

# THE SEMANTICS OF THE BCS AND BULGARIAN MOTION VERBS ‘DOĆI’ AND ‘DOJDA’ – ‘TO COME, ARRIVE’: A CONTRASTIVE CORPUS-BASED STUDY

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## ABSTRACT

The verbs *doći* in Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian (= BCS) and *dojda* in Bulgarian (= Blg.) are among the most frequent motion verbs. They are used in both concrete contexts (of human motion and motion of various objects) and metaphorical contexts in which features of concrete motion are transferred into abstract domains. A semantic examination of such verbs may reveal tendencies related to universal and language-specific meaning extensions of motion verbs. Our contrastive semantic study is based on a small parallel corpus of BCS literary texts and their Blg. translations. We examine contexts in which BCS *doći* relates to Bulgarian *dojda*, and those in which BCS *doći* relates to other Bulgarian verbs or phrases (implying either spatial notions such as ‘go out’, ‘go down’, ‘return’, ‘come nearer’, and ‘appear’, or some non-spatial notions such as ‘take a deep breath’, ‘come to one’s senses’, etc.). Our questions are: What are the differences in the semantic networks of these two seemingly very similar verbs in very closely related languages? In which situations with concrete and abstract motion are *doći* and *dojda* “perfect matches,” and in which ones are they less perfect matches? Which metaphorical extensions are common, and which are limited to one language only, and how can this be explained? What facts about verbal (near-)synonymy does a parallel corpus study reveal?

## [1] INTRODUCTION: CORPUS AND METHOD

The aim of this analysis is to show the advantages of using parallel corpora in studying the semantics of spatial expressions in closely related languages – in our case, two South Slavic languages: BCS and Bulgarian. We focus on one of the most frequent motion verbs in these languages, *doći* and *dojda* ‘to come/arrive’.<sup>1</sup>

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[1] This analysis is part of a larger project examining verbs prefixed with *od-/ot-* and *do-* in BCS and Blg. These verbs construe motion events expressing a concrete or abstract source of motion (*od-/ot-*), or a concrete or abstract goal of motion (*do-*).

For the purposes of our analysis, the most useful material is original BCS texts translated into Blg. or Blg. texts translated into BCS. A few parallel corpora available on the internet include texts in several Slavic languages (Intercorp, RuN, ParaSol);<sup>2</sup> however, in these corpora, we initially found only one source translated from BCS into Blg. and no source translated from Blg. into BCS. Fortunately, we found some other electronically available BCS texts and their Blg. translations<sup>3</sup> that we used to compile our small parallel corpus consisting of six BCS literary texts (all novels) translated into Blg. The corpus is presented in table 1.

TABLE 1: The corpus used in this study

BCS ORIGINALS	BULGARIAN TRANSLATIONS	ABBR.	# WORDS ORIGINALS
Andrić, Ivo (1954): <i>Prokleta avlija</i>	(Lilija Kackova, 1976): <i>Прокълнатият двор</i>	PA	26,519
Brljić-Mažuranić, Ivana (1913): <i>Čudnovate zgođe šegrta Hlapića</i>	(Hari Stojanov, 2011): <i>Чудните приключения на чирака Хлапич</i>	ŠH	25,618
Kapor, Momo (1975): <i>Foliranti</i>	(Hari Stojanov, 1983): <i>Фолиранти</i>	Fol	62,830
Kapor, Momo (1976): <i>Provincijalac</i>	(Hari Stojanov, 1984): <i>Провинциалист</i>	Pro	69,109
Krleža, Miroslav (1932): <i>Povratak Filipa Latinovicza</i>	(Sijka Račeva, 1966): <i>Завръщането на Филип Латинович</i>	PFL	66,073
Pavić, Milorad (1984): <i>Hazarski rečnik</i>	(Hristiana Vasileva, 1989): <i>Хазарски речник</i>	Haz	88,318
			TOTAL: 338,467

We extracted the examples with all the morphological forms of the BCS verb *doći* (pf.) and *dolaziti* (impf.) and the parallel Blg. examples with *dojda* (pf.) and *idvam* (impf.).<sup>4</sup> We also extracted the Blg. examples with *dojda* and the corresponding BCS sentences that do not contain *doći*. The corpus sample in table 2 on the facing page shows what our data look like – the leftmost column shows the lemma searched for (*doći* in the Serbian original text, *Haz* in ParaSol) in its immediate context, the middle column shows its Blg. translation, and in the rightmost column we have added our translation into English.

In the corpus sample in table 2, BCS and Blg. use *doći* and *dojda*, confirming what dictionary descriptions (e.g., (Stojanov 2011)) and random collections of language data suggest: these verbs are perfect or near-perfect equivalents; they share the same stem and seem to be used as translation equivalents in a large

[2] Available at: <http://www.korpus.cz/intercorp/> (Intercorp); <http://parasol.unibe.ch/> (A Parallel Corpus of Slavic and Other Languages); <http://www.hf.uio.no/ilos/english/research/projects/run/corpus/> (RuN).

[3] We would like to express our gratitude to Harry Stojanov, who gave us permission to use his Bulgarian translations of a few BCS literary texts and provided us with the files, and to Kjetil Rå Hauge, who helped us compile our corpus.

[4] According to (RBE 1984, 353–360), the imperfective form of *dojda* is *doxoždam* or *doxaždam*; however, because both imperfective forms are somewhat archaic, in our analysis we have treated *idvam* as the imperfective equivalent of *dojda* following contemporary Bulgarian usage norms and in line with more recent sources such as (STRBE 1994), (Fetvadžieva 2001), (OR 2014), and others.

