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# 5 *Bulgarian*

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## 1 Introduction

Bulgarian is the national language of the Republic of Bulgaria – the native language of its ethnic Slavonic majority. The estimated population of Bulgaria in 1986 was close to 9 million, nearly 85 per cent of whom were recorded as ethnic Bulgarians. Modern Bulgarian directly continues the Slavonic dialects spoken in the eastern Balkan Peninsula from the time of the arrival of Slavs in the middle of the first millennium AD. It is first recorded in the earliest Slavonic, that is Old Church Slavonic (Old Bulgarian), manuscripts.

Four periods are customarily distinguished in the history of Bulgarian: (1) the **prehistoric period** (essentially Proto-Slavonic), from the time of the Slavonic invasion of the eastern Balkans to the Cyrillo-Methodian mission to Moravia in the ninth century; (2) **Old Bulgarian** – the ninth to the eleventh centuries, reflected in Old Church Slavonic manuscripts; (3) **Middle Bulgarian** – from the end of the eleventh to the beginning of the fifteenth century, a time of rich literary activity and major structural innovation; (4) **Modern Bulgarian** – from the end of Middle Bulgarian to the present, including the years of Ottoman domination (early fifteenth century to 1878).

While the early stages of a number of major innovations are perhaps attested in Old Church Slavonic texts, the most significant changes in the evolution of Modern Bulgarian appear to have begun in the Middle and early Modern periods. Details of these changes are not reflected systematically in written records. The penetration of vernacular features into the written language was impeded for a number of reasons, most importantly conservative scribal attitudes and various **orthographic** reforms which artificially normalized scribal practices during Middle Bulgarian.

Written records from the first two centuries of Modern Bulgarian are quite limited owing to the Ottoman conquest, which severely curtailed the rich literary activity of earlier years. After approximately 1600 – the time of the beginning of the Bulgarian Възраждане/Vāzrāždane ‘Renaissance’ – increasingly numerous vernacular intrusions into popular texts suggest that the major changes differentiating Modern Bulgarian from its pre-

decessor were essentially complete. In so far as continuing conservative orthographic conventions make textual evidence problematical, we can only reconstruct the general lines of the actual processes of these changes.

The form of the modern Bulgarian **literary** language began to take shape only towards the middle of the nineteenth century. Earlier, within the prolific literary activity that developed from the beginning of the nineteenth century, three different orthographic positions competed with one another: (1) **conservative**, advocating a modern literary language based on the Russian/Serbian recension of Church Slavonic used in the Bulgarian Orthodox Church at that time; (2) **progressive**, calling for a literary language based on the speech of one or the other of the most influential regions of nineteenth-century Bulgaria; (3) **intermediate**, advocating use of those features shared by *all* regional dialects plus Church Slavonic features whenever the dialects differed. The emergence of north-eastern Bulgaria in the middle of the nineteenth century as the nation's cultural, economic and political centre led to wide acceptance of north-eastern dialects as the basis for the literary language. Of these dialects, that of Tŕrnovo, one of north-eastern Bulgaria's most important cities and the country's first modern capital, was taken as the model for the emerging literary language. On 5 February 1899, the Bulgarian Ministry of Education officially codified the modern literary language with the adoption of the first orthographic system sanctioned for the entire nation. Reformed to any significant extent only once, in February 1945, this system remains in use today.

Despite the fact that the modern Bulgarian literary language reflects the north-eastern dialect of Tŕrnovo, it incorporates a number of non-eastern, western features (the major dialect division of Bulgarian is east versus west; see section 6). Originally, 'westernisms' were due to adoption of a number of Church Slavonic features coincidentally identical to features of western Bulgarian. However, with the shift of the Bulgarian capital from Tŕrnovo to Sofia (in the centre of western Bulgaria) in 1879 and the latter's rapid growth into the nation's single most influential urban centre, literary Bulgarian began a gradual process of accommodation to the native dialect of the new capital. As a result, the official literary language – described in standard reference works (Георгиева, Станков/Georgieva, Stankov 1983; Тилков, Бояджиев/Tilkov, Bojadžiev 1981; Граматика/Gramatika 1982–3; Пашов, Първев/Pašov, Pŕrvev 1979; Романски/Romanski 1955–9; Чолакова/Čolakova 1977–90) – represents no naturally occurring regional dialect. Rather, it is an artificial hybrid, learned to a greater or lesser extent by all Bulgarians in the course of their schooling.

Prescriptively correct Bulgarian is **spoken** only under the most formal circumstances and only by speakers particularly concerned with proper usage. In less formal circumstances, non-literary features characteristic of speakers' regional dialects frequently occur. The speech of many educated

Bulgarians represents a continuum, with the colloquial, non-literary speech of their native regions at one end and the learned, literary standard at the other. In actual usage, speakers move back and forth between these two poles, incorporating, to various degrees, non-literary features into their formal speech and vice versa. Since the Second World War, owing to the rapid growth of the population and cultural prestige of Sofia, the westernized conversational speech of educated natives of the city has gained increasing prestige and has come to be regarded by some linguists as a (if not the) standard spoken variant of the literary language.

## 2 Phonology

### 2.1 Segmental phoneme inventory

Table 5.1 Vowel phonemes

	<i>Front</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Back</i>
High	i		u
Mid	e	ǎ	o
Low		a	

/i e u o/ are relatively lax. /ǎ/ is tenser and higher than [a], but lower than Russian [i̯]. Word-initial vowels are preceded by a glottal stop.

**Unstressed** vowels are shorter and weaker than their stressed counterparts, and approach one another pair-wise, /i⟨e ǎ⟨a u⟨o/, without merging completely – at least not in careful literary speech (Грамматика/ Gramatika 1: 132). Unstressed word-final vowels are often voiceless.

Vowels are **nasalized** before nasal consonants followed by fricatives; often the nasal consonant is lost: ОНЗИ/ónzi [õnzi] ~ [õzi] ‘that (M SG)’.

In native Bulgarian words vowel sequences occur only across morpheme boundaries: зНАЕШ/znaeš /znǎ-e-š/ ‘know-PRS-2 SG’. In borrowings they are common: ТЕАТЪР/teátär ‘theatre’.

/t d s z c l/ are **alveo-dental**, /n r/ **alveolar**. The acute accent (´) marks **palatalization** in labials and alveolars. Alveo-palatal obstruents are weakly palatalized. Palatalized labials are pronounced by many Bulgarians as sequences of [Cj]; palatalized alveo-dentals, especially /n´ l´ r´/, may shift towards alveo-palatals.

/n/ has a **velar** allophone, [ŋ], before velars: ГАТАНКА/gátanka [gátan̩ka] ‘riddle’.

/l/ is markedly **velarized** except before front vowels.

/c/ and /x/ have voiced allophones [ʒ] and [ʁ] before voiced obstru-

Table 5.2 Consonant phonemes

	<i>Bilabial</i>	<i>Labio-dental</i>	<i>Alveo-dental</i>	<i>Alveo-palatal</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>
Stops	p p' b b'		t t' d d'		k' g'	k g x
Fricatives		f f' v v'	s s' z z'	š ž č џ		
Affricates			c c'			
Nasals	m m'		n n'			
Laterals			l l'			
Trills			r r'			
Glide				j		

ents (except /v v'/; see below). /x/ has a palatal allophone [x'] before front vowels (see below).

Some inventories of Bulgarian phonemes include /x' ʒ ʒ'/. However, /x' ʒ ʒ'/ occur only in foreign proper nouns, for example, Хјѹм/Хјѹм /x'um/ from English *Hume*, Ядзя/Јадзја /jǎʒ'a/ from Polish *Jadzia*. Besides foreign proper nouns, /ʒ/ occurs in a small number of non-literary, dialectal words which, if used in the literary language, regularly replace /ʒ/ by /z/: дзѣфт/dzift ~ зѣфт/zift 'tar'.

**Obstruents contrast voice** before sonorants and /v v'/: бѹб/bѹб /bѹp/ 'bean' versus пѹп/pѹп /pѹp/ 'priest', твѹѣ/tvѹѣ /tvѹj/ 'your-SG (M SG)' versus двѹр/dvѹр /dvѹr/ 'yard'. Otherwise they are voiceless word-finally or before voiceless obstruents, and voiced before voiced obstruents.

**Palatalized and non-palatalized** consonants contrast only before non-front vowels. Moreover, in native words they contrast before /ǎ u o/ only across morpheme boundaries: хѹдја/xѹдја /xѹd'-ǎ/ '(I) walk' (= 'walk-1 SG') versus хѹда/xѹда /xѹd'-ǎ/ 'the course' (= 'course-the'), бјѹл/bјѹл /b'ǎl/ 'white (M SG)' versus бѹл/bѹл /bǎl/ 'ball (= dance)'. Otherwise – word-finally, before consonants or before front vowels – they are non-palatalized.

**Palatals and velars** contrast before non-front vowels; palatals occur here only in words of foreign origin: гѹл/gѹл /gѹl/ 'naked (M SG)' versus гѹѹл/gѹѹл /g'ѹl/ 'puddle' (from Turkish). Otherwise palatals are regular before front vowels, velars elsewhere.

After vowels /j/ occurs at the end of words or before consonants (мѹѣ/mѹѣ 'my (M SG)', дѹѣте/dǎjte '(you-PL) give!'); before non-front vowels it occurs word-initially or *after* vowels (јѹзѹвѹ/jǎzѹvѹ 'ulcer', мѹѹѣ/mѹѹѣ 'my (F SG)'). It neither follows consonants, nor precedes front vowels – *except* word-initially in a few borrowings (јѹзѹѣт/jezuit 'Jesuit').

Geminate consonants occur only across morpheme boundaries: отдѹл/

otdél /od-dél/ 'department, section' (= 'of-part'). Consonant clusters are subject to other constraints (Граматика/Gramatika 1: 135ff.).

The letters of the Bulgarian alphabet and their standard transliteration according to the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences are shown in table 5.3.

**Table 5.3 Bulgarian alphabet**

а	а	к	к	ф	f
б	b	л	l	х	h [here transliterated x]
в	v	м	m	ц	c
г	g	н	n	ч	č
д	d	о	o	ш	š
е	e	п	p	щ	št
ж	ž	р	r	ъ	â [here transliterated ä]
з	z	с	s	ь	j [here transliterated ' ; occurs only in ъо/'о]
и	i	т	t	ю	ju
й	j	у	u	я	ja

Except for the details that follow, orthographic spellings give a close approximation of phonemic representations (tables 5.1 and 5.2). However:

- 1 щ denotes /št/. /ž/ is written дж/dž. To the extent that it occurs at all, /з/ is written дз/dz.
- 2 Spellings show the **underlying** (morphophonemic) voicing of obstruents; compare 'alive' М SG жив/živ /žif/ versus F SG жива/živa /živa/.
- 3 **Palatal and palatalized** consonants before non-front vowels are indicated by я (for /a/ and /ä/), ю (/u/), ъо (/o/). Two of these symbols, я and ю, also indicate /j/ followed by /a ä/ and /u/, respectively (see examples above). Otherwise, /j/ is written й: мой/moj 'my (M SG)'.  
 4 The letter я is ambiguous. Most frequently it represents /a/ after palatals, palatalized consonants or /j/. It is also used in two morphological categories for /ä/ after palatalized consonants or /j/: (a) **masculine singular definite article**, for example, денят/denjät /den'ät/ 'the day (SBJ)'; (b) **first person singular/third person plural present tense forms of first-/second-conjugation verbs**: ходя/xódja /xód'ä/ 'I walk', броят/brojät /brojät/ 'they count'.
- 5 Similarly, а is ambiguous; in two categories it marks /ä/, not /a/: (a) **objective (not subjective) masculine singular definite article of nouns**: града/gradá /gradä/ 'the city (M SG OBJ)'; (b) **first person singular/third person plural present forms of first-/second-conjugation verbs**: пекат/pekät /pekät/ 'they bake'.

/ǎ/ is the regular Bulgarian reflex of PSI. \*ǝ and ‘strong’ \*ъ: \*рѣть рѣтъ/рѣт ‘road’, \*зълъ зъл/зъл ‘evil (M SG)’. Later in the history of Bulgarian, /ǎ/ was inserted to break up stem-final consonant clusters terminating in liquids or nasals (‘epenthetic ǎ’): \*dobrъ добър/dobăr ‘good (M SG)’ (compare F SG добра́/dobrǎ́). /e/ is the regular reflex of PSI. \*ǣ and strong \*ъ: \*рѣть пѣт/рѣт ‘five’, \*днь дѣн/дѣн ‘day’. Weak \*ъ/ь were generally lost: \*зѣла злǎ/zlǎ ‘evil (F SG)’, \*дъни днѣ/днѣ ‘days’. However, weak \*ъ/ь remained in a number of monosyllabic roots (Velcheva 1988: 146–8): дѣно/dǎno ‘bottom’ from \*дъно, пѣсове/pѣсове ‘dogs’ plural of пѣс/pѣс from \*ръсъ. There is a small number of examples in which PSI. \*ъ, weak or strong, gives /ǎ/ (‘Umlaut of *jers*’, Velcheva 1988: 136–9): \*рънь gives рѣн/рѣн ‘stump’, \*тъма gives тѣмǎ/tǎmǎ ‘darkness’.

Bulgarian has lengthened and metathesized reflexes for Proto-Slavonic liquid diphthongs with \*o/e:

*gordъ	град/grad ‘city’
*bolto	блато/blato ‘swamp’
*bergъ	бряг/brjag ‘shore’
*melko	мляко/mljako ‘milk’

Proto-Slavonic liquid diphthongs with \*ъ/ь + *l/r* merged with sequences of \**l/r* + ъ/ь with loss of the distinction between ъ and ь. Subsequently /ǎ/ developed in all instances, before or after the liquid depending on the following consonantal environment: liquid–vowel before two consonants, vowel–liquid before consonant–vowel. This is the origin of the **metathesis** alternation described in section 2.3 (see examples there).

PSl. \**tj* (and \**kt* + front vowel), \**dj* gave /št žd/:

*světъ	свѣщ/svēšt ‘candle’
*noktъ	нощ/nōšt ‘night’
*medja	междǎ/meždǎ ‘boundary’

Bulgarian **word stress** is **dynamic**: stressed syllables are louder and longer and have a higher fundamental frequency than unstressed syllables. Stress is **free**: it may fall on any syllable of a polysyllabic word. It is **mobile**: its position may vary in inflection and derivation. Compare:

‘city’	SG град/grad : SG DEF градът/gradăt : PL градове/gradovē
‘bridge’	SG мост/mōst : SG DEF мостът/mōstăt : PL мостове/mōstovē

Stress is **distinctive**: вълна/vǎlna ‘wool’ versus вълнǎ/vǎlnǎ ‘wave’. For stress patterns of major lexical categories see section 3.

Simple Bulgarian words have a single stressed syllable. **Compound** words may carry a **secondary** stress, or even two stresses of equal prominence; for example, най-добър/náj-dobăr ‘best’ (= ‘most-good’),

СИЛНОТОКОВ/silnotókov 'high-tension (M SG ADJ)'.  
 Bulgarian distinguishes three small classes of inherently stressless **clitics**: **proclitics**, **enclitics** and **variable clitics** (either enclitic or proclitic depending on syntactic conditions). See 4.1 for details.

## 2.2 Morphophonemic alternations inherited from Proto-Slavonic

1 **Velar** ~ **alveo-palatal**: /k g x sk zg/ ~ /č ž š št žd/ – reflexes of the Proto-Slavonic first regressive palatalization of velars before front vowels and \*j. Extremely common in Modern Bulgarian, the alternation is no longer conditioned solely by phonological factors. In inflection, it is limited to three categories: (1) a few masculine **vocatives in /-e/**: 'god' SG БОГ/bóg, VOC бóже/bóže; (2) certain types of **first-conjugation verbs**: 'weep' 1 SG PRS пла́ча/pláča, 1 SG AOR пла́ках/pláках; (3) two anomalous **neuter plurals**: 'eye' SG ОКÓ/okó, PL ОЧЬ/ochi and 'ear' SG УХО́/uxó, PL ушй́/uši. In derivation, it occurs in diverse nominal and verbal formations; for example, мля́ко/mljáko 'milk': млéчен/mléčen 'milky, of milk (M SG)', глúх/glúх 'deaf (M SG)': глуше́я/глуšeja '(I) grow deaf'.

2 **Velar** ~ **dental**: /k g x/ ~ /c z s/ – reflexes of the Proto-Slavonic second and third palatalizations of velars. The alternation is regular (though with exceptions) in the plural of masculine nouns with polysyllabic stems, for example, 'language, tongue' SG ЕЗЫ́К/ezik, PL ези́ци/ezici. It occurs in the plural of two common feminine nouns, 'hand, arm' SG РЪ́КА/ráka, PL рѣ́цѣ/ráče and 'foot, leg' (dialectal) SG НО́ГА/nogá, PL нозѣ́/nozé. In derivation it is uncommon; for example, ма́лко/málko 'little, few': ма́лци́нствó/malcinstvó 'minority'.

The interaction of the two preceding alternations creates a small number of alternations of /c z/ with /č ž/; for example, 'old man' SG СТА́РЕЦ/stárec : VOC ста́рче/stárče.

3 **Jotation** reflects the influence of PSI. \*j on preceding dentals and labials (velars above):

labials: /p b v m/ ~ /pl' bl' vl' ml'/

dentals: /t d st s z n l r/ ~ /št žd št š ž n' l' r'/

Though once widespread in Old Bulgarian, these alternations are now extremely limited. In inflection, only the alternations /s z l r/ ~ /š ž l' r'/ are preserved in the paradigms of certain first-conjugation verbs: 'write' 1 SG PRS пи́ша/piša, 1 SG AOR пи́сах/pisax. In derivation, all of the alternations occur in isolated, unproductive formations. All examples of alternating labials, most of alternating /s z/ and many of /t d st/ are in borrowings from Russian or Russian Church Slavonic: 'send' 1 SG AOR PRFV пра́тих/prátix, 1 SG AOR IMPFV пра́щях/práštah; да́вя/dávja '(I)

drown (ITR), давлѣние/*davlenie* 'pressure (from Russian or Russian Church Slavonic); коза/*kozà* 'goat', кожа/*kòža* 'skin'.

Rare examples of PSl. \**kt/gt* before front vowels, which develop like \**tj*, are included here; for example, мога/*mòga* '(I) can', мощ/*mòšt* 'power'.

This set of alternations was radically reshaped by two historical developments: (a) the simplification of sequences of labial and /l'/ to palatalized labials (the loss of 'epenthetic l' originally arising in Proto-Slavonic from labial + j) and (b) the substitution of /t' d' s' z'/ for /št žd š ž/, respectively. The result is the alternation of homorganic palatalized and non-palatalized consonants, /p b f v m t d s z/ ~ /p' b' f' v' m' t' d' s' z'/, in place of the earlier alternations. The newer alternations are common in paradigms of certain first- and second-conjugation verbs; for example, 'drip' 1 SG PRS капя/*kàpja*, 1 SG AOR капях/*kàpax*; 'walk' 1 SG PRS ходя/*xòdja*, 1 SG AOR ходих/*xòdix*. They are also common in verbal derivation; for example, 'turn' 1 SG PRS PRFV извъртя/*izvǎrtjǎ*, 1 SG PRS IMPFV извъртявам/*izvǎrtjǎvam*.

4 о ~ е: This alternation is a vestige of the Proto-Slavonic change of back vowels to front vowels after alveo-palatal consonants or the reflexes of the third palatalization of velars. Compare: градовѣ/*gradovè* 'cities', but брѳеве/*brǳeve* 'numbers' (SG брѳѳой/*brǳj*). The alternation is non-productive and lexically limited, and allows numerous alternatives; for example, змѣйове/*zmèjove* ~ змѣеве/*zmèeve* 'dragons'.

