snake
terbu'x	terbu'x ve	stomach (of animal)

The nouns *vo'lek*, *o'gan* and *mo'zag* also form the plural with the suffix |ve but they are irregular. The second vowel of the noun is syncopated when the plural suffix is attached.<sup>49</sup> The vowel *u* precedes the plural suffix in the first two nouns. There are seven other examples of vowel syncope in masculine nouns ending in a consonant, but syncope occurs in only four<sup>50</sup> of these nouns when forming the regular plural.<sup>51</sup> Six of the nouns are described later as they form the plural with |je and |i. See section 2.7 for more details.

vo'lek	vo'lk uve	wolf
o'gan	o'gn uve	fire
mo'zag	mo'zg uve	brain, bone marrow

No nouns of more than two syllables take the plural suffix |ve.

Four nouns may form the plural with the suffix |ve but most frequently form it with the suffix |e:

brat	bra't ve	bra'ty e <sup>52</sup>	brother
kon	ko'n ve	ko'ny e <sup>53</sup>	horse
ima'm	ima'm ve	ima'm e	imam
kale'm	kale'm ve	kale'm e	pen, pencil

<sup>48</sup> The morphophoneme *d* follows the noun *dož(d)* in parentheses to show that *d* occurs in all other forms of the noun. This is a hapax. Only one word in my data ends in the consonant cluster *št*. See section 2.2.1.

<sup>49</sup> Vowel syncope also occurs in standard Bulgarian when the plural of *ógan* is formed: *ogn'j|óve* (A8: 124).

<sup>50</sup> *Ska'kal* 'grasshopper', *pa'yek* 'spider', *za'yek* 'rabbit, hare' and *pete'l* 'cock'.

<sup>51</sup> In the nouns *vá'far* and *ko'kal* syncope occurs only in the definite singular and the quantified plural. There is no plural form of the noun *pá'sak* 'sand'.

<sup>52</sup> The plural is *bráty|e* in K4 (56) and *bráтя* in standard Bulgarian (H9: 22).

<sup>53</sup> In standard Bulgarian *kon|é* (H9: 21) and in K4 (56) *kón|eve*. There is no plural form given in P7 (64) and the noun is neuter in D6 (64).

## Plural in |e|

Most nouns which form the plural with the suffix |e| are polysyllables:

tefte'r	tefte'r e	exercise book
arkada'š	arkada'š e	friend
čado'r	čado'r e	greenhouse
dula'p	dula'p e	cupboard
xayva'n	xayva'n e	animal
naxta'r	naxta'r e	key
tumafi'l	tumafi'l e	car
guveda'r	guveda'r e	cowherd
ufča'r	ufča'r e	shepherd, goatherd
peygambe'r	peygambe'r e	prophet
tuja'r	tuja'r e	merchant
terjuma'n	terjuma'n e	interpreter

Five masculine monosyllabic nouns in my data form the plural with the suffix |e|:<sup>54</sup>

porst	po'rst e	finger
den <sup>55</sup>	de'n e	day
nöxt <sup>56</sup>	nö'xt e	nail
čörv	čö'rv e	worm
konc	ko'nc e	thread

Nine masculine nouns denoting humans and ending in =in form the plural with the suffix |e|. The final syllable =in elides before the plural suffix is attached.<sup>57</sup> Two of these nouns are ethnonyms:

uru'm=in	uru'm e	Greek
bulga'r=in	bulga'r e	Bulgarian
tupana'r=in	tupana'r e	drummer
kumšu'y=in	kumšu'y e	neighbour
lenjepe'r=in	lenjepe'r e	farmer

<sup>54</sup> In standard Bulgarian only five monosyllabic masculine nouns form the plural with the suffix |e|, which is always stressed (H9: 21).

<sup>55</sup> The plural form is identical in D6: *vré|ε* (51). In Bulgarian the plural form is *дн|и'* (H9: 22).

<sup>56</sup> The plural form is identical in D6: *vö'x|ε* (51).

<sup>57</sup> The plural of such nouns is formed with the suffix |u| in standard Bulgarian (H9: 23). In D6 thirty-eight words ending in =iv which form the plural with the suffix |ε| are listed (54-55). Many of the nouns denote occupations and four of the nouns are ethnonyms. In T6 the noun *μπεκιάριν* / *bekiarin* [*μπεκιάρ-ινεν* / *bekiar-inen*] 'bachelor' forms the plural with the suffix |e|: *μπεκιάρ|ε* / *bekiar|ε* [*μπεκιάρ-ενε* / *bekiar-ene*] (45).



zengi'n=in	zengi'n e	rich man
arga't=in	arga't e	worker
musefi'r=in	musefi'r e	guest, visitor

The noun *ka'vur=in* is slightly irregular as the final consonant is palatalized before the plural suffix is added: *ka'vury|e* 'unbelievers'. It is listed immediately below with other nouns that form the plural in this way for the sake of completeness.

In twelve masculine nouns the final consonant of the singular stem is palatalized before the plural suffix |e is attached.<sup>58</sup> Some of these nouns have an alternative plural form which is listed where it exists:

da'skal	da'skaly e	da'skal e	teacher
brat	bra'ty e	bra't ve	brother
kon	ko'ny e	ko'n ve	horse
so'lmen	so'lmeny e	so'lmen e	snail
bu'rbun	bu'rbuny e	bu'rbun e	hornet
ka'vur=in	ka'vury e		unbeliever
ko'mar	ko'mary e		mosquito
svat	sva'ty e		father-in-law of one's child
ko'kal	ko'kaly e		bone
dro'ben	dro'beny e		clod of earth
gu'ster	gu'stery e		lizard
vä'tar	vä'tary e		wind

### **Plural in |j**<sup>59</sup>

In all masculine nouns in my data ending in *k*, with the exception of *vo'lek* 'wolf',<sup>60</sup> consonant alternation *k ~ c* occurs and the plural is formed with the suffix |j.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> There is only one noun in standard Bulgarian in which the final stem consonant is palatalized when the plural is formed: *brám* 'brother', *brátja* PL (H9:22). Among the Pomak grammars only K4 gives examples of nouns which form the plural in this way: *brat* SG, *bráty|e* PL and *tsvát* 'flower', *tsvety|é* 'flowers' (56). The noun *tsvát* is listed as feminine but a speaker of the dialect described stated that it was masculine.

<sup>59</sup> In standard Bulgarian the plural of most polysyllabic masculine nouns is formed with the suffix |u (H9: 22).

<sup>60</sup> See plurals in |ve above for details of how *vo'lek* forms the plural.

<sup>61</sup> This feature is not described in any of the Pomak grammars, but in two masculine nouns in T6 the final consonant *κ / k* alternates with *τσ̃ / tš* when the plural is formed: *τσ̃'ουλá'κ / tšulá'k* 'man', *τσ̃'ουλá'τσ̃|j / tšulá'tš|j* [*τσ̃'ουλá'τσ̃-ive / tšulá'tš-ine*] 'men' and *ζάγιεκ / zajek* 'rabbit, hare', *ζάιτσ̃|j / zajtš|j* [*ζάιτσ̃-ive / zajtš-ine*] 'rabbits, hares' (44). H9 states that "polysyllabic masculine nouns ending in *κ*... usually change this consonant to... *ι*" when the plural is formed (22).

barda'k	barda'c j	drinking glass
čulä'k	čulä'c j	man, husband
čakma'k	čakma'c j	lighter
yete'k	yete'c j	skirt
güžü'k	güžü'c j	jacket
kültaba'k	kültaba'c j	ashtray
lasti'k	lasti'c j	hosepipe, tyre, knit (stitch)
sîndi'k	sîndi'c j	chest (furniture)
blizna'k	blizna'c j	twin
prusiya'k	prusiya'c j	beggar

In two masculine nouns ending in *k* vowel syncope occurs when the plural is formed:

pa'yek	pa'yc j	spider
za'yek	za'yc j	rabbit, hare

The noun *bek* and its variant *benk* may form the plural with the suffix |ve, which is attached to the final stem vowel *k*:

bek	be'c j	be'k ve	sprinkler
benk	be'nc j	be'nk ve	sprinkler

Nine masculine nouns in my data ending in a consonant other than *k* form the plural with the suffix |i.

One monosyllabic noun takes the plural suffix |i:

zob <sup>62</sup>	zo'b j	tooth
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Five nouns of two syllables form the plural regularly with the suffix |i:

ko'pel	ko'pel i	boy, son
xaske'r	xaske'r i	soldier
maji'r	maji'r i	foreigner
vayi'z	vayi'z i	preacher
ale't	ale't i	tool

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<sup>62</sup> In standard Bulgarian the forms are зъб' SG, зъб'б|у PL (H9: 22). In D6 the plural is formed with the suffix |oβε (42).

Vowel syncope occurs in the noun *pete'* 'cockereel' when the plural is formed:

pete'l            petlji'            cockereel

Two nouns denoting humans and ending in =in form the plural with the suffix |j| but they are irregular. In both nouns the final syllable elides, following the pattern of nouns of this category. The final consonant of the elided stem *č* alternates with *c* in the noun *tu'rč=in* when the plural suffix |j| is attached. In the noun *amerika'nin*, the consonant *c* is added to the elided stem before the plural suffix is attached:

tu'rč=in<sup>63</sup>        tu'rcji            Turk  
amerika'n=in    amerika'ncji    American

### Irregular Plural in |jye<sup>64</sup>

Five irregular masculine nouns ending in a consonant form the plural with the suffix |jye|. Two of these nouns have an alternative plural and this is listed below:

ska'kal	ska'kljiye		grasshopper
buk	bu'čjiye		beech tree
čöp	čep i'ye		twig
strok	strač i'ye	strač e'	plant (maize or tobacco only)
drän	dren i'ye	drä'n ve	cornelian cherry tree

The final vowel of *ska'kal* is syncopated when the plural is formed. In *buk* the final consonant *k* alternates with *č* in the plural. In *čöp* the stress shifts from the first to the second syllable when the plural suffix is attached and the stem vowel alternates with *e*. The noun *strok* undergoes three changes when the plural is formed: the stem vowel undergoes alternation *o* ~ *a*, the stress shifts from the stem and consonant alternation *k* ~ *č* occurs. In addition, the alternative plural form *strač|e'* is the only occurrence in my data of a masculine noun that forms the plural with stressed |e|. In *drän* vowel alternation *ä* ~ *e* occurs when the irregular plural in |jye| is formed and the stress shifts from the stem.

<sup>63</sup> In D6 this noun is regular and forms the plural with the suffix |ε| with no consonant alternation (54-55). In standard Bulgarian the plural form of *túrčín* is *túrčji* (A8: 106).

<sup>64</sup> There are no examples of this ending in any of the Pomak grammars or in standard Bulgarian.

## No Plural Form

The noun *luk* 'onion' does not have a plural form. The singular form is used to refer to the plural. In order to specify a number of onions, one would use the formula *dve glavi'c|e luk* 'two onion bulbs'.<sup>65</sup>

Two nouns are inherently plural in reference but exist only in the singular form. They take plural agreement of verbs. The noun *insa'n* may take plural or singular agreement of adjectives but there are no examples in my data where *mile't* is qualified by an adjective:

insa'n	people
mile't	people

The following eight nouns have no plural form:

pä'sak	sand
sram	shame
strax	fear
glad	hunger
znoy	sweat
loy	fat
kvas	sour dough starter
prax	dust

## Nouns Ending in a Vowel

### Nouns Ending in *i*

All masculine nouns ending in stressed *i* form the plural with the suffix *|ye*.<sup>66</sup>

xaji'	xaji' ye	haji
ayl'ik=či'	ayl'ik=či' ye	pensioner
terzi'	terzi' ye	tailor

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<sup>65</sup> This construction is fully productive with measure words: *dva barda'k|a vo'da* 'two glasses of water', *yedi'n čift yemeni'|ye* 'one pair of shoes'.

<sup>66</sup> This category of nouns does not exist in standard Bulgarian. In D6 (53-55) and K4 (56) the plural of such nouns is formed as in the Paševik dialect.

### Nouns Ending in *u*<sup>67</sup>

These nouns are listed together as they share many features including semantic ones but they do not all form the plural in the same way. The situation is further complicated by the fact that some speakers use different plural suffixes with two of these nouns. The plural form that is used most frequently is listed first. The final stem vowel always elides before the plural suffix is attached:

dä'du	dä'd ve	dä'd i	grandfather, father-in-law
ba'tu	ba't ve		older brother
kale'ku	kale'k ve		uncle (husband of aunt)
u'yku	u'yc i	u'yk uve	maternal uncle
mi'žu	mi'ž ve		paternal uncle
buba'yku	buba'y ci		father

It is interesting that whereas the nouns *u'yku* and *buba'yku* form the plural in the same way as consonant-final masculine nouns ending in *k*, with alternation *k ~ c* and plural suffix in *|i*,<sup>68</sup> the noun *kale'ku* forms the plural with the suffix *|ve*. The alternative plural suffix *|ve* is sometimes heard with the noun *u'yku*, perhaps because of the influence of the other four nouns from this group which take this plural suffix. The plural form *dä'd|i* is very rare.<sup>69</sup> I have never heard an alternative plural form for *buba'yku*.

#### 3.2.3.2 Quantified Plural

The quantified plural is used when a numeral other than *yedi'n* 'one' quantifies a masculine noun. It is restricted mainly to nouns which end in a consonant and have no more than two syllables. Most nouns denoting humans have no quantified plural form, with the exception of some kinship terms and the noun *ima'm*.<sup>70</sup> However, even when a quantified plural form exists for a given noun referring to a human, the regular plural may also be used.<sup>71</sup> The only nouns

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<sup>67</sup> Three of these nouns have cognates in standard Bulgarian (A8: 54-55) and they form the plural irregularly with the suffix *|ovci*: *bát'o*, *bát'|ovci* (54), *dyádo*, *dyád|ovci* and *vújčo*, *vújč|ovci* (55). All the nouns are listed in D6 with the exception of *mi'žu*, but they end in *o* rather than *u*, with the exception of *ba'tu*, which ends in *ε* (42, 48). The plural is formed with *|oβε* for the nouns in final *o* and *|εβε* for the noun in final *ε*. In K4 only the nouns *dádo* and *bubáyko* are listed (56). Both form the plural with the suffix *|ove*.

<sup>68</sup> In Bulgarian two masculine nouns ending in *a* and with final stem consonant *k* form the plural in this way: *vládika* 'bishop', plural *vládíc|i*; *patrika* 'patriarch', plural *patric|i*. The second example is non-standard (A8: 106).

<sup>69</sup> The plural *déd|i* exists in standard Bulgarian, but only with the meaning 'ancestor' (A8: 55).

<sup>70</sup> In standard Bulgarian the "quantified plural is usually avoided with nouns denoting human beings" (H9: 24).

<sup>71</sup> The regular plural suffix is not normally used with nouns not denoting a human when a quantified plural form exists.

ending in a vowel which may take a quantified plural form are the kinship terms ending in *u*.<sup>72</sup> There is no definite form of the quantified plural.

The regular plural is sometimes heard with nouns which do not denote humans, for example *dva kava'd|e* 'two shirts'. The quantified plural form is *dva kava'd|a*.

### Suffix |a

The quantified plural is most commonly formed with the suffix |a. The suffix is attached directly to the singular stem and is never stressed.

top	to'p a	ball
pul	pu'l a	stamp, sequin
zob	zo'b a	tooth
xläb	xlä'b a	bread, loaf
čül	čü'l a	sacking
barda'k	barda'k a	drinking glass
dula'p	dula'p a	cupboard
xayva'n	xayva'n a	animal
kale'm	kale'm a	pen, pencil
pete'l	pete'l a	cockerel

The nouns in which vowel syncope occurs when the definite singular is formed also lose the final vowel of the stem when forming the quantified plural, with the exception of *pete'l* above. *O'gan* is listed later with nouns that form the quantified plural with the suffix |e:

ko'kal	ko'kl a	bone
pa'yek	pa'yk a	spider
za'yek	za'yk a	rabbit, hare
ska'kal	ska'kl a	grasshopper
vo'lek	vo'lk a	wolf
vä'tar	ve'tr a	wind
mo'zag	mo'zg a	brain, bone marrow

Four nouns of three syllables take the quantified plural suffix, but two of these are kinship terms ending in *u* and will be listed later:

kültaba'k	kültaba'k a	ashtray
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<sup>72</sup> Only masculine nouns ending in a consonant may take the quantified plural suffix in standard Bulgarian (H9: 24).

tumafi'l	tumafi'l a	car
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### Suffix |e

The following six nouns, plus two nouns denoting humans, form the quantified plural with the suffix |e:

pot	po't e	road
kon	ko'n e	horse
laxt	la'xt e	elbow
nož	no'ž e	knife
yež	ye'ž e	hedgehog
o'gan	o'gn e	fire

*Kon* 'horse' may also form the quantified plural in |a: *ko'n|a*.

### Nouns Denoting Humans

Eleven nouns denoting humans may take the quantified plural suffix. This includes all kinship terms ending in *u* listed in section 3.1.3. Some speakers tend to use the quantified plural with numerals from *če'tri/dört* 'four' and above and to use the regular plural with the numerals *dvami'na*<sup>73</sup> 'two' and *trimi'na* 'three':

<i>dvami'na</i>	<i>ko'pel i</i>
two.human.male	boy PL
'two boys'	

<i>dört</i>	<i>ko'pel a</i>
four	boy QPL
'four boys'	

brat	bra't a	brother
buba'yku	buba'yk a	father
čulä'k	čulä'k a	man
dä'du	dä'd a	grandfather, father-in-law
ima'm	ima'm a	imam
ko'pel	ko'pel a	boy, son
kale'ku	kale'k a	uncle (husband of aunt)

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<sup>73</sup> The numerals *dvami'na* and *trimi'na* are preferred to the numerals *dva* or *tri* with nouns denoting male humans. See section 8.1.1.1 under special numerals.

u'yku	u'yk a	maternal uncle
vnuk	vnu'k a	grandchild
ba'tu	ba't e	older brother
mi'žu	mi'ž e	paternal uncle

### 3.2.4 INDETERMINATE GENDER

There are eight nouns of indeterminate gender in my data. They exist only in the plural form and so the gender cannot be determined by testing for agreement.

kiši'	people
lu'dye	men
güzlü'ci	glasses
panto'le	trousers
no'yice	scissors
vrata'	interior door(s)
kapu'ye	front door(s)
pari'	money

Although the nouns *vrata'* and *kapu'ye* are plural in form and take plural agreement, they are used to refer to 'door' in the singular as well as the plural. The construction of a sentence using these nouns is identical regardless of the number of the referent:

<i>vrata'=na</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>bi'- i</i>	<i>žö ti</i> [Af]
interior.door(s)=ART.DIST	be.AUX.3PL.PRS	be-PTCP.PST PL	yellow PL

'The interior doors were yellow.' / 'The interior door was yellow.'

### DEFINITENESS

The definite of singular and plural nouns is formed with one of the three definite deictic suffixes, =s which is proximal, =t which is medial or =n which is distal,<sup>74</sup> plus a vowel which precedes or follows the consonant: *bra't=an* 'the brother', *mo'ma=na* 'the girl'. With some feminine and neuter nouns the definite suffix is formed with two vowels: *glav=o'na* 'the head'. The definite suffix is never stressed in the plural. In the singular the definite suffix is stressed only when it is formed with the vowel *o* or *ö* and in the noun *dašter=a'na* 'the daughter'.

<sup>74</sup>In standard Bulgarian the definite suffixes =s and =n do not exist. Only the article =r is listed in P7 (64-67) while T6 lists only the article =v / =n (39) but see section 1.6 under articles. K4 (46) and D6 (22) list all three articles but in D6 all paradigms of definite forms of nouns are shown with the definite suffix =σ. In K4 examples of definite nouns formed from all three articles are given (22, 46, 72, 144). Examples of specific forms of definite suffixes from D6 and K4 will be given with the suffix =σ / s but they could equally be formed with v / n or r / t.



The proximal suffix =s is used to refer to something or someone close to or belonging/related to the speaker, the medial suffix =t to something or someone close to or belonging/related to the person being addressed, while the distal suffix =n denotes distance and objectivity. See footnote 169.

In all the examples below only the suffixes with =n are used for ease of comparison.

### 3.3 SINGULAR DEFINITE

#### 3.3.1 NEUTER DEFINITE

##### Suffix =nu

Most neuter singular nouns form the definite with the suffix =nu.<sup>75</sup>

se'lu	se'lu=nu	village
miya'lu	miya'lu=nu	washbasin, sink
li'stu	li'stu=nu	leaf
ko'te	ko'te=nu	cat
ku'če	ku'če=nu	dog
de'te	de'te=nu	child

The noun *so'rce* also forms the definite with the suffix =nu but the stress shifts to the final vowel of the stem. This stress shift is accompanied by vowel alternation *o ~ a*:

so'rce	sarce'=nu	heart
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##### Suffix =o'nu or =ö'nu

Five neuter nouns in my data form the definite singular with the suffix =o'nu or =ö'nu.<sup>76</sup> The final vowel of the stem elides before this suffix is attached. The shift in stress from the stem vowel to the suffix triggers vowel alternation in two of the nouns:<sup>77</sup>

bra'šnu <sup>78</sup>	brašn=o'nu	flour
mö'su	mes=o'nu	meat
o'ku	uk=o'nu	eye

<sup>75</sup> The suffix in standard Bulgarian is =mo (H9: 28-29), in D6 =so (22), in T6 =vou / =nu and =vo / =no (39), in K4 =so (46) and in P7 =του (66-67).

<sup>76</sup> There are three examples of neuter nouns that take the ending =όσο in D6 (66-67, 69).

<sup>77</sup> See section 2.4.

<sup>78</sup> In D6 μπράσσο, μπράσσο=όσο (67).

u'šu	uš=ö'nu	ear
vre'me <sup>79</sup>	vrem=ö'nu	time, weather

### 3.3.2 FEMININE DEFINITE

Most feminine singular nouns form the definite with the suffix =na,<sup>80</sup> with the exception of consonant-final nouns and *míxtú'* 'mufti'. See below.

#### Suffix =na

se'stra	se'stra=na	sister
ma'yka	ma'yka=na	mother
ma'ca	ma'ca=na	table
xaji'=ka	xaji'=ka=na	haji
efka't=ka	efka't=ka=na	lawyer
daskal=i'ca	daskal=i'ca=na	teacher
ske'mle	ske'mle=na	chair
pe'sne	pe'sne=na	song, poem, music
meleykö'	meleykö'=na	angel
šišö'	šišö'=na	bottle
baklo'	baklo'=na	broad bean
maxalo'	maxalo'=na	neighbourhood

In one noun the stress moves from the first to the final syllable of the stem in the definite form:

že'na	žena'=na	woman, wife
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#### Suffix =o'na or =ö'na

Nineteen feminine nouns ending in *a* or *e* form the definite singular with the suffix =o'na or =ö'na. The suffix =o'na is attached to nouns ending in *a* and the suffix =ö'na to nouns ending in *e*. The shift in stress from the stem vowel to the suffix triggers vowel changes in fourteen of the nouns:<sup>81</sup>

<sup>79</sup> In D6 βρέμε [βρέμ-ε], βρεμ=όσο, nominative case (69). The definite singular oblique is listed as βρεμ=δ'σο.

<sup>80</sup> The definite suffix is unstressed =ma in standard Bulgarian for all feminine nouns ending in *a* or *я* (H9: 28). In the Pomak grammars the definite suffix of feminine nouns ending in *a* is also formed with the vowel *α* / *a*. (D6: 56; K4: 46, 71-72, 144; T6: 45-46; P7: 65).

<sup>81</sup> This feature is not described in H9 or any of the Pomak grammars.

### **Suffix =o'na**

#### **No Alternation**

bra'da	brad=o'na	beard, chin
gla'va	glav=o'na	head
me'tla	metl=o'na	broom

#### **o ~ u**

ko'ra	kur=o'na	skin, bark, crust
ko'sa	kus=o'na	hair, scythe
ko'za	kuz=o'na	goat
ko'va	kuv=o'na	bucket
no'ga	nug=o'na	leg, foot
ro'sa	rus=o'na	dew
vo'da	vud=o'na	water
to'rba	turb=o'na	bag
o'fca	ufc=o'na	sheep

#### **o ~ a**

ro'ka	rak=o'na	hand, arm
mo'gla	magl=o'na	fog

#### **ä ~ e**

trä'va	trev=o'na	grass
pä'ta	pet=o'na	heel

### **Suffix =ö'na**

#### **No Alternation**

ze'me	zem=ö'na	ground, earth
du'še	duš=ö'na	soul, spirit

#### **ö ~ u**

žö'be	žub=ö'na	pocket
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### **Suffix =a'na**

One noun ending in *e* forms the definite with the suffix =*a'na*. It inflects as nouns which form the suffix in =*o'na* or =*ö'na*:

do'stere      dašter=a'na      daughter

### **Suffix =en**

The noun *geli'n* forms the definite with the suffix =en, following the pattern of masculine nouns ending in a consonant. See section 3.3.3.

geli'n      geli'n=en      daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, bride

### **Suffix =yena**

Only one noun in my data forms the definite singular with the suffix =yena. This suffix corresponds to the masculine definite suffix =yen which is used to form the plural of all nouns ending in *i*:

mîxtü'      mîxtü'=yena      mufti

### **Suffix =no'**

Three consonant-final feminine nouns form the singular definite with the suffix =no', which is stressed. The shift in stress from the stem vowel to the suffix is accompanied by vowel alternation in all three nouns. There are no other instances in my data of the definite suffix attaching directly to the final consonant of the stem with no intervening vowel.<sup>82</sup>

korv      karv=no'<sup>83</sup>      blood  
pors      pars=no'      soil, earth  
rož      raž=no'      rye

## **3.3.3 MASCULINE DEFINITE**

### **CONSONANT-FINAL**

#### **Suffix =an or =en**

Most masculine singular nouns ending in a consonant form the definite with the suffix =an or =en.<sup>84</sup> This suffix is never stressed:

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<sup>82</sup> In standard Bulgarian the definite suffix for feminine nouns ending in a consonant is attached directly to the stem and it is always stressed: *есен=мá* 'autumn' (H9: 28).

<sup>83</sup> The forms *karv=no'* and *raž=no'* are exceptional in that they are the only two nouns in my data ending in an obstruent where this obstruent is not voiced when followed by a voiced consonant.

brat	bra't=an	brother
top	to'p=an	ball
pul	pu'l=an	stamp, sequin
tefte'r	tefte'r=en	exercise book
ko'pel	ko'pel=en	boy, son
dula'p	dula'p=an	cupboard
uru'm=in	uru'm=in=an	Greek
bulga'r=in	bulga'r=in=an	Bulgarian
tu'rč=in	tu'rč=in=an	Turk
porst	po'rst=an	finger
barda'k	barda'k=an	drinking glass
čulä'k	čulä'k=an	man, husband
luk	lu'k=an	onion
insa'n	insa'n=an	people

Vowel syncope occurs in five nouns when the definite is formed.<sup>85</sup> The noun *za'yek* may take the suffix =an or =en:

za'yek	za'yk=en	za'yk=an	rabbit, hare
ska'kal	ska'kl=an		grasshopper
pa'yek	pa'yk=an		spider
ko'kal	ko'kl=an		bone
o'gan	o'gn=en		fire

### **Suffix =o'n or =ö'n**

Thirty-seven monosyllabic masculine nouns in my data form the definite with the suffix =o'n or =ö'n, which is always stressed.<sup>86</sup> Vowel alternation occurs in sixteen nouns when the stress shifts to the definite suffix.

<sup>84</sup> H9 (29) states that in standard Bulgarian this suffix is -ət in “phonemic terms”. In D6 the suffix is =oç, =εç or =öç (22), in T6 =av / an, =εv / en or =ov / on (39, 44-45), in P7 =ar (64) and in K4 =os (46, 71-72, 144). In D6 alone the definite suffix may bear stress but only when formed with the vowel o or ö (32-45, 50-51).

<sup>85</sup> In D6 the final stem vowel is syncope in *πάγιεκ* and *ζάγιεκ* but not in *κόκαλ* (33-34, 40, 45). The noun *ska'kal* is not listed. In T6 only the noun *ζάγιεκ* / *zajek* is listed and the vowel does not syncope in the nominative (44).

<sup>86</sup> H9 lists over seventy monosyllabic masculine nouns that switch stress to the article but the list is not exhaustive (30-31). Vowel alternation occurs only in nouns with the stem vowel я, which alternates to e: *εря'x* 'sin', *εpex=ъ'm* 'the sin'. No examples are given of nouns of more than one syllable. A8 lists over fifty such nouns, all monosyllables (132-133, 141-143). In D6 over sixty monosyllabic masculine nouns that change stress in the definite are listed (32-34, 38-43, 51). The definite is formed with the vowel o in all but two of these nouns, where it is formed with the vowel ö (51). In eighteen of these nouns vowel alternation occurs when the

## Suffix =o'n

### No Alternation

strax B,P <sup>87</sup>	strax=o'n	fear
prax B,P	prax=o'n	dust
prag P	prag=o'n	threshold
praz P	praz=o'n	ram
glas B,P	glas=o'n	voice
kvas P	kvas=o'n	sour dough starter
sram B,P	sram=o'n	shame
led B,P	led=o'n	ice
dreb B,P	dreb=o'n	lung
grex B,P	grex=o'n	sin
sneg B,P	sneg=o'n	snow
bik B,P	bik=o'n	bull
sîn B,P	sîn=o'n	son
nus P	nus=o'n	nose
buk	buk=o'n	beech tree
bux	bux=o'n	owl
kluv	kluv=o'n	potato shoot
čük B,P	čük=o'n	hammer

### o ~ a

zob B,P	zab=o'n	tooth
rob B,P	rab=o'n	seam, purl stitch
gorb P	garb=o'n	upper back
son B,P <sup>88</sup>	san=o'n	dream
polx	palx=o'n	rat, mouse
goz P	gaz=o'n	bottom, buttocks
strok P	strak=o'n	plant (maize or tobacco only)

### o ~ u

konc P	kunc=o'n	thread
rog B,P	rug=o'n	horn (anatomical)

---

stress shifts to the definite article: ζῖνóι 'sweat', ζῖναγι=ός 'the sweat' (41-43). None of the other Pomak grammars make reference to this feature.

<sup>87</sup> This change occurs in Bulgarian in those nouns marked with <B> and in the Pomak dialect described in D6 for those marked with <P>.

<sup>88</sup> The homophone *son* 'end' forms the definite regularly: *so'n=an*.

Note that whereas in the feminine the alternation *o ~ a* is rare and the vowel *o* most frequently alternates with *u*, in the masculine the situation is reversed: the alternation *o ~ u* is rare and the vowel *o* most frequently alternates with *a*. See section 3.3.2.

**ö ~ e**

čöp	čep=o'n	twig
čörv	červ=o'n	worm

**ä ~ e**

drän P	dren=o'n	cornelian cherry tree
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The noun *dož(d)* is unique in that the consonant *d* is added to the stem before the definite suffix is attached. This change also occurs when the plural is formed:

dož(d) B,P <sup>89</sup>	dažd=o'n	rain
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**Suffix =ö'n**

**No Alternation**

laxt P	laxt=ö'n	elbow
den B,P	den=ö'n	day
glad B	glad=ö'n	hunger

**o ~ u**

znoy P	znuy=ö'n	sweat
loy P	luy=ö'n	fat

**ö ~ e**

nöxt P	next=ö'n	nail
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**Nouns of Two Syllables**

Five nouns of two syllables which undergo vowel syncope form the definite singular with the suffix =o'n. The vowel syncope results in a monosyllabic stem:

pete'l P	petl=o'n	cockerel
vo'lek B,P	valk=o'n	wolf
mo'zag P	muzg=o'n	brain, bone marrow

<sup>89</sup> In standard Bulgarian the indefinite form of 'rain' has the final stem consonant *d*: *дъжд* (Boyanova et al 2001). In D6 the consonant *d* is not added to the stem when the definite is formed (41-42).

vä'tar	vetr=o'n	wind
pä'sak	pesk=o'n	sand

## VOWEL-FINAL

### Suffix =yeni

All masculine nouns ending in *i* form the definite with the suffix =yeni.<sup>90</sup>

xaji'	xaji'=yeni	haji
ayl'ik=či'	ayl'ik=či'=yeni	pensioner
terzi'	terzi'=yeni	tailor

### Suffix =nu

Kinship terms ending in *u* are very rarely used in the definite in the singular.<sup>91</sup> I have heard only *ba'tu* used in the definite form in spontaneous speech on one occasion. When eliciting the definite forms for these terms, speakers disagreed about the acceptability of such forms. Those who did accept them said that they were very rare. None accepted definite forms for *u'yku* 'maternal uncle' and *kale'ku* 'uncle'.

dä'du	dä'du=nu	grandfather, father-in-law
ba'tu	ba'tu=nu	older brother
mi'žu	mi'žu=nu	paternal uncle
buba'yku	buba'yku=nu	father

## 3.4 PLURAL DEFINITE

The plural definite is formed by attaching the plural suffix =ne, =na or =nu to the plural stem.<sup>92</sup> Irregular masculine and feminine nouns and one neuter noun undergo vowel alternation and stress shift when the plural definite is formed. One noun of indeterminate gender is irregular.

<sup>90</sup> The definite of singular masculine nouns in stressed *i* is formed with the suffix =yεες in D6 (53). K4 does not give the definite form of such nouns.

<sup>91</sup> D6 states that these kinship terms, with the exception of *mi'žu* which is not listed, are not used in the definite (42, 48). K4 however gives the definite form of *dādo*: *dād=os* (71-72). A8 lists *dyádo=to* (50).

<sup>92</sup> In standard Bulgarian the suffix (in Cyrillic) is =me, or =ma, depending on the ending of the noun: =me after *e* or *u* and =ma after a non-front vowel (H9: 28). All plural nouns form the definite suffix with the vowel ε / e in D6 (31, 44, 46, 49, 52, 56, 59, 61, 64-67), T6 (44-47) and K4 (46, 72, 144), with the exception of neuter nouns with the plural suffix |α / a. These form the definite suffix with the vowel α / a. The tables of neuter definite suffixes in D6 incorrectly list the plural suffixes =σo/vo/to (64) and =σε/ve/τε (66) for plural nouns ending in |a. All the examples in



### 3.4.1 NEUTER DEFINITE

#### Suffix =na

All nouns which form the plural with the suffix |a take the definite suffix =na:

se'lu	sel a'	sel a'=na	village
miya'lu	miyal a'	miyal a'=na	washbasin, sink
li'stu	list a'	list a'=na	leaf
ko'te	ko'tet a	ko'tet a=na	cat
ku'če	ku'čet a	ku'čet a=na	dog

Note that when the definite plural of the noun *vre'me* is formed, the stress does not shift from the stem as it does in the singular:

vre'me	vre'met a	vre'met a=na	time, weather
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#### Suffix =nu

The three nouns which end in a palatalized consonant in the indefinite plural and take the plural suffix |e, form the definite plural with the suffix =nu:

svi'ne	svi'ny e	svi'ny e=nu	pig
	gro'zdy e	gro'zdy e=nu	grapes
li'stu	li'sty e	li'sty e=nu	leaf

#### Suffix =ne

The three neuter nouns which form the plural with the suffix |i take the definite suffix =ne. The stress shifts from the first to the second syllable when the definite ending is attached to the plural form. This shift in stress triggers vowel alternation in *o'ku*:

de'te	de'tji	det j'i=ne	child
u'šu	u'šji	uš j'i=ne	ear
o'ku	o'čji	uč j'i=ne	eye

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the paradigms following, however, have the definite suffix =σ $\alpha$  for plural nouns ending in | $\alpha$ . In P7 all masculine and feminine plural nouns form the definite with the suffix = $\tau\epsilon$  and all neuter nouns with the suffix = $\tau\alpha$  (64-67). All the neuter nouns listed form the plural with the suffix | $\alpha$ .

### 3.4.2 FEMININE DEFINITE

#### Suffix =ne

All feminine plural nouns form the definite with the suffix =ne, with the exception of the noun *korv* 'blood'.

se'stra	se'strji	se'strji=ne	sister
ma'yka	ma'ycji <sup>93</sup>	ma'ycji=ne	mother
ma'ca	ma'cji	ma'cji=ne	table
xaji'=ka	xaji'=kji	xaji'=kji=ne	haji
efka't=ka	efka't=kji	efka't=kji=ne	lawyer
daskal=i'ca	daskal=i'c e	daskal=i'c e=ne	teacher
ske'mle	ske'mlje	ske'mlje=ne	chair
pe'sne	pe'sn e	pe'sn e=ne	song, poem, music
meleykö'	meleyk e'	meleyk e'=ne	angel
šišö'	šiš e'	šiš e'=ne	bottle
baklo'	baklji'	baklji'=ne	broad bean
maxalo'	maxalji'	maxalji'=ne	neighbourhood
mîxtü'	mîxtü' ye	mîxtü' ye=ne	mufti
geli'n	geli'n ve	geli'n ve=ne	daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, bride

Note that nouns ending in *e* such as *pe'sne* 'song' and *ske'mle* 'chair' have identical forms in the indefinite singular and plural but are differentiated in the definite:

pe'sne=na SG    pe'sn|e=ne PL  
ske'mle=na SG    ske'mlje=ne PL

#### **Vowel Alternation and Mobile Stress**

In all nouns which form the definite singular with the suffix =o'na, =ö'na or =a'na, with the exception of *ko'za* 'goat', the stress shifts from the stem vowel when the definite plural is formed. The vowel alternations that occurred in the definite singular are replicated in the plural:

bra'da	bra'dji	bradj'i'=ne	beard, chin
gla'va	gla'vji	glavji'=ne	head
me'tla	me'tlji	metlji'=ne	broom
ko'ra	ko'rji	kurji'=ne	skin (of fruit or vegetable), bark, crust

<sup>93</sup> The alternative plural forms *ma'ykji* and *ma'ykji=ne* also exist but they are rarer.

ko'sa	ko'sji	kusji'=ne	hair, scythe
ko'va	ko'vji	kuvji'=ne	bucket
no'ga	no'gli	nugli'=ne	leg
vo'da	vo'dji	vudji'=ne	water
to'rba	to'rbji	turbji'=ne	bag
o'fca	o'fcje	ufcje'=ne	sheep
ro'ka	ro'kji	rakji'=ne	hand, arm
mo'gla	mo'glji	maglji'=ne	fog
pä'ta	pä'tji	petji'=ne	heel
du'se	du'sje	dušje'=ne	soul, spirit
žö'be	žö'bje	žubje'=ne	pocket
do'stere	do'sterje	dašterje'=ne	daughter

### že'na

Two forms of the plural definite exist for the noun *že'na* 'woman', one with fixed stress and one with stress shift to the plural suffix *ji*. Younger speakers prefer the form with mobile stress while older speakers prefer the form with fixed stress:

že'na	že'nji	že'nji'=ne	ženji'=ne	woman, wife
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### Suffix =nu

Vowel alternation occurs when the plural of the noun *korv* is formed. In common with all other nouns which form the indefinite plural with the suffix *jiye*, this noun takes the definite plural suffix *=nu*:

korv	ko'rvjiye	karvjiye'=nu	blood
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### 3.4.3 MASCULINE DEFINITE

#### Suffix =ne

Most masculine nouns form the definite plural with the suffix *=ne*:

top	to'p ve	to'p ve=ne	ball
pul	pu'l ve	pu'l ve=ne	stamp, sequin
tefte'r	tefte'r e	tefte'r e=ne	exercise book
ko'pel	ko'pel ji	ko'pel ji=ne	boy
dula'p	dula'p e	dula'p e=ne	cupboard

uru'm=in	uru'm e	uru'm e=ne	Greek
bulga'r=in	bulga'r e	bulga'r e=ne	Bulgarian
xaji'	xaji' ye	xaji' ye=ne	haji
aylík=čí'	aylík=čí' ye	aylík=čí' ye=ne	pensioner
tu'rč=in	tu'rc j	tu'rc j=ne	Turk
porst	po'rst e	po'rst e=ne	finger
barda'k	barda'c j	barda'c j=ne	drinking glass
čulä'k	čulä'c j	čulä'c j=ne	man, husband
pete'l	petl j'	petl j'=ne	cockerel
buba'yku	buba'yc j	buba'yc j=ne	father

### Vowel Alternation and Mobile Stress

In twenty-six of the masculine nouns which form the singular definite with the suffix =o'n or =ö'n the stress shifts from the stem when the definite plural is formed. Stress shift triggers the same vowel alternations as in the singular definite.

prag	pra'g ve	prag ve'=ne	threshold
praz	pra'z ve	praz ve'=ne	ram
glas	gla's ve	glas uve'=ne	voice
led	le'd ve	led ve'=ne	ice
dreb	dre'b uve	dreb uve'=ne	lung
grex	gre'x ve	grex ve'=ne	sin
sneg	sne'g ve	sneg ve'=ne	snow
bik	bi'k ve	bik ve'=ne	bull
sîn	sî'n ve	sîn ve'=ne	son
nus	nu's ve	nus ve'=ne	nose
bux	bu'x ve	bux uve'=ne	owl
čük	čü'k ve	čük ve'=ne	hammer
zob	zo'b j	zab j'=ne	tooth
rob	ro'b ve	rab uve'=ne	seam, purl stitch
gorb	go'rb uve	garb uve'=ne	upper back
son	so'n ve	san ve'=ne	dream
polx	po'lx uve	palx uve'=ne	rat, mouse
goz	go'z ve	gaz ve'=ne <sup>94</sup>	bottom, buttocks
konc	ko'nc e	kunc e'=ne	thread
rog	ro'g ve	rug uve'=ne	horn (anatomical)
dož(d)	do'žd uve	dažd uve'=ne	rain
laxt	la'xt uve	laxt uve'=ne	elbow

<sup>94</sup> The variant *gaz|uve'=ne* also exists.

den	de'n e	den e'=ne	day
nöxt	nö'xt e	next e'=ne	nail
vo'lek	vo'lk uve	valk uve'=ne	wolf
mo'zag	mo'zg ve <sup>95</sup>	muzg uve'=ne	brain, marrow

Note that in the nouns *rob*, *bux*, *glas* and *rog* the vowel *u* precedes the plural suffix in the definite form, but not in the indefinite.