TABLE 2: Corpus sample

CORPUS: PAVICHAZAR		ENGLISH TRANSLATION
BCS	BLG	
218 Hazari su nezavisno i moćno pleme, ratnički i nomadski narod koji je u neizvesna vremena došao s Istoka, gonjen nekakvom vrelom tišinom, i u razdoblju od VII do X veka naseljavao kopno između dva mora	Хазарите били независимо и силно племе, войнствен номадски народ, в неизвестни времена дошъл от Изток гонен от някаква пареща тишина, и в промеждутъка от VI до X век населявал сушата между две морета	‘The Khazars were an independent and strong tribe, a warlike nomadic people that <i>came</i> from the East during an unknown period, chased by some burning silence, and who inhabited the land between two seas between the seventh and tenth centuries.’
814 Godine 1117 došli su neki Hazari u Kijev knezu Vladimiru Monomahu.	В 1117 година някакви хазари дошли в Киев при княз Владимир Мономах.	‘In 1117, some Khazars <i>came</i> to Kyiv to Prince Vladimir Monomakh.’

number of similar contexts. However, our study reveals a different situation. In our corpus, there are considerably fewer correspondences in the use of *doći* and *dojda* in BCS and Blg. than we expected. Table 3 presents our results in numbers, showing that 44% of the BCS instances of *doći* in our corpus are not translated with the Blg. verb *dojda*.

TABLE 3: Results for *doći* (pf.)

SOURCE:	#EXAMPLES WITH <i>doći</i>	<i>doći</i> = <i>dojda</i>	<i>doći</i> = ANOTHER VERB	<i>doći</i> = <i>na-/pri-/ø-stigna</i>
1. Čudnovate zgodе šegrta Hlapića	72	36	36	18
2. Foliranti	19	16	3	2
3. Hazarski rečnik	96	54	42	22
4. Povratak Filipa Latinovicza	54	29	25	7
5. Prokleta avlija	27	12	15	7
6. Provincijalac	23	17	6	1
TOTAL	291	164	127	57

## [2] ANALYSIS

[2.1] *The semantics of doći = dojda*

We outline the semantics of *doći = dojda* on the basis of the parallel examples in which we found both verbs to be perfect equivalents. *Doći* and *dojda* are the proto-

typical examples of motion verbs prefixed by *do-* ‘(up) to’. These *do*-verbs in motion context illustrate the *to* schema, expressing motion in space towards a goal, as shown in figure 1. The meaning of *do*-verbs involves a path and is presented as a trajector (TR) moving towards a landmark (LM),<sup>5</sup> often an LM-boundary.

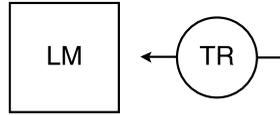


FIGURE 1: The prototypical meaning of *do-*, the *to* schema:  
Motion in space towards a goal.

The *to* schema applies to motion up to a certain border, be it an entity’s self-propelled motion or caused motion. The *do*-pattern is very productive in BCS and Blg., especially with verbs indicating self-motion of animate entities (e.g., BCS/Blg. *doletjeti/dolitam* ‘fly up to’).

*Doći* and *dojda* are employed in spatial scenarios with concrete or abstract moving objects (TRs); illustrated in (1)–(2) that move to and reach concrete or abstract locations (landmarks). Whereas example (1) illustrates the concrete motion of animate entities in physical space towards a concrete spatial location (a town), example (2) illustrates metaphorical motion of an abstract entity towards a human LM. The fictive motion metaphorically represents a mental activity: the metaphorical arrival of an idea, thought, or revelation.

- (1) a. Godine 1117 *došli* su neki Hazari u Kijev knezu Vladimiru Monomahu. (Haz)<sup>6</sup>  
 b. В 1117 година някакви хазари *дошли* в Киев при княз Владимир Мономах.  
 ‘In 1117 some Khazars *came* to Kyiv to Prince Vladimir Monomakh.’
- (2) a. Voleo je da kaže da mu je to prosvetljenje *došlo* u času kad mu se jedna mušica udavila u oku . . . (Haz)  
 b. Обичал да казва, че това просветление му *дошло*, когато една мушица се удавила в окоето му . . .  
 ‘He used to say that the epiphany *came* to him when a fly drowned in his eye . . .’

[5] We use the terms “trajector” (TR) and “landmark” (LM) following standard practice in cognitive linguistics; for example, (Langacker 2008, 70ff.). TR (or “figure”) is the focus element in a spatial relation, and LM (or “ground”) is the background element. The location or motion of the TR is characterized in terms of its relation to the LM.

[6] Throughout the article, BCS original sentences are provided in (a) and Bulgarian translations in (b). The lemmas are set in italics for easier reference. As a rule, the English translation follows the original text; the differences between the original and the English translation are discussed whenever relevant.

The parallel corpus examples revealed several interesting issues related to the semantic relation of *doći* and *dojda*, which we discuss in the following sections. The first issue is the semantic relation of BCS *doći* and Blg. *stigna* and its prefixed forms.

[2.2] *BCS doći versus Blg. stigna, pristigna in concrete motion contexts and abstract contexts (phrasal expressions)*

In a considerable number of examples, *doći* is rendered by a verb with a different stem. In 57 of 127 examples (45%) in which *doći* is not rendered by *dojda*, the choice in Blg. is *stigna* ‘arrive, reach’ or prefixed verbs derived from *stigna* (e.g., *pristigna* ‘arrive’, *nastigna* ‘catch up with’). BCS has a verb with the identical stem, *stići/stignuti*. In their primary meaning, ‘to arrive at a goal of motion’, *stići/stignuti* and *doći* function as synonyms in BCS (see, e.g., (HJP 2014)). The same applies to Blg. *stigna* and *dojda*. In its other meanings – ‘catch smb. up’, ‘manage, cope, find time’, and ‘happen (to one)’ – BCS *stići/stignuti* cannot be replaced by *doći*. In Blg., some of the non-spatial meanings of *stigna* can also be expressed with *dojda* as in BCS (e.g., *stignax/dojdox do izvoda* ‘reach a conclusion’), whereas other non-spatial meanings cannot be expressed with *dojda* (or with *dojda* alone), and require idiomatic expressions instead – for example, *nastigna go neštastie* (literally, ‘a misfortune reached him’) or *neštastie mu dojde na glavata* (literally, ‘a misfortune came to his head’), in which bad events are perceived as self-moving entities that reach a person.