5 **Consonant truncation:** Consonants are deleted before other consonants or at the end of a word. This alternation comprises a number of special cases. (a) /j/ is deleted in the inflection of first-conjugation verbs which show stem-final /j/ in the present tense; truncation here is regular and productive, though morphologically conditioned: 'drink' 1 SG PRS пия/*pija*, 1 SG AOR пих/*pix* (but compare 2 PL IMP пейте/*pejte*). (b) Stem-final /t d/ are regularly deleted before /l/ in the aorist participle of first-conjugation verbs: 'read' 1 SG PRS четá/*četa*, M SG AOR PART чѣл/*čel*. (c) /n s t/ alternate with ∅ in singular and plural forms of some neuter nouns: 'time' SG врѣме/*vrème*, PL врѣменá/*vrèmená*; 'taxi' SG такси/*taksi*, PL таксита/*taksita*. The alternations occur sporadically elsewhere in inflection and derivation: знáя/*znája* '(I) know', знáк/*znák* 'sign'.

6 **Vowel truncation:** Stem-final vowels alternate with ∅ in verbal inflection (the relevant stem elements are italicized in the following transliterated examples): 'walk' 1 SG PRS ходя/*xòdja*, 1 SG AOR ходих/*xòdix*; 'write' 1 SG PRS пиша/*piša*, 1 SG AOR писах/*pisax*.

7 /t/ ~ /s/: This alternation is limited to a few derivationally related items, such as страдам/*strádam* '(I) suffer', страст/*strást* 'passion'.



8 **Ablaut**: Vestiges of Proto-Slavonic ablaut are preserved in derivation, particularly aspectual derivation; for example, берá/berá '(I) gather', избóр/izbor 'selection'; 'die' 1 SG PRS PRFV умрá/umrá, 1 SG PRS IMPFV умíрам/umiram. A few examples occur in verbal inflection: 'gather' 1 SG PRS берá/berá, 1 SG AOR брáх/bráx.

### 2.3 Morphophonemic alternations resulting from changes after Proto-Slavonic

Here three types are distinguished with respect to the conditions of their application.

1 **General, phonologically conditioned, optional alternations**. In casual speech these apply across word boundaries as well as within words.

- (a) **CC ~ C**: Geminate consonants, which arise principally across morpheme boundaries (see above), alternate with their single counterparts: отту́к/ottúk /ottúk ~ otúk/ 'from here'.
- (b) **alveo-dental ~ alveo-palatal**: /t d s z c/ ~ /č ž š ž č/, respectively, before /č ž š ž/: безжй́знен/bežžiznen /bežžiznen ~ bežžiznen/, and with reduction of geminate /žž/ /bežiznen/ 'lifeless (M SG)'.
- (c) **ST ~ S**: /s z š ž/ before a word boundary or other consonant, /st zd št žd/ otherwise; for example, мо́щ/móšt /móšt ~ móš/ 'power', 'powerful' M SG мо́щен/móšten /móšten/ and F SG мо́чна/móštna /móštna ~ móšna/.
- (d) **E ~ J**: unstressed /e/ and /i/ contiguous to a lower, usually stressed, vowel become /j/; thus, материáл/material /material ~ materjál/ 'material', бащá ѝ/baštá ì /baštái ~ baštáj/ 'her father' (= 'father her-DAT'). Similarly, /u o/ become [w]: воáл/voál [voaʔ ~ vwaʔ] 'veil'. Sequences of consonant and [j]/[w] of this source are often pronounced as palatalized or labialized consonants: [mater'ál], [vwaʔ].

2 **General, phonologically conditioned, but obligatory alternations**.

- (a) **Word-final devoicing**: Word-final voiceless obstruents alternate with voiced obstruents before non-obstruents. Compare 'city' M SG гра́д/grad /grát/ and PL градо́вэ/gradové /gradové/. While obstruents devoice before enclitics (*except* the **definite article**), they do not devoice at the end of prepositions; compare: гра́д ли/grad li /grátli/ 'a city?' (compare гра́дѣт/gradát/gradát/ 'the city') and под ли́пѣте/pod lipite /podlipite/ 'under the lindens'.
- (b) **Voicing assimilation in clusters**: A voiced obstruent alternates with a voiceless obstruent before a voiceless obstruent; a voiceless obstruent alternates with a voiced obstruent before a voiced obstruent. For

example, 'sweet' M SG слáдък/sládák /sládák/ ~ F SG слáдка/sládka /slátka/, свáт/svát /svát/ 'matchmaker' ~ свáтба/svátba /svádba/ 'wedding'. The same alternation occurs between fully stressed words and clitics, and in colloquial speech between fully stressed words as well: от бáба/ot bába /odbába/ 'from grandmother', без товá/bez tová /bestová/ 'without this (N SG)'. The alternation applies allophonically to /с х/; for example, чéтох ги/čétoх gi /čétoγg'i/ '(I) read (AOR) them'. Presumably inherited from Proto-Slavonic, the alternation became much more frequent with the loss of weak \*ъ/ь.

/v v'/ followed by sonorants do not cause preceding voiceless obstruents to become voiced: свáт/svát /svát/ 'matchmaker'; but от вдовáцата/ot vdovicata /odvdovicata/ 'from the widow'. Between a voiceless obstruent and a sonorant /v v'/ are optionally voiceless: /svát ~ sfát/.

- (c) **Velar ~ palatal:** /k' g'/ before front vowels ~ /k g/ elsewhere (the rule applies allophonically to /х/); for instance, 'book' F SG кнѣга/kniga /kniga/ ~ PL кнѣги/knigi /knig'i/. It occurs across word boundaries in casual speech. The alternation arose after the change of PSl. \*y to i, well after the velar palatalizations of Proto-Slavonic.
- (d) **C' ~ C:** Palatalized consonants before non-front vowels alternate with non-palatalized consonants elsewhere. This alternation is the result of relatively recent changes which eliminated palatalized consonants before front vowels, consonants, and word boundaries, as in 'land' F SG земѣ/zemjá : PL земѣ/zemí : зéмна/zémna 'earthly, earthen (F SG)': землѣяк/zemlják 'countryman'; 'blue' F SG сѣня/sinja : N SG сѣньо/sin'ó : M SG сѣн/sin : PL сѣни/sini 'blue'.
- (e) /i/ ~ Ø: /j/ before back vowels, consonants or word boundaries alternates with Ø before front vowels; for example, M SG 'my' мѣй/mój versus PL мѣи/mói. This alternation is perhaps optional (Маслов/Maslov 1981: 51).
- (f) /j ~ C'/: Root-initial /j/ alternates with palatalization of prefix-final consonant; thus, ям/jám '(I) eat' but обѣдвám/objádvam /ob'ádvam/ '(I) dine'.
- (g) /s/ ~ Ø: /s/ alternates with Ø between /št st č š ž/ and /k/. This alternation occurs only in adjectives with the derivational suffix /-sk-/; for example, чéшки/čěški 'Czech (M SG)' from the noun /čex-/ + /-sk-/ with /х/ to /š/ (see 2.2).

### 3 Lexically restricted alternations, conditioned by phonological factors, morphological factors or a combination. All have exceptions.

- (a) **C'á ~ Ce:** Stressed /a/ preceded by a palatalized consonant alternates with /e/ (stressed or unstressed) preceded by a non-palatalized

consonant. The alternation is lexically limited to approximately 90–100 stems and several affixes (Scatton 1984, appendices 1 and 2). Otherwise it is conditioned by phonological factors: /C'á/ if the alternating syllable is stressed *and not* followed by (1) a palatalized or alveopalatal consonant; (2) a consonant cluster containing such a consonant; or (3) a syllable containing a front vowel; otherwise /Cè/ or /Ce/. Thus: 'blind' M SG сляп/sljáp : PL слéпи/slèpi : слéпчо/slèpčo 'blind man' : заслепя/zaslepjâ '(I) blind'. Exceptions are common: for instance, 'place', N SG място/mjâsto and PL местá/mestâ, but related adjective мѣстна/méstna 'local (F SG)'. The alternation is the result of the characteristic north-eastern Bulgarian treatment of PSI. \*ě jat'.

- (b) **Metathesis:** As a result of the development of Proto-Slavonic liquid diphthongs with \*ъ/ь (section 2.1), the position of the consonants /r l/ with respect to /ǎ/ varies as a function of the following environment: /rǎ/ and /lǎ/ before two consonants, /ǎr/ and /ǎl/ before a consonant followed by a vowel. Lexically limited, the alternation is common in derivation, but infrequent in inflection; for example, върба/vǎrbâ 'willow tree' : Врѣбница/Vrǎbnica 'Palm Sunday'. In monosyllabic forms with more than one consonant after the liquid-vowel sequence, /ǎ/ always follows the liquid: кръст/krǎst 'cross'. In other monosyllabic forms, both orders occur: грѣм/grǎm 'thunder' versus вѣлк/vǎlk 'wolf'. Exceptions are numerous: смѣртна/smǎrtna 'fatal (F SG)'. See Scatton (1984, appendix 3) for details.
- (c) **Vowel ~ Ø:** In the inflectional and derivational patterns of many nominal and verbal forms, /ǎ/ and /e/ alternate with Ø. The alternation is the idiosyncratic property of many roots and affixes. For example, 'day' M SG дѣн/dĕn : PL днѣ/dni; 'silver (ADJECTIVE)' M SG срѣбѣрен/srĕbâren : F SG срѣбѣрна/srĕbârna : срѣбѣрник/srĕbârnik 'silver coin' : сребрѣ/srebrĕ 'silver (N)'. The alternation is the result of the evolution of the PSI. \*ъ/ь plus the apparent epenthesis of /ǎ/ in word-final clusters of consonant plus liquid (see section 2.1).

### 3 Morphology

#### 3.1 Nominal morphology

##### 3.1.1 Nominal categories

Bulgarian nominal morphology includes the following categories:

- 1 **Number, singular versus plural;** masculine nouns use a separate count

**form** (Bulgarian брѳйна фѳрма/*brŃjna fŃrma*) with cardinal numerals.

- 2 **Definiteness**, expressed by a **definite article**, postposed to the first nominal constituent of definite noun phrases.
- 3 **Case** (extremely limited): Two classes of nouns and masculine singular adjectives have singular **vocative** forms (non-productive and limited). The masculine singular definite article contrasts **subjective** and **objective** forms (a distinction not strictly observed in colloquial Bulgarian). Personal pronouns and the masculine personal interrogative pronoun кѳй/*kŃj* 'who' (and other pronouns derived from it) have **nominative**, **accusative** and **dative** forms; non-clitic dative forms, however, are replaced by prepositional phrases (see 3.1.3).

Other case forms were common in the literary language in the past, particularly for masculine personal nouns; for example, NOM Владимир/*Vladimir*, DAT Владимѳру/*Vladimiru*, ACC Владимѳра/*Vladimira*. They are now found only in regional, non-literary dialects (see section 6). For case vestiges in adverbial formations, see section 3.1.4.

- 4 **Grammatical gender: masculine, feminine, neuter**, reflected in the **number** suffixes (singular/plural) of nouns. In addition, gender and number are the basis for agreement of verbal and other nominal forms with nouns. Gender is **natural** only to the extent that certain nouns denoting humans, regardless of their inflectional patterns, are **masculine** or **feminine** for agreement purposes depending on their meaning; for example, although inflected like a feminine noun in /-a/, слугѳ/*slugŃ* '(male) servant' shows masculine agreement; likewise чѳчо/*čŃčo* 'uncle', although it is inflected like a neuter noun in /-o/. In addition, a small number of nouns with singulars in /-a/ which denote men or women show masculine or feminine agreement depending on the sex of their referents; for instance, пѳяница/*pijŃnica* 'drunkard'.

### 3.1.2 Noun morphology

The most important inflectional patterns of nouns are as follows:

#### 1 Masculine singular /-Ń/

		SG INDEF	SG VOC	PL INDEF	PL COUNT
Monosyllabic	'son'	сѳн <i>sin</i>	сѳне <i>sine</i>	сѳновѳ <i>sinovŃ</i>	сѳна <i>sina</i>
	'city'	град <i>grad</i>	градѳ <i>grade</i>	градовѳ <i>gradovŃ</i>	градѳ <i>grada</i>
Polysyllabic	'teacher'	учѳтел <i>učitel</i>	учѳтелю <i>učitelju</i>	учѳтели <i>učiteli</i>	учѳтеля <i>učitelja</i>

Vowel-zero alternations are common in this class: the vowel occurs in all singular forms and the count plural, zero in other plural forms: 'fool' SG глупѐц/глупѐс, VOC глупѐцо/глупѐсо – PL глупѝцѝ/глупсѝ.

Vocative suffixes are /-e/, /-u/ (see above), or /-o/ ('man, husband' мѣж/мѣж – мѣжо/мѣжо; 'citizen' гра̀жданин/gràždanin – гра̀жданино/gràždanino). Their distribution depends on the stem-final consonant (Scatton 1984: 140–2).

/-ove/ is the regular plural suffix for monosyllabic stems. After /j/, it is sometimes replaced by /-eve/: 'tea' чай/čaj – ча̀еве/čàeve. Often /-i/ replaces /-ove/, especially in borrowings: 'day' дѐн/dѐn – днѝ/dni, 'fact' факт/fákt – факти/fákti (borrowed from Latin).

Several common monosyllabic nouns take other plural suffixes: /-išta/: 'path, road' пѣт/pát – пѣтища/pátišta; /-a/: 'brother' брѣт/brát – брѣтя/brátja (with irregular palatalization of /t/); 'foot' кра̀к/krak – кра̀ка/kraká; /-ě/: 'man, husband' мѣж/мѣж – мѣжѐ/мѣжѐ.

/-i/ is the regular plural suffix for polysyllabic stems; here stem-final velars generally become dentals: 'pupil' учѣник/učѣnik – учѣници/učѣnici. Exceptions are common, especially in borrowings: 'dinner jacket' (from English via Russian) смóкинг/smóking – смóкинги/smókingi. The suffix /-in-/ is lost in the plural: 'citizen' гра̀жданин/gràždanin – гра̀ждани/gràždani. Rarely, /-ove/ occurs for expected /-i/: 'fire' о̀гън/ògān – о̀гньове/ogn'òve.

Alternative plural forms are common: 'sign' знѣк/znák – знѣци/znáci ~ знѣкове/znákovе.

The suffix of the plural count form is /-a/ – never stressed.

In vocative and count forms, stress falls on the same stem-syllable as in the singular. Monosyllabic stems show three possibilities in the plural:

Stem	'sign'	знѣк/znák	знѣкове/znákovе
Suffix initial	'chair'	стóл/stól	стóлове/stolóve
Suffix final	'city'	град/grád	градóвѐ/gradóve

The first pattern is by far the most common. For polysyllabic stems, stress is fixed on the stem: 'pupil' учѣник/učѣnik – учѣници/učѣnici; an *apparent* shift to the plural suffix occurs with the loss of stressed suffixal vowels: 'fool' глупѐц/глупѐс – глупѝцѝ/глупсѝ.

## 2 Neuter nouns with SG /-o/ (/e/), PL /-a/

	SG INDEF	PL INDEF
'place'	мѣсто/mjásto	мѣстѣ/mestá
'heart'	сърце/sǎrcě	сърца/sǎrcá
'doctrine'	учѣние/učѣnie	учѣния/učѣnija

The singular suffix /-o/ may be /-e/ after stems terminating in palatalized,

palatal or, rarely, other consonants. Other suffixes are rare: /-i/ (two examples): 'eye' *око́/okó* – *очи́/oči*, 'ear' *ухó/uxó* – *уши́/uši* (both with velar to alveo-palatal); /-ě/ (three examples): 'wing' *крило́/kriló* – *крилѐ́/krilě* (~ *крила́/krilá*), 'knee' *коля́но/koljáno* – *коленѐ́/koleně* (~ *колена́/kolená*), 'shoulder' *ра́мо/rámo* – *раменѐ́/rameně* (~ *рамена́/ramená*).

Stress is usually fixed on the stem ('doctrine' above) or the suffix ('heart'). Some nouns shift stress from stem to plural suffix, for instance 'place'.

A number of kinship terms and names for men have singulars in /-o/; they use the plural suffix /-ovci/; stress is fixed: 'grandfather' *дядо́/djáo* – *дядовци́/djadovci*.

### 3 Neuter nouns with SG /-e/, PL /-eCa/

	SG INDEF	PL INDEF
'lamb'	<i>а́гне/agne</i>	<i>а́гнета/agneta</i>
'stool'	<i>сто́лче/stólče</i>	<i>сто́лчета/stólčeta</i>

This formation is regular for neuter nouns with the common diminutive suffix /-e/ or any of its variants, like /-če/. Stress is fixed. The suffix /-ta/ is productive for foreign borrowings terminating in /-i/ or /-u/ (unknown as singular suffixes in native nouns): 'taxi' *такси́/taksi* – *такси́та/taksita*.

Seven nouns take stressed /-ná/ instead of /-ta/: 'seed' *се́ме/sěme* – *семена́/semená*; also *вре́ме/vrěme* 'time', *и́ме/ime* 'name'.

Stressed /-sá/ occurs with two neuters in /-o/ or /-e/: 'sky, heaven' *небе́/nebě* (archaic *не́бо* ~ *небо́/nebo* ~ *nebó*) – *небеса́/nebesá*, 'miracle' *чу́до/čúdo* – *чудеса́/čudesá*. A few other plurals of this type are archaic alternatives to regular formations; thus, 'speech' *сло́во/slóvo* – *слова́/slová* and archaic *словеса́/slovesá*.

### 4 Feminine nouns with SG /-a/

	SG INDEF	SG VOC	PL INDEF
'woman, wife'	<i>жена́</i>	<i>же́но</i>	<i>жени́</i>
	<i>žená</i>	<i>ženo</i>	<i>ženi</i>
'land'	<i>земя́</i>	<i>зе́мьо</i>	<i>зemí</i>
	<i>zemjá</i>	<i>zém'ó</i>	<i>zemi</i>

The vocative is regularly formed with /-o/ (see above) or /-e/ ('tsarina' *царя́ца/carica* – *царя́це/carice*) (Scatton 1984: 140–2 for rules and exceptions). Stress in the vocative is always on the stem. The plural suffix is /-i/, before which velars *do not* become alveo-palatals. Two nouns take /-e/ with shift of velar to dental: 'arm, hand' *ръка́/rǎká* – *ръце́/rǎcě* and 'leg, foot' (dialectal) *нога́/nogá* – *нозе́/nozě*.

This pattern also includes some masculine personal nouns: '(male) servant' SG слугá/slugá, VOC слүго/slүgo, PL слуги́/slugi.

Vocative forms aside, the stress of nouns in /-a/ is fixed.

## 5 Feminine nouns with SG /-Ø/

	SG INDEF	PL INDEF
'song'	пéсен/pésen	пéсни/péсни
'bone'	кóст/kóst	кóсти/kósti

The plural suffix is /-i/. Vowel-zero alternations occur (section 2.3). Stress is fixed (except with the definite article: see below).

Many Bulgarian noun types are defective with respect to number. Some (**singularia tantum**) occur only in the singular: уравнивесéност/uravnovesénost 'equilibrium'; others (**pluralia tantum**) occur only in the plural: очилá/očilá 'eye glasses'.