### **o'gan**

No stress shift occurs in the noun *o'gan* 'fire' in the singular definite but in the plural definite the stress shifts from the stem to the plural suffix:

o'gan	o'gn uve	ugn uve'=ne	fire
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### **Suffix =nu**

The nouns in which the final consonant is palatalized when the plural suffix is attached, form the definite plural with the suffix =*nu*:

da'skal	da'skaly e	da'skaly e=nu	teacher
brat	bra'ty e	bra'ty e=nu	brother
kon	ko'ny e	ko'ny e=nu	horse
so'lmen	so'lmeny e	so'lmeny e=nu	snail
ka'vur=in	ka'vury e	ka'vury e=nu	unbeliever
ko'mar	ko'mary e	ko'mary e=nu	mosquito
svat	sva'ty e	sva'ty e=nu	father-in-law of one's child
ko'kal	ko'kaly e	ko'kaly e=nu	bone
bu'rbun	bu'rbuny e	bu'rbuny e=nu	hornet
dro'ben	dro'beny e	dro'beny e=nu	clod of earth
gu'ster	gu'stery e	gu'stery e=nu	lizard
vä'tar	vä'tary e	vä'tary e=nu	wind
kluv	klu'vy e	klu'vy e=nu	potato shoot

The six nouns which form the plural with the suffix |*iye* form the definite with the suffix =*nu*. Stress shift occurs in four of these nouns when the definite plural is formed.

ska'kal	ska'kl iye	ska'kl iye=nu	grasshopper
strok	strač i'ye	strač iye'=nu	plant (maize or tobacco only)

<sup>95</sup> The variant *mo'zg|uve* also exists.

buk	bu'čjiye	bučjiye'=nu	beech tree
drän	dren i'ye	drenjiye'=nu	cornelian cherry tree
čöp	čep i'ye	čepjiye'=nu	twig

The noun *čörv* is irregular. The definite plural form is based on a distinct plural stem which is not used without the definite suffix. The stress shifts when the plural definite suffix is attached and vowel alternation occurs:

čörv	čö'rv e	červjiye'=nu	worm
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#### 3.4.4 INDETERMINATE GENDER

The nouns in this category form the definite plural with the suffix =*nu*, =*na* or =*ne*. The suffix can be predicted for five of these nouns on the basis of the final vowel of the stem.

vrata'	vrata'=na	inner doors
panto'le	panto'le=ne	trousers
güzlü'ci	güzlü'ci=ne	glasses
pari'	pari'=ne	money
no'yice	no'yci=ne	scissors

The noun *no'yice* is irregular. When the definite is formed the vowels *i* and *e* elide and the vowel *i* is attached to the elided stem.

Two nouns of indeterminate gender end in *ye* but *lu'dye* forms the definite with the suffix =*nu* and *kapu'ye* with the suffix =*ne*. Note that the stress shifts from the first syllable of the stem in *lu'dye* when the plural suffix is attached.

lu'dye	ludye'=nu	men
kapu'ye	kapu'ye=ne	front door(s)

The noun *kiši'* 'people' has no definite form.

### 3.5 SUMMARY OF PLURAL NOUN SUFFIXES AND FORMATION OF DEFINITE

INDEF	e	u
SG	ko'te	se'lu
PL	ko'tet a	sel a'
DEF		
SG	ko'te=nu	se'lu=nu
PL	ko'tet a=na	sel a'=na

SG INDEF	SG DEF	PL INDEF	PL DEF
bra'snu	brašn=o'nu		
mö'su	mes=o'nu		
o'ku	uk=o'nu	o'čji	učji'=ne
u'šu	uš=ö'nu	u'šji	ušji'=ne
vre'me	vrem=ö'nu	vre'met a	vre'met a=na
de'te	de'te=nu	de'tji	detji'=ne
so'rce	sarce'=nu	sarc a'	sarc a'=na

INDEF	a	e	o	ö
SG	se'stra dukyan=ji'=ka	pe'sne	kasabo'	šišö'
PL	se'str ji dukyan=ji'=kji	pe'sn e	kasab ji'	šiš e'
DEF				
SG	se'stra=na dukyan=ji'=ka=na	pe'sne=na	kasabo'=na	šišö'=na
PL	se'str ji=ne dukyan=ji'=kji=ne	pe'sn e=ne	kasab ji'=ne	šiš e'=ne

SG INDEF	SG DEF	PL INDEF	PL DEF
bra'da	brad=o'na	bra'dji	bradji'=ne
gla'va	glav=o'na	gla'vji	glavji'=ne
me'tla	metl=o'na	me'tlji	metlji'=ne
ko'ra	kur=o'na	ko'rji	kurji'=ne
ko'sa	kus=o'na	ko'sji	kusji'=ne
ko'za	kuz=o'na	ko'zji	ko'zji'=ne
ko'va	kuv=o'na	ko'vji	kuvji'=ne
no'ga	nug=o'na	no'gji	nugji'=ne
ro'sa	rus=o'na		
vo'da	vud=o'na	vo'dji	vudji'=ne
to'rba	turb=o'na	to'rbji	turbji'n=e
o'fca	ufc=o'na	ofc e	ufc e'=ne
ro'ka	rak=o'na	ro'kji	rakji'=ne
mo'gla	magl=o'na	mo'glji	maglji'=ne
trä'va	trev=o'na		
pä'ta	pet=o'na	pä'tji	petji'=ne
ze'me	zem=ö'na		
du'se	duš=ö'na	du'š e	du'š e'=ne
žö'be	žub=ö'na	žö'b e	žub e'=ne
do'stere	dašter=a'na	do'ster e	dašter e'=ne
korv	karv=no'	ko'rv ije	karv ije'=nu
pors	pars=no'		
rož	raž=no'		



Table 3.5 Masculine					
INDEF	CONS + PL  ve	CONS + PL  e	CONS =in + PL  e	i'	CONS k + PL  i
SG	top	tefte'r brat	arga't=in	dukyan=ji'	barda'k
PL	to'p ve	tefte'r e bra'ty e	arga't e	dukyan=ji' ye	barda'c i
QUANT PL	to'p a	tefte'r a bra't a			barda'k a
DEF					
SG	to'p=an	tefte'r=en bra't=an	arga't=in=an	dukyan=ji'=yen	barda'k=an
PL	to'p ve=ne	tefte'r e=ne bra'ty e=nu	arga't e=ne	dukyan=ji' ye=ne	barda'c i=ne

Table 3.6 Masculine ending in <i>u</i>						
INDEF						
SG	dä'du	ba'tu	kale'ku	u'yku	mi'žu	buba'yku
PL	dä'd ve dä'd i	ba't ve	kale'k ve	u'yc i u'yk uve	mi'ž ve	buba'yc i
QUANT PL	dä'd a dä'd ve dä'd u	ba't e	kale'k a kale'k ve	u'yk a	mi'ž e mi'ž ve	buba'yk a
DEF						
SG	dä'du=nu*	ba'tu=nu*			mi'žu=nu*	buba'yku=nu*
PL	dä'd ve=ne	ba't ve=ne	kale'k ve=ne	u'yc i=ne	mi'ž ve=ne	buba'yc i=ne

\*These forms are very rare or non-standard.

SG INDEF	SG DEF	PL INDEF	PL DEF
strax	strax=o'n		
prax	prax=o'n		
prag	prag=o'n	pra'g ve	prag ve'=ne
praz	praz=o'n	pra'z ve	praz ve'=ne
glas	glas=o'n	gla's ve	glas uve'=ne
kvas	kvas=o'n		
sram	sram=o'n		
led	led=o'n	le'd ve	led ve'=ne
dreb	dreb=o'n	dre'b uve	dreb uve'=ne
grex	grex=o'n	gre'x ve	grex ve'=ne
sneg	sneg=o'n	sne'g ve	sneg ve'=ne
bik	bik=o'n	bi'k ve	bik ve'=ne
sîn	sîn=o'n	sî'n ve	sîn ve'=ne
nus	nus=o'n	nu's ve	nus ve'=ne
buk	buk=o'n	bu'č ije	buč ije'=nu
bux	bux=o'n	bu'x ve	bux uve'=ne
kluv	kluv=o'n	klu'vy e	klu'vy e=nu
čük	čük=o'n	čü'k ve	čük ve'=ne
zob	zab=o'n	zo'b ji	zab i'=ne
rob	rab=o'n	ro'b ve	rab uve'=ne
gorb	garb=o'n	go'rb uve	garb uve'=ne
son	san=o'n	so'n ve	san ve'=ne
polx	palx=o'n	po'lx uve	palx uve'=ne
goz	gaz=o'n	go'z ve	gaz ve'=ne gaz uve'=ne
strok	strak=o'n	strač i'ye strač e'	strač ije'=nu
konc	kunc=o'n	ko'nc e	kunc e'=ne
rog	rug=o'n	ro'g ve	rug uve'=ne
čöp	čep=o'n	čep i'ye	čep ije'=nu
čörv	červ=o'n	čö'rv e	červ ije'=nu
drän	dren=o'n	dren i'ye drä'n ve	dren ije'=nu
dož(d)	dažd=o'n	do'žd uve	dažd uve'=ne
laxt	laxt=ö'n	la'xt uve	laxt uve'=ne
den	den=ö'n	de'n e	den e'=ne

<b>Table 3.7 Masculine nouns with mobile stress in definite</b>			
SG INDEF	SG DEF	PL INDEF	PL DEF
glad	glad=ö'n		
znoy	znuy=ö'n		
loy	luy=ö'n		
nöxt	next=ö'n	nö'x te	next e'=ne
pete'l	petl=o'n	petl i'	petl i'=ne
vo'lek	valk=o'n	vo'lk uve	valk uve'=ne
mo'zag	muzg=o'n	mo'zg ve	muzg uve'=ne
vä'tar	vetr=o'n	vä'tar ye	vä'tar ye=nu
pä'sak	pesk=o'n		
o'gan	o'gn=en	o'gn uve	ugn uve'=ne

## Chapter 4

# NOUNS AND CASE

### General Overview

In Paševik Pomak only nouns referring to animates inflect for case, with one known exception. Singular nouns distinguish nominative, oblique<sup>96</sup> and dative case.<sup>97</sup> The masculine noun *Yuna'n* 'Greece' is exceptional in that, although it refers to an inanimate, it does distinguish these three cases.<sup>98</sup> The oblique case is rare and non-productive:<sup>99</sup> there are only eight masculine singular nouns in my data which may take the oblique suffix.<sup>100</sup> All gender distinctions and oppositions are neutralized in the plural and plural nouns distinguish only nominative and dative case. Definite and indefinite suffixes are used with most nouns in the nominative and dative case but there is no definite form of the oblique case. Definite forms of nouns in the dative are textually more frequent than indefinite forms, with the exception of some kinship terms.

Although the vocative is not a case there are a few notes on the vocative at the end of the chapter.

### 4.1 SINGULAR INDEFINITE

All singular common nouns referring to animates and the inanimate *Yuna'n* form the dative case with the suffix *-u*. No other nouns distinguish dative case. This suffix *-u* is sometimes followed by a further suffix, *-mu* in masculines, and is usually followed by *-xi* in feminines; see 4.1.2 and 4.1.3 below. The suffix *-mu* is identical in form to the third person singular masculine or neuter dative personal pronoun (section 7.1) and marks the noun as dative and masculine.<sup>101</sup> In feminine indefinite nouns the suffix *-u* must be followed by the ending *-xi*, identical in form to the third person singular feminine dative personal pronoun. This suffix marks the noun as dative and feminine.

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<sup>96</sup> The term *oblique* is used here to refer to the case that marks nouns which are definite direct objects, governed by prepositions or qualified by possessives. For the sake of consistency I have used this term throughout when referring to other grammars.

<sup>97</sup> In standard spoken Bulgarian nouns do not inflect for grammatical case and prepositions are used to express syntactic relations. Case forms are still found in south-eastern Bulgarian dialects in the Rhodope mountains (S3: 245).

<sup>98</sup> In D6 many examples are given of masculine and feminine nouns that refer to non-animates and distinguish the oblique and dative case (32-51, 57-62). In K4 (144) and P7 (64) only masculine non-animate nouns distinguish these cases.

<sup>99</sup> The oblique case is productive and used frequently with personal names.

<sup>100</sup> K4 (71, 144) and D6 (56, 59, 61) give distinct suffixes for feminine nouns.

<sup>101</sup> Some informants claim this suffix can be used with neuter nouns. See 4.1.1.

#### 4.1.1 NEUTER

***ko'te*** 'cat', ***de'te*** 'child'

NOM	ko'te	de'te
DAT	ko'tet-u	de'tet-u

Only neuter nouns that end in *e* distinguish case as those ending in *u* do not denote animates. When a neuter noun inflects for case, the consonant *t* is added to the end of the stem, as in *ko'tet-*, before the dative suffix *-u* is attached. Some informants have stated that this suffix may be followed by *-mu*, as in *ko'tet-u-mu*. I have never heard this form in conversation.

All the nouns below inflect as *ko'te*:

ya'gne	lamb
maga're	donkey
kai'nče	brother-in-law (wife's brother)
ku'če	dog
mu'le	mule
te'le	calf
ye're	kid
gu'de	pig

#### 4.1.2 FEMININE

***se'stra*** 'sister', ***dukyan=ji'=ka*** 'shopkeeper', ***zmi'ye*** 'snake', ***ma'yka*** 'mother'

NOM	se'stra	dukyan=ji'=ka	zmi'ye	ma'yka
DAT	se'str-u-xi	dukyan=ji'=k-u-xi	zmi'y-u-xi	ma'yk-u-xi
	se'str-i			ma'yc-i

Although all feminine nouns that distinguish case may form the dative of the indefinite singular with the suffix *-u*, a small number of kinship terms, listed below, may also form the dative with the alternative suffix *-i*. The final vowel of the nominative form, *a* or *e*, elides before the dative suffix is attached. In my data all feminine nouns which form the dative with the suffix *-u* take the additional suffix *-xi* in the indefinite: *-u-xi*. This constitutes double marking of the dative.

The following nouns may form the dative with the variant suffix *-i* and inflect as *se'stra*:

a'bla	older sister
ba'ba	grandmother, mother-in-law
bu'la	older sister
le'lka	aunt
a'ne	mother
ye'nge	aunt (wife of paternal or maternal uncle)

The majority of feminine common nouns inflect as *dukyan=ji'=ka*, including:

aylik=či'=ka	pensioner
daskal=i'ca	teacher
fir'in=ji'=ka	baker
kra'va	cow
me'čka	bear
ko'za	goat
kuko'ska	chicken
mo'ma	girl, daughter

*Že'na* 'woman, wife' may form the dative with the alternative suffix *-oy*, followed by *-xi*: *žen-o'y-xi*.<sup>102</sup> This is the only occurrence of the suffix *-oy* in my data.

Only one feminine noun in my data ends in *e* and declines like *zmi'ye: do'stere* 'daughter'.

The noun *ma'yka* is slightly irregular as the final consonant *k* alternates with *c* when followed by the dative suffix *-i*, although the *k* is retained for the dative suffix in *-u*.

*mu'fka da xi ye kula'y a'bl-i xi* [Ab]  
 little COMP PRO.3SG.DAT.F be.3SG.PRS easy older.sister-DAT PRO.3SG.DAT.F  
 'So that it's a little easier for her older sister.'

*ya sam bra'-l/a ma'yc-i ti* [Ag]  
 PRO.1SG.NOM be.AUX.1SG.PRS pick-PTCP.PST|F mother-DAT PRO.2SG.DAT  
 'I picked (tobacco) for your mother.'

<sup>102</sup> The dative feminine suffix *-oy* is reported by K4 (71) and D6 (56), transcribed as *-o/* in the latter.

### 4.1.3 MASCULINE

Masculine nouns fall into three categories with respect to their oblique case forms. Two nouns ending in a consonant form the oblique case with the suffix *-a*. Six nouns ending in *u* form the oblique case with the suffix *-a* or *-e*. All other masculine nouns end in a consonant or stressed *i* and do not distinguish the oblique case. The indefinite singular dative is formed with the suffix *-u* or *-yu*, sometimes followed by the suffix *-mu*.

#### ***brat* ‘brother’, *Yuna’n* ‘Greece’**

NOM	<i>brat</i>	<i>Yuna’n</i>
OBL	<i>bra’t-a</i>	<i>Yuna’n-a</i>
DAT	<i>bra’t-u</i>	<i>Yuna’n-u</i>
	<i>bra’t-u-mu</i>	

The noun *brat* deviates in its oblique-suffix-taking behaviour, exhibiting several differences from masculine nouns in *u*. The oblique suffix is not used with *brat* after possessive suffixes, possessive pronouns, with the verb *i’mam* ‘to have’ or when it is the complement of a copular verb. In addition, some speakers do not use the oblique suffix with *brat* even in other syntactic environments where it is normally required or they use it infrequently. Specifically, the oblique suffix is used most frequently with *brat* when it is the direct object or qualified by a preposition:

*po’da-m na Geče’bunar<sup>103</sup> sas bra’t-a* [Ae]  
 go-1SG.PRS to Glaukē with brother-OBL  
 ‘I’m going to Glaukē with my brother.’

*ya sam pribi’-l|a bra’t-a* [Aa]  
 PRO.1SG.NOM be.AUX.1SG.PRS kill-PTCP.PST|F brother-OBL  
 ‘I killed my brother.’

*ru’k-ay bra’t-a ti* [Ae]  
 call-IMP brother-OBL PRO.2SG.DAT  
 ‘Call your brother.’

One informant used the definite article =*an* in place of the oblique ending *-a* for the first sentence above and gave an alternative with the bare stem:

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<sup>103</sup> A Pomak village.

*po'da-m na Geče'bunar sas bra't=an / brat [Ak]*  
 go-1SG.PRS to Glaukē with brother=ART.DIST / brother  
 'I'm going to Glaukē with my brother.'

In the following examples, the oblique suffix is not used with *brat* but is required with nouns ending in *u*:

*i'ma-š li brat? [Af]*  
 have-2SG.PRS Q brother  
 'Have you got a brother?'

*mo'y=en dā'd-a po ye xi'tar ud*  
 PRO.POSS.1SG=ART.DIST grandfather-OBL CMPR be.3SG.PRS clever than

*ne'xin=en brat [Ak]*  
 PRO.POSS.3SG.F=ART.DIST brother  
 'My grandfather is cleverer than her brother.'

*ya puzna'va-m Nixa't=v=en brat [Aa]*  
 PRO.1SG.NOM know-1SG.PRS Nihat=POSS=ART.DIST brother  
 'I know Nihat's brother.'

*Yuna'n* 'Greece' is the only noun in my data which does not refer to animates and yet distinguishes case:

*A'tina ye fif Yuna'n-a [Ak]*  
 Athens be.3SG.PRS in Greece-OBL  
 'Athens is in Greece.'

*vo'rv-i nax Yuna'n-a [Ad]*  
 go-IMP to Greece-OBL  
 'Go to Greece.'

*ya sam ud Yuna'n-a [Ap]*  
 PRO.1SG.NOM be.1SG.PRS from Greece-OBL  
 'I'm from Greece.'



*Bulgari'ye ye bli'ze pri Yuna'n-a* [Aa]  
 Bulgaria be.3SG.PRS close to Greece-OBL  
 'Bulgaria is close to Greece.'

All masculine singular nouns that distinguish the dative case take the suffix *-u* but some common nouns may also take the additional suffix *-mu*: *u-mu*. Informants do not always agree on which nouns may take the suffix *-mu*, although most agree that the ending is acceptable for *brat*:

*bra't-u-mu še d-am pari'* [Aa]  
 brother-DAT-M.DAT FUT give-1SG.PRS money  
 'I'll give money to my brother.'

*Evro'pa še da=de'-0 Yuna'n-u pari'* [Aa]  
 Europe FUT give=EXT-3SG.PRS Greece-DAT money  
 'Europe will give Greece money.'

### **Kinship Terms Ending in *u***

*dā'du* 'grandfather, father-in-law', *kale'ku* 'uncle', *u'yku* 'maternal uncle', *buba'yku* 'father', *ba'tu* 'older brother', *mi'žu* 'paternal uncle'

NOM	dā'du	kale'ku	u'yku	buba'yku	ba'tu	mi'žu
OBL	dā'd-a	kale'k-a	u'yk-a	buba'yk-a	ba't-e	mi'ž-e
DAT	dā'd-u	kale'k-u	u'yk-u	buba'yk-u	ba't-u	mi'ž-u

*Ba'tu* and *mi'žu* form the oblique case with the suffix *-e* rather than *-a*, but all six nouns form the dative case with the suffix *-u*.

When not qualified by a possessive pronoun or possessive suffix, these nouns behave like any other noun in subject function.

*dä'du*            *ye*                    *pasa'-l*            *o'fcle*    *i*    *drug*  
 grandfather.NOM    be.AUX.3SG.PRS    graze-PTCP.PST    sheep|PL    and    other

*dä'du*            *bi-l*                    *ye*                    *xo'že*                    *i*    *pä-l*  
 grandfather.NOM    be-PTCP.PST    be.AUX.3SG.PRS    religious.teacher    and    study-PTCP.PST

*ye*                    *kura'n* [Ak]  
 be.AUX.3SG.PRS    Koran

'My grandfather grazed sheep and my other grandfather was a religious teacher and studied the Koran.'

*kale'ku*            *i'de-0* [Aa]  
 uncle.NOM    come-3SG.PRS

'My uncle's coming.'

However, when these kinship terms are modified by a possessive pronoun or possessive suffix the oblique case is used:

*ne'gv=en*                            *buba'yk-a*    *ye*                            *umra'-l|u*<sup>104</sup> [Am]  
 PRO.POSS.3SG.M=ART.DIST    father-OBL    be.AUX.3SG.PRS    die-PTCP.PST|N

'His father died.'

*Nixa't=v=en*                            *buba'yk-a*    *ye*                            *po*    *viso'k*    *ud*  
 Nihat=POSS=ART.DIST            father-OBL    be.3SG.PRS    CMPR    tall            than

*tvo'y=en*                            *buba'yk-a* [Ak]  
 PRO.POSS.2SG=ART.DIST    father-OBL

'Nihat's father is taller than your father.'

*mo'y=en*                            *dä'd-a*                    *ra'buti-0*                    *tütü'n* [Aa]  
 PRO.POSS.1SG=ART.DIST    grandfather-OBL    work-3SG.PRS    tobacco

'My grandfather works with tobacco.'

The oblique suffix is also used when the nouns are the direct object of the sentence, and following prepositions:

*ya*                    *sam*                    *pribi'-l|a*                    *ba't-e* [Ak]  
 PRO.1SG.NOM    be.AUX.1SG.PRS    kill- PTCP.PST|F    older.brother-OBL

'I killed my older brother.'

<sup>104</sup> The possessive pronoun is masculine but the past participle is neuter.

*ya me'xna-m ba't-e* [Ak]  
PRO.1SG.NOM resemble-1SG.PRS older.brother-OBL  
'I look like my older brother.'

*buba'yk-a še glö'da-m* [An; Ao; Af]  
father-OBL FUT look.after-1SG.PRS  
'I will look after my father.'

*po'da-m da o'bida-m buba'yk-a* [Ak]  
go-1SG.PRS COMP visit-1SG.PRS father-OBL  
'I am going to visit my father.'

*nä sas buba'yk-a ti pasä'-xme ufc|e'=ta* [Ae]  
PRO.1PL.NOM with father-OBL PRO.2SG.DAT graze-1PL.PST sheep|PL=ART.MED  
'Your father and I grazed the sheep.'

*no'se-m sela'm ud ba't-e* [Af]  
bring-1SG.PRS greetings from older.brother-OBL  
'I bring greetings from my older brother.'

*po'da-m na buba'yk-a* [An]  
go-1SG.PRS to father-OBL  
'I'm going to my father's.'

When one of these kinship terms is a copula complement it takes the oblique suffix:

*Mustafa' mi ye mi'ž-e* [Af]  
Mustafa PRO.1SG.DAT be.COP.3SG.PRS paternal.uncle-OBL  
'Mustafa is my uncle.'

*Fayik me'ne ye u'yk-a* [Aa]<sup>105</sup>  
Fayik PRO.1SG.DAT be.COP.3SG.PRS maternal.uncle-OBL  
'Fayik is my uncle.'

*Baxr'i ye sta'na-l buba'yk-a* [Ae]  
Bahri be.AUX.3SG.PRS become.COP-PTCP.PST father-OBL  
'Bahri has become a father.'

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<sup>105</sup> The informant stressed that it was not possible to use the nominative form ending in *u* in this clause.

to xi ye buba'yk-a [Af]  
 PRO.3SG.NOM.M PRO.3SG.DAT.F be.COP.3SG.PRS father-OBL  
 'He is her father.'

In contrast, *brat* does not take the oblique suffix when it is a copula complement:

Fayik ye me'ne brat [Af]  
 Fayik be.COP.3SG.PRS PRO.1SG.DAT brother  
 'Fayik is my brother.'

to xi ye brat [Af]  
 PRO.3SG.NOM.M PRO.3SG.DAT.F be.COP.3SG.PRS brother  
 'He is her brother.'

### All Other Animate Nouns

*ima'm* 'imam', *vnuk* 'grandchild', *kon* 'horse', *dukyan=ji* 'shopkeeper'

NOM	ima'm	vnuk	kon	dukyan=ji'
DAT	ima'm-u	vnu'k-u	ko'n-u	dukyan=ji'-yu

All nouns ending in a consonant form the dative with the suffix *-u* in the singular indefinite.

Nouns ending in stressed *i* form the dative with the suffix *-yu*.

Nouns ending in a consonant which inflect like *ima'm*, *vnuk* and *kon* include:

sîn	son
tupana'r	drummer
ufča'r	shepherd
guveda'r	cowherd
dušma'n	enemy
čulä'k	man, husband
xaske'r	soldier
midu'r	mayor

Nouns ending in stressed *i* which inflect like *dukyan=ji'* include:

aylîk=či'	pensioner
fîrîn=ji'	baker
kaxve=ji'	owner of café

## 4.2 PLURAL INDEFINITE

Plural nouns do not distinguish oblique case. All plural nouns form the dative with the suffix *-m*, attaching it to the plural suffix. The plural indefinite form is used infrequently, usually when the noun is qualified by a definite adjective.

### Neuter

NOM ko'tet|a de't|j  
DAT ko'tet|a-m de't|j-m

### Feminine

NOM se'str|j dukyan=ji'=k|j zmi'y|e ma'yc|j  
ma'yk|j  
DAT se'str|j-m dukyan=ji'=k|j-m zmi'y|e-m ma'yc|j-m  
ma'yk|j-m

### Masculine

NOM bra'ty|e  
DAT bra'ty|e-m

NOM ima'm|e vnu'c|j ko'ny|e dukyan=ji'|ye  
DAT ima'm|e-m vnu'c|j-m ko'ny|e-m dukyan=ji'|ye-m

NOM dā'd|ve ba't|ve kale'k|ve u'yc|j mi'ž|ve buba'yc|j  
DAT dā'd|ve-m ba't|ve-m kale'k|ve-m u'yc|j-m mi'ž|ve-m buba'yc|j-m

*razda'va-l|j*                      *sime'*                      *dru'g|i=ne-m*                      *de't|i-m* [Af]  
distribute-PTCP.PST|PL    be.AUX.1PL.PRS    other|PL=ART.DIST-DAT    child|PL-DAT  
'We distributed to the other children.'

## 4.3 SINGULAR DEFINITE

Kinship terms do not normally occur with the singular definite article, with the exception of *brat* and those terms which have an extended meaning, such as *čulā'k* 'husband, man'. The definite form of *čulā'k* is used to speak of one's own husband: *čulā'k=an* 'my husband'.

Unless modified by an adjective singular nouns in the dative, excluding kinship terms, are most frequently found in the definite form.

#### 4.3.1 NEUTER

In neuter nouns the definite suffix is attached directly to the dative suffix as below.

NOM ko'te=nu de'te=nu  
 DAT ko'tet-u=ne detet-u'=ne

*De'te* is irregular in that it is the only neuter noun in my data in which stress shift occurs when the definite of the dative is formed.

*detet-u'=ne*      *ye*      *dra'gu*   *o'ti*      *mu*      *da'=da-x*  
 child-DAT=ART.DIST be.3SG.PRS joy      because PRO.3SG.DAT.N give=EXT-1SG.PST

*pari'* [Ae]

money

'The child is pleased because I gave him money.'

*ku'čet-u=ne*      *mu*      *mra'zi-0* [Aa]  
 dog-DAT=ART.DIST PRO.3SG.DAT.N be.cold-3SG.PRS

'The dog is cold.'

*day*      *ko'tet-u=ne*   *da*      *ye=de'-0* [Ai]  
 give.IMP cat-DAT=ART COMP eat=EXT-3SG.PRS

'Feed the cat.'

#### 4.3.2 FEMININE

All feminine nouns that distinguish dative case form the definite dative singular from dative forms with the suffix *-u*. When the definite is formed, the suffix *=ne* is attached to the dative suffix *-u*. The dative suffix *-xi* is then attached to the definite suffix.

NOM se'stra=na      firin=ji'=ka=na      zmi'ye=na      ma'yka=na  
 DAT se'str-u=ne-xi      firin=ji'=k-u=ne-xi      zmi'y-u=ne-xi      ma'yk-u=ne-xi

*ya*      *da'=da-x*      *mo'm-u=ne-xi*      *yedi'n*      *barda'k*      *vo'da* [Ai]  
 PRO.1SG.NOM give=EXT-1SG.PST girl-DAT=ART.DIST-F.DAT one.M glass water

'I gave the girl one glass of water.'

There are occasional examples in my data where the definite dative of feminine common nouns is formed with the dative suffix *-u* alone. It is not possible to form the indefinite dative without the suffix *-xi*:

*day ufc-u'=ne da ye=de'-0* [A]  
 give.IMP sheep-DAT=ART.DIST COMP eat=EXT-3SG.PRS  
 'Feed the sheep.'

#### 4.3.3 MASCULINE

The definite singular dative of masculine nouns is formed by attaching the definite suffix *=ne* to the dative suffix. If the second dative suffix *-mu* is used, it is attached directly to the ending *-u* and the definite article appears as the final element. There is no definite oblique form for the noun *brat* and there are no examples in my data of any definite oblique or dative forms for *Yuna'n* 'Greece' or the six kinship terms ending in *u*.<sup>106</sup>

NOM *ima'm=an bra't=an vnu'k=an ko'n=en dukyan=ji'=yen*  
 DAT *ima'm-u=ne bra't-u=ne vnu'k-u=ne ko'n-u=ne dukyan=ji'-yu=ne*  
*bra't-u-mu=ne*

*ya du'me-m čulä'k-u=ne* [Ah]  
 PRO.1SG.NOM speak-1SG.PRS husband-DAT=ART.DIST  
 'I'm speaking to my husband.'

*pi'sva-l|a sam mektu'p da'skal-u=ne* [Af]  
 write-PTCP.PST|F be.AUX.1SG.PRS letter teacher-DAT=ART.DIST  
 'I've written a letter to the teacher.'

*ne'mu, tupana'r-u=ne, še da=de'-me üç yuz eli' evro'*  
 PRO.3SG.DAT.M drummer-DAT=ART.DIST FUT give=EXT-1PL.PRS three hundred fifty euro

*i še da tu'mka-0 pak* [Ae]  
 and FUT COMP drum-3SG.PRS again  
 'We'll give the drummer €350 and he will play again.'

<sup>106</sup> Oblique suffixes do occur with the definite article in K4 (72, 144) and D6 (34, 41, 47-51, 53-54, 57, 60, 62).

#### 4.4 PLURAL DEFINITE

The definite of plural dative nouns is formed by inserting the definite suffix after the plural ending but before the plural dative suffix.<sup>107</sup>

##### Neuter

NOM	kótet a'=na	det i'=ne
DAT	kótet a'=na-m	det i'=ne-m

##### Feminine

NOM	se'str i=ne	dukyan=ji'=k i=ne	zmi'y e=ne	ma'yc i=ne	ma'yk i=ne
DAT	se'str i=ne-m	dukyan=ji'=k i=ne-m	zmi'y e=ne-m	ma'yc i=ne-m	ma'yk i=ne-m

##### Masculine

NOM	bra't ye=nu
DAT	bra't ye=nu-m

<sup>107</sup> In K4 and D6 the dative plural suffix is not the final element but precedes the definite article. In addition, when the feminine and neuter plural of the dative is formed, the nominative plural suffix elides and is replaced by |o:

NOM SG	NOM PL	DAT PL	GLOSS	GENDER	SOURCE
chülâk	chülâk ove	chülâk ove-m=se	man	M	K4 (144)
ζάικ	ζάικ οβε	ζάικ οβε-μ=σε	rabbit, hare	M	D6 (33,35)
zhoná	zhón i'	zhón o-m=se	woman	F	K4 (71-72)
ζζανά	ζζόν i'	ζζόν o-μ=σε	woman	F	D6 (57-58)
kóte	kótet a	kótet o-m=ne	cat	N	K4 (22)
kónε	kónετ α	kónετ o-μ=σε	horse	N	D6 (64-65)

In P7, there appears to be double marking of the dative case in the plural:

NOM SG	DAT PL	GLOSS	GENDER	PAGE
βαλκ	βάλκ(ε) ε-μ=τε-μ [βάλκ(ε)-εμτεμ]	wolf	M	64
σέστρα	σέστρ i-ε-μ=τε-μ [σέστρι-εμτεμ]	sister	F	65
κότε	κότετ α-μ=τε-μ [κότετα-μτεμ]	cat	N	66

Note that all masculine dative plural nouns in the tables have an ε in parentheses immediately following the noun stem, but no explanation is given. In addition the vowel ε follows the plural of all feminine nouns and precedes the dative suffix. Its function is not clear. See section 1.6 under nouns and names.



NOM ima'm|e=ne vnu'c|i=ne ko'n|ye=nu dukyan=ji'|ye=ne  
 DAT ima'm|e=ne-m vnu'c|i=ne-m ko'n|ye=nu-m dukyan=ji'|ye=ne-m

NOM dä'd|ve=ne ba't|ve=ne buba'yc|i=ne  
 DAT dä'd|ve=ne-m ba't|ve=ne-m buba'yc|i=ne-m

*det|i'=ne-m pra've-t dou'mgün [Af]*  
 child|PL=ART.DIST-DAT make-3PL.PRS birthday  
 'Children's birthdays are celebrated.'

*misi'r gi xra'ni-0 da spu'ska-0 prä'snu*  
 maize PRO.3PL.OBL feed-3SG.PRS COMP put.down-3SG.PRS milk

*ya'gnet|a=na-m da rasto'-t [Ae]*  
 lamb|PL=ART.DIST-DAT COMP grow-3PL.PRS  
 'He feeds them maize so that they will produce milk for the lambs to grow.'

*ba'b|i=ne-m tre'va-0 da slu'se-t [Aa]*  
 mother-in-law|PL=ART.DIST-DAT should-3SG.PRS COMP obey-3PL.PRS  
 'Mothers-in-law should be obeyed.' [Aa]

*Müslüma'n|e=se-m xara'm da no'se-t kape'l|i [Ae]*  
 Muslim|PL=ART.PROX-DAT forbidden COMP wear-3PL.PRS hat|PL  
 'It's forbidden for Muslims to wear hats.'

#### 4.5 SUMMARY OF NOUN DECLENSIONS

Table 4.1 Indefinite neuters and feminines					
Sing	Neuter		Feminine		
	-A	+A	-A		+A
NOM	se'lu	ko'te	ske'mle	no'ga	zmi'ye
OBL	li'stu				
DAT		ko'tet-u(-mu)			zmi'y-u-xi
<b>PI</b>					
NOM	sel a' list a'	ko'tet a	ske'm e	no'g i	zmi'y e
DAT	li'sty e	ko'tet a-m			zmi'y e-m

Table 4.2 Indefinite masculines					
Sing	Masculine				
	-A		+A		
NOM	čakma'k	sneg xláb	kon ima'm	brat	ba'tu
OBL			sín	bra't-a	ba't-e
DAT			ko'n-u ima'm-u sí'n-u(-mu)	bra't-u(-mu)	ba't-u
<b>PI</b>					
NOM	čakma'cji	sne'g ve xláb ve	ko'ny e ima'm e ima'm ve sí'n ve	bra'ty e	ba't ve
DAT			ko'ny e-m ima'm e-m ima'm ve-m sí'n ve-m	bra'ty e-m	ba't ve-m

Table 4.3 Definite neuters and feminines					
Sing	Neuter		Feminine		
	-A	+A	-A		+A
NOM	se'lu=nu	ko'te=nu	ske'mle=na	nug=o'na	zmi'ye=na
OBL	li'stu=nu				
DAT		ko'tet-u(mu)=ne			zmi'y-u=ne-xi
<b>PI</b>					
NOM	sel a'=na list a'=na li'sty e=nu	ko'tet a=na	ske'ml e=ne	nug i'=ne	zmi'y e=ne
DAT		ko'tet a=na-m			

Table 4.4 Definite masculines					
Sing	Masculine				
	-A		+A		
NOM	čakma'k=an	sneg=o'n	ko'n=en	bra't=an	ba'tu=nu*
OBL		xlä'b=an	ima'm=an sîn=o'n		
DAT			ko'n-u=ne ima'm-u=ne šî'n-u(-mu)=ne	bra't-u(-mu)=ne	ba't-u=ne
<b>PI</b>					
NOM	čakma'c j=ne	sneg ve'=ne xlä'b ve'=ne	ko'ny e=nu ima'm e=ne ima'm ve'=ne sîn ve'=ne	bra'ty e=nu	ba't ve'=ne
DAT			kon'y e=nu-m ima'm e=ne-m ima'm ve'=ne-m sîn ve'=ne-m	bra'ty e=nu-m	ba't ve'=ne-m

\*This form is very rare or non-standard.