Examples (3)–(4) illustrate concrete spatial scenarios in which a frequent choice for BCS *doći* is *stigna, pristigna* in Blg.

- (3) a. Tamo dakako ni Marko ni Hlapić ne bi nikad mogli *doći*. (ŠH)  
 b. Там, разбира се, нито Марко, нито Хлапич изобщо можеха да *СТИГНАТ*.  
 ‘Of course, neither Marko nor Hlapić could ever *go*<sup>7</sup> there.’
- (4) a. Iste godine vizantijskom caru Mihailu III *stiglo* je poslanstvo. (Haz)  
 b. Същата година при византийския цар Михаил III *ДОШЛА* мисия.  
 ‘That same year, a mission *came* to Byzantine Emperor Michael III.’

In (3), BCS could also use *stići* (. . . ne bi nikad mogli *stići*). In Blg., it is also possible to use *dojda* when the motion is towards the speaker’s or listener’s location. In contrast, the use of *stigna* in (3) expresses a more general meaning of reaching a destination. We have also found *dojda* in contexts in which BCS originals use *stići*, as (4) shows. Although Blg. *pristigam* ‘reach’ (focusing on reaching the goal) and *otivam* ‘go’ (highlighting moving away from source) would also be quite natural in (4b), the translator makes a more marked choice by using *dojda*, thus adopting

[7] The English translations in examples such as (3) [7] and (5) sound better with *go* and *got*, respectively, but the verb used in the original BCS texts is *doći*.

a first- or second-person perspective when talking about a third party in order to focus on this third party and its potential importance in the following parts of the narrative. This use of *dojda* signals movement towards an entity that is the focal point of the sentence, and was identified as early as 1894 by the “grandfather of Bulgarian lexicography,” Najden Gerov, who asserted that the orientation of *dojda* is towards the place mentioned (*doxoždam*) or being talked about (*dojda*).<sup>8</sup>

It seems that BCS *stići* and *doći*, in one of their meanings in concrete motion contexts, are intra-language synonyms (the same applies to *stigna* and *dojda* in Blg.), and inter-language synonyms in the relation between BCS and Blg.

BCS *doći* in phrasal expressions is frequently translated into Blg. with *stigna*, as in example (5). In BCS, *stići* would sound awkward in contexts such as (5), whereas in Blg. *dojda* does not seem appropriate in this context with a human subject that is also the doer of the action and that ended up having trouble with the law (compare the impersonal expression *stigna se do sblâsâk sâs zakona* ‘it came to a conflict with the law’, which does not explicitly mention who got in trouble with the law). Thus, in Blg. it does not seem possible to present ‘a conflict with a law’ as a metaphorical goal that someone reaches, an image that the BCS original suggests.

Another frequent correspondence of BCS *doći* and Blg. *stigna* occurs in abstract contexts; for example, in phrasal expressions in which BCS *doći* means ‘happen’. Thus, BCS frequently uses *doći do X* in impersonal constructions to express that X happened, as in (6)–(7). BCS *stići* cannot be used in the meaning ‘happen’ as can Bulgarian *stigna*. In Blg., the impersonal construction with the reflexive particle *se*, the verb *stigna*, and the preposition *do*, describing the escalation of a situation in (6), or a conflict or a fight between people in (7) and (13) below, can be replaced with the similar but somewhat archaic impersonal construction *dojde se do* ‘it came to.’<sup>9</sup>

- (5) а. младић је брзо упао у сумњиве послове и дрске подвиге свога друштва и дошао у сукоб са законом. (РА)  
 б. младежът бързо се заплел в съмнителните сделки и дрзките подвизи на своите другари и СТИГНАЛ до конфликт със закона.  
 ‘the young man quickly got involved into the dark deals and daring deeds of his friends, and got in trouble with the law.’

[8] We are grateful to one of our reviewers for making this observation and providing a great example from the Bulgarian National Corpus: *Kogato se otvori възможност, nezabavno šte dojdem tam, kâdeto njakoj iska da čue našata muzika*. ‘When there is a possibility, we’ll immediately go (literally, come) where someone wants to hear our music.’ As example (4) indicates, this meaning can occur also when the verb is in the third person, non-present tense, even when the reported (*преизказан*) aorist form of the verb is used to convey someone else’s utterance; in this case, most likely an imaginary historian rendering a witness’ account of events in an imaginary emperor’s court (we owe this comment to the same reviewer and Nadežda Kostova).

[9] Even so, in informal spoken Bulgarian, the impersonal expression with *stigna* is more likely to occur than the one with *dojda*; for example, *Stigna se do goljama razpravija* ‘This led to a big fight / a big fight occurred.’

- (6) a. *Došlo je do borbe* (PA)  
 b. *Стигнало се до борба.*  
 ‘It came to a fight.’
- (7) a. Prvi put od njegova povratka *došlo je između njega i majke do vrlo žestoke prepirke.* (PFL)  
 b. За пръв път, откакто се беше върнал, между Филип и майка му се *стигна* до много ожесточена разправия.  
 ‘For the first time since his return, he got into a very heated argument with his mother.’
- (8) a. *došao je na genialnu ideju* (Haz)  
 b. *СТИГНАЛ* до гениалната идея  
 ‘an ingenious idea came to his mind’
- (9) a. *tekst rečnika do kojeg sam ja došao* (Haz)  
 b. текстът на речника, до който *СТИГНАХ* аз  
 ‘the dictionary text which I got hold of’

In a similar way, in (8) BCS uses *doći* whereas the Blg. translation uses *stigna*. It is also possible to use *dojda* in Blg. (e.g., *dojde mu genialna ideja* ‘an ingenious idea came to his mind’) based on the conventional metaphor that ideas travel (i.e., the idea is the moving TR), but it is not as natural or frequent in Blg. to say *toj dojde do genialnata ideja* ‘he came to an ingenious idea’ in which the person is the moving TR and the idea is perceived as a LM, goal, or destination. BCS cannot use *stići* in (8); however, *stići* is possible, although it would be less natural in BCS, in example (9), whereas *dojda* is not a felicitous verb in Blg. in contexts referring to finding or discovering something.

