A Concise Bulgarian Grammar

By

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Introduction

Bulgarian is the official language of Bulgaria, a country of 110,910 square kilometers and with a population of 7,351,234.[1] Although relatively small in comparison to some other countries, Bulgaria is extremely rich historically, culturally, geographically and linguistically.

Quite a number of speakers of Bulgarian live outside of Bulgaria, with significant populations in, among others, Ukraine, Turkey, Rumania, Greece and Western Europe, North America and Australia. *Omniglot* estimates that there are approximately 12 million speakers of Bulgarian worldwide (including those in Bulgaria).

Bulgarian is an Indo-European language. More specifically, it, together with the languages of the former Yugoslavia, is a member of the southern branch of the Slavic family within Indo-European. These South Slavic languages have developed in unique ways, distinguishing them from the northern (both East and West) Slavic languages, having become separated from these northern relatives due to geographical features and distance and the barrier created by intervening non-Slavic-speaking peoples (i.e. those in present-day Rumania, Hungary and Austria) and due to contact with the non-Slavic languages of the Balkans. Contemporary Bulgarian itself has evolved from Old Bulgarian, the southernmost member of the early South Slavic dialects/languages.

It was a southern dialect of Old Bulgarian that formed the basis for the earliest written Slavic literary language, which is generally referred to in English as "Old Church Slavic" or "Old Church Slavonic". This literary language was developed by the scholars (and brothers) Cyril and Methodius, who, in the second half of the ninth century, were set with the task of helping to spread Christianity among Slavs farther to the north in a language that would be familiar to them. They developed a unique alphabet, Glagolitic, and they, and later their followers, translated many religious works into this literary language. The history of the spread of Old Bulgarian, in this literary Old Church Slavic form, and the degree to which it influenced later literary language developments in South Slavic, East Slavic, to a lesser degree West Slavic, and even non-Slavic languages is complex. In Bulgaria itself the Glagolitic alphabet was supplanted over the course of a couple centuries by a new alphabet, which was to a significant degree based on the Greek alphabet, and which was named in honor of Cyril (i.e. the Cyrillic alphabet).

The contemporary Bulgarian literary language is largely the result of a process of standardization that began in the 19th century as the country was emerging from nearly 500 years of Ottoman rule. This process was one of dispute and eventual compromise between those who wanted the modern standard language to be based primarily on the more traditional Church Slavonic language and those who believed it should be based more on the contemporary spoken language, which, naturally, had undergone many extremely significant changes over the centuries. And, especially within the latter camp, there was disagreement as to whether western or eastern dialects should be the primary base of the new standard literary language. Although there was much compromise, it can be said as a generalization that those favoring contemporary eastern usage emerged as the primary winners in these disputes. Since that time, however, more and more western dialectal features have been accepted into the literary language, in large part, no doubt, due to the increasing influence of Sofia, which is located in the western part of the country, as the new political center and as a rising cultural and economic influence.

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[1] These numbers are from the website of the U.S. Department of State, accessed July 25, 2011. The population statistic reflects preliminary results of a February 2011 census.

        Generally cited as the primary linguistic distinction between the eastern and western dialects is the differing development of the Common Slavic vowel "jat". Quite likely a vowel of low front articulation, this vowel developed into the mid front vowel e in western Bulgarian dialects. Its development in the eastern dialects is more complex, in some areas becoming a low vowel a in some environments and e in others. (See Chapter 2 on morphophonemic alternations for details concerning these environments.) A number of other dialectal differences, including more vowel reduction and more consonant palatalization in the east, are described in Scatton 1984 (13-14). See also Andrejčin, Popov and Stojanov 1977 (453-455), where dialectal differences between northern and southern dialects if eastern Bulgarian are listed.

Chapter 1. Bulgarian Sounds and Orthography

Alphabet.

Bulgarian, like a number of other Slavic languages (Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Serbian and Macedonian), is written using a variant of the Cyrillic alphabet. The table below provides an overview of the Bulgarian alphabet. The letters themselves are listed in the first column in standard Bulgarian alphabetical order. Both upper and lower case forms are given, in that order, for each letter. The second column gives the name Bulgarians use to refer to each letter. For most vowels the name is simply the sound represented by the vowel letter in stressed syllables, and the names of most consonants consist of the sounds the letters represent when they are in position before vowels or resonants plus a schwa sound (spelled with the letter ъ). More details concerning the phonetics of the Bulgarian language will be found below, but I have attempted to give an initial, general idea of the "basic" pronunciation associated with each letter in the third column of the table by providing, whenever possible, an English word which, at least in standard Midwestern American English, includes an identical or very similar sound or sequence of sounds, which is underlined. (By "basic" pronunciation of a letter I mean here the sounds represented by vowels in stressed syllables and sounds represented by non-palatalized consonants in position before vowels and resonants. Situations in which pronunciations vary from the basic pronunciation will be discussed below.) The fourth column presents an example of a Bulgarian word for each. Note that a vowel in boldface is being used here to indicate which syllable is under stress in a particular word.

The Bulgarian Alphabet.

Letter	Name	Basic Pronunciation	Example
А а	а	c<u>o</u>t	в**а**жност 'importance'
Б б	бъ	<u>b</u>us	б**е**з 'without'
В в	въ	<u>v</u>ote	врабч**е** 'sparrow'
Г г	гъ	<u>g</u>oat	гор**а** 'forest'
Д д	дъ	<u>d</u>og	д**ъ**рво 'tree'
Е е	е	p<u>e</u>t	п**е**т 'five'
Ж ж	жъ	gara<u>ge</u>	к**а**жа 'I say'
З з	зъ	<u>z</u>oo	л**о**зе 'vineyard'
И и	и	m<u>ee</u>t[a]	тр**и** 'three'
Й й	и кр**а**тко[b]	<u>y</u>ell	май**о**р 'major'
К к	къ	a<u>c</u>ross	ск**о**ро 'soon'
Л л	лъ	<u>l</u>ost	л**о**ш 'bad'
М м	мъ	<u>m</u>op	пом**а**гаш 'you help'
Н н	нъ	<u>n</u>o	мн**о**го 'very'
О о	о	n<u>o</u>[c]	п**о**д 'floor'
П п	пъ	<u>p</u>our	п**о**ща 'mail'
Р р	ръ	see note d	пер**о** 'feather'
С с	съ	<u>s</u>ong	пр**е**сен 'fresh'
Т т	тъ	as<u>t</u>ray	студ**е**н 'cold'
У у	у	b<u>oo</u>t[c]	л**у**д 'insane'
Ф ф	фъ	<u>f</u>our	реф**о**рма 'reform'

Х х	хъ	see note e	ходя 'I go'
Ц ц	цъ	it<u>s</u>elf	внуци 'grandchildren'
Ч ч	чъ	<u>ch</u>op	чакам 'I wait'
Ш ш	шъ	<u>sh</u>op	решение 'decision'
Щ щ	щъ	sma<u>shed</u>	защото 'because'
Ъ ъ	ъ/ер голям[f]	c<u>u</u>t	път 'road'
Ь ь	ер малък[f]	see note g	асансьор 'elevator'
Ю ю	ю	<u>you</u>th[h]	юг 'south'
Я я	я	<u>yo</u>nder[h]	як 'strong'

Notes:

a. But without the y-glide after the vowel sound characteristic of English pronunciation.

b. и кратко translates literally as 'short и'.

c. But without the significant w-glide after the vowel sound characteristic of English pronunciation.

d. p is a dental trill.

e. x represents a voiceless velar fricative, similar to *ch* in Scottish *loch* or German *nacht*, but not as strident as is observed in the speech of some Scottish and German speakers.

f. ер is a term historically used for schwa sounds in Slavic. ер голям means 'big ер' and ер малък means 'small ер'.

g. ь represents no independent sound of its own. It is an orthographic device to indicate that a consonant is palatalized (see below) in position before the vowel o.

h. The full y-glide before the vowel sound occurs only when these vowel letters are in word-initial position or are in position after another vowel. When these vowel letters are located after a consonant, they indicate that the preceding consonant is palatalized (see below) and followed by the vowel sound associated with the vowel letters y (in the case of ю) or a (in the case of я).

<u>Vowels</u>.

Six distinct vowels occur in stressed syllables in Bulgarian. These vowels are pronounced at three primary points of articulation (front, central and back), with two major degrees of openness of the oral cavity (vowel height) represented at each. The two back vowels are rounded (pronounced with lips rounded). The vowel inventory can be represented graphically as follows:

<u>Vowels</u>

	Front	Central	Back
High	и		y
Mid	e	ъ	o
Low		a	
	Unrounded		Rounded

In careful speech all six vowels may be maintained in unstressed syllables as well. But in the normal speech of many speakers varying degrees of vowel reduction occur. Vowel reduction in Bulgarian works in an upward direction. Speakers who reduce the vowel a in unstressed position pronounce ъ here instead. For example the word масата 'the table' would be pronounced [масътъ]. (Square brackets indicate phonetic representation.) Also common is the reduction in

unstressed syllables of o to, or close to, y. In such speech кол**а** 'car' is pronounced [кул**а**]. And in the everyday speech of some Bulgarians e in unstressed syllables is pronounced more like an и. For example, ведр**о** 'bucket' may be pronounced [вндр**о**]. Phonetic examples given in the current work reflect maximal vowel reduction.

The vowel letters я and ю represent the vowel sounds [a] and [y] (and the former is subject to vowel reduction as just described). They additionally indicate one of two things – in word-initial position and in position after another vowel they indicate that their own vowel sound is preceded by a y-glide, and in position after a consonant they indicate that this consonant is palatalized. (Consonant palatalization is described below, and is indicated here with an apostrophe.) Thus **я**рост 'rage' is pronounced as [й**а**руст], мо**я** 'my (feminine singular)' as [мойъ], ля**гам** 'I lie down' as [л'**а**гъм], мол**я** 'please' as [мол'ъ], у**ю**тно 'cozily' as [уй**у**тнъ], юн**а**к 'hero' as [йун**а**к] and тют**ю**н 'tobacco' as [т'ут'**у**н].

Certain grammatical suffixes are pronounced with the vowel sound [ъ] in both stressed and unstressed position, despite being spelled with the vowel letter a or я. These include the first person singular present tense verb endings -a and -я (e.g. бер**а** [биръ] 'I pick/gather', ка**жа** [кажъ] 'I say', по**я** [пуйъ] 'I irrigate/water', говор**я** [гувор'ъ] 'I speak'), the third person plural present tense verb endings –ат and –ят (e.g. бер**а**т [бирът] 'they pick/gather', ка**ж**ат [кажъ] 'they say', по**я**т [пуйът] 'they irrigate/water', говор**я**т [гувор'ът] 'they speak'), and the masculine singular definite article forms –ят, -я and –a[2] (e.g. ден**я**т [дин'ът] 'the day', град**а** [градъ] 'the city, учи**те**ля [учитил'ъ] 'the teacher').

Consonants.

Based on point of articulation (place of greatest obstruction of the air stream in the production of speech) and manner of articulation (degree or manner of obstruction of the air stream), the consonants of Bulgarian may be arranged as follows[3]:

<u>Consonants</u>

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveo-dental	Alveo-palatal	Velar	
Obstruents						
Stops	п п'		т т'		к к'	voiceless
	б б'		д д'		г г'	voiced
Affricates			ц ц'	ч		voiceless
			дз дз'	дж		voiced
Fricatives		ф ф'	с с'	ш	х х'	voiceless
		в в'	з з'	ж	(γ γ')	voiced
Resonants						
Nasal	м м'		н н'			voiced
Lateral			л л'			voiced
Trill			р р'			voiced
Glide				й		voiced

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[2] See Chapter 3 for a description on the distribution of the various forms of the masculine singular definite article.

[3] Щ is not included independently in this table because it is being treated as the sequence of two separate consonants (ш and т).

Aspiration.

Bulgarian consonants do not have the heavy aspiration characteristic of voiceless stops and affricates in certain positions in English.

Palatalization.

Most consonants in Bulgarian occur in both palatalized and non-palatalized varieties. Palatalization is indicated in the table above and in phonetic examples here by an apostrophe. A palatalized consonant is one produced at the same primary point of articulation and with the same manner of articulation as its non-palatalized counterpart, but is given a secondary point of articulation by raising the tongue toward the palate as one does when pronouncing the y-glide й. This produces an effect on the sound quality that is sometimes described as "softening", and palatalized consonants are sometimes referred to as "soft consonants". Thus [д'] is a stop formed through closure at the dental point of articulation, but has a softened quality due to the palatalization created by raising the tongue toward the palate. Already being palatal in primary point of articulation, the consonants ч, дж, ш, ж and й are not subject in Bulgarian to the palatalized – non-palatalized distinction. Palatalized consonants occur only before non-front vowels in contemporary Bulgarian (where non-palatalized consonants also may occur). During the course of the history of the language any palatalized consonants that once were found before front vowels, before other consonants or in word-final position underwent a hardening (i.e. a loss of palatalization). Note, for example, the distribution of [л] and [л'] in the following words: учител [учител] 'teacher', учителят [учител'ът] 'the teacher', учителю [учител'у] 'teacher (vocative)', учители [учители] 'teachers' and учителка [учителкъ] 'teacher (feminine)'; and of [н] and [н'] in the following words: син [син] 'blue (masculine singular) ', синя [син'ъ] 'blue (feminine singular)', синьо [син'у] 'blue (neuter singular)', сини [сини] 'blue (plural)' and синкав [синкъф] 'bluish (masculine singular)'.

Affricates.

The Bulgarian sound system includes six affricated stops (complex consonants consisting of a brief stop followed by a fricative): alveo-dental ц (=[ᵀс]) and дз (=[ᴰз]), with palatalized counterparts ц' (=[ᵀс']) and дз' (=[ᴰз']), and palatal ч (=[ᵀш]) and дж (=[ᴰж]). The voiceless affricates occur in many native words inherited from Common Slavic (e.g. цена 'price', час 'hour') and this is reflected in the existence of Cyrillic letters to represent them. The voiced affricates occur primarily in more recent borrowings from other languages and in onomatopoeic words and are spelled with digraphs (e.g. джин 'gin', джаз 'jazz', дзън-дзън 'ting-a-ling').

Voicing.

As seen in the consonant chart above, Bulgarian resonants are all voiced (as is true of vowels in Bulgarian as well). Obstruents, however, can be arranged in pairs (e.g. д-т, ж-ш), where the articulatory difference between them lies in whether the vocal cords are vibrating (voiced) or not (voiceless). In almost all of these pairs the voicing distinction is a phonemic one, capable of distinguishing meaning in pairs of words (e.g. дом [дом] 'home' – том [том] 'volume/tome'; кажа [кажъ] 'I say' – каша [кашъ] 'kasha'). There are, however, specific positions in which the voicing distinction is neutralized. In word-final position and in position before a voiceless obstruent only voiceless obstruents occur in pronunciation, regardless of orthography. Thus, for example рядко 'rarely' is pronounced [р'атку] and рог 'horn' is pronounced [рок]. Conversely, in position before voiced obstruents only voiced obstruents occur. Thus сборник 'collection' is

pronounced [зборник]. Under this specific condition, although it happens rarely, we also encounter the sound γ, a voiced counterpart to x. Hauge (1999:7) provides бих дошъл 'I would have come' as an example of this, being pronounced [биγ душъл], which also illustrates that when there is no pause between words in rapid speech, consonant clusters over word boundaries may follow these voicing assimilation patterns. Maslov (1981:43) cites град Бургас 'the city of Burgas' and от Бургас 'from Burgas' as examples of this, where the д in град does not devoice in word-final position and the т in от does undergo the regressive voicing assimilation. Note that resonants and vowels, all of which are voiced, neither undergo devoicing in final position or before voiceless obstruents, nor do they cause voicing of obstruents which precede them. And note too the peculiarity that в and в', although they do undergo devoicing to ф and ф' in the relevant environments described above, do not themselves cause preceding obstruents to undergo voicing assimilation. Thus вторник 'Tuesday' is [фторник] (not *[вт]), but отварям 'I open' is [утвар'ъм] (not *[дв]).

Chapter 2. Major Morphophonemic Alternations

There are a number of commonly occurring types of alternation in Bulgarian in which one form of a morpheme (prefix, root, suffix) differs from another with varying degrees of predictability. Some of the most important of these are described in this chapter.

The E ~ 'A Alternation.

At an earlier stage in its history, the Bulgarian language once had the vowel we refer to as "jat", likely low and front in articulation. In western Bulgarian dialects this jat has developed into the vowel е. In some eastern Bulgarian dialects it developed into 'a (the vowel sound a with palatalization of the preceding consonant maintained), while in other eastern dialects jat sometimes developed into е, sometimes into 'a, depending on various factors. The situation in literary standard contemporary Bulgarian is somewhat of a compromise. The prescribed norm is to use the variant with a palatalized consonant followed by the non-front vowel when both of the following conditions are met: 1) the syllable bears the word-level stress; and 2) the vowel is not followed by a historically palatalized consonant (which includes any currently palatalized consonant, й, ш, щ, ч, ж, and any consonant before a front vowel). Thus:

бял 'white (masculine singular)', бяла 'white (feminine singular)' but бели 'white (plural)' (where there is a front vowel in the following syllable), беля 'I bleach' (where the vowel is followed by a palatalized consonant), and беловлас 'white-haired (masculine singular)" (where the stress does not fall on the syllable in question);

ляха 'they poured', ля 'he/she poured', лят 'poured (masculine singular passive participle), but лея = [лейъ] 'I pour' (where the vowel is followed by a y-glide);

тягостен 'oppressive (masculine singular)', тяга 'tractive force', but тежък 'heavy (masculine singular)' (where the vowel is followed by ж), and тегота 'burden' (where the stress does not fall on the syllable in question).

Note, too, the form тегля [тегл'ъ] 'I pull/drag', which illustrates that the condition concerning the palatalization of the following consonant causing the appearance of the front vowel in this alternation is applicable even when the palatalized (or historically palatalized) consonant is the second in a consonant cluster.

It is essential to keep in mind that not every я or е in Bulgarian words participates in this alternation. The alternation applies only to those forms which etymologically had the jat vowel, as is the case with the examples just cited. When я or е come from other sources (e.g. the former from etymological я or the latter from etymological е or nasal ę) we do not find the alternation. For example, see the instances of я in:

селяк 'villager', селяци 'villagers' (even with я before a syllable with a front vowel), селяндур 'bumpkin' (even with я in an unstressed syllable);

and of е in:

пе**ти** 'fifth (masculine singular)', п**е**тнайсет 'fifteen', п**е**т 'five', п**е**та 'fifth (feminine singular) (with e in these last two despite being under stress and not before a historically palatalized consonant).

The Vowel ~ Zero Alternation.

  We have here to do with morphemes which include a vowel in one or more words but do not include this vowel in another or others. In many cases, but not all, Bulgarian vowel ~ zero alternation results from a historical process in which what once were reduced vowels ("jers") became full vowels in some environments but were eliminated in others. Thus, for example, a root or suffix that once consistently had a reduced vowel in all words in which it occurred now, in contemporary Bulgarian, may have a full vowel in some words (when in an environment in which jers developed into full vowels), but no vowel at all in other words (where the environment was such that jers "fell"). To a certain extent these differing results are predictable enough from a contemporary point of view to make knowledge about the conditions under which these historical changes occurred useful for choosing, manipulating and interpreting forms correctly. Basically, what happened is that jers in so-called "weak" position fell, resulting in zero variants, while jers in so-called "strong" position became full vowels. Weak position is defined as any position other than that of the syllable before one which itself contained a jer in weak position. In effect, what this means is that, starting at the end of the word and moving toward the beginning, the first jer encountered was weak. If there was a jer in the immediately preceding syllable it would be strong. A jer in the syllable immediately preceding this one would again be weak, and so on. Any jer in a syllable before one that had a vowel other than a jer would be weak. Before all this happened there were two jers – one a front vowel and one a back vowel. In weak position both front and back jers fell, producing zero variants of morphemes. In strong position front jers became e and back jers became ъ in Bulgarian.

  Two typical situations in which we find this variation are many masculine nouns (with a vowel in the singular but zero in the plural) and very many adjectives and adjectival pronouns (with a vowel in the masculine singular but zero in other forms). The historical reason here is that at an earlier stage in the history of the language the grammatical ending itself for masculine singular nouns and adjectives was a jer. This word-final jer was, of course, in weak position. So it fell, producing a zero ending. But it also provided the conditioning environment for any jer in the last syllable of the stem to be "strong" and to develop into a full vowel. And many noun and adjective stems did, in fact, have jers in the last syllable of the stem (either within a root of a form with no suffix, or, more commonly, in a suffix). There are also many instances of forms that did not have jers, including more recent borrowings from other languages, coming to exhibit these patterns of alternations by analogy to those that did. Here are some examples of vowel ~ zero alternation.

Masculine Nouns

Singular	Plural	Source
д**е**н 'day'	дн**и**	(from root with front jer)
огън 'fire'	огнь**о**ве	(from root with back jer)
ли**т**ър 'liter'	ли**т**ри	(analogy to roots with back jers)
пр**а**отец 'forefather'	пр**а**отци	(from root with front jer)
ъгъл 'corner'	**ъ**гли	(from root with back jer)

бин**о**късл 'binoculars'	бин**о**кли	(analogy to roots with back jers)
първ**е**нец 'first-born'	първ**е**нци	(from suffix with front jer)
млад**е**нец 'infant'	млад**е**нци	(from suffix with front jer)
пълков**о**дец 'commander'	пълков**о**дци	(from suffix with front jer)

Adjectives and Adjectival Pronouns

Masculine Singular	Feminine Singular	Plural	Source
зъл 'evil'	зла	зли	(from root with back jer)
хр**а**бър 'brave'	хр**а**бра	хр**а**бри	(from root with back jer)
как**ъ**в 'what kind of'	какв**а**	какв**и**	(from suffix with back jer)
т**е**хен 'their'	т**я**хна	т**е**хни	(from suffix with front jer)
остър 'sharp'	**о**стра	**о**стри	(from root with back jer)
осн**о**вен 'basic'	осн**о**вна	осн**о**вни	(from suffix with front jer)
бл**и**зък 'near'	бл**и**зка	бл**и**зки	(from suffix with back jer)
благод**а**рен 'thankful'	благод**а**рна	благод**а**рни	(from suffix with front jer)
при**я**тен 'pleasant'	при**я**тна	при**я**тни	(from root [historically a suffix] with front jer)

These represent two of the most commonly occurring situations in which vowel ~ zero can be found in Bulgarian, and the vowel ~ zero and the E ~ 'A alternations are only two of the most prominent alternations involving vowels in the language. The interested reader will find more detailed information and many more examples, including more detail on alternations which involve consonants than will be given in the next three sections, in Aronson 1968 (105-160), Maslov 1981 (47-59), volume 1 of the Academy Grammar (1982:215-256) and Scatton 1984 (388-422). Some of these other alternations will, in fact, be mentioned in the current work in the chapters which follow as they are relevant specifically to particular parts of speech.

