Morphological Perspectives
Papers in Honour of Greville G. Corbett

Edited by Matthew Baerman, Oliver Bond, Andrew Hippisley

0

244mm x 172mm
474 pages
Published April 2019

ISBN
Hardback:
9781474446006

Recommend to your Librarian

Request a Review Copy

Hardback
(Forthcoming)
£100.00

♥ Add to Wishlist

Places morphology at the centre of its own research agenda

In a field dominated by syntactic perspectives, it is easy to overlook the words that are the irreducible building blocks of language. *Morphological Perspectives* takes words as the starting point for any questions about linguistic structure: their form, their internal structure, their paradigmatic extensions, and their role in expressing and manipulating syntactic configurations. With a team of authors that run the typological gamut of languages, this book examines these questions from multiple perspectives, both the canonical and the non-canonical. By taking these questions seriously, and letting loose a full battery of analytical techniques, the following chapters not only celebrate the pioneering work of Greville G. Corbett but present new thinking on traditional approaches, including the paradigm, deponency and morphological features.

Key Features

- Full ranging examination of morphology's role in its canonical and non-canonical aspects
- Chapters by some of the key experts in morphological typology including Bernard Comrie, Andrew Spencer, Mark Aronoff, Maria Polinsky, Oliver Bonami, Johanna Nichols and Nicholas Evans
- New thinking on traditional approaches, including the paradigm, deponency and morphological features

Contents   About the Author

Case loss in pronominal systems: Evidence from Bulgarian

Alexander Krasovitsky

9.1 Dialectal variation in case marking on personal pronouns in Bulgarian

This paper investigates the loss of morphological case marking on personal pronouns using data from contemporary Bulgarian dialects. Bulgarian underwent massive loss of morphological case marking in the Middle Bulgarian period (12th–15th century) when a rich system of case inflections[1] inherited from Proto-Slavonic was largely lost (Mirchev 1963:144-145; Pârvev 1975: 80-98). As a result, Bulgarian lost morphological case on nouns (except for

a restricted set of lexemes which preserve residual case forms in some of the dialectal systems, Stojkov 1954). Personal pronouns, however, preserve case distinction, although in a reduced form, as compared to the original Proto-Slavonic system. In different regional varieties of Bulgarian, we find either a three-case distinction, nominative, accusative and dative, or a two-case distinction, nominative and accusative. One striking instance of such cross-dialectal variation is attested in the dialects of North-West Bulgaria where personal pronouns vary with respect to the number of case distinctions they are able to show (Stojkov1981). This variation is illustrated in (1) and (2) using as an example the 3rd person singular masculine pronoun *toj* 'he'.

(1) Three-case distinction: nominative, accusative and dative

    a. **Toj**   idva.
       he(M.NOM) go[3.SG]
       'He goes.'

    b. Vižda-m   **nego.**
       see-1.SG   **him(M.ACC)**
       'I see him.'

    c. Dava-m   **nemu.**
       give-1.SG   **him(M.DAT)**
       'I give to him.'

(2) Two-case distinction: nominative and accusative
    a. **Toj**   idva.
       he(M.NOM) go[3.SG]

       'He goes.'

    b. Vižda-m   **nego**.
       see-1.SG   **him(M.ACC)**

       'I see him.'

    c. Dava-m   **na nego**.
       give-1.SG   **on him(M.ACC)**

       'I give to him.'

The sentences in (1) and (2) may be taken as a basic illustration of a diachronic process leading to the reduction of case paradigms in personal pronouns: in (1), we find a three-case system with distinct morphological (synthetic) forms for nominative, accusative and dative; examples in (2) illustrate a more advanced stage of case loss in the pronominal system: a two-way distinction (nominative/accusative) with dative functions assigned to analytical constructions which include a preposition and an accusative form of a pronoun.[2]

In-between these two clear-cut patterns of case marking currently observed in Bulgarian dialects, we find multiple intervening patterns where a three-case distinction is possible only with some PERSON/GENDER/NUMBER combinations, leaving the rest with two distinct case forms. From a diachronic perspective, this presents us with multiple outcomes of the historical process which results in case deterioration and loss. But what is the pattern of this process? Are some parts of the pronominal system more prone to this change than others? Variation outlined above enables us to investigate this historical problem by tackling the distribution of case-marking patterns and alternative means (such as the prepositional constructions) across various personal pronouns.

