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Mirena PATSEVA (Sofia)

ACCENT VARIATIONS IN BULGARIAN ZERO-DERIVED NOUNS

Abstract: The paper focuses on the stress variations of prefixes with the aim of outlining the filters they are sensitive to – prosodic, structural, and psycholinguistic. The main objective of the study is to analyze the accent variations in Bulgarian zero-derived prefixed nouns within the *Primary accent first theory*. After Revithiadou (1999) we assume that in lexical stress systems morphemes are accentually prespecified as marked and unmarked, which is not easy to trace among prefixes, and especially among the zero-derived ones. The corpus was a set of 232 nouns formed from verb roots, extracted from OPRBE (2012). The units in it have varying stress – on the prefix or on the root. The analysis is based on the proposal of Caha & Zikova (2016) concerning the aspectual contribution of verbal prefixes, which make verbs *telic* (adding a result state) and *perfective* (depicting the event as an entirety with a start and an end point), which do not always occur at the same time. The authors decompose the structure in order to identify the specific parts of the verb phrase influenced by the prefix. This allows them to define the specific meaning components assigned by the prefix. This approach aims to account for the difference between the unstressed verbal prefixes and their stressed allomorphs in the zero-derived nouns. The latter depict results or simple events. The difference was tested on data from Bulgarian by means of experts and internet examples of the compatibility with inchoative verbs and others denoting phases of the process. The result is that the nouns with accented prefixes more often denote processes along with results and are compatible with inceptive verbs. This means that these items lack the perfectivity which is high in the functional projection. Apart from the morphosyntactic parameter, other factors are also discussed, such as an *anti-homophony* effect and relative frequency. The conclusion is that the domestic prefixes are *unmarked*, *adjoined* outside the stress domain, but can receive stress under the influence of morphological, structural, metrical, and psycholinguistic factors.

Keywords: word stress; prefixes; zero-derived nouns; Bulgarian

1. Introduction

The current study investigates stress assignment in a lexical accent system within the *Primary accent first theory* (van der Hulst 2014, Bogomolets 2021). An important characteristic of lexical accent systems is the interface between prosody and morphology, which is manifested in the accent prespecification of morphemes (Revithiadou 1999). This is easy to trace in many cases, but it is not clear in the accentuation of the prefixes – an underdeveloped field of study for the Bulgarian language.

Here we discuss accent variations among Bulgarian prefixes and try to outline some factors for stress alternation. One important parameter is word class: when added to nouns, prefixes can carry a main or a secondary stress and can function as a separate prosodic word ('*pra'baba* 'great grandmother'). When attached to verbs, prefixes do not influence the main stress and can be regarded as *adjuncts* ('*hodja* 'walk' – *pro'hodja* 'to begin walking'). The accentual behavior of the prefix is the same among the deverbal nouns composed by a thematic vowel and a suffix *-ne* (*pro'hoždane* 'beginning of walking'). In zero-derived nouns, however, a considerable part of the prefixes appear in a stressed allomorph. According to Caha & Zikova, the lack of the thematic vowel in the structure predicts *impoverished* semantics (Grimshaw 1990, Caha & Zikova 2016). The nouns can denote only the resultative meaning as *nomina patientis* (*pod'hod* 'approach') or a process also + additional formal marker – initial prominence on the prefix ('*pohod* 'hike').

Besides the morphosyntactic factor, we also discuss some other parameters which might be involved in the alternation: an *anti-homophony effect* and the relative frequency of the base compared to that of the prefixed words as a psycholinguistic factor.

2. Theoretical considerations

Following Abercrombie (1991), word stress is treated as a phonetic realization of an abstract property. During the past decades, the main focus of scientific interest has been on languages with fixed or predictable stress.¹ A smaller number of studies have addressed lexically determined stress, which is the subject of the current study. Among them are those of Revithiadou (1999), van der Hulst (2014), et al. The traditional definitions of *lexical stress systems* include the following characteristics of word stress: phonological unpredictability, contrastive use (distinguishes homographs), and sensitivity to morphology. It is assumed that metrical/accent information is bound to the morphological units. These characteristic features are best captured in the framework of the *Primary accent first theory* (van der Hulst 2014, Bogomolets 2021). The lexically marked syllables (called *accented*) behave as *heavy* and are viewed as carrying *diacritic weigh*. The theory separates the representation of primary stress and rhythmically strong prominence as assigned by a different mechanism. Primary stress is argued to be assigned first, prior to the rhythmic structure.² It can be computed with reference to a single foot at one of the edges of the word and does not require exhaustive footing. After Revithiadou (1999), the morphemes are considered as accentually unmarked or marked by different variations (stressed, unstressed, pre- or post-stressing).