The К ~ Ч, Г ~ Ж, and Х ~ Ш Alternations.

Two of the most conspicuous types of consonant alternation in Bulgarian involve the velar obstruents. In the first of these the voiceless velar stop к alternates with the voiceless alveo-palatal affricate ч, the voiced velar stop г alternates with the voiced alveo-palatal fricative ж, and the voiceless velar fricative x alternates with the voiceless alveo-palatal fricative ш. It is perhaps easiest to regard these alternations as mutations, with forms with the velar being in some sense "basic" and the velars mutating into alveo-palatal consonants under certain conditions, the conditions primarily involving position before front vowels. One such situation has to do with masculine nouns, where a basic velar mutates to an alveo-palatal in the vocative form before the vocative[4] inflectional ending -e. For example:

юн**а**к 'hero/fine lad'	юн**а**че (vocative)
съпр**у**г 'husband'	съпр**у**же (vocative)
патпри**а**рх 'patriarch'	патри**а**рше (vocative)

We also find these mutations in neuter nouns with stems ending in velars in the rare cases where

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[4] The vocative is a special form of a noun used when calling out to or addressing the referent of that noun.

the ending -и is used to form the plural:

око 'eye'   очи 'eyes'
ухо 'ear'   уши 'ears'

The velar to alveo-palatal mutation is seen in a wider variety of forms in the system of verb conjugation. In the verb class often referred to as the e-conjugation type several of the endings used begin with front vowels. In such cases a "basic" velar mutates. These are illustrated here with the verbs мога 'I am able', пека 'I bake' and привлека 'I attract'. The mutation occurs in the second person singular, third person singular, first person plural and second person plural of the present tense:

second person singular, present tense – можеш, печеш, привлечеш,
third person singular, present tense – може, пече, привлече,
first person plural, present tense – можем, печем, привлечем,
second person plural, present tense – можете, печете, привлечете;

in the imperative:

imperative singular – (можи), печи, привлечи
imperative plural – (можете), печете, привлечете;

in participles and verbal adverbs:

active participle – можещ, печащ/печещ (masculine singular)
passive participle – печен, привлечен (masculine singular)
verbal adverb – можейки, печейки;

in the imperfect past tense (and "l-participle" forms derived from the imperfect stem – see the discussion of verbs):

можех 'I was able', можеше 'you (singular) were able'
печахме/печехме 'we were baking', печахте/печехте 'you (plural) were baking';

in at least the second and third person singular aorist past tense:

пече 'you (singular)/he/she baked' and привлече 'you (singular)/he/she/it attracted' (but with к
    in other aorist forms)
можа 'you (singular)/he/she/it could' (with ж in the other aorist forms as well).

Volume 1 of the Academy Grammar (1982:244-245) lists almost forty suffixes (some of which are homonymous) the addition of which to a stem ending in a basic velar causes mutation of this velar to an alveo-palatal. Here are a few of the most common:

Nominal suffixes:
    -еств- (resulting in a neuter noun), e.g. бог 'God' – божество 'divinity', работник

'worker' – раб**о**тничество 'working class',

-ин- (resulting in a feminine noun), e.g. т**и**х 'quiet (masculine singular)' – тишин**а** 'silence', др**у**г 'other (masculine singular)', друг**а**р 'comrade' – друж**и**на 'company/crowd',

-иц- (resulting in a feminine noun), e.g. ръка 'hand' – ръч**и**ца 'hand (diminutive)', кн**и**га 'book' – книж**и**ца 'booklet'

-к- (resulting in a feminine noun), e.g. глуп**а**к 'fool' – глуп**а**чка 'fool (female)', раб**о**тник 'worker' – раб**о**тничка 'worker (female)',

-ник- (resulting in a masculine noun), e.g. кн**и**га 'book' – книжник 'scribe', гр**я**х 'sin' – гр**е**шник 'sinner',

-ий- (resulting in a neuter noun), e.g. вел**и**к 'great (masculine singular)' –вел**и**чие 'grandeur', под ног**а** 'under a foot' – подн**о**жие 'pedestal';

Adjectival suffixes:

-ен- e.g. кн**и**га 'book' – книжен/книжна 'book-paper (adjective, masculine singular/feminine singular)', см**я**х 'laughter' – см**е**шен/см**е**шна 'funny (masculine singular/feminine singular)',

-еск- e.g. раб**о**тник 'worker' – раб**о**тнически/раб**о**тническа 'worker's (adjective, masculine singular/feminine singular)', вр**а**г 'enemy' – вр**а**жески/вр**а**жеска 'enemy (adjective, masculine singular/feminine singular)',

-historical y-glide- e.g. б**о**г 'God' – божи/б**о**жа 'divine (masculine singular/feminine singular)', з**а**ек 'rabbit' – з**а**йчи/з**а**йча 'rabbit (adjective, masculine singular/feminine singular)'.

The velar to alveo-palatal mutation can also be seen in the derivation of imperfective verbs from prefixed perfective verbs, for example[5]:

нарек**а** 'I call/name (perfective)' – нар**и**чам 'I call/name (imperfective)',
привлек**а** 'I attract (perfective)' – привл**и**чам 'I attract (imperfective)';

and in the derivation of verbs from noun and adjective stems, for example:

кр**ъ**г 'circle' – кръж**а** 'I circle/go around',
в рък**а** in a hand' – връ**ч**а 'I deliver/hand in',
с**у**х 'dry (masculine singular)' – суш**а** 'I dry'.

The К ~ Ц, Г ~ З and Х ~ С Alternations.

As in the case of the consonant alternations just discussed, what we have to do with here are morphemes in which there is variation that can be viewed as involving mutations of "basic" forms with velar consonants. Here, however, the velars mutate not into alveo-palatal consonants, but rather into dental consonants. More specifically, forms with the voiceless velar stop к mutate into forms with the voiceless dental affricate ц, forms with the voiced velar stop г mutate into forms with the voiced dental fricative з, and forms with the voiceless velar fricative х mutate into forms with the voiceless dental fricative с. As with the majority of the velar → alveo-palatal mutations, these velar → dental mutations take place in the environment of a front vowel.

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[5] In these examples we also find a vowel alternation е ~ и in the root.

By far the most common place this mutation can be seen in Bulgarian is in the plural forms of masculine nouns when the ending -и is used. That is, most masculine nouns with stems ending in velar к, г or х in the singular and in the numerical form (see Chapter 3) that use the ending -и in the plural replace these velar consonants with the dental consonants ц, з and с, respectively, before this plural ending. These mutations affect a tremendous number of nouns in the language, largely due to the great number of masculine nouns with suffixes ending in к (e.g. –ик-, -ник-, -ак-). Here are some examples:

Alternation in a root:

Singular	Plural
ез**ик** 'language'	ез**иц**и
р**ак** 'crab/lobster'	р**ац**и
н**ав**ик 'habit'	н**ав**ици
съпр**уг** 'husband'	съпр**уз**и
п**о**дл**ог** 'subject'	п**о**дл**оз**и
п**о**дв**иг** 'feat'	п**о**дв**из**и
мон**ах** 'monk'	мон**ас**и
стом**ах** 'stomach'	стом**ас**и
вл**ах** 'Wallach'	вл**ас**и

Alternation in a suffix:

Singular	Plural
докл**ад**чик 'speaker'	докл**ад**чици
учен**ик** 'pupil'	учен**иц**и
д**ан**ък 'tax'	д**ан**ъци
люб**о**вник 'lover'	люб**о**вници
слов**ак** 'Slovak'	слов**ац**и
антропол**ог** 'anthropologist'	антропол**оз**и
метал**ур**г 'metalworker'	метал**ур**зи
мон**ар**х 'monarch'	мон**ар**си
патри**ар**х 'patriarch'	патри**ар**си
екз**ар**х 'exarch'	екз**ар**си

As a rule, feminine and neuter nouns with stems ending in a velar consonant do not undergo this mutation in the plural:

Feminine nouns:

Singular	Plural
ш**ап**ка 'hat'	ш**ап**ки
подл**о**га 'bedpan'	подл**о**ги
мух**а** 'fly'	мух**и**

Neuter nouns:

Singular	Plural
сак**о** 'jacket'	сак**а**
влеч**у**го 'reptile'	влеч**у**ги

иго 'yoke'   **иг**а

Two important feminine nouns, however, do exhibit the velar → dental mutation in the formation of their plural forms:

Singular	Plural
рък**а** 'hand/arm'	ръц**е**
ног**а** 'leg/foot'	ноз**е**

Note also the masculine noun влад**и**ка 'bishop', which does have the mutation in the plural (влад**и**ци), even though it uses the typically feminine -a ending in the singular.

The velar → dental mutation does not affect masculine nouns which have the plural ending -ове, rather than -и, which is the case for most monosyllabic masculine nouns, or those few masculine nouns that have the plural ending –a. For example:

Singular	Plural
д**и**ск 'disk'	д**и**сков**е**
вр**а**г 'enemy'	враго**в**е
д**у**х 'spirit'	духов**е**
кр**а**к 'foot'	крак**а**
р**о**г 'horn'	рог**а**/рог**о**ве/р**о**гове

There are also a fair number of polysyllabic masculine nouns with stems ending in a velar consonant in the singular which maintain this velar in the plural even before the ending -и. Some generalizations can be made here. If a с precedes а к, it can be predicted that the к will not mutate (e.g. **о**тпуск 'leave from work' – **о**тпуски (plural)). If an н precedes а г, the г will not mutate (e.g. л**о**зунг 'slogan' – л**о**зунги (plural)). Quite a few words, many of them borrowings into the language, allow variants with and without the mutation (e.g. болшев**и**к 'Bolshevik' – болшев**и**ки/болшев**и**ци (plural), **а**нцуг 'sweat suit' – **а**нцузи/**а**нцуги (plural)). And quite a few nouns simply lack the mutation for no obvious reason (e.g. усп**е**х 'success' – усп**е**хи (plural)). Difficult to predict also are the names of nationalities (e.g. тр**а**к 'a Thracian' – тр**а**ки (plural), фр**а**нк 'a Frank' – фр**а**нки (plural), but гр**ъ**к 'a Greek' – г**ъ**рци (plural)).

Aside from plural masculine noun forms, another situation in which the velar → dental mutation occurs in Bulgarian is in the derivation of collective and abstract nouns from adverbs/pronouns expressing quantity. For example:

м**а**лко 'a little/few' – малц**и**на 'a few (noun)' – малцинств**о** 'minority'
мн**о**го 'much/many' – мноз**и**на 'many (people)' – мнозинств**о** 'majority'.

The ЪР ~ РЪ and ЪЛ ~ ЛЪ Alternations.

In some morphemes (e.g. пр**ъ**ч 'goat' – пр**ъ**чове 'goats' – пр**ъ**чът 'the goat', пл**ъ**х 'rat' – пл**ъ**хове 'rats' – пл**ъ**хът 'the rat', г**ъ**рч 'cramp' – г**ъ**рчове 'cramps' – г**ъ**рчът 'the cramp') sequences of schwa (ъ) and the resonants р or л (in either order) do not exhibit metathesis (i.e. reversal of linear order). But there are many morphemes in Bulgarian in which variants with both linear orderings of such sequences do occur. For such morphemes the general distribution is as follows (although exceptions to this general distribution certainly can be found):

1) Forms with the linear order -ръ- and -лъ- are used when the consonant after the sequence is part of the same syllable as the sequence itself (i.e. the sequence comes before a tautosyllabic consonant);
2) Forms with the linear order -ър- and -ъл- are used when the consonant after the sequence is in a following syllable (i.e. the sequence comes before a heterosyllabic consonant).

Thus, according to the first part of this rule, if the sequence is in the final syllable of a word, variants with -ръ- and -лъ- are used (since the following consonant must be part of this final syllable). Some examples of this are seen in the first column in the table below. Similarly, if the sequence is followed by a consonant cluster, the variants with -ръ- and -лъ- are also used, since the first consonant of the following cluster will be counted as part of the syllable containing the sequence, while the second consonant in the cluster will begin the following syllable. See the examples in the second column below. But, as suggested in the second part of the distribution rule above, when there is a following syllable and the sequence is followed by a single consonant, forms with -ър- and -ъл- are used, since the consonant after the sequence is treated as the beginning of this following syllable. Examples of this are given in the third column in the following table.

ЪР ~ РЪ and ЪЛ ~ ЛЪ

Before Word-final Consonant	Before Consonant Cluster	Before Single Consonant
връх 'peak'	връхнин**а** 'excess'	върхъ**т** 'the peak'
	връхлет**я**вам 'I pounce on'	върхов**е** 'peaks'
гръб 'back'	гръбльо 'hunchback'	гърбав 'hunchbacked'
	гръбн**а**к 'spine'	гърбя се 'I stoop'
гръм 'thunder'	гръмлив 'thunderous'	гърм**и** се 'it is thundering'
	гръмвам 'I shoot/fire'	гърм**е**ж 'detonation/shot'
глъч 'babel/uproar'	глъчка ''babel/uproar'	гълч**а** 'I jabber'
млък 'shut up'	млъкна 'I fall silent (perfective)'	мълком 'in silence'
	млъквам 'I fall silent (imperfective)'	мълчал**и**в 'silent (masculine singular)'

Many more examples of such morphemes, as well as some of the all too numerous exceptions to these general distribution rules, can be found in Aronson 1968 (147-149), Maslov 1981 (58-59) and volume 1 of the Academy Grammar (1982:232-236).

Stress Alternation.
    Word-level stress in Bulgarian is not predictable – in some words it falls on the first syllable, in some on the final syllable, in others somewhere in between. It is thus phonemic, capable of distinguishing words from one another (e.g. кол**а** 'car' – к**о**ла 'soda'; уд**а**рен 'stressed (masculine singular)' – **у**дарен 'capable/efficient (masculine singular)').
    It also is not uncommon for stress to shift within inflectional or derivational paradigms, resulting in variant forms of morphemes based on the presence or absence of stress. Here are some examples of roots bearing stress in one word, but occurring without stress in a derived form:

    Root with stress   Root without stress

ужас 'horror'	ужас**ия** 'monstrosity'
интер**е**с 'interest'	интерес**у**вам 'I (am of) interest'
т**ъ**рся 'I seek'	търс**а**ч 'seeker'
мл**а**д 'young (masculine singular)'	млад**е**ж 'youth/lad'

And here are some examples of the reverse situation:

Root without stress	Root with stress
тъм**а** 'darkness'	т**ъ**мен 'dark (masculine singular)'
сестр**а** 'sister'	с**е**стрински 'in a sisterly manner'
сек**а** пар**и** 'I coin money'	с**е**чене на пар**и** 'coinage'
сто**я** 'I stand'	ст**о**йка 'posture'

In nominal inflection it is quite common for a non-suffixed masculine noun root to be stressed in the singular, but not in the plural. Stress in most such nouns also shifts away from the root in the singular form when the definite article is added. For example:

б**о**г 'God'	богов**е** 'gods'	б**о**гът 'the god'
б**я**с 'fury'	бесов**е** 'furies/devils'	бес**ъ**т 'the fury'
в**е**к 'century'	веков**е** 'centuries'	век**ъ**т 'the century'
вр**а**г 'enemy'	врагов**е**/враз**и** 'enemies'	враг**ъ**т 'the enemy'
вр**а**т 'neck'	вратов**е** 'necks'	врат**ъ**т 'the neck'
в**я**тър 'wind'	ветров**е** 'winds'	в**я**тър**ъ**т 'the wind'
гл**а**с 'voice'	гласов**е** 'voices'	глас**ъ**т 'the voice'
кр**а**к 'leg/foot'	крак**а** 'legs/feet'	крак**ъ**т 'the leg/the foot'
м**о**мък 'young man'	момц**и** 'young men'	м**о**мък**ъ**т 'the young man'
м**ъ**ж 'man'	мъж**е** 'men'	мъж**ъ**т 'the man'

In some cases the stress shifts away from the root in the definite singular form, but not in the plural form. For example:

д**ъ**лг 'debt'	дългов**е** 'debts'	дълг**ъ**т 'the debt'
кр**ъ**г 'circle'	кръгов**е** 'circles'	кръг**ъ**т 'the circle'

     It is also quite common for neuter nouns to have stress on the stem in the singular, but on the ending in the plural. Here are a few examples:

бл**а**го 'good thing/prosperity'	благ**а** 'good things'
езеро 'lake'	езер**а** 'lakes'
л**о**зе 'vineyard'	лоз**я** 'vineyards'
м**я**сто 'place'	мест**а** 'places'
пи**а**но 'piano'	пиан**а** 'pianos'

Extensive lists of masculine and neuter nouns with their stress patterns can be found in Scatton 1984 (427-434).

There is much less shifting of stress in feminine nouns. Most notable is the shift of stress from the stem to the ending in the definite singular forms of those feminine nouns that use a zero ending in the singular rather than the more typical feminine ending -a. For example:

кръв 'blood'   кръвта 'the blood'

нощ 'night'   нощта 'the night'

In verbal inflection the most important stress shift occurs in the aorist past tense of some, but certainly not all, verbs. For most verb types that exhibit the shift, the stress moves away from the ending in the aorist, and the shift is optional (please note that I am only giving the first person singular forms here as representatives of the entire paradigms):

съхна 'I become dry'   съхнах/съхнах 'I became dry'

кажа 'say'   казах/казах 'I said'

For verbs belonging to one verb type, however, this stress shift is in the direction of present tense forms with ending stress and aorist forms with stem stress, and is mandatory:

внеса 'I bring in'   внесох 'I brought in'

сека 'I cut (present tense)'   сякох 'I cut (aorist past tense)',

with one important verb of this verb type exhibiting a mandatory shift, but in the opposite direction:

дойда 'I come'   дойдох 'I came'

The position of stress is quite stable in the system of adjectival inflection, and what little shifting occurs in numbers and pronouns will be seen in the chapters below when the forms in question are presented.

Chapter 3. Nouns

Gender.

      Nouns in Bulgarian can be divided into three broad categories based on their grammatical gender – masculine, feminine or neuter. Grammatical gender is important because it determines formal agreement and correspondence features, at least in the singular, of adjectives (e.g. нов 'new (masculine)' – нова 'new (feminine)' – ново 'new (neuter)'), many pronouns and adjectival pronouns (e.g. той 'he/it (masculine)' – тя 'she/it (feminine)' – то 'it/he/she (neuter)'; наш 'our (masculine)' – наша 'our (feminine)' – наше 'our (neuter)') and parts of compound verbal constructions which agree with the subject of the clause (e.g. бе казал 'had said (masculine)' – бе казала 'had said (feminine)' – бе казало 'had said (neuter)').

Humans.

      When a noun refers to a human being, grammatical gender generally follows semantic gender. For example:

Masculine Humans	Feminine Humans
мъж 'man/husband'	жена 'woman/wife'
брат 'brother'	сестра 'sister'
Павел 'Pavel'	Елена 'Elena'
монах 'monk'	монахиня 'nun'

      A number of nouns referring to young people are grammatically neuter. Among these are:

"Neuter" Humans
дете 'child'
бебе 'baby'
пеленаче 'infant'
момче 'boy'
момиче 'girl'

      Nouns denoting people according to nationality, ethnicity, and regional, religious, socio-economic, etc., affiliation tend to occur in pairs, one denoting a male individual in the group (or possibly a mixed-gender group in the plural), the other a female individual. Note that such nouns are not capitalized in Bulgarian. For example:

	Masculine	Feminine
'Bulgarian'	българин	българка
'American'	американец	американка
'Russian'	русин/руснак	рускиня

'Englishman/Englishwoman'	англичанин	англичанка
'Canadian'	канадец	канадка
'Turk'	турчин	туркиня
'Christian'	християнин	християнка
'resident of Sofia'	софиянец	софиянка
'northerner'	севернякк	севернячка
'peasant/villager'	селянин	селянка
'Bolshevik'	болшевик	болшевичка
'bourgeois(e)'	буржоа	буржоазка

Such pairs commonly exist also for nouns denoting humans according to major attributes, activities or professions associated with them. For example:

	Masculine	Feminine
'clever person'	умник	умница
'stupid person'	глупак	глупачка
'egotist'	егоист	егоистка
'fighter/champion'	борец	боркиня
'jokester'	шегаджия	шегаджийка
'reader'	читател	читателка
'teacher'	учител	учителка
'actor/actress'	актьор	актриса
'writer'	писател	писателка
'pupil'	ученик	ученичка
'university student'	студент	студентка
'graduate student'	аспирант	аспирантка

Animals.

