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MIGRATION, BILINGUALISM AND ETHNOLINGUISTICS: WAGON TERMINOLOGY IN THE BULGARIAN DIALECTS IN ROMANIA¹

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This article targets the Bulgarian dialects in Romania to address the following questions: How do linguistic and cultural boundaries interact? What can we learn from the ethnolinguistic study of the speech of a rural bilingual group in comparison with that of its monolingual neighbours and the dialect of the population it left behind in the metropolis? To explore these issues, I will analyse data from the Bulgarian dialects in Romania, and more specifically their terms for the (ox) wagon and its parts as represented in texts recorded in the 1960s and 1970s by a group of Romanian and Bulgarian linguists and transcribed by Maxim Sl. Mladenov. These Bulgarian dialects have been studied most thoroughly by Mladenov (1993), who paid special attention to the history of migration, the identification of the dialects in Bulgarian territory most closely related to them, and the impact of bilingualism.

Wagon terminology was chosen for two reasons. First, since it is a staple theme in dialectological interviews, sufficient data about it are available regarding all three groups of speakers of interest to me: Romanian monolinguals in Oltenia and Muntenia (ALR II s.n. 335–351; NALR Olt 3: 386–388; NALR Olt, material necartografiat 3: 56–57; ALRR Munt 2: 243–249; TD Munt 2: 748; 3: 348–350), Bulgarian-Romanian bilinguals in the same area (MMEC-BDR)² and Bulgarian monolinguals in Northern Bulgaria (Rakovski 1988 [1859], 55–59; Marinov 1984 [1901], 745–754; Vakarelski 1934, 80–97; Vakarelski 1974, 336–342; BDA 2: 265–274; 4: 364–369; Sb. Dobrudža, 90–99; Sb. Kapanci, 332–333). Table 1 and Figures 1–11 provide an overview of the terminology contained in texts originating from five villages in Romania, which instantiate five North Bulgarian dialects: Urzicuța (Region Dolj) – the Vidin-Lom dialect; Băilești (Region Dolj) – the

¹ The corpus of texts on which Mladenov based his monograph will soon be available online (Mladenova 2005).

² Stoian Romanski's field notes from 1906 and 1908 contain folk tales and songs as well as vocabulary items with special focus on wagon terminology as a diagnostic feature that would link these dialects to particular Bulgarian dialect varieties (Mladenov 1993, 50). Romanski's archive is preserved at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. It is unclear whether it includes wagon terminology from the five villages selected for analysis here.

Cibrica-Ogosta dialect; Puntea cu Greci (Region Dâmbovița) – the Bjala-Slatina dialect; Izvoarele (Region Giurgiu) – the Nikopol dialect; and Epurești (Region Giurgiu) – the Moesian dialect (Mladenov 1993) in conjunction with its Romanian counterparts.

Second, wagon technology on the one hand has a long history; on the other, it underwent in recent times, following the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century migrations of Bulgarians to the north of the Danube, important changes with possible reflections in terminology. I shall look first into some major aspects of the evolution of the wagon as they relate to vocabulary and then into the historical and linguo-geographic characteristics of wagon terminology.

Table 1

Wagon terminology in the Bulgarian dialects in Romania. Source: MMEC-BDR

Figure	Urzicuța	Băilești	Puntea cu Greci	Izvoarele	Epurești
	кола	кола	колата	кулатъ	кула
	къруцъ				
	шаретъ				
	(R пърциле кърущий)				
1	йаремъ ¹	йаремъ		умокъ	умотъ
1.1	жегла			жиглити срѣннити	
1.2	жегла			жиглити утстрънь	
1.3 [2A.1]	теглич			тигличъ	
1.4	йаремъ ²				
1.5	поличка				
2A, 2B, 4.5	процепъ	процеп		процип	процеку
2A, 2B, 4.5	R процапъ				
2A.2				жапкътъ	
2A.3					потпур

(continues)

Table 1 (continued)

2B.6, 4.6	фурката	фурката	фурката		предишний писк
2B.6, 4.6		(R фуркъ динъинте)			
3.1, 4.8	лишици	лишици	лесици	фуркити	потечи
3.1, 4.8		(R фуркъ дин дърът)			
3.2, 4.1, 6.5	опашница	опашницата	опашницата	стърчишкъ	стърчишкъ
3.3	клинъ от опашницата				
		(R оиште)	воиштето		
4.2, 4.3		лана			
4.2	лана	круче предното	кручата	кручътъ преднътъ	
4.4			ламбата		
				ител	предишната стрънъ нъ кулата
					пудерната стрънъ нъ кулата
5.1, 6.2	ос	ости	ости	ос	остъ
5.1, 6.2		(R осие)			
5.1			остъ предна		
				бентуви	бентове
5.2		(R под)			пот
5.2		(R поду суб скаун)			
5.5, 6.6	килимий	килимийте			суйен'е

(continues)

Table 1 (continued)

5.6	стол отпрѣт	прѣднийъ столя	столь	стол	скомен
5.6		(R скауну де найнте)			
6.1	лѣфкъ	лѣфките		л'оки	
6.2			садната ос		
6.3	стол осат	саднийъ стол	столь саднийъ		
6.3		(R скауну де ѣндърѣт)			
7	точило	точила	кулелетата	кулелеата	кулеллетата
7	(R роате)				
7.1	спици	спиците		спици	крѣка
7.2	наплати			наплѣди	уциди
7.2	R обади				
7.3	главина	гльвинъ		гльвинътъ	гльвини
7.4				видриць	
7.4	буча	бучата	бучеги	R бучалѣтъ	
7.5	шина			шинътъ	
		пиулицата		пиулици	
8		дѣската на колата	потониците		
9	литри	литрите	литрите	ритли	
10			штит	дѣна	
11	ишииле	ишиилета	иуишлете	иуишлѣци	
				кушчук	
	л'агън				
		(R? лешика)			
				кѣприоръ	
				рѣскручи	
				гуръ	
				ил'ауви	
				ил'анцуви	

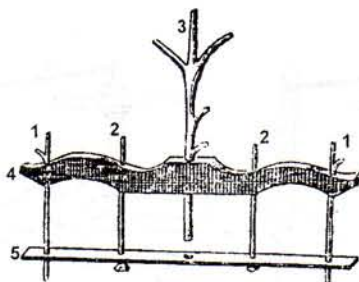


Fig. 1: Jug. Resteie (1); Bulfeie (2); Armasar (3); Butucul jugului (4); Policioară (5). Sources: Marinov 1984, Fig. 112; Pamfile 1910, 137–138.



Fig. 2A: Proțap. Armasar (1); Jariță (2); Стояло (3); Craci (4). Sources: Marinov 1984, Fig. 113; Pamfile 1910, 137.

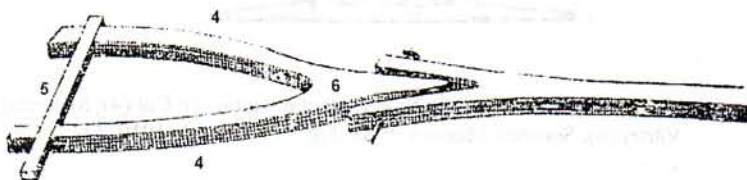


Fig. 2B: Proțap. Craci (4). Brăcinar (5); Pisc sau furcă (6). Sources: Marinov 1984, Fig. 114; Pamfile 1910, 133, 137.