As the first constituent of a definite noun phrase, nouns carry the **post-posed definite article**:

Singular:

masculine -Ø: -ът ~ -а (-ят ~ я)/-ăt ~ -a (-jat ~ at) (учителят/učiteljat 'the teacher', глупецът/glupécăt 'the fool')

feminine/masculine /-a/: -та/-ta (женáта/ženáta 'the woman, wife')

feminine -Ø: -тá/-tá (песентá/pesentá 'the song')

masculine /-o/, all neuter: -то/-to (мјáстото/mjástoto 'the place')

Plural:

/-a/: -та/-ta (местáта/mestáta 'the places')

/-i/ or /-e/: -те/-te (жените/ženite 'the women, wives')

Notes:

- 1 Masculine singular forms distinguish case: forms in /t/ – nominative, forms without /t/ – objective: той е профéсорът/tój e profésorăt 'he is the professor' versus стáята на профéсора/stájata na profésora 'the room of the professor'. In spoken usage, depending on regional dialect or idiolect, one of the two forms is generalized. With some monosyllabic masculine nouns the stress unpredictably shifts to the article: градът/gradăt 'the city'. See section 2.1 for spelling.
- 2 With feminine singular nouns in -Ø, stress is always on the article, which, additionally, is often pronounced [-tá]: [pesentá] ~ [pesentá].

Noun morphology has changed dramatically in the history of Bulgarian. Except for masculine and feminine vocative forms, all case forms were lost. The Proto-Slavonic nominative-accusative dual of *o*-stem masculine nouns was the source of masculine count forms. Otherwise, the dual was lost

(except for vestiges: some feminine and neuter plurals in /-e/, some masculine plurals in /-a/, the plurals of 'eye' and 'ear' (examples above)). The definite article developed from the demonstrative pronoun PSI. \**t-*.

The declensional types of Modern Bulgarian continue the major patterns of Late Proto-Slavonic. Masculine and neuter stems with singulars in /-Ø/ and /-o/, respectively, are descendants of *o*-stem masculines and neuters. The plural suffix of monosyllabic masculines, /-ove/, preserves the nominative plural of *u*-stem masculines, otherwise absorbed by *o*-stems. The rare masculine plural suffix /-ě/, as in мѣжѣ/*mǎžě*, reflects nominative plural -*ьe* of masculine *i*-stems, otherwise absorbed by *o*-stem masculines. Feminine nouns in /-a/ continue Proto-Slavonic feminine *ā*-stems, feminine nouns in /-Ø/ – *i*-stems. Masculine personal nouns with singular in /-o/ are an innovation.

Vestiges of Proto-Slavonic 'hard' versus 'soft' inflectional patterns for *o*- and *ā*-stems are found in the vocative (though with redistribution of suffixes, including the extension of /-o/ to masculines), in the masculine plural suffix /-eve/ (for /-ove/), and in the neuter singular suffix /-e/ (for /-o/).

With one major exception, all minor classes of Proto-Slavonic nouns were either absorbed by major patterns or became non-productive and limited in number. As mentioned, *u*-stem and *i*-stem masculines merged with *o*-stem masculines. Most feminine *ī*-stems, developing singular forms in /-va/, merged with *ā*-stem feminines (църква/*cǎrkva* 'church'); a few became feminines in /-Ø/ (кръв/*krǎv* 'blood'). Feminine *ī*-stems became feminines in /-a/ (рабѣня/*rabinja* 'slave'). Masculine *n*-stems generally merged with masculines in /-Ø/ – with or without a change of suffix (пламък/*plǎmak* 'flame' versus дѣн/*děn* 'day'). The original suffix of 'stone' was more or less preserved in the plural while being replaced in the singular: камък/*kǎmak* – камъни/*kǎmāni*.

Neuter *s*-stems became neuters in /-o/ ('speech' слово/*slóvo* – слова/*slovǎ*); likewise for several neuter *n*-stems ('letter' писмо/*pismo* from OCS *pismę*). Several *n*-stems retain the old plural ('seed' семе/*sěme* – семенѣ/*semena*). Neuter *nt*-stems, preserved with plurals in /-ta/, are very common due to the productivity of diminutive suffixes in /-e/ and the use of /-ta/ with borrowings. Finally, two feminine *r*-stems, OCS *mati* 'mother' and *dǎštī* 'daughter', became feminine nouns in /-a/: майка/*mǎjka* and дъщеря/*dǎšterjǎ* (the latter with the vocative дъще/*dǎšte*).

### 3.1.3 Pronominal morphology

The **personal pronouns** of Bulgarian are shown in table 5.4. Ний/*nij* and вий/*vij* are normal in spoken Bulgarian. With decreasing consistency, second person **plural** forms are used for polite address of second person **singular** interlocutors. The clitic feminine dative singular is written with a grave accent to distinguish it from и/*i* 'and'.



**Table 5.4 Personal pronouns**

(a)	NOM	ACC		DAT		
		<i>Stressed</i>	<i>Clitic</i>	<i>Stressed</i>	<i>Clitic</i>	
1 SG	а̀з	мѐне	ме	(мѐне)	ми	'I'
2 SG	ти	тѐбе	те	(тѐбе)	ти	'you (SG)'
3 SG M	то̀й	нѐго	го	(нѐму)	му	'he/it'
N	то̀	нѐго	го	(нѐму)	му	'it'
F	тя̀	нѐя	я	(нѐй)	й	'she/it'
1 PL	ни́е (ни́й)	на̀с	ни	(на̀м)	ни	'we'
2 PL	ви́е (ви́й)	ва̀с	ви	(ва̀м)	ви	'you (PL)'
3 PL	тѐ	тя̀х	ги	(тя̀м)	им	'they'
REFL	—	сѐбе си	се	(сѐбе си)	си	'-self'

(b)						
1 SG	áz	mène	me	(mène)	mi	'I'
2 SG	tí	tèbe	te	(tèbe)	ti	'you (SG)'
3 SG M	tój	nègo	go	(nèmu)	mu	'he/it'
N	tò	nègo	go	(nèmu)	mu	'it'
F	tjà	nèja	ja	(nèj)	ì	'she/it'
1 PL	nie (nij)	nàs	ni	(nàm)	ni	'we'
2 PL	vie (vij)	vàs	vi	(vàm)	vi	'you (PL)'
3 PL	tè	tjàx	gi	(tjàm)	im	'they'
REFL	—	sèbe si	se	(sèbe si)	si	'-self'

Stressed dative forms, now archaic, are replaced by prepositional phrases of *на/на* + stressed accusatives. Stressed accusative forms serve as objects of prepositions and, with logical stress, as direct objects of transitive verbs. Clitic forms are normal as unmarked verbal complements, accusative as direct object, dative as indirect object:

Да̀дох нѐго на нѐя./Dàdox nègo na nèja.

'(I) gave *it* to *her*.'

Да̀дох й̀ го./Dàdox ì go.

'(I) gave it to *her*.'

Enclitic datives are the customary expression of possession (see section 4.9). 'Ethical' (modal) dative forms, usually clitics, are common in colloquial Bulgarian: *то̀й си пий̀ва*/*tój si pijva* 'he likes to take a drop' (= 'he self-DAT drinks-SEMELFACTIVE').

Personal pronouns are matched by **personal possessive pronouns**, inflected for gender and number like adjectives (see table 5.5). Like adjectives, possessive pronouns may carry the definite article (section 3.1.4). However, in first person singular, second person singular and reflexive

**Table 5.5 Personal possessive pronouns**

	M SG	F SG	N SG	PL	
<b>(a)</b>					
1 SG	мѐй	мѐя	мѐе	мѐи	'my'
2 SG	твѐй	твѐя	твѐе	твѐи	'your-SG'
3 SG M/N	нѐгов	нѐгова	нѐгово	нѐгови	'his/its'
F	нѐин	нѐйна	нѐино	нѐини	'her/its'
1 PL	на̀ш	на̀ша	на̀ше	на̀ши	'our'
2 PL	ва̀ш	ва̀ша	ва̀ше	ва̀ши	'your-PL'
3 PL	тѐхен	тѐхна	тѐхно	тѐхни	'their'
REFL	свѐй	свѐя	свѐе	свѐи	'-own'
<b>(b)</b>					
1 SG	mòj	mòja	mòe	mòi	'my'
2 SG	tvòj	tvòja	tvòe	tvòi	'your-SG'
3 SG M/N	nègov	nègova	nègovo	nègovi	'his/its'
F	nèin	nèjna	nèjno	nèjni	'her'
1 PL	naš	naša	naše	naši	'our'
2 PL	vaš	vaša	vaše	vaši	'your-PL'
3 PL	tèxen	tjàxna	tjàxno	tèxni	'their'
REFL	svòj	svòja	svòe	svòi	'-own'

forms, /-ij-/ is not added before the masculine singular article: 'my' M SG DEF мѐят/мѐјат versus 'their' M SG DEF тѐхният/тѐхнијат.

Other pronominal forms, also inflected for gender and number, are **demonstrative** (table 5.6) and **interrogative** (table 5.7).

The masculine singular form of 'who' and all pronominal forms derived from it (below) have an oblique form, *когѐ/когѐ*, used as direct object and object of prepositions. In colloquial Bulgarian it is often replaced by *кѐй/кѐј*. The archaic dative *комѐ/комѐ* is replaced by PREP *на/на* + *когѐ/когѐ*.

With the exception of 'everyone, ...' (below), other pronominal forms are derived from interrogatives.

**Relative pronouns** add the suffix *-то/-то*: *кѐйто/кѐјто* 'who, which, that (M SG)', *какѐвто/какѐвто* 'which sort (M SG)'.  
**Negative pronouns** add stressed *нѐ-/нѐ-*: *нѐкой/нѐкој* 'no one (M SG)', *нѐчий/нѐчѐј* 'no one's (M SG)', *нѐкакѐв/нѐкакѐв* 'no sort of (M SG)', *нѐщо/нѐшто* 'nothing (N SG)'.  
**Indefinite pronouns:**

- 1 'some, a certain': stressed *нѐ-/нѐ-* + interrogative; here /а/ ~ with /ѐ/; *нѐкой/нѐкој* 'someone (M SG)', *нѐкакѐв/нѐкакѐв* 'some sort

**Table 5.6 Demonstrative pronouns**

	M SG	F SG	N SG	PL
(a)				
'this'	ТОЗИ/ТОЯ	ТАЗИ/ТАЯ	ТОВА/ТУЈ	ТЕЗИ/ТИЯ
'that'	ОНЗИ/ОНЯ	ОНАЗИ/ОНАЈА	ОНОВА/ОНУЈ	ОНЕЗИ/ОНИЈА
'such a'	ТАКЉВ	ТАКАВА	ТАКОВА	ТАКИВА
(b)				
'this'	tózi/tója	tázi/tája	tova/tuj	tézi/tija
'that'	ónzi/ónja	onázi/onája	onová/onuj	onezi/onija
'such a'	takāv	takáva	takóva	takiva

of (M SG)', нѐчий/нѐчij 'someone's (M SG)', нѐщо/нѐšto 'something (N SG)'.

- 'someone, so-and-so, such-and-such': ѐди-/ѐdi- + interrogative си/si, written as two words with secondary stress on the first constituent; ѐди-кóй си/ѐdi-kój si 'so-and-so, a certain one (M SG)', ѐди-какЉв си/ѐdi-kakāv si 'such-and-such a, a certain (M SG)'.
- 'whoever, whatever, somebody or other, something or other, whatever sort of': interrogative + да ѐ/da ѐ, three words with secondary stress on the last; for example, кóй да ѐ/kój da ѐ 'someone or other, anyone (M SG)', каквó да ѐ/kakvó da ѐ 'whatever (N SG)'. Alternative forms replace the interrogative with a relative pronoun and add и/i: кóйто и да ѐ/kójto i da ѐ.

**Table 5.7 Interrogative pronouns**

	M SG	F SG	N SG	PL
(a)				
'who, which'	кóй	коя	коѐ	кој
'what'			каквó/щó	
'what sort of'	какЉв	каквá	каквó	какви
'whose'	чíй	чия	чиѐ	чии
(b)				
'who, which'	kój	koja	koë	koj
'what'			kakvó/štó	
'what sort of'	kakāv	kakvá	kakvó	kakvi
'whose'	čij	čija	čie	čii

4 'everyone, every single, each' M SG **всѣки**/vsěki, F SG **всяка**/vsjāka, N SG **всяко**/vsjāko, PL **всѣчки**/vsički. Referring to persons, the masculine singular form of 'everyone ...' has accusative forms **всѣкиго**/vsěkigo, **всякого**/vsjākogo; they are obsolescent in the colloquial language.

'everything' N SG **всѣчко**/vsičko

'every sort of' M SG **всякакъв**/vsjākakāv, F SG **всякаква**/vsjākakva, N SG **всякакво**/vsjākakvo, PL **всякакви**/vsjākakvi

'all (of)' M SG **всѣчкият**/vsičkijat, F SG **всѣчката**/vsičkata N SG **всѣчкото**/vsičkoto, PL **всѣчки(те)**/vsički(te)

See section 4, especially 4.7–4.9 for pronominal usage.

### 3.1.4 Adjectival morphology

Adjectives are inflected for number and, in the singular, gender; there is a masculine singular vocative form:

	'new'	'goat's'	'fraternal'
M SG	<b>нѡв</b> /nŏv	<b>кѡзи</b> /kŏzi	<b>брѡтски</b> /brātski
M SG VOC	<b>нѡви</b> /nŏvi	<b>кѡзи</b> /kŏzi	<b>брѡтски</b> /brātski
F SG	<b>нѡва</b> /nŏva	<b>кѡзя</b> /kŏzja	<b>брѡтска</b> /brātska
N SG	<b>нѡво</b> /nŏvo	<b>кѡзе</b> /kŏze	<b>брѡтско</b> /brātsko
PL	<b>нѡви</b> /nŏvi	<b>кѡзи</b> /kŏzi	<b>брѡтски</b> /brātski

The usual masculine singular suffix is /-ŏ/. The suffix /-i/ is limited to adjectives in /-sk-/, a small number of possessive adjectives, and a few Russian loans in /-ov-/ (**бреговѣ**/bregovē 'shore (ADJECTIVE)'). Stems with vowel-zero alternations have a vowel in the masculine singular before /-ŏ/, otherwise zero: 'good' M SG **добѣр**/dobār – F SG **добрѡ**/dobrā.

The regular neuter suffix /-o/ may be /-e/, as in **кѡзе**/kŏze (see section 2.2).

Most adjectives are stem-stressed. End-stress is limited to Russian borrowings with /-ov-/ (see above) and two native stems: 'good' (above), 'alone' M SG **сам**/sām (F SG **самѡ**/samā).

A few colloquial adjectives borrowed from Turkish and, more recently, other languages are not inflected: **сербѣз чѡвѣк**/serbēz čovēk 'bold man', **сербѣз женѣ**/serbēz ženē 'bold women' (see section 5.3).

Masculine singular forms in /-i/ continue definite Proto-Slavonic forms; others continue indefinite forms. All earlier non-nominative case forms, the dual and, in the plural, gender were lost. Except for irregular neuter singular forms in /-e/, all trace of the soft adjectival paradigms of Proto-Slavonic was lost. The number of adjectives with palatalized stem-final consonants is limited to a few possessive adjectives (**кѡзя**/kŏzja 'goat's (F SG)'), and one non-derived adjective 'blue' M SG **сѣн**/sĭn, F SG **сѣня**/sĭnja, N SG **сѣнѡ**/sĭn'ŏ, PL **сѣни**/sĭni.

**Table 5.8 Cardinal numerals**

(a)				
'1' едѣн	'11' единадесет			
'2' два	'12' дванадесет	'20' двадесет	'200' двѣста	
'3' три	'13' тринадесет	'30' тридесет	'300' триста	
'4' чѣтири	'14' четирѣнадесет	'40' четирѣдесет	'400' чѣтиристѣтин	
'5' пѣт	'15' петнадесет	'50' петдесѣт	'500' пѣтстѣтин	
'6' шѣст	'16' шестнадесет	'60' шестдесѣт	'600' шѣстстѣтин	
'7' сѣдем	'17' седемнадесет	'70' седемдесѣт	'700' сѣдемстѣтин	
'8' ѡсем	'18' осемнадесет	'80' осемдесѣт	'800' ѡсемстѣтин	
'9' дѣвет	'19' деветнадесет	'90' деветдесѣт	'900' дѣветстѣтин	
'10' дѣсет		'100' стѣ	'1,000' хиляда	
	'million' милиѡн	'thousand million' милиард		

(b)				
'1' edin	'11' edinadeset			
'2' dva	'12' dvanadeset	'20' dvadeset	'200' dvesta	
'3' tri	'13' trinadeset	'30' trideset	'300' trista	
'4' četiri	'14' četirinađeset	'40' četirideset	'400' četiristotin	
'5' pet	'15' petnađeset	'50' petdeset	'500' petstotin	
'6' šest	'16' šestnađeset	'60' šestdeset	'600' šeststotin	
'7' sedem	'17' sedemnađeset	'70' sedemdeset	'700' sedemstotin	
'8' osem	'18' osemnađeset	'80' osemdeset	'800' osemstotin	
'9' devet	'19' devetnađeset	'90' devetdeset	'900' devetstotin	
'10' deset		'100' sto	'1,000' hiljada	
	'million' milion	'thousand million' milijard		

**Comparative** adjectives are formed with preposed **stressed** по-/рѣ-: M SG по-нѡв/рѣ-нѡв 'newer'. **Superlatives** use нај-/нѣј-: M SG нај-нѡв/нѣј-нѡв 'newest'. Note the regular 'double' stress in both formations.

The synthetic comparative forms of Proto-Slavonic were lost – with vestiges in вѣсш/visš 'higher, superior', нѣзш(и)/nizš(i) 'lower, inferior', старши/starši 'elder, senior', младши/mladši 'junior'.

As the first constituent of definite noun phrases, adjectives carry the definite article: M SG /-ã(t)/, F SG /-ta/, N SG /-to/, PL /-te/. Before the masculine singular definite article, the adjectival **stem** is extended with /ij/: 'the new' M SG нѡвия(т)/nŃvija(t), F SG нѡвата/nŃvata, N SG нѡвѡтѡ/nŃvoto, PL нѡвите/nŃvite. See section 2.1 for spelling of masculine singular forms. Forms with /t/ are subjective, those without it are objective (section 3.1.2). Stress remains unchanged with the definite article.

Certain adjectival forms function productively as **adverbs**: (1) masculine singular (or plural) forms of adjectives in /-sk-/ (брѣтски/brãtski 'fraternal' and adverb 'fraternally'); (2) neuter singular forms of qualitative adjectives with masculine singular in /-Ń-/ (хѣбаво/xŃbavo 'nice' and adverb 'nicely');

(3) colloquially, definite feminine singular forms (здрáвaтa/zdrávata 'healthy-the' and adverb 'soundly'). The comparison of adverbs follows rules for the comparison of adjectives: по-хубаво/рò-хубаво 'more nicely'.

Non-productive, lexicalized adverbial formations – from noun and adjectival bases – often preserve old case distinctions; thus, locative дòлу/dòlu 'downward'; instrumental тìхом/tìхом 'quietly'. Similarly in frozen prepositional phrases: снòщи/snòšti 'last night' (preposition с/s 'from' and genitive singular of нòщ/nòšt 'night').

### 3.1.5 Numeral morphology

**Cardinal numerals** (see table 5.8): spoken and sometimes written Bulgarian use /-nájset/ for /-nàdeset/ ('11' единáйсет/edinájset), and in '20', '30', '40', '60' /-jset/ for /-deset/ ('20' двáйсет/dvájset).

Other cardinals are made up of the forms in table 5.8. Here 'thousand' has the plural хìляди/xìljadi (with shifted accent), and 'million' and 'thousand million' have the count forms милиòна/miliòna, and милиáрда/miliárda. For example, '36,620,105' тpистa и шéст милиòна, шéстстòтин и двáдесет хìляди, стò и пéт/trista i šest miliòna, šeststòtin i dvádeset xìljadi, stò i pèt. Note the regular use of и/i 'and' in each compound term.