#### 4.6 VOCATIVE FORMS

Vocative forms are rare in the Paševik Pomak dialect and occur only in the singular with masculine kinship terms ending in *u* and with the feminine kinship term *ma'yka* 'mother'. *Buba'yku* 'father' does not follow the pattern of the other masculine kinship terms and so is set out separately below.

The vocative of masculine singular nouns in *u* is formed with the suffix *-a* or *-e* as below. The final vowel of the nominative stem elides and is replaced by the vocative suffix.

NOM    dă'du    kale'ku    u'yku    ba'tu    mi'žu  
VOC    dă'd-a    kale'k-a    u'yk-a    ba't-e    mi'ž-e

For the kinship terms *buba'yku* and *ma'yka* the vocative is formed by deleting the final consonant of the nominative stem and adding the suffix *-e* or *-a*. There is an additional shorter vocative form for *buba'yku*: *buba'*.

NOM buba'yku  
VOC buba'y-a  
      buba'y-e  
      buba'  
NOM ma'yka  
VOC ma'y-a  
      ma'y-e

In standard Bulgarian vocative forms exist for many masculine and feminine singular nouns. The vocative suffix *-e*, *-o* or *-u* is added to consonant-final stems or replaces the final vowel of the stem. There is a full description in H9 (31-35). There are rich distinctions reported in D6 (32-34, 57) and K4 (71, 144).

## Chapter 5

### NAMES

In Paševik, most names are derived from Turkish and are considered to be Muslim. The final syllable always carries the stress in the nominative singular. The plural forms are infrequent and I have heard them used only to talk about how many people in the village share a particular name. I elicited the forms before I first heard them in conversation and I have never heard the plural dative used.

In this chapter only the underived forms of names are described. See section 9.6 in the chapter on derivational morphology for a description of diminutive and augmentative forms of names.

Names have been classified below into declension classes rather than sorted according to gender because it is the morphological shape of the names which determines how they inflect in most instances. Most men's names end in a consonant or *i* and there are three instances where the name ends in *a* or *e*. Most women's names end in *a*, *e* or a consonant, although none end in *met*. There are four instances where the name ends in *u*.

All personal names take oblique and dative suffixes in the singular, with the exception of those which end in *a* or *e*.<sup>108</sup> Names ending in *a* or *e* distinguish only the dative case. Names in the plural form do not distinguish the oblique case. In the singular the definite suffix is used with names only when a possessive suffix is attached. See section 6.4. Plural names take a definite suffix only in the dative case. Although the oblique case is normally used to refer to humans, on occasion it is used with personal names for pets. There are no vocative forms for personal names.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> S3 writes of Bulgarian, "case forms were common in the literary language in the past, particularly for masculine personal nouns" (199). He gives the example of the name Владимир'р / *Vladimír*, which took the oblique suffix -а: Владимир'р-а / *Vladimír-a* and the dative suffix -у / -у: Владимир'р-у / *Vladimír-u*.

<sup>109</sup> Vocative forms do exist for the singular of personal names in standard Bulgarian (H9: 32-35) and in other Pomak dialects in Greece, although among the Pomak grammars only K4 and T6 include names. K4 (72) gives a distinct vocative form for the name *Sinán*: *Sinán-e*, although an alternative form without the vocative suffix is also given. A woman's name ending in *ă* is also listed but the nominative and vocative forms are identical. T6 includes two names in his tables of paradigms but there is no distinct vocative form (45-46).

## 5.1 SINGULAR

### 5.1.1 DECLENSION 1

All names ending in a consonant belong to this declension. The oblique case is formed by adding the suffix *-a* to the nominative form, except in the case of masculine names which end in *met*. These names form the oblique case with the suffix *-e*. The dative case suffix is *-u*.

CASE	MASC		FEM
NOM	Baxridi'n	Axme't	Meriye'm
OBL	Baxridi'n-a	Axme't-e	Meriye'm-a
DAT	Baxridi'n-u	Axme't-u	Meriye'm-u

Men's names ending in a consonant include:

Fayi'k  
Fua't  
Nixa't  
Seda't  
Šemsidi'n

There are four other names in my data which end in *met* and decline as *Axme't*:

Xikme't  
Isme't  
Mexme't  
Muxame't

The following are a sample of women's names ending in a consonant:

Dilbe'r  
Xile'l  
Muzeye'n  
Naz  
Ömra'n  
Sevgu'l  
Seyla'n  
Sine'm  
Nevi'm

*puzna'va-m*      *Nixa't-a* [Ae]  
 know-1SG.PRS    Nihat-OBL  
 'I know Nihat.'

*ča'ka-m*              *Nevi'm-a* [Aa]  
 wait.for-1SG.PRS    Nevim-OBL  
 'I'm waiting for Nevim.'

*še da-m*              *kita'p Sine'm-u* [Ae]  
 FUT give-1SG.    book    Sinem-DAT  
 'I'll give the book to Sinem.'

*ya*                      *sam*              *se'stra*    *Meriye'm-u*<sup>110</sup> [Ac]  
 PRO.1SG.NOM    be.1SG.PRS    sister    Meriyem-DAT  
 'I'm Meriyem's sister.'

### 5.1.2 DECLENSION 2

This declension includes all women's names which end in *a* or *e*. There is no distinct oblique form but the dative is formed with the suffix *-i*.

CASE	FEM
NOM	Xilmiya' Emine'
OBL	
DAT	Xilmiy-i' Emin-i'

Names that belong to this declension include the following:

Eje'  
 Fatme'  
 Xasiya'  
 Xuliya'  
 Jevide'  
 Mürfide'  
 Nefise'

<sup>110</sup> This relationship could also be expressed using the possessive suffix: *ya sam Meriye'm=ɸ|a=na se'stra*.

Sabriya'

Seyide'

še no'se-m sela'm Xasiy-i' [Ae]

FUT carry-1SG.PRS greetings Hasiya-DAT

'I will give greetings to Hasiya.'

puma'ga-|a sam Safiy-i' [Aa]

help-PTCP.PST|F be.AUX.1SG.PRS Safiya-DAT

'I helped Safiya.'

### 5.1.3 DECLENSION 3

All men's names ending in *i* and all women's names ending in *u* belong to this declension. Although these names end in a different vowel in the nominative form, they take the same suffixes to form the oblique and dative cases, *-ye* and *-yu* respectively.

CASE	MASC	FEM
NOM	Baxri'	Burju'
OBL	Baxri'-ye	Burju'-ye
DAT	Baxri'-yu	Burju'-yu

There are a number of men's names which end in *i* in the nominative, including:

Fexmi'

Xilmi'

Jamali'

Sabri'

Zuxdi'

Three other names in my data end in *u* and decline like *Burju'*:

Arzu'

Duygu'

Bengisu'

ya vi'de-x Fexmi'-ye [Aj]

PRO.1SG.NOM see-1SG.PST Fehmi-OBL

'I saw Fehmi.'



#### 5.1.4 DECLENSION 4

There are three men's names in my data which end in *a* or *e*: *Mustafa'*, *Ziye'* and *Musa'*. They differ from the names in declension 2 in that they form the dative with the suffix *-u* rather than *-i*. It will be seen later that they also form their plural differently.

CASE	MASC
NOM	Mustafa' Ziye'
OBL	
DAT	Mustaf-u' Ziy-u'

#### 5.2 PLURAL INDEFINITE

Names from all declensions except declension 2 form the plural with the suffix |ve.<sup>111</sup> This is added to the nominative singular form of the name: *Nixa't|ve*. In the name *Mustafa'* in declension 4, the final vowel of the nominative elides and is replaced by the vowel *o* before the plural suffix is attached. No informant was able to supply the plural form of the name *Musa'*<sup>112</sup> which might have been expected to follow the pattern of *Mustafa'*.

Names in declension 2 form the plural with the suffix |i, which replaces the final vowel of the singular nominative form.

The indefinite plural dative of all names is formed with the suffix *-m*, which follows the plural suffix.

Indef	Decl 1		Decl 2	Decl 3		Decl 4
	MASC	FEM	FEM	MASC	FEM	MASC
NOM	Baxridi'n ve Axme't ve	Meriye'm ve	Xilmiy i' Emin i' <sup>113</sup>	Baxri' ve	Burju' ve	Mustafo' ve Ziye' ve
DAT	Baxridi'n ve-m Axme't ve-m	Meriye'm ve-m	Xilmiy i'-m Emin i'-m	Baxri' ve-m	Burju' ve-m	Mustafo' ve-m Ziye' ve-m

<sup>111</sup> K4 gives the plural suffix |ove for a name ending in a consonant: *Sinán|ove* (72).

<sup>112</sup> The name *Musa'* occurs in the singular in the Koran but there is no one of this name in the village.

<sup>113</sup> In K4 the plural suffix is |e: *Eminâ* SG, *Emin|é* PL (72).

*i'ma-0 tri Seyla'n|ve [Af]*  
 there.is-PRS three Seylan|PL  
 'There are three Seylans.'

*i'ma-0 mlo'gu Mustafa've [Aq; Ar]*  
 there.is-PRS many Mustafa|PL  
 'There are many Mustafas.'

### 5.3 PLURAL DEFINITE

The definite dative of plural names is formed by inserting the definite suffix =*ne* after the plural suffix and before the dative suffix -*m*.

Table 5.6 Definite plural dative decl 1 and 2			
Def	Decl 1		Decl 2
CASE	MASC	FEM	FEM
PL DAT	Baxridi'n ve=ne-m Axme't ve=ne-m	Meriye'm ve=ne-m	Xilmiy i'=ne-m Emin i'=ne-m

Table 5.7 Definite plural dative decl 3 and 4			
Def	Decl 3		Decl 4
CASE	MASC	FEM	MASC
PL DAT	Baxri' ve=ne-m	Burju' ve=ne-m	Mustafo' ve=ne-m Ziye' ve=ne-m

#### 5.4 SUMMARY OF INDEFINITE NAME DECLENSIONS

Indef	Decl 1		Decl 2	Decl 3		Decl 4	
	MASC	FEM		MASC	FEM		
CASE	MASC	FEM	FEM	MASC	FEM	MASC	
NOM	Baxridi'n	Axme't	Meriye'm	Xilmiya'	Baxri'	Burju'	Mustafa'
OBL	Baxridi'n-a	Axme't-e	Meriye'm-a	Emine'	Baxri'-ye	Burju'-ye	Ziye'
DAT	Baxridi'n-u Axme't-u	Meriye'm-u	Xilmiy-i' Emin-i'	Baxri'-yu	Burju'-yu	Mustaf-u' Ziy-u'	
PL							
NOM	Baxridi'n ve Axme't ve	Meriye'm ve	Xilmiy i' Emin i'	Baxri' ve	Burju' ve	Mustafo' ve Ziye' ve	
DAT	Baxridi'n ve-m Axme't ve-m	Meriye'm ve-m	Xilmiy i'-m Emin i'-m	Baxri' ve-m	Burju' ve-m	Mustafo' ve-m Ziye' ve-m	

## Chapter 6

### ADJECTIVES

With the exception of a few indeclinable adjectives, adjectives agree with the noun they qualify in number, gender and case, although there is only a two-way case distinction: dative vs. non-dative.<sup>114</sup> Agreement obtains both in the noun phrase and in the copula complement: *güvö'žd|a gübrö' ye nay xu'bav|a* 'cow manure is the best'. All gender distinctions and oppositions are neutralized in the plural.<sup>115</sup> Stress shift does not occur in adjectives.<sup>116</sup> Within the noun phrase the adjective generally precedes the noun it modifies and may take the definite article if it is the first nominal in the noun phrase. The adjective may also be nominalized and stand alone. The citation form of the adjective is the masculine singular. Adjectives may take diminutive but not augmentative suffixes. As with nouns, obstruents in final position are devoiced. Only nouns may take possessive suffixes.

#### 6.1 INDEFINITE

##### 6.1.1 NOMINATIVE

Most adjectives which decline end in a consonant but there is a subset which ends in =*ski* and there are two irregular adjectives.

##### 6.1.1.1 Adjectives Ending in a Consonant

The feminine singular of adjectives ending in a consonant is formed with the suffix |*a*, the neuter is formed with the suffix |*u* and all plurals are formed with the suffix |*i*. The masculine agreement suffix is zero, and the suffixes |*a*, |*u* and |*i* are attached directly to the stem.

krop M	short
kro'p a F	
kro'p u N	
kro'p i PL	

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<sup>114</sup> K4 (30, 107, 115) lists only nominative forms for adjectives, but the other Pomak grammars all distinguish dative case in the singular and plural (D6: 89-101; T6: 51-52; P7: 70-71). T6 (51-52) also distinguishes oblique case in the masculine singular while in D6 the oblique case is distinguished in the masculine and feminine singular and in the masculine plural (89-101).

<sup>115</sup> D6 lists alternative plural case suffixes for the masculine plural (89-101).

<sup>116</sup> In D6 (92) and K4 (115) the stress switches from the stem to the suffix in some adjectives when the feminine is formed. This switch is optional in K4. Adjectives undergo consonant alternation *o ~ a* when the stress shifts: *pólan*, *paln|á* (K4) and *πόλαν*, *παλν|ά* (D6) 'full'. The variant *pól|n|a* is listed in K4. No stress shift is described in P7 and T6.

## Vowel Syncope

When the adjectival stem inflects, the last unstressed stem vowel *a* or *e* is syncopeated in thirty-one adjectives in my data.

to'pal M	warm
to'pl a F	
to'pl u N	
to'pl i PL	

Other adjectives in my data which inflect like *to'pal* include:

bi'star	clear
bo'lan	ill
čö'ran	black
dre'ban	small
gla'dan	hungry
gro'zan	ugly
xi'tar	clever
ka'maten	beautiful
lö'san	easy
mi'šek	small
mo'kar	wet
o'star	sharp
po'lan	full
pra'zan	empty
si'tan	small, fine
sla'tak	tasty
tä'san	narrow
te'hak	thin
tö'šek	heavy

### ***do'len* and *sre'den***

Vowel syncope also occurs in the adjectives *do'len* 'lazy' and *sre'den* 'medium' but they are irregular in that the feminine is formed with the suffix |e rather than |a. No other adjectives in my data form the feminine with the suffix |e:

do'len M  
do'ln|e F  
do'ln|u N  
do'ln|i PL

### **No Vowel Syncope**

In seven adjectives with final stem vowel *a* or *e*, syncope does not occur.

The consonant clusters which would result if vowel syncope took place in the following four adjectives do not occur in my data.

xu'bav	good
mo'ršev	thin
туру'njen	orange
brä'zgav	hoarse

The following three adjectives are an anomaly as there appears to be no explanation for the fact that vowel syncope does not occur.

gro'pal	naked
kaxvö'ren	brown
mo'ren	purple

The final syllable of the following seven adjectives is stressed and therefore the last stem vowel is not syncopeated:

červe'n	red
debe'l	fat
kura'v	hard
stude'n	cold
umure'n	tired
zele'n	green
leska't	shiny

### **Adjectives Derived from Nouns**

Twelve adjectives in my data are derived from nouns. Eleven of the nouns take the suffix =*en* while one takes the suffix =*an*.<sup>117</sup> Eight of the words denote materials and three denote cereals.

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<sup>117</sup> This derivation does not occur in standard Bulgarian and is described only in K4 (107).

Consonant alternation occurs in three forms when the adjectival suffix is attached. The final stem vowel of feminine and neuter nouns elides when the adjective is formed:

	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PL	
alto'n	alto'n=en	alto'n=en a	alto'n=en u	alto'n=en i	gold
vo'lna	vo'ln=en	vo'ln=en a	vo'ln=en u	vo'ln=en i	woollen
do'rvu	do'rv=en	do'rv=en a	do'rv=en u	do'rv=en i	wooden

The following five nouns form the adjective and inflect as above:

gümü's	silver
jam	glass
zla'tu	gold thread
misi'r	maize
rož	rye

### Consonant Alternations

The following consonant alternations that occur when adjectives are derived from nouns also occur when diminutive and augmentative forms are derived from nouns. See section 9.4.

#### k ~ č

pamu'k	pamu'č=en	cotton
--------	-----------	--------

#### c ~ č

pčeni'ca	pčeni'č=en	wheat
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#### g ~ ž

kini'ga	kini'ž=en	paper
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### Vowel Syncope

The final vowel of the adjectival stem is syncopeated in two instances when the adjective inflects:

	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PL	
pamu'k	pamu'č=en	pamu'č=n a	pamu'č=n u	pamu'č=n j	cotton
vo'da	vo'd=an	vo'd=n a	vo'd=n u	vo'd=n j	water

*kla'va-me fif misi'r=en|u i ro'ž=en|u bra'snu ša'yka da sa ni*  
 put-1PL.PRS in maize=ADJ|N and rye=ADJ|N flour nail COMP REFL NEG

*gurči'v-a* [Aa]

go.sour-3SG.PRS

'We put a nail in maize and rye flour so that it doesn't go sour.'

### 6.1.1.2 Adjectives Ending in a Vowel

Two adjectives in my data end in a vowel. The masculine singular and the plural are identical in form in *ko'rmesti*.

MASC	FEM	NEUT	PL	
güvö'žde	güvö'žd a	güvö'žd u	güvö'žd j	cattle
ko'rmesti	ko'rmest a	ko'rmest u	ko'rmest j	pregnant

The adjective *ko'rmesti* may inflect for the masculine or neuter when modifying masculine or neuter nouns denoting animals but the indeclinable adjective *gebö'* 'pregnant' is preferred. When referring to humans, only the adjective *ko'rmesti* may be used.

### **Adjectives Derived from Nouns with the Suffix =ski**

A number of adjectives end in =ski and are derived from common nouns and toponyms. They inflect as adjectives ending in consonants, with the exception that in the indefinite the masculine singular and the plural are identical in form. The adjectival suffix is attached directly to masculine nouns but the final vowel of feminine and neuter nouns elides when the adjective is formed.

	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PL	
se'lu	se'l=ski	se'l=sk a	se'l=sk u	se'l=sk j	village
že'na	že'n=ski	že'n=sk a	že'n=sk u	že'n=sk j	woman
xaske'r	xaske'r=ski	xaske'r=sk a	xaske'r=sk u	xaske'r=sk j	soldier

When an adjective in =ski refers to a language, the neuter form is used most frequently, although the masculine form is also heard on occasion:



bulga'r=sk|u Bulgarian

### 6.1.1.3 Indeclinable Adjectives

A number of adjectives, mostly loans from Turkish, do not decline. These include:

buyalı'	coloured
açı'k	light, open
faydo'	healthy
kula'y	easy
memnu'n	happy
meraklı'	interested
pis	dirty
taze'	fresh
zexirli'	poisonous
zara'r	harmful

Three Slavonic adjectives are indeclinable:<sup>118</sup>

ko'zye	goat's
kra'vye	cow's
o'fče	sheep's

### 6.1.2 **DATIVE**

The masculine and neuter dative singular of all adjectives is formed with the suffix *-u-mu*, while the feminine dative suffix is *-u-xi*.<sup>119</sup> The suffixes are attached to the regular stem for those adjectives which do not undergo syncope and to the shortened stem of those adjectives which are syncope. Adjectives form the dative plural with the suffix *-m*, which follows the plural suffix. Adjectives which because of their meaning cannot modify a noun denoting an animate do not distinguish dative case.

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<sup>118</sup> In standard Bulgarian these adjectives distinguish gender and inflect for the plural (H9: 36).

<sup>119</sup> The formation of the dative singular is more complex in nouns. See section 4.1 for an explanation of the segmentation of the dative suffixes *-u-mu* and *-u-xi*.

Table 6.1 Dative indefinite				
CASE	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PL
NOM	krop	kro'pja	kro'pju	kro'pji
DAT	kro'p-u-mu	kro'p-u-xi	kro'p-u-mu	kro'pji-m
NOM	mi'šek	mi'škja	mi'škju	mi'škji
DAT	mi'šk-u-mu	mi'šk-u-xi	mi'šk-u-mu	mi'škji-m
NOM	xaske'r=ski	xaske'r=skja	xaske'r=skju	xaske'r=skji
DAT	xaske'r=sk-u-mu	xaske'r=sk-u-xi	xaske'r=sk-u-mu	xaske'r=skji-m

## 6.2 DEFINITE

### 6.2.1 NOMINATIVE SINGULAR

#### Masculine

The definite singular of masculine adjectives is formed with the suffix =en:

viso'k	viso'k=en	tall
kaxvö'ren	kaxvö'ren=en	brown
ko'rmosti	ko'rmost=en	pregnant
bulga'r=ski	bulga'r=sk=en	Bulgarian
do'rv=en	do'rv=en=en	wooden

In adjectives in which vowel syncope occurs, the definite suffix is attached to the elided stem:

mi'šek	mi'šk=en	small
to'pal	to'pl=en	hot
pamu'č=en	pamu'čn=en	cotton
sre'den	sre'dn=en	medium

The final stem consonant of forty-six adjectives in my data is followed by the palatal glide before the masculine definite suffix is attached. This change does not affect any adjectives in which vowel syncope occurs or any adjectives derived with the suffix =ski or =en:

bäl	bä'ly=en	white
krop	kro'py=en	short
gulä'm	gulä'my=en	big
dlög	dlö'gy=en	long

## Neuter and Feminine

The definite singular of neuter adjectives is formed with the suffix =*nu* while the suffix =*na* is used to form the singular definite of feminine adjectives:

	FEM	NEUT
krop	kro'p a=na	kro'p u=nu
mi'šek	mi'šk a=na	mi'šk u=nu
bäl	bä'l a=na	bä'l u=nu
ko'rmesti	ko'rmest a=na	ko'rmest u=nu
bulga'r=ski	bulga'r=sk a=na	bulga'r=sk u=nu
do'rv=en	do'rv=en a=na	do'rv=en u=nu
pamu'č=en	pamu'č=n a=na	pamu'č=n u=nu
sre'den	sre'dn e=na	sre'dn u=nu

### 6.2.2 DATIVE SINGULAR

The suffix =*ne* is used to form the definite of all dative adjectives, singular and plural. It follows the dative suffix in masculine and neuter adjectives. In feminine adjectives, the definite suffix follows the dative suffix -*u* but precedes the dative suffix -*xi*.

CASE	MASC	FEM	NEUT
NOM	kro'py=en	kro'p a=na	kro'p u=nu
DAT	kro'p-u-mu=ne	kro'p-u=ne-xi	kro'p-u-mu=ne
NOM	mi'šk=en	mi'šk a=na	mi'šk u=nu
DAT	mi'šk-u-mu=ne	mi'šk-u=ne-xi	mi'šk-u-mu=ne
NOM	gulä'my=en	gulä'm a=na	gulä'm u=nu
DAT	gulä'm-u-mu=ne	gulä'm-u=ne-xi	gulä'm-u-mu=ne

### 6.2.3 NOMINATIVE AND DATIVE PLURAL

In the dative plural the definite suffix =*ne* follows the plural suffix but precedes the dative suffix:

NOM PL	DAT PL
kro'p ji=ne	kro'p ji=ne-m
mi'šk ji=ne	mi'šk ji=ne-m
gulä'm ji=ne	gulä'm ji=ne-m

### 6.3 COMPARATIVE AND SUPERLATIVE OF ADJECTIVES

The comparative and superlative of adjectives is formed with the particles *po* 'more' and *nay* 'most'.<sup>120</sup> These particles precede the adjective they modify and are always stressed. Adjectives formed with the suffixes =*ski* and =*en* cannot be qualified by the particles *po* and *nay*. However, indeclinable adjectives may be qualified by the comparative and superlative particles.

#### Comparative

The preposition *ud* 'of, from' is used when comparing two or more objects and precedes its nominal.

*ayso'va udayö'=na ye po pis ud dru'g|a=na*  
PRO.DEM.PROX.F room=ART.DIST be.3SG.PRS CMPR dirty than other|F=ART.DIST  
'This room is dirtier than the other one.'

*vudo'=na ye po sla'tk|a ud kaxvö'=na*  
water=ART.DIST be.3SG.PRS CMPR nice|F than coffee=ART.DIST  
'Water is nicer than coffee.'

*tä ye po mla'd|a ud te'be*  
PRO.3SG.NOM.F be.3SG.PRS CMPR young|F than PRO.2SG.OBL  
'She is younger than you.'

#### Superlative

*ayso'va udayö'=na ye nay pis*  
PRO.DEM.PROX.F room=ART.DIST be.3SG.PRS SUP dirty  
'This room is the dirtiest.'

*nay mi'sk|u=nu de'te ye nay xi'tr|u*  
SUP small|N=ART.DIST child be.3SG.PRS SUP clever|N  
'The smallest child is the cleverest.'

*glad=ö't ye nay para'tik*  
hunger=ART.MED be.3SG.PRS SUP bad  
'Hunger is the worst thing.'

<sup>120</sup> In standard Bulgarian (H9: 39), D6 (109-110) and K4 (145) the same particles are used to form the comparative and superlative. In P7 however, the particles *γiav* or *iv* are used to form the superlative, although the comparative is formed with *πo* (72). No mention is made of the comparative and superlative of adjectives in T6.

## 6.4 POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

The possessive suffix is most frequently used with names and kinship terms but can also be used with other nouns denoting humans and domestic animals. Distinct masculine, feminine and neuter suffixes exist, but the neuter is rare. Nouns and names ending in a possessive suffix inflect for gender, number and dative case and may take a definite suffix. More rarely, possessive adjectives may be used to qualify nouns denoting non-animate, but only the masculine suffix is used regardless of the gender of the noun.<sup>121</sup>

Examples of clauses and phrases with possessive suffixes in the nominative case can be found in section 11.8.1.

### 6.4.1 NOMINATIVE

NAME		MASC	FEM	NEUT	PL
Axme't	INDEF	Axme't=uv	Axme't=v a	Axme't=v u	Axme't=v j
	DEF	Axme't=v=en	Axme't=v a=na	Axme't=v u=nu	Axme't=v j=ne
Basri'	INDEF	Basri'=yuv	Basri'=v a	Basri'=v u	Basri'=v j
	DEF	Basri'=v=en	Basri'=v a=na	Basri'=v u=nu	Basri'=v j=ne
Ritva'n	INDEF	Ritva'n=uv	Ritva'n=v a	Ritva'n=v u	Ritva'n=v j
	DEF	Ritva'n=v=en	Ritva'n=v a=na	Ritva'n=v u=nu	Ritva'n=v j=ne
Mustafa'	INDEF	Mustaf=o'v	Mustaf=o'v a	Mustaf=o'v u	Mustaf=o'v j
	DEF	Mustaf=o'v=en	Mustaf=o'v a=na	Mustaf=o'v u=nu	Mustaf=o'v j=ne
Meriye'm	INDEF	Meriye'm=uv	Meriye'm=v a	Meriye'm=v u	Meriye'm=v j
	DEF	Meriye'm=v=en	Meriye'm=v a=na	Meriye'm=v u=nu	Meriye'm=v j=ne
Burju'	INDEF	Burju'=v	Burju'=v a	Burju'=v u	Burju'=v j
	DEF	Burju'=v=en	Burju'=v a=na	Burju'=v u=nu	Burju'=v j=ne

*Mustaf=o'v|a=na            že'na    zvo-t            ye            Safiya'* [Af]

Mustafa=POSS|F=ART.DIST wife    call-3PL.PRS    be.3SG.PRS    Safiya

'Mustafa's wife is called Safiya.'

<sup>121</sup> S3 lists the "possessive relational adjective" suffixes =in and =ov. These are used only with animate nouns but no further details are given (221). Possessive suffixes with =v/f or =β/φ are listed in K4 (107), D6 (107) and P7 (73), but only inanimate nouns are used in examples. The suffix =στ is also listed in P7 (73) and may be related to the Paševik neuter possessive suffix =št. In P7 the suffix =στ can be used to derive adjectives from nouns of any gender.

Table 6.4 Masculine nouns denoting humans					
		MASC	FEM	NEUT	PL
blizna'k	INDEF	blizna'k=uv	blizna'k=v a	blizna'k=v u	blizna'k=v j
	DEF	blizna'k=v=en	blizna'k=v a=na	blizna'k=v u=nu	blizna'k=v j=ne
buba'yku	INDEF	buba'yk=uv	buba'yk=v a buba'yk=uv a	buba'yk=v u buba'yk=uv u	buba'yk=v j
	DEF	buba'yk=v=en	buba'yk=v a=na	buba'yk=v u=nu	buba'yk=v j=ne
brat	INDEF	bra't=uv	bra't=v a bra't=uv a	bra't=v u	bra't=v j
	DEF	bra't=v=en	bra't=v a=na	bra't=v u=nu	bra't=v j=ne
dukyanji'	INDEF	dukyan=ji'y=uv	dukyan=ji'=v a	dukyan=ji'=v u	dukyan=ji'=v j
	DEF	dukyan=ji'=v=en	dukyan=ji'=v a=na	dukyan=ji'=v u=nu	dukyan=ji'=v j=ne

*buba'yk=uv|a se'stra* [Aa]

father=POSS|F sister

'father's sister'

Table 6.5 Names belonging to declension 2					
NAME		MASC	FEM	NEUT	PL
Xasiya'	INDEF	Xasiy=i'nin	Xasiy=i'nn a	Xasiy=i'nn u	Xasiy=i'nn j
	DEF	Xasiy=i'n=en	Xasiy=i'n a=na	Xasiy=i'n u=nu	Xasiy=i'n j=ne
Fatme'	INDEF	Fatm=i'nin	Fatm=i'nn a	Fatm=i'nn u	Fatm=i'nn j
	DEF	Fatm=i'n=en	Fatm=i'n a=na	Fatm=i'n u=nu	Fatm=i'n j=ne
Safiya'	INDEF	Safiy=i'nin	Safiy=i'nn a	Safiy=i'nn u	Safiy=i'nn j
	DEF	Safiy=i'n=en	Safiy=i'n a=na	Safiy=i'n u=nu	Safiy=i'n j=ne

*Fatm=i'n=en čulā'k re'že-0 dar|a'* [Aa]

Fatme=POSS=ART.DIST husband cut-3SG.PRS wood|PL

'Fatme's husband is cutting wood.'

Table 6.6 Feminine nouns denoting humans					
		MASC	FEM	NEUT	PL
ma'yka	INDEF	ma'yč=in	ma'yč=in a	ma'yč=in u	ma'yč=in i
	DEF	ma'yč=in=en	ma'yč=in a=na	ma'yč=in u=nu	ma'yč=in i=ne
že'na	INDEF	že'n=in	že'n=in a	že'n=in u	že'n=in i
	DEF	že'n=in=en	že'n=in a=na	že'n=in u=nu	že'n=in i=ne
se'stra	INDEF	se'str=in	se'str=in a	se'str=in u	se'str=in i
	DEF	se'str=in=en	se'str=in a=na	se'str=in u=nu	se'str=in i=ne
firŋnji'ka	INDEF	firŋnji'=k=in	firŋnji'=k=in a	firŋnji'=k=in u	firŋnji'=k=in i
	DEF	firŋnji'=k=in=en	firŋnji'=k=in a=na	firŋnji'=k=in u=nu	firŋnji'=k=in i=ne

Note that consonant alternation  $k \sim \check{c}$  occurs in the noun *ma'yka* when the possessive suffix is attached.

*ne ye ma'yč=in|a du'ma* [Bs]  
 NEG be.3SG.PRS mother=POSS|F language  
 'It's not a mother tongue.'

Table 6.7 Neuter nouns denoting animates					
		MASC	FEM	NEUT	PL
de'te	INDEF	de'te=št̩i	de'te=št̩ a	de'te=št̩ u	de'te=št̩ i
	DEF	de'te=št̩=en	de'te=št̩ a=na	de'te=št̩ u=nu	de'te=št̩ i=ne
ko'te	INDEF	ko'te=št̩i	ko'te=št̩ a	ko'te=št̩ u	ko'te=št̩ i
	DEF	ko'te=št̩=en	ko'te=št̩ a=na	ko'te=št̩ u=nu	ko'te=št̩ i=ne

*day mi de'te=št̩=en top* [Ak]  
 give.IMP PRO.1SG.DAT child=POSS=ART.DIST ball  
 'Give me the child's ball.'

#### 6.4.2 DATIVE

There are no examples in my data of indefinite forms of dative possessive pronouns.

Table 6.8 Dative				
	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PL
ma'yka	ma'yč=in-u-mu=ne	ma'yč=in-u=ne-xi	ma'yč=in-u-mu=ne	ma'yč=in i=ne-m
Xasa'n	Xasa'n=v-u-mu=ne	Xasa'n=v-u=ne-xi	Xasa'n=v-u-mu=ne	Xasa'n=v i=ne-m
Xasiya'	Xasiy=i'n-u-mu=ne	Xasiy=i'n-u=ne-xi	Xasiy=i'n-u-mu=ne	Xasiy=i'n i=ne-m

*ya*            *še* *da-m*            *ma'yč=in-u-mu=ne*            *ko'tet-u da*  
 PRO.1SG.NOM FUT give-1SG.PRS mother=POSS-DAT-N.DAT=ART.DIST cat-DAT COMP

*ye=de'-0* [Aa]  
 eat=EXT-3SG.PRS  
 'I will feed my mother's cat.'

### 6.4.3 POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES AND INANIMATE NOUNS

The possessive suffixes for nouns denoting non-animates are identical with those used for names belonging to declensions 1, 3 and 4 and masculine nouns denoting humans. However, inanimate possessive nouns do not inflect for case. The possessive ending takes the gender of the non-derived noun.

<i>tuale't=uv kapa'k</i>	toilet lid
<i>vo'd=uv barda'k</i>	a glass for water
<i>piri'nč=v a čö'rba</i>	rice soup
<i>vo'd=v a šišö'</i>	water bottle
<i>čere'š=v u do'nu</i>	trunk of cherry tree
<i>tütü'n=v u se'me</i>	tobacco seed
<i>sne'g=v i perperu'dji</i>	snowflakes
<i>kru'š=v i šušu'lkji</i>	slices of pear

*si'pa-l|a*            *ye*            *zexi'r*    *fi* *vo'd=v|a*            *šišö'* [Aa]  
 pour-PTCP.PST|F be.AUX.3SG.PRS poison in water=POSS|F bottle  
 'She poured weed killer into a water bottle.'



## Chapter 7

# PRONOUNS

Personal and possessive pronouns inflect for number and the third person singular also inflects for gender, although the masculine and neuter genders syncretize. Three persons are distinguished in the singular and three in the plural. Personal pronouns distinguish oblique and dative case from nominative while possessive pronouns distinguish dative case only. Whereas the use of the oblique case in common nouns is restricted to a small number of masculine singular nouns, all of which are human with one exception, the oblique personal pronoun is used to refer to all nouns of any gender. Similarly, the use of the dative case in common nouns is restricted to animates but the dative personal pronoun may be used to refer to non-animates.

The demonstrative and relative pronouns inflect for number, gender and case but no persons are distinguished. Only the dative case is distinguished. The indefinite, negative and interrogative pronouns range from those that are indeclinable to those that distinguish number, gender and oblique and dative case. See sections 7.5 – 7.7 for details.

### 7.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Long and short forms of the oblique and dative pronouns exist.<sup>122</sup> The long forms are used after prepositions, for emphasis, and when a pronoun occurs in a position where it will bear stress. The short forms may not carry stress (atonic) and cannot occur in initial position in a phrase or clause, i.e. they are enclitic. Personal pronouns are often used to indicate possession in preference to possessive adjectives. The oblique and dative cases are clearly distinguished from each other in all persons in the short forms, but in the long forms they are distinguished only in the third person singular and plural. Note that the first person singular and plural oblique short pronouns are identical, as are the first person singular and plural and the third person plural dative short pronouns.

In the examples below, with one exception, alternative glosses of the personal pronouns *ma* and *mi* are not given. Although the pronouns *vam* and *nam* are used for both the dative and oblique, they are glossed as oblique below because the prepositions *u* and *za* are always followed by the oblique case. See section 11.15.

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<sup>122</sup> The long dative forms are now archaic in standard Bulgarian and have been replaced by prepositional phrases formed of *на* / *na* plus the long oblique pronoun (S3: 204).

Table 7.1 Personal pronouns					
PERSON	NOM	OBL LONG	OBL SHORT	DAT LONG	DAT SHORT
1SG	ya <sup>123</sup>	me'ne	ma	me'ne	mi
2SG	ti	te'be	ta	te'be	ti
3SG M+N <sup>124</sup>	to	n(y)e'ga <sup>125</sup>	gu	n(y)e'mu	mu
3SG F	tä	n(y)e'ye	ye	n(y)e'xi	xi <sup>126</sup>
1PL	nä	nam	ma	nam	mi
2PL	vä	vam	va	vam	vi
3PL <sup>127</sup>	te	täx	gi	täm	mi

*zvo-t ma Xasa'n [Af]*

call-3PL.PRS PRO.1SG.OBL Hasan

'I'm called Hasan.'

*ni'muy du'm-i me'ne, ni'moy ma bo'rk-a [Aa]*

PROH speak-PROH PRO.1SG.DAT PROH PRO.1SG.OBL confuse-PROH

'Don't speak to me, don't confuse me.'

*to ma vi'di-0 naso'r [Aa]*

PRO.3SG.NOM.M/N PRO.1PL.OBL see-3SG.PRS together

'He can see us together.'

<sup>123</sup> In standard Bulgarian (H9: 43) the first person singular personal pronoun is *аз* but the Pomak grammars list *για* (D6: 136; P7: 78) *για / ja* or *γιε / je* (T6: 57-58) and *ya* (K4: 22).

<sup>124</sup> In standard Bulgarian the masculine and neuter third person singular pronouns do not syncretize: the nominative pronouns are *μόυ* M, *μό* N (H9: 43). All four Pomak grammars distinguish three genders in the third person singular of the nominative (K4: 22; D6: 138-139) but P7 (78) lists the demonstrative pronouns as personal pronouns. In T6 likewise the demonstrative pronouns are listed as third person personal pronouns, but later the nominative pronouns *τό / toj* M, *τια / tja* or *τε / te* F, *το / to* N (58-59) are given.

<sup>125</sup> The oblique and dative long forms of the third person singular commence with *τ* in D6 rather than *η(y)* (138-139):

	NOM	OBL	DAT
MASC	τόι	τόγκα	τόμου
FEM	τγια	τί'γιε	τόι
NEUT	το	το	τόμου

K4 (81) lists only the oblique forms but these are identical with D6. T6 lists oblique and dative forms that commence with *ν / n* (59).

<sup>126</sup> Only in T6 is the feminine singular dative form *xi / hi* given (59). In D6 the pronoun is *(γ)ι* (138).

