

## NOUNS MEANING ‘PERSON WHO TAKES CARE OF FLOCK OF SHEEP’ IN BULGARIAN

ILIANA GARAVALOVA

For centuries sheep breeding is a main occupation for a significant part of the population worldwide. Therefore, the shepherds’ trade occupies an important place in the material and spiritual culture of the Slavic (and, in particular, Bulgarian) people and pastoral vocabulary is of particular interest to dialectology, as evidenced by many linguistic studies. It is noteworthy, however, that they do not usually comment on the very name of the person who takes care of the flock of sheep. The reason for this is the fact that the subject of dialectological studies are mostly individual villages or groups of villages, and within such small areas typically only one term is found whose motivation is clearly distinguishable. Even in this case, however, the lack of such a basic token is appreciable in view of the completeness of the study.

In the lexical system of the Bulgarian language with the availability of essential meaning ‘man who takes care of a flock of sheep’ are characterized a few words with different root (comp.: овъчарь, пастырь, пастухъ – Old Bulgarian; овчар // овчарин (овчѣрин), пастър, чобан // чобанин, (dial.) кехая (кяя, кяя, кехѣ), бюлюктешин, бравушарник etc. – Bulgarian, Bulgarian dialects in Macedonia (Арх. БДР; Арх. ЕЛБ; РБЕ 2002; Gerov 1978: 32, 43; РБЕ 2004; РМЈСХТ 1965; РМЈСХТ 1966; ОЛБ 2003, к. № 25а etc.). Most of them are of old Bulgarian origin, and therefore are found in all or the majority of Slavic languages, but some of them have Persian roots and become part of the lexical system of the Slavic languages (mainly southern and western type) through Turkish as a result of a series of geo-political processes that led to the permanent adjacent to those nations with representatives of the Turkic languages and even created the conditions for a real bilingualism in some of them (БЕР 1979: 348; БЕР 1999: 687).

From a formative point of view the names for a person dealing with the cultivation of herbivores in Slavic languages are often motivated on the name of the animals that form the herd. In Bulgarian linguistic system function separate words for different kinds of pastors – говедар ‘cattle shepherd’, биволар ‘buffalo shepherd’, кравар ‘cow shepherd’, телчар ‘calves shepherd’, джелеп ‘a cattle merchant with many herds depastured on alpine pastures in summer and in White Sea region in winter’, коняр ‘horse paster’, хергелджия ‘a person who tends herds

FD, XXXIV, București, 2015, p. 28–37

of mares', *боцѧн* 'a groom which tends horses in free grazing' (dial. in Gabrovo region, hence transferred in South-Eastern Bulgaria and Bessarabia), *мулетар* 'mules shepherd' and *камитар* 'camels shepherd' (Rhodopa region), *свинар* 'pigs shepherd', *гъсар* 'geese shepherd' etc. (ЕБ 1983: 51–52). Therefore, it is hardly surprising that the most widespread name of the person who raises sheep flock is derived from the noun sheep. It is formed by means of the suffix *-ар-* (for agent), being the direct successor of the Slavic *\*avьĉarь*, formed by suffix *-arь* from *\*avьĉā* (comp.: *овьца* – *овьчарь* – Old Bulgarian; *овца* – *овчар* – Bulgarian and Bulgarian dialects in Macedonia (Арх. ЕЛД; БЕР 1995: 771–772; Mladenov 1941: 372)). On dialect level within this token we find also the suffix *-ин-* (comp.: *овчѧрин* // *овчѧрин* – Bulgarian and Bulgarian dialects in Macedonia (Арх. ЕЛД)).

