

TESIS DOCTORAL

**A FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO BULGARIAN VERBAL
ASPECT AND REDUPLICATION OF CLITICS WITHIN
THE FRAMEWORK OF ROLE AND REFERENCE
GRAMMAR**

**APROXIMACIÓN FUNCIONAL AL ASPECTO VERBAL Y
LA REDUPLICACIÓN DE CLÍTICOS DEL IDIOMA
BÚLGARO DENTRO DEL MARCO DE LA GRAMÁTICA
DEL PAPEL Y LA REFERENCIA**

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Licenciada en Filología

DEPARTAMENTO DE FILOLOGÍAS EXTRANJERAS
Y SUS LINGÜÍSTICAS

FACULTAD DE FILOLOGÍA
DE LA
UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL DE
EDUCACIÓN A DISTANCIA

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------|--|
| 1, 2, 3 | 1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd person |
| ACC | Accusative |
| ACT | Active |
| ADJ | Adjective |
| AOR | Aorist /Past |
| ARG | Argument |
| ART | Article |
| ASP | Aspect |
| AUX | Auxiliary |
| CL | Clitic |
| CD | Clitic doubling (reduplication) |
| COMPL | Complete verb |
| CONJ | Conjunction |
| COP | Copula |
| DA | Quasi-infinitive particle |
| DAT | Dative |
| DEF | Definite article |
| DO | Direct object |
| FEM | Feminine |
| FIN | Finite |
| FUT | Future |
| GEN | Genitive |

| | |
|---------|--------------------------------------|
| IMP | Imperative |
| IMPF | Imperfective (verb) |
| IMPERF | Past imperfect tense |
| INCOMPL | Incomplete |
| IND | Indicative |
| INGR | Ingressive |
| IO | Indirect object |
| LDP | Left-detached position |
| LS | Logical structure |
| LSC | Layered structure of the clause |
| LSNP | Layered structure of the noun phrase |
| MASC | Masculine |
| NEUTR | Neuter |
| NOM | Nominative |
| NUM | Number |
| PART | Participle |
| PASS | Passive |
| PER | Periphery |
| PERF | Perfect tense |
| PF | Perfective (verb) |
| PI | Plural |
| POSS | Possessive |
| PoCS | Postcore slot |
| PrCS | Precore slot |
| PRES | Present tense |
| PRON | Pronoun (long form) |
| PRT | Particle |
| REFL | Reflexive |
| RRG | Role and Reference Grammar |

S Singular

V (P) Verb (phrase)

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

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This dissertation examines verbal aspect and reduplication of clitics, two of the most complicated phenomena present in contemporary Bulgarian. The investigation follows the basic theoretical conceptions and theory-internal rules of Role and Reference Grammar (henceforth RRG), which has been defined as follows.

“Role and Reference Grammar is unusual among theories of grammar in the extent to which it is structured to provide equal treatment for the grammars of languages which are very different from English.” (Trask 1993: 144).

RRG is a theory which views grammatical structure with reference to its semantic and communicative functions as a consequence of its theoretical assumption concerning language.

1. “Language is a system of communicative social action.” (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 13).¹

The innovative approach to the communicative functions of grammatical structures as well as to information structure, given by RRG, converts the theory into the perfect tool for investigating language related problems. This approach highlights the difference between the so-called “configurational” and “non-configurational languages” and provides an elegant framework for analysing both types of languages.

¹ This is the most cited book in my dissertation and it will be referred to as *VV&LP 1997*.

At the time the decision to study Bulgarian aspect and clitics was taken I had already been involved with the theory of RRG in one way or another. The annual International RRG Conference in Dublin, 2004, further strengthened my conviction that the theory provides a good framework for studying the complicated verbal and pronominal systems of Bulgarian, a predominantly morphological language which is considered “classical” within the Indo-European languages.

1.1 Scope and major claims of this thesis

The first issue of the thesis, *aspect*, is studied through the Bulgarian verbal system which presents explicit *aspectual* oppositions systematically implementing the distinction *complete / incomplete* verbs. The same bipolar contrast (although not present with all verbs) marks *telicity* (though not overtly), one of the most salient distinctions belonging to *actionality*. The pervasiveness of the aspectual category is difficult to highlight sufficiently for Bulgarian.

A verb representation in the lexicon is one of the most peculiar features of Bulgarian (as well as of most of the Slavic languages) as most of the verbs are represented in pairs. Rather than lexical, the difference between the two members of a pair is aspectual. Verbal aspect is intrinsically related to the verb morphological build-up as it is coded on the verbal pairs. The category aspect is traditionally considered a lexico-grammatical category in Bulgarian and this means that a lexical classification of Bulgarian verbs will fail to reveal the important aspectual specifications present in the verbal pairs.

As *actionality* is considered to belong to the lexical domain, while *aspect* proper is generally expressed by grammatical means, the verbal pairs, which form the basis of the Bulgarian verbal lexicon, are regarded as “*grammaticalized lexical category*.” (Dahl 1985: 89).

The main object of my dissertation involves the study of this dual representation against *the lexical classification of verbs* provided by RRG. The theory represents the relevant semantic properties of verbs and other predicating elements through a typology of states of affairs (henceforth SoAs) following a tradition dating back to Aristotle. The lexical items encoding the SoAs differ crosslinguistically.

“An adequate theory of lexical representation ought to represent explicitly the crucial distinctions which differentiate the different types of states of affairs” (VV&LP 1997:90).

The system of lexical decomposition, employed by the theory, is based on Aktionsart, following Vendler (1957 [1967]), which classifies verbs in terms of their inherent temporal properties. Verbs have a basic Aktionsart type, which is how they are represented in the lexicon.

My major claim is that there is explicit **evidence for the classification of Bulgarian verbs as aspectual** due to the existence of the verbal pairs in the lexicon and that **aspect** in Bulgarian is a lexico-grammatical category, which will be understood properly if it is studied in both the lexical and the grammatical domains, in the sense of

Dahl (1985, 2000), Comrie (1976), Maslov (1981, 1982), Foley and Van Valin (1984) and Tenny (1987).

My approach involves a morphological isolation of as many aspectual classes of verbs as possible and a further investigation of their properties in relation to the lexical properties of Aktionsart. This does not contradict the following functional claim.

“Grammatical aspect receives overt morphological coding, while lexical aspect is a matter of the type of class or predicate, and as such falls under the FG typology of SoAs.” (Siewierska 1991:117).

On the contrary, my thesis shows that not only aspect proper but also actionality (Aktionsart) classes of verbs are morphologically marked in Bulgarian, as shown in the following passage.

“...the specific character of the Slavic verbal system lies in the fact that these languages have found a way to overtly mark, in a fairly regular way, one of the most salient distinctions belonging to the actional domain. To the extent that this opposition² is systematic and pervasive, we are obviously entitled to consider it part of the grammar of Slavic languages, just like the process which yields causative cognates from non-causative verbs is grammaticalized in quite a few languages. There is no principled reason why a word-formation process should

² The authors refer to Perfective/ Imperfective verbs.

not be considered part of the grammar of a given language, especially if it is systematically employed.“ (Bertinetto and Delfitto, in Dahl et al. 2000:210).

The purpose of a morphological isolation of aspectual classes is twofold. In the first place, it reveals the semantic richness of the Bulgarian prefixes (the Slavonic “modes of action” or Aktionsart) as well as their multifunctionalism. In the second, the morphological expression of aspect becomes clear: aspect proper is expressed by a set of suffixes, while the prefixes have secondary function in the process of perfectivization. This claim triggers a third one concerning the difference between derivational and inflectional morphology. The empirical data shows that a strict differentiation should be made between these two types of morphology.

The second main issue of the thesis, *reduplication of clitics*, concerns the simultaneous occurrence of a pronominal clitic and a noun phrase, (henceforth NP), in the same clause. The phenomenon, also known as “reprise”, is a familiar one from Romance, too. The best known studies on clitic doubling in Romance involve Rivero (1986), Borer (1986), Sportiche (1992), Demonte (1994) and Rizzi (1986). More recent studies on reduplication of clitics, within the framework of RRG, involve Belloto (2006) and Bentley (2004).

Since it is present in the languages spoken on the Balkan Peninsular (Albanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Romanian and Greek), *reprise* tends to be considered idiosyncratic. The main problem this structure posits to a monostratal theory is the “mapping” of that clitic and the noun phrase (henceforth NP), i.e., the morphology-syntax mismatch produced by an “extra” element in a clause.

Within the framework of RRG NPs as well as pronominal clitics are treated as functions of the Logical Structure (henceforth LS) of the verb, though long-form or short-form pronouns have no LS of their own. The semantic relations (thematic roles) between a predicate and its arguments which express the participant roles in the SoOs, either NPs or clitics, are defined in terms of argument positions in LS. My claim follows the fundamental insight of RRG linking theory which postulates that the mapping from semantics to syntax is “structural” rather than “atomic”, i.e., the linking is “context sensitive”. Notwithstanding, the structure can only be explained if we refer to the information structure of the language. This approach is in agreement with RRG assumption that grammar is in large part determined by semantics and pragmatics.

Bulgarian employs a rich set of aspectual means and a complicated pronominal system. Such a language can undeniably contribute to the task of identifying correspondences in a theory concerned with cross-linguistic comparison.

1.2 Thesis organization

Although the analysis of the two main issues of the thesis is structured within the framework of RRG, the respective procedures are totally different. The description and explanation of aspect and the aspectual classification in particular comprise the whole of the verbal lexis of Bulgarian, while reduplication of clitics concerns a particular construction which displays pragmatic properties apart from realizing a syntactic function.

After the introductory part, the thesis continues with an overview of RRG (**Chapter 2**) where I highlight those elements of the theory which bear straight reference to the objects of study.

Chapter 3 provides a description of Bulgarian aspect as well as a brief review of the ways the notion of aspect is conceived and represented in various studies. A classification of Bulgarian verbs is provided based on the primary opposition complete / incomplete verbs.

Chapter 4 deals with a representation of various aspectual patterns within the LS of RRG as well as a representation of *vid* “aspect”.

A traditional grammar description of the clitic reduplication and some formalist and functionalist approaches to the phenomenon are the focus of **Chapter 5**. This Chapter also investigates the construction in agreement with RRG main principles and functional-constructionalist approach.

Chapter 6 summarizes the findings of the thesis through an illustration of the way RRG linking mechanism applied to Bulgarian structures involving different aspectual verbs and reduplication of clitics.

Note: The following Table (Table 1.1) represents the transliteration I will be using for the Bulgarian examples. This is the Slavic Cyrillic transliteration for Belarusian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Russian, etc., used by the the Library of the U.S. Congress. The letter **Б** belongs to Russian and has no correspondence in Bulgarian.

Table 1.1 : Slavic- Cyrillic transliteration

| Bulgarian | | English | |
|-----------|-------|---------|-------|
| Capital | Small | Capital | Small |
| А | а | A | a |
| Б | б | B | b |
| В | В | V | v |
| Г | г | G | g |
| Д | д | D | d |
| Е | е | E | e |
| Ж | ж | Zh | zh |
| З | з | Z | z |
| И | и | I | i |
| Й | й | ÿ | ÿ |
| К | к | K | k |
| Л | л | L | l |
| М | м | M | m |
| Н | Н | N | n |
| О | о | O | o |
| П | п | P | p |

| Bulgarian | | English | |
|-----------|-------|----------------|----------------|
| Capital | Small | Capital | Small |
| Р | р | R | r |
| С | с | S | s |
| Т | т | T | t |
| У | у | U | u |
| Ф | ф | F | f |
| Х | х | Kh | kh |
| Ц | ц | \widehat{TS} | \widehat{ts} |
| Ч | ч | Ch | ch |
| Ш | ш | Sh | sh |
| Щ | щ | Sht | sht |
| Ъ | ъ | \check{U} | \check{u} |
| Ь | ь | | |
| | | | |
| Ю | ю | \widehat{IU} | \widehat{iu} |
| Я | я | \widehat{IA} | \widehat{ia} |
| | | | |

**CHAPTER 2: AN OVERVIEW
OF ROLE AND REFERENCE
GRAMMAR**

This chapter focuses on RRG goals and architecture.

- **Section 2.1** is primarily concerned with the basic theoretical assumptions which place the theory among the most relevant linguistics functional theories today.

The next three sections provide an overview of the theory architecture:

- semantic representation of the clause (**section 2.2**);
- syntactic representation of the clause (**section 2.3**) and
- linking mechanism (semantics to syntax), illustrated in **section 2.4**.

2.1 A structural-functionalist theory of grammar

RRG can be characterized as a “structural-functionalist theory of grammar”. Its development was motivated by the following questions.

- “1. What would linguistic theory look like if it were based on the analysis of languages with diverse structures such as Lakhota, Tagalog, Dyirbal and Barai, rather than on the analysis of English?
2. How can the interaction of syntax, semantics and pragmatics in different grammatical systems best be captured and explained?” (Van Valin 2005:1).

The theory was developed mostly by William Foley and Robert Van Valin Jr. (Foley and Van Valin 1984), Randy LaPolla and Van Valin (1997) and Van Valin (1993a, 1993b, 2004, 2005). The point of departure was a cross-linguistic one – the analysis of “exotic” languages, rather than the analysis of English. This is one of the reasons why the theory is strikingly different from the rest of the grammatical theories.³ Many of the **typological issues**, e.g. the universality of the notion of “subject”, and **theoretical issues**, e.g. the relation between “subject” and “topic” in grammatical systems, the Prague School ideas regarding **the role of discourse-pragmatics** in grammar as well as the creation of a **linguistic apparatus** that can serve to describe the set of linguistic

³ Dixon’s grammar of Dyirbal and Schachter and Otnes’s grammar of Tagalog had been published in 1972 and American linguistics had just recognized the implication of “exotic” languages for the study of languages in general.

properties of a wide range of languages were central in the initial conceptualisation of RRG. This is reflected in the early work on the theory. (cf. Van Valin 1977).

The theory from which RRG is most directly descended is Fillmore's Case Grammar. (cf. Fillmore 1968). In both theories there is a semantic representation employing semantic case roles, which is mapped into the syntactic surface structure, without any intervening level of syntactic representation. Unlike Fillmore's model, though, the discourse-pragmatic factors may play a role in the mapping in RRG model. Neither model assumes grammatical relations to be universal.

Among the various perspectives of linguistic theory, RRG adheres to **the communication-and-cognition perspective**, similar to FG, Systemic Functional Grammar, Lexical-Functional Grammar, Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Construction Grammar, the St. Petersburg School of Functional Grammar and the Prague School Dependency Grammar. The perspective involves recognition of the **human language's role as a means of communication**, the relation between language and other cognitive systems as well as the role of language in broader cognitive processes. Another important feature that Role and Reference Grammar shares with these theories is the **rejection of the syntactocentric view** which, according to formalists, is the central aspect of linguistic inquiry. The rejection of the syntactocentric view means that language morphosyntactic structures and rules should be explained in relation to its semantic and communicative functions and syntax should not be the only focus of linguistic investigation. From a functionalists point of view language is not a

“...set of structural descriptions of sentences, where a full structural description determines (in particular) the sound and meaning of a linguistic expression.”

(Chomsky 1977:81).

This definition effectively reduces the concept of a language to that of a grammar. As has been pointed out by a number of functionalists, the shift of study from language to grammar has the extremely important effect of defining certain aspects of language as lying outside the proper concerns of the linguist. (cf. Butler, 2003)⁴. Under the Chomskyan view, linguistics is to be concerned only with syntax, morphology, phonology and those aspects of semantics which can be strictly tied to the structures of sentences. The object of study is restricted to the ideal native speaker's knowledge of grammar (grammatical competence-I-language) as opposed to the use which is made of this knowledge in actual communication (performance-E-language). A functionalist approach, however, given the emphasis on language as communication, must be centrally concerned with the relationship between linguistic patterning and contexts of use, and cannot, therefore, accept the competence/ performance distinctions as they stand.

Referring to the question of whether grammars are autonomous with respect to factors outside them, or rather are to be explained in terms of such external factors, RRG makes clear its position.

⁴ See also Butler, Mairal, Martín Arista and Ruiz de Mendoza (1999), Mairal and Van Valin (2001), Butler (2006), Butler, Gómez-González and Doval-Suárez (eds.) (2005) and González-García, Butler, Ruiz de Mendoza (eds.) (2006).

“RRG takes language to be a system of communicative social action, and accordingly, analyzing the communicative functions of grammatical structures plays a vital role in grammatical description and theory from this perspective... Language is a system, and grammar is a system in the traditional structuralist sense; what distinguishes the RRG conception... is the conviction that grammatical structure can only be understood with reference to its semantic and communicative functions. Syntax is not autonomous. In terms of the abstract paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations that define a structural system, RRG is concerned not only with relations of cooccurrence and combination in strictly formal terms but also with semantic and pragmatic cooccurrence and combinatory relations.”(Van Valin 1993b:2).

Syntax is not viewed as radically arbitrary. It is relatively motivated by semantic, pragmatic and cognitive concerns. Still, it cannot be reduced to any of these notions as there is a significant degree of arbitrariness in linguistic structure which cannot be denied. Similar to the rest of the functionalist theories, RRG is concerned with language rather than just grammar, and the goal of understanding human language rather than one particular aspect of it. The assumption that language as a system of human communication treats language as a crucial component of human social interaction and takes linguistic behaviour, i.e., asserting, asking, promising, commanding, wishing and requesting and the larger-scale activities which they constitute, to be social behaviour. Foley and Van Valin claim the following.

“...it would therefore be more accurate to say that language is a form of social action, in particular, a form of communicative social action.” (Foley and Van Valin 1984: 8).

This implies that **linguistic theory must be concerned with the grammatical aspects of language use as well as with the pragmatic, social and cultural issues which affect language acquisition.** The question of the native speaker’s knowledge of language and the way language is acquired is the first main concern of functional theories. The second main issue of investigation concerns the question of similarities and differences between languages. In this respect, the formalists’ focus is on inventories of formal rules and principles governing their application. The features common to all languages will be found in the rules generating the structural description of sentences of the language. For RRG the issue is much broader than that.

“...that question involves more than lists of rules and principles. Morphosyntactic universals are only part of the picture; discourse and sociolinguistic universals complement them and ultimately will be shown to interact with them, yielding universals concerning the interplay of form and (communicative) function in human language.”(Foley and Van Valin 1984:12).⁵

⁵ The conception of Universal Grammar, in Chomsky (1965), involves two types of universals: substantive universals, specifying that "items of a particular kind in any language must be drawn from a fixed class of items (idem.: 28) and formal universals, which stipulate "the character of the rules that appear in grammars and the way in which they can be interconnected" (idem.: 29). The findings of Hale (1979), cited in Foley and Van Valin (1984:18), however, undermine this conception as Hale’s analysis of

Another important goal of RRG is the development of a **framework for grammatical analysis** that will yield results directly relevant to sociolinguistics and anthropological linguists who study language in the socio-cultural world. The theory is intended to provide descriptions which will be relevant to the work of these linguists, rather than taking that work into account in the formulation of its own proposal.

From the point of view of **typological questions**⁶, RRG claims to be one of the most explicitly typologically oriented theories of grammar. The theory deals with phenomena such as non-configurationality, verb serialization, split ergativity and switch-reference systems. In addition, it presents an unbiased approach to both strictly configurational and completely grammatically unconstrained (i.e. “free”) word order languages. It can easily account for structures in Mandarin, Malagasy, Enga, Japanese, Chepang (to name just a few) and analyse them in a way which is no less natural than the analyses of English due to a notion of clause structure which is independent of the configurationality parameter. RRG maintains that a theory of clause structure should capture all of the universal features of clauses without imposing features on languages in which there is no evidence for them. This assumption rules out, for example, VP as a universal feature of clauses. RRG rejects both grammatical-relations-based representations and X-bar-type constituent-structure representations, because, it is

Walpiri shows that the language has **no phrase-structure rules** of the type found in English and no **transformational rules** of any kind. This means that phrase-structure rules and transformational rules are not necessarily features of all human languages.

⁶ The classification of languages in terms of their structural features has given rise to a number of typologies. Morphologically based typologies were introduced very early on the nineteenth century, the most famous being the isolating/agglutinating/inflecting typology of Wilhelm von Humboldt. Syntactically-based typologies date from the 1960s. The pioneering work was that of Joseph Greenberg (1963) on basic word order typology. Other syntactic typologies include classes such as: non-configurational, reference-dominated and topic-prominent languages. For further contribution to the issue of typologies see Mairal and Gil (2003, 2006)

argued (Van Valin 2000), neither type is universally valid. The problems which lead to the rejection of X-bar-like constituent structure include the structure of head-marking languages as well as discontinuous constituency of the type found in South Slavic and Australian languages with completely grammatically unconstrained (i.e. “free”) word order.” (cf. Van Valin 2001). An example of a discontinuous constituency clause type is the following Bulgarian sentence from Rudin (1986: 90).

(2.1) *Koj film koga i kŭde kaza Petŭr che*

what film when and where say PAST. IND.3S Peter that

shte gledame?

be AUX.FUT watch 3 PL

*What film did Peter say we would watch when and where?

RRG has demonstrated that the traditional Indo-European notions of “subject” and “direct object” will not stand up to the criterion of typological adequacy. Acehnese, an Austronesian head-marking language has no grammatical (syntactic) relations: grammatical constructions can be accounted for with two notions, semantic roles and “semantic arguments of the verb”, neither of which are grammatical relations. (cf. VV&LP 1997: 250-273).

The well-known criterion for evaluating formal grammars is that a grammar achieves **observational adequacy** if it correctly generates the observed data. It achieves **descriptive adequacy** if it also expresses all linguistically significant generalizations and it achieves **explanatory adequacy** if it provides a principled basis for choosing

among competing grammars all of which achieve descriptive adequacy. Theories differ with respect to what exactly should be explained, though they agree that explanation should be the highest goal of a theory, description ranking second. RRG is committed to the functional explanation of linguistic phenomena, as is indicated by the following statement.

“...functional explanations for morphosyntactic phenomena relate not only to such things as markedness relations among linguistic forms but also to pragmatic principles, and discourse and sociolinguistic universals, which themselves must be related to necessary properties of communication systems in general and human perceptual mechanisms and social interaction in particular” (Foley and Van Valin 1984:15).

With reference to **cognitive issues**, RRG adopts the criterion of psychological adequacy formulated in Dik (1991), which states that a theory should be

“compatible with the results of psycholinguistic research on the acquisition, processing, production, interpretation and memorization of linguistic expressions.” (Dik 1991:248).

The RRG approach to language acquisition rejects the position that grammar is radically arbitrary and hence unlearnable, and maintains that it is relatively motivated (in Saussure’s sense) semantically and pragmatically. Accordingly, there is sufficient

information available to the child in the speech to which it is exposed to enable it to construct a grammar.

2.2 Semantic representation of the clause

The communicative functions of language are central to the analysis of its structure and one (but not the only) function of language is **reference** and **predication**, that is, representing things that happen in the world and the participants involved in those situations, or SoAs. RRG claims that languages must have means to depict or denote these participants and SoAs. (cf. VV&LP 1997:82).

In RRG the term “state of affairs” is used to refer to the phenomena in the world (or a possible, fictional world) which are represented in language. Since verbs and other predicating elements express SoAs, an adequate theory of lexical representation ought to represent explicitly the crucial distinctions among the different types of SoAs. Following an Aristotelian model, four basic types of SoAs have been postulated: situations, events, processes and actions.

- a) Situations: static, non-dynamic SoAs which may involve the location of a participant, the state or condition of a participant, or an internal experience of a participant;
- b) Events: SoAs which seem to happen instantly;
- c) Processes: SoAs which involve change and take place over time;
- d) Actions: dynamic SoAs in which a participant does something.

SoAs can vary along a number of dimensions. There are three such dimensions posited by the theory: (1) how many participants there are; (2) whether there is a terminal point; and (3) whether the SoA happens spontaneously or is induced. SoAs can involve one or more **participants**, e.g. *Kim buying a book from Pat for Sandy with a ten-dollar bill*. RRG makes an explicit claim about this dimension: the participant role an entity has depends crucially on the SoAs that the entity is involved in and not vice versa. Thus, in the linguistic representation of a SoA the participants (or the referring expressions) will always be a function of the nature of that SoA. The idea is to make a clear distinction between SoAs (usually consisting of verbs and other predicating elements) which are fundamental (i.e. basic) and participant roles which are derived.

Regarding the **terminal point**, the question is whether a SoA inherently comes to a conclusion, for example, the SoA of drying necessarily involves a conclusion in which the entity in question is no longer wet and has become dry, whereas the SoA of rotating does not necessarily involve a conclusion in which the entity ceases to rotate. In this sense, drying has an inherent terminal point while rotating does not. SoAs which have an inherent terminal point are *events* and *processes*. However, events can be iterative resulting in a “macroevent” which has no inherent terminal point. For example, the “popping of a balloon” is a single event while “*balloons popping*” is a macroevent. SoAs without an inherent terminal point are *situations* and *actions*. The former involve states of being, knowing, loving, etc. The latter refer to actions such as singing, swimming, etc. The crucial point here is that situations and actions can terminate but need not, as, for example, in an action like the earth spinning on its axes. The question of **spontaneous** against **induces** SoAs is illustrated by the following example.

| (2.2) | Spontaneous | Induced |
|--------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a. Situation | a boy being afraid | dogs frightening a boy |
| b. Event | a balloon popping | a boy popping a balloon |
| c. Process | snow melting | the sun melting snow |
| d. Action | a ball rolling | a boy rollong a ball ⁷ |

The distinction *spontaneous* / *induced* is important for the proper classification of SoAs. Typically, induced SoAs are complicated and have actions as the initial SoAs which induce them or bring them about. Combinations, such as the following are also possible.

- event → process;
- process → event;
- process → action.

Taking into consideration the three criteria for differentiating SoAs, mentioned above, RRG develops a system of lexical representation of predicates (denoted by verbs and other predicating elements) and their arguments (the semantic counterpart to the participant in the SoA) in LSs.

⁷ The examples are from VV&LP (1997:83).

2.2.1 Lexical representation of verbs and other predicating elements

A LS is the formal representation of a SoA which consists in the representation of any of the four basic Aktionsart classes of verbs and the respective arguments derived from the corresponding class of verbs. The approach to the lexical representation of predicates involves paraphrasing verbs in terms of primitive elements in a well-defined semantic metalanguage and is termed *lexical decomposition*. One of the distinguishing characteristics of RRG consists in the variety of lexical decomposition based upon the Montague-style predicate semantics of Dowty (1979).⁸

The theory claims that verbs and other predicating elements could be classified in terms of their inherent properties. It is important to highlight the fact that properties of states of affairs are different from properties of verbs, which implies that Aktionsart refers to properties of linguistic predicates only. As **the LS of the predicate is the heart of the semantic representation**, its adequate usage will undoubtedly reveal differences between languages and capture generalizations, which otherwise are difficult to arrive at.

The metalanguage used in the decomposition of predicates is semantic in nature and so are the conventions followed. The elements (see table 2.1 below) in boldface + prime are part of the vocabulary of this metalanguage. They are not words from any particular

⁸ The term “**logical structure**” is taken from Dowty (1979:Chapter 2). He proposes a different interpretation of Vendler’s categories and a different decompositional system from the one presented by RRG, although the system has many features in common with Dowty’s proposal. (cf. VV&LP 1997:655, f.n.).

language (though DO reminds strongly the English DO, INGR could be taken as an ingressive aspectual verb and BECOME could be considered just a synonym of *turn into*). This metalanguage becomes clearer if we consider each verb separately.

- **State and activity verbs** are considered primary in the sense that the rest of the verb classes are derived by them;
- **Achievement and accomplishment** contain the basic state or activity LS, plus the modifiers INGR for achievements and BECOME for accomplishments.

In other words, the latter two types differ both quantitatively and qualitatively from states and activities. As INGR and BECOME are meaning-bearing elements, this kind of representation allows for achievements and accomplishment verbs to be represented in a straightforward way. Accordingly, there is no need to define the achievement and accomplishment verbs arguments, as they have already been defined in their respective basic LSs. The variables, **predicate'** (or **pred'**) and arguments (x, y, z, etc.) are filled by lexical items from the language to be analysed.

Table 2.1 represents the LSs of the four Aktionsart basic verb types as well as the representation of active accomplishment and semelfactive verbs. The latter were added to the system in Van Valin (2005), following Smith (1991). Each of these classes has a causative counterpart.

Table 2.1 Logical Structures of Aktionsart verbs (following VV&LP:102 and Van Valin 2005)

| Verb class | Logical structure |
|-----------------------|--|
| State | pred' (x) <i>or</i> (x,y) |
| Activity | do' (x [pred' (x) <i>or</i> (x,y)]) |
| Achievement | INGR pred' (x) <i>or</i> (x,y), <i>or</i> INGR do' (x, [pred' (x) <i>or</i> (x,y)]) |
| Accomplishment | BECOME pred' (x) <i>or</i> (x,y), <i>or</i> BECOME do' (x, [pred' (x) <i>or</i> (x,y)]) |
| Active accomplishment | do' (x, [pred 1' (x, (y))]) & INGR pred 2' (z, x), <i>or</i> (y) |
| Semelfactive | SEML predicate' (x) <i>or</i> (x, y), <i>or</i> SEML do' (x, [predicate' (x) <i>or</i> (x, y)]) |
| Causative | α CAUSE β , where α, β are representations of any type |

These lexical classes can be characterized in terms of four features: [\pm static],

[\pm dynamic], [\pm telic] and [\pm punctual].

- (2.3) a. State: [+ static], [– dynamic], [– telic], [– punctual]
- b. Activity: [– static], [+ dynamic], [– telic], [– punctual]
- c. Achievement: [– static], [– dynamic], [+ telic], [+ punctual]
- d. Semelfactive: [– static], [\pm dynamic], [– telic], [+ punctual]
- e. Accomplishment [– static], [– dynamic], [+ telic], [– punctual]
- f. Active accomplishment: [– static], [+ dynamic], [+ telic], [– punctual]

Each one of the Aktionsart type of verbs will be illustrated with examples in Chapter 3 as the lexical decomposition of verbs relates directly to one of the main issues of my thesis.⁹

2.2.2 Semantic interpretation of an argument. Thematic relations

As I mentioned in the previous section, RRG states that the role that an entity plays in a SoAs is a function of the nature of the SoAs. Accordingly, the semantic interpretation of an argument is a function of the LS in which it is found.(cf. VV&LP 1997:113). The semantic relations between a predicate and its arguments are termed *thematic relations*. Thematic relations are linguistic entities, i.e. they are part of natural-language semantics, while participant roles are not; they are properties of SoAs. Traditional thematic relations, such as *patient*, *theme*, etc., have no independent status in RRG. They are grouped into five categories, represented in Figure 2.1 below.

⁹ On the issue of lexical decomposition see also Mairal and Faber (2002), Mairal and Guest (2005), Mairal and Ruiz de Mendoza (2006).

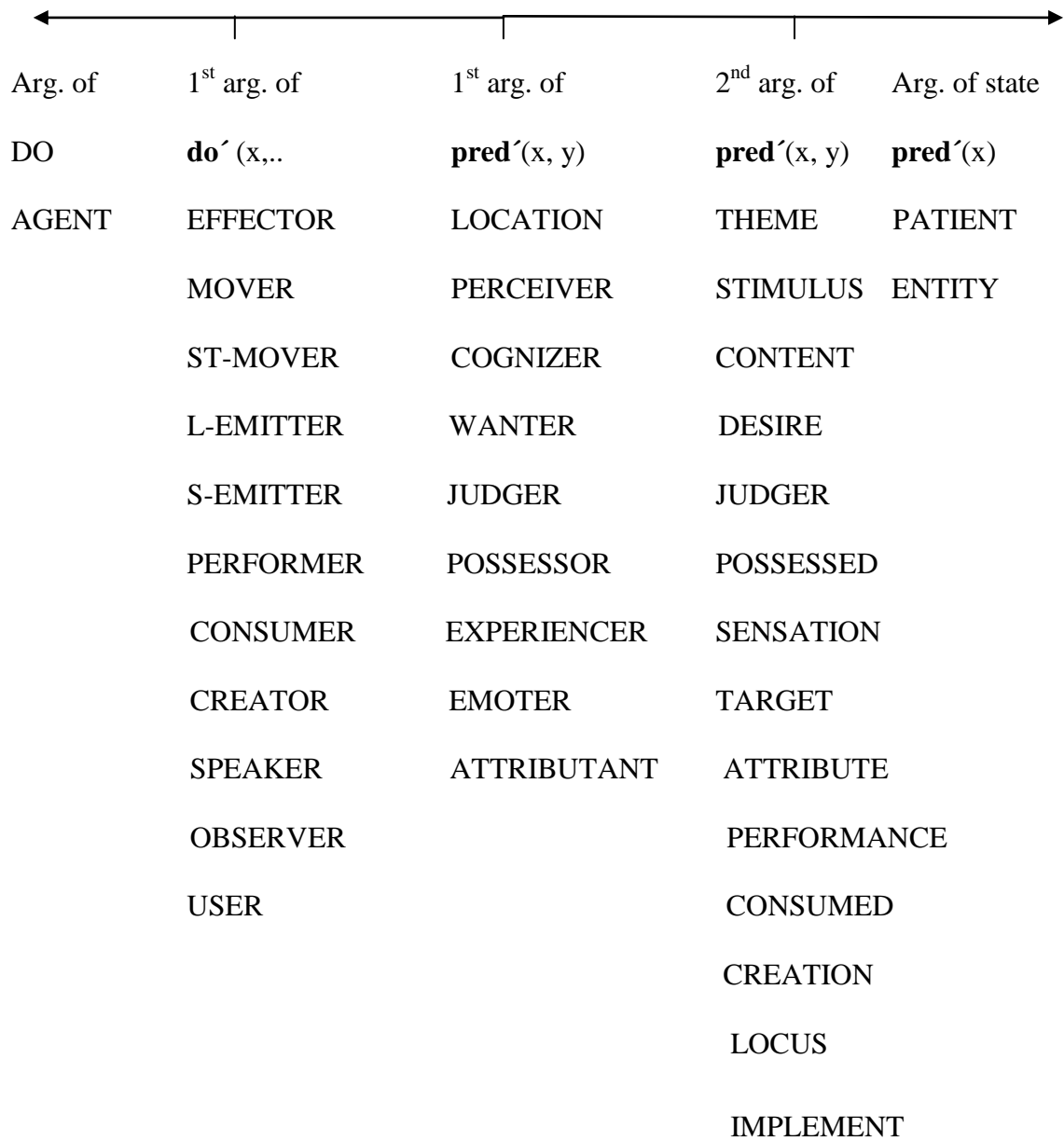


Figure 2.1 Thematic relations continuum in terms of LS argument positions (following VV&LP 1997:127)

Following the proposal of Jackendoff (1976), **thematic relations are defined in terms of argument positions in LSs**. As the figure shows, DO indicates agency, where agency is taken to rank higher than EFFECTOR, LOCATION, THEME, etc. At the end

of the continuum, we find to the traditional PATIENT, which is the only argument of a state verb, or the *y* argument of the rest of the verbs, provided it is expressed. A thematic relation, such as ‘experiencer’, for example, stands for the first argument in the LS of a two-place state predicate of internal experience and is the sentient being that experiences an internal state. Such an argument would take the first position in the LS of the verb “feel”, as the following example shows.