9.2 The Data

The data for this case study come from 418 locations in North-West Bulgaria, as presented in volume IV of the *Bulgarian dialectological atlas* (BDA IV) covering North-West Bulgaria (Stojkov 1981). The dialects in question are known for their relatively

conservative inflectional morphology: unlike the majority of dialects further east, they preserve distinct nominative and accusative, and less frequently, dative case forms for a number of animate nouns, and three distinct case forms (nominative, accusative, dative) on personal pronouns.

The data showing the distribution of accusative and dative pronominal morphological forms and prepositional constructions were manually extracted from the individual maps in BDA IV and accumulated in a database, enabling analyses which will be presented in the subsequent sections.[3] For this study, data on the following personal pronouns were used:

- 1st person plural (Map 248 accusative; Map 249 dative)

- 2nd person plural (Map 248 accusative; Map 249 dative) [4]

- 3rd person singular masculine and neuter (Map 240 accusative; Map 241 dative)

- 3rd person singular feminine (Map 244 dative)

- 3rd person plural (Map 252 accusative; Map 253 dative)

A three-case paradigm for six personal pronouns based on BDA IV may be presented as follows[5]:

Table 9.1 Inflection of personal pronouns in North-West Bulgarian dialects (based on BDA IV)[1].

	1.PL 'we'	2.PL 'you'	3.SG.M 'he'	3.SG.N 'it'	3.SG.F 'she'	3.PL 'they'
Nominative	nie / ni	vie / vi	on / toj	ono / to	ona / tja	oni / te
Accusative	nas / naze	vas / vaze	nego / nega	nego / nega	[no data]	nix / tjax
Dative	nam	vam	nemu	nemu	noj / nej	nim / tjam

Unfortunately, BDA IV does not include information on 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns in the accusative and dative. However, compared to other BDA volumes, this volume provides the most detailed account on variation in case marking on personal pronouns for six PERSON/GENDER/NUMBER combinations (see above), which is why it was chosen for this case study.

---

[1] Note that there are no gender distinctions in plural.

9.3 Cross-Dialectal Variation

The conservative situation presented in Table 9.1, as well as the opposite situation, with just two distinct case forms for each pronoun, nominative and accusative, where the latter case took over all dative functions, are relatively infrequent. The overwhelming majority of dialectal pronominal systems may be considered as transitional between these two states. In these transitional systems different PERSON/GENDER/NUMBER combinations allow different number of case distinctions. The data from BDA IV reveals cross-dialectal variation with respect to (i) the number of case values available to a given personal pronoun in a dialect, and (ii) the inventory of grammatical means, i.e. synthetic case forms and analytical (prepositional) constructions assigned to a given case value.

In the subsequent sections, I will concentrate on the interplay between accusative and dative forms which is at the heart of the historical process leading to the transition from a three-case to a two-case pronominal system; I do not address nominative forms which are distinct from accusative and dative in all dialects and which do not interfere with the latter two cases in the historical change under investigation. The use of the term 'accusative' here is justified from a formal point of view, however, it should be borne in mind that we are speaking about a historical accusative form which in a three-case system has accumulated functions of genitive, instrumental and locative.[6] In this paper I adhere to a convention implicitly followed in a number of studies including BDA. By 'accusative functions' in a three-case system I mean functions which are now fulfilled by historical accusative forms and which correspond to historical accusative, genitive, instrumental and locative. The term 'dative' with respect to such dialects is used in its original sense and denotes original dative functions, such as, for example, the recipient of a ditransitive verb. Chronologically, such pronominal systems represent the most archaic type of case distribution (type A in Table 9.2 illustrated by examples in (3)) currently available for observation in the dialects under investigation, with three distinct morphological case forms for three case values, nominative, accusative and dative. I take this type as a conventional starting point of the