3. Bulgarian³ word stress

Bulgarian word stress is phonetically cued by raised pitch, greater duration and intensity, and by vowel quality (Тилков, Бояджиев / Tilkov, Boyadjiev 2013, Кодов / Kodov 1966). In unstressed positions, the six Bulgarian vowels are reduced to four (Andreeva 2013). The stress is contrastive and minimal pairs can be found:

- (1) *vālna* 'wool' / *vāl'na* 'wave'

The position of primary word stress is not dependent on iterative footing, so bottom-up parsing is not relevant, and the language is not a "count system" (in van der Hulst terms). Dimitrova found that Bulgarian speech rhythm falls between prototypically stress- and syllable-timed languages (Димитрова / Dimitrova 1998). Word stress is culminative and is usually within the morphological word⁴ that can be seen as its domain. Penultimate (PU) stress is statistically most common (Misheva 1991) and can be considered as a default. Stress is free or phonologically unpredictable and can appear on any syllable:⁵

- (2) ultimate *svobo'da* 'freedom'
 penult *ogle'dalo* 'mirror'
 antepenult *'praskova* 'peach'
 pre-antepenult *'krastavitsa* 'cucumber'

Among underived words, word stress often lands on the root ('baba' 'grandmother'), but among derived words its position is controlled mostly by derivational suffixes like *-ač* (*proda'vač* 'seller'). Less often it lands on prefixes such as *za-* ('*zapoved* 'order') and on inflectional suffixes, e.g., *-a* (*vo'da* 'water'), only in limited cases on the determiner (*radost'ta* 'the joy'), and never on the linking morpheme in a compound (*vodo'pad* 'waterfall'). Following Revithiadou (1999), we accept that morphemes can have inherent accent marking – they can be accentually marked or unmarked. Marking is stable in many cases among the suffixes:

- (3) accented *-ač* *go'tvač* 'cook',
 unaccented *-o* (VOC) *go'spožo* 'you, madam'
 pre-accenting *-tel* *u'čitel* 'teacher',
 post-accenting *-ot(a)* *leko'ta* 'ease'.⁶

The "competition" between the accentual specifications of the morphemes is resolved on the basis of a hierarchical principle – the accented feature of the morphological head "wins".

The unmarked morphemes do not control stress but can receive it under the influence of another morpheme's marking. This might be the hypothetical prosodic characteristic of domestic Bulgarian prefixes when attached to verbs and to most deverbal nouns. But it remains unclear why they are accented in cases like *'otkaz* 'refusal', as well as how to interpret the double accentuation in *'pra'baba* 'great grandma'. Among the hypothetical factors to be analyzed are the differences in word structure, morphosyntactic factors, constraints on the similarity between words belonging to different classes, and psycholinguistic factors.

In what follows we briefly present some previous approaches to Bulgarian prefixation (4), and outline prefix attachment to the different word classes (5). After that, stress alternation in the set of zero-derived deverbal nouns will be discussed (6). The analysis is given in (7), and the paper concludes in (8).

4. Previous approaches to Bulgarian prefixation

Bulgarian verbal prefixes are homophonous with prepositions except for *pre-*, *pro-*, *pra-*, *raz-*, *ob-*.⁷ They are added most often to verbs, and less frequently to nominal, adjectival, and adverbial bases. They do not change the category of the nominal base but modify the subcategory of the verbs – aspect and transitivity in many cases.

A number of twentieth-century authors considered some nominal prefixes as the first component of compounds, insofar as prefixes function as independent units – prepositions. Andreychin separates nominal prefixes used as prepositions, such as *kraj* 'by', *među* 'between' in *krajbrežie* 'coast', *meždunarstvie* 'interregnum'; and *pre-* and *vse-*, added to adjectives as *predobār* 'too good', *vsevāzmožen* 'omnifarious' (Андрейчин / Andreychin 1944: 115-120). Stoyanov also considers *polu-* 'semi-', *svrāh* 'super-', *arhi-* and *contra-* as elements of compounds (Стоянов / Stoyanov 1983, Георгиева / Georgieva 2013).

After the 1950s, prefixation has been steadily referred to as *affixation* (Радева / Radeva 2007). Ivan Lekov noted that Slavic prefixes have an agglutinative character (Леков / Lekov 1958: 11). They are associated with verbs and to a lesser extent with adjectives, nouns, and adverbs. He suggested that the stressed noun prefixes of foreign origin such as *extra-*, *inter-*, along with *bez-* 'without' and *ne-* 'un-', should be considered within the framework of *semi-prefixation*. The linguist's attention was mainly focused on the grammatical function of verbal prefixes, and their role in the derivation of nouns was underresearched (Georgieva 2013).

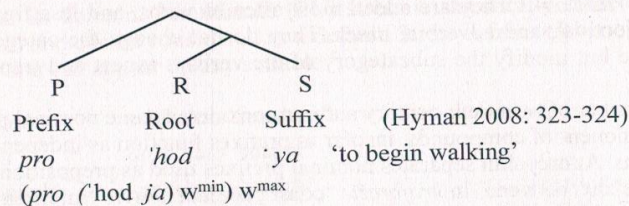
In recent years there has been a considerable interest in Slavic prefixation analyzed mainly within the frameworks of contemporary approaches such as *Optimality Theory* (OT) and *Distributive Morphology* (DM) (Romanova 2004, Čaha & Zikova 2016, 2022, Gribanova 2015, Svenonius 2008). Bulgarian prefixation has been discussed as well (Istratkova 2004, Slabakova 2005, Pantcheva 2007, Markova 2010, 2011, Лесева / Leseva 2012, Георгиева / Georgieva 2013, Атанасова / Atanasova 2015, among others).