'1' is inflected like an adjective: еднá кнìгa/ednà knìga 'one book'. Its plural is used with pluralia tantum: еднì клéщи/edni kléšti 'one (set of) pliers'. Increasingly '1' functions as an indefinite article 'a(n), some': едìн чòвèк/edìn čovèk 'a person'.

'2' двá/dvà is used with masculine nouns, двé/dvé with neuters and feminines: двá гpáдa/dvà gráda 'two cities', двé жèнì/dvé ženì 'two women (F)', двé мèстá/dvé mestá 'two places (N)'.

There are special forms of '2'-'6' for masculine personal nouns (and groups of male and female persons):

'2' двáмa/dvàmа

'3' тpимa/trimа

'4' четиримa/četirimа ~ четìрма/četìрма

'5' петимa/petimа

'6' шèстимa/šestimа

For example, двáмa учèницì/dvàmа učènici 'two pupils'.

Cardinal numerals may be **definite**. In this respect '1' is adjectival: 'the one' M SG едìният/edinijat, F SG еднáтa/ednàtа. 'Million', 'thousand million' and all cardinals in /-a/ follow rules for nouns: 'the million' мил-иòнът/milìonàt, 'the two (M)' двáтa/dvàtа. Remaining cardinals use /-te/, always stressed except with '2 (F/N)' and '3': 'the two (F/N)' двéте/dvéte, 'the 700' седèмстòтинтè/sedemstòtintè.

**Ordinal numerals** are adjectives formed from cardinals with characteristic adjectival gender/number suffixes. Masculine singular ordinals up to and including '90' use /-i/, those from '100' on use /-θ/; пѐти/pěti '5th (M SG)', стòтен/stòten '100th (M SG)'. Note:

- 1 Suppletive forms for:  
 '1st' първи/prǎvi (~ пръв/prǎv)  
 '2nd' втòри/vtòri  
 '3rd' трѐти/trěti  
 '4th' четвѐрти/četvǎrti
- 2 '100th' is /stòten/; /e/ alternates with θ and /o/ is stressed: деветстòтно/devetstòtno '900th (N SG)'.
- 3 'Thousandth', 'millionth' and 'thousand-millionth' use the adjectival suffix /-en-/; /e/ alternates with θ: хиляден/xiljaden 'thousandth (M SG)'.
- 4 Accent shifts take place in the formation of '9th', '10th', '40th': девѐти/devěti, десѐти/desěti, четиридесѐти/četiridesěti.
- 5 Stem final vowels are lost in '7th' сѐдми/sědmi and '8th' òсми/òsmi.

In compound phrases only the final elements are ordinals: трѝста петдесѐт и втòри/trista petdesět i vtòri '152nd (M SG)'.

Definite ordinal numerals are formed as definite adjectives: втòрият/vtòrijat 'the second (M SG)', стòтната/stòtnata 'the hundredth (F SG)'.

## 3.2 Verbal morphology

### 3.2.1 Verbal categories

**Finite** Bulgarian verbal forms are **simple** or **compound**. Simple forms convey **person** – first, second, third – and **number** – singular, plural. In addition, compound forms using participles show **gender** in the singular: masculine, feminine, neuter.

There are three **tenses** in the **indicative** mood – present, past, future – which, combined with other categories, occur in nine formations:

1 **Present**, temporally unmarked, a simple form made up of verbal stem plus complex suffix – /e/ or /i/ (both θ in first person singular and third person plural) or /a/, plus person/number marker:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
First person	/-ǎ ~ -m/	/-m ~ -me/
Second person	/-š/	/-te/
Third person	/-θ/	/-ăt/

2 **Past imperfect**, a simple form, expressing actions contemporaneous with

or subordinate to other past actions; made up of the present-tense stem plus a complex suffix consisting of a vowel /e ~ á/ followed by:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
First person	/-x/	/-xme/
Second person	/-še/	/-xte/
Third person	/-še/	/-xa/

**3 Past aorist**, a simple form, relating a temporally independent, concrete past action; the **aorist** stem plus:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
First person	/-x/	/-xme/
Second person	/-∅/	/-xte/
Third person	/-∅/	/-xa/

**4 Future**, a compound form:

invariant proclitic auxiliary *ще/šte* + present tense

Negated future forms, and other forms involving the future (see below), use the neuter third person singular auxiliary *няма да/пјама да* ('has-not to'); note the colloquial alternative *не ще/не šte*.

**5 Present perfect**, a compound form expressing an action completed in the past but relevant for or related to the present:

present tense 'be' + aorist past active participle

**6 Past perfect**, a compound form expressing an action completed in the past relative to another past action:

past tense 'be' + aorist past active participle

**7 Future perfect**, a compound form expressing an action to be completed in the future prior to another future action:

future tense 'be' + aorist past active participle

**8 Past future**, a compound form expressing an action to be completed in the past but future with respect to another past action; commonly used in conditional constructions (see section 4.5):

imperfect past of *ця/štja* '(I) will, want' + *да/da* + present tense

**9 Past future perfect**, a compound form conveying a past action which is



Table 5.9 Indicative forms

	Non-perfect		Perfect	
	<i>Non-future</i>	<i>Future</i>	<i>Non-future</i>	<i>Future</i>
(a)				
Non-past	пѣша	ще пѣша	пѣсал съм	ще съм пѣсал
Past		щѣх да пѣша	бѣх пѣсал	щѣх да съм пѣсал
Aorist	пѣсах			
Imperfect	пѣшех			
(b)				
Non-past	пиша	šte piša	pisal sâm	šte sâm pisal
Past		štjâx da piša	bjâx pisal	štjâx da sâm pisal
Aorist	pisax			
Imperfect	pišex			

future with respect to a past action, which itself is prior to another past action; rare, commonly replaced by the past future:

past future of щѣ/štjâ '(I) will, want' + aorist past active participle

Thus 'write (3 SG M IMPFV)' has the paradigm shown in table 5.9.

Bulgarian verbs also express **aspect**: perfective verbs mark the completion of the action of the verb, imperfective verbs are unmarked. Most Bulgarian verbs have perfective–imperfective pairs: 1 SG PRS IMPFV пѣша/пиша '(I) write' – PRFV напиша/напиша '(I) write down, complete writing'. 'Bi-aspectual' verbs – verbs with one stem for both aspects – are common; most are borrowings: тренирам/treniram '(I) train (IMPFV/PRFV)' (from English) (see section 5.3).

Morphological processes related to the creation of aspectual pairs begin with **non-prefixed imperfective** verbs (see section 3.3.3), from which **perfective** stems are formed by **suffixation** or **prefixation**. Besides changing the aspect, perfectivizing prefixes often add their own meaning: допиша/dopiša '(I) finish writing (PRFV)' versus подпиша/подпиша '(I) sign' (for lists and definitions of prefixes see Граматика/Gramatika 2: 217ff.). The single perfectivizing suffix /-n-/ imparts **semelfactive** meaning to the base: падна/pâdna '(I) fall (PRFV SEMELFACTIVE)' (← падам/pâdam '(I) fall (IMPFV)').

'Secondary' imperfectives, all third conjugation (see below), are formed from perfectives by **suffixation**. While this process allows many alternative forms and shows random consonantal and vocalic alternations, there are only two imperfectivizing suffixes. The **non-productive** suffix /-a-/ occurs with a limited number of stems; 'speak' 1 SG PRS IMPFV говорѣа/govôrja >

'converse' 1 SG PRS PRFV разговоря/razgovorja > 1 SG PRS IMPFV разговорям/razgovorjam. The **productive** suffix is /-(a)va-/ (unstressed initial /a/ is deleted): 1 SG PRS IMPFV 'count' броя/brojǎ > 'enumerate' 1 SG PRS PRFV изброя/izbrojǎ > 1 SG PRS IMPFV изброявам/izbrojǎvam; 'write' 1 SG PRS IMPFV пиша/piša > 'copy' 1 SG PRS PRFV препиша/prepiša > 1 SG PRS IMPFV преписвам/prepisvam. See Scatton (1984: 285–310) for details.

The Proto-Slavonic aspectual distinction between determinate and indeterminate verbs of motion is entirely lost in Bulgarian.

Aspect is subject to some constraints. Only imperfective verbs have present active participles, gerunds, verbal nouns in /-ne/ and negative imperatives. Only imperfective verbs can be complements of verbs meaning 'begin', 'continue' or 'end'. Present perfective verbs are rare in independent clauses. Imperfect forms are most frequently imperfective aspect, and aorists perfective. **Perfective** imperfects and **imperfective** aorists are possible: perfective imperfects for usually repeated series of completed actions presented as subordinate ('backgrounded') with respect to other, 'major' past actions; imperfective aorists for 'major' past events the completion of which is not relevant for the narration. For discussion and examples see Scatton (1984: 318–32) and Lindstedt (1985).

**Imperatives** are simple or compound. Simple forms are second person singular or plural; there are compound forms for all persons and numbers. Simple forms use the suffixes SG /-i/ and PL /-ete/; the suffix-initial vowel is /j/ with third-conjugation verbs and with verbs of other conjugations whose present stems terminate in /j/; compare 'write' 2 SG пишѝ/piši, 2 PL пишѣте/pišete; 'look' 2 SG глѣдай/glѣdaj, 2 PL глѣдайте/glѣdajte. The vowel is lost unpredictably in a few other verbs: влѣз/vlѣz 'enter (2 SG)'. See section 4.2 for compound imperatives.

The **conditional** is a compound form using the aorist past tense of the stem /bi-/ 'be' (used only here) plus aorist past active participle: 'write' 1 SG м бѣх пи́сал/bix pisał '(I) could/should/would write/have written'. See section 4.5 for conditionals using the indicative.

There are several **passive** formations:

- 1 Any tense of 'be' + past passive participle of transitive verbs: писмѣто бѣше написано/pismoto beše napisano 'the letter was written'.
- 2 Finite forms of transitive verbs with the accusative reflexive pronoun се/se: писмѣто се пи́ше/pismoto se piše 'the letter is (being) written'.
- 3 'Impersonal' (subjectless) third person plural finite forms of transitive verbs: там прода́ват мля́ко/tam prodavat mljako 'milk is sold there' (= 'there sell-3 PL milk').

These formations have slightly different semantic and grammatical nuances (Граматика/Gramatika 2: 245ff.). A rare 'impersonal passive' uses 'be' and neuter singular past passive participles of transitive *and* intransitive verbs: по травата е ходено/по travata e xodeno 'someone (or something) has walked on the grass' (= 'on grass-the is walked'; Граматика/ Gramatika 2: 381).

**Reflexive** verbs, which carry the clitic accusative reflexive pronoun, have various functions:

1 Many common intransitive verbs are reflexive. Some occur only reflexively: смѣя се/směja se '(I) laugh'; others are derived from non-reflexive transitive verbs: бия/бija '(I) beat (TR)' > бия се/bija se '(I) fight (ITR)'.

2 Reflexive verbs derived from non-reflexive transitive verbs occur in **passive** constructions (see above).

3 Reflexive forms of transitive *and* intransitive verbs are used in third person singular 'impersonal' constructions: (a) to express desire, спи ми се/spi mi se 'I want to sleep' (= 'sleep-3 SG me-DAT self-ACC'); (b) to express permission, тук не се пуши/tuk ne se puši 'no smoking here' (= 'here not self-ACC smoke-3 SG').

For reciprocal and genuinely reflexive uses of reflexive verbs see section 4.8.

Indicative forms relate events personally witnessed or otherwise assumed to be true by speakers. For events not witnessed or known only through hearsay, Bulgarian uses so-called 'renarrated' forms (Chvany 1988). Every indicative form has a renarrated form; however, each renarrated tense, except one, corresponds to *two* indicative tenses:

<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Renarrated</i>	
present/imperfect	present	present 'be' + imperfect past participle
aorist	aorist	present 'be' + aorist past participle
present/past perfect	perfect	perfect 'be' + aorist past participle
(past) future	future	perfect 'will, want' + /da/ + present
(past) future perfect	future perfect	perfect 'will, want' + /da/ + perfect

In addition, the present auxiliary 'be' is deleted in all **third-person** forms. Thus, the renarrated paradigm for 'write (3 SG M IMPFV)' shown in table 5.10. Compare **indicative** той написа писмото/toj napisa pismoto 'he wrote the letter (and I saw him do it)' versus **renarrated** той написа писмото/toj napisal pismoto '(it is said that) he wrote the letter'.

First-person renarrated forms are uncommon; they convey a sense of surprise or denial: пишел съм роман/pišel sam roman 'I'm writing a novel!?' (= 'it's claimed that I'm writing a novel'). **Emphatic** present, aorist, future and future perfect renarrated forms replace the present-tense auxiliary 'be' with its present perfect form, while dropping the third-person

**Table 5.10 Renarrated forms**

	Non-perfect		Perfect	
	<i>Non-future</i>	<i>Future</i>	<i>Non-future</i>	<i>Future</i>
(a) Non-past Aorist	пѣшел пѣсал	щял да пѣша	бѣл пѣсал	щял да е пѣсал
(b) Non-past Aorist	pišel pisal	štjál da piša	bil pisal	štjál da e pisal

present auxiliary: **renarrated** пѣшел/pišel – **emphatic renarrated** бѣл пѣшел/bil pišel ‘(he) writes’ (Грамматика/Gramatika 2: 361).

Some grammars describe another renarrated form, one which relates facts not personally witnessed by speakers, but **presumed** by them to be true. **Presumptive** forms use the present tense of ‘be’ plus a past participle, either aorist *or* imperfect (only aorist participles are used in indicative forms): тоѣ е пѣшел писмóто/tój e pišel pismóto ‘he (presumably) wrote the letter’. Largely identical to other indicative or renarrated forms, this category is controversial (Scatton 1984: 332–3).

**Non-finite** verbal forms are the following:

The late Proto-Slavonic **infinitive** and **supine** have been replaced by phrases with да/da + present tense: ѣскам да пѣша/iskam da piša ‘(I) want to write’. A vestigial **infinitive** of very limited use is identical to the second–third person singular aorist (see section 4.5).

Bulgarian lost the present active, present passive and the ‘first’, non-resultative past participles of Proto-Slavonic. On the other hand, it preserved two other participles and innovated two more.

A **present active participle** is formed from imperfective present stems with the suffixes /-ašt- ~ -ešt-/: M SG пѣшещ/pišešt ‘writing’. A strictly literary form devised in the late nineteenth century on Russian and Church Slavonic models, it is only used attributively.

The **imperfect past active participle** is formed from imperfect present stems with /-el- ~ -al-/: M SG пѣшел/pišel ‘wrote’. Used only in renarrated forms, it is a Bulgarian innovation.

The **aorist past active participle** is formed from aorist stems with the suffix /-l-/: M SG пѣсал/pisal ‘wrote’. The direct descendant of the ‘second’,

resultative past active participle of Proto-Slavonic, it is used in compound verbal forms and, occasionally, attributively.

The **past passive participle** is formed from aorist stems with the suffixes /-(e)n- ~ -t-/: M SG писан/pisan 'written'. Continuing the past passive participle of Proto-Slavonic, it is used predicatively in passive formations and attributively.

Based on western Bulgarian forms which continue the Proto-Slavonic present active participle, the Bulgarian **gerund** (verbal adverb) is formed from imperfective present stems with the suffix *-(e)jki*: пишейки/pišejki '(while) writing'. It relates an action contemporaneous with, but subordinate to, the main verb. It is a strictly literary form. For more on participles and gerunds see section 4.5.

A neuter singular **noun**, denoting the action of the verb, is formed with /-(e)ne/ from imperfective stems: писане/pisane 'writing'.

### 3.2.2 Conjugation

Traditional grammars distinguish three conjugations on the basis of the initial vowels of present-tense suffixes:

First conjugation	/e/	пиш-е-ш/piš-e-š	'(you-SG) write'
Second conjugation	/i/	ход-и-ш/xod-i-š	'(you-SG) go, walk'
Third conjugation	/a/	им-а-ш/im-a-š	'(you-SG) have'

Various subclasses of the first and second conjugations reflect the relationship between the stems of the **aorist past** and **present** tenses. For example, the first subclass of the first conjugation makes its aorist stem by adding /e/ (2/3 SG) or /o/ (elsewhere) to the present stem. Table 5.11 gives examples of major subclasses and their characteristic alternations. Double stresses indicate alternative pronunciations. See Пашов/Pašov (1966) and Граматика/Gramatika (2: 304ff.) for exhaustive lists.

Other verbal forms belong to one or the other of two 'systems', depending on which of the two stems is the basis for their formation:

<i>Present system</i>	<i>Aorist system</i>
present tense	aorist past tense
imperfect past tense	aorist past participle
imperative	past passive participle
present active participle	infinitive (vestigial)
imperfect past participle	verbal noun
gerund	

The first and second conjugations continue thematic patterns of Late Proto-Slavonic – with characteristic Bulgarian changes: loss of dual, loss of

Table 5.11 Bulgarian conjugational patterns

Old Church Slavonic		Modern Bulgarian					
Class	1 SG PRES	INF	Class	1 SG PRES	3 SG PRES	1 SG AOR	
(a)			Ia				
I	neso	nesti	до-неса	до-несе	до-несох		'bring' (= 'carry to')
	vedo	vesti	до-веда	до-веде	до-ведох		'bring' (= 'lead')
	čyto	čisti	чета	чете	четох		'read'
	ido	iti	ида	иде	идох		'go'
	reko	rešti	река	рече	рекох		'say'
	grebo	greti	гина	гине	гинах		'perish'
	živō	žiti	мина	мине	минах		'go'
	na-čъno	na-čęti	за-чєна пō-чна	за-чєне пō-чне	за-чєнах пō-чнах		'conceive'
	mъro	mręti	гребá	гребє	гребáх		'begin'
	stanō	stati	стáна	стáне	стáнах		'row'
	kovō	kovati	ковá	ковє	ковáх		'become'
	zovō	zъvati	зовá	зовє	зовáх		'forge'
	berō	bъrati	берá	берє	берáх		'call'
II	gybno	gybati					'gather'
	minō	minati					
III	kažo	kazati	Ic	кажа	каже	казáх	'say'
	pišo	pъsati	Id	пиша	пише	писáх	'write'
			Id	мрá	мрє	мрáх	'die'
	znajō	znati	Ie	знáя	знáе	знáях	'know'
	čujō	čuti	If	чúя	чúе	чúх	'hear'
	kryjō	kryti		крíя	крíе	крíх	'hide'
	bijō	biti		бíя	бíе	бíх	'beat'
	pojō	pęti		пéя	пéе	пéх	'sing'
	umęjō	umęti		умéя	умéе	умéях	'be able'
	dęlajō	dęlati		живéя	живéе	живéях	'live'
				сéя	сéе	сéях (сéяx)	'sow'
	meljo	mlęti	other	мéля	мéле	мля́х	'grind'
	darujō	darovati					
	sęjō	sęjati					
IV	moljō	moliti	IIa	мóля	мóли	мóлих	'beg'
	hozđō	hoditi		хóдя	хóди	хóдих	'walk'
	tъrpjō	tъrpęti	IIb	търпá	търпí	търпáх	'tolerate'
	ležo	ležati		лежá	лежí	лежáх	'recline'
			other				
V	sъpjlō	sъpati		спя́	спи́	спáх	'sleep'
	imamъ	imati	III	íмам	íма	íмáх	'have'
				дýлам	дýла	дýлáх/дýлáх	'carve'
				дарúвам	дарúва	дарúвáх	'present gifts'

Table 5.11 *continued*

Old Church Slavonic		Modern Bulgarian				
Class	1 SG PRES	INF	Class	1 SG PRES	3 SG PRES	1 SG AOR
I	neso	nesti	Ia	do-nesá	do-nesé	do-něsox
	vedo	vesti		do-vedá	do-vedé	do-vedox
	čyto	čisti		četa	četé	četox
	ido	iti		ida	ide	idox
	reko	rešti		reka	reče	recox
	grebo	greti		gina	gine	ginax
	živō	žiti		mina	mine	minax
	na-čьno	na-četi		} za-čena	za-čene	za-čanax
					} pō-čna	pō-čne
	mьro	mrēti		grebá		grebē
	stanō	stati		stána	stáne	stánax
	kovo	kovati		ková	kové	kovax
	zovo	zovati		zová	zové	zovax
	berō	brati		berá	beré	brax
	II	gybno		gybati	Ic	
mino		minati				
III	kažo	kazati	Id	káza	káže	kázax
	pišo	pъsati		piša	piše	pisax
			Ie	mrá	mré	mrjāx
	znajo	znati		znāja	znāe	znājāx
	čujo	čuti	If	čuja	čue	čux
	kryjo	kryti		krija	krie	krix
	bijo	biti	bija	bie	bix	
	pojo	pēti	pēja	pée	pjax	
	umějo	umēti	umēja	umée	umjāx	
	dělajo	dělati	živēja	živée	živjāx	
		other	sēja	sée	sjāx (sējāx)	
meljo	mlēti	other	mělja	méle	mijāx	
darujo	darovati					
sějo	sējati					
IV	moljo	moliti	IIa	mólja	móli	mólix
	xoždō	xoditi		xódja	xódi	xódix
	търпљo	търпēti	IIb	tārpjā	tāрпи	tārpjāx
	ležō	ležati		ležā	leži	ležāx
		other				
сърпљo	сърпати	spjā	spi	spāx		
V	imamъ	imati	III	imam	ima	imāx
				djālam	djāla	djālax/delāx
				darūvam	darūva	darūvāx

infinitive and supine, loss of present active, present passive and non-resultative past active participles, simplification of the simple imperative, generalization of a single aorist formation, restructuring of imperfect forms on the present stem, elimination of the results of dental and labial assimilations to \*j (see section 2.2), and changes in individual suffixes. The third conjugation, a Bulgarian innovation, was accomplished by extending the unproductive Proto-Slavonic athematic type Old Church Slavonic 'have' PRS 1 SG *имать* to many first-conjugation verbs with present theme *-je-* (table 5.11). This conjugation, by far the largest, is productive for derivation of secondary imperfectives and the assimilation of borrowed verbs. Otherwise, vestiges of athematic forms are limited: first person singulars *дам/dám* '(I) give (PRFV)' (otherwise /dad-/: *дадеш/daděš* '(you-SG) give') and *ям/jám* '(I) eat (IMPFV)' (otherwise /jad-/: *ядеш/jaděš*); imperatives *яж(те)/jáž(te)* 'eat (2 SG (PL))', *виж(те)/viž(te)* 'see (2 SG (PL))'.

