lepšir masha, leptir mašna, papionka, vratovrska peperutka, flutur...

2014

the literary journal of students in balkan studies
We dedicate this issue to Tracy Davis for her diligence and grace while making things happen.

lepšir mašna, leptir mašna, папионка, вратоврска пеперутка, flutur...
The Brighter Side of the Balkans: Humor and Satire in Literature and Film  
Spring 2015, SOSL 26610/368; NELC 20884/30568; CMLT 2/33301; ANTH 2/35908  
Laughter is universal but its causes are culturally determined. A joke in one culture can be a shaggy dog story in another. The figure of the trickster occurs in many places and times and under many guises. Stereotypes can be revelatory about those who deploy them. At the same time, humor can be both an outlet and a danger. There is a special word in Russian for those sentenced to prison for telling political jokes. This course focuses on Balkan humor, which, like the Balkans itself, is located in a space where “Western Europe,” “Eastern Europe,” “Central Europe,” “The Mediterranean,” “The Levant,” and the “Near/Middle East” intersect in various ways (linguistically and culturally), compete for dominance or resist domination, and ultimately create a unique—albeit fuzzily bounded—subject of study. In this course, we examine the poetics of laughter in the Balkans. In order to do so, we introduce humor as both cultural and transnational. We unpack the multiple layers of cultural meaning in the logic of “Balkan humor.” We also examine the functions and mechanisms of laughter, both in terms of cultural specificity and general practice and theories of humor. Thus, the study of Balkan humor will help us elucidate the “Balkan” and the “World,” and will provide insight not only into cultural mores and social relations, but into the very notion of “funny.” Our own laughter in class will be the best measures of our success—both cultural and intellectual.
Poetics of Gender in the Balkans: Wounded Men, Sworn Virgins, Eternal Mothers
Autumn 2014, SOSL 2/37610, CMLT 2/33902, NEHC 2/30573

How and why do national identities provoke the deep emotional attachments that they do? In this course we try to understand these emotional attachments by examining the narrative of loss and redemption through which most nations in the Balkans retell their Ottoman past. We begin by considering the mythic temporality of the Romantic national narrative while focusing on specific national literary texts where the national past is retold through the formula of original wholeness, foreign invasion, Passion, and Salvation. We then proceed to unpack the structural role of the different elements of that narrative. With the help of Žižek’s theory of the subject as constituted by trauma, we think about the national trauma on the individual physical body. Special attention is given to the general aesthetic of victimhood, and during post-socialist transitions. We will also contemplate how gender categories are experienced through other forms of identity—the national and socialist especially—as well as how gender is used to symbolize and animate these other identities.

Balkan Folklore
Winter 2015, SOSL 26800, CMLT 233, NEHC 20568, Anth 25908

Vampires, fire-breathing dragons, vengeful mountain nymphs. 7/8 and other uneven dance beats, heart-rending laments and a living epic tradition. This course is an overview of Balkan folklore from historical, political and anthropological, perspectives. We seek to understand folk tradition as a dynamic process and consider the function of different folklore genres in the imagining and maintenance of community and the socialization of the individual. We also experience this living tradition first-hand through visits of a Chicago-based folk dance ensemble, “Balkan Dance.”

Burden of History: The Nation and Its Lost Paradise
Winter 2015 (SOSL 2/37300, CMLT 2/33401, NEHC 2/30573)

In a decade.

Imaginary Worlds: The Fantastic and Magic Realism in Russia and Southeastern Europe
Spring 2015, SOSL 27700/37700; CMLT 27701/37701; RUSS 27300/37300

In this course, we will ask what constitutes the fantastic and magic realism as literary genres while reading some of the most interesting writings to have come out of Russia and Southeastern Europe. While considering the stylistic and narrative specificities of this narrative mode, we also think about its political functions—from subversive to escapist, to supportive of a nationalist imaginary—in different contexts and at different historic moments in the two regions.

As we enter our journal’s second decade, there is cause for concern as well as cause to rejoice. Many people have advised me to put the journal online. Frankly, people like me, who cling to the physical concept of book as book or magazine as magazine, are still uncomfortable with the idea. Please check back with me in a decade.

My favorite literary form is the short story. Surely, it is the genre that best lends itself to novice writers; it’s not as daunting as the novel, and perhaps not as revelatory as poetry. The mere length of the short story, however, is better suited to today’s technologies than most other literary forms.

With this in mind, we open this issue with the story A Chronicle of Hovering by Vladimir Pištalo, a contemporary Serbian writer and Professor of Liberal Arts at Becker College, who visited our campus last October. Pištalo is the author of eleven books ranging in genre from poetic prose to novels. His work has been recognized with many prestigious literary awards, prizes and nominations, including the Miloš Đurić Award for his translation of Charles Simić’s poems, and the 2009 NIN Literary Award for Best Novel for his most recent book, Tesla, A Portrait Among Masks. His stories have been included in all major anthologies of contemporary Serbian prose, and his books translated into fifteen languages. The English translation of his novel Tesla will be released on January 6, 2015 by Graywolf Press.

Nonetheless, our editorial board is sympathetic to a broad range of theoretical and critical approaches, and is strongly committed to presenting the work of talented young students who are trying to break new ground in their respective fields.

Well, herein lies a showcase of talents as testament to that mission—a gift, I hope. There is one small service you can do for me—read it before you recycle it!

Nada Petkovic
Spring 2014
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UPCOMING COURSES IN SOUTH SLAVIC AND BALCAN STUDIES OFFERED BY THE SLAVIC DEPARTMENT

Elementary Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian
BCSN 10100/10200/10300, Autumn, Winter, Spring 2014/15
The course is designed for both undergraduate and graduate students with a wide range of interests. The major course objective is to build a solid foundation in the basic grammatical patterns of written and spoken BCS, while simultaneously introducing both the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets. Students will become proficient in the basics of oral comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing, with an emphasis on mastering the grammar. Given the region’s recent history and linguistic controversies that have surrounded the Wars of Succession, the course will include a sociolinguistic component, an essential part of understanding the similarities and differences between the languages. The course is complemented by cultural and historical media from the Balkans, guest speakers, cultural events, and dinner parties. No knowledge of Slavic languages or background in linguistics is required.

Intermediate Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian
BCSN 20100/20200/20300, Autumn, Winter, Spring 2014/15
The course is designed for both undergraduate and graduate students with a wide range of interests. It combines a linguistic and literary approach to the study of the language(s) through a series of literary readings, in both Latin and Cyrillic alphabets, by modern Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian writers. The first quarter is devoted to an overview of grammar, with emphasis on nominal and adjectival morphology and syntax. The second quarter reviews and amplifies the verbal system through continued readings, grammar drills, compositions, and conversational practice. In the third quarter, students further develop active mastery of the language by concentrating on word formation, syntax, essay writing and style. The course is complemented with cultural and historical media from the Balkans, guest speakers, cultural events, and dinner parties. The course prerequisite is one year of formal study of the target language(s) or equivalent.

Advanced Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian
BCSN 30100/30200/30300, Autumn, Winter, Spring 2014/15
The course is designed to lead a diverse group of students – including heritage speakers – through a variety of topics and subjects to impart nuanced communication, comprehension, and writing proficiencies. While the first two years are focused on language structure and grammar, supplemented with short readings, the third year seeks to improve students’ overall competency in the target language(s), as well as improving their cultural awareness. The texts we use will be complete short stories, research papers, and printed interviews from a wide variety of disciplines (contemporary literature; political science; economics; linguistics; history; art history; literary criticism; anthropology; music; cinema and media studies), geared toward the interests of the current cohort of students. The emphasis is not on word-for-word translation using textbooks and dictionaries as tools, but rather to train students to comprehend through context and common lexical roots within the text. Simultaneously, grammar and vocabulary are reinforced and further developed as each text is parsed and analyzed. Selected texts act as individual learning units; the progression of both vocabulary-building and grammar comes from a natural synergy within the text. The variety of genres also enhances development of cultural and literary contexts.

Returning the Gaze: the Balkans, the Rest, the West
Autumn 2014 (SOSL 2/37200, CMLT 2/32201, NEHC 2/30885)
AWARE of being observed. And judged. Inferior... Abject... Angry... Proud... This course provides insight into identity dynamics between the “West,” as the center of economic power and self-proclaimed normative humanity, and the “Rest,” as the poor, backward, volatile periphery. We investigate the relationship between South East European self-representations and the imagined Western gaze. Inherent in the act of looking at oneself through the eyes of another is the privileging of that other’s standard. We will contem-
making films with Fire Escape.

SABAHUDIN REDŽEPOVIĆ is a rising-third year student at the University of Chicago. He is originally from Bosnia & Herzegovina but was born in Germany due to the war at the time. His father Arslan is from Sarajevo and his mother Vahida is from Novi Pazar (Sandžak, Serbia). Sabo is a first-generation college student and is majoring in Economics with a strong passion to pursue Finance as a career path. When he is fortunate enough to have free time, he likes to cook domestic Bosnian food (taught by his mother), likes to play rugby and ping-pong, and loves to hang out with his friends.

ZOE RICHTERS is a twenty-year old from East Tennessee, where she is the youngest of three girls. She was the first of the three to leave the state, but she greatly enjoys Chicago and does not regret her decision. Starting her third year in College, she has decided to major in biology. As of right now, she works in plant lab at the University, but she hopes to move toward more animal related science. Her interests include taking care of her dog, soccer, and reading. Her love of reading has led her to explore and enjoy the variety of non-science classes that University of Chicago offers.

MLADEN RAŠIĆ is a fourth year Chemistry major at the college. After graduation, he will be studying for the MCAT exam, followed by a short trip to Belgrade in Autumn. When not doing research in his chemistry lab or volunteering at the hospital, he enjoys traveling and visiting friends and family across the globe. In his free time he enjoys running and reading. Mladen plans to work in his research lab full-time during his gap year.

JELENA VUJIC is an Associate Professor at the University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philology, the same institution at which she earned her MA and PhD. Her MA thesis dealt with composition as a word-formation process in computer register in English, and her doctoral dissertation examined inflection as a word-formation process in English. Currently, she teaches courses in descriptive grammar of English. She is a well-published author who has presented her work at more than 40 international conferences worldwide. Her current interests include word-formation patterns in English and Serbian, features of loanwords, aspects of inflection, sociolinguistic aspects of the language of diaspora, contact languages, etc. She is the author of the following books: Osnovi morfologije engleskog jezika (2006), Describing English through Theory and Practice I (2011) and Describing English through Theory and Practice II (2012). Last academic year, while an associate of the University of Chicago CEERES, professor Vujic visited BCS language and linguistics classes, and shared her work and expertise with our students.

JOHN DOYLE WAGNER is a first year graduate student in Slavic Languages & Literatures in the contact linguistics track at UChicago. He is particularly interested in the role of linguistic contact in language change in the realms of morphosyntax and phonology. While most of his interests are in languages of Central Asia and the former USSR, he took BCS out of personal interest—his mother’s family is originally from Slavoniji and Vojredina.

TREVA WALSH is an undergraduate student of Anthropology and Philosophy in the College, where she pursues interests in psychoanalysis, animacy hierarchies and multispecies being, and local/global economies of gift and debt. She also studies variation in the functional morphology of the head as an undergraduate researcher in the Department of Organismal Biology and Anatomy. There, her work traces the heterogeneity of the skull’s physical and functional presence across lizards and primates, by documenting feeding in vivo. Her new ethnographic project examines practices of image-making that draw up domestic pests, calling on folklore and fossil narratives with the hope of addressing contemporary anxieties over the security of home and state.

ALLEN WU is a third-year math major. He likes thinking about the ways scientific and mathematical theories might help understand human psyches and cultures, specifically with regard to movies and short stories.
because he is half Croatian from his father's side, but he was never taught the language.

EMMA CHRISTENFELD is a second-year undergraduate student at the University of Chicago, studying History with a focus on South-Eastern Europe and the Balkans. She is originally from San Diego, California and would like to be a college professor when she completes her studies. In her free time, she loves to read about revolution, write fiction, and spend time with her pets: 2 dogs, a cat, 2 goats, 8 chickens, 3 turtles, and 15 fish.

NORA DOLLIVER is a second year student in the College. She is majoring in Slavic Languages & Literatures with a concentration in Interdisciplinary Studies. In addition to studying BCS, she studies Czech. She will be spending this summer at Azbukum Serbian Language Institute in Belgrade and Novi Sad, Serbia after receiving a Foreign Language Acquisition Grant.

ALLIE DUDLEY is a third year at the University of Chicago. Originally from Charlottesville, Virginia. She is majoring in Cinema and Media Studies. In addition to making movies, she also enjoys playing folk songs on her accordion.

ERIN FRANKLIN is a PhD student in Slavic linguistics. Her research involves the connection between gesture and conversation structure in Russian. An interest in language contact led to the Balkans and BCS.

ERIN FRANKLIN is a PhD student in Slavic linguistics. Her research involves the connection between gesture and conversation structure in Russian. An interest in language contact led to the Balkans and BCS.

ANNA LANIER is a former Yugoslavia. After arriving in Chicago, she decided to continue pursuing these interests and study in the United College located in Trieste, Italy. At this school she encountered many students from former Yugoslavias.

ZYTHA KOCK is a rising third-year studying history and public policy in the College. Her interest major is focused on South-Eastern and Central Europe. Her interest in Balkan history stems from the two years she spent in the United College located in Trieste, Italy. At this school she encountered many students from former Yugoslavia.

After arriving in Chicago, she decided to continue pursuing these interests and study BCS. Besides this fascination, she enjoys going to concerts at the CSO, reading existentialist novels, and learning new dances. After graduating, she would love to pursue a PhD in history and do her research in the Balkans.

ANA LANIER is a first year at the University of Chicago. She is majoring in Psychology, and hopes to attend medical school after college. She is interested in working with kids. In her free time she likes to dance—specifically ballet and contemporary. She is also involved in Peer Health Exchange and other community service around Chicago.

ARIELLE MOSELEY is a fourth year Political Science major, minoring in Slavic Studies. When not reading or locked away in the stacks, Arielle enjoys playing rhythm guitar in her band, “Aya and Dem.” Post-graduation, Arielle plans to teach high school math before travelling to Serbia to study abroad.

KELLY PEYTON is a rising third year and an Anthropology and Comparative Human Development double major. She is particularly interested in how the spatial and material conditions of people’s existences shape their development. She is also the RA for Wallace House, and, for fun, she loves playing broom ball with her house, storytelling, making art with Southside students though the Neighborhood Schools Program, and
Ода је њихови Аљо, који су били у морском конокоплу, зашаћени и несећи у опрезу. Мама је престала да баци дрвеће и познала основу заборава. Устригала је сам уз темељицу: 

"Мама, та шеферица са шапкета." 

Сада је се неспокојила, а мирно је приступила онима. Предложила је њихов коноплу и децом указала да им прозор оставе. Истовремено, Мама је заповестила да не пресобађају, јер у коменду се вратили новчићи. 

"Мама, можемо ли видети сада морске лавове?" 

"Нису ове, драги." 

Морски лавови су моје омиљене животиње. Они стварно смењују изглед, али су везна сећања и чине гласне глуте звуке. Нисам могла да им видим последњи пар пута када смо дошли у зоолошки врт. Мама каже да су болесни и морају да оду кући да би њихова мама могла да се брине о њима. Сећам се када сам имала богоће, све је стварно сребрело и Мама није дозволила да се играј стварни децом. Тако се не би разболеле. Мама је била било, била је досадно, али могла сам да једном пуне сладоледа и гледам цртане филмове. Питам се да ли морски лавови воле телевизоре и сладолед. "Мама, свиђа ли се морским лавовима сладолед?" 

"Не знам, драга, зашто питаш?" 

"Можда, ако бисмо им дали сладолед они би се осећали боље и вратили се да се играју." 

"О, мила, не знам да ли је то могуће са морским лавовима. Али ти можеш да добиеш сладолед." 

"Мама каже да са заиста старе. Старине него она. Она каже да са још старине него бака Ева. Нисам сигурана, али верујем јој. Бака Ева је врло, врло стара. Кад је била мала, нису имали телевизори." 

"Иштричаха ли, синчи." 

Сада је сасвим спокојна, али у многим усамотацима. Мама каже да је увек сагласна."Мама каже да су заиста старе. Старине него она. Она каже да са још старине него бака Ева. Нисам сигурана, али верујем јој. Бака Ева је врло, врло стара. Кад је била мала, нису имали телевизори."
"Mama, can I have a balloon?"

"Maybe on the way out."

I skipped through the gates tugging on my mother's hand as I caught sight of the first animals. I loved everything about this place: the little pebbles stuck together to make the walkways, the horrible smells that meant the animals were there, the stands with the grass roofs that sell popcorn and drinks with silly straws. We go to all of my favorite places first. The snake house is dark and cool and I love it because it is full of dark corners, where I can hide and jump out to scare my sister. She cries until we leave and Mama buys her a lemonade with one of the funny straws. I'm not supposed to have any but my sister only wants a little so I get to finish it.