In idiomatic and phrasal expressions and collocations, BCS regularly uses *doći* in contexts in which Blg. uses either *stigna* (e.g., BCS *došao u sukob sa zakonom* = Blg. *stignal do konflikt sās zakona* ‘got in trouble with the law’ as in (5)), or another verb (e.g., BCS *dođe na san* = Blg. *javi se našān*). Sentences (10)–(13) present more examples of the latter type. For example, in (10) the Blg. translation uses the expression *vlizam v spor* ‘argue, start arguing’ with the verb *vlizam* ‘enter’ to render inchoative nuances of meaning. *Dojda* cannot be used in this context; however, the impersonal expression *dojde se do* can be used (see also (13)). BCS can also use a verb equivalent to *vlizam*, *ući* (pf.) or *ulaziti* (impf.) instead of *doći* (see (10a)) without any significant meaning modification (. . . *bi ušli u sukob*).

- (10) a. One s kojima bi *došli u sukob*, gledali bi po svaku cenu da naniže i prokunu. (Haz)  
 b. Гледали на всяка цена да наругаят и прокълнат онези, с които *ВЛИЗАЛИ В СПОР*.

- ‘They would try at all costs to downgrade and curse those with whom they *came*<sup>10</sup> into conflict.’
- (11) a. Između mene i nje *došlo* je do ozbiljnog razgovora. (PFL)  
 b. Между мен и нея *имаше* сериозен разговор.  
 ‘There was a serious conversation between us.’
- (12) a. Filipu je *došlo* da uzme rubac i da mahne letećem stroju na pozdrav! (PFL)  
 b. у Филип *се събуди желание* да вземе кърпичка, да я размаха, за да поздрави летящата машина!  
 ‘Filip *wanted* to take the handkerchief and wave good-bye to the flying machine!’
- (13) a. . . . jer je u arapskom kalifatu *došlo do sukoba* dve dinastije - Omajida i Abasida. (Haz)  
 b. . . . защото в арабския халифат *се дошло до сблъсък* между двете династии - на Омаидите и Абасидите.  
 ‘. . . because in the Arab caliphate *it came to* a clash of two dynasties – the Umayyads and the Abbasids.’

When BCS *doći* is used in idiomatic and phrasal expressions to refer to the occurrence of a communicative event such as a talk or an argument (e.g., *došlo je do razgovora* ‘happen, start’ in (11)), Blg. cannot use *dojda*. By contrast, when BCS expressions with *doći* refer to wants and desires (e.g., *došlo (mu je) da* ‘he wanted to’ as in (12)), Blg. also has equivalents with *dojda*: the colloquial or emphatic expression *dojde mu (želanie) da* ‘he felt like (doing)’. However, the translator selected a more stylistically neutral Blg. expression in example (12).

In Blg., an impersonal expression with *dojda* is also possible in examples such as (13), which explains why we found occasional correspondences (e.g., *došlo do sukoba = се дошло до сблъсък* in (13)). The impersonal Blg. construction in (13) with the reflexive particle *се*, the verb *dojda*, and the preposition *do* is similar to the BCS construction with *doći* and, as stated earlier for sentences (6)–(7), can be used for the emergence of conflicts, fights, arguments, and the like.

Our data exhibit systematic differences between BCS idiomatic and phrasal expressions with *doći* such as *doći u priliku* ‘get a chance’, *doći u kontakt* ‘establish contact, meet’, *došlo je do razgovora* ‘happen, start’ as in (11), and their Blg. equivalents that do not use *dojda* in similar contexts. In some cases, our corpus contained BCS expressions like *došlo (mu je) da* ‘he wanted to’ (as in (12)), *došlo je vrijeme* ‘the time has come’, and so on, in which Blg. has equivalent expressions with *dojda*; for example, *dojde mu (želanie) da* ‘he felt like (doing)’, and *dojde vreme za* ‘the time

[10] In the more abstract contexts of (10)–(13), BCS *doći* is translated into English with a range of verbs such as *come, be, and want*.

has come for / it's time to'. The Blg. equivalents, however, are either colloquial or emphatic, and in similar corpus contexts the translators have selected more stylistically neutral expressions.

[2.3] *Different construals of motion events*

Sometimes the verbs used in our parallel examples reveal different construals of motion events. In a number of examples, one language provides more details about the motion event than the other. BCS *doći* often functions as a generalized motion verb. It can be used, for instance, for vehicles, and it can replace many verbs of specific manners of motion. In our parallel corpus, BCS occasionally uses *doći* whereas Blg. uses a semantically more specific verb, specifying motion in more detail; for instance, motion into a container in (14), upward motion in (15), and motion out of a container-like object in (16). The Blg. translation in (17b) implies 'settle down', whereas the Blg. verb used in (18) meaning 'get to' implies more effort than the phrase *doći do* in the original. In (19b), *doći* is also rendered by a more specific motion verb meaning 'return, come back'.

- (14) a. *došao sam u svoje telo* (Haz)  
b. *влязох у тялото си*  
'I came into my body'
- (15) a. *Kad su došli gore* (ŠH)  
b. *Когато се качиха горе*  
'When they came up(stairs)'
- (16) a. *došao dolje na ulicu* (ŠH)  
b. *излезе долу на улицата*  
'he came down onto the street'
- (17) a. *Где год дође са својим завежљајем* (PA)  
b. *където и да се настани със своя вързоп.*  
'Wherever he arrives with his bundle'
- (18) a. *не заустављају се ни пред чим, само да би дошли до отрова* (PA)  
b. *и не се спират пред нищо, за да се доберат до отровата*  
'they stop at nothing just to get the poison'
- (19) a. *Ocu da je ponestalo voska i da će doći odmah* (PFL)  
b. *На бащата се свършил восъкът и той излязъл, като казал, че ще се върне веднага.*  
'The father ran out of wax and he went out saying he would be right back.'