It should also be stressed that while in most Slavic languages the word *shepherd* is unambiguous, as the designat which is denoted by it is fixed and the connection between the name and the reality fact is clearly very motivated, in Polish and Russian it is ambiguous, meaning either 'medicaster' (Polish) and 'shepherd, shepherd dog' (comp.: *Собак пять-шесть, одна другой лохматей и безобразней, приветствовали нас лаем. – Овчары!-заметил Мартын Петрович.* – Russian (Garavalova 2013: 182–183)), and in Bulgarian it developed unique in its richness and diversity semantics, which directly reflected the specifics of pastoral life. Besides the common to all Slavic languages meaning 'a person who deals with sheep; sheep shepherd // person who is employed to tend sheep and care for them at a particular time of the year', the noun in question here is also used figuratively (mostly in conversational field of communication), meaning 'common and not enough educated man' (eg.: *Вместо да се съветва с компетентни хора, той се заобиколил с овчари.* (РБЕ 2002: 287)). Such use can be easily explained by the isolation of the shepherds of society (a direct result of their long stay in the mountains with their flocks), which causes them to lose their ability to communicate with people outside their professional circles, to embarrassed to enter the civilization and behave badly there, and makes them ignorant, rude, even cruel people because of their heavy life full of deprivation and penury who have no goals and aspirations. (Stoyanov 1983: 39–53). Closely linked to the everyday life of the shepherd who spends most of the year away from home, is the second meaning of the analyzed token in Bulgarian literary language and its dialects 'man who has returned from afar, from abroad and from work abroad to his relatives; a guest' (comp.: *Честити ти овчар.* (РБЕ 2002: 287)). On dialect level the noun is also characterized by the presence of meaning 'name of a star' (Арх. БДР), which is due to the veil of poetic over the shepherd image in folk art, whose life is idyllic and harmonic, marked by simplicity and poetry, but also lonely and full of work and hazards so it is wrapped in a halo of heroism and righteousness and rises its character to heaven (Garavalova 2014).

A sign of the high degree of vitality and functionality of the noun *shepherd* in the Bulgarian linguistic system is not only its extremely rich semantic paradigm,

but its appearance as a major component of phrases that have specifying function or serve to indicate the hierarchy or specialization within the profession of the shepherd (eg.: *овчар-удажийа (водаджия)* – ‘shepherd who drives sheep for milking’, *овчар-мариджия* ‘shepherd for waste sheep’, *беглик уфчери* ‘shepherds of beglik (annual tax on sheep and goats in Turkish period (БТР 1976: 41))’, *стапиши уфчар* ‘head of shepherds’, *мъхл’ански уфчар* ‘shepherd of a neighbourhood’s flock’ (Арх. БДР)), or in complicated names (comp.: *пъди-овчар (къпри-кожух)* ‘purple (autumn) crocus – *Colchicum autumnale*’, *изпъди овчар* ‘yellow hollyhock – *Tagetes erecta*’ – Bulgarian (Арх. БДР)).

Since it is established practice children or young girls to look after smaller herds that grazed in the morning and go home in the evening back to the village, in the lexical system of Bulgarian language besides the analyzed masculine noun function also feminine and thus neuter names denoting also ‘a person who grazes herbivores’ (eg.: *овчарка* (dial.: *овчариня, овчаркия, овчарица*) // *овчарче* – Bulgarian and Bulgarian dialects in Macedonia (РБЕ 2002: 287; TPMJ 2006: 445)). Compelling evidence to support the thesis that the analyzed feminine and neuter nouns are derived from the word *shepherd*, and not derived directly from *sheep*, except the presence of the extension of *-ar-* for agent is the fact that they are ambiguous in all Slavic languages (Garavalova 2013), which is a sign of their later appearance in the lexical system. For example, in the Bulgarian dialects, located both within and beyond state borders, the word *овчарка* can mean not only ‘a woman who takes care of a flock of sheep’ or ‘wife of a shepherd’, but ‘breed sheepdog’ (eg.: *Двете от трите кучета, ..., са обикновени овчарки*), in this meaning associated in a steady phrase with the adjective *German* to become the term to refer to the East European Shepherd dog breed. In the analyzed linguistic paradigm the noun also means ‘ritual St. George’s day bread’ (in Northern-East Bulgaria – Preslav, Provadia and Shumen regions), ‘the plants bone cam, yellow hollyhock, field poppy’ (*Petasites Tourn*, *Petasites albus* Gartn, *Petasites officinalis* Much, *Erythronium dens canis* или *Tagetes erecta*) or ‘sort of mushrooms – *sadenki*’ (Pirin region) (РБЕ 2002: 287; Арх. БДР). Ambiguity is also observed with the neuter noun *овчарче*, which in Bulgarian language and its dialects of the geographical area of Macedonia functions with meaning ‘boy who takes care of sheep’, as diminutive name formed by *овчар* (e.g.: *Овчарче, младо пастирче, / защо та жалба нажали ...?*) or as a name of Bulgarian white wagtail bird (*Motacilla alba*) (Арх. БДР; РБЕ 2002: 288). In the analyzed linguistic system also is used the sustainable combination of words *лъжливото овчарче*, which is marked as colloquial phrase, meaning ‘man whom no one wants to believe, even when he is telling the truth because he was already caught in a lie or has made a name of a liar’ (РБЕ 2002: 288). It is characterized also by the formed with the suffix *-к-* diminutive (tender) form *овчарко*, which is used mainly on dialect level or in folk poetry, usually in addressing (comp.: *Овчар стадо на егрек не дига, / дор не мине гиздава девойка, / да му рече „Добро утро, овчарко!“*), and as

