

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, Vojadžiev 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	ä	o
Low		a	

/i e u o/ are relatively lax. /ä/ 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 ä <> 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/znáeš /zná-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 [gátan̥ka] ‘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		
Affricates			c c'	č ž		
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' / occur only in foreign proper nouns, for example, Хјум/Хјјум /x'um/ from English *Hume*, Ядзя/Jádzja /jáz'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'/: бѡб/bѡb /bѡp/ 'bean' versus пѡп/pѡp /pѡp/ 'priest', твѡѣ/tvѡj /tvѡj/ 'your-SG (M SG)' versus двѡр/dvѡr /dvѡr/ '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 /ä u o/ only across morpheme boundaries: хѡдѣ/xѡdja /xѡd'-ä/ '(I) walk' (= 'walk-1 SG') versus хѡда/xѡda /xѡd-ä/ 'the course' (= 'course-the'), бѣл/bjäl /b'äl/ 'white (M SG)' versus бѣл/bäl /bäl/ '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: гѡл/gѡl /gѡl/ 'naked (M SG)' versus гѡл/gjѡl /g'ѡl/ 'puddle' (from Turkish). Otherwise palatals are regular before front vowels, velars elsewhere.

After vowels /j/ occurs at the end of words or before consonants (мѡѣ/mѡj 'my (M SG)', дѣѣте/däjte '(you-PL) give!'); before non-front vowels it occurs word-initially or *after* vowels (ѣзѣвѣ/jäzѣva 'ulcer', мѡѣ/mѡja 'my (F SG)'). It neither follows consonants, nor precedes front vowels – except word-initially in a few borrowings (ѣзѣѣт/jezuit 'Jesuit').

Geminate consonants occur only across morpheme boundaries: отѣл/

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/denjat /den'ät/ 'the day (SBJ)'; (b) **first person singular/third person plural present tense forms of first-/second-conjugation verbs**: ходя/xodja /xod'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**: градá/gradá /gradä/ 'the city (M SG OBJ)'; (b) **first person singular/third person plural present forms of first-/second-conjugation verbs**: пекát/pekät /pekät/ 'they bake'.

/ǎ/ is the regular Bulgarian reflex of PSI. *ǝ and ‘strong’ *ъ: *рѣть пѣт/пѣт ‘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 добра/dobra). /e/ is the regular reflex of PSI. *ǝ and strong *ъ: *рѣть пѣт/пѣт ‘five’, *днь ден/ден ‘day’. Weak *ъ/ь were generally lost: *зъла злǎ/zlǎ ‘evil (F SG)’, *дъни дни/dni ‘days’. However, weak *ъ/ь remained in a number of monosyllabic roots (Velcheva 1988: 146–8): дъно/dǎno ‘bottom’ from *дъно, пѣсове/pѣsove ‘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/pǎn ‘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/blǎto ‘swamp’
*bergъ	бряг/brjǎg ‘shore’
*melko	мляко/mljǎko ‘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/gradove
‘bridge’	SG мост/mōst : SG DEF мостът/mōstăt : PL мостове/mōstove

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 ОЧÍ/očí and 'ear' SG УХÓ/uxó, PL ушÍ/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 ези́к/ezik, PL ези́ци/ezici. It occurs in the plural of two common feminine nouns, 'hand, arm' SG рѣ́ка/ráká, PL рѣ́це/rácé and 'foot, leg' (dialectal) SG ногá/nogá, PL нозé/nozé. In derivation it is uncommon; for example, ма́лко/málko 'little, few': ма́лци́нство́/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/práštax; 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, мѡга/*mòga* '(I) can', мѡщ/*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/*xódja*, 1 SG AOR ходих/*xódix*. 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/*gradové* 'cities', but брѡве/*bròve* 'numbers' (SG брѡй/*bròj*). The alternation is non-productive and lexically limited, and allows numerous alternatives; for example, змѣйове/*zméjove* ~ змѣеве/*zméeve* '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/*píja*, 1 SG AOR пих/*píx* (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/*vréme*, PL врѣменá/*vremená*; '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/*xódja*, 1 SG AOR ходих/*xódix*; 'write' 1 SG PRS пиша/*piša*, 1 SG AOR писях/*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', избор/izbor 'selection'; 'die' 1 SG PRS PRFV умрá/umrá, 1 SG PRS IMPFV умирам/umiram. A few examples occur in verbal inflection: 'gather' 1 SG PRS берá/berá, 1 SG AOR брах/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/: безжизнен/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 мо́щна/móštna /móštna ~ móšna/.
- (d) **E ~ J**: unstressed /e/ and /i/ contiguous to a lower, usually stressed, vowel become /j/; thus, материáл/materiál /materiál ~ materjál/ 'material', баща́ ѝ/baštá ì /baštái ~ baštáj/ 'her father' (= 'father her-DAT'). Similarly, /u o/ become [w]: воáл/voál [voát ~ vwať] 'veil'. Sequences of consonant and [j]/[w] of this source are often pronounced as palatalized or labialized consonants: [mater'ál], [vwať].

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 градовé/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 градѣт/gradát/gradát/ 'the city') and под липите/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 /čétoуg'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 /x/); 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)': землѣк/zemlják 'countryman'; 'blue' F SG сѣня/sinja : N SG сѣньо/sin'о : 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 обѣдвам/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 /x/ 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 /Cé/ or /Ce/. Thus: 'blind' M SG сляп/sljáp : PL слéпи/slépi : слéпчо/slépčo 'blind man' : заслепя/zaslepjâ '(I) blind'. Exceptions are common: for instance, 'place', N SG място/mjâsto and PL местá/mestâ, but related adjective мéстна/méstna 'local (F SG)'. The alternation is the result of the characteristic north-eastern Bulgarian treatment of PSI. *ĕ 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 /ă/ varies as a function of the following environment: /ră/ and /lă/ before two consonants, /är/ and /äl/ before a consonant followed by a vowel. Lexically limited, the alternation is common in derivation, but infrequent in inflection; for example, върба/värbâ 'willow tree' : Врѣбница/Vrăbnica 'Palm Sunday'. In monosyllabic forms with more than one consonant after the liquid-vowel sequence, /ă/ always follows the liquid: кръст/krăst 'cross'. In other monosyllabic forms, both orders occur: грѣм/grăm 'thunder' versus вѣлк/vălk 'wolf'. Exceptions are numerous: смъртна/smărtna '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, /ă/ 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/srĕbären : F SG срѣбѣрна/srĕbărna : срѣбѣрник/srĕbărnik 'silver coin' : сребрѡ/srebrŏ 'silver (N)'. The alternation is the result of the evolution of the PSI. *ъ/ь plus the apparent epenthesis of /ă/ 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 бройна форма/*brójna fõrma*) 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 *кõй/кõј* '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 Владимiру/*Vladimiru*, ACC Владимiра/*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/, *слуга/sluga* '(male) servant' shows masculine agreement; likewise *чiчо/čičo* '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, *пияница/pijānica* 'drunkard'.