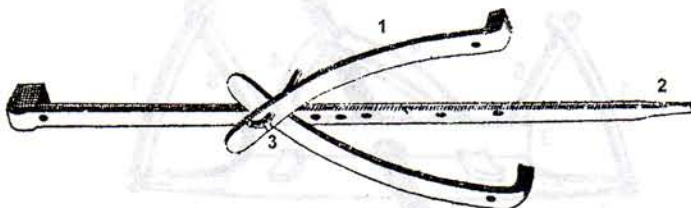


Fig. 3: Inima carului. Furculiță (1); Inimă (2); Cuiul inimii (3). Sources: Marinov 1984, Fig. 118; Pamfile 1910, 132.

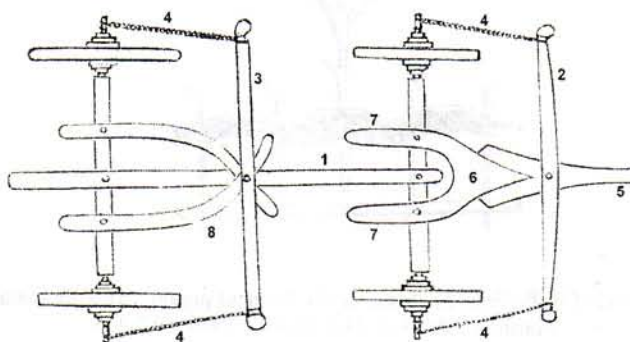


Fig. 4: Scheletul carului. Inimă (1); Crucea dinainte (2); Crucea dinapoi (3) Lămbi (4); Proțap (5); Pisc (6); Craci (7); Furculiță (8). Source: Pamfile 1910, Fig. 160.

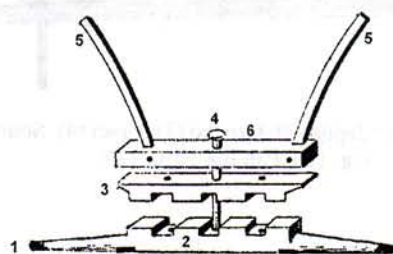


Fig. 5: Osia dinainte. Osie (1); Podul osiei (2); Perinocul dinainte (3); Cui (4); Speteaza loitrei (5); Vârtej (6). Sources: Marinov 1984, Fig. 116; Pamfile 1910, 131.

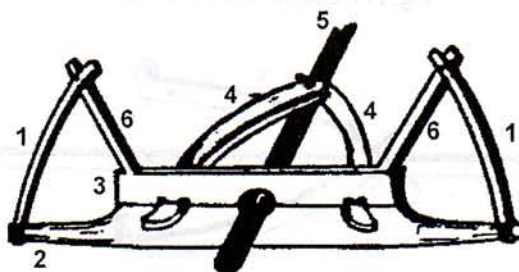


Fig. 6: Osia dinapoi. Leucă (1); Osie (2); Scaunul sau perinocul dinapoi (3); Furculiță (4); Inima (5); Speteaza loitrei (6). Sources: BDA 2:269; Pamfile 1910, 130–131.

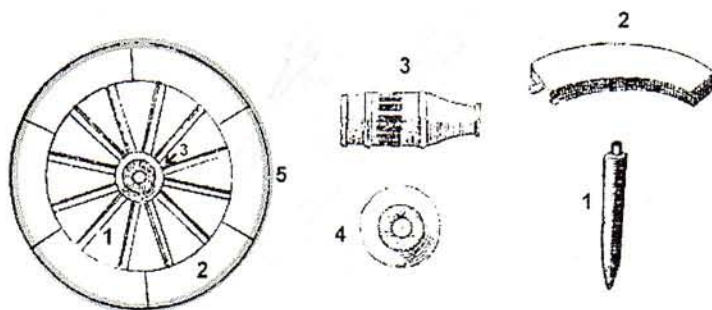


Fig. 7: Roată. Spiță (1); Obadă (2); Butuc (3); Cerc pe butucul roții (4); Șină (5).
Sources: Marinov 1984; Pamfile 1910, 128–129.

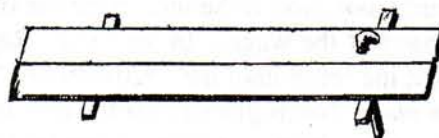


Fig. 8: Podul carului. Sources: Marinov 1984, Fig. 121; Pamfile 1910, 133.

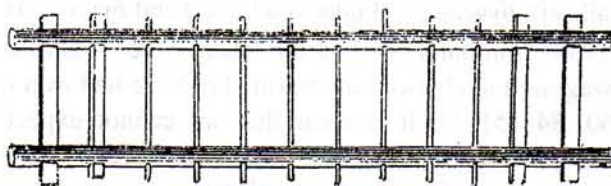


Fig. 9: Loitră. Sources: Marinov 1984, Fig. 120; Pamfile 1910, 133–134.

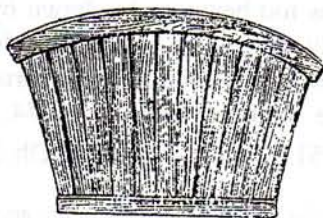


Fig. 10: Fundul carului. Sources: Marinov 1984, Fig. 123; Pamfile 1910, 134–135.

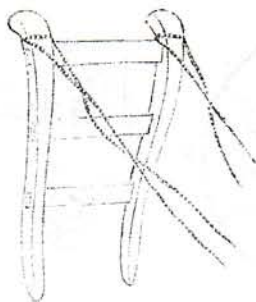


Fig. 11: Şuşlete. Source: Pamfile 1910, Fig. 166.

Wood vs. Iron

The most significant innovation is the increasing use of iron parts to enhance or replace the wooden parts of the wagon. In the Loveč Region, for instance, the wooden wagon dominated the scene until the 1920s–1930s. The first iron elements introduced were the iron *шину* 'bands placed over the rims of wheels' and later the iron *осу* 'axles'. This brought about a change of terminology. The wagon itself, which used to be called *кола*, was now labeled *каруца*, *талига* (Kolev 1999, 258). New terminology connected with this technological innovation includes a number of borrowings, notably many of German origin. Speakers of Bulgarian in Romania borrowed some terms for such new iron components from Romanian: cf. *буча* (Urzicuța and Băilești), *бучецу* pl. (Puntea cu Greci) and *бучаль* (Izvoarele) on Fig. 7.4 < R *bucea* 'broad iron band padding the wheel nave' (Pamfile 1910, 129). On the other hand, wagons and chariots are reported to have had iron parts in antiquity (Venedikov 1960, 84–85). So it is clear that we cannot expect continuity and consistency in wagon technology over time and it remains to be seen how technological discontinuity reflects in terminology.