<sup>127</sup> In D6 alone distinct masculine forms exist in the third person plural for the nominative and the long form of the oblique (138).

*to ma vi'di-0 [Aa]*  
 PRO.3SG.NOM.M/N PRO.1SG/1PL.OBL see-3SG.PRS  
 'He can see me / us.'

*je'zve=na mi ye bi'-|a u vam [Af]*  
 coffee.pot=ART.DIST PRO.1SG.DAT be.AUX.3SG.PRS be-PTCP.PST|F at PRO.2PL.OBL  
 'My coffee pot was at your house.'

*ne'ma-0 dru'g|a ra'buta za nam [Aa]*  
 there.is.neg-PRS other|F work for PRO.1PL.OBL  
 'There's no other work for us.'

Note that in the example below the dative personal pronoun is used to refer to the inanimate noun *mä'stu* 'field':

*Kuga'=nu do'yde-0 prule't, ga zafa'te-t da uro'-t*  
 when=ART.DIST come-3SG.PRS spring when begin-3PL.PRS COMP plough-3PL.PRS

*mest|a'=na i zafa'te-t da mi nasi'pva-t gübrö'... [Ak]*  
 field|PL=ART.DIST and begin-3PL.PRS COMP PRO.3PL.DAT put-3PL.PRS manure  
 'When spring comes, when they begin to plough the fields and they begin to put manure on them...'

## 7.2 POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

### Indefinite Possessive Pronouns, Nominative Case

7.2 Indefinite possessive pronouns				
PERSON	MASC SG	FEM SG	NEUT SG	PLURAL
1SG	moy	mo'y a	mo'y u	mo'y i
2SG	tvoy	tvo'y a	tvo'y u	tvo'y i
3SG M+N	n(y)e'gov	n(y)e'gv a	n(y)e'gv u	n(y)e'gv i
3SG F	n(y)e'xin	n(y)e'xin a	n(y)e'xin u	n(y)e'xin i
1PL	naš	na'š a	na'š u	na'š i
2PL	vaš	va'š a	va'š u	va'š i
3PL	tä'xan	tä'xn a	tä'xn u	tä'xn i

The glide *y* before the initial vowel of third person singular pronouns is used by some speakers only. In the third person plural vowel syncope of *a* occurs in the non-masculine forms.

*pari'=ne sa ne'gv|i o'ti ye*  
 money=ART.DIST be.3PL.PRS PRO.POSS.3SG.M|PL because be.AUX.3SG.PRS

*tu'mka-|u<sup>128</sup> to'pan=en [Ae]*  
 play.drum-PTCP.PST|N drum=ART.DIST  
 'The money is his because he played the drum.'

*mo'y|a se'stra xi ye ba'ba [Aa]*  
 PRO.POSS.1SG|F sister PRO.3SG.DAT.F be.COP.3SG.PRS mother-in-law  
 'My sister is her mother-in-law.'

*bü'gün fli'za-0 na's|a ma'rtā [Aa]*  
 today enter-3SG.PRS PRO.POSS.1PL|F March  
 'Our March starts today.'

### Definite Possessive Pronouns, Nominative Case

Table 7.3 Definite possessive pronouns				
PERSON	MASC SG	FEM SG	NEUT SG	PLURAL
1SG	mo'y=en	mo'y a=na	mo'y u=nu	mo'y i=ne
2SG	tvo'y=en	tvo'y a=na	tvo'y u=nu	tvo'y i=ne
3SG M+N	n(y)e'gv=en	n(y)e'gv a=na	n(y)e'gv u=nu	n(y)e'gv i=ne
3SG F	n(y)e'xin=en	n(y)e'xin a=na	n(y)e'xin u=nu	n(y)e'xin i=ne
1PL	na's=en	na's a=na	na's u=nu	na's i=ne
2PL	va's=en	va's a=na	va's u=nu	va's i=ne
3PL	tä'xn=en	tä'xn a=na	tä'xn u=nu	tä'xn i=ne

*pi't-ay ko'-ga=tu<sup>129</sup> i'sti-š, na's|u=su ye*  
 ask-IMP who-OBL=ART.MED want-2SG.PRS PRO.POSS.1PL|N=ART.PROX be.3SG.PRS

*po xu'bav|u<sup>130</sup> [Aa]*  
 CMPR good|N  
 'Ask whoever you want, ours is better.'

<sup>128</sup> Although the referent is male the neuter of the past participle is used.

<sup>129</sup> Here *ko'-ga=tu* acts as an indefinite pronoun but there are no other examples in my data and so I have not included it in table 7.7.

<sup>130</sup> Christianity and Islam are being compared here.

Q: *i'ma-0 li mä'stu fif tumafi'l=en?* Answer: *ne'ma-0 sas*  
 there.is-PRS Q space in car=ART.DIST there.is.NEG-PRS with

*tä'xn=en še si varvö't [Ag]*  
 PRO.POSS.3PL=ART.DIST FUT REFL go-3PL.PRS  
 'Is there room in the car?' 'There isn't, they'll go with theirs.'

*ya zabura'vi-x da ka'že-m buba'yk-u kade' sam*  
 PRO.1SG.NOM forget-1SG.PST COMP tell-1SG.PRS father-DAT where be.AUX.1SG.PRS

*kla-l tvo'y|a=ta tuya'ga [Aj]*  
 put-PTCP.PST PRO.POSS.2SG|F=ART.MED stick  
 'I forgot to tell my father where I put your stick.'

*svi'va-m žiga'r|ji ud na'š=en tütü'n [Ae]*  
 roll-1SG.PRS cigarette|PL from PRO.POSS.1PL=ART.DIST tobacco  
 'I roll cigarettes from our tobacco.'

#### Definite and Indefinite Possessive Pronouns, Dative Case<sup>131</sup>

Table 7.4 Dative of possessive pronouns				
PERSON	MASC SG	FEM SG	NEUT SG	PL
1SG	mo'y-u-mu mo'y-u-mu=ne	mo'y-u-xi mo'y-u=ne-xi	mo'y-u-mu mo'y-u-mu=ne	mo'y i-m mo'y i=ne-m
2SG	tvo'y-u-mu tvo'y-u-mu=ne	tvo'y-u-xi tvo'y-u=ne-xi	tvo'y-u-mu tvo'y-u-mu=ne	tvo'y i-m tvo'y i=ne-m
3SG M+N	n(y)e'gv-u-mu n(y)e'gv-u-mu=ne	n(y)e'gv-u-xi n(y)e'gv-u=ne-xi	n(y)e'gv-u-mu n(y)e'gv-u-mu=ne	n(y)e'gv i-m n(y)e'gv i=ne-m
3SG F	n(y)e'xin-u-mu n(y)e'xin-u-mu=ne	n(y)e'xin-u-xi n(y)e'xin-u=ne-xi	n(y)e'xin-u-mu n(y)e'xin-u-mu=ne	n(y)e'xin i-m n(y)e'xin i=ne-m
1PL	na'š-u-mu na'š-u-mu=ne	na'š-u-xi na'š-u=ne-xi	na'š-u-mu na'š-u-mu=ne	na'š i-m na'š i=ne-m
2PL	va'š-u-mu va'š-u-mu=ne	va'š-u-xi va'š-u=ne-xi	va'š-u-mu va'š-u-mu=ne	va'š i-m va'š i=ne-m
3PL	tä'xn-u-mu tä'xn-u-mu=ne	tä'xn-u-xi tä'xn-u=ne-xi	tä'xn-u-mu tä'xn-u-mu=ne	tä'xn i-m tä'xn i=ne-m

<sup>131</sup> The oblique case of possessive pronouns is also distinguished in D6 (143-150) and T6 (60-61).

Possessive pronouns follow the pattern of adjectives when inflecting for dative case.

*tvo'y-u-mu=ne*                      *bra't-u-mu*                      *še da-m*                      *pari'* [Aa]  
 PRO.POSS-DAT-M.DAT=ART.DIST brother-DAT-M.DAT FUT give-1SG.PRS money  
 'I'll give money to your brother.'

### 7.3 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

The demonstrative pronoun distinguishes number, gender and case and makes a three-way deictic distinction.<sup>132</sup> The morphology is fusional and therefore no attempt has been made to segment the demonstrative in the nominative case. The dative suffix is segmented.

Two variants of each form of the demonstrative pronoun exist in the nominative case, with the exception of the neuter singular for which only one form exists.

The dative singular forms are based on the first variant of the feminine singular nominative while the dative plural forms are based on the first variant of the nominative plural. In all forms of the dative, both singular and plural, the vowel *e* is added to the stem before the dative suffix is attached. The demonstrative distinguishes relative distance by the insertion of the consonant *s*, *n* or *t* after the initial syllable *ay*.

When a demonstrative pronoun ends in an obstruent, this is unvoiced.

	PROXIMAL <b>s</b>		MEDIAL <b>t</b>		DISTAL <b>n</b>	
	NOM	DAT	NOM	DAT	NOM	DAT
MASC	aysva'k aysuzi'k	ayso'ze-mu	aytva'k aytuzi'k	ayto'ze-mu	aynva'k aynuzi'k	ayno'ze-mu
FEM	ayso'z ayso'va	ayso'ze-xi	ayto'z ayto'va	ayto'ze-xi	ayno'z ayno'va	ayno'ze-xi
NEUT	aysva'	ayso'ze-mu	aytva'	ayto'ze-mu	aynva'	ayno'ze-mu
PL	ayse'z ayse'va	ayse'ze-m	ayte'z ayte'va	ayte'ze-m	ayne'z ayne'va	ayne'ze-m

<sup>132</sup> All the Pomak grammars describe a three way deictic distinction in the demonstrative. K4 (22) and P7 (79) list only nominative forms, while in T6 (63) and D6 (152-153) the oblique case is distinguished. Gender is not necessarily distinguished in the nominative singular in D6 (a variant neuter form exists) although it is distinguished in the other Pomak grammars.

*puzna'va-š li ayso'va?* [Bg]  
know-2SG.PRS Q PRO.DEM. PROX .F  
'Do you know this woman?'

*mo'kr|a ye trev=o'na, aynva' gu zvo-t*  
wet|F be.3SG.PRS grass=ART.DIST PRO.DEM.DIST.N PRO.3SG.OBL.M/N call-3PL.PRS

*ro'sa* [Ae]  
dew  
'The grass is wet, that's called dew.'

*ayno'ze-mu še da-m čere'š|i* [Aa]  
PRO.DEM.DIST-DAT.M FUT give-1SG.PRS cherry|PL  
'I will give cherries to that man.'

*ayno'ze-xi du'm-i* [Bk]  
PRO.DEM.DIST-DAT.F speak-IMP  
'Speak to the woman over there.'

*o'ti aysva'k kaxveji' po mlo'gu o'gan vali'-0* [Ae]  
because PRO.DEM.PROX.M café.owner CMPR much fire light-3SG.PRS  
'Because this café owner keeps a warmer fire.'

*pit-a'y me'ne kakna' sam ya tö'gli-l ud*  
ask-IMP PRO.1SG.OBL what be.AUX.1SG.PRS PRO.1SG.NOM suffer-PTCP.PST from

*ayso'va že'na* [Ae]  
PRO.DEM.PROX.F woman  
'Ask me what I suffered from this woman.'

*ti sas ayto'z mumi'ye ka'matn|a sedi'-š* [Ak]  
PRO.2SG.NOM with PRO.DEM.MED.F headscarf nice|F sit-2SG.PRS  
'You look nice in that headscarf.'

*aysva' prö'lu bendi'sva-m* [Bn]  
PRO.DEM.PROX.N wool like-1SG.PRS  
'I like this wool.'

*kade' sa            ayte'va            barda'c|i?* [Af]  
 where be.3PL.PRS PRO.DEM.MED.PL glass|PL  
 'Where are those glasses?'

*to'p=an            ye            ayto'ze-mu            de'tet-u* [Ak]  
 ball=ART.DIST be.3SG.PRS PRO.DEM.MED-DAT.N child-DAT  
 'The ball belongs to that child.'

#### 7.4 THE RELATIVE PRONOUN

The relative pronoun *žö* never occurs without the definite article, either =*s*, =*t* or =*n*. Variant forms of the dative feminine and plural exist. For examples of usage of the relative pronoun see section 11.4.

	NOM	DAT
MASC	žö=n	žö'-mu=ne
FEM	žö'=na	žö'=n-u-xi žö'=ne-xi
NEUT	žö'=nu	žö'-mu=ne
PL	žö'=ne	že'=ne-m žö'=ne-m

#### 7.5 INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

None of the indefinite pronouns distinguish gender but the pronoun *bunno'* distinguishes number in the nominative.<sup>133</sup> Both *bunno'* and *vrit* distinguish case. The pronouns *na'kna* and *si'čku*, which denote non-animates, are indeclinable.

NOM SG	NOM PL	OBL	DAT	GLOSS
bunno'	bunn j '	bunno'-ga	bunno'-mu	someone
(none)	vrit	vri'te-x <sup>134</sup> vri'te-k	vri'te-m	everyone, all
na'kna				something
si'čku				everything

<sup>133</sup> In D6 the indefinite pronoun *μπαντίv* M distinguishes gender: *μπανν|ά* F, *μπανν|ό* N (163).

<sup>134</sup> The oblique form *vri'tex* is used by older speakers whereas the variant form *vri'tek* is used by younger speakers.



*kuga'=nu jenazö' no'se-t ni bi'va-0 da spi-0 bunno',*  
when=ART.DIST corpse carry-3PL.PRS NEG should-3SG.PRS COMP sleep-3SG.PRS someone

*grex ye*<sup>135</sup> [Bc]

sin be.3SG.PRS

'When a corpse is carried, no one should sleep, it's a sin.'

*bunn|i' še do'yda-t li bü'gün?* [Ak]

someone|PL FUT come-3PL.PRS Q today

'Will some people come today?'

*vi'de-x bunno'-ga na po't=en* [Af]

see-1SG.PST someone-OBL in road=ART.DIST

'I saw someone in the road.'

*ayse' še puro'če-m bunno'-mu o'ti ma ni uxa'pa-0*

now FUT treat-1SG.PRS someone-DAT because PRO.1SG.OBL NEG bite-3SG.PST

*ku'če=tu* [Aa]

dog=ART.MED

'Now I will treat someone because the dog didn't bite me.'

*uda'vi-xa sa vrit* [Bl]

drown-3PL.PST REFL everyone

'They all drowned.'

*ya zdravo'va-m vri'te-x* [Ak]

PRO.1SG.NOM greet-1SG.PRS everyone-OBL

'I greet everyone.'

*ya ni puzna'va-m vri'te-k* [Ag]

PRO.1SG.NOM NEG know-1SG.PRS everyone-OBL

'I don't know everyone.'

*du'mi-0 vri'te-m o'ti ye dukyanji'=ka* [Bm]

speak-3SG.PRS everyone-DAT because be.3SG.PRS shopkeeper=F

'She speaks to everyone because she's a shopkeeper.'

---

<sup>135</sup> This refers to the funeral procession, when the dead body is carried through the streets to the graveyard.

*kuga'=nu bunno' ti prudu'mi-0 para'tik|u na'kna* [Af]  
 when=ART.DIST someone PRO.2SG.DAT speak-3SG.PRS bad|N something  
 'When someone says something bad to you'

*ni mo'ži-š si'čku da ka'ži-š na puma't=sk|u* [Ai]  
 NEG be.able-2SG.PRS everything COMP say-2SG.PRS in Pomak=ADJ|N  
 'You can't say everything in Pomak.'

## 7.6 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

The interrogative pronouns *kutri'k* and *kako'v* both distinguish gender and number but *ka(k)na'* is indeclinable. The pronoun *kutri'k* also distinguishes oblique and dative case in the singular.<sup>136</sup>

When the interrogative *kutri'k* inflects for gender and number the final syllable *ik* of the masculine singular elides. Vowel syncope occurs in the final syllable of the pronoun *kako'v* when the feminine, neuter and plural are formed. Two variant forms of the interrogative pronoun 'what' exist: *kana'* and *kakna'*.

MASC	FEM	NEUT	PL	GLOSS
<i>kutri'k</i>	<i>kutr a'</i>	<i>kutr o'</i>	<i>kutr j'i'</i>	who, which
<i>kako'v</i>	<i>kakv a'</i>	<i>kakv o'</i>	<i>kakv j'i'</i>	what kind of
<i>ka(k)na'</i>				what

The oblique and dative of *kutri'k* are formed from the elided stem *ko'-*.<sup>137</sup> The stress switches in these forms, triggering vowel alternation *u ~ o*.

*kutri'k* NOM who  
*ko'-ga* OBL  
*ko'-mu* DAT

<sup>136</sup> The dative of the interrogative pronoun is no longer used in standard Bulgarian and the oblique form *ko-зo* is often replaced by the nominative (H9: 57).

<sup>137</sup> In D6 the oblique and dative of *кутри* M are formed from the full stem of the neuter nominative: *кутрo-γκα* OBL, *кутрo-μου* DAT (159). K4 lists only the oblique form of *katrí* M; two forms are given, one based on the full stem of the neuter nominative and the other on the elided stem: *katró-ga*, *kó-ga* (81). In T6 the oblique and dative of the masculine singular nominative *кутрик* / *kutrik* are again formed from the neuter nominative stem. The oblique may be formed from the full or elided stem: *кутрo-γκα* / *kutro-ga* or *кó-γκα* / *ko-ga* (62). Only one form of the dative, based on the full stem, is given and it is identical to the form listed in D6. P7 does not list dative or oblique forms for this pronoun.

*ku||o' ye?
|  |* [Aa]  
who|N be.3SG.PRS  
'Who is it?'

*ku||i' še do'yda-t na sva'dba=na?
|  |* [Af]  
who|PL FUT come-3PL.PRS to wedding=ART.DIST  
'Who will come to the wedding?'

*sas ko'-ga še varvi'-š?* [Ah]  
with who-OBL FUT go-2SG.PRS  
'Who will you go with?'

*ko'-mu si du'mi-l|a?* [Aa]  
who-DAT be.AUX.2SG.PRS speak-PTCP.PST|F  
'Who did you talk to?'

*kav|o' ye tvo'y|e=nu<sup>138</sup> de'te?* [Ak]  
what.kind.of|N be.3SG.PRS PRO.POSS|N=ART.DIST child  
'What is your child like?'

*kana' ye aysva'?* [Af]  
what be.3SG.PRS PRO.DEM.PROX.N  
'What is this?'

*ku|i'k čulä'k do'yde-0?
|  |* [Am]  
which.M man come-3SG.PST  
'Which man came?'

*ku||a' o'ska še rudi'-0 sli'v|i?
|  |* [Af]  
which|F tree FUT bear-3SG.PRS plum|PL  
'Which tree will bear plums?'

*ku||o' ku'če ti nay bendi'sva-š?
|  |* [Ab]  
which|N dog PRO.2SG.NOM SUP like-2SG.PRS  
'Which dog do you like best?'

---

<sup>138</sup> The possessive definite pronoun here is a variant of the form that would be expected: *tvo'y|u=nu*.

*ku|i'    ki'ta'p|ve pu'ye'-š? [Am]
|  |*  
 which|PL book|PL read-2SG.PRS  
 'Which books do you read?'

*kakv|a'    ka'xvö' še pi'ye'-š? [Ak]*  
 what.kind.of|F coffee FUT drink-2SG.PRS  
 'How will you drink your coffee?'

*kakv|i'    ya'balk|i, červe'n|i li, ze'le'n|i li, žö'tt|i li? [Ak]*  
 what.kind.of|PL apple|PL red|PL Q green|PL Q yellow|PL Q  
 'What kind of apples, red, green or yellow?'

### 7.7 NEGATIVE PRONOUNS

The negative pronouns are formed from the interrogative pronouns and they decline in the same way. The negative *ni* precedes the interrogative stem and the stress shifts to the prefix, with the exception of the oblique case form *niko'ga*.<sup>139</sup>

MASC	FEM	NEUT	PL	GLOSS
ni'kutrik	ni'kutrij'a	ni'kutrij'u	ni'kutrij'i	no one
ni'kakuv	ni'kakv a	ni'kakv u	ni'kakv i	no kind of
ni'ka(k)na				nothing

ni'kutrik    NOM    no one  
 niko'-ga    OBL  
 ni'ku-mu    DAT

*ni'kutrij'u ni do'yde-0 [Af]*  
 no.one|N NEG come-3SG.PST  
 'No one came.'

*ni ča'ka-m niko'-ga [Ag]*  
 NEG wait-1SG.PRS no.one-OBL  
 'I'm not waiting for anyone.'

<sup>139</sup> The negative pronouns are formed in the same way in standard Bulgarian (H9: 72-73), but *никоу* 'no-one' distinguishes only oblique case and the prefix is stressed: *нико-го*. D6 alone of the Pomak grammars lists negative pronouns but only in the nominative case (164). They are formed as in Paševik Pomak.

*ni'muy ka'zv-a ni'ku-mu* [Aa]

PROH tell-PROH no.one-DAT

'Don't tell anyone.'

*na no'va=na gudi'na ni da'va-me ni'ku-mu ni'kakna* [Ab]

at new=ART.DIST year NEG give-1PL.PRS no.one-DAT nothing

'At New Year we don't give anything to anyone.'

*ni'kakna ni ye=de'-me* [Ae]

nothing NEG eat=EXT-1PL.PRS

'We don't eat anything.'

*ni'kutr|a že'na ni duxo'de-0 nax mo'y=es dukya'n<sup>140</sup> biz*

no|F woman NEG come-3SG.PRS to PRO.POSS.1SG=ART.PROX shop except

*Suza'n-a* [Ak]

Susan-OBL

'No woman comes to my café except Susan.'

*ni'kutr|i xayva'n|e sa udba'vi-l|i yemi's=en* [Af]

no|PL animal|PL be.AUX.3PL.PRS damage-PTCP.PST|PL fruit=ART.DIST

'No animals have damaged the fruit.'

*ne'ma-0 na po't=en ni'kutr|u de'te* [Ak]

there.is.NEG-PRS on street=ART.DIST no|N child

'There is no child in the street.'

*ne'ma-0 ni'kakuv xabe'r* [Af]

there.is.NEG-PRS no.kind.of.M news

'There's no news at all.'

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<sup>140</sup> The primary meaning of *dukyan* is 'shop' but it is sometimes used to refer to a 'café' *kaxvenö*.

## Chapter 8

### NUMERALS

Slavonic numerals exist only for cardinal numbers ‘one’ to ‘four’ inclusive<sup>141</sup> and the ordinal number *porv* ‘first’.<sup>142</sup> Numerals distinguish nominative and dative case. There is a two-way gender division for cardinal numerals ‘one’ and ‘two’.<sup>143</sup> In the nominative case the feminine and neuter genders syncretize for the cardinal numeral ‘one’ but in the dative case the masculine and neuter genders syncretize. The feminine and neuter genders syncretize for the cardinal numeral ‘two’ in both the nominative and dative case. See tables 8.1 and 8.2 below:

	MASC	NEUT	FEM
NOM	yedi'n	yenno'	
DAT	yenno'-mu		yenno'-xi

	MASC	NEUT	FEM
NOM	dva	dve	
DAT	dva-m	dve-m	

The numeral *yedi'n* ‘one’ inflects for the plural with the meaning ‘some’ but no plural forms are distinguished for numerals ‘two’ and above. Definite forms of the numerals exist in both the nominative and dative case. The cardinal numerals *dvami'na* ‘two’ and *trimi'na* ‘three’ are preferred when referring to human males.

The ordinal numeral *porv* behaves like a regular adjective, with a three-way gender division in the singular.

For numbers ‘five’ and above only numerals of Turkish origin are used; they may also be used for numbers ‘one’ to ‘four’ inclusive, where they most frequently collocate with Turkish loan words. Definite and indefinite dative forms of Turkish cardinal numerals were elicited from informants but I have not heard them used in spontaneous speech. All ordinal numerals are of

<sup>141</sup> P7 (74) also lists πειτ ‘five’, but this numeral does not occur in any of the other Pomak grammars.

<sup>142</sup> Slavonic ordinal numerals are given in T6 for ‘first’ to ‘fourth’ inclusive: *ποροφ*, *porf* ‘first’, *ντβαφ*, *dvaf* ‘second’, *τριφ*, *trif* ‘third’, *τσ'ετριφ*, *tšetrif* ‘fourth’ (53).

<sup>143</sup> In standard Bulgarian and all the Pomak grammars there is a three-way gender division for the cardinal numeral ‘one’ (H9: 75-76; D6: 115; K4: 56; T6: 54; P7: 74). In standard Bulgarian (H9: 76) and D6 (116) alone there is a two-way gender division for the cardinal numeral ‘two’.

Turkish origin with the exception of *porv* 'first', which exists alongside *birinji*'. Definite nominative forms of the ordinal numerals occur frequently.

Most of the information below deals with Slavonic numerals, although at the end I have included a short note about Turkish numerals.

## 8.1 CARDINAL NUMERALS

### 8.1.1 INDEFINITE

#### 8.1.1.1 Nominative

##### Regular Numerals

yedi'n <sup>144</sup>	M	one
yenno'	F/N	one
dva	M	two
dve	F/N	two
tri		three
če'tri		four

When counting, the feminine/neuter forms of 'one' and 'two' are used: *yenno'*, *dve*, *tri*, *če'tri*.

The plural of the numeral *yedi'n* is *yenni*' 'some'. This numeral may be used alone with the sense 'some people' or it can modify a plural noun. When it modifies a noun which exists only in the plural form the meaning depends on the number of the referent:

yenn|j|' kapu'ye [Ak]  
one|PL external.door(s)  
'one door', 'some doors'

yenn|j|' pra've-t [Ad]  
one|PL make-3PL.PRS  
'some (people) make (them)'

yenn|j|' zmi'y|e pu'ska-t zexi'r [Ae]  
one|PL snake|PL release-3PL.PRS poison  
'Some snakes are poisonous.'

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<sup>144</sup> Some speakers use the form *edi'n*.

Note that although the numeral *yedi'n* contains the consonant *d*, the *d* assimilates to the following *n* in all other forms: *yenno'*.

### Special Numerals

Special numerals for 'two' and 'three' are preferred when referring to human males.<sup>145</sup> These numerals can also be used when a human female is included, but at least one of the referents must be male.

*dvami'na*        two  
*trimi'na*        three

*i'ma-m*        *trimi'na* *si'n|ve* [As]  
have-1SG.PRS    three    son|PL  
'I have three sons.'

*dvami'na sa*                      *pu'sna-l|i* [Aj]  
two        be.AUX.3PL.PRS    release-PTCP.PST|PL  
'They released two men.' / 'They released one man and one woman.'

Some speakers have reported the existence of the numeral *pöt* 'five' in Paševik, but others claim that it is not used. I have never heard this numeral in spontaneous speech.

#### 8.1.1.2 Dative

##### Singular

The dative forms of the numeral 'one' are based on the feminine and neuter nominative stem *yenno'*.

##### **Masculine and Neuter**

The masculine and neuter dative is formed with the dative suffix *-mu*:

*yenno'-mu*

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<sup>145</sup> Among the Pomak grammars only D6 lists these numerals, which go up to 'four' (116-118). S3 (209) states that forms exist in standard Bulgarian up to 'six', but H9 (80) gives forms up to 'nine'.



*da'-|a sam yenno'-mu xläb [Ap]*  
 give-PTCP.PST|F be.AUX.1SG.PRS one-M/N.DAT bread  
 'I gave bread to one person.'

*ya še da-m pari' yenno'-mu čulä'k-u-mu [Af; Ak]*  
 PRO.1SG.NOM FUT give-1SG.PRS money one-M.DAT man-DAT-M.DAT  
 'I will give money to one man.'

## Feminine

The feminine dative is formed with the suffix *-xi*:

*yenno'-xi*

*mo'ži-š da da=de'-š yenno'-xi fukaro'-xi pari' da*  
 can-2SG.PRS COMP give=EXT-2SG.PRS one-F.DAT poor.person-F.DAT money COMP

*sa naye=de'-0, za sadako' [Aa]*  
 REFL eat.one's.fill=EXT-3SG.PRS for offering

'You can give money to one poor person as an offering, so that they can eat their fill.'

## Plural

The plural dative of numerals is formed with the suffix *-m*. Two variant dative forms exist for *yenni'*:

*yenn|i'-m yenn|ä'-m*  
*dva-m*  
*dve-m*  
*dvami'na-m*  
*tri-m*  
*trimi'na-m*  
*če'tri-m*

### 8.1.2 DEFINITE

#### 8.1.2.1 Nominative

Although only two genders are distinguished in the indefinite for the numeral 'one', three genders are distinguished in the definite.

Table 8.3 Definite of 'one'				
	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PL
INDEF	yedi'n	yenno'		yenn j'i'
DEF	yedi'ny=en <sup>146</sup>	yenno'=na	yenno'=nu	yenn j'i'=ne

Table 8.4 Definite of 'two' to 'four'				
	MASC	MASC HUM	FEM	NEUT
INDEF	dva	dvami'na	dve	
DEF	dva'=na	dvami'na=na	dve'=ne	
INDEF	tri	trimi'na	tri	
DEF	tri'=ne	trimi'na=na	tri'=ne	
INDEF	če'tri			
DEF	če'tri=ne			

*ba'ba, day mi yenno'=ta mo'ma* [At]  
 old.woman give.IMP PRO.1SG.DAT one.F=ART.MED girl  
 'Old woman, give me one of your daughters.'

*čado'r=an i'ma-0 čel|a' ud dve'=ne stra'n|i* [Aa]  
 greenhouse=ART.DIST have-3SG.PRS end|PL from two=ART.DIST side|PL  
 'A greenhouse has ends at the two sides.'

### 8.1.2.2 Dative

For all numerals, with the exception of the masculine and neuter dative of the numeral 'one', the definite suffix precedes the dative suffix. This follows the pattern of plural and feminine nouns. There is no definite form of the dative plural numeral *yenn|ǎ'-m*:

yenno'-mu=ne  
 yenno'=ne-xi  
 yenn|j'i'=ne-m  
 dva'=na-m  
 dve'=ne-m  
 dvami'na=na-m  
 tri'=ne-m  
 trimi'na=na-m  
 če'tri=ne-m

<sup>146</sup> The alternative *yedi'nen* is sometimes heard.

### 8.1.3 QUALIFICATION OF SLAVONIC NUMERALS

Slavonic numerals qualified by adjectives or determiners occur rarely in spontaneous speech.

The following phrases were used to ask for bread in a grocer's shop:

*yedi'n gulä'm*

one large

'one large (loaf)'

*yedi'n mi'sëk bäl*

one small white

'one small white (loaf)'

I was able to elicit clauses containing numerals modified by adjectives, such as:

*u'dmaxn-i dva'=sa mi'sëk|i kale'm|a [Af]*

take.away-IMP two=ART.PROX small|PL pen|QPL

'Take away the two small pens.'

See section 11.8.2 for more examples.

### 8.2 ORDINAL NUMERALS

The ordinal numeral *porv* 'first' declines as a regular adjective. See the chapter on Adjectives for more details of adjective declension.

	INDEF NOM	DEF NOM	INDEF DAT	DEF DAT
MASC	porv	po'rv=en	po'rv-u-mu	po'rv-u-mu=ne
NEUT	po'rv u	po'rv u=nu		
FEM	po'rv a	po'rv a=na	po'rv-u-xi	po'rv-u=ne-xi
PL	po'rv i	po'rv i=ne	po'rv i-m	po'rv i=ne-m

*na po'rv|i=ne vrata' [Au]*

at first|PL=ART.DIST door(s)

'at the first door'

### 8.3 SUMMARY OF DECLENSION OF CARDINAL NUMERALS

Table 8.6 Summary of declension of cardinal numerals				
	INDEF NOM	DEF NOM	INDEF DAT	DEF DAT
MASC	yedi'n	yedi'n(y)=en	yenno'-mu	yenno'-mu=ne
FEM	yenno'	yenno'=na	yenno'-xi	yenno'=ne-xi
NEUT		yenno'=nu	yenno'-mu	yenno'-mu=ne
PL	yenn j'i'	yenn j'i'=ne	yenn j'i'-m yenn ä'-m	yenn j'i'=ne-m
MASC	dva	dva'=na	dva-m	dva'=na-m
MASC HUM	dvami'na	dvami'na=na	dvami'na-m	dvami'na=na-m
FEM	dve	dve'=ne	dve-m	dve'=ne-m
NEUT				
MASC	tri	tri'=ne	tri-m	tri'=ne-m
FEM				
NEUT				
MASC HUM	trimi'na	trimi'na=na	trimi'na-m	trimi'na=na-m
MASC	če'tri	če'tri=ne	če'tri-m	če'tri=ne-m
FEM				
NEUT				

### 8.4 NUMERALS OF TURKISH ORIGIN

I have heard the definite form of Turkish ordinal numerals used frequently in spontaneous speech as in the example below, but no other inflected forms. The definite is formed in the same way as for Slavonic numerals:

*fif dö'rtunju=nu kat sedi'-me* [Af3]

in fourth=ART.DIST floor live-1PL.PRS

'We live on the fourth floor.'

Informants stated that both cardinal and ordinal numerals may distinguish dative case and take the definite suffix, although some speakers use them without any inflection.<sup>147</sup> It was possible to elicit several inflected forms. The cardinal numeral *yedi'* 'seven', for example, declines as follows:

yedi'    yedi'-m    yedi'=nu-m

<sup>147</sup> In D6 all Turkish numerals are indeclinable in the dialect described (119).

## Chapter 9

# DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY: AUGMENTATION AND DIMINUTION

Although the verb also has some derivational morphology I have not had the opportunity to undertake the fieldwork necessary to do an in-depth analysis. This chapter, therefore, is centred on nominal morphology. The term *simple* is used in this chapter to refer to forms that are neither augmentative nor diminutive.

The diminutive is used frequently in Pomak, particularly when addressing young children and babies. Nouns, names and many adjectives may all take diminutive suffixes. Articles and case suffixes may be attached to words with diminutive endings. The use of the augmentative is less frequent and slightly more restricted as adjectives do not take augmentative suffixes.<sup>148</sup> I have rarely heard plural forms of the augmentative. Although I have elicited definite forms of the augmentative and examples of names with augmentative endings, there are no examples of such in my data in spontaneous speech.

There is great symmetry between the augmentative and diminutive forms of common nouns, such that stress patterns are virtually identical and there are many similarities in consonant alternation. For this reason augmentatives and diminutives are treated together in the sections on stress and consonant alternation (9.3 and 9.4). The augmentative and diminutive forms of names are described together in section 9.6 as there are several points of similarity.

### 9.1 AUGMENTATION

Nouns and names form the augmentative with the suffix =*ište*. The final vowel of this suffix elides and is replaced by the suffix |a to form the plural: =*išt|a*.<sup>149</sup> There is an additional augmentative suffix =*aku* but it is non-productive and is used with only a small number of common nouns. When the term *augmentative* is used in this chapter it will refer to the augmentative forms derived with the suffix =*ište* unless otherwise indicated.

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<sup>148</sup> Adjectives in standard Bulgarian may take the augmentative suffix =*an*: *дебел* / *debél* 'fat', *дебел=án* / *debel=án* 'obese person' (S3: 220). No augmentative suffixes are listed for adjectives in the Pomak grammars.

<sup>149</sup> The augmentative suffix =*ište* is attested for standard Bulgarian and is listed in two of the Pomak grammars (S3: 220; D6: 73; K4: 97). No examples of the plural form of the suffix are given in the grammars.

The way in which the augmentative suffix =*ište* attaches to a noun or name varies according to gender and the final consonant of the stem. Consonant alternations are listed below in section 9.4. All augmentative forms of singular nouns and names take neuter agreement.<sup>150</sup>

## USE OF AUGMENTATIVE

As stated previously, I have not heard names used in the augmentative form. However, informants said that the augmentative of names is used to tease others. When I elicited sentences and forms of names in the augmentative, people frequently found this amusing, a reaction that is uncommon in my experience of collecting language data in this village.

The augmentative of common nouns is used to express large size or quantity, or a pejorative connotation. The pejorative meaning is more frequent. Speakers sometimes modify the augmentative noun with an adjective such as *gulä'm* 'large' or *para'tik* 'bad', thus clarifying which meaning is implied. Context and tone of voice also help to clarify which sense is intended.

On one occasion a horse that had been eating cabbages from a villager's garden was referred to as a *ko'n=ište*. One villager has always referred to a daughter-in-law she dislikes as *žen=ište*. When eliciting augmentative forms from one informant, I was told that it was a sin to use the augmentative with nouns denoting food because food is a gift from God. This informant then added that two food items could be used in the augmentative, but qualified them with the adjective *gulä'm* to show that the intended meaning was not pejorative.

The parent of a baby girl referred to her on one occasion as a *mum=ište*. There was no negative connotation implied here, rather pride that the daughter was growing because she ate well.

### 9.1.1 NOUNS

#### NEUTER

##### Nouns Ending in e

The augmentative of neuter nouns ending in *e* is formed by attaching the augmentative suffix to the stem with the consonant *t*:<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> D6 states that augmentative nouns in =*ište* take masculine agreement (73).

<sup>151</sup> The augmentative of neuter nouns ending in *e* is also formed in this way in K4 and the same example of the derivation of *ko'te* is given, but for the singular form only. In other nouns the augmentative suffix is attached directly to the final consonant of the stem: *kóšht=ište* 'big house' (97).

	SG	PL	
ko'te	ko'tet=ište	ko'tet=išt a	cat

The singular augmentative of the noun *de'te* 'child' is formed regularly, but the plural augmentative suffix is attached to a different stem and the stress shifts:

	SG	PL	
de'te	de'tet=ište	deč=i'št a	child

### Nouns Ending in *u*

Three neuter nouns ending in *u* in my data form the augmentative similarly to neuter nouns ending in *e*. The final vowel of the stem elides and is replaced by *e* before the consonant *t* is attached:

	SG	PL	
se'lu	se'let=ište	se'let=išt a	village
li'stu	li'stet=ište	li'stet=išt a	leaf
ura'lu	ura'let=ište	ura'let=išt a	plough

Two nouns in my data form the singular augmentative in the same way as the neuter nouns above, but the plural suffix is attached to the final consonant of the stem. The stress shifts to the first syllable of the suffix.

	SG	PL	
kula'nu	kula'net=ište	kulan=i'št a	knee
miya'lu	miya'let=ište	miyal=i'št a	sink, washbasin

In the following six neuter nouns ending in *u*, the final vowel elides and the augmentative suffix is attached directly to the final consonant of the stem. The stress shifts from the stem in the first five nouns, triggering vowel alternation in three of the nouns. I was unable to elicit plural forms for the nouns *bra'šnu* and *mö'su* and the noun *usta'* exists only in the plural form:

	SG	PL	
u'šu	uš=i'šte	uš=i'št a	ear
o'ku	uč=i'šte	uč=i'št a	eye
do'rvu	darv=i'šte	darv=i'št a	wood
bra'šnu	brašn=i'šte		flour
mö'su	mes=i'šte		meat
usta'		ust=i'št a	mouth

## FEMININE

### Vowel-Final

The final vowel elides when the augmentative suffix is attached to the stem:

	SG	PL	
se'stra	se'str=ište	se'str=išt a	sister
kasabo'	kasab=ište	kasab=i'št a	town

The noun *ko'sta* 'house' has both a regular augmentative form and an alternative irregular form:

	SG	PL
ko'sta	ko'st=ište	ko'st=išt a
	ko'xč=ište	ko'xč=išt a

Two variant forms exist for 'eyebrow': *vä'žga* and *vä'ska*.