(2.4) **feel'** (*x*, *y*)

feel' (John, sick)

John feels sick.

It is important to note here that the members of each group of thematic relations do not contrast with each other. Thus, in example (2.4) the first argument in the LS, *x*, is *experiencer* and it is found only in the third group, while the second argument, *y*, is *sensation*, a role which is present only in the fourth group of relations. As these relations never contrast with each other, the theory postulates only two basic relations, AGENT-like and PATIENT-like relations. These two basic roles are further generalized into two macroroles, **actor** and **undergoer** respectively. These are **semantic macroroles** (defined for the first time by Van Valin, 1977) and are central to RRG semantic theory and their determination is considered one of the most important contributions the theory makes to linguistics in general.

“Semantic macroroles are the primary interface between the LS and syntactic representations.” (Van Valin 1996:287).

Each macrorole subsumes a number of the thematic relations shown in Figure 2.1. The choice of an argument in a LS as actor or undergoer (or as neither) is placed in order of likelihood (supported by cross-linguistic evidence) along a hierarchical scale. The following figure represents this hierarchy.

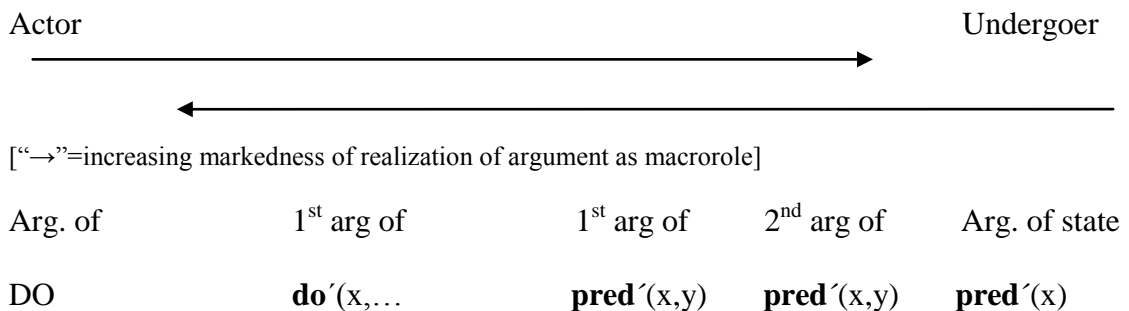


Figure 2.2 Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy (following VV&LP 1997:147)

The two arrows in Figure 2.2 stand for increased markedness of realization of argument as macrorole. The hierarchy states that “argument of DO” (AGENT) is the unmarked choice for actor and argument of **pred**'(x)' (PATIENT) is the unmarked choice for undergoer. The importance of the correct assignment is illustrated in the “dative shift” in English. “Dative shift” is also present in Bulgarian, as shown in example (2.5). With verbs which take more than one argument, the choice of which argument will be actor and which will be undergoer, is not random.

- (2.5) a. Maria dade knigata na Ivan.
Maria give PAST.IND.3S book DEF. FEM to Ivan
Maria gave the book to Ivan.

LS: [**do**' (Maria, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **have**' (kniga , Ivan)]

Maria - ACTOR

knigata “the book” - UNDERGOER

Ivan (**z** argument) - a non-macrorole argument.

- b. Maria dade na Ivan knigata.
Maria give PAST.IND.3S to Ivan book DEF.FEM
Maria gave Ivan the book.

LS: [**do**' (Maria, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **have**' (Ivan, knigata)]

Maria – ACTOR

Ivan – (**y** argument) - UNDERGOER

knigata “the book” – a non-macrorole argument.

The conventional terms *subject* and *object*, which depend on syntactic position are not the same as the two macroroles which are semantic in nature. Moreover, while there are default assignments of actor and undergoer to particular arguments, languages can override this and use a marked selection of undergoer. The number and nature of macroroles, that a verb takes, is intrinsically interrelated with the verb **valency**. It can

generally be predicted from the logical structure of the verb. This follows a number of default macrorole assignment principles.

(2.6) Default Macrorole Assignment Principles:

- a. Number: the number of macroroles a verb takes is less than or equal to the number of arguments in its LS:
 - i. If a verb has two or more arguments in its LS, it will take two macroroles.
 - ii. If a verb has one argument in its LS, it will take one macrorole.
- b. Nature: for verbs which take one macrorole:
 - i. If the verb has an activity predicate in its LS, the macrorole is actor.
 - ii. If the verb has no activity predicate in its LS, the macrorole is undergoer.

The macrorole assignment principles relate to the way RRG determines transitivity. The theory posits syntactic valence /transitivity (the number of syntactic arguments a verb takes) and semantic valence (the number of macroroles a verb takes). The former is the S-transitivity and the latter is termed “M-transitivity”. The two types do not necessarily coincide. Thus, the thematic relations follow from the LS of the predicate and there is no need to stipulate transitivity in the lexical entry of a verb. Moreover, the principles of macrorole assignment, given in (2.6) are general ones and operate across all entries for verbs in the lexicon. Some lexical entries for English verbs are given below.

- (2.7) a. kill [**do**'(x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **dead**'(y)]
b. receive BECOME **have**'(x,y)
c. own **have**'(x,y)
d. watch **do**'(x, [**see**'(x,y)]
e. go **do**'(x, [**move.away.from.ref.point**'(x)])& BECOME **be-**
 loc'(x,y)
f. show [**do**'(w, (θ))] CAUSE [BECOME **see**'(x,y)]
g. afraid **feel**'(x[**afraid**'(y)])
h. melt BECOME **melted**'(x)
i. arrive BECOME **be-at**'(x,y)
j. drink **do**'(x,[**drink**'(x,y)])

Apart from the predicate and its arguments, the semantic representation involves three types of adpositional phrases: **argument-marking adpositions**, **adjunct adpositions** and **argument-adjunct adpositions**. Adpositions, according to RRG, should not be listed in the lexicon because they can be predicted from the LS of a verb. General rules are used for the assignment of argument-marking adpositions. The adpositions in peripheral prepositional phrases (PP henceforth) are always predicative and take the LS of the verb of the clause as one of their argument. Argument-adjunct prepositions are predicates, but they introduce an argument, rather than a modifier. Bulgarian examples of the three types of adpositions are given below.

(2.8) i. argument-marking prepositions

Maria vzema chantata ot Petar.

Maria take PAST.3S bag DEF.FEM from Petar

Maria_x took the bag_z from Peter_y.

LS: [**do**' (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **not have**' (y, z)]

ii. adjunct prepositions

Reni opeche edin keks v kuhniata.

Reni bake PAST.3S a cake in kitchen DEF.FEM

LS: **be-in**'(*kuhniata* "kitchen" [**do**' (Reni, Ø)] CAUSE[BECOME
baked (keks "cake")])

iii. argument-adjunct prepositions.

Georgi doticha do garata.

Georgi run PAST.3S to station DEF.FEM

Georgi ran to the station.

[**do**' (x, [**run**'(x)])] & BECOME **be-at**' (y, z)]

The determination of the semantic representation requires first the selection of the LS of the main predicate from the lexicon. LSs must also be selected for any predicate adpositions. Variable elements in the LS are filled by NPs or other LSs, as appropriate. Nouns in NPs also have entries in the lexicon, which must therefore be selected. Values for operators must also be determined.

2.3 Syntactic representation of the clause

The previous section gave an overview of the semantic representation of the clause in RRG. The following section concerns the syntactic structure of the clause, which involves only a single level of representation.¹⁰

RRG posits only one ‘surface’ representation of the syntactic form integrated with semantic and pragmatic factors. This provides a direct and elegant explanation for the various language phenomena seen as requiring a multi-level analysis. As there are no abstract representations, Van Valin (2001) defines the theory as

“...the original “minimalist” theory, since it has postulated only a single syntactic representation and a single semantic representation from its inception in the late 1970s.” (Van Valin 2001:208).

Despite the great diversity of human languages, the theory postulates universal features of clause structure. All languages distinguish structurally between *predicating and non-predicating elements*, on the one hand, and, *among the non-predicating elements, those that are semantically arguments of the predicating element and those that are not*. The

¹⁰ It is argued that certain phenomena which have been asserted to require recourse to multiple levels can be handled equally well or better by a different analysis which posits only a single level of syntactic representation. In addition, multilevel syntactic analyses are unnecessary complex and inelegant or entail a loss of significant generalizations. (cf. VV&LP 1997: 20-21).

universal opposition underlying clause structure is represented in Figure 2.3. The contrasts, represented in that figure, play a role in the syntax of every language.

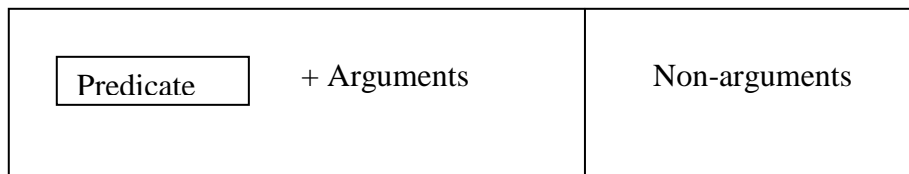


Figure 2.3 Universal oppositions underlying clause structure (following VV&LP 1997:25)

2.3.1 The Layered Structure of the Clause

The interpretation of clause structure is based on the two semantic contrasts shown in the previous subsection and this implies a distinction between predicating and non-predicating elements as well as a differentiation between NPs and adpositional phrases that are arguments of the predicate and those that are not. A predicating element could be either: a verb, an adjective or a nominal.¹¹ Within the clause structure the predicate defines a syntactic unit, the **nucleus**. The second semantic contrast between elements which are arguments of the predicate and those which are not is represented syntactically by a distinction between the **core**, which contains the predicate and its arguments and the **periphery**, which contains the elements which are not arguments of the predicate. Thus, noun phrases and adpositional phrases that are not arguments of the

¹¹ Russian, for example, does not use a copula in present. Bulgarian also has some copula-less structures though they are quite rare.

predicate are assigned to the **periphery**. These are also referred to as *adjuncts*. In other words, the periphery contains adjuncts modifying the core. Figure 2.4 represents the components of the layered structure of the clause (henceforth LSC).

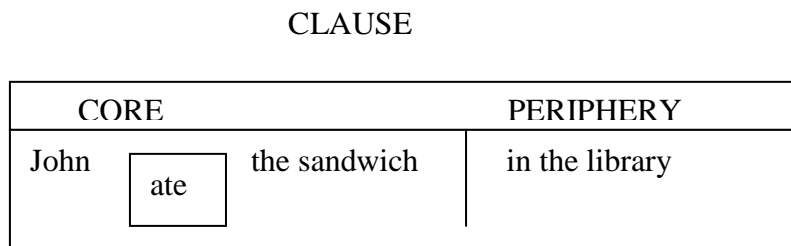
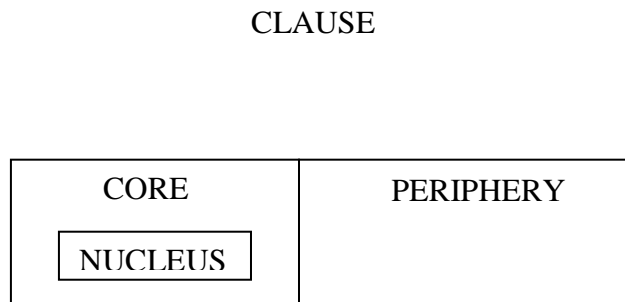


Figure 2.4 Components of the LSC (following VV&LP 1997:26)

As Figure 2.4 shows, there is a clear division between the core and the periphery on the one hand and between the nucleus and its core arguments. It is very important to emphasize the fact that **all the syntactic constituents are semantically motivated**. Thus the distinction between arguments of the predicate (core elements) and non-arguments of the predicate (periphery) is semantic and it follows from the semantic

representation of the predicating element, i.e, from its LS. Table 2.2 shows the semantic units underlying the syntactic units of the LSC.

Table 2.2 Semantic units underlying the syntactic units of the layered structure of the clause (following VV&LP, 1997:27)

| Semantic element(s) | Syntactic unit |
|--|-----------------------------|
| Predicate | Nucleus |
| Argument in semantic representation of predicate | Core argument |
| Non-arguments | Periphery |
| Predicate + Arguments | Core |
| Predicate + Arguments + Non-arguments | Clause (= Core + Periphery) |

RRG argues that the LSC is universal. The distinction made between nucleus, core and periphery is fundamental to the clause structure of all human languages. Core arguments may be direct or oblique. *Direct core arguments* are those not marked by an adposition, for example, in languages such as English and German, or those marked by direct cases, i.e, nominative and accusative in accusative languages or ergative and absolutive, in ergative languages. *Oblique core arguments* are marked by adpositions or oblique cases, i.e., instrumental, locative or others in the former type of languages and split ergative in the latter. The periphery contains adjunct modifiers, both phrasal (prepositional phrases) and non-phrasal. It can also contain clauses, modifying the core. In other words, the periphery contains the elements of the clause which are left out of the core. Figure 2.5 represents the components of the LSC. Those elements are considered universal and are distinguished from the non-universal aspects of the LSC, such as the pre-core slot, the post-core slot or the left-detached position.

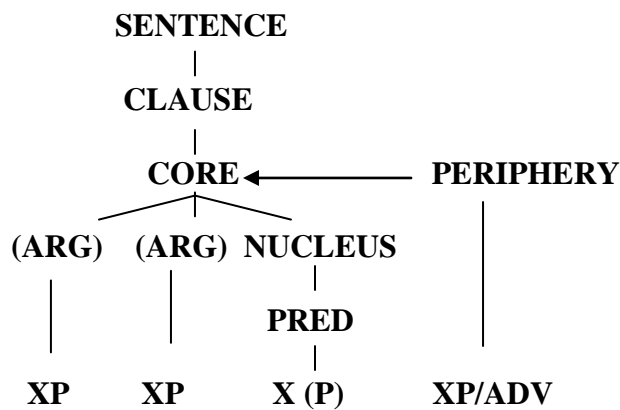


Figure 2.5 Formal representation of the LSC (following VV&LP 1997:31)

Outside the core, but still inside the clause, there may be (for some languages) a **pre-core slot** (PrCS henceforth), which contains question words and fronted elements. This position is justified by the position of WH-words in some languages like English, Icelandic, Spanish and others. Outside the clause, but within a simple, single-clause sentence may occur (also for some languages) an element in the **left-detached position** (henceforth LDP). These elements are most commonly adverbials, and are claimed to be set off from the rest of the sentence by a pause. A **post-core slot** (henceforth PoCS) is established for verb-final languages, e.g., Japan, or any other language which exhibits such a position.

There is a very important difference between the PrCS and the LDP. RRG differentiates these two positions in terms of the scope of Illocutionary Force (IF henceforth), e.g. whether the sentence is affirmative, interrogative or negative.

The PrCS is a clause-internal position, and as such the element occupying it is within the scope of the IF operator over the clause. LDP phrases, by contrast, are outside of the

clause and therefore outside of the scope of the IF operator; hence they cannot be asserted, questioned or denied. Thus, in the following sentence (2.8) from Bulgarian, the WH-word, *kogo*, “whom”, is the focus of the question and must be within the scope of the interrogative IF. As such, it appears in the PrCS. The adverbial *onzi den* “the other day”, is outside of the clause and therefore, outside of the scope of the IF operator. It will be placed in the LDP. The same example contains a locative prepositional phrase (henceforth PP), *v universiteta* “at the university. This phrase is peripheral. Figure 2.6 represents graphically the non-universal aspects of LSC, using the same example (2.9) from Bulgarian.

- (2.9) Onzi den, kogo vidia v universiteta?
 other day who see PAST. 2S at university DEF.MASC
 The other day, whom did you see at the university?

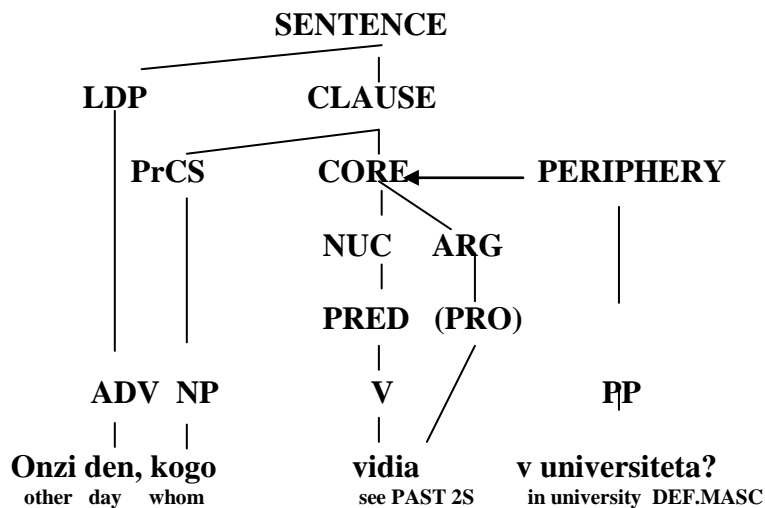


Figure 2.6 Representation of the non-universal aspects of LSC: LDP and PrCS.

The LSC is in accordance with the criterion of typological adequacy as it is completely neutral as to the linear order of elements. It applies equally to fixed word order and free word order languages, to headmarking and dependent-marking languages and to languages with and without grammatical relations. The LSC can be used to reveal underlying similarities in comparable structures across different language types.

Concerning **NPs** and **adpositional phrases**, these have a comparable layered structure of their own. The similarity between a NP, a referring element, and a predicate is found in the fact that both can have arguments and consequently, RRG posits a layered structure for NPs (LSNP). A NP representation differs from that of the predicate in that the NUC (for “nucleus”) of a NP dominates a reference node, indicating that the unit in question refers, while the PRED (for “predicate”) node appears in the nucleus of a clause.

Figure 2.7 below illustrates the LSNP of a Bulgarian NP headed by a diverbal nominal: *zavzemaneto na grada ot voinitzite na Simeon predi dva veka* “the conquest of the city by Simeon’s soldiers two centuries ago”.

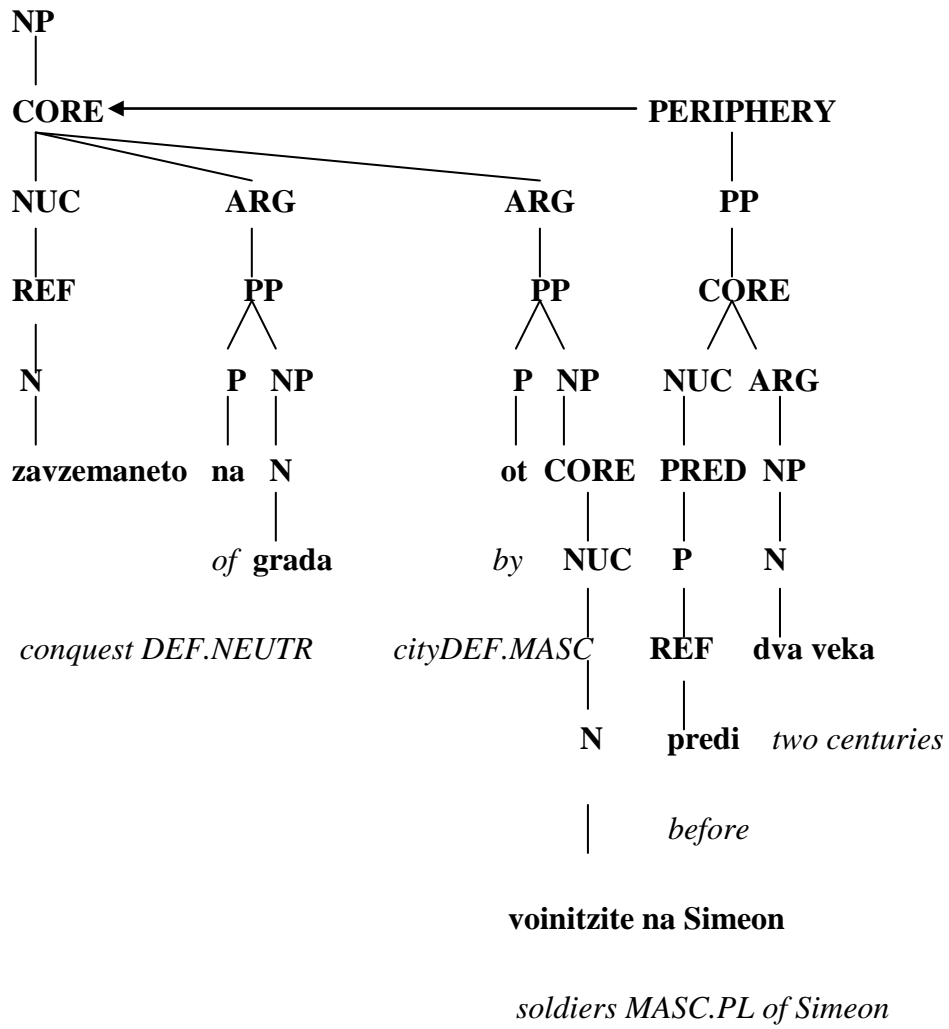


Figure 2.7 LSNP of a Bulgarian NP headed by a deverbal nominal

2.3.2 Operators

Each of the major layers of the clause is modified by one or more **operators**. Operators in RRG do not form part of the **constituent projection** of the clause (i.e. all the elements forming part of Figure 2.5). The operators which modify the various layers of the clause include grammatical categories such as: *tense, aspect, negation, modality, status (epistemic modality, external negation, realis and irrealis), IF, directionals and evidentials*. Operators are qualitatively different from predicates, arguments and adjuncts as they are grammatical categories. Thus, they are represented on an *operator projection*.

Operators have scope over different layers of the clause: aspect is a nuclear operator, modifying the predicate only. Aspect has been defined as a category related to temporality, which does not express the temporal relationship between event time and speech time.

“Aspect tells us about the internal temporal structure of the event itself.”

(VV&LP 1997: 40)

Tense and illocutionary force are clausal operators while negation can be an operator modifying any of the three layers. Each one of the clause levels is modified by one or more operators. The LSC, together with the operator projection is shown in Figure 2.8.

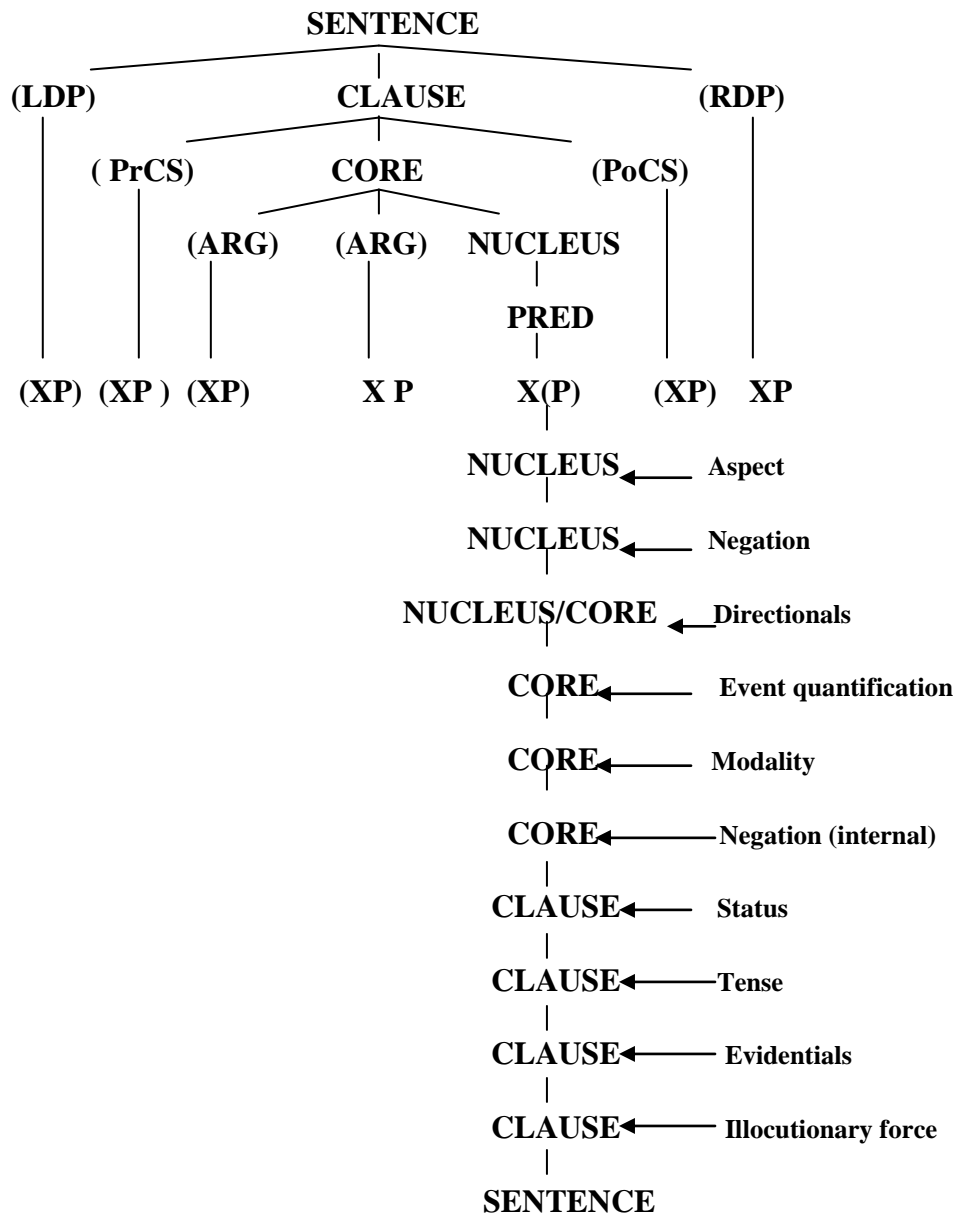


Figure 2.8 LSC with constituent and operator projections (following Van Valin 2001:2)

A particularly interesting question, referring to operators, is their semantic representation. RRG points out the semantic complexity of operators as well as their interrelatedness to the rest of the elements of the clause. Operators are “given a place” in the semantic representation of the clause and in order to distinguish them from the rest of the elements of the LS, they are represented in italicized capitals inside of angled brackets indicating their scope in the LS. The following example illustrates this kind of representation. The full LS of *Has Joshua been singing?* is represented below. (VV&LP,1997: 171).

(2.10) <if INT<tnsPRES<aspPERF PROG <do´(Joshua, [*sing´*(Joshua,∅)])>>>>

The issue of the aspect operator representation (both semantically and syntactically) is further discussed in Chapter 3 as it concerns the proper representation, and hence, understanding of the Bulgarian verbal category.

2.3.3 Syntactic templates and grammatical relations

Syntactic templates are part of the inventory used by RRG.¹² They have an important function in the linking between the syntactic and semantic representations and serve to guide the interpretive process. The claim made by RRG is that syntactic structures are

¹² The proposal, that grammatical structures are stored as constructional templates is also made by Construction Grammar. (cf. Fillmore, Kay, O’Connor, (1988)).

stored as syntactic templates in the syntactic inventory in the grammar. Syntactic templates are language-specific syntactic forms which are composed of the universal components of the LSC. Complex structures are composed of multiple templates. The selection of the appropriate syntactic template from the syntactic inventory is subject to the following principle(s):

- (2.11) a. The number of syntactic slots for arguments and argument-adjuncts within the core is equal to the number of distinct specified argument positions in the semantic representation of the core.
- b. Language-specific qualifications on the principle in (a)
1. All cores in the language have a minimum syntactic valence of 1.
 2. Passive constructions reduce the number of core slots by 1.
 3. The occurrence of a syntactic argument in the pre-/postcore slot reduces the number of core slots by 1 (may override (1)).

2.3.4 Grammatical relations

RRG does not attribute cross-linguistic validity to the traditional grammatical relations of subject, direct object and indirect object. The theory presents an alternative view of grammatical relations. It does not employ them as theoretical or analytical constructs and does not share the common view that the three major grammatical relations are primitive notions. Empirical data from a number of languages (Philippine languages, Austronesian languages and Papuan languages, among others) show that languages manifest grammatical relations in different ways and are not always organized around

subject-object relations, familiar from the Indo-European languages. Moreover, it is claimed that not all languages will have grammatical relations. (cf. VV&LP 1997: 274). The theory proposes solutions to two important issues: 1) how to decide whether a given syntagmatic relation is syntactic, semantic or pragmatic and 2) how to decide whether constructions are organized as subject-object, actor-undergoer or topic-comment. The criteria which are considered relate to the properties of grammatical relations. These are of two independent types: coding properties (case, verb agreement or morphological properties) and behavioural (defining the role of the NP in grammatical constructions) properties. Concerning the former type of properties, an analysis is done of verb agreement in English. The analysis shows that in English and in similar accusative languages, there is agreement with the syntactic relation of subject (example 2.11) and it is irrelevant whether the subject NP is an actor or an undergoer. Moreover, the verb agrees with only the actor or the undergoer. This means that the neutralization of the semantic opposition actor/ undergoer is a restricted one.

- (2.12). a. The cat runs. *agreement with subject / actor*
b. The cats run. *agreement with subject /actor*
c. The dogs dies. *agreement with subject / undergoer*
d. The dogs die. *agreement with subject / undergoer*
c. John kills the ducklings. *agreement with subject/actor*
f. The ducklings are killed by John. *agreement with subject/undergoer*

Such a neutralization is for (morpho)syntactic purposes, namely, verb agreement. It shows that there is a syntactic- syntagmatic relation (i.e. a grammatical relation). In addition, a pragmatic analysis (example 2.13) shows that verb agreement in English is sensitive to the syntactic relation of subject and not to the pragmatic relation of topic.

(2.13) a. Q: Who is winning the game?

A: The Giants are /*is /*be winning. *agreement with subject/focus*

A restricted neutralization of semantic roles is not found in Acehnese, though. In example 2.13, the syntactic analysis makes a wrong prediction and there is no evidence for grammatical relations.

(2.14) a. Lôn rhet(-lôn) *agreement with undergoer*

1S fall (-1S)

I fall.

b. * Lôn lôn rhet *agreement with subject*

1S 1S – fall

The behavioural properties of grammatical relations are examined in a number of constructions, such as “possessor raising”, participial constructions, voice constructions and others. The main findings are shown in Table 2.3 below, where “S” stands for “the single argument of an intransitive verb”, “A”- “the actor of a transitive verb” and “U” – the undergoer of a transitive verb.

Table 2.3 Restricted neutralization of semantic roles (following VV&LP 1997:269)

| | Intransitive Vs | Transitive Vs | Grammatical relations | “Subject” |
|----------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| Acehnese | no | no | no | do not apply |
| English | yes | yes | yes | [S,A, d-S] |
| Warlpiri, Enga | yes | no | yes | [S,A] |
| Dyirbal | yes | yes | yes | [S,U,d-S] |

The findings that neutralizations in different languages vary, makes the authors of RRG posit a **syntactic controller**, for languages with a restricted neutralization of semantic role and a **semantic controller** for those languages which lack it. Concerning the construction approach, there are also two functions posited: a **syntactic pivot**, which bears the privileged grammatical function in a construction and a **semantic pivot**, which bears the privileged semantic function in a construction. A cover term for syntactic controllers and pivots is **privileged syntactic argument** (PSA henceforth). The following principles define the selection of the PSA.

(2.15) Privileged syntactic argument selection principle

- a. Syntactically accusative constructions: highest ranking macrorole is default choice.

- b. Syntactically ergative constructions: lowest-ranking macrorole is default choice.

These principles are reflected in the ranking of arguments selection, which is termed “**PSA selection hierarchy**”.