3.1.2 Noun morphology

The most important inflectional patterns of nouns are as follows:

1 Masculine singular /-ø/

		SG INDEF	SG VOC	PL INDEF	PL COUNT
Monosyllabic	'son'	сiн	сiне	синовè	сiна
	'city'	сiн	сiне	синовè	сiна
Polysyllabic	'teacher'	учител	учителю	учители	учителя
		učitel	učitelju	učiteli	učitelja

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 глупѝц/глупѝсѝ.

Vocative suffixes are /-e/, /-u/ (see above), or /-o/ ('man, husband' мѣж/мѣж – мѣжо/мѣжо; 'citizen' граѣданин/граѣданин – граѣданино/граѣданино). 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/ѣј – ѣеве/ѣеве. Often /-i/ replaces /-ove/, especially in borrowings: 'day' дѣн/дѣн – днѝ/dnѝ, 'fact' факт/факт – факти/факти (borrowed from Latin).

Several common monosyllabic nouns take other plural suffixes: /-išta/: 'path, road' пѣт/пѣт – пѣтища/пѣтишта; /-a/: 'brother' брѣт/брѣт – брѣтя/брѣтя (with irregular palatalization of /t/); 'foot' крак/крак – кракѣ/кракѣ; /-ѣ/: 'man, husband' мѣж/мѣж – мѣжѣ/мѣжѣ.

/-i/ is the regular plural suffix for polysyllabic stems; here stem-final velars generally become dentals: 'pupil' учѣник/учѣник – учѣници/учѣници. Exceptions are common, especially in borrowings: 'dinner jacket' (from English via Russian) смѣкинг/смѣкинг – смѣкинги/смѣкинги. The suffix /-in-/ is lost in the plural: 'citizen' граѣданин/граѣданин – граѣдани/граѣдани. Rarely, /-ove/ occurs for expected /-i/: 'fire' ѣгѣн/ѣгѣн – ѣгѣнове/ѣгѣнове.

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

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/знѣк	знѣкове/знѣкове
Suffix initial	'chair'	стѣл/стѣл	стѣлове/stѣлове
Suffix final	'city'	град/град	градѣве/градѣве

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

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

	SG INDEF	PL INDEF
'place'	мѣсто/mjѣсто	мѣстѣ/mestѣ
'heart'	сѣрцѣ/sѣrcѣ	сѣрцѣ/sѣrcѣ
'doctrine'	учѣние/уѣenie	учѣния/уѣenija

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' о́ко/okó – очí/ochi, 'ear' ухó/uxó – ушí/uši (both with velar to alveo-palatal); /-ě/ (three examples): 'wing' крилó/kriló – крилѐ/kriľě (~ крилá/kriľá), 'knee' коля́но/koljáno – колене́/koleně (~ колена́/kolená), 'shoulder' ра́мо/rámo – рамене́/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' дя́до/djádo – дя́довци/djádovci.

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

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

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/seme – семенá/semená; also вре́ме/vreme 'time', и́ме/ime 'name'.

Stressed /-sá/ occurs with two neuters in /-o/ or /-e/: 'sky, heaven' небѐ/nebè (archaic не́бо ~ небó/nebo ~ nebò) – 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'	женá	же́но	жени́
	žená	ženo	ženi
'land'	земя́	зе́мьо	зemí
	zemjá	zém'ó	zemi

The vocative is regularly formed with /-o/ (see above) or /-e/ ('tsarina' царьца/carica – царьце/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/ráká – ръце́/rácě and 'leg, foot' (dialectal) ногá/nogá – нозѐ/nozě.

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

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/kóсти

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/učitel'jat 'the teacher', глупецът/glupécăt 'the fool')

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

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

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

Plural:

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

/-i/ or /-e/: -те/-те (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 /- \emptyset / 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 \bar{a} -stems, feminine nouns in /- \emptyset / – *i*-stems. Masculine personal nouns with singular in /-o/ are an innovation.

Vestiges of Proto-Slavonic 'hard' versus 'soft' inflectional patterns for *o*- and \bar{a} -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 \bar{u} -stems, developing singular forms in /-va/, merged with \bar{a} -stem feminines (църква/*cǎrkva* 'church'); a few became feminines in /- \emptyset / (крѣв/*krǎv* 'blood'). Feminine \bar{i} -stems became feminines in /-a/ (рабѣня/*rabinja* 'slave'). Masculine *n*-stems generally merged with masculines in /- \emptyset / – with or without a change of suffix (плѣмѣк/*plǎmǎk* 'flame' versus дѣн/*dĕn* 'day'). The original suffix of 'stone' was more or less preserved in the plural while being replaced in the singular: камѣк/*kǎmǎk* – камѣни/*kǎmǎni*.

Neuter *s*-stems became neuters in /-o/ ('speech' слѣво/*slǎvo* – слѣва/*slǎva*); likewise for several neuter *n*-stems ('letter' писмѣ/*pismǎ* from OCS *pismę*). Several *n*-stems retain the old plural ('seed' сѣме/*sĕme* – сѣменѣ/*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 *dǎšti* 'daughter', became feminine nouns in /-a/: мѣйка/*mǎjka* and дѣщерѣ/*dǎšterja* (the latter with the vocative дѣще/*dǎšte*).

3.1.3 Pronominal morphology

The **personal pronouns** of Bulgarian are shown in table 5.4. Нѣй/*nij* and вѣй/*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	méne	me	(méne)	mi	'I'
2 SG	tí	tébe	te	(tébe)	ti	'you (SG)'
3 SG M	tój	négo	go	(nému)	mu	'he/it'
N	tò	négo	go	(nému)	mu	'it'
F	tjà	néja	ja	(néj)	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	—	sébe si	se	(sébe 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./Dàdòx nègo na nèja.

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

Да̀дох ì го̀./Dàdòx 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	
(a)					
1 SG	МОЙ	МОЯ	МОЕ	МОИ	'my'
2 SG	ТВОЙ	ТВОЯ	ТВОЕ	ТВОИ	'your-SG'
3 SG M/N	НЕГОВ	НЕГОВА	НЕГОВО	НЕГОВИ	'his/its'
F	НЕИН	НЕЙНА	НЕЙНО	НЕЙНИ	'her/its'
1 PL	НАШ	НАША	НАШЕ	НАШИ	'our'
2 PL	ВАШ	ВАША	ВАШЕ	ВАШИ	'your-PL'
3 PL	ТЕХЕН	ТЯХНА	ТЯХНО	ТЕХНИ	'their'
REFL	СВОЙ	СВОЯ	СВОЕ	СВОИ	'-own'
(b)					
1 SG	mój	mója	móe	mói	'my'
2 SG	tvój	tvója	tvóe	tvói	'your-SG'
3 SG M/N	négov	négova	négovo	négovi	'his/its'
F	néin	nějna	nějno	nějni	'her'
1 PL	naš	naša	naše	naši	'our'
2 PL	vaš	vaša	vaše	vaši	'your-PL'
3 PL	téxen	tjáxna	tjáxno	téxni	'their'
REFL	svój	svója	svóe	svói	'-own'

forms, /-ij-/ is not added before the masculine singular article: 'my' M SG DEF МОЯТ/мójat versus 'their' M SG DEF ТЕХНИЯТ/тэхnijat.