The consonant *g* alternates with *ž* when in final position but in *vä'žga* it forms a consonant cluster with *ž* and alternates with *j*, the only such occurrence in my data:

	SG	PL
vä'žga	vä'žj=ište	vä'žj=išt a

Consonant alternations *š ~ x* and *k ~ č* occur when the augmentative of the noun *vä'ska* is formed. In addition, the first stem vowel *ä* is replaced by *e* without any stress shift triggering this change:

	SG	PL
vä'ska	ve'xč=ište	ve'xč=išt a

### Consonant-Final

The augmentative suffix is attached directly to the stem of *geli'n*:

	SG	PL
geli'n	geli'n=ište	geli'n=išt a



In three feminine nouns the consonant *č* is added to the stem before the augmentative suffix is attached. The stress shifts from the stem to the suffix, triggering vowel alternation in the stem. No plural forms exist:

	SG	
korv	karvč=i'šte	blood
rož	ražč=i'šte	rye
pors	parsč=i'šte	soil, earth

## MASCULINE

### Consonant-Final

The augmentative of masculine nouns is formed by attaching the augmentative suffix directly to the stem:

	SG	PL	
kon	ko'n=ište	ko'n=išt a	horse
ko'pel	ko'pel=ište	ko'pel=išt a	boy

The noun *čuläk* is irregular in that the second vowel of the stem alternates with *e* when the augmentative suffix is attached: *čule'č=ište*. No shift in stress prompts this change.

The augmentative of nouns in which the final vowel is syncopated in the definite simple form, is formed from the elided stem:

	DEF SIMPLE	SG AUG	PL AUG	
vo'lek	valk=o'n	valč=i'šte	valč=i'št a	wolf
pete'l	petl=o'n	petl=i'šte	petl=i'št a	cockerel
za'yek	za'yk=an	za'yč=ište	za'yč=išt a	rabbit, hare
vä'tar	vetr=o'n	vetr=i'šte	vetr=i'št a	wind
pa'yek	pa'yk=an	pa'yč=ište	pa'yč=išt a	spider

### Nouns Ending in *i*

The augmentative of nouns ending in *i* is formed by attaching the augmentative suffix directly to the stem or after the extension =*in*:

	SG	PL	
fīrīn=ji'	fīrīn=ji'=in=ište	fīrīn=ji'=in=išt a	baker
	fīrīn=ji'=ište	fīrīn=ji'=išt a	
dukyan=ji'	dukyan=ji'=in=ište	dukyan=ji'=in=išt a	shopkeeper
	dukyan=ji'=ište	dukyan=ji'=išt a	

### Nouns Ending in *u*

The final vowel elides when the augmentative suffix is attached to the stem:

	SG	PL	
dă'du	dă'd=ište	dă'd=išt a	grandfather

### DEFINITE OF AUGMENTATIVE NOUNS

The definite singular of all augmentative nouns is formed with the suffix =*nu* while the definite plural is formed with the suffix =*na*. The definite suffix follows the augmentative suffix:

	SG DEF	PL DEF	
čulă'k	čule'č=ište=nu	čule'č=išt a=na	man, husband
že'na	žen=i'šte=nu	žen=i'št a=na	woman, wife
de'te	de'tet=ište=nu	deč=i'št a=na	child

### AUGMENTATIVE IN =*AKU*<sup>152</sup>

Ten nouns in my data may take the augmentative suffix =*aku* in addition to the regular suffix =*ište*.<sup>153</sup> The final vowel of feminine and neuter nouns elides when the suffix is attached. The first syllable of the suffix is stressed for all the examples, but in nine of the nouns the stress also shifts from the stem when the augmentative in =*ište* is formed. The one exception is *smok*: *smo'č=ište*. Consonant alternations mirror those which occur in augmentatives derived with =*ište*:

	SG	PL	
rog	ruž=a'ku	ruž=a'k j	horn
smok	smuč=a'ku	smuč=a'k j	grass snake
mu'xa	muš=a'ku	muš=a'k j	fly

<sup>152</sup> This augmentative suffix has the form =*eki* when attached to the noun *usta'*, which exists only in the plural. No singular form of the suffix =*eki* exists in my data, so I have chosen the generic term =*aku* to refer to both suffixes.

<sup>153</sup> The augmentative singular suffix =*á'ko* (D6: 73) or =*áko* (K4: 97) is listed briefly in two of the Pomak grammars. It carries the connotation of mockery according to the authors.

	SG	PL	
no'ga	nuž=a'ku	nuž=a'kji	leg, foot
ro'ka	rač=a'ku	rač=a'kji	hand, arm
gla'va	glav=a'ku	glav=a'kji	head
nus	nus=a'ku	nus=a'kji	nose
mo'ma	mum=a'ku	mum=a'kji	girl
že'na	žen=a'ku	žen=a'kji	woman
usta'		ust=e'kji	mouth

These augmentatives form the definite with the singular suffix =*nu* and the plural suffix =*ne*:

	SG DEF	PL DEF
nuž=a'ku	nuž=a'ku=nu	nuž=a'kji=ne
ust=e'kji		ust=e'kji=ne

## AGREEMENT

Augmentative forms of nouns generally take neuter agreement, although for some speakers natural gender overrides grammatical gender when using nouns denoting humans. Most informants, however, still assigned neuter agreement to such nouns and all informants assigned neuter agreement to augmentatives derived from masculine or feminine simple nouns which denoted inanimates or non-human animates:

*čule'č=ište=nu*    *ye*                    *ubi'-l|u*                    *bra't-a*                    *mu* [Af; Ak]  
 man=AUG=ART.DIST    be.AUX.3SG.PRS    injure-PTCP.PST|N    brother-OBL    PRO.3SG.DAT.M  
 'The man injured his brother.'

*sta'r|u=nu*    *ba'b=ište*                    *ye*                    *bo'xta-l|u*                    *de'te=nu* [Af]  
 old|N=ART.DIST    old.woman=AUG    be.AUX.3SG.PRS    beat-PTCP.PST|N    child=ART.DIST  
 'The old woman beat the child.'

*červe'n|u=nu*    *ske'ml=ište*    *sa*    *ye*                    *sko'rši-l|u* [Af]  
 red|N=ART.DIST    chair=AUG    REFL    be.AUX.3SG.PRS    break-PTCP.PST|N  
 'The red chair broke.'

*bā'l|u=nu*                    *kuz=i'šte*    *ya'-l|u*                    *ye*                    *arpo'* [Ae]  
 white|N=ART.DIST    goat=AUG    eat-PTCP.PST|N    be.AUX.3SG.PRS    barley  
 'The white goat ate the barley.'

## NOUNS AND CASE

Augmentative nouns denoting animates distinguish dative but not oblique case. The singular dative of augmentative nouns is formed with the suffix *-mu*, while the plural dative is formed with the suffix *-m*. These suffixes are attached directly to the augmentative ending in the singular and in the indefinite plural. The definite of the dative is formed as for masculine and neuter simple nouns. See sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.3.

		SG DAT	PL DAT
že'na	indef	žen=i'šte-mu	žen=i'št a-m
	def	žen=i'šte-mu=ne	žen=i'št a=na-m
de'te	indef	de'tet=ište-mu	deč=i'št a-m
	def	de'tet=ište-mu=ne	deč=i'št a=na-m
čulä'k	indef	čule'č=ište-mu	čule'č=išt a-m
	def	čule'č=ište-mu=ne	čule'č=išt a=na-m
kra'va	indef	kra'v=ište-mu	kra'v=išt a-m
	def	kra'v=ište-mu=ne	kra'v=išt a=na-m
kon	indef	ko'nište-mu	ko'n=išt a-m
	def	ko'n=ište-mu=ne	ko'n=išt a=na-m

*de'tet=i'šte-mu=ne*    *yasa'k*    *ye*    *da*    *baxte'-0*    *se'stra*  
 child=AUG-DAT=ART.DIST forbidden be.3SG.PRS COMP beat-3SG.PRS sister

*mu* [Aa]

PRO.3SG.DAT.N

'It's forbidden for the child to beat his sister.'

## 9.2 DIMINUTION

Distinct diminutive suffixes exist for each of the three genders for common nouns.<sup>154</sup> Masculine and feminine names also take distinct suffixes. Adjectives behave differently: feminine, neuter

<sup>154</sup> Diminutive suffixes exist in standard Bulgarian (S3: 220) and in the Pomak dialect described in K4 (97) and D6 (72). Although distinct suffixes are given in K4 and D6 for all three genders, no plural form is described. In S3 only two examples of diminutive suffixes are given, one masculine and one neuter. The Bulgarian diminutive suffixes are =*če* for the masculine and =*nce* for the neuter: *cmól* / *stól* 'chair', *cmól=če* / *stól=če* 'stool'; *bébe* / *bébe* 'baby', *bébe=Hye* / *bébe=nce* '(dear) baby'. In D6 the following diminutive suffixes are listed: =*ρσσεκ* masculine,

and plural adjectives share the same suffix while the diminutive masculine adjective is frequently formed with a different suffix. Some masculine adjectives do not take diminutive suffixes.

## USE OF DIMINUTIVE

The diminutive is used to express endearment or small size and in talking to or about small children. I have heard it used most frequently when small children or babies are being addressed or referred to.

One informant told me that an adult complaining of toothache would refer to the offending tooth as *zab=i'ste* but *zab=čö'* would be used when talking to a child who had toothache or whose baby tooth had fallen out.

Another informant explained the use of the diminutive form *žen=i'nka* to express endearment in the following words:

kuga'=nu        ta                ya'ce drago'va-t [Br]  
when=ART.DIST PRO.2SG.OBL a.lot like-3PL.PRS  
'When they like you a lot.'

### 9.2.1 NOUNS

#### NEUTER

##### Nouns Ending in e

##### Suffix =nce

The diminutive of neuter nouns ending in *e* is formed by attaching the suffix =nce directly to the stem. When forming the plural, the consonant *t* is added to the diminutive suffix before the plural suffix |a is attached:

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=τσσκα or =ivκα feminine and =vτσε neuter. K4 gives a longer list of derived diminutive nouns of all three genders which take the following suffixes:

MASC	FEM	NEUT
=chek	=inka	=tse
=chök	=itsa	=ntse
	=ka	=che
		=ko

	SG	PL	
	ko'te	ko'te=nce	ko'te=ncet a cat

### **Irregular Forms**

The noun *pi'le* 'bird' forms the singular and plural diminutive regularly, but an irregular variant of the plural form exists:

	SG	PL
	pi'le	pi'le=nce
		pi'le=ncet a
		piłč=i'nk j

The singular diminutive form of *de'te* 'child' is regular, but the plural is irregular and two variants exist:

	SG	PL
	de'te	de'te=nce
		deč=i'nk j
		det=i'nk j

### **Nouns Ending in *u***

#### **Suffix =ce**

The diminutive of neuter nouns ending in *u* is formed with the suffix =ce. The final vowel of the stem elides before the suffix is attached. The vowel of the diminutive suffix elides when the plural suffix |a is attached. The plural suffix always bears stress:

	SG	PL
	se'lu	se'l=ce
		sel=c a' village

Some informants formed the plural of two nouns ending in *u* by attaching the suffix =cet rather than =ce to the stem before adding the plural suffix |a. No shift in stress occurred in the alternative plural. Other informants formed the plural regularly:

	SG	PL	
	ura'lu	ura'l=ce	ural=c a' plough
			ura'l=cet a
	kula'nu	kula'n=ce	kulan=c a' knee
			kula'n=cet a

The vowel *ö* is inserted before the final stem consonant of the noun *bra'snu* 'flour' when the diminutive suffix is attached. The consonant cluster *šnc* does not occur in any lexeme in my data:

bra'snu            brašö'n=ce

The final consonant *t* of the noun *li'stu* 'leaf' elides when the diminutive suffix is attached. In addition a variant diminutive form exists where stem final *s* is replaced by *x*:

	SG	PL
li'stu	li's=ce	lis=c a'
	li'x=ce	lix=c a'

### Suffix =*inku*

Three nouns form the diminutive with the suffix =*inku*. The plural is formed with the suffix *|i*. The noun *usta'* has no singular form.

	SG	PL
o'ku	uč=i'nku	uč=i'nk i
u'su	uš=i'nku	uš=i'nk i
usta'		ust=i'nk i

### FEMININE

The most frequent diminutive suffix for feminine nouns is =*inka*, but the suffix =*ka* also exists. Three other diminutive suffixes occur with feminine nouns but they are rare and are listed below. The final vowel of the stem elides when the diminutive suffix is attached. The plural of diminutive nouns in =*inka* and =*ka* is formed with the suffix *|i*, which replaces the final vowel of the diminutive ending.

### Suffix =*inka*

	SG	PL	
že'na	žen=i'nka	žen=i'nk i	woman, wife
ske'mle	ske'ml=inka	ske'ml=ink i	chair
kasabo'	kasab=i'nka	kasab=i'nk i	town
parčö'	parč=i'nka	parč=i'nk i	piece

The noun *ko'sta* 'house' is irregular and two diminutive forms exist. The final stem consonant *t* alternates with *č* in both forms. In the second variant, the consonant *š* alternates with *x*. Similar changes also occur in the augmentative. See section 9.1.1 above, under vowel-final feminine nouns.

	SG	PL
ko'sta	ko'sč=inka	ko'sč=inkji
	ko'xč=inka	ko'xč=inkji

The consonant changes that occurred in the stem of the noun *vä'žga* 'eyebrow' when forming the augmentative (9.1.1) are replicated when forming the diminutive. However, a variant exists where *ž* alternates with *x*:

	SG	PL
vä'žga	vä'žj=inka	vä'žj=inkji
	vä'xj=inka	vä'xj=inkji

The alternative form *vä'ska* forms the diminutive regularly: *vä'sč=inka*.

### Suffix =ka

Twenty-three nouns in my data form the diminutive with the suffix =ka. This includes most nouns with stem final consonant *c*.<sup>155</sup> Consonant alternation *c ~ č* occurs in such nouns when the diminutive is formed, as in *daskal=i'ca* below. The stress is fixed.

	SG	PL	
bu'la	bu'l=ka	bu'l=kji	older sister
daskal=i'ca	daskal=i'č=ka	daskal=i'č=kji	female teacher

Other nouns which form the diminutive with the suffix =ka include:

fane'la	vest, tee shirt
gradi'na	garden
greva'ta	tie
kupa'ne	bowl
kutu'ye	box
la'nita	cheek
ma'kina	machine

<sup>155</sup> The nouns *ma'ca* 'table' and *o'fca* 'sheep' are exceptions and form the diminutive with the suffix =inka.



te'njöra	saucepan
ži'la	vein
ku'kuvica	cuckoo

### Suffix =ička

Only three nouns in my data form the diminutive with this suffix:

	SG	PL	
fukaro'	fukar=i'čka	fukar=i'čkji	poor person
nokto'	nokt=i'čka	nokt=i'čkji	full stop
ba'ba	ba'b=ička	ba'b=ičkji	old woman, grandmother

### Suffix =ica

The noun *vo'da* 'water' forms the diminutive with the suffix =ica. No plural exists:

vo'da	vud=i'ca
-------	----------

The following three consonant-final feminine nouns also form the diminutive with the suffix =ica, but the consonant č is added to the stem before the suffix is attached. No plural forms exist:

rož	ražč=i'ca	rye
korv	karvč=i'ca	blood
pors	parsč=i'ca	soil, earth

### Suffix =če

Only one feminine noun in my data, *geli'n* 'sister-in-law, daughter-in-law', may form the diminutive with the suffix =če, but the suffix =ka is also used:

	SG	PL
geli'n	geli'n=če	geli'n=četja
	geli'n=ka	geli'n=kji

## MASCULINE

Most masculine nouns form the diminutive with the suffix =če or =čö' with very few exceptions, as listed below.

### Suffix =če

The diminutive suffix is attached directly to the stem. When the plural is formed the consonant *t* is attached to the singular diminutive suffix before the plural suffix |a. The suffix =če is never stressed.

	SG		PL	
ko'pel	ko'pel=če	ko'pel=čet a		boy
dukyan=ji'	dukyan=ji'=če	dukyan=ji'=čet a		shopkeeper

The final stem vowel of two nouns in my data is syncopated when the diminutive suffix =če is attached:

	SG		PL	
pa'yek	pa'y=če	pa'y=čet a		spider
za'yek	za'y=če	za'y=čet a		rabbit, hare

The final vowel *ä* of *čulä'k* alternates with *e* when the diminutive suffix is attached. This change also occurs when the augmentative is formed:

	SG		PL	
čulä'k	čule'=če	čule'=čet a		man

### Suffix =čö'

With only one exception in my data, all simple nouns which form the singular definite with the stressed article =*o'n* or =*ö'n*, form the diminutive with the suffix =čö'. This suffix is always stressed:

	SG		PL	
laxt	laxt=čö'	laxt=čö't a		elbow
zob	zab=čö'	zab=čö't a		tooth
polx	palx=čö'	palx=čö't a		mouse, rat

The noun *vo'lek* 'wolf' is irregular and is described below.

### Suffix =ence

Four nouns ending in *u* form the diminutive with the suffix =ence. The final vowel elides when the diminutive suffix is attached:

	SG	PL	
u'yku	u'yč=ence	u'yč=encet a	maternal uncle
kale'ku	kale'č=ence	kale'č=encet a	uncle
dă'du	dă'd=ence	dă'd=encet a	grandfather
mi'žu	mi'ž=ence	mi'ž=encet a	paternal uncle

The nouns *dă'du* and *mi'žu* may also form the diminutive with the suffix =inku. See below.

### Suffix =nce

Only one masculine noun ending in a consonant forms the diminutive with the suffix =nce. The vowel *ö* is added to the stem when the diminutive suffix is attached:

	SG	PL	
vo'lek	valčö'=nce	valčö'=ncet a	wolf

### Suffix =inku

Two masculine nouns ending in *u* form the diminutive with =inku. The final vowel elides before the suffix is attached. These nouns may also form the diminutive with the suffix =nce. See above.

	SG	PL	
dă'du	dă'd=inku	dă'd=ink j	
mi'žu	mi'ž=inku	mi'ž=ink j	

### Suffix =ku

Only one masculine noun forms the diminutive with the suffix =ku but it may also occur with names from declension 1. The final vowel elides when the suffix is attached:

	SG	PL	
ba'tu	ba't=ku	ba't=k j	older brother

## DEFINITE OF DIMINUTIVE NOUNS

The definite singular or plural suffix is attached directly to the diminutive ending for all nouns.

### Feminine

The definite singular of all feminine nouns is formed with the suffix =*na*, with the exception of *geli'n*:

	SG DEF
že'na	žen=i'nka=na
geli'n	geli'n=če=nu

All feminine nouns form the definite plural with the suffix =*ne*, with the exception of *geli'n*:

	PL DEF
že'na	žen=i'nk j =ne
geli'n	geli'n=čet a =na

### Masculine and Neuter

All masculine and neuter nouns form the definite singular with the suffix =*nu*.

	SG DEF
ko'pel	ko'pel=če=nu
mi'žu	mi'ž=inku=nu
ko'te	ko'te=nce=nu
se'lu	se'=ce=nu

The definite plural is formed with the suffix =*na* with the exception of the few nouns that form the diminutive plural in |*j*. The latter take the definite suffix =*ne*:

	PL DEF
ko'pel	ko'pel=čet a =na
se'lu	se =c a'=na
ko'te	ko'te=ncet a =na
o'ku	uč=i'nk j =ne
mi'žu	mi'ž=ink j =ne

## AGREEMENT

Masculine nouns which form the diminutive with =če or =čö' take neuter agreement.

*mi'sk|u=nu*      *čule'=če* *ye*                      *ce'pi-|u*                      *darv|a'* [Af]  
little|N=ART.DIST man=DIM be.AUX.3SG.PRS split-PTCP.PST|N wood|PL  
'The little man split wood.'

*mu'm=če=nu*                      *ye*                      *sve'ti-|u* [Af]  
candle=DIM=ART.DIST be.AUX.3SG.PRS give.light-PTCP.PST|N  
'The candle gave light.'

## NOUNS AND CASE

As with augmentative nouns, diminutive nouns referring to animates distinguish dative but not oblique case. Diminutives derived from feminine nouns inflect as simple feminine nouns and diminutives derived from masculine and neuter nouns inflect as simple neuter nouns. Definite and indefinite dative declensions are shown in table 9.2 below.

*ya*                      *še* *da-m*                      *ko'te=ncet-u=ne*                      *da* *ye=de'-0* [Aa]  
PRO.1SG.NOM FUT give-1SG.PRS cat=DIM-DAT=ART.DIST COMP eat=EXT-3SG.PRS  
'I will feed the cat.'

*ko'n=čet-u=ne*                      *še* *da=de'-me*                      *sä'nu da* *ye=de'-0* [Aa]  
horse=DIM-DAT=ART.DIST FUT give=EXT-1PL.PRS hay COMP eat=EXT-3SG.PRS  
'We'll give the horse hay to eat.'

Table 9.2 Diminutive nouns and dative case				
DIM		DAT SG	DAT PL	
ženi'nka	INDEF	žen=i'nk-u-xi	žen=i'nk j-i-m	woman
	DEF	žen=i'nk-u=ne-xi	žen=i'nk j-i-ne-m	
ko'nče	INDEF	ko'n=čet-u ko'n=čet-u-mu	ko'n=čet j-a-m	horse
	DEF	ko'n=čet-u=ne ko'n=čet-u-mu=ne	ko'n=čet j-a-na-m	
čule'če	INDEF	čule'=čet-u čule'=čet-u-mu	čule'=čet j-a-m	man
	DEF	čule'=čet-u=ne čule'=čet-u-mu=ne	čule'=čet j-a-na-m	
de'tence	INDEF	de'te=ncet-u de'te=ncet-u-mu	de'te=ncet j-a-m	child
	DEF	de'te=ncet-u=ne de'te=ncet-u-mu=ne	de'te=ncet j-a-na-m	
ko'tence	INDEF	ko'te=ncet-u ko'te=ncet-u-mu	ko'te=ncet j-a-m	cat
	DEF	ko'te=ncet-u=ne ko'te=ncet-u-mu=ne	ko'te=ncet j-a-na-m	
ko'pelče	INDEF	ko'pel=čet-u ko'pel=čet-u-mu	ko'pel=čet j-a-m	boy
	DEF	ko'pel=čet-u=ne ko'pel=čet-u-mu=ne	ko'pel=čet j-a-na-m	

### 9.3 STRESS IN AUGMENTATIVE AND DIMINUTIVE NOUNS

Stress can be predicted for the vast majority of nouns in the augmentative and diminutive as described below. In diminutives and augmentatives derived from masculine and feminine nouns, stress is fixed and does not shift when the plural and definite are formed. Some neuter nouns switch stress when forming the plural diminutive. See below.

#### Neuter Nouns Ending in *u*

In regular neuter nouns ending in *u* the stress shifts from the singular diminutive stem when the plural indefinite suffix is attached. The final syllable bears the stress. The stress remains on this syllable when the plural definite is formed. This change does not affect augmentative nouns:

		PL INDEF	PL DEF	
SIMPLE	se'lu	sel a'	sel a'=na	village
DIM	se'l=ce	sel=c a'	selc a'=na	

### Nouns with Fixed Stress in the Simple Definite

With only five exceptions in my data, all simple nouns which do not switch stress when forming the definite retain stress on the stem when the augmentative or diminutive is derived:

	SIMPLE DEF	AUG	DIM	
top	to'p=an	to'p=ište	to'p=če	ball
ima'm	ima'm=an	ima'm=ište	ima'm=če	imam
te'njöra	te'njöra=na	te'njör=ište	te'njör=ka	saucepan
ku'če	ku'če=nu	ku'čet=ište	ku'če=nce	dog

The following nouns are irregular:

	SIMPLE DEF	AUG	DIM	
mu'xa	mu'xa=na	muš=i'šte	muš=i'nka	fly
mo'ma	mo'ma=na	mum=i'šte	mum=i'nka	girl

The stress shifts in the formation of the augmentative but not in the diminutive in the following noun:

	SIMPLE DEF	AUG	DIM	
do'rvu	do'rvu=nu	darv=i'šte	do'rv=ce	wood

The stress shifts irregularly only in the formation of the augmentative plural in the following two nouns:

		SIMPLE DEF	AUG	DIM	
miya'lu	SG	miya'lu=nu	miya'let=ište	miya'l=ce	sink, washbasin
	PL	miyal a'=na	miyal=i'št a	miyal=c a'	
kula'nu	SG	kula'nu=nu	kula'net=ište	kula'n=ce	knee
	PL	kulen a'=na	kulan=i'št a	kulan=c a'	

### Nouns with Mobile Stress in the Simple Definite

Nouns with mobile stress are stressed on the suffix in the augmentative and diminutive forms. The only nouns to bear stress on the final syllable in the singular indefinite are those which take the monosyllabic suffix =čö'. In all other nouns, the first syllable of the augmentative or diminutive suffix is stressed. Vowel alternations in the simple noun triggered by stress shift are replicated in the augmentative and diminutive forms.

	SIMPLE DEF	AUG	DIM	
gorb	garb=o'n	garb=i'sšte	garb=čö'	upper back
laxt	laxt=ö'n	laxt=i'sšte	laxt=čö'	elbow
gla'va	glav=o'na	glav=i'sšte	glav=i'nka	head
ro'ka	rak=o'na	rač=i'sšte	rač=i'nka	hand, arm
u'šu	uš=ö'na	uš=i'sšte	uš=i'nku	ear

#### **ko'za**

In the noun *ko'za* 'goat', the stress shifts only in the plural definite of the simple form, but in the augmentative and diminutive the suffix is stressed in both the singular and plural forms:

	SIMPLE DEF	AUG	DIM	
SG	ko'za	ko'za=na	kuz=i'sšte	kuz=i'nka
PL	ko'zji	kuzji'=ne	kuz=i'stja	kuz=i'nkji

#### **de'te**

In *de'te* 'child', the singular derived forms are stressed on the stem but in the plural the stress shifts to the suffix. This mirrors the change that occurs in the simple noun: the stem is stressed in the singular definite but the stress shifts to the plural suffix when the plural definite is formed:

	SIMPLE DEF	AUG	DIM	
SG	de'te	de'te=nu	de'tet=i'sšte	de'te=nce
PL	de'tji	detji'=ne	deč=i'stja	deč=i'nkji

### **9.4** CONSONANT ALTERNATIONS IN NOUNS

The following alternations affect the final stem consonant when the augmentative or diminutive suffix is formed. The alternations *x ~ š*, *g ~ ž* and *š ~ x* are rare and so all occurrences in my data are listed:



## k ~ č

This is the most frequent alternation, with only three exceptions in my data. In masculine nouns with the diminutive suffix =če, the final *k* of the stem elides:

	AUG	DIM	
smok	smo'č=ište	smo'=če	grass snake
barda'k	barda'č=ište	barda'=če	drinking glass
o'ku	uč=i'šte	uč=i'nku	eye
ma'yka	ma'yč=ište	ma'yč=inka	mother
dušma'n=ka	dušma'n=č=ište	dušma'n=č=inka	enemy

Only three nouns in my data which form the diminutive with the suffix =čö' have stem final *k*. In these nouns the *k* does not elide. Consonantal alternation *k ~ č* occurs however when the augmentative is formed:

	AUG	DIM	
buk	buč=i'šte	buk=čö'	beech tree
čuk	čuč=i'šte	čuk=čö'	hammer
bik	bič=i'šte	bik=čö'	bull

In nouns where the consonants *t* or *č* precede *k*, these elide when the augmentative or diminutive suffix is attached:

	AUG	DIM	
ki'tka	ki'č=ište	ki'č=inka	flower
pli'tka	pli'č=ište	pli'č=inka	plait
me'čka	me'č=ište	me'č=inka	bear

## c ~ č

This alternation occurs in nine out of the ten feminine nouns for which there are data. Only one masculine noun and one neuter noun show this alternation, but stem-final *c* occurs in only two masculine<sup>156</sup> nouns and is rare in the neuter:

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<sup>156</sup> *yezduve'c* 'widower' is the other masculine noun ending in the consonant *c*. It is not known by all speakers and those who use it say that there is no diminutive or augmentative form.

	AUG	DIM	
konc	kunč=i'šte	kun=čö'	thread
yezduvi'ca	yezduvi'č=ište	yezduvi'č=ka	widow
o'fca	ufč=i'šte	ufč=i'nka	sheep

In the following neuter noun the alternation occurs only in the augmentative form:

	AUG	DIM	
so'rce	sarč=i'šte	so'rce=nce	heart
		sarc=i'nku	

In the noun *ma'ca* 'table' the final consonant does not alternate in either the augmentative or diminutive form.

### **s/z ~ x**

This alternation is optional in the formation of diminutives derived from masculine nouns:

glas	glax=čö'	glas=čö'	voice
kafe's	kafe'x=če	kafe's=če	cage
kos	ko'x=če	ko's=če	blackbird
maydano's	maydano'x=če	maydano's=če	parsley
nus	nux=čö'	nus=čö'	nose
bulu'z	bulu'x=če	bulu'z=če	jumper, top
deni'z	deni'x=če	deni'z=če	sea
o'braz	o'brax=če	o'braz=če	face
traka'z	traka'x=če	traka'z=če	door handle
marango'z	marango'x=če	marango'z=če	carpenter
xafu'z	xafu'x=če	xafu'z=če	hafiz

In two neuter nouns in my data this alternation also occurs, but a variant form with s exists only for the noun *li'stu*:

li'stu	li'x=ce	li's=ce	leaf
mö'su	mex=ce'	(none)	meat

The noun *praz* 'ram' is an exception. Note that if the alternation occurred the diminutive form of *praz* with x would be identical in form to the diminutive form of *prax* 'dust'. See below.

praz	praz=čö'
------	----------

### x ~ š

This alternation occurs only in the augmentative form in four masculine nouns, but in the feminine noun *mu'xa* the alternation occurs in both the augmentative and diminutive forms:

	AUG	DIM	
bux	buš=i'šte	bux=čö'	owl
polx	palš=i'šte	palx=čö'	rat, mouse
grex	greš=i'šte	grex=čö'	sin
prax	praš=i'šte	prax=čö'	dust
mu'xa	muš=i'šte	muš=i'nka	fly

### g ~ ž

This alternation occurs only in the augmentative form of the three masculine nouns below:

	AUG	DIM	
prag	praž=i'šte	prag=čö'	threshold
sneg	snež=i'šte	sneg=čö'	snow
rog	ruž=i'šte	rug=čö'	horn (anatomical)
no'ga	nuž=i'šte	nuž=i'nka	leg, foot
tuya'ga	tuya'ž=ište	tuya'ž=ka	stick
kini'ga	kini'ž=ište	kini'ž=ka	paper

The noun *vä'žga* 'eyebrow' is an exception. See section 9.1.1 under vowel-final feminine nouns and section 9.2.1 under feminine nouns with the suffix *=inka*.

### š ~ x

This alternation occurs in three nouns in my data. All diminutive forms have an alternative variant with *š* but only *ko'šta* has an alternative variant with *š* in the augmentative. *Ko'šta* is irregular in having the final stem consonant *t* rather than *k* and this is the only occurrence in my data of alternation *t ~ č*:

	AUG		DIM	
po'ška	po'xč=ište	po'xč=inka	seed	
		po'šč=inka		
vä'ška	ve'xč=ište	vä'xč=inka	eyebrow	
		vä'šč=inka		
ko'šta	ko'xč=ište	ko'xč=inka	house	
	ko'št=ište	ko'šč=inka		

## 9.5 ADJECTIVES<sup>157</sup>

With the exception of adjectives in =*ski* and those which do not decline, most adjectives take diminutive suffixes. The diminutive suffix is attached to the masculine singular indefinite form of the simple adjective, hereafter referred to as the stem. Consonant alternation *k* ~ *č* occurs in adjectives with stem final *k*.

### NEUTER, FEMININE AND PLURAL

#### Suffix =*k*

Neuter and feminine singular and plural adjectives most frequently form the diminutive with the suffix =*k*. The feminine, neuter or plural suffix is then attached:

	NEUT	FEM	PL	
bäl	bäl=k u	bäl=k a	bäl=k i	white
mład	mład=d=k u	mład=d=k a	mład=d=k i	young

The adjective *mi'šek* 'small' is irregular. The final syllable *šek* elides and is replaced by the consonant *t* when the diminutive suffix is attached:

	NEUT	FEM	PL
mi'šek	mi't=k u	mi't=k a	mi't=k i

<sup>157</sup> K4 is alone in mentioning diminutive adjectives. He lists only singular forms. The suffixes are =*chek* masculine and =*k* for the feminine and neuter. Consonant alternation *k* ~ *č* occurs in feminine and neuter adjectives ending in *k*. In masculine adjectives the final *k* elides before the suffix is attached (97). The simple forms of the adjectives are given on page 30.

ténak	téna=chek	ténach=k a	ténach=k o	thin
chóran	chôran=chek	chóran=k a	chóran=k o	black

### Alternative Suffix =č*k*

Eight adjectives in my data which end in a consonant other than *k* may take an alternative diminutive suffix =č*k*. In six instances the vowel *i* is added to the stem before the suffix is attached:

	NEUT	FEM	PL	
slab	sla'bi=čk u	sla'bi=čk a	sla'bi=čk j	weak
	sla'b=k u	sla'b=k a	sla'b=k j	

Other adjectives in my data which may form the diminutive with this suffix are:

	DIM =č <i>k</i>	DIM = <i>k</i>	
dre'ban	dre'ban=čk u	dre'ban=k u	small
si'tan	si'tan=čk u	si'tan=k u	fine
mi'šek	mi'ti=čk u	mi't=k u	small
nafeli't	nafeli'ti=čk u	nafeli't=k u	naughty
nov	no'vi=čk u	no'v=k u	new
siv	si'vi=čk u	si'v=k u	grey
star	sta'ri=čk u	sta'r=k u	old

### Syncope

Simple adjectives in which the final vowel of the stem is syncopeated in inflection retain this vowel when forming the diminutive:

	NEUT	FEM	PL	
si'tan	SIMPLE si'tn u	si'tn a	si'tn j	fine
	DIM si'tan=k u	si'tan=k a	si'tan=k j	

### Consonant Alternation *k* ~ *č*

Consonant Alternation *k* ~ *č* occurs in all adjectives ending in *k* in my data when the feminine, neuter and plural diminutive are formed:

	NEUT	FEM	PL	
viso'k	viso'č=k u	viso'č=k a	viso'č=k j	tall

## MASCULINE

Masculine diminutive forms of adjectives are much rarer than neuter, feminine and plural forms. I have never heard them in spontaneous speech and some speakers do not recognize them or state that only certain masculine adjectives may form the diminutive.

### Suffix =ček

The masculine adjectives which form the diminutive take the suffix =ček, with one exception in my data. The suffix is attached directly to the stem. Exceptions are listed below:

běl	bě'l=ček	white
debe'l	debe'l=ček	fat

In the following eight adjectives the vowel *i* is added to the masculine stem before the diminutive suffix is attached:

mlad	mła'di=ček	young
bí'star	bí'stri=ček	clear
krop	kro'pi=ček	short
mi'šek	mi'ti=ček	small
nafeli't	nafeli'ti=ček	naughty
siv	si'vi=ček	grey
slab	sla'bi=ček	weak
tó'šek	tó'si=ček	heavy

The vowel *i* may also be added to the stem *nov* when the diminutive suffix is attached, but a variant regular diminutive form also exists.

nov	no'vi=ček	no'v=ček	new
-----	-----------	----------	-----

### Suffix =k

The adjective *div* 'wild' forms the diminutive with the suffix =k. The final stem consonant is palatalized and the vowel *e* is added to the stem before the diminutive suffix is attached:

div	di'vye=k	wild
-----	----------	------

## DEFINITE OF ADJECTIVES

### Neuter, Feminine and Plural

The definite singular of feminine and neuter adjectives is formed with the definite suffix =*na* or =*nu*: all feminine adjectives take the suffix =*na*, while all neuter adjectives take the suffix =*nu*. All plural adjectives form the definite with the suffix =*ne*:

	NEUT	FEM	PL	
bäl	bä'l=k u=nu	bä'l=k a=na	bä'l=k j=ne	white
mlad	mla'd=k u=nu	mla'd=k a=na	mla'd=k j=ne	young

### Masculine

The definite singular of masculine adjectives is formed with the suffix =*en*. The vowel *e* of the diminutive suffix =*ček* is syncopated when the definite suffix is attached:

kriv	kri'v=čk=en	crooked
mi'šek	mi'ti=čk=en	small
širo'k	širo'=čk=en	wide

Some adjectives form the definite of the masculine singular with the diminutive suffix =*k* rather than =*čk*. No adjectives ending in *k* take this alternative suffix; if they did the simple form would then be identical with the diminutive.

bä'l	bä'l=k=en	white
debe'l	debe'l=k=en	fat
gro'zan	gro'zan=k=en	ugly
gulä'm	gulä'm=k=en	big
star	sta'r=k=en	old
glad	gla'd=k=en	smooth
stude'n	stude'n=k=en	cold

The following adjectives may take either suffix:

mlad	mla'd=k=en	mla'di=čk=en	young
slab	sla'b=k=en	sla'bi=čk=en	weak
si'tan	si'tan=k=en	si'tan=čk=en	fine

## ADJECTIVES AND CASE

Diminutive forms of adjectives may inflect for the dative case and take the same suffixes as non-diminutive adjectives.

	MASC/NEUT	FEM	PL	
DIM	viso'č=k-u-mu	viso'č=k-u-xi	viso'č=k j-i-m	tall
	viso'č=k-u-mu=ne	viso'č=k-u=ne-xi	viso'č=k j=ne-m	
SIMPLE	viso'k-u-mu	viso'k-u-xi	viso'k j-i-m	
	viso'k-u-mu=ne	viso'k-u=ne-xi	viso'k j=ne-m	

ya                      še    *da-m*                      *viso'č=k-u-mu=ne*                      *čulä'k-u-mu*                      *kaxvö'* [Ak]  
 PRO.1SG.NOM    FUT    give-1SG.PRS    tall=DIM-DAT-M.DAT=ART.DIST    man-DAT-M.DAT    coffee  
 'I will give the tall man a coffee.'

## COLLOCATION

It is possible to qualify a diminutive noun with a simple adjective or to qualify a simple noun with a diminutive adjective. The following three phrases are all acceptable:

sta'r-a žen=i'nka                      old woman  
 sta'r=ka že'na  
 sta'r=ka žen=i'nka

### 9.6 NAMES<sup>158</sup>

I have never heard augmentative forms of names used in spontaneous speech but was able to elicit examples from informants. Diminutive suffixes are used with names particularly when addressing young children but can be used for people of any age. According to informants, plural and definite diminutive and augmentative forms of names exist but I have only heard the indefinite singular diminutive form in spontaneous speech. The augmentative and diminutive of names are formed in the same way as for common nouns. The stress never shifts when these forms are derived. Definite forms of augmentative and diminutive names are shown together with the indefinite forms. There are no examples of diminutive or augmentative forms of names from declension 4 in my data and only incomplete information on forms from declension 3.

<sup>158</sup> K4 is the only grammar to give examples of derived diminutive names. Masculine names take the suffixes =*ko* or =*che*: *Halil*, *Halil=ko*, *Halil=che*. Feminine names take the suffix =*inka*: *Eminä*, *Emin=inka* (72).