(2.16) Privileged syntactic argument selection hierarchy (following VV&LP 1997: 282)

arg. of DO > 1st arg of **do**' > 1st arg of **pred**'(x,y) > 2nd arg of **pred**'(x,y) > arg. of **pred**'(x)

RRG claims that there is no need for any grammatical relations aside from the notions of controller and pivot. On the other hand, phenomena traditionally dealt with by the concept “direct object” can be handled by the concepts undergoer and core argument.

2.4 Linking

The theoretical framework of RRG aims at capturing and explaining the interaction of syntax, semantics and discourse-pragmatics in different grammatical systems. This goal is reflected in its overall organization and the representation of linguistic elements. There is a direct mapping between the semantic representation (LS) and the monostratal syntactic representation (both outlined in the previous sections). This mapping is governed by a linking algorithm which works both from the syntax to the semantics and from the semantics to the syntax linking. It also describes the interaction between the

syntactic and semantic representation from the speaker's (semantics to syntax) or the hearer's (syntax to semantics) perspective. The figure below represents the overall organization of the theory.

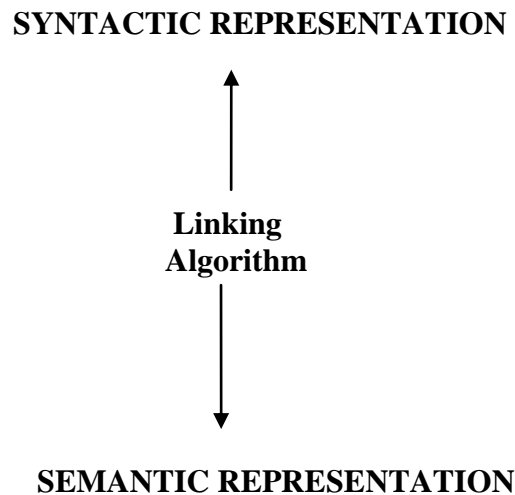


Figure 2.9 Overall organization of RRG (following VV&LP 1997:21)

The two arrows in Figure 2.9 show that the linking algorithm is bi-directional. This means that the linking is not derivational, i.e. there are no “underlying” or “surface” forms. The linking is subject to a very general constraint, called the *Completeness Constraint*. (cf. VV&LP 1997:325).

(2.17) Completeness Constraint

All of the arguments explicitly specified in the semantic representation of a sentence must be realized syntactically in the sentence, and all of the referring expressions in the syntactic representation of a sentence must be linked to an

argument position in a logical structure in the semantic representation of the sentence.

RRG differs from other theories of syntax in terms of its technical features. The Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy algorithm is a tool which is part of the model. It facilitates the mapping between the syntactic and semantic representations. This algorithm is the primary interface between semantics and syntax and also allows for the interaction of discourse-pragmatic factors. On the other hand, this tool is indispensable for defining the relations between participants in a conversation.

The semantic aspects of the linking system (the systems of LSs and the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy) are considered universal, as cross-linguistically there have been enough instances of occurrence of these aspects. In the same way, the syntactic constituent units are universal. The syntactic expression of these units (case marking, WH-words, etc.) and the way they are linked to the semantic representation, is language-specific. RRG emphasizes these two points, without pretending to give a kind of “universal grammar”. Actually, the relations, expressed by the LS, are relations between a predicate and predicating element(s). This is conceived as something quite natural to be present in ANY human language. In addition, the syntactic constituent units are not derived from the LS. They are linked to it and it is in the process of linking, where the language-specific lexical or syntactic rules come into play. This marks RRG off from theories, such as classical Transformational Grammar, Government and Binding, and Principles and Parameters, in which semantics is interpreted from syntax.

The following example, (2.18) represents the algorithm applied in the process of the semantics-syntax linking. (cf. VV&LP 1997: 427).

(2.17) Linking from semantics to syntax

1. Determine the actor and undergoer assignments, following the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy.
2. Assign specific morphosyntactic status to [-WH] arguments in logical structure (language specific).
 - a. Accusative privileged syntactic argument selection: default=Actor.
 - b. Ergative privileged syntactic argument selection: default=Undergoer.
3. If there is a [+WH] XP,
 - a. assign it to the normal position of a non –WHXP with the same function (language specific) ,or
 - b. assign it to the precore slot (language-specific), or
 - c. assign it to a position within the potential focus domain of the clause (default = the unmarked focus position) (language-specific).
4. A non-WHXP may be assigned to the pre- or post-core slot, subject to focus structure restrictions (optional; language-specific).
5. Assign the core arguments the appropriate case markers/ adpositions and assign the predicate in the nucleus the appropriate agreement marking (language-specific).
6. For semantic arguments of logical structures other than that of the main verb,
 - a. assign them to the periphery (default), or
 - b. assign them to the precore slot or focus position (language-specific) if they are focal, or
 - c. assign them to the left-detached position if they are highly topical.

The syntax to semantics linking algorithm is more complex than the one for the linking from semantics to syntax. It involves the complex process of deducing semantics from the syntactic form of the sentence. On the other hand, it seeks to account for a wide range of cross-linguistic phenomena. Therefore, a particular language and construction only makes use of the particular steps relevant to it. The following figure represents the linking of the Bulgarian sentence *Boris napisa pismoto v kashti*. “Boris wrote the letter at home”.

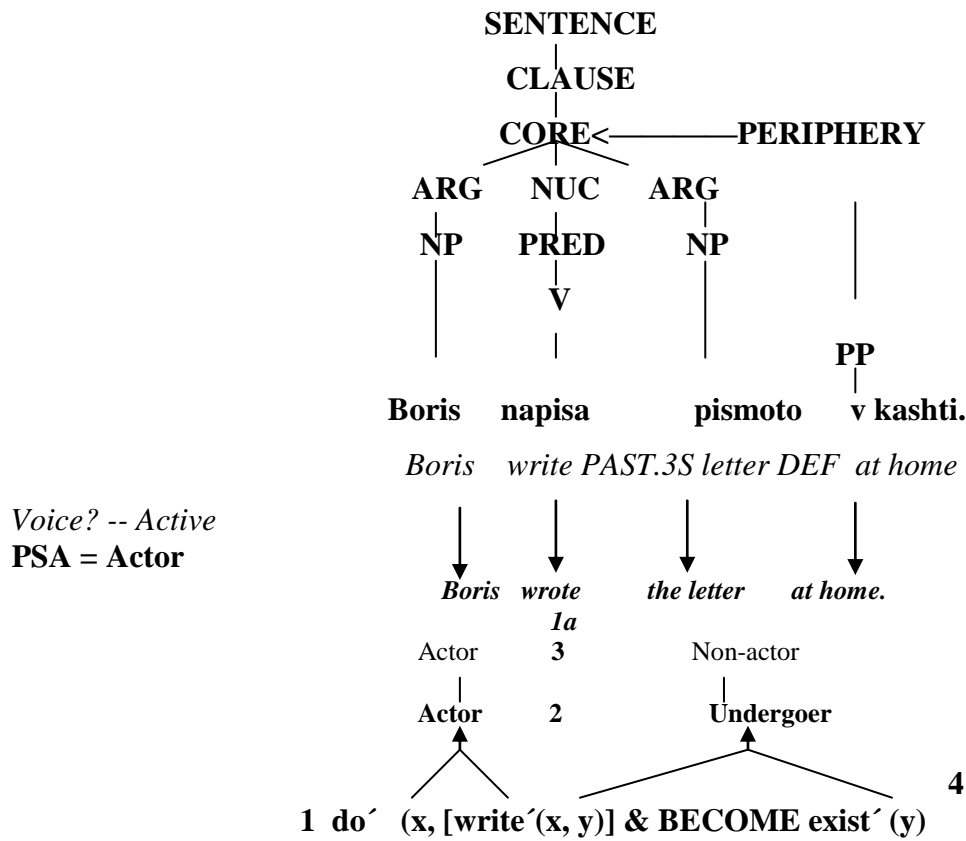


Figure 2.10 Semantics-syntax linking of *Boris napisa pismoto v kashti*. “Boris wrote the letter at home”.

Linking in complex sentences involves various levels of “juncture”. Sentential junctures are complex constructions, made up of multiple sentences. Clausal junctures involve sentences containing multiple clauses. The unmarked pattern for the construction of complex sentences involves combining **nuclei with nuclei, cores with cores, clauses with clauses** or **sentences with sentences**. Some of these combinations are further discussed in Chapter 3. The linking mechanism, employed by RRG, is represented in Figure 2.11.

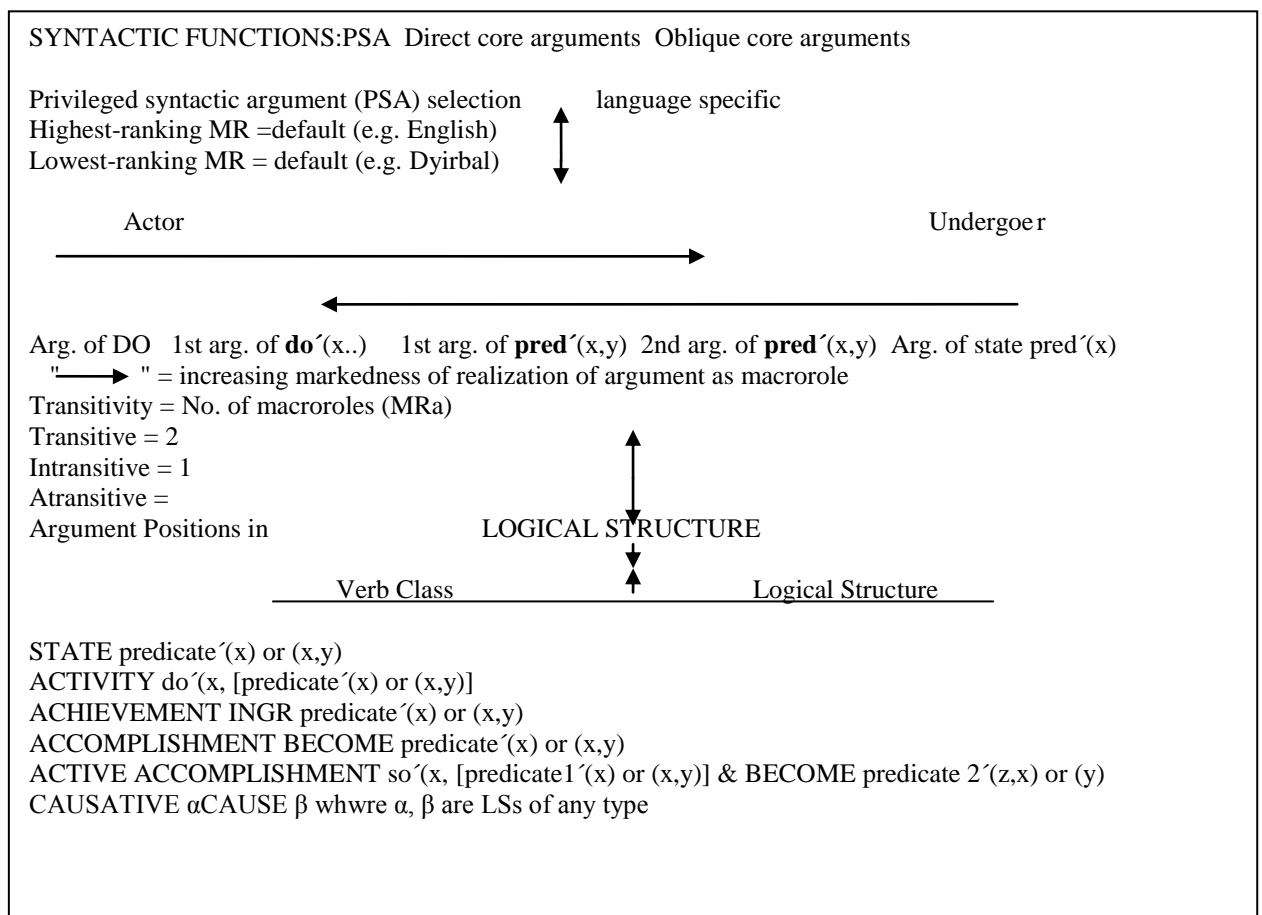


Figure 2.11 RRG linking mechanism (following VV&LP 1997:318)

The basic theoretical assumptions as well as the language processing mechanism of RRG can be summarized as follows:

- it considers as central the fact that language is used primarily for communication in social and psychological contexts;
- it rejects the autonomy of the linguistic system, in favour of (partial) motivation by communicative factors - it is thus an integrative functional theory;
- like FG, it rejects the autonomy of syntax, and is a “moderate “ functional grammar, claiming that function, form and the motivated relationships between the two, need to be accounted for - in other words, RRG is a “structuralist-functional” approach;¹³
- it places semantics and pragmatics at the heart of the model, but also has a (semantically-motivated) syntactic component;
- RRG places a great deal of emphasis on typological adequacy;
- it takes a constructionist approach to language acquisition.
- The way in which it most strikingly sets itself apart from other theories of syntax is that it posits only one level of syntactic representation, and from this it follows that there are no syntactic rules akin to traditional transformation. The posited syntactic level corresponds to the actual form of utterances, and it is linked directly to a semantic representation.

¹³ It has also been called *a mixed formal/functionalist theory* by Croft. (Croft in Shibatani and Bynon,1995)

- The RRG conception of the LSC is a semantically-based theory of non-relational syntactic structure. This means that the fundamental units in the hierarchical organization of sentences and clauses are semantically motivated by the contrast between predicate and argument; on the one hand, and that between argument-like entities which are related to the predicate and those that are not, on the other. These units are, however, syntactic units. This is the essence of the distinction between predicate and nucleus in the LSC: the predicate is semantic in nature and is represented semantically, while the nucleus is the syntactic unit which contains one or more predicating elements.
- Because it is structural-functionalist theory concerned with the interplay of syntax, semantics and pragmatics in grammatical systems, the representation of clauses must allow for the representation of all of these factors. In respect to the considerations for a theory of clause structure, RRG maintains that:

“A theory of clause structure should capture all of the universal features of clauses without imposing features on languages in which there is no evidence for them.” (VV&LP 1997:22).¹⁴

¹⁴ This assumption is shared by FG as well, which considers a theory typologically adequate if it “formulate(s) such rules and principles as can be applied to any type of language without ‘forcing’, *i.e.* without adapting the language...to the theory” (Dik, 1991:248).

CHAPTER 3: BULGARIAN ASPECT

The chapter describing Bulgarian aspect is structured as follows.

- A brief description of the Bulgarian verbal categories is provided, demonstrating the way each one of them bears on aspect (**Section 3.1**).
- A definition of the category *vid* (aspect) is given, drawing on various scholars and their well-established research. The same section (**Section 3.2.**) analyses the morpho-syntactic properties of the two members of the aspectual opposition.
- **Section 3.3** examines the verb morphology and the related aspectual meanings of each one of the verb components.

3.1 The verb categories

A proper understanding of the verb, the traditional “part-of-speech” category, is a prerequisite for the proper understanding of Bulgarian aspect. Each verb in Bulgarian has thousands of forms (1500 word forms, according to Bojadzhiev et al. (1999:209)).

This quantitative characteristic is further complicated by an extremely rich set of morphological categories. While some Slavic languages have lost some of the inflectional categories found in Proto Slavonic, Bulgarian retains most of them.

Each verb in Bulgarian is represented by two forms in the lexicon: a **complete** and an **incomplete** form. This verbal pairing is found in more than ninety percent of the verbs and has given rise to a number of controversies concerning the verb representation.

Example (3.1) below shows a typical verb lexical entry. Morphologically, a verb consists in a stem¹⁵, and an inflection(s). In example (3.1a), the final morphemes *-a* is an inflection, which expresses 1S, present tense, indicative mood, active voice and a complete verb while the morpheme *-am* in example (3.1b) expresses the same categories except for aspect, which is incomplete. The two forms also differ in their conjugations. A verbal stem can be either **perfective** or **imperfective**. (cf. Maslov 1981: 196). The stem gives the name of the two members of the pair. Thus, the verb

podpisha, “sign” has a complete form, *podpisha* (3.1a) and an incomplete one, *podpisvam* (3.1b).

¹⁵ There are three conjugations, according to the present-tense stem and several (up to ten) classes according to the aorist stem. The verbs that belong to the 1st and the 2nd conjugation have the present-tense stem and the Aorist-stem. The first subclass of the first conjugation, for example, makes its aorist stem by adding /-e/ to the 2 S and 3 S, or /-o/ elsewhere to the present stem. Most often these stems are different, but sometimes it may happen that they appear to be identical. The verbs that belong to the 3rd conjugation always have identical stem for the present tense and the aorist, i.e. they have only one stem. The 3rd conjugation is athematic.

- (3.1) a. PODPISHA complete
b. PODPISVAM incomplete

The complete verb in the pair is rendered as “sign” in English and so is the incomplete verb. In other words, two forms represent one lexical entry, that of “sign”.

As typologically Slavic morphology is primarily fusional, a given affix frequently combines the expression of a number of grammatical categories. The big number of forms is because of seven primary grammatical categories: **person, number, gender, tense, voice, mood and aspect**. The first six categories are well-known from Indo-European. The seventh category, aspect, is intrinsically interrelated with each one of the traditional verbal categories.

The category *person* consists of three subcategories: 1st, 2nd and 3rd person.

Number has two subcategories: singular and plural.

Gender has three subcategories: feminine, masculine and neuter. Both the complete and the incomplete form of a Bulgarian verb are inflected for person, number and gender in the case of 3 PS.

Tense is the category which is closest to aspect in both syntactic function and morphological representation. The early Bulgarian grammarians, Rilski (1835), Gruev (1858), Radulov (1863) and others sometimes “counted” up to a hundred tenses. The term “tense” was once used as a cover term for a variety of different forms which from a modern point of view belong to different categories, namely: aspect, tense, and mood. This confusion was primarily due to the existence of the category aspect. Aspect has been present in the verbal system since the very origin of the language but has been

viewed as something to do with tense. The language had five conjugations (they are three now) and it made some authors confuse form and meaning and hence some theoretical terms were used quite arbitrarily. The abundance of verbal forms deeply rooted in Old Bulgarian justifies these unsuccessful attempts to define the number of tenses with precision. Though tense and aspect are quite interrelated, nine tenses have been definitely postulated for Bulgarian: three “absolute” tenses, present, past and future and six “relative” tenses i.e., those forms which have been brought together under the concept of “taxis”. According to Jacobson,

“Taxis characterize the narrated event in relation to another narrated event and without reference to the speech event.”(cf. Jacobson, 1971:135).

Comrie (1976) also describes tense as a deictic category. Tenses, which relate the time of the situation to the present moment, are referred to as absolute tenses. The category “taxis” is described by Comrie in the following way.

“Another possible form of reference is relative time reference where, instead of the time of a situation being located relative to the present moment, it is related to the time of some other situation.” (Comrie 1976: 8).

Present, aorist, and imperfect have synthetic forms. Analytic tenses are perfect, plusquamperfect, future, future perfect, future in the past and future perfect in the past.

As the forms corresponding to the different tenses are the stems of both complete and incomplete verbs, plus the corresponding suffixes, eighteen tense-aspect forms can be determined in indicative.

Moods: The opposition complete/incomplete verb is not restricted to *indicative* mood only. *Conditional* and the so-called “*pre-narrated mood*” are represented by both complete and incomplete verb forms. Imperative mood is the only category which employs incomplete verbs only.

The aspectual pairing is also explicitly present in the *voice* category where both active and passive have two verbal forms each.

Additionally, *non-finite forms*, such as *participles* (the language has lost its supine and infinitive) can be classified within the context of the existing aspectual paradigm. While present participles can be derived from incomplete verbs only, past participles have forms for both complete and incomplete verbs. For example, the verb “say”, *kazvam*, has four different past participle forms represented in Table 3.1. The four forms do not give the full picture, as participles and verbal nouns also vary according to voice and relative tenses. Two nominal categories, gender and number further complicate these non-finite forms. Moreover, participles share the category of definiteness with nouns and adjectives. According to Pashov (2004: 210), *verbal nouns* are considered only those forms which are derived from a verb, plus the suffix – **ne /nie** (e.g. *znaene /znanie*, “knowledge” is a verbal noun with two different forms). His argument concerns the fact that these nouns keep their “verb” nature, i.e., they enter in paradigmatic relations, complete/ incomplete, similar to the verb forms.

Table 3.1 Active participles of the verbal pair *kazha – kazvam*, “to say”

| kazha COMPLETE | kazvam INCOMPLETE |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| kazal - aorist | kazval -aorist |
| kazhel - past imperfect | kazvál–past imperfect |

The pervasiveness of the aspectual category is difficult to highlight enough for Bulgarian. As observed by a number of scholars, aspectual choice is salient perceptually and morphologically.

“The formal contrast of perfective and imperfective viewpoints appears in every finite verb form and in many non-finite verb forms as well (the imperative, infinitive, and certain participial forms).” (Smith and Rappaport 1981:297).¹⁶

3.2 Definition of *vid na glagola* (aspect)

Empirical data from Bulgarian, as well as from the rest of the Slavonic languages, show that the category of ASPECT was conceived and contributed to linguistics by these languages. Written documents dating back to the 9th century undoubtedly show that

¹⁶ Although the authors refer to Russian, such a statement can be applied to Bulgarian as well.

even at that remote time a distinction was made between an action (in the broadest sense of the word "action") which was complete, and another one which was incomplete. This aspectual difference was marked on the verb itself.

(3.2) NE **отъбежитъ** грѣшноју дланьју нашеју не **отъбѣгајеть**

No avoid PERF sinful palms our no avoid IMPERF

отъ сожденихъ рѣстъ нашихъ.

from condemned fingers our

"He does not **avoid** our sinful palms, he does not **escape** from our condemned fingers."¹⁷

Example (3.2) demonstrates that there was a very early grammaticalization of the category aspect in Bulgarian. The category is understood as a **privative opposition between two types of verbs**.

In order to understand properly the category **vid** (aspect), it is necessary to bear in mind that the Bulgarian verb forms stand **in a paradigmatic relation: forms for the perfective and forms for the imperfective types of verbs**. In other words, there are two sets of forms: those for complete and those for incomplete verbs. The aspectual opposition is extended to almost the whole of the verbal lexis. Only ten percent of the verbs (*imperfectiva tantum*) are not represented in pairs. This is not only an essential

¹⁷ IMPERF stands for **imperfective** and PERF stands for **perfective**. The example is from one of the earliest Slavonic texts, the Codex Suprasliensis (11th c.). The authors of that manuscript do not make a lexical distinction between the two verb forms, but an aspectual one. The two verbs in the example form an aspectual pair in present-day Bulgarian as well:

отбягвам - "avoid, escape" IMPERF

отбягна - "avoid, escape" - PERF

feature of the category of aspect but also enables a **clear-cut isolation of the category from the rest of the aspectual expressions** existing in the language.

“...aspect [vid] is considered to be the most completely grammaticalized part of the field of aspectuality, being a category which is by definition form-building (=inflexional), although (unlike the category of tense) it usually encounters “resistance” from some part of the lexical material. Thus we can use the term aspect only in cases where regular expression of some aspectual meanings by means paradigmatically opposed grammatical forms of the same verb applies to the greater part (sometimes the whole) of the verbal lexis.” (Maslov 1981:20).

The component of the definition “by means paradigmatically opposed grammatical forms of the same verb” deserves particular attention. Maslov highlights the fact that the grammatical opposition is present within a single verbal lexeme, with a single lexical meaning. Another important characteristic of *vid* relates to its **form-building nature** which is clearly present if not throughout the whole verbal lexis then at least in a significant part of it.

“In the Slavonic languages, suffixal imperfectivisation regularly creates forms differing from the corresponding forms without such a suffix only in aspectual meaning and not in lexical meaning.” (Maslov 1981:25).

According to the same author, there is a possibility to emancipate the opposition perfective/ imperfective from lexical distinctions and it is precisely this possibility that gives the opposition a status of a grammatical aspectual opposition.

A clear picture of the exact place of aspect within the broader functional-semantic field of aspectuality¹⁸ is presented in Figure 3.1. Bulgarian aspect expresses the opposition of forms of the same verb (the first column on the left).

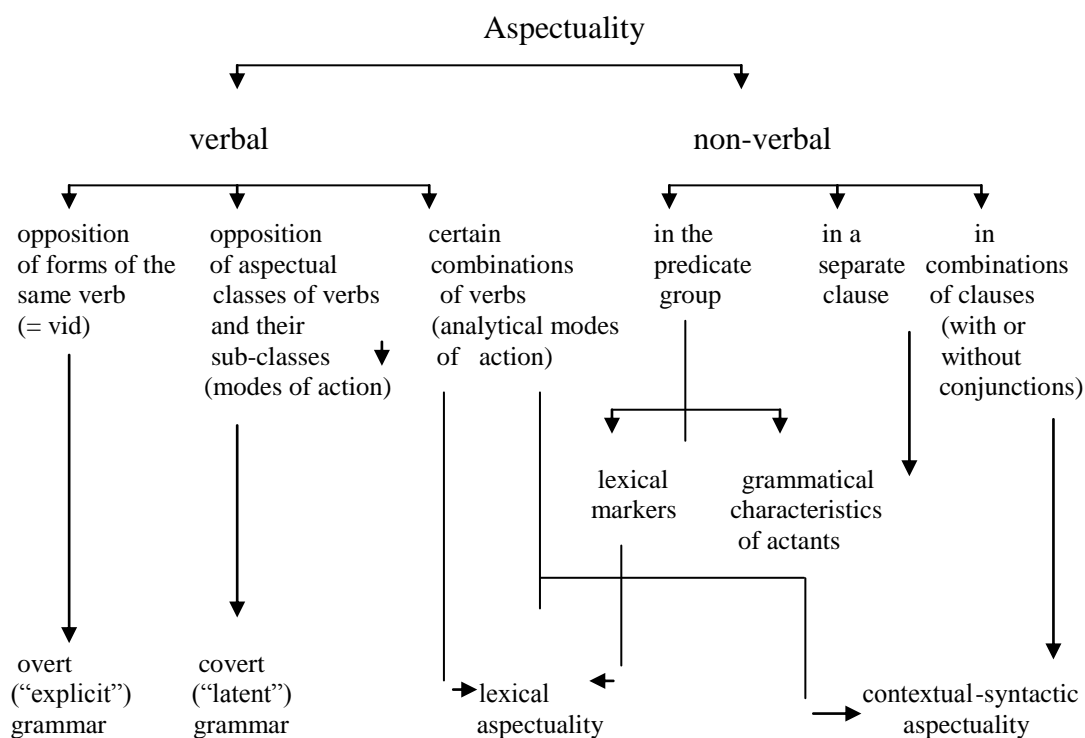


Figure 3.1 Bulgarian verbal aspect within aspectuality (following Maslov 1982:21)

¹⁸ The concept and the term "aspectuality" were proposed by Bondarko, (1967:18-31). The term encompasses the general semantic area of aspect (*vid*), modes of action and everything which relates to the qualitative-temporal and quantitative characteristics of phenomena denoted by verbs. For Russian, Bondarko has demonstrated that verbal aspect is the morphological centre of this field.

What we can observe in the leftmost column of Figure 3.1 is considered explicit grammar. The second column in the same figure, latent grammar, presents another opposition: that between aspectual classes of verbs and sub-classes or “modes of action.” Due to the incredibly rich semantics of the verbal prefixes, such classes have been postulated (varying from one Slavonic language to another) though it is also very important to understand the proper place of these classes within the system of aspectuality. These classes, also known as Aktionsartens, are formally built on the basis of prefixes which represent no strict grammatical opposition. Here we can talk about aspectual meanings which are lexical rather than grammatical. The third column in Figure 3.1 represents analytical combinations of verbs such as “begin to rain”, finish writing”, etc., Such expressions coexist with synthetic forms expressing the same meaning, as the language is a synthetic analytic hybrid, but **they are not considered aspectual.**

The category *vid* (aspect) is a primary category in Bulgarian. The language preserves the Old Bulgarian perfective/ imperfective opposition and in this sense is probably the most “conservative” Slavonic language. *Vid na glagola*, (lit. verb type), has been defined from various perspectives. Andreichin views it as determining **the inner finish / non-finish of the action with no relation to its place in the time axes.** (Andreichin, 1958:158).

Comrie (1976:3) claims that aspect(s) are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation. Where Bulgarian differs from the rest of the world languages is in the means it uses to express the “internal temporal constituency of a situation”. Languages express aspectual oppositions using various means. The most general division within the expression of aspect is between morphological (synthetic)

and syntactic (analytic) means. English belongs to the latter group, while the aspectual system of Bulgarian uses mainly morphological means. The emancipation of aspect from lexical distinctions does not mean that *vid* is the only way of expressing differences in the temporal constituency of a situation. The basic property of the Bulgarian aspectual system is definitely the interaction of lexical and grammatical semantics. The idiosyncrasy of the system consists in the fusion of aspectual and lexical meanings and **the transformation of aspectual meaning into a categorial component of the lexical semantics of the verb**. (cf. Maslov 1982:25).

This section has outlined some of the formal characteristics of the Bulgarian aspectual opposition. The opposition complete/ incomplete verbs (perfective/imperfective) is morphologically present in almost the whole lexis. This allows for an aspectual classification of verbs or at least for demonstrating the aspectual patterns present in the language. Before structuring the verbal lexis in such patterns, though, it is necessary to introduce the aspectual notions which correspond to this idiosyncratic opposition.

3.2.1 Terminology

Concerning the thorny question of terminology, the term *vid na glagola*, a fundamental grammatical category in the Slavonic languages, has not been given its proper name in English so far. When used by Slavicists, it is generally referred to as *vid*. The German transliteration is “wid” and when used by non-Slavicists it is called either *vid* or just *aspect*. In Spanish we could call it “*tipo de verbo*” but this term is quite general. Moreover, there are *telic/atelic*; *transitive/intransitive*, etc., types of verbs which do not necessarily stand in paradigmatic oppositions. For reasons of convenience, I will call it

“aspect” though the paradigm presented by this category, is, of course, part of the idiosyncrasy of all Slavonic languages and no exact equivalences between English, Spanish or any other non-Slavonic language should be sought for. Notwithstanding, there are functional similarities between different formal expressions of aspect in any two or more languages, which are worth describing. The principal members of the aspectual opposition will be called **complete** and **incomplete** verbs. These two terms correspond to the traditional **perfective** and **imperfective** respectively.¹⁹ The use of the “authentic” names of the two classes of verbs representing the Bulgarian aspectual category aims at a more precise and specific description (and hence representation) of this category within a functional model of grammar. The terminology used in my thesis also serves the purpose of distinguishing the aspectual system of Bulgarian from the aspectual systems of the rest of the Slavonic languages which are often subsumed under the traditional perfective/ imperfective opposition disregarding the fact that some languages are “more aspectual” than others. The terms “perfective” and “imperfective” have been reserved for the traditional denomination of the verbal stems as well as for the so-called “secondary imperfective” verbs. Comrie refers to the distinction, which should be made between “**complete**” and “**perfective**”, in the following way:

“A very frequent characterisation of perfectivity is that it indicates a completed action. One should note that the word at issue in this definition is “completed”, not “complete”: despite the formal similarity between the two words, there is an important semantic distinction which turns out to be crucial in discussing aspect.

¹⁹ Whenever necessary, I will refer to the well-known perfective / imperfective opposition. Such cases involve references and quotes, in which non-Slavicists refer to the opposition using these names. The difference in the terminology used here is necessary and the difference in meaning is explained further in the thesis.

The perfective does indeed denote a complete situation, with beginning, middle, and end. The use of “completed”, however, puts too much emphasis on the termination of the situation, whereas the use of the perfective puts no more emphasis, necessarily, on the end of a situation than on any other part of the situation, rather all parts of the situation are presented as a single whole. The existence of a Perfective Future in Russian, for instance, e.g. ja ub’ju tebjja “I shall kill you”, and of subordinate perfective forms with (relative) future time reference in Ancient Greek, for instance, e.g. bouletai touto poiesai “he wishes to do this”, with the Aorist Infinitive, further demonstrates the inadequacy of “completed” rather than “complete” as a characterisation of the perfective.“ (Comrie 1976: 18).

3.2.2 Morpho-syntactic properties of complete and incomplete verbs.

A **complete verb** is a verb which presents the action as something finished, consumed and completed. The focus is not on the inner structure, in the sense of phases, i.e., beginning, middle point, or finish of the action. The action, activity or process is taken in its whole. A stress is put on the completion of the action.

An **incomplete verb**, no matter whether prefixed or non-prefixed, stands for an incompleted action. Strictly speaking, the notion of “action” in this definition is a cover term for events, processes, states, etc. Actually, an “action”, which has not been completed, is not an “action”. It becomes one after its completion.

activities is not implied in any way. On the other hand, example (3.3 b) implies that the activity of fixing is probably preceded or followed by some “single” actions, more or less related to the action at issue (washing the car, checking the oil level, etc.)

“It sometimes seems that incomplete verbs express a more “durative” action, while complete verbs refer to more “shorter” ones. This is not so. The complete types of verbs refer to a “point-like” action, where beginning, middle and end are included, while incomplete verbs refer to the “flow” of the action.” (Pashov 2004:134).

Rather than duration, the difference consists in the opposition **finished** / **unfinished**.

Duration is also important. Comrie describes a perfective verb as a blob:

“...a more helpful metaphor would perhaps be to say that the perfective reduces a situation to a blob, rather than to a point, while imperfectivity “views a situation from within.” (Comrie 1976:24).