The following paradigms illustrate the first subtype of each conjugation; those of other subtypes follow from the examples in table 5.11.

#### Conjugation Ia 'read'

	<i>Present</i>	<i>Imperfect</i>	<i>Imperative</i>	<i>Aorist</i>
1 SG	четá/četa	четя́х/četjáh		чѐтох/čětox
2 SG	четѐш/četěš	четѐше/četěše	чети́/četi	чѐте/čěte
3 SG	четѐ/četě	четѐше/četěše		чѐте/čěte
1 PL	четѐм/četěm	четя́хме/ četjáhme		чѐтохме/ čětoxme
2 PL	четѐте/četěte	четя́хте/četjáhxe	четѐте/četěte	чѐтохте/čětoxte
3 PL	четáт/četát	четя́ха/četjáhaxa		чѐтоха/čětoxa

Stem-final /t/ or /d/ is lost before /l/ of the aorist participle: M SG чѐл/čěl. Otherwise, the consonant is retained with vowel-zero alternation: 'bake' M SG пѐкъл/pěkál - F SG пѐкла/pěkla. Retraction of stress to the root is regular in aorist forms.

#### Conjugation IIa 'go, walk'

	<i>Present</i>	<i>Imperfect</i>	<i>Imperative</i>	<i>Aorist</i>
1 SG	хóдя/хóджа	хóдех/хóдех		хóдих/хóдих
2 SG	хóдиш/хóдиш	хóдеше/хóдеше	ходи́/ходи	хóди/хóди
3 SG	хóди/хóди	хóдеше/хóдеше		хóди/хóди
1 PL	хóдим/хóдим	хóдехме/ хóдехме		хóдихме/ хóдихме
2 PL	хóдите/хóдите	хóдехте/хóдехте	ходѐте/ходѐте	хóдихте/хóдихте
3 PL	хóдят/хóдят	хóдеха/хóдеха		хóдиха/хóдиха

This is the only conjugational type that regularly contrasts two stress patterns; compare 'pay' PRS 1 SG платя́/platjá, AOR 1 SG плати́х/platix.



## Conjugation III 'have'

	<i>Present</i>	<i>Imperfect</i>	<i>Imperative</i>	<i>Aorist</i>
1 SG	ѣмам/ímam	ѣмах/ímah		ѣмáх/ímáh
2 SG	ѣмаш/ímaš	ѣмаше/ímaše	ѣмай/ímaj	ѣмá/ímá
3 SG	ѣма/íma	ѣмаше/ímaše		ѣмá/ímá
1 PL	ѣмаме/ímame	ѣмахме/ímahme		ѣмáхме/ímáhme
2 PL	ѣмате/ímate	ѣмахте/ímahxe	ѣмайте/ímajte	ѣмáхте/ímáhxe
3 PL	ѣмат/ímat	ѣмаха/ímaha		ѣмáха/ímáha

The negated form of 'have' is suppletive: 1 SG PRS нѣмам/ńjámam, 1 SG AOR нѣмах/ńjámah and немáх/nemáh.

The **optional** shift of stress from the root in the present to the suffix vowel in the aorist occurs in other aorist forms as well: M SG AOR PART хóдил/хódil, ѣмáл/ímál. Reflecting variation in usage, reference works do not agree on which stems allow shifted forms. In any case, verbs of foreign origin are least likely to shift: 'telephone' 1 SG PRS телефонѣрам/telefoníram and 1 SG AOR телефонѣрах/telefonírah.

The conjugational pattern of 'be' is suppletive:

	<i>Present</i>	<i>Imperfect/aorist</i>	<i>Imperative</i>
1 SG	сѣм/sám	бѣх/bjáh	
2 SG	си/si	бѣ(ше)/bé(še)	бѣди/bádi
3 SG	е/e	бѣ(ше)/bé(še)	
1 PL	сме/sme	бѣхме/bjáhme	
2 PL	сте/ste	бѣхте/bjáhxe	бѣдѣте/bädète
3 PL	са/sa	бѣха/bjáha	

Imperfect/aorist participle: M SG бѣл/bil, F SG билá/bilá,  
N SG билó/biló, PL били/bili

Present forms are clitics. Alternative present forms, based on the stem of the imperative, 1 SG бѣда/báda, 2 SG бѣдеш/bádeš, often replace regular present forms in future constructions and infinitival *da*-constructions.

Preserving a Proto-Slavonic anomaly, the aorist past participle of /id-/-jd- 'go' is suppletive: M SG -шѣл/-šál and -шел/-šel, F SG -шла/-šla, N SG -шло/-šlo, PL -шли/-šli; for example 'arrive' 1 SG PRS дóйда/dójda, M SG AOR PART дошѣл/došál.

### 3.3 Derivational morphology

#### 3.3.1 Major patterns of noun derivation

Noun derivation is **suffixal** or **compound**. Suffixal formations are **emotive** or **non-emotive**. Productive emotive formations are (1) **augmentative** and/or **pejorative**: женище/ženište 'large woman' (< жена/žená 'woman'), дебелán/debelán 'obese person' (< дебел/debél 'fat (M SG ADJECTIVE)'); or (2) **diminutive** and/or **endearing**: стóлче/stólče 'stool' (< стóл/stól 'chair'), бѣбенце/bébence '(dear) baby' (< бѣбе/bébe 'baby').

Typical productive non-emotive formations are:

- 1 /-ák-/: always stressed, masculine personal nouns: простák/prosták 'simpleton' (< прóст/próst 'simple (M SG)').
- 2 /-áč-/: masculine personal agent nouns from verbal bases: водач/vodač 'leader' (< 1 SG PRS вода/vódja '(I) lead').
- 3 /-(e)c-/: masculine personal nouns: лъжѐц/lážec 'liar' (< 1 SG PRS лъжá/lážá '(I) lie').
- 4 /-ic-/: feminine nouns, often counterparts to masculine nouns in /-(e)c-/: вдовица/vdovica 'widower' (< вдовѐц/vdovéc 'widower').
- 5 /-k-/: diverse feminine nouns, including counterparts to masculine personal nouns: водачка/vodačka 'leader (F)', простáчка/prostáčka 'simpleton (F)'.
- 6 /-ost-/: abstract de-adjectival feminine nouns: вярност/vjárnost 'fidelity' (< вѐрен/vėren 'faithful, true (M SG)').

There are two types of **compounding**: (1) with 'linking' vowel /-o- / (-e-): хлебопекáр/xlebopekár 'bread-baker' < хляб/xljáb 'bread' + пек-/pek- 'bake'; (2) **simple concatenation**: кандидат-члѐн/kandidát-člĕn 'non-voting member' < 'candidate' + 'member'.

Bulgarian adjectives are regularly used as nouns: нóвото/nóvoto 'the new one/thing (N)'. Several forms of this origin are used only in this way: 'insect' N SG насеко́мо/nasekómo – PL насеко́ми/nasekómi (as adjective).

### 3.3.2 Major patterns of adjective derivation

Adjectives are formed by **suffixation** and **compounding**. Productive suffixal formations include:

- 1 /-(e)n-/: qualitative and relational adjectives: 'successful' M SG успе́шен/uspěšen, F SG успе́шна/uspěšna (< успе́х/uspěx 'success').
- 2 /-in-/: possessive relational adjectives from animate feminine and masculine nouns with singulars in /-a/: сѐстрин/sĕstrin 'sister's (M SG)' (< сестра/sestrá 'sister').
- 3 /-ov-/: possessive relational adjectives from masculine personal nouns: бра́тов/brátov 'brother's (M SG)' (< бра́т/brát 'brother').

**Compound** formations use (1) **linking with /-o- / (/e/)**, злочѐст/zločĕst 'unfortunate (M SG)' < зъл/zál 'evil (M SG)' + чѐст/čĕst 'fate', or (2) **simple concatenation**, полуграмотен/polùgramóten 'semi-literate (M SG)' < полу-/polu- 'semi' + грамотен/gramóten 'literate (M SG)'.

See section 3.1.4 for comparative and superlative adjectives. Two other **stressed** prefixes affect the **degree** of adjectives: (1) вѝз-/váz- **attenuates** the adjective: вѝзелѐн/vázzelĕn 'greenish (M SG)'; (2) прѐ-/prĕ-

**heightens** it: прѣдобѣр/прѣдобѣр ‘too good, overly good (M SG)’.

### 3.3.3 Major patterns of verb derivation

A small number of Bulgarian **non-prefixed imperfective** stems are non-derived, such as пек-/пек- ‘bake’. Most are formed with a limited number of **verbalizing suffixes**, which appear in the present and/or aorist stems; for example:

- 1 present stem in /-Ø/ ~ aorist stem /-a-/: ‘write’ 1 SG PRS пиша/пиша, 1 SG AOR писах/писах (< пис-/pis- ‘write’);
- 2 present stem /-ěj-/ ~ aorist stem /-ǎ-/: ‘live’ 1 SG PRS живѣя/живѣя, 1 SG AOR живях/живях (< жив-/živ ‘alive (M SG)’);
- 3 present stem in /-Ø/ ~ aorist stem /-i-/: ‘go, walk’ 1 SG PRS ходя/ходя, 1 SG AOR ходих/ходих (< ход-/ход ‘course, movement’).

In the process of deriving perfective stems from non-prefixed imperfectives the meaning of the verbal base may be augmented (1) by the meaning of the perfectivizing prefix or (2) by the semelfactive meaning of the perfectivizing suffix /-n-/. For examples see section 3.2.1.

## 4 Syntax

### 4.1 Element order in declarative sentences

The **unmarked** order of main constituents in simple declarative sentences is **Subject–Verb–Object**: Иван отвори вратата/Ivan otvori vratata ‘Ivan opened the door’. Other orders change the logical stress or other stylistic nuances: вратата отвори Иван/vratata otvori Ivan ‘Ivan opened the door’ (Rudin 1986: 14ff.; Пенчев/Peŋčev 1984: 89ff.).

**Adverbial** modifiers in verb phrases normally come at the end of the sentence: Иван ще дойде тук рано утре/Ivan ŝte dojde tuk rano utre ‘Ivan will come here early tomorrow’.

**Subjectless sentences** are common. Some result from the omission of subject pronouns (see section 4.7). Others – with neuter third person singular verbs – seem to be genuinely **impersonal**; these include (1) verbs denoting natural phenomena (вали/vali ‘precipitates’), (2) the copula ‘be’ plus adjectives (горѣщо е/goręŝto e ‘(it) is hot’), (3) reflexivized verbs in constructions denoting desire/lack of desire, permission or prohibition (see section 3.2.1), (4) modal verbs (such as бива/biva ‘ought’, трябва/trjǎbva ‘needs, must’), (5) certain copular verbs (such as струва се/struva se ‘seems’, изглѣжда/izglęzda ‘appears’).

Bulgarian has many **clitics** – phonologically unstressed words – whose positions with respect to other constituents are fixed. **Proclitics** include (1) prepositions (из нашата страна/iz našata strana ‘throughout our

country'), (2) the negative particle не/ne 'not' (see section 4.6), (3) the future auxiliary ще/šte (section 3.2.1), (4) the infinitival complementizer да/da (и́скам да пи́ша/iskam da piša '(I) want to write'), (5) the conjunctions и/i 'and', но/но 'but', а/а 'and/but' and the complementizer че/че 'that' (и мѐне/i mène 'me too' (= 'and me')).

**Enclitics** include (1) the definite article (see section 3.1.1), (2) the interrogative particle ли/li (section 4.2), (3) 'short' dative personal pronouns denoting possession (section 4.9).

Two groups of verbal clitics – (1) non-emphatic dative and accusative personal pronouns (as indirect and direct objects, respectively) and (2) present forms of 'be' – are **variable**: when the verb phrase is the **initial** constituent of the sentence, they are **enclitics** on its first stressed constituent; otherwise they are **proclitics**. In addition, dative pronominal clitics precede accusatives; third person singular 'be' follows pronominal clitics while other persons and numbers precede them:

Дáл си му ги./Dál si mu gi.  
gave-M SG be-2 SG-PRS him-DAT  
them-ACC  
'(You-SG) have given them to him.'

Тѝ си му ги дáл./Tì si mu gi dál.  
you-SG be-2 SG-PRS him-DAT them-ACC  
gave-M SG  
'You-SG have given them to him.'

Дáла му ги е./Dála mu gi e.  
gave-F SG him-DAT them-ACC  
be-3 SG-PRS  
'(She) has given them to him.'

Тя́ му ги е дáла./Tjá mu gi e dála.  
she him-DAT them-ACC be-3 SG-PRS  
gave-F SG  
'She has given them to him.'

For details on the interaction among various rules of clitic placement see Hauge (1976) and Ewen (1979).

The order of constituents within simple **noun phrases** is:

demonstrative + possessive + quantifier + adjectival + noun + prepositional  
pronoun                      pronoun                      phrase(s)                      phrase

The minimal noun phrase is a single noun; the maximal noun phrase contains all of the above elements: тѐзи мѐи двѐ мнѐго скъ́пи нѐви кнѝги от Гермáния/tèzi mòi dvè mnògo skâpi nòvi knìgi ot Germànija 'these my two very expensive new books from Germany'.

**Quantifiers** include cardinal numerals and other quantifying words, such as мáлко/máлко 'few, little' and мнѐго/mnògo 'many, much' (see section 4.10). Only cardinal numerals co-occur with pronouns; \*тѐзи мѐи мнѐго кнѝги/tèzi mòi mnògo knìgi 'these my many books' is impossible.

The definite article and demonstrative pronouns do not co-occur: тѐзи кнѝги/tèzi knìgi 'these books' or кнѝгите/knìgite 'the books'.

**Adjectival phrases** contain any number of adjectives. Adjectives are modified by adverbs of quantity or degree, which regularly precede them: мнѐго интѐресѐн чѐвѐк/mnògo interesèn čòvèk 'a very interesting

person'. Adverbs of this type also modify predicate adverbials (above): *мно́го ху́баво/мно́го хубаво* 'very nicely'.

Adjectives and other inflected noun-phrase attributes may follow their heads. Very rhetorical, this usage is common in poetry, both literary and folk: *веко́вѣ це́ли/ра́зум и сѣ́вест с не́ја се бо́рјат .../vekové celi/rázum i sávest s něja se bórjat ...* 'entire centuries/reason and conscience struggle with it ...' (= 'centuries entire'; Xristo Botev, cited Граматика/Gramatika 3: 286).

#### 4.2 Non-declarative sentence types

There are two types of **interrogative** sentences.

1 **Yes-no** questions use several **question-markers**; much less frequently, they are formally identical to declarative sentences but carry a final rising intonation (rather than a falling, declarative intonation).

Neutral yes-no questions use the particle *ли/li*. The particle follows the first stressed constituent of the verb phrase, if the scope of interrogation is the entire sentence; otherwise it follows the interrogated constituent. In either case, the constituent to which the particle is attached begins the question:

И́скат ли раки́я?/Ískat li rakija?  
 'Do (they) want brandy?'  
 Раки́я ли и́скат?/Rakija li iskat?  
 'Is it brandy (they) want?'

Rarely, the questioned constituent is not initial: *мо́жеш да плу́ваш ли?/možeš da plúvaš li?* and *да плу́ваш ли мо́жеш?/da plúvaš li móžeš?* 'can (you-SG) swim?' (Граматаика/Gramatika 3: 53).

In neutral questions an overt subject may follow or precede the interrogated verb phrase. The latter construction, which topicalizes the subject, is marked by a sharp intonational rise over the subject followed by a slight pause before the predicate: *ще до́йде ли Ива́н?/šte dójde li Iván? ~ Ива́н | ще до́йде ли?/Iván | šte dójde li?* 'will Ivan come?'

*Дали/dali* introduces a strongly rhetorical question or one which the speaker regards as difficult to answer in some sense: *дали́ ще ни прие́мат?/dali šte ni priémat?* 'will (they or won't they) accept us?' (Граматаика/Gramatika 3: 54).

*Нали/nali* introduces a question anticipating a positive answer: *нали́ сте бо́лен?/nali ste bolen?* '(you-M SG POLITE) are sick(, aren't you)?'. It is also the universal tag question after declarative sentences: *то́й е бо́лен, нали́?/tój e bolen, nali?* 'he's sick, isn't he?'

*Нима́/nimá* forms questions anticipating negative answers, often with a sense of surprise, shock or doubt: *нима́ то́й ме е видя́л?/nimá tój me e vidjal?* 'did he see me?' (= could he possibly have seen me?).

A positive simple question is answered *дa/дa* 'yes' or *нe/нe* 'no' to express the hearer's assertion of the truth or falseness of the corresponding statement:

Ивaн, изпрати ли писмoтo?/Ivàn, izpràti li pismòto?

'Did Ivan send the letter?'

True: Дa, (изпрати го)./Dà, (izpràti go).

'Yes, ((he) sent it).'

False: Нe, (не го изпрати)./Nè, (ne gò izpràti).

'No, ((he) didn't send it).'