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, КОГО/kogó, used as direct object and object of prepositions. In colloquial Bulgarian it is often replaced by КОЙ/kój. The archaic dative КОМУ/komu is replaced by ПРЕП на/na + КОГО/kogó.

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

Relative pronouns add the suffix -ТО/-to: КОЙТО/kójto 'who, which, that (M SG)', КАКЪВТО/kakávto 'which sort (M SG)'.
Negative pronouns add stressed НИ-/ni-: НИКОЙ/nikoj 'no one (M SG)', НИЧИЙ/ničij 'no one's (M SG)', НИКАКЪВ/nikakáv 'no sort of (M SG)', НИЩО/ništo 'nothing (N SG)'.
Indefinite pronouns:

- 1 'some, a certain': stressed НЯ-/njá- + interrogative; here /á/ ~ with /é/; НЯКОЙ/njákoj 'someone (M SG)', НЯКАКЪВ/njákakáv 'some sort

Table 5.6 Demonstrative pronouns

	M SG	F SG	N SG	PL
(a)				
'this'	ТОЗИ/ТОЈА	ТАЗИ/ТАЈА	ТОВА/ТУЈ	ТЕЗИ/ТИЈА
'that'	ОНЗИ/ОНЈА	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 è/da è, three words with secondary stress on the last; for example, кóй да è/kój da è 'someone or other, anyone (M SG)', каквó да è/kakvó da è 'whatever (N SG)'. Alternative forms replace the interrogative with a relative pronoun and add и/i: кóйто и да è/kójto i da è.

Table 5.7 Interrogative pronouns

	M SG	F SG	N SG	PL
(a)				
'who, which'	кóй	која	коѐ	кои
'what'	какЉв	каквá	каквó/щó	каквѝ
'what sort of'	кѝй	чия	чиѐ	чии
(b)				
'who, which'	kój	koja	koè	koi
'what'	kakāv	kakvá	kakvó/štó	kakvi
'what sort of'	čij	čija	čie	čii

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

'everything' N SG **всѣчко**/vsičko

'every sort of' M SG **всякакъв**/vsjăkakäv, F SG **всякаква**/vsjăkakva, N SG **всякакво**/vsjăkakvo, PL **всякакви**/vsjăkakvi

'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	нѡв /nòv	кѡзи /kòzi	брѡтски /brătski
M SG VOC	нѡви /nòvi	кѡзи /kòzi	брѡтски /brătski
F SG	нѡва /nòva	кѡзя /kòzja	брѡтска /brătска
N SG	нѡво /nòvo	кѡзе /kòze	брѡтско /brătско
PL	нѡви /nòvi	кѡзи /kòzi	брѡтски /brătски

The usual masculine singular suffix is /-Ø/. 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 /-Ø/, otherwise zero: 'good' M SG **добѣр**/dobăr – F SG **добрѡ**/dobră.

The regular neuter suffix /-o/ may be /-e/, as in **кѡзе**/kòze (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**/sâm (F SG **самѡ**/samă).

A few colloquial adjectives borrowed from Turkish and, more recently, other languages are not inflected: **сербѣз чѡвѣк**/serbėz čovėk 'bold man', **сербѣз жени**/serbėz ženi '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**/kòzja 'goat's (F SG)'), and one non-derived adjective 'blue' M SG **сѣн**/sin, F SG **сѣня**/sinja, N SG **сѣнѡ**/sin'ò, PL **сѣни**/sini.

Table 5.8 Cardinal numerals

(a)				
'1' еџин	'11' еџинаџесет			
'2' два	'12' дванаџесет	'20' дваџесет	'200' двџеста	
'3' три	'13' тринаџесет	'30' триџесет	'300' триџста	
'4' чџетири	'14' чџетиринаџесет	'40' чџетиридесет	'400' чџетиристџтин	
'5' пџет	'15' петнаџесет	'50' петџесџт	'500' пџетстџтин	
'6' шџест	'16' шџестнаџесет	'60' шџестџесџт	'600' шџестстџтин	
'7' сџеџем	'17' сџеџемнаџесет	'70' сџеџемџесџт	'700' сџеџемстџтин	
'8' џсем	'18' џсемнаџесет	'80' џсемџесџт	'800' џсемстџтин	
'9' џвет	'19' џветнаџесет	'90' џветџесџт	'900' џветстџтин	
'10' џесет		'100' стџо	'1,000' хиљаџа	
	'million' милиџн	'thousand million' милиарџ		
(b)				
'1' eџin	'11' eџinaџeset			
'2' dva	'12' dvanajeset	'20' dvadeset	'200' dvesta	
'3' tri	'13' trinajeset	'30' trideset	'300' trista	
'4' cetiri	'14' cetirinaџeset	'40' cetirideset	'400' cetiristotin	
'5' pet	'15' petnadeset	'50' petdeset	'500' petstotin	
'6' šest	'16' šestnadeset	'60' šestdeset	'600' šeststotin	
'7' sedem	'17' sedemnaџeset	'70' sedemdeset	'700' sedemstotin	
'8' osem	'18' osemnadeset	'80' osemdeset	'800' osemstotin	
'9' devet	'19' devetnadeset	'90' devetdeset	'900' devetstotin	
'10' deset		'100' sto	'1,000' hiljada	
	'million' milion	'thousand million' milijard		

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

The synthetic comparative forms of Proto-Slavonic were lost – with vestiges in висш/visš 'higher, superior', низш(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 /-ā(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 нџовия(т)/nџovija(t), F SG нџовата/nџovata, N SG нџовото/nџovoto, PL нџовите/nџovite. 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-/ (брџатски/bratški 'fraternal' and adverb 'fraternally'); (2) neuter singular forms of qualitative adjectives with masculine singular in /-џ/ (хџубаво/xubavo '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/нòšt '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' трìста 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 кнìга/ednà knìga 'one book'. Its plural is used with pluralia tantum: еднì клéщи/ednì kléšti 'one (set of) pliers'. Increasingly '1' functions as an indefinite article 'a(n), some': едìн чòвèк/edìn čovèk 'a person'.

'2' двá/dvâ is used with masculine nouns, двé/dvè with neuters and feminines: двá града/dvâ grâda 'two cities', двé женì/dvè ženì 'two women (F)', двé местá/dvè mestá 'two places (N)'.

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

'2' двáма/dvâma

'3' трìма/trìma

'4' четирìма/četirìma ~ четìрма/četìrma

'5' петìма/petìma

'6' шéстìма/šestìma

For example, двáма ученици/dvâma učenicì 'two pupils'.

Cardinal numerals may be **definite**. In this respect '1' is adjectival: 'the one' M SG едìният/ediniyat, F SG еднáтa/ednàtа. 'Million', 'thousand million' and all cardinals in /-a/ follow rules for nouns: 'the million' мил-иòнът/milìonât, 'the two (M)' двáтa/dvâtа. Remaining cardinals use /-te/, always stressed except with '2 (F/N)' and '3': 'the two (F/N)' двéте/dvète, 'the 700' седемстòтинтè/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/pǎrvi (~ 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	/-Ø/	/-xte/
Third person	/-Ø/	/-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/нјама да* ('has-not to'); note the colloquial alternative *не щѐ/не štѐ*.