Complete verbs are not “non-durative”, and incomplete verbs are not “durative” because both complete and incomplete can take time. This means that the feature “durability” is not relevant for the description of the opposition.

There is some truth in representing the two kinds of verbs as opposing *a single to a macro event*. In my opinion, though, their finished /unfinished verb action value is much more discernible and significant.

Complete verb forms cannot be associated with “phase of the process” (its beginning, continuation or end) which is shown by the ungrammaticality of (3.4 b).

- (3.4) a. *Zapochvam* *da razbiram.*
begin PRES. INCOMPL.1S to understand INCOMPL. 1S
I begin to understand.
- b. **Zapohvam* *da razbera.*
begin PRES. INCOMPL1S to understand COMPL.1S
I begin to understand.

In other words, only incomplete verbs can function in such structures, i.e., can co-occur with verbs of beginning, continuation or end of a process. “Aspectual verbs”, such as “start”, “finish”, etc., are not considered aspect proper in Bulgarian and the ingressive “start” as well as the rest of these verbs are also represented in pairs. It should be noted here that the means of expressing the beginning, middle or end of a situation could be either analytic or synthetic. Examples (3.5 a, c) show synthetic ways of expressing a situation while examples (3.5b, d) show analytic ones. The translation into English could be misleading. The difference in function between (3.5a, b) and (3.5 c, d) is not due to a difference between non-progressive and progressive (this aspect does not exist in Bulgarian). Rather, this difference is due to two different forms of the verb “begin”, namely, *zapochna* - *zapochvam*. Neither is the difference in function between the two examples due to the tenses, past aorist (3.5 a, b) versus imperfect (3.5 c,d).²⁰

²⁰ The opposition past aorist / imperfect is usually considered taxical though some authors (e.g. Maslov 1982:28) consider it aspectual because of the atypical “absolute” use of imperfect. What is meant here is the occurrence of the tense in an isolated utterance, devoid of other verb forms, such as example (3.5 c) which could exist on its own.

- (3.5) a. Zatichakh se.
begin to run PAST. COMPL. 1S REFL. PRT
(I) began to run.
- b. Zapochnakh da ticham.
begin PAST.COMPL.1S to run INCOMPL.1S
(I) began to run.
- c. Zatichvakh se.
begin PAST. INCOMPL.1S REFL.PRT
(I) was beginning to run.
- d. Zapochvakh da ticham.
begin PAST. INCOMPL.1S to run INCOMPL.1S
(I) was beginning to run.

Though the term closest to “complete” is “perfective”, the term “complete” refers to a member of a system. While “perfective” also designates one of the members of an opposition, it is also used as synonymous to the feature “punctual”, i.e., used within actionality and in this sense it should be mentioned that a complete verb can express either a “punctual” meaning or a “non-punctual” one. Quantitatively, neither complete nor incomplete verb forms imply a less or more punctual activity.

- (3.6) a. kikhna “cough” – PUNCTUAL COMPLETE
- b. izkacha “reach the summit” – NON PUNCTUAL COMPLETE

The opposition complete/incomplete coexists with “**modes of action**”. The two areas are often mixed up. A clear distinction is necessary to be made: on the one hand, the category aspect is treated as a verbal category, similar to tense, gender, and person, i.e., a grammatical category. As such, it has its own terminology. On the other hand, “modes of action”, or Aktionsart, is used for the description of languages, which might have or might have not a grammatical aspectual category. Obviously, Aktionsart and its terminology can be applied universally, though the types of verbs in this classification do not enter paradigmatic relations. In other words, a complete verb can be either “accomplishment” or “achievement” in Aktionsart, but it still remains, due to its form, a “complete” verb”.

Even though the terminology on aspect has not been formalized, it is the way languages express this notion that matters rather than the exact terms used. Whether the classical Latin or Greek terms are used, Vendler’s classification, or a “gram-based” classification is a matter of theoretical purposes and it should not affect the analysis. However, in the description of a particular language aspect, the authentic names of the aspectual opposition(s) or the constituents of this opposition are to be preserved as they reveal a great deal of the semantic content of that opposition(s).

3. 3 Verb morphology

This section is primarily concerned with the Bulgarian verb morphology and the main building blocks of the verb, namely: stem, prefixes and suffixes. These three components play a very important role in the explication of both aspect and actionality in the language.

3.3.1 The aspectual significance of the verbal stem

As I mentioned earlier, a Bulgarian verb form consists of a lexical stem to which grammatical inflections are added. The *stem* is the common denomination of all word-forms realizing the same *lexeme* both in terms of their formal make-up and as the principle carrier of lexical meaning. For example, the stem of the perfective verb *dam* “give” is *da-*, while the stem of the imperfective *davam* “give” is *dava-*.

- (3.7) a. Perfective: *da-*
b. Imperfective: *dava-*

Biaspectual stems also exist in Bulgarian, giving rise to both perfective and imperfective verbs. Here the forms are homonymous.

- (3.8) biaspectual: *sboguv-* “say “Good buy”

3.3.2 Prefixes

The addition of a prefix to a verb stem results in a perfective verb. This is a general principle for Bulgarian as well as for the rest of the Slavonic languages which has created a lot of controversies concerning the main function(s) of the Slavonic prefixes. The two basic functions most broadly disputed are the **perfectivising** and the **lexical**

function. The issue concerns the recognition of the superiority of one function over the other.²¹ Following the formal rule mentioned above, most scholars consider the perfectivising function of the prefixes the primary one. There is another important group of linguists, who recognize the perfectivising function of the prefixes, but do not consider this function a primary one. The overall idea is expressed by Pashov (2004):

“..Actually, we add a prefix to a verb to form a new verb, a verb with a different lexical meaning, rather than to change its type (complete/incomplete). This verb will be similar to the base one. Thus, *pisha*, “to write” means one thing, while *prepisha*, “to copy” means another thing. The verb *zapisha*, to put down, to note” means a third thing, *prezapisha*, “to record / to copy again” means a fourth thing , and so on.” (Pashov 2004:135).

This section does not only describe the two basic functions of Bulgarian prefixes. I also present my theoretical viewpoint on the issue which draws on Maslov (1982) for Bulgarian and Ivanova (1974). The empirical data I provide demonstrates clearly that **functionally Bulgarian prefixes are lexical ones, derivational rather than inflectional morphemes**. The perfectivising function is a secondary one and should not be confused with the clear-cut grammatical function of aspect.

²¹ Comrie is well aware of the controversy, existing over the kind of aspectual pairs and the perfectivizing function of the prefixes: “In current discussions of Russian aspect, there is much controversy over just how many such aspectual pairs, with semantically empty prefixes, there are, and a particularly negative attitude is taken by Isačenko (1962:358-63, and passim)...” (Comrie 1976:89: f.n)

The following section refers to the first function of Bulgarian prefixes, the lexical one. Terminologically these prefixes are referred to as “super-lexical” morphemes, “procedural”, “sublexical”, “Aktionsart” or just “modes of action”.

3.3.2.1 Modes of action

The objective of the following section is twofold: on the one hand, it reveals part of the semantic capacity of the prefixes and on the other; it shows that any classification of Bulgarian prefixes would have a purely lexical character. Moreover, the section demonstrates that aspect proper can be isolated from the rest of the lexical or lexico-grammatical means of expression of actionality.

The so called “modes of action” are defined as *subclasses of verbal lexis*. (cf. Bondarko 1971:2). While the opposition perfective/ imperfective is viewed as an opposition of forms of similar meaning, these subclasses display no such relations. The possibility to juxtapose aspectual forms (e.g. *dopeia-* *dopiavam*, “finish singing”) within the same mode of action (the prefix *do* with a semantical meaning “finish”) demonstrates that aspectually different types of verbs belong to a different domain, that of the grammatical meanings. Modes of action display **no grammatical opposition** though sometimes they can affect the paradigms of the adjacent morphological categories.

Languages might not possess “modes of action” but undoubtedly express different contours of their verbs. There must be a way to express not only semantically inherent differences, but differences in **the way** people do things, **the way** they talk, **the way** they view things, etc. These little nuances, or “hues” as they are often called, could be

expressed either by an adverb of some kind, by a non-finite form or by a prefix, as in Bulgarian and the rest of the Slavonic family languages. This short, insignificant morpheme, placed before the verb, is capable of bearing a nuance, which reminds us of the basic verb meaning or (more often than not) is completely different from the semantic meaning of the verb. Bulgarian prefixes have often been in the centre of linguistic studies on aspect due to their semantic versatility, richness and clear formal (morphological) distinction.

The nuances range from “augmentative”, in the case of *izpachvam se*, “to show off /to throw one’s chest out, in a bigger degree”, to “resultative-puncursive”, as in *izponadraskvam*, “to scrawl all over”.²² As an example, each one of the prefixes of the incomplete verb *izponadraskvam* “to scrawl all over” are given below.

(3.9) **IZ-PO-NA-DRASK** + [suffix]+ [inflection]

iz – all over

po- a little

na- to result in

drask- scrawl

The verb consists in a stem, three prefixes, a suffix and an inflection. Semantically, *iz-*, is locative, *po-* is diminutive and *na-* is resultative. Note that rather than being prefixes, *-po-* and *-na-* are infixes in this verb.

²² Resultative-puncursive mode of action, as well as the rest of the modes of action are defined in one of the most exhaustive studies on Bulgarian modes of action, Ivanova 1974.

The idea of the analysis is not a purely morphological fragmentation of the verb. It is important to note that not all prefixes bear semantic meaning. In the majority of the cases, though, prefixes can be treated as something like pre-verbs with their own actionality classification. In other words, if an actionality classification of English verbs is to be done, one includes the verb “cut” let us say, and defines it as an activity verb. As the example below shows, cut, “*rezha*” is the stem of a number of prefixed verbs, which are semantically different. The unprefix verb is an activity verb, while all derived verbs are accomplishment verbs.

(3.10) *rezha* – “cut” - activity verb /INCOMPLETE

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| a. porezha – cut ; | Accomplishment /COMPLETE |
| b. razrezha – cut in half; | Accomplishment /COMPLETE |
| c. narezha – cut into pieces, slice; | Accomplishment /COMPLETE |
| d. izrezha - cut along the edge; | Accomplishment /COMPLETE |
| e. srezha – cut; | Accomplishment /COMPLETE |
| f. podrezha – bud; | Accomplishment /COMPLETE |
| g. otrezha – cut a piece of; | Accomplishment /COMPLETE |
| h. vrezha – inter deeply by cutting; | Accomplishment /COMPLETE |
| i. izponarezha – cut all over; | Accomplishment /COMPLETE |
| j. razrezha – cut in half; | Accomplishment /COMPLETE |
| k. dorezha – finish cutting; | Accomplishment /COMPLETE |

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| l. ponarezha –cut a little; | Accomplishment /COMPLETE |
| m. izponarezha – cut all over; | Accomplishment/COMPLETE |
| n. porarezha – cut a little; | Accomplishment /COMPLETE |
| o. poirezha - cut along the edge a little; | Accomplishment /COMPLETE |
| p. popodrezha – bud a little; | Accomplishment /COMPLETE |

Aktionsart in Bulgarian, as well as in Slavistics, is applied to the prefixes, not to the **prefix + stem + suffix** combination. The term Aktionsart is used here, as a kind of lexical classification, which classifies verbs in terms of actionality, rather than aspect proper. If we look at the prefixes, presented above (3.10), we can justify such an approach. There is ONE verbal stem, which is enriched in more than twenty different ways. The prefixes form a language of their own and accordingly, they can be classified following a lexical classification, similar to Aktionsart. If we treat the prefixes independently from the stem, there are all reasons to talk about various semantic meanings, which remind us of activity, accomplishments or achievements verbs. This kind of treatment has not been uniform. For theoretical or language-specific reasons, some researches come up with various classifications, but the minimum number of “Aktionsartens” is never less than ten.

Prefixes differ in their semantics. Most prefixes originate in the spatial meanings of the prepositions. These “old”, primary meanings (still kept in the language) gave rise to the non-spatial meanings or modes of action. Table 3.2 below shows the meaning of the prepositions as well as some examples of prefixed verbs.

Table 3.2 Prepositions functioning as prefixes in Bulgarian

| PREFIX | PREPOSITION | PREFIXED VERBS |
|--------|-----------------|---|
| V | in, inside | vnesa “bring into”, vaveda “introduce”, vnikvam “penetrate” |
| IZ | out, outside | iznesa “take out”, izdarpam “draw out” |
| OT | away, away from | “go”, otdalecha “go away”, otritna “kick away” |
| DO | next to, near | doida “come”, donesa “bring, fetch”, |
| PRI | to | priblizha “get closer”, prituria “add” |
| S | with | saedinia “get together”, skliucha “unite” |
| POD | under | podpisha “sign”, podkopaia “dig under” |
| PO | along | potragvam “begin moving” |
| PRED | fore, before | predreka “foresay”, predotvratia “forestall”, predpazia “safeguard” |
| ZA | about, for | zamisliam se “begin thinking” |

The modes of action could be analysed in two ways: either enumerating the modes of action assigned to each prefix, or defining a certain mode of action and listing those prefixes, which bear such meaning. Prefixes are further discussed in Chapter 4, in relation to prefixed verbs.

Syntactically, prefixed, complete verbs are rarely used with present time reference, similar to unprefixed complete verbs. The examples in (3.11) give an idea about the lexical character of the prefix *za-*.

- (3.11) a. Tzveteto **zaviakhna.**
flower DEF fade away PAST.3S
The flower faded away.
- b. Vremeto **zastudia.**
weather DEF get cold PAST
It got cold.
- c. Te **zaspakha.**
fall asleep PAST. 3Pl
They fell asleep.
- d. **Zamirisa** mi na gotveno.
begin to smell PAST CL.ACC.1S PREP something cooked
(I) began to smell something cooked.
- e. **Zaprilicha** na ulichna cotka.
begin to look like PAST 3S PREP stray cat
It began to look like a stray cat.
- f. **Zapodozriakh** go v izmislitzi.
begin to suspect PAST 1S he CL ACC PREP stories
I began to suspect he was making up stories.
- h. **Zapregrüshtakha** se.
begin to hug PAST.3PL REFL. PRT
They began to hug each other.

The prefix *za-*, similar to the rest of the Bulgarian prefixes displays a versatile semantic character, as the example above shows. Quantitatively, the biggest number of verb

stems prefixed by *za-*, acquire an ingressive character. Notwithstanding, **a lexical rule, concerning its ingressive character, will be restricted to just one of its many functions** and will not be exhaustive. Unlike the suffixes, which present selection restrictions concerning state and activity verbs, the prefix **za-** co-occurs with both types. The only restriction present is lack of co-occurrence with “phase verbs” marking the end of an action, which is a purely lexical restriction. The classification of the prefixes in sub-classes or modes of action shows that semantic oppositions within these subclasses can be found (let us say, centripetal oriented opposed to outward oriented verbs) but still this classification belongs to latent grammar.

3.3.2.2 The perfectivising function of prefixes

As the previous section shows, the main function of prefixation in Bulgarian is the derivation of a new verb, which is different from the basic one in two ways:

1. it is lexically different due to the semantic content of the prefix;
2. it is always a complete/ perfective verb (except for the few cases of two or three prefixes where a new complete verb is derived from a complete one and the case of empty prefixes).

There is an addition of a new meaning to the basic verbal lexeme, which is a purely lexical process. The second function of prefixation, i.e., deriving a complete verb from an incomplete one is the so-called “perfectivizing” function of the prefixes. These two functions create the basis for the on-going debate around the exact function of prefixes.

My thesis claims that the perfectivising function has a secondary role in the formation of the verb. This function is not underscored. It is taken, though, as a secondary function. The primary one is the word-formation, derivational function. The perfectivising function is a more peripheral one than the basic lexicalizing function.

The following arguments support this idea:

- As the name suggests, prefixes usually precede verbs in Bulgarian. Example (3.10) shows that prefixes can be infixes as well. This means that their meaning is not just “added” to the verb. Rather, the meaning of a prefixed verb is a complicated combination of various morphological elements.
- Semantically full and semantically “empty” prefixes are not distributed in a uniform fashion. An “empty” prefix (*po-* is such a prefix) changes the mode of action, but it is incapable of changing either the lexical meaning or the type of verb (complete/incomplete).
- Another important argument for a lexical treatment of prefixes comes from a diachronic approach to this phenomenon. Comrie (1976) states:

“At an early stage of the development of the Slavonic languages, it is probable that prefixing a simple verb did not in itself lead to perfectivisation, and Modern Russian still contains a number of prefixed simple verbs without perfective

meaning, often borrowed from Old Church Slavonic, the Earliest attested Slavonic language, e.g. *pred videt* "foresee", *so-stoyat* "consist", etc.... For certain verbs where, in the modern language, the prefix is simply aspectual, it is possible that at an earlier period there was also a semantic difference, or at least that the prefix, though semantically non-empty, simply reiterated some inherent semantic feature of the verb, as with *na-pisat* "write" (i.e. "write on"), *pro-čitat* "read" (i.e. "read through"). Only where the prefix adds nothing to the meaning of the Imperfective verb other than perfective meaning do we have strict aspectual pairs." (Comrie 1986:89).

- A prefix can precede various Aktionsart verbs, resulting in different meanings. If the prefix is considered an inflectional morpheme in those cases, in which it has perfectivizing function, there is no explanation for its occurrence as a non-perfectivising prefix.
- In Dahl et al. (2000) almost all authors, writing on Bulgarian prefixes, consider these morphemes derivational as well, though a puzzling question is somehow felt: "Will this be a challenge to Slavicists?"
- Finally, Maslov (1981) comments on this point:

"If a prefix is added to a verbal stem, the resulting verb (with quite a few exceptions) is a complete (perfective) verb. However, the purpose and the significance of this process hardly ever consist in obtaining a complete verb. In

most of the cases, the addition of a prefix to a verb aims at obtaining a new lexical meaning.” (Maslov 1981:171)

3.3.3 Suffixes

Traditional grammar defines the morphological restrictions concerning suffixation. While prefixes are subject to semantic compatibility between a stem and a prefix, aspectual suffixes form part of the derivation **complete** → **incomplete** verb only.²³ Once a suffix is added to a complete verb, it becomes an incomplete one, i.e., we change the type of verb (*vid*) but semantically the two forms are similar. Thus suffixation is a **form-building** operation in Bulgarian. The two forms of a verb in the lexicon differ only in their suffixes. The distribution of the various morphological elements in the two types of verbs is the following:

(3.12) a. **COMPLETE**

prefix(es) + stem + ASPECTUAL INFIX + tense infix + person/number suffix.²⁴

S KRI KH ME

skrikhme “hide” PAST.1 Pl

²³ What I disregard here are morpho-phonological transformations as well as lexical suffixes which happen to be the same as the aspectual ones.

²⁴ As a matter of fact, aspectual marking is done by a **set of infixes**. Notwithstanding, I use the term “suffix” in relation to aspect. Other suffixes in the build-up of a verb are those for tense and number:

i. pre - gled - a - kh- me
 prefix stem aspectual infix tense infix person suffix
pregledakhme “went over”

b. **INCOMPLETE**

prefix(es) + stem + ASPECTUAL INFIX + tense infix + person/number suffix

S KRI VA KH ME

krivakhme “hide” PAST.1Pl

The dotted line in example (3.12 a) shows the position of the aspectual marker, which is always immediately after the stem and is empty in this case.

Aspectual suffixation is realized by a set of suffixes which can be called “aspectual suffixes” or “aspectual morphemes”. There are six suffixes of that type in Bulgarian:

(3.13) **aspectual suffixes****-a-, -ia-, -va-, -ava-, -iava-, -uva**

A particularly interesting suffix in all Slavonic languages is *-n* (Russian *-n* ъ). This suffix stands on the limit between aspect and actionality as it marks mainly **semelfactive** verbs, which are aspectually quantitative. Still, it has been included in my classification for reasons mentioned in the following section.

(3.14) a. **stigna - stigam**

get to/reach

b. **postigna –postigam**

achieve

The function of suffixation is to transform complete/ perfective verbs into incomplete/ imperfective. Incomplete verbs cannot undergo this process as they already contain any of the set of suffixes in (3.13). This process is vital for the proper understanding of aspect and its specification within actionality in general. On the one hand, this set of morphemes serves a grammatical function, due to their inflexional character and at the same time they are found in any verbal pair existing in the lexicon.

Diachronically, the set of aspectual suffixes has been very stable and practically irreplaceable. Moreover, it has acquired a very important function within the process of perfectivization, namely, that of deriving **secondary imperfective** from perfective verbs. The process of secondary imperfection is considered the highest possible perfectivisation of verbs in a language (cf. Ivanova idem.).

Example (3.15) represents an example of **secondary imperfective verb** derivation, i.e., a grammatical derivation where only a set of suffixes is used. The process involves the same prefix. The suffix, *-va* in the same example transforms the complete /perfective verb into an incomplete/imperfective one. This means that each **complete, prefixed verb** forms a kind of legitimate pair with a **secondary imperfective** verb. This is the same pair which represents the lexical entry of the verb. Example (3.15) presents the verb *dorezha*, “to finish cutting”, a complete verb. Its corresponding incomplete verb will be *doriazvam*”.

(3.15) dorezha – doriazvam

COMPLETE -INCOMPLETE

This “aspectual” pair is difficult to break up. Moreover, it is the basic lexical entry of the verb. The strongest argument in favour of a unified treatment of the two forms is the lexicon, which keeps and respects the verbal “pairs”.

Unlike prefixes, Bulgarian aspectual suffixes are not subject to bleaching as there is no semantic content to bleach. They are not poly-functional like prefixes. This means that the division complete / incomplete is much more clear-cut than actionality marked by prefixes. In this sense, the **function of viewing a situation as finished or unfinished** has been put forward as the **basic aspectual function** while other hues of the verbal action, marked by the prefixes have a secondary function.

Unlike the role of the prefixes, which has been a constant matter of debate, the role of the suffixes has been unanimously recognized as grammatical. The set of aspectual morphemes is totally devoid of lexical meaning. However, it has grammatical meaning which consists in an aspectual derivation. The pairing of verbs would not have been possible had there been no grammaticalization of the category aspect in Bulgarian.

Another evidence for the grammatical character of the aspectual set of suffixes comes from the **derivation** done by any member of this set. Such a derivation does not change the lexical character of a verb. As a matter of fact, an aspectual derivation is possible **within the two forms of the same verb only**, i.e., an incomplete verb is derived from a complete one and a secondary incomplete is derived from a prefixed complete verb. The two processes seem to be independent from each other if we look at the morphological fragmentation of a verb. In practice, they interact within the build-up of the verb to such an extent that proper aspect is subsumed under the more general concept of actionality.

One of the reasons for the wrong conception of the category aspect is the way derivations are done. For example, the derivation of **napisha** “write” (complete) from *pisha* “write” (incomplete) is **not an aspectual derivation**. Such a derivation changes the Aktionsart type of the verb only (Activity → Accomplishment).

The real aspectual pair of *napisha* is *napisvam*, while *pisha* is an Imperfectiva Tantum verb and as such has no corresponding complete verb.

Another reason for the improper treatment of aspect is the tendency to unify the morphological processes and to simplify the perfectivizing process. As *napisha* is clearly the sum of a stem and a prefix, the pair *pish - napisha* is wrongly considered aspectual.

The conclusions drawn here put the basis for the analysis in the next chapter. The representation of a verb within RRG requires a clear differentiation between a grammatical operator and the rest of the lexical material. The basic aspectual category complete/ incomplete refers to verbs, i.e. morphologically well-defined entities, which can be perfective, imperfective or biaspectual in their integrity. Therefore, rather than treating the prefixes as a separate Aktionsart, I will refer to complete verbs (morphologically, not aspectually complete), composed of: prefix-stem-suffix, or just stem + suffix and discuss them as such entities within the RRG model.

The verbal pairs, explained in this chapter, are of two types, shown in example (3.16).

- (3.16) a. unprefix perfective → unprefix imperfective verb
kazha kazvam “say”
- b. prefix perfective → prefix imperfective.
pokazha pokazvam “show”

My suggestion consists in classifying Bulgarian verbs aspectually bearing in mind the “legitimacy” and the presence of the verbal pairs in the lexicon. The seven classes of aspectual verbs I define in the beginning of the next Chapter will be juxtaposed to the lexical classification (Aktionsart) of RRG. Where the classes interact is in the aspectual derivations. The only group of verbs which cannot “enter an aspectual pair” is A Class, *imperfectiva tantum* verbs, due to deficiency in the system.

CHAPTER 4: BULGARIAN ASPECT

WITHIN RRG

This chapter focuses on the juxtaposition Aktionsart / Bulgarian aspectual classes. It investigates verbs representation in the LS of the predicate, following the RRG model. The peculiarity of these verbs consists in the fact that in ninety percent of them the Aspect Operator is found in the lexical entry, due to their morphology (formal expression) and an early grammaticalization which occurred in Bulgarian. The chapter is structured as follows:

- **Section 4.1** gives an overview of the notions *aspect* and *Aktionsart* as well as the terminology related to them. It also illustrates the tests for Aktionsart used by RRG.

The rest of the sections investigate the interaction of Bulgarian aspect (the opposition complete / incomplete verbs) with State, Activity, Accomplishment and Achievement verbs as well as their representation within the RRG model.

- **Section 4.2** deals with A Class of verbs.
- **Sections 4.3-4.4** are concerned with B Class verbs.
- **Sections 4.5 – 4.6** investigate C Class verbs.
- **Section 4.7** illustrates D Class verbs.
- **Section 4.8** summarizes the findings.

4.1 Various approaches to aspect and Aktionsart

From the point of view of general linguistics, the category of “aspect” has not been defined well enough to be freely used as a solid tool in the process of cross-language comparison.²⁵ Synthetic and analytic means of expressing the category of aspect occur unevenly in real languages. This makes a “universal” definition of aspect practically impossible. It is not possible to talk about a strictly defined category even within languages of the same group. The development of the category aspect has not been uniform within the Slavonic family either. The nearest grammatical category, tense, has either taken some of the aspect functions or has left some of its own functions to be realized by aspect. That means that we can talk about relationships, which hold between aspect and tense in a particular language only. Maslov (1982) specifies:

”Clearly the analytism of such English verb forms as “I am writing”, “I have written” or “I shall write” does not determine their qualification as aspectual, temporal or modal. What is important is what the forms express, what their functions are and what elements of their meaning stand in contrast to correlated forms. ...Aspectual meanings reflect some “assessment” or qualitative description by the speaker of the action denoted by the verb, from the point of

²⁵The appearance of the term “aspect” created a lot of problems not only due to its wrong interpretation as tense but also because of its improper interpretation as Aktionsart. “About 1830 the term aspect first appeared in a French translation of Grec’s grammar of Russian. The translator, the slavist C.P.Reiff, used this term to render the Russian *vid* “appearance, view, form, shape” (itself a loan-translation of Greek *éidos*), which stood both for the signalling of imperfective/perfective action and action with respect to its beginning, duration or end by means of verb morphology. Thus French aspect was used in a twofold sense right from the start, capturing both what most of us would now relate to as aspect, on the one hand, and Aktionsart, on the other. In this twofold sense, Reiff, in 1853, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, introduced the term aspect also into English Slavistics.“ (Vetters&Vandeweghe 1990:11).

view of the development and distribution of this action in time, but without reference to the moment of speech.” (Maslov 1982:7).

Irrespective of the type of expression, aspect has varied meanings, which have broadly been defined as qualitative and quantitative. These meanings have been classified by Maslov (1985:7) in the following two big groups based on the definition of aspectual meaning below.

A. Qualitative aspectuality:

- 1) dynamic v. static, i.e. action proper v. state or statal relationship;
- 2) limited action, directed towards an inner limit v. non-limited action, not directed towards a limit;
- 3) limited action, which reaches its limit v. action directed towards a limit, but seen in the phase when the limit has not yet been reached and

B. Quantitative aspectuality

- 1) according to the number of times it is performed or its continuity/ non-continuity;
- 2) according to its duration, and
- 3) according to its degree of intensity.

The three semantic oppositions are said to have hierarchical relationship to each other.

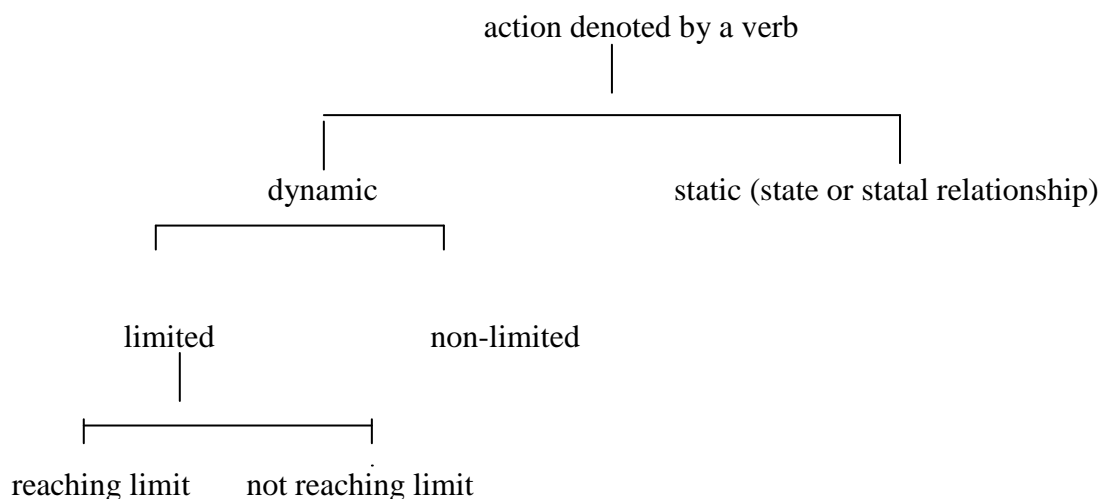


Figure 4.1 Semantic oppositions, found in qualitative aspectuality (following Maslov, 1985: 7)

Referring to the opposition **limited/unlimited**, the same author mentions that the study of their characteristics has had a long tradition in Romance and Germanic philology. Distinguished as early as mid-sixteenth century in Meigret's French grammar, they were further studied by Bello (1847) with reference to Spanish and by other grammarians on a wider range of material taken from a number of Romance languages.²⁶ The following table shows the various terms used to denote limited and non-limited verbs:

²⁶ Alonso y Ureña (1968), give the following definition: "Desinentes (del latín desinere, "terminar) quiere decir de acción terminada. Perfectivos (del latín perficere, "hacer del todo", "acabar", "terminar") quiere decir de acción cumplida, perfecta, acabada. Permanentes quiere decir de acción completa y mantenida. Imperfectivos quiere decir que su acción no necesita terminar. Los términos perfectivo e imperfectivo son internacionales, generalizados por la lingüística comparada. Los términos desinente y permanente son de nuestro Bello, y aunque no usados fuera del español, son mucho más acertados y significativos que los internacionales."

Table 4.1 Terms used to denote limited v. non-limited verbs

| Terms for limited v. non-limited | Author and date first used | Scholars who later used these terms |
|---|-------------------------------------|--|
| Desinentes v. permanentes | 1847 Bello | |
| Terminativ v. kursiv | 1897 Delbrück | Petersen, Meltzer, Noreen |
| Conclusive v. non- conclusive | 1924 Jaspersen | Ota, Šabršula 1969 |
| Transformativos v. non-transformativos | 1954 Sánchez Ruiperez ²⁷ | |
| Telic v. atelic | 1957 Garey | Allen, Barentsen, Comrie |
| Terminative v. aterminative | 1958 Maslov | Ivanova ²⁸ |
| Transitorisch v. nichttransitorisch | 1970 Pollak | |
| Desinent v. non- desinent | 1971 Johanson | |

²⁷ (cf. Johanson 1971:195).

²⁸ For Bulgarian.

Aspect is subsumed both as a grammatical category and as a lexical semantic category. Comrie, (idem.), treats semantic aspectual distinctions, such as that between perfective and imperfective meaning, irrespective of whether they are grammaticalised or lexicalised in individual languages. In the latter case, he discusses contrasts like **punctual/durative**, **telic/ atelic**, or **static/ dynamic** under the heading of “inherent aspectual (i.e. semantic aspectual) properties of various classes of lexical items”. Aspect thus relates to the fact that any situation, whether static or dynamic, telic or atelic, can be described either as a completed whole, or as something “ongoing, in process” or simply existent” for a given point in or period of time. The distinction between aspect and Aktionsart is drawn by Comrie (1976:4), in at least the following two ways. The first distinction is between aspect as grammaticalization of the relevant semantic distinctions, irrespective of how these distinctions are lexicalised; this use of Aktionsart is similar to the notion of inherent meaning, related to the general semantic definition of aspect. The second distinction, which is that used by most Slavists, and often by scholars in Slavonic countries writing on other languages, is between **aspect** as *grammaticalization of the semantic distinction*, and **aktionsart** as *lexicalisation of the distinction provided that the lexicalisation is by means of derivational morphology*. This restriction of the use of the term “aktionsart” in Slavonic linguistics was introduced by Agrell (1908). In his doctorate thesis on the Polish verb Agrell distinguished Aktionsart and aspect along the following lines:

“Aspect in Slavic has solely to do with the completion or incompleteness of an action; Aktionsart stands for semantic functions of verbal compounds, more exactly for the different ways in which an action may be carried out.”

Aktionsart is generally applied to situation types. As the previous chapter demonstrated, it can be applied to pre-verbs or prefixes as well, revealing the enormous semantic potential of these pre-verbs. Ivanova, (idem.), defines **fifty three** Aktionsartens based on Bulgarian prefixes,(pre-verbs),which demonstrates that various taxonomies of verbs are possible.