For nouns referring to animals and other non-human creatures, the tendency in Bulgarian is to use a single form, the grammatical gender of which does not depend on the actual physical gender of the referent. Maslov (1981:131) gives as examples of such nouns сокол 'falcon' and слон 'elephant' (which are masculine); птица 'bird', мечка 'bear' and лисица 'fox' (which are feminine); and куче 'dog' and магаре 'donkey' (which are neuter). There sometimes exist words which are more gender specific in such cases (e.g. мечок 'he-bear'), but which are generally used only in special contexts where physical gender is being emphasized. There also are corresponding neuter nouns referring specifically to young creatures (e.g. птиче 'young bird', лисиче 'young fox', слонче 'young elephant'). In some cases nouns for creatures occur in gender-specific pairs, each member of which is in fairly common usage (e.g. бик 'bull' – крава 'cow'; овен 'ram' – овца 'sheep').

Other Nouns.

Most nouns, of course, refer to objects and concepts that do not have any inherent physical gender. For such nouns grammatical gender is just that and no more. That a given noun is feminine, for example, just must be learned and remembered as a grammatical feature of that noun, triggering such grammatical results as use of the feminine form of adjectives and pronouns that modify this noun, the feminine form of participles and certain verbal forms governed by this noun,

and reference to the object or concept as тя 'she' and нея 'her', etc., rather than as той 'he', то 'it' and него 'him/it', etc.

On one level, the assignment of gender to various nouns appears quite arbitrary from a contemporary point of view. Why should 'book' (книга) be feminine, while 'dictionary' (речник) is masculine and 'reading matter' (четиво) is neuter?[6] Or why are both 'love' (обич) and "hatred" (омраза) feminine, while 'peace' (мир) and 'interest' (интерес) are masculine, and 'trust' (доверие) and 'comprehension' (разбиране) are neuter?

There is, however, a fairly strong correspondence between the form of the ending of a noun in the singular and its grammatical gender. The vast majority of neuter nouns end in -o or -e, the majority of masculine nouns end in a consonant (i.e. use a zero ending), and most feminine nouns end in -a or -я. Thus one can usually predict a noun's grammatical gender correctly by looking at its form. (Of course, from a linguistic point of view, this is circular reasoning. One could describe the situation instead as one in which –a/-я is selected as the ending precisely because the noun is grammatically feminine, -o or -e because it is grammatically neuter, etc.)

<u>Singular Formation</u>.

Masculine Nouns.

As just noted, the majority of grammatically masculine nouns in Bulgarian end in a consonant in the singular. In reality, this is the bare stem with a zero ending (lack of overt ending) in the singular. This will become more apparent when we discuss the formation of the plural, where, unlike the situation with most feminine and with neuter nouns, no overt singular ending needs to be removed before a plural ending is added.

Here are some examples of typical masculine nouns with zero endings attached to stem-final consonants:

Some Typical Masculine Nouns Ending in a Consonant	
аромат 'aroma/fragance'	лед 'ice'
бокал 'goblet'	мозък 'brain'
вход 'entrance'	наклон 'slope/bias'
град 'town/city'	орех 'nut'
ден 'day'	под 'floor'
език 'language/tongue'	ръченик 'kerchief'
живот 'life'	стол 'chair'
зъб 'tooth'	телефон 'telephone'
избор 'choice'	урок 'lesson'
капан 'trap'	четвъртък 'Thursday'

Although most masculine nouns, those referring to people and animals as well as those denoting objects and concepts, end in a consonant (i.e. have a zero ending) in the singular, there are, in fact, a number of masculine nouns referring to male humans that end in -a/-я (the ending more typical of feminine nouns) and in -o or -e (the endings more typical of neuter nouns). The latter of these two groups includes many male nicknames. Here are some examples:

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[6] And why should 'book' (книга) be feminine in Bulgarian, while the French equivalent (*livre*) is masculine, and the German equivalent (*Buch*) is neuter?

Some Masculine Nouns Ending in -a/-я
    бащ**а** 'father'
    влад**и**ка 'bishop'
    кол**е**га 'colleague'
    съди**я** 'judge'
    джамдж**ия** 'glazier'
    бакърдж**ия** 'coppersmith'

Some Masculine Nouns Ending in -o or -e
    б**а**йко 'elder brother'
    в**у**йчо 'uncle (on mother's side)'
    т**а**тко 'dad'
    ч**и**чо 'uncle (on father's side)'
    дя**до** 'grandfather/old man'
    Аго (a nickname for Ангел)
    Б**о**ре (a nickname for Борис)
    К**о**ле (a nickname for Никола)
    Ст**о**йчо (a nickname for Стоян)
    Д**и**ко (a nickname for Костадин)

Feminine Nouns.

The majority of feminine nouns in Bulgarian have the ending -a/-я in the singular. The ending is spelled -a after non-palatalized consonants, -я after palatalized consonants and after vowels (in this last case it spells a stem final y-glide as well as the ending itself). Here are some examples:

Some Typical Feminine Nouns with the Ending -a/-я

ал**е**ргия 'allergy'	л**а**мпа 'lamp'
брад**а** 'chin/beard'	махал**а** 'neighborhood'
врат**а** 'door/gate'	нед**е**ля 'Sunday'
гор**а** 'forest'	органи**з**ация 'organization'
доброт**а** 'goodness/kindness'	п**о**чва 'soil/ground'
един**и**ца 'unit'	р**и**за 'shirt'
жел**е**зница 'railroad'	ст**ая** 'room'
зем**я** 'earth/land'	то**я**га 'stick/club'
изл**о**жба 'exhibition'	усм**и**вка 'smile'
к**о**жа 'skin'	фл**о**та 'fleet'

There are, however, quite a few feminine nouns that use a zero ending in the singular. They thus end in a consonant, as do the majority of masculine nouns in the language. Many of these exceptional feminine nouns have abstract meaning, and many have stems ending in the suffixes -ост or -ност. Below are some examples.

Some Feminine Nouns Ending in a Consonant
к**а**л 'mud'   кр**ъ**в 'blood'

общност 'community'	н**о**щ 'night'
ч**е**ст 'honor'	**о**бич 'love'
ст**а**рост 'old age'	пр**о**лет 'spring(time)'
м**и**лост 'mercy'	ч**а**ст 'part'

Some such nouns may occur with either masculine or feminine grammatical gender (e.g. пр**а**х 'dust'), and there exist homonyms that differ not only in meaning, but also in grammatical gender (e.g. м**е**д 'honey' is masculine, while м**е**д 'copper' is feminine).

Neuter Nouns.
        The vast majority of neuter nouns use either the ending -o or the ending -e in the singular. The distribution of -o versus -e has a historical basis – -o was used after non-palatalized consonants and -e after historically palatalized consonants. But since that time consonants have undergone a hardening (a loss of palatalization) before front vowels, including e, and the phonetic basis for the distribution of -o versus -e has been lost (e.g. хор**о** 'horo dance' – мор**е** 'sea'). Here are some examples:

      Some Typical Neuter Nouns Ending in -o and -e

анализ**и**ране 'analysis'	лиц**е** 'face'
бл**а**го 'good/welfare'	минист**е**рство 'ministry'
вли**я**ние 'influence'	наблюд**е**ние 'observation'
гнезд**о** 'nest'	ок**о** 'eye'
д**е**йствие 'action'	пол**е** 'field'
ез**и**чество 'paganism'	ред**у**ване 'alternation'
жел**я**зо 'iron'	сем**е**йство 'family'
з**е**ле 'cabbage'	т**я**ло 'body'
име 'name'	уч**и**лище 'school'
колел**о** 'wheel'	хр**а**нене 'feeding/nutrition'

        A relatively small number of Bulgarian nouns end in vowels other than -a/-я, -o and -e. These tend to be borrowings into the language, and they tend to be grammatically neuter. For example:

      Some Neuter Nouns Ending in Other Vowels
            мен**ю** 'menu'
            такс**и** 'taxi/cab'
            у**и**ски 'whiskey'
            интерв**ю** 'interview'

Note that names of the months are all masculine, even though most of them end in –и. Note also the absence of capitalization:

      Names of the Months (all masculine)

яну**а**ри 'January'	**ю**ли 'July'
февру**а**ри 'February'	**а**вгуст 'August'
м**а**рт 'March'	септ**е**мври 'September'

апр**и**л 'April'   окт**о**мври 'October'
м**а**й 'May'   но**е**мври 'November'
юни 'June'   дек**е**мври 'December'

Plural Formation.

Masculine Nouns.
        There are two primary endings used to form the plural of masculine nouns: -ове and -и. It can be said generally that -ове is the ending selected when the noun stem is monosyllabic, and -и when the stem is polysyllabic. With only a few exceptions (e.g. змей 'dragon' – змейове (plural)), if a monosyllabic stem ends in й the й is spelled together with the o of the ending as e (i.e., graphically, the й disappears and the ending is spelled -еве). When й is the final consonant of a polysyllabic stem, it is spelled together with the ending -и as simply -и. Note also that the stress in the plural form from monosyllabic stems can fall on the stem or on either syllable of the ending. Here are some examples. See Chapter 2 for discussion of the various alternations seen in the stems of some of these pairs.

        Some Masculine Plural Forms with -ове (-еве) on Monosyllabic Stems
        Singular   Plural
        ад 'hell/inferno'   **а**дове
        б**о**й 'battle'   боев**е**
        бряг 'shore'   брегов**е**
        в**е**к 'century'   веков**е**
        д**о**м 'home/house'   домов**е**/д**о**мове
        п**е**с 'cur'   п**е**сове
        п**о**д 'floor'   п**о**дове
        с**и**н 'son'   синов**е**
        сн**я**г 'snow'   снегов**е**
        с**о**к 'juice'   с**о**кове
        ст**о**л 'chair'   стол**о**ве/ст**о**лове
        стр**о**й 'system'   стро**е**ве
        т**и**п 'sort/type'   т**и**пове

        Some Masculine Plural Forms with -и on Polysyllabic Stems
        Singular   Plural
        булев**а**рд 'boulevard'   булев**а**рди
        в**е**стник 'newspaper'   в**е**стници
        геол**о**г 'geologist'   геол**о**зи
        гроб**а**р 'gravedigger'   гроб**а**ри
        друг**а**р 'comrade'   друг**а**ри
        комп**ю**тър 'computer'   комп**ю**три
        обич**а**й 'custom/tradition'   обич**а**и
        подл**е**ц 'scoundrel'   подл**е**ци
        проз**о**рец 'window'   проз**о**рци
        стом**а**х 'stomach'   стом**а**си

трамв**ай** 'streetcar'	трамв**аи**
уч**и**тел 'teacher'	уч**и**тели
чор**а**п 'sock'	чор**а**пи

Exceptional masculine plural forms, however, are many. Here are the most important:

A number of masculine noun stems with a vowel ~ zero alternation are sometimes monosyllabic (the zero variant) and sometimes polysyllabic (the vowel variant). Some of these nouns behave like the typical monosyllabic stems and use the plural ending -ове (e.g. в**я**тър 'wind' – ветров**е** (plural); ц**е**нтър 'center' – центров**е** (plural); **о**гън 'fire' – огнь**о**ве (plural)[7]). Others, on the other hand, behave like the typical polysyllabic stems and use the plural ending -и (e.g. ов**е**н 'ram' – овн**и** (plural); ст**а**рец 'old man' – ст**а**рци (plural); м**о**мък 'young man' – момц**и** (plural)). And some hesitate between the two patterns (e.g. ш**а**нец 'ditch' – ш**а**нцове/ш**а**нци (plural)).

A number of masculine nouns with monosyllabic stems violate the general distributions of the plural endings and use -и. Among these we find:

Some Masculine Plural Forms with -и on Monosyllabic Stems

Singular	Plural
вн**у**к 'grandson/grandchild'	вн**у**ци
в**ъ**лк 'wolf'	в**ъ**лци
г**о**ст 'guest'	г**о**сти
д**е**н 'day'	дн**и**
з**ъ**б 'tooth'	з**ъ**би
н**е**рв 'nerve'	н**е**рви
пр**ъ**ст 'finger/toe'	пр**ъ**сти
р**а**к 'crab/lobster'	р**а**ци
т**а**нц 'dance'	т**а**нци
ф**а**кт 'fact'	ф**а**кти
ч**е**х 'Czech'	ч**е**хи

Among other exceptional forms, masculine nouns with the suffixes -ин or -анин lose the syllable ин in the plural. A few masculine nouns use the plural ending -а/-я, and others have -е or -ища. The last entry in the list below is completely irregular.

Some Other Exceptional Masculine Plural Noun Forms

Singular	Plural
б**ъ**лгарин 'Bulgarian'	б**ъ**лгари
с**ъ**рбин 'Serb'	с**ъ**рби
англич**а**нин 'Englishman'	англич**а**ни
гр**а**жданин 'citizen'	гр**а**ждани
сел**я**нин 'peasant/villager'	сел**я**ни
господ**и**н 'gentleman'	господ**а**
кр**а**к 'leg/foot'	крак**а**
н**о**мер 'number'	номер**а**

---

[7] Note also the historical softness of the stem-final consonant reflected in the plural form.

рог 'horn'   рога/рогове/рогове
мъж 'man/husband'   мъже
крал 'king'   крале
цар 'tsar'   царе
кон 'horse'   коне
край 'end/edge'   краища
сън 'dream/sleep'   сънища
път 'road'   пътища but:
път 'time'   пъти
човек 'person'   хора

Masculine nouns that have the ending -a/-я in the singular have plurals with the ending –и, regardless of the number of syllables in the stem.

Some Masculine Plural Forms from Singular Forms in -a/-я
Singular   Plural
баща 'father'   бащи
владика 'bishop'   владици[8]
колега 'colleague'   колеги
съдия 'judge'   съдии
джамджия 'glazier'   джамджии
бакърджия 'coppersmith'   бакърджии

The plural forms of masculine nouns that have the singular ending -o are created with the plural ending -овци.

Some Masculine Plural Forms from Singular Forms in -o
Singular   Plural
байко 'elder brother'   байковци
вуйчо 'uncle (on mother's side)'   вуйчовци
татко 'dad'   татковци
чичо 'uncle (on father's side)'   чичовци
дядо 'grandfather/old man'   дядовци 'old men'
                                    деди 'grandfathers'

Feminine Nouns.
Four feminine nouns have an atypical ending -e in the plural (two of them optionally):

Feminine Nouns with Atypical Plural Ending -e
Singular   Plural
ръка 'hand/arm'   ръце
нога 'foot/leg'   нозе

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[8] The velar → dental mutation (see Chapter 2) seen in владици is unusual in this group of nouns. The example below this one, колеги, without mutation of the velar, is more typical. Compare also слуга 'servant (masculine)' – слуги (plural).

овц**а** 'sheep'   овц**е**/овц**и**
свин**я** 'pig'   свин**е**/свин**и**

But the vast majority of feminine nouns, regardless of whether their singular forms end in –а/-я or a consonant, use -и as their plural ending. For example:

Some Feminine Nouns with the Typical Plural Ending -и
Singular   Plural
ал**е**ргия 'allergy'   ал**е**ргии
б**ъ**лгарка 'Bulgarian (female)'   б**ъ**лгарки
жен**а** 'woman/wife'   жен**и**
л**а**мпа 'lamp'   л**а**мпи
монах**и**ня 'nun'   монах**и**ни
н**о**щ 'night'   н**о**щи
пт**и**ца 'bird'   пт**и**ци
сестр**а** 'sister'   сестр**и**
ст**а**я 'room'   ст**а**и
то**я**га 'stick/club'   то**я**ги
уч**и**телка 'teacher (female)'   уч**и**телки
ч**а**ст 'part'   ч**а**сти

If a feminine noun is one with a vowel ~ zero alternation (see Chapter 2), a vowel seen in the singular will be lost in the plural (e.g. събл**а**з**ъ**н 'temptation' – събл**а**зни (plural); п**е**сен 'song' – п**е**сни (plural)).

Neuter Nouns.
The basic plural ending for neuter nouns is -а/-я. As in the case of feminine nouns with the singular ending -а/-я, the plural ending in neuter nouns replaces the singular ending. The ending is spelled -я after a vowel, in which case it represents a stem-final y-glide followed by the vowel of the ending. Note also that the stress may shift from the stem in the singular to the ending in the plural. Here are some examples:

Some Typical Neuter Plural Forms with the Ending -а/-я
Singular   Plural
бл**а**го 'good/welfare'   благ**а**
вли**я**ние 'influence'   вли**я**ния
д**е**йствие 'action'   д**е**йствия
гнезд**о** 'nest'   гнезд**а**
колел**о** 'wheel'   колел**а** (or колел**е**та)
лиц**е** 'face'   лиц**а**
минист**е**рство 'ministry'   минист**е**рства
т**я**ло 'body'   тел**а**
уч**и**лище 'school'   уч**и**лища

This simple neuter plural ending -а is typical for neuter nouns that have singular forms with the ending -о or with the ending -е preceded by ц, щ or a vowel. Most neuter nouns with singular

forms with the ending -е preceded by something other than ц, щ or a vowel, however, will augment their stems with the syllable ет when the plural ending -а is added. For example:

Some Neuter Nouns in -е with Plural Forms in ет-а

Singular	Plural
агне 'lamb'	**а**гнета
мом**и**че 'girl'	мом**и**чета
мом**ч**е 'boy'	момч**ет**а
перд**е** 'curtain'	перд**ет**а
п**и**ле 'chicken'	п**и**лета
ядене 'meal/food'	**я**денета

There are a few important exceptions where neuter nouns with singulars in -е do not extend their stem in the plural by adding ет, but instead palatalize the final consonant. And in the last example in the table below we see not palatalization of the stem-final consonant, but affrication of a stop, and the ending spelled -а rather than -я. Note that these all have stress on the ending in the plural.

Some Neuter Nouns in -е with Plural Forms in -я

Singular	Plural
л**о**зе 'vineyard'	лоз**я**
мор**е** 'sea'	мор**я**
пол**е** 'field'	пол**я**
цв**е**те 'flower'	цвет**я**
дет**е** 'child'	дец**а**

Eight neuter nouns with singulars in –е (and one in -о) extend the stem in the plural with the syllable ен. All have stress on the ending in the plural.

Neuter Nouns with Plural Forms in ен-**а**

Singular	Plural
бр**е**ме 'burden'	бремен**а**
вр**е**ме 'time'	времен**а**
зн**а**ме 'banner/flag'	знамен**а**
име 'name'	имен**а**
пл**е**ме 'tribe/clan'	племен**а**
р**а**мо 'shoulder'	рамен**а**/рамен**е**
с**е**ме 'seed'	семен**а**
стр**е**ме 'stirrup'	стремен**а**

Neuter borrowings with singulars in a vowel other than -о or -е add -та to the singular in forming plurals. A couple neuter nouns extend their stems with the syllable ес in the plural. A few neuter nouns optionally use the ending -е in the plural. And some, primarily adjectival in origin (as in the last three examples below) use the ending -и. Here are examples:

Some other Irregular Neuter Plural Noun Forms

Singular	Plural
мен**ю** 'menu'	мен**ю**та
такс**и** 'cab/taxi'	такс**и**та
рандев**у** 'appointment/date'	рандев**у**та
неб**е** 'sky/heaven'	небес**а**
ч**у**до 'miracle'	чудес**а**
кол**я**но 'knee'	колен**е**/к**о**лене/колен**а**
р**а**мо 'shoulder'	рамен**е**/рамен**а**
крил**о** 'wing'	крил**е**/крил**а**
ок**о** 'eye'	оч**и**
ух**о** 'ear'	уш**и**
жив**о**тно 'animal'	жив**о**тни
сказ**у**емо 'predicate'	сказ**у**еми
дел**и**мо 'dividend'	дел**и**ми

Numerical Form.

A special form with the ending unstressed -а/-я is used for masculine nouns (generally other than those denoting humans [see Chapter 5 for more on this restriction]) in place of the plural after numerals and after the quantity words к**о**лко 'how many', н**я**колко 'several' and т**о**лкова 'so many'. This special form is sometimes referred to as the "numerical form". For example:

Singular	Numerical Form
кр**а**й 'edge'	ч**е**тири кр**а**я 'four edges'
кр**а**к 'leg/foot'	дв**а** кр**а**ка 'two legs'
м**о**лив 'pencil'	ш**е**ст м**о**лива 'six pencils'
те**а**тър 'theater'	н**я**колко те**а**търа 'several theaters'
огън 'fire'	тр**и** **о**гъня 'three fires'

Note that this last example exhibits preservation of the stem-final consonant palatalization before a non-front vowel (lost in the singular in final position) and that both of the last two examples illustrate the tendency to maintain the vowel in the numerical form in stems with vowel ~ zero alternations. Two important exceptions to this last are the nouns л**и**тър 'liter' and м**е**тър 'meter', which do lose the vowel in the numerical form (e.g. п**е**т л**и**тра 'five liters'; с**е**дем м**е**тра 'seven meters'). Finally note that the nouns ден 'day' and път 'time' are generally now found in plural, rather than numerical, forms with numbers and these quantifiers (e.g. дв**а** дн**и** 'two days'; **о**сем п**ъ**ти 'eight times').

Pluralia Tantum and Singularia Tantum.

A number of nouns are defective in the sense that they lack either a singular form or a plural form. The former group (i.e. nouns that occur only in the plural) may be referred to as "pluralia tantum", and the latter (i.e. nouns which occur only in the singular) as "singularia tantum". Many pluralia tantum nouns refer to objects that consist of two identical parts, and many singularia tantum nouns denote substances or abstract concepts. The following are among the examples of such nouns cited in volume 2 of the Academy Grammar (1983:111-112).

Some Nouns occurring only in the Plural

Алпите 'the Alps'	ок**о**ви 'shackles/handcuffs'
в**ъ**глища 'coal'	очил**а** '(eye)glasses'
г**а**щи 'pants'	разн**о**ски 'outlay/expenses'
з**а**говезни 'Shrovetide'	тр**и**ци 'bran'
Карп**а**тите 'the Carpathians'	уст**о**и 'pier/buttress'
м**о**щи 'relics'	щ**и**пци 'pincers'

Some Nouns occurring only in the Singular

Бълг**а**рия 'Bulgaria'	привъ**р**заност 'devotion/adherence'
в**ъ**здух 'air'	раб**о**тничество 'working class'
д**е**тство 'childhood'	реал**и**зъм 'realism'
Д**у**нав 'the Danube'	сел**я**чество 'peasantry'
магн**е**зий 'magnesium'	ч**е**сън 'garlic'
ор**и**з 'rice'	щ**а**стие 'happiness'

Nouns and the Definite Article.