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 *щя/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	пиша	ще пиша	писал съм	ще съм писал
Past		щях да пиша	бях писал	щях да съм писал
Aorist	писах			
Imperfect	пишех			
(b)				
Non-past	пиша	šte piša	pisal sâm	šte sâm pisal
Past		štjâx da piša	bjâx pisal	štjâx da sâm pisal
Aorist	писах			
Imperfect	пишех			

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 щя/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 пиша/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 /-н-/ 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 /-а-/ occurs with a limited number of stems; 'speak' 1 SG PRS IMPFV говоря/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/brojā > 'enumerate' 1 SG PRS PRFV изброя/izbrojā > 1 SG PRS IMPFV изброявам/izbrojāvam; '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 пишй/piši, 2 PL пишете/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 бйх пйсал/bix pisal '(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 пише/pismoto se piše 'the letter is (being) written'.
- 3 'Impersonal' (subjectless) third person plural finite forms of transitive verbs: там продават мляко/tam prodavat mljako 'milk is sold there' (= 'there sell-3 PL milk').

These formations have slightly different semantic and grammatical nuances (Грамматика/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'; Грамматика/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/tój napisa pismoto 'he wrote the letter (and I saw him do it)' versus **renarrated** той написал писмото/tój 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 sâm 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/xód-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) I	neso	nesti	Ia	до-неса́	до-несе́	до-не́сох	'bring' (= 'carry to')	
	vedo	vesti		до-ведá	до-веде́	до-ведо́х	'bring' (= 'lead')	
	čyto	čisti		че́та	че́те	че́тох	'read'	
	ido	iti		и́да	и́де	и́дох	'go'	
	reko	rešti		ре́ка	ре́че	ре́кох	'say'	
	grebo	greti		ги́на	ги́не	ги́нах	'perish'	
	živō	žiti		ми́на	ми́не	ми́нах	'go'	
	na-čьno	na-čęti		{ за-чѣна пѣ-чна	за-чѣне пѣ-чне	за-чѣнах пѣ-чнах	'conceive'	
	mьro	mręti		гре́ба	гре́бе	гре́бах	'begin'	
	stanō	stati		ста́на	ста́не	ста́нах	'become'	
	kovō	kovati		ко́ва	ко́ве	ко́вах	'forge'	
	zovō	zъvati		зо́ва	зо́ве	зо́вах	'call'	
	berō	bъrati		бе́ра	бе́ре	бе́рах	'gather'	
	II	gybno	gybati					
		minō	minati					
III	kažo	kazati	Ic	ка́жа	ка́же	ка́зах	'say'	
	pišo	rysati		пи́ша	пи́ше	пи́сах	'write'	
			Id	мра́	мре́	мря́х	'die'	
	znajo	znati	Ie	зна́я	зна́е	зна́ях	'know'	
	čujō	čuti	If	чу́я	чу́е	чу́х	'hear'	
	kryjō	kryti		кри́я	кри́е	кри́х	'hide'	
	bijō	biti		би́я	би́е	би́х	'beat'	
	rojō	pęti		пе́я	пе́е	пя́х	'sing'	
	umęjō	umęti		уме́я	уме́е	уме́ях	'be able'	
	dęlajō	dęlati		живѣ́я	живѣ́е	живѣ́ях	'live'	
IV	meljo	mlęti	other	ме́ля	ме́ле	мля́х	'grind'	
	darujō	darovati						
	sęjō	sęjati						
	moljō	moliti	IIa	мо́ля	мо́ли	мо́лих	'beg'	
	hozdo	hoditi		хо́дя	хо́ди	хо́дих	'walk'	
	tъrpjō	tъrpęti	IIb	търпя́	търпи́	търпя́х	'tolerate'	
ležō	ležati	other	лежа́	лежи́	лежа́х	'recline'		
V	sъrpjō	sъpati	other	спя́	спи́	спа́х	'sleep'	
	imamъ	imati	III	има́м	има́	има́х	'have'	
			дя́лам	дя́ла	дя́лах/делáх	'carve'		
			дару́вам	дару́ва	дару́вах	'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-nésox				
	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				
	živŷ	žiti					mina	mine	minax	
	na-čьno	na-četi		grebá	za-čena	za-čene	za-čanax			
	mrŷo	mrěti			pó-čna	pó-čne	pó-čnax			
	stanŷ	stati		stána	stáne	stánax				
	kovŷ	kovati		ková	kové	kovax				
	zovŷ	zъvati		zová	zové	zovax				
	berŷ	brgati		berá	beré	brax				
	II	gybno		gybati	Ic	káza	káže	kázax		
		mino		minati					piša	piše
III	kažo	kazati	Id	mrá	mré	mrjâx				
	pišo	psati								
	znajo	znati					Ie	znája	znáe	znájâx
	čujo	čuti								
	kryjo	kryti					If	čúja	čúe	čúx
	bijo	biti								
	pojo	pěti					krija	krie	krix	
	umějo	uměti					bija	bie	bix	
	dělajo	dělati					pėja	pée	pjax	
	IV	meljo					młeti	other	živeja	živée
darujŷ		darovati	sėja	sée	sjâx (sějâx)					
sějŷ		sějati	mělja	méle	mljâx					
moljo		moliti	IIa	mólja	móli	mólîx				
xoždŷ		xoditi					xódja			
trpľjo	trpěti	IIb	târpjâ	tâрпи	târpjâx					
ležŷ	ležati					ležá	lezi	ležâx		
V	trpľjo	trpati	other	spjâ	spi	spâx				
	imamъ	imati	III	imam	ima	imâx				
				djalam	djâla	djâlax/delâx				
		daruvam		darúva	darúvâx					

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/đam* '(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	чѣтá/četa	чѣтjах/četjáh		чѣтох/četoх
2 SG	чѣтѣш/četěš	чѣтѣше/četěše	чѣтjи/četjи	чѣте/čete
3 SG	чѣтѣ/četě	чѣтѣше/četěše		чѣте/čete
1 PL	чѣтѣм/četěm	чѣтjахме/ četjáhme		чѣтохме/ četoхme
2 PL	чѣтѣте/četěte	чѣтjахте/četjáhte	чѣтѣте/četěte	чѣтохте/četoхte
3 PL	чѣтjат/četját	чѣтjаха/četjáhа		чѣтоха/četoха

Stem-final /t/ or /d/ is lost before /l/ of the aorist participle: M SG чѣл/čel. Otherwise, the consonant is retained with vowel-zero alternation: 'bake' M SG пѣкъл/пѣkál – F SG пѣкла/пѣkla. 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	хѣдjа/хѣdja	хѣдех/хѣdex		хѣдjих/хѣdix
2 SG	хѣдjиш/хѣdiš	хѣдѣше/хѣdeše	хѣдjи/хѣdi	хѣдjи/хѣdi
3 SG	хѣдjи/хѣdi	хѣдѣше/хѣdeše		хѣдjи/хѣdi
1 PL	хѣдjим/хѣdim	хѣдѣхме/ хѣdexme		хѣдjихме/ хѣdixme
2 PL	хѣдjите/хѣdite	хѣдѣхте/хѣdexte	хѣдѣте/хѣdete	хѣдjихте/хѣdixte
3 PL	хѣдjят/хѣdjat	хѣдѣха/хѣdexа		хѣдjиха/хѣdixа