4

analysis and examine attested deviations from this type. These deviations result in a number

of outcomes, illustrated by the other five types, from (B) to (F). Dialects which belong to

these five types either generalise one of the case forms, accusative or dative, across the two

case values, as in type B and type E or develop analytical (prepositional) constructions be

used in the dative sense, as we see in types C, D and F.[7]

Table 9.2 Variation in case marking on personal pronouns (based on Stojkov 1981)

Type	Accusative function	Dative function
A.	accusative form	dative form
B.	accusative form	accusative form
C.	accusative form	preposition + accusative form
D.	accusative form	preposition + dative form
E.	dative form	dative form
F.	dative form	preposition + dative form

Cross-dialectal variation in the North-West dialects summarised in Table 9.2 is

illustrated in (3) using examples with the 1st person plural pronoun *we*.

(3)   Type A.   Vižda-t **nas.**   Dava-t   **nam.**
                         see-3.PL **we(ACC)**   give-3.PL **we(DAT)**

           Type B.   Vižda-t **nas.**   Dava-t   **nas.**
                         see-3.PL **we(ACC)**   give-3.PL **we(ACC)**

           Type C.   Vižda-t **nas.**   Dava-t   **na nas.**
                         see-3.PL **we(ACC)**   give-3.PL **on we(ACC)**

           Type D.   Vižda-t **nas.**   Dava-t   **na nam.**
                         see-3.PL **we(ACC)**   give-3.PL **on we(ACC)**

           Type E.   Vižda-t **nam.**   Dava-t   **nam.**
                         see-3.PL **we(DAT)**   give-3.PL **we(DAT)**

           Type F.   Vižda-t **nam.**   Dava-t   **na nam.**
                         see-3.PL **we(DAT)**   give-3.PL **on we(DAT)**

                         'They see us.'   'They give to us.'

I will analyse rich synchronic variation with respect to case marking on personal pronouns in Bulgarian dialects and will argue that differences in the use of case marking and alternative strategies (i.e. analytical constructions) which are found across different personal pronouns, as well as different rates at which the loss of case proceeds within different classes are to a significant extent associated with the features PERSON and NUMBER. These features have an effect on synchronic variation and historical change under investigation.

This case study shows, in particular, that personal pronouns which are different only in NUMBER show a uniform pattern in the way they retain original case forms or lose them in exchange of prepositional constructions (as illustrated by examples in (3)). This uniformity does not hold for personal pronouns which are different in PERSON: the majority of the dialects included in this study reveal a split between 1st and 2nd person on the one hand and 3rd person on the other: these two groups of pronouns have different preferences as it comes to the expression of case. The data provided in BDA IV enable the comparison across SINGULAR and PLURAL only for 3rd person pronouns. This comparison reveals the similarity of diachronic patterns across 3rd person pronouns irrespective of NUMBER. If, however, we compare across PERSON, we can see that 1st and 2nd person pronouns cluster together in terms of their diachronic behaviour, exhibiting strong preferences for a two-way case distinction. As for 3rd person pronouns, they clearly stand out as a relatively conservative part of the pronominal system with stronger preferences for three-case marking.

9.4 Directions of Change

According to the data from BDA IV, the transition from a three-case to a two-case marking on personal pronouns leading to the loss of accusative–dative distinction manifests itself in two diachronic processes: firstly, in the spread of analytical (prepositional) constructions with the preposition *na* ('*na* +ACC' or '*na* +DAT') replacing original dative forms, as illustrated in (2c), (2d) and (2f), and, secondly, in the generalisation of one morphological

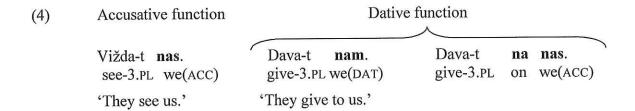form, accusative or, less frequently, dative, across both paradigm cells, as exemplified in (3b) and (3e).