      The Bulgarian definite article is a post-positive particle, attached to the first word of a definite noun phrase when the noun phrase does not already show its definiteness through the presence of a demonstrative pronoun (see Chapter 6) such as т**о**зи 'this' or **о**нзи 'that'. Compare the following indefinite and definite expressions, in which I have underlined the Bulgarian definite articles:

Indefinite and Definite Noun Phrases

Indefinite	Definite
кн**и**га 'book'	кн**и**га<u>та</u> 'the book'
н**о**ва кн**и**га 'new book'	н**о**ва<u>та</u> кн**и**га 'the new book'
м**о**я н**о**ва кн**и**га 'a new book of mine'	м**о**я<u>та</u> н**о**ва кн**и**га 'my new book'

The first of these examples illustrates that when no modifier is present, the article is put at the end of the noun itself. This is the situation that will be discussed here in the current chapter devoted to nouns.

Masculine Singular Nouns and the Definite Article.
      According to the prescribed literary norm there are two variants of the definite article (each of these two with two possible spellings). One variant, the "long form", consisting of a vowel plus т, is officially to be used when the masculine noun is a grammatical subject of a clause, a predicate connected to a subject by a verb of "being", or an apposition to one of these. Here are some examples:

Long Form Masculine Singular Definite Article Use
Subject:
  Л**е**кар<u>ят</u> жив**е**е т**у**ка. '<u>The</u> doctor lives here.'
Predicate:
  При**я**телят ни е л**е**кар<u>ят</u>. 'Our friend is <u>the</u> doctor.'
Apposition to Subject:
  Ангел Ив**а**нчев, л**е**кар<u>ят</u>, жив**е**е т**у**ка. 'Angel Ivančev, <u>the</u> doctor, lives here.'

Apposition to Predicate:
   Прия́телят ни е **А**нгел Ива́нчев, лекаря́т. 'Our friend is Angel Ivančev, <u>the</u> doctor.'

The other variant, the "short form", consists of only a vowel and is supposed to be used in other grammatical positions, such as the object of a verb or the object of a preposition (or in apposition to such objects). For example:

   Short Form Masculine Singular Definite Article Use
   Object of Verb:
      Та́ня тъ́рси лекаря́. 'Tanja is looking for (seeking) <u>the</u> doctor.'
   Object of Preposition:
      Гово́рим за лекаря́. 'We are talking about <u>the</u> doctor.'
   Apposition to Object of Verb:
      Та́ня тъ́рси **А**нгел Ива́нчев, лекаря́. 'Tanja is looking for (seeking) Angel Ivančev, <u>the</u> doctor.'
   Apposition to Object of Preposition:
      Гово́рим за **А**нгел Ива́нчев, лекаря́. 'We are talking about Angel Ivančev, <u>the</u> doctor.'

This conventional distribution of the long and short forms of the masculine singular definite article is applied quite consistently in the written language, especially in more formal styles. In everyday colloquial oral communication, however, many Bulgarians simply use the short form regardless of the syntactic role of the noun phrase. This tendency holds both when the article is attached to a noun, as in the examples above, and when it is attached to a modifier, which will be discussed in upcoming chapters.

   The long and short forms of the masculine singular definite article each have two spellings. Long -ът and short -a are used after historically non-palatalized consonants, while long -ят and short -я are used after historically palatalized consonants (and after vowels, where they spell not only the ending itself, but also a stem-final y-glide). In terms of predicting the definite form from a modern point of view, however, this is problematic, since palatalization has been lost in word-final position in Bulgarian, and so historically palatalized consonants as well as historically non-palatalized consonants are all the same, i.e. non-palatalized, in the indefinite form. For example, there is nothing about the н in indefinite ко́н 'horse' that hints at its historically palatalized nature (thus long definite ко́нят and short definite ко́ня) as opposed to the н in то́н 'tone', which was not historically palatalized (thus long definite то́нът and short definite то́на). Much of the non-palatalized ~ palatalized alternation thus simply must be learned on a word-by-word basis. It is helpful to know, however, that the frequently occurring suffixes -ap and -тел end in historically palatalized consonants, thus making at least a large number of nouns predictable in this regard. Some examples of such nouns are included in the table below. Two other features of definite masculine singular nouns should also be noted as one examines examples. First, regardless of stress or spelling, the vowel in the masculine singular definite article form is always pronounced as a schwa. Thus, even with the ending in stressed position, града́ 'the city/town' (short form) is pronounced [гръдъ̀]. Similarly деня́т 'the day' (long form) is [дин'ъ̀т] and деня́ 'the day' (short form) is [дин'ъ̀]. Second, this last example also illustrates that stems which have a vowel ~ zero alternation (cf. plural дни́ 'days') use the variant with the vowel in the definite singular form. An exception to this last statement is the set of nouns with the suffix -изъм , which do lose the vowel when the article is added (e.g. романти́зъм 'romanticism/romantic period' – романти́змът (long

definite form) and романтизма (short definite form)). Here are some more examples:

Some Masculine Singular Indefinite and Definite Nouns

Indefinite	Long Definite	Short Definite
апартамент 'apartment'	апартаментът	апартамента
възпитател 'educator'	възпитателят	възпитателя
гробар 'gravedigger'	гробарят	гробаря
железничар 'railway worker'	железничарят	железничаря
зной 'intense heat/swelter'	зноят	зноя
зъб 'tooth'	зъбът	зъба
лакът 'elbow'	лакътят	лакътя
лекар 'doctor'	лекарят	лекаря
музей 'museum'	музеят	музея
огън 'fire'	огънят	огъня
подход 'approach'	подходът	подхода
път 'road'	пътят	пътя
рибар 'fisherman'	рибарят	рибаря
сняг 'snow'	снегът	снега
суфикс 'suffix'	суфиксът	суфикса
човек 'person/man'	човекът	човека

Finally, note that masculine nouns ending in -а/-я in the singular follow the pattern described below for feminine definite nouns (e.g. баща 'father' – бащата (definite)), and masculine nouns in -о follow the neuter pattern as described below (e.g. дядо 'grandfather/old man' – дядото (definite)).

Feminine Singular Nouns and the Definite Article.
  The form of the definite article used with feminine singular nouns is -та. This -та is always stressed when it is added to a feminine singular noun ending in a consonant. Here are some examples (note that there is no long versus short form distinction – that distinction is exclusively a masculine singular phenomenon):

Some Feminine Singular Indefinite and Definite Nouns

Indefinite	Definite
вода 'water'	водата
книга 'book'	книгата
кола 'car'	колата
кост 'bone'	костта
котка 'cat'	котката
майка 'mother'	майката
нощ 'night'	нощта
храброст 'bravery'	храбростта

Neuter Singular Nouns and the Definite Article.
  The form of the definite article used with neuter singular nouns is -то. The stress remains on the same syllable as in the indefinite form. For example:

Some Neuter Singular Indefinite and Definite Nouns

Indefinite	Definite
анализ**и**ране 'analysis'	анализ**и**рането
вли**я**ние 'influence'	вли**я**нието
гнезд**о** 'nest'	гнезд**о**то
име 'name'	**и**мето
мен**ю** 'menu'	мен**ю**то
ок**о** 'eye'	ок**о**то
сем**е**йство 'family'	сем**е**йството
такс**и** 'taxi/cab'	такс**и**то

Plural Nouns and the Definite Article.

Two forms of the definite article are used in the plural – -те and -та. The distribution of these variants is based on the principle of matching the point of articulation of the plural ending. If the plural ends in a front vowel (i.e. -и or -е), then the form of the article attached will be the variant with a front vowel (i.e. -те). If the plural ends in a non-front vowel (i.e. -а/-я), then the form of the article attached will be the variant with a non-front vowel (i.e. -та). The position of the stress remains as in the indefinite form. In the tables of examples below I have given the singular indefinite form parenthetically.

Some Plural Indefinite and Definite Nouns

	Indefinite	Definite
Masculine		
	бащ**и** 'fathers' (бащ**а**)	бащ**и**те
	брегов**е** 'shores' (бр**я**г)	брегов**е**те
	в**е**стници 'newspapers' (в**е**стник)	в**е**стниците
	вн**у**ци 'grandsons/grandchildren' (вн**у**к)	вн**у**ците
	дн**и** 'days' (ден)	дн**и**те
	крак**а** 'legs/feet' (кр**а**к)	крак**а**та
	мъж**е** 'men/husbands' (мъж)	мъж**е**те
	номер**а** 'numbers' (н**о**мер)	номер**а**та
	п**о**дове 'floors' (под)	п**о**довете
	стро**е**ве 'systems' (стр**о**й)	стро**е**вете
	трамв**а**и 'streetcars' (трамв**а**й)	трамв**а**ите
Feminine		
	ал**е**ргии 'allergies' (ал**е**ргия)	ал**е**ргиите
	л**а**мпи 'lamps' (л**а**мпа)	л**а**мпите
	н**о**щи 'nights' (н**о**щ)	н**о**щите
	п**е**сни 'songs' (п**е**сен)	п**е**сните
	пт**и**ци 'birds' (пт**и**ца)	пт**и**ците
	ръц**е** 'hands/arms' (рък**а**)	ръц**е**те
	сестр**и** 'sisters' (сестр**а**)	сестр**и**те
	ч**а**сти 'parts' (ч**а**ст)	ч**а**стите
Neuter		
	агнета 'lambs' (**а**гне)	**а**гнетата

влия́ния 'influences' (влия́ние)	влия́ни́ята
гнезда́ 'nests' (гнездо́)	гнезда́та
живо́тни 'animals' (живо́тно)	живо́тните
имена́ 'names' (и́ме)	имена́та
ли́ца 'faces' (ли́це)	ли́ца́та
момиче́та 'girls' (моми́че)	моми́че́тата
очи́ 'eyes' (око́)	очи́те
поля́ 'fields' (по́ле)	поля́та
цветя́ 'flowers' (цве́те)	цветя́та

Use of Definite Forms.

In general terms it can be said that noun phrases will be expressed using definite forms when the referent(s) is/are one(s) assumed by the speaker or writer to be identifiable by the listener or reader. In this, as well as in the fact that most proper nouns (e.g. people's proper names, names of countries) are presumed definite without need for a definite article, Bulgarian and English are quite similar to one another. A couple of the more prominent differences between these two languages in the use of definite forms, however, should be observed. First, while English avoids simultaneous use of possessive constructions and the definite article, this is not the case in Bulgarian – Bulgarians will use the definite article here when the meaning involves definiteness. For example: Къде е кни́гата ми? 'Where is my book [definite]?'; Тя иска да купи легло́то на Веселин. 'She wants to by Veselin's bed [definite].'. An exception here involves nouns denoting family members in the singular, which do not take a definite article when possession is shown using a clitic personal pronoun (e.g. ми 'my/to me' – see Chapter 6 for a complete list of such pronouns). Thus one says дъщеря́ ми 'my daughter', not *дъщеря́та ми, сестра́ ми 'my sister', not *сестра́та ми, and брат ми 'my brother', not * бра́тъ́т ми. Exceptions to this rule concerning family members are the nouns мъж 'husband' and син 'son', which do, in fact, take the definite article in such situations: мъжъ́т ми 'my husband' and синъ́т ми 'my son'. One may also note that Bulgarians use definite articles for generic reference, something relatively rare in English: Вълкъ́т ни́кога не се сме́е. 'Wolves never laugh./A wolf never laughs./?The wolf [generic] never laughs.' Alexander (volume 1, 2000:72) provides the following example, which includes two generic noun phrases with definite articles in Bulgarian, neither of which would likely involve a definite article in English: Тече́ни́ето е мно́го опа́сно за ма́лките. 'Drafts are very dangerous for children.' (more literally 'The draft is very dangerous for the little [ones]').

<u>The Vocative.</u>

Vocative forms of nouns are used when addressing the entity they refer to, to get this entity's attention: <u>Ба́бо</u>, какво́ и́маш в ча́нтата си? '<u>Grandma</u>, what do you have in your bag?' Ба́бо here is the vocative form of ба́ба 'grandmother/grandma'. Only singular masculine and feminine nouns have distinct vocative forms – in neuter and/or plural contexts regular, non-vocative, forms are used in this function. In theory any feminine or masculine noun can be put into a special vocative form for this function, but in practice, for pragmatic reasons, this form is most commonly found with nouns denoting animate beings. Note also that while the vocative is frequently used with given names and nicknames, it is not found with family names.

Feminine Nouns.

Feminine personal names with a -к- before the ending -a and feminine nouns with the

suffix -иц- before the ending -a use the vocative ending -e. Other feminine nouns have vocative forms with the ending -o. (I have been told that such forms from women's names can sound overly familiar or condescending, and I was advised, as a non-native speaker, just to avoid them and to use the regular singular form in -a instead.) Here are some examples:

Some Feminine Vocative Forms

Regular Singular	Vocative
До́нка 'Donka'	До́нке
Еле́нка 'Elenka'	Еле́нке
гълъ́бица 'dove'	гълъ́бице
краса́вица 'beauty'	краса́вице
ма́йка 'mother'	ма́йко
ма́ма 'mom'	ма́мо
па́ртия 'party'	па́ртийо
Еле́на 'Elena'	Еле́но
Мари́я 'Maria'	Мари́йо
сестра́ 'sister'	се́стро
планина́ 'mountain'	плани́но

Note that these last two examples illustrate that if the stress falls on the ending in the non-vocative form, it will be moved one syllable toward the beginning of the word in the vocative.

Masculine Nouns.

Most masculine nouns have the ending -e in the vocative, some with a stem-final consonant mutation:

Some Masculine Vocative Forms in -e

Regular Singular	Vocative
Влади́мир 'Vladimir'	Влади́мире
Бори́с 'Boris'	Бори́се
Пе́тър 'Petăr'	Пе́тре
господи́н 'gentleman'	господи́не
си́н 'son'	си́не
наро́д 'people/nation'	наро́де
съпру́г 'husband'	съпру́же
бо́г 'God'	бо́же

Some masculine nouns use the vocative ending -o instead. This subset includes most masculine nouns with stems ending in к, х, ж, ч, ш, ц or the suffix -ин, and those masculine nouns with the ending –a/-я in the singular. For example:

Some Masculine Vocative Forms in -o

Regular Singular	Vocative
рабо́тник 'worker'	рабо́тнико
мъ́ж 'man/husband'	мъ́жо
се́яч 'sower'	се́ячо

земед**е**лец 'farmer'   земед**е**лецо
б**ъ**лгарин 'Bulgarian'   б**ъ**лгарино
гр**а**жданин 'citizen'   гр**а**жданино
влад**и**ка 'bishop'   влад**и**ко
джамдж**и**я 'glazier'   джамдж**и**йо

Some masculine nouns waver between the vocative endings -e and -o.

Some Masculine Vocative Forms in -e or -o
Regular Singular   Vocative
войн**и**к 'soldier'   войн**и**че/войн**и**ко
юн**а**к 'hero/champion'   юн**а**че/юн**а**ко

Masculine nouns with stems ending in й or another historically palatalized consonant, other than those just mentioned as taking -o, use the ending -ю. For example:

Some Masculine Vocative Forms in -ю
Regular Singular   Vocative
к**о**н 'horse'   к**о**ню
уч**и**тел 'teacher'   уч**и**телю
гроб**а**р 'gravedigger'   гроб**а**рю
кр**а**й 'edge/outskirts/region'   кр**а**ю

A number of masculine nouns have no distinct vocative forms. The regular singular form may be used instead in the "vocative" function. These include ч**и**чо 'uncle (on father's side), т**а**тко 'dad', бащ**а** 'father' (use т**а**тко instead) and male names ending -й.

Remnants of Other Cases.
Like English, but unlike most other Slavic languages, Bulgarian has evolved toward an analytic structure in the expression of case relations, using prepositional phrase constructions (and to some degree word order), rather than inflectional endings, to express the syntactic and semantic relationships between noun phrases and predicates or other noun phrases. Thus, for example, the fact that a given noun, for example Ив**а**н 'Ivan', is syntactically dative in a clause, its referent denoting an indirect object or a possessor, was once expressed by using a special dative case ending on the noun itself. In contemporary Bulgarian, however, such role relations are expressed analytically, using a preposition plus a noun form not inflected for case (here на Ив**а**н 'to/of Ivan'). Similarly, where once the role of instrument was expressed synthetically, by a noun phrase with instrumental inflection but without a preposition, such expressions are now analytic in Bulgarian (e.g. П**и**ша с м**о**лив. 'I am writing <u>with a pencil</u>.').
More synthetic case inflection has been maintained in the pronominal system (see below), but in the system of Bulgarian nouns, the two main instances of such case inflection have already been discussed – the vocative forms and the prescribed distribution of the long and short variants of the definite article with masculine singular nouns. Other case inflection remnants are either restricted to certain dialects or have come to be used adverbially (e.g. д**о**лу 'below' [from a locative case form], г**ъ**рбом към X 'with one's back to X' [from an instrumental case form]).

Chapter 4. Adjectives and Adverbs

<u>Adjectives.</u>

Bulgarian adjectives agree with the nouns they modify in number (singular vs. plural) and, in the singular, also in gender (masculine vs. feminine vs. neuter).

Masculine Singular Adjectives.

The majority of adjectives use a zero ending when modifying a masculine singular noun. Thus their masculine singular form is the same as the adjective stem. Here are some examples: ст**а**р 'old', нов 'new', мл**а**д 'young', бл**а**г 'gentle/kind', къс 'short/brief'. Recall from Chapter 2 that masculine singular adjectives are a common place to find the vowel variants of stems with vowel ~ zero alternations. For example: интер**е**с**е**н 'interesting', з**ъ**л 'evil'. Some adjectives (most notable here are those with the suffix -ск-, ordinal numbers and those referring to attributes associated with animals) have the ending -и in the masculine singular. Some examples: б**ъ**лгарски 'Bulgarian', англ**и**йски 'English', п**е**ти 'fifth', **о**сми 'eighth' п**ъ**рви (or пр**ъ**в) 'first', в**ъ**лчи 'wolf's/wolfish'.

When an adjective is the first word in a definite noun phrase, it is this adjective, rather than the noun, that receives the post-positive definite article. In this situation all masculine singular adjective stems end in an -и, and the article is then added to this stem. The form of the article, according to the prescribed literary norm, depends on the syntactic position of the noun phrase. As elaborated above in the chapter on nouns, a long form (for masculine singular adjectives this is -ят) is to be used for subjects, predicates connected to subjects by verbs of being, and appositions to such subjects and predicates, while a short form (-я) is to be used in other syntactic positions. As noted in the discussion of nouns, however, many Bulgarians simply use the short form, regardless of syntactic position, in everyday colloquial speech. Here are some examples of definite masculine singular forms of adjectives, the long form followed by the short form for each: н**о**вият/н**о**вия 'new', мл**а**дият/мл**а**дия 'young', б**ъ**лгарският/б**ъ**лгарския 'Bulgarian', п**ъ**рвият/п**ъ**рвия 'first', интер**е**сният/интер**е**сния 'interesting'. Note that this last example illustrates that the addition of the definite article to a masculine singular adjective triggers the use of the zero variants of stems with vowel ~ zero alternations (cf. masculine singular indefinite интер**е**сен).

Feminine Singular Adjectives.

Adjectives modifying feminine singular nouns have the ending -a. For example: ст**а**ра 'old', н**о**ва 'new', интер**е**сна 'interesting', зл**а** 'evil' (note that these last two examples illustrate that stems with vowel ~ zero alternations have the zero variant here), б**ъ**лгарска 'Bulgarian', п**е**та 'fifth', п**ъ**рва 'first', в**ъ**лча 'wolf's/wolfish'.

If such a feminine singular adjective is the first word of a definite noun phrase, the definite article form -та is added to the indefinite form (e.g. ст**а**рата, н**о**вата, интер**е**сната, зл**а**та, б**ъ**лгарската, п**е**тата, п**ъ**рвата, в**ъ**лчата).

Neuter Singular Adjectives.

Adjectives modifying neuter singular nouns have the ending -о. For example: ста́ро 'old', но́во 'new', интере́сно 'interesting', зло́ 'evil' (note again that these last two examples illustrate that stems with vowel ~ zero alternations have the zero variant here), бъ́лгарско 'Bulgarian', пе́то 'fifth', пъ́рво 'first', but въ́лче 'wolf's/wolfish' after a stem that historically ended in a y-glide.

If such a neuter singular adjective is the first word of a definite noun phrase, the definite article form -то is added to the indefinite form (e.g. ста́рото, но́вото, интере́сното, зло́то, бъ́лгарското, пе́тото, пъ́рвото, въ́лчото).

Plural Adjectives.

Adjectives modifying plural nouns have the ending -и, regardless of the gender of the modified noun. For example: ста́ри 'old', но́ви 'new', интере́сни 'interesting', зли́ 'evil' (these last two examples showing that plural adjectival forms use the zero variant of stems with vowel ~ zero alternations), бъ́лгарски 'Bulgarian', пе́ти 'fifth', пъ́рви 'first', въ́лчи 'wolf's/wolfish'.

The form of the definite article added to the indefinite form when a plural adjective is the first word of a definite noun phrase is -те (e.g. ста́рите, но́вите, интере́сните, зли́те, бъ́лгарските, пе́тите, пъ́рвите, въ́лчите).

There are no special numerical forms for adjectives. An adjective modifying a numerical form noun (see Chapter 3) will be in its plural form: ше́ст но́ви ре́чника 'six new dictionaries'.

Soft Adjective Forms.