"Mama can we get a book about the elephants?"

"No, darling, you already have a lot of books about animals, don't you?"

The tigers were next, I love watching the people feed them. It's kind of gross, they got really big pieces of meat that you could tell came from an animal. At home our meat doesn't look like animals. Mama says it's because Tigers like fresher meat, I wonder if the tigers ever want to eat each the person who feeds them. This time, only one of the tigers is out. His name is Sher Khan, like in the Jungle Book. Shaka Khan is the tiger girl I am my favorite, but the zookeeper said that it was too hot out so she was sleeping.

"Mama, can we get popcorn now?"

"Not now, honey, maybe after lunch."

I hate the petting zoo. The goats are mean and the cows are big. They seem to be laughing at the tortoiseshell little black one spit all over my new yellow dress. Also there's poop all over the place. You really have to watch were you put your feet and it smells terrible. It's my sister's favorite though, so we have to go. She likes the way they crowd around her and knock her down to get at the food in her pockets. She thinks it's funny, so Mama always makes us go. I hang back a good way from the petting at the tortoiseshell. Mama says they're really old. Older than she is. She says they're even older than Grandma Eva. I'm not sure I believe that. Grandma Eva is really old. When she was little they didn't have tv's.

"Не, мила, већ имате пуно књига о животинама, зар не?"

Тигрови су били следећи. Волим да гледам жива твари. Они су ми оне које су још у њиховој зоозаписници. Изгуао је своју крвицу и земао се да побије. Његова жена ће да брка са свим тивама и каже да зоват у смислу да је био у путу. Мама су ми сакрила и каже да би се борила. Дечаковић је ми сакрила и каже да је понудила."Нешто горео," је још једном разболео. Ева зема све у свом рукавицама и каже да се бори. "Дедило:" "Милош, био стари и неко није имао никаквог успеха код њих. Младици уз маршали су се сестра сестра и тако су се завршила."
Прошле суботе моја собна дружарica и ja odlučimo да pravimo pečene krompire. Nikada nismo јела pečene krompire i моja собна dружарica je mislila da су pečeni krompiri deo američkog iskustva.

Pa otišla sam u samouslugu da kupim sve potrebne sastojke. Moja собна дружарica je mislila da nam treba četiri krompira, ali kada sam videla koliko su bili veliki krompiri, odlučila sam da kupim samo tri krompira.

Sledeći sastojak na mojoj listi bio je luk vlasac. Ali nismo mogla da ga nadem, gledala sam svuda i čitati sve znake i etikete. Čak sam pogledala i sli


MOJ IDEALAN MUŽ
Zytha Kock

My ideal man is older and taller than me and appealing. He has dark hair, black or brown, and dark eyes. He has to be smart and interested in world news.

I do not care if he is romantic, but he must be caring and sweet, maybe a little bit romantic, but it is not very important. He must love to watch movies and read books.

He must cook well, because I do not like to cook. He should have a good taste for fashion. He should like to discuss politics and he should not be afraid to say that I am right. He should speak at least 3 languages. He should be faithful and optimistic because I’m a little too pessimistic and cynical. If we get married, he shouldn’t worry if I don’t take his last name. And if we have kids, he should take care of them.

MY IDEAL HUSBAND
Zytha Kock

Moj idealan muž je stariji i viši od mene i privlačan. On ima tamnu kosu, crnu ili smeđu, i tamne oči. On mora da bude pametan i zainteresovan za svet i vesti.


East Chicago is a city in Indiana. East Chicago is a small town. There are thirty thousand people. Because East Chicago is not a big city, it has no airport, theater, art gallery, museum or theater. There are a number of pharmacies, a Fagen’s, and two Walgreen’s. It has a beach, but the beach is dirty—there’s trash everywhere! The beach is close to two casinos, one of which has a hotel. Also close to the casino is a sad little port. There is a post office, a one police station, one hospital (with a lot of ambulances), and a cafe, but I never went. There are several shops and supermarkets, raskinski, but no square. There are six banks. There are two libraries ... my mother works in a library. There is one school, but it is small. There are many churches.

MOJ GRAD
William Bursich

East Chicago is grad u Indiana. East Chicago je mali grad. Ima trideset hiljada ljudi. Pošto East Chicago nije velik, nema zračnu luku, kino, galeriju, muzej, ili kazalište. Ima nekoliko farmacija, kao Fagen’s, i dva druga Agora Walgreen’s. Ima jednu plažu, ali plaža je ružna—smče svuda! Plaža je blizu dva kazina, do kojih ima hotela. Također, blizu kazine je mala tužna luka. Ima jedna pošta, jedna policija, jedan kolodvor, jedna bolnica sa monogih titnih pomoći, i jedna kafana u koju nikada nisam isao. Ima neko- liko prodavnica i samoušluga, raskinska, ali nema trga. Ima šest banaka. Ima dve biblioteke... moja majka radi u biblioteći. Ima jedan fakultet, ali je mali. Ima mnogo crkava.
My name is Sabahudin Redžepović, but you can call me Sabo. I was born in Germany in 1997. I came to America with my family in 1999. It was my parents, my older brother, older sister, and myself. In 2002, my mother gave birth to my younger sister—her name is Layla (Lejla). In America, we have only some relatives from my mother’s side. Those are my uncle, aunt, and three cousins. And others in my family live in the former Yugoslavia.

On my mother’s side, everyone was born in Novi Pazar, Sandžak, Serbia. I have two aunts who now live with their families in Germany, one uncle who lives in Switzerland, and another uncle and aunt who still live in Serbia.

My father believes that my grandfather had thirteen wives. Because of that my father has many brothers and sisters from his father. All my uncles and their wives are born and still live in Sarajevo, Bosnia. Still, my father doesn’t have direct brothers and sisters—he grew up alone, without brothers and sisters, with his step mother because his father died when he was only 10. His biological mother left him when he was very young.

My family
Sabahudin Redžepović

At the very cusp of the twentieth century, terror swept my grandmother off her feet when she realized nobody was waiting for her at the New York port. The nine-year-old girl found herself alone in the humangous New World. On Ellis Island, she was discovered by one Duro Basara, who took her home to the mining town of Export in Pennsylvania. She was still hovering from fear, so Duro Basara took her hand and pulled her through the air like a balloon. She needed ample time to settle into her new continent. This quiet girl later married one of Duro’s relatives and gave birth to my mother.

As much as my grandmother was forever afraid of life, my mother was equally stubborn as a child.

At parties, this stubborn child would suddenly jump up and shout, “Mitar is screwing around with Mileva!” The women in Export hated her, but my mother didn’t think well of her neighbors either.

“All whores,” she would say.

My mother tried to stop immorality in the small mining town. She even spied on her own father and reported everything to her mother. When he found out, the scar on his forehead deepened and turned red. The old miner grabbed a wine barrel, pushed it up the hill near their house, nailed my mother inside, then pushed it down the slope.

While my mother was rolling in a barrel in Export, in nearby Wilmerding my father was selling Pittsburgh Press newspapers. In Wilmerding, the river was polluted with sulfur, and the small town was covered with black dust from the steel mills. The boy who later became my father admitted that he hated selling newspapers.

“The newspaper cost two cents. If somebody happened to give me ten cents and tell me to keep the change, I would immediately count four papers and throw them in the river.”

While the First World War was raging in Europe, there was a lot of orphans among our immigrants in America. My father’s family was aware they were not American. They referred to Anglo-Saxons as “kekars” because they ate cookies, which to us were not real food. My father was left without his father when he was ten. His mother did not speak English, and she wore traditional folk clothing. But my father was never ashamed of her. He held her hand proudly, as they walked. She passed away when he was fourteen. When, at eighteen, my father refused to continue school and instead married a sixteen-year-old, he broke his stepfather Tim’s heart. Out of his small inheritance, he bought a Studebaker and started teaching my mother how to drive. Like in a slapstick comedy, that ended when, she plowed the car through the window of the barbershop. Soon after that, the young couple moved to Chicago.

During my childhood, a street was a street and not some idea of a street. I carried an umbrella, not because I thought it might rain but because it did rain. Now we think that reality is all in people’s minds. But the neighborhoods we lived in were very real. On one side, we bordered the Irish neighborhood and on the other, the Italian neighborhood, where you could easily get into a fight. In my neighborhood, though, there were no gangs. Mothers congregated on the street. Old bachelors stopped children to ask if they knew about Pupin and Tesla and pestered them with questions about school.

We came to Chicago in the late 1920s, and my father got a job with the railroad. At that time, to have a job at all was a big deal. My father could have paid off the house if he were some other man. However, instead of planning and saving, he grew a moustache, flashed his beautiful teeth and played the tamburica. They called him Sheik, after Rudolph Valentino. Someone once said that most South Slavs were constantly obsessed with finding “one thing that could solve all their problems.” In the case of my father, that one thing was betting on horses. My father believed that he would get rich because he had a system. He stuck to his system faithfully and lost money systematically. My mother tried to snap him out of it.

“Fuck your system,” she said.

“My father perfected his system with his Jewish friend Ben. Mother expressed her feelings about Ben laconically.

“Fuck Ben.”

Ben’s wife hated my father just as much as my mother hated Ben. Ben’s eyes blazed fiercely. He
These two misunderstood visionaries, Ben and Sheik, found themselves in bars, nodding their noses and testing out their system. Those small betting parlors were controlled by the Maes and Sheik, whose eyes squinted and kvetchled to my father from his deeply filled with that silky sheen like Ben’s, but his father’s eyes filled with that silky sheen like Ben’s. Their names are close to me and also exist to me, but I have never understood why I needed to walk for so long. Why, I ask myself, do I need to walk to school when I can take the metro or bus for free—especially if I want to be on time? Perhaps because I am from New York where people rush everywhere—this is not just a stereotype but the truth—or perhaps because my father is tall. I believe, the reason for my quick pace is the combination of the two.

When I was in highschool, I often walked faster than my classmates, although they were from the same city as me. Sometimes, when I would see a classmate on the metro in the morning I would not approach him or her because I didn’t want to be late for school. I knew I would be faster on my own.

Also, I always liked to walk unlike my classmates who would always suggest metro or a bus for free—we had students’ monthly passes. They didn’t understand why I needed to walk for so long. Why, why do I like to go on foot? Because I have to walk, because this is one of my skills and if I don’t walk often enough, I can lose this skill.


Nora Dolliver

JEDNA OD MOJIH VEŠTINA

Hodam jako brzo. Uvek sam šetala ovako, a ne znam zašto. Možda zato što sam iz Niša, gde ljudi uvijek šire svuda—to nije samo stereotip, nego istina—ili je možda tako jer imam visokog oca. Mislim da je uzrok i jedno i drugo, jer ako neko živi u velikom dinamičnom gradu sa visokim ocem, naravno da će da hoda brzo.


I ja sam uvijek želela da hodam, za razliku od kolega, koji su govorili da možemo da putujemo metrom ili autobusom gratis—imali smo specijalne karte za studente—i nije im bilo jasno zašto bih ja hodala tako dugo! Zašto, ponavljam, zašto ja idem pešice? Jer moram da šetam, jer je to jedna od mojih veština, i ako ne hodam često, mogu ja da izgubim tu veštinu.

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Znam da kad bi znala istinu o mojoj porodici, ne bi želela da bude deo te porodice. Ti i ja nismo prijatelje, to ne mogu da poredim. Ali volim tvoju sestru, i ti je takode voliš. Ti morda da se sliši da ovaj brak ne bi uspeo. Tvoja sestra bi se bila sama i tužna. Zašto ne uradimo nešto začudno te pozdravlja, đer?

Sincerely,

Nora

Would happen if Marko would become my brother's son-in-law? That would be a catastrophe. Indeed, Marko is the worst son-in-law on Earth for my brother. What would they do together? I know. They will drink, probably with your brother and my father. Can I speak with your sister? I know that if she would know the truth about my family, she would not desire to be part of that family. You and I are not friends, I cannot deny that. But I like your sister and you also love her. You have to agree that this marriage would not succeed. Your sister will be alone and sad. Why don't we do something? What do you think we can do?

Sincerely,

Nora
cupies his attention, the street lights are lighting up the avenue. The light flashes exactly at the meeting point of the dark street and the pale blue sky. One cannot tell whether the light floats into the treetops or the street floats at the moment between day and night.

Old Professor Bobić lifts his finger and exclaims, “Look how beautiful it is.” It must have been also beautiful before this moment, but it seemed as if he were exclaiming: Look! illuminated the avenue! Under the rejuvenated streetlights, Bobić clears his throat and continues with his story.

Once I hosted Hannah Arendt when she was a guest speaker at our university in New Hampshire. “Chicago is not really a city but a crossroads,” Hannah told me. She wasn’t the only one who felt Chicago was marked with some sort of immigrant hardship, that it was a sad city. To me it wasn’t sad. It was alive. The wind rose off Lake Michigan, large as a sea, and whistled through the steel bridges. People hid away in small restaurants to drink beer and gnaw ribs from the grill. Between the buildings the ‘El’ rattled, and each window gave a flash. During my childhood, Dionis, the god of jazz, lived in Chicago. Clubs flourished, and revelers poured champagne into the musicians’ trumpets. In every jazz player’s repertoire at that time was a song called “The Sheik from the Small Town.”

I traveled by myself to my mother’s family in the wealthier part of the city, not far from Lincoln Park. Along the lake, which sparkled a beautiful blue. The park stretched out for miles and was a zoo with live animals and gorillas, as well as a boat for Brocca throwing rocks at the police squad from the roof of that very house. Many wore only pants with suspenders. Boys snatched balls from the golf course, wrapped them firmly with rope, and played baseball with them.

in the mining town of Export. When I arrived, people were impressed that I had traveled alone so young. Although the town was only twenty-two miles from Pittsburgh, many of the older Serbs had never been there. Villagers once upon a time, they were afraid that their shallow roots in America would be ripped away if they crossed the threshold again, and that they would, holding each other’s hands, float like balloons into the sky above the New World.

My cruel grandfather, who had sealed my mother in a barrel and pushed her down a hill, was always good to me. Whenever I arrived, he would roast a lamb on a spit. At the mine, he would get a tightly closed barrel of rum and each window was illuminated with its own lantern. They had no names, and they all shined. I learned the names of these objects by calling them out, which extinguished their shine one by one. But the people and their stories continued to shine. Whenever my grandfather Miloš entered a room, it lit up. The light would brighten even more when his daughter Kata, the storyteller, walked in. In her presence, nobody else would actually talk.

I don’t recall that life as bad. There were good stories, gossip, and wisdom. In fact, my cousin Matjović who talked for fourteen hours was no exception. Like the immigrants in Export existed what scholars call an “oral tradition,” of which I am a living example. Everybody yelled, and nobody ever shut their mouths. I grew up with tales about the strikes, about my mother and her Italian neighbor Brocca throwing rocks at the police squad from the roof of that very house.

I was little and the only grandson. I did not understand the problems. To me all of this was scenic. Actually, In Export children did not have shoes, or they had a single pair, which they saved for winter. Many wore only pants with suspenders. Boys snatched balls from the golf course, wrapped them firmly with rope, and played baseball with them. I was the only grandson. I did not understand the problems. To me all of this was scenic. Actually, In Export children did not have shoes, or they had a single pair, which they saved for winter. Many wore only pants with suspenders. Boys snatched balls from the golf course, wrapped them firmly with rope, and played baseball with them.
They would bat using the handle of a shovel from the mine. This was not poverty to me. Because, I sat in the lap of Rade Banda, who had eyes like a raven. His half-brother Sarac was surreal. He had a gold tooth and a straw hat. He told funny stories, mainly about the Old World, where, as we all knew, the clouds and the cherries were the most beautiful. When many young women would surround him, he spoke vulgarly to shoo them away. These men were friends of my grandfather, and they were gods on my childhood Olympus.

In the center of town were a gas station and a movie theater. But the real center of the town was a great man who had a hole in the wall—the coal-mining shaft! They kept me far from that hole in the ground. The mine was a dangerous place where people got injured. The hole caused lung diseases. Miners were ashamed of having tuberculosis, so they hid it, which cost many lives. That dark hole eventually grabbed hold of my grandfather. His voice shrunk to a hollow echo. They sent us a telegram in Chicago when he died. Consumption arrived from the eternal night of the mine and took my aunt Kata at the age of thirty-two. I think of my grandfather and his long life never even came close."

"It's wonderful to be a Yugoslav American," wrote Slovene writer Louis Adamic at the end of his book The Native's Return. This book was recommended to us students in the multi-ethnic city of Chicago. Although it caused controversy among South Slavic immigrants, to me the book simply personified the idea of homeland.