5. Attachment to different word classes – verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs

The most frequent verbal prefixes are light syllables which do not syllabify with the root: *do-*, *za-*, *na-*, *po-*, *pre-*, *pri-*, *pro-*. The heavy ones are used less often: *vāz-*, *iz-*, *nad-*, *ot-*, *pod-*, *pred-*, *raz-*⁸, and others are varying: *v(ā)-*, *s(ā)-*, *o(b)-*. Verbal prefixes perfectivize the verb and in many cases transform it into a transitive one. According to Aleksova and Gerdzhikov (Алексова / Aleksova 2012, Герджиков / Gerdzhikov 1984: 164), they assign the characteristic *boundedness*,

not “perfectiveness.” Prefixes introduce or underlay an *inherent limit* of the event (Маслов / Maslov 1984: 17). This transformation into transitive verbs is accompanied by changes in the argument structure (Лесева / Leseva 2012).

Verbal prefixes do not usually take the main stress. According to Hyman (2008), they tend to be less tightly bound to the roots as *non-cohering* and *adjoined* to the inner structure.⁹ More precisely, languages which have multiple prefixation and multiple suffixation (like BL) appear almost always to have the structure:



Bulgarian verbal prefixes can be described by the *no dominant prefix hypothesis* (Moskal 2015), which means that prefixes cannot alter the (root + suffix) accent. The latter combination is considered a *Minimal prosodic word* (w^{min}) – in opposition to the *Maximal prosodic word* (w^{max}) – a domain comprising the prefixes also as prosodic *adjuncts* (Moskal 2015: 263).

Nevertheless, prefixes can be strengthened emphatically or contrastively (unlike other unstressed syllables):

- (4) *Tja ne go popita, a go razpita.*
 She not him asked, but him interrogated
 'She didn't ask him, she interrogated him.'

In some cases, the morphological structure may be signaled by phonetic details outlining the morphological boundary (Pluymaekers et al. 2010: 523, Hedia & Plag 2017: 35). According to Videau, Hanote (2015), pragmatic parameters such as the intention of the speaker, his relationship with the listeners, as well as the semantic transparency of the prefixed units should be taken into account. Depending on them, the prefix may receive a secondary stress or can even be overaccented, e.g. in neologisms, or can undergo destressing. Wennerstrom (1993) draws attention to the influence of intonation factors such as raising the fundamental frequency of units in focus.

In polyprefixation, the initial prefix may also be strengthened to secondary stress, e.g., *predogo'varjam* 'renegotiate' (Patseva, in press). The additional prominence might be among the reasons why the prefix complexes are defined as separate units by Manova (2015).

Different groups of deverbal nouns are formed from prefixed verbs with unstressed prefixes. Most numerous among them are the *nomina actionis*

composed by the derivational suffix *-ne* (*preto'varvane* 'overloading'). Less numerous are the *nomina patientis* (*dosti'zenie* 'achievement', *i'zvestie* 'message', *pod'i'gravka* 'mockery',¹⁰ *nomina essendi* (*izč'er'patelnost* 'comprehensiveness', *predizvi'katelstvo* 'a challenge'), *nomina agentis* (*razprede'litel* 'steward'), and *nomina instrumenti* (*nagre'vatel* 'heater').

Attached to non-deverbal nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, a few accented domestic prefixes, e.g. *svräh*, *pra-* function as compound components or as a separate prosodic word:

- (5) [*'pra*]_w [*'baba*]_w 'grandmother'
 [*'svräh*]_w [*'u'silie*]_w 'overexertion'

The initial stress on the prefix in some adverbs like *'prisärce* 'with love and zeal' is considered an echo of the Vasiliev-Dolobko law in the Proto-Slavic language (Dybo 2000). The initial stress wavers in modern speech (*na'prolet* 'in the spring' is pronounced with PU stress).

Some verbal prefixes *pre-*, *pred-*, *do-*, *pod-*, *väh-* also can take the main stress when attached to independent (not deverbal) nouns, adjectives, and adverbs: *'pod'grupa* 'subgroup', *'vazze'len* 'greenish', *'predo'statäčno* 'more than enough'. Yet in other cases some prefixes have unstable stress and can receive additional strengthening or not, depending on prosodic and pragmatic factors:

- (6) *'dorevoljuci'onen* 'pre-revolutionary' ADJ
'predpremi'era 'pre-premier' NOUN
'podsä'znatelno 'subconsciously' ADV

So, an interim conclusion is that the accentual realization of prefixes appears in three different “types”:

1. They are most often unaccented in their resultative and perfective function within verbs and deverbal nouns;
2. The loaned and a few domestic nominal prefixes can take the main stress when attached to nouns, adjectives, and adverbs.
3. Some of them allow additional strengthening under the influence of prosodic and pragmatic factors.