Aktionsart is generally associated with four different types of verbs:

- states;
- activities;
- accomplishments and
- achievements.

As the classes proposed by Vendler (1957) are purely lexical, they present an excellent point of departure for studying the verb lexical-semantic interactions with syntax. Various approaches use Aktionsart as a tool for giving an account of situation types. Smith, (idem.), views aspect as “the semantic domain of the temporal structure of situations (events and states) and their presentation.” The two components of the theory, viewpoint aspect and situation aspect, are essential and necessary for the proper description of the composite nature of aspectual meaning. The first two out of the three types of viewpoint aspect, studied by Smith, coincide with the types of aspectual categories defined for Bulgarian.

“*Perfective viewpoints* focus on the situation as a whole, with initial and final points.

Imperfective viewpoints focus on part of a situation, including neither initial nor final point.

Neutral viewpoints are flexible, including the initial point of a situation and at least one internal stage (where applicable)”. (Smith idem.: 6).

Situation aspect, with a focus on the basic-level categorization of verb constellation, refers to idealized situation types, classified around Aktionsart, on the basis of *static*, *durative* and *telic* features. Unlike Dowty, (1986), Smith considers the feature of *duration* an important linguistic category. The theory presents a thorough examination of both viewpoint and situational aspect and in a way provides the framework for aspect / Aktionsart juxtaposition, the main objective of my thesis.

Among the severest critics of Vendler’s classes is Verkuyl (1972) who argues that the situation type of a sentence is determined by a verb and its associated arguments. He analyses examples such as the following ones in terms of **terminative** and **durative aspect**, which can be isolated on the basis of tests. The same opposition is related to the opposition distributive/ collective.

(4.1) a. Judith ate a sandwich.

b. Judith ate sandwiches.

c. Judith ate bread.

d. Judith ate no sandwich.²⁹

The compositional approach to aspect does not preclude a distinction between aspect and Aktionsart but the author thinks that this distinction does not play any theoretically significant role. Among the deficiencies found in Vendler's classification are the criteria used in its design, namely, focus on agentive modification (e.g. the "deliberately" test can not be applied to non-animate cases), the continuous tense test (a lot of state verbs can take continuous) and the differences between Accomplishments and Achievements (*time instant* and *time stretch* are the two distinguishing parameters Verkuyl seems to disagree with).

Verkuyl's well-known predicate [+ADD TO] and the Specified Quantity of the Argument [+SQA] are used for categorical nodes such as MOVEMENT, TAKE, etc. and contribute to the semantic information within a model-theoretic analysis of predicates. The author claims that a combination of [+ADD TO]-verb plus one or more of its arguments, [+SQA]-NPs will yield a compositionally formed (and hence semantic) terminative inner aspect. Compositional schemes (three types in the case of terminative aspect) represent terminative aspect. Thus, on the basis of semantic information associated with specific syntactic elements, it can be predicted whether or not a sentence is terminative.

My approach differs from both Verkuyl's compositional approach and Smith's theory in that the aspectual classification shown in the previous chapter is a verb classification which presents problems different from those treated by the authors mentioned so far.

²⁹ The examples are from Verkuyl (1993:5).

Notwithstanding, any of the theoretical insights of the approaches turn out to be useful in a taxonomy which aims at emancipating grammatical from lexical aspectual features.

Whatever the theoretical differences in the literature on aspect one can see Vendler's classification referred to as "an activity" (verb), "an accomplishment", or "an achievement", which shows that the terminology has managed to assert itself. The terminology used in my thesis is the one used by RRG, which consists in the four classes of verbs discussed in Vendler (idem.). The values **telic**, **punctual**, **stative** and **dynamic** serve as criteria for distinguishing the types of verbs within this lexical classification.³⁰

4.1.1 Aspect and Aktionsart diagnostic

4.1.1.1 Aspect diagnostic

The aspectual classes which will be correlated with the lexical classes of RRG were defined on the basis of the presence or absence of two morphological elements added to the verbal stem. It is important to note that there is addition of elements and no subtraction of elements from the verbal stem. The classification includes more morphological types of verbs than the typical perfective/imperfective classes but these types are found within either one or the other major aspects. Apart from this purely formal factor, this classification respects the two forms of the verbs given in the lexicon

³⁰ In order to provide a clear distinction between Bulgarian aspectual (or lexical) classes of verbs and RRG lexical classes, the latter are represented in capitals in what follows. So are the rest of the RRG key terms, such as Operator Projection, Macroroles, etc.

as well as the processes (grammatical, lexical or both) which led to their formation. The following morphological aspectual classes have been defined.

| | | |
|----------|--------------------------|------------|
| (4.2) A: | unprefixed , unsuffixed | INCOMPLETE |
| B1 : | primary unprefixed | COMPLETE |
| B2: | unprefixed, suffixed | INCOMPLETE |
| C1: | prefixed , unsuffixed | COMPLETE |
| C2: | prefixed, suffixed | INCOMPLETE |
| D1: | - n - suffixed, complete | COMPLETE |
| D2: | derived from D1 | INCOMPLETE |

The three groups are structured around the opposition complete / incomplete in Table 4.2 which also shows the deficient element of the system, i.e., A Class. This class has no corresponding pairing verb in the lexicon.

| |
|--|
| Table 4.2 Aspectual classification of Bulgarian verbs: |
|--|

| INCOMPLETE | COMPLETE |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| unprefixed (A) | |
| primary unprefixed, suffixed (B2) | primary unprefixed (B1) |
| secondary prefixed, suffixed (C2) | prefixed (C1) |
| derived from -n-suffixed (D2) | -n- suffixed (D1) |

The lexico-grammatical character of these classes is illustrated by two morphological rules which are not only well-attested but also serve as tests for distinguishing between limited and unlimited verbs.

(4.3) a. Every complete verb (B1), (C1) and (D1) can form an incomplete one, when one of the following grammatical suffixes is added to it: **-a-**, **-ia-**, **-va-**, **-ava-**, **-iava-**, **-uva-**.

i. B1+ any of **-a-**, **-ia-**, **-va-**, **-ava-**, **-iava-**, **-uva-** → B2

kazha + **-va-** → kazvam “say”

ii. C1+ any of **-a-**, **-ia-**, **-va-**, **-ava-**, **-iava-**, **-uva-** → C2

pocaza + **-va-** → pokazvam “show”

iii. D1+ any of **-a-**, **-ia-**, **-va-**, **-ava-**, **-iava-**, **-uva-** → D2

sedna + **-a-** → siadam “sit”

b. The reverse does not hold.

The suffixation process described in (4.3) defines three different pairs of verbs which are in fact the three possible patterns of dual forms existing in the lexicon and repeated below. This means that a derivation which does not follow any of the three possible derivations would have just a word-formation character.

(4.4) a. kasha / kazvam “say”

b. pokazha / pokazvam “show”

c. sedna / siadam “sit”

4.1.1.2 Aktionsart diagnostic

There are various criteria, which determine the belonging of a certain verb to Aktionsart. The table below illustrates the way RRG defines the verb belonging to one or another Aktionsart type. This formal representation of the Aktionsart classes is based on, but not identical with, the decompositional system proposed originally in Dowty (1979).

Table 4.3 Aktionsart tests (following VV&LP 1997:101)

| <i>Class</i> | Test 1 | Test 2 | Test 3 | Test 4 | Test 5 | Test 6 |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|---|--------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|
| | Occurs with progressive | With adv. like <i>vigorously, etc.</i> | With adv. like <i>quickly.</i> | With X for an hour | With X in an hour | Causati ve |
| State | No | No | No | Yes* | No | No |
| Activity | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | No* | No |
| Achievement | No | No | No* | No | No* | No |
| Accomplishment | Yes | No | Yes | Irrelevant* ¹ | Yes | No |
| Active accomplishment | Yes | Yes | Yes | Irrelevant | Yes | No |
| Causative state | Yes* | Yes* | No | Yes | No | Yes |
| Causative activity | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | No | Yes |
| Causative achievement | No | Yes* | No* | No | No* | Yes |
| Causative accomplishment | Yes | Yes* | Yes | Irrelevant | Yes | Yes |
| Causative active accomplishment | Yes | Yes | Yes | Irrelevant | Yes | Yes |

The tests work well provided the so-called “local co-occurrence effect” is taken into consideration. For example, the English verb *rush* co-occurs with *quickly* and *swiftly* (test 3), but it does not co-occur with *slowly*. So, *rush* has temporal duration and therefore is either an accomplishment or an activity verb. *Slowly* conflicts with the inherent meaning of *rush*. This incompatibility, however, is unrelated to what test 3 is testing for.

Test 1 cannot be applied to languages, such as Bulgarian, which have no progressive. It is also important to mention here that the basic Aktionsart types are not causative. That is why Test 6 marks “NO” to all those basic types. Causative state, activity, achievement, accomplishment, as well as causative active accomplishment can also be tested by their corresponding tests provided by RRG.

4.2 A Class (unprefixed, incomplete verbs)

Most of the unprefixed verbs in Bulgarian are incomplete. They constitute class A and correspond to state and activity verbs. Examples are given below.

- (4.5) *iam* - “eat”, *miia* - “wash”(both REFL. and non-REFL.), *visia* “hang”,
peia - “sing”

These are some of the verbs which belong to Imperfectiva Tantum. From the point of view of the Bulgarian aspectual system, these verbs are **deficient** as “verbs with non-

limited meanings appear as Imperfectiva Tantum, i.e. only in the imperfective aspect.”

(Maslov 1982:13).

The lexico-grammatical function of A Class verbs is to present an action or a process which is **not finished** at the moment of speaking. Moreover, their function is related to expressing **habitual activities**, a function due to the imperfective character they exhibit, as iterative aspect is a sub-part of imperfective. The syntactic structure of habitual activities is differentiated from on-going activities thanks to a frequency adverbial, a manner adverbial or the discourse context which serves to define its usage as one type or the other. A more significant device for the emancipation of this kind of aspectual verbs is the presence of a whole **class of verbs** which have iterative meaning only. Although these verbs are prefixed verbs, they are discussed in this section, as their prefix has comparatively little semantic load in order to be classified as a pre-verb.

A Class verbs cannot be prefixed or suffixed **aspectually**, in the sense I explained the process in the preceding chapter. The non-aspectual suffixation they undergo is a combination of person-tense coding and it varies according to the three conjugations in Bulgarian: (basic vowels: -e; -i; -a).

Imperfective Tantum verbs are the only class of verbs, which **cannot have a “pair”** and they are represented as “single” verbs in the lexicon. As the name suggests, these verbs are **always** incomplete (imperfective). It is very important to differentiate the suffix *-va-* present in some A Class verbs as part of the stem, i.e. word-forming one, from the grammatical *-va-*, which imperfectivises primary perfective verbs.

4.2.1 State verbs

State verbs in Bulgarian are incomplete verbs only. These verbs are neutral to spatial characteristics. The **lexical** suffix *-e/-a* is the suffix, which defines the following state verbs:

- (4.6) a. *beleia se* – to appear/ show white,
b. *gordeia se* – to be proud of,
c. *zeleneia se* – to appear/show green,
e. *tazha* - be/feel sad

The element, which distinguishes state verbs from the rest of the lexical types is their +static character. Example (4.7) can not be the answer to “What is happening?”.

- (4.7) *Toi se belee sred tūlpata ot pocherneli kurortisti.*
he show white PRES among the crowd of tanned holidaymakers
He shows/appears white among the crowd of tanned holidaymakers.

The LS of States, according to RRG, is the following:

- (4.7)´ **predicate**´ (x) or (x, y)

The corresponding characteristics, or values of a state verb, involve the features: +static, -telic, -punctual and -dynamic.

(4.8) State [+static], [-telic], [-punctual] [-dynamic]

The verb in example (4.7) will have the following Aktionsart characteristics: the verb does not co-occur with adverbs, such as “vigorously, actively, etc.” Neither does it co-occur with adverbs such as “quickly, slowly, etc. The test X for an hour gives a NO answer, as it is difficult to limit the state. Test 5, X in an hour, gives NO as well.

| |
|--|
| Table 4.4 Aktionsart tests for <i>belee se</i> “show white”. |
|--|

| <i>Class</i> | <i>Test 2</i> | <i>Test 3</i> | <i>Test 4</i> | <i>Test 5</i> |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| State | NO | NO | NO | NO |

This situation defines the verb as a state verb. Test 1 is irrelevant for languages without progressive though “...the ability of a verb to have an imperfective form can be interpreted as being equivalent to taking the progressive in test 1.”(VV&LP 1997: 655).

The LS of state verbs will include the predicate and the single argument (x). This argument is defined as an UNDERGOER within the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy (see p.

29 of this dissertation) and follows the Default Macrorole Assignment Principles, repeated below.

- a) the number of macroroles a verb takes is one if the verb has one argument in its LS,
- b) if a verb has no activity predicate in its LS, the macrorole is undergoer.

According to that principle, the M-transitivity of the verb is one. The S-transitivity is determined on the basis of the number of arguments in the LS, which in this case is also one. Thus, the verb in (4.7) will have the following LS:

(4.7)'' **belee se** ´ (x)

A state is represented here as a simple predicate in a one-place LS.

The necessity to posit various “stative” LSs is due to the difference between a state verb predicate and an identificational or attributive predicate on the one hand and a state verb and a resultative state, on the other. In its attempt to represent both state-verb predicates (either one-argument states or two-place states), as well as resultative states, RRG posits LSs which correspond either to a verb classification (4.7) or to constructions. It is obvious that both analytic and synthetic languages are taken into consideration.

4.2.1.1 Identificational LSs and attributive LSs

The primary criteria for distinguishing between attributive constructions and result state is whether the attribute is inherent, as in *Coal is black* (**be'**(coal, [**black'**])) or it is the result of some kind of process, as in *The fire blackened the wood* (.....BECOME **black** (wood)) (cf. VV&LP 1997:103). This distinction is morphologically present in Bulgarian and is represented by the two examples below, though the interpretation of (.....BECOME **black** (wood)) is slightly modified. The two forms of *sŭm*, “to be”, the auxiliary in present perfect and the copula are homonymous.

(4.9) a. Vaglenat e cheren.

coal DEF be AUX. PRES black ADJ

Coal is black.

LS (**be'**(vaglen, [**cheren'**]))

b. Gorata e pocherniala.

wood DEF be AUX .PRES blacken AOR. ACT. PART. FEM. S

The wood has become black.

The attributive predicate (4.9 a) has the same structure as its English result state equivalent. However, the construction (4.9 b) differs from the result state construction (.....BECOME **black** (wood)). This difference concerns the aspectual type of verb used, the participle derived from it and the tense. It is further discussed in section 4.2.1.2.

4.2.1.1.1 FIRST STAGE OF PREFIXATION (EFFECTIVE AND EFFECTIVE-COMMUNICATIVE MODES OF ACTION)

Although the verbs discussed in this section are prefixed verbs, they are included within A Class as their prefix has comparatively little semantic load in order to be classified as a pre-verb. This kind of approach needs to be clarified. Traditionally, prefixes which tend to “lose” their semantics are classified as “empty”, “grammaticalized” or “desemanticized”. Some Bulgarian prefixes have undergone this process and have fused with the verbal stem to such an extent that it is meaningless to talk about a verb’s meaning as the sum of the meaning of the prefix plus that of the stem. This kind of desemantization complicates verbal classification as the prefixes which tend to “bleach” do not form a uniform morphological class. Moreover, Bulgarian prefixes are notoriously rich in their semantics and the “loss” of one meaning of a certain prefix does not entail the “bleaching” of the rest of the meanings. For instance, one such prefix is *-na*. In its *general resultative* meaning, the prefix has practically merged with the verbal stem. The verb *narisuvam*, “draw”, (as in *Jaide da narisuvame balon!* “Let’s draw a balloon!”), gives no idea of the spatial coordination or the intensity of the verb (cf. Ivanova 1974:57). All it represents is an activity directed towards a result. As this meaning is already present in the stem, *risuvam*, “draw”, the prefix is “dissolved” by the stem. Notwithstanding, the same prefix marks a *resultative-cummulative* mode of action, which is defined as an action directed towards a result but also realized through accumulation, as in *navodniavam* “flood”. Another mode of action marked by the prefix is the *resultative-saturative* mode of action which defines an action not just

brought to a result but also to a total saturation, as in *natantzuvam se*, “to dance to a total exhaustion”. In the latter two modes of action as well as in the *resultative-accursive*, the *attenuative*, or the *ingressive* mode of action the prefix *-na* is not considered desemanticized. Therefore, the term “empty prefix” does not reveal the whole picture of Bulgarian prefixes and is dangerous to apply as some of the semantic meanings marked by such “empty” prefixes will be left unexplained. A less “harmful” and definitely more fruitful approach is the inclusion of SOME prefixed verbs within a class of “unprefixed” verbs. Such verbs **do not carry substantial semantic load** and it is exactly because of this fact that the semantic “loading” of a verb can be traced. There is no need to postulate a special aspectual class for these intermediate verbs as the meaning of the predicate is no longer obtained by the combination of the prefix and the stem. On the other hand, the interaction between aspectual types and verbs prefixed by desemanticized prefixes is particularly revealing.

For example, the verb “*pocherneia*”, “become black”, (4.9.b), is a prefixed verb and as such it has two forms: *pocherneia/pocherniavam*. Within my classification the former belongs to C1 Class (prefixed, unsuffixed, complete) and the latter to C2 Class (prefixed, suffixed, incomplete). Another reason for the inclusion of this verb (and similar ones) here is the illustration of the morphological derivation of complex verbs as well as the **natural semantic loading** of complex verbs.

The first part of this section consists in a parallel “tracking” of the way the English result construction (.....BECOME **black** (wood)) LS in *The fire blackened the wood* has been obtained and the nature of the resulting state and the corresponding Bulgarian prefix, which seems to exhibit a similar function. The verb *blacken* derives from an adjective in the same way as the verb *pochernia*, “blacken”. There is a form-deriving

suffix in English (adjective – verb) which derives a new form, namely, a verb. Similarly, the prefix *po-* derives a verb from the adjective *cheren*, “black” in Bulgarian. This similarity in function is quite misleading because of a simple fact: there are two forms derived from the Bulgarian adjective against one in English. The English morpheme *-en* was restricted to just one derivation at a very primitive level within a “semantic loading” scale. It is no longer productive because the class of adjectives (and some nouns) has been exhausted. Verbs such as “cheapen”, “broaden”, “dampen”, etc., add an attribute of some kind to the object of the activity, which does not necessarily change its nature. On the other hand, the Bulgarian prefix is not grammaticalized enough and is incapable of deriving a new form. The same derivation, adjective-verb, was possible in Bulgarian because of the **conjoint efforts of both an aspectual suffix and a prefix**. The share of aspect in this derivation was much bigger and it resulted in two forms, representing the two members of the opposition: complete and incomplete. As a result, we can talk about a finished against a non-finished action. The prefix contributed to this formation in a different way. Verbs such as *pobeliavam*, “whiten”, *omekchavam*, “soften”, *udalzhavam*, “lengthen”, *umaliavam* “lessen”, *osvezhavam*, “freshen” and many others are prefixed in Bulgarian by three prefixes: **o-**, **u-** and **po-**. These three prefixes (among other functions) mark two modes of action: *effective* and *effective-communicative*. (cf. Ivanova 1974:47). These two modes of action have been defined on the basis of *low intensity, a co-ordination between two states and an orientation towards a new state*, determined by the verbal stem. The two modes of action are very similar to the resultative state, i.e., (...BECOME **black** (wood)) as the prefix(es) contribute to the change of state of the object (the wood changes its colour). Still, the inner structure of the wood is the same. Compare the effective **u-** prefix in

umirotvoriavam “pacify” with the resultative **u-** in **ubivam** “kill”. Metaphorically speaking, it means that I can fatten (*udebeleia*), deafen (*oglushavam*), liven (*ozhivia*) or even madden (*pobarkam*) my cat but it will not become a tiger. The situation is different if the example above contained the verb “burn”, e.g., *The fire burnt the wood*. The existence of a big number of Bulgarian verbs, prefixed by the three prefixes mentioned above and the clearly defined function they have makes me suggest a LS for the Bulgarian *effective* mode of action for verbs which have basically **adjectival stems and are prefixed by o-, u- or po-**. The corresponding LS would contain **EFFECT** instead of **BECOME**. The three prefixes (together with **-na**, which is discussed in the next section) are generally considered “on the way” to grammaticalization though some of their semantic meanings are too strong to be neglected.

This stage of semantic loading, which I call “1st stage of prefixation”, represents the prefixation of both state and activity verbs by three prefixes which have comparatively **low semantic load**. What I mean by “low semantic load” is the degree of contribution of the prefix to the meaning of the stem. As far as the English *-en* is concerned, it reminds Bulgarian aspectual suffixes which are grammatical in nature but serve a lexical function, as the examples showed.³¹ The difference is that the set of Bulgarian suffixes spread to the whole lexis while *-en* stopped being productive at a very primitive level of organization of the English verbal stock.

³¹ The Spanish prefix **a-** in *ablandar*, *anegrecer*, *alargar*, *aminorar*, *abaratar*, and other verbs is quite similar to both the English **-en** and to the three Bulgarian prefixes. The prefixes **en-** /**em-** in Spanish have a similar function in *enriquecer*, *enrojecer*, *empobrecer*, *embellecer* and other verbs, though similar to the Bulgarian prefixes, they are not restricted to this function only.

4.2.1.1.2 First stage of prefixation (iterative-attenuative mode)

Another function that can be found at this first level of prefixation is the *iterative-attenuative* meaning, contributed to the verbal stem by the prefix *po-*. The existence of about eight hundred fifty (850) *po-* prefixed verbs only within the iterative-attenuative mode of action is particularly striking. Unlike the rest of the prefixed verbs, these verbs have **imperfective aspect forms** only. The incompatibility between the complete type of verbs and certain prefixes shows that it is the prefix which adapts to the type of aspect and not the other way round. As a result, predicates, formed by such verbs have only iterative reading, as illustrated below.

- (4.10) a. *po-* prefixed verbs with **iterative- attenuative** meaning (to do something with interruptions and low intensity)

pobabriam, “chat”, **pogostuvam**, “visit”, **povozvam**, “give someone a lift”,
pospiram “stop”, **poizprashtam**, “see someone off”, **porazmeniam**
“exchange”, **pomrazvam**, “to freeze”, **potaguvam**, “be sad”

- b. Na pat za rabota **pospiram** da **popricazvam** s jorata.

on the way to work stop IMPF.PRES.1S to talk IMPF.1S with people

On the way to work I would stop to talk (for a while) with people.

As the examples show, the prefix *po-* is not selective and can be added to practically any kind of verb as well as to an already prefixed verb.

The prefixed verb, *pocherniavam* “become black”, as well as this big group of *po*-prefixed verbs are “on the transition” between State/ Activity and Accomplishment verbs. Verbs such as these do not mark a real result state. What is more significant here is the expression of **iterative aspect** which fully correlates with the verbal form.

Such first-stage prefixed verbs show that aspect has definitely won the battle of supremacy over the prefixes. The fact that the verbs prefixed by *po*- (just in this function of *po*-) cannot have perfective correspondence does not mean that the phenomenon is similar to isolating those verbs which cannot take continuous aspect in English. The following analysis explains the transition simple \longrightarrow prefixed verb, which I called “first stage prefixation” due to the comparatively low semantic load of the prefixes added to the stem. It also shows the tightness of the aspectual relation and its supremacy over the prefix-stem relationship.

4.2.1.1.3 From interclausal to clausal relationships

The existence of pre-verbs (prefixes) in a morphological language like Bulgarian allows us to “shrink” various Interclausal Semantic Relationships, posited by RRG, (VV&LP, 1997:481), into a single, one-verb predicate relationships. There are at least three such relationships which can be found in a Bulgarian **verb**: Causative, Phase and Modifying Subevents. What makes me consider these relationships at a point where state verbs are discussed is the fact that they **reveal the semantic presence of aspect within the predicate**. At the same time, they show clearly the possible derivations of state verbs.

A traditional rule in Bulgarian states that state verbs cannot be prefixed by *po-* and *pro-*. There is, though, an intermediate case, which is demonstrated below (example 4.7 a is repeated as 4.11.a)

- (4.11) a. Toi se belee sred tŭlpata ot pocherneli kurortisti.
he REFL. PART show white among crowd of tanned holidaymakers
He shows/appears white among the crowd of tanned holidaymakers
- b. * Toi se **pobeele** sred tŭlpata ot pocherneli kurortisti.

The ungrammaticality of example (4.11 b) shows that the prefixed verb, *pobeele se*, cannot exist on its own. In order to form a grammatical sentence, this predicate requires another predicate, something we do not observe in a typical state verb.

- (4.12) **Pobeele se** y zaminava /zamine.
show white REFL.3S and leave 3S IMPF/ PERF
He would show white and leave.

The fact that the verb “*pobeele se*”, in (4.11 b), cannot exist on its own points to a relation different from co-ordination. Moreover, the only possible reading of the example is the **iterative** one. Compare the English examples *He would show off...* or *She would see me off...* which are generally accompanied by an adverb or another predicate.

In terms of RRG, interclausal relations hold at various levels of juncture (nuclear juncture, core juncture and clausal juncture) and nexus relations are distinguished on the basis of the structural dependency and operator dependency.

- (4.13) a. Nuclear juncture: [CORE ... [NUC PRED] ... + ... [NUC PRED] ...]
 b. Core juncture: [CLAUSE ... [CORE ...] ... + ... [CORE ...] ...]
 c. Clausal juncture: [SENTENCE ... [CLAUSE ...] ... + .. [CLAUSE] ..]

The nexus relations are distinguished on the basis of the structural dependency and **operator dependency**. They are further divided into two categories: independent and dependent. The following figure shows schematically these relations:

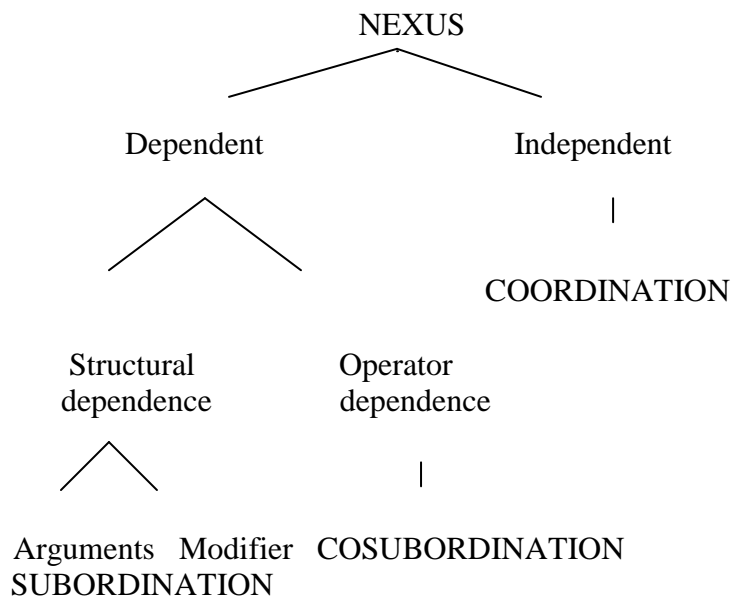


Figure 4.2 Nexus types (following VV&LP 1997:454)

These nexus relations can hold at each level of juncture and yield nine possible juncture-nexus types, where the tightest syntactic relationships are found in the nuclear cosubordination. Although the juncture-nexus types are syntactic in nature, they are used to express a wide variety of semantic relations between the units in a construction. Following Silverstein (1976) and Givón (1980), RRG posits a continuum based on the degree of semantic cohesion between or among the units in the linkage; i.e. the extent to which a given construction expresses facets of a single event, action or state of affairs.

The ungrammaticality of (4.11 b) and the grammaticality of (4.12) suggest a kind of relation that binds the two verbs within the grammatical example. One of the obligatory requirements in defining the nexus type is the sharing of operators. Example (4.12) is grammatical and I can define it as a dependent nexus type although the *po*-prefixed verb is compatible with either aspectual type. The result is an iterative type construction, which is a sub-type of imperfective. The compatibility of the verb *po-belee se* with the imperfective *zaminava* is due to the state character of *belee se*, the state verb which has been prefixed but the prefix is not strong enough to change its type. On the other hand, *pobelee se* IS a prefixed verb, which has become morphologically complete and is compatible with another complete verb, *zamina*. There is a sharing of an operator and it is the imperfective, which is shared, as the *po-prefixed* verb cannot form its own predicate.

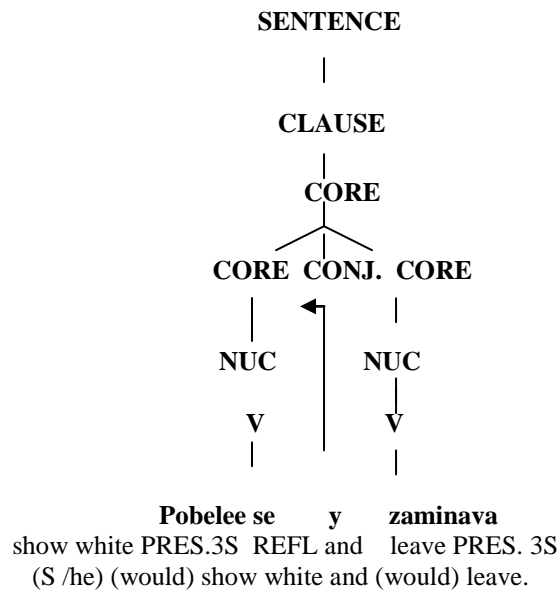


Figure 4.3 Nexus cosubordination: *Pobelee se y zaminava*. “He would show white for a while and leave.”

This analysis shows that the ungrammaticality of example (4.11b) is due to the change of aspect (imperfective to perfective) and that this aspect is present in the verb itself, though not morphologically marked. Moreover, it raises the question of the representation of the Operator Aspect and its “extraction” from the LS of the verb. RRG provides a solution for verbs which are “on the way to completion of the action” or just point to a limit. A similar example of ambiguity is found in Lakota, where “many non-activity intransitive verbs can have either state or change-of state readings”. The example is the verb *t’a* “die” and the LS is (BECOME) **dead**’(x). The parentheses in the LS indicate that the Accomplishment part of the LS is optional. (cf. VV&LP, 1997:113).

The examples above also demonstrate that **a state verb in Bulgarian can be distinguished from the rest of the Aktionsart verbs by its inability to be prefixed by po- and -pro-**. While this rule is somewhat problematic due to the existence of some quasi-state verbs, there is a group of state verbs, which are definitely incompatible with the two problematic prefixes. These are the relative state verbs, exemplified below.

- (4.14) a. *dominiram* – to dominate → **podominiram*
b. *granicha* – to limit → **pogranicha*
c. *znacha* – to mean → **poznacha*
d. *lipsvam* – to be absent → **polipsvam*
e. *imam* – to have → **poimam*

4.2.1.2 Result state constructions

Neither a state nor an activity verb can take part in a result state construction. As prefixed verbs can be either telic or atelic, the various stages of prefixing here do not affect the telic/atelic character of the verb. For a result to be present, we need a “resultative” prefix, i.e., a “higher stage of prefixation”. The result-state (4.15b) refers to the well-known resultative construction.

- (4.15) a. *Chasovnikat* e *schupen*.

Watch DEF. be AUX. PRES break **COMPL.PASS. PART**

The watch has been broken.

b. Chasovnikat e schupvan.

watch DEF be AUX. PRES break **INCOMPL.PASS. PART**

The watch has been broken (various times).

For Bulgarian, a resultative construction requires a passive participle (*schupen*, “broken”) **derived from a complete verb** as well as a perfect tense (where the verb *sŭm*, “be”, functions as an auxiliary, rather than a copula) (cf. Maslov in Nedjialkov, 1983). This requirement is also clear in Spanish, in examples such as *Mi reloj está roto* against *Mi reloj se ha roto*. This also means that **any result state requires a change in the aspectual verb class**, similar to the *change of state* examples. This change is naturally related to imperfective aspect, shared by all state verbs in Bulgarian. **Imperfective aspect precludes a result state**. Moreover, once the verb *chupia* “break” is prefixed, it results in two forms and their corresponding participles. The *-l-* aorist/past participle refers to the coda of the activity only (*Toy go e schupil nakraia* “He finally broke it”) while the *-n-* passive participle points to the result if it is **derived from a complete verb** (4.15 a). If the participle is derived from the incomplete *schupvam*, as shown in example (4.15 b), the sentence has **only** iterative reading. Due to these considerations, I would propose a clear differentiation between the result-state and the attributive LS based on this aspectual distinction. This distinction has to be reflected in the LS of the corresponding structure. Another obligatory element for a result-state construction to be obtained is perfect tense. As I mentioned earlier, **the forms of sŭm**

“*to be*” as an auxiliary in perfect and its forms as a copula **are homonymous**. The following example usually has two readings.

- (4.16) Masata e zapazena.
table DEF be. AUX. PRES reserve PASS. PART. COMPL
- a. The table is reserved. *So, you cannot sit there.*
- b. The table has been reserved *by my colleague.*

From the point of view of Bulgarian, the aspectual extensions of the LSs are necessary in order to make a clear differentiation between a result and a non-result construction.

The following LSs correspond to the types of verbal predicates analysed so far and involve the aspect (also tense in the resultative construction) extension of the LSs due to the aspectual presence in the verb forms. Although this presence is not morphologically marked in the case of A Class verbs, there is a clear semantic-syntax correlation demonstrated by the iterative class of verbs.