To remember is just like sailing a boat. If you catch a good wind, life passes quickly before your eyes. My high school was good and interesting, and I liked it. A girl named Mary Bubalo had the highest grade average in the whole school. Betsy Milo-

ovich, a soprano from our school, later sang at the New York Opera. She ruined her life by marrying some singer whose empty head served as a reso-

nator for his great tenor. The tenor later ran off to make films in Mexico. My friend Roger Williams, a Caribbean black and one of the most brilliant people I’ve ever met, was capable of reciting the longest literary quotation from memory. Theodore Beno, a violinist, and Leonard Caston, a black bassist, were also from our school. In the 1930s, many art pro-

grams were funded by the government. It was not in vain that my grandmother lit a candle for Roosevelt.

Students learned how to play music and paint. Two of my colleagues, Alex Kazović and Harold Miller, wrote their first novels in high school.

Later, Harold met me and confided, "High school was the happiest time of my life. After that, life never even came close." At the time, school advisers didn’t talk much about your personal problems, but rather tried to find you a job. My teacher Laura Luberger, who limped, called me into her office and said she had a job for me. She also told me how to get there. I ran one block then took a streetcar. Then I hopped on the ‘El’ that thundered between the buildings, and then another streetcar. I found myself in the research library across from the park. Anyone could read the political speeches there. Samuel Newberry founded a research library across from the park. Anyone could visit, but books could not be checked out. The atmosphere was very lofty and so quiet. When I entered the building, it seemed that I had spent all my previous years in unbearable noise. "Perhaps noise is not life, and silence death, but vice versa," wrote the Sicilian writer Gesualdo Bufalino. I entered through

"Dear Nora,

Our family is full of crazy foolish people. I’ve had re-

fuses to take her medication, believing that the President Obama wants to kill her. I told her that Obama is not even aware that she exists and that she is not that important of a person. She told me that I do not respect her. Very true. The husband of our sister, our brother-in-law Marko, drinks Rakija all day long and he roams through the city with street-walkers every weekend. Crude, rude, and re-

spectless. I cannot understand why our beautiful perfect sister decided to marry him. I told her that he was not a good man but she never listens to me. Moreover, my sister-in-law Laura has a big problem with shopping. One can say she is completely

embellished in my memory.

Lara buys a new dress each day, every day. And those are not cheap dresses! Worst of all, they are ugly. Modern, but ugly. She has no taste, and soon, she won’t have money either. And those are not cheap dresses! Worst of all, they are ugly. Modern, but ugly. She has no taste, and soon, she won’t have money either. And those are not cheap dresses! Worst of all, they are ugly. Modern, but ugly. She has no taste, and soon, she won’t have money either. And those are not cheap dresses! Worst of all, they are ugly. Modern, but ugly. She has no taste, and soon, she won’t have money either. And those are not cheap dresses! Worst of all, they are ugly. Modern, but ugly. She has no taste, and soon, she won’t have money either. And those are not cheap dresses! Worst of all, they are ugly. Modern, but ugly. She has no taste, and soon, she won’t have money either.

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the large door and climbed up the marble stairs. It was so quiet that all my movements seemed surreal. It felt as if by these steps I had ascended straight from the darkness of the mine in Export. And I believed that they continued up to the attic, where angels drank champagne from golden goblets.

I peeked into the reading room and saw people working at benches. Not a sound was heard. And there I saw the hooked nose of John T. Wildmore, a man with white hair and a dignified demeanor.

“I heard that you are looking for work,” said the man with white hair and a dignified demeanor.

“No sir.”

Wildmore quickly explained the system and then pointed his finger.

“Do you see that pile of books?”

“Do you see that pile of books?”

“Yes, sir.”

“Arrange them according to the system.”

My blood boiled as I arranged the books in no time.

“You’re hired!” announced Wildmore.

“I was in school every day until two. Then I entered his magnificent office.

The library head shook my hand and said, “Bobič, Dr. Pargellis wants to see you.”

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I was fast but quiet as a painted wind. I ran up and down the steps silently searching for books. Once they gave me a bunch of titles that were missing for years, and I found them all.

The head of the library, Stanley Pargellis, was a professor of English literature from Yale. His beautiful daughter sometimes came to visit him. I had no idea that he even knew I existed.

Then the time came for me to apply to college, and somebody said to me, “Bobič, Dr. Pargellis wants to see you.”

I entered my magnificent office.

The library head shook my hand and said, “Bobič, they tell me you know this library better than anybody.”

At those words, I left the ground and started to float in excitement. My silver tie hung suspended, my legs gave out and gravitated toward the ceiling. With a movement that began as a handshake, Pargellis held me in the air like a balloon.

He tilted his head and asked, “Do you want to go to college?”

“I do,” I stammered.

“Are you interested in Harvard?”

Instead of answering, I squeezed his hand tightly for fear that if he let go, I would immediately float off and disappear into the swirling sky above the New World.
MOJA PORODICA
Joan Doyle Wagner

My family has many people and we are all from different countries. My mother’s name is Lydia and she was born just like me in Austria in the town called Lyns. Her mother’s name is Teresa, and she was born in former Yugoslavia in the town of Belimanastr near Osijek. My grandmother can speak six languages fluently: Serbian, German, Hungarian, Japanese, Czech, and English. When I was very young, I spoke with her in Serbian and German, but my brother and my sister still do not understand German. So my grandmother now speaks English with them. Yes, I also have a brother and a sister. My brother was born in California and his name is Robert and my sister is Charlotte. She lives in Seattle.

THE HERO’S VALIANT STALLION: THE PLACE OF THE HORSE IN TRADITIONAL HEROIC TALES OF THE BALKANS
Kelly Peyton

Much effort has gone into deconstructing the heroes of Balkan fairy tales and epics; the historical veracity of these eminent personalities, their placement in origin myths, and the social values they showcase are prime topics of study. It is perhaps not surprising that these heroes – these men of superior brawn, wit, and battle skill – have received so much scholarly attention. But this essay calls for a redirection of that attention to the hero’s overlooked yet unfailing counterpart: his equal in many ways, a figure on which his person both figuratively and literally rests – that is, his horse.

Specifically in the Albanian magic tale The Stirrup Moor, the Serbian epic The Wedding of King Vukasín, and the Serbian epics of Marko Kraljević, the protagonists are decidedly accompanied by their valiant stallions in a manner distinctly unlike that of other domesticated animal figures characteristic of these tales. These horses are named, they live in parallel with their heroic riders, and they often have access to supernatural information crucial to the hero’s growth and the plot of the story. As will be seen, the pairing of the horse and hero is no coincidence; according to Maria-Corina Nicolae, the Balkan archetype of the equestrian rider has ancient origins. In addition, Steven Soward’s account of Balkan history attributes the prominence of the horse to the military values of the Ottoman Empire, which stretched across the Balkan Peninsula during the fourteenth century, the time these tales took place. Economically, the horse was a vehicle for trade, a key tool for food production in rural Balkan communities, and an advertisement of status, but the literary role of the horse is equally significant. In the aforementioned tales, horses serve to advertise and place the heroes within the synthetic Balkan and Turkish social and military hierarchy; to transform the hero from the natural to the supernatural world and subsequently connect the hero to his destiny and death; and to develop the hero’s virtuous character by reinforcing the hero’s sworn brotherhood bonds. This paper will launch the reader to distribute his or her attention equally to both the hero’s horse and the horse’s hero.

As stated, the coupling of the horse and hero in the Balkan tradition has ancient roots. Marina-Corina Nicolae proposes that the archetype stems from ancient Greek literature and art. The very term ‘hero’ employed by Homer implied possession of excellent equestrian skill, as the word in ancient Greek meant ‘warrior’ or ‘Lord’ – both figures that were consistently mounted on horses (Nicolae, 159). Nonetheless, Nicolae emphasizes that the generally accepted Greek myth of the 5th-century BC positioned the horse as the vehicle by which a boy transformed into a man, capable of participating in social life that revolved around hunting and battle: The rider is represented as a youth, without beard, walking his horse. We might consider that this moment represents the first phase of the initiation ritual, which aimed at training the male in order to take part in battle, acquiring thus the skills needed in warfare. The next moment is exemplified by the beard rider, dressed in a princely garment (with the cnenid), killing the boar and the bear during an initiatic trial. Due to his strength and courage, he succeeds in obtaining a new social position, as he represents a full grown man, holds in his right hand a vase of libation. (161)

Thus, the prototype that Nicolae deems the "Hero Rider" or "Thracian Rider" (163), painted on countless pieces of Greek pottery, exhibited the virtues and abilities necessary to reach maturity in Grecian society: skills for battle, hunting prowess, and courage. As Nicolae emphasizes, one was expected to embody these heroic qualities, though without necessarily attaining the prominence of an actual hero: "Hunting and fighting are activities of brave adult men, and they can be done heroically; that is, heroes hunt and fight, and so do real men. The latter are like heroes when facing extraordinary danger unflinchingly and successfully" (161). Therefore, the image of the equestrian rider exhibited and enforced civic expectations of Greeks and Thracian men. In addition, the horse symbolized high status. Nicolae says, "The horse was a symbol of prestige, wealth and high status. Social rank has of-
The symbolic value of the horse, which signaled prestige, social status, masculinity, and prowess in battle, persisted in the Ottoman Empire. The symbolic power of the horse in ancient Greece continued to appeal to the highly militaristic and hierarchically organized Ottoman Empire, which occupied the Balkan Peninsula during the fourteenth century. Steven Sowards' description of the Ottoman state in his Twenty-Five Lectures on Modern Balkan History explains why the Ottomans assimilated this once Greek Horse-Rider archetype. The Ottoman Empire centralized on the "military principle" (Sowards, 2), or the preservation of tightly controlled armies in conjunction with stable, religious, dynastic rule. The military organized itself around the cavalry, which augmented the value of equestrian skill among the horse-owning nobility by starting or ending their name with the word hippos, horse (162). Horse ownership shaped nobility by starting or ending their name with the word that both signaled prestige and marked their status as powerful heroes that both produced hierarchy (Albanidis et al., 3).

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With this history in mind, the paper turns to the place of the horse in the tales themselves. As stated, The Stirrup Moor, The Wedding of King Vukasich, and the epics of Marko Kraljevic all date to the fourteenth century and incorporate historical elements into their otherwise fictitious frameworks. For instance, Duke Momcilo, the protagonist in The Wedding of King Vukasich, was "a nobleman of the fourteenth century who lived in Rodopa and died in 1361 – at Peritheorion – in a battle against the Turks" (Holton and Mihailovich, 87). In addition, Marko Kraljevic was a fourteenth century Prince of Prilep (162), though he did not die in the grand way chronicled in the epics, but rather, like Momcilo, ingloriously in a battle for the Turks as a Christian knight (162). The first magic tale, The Stirrup Moor, follows the Prince of the human world on his quest to acquire the Princess of Jinn's as his wife. The story launches from the synchronized births of the Prince and the king's mare's foal, both of whom are born with magical stars on their foreheads. Both the Prince and his grown stallion set out to find the Princess, who had dispatched to marry another Jinn. During the journey, the Prince assists a maiden and her seven brothers in a battle and swears brotherhood with the Moor, an "Earthly Beauty" disguised as a man (Elise, 76). The second story, the epic of The Wedding of King Vukasich, chronicles the adulterous scheme of Duke Momcilo's wife, Vidosava. Having received a letter from King Vukasich cajoling her to kill her former group member, Vidosava betrays Momcilo and brings about his death by coating his magic saber in blood and burning the wings of his mighty horse, Jabučilo. The final group of tales, the epics of Marko Kraljevic, follow the "peasant hero" (Holton and Mihailovich, 162) Marko, a man consistently defiant of Turkish authority, and his "dappled" horse, Sarac. The following three epics particularly showcase Sarac, whom Holton and Mihailovich acknowledge to have "a character of his own" (162). In Marko Kraljeovic and Mina of Kostur, Marko abides by his mother's command and serves the Tsar's army (183), and solely his and his horse's presence secures the defeat of the Arab and the Vila, with Sarac's assistance. Marko avenges and heals his sworn brother, who had been attacked by an envious vila. Lastly, in The Death of Marko Kraljevic, Sarac's stumbling signals Marko's imminent death, and a vila directs Marko to a well to discover his fate. Marko kills his beloved Sarac before dying himself. Hence, in light of these summaries, the Prince's Stallion in The Stirrup Moor, Jabučilo, and Sarac demand their own literary space in these stories. Their consistency and human-like complexity, their functions within the narratives as characters rather than objects, require greater investigation.

Firstly, horses situate their heroes within and re-


One day, one of my friends was hungry. She didn't want to cook because she had a lot of homework. Therefore, horses in tales enabled readers to recognize the high status of the heroes’ respective heroes (here, dukes and a prince) and advertised the heroes’ dexterity on the battlefield, wealth, and prestige. In short, horses render main characters powerful, anomalous, even superhuman warriors, qualities necessary for the construction of the Turkish and, by assimilation, Balkan heroic image. In The Stirrup Moor, what marks the hero as the hero-rider is the horse. The horse is his wife, his friend, his partner, and his companion. The horse is also a source of divine authority, though he remains nameless. Moreover, the placement of stars on the forehead with a star on it. Then he took o

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method of transportation in heroic fairy tales and epics, but their contribution of movement to the narrative propels plot, promotes the heroes’ character development, and launches them on what Joseph Campbell calls “The mythological adventure of the hero” (Campbell, 30). This adventure, according to Campbell, amounts to a separation from the mundane home followed by penetration of the one distant, supernatural world, which imbues the hero with divine power. He summarizes this formula as “separation-initiation-return” (30). This process parallels a dying to the world and rebirth; Campbell as “separation-initiation-return” (30). This process parallels a dying to the world and rebirth; Campbell. “The really creative acts are represented as those deriving from some sort of dying to the world...so that he comes back as one reborn, made great and filled with creative power” (35-36). This death of the everyday man and rebirth into the hero is facilitated by the “herald” (91), a character that sets the hero’s quest in motion. The “herald” parallels V. Propp’s “magical agent” (Propp, 35) in his work Morphology of the Folktale. Propp defines the magical agent as “that which permits the eventual liquidation of misfortune” (39). The magical agent houses crucial, often otherworldly knowledge that enables the hero to enter the supernatural world and defeat the villain. Propp also emphasizes that magical agents are “objects of transmission” (44). In other words, they promote the movement of the hero from the natural to the supernatural sphere, though they often appear without plot buildup or introductions (45). What better agent of transmission than a creature of movement and symbol of the travel – the horse? Unsurprisingly, Propp specifically cites the horse as an example of a magical agent (35).