6. Zero-derived nouns

A set of prefixed nouns (mainly two syllables in length) are composed of prefixed verbal roots¹¹ + zero suffix -Ø. Most of them are of masculine gender (*'izhod* 'exit'), and only a few are feminine (*'zapoved* 'order'). According to Boyadzhiev,

zero morphemes have no phonetic form, but they are realized in the structure of the word by changing its grammatical class (Бояджиев / Boyadzhiev 1999: 231, 266).

The set is not homogenous accentually – in more than the half of the items (59%), the stress shifts to the left and lands on the prefix (*ot'kazvam* 'to refuse – *'otkaz* 'refusal'), and in the rest it is ultimate on the root (*podne'sa* 'submit' – *po'dnos* 'tray'). Tilkov and Boyadzhiev (1978: 36-38) discuss the accent variations in these prefixal formations assuming that the lack of accent unity is associated with the different origin of the nouns – old/new, loan/domestic.

The nouns with stressed prefixes are mainly formed from independently existing verbs, mostly with PU stress on the root (*'kaža* 'say' – *raz'kaža* 'tell a story' – *'razkaz* 'story'). What is the reason for the leftward stress shift? We focus on answering this question by first outlining the scope of the set and then by testing different hypothesis concerning morphosyntax, disambiguation, and word frequency. A possible hint has been suggested by Čaha & Zikova (2016).¹² They assume that the zero nominalizations correspond to result nominals or to simple event nominals (unlike the nouns which include thematic markers called "complex event nominals").

The corpus has been collected from the databases of the OPRBE (ОПРБЕ 2012). From the main set we removed the zero-derived units composed from nouns (*otzvuk* 'reverberation'), loans (*pretext*), and some units with indefinable roots. As a result, we ended up with 232 nouns. They denote objects or results as *nomina patientis*¹³ (*zatvor* 'prison'), and only part of them also denote processes as *nomina actionis* (*izgrev* 'sunrise'). We tested their semantic group by checking their compatibility with verbs like *begin*, *end*, *continue*.¹⁴ This was done by two other experts apart from the author of the paper, and on the bases of internet examples. An additional argument for the treatment of nouns like *izgrev* 'sunrise' as *actionis* is that in the RBE, they are often explained synonymously with deverbal nouns with dynamic meaning:

- (7) *izgrev* 'sunrise' / *izgrjavane* 'rising of the sun'
iznos 'export' / *iznasjane* 'exporting'
namek 'hint' / *namekvane* 'hinting'

The distribution of the zero derived nouns into accent patterns and semantic groups (*patientis* / *patientis + actionis*), illustrated with examples, is given in Table 1. The nouns with a stressed prefix (10) predominate (135 items – 58%). The nouns with ultimate stress on the root (01) are fewer (97 items – 42%) and among them the number of *nomina actionis* is also smaller – 34. Most of the nouns denoting both result and process have accented prefixes (49 out of 82 total – 59%).¹⁵

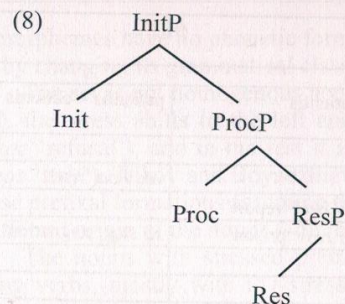
Accent pattern	10		01	
Verbal prefixes	<i>patientis</i>	<i>patientis + actionis</i>	<i>patientis</i>	<i>patientis + actionis</i>
vā-	<i>'vātāk</i> 'weft'	<i>'vāvod</i> 'entry'	-	-
vāz-	<i>'vāzgdē</i> 'opinion'			<i>vāz' hod</i> 'rise'
do-	<i>'dohod</i> 'income'	<i>'dopir</i> 'touch'	<i>do'klad</i> 'report'	-
zā-	<i>'zaliv</i> 'bay'	<i>'zalez</i> 'sunset'	<i>za' tvor</i> 'prison'	<i>za' stoj</i> 'stagnation'
zad-	-	-	-	-
iz-	<i>'izgdē</i> 'view'	<i>'iznos</i> 'export'	-	-
na-	<i>'nakit</i> 'jewelry'	<i>'napliv</i> 'influx'	<i>na' klon</i> 'slope'	<i>na' vej</i> 'wind up'
nad-	<i>'nadpis</i> 'inscription'	-	<i>nad' slov</i> 'superscript'	<i>nad' zor</i> 'supervision'
o(b)-	<i>'obrāč</i> 'hoop'	<i>'ogled</i> 'review'	<i>o' bem</i> 'volume'	<i>ob' strel</i> 'shelling'
ot-	<i>'otgovor</i> 'answer'	<i>'otpusk</i> 'vacation'	<i>ot' del</i> 'department'	<i>ob' men</i> 'exchange'
po-	<i>'povod</i> 'occasion'	<i>'polet</i> 'flight'	<i>po' klon</i> 'a bow'	<i>po' top</i> 'flood'
pod-	<i>'podpis</i> 'signature'	-	<i>pod' hod</i> 'approach'	<i>po' dem</i> 'rise'
pre-	<i>'prelez</i> 'crossing'	<i>'prevod</i> 'translation'	<i>pre' del</i> 'limit'	<i>pre' stoj</i> 'stay'
pred-	-	-	<i>pred' met</i> 'object'	-
pri-	<i>'primer</i> 'example'	<i>'priliv</i> 'high tide'	<i>pri' jut</i> 'shelter'	-
pro-	<i>'procep</i> 'slit'	<i>'probeg</i> 'run'	<i>pro' stor</i> 'space'	-
raz-	<i>'razhod</i> 'expense'	<i>'razrez</i> 'incision'	<i>raz' mer</i> 'size'	<i>raz' cvet</i> 'flourishing'
sā-	-	-	<i>sā' stav</i> 'composition'	<i>sā' bor</i> 'assembly'
u-	<i>'ustav</i> 'statute'	<i>'ulov</i> 'catch'	-	-
Number	86	49	63	34
Total AP	135 (58 %)		97 (42 %)	
Total	232			