Interestingly, there are some cases in which BCS original sentences use construals without a motion verb, whereas the Blg. translation contains *dojda*. For example, BCS *dobili su gosta* (PA) 'they got a guest' construes an event emphasizing the ben-

eficiary with the verb *dobiti* ‘get’, whereas the Blg. translation, *дойде им гост* (literally, ‘a guest came to them’) uses a construction with the dative pronoun and the verb *dojda* in a dynamic construal involving motion. It must be pointed out, however, that *doći* is also possible in BCS in a construction semantically similar to *dobili su gosta*, which is structurally very similar to the Blg. one (BCS *došao im je gost* ‘a guest came to them’).

[2.4] *BCS doći in abstract, metaphorical contexts versus another verb in Blg.*

BCS *doći* occurs in some abstract, metaphorical contexts in which Blg. uses another verb. In these contexts, *doći* implies ‘seem’, ‘appear’; for instance, in (20b) in which Blg. uses an explicit verb of metaphorical appearance meaning ‘appear, show up’,<sup>11</sup> whereas in (21b) the Blg. verb means ‘seem’. It is not possible to use *dojda* in either context.

- (20) a. ona mu *dođe* preobražena sasvim (Haz)  
 b. Тя му се *явила* съвсем преобразена  
 ‘she *appeared* to him completely transformed’
- (21) a. Фра-Петру, који је у свом веку видео много болесника сваке врсте, *дође* одједном све то познато (РА)  
 б. През живота си фра Петър беше виждал страдаци от най-различни болести и това лице изведнџ му се *стори* познато.  
 ‘All that *seemed* familiar to Friar Petar, who had seen all kinds of patients in his life.’

[2.5] *Opposite construals of motion events*

This situation implies that BCS *doći* is sometimes rendered by a Blg. verb expressing a seemingly antonymous relation, *otida* (pf.) / *otivam* (impf.)<sup>12</sup> ‘go (away)’, as in (22), or that BCS *otići* ‘leave’ is sometimes rendered by Blg. *dojda*, as in (23). As examples (22)–(27) show, all of our sources contained single cases of opposite construals of motion events in which the goal-oriented verb *doći/dojda* ‘come, arrive’, which emphasizes arrival at a destination, is rendered by the source-oriented verb *otići/otivam* ‘leave’, which emphasizes leaving a spatial location.

Translating a verb meaning ‘come’ with a verb meaning ‘leave’ and vice versa is possible because in a motion scenario arriving at a spatial goal implies leaving a spatial location. Leaving and arriving seem to be a conceptual unity. In language coding of motion events, we explicitly focus on certain parts of the motion path;

[11] BCS can use *javiti se* ‘appear’ in examples such as (20). However, *javiti se* would imply a less vivid image and merely suggest a metaphorical presence of her (*ona*), whereas *doći* can apply to a metaphorical and concrete presence.

[12] The perfective form *otida* ‘go’ can be shortened to *ida*. Confusingly, the imperfective verb *idvam* ‘come’ also has an equivalent form *ida*. Dictionaries list these forms as *ida2* (= ‘go’) and *ida1* (= ‘come’), respectively (RBE 1990, 33–42).

however, other parts can be easily activated even though they are backgrounded. Therefore, the choice of a given verb in each context simply represents one of several possible points of view.<sup>13</sup>

- (22) a. *došavši u tuđinu, osiromaši* (Haz)  
 b. Като *отиде* у чужбина, обедня  
 ‘Having arrived in a foreign country, he became impoverished’
- (23) a. *ubio [ga] i otišao da večera* (Haz)  
 b. Убил го и *дойде* на вечера  
 ‘he killed him and went for supper’
- (24) a. *Došao neko veče u krčmu kod Siebenscheina i razbio Štijeфу Brezovečkom flašom glavu . . .* (PFL)  
 b. Оная вечер *отишъл* в кръчмата при Зибенщайн и с бутилка счупил главата на Шефо Брезовечки . . .  
 ‘That night he came into Siebenschein’s tavern and broke Štijeфу Brezovečki’s head with a bottle . . .’
- (25) a. *Boba ne putuje, Boba otklanja novčanu uslugu, ona je spriječena da dođe, ni u kavanu ne će doći . . .* (PFL)  
 b. Боба няма да заминава, Боба отказва паричната услуга, тя е възпрепятствувана да *дойде*, в кафенето също няма да *отиде* . . .  
 ‘Boba is not leaving; Boba is refusing the monetary favor; she won’t be able to come; she is not coming to the café either . . .’
- (26) a. *Gita dođe k Hlapiću.* (ŠH)  
 b. Гита *отиде* при Хлапич.  
 ‘Gita went over to Hlapić.’
- (27) a. *Gde dođe, tu svađu i omrazu stvara* (PA)  
 b. Където *отиде*, кавги и омраза всява.  
 ‘Wherever s/he comes, s/he brings about quarrels and hatred.’

[13] Further research into the semantics of Blg. and BCS verbs of coming and going is needed in order to explain the choices made in our examples in relation to the notion of “deictic center” (the location of the speaker or the addressee) in the meaning of these verbs, and deictic projection (a speaker’s ability to imaginatively “project” to some remote location). Goddard (1997, 158-160) argues that the capacity of English *come* to support a “deictic projection” – that is, to suggest a point of view of someone other than the speaker himself or herself – relates to the fact that *come* in its lexical meaning refers to a subjective point of view of an implied person, be it the speaker, addressee, or even a third person; that is, *X came to place A* entails the component “someone in this place could think: X is in the same place as me” (Goddard 1997, 160). Some of our examples indicate that Blg. and BCS *dojda/doći* also entail the component that Goddard (1997) postulates for the English verb *come*, but further research is needed for any definite conclusions.

[2.6] *Dojda* is used in Blg. translation, *doći* is not used in the original

*Dojda* is sometimes used in Blg. translation in situations in which *doći* is not used in the original. In section [2.2] we examined the contexts in which Blg. *stigna/pristigna* is used for BCS *doći*. Examples (28a)–(28b) illustrate the opposite case: *dojda* is used as the translation equivalent of *stići*.