The majority of dialectal pronominal systems in North-West Bulgaria are affected by the transition from synthetic to analytical case: only 72 dialects (out of 418) show no evidence of this process while in the remaining 346 dialectal systems, analytical (prepositional) constructions compete with or fully replace original dative forms for at least one PERSON/GENDER/NUMBER combination. At the same time, there are 49 dialects where the transition from morphologically expressed dative case to analytical constructions is completed, i.e., synthetic dative forms are ousted by prepositional constructions in all five PERSON/GENDER/NUMBER combinations presented in BDA IV (see §9.2 for the list of combinations). In a large proportion of the dialects, prepositional constructions replacing synthetic forms include a corresponding *accusative* form of a pronoun (as illustrated in (3c)), however, there is certain number of dialects where such constructions include *dative* forms (3d). The fact that the analytical constructions replacing synthetic dative forms may include either accusative or dative forms in Bulgarian dialects (not only in the North-West, but also in the South-West dialects for which we have comparable, though less comprehensive, data, see Stojkov 1975) has not received due attention in the literature. I revisit this below.

A second process leading to the loss of the accusative–dative distinction is the generalisation of one pronominal form across the two case values. As it is the case with prepositional constructions, this is a two-way road: while in most of the dialects accusative replaces dative, as illustrated in (3b), there is a significant number of systems where dative takes over accusative generalising across both paradigm cells, as we see in (3e).

The data from BDA show that while accusative clearly dominates as a preferred form in the historical competition between accusative and dative, the outcome of this competition is not uniform across all Bulgarian dialects. This fact has a theoretical significance which so far has been largely overlooked. As mentioned above, among 418 dialects presented in BDA

7

IV, there is a significant number where dative pronouns act as so called "general oblique" forms replacing all cases apart from nominative (we have seen this in (3e)). From a typological perspective, a situation where dative wins over accusative which is higher in the hierarchy of cases (Blake 2001: 89-90) is not uncommon: consider, for example, Old English where dative took over accusative forms at a relatively early stage (i.e. Baugh 1971: 193). Bulgarian dialectal data reveal a highly complex diachronic process. Consider again a summary of the data form BDA IV presented in Table 9.2.

While there is a tendency observed in many dialects to generalise one form (either accusative or dative) over two cases, the surviving form may be *either* accusative *or* dative, which rules out insufficiency or phonological vagueness of a disappearing form as a reason for this historical change. Rather, we likely observe the effect of a systematic (paradigmatic) requirement which encourages speakers to generalise across paradigm cells. Equally, the penetration of prepositional constructions into syntactic slots which originally belonged to dative is unlikely to be a result of a repair strategy intended to 'clarify' a relationship expressed by a dative form. Here, again, we are most likely dealing with the effects of a syntactic process which imposes its requirements on syntactic positions (namely, a requirement for a given relationship to be expressed by a given syntactic construction, i.e. the preposition *na* + an accusative form of a personal pronoun).[8] This results in the spread of analytical (prepositional) constructions either with accusative or with dative, where the actual grammatical content of a pronominal form and of the preposition is bleached. This is particularly clear as we observe combinations of the preposition *na* with dative forms which previously could not govern dative.[9] The data from BDA IV demonstrate consecutive stages of the grammatical and semantic bleaching of case forms involved in analytical (prepositional) constructions. Thus, along with the 'pure' types listed in Table 9.2, there is a number of dialects which combine several different patterns, e. g. (b) and (c) or (e) and (f). This results in the competition of case forms and analytical constructions, as illustrated in (4):

(4)   Accusative function   Dative function

Vižda-t **nas.**   Dava-t **nam.**   Dava-t **na nas.**
see-3.PL we(ACC)   give-3.PL we(DAT)   give-3.PL on we(ACC)

'They see us.'   'They give to us.'