The Prince’s horse, Jabučilo, and Šarac fulfill the role of magical agents. They act as facilitators of their heroes’ journeys from the natural to the supernatural world and providers of crucial knowledge. In The Stirrup Moor, the Prince’s horse, like the other tales’ main horses, is endowed with speech. He can therefore relay a plan to the Prince that launches his journey to the other world of the Jinns:

When the son of the king of the humans heard that the maiden had been taken away, he became ill again and went to his stallion to tell him his tale of woe. The stallion said to him, “Since you are going to die of longing for the maiden, go to your father and ask him to have his servants bring you your best clothes and to have them saddle me with two pouches of money. Then say to him: I want to go out into the courtyard and ride my stallion before I die, because I cannot give up the ghost without have ridden my stallion one last time with my best clothes on.’ (Elsie, 74)

Without his stallion, the Prince would not have been able to create such a precise plan – a plan so precise that it implies some knowledge of the future. The information allows the Prince to escape the confines of the palace to encounter foreign creatures, both human and inhuman. In The Wedding of the King of Vukasin, Jabičulo also discloses knowledge crucial to the demise of the villain, Vidosava: “Then his good horse answered him with a neigh: ‘O my dear lord, my dear Duke Momčilo, do not curse me, and do not spur me on, for no longer can I fly forth today./May God strike down your love, Vidosava!/For it was she who set my wings on fire’ (Holton and Mihailovich, 93). This line effectively seals the fate of all the characters in the story; it assures the swift denouncement of the wife, the demise of Momčilo, and the triumph of Vukasin. Notably, it ties the hero directly to death, once a distant afterthought in the mind of a seemingly indestructible man. Horses are also employed later in the epic to signify death; when Momčilo discovers that his nine brothers have been killed by Vukasin’s forces, “[H]e was met by nine jet-black horses, not one brother rode on any of them” (92). The linking of the color black, symbolizing mourning, with these horses signifies death as something in motion, an imminent event approaching Momčilo. In short, it signals the transmission of the hero to the world of death. The horse’s intimate connection to death and the supernatural is also illustrated in The Death of Marko Kraljević. Šarac’s stumbling fore shadows and, in fact, enables Marko’s death (209), as it drives Marko to inquire about Šarac’s sudden imperfection, just as Marko is jarred with the recognition of his own mortality. The fact that the horse is mourning also demonstrates that he somehow possesses supernatural knowledge concerning Marko’s fate in the manner of a magical agent. The vila soon tells Marko to “[r]ide your Sarac up to that very place,” to the well of water, which will tell him his time of death (211). The horse is Marko’s figurative and literal transporter to death, to the supernatural world he is destined to enter. Thus, these three heroic horses enable their riders’ to embark on their adventures, engage with the supernatural, interact


My father is very tall. He has gray hair. He is missing one tooth. He broke his arm when he was 15. He has two hands, two eyes, two ears and one nose. His nose is long and narrow. His legs and waist are very thin. My father works a lot so his thighs are very muscular. My father also broke his thumb in a fall down the stairs. I have joints like my father—very thin.
My family
Ana Lanier

My family is small. My mom doesn’t have any brothers or sisters. My father has one sister. She is my aunt, Julie. Julie has one daughter named Megan. Megan is my cousin, more precisely my sister from my aunt. My grandfather and grandmother from my mother’s side live in Beograd. My grandfather and grandmother from my father’s side live in Winston Salem. My aunt and uncle (on my father’s side) live in Connecticut. My aunt works in New York. My brother and sister are twins. They are 18 years old. Julie is the daughter of my grandmother and grandfather and her husband’s name is Robert. Robert is the son-in-law of my grandmother and grandfather. I don’t have an uncle on my mother’s side, nor an aunt on my mother’s side, nor a cousin from that side, as well as a niece or a nephew... with death, and, in some cases, die themselves. Lastly, horses promote the hero’s virtuous character by epitomizing and strengthening the hero’s sworn brotherhood bonds. Whenever the three heroes discussed (the Prince, Momčilo, and Marko) swear bonds of brotherhood, their horses are notably present. Perhaps this is not surprising because the arduous and loyalty these heroes direct toward their stallions is not unlike that of two sworn brothers. For instance, in Marko Kraljević and the Vila, Marko establishes a code of obligation between himself and Sarac. He demands that the horse bring him to the vila that harmed Duke Milos, both promising the reward of riches if he succeeds (as if money and decoration mattered to a horse) and the punishment of broken legs if he fails:

[Marko] embraces and kisses dear Sarac:/O my dear Sarac, my dear horse, my right hand,/if you catch her, vila Ravišija,/I will shoe you with shoes of pure silver/of pure silver and of bright, shining gold!/I'll cover you in silk cloth to your knees,/and from your knees, right down to your pasterns!/I'll braid your mane with threads of purest gold,/and adorn it with tiny, shiny pearls!/But if you fail, if you don't find the vila,/I'll gouge out your eyes, I'll tear them from your head!/I'll break your legs, I'll smash them one by one!/And I'll leave you behind, to live like that,/to drag yourself from fir tree to fir tree,/just as I would without my sworn brother...(206-207)

In this episode, Marko is projecting human desires and fears of punishment onto his horse, treating him as an equal, as a sworn brother. In short, the hero’s horse epitomizes the brotherly loyalty Marko is expected to maintain with other human figures in the story. Marko’s loyalty to Sarac is even more intensely displayed in The Death of Marko Kraljević. Upon looking into the well and realizing he is doomed to die, Marko declares, “I would never, never part with Sarac” (240), and, in accord with such a promise, he kills Sarac and gives him “a splendid burial” before lying down to die himself (242). Even in death, the horse and his heroic rider are inseparable, respectful of one another, and unwaveringly loyal, an idealization of the grip of Balkan and Turkish social bonds. The same display of brotherhood between the hero and horse paralleling human brotherly bonds is present in The Stirrup Moor. When the Prince and the Moor realize that both they and their horses are equals in a fight, the Moor proposes that they become brothers: “[T]he Moor said, ‘You are very strong indeed. Let us become brothers...The youth replied, ‘All right, let us become brothers...’ So the Moor gave his word and they trusted one another... They called the other boy, took the horses with them and all went together” (Elise, 77). During this episode, the Moor’s mare and the Prince’s stallion (the gender alignment reinforces the masculinity of the Prince) engage in a parallel truce and form a brotherhood with each other. This subsequently reinforces the brotherhood established between the Moor and the Prince. Interestingly, horses not only serve to positively promote the maintenance of brotherhoods, but they also reinforce the social conception that disloyalty is something worthy of great punishment. Just as Marko threatens Sarac for not following through with his demands, in The Wedding of King Vukašin, horses are employed in the context of punishment for betrayal. Vidosava, Momčilo’s treacherous wife, is killed by quartering: “And [Vukašin] summoned his good, faithful servants./And they seized the bitch Vidosava./They tied her up to the horses’ long tails./They drove horses out below Pirlitor./And the horses tore her apart alive” (Holton and Mihalovich, 95). Here, horses, symbols of ultimate loyalty, are selectively and appropriately chosen to punish unfaithfulness. Horses function to bolster and enforce social obligations of brotherhood and fidelity, and they are therefore a fitting companion for the hero, who must remain dedicated to his vassal in battle and his brothers in oath. Without their horses, the Prince in The Stirrup Moor, Duke Momčilo, and Marko Kraljević could not have ripened into heroes immortalized in Serbian and Albanian tradition. The starred stallion, Jabučilo, and Sarac transform these three men into heroic, divine-like beings by situating them in positions of high social status and military power; by rendering them omnipotent warriors; by transporting them to the supernatural world and providing knowledge necessary for the completion of their heroic journeys; and by epitomizing the inviolability of sworn brotherhood. In this magic tale and these epics, horses, great, mystic beings themselves, enable their riders to attain greatness and become Balkan society’s ideal men. In studying heroic tales, then, one must consider both the men atop the horses and the horses themselves.
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 CHARLESTON
Ana Lanier

I live in Charleston. Charleston is located on the shore of the Atlantic Ocean. The beach is located 10 minutes from my house. I don't go to church, but Charleston has over a hundred churches. Charleston is known as the “Holy City.” A lot of people get married in Charleston. There are seven church towers in Charleston, which are the highest points in the city. There are five libraries in Charleston. Charleston is known for its art. There are many galleries and theatres. Every year Charleston has a big art festival called “Spoleto.” Charleston doesn't have a train station, but it does have a large harbor, which is used for big and small boats alike. Because there are so many rivers, it is easy to get around by boat. Charleston has several bus stations, but public transport is not used often in Charleston. Charleston has two hospitals at the same intersection. There are many ambulances in that part of town. My parents work in the hospital. Around the main square there are many shops, cafes and museums. At one crossroads there is a post office, police station, church, and a court. This intersection is called “the four corners of law.” It is very well known. One of the streets has my favorite restaurant, “Fast and French.” The food is excellent. My house is located 10 minutes from the city center outside Charleston. Two blocks from my house is a supermarket and pharmacy. Two miles from my house is a movie theater. It is located in a small shopping center. When I was younger I went to the movies every weekend. Charleston is a very small town made up of five islands. It's a nice and warm place, and is also a popular tourist destination.

Like many other people, I have a big family. Many of my relatives live in the south but my immediate family lives here in Chicago. My mother’s name is Elmira and she has four sisters. Her parents Jesse and Major passed away unfortunately. My mother has a child from a previous marriage. This is my brother Donald. Actually, he and my sister are my half brother and half sister. But, I never thought of it. My father Charles is a painter and he works at the University. Many people call him Dark Gable because he is very tall and handsome. My grandmother on my father’s side is 83 years old and she lives near the University of Chicago campus. When I was younger, I didn’t want to go to visit her because I was bored. Now, however, my brother and sister and I are older and we go to see her often. There are a lot of children in my family. I have four nieces, two from my mother’s side and two from my father’s side. With a family like mine, one can understand why I don’t wish to have children.
the semantics of pumpkin that can be interpreted as “affectionate.” Thus the additional meaning that pumpkin conveys when used as a term of endearment is an extended idiosyncratic conventionalized meaning. Some words are clearly derived from each other, such as “sweetheart” and “sweetie,” while others bear no etymological resemblance, such as “baby” and “cutie.” “Honey” (as meli) has been documented as a term of endearment in ancient Greek. “Baby” is first used in 1839 and “sugar” only appears as recently as 1930.

**Morpho-phonological aspect**

Terms of endearment may have various linguistic forms. Diminutives and hypocoristics are classified as those terms of endearment using morphological means to express familiarity, intimacy or affection. They are extremely interesting for linguistic research in various languages (Berko, 1958; Olmsted, 1986; Verschueren, 1987; Dressler and Barbaresi 1994, King and Melzi, 2004; Dabasinskiene 2009) as they represent the first instance of morphological competence in children acquiring a mother tongue. They are an important part of parent-child language but also in adult directed speech. There is hardly a language that does not contain diminutive forms.

From a morphological aspect diminutives, together with truncated names and clippings are studied within a subsegment of morphology which borders with phonology, and that is prosodic morphology. It is so because prosody and the phonological content of the newly formed lexemes play important role and largely contribute to their meaning. Actually, the meaning of diminutives and truncated forms largely rests on their prosodic features which are as essential for their interpretation as their lexical information is.

Truncated names are used to express familiarity and are normally used by people who want to feel familiar to the other person referred to.

(i) Mel < Melinda
Rob < Robert
Al < Albert

The use of the truncated forms such as those given in (i) clearly indicates familiarity and intimacy that the speaker feels towards the person. What distinguishes truncated names from the diminutives is the fact that the former are almost totally exclusively used to refer to persons. As such they represent clipped, shortened forms of the full forms of personal names. In other words, truncated forms in communication in most cases represent clipped forms of what are grammatically seen as proper nouns (e.g. Melinda, Albert, Robert). The process of truncation is not restricted solely to personal names but is found in common nouns, which is illustrated in the examples below:

(2) condo< condominium
phone < telephone
photo < photography
porn< pornography

However, the aspect of meaning which indicates familiarity is present only in the truncated personal names. When formed from common nouns denoting common countable (predominantly) concrete phenomena as those in example (2) then scholars (Plag 2005:21) refer to truncations as clippings. However, despite the fact that in both truncated names and in clippings we encounter formally the same process of shortening, the meanings differ significantly as the process of clipping is governed by different pragmatic factors. In truncated names the aim is to use morphological processes and devices to achieve the meaning of intimacy, affectiveness. Therefore the meaning of truncated names is not only semantically but also pragmatically (including extra-linguistic aspects) “upgraded”. In clippings, on the other hand, shortening results from the need for language economy. Thus clippings are devoid of a particular lexical and pragmatic meaning which is found in truncated names as the very result of the morphological process of shortening. They do have certain pragmatic value since their usage is often an indicator of an informal or less formal (often seen as in-group) linguistic context, though many of them have lost that dimension too due to the extensive usage.

Although diminutives often resemble truncations in their form, the two nominal forms differ significantly in several aspects. The two can be distinguished both semantically and formally.

While truncated forms are very popular, common and extremely productive in English, diminution is rather restricted. One of the most striking differences is that truncated forms, although seen to be acknowledged by and become Western Europeans. The wife’s personality and obsession combine to mock those who believe that emulating the West is the best path to follow. Additionally, Sibling and Munroe’s companion, along with its clients and employees, reveal the underside of Western culture that Konstantinov does not even acknowledge. These Westerners are depicted as greedy, sly characters, much like Bai Ganyo in a way. The inclusion of Westerners with these attributes helps to lessen the impact of Bulgarians with similar personalities. Instead of this negative trait isolating and marginalizing Bulgarians, the viewer instead sees these characteristics as universal and the humor becomes more inclusive as both parties are equally mocked.

To further twist and degrade the Western ideal, Famous Connections is presented as a legitimate, successful business. The owners are only seen in suits, driving around in a limo, and mingling with powerful people such as Parliament members. They put on airs, claiming to provide high class artistes and mingle with the wealthy and powerful. The dichotomy between their behavior and the actual service they provide further mocks the idealized Western European vision. The Bulgarians, on the other hand, are blunt and upfront about their dishonesty. They do not pretend to be better than they really are, hiding behind masks of power and money. By embracing their shortcomings, Bulgarians flip the expected hierarchy and show themselves superior than the English.

The very idea that Western Europeans can be mocked and are not perfect negates Konstantinov’s main idea. Konstantinov argues that Bulgarians should stop acting like the cuss Bai Ganyo and instead embrace the perfect Western European culture. In his stories, the Westerners are intelligent, sensitive, kind, and generous. He never portrays them in a damaging light and believes the Bulgarians should aim to be like the Western Europeans, while additionally placing emphasis on the negativity of the Bulgarian character. To him, his fellow countrymen have become greedy, miserly, crass, and dishonest. Bai Ganyo is his mirror, exposing the Bulgarian morality with honesty. To do so, he mocks their philistine attitudes by comparing them to the exalted Western culture. He means to both belittle the Bulgarian and encourage him to seek to change. Mitovski, however, depicts Bulgarians in such a way that they become the victorious underdog. By embracing his faults, the Bulgarian is able to laugh at himself and invert expectations of his inferiority. At the same time Mitovski shows that Western European society is as flawed as the Balkans, but since they pretend their flaws do not exist, they make themselves easier to mock. This mockery results in the Western Europeans finding themselves at the bottom of the hierarchy in yet another reversal of the expected rankings. While laughing at their own marginalization, Bulgarians place themselves in a position of power and flip the previously held beliefs of their shortcomings.

**Resources:**


Missia London, directed by Dimitar Mitovski. 2010. Bulgaria. DVD.
what makes Bai Ganyo so inferior in the eyes of Konstantinov.

Konstantinov never involves Western Europeans as more than background characters, but instead uses other Bulgarians who have assimilated to act as the intermediary between the Bulgarians and Europeans. Educated students, they try to emulate the Western culture as closely as possible. They laugh at Bai Ganyo’s antics because they see themselves as part of the central group—Western Europeans in this case—and Bai Ganyo as part of the marginalized group—Bulgarians. His stupidity and lack of knowledge concerning Western culture leads them to consider him as inferior. However, they still feel some connection to him; they often admit to feeling embarrassed on behalf of Bai Ganyo’s actions even if the man himself does not. During the opera and on the train ride to Prague, the narrator comments that it is the Westerners in the position to mock and malign. This disregard of Western sensibilities invokes a strong sentiment and laughs at the blunders made by Bai Ganyo. Each tier of the hierarchy uses their more level-headed, normal characters. Others such as Chavo are simply dumb crooks, others are presented as more intelligent and cunning. The absurdity of the situations Dimitrov and Katya find themselves in serves to emphasize their more level-headed, normal characters. Others such as Rocho and Banicharov represent different levels of the morally ambiguity of Bulgarians.

Furthermore, Mitovski relies on the native Englishmen as an additional a means to show Bulgarian superiority. The police detective and ornithologist are mocked for their simple, straightforward thinking. They are unable to fathom the reason behind Bai Ganyo’s antics. To alleviate his embarrassment, he sides himself with the Western sentiment and laughs at the blunders made by Bai Ganyo in his ignorance which places him on the superior side.

Some of this may stem from the treatment the students themselves likely first received coming from the Balkans to the West; the Westerners believe themselves superior to the students, who in turn marginalize the more traditional Bulgarians such as Bai Ganyo. Each tier of the hierarchy uses laughter to feel superior over the other, but this pattern only happens in the downward trend. Westerners may laugh at students, but students do no laugh at Westerners. Through this technique the students position themselves inside the Western culture by laughing at Bai Ganyo who is clearly not a part of this central cultural group. Additionally, he serves as foil against the European behavior, demonstrating the wrong way to behave, and from that the readers can learn how they should behave according to the Western ideal.

Mitovski’s Missia London, released in 2010, was written and directed after the World Wars and the relatively stable national borders and cultures were established. The movie, like Konstantinov’s Bai Ganyo, looks at Bulgarians out of their home country and instead living in Western Europe. Unlike Konstantinov, however, Mitovski presents a number of native Bulgarians, each representing a certain aspect of the Bulgarian character instead of just one highly stereotyped individual. Immediately this creates a kinder outlook towards the Bulgarians. Now, they seem more relatable. They become real people with both good and bad aspects instead of having all the negative characteristics compiled into one rather repulsive person. This technique also decreases the overall negativity towards Bulgarians. While characters like Chavo are simply dumb crooks, others are presented as more intelligent and cunning. The absurdity of the situations Dimitrov and Katya find themselves in serves to emphasize their more level-headed, normal characters. Others such as Rocho and Banicharov represent different levels of the morally ambiguity of Bulgarians.

In that respect the number of productive diminutive suffixes in English is also restricted productivity. Diminutive meaning is in English typically acquired by syntactic means, with the usage of various attenuating adjectives or semantic units whose inherent meaning is to denote smallness. Examples in (4) illustrate the property of Serbian to create diminutives by morphological means on one hand, and the property of English to use syntactic means to express the same diminutive meaning, on the other.