Table 1

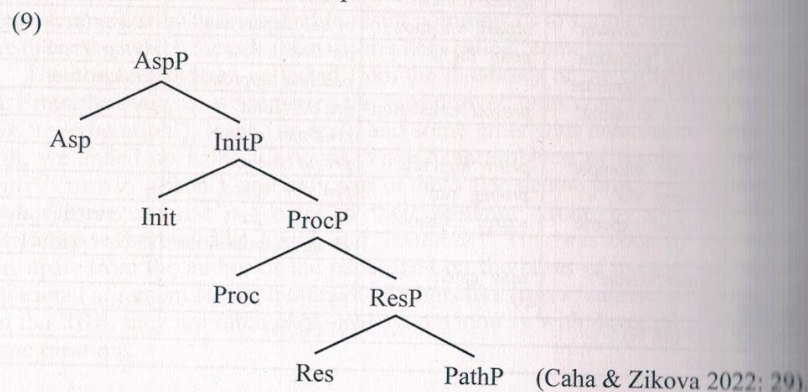
7. Analysis

Čaha & Ziková (2016, 2022) suggested an interesting approach for an analogous alternation of prominence in Czech zero-derived nouns depicted in vowel length. The authors interpret it in a *constructionist* way, assuming that verbs are built piece by piece by smaller ingredients. It is argued that the difference between long and short prefixes is morphologically motivated.

In Ramchand's decompositional approach, each event may contain three sub-evental components: Initiation, Process, and Result (Init, Proc, Res) (Čaha & Zikova 2022: 29).



According to the authors, aspectual information is higher up in the structure (above Init). The prominence is linked with the presence or absence of an aspectual projection (AspP) in the functional spine.



The alternations are explained by the idea that the aspectual contribution of a prefix (AspP) is characterized by two functions. The first one is called *telicity* – meaning that prefixes add a result state to the event expressed by the verb.¹⁶ The second one is that the prefix makes the verb *perfective*. This notion is related to the ‘viewpoint aspect.’ Perfective verbs depict events as if viewed ‘from the outside,’ in their entirety, as units with a beginning and an ending point, whereas the imperfective ones depict the events ‘from the inside,’ as ongoing. That is why perfectivity is incompatible with inceptive verbs such as *begin* or other verbs denoting phases of the event.

Caha & Ziková argue that both aspectual functions of the prefix (telicity and perfectivity) are independent, and that each of them occupies a different region in the sequence of verbal functional categories. The authors adopt the idea that the resultative/telic function of the prefix is introduced low down in the verbal structure, while perfectivity is relevant at a later point in the derivation:

(10) [perfectivity [... [resultativity V]]]

The idea is applied to the shape variation of the prefixes: structures may differ in the presence or absence of perfectivity.¹⁷ Zero nouns arise when the construction is stopped early on, and the prefix has not had the chance to move and trigger perfectivity. The authors show that the items with a prominence (long prefix) may not behave as perfective, but as imperfective forms. When the prefix only has the low resultative function, it has one shape. When it has both functions, it has a different shape. In order to also assign perfectivity, the prefix moves higher up in the structure (Caha & Ziková 2016).

So, prefixes have different pronunciation depending on whether they are purely resultative or also assign perfectivity. Perfectivity (which is high functional projection) is relevant for regulating the alternation of vowel length in Czech: zero-derived nouns with long prefixes behave as imperfective.