## NAMES DECLENSION 2

All names from declension 2 form the diminutive with the suffix *=inka*:

		SG INDEF	SG DEF	PL INDEF	PL DEF
Safiya'	AUG	Safiy=i'šte	Safiy=i'šte=nu	Safiy=i'št a	Safiy=i'št a=na
	DIM	Safiy=i'nka	Safiy=i'nka=na	Safiy=i'nk j	Safiy=i'nk j=ne

## NAMES DECLENSION 1

The diminutive singular of names from declension 1 is formed with the suffix *=če* or *=ku*. The choice of suffix depends on the preference of the speaker. I heard a young child *Naz* referred to as both *Na'z=če* and *Na'z=ku* by different speakers on separate occasions.

The plural and definite of diminutive names in *=če* are formed in the same way as for common nouns. No definite forms of names with the diminutive suffix *=ku* exist in my data.

		SG INDEF	SG DEF	PL INDEF	PL DEF
Xikme't	AUG	Xikme't=ište	Xikme't=ište=nu	Xikme't=išt a	Xikme't=išt a=na
	DIM	Xikme't=če	Xikme't=če=nu	Xikme't=čet a	Xikme't=čet a=na
Muzeye'n	AUG	Muzeye'n=ište	Muzeye'n=ište=nu	Muzeye'n=išt a	Muzeye'n=išt a=na
	DIM	Muzeye'n=če <sup>159</sup>	Muzeye'n=če=nu	Muzeye'n=čet a	Muzeye'n=čet a=na

## AGREEMENT

As with common nouns, names in the augmentative take neuter agreement. Declension 1 diminutive names also take neuter agreement but declension 2 diminutive names take feminine agreement.

*Xikme't=če=nu*      *ye*      *pi'sa-l|u*      *mextu'p* [Af]  
 Hikmet=DIM=ART.DIST be.AUX.3SG.PRS write-PTCP.PST|N letter  
 'Hikmet wrote a letter.'

*Xikme't=ište=nu*      *ra'buti-l|u*      *ye*      *na Alema'n|a* [Aa]  
 Hikmet=AUG=ART.DIST work-PTCP.PST|N be.AUX.3SG.PRS in Germany  
 'Hikmet worked in Germany.'

<sup>159</sup> The variant *Muzeye'n=ku* also exists.

*Safiy=i'nka ye me'si-l|a x|āb [Aa]*  
Safiya=DIM be.AUX.3SG PRS knead-PTCP.PST|F bread  
'Safiya kneaded bread.'

*Xasiy=i'ste=su ye ubra'-l|u misi'r=et [Aa]*  
Hasiya=AUG=ART.PROX be.AUX.3SG.PRS pick-PTCP.PST|N maize=ART.MED  
'Hasiya picked the maize.'

## NAMES AND DEFINITENESS

The definite article is always used with names from declensions 1 and 2 in the augmentative and with names from declension 1 in the diminutive as in the examples above, unless the person is being addressed. This contrasts with simple names, which have no definite singular form:

*Suza'n=ište, kana' pra'vi-š? [Ak]*  
Susan=AUG what do-2SG.PRS  
'Susan, what are you doing?'

*Suza'n=ište=nu, kana' pra'vi-0? [Ak]*  
Susan=AUG=ART.DIST what do-3SG.PRS  
'What is Susan doing?'

*Xikme't=če ye'la aytu'va [Aa]*  
Hikmet=DIM come.IMP here  
'Come here Hikmet.'

*ubi'-l|a sam Xikme't=ište=nu [Af]*  
injure-PTCP.PST|F be.AUX.1SG.PRS Hikmet=AUG=ART.DIST  
'I injured Hikmet.'

*ka'ra-l|a sa sam sas Muzeye'n=če=nu [Ak]*  
quarrel-PTCP.PST|F REFL be.AUX.1SG.PRS with Muzeyen=DIM=ART.DIST  
'I quarrelled with Muzeyen.'

## NAMES AND CASE

The augmentative and diminutive forms of names distinguish dative but not oblique case. Diminutive names from declension 1 and all augmentative names occur with the definite suffix in the dative case. In contrast, diminutive names belonging to declension 2 always occur in the

indefinite in the dative. Examples of names in the dative case occur only in the singular in my data. All names with the exception of diminutives derived from names belonging to declension 2 take the same dative suffixes as augmentative and diminutive common nouns. Diminutive names from declension 2 inflect as simple feminine names.

SIMPLE	DAT DIM	DAT AUG
Xikme't	Xikme't=čet-u=ne Xikme't=čet-u-mu=ne	Xikme't=ište-mu=ne
Muzeye'n	Muzeye'n=čet-u=ne Muzeye'n=čet-u-mu=ne	Muzeye'n=ište-mu=ne
Safiya'	Safiy=i'nk-i	Safiy=i'šte-mu=ne

*ni'za-l|a*                                  *sam*                          *Safiy=i'šte-mu=ne* [Af]  
 thread.tobacco.leaves-PTCP.PST|F be.AUX.1SG.PRS Safiya=AUG-DAT=ART.DIST  
 'I threaded tobacco leaves for Safiya.'

*du'mi-l|a*                          *sam*                          *Xikme't=ište-mu=ne* [Af]  
 speak-PTCP.PST|F be.AUX.1SG.PRS Hikmet=AUG-DAT=ART.DIST  
 'I spoke to Hikmet.'

*day*      *sela'm*      *Xikme't=čet-u=ne* [Aa]  
 give.IMP greetings Hikmet=DIM-DAT=ART.DIST  
 'Greet Hikmet.'

*puma'ga-l|a*      *sam*                          *Muzeye'n=čet-u=ne* [Aa]  
 help-PTCP.PST|F be.AUX.1SG.PRS Muzeyen=DIM-DAT=ART.DIST  
 'I helped Muzeyen.'

## Chapter 10

### VERBS

The coverage of the verb here is cursory as in the time allotted to fieldwork I was unable to collect sufficient data to analyse the verb in depth. If I had a much larger corpus I would have included a section on aspect.

In Pomak all verb stems end in a vowel and in this chapter verbs are cited as a plain, abstract stem as it is from this form that other forms are most readily constructed. Verbs from *i/e* conjugation are cited with the ending *i/e*: *pla'či/e-* 'to cry'. A single inverted comma is used to mark stress in the citation forms of verbs with fixed stress. Verbs with mobile stress are marked with a double inverted comma in the citation form. All verbs are composed of two or more syllables, with only eight exceptions in my data. The verbs *ye''-* and *da''-* take the stem extension =*dV* in the non-past and past: *ya-m* 1 SG, *ye=de'-š* 2 SG; *da-m* 1 SG, *da=de'-š* 2 SG.

sa''-	to be
ye''-	to eat
da''-	to give
spi'-	to sleep
se'-	to sieve, sow, suckle
sme'- sa	to laugh
gre'-	to warm
zve'- sa	to be called

All verbs in the first person singular non-past have final stem vowel *a* or *e*, the only known exceptions being five monosyllabic verbs and *nište'* 'to not want'. The final stem vowel in these verbs is *o* or *ö*. See tables 10.14 and 10.15. The final stem vowel of Pomak verbs never bears stress in the first person singular non-past, with the single exception of *nište'*, *ništo'-m*, in which *ni-* is arguably a negative proclitic.

Note that the second person plural is not used as a polite form of address as it is in standard Bulgarian.

The parts of the verb distinguished here are non-past, past, past participle, imperative and prohibitive. For many verbs an imperfective and perfective form exist. I have indicated the aspect of verbs where this has a bearing on inflection. Perfective forms of verbs cannot form an independent present tense but in the non-past must be preceded by a particle such as *še* FUT or *da* COMP; neither can they form the prohibitive, which must always be formed from the imperfective verb. Compare the verbs *pi'sva-* IPFV and *pi'si/e-* PFV below:

pi'svam	I am writing
*pi'šem	
še pi'svam	I will be writing
še pi'šem	I will write
ni'muy pi'sva	Do not write

As with nominals, phonological changes occur in the verbal system under certain conditions. These changes include vowel and consonant alternation and the elision of vowels and consonants. See sections 10.4 and 10.5 below.

## 10.1 INFLECTION

The inflectional suffixes for the non-past, past and past participle are the same for every verb regardless of its conjugation and they are listed below. The irregular verb *sa''-* is the only verb with a distinct inflectional pattern in the non-past.

### Non-past

-m  
-š  
-0  
-me  
-te  
-t

### Past

Only one simple past tense has been identified in the Paševik dialect of Pomak. The second and third person singular are both formed with the suffix *-še*, although an alternative form with a zero ending exists for some verbs. Speakers state that there is no difference in meaning between these two forms and not all speakers agree on which verbs may take the alternative suffix. A small number of verbs form the past of the second and third person singular with a zero suffix only and these are listed in section 10.4.

-x  
-še / -0  
-še / -0  
-xme  
-xte  
-xa

The final syllable *yi/e* elides in all trisyllabic verbs ending in *yem* when the past is formed and in some bisyllabic verbs ending in *yem*. See section 10.5.2 for details.

### Past Participle

The past participle is formed with the suffix *-l* and distinguishes gender in the singular and inflects for the plural. It is used to form the compound past tense with the auxiliary verb *sa''-*.

-l	M
-l a	F
-l u	N
-l i	PL

The syllable *yi/e* elides in all trisyllabic verbs ending in *yem* when the past participle is formed and in many bisyllabic verbs ending in *yem*. Full details can be found in section 10.5.2.

### Imperative

With the exception of a few irregular forms and the nine trisyllabic verbs ending in *yem*, all imperatives are formed from the non-past verb stem minus the final vowel and take the suffixes listed below. In conjugation *a* the consonant *y*, shown in parentheses, is not pronounced by all speakers. The imperative suffix is never stressed. The five monosyllabic verbs ending in the vowel *ö* or *o* in the first person singular non-past form the imperative with the suffix *-ey*. The plural of the imperative is always formed with the suffix *-te*.

SG	PL	
-a(y)	-a(y)-te	conjugation <i>a</i>
-i	-i-te	conjugations <i>e''</i> , <i>i'</i> , <i>i''</i> , <i>i/e'</i> , <i>i/e''</i>
-ey	-ey-te	conjugation <i>e'</i> ; monosyllabic verbs ending in vowel <i>ö</i> or <i>o</i> 1SG non-past

### Prohibitive

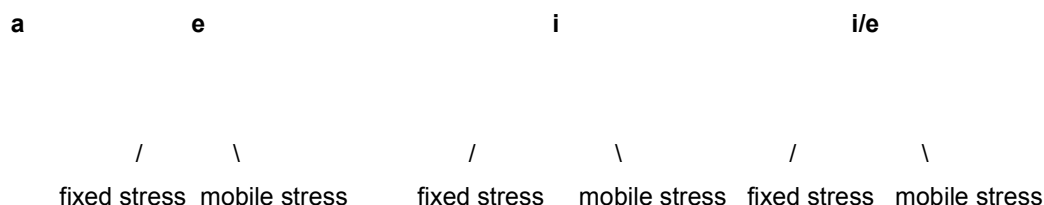
The prohibitive is always preceded by *ni'muy* in the singular and *ni'muy-te* in the plural. In many regular verbs with fixed stress the prohibitive is identical to the third person singular of the non-past. In most verbs with mobile stress, the prohibitive is formed from the stem of the past participle. The prohibitive of perfective verbs is identical to that of the imperfective form of the verb. See below for more details on the formation of prohibitives.

## 10.2 CONJUGATIONS

In Pomak and in standard Bulgarian the verb has been categorised into three conjugations: *a*, *e* and *i* (D6: 183; K4: 75; S3: 216; H9: 85). I have added conjugation *i/e*. These conjugations are based on which theme vowel occurs in the suffixes of the non-past. With very few exceptions, the theme vowel occurs in the first person singular and third person plural of non-past suffixes only in conjugation *a* and in verbs with fixed stress in conjugation *e*. Within conjugations *e*, *i* and *i/e* verbs are also classified according to whether they have fixed or mobile stress in the non-past. In verbs with mobile stress, the first person singular is stressed differently to the other five persons. The majority of verbs with mobile stress in the non-past are stressed on the final vowel of the past stem. Most verbs with fixed stress, plus all trisyllabic verbs ending in *yem*, inflect regularly and the theme vowel occurs in all forms of the verb. All other verbs with mobile stress are less regular in their inflection: the past participle stem does not invariably end in the theme vowel and the final vowel of the past stem varies. None of these vowels can be predicted. In addition, the theme vowel is seldom present in the prohibitive as it is formed from the past participle stem rather than from the non-past.

The conjugations of verb classes are illustrated in the following tree:

### Diagram 10.1 Verb conjugations



#### 10.2.1 CONJUGATION *a*

This conjugation is very frequent both lexically and textually and is the most regular. With the exception of two irregular verbs the theme vowel is present in all forms of the verb. The stress is fixed except in the past and past participle of the verb *i'ma-* 'to have'. The imperative is formed from the non-past verb stem, with the addition of the consonant *y* for most but not all speakers. The prohibitive is also formed from the non-past verb stem.

Table 10.1 Paradigm ču'ka-						
VERB	NON-PAST	PAST	PP	IMP	PROH	GLOSS
ču'ka-	ču'ka-m	ču'ka-x	ču'ka-l	ču'k-a(y)	ču'k-a	knock, bang
	ču'ka-š	ču'ka-še	ču'ka-l a	ču'k-a(y)-te		
	ču'ka-0	ču'ka-še	ču'ka-l u			
	ču'ka-me	ču'ka-xme	ču'ka-l i			
	ču'ka-te	ču'ka-xte				
	ču'ka-t	ču'ka-xa				

Other verbs that belong to this conjugation include:

bä'ga-	to go away
ča'ka-	to wait
ka'ra-	to drive, ride, transport, scold
pi'ta-	to ask
pla'ta- IPFV	to pay
puma'ga-	to help
ru'ka-	to shout, call, invite
tu'mka-	to play the drum
vi'ka-	to say
zafa'ta- IPFV	to begin
zi'ma- IPFV	to take
glö'da-	to see
da'va- IPFV	to give
pruda'va- IPFV	to sell
razda'va-	to distribute
kla'va- IPFV	to put
kano'sva-	to paint with henna
pi'sva- IPFV	to write
ka'zva- IPFV	to tell
razri'va- IPFV	to spread muck
si'pva- IPFV	to pour, put
skri'va- IPFV	to hide
sta'nva- IPFV	to become, get up, stand up, happen
kupo'va- IPFV	to buy

Paradigms of the irregular verbs *i'ma-* 'to have' and *se'ta- sa* 'to remember' are set out in table 10.2 below. Both verbs form the non-past regularly but the final stem vowel of the past and past participle is not the theme vowel. In addition the verb *i'ma-* has mobile stress in the past and past participle and no imperative or prohibitive forms exist for this verb.



Table 10.2 Paradigms <i>i'ma-</i> , <i>se'ta- sa</i>						
VERB	NON-PAST	PAST	PP	IMP	PROH	GLOSS
<i>i'ma-</i>	<i>i'ma-m</i>	<i>imä'-x</i>	<i>imä'-l</i>	none	none	have
	<i>i'ma-š</i>	<i>imä'-še</i>	<i>imä'-l a</i>			
	<i>i'ma-0</i>	<i>imä'-še</i>	<i>imä'-l u</i>			
	<i>i'ma-me</i>	<i>imä'-xme</i>	<i>imä'-l i</i>			
	<i>i'ma-te</i>	<i>imä'-xte</i>				
	<i>i'ma-t</i>	<i>imä'-xa</i>				
<i>se'ta- sa</i>	<i>se'ta-m</i>	<i>se'ti-x</i>	<i>se'ti-l</i>	<i>se't-a(y)</i>	<i>se't-a</i>	remember
	<i>se'ta-š</i>	<i>se'ti-0</i> or <i>se'ta-še</i>	<i>se'ti-l a</i>	<i>se't-a(y)-te</i>		
	<i>se'ta-0</i>	<i>se'ti-0</i> or <i>se'ta-še</i>	<i>se'ti-l u</i>			
	<i>se'ta-me</i>	<i>se'ti-xme</i>	<i>se'ti-l i</i>			
	<i>se'ta-te</i>	<i>se'ti-xte</i>				
	<i>se'ta-t</i>	<i>se'ti-xa</i>				

## 10.2.2 CONJUGATION *e*

### 10.2.2.1 *e* Conjugation with Fixed Stress

Only five verbs in my data have the theme vowel *e* with fixed stress and all are regular. The theme vowel occurs in every form of the verb. The imperative and prohibitive are formed from the non-past verb stem. Note that the consonant *y* in the imperative suffix is not optional as it is in verbs from conjugation *a*.

Table 10.3 Paradigm <i>kla'ne- sa</i>						
VERB	NON-PAST	PAST	PP	IMP	PROH	GLOSS
<i>kla'ne- sa</i>	<i>kla'ne-m</i>	<i>kla'ne-x</i>	<i>kla'ne-l</i>	<i>kla'n-ey</i>	<i>kla'n-e</i>	pray
	<i>kla'ne-š</i>	<i>kla'ne-še</i> or <i>kla'ne-0</i>	<i>kla'ne-l a</i>	<i>kla'n-ey-te</i>		
	<i>kla'ne-0</i>	<i>kla'ne-še</i> or <i>kla'ne-0</i>	<i>kla'ne-l u</i>			
	<i>kla'ne-me</i>	<i>kla'ne-xme</i>	<i>kla'ne-l i</i>			
	<i>kla'ne-te</i>	<i>kla'ne-xte</i>				
	<i>kla'ne-t</i>	<i>kla'ne-xa</i>				

The following four verbs inflect as *kla'ne- sa*:

*ba'ne- sa*        to bathe  
*slu'še-*        to listen  
*naxa'de- IPFV*   to find  
*duxaxa'de- IPFV* to come

### 10.2.2.2 e Conjugation with Mobile Stress

Verbs with mobile stress most frequently belong to conjugation e. Twenty-four such verbs in my data are bisyllabic and two are monosyllabic. In the non-past, with the exception of four verbs ending in *yem* in which the final stem vowel of the third person plural ends in *ö*, and the deficient verb *teče*"- 'to flow' which exists only in the third person singular and plural, the stems of all verbs in this category end in *a* in the first person singular and in *o* in the third person plural.

Although the non-past paradigms for conjugation e with mobile stress are regular, there are several irregularities in the other forms of these verbs. The four verbs ending in *yem* in this class are more regular in their inflection and are described separately below.

#### Past

The final stem vowel is stressed in most verbs in the past with the exception of the following verbs: *da*"-, 'to give', *klade*"-, 'to put' and *reke*"-, 'to say'. In the verbs *baxte*"- 'to beat', *seke*"- 'to chop' and *strige*"- 'to shear', a variant of the first person singular exists in which the stem is stressed: *baxtä*'-x, *bo'xta*-x; *sečä*'-x, *se'ka*-x; *striže*'-x, *stri'ga*-x.

The past stem may end in the vowel *a*, *ä* or *e* and this cannot be predicted. In some verbs the stem ends in a distinct vowel in the second and third person singular only. See the verb *da*"- below.

#### **Verbs Ending in *yem***

Verbs ending in *yem* form the past with the vowel *a*. The verb *piye*"- 'to drink' may additionally form the past with the vowel *i*, when elision of *ye* occurs. This variant is rare.

#### Past Participle

The final vowel of bisyllabic past participle stems is stressed in most verbs, with the exception of the verb *baxte*"- 'to beat' and those verbs in which vowel syncope occurs: *peke*"-, 'to bake', *pe'ka*-l M, *pe'k-l*|a F 'baked'. A full list of these verbs can be found in section 10.5.1.

All past participle stems formed of two syllables end in *a*, with the exception of the irregular past participle *reko*-l 'said', from *reke*"- 'to say'. However, many of the monosyllabic past participles are irregular, with frequent elision of vowels or consonants.

## Verbs ending in *yem*

The past participle stem is formed from the 3SG of the non-past and the syllable *ye* elides. The verb *puye*"- 'to read, sing, study' is irregular as the stem vowel changes to *ä* when the past participle is formed.

### Imperative

Regular imperatives are formed from the non-past verb stem. The final vowel elides and is replaced by the suffix *-i*. As the suffix is never stressed in imperatives, these forms undergo vowel alternation.

VERB	3SG NON-PAST	IMP	GLOSS
guve"	guve'-0	go'v-i go'v-i-te	fast
baxte"	baxte'-0	bo'xt-i bo'xt-i-te	beat

Several irregular imperatives occur in this class and a full list is given in section 10.4.

### Prohibitive

The prohibitives of many verbs in this class are regular and can be predicted. The four perfective verbs have the same prohibitive as the imperfective form of the verb. Sixteen verbs form the prohibitive from the past participle stem and retain the stress of the past participle, with the single exception of *igre*"- 'to play', *igra'-I* 'played', *ni'muy i'gr-a* 'do not play'. The final vowel of the past participle elides when the prohibitive is formed in the three verbs that undergo vowel syncope in the past participle: *seke*"- 'to chop', *se'ka-I* 'chopped', *ni'muy sek* 'do not chop'. Two verbs in *yem* form the prohibitive from the non-past stem, as do other verbs in *yem* from different conjugations: *piye*"- 'to drink', *ni'muy piy* 'do not drink'; *plüye*"- 'to spit', *ni'muy plüy* 'do not spit'. Three verbs form the prohibitive irregularly:

pluye"	pluy-a'	to float, swim
ye"	ye	to eat
žive"	žiy	to live

Table 10.4 Paradigms conjugation e with mobile stress							
VERB	NON-PAST	PAST		PP	IMP	PROH	GLOSS
žive''-	ži'va-m žive'-š žive'-0 žive'-me žive'-te živo'-t	živä'-x živä'-še živä'-še živä'-xme živä'-xte zivä'-xa		živa'-l živa'-l a živa'-l u živa'-l i	ži'v-i ži'v-i-te	žiy	live
baxte''-	bo'xta-m baxte'-š baxte'-0 baxte'-me baxte'-xte baxto'-t	bo'xta-x or baxtä'-x baxtä'-še or baxtä'-0 baxtä'-še or baxtä'-0 baxtä'-xme baxtä'-xte baxtä'-xa		bo'xta-l bo'xta-l a bo'xta-l u bo'xta-l i	bo'xt-i bo'xt-i-te	bo'xt-a	beat
piye''-	pi'ye-m piye'-š piye'-0 piye'-me piye'-te piyö'-t	piya'-x piya'-še or piyä'-0 piya'-še or piyä'-0 piya'-xme piya'-xte piya'-xa	pi-x pi-0 pi-0 pi'-xme pi'-xte pi'-xa	pi-l pi'-l a pi'-l u pi'-l i	pi'y-i pi'y-i-te	piy	drink, smoke
da''- PFV	da-m da=de'-š da=de'-0 da=de'-me da=de'-te da=do'-t	da'=da-x da'=de-0 da'=de-0 da'=da-xme da'=da-xte da'=da-xa		da-l da'-l a da'-l u da'-l i	day da'y-te	da'v-a	give
ye''-	ya-m ye=de'-š ye=de'-0 ye=de'-me ye=de'-te ye=do'-t	ye=dä'-x ye=dä'-še or yedä'-0 ye=dä'-še or yedä'-0 ye=dä'-xme ye=dä'-xte ye=dä'-xa		ya-l ya'-l a ya'-l u ya'-l i	yeš ye'š-te	ye	eat

The verbs in table 10.5 below also belong to this class. The final vowel of the past stem is given in the second column of the table. In the entries where two vowels separated by the oblique stroke are listed, the past stem of the second and third person singular only ends in the second vowel. For the verb *guve''-* only, the past stem may end in one of two vowels. The choice of vowel depends on the speaker. The final vowel of the past participle stem is listed in column three for verbs that form the past participle regularly and the changes that occur in the other

verbs are noted. The forms of these irregular past participles are given in sections 10.4, 10.5.1 and 10.5.2.

<b>Table 10.5 Verbs conjugation e with mobile stress</b>			
VERB	PAST	PP	GLOSS
klade"- PFV	a/e	a	to put
prude"- PFV	a/e	a	to sell
kupe"-	ä	a	to dig
take"-	ä	a	to weave
guve"-	ä or e	a	to fast
ure"-	e	a	to plough
igre"-	e	a	to play
ruve"-	e	a	to dig up
bere"-	elided stem	elided stem	to pick
pere"-	a/ä	elided stem	to launder
pluye"-	a	elided stem	to float, swim
plüye"-	a	elided stem	to spit
puye"-	a	elided stem	to read, sing, study
krade"-	ä	elided stem	to steal
plete"-	ä	elided stem	to knit
raste"-	e	elided stem	to grow
seke"-	ä	vowel syncope	to chop
teče"-	ä	vowel syncope	to flow
peke"-	ä	vowel syncope	to bake
strige"-	e	vowel syncope	to shear
reke"- PFV	a/e	irregular	to say

### 10.2.3 CONJUGATION *i*

#### 10.2.3.1 *i* Conjugation with Fixed Stress

All verbs have final stem vowel *e* in the first person singular and third person plural.

In most verbs with theme vowel *i* this vowel is present in all forms of the verb but the past, with the minor exceptions listed below. The past is formed with the vowel *e*. The imperative and prohibitive are identical in form and are derived from the non-past verb stem minus the final vowel, with the exception of the four perfective verbs in my data in which the prohibitive is formed from the imperfective form of the verb.

Table 10.6 Paradigm <i>du'mi-</i>						
VERB	NON-PAST	PAST	PP	IMP	PROH	GLOSS
du'mi-	du'me-m	du'me-x	du'mi-l	du'm-i	du'm-i	speak
	du'mi-š	du'me-še	du'mi-l a	du'm-i-te		
	du'mi-0	du'me-še	du'mi-l u			
	du'mi-me	du'me-xme	du'mi-l i			
	du'mi-te	du'me-xte				
	du'me-t	du'me-xa				

The other verbs in my data that inflect as *du'mi-* are:

ba'gri-	to paint
xo'di-	to go
no'si-	to wear, carry
pra'vi-	to do, make
ra'buti-	to work
ra'či-	to want
va'zi-	to preach
ka'či- sa	to climb
že'ni- sa	to marry

One verb in this class has the theme vowel *i* in the first person singular only of the past. All other persons are formed with the vowel *e*.

ko'pi- sa	ko'pi-x	to swim
	ko'pe-še	
	ko'pe-še	
	ko'pe-xme	
	ko'pe-xte	
	ko'pe-xa	

The four perfective verbs in this class form all persons of the past with the vowel *i*:

sto'ri-	sto'ri-x	to make
	sto'ri-0	
	sto'ri-0	
	sto'ri-xme	
	sto'ri-xte	
	sto'ri-xa	

The following three verbs inflect as *sto'ri-*:

ku'pi-	to buy
zafa'ti-	to begin
sko'rši-	to break

The verb *vi'di-* 'to see' inflects regularly in the non-past but in the past the second and third person singular suffix is not used. No imperative or prohibitive forms exist and the past participle stem ends in the vowel *e*:

vi'de-l  
vi'de-l|a  
vi'de-l|u  
vi'de-l|i

### 10.2.3.2 *i* Conjugation with Mobile Stress

In all verbs in my data belonging to conjugation *i* with mobile stress, the final vowel of the non-past, past and past participle stems is stressed, with the exception of the first person singular of the non-past. In the non-past the theme vowel *i* is the final stem vowel for all persons except the first person singular, where it is *e*, and the third person plural, where it is *ö*.

#### **Past**

The final vowel of the past stem of verbs in *i* with mobile stress is *a*, *ä*, *e* or *i* and the vowel cannot be predicted. See table 10.8 below.

#### **Past Participle**

In eleven verbs the past participle stem ends in the theme vowel *i* but it is not possible to predict this vowel in the other verbs.

#### **Imperative**

The regular imperative is formed from the non-past verb stem and vowel alternation may occur as the suffix cannot bear stress. Irregular imperatives are listed in section 10.4.

VERB	3SG NON-PAST	IMP	GLOSS
darži"-	darži'-0	do'rž-i do'rž-i-te	hold
tarči"-	tarči'-0	to'rč-i to'rč-i-te	run

### Prohibitive

The regular prohibitive is formed from the past participle stem and in most verbs the stress is fixed. The following two exceptions in my data occur:

miri"-	miri'-l	mī'r-i	to look after
učī"-	učī'-l	u'č-i	to teach

All perfective verbs have prohibitives that are identical to those of the imperfective form of the verb and there are four irregular prohibitives:

darži"-	darže'-l	darž-a'	to hold
sedi"-	sede'-l	să'd-a	to sit
stuyi"-	stuyi'-l	stuy-a'	to stop
tarči"-	tarča'-l	tarč-e'	to run

VERB	NON-PAST	PAST	PP	IMP	PROH	GLOSS
kusi"-	ko'se-m kusi'-š kusi'-0 kusi'-me kusi'-te kusö'-t	kuse'-x kuse'-še or kuse'-0 kuse'-še or kuse'-0 kuse'-xme kuse'-xte kuse'-xa	kusi'-l kusi'-l a kusi'-l u kusi'-l i	ko's-i ko's-i-te	kus-i'	reap with scythe
rudī"- PFV	ro'de-m rud-i'š rud-i' rud-i'me rud-i'te rud-ö't	rudī'-x rudī'-0 rudī'-0 rudī'-xme rudī'-xte rudī'-xa	rudī'-l rudī'-l a rudī'-l u rudī'-l i	ro'd-i ro'd-i-te	ra'd-a	bear, give birth

The verbs in table 10.8 below also belong to this class. For each verb the final vowel of the past participle stem and the past stem is listed.



VERB	PAST	PP	GLOSS
plati"- PFV	i	i	to pay
znuyi"- sa	i	i	to sweat
uči"-	i	i	to teach
*zaglavi"- sa PFV	i	i	to get engaged
bruyi"-	a	i	to count
duyi"-	ä	i	to milk
miri"-	ä	i	to look after
stuyi"-	ä	i	to stop
gradi"-	e	i	to build
tarči"-	ä	a	to run
sedi"-	ä	e	to sit
leži"-	e	a	to lie down
darži"-	e	e	to hold
gardi"-	e	e	to growl, rumble
varvi"-	e	e	to walk, go
guri"-	e	e	to burn

\*This trisyllabic verb is stressed on the first syllable in the first person singular of the non-past: *za'glave-m sa*.

#### **10.2.4 CONJUGATION *i/e***

Thirty-three verbs in my data have the theme vowel *i* but the final stem vowel of the third person singular non-past is *e*. Verbs in this conjugation ending in *yem* share a closer inflectional pattern than other verbs in conjugation *i/e* and are discussed separately. The nine trisyllabic verbs ending in *yem* in my data have mobile stress and are listed in section 10.2.4.2.

##### **10.2.4.1 *i/e* Conjugation with Fixed Stress**

###### **Verbs Not Ending in *yem***

Sixteen verbs in my data belong to this class.

###### **Past**

The final vowel of the past stem is *a*, *e* or *i* and the vowel cannot be predicted. Stress shift occurs in two verbs when the past is formed: *i'sti/e-* 'to want', *ište'-x* 'I wanted' and *mo'gi/e-* 'to be able', *muži'-x* 'I was able'.

## Past Participle

In regular past participles with stems of two syllables the past participle stem ends in the vowel *a*. The stress shifts only in the irregular past participles of two verbs: *do'ydi/e-* PFV 'to come' and *na'ydi/e-* 'to find'. Details of the irregular past participles can be found in table 10.10 below and in section 10.4.

## Imperative

The regular imperative is formed from the non-past verb stem. The final vowel elides and the suffix *-i* is attached. Irregular forms are listed in section 10.4.

## Prohibitive

Imperfective verbs form the prohibitive from the past participle stem while the prohibitive of perfective verbs is identical to that of the imperfective form of the verbs.

Table 10.9 Paradigms conjugation <i>i/e</i>						
VERB	NON-PAST	PAST	PP	IMP	PROH	GLOSS
do'ydi/e- PFV	do'yda-m	do'yda-x	dušö'-l	ye'la	duxa'd-e	come
	do'ydi-š	do'yde-0	dušla'-l a	ye'la-te		
	do'yde-0	do'yde-0	dušlo'-l u			
	do'ydi-me	do'yda-xme	dušli'-l i			
	do'ydi-te	do'yda-xte				
	do'yda-t	do'yda-xa				
ka'ži/e- PFV	ka'že-m	ka'za-x	ka'za-l	ka'ž-i	ka'zv-a	say
	ka'ži-š	ka'za-0	ka'za-l a	ka'ž-i-te		
	ka'že-0	ka'za-0	ka'za-l u			
	ka'ži-me	ka'za-xme	ka'za-l i			
	ka'ži-te	ka'za-xte				
	ka'že-t	ka'za-xa				
pla'či/e-	pla'če-m	pla'ka-x or pla'če-x	pla'ka-l	pla'č-i	pla'k-a	cry
	pla'či-š	pla'če-še	pla'ka-l a	pla'č-i-te		
	pla'če-0	pla'če-še	pla'ka-l u			
	pla'či-me	pla'če-xme	pla'ka-l i			
	pla'či-te	pla'če-xte				
	pla'če-t	pla'če-xa				

The verbs in table 10.10 also belong to this class.

Table 10.10 Verbs conjugation <i>i/e</i>			
VERB	PAST	PP	GLOSS
lo'ži/e-	a	a	to lie
si'pi/e- PFV	a	a	to pour, put
pi'si/e- PFV	a	a	to write
sta'ni/e- PFV	a	a	to become
i'di/e- IPFV	a	none	to come
su'či/e-	a/e or e	a	to dust
na'ydi/e- PFV	a/e	irregular	to find
re'ži/e-	a1:e	a	to cut
če'si/e- sa	e	a	to comb one's hair
ni'ži/e-	e	a	to thread tobacco leaves
i'sti/e-	e	irregular	to want
mo'gi/e-	i	vowel syncope	to be able
zö'mi/e- PFV	elided stem	elided stem	to take

In the verb *su'či/e-* the final vowel of the past stem is *a/e* or *e*. The second and third person singular are identical in both conjugations. In the verb *re'ži/e-* the final vowel of the past stem is *a* for the first person singular but *e* for the other persons.

### Verbs Ending in *yem*

Eight bisyllabic verbs in my data end in *yem* and belong to conjugation *i/e*.

#### **Past**

Six verbs may form the past from the full non-past stem. The other verbs form the past from the 3SG non-past, where the syllable *ye* does not elide. Three verbs form the past with the full stem only, two verbs with the elided stem only and three may form the past with either stem:

bi'yi/e-	bi'ye-x		to smell
du'yi/e-	du'ye-x		to blow
zna'yi/e-	zna'ye-x		to know
ču'yi/e-		ču-x	to hear
skri'yi/e-		skri-x	to hide
mi'yi/e-	mi'ye-x	mi-x	to wash
ši'yi/e-	ši'ye-x	ši-x	to sew
tri'yi/e-	tri'y-ex	tri-x	to drill, file, rub

### Past Participle

The past participle is formed from the elided stem:

ši'yi/e-          ši-l

### Imperative

The imperative is formed as for all other verbs in conjugation *i/e* with fixed stress. No imperative form of the verb *zna'yi/e-* exists.

### Prohibitive

The regular prohibitive is formed from the 3SG of the non-past and the final vowel:

ši'yi/e-          šiy

The prohibitive of the following three verbs is irregular:

ču'yi/e-          ču'v-a  
du'yi/e-          du  
zna'yi/e-          zna

The prohibitive of *zna'yi/e-* occurs only in the expression *ni'muy zna mlo'gu* 'don't be a know all'.

### Paradigms

See table 10.11 below. The following verbs also belong to this class:

ču'yi/e-          to hear  
du'yi/e-          to blow  
mi'yi/e-          to wash  
ši'yi/e-          to sew  
tri'yi/e-          to drill, file, rub  
zna'yi/e-          to know

Table 10.11 Paradigms conjugation <i>i/e</i> verbs in <i>yem</i>						
VERB	NON-PAST	PAST	PP	IMP	PROH	GLOSS
bi'yi/e-	bi'ye-m	bi'ye-x	bi-l	bi'y-i	biy	smell
	bi'yi-š	bi'ye-še	bi'-l a	bi'y-i-te		
	bi'ye-0	bi'ye-še	bi'-l u			
	bi'yi-me	bi'ye-xme	bi'-l i			
	bi'yi-te	bi'ye-xte				
	bi'ye-t	bi'ye-xa				
skri'yi/e- PFV	skri'ye-m	skri-x	skri-l	skri'y-i	skri'v-a	hide
	skri'yi-š	skri-0	skri'-l a	skri'y-i-te		
	skri'ye-0	skri-0	skri'-l u			
	skri'yi-me	skri'-xme	skri'-l i			
	skri'yi-te	skri'-xte				
	skri'ye-t	skri'-xa				

#### 10.2.4.2 *i/e* Conjugation with Mobile Stress

##### Verbs in *yem*

The only verbs in conjugation *i/e* with mobile stress are the nine trisyllabic verbs ending in *yem*, but they conjugate regularly. The stress shifts from the first to the second syllable of the stem in the non-past. The final stem vowel does not therefore bear stress, unlike verbs of conjugations *e* and *i* with mobile stress.

##### **Past**

The past is formed from the elided stem, to which the suffix is attached. The final vowel of the past stem is stressed:

udri''yi/e-      udri'-x      to hit, inject

##### **Past Participle**

The past participle stem is formed from the elided stem plus vowel and the final stem vowel is stressed:

udri''yi/e-      udri'-l

## Imperative

The imperative is formed from the non-past verb stem but the final consonant and vowel elide. As with all imperatives, the suffix is not stressed:

udri"yi/e-      u'dr-i

## Prohibitive

All verbs which belong to this class are perfective and the prohibitive is formed from the imperfective form of these verbs.

VERB	NON-PAST	PAST	PP	IMP	PROH	GLOSS
nabi"yi/e-	na'biye-m	nabi'-x	nabi'-l	na'b-i	nabi'v-a	leave
	nabi'yi-š	nabi'-0	nabi'-l a	na'b-i-te		
	nabi'ye-0	nabi'-0	nabi'-l u			
	nabi'yi-me	nabi'-xme	nabi'-l i			
	nabi'yi-te	nabi'-xte				
	nabi'ye-t	nabi'-xa				

The following eight verbs inflect as *nabi"yi/e-*:

ubi"yi/e-      to injure  
pribi"yi/e-    to kill  
razbi"yi/e-    to break glass  
pukri"yi/e-    to cover  
razri"yi/e-    to spread muck  
zari"yi/e-      to cover  
zavi"yi/e-      to wrap up  
udri"yi/e-      to hit, inject

## 10.3 IRREGULAR VERBS

### Irregular Verb *sa"-* 'to be'

The auxiliary and copula verb *sa"-* is irregular in its conjugation. The past and past participle are formed from the suppletive stem *b-*.