magnifying form derived from *shepherd* (e.g.: *Види се байо да е бил некойе старопланинско овчарице, ичо имал на двор от воденицата ягънца, а не звер.* – Bulgarian; *овчариците* – Bulgarian dialects in the geographical area of Macedonia (РБЕ 2002: 287–288; TPMJ 2006: 445)).

Besides common Bulgarian noun *овчар* (*овчарка* (feminine), *овчарче* (neuter)), characterized by the highest frequency of names with similar semantics, which is typical for all Bulgarian dialects and the literary language and commonly means 'one who takes care of sheep' in the linguistic paradigm of Bulgarian function several more names (both domestic and of foreign origin), serving to describe this profession, but characterized by the presence of significantly more narrow and specialized semantics that are also motivated by the name of the animals. This is due to the fact that in large herds kept outside inhabited areas, the animals were divided into groups according to the age, sex and the purpose for which they are grown to make it easier to make high-quality care for them, and shepherds are of large number and share the work, each of them "specialized" in the performance of certain functions. Since there is a separate name in Bulgarian language (and on dialect level several names) for each stage of the sheep growth from a little lamb to an adult animal, it is not surprising that they form the corresponding number of names for the profession of the person who takes care of the herd of animals with specific features. This occurs when a suffix for agent is added to the noun designating a certain stage in the life of a sheep – in most cases the suffix *-ар*, accompanied or not by a suffix *-ин* or *-ник*, also suffixes *-ик* (*-иц*) and *-джия*. For example, if the chronology is followed, for the smallest of the flock is taking care *агницар* (*агнишар*) – from Old Bulgarian *агна*, *агньць*, *ѡгньць*, *агнецъ* 'a lamb' (БЕР 2007: 3). When they grow up and they are about a year, they become *шилета* and a shepherd who cares for them is called *шилегар* (*шилегарин*) / (feminine) *шилегарка* (БТР 1976: 1062; Antonova-Vasileva etc. 2001: 277). In smaller herds cared for by a smaller number of people the lambs are not separated and are included in other barren animals group, who for some reason are not mated and therefore do not give milk. The person who grazes the infertile animals is called *яловар* (*яловичар*) / (feminine) *яловарка* (БТР 1976: 1075). When the sheep reaches adulthood and started to give birth to lambs and milk, cares are taken by *подойник* / *подойничар* 'shepherd who takes care of sheep that give milk' (БТР 1976: 642; БЕР 2007: 416–417). The origin of this noun is derived from the dialectal name *подойница* 'animal that gives milk; sheep whose lamb is slaughtered or weaned and it is being milked', which, in turn, comes from the verb *доя* 'squeeze milk from animal; (dial.) breastfeed a child' from Old Bulgarian *доити*, *доѣ* (БЕР 2007: 416–417). As for the male mature animals, there are several names in Bulgarian dialects: *коч* 'non-emasculated ram' (from Turkish *koç*, *koçu* 'ram'), *батал* 'ram that is 3 years old and more' (from Turkish *batal*, *bâtil* 'empty, useless'), *матор* 'non-emasculated ram or a male animal for