Horse-drawn vs. Ox-drawn

The wooden wagon was too heavy to be drawn by horses. The iron wagon, on the other hand, is usually drawn by horses, which increases its speed. The choice of draught animal has repercussions on the structure of the yoke and the elements connecting it to the wagon (Vakarelski 1974, 340–342), e.g., B³ *уви́че* (BDA 2: 272) or *ок* (BTR², 517), R *oişte* (NALR Olt 3: 387; DEx, 623) refer to

³ The following abbreviations for languages are used in this article: A – Albanian; AG – Ancient Greek; B – Bulgarian; G – Greek; Gm – German; L – Latin; MG – Medieval Greek; P – Polish; PIE – Proto-Indo-European; PS – Proto-Slavic; R – Romanian; Rs – Russian; S – Serbian; T – Turkish; U – Ukrainian.

'long pole in the front part of a wagon drawn by two horses', a part of the horse-drawn wagon with no counterpart in the oxen-drawn one. The equation of R *oiște* with B *npōyen*⁴ in Frg. 2.3 from Băilești appears to be due to a functional extension of the ox-wagon term *npōyen* to cover an analogical referent of the horse-drawn wagon. It seems to indicate that the change of language code (from Romanian to Bulgarian) implies automatically a change of referent but that is an illusion; instead, it shows that the settlers did not participate in the technological innovation together with the Bulgarian population in Northern Bulgaria, but rather when they had already moved to Romania. In their Romanian speech they comply with the patterns established in Romanian, but for Bulgarian they choose not to reflect this distinction between horse- and ox-drawn wagons. This is an interesting piece of evidence of the semantic asymmetry that may characterize the two codes available to bilinguals.

Conversely, speakers in Puntea cu Greci use *boiume* for this part, a Bulgarian regional term (a cognate of R *oiște*, see below). In other words, the Bulgarian language system of the speaker from Puntea cu Greci distinguishes between horse- and ox-drawn wagons in the same way in which it is done in Bulgaria (see BDA 2: 272).⁵ Therefore, his ancestors must have brought this terminological distinction with them when they migrated to Romania.

In view of the technological distinctions between horse- and ox-drawn wagons and their terminological embodiments, it is worth mentioning that Bulgarian has no separate words for the different types of yoke that fit oxen and horses. Eastern Bulgarian generalizes for yoke *хомот*, a term that initially designated the horse-collar, whereas Western Bulgarian opted for *ярем*, the initial Slavic term for yoke for oxen (Mladenov 1971; ÉSSJa 8: 69–70, 1: 76–78; ESJS 5: 217–272). Thus Bulgarian preserved both PS **хомотъ*/**хомотъ* and **арѣмъ* but abolished the semantic difference between them. Data recorded in Urzicuța, Băilești, Izvoarele and Epurești indicate that this terminological innovation was carried over by settlers to Romania and therefore must have predated migration.

In conjunction with the discontinuity of wagon iron components, this linguistic evidence allows us to argue that there was a cyclic dynamics in the use of horse- and ox-driven wagons in Northern Bulgaria. Three stages can be reconstructed: (1) Proto-Slavic was terminologically equipped to refer to both kinds of wagons; (2) Bulgarian lost this ability as speakers reverted to ox-driven heavy wooden wagons; (3) Bulgarian started rebuilding its terminology to fit two kinds of wagons at a date preceding the migrations from Northern Bulgaria to Romania. At the time of migration Central Northern (and presumably

⁴See what *npōyen* may look like in Fig. 2A, 2B and 4.5.

⁵Unfortunately, I have no information about the name of this part of the horse-drawn wagon in the areas from which the Băilești and the Puntea cu Greci dialects originated as in BDA 4 there is no map for 'pole'.

Northeastern) Bulgaria had already reintroduced horse-drawn wagons but Northwestern Bulgaria was lagging behind. Since the Northeastern technological innovation seems to correlate temporally and geographically with abundance of Turkish loans in Northeastern Bulgarian wagon terminology, it can be assumed that Turks were instrumental in both technological and terminological change. This evolutionary model needs further scrutiny against a broader background of linguistic and ethnographic data before it can be accepted.

Continuous Reality vs. Discrete Names: Fuzzy Boundaries

At the interface of artifacts and their corresponding terminology, humans always have more than one option of cutting reality into bits, each of which carries its own name. An example in wagon terminology can be provided by the fuzzy boundary between the longitudinal central parts of the wagon B *процен* and *стърчишка*, R *proţap* and *inimă* (cf. Fig. 4.5 and 4.1). Depending on construction, there can be different cut-offs between them (cf. Fig. 2A, 2B and 4), which makes impossible the cross-identification of terms because they have different referents.

Another problem of this kind is the possibility of treating certain parts at the speakers' discretion as the same or different, e.g. Bulgarian uses one term *жегла* for any of the four vertical yoke pins (Fig. 1.1 and 1.2), whereas Romanian groups the external two under the name of *reşteie* and contrasts them with the two internal ones called *bulfeie*. Adapting to the Romanian point of view, the bilingual speaker of Bulgarian in Izvoarele talks, without prompting, about *жиглѝти среннѝти* 'the middle yoke pins' as opposed to *жиглѝти утстрѝнѝ* 'the yoke pins at the side'. This shows that, despite inherited lexical unity, for him these parts are currently classified as different. Since terminology lags behind, the speaker employs ad-hoc descriptive means to express this perspective. The deficiency of the language system is repaired in the communicative situation.

Such phenomena may account for the transfer of terms from one part of the wagon to another, which, without a good look at the realities designated, may appear enigmatic: e.g. R *scaun*, *perinoc*, *pod* have a plethora of meanings: 'podul osiei' (MALR s.n., 1:225) or 'partea groasă a osiei' (Pamfile 1910, 130) and 'vârtej (la căruţă)' (MALR s.n., 1:226) or '(parte a carului) la osia dinainte peste perinoc, care nu e fixat pe perinoc, ci se poate mişca pe acesta împrejurul unui cui' (Pamfile 1910, 131). In contrast, their partial equivalents B *стол* and *праз* encompass another set of parts: 'боботец' = 'perinocul dinainte' and 'оплен' = 'scaun (dinapoi sau dinainte)' (Vakarelski 1934, 92–94). It should not come as a surprise therefore if we find R *oplean* as a term for 'podul osiei' (MALR s.n., 1:225), whereas its Bulgarian etymon only referred to 'scaun (dinapoi sau dinainte)'. I have summarized the relations between these sets of lexical items and the range of their referents as follows:

Lexical Items	Range of referents
R <i>scaun</i> , <i>perinoc</i> , <i>pod</i>	Fig. 5.2 and 5.6
B <i>стол</i> , <i>праз</i>	Fig. 5.3, 5.6 and 6.3
B <i>оплен</i>	Fig. 5.6 and 5.3
R <i>oplean</i>	Fig. 5.2

Speaker A may use one term to express 'podul osiei' (Fig. 5.2) and 'vârtej (la căruță)' (Fig. 5.6) and speaker B may express 'perinocul dinainte' (Fig. 5.3) and 'scaun (dinapoi sau dinainte)' (Fig. 5.6 and 6.3) with one term. Thus we can see how communication in bilingual settings between these speakers may lead speaker A to believe that *оплен* in the speech of speaker B covers the same ground as his own terms R *scaun*, *perinoc* or *pod* and extend the term *oplean* from 'scaun (dinapoi sau dinainte)' to 'podul osiei'. The list of examples of such evolutions may easily be continued. This type of semantic change, which documents the difficulties of communication in a situation of language contact, is very important because it demonstrates how the domain of *parole* sneaks surreptitiously into the domain of *langue*.