Simple negative questions, formed with the negative particle *не/ne*, are answered on the basis of the hearer's assertion of the truth or falseness of the corresponding positive statement:

Не изпрати ли Ивaн писмoтo?/Ne izpràti li Ivàn pismòto?

'Didn't Ivan send the letter?'

He *did not* send it: Нe, (не го изпрати)./Nè, (ne gò izpràti).

'No, ((he) didn't send it).'

He *did* send it: Дa, изпрати го./Dà, izpràti go.

'Yes, (he) sent it.'

As an answer to a negative question, *дa/дa* alone is unacceptable. See Лакова/Lakova (1978; examples hers).

**2 Constituent questions** are formed with interrogative pronouns (see section 3.1.3) and interrogative adverbs such as *кaк/кaк* 'how', *къдe/кaдe* 'where', *кoгa/кoгa* 'when' and *зaщo/зaщo* 'why'. Such WH words generally begin questions: *кaквo виждaш?/kakvò viždaš?* 'what do (you-SG) see?'. Prepositions always precede the WH words they govern: *с кoгo рaбoтиш?/s kogò rabòtiš?* 'with whom are (you-SG) working?'. Multiple WH words normally occur in the beginning of the sentence: *кoй кaквo кoгa кaзвa?/kòj kakvò kogà kázva?* 'who says what when?' (= 'who what when says'). Questions with non-initial WH words are interpreted as echo questions: *ти си видял кoгo?/ti si vidjál kogò?* 'you-SG saw whom?' (Rudin 1986: 82).

WH words and *ли/li* co-occur in two ways. (1) *ли/li* after an initial WH word makes a strongly rhetorical question: *и кaквa ли слaдoст нaмирaт в нeгo?/i kakvà li sládost namirat v négo?* 'and what sweetness do (they) find in it?'. (2) Sentence-final *ли/li* makes an echo question: *кaквo щe ям ли?/kakvò šte jám li?* 'what will (I) eat?', as an echo to *кaквo щe ядeш?/kakvò šte jaděš?* 'what will (you-SG) eat?' (Грамматика/Gramatika 3: 61).

Simple questions with *дали/dali* or, less commonly, *ли/li* and questions with WH words may be embedded in diverse syntactic positions:

Не зна́я дали е та́м./Ne znája dali e tám. ~ Не зна́я та́м ли е./Ne znája tám li e.  
'(I) don't know whether (he/she/it) is there.'

(Дали́/dali is more common in indirect questions than ли/li; Rudin 1986: 63.)

Пи́таха ме, ко́й те е тѝрсил./Pítaha me, kój te e tǎrsil.  
'(They) asked me who was looking for you-SG.'

**Commands** are expressed with **simple** or **compound imperatives**. Simple imperatives are limited to second person singular and plural (see section 3.2). Negative simple imperatives use (1) the negated simple imperative or (2) не де́й(те) да/neděj(te) da + second person present tense: не пи́ши!/ne piši! ~ не де́й да пи́шеш!/neděj da pišeš! 'don't write (you-SG)!'. Rarely, не де́й(те)/neděj(te) is followed by the vestigial infinitive (section 3.2): не де́й пи́са!/neděj piša! Only simple imperfective imperatives can be negated. Positive imperatives are possible for both imperfective and perfective verbs; imperfectives carry a sense of urgency lacking in perfectives.

Compound imperatives use да/da or не́ка (да)/něka (da) + present tense:

Не́ка аз (да) пи́ша!/Něka аз (da) piša!  
'Let me write!'

Да зна́еш какво́ ста́ва!/Da znáeš kakvò stáva!  
'(You-SG) should/ought to know what's happening!/May (you-SG) know what's happening!'

Second-person formations with да/da are more categorical than simple imperatives. Forms with не́ка/něka carry an element of exhortation; they are uncommon in the second person (Гра́матика/Gramatika 3: 69ff.).

Present- and future-tense forms spoken with the intonational pattern of simple imperatives commonly serve as imperatives: ще пи́шеш и ти́!/šte pišeš i ti! 'and you-SG too will write!'

### 4.3 Copular sentences

Copular sentences use 'be' or one of a small number of other verbs, notably бѝвам/bivam '(I) happen (to be)', оста́вам/ostávam '(I) remain', ста́вам/stávam '(I) become'. Predicate adjectives, including participles, agree in number and gender with the subject: Ма́ма изгле́жда бо́лна/Máma izgléžda bólna 'Mother looks sick-F SG'. With second person plural personal pronouns referring to singular addressees for politeness (see section 3.2), participles in compound verbal forms and predicative adjectives are **singular** and masculine or feminine as appropriate; simple verbal forms are plural: ви́е сте била́ мно́го добра́/vie ste bilá mnógo dobrá

'you (= F SG) have been very kind' (= 'you-PL are-2 PL be-F SG-PAST PART very kind-F SG'). In formal writing and speech adjectives and participles in these constructions are often plural.

Perceived qualities or states are commonly expressed by impersonal sentences using neuter adjectives, 'be' and optional prepositional phrases with *на/на* or clitic dative personal pronouns:

Студѐно ми е./Studěno mi e.

'I feel cold.' (= cold-N SG me-DAT is')

На Иван му е много скучно./Na Iván mu e mnogo skučno.

'Ivan is very bored.' (= 'to Ivan him-DAT is very boring-N SG'; for duplicated pronoun see 4.7)

A similar construction with a small number of nouns, like *страх/stráx* 'fear', *срам/srám* 'shame', uses an **accusative** pronoun: *срам го е/srám go e* 'he is ashamed' (= 'shame him-ACC is') (Грамматика/Gramatika 3: 95).

#### 4.4 Coordination and comitativity

The **coordination** of all types of phrasal constituents is possible with the conjunction *и/i* 'and' preceding the last coordinated constituent: *ку́пих си риза, чадър и шапка/kúpix si riza, čadár i šápka* '(I) bought myself a shirt, an umbrella and a hat'. Repetition of the conjunction before all conjoined elements stresses their parallelism: *и Пётър и Иван отидоха на мач/i Pětár i Iván otidoxa na máč* 'both Peter and Ivan went to the game'.

Complete sentences are conjoined with *и/i*: *дъжд вали и вятър дъха/dăžd valí i vjătár duxa* 'rain is falling and wind blowing'. Here repetition or deletion of the coordinating conjunction adds a stylized, literary flavour:

И слънцето се въртеше, и времето летеше и изтичаше като стадо, като река, като облак./I slánceto se vǎrtěše, i vrěmeto letěše i iztičáše kató stádo, kató reká, kató óblak.

'And the sun was revolving, and time was flying and running out like a flock, like a river, like a cloud.' (A. Dončev, cited in Грамматика/Gramatika 3: 294)

Coordinated subjects generally show plural verbal concord (examples above). Singular agreement is also possible, for example (1) with paired subjects construed as a unit: *в колата ечна смях и кикот/v koláta éčna smjáh i kíkot* 'in the car (there) resounded-3 SG laughter and giggling'; or (2) with coordinated series: *ние не щѐ кажем нищо друго освѐн това че всеки човек и всеки народ тѐгли от ума си/nie ne ště kážem ništo drúgo osvěn tová če vsěki čověk i vsěki naród tégli ot umá si* 'we shall say nothing except that every person and every nation is responsible for



itself. For additional details on singular agreement with plural subjects see Граматика/Gramatika 3: 146–54 (preceding examples there).

**Comitative** constructions use a prepositional phrase with с/с ‘with’: майка с дете чакаше на опашката/májka s detè čákaše na opáškata ‘a mother (together) with a child waited (SG) in the line’. Pronominal heads of comitative constructions, regardless of their actual number, are plural, as are related verbs: ние с баща ми отидохме на кино/nie s baštá mi otidoxme na kino ‘I went to the movies with my father/my father and I went to the movies’ (= ‘we with father me-DAT ...’). Comitative constructions are possible as direct and indirect objects:

Арестуваха ги с баща му./Arestúvaха gi s baštá mu.

‘(They) arrested him and his father.’ (= ‘... them-ACC with father him-DAT’)

На нас със жена ми ни изпратиха подарък./Na nás sás žená mi ni izprátixa podárák.

‘(They) sent me and my wife a gift.’ (= ‘to us-ACC with wife me-DAT us-DAT ...’)

Other types of coordination utilize other conjunctions: или/ili ‘or’, или ... или/ili ... ili ‘either ... or’, а/а ‘and, but’ (contrasting opposition), но/no ‘but, however’ (strong contrast, contradiction), обаче/obače ‘however’ (stronger, more literary form of но/no):

Аз имам чадър, а тя няма./Az ímam čadár, a tjà njáma.

‘I have an umbrella, but she doesn’t.’

Пиесата има голям успех, но въпреки това падна./Piésata ima goljám uspèx, no vâpreki tová pádna.

‘The play had great success, but nevertheless closed (literally ‘fell’).’

#### 4.5 Subordination

**Headed relative clauses**, postposed to noun phrases, are marked by initial relative pronouns (see section 3.1.3), preceded by prepositions governing them. The number and gender of relative pronouns agree with their antecedents; case is determined by the function of the pronouns in the relative clauses: изпратих пакет на студента, с когото се запознахме миналата година в Сѳфия/izprátix pakèt na studènta, s kogòto se zapoznáxme minalata gódina v Sòfija ‘(I) sent a package to the student, with whom I got acquainted (= with whom-ACC self-ACC acquainted-1 PL) last year in Sofia’. Relative clauses using relativizers formed from interrogative adverbs modify prepositional and adverbial phrases: намѳрих книгата там, където я бях оставил/namѳriх knigata там, kádèto ja bjáx ostávil ‘(I) found the book there, where (I) had left it’.

Relative pronouns with noun phrase antecedents have alternative formations with the invariant relative pronoun дѳто/dèto ‘that’. Most frequent in dialects, this construction is colloquial in literary Bulgarian: това е книгата дѳто (~ която) бѳше на масата/tová e knigata dèto (~ kojáto) bѳše na másata ‘that is the book that (which) was on the table’.

If *дѐто/дѐто* is *not* the subject of its clause, the clause *may* contain a clitic personal pronoun 'echoing' the grammatical categories of the antecedent; in relativization from a prepositional phrase a full, stressed personal pronoun is necessary as the object of the preposition:

Това е книгата дѐто (я) к<sup>у</sup>пих./Това е knjigata deto (ja) k<sup>u</sup>pix.

'This is the book that (it) (I) bought.'

Това е книгата дѐто говорехме за нѐя./Това е knjigata deto govorexme za neja.

'This is the book that (we) spoke about (it).'

See Rudin (1986: 129–30) for discussion; the examples are hers.

**Free (headless) relatives** are possible:

Взemi какв<sup>о</sup>то искаш!/Vzemi kakvoto iskaš!

'(You-SG) take whatever (you-SG) want!'

К<sup>о</sup>йто не внимава, т<sup>о</sup>й прави грѐшки./Kojto ne vnimava, toj pravi greški.

'Whoever doesn't pay attention, makes mistakes.'

In multiple free relatives all WH words are clause initial: *к<sup>о</sup>йто къдѐто* е свикнал, *т<sup>а</sup>м си живѐе*/k<sup>o</sup>jto k<sup>a</sup>deto e sviknal, tam si živee 'everyone lives where he's accustomed' (= 'whoever wherever is became-accustomed-M SG, there self-DAT lives'; Rudin 1986: 167).

The complementizer *че/че* 'that' introduces subordinate clauses as complements of verbs of saying or believing, as complements of nouns and as sentential subjects:

Мисля че скоро ще завали дъжд./Mislja če skoro šte zavali dažd.

'(I) think that soon (it) will rain.'

Имам чувство че ще дойдат./Imam čuvstvo če šte dojdāt.

'(I) have a feeling that (they) will come.'

Сигурно е че няма да дойдат./Sigurno e če njāma da dojdāt.

'(It) is certain that (they) won't come.'

In place of an **infinitive**, Bulgarian uses a subordinate clause consisting of *да/da* plus a present-tense verbal form which agrees in person and number with its implicit subject. Infinitive-like '*da*-clauses' are used as complements of many modal verbs (for example, *трябва*/trjābva '(it) is necessary', *искам*/iskam '(I) want', *мога*/mōga '(I) can'), as complements of verbs of motion or being, as nominal complements, as sentential subjects and in indefinite constructions with 'have' and 'have not':

Искам да отида на мач./iskam da otida na mač.

'(I) want-1 SG to go-1 SG to a game.'

Дошли сме да слушаме музика./Došli sme da slušame mūzika.

'(We) have come to listen-1 PL to music.'

Нямам намерение да се напръгам./Njāmam namerēnie da se naprjāgam.

'(I) don't have (the) intention to exert-1 SG myself.'

Ѐмам с когò да говорѝ./Ѐмам s kogò da govòrja.  
 '(I) have someone to talk to.' (= 'have-1 SG with whom-ACC to talk-1 SG')

The subject of a main clause may differ from that of a *da*-clause: дошли сме да ни разкàжете за пàтùването си в Бългàрия/дошли сме да ни разкàжете за пàтùването си в Бългàрия '(we) have come for (you-PL) to tell us about your (own) trip to Bulgaria'. See Rudin (1986) for discussion of Bulgarian complementizers and relative clauses.

The vestigial **infinitive** (see section 3.2.1) occurs rarely in the literary language as the complement of мòга/мòга '(I) can' and смѝя/смѝя '(I) dare', and in negative imperatives (section 4.2): не мòга пѝса/не мòга пѝса '(I) can't write'. *Da*-clauses are normal here: не мòга да пѝша/не мòга да пѝша '(I) can't write'.

Diverse subordinate clauses expressing circumstances related to the actions of main clauses are formed with subordinating conjunctions.

1 **Conditional** clauses use the conjunction àко/àко 'if' (or its colloquial, poetic variant да/да). **Real** conditionals use indicative verbal forms in both condition and result clauses: àко дòйдат, ще ги видим/àко дòйдат, ще ги видим 'if (they) come, (we) will see them'. **Contrary-to-fact** conditionals normally use imperfect or past perfect indicative forms in the condition clause and subjunctive or past future indicative forms in the result clause; these tense distinctions apparently entail no semantic differences: бѝх я поздравѝл (щàх да я поздравѝя), àко бѝх тàm/бѝх ја поздравил (штjàх да ја поздравѝа), àко бѝх тàm '(I) would greet/would have greeted her, if (I) were/had been there'.

2 Other subordinate clauses function as predicate **adverbials** of time, place, manner, reason and so on:

Говòриш, без да знàеш каквò стàва./Govòriš, bez da znàeš kakvò stàva.  
 '(You-SG) speak *without* knowing (= without to know-2 SG) what is happening.'  
 Докòлкòто ми е извѝстно, нѝма да дòйдат./Dokòlkòто ми е izvèstno, nĳama da dòjdat.  
 'As far as (it) is known to me, (they) will not come.'

In written and formal spoken Bulgarian **participial phrases** often replace relative clauses. An active participle – either present or aorist – replaces a **subject** relative pronoun and its verb. The participle is present tense if the action of the verb in the relative clause is **contemporaneous** with that of the main verb; it is aorist if the action of the verb of the relative clause **precedes** that of the main verb:

Познàвах протестѝращите хòра./Poznàвах protestiraštite (PRS ACT PART) хòра.  
 '(I) knew the protesting people.'

Намерихме пристигналия влак./Namèrixme pristignalija (AOR ACT PART) vláak.  
'(We) found the arrived train.'

A past passive participle replaces a transitive verb and direct object relative pronoun: намèрих загубената книга/namèrix zagùbenata (PAST PASS PART) kniga '(I) found the lost book'.

The sense of a present passive participle (otherwise lacking) is expressed by an imperfective past passive participle: нòсена от слáбия úтринен вятър, [отрòвна мьгlà] запълзя .../nòsena (IMPFV PAST PASS PART) ot slábija útrinen vjätär, [otròvna mägla] zapälzja ... 'carried by the weak morning wind, [a poisonous fog] drifted ...' (Маслов/Maslov 1981: 262).

Participial phrases regularly allow diverse predicative elements: мнòго са желáещите да почиват тук/mnògo sa želáeštite (PRS ACT PART) da počivat tük 'many are those wishing (literally 'wishing-the') to vacation here' (*Narodna mladež*, 1 December 1989). While usually preposed to their heads (see above), participial phrases may also be postposed: ... след кардиналните промени, настъпили в БКП/... sled kardinálnite promèni, nastúpili (AOR ACT PART) v BKP '... after the fundamental changes, which have taken place in the BCP (= Bulgarian Communist Party)' (*Narodna mladež*, 1 December 1989).

An adverbial subordinate clause may be replaced by a **gerundive** phrase if (1) the subjects of both clauses are the same and (2) the action of the subordinate clause is contemporaneous with that of the main clause: четейки нòвия му ромán, намèрих .../četèjki nòvija mu román, namèrix ... '[while] reading his new novel, (I) found ...'. Postposed active participles occasionally function as gerunds: машината теглеше лèко и плáвно, не усèщаща товáра/mašinata tègleše lèko i pláвно, ne usèštašta (PRS ACT PART) továra 'the car drew away easily and smoothly, not feeling the load' (Маслов/Maslov 1981: 282-3).

Gerundive phrases are limited to formal writing and speech, and even there they are avoided. A study of a corpus of 15,000 words of a modern Russian novel and its Bulgarian translation found that of 107 gerunds in the Russian original, only fifteen (14 per cent) were translated as Bulgarian gerunds; the rest were replaced by subordinate clauses (Дончева/Dončeva 1975).

The extraction of interrogative and relative pronouns from various types of embedded clauses has been studied by Rudin (1986). The following summarizes her major findings.

Questions cannot be formed by extraction from indirect (embedded) questions: \*когò се чудиш кой е видял?/kogò se čudiš kój e vidjal? 'whom do (you-SG) wonder who saw?'. However, interrogation and extraction are possible over the complementizer че/че 'that': корò мислиш че е видял?/kogò misliš če e vidjal? 'whom do you think that he

saw?' (examples from Rudin 1986: 105f.).

Relative-clause formation can move relative pronouns an indefinite distance: *книгата, която ти ми каза че Иван мисли че Петър иска да купи ...* /knigata kojato ti mi kaza ce Ivan misli ce Petar iska da kupi ... 'the book which you-SG told me that Ivan thinks that Peter wants to buy ...'. Similarly, the relativizer *де́то/дѐто* 'that' is interpreted over an unbounded domain: *книгата дѐто ти ми каза че Иван мисли че Петър иска да (я) купи ...* /knigata deto ti mi kaza ce Ivan misli ce Petar iska da (ja) kupi ... 'the book that you-SG told me that Ivan thinks that Peter wants to buy (it) ...'.

The formation of WH relative clauses is blocked in two instances:

- 1 The determiner of a noun phrase cannot be relativized: *\*това́ е момчѐто (на) коѐто трябва да намерим (неговата) майка* /*\*tová e momceto (na) koeto trjábva da namerim (negovata) majka* 'this is the boy (of) whom (we) must find (his) mother'.
- 2 Relativization out of a noun phrase containing a head noun and a modifying clause is impossible: *\*това́ е момчѐто на коѐто мисълта́ че (му) дадохме бонбони ядосва лекаря* /*\*tová e momceto na koeto misaltá ce (mu) dadoxme bonboni jadosva lekarja* 'this is the boy to whom the thought that (we) gave him candies angers the doctor'.

Relativization with *де́то/дѐто* is grammatical in both cases. See Rudin (1986: 140–3) for additional discussion (examples hers).

The complementizer *че/че* 'that' cannot in general be deleted, including cases with movement across the complementizer:

*Мисля че си видял човека.* /*Mislja ce si vidjal čoveka.*

'(I) think that (you-SG) saw the man.'