The analogical distinction in the prominence of the prefixes was observed in Bulgarian zero-derived nouns – among those with a stressed prefix, more items can be used with verbs like *begin* or other verbs denoting phases of the event. They denote processes (such as *pohod* ‘hike’) because they lack *perfectivity* and can function as *imperfective*. On the other hand, nominalization with the unstressed prefix patterns relatively more often behave as *perfective* and denote nomina patientis (such as *do klad* ‘report’). The distinction exists in BL as a tendency only.

An alternative approach

An alternative approach explores the hypothesis that the distinction originates from two allomorphic accentual specifications of the zero suffix. The zero-derived nouns with both resultative and dynamic meaning viewed as *nomina actionis* are a *transpositional* category (Радева / Radeva 2007). Given that most of the productive transpositional suffixes in BL are unmarked and are usually unaccented (*-ne*, *-ost*, *-stv(o)*), we can expect that the transpositional zero allomorph has the same stress specification. In the case of unmarked morphemes, the *Basic accentuation principle* foresees an initial stress (Kiparsky 2011). The same pattern is expected in the context of accentually unmarked morphemes in the framework of the Proto-Slavic accentuation (Dybo 2000).

Zero-derived nouns with ultimate stress on the root, denoting a result (*ot' del* ‘department’), mostly belong to the category of *nomina patientis*. It is a *mutational* structure in which Bulgarian suffixes are mostly accentually marked (*-ach*, *-tel*). A possible assumption is that the particular allomorph of the null suffix is pre-accenting and demands the stress to be on the U syllable – the root. Counter examples also exist, such as *'pogled* ‘glance’ or *váz hod* ‘rise’ (which can denote the process of rising). Their interpretation might be due to still other factors.

Additional factors

The stress alternation of prefixes might occur for historical reasons (initial stress on the prefix can be a reminiscence of the leftward stress shift observed in the third Proto-Slavic paradigm “c” controlled by the Vasiliev-Dolobko law (Dybo

2000). Additional factors could be psycholinguistic (frequency of occurrence) and the demand for disambiguation.

In some frequently used forms, a verb can coincide segmentally with a form of a zero-derived noun:

(11) *ot'kaza* 'to refuse' PAST / *otkaza* 'a refusal' (a noun with the short definite article -a).

The only distinguishing marker between them is the stress, which only in nouns is on the initial syllable, on the prefix. We can assume that the stress shift happens more often when the verb is frequent, suggesting that it is easily retrieved from the mental lexicon. This assumption is based on the idea that the frequency of occurrence of linguistic items influences general cognitive processes like analogy and automatization which shape linguistic structure. The *relative frequency* is measured as the ratio between the frequency of the derived word and that of the base (Hay 2003). The higher the frequency of the basic verb, the more likely it is for the base to be retrieved from the mental lexicon instead of the derived unit and to cause *homophony*. The stress migration to the left (on the prefix) might reduce the likelihood of activating the verb and act as *anti-homophony effect* (Inkelas 2014: 355). This is illustrated in Table 2 (based on the ЧРБК-БНК / ЧРВК-БНК 2012).

Basic verbs	Frequency	Prefixed verbs	Frequency	Zero-derived nouns	Frequency	Rel freq
'kazvam 'say'	237726	<i>raz'kaža</i> 'tell a story'	55728	'razkaz 'story'	21150	0.37
		<i>ot'kaža</i> 'refuse'	68904	'otkaz 'refusal'	15404	0.2
		<i>po'kaža</i> 'show'	103779	'pokaz 'show'	2112	0.2
		<i>i'zkaža</i> 'express'	10799	'izkaz 'expression'	1178	0.1
		<i>u'kaža</i> 'pointed out'	9996	'ukaz 'decree'	5230	0.5
'bija 'beat'	151700	<i>pro'bija</i> 'break through'	8086	'probiv 'breakthrough'	5700	0.7
'reža 'cut'	6393	<i>na'reža</i> 'cut'	4887	'narez 'thread'	272	0.05
'govorja 'talk'	171491	<i>izgo'vorja</i> 'articulate'	1593	'izgovor 'articulation'	1303	0.8

Table 2

Counter examples of higher frequency of the zero-derived nouns with initial stress are not excluded and are presented in Table 3:

Basic verbs	Frequency	Pref verb	Frequency	Zero-derived nouns	Frequency	Rel freq
<i>gledam</i> 'watch'	186941	<i>po'gledam</i> 'to look for a while'	155014	'pogled 'glance'	165236	1.1
		<i>pre'gledam</i> 'look through'	7431	'pregled 'overview'	29796	4.0
<i>govorja</i> 'talk'	171491	<i>raz'govarjam</i> 'to talk'	34367	'razgovor 'conversation'	77163	2.2

Table 3

A substantial part of the zero-derived nouns with U stress on the root are composed by verbs with U stress on the ending with a relatively low level of frequency (*klo'nja* 'lean' 1190, *poklo'nja* 'to bow' 2265). The zero-derived nouns are with a higher frequency (*na'klon* 'slope' – 8266); subsequently, the relative frequency is also high (5.9). So it seems that the stress shift to the left is not needed as an *anti-homophony effect*, given that the stress lands on the root among nouns, unlike verbs. Some more examples of zero-derived nouns with ultimate stress on the root composed by verbs with non-stressed roots are given in Table 4.