In addition to *stići*, in Haz for instance, *dojda* is used in contexts in which BCS uses some other motion verbs with a more specific meaning (e.g., *preći* ‘transfer; cross’, *prići* ‘come closer’, *dojahati* ‘ride to’, *nastupiti* ‘appear’, *naići* ‘come upon’). As discussed in section [2.5], Blg. *dojda* is also used as the translation equivalent of *otići* ‘leave’ (in Haz and in other sources). Furthermore, the Blg. translation uses *dojda* (e.g., *дошъл до заключението* ‘reach a conclusion’, Haz) for the BCS verb of mental activity *zaključiti* ‘conclude’ found in the original; however, BCS also has an equivalent expression with *doći*; that is, *doći do zaključka* ‘reach a conclusion’.

Examples (29)–(33) illustrate some recurring situations. In (29), the original does not explicitly use a motion verb, although motion is implied (*prespava . . . do te foringe*; literally, ‘sleep until that cart’). The Blg. translation using *dojda* makes the implied motion explicit. In (30), the construal of the motion event expressed with *dojda* is opposite the one found in the original, *odem* ‘go away’ (see section [2.5]). In (31), BCS uses a more specific motion verb (*prijeći* ‘transfer’) emphasizing transition from a spatial point A to a spatial point B in the context of a person moving to a new location and starting a new job.

- (28) a. Spas je stigao u zvižduku vaspitačeve pištaljke. (Pro)  
 b. Спасението *дойде* с писъка на възпитателската свирка.  
 ‘the rescue *came* in (the form of) the piercing noise of the supervisor’s whistle.’
- (29) a. Još je bila jedna mogućnost: da telegrafira u Kostanjevec po kola i da prespava u kaptolskom hotelu do te foringe kostanjevečke. (PFL)  
 b. Имаше още една възможност: да телеграфира в Костаневец за каруца и да остане да спи в каптолския хотел, докато *дойде* тази каруца от Костаневец.  
 ‘There was another possibility: to send a telegraph to Kostanjevec ordering a cart and to stay in the Kaptol hotel until the cart from Kostanjevec arrives.’
- (30) a. I onda me je poslala, da *odem* do vas i da vam kažem, da ona ostaje, i da je njoj dobro sa mnom! (PFL)  
 b. И после ме изпрати да *дойда* до вас и да ви кажа, че тя остава и че ѝ е добре с мен.  
 ‘Then he sent me to *go* to your place and tell you that she was going to stay with me, and that she feels good when she is with me.’

- (31) a. . . . debela Karolina, koja jo kao udovica *prešla* u njenu službu, masirala ju je poslije jutarnje kupelji po čitavu uru. (PFL)  
 b. . . . а дебелата Каролина, която, вече вдовица, бе *дошла* да прислужва при нея, по цял час ѝ правеше масажи след утринното къпане.  
 ‘. . . the fat Karolina who as a widow *has come* to work as her maid, and gave her hour-long massages after the morning shower.’
- (32) a. sačekuje tursku konjicu da mu *pride* sasvim blizu (Pro)  
 b. изчаква турската конница да му *дойде* съвсем наблизо  
 ‘he was waiting for the Turkish cavalry to *come* really close’
- (33) a. No kad je taj čovjek *došao blizu*, *pristupio* je k meni i počeo razvezivati konopac kojim sam bio svezan. (ŠH)  
 b. Но когато този човек *се приближи*, *дойде* до мен и започна да развързва въжето, с което бях вързан.  
 ‘But when this man *came closer*, he *came* to me and started to disentangle the rope with which I was tied up.’
- (34) a. Samo je Bundaš sjedio i gledao za vrtuljkom i čudio se što li je Hlapiću *palo* na pamet da se toliko okreće? Bilo je već jako kasno. (ŠH)  
 b. Само Бундаш седеше и гледаше въртележката и се чудеше какво ли му е *дошло* на ум на Хлапич, че толкова се върти?  
 ‘Only Bundaš was standing there, looking at the merry-go-round and wondering what had *gotten into* Hlapić’s mind that made him spin so much.’
- (35) a. А они још дуго не могу да се *приберу*. (PA)  
 b. А те дълго не могат да *дойдат* на себе си.  
 ‘And these could not *collect* themselves for a long time.’

In (32a), BCS uses the verb *prici* ‘come closer’, translated with Blg. *dojde nablizo* (32b), whereas in (33) it is the other way around: BCS uses *doći blizu* ‘come closer’ whereas the Blg. translation uses *približavam* ‘come closer’, showing that these expressions are often interchangeable in both BCS and Blg. In addition, (33a) contains yet another example when another motion verb in BCS, *pristupiti* ‘come closer/step forward’, is translated with *dojda* in Blg. (33b).

In (34)–(35), Blg. uses *dojda* in the translation of two BCS idiomatic expressions. In these cases too, BCS could have used equivalent expressions with *doći*: *doći na um* ‘get into one’s mind’ in (34) and *doći k sebi* in (35). The construction *doći k sebi* is synonymous with the verb *pribrati se*; both mean ‘come to, regain consciousness; collect oneself’. However, the expression *da dojda na sebe si* ‘come to, regain consciousness’ and the verb seemingly very similar to the BCS *pribrati se*, *pibiram se* ‘come home’ are not synonymous in Blg.

[2.7] *Doći as part of phrasal expressions versus prefixed verbs in Blg.*

BCS sometimes uses *doći* as part of some phrasal expressions, whereas the Blg. translation uses semantically similar verbs with other prefixes, as examples (36)–(37) show. BCS has a verb synonymous with the expression *doći blizu / u blizinu, približiti se*, also prefixed with *pri-*, that could have been used in (36)–(37) without any significant meaning changes. As discussed for examples (32)–(33), Blg. also has phrasal expressions such as *da dojda nablizo* ‘come closer’, but this expression is most appropriate in situations in which the moving entity is the speaker or listener, or the moving entity if approaching either the listener or speaker.