9.5 Patterns of Synchronic Variation: Quantitative Data

In this section, I present quantitative data which should elucidate variation in personal

pronouns' case marking and explain differences in patterns of diachronic change observed

across different classes of personal pronouns.[10] I start by calculating the number of dialects

where a given form or construction may occur and do this all five PERSON/GENDER/

NUMBER combinations presented in BDA IV. The results are presented in Table 9.4 (for

accusative) and in Table 9.5 (for dative). Figures in the tables show percentages of dialects

where a given form or construction occurs with a given PERSON/GENDER/NUMBER

combination. I took the total number of dialects presented in BDA IV as 100%.[11]

Table 9.3   The occurrence of forms/constructions in accordance with the original accusative
forms in the North-West Bulgarian dialects

Form / construction	Dialects where a given form is attested (percentages and absolute numbers)			
	1& 2 PL	3.SG. M & N	3.SG.F	3.PL
accusative form	100% (418)	100% (418)	N/A*	92% (383)
dative form	1.4 % (6)	-	N/A*	7% (29)**

* Data are not provided in BDA IV.
**For six locations data are not provided.

Table 9.4   The occurrence of forms/constructions in the North-West Bulgarian dialects in
accordance with the original functions of dative forms

Form / construction	Dialects where a given form is attested (percentages and absolute numbers)			
	1& 2 PL	3.SG. M & N	3.SG.F	3.PL
dative form	23% (95)	61% (255)	74% (309)	67% (278)
preposition + dative form	2% (10)	15% (63)	6% (26)	11% (47)
accusative form	47% (195)	–	0.2% (1)	0.7% (3)
preposition + accusative form	41% (172)	24% (100)	30% (125)	28% (118)

Several important observations may be made on the basis of these data. Firstly, as Table 9.3 shows, there is a number of dialects where original accusative forms (3rd person plural) are replaced by dative forms which fulfil accusative functions (29 dialects, 7%). In all of these dialects original accusative forms are eliminated. Secondly, the data for dative (Table 9.3) reveal an important split between 1st and 2nd person on the one hand, and 3rd person on the other with respect to preferences for formal means. Thus, while the original 1st and 2nd person plural dative forms are preserved in 23% of the dialects, they are 2.5–3 times more frequent with the 3rd person pronouns both in singular and in plural. Another striking difference is found in the use of prepositionless accusative forms used in a dative function: almost half of the dialects allow this form for 1st and 2nd person plural but it is almost impossible in combination with the 3rd person. Less striking but still significant differences isolating 3rd person from 1st and 2nd person pronouns are found in the preference for prepositional constructions with accusative and dative forms.

Further dissimilarity between different classes of personal pronouns with respect to their case marking strategies becomes clear if we consider the frequency of the types of pronominal case paradigms presented in Table 9.2. Tables 9.5, 9.6, and 9.7 show numbers of the dialects where a given type is attested and also include separate data for mixed types (i.e. dialects where several alternative strategies may be used with respect to one case function, for example an accusative form and a prepositional construction for dative, as in type AC in Tables 9.5 and 9.6).

Table 9.5   Case marking and alternative strategies for 1st and 2nd person plural pronouns

Type	Accusative function	Dative function	Dialects where a given combination is attested (absolute numbers)
A	accusative	dative	89
B	accusative	accusative	142
C	accusative	preposition + accusative	94
D	accusative	preposition + dative	4
E	dative	dative	2
F	dative	preposition + dative	–
AC	accusative	dative; preposition + accusative	25
AD	accusative	dative; preposition + dative	3
BC	accusative	accusative; preposition + accusative	53
EF	dative	dative; preposition + dative	3

Table 9.6   Case marking and alternative strategies for 3rd person singular pronouns (masculine and neuter)[2]