Producers as Name-Givers

Initially wagons were produced not by craftsmen but by owners themselves. At the beginning of the twentieth century many parts continued to be self-made (Marinov 1984, 823; Pamfile 1910, 129–130). Specialized wagon producers are mentioned in Urzicuța (*фйераринъ*) and Puntea cu Greci (*лемнаръ* also referred to as *цигънинъ* and *фйераръ*),⁶ whereas in Epurești anybody (*чил'аку*) is assumed to be capable of making a wagon. Craftsmen in these bilingual areas were not necessarily speakers of Bulgarian, as the data from Puntea cu Greci seem to indicate. This is probably the reason why the percentage of established Romanian loans in wagon terminology is significantly higher in Urzicuța (34%) and Puntea cu Greci (33%) in comparison with Epurești (17%).

Chronological Stratification of Terminology

Regarding terminology, it is important to distinguish between old words that are part of the general lexicon and specialized terms, in this case terms for wagon parts. Some old words (e.g., B *стол* lit. 'chair' < PS **stolъ*, B *праз* lit. 'threshold'

⁶ Analogical information is contained in the narration on the wagon from the village Bolovani in Muntenia (locality 813 in ALRR Munt), cf. TD Munt 3:349 (lines 3–5).

< PS **porǵ* or R *cruce* lit. 'cross' < L *crux*, *crucis*, R *inimă* lit. 'heart' < L *anima*) may have developed terminological meanings, but this does not entitle us to attribute to the etymon the status of a wagon term, unless we have other evidence supporting this claim. Sometimes the acquired terminological meaning may be due to a linguistic calque. Eligible for such an explanation by means of a linguistic calque are parallels like B *крака* 'spokes of a wheel', lit. 'feet, legs', AG *κνήμη* 'spoke of a wheel', lit. 'part between knee and ankle, leg, shank';⁷ B *цум* 'back or front wagon board' (Marinov 1984, 753–754), lit. 'shield', AG *ἀσπίδισκη* 'tailboard' (Venedikov 1960, 84, 86), lit. 'small shield'; R *perinoc* < *perină* (DLR 8/3, 913), B *проскевал* < G *προσκέφαλο*, B *ястѣк* < T *yastik* (Vakarelski 1934, 94) 'bar above the axle', lit. 'pillow'; B *дъна* (Izvoarele), *задѣнка* (Marinov 1984, 753) < B *дъно* 'bottom', R *funduri*, *fundători*, *înfundători* 'front and back wagon board', lit. 'bottoms' (Pamfile 1910, 134).

Other words may be derived from inherited old stems according to productive patterns and this again cannot in itself serve as a proof of the term's chronological depth. An example out of our set of terms is provided by B *главина* 'hub' < *глава* 'head', S *главина*, A *gllavinë* (Svane 1992, 35), which have the same motivation as R *căpățină* < *cap*, G *κεφαλάρι* (Vlastos, 334) < *κεφάλι* and T *başlık* (SDD, 15) < *baş*.⁸ This entire section is built around the distinction between general vocabulary and terminology, which is equally relevant in the realms of inherited and loan words. As with inherited words, one must distinguish between borrowings of ready terms and the formation of terms on the basis of borrowed vocabulary that initially did not have terminological usage. Occasionally, there may be insufficient data to choose between these alternatives.

⁷The spoke is referred to in Sicily (a well known area of Greek presence) by a descendant of L *camba*, lit. 'leg' (cf. Weijnen and Alinei 1974, 27). This makes the motivation 'leg' for 'spoke' a probable feature of the Mediterranean wagon terminology. Another feature of this terminology – *κλινμια* – is discussed further in connection with our ethnographic data.

⁸Further parallels of the motivation 'head' for 'hub' are provided and analysed by Alinei (Weijnen and Alinei 1974, 20–26). Designation of the hub by terms for parts of the human body (another important example being 'navel' in the Germanic and the Celtic areas) is held there to be a sign of reverence, especially striking against the background of the numerous neutral technical terms that transfer various names for vessels to designate the hub, cf. L *modiolus* lit. 'a small measure', Rs *стѹпѹца* < *стѹна* 'mortar', R *bute* lit. 'cask' etc. The "reverent" terms are expected to be older than the neutral technical ones and to be characteristic of the early area of distribution of the wheel in Europe. The situation is complicated, however, by terms like R *butuc*, *buștean*, *bucium* 'hub' (Pamfile 1910, 129), lit. 'tree stump', which share with B *главина*, and a number of other terms for 'hub' of various motivations, yet another meaning: 'vine trunk' (regarding the range of motivations of the terms for 'vine trunk' in the Balkans see Mladenova 1998, 80–91). If we assume not a direct semantic derivation 'head' > 'hub' but a mediated one 'head' > 'tree/vine trunk' > 'hub' for at least some terms that currently display motivation 'head' for the hub, it becomes difficult to delineate the area espousing a "reverent" wheel terminology. This difficulty is compounded by the demonstrated lack of chronological depth of some such terms: e.g. G *κεφαλάρι* corresponds to AG *πλήμνη* (Venedikov 1960, 89).

Revealing is the motivation 'heart' of R *inimă* and S *срча̀ница, среча̀ница, серча̀ница, стрча̀ница, штрча̀ница* (Vuković, Bošnjaković and Nedeljkov 1984, 20–21) for the central wagon part illustrated on Fig. 4.1 because it throws new light on the Bulgarian counterpart *стърчишка*, which is currently perceived by speakers as derived from *стърча* 'project, protrude, stick out'.⁹ The Serbian forms *стрча̀ница, штрча̀ница*, which come closest to B *стърчишка*, are rare (in Vojvodina they are used in only two villages at the border with Hungary: Tavankut and Bikovo) and apparently secondary. Thus it seems that we should reconstruct a form **сърчище* < *сърце* 'heart' from which B *стърчище* > *стърчишка* arose with in epenthetic *-m-*, being reinterpreted by folk etymology as derived from *стърча*.

The Proto-Indo-European wagon terminology as described in Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984, 2: 717–738 is present in our data in inherited terms referring to the wheel (R *roată* < PIE **rot^[h]o-*; B *коло, колело* < PIE **k^[h]ol-*),¹⁰ wagon axle (B *ос* < PIE **Haḱ^[h]s-*) and yoke (R *jug* < PIE **juk^[h]om*;¹¹ B *ярем* < PIE **Har-m-*), which more than others can claim emblematic status. The etymological link between the terms for wagon and wheel, displayed by B *кола* and *колело* is of Proto-Indo-European chronological depth.