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

Conjugation III 'have'

	<i>Present</i>	<i>Imperfect</i>	<i>Imperative</i>	<i>Aorist</i>
1 SG	ѣмам/ <i>imam</i>	ѣмах/ <i>imāx</i>		ѣмāх/ <i>imāx</i>
2 SG	ѣмаш/ <i>imaš</i>	ѣмаше/ <i>imaše</i>	ѣмай/ <i>imaj</i>	ѣмā/ <i>imā</i>
3 SG	ѣма/ <i>ima</i>	ѣмаше/ <i>imaše</i>		ѣмā/ <i>imā</i>
1 PL	ѣмаме/ <i>imate</i>	ѣмахме/ <i>imāxme</i>		ѣмāхме/ <i>imāxme</i>
2 PL	ѣмате/ <i>imate</i>	ѣмахте/ <i>imāxte</i>	ѣмайте/ <i>imajte</i>	ѣмāхте/ <i>imāxte</i>
3 PL	ѣмат/ <i>imat</i>	ѣмаха/ <i>imāxa</i>		ѣмāха/ <i>imāxa</i>

The negated form of 'have' is suppletive: 1 SG PRS нѣмам/*njamam*, 1 SG AOR нѣмах/*njāmax* and немāх/*nemāx*.

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 хѡдил/*xōdil*, ѣмāл/*imāl*. 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/*telefoniram* and 1 SG AOR телефонѣрах/*telefonirax*.

The conjugational pattern of 'be' is suppletive:

	<i>Present</i>	<i>Imperfect/aorist</i>	<i>Imperative</i>
1 SG	сѣм/ <i>sām</i>	бѣх/ <i>bjāx</i>	
2 SG	си/ <i>si</i>	бѣ(ше)/ <i>bē(še)</i>	бѣди/ <i>bādi</i>
3 SG	е/ <i>e</i>	бѣ(ше)/ <i>bē(še)</i>	
1 PL	сѣме/ <i>sme</i>	бѣхме/ <i>bjāxme</i>	
2 PL	сте/ <i>ste</i>	бѣхте/ <i>bjāxte</i>	бѣдѣте/ <i>bādēte</i>
3 PL	са/ <i>sa</i>	бѣха/ <i>bjāxa</i>	

Imperfect/aorist participle: M SG бѣл/*bil*, F SG билā/*bilā*, N SG билō/*bilō*, PL били/*bili*

Present forms are clitics. Alternative present forms, based on the stem of the imperative, 1 SG бѣда/*bāda*, 2 SG бѣдеш/*bādeš*, 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/*-šāl* and -шел/*-šel*, F SG -шла/*-šla*, N SG -шло/*-šlo*, PL -шли/*-šli*; for example 'arrive' 1 SG PRS дѡйда/*dōjda*, M SG AOR PART дошѣл/*došāl*.

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' (< женā/*ženā* 'woman'), дебелāн/*debelān* 'obese person' (< дебѣл/*debēl* 'fat (M SG ADJECTIVE)'); or (2) **diminutive** and/or **endearing**: стѡлче/*stōlče* 'stool' (< стѡл/*stōl* 'chair'), бѣбенце/*bēbence* '(dear) baby' (< бѣбе/*bēbe* 'baby').

Typical productive non-emotive formations are:

- 1 /-ák-/: always stressed, masculine personal nouns: простáк/prosták 'simpleton' (< прóст/próst 'simple (M SG)').
- 2 /-áč-/: masculine personal agent nouns from verbal bases: водáч/vodáč 'leader' (< 1 SG PRS вода́/vódja '(I) lead').
- 3 /-(e)c-/: masculine personal nouns: лъжéц/lážéc 'liar' (< 1 SG PRS лъжá/lážà '(I) lie').
- 4 /-ic-/: feminine nouns, often counterparts to masculine nouns in /-(e)c-/: вдовйца/vdovica 'widower' (< вдовéц/vdovéc 'widower').
- 5 /-k-/: diverse feminine nouns, including counterparts to masculine personal nouns: водáчка/vodáčka 'leader (F)', простáчка/prostáčka 'simpleton (F)'.
- 6 /-ost-/: abstract de-adjectival feminine nouns: вярност/vjárnost 'fidelity' (< вéрен/véren 'faithful, true (M SG)').

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

Bulgarian adjectives are regularly used as nouns: нОВОТО/nóvoto 'the new one/thing (N)'. Several forms of this origin are used only in this way: 'insect' N SG насеко́мо/nasekóмо – PL насеко́ми/nasekóми (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/: сестрин/sèstrin 'sister's (M SG)' (< сестра́/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/)**, злочéст/zločést 'unfortunate (M SG)' < зъ́л/zál 'evil (M SG)' + чéст/čést 'fate', or (2) **simple concatenation**, полу̀грамотен/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) вѣз-/váz- **attenuates** the adjective: вѣзелén/vázzelén 'greenish (M SG)'; (2) прѣ-/prě-

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 /-â-/: ‘live’ 1 SG PRS живѣя/живѣя, 1 SG AOR живѣх/живѣх (< 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/Ivàn otvòri vratàta ‘Ivan opened the door’. Other orders change the logical stress or other stylistic nuances: вратата отвори Иван/vratàta otvòri Ivàn ‘Ivan opened the door’ (Rudin 1986: 14ff.; Пенчев/Peñčev 1984: 89ff.).

Adverbial modifiers in verb phrases normally come at the end of the sentence: Иван ще дојде тука рано утре/Ivàn šte dójde tuka ráno útre ‘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/gorěšto 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/trjábva ‘needs, must’), (5) certain copular verbs (such as струва се/strúva se ‘seems’, изглежда/izglěžda ‘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 stranà ‘throughout our

country'), (2) the negative particle не/не '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/и 'and', но/но 'but', а/а 'and/but' and the complementizer че/че 'that' (и мѐне/и мѐне '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./Ti 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/tézi mѐi dvѐ mnѐgo skъ́pi nѐvi knѝgi ot Germánija '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/mnѐgo 'many, much' (see section 4.10). Only cardinal numerals co-occur with pronouns; *тѐзи мѐи мнѐго кнѝги/tézi mѐi mnѐgo knѝgi 'these my many books' is impossible.

The definite article and demonstrative pronouns do not co-occur: тѐзи кнѝги/tézi knѝgi 'these books' or кнѝгите/knѝgite '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/mnѐgo interesѐn чѐвѐк '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?/móžeš da plúvaš li?* and *да плу́ваш ли мо́жеш?/da plúvaš li móžeš?* 'can (you-SG) swim?' (Граматака/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?' (Граматака/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?'