- (36) a. No kad je taj čovjek *došao blizu* . . . ((ŠH)  
 b. Но когато този човек се *приближи* . . .  
 ‘But when that man *came closer* . . .’
- (37) a. Već su kola *došla u blizinu* Hlapića i Gite. (ŠH)  
 b. Колата вече *наближи* до Хлапич и Гита.  
 ‘The carriage *came close* to Hlapić and Gita.’

[3] IMPERFECTIVE FORMS OF *doći/dojda*

The imperfective counterpart of BCS *doći* is *dolaziti*. The exact Bulgarian equivalent of BCS *dolaziti* and imperfective counterpart of *dojda* is *doxoždam* or *doxaždam* (see footnote 4). However, this verb is used in only one example in our corpus (see (38)). *Doxoždam* or *doxaždam* are archaic and are stylistically marked. Contemporary Bulgarian uses *idvam* in contexts in which the imperfective form of *dojda* is required, and so we have followed more recent sources and treated *idvam* as the imperfective counterpart of *dojda*. In fact, in our corpus, *idvam* is the most frequent translation of *dolaziti*, as illustrated by (39).

In individual cases, BCS *doći* (pf.) is translated by the Blg. imperfective, as in (40). In addition, *doći* is used in some contexts with the historical present tense in which Blg. translations use *idva*, as in (41).

Although *idvam* is the most frequent choice, in some contexts Blg. chooses another motion verb to render *dolaziti*. Relatively often, *stigam, pristigam* is used, as in (42) (see section [2.2]). In (43), the BCS verb *dolaziti* (expressing concrete and abstract motion) is rendered with the verb *proizlizam* ‘descend from’, which is almost exclusively used for abstract motion (here, related to difficulties and confusion).

- (38) a. . . . и настојао да се свега што је »политичко«, или што под тим именом до њега *долази* , отресе што пре. (РА)  
 b. . . . и се стараше да се отърве колкото е възможно по-скоро от всичко, което е «политическо» или което под такова име *дохожда* при него.

- ‘ . . . and he tried to get rid of everything “political” or everything that *came* to him under that name.’
- (39) a. А сутрадан он је опет *долазио*, већ у рано јутро, као на исповест. (PA)  
 b. А на другия ден пак *идваше* рано рано, като на изповед.  
 ‘And he would *come* again the next morning, as though to confession.’
- (40) a. Čudilo me, jer otkada si ti tu, to je prvi put da je on *došao* k tebi. (PFL)  
 b. Почудих се, защото, откакто си тук, той за пръв път *идва* при теб.  
 ‘I was wondering because, since you’ve been here, he *came* to you for the first time.’
- (41) a. И опет *дође* нека прича (PA)  
 b. И пак *идва* некој разказ.  
 ‘And some story *came* again.’
- (42) a. Vraćale su se emocije i *dolazile* jedna za drugom . . . (PFL)  
 b. Емоциите се връщаха, *пристигаха* една след друга . . .  
 ‘The emotions were back, *coming* one after another . . .’
- (43) a. Putnici beleže, opet, da su hazarska lica sva ista i da se nikad ne menjaju i da otuda *dolazi* do teškoće i zabuna. (Haz)  
 b. Пътешественици пък отбелязват, че всички хазарски лица са еднакви, никога не се променят и оттам *произлизат* затрудненията и объркването.  
 ‘Travelers note that all Khazar faces are the same, they never change and that’s where the difficulties and confusion *come from*.’
- (44) a. A netko, tko ubije samo jednog čovjeka, *dolazi* na vješala (PFL)  
 b. А някой, който убие само един човек, *отива* на бесилката!  
 ‘And someone that has killed just one person *goes* straight to the gallows.’
- (45) a. Najprije i ne *dolazi* čitava dva dana, a sada hoće da se konvencionalno izvuče . . . (PFL)  
 b. първо не се *обажда* цели два дена, а сега иска конвенционално да се измъкне след няколко минути.  
 ‘First he doesn’t *show up* for a whole two days, and now he wants to get away as usual after just a few minutes.’
- (46) a. I novine su *dolazile*, ali ih nije čitao (PFL).  
 b. Вестниците се *получаваха*, но той не ги четеше.  
 ‘The newspapers kept *coming*, but he didn’t read them.’
- (47) a. I onog jutra, kada se je bio vraćao ovim stubama kao pokajnik, kao tat, koji je ukrao stotinjarku (a *dolazi* od bludnih i prljavih pijanih žena) . . . (PFL)  
 b. И онази сутрин, когато се връщаше по тези стълби като разкаял се

- грешник . . . (а се *врџаше* от блудни и мрџни, пияни жени) . . .  
 ‘That morning when he was coming back up those stairs as a repentant sinner . . . (and he was *coming back* from promiscuous, dirty and drunk women) . . .’
- (48) a. Još u vrtu čuo je neke čudne, nerazgo-vetne zvukove, koji kao da su *dolazili* iz grla davno izumrlih životinja pri parenju (Pr)  
 b. Още от градината дочу някакви странни, неясни звуци, които сякаш *излизаха* от гърлата на праисторически животни при съешаване  
 ‘Already in the garden he heard some strange, indistinct voices which sounded as if they were *coming* out the throats of pre-historic animals mating.’
- (49) a. U Čigrinim očima, Herceg pročitа detinji strah i uplaši se da se isto tako ne uplaši kada smrt bude njemu *dolazila*. (Pr)  
 b. В очите на Чигра Херцег прочете детински страх и се уплаши да не би да се уплаши по същия начин, когато смъртта *приближеше* и към него.  
 ‘He saw the terror of a child in Čigra Herceg’s eyes and he feared he may be terrified in the same way when death *comes* to him.’
- (50) a. То kontemplativno uništavanje svega što mu *dolazi* pod ruku (PFL)  
 b. Това съзерцателно разнищване на всичко, което *попадне* под ръката  
 ‘This contemplating destruction of everything he *comes across*.’
- (51) a. Ali u snove mu ta ličnost *dolazi* redovno i kad Branković sanja, on sanja nju. (Haz)  
 b. Но тя му се *явява* редовно насън и когато Бранкович сънува, той сънува нея.  
 ‘That person regularly appeared in his dreams and, when Branković had a dream, he dreamed about her.’
- (52) a. osim njega niko mi više i ne *dolazi* u snove. . . (Haz)  
 b. освен него никой вече не *идва* в сънищата ми . . .  
 ‘Except him, no one else *shows up* in my dreams.’