The younger inherited terms are Latin for Romanian, and Proto-Slavic for Bulgarian. Such terms are Romanian *car* 'four-wheel wagon' < L *carrus*, a Celtic loan in Latin,¹² B *жегла, S жєгла, жєгла* 'yoke pin' < PS dial. **žegla* (South Slavic only) (BER 1: 530–531); B *лисица* 'one of two curbed beams that connect the back axle with the shaft' < PS **lisica* (BER 3: 421–422); B *наплат* 'one of the several felloes of a wheel' < PS dial. **naplatъ* (South Slavic only) (BER 4: 494; ÉSSJa 22: 216–217); B *оплен* 'revolving bar above the front axle' < PS **obplěpъ/*obpelpъ* (BER 4: 903; ÉSSJa 28: 221–223), B *ошце, овице, вошце, S ојиште* 'pole' < PS dial. derivative from PS s-stem **oje* (BER 4: 822); B *писек, писка* 'wedge linking thill and axle' < PS **piskъ/piska* (Bulgarian only) (Marinov 1984, 748–749; BER 5: 258–259); B *поличка, S подица, подичица, подичица*

⁹The spelling adopted by Najden Gerov for this word (recorded by him in the form *стърчишка, стърчище*) clearly indicates that he did not connect it to *сръдце* 'heart' (Gerov 5: 243, 273). Neither do I as a native speaker of Bulgarian.

¹⁰These two PIE terms have been related to the historically known spoked and disk wheels, respectively, cf. Weijnen in Weijnen and Alinei 1974, 8–13. Our ethnographic data, which are admittedly of no great chronological depth, attest only to spoked wheels, designated by descendants of both PIE terms. This is yet another example showing that the evolutionary paths of technology and terminology are relatively independent of one another.

¹¹This PIE form is continued in another archaic Slavic term – PS **jъgo* (ÉSSJa 8: 206–208; ESJS 4: 238), which however has no terminological representation on Bulgarian territory and will be disregarded in this study.

¹²For a list of further Celtic loans in the Latin wagon terminology and a tentative cultural explanation of their salience see Alinei (Weijnen and Alinei 1974, 27–28).

'lower horizontal part of the yoke', lit. 'shelf' < PS *polica (South Slavic only) (Marinov 1984, 746; BER 5: 500–501; Vuković, Bošnjaković and Nedeljkov 1984, 109–110); B *проуен*, S *прѡуен*, *прѡујен* 'thill, shaft split in the back end that links yoke with wagon' < PS dial. *procěръ (South Slavic only) (BER 5: 796–797), B *разтока* 'shaft linking the two axles' < PS *orzтока (Bulgarian only?),¹³ B *спица* 'spoke' < PS *stьpica (Vasmer-Trubačev 3: 735–736).¹⁴ Exchange of items of these two oldest layers did not go both ways with equal ease: there are a number of ancient Slavic loans in the Romanian wagon terminology (cf. R *jiglă*, *lișițe*, *năplat*, *oplean*, *oiște*, *osie*, *pisc*, *poliță*, *proțap*, *spiță*)¹⁵ but few old Romance loans in Bulgarian.¹⁶

The bulk of the domestic terms both in Romanian and Bulgarian consists of more recent formations, derived from inherited elements. In this category the dynamics is balanced: there are Romanian loans in Bulgarian and vice versa, cf. B *каруца* < R *căruță* (BER 2:256) 'horse-drawn wagon'; R *pișleag*, *pășleg* (Pamfile 1910, 129) < B *пишляк* (Marinov 1984, 750; BER 5: 276–277) 'wedge connecting felloes'.¹⁷

There also are Slavic loans in Romanian that have no terminological counterparts in the Slavic languages: R *vârtej* ~ PS *vьrtežь (South and East Slavic, SP 1:69) (but see B *въртелешка*, formed from the same verbal stem *въртя* *ce* 'turn around, rotate' as a designation of the part of the wagon, on which *vârtej* is mounted, Vakarelski 1934, 94), R *opor* 'marginea părții groase ale osiei' (Pamfile 1910, 130) ~ PS *opoръ (BER 4: 905), R *pod* 'partea groasă a osiei; scândurile alăturate cari se reazimă pe dricul dinainte și dinapoi' (Pamfile 1910, 130, 133) ~ PS *podь (BER 5: 429–430).

The oldest layer of loan terminology seems to have come into Romanian from Slavic and into Bulgarian from Greek. It includes B *обсуда*, in our sources *уцида* (Fig. 7.2) < AG ἐψῶδ, ἐψῶδα 'loop, fellow of a wheel; the wheel itself'

¹³It is unfortunate that the word was omitted in BER. Its formation claims PS chronological depth but my cursory search for traces of it as a wagon term elsewhere in Slavia brought no results.

¹⁴PS wagon terminology displays a great dialect differentiation, which deserves special attention. There are a significant number of inherited North Slavic wagon terms with no South Slavic counterparts, as well as early and more recent loans specific to Northern Slavia, cf. for instance Rs *дышло*, *оглобля*, *стунца*, U *обид* (Vasmer-Trubačev 1: 560; 3: 104, 117–118, 788). It is noteworthy that Romanian serves as a bridge, incorporating in its wagon terminology not only South Slavic but also some North Slavic wagon terms such as *hulubă* and *obadă*.

¹⁵Some of these were borrowed as wagon terms also in Albanian: *oshtë* 'Wagendeichsel', *spicë* 'Radspeiche' (Svane 1992, 29, 35).

¹⁶B *канистра* 'bridle, halter' < L *capistrum* (BER 2: 218) and B *скѡмен* 'bar above the axle' < L *scamnum* 'chair' (BER 6: 774–775) may be members of this category as they were definitely not borrowed from the Romanian descendants of these Latin words: *căpăstru* and *scaun*. These words are believed to have penetrated Bulgarian through Greek mediation.

¹⁷To this group belongs B *ръжнице* 'pin of a wagon rail' among several other relevant derivatives from *ръжен* 'poker' (BER 6: 365–366), which was borrowed in A *rezništa* pl. 'aufrechtstehende Latten im Karren' (Svane 1992, 35).

(BER 4: 757; Venedikov 1960, 89), В *κ(ι)λιμιά*, R *chilimie* (in the Dolj Region, Pamfile 1910, 134) (Fig. 5.5, 6.6) < G *κλημνία* (BER 2: 451), В *потоница*, *патоница* (Fig. 8) < MG *ὑπότονον* 'tabecula mediana tectum intersecans' (BER 5: 556–557) and perhaps В *скомен* (Fig. 5.6) and *капистра* if they were indeed introduced through the intermediary of G *σκάμνιον* and *καπίστρι*.

More recent are the borrowings from Turkish, which seem to be much more pervasive in Bulgarian than in Romanian, cf. В *араба* 'wagon' (BER 1: 13) < T *araba* 'idem'; В *аръш* 'thill' (Vakarelski 1934, 84) < T *arış* 'idem' (SDD, 15); R *baargic*, *banagic* 'bar above the front axle' (Pamfile 1910, 131), *baiergic* 'revolving bar above the front axle' (ALRM s. n., 343), В *боярджик*, *боярджик*, *бааджик*, *барджик* 'bar above the front axle' (Vakarelski 1934, 92–93) < T *bağarcık*, *bağırcağ*, *baharcık* 'oku arabaya bağlıyan uzun parça' (SDD, 15); В *буюндрук* 'yoke' < T *boyunduruk* 'idem' (Mladenov 1971, 367; BER 1:71); В *дериджан* 'post supporting the lateral board of a wagon' (Vakarelski 1974, 338) < T *derecen* 'horse-collar for a wagon drawn by a single horse' (BER 1:345); В *дингил* 'axle' (Vakarelski 1934, 85) < T *dingil* 'idem' (BER 1:393); В *кърлѣнгъчки* 'curbed beams that connect the back axle with the shaft' (Vakarelski 1934, 88–89) < T *kırlangiç* 'swallow' (BER 3:208); В *ок* 'pole' < T *ok* 'idem'; В *пармак* 'spoke' < T *parmak* 'idem'; В *юзек* 'shaft linking the two axles' (Vakarelski 1934, 89–90; Vakarelski 1974, 338) < T *özek* 'idem'; В *ястѣк* 'bar above the axle' (Vakarelski 1934, 92–94) < T *yastık* 'pillow'.