(4.17) a. **ATTRIBUTIVE LS**

Vaglenat e cheren.

coal be AUX.PRES black ADJ

Coal is black.

LS <_{asp} IMPERF< (be'(vaglen, [cheren']))>>

b. **(BECOME) / EFFECT LS**

Gorata e pocherniala.

wood DEF be AUX. PRES blacken PAST.ACT. PART.COMPL

The wood has become black.

LS <_{asp} PF(BECOME) /EFFECT<**black**' (wood)) >>c. **RESULTATIVE STATE LS**

Gorata e izgorena.

wood DEF be AUX.PRES burn PAST. PASS. PART.COMPL

The wood has been burnt.

<_{tense} PERF_{asp} PF< BECOME **burn**' (wood)) >>**4.2.1.3 Two-place state predicates**

For propositional attitude, location, perception, etc., RRG posits a two-place LS. Internal experience is represented by the LS **feel**'(x, [**pred**']). This LS would correspond to the English sentence “*I feel sad*”. The English sentence involves an *experiencer* and the *sensation* of sadness. Semantically, this internal experience can be expressed in Bulgarian in four different ways, represented below.

- (4.18) a. Tŭzhen sŭm.
sad ADJ be 1S
- b. Tŭzhno mi e.
sadrn ADJ/ ADV CL DAT 1S be PRES.3S
- c. Chuvstvuvam se tŭzhen.
Feel PRES.1S REFL. PRT sad ADJ
- d. Chuvstvuvam tŭga.
feel PRES.1S sadness.
- e. Tŭzha.
feel sad PRES. 1S

The first example corresponds to the use of the copula (*sŭm*) and an adjectival predicate. The second example is a non-verbal predicate, while the third involves the reflexive “feel” and an adjective. There is also a state verb with the same meaning in Bulgarian, *tazha* “feel sad”, example (4.18e). This verb, together with its only argument, forms the **core** in terms of RRG. This core will consist in the nucleus, i.e., the verb, and the argument (x), coded on the verb. Actually, this core coincides with the clause, the simplest possible in Bulgarian.

(4.18) e´ **tŭzha** (x)

In terms of RRG, example (4.18 a) is a two-place predicate in which the two “places” are filled by the thematic relations *sensation* and the *experiencer* respectively. The

syntactic realization in this construction is done through the copula *sŭm* “to be”. Concerning the copula verb, Bulgarian does not go to the extreme Russian does. In the latter, the copula is not used in identificational, possessive, existential, ascriptive or locative constructions except for in the past.³² The Bulgarian copula verb suppletes for its forms: *sŭm*, *bŭda* and *bivam*. As a **state verb**, *sŭm* is **intransitive, imperfective**. In its use in analytical constructions the verb has not “given up” completely under the pressure of syntax as the existence of non-verbal (4.18 b) predicates show. Still, we can talk about a copula here. Thus, in example (4.18a) the only predicating element left will be the adjective, which fills in the [pred´].

(4.18) a´ **feel** (x, [tŭzhen ´])

Example (4.16 c) involves a state verb, *chuvstvuvam se* “feel” which needs to take a second argument, “sad”.

(4.18) c´ **feel**´(x, [tŭzhen ´])

The reflexive “se” coincides in meaning with the Romance “se” particle and has been thoroughly analysed by Bentley (2004) and more recently by Vergara (2006). The conclusion drawn by these authors coincides in that the particle (a clitic) suppresses the

³² The Bulgarian copula verb has been characterised as very “resistant to change”. It has somehow preserved its existential characteristics and is semantically felt in the clause (unlike in Russian). Compare the following examples:

| | | | |
|------------------|-----------|----------------|---------|
| i. Tŭzhen sŭm. | Bulgarian | ii. Я грустный | Russian |
| be (1S) sad | | I sad | |
| I am / feel sad. | | I am/feel sad. | |

highest-ranking argument in the LS and reduces the number of macrorole arguments. I refer to these analyses again in Chapter 5.

The next example to be analysed is a non-verbal predicate, example (4.18 b). The non-verbal predicate is taken into consideration by RRG in its definition of the NUCLEUS: A predicate refers only to the predicating element, which is a verb, an adjective or a nominal of some kind. Non-verbal predicate structures in Bulgarian are considered a “**category of state**”. They contain the verb *sŭm* “to be” but are considered non-verbal as the only possible form of *sŭm* “to be” here is the 3 P.S. of the verb. The verb is totally devoid of any lexical meaning and is considered a kind of “functor”. Such predicates exhibit tense and conjugation, which are coded on the verb *sŭm*. On the other hand, the non-verbal predicate is in contrast with nouns and adverbials, though its forms are homonymous with them. The non-verbal predicative expresses psychological or physical state, emotions, feelings, etc. of both human and non-human agents. The question here concerns the kind of LS involved. Should it be different from the LS representing internal experience **feel**′(x, [**pred**′]) and used mainly for internal sensations and transient emotional states? Verb-less structures, such as (4.16 b), should follow the same scheme as LSs containing verbs (cf VV&LP 1997:103). The LS should be **feel**′(x, [**pred**′]). The argument positions will be filled by elements, different from those filling the previous LS given for state verbs.

(4.18) b. ′ **feel**′ (1S DAT [**tŭzhno** ′])

The resulting LSs for (4.16) are represented below.

- (4.18) a´ **feel** (x, [tǔzhen ´]) I am sad.
- (4.18) b.´ **feel**´ (1S DAT [tǔzhno ´]) *To me sad.
- (4.18) c´ **feel**´(x, [tǔzhen ´]) I feel sad.
- (4.18) e´ **tǔzha** (x) I am feeling sad.

Semantically, the same idea of “I feel sad” is represented by three similar LSs and the LS of a one-argument state verb. While the *c*´ example involves a **predicate position** in which the mnemonic **feel** is filled by the **verb feel**, the same mnemonic **feel** in example (a´) is empty. If, on the other hand, we use the LS **be**´(x, [**pred**]) for the (a´) example, (*I am sad*), with an attributive meaning, then the mnemonic **be**´ will be filled. In a language like Russian, however, it will be “empty”. This situation is somehow discouraging as an extra argument seems to be introduced. The explanation given by RRG³³ concerns the syntactic **nucleus**, which should contain both **feel** and the **pred**´ element but it somehow meets the demands of syntax *before* we have referred to it. A more important problem concerns the modelling of the transition **verb - analytic construction**. Example (4.18 d) consists in a state verb and a noun predicate, “sadness”. The verb is the non-reflexive “feel” and it has no particle showing the suppression of the highest-ranking argument. While the “se” example could be compared to an attributive predicate, example (4.18 d) is totally different as the non-reflexive verb does not allow any adjectival predicate and a passive impersonal transformation is possible: *Tǔga se chuvstva* “Sadness is felt”. As this is another two-place predicate and the second argument can vary between an adjective and a noun, I will assign this example

³³ VV & LP 1997:103

the same LS **feel'**(x, [**pred'**]) although the lack of hierarchy for the second arguments in two-place states is somewhat confusing.

There is another system, provided by RRG, to differentiate between a state verb and a predicate with a similar function. RRG makes an explicit statement that **the arguments a verb takes should follow from the kind of verb used rather than the other way round**. In this case, we are facilitated by a continuum of thematic relations, which could be grouped around the first and the second arguments of state predicates. A crucial fact about these relations is that the members of each group do not contrast with each other. This continuum is given on p. 27 of this dissertation and it explains the nature of the “adjectival predicate” structure in (4.18 a). The first argument is an EXPERIENCER, i.e. the person who feels something. This means that we cannot choose any more thematic relations from this group. The second argument is chosen from the 2nd arg. of **pred'**(x,y) group and is defined as SENSATION. As the first argument is more Agent-like and the second one is more Patient-like, RRG states that there are in fact two basic thematic relations. What these thematic relations define is the subclass of state (or activity) predicate that the arguments occur with.

As I defined the argument of the state verb *tǔzha* “feel sad” as a patient, it will be interesting to see the relationship between PATIENT and the second argument of the two-place-state predicate. Actually, the two roles are similar in the way that neither *being a patient* nor *feeling a sensation* requires any activity, i.e. both are states. On the other hand, the role of the first argument in **feel'** (x, [**sadness'**]) is similar to EFFECTOR, a role, which is assigned to the 1st argument of activity verbs. The role in a predicate formation containing a reflexive “se” will be any role of the continuum defined as 1st arg. of **pred'** (x,y), an EXPERIENCER in this case.

The thematic relations defined in the continuum have no independent status. The reason why RRG uses this scheme is **the lack of adequate decomposition representation for primitive states and activity predicates**, which in fact “carry the substantive semantic load.” (cf. VV&LP 1997:128).

4.2.2 Activity verbs

To define activity verbs, RRG uses the following Aktionsart features:

(4.19) [-static], [-telic],[-punctual], [+ dynamic]

Apart from State verbs, A Class includes activity verbs as well. State and activity verbs are differentiated within Aktionsart through examples (4.20a) and (4.20b) below. As there is no progressive tense in Bulgarian, we cannot apply **Test 1** to the language and consequently, cannot say whether a verb is static or non-static if this verb is isolated from its context. The test, which defines dynamicity, is **Test 2**. The adverbs "vigorously, actively, etc.", are compatible with +dynamic verbs and can be applied to differentiate state from activity verbs within A Class verbs. The verb in the example (4.20 a) is defined as compatible with the adverbs given above. The same adverbs, however, result ungrammatical with state verbs (example b).

- (4.20) a. Vratarjat kreshti ozhestocheno.
goal-keeper DEF shout PRES.3S IMPERF frantically
The goal-keeper is shouting frantically.

ACTIVITY: **do'** (x, [**predicate'** (x)])

b. *Moreto se sinee ozhestocheno na khorizonta.

see DEF REF be blue PRES. 3S frantically on the horizon

The see is frantically blue on the horizon.

STATE LS: **predicate'**(x)

Test 3 answers the question: Can a verb occur with "quickly, slowly, etc."? The verbs, which give an "YES" to this test, will be -static, -punctual verbs. In other words, the test is designed to define temporal duration in the process. It can be used for the purpose of distinguishing state from non-state within A Class verbs, as activity verbs should undoubtedly give an "YES" answer to it, while state verbs are incompatible with those adverbs.

(4.21) a. Uchi si bŭrzo uroka!

study IMP. IMPF CL. POSS quickly lesson

Learn your lesson quickly!

b. * Znam si uroka bŭrzo.

know PRES.IND. IMPF.1S CL.POSS lesson quickly

I know my lesson quickly.

Test 4 (X for an hour) will give a "YES" answer with both kind of verbs. The asterix, used with state verbs, means that state verbs cannot be delimited. This is something I

illustrated with the prefix *po-* above. Test 4 is irrelevant for distinguishing activity from state verbs, present in A Class, as both can occur with *X* for an hour, as the following examples show. The state verb *gladuvam* "starve", is compatible with *X* for an hour, and we cannot define such a verb as +telic. In the same way, an activity verb, *khrania*, "feed", also gives an "YES" answer to Test 4.

- (4.22) a. Detzata v Africa gladuvat dni nared. ITERATIVE
 children in Africa starve PRES.3PL. IMPF days on end
 Children in Africa starve for days on end.
- b. Khrani bebeto polovin chas. ITERATIVE
 feed PRES.3S.IMPF baby half an hour
 She/he has been feeding the baby for half an hour.

Concerning Test 5 (*X* in an hour), neither state nor activity verbs can be compatible with such a test, which identifies whether the event brings about a change of state.

Let us consider example (4.22 b) above, the activity verb "feed", again, and its compatibility with *X in an hour* adverbial.

- (4.23) a. Khrani bebeto za edin chas.
 feed PRES .3S baby in an hour
 S/he feeds the baby in an hour.
- b. *Vchera khrani bebeto za edin chas.
 Yesterday feed PAST 3S baby in an hour
 S/he fed the baby in an hour.

- c. *Shte khrani bebeto za edin chas.
be.AUX.FUT feed 3S baby DEF in an hour
She/he will feed the baby in an hour.

A verb, defined as an activity verb, occurs together with an adverbial, which marks compatibility with +telic verbs. The grammaticality of the example shows that either the Activity features ([-static], [-telic],[-punctual] [+ dynamic]) or the Accomplishment characteristics ([-static], [+ telic],[-punctual] [+ dynamic]) have been tested in a wrong way. Example (4.23 a) can have **only** iterative reading, similar to the **po**-prefixed state verbs. Once again, there is a kind of intermediary state in which a result is present but it is restricted to iterative aspect only.

The verb in example (4.23 a) is an Activity, incomplete but telic verb. The ability of **incomplete verbs to occur either as telic or atelic** verbs is demonstrated here by the ungrammaticality of the example in the rest of the tenses. As I already mentioned, the opposition *telicity /atelicity* is considered irrelevant for the description of Bulgarian "vid" (aspect) by some authors, but relevant from the point of view of cross-linguistic varieties. The irrelevancy of this lexical division for Bulgarian is justified by the behaviour of this class of incomplete verbs, which can be either telic or atelic. The *telic/atelic* division is neutralized for that class of verbs. The term "neutralized" refers to the belonging of both telic and atelic verbs to A Class verbs, i.e., it is used from the Bulgarian point of view. The traditional argument against this division is the lack of an explicit morphological marker(s), which is otherwise present in the perfective/imperfective verbs division.

As the objective of my analysis concerns the emancipation of State, Activity, etc. verbs, a very important issue here is the difference between the State verbs present in A Class and the Activity verbs with similar morphological formation, as these two groups share the feature -telic and differ in the feature dynamicity.

At first sight, it appears difficult to define atelic verbs morphologically. For Bulgarian, it has been observed that **atelic verbs** in Bulgarian cannot have a complete counterpart, i.e., they **do not have a full verb paradigm**, while **telic verbs** have **both complete and incomplete forms**. From the point of view of the aspectual division, this rule can be expressed as follows:

(4.24) INCOMPLETE verbs can be either telic or atelic

COMPLETE verbs are telic verbs only

It is very important to understand the way verbs are classified following the limited/non-limited division. A lexical pair of verbs includes an incomplete and a complete verb whereas the same pair is lexically either telic or atelic. For instance, both *prejrania* and *prejranvam*, “overfeed”, will be telic verbs.

Maslov (1981: 193) is among the few linguists, who consider the division *telic/atelic* relevant for Bulgarian. It is the same author who posits a rule for the **group of activity (incomplete) verbs which behave either as telic or atelic** (the “feed” example above). The rule is easily illustrated. The biaspectual *pisha*, “write” is telic in *pisha kniga* “write a book”. It is possible to obtain perfective aspect with the same lexical meaning: *shte napisha kniga /knigata* “I will write a book /the book” (the prefix *na-* is almost grammaticalized). It is also possible to derive a secondary imperfective verb from

napisha : *napisvam*. However, the “absolute” *pisha*, “write” in the sense of *I can write* or *pisha knigi* “write books” has an atelic meaning as no complete verb /predicate can be derived from it: **shte napisha*. “Write” in its “absolute” meaning is often taken as a general, habitual action, similar to the usage of present simple. It might coincide with forms of present simple in a language, which has no other means to express this meaning. “Write books”, “play music”, etc., have unlimited meaning no matter what tense is used.

This way of defining limited / unlimited verbs involves aspectual processes and a morphological derivation. Therefore, it could be considered the natural outcome of an aspectual classification. Still, the processed predicates involve more than just isolated verbs. Therefore, it becomes obvious that a **verb classification based on telicity** is impossible. What is possible for Bulgarian is the emancipation of those verbs (state or activity) which **always behave as atelic verbs**. This can be done on the basis of morphological rules and is shown below.

A Class verbs is the aspectually unmarked class. Being aspectually unmarked, the verbs of that class bear no morphological (explicit) marker for aspect. Thus, the set of grammatical suffixes (**-a-**, **-ia-**, **-va-**, **-ava-**, **-iava-**, **-uva-**, **-n-**) is not applicable to the verbs in that group. Interestingly, Bulgarian exhibits a very rare case of **syncretism**: the same set of affixes (with minor exceptions) which is used to mark grammatical aspect is used to mark a lexical distinction. The same affixes are meaning-bearing morphemes and are added to bare verbal stems. For a prefix to occur as a meaning-bearing, as well as "empty", is not rare in Bulgarian. The suffix **-n-**, for example, is also employed either as a word-forming morpheme or as a pure grammatical affix, void of any semantic meaning. The occurrence of a whole set of suffixes functioning either as grammatical

or as lexical markers points to a high degree of economy displayed by an otherwise lavish language. This multifunctional character of the set of morphemes is not ambiguous as the following examples with the suffix *-a-* (phonetical alteration *-ia-*) show.

- (4.25) a. *mislia* "think (opinion)", *mrazna* "freeze", *chuvstvuvam* "feel"- STATE
b. *ishtia* "scream", *cheta* "read", *piia* "drink" -ACTIVITY

The same suffix has an imperfectivising function.

- (4.26) a. *spr* + **a** → *spiram* "stop"
b. *izved* + **a** → *izvezhdam* "lead"

The suffix *-a-* in example (4.25) is part of the verb stem and is a **word-formation suffix**, while the same suffix in (4.26) forms part of the **imperfectivisation of complete verbs** and is totally **devoid of lexical meaning**.

As this class of verbs is represented by aspectually incomplete verbs only, the suffixes, added to the stem cannot have any grammatical function. The function they have is lexical and it is this function, which determines the atelic verbs within this group. Atelicity being a major feature of both state and activity verbs, it is possible to formulate a lexical rule, which will concern only the **unmarked member of the aspectual opposition (imperfective)**.

(4.27) Lexical rule concerning atelic/telic verbs:

Unprefixed, incomplete verbs in Bulgarian are atelic verbs if their morphological formation involves any of the patterns given below:

a: stem + va → atakuvam "attack", khitruvam "play tricks", milvam "caress", nedoumiavam "be puzzled", etc.

b: stem + ira → akompaniram "accompany", vibriram "vibrate", shofiram "drive", zhestikuliram "gesture", poziram "pose", etc., as well as loan words: adresiram "address", instaliram "install", unifizhiram "unify", idealiziram, etc.

c: a stem derived from an adjective → zhiveiia "live", beleia se "be white", momeia se "behave like a grown-up girl", etc.

d: stem + n → brūsna se "shave", etc.

e: stem + a → bŭrzam "be in a hurry", vikam "shout", imam "have", pitam "ask", igraia "play", chakam "wait", etc.

The same lexical rule can be formulated in the following way:

(4.27) *A verb is telic if it has a perfective correspondence (the same action is denoted by a verb prefixed by an "empty" prefix) or it can be suffixed by -n-. Otherwise, it is atelic.*

semelfactive **vikna** "shout once". Thus, this verb is **telic**. The verb **vibriram** "vibrate", on the other hand, is incompatible with either *-n-* or an empty prefix. Thus, it is atelic.

4.2.2.1 Evolutive mode of action

The rules above also correlate with the modes of action defined as *evolutive*. This kind of mode of action is characterized in the following way.

"...it is not characterized in respect to the features spatial coordination and direction. The intensity of the action is constant and does not vary". (Ivanova 1974:127).

The features characterising the **evolutive mode of action are almost the same as the features defining activity verbs**. The lack of spatial coordination and direction as well as constant intensity denote some general peculiarities of the lexical meanings of the verbs, which correspond to the compatibility of those verbs with adverbs such as "vigorously, actively, slowly, etc" and their incompatibility with the "X in an hour" Aktionsart test. The **presence or lack of direction** of the action is the factor most influenced by the context. This is something, which is easily exemplified by a verb such as *brodiram* "embroider", for example.

- | | | | |
|-----------|--|-------------------------------|-------------|
| (4.28) a. | Tia brodira | vůzglavnitzi v edna fabrica. | EVOLUTIVE |
| | she embroider | PRES. 3S pillows in a factory | INCOMPLETE |
| | She embroiders pillows in a factory. | | |
| b. | Tia brodira | tazi vůzglavnitza. | RESULTATIVE |
| | she embroider | PRES. 3S this pillow | INCOMPLETE |
| | She is embroidering this pillow. ³⁴ | | |

³⁴ The examples are from Ivanova (idem: 127)

The distinction EVOLUTIVE /RESULTATIVE is made here **within a sub-class of verbs**, i.e. modes of action. It is important to notice that the verb is incomplete in both examples. This means that **incomplete verbs are not affected by the context**, while the lexical characteristics telic /atelic vary. Even in a highly morphological language, such as Bulgarian, a lexical rule concerning the telic/atelic verbs division is difficult to arrive at in a non-compositional analysis as the characteristics of this opposition depend to a large degree on their valence. In a compositional analysis, verbal valence has a major role to play. It is referred to in the next section.

4.2.2.2 The nature of the second argument of activity verbs

Evidence from various languages points to the necessity to distinguish the second argument of activity predicates from the second argument of the rest of the lexical types. An example from Lakhota, (cf. VV& LP, 1997:123), and another one from Tongan show that the inherent argument in these languages appears as part of the verb.

In ergative languages, (examples are given from Kabardian, West Circassian and Tongan), there is a shift from transitive to intransitive with an activity reading and the subject shifts from ergative to absolute. The examples involve an activity reading and an accomplishment one.

- (4.29) a. The farmer plowed the field. Active accomplishment
a'. The farmer plowed in the field. Activity
b. The seamstress sewed the dress. Active accomplishment
b'. The seamstress sewed on /at the dress. Activity

- she embroider PRES .3S (no art.) pillows
She is embroidering / embroiders pillows.
- d. Tia brodira vǔzglavnitzite. INCOMPLETE
she embroider PRES. 3S pillows DEF
She is embroidering /embroiders the pillows.
- a'. Tia **iz**brodira edna vǔzglavnitza. COMPLETE
she embroider PAST. 3S a/one pillow
She embroidered a pillow.
- b'. Tia **iz**brodira vǔzglavnitza. COMPLETE
she embroider PAST .3S (no art.) pillow
She embroidered (a) pillow.
- c'. Tia **iz**brodira vǔzglavnitzi. COMPLETE
she embroider PAST. 3S (no art.) pillows
She embroidered (some) pillows.
- d'. Tia **iz**brodira vǔzglavnitzite. COMPLETE
she embroider PAST. 3S pillows DEF
She embroidered the pillows.
- e. Tia **iz**brodirva vǔzglavnitzite/ *vazglavnitzi. INCOMPLETE
she embroider PAST .3S pillows DEF /* no article
She is embroidering the pillows.

The criterion "mass, plural / concrete noun" is not the most appropriate for Bulgarian, in order to distinguish between Activity and Accomplishment verbs as both co-occur

with any kind of noun. The unprefixd verbs (a,b,c and d examples) are Activity verbs and the only significant conclusion we can draw concerns the iterative/ progressive readings, which are not the focus of this analysis. Moreover, the notion of "oneness" in Bulgarian has a very broad meaning related to an idiosyncratic phenomenon, which has been observed in other South Slavonic languages. It basically consists in the fact that the indefinite article can be used with both concrete and mass nouns: *edna smetka*, "an account", *edna slama*, "straw", a mass noun, *edna rabota* "a job, work, story, mystery", etc. Thus, this kind of analysis would result unrevealing.

On the other hand, if we consider the functional behaviour of the verbs, studied by RRG (example 4.29), it becomes clear that the second argument of activity verbs is either an inherent argument ("geese hunting") or an oblique argument ("**this pillow** was embroidered"). The evidence for such treatment comes from the possibility to omit that argument and forms the difference between syntactic and semantic transitivity. Actually, the second argument in (4.30 a,b,c,d) is an inherent argument and neither of these sentences results in a state. Thus, the LS of the predicate in all these examples will be an activity LS.

(4.30 a,b,c,d)´ LS: **do**´ (tia, [**embroider**´ (tia,y)])

The second argument (y) will be a concrete, plural or a mass noun (if any). The primed examples result in a state, which is a function of the activity and is clearly marked by a prefix. Each LS will involve the basic activity LS plus the LS of the state. The two LSs (activity and state) are unified by the symbol of accomplishment, BECOME. This alternation is the logical result in an Accomplishment verb in terms of RRG. In terms of

Bulgarian morphology the prefix **iz-**, (a **resultative prefix**), definitely points to the result (i.e., BECOME).

If we choose the complete form of the *iz-prefixed verb*, then both the finish of the action (the completeness marked by aspect) and the result (marked by the prefix) are well-marked and clear. There is an Accomplishment. The second option is the incomplete form of the prefixed verb (example 4.30 e). Should we choose the incomplete form of the prefixed verb, then the aspectual feature will dominate over the lexical prefix, giving as a result an incomplete event. The function of the resultative prefix is still felt but the result is not as clear as in the former case. The activity IS directed towards a result and it is clear by the presence of a prefix though this is not a real Accomplishment. The impossibility to use an indefinite NP as a second argument is due to the prefix which is suppressed in a way and needs a kind of back up. Thus, the use of definite NPs seems to be obligatory with imperfective form of the verb. However, such a rule cannot be forced, as example (4.30 e) is grammatical in the sense of “her activity involves the finish-up of the pillows”. The generalization that perfective aspect requires a definite NP (as made for Russian) does not apply to Bulgarian. Definiteness here is better illustrated by a definite pronoun rather than by the definite article which seems to be unreliable for a general rule to be posited. This excludes the possibility of the occurrence of an Accomplishment with present reference, as there is no way to get a perfect result while the activity is still going-on. In terms of aspect this correlates with the **syntactic inability of complete verbs to occur in present tense**. Actually, perfective verbs are hardly ever used with present time reference.

In terms of telicity, both *izbrodira* and *izbrodirvam* are **telic** verbs.

- (4.31) Tazi vŭzglavnitza ia brodirá lelia mi.
this pillow it CL .ACC embroider AOR. 3S aunt my
My aunt embroidered this pillow.

As I already mentioned, the result state (BECOME pillow, embroidered) can be achieved by the conjoint function of **perfective aspect**, **perfect tense** and a **resultative prefix**.

Summing up the above findings, we can clearly differentiate activity verbs from states on the one hand and from Accomplishments (Achievements), on the other, due to morphological characteristics.

4.3 B 1 Class verbs (unprefixed, complete)

The two groups of verbs, analysed above, states and activities, were found mainly in one class of verbs in Bulgarian: unprefixed, incomplete verbs. Regarding Accomplishments and Achievements, they are represented by the four remaining classes. This is a quantitatively bigger group, as it includes all the morphological derivations from state and activity verbs. Semantically, the prefixed verbs are much more complicated than the unprefixed ones. In spite of being numerically bigger than the previous group, this group is better organized as far as the formal morphological indicators are concerned. The four classes of verbs distinguish clear-cut division as far as aspect goes.

B 1 Class, the first group of the remaining four classes, is different from an A Class of unprefixed verbs. A verb, belonging to B1 Class, expresses an action which is ALWAYS complete. Though no analogy should be made between complete (perfective)

and telic verbs, this group in particular represents verbs, which always have an end-point inherent in them, i.e., they are always telic verbs. B1 Class verbs are easily defined as either Accomplishment or Achievement verbs. There are about 50 unprefixated, complete verbs, according to Maslov (1981:204). Verbs such as the following are considered perfective: *udaria* "beat/hit", , *vŭrzha* "tie", *globia* "fine", *kupia* "buy", etc. A few unprefixated, complete verbs are biaspectual: *smenia* "change, replace", *sipia* "pour" and others.

The next section accommodates these verbs within RRG Achievements and Accomplishment verbs.

4.3.1 Accomplishment and Achievement verbs

Accomplishment verbs are represented by a LS, which includes the basic Activity LS or a basic State verb LS. State and Activity predicates are taken as basic by RRG, and Achievement and Accomplishments are derived from these by the addition of elements representing change (INGR for "ingressive" and BECOME). Predicative elements in bold face with a prime after them are not intended as lexemes of any particular language, but as a kind of shorthand for a representation.

(4.32) a. INGR(ESSIVE) **predicate'** (x) or (x, y), or

INGR **do'** (x, [**predicate'** (x) or (x, y)])

b. BECOME **predicate'**(x) or (x,y) or

BECOME **do'**(x, [**predicate'**(x) or (x,y)])

The features, which characterize these verbs are the following:

[-static], [+telic], [-punctual] [+dynamic] Accomplishments

[-static], [+telic], [+punctual] [+dynamic] Achievements.

These representations, compared with the one given for activity verbs, focus on a basic difference between accomplishment and achievements on the one hand and activities, on the other. This difference consists in the feature **telicity**, which should be tested in a way, similar to the one I employed for the previous two types of lexical verbs.

“Telic verbs in Bulgarian (Accomplishments and Achievements) can be either complete or incomplete.” (Maslov 1981:193).

In Bulgarian, Accomplishment and Achievement verbs are easily distinguished by being mainly prefixed (about fifty verbs are unprefixed). At this point I would like to reiterate the fact that perfectivity is not identical with telicity. The simple fact that telic verbs can be either perfective or imperfective (complete/ incomplete) is the most evident proof for that otherwise controversial issue. If we assume the opposite, we could look up all the perfective verbs in the lexicon and state that they are Accomplishments, which they are. Perfective verbs go "hand in hand" with their imperfective pairs and a statement that only perfective verbs are telic would not meet the empirical data. The lexical meaning, expressed by an incomplete verb is the same as that of the perfective. If it was different, it would not have been listed under the same lexical item. This explains why **two aspectually different classes of verbs can belong to the same lexical class**. The only difference within the pair concerns a kind of variation which would correspond to the sub-types of Accomplishment or Achievements verbs.

In the distinction Activity/ Accomplishment verbs the question, asked by RRG,(cf. VV&LP 1997: 112), concerns the character of an alternating verb, like *eat*, which behaves either as an Activity or an active Accomplishment verb. It is possible to have just one lexical entry (activity) or two different entries. The point made is that the Activity verb gives its name to the main semantic substance in the logical structure, and the Accomplishment part is very general; in the case of consumption or creation verbs, the interpretation of the logical structure is dependent upon the semantic content of the activity part. The following example shows an Activity LS and an Accomplishment LS, where the BECOME part involves the result of the activity.

Table 4.5 Aktionsart Test for *kupia* “buy”, complete

| <i>Class</i> | <i>Test 2</i> | <i>Test 3</i> | <i>Test 4</i> | <i>Test 5</i> |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| B 1Class | NO | YES | NO | YES |

The verb *kupia*, “buy” similar to the rest of the transitive verbs, marks a +telic event. According to the Aktionsart characteristics, the verb is either an Accomplishment or an Achievement verb. Within a lexical classification in terms of Aktionsart, these verbs cannot occur with "vigorously, actively", etc. It is Test 2 which differentiates between intensity of the action and a lack of such intensity. The verb gives a YES to Test 5 (X in an hour). The perfective character of the verbs does not exclude duration.

- (4.33) a. Kupikh go **za dve minuti.** COMPLETE
 buy PAST. 1S it CL ACC in two minutes

I bought it in two minutes.

b. *Kupikh go **dve minuti.**

buy PAST. 1S it CL. ACC for two minutes

*I bought it for two minutes.

LS: <_{asp} PERF< BECOME **kupen** ´ (az, go) >>

B1 Class verbs have neither a prefix nor a suffix in their formation. If a prefix is present in any of them, (*s- meniam*), it is usually a highly desemantized prefix.

In the case of ditransitive verbs, the LS will include the thematic relations corresponding to the arguments in the predicate. The verb *dam/ davam*, “give” is such an example.

(4.34) Toi mi dade shokolada. COMPLETE

he CL. DAT 1S give PAST. 3S chocolate DEF

He gave me the chocolate.

ACCOMPLISHMENT LS: _{asp} PERF< [**do**´(toi,θ)] CAUSE [BECOME **have**´(1DAT, shokolad)]

The LS involves a causative interpretation as well as a clear differentiation between the EFFECTOR (the x argument), the POSSESSOR (the y argument) and the possessed (the z argument).

In the classification of B1 Class verbs as Accomplishment or Achievement verbs I consider their syntactic restrictions. This class of verbs cannot be used with a present time reference, unless the reading is **iterative**. Incomplete verbs, on the other hand, do have a present time reference.

4.4. B2 Class verbs (unprefixed, suffixed, incomplete, derived from B1 Class)

| |
|---|
| Table 4.6. Aktionsart Test for KUPIA “BUY” INCOMPLETE |
|---|

| <i>Class</i> | <i>Test 2</i> | <i>Test 3</i> | <i>Test 4</i> | <i>Test 5</i> |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| B 2 Class | YES | YES | YES | YES |

(4.35) a. Kupuvakh go **za dve minuti.** INCOMPLETE

buy PAST. 1S CL .ACC in two minutes

I have been buying it for two minutes.

b. Kupuvakh go dve minuti. INCOMPLETE

buy PAST 1S CL. ACC for two minutes

I bought it in two minutes.

LS: <_{asp} IMPERF< do´(az, [kupia´(az, go)])& BECOME kupen´(go) >>

The characteristics of a derived verb, aspectually corresponding to an unprefixing, incomplete verb, are quite different from the original verb characteristics in terms of Aktionsart. B2 Class verbs are compatible with "vigorously, actively, etc." and occur with *X for an hour* as well as with *X in hour*. This is only natural, due to their imperfective character. However, the Activity-like verb, example (4.35 a), is grammatical in its **iterative** past reading only. The verb occurrence with either temporal test defines it as an Active Accomplishment, as here Aktionsart Test 4 is irrelevant. Its telic character is not only the result of being the "pair" of a telic verb. Rather, it is represented in the clear **referential argument it takes**. Although *kupuvam*, "buy" can be used as a substitute for "go shopping" in Bulgarian, syntactically the verb has a valence 2 and semantically it requires an undergoer. This makes it an **Active Accomplishment** verb. The activity part in the derived verb is "justified" by the presence of the imperfectivizing suffix *-va-*, which, in fact, is the only difference in the pair *kupia-kupuvam*. Thus, the difference between the two pairing verbs lies in the **"added" meaning of an unfinished activity**. The correct logical structure of B2 Class2 verbs requires the expression of a grammatical meaning (an inflexion morpheme), which happens to be an unfinished activity. Syntactically, the complete verb cannot be used in present tense, while the incomplete one can.