Table 10.13 Paradigm <i>sa''</i> -						
VERB	NON-PAST	PAST	PP	IMP	PROH	GLOSS
<i>sa''</i> -	<i>sam</i>	<i>bä-x</i>	<i>bi-l</i>	none	none	be
	<i>si</i>	<i>bä'-še</i> or <i>bä-0</i>	<i>bi'-l a</i>			
	<i>ye</i>	<i>bä'-še</i> or <i>bä-0</i>	<i>bi'-l u</i>			
	<i>sime'</i>	<i>bä'-xme</i>	<i>bi'-l i</i>			
	<i>ste</i>	<i>bä'-xte</i>				
	<i>sa</i>	<i>bä'-xa</i>				

### Irregular Verb *nište'*- 'to not want'

This verb is unique in that the final stem vowel of the first person singular non-past is stressed. No forms exist for the past participle, imperative and prohibitive. The past participle would be expressed using the negative particle *ne* with the past participle of *i'sti/e-* 'to want':

*ya sam ne i'ska-l*  
 PRO.1SG.NOM be.AUX.1SG.PRS NEG want-PTCP.PST  
 'I did not want'

Table 10.14 Paradigm <i>nište'</i> -						
VERB	NON-PAST	PAST	PP	IMP	PROH	GLOSS
<i>nište'</i> -	<i>ništo'-m</i>	<i>nište'-x</i>	none	none	none	not want
	<i>nište'-š</i>	<i>nište'-še</i> or <i>nište'-0</i>				
	<i>nište'-0</i>	<i>nište'-še</i> or <i>nište'-0</i>				
	<i>nište'-me</i>	<i>nište'-xme</i>				
	<i>nište'-te</i>	<i>nište'-xte</i>				
	<i>ništo'-t</i>	<i>nište'-xa</i>				

### Monosyllabic Verbs

The monosyllabic verbs with no stem extension do not fit easily into any of the three conjugations. For this reason the paradigms are set out separately below:

Table 10.15 Paradigms monosyllabic verbs						
VERB	NON-PAST	PAST	PP	IMP	PROH	GLOSS
gre'-	grö-m gre-š gre-0 gre'-me gre'-te grö-t	grä-x grä'-še or grä-0 grä'-še or grä-0 grä'-xme grä'-xte grä'-xa	gra-l gra'-l a gra'-l u gra'-l i	gr-ey gr-e'y-te	grä	warm
sme'- sa	smö-m sme-š sme-0 sme'-me sme'-te smö-t	smä-x smä'-še or smä-0 smä'-še or smä-0 smä'-xme smä'-xte smä'-xa	smä-l smä'-l a smä'-l u smä'-l i	sm-ey sm-e'y-te	smä	laugh
se'-	sö-m se-š se-0 se'-me se'-te sö-t	sä-x sä'-še or sä-0 sä'-še or sä-0 sä'-xme sä'-xte sä'-xa	se-l se'-l a se'-l u se'-l i	s-ey s-e'y-te	sä	sow, suckle, sieve
spi'-	spö-m spi-š spi-0 spi'-me spi'-te spö-t	spä-x spä'-še or spä-0 spä'-še or spä-0 spä'-xme spä'-xte spä'-xa	spa-l spa'-l a spa'-l u spa'-l i	sp-ey sp-e'y-te	spa	sleep
zve'- sa	zvo-m zve-š zve-0 zve'-me zve'-te zvo-t	zve-x zvä'-še or zve-0 zvä'še or zve-0 zve'-xme zve'-xte zve'-xa	zva-l zva'-l a zva'-l u zva'-l i	zv-ey zv-e'y-te	zva	be called



## 10.4 IRREGULARITIES

### Past

#### **Elision**

The stem vowel is syncopated in one verb in my data when the past tense is formed: *bere*"- 'to pick', *bra*-x 1SG. Although the stem vowel is syncopated in *pere*"- 'to launder' when the past participle is formed, this change does not occur when the past tense is formed: *pera*'x.

The final stem consonant of the verb *zö'mi/e*- 'to take' elides in the past tense: *zö*-x 1SG.

#### **2SG and 3SG in -0**

The following verbs form the second and third person singular of the past with a zero ending only and do not take the alternative past suffix *-še*:

da"-	da'=de-0	to give
klade"-	kla'de-0	to put
prude"-	pruda'de-0	to sell
ču'yi/e-	ču-0	to hear
do'ydi/e-	do'yde-0	to come
na'ydi/e-	na'yde-0	to find
reke"-	re'če-0	to say
si'pi/e-	si'pa-0	to pour, put
ka'ži/e-	ka'za-0	to say
lo'ži/e-	lo'ga-0	to lie
sta'ni/e-	sta'na-0	to become
vi'di-	vi'de-0	to see
zö'mi/e-	zö-0	to take

In addition all verbs in which the past stem ends in stressed *-i* have no alternative suffix in *-še*, with the exception of the following:

mi'yi/e-	to wash
ši'yi/e	to sew
tri'yi/e-	to drill, file, rub
piye"-	to drink

## Past Participle

### Past Participle with š

When the past participle of the verbs *na'ydi/e-* 'to find', *do'ydi/e-* 'to come' and *uti'da-x*<sup>160</sup> 'I went', is formed, suppletion occurs: *na+yda-* ~ *na+šō-*, etc. In addition *-IV-* is attached to the past participle stem in all forms except the masculine singular. The stress also shifts from the stem vowel. Together with the verb *reke"-* 'to say' below, these are the only verbs in which the final vowel of the past participle stem changes according to person and number.

utišō'-I	utišla'-I a	utišlo'-I u	utišli'-I i
našō'-I	našla'-I a	našlo'-I u	našli'-I i
dušō'-I	dušla'-I a	dušlo'-I u	dušli'-I i

### Replication of /

In the verb *reke"-* the final stem consonant does not change when the past participle is formed and the stem ends in the vowel *o* rather than *ō* in the masculine singular, but in all other respects it conjugates as past participles with *š* above.

reko'-I	rekla'-I a	reklo'-I u	rekli'-I i
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### Vowel Syncope

In two verbs in my data the stem vowel is syncopeated when the past participle is formed:

bere"-	bra-I	to pick
pere"-	pra-I	to launder

### Elision of Consonants

In the following five verbs in my data the final stem consonant or consonant cluster elides when the past participle is formed:

klade"-	kla-I	to put
krade"-	kra-I	to steal
plete"-	ple-I	to knit
zō'mi/e-	zō-I	to take
raste"-	ra-I	to grow

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<sup>160</sup> This verb has no corresponding non-past form \**uti'de-m*.

### **Irregular Forms**

i'sti/e-	i'ska-l	to want
puye"-	pä-l	to read, sing, study

### **Imperative**

i'di/e- IPFV	ye'la	to come
duxa'de- IPFV	ye'la	to come
do'ydi/e- PFV	ye'la	to come
ye"-	yeš	to eat
sedi"-	sö'ni	to sit
da"-	day	to give
prude"-	pro'day	to sell
igre"-	i'gray	to play

### **Prohibitive**

pluye"-	pluy-a'	to float, swim
ye"-	ye	to eat
igre"-	i'gr-a	to play
sedi"-	sä'd-a	to sit
darži"-	darž-a'	to keep
stuyi"-	stuy-a'	to stop
tarči"-	tarč-e'	to run
du'yi/e-	du	to blow
ču'yi/e-	ču'v-a	to hear
zna'yi/e-	zna	to know

### **Aspectual Pairs**

Four verbs in my data form irregular non-cognate aspectual pairs:

pra'vi- IPFV	sto'ri- PFV	to make, do
vi'ka- IPFV	reke"- PFV	to say

## 10.5 PHONOLOGY SPECIFIC TO VERB INFLECTION

### 10.5.1 VOWEL SYNCOPE

When the past participle of the five verbs below is formed, the final vowel of the past participle stem is syncopeated in all forms other than the masculine singular. See section 6.1.1.1 for vowel syncope in adjectives.

	MASC	FEM	NEUT	PLURAL	
peke"-	pe'ka-l	pe'k-l a	pe'k-l u	pe'k-l i	to bake
mo'gi/e-	mo'ga-l	mo'g-l a	mo'g-l u	mo'g-l i	to be able
seke"-	se'ka-l	se'k-l a	se'k-l u	se'k-l i	to chop
strige"-	stri'ga-l	stri'g-l a	stri'g-l u	stri'g-l i	to shear
teče"-	te'ka-l	te'k-l a	te'k-l u	te'k-l i	to flow

### 10.5.2 CONSONANT AND VOWEL ELISION

#### Past

When the past is formed the syllable *ye* elides in all nine of the trisyllabic verbs ending in *yem* in my data:

nabi"yi/e-	nabi'-x	to leave
ubi"yi/e-	ubi'-x	to injure
pribi"yi/e-	pribi'-x	to kill
razbi"yi/e-	razbi'-x	to break (glass)
pukri"yi/e-	pukri'-x	to cover
razi"yi/e-	razi'-x	to spread muck
zari"yi/e-	zari'-x	to cover
zavi"yi/e-	zavi'-x	to wrap up
udri"yi/e-	udri'-x	to hit, inject

In the following two bisyllabic verbs the final syllable *ye* also elides when the past is formed:

ču'yi/e-	ču-x	to hear
skri'yi/e-	skri-x	to hide

In three bisyllabic verbs the final stem vowel and consonant may elide when the past is formed but a variant exists where they are retained:

mi'yi/e-	mi-x	mi'ye-x	to wash
----------	------	---------	---------

ši'yi/e-	ši-x	ši'ye-x	to sew
tri'yi/e-	tri-x	tri'ye-x	to drill, file, rub

In the verb *piye''*- the final stem vowel and consonant are normally retained when the past tense is formed, but a variant exists where they elide:

piye''-	pi-x	piya'-x	to drink
---------	------	---------	----------

### Past Participle

The syllable *yi/e* elides in all trisyllabic verbs ending in *yem* when the past participle is formed:

nabi''yi/e-	nabi'-l
ubi''yi/e-	ubi'-l
pribi''yi/e-	pribi'-l
razbi''yi/e-	razbi'-l
pukri''yi/e-	pukri'-l
razi''yi/e-	razi'-l
zari''yi/e-	zari'-l
zavi''yi/e-	zavi'-l
udri''yi/e-	udri'-l

In the following bisyllabic verbs ending in *yem* the syllable *yi/e* elides:

ču'yi/e-	ču-l	to hear
ši'yi/e-	ši-l	to sew
mi'yi/e-	mi-l	to wash
tri'yi/e-	tri-l	to drill, file, rub
skri'yi/e-	skri-l	to hide
piye''-	pi-l	to drink
zna'yi/e-	zna-l	to know
bi'yi/e-	bi-l	to smell
pluye''-	plu-l	to float, swim
plüye''-	plü-l	to spit
du'yi/e-	du-l	to blow

### 10.5.3 VOWEL ALTERNATIONS

In verbs in which the stress shifts from the stem vowel *o* in inflection, this vowel alternates with *a* or *u*. This alternation occurs in all forms where the stem vowel is unstressed but examples are given below for the second person singular of the non-past only.

#### **o ~ a**

1SG	2SG	
bo'xtam	baxte'š	to beat
to'kam	tače'š	to weave
do'ržem	darži'š	to hold
to'rčem	tarči'š	to run
vo'rvem	varvi'š	to walk, go
go'rdem	gardi'š	to growl, rumble

#### **o ~ u**

1SG	2SG	
go'vam	guve'š	to fast
ro'vam	ruve'š	to dig up
ko'pam	kupe'š	to dig
o'ram	ure'š	to plough
go'rem	guri'š	to burn
ko'sem	kusi'š	to reap with a scythe
do'yem	duyi'š	to blow
po'yem	puye'š	to read, sing, study
sto'yem	stuyi'š	to stop
zno'yem sa	znuyi'š sa	to sweat
bro'yem	bruyi'š	to count
po'kriyem	pukri'yiš	to cover

### 10.5.4 CONSONANT ALTERNATIONS

The following consonant alternations occur whenever the final stem consonant *k*, *g*, *s* or *z* is followed by the vowel *ǎ*, *e* or *i*. Where consonant alternation occurs in the non-past, the third person singular is listed, with the exception of *teče*"- 'to flow' where alternation occurs in the third person plural. For the past, the first person singular is listed for all verbs with the exception of *reke*"- 'to say', where alternation occurs only in the second and third person singular. The masculine singular form of the past participle is listed where alternation occurs.

**k ~ č**

Table 10.16 Consonant alternation <i>k ~ č</i>						
VERB	NON-PAST	PAST	PP	IMP	PROH	GLOSS
1SG NON-PAST						
pe'kam	peč-e'	pečä'-x		pe'č-i		bake, be hot
to'kam	tač-e'	tačä'-x		to'č-i		weave
pla'čem		pla'ka-x <sup>161</sup>			pla'k-a	cry
re'kam	reč-e'	re'č-e		re'č-i		say
se'kam	seč-e'			se'č-i		chop
su'čem		su'ka-x	su'ka-l		su'k-a	dust
3SG NON-PAST						
teče'	teko'-t		te'ka-l			flow, melt

**g ~ ž**

Table 10.17 Consonant alternation <i>g ~ ž</i>						
VERB	NON-PAST	PAST	PP	IMP	PROH	GLOSS
1SG NON-PAST						
lo'žem		lo'ga-x	lo'ga-l		lo'g-a	lie
mo'gam	mo'ž-e	muži'-x				be able
stri'gam	striž-e'			stri'ž-i		shear (sheep)

**s ~ š**

Table 10.18 Consonant alternation <i>s ~ š</i>						
VERB	NON-PAST	PAST	PP	IMP	PROH	GLOSS
1SG NON-PAST						
če'šem sa			če'sa-l		če's-a	comb hair
pi'šem		pi'sa-x	pi'sa-l			write

<sup>161</sup> The variant first person singular past *pla'če-x* also exists. As the stem ends in the vowel *e* no alternation occurs.

**z ~ ž**

VERB	NON-PAST	PAST	PP	IMP	PROH	GLOSS
1SG NON-PAST						
re'žem		re'za-x	re'za-l		re'z-a	cut
ka'žem		ka'za-x	ka'za-l			say
ni'žem			ni'za-l		ni'z-a	thread tobacco leaves

**10.6 TABLES OF FINAL VOWELS OF VERB STEMS**

The final vowels of the non-past and past verb stems of the four conjugations are set out in tables 10.20 – 10.23 below. Note that in all tables verbs are categorised as having fixed or mobile stress according to whether stress shift occurs in the non-past. The only verbs in which the stress shifts in the non-past to the second rather than the final syllable of the stem are trisyllabic verbs ending in *yem* which belong to conjugation *i/e*. Verbs of conjugation *e* and *i* with mobile stress and verbs with fixed stress from conjugation *i/e* show the greatest variation in the past.

**10.6.1 NON-PAST AND OTHER**

The second part of table 10.20 below shows the verb classes in which the theme vowel usually occurs in the past participle stem, the imperative and the prohibitive.

PERSON	<b>a</b>	<b>e</b>			<b>i</b>		<b>i/e</b>			
		FIXED	MOB 1	MOB 2 yem	FIXED	MOB	FIXED 1	FIXED 2	FIXED 3 yem	MOB yem
1SG	a	e	a	e	e	e	a	e	e	e
2SG	a	e	e'	e'	i	i'	i	i	i	i
3SG	a	e	e'	e'	i	i'	e	e	e	e
1PL	a	e	e'	e'	i	i'	i	i	i	i
2PL	a	e	e'	e'	i	i'	i	i	i	i
3PL	a	e	o'	ö'	e	ö'	a	e	e	e
PP	+	+			+					+
IMP	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+
PROH	+	+			+					



## 10.6.2 PAST

**Table 10.21 Past: final vowel conjugations a and e**

PERSON	a		e				
	FIXED		FIXED		MOB		MOB
					1		2 yem
1SG	a		e	a	ä'	e'	a' i'
2SG	a		e	e	ä'	e'	a' i'
3SG	a		e	e	ä'	e'	a' i'
1PL	a		e	a	ä'	e'	a' i'
2PL	a		e	a	ä'	e'	a' i'
3PL	a		e	a	ä'	e'	a' i'

**Table 10.22 Past: final vowel conjugation i**

PERSON	i					
	FIXED		MOB			
1SG	e	i	a'	ä'	e'	i'
2SG	e	i	a'	ä'	e'	i'
3SG	e	i	a'	ä'	e'	i'
1PL	e	i	a'	ä'	e'	i'
2PL	e	i	a'	ä'	e'	i'
3PL	e	i	a'	ä'	e'	i'

Note that in table 10.23 below no stress shift occurs in any verbs in column 3. The past stems of all verbs with final vowel *i* and the one verb with final vowel *u* are monosyllabic and therefore bear stress.

**Table 10.23 Past: final vowel conjugation i/e**

	i/e							
	FIXED		FIXED		FIXED		MOB	
	1		2		3 yem		yem	
1SG	a		a	e	i'	u'	e	i'
2SG	e	a	a	e	i'	u'	e	i'
3SG	e	a	a	e	i'	u'	e	i'
1PL	a		a	e	i'	u'	e	i'
2PL	a		a	e	i'	u'	e	i'
3PL	a		a	e	i'	u'	e	i'

# Chapter 11

## SYNTAX

The treatment of syntax in this chapter has many gaps because I have not had time to work through my data.

### 11.1 LEVEL OF THE CLAUSE

#### 11.1.1 INDEPENDENT CLAUSES

##### Basic Clause Types

The six basic clause types declarative, interrogative and imperative in both the affirmative and negative are illustrated below:

*Fatme'* *ye=de'-0* [Ak]

Fatme eat=EXT-3SG.PRS

'Fatme is eating.'

*Fatme'* *ni ye=de'-0* [Ak]

Fatme NEG eat=EXT-3SG.PRS

'Fatme is not eating.'

*Fatme'* *ye=de'-0 li?* [Ak]

Fatme eat=EXT-3SG.PRS Q

'Is Fatme eating?'

*Fatme'* *ne li ye=de'-0?* [Ak]

Fatme NEG Q eat=EXT-3SG.PRS

'Isn't Fatme eating?'

*Fatme'* *yeš* [Ak]

Fatme eat.IMP

'Eat, Fatme.'

*Fatme'* *ni'muy ye* [Ak]

Fatme PROH eat.PROH

'Don't eat, Fatme.'

## Questions

Questions may also be formed by preceding the question particle *li* with the complementizer *da*:

*da li ti ye ne tö'sk|a ča'nta=na?* [Af]  
COMP Q PRO.2SG.DAT be.3SG.PRS NEG heavy|F bag=ART.DIST  
'Isn't your bag heavy?'

*da li nali'va-š ud aytu'va vo'da?* [Aa]  
COMP Q fill.container-2SG.PRS from here water  
'Do you fill your bottle with water from here?'

## Negation

There are asymmetries in the way that the negative is formed.

### ni and ne

The negative particle *ni* is used immediately before verbs, as above in *Fatme' ni yede'*. However, in all other instances and in clauses containing the auxiliary and copula *sam*, the negative particle *ne* is used as above in *da li ti ye ne tö'ska ča'ntana?*:

*raž=no' ye kusi'-|a, ne ye*  
rye=ART.DIST be.AUX.3SG.PRS reap.with.scythe-PTCP.PST|F NEG be.AUX.3SG.PRS

*žö'na-|a* [Ae]  
reap.with.sickle-PTCP.PST|F  
'She reaped the rye with a scythe, she didn't reap with a sickle.'

*ya sam ne gla'dn|a* [Av]  
PRO.1SG.NOM be.COP.1SG.PRS NEG hungry|F  
'I am not hungry.'

*ya sam ne xo'di-|a* [Av]  
PRO.1SG.NOM be.AUX.1SG.PRS NEG go-PTCP.PST|F  
'I didn't go'

Note the position of the negative particle in the above three examples. Auxiliary and copula *sam* never take clause-initial position. In the first example where there is no independent pronoun the negative particle precedes the auxiliary. However, in the second two examples where there

is an independent pronoun, the negative particle follows the auxiliary and copula. The position of the negative particle would change with the addition or deletion of the independent pronoun:

*tă ye ne žö'na-l|a*  
*ne sam gla'dn|a*  
*ne sam xo'di-l|a*

## Future

Unlike the simple past, described in the morphology of the verb, future constructions are built up syntactically and are therefore described here.

The negative future is formed with the morphemes *ne'ma da*, whose glosses are superseded by the gloss of the word that they form. For this reason they are enclosed in curly brackets in the examples below. The main verb itself still inflects for person, number and tense.

*xič {ne'ma da} spi-0 [Aw]*  
at.all NEG.FUT sleep-3SG.PRS  
'He won't sleep at all.'

*{ne'ma da} na'biye-m [Ax]*  
NEG.FUT flee-1SG.PRS  
'I won't run away.'

The positive of the future is formed with the particle *še*:

*fif maxalo'=na še razda'va-me [Ae]*  
in neighbourhood=ART.DIST FUT distribute-1PL.PRS  
'We'll distribute in the neighbourhood.'

### 11.1.2 COPULA

In Pomak *sam* 'to be' is the main copula verb. It also functions as an auxiliary and in addition it may be used in impersonal expressions. The verb *sta'nam* 'become' is also used in copula constructions. The copula verb is required in Pomak in all persons and tenses and cannot be omitted.

*aysva' ye ša'pka [Ay]*  
PRO.DEM.PROX .N be.COP.3SG.PRS hat  
'This is a hat.'

The same clause without the copula is unacceptable:

\**aysva' ša'pka*

*dru'gu=nu ko'pel ye šo'fer, ka'ra-0 tumafi'l'e*<sup>162</sup> [Ae]  
other=ART.DIST boy be.COP.3SG.PRS driver drive-3SG.PRS car|PL  
'My other son is a driver, he drives cars.'

*ti si ya'k|a že'na* [Af]  
PRO.2SG.NOM be.COP.2SG.PRS strong|F woman  
'You're a strong woman.'

*ya sta'na-x daska=i'ca* [Ap]  
PRO.1SG.NOM become.COP-1SG.PST teacher=F  
'I've become a teacher.'

*su'x|a trā'va še sta'na-0 sā'nu* [Ab]  
dry|F grass FUT become.COP-3SG.PRS hay  
'Dry grass will become hay.'

### 11.1.3 KINDS OF PREDICATE

Non-copula predicates in Pomak are formed with verbs and a bound pronoun may be the only subject marker. Verbs may be intransitive, transitive or ambitransitive.

#### 11.1.3.1 Subject Only – Intransitive Verb

*spi'*- 'to sleep'

*spi-0*  
sleep-3SG.PRS  
'He is sleeping.'

#### 11.1.3.2 Subject Plus Object – Transitive Verb

*i'šti/e-* 'to want'

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<sup>162</sup> The noun *ko'pel* is masculine but here the adjectival agreement is neuter.

*i'šta-m*            *kaxvö'* [Ak]  
 want-1SG.PRS    coffee  
 'I want (a) coffee.'

#### 11.1.4 AMBITRANSITIVE VERBS

There are many ambitransitive verbs in Pomak. These may be categorized according to the behaviour of the subject in transitive and intransitive clauses.<sup>163</sup> The subject and object in the sentences below will be marked <A> for transitive subject, <S> for intransitive subject and <O> for transitive object.

##### S=A

In verbs of this type, the subject remains the same when the object is omitted:

*su'či/e-* 'to dust'

*Meriye'm (A) ye*                      *usu'ka-l|a*            *udayö'=na (O)* [Ak]  
 Meriyem    be.AUX.3SG.PRS    dust-PTCP.PST|F    room=ART.DIST  
 'Meriyem dusted the room.'

*Meriye'm (S) ye*                      *usu'ka-l|a* [Ak]  
 Meriyem    be.AUX.3SG.PRS    dust-PTCP.PST|F  
 'Meriyem dusted.'

##### S=O

With verbs of this type, it is the object of the transitive clause that corresponds to the subject when the clause is intransitive. However, these are not prototypical S=O ambitransitives in that the reflexive pronoun must be introduced into the intransitive clause and so it could be argued that *ske'mle* 'chair' is the agent and that the reflexive pronoun is the object.

*sko'rši-*            'to break'

*Xasa'n (A) ye*                      *sko'rši-l*            *ske'mle=na (O)* [Ak]  
 Hasan        be.AUX.3SG.PRS    break-PTCP.PST    chair=ART.DIST  
 'Hasan broke the chair.'

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<sup>163</sup> Dixon (2010b: 124).

*ske'mle=na* (S) *sa ye* *sko'rši-l|a* [Ak]  
 chair=ART.DIST REFL be.AUX.3SG.PRS break-PTCP.PST|F  
 'The chair broke.'

### Subject Plus Object Plus Secondary Object

In clauses with two objects, the indirect object must be animate and it takes the dative case. Clauses with two animate objects are rare in my data:

*še da-m* *Xasa'n-a* *ma'yc-i* *mu* [Ak]  
 FUT give.PFV-1SG.PRS. Hasan-OBL mother-DAT PRO.3SG.DAT.M  
 'I will give Hasan to his mother.'

*xaske'r-u=ne* *da'va-t* *pari'* [Ah]  
 soldier-DAT=ART.DIST give.IPFV-3PL.PRS money  
 'They give money to the soldier.'

*day čakma'k bra't-u* *ti* [Ae]  
 give.IMP lighter brother-DAT PRO.2SG.DAT  
 'Give a lighter to your brother.'

### Object Only

This construction does not occur except in isolated NPs when replying to a question:

Q: *kana' ye* *razbi'-l?* Answer: *barda'k* [Aa]  
 what be.AUX.3SG.PRS break-PTCP.PST glass  
 'What has he broken?' 'A glass.'

## 11.2 IMPERSONAL VERBS

Most verbs take a subject, distinguish six persons and may take an independent pronoun. Impersonal verbs however have no overt NP subject, occur only in the third person singular and do not take an independent pronoun. If a past participle is derived from such a verb or an adjective qualifies such a verb, the neuter gender is used.

### *i'ma* 'there is, there are'

This verb is formed from *i'ma-* 'to have'. The negative form of *i'ma* is *ne'ma*.

*ne ye imä'-l|u dukto'ŕe 36-da [Ae]*  
NEG be.AUX.3SG.PRS there.is-PTCP.PST|N doctor|PL 36-in  
'There weren't any doctors in 1936.'

*ne'ma-0 ye'ste ki'tk|e [Ae]*  
there.is.NEG-PRS yet flower|PL  
'There aren't any flowers yet.'

*fif sta'r|i ko'st|e i'ma-0 po'lx|uve*  
in old|PL house|PL there.is-PRS mouse|PL [Bp]  
'There are mice in old houses.'

### **ye 'it is'**

The impersonal third person singular form of *sam* 'to be' is used in such meteorological clauses as:

*to'p|u ye*  
warm|N be.3SG.PRS  
'It's warm.'

*fče'ra bä-0 srede' lä'tu [Aa]*  
yesterday be-3SG.PST mid summer  
'Yesterday it was midsummer.'

### **Weather Verbs**

Verbs describing the weather or natural conditions do not take an independent subject pronoun in Pomak:

*aga' du'ye-0, ne'ma-0 ko'mar|ye [Ae]*  
when blow-3SG.PRS there.is.NEG-PRS mosquito|PL  
'There aren't any mosquitoes when it's windy.'

*leti'-0 ya'ce [Aa]*  
rain-3SG.PRS very  
'It's raining hard.'



mo'rkna-l|u            sa    ye [Ak; Af]  
 get.dark-PTCP.PST|N    REFL    be.AUX.3SG.PRS  
 'It got dark.'

### 11.3 INTERROGATIVES PLUS THEIR NEGATIVES AND INDEFINITES

Interrogative pronouns with their corresponding negatives and indefinites are described in sections 7.5 – 7.7. Other interrogatives, negatives and indefinites are listed below. All the words listed are indeclinable.

INTERROGATIVE	NEG	INDEF	GLOSS
kade'	ni'kade	na'yde	where
kuga'	ni'kuga	bīnnīš	when
kak	ni'kak	ne'kak	how
ko'lku	ni'kulku	ayno'lkus	how much, how many
o'ti			why

*kade' ye            no'ž=et?* [Aa]  
 where be.3SG.PRS knife =ART.MED  
 'Where is the knife?'

*ne'ma-0            ni'kade    ko'sta    červe'n|a* [Ak]  
 there.is.NEG-PRS nowhere house red|F  
 'There isn't a red house anywhere.'

*i'ma-0            na'yde            da    sa    ye            sto'pli-l|u* [Ak]  
 there.is-PRS somewhere COMP REFL be.AUX.3SG.PRS warm-PTCP.PST|N  
 'It is warm somewhere.'

*kuga' še    varvi-te    na lske'če?* [Ag]  
 when FUT go-2PL.PRS to Ksanthē  
 'When will you go to Ksanthē?'

*ni'kuga ni    kra'da-m* [Af]  
 never NEG steal-1SG.PRS  
 'I never steal.'

*bīnnīš            po'da-m            nax Selani'k* [Ak]  
 sometimes go-1SG.PRS to Thessalonica  
 'I sometimes go to Thessalonica.'

*kak ta zvo-t?* [Ak]  
how PRO.2SG.OBL call-3PL.PRS  
'What are you called?'

*nam sa ni'kak ni uyd'i'sva-0* [Aa]  
PRO.1PL.DAT REFL how.NEG NEG satisfy-3SG.PRS  
'We are never satisfied.'

*tre'va-0 da žive'-me ne'kak* [Bg]  
must-3SG.PRS COMP live-1PL.PRS somehow  
'We must live somehow.'

*ko'lku še ku'pi-š?* [Bn]  
how.much FUT buy-2SG.PRS  
'How much will you buy?'

*ayse' u nam ne'ma-0 ni'kulku ya'balk|i* [Ak]  
now at PRO.1PL.OBL there.is.NEG-PRS how.much.NEG apple|PL  
'Now there are no apples at all in my house.'

*ko'lku=tu i'ma-š i ti, day mi*  
how.much=ART.MED have-2SG.PRS and PRO.2SG.NOM give-IMP PRO.1SG.DAT

*ayto'lkus* [Ak]  
so.much  
'Give me the same amount as you have.'

*o'ti duxa'de-š na mraz=o's?* [Aa]  
why come-2SG.PRS in cold=ART.PROX  
'Why do you come in the cold?'

#### 11.4 RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses are always formed with a relative pronoun. The use of the pronoun is never optional as in some languages. The pronoun is always *žö*.

*Žö* functions only as a relative pronoun. It qualifies nouns denoting humans, animates and non-animates, agreeing in gender and number with the noun it modifies. See section 7.4 for morphological details. The relative pronoun always occurs clause initially.

žö'=nu                de'te i'de-0,                puzna'va-š    li gu? [Aa]  
 PRO.REL=ART.DIST child come-3SG.PRS know-2SG.PRS Q PRO.3SG.OBL.N  
 'Do you recognize the child who's coming?'

žö=n                mi                si                da'-|ja                misi'r,  
 PRO.REL=ART.DIST PRO.1SG.DAT be.AUX.2SG.PRS give-PTCP.PST|F maize

svari'-|ja                gu                sam [Ak]  
 boil-PTCP.PST|F PRO.3SG.OBL.M be.AUX.1SG.PRS  
 'I boiled the maize which you gave me.'

žö'=ne                mo'm|i xo'de-t                na meči't, puyö't                li xu'beve? [Af]  
 PRO.REL=ART.DIST girl|PL go-3PL.PRS to school study-3PL.PRS Q well  
 'Do the girls who go to school study hard?'

In all examples of relative clauses in H9 the relative pronoun never occurs clause initially, with the sole exception of proverbs. One example is given below:

*който сее ветрове, бури ще жъне* (234)  
 'He who sows wind shall reap storm.'

The following example from H9 shows the normal position of the relative pronoun in standard Bulgarian, where it follows the noun with which it is co-referential. A similar clause in Pomak is given for comparison:

*ето сградата, в която ще учите* (232)  
 'This is the building in which you will be studying.'

fif žö=n                meči't še sa uč'i-š,                aysva'k  
 in PRO.REL=ART.DIST school FUT REFL study-2SG.PRS PRO.DEM.PROX .M

ye [Ak]  
 be.COP.3SG.PRS  
 'This is the school in which you will be studying.'

## 11.5 COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Complement clauses are often introduced by the complementizer *da*, although other constructions are possible.

In the first example below the complement clause is in copula subject function:

*de'tet=i'ste-mu=ne yasa'k ye da baxte'-0 se'stra*  
child=AUG-DAT=ART.DIST forbidden be.AUX.3SG.PRS COMP beat-3SG.PRS sister

*mu* [Aa]

PRO.3SG.DAT.N

'It's forbidden for the child to beat his sister.'

*tre'va-0 da zna'yi-me vrit da bruyi'-me* [Aa]  
should-3SG.PRS COMP know-1PL.PRS all COMP count-1PL.PRS

'We should all know how to count.'

*Kura'n=en vi'ka-0 da sa zabu'le-t vrit že'n|i=ne*  
Koran=ART.DIST say-3SG.PRS COMP REFL cover-3PL.PRS all woman|PL=ART.DIST

*i mo'm|i=ne* [Ab]

and girl|PL=ART.DIST

'The Koran says that all women and girls should cover themselves.'

At this point I am not sure whether the following is a complement or a relative clause. The question remains open for other professionals to solve.

*ya vi'de-x det|i'=ne da igro'-t fif pa'rku=nu* [Ak]  
PRO.1SG.NOM see-1SG.PST child|PL=ART.DIST COMP play-3PL.PRS in park=ART.DIST

'I saw the children playing in the park.'

The following example shows a complement clause not formed with *da*:

*ya ni zna'ye-m za kana' du'me-t* [Af]  
PRO.1SG.NOM NEG know-1SG.PRS for what speak-3PL.PRS

'I don't know what they're talking about.'

## 11.6 SENTENCES MADE UP OF TWO OR MORE CLAUSES

### 11.6.1 COMPOUND (CO-ORDINATED) SENTENCES

Main clauses are often linked by the conjunction *i* 'and' to form compound sentences:

*rasveti-0 sa yemi's=en i kukuvi'č=ka=na kuko'va-0 [Az]*  
 flower-3SG.PRS REFL fruit=ART.DIST and cuckoo=DIM=ART.DIST cuckoo-3SG.PRS  
 'The fruit is flowering and the cuckoo is cuckooing.'

*Isme't tro'se-še dră'nk|i i ya i ti*  
 Ismet shake-3SG.PST cornelian cherry|PL and PRO.1SG.NOM and PRO.2SG.NOM

*darže'-xme čarša'f=en [Aa]*  
 hold-1PL.PST sheet=ART.DIST  
 'Ismet shook the cornelian cherries and you and I held the sheet.'

### 11.6.2 COMPLEX SENTENCES

In addition to the examples already cited above in section 11.5, the following sentences contain one subordinate clause and one main clause:

*na po'rv|u ga fle'za-t na ko'sta=na, nevă'sta=na še*  
 at first|N when enter-3PL.PRS to house=ART.DIST bride=ART.DIST FUT

*pulu'bi-0 čulă'k-u=ne na rak=o'na [Aa]*  
 kiss-3SG.PRS husband-DAT=ART.DIST on hand=ART.DIST  
 'When they go into their house for the first time, the bride will kiss her husband on the hand.'

*vrit mi'sk|i de't|i zna'ye-t i'ngili=sk|u o'ti xo'de-t*  
 all young|PL child|PL know-3PL.PRS English=ADJ|N because go-3PL.PRS

*na meči't [Ba]*  
 to school  
 'All young children know English because they go to school.'

## 11.7 CONJUNCTIONS

### 11.7.1 CO-ORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

The coordinating conjunctions *i* 'and', *a'ma* 'but', *ala'* 'but' and *i'li* 'or' exist in Pomak. The conjunctions *a'ma* and *ala'* are used interchangeably.

i

*ya ud pla'den še ra'zriye-m i u'tre*  
PRO.1SG.NOM from noon FUT spread.muck-1SG.PRS and tomorrow

*trakte'r=en še gu ure'-0 [Aa]*  
tractor=ART.DIST FUT PRO.3SG.OBL.M/N plough-3SG.PRS  
'In the afternoon I will spread muck and tomorrow the tractor will plough it.'

**a'ma**

*ne ye mejbu'r da no'se-t ša'pka fif jūmayö'=na*  
NEG be.3SG.PRS obligatory COMP wear-3PL.PRS hat in mosque=ART.DIST

*a'ma ye po xu'bav|u da no'se-t ša'pka [Am]*  
but be.3SG.PRS CMPR good|N COMP wear-3PL.PRS hat  
'It's not obligatory to wear a hat in the mosque but it's better to wear a hat.'

**ala'**

*i'ma-0 mlo'gu ote'l|ve ala' zi'ma-t sko'p|u [Ae]*  
there.is-PRS many hotel|PL but take-3PL.PRS expensive|N  
'There are many hotels but they are expensive.'

**i'li**

*kutr|a' ko'šta še ku'pi-š, no'v|a=na i'li sta'r|a=na,*  
which|F house FUT buy-2SG.PRS new|F=ART.DIST or old|F=ART.DIST

*mi'šk|a=na i'li gulä'm|a=na? [Ak]*  
small|F=ART.DIST or big|F=ART.DIST  
'Which house will you buy: the new one or the old one, the small one or the big one?'

*i'li še do'yda-m i'li {ne'ma da} duxo'de-m [Aa]*  
or FUT come.PFV-1SG.PRS or FUT.NEG come.IPFV-1SG.PRS  
'I may come or I may not.'

## 11.7.2 SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

The subordinating conjunctions that occur in my data are *da* 'if', *aga* 'if' or the variant *ga*, *o'ti* 'because' and *kuga'nu* 'when'. The conjunctions *aga* and *ga* can be used interchangeably. In many instances when *da* functions as a subordinating conjunction it can also be used interchangeably with *aga* or *ga*. There is insufficient data to analyse the difference in use between the conjunctions *da* and *aga*'.

### **da**

*da ra'buti-š, še sa do'yde-0 piy* [Aa]  
if work-2SG.PRS FUT REFL come-3SG.PRS thirst  
'If you work you'll be thirsty.'

In the sentence below the conjunction *da* is used twice, in the first instance as a complementizer and in the second instance with the sense 'if'. There are three other instances where *da* is used as a complementizer in the examples given in this section.

*borč ti ye da xo'di-š na xaj da*  
obligatory PRO.2SG.DAT be.3SG.PRS COMP go-2SG.PRS on hajj if

*i'ma-š pari'* [Aa]  
have-2SG.PRS money  
'It's obligatory for you to go on the hajj if you have the money.'

### **aga'**

*keza'p aga' ni si'pe-0, ni ra'či-0 da sa*  
nitric.acid if NEG pour-3SG.PRS NEG want-3SG.PRS COMP REFL

*zalepi'-0 kala'y=en* [Ad]  
stick-3SG.PRS tin=ART.DIST  
'If he doesn't pour nitric acid on it, the tin won't stick.'

## ga

*saba'x=laxin ga to'rni-0 den-ö'n para'tik, du*  
morning=in.the if set.off-3SG.PRS day-ART.DIST bad until

*ayša'm=laxin ye para'tik den=ö'n [Ap]*  
evening=in.the be.3SG.PRS bad day=ART.DIST

'If the day starts off bad in the morning, it will be bad until the evening.'

## o'ti

*sram gu ye o'ti si abanji' [Ab]*  
shame PRO.3SG.OBL.M/N be.3SG.PRS because be.2SG.PRS stranger

'He's shy because you're a stranger.'

## kuga'nu

*Nux pe'ygamber kuga'=nu ye sle-l*  
Noah prophet when=ART.DIST be.AUX.3SG.PRS come.down-PTCP.PST

*ud gemi'ye=ta pra'vi-l ye yeme'k [Aa]*  
from ark=ART.MED make-PTCP.PST be.AUX.3SG.PRS meal

'When the prophet Noah came out of the ark he made a meal.'

## 11.8 NOUN PHRASE

### 11.8.1 POSSESSIVES

#### Possessive Suffix

Possession is frequently indicated by the use of the possessive suffix, particularly with names and kinship terms. See section 6.4 for tables of paradigms. The possessive suffix is frequently followed by the definite article. The position of the article appears to be an NP-determined affair.

*aysva'k lasti'k ye za Nixa't=v=en verespi't [Af]*  
PRO.DEM.PROX.M tyre be.3SG.PRS for Nihat=POSS=ART.DIST bicycle

'This tyre is for Nihat's bicycle.'



*kade' ye bra't=v|a=na ti ko'sta?* [Af]  
where be.3SG.PRS brother=POSS|F=ART.DIST PRO.2SG.DAT house  
'Where is your brother's house?'