(4) Bebice moja! My little baby!

In Serbian the number of diminutive suffixes is 3 denoting different genders (-ica for feminine, -čić for masculine nouns and -ce for neuter.)

Particularly interesting and intriguing are the forms that represent the combination of truncated forms and diminutives. In examples such as mommy, granny we encounter firstly the process of truncation mother> mom grandmother>gran to which the diminutive –y is added. Though some may say that the forms granny and mommy are clearly truncated forms, I disagree as the meaning of the –y is diminutive adding the meaning of “small X”. Thus, –y in Teddy (from Theodore) qualitatively differs from –y in mommy, as in the former example it just indicates familiarity and affection while in the latter in addition to familiarity it indicates smallness. The similar examples can be found in Serbian. Diminutive form mamica does not indicate “a small mother” but “mommy dearest”. However, in some cases the diminutive forms may be devoid of diminutive meaning while in some cases the diminutive form is derived from a hypochoristic form. Such is the noun baba and its forms.

(6) baba (grandmother) + -ica (diminutive suffix) > babica (midwife);

baba (old women/ grandmother) > baka (hypochoristic form from baba) + -ica (diminutive suffix)

Semantic and psycholinguistic aspects

The closing paragraph of the previous section opened the discussion regarding the semantic aspect of terms of endearment.

Terms of endearment are used as arbitrary lin-
guistic signs which refer to persons named differ-
ently in other contexts. That is why we may say that terms of endearment are context sensitive and loaded with contextual information.

Viewed from the psycholinguistic aspect terms of endearment are complex and intriguing for sci-
entists as they are often indicators of various cog-
nitive and perceptive features found in speakers of different languages and displayed by verbal means. Evidence from different languages shows that they almost inevitably evoke the sensation of sweetness and smallness. As their existence is attested in ma-
jority of languages, they may be regarded as lan-
guage universals. Most commonly they are re-
presented by one of the following classes of nouns or their combinations (1):

a) both common and abstract nouns associat-
ed with the sweet taste (eg. E Honey! Sugar! Sweet-
ter, soul sister...”.

b) common nouns denoting body parts (S srce, oci, oko). By using vital body parts in addressing the other the speaker wishes to emphasize how important the addressee is as shown in the following examples: “Srce moje,! Oko moje!”. However, this class of nouns is rarely used in English. The examples we have come across are the apple of one’s eye!, one’s heart.

c) common nouns denoting close family members and next-of-kins such as nouns sister, sis, bro’, brother, daddy and their equivalents in Serbian sistri, sestra, brajko, brale, brate, tatice. Their meaning is usually excrated from the original basic lexeme and the speaker uses such nouns to indicate closeness, importance or familiarity of the sic lexeme and the speaker uses such nouns to indicate closeness, importance or familiarity of the base nouns illustrated in previous examples may result in a complete loss of the original meaning. Thus English nouns such as mate, fellow nowadays commonly and frequently used in spoken communication as markers of familiarity and closeness (in BrE especially) once brought very negative associations.

Each term of endearment has its own connotations, which are highly dependent on the situation they are used in, such as the tone of voice, body language, and social context. Saying “Hey baby, you’re looking good!” varies greatly from the use “Baby, don’t swim at the deep end of the pool!”

Certain terms can be perceived as offensive or patronizing, depending on the context and speaker. That is the case even with some diminutive forms such as those ending in -ling, which is quite strange and even marks him as inferior. Bai Ganyo still wears traditional Bulgarian clothing and accessories but also wears a western waistcoat and jacket (Konstantinov 24). This mixture of outfits reflects the clash of these two cultures occurring at this time, but additionally shows the difficulties in combining the two. Bai Ganyo clearly recognizes the importance of Western Europe. Despite his recalcitrance to assimilate into Western European culture, he at least acknowledges their influence. He implies that instead of being emotionally charged, some terms of endearment function more like discourse markers and communication fillers, words and expressions handy to initiate one’s line in communication.
worst enemy. Marko Kraljević, heroic even in his vices, is the perfect national hero for the Serbs, an embodiment of the important values of courage, pride and honor. Although not historically accu-
rate, Marko Kraljević, “the first and best loved hero of our popular poems”, presents the Serbs with a way of getting revenge on their Turkish oppressors. 

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Conclusion
Deborah Tannen said “How we say what we say communicates social meanings.” Conversational signals and devices send metamessages about the involvement of the speakers. These messages reflect the nature of our interactions, and they express and negotiate our relationships with each other, including the relative power and solidarity entailed in those relationships. When we use terms of endear-
ment to address and approach the other in informal or familiar and intimate situations we erase the psychological distance. Terms of endearment are often seen as a sort of “significant other’s image and identity.”

Terms of endearment are linguistic devices which mark both our communication and our relationships by establishing and creating the sense of closeness between speakers. Consequently, they are significant linguistic, pragmatic and social tool without which spoken communication can hardly be imagined.

Examples:

babe, baby, bébé, baby doll
boo
cupcake
cutie
cutie pie
darling, dahlin’
dear, dearie, dearest
good girl

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handsome
honey (also derivative, hon)
honey girl
honey pie
love, lovey
pumpkin, pun’kin
Schätzchen (German for sweetie)
snookums, schnookums
sugar, shugah
sugar dumplin’
sugar lips
sweet, sweetie
sweetie baby
sweet pea (or swee’ pea)
sweetheart
honey bunny (a meaningless collocation which relies on sound effect of rhyming)
srce
šéčeru
medu
luče
dragi
sunce
mače
pile
kuco
dušo
druze
oči moje!
ime dedino!
kuco stara!
the story also relies on Turkish legislation, which banned to wearing of colorful clothes for non-Muslim subject, as Marko wears a green dolman. In this story the Sultan is also specified as a specific Sultan from history, Sultan Suleiman I, "The Magnificent, "the greatest Turkish Sultan." The fact that this Sultan is chosen contributes to Marko Kraljević's image as a hero, as only the greatest Sultan is an opponent worthy of him. When he gets called to the Sultan for drinking wine, wearing colorful clothes and dancing with Turkish girls, an idea that "probably rarely even occurred to the Christian peasantry", he places his saber on his lap. This can be interpreted as a threat and thus, once again, does Marko Kraljević challenge the Sultan's authority. The Sultan once more is pushed again the wall having to resort to a monetary gift to remove Marko Kraljević.

Yet, in these two described stories we are also faced with Marko Kraljević's vices. In both cases when the Sultan gives Marko money he specifies that it is meant for wine: "Here, Marko, go and drink you fill of wine!" is repeated in both of the songs as the Sultan hands him the money, suggesting that the wine will cool his anger. Yet, somehow the singer is able to make us see Marko's drinking problem in a different light as another of Karadžić's recorded songs includes the following lines:

Marko does not go off to a doctor, He goes off from one inn to the other, To find out where is the best wine.

This suggests that wine for Marko works as medicine, reducing his vice into a virtue.

Another one of his vices can be seen in 'Marko Kraljević and the Vila'. In this story Marko ask Duke Miloš to sing to him which he first refuses out of fear for the vila, but once Marko promises to protect him he agrees. This story is historically completely inaccurate as the Miloš mentioned in the story is presumably Miloš, the hero of the Kosovo Cycle and could not possibly be Marko's blood brother. However, as historical accuracy is largely irrelevant, the song shows us a side of Marko's character we have not seen before. When the vila shoots Miloš, as she had said she would if he sung again, Marko becomes very violent:

But then Marko brings out his spiked war mace, and he clubs her, strikes her with abandon, hits the vila between her white shoulders, and he pulls her all the way to earth. Then he begins to club her once again, he spins her 'round spins her from right to left; he is using his mace with six gold spikes. Although the image of Marko that arises from this song is extremely violent it is also justified violence, as the vila 'deserves' to be beaten for the fact that she shot his blood brother. Thus, what might initially seem to be a vice really is heroic behavior as it is in honor of his blood brother and to avenge the crime committed against him.

Another song in which his violent character appears is in 'The Death of Marko Kraljević', when he is found by two passerby's:

Now when Vaso, iguman, saw Marko, with his right hand he signaled his deacon, 'Softly, my son, make sure you don't wake him, For after sleep Marko's in a bad mood; He might well put an end to both of us!

In this situation his potential violent reaction would have been very unnecessary, as there is no reason to kill someone for accidentally waking you. Yet, the fact that this song emphasizes this fear for Marko by the people who knew him once more adds to his character as a heroic figure. Although killing the passerby's for waking him could be considered unreasonable, his anger is generally seen as a contributing element to his heroic character for if he was not so hotheaded he could not have been such a warrior for better social and human justice for the Serbs.

As has become clear in this paper, not much of historical Marko Kraljević can be found in the Marko Kraljević cycle. Except for the accuracy of name, his father's name and the place his father died, no other direct historical references can be found in the stories recorded by Vuk Karadžić. Yet, this should not automatically lead to a full dismissal of the epic as a source for historical information. Rather than providing us with an accurate, or semi-accurate, history of the characters or the events, it provides us with a historical context in which the songs were sung. In many of the stories in Marko Kraljević cycle Marko challenges the Ottoman authority, often personified by the Sultan. The fact that many of these songs include this aspect of defiance and disrespect indicate that this was something enjoyed by the Serbian audience, for who the Turks were the
lands in Kosovo and had been pushed out of both eastern and western Macedonia. By 1377 he also lost Skopje and Ohrid, having his territory reduced to eastern and western Macedonia. By 1377 he also lost Prilep and near surroundings. This loss of territory severely weakened his claim to the title of king of Serbia. It can be presumed that to secure the little land he had left he accepted overlordship of the Turkish sultan and became a vassal of the Ottoman Empire. Sources differ on when exactly he became a vassal, some indicating the year 1386 while others say that he was a vassal during "his entire reign".

Since he was alive during the battle of Kosovo and plays such a big role in the Serbo-Croat epic it is strange that there is no mention of his participation in the battle of Kosovo in epic or in history. Different explanations exist for his absence from the battle of Kosovo. Koljević suggests that his absence from the battle of Kosovo could be explained by his power as an independent ruler. As he was powerful enough to mint his own silver coins with the Christian inscription: "In Christ our God blessed in faith King Marko, Koljević reckons that this would have meant he was sufficiently independent to refuse to fight. Another explanation offered by Koljević is that Sultan Murad I did not trust his loyalty enough to use his forces in the battle, as he had only recently become a vassal of the Ottoman Empire. Similarly, Popović asserts that Marko remained neutral in the battle as Sultan Murad I did not pressure King Marko to participate, since he did not trust that he could fight against his own people. Others suggest that he did participate in the battle, but as an ally of the Turks.

Marko Kraljević met his end only a few years after the battle of Kosovo while fighting in the battle of Rovine as an ally of Sultan Murad I. Although most sources give 1396 as the date of the battle of Rovine, and accordingly the day of his death, Popović claims it was 17 May 1395. In addition, all consult sources attest that on the eve of the battle "Marko prayed to God to give victory to the Christians, even at the price of his own life". This legend seems to have originated from Constantin the Philosopher, as they all cite him as their source, who reported this 37 years after the event and can therefore not be considered a reliable source.

The Marko Kraljević in epic differs greatly from the Marko Kraljević in history, primarily because a lot more can be said about his character. In the epic songs Marko is presented as a heroic character or as a trickster, adding character attributes to him which cannot be historically confirmed. Yet, in these songs there are some reference to historical events. The first song of the Karadžić's collection, "Marko Kraljević recognizes his father's saber" presents Marko as a hero. Not only is he able to avenge for his father's death, by killing his murderer who is identified by the saber, he also stands up to the Sultan, demonstrating Serbian pride. By killing the murderer of his father, who in addition to this also insults him by calling him an "infidel", he is able to keep his honour, a value of high importance in Balkan society. The place of king Vukan's death is strangely detached from the battle as it is the only historical accuracy connected to Marko Kraljević's life which we can subtract from this story. However, there is plenty of other historical context that can be deducted from this story. When Marko Kraljević is asked to report to the Sultan to answer for his actions "he did not answer/ he just sat there/drinking the cool wine". When he finally decides to obey and appears in front of the Sultan "he sat down in his boots on the prayer rug", clearly challenging the Sultan's authority. Not only does this provide historical context for Marko Kraljević's time, but for most of the Ottoman period in Serbian history as the Turks were hated by the Serbs and stories in which Turks were murdered or Ottoman authority disrespected would have provided King Marko to participate, since he did not trust that he could fight against his own people. Others suggest that he did participate in the battle, but as an ally of the Turks.

Tales of Nasreddin Hodja As a Dialogical Space

The moral centers of many folktales are distinctively and directly outlined: a hero maintains his virtue in the face of temptation or vanquishes a villain, and his character or ingenuity is rewarded with wealth or betrothal. The values, ideals, and social systems of the societies through which they circulate float very near the surface. However, with the Nasreddin Hodja cycle of stories—alongside other tales regarding tricksters—the moral skeleton is much more buried, and at times apparently unstable—analyzing these folktales is complicated, but this work reveals an intricate, nebulous nest of competing ideals. While many of the stories can be read as straightforward doctrinal or didactic parables when taken in isolation, a series of structural and moral conflicts are glaringly visible when the stories are taken holistically. The Hodja is alternately the hero and the foil of his stories, while his character is consistent throughout them, so his behavior is implicitly both virtue and vice; his scholarship, optimism, and rationality are at times brilliance, and at times stupidity. And there are even a number of stories that are structured around the same central act or motivating principle, where the Hodja is punished in some and rewarded in others, so the virtue of even specific actions is unclear. The total morality is exactly ambiguous. Moreover, the peripheries of the Hodja stories—the casts, the settings, the objects—are also much grittier, more realistic, and fundamentally contentious. Where folktales are often blatantly fantastic or domestic—typically both—at least once displacing the reality of their idyllic virtuous heroes and archetypal villains from routine existence, Nasreddin Hodja's tales immediately deal with developments in religion, the market, and the state, through topics like thievery, corruption, and infidelity. Given the stories' overall ambiguous morality, this topicality is even more striking: the audience doesn't appear to leave with clear, direct guidance on these critical issues. With just a few logical leaps, contemptible behavior is implicitly virtuous, and vice versa. Yet, at the same time, there's a clear, final virtue even within this turbulence. Ultimately, the Hodja stands as an essential foil to distinct, otherwise unapproachable evils. For example, there are a series of stories where the Hodja mocks or tricks Timur Leng, a feared Mongol conqueror who successfully invaded Turkey in the fifteenth century...
ly ambushed by a band of soldiers who accost him as their guide, beating him with sticks and keeping him from doing anything. Only at the end, when he returns home, does he offer his prayer: insallah, or "it is god will". Through the narrative, his rationality is pressed beneath his faith. Even though it's possible to plan for the future, it's impossible to account is pressed beneath his faith. Even though it's possible to plan for the future, it's impossible to account for every possibility and thus the only recourse is a dignified humility. However, at the same time, with the development of science, mathematics, and logic, it's just as clear that this humility can't be the ultimate criterion. And in other stories, the hierarchy is reversed. In one story, a peasant comes to the Hodja and asks him to pray for the recovery of his sick donkey because he doesn't believe in the contemporary cure for it, the application of tar. And though the Hodja consents to pray for the peasant's donkey, he advises the peasant not to spare the tar as well. This reversal is particularly remarkable in this instance because here the Hodja is directly a religious figure, an agent of divine authority — yet he impresses the importance of rationality upon the peasant. What was originally hubris now has a certain divine function: it's as necessary to motivate divine favor as it is to accept it. In another story, the Hodja is staying overnight in a very old building that creaks in the wind. He complains to the house steward about its structural integrity, and his concerns are dismissed with the assurance that the building is very old and in its age proclaims the glory of God, and thus is safe. The Hodja argues that logic is exactly the opposite, that the building needs to be renewed so that it can withstand the rigors of divine favor. The meaning of actions is variable, but their consequences are not. Rationality and rational behavior are necessary; it's necessary to build the structures in which meaning proliferates.