Basic verbs	Frequency	Prefixed verb	Frequency	Zero-der nouns	Frequency	Rel freq
<i>sto'ja</i> 'stand'	132797	<i>presto'ja</i> 'stand over'	3259	<i>pre'stoj</i> 'a stay'	9829	3.02
		<i>zasto'ja se</i> 'stagnate'	1521	<i>za'stoj</i> 'stagnation'	1767	1.2
<i>če'ra</i> 'read'	66940	<i>razčeta</i> 'calculate'	1913	<i>raz'čet</i> 'calculation'	4702	2.5
		<i>otče'ta to</i> 'report'	14221	<i>ot'čet</i> 'report'	55827	3.9
<i>te'ka</i> 'flow'	18981	<i>pote'ka</i> 'begin flow'	5413	<i>po'tok</i> 'stream'	32344	5.9
		<i>ote'ka</i> 'drain'	412	<i>o'tok</i> 'edema'	4882	11.8
<i>go'rja</i> 'burn'	13671	<i>zago'rja</i> 'sunbathe'	1458	<i>za'gar</i> 'tan'	910	0.6
		<i>razgo'rja</i> 'flare up'	1188	<i>raz'gar</i> 'height'	3332	2.8
<i>de'lja</i> 'divide'	7666	<i>otde'lja</i> 'separate'	32278	<i>ot'del</i> 'department'	31691	0.9
<i>to'pja</i> 'melt'	4142	<i>poto'pja</i> 'to dip'	4935	<i>po'top</i> 'flood'	3955	0.8
<i>klo'nja</i> 'lean'	1190	<i>poklo'nja</i> 'to bow'	2265	<i>po'klon</i> 'a bow'	11698	5.2
		<i>naklo'nja</i> 'tilt'	1381	<i>na'klon</i> 'slope'	8266	5.9
		<i>razklo'nja</i> 'branche out'	434	<i>raz'klon</i> 'fork in the road'	658	1.5
<i>gro'mja</i> 'devastate'	290	<i>razgro'mja</i> 'to crush'	1228	<i>raz'grom</i> 'a crush'	2215	1.8

Table 4

The *anti-homophony effect* is even less needed when a corresponding prefixed verb is missing. Table 5 illustrates the observation that plenty of the U zero-derived nouns have no corresponding prefixed verb such as *de'lja* 'divide', **predelya*, or have a non-frequent one that is not found in the dictionary (*razplodja* 'multiply').

Basic verbs	Frequency	Pref verb	Frequency	Zero-der nouns	Frequency
<i>se'dja</i> 'sit'	65268	<i>*cacedja</i>	(not found)	<i>sā'sed</i> 'neighbor'	17661
<i>vi'sja</i> 'hang'	21262	<i>*otvisja</i>	(not found)	<i>ot'ves</i> 'plumb line'	158
<i>go'rja</i> 'burn'	13671	<i>*nagorja</i>	(not found)	<i>na'gar</i> 'scum'	142
<i>de'lja</i> 'divide'	7666	<i>*predelja</i>	(not found)	<i>pre'del</i> 'limit'	6992
<i>plo'dja</i> 'fructify'	222	<i>razplodja</i> 'multiply'	(not found)	<i>raz'plod</i> 'breeding'	1646
<i>ko'sja</i> 'mow'	591	<i>*otkosja</i>	(not found)	<i>ot'kos</i> 'slope'	1176

Table 5

8. Conclusion

The analysis of the accentual variation of Bulgarian prefixes is couched in the framework of the *Primary Accent First* theory and of the *interface theory* that is based on the idea that word stress interacts with morphology and semantics. After Revithiadou (1999), we assume that in lexical stress systems, morphemes are accentually prespecified. The verbal prefixes are regarded as unmarked adjuncts that do not influence the stress of the base. The stressed prefixes attached to independently existing nouns, adjectives, and adverbs are treated as separate prosodic words.

The analysis of stress alternation among zero-derived nouns is based on the *constructionist* approach, which aims to define the specific meaning components assigned by the prefix. It accounts for the difference between the unstressed verbal prefixes and their stressed allomorphs in zero-derived nouns. The latter depict results or simple events. The analysis of the Bulgarian data shows that the nouns with stressed prefixes more often denote processes along with results and are compatible with inceptive verbs. This means that these items lack perfectivity, which is higher in the functional projection.

Apart from the morphosyntactic parameter, there are also other factors that influence the stress pattern, for example the anti-homophony effect and the relative frequency of occurrence.