One important adjective exhibits what may be referred to as a soft declension. This is the adjective си́н 'blue'. Here are its forms:

"Soft" Adjective си́н 'blue'

	Indefinite	Definite
Masculine Singular	си́н	си́ният (long)/ си́ния (short)
Feminine Singular	си́ня	си́нята
Neuter Singular	си́ньо	си́ньото
Plural	си́ни	си́ните

Summary of Adjective Declension.

Below are some more examples of adjective forms in tabular format for ease of comparison. Some of these examples have been intentionally selected in order to illustrate some of the morphophonemic alternations discussed in Chapter 2. Note the fixed stress on the stems.

Indefinite Adjective Declension

	Masculine Singular	Feminine Singular	Neuter Singular	Plural
Typical				
'good-looking/nice'	хубав	хубава	хубаво	хубави
'bad'	лош	лоша	лошо	лоши
'narrow'	тесен	тясна	тясно	тесни
'clean'	чист	чиста	чисто	чисти
'cunning'	хитър	хитра	хитро	хитри
'small'	малък	малка	малко	малки
'big'	голям	голяма	голямо	големи

	Masculine Singular	Feminine Singular	Neuter Singular	Plural
'proud'	горд	горда	гордо	горди

Ordinal Numbers and Stems in -ск-

'third'	трети	трета	трето	трети
'ninth'	девети	девета	девето	девети
'Russian'	руски	руска	руско	руски

Stems with Historical y-glide

'cow's'	крави	кравя	краве	крави
'sheep's'	овчи	овча	овче/овчо	овчи

Soft

'blue'	син	синя	синьо	сини

Definite Adjective Declension

	Masculine Singular long/short	Feminine Singular	Neuter Singular	Plural
Typical				
	хубавият/хубавия	хубавата	хубавото	хубавите
	лошият/лошия	лошата	лошото	лошите
	тесният/тесния	тясната	тясното	тесните
	чистият/чистия	чистата	чистото	чистите
	хитрият/хитрия	хитрата	хитрото	хитрите
	малкият/малкия	малката	малкото	малките
	големият/големия	голямата	голямото	големите
	гордият/гордия	гордата	гордото	гордите
Ordinal Numbers and Stems in -ск-				
	третият/третия	третата	третото	третите
	деветият/деветия	деветата	деветото	деветите
	руският/руския	руската	руското	руските
Stems with Historical y-glide				
	кравият/кравия	кравята	кравето	кравите
	овчият/овчия	овчата	овчето/овчото	овчите
Soft				
	синият/синия	синята	синьото	сините

Comparative and Superlative Forms.

   Comparative and superlative adjective forms are quite straightforward in Bulgarian. Comparative adjectives are constructed by adding the particle по- to the beginning of the adjective, which continues to be inflected as described above to agree with the modified noun in number and, in the singular, in gender. The adjective will or will not, as appropriate to the intended meaning, include the post-positive definite article. The particle по- is written with a hyphen separating it from the adjectival form it is attached to. Note also that this comparative particle is always stressed, while the word to which it is affixed at the same time maintains its own word-level stress. For example:

   Техният апартамент е нов, а нашият е по-нов.
   'Their apartment is new, but ours is <u>newer</u>.'

Искаме да к**у**пим <u>по-гол**я**ма</u> кол**а**.
'We want to buy a <u>bigger</u> car.'

Т**я** избр**а** <u>по-ск**ъ**пото</u> к**у**че.
'She selected <u>the more expensive</u> dog.'

An overt point of comparison is expressed as the object of the preposition от if it is a noun phrase. Otherwise it is introduced by the word отк**о**лкото:

Мил**е**на е п**о-у**мна <u>от сестр**а** ми</u>.
'Milena is smarter <u>than my sister</u>.'

Т**я** е мн**о**го п**о-у**мна <u>отк**о**лкото ни к**а**заха</u>.
'She is much smarter <u>than they told us</u>.'

Superlative adjective forms are constructed in a parallel way, using the pre-posed particle най-, which, like по- is always stressed and is written with a hyphen. Again the adjective this particle is attached to maintains its own word-level stress as well, and continues to be inflected as described above:

Д**ъ**щер**я** ни х**о**ди на <u>н**ай**-н**о**вото</u> уч**и**лище в град**а**.
'Our daughter goes to <u>the newest</u> school in the city.'

<u>Adverbs.</u>
Adverbs, as a distinct part of speech, are words which modify verbs, adjectives or other adverbs. For example:

modifying a verb:
<u>Мн**о**го</u> **и**скам да ти к**а**жа н**е**що.
'I <u>really</u> want to tell you something.'

modifying an adjective:
П**ъ**рвият му ром**а**н б**е**ше <u>мн**о**го</u> интер**е**сен.
'His first novel was <u>very</u> interesting.'

modifying an adverb:
Т**я** чет**е** <u>мн**о**го</u> б**а**вно.
'She reads <u>very</u> slowly.

A number of important Bulgarian adverbs are basic, in the sense that they are not derived (or from a contemporary point of view are not obviously derived) from other words. Among these, for example, are **о**ще 'still/yet', в**е**че 'already', вч**е**ра 'yesterday', сег**а** 'now', т**у**к/т**у**ка 'here', т**а**м 'there', ког**а** 'when', към**е** 'where'. In some cases other adverbs are then derived from these basic ones, e.g.: з**а**вчера 'the day before yesterday', п**о**завчера 'three days ago', засег**а** 'for the time being', отт**у**к 'from here', дот**а**м 'up to there/to that extent', н**и**кога 'never', н**я**кога 'formerly/at one point', н**и**към**е** 'nowhere', н**я**към**е** 'somewhere'.

A great many adverbs are derived from adjectives and share with these related adjectives semantic content. Two important adverbs of this sort have the ending -е (добр**е** 'well' [cf. добър⁹ 'good'], зл**е** 'badly' [cf. зъл 'evil']), but the vast majority have the ending -о (and are thus identical in form to the neuter singular form of the related adjective). For example: ч**е**сто 'often' [cf. чест 'frequent'], ч**и**сто 'cleanly/neatly/purely' [cf. чист 'clean/neat/pure'], **у**мно 'cleverly' [cf. **у**мен 'smart'], гр**у**бо 'rudely/roughly' [cf. гр**у**б 'rough/crude'], ед**и**нствено 'only/solely' [cf. ед**и**нствен 'unique/sole'].

Other adverbs are more clearly related to other parts of speech. Among such are: дн**е**с 'today' [cf. д**е**н 'day'], н**о**щем 'at night' [cf. н**о**щ 'night'], веднъж 'once' and веднага 'immediately/at once' [cf. ед**и**н 'one'], дв**а**ж 'twice' [cf. дв**а** 'two'], тичешк**о**м 'at a run' [cf. т**и**чам 'I run'].

Comparative and Superlative Forms.

Comparative and superlative adverbs are formed with the same particles used to form comparative and superlative adjectives (i.e. comparative по- and superlative най-), again with stress on both the particles and on the adverb proper. For example ч**е**сто 'often' – п**о**-ч**е**сто 'more often' – н**ай**-ч**е**сто 'most often'; б**а**вно 'slowly' – п**о**-б**а**вно 'more slowly' – н**ай**-б**а**вно 'most slowly'. One important irregular comparative adverb is п**о**вече'more', the comparative of мн**о**го 'much/very' (cf. the regular superlative н**ай**-мн**о**го 'most', and the regular antonyms м**а**лко 'little/not much' – п**о**-м**а**лко 'less' – н**ай**-м**а**лко 'least').

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⁹ For convenience I am citing here the "dictionary forms" of the related adjectives. I do not mean to imply that it is this masculine singular form that the adverb is necessarily derived from.

Chapter 5. Numbers

Cardinal numbers give information specifically about the quantity of entities, while ordinal numbers are used to identify specific entities by indicating rank or position within a series. Thus the cardinal number in **И**маме <u>две</u> дъщер**и**. 'We have <u>two</u> daughters.' informs the listener or reader about the quantity of daughters in this particular family, whereas the ordinal number in <u>Вт**о**рата</u> им дъщер**я** жив**ее** в С**о**фия. 'Their <u>second</u> daughter lives in Sofia.' serves not to indicate how many daughters there are in a particular family, but rather which specific daughter is being referred to – it is true we now know that there are at least two daughters, but there very well might be more, which is not the case in the example with the cardinal number.

<u>Cardinal Numbers</u>.
Here are the primary Bulgarian cardinal numbers:

1	ед**и**н/едн**а**/едн**о**/едн**и**	11	един**а**йсет/един**а**десет
2	дв**а**/дв**е**	12	дван**а**йсет/дван**а**десет
3	тр**и**	13	трин**а**йсет/трин**а**десет
4	ч**е**тири	14	четирин**а**йсет/четирин**а**десет
5	п**е**т	15	петн**а**йсет/петн**а**десет
6	ш**е**ст	16	шестн**а**йсет/шестн**а**десет
7	с**е**дем	17	седемн**а**йсет/седемн**а**десет
8	**о**сем	18	осемн**а**йсет/осемн**а**десет
9	д**е**вет	19	деветн**а**йсет/деветн**а**десет
10	д**е**сет	20	дв**а**йсет/дв**а**десет

		200	дв**е**ста
30	тр**и**йсет/тр**и**десет	300	тр**и**ста
40	четир**и**йсет/чет**и**ридесет	400	ч**е**тиристотин
50	петдес**е**т	500	п**е**тстотин
60	шейс**е**т/шестдес**е**т	600	ш**е**стстотин
70	седемдес**е**т	700	с**е**демстотин
80	осемдес**е**т	800	**о**семстотин
90	деветдес**е**т	900	д**е**ветстотин
100	ст**о**	1000	хил**я**да

2000	дв**е** х**и**ляди
1,000,000	мили**о**н (written 1 000 000)
1,000,000,000	милиа́рд (written 1 000 000 000)

Only the cardinal numbers 'one' and 'two' above reflect grammatical gender. Един and два are used with masculine nouns, една and две with feminine nouns, and едно and две with neuter. The plural form едни is used with pluralia tantum nouns (see Chapter 3). In the case of the remaining cardinal numbers for which variant forms are given in the table above, the first is generally found in everyday usage and the second in more formal written language and speech.

Compound numbers include the conjunction и 'and' between the second to last and the last word, for example: Той е на двайсет и седем години. 'He is 27 years old.', Тя има три хиляди седемстотин петдесет и четири книги. 'She has 3,754 books.'.

If a cardinal number is the first element in a definite noun phrase, the post-positive definite article is attached to the number (to the last word of the number in the case of compound numbers). Here are some examples, the first of which illustrates the use of a numerical form rather than a plural of a grammatically masculine noun with a number (see Chapter 3).

	Indefinite		Definite
пет стола '5 chairs'		петте стола	'the 5 chairs'
трийсет и две студентки '32 students (female)'		трийсет и двете студентки 'the 32 students (female)'	

The definite forms for one through three are

1	единият (masculine long form); единия (masculine short form); едната (feminine); едното (neuter); едните (plural)
2	двата (masculine); двете (feminine, neuter)
3	трите

Хиляда, милион and милиард take the forms of the article used by the feminine and masculine nouns they look like (хилядата, милионът/милиона, милиардът/милиарда). Other cardinal numbers use as their definite article stressed –те (e.g. седемте училища 'the 7 schools', шестстотинте книги 'the 600 books', двайсетте вестника 'the 20 newspapers'.

Secondary Cardinal Numbers.

There exists a second set of cardinal numbers, used exclusively with nouns referring to or including male humans:

	Indefinite	Definite
2	двама	двамата
3	трима	тримата
4	четирима	четиримата
5	петима	петимата
6	шестима	шестимата
7	седмина	седмината
8	осмина	осмината
9	деветима	деветимата

These special masculine human cardinal numbers may also occur as the last digit in compound

cardinal numbers, e.g..:

	Indefinite	Definite
23	дв**а**йсет и тр**и**ма	дв**а**йсет и тр**и**мата
32	тр**и**йсет и дв**а**ма	тр**и**йсет и дв**а**мата

The use of these special forms with nouns denoting male humans, however, is not obligatory. They occur more often with smaller quantities, with the use of the primary cardinal numbers increasingly frequent with larger numbers. Note also that the nouns used with these special masculine human cardinal numbers must be in their regular plural forms (not the numerical forms), while when such a masculine human noun is, in fact, used with a primary cardinal number, both the regular plural and the numerical form of the noun are possible, with the former increasingly likely as quantity increases. Here are some examples:

'the 2 students (male or mixed gender[10])' дв**а**мата студ**е**нти/дв**а**та студ**е**нти/дв**а**та студ**е**нта

'3 pupils (male or mixed gender)' тр**и**ма учен**и**ци/тр**и** учен**и**ци/тр**и** учен**и**ка

'25 teachers (male or mixed gender)' дв**а**йсет и пет**и**ма уч**и**тели/ дв**а**йсет и п**е**т уч**и**тели/ дв**а**йсет и п**е**т уч**и**теля

A special situation exists for the noun that means 'person/people'. The plural of the noun чов**е**к 'person' is х**о**ра. Thus:

Имаше мн**о**го х**о**ра т**а**м. 'There were many people there.'

Т**е**зи х**о**ра н**и**що не разб**и**рат. 'These people don't understand anything.'

But when a number or one of the quantity words к**о**лко 'how many', н**я**колко 'several' or т**о**лкова 'so many' is involved in the noun phrase, the form д**у**ши is used:

Пет**и**ма (п**е**т) д**у**ши в**е**че са прист**и**гнали. 'Five people have already arrived.'

К**о**лко д**у**ши **и**маше т**а**м? 'How many people were there?'

Т**я** к**а**за тов**а** на ст**о** и шестт**е**/ст**о** и шест**и**мата д**у**ши на г**а**рата. ''She told that to the 106 people at the station.'

Fractions.
Specific words are used to express the notions 'half' and 'quarter'. The form полов**и**н 'half' is used with nouns, полов**и**на 'half' is used as a noun, and четв**ъ**рт 'quarter' in both these functions. For example:

Искам полов**и**н килогр**а**м. 'I want half a kilogram.'

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[10] By "mixed gender" in these examples, I mean that the group may in fact include females, but at least one of the members of the set must be male.

Беше вече шест и половина. 'It was already 6:30.' [more literally: 'six and a half']

Стоян стоеше там четвърт час. 'Stojan was standing there a quarter of an hour.'

Часът е пет и четвърт. 'It is 5:15.' [more literally: 'five and a quarter']

Other fractions can be expressed with the feminine form of ordinal numbers, e.g.:

една трета[11]   'one third'
една пета   'one fifth'
три осми   'three eighths'.

Ordinal Numbers.

Ordinal numbers, which function to modify nouns by indicating which specific entities within series are being referred to, are adjectives. They thus agree with the nouns they modify in number and, in the singular, also in gender. Also like other adjectives they take the post-positive definite article if they are the first element in a definite noun phrase. The forms of the number/gender inflectional endings and of the definite article were described in Chapter 4 in the discussion of adjectives in general.

Here are the Bulgarian ordinal numbers, given in their masculine singular indefinite forms:

1st	първи	11th	единайсети/единадесети
2nd	втори	12th	дванайсети/дванадесети
3rd	трети	13th	тринайсети/тринадесети
4th	четвърти	14th	четиринайсети/четиринадесети
5th	пети	15th	петнайсети/петнадесети
6th	шести	16th	шестнайсети/шестнадесети
7th	седми	17th	седемнайсети/седемнадесети
8th	осми	18th	осемнайсети/осемнадесети
9th	девети	19th	деветнайсети/деветнадесети
10th	десети	20th	двайсети/двадесети
		200th	двустотен/двустотни/двестотен
30th	трийсети/тридесети	300th	тристотен/тристотни
40th	четирийсети/четиридесети	400th	четиристотен/четиристотни
50th	петдесети	500th	петстотен/петстотни
60th	шейсети/шестдесети	600th	шестстотен/шестстотни
70th	седемдесети	700th	седемстотен/седемстотни
80th	осемдесети	800th	осемстотен/осемстотни
90th	деветдесети	900th	деветстотен/деветстотни
100th	стотен	1000th	хиляден

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[11] These ordinals are feminine because they are derived from expressions modifying the feminine noun част 'part'.

2000th	две хиляден
1,000,000th	милионен
1,000,000,000th	милиарден

The following are some examples of the use and form of ordinal numbers. Note that when the number is compound, as in the last two examples, only the final numeral is ordinal in form, the preceding number word(s) being cardinal. The last example also illustrates that ordinal numbers are used for referring to years and that the word година 'year' is included in such expressions.

Защо искаш втори велосипед? 'Why do you want a second bicycle?'

Защото първият велосипед е много стар и бавен. 'Because the first bicycle is very old and slow.'

Тя за трети път моли за услуга. 'She is asking for a favor for the [a] third time.'

Ще слезем на петата спирка. 'We'll get off at the fifth stop.'

В София съм за трийсет и седми път. 'I am in Sofia for the [a] thirty seventh time.'

Яна свърши университет през хиляда деветстотин осемдесет и шеста година. 'Jana graduated in 1986.'

Chapter 6. Pronouns

Personal Pronouns.

      Bulgarian personal pronouns are distinguished for the grammatical categories [1]person (first person, second person, third person), [2]number (singular, plural), [3]gender, within the third person singular (masculine, feminine, neuter), and [4]case (often labeled "nominative", "accusative", "dative"). I will also include here the reflexive pronoun, since, at least in the accusative and dative cases, it is functionally and formally quite parallel to the other personal pronouns.

Nominative Personal Pronouns.

      Nominative case personal pronouns are used in subject position and in position of predicate connected to a subject by a verb of "being". The second of the examples below is cited by Maslov (1981:299), although the translation is mine.

      Аз рабо́тя ту́ка. 'I work here.' (subject position)

      Тов**а** б**я**х **аз**. 'That was me.' (predicate position)

      The following are the Bulgarian nominative personal pronouns.

Nominative Personal Pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	**аз**	н**и**е (н**ий**)
2nd Person	т**и**	в**и**е (в**ий**)
3rd Person	т**ой** [masculine]	т**е**
	т**я** [feminine]	
	т**о** [neuter]	

Forms in parentheses here and in the next two tables are variants sometimes encountered in informal spoken language. Note also that these nominative pronouns are generally omitted entirely when reference is clear from context and there is no particular emphasis on the subject. For example:

      Не зн**ая**. 'I don't know.'

      Ив**а**н ми к**а**за тов**а**. К**а**за ми го вч**е**ра. 'Ivan told me that. He said it to me yesterday.'

      Recall from Chapter 3 that, while there is a strong correlation between the physical gender

of human beings (and to a lesser degree of animals) and the grammatical gender of nouns used to denote them, there are, in fact, some important nouns that refer to young people (and animals) that are grammatically neuter, and there are certainly very many nouns denoting inanimate objects that are grammatically masculine or feminine rather than neuter. And it is this grammatical gender (not physical gender) that determines the choice among the three forms of the third person singular personal pronoun. Thus in То лежи на пода. '"It" is lying on the floor.' То might just as easily be referring to момичето 'the girl' as to писмото 'the letter' (since both these nouns are grammatically neuter), тя in Тя лежи на пода. '"She" is lying on the floor.' might just as well refer to лъжицата 'the spoon' as to жената 'the woman' (both these nouns being grammatically feminine), and той in Той лежи на пода. '"He" is lying on the floor.' could just as easily refer to ножът 'the knife' as to приятелят ми Стоян 'my friend Stojan' (since both are grammatically masculine). In a similar way it is grammatical gender that determines the choice among the gender variants of the third person singular accusative and dative personal pronouns we are about to look at.

Also note that in the second person, ти is often referred to as "singular" and вие as "plural". The situation here (and with the parallel accusative and dative forms below) is not quite this simple. As in many other European languages, the so-called "singular" form, in the standard language, is actually restricted further to use with singular entities only when the speaker or writer is addressing someone with whom they are on very familiar terms (e.g. family member, close friend) or are addressing a young child. In other situations, i.e. when addressing someone one is not familiar with or is on more formal terms with and/or when addressing more than one person, the so-called "plural" form is used. In writing, the formal second person forms are generally capitalized.

Accusative Personal Pronouns.

Accusative personal pronouns are used as the direct objects of transitive verbs (i.e. the direct undergoers of actions) and as the objects of prepositions. For example:

Виждаш ли я/нея? 'Do you see her?' (direct object of transitive verb)

За нея ли говориш? 'Are you talking about her?' (object of preposition)

The table below gives the accusative personal pronoun forms.

Accusative Personal Pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	ме/мене (мен)	ни/нас
2nd Person	те/тебе (теб)	ви/вас
3rd Person	го/него [masculine]	ги/тях
	я/нея [feminine]	
	го/него [neuter]	
Reflexive	се/себе си	

The forms given in parentheses in the table (мен 'me' and теб 'you') are colloquial variants of мене and тебе, frequently encountered in everyday speech.

In this table (and in the one below for dative personal pronouns) there are two distinct

variants for each pronoun, one given before and one after a diagonal slash. It is essential to note some key differences between these variants. The variants before the slash are clitics, which means they bear no word-level stress of their own. (An important exception to this last is that they are automatically assigned stress when they are immediately preceded by the negative particle не 'not'.) And they are subject to strict word order rules: Basically, they obligatorily immediately precede the verb that governs them, unless this would result in their occupying clause-initial position. In this latter case they obligatorily immediately follow the verb[12]. Here are some examples illustrating the required variation in stress and in position relative to the verb, using the clitic pronoun я 'her' and the verb уваж**а**ват 'they respect'.

Мн**о**го я уваж**а**ват. 'They respect <u>her</u> very much.'

Не **я** уваж**а**ват. 'They don't respect <u>her</u>.'

Уваж**а**ват я. 'They respect <u>her</u>.'