In the contexts between these stories, it's clear that the statuses of science and rationality in a predominantly religious world were essential ideologically problems. In the intersection of these stories, whether one is subject to God's whims, those plans at the same time provide a structure within which divinity can operate; and that divine action is a motivating force, not an original one. A fourth story that underpins this intersection is one where the Hodja prays for forty days in a great, historical mosque for the conclusion of some business, but nothing comes of it. But after praying in a smaller mosque for just a day afterwards, his affairs are immediately concluded. The Hodja rages at the large mosque for its impotence, holding the smaller mosque against it. Here, the Hodja is simultaneously the hero and the fool: he maintains faith and acts in faith, but at the conclusion of the story is caught within a false system of causality. And in the dialogue of all four stories, there's even the suggestion that meaning is artificial and that religion is fundamentally story-telling, which lays the groundwork for later, explicit critiques of organized religion — but, to diminish faith, that these stories are nonetheless valuable. So although these stories are apparently contras to the Hodja's individual rationalism for the recovery of his sick donkey because he doesn't believe in the contemporary cure for it, the application of tar. And though the Hodja consents to pray for the peasant's donkey, he advises the peasant not to spare the tar as well. This reversal is particularly remarkable in this instance because here the Hodja is directly a religious figure, an agent of divine authority — yet he impresses the importance of rationality upon the peasant. What was originally hubris now has a certain divine function: it's as necessary to motivate divine favor as it is to accept it. In another story, the Hodja is staying overnight in a very old building that creaks in the wind. He complains to the house steward about its structural integrity, and his concerns are dismissed with the assurance that the building is very old and in its age proclaims the glory of God, and thus is safe. The Hodja argues that logic is exactly the opposite, that the building needs to be renewed so that it can withstand the rigors of divine favor. The meaning of actions is variable, but their consequences are not. Rationality and rational behavior are necessary; it's necessary to build the structures in which meaning proliferates.

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FACT AND FICTION IN SERBO-CROAT EPIC: MARKO KRALJEVIĆ
Zytha Kock

It could be said that the Serbo-Croat epic is best known through the collection of Vuk Karadžić. Although other collectors have made considerable contributions to the collection of Serbo-Croat epic, such as Lord, Parry and Murko, Karadžić was the first to understand the importance of the oral epic as an essential component of Serbian identity. Vuk Karadžić began his work in 1813, collecting his epic songs from multiple singers in the region. Most of the songs recorded by Karadžić fall under the category of junads, or verse, heroic songs. One of the most extensive and well-known cycles of Karadžić’s heroic songs is the Marko Kraljević cycle. The Marko Kraljević cycle falls under the group of historical epic. This group of epic deals with events from Serbian history from the end of the 12th century until the modern period yet cannot be actually called historical, as it is not historically accurate. It is only until the modern period yet cannot be actually called historical, as it is not historically accurate. It is only historical to the extent that it is concerned with characters in Serbian history, although it presents them in a purely legendary heroic manner. Marko Kraljević is one of these characters who appears often in epic, but not as often in history. In my paper I would like to contemplate what we know about the historical Marko Kraljević, what we know about the fictional Marko Kraljević, how these two compare, and finally, what this means for the historicity of Serbo-Croat epic.

Not much can be historically confirmed about Marko. However, there are certain things that we know. First of all we know that his name is Marko Mrnjavčević, although he is often called Marko Kraljević. This can be easily explained as he was the son of kralj Vukašin, hence his name Kraljević, king’s son. Although the origin of the name can be explained, it is incorrect as Marko is crowned king after his father’s death and should instead by called kralj Marko. He was the firstborn son of Vukašin Mrnjavčević, while it is unclear when exactly he was born, many sources mention 1335 as a possible birth year, and had two brothers Andrija, although some other sources indicate his names as Andrijaš, and Uroš, who was only 19 years old at the time, making Vukašin king of Serbia in 1350 after which they moved to Serbia, out of fear for punishment in Skopje. The first mention of Vukašin in Serbia originates from 1350, when king Dušan appoints Vukašin to župan of Prilep. Vukašin is also mentioned as a high courtier and as the ruler’s deputy in Prilep under Dušan’s rule.

In the year 1355, after the death of king Dušan, the Serbian princes and high clergy at a state convention in Skopje make Vukašin regent to the heir Uroš, who was only 19 years old at the time, making Vukašin king of Serbia. Popović cites Jireček’s ‘Geschichte der Serben’ as a source for this information. Other sources, including Orbini, indicate that Uroš, also known as Stefan Uroš the Weak, himself from Bosnia. Yet, another source tells us that his name was actually Nenad, but his nickname was Mrnjavčević. Whether Mrnjavčević was just his nickname or not, it does provide an explanation for the surname Mrnjavčević. Mrnjavčević had two sons: Vukašin and Uglješa. There is some mention of a third son, Goyko, in folk tradition, but his existence cannot be confirmed. It is important to note that although Mauro Obrić’s ‘The Kingdom of Slavs’ written in 1601 could be correct in its explanation of Marko’s name, it is likely that his writings were based on oral epics of the time probably leading to historical inaccuracies in his work. Obrić states that Mrnjavčević, or Nenad, is invited by King Dušan to join him at court after which he moved to Priština, where king Stefan Dušan’s court was located. Fine tells a similar story explaining that Vukašin and Uglješa, who are originally poor, quickly rose under Dušan’s rule. Presumably this was a result of their support for Dušan’s invasion of Bosnia in 1350 after which they moved to Serbia, out of fear for punishment in Skopje. The first mention of Vukašin in Serbia originates from 1350, when king Dušan appoints Vukašin to župan of Prilep. Vukašin is also mentioned as a high courtier and as the ruler’s deputy in Prilep under Dušan’s rule.

Now, returning to the analysis of the stories, we can also see the basic ideological conflicts between rationality and religion extended throughout the stories’ exploration of organized religion. Looking at faith and rationality in general through the dialogue of those stories concerning them discussed above, they appear intermingled in a kind of wave, where the virtues of each alternately trump those of the other and where the two alternately represent the compressions and rarefactions, from the initial grounds of the argument. The stories about organized religion appear to operate within the gaps. The most direct example of this framework is a story where the Hodja is tasked with helping an imam who’s drowning in a fountain yet refusing the help of the crowd they’ve been asking for the imam’s hand, instead of offering their own – “You will never help a man of religion that way,” he muttered. “They will give you nothing, but will take everything.” He instead tells the imam to take his hand, and his help is immediately accepted. Although the story itself is a straightforward joke about the excesses and corruptions of organized religion, the joke is only really justified within the system of the other stories. Where priests would normally stand in for God, the dialogical milieu of the corpus allows this narrative to separate priests from their religious status and sandwich them within their practical operations, testimony to organized religion’s demands structure – producing meaning – and an implicit or directive faith, in the goodwill of the Hodja and the crowd. It’s then evident that the primary purpose of priests is to provide this interwoven structure, not to actually stand in for God, which opens their actions up to criticism and judgment. And then there’s immediately a criterion: priests should be humble, not greedy. This ideological framework is evident behind other stories as well. One example where the frame is reversed is the story where the Hodja tricks a thief into falling into his window. Hearing a thief crawling on his rooftop, the Hodja loudly proclaims to his wife the convenience of a prayer that let him take hold of a moonbeam and slide into his bedroom when he was locked out earlier, and details the words of the prayer. Hearing him, the thief repeats the prayer, tries to grab onto a moonbeam, and falls clumsily into the Hodja’s bedroom, incapacitated. Here, faith is sandwiched between two rationalities: the acumen of the Hodja who accosts the thief, and the foolish, myopic acceptance of the thief. The practical applications and the moral set for the story are justified in microcosm: the prevalence and nature of religious institutions brings a criminal into line. The Hodja is the virtuous operator of these institutions – even if organized religion has a rational agenda, that agenda is not necessarily malicious and is always impelled by faith. These two stories already impose a nuanced understanding of organized religion that compels their audience to think critically but not skeptically.

One terminus of this logic is the tale where the Hodja converts three Christian monks to Islam. In this story, three traveling monks wish to dispute the most learned scholars of Islam, and the sultan jok-
glingly sends them to the Hodja. However, the Hodja proves more than capable. The first two monks pose implicitly ontological questions to the Hodja, asking him where the center of the earth is and how many stars are in the sky. The Hodja dismisses them with oblique half-answers, the center of the earth is beneath his donkey’s foot, and there are as many stars as there are hairs on his donkey. When the monks object, he shifts the burden of proof onto them. Annoyed, the third monk asks the Hodja how many hairs there are in his beard, hoping to turn the tables. The Hodja again replies that the monk’s beard has as many hairs as his donkey’s tail, and when the monk demands proof, he responds, “one by one; they’ll pull hairs from the monk’s beard and the donkey’s tail and see if they exhaust simultaneously. Naturally, the monk balks, and all three monks promptly convert to Islam. There are three key points to this story. To start, the monks’ questions have very little to do with Christianity, their nominal religion. The monks might as well be atheists or agnostics, or any other threats to the religious order. So they stand for doubts and theological disputations in general. Secondly, even to very ancient peoples, the Hodja’s logic must have been questionable: it’s a mix of proudly ignorant, sophistic, and fatalistic. This kind of logic is even the butt of the jokes in other Hodja stories. For example, in one story the Hodja is startled in the middle of the night by a shadow and shoots an arrow through it, only to discover in the morning that it was his shirt hanging on a clothesline. Upon discovering this, he immediately sets to prayer, grateful that he had not been wearing the shirt at the time. In another story, he’s on a journey with a caravan of travelers recognizes him. However, while he’s sleeping, someone takes the eggplant from the Hodja’s belt and attaches it to his own. Upon awakening, the Hodja is baffled by the sight of the eggplant on someone else’s belt. “That is me there,” he said. “But – who am I here?” In a third story, the Hodja comes across a stranger and immediately starts chatting with him about the number of intimate affairs, mistaking the stranger for himself because the stranger was dressed similarly. In all these stories, the Hodja is the fool for believing that his means of presentation are essential qualities of his being – true identity is outside mere clothing. A satisfying enough ideal. Another story extends this hierarchy to even the symbols of rationality itself. In this story, the Hodja decides to put stones in a bag to count the passing of Ramadan. However, his daughter, trying to be helpful, occasionally puts stones into

young man, arranging for him to marry the pasha’s daughter, protecting him from cheating vampires who stole his fortune, and rid his wife of the evil within her. On the fortieth day, “the vampire brother returned to the kingdom of the dead because his time on earth was up” (86).

In stark contrast to the tale of “The Three Brothers,” the vampire in this tale is a protective spirit, and accordingly young man to whom the vampire returns uses his money in proper relation to the dead, even if not all the characters do. By rejecting his son, the father effectively replaces the himself with money in relation to his son, rejecting his familial duties. It is not insignificant that this replacement is instigated by a step-mother, a ‘false’ or ‘corrupt’ mother, if you will. But, the virtuous son uses the money in a contained and generous way, in line with the proper flow wealth around the village. In paying the debts of a dead man and burying his corpse, the brother initiates an auspicious, brotherly relationship of caring exchange with a man who is reanimated by the liveliness of this relationship.

Conclusion
I have attempted to trace out how the presence of money materials in the stories of two very different vampires and the necessity of exchange to the turns of vampire tales speaks to the significance of money in the Balkan cosmology of circular exchange that du Boulay found in rural Greece. Indeed, just as blood has a tendency to spread violence and corruption if not properly contained, in the double-sense of the term as both the metaphorical medium of kin-relations and a material substance with a spectral presence requiring ritual action, money appears to have a double-sense and corrupting tendency as well. Vampire tales show that money figures into this cosmology as a substance similar to blood: wealth is another medium of kin-relations whose exchange and flow must be properly managed by the family; and money, the material substance of wealth, has a potential to corrupt that gives its material presence a certain spectral presence.

Sources:


Now, in order to face the place of money in Balkan cosmologies of proper flow and circular exchange, this section will consider two very different vampire tales from Serbia...

The first, "The Three Brothers," deals with a very poor family. Their three sons and daughter go out into the world "to find some means of living," and their parents are left alone. After nine years, they all return home. Each of the three brothers, "by their nine years' work... had only saved nine pieces of silver and on their way home they had spent them in ransoming animals" who were being tortured and sacrificed (Perkosky 329).

The second tale, "The Young Man and His Vampire Brother," tells the story of a father, son, and step-mother. His wife cannot stand his son, and so she forces him to choose between her or his son: "Because he loved his wife, the man gave his son twelve dinars and told him to go away. The boy traveled to a town where he came upon a dead man, whom no one wanted to bury, lying in the market place. Passers-by were spitting on the corpse. The young man... was told that the dead man had owed a great deal of money and had died without paying his debt.

Feeling sorry for the deceased, the young man took the money his father had given him and paid off everything the dead man owed. With the money that was left over, he had him laid to rest in style." (Marshall 83)
"On the morrow, no matter which wife comes / to bring the men food for their midday meal, / you bury her within the tower wall." ("The Building of Skadar" 71-2) At first glance, the many versions of the Walled Up Wife story, in which a woman is buried within the walls of a building to give it strength, appears incredibly punishing towards the female characters. After all, the male builders literally imprison women within houses. Songs and singing are, however, within the realm of women; can they therefore con sex roles even while they confine female characters to certain roles? Although these songs confine women to the specific role of housewife and mother, but they also treat women a model of the ideal housewife that both en in a community and unites them. 

Additionally, the way in which these songs are performed, learned, and shared brings together woman. The story "You Reap What You Sow" creates for women a model of the ideal housewife that both confines her and elevates her above her former status. When the young girl Cveta stumbles upon a cottage in the woods, she immediately starts to clean it without waiting for her eyes, [to] look on [her] white hall." (224-5) These two requests hold great significance, because they soon become the only actions that Gojko's wife can actually perform; after she is walled up, she can do nothing but nurse her son and watch him grow. Through the wishes of Gojko's wife, the story asserts that the two most important roles of women in the home are a nurturing mother and a watchful housewife. In fact, the story never actually gives her a name; we only know Gojko's wife in relation to her husband and through her integral position as a wife. When she has lost all of her physical agency, all Gojko's wife can do is nurse her child and keep watch over her home; she has become the essence of mother and mother.

Additionally, "The Building of Skadar" confines women to a specific domestic position but also highlights the absolute necessity of this role within the household. In order to build the house, the three brothers must "bury her [one of their wives] within the tower wall." ("The Building of Skadar" 73) A man must keep his wife literally inside of the house. If she is to be "women's property," (iii) she must be solidifies for the audience of this song the place of women as firmly within the home. The walls that Gojko builds around his wife literally constrict her, just as societal demands constrict the freedom of women outside of the world of this story. However, when the vila gives the three brothers this command, she says that only "[t]hen the groundwork will retain all its strength, / and the fortress can rise up with its walls." (74-5) The man can only complete the construction of this building when Gojko's wife is walled up inside of it; she provides a literal foundation for the fortress. Thus women can draw a type of power from their societal situation. Even cious direction," either clockwise or anti-clockwise, but always conceptually classified by the particular village as 'to the right' (dhexiá). This circle is found most obviously in traditional ring dances, and thus a pattern 'like the dance...' consists of a spiraling movement which... is conceptually right-handed." This category is identified by villagers in many aspects of village life, from pottery and textiles to vampire folklore. These practices, beliefs, and products manifest an underlying category that refers to "an understanding of a life-giving right-handed movement" (220).

The notion of a vampire is in fact a special type of case in which a person is thought to have been, between death and burial, taken over by the devil... This event involves not only the body but also the soul—the soul becoming in some way so crucially involved with this demonic influence that it 'becomes a demon' (yinetai dhaimonas), and... reanimates its own body... return[ing] to the living... [to] drink the blood of its own kin." (221) "The Building of Skadar" builds on the ideal housewife image of "You Reap What You Sow" by adding another dimension to the ideal woman: that of the nurturing mother. Before she is completely walled up in the fortress, Gojko's wife asks the builders to both "leave a window for [her] breasts" ("The Building of Skadar" 215), so her son can con and her handful of hair, and "a window for [her] eyes, [to] look on [her] white hall." These two requests hold great significance, because they soon become the only actions that Gojko's wife can actually perform; after she is walled up, she can do nothing but nurse her son and watch him grow. Through the wishes of Gojko's wife, the story asserts that the two most important roles of women in the home are a nurturing mother and a watchful housewife. In fact, the story never actually gives her a name; we only know Gojko's wife in relation to her husband and through her integral position as a wife. When she has lost all of her physical agency, all Gojko's wife can do is nurse her child and keep watch over her home; she has become the essence of mother and mother.

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"The movement of women between the kin-dreds is equated with blood, and expressions that blood moves through women should be uni-directional... [and] is characterized by a cyclic process since the blood not only circulates through the community, but may also, after the prescribed generational delay, return to the descendants of the original kindred... Too hasty a return... is to cause the blood to turn back and court disaster." (235)

Just as in funerary rituals, relations of marriage are organized according to the principle that "the blood must flow one way, out of the body," where the body figures both as individual and familial, since the two are animated in common by the blood. Accordingly, because these rituals depend of the movement of blood, the danger in an improper marriage or an improper burial is the risk of allowing illegitimate demands for the family's blood. The primacy of blood, its material substance and its potential for corruption, is shared in both aspects of village life; their connection to the blood of vampire tales is made most clear in the metaphorical description of families' union through marriage as the physical action of 'drinking blood' (235).