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

A positive simple question is answered *дa/da* 'yes' or *не/ne* '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/da* 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 *как/как* 'how', *къдe/kàdè* 'where', *когa/kogà* 'when' and *защо/zaštò* 'why'. Such WH words generally begin questions: *каквo виждаш?/kakvò viždaš?* 'what do (you-SG) see?'. Prepositions always precede the WH words they govern: *с когo работиш?/s kogò rabòtiš?* 'with whom are (you-SG) working?'. Multiple WH words normally occur in the beginning of the sentence: *кoй каквo когa казва?/kòj kakvò kogà kàzva?* 'who says what when?' (= 'who what when says'). Questions with non-initial WH words are interpreted as echo questions: *ти си видял когo?/ti si vidjàl 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 каквa ли слàдост намират в негo?/i kakvà li slàdost namirat v nègo?* 'and what sweetness do (they) find in it?'. (2) Sentence-final *ли/li* makes an echo question: *каквo ще ям ли?/kakvò šte jàm li?* 'what will (I) eat?', as an echo to *каквo ще ядeш?/kakvò šte jadèš?* '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 дали́ 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 tãrsil.
'(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 пи́шй!/ne pišij! ~ не де́й да пи́шеш!/neděj da pišesh! '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 az (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 pišesh 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 би́ла́ мно́го до́бра́/vie ste bílá 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 šapka* '(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 е́кна смях и кикот/v koláta ékna 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/s ‘with’: майка с дете чакаше на опашката/májka s deté 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/obáče ‘however’ (stronger, more literary form of но/no):

Аз имам чадър, а тя няма./Áz ímam čadár, a tjá njáma.

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

Пиесата има голям успех, но въпреки това падна./Piésata ima goljám uspěx, no vǎpreki 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 София/izprátix pakét na studéнта, s kogóto se zapoznáxme minalata gódina v Sófija ‘(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: намѐрих книгата там, където я бях оставил/namérix knigata tám, kǎdeto 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 дѐто/děto ‘that’. Most frequent in dialects, this construction is colloquial in literary Bulgarian: това е книгата дѐто (~ която) бѐше на масата/tová e knigata děto (~ kojáto) běše na mǎsata ‘that is the book that (which) was on the table’.

If *дѐто*/*děto* 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) кúпих./Това е knjigata *děto* (ja) kúpix.
'This is the book that (it) (I) bought.'

Това е книгата дѐто говорехме за нѐя./Това е knjigata *děto* govórexme za *něja*.
'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 каквóто искаш!/Vzemi kakvóto *iskaš*!
'(You-SG) take whatever (you-SG) want!'

Кóйто не внимáва, тóй пáви грѐшки./Kójto ne *vnimáva*, tój *pávi* grěški.
'Whoever doesn't pay attention, makes mistakes.'

In multiple free relatives all WH words are clause initial: *кóйто* *къдѐто* е свикнал, *тáм* си живѐе/*kójto* *kăděto* е *sviknal*, *tám* si *živée* '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 скóро ще завали дъжд./Mislja *če* skóro *šte* zavali *dăžd*.
'(I) think that soon (it) will rain.'

Имам чúвство че ще дóйдат./Ímam *čúvstvo* *če* *šte* *dójdát*.
'(I) have a feeling that (they) will come.'

Сигурно е че нýма да дóйдат./Sigurno е *če* *njáma* da *dójdát*.
'(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, *трѐбва*/*trjábva* '(it) is necessary', *иска́м*/*iskam* '(I) want', *мо́га*/*móga* '(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 оти́да на ма́ч./Ískam da otida na *măč*.
'(I) want-1 SG to go-1 SG to a game.'

Дошли сме да слу́шаме му́зика./Došli sme da slúšame *múzika*.
'(We) have come to listen-1 PL to music.'

Нýмам намерѐние да се напрѐгам./Njámam namerénie da se *naprjágam*.
'(I) don't have (the) intention to exert-1 SG myself.'

Ѐмам с когò да говоря./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 разкажете за пътуването си в България./došli sme da ni razkážete za pátúvaneto si v Bǎlgǎrija '(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 смéя/смéя '(I) dare', and in negative imperatives (section 4.2): не мòга писа/не мòга писа '(I) can't write'. *Da*-clauses are normal here: не мòга да пиша/не мòга да пиша '(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 *áко/áко* 'if' (or its colloquial, poetic variant *да/да*). **Real** conditionals use indicative verbal forms in both condition and result clauses: *áко дòйдат, ще ги видим/áко дòйдат, ще ги vidim* '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: *бїх я поздравїл (щях да я поздравя), áко бях там/бїх ja pozdravil (štjǎx da ja pozdravjǎ), áко бjǎx там* '(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 знáеш каквò стáва./Govòriš, bez da znáesh kakvò stáva.
 '(You-SG) speak *without* knowing (= without to know-2 SG) what is happening.'
Докòлкото ми е извèстно, нjама да дòйдат./Dokòlkoto mi e izvèstno, njama da dòjdат.
 '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:

Познáвах протестїращите хòра./Poznáвах protestiraštite (PRS ACT PART) хòра.
 '(I) knew the protesting people.'

Намерихме пристигналия влак./Namèrixme pristignalija (AOR ACT PART) vlák.
'(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 у́тринен вятър, [отрòвна мъгlà] запълзя .../nòsena (IMPFV PAST PASS PART) ot slábija útrinen vjätär, [otròvna mǎglà] zapǎlzja ... '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 želáešтите (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 промèни, настъпили в БКП/... sled kardinálnite promèni, nastǎpili (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: четèйки 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 tégleše 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': когò 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 *дето/дето* 'that' is interpreted over an unbounded domain: *книгата дете 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: **това е момчето (на) което трябва да намерим (неговата) майка* / *tova e momceto (na) koeto trjaba 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: **това е момчето на което мисълта че (му) дадохме бонбони ядосва лекаря* / *tova e momceto na koeto mislta ce (mu) dadoxme bonboni jadosva lekarja 'this is the boy to whom the thought that (we) gave him candies angers the doctor'.

Relativization with *дето/дето* 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 coveka.

'(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 coveka 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 coveka '(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: *той не работи* /toj ne raboti 'he doesn't work'. Otherwise, *не/не*

precedes the negated constituent, which generally begins the sentence: не на ИвѦн дѦдох кнѦгата/ne na 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 новѦ грамѦтика./TѦ piше nova gramѦtika.
'She's writing a new grammar.'

Speaker B: ТѦзи грамѦтика не мѦ интересѦва./TѦzi gramѦtika ne mѦ interesѦva.

'This grammar doesn't interest me.'

or B: ТовѦ не мѦ интересѦва./TovѦ ne mѦ interesѦva.

'This doesn't interest me.'