The long pronominal variants after the diagonal slashes in the table above are not clitics. They are fully accented, independent words with great freedom in terms of linear position. As direct objects they are functionally emphatic forms, used only when some sort of special stress, such as contrast, is intended:

Аз тр**я**бва да уваж**а**ват <u>него</u>? 'I should respect <u>him</u>?' [perhaps implying that it should be the other way around]

Разб**и**рам Мил**е**на и Ив**а**нка, но <u>него</u> не разб**и**рам. 'I understand Milena and Ivanka, but I don't understand <u>him</u>.' [with contrastive emphasis]

As objects of prepositions, however, only the long form variants of accusative personal pronouns are used. Since the clitic pronouns are not even possible here in Bulgarian, the long form pronouns lose their ability to unambiguously signal emphasis, and are thus found in both emphatic and non-emphatic contexts:

Ел**е**на ще д**о**йде без <u>него</u>. 'Elena will come without <u>him</u>.' [non-emphatic]

Ел**е**на ще д**о**йде без сестр**а** си, но без <u>него</u> не м**о**же. 'Elena will come without her sister, but without <u>him</u> she cannot.' [emphatic]

Reflexive pronouns are used to refer back to the subject of the clause. The long form accusative reflexive pronoun is compound in form, consisting of a non-clitic word с**е**бе plus clitic си. This long form, like the other long form accusative personal pronouns is used as the object of a preposition and as an emphatic direct object. The clitic form се is used as a non-emphatic direct object (but also is used with verbs to express reciprocal actions, to create intransitive meanings and as one means of expressing passive voice). Here are some examples of accusative reflexive

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[12] Word order rules concerning the linear ordering of clitics and particles in relation to each other will be presented in the chapter below on syntax.

pronouns from Andrejčin, Popov and Stojanov 1977 (176-177), with my English translations:

Човек познава <u>себе си</u> най-добре. 'A person knows <u>himself/herself</u> best.' [long form direct object]

Обличам <u>се</u>. 'I am getting dressed.' (meaning 'I am dressing <u>myself.</u>') [clitic direct object]

Тя мислеше само за <u>себе си</u>. 'She would think only of <u>herself.</u>' [long form object of preposition]

The reflexive forms do not vary for person, gender or number, and are freely used, in the forms given, with first, second and third person subjects, singular and plural subjects, and masculine, feminine and neuter subjects.

Dative Personal Pronouns.
      Dative forms are used to express indirect objects (beneficiaries, indirect recipients of actions). They are also one of the means used in Bulgarian to express possession.
      Here are the dative personal pronoun forms:

Dative Personal Pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	ми/на мене	ни/на нас
2nd Person	ти/на тебе	ви/на вас
3rd Person	му/на него [masculine]	им/на тях
	й[13]/на нея [feminine]	
	му/на него [neuter]	
Reflexive	си/на себе си	

As in the table of accusative personal pronouns, the dative forms given here before the diagonal slashes are clitic – they are unstressed and are subject to the same linear positioning rules when used as indirect objects as are the accusative clitic direct objects discussed above. The contemporary long form dative personal pronouns (given above after the diagonal slashes) are analytic in structure, consisting of the long "accusative" forms, with full word-level stress in position as objects of the preposition на[14]. Again parallel to the accusative pronouns it is the clitic variants that occur as neutral unemphatic indirect objects, while the long forms are emphatic:

Ще <u>ми</u> дадат писмото утре. 'They will give <u>me</u> the letter tomorrow.' [non-emphatic]

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[13] The third person feminine singular clitic dative personal pronoun is actually written as и with a grave accent symbol. I am using й instead as a convenience.

[14] Synthetic variants of the long form dative personal pronouns exist: мене for на мене, тебе for на тебе, нему for на него, ней for на нея, нам for на нас, вам for на вас and тям for на тях. However, in the translated words of the authors of volume 2 of the Academy Grammar (1983:192), these synthetic forms "are by now perceived as antiquated and therefore are used relatively rarely in the contemporary literary language".

Д**а**доха <u>ми</u> писм**о**то вч**е**ра. 'They gave <u>me</u> the letter yesterday.' [non-emphatic] (Note how the clitic object is moved to post-verbal position to avoid being clause initial.)

Ще дад**а**т писм**о**то <u>на мене</u>, не <u>на тебе</u>. 'They will give the letter <u>to me</u>, not <u>to you</u>.' [emphatic].

К**о**й какв**о** пр**а**ви, на с**е**бе си го пр**а**ви. 'Whoever does something, does it for himself/herself.' (This emphatic reflexive example is from Andrejčin, Popov and Stojanov 1977 (177).)

      In the expression of neutral possession by a personal pronoun, we similarly find the clitic dative forms. In this usage they occur as the second element in the noun phrase (although in the colloquial language they are sometimes attached to the verb instead, just like indirect objects):

Тов**а** е ст**а**ята <u>ни</u>. 'This is <u>our</u> room.'

Тов**а** е н**о**вата <u>ни</u> ст**а**я. 'This is <u>our</u> new room.'

Т**о**й об**и**ча вс**и**чките <u>си</u> ст**а**ри при**я**тели. 'He loves all <u>his</u> old friends.'

Note the obligatory use of a reflexive pronoun in this last example where the possessor refers back to the subject of the clause.
      When the pronominal possessor is emphasized, however, it is generally a possessive pronoun (see the following section), rather than a long dative pronoun, that is used.

<u>Possessive Pronouns</u>.
      Possessive pronouns are used instead of the more neutral clitic dative personal pronouns whenever there is emphasis on the possessor (or on the possessive relationship). This emphasis need not be remarkably strong. In Hauge's (1999:49) words: "In many cases, they are simply used because the speaker prefers a form with more phonetic material, much like the use of "at the present time" instead of just "now"".
      As with other adjectival forms, possessive pronouns will take the post-positive definite article when they occur as the first word of a definite noun phrase. The following two tables give the indefinite then the definite forms of these possessive pronouns. In the masculine singular column in the second table it is the long definite form that is given here. Remove the final -т to produce the short definite form. See Chapter 3 for a description of the distribution of long versus short definite forms. Keep in mind that the column headings "masculine", "feminine", "neuter", "singular" and "plural" refer to the gender and number of the entity possessed, not to that of the possessor, and also that gender refers to grammatical, not necessarily physical, gender.

Indefinite Possessive Pronouns

	Masculine Singular	Feminine Singular	Neuter Singular	Plural
Singular				
1st Person ('my')	м**о**й	м**о**я	м**о**е	м**о**и
2nd Person ('your')	тв**о**й	тв**о**я	тв**о**е	тв**о**и

3rd Person
Masculine ('his')	негов	негова	негово	негови
Feminine ('her')	неин	нейна	нейно	нейни
Neuter ('its')	негов	негова	негово	негови

Plural
1st Person ('our')	наш	наша	наше	наши
2nd Person ('your')	ваш	ваша	ваше	ваши
3rd Person ('their')	техен	тяхна	тяхно	техни

Reflexive	свой	своя	свое	свои

Definite Possessive Pronouns

	Masculine Singular	Feminine Singular	Neuter Singular	Plural

Singular
1st Person ('my')	моят	моята	моето	моите
2nd Person ('your')	твоят	твоята	твоето	твоите

3rd Person
Masculine ('his')	неговият	неговата	негово то	неговите
Feminine ('her')	нейният	нейната	нейното	нейните
Neuter ('its')	неговият	неговата	неговото	неговите

Plural
1st Person ('our')	нашият	нашата	нашето	нашите
2nd Person ('your')	вашият	вашата	вашето	вашите
3rd Person ('their')	техният	тяхната	тяхното	техните

Reflexive	своят	своята	своето	своите

Here are some examples of the use and form of possessive pronouns. The second example illustrates that they can be used predicatively as well as attributively (as in the first and third examples).

Тя имаше вчера рожден ден. Не зная защо, но <u>моите</u> подарци не я интересуваха. 'Yesterday was her birthday. I don't know why, but <u>my</u> gifts didn't interest her.'

Това сако е <u>негово</u>, а онова е <u>твое</u>. 'This jacket is <u>his</u>, and that one is <u>yours</u>.'

<u>Нашите</u> деца не се държат така. '<u>Our</u> children don't behave like that.'

The reflexive possessive pronoun is used for emphatic reference back to the subject of the clause as the possessor. The use of the reflexive possessive pronoun for reflexive reference is obligatory in the third person, but optional in the first and second persons:

Стефан обича само <u>своите</u> деца. 'Stefan loves only <u>his (own)</u> children.' (неговите деца 'his children' here would denote some other man's children)

Защо обичаш само <u>своите/твоите</u> деца? 'Why do you love only <u>your (own)</u> children?'

<u>Demonstrative Pronouns</u>.

By far the most frequently encountered demonstrative pronouns in Bulgarian are този, онзи and такъв, often best translated into English as 'this', that' and 'such (a)' respectively. The forms just cited are masculine singular. These pronouns agree with the modified noun in number and, in the singular, in gender. The full declensions are given in the following table. The forms in parentheses are colloquial variants.

	'this'	'that'	'such (a)'
Masculine Singular	този (тоз) (тоя)	онзи (оня)	такъв
Feminine Singular	тази (таз) (тая)	онази (оназ) (оная)	такава
Neuter Singular	това (туй)	онова (онуй)	такова
Plural	тези (тез) (тия)	онези (онез) (ония)	такива

When used contrastively, the forms of този refer to the closer entities, those of онзи to ones more distant. This is parallel to the use of the corresponding pronouns in English:

<u>Тези</u> деца са мили, а <u>онези</u> са зли. '<u>These</u> children are sweet, but <u>those</u> are evil.'

When there is no contrast, however, Bulgarians speakers lean toward forms of този, while English speakers favor "that". Upon seeing a friend wearing a new shirt, for example, I might ask in English "Was that shirt very expensive?". I suspect I would use "this" in such a situation only if I had reached out and was touching the shirt at the time. Тази would be the norm here in Bulgarian: Тази риза много скъпа ли беше? Hauge (1999:52) describes Bulgarian usage of these forms in terms of the grammatical category person: "A Bulgarian speaker will generally refer to a book that he himself is holding as тази книга, a book that his conversation partner is holding as тази книга, and to a book that is held by a third person as онази книга."

Note also the important introduction/identification function of the neuter singular form това. In this function това does not vary in form, and can be used with nouns of any gender or number. The verb agrees with the noun:

<u>Това</u> е Мария. '<u>This/That</u> is Maria.'

<u>Това</u> е брат ми. '<u>This/That</u> is my brother.'

<u>Това</u> са новите учители. '<u>These/Those</u> are the new teachers.'

Here are some examples of the use of forms of the demonstrative pronoun такъв 'such (a)':

Защо купихте <u>такъв</u> стол? 'Why did you buy <u>such a</u> chair?'

Никога няма да играя с <u>такава</u> цигуларка! 'I'll never play with <u>such a</u> violinist!'

За съжаление **и**ма такива х**о**ра в град**а**. 'Unfortunately there are such people in the city.'

Interrogative Pronouns.

One function of the interrogative pronoun к**о**й is to ask the question "who?" К**о**й is the masculine singular form, which is used when reference is specifically masculine singular, but also when gender and/or number are not known or are unimportant:

К**о**й ти д**а**де так**о**ва н**е**що? 'Who gave you such a thing?'

К**о**й б**е**ше на събр**а**нието? 'Who was at the meeting?'

The accusative of к**о**й is ког**о** (although colloquially one encounters к**о**й here as well):

Ког**о** в**и**ждаш? 'Who do you see?'

За ког**о** гов**о**риш? 'Who are you talking about?'

The dative of к**о**й is на ког**о** (ком**у** is now archaic):

На ког**о** ще д**а**м тов**а** писм**о**? 'Who will I give this letter to?'

If reference is clearly feminine, neuter or plural, the forms ко**я**, ко**е**, ко**и**, respectively, may be used instead:

Ко**я** б**е**ше т**а**зи жен**а**? 'Who was that woman?'

Ко**и** са т**е**зи х**о**ра? 'Who are these people?'

These forms of к**о**й can also be used in direct attributive relation to nouns to request identity. In this case they must agree with the noun they refer to in number and, in the singular, in gender. In attributive function we find only the forms к**о**й (masculine singular), ко**я** (feminine singular), ко**е** (neuter singular) and ко**и** (plural). For example:

К**о**й апартам**е**нт ще избер**е**м? 'Which apartment shall we choose?'

На ко**я** при**я**телка к**а**за тов**а**? 'Which friend (female) did you tell this to?'

В ко**и** град**о**ве б**я**ха? 'Which cities were they in?'

The interrogative pronoun meaning 'what?', i.e. the inanimate counterpart to к**о**й 'who', is какв**о**. In this function какв**о** is unchanging in form, is grammatically neuter singular, and can be used as a subject or various types of object:

Какв**о** интер**е**сно б**е**ше т**а**м? 'What was there interesting there?' [subject]

Какв**о** ще к**а**жете? 'What will you say?' [object of verb]

За <u>какв**о**</u> м**и**слиш? '<u>What</u> are you thinking about?' [object of preposition]

The pronoun щ**о** 'what' may occur in this function in place of какв**о**. Hauge (1999:57) refers to щ**о** as archaic.

      The formally related как**ъв** is used attributively in the interrogative meaning 'what kind of'/'what sort of'. It agrees in number and, in the singular, in gender with the entity or entities whose quality is in question. Как**ъв** is the masculine singular form, какв**а** is feminine singular, какв**о** (identical in form to the interrogative pronoun 'what?') is neuter singular, and the plural is какв**и**. For example:

<u>Какв**и**</u> ръкав**и**ци тъ**р**сите? '<u>What kind of</u> gloves are you looking for?'

Н**о**вата уч**и**телка <u>какв**а**</u> е? '<u>What</u> is the new teacher (female) <u>like</u>?'

В <u>какв**о**</u> с**е**ло жив**е**ят? '<u>What kind of</u> village do they live in?'

      The interrogative possessive pronoun ч**и**й (masculine singular) also agrees with the noun it refers to, in this case the possessed entity, in number and, in the singular, in gender. The other forms are чи**я** (feminine singular), чи**е** (neuter singular) and чи**и** (plural). Here are some examples:

Не зн**а**я, <u>чи**и**</u> тов**а** са об**у**вките. 'I don't know <u>whose</u> shoes these are.'

<u>**Чи**й</u> м**о**лив леж**и** на м**а**сата? '<u>Whose</u> pencil is lying on the table?'

<u>Negative Pronouns</u>.
      Bulgarian negative pronouns consist morphologically of the negative prefix н**и**- (always stressed) added to interrogative pronouns:

н**и**кой 'no one' (for declension, see interrogative к**о**й 'who?' above)
н**и**що 'nothing' (always in this form)
н**и**кой 'no' (for declension, see the attributive interrogative forms of к**о**й above)
н**и**какъв 'no (kind of)' (for declension, see interrogative как**ъв** above)
н**и**чий 'no one's' (for declension, see interrogative ч**и**й above)

Note the formal parallel to the negative adverbs cited in Chapter 4: н**и**кога 'never', н**и**къде 'nowhere', which also consist of stressed н**и**- plus and interrogative forms (ког**а** 'when?', къд**е** 'where?').
      Notice in the examples below how negative pronouns (as is true also of negative adverbs) are obligatorily accompanied by verbs negated with the particle не, resulting in double, triple (or even more) negation, which is avoided in my English translations:

<u>Н**и**кога</u> не гов**о**ря за тов**а** с <u>н**и**кого</u>.'I <u>never</u> talk about that with <u>anyone</u>.' [= 'With <u>no one</u> do I <u>ever</u> speak about that.']

Н<u>и</u>що интер<u>е</u>сно н<u>я</u>ма т<u>а</u>м. 'There isn't <u>anything</u> interesting there.' [= 'There is <u>nothing</u> interesting there.']

Не съм в<u>и</u>ждал так<u>о</u>ва зд<u>а</u>ние в <u>ник<u>о</u>й</u> америк<u>а</u>нски гр<u>а</u>д. 'I have not seen such a building in <u>any</u> American city.' [= 'I have seen such a building in <u>no</u> American city.']

Т<u>я</u> не <u>и</u>ска да п<u>и</u>е <u>ник<u>а</u>ква</u> б<u>и</u>ра. 'She doesn't want to drink <u>any (kind of)</u> beer.' [= 'She wants to drink <u>no (kind of)</u> beer.']

<u>Ни<u>ч</u>ии</u> ид<u>е</u>и не г<u>о</u> интерес<u>у</u>ват. '<u>No one's</u> ideas interest him.'

<u>Indefinite Pronouns</u>.
    The primary indefinite pronouns in Bulgarian consist of the prefix н<u>я</u>-/н<u>е</u>-[15] (always stressed) plus an interrogative pronoun form[16]:

н<u>я</u>кой 'someone/anyone' (for declension, see interrogative к<u>о</u>й 'who?' above)
н<u>е</u>що 'something/anything' (always in this form)[17]
н<u>я</u>кой 'some/certain/any' (for declension, see the attributive interrogative forms of к<u>о</u>й above)
н<u>я</u>какъв 'some (kind of)/any (kind of)' (for declension, see interrogative какъв above)
н<u>е</u>чий 'someone's/anyone's' (for declension, see interrogative ч<u>и</u>й above)

Here are some examples of the use of these pronouns:

<u>Н<u>я</u>кой</u> ще те съпров<u>о</u>ди да автоб<u>у</u>сната сп<u>и</u>рка. '<u>Someone</u> will see you to the bus stop.'

Д<u>а</u>йте му <u>н<u>е</u>що</u> за п<u>и</u>ене. 'Give him <u>something</u> to drink.'

<u>И</u>ма ли в книж<u>а</u>рницата <u>н<u>я</u>кои</u> н<u>о</u>ви кн<u>и</u>ги за тр<u>а</u>ките? 'Are there <u>any</u> new books about the Thracians at the bookstore?'

Ще се в<u>ъ</u>рнем в к<u>ъ</u>щи, ак<u>о</u> на събр<u>а</u>нието ср<u>е</u>щнем <u>н<u>я</u>каква</u> кавг<u>а</u>. 'We will return home if we run into <u>any (kind of)</u> quarrelling at the meeting.'

<u>Не<u>ч</u>ии</u> г<u>а</u>щи <u>о</u>ще леж<u>а</u>т на п<u>о</u>да в к<u>у</u>хнята. '<u>Someone's</u> pants are still lying on the floor in the kitchen.'

    Other indefinite pronominal constructions are formed by adding **е**ди- (written with a hyphen), -г<u>о</u>де (written with a hyphen) and да е (written as separate words) to the interrogative pronouns к<u>о</u>й, какъв, ч<u>и</u>й and щ<u>о</u>. In each instance the part of the construction that resembles an interrogative pronoun will continue to decline like that interrogative pronoun, while the element(s)

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[15] For the distribution of these variants, see the discussion of the E ~ 'A alternation in Chapter 2.
[16] Again note the formal parallel to indefinite adverbs, e.g. н<u>я</u>къде 'somewhere' (към<u>е</u> 'where?'), н<u>я</u>кога 'at some time/in the past' (ког<u>а</u> 'when?').
[17] The form н<u>е</u>що, with plural нещ<u>а</u>, also serves as a noun, meaning 'thing/object'.

added do not change in form. да е, preceded or not by и can also be added to relative pronouns (e.g. който – see the following section). The Academy Grammar (volume 2, 1983:205) lists the following as pronominal constructions of this type (translations mine):

> **е**ди-к**о**й 'so and so'
> к**о**й-г**о**де 'no matter who/which'
> к**о**й да е 'no matter who/which'
> к**о**йто (и) да е 'no matter who/which'
> **е**ди-как**ъ**в 'such and such (a)'
> как**ъ**в-г**о**де 'no matter what (kind of)'
> как**ъ**в да е 'no matter what (kind of)'
> как**ъ**вто (и) да е 'no matter what (kind of)'
> **е**ди-ч**и**й 'so and so's'
> ч**и**й-г**о**де 'no matter whose'
> ч**и**й да е 'no matter whose'
> ч**и**йто (и) да е 'no matter whose'
> **е**ди-щ**о** 'such and such a thing'
> щ**о**-г**о**де 'no matter what'
> щ**о** да е 'no matter what'

The authors of the Academy Grammar note that the addition of the particle си to indefinite pronouns (e.g. н**я**кой си) adds to the indefiniteness of the forms and gives them a certain additional stylistic nuance of nonchalance ("известен пренебрежителен стилистичен оттенък") (volume 2, 1983:205).

The forms of the number 'one' (masculine singular ед**и**н, feminine singular едн**а**, neuter singular едн**о**, and plural едн**и**) can also be used as indefinite pronouns. In this usage it is not so much the numerical value that is relevant, but rather the indefinite nature of the reference. Andrejčin, Popov and Stojanov (1977:185) cite the following two examples of this found in a single sentence from a folk tale (translation mine):

> Едн**о** вр**е**ме ед**и**н (= н**я**кой си) бащ**а**, кат**о** вз**е**л да поостар**я**ва, раздел**и**л вс**и**чко межд**у** синов**е**те си, а на с**е**бе си н**и**що не ост**а**вил. 'Once upon a time [literally 'one time'] a father, when he began to get on in years, divided everything among his sons, and left nothing for himself.'

Hauge (1999:68) points out that this use of forms of ед**и**н is for "specific" indefinite reference, contrasting the following two examples, where the first involves a specific individual, while the second does not:

> Т**ъ**рся едн**а** секрет**а**рка. 'I am looking for a secretary.'

> Т**ъ**рся секрет**а**рка. 'I am looking for a secretary.'

On the other hand, Alexander (volume 1, 2000:50) says that there is no essential difference in meaning between the following two sentences:

Чет**а** <u>едн**а**</u> интер**е**сна кн**и**га. 'I'm reading <u>an</u> interesting book.'

Чет**а** интер**е**сна кн**и**га. 'I'm reading an interesting book.'

Alexander (55) labels ед**и**н in this function an "indefinite article", and observes that "[w]hen ед**и**н, едн**а**, едн**о** means "a", Bulgarians tend to pronounce it with a much weaker accent than when it means "one"."

<u>Relative Pronouns</u>.