The conclusion is that the domestic verbal prefixes are usually unmarked, adjoined outside the stress domain, but can receive stress under the influence of morphological, structural, and psycholinguistic factors. A task for future work is to trace the relation of the accentual variations of the prefixes to their typology as lexical, super-lexical, external, and internal (Markova 2010).

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NOTES

¹ Predicted on the basis of the syllable weight or/and of the distance from the word edge.

² In opposition to the assumption of standard *metrical phonology* (Halle & Vergnaud – липсва в библиографията 1987, Hayes 1995), which derives primary accentuation by first grouping syllables into feet then promoting “the head” of one of the peripheral feet to the status of primary stress.

³ Bulgarian is a South Slavic language written in the Cyrillic alphabet which contrasts with the other Slavic languages in its loss of case declension. Its peculiar characteristic is that the definite article is placed after the noun or adjective, e.g., *masa* ‘table’, *masata* ‘table the’. The infinitive form of the verb is replaced with a clause – *da-construction*, e.g., *iskam da otida* ‘I want to go’.

⁴ Clitics can be stressed only after the negative particle *ne*: *ne 'mu kazvaj* ‘don’t tell him’

⁵ Bulgarian orthography does not signal stress, which makes the pronunciation difficult for foreign students.

⁶ In a number of morphemes there is accentual allomorphy (-ec,-ka).

⁷ *O, vǎz* are rarely used as prepositions and sound archaic in contemporary language.

⁸ *Vrǎh-*, *zad-* compose only a limited number of verbs: *vrǎhlitam* ‘pounce’, *zadminavam* ‘pass’

⁹ Bickel et al (2009) distinguish a *minor* (inner) and a *major* word. The inner structure is less marked (usually it is a binary structure); it is most often the stress domain and the domain of syllabification and segmental processes.

¹⁰ In a few exceptional cases the prefixes in this group are stressed ‘*prikazka* ‘fairy tale’, ‘*zapiska* ‘note’.

¹¹ Considerably fewer are the units composed by nouns.

¹² Caha & Ziková (2016) interpret this finding in a constructionist way assuming that zero nouns arise when the construction is stopped early on.

¹³ *Nomina actionis* signify an act, *nomina patientis* signify a result and have a non-dynamic character (Lehman 2005: 142, Radeva 2007)

¹⁴ A similar test is suggested by Caha & Ziková (2016).

¹⁵ The distinction between them is not always clear. In some cases, the phase verbs (begin, end, continue) are compatible with *nomina patientis* denoting entities, e.g., *procep* ‘slit’, *uvod* ‘introduction’ with spatial meaning. These cases are ignored.

¹⁶ An important idea in the analyses is that prefixes lexicalize Res (Romanova 2007: 104), making the verb *telic*.

¹⁷ Following the assumption that zero-derived nouns have an impoverished structure.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AP – accent pattern, ADJ – adjective, APU – antepenultimate, BL – Bulgarian language, pre-APU – pre-antepenultimate, PU – penultimate, Rel freq – relative frequency, VOC – vocative, U – ultimate.

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LES ÉMOIS DU DÉGOÛT*

[The Troubles of Disgust]

Abstract: This article examines the etymological relationship between disgust and emotions and is the first part of a more extensive study analyzing the etymologies of words denoting disgust in Indo-European languages. We have established that a considerable number of the words denoting disgust come from primary notions related to other emotions. The origin of words of disgust is also linked to words having the meaning of fear (5 roots), boredom (3 roots), hatred (2 roots), sadness (2 roots), anger (1 root), pride (1 root), discontent (1 root). Fear is the emotion most often etymologically linked to disgust. 13 roots show a semantic evolution from a primary meaning of ‘fear’. Basic disgust, the pathogen avoidance, and the fear of disease and death are very closely related, and this is reflected in the history of the words.

Keywords: disgust; basic emotions; Indo-European etymology; semantic change

Le dégoût est l'une des émotions universelles qui se manifeste par l'expression du visage particulière et qui représente une réponse émotionnelle de l'individu de répulsion à quelque chose de répugnant. Nous pouvons nous sentir dégoûtés par quelque chose que nous percevons avec nos sens physiques (le goût, la vue, l'odorat, le toucher, l'ouïe), par les actions ou l'apparence des gens, et même par des idées.

Au cours de l'évolution, le dégoût a probablement contribué à stimuler les organismes afin de maintenir un environnement suffisamment salubre pour leur santé et à les empêcher de manger des aliments avariés et de boire de l'eau polluée (Lazard 1977 : 336). La fonction universelle du dégoût est d'éliminer ce qui est répugnant, contagieux ou toxique. Cette émotion nous permet d'éviter une infection ou une maladie et aussi à éviter les interactions avec des personnes morales « entachées ». (<https://www.paulekman.com/universal-emotions/what-is-disgust>)

Le dégoût contient une gamme d'états d'intensité variable allant d'une simple aversion à une répugnance intense. Tous les états de dégoût sont déclenchés par un sentiment que quelque chose est aversif, répulsif et/ou toxique.