From du Boulay's ethnographic account of folk practice in rural Greece, it becomes clear that blood is a central substance in a Balkan cosmology that figures its principle as a right-handed, open-ending circular movement, the proper maintenance of which is necessary to preserve the flow of life. However, as the next section will attempt to show, vampire tales show that money figures into this cosmology in a similar way to blood: wealth is another medium of kin-relations whose exchange and flow must be properly managed by the family; and money, the material substance of wealth, has a potential to corrupt that gives its material presence a certain spectral quality. Two vampires: tales of return and flow
This paper is a sketch of the place of money in vampire folklore, and it is conceived of as an first step into exploring the place of money (as well as blood and the right-handed spiral) in Balkan cosmologies more generally, in the hopes of bringing traditional folklore more deeply into dialogue with anthropological scholarship concerning the economic logics of events in the post-Socialist era. Juliet du Boulay offers us an ‘indigenous’ conceptual framework for understanding the cyclic symbolism pervasive in the region’s cosmologies, and the proper flow of life and its spectral presence of blood. Through a discussion of two traditional Yugoslav vampire tales, “The Three Brothers” and “The Young Man and His Vampire Brother,” and their contextualization in the history of eighteenth and nineteenth century peasant experiences in the Balkans, I try to expand du Boulay’s framework to suggest that money is as important a substance and medium as blood in the flow of life proper to Balkan villages, in the hope of eventually facing up to the political, but also deeply affective, material, and spectral qualities and consequences of money, in the Balkans and in general.

Experiencing money: take note of the tax-collector.

The Ottoman occupation of the Balkans primarily effected the destruction of medieval political leaders, that is, the Byzantine emperors, Balkan kings, Christian feudal nobility, leaving the administration of the Orthodox church intact, and direct control in the hands of the village community, “which was left undisturbed” (Jelavich 36). Most Balkan Christians lived in small, traditional villages, organized as they were before the beginning of Ottoman rule (57). The Ottoman presence was most regularly felt economically, a condition which continued the conditions that peasants had suffered under medieval feudalism, when the “serf was obligated to pay a percentage of other products of his labor, including such items as wine, honey, and livestock” (58). Notable village members and church officials played the role of tax collector for the Ottoman government, and were in turn exempt from certain taxes. In the eyes of the Balkan populations, the Ottoman system was corrupt, allowing many to profit at the expense of their fellow villagers. The notable’s role:

“The notable’s role in revenue collecting, particularly where it was in kind, enabled him to influence the sale and distribution of local agricultural produce. He could use his advantage to enter into trade in these commodities himself. He often lent money to the local peasants... Notables were also in a position to buy land, and they could come to control considerable estates.” (58)

As village tax collector, the notable had control over local products and their distribution. Further, his interest in the proper flow of life in the region’s cosmologies calls for a position to buy land, and they could come to control considerable estates. For the peasants’ part in this exchange, they paid their taxes—but in products, like animal livestock, more often than in cash. Thus, “the traditional stigma attached to usurers” (58) that generally characterized the dynamics of village political economy also entailed a stigmatization of money as a material form of wealth. Although the lives of Balkan villagers were entangled with the exchanges of political economy, day to day exchanges tended to involve families’ wealth in forms other than cash, and this value moved within and between families according to the social dynamics of the village. Value in the form of cash was reserved for relations with the corrupt Ottoman state, as mediated by the tax collectors.

In these villages, money did function as a medium of exchange, but beyond that: for the impoverished Balkan peasant, money was a remote, but powerful form of wealth. Although the lives of Balkan villagers were entangled with the exchanges of political economy, day to day exchanges tended to involve families’ wealth in forms other than cash, and this value moved within and between families according to the social dynamics of the village. Value in the form of cash was reserved for relations with the corrupt Ottoman state, as mediated by the tax collectors. In these villages, money did function as a medium of exchange, but beyond that: for the impoverished Balkan peasant, money was a remote, but powerful form of wealth. Although the lives of Balkan villagers were entangled with the exchanges of political economy, day to day exchanges tended to involve families’ wealth in forms other than cash, and this value moved within and between families according to the social dynamics of the village. Value in the form of cash was reserved for relations with the corrupt Ottoman state, as mediated by the tax collectors. In these villages, money did function as a medium of exchange, but beyond that: for the impoverished Balkan peasant, money was a remote, but powerful form of wealth.

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The next section moves us to the twentieth century in rural Greece, where the ritual practices of marriage and funeral suggest framework for understanding the logic of exchange that might have emerged in a land occupied by the Ottomans and subjected to generations of tax-collectors.

Life and blood: a cosmology of circular exchange

From her analysis of vampire beliefs and marriage rules in rural Greece, Juliet du Boulay offers a “indigenous” conceptual framework for understanding Balkan cosmologies in terms of a pervasive cyclic symbolism, one that entails a logic of “the necessity of a unidirectional auspicious flow of the blood” (du Boulay 293). Her analysis centers on a figure traced throughout the Balkans: “the form of an open ended circle... led always in the auspicious, though they are forced into this restricted domestic position, women provide an absolutely necessary basis for the familial structure; without them, men could not build households. Moreover, Goyko’s wife continued to give women strength after she died according to the story: “As it was then, so it remains today. / The milk still flows today as it did then. / That milk is charmed; it works miraculous cures / for all women who have no milk to nurse.” (398–399) Her mother’s milk is so nurturing that it even has the power to give back to other women the strength that comes with being a mother. Even after death, she helps other women regain their motherhood, and all the power that comes with it, through both her milk and her story, both of which still empower “today as [they] did then.” (400)

“The Bridge at Arta” takes this tale one step further and gives women even more agency; not only can women hold up the family, but they can tear it down as well. In this alternate version of the Walled-Up Wife story, the master mason’s wife is built into the bridge against her will and, in her anger and frustration, curses it: “Then as the leaves of the walnut tree / are shaken and drift down, / so let this bridge be shaken, and they / who cross it tumble and drown.” (“The Bridge at Arta” 43) This woman refuses to accept her place in the construction of the bridge and, as a direct result of this refusal, it will “be shaken and crumble. This story demonstrates the importance of women as wives and mothers; without a willing wife, there is no foundation for the household, and the familial structure will fall just like the cursed bridge. Although she ends up reversing the curse to protect her brother, this act again demonstrates her power as the foundation of the heart of the building; the mason’s wife has the power to tear down the bridge, but also the strength it and hold it up.

In addition to being empowered by the lyrics to some songs, women also drew strength from the act of learning, performing and sharing them. In May It Fill Your Soul, Tim Rice describes how the women in a community relate to the songs they sing. Girls learn to sing from a young age in order to pass the time during their long hours of performing housework. (Rice 96) Thus, songs formed a very important part of women’s communal lives; according to Rice, “the song tradition gained its coercive force when mothers, aunts, and older girls taught their daughters, nieces, and younger sisters”. (152) The very act of singing brought women closer together. Women also exercised a form of agency by choosing themselves which songs to sing and add to their repertoire. They “rejected, selected, and manipulated songs that pleased or displeased [them] in ways having to do partly with their truth value in [their] life.” (152) Women curated their repertoires and could create a selection of songs that empowered them. The very act of performing a song means that women could change the story and create a new meaning within a song, also giving them another form of agency in the creation of their own stories. Finally, in addition to being taught to girls by other women, these songs “were often performed by women for women, in circumstances with few or no men present.” (153) Singing fostered a sense of community among women at every step, from the characters of the story to the performing of the song and manipulation of the story to the passing down and sharing of the songs themselves. Even though the stories of many of these songs confine women to very specific household roles and restrict their freedom, women can still draw strength from the songs themselves as well as sharing and performing them.

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Far more than any other literary hero in the Balkans, Bulgaria’s Bai Ganyo has remained one of the most beloved and prolific folk heroes of all time. With origins that span more than a century, it can be said that no literary figure can rival Bai Ganyo’s cultural and historical significance to the people of Bulgaria and surrounding parts of the Balkans. Because of the Bai Ganyo narrative’s long history in the region, recaptitations of his character can be seen in works ranging from simple jokes to salacious social commentary and satire. In the latter of these tales, we gain insight into what institutions and practices are valued within the region and the ethnic relations and stereotypes that these groups hold about the communities being targeted by Bai Ganyo’s antics. However, as much as these tales gives us insight into the ways in which people in the Balkans view themselves and other Slavic peoples, the ever-present gaze of the Western world is a topic meriting discussion as well. In different versions of the Bai Ganyo narrative, the influence and attention of the West is simultaneously felt and criticized by both Bai Ganyo and the Balkan people that he interacts with. In a number of usually humorous ways, Bai Ganyo’s ‘characteristically Oriental’ slovenliness and improavity distinguish him from the comparatively demure and refined Westerners. However, despite this distinction, the ways in which Bai Ganyo responds to this marginalization varies from tale to tale. On the one hand, the Balkans are shown to resent their constant subjugation at the hands of the Western Gaze. On the other hand, surprisingly, the subversion of the West by Bai Ganyo’s proud and ostentatious Bulgarian-ism renew a semblance of cultural significance to the marginalized East. But while the Bai Ganyo narratives in general confront the Western gaze in these ways, it is interesting to note that the West’s influence is articulated in two distinct ways in both the Aleko and later conceptualizations of the character. In the former, Aleko portrays Bai Ganyo as a one-dimensionally flat caricature for the Orient’s worst qualities; he’s lazy, crude, hyper-sexual, and lacks basic tact and social graces. In this version, the character endeavors upon a number of hilarious travels through Western cultural centers, leaving a trail of chaos and criticism in his wake. In one particularly telling example, Bai Ganyo earns the scorn of patrons in a Turkish bath by trying to con a cashier and taking a rather messy belly flop in the spa’s public pool. For fans, like myself, of the ‘Three Stooges’ and ‘I love Lucy’, such physical humor is consistent with popular comedic performance; in this genre characters are subjected to lighthearted embarrassment and shame because of odd behavior or lack of social tact. However, in Aleko’s depiction of the character, these stylistic themes are actually doing much more complicated work because of the deeper implications about Balkan ethnic identity that they suggest. On the one hand, the depiction of Bai Ganyo as such a crude and unrefined character goes beyond a simple characterization of a comedic dunce; his stupidity is articulated as a product and extension of his ethnic identity as a Bulgarian. In this way, Bai Ganyo’s antics and ignorance can be explained away by the implication that many Bulgarians, unaware and unlearned in Western customs, behave in such a way. Because Aleko’s version falls to give the titular character an opportunity to show his intelligence and wit, Bai Ganyo is one-dimensional and, consequently is denied any narrative agency in the tales that the author includes him in. Though this characterization may seem innocent, the simplistic depiction of Bai Ganyo as a loveable oaf is problematic because it reduces him and the Bulgarian community he represents to an inaccurately-flat caricature. By reducing the entirety of this community to a literary figure whose antics convey the absolute worst characteristics, the way Balkan people view themselves and their global representation thus becomes complicated. However, the impact that this characterization has on the way the Western gaze influences Bai Ganyo’s self-perception is even more damaging. In Aleko’s conceptualization of Bai Ganyo, the titular character typically finds himself in a number of precarious situations within the archetypal institutions of the Western cultural tradition: the Opera, the Bathhouse, and an aristocratic home. Both the highest echelons of Western culture and the most banal societal customs are embodied in each of these.

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“RETURNING THE GAZE: HOW WESTERN HEGEMONY IS INTERNALIZED AND CHALLENGED BY TWO ARTICULATIONS OF THE BAI GANYO NARRATIVE” Arielle Mosley
diction to a blood sacrifice, Mehmed Pasha must also sacrifice treasure to the Drina to build his bridge. The focus of “Višegrad” is not on the living sacrifices, which have no spoken lines, but on Mehmed Pasha and Mitar the Builder. This particular story, which also includes a promise from a vila, seems less like a woman’s ballad in the manner of the others and more like a traditional folk fairy tale where favor is rewarded. The femaleness of the sacrifice is maintained or restored in another version of the story. In the version mentioned in the famous Yugoslav novel The Bridge on the Drina, the mother of the twins presses herself against the bridge to nurse her baby that the walled up wife has in the other stories. According to the version in The Bridge on the Drina, the milk that drips from her breasts stains the bridge permanently, matching the continued sustained flow of milk from within the wall found in “Skadar” and “Scutari.” The manner of selecting the victim varies, even when the use of the wife has been determined. In some of the stories, it must be a specific bride, for example, in “Arta,” it must be the “master mason’s wife [who is... sweet as a rose]” but in most of the other stories it is simply the first of their wives to approach the construction site. This is similar to the biblical story of Jephthah who promises to sacrifice the first thing that “comes out from the doors of my house to meet me” (Judges u:33). Although the walled up wife might be pre-Christian, its similarity to Christian mythology may have helped it survive. In these versions of the story, the virtue of the wife who comes to bring her husband food is what ultimately leads to her death.

Further variation in the victim is found in “Arta” and “Manole.” In “Arta,” the wife is not mentioned as a mother but rather as a sister—one of three who have been sacrificed to make bridges stand—and she alone breaks the model of the uncomplaining victim. She instead curses the people who have sacrificed her, saying, “then as the leaves of the walnut tree are shaken and drift down, so let this bridge be shaken, and they who cross it tumble and drown,” which she later revokes, not for the sake of her husband or child but brother. “Arta” is not a story about motherly affection and loyalty but about sibling commitment and attachment, as she revokes the curse for a brother in a distant land on the off-chance that he could one day cross the bridge and die. Perhaps this variation arose from a storyteller who found more meaning and personal connection to the sibling bond than in that between the mother and child or husband and wife. In “Manole,” the wife is not a mother yet but an expecting mother who begins to be released as the walls are raised, saying “the wall presses me too hard and crushes my breasts and breaks my child.” This variation probably served to heighten the horror of the story, deemphasizing the noble and necessary sacrifice element and focusing more on the terror of the bride feeling herself and her unborn child die. For a storyteller attempting to frighten the women she told it to, this variant would serve very well, especially as it ends with them, since they remain free to nurse her baby that the walled up wife has in the other stories. This naturally leads to another difference in the stories: the moment at which they end. “Skadar” and “Scutari” end with the walled up wife continuing to produce milk for not only her own baby but also for future women as it “works miraculous cures for any woman who has no milk to nurse” (Skadar). This ending point allows the walled up wife a victory as she successfully contributes to her family and community not only by helping the building remain upright but also by raising children. “Struna” ends with her plea to be able to nurse her child through the wall, which allows for a similar effect but without sacrificing the visceral nature of the ending by continuing into the future. In “Arta,” the ending with the revised curse/blessing would allow the wife to “redeem” herself from her act of violence in cursing the bridge and add a small lesson about forgiveness as an important virtue although it could simply reemphasize the strength of sibling loyalty if the speaker preferred. “Višegrad” ends with Mehmed Pasha revoking the bridge tax he had just imposed. This seems like a strange ending for a story about human sacrifice but as discussed in an earlier paragraph, “Višegrad” seems more like a standard folk tale than the other stories discussed here.

Some of the other deviations from the basic story are side characters. The vila in “Višegrad” has already been discussed but her presence would allow the teller to incorporate other aspects of folklore into the story. The sisters-in-law in “Skadar,” “Struna” and “Scutari” all frame the bride’s purity and obedience more fully, emphasizing how good she is and worthy as a sacrifice. However, this could also be read as a subversion of normal folklore tropes. In a standard morality folk tale, the other couples would be punished for violating their oaths while arenas. In a word, the entirety of Western progress and achievement is paralleled in this version of the Bai Ganyonarative; Occidental society is conveyed as proper, cultured, and poised while Eastern Eu-

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erope is always trying to ‘catch up’. However, while this characterization places the West in a place of superiority over the Balkans, this conflation of subjugated status also excludes the Balkans from ever being a part of such high ranks. By articulating that Bai Ganyo’s very existence and manner of being is an affront to Western culture, one that cannot be overcome because of his insufferable ‘Balkanness,’ a clear dichotomy is drawn between the Western World and Eastern Europe. Just as Bai Ganyo sticks out like a ‘sore thumb’ in European high society, the Bulgarian-as-personified-by-Bai-Ganyo cannot adapt to the Western World because of these unyielding character flaws.

In the aforementioned version, Bai Ganyo functions as an agency-less pawn upon which to project and highlight perceived incongruity between the West and the Balkans. However, in other versions of the tale, this perceived subjugation by the West is subverted by a more witty and robustly-drawn Bai Ganyo character. Unlike his Alekian counterpart, other conceptualizations of the Bai Ganyo narrative portray the eponymous protagonist as a self-aware and proud Bulgarian who acknowledges the failings of his homeland while not bowing to Western standards of superiority. In one particularly poignant example, Bai Ganyo enters into an exchange with a variety of representatives of different ethnic identities ranging from Turkey, Russia, and America. When the men began bragging about their respective homelands and the technological and cultural advancements being made within them, Bai Ganyo is aware that he can’t readily compete. Crudely denigrating the other countries’ achievements, Bai claims that Bulgarians “give it to Russian women, on Turkish rugs, with Italian precision and American power (Bankova, 1).” In lieu of an attempt to outdo his Western and Eastern European counterparts, Bai Ganyo asserts that his country is best because they take advantage and dominate all of the other countries’ best women, products, and techniques. Although none of Bai Ganyo’s response truly rival the actual intellectual and technological advancements of the other countries, his answer implies the existence of two types of progress: that of the conventional West and that of the Bulgarian. In the former, science and culture are valued as the only metrics of a nation’s advancement and refinement. However, in the latter, this conventional proxy is placated in favor of a society that values such home-spun skills as sexual prowess, street smarts, and common sense over all else.