The most widely used relative pronoun in literary standard Bulgarian consists of the unchanging suffix –то added to the appropriately declined form of the interrogative pronoun к**о**й 'who?' (see the forms above). The relative pronoun can be used in reference to both animate and inanimate nouns of all genders, both singular and plural, and in any grammatical position appropriate for noun phrases. Some examples:

Разб**и**раш ли въпр**о**са, <u>к**о**йто</u> момч**е**то зад**а**де? 'Do you understand the question <u>which</u> the boy asked?' [masculine singular inanimate object of verb]

К**а**к се к**а**зва студ**е**нтката, <u>к**о**ято</u> сед**и** до В**а**ня? 'What is the name of the student (female) <u>who</u> is sitting next to Vanja?' [feminine singular animate subject]

К**а**к се к**а**зват студ**е**нтите, <u>к**о**ито</u> сед**я**т до н**е**я? 'What are the names of the students <u>who</u> are sitting next to her?' [plural animate subject]

К**а**к се к**а**зва студ**е**нтът, до <u>ког**о**то</u> т**я** сед**и**? 'What is the name of the student (masculine) next to <u>whom</u> she is sitting?' [masculine singular animate object of preposition]

Мом**и**чето, от <u>к**о**ето</u> получ**и**хме тов**а** писм**о**, м**о**ли за автогр**а**фа ти. 'The girl from <u>whom</u> we received this letter is asking for your autograph.' [neuter singular animate object of preposition]

In the colloquial language non-declining д**е**то may replace the forms of к**о**йто.

When the relative clause involves not actual identity, but rather similarity in some characteristic, the relative particle -то is added instead to the appropriate form of the interrogative pronoun как**ъ**в 'what kind of?' (see the declension above). Here are a couple examples:

Н**я**маше так**и**ва об**у**вки, <u>какв**и**то</u> т**я** жел**а**е. 'There weren't the kind of shoes <u>that</u> she wants.'

Т**я** и сег**а** изгл**е**жда мн**о**го р**а**достна, <u>какв**а**то</u> б**е**ше пред**и** войн**а**та. 'Now too she looks very happy, <u>like</u> she was before the war.

The possessive relative pronoun consists of the particle -то attached to the appropriate form of the interrogative pronoun ч**и**й 'whose?' (see declension above), agreeing with the possessed entity in number and, in the singular, in gender. For example:

Какво знаеш за момичето, <u>чийто</u> баща работи със Стоян? 'What do you know about the girl <u>whose</u> father works with Stojan?

Това е ученикът, на <u>чиито</u> родители трябваше да напиша едно неприятно писмо. 'This is the pupil to <u>whose</u> parents I had to write an unpleasant letter.'

<u>Reciprocal Pronouns.</u>

Reciprocality, i.e. the situation in which plural entities perform the same action with respect to each other, is often expressed with reflexive verb forms with the accusative reflexive particle/pronoun when the role of direct object is involved, or with the dative reflexive particle/pronoun when the role of indirect object is involved. The following two examples are from Alexander 2000, volume 1 (223):

Ще се срещнат за пръв път. 'They will meet for the first time.'

Хайде да си говорим на "ти". 'Let's speak to each other as "ти".

More emphatically and, obligatorily, in other grammatical relations, reciprocality is expressed with a form of един 'one' together with a form of the adjectival word друг 'other'. Note in the following examples that any prepositions involved come between these two forms. The second example is from Hauge 1999 (51).

Те никога не говорят <u>един</u> за <u>друг</u>. 'They never talk about <u>each other</u>.'

Защо къщите на Търново са наредени така <u>една</u> над <u>друга</u>? 'Why are the houses in Tărnovo stacked <u>one</u> over the <u>other</u> in this way.'

<u>Generalizing Pronouns.</u>

Всичко is inanimate, grammatically neuter singular, and means 'everything'. Всички is animate, grammatically plural, and means 'everyone/everybody'. These forms can be used in any logical grammatical position. For example:

Subject:
<u>Всичко</u> тука е много вкусно. '<u>Everything</u> here is delicious.'

<u>Всички</u> го разбират. '<u>Everyone</u> understands him.'

Object of Verb:
Тя обича <u>всичко</u> и <u>всички</u>. 'She loves <u>everything</u> and <u>everyone</u>.'

Object of Preposition:
Преди <u>всичко</u> трябва да го намерим. 'First of all [literally 'Before <u>everything</u>'] we have to find it.'

Ще пишем писма на <u>всички</u>. 'We'll write letters to <u>everyone</u>.'

Sometimes the singular form всеки 'each' is used instead of всички where English speakers would use "everyone/everybody". The following example is from Hauge 1999 (62):

Тук вс**и**чко е на самообсл**у**жване. <u>Вс**е**ки</u> с**а**м си изб**и**ра, вз**е**ма и пр**о**бва. 'Here everything is self-service. <u>Everybody</u> selects, takes, and tries on for himself.'

Related forms are used attributively in the quantitative sense of 'whole', 'all', 'every'. Here are the forms themselves. Note that the masculine singular always includes a definite article. In the plural, forms both with and without the article are encountered. For the feminine singular, Andrejčin, Popov and Stojanov (1977:189) and Hauge (1999:63) give only a definite form, while the Academy Grammar (volume 2, 1983:207) also lists a form without the definite article. And for the neuter singular, Andrejčin, Popov and Stojanov (1977:189) and the Academy Grammar (volume 2, 1983:207) list only a form with the article, while Hauge (1999:63) gives forms both with and without the article:

masculine singular	вс**и**чкият (long definite form), вс**и**чкия (short definite form)
feminine singular	вс**и**чката (definite form), вс**и**чка (indefinite form)
neuter singular	вс**и**чкото (definite form), вс**и**чко (indefinite form)
plural	вс**и**чки (indefinite form), вс**и**чките (definite form)

Some examples of usage:

Дет**е**то изп**и** <u>вс**и**чкото</u> мл**я**ко. 'The child drank <u>all</u> the milk.'

<u>Вс**и**чките</u> ми при**я**тели жив**е**ят в С**о**фия. '<u>All</u> my friends live in Sofia.'

Attributive всеки (masculine singular), вс**я**ка (feminine singular), вс**я**ко (neuter singular) express a somewhat similar meaning, but from a more individualistic (rather than collective) point of view:

<u>Вс**е**ки</u> студ**е**нт разб**и**ра тов**а** мн**о**го добр**е**. '<u>Every/Any/Each</u> student understands that very well.'

<u>Вс**я**ко</u> момч**е** ще пол**у**чи н**о**в м**о**лив. '<u>Every/Each</u> boy will receive a new pencil.'

Attributive вс**я**какъв (masculine singular), вс**я**каква (feminine singular), вс**я**какво (neuter singular), вс**я**какви (plural) express a parallel type of universality, but looking at characteristics rather than identities:

Дъщер**я** ми об**и**ча <u>вс**я**какви</u> к**у**чета. 'My daughter loves <u>all kinds of</u> dogs/<u>every kind of dog</u>.'

Т**о**й е лиш**е**н от <u>вс**я**какво</u> норм**а**лно чов**е**шко ч**у**вство. 'He is devoid of <u>any/every (sort of)</u> normal human feeling/emotion.

Chapter 7. Verbal Adverbs and Participles

<u>Verbal Adverbs</u>.
  Bulgarian verbal adverbs are non-declining forms created from the stems of imperfective verbs. They are of southwestern dialectal origin and were deliberately introduced into the literary language in the late nineteenth century, perhaps in order to have a form corresponding to the verbal adverbs in other literary languages Bulgarians were in contact with (Andrejčin 1963:351). Details concerning this incorporation into the literary language can be found in Părvev 1958.
  Verbal adverbs continue to be viewed as bookish by most Bulgarians and are encountered more often in formal than in informal language use. In a recent study I found that verbal adverb frequency ranged from complete or near complete absence in very informal language usage (everyday conversations and chatroom transcripts) up to language users opting to use these forms in situations where it would be possible to do so 8.5%-10.8% of the time in the most formal data I looked at (Parliamentary debates and scholarly prose), and two to about three percent of the time in intermediary registers (literary fiction and journalism) (Leafgren 2007:30-31).
  Verbal adverbs can be formed by adding -йки to the third person singular present tense forms of imperfective verbs. But if this third person form of the verb ends in и, the и is replaced with e. Here are some examples:

3rd Person Singular Present Tense	Verbal Adverb
разб**и**ра 'understands'	разб**и**райки
вз**е**ма 'takes'	вз**е**майки
игр**а**е 'plays (games)'	игр**а**ейки
те**ч**е 'flows'	те**ч**ейки
св**и**ри 'plays (music)'	св**и**рейки
м**о**ли 'asks/begs'	м**о**лейки

  Such verbal adverbs serve as the centers of phrases which function to adverbially modify the action of another verbal form by indicating a secondary action which is closely associated with this more primary action. These phrases can thus be viewed as functionally equivalent to adverbial subordinate clauses. Penčev, in fact, regards them as syntactic reductions of adverbial subordinate

clauses:

> Като **и**дваше насам, т**о**й се отб**и** при ед**и**н прия**т**ел → **И**двайки насам, т**о**й . . . (Penčev 1984:147) 'While he was coming here, he stopped in at a friend's' → 'While coming here, he . . .'

Verbal adverbs can be used to provide a number of types of adverbial modification. Often the relationship between the actions is a temporal one – the verbal adverb phrase indicates when the primary action takes place[18]:

> От**и**вайки на ра**б**ота, Миленкова и Моллов б**я**ха посре**щ**нати от стот**и**ци служ**и**тели на комп**а**нията с виков**е** "Пред**а**тели". (from the Internet edition of the newspaper *Standart News*, 10/31/02) 'While going to work, Milenkova and Mollov were met by hundreds of employees of the company with shouts of "Traitors".'

Sometimes a verbal adverb construction functions to indicate a cause of or a reason for a primary action:

> На събр**а**нието к**а**зах, че наруш**а**вайки зак**о**ните на прир**о**дата, чов**е**к риск**у**ва с**о**бственото си съществ**у**ване. (From Pavel Vežinov's novel *Нощем с белите коне* '*At Night with the White Horses*') 'At the meeting I said that by violating the laws of nature, man is risking his own existence.'

Occasionally verbal adverb phrases can be described as concessive, i.e. indicating a secondary action despite which a primary action takes place:

> Кат**о** прие**м**ам, че ред възрожд**е**нски трад**и**ции продълж**а**ват в литерат**у**рата и след Освобожд**е**нието и **и**майки предв**и**д условностт**а** на вс**я**ка литерат**у**рна периодиз**а**ция, при ко**я**то гран**и**ците н**и**кога не с**а** р**е**зки и отчетл**и**ви и не в**и**наги върв**я**т по гран**и**ците на общоистор**и**ческите пери**о**ди, в т**о**зи тр**у**д прие**м**ам в**е**че традици**о**нното за литерат**у**рната ни историогр**а**фия обособ**я**ване на Освобожд**е**нието от осм**а**нско р**о**бство (1878) кат**о** нач**а**ло на н**о**в литерат**у**рен пери**о**д. (from Svetlozar Igov's 1991 *История на българската литература 1878-1944* '*A History of Bulgarian Literature 1878-1944*') 'While I accept that a number of revival traditions continue in the literature after the Liberation as well, and keeping in mind the conventionality of every literary periodization, in which the boundaries are never sharp and distinct and do not always follow the boundaries of the general historical periods, in this work I accept the establishment, by now traditional for our literary historiography, of the Liberation from Ottoman slavery (1878) as a beginning of a new literary period.'

Other verbal adverb constructions can be termed phrases of "manner", providing information about the way or under what conditions the primary action is carried out:

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[18] The examples of verbal adverb constructions given in the remainder of this section were cited in Leafgren 2007.

Пред**и** да се сле**я**т с пр**а**българите, слав**я**ните в**е**че са асимил**и**рали завар**е**ните на т**е**зи зем**и** тр**а**ки и романиз**у**ваното тракийско насел**е**ние, <u>усво**я**вайки елем**е**нти от култ**у**рата, в**я**рата и обич**а**ите на тр**а**ките</u>. (from *Граматика на старобългарския език* (1991) '*A Grammar of Old Bulgarian*', edited by Ivan Duridanov) 'Before they merge with the Proto-Bulgarians, the Slavs have already assimilated the Thracians and the Romanized Thracian population found in these lands, <u>adopting elements of the culture, the religion and the customs of the Thracians</u>.'

It is generally the case that verbal adverbs indicate secondary actions that occur simultaneously to the actions expressed by the more primary verbal forms they modify (regardless of whether these primary actions are in the past, present or future). This is true of each of the examples cited above. We might note, however, that this is not always the case. In the following example, for instance, the following context makes it clear that the verbal adverb action precedes the modified action:

2-год**и**шно дет**е** от горнооряховското с. Козаревец поч**и**на, <u>падайки от легл**о**то</u>. М**а**лкият Хр**и**сто теж**а**л едв**а** 6 кг, ко**е**то бил**о** н**я**колко пъти под н**о**рмата за възрастт**а** му. Инцид**е**нтът ст**а**нал на 14 септ**е**мври вечерт**а**. Н**я**колко ч**а**са п**о**-късно дет**е**то изд**ъ**хнало във великотърновската б**о**лница. (from the Internet edition of the newspaper *Standart News*, 9/16/02) 'A two-year-old child from the Gorna Orjaxovica village of Kozarevec died, <u>having fallen from bed</u>. Little Xristo weighed barely 6 kilograms, which was several times below the norm for his age. The incident took place on the evening of September 14. Several hours later the child passed away at the Veliko Tărnovo hospital.'

<u>Participles</u>.

Participles, like verbal adverbs, are formed from verb stems. Unlike verbal adverbs, however, the primary function of Bulgarian participles is adjectival rather than adverbial – participles typically serve as the centers of phrases used to give additional information about or to identify the referents of noun phrases. Contrast, for example, the following two sentences, the first with a verbal adverb phrase modifying a verb, the second with a participle phrase modifying a noun.

Verbal Adverb:
<u>Чет**е**йки в**е**стник</u>, К**а**мен обикнов**е**но сед**и** до проз**о**реца. '<u>While reading a newspaper</u>, Kamen usually sits by the window.'
Participle:
Чов**е**кът, <u>чет**я**щ в**е**стник до проз**о**реца</u>, се к**а**зва К**а**мен. 'The person <u>reading a newspaper by the window</u> is named Kamen.'

In the first of these sentences чет**е**йки в**е**стник gives information about the verb phrase сед**и** до проз**о**реца – it tells us when this sitting by a window happens. In the second sentence, the participle phrase is adjectival, modifying чов**е**кът – it tells us which person is being discussed.

Being adjectival, Bulgarian participles use adjective endings (see Chapter 4), agreeing in

number and, in the singular, in gender with the modified noun. For example:

Masculine Singular:
    Мъжът, <u>спящ</u> на дивана . . . 'The man <u>who is sleeping</u> on the couch . . .'
Feminine Singular:
    Жената, <u>спяща</u> на дивана . . . 'The woman <u>who is sleeping</u> on the couch . . .'
Neuter Singular:
    Момчето, <u>спящо</u> на дивана . . . 'The boy <u>who is sleeping</u> on the couch . . .'
Plural:
    Котките, <u>спящи</u> на дивана . . . 'The cats <u>that are sleeping</u> on the couch . . .'

Furthermore, participles take the post-positive definite article when they occur as the first element in a definite noun phrase:

	Indefinite	Definite
Masculine Singular	спящ мъж 'a sleeping man'	спящия(т) мъж 'the sleeping man'
Feminine Singular	спяща жена 'a sleeping woman'	спящата жена 'the sleeping woman'
Neuter Singular	спящо момче 'a sleeping boy'	спящото момче 'the sleeping boy'
Plural	спящи котки 'sleeping cats'	спящите котки 'the sleeping cats'

Contemporary Bulgarian has three of the five types of participial forms found in Common Slavic – the present active participle, the past passive participle, and the l-participle (also referred to as the resultative participle). The Common Slavic present passive participle (in -м-) and the past active participle (in -(в)ш-) have been lost, but the l-participle may be used in the function of the latter, and past passive participles formed from imperfective stems are sometimes found in the function of the former.

Present Active Participle.
    The present active participle can be produced by starting with the third person singular present tense form. If this third person singular present tense form ends in -а or -я, the suffix -щ- is added. If it ends in some other vowel, this vowel is removed, and the suffix -ящ-/-ещ- is added. The -ящ- variant (which is spelled -ащ- after ш, ж and ч) is used when the stress in the present tense falls on the ending, -ещ- is used when the stress falls on the stem. Typical adjective endings are then added. Here are some examples:

Present Active Participles

(3rd Person Singular Present Tense)	Masculine Singular	Feminine Singular	Neuter Singular	Plural
(казва 'says')	казващ	казваща	казващо	казващи
(стреля 'shoots')	стрелящ	стреляща	стрелящо	стрелящи
(търпи 'bears')	търпящ	търпяща	търпящо	търпящи
(държи 'holds')	държащ	държаща	държащо	държащи

(живее 'lives')	живеещ	живееща	живеещо	живеещи
(води 'leads')	водещ	водеща	водещо	водещи

The definite article is then added to these forms, in the same way it is added to other adjectives in the language, when the word is the first element in a definite noun phrase, e.g.: **к**азващи**ят** (long form masculine singular), **к**азващи**я** (short form masculine singular), **к**азваща**та** (feminine singular), **к**азваще**то** (neuter singular), **к**азващи**те** (plural).

     The present active participle is a rather bookish form, found fairly frequently in more formal writing styles, but relatively rarely in the colloquial spoken language. Although it existed in Old Bulgarian, it was subsequently lost in the language, being reintroduced into the literary language later, modeled on Russian and Church Slavonic forms (these language themselves having acquired these forms from Old Bulgarian). Andrejčin, Popov and Stojanov (1977:282-283) recommend avoiding frequent use of present active participles, but the Academy Grammar (volume 2, 1983:376) observes that the use of these forms has been increasing recently, even in the conversational language.

     Present active participle phrases may occur both before and after the nouns they modify. Compare the following two examples, both from the Internet edition of the newspaper *Standart News*.

    Present Active Participle Phrase (underlined) before Noun (italicized)
    Соф**и**йско такс**и** "Сузуки" навл**я**зло в наср**е**щното платн**о** и се заб**и**ло в <u>път**у**ващ към ст**о**лицата</u> "*Мерседес*" с австр**и**йска регистр**а**ция. (9/1/02) 'A Sofia Suzuki taxi entered the oncoming lane and ran into an Austrian-registered *Mercedes* <u>which was traveling toward the capital</u>.'

    Present Active Participle Phrase (underlined) after Noun (italicized)
    Специ**а**лно за Сакскобургготски е пор**ъ**чано *вино*, <u>н**о**сещо **и**мето на тракийския влад**е**тел Ситалк</u>. (9/5/02) '*Wine* <u>which bears the name of the Thracian ruler Sitalk</u> has been ordered especially for Sakskoburgotski.'

Note also that the first of these two examples illustrates that the present active participles can be used with relative, rather than absolute, "present" tense. That is, in this example the action indicated by the participle is contemporaneous with the action of the main action, rather than with the moment of speech or, in this case, the moment of writing or reading.

Past Passive Participle.
    Past passive participles are formed from transitive verbs, i.e. those that take direct objects. The suffix -т- is used when the first person singular present tense from ends in -на, and with certain other verbs in a manner the Academy Grammar (volume 2, 1983:381) refers to as "unproductive". Here are some examples:

Present Tense	Past Passive Participle
п**у**сна 'I release/allow'	п**у**снат
вд**и**гна 'I lift'	вд**и**гнат
преб**и**я 'I beat'	преб**и**т
вз**е**ма 'I take'	вз**е**т

For most verbs, however, one should look at the first person singular aorist form of the verb to determine the past passive participle formation. If the aorist ends in -ax or -ях, the x of the aorist is replaced with an н in the participle. If the aorist ends in -ox or -их, not only is the x replaced with an н, but the preceding o or a is replaced with e also. Some examples:

Present Tense	Aorist	Past Passive Participle
пиша 'I write'	писах 'I wrote'	писан
кажа 'I say'	казах 'I said'	казан
хвърлям 'I throw'	хвърлях 'I threw'	хвърлян
държа 'I hold'	държах 'I held'	държан
донеса 'I bring'	донесох 'I brought'	донесен
прочета 'I read'	прочетох 'I read'	прочетен
водя 'I lead'	водих 'I led'	воден

A number of verbs with first person singular present tense forms in -ея allow past passive participle variants with both -т- and -н-. For example:

Present Tense	Past Passive Participle
изпея 'I sing'	изпят/изпян
прегрея 'I overheat'	прегрят/прегрян

All of the past passive participle examples cited above are in their masculine singular indefinite forms. Like present active participles and other adjectives, however, they are declined to agree with the modified noun in number and, in the singular, in gender, and, when occurring as the first element in a definite noun phrase, will take the post-positive definite article. For example, here are the forms of the past passive participle for the verbs взема 'I take' (perfective) and хвърлям 'I throw' (imperfective):

	'taken'	'thrown'
Indefinite		
Masculine Singular	взет	хвърлян
Feminine Singular	взета	хвърляна
Neuter Singular	взето	хвърляно
Plural	взети	хвърляни
Definite		
Long Form Masculine Singular	взетият	хвърляният
Short Form Masculine Singular	взетия	хвърляния
Feminine Singular	взетата	хвърляната
Neuter Singular	взетото	хвърляното
Plural	взетите	хвърляните

Like present active participles, past passive participles can be used attributively, both before and after the nouns they modify. They form the center of phrases which indicate a secondary action performed upon the modified noun. Some examples, again from *Standart News*:

Past Passive Participle Phrase (underlined) before Noun (italicized)

Т**я** е **и**мала невероя**те**н късм**е**т, защ**о**то <u>постав**е**ният в дж**о**ба й</u> моб**и**лен *телеф**о**н* е спр**я**л куршума. (8/18/02) 'She was incredibly lucky, because the mobile *phone* <u>which had been put in her pocket</u> stopped the bullet.'