Anaphoric adverbs are formed from the demonstrative root /t-/ 'this'; for example, тѦм/tѦm 'there', тѦка/tѦka 'here', тогѦва/togѦva '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 mómenta 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 drèxi '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/vtòrijat 'the second (M SG)', inflected to agree with their antecedents: първият [пример] показва ..., а вторият .../pǎrvijat [primer] pokazva ..., a vtòrijat ... '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: *чо̀вѐка, 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' (Гра̀матика/Gramatika 3: 123; also Пенчѐв/Peñčev 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/mija se '(I) wash myself'. Stressed forms – in the case of the dative a prepositional phrase with на/на + accusative – are used for emphasis: сѐбе си ми́я/sèbe si mija '(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! ~ ... сѝс 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 дрѐхи!/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:

ИвѠн и́ска да си кѠпи нѠва рѠза./IvѠn iska da si kѠpi nѠva 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: Ѡз взѠх кнѠгата си/Ѡз vzѠх knjgata si 'I took my (own) book'. The dative enclitic reflexive is regularly replaced by the reflexive possessive adjective for emphasis: Ѡз взѠх свѠята кнѠга/Ѡз vzѠх svѠjata knjga 'I took *my own* book'. In the first and second person, non-reflexive possessives are possible for greater emphasis: взѠх мѠята кнѠга/vzѠх mѠjata knjga 'it was *my* book that I took' (= 'took 1-SG my book'). Here dative non-reflexive forms are ungrammatical or questionable:

*ВзѠх кнѠгата ми./VzѠх knjgata mi.

'(I) took my book.'

?ДѠдох му кнѠгата ми./DѠдох mu knjgata mi.

'(I) gave him my book.'

(Маслов/Maslov 1981: 302)

Reflexive possessives cannot be subjects or predicative nominatives: *нѠжна ми е свѠята стѠя/*nѠžna mi e svѠjata stjaja '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 едѠн дрѠг/edin drѠg 'one another'. Enclitic pronouns are customary for direct and indirect objects: тѠ се целѠват/tѠ se celѠvat 'they kiss (one another)'. ЕдѠн дрѠг/edin drѠg is added for emphasis: тѠ се целѠват едѠн дрѠг/tѠ se celѠvat edin drѠg 'they kiss one another'. ЕдѠн дрѠг/edin drѠg 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 едѠн дрѠг/edin drѠg: тѠ намират интерѠсни нещѠ едѠн в дрѠг/tѠ namirat interesni neštѠ edin v drѠg 'they find interesting things in one another'.

Reciprocal sentences with enclitic reflexive pronouns may be ambiguous with respect to number: тѠ си пишѠт/tѠ si pišѠt may mean 'they-two write to one another' or 'they-more-than-two write among themselves'. The ambiguity is eliminated with едѠн дрѠг/edin drѠg. Compare тѠ намират интерѠсни нещѠ едни в дрѠги/tѠ namirat interesni neštѠ

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./Sѐbe si bijat.

'(They) beat themselves.'

4.9 Possession

Possession is expressed verbally with *има́м*/imam '(I) have' and its negative counterpart *ня́мам*/njáмам '(I) don't have': *Ива́н има́ мно́го прия́тели*/Iván 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 дома́т 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 knìga '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) knìgi (PL) (kniga (SG)) '31 books' (Грамати́ка/Gramatika 2: 183).

With all other quantifiers, feminine and neuter nouns are plural: мно́го кнѝги/mnògo knìgi 'many books (F)', двáдесет и двé писма́/dvâdeset i dvè pismá '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', ко́лко студѝнти!/kòlko studènti! 'how many students!'.
- 2 Masculine personal nouns use the normal plural after cardinal numerals '2'–'6' in -(и)ма/-(и)ма: двáма студѝнти/dvâma studènti 'two students'; otherwise they use the ordinary plural or count plural (with a clear preference for the former): пѝт учѝници/pѝt učenici ~ пѝт учѝника/pѝt učenika 'five pupils (PL ~ COUNT PL)'.
- 3 Otherwise, masculine non-personal nouns use the count plural: три гра́да/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:

Една жена́ дойдѝ./Ednà ženà dojdè.

'One woman came.'

Двѝ жени́ дойдѝоха./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 двáмата ще дойдѝем/nie dvâmata ŝte dojdem 'we two (= two males or a male and a female) will come-1 PL'.

Quantification is also expressed by nouns denoting measurements (литър/litâr 'litre'), containers (ча́ша/čâša 'cup, glass'), collections of elements (ста́до/stàdo 'herd'), parts (по́рция/pòrcija 'portion') and others. The quantifier precedes the noun, which is singular or plural as appropriate: литър мля́ко/litâr mljàko 'a litre of milk', чѝфт во́лове/čift vòlove 'a pair of oxen'. In these constructions verbal concord is usually with the quantifier: ча́шата ви́но е билá на ма́сата/čâšata vîno 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 Sāvętskija 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./İma gi vkęři.

'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/Bojadžiev 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’, евтин/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’, чанта́/čanta ‘purse’. The remainder

are archaic, dialectal, non-standard and/or pejorative, and generally have neutral native synonyms: кю́тук/kjutúk (from Turkish) versus пѣ́н/пѣ́н '(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: вселѣ́на/vseléna 'universe', веро́ятен/verojáten 'probable', старѣ́я се/starája se '(I) try', о́баче/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/ (учи́тел/učitel 'teacher'), abstract nouns in /-ost/ (не́жност/něžnost 'tenderness'), deverbative nouns in /-ie/ (предло́жение/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: транзи́стор/transistor 'transistor', мото́л/motél, джи́нси/džinsi 'jeans', та́нк/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 грамма́тика/grammátika becomes Bulgarian грама́тика/gramátika 'grammar'. Front round vowels are replaced by sequences of palatalized or palatal consonants plus back vowels: French *bureau* gives бю́ро/bjuró 'office'. Russian palatalized consonants are eliminated where they do not occur in Bulgarian: Russian пятиле́тка/pjatilétká /p'it'il'étka/ gives Bulgarian петиле́тка/petilétká /petilétká/ '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*/*pět* for Russian *пять*/*pjät'* '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*/*kětčäp*); those terminating in /a/ are **feminine** (Rumanian *masă* – *мăса*/*măsa* 'table'). Nouns terminating in /o e u i/ are **neuter** if **non-personal** (French *bureau* – *бюрô*/*bjurô* 'office') or **masculine** if **personal** (French *attaché* – *аташѣ*/*atašë* '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* – *алѣя*/*alēja* 'avenue, lane'. Greek and Latin borrowings show complex suffix alterations and shifts among inflectional classes (Първев/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* – *лоялен*/*lojälän*.

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 (Първев/Pärvev 1979: 233f.). For example, *грôги*/*grôgi* (from English *groggy*) is used only predicatively: *тôй е грôги*/*tôj e grôgi* 'he is groggy'.