breeding; old' (from Old Bulgarian *матерство* 'old age'; *заматорѣти* 'getting old'), *овен* 'male animal, he-ram, buck' (from Old Bulgarian *овънъ*) etc. (БЕР 1979: 685, БЕР 1986: 686; БЕР 2007: 36; Antonova-Vasileva etc. 2001: 135). They form the names for the profession – *кочовар*, *маторичар*, *баталджия*, *овнар* under the care of whom these animals are separated into flocks to eat better and prepare them for insemination of the females (ЕБ 1983: 43; БЕР 1979: 685, БЕР 1986: 686; БЕР 2007: 36; Antonova-Vasileva etc. 2001: 135). When sheep got old and no longer can give milk, they turn into *брак* 'bad, worthless commodity' (from German Brack with the same meaning), and this herd is held by a *бракничар* (БЕР 2007: 73). However, since the sheep is a very important part of the livelihood of the Bulgarians, to which they refer with care and respect, for the old animals that are not fertile and do not give milk, in Bulgarian dialects there is another, far more tender and poetic name – *мария*, *маря*, which forms the noun *мариджия*, indicating the corresponding profession (Арх. БДР; Antonova-Vasileva etc. 2001: 134). It should also be stressed that on dialect level in Bulgarian there is a complete semantic equivalent of the name *shepherd* – *бравичар* / *бравушарник* (*бравушарец* и *браушарец*), formed by the lexeme *брав* (*брав* – Prilep, Veles regions) 'individual sheep, ram; unit for small animals (sheep, goat)' from Old Bulgarian *бръвъ* (Gerov 1978: 32; БТР 1976: 64; БЕР 2007: 71). Here can be presented also the dialectal noun *бач*, derived from Hungarian *bács* 'shepherd' and has entered into Bulgarian lexical system by Serbo-Croatian *баџ* 'mountain shepherd', which in Bulgarian dialects functions mainly with meaning 'cheesemonger in a dairy' (proved by its derivatives *бачия* 'dairy' and *бачило* 'dairy cattle pen'), hence an additional semantics is developed: 'main shepherd in a dairy, cheesemonger master, dealing with large amounts of milk and distributing it for making different dairy products' (БЕР 2007: 37).

In Bulgarian language the name of the person who takes care of sheep, may be motivated not only from the name of the animal, based on gender or particular stage of its development, but also by indicating the name of the herd and the parts in which it is divided. For example, from the dialect noun *билюк*, *бюлюк* (from Turkish *bölük* 'company, crowd'), used with meaning 'large multitude (usually livestock); herd of sheep', with the suffixes *-теши* and *-ин* is formed the name *бюлюктеши* 'second shepherd'; by the suffix *-ли(ѝа)* – the name *булуклийъ* 'shepherd', and with *-чи(ѝа)* – *б'ул'укчийъ(а)* 'shepherd' (Арх. БДР; БЕР 2007: 48; Л. Antonova-Vasileva etc. 2001: 27; Gerov 1978: 43). The same Turkish adoption is found in the composition of the complex noun *б'ул'укбашийче* (from Turkish *bölük* 'company, crowd'+*baş* 'head; main'), characterized by the meaning 'head shepherd' (Арх. БДР; БЕР 2007: 37, 48). From the Turkish adoption *сагмал* 'herd of milking sheep' again with the help of the agent suffix *-джи(ѝа)* is formed the name *сагмалджия* (*сегмалджия*) 'shepherd for milking sheep' (БТР 1976: 847; ЕБ 1983: 43; Л. Antonova-Vasileva etc. 2001: 214). Another division of the



sheep herd is *йозьт*, which includes the infertile sheep or rams and lambs that do not give milk (ЕБ 1983: 43). In Bulgarian dialects the noun *йоз* meaning 'infertile sheep' is again a Turkish adoption (from Turkish *yoz* 'simple, common' and dial. *yoz* 'infertile herd'), and hence with the aid of the flexion *-чу(ѱа)* is formed the corresponding name for the person who takes care of these animals– *йозчия* (*ѱузчия*) (from Turkish *yozçu*) 'shepherd who grazes infertile sheep' (Л. Antonova-Vasileva etc. 2001: 98; БЕР 1979: 105).