The connections with Central and Western Europe have brought about the latest wave of borrowings, this time more often shared by Romanian and Bulgarian and maybe borrowed into Bulgarian through Romanian mediation: R *bleahuri*, *bleavuri*, *bleauri* 'two broad and rounded iron plates placed on the inner side of a wheel nave' (Pamfile 1910, 129), В *блех*, *блях* 'iron ring inside a wheel nave that protects nave and axle from wearing out' (Vakarelska 1980, 173) < Gm *Blech* 'tin plate' (BER 1:56, 59; Arvinte 1971, 138–141); В *шл'ауви* (Izvoarele), R *șleau* 'horse harness' < Gm Saxon *Schlêf* 'leather strap' (Arvinte 1971, 85–86); R *bucșă* (Pamfile 1910, 129) < Gm Saxon *Büchsem* 'pipe; wheel nave pad' (Arvinte 1971, 134–138); В *шина*, R *șină* < Gm Saxon *Schiene* 'metal wheel tire' (Arvinte 1971, 62–63); В *лѣтра*, *путла*, R *loitră* 'wagon rail' < Gm *Leiter* 'ladder' (BER 6: 269); В *лѣна* (Urzicuța, Băilești), R *lană* 'bar situated across the pole' < Gm *Lanne* 'chain' (Arvinte 1971, 74); В *левка*, *лъока*, R *leucă*, *liocă* < German *Leuchse* 'post supporting the lateral board of a wagon' (BER 3: 339), an element of the wagon introduced itself from Central Europe (Kolev 1971; Kolev 1972; Kolev 1999, 262). Some of these loans, such as *блех* (*блях*), *шина*, *лѣтра* (*путла*), *левка* (*лъока*), are widely used in Bulgaria, others, such as *лѣна* and *шл'ауви*,

are known only to speakers of Bulgarian in Romania, a clear sign that they were acquired after migration.

There are also a number of terms common for Bulgarian and Romanian whose origin is unclear and we cannot place them without further research in one of the above categories. Among these terms are: B *бобомец* – Fig. 5.3 (Marinov 1984, 751), R *băbut* – Fig. 5.6 (Pamfile 1910, 131), T *babut* ‘araba sandığı üstüne konan parça’ (SDD, 15); B *жачкѣ*, R *japiță* with variants *jânchiță*, *janchiță*, *jampiță*, *joapiță*, *jinbiță* (Pamfile 1910, 137) – Fig. 2A.2; B *ламбата* (Puntea cu Greci), R *lambă* ‘band stretching between the outer end of the axle and a bar situated across the pole’ (Pamfile 1910, 132) – Fig. 6.4 (for alternative etymologies see Arvinte 1971, 74; BER 3:299); R *ștel* ‘wagon frame without wheels and boards’ (GD Munt, 437), B *умѣн* ‘front or back wheel carrier’ (Izvoarele), S *umên* ‘front or back wheel carrier’ (recorded in the Vojvodina villages Morović, Vašica and Sot according to Vuković, Bošnjaković and Nedeljkov 1984, 19).

In summary, we could identify nine layers in wagon terminology: **inherited** terms (Proto-Indo-European; Latin or Proto-Slavic); more **recent formations** (Romanian or Bulgarian); and **loans**, among which the most important are those of Greek, Turkish and Central European (mostly German) origin.

Last but not least, the asymmetric relations between East Romance and South Slavic have defined the physiognomy of wagon terminology. Since Bulgarian wagon terminology of varying chronological depth is present in both Albanian and Romanian, Bulgarian Slavs can probably claim to have brought with them a technologically superior model of wagon, which was adopted by their Balkan neighbours together with certain terms that denoted its parts. This hypothesis is rendered plausible by prevailing notions about Albanians and Romanians as mountaineers and Slavs as inhabitants of the plains during the early period of their contact. Life in the mountains must have made wagons difficult to use and therefore superfluous.¹⁸ By the time Romanians and Albanians moved down towards the plains, they could recall only the basic terms of the earlier wagon terminology (such as ‘wagon’, ‘yoke’, and ‘wheel’) and had to incorporate Slavic know-how of wagon construction together with the respective terminology.

The Bulgarian dialects in Romania, and especially those whose speakers came from Eastern Bulgaria (Izvoarele and Epurești), display fewer Turkish loans than their Bulgarian counterparts. This fact signals that migration to Romania took place during the period of active borrowing of wagon terminology from Turkish.

¹⁸For indirect support of this claim see Tache Papahagi’s collection of Romanian ethnographic images (Papahagi 1928-1930). Wagons are present only in the Dacoromanian section (Papahagi 1928-1930, 1:61; 2:84-85), whereas in both the Aromanian and the Dacoromanian sections on pastoral life there are convoys of pack mules and horses (Papahagi 1928-1930, 1:87, 143-144; 2:209-211). As Tache Papahagi himself says, “ce qu’est la paire de boeufs pour les Daco-roumains est ou plutôt a été pour les Aroumains la caravane composée de mulets”.

On the other hand, as shown above, lexical elements borrowed in the Romanian lands prevail in the areas of technological innovation.

Bilingualism Effects

We observed some outcomes of past bilingualism as reflected in the Romanian dialect vocabulary as well as subtle adjustments of inherited Bulgarian vocabulary to fit Romanian models. It is now time to check what other effects current bilingualism has on the Bulgarian speech of bilingual individuals in Romania. The recorded interviews contain bits of conversation in Romanian. Language switching occurs freely not only between utterances but also in mid-utterance. Under such conditions, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between Romanian phrases that have become part of the Bulgarian dialect and those that are occasioned by the communicative situation. There seems to be at least three levels on which Romanian elements may function in Bulgarian speech. I shall illustrate them with examples:

- Romanian-language segments brought about by the communicative situation (entered in Table 1 in brackets with the label R). Notice *roate* in Frg. 1 and *osie* in Frg. 2.

- Romanian borrowings that have been adapted morphologically but have a Bulgarian counterpart. Speakers are aware which one is which. See *obădu* vs. *наплăти* in Frg. 1.1. This category was entered in Table 1 with the label R.

- And finally, Romanian borrowings, adapted morphologically, that seem to be the only expression for the given referent known to the speaker, as *бучăта* in Frg. 2.1 < R *bucea* (ALR s.n. 3:341, 342; MALR s.n. 1:222, 223). This category was marked in Table 1 with italics.

It is worth mentioning that speakers tend to have at their disposal only Romanian expressions to refer to more abstract vocabulary items. For instance, although wagon terminology is everywhere predominantly Bulgarian, the overarching term *части на колата* 'parts of the wagon' is not used by speakers and was not understood by them, as demonstrated in Frg. 2.2.