	Accusative function	Dative function	Dialects where a given combination is attested (absolute numbers)
A	accusative	dative	255
B	accusative	accusative	–
C	accusative	preposition + accusative	9
D	accusative	preposition + dative	63
E	dative	dative	–
F	dative	preposition + dative	–
AC	accusative	dative; preposition + accusative	15
AD	accusative	dative; preposition + dative	–
BC	accusative	accusative; preposition + accusative	75
EF	dative	dative; preposition + dative	–

[2] 3rd person singular masculine and neuter pronouns are syncretic in all cases apart from nominative. In BDA they are counted together.

Table 9.7　　Case marking and alternative strategies for 3rd person plural pronouns

Type	Accusative function	Dative function	Dialects where a given combination is attested (absolute numbers)
A	accusative	dative	226
B	accusative	accusative	1
C	accusative	preposition + accusative	81
D	accusative	preposition + dative	32
E	dative	dative	17
F	dative	preposition + dative	11
AC	accusative	dative; preposition + accusative	–
AD	accusative	dative; preposition + dative	25
BC	accusative	accusative; preposition + accusative	–
EF	dative	dative; preposition + dative	1

These quantitative data reveal significant difference between 1st and 2nd person pronouns on the one hand and 3rd person pronouns on the other both with respect to their synchronic behaviour and to extent they advanced towards a two-way distinction in case the case paradigm (i. nominative–accusative). While in the majority of the dialects presented in BDA IV 3rd person pronouns retain the original accusative-dative opposition (255 dialects for 3rd person singular and 226 for 3rd person plural), thus preserving a three-case system, there is only a minority of dialects where this distinctions holds for the 1st and 2nd person pronouns: these include 89 dialects with a 'pure' type (a) and 28 dialects with mixed types (ac) and (ad) as shown in Table 9.5; the latter two types show a tendency for a transition to analytical constructions. Further evidence, showing a strong tendency for the 1st and 2nd person pronouns to progress to a two-case system is the syncretism of accusative and dative which we find in more than a third of dialectal systems presented in BDA IV (142 dialects in Table 9.5). This is not the case for the 3rd person pronouns: as Table 9.6 and Table 9.7

show, such syncretism *per se* is practically non-existent in the dialects under investigation and occurs only in mixed systems in combination with prepositional constructions (bc), however, significantly less frequently than with 1st and 2nd person pronouns (75 occurrences with 3rd person singular pronouns, Table 9.6). One more difference which the data in Tables 9.5, 9.6 and 9.7 reveal is in the preference for a particular type of analytical construction to replace original dative forms. Thus, 1st and 2nd person pronouns from our sample show a relatively strong preference for constructions with accusative: type (c) – 94 dialects, and mixed types (ac) and (bc) – 78 dialects (see Table 9.5). At the same time, these pronouns seem to disfavour dative in prepositional constructions: there are only 10 dialects where such constructions occur either on their own or in competition with other strategies (types d, ad, ef). With the 3rd person pronouns (both singular and plural) we find a significantly stronger tendency to retain original dative forms and to use them in analytical constructions: there are 63 dialects where such constructions are attested with the 3rd person singular pronouns (Table 9.6) and 86 (including mixed types) with the 3rd person plural pronouns (Table 9.7).

The data discussed above demonstrate significant differences between various classes of personal pronouns with respect to synchronic variation and with respect to their diachronic behaviour. The 1st and 2nd person pronouns clearly stand out as propagators of change, leading to the reduction of case paradigms and to the transition from three-case to two case systems. At the same time, the 3rd person pronouns on the whole are more conservative and preserve original forms more frequently. The difference between the 1st and 2nd person pronouns on the one hand, and the 3rd person pronouns on the other has been widely discussed in the literature, in general terms (cf. Benveniste 1971) and with respect to particular languages (i.e. Haig 2008 for Iranian languages; Cappellaro 2016 for Italian). In Romance, for example, as in Bulgarian, case was lost in nominal declensions but pronouns (in particular 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns) preserve case distinctions (Sornicola 2011; Cappellaro 2016). While evidence from Bulgarian point to a different