These arguments suggest an Accomplishment LS for the complete *kupia* and an Active Accomplishment LS for its "pair", the incomplete verb.

As I already mentioned earlier, Bulgarian is different from the rest of the Slavonic languages in its imperfectivizing system. All perfective verbs of that kind, as well as prefixed verbs, undergo this process. The clearest evidence is the lexicon, where they are enlisted in "pairs". Thus, defining complete, unprefixing verbs as Accomplishments

and incomplete, derived from B1 Class as Active Accomplishments, is based on this paradigmatic opposition, which is lexico-grammatical, rather than purely grammatical.

4.5 C1 Class verbs (prefixed, complete)

The major difference between the classes analysed before and C1 Class concerns the prefixes. That is why, before illustrating the lexico-grammatical character of the verbs, forming this class, I illustrate some of the most pervasive prefixes.

“Prefixes are semantically richer than the modes of action”.(Ivanova idem.:46)

In the study, already mentioned above, Ivanova investigates the rich semantics of modes of action. She defines **fifty three** modes of action morphologically determined by Bulgarian prefixes. The author of the study is aware of the interrelatedness between aspect and modes of action and does a parallel analysis of the behaviour of prefixes in relation to *vid*, (aspect).

4.5.1 Second stage of semantic loading

In what follows, I have chosen some of those prefixes which could represent the “**second stage of semantic loading**”. The overview of the prefixes illustrated below is not exhaustive but their semantics is strong enough in order to be called “pre-verbs”. The interrelatedness between aspect and prefix(es) is demonstrated by the possibility of

the prefix under discussion to exist within both types of aspect. This coexistence is based on semantic factors.

4.5.1.1 Ingressive meaning

The most common prefix, which signifies the beginning of an activity, is *za*. Unlike the Russian prefix *za*, which is used with non-human agents only, the Bulgarian *za-* is compatible with both human and no-human agents. As I mentioned above, the structure **begin/ continue/ finish + complete verb** is ungrammatical in Bulgarian. As the ingression into an action or a process is well marked morphologically, a periphrasis with the same meaning would have a reduplicated ingressive meaning: *zachakam da zachakam* “begin to begin to wait”. On the other hand, the **nature of complete verbs do not allow a structure which is both actional (ingressive) and aspectual (complete)**, such as **svarshi da zachaka*, lit. “finished to begin waiting”. This is one of those clear cases when **aspect (grammar) dominates over actionality**. Otherwise, complete verbs, prefixed by *za-* have an ingressive meaning in the same way incomplete verbs express this actionality feature.

It is very important to differentiate the term “ingressive” used here as a pre-verb denomination from the INGRESSIVE used by RRG to mark Achievement verbs. The two terms do not coincide as the Aktionsart INGRESSIVE refers to a LS which represents a [-static], [+telic], [+punctual] [+dynamic] event, while the Bulgarian ingressive prefix is compatible with both punctual and non-punctual verb stems, as shown in the example below. On the other hand, marking the “beginning of a complete

activity”, as is the case of complete verbs, does not make this activity “shorter” or more punctual. The ingressive prefix *za-* as well as the rest of the ingressive prefixes modifies the action present in the verbal stem **quantitatively** only as the lexical meaning is provided by the verbal stem.

| (4.36) prefix za- | COMPLETE | INCOMPLETE | |
|--------------------------|------------|-------------|----------------------|
| a. | zachakam | zachakvam | “begin to wait” |
| b. | zagovoria | zagovorvam | “begin to talk with” |
| c. | zaparporia | zaparporvam | “begin to rumble” |

Another common prefix, related to inchoative meaning, is *-pro*. The two ingressive prefixes, *za-* and *pro*, are not interchangeable. *Pro-* usually adds the meaning of “begin to do something for the first time”.

| (4.37) prefix pro- | COMPLETE | INCOMPLETE | |
|---------------------------|------------|-------------|------------------|
| a. | progovoria | progovorvam | “begin to talk” |
| b. | prokapia | prokapvam | “begin to leak” |
| c. | propia | propivam | “begin to drink” |

The perfectivising *po-* prefix (there is another *po-* which is “empty”) can also be added to a verb, to signify its beginning.

| | | |
|--------------------------|----------|------------------------------|
| (4.38) prefix po- | COMPLETE | INCOMPLETE |
| a. | poveda | povezhdam “begin to lead” |
| b. | potragna | potragvam “begin to do well” |
| c. | poznaia | poznavam “recognize” |

4.5.1.2 Resultative meaning

Various prefixes can have a resultative meaning. The most common ones are *iz-*; *o-*; *na-* and *po-* (perfectivising). Examples (4.39-4.42) represent these meanings.

| | | |
|--------------------------|------------|----------------------------|
| (4.39) prefix iz- | COMPLETE | INCOMPLETE |
| a. | izrabotia | izrobotvam “produce; make” |
| b. | izgubia | izgubvam “lose” |
| c. | izdigna se | izdigam se “rise” |

| | | |
|-------------------------|----------|--------------------------------|
| (4.40) prefix o- | COMPLETE | INCOMPLETE |
| a. | ogolia | ogolvam “strip” |
| b. | ogradia | ograzhdam “put a fence around” |
| c. | ovaliam | ovalvam “cover all over” |

| | | |
|--------------------------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| (4.41) prefix na- | COMPLETE | INCOMPLETE |
| a. | nadebeleia | nadebeliavam “put on weight” |
| b. | nabrachkam se | nabrachkvam se “get wrinkled” |
| c. | nagreia | nagriavam „heat” |

| | | |
|--------------------------|-----------|----------------------------|
| (4.42) prefix po- | COMPLETE | INCOMPLETE |
| a. | poprecha | poprechvam “prevent; stop” |
| b. | podraznia | podrazvam “disturb” |
| c. | potriia | potrivam “rub” |

4.5.1.3 Semelfactive meaning

This mode of action can be represented by *pri-*; *iz-*; *pro-*; *s-*. The meaning of these prefixed verbs implies a very short, instantaneous duration. It is similar to an act done with the wave of a hand, a single cry, a shout, a ring, a single bell, or anything that takes an instant. Examples are provided below (4.43- 4.46).

| | | |
|---------------------------|-------------|--------------------|
| (4.43) prefix pri- | COMPLETE | INCOMPLETE |
| a. | pristigna | pristigam “arrive” |
| b. | prikania | pricanvam “invite” |
| c. | prishtrakna | prishtrakam “snap” |

| | | |
|---------------------------|------------|-------------------------------|
| (4.44) prefix iz- | COMPLETE | INCOMPLETE |
| a. | izbleia | izbleivam “bleat ” |
| b. | izkreshtia | izkreshtiavam “shout ” |
| c. | izvestia | izvestiavam “tell the news” |
| (4.45) prefix pro- | COMPLETE | INCOMPLETE |
| a. | problesna | problasvam “flash” |
| b. | progarmia | progarmiavam “shoot; thunder” |
| c. | proshumia | proshumiavam “make a sound” |
| (4.46) prefix s- | COMPLETE | INCOMPLETE |
| a. | smigna | smigvam “wink” |
| b. | svirna | svirvam “whistle” |
| c. | svarna | svarvam “turn” |

The rest of the modes of action include varieties of resultative, collective-distributive, augmentative, macro-event, evolutive, trasgressive and other meanings, which reveal the enormous morphological potential of the prefixes.³⁵

³⁵ The modes of action defined so far draw on the metalanguage used in the semantic definitions of the Aktionsartens in Ivanova, (idem.) This study can be considered a **verbal corpus** of Bulgarian though it has no such formal status.

4.5.2 “Empty” prefixes

Prefixes in Bulgarian, as well as in the rest of the Slavonic languages, are polysemous. One of their functions has been defined as perfectivising, i.e. transforming an incomplete verb into a complete one. This function, defined as peripheral, ranks second to their basic, lexical function. “Empty” prefixes are not mentioned in Ivanova’s (idem.) study and the term is rather confusing as I already mentioned. Rather, the author refers to those prefixes which are partly desemanticised or rather neutralized, namely, *po-*, *pro-* and *-na*. The lexical meaning they contribute to the stem varies and it cannot be claimed that their function is fully grammaticalized. Neither can it be said with certainty that their meaning overlap with the meaning of the verb lexeme. A prefix, such as *pro-*, for example, can precede various Aktionsart verbs, resulting in different meanings. If the prefix is considered an inflectional morpheme, (“empty”), in those cases, in which it has perfectivising function, there is no explanation for its occurrence as a non-perfectivising prefix (see the examples below).

| (4.47) | COMPLETE | INCOMPLETE |
|--------|----------------------|---|
| a. | probuzhdam se | probudia se “wake up” |
| b. | propivam se | propivam se “begin to drink” |
| c. | provŭzglasiavam | provazglasiavam “proclaim” |
| d. | proplacha “cry once” | proplakvam “cry a little from time to time” |
| e. | pronicza | proniczvam “penetrate” |

Example (4.47 a) is a *general-resultative* verb and the prefix has a perfectivising function. Example (4.47 b) is an *effective mode of action* and the prefix also has a perfectivising function. Example (4.47 c) is *effective-communicative*. The perfectivising function of *pro-* here is far from clear, as the verb (derived from the noun *vŭzglas* “cry, shout”) is not considered prefixed. In the following example, (4.47 d), the prefix has *ingressive* meaning, “cry a little once”, and a perfectivising function (the complete verb). The same function is present in the incomplete verb but the meaning is iterative – *delimitative*, “cry a little from time to time”. This shows that the semelfactive verb can have a perfective aspect only (a complete verb only) and that in the interaction **lexical / grammatical aspect** it is the grammatical aspect which imposes its restriction (as the prefix is the same) and not the other way round. The same restriction concerns all iterative-delimitative kind of verbs. *As iterative verbs are considered a sub-type of imperfective we would expect a kind of grammatical opposition, iterative (frequentative) / semelfactive, similar to complete/incomplete. Such an opposition does not exist in the lexicon.*

The last prefix *pro-* (4.47 e) presents desemantisation in the sense that the lexeme *nikna*, “sprout”, has little to do with the meaning of the verb “penetrate” and the lexical contribution of *pro-* here is so insignificant that the verb is considered unprefixed.

Another partially “bleached” prefix is *po-* one of the most idiosyncratic and productive prefix in Bulgarian. Ivanova (idem.) presents more than four thousand, (4000), verbs, bearing the prefix *po-*. Though the prefix is labelled “*diminutive*”, translation fails to grasp the incredibly rich nuances it adds to the Bulgarian verb. It is usually rendered into English by “a little”, “for a while”. The prefix has been defined as *attenuative*, i.e. a mode of action, which is not characterised as far as its special coordination and

direction goes. It presents low intensity, or dynamicity. It is usually rendered into English by “a little”, “for a while”. Just a few examples will suffice to illustrate both the peculiarity and the idiosyncrasy of the prefix *po-*.

- (4.48) a. *Pospivam ot vreme na vreme sled obed.*
po-sleep 1S PRes from time to time in afternoon
I have a nap from time to time in the afternoon.
- b. *Pospira se y pak tragva.*
po-stop PRES REFL 3S and again go PRES 3S
He/she would stop (for a while) and then continue.

In example (4.48 a) the Activity verb *spia*, “sleep” is delimited by the prefix *po-*. The verb is an incomplete verb and contrary to what we expect, it is still an Activity verb in spite of the addition of *po-* which is supposed to perfectivise it. The effect of example (4.48 b) is even more striking as the verb *spira*, “stop” is a punctual one and as such cannot be delimited. Can the “stopping” last shorter than it does? It seems the prefix allows for such a shortening of an otherwise + punctual, Achievement verb. The two examples illustrate *delimitative* mode of action. When such a meaning is added to a verb, we observe a spatial coordination, which involves a limited interval of time. *Po-* focuses on this limit. In the case of delimitative prefixes, the interval is understood as a short one. A definition could be: “realize an act/action (e.g. *bavia se* – “be slow, be long, take long”, etc.) within a certain limited period of time.

Among the various modes of action, expressed by - *po*, I can mention the most important ones:

- (4.51) a. *pozakusvam* “to have a light breakfast with some interruptions”,
attenuative, delimitative, iterative-attenuative meaning:b.
- b. *postigam* “achieve”, *pomolvam se* “pray”, *opalvam* “fill in”
general-resultative
- c. *pobledniavam* “get pale”
effective
- d. *poskapvam* “raise the price”
effective-communicative.

The prefix -*po* is usually added to already prefixed verbs. It has been defined by Comrie, (cf. Comrie1976:89), as the most neutral prefix semantically.

Po- is a prefix, which adds a perfective meaning, when used in its general-resultative, effective, or effective-communicative meanings. It cannot perfectivise a verb, when used with its delimitative meaning. Therefore, a pair of verbs, such as *prepalnia-prepalvam*, “fill up”, **will still be considered an aspectual pair**, when *po-* is added to them: *poprepŭlnia-poprepŭlvam* “? fill up a little”. Comparing the function of this prefix with an adverb seems reasonable, in the same way as any verbal prefix has a function similar to an adverbial function. *Po-* is a very good example in this sense,

because of another empirical fact provided by the language. Adverbs allow to be compared. The comparative degree in Bulgarian happens to be the same morpheme *po*.

- (4.52) a. khubav - **po**-khubav - nai-khubav
 nice nicer the nicest
- b. bavno - **po**-bavno - nai-bavno
 slowly- more slowly - the most slowly

Moreover, the comparative degree of an adjective can be modified by other adverbs.

- (4.53) a. mnogo **po**-goliam
 much bigger
- b. malko **po**-bavno
 less slowly

The various functions of *-po* explains how more and more meanings were acquired by the prefixes, converting them into poly-functioning morphemes. The only problem, concerning the adverbial function of *po-* (and some others) concerns its reduplication of function with an adverb with the same meaning. This phenomenon is as pervasive as reduplication of clitics though it has a slightly different character as far as syntax goes. I analyse it in Chapter 5, as it is related to **clitic reduplication** as well.

C1 Class verbs exhibit the highest semantic load within Bulgarian verbs, as the meaning of a verb is not just the sum of a prefix, plus an activity stem. Rather, the semantic MEANING of complete aspect gives the overall shape of such a verb. This becomes particularly clear when we analyse the verbs derived from that class, namely, C Class2.

4.6 C2 Class verbs (prefixed, suffixed, incomplete)

A C2 Class verb is an incomplete verb which forms part of a "legitimate pair", i.e., two verbs grouped together due to identity in the lexical meaning. The verb, resulting from the **secondary imperfectivization grammatical process** is supposed to have slightly different characteristics from its twin verb. C2 Class are verbs derived from prefixed verbs and as such they bear the lexical – semantic features of the prefixes co-occurring with them. The secondary imperfective verb corresponding to *izigraia*, “finish playing”, will be *izigravam*. The grammatical, aspectual features of an incomplete verb are defined by its suffix - namely, *-va*. The verbs included in the previous class (C1), showed the highest possible semantic “loading”. Here I do not refer to the number of prefixes, which could be up to three. The “loading” cannot continue once the prefix has modified the stem to an extent to which the **lexical** meaning is no longer that of the base verb. Thus we can have one, two or three prefixes modifying the stem but for a verb to become “semantically saturated” just one prefix is enough, provided this prefix contributes a new meaning which cannot be dissolved within the stem. The function of the aspectual suffix is of a totally different character. There is no “loading” in a secondary imperfectivization process. A complete verb (already semantically “loaded,

i.e., prefixed) requires its “pair” verb. The Aktionsart characteristics of the incomplete prefixed verb are presented below.

| |
|--|
| Table 4.8 Aktionsart Test for <i>izigravam</i> “finish playing” INCOMPLETE |
|--|

| <i>Class</i> | <i>Test 2</i> | <i>Test 3</i> | <i>Test 4</i> | <i>Test 5</i> |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| C 2 Class | YES | YES | NO | YES |

Lexically, C2 Class verbs answer the Aktionsart test in exactly the same way as their complete pairs, i.e., Active accomplishment verbs. The “activity” part is the stem, *igraia*, “play” and the “accomplishment” is provided by the prefix. This means that both types will be accommodated within the same lexical type whereas the aspectual difference will provide the corresponding syntactic restrictions. These restrictions are the same as those defined for complete and incomplete verbs in general. This analysis, however, will not be exhaustive unless I refer to the use of the same verb in a pure “activity” context, i.e., *Izigravam edna igra*, “I am finishing playing a game”. It might be argued that “finish playing” is a telic predicate and hence, accomplishment, but the **incompleteness** of the action, which is **always** incomplete in the case of C2 Class verbs, suggests that even in such a predicate the activity can only be **directed** towards a limit but **does not reach** that limit. Moreover, should an activity of the kind mentioned above be interrupted, the answer to “What have you done?” cannot be “I have finished playing.” (cf. Comrie 1976:7). The same answer will be relevant with a complete verb only: *Izigrav igrata*, “I have finished playing the game.” On the other hand, the *X in an hour* test gives an YES to the **iterative** reading of such a sentence, i.e., *I would finish*

playing the game in an hour. This means that C1 Class verbs correspond to Active accomplishment verbs while their “pairing” verbs, C2Class could be both Activity and Active accomplishment verbs.

4.6.1. Achievement verbs

Accomplishment verbs have found their correspondence in one unprefixed and two prefixed classes of aspectual verbs so far whereas Achievement verbs have not been discussed in detail yet. The Actionsart characteristics of Achievement verbs are the following:

- 1) such verbs do not occur with progressive,
- 2) nor do they occur with adverbs such as “actively”, “vigorously” or “quickly”;
- 3) the span of time they take is very short.

Verbs with the first characteristic are complete verbs in Bulgarian, if we consider the ungrammaticality of complete verbs with a present tense reference. This characteristic is not sufficient, of course, to say that complete verbs are Achievement verbs. Obviously, not all complete verbs are +punctual and +telic verbs, as the analysis so far has shown. For Russian, Achievements have been defined as those verbs which have no secondary imperfective correspondence (cf. VV&LP 1997:105). This definition can hardly be applied to Bulgarian due to some reasons given below.

The existence /non-existence of an imperfective form have been considered by RRG as a criterion for distinguishing between punctual (Achievements) and non-punctual verbs

(Accomplishments). The Russian verb *zagovorit'* "start to talk" has an imperfective form, *zagovoryvat'* "be starting to talk", whereas *zaplakat'* "burst out crying" and *zasjejat'sja* "burst out laughing" do not; hence *zaplakat'* and *zasjejat'sja* are punctual (Achievements), while *zagovorivat'* is non-punctual (Accomplishment). The criterion applied to the Russian verbs is given its analogical correspondence in English (VV&LP, 1997, f.n.: 655), where phrasal inceptive constructions such as *start to sing* and *begin to rain* are defined as Accomplishments because they can have the forms *He is starting to sing* or *It is beginning to rain*.

Such a criterion cannot be applied to Bulgarian as both *zaplacha* and *zasjeia se* have their corresponding imperfective forms.

| | | |
|--------|-------------------|--------------------|
| (4.55) | COMPLETE | INCOMPLETE |
| | <i>zaplacha</i> | <i>zaplakvam</i> |
| | <i>zasjeia se</i> | <i>zasmivam se</i> |

Bulgarian differs from Russian in the consistency which it employs in the process of secondary imperfectivization. For example, the following Russian verbs cannot have secondary imperfective forms while in Bulgarian these forms have their corresponding secondary imperfective. As a matter of fact, almost all prefixed, complete verbs have a corresponding incomplete one in Bulgarian.

| | | |
|-----------|-----------------------------|---------|
| (4.56) a. | <i>napisat'</i> "write on " | Russian |
| b. | <i>razbit'sja</i> "b | |

- (4.57) a. napisha - napisvam “write on” Bulgarian
b. razbiia-razbivam “break”

Concerning the secondary imperfectivization process, **there are hardly any cases when secondary imperfective verb cannot be derived from its corresponding perfective one.**

This empirical fact is due to the high degree (the highest possible) of development of the aspectual system of the language. In other words, if such a mechanism for defining Achievement verbs was applied to Bulgarian, it would mean that there are no Achievement verbs in the language. It is very important to highlight the fact that the function of the aspectual opposition is qualitative in nature as it gives a clear view of the contour of an action, namely whether it is finished or not, whereas the feature \pm **punctual** corresponds to quantitative aspectuality and is by no means the major function of aspect in Bulgarian. Moreover, a secondary imperfective verb is not necessarily an Accomplishment verb, as I showed in the previous section. All these considerations point to a different criterion for Achievement verbs. The language provides such a criterion which IS aspectual and accounts for the existence of strictly *+punctual* verbs though the morphological mechanism is different from the one stipulated for Russian. This difference is due mainly to the fact that there is no deficiency in the system of secondary imperfective verbs (which would allow me to structure these verbs into either Accomplishments or Achievements).

4.6.1.1 *Ingressive* encodes instantaneous changes

It should be noted that within the classification of **modes of action**, *ingressive* is a term, which marks the beginning of an action only. Within RRG classification, INGRESSIVE marks a +punctual LS. The difference is not only qualitative but quantitative as well. The Bulgarian term refers to TWO verbs, which are ingressive, for example, both the perfective *razsmeia se* "begin to laugh" and the imperfective *razsmivam se* "be beginning to laugh" are ingressive verbs. Aktionsart defines ONE verb as INGR only, the +punctual Accomplishment verb, which takes relatively short, i.e., a few seconds. As not all ingressive verbs in Bulgarian are strictly punctual, we cannot identify the two terms. The term, used for the Bulgarian **ingressive mode of action** by RRG is *inchoative (inceptive)*. What is meant by *inchoative verbs* are those verbs, which show the beginning of an action, which is not necessarily punctual. The example with "begin to rain", defined as an Accomplishment, shows that even in English, which has no exact form for inchoative verbs, aspect allows for a strict differentiation between punctual and non-punctual verbal predicates. In this case, aspect is used as a test for punctuality.

Under the entry *ingressive* in Bulgarian we find the two aspectual verbs (complete and incomplete), which express the beginning of an action. In a similar fashion, there is a **mode of action**, which marks the end of an action: *dopeia, dopiavam*, "finish singing". In this sense, I will need to differentiate the term **inchoative** (corresponding to the Bulgarian ingressive) used only for verbs marking the beginning of an action by RRG from INGRESSIVE, marking a + **punctual Accomplishment**. The latter has no formal (morphologically marked) expression in Bulgarian. However, quantitative aspectology

finds its expression in a remarkable suffix which will be discussed in the next section as it allows for a comparison between Achievement and Semelfactive verbs.

4.7 D1Class and D2 Class: the suffix ”-N”- a Semelfactive suffix

In the previous sections I have defined five aspectual classes on the basis of prefixes. There are two classes of verbs which I classify as different in both structure and function from the previous aspectual classes. The verbs of the first class, D1, contain a suffix, *-n* whereas the class derived from *-n* suffixed verbs, D2 Class, is composed of verbs which can be characterized as activity verbs. This derivation is **present in the lexicon** and is particularly important for the proper understanding of the interrelation between qualitative and quantitative aspectuality. The grammatical suffix *-n* has a basic function of marking *semelfactive* verbs. The kind of semantic “loading” we observe with the first few classes is not observed in the class marked by *-n*. What these two classes reveal is a group of verbs which are **quantitatively** different from the rest of the aspectual classes. Each semelfactive verb has a corresponding “pair” which means that the language provides a means for quantitative aspect but this kind of aspect is not identical with the basic aspectual opposition. The reason why I structure semelfactive verbs within an aspectual (complete/ incomplete) system is due to the existence of “pairs” in the lexicon. Referring back to the issue of Achievement verbs, it must be said that the suffix *-n* is so pervasive that it is present in almost any +punctual verb though **semelfactive** and **punctual** are obviously different terms. For example, RRG, (VV&LP 1997:93), distinguishes *melt* from *pop* in the sense that both involve changes of state

whereas the former takes place over a time span while the latter is instantaneous. The examples provided are *The ice melted* and *The balloon popped*. The qualitative characteristics of *pop* are *+telic* and *-static* verb. The change of state is instantaneous. The **duration** of an action is generally considered part of quantitative aspectology. Quantitative **aspectology** (cf. p. 98 of this dissertation) **classifies** actions around three factors:

1. According to the number of times an action is performed.
2. According to its duration.
3. According to its degree of intensity.

This explains how the feature *+ punctual* was obtained. Aktionsart focuses on the second factor, namely – the duration of an action while the Bulgarian suffix *-n* focuses on the **number of times** an action is performed. Notwithstanding, almost all *+punctual* verbs in Bulgarian bear the suffix *-n*. The verb *PUCNA* “pop” is just one out of a big number of such verbs.

It is particularly important to reiterate the fact that aspectual classes in this thesis are defined formally, on the basis of morphological factors. The emancipation of D1 Class verbs is based on the function of an exceptional suffix: – (N). The suffix is considered a marker of particularly **high perfectivization of a verb** as the action marked by this suffix is not only a “blob”, in the sense of **concrete** and **finished** but it is also typically done **once**. Thus, aspect incorporates both quantitative and qualitative expression though the aspectual markers are different.

There is a very interesting interplay of properties found in the class of semelfactive verbs and their corresponding activity verbs. The focus on **oneness** is found in the first member of the pair, marked by *-n*. The **durativity** feature is present in the second member of what might be called a “privative opposition”.³⁶ As Semelfactive verbs have a corresponding verbal “pair”, similar to the rest of the aspectual verbs, it seems that the language has designed a system which predicts that an action “done once” should have a corresponding action “done more than once”. Thus, *PUCNA* “pop once” has the corresponding *PUCAM* “pop more than once”. On the other hand, the verb *melt*, *stopia* /*stopiavam*, has no corresponding verb marked by *-n* and consequently no instantaneous or “oneness” meaning. Therefore, this mechanism **is not only morphologically well-defined**. Its linguistic “value” consists in the fact that it guarantees **exhaustiveness of expression of the verbal action**.

On the other hand, the morphological presence of a common suffix allows for a strict aspectual differentiation of D1 Class as these verbs are **complete** verbs only. Hence, they inherit the features of complete verbs apart from being well marked quantitatively. For example: *kapna* is such a verb and it contains the suffix *-n-* in its stem. Once the suffix is dropped, the verb becomes *incomplete*, *kapvam*.

(4.58) a. *tropna* / *tropam* stamp one’s foot once / more than once;

b. *poshushna* / *poshushvam* whisper once/ more than once.

³⁶ Levin (cf. Levin www.stanford.edu/~bclevin/bls00.pdf) cites Olsen (1997) who proposes that durativity is a privative property and she characterizes semelfactives as underspecified for durativity and activity verbs as necessarily durative.

The lexicon represents the pair as **semelfactive /iterative verbs**. The second verb in that pair, the incomplete one, is **derived aspectually**, not lexically, as the suffix is devoid of any lexical meaning. This is due to the exceptional character of –n, the only suffix in Bulgarian, whose function is restricted to determining quantitative aspect.

| (4.59) | SEMELFACTIVE | ITERATIVE |
|--------|---|---|
| a. | migna wink once | migam wink many times |
| b. | tropna stamp one's foot once | tropvam stamp one's foot many times; |
| c. | poshushna whisper once | poshushvam whisper many times. |
| d. | tupna tap (on the shoulder once) | tupam tap many times |
| e. | obikna fall in love (once, for the first time) | obicham love (constantly) |

The verbal pair consists in a semelfactive /iterative verb. “Iterative” here refers to an **activity**, which is done various times. Aktionsart does not define a lexical class of verbs which has the quantitative characteristic “more than once”.

The Aktionsart tests for Semelfactive and Achievement verbs are repeated in the Table below. Semelfactives are further analysed in terms of their feature characteristics.

Table 4.9 Aktionsart tests for Semelfactive and Achievement verbs

| Class | Test 1 | Test 2 | Test 3 | Test 4 | Test 5 | Test 6 |
|--------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Achievement | No* | No | No* | No* | No* | No |
| Semelfactive | No* | Some* | No* | Yes* | No* | No |

(4.60) ACHIEVEMENT

INGR **pred'** (x) o (x, y) / INGR **do'** (x, [**pred'** (x) o (x, y)])

SEMELFACTIVE

SEML **pred'** (x) o (x, y) / SEML **do'** (x, [**pred'** (x) o (x, y)])

The Aktionsart characteristics as well as the LSs of the two types of predicates show that these lexical classes are very similar. The difference is that some Semelfactives allow occurrence with *X for an hour* and some occur with “*vigorously, actively*” and similar adverbs. The criteria applied by RRG makes a strict differentiation hard to obtain. For Bulgarian, a morphological marker defines Semelfactives which involve both prefixed and unprefixed complete verbs. From the point of view of Aktionsart, a Bulgarian Semelfactive verb relates to the quantitative characteristics of Activity or

Accomplishment verbs. **It is only natural to include Achievement verbs within this variety of types but the “merge” does not mean differentiation, although the feature +punctual overlaps with “oneness” in a big number of verbs. Therefore, here I will rely on the morphological marker and emancipate only Semelfactive verbs.**

If we try to find the Bulgarian equivalent of the verb "pop", defined as an Achievement verb by RRG (cf. VV&LP 1997: 92), the outcome will be five verbs, shown in the following example.

- (4.61) a. pucam COMPLETE
b. pucvam INCOMPLETE
c. pucna COMPLETE
d. spucam COMPLETE
e. spucvam SECONDARY INCOMPLETE

On the other hand, if we disregard the lexical presentation of the pair semelfactive/activity, semelfactive verbs can be considered as “derived from activity verbs”. The following example, (4.62), shows some activity verbs which “become” semelfactive once the *-n* suffix is added. However, this derivation does not contribute to the differentiation of a separate class of Semelfactives as it would define activity verbs as basic (something they are) and Semelfactives as a kind of “activity done once”, i.e. a peripheral lexical class. There are about six hundred semelfactive verbs in Bulgarian.

(4.62) smigvam "wink", propadam "fail", smogvam "achieve", striasvam "startle", probleivam "begin to bleat", probliasvam "flash", progovariam "begin to talk", prokashliam se "cough", akhvam "gasp", blasvam "push", smurvam se "plunge into", grabvam "snatch", kikham "sneeze", prevrashtam "convert, prevazmogvam "overcome", prevkliucha "switch", proziram "see through, perceive", pobiagvam "break into a run", nagrızvam "bite off a little bit of s.th".

The suffix *-n* marks two different types of **modes of action: ingressive (inchoative) and semelfactive**. The suffix *n-* shrinks a perfective action to an even shorter period of time than it normally takes. The following examples are "*ingressive*" verbs, according to the Bulgarian terminology. Even in such cases, the suffix *n-* can concentrate the otherwise short action into a single instant of time.

- (4.63) a. bleivam - bleina
 begin to bleat - bleat once
- b. greivam - greina
 begin to shine - shine once
- c. pripvam - pripna
 dash off - dash off (once?)
- d. stisvam - stisna
 get hold of - get hold of (once?)
- e. grūmvam - grūmna
 go off - go off (once?)

The class of *n*- marked verbs in Bulgarian is the only class, which exists independently from the prefixes, and thus makes the theory of the perfectivising function of the prefixes less convincing. This neutralization of the prefixes points at the **highest stage of semantic loading** as the verb is already saturated to such an extent that a quantitative measure is easy to apply to it.

On the other hand, aspectual semelfactive verbs differ radically from the semelfactive mode of actions. First, the formal expression is different: it is an **aspectual suffix** that determines this class and not a prefix. Second, semelfactive verbs can be considered a separate class of verbs, which belong to one aspect only, **perfective**, although there is an imperfective verb in the pair. The latter will follow the behaviour of imperfective verbs, the unmarked member in the pair and will appear in morpho-syntactic environment which is different from the semelfactive one. In fact, the difference consists mainly in the ability of the second member of the pair to mark both **iterative action and activities**, while the verb, suffixed by *n*- marks only semelfactive verbs.

RRG treats Semelfactives as a distinct lexical group, similar to Achievements, but different in that the former have no result, while achievements are resultative. All five forms, (example 4.61) can express the exact idea of "pop the balloon". Due to the desemantization of the prefix *s*-, the following sentences are all grammatical.

(4.64) a. Pucam baloni.

(I) am popping balloons / I pop balloons / I would pop balloons.

b. Pucvam baloni.

(I) am popping balloons / I pop balloons / I would pop balloons.

c. Pucnakh baloni.

- (I) popped balloons.
- d. Spucakh balonite.
 - (I) popped the balloons.
- e. Spucvam baloni.
 - (I) am popping balloons. I would pop balloons.

It seems difficult to say which verb (or verbs) can claim the logical structure INGR **do**'(I, [**pop**'(I, balloon)]. The problem is totally reverse to the problem of English, which has one form of the verb *POP* and that form behaves in a different way in various morpho-syntactic contexts. What can be claimed with certainty is the fact that there is a marker for **oneness** in Bulgarian, i.e. **frequency** is well marked morphologically.