Past Passive Participle Phrase (underlined) after Noun (italicized)

20 д**у**ши са пом**и**лвани с *ук**а**зи*, <u>подп**и**сани от в**и**цепрезид**е**нта ген. Ангел Марин</u> <u>след встъпването му в дл**ъ**жност</u>. (8/16/02) 'Twenty people are pardoned by *decrees* <u>which were signed by Vice President Gen. Angel Marin</u> after his assumption of office.'

      Generally such past passive participle phrases express relative past tense, i.e. the actions they denote precede the primary action in time, as in the two examples above. Sometimes, however, when the past passive participle is formed from an imperfective verb stem, such phrases may denote simultaneous actions, i.e. they express relative present tense. Andrejčin, Popov and Stojanov (1977:287) provide the following as an example of this (translation mine):

Облаците отмин**а**ват, <u>г**о**нени от в**я**търа</u>. 'The clouds, <u>driven by the wind</u>, are moving off.'

      In addition to attributive use to express secondary actions, past passive participles are also used as predicates of verbs of being, in any tense, in primary passive voice constructions. One instance of such usage can be seen in the first clause of the second attributive example cited above. This one involves the present tense of the verb 'to be':

20 д**у**ши <u>са пом**и**лвани</u> с *ук**а**зи*, . . . 'Twenty people <u>are pardoned</u> by *decrees . . .*'

Here is an example in the past tense, also from *Standart News*:

Раб**о**тниците <u>са бил**и** повал**е**ни</u> от стафилок**о**кова инф**е**кция, ко**я**то е предизв**и**кала повр**ъ**щане, б**о**лки в стом**а**ха и разстр**о**йство. (8/16/02) 'The workers <u>were struck down</u> by a staphylococcus infection, which caused vomiting, stomach pain and indigestion.'

L-Participle.

      The l-participle, or resultative participle, is most frequently encountered as an element in one of a number of compound verb constructions (see the description and discussion in the discussion of verbs). However, it can also be used as a past active participle, i.e. a past tense counterpart to the present active participle presented above. Here are a couple examples of such usage from *Standart News* with l-participles formed from the verbs довед**а** 'I lead/bring' and пот**е**гля 'I set out'.

Тов**а** е четв**ъ**ртият прот**е**ст срещ**у** Василев и ръков**о**дството на държ**а**вната ф**и**рма, <u>дов**е**ли зав**о**да до фин**а**нсова катастр**о**фа</u>. (8/21/02) 'This is the fourth protest against Vasilev and the management of the state firm, <u>which have led the factory to financial catastrophe</u>.'

Приближавайки се за проверка със стоп-палка и включена сигнална лампа, полицаите били изненадени от <u>ненадейно потеглилата с бясна скорост срещу тях</u> кола. (8/29/02) 'Approaching for a check with a stop signal and signal light on, the police were surprised by a car <u>which unexpectedly set out toward them at breakneck speed</u>.'

Adverbial Use of Participles.

Although participial phrases most often, as in the examples above, are adjectival in function, serving to identify or give additional information about the referents of noun phrases (i.e. answering questions such as "which one?" or "what kind of?"), they are also used adverbially in Bulgarian. The indicated passive participle in the following example, from Pavel Vežinov's novel *Самопризнание* '*Confession*', tells the reader why the subject, who is caught taking something from his in-laws' apartment, became frightened. This and the following example are cited in Leafgren 2007 (36-37).

Но <u>заварен с касетката в ръце</u>, той се изплашил. 'But <u>caught with the safe-box in his hands</u>, he became scared.'

Scatton (1984:48) is referring specifically to the l-participle constructions when he notes that they may function "like a past tense verbal adverb". In the following example, from Ilinda Markova's novel *Страх от котки* '*Fear of Cats*', the l-participle phrase seems to be serving more to tell us in what manner the subject was lying there than to provide information about or to identify the woman in question.

Мълчанието ги накара да се обърнат към нея, тя лежеше <u>отпуснала глава</u> и със затворени очи, Атанас я доближи, мислеше, че е припаднала. 'The silence made them turn toward her. She was lying there, <u>having lowered her head</u> and with closed eyes. Atanas approached her. He thought that she had fainted.'

And the authors of volume 2 of the Academy Grammar (1983:382-383) point out the adverbial use of present active participles. The following is among their examples showing that such participles can be used in sequence with and in the same function as verbal adverbs:

Аз съм по-стар от вас десет години, мои млади приятели – каза П., обръщайки се към двамата, но <u>гледащ само Тамара</u>. (from the magazine *Физкултура* '*Physical Culture*') '"I am ten years older than you, my young friends", said P., addressing both of them, but <u>looking only at Tamara</u>.'

Chapter 8. Syntax

Word Order of Major Sentence Elements.
        Bulgarian word order tendencies for the major components of a sentence or clause (subjects, verbs and objects) can and should be viewed from two perspectives[19]. From what may be termed a "grammatical" perspective, there is a tendency for subjects to precede verbs and for objects to follow verbs (i.e. the linear arrangement subject-verb-object [SVO] is typical in the language when these elements are present in a clause)[20]. From what may be termed a "functional" perspective, there is a tendency to place topics (what the sentence or clause is about) before comments (the new information provided about the topic). This neutral topic-comment order can then be reversed – part or all of the comment can be moved to a position before the topic for particular emphasis on this fronted element or for some other emotional effect.
        One might at this point ask how these two types of tendencies or perspectives interact, whether one is stronger than the other. The answer is not a simple one, but an important point is that there is actually generally not a conflict between the two, since there is also a strong tendency for subjects to be topics (i.e. Bulgarian speakers and writers tend to package their topics as subjects). There are a number of factors that contribute to this general confluence of grammatical and functional linear orderings, which disambiguate which of the two perspectives is dominant in particular clauses, or which render one of the orderings impossible in particular situations.

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[19] The linear position of clitic (unstressed) forms is being excluded from the current discussion. The strict word-order rules governing clitics will be the focus of the following section.

[20] My text counts of extensive data bases representing both spoken and written Bulgarian in varying registers reveal that in clauses that include overt subjects and overt non-clitic direct objects, the ordering SVO is found far more frequently than all other possibilities (VOS, VSO, SOV, OVS and OSV) combined by a ratio of two to one in more informal styles up to almost ten to one in more formal registers.

First, humans appear simply more likely to give information about performers of actions than about other participants. For example, if I know you want more information about my friend Ivan, I am more likely, at least statistically, to say "Ivan studies math." (Иван следва математика.) or "Ivan is writing a book about the Thracians." (Иван пише книга за траките.) than I am to mention something that is happening to Ivan or something that was given to him. This is consistent with Givón's (1976:152) observation of a "consistent and highly universal pairing of the discourse function "topic" and the semantic function "agent" into one highly aggregate function "subject"".

Second, if the topic of a clause is, in fact, something other than an agent/performer of an action, several mechanisms exist in the language allowing for the preservation of grammatical linear ordering. If the topic is the undergoer of an action, passive voice constructions can be used to package this undergoer as a grammatical subject, making it possible to put this topical subject in initial position and to meet the demands of both ordering perspectives. This is especially common in formal and/or written language, and is accomplished sometimes using passive participles and sometimes by the "reflexive" particle ce with otherwise transitive verbs. Here are examples, in which I have underlined the intended topics.

Participial Passive
    <u>Престъпникът</u> бе арестуван (от полицаи) в сряда. '<u>The criminal</u> was arrested (by policemen) on Wednesday.

Ce Passive
    <u>Това списание</u> се чете от почти всички. '<u>This magazine</u> is read by almost everyone.'

Next, in the oral language, the placement of sentential stress on a non-topical subject can suggest to the listener that functional linear ordering is giving way to grammatical ordering. In the following example of this the topical object is again underlined, while the stressed non-topical subject noun phrase is the sentence-initial най-умните студенти 'the smartest students':

Само най-умните студенти ще разбират <u>тази статия</u>. 'Only the smartest students will understand <u>this article</u>.

Also, typical of the colloquial language, there is the optional occurrence of reduplicating pronouns marking the topicality of objects (possible for both direct and indirect objects). In this phenomenon a topical object is overtly mentioned twice within a clause – once with a clitic personal pronoun in determined position relative to the verb (see Chapter 6 and below) and once with some other type of noun or pronoun. This allows either [1]grammatical ordering to be maintained without confusion as to the functional status of the object as topic:

Никой не **го** разбира <u>това момиче</u>. 'No one understands <u>this girl</u>.'

Няма причина да **й** даваш пари на <u>Ваня</u>. Тя нищо не иска. 'There is no reason to give money to <u>Vanja</u>. She doesn't want anything.',

or ²⁾to make more evident that grammatical ordering is being sacrificed for functional ordering:[21]

> Такива момчета аз не съм ги разбирал никога. 'I have never understood <u>such boys</u>./<u>Such boys</u> I have never understood.'

Third, when direct or indirect objects, rather than subjects, are topical, it is very often the case that they are expressed with clitic personal pronouns, rendering the functional linear ordering impossible, since clitics cannot appear in clause-initial position. For example:

> Това е новата ни маса. Татко иска да я поставим в ъгъла в кухнята. 'This is our new table. Dad wants us to put <u>it</u> in the corner in the kitchen.'

> Брат ми е много упорит. Никой не може да му обяснява нищо. 'My brother is very stubborn. No one can explain anything to <u>him</u>.'

Finally, recall that it was mentioned at the beginning of this section that the typical topic-comment ordering may be altered by fronting all or part of the comment for particular emphasis or emotional effect. If this fronted element is an object, this also disrupts the typical grammatical SVO linear arrangement. Georgieva (1974:69, 75) provides the following two sentences as examples of this phenomenon (I have added the English translations and italicized the fronted objects):

> *Очите си* отвори той. 'He opened *his eyes*.'

> *Истината* той казва. 'He is telling *the truth*.'

The above is a very brief description of the most important general tendencies in linear word order of major constituents in a sentence or clause. Much, much more detail can be found in Georgieva 1974, volume 3 of the Academy Grammar 1983, Georgieva 1987 and Dyer 1992, among others.

<u>Linear Ordering of Clitics</u>.
Clitics are words which do not have their own word-level stress, but rather are pronounced together with another word as a single accentual unit.
The interrogative clitic ли is pronounced together with the preceding word. This preceding word is then the focus of a yes-no question (i.e. a question to which the answer is expected to be either да 'yes' or не 'no'). In the example of this below, and in the following examples in this section, I have underlined the single accentual units in question in the Bulgarian as well as their corresponding English translations.

> <u>Той ли</u> каза това? '<u>Was it he</u> who said that?'

If the entire proposition is in question, without special emphasis on an individual part, ли is

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[21] See Leafgren 2002 (164-184) for more on the topic-marking function of Bulgarian object reduplication.

positioned after the verb:

Той <u>каза ли</u> **н**ещо? '<u>Did</u> he <u>say</u> something?'

The future tense auxiliary verb ще, the verbal particle да, the majority of prepositions in the language and the negative particle не are clitics that are pronounced together with the following word:

Т**я** <u>ще пристигне</u> **у**тре. 'She <u>will arrive</u> tomorrow.'

Т**я** тр**я**бва <u>да пристигне</u> **у**тре. 'She has <u>to arrive</u> tomorrow.'

Т**я** сто**и** <u>пред майка си</u>. 'She is standing <u>in front of her mother</u>.'

Т**я** <u>не стои</u> <u>пред нея</u>. 'She <u>is not standing</u> <u>in front of her</u>.'

The forms of the present tense of the verb 'be' ([**а**з] съм, [т**и**] си, [т**о**й/т**я**/т**о**] е, [н**и**е] сме, [в**и**е] сте and [т**е**] са) and the short versions of the accusative and dative personal pronouns (see Chapter 6) are clitics which are pronounced sometimes together with the following word, sometimes together with the preceding word.

In their possessive function, the dative clitic pronouns are placed after the first word of the noun phrase and are pronounced together with a single stress with this word. For example:

Бояд**и**сват <u>къщата ни</u>. 'They are painting <u>our house</u>.'

Бояд**и**сват <u>н**о**вата ни</u> къща. 'They are painting <u>our new</u> house.'

Clitic personal pronouns used as objects and the present tense forms of the verb 'be' used as auxiliary verbs are generally placed right before the verb, and form one accentual unit with this verb. For example:

Ангел <u>го д**а**ваше</u> на Лил**я**на. 'Angel <u>was giving it</u> to Liljana.'

Ангел <u>ми д**а**ваше</u> шиш**е**то. 'Angel <u>was giving me</u> the bottle.'

Той <u>е дал</u> шиш**е**то на Лил**я**на. 'He <u>has given</u> the bottle to Liljana.'

These clitics, however, do not occur in clause-initial position in Bulgarian. To avoid such an occurrence, these clitics are moved to position after the verb, again forming a single accentual unit with this verb:

<u>Д**а**вахме го</u> на Лил**я**на. 'We <u>were giving it</u> to Liljana.'

<u>Д**а**ваха ми</u> шиш**е**то. 'They <u>were giving me</u> the bottle.'

Дал съм шишето на Лиляна. 'I <u>have given</u> the bottle to Liljana.'

Note too that more than one clitic may occur together, again attaching to the verb as just described:

Ангел <u>ми го е дал</u>. 'Angel <u>has given it to me</u>.'

Дай ми го! '<u>Give it to me</u>!'

Within such clusters of clitics, dative pronouns always precede accusative pronouns, as illustrated in these last two examples. The present tense forms of the verb 'be' used as auxiliary verbs generally precede any pronominal clitics:

Аз <u>съм го дал</u> на Ангел. 'I <u>have given it</u> to Angel.'

Ти <u>си му го дала</u>. 'You <u>have given it to him</u>.'

Дали сме му го. 'We <u>have given it to him</u>.'

But in the case of the third person singular form of the auxiliary verb, this order is reversed:

Ангел <u>ми го е дал</u>. 'Angel <u>has given it to me</u>.'

Дала го е на Ангел. 'She <u>has given it</u> to Angel.'

The pronominal clitics are placed after the negative particle не, the future auxiliary verb ще and the verbal particle да. These clusters then precede the verb and form a single accentual unit with it, except that не assigns an additional stress to an otherwise clitic form that follows it. For example:

Не <u>го</u> разбирам. 'I do<u>n't</u> understand <u>him</u>.'

Ще ти го дам. 'I <u>will give it to you</u>.'

Искам <u>да я разбирам</u>. 'I want <u>to understand her</u>.'

Adding the interrogative particle ли complicates things further. So long as не, ще or да are also present, the ли simply follows the verb, and nothing else changes. For example:

Не разбираш ли? '<u>Don't</u> you <u>understand</u>?'

Ще му го дадете ли? '<u>Will</u> you <u>give it to him</u>?'

Да му го дадем ли? '<u>Shall</u> we <u>give it to him</u>?'

An exception here is that the ли will immediately follow another clitic in the cluster if stress has been assigned to it due to its following the negative particle не:

Не **го** ли разб**и**раш? '<u>Don't</u> you understand <u>him</u>?'

Не **е** ли прист**и**гнала? '<u>Hasn't</u> she arrived?'

    If, however, no ще, не or да is present, ли will follow the verb, but it will also draw any pronominal and/or present tense form auxiliary clitic to a position after it:

Д**а**ла ли му го е? '<u>Has</u> she <u>given it to him</u>?'

Разб**и**раш ли я? '<u>Do</u> you <u>understand her</u>?'

Прист**и**гнали ли са? '<u>Have</u> they <u>arrived</u>?'

    When an auxiliary verb that is not clitic is present, the pronominal clitics may attach either to this auxiliary or to the main verb, except in the case of the conditional mood, where they will attach to the main verb:

    Ангел б**е**ше <u>ми ги д**а**л</u>./**А**нгел <u>ми ги б**е**ше</u> д**а**л. 'Angel had <u>given them to me</u>./Angel <u>had given them to me</u>.'

    Ангел б**и** <u>ми ги д**а**л</u>. 'Angel would have <u>given them to me</u>.'

    Excellent treatments of these rather complex rules for the linear ordering of clitics can be found in Hauge 1999 (191-196) and throughout volume 1 of Alexander 2000 (with a summary on pp. 318-319).

<u>Presentative and Existential Constructions</u>.
    The neuter form of the demonstrative pronoun т**о**зи, namely тов**а**, is used to present or identify people and things. The person or thing being introduced is the grammatical subject in the sense that the verb agrees with this noun phrase, rather than with тов**а**. For example:

Тов**а** е сестр**а** ми. 'This is my sister.'

Тов**а** са сестр**и**те ми. 'These are my sisters.'

Тов**а** б**я**х **а**з. 'That was me.'

Тов**а** б**е**ше м**о**ята ид**е**я. 'That was my idea.'

    The non-declining word **е**то is used in a pointing out function. When used with personal pronoun objects, reduplication and/or masculine singular definite noun phrases, as in the second, third and fourth examples below, it becomes clear that **е**то requires the accusative case form of the thing or person being pointed out:

Ето н**о**вите ни студ**е**нти. 'There are our new students./Here are our new students.'

Ето клю**ч**а ти. 'Here is your key./There is your key.'

Ето **я** н**ея**. 'There she is./Here she is.'

Ето го авт**о**буса! 'There's the bus!'

The verb meaning "have" (e.g. [**а**з] **и**мам 'I have', [т**и**] **и**маш 'you have', [т**о**й] **и**ма 'he has', etc.) is also used in existential sentences. In this function it has no grammatical subject, the verb is always in its third person singular form (and neuter in the compound tenses where gender is expressed in the form of the l-participle), and the item the existence of which is being discussed is the direct object of the verb. This last point becomes apparent when speakers employ reduplication, as in the third example below:

Има ли т**у**ка апт**е**ка? 'Is there a drugstore here?'

В С**о**фия **и**ма мн**о**го д**е**тски град**и**ни. 'There are many nursery schools in Sofia.'

Так**и**ва х**о**ра ги **и**ма. 'Such people exist.'

The three examples above are all in the present tense. Naturally, this construction can be used in other tenses as well. For example, the first sentence below is in a past tense and the existential construction in the second is in the future tense.

Имаше ли журнал**и**сти на събр**а**нието? 'Were there journalists at the meeting?'

Над**я**вам се, че ще **и**ма н**е**що за **я**дене т**а**м. 'I hope that there will be something to eat there.'

In a manner parallel to that seen with the Bulgarian verb "have", negation of existential **и**ма in non-compound verb tenses involves stem replacement (н**я**м- for **и**м-), rather than the usual use of separate negative particles:

Т**у**к н**я**ма апт**е**ка. 'There is no drugstore here.'

На събр**а**нието н**я**маше журнал**и**сти. 'There were no journalists at the meeting.'

<u>Omission of Subjects and Objects</u>.

In the first section of this chapter it was noted that subject-verb-object (SVO) is the typical linear arrangement for these major sentence components in Bulgarian. It should be stressed, however, that this statement is phrased such that it suggests that both overt subjects and overt objects are present in the first place. But very often there is no overt object, either because the verb involved does not involve an object, for example:

Т**я** жив**е**е т**а**м. 'She lives there.',

or because the object is understood, unknown or just not important, for example:

> Момчето сега чете в спалнята. То обича да чете. 'The boy is reading in the bedroom now. He loves to read.'

In these examples Bulgarian and English are quite similar to each other. But speakers of Bulgarian are more likely to omit understood objects than are speakers of English. In the following example from Krasimira Aleksova's colloquial spoken data base (which I have here adjusted to reflect standard orthography rather than phonetic transcription), for instance, the speaker omits direct objects for both the verbs намериш 'you find' and да купиш 'to buy', while the English counterpart requires the presence of an overt grammatical direct object:

> Сега трябва да има една бутилка спрайт, ако намериш, обаче трябва да изтичаш да купиш, защото на джина цялата му прелест е да бъде разводнен със нещо. 'Now there needs to be a bottle of Sprite, if you find <u>one</u>, but you have to run out to buy <u>one</u>, because gin's whole charm is to be diluted with something.'

When it comes to the inclusion of overt subjects, Bulgarian and English differ greatly. Put very simply, it can be said that while English requires the presence of overt subjects, the norm in Bulgarian is to omit subjects in situations where the identity of the subject is understood from context, the entity in question is one that is already under discussion, and no major shift in the flow of discourse has just occurred. Note how in the following passage from Pavel Vežinov's novel *Самопризнание* '*Confession*' the boy is overtly mentioned as subject only in the first sentence. Contrast this with the numerous inclusions of an overt "he" in my English translation.

> По улицата вървеше <u>момче</u>. Никъде не бързаше, зазяпваше се по всичко из пътя. Нямаше къде да бърза. Часът беше около пет, по това време по телевизията обикновено даваха някакви скучни детски програми. Беше десетинагодишно момченце, много спретнато облечено, с меки кафяви очи, с нежно носленце, което му придаваше малко момичешки вид. Но колкото и да беше спретнато и прилично, не беше дотам загубено, че да гледа детските програми. Обичаше страстно филми за възрастни, филми със стрелби . . . '<u>A boy</u> was walking along the street. <u>He</u> wasn't hurrying anywhere, <u>he</u> was staring at everything along the way. There was [or '<u>He</u> had'] nowhere to hurry to. It was about five o'clock, on television at that time they usually were showing some kind of boring children's program. <u>He</u> was a boy of only about ten, very neatly dressed, with soft brown eyes, with a delicate little nose, which gave him a slightly girlish appearance. But as neat and proper as <u>he</u> was, <u>he</u> was not such a hopeless case as to watch children's programs. <u>He</u> passionately loved movies for adults, movies with shooting . . .'

See Leafgren 2002 (39-95) for more examples of and details concerning factors influencing the choices Bulgarian speakers and writers make in deciding whether to use noun subjects, pronoun subjects or no overt subjects at all.

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