Not *\*Мисля си видял ...* /*\*Mislja si vidjal ...*

'(I) think you saw ...'

*Познавам човека когото мисля че си видял.* /*Poznavam čoveka kogoto mislja ce si vidjal.*

'(I) know the man whom (I) think that you saw.'

Infrequent examples with deletion of the complementizer are reported in direct speech (or thought): *мисля си, ти си видял човека* /*mislja si, ti si vidjal čoveka* '(I) think (to myself): you-SG saw the man' (Грамматика/ Gramatika 3: 344).

#### 4.6 Negation

A sentence or any of its constituents can be negated. If the scope of negation is the entire sentence, the negative particle *не/не* attaches to the verb: *то́й не рабо́ти/то́j ne rabóti* 'he doesn't work'. Otherwise, *не/не*

precedes the negated constituent, which generally begins the sentence: не на Ивѧн дѧдох кнѧгата/не на Ivѧn dѧдох knѧgata 'it wasn't Ivan I gave the book to' (= 'not to Ivan gave-1 SG book-the').

Negative sentences are conjoined with нѧ(то)/ni(to) 'neither, nor', repeated before each conjoined constituent: нѧто Ивѧн, нѧто Вѧлѧ, нѧто Дѧмчо не знѧят, кѧдѧ живѧя/nito Ivѧn, nito Vѧlja, nito Dimčo ne znѧjat, kѧdѧ živѧja 'neither Ivan, nor Valja, nor Dimčo know where I live'.

Negative constituent questions (see section 4.2) use negative pronouns and other negative pro-forms (section 3.1.3); here не/ne accompanies the verb as well:

На нѧкого не кѧзах новинѧта./Na nikogo ne kѧzah novinѧta.  
'(I) told no one the news.' (= to no-one-ACC not told-1 SG news-the')  
Нѧкога не слѧшат./Nikoga ne sluшат.  
'(They) never listen.'

#### 4.7 Anaphora and pronouns

The principal **anaphoric pronouns** of Bulgarian include:

- 1 third-person personal pronouns: тѧй/тѧj 'he, it'
- 2 personal possessive pronouns: нѧгов/nѧgov 'his, its'
- 3 demonstrative pronouns: тѧзи/tѧzi 'this (M SG)  
ѧнзи/ѧnzi 'that (M SG)  
такѧв/takѧv 'such (M SG)'

Forms in /on-/ are marked as distanced from the speaker; forms in /t-/ are unmarked.

- 4 relative pronouns: кѧйто/kѧjto 'who, which, that (M SG)  
какѧвто/kakѧvto 'which sort (M SG)'
- 5 reflexive pronouns: сѧбе си/sѧbe si '-self'

(See section 3.1.3 for full paradigms; for relative, reflexive and personal possessive pronouns see also sections 4.5, 4.9 and 4.10.) For example:

Speaker A: Тѧ пишѧ нѧва грамѧтика./Tѧ piше nѧva gramѧtika.  
'She's writing a new grammar.'

Speaker B: Тѧзи грамѧтика не мѧ интересѧва./Tѧzi gramѧtika ne мѧ interesѧva.

'This grammar doesn't interest me.'

or B: Тѧвѧ не мѧ интересѧва./Тѧvѧ ne мѧ interesѧva.

'This doesn't interest me.'

Anaphoric adverbs are formed from the demonstrative root /t-/ 'this'; for example, тѧм/tѧm 'there', тѧка/tѧka 'here', тѧгѧва/tѧgѧva 'then':

Откриха нов магазин. Там продават всичко./Otkriha nov magazin. Tam prodavat vsičko '(They) found a new store. There (they) sell everything.'

The omission of pronominal subjects, including first and second person, is extremely common. In a comparison of a Russian novel and its Bulgarian translation, Дончева/Dončeva (1975) found that Bulgarian omitted 58 per cent of possible personal pronominal subjects (Russian only 42 per cent). Omission is naturally facilitated by verb and adjective concord with the subject: болен е/bólen e '(he) is sick-M SG'. Often, however, omission leaves the subject ambiguous within its clause: в момента пише/v moménta piše 'at the moment (he/she/it) writes'. In such cases the larger context provides the appropriate interpretation of the intended subject.

The presence or absence of overt personal pronominal subjects may be affected by discourse factors. According to Маслов/Maslov (1981: 356), the pronominal subject is omitted when topic, but retained when focus (where it generally identifies the actual agent among a number of possibilities); compare: днес отивам на кино/dnès otivam na kino 'today (I) am going to the movies' versus днес аз отивам на кино/dnès аз otivam na kino 'today I (as opposed to someone else) am going to the movies'.

'This' and 'that' used alone as subjects of copular verbs are invariably neuter singular, and verbal concord is with the predicate: това са моите нови дрехи/tová sa móite nóvi dréxi 'these (= this-N SG) are my new clothes'.

The **definite article** marks the presupposition that the referent of the noun phrase is known to the participants in the speech or narrated event: книгата е интересна/knigata e interesna 'the book is interesting'. See Mayer (1988) for details.

'The former' and 'the latter' are expressed by the definite ordinal numerals първият/pǎrvijat 'the first (M SG)' and вторият/vtórijat 'the second (M SG)', inflected to agree with their antecedents: първият [пример] показва ..., а вторият .../pǎrvijat [primer] pokazva ..., a vtórijat ... 'the former [example-M SG] shows ..., while the latter ...'. Longer series use successive ordinal numerals beyond 'second'.

In colloquial Bulgarian, and to some extent in more formal styles, nouns or full, stressed personal pronouns as direct or indirect objects are often 'echoed' by appropriately inflected clitic personal pronouns (Грамматика/Gramatika 3: 186–8, 191). While clitic doubling is generally optional, it is subject to discourse factors: an emphasized noun phrase is apt to occur first in the sentence – the position of focus – and if the noun is the direct or indirect object the clitic pronoun is apt to appear (Rudin 1986: 139). Compare:

Neutral: Казах новините на Иван./Káзах novinite na Iván.  
'(I) told the news to Ivan.'

Focus on Ivan: На Ива̀н му ка̀зах новинѝте./Na Ivàn mu kàzah novinite.  
'(I) told the news to Ivan.' (= 'to Ivan him-DAT told-1 SG news-the')

Focus on news: Новинѝте ги ка̀зах на Ива̀н./Novinite gi kàzah na Ivàn.  
'(I) told the news to Ivan.' (= 'news-the them-ACC told-1 SG to Ivan')

The pronoun is obligatory if the subject and direct object are ambiguous: ма̀йката я глѐда детѐто/màjkata ja glèda detèto 'the child takes care of the mother' (= 'mother-the-F SG her-ACC takes-care-of child-the-N SG') versus детѐто го глѐда ма̀йката/detèto go glèda màjkata 'the mother takes care of the child' (= 'child-the-N SG it-ACC takes-care-of mother-the-F SG').

Echoed clitics are not possible in WH-relative clauses: \*чо̀века, ко̀йто Бо̀рис го ви́дя/čovèka, kòjto Boris go vidjà 'the person, whom Boris saw' (= 'man-the who Boris him-ACC saw-3 SG') (Rudin 1986: 126, for discussion; example hers). On the other hand, echoed clitics with дѐто/dèto-relatives are optional or obligatory depending on the syntactic function of the relative pronoun (see section 4.5 for examples and references).

Bulgarian grammars describe stressed personal pronouns as 'echoes' of subject nouns. Here, however, the nouns are in apposition to the personal pronouns: тя̀, бѐдната да̀ма, започ̀на да пла̀че/tjà, bèdnata dàma, zapòčna da plàča 'she, the poor lady, began to cry' (Грама̀тика/Gramatika 3: 123; also Пенчев/Penčev 1984: 83).

#### 4.8 Reflexives and reciprocals

**Reflexive personal pronouns** (see section 3.1.3) replace non-subject personal pronouns whose antecedents are the **subject** of the clause in which they occur: ми́я се/ми́ja se '(I) wash myself'. Stressed forms – in the case of the dative a prepositional phrase with на/na + accusative – are used for emphasis: сѐбе си ми́я/sèbe si míja '(I) wash myself'. In other, non-dative prepositional phrases only stressed accusative forms are possible: то̀й ми́сли са̀мо за сѐбе си/tòj misli sàmo za sèbe si 'he thinks only about himself'.

In colloquial Bulgarian first- and second-person non-reflexive forms may replace reflexives in prepositional phrases: взем̀и ме с тѐбе!/vzemi me s tèbe! ~ ... сь̀с сѐбе си!/~... sàs sèbe si! 'take me with you/yourself!'. Although considered non-standard, this usage is gaining ground. Substitution for direct or indirect objects is ungrammatical: only купѝ си но̀ви дрèхи!/kupi si nòvi drèxi!, not \*купѝ ти ~ \*на тѐбе...!/\*kupi ti ~ \*na tèbe ...! 'Buy-2 SG yourself new clothes!'.

Substitution of personal for reflexive pronoun in the third person regularly changes the pronominal reference: то̀й го ми́е/tòj go mie 'he washes him (= someone else)'.



The reflexive pronoun always refers to the subject of the verb of the clause in which it occurs. Through the subject, even if deleted, it may refer to earlier nouns and pronouns:

Иван иска да си купи нова риза./Ivan iska da si kupi nova riza.  
 'Ivan wants to buy-3 SG himself a new shirt.'  
 ↑-----↑-----↑

Possessive expressions (see section 4.9) in predicates use reflexive personal pronouns and possessive adjectives in much the same way: аз взех книгата си/az vzex knigata si 'I took my (own) book'. The dative enclitic reflexive is regularly replaced by the reflexive possessive adjective for emphasis: аз взех својата книга/az vzex svojata kniga 'I took *my own* book'. In the first and second person, non-reflexive possessives are possible for greater emphasis: взех мојата книга/vzex mojata kniga 'it was *my* book that I took' (= 'took 1-SG my book'). Here dative non-reflexive forms are ungrammatical or questionable:

\*Взех книгата ми./Vzex knigata mi.  
 '(I) took my book.'  
 ?Дадох му книгата ми./Dadox mu knigata mi.  
 '(I) gave him my book.'

(Маслов/Maslov 1981: 302)

Reflexive possessives cannot be subjects or predicative nominatives: \*нужна ми е својата стаја/\*nužna mi e svojata staja 'I need my own room' (= 'necessary-F SG me-DAT is own-F SG room-F SG').

With plural subjects and verbs of appropriate meanings, **reciprocal** constructions are formed with enclitic reflexive pronouns, dative and accusative and/or the expression едн друг/edin drug 'one another'. Enclitic pronouns are customary for direct and indirect objects: те се целуваат/te se celuvat 'they kiss (one another)'. Едн друг/edin drug is added for emphasis: те се целуваат едн друг/te se celuvat edin drug 'they kiss one another'. Едн друг/edin drug is the unmarked form of this expression; feminine and neuter forms are used only with subjects that are all feminine or all neuter, respectively.

In other, non-dative prepositional phrases reciprocity is expressed only by едн друг/edin drug: те намират интересни нешта едн в друг/te namirat interesni nešta edin v drug 'they find interesting things in one another'.

Reciprocal sentences with enclitic reflexive pronouns may be ambiguous with respect to number: те си пишат/te si pišat may mean 'they-two write to one another' or 'they-more-than-two write among themselves'. The ambiguity is eliminated with едн друг/edin drug. Compare те намират интересни нешта едни в други/te namirat interesni nešta

edni (PL) v drúgi (PL) 'they (more than two) find interesting things in one another'.

In so far as they use the same pronouns, reflexive and reciprocal constructions are formally identical. The meaning of the verb often makes one or the other interpretation the more likely. Compare:

Мият се./Mijat se.

'(They) wash themselves.' (not '(They) wash each other.')

Бият се./Bijat se.

'(They) hit one another.' (not '(They) hit themselves.')

Alternative readings are forced and ambiguities avoided with себе си/сѐбе si 'self' and един друг/edin drúg 'one another':

Мият се един друг./Mijat se edin drúg.

'(They-two) wash one another.'

Сѐбе си бият./Sѐбе si bijat.

'(They) beat themselves.'

#### 4.9 Possession

Possession is expressed verbally with *има́м*/imam '(I) have' and its negative counterpart *ня́мам*/njámam '(I) don't have': *Ива́н има́ мно́го прия́тели*/Ivân ima mnógo prijáteli 'Ivan has many friends'. Possession in noun phrases is expressed in several ways:

- 1 Clitic dative personal pronouns (see section 3.1.3): *това́ са кни́гите ми*/tová sa knígite mi 'these are my books' (= 'this-N SG are books-the me-DAT').
- 2 Prepositional phrases with *на*/na: *това́ е домът на бра́т ми*/tová e domát na brát mi 'this is the home of my brother'.
- 3 Possessive personal pronouns (section 3.1.3): *това́ са мо́ите кни́ги*/tová sa móite knigi 'these are my books'.
- 4 Possessive adjectives derived from personal nouns (section 3.3.2): *това́ е бра́товият до́м*/tová e brátovijat dóm 'this is (my) brother's home'. Adjectives of this sort are colloquial.

#### 4.10 Quantification

The principal quantifiers of Bulgarian include cardinal numerals (see section 3.1.5), pronominal quantifiers (like *ко́лко*/kólko 'how many, much') and *мно́го*/mnógo 'many, much', *ма́лко*/málko 'few, little', *немно́го*/nemnógo 'not many, much'.

Two cardinal numerals are inflected for gender: '1' is masculine, feminine or neuter, depending on the gender of its head; '2' contrasts masculine and feminine/neuter forms. (See section 3.1.5 for forms and examples.)

Used alone, '1' governs a singular noun: една кнѝга/ednà kniga 'one book'. In compounds '1' is regularly singular and the noun plural or, less commonly, singular: тридесет и една кнѝги (кнѝга)/trideset i ednà (F SG) knigi (PL) (kniga (SG)) '31 books' (Грамати́ка/Gramatika 2: 183).

With all other quantifiers, feminine and neuter nouns are plural: мно́го кнѝги/mnògo knigi 'many books (F)', два̀десет и двѐ писма̀/dvàdeset i dvè pismà '22 letters (N)'. Masculine nouns with quantifiers make use of both normal and count plurals (see section 3.1.2):

- 1 All masculine nouns use the normal plural with 'many', 'few' and 'not many' or with 'how many' in exclamations: мно́го студѝнти/mnògo studènti 'many students', ко̀лко студѝнти!/kòlko studènti! 'how many students!'.
- 2 Masculine personal nouns use the normal plural after cardinal numerals '2'–'6' in -(и)ма/-(и)ма: два̀ма студѝнти/dvàma studènti 'two students'; otherwise they use the ordinary plural or count plural (with a clear preference for the former): пѝт учѝни́ци/pèť učenici ~ пѝт учѝни́ка/pèť učenika 'five pupils (PL ~ COUNT PL)'.
- 3 Otherwise, masculine non-personal nouns use the count plural: трѝ гра̀да/tri gràda 'three cities (COUNT PL)'.

'Incorrect' usage with masculine nouns is common; see Грамати́ка/Gramatika (2: 183) and Scatton (1984: 312–13).

Verbs with cardinal numerals as subjects are singular if the numeral is '1' alone; otherwise they are plural:

Една̀ женá дойдѝ./Ednà ženà dojdè.

'One woman came.'

Двѐ женѝ дойдѝо̀ха./Dvè ženi dojdòxa.

'Two women came.'

Personal pronouns are quantified with cardinal numerals. The pronoun occupies the first position; the numeral, generally definite, follows. Cardinals in -(и)ма/-(и)ма ('2'–'6') are used with groups of men or men and women: нѝе два̀мата щѐ дойдѝем/nie dvàmata šte dojdèm 'we two (= two males or a male and a female) will come-1 PL'.

Quantification is also expressed by nouns denoting measurements (литѝр/litär 'litre'), containers (ча̀ша/čàša 'cup, glass'), collections of elements (ста̀до/stàdo 'herd'), parts (по̀рция/pòrcija 'portion') and others. The quantifier precedes the noun, which is singular or plural as appropriate: литѝр мля̀ко/litär mljàko 'a litre of milk', чѝфт во̀лове/čift vòlove 'a pair of oxen'. In these constructions verbal concord is usually with the quantifier: ча̀шата̀ вѝно ѐ билá на ма̀сата/čàšata vino e bilá na mäsata 'the glass-F SG of wine-N SG was-F 3 SG on the table'. However, groups show two types of concord: **singular**, focusing on the group as a

unit, or **plural**, focusing on the latter as a collection of individuals:

Накрая група байловчани излезе на сцената./Nakrąja grųpa bajlovčani izleze na scenata.

'Finally a group of inhabitants-of-Vajlovo came-3 SG on stage.'

Група младежи от Русе заминали за Съветския съюз./Grųpa mladęži ot Rųse zaminali za Sávętskija sájuz.

'A group of young-people from Ruse left-3 PL for the Soviet Union.'

(Грамматика/Gramatika 3: 151-2)

These quantifiers may themselves be quantified as ordinary nouns: две чаши вода/dvę čaři voda 'two glasses of water'.

'Existential-be' is има/ima 'has'; its negative counterpart is няма/njama 'hasn't'. They are invariably neuter third person singular and, as the syntax of pronominal forms shows, they take direct object complements:

Нямаше яйца./Njamaše jajca.

'(There) weren't-3 SG eggs-PL.'

Има ги вкъщи./Ima gi vkęsti.

'They are at home.' (= 'has-3 SG them-ACC at-home')

## 5 Lexis

### 5.1 General composition of the word-stock

The standard 'Academy' dictionary of Bulgarian (Романски/Romanski 1955-9) contains over 63,000 entries, of which 25 per cent are foreign borrowings or words derived from them (Бояджиев/Vojadžiev 1970). Of native lexical items, perhaps as many as 2,000 are directly inherited from Proto-Slavonic through Old and Middle Bulgarian (Русинов/Rusinov 1980: 76). Inherited words represent diverse lexical domains and include much of the most common, basic vocabulary of the language. The number of words derived from them is perhaps 15-20 times greater, in the order of 30-40,000.

The relative weight of inherited Proto-Slavonic material can be estimated from Николова/Nikolova (1987) - a study of a 100,000-word corpus of conversational Bulgarian. Of the 806 items occurring there more than ten times, approximately 50 per cent may be direct reflexes of Proto-Slavonic forms; nearly 30 per cent are later Bulgarian formations and 17 per cent are foreign borrowings or words derived from them. (The remaining items are problematical; figures mine, EAS.)

Russian is the only Slavonic language that has had any significant influence on Bulgarian. Large numbers of native Russian and Russian Church Slavonic words are common throughout the language (examples below). Until recently, Russian has been the principal intermediary source for much of Bulgarian's international vocabulary.

## 5.2 Patterns of borrowing

Of approximately 16,200 foreign words in Романски/Romanski (1955–9), a single original source can be found for about 14,500. Of these, 96 per cent are attributable to only eight languages, each accounting for at least 1 per cent or more:

1	Latin	25.5% (3,700)
2	Greek	23.0% (3,350)
3	French	15.0% (2,150)
4	Turkish*	13.5% (1,900)
5	Russian	10.0% (1,500)
6–7	Italian	3.5% (500)
6–7	German	3.5% (500)
8	English	2.0% (300)

\*including Arabic and Persian. Figures based on Бояджиев/Bojadžiev 1970.

The vast majority of **Latin** borrowings – mostly international terms in the areas of politics, civil administration, scholarship, law, medicine and others – entered the modern language through Russian or other, western languages: администра́ция/administrácija ‘administration’, секретарь/sekretár ‘secretary’. (The material here is based on Русинов/Rusinov 1980: 76–94, and works cited there.) A few date from Old and Middle Bulgarian.