*ayso'va šimšiyö' ye Deni'z=v|a* [Bq]  
PRO.DEM.PROX.F umbrella be.3SG.PRS Deniz=POSS|F  
'This umbrella is Deniz's.'

*ayso'va ku'kla ye Emin=i'nn|a* [Af]  
PRO.DEM.PROX.F doll be.3SG.PRS Emine=POSS|F  
'This doll is Emine's.'

*midu'r=v=en dam* [Af]  
mayor=POSS=ART.DIST country.house  
'the mayor's country house'

*dukyanji'=v=en tumafi'l* [Af]  
shopkeeper=POSS=ART.DIST car  
'the shopkeeper's car'

Possessive suffixes may also be used with non-animate nouns:

*ma'c=v|a=na no'ga* [Ak]  
table=POSS|F=ART.DIST leg  
'the table leg'

*tumafi'l=v|j=ne vrata'* [Af]  
car=POSS|PL=ART.DIST door(s)  
'the car doors'

### Dative Pronoun

The dative pronoun may be used to show a relationship between the possessor and another person but this use appears to be restricted to kinship terms:

*čulä'k=v=en ti tüfe'k* [Af]  
husband=POSS=ART.DIST PRO.2SG.DAT rifle  
'your husband's rifle'

*ma'yč=in|u=nu*                      *mu*                      *ko'te* [Aa]  
 mother=POSS|N=ART.DIST    PRO.3SG.DAT.M/N    cat  
 'his mother's cat'

If speakers are referring to their own relationship to the possessor, no dative pronoun is used:

*čulä'k=v=en*                      *tüfe'k* [Af]  
 husband=POSS=ART.DIST    rifle  
 'my husband's rifle'

*ma'yč=in|u=nu*                      *ko'te* [Ak]  
 mother=POSS|N=ART.DIST    cat  
 'my mother's cat'

Informants did not accept the use of the dative pronoun to show a relationship between a possessor referred to by a non-kinship term and another person when the possessive suffix was used. For example, the phrase \**da'skaluvana mi udayö'* 'my teacher's room' is unacceptable. It is however acceptable to say:

*da'skal=uv|a=na*                      *udayö'* [Ak]  
 teacher=POSS|F=ART.DIST    room  
 'the teacher's room'

In order to communicate that the room belongs to one's own teacher, it is necessary to use a personal pronoun and the dative case. The construction is rare:

*mo'y-u-mu=ne*                      *da'skal-u*    *udayö'=na* [Ak]  
 PRO.POSS.1SG-DAT-M.DAT=ART.DIST    teacher-DAT    room=ART.DIST  
 'my teacher's room'

### Dative Case

Simple possession is sometimes indicated by the use of the dative case rather than the possessive suffix:

*ya*                      *sam*                      *se'stra*    *Meriye'm-u* [Ac]  
 PRO.1SG.NOM    be.COP.1SG.PRS    sister    Meriyem-DAT  
 'I am Meriyem's sister.'

It would be more common to say:

*ya sam Meriye'm=v|a=na se'stra*  
 PRO.1SG.NOM be.COP.1SG.PRS Meriyem=POSS|F=ART.DIST sister  
 'I am Meriyem's sister.'

When using common nouns, both nouns must take the definite article:

*midu'r-u=ne da'm=an [Af]*  
 mayor-DAT=ART.DIST country.house=ART.DIST  
 'the mayor's country house'

*detet-u=ne to'p=an ye na po't=en [Ak]*  
 child-DAT=ART.DIST ball=ART.DIST be.3SG.PRS in road=ART.DIST  
 'The child's ball is in the road.'

### 11.8.2 QUANTIFIERS, DEMONSTRATIVES, ADJECTIVES

Demonstratives and numerals always precede the noun that they qualify, while other quantifiers and adjectives in attributive position generally do so. Exceptional position of the adjective in the NP is discussed at the end of the section.

#### Demonstrative

In copula clauses with demonstratives and adjectives the subject is usually in initial position:

*ayto'va že'na bǎ-0 xu'bav|a [Af]*  
 PRO.DEM.MED.F woman be.COP.3SG.PST good|F  
 'That woman was good.'

The copula complement is sometimes found in initial position. This order is affective:

*fukaro' ye aynva' se'lu [Ae]*  
 poor be.COP.3SG.PRS PRO.DEM.DIST.N village  
 'That village is poor.'

*vo'nkašn|a mi ye ayso'z re'čka [Ba]*  
 foreign|F PRO.1SG.DAT be.COP.3SG.PRS PRO.DEM.PROX.F word  
 'That word is foreign to me.'

## Numeral

*i'ma-m trimi'na si'n|ve* [As]

have-1SG.PRS three son|PL

'I have three sons.'

## Other Quantifiers

*Na Iske'če razda'va-t na mu'fka ko'st|e, duku'z i'li on* [Aa]

In Ksanthē distribute-3PL.PRS to few house|PL nine or ten

'In Ksanthē they distribute to few houses, nine or ten.'

*te sa pe'k-|i mlo'gu xlä'b|ve* [Aa]

PRO.3PL.NOM be.AUX.3PL.PRS bake-PTCP.PST|PL many loaf|PL

'They baked many loaves.'

## Adjective

*ča'ka-me mo'y|a=na mi'sk|a se'stra*

wait-1PL.PRS PRO.POSS.1SG|F=ART.DIST small|F sister

'We're waiting for my younger sister.'

*de'te=nu no'si-0 červe'n bulu'z* [Ak]

child=ART.DIST wear-3SG.PRS red top

'The child is wearing a red top.'

## Order of Members of the Noun Phrase

When a noun is qualified by both a numeral and an adjective in attributive position, the numeral precedes both the adjective and the noun:

*day mi če'tri gulä'm|i xlä'b|a* [Aa]

give-IMP PRO.1SG.DAT four large|PL loaf|QPL

'Give me four large loaves.'

When a noun is qualified by a numeral, adjective and demonstrative in attributive position, the demonstrative pronoun occurs in initial position. However, phrases or clauses of this kind were elicited as I have heard none in spontaneous speech.

*ayse'va tri gulä'm|i barda'k|a vo'da, u'dmaxn-i*  
 PRO.DEM.PROX.PL three large|PL glass|QPL water take.away-IMP

*gi* [Af]

PRO.3PL.OBL

'Take away these three large glasses of water.'

Another informant said that the adjective could also follow the noun:

*ayse'va tri barda'k|a gulä'm|i vo'da* [Ak]

PRO.DEM.PROX.PL three glass|QPL large|PL water

'these three large glasses of water'

The definite article is attached to the first nominal element in the NP as in the following example, where it is attached to the adjective:

*ya še da-m viso'č=k-u-mu=ne čulä'k-u-mu kaxvö'* [Ak]

PRO.1SG.NOM FUT give-1SG.PRS tall=DIM-DAT-M.DAT=ART.DIST man-DAT-M.DAT coffee

'I will give the tall man a coffee.'

### Multiple Adjective Use

It is rare for a noun to be qualified by more than one adjective in Pomak and there is only one example in my data in spontaneous speech:

*di'n=en vi'k-a da ni kla'va-š xu'bav|i ka'meny|e*

religion=ART.DIST say-3SG.PRS COMP NEG put-2SG.PRS nice|PL stone|PL

*merme'r=sk|i na meza'r=en* [Am]

marble=ADJ|PL on grave=ART.DIST

'The religion says that you should not put nice marble headstones on graves.' "Islam says..."

When I elicited sentences where multiple adjectives qualified the noun, one informant was reluctant to provide an example but finally gave one where all the adjectives followed the noun, in apposition:

*ku'pi-l|a si sam fusta'n skop, sin, xu'bav* [Af]

buy-PTCP.PST|F REFL be.AUX.1SG.PRS dress expensive blue nice

'I bought myself a nice, blue, expensive dress.'

A different informant placed one adjective before the noun while the others followed, as in the example that occurred in spontaneous speech:

*vi'di-š        li    gulä'm|i=ne        tumafi'l|e,    leska't|i,    čö'm|i?* [Ak]  
 see-2SG.PRS Q big|PL=ART.DIST car|PL        shiny|PL black|PL  
 'Can you see the big, black, shiny cars?'

## 11.9 AGREEMENT

The verb always agrees in person and number with the subject. The second person plural is not used to indicate politeness or formality when addressing one person. In the singular of the compound past tense the past participle normally agrees in gender with the subject.

### Past Participles

*det|i'=ne        sa        xo'di-|i        nax pa'rku=nu        da*  
 child|PL=ART.DIST be.AUX.3PL.PRS go-PTCP.PST|PL to park=ART.DIST COMP

*igro'-t* [Af]  
 play-3PL.PRS  
 'The children went to the park to play.'

The following could be spoken only by a female as the past participle shows feminine agreement:

*ya        sam        ne    ya'-|a* [Af]  
 PRO.1SG.NOM be.AUX.1SG.PRS NEG eat -PTCP.PST|F  
 'I haven't eaten.'

If a general statement is made where the sex of the referent is unspecified, the neuter gender is used. Speaking of Ramadan and Eid al-Fitr, one informant said:

*kutro'=nu        ye        guva'-|u,        za ne'ga        ye*  
 who.N=ART.DIST be.AUX.3SG.PRS fast-PTCP.PST|N for PRO.3SG.OBL.N be.3SG.PRS

*bayra'm* [Ak]  
 festival  
 'It's a festival for the one who has fasted.'

## Adjectives

Adjectives agree in number, case and gender with the noun that they qualify:

*šö'se=na ye bi'-l|a ya'ce širo'k|a* [Ak]  
road=ART.DIST be.AUX.3SG.PRS be-PTCP.PST|F very wide|F  
'The road was very wide.'

*aga' bā-x mlad puya'-x xu'beve* [Ae]  
when be-COP.1SG.PST young sing-1SG.PST well  
'When I was young I sang well.'

In a copula construction with a human subject an adjective may be used without a noun. In such constructions the adjective agrees with the subject in number and gender.

*zaznuye'n|a ye* [Af]  
sweaty|F be.COP.3SG.PRS  
'She's sweaty'.

## Variation

It should be noted that with both past participles and adjectives, natural gender may take precedence over grammatical gender with some nouns denoting humans, but there is considerable variation among speakers.

One example will be given of past participle agreement with the noun *čulä'k* 'man' and the augmentative form *čule'čište*. The underived form of this noun is masculine, but adding the augmentative suffix to a noun normally triggers neuter agreement. However, one informant accepted masculine or neuter agreement with both forms of the noun. Two other informants gave different agreement. Where an informant found a form acceptable, only their code is given. Where an informant found a form unacceptable <x> follows the code, separated by a gap. Where the informant stated that a form could be used but the alternative would be more acceptable, a question mark follows the code.

*čule'č=ište=nu ye ubi'-l bra't-a*  
man=AUG=ART.DIST be.AUX.3SG.PRS injure-PTCP.PST brother-OBL

*mu* [Bf; Ak?; Aa x]  
PRO.3SG.DAT.N  
'The man injured his brother.'

*čule'č=ište=nu ye ubi'-l|u brat-a*  
man=AUG=ART.DIST be.AUX.3SG.PRS injure-PTCP.PST|N brother-OBL

*mu* [Bf; Ak; Aa]

PRO.3SG.DAT.N

'The man injured his brother.'

*čulä'k=an ye ubi'-l bra't-a*  
man=ART.DIST be.AUX.3SG.PRS injure-PTCP.PST brother-OBL

*mu* [Bf; Ak; Aa]

PRO.3SG.DAT.M

'The man injured his brother.'

*čulä'k=an ye ubi'-l|u bra't-a*  
man=ART.DIST be.AUX.3SG.PRS injure-PTCP.PST|N brother-OBL

*mu* [Bf; Ak x; Aa x]

PRO.3SG.DAT.M

'The man injured his brother.'

### 11.10 DUBITATIVE PARTICLE

The particle *gö* is used to express the speaker's opinion about a situation or to show that a situation is not real. The exact meaning can often be understood only from the context. The different uses of this particle are shown in four categories below.

#### **Mistaken Conclusion**

*ya re'ka-x gö ye ayse' pla'den* [Am]  
PRO.1SG.NOM say-1SG.PST DUB be.3SG.PRS now noon  
'I thought it was noon now.'

The speaker was confused about the time of day, thinking it was already noon when it was in fact earlier.

*ya zna'ye-m gö sa put me'ne* [Bc]  
PRO.1SG.NOM know-1SG.PRS DUB be.3PL.PRS under PRO.1SG.OBL  
'I was sure they were underneath me.'



The speaker here was sitting on a single cushion but believed that there were two, only realizing that this was not true when trying to take one of the cushions to give to someone else.

### **Casting Doubt on Veracity of a Statement/Situation**

The particle *gö* may be used when the speaker knows that a statement is false as in the first example below. In all other occurrences in my data the speaker is expressing doubt. However, without further information the listener knows only that the speaker is expressing doubt.

*vi'ka-0 gö ni zna'ye-0* [Be]  
say-3SG.PRS DUB NEG know-3SG.PRS  
'She says she doesn't know.'

Some villagers stated that one lady claims that she does not know Turkish, but they know that she does. To show that they are aware the claim is untrue, the participle *gö* was used.

*ra'diyu=nu vi'ka-0 gö še ud u'tre leti'-0 pak* [Aa]  
radio=ART.DIST say-3SG.PRS DUB FUT from tomorrow rain-3SG.PRS again  
'It says on the radio that it will apparently rain again from tomorrow.'

The speaker showed uncertainty about whether the weather report would prove to be correct by using the dubitative particle.

*tä vi'ka-0 gö še ye=de'-0 sarm|i'* [Bc]  
PRO.3SG.NOM.F say-3SG.PRS DUB FUT eat=EXT-3SG.PRS stuffed.cabbage.roll|PL  
'She says that she will eat stuffed cabbage rolls.'

A child had told her parent that she would eat stuffed cabbage rolls when she had her meal later, but as she had been eating very little in recent days the parent was doubtful whether she would eat them.

*vi'ka-t so'm|i=ne gö guvo'-t* [Aa]  
say-3PL.PRS deer|PL=ART.DIST DUB fast-3PL.PRS  
'They say that deer fast.'

There is a belief that deer fast at Ramadan, but the speaker used the dubitative particle to express uncertainty about whether this is true.

## Unreal Situations

*gö da du'mi-me i'ngili=sk|u* [Bd]  
DUB COMP speak-1PL.PRS English=ADJ|N  
'Let's pretend to speak English.'

I observed two children singing. They said that they would pretend they were using English and made up words to sound like English.

*ya vi'de-x son gö sa sam že'ni-l*  
PRO.1SG.NOM see-1SG.PST dream DUB REFL be.AUX.1SG.PRS marry-PTCP.PST

*na xu'bav|a mo'ma* [Ae]  
to nice|F girl  
'I dreamt that I married a nice girl.'

A person related a dream using the dubitative particle.

## To Resemble Something

*pra'vi-0 gö ye po'rtukalada* [Af]  
make-3SG.PRS DUB be.3SG.PRS orange.juice  
'It looks like orange juice.'

This was said of vitamins mixed in water, which the speaker thought resembled orange juice.

### 11.11 DISTRIBUTION

In Pomak, cardinal numerals are preceded by the particle *pu* to form distributive numerals. The particle *pu* is not stressed.

*vri'te-m gu razdeli'-x pu yenno' parčö'* [Ae]  
all-DAT PRO.3SG.OBL.M/N distribute-1SG.PST DISTR one.F piece  
'I distributed one piece to everyone.'

*ya sam da'-lja ko'pel|i=ne-m pu*  
 PRO.1SG.NOM be.AUX.1SG.PRS give-PTCP.PST|F boy|PL=ART.DIST-DAT DISTR

*dve ya'balk|i* [Af]  
 two.F apple|PL  
 'I gave the boys two apples each.'

*aga' mu sto'ri-š sir|i'=ne, zam namä'ta-š*  
 when PRO.3SG.DAT.M/N make-2SG.PRS furrow|PL=ART.DIST then put-2SG.PRS

*i pate'ta=na, pu dve, pu dve, ne ya'ce bli'ze* [Ak]  
 and potato=ART.DIST DISTR two.F DISTR two.F NEG very close  
 'When you make the furrows, then you put in the potatoes two by two, not very close together.'

### 11.12 ORDER OF PRONOUNS

Where the oblique and dative pronouns occur together, the dative pronoun always precedes the oblique pronoun:

*še ti ye da-m* [Af]  
 FUT PRO.2SG.DAT PRO.3SG.OBL.F give-1SG.PRS  
 'I will give it to you.'

### 11.13 REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

The two reflexive pronouns *sa* and *si* exist in Pomak. The uses of the pronouns are outlined below. It should be noted that these pronouns are never stressed and cannot occur in clause initial position.

#### 11.13.1 **REFLEXIVE *sa***

##### Reflexive Only Verbs

Some verbs occur only with the reflexive pronoun. It is an integral part of the verb:

**se'ta- sa** to understand

*kuga'=nu du'me-t uru'mt=sk|u, se'ta-š li sa?* [Am]  
 when=ART.DIST speak-3PL.PRS Greek=ADJ|N understand-2SG.PRS Q REFL  
 'Do you understand when they speak Greek?'

**kla'ne- sa** to pray

*Alla'x vi'ka-0 da sa kla'ne-me i da guve'-me* [Ab]  
Allah say-3SG.PRS COMP REFL pray-1PL.PRS and COMP fast-1PL.PRS  
'Allah says that we should pray and fast.'

**sme'- sa** to laugh

*ne'ma-0 jumbü's da sa sme-š* [Ae]  
there.is.NEG-PRS joke COMP REFL laugh-2SG.PRS  
'There is no joke to laugh at.' "It's not funny."

**zaglavi"- sa** to get engaged

*zaglavi'-/|a sa ye* [Aa]  
get.engaged-PTCP.PST|F REFL be.AUX.3SG.PRS  
'She has got engaged.'

**že'ni- sa** to get married (for both men and women)

*ni ra'če-t da sa že'ne-t* [Ae]  
NEG want-3PL.PRS COMP REFL get.married-3PL.PRS  
'They don't want to get married.'

### Verbs that Occur with and without sa

Many verbs may occur with or without the reflexive pronoun *sa* with a corresponding difference in meaning. See section 11.1.4, S=O.

**učī"-** to teach

**učī"- sa** to study

*vo'r-i u'č-i det|i'=ne* [Aa]  
go-IMP teach-IMP child|PL=ART.DIST  
'Go and teach the children.'

*kakna' sa uči'-š?* [Ak]  
what REFL study-2SG.PRS  
'What are you studying?'

**rudi''-** to give birth, to bear fruit

**rudi''- sa** to be born

*beš ya rudi'-x* [Bo]

five PRO.1SG.NOM give.birth-1SG.PST

'I've given birth to five (children).'

*dren=o'n ye rudi'-l mlo'gu drä'nk|i* [Ak]

cornelian.cherry.tree=ART.DIST be.AUX.3SG.PRS bear-PTCP.PST many cornelian.cherry|PL

'The cornelian cherry tree bore many cornelian cherries.'

*kuga' si sa rudi'-l?* [Aa]

when be.AUX.2SG.PRS REFL be.born-PTCP.PST

'When were you born?'

**ba'gri-** to paint

**ba'gri- sa** to wear make up (paint oneself)

*itu's ba'gre-t* [Aa]

here paint-3PL.PRS

'They are painting here.'

*ya sa ni ba'gre-m* [Af]

PRO.1SG.NOM REFL NEG paint-1SG.PRS

'I don't wear make up.'

**ubi''yi/e-** to injure

**ubi''yi/e- sa** to injure oneself

*fče'ra to to'pna-0 to'p=an i to mu*

yesterday PRO.3SG.NOM.M kick-3SG.PST ball=ART.DIST and PRO.3SG.NOM.M PRO.3SG.DAT.M

*izbä'ga-0 i to po'de-še da gu fa'ti-0 i*

go.away-3SG.PST and PRO.3SG.NOM.M go-3SG.PST COMP PRO.3SG.OBL.M catch-3SG.PRS and

*biz ma'ku da gu ubi'ye-0 tumafi'l* [Ak]

without little COMP PRO.3SG.OBL.M injure-3SG.PRS car

'Yesterday he kicked a ball and it rolled away and he went to get it and a car nearly injured him.'

*me'ne      bǎ-0      strax da    sa    ni    ubi'ye-0      la'stuvica=na* [Ak]  
 PRO.1SG.OBL be.3SG.PST fear COMP REFL NEG injure-3SG.PRS house.martin=ART.DIST  
 'I was afraid that the house martin would injure itself.'

### **Passive**

The reflexive pronoun *sa* is frequently used to form utterances with a resultative meaning. See section 11.1.4 on S=O ambitransitive verbs.

*va'zu=nu      sa    ye                      razbi'-l|u* [Ak]  
 vase=ART.DIST REFL be.AUX.3SG.PRS break-PTCP.PST|N  
 'The vase broke.'

*ni    zna'ye-m      kakna' še    sta'ne-0                      kuga'=nu      sa    pere'-0* [Ab]  
 NEG know-1SG.PRS what FUT become-3SG.PRS when=ART.DIST REFL launder-3SG.PRS  
 'I don't know what it will be like when it's washed.'

### **11.13.2 REFLEXIVE *si***

The use of the dative reflexive pronoun *si* appears to be optional. It adds extra information, emphasizing the link between the referent and the action. The reflexive pronoun could be omitted from all the clauses below and they would still be grammatical, but the sense would be slightly altered:

*zö'm-i    si      ša'pka* [Bp]  
 take-IMP REFL hat  
 'Take a hat for yourself.'

*ya                      si    i'ma-m                      dve    sîn=čö't|a* [Aa]  
 PRO.1SG.NOM REFL have-1SG.PRS two.N son=DIM|PL  
 'I myself have two sons.'

*vrit    uday|e'=ne                      še    si    le'pe-m                      i    perd|e'=ne                      še    si*  
 all room|PL=ART.DIST FUT REFL paint-1SG.PRS and curtain|PL=ART.DIST FUT REFL

*pe'ra-m* [Aa]  
 launder-1SG.PRS  
 'I will paint all the rooms myself and wash the curtains myself.'

*ku'p-i si yenno' ko'sta* [Bp]  
 buy-IMP REFL one.F house  
 'Buy yourself a house.'

#### 11.14 RECIPROCALS

Reciprocals are formed in the same way as reflexive constructions and can be differentiated only by context. Note that in the first two examples below the third person plural of the auxiliary verb *sam* and the reflexive pronoun are identical in form.

*udri'-lji sa sa tre'n=en i xama'l=an* [An]  
 hit-PTCP.PST|PL RECP be.AUX.3PL.PRS train=ART.DIST and lorry=ART.DIST  
 'The train and the lorry hit each other.' "The train and the lorry crashed."

*det'ji=ne sa sa bo'xta-lji* [Af]  
 child|PL=ART.DIST RECP be.AUX.3PL.PRS beat-PTCP.PST|PL  
 'The children beat each other.' "The children fought."

*bud-o't sa kra'vji=ne* [Af]  
 butt-3PL.PRS RECP cow|PL=ART.DIST  
 'The cows are butting each other.'

#### 11.15 PREPOSITIONS

Proper names, pronouns and certain nouns take the oblique case when preceded by a preposition. Prepositions are never stressed.

##### Prepositions Mainly Denoting Movement to or from in Space and Time

**na** 'at (place or point in time), on (surface of X), to (a place)'

*vrit insa'n=at sa na ra'buta* [Ae]  
 all people=ART.MED be.3PL.PRS at work  
 'Everyone is at work.'

*ti i'ma-š ko'sam na mumi'ye=ta* [Aa]  
 PRO.2SG.NOM have-2SG.PRS hair on headscarf=ART.MED  
 'You've got a hair on your headscarf.'

*ya sam ne xo'di-l na xläb* [Am]  
 PRO.1SG.NOM be.AUX.1SG.PRS NEG go-PTCP.PST for bread  
 'I haven't been for the bread.'

*ya sam na kîrk iki'* [Ae]  
 PRO.1SG.NOM be.1SG.PRS at forty-two  
 'I'm forty-two.'

*kîrk sene' napre's puya'-xme tu'rt=skji pe'sn|e i pi'm|j na yirmi' beš*  
 forty years ago sing/read-1PL.PST Turkish=ADJ|PL song|PL and poem|PL on twenty-five

*mart* [Am]  
 March  
 'Forty years ago we sang Turkish songs and read Turkish poems on 25<sup>th</sup> March.'

*po'da-m na Nixa't-a* [Bi]  
 go-1SG.PRS to Nihat-OBL  
 'I'm going to Nihat's.'

The preposition *na* is often realized as *nax* when expressing movement but there is not complete consistency even in individual speakers. The variant *nax* is never used when movement is not expressed. The previous example above would therefore often be realized as:

*po'dam nax Nixa'ta*

In the following clauses both variants of the preposition were produced by the informant:

*kutr|i' še do'yda-t na / nax sva'dba=na?* [Aa]  
 who|PL FUT come-3PL.PRS to wedding=ART.DIST  
 'Who will come to the wedding?'

*kuga' še varvi'-te na / nax Iske'če?* [Aa]  
 when FUT go-2PL.PRS to Ksanthē  
 'When will you go to Ksanthē?'



**ud** 'from, of'

*mo'y|a=ta ma'yka zna'ye-še misi'r da plete'-0 i*  
PRO.POSS.1SG|F=ART.MED mother know-3SG.PST maize COMP knit-3SG.PRS and

*ya sam nauči'-|a ud ne'ye [Ak]*  
PRO.1SG.NOM be.AUX.1SG.PRS learn-PTCP.PST|F from PRO.3SG.OBL.F  
'My mother knew how to knit maize and I learnt from her.'

*ya ud pla'den še ra'zriye-m [Aa]*  
PRO.1SG.NOM from noon FUT spread.muck-1SG.PRS  
'In the afternoon I will spread muck.'

*kuga' si to'rna-l ud Geče'bunar? [Bj]*  
when be.AUX.2SG.PRS set.off-PTCP.PST from Glaukē  
'When did you set off from Glaukē?'

*i'šta-m da si ku'pe-m yemeni'|ye ud paza'r=en [Bi]*  
want-1SG.PRS COMP REFL buy-1SG.PRS shoe|PL from market=ART.DIST  
'I want to buy myself some shoes from the market.'

**du** 'until, as far as' (space and time)

*mo'ži-š da sedi-š cā'l|a noš du saba'x [Aa]*  
be.able-2SG.PRS COMP sit-2SG.PRS whole|F night until morning  
'You can sit up all night until morning.'

*uba'ne-š gu xer gūn du kī'rk=nu gūn<sup>164</sup> [Bh]*  
bath-2SG.PRS PRO.3SG.OBL.N every day until forty=ART.DIST day  
'You bath it every day until the fortieth day.'

*itu's i'ma-0 du üç kat [Af]*  
here there.is-PRS until three floor  
'Here there are [buildings] up to three floors.'

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<sup>164</sup> Babies must be bathed every single day until they are forty days old.

## Mainly Static

**u** ‘at’ (someone’s residence or café/shop)

This preposition occurs only with the plural form of the pronoun. It has a stative meaning as opposed to the dynamic meaning of *na*.

*u Meriye'm-a sedi-'š li?* [Am]

at Meriyem-OBL sit-2SG.PRS Q

‘Do you sit at Meriyem’s?’

*da li u vam ne'ma-0 vrata'?<sup>165</sup>* [Af]

COMP Q in PRO.2PL.OBL there.is.NEG-PRS door(s)

‘Don’t you have doors in your house?’ “Were you born in a barn?”

**pri** ‘by (alongside), next to’

*na dvo'r=an ye, pri kapu'ye=ne* [Aa]

in hall=ART.DIST be.3SG.PRS by front.door(s)=ART.DIST

‘It’s in the hall, by the front door.’

*ayso'va že'na pri me'ne* [Ak]

PRO.DEM.NOM.F woman next.to PRO.1SG.OBL

‘this woman next to me’

**fif** ‘in’ (space and time during)

*Ya se'de-m fif kaxvenö'=sa xer gün da va're-m kaxvö'* [Ak]

PRO.1SG.NOM sit-1SG.PRS in café=ART.PROX every day COMP boil-1SG.PRS coffee

‘I sit in my café every day to make coffee.’

*si'pa-l|a ye zexi'r fif vo'd=v|a šišö'* [Aa]

pour-PTCP.PST|F be.AUX.3SG.PRS poison into water=POSS|F bottle

‘She poured weedkiller into a water bottle.’

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<sup>165</sup> This may be said to someone who leaves a room without closing the door.

*fif šuva'l, kutro'=nu guve'-0 alt'i gün gö ye guva'-/|u*  
in Shuwwal who.N=ART.DIST fast-3SG.PRS six day DUB be.AUX.3SG PRS fast-PTCP.PST|N

*gudi'na* [Aa]

year

'In Shuwwal<sup>166</sup> whoever fasts for six days, it's as if he had fasted for a year.'

### Other

**biz** 'without, except'

*aga' ta zabuli'-0 glav=o'ta še ispi'ye-š yenno' kaxvö'*  
if PRO.2SG.OBL hurt-3SG.PRS head=ART.MED FUT drink-2SG.PRS one.F coffee

*biz xič šeke'r i še ta arni'sa-0* [Ae]

without at.all sugar and FUT PRO.2SG.OBL stop-3SG.PRS

'If your head hurts, you should drink one coffee without any sugar and it will stop [hurting].'

*vrit piyö'-t žiga'r|e biz me'ne* [Bg]

all smoke-3PL.PRS cigarette|PL except PRO.1SG.OBL

'Everyone smokes except me.'

**sas** 'with'

This preposition is used in both instrumental and comitative function:

*sas sorp še gu re'ži-me* [Aa]

with sickle FUT PRO.3SG.OBL.M/N cut-1PL.PRS

'We'll cut it with a sickle.'

*po'ye-m sas dā'd-a* [Bd]

read-1SG.PRS with grandfather-OBL

'I read with my grandfather.'

*ra'bute-m sas bra't-a* [Ad]

work-1SG.PRS with brother-OBL

'I work with my brother.'

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<sup>166</sup> The month after Ramadan in the Muslim calendar.

**za** 'for, in (with time expressions)'

*za beš de'n|e še ye no'va=na gudi'na [Af]*

in five day|PL FUT be.3SG.PRS new=ART.DIST year

'In five days it will be the new year.'

*nä sa mo'li-me meleyk|e'=ne za nam da pi'se-t*

PRO.1PL.NOM REFL pray-1PL.PRS angel|PL=ART.DIST for PRO.1PL.OBL COMP write-3PL.PRS

*xu'bav progra'm [Am]*

good programme

'We pray that the angels will write a good programme for us.'

*ko'sta naga'da-t za nevä'sta=na [Aa]*

house prepare-3PL.PRS for bride=ART.DIST

'They're preparing the house for the bride.'





'Da.' 'Ayša'm=laxin<sup>180</sup> ye'la, še ti ye<sup>181</sup>  
 okay evening=in.the come.IMP FUT PRO.2SG.DAT PRO.3SG.OBL.F  
 "Come this evening and I'll give her to you," said the old woman, so

da-m,' da<sup>182</sup> izbă'ga-0 ba'ba.<sup>183</sup> Aga'  
 give-1SG.PRS COMP escape-3SG.PRS old.woman when  
 she could escape. When

uti'de-0 ayša'm=laxin me'čka=na, zö'-l|a da  
 go-3SG.PST evening=in.the bear=ART.DIST begin-PTCP.PST|F COMP  
 the bear went to the old woman's house that evening he began to knock at the

ču'ka-0. 'Ba'ba, day mi yenno'=ta  
 knock-3SG.PRS old.woman give.IMP PRO.1SG.DAT one=ART.MED.F  
 door. "Old woman, give me one of your daughters."

mo'ma.' I ba'ba mu re'če-0, 'Te  
 girl and old.woman PRO.3SG.DAT.M/N say-3SG.PST PRO.3PL.NOM  
 And the old woman said to him, "They're fast asleep", and she

sa ya'ce zaspā'-l|i,' i zaklū'či-l|a  
 be.AUX.3PL.PRS very sleep-PTCP.PST|PL and lock-PTCP.PST|F  
 locked the front door and let down the trapdoor.

ye kapu'ye=ne<sup>184</sup> i spu'sna-l|a  
 be.AUX.3SG.PRS front.door(s)=ART.DIST and let.down-PTCP.PST|F

<sup>180</sup> This lexeme is derived from Turkish. *Ayša'm* 'evening' occurs as an independent word. Informants assert that this is the Pomak form of the Turkish *akşam*. Both forms are found in Pomak as is the form *akša'mlaxin*. The ending =*laxin* is not productive in Pomak, occurring in only one other lexeme in my data, *saba'xlaxin* 'in the early morning'. Again the first morpheme, *saba'x* 'early morning', occurs as an independent word.

<sup>181</sup> The feminine oblique pronoun *ye* is used here to refer to the feminine noun *mo'ma*, in contrast to earlier uses of the masculine/neuter dative pronoun *mu* to refer to the feminine noun *ba'ba*.

<sup>182</sup> Some informants to whom I read this story did not like the use of *da* here to express intention. One suggested inserting *za* 'for' before *da*, to make the meaning clear. Another suggested *zaradi'* 'in order that'.

<sup>183</sup> Here no verb 'to say' is used. This contrasts with the rest of the text where the verbs *vi'ka-* and *reke-* are used to introduce dialogue.

<sup>184</sup> *Kapu'ye* is derived from the Turkish *kapı* 'door, gate'. In Pomak it is used only to refer to a front door which is on the exterior of a building. The Slavonic *vrata* 'door(s)' is used to refer to interior doors.

ye kepe'nk=en.<sup>185</sup> I to<sup>186</sup> vi'ka-0  
 be.AUX.3SG.PRS trapdoor=ART.DIST and PRO.3SG.NOM.M/N say-3SG.PRS  
 And the bear said, "Okay old woman,

me'čka=na,<sup>187</sup> 'Da, da, ba'ba, ti pak  
 bear=ART.DIST okay okay old.woman PRO.2SG.NOM again  
 you'll come again some time for sour cornelian cherries.

še do'ydi-š binni's na lü't|i drä'nk|i.  
 FUT come-2SG.PRS. sometimes to sour|PL cornelian.cherry|PL

Ya ti šte ka'za-0.<sup>188</sup> I ba'ba  
 PRO.1SG.NOM PRO.2SG.DAT ? tell-3SG.PST and old.woman  
 I've warned you." And when the old woman

kuga'<sup>189</sup> ye utišla'-|a pak na lü't|i  
 when be.AUX.3SG.PRS go-PTCP.PST|F again to sour|PL  
 next went to pick sour cornelian cherries the bear ate her up, because she

drä'nk|i i me'čka=na ye ye  
 cornelian.cherry|PL and bear=ART.DIST PRO.3SG.OBL.F be.AUX.3SG.PRS  
 had lied to him. '

izä'-|a o'ti ye ye  
 eat.up-PTCP.PST|F because PRO.3SG.OBL.F be.AUX.3SG.PRS

izlo'ga-|u.<sup>190</sup> [At]  
 lie-PTCP.PST|N

<sup>185</sup> This word is rarely heard today because only a few traditional houses have trapdoors. A simple wooden staircase on the ground floor leads up to the trapdoor. This word is found in both Bulgarian and Turkish but with the meaning 'shutter'.

<sup>186</sup> The masculine/neuter pronoun rather than the feminine is used to refer to the feminine noun *me'čka*.

<sup>187</sup> Another example of subject repetition: *i to vi'ka me'čkana* 'and the bear he says'.

<sup>188</sup> *Ya ti šte ka'za* is an idiom. It is a warning often given to children when they are naughty. They can expect to be spanked if they repeat their unacceptable behaviour. The phrase is not grammatically well formed as the first person pronoun *ya* does not agree with the third person form of the verb *ka'za*. I checked the idiom with several informants and all insisted that the form of the verb was correct. This is the only occurrence of the form *šte* in my data. It may be related to the verb *i'stam* 'to want, desire' and is possibly an obsolete form.

<sup>189</sup> When some informants heard the story, they said that the use of *kuga'* here is incorrect as it can only be used as an interrogative. They said that it should be replaced by *aga'*.

<sup>190</sup> Here the feminine noun *ba'ba* is qualified by a past participle with the neuter ending |u, *izlo'ga-|u*.



## Notes

In Paševik bears seem to be feared or at least are in the forefront of people's consciousness. I do not know of anyone in the village whose livestock has been killed or injured by bears in recent years, although a few villagers have had encounters with bears when in the high mountains. Yet whenever I go to the nearby woods I am warned about bears and asked how it is I am not afraid to go. Some of these people are teasing, but others are serious. This story perhaps recalls a time when bears were more prevalent and certainly plays to the fears of the average person.

I misunderstood the story when I first heard it, or at least I did not attribute to it the meaning that the locals did. My understanding was that the bear wanted to eat the old woman, but that when she cunningly pretended to offer her daughter in her place in order to save her own life, the bear accepted because he wanted to eat the daughter instead. When I read this story to friends they explained that the bear wanted the daughter to live with him as a companion. He did not want a meal. The old woman was of no interest to him as a companion and so he ate her after he realised that he had been deceived.

Some points of interest regarding the grammar and lexicon are detailed in the footnotes. I would like to highlight however the inconsistency in the choice of personal pronouns and one past participle as related to gender agreement.

There are ten uses of the past participle in this text and in two instances there is no auxiliary verb. All informants agreed that both usages were correct. The omission of the auxiliary appears to be a stylistic feature.

## Conclusion

The central aim of this thesis, to provide the first grammar of a Greek Pomak variety in the English language, has been achieved, albeit with some limitations. The chapters on syntax and the verb are not as comprehensive as I would have liked, but this leaves scope for future investigators to examine the syntax and verb paradigms of Pomak varieties. It would also be of great value if future researchers into Pomak were to provide texts, produce dictionaries and carry out sociolinguistic studies. The present thesis does provide a lasting record of a language that is endangered, but if the suggestions for future research were taken up in a timely fashion this would enrich our knowledge of Pomak before the number of speakers who use it as a main means of communication declines further.

Specifically, the description of Paševik Pomak in this thesis fills a gap in our knowledge of south-east Slavonic dialects spoken in Greece and has revealed some unique features: the existence of the front rounded vowel phonemes *ö* and *ü*, which occur in other varieties of Pomak but are not attested in south-east Slavonic dialects outside Greece; the discontinuous definite dative suffix *-u=ne-xi* used with feminine nouns and adjectives, which may be unique to Paševik Pomak; and the vowel alternations that occur when the definite suffix is attached to feminine nouns: *ko'sa*, *kuso'na*.

## Bibliography

The abbreviations listed immediately below are those used in the thesis to refer to works that are cited frequently. Full references follow.

- A8 Aronson (1968)
- H9 Hauge (1999)
- K4 Kokkas (2004a)
- D6 Papadēmētriu (1996)
- P7 Panagiōtidēs (1997)
- S3 Scatton (1993)
- T6 Theoxaridēs (1996b)

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### Notes

\* I did not consult this book because I did not have time to work through my own data on syntax, but it is included for the sake of completeness.

\*\* I did not consult this book as the manuscript was closed, however it does not offer any information that would alter this thesis.

†These books on Bulgarian dialectology were recommended by Dr Mitrinov. I was able to consult only Stojkov 1993. Eastern Rup dialects are described on pages 120-139 and the phonological characteristics of Bulgarian dialects on pages 200-220.

Sussex and Cubberley 2006 have a helpful section on Bulgarian dialects on pages 510-513.