trajectory of change (3rd person pronouns are more likely to preserve case distinctions than 1st and 2nd person plurals, although we do not have any data for 1st and 2nd person singular to allow a correct comparison with Romance) we can see that pronouns which are different in PERSON show dramatically different diachronic patterns. At the same time, the data indicate that pronouns which differ only with respect to NUMBER (i.e. 3rd person singular masculine/neuter and 3rd person plural pronouns) follow similar patterns with respect to patterns of synchronic variation and diachronic change. In other words, the feature PERSON may account for asymmetries in case marking across different classes of personal pronouns, while the feature NUMBER does not account for any significant splits.

9.6 Conclusions

This study has shown that even within a relatively small dialectal area we can find multiple paths which the loss of case in pronominal systems may take. It is noteworthy that the variety of the diachronic patterns attested in the investigated dialects has typological parallels: for example, dative forms generalising over accusative, a phenomenon found in a few dozens out of 418 localities covered by BDA IV, was a mainstream process in the history of English. The nature of the data available for this study does not allow to make the next logical step and to investigate the role of different factors contributing to case loss and the rationale behind speakers' choices in situations of intra-dialectal variation when alternative means are available for the same case function. However, large quantitative data derived from the Bulgarian Dialectological Atlas reveal the complexity of change leading to the reduction and loss of case distinctions. The data presented here suggest that the outcome of this change is conditioned by an interaction of morphological and syntactic factors and thus contribute to a long-term debate on the nature of processes leading to case loss in a variety of languages.

Notes

1. The inherited Proto-Slavonic system included six cases (nominative, accusative, genitive, dative instrumental and locative) and vocative forms (Schenker 2002).
2. From a historical perspective these two situations which are available for observation in contemporary Bulgarian dialects represent relatively late stages of case loss in

14

pronominal systems: in both of them genitive, instrumental and locative functions have been generalised under one pronominal (accusative) form which is used with a variety of prepositions: *bez nego* 'without him' (genitive function); *s nego* 'with him' (instrumental function); *za nego* 'about him' (locative function).

3. I am grateful to Maria Petrunova and Nick Harff for their enormous help in extracting and processing the data from the BDA.

4. In BDA 1st and 2nd person plural pronouns are mapped together, which apparently suggests that they follow the same pattern.

5. The data in the BDA do not allow to deduce paradigms for other personal pronouns. Note that some pronouns have alternative forms. In Table 1 alternative forms are given in one cell and separated by a slash (e.g., *nas/naze* ('we' ACC). Usually, only one of the alternative 3rd person pronouns is allowed in a given dialect; alternative 1st and 2nd person forms frequently co-occur in one dialect, though no data on their possible distribution within a given dialect are available. From a historical point of view, the alternative forms represent different stages in development of the Bulgarian pronominal system. For further details on the origin of these forms and on the diachronic relationships between them see Mirchev 1963:168-173; Pârvev 1975: 124-133; Todorov 2002.

6. Bulgarian dialectologists sometimes use the term *glomerativen padež* to denote a case form which combines historical functions of genitive, instrumental and locative, and the term *aglomerativen padež* for case forms combining historical genitive, dative, instrumental and locative. These terms, however, are not generally accepted.

7. In many dialects synthetic and analytical means, for example *nas* ('we-ACC') and *na nas* ('on we-ACC') used in the dative sense, compete, but BDA IV does not provide information on whether there are any morphosyntactic, semantic or pragmatic factors which condition their competition.