In most Slavic languages the marked as archaic name *shepherd* is gradually displaced by the more general *пастир* meaning 'man who grazes livestock, animals; shepherd, herdsman' (Garavalova 2014; БЕР 1999: 85). In Bulgarian such a trend is not observed, as the two nouns are equally functional in our linguistic system, and between them there are synonymous links, e.g.: *Гергьовден идеше, та рекохме отрано да си спазарим пастури за селската стока.; Както в полето бели овчици,/ тъй по небето светли звездици -/ сякаш е пастир месеци ги води.* (РБЕ 2004: 181; СРСБКЕ 1980: 361; СРБЕ 1997: 584). In this case, it is not a matter of full synonymy, as the name *пастир* has a more common meaning – 'a person who takes care of herbivores as general', while in the case of the shepherd, as demonstrated above, animals can only be sheep. But similar to the lexeme *овчар*, the noun *пастир* also is widespread on the whole Bulgarian language territory (including literary language), being primordial Slavic word, motivated by the way herbivores are being fed; in Old Slavic \**pāstyrjъ* is derived from the verb \**pāsъ* 'graze' (e.g.: *пастырь* – Old Bulgarian; *пастѱр* – Bulgarian literary language; *пастыр* and *пастѱр* – Bulgarian dialects in Banat; *пастѱр* – Bulgarian dialects in Macedonia (БЕР 1999: 85; Mladenov 1941: 413–414)). The analyzed noun functions as a Slavic adoption also in the lexical system of Hungarian (comp.: *pasztor* – Hungarian (БЕР 1999: 86)). Moreover, it should be noted that, as in all Slavic languages and also in Bulgarian, it is ambiguous, in addition to the above semantics and functions with a secondary meaning 'cleric in terms of his flock; mentor' (comp.: *Единодушно мнение съществуваше за него, което го признаваше за образец на всички добродетели и способности, които трябва да обладава един духовен пастир.* – Bulgarian; *духовен пастир* – Bulgarian dialects in Macedonia (РБЕ 2004: 181; PMJCXT 1965: 13). Although being derivative itself, the lexeme *пастир* is transformed into a fundament, on the basis of which are formed derivative words. For example, similar to other Slavic languages, in Bulgarian in parallel with the masculine noun with semantics 'man who cares for herbivores' there are the corresponding female and neuter names with the same meaning (comp.: *Там по това време прибираше стадото си Лилова Калинка, малката пастирка.; Често пъти пастирчето я оставя [телищата] сама и отива след биволите. И като се върне след час-два, заваря я на същото място.* – Bulgarian; *пастѱрка / пастѱрче* – Bulgarian dialects from Macedonia (Арх. БДР; РБЕ 2004: 181). For them, however, the second meaning 'priest; spiritual mentor', found in *пастир*, is not relevant by

obvious reasons. However, the analyzed type of female and neuter words are not synonymous. For example, within the whole Bulgarian linguistic territory the lexeme *настърче* means not only 'a child shepherd', but also functions as a diminutive name for *настур*, and *настурка* means 'a female shepherd', but also 'a shepherd's wife' (Арх. БДР; ПМЈСХТ 1965: 13).