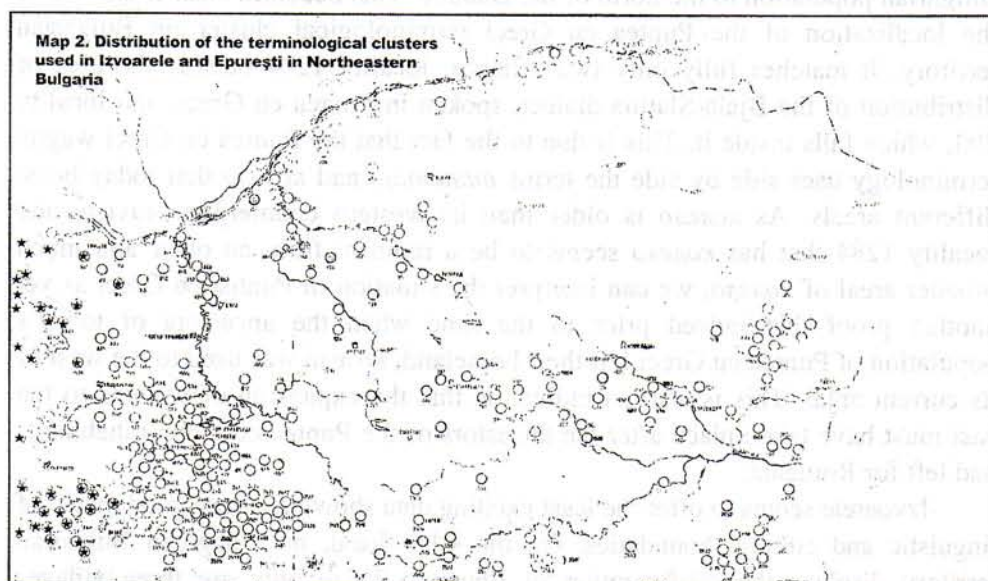
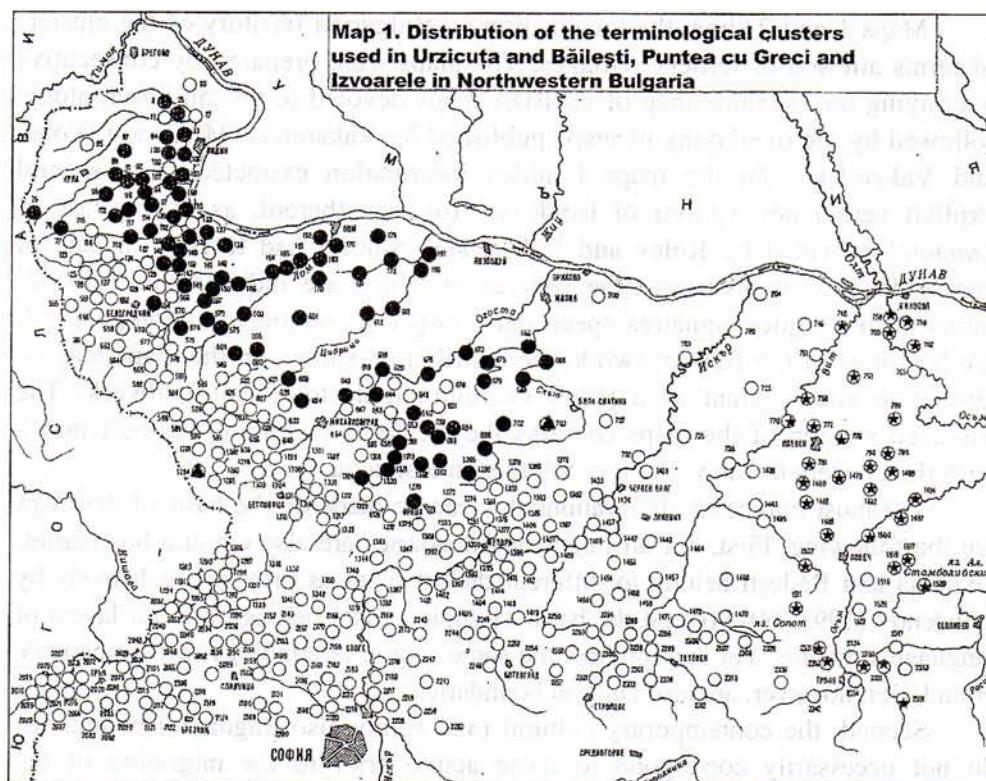
Linguo-Geography and Etymology

Comparing the Bulgarian wagon terminology used in Romania with that used in Bulgaria, one can try to assess the relation between language and cultural boundaries on one hand and formulate hypotheses about their evolution over time, on the other. Table 2 provides an overview of the terms attested in Romania, whose distribution in the Bulgarian dialects has been studied.

Table 2

Terminological clusters mapped on Maps 1 and 2

Source	Urzicuța	Băilești	Puntea cu Greci	Izvoarele	Epurești
	●	●	▲	★	⦿
Mladenov 1971	йаремъ ¹	йаремъ		умок'ъ	умот'у
BDA 2:266; Vakarelski 1934, 84, map 7	процепъ	процеп		процип	процеку
Vakarelski 1934, 91, map 13,				жапкътъ	
BDA 2:270; Vakarelski 1934, 88, map 11	лишици	лишици	лесици		потеки
BDA 2:269; 4:369; Vakarelski 1934, 89, map 12	опашница	опашницата	опашницата	стърчишкъ	стърчишкъ
BDA 2:265; Vakarelski 1934, 85, map 8	ос	ости	ости	ос	остъ
BDA 2:267; 4:367	килимин	килимините			суйен'е
BDA 2:268; 4:366; Vakarelski 1934, 94, map 15	стол	стол	столь	стол	скомен
BDA 4:368; Vakarelski 1934, 81, map 6; Kolev 1971	лефкъ	лефките		л'оки	
BDA 4:364; Vakarelska 1980, map 1	точило	точила	кулелетата	кулелеата	кулеллетата
BDA 2:273; Vakarelski 1934, 87, map 10	спици	спиците		спици	кръка
BDA 2:274; Vakarelski 1934, 86, map 9	наплати			наплъди	уциди
Vakarelska 1980, 171	главина	гльвинъ		гльвинътъ	гльвини
Vakarelska 1980, map 3				видриць	
Vakarelska 1980, map 2	шина			шинътъ	
Kolev 1971, 226	литри	литрите	литрите	ритли	
Kolev 1971, 226			штит	дъна	
Maximum overlap	14 out of 14	12 out of 12	7 out of 7	15 out of 15	9 out of 11



Maps 1 and 2 show the localization on Bulgarian territory of the clusters of terms attested in settlers' villages. The maps were prepared by consecutive overlaying on the same map of all BDA maps devoted to wagon terminology, followed by the overlaying of maps published by Vakarelski, Mladenov, Kolev and Vakarelska. To the maps I added information extracted from several explicit verbal descriptions of isoglosses (or lack thereof, as in the case of *главина*) provided by Kolev and Vakarelska. Since I had to rely on data of varied degrees of precision (the sources of which are indicated in Table 2) rather than on questionnaires specifically targeting wagon terminology in all the localities of the BDA network, the distribution shown on the maps may be altered to some extent as a result of future dialectological fieldwork. The finalized version of the maps contains the localities that show the best match with the clusters in use in the five villages in Romania.