8. The use of analytical means (such as prepositional constructions) to express case relationships is frequently listed among prominent morphosyntactic effects of the Balkan Sprachbund (e. g. Mišeska-Tomić 2006: 27). However, the question as to why this tendency manifests itself in so many different outcomes not just across language or dialectal borders but also within a given variety (for example, across lexical classes) calls for further research (cf. Miloradović's 2003 survey of a group of East Serbian dialects affected by the loss of morphological case).

9. Government requirements of this preposition in such dialects change and become less specific. Further down this track, this preposition loses the ability to govern any specific form and is used as a marker of a syntactic function (as it is the case in Standard Bulgarian and in the majority of regional dialects where nouns do not inflect for case).

10. Bulgarian dialects demonstrate significant variation in the form of personal pronouns for every class considered here. Thus, a 2nd person plural pronoun *you* in the accusative has two forms, *nas* and *naze*, and the 3rd person plural pronoun has different stems in different dialects, e.g. *nim* and *tjam* (3.PL.DAT). A full list of forms with references to maps in BDA IV is provided in the Appendix. Further consideration of these differences is outside the scope of this paper. For a detailed historical analysis of personal pronouns in Bulgarian see Todorov 2002.

11. It should be taken into account that in each dialect, there may be two or even more alternative means for expressing a given PERSON/GENDER/NUMBER combination, for example, there may be an original case form and a prepositional construction, which is why a total for a column may exceed 100%.

References

Baugh, Albert C. 1971. *A History of the English Language*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

Benveniste, Émile. 1971. Subjectivity in Language. In Benveniste, Émile. 1971. *Problems in general linguistics*. Coral Gables, Fla: University of Miami Press.

Blake, Barry J. 2001. *Case*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Cappellaro, Chiara. 2016. Tonic pronominal system: Morphophonology. In Adam Ledgeway and Martin Maiden (eds.), *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Haig, Geoffrey. 2008. *Alignment change in Iranian languages: A construction grammar approach*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Miloradović, Sofija. 2003. *Upotreba padežnix oblika u govoru Paračinskog Pomoravlja. Balkanistički i etnomigracioni aspekt*. Beograd: Etnografski institut SANU

Mirčev, Kiril. 1963. *Istoričeska gramatika na bâlgarskija ezik*. Sofija: Nauka i izkustvo.

Mišeska Tomić, Olga. 2006. *Balkan Sprachbund morpho-syntactic features*. Dordrecht : Springer

Pârvev, Xristo. 1975. *Očerk po istorija na bâlgarskata gramatika*. Sofija: Nauka i izkustvo.

Schenker, Alexander M. 2002. Proto-Slavonic. In Comrie, Bernard; Corbett, Greville. G., *The Slavonic Languages*. London: Routledge.

Sornicola, Rosanna. 2011. Romance linguistics and historical linguistics: Reflections on synchrony and diachrony. In Martin Maiden & John Charles Smith (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Romance Languages*, Volume 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stojkov, Stojko. 1954. *Bâlgarskata dialektologija*. Sofija: Nauka i izkustvo.

Stojkov, Stojko (ed.). 1975. *Bâlgarski dialekten atlas.T. III. Jugozapadna Bâlgaria. Čast 1. Karti. Čast 2. Statii, komentari, pokazalci.* [Bulgarian dialectalogical atlas. Volume III. South-West Bulgaria. Part 1. Maps. Part 2. Articles, commentaries, indices]. Sofia: Bâlgarskata akademija na naukite.

Stojkov, Stojko (ed.). 1981. *Bâlgarski dialekten atlas. T. IV. Severozapadna Bâlgaria. Čast 1. Karti. Čast 2. Statii, komentari, pokazalci.* [Bulgarian dialectalogical atlas. Volume IV. North-West Bulgaria. Part 1. Maps. Part 2. Articles, commentaries, indices]. Sofia: Bâlgarskata akademija na naukite.

Todorov, Todor. 2002. *Starobâlgarskoto anaforično mestoimenie i negovite novobâlgarski zastâpnici*. Sofija: Izdatelstvo "Prof. Marin Drinov".