Some dialect nouns meaning 'shepherd' are also motivated by actions supporting the care of the flock, which are characterized by a limited range of distribution within the Bulgarian linguistic territory. Unlike the lexeme *настур*, which semantics is more widespread than the semantics of *овчар*, their meaning is considerably narrower, because they name the agent of only one of the accompanying the shepherd's trade actions. For example, the man who fetches sheep for milking them is called *изкарвач* 'person who fetches sheep to be milked'. The origin of the noun is derived from the verb *карам* 'make somebody to walk (before me); drive, make, fetch' (possible from Old Bulgarian *карати са* 'make war, quarrel, wrangle', comp. in Romanian a căra, car 'fetch, drive', derived from Latin \*carrare, and carrus 'car' (БЕР 1979: 235)), while the addition of the prefix *из-* brings the additional semantic nuance of removal from the inside out to the meaning of the word. The same function in the care of the sheep flock performs the *водаджия* (*удажийа*) 'shepherd who drives sheep for milking'. In this case again it is a home lexeme derived from the verb *водя* 'make somebody to walk before me or along with me' from Old Bulgarian *водити, въводити, въвождѣ, възводити* (БЕР 2007: 170-171). Of dialect level in Bulgarian language as names for certain types of shepherds exist the nouns *млѣзничѣр* (*малзничар*) /*млѣзач* 'person who milks the sheep' (Арх. БДР). They come from the verb that is still preserved in some territorial dialects *млѣзя* 'milk; breastfeed' (from Old Bulgarian *млѣзѣ, млѣсти*), and in their composition is found again the familiar suffixes for agent (БЕР 1995: 388). Following the same word-forming pattern, from the verbs, domestic by origin like *вия* 'make something in the form of circle, bend, twist', *чукам* 'bang; break, crumble' and *стрижа* 'shear, shore (animal)' (comp. Old Bulgarian *вити, повити, звити, извити, повивати; чюкати; стрици, (стригѣ, стрижеши)*) are formed nouns naming the subdivisions of the shepherd's trade: *виач* 'person who emasculates the male animals by means of twisting', *чукач* 'person who emasculates the male animals by means of hammering' and *стригач* 'person who shear the sheep' (СР 2009: 752; БЕР 2007: 157; БТР 1976: 1056). The difference in these occupations is that the people who perform them can be part of the shepherd team, but there may be external groups of representatives of concerned professionals who travel from place to place and exercise their craft for a fee. Apart from domestic words in Bulgarian language the names for various types sub-shepherds are formed by a number of adoptions. For example, from the name of the

existing in the Turkish period annual tax on sheep and goat herds *беглик* 'tax for sheep herd paid to a Beg' (from Turkish *beğlik*), which is derivated from *бей* (East) / *бег* (West) 'large landowner or manager of a small town in the Ottoman Empire' (from Turkish *beğ*), is derived the name of the shepherds who care for herds of animals collected as this type of tax (БЕР 2007: 38, 40; БТП 1976: 41). The person who has the right to gather *beglik* is called *бегликчия* (*бизлигчийъ*) from Turkish *beğlikçi* (Арх. БДР; БЕР 2007: 38, 40). The Turkish word *barak* 'hairy, shaggy; ragged dog' enters the Bulgarian dialect lexical system with meaning *барак* dial. 'ragged dog or person; dirty person' and from it, probably because of some associations with the appearance of the shepherds is formed the noun *баракчия* 'dairy worker who deals with the milk' (БЕР 2007: 33).

Series of geo-political processes lead to lasting neighborhood between some of the Slavic languages and representatives of the Turkic language family. Even more, as a result of the invasion of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkan Peninsula during the Middle Ages the south and much of the Western Slavs lived for centuries under Ottoman rule, i.e. in a real bilingualism. It is therefore not surprising that many words with Persian roots enter through Turkish in their linguistic system. Usually they are marked as colloquial or carry negative semantic feature, but yet are alive and function on dialect level. One of these adoptions – the lexeme *чобан*, similar to *пастур*, is the semantic equivalent of the noun *овчар*, since it is also used to mean 'a person who takes care of herd' (e.g.: *чобан* // *чобанин* – Bulgarian; *чобан* (mostly in the folk poetry) – Bulgarian dialects in Macedonia (БЕР 1999: 687; PMJCXT 1966: 546)), and therefore belongs to the analyzed synonymous nest in Bulgarian language (СПСБКЕ 1980: 361; СПБЕ 1997: 584; БТП 1976: 1053). Unlike all presented so far words with key meaning 'shepherd', however, the name *чобан* is motivated by the action of taking care for the physical survival of the animals and the integrity of the herd. In Bulgarian lexical system, like in all Slavic languages, characterized by the presence of this word, function its derivative diminutive form *чобанче*, formally identical to the neuter lexeme meaning 'child-shepherd' and the corresponding feminine and neuter nouns *чобанка* / *чобанче* meaning 'female-, respectively child-shepherd' (БЕР 1999: 687; PMJCXT 1966: 546; Garavalova 2013; Garavalova 2014).