The most important observations that can be made on the basis of the maps are the following. First, not all linguistic boundaries are also cultural boundaries. Urzicuța and Băilești belong to different dialect types as proven conclusively by Mladenov (1993, 60–116) on the basis of copious data belonging to all layers of language structure. Yet they possess the same wagon terminology. Most linguistic boundaries, however, are also cultural boundaries.

Second, the contemporary cultural (and surely also linguistic) boundaries do not necessarily correspond to those active prior to the migration of the Bulgarian population to the north of the Danube. This becomes clear if one views the localization of the Puntea cu Greci terminological cluster on Bulgarian territory. It matches fully only two villages: locality 1284 outside the area of distribution of the Bjala-Slatina dialect, spoken in Puntea cu Greci, and locality 703, which falls inside it. This is due to the fact that the Puntea cu Greci wagon terminology uses side by side the terms *опашница* and *колело* that today boast different areals. As *колело* is older than its western counterpart *точило* and locality 1284 that has *колело* seems to be a remnant from an older and much broader areal of *колело*, we can interpret the situation in Puntea cu Greci as yet another proof that indeed prior to the time when the ancestors of today's population of Puntea cu Greci left their homeland, *колело* was used to the west of its current areal. This is also an indication that the expansion of *точило* to the east must have taken place after the ancestors of the Puntea cu Greci inhabitants had left for Romania.

Izvoarele seems to offer the least exciting data showing a very good match of linguistic and cultural boundaries. On the other hand, no village in Bulgarian territory displays the configuration of Epurești. There only are three villages (localities 221, 901 and 903), all of them in the area of the Moesian dialect spoken

in Epurești, that feature nine out of the eleven wagon terms with known distribution. Here too one may think that today's distribution does not correspond in detail to that prior to migration, but it is difficult to pinpoint the nature of change. The term with the least expected distribution from a Epurești perspective and perhaps partially responsible for this situation, is *cyÿen'e* pl. It designates the part of the wagon (Fig. 5.5 and 6.6) referred to in Northeastern Bulgaria by the Turkish loan *c'ov'ë* and *c'yvën* < T *söve*, *söven*, *süge* 'arabanın dört ucuna dikilen ağaç' (BDA 2: 267; SDD, 16; BER, 7 in print s. v. *совъ*, *сьова*). The closest counterpart of *cyÿen'e* is recorded in Čerkovna, Region Pravadija: *c'yëni* pl. (BDR database). On the one hand, the Turkish loan *c'y(в)ëni* could have been in use in a broader area before the migration of the ancestors of the Bulgarian speakers from Epurești than it is today; on the other hand, some Romanian monolinguals in Muntenia use the term *suian*, pl. *suieni*, *țuieni*, *suiene*, to designate the same wagon element (GD Munt, 216; TD Munt 3: 259–260; ALRR Munt 2: 249).

Contrary to the hypothesis proposed by N. Kolev (1972) regarding Bulgaria, in Romania of the two functionally similar parts *leucă* and *suian*, the former seems to be the older one and the later, the younger. In Bulgaria, *климия* (called in the northeast *c'y(в)ëni*) is considered to have been the older Mediterranean-style support for the wagon rail, whereas *левка* is the Central European counterpart, added at a later date to *климия* only in Northern Bulgaria as a supplementary element. The result – a wagon that has both *климия* and *левка* is an eclectic type at the boundary between the two pure types: the Mediterranean wagon with *климия* and the Central European one with *левка*. The Romanian data show expansion of the Mediterranean type at the expense of the Central European one rather than their co-existence, and a relatively late – twentieth century – date of this expansion (judging from the text in TD Munt and the commentaries in ALRR Munt). The Romanian term *suian*, which according to DLR 10/5, 1969 is of unknown origin, clearly goes back to the same source as its Bulgarian and Turkish counterparts. In my opinion, it is a Turkish loan too. What remains unclear is the role of the Bulgarian settlers in the popularization of the wagon part called *cyÿen'e*. Given the general direction of distribution of the wagon part and its name, it is plausible that Bulgarian settlers brought with them a new wagon construction and the corresponding terminology, and spread it among their monolingual neighbours. This hypothesis is supported indirectly by the fact that the other name of this part – В *климия*, *килимия* (Northwestern Bulgaria, BDR database: SbNU 18.2:122), R *chilimie* of Greek origin – is known in Dolj, an area where Bulgarian settlers could also have brought it with them (DA 1/2, 355; NALR Olt 3: planșa 57).

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This study demonstrated that ethnolinguistic analysis of the language of populations which have moved away from their initial settlements into an area where they encountered speakers of other languages is worth the effort, as it might produce interesting insights. Such a study not only adds a chronological dimension to facts attested synchronically but it also – as in a huge lab in open air – shows in progress processes analogical to those that have contributed to the formation of the Balkan languages. The parallel analysis of cultural and linguistic facts also helps attach some absolute values to relative chronology.

Excerpts from MMEC-BDR

Urzicuța (Județul Dolj), Fragment 1.1

Interviewer: *Роатъ?!*

Interviewee: *ро̑ате да̑|| па̑тру ро̑ате||*

Interviewer: *Български, български*

Interviewee: *до̑уа дин фа̑цъ|| по̑фтим?||*

Interviewer: *Български, български*

Interviewee: *от ко̑лко съ пра̑и едно̑ то̑чило?||*

Interviewer: *Да.*

Interviewee: *от двана̑асе спи̑ци и ше̑с оба̑ди||*

Interviewer: *оба̑да*

Interviewee: *еди̑н| еди̑н|| едно̑ то̑чило|| ше̑с на̑пла̑ти и двана̑асе спи̑ци||*

Interviewer: *Така.*

Băilești (Județul Dolj), Fragment 2.1

Interviewee: *ун̑три гл̑в̑ин̑ъ се̑ од д̑рво|| гл̑в̑ин̑ата|| спи̑ците се̑ од д̑рво|| ун̑три буч̑ата|| къ̑де̑ иде̑ на̑ ост̑ъ||*

Interviewer: *Ос ли̑ му̑ ка̑з̑вате?*

Interviewee: *ост̑ъ̑ ос̑ие̑ и̑ ду̑ма̑ме̑ н̑ие̑ и̑ б̑ъ̑л̑гар̑ски̑| и̑ вла̑шки̑ ос̑ие̑||*

Băilești (Județul Dolj), Fragment 2.2

Interviewer I: *Какви, какви части има колата?*

Interviewee: *да разбѐрем каквò е тавà?||*

Interviewer I: *А, адикъ. Част кум.*

Interviewer II: *пърциле, пърциле*

Interviewer I: *пърциле*

Interviewer II: *ку че се компуне?*

Interviewee: *а?|| една кòла?||*

Interviewer I: *Една кола*

Interviewee: *да|| è||*

Interviewer II: *какво има?*

Interviewee: *чѐтири точила|| кòлата|| чѐтири точила| двѐ òсти||*

Băilești (Județul Dolj), Fragment 2.3

Interviewer: *Оище кум се стуне?*

Interviewee: *а|| òиште|| прòцеп бѝгарски||*

Interviewer: *А процеп.*

Interviewee: *прòцеп||*

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