Borrowed verbs are most commonly assimilated into the third conjugation with the suffix /-ira-/ (of German origin): English *train* – *тренирам*/*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'/: арестова́тъ/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'	бял /bjál
'black'	чѐрен /čeren
'red'	червѐн /červén; also ален/álen 'scarlet'
'green'	зелѐн /zelén
'yellow'	жълт /žált; also рѹс/ruś 'blond (of hair)'
'blue'	син /sin; also лазѹрен/lazŭren 'azure, sky-blue (poetic)' and електрик/elektrik 'electric blue (indeclinable)'
'brown'	кафѹв /kařav (< кафѐ/kafe 'coffee'); also кестенѹв/kestenjáv 'auburn, chestnut (of eyes, hair, horses)' (< кѐстен/kesten 'chestnut'), бѐжов/běžov 'beige'
'purple'	морав /morav; also виолѐтов/violétov 'violet', пѹрпурен/pŭrpuren 'crimson (literary, poetic)'
'pink'	рѹзов /rošov (< рѹза/roza 'rose'); also пембѹн/rembján ~ пембѐн/rembén 'hot pink'
'orange'	оранжев /oranžev
'grey'	сив /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' у́сна/ústna
'hair'	ко́сьм/kosám 'single hair'; ко́са/kosá 'head of hair'
'neck'	врат̑/vrát, шия́/šija
'arm, hand'	ръка́/ráká (anomalous plural: 3.1.2); also длан̑/dlán 'palm'
'finger'	прѣст̑/prást
'leg, foot'	крак̑/krák (anomalous plural крака́/kraká: 3.1.2); also '(sole of) foot' стѣпало́/stápálo, ходило́/hodilo
'toe'	прѣст̑/prást (with на крака́/na kraká 'of the foot' to distinguish 'toe' from 'finger')
'chest'	гърди́/gárdi (plural of грѣд̑/grád 'breast' (F)) and грѣден ко́ш/gráden kóš (literally 'breast basket')
'heart'	сърце́/sǎrcé

5.4.3 Kinship terms

'mother'	ма́йка/maǐjka, and for one's own mother ма́ма/maǎma
'father'	баща́/baštá, and for one's own father та́тко/tátko
'sister'	сестра́/sestrá; also ка́ка/káka 'older sister'
'brother'	бра́т/brát (anomalous plural бра́тя/brátja); also ба́тко/bátko 'older brother'
'aunt'	ле́ля/lélja 'sister of father or mother', вуйна́/vujna 'wife of mother's brother', стри́на/strina 'wife of father's brother'; also dialectal те́тка/tétka 'sister of mother'
'uncle'	чи́чо/čičo 'brother of father' and вуйчо́/vujčo 'brother of mother'; also dialectal сва́ко/sváko, тетин/tetin, лелин/lelin 'husband of mother's sister'. Ле́ля/lélja 'aunt' and чи́чо/čičo 'uncle' are used when the more precise relationship is unknown and also to address adults in general.
'niece'	пле́менница/plémennica; also dialectal сестрини́ца/sestrinica 'daughter of sister' and бра́тани́ца/bratànica 'daughter of brother'
'nephew'	пле́менник/plémennik; also dialectal се́стриник/séstrinik 'son of sister' and бра́та́нец/bratáneц 'son of brother'
'cousin'	female бра́товче́дка/bratovčédka and male бра́довче́д/bratovčéd
'grandmother'	ба́ба/bába; also used to address elderly women
'grandfather'	дя́до/djádo; also used to address elderly men
'wife'	же́на/žená (also 'woman'), съпру́га/sǎpruga ('spouse-F')
'husband'	мъ́ж/maǒž (also 'man'; anomalous plural: 3.1.2), съпру́г/sǎprug ('spouse-M')
'daughter'	дъще́ря/dǎšterjǎ (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 /golém/, PL /golémi/, 'milk' /mléko/, 'milkman' /mlekár/. 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'ám gol'ém' i ml'áko ml'ekár/ (Стойков/Stojkov 1968: 54–5 for details).

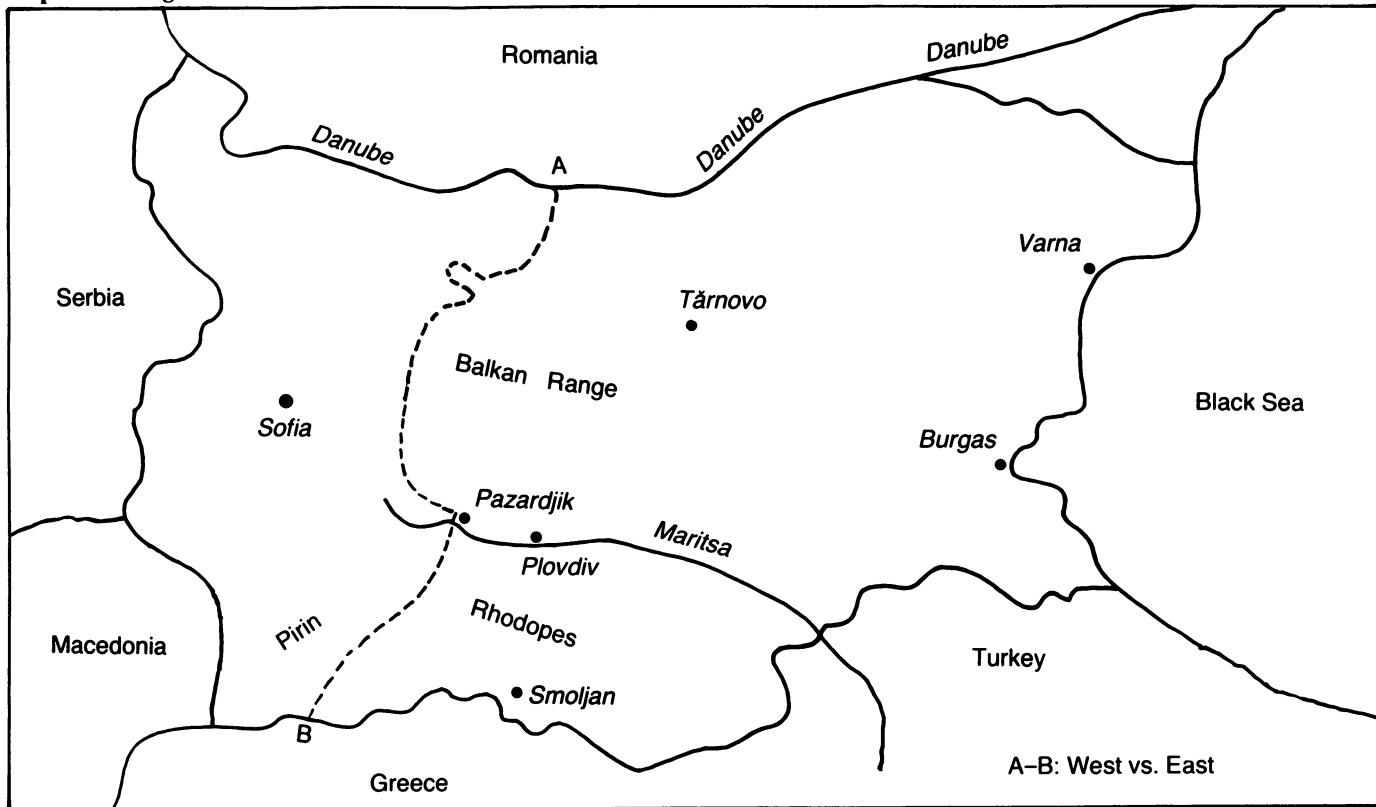
While not coinciding exactly with the *jat'* boundary, other important isoglosses generally reinforce the east–west division:

- 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'i/ 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 ~ āl/ (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'i/, /žába/;
- 2 a single reflex /ǎ/, /ǎ/, /ó/ or /ò/ for stressed PSI. **ρ*, **ъ*, **ϕ*, **ь*, with palatalized labials and dentals before the reflexes of **ϕ* and **ь*: **ρ* – /rǎka/ 'hand, arm', **ъ* – /dǎš/ 'rain', **ϕ* – /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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