The lexemes reviewed in the exposition above, used to refer to the person who takes care of herds of herbivores, are representative for all or for a large part of the Slavic languages. However, there are words with similar semantics, typical only for a specific linguistic system. This is exemplified by nouns motivated by belonging to a particular social or minority (ethnic) group in the Bulgarian language, whose main occupation is the shepherd's trade. They have in common the fact that they are all synonyms of the lexeme *овчар*, but their main meaning is 'person belonging to a minority or ethnic group or social circle, making a living from sheep caring' and only then comes the semantics 'man who takes care of



sheep'. For example the name *кехия*, similar to *чобан*, is also of Persian origin and through Turkish passes into the lexical paradigm in question, then reconsidered on Bulgarian ground, because, while the Turkish literary word *kâhya* (dial.: *kehaya*) is characterized by the presence of the semantic feature 'host in a big house; head; superior', in Bulgarian the analyzed lexeme is used with the meaning 'head shepherd; shepherd; village herald; superintendant; owner of a big herd of sheep', and it is motivated from the name of the wealthy owners of herds which are of certain social status (БЕР 1979: 348; ЕБ 1983: 43). In Bulgarian language this noun is marked as obsolete and of folk speech. On dialect level besides *кехия* we met also the shapes *кяя*, *кея* (Lower Vardar), obtained directly from the literary Turkish word *kâhya* with the prolapse of *x* and contraction, and *кехè* (Chepintsi region), derived from the Turkish *kâhyè*, adopted in Serbo-Croatian (*hexája*), Modern Greek (*κεχαγιάς*) and Romanian (*chehaiá*) with the meaning 'customs officer; postmaster; quartermaster of pasha or vezir' (БЕР 1979: 348). It should also be noted that in the Bulgarian language on dialect level this Turkish adoption is particularly productive for the formation of the names in the hierarchy of shepherds (e.g.: *енкехия* // *ян кехия* (Turkish *en* and *kâhya*) 'experienced and rich in sheep shepherd, assistant of the kehaya', *подкехия* 'second shepherd after the kehaya' etc. (БЕР 1979: 348)). Unlike the noun *кехия* and its derivatives, suggesting a certain social status, the words *каракачанин* / (feminine) *каракачанка* 'person from a small mountain tribe with a particular language and costume who goes around the mountain pastures with their herds of sheep and horses; куцовлах' (from Turkish *kira*, Dative from *kir* 'field' and *kaçan*, present participle of the verb *kaçmak* 'run' or from Turkish \**kara kaçan* 'miserable fugitive' from *kara* 'black; miserable (figurative)' and substantive present participle *kaçan*, or from Turkish *kara kaçan* 'land fugitive', or from Turkish \**sarakaçan* < \**sirakkaçan* 'fugitive from Northern Greece', reconsidered with Turkish *kara* 'black; miserable (figurative)') and *моканин* 'lazy, dirty person; or villager; or Romanian; or Wallach shepherd' are indicative of the ethnicity of the shepherd (БТР 1976: 320; БЕР 1979: 232–233; Л. Antonova-Vasileva etc. 2001: 141). It should also be noted that, similarly to the noun *овчарка* with the lexeme *каракачанка* a transfer is observed from the name of the person with the analyzed kind of job to the dog that helps them in the performance of those functions – in this case the selected breed in Bulgaria Karakachani Shepherds.

As a result of the above formal and semantic analysis of the words, operating in the lexical system of the Slavic languages with a meaning 'one who takes care of sheep' and their derivatives several major conclusions are imposed. First, given that closely related languages are considered which belong to a language family, whose archetype of word-formation models is found in pre-Slavic, and the majority of the analyzed vocabulary is of home origin, it is logical for a particular word to operate in a large part or in all of the analyzed lexical paradigms. Here of great help are the very close geo-political conditions in which are situated and developed the Slavic

peoples, which is the reason for the existence of interesting parallels in the development of the Turk loanwords in them (Garavalova 2013; Garavalova 2014). Nevertheless, the great wealth of nouns with semantics 'shepherd' should be highlighted and exclusive variety of motivations in creating these names, found in the Bulgarian lexical system and featuring it as a unique linguistic paradigm.