In individual cases such as (44), antonyms are used (see also section [2.5]), and sometimes the translation chooses a non-motion verb, as in (45)-(46).

Some examples show that BCS *dolaziti* functions as a generalized motion verb in the original text, but its Blg. translations occasionally use more specific motion verbs that specify manner of motion or provide more details about the motion event; for example, *vrāštam se* ‘come back’, *izlizam* ‘go out’, and *približavam* ‘come nearer’ in examples (47)-(49) (see also section [2.3]), or an idiomatic expression with a motion verb; for example, *popadam pod rāka* ‘come across’ in (50).

BCS uses *dolaziti* (*u snove*) to express ‘appear (in dreams)’. In Blg., this meaning can be rendered with the verb *javjavam se* ‘show up, appear’, as in (51), where it is used in conjunction with the dative pronoun *mu* ‘to him’ to express recipient (and, by extension, location; i.e. this person’s dreams). Alternatively, as (52) shows, *dojda* (imperfective *idvam* for repeated events) can be used because of its inherent goal orientation and ability to refer to an entity or location that is in focus.

#### [4] CONCLUSIONS

The main question we tried to address in this article the extent to which the cognate BCS and Blg. verbs *doći* and *dojda* align in meaning.<sup>14</sup> In a large number of our parallel examples, BCS *doći* is not translated with Blg. *dojda*. Although *doći* and *dojda* are perfect equivalents in many examples referring to concrete spatial motion, the differences we analyzed suggest that Blg. *dojda* has developed a narrower meaning specialization. *Dojda* is the prototypical deictic verb with the meaning ‘come’, expressing movement towards a goal that usually coincides with the speaker’s and/or listener’s location either at the time of speaking or at the time of reference (past or future), or, by extension, with the speaker’s and/or listener’s traditional location.<sup>15</sup> In addition, *dojda* can express movement whose orientation is not related to the speaker’s or hearer’s location; instead, the movement is towards an entity or a location that is the focal point of an utterance or sentence. In contrast, BCS *doći* has developed the meaning of a generalized motion verb, expressing movement to or towards a goal (e.g., going out, going down, returning, coming nearer, appearing, etc.), which far more often than its Blg. counterpart refers to a goal other than the speaker and/or listener. The metaphorical extensions of *doći* and/or *dojda* (e.g., meaning ‘take a deep breath’, ‘come to one’s senses, etc.) have followed similar patterns. However, when creating scenes in which things are happening to someone, the Blg. verb *dojda* implies more often than BCS *doći* that these things are happening to the speaker and/or listener.

Our corpus suggests that BCS *doći* exhibits a wider range of meanings than does Blg. *dojda*; for example, *doći* means ‘come, arrive, reach, get to, happen, appear, show up, occur’ and so on. Nonetheless, because both BCS *doći* and Blg. *dojda*

[14] We used BCS sources translated into Bulgarian only, and not Blg. sources translated into BCS, and so our conclusions are preliminary and apply only to translations of *doći/dolaziti* into Blg. An analysis of *dojda/idvam* and their translations into BCS has to be left for future research: it requires a different corpus and could reveal different findings (e.g., an additional set of Bulgarian meanings not represented in BCS) than our study did. More research is also needed on how the Blg. and BCS verbs *dojda/doći* relate to the “deictic centre,” “deictic projection,” “subject of the narrative,” and what Goddard terms an “egocentric interpretation of X’s final location by an ‘unidentified someone in this place’” that interprets X’s final location as “X is in the same place as me” (Goddard 1997, 159). Goddard assumes a great relevance of this “egocentric interpretation” for the semantics of the English verb *come*.

[15] An example of traditional location is provided in (Fetvadžieva 2001): *Včera dojdox u vas, no teb te njamaše*. ‘I went (literally, came) to your place yesterday, but you were not there’, in which the movement is towards the place where the addressee is expected to be and/or is usually located.

can refer to movement towards locations other than those of the listener and/or speaker and to events happenings to entities other than the listener and/or speaker, and BCS *doći* can, of course, refer to movement towards the listener and/or speaker, there is a considerable meaning overlap. Figure 2 presents this schematically.

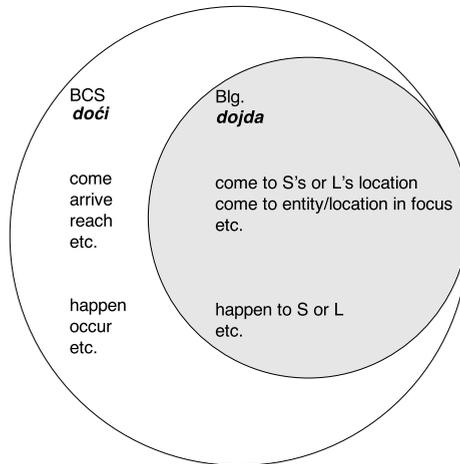


FIGURE 2: Comparison of the meanings of BCS *doći* and Blg. *dojda* in our corpus

Figure 2 indicates that the set of entities arriving at a location, any location (in the concrete, spatial sense), and the set of things happening in the world (in the metaphorical sense), expressed by BCS *doći*, subsumes the set of entities usually arriving at the speaker and/or listener's location, or the location in focus, and things most often happening to the speaker or listener, expressed by Blg. *dojda*. Unlike dictionaries, which provide lists of meanings in isolation, parallel corpora (even small ones such as the corpus used in this study) reveal the systematic differences between semantically similar units such as BCS *doći* and Blg. *dojda* in a clear and straightforward way because context disambiguates relevant elements in a scene.

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BCS literary texts and their Bulgarian translations – see table 1 in section [1].

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