This notion of an alternative means of ostensibly ‘Balkan progress is important because it reveals and grants Bai Ganyo a true sense of integrity and agency. Whereas in the aforementioned Aleko version he is reduced to a farcical personification of the ways in which the Balkans are behind, in the later versions his crudeness and occasional impropriety aren’t signs of a lack of refinement- instead they are merely symptomatic of Bai Ganyo’s functioning within an alternative cultural space. In this conceptualization, the claim of Western hegemony is challenged because Bai Ganyo’s achievements don’t need to be judged against that of the West because he possesses qualities that help him function within his own social context. Although not explicitly stating in the anecdote itself, Bai Ganyo’s assertion that he possesses several traits that make him an equally powerful character suggests that he thinks the West’s standards do not fit or apply to himself and the Balkans. In this way, he is guaranteed a certain sense of ethnic pride because his notion of Bal-

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kian achievement is valuable, even if the West views it as a handicap to achievement.
1. Introduction

Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian (hereafter, BCS) has undergone case syncretism between Dative and Locative in the singular and between Dative, Locative and Instrumental in the plural. The Torlachki dialects have undergone even more case syncretism and has, at most, three cases: Nominative, Accusative and Dative.

This paper aims to examine both of these cases of case syncretism through Luraghi’s (1987) theories on case syncretism, by expanding the case hierarchy proposed by Chvany (1982) for the Russian case system and Jakobson’s (1936;1958) general meanings for Russian case to BCS and Torlachki.

2. Luraghi:

Silvia Luraghi (1987:355) defines case syncretism as “functional merging of different morphemes based on previous functional overlap.” Using this definition, we will exclude accidental overlap surface form due to sound changes and instead focus our attention on cases which have essentially merged throughout the nominal paradigms.

Luraghi (1987:357) argues that syncretism occurs in situations of semantic and/or syntactic overlap. Syntactic overlap here refers to cases that occur in the same type of syntactic function: argument vs. satellite, first/second/third argument, etc. Semantic overlap here refers to shared semantic meaning, often contextual overlap. Even taking into account cases’ general meaning, as proposed by Jakobson (1936), cases are rarely limited to one single function on a map to many meanings and, conversely, a single meaning can map onto more than one case (or construction). It is the latter that Luraghi (1987:356) believes to be one of the primary causes of case syncretism. According to Luraghi, syncretism is most likely to occur when:

a) the overlap in meaning is great enough to precipitate a reduction of redundancy
b) the merger does not create “unacceptable ambiguity” (356).

One element that contributes to the presence or absence of “unacceptable ambiguity” are the lexical properties and semantics of the lexical items that governs a case or the nominal items that surface in a case. For example, the locative case, which occurs almost exclusively with inanimate nouns (Luraghi: 1987, 358) The same holds true for syntactic roles as well. For example, the role of agent tends to be filled by people, place names tend to be in satellite positions, etc.

In standard BCS, the Locative and Dative have merged throughout the nominal system (nouns, pronouns, adjectives) in all genders and numbers. Luraghi (1987:363) claims that, when Locative and Dative undergo syncretism, the semantic overlap occurs in dative meanings, such as the dative of possession, in which there is a “proximity to some body either in a concrete or in a translated sense.”

This meaning, of course, does not account for all of the meanings and functions of the dative. However, there is not “unacceptable ambiguity” for two reasons: a) A near-complementary distribution the occurs with the locative being used mostly on animate nouns and the dative mostly on inanimate ones.
b) In the case of Slavic, only the dative can occur without a preposition (thus the alternate name for the locative case: ‘prepositional case’), meaning that much of the semantic load can be carried by the prepositions themselves.

In the plural, the forms have merged even further, wherein Locative, Dative, and Instrumental all have the same form within a paradigm. Luraghi (1987:365) claims that cross linguistically instrumental and locative relationships can be expressed interchangeably in certain contexts. This is why pronouns and/or the plural are still the same, despite the semantic load that also double as location, as often happens with transportation, for example.

As the dative and locative have undergone syncretism in all numbers, it is fairly safe to assume that that syncretism happened first. As such, when discussing the syncretism in the plural, I will treat the cases as a single unit. Therefore, the instrumental undergoing syncretism with the locative necessitates also undergoing syncretism with the dative. The means for disambiguating between traditional locative and dative meanings has been discussed above. The means for disambiguating dative and instrumental meanings will be explored below.

The story of the walled up wife appears across the Balkans in both folk tales and ballads. The tale is by turns morbid and maternal, the sacrifice highly personal and strictly business, creating a narrative that is unsettling yet compelling at the same time. This essay discusses six versions of the walled up wife: “The Bridge at Arta” from Greece, “Master Manole” from Romania, “The Building of the Bridge at Višegrad” from Bosnia, “Struna the Bride” from Bulgaria, “The Building of Scutari” from Albania, and “The Building of Skadar” from the same area. There are other versions from other countries, such as “The Legend of Rozafat Castle” from Albania, and countless sub-variations of each of these stories, due to the oral nature of storytelling. Each of these stories modifies the details of the story, in some cases very dramatically, but still maintains a basic “core” plot and theme. The adaptations of the basic story to different regions and cultures allow the story to appeal on a personal level to a greater audience, evoke different emotions and demonstrate virtuous behavior, all of which keep it relevant and surviving.

The basic plotline of the walled up wife is that there is some construction project—the variation in project is discussed in a few paragraphs—which will not remain upright. The builders realize that they must wall up a young bride in the foundation in order to keep it upright. The bride is the wife of one of the builders themselves and she implores him to release her, often for the sake of her young child. Despite her pleas, she is not released, and her husband asks her to remain. The story of the builders and is instead “two of similar name and sister” in “Scutari” and “Stoja and Ostoja” in “Višegrad”. Their nature as twins with matching names is what makes them cosmologically significant and worthy as sacrifices. When they cannot be found in “Scutari”, only then is the wife of Gojko sacrificed. “Višegrad” is an interesting story because of this significant difference in victim. There is another major difference in the sacrifices required; in ad-
Judging by the plural paradigm (and the paradigm of a few i-stems), BCS appears to be moving towards a system in which there is an unmarked case (N), a directional case (A), a quantifier (G) case and a marginal case (L/D/I). Instead of having an exhausted system of oppositions, each case could have at most one primary/distinguishing general meaning.

### References


In expressions with preposition, the semantic load is carried by the preposition so, once again, ambiguity is avoided. There are no prepositions that can take both the dative/locative and the instrumental, changing semantics by which case is taken. Therefore, we must look to preposition-less constructions for possible areas of ambiguity.

Dative constructions without prepositions are almost exclusively used with animate nouns. Most constructions that use the instrumental without prepositions are used with inanimates nouns: time/ space expressions (ex: Nedeljem idemo na pecanje. ‘We go fishing on Sundays’) and instrument of motion (Možemo li platiti čekom? ‘Can we pay by check?’). (Alexander 325-326).

Animate nouns can be seen in the instrumental without prepositions, but they are almost exclusively in predicate positions or the objects of verbs that take the instrumental. In both of these cases, the semantic load is carried by the verb or adjective (Ponosi se svojim necakom. ‘He is proud of his nephews.’) (Alexander 325).

Therefore, in expressions without prepositions, we again see a split in the distribution of meaning along animacy lines, eliminating “unacceptable ambiguity” and allowing/presupposing syncretism. It is, therefore, unsurprising to see that this syncretism between Locative-Dative-Instrumental has begun to spread to some i-stem nouns (Reči can take both reči and reč in the instrumental. Others can only take the syncretous ending in -i).

How well can this theory be applied to the situation seen in the Torlachki dialects of Southeast Serbian? The South Morava dialect presents an interesting nominal system of only three cases. Unexpectedly, the cases which remain are Nominative, Accusative and Dative, which contradicts Kuryłowicz’s (1960:145) assertion that Nominative, Accusative and Genitive are the core of a case system. Additionally, the only case that can be governed by prepositions is the accusative (Friedman: 1977, 79).

While an example of this particular type of case syncretism was not given in Luraghi’s analysis of case syncretism, I believe that the foundational ideas established therein can still be applied.

Instead of a full syncretism between two cases, it appears that the function of the genitive has been split between the dative and the accusative case. It’s not impossible to see where the syntactic and semantic overlap occurs for the accusative and the genitive. In standard BCS, direct objects that are animate masculine nouns appear in a form that resembles the genitive. Additionally, the genitive can be used in the direct object position with a participial meaning: I want (some) bread. If the genitive and accusative are interchangeable in the role of direct object, what is to stop them from being interchangeable in other positions and functions as well?

The semantic overlap between the dative and the genitive is also quite easy to understand. In Standard BCS, the dative of possession exists as on of many ways to express possession. It is unsurprising, therefore, to see how the genitive construction became redundant.

Satellite constructions appear to have been delegated to prepositional phrases, as is often the case the Balkan Sprachbund (Friedman: 1977, 79). The choice of accusative is slightly surprising, however. Assuming a merger similar to that of Standard BCS, one might expect constructions that previously took the instrumental or the locative to take the dative. There are a few explanations as to why accusative is used.

It’s possible that the use of accusative in prepositional phrases is yet another result of the partial merger between the accusative and the genitive. In Standard BCS, the accusative has the greatest number of prepositions that govern it (Alexander: 2010, 53). It’s possible that the genitive was simply generalized to being the case that all prepositions govern. Then, because the genitive and accusative have undergone syncretism, the post-syncretism forms appear with these constructions as well.

Amongst the Torlachki dialects, the dative is only used consistantly in the South Morava dialect. Even in this dialect, it appears that it is moving towards a system where only three cases exist. (Alexander 1982, 179) – the nominative as the subject case and the accusative as the object case. The dative, therefore is relegated to these marginal uses, which – if the trend of Balkanization continues – will eventually be replaced, most likely by prepositional phrases.

It’s also possible that this is simply a contact phenomenon, as Greek prepositions mostly require the accusative (Holton: 1997). Regardless, the accusative case here appears to be a purely syntactic...
case in for these constructions. All of the semantic meaning is held by the preposition. While the Torlachki situation is not as straightforward an example of case syncretism as that found in BCS, it does not appear to deviate from the basic principles proposed by Luraghi (1987).

3. Chvany
In response to the 1980 Russkaja Gramatika, Chvany (1982) proposed a hierarchy of case for Russian, based on structural and morphosyntactic oppositions found within the language. While RG reassessed the old ordering of cases (Nominative-Genitive-Dative-Accusative-Instrumental-Locative), Chvany argues that this ordering is largely traditional and her proposed order (Nominative-Acusative-Genitive-Locative-Dative-Instrumental) more fully captures commonalities in structure and function, which has both pedagogical and theoretical benefits. Below I will explore to what extent Chvany's hierarchy can be applied to the Serbian and Torlachki situations, respectively. Additionally, I will investigate how this ordering might be used to at least partially account for case syncretism seen in BCS and the Torlachki dialects.

3.1 Nominative vs. the rest
The arguments that Chvany (1982, 179) proposed for the opposition between nominative and the rest in Russian hold true for both Torlachki and BCS (and probably for most nominative-accusative languages). In fact, Torlachki appears to be moving towards a system where this is the only distinction/opposition.

3.2 Direct vs. oblique forms, direct vs. oblique cases
Like Russian, BCS sees a direct and oblique forms (vs. direct and oblique cases) according to a distinction in animacy, although they do not occur in the same environments. However, nouns in BCS do not decline and the quantified nouns always appear in the appropriate counting form. Therefore, the tripartition distinction between 'direct accusative', 'oblique accusative' and 'true genitives' (Chvany: 1982, 181) are not reinforced in BCS in the same way that they are in Russian. The only nouns, then, who appear to only have a direct and oblique form (at least in the singular) are the i-stem nouns who take the -i ending in the instrumental. As none of these are masculine or animate, however, the distinction between "oblique accusative" and "true genitives" are not relevant.

Torlachki, as stated above, has essentially merged the Accusative and Genitive, which could be due to the close relationship that they have in Slavic languages. Additionally, the relatively weaker distinction between oblique Accusative and true genitive in standard BCS could have contributed to their eventual syncretism in Torlachki.

3.3 Genitive vs. the rest
"Structurally, the Genitive occupies an intermediate position between the direct N and the marginal ... L-D-I" (Chvany: 1982, 184). It has the distinction of being oblique (like L-D-I), but also central (like N and A) (Chvany: 1982, 184). Chvany builds on Jakobson's claim that the Nominative, Accusative and Genitive are the central cases for Russian, citing the much higher frequency of the three cases (as opposed to the remaining three) in both spoken and written language (1982, 84).

While there is not an equivalent study for the frequency of cases in BCS, my initial impressions are that the distribution is similar in BCS – with Nominative, Accusative and Genitive far outstripping the Locative/Dative and Instrumental. Justifications for this assumption include the following: Genitive can be an alternative for both nominative (negation of existential statements) and accusative (partitive, animate statements in which the Accusative = the Genitive, etc.) It also is the case governed by the highest number of prepositions. It is used in the most frequently used time expressions, etc.

3.4 Peripheral oblique cases and the order GLDI
While it has been established above that Accusative and Genitive are linked in form and function in BCS, it is not clear that the Locative must necessarily come next in the hierarchy. Part of Chvany's (1982, 84) justification for the placement of the Genitive between the Accusative and Locative in Russian is because of the shared forms between the Genitive and the Accusative and the Genitive and the Locative. In standard BCS, however, the Genitive only shares forms with the Accusative, never with the Locative. Indeed, much of the justification for the ordering of L-D-I in Russian does not hold for BCS. However, as the formal distinction between Locative and Dative has disappeared and the distinction between Locative and Dative and Instrumental is in the course of disappearing, the necessity for ordering is quickly becoming moot.

In fact the oppositions appear to be going towards a system with central cases (N-A-G) vs. peripheral cases (L-D-I). Then within central cases, there are direct cases and oblique cases (N-A vs. G). Within the direct cases there is the controlling case (N) vs. the controlled case (A).

The uses of the genitive in Torlachki are divided between Accusative and Dative. However, if we assume that the current BCS situation (full syncretism between dative and locative in all numbers) to have occurred at an earlier stage of Torlachki, a merger between the genitive and dative is not disrupting the hierarchy. South Morava dialect would have a distinction between central (N-A) vs. peripheral (D) and then a further distinction between controller (N) vs. controlled (A). The dative-less dialects would, therefore, only have a controller vs. controlled distinction.

4. Jakobson:

While Chvany's exploration of Russian case primarily examines the formal and structural relations between cases within the system, Jakobson (1936, 1958) examines the relationship between cases through their semantics, their "general meanings" and the opposition of meanings within the system, claiming that "grammar without meaning is meaningless." Although Jakobson (1936; 1958) specifically writes about the Russian general meaning of case, I will extend it to both Standard BCS and the Torlachki dialects. While it's possible that the general meanings of Russian and BCS case do not entirely match up, I believe that the choice is not entirely unjustifyable. Russian and BCS are related languages that have a similar use of case. Additionally, Friedman (1977) applied Jakobson's original general meanings of case to Torlachki, which has even fewer cases than standard BCS and depends even more heavily on prepositional constructions.

Each of Jakobson's proposed eight cases for Russian correspond to a permutation of binary oppositions of each of the three general meanings (Nominative [-] for all general meanings, Locative 2 [+ for all general meanings, and every other option in between).

When Friedman (1977, 80) applied Jakobson's original general cases to Torlachki, he proposed that there were now only two binary features for opposition in the Torlachki system: Directionality (A,D) and Marginality (D). He splits the general meaning of quantification (primarily associated with the genitive case, which Torlachki lacks) between accusative and dative, respectively, eliminating the need for the feature of Quantification. This results in a system that has does not exhaust every permutation of oppositions. There is no case that corresponds to Marginality without Directionality.

The uneveness of this distribution of general meanings is resolved in those dialects that lack the Dative. The only opposition in meaning then, if we keep Jakobson's original general meanings, is Directionality vs. lack of Directionality.

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The situation in BCS is similar, in that it does not present an exhaustive distribution of the combination of oppositions. Not only would the system of oppositions not be exhausted, the locative/dative would be the only case to have more than one general meaning.