## REFERENCES

- Antonova-Vasileva etc. 2001: *Кратък речник на диалектните думи*. Л. Антонова-Василева и Сл. Керемидчиева изд. Планета.
- Арх. ЕЛА: Архив на Европейския лингвистичен атлас в Секцията за българска диалектология и лингвистична география към ИБЕ „Проф. Л. Андрейчин” – БАН.
- Арх. БДР: Архив на Българския диалектен речник в Секцията за българска диалектология и лингвистична география към ИБЕ „Проф. Л. Андрейчин” – БАН.
- БЕР 1979: *Български етимологичен речник*. Т. 2 „и-крепъ”. С., Изд. БАН.
- БЕР 1995: *Български етимологичен речник*. Т. 4 „минго<sup>2</sup> – падам”. С., АИ „Проф. М. Дринов”.
- БЕР 1999: *Български етимологичен речник*. Т. 5 „падѣж – пѹска”. С., АИ „Проф. М. Дринов”.
- БТР 1976: *Български тълковен речник*. Изд. „Н. и изк.”, С.
- Garavalova 2013: 26. И. Гаравалова, *Названия за 'овчар' и техните производни в славянския езиков континуум*. – В: Сб. „Юбилейна научна конференция „50 години – врата към образованието и прозорец към света” по случай 50-годишнината от основаването на Департамента за езиково обучение – ИЧС, 14–15 юни 2013 г.”, УИ „Св. Кл. Охридски”, С.
- Garavalova 2014: И. Гаравалова, *Semantic characteristics of the nouns with essential meaning 'person who cares for a herd of herbivore animals' and their derivatives in the Slavic languages*, in *Academically Review „Fonetica și dialectologie”* – rated „Phonetics and Dialectology”, no. XXXIII/2014, edited by the Romanian Academy, which is to come out in 2014.
- Gerov 1978: Н. Геров, *Речник на българския език*. Т. 6. Допълнение., Изд. Бълг. писател, С.
- ЕБ 1983: *Етнография на България*. Т. 2. *Материална култура*. С., Изд. БАН.
- Mladenov 1941: Младенов, Ст. *Етимологичен и правописен речник на БКЕ*. С., Книгоиздателство Христо Г. Данов – О. О. Д-во: София.
- ОЛА 2003: *Общославянский лингвистический атлас. Серия лексико-словообразовательная*. Выпуск 8. Профессии и общественная жизнь. Карта № 25а, Warszawa.
- РБЕ 2002: *Речник на българския език*. Т. 11. С., АИ „Проф. М. Дринов” и ЕТ „Емас”.
- РБЕ 2004: *Речник на българския език*. Т. 12 „П – ПОЕМКА”. С., АИ „М. Дринов” и ЕТ „Емас”.
- РМЈСХТ 1965: *Речник на македонскиот јазик со српскохрватски толкувања*. Т. 2 О–П. Скопје.
- РМЈСХТ 1966: *Речник на македонскиот јазик со српскохрватски толкувања*. Т. 3 Р–Ш. Скопје.
- СРСБКЕ 1980: *Синонимен речник на СБКЕ* 1980 с. 361 овчар, пастир, чобан.
- СРБЕ 1997: *Синонимен речник на БЕ* с.584 същото МАГ77 1997г.
- СР 2009: *Старобългарски речник* Т. 2 о-у 2009 Изд. Валентин Траянов.
- Stoyanov 1983: Стоянов, З. *Записки по българските въстания. Разказ на очевидци 1870–1876*. В: „Съчинения”, Т.1, Изд. „Бълг. писател”, С.
- Fasmer 1971: Фасмер, М. *Этимологический словарь русского языка*. Т. 3 (Муза – Сят). Москва, Изд. Прогресс.

Institute for Bulgarian Language  
BAS, Sofia