**Greek** lexical material first entered Bulgarian during the Old Bulgarian period, mostly in the areas of religion and civil and military administration: икона/ikóna ‘icon’, деспот/despót. During the Ottoman period, strong Greek political and cultural influence facilitated borrowings not only of literary, but also common, popular lexical material: пирон/pirón ‘nail’, е́тин/évtin ‘inexpensive’. During the Bulgarian Renaissance (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), international vocabulary of Greek origin entered Bulgarian through Russian or other languages: грамáтика/gramátika ‘grammar’, демокра́ция/demokrácija ‘democracy’.

**French** borrowings appear from the beginning of the nineteenth century, first from Russian, later directly from French. They are concentrated in social and political life, military affairs, cooking, dress and the arts: аташе́/atašé ‘attaché’, бюфе́т/bjufét ‘buffet’, такси́/taksi ‘taxi’.

Bulgarian borrowings from **Turkish** (and through Turkish, Persian and Arabic) were extremely numerous during the time of the Ottoman domination. One of the major features of the history of the modern Bulgarian literary language – particularly after 1878 – was the systematic replacement of Turkish borrowings with Bulgarian neologisms or borrowings from Russian or western European languages. Романски/Romanski (1955–9) now lists only about 2,000 Turkish borrowings, of which about 800 (household items, occupations, items of clothing, foods, plants, animals) are stylistically neutral: чора́п/čoráp ‘sock’, ча́нта/čánta ‘purse’. The remainder

are archaic, dialectal, non-standard and/or pejorative, and generally have neutral native synonyms: кюту́к/kjutúk (from Turkish) versus пѣн/пѣн '(tree) stump' (Лакова/Lakova 1972).

In so far as they do not take into account Russian Church Slavonic forms (often indistinguishable from native Bulgarian forms) or the intermediary role of Russian in the transmission of international terminology, the figures above substantially underestimate the impact of Russian on the Bulgarian lexicon. In early Modern Bulgarian, the influence of Russian was through Church Slavonic. By the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, literary Russian was the predominant foreign lexical influence on Bulgarian, and remained so until recently. Russian and Russian Church Slavonic lexical items are found in virtually every area of Bulgarian vocabulary: вселѣна/vseléna 'universe', веројатен/verojäten 'probable', старѣя се/starája se '(I) try', обѣче/obáče 'however'.

The source of several important formations is indeterminate: Old/Middle Bulgarian literary sources *and/or* early printed Church books from Russia; for example, agent nouns in /-tel/ (учител/učitel 'teacher'), abstract nouns in /-ost/ (нежност/něžnost 'tenderness'), deverbative nouns in /-ie/ (предложѣние/predložénie 'proposal'), the present active participle (see section 3.2.1).

**German** borrowings (mostly military and technical) and **Italian** borrowings (concentrated in art, music, business and food) date from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Prior to 1878 **English** borrowings were extremely limited; their numbers did not increase substantially until after the Second World War. Since then, and especially in the last twenty years, English has become the greatest foreign lexical influence on Bulgarian, and this influence is now far greater than the above figures (based on work more than thirty years old) suggest. The impact of English is particularly strong in technology, tourism, sports, dress, the arts and music and popular culture: транзистор/transistor 'transistor', мотѣл/motél, джинси/džinsi 'jeans', танк/tánk.

### 5.3 Incorporation of borrowings

Borrowings are generally adapted to the phonological and morphological systems of Bulgarian. Phonological adaptation is limited to eliminating segments not found in the Bulgarian phonemic system or to correcting violations of sequential constraints. For example, geminate consonants are regularly replaced by single phonemes: Russian грамѣтика/grammátika becomes Bulgarian грамѣтика/gramátika 'grammar'. Front round vowels are replaced by sequences of palatalized or palatal consonants plus back vowels: French *bureau* gives бюрѣ/bjuré 'office'. Russian palatalized consonants are eliminated where they do not occur in Bulgarian: Russian пятилѣтка/pjatilétka /p'it'il'étka/ gives Bulgarian петилѣтка/petilétka /petilétka/ 'five-year plan'.

The last example illustrates an accommodation characteristic of borrowings from Russian and Russian Church Slavonic: the replacement of Russian morphological components with their Bulgarian counterparts, in this case Bulgarian пѣт/пѣт for Russian пять/п'ят' 'five'.

While showing some anomalies (below), borrowings are generally adapted morphologically. Nouns are assigned to one of the major gender classes, generally on the basis of their final segments. Nouns terminating in consonants are **masculine** (English *ketchup* – кѣтчѣп/кѣтчѣп); those terminating in /a/ are **feminine** (Rumanian *masă* – м'ас'а/м'ас'а 'table'). Nouns terminating in /o e u i/ are **neuter** if **non-personal** (French *bureau* – бюр'о/б'юр'о 'office') or **masculine** if **personal** (French *attaché* – аташ'ѣ/аташ'ѣ 'attaché').

Other, more complex types of adaptation also occur. For example, French feminine nouns ending in 'mute e' are regularly borrowed as feminine nouns in /-a/: *allée* – ал'ѣя/al'ѣя 'avenue, lane'. Greek and Latin borrowings show complex suffix alterations and shifts among inflectional classes (П'ървев/Pärvev 1979).

The inflectional behaviour of borrowed nouns may be anomalous. A fairly large number of the monosyllabic masculine nouns that take the plural suffix /-i/ (instead of /-ove/) are foreign (see section 3.1.2). Similarly, the velar-dental alternation accompanying the masculine plural marker /-i/ is often absent (sections 2.2, 3.1.2).

Borrowed adjectives are altered in order to agree with the shape of **derived** native adjectives. This entails little change in already derived Russian adjectives: Russian *колхозный*/kol'xóznij – Bulgarian *колхозен*/kolxózen 'collective-farm (M SG)'. Otherwise, a Bulgarian suffix is commonly added to the foreign adjective: English *loyal* – л'оялен/loj'alen.

Borrowed adjectives are generally inflected like native adjectives. However, in the past, many adjectives borrowed from Turkish without the addition of a derivational suffix had a single unchanging form; the few that remain continue to do so (see section 3.1.4). Unmodified, uninflected adjectives from other sources are still possible, particularly in the colloquial language. Many are ephemeral, and even those that survive show syntactic idiosyncrasies (П'ървев/Pärvev 1979: 233f.). For example, гр'оги/gr'ogi (from English *groggy*) is used only predicatively: т'ой е гр'оги/toj e gr'ogi 'he is groggy'.

Borrowed verbs are most commonly assimilated into the third conjugation with the suffix /-ira-/ (of German origin): English *train* – тр'енирам/treniram '(I) train'. Most verbs of this type are bi-aspectual (see section 3.2.1). There is a tendency in colloquial Bulgarian to integrate them into the aspectual system by creating aspectual mates for them with perfectivizing prefixes or the imperfectivizing suffix /-va-/ (Грамматика/Gramatika 2: 268).

The third-conjugation suffix /-uva-/ is used to assimilate Russian verbs in /-ovat'/: арестовáть/arestovát' – аресту́вам/arestúvam '(I) arrest (IMPFV and PRFV)'. Many of these verbs are bi-aspectual.

## 5.4 Lexical fields

### 5.4.1 Colour terms

Basic colour terms are given in bold; examples are masculine singular.

'white'	<b>бял</b> /bjál
'black'	<b>чѐрен</b> /čeren
'red'	<b>червѐн</b> /červén; also ален/álen 'scarlet'
'green'	<b>зелѐн</b> /zelén
'yellow'	<b>жълт</b> /žált; also рѹс/гѹс 'blond (of hair)'
'blue'	<b>син</b> /sin; also лазѹрен/lazŭren 'azure, sky-blue (poetic)' and електрѹк/elektrik 'electric blue (indeclinable)'
'brown'	<b>кафѹв</b> /kařǎv (< кафѐ/kafe 'coffee'); also кестенѹв/kestenjǎv 'auburn, chestnut (of eyes, hair, horses)' (< кѐстен/kesten 'chestnut'), бѐжов/běžov 'beige'
'purple'	<b>морав</b> /morav; also виолѐтов/violétov 'violet', пѹрпурен/pŭrpuren 'crimson (literary, poetic)'
'pink'	<b>рѹзов</b> /rŭzov (< рѹза/rŭza 'rose'); also пембѹн/rembjǎn ~ пембѐн/rembén 'hot pink'
'orange'	<b>оранжев</b> /oranžev
'grey'	<b>сив</b> /siv

### 5.4.2 Body parts

'head'	глава́/glavá
'eye'	око́/okó (anomalous plural: 3.1.2)
'nose'	но́с/nós
'ear'	ухо́/uxó (anomalous plural: 3.1.2)
'mouth'	уста́/ustá; note related 'lip' ѹсна/ústna
'hair'	кѹсъм/kŭsǎm 'single hair'; коса́/kosá 'head of hair'
'neck'	врат̑/vrát̑, шия́/šija
'arm, hand'	ръка́/rǎká (anomalous plural: 3.1.2); also длан̑/dlǎn 'palm'
'finger'	прѣст̑/prǎst̑
'leg, foot'	крак̑/krák̑ (anomalous plural крака́/kraká: 3.1.2); also '(sole of) foot' стѣпало́/stǎpálo, ходило́/xodilo
'toe'	прѣст̑/prǎst̑ (with на крака́/na kraká 'of the foot' to distinguish 'toe' from 'finger')
'chest'	гърди́/gǎrdi (plural of грѣд̑/grǎd̑ 'breast' (F)) and грѣден̑ ко́ш/grǎden kŭš (literally 'breast basket')
'heart'	сърце́/sǎrcé



## 5.4.3 Kinship terms

'mother'	ма́йка/maǐjka, and for one's own mother ма́ма/maǎma
'father'	баща́/baštǎ, and for one's own father та́тко/tǎtko
'sister'	сестра́/sestrǎ; also ка́ка/kǎka 'older sister'
'brother'	бра́т/brǎt (anomalous plural бра́тья/brǎtja); also ба́тко/bǎtko 'older brother'
'aunt'	ле́ля/lǐlja 'sister of father or mother', вуйна́/vujna 'wife of mother's brother', стри́на/strina 'wife of father's brother'; also dialectal те́тка/tǐtka 'sister of mother'
'uncle'	чи́чо/čičo 'brother of father' and вуйчо́/vujčo 'brother of mother'; also dialectal сва́ко/svǎko, тетин/tetin, лелин/lelin 'husband of mother's sister'. Ле́ля/lǐlja 'aunt' and чи́чо/čičo 'uncle' are used when the more precise relationship is unknown and also to address adults in general.
'niece'	пле́менница/plǐmennica; also dialectal сестрини́ца/sestrinica 'daughter of sister' and бра́тани́ца/bratǎnica 'daughter of brother'
'nephew'	пле́менник/plǐmennik; also dialectal се́стриник/sǐstrinik 'son of sister' and бра́тани́ец/bratǎnec 'son of brother'
'cousin'	female бра́товче́дка/bratovčǐdka and male бра́довче́д/bratovčǐd
'grandmother'	ба́ба/bǎba; also used to address elderly women
'grandfather'	дя́до/djǎdo; also used to address elderly men
'wife'	же́на/ženǎ (also 'woman'), съпру́га/sǎpruga ('spouse-F')
'husband'	мъ́ж/mǎž (also 'man'; anomalous plural: 3.1.2), съпру́г/sǎprug ('spouse-M')
'daughter'	дъще́ря/dǎšterja (anomalous vocative: 3.1.2)
'son'	си́н/sin

## 6 Dialects

Bulgarian dialects are usually divided into **west** and **east** with respect to the development of late Proto-Slavonic \**ǣ jat'*. West of a line running north-south between A and B on map 5.1, \**ǣ* became /e/: 'big' M SG /golǐm/, PL /golǐmi/, 'milk' /mlǐko/, 'milkman' /mlekǎr/. East of the line, stressed \**ǣ* in some (if not all) environments either becomes /ǎ/ (as in the literary language; see section 2.3) or retains what may have been one of its late Proto-Slavonic vocalizations, /ǎ̃/; unstressed /e/ (reduced phonetically to [i], see below) is general: /gol'ǎm gol'ǐm' i ml'ǎko ml'ekǎr/ (Стойков/ Stojkov 1968: 54–5 for details).

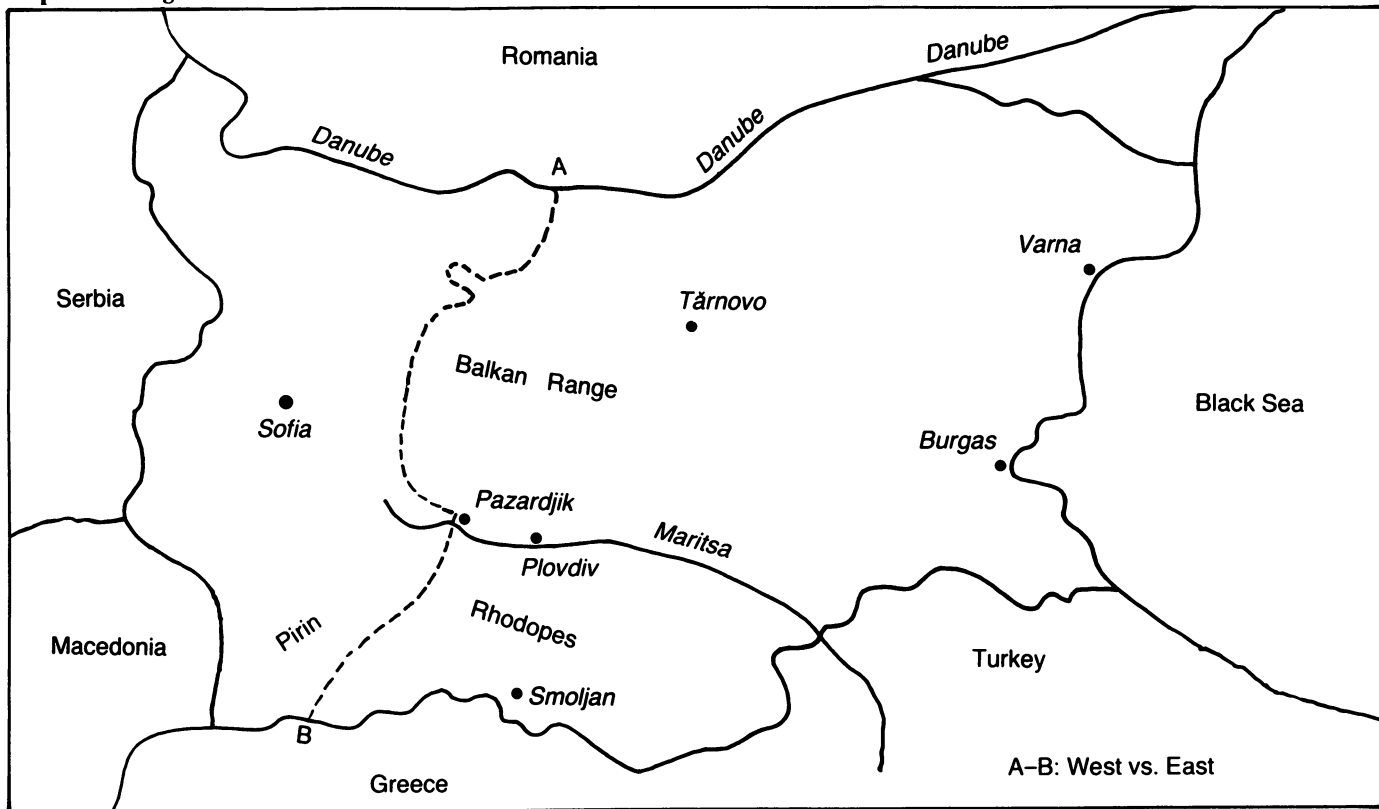
While not coinciding exactly with the *jat'* boundary, other important isoglosses generally reinforce the east–west division:

- 1 Late Proto-Slavonic \**a* after alveo-palatal consonants (including *j*) gives \**ě* in the east, but /*a*/ in the west (as in the literary language): 'frog' east F SG /žába/ – PL /žéb'í/ versus west /žába/ – /žábi/.
- 2 Strong reduction of unstressed /*a*/ to [ǎ], /*o*/ to [u], /*e*/ to [i] is typical in the east, especially north-east; in the west it is lacking altogether or limited to /*a*/ > [ǎ] (as in the literary language; see section 2.1).
- 3 Late Proto-Slavonic \**ρ* and \**ъ* give /ǎ/ in the east (as in the literary language; section 2.1); in the west both /ǎ/ and /*a*/ are common.
- 4 East Bulgarian commonly has palatalized labial and dental consonants before front vowels and at the ends of words (where they contrast with non-palatalized consonants): /z'ět'/ 'son-in-law'. In the west only /l' n' t' d'/ are common, with /l' t' d'/ often replaced by /j' k' g'/; otherwise consonants are non-palatalized (as in the literary language; section 2.1).
- 5 Proto-Slavonic \**tj* and \**dj* are /št/ and /žd/ in the east (the literary treatment; section 2.1); besides these also /č ž/, /k' g'/, and /šč žž/ in the west.
- 6 Word-internal alternations of /rǎ ~ ār/, /lǎ ~ äl/ (see section 2.3) are characteristic of eastern dialects; in the west one finds syllabic liquids, non-alternating sequences of vowel-liquid or liquid-vowel, or in the case of /l/, replacement by /ǎ/ or /u/.
- 7 In the east present-tense verb forms are as in the literary language (see section 3.2). In the west, palatalization is often lost in the first person singular and third-person plural: /xódǎ/ '(I) go'. Alternatively, the first person singular may be formed with /-m/: /xódim/. In the west /-me/ commonly marks the first person plural in *all* conjugations: /xódime/ '(we) go'.
- 8 The imperfect past active participle (see section 3.2.1) is typically eastern. Clearly, a number of these features bring western dialects closer to Serbo-Croat and Macedonian.

The most archaic Bulgarian dialects are found in south-eastern Bulgaria, in the Rhodope mountains. Important features (Стойков/Stojkov 1968: 87–91) include:

- 1 /ǎ/ as the reflex of \**ě* and of \**a* after alveo-palatals: /gol'ǎm/, /gol'ǎm'í/, /žába/;
- 2 a single reflex /ǎ/, /ǎ/, /ó/ or /ò/ for stressed PSI. \**ρ*, *ъ*, *ѣ*, *ь*, with palatalized labials and dentals before the reflexes of \**ѣ* and *ь*: \**ρ* – /rǎka/ 'hand, arm', \**ъ* – /dǎš/ 'rain', \**ѣ* – /m'ǎso/ 'meat', \**ь* – /l'ǎsno/ 'easily';
- 3 'triple' definite article: unmarked /-t-/, /-s-/ for proximity to the speaker, /-n-/ for distance from the speaker (compare Macedonian);
- 4 numerous case vestiges in nouns, adjectives and definite articles.

Map 5.1 Bulgarian dialects



Source: Стойков/Stojkov 1968: 63

This dialect picture is largely **historical**, reflecting the speech of informants at least 50–60 years of age when the data of the major dialectological works of the past 30–40 years were collected (Стойков/Stojkov 1964–81). With the passing of this generation, the spread of literacy, the growth of the mass media and the rapid urbanization of the last twenty years, the older picture has given way to a much different one mixing traditional features and the standard language.

The geographical extent of Bulgarian dialects is controversial. On the level of local dialects there is no sharp boundary between the speech of western Bulgaria and that of eastern Serbia, former Yugoslav Macedonia and areas of Greece and Turkey contiguous to Bulgaria in which Slavonic dialects are still spoken. The official Bulgarian position, with respect to dialects and earlier historical periods, has been that eastern Serbian dialects, all Macedonian dialects in former Yugoslavia and Slavonic dialects in Turkey and Greece are dialects of Bulgarian.

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