D Class1 verbs represents the most "compact set" of verbs, which are grouped together thanks to one morpheme. The nature of the suffix *n-* is grammatical, i.e it is totally devoid of lexical meaning. That grammatical morpheme is present in a big class of lexical verbs. However, D Class1 verbs co-exist together with their "twin" verbs, D2. It is here that the lexico-grammatical nature of aspect is represented explicitly as the derivation D1 \longrightarrow D2 is realized through the same set of suffixes necessary for the derivations in the rest of the aspectual classes.

D1Class and D2 Class verbs are particularly interesting from the point of view of "overexhaustivity" of the language. The expression of iterativity/oneness can be done by a lexical class of verbs which contains the set of lexical suffixes I mentioned in the Section on Activity verbs (cf. p. 137 of this thesis on syncretism). As the perfectivization process is a comparatively recent phenomenon and its culmination has been the group of Semelfactives, a semelfactive verb in a way duplicates the function of

the already existing activity verb showing “an action done once”. This is shown in (4.61) where the two forms, (b) and (c) express the same idea of “oneness”. Example (c) is the more recent formation which duplicates the function of example (b) verb.

From the point of view of my aspectual classification, the class of complete verbs, (D1), which contain the suffix *-n-*, become incomplete when the suffix is dropped. Although the opposition seems to be quantitative: *once against various times* and there are numerous examples which give enough reasons to claim a privative opposition, I would not call this a strictly one-to-one opposition, similar to researches which are based on **durativity** only. The basic reason for such a decision lies in the characteristics of D Class 2 verbs. These verbs could be characterised either as activity or as iterative ones. This means that a verb derived aspectually from a semelfactive verb has similar (or the same) characteristics as the verbs present in A Class, B Class2 and C Class2. Moreover, the derivation is realized by the same set of aspectual suffixes. However, the derivation of these three classes was possible due to the presence of both prefixes and suffixes, whereas semelfactive verbs can be either prefixed or unprefixed. This is not just a matter of quantitatively measured amount of morphological means. Rather, it is a matter of grammatical relevance. I discuss this relevance in the Conclusions to this Chapter.

The first three derived classes allow for iterative, repetitive meanings, whereas here, in D Class2, we observe a whole **iterative** class of verbs. That is, if we say that there is an opposition **once against various times**. However, an opposition of that kind will involve quantitative factors only and will not be revealing enough. Thus, Semelfactives, D Class1, are emancipated on the basis of their morphological marker whereas the corresponding class is defined here as **activity verbs**.

Semelfactive verbs are understood as describing instantaneous events that do not involve a definite change, such as *beep*, *blink*, *cough*, etc. (cf. Smith 1991). Levin, (idem.), defines semelfactive verbs as verbs which name a punctual happening or a **series of repetitions** of this happening, as, for example, the verb “tap” may describe one tap or many.

“Repetitions of punctual happenings may be construed as simple events – specifically, as **activities** – rather than iterated events, as is the case when events of other aspectual type are repeated. I use the term “semelfactive verb” to refer to a verb which allows a semelfactive interpretation, recognizing that such a verb also permits repetitive, durative uses.” (idem. p.8).

D1/D2 group of Bulgarian aspectual verbs reveals the exact morphological expression of two different functions within one verb. The first member of the lexico-grammatical pair of verbs expresses a simple event whereas the second member **OF THE SAME VERB** expresses the same event as repetitive. The linguistic potential of a verb is thus “hidden” in a language with just one FORM of a given verb. Consequently, a compositional analysis is necessary for the proper classification of a certain verb. This “hidden” potential is represented in the Bulgarian verbal lexis through clear morphological forms and is relevant for the structuring of practically all verbs.

4.8 Conclusions

The conclusions drawn from the analysis of the aspectual classes of Bulgarian verbs are structured in terms of four important issues:

- Derivations;
- Logical Structures and the Aspect Operator
- Grammatically relevant conclusions;
- Aspectual classes versus Aktionsart;

4.8.1 Derivations

Being highly morphological, Bulgarian is among those languages, which meet all the necessary requirements for positing lexical rules. Actually, the analysis above shows that for **state** verbs, we can formulate a rule, concerning the addition of a prefix to a state verb. As the semantic information, added to the verb, varies, we will need a **specific rule for each prefix**. The prefixes *po-* and *pro-* will be excluded from these rules, as the function of *po-* is purely grammatical, (an “empty” prefix), and the addition of *pro-* results in ungrammaticality.

In Lakhota, for example, RRG (cf. VV&LP 1997:181) defines a State/ Achievement/ Accomplishment stem + instrumental prefix \longrightarrow Causative Achievement/ Accomplishment derivation, while other languages, such as Yagua exhibit a derivation

of the kind Causative Achievement/ Accomplishment + -y \longrightarrow Achievement / Accomplishment.

For Bulgarian, this derivation involves a stem and a prefix, which adds lexical information. This information varies in terms of alternations. A prefix can have a purely grammatical function, such as *po-*, and will be irrelevant for any lexical alternation. In most of the cases, however, this information is not part of the logical structure of a state verb and justifies an alternation.

Therefore, the following lexical rule can be formulated:

$$(4.65) \text{ Lexical rule 1: state + } \mathbf{za, raz, u} \longrightarrow \text{Accomplishment} \\ \mathbf{predicate'}(x) \text{ or } (x, y) \longrightarrow \text{BECOME } \mathbf{predicate'}(x) \text{ or } (x, y)$$

The derivation should be from State to Accomplishment and not vice versa. This conclusion is due to **formal morphological features**. The direction of the lexical alternations should not be an arbitrary one, in particular in a language, which allows for various morphological combinations. This derivation is possible in the first group of verbs (A Class), which is a deficient class in terms of aspectual pairs, present in the lexicon. Concerning the rest of the aspectual classes, **they exhibit not only lexical, but lexico-grammatical** features as well, which do not allow the formation of strictly “lexical” rules.

Therefore, the formulation of lexical rules is complicated due to two main reasons:

- Lexical rules apply in the Lexicon. As the Bulgarian verbal lexicon consists in verbal pairs, a lexical rule would have a **lexico-grammatical character** with a binary scope: a rule for the complete and another one for the incomplete member of each pair of verbs;
- as most of the **Bulgarian prefixes are polisemous**, a morphological approach to the Bulgarian verb would result in a big number of combinations **prefix+stem**, which is not motivated from purely economic reasons.

RRG explicitly states that the main purpose of lexical derivation is not the enumeration of the combinations possible in a language but a lexical rule(s), which reflects correctly the possible derivations in that language and captures important generalizations. The alternations present in a language are subject to various considerations. The most important one is the **number of verbs**, which exhibit the alternation, i.e, how general is the alteration. Then, the issue of **predictability** plays a very important role in defining a lexical rule. Practically ANY **semantically prefixed** verb in Bulgarian will be an Accomplishment, an Achievement verb, or a derivation of Activity, Accomplishment or Achievement. Notwithstanding, the verb, resulting from such a derivation (in case we disregard the grammatical element) will not display a unique character. Due to the structuring of the lexicon, there will always be two verbs resulting from any alteration, i.e., the pair complete/ incomplete. Here we can observe one of the most peculiar phenomena in the language: a grammatical category, aspect, merges with a lexical process to such an extent that instead of one verb, we should derive two verbs, which are said to have the same meaning.

(4.66) zeleneia se “be/show green” + raz → razzeleneia se/ razzeleniavam se

Sometimes, Aktionsart might remain neutral to the difference completeness/incompleteness and consequently the two verbs in the pair will belong to the same lexical type (as shown in Section 4.3.1). The first verb in the pair, *razzeleneia se* “become green” (4.66) is an Accomplishment verb, while *razzeleniavam se* “be becoming green”, is an Active Accomplishment verb, i.e., a sub-type of Accomplishment. This leads to the conclusion that each verb in the pair complete/incomplete verbs has to be tested individually for Aktionsart.

4.8.2 Logical Structures and the Aspect Operator

The existence of two forms of the same verb requires a “double” testing for Aktionsart. This problem could easily be avoided if aspect was included within the LS. As the analysis has shown, Bulgarian verbs, (Imperfectiva Tantum verbs are an exception to the rule) cannot be represented in the lexicon with just one form. The requirement concerning the inclusion of aspect in the LS immediately raises the question of the Aspectual Operator as viewed by RRG. The proper representation of a Bulgarian predicate will obviously need a **“double” representation of aspect**, once in the LS of a verb and second, in the operator projection. Moreover, this representation is absolutely necessary from the procedural point of view.

The retrieval of the LS of a verb from the lexicon is the first step in the process of the semantics-syntax linking. A Bulgarian verb will be retrieved as either complete or

incomplete, i.e., either form **will involve a grammatical element** at the very first moment of the procedure. This undoubtedly requires a grammatical means to be applied together with a lexical one. Thus, this verbal category will find its proper representation if it is reflected in both the LS, which is lexical and in the Operator Projection, which is grammatical.

The modes of action are taken here as aspectual subclasses not just because they are not marked in a uniform fashion, but also because of their contribution to either one or the other type of aspectual verbs. The **function of the prefixes is considered lexical, i.e. their character is derivational rather than inflectional** and ranks second to the function of the aspectual set of suffixes. However, some modes of action, such as **resultative, attenuative, iterative or effective** are represented by big groups of verbs and are worth considering.

My suggestion here involves three LS, which are slightly different from those posited by RRG: ATTRIBUTIVE, EFFECTIVE and RESULTATIVE LS. The LSs I suggest are repeated below (4.67). The considerations for the first one, the attributive LS involve the **presence of aspect** (though unexpressed) in the deficient A Class of verbs. The second LS, (BECOME /EFFECT) is based on the existence of a mode of action which is **directed** towards the completion of an action but **does not reach the point of completion**. The resultative state LS should include not just aspect but tense as well.

(4.67) a. **ATTRIBUTIVE LS**

<_{asp} IMPF< (be'(x, [pred']))>>

b. **(BECOME) / EFFECT LS**

<_{asp} PF(BECOME) /EFFECT< **pred'** (x) >>

c. **RESULTATIVE STATE LS**

<_{asp} PF< BECOME **burnt'** (wood)) >>

The three types are semantically well justified through the ranking I call “**semantic loading**”. This kind of classification emerges naturally in the aspectual classification of Bulgarian verbs. As the aspectual classes are based on formal factors, the loading of a stem reveals both its lexical and grammatical potential.

4.8.3 Grammatically relevant conclusions

State verbs in Bulgarian are to be found in A Class verbs. State verbs are easy to differentiate among the rest of the verbs in that group, as they do not allow prefixation by *po-* and *pro-*. The lexical derivation (4.66) expresses the possibility of a State verb to become an Accomplishment. This derivation was due to the clear morphological marker (lack of such marker in this case) and the clear marker for Accomplishments. In this sense, we do not need to go further than the lexicon in order to define either a State or an Accomplishment verb. On the other hand, the syntactic analysis of a **po-** prefixed verb was necessary and aimed at showing not only the polisemantic / grammatical function of *po-* but also the existence of **grammatical iterative aspect**, a subtype of imperfective (incomplete) aspect. It is very important to notice here the **semantic character** of that aspect, which is expressed morphologically.

There are two basic values, which differentiate state from activity verbs: static v. dynamic. The value they share is atelicity. Semantically, the distinction **state/activity** ranks higher than the distinction **limited/unlimited**. The latter distinction, however, unlike the distinction complete/ incomplete, needs a compositional analysis of a predicate. In other words, a classification of telic/ atelic verbs based on formal, morphological factors is hard to achieve, (and probably not necessary), for Bulgarian.

Due to the existence of eighteen prefixes, which could be considered pre-verbs, i.e. capable of adding semantic information to the stem, the majority of the verbs in Bulgarian are prefixed. Even the most ambitious studies of these "word-formation" elements, (Ivanova, 1974), fail to be exhaustive and their authors recognize the fact that the meaning of Bulgarian, as well as Slavic prefixes, is so varied in nature, that it is hardly possible to define a few clear-cut groups. For example, in his classical dissertation, Argell (1908) discusses twenty modes of action whereas Ivanova(1974) analyses forty-six modes of action.

Viewed from the point of view of Vendler's classification, prefixed verbs are confined to two classes: **Accomplishments** and **Achievements**. This means that prefixed verbs could be structured in the lexicon around these two classes and the corresponding lexical derivations. Such an approach aims at economy mainly and the resulting lexical rules would certainly be less in number than the corresponding number of modes of action.

4.8.4 Aspectual classes versus Aktionsart

The aspectual classes juxtaposed to the lexical classes of RRG were defined on the basis of the presence or absence of **two morphological elements** added to the verbal stem, either a prefix or a suffix. Although the classification includes more morphological types of verbs than the typical perfective/imperfective classes, it has been shown that prefixes have a derivational character whereas verbal aspect is a lexical-grammatical category in Bulgarian. This category is represented by a set of suffixes, which changes the meaning of a certain complete/ perfective form of a verb, or imperfectivizes it so that a second form is obtained, an incomplete /imperfective form. The pattern of imperfectivization is repeated below.

(4.68) a. Every complete verb (B1), (C1) and (D1) can form an incomplete one, when one of the following grammatical suffixes is added to it: **-a-**, **-ia-**, **-va-**, **-ava-**, **-iava-**, **-uva-**.

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|-----------------|
| i. | B1+ any of -a- , -ia- , -va- , -ava- , -iava- , -uva- | → | B2 |
| | kazha + -va- | | kazvam “say” |
| ii. | C1+ any of -a- , -ia- , -va- , -ava- , -iava- , -uva- | | C2 |
| | pocaza + -va- | → | pocazvam “show” |
| iii. | D1+ any of -a- , -ia- , -va- , -ava- , -iava- , -uva- | | D2 |
| | sedna + -a- | → | siadam “sit” |

The pattern of aspectual derivation allows for the classification of Bulgarian verbs aspectually, in three double-member classes and a fourth one, which is a deficient class. These classes are structured around the main opposition complete /incomplete. Table 4.2 is repeated below as Table 4.10.

Table 4.10 Aspectual classification of Bulgarian verbs:

| INCOMPLETE | COMPLETE |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| unprefixed (A) | |
| primary unprefixed, suffixed (B2) | primary unprefixed (B1) |
| secondary prefixed, suffixed (C2) | prefixed (C1) |
| derived from –n-suffixed (D2) | -n- suffixed (D1) |

As Table 4.11 shows, there is no one-to-one correspondence between Bulgarian aspectual classes of verbs and the lexical Aktionsart. The bracketed example in the Table 4.10 includes those aspectual classes of verbs which do not correspond to the Aktionsart, a lexical classification designed to represent the verbal predicate in terms of **dynamicity, telicity, punctuality and stativity**. B2 and C2 bracketed Classes are the cases of incomplete verbs which have **iterative** interpretation with incomplete, imperfective aspect.

Table 4.11 Aspectual classes correspondence to Aktionsart

| Aktionsart | Aspectual class |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| State | A |
| Activity | A (B2,C2, D2) |
| Accomplishment | B1, C1, D1 |
| Active Accomplishment | B1, C1, (D1) |
| Achievement | (B1, C1, D1) |
| Semelfactives | D1 |

The **main differences** between the two members in a verbal pair complete / incomplete concern the **grammatical meanings** each verb acquires independently from the context.

- First, there is incompatibility between the **complete** type of verbs and **general habitual present tense** reference as well as **present tense** in general.
- Second, **complete** verbs are rarely used with present but are typically used with **future reference**. This is one of the basic aspect-temporal differences between Bulgarian and Russian.
- Third, **complete** verbs are typical with Aorist /past simple tense whereas incomplete are rare with that tense.
- Fourth, past imperfective is basically expressed through the incomplete type of verbs.

- Fifth, **iterative**, repeated actions in present are usually expressed by the **complete** type of verb in a sentence consisting in two predicates. The first predicate is a complete verb expressing one act of the action whereas the second action is usually expressed by an incomplete type of verb.

These restrictions, albeit aspectual-temporal, are syntactical and impossible to predict had there been just one form of a verb in the lexicon.

Apart from making clear syntactical predictions, my classification manages to show the behaviour of Bulgarian aspect, a lexico-grammatical category, which allows us to speak about **semantic aspect** as there are clear “semantic grammatical meanings” within the Bulgarian verb.

**CHAPTER 5: REDUPLICATION OF
CLITICS**

This Chapter analyses the Bulgarian pronominal clitic doubling (CD) construction from the point of view of traditional grammar first and then it is contrasted with the way RRG views similar constructions.

- The introductory section, (**Section 5.1**), presents the theoretical and methodological approach to the CD phenomenon;
- **Section 5.2** reviews some of the linguistic explanations of the “reprise” phenomenon and presents the CD construction together with a brief overview of the Bulgarian pronominal system;
- **Section 5.3** focuses on information structure and the way RRG views it;
- **Section (5.4)** is concerned with the semantic “need” for a doubling construction in Bulgarian and sets the basis for its further treatment in syntax.
- In the last section, (**Section 5.5**), I propose a representation of the CD construction within the LSC and provide the linking of both direct object (DO henceforth) and indirect object (IO) clitic doubling constructions.

5.1 Introduction

The main purpose of my analysis is to describe the pronominal CD phenomenon in Bulgarian, to give an adequate explanation for its occurrence and finally, to structure it within the model of RRG. I analyse a set of pronominal clitic doubling constructions with similar coding and behavioural properties, following the notion of a "grammatical construction", defined by Fillmore (1988) and cited in VV & LP (1997:431).

"By grammatical construction we mean any syntactic pattern which is assigned one or more conventional functions in a language, together with whatever is linguistically conventionalized about its contribution to the meaning or the use of structures containing it. On the level of syntax, we distinguish for any construction in a language its external and its internal properties. In speaking of the external syntax of a construction we refer to the properties of the construction as a whole, that is to say, anything speakers know about the construction that is relevant to the larger syntactic contexts in which it is welcome. By the internal syntax of a construction we have in mind a description of the construction's make up".

Drawing on RRG approach to linguistic phenomena, I view the CD construction as a language-specific function which should be accounted for in terms of the semantics, syntax and information structure involved in its interpretation. The RRG integrated approach views linguistic phenomena in general not only as semantically driven but also related to other cognitive processes. In this sense, a construction cannot be fully understood without

referring to the conditions of its use.³⁷ These conditions are determined by the information structure of the language under discussion and form an inseparable whole with the formal properties of a construction. Information structure is considered a prerequisite to the understanding of the formal aspects of language. The following statement serves as a guideline to the structure of this chapter.

“The language system, therefore, is not considered as an autonomous set of rules and principles, the uses of which can only be considered in a secondary phase; rather it is assumed that the rules and principles composing the language system can only be adequately understood when they are analyzed in terms of conditions of use. In this sense the study of language use (pragmatics) precedes the study of the formal and semantic properties of linguistic expressions.” (Dik 1991:247).

This insight of the prominent functionalist serves as guidelines to the structuring of this Chapter. The pragmatic analysis of the CD construction within RRG precedes its semantic and syntactic analysis. Its coding and behavioural properties (case assignment, grammatical function and other syntactically relevant data) are illustrated once its place within the RRG information structure is found.

³⁷ For further reading on Construction Grammar approach to linguistic structure the reader may refer to Goldberg (1995, 2005), Boas (2003, 2006) and Michaelis (2003).

5.2 Theoretical approaches to cliticization

Clitics are unstressed formatives, which exhibit behaviour intermediate between that of a word and that of an affix. The CD phenomenon occurs in Indo-European as well as in non-Indo-European languages.

Bulgarian pronominal clitics are the main object of my investigation. The issues related to these clitics, as well as the problematics of clitics in general, have been the focus of interest of a number of linguists. Rivas (1977), Jaeggli (1982, 1986), Borer (1984, 1986), Kayne (1991), Sportiche (1993), Mendikoetxea (1999) and many other linguists treat issues which concern mainly the **status** and **position** of the clitic pronoun.

On the one hand, the syntactic **status** of clitics is controversial. On the other, from a morphological point of view, it is questionable whether a distinct morphological category of clitics is linguistically desirable beyond a purely descriptive means. It has been proposed to accommodate clitics in one of the categories, i.e., "word" or "affix". Furthermore, the combinatory restrictions that underlie the occurrence of opaque clitics in clitic clusters pose a problem for phonology and syntax and seem to warrant a morphological analysis.

Within the generative grammar framework Kayne's (1975) work on the French clitic system is considered a pioneering work on clitics. He and other generativists adopt a syntactic approach to clitics, assuming that these elements undergo specific syntactic operations.

There are two main approaches (with their corresponding hypothesis) within the syntactic treatment of clitics: **a movement approach**, advocated mainly by Kayne (1975; 1991) and **a base-generated approach** followed by Rivas (1977) and Borer (1984).

Although the syntactic status of clitics is controversial, an even more controversial issue is their **position**. Concerning pronominal clitics, Kayne (idem.) proposes that they are

inserted where the corresponding full noun phrases are generated. After a movement operation, called Clitic Placement, clitics surface to their final position. Such an approach is grounded in empirical linguistic observations, such as the complementary distribution which holds between clitics and fully lexicalized complements. According to that approach, a clitic object (direct or indirect) and a full NP cannot coexist in one clause. The impossibility of two nominal elements to coexist in a sentence is derived from Case theory as Case cannot be realized in two different elements.

The base-generated approach to clitics was originally proposed by Rivas (1977) and her analysis of both Bulgarian and Spanish clitics departs from the movement approach. Further, this approach was undertaken by Borer (1984) who claims that clitics are base generated where they surface. Clitics are generated by a Phrase-Structure Rule which generates a superclitic node that dominates all clitics.

The base-generation approach proposes that the clitic is base-generated to the left of the verb, and the movement approach proposes that clitics are base-generated in the canonical object position and move to the position of the verb by incorporation. Both accounts consider clitics to be arguments, and therefore clitics have to check case and must be assigned a theta-role. Therefore, clitic constructions are assigned a structural analysis which is identical to all types of movement configurations.

A similar, purely syntactic, generative approach to clitics has been undertaken to Bulgarian clitics by Rudin (1991, 1997), Krapova (2002), Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1995, 1998), Franks and King (2000) and others. Avgustinova (1994) investigates clitics within the framework of Head Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, while Pancheva (2005) makes a diachronical survey of Bulgarian clitics.

The CD phenomenon has also been analysed as one of the idiosyncratic features of the Balcan Sprachbund, as it occurs in slightly different ways in Romanian, Albanian, Greek, Macedonian and Bulgarian.

The reprise phenomenon is well attested in the Romance languages though its morphosyntactic environment is slightly different from that of Bulgarian CD. Notwithstanding, the following case solution, provided by Jaeggli, (in Borer 1986), illustrates some very important issues concerning the phenomenon and gives a clear picture of the theoretical approach applied to clitics. The examples are from French. There is a direct object NP (example 5.1 a), a clitic pronoun (5.1 b) and a clitic and a post-verbal NP (5.1c).

- (5.1) a. Marie voit Jean.
Mary sees Jean.
- b. Marie le voit.
Marie sees him/it.
- c. *Marie le voit Jean.

- clitics are treated as syntactic affixes, a separate "word" syntactically, as they typically appear as morphemes bound to a verb in Romance;
- clitics are assumed to be listed in the lexicon and, as other items, have subcategorization requirements, or insertion frames. The clitic in example (a) would have $_V$.
- Is the clitic an argument of the verb or not? The author assumes the clitic position is not an argument position, following Sportiche (1983) and the notion of an A-

position /A'-positions are universally restricted to positions that may hold maximal projections.

- What, then, satisfies the lexical subcategorization requirement of the verbs which clitics are attached to? The lexical entry of the verb *voir* is presented:

Ver: +V, -N

- θ_s
- $\theta_d = _NP$

- Two θ roles are then given: an external, (unlinked θ) role, which the verb assigns compositionally to the subject NP, and an internal θ role which is linked to a subcategorization feature, the one of the direct object of the verb.
- The θ role " θ_d " is assigned to the NP in accordance with the Projection Principle of Chomsky (1981). It cannot be assigned to the clitic, since in the lexical entry of the verb it is linked to the subcategorization feature of the verb. The projection Principle thus forces the existence of the subcategorised NP position in these constructions, much in the same way as it forces the existence of traces in cases of movement.
- A crucial point is made: the external θ role of a verb, which is not linked to a subcategorised position, can be assigned to an affix. This is what happens in passive constructions, where the external θ role of a transitive verb is absorbed by the passive affix. This is only possible with the unlinked θ role, though. A similar operation affecting a linked θ role would have to occur in the lexicon, and not in the mapping from D-structure to S-structure, under the assumption that the Projection Principle does not affect lexical operations, but it does control the processes which occur in the syntax.

- Empirical evidence for the existence of this subcategorised NP position in these constructions is presented.
- Clitics, like other nominal elements, require Case (Aoun 1979a, Borrer 1983). The verb *voit* assigns Case to the clitic. Since it has been assigned to the clitic, it cannot be assigned to the NP *Jean* in example (c). Alternatively, if Case is assigned to *Jean* in (c), it will not be assigned to the clitic. In both cases, a Case filter violation will result. Assignment of Case to the clitic has been termed Case absorption. This is possible because Case features on verbs are not linked to specific structural positions, as θ roles are. The author assumes that the only necessary condition for Case assignment to occur is the relation of government. Since the verb governs the clitic, there is no problem in assigning Case to it. Absorption, then, can be analysed simply as an instance of assignment to a bound morpheme.
- Conclusion: Not all clitics need to absorb Case. The requirement that a clitic be assigned Case is a parametrized option. Previous analyses which have considered all clitics to be obligatory Case absorbers, or, what is even more radical, the spell-out of Case features, will have to be abandoned.

Although assignment of Case is a theory-internal requirement, there is substantial evidence that a mechanism of Case assignment should be applied in a uniform fashion within a theory. In this respect, Tsakali (2003) makes an interesting observation concerning Greek clitic doubling and the reasons why CD appears at all. Following the literature, the author summarizes the generative view on CD as the following:

"In order for a language to be a clitic doubling language it needs to be able to employ a mechanism (like a dummy preposition) for assigning Case to the doubled DP".

Then, it is shown that this prediction is wrong for Greek, as no such mechanism is involved for case assignment of the DP. A plausible solution would be to exclude the necessity of the independent mechanism for languages that show morphological realisation of Case. This suggestion, however, makes the wrong prediction for non-clitic-doubling languages, patterning them altogether (e.g. Italian and French), despite their known differences and it fails to account for the different conditions that CD is subject to in the various clitic-doubling languages. The author concludes that the difference between clitic and non-clitic-doubling languages hinges on the difference in the **referential value of the clitics** in a language itself.

The range of languages which present cliticization is so broad and the approaches to their treatment are so different that a uniform theory of clitics seems quite out of reach. My investigation concerns the behaviour of some of the representatives of this big group of grammatical elements found in Bulgarian and the way RRG can account for their behaviour. It does not aim at creating a general theory of clitics because it is obvious from the existing literature on the subject that these linguistic elements behave in different ways crosslinguistically. I have included examples from other languages for the purpose of comparison but it is only Bulgarian clitics that I accommodate within the framework of RRG. In this respect, I share Sportiche's firm conviction concerning French clitics:

"Every analysis of clitics must account for the facts that the items treated as clitics by French are treated as clitics by French." (Sportiche 1993:3).

Although Sportiche takes as a point of departure the idea that there must be a uniform approach to clitics crosslinguistically, he does not "force" such an analysis. In fact, it is the question of explanatory adequacy that is raised here:

"For if universal grammar allows pronominal clitics to be analyzed in one of several ways, the question of converging on the right analysis for each individual case arises again, together with the problem of undertermination of theory by the evidence." (idem.)

As I demonstrate later on, two or more languages, belonging to the same language family or to different ones, exhibit different characteristics concerning the morphological, syntactic and information structure coding and behaviour of clitics.

5.3 Bulgarian clitics

Critically assessing the existing literature on clitics, I think that Bulgarian clitics should not be treated on a par with Romance clitics. Neither should they be analysed on a par with Serbo-Croatian or Macedonian (the languages closest to Bulgarian in this respect). Judging by the total number of clitic forms, Bulgarian is an exceptional language among the rest of the languages in the Slavonic family. If we assume that clitics are phonologically unstressed words whose position with respect to other constituents are fixed, then Bulgarian has many such words.

Proclitics include:

- prepositional:

Iz nashata strana

Around our country

- the negative particle **ne**, "not":

ne go znam

not it know

do not know it.

- the future auxiliary **ste**, "want-will"

ste vi vidia

will you see

will see (I) you

- the infinitival complementizer **da** "to"

moga da pluvam

can PART swim (I)

I can swim

- the conjunctions **i** / **no**, "and"/"but"

jaresvam i obicham

like and love (I)

I like and love

- the complementizer **che**, "that"

kazhi mu, **che** ste zakasneesh

tell him that will be late (you)

Tell him that you will be late.

Enclitics include:

- the definite article

mazhat- the man

zhenata-the woman

deteto -the child

- the interrogative particle **li**

Znaesh **li** go?

know (you) PART it

Do you know it?

Apart from these, a very big group is presented by:

- present forms of **sŭm**, "to be "

Pronominal clitics include:

- short form reflexive, possessive, accusative and dative personal pronouns.
- Nominative personal pronouns are not clitics in Bulgarian.

The following two tables present accusative and dative long and short form personal pronouns, as these two types are involved in the CD construction.

Table 5.1 Accusative and dative personal pronouns – long forms

| | Accusative | Dative |
|------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| Singular | | |
| 1st Person | <i>mene (men)</i> me | <i>na mene (na men)</i> to me |
| 2nd Person | <i>tebe (teb)</i> you | <i>na tebe (na teb)</i> to you |
| 3rd Person | | |
| Masc./ N. | <i>nego</i> him /it | <i>na nego</i> to him/ to it |
| Feminine | <i>neia</i> her | <i>na neia</i> to her |
| | | |
| Plural | | |
| 1st Person | <i>nas</i> us | <i>na nas</i> to us |
| 2nd Person | <i>vas</i> you | <i>na vas</i> to you |
| 3rd Person | <i>tiakh</i> them | <i>na tiakh</i> to them |

Table 5.2 Accusative and dative personal pronouns – short forms

| | Accusative | Dative |
|------------|------------|-----------------|
| Singular | | |
| 1st Person | me | mi |
| 2nd Person | te | ti |
| 3rd Person | M./N. go | mu |
| | F. ia | í ³⁸ |
| Plural | | |
| 1st Person | ni | ni |
| 2nd Person | vi | vi |
| 3rd Person | gi | im |

Although I focus on the last two groups of clitics, some other clitics, such as present tense of *sǔm*, “to be” in particular, have a very important role to play in the analysis.

³⁸ The diacritic is an orthographic convention

5.4 Clitic doubling

Clitic reduplication, or "reprise" (from French), involves two kinds of doubling: either a direct object NP or a long form pronoun is "doubled" by a clitic.

- (5.2) a. **Pesho** **go** vidiakh.
 Pesho NP he CL.ACC see PAST.1S
 (I) saw Pesho (him).
- b. **Nego** **go** vidiakh.
 he PRON.ACC CL. ACC see PAST 1S
 (I) saw him (him)

The "reprise" phenomenon is not restricted to direct objects only. An indirect object (either an NP or a long form pronoun) can also be doubled by a clitic.

- (5.3) a. **Na grada mu** napravikh snimka.
 to city CL. DAT take PAST.1S picture
 I took a picture of the city (of it).
- b. **Na nego** **mu** napravikh snimka.
 to it PRON.DAT CL. DAT take PAST.1S picture
 I took a picture of it (of it).

The set of CD constructions (for simple clauses) can be represented as a set of four syntactic patterns, as illustrated in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 CD construction patterns

| |
|--|
| NP + accusative clitic |
| Long form pronoun + accusative clitic |
| Long form pronoun in dative + dative clitic |
| Na+ NP + dative clitic |

Within a generative approach, one of the basic problems concerning CD is the occurrence of two nominal projections, *Pesho* and *go*, “he”, ACC, example (5.2 a); *nego*, “he”, ACC and *go* “he”, ACC, in (5.2 b); *na grada*, “to the city” and *mu*, “it”, DAT, in (5.3a) and *na nego*, “to it” and *mu*, “it”, DAT, in (5.3b), which have to be assigned the same Case feature. This is something, which violates the principal requirement imposed by the module called Case Theory. This module stipulates that every overt (non-empty) NP must be assigned exactly one (abstract) Case (Chomsky 1980).

The following section gives an overview of morphological case in Bulgarian as a kind of preliminary structuring of the phenomenon CD which involves both morphologically case marked and unmarked elements.

5.4.1 Case assignment in Bulgarian

Bulgarian has lost its NPs case but it still has different pronominal forms for nominative, accusative, dative and possessive. To compensate for the loss of noun declensions, which would have provided a clear syntactic distinction between subject and direct object as well

as between direct and indirect object, an artificial rule was imposed. The language “acquired” an article with two forms: a long form - *ŪT* and a short form, - *A*. These two forms distinguish subjects from non-subjects. In this sense, the article signals nominative /non- nominative.³⁹ The rest of the Slavonic languages (Macedonian is the other exception), on the other hand, still preserve overt, morphological markers of case. This empirical fact naturally brings about a strict differentiation between morphological and syntactic case assignment. In the former case, there is no assignment if referring expressions (NPs and pronouns) bear their own case, whereas the latter is theory internal in the way *movement* is a theory- internal feature. The following definition of *case* summarizes the findings of a number of studies on various case systems.

“... a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads.” (Blake 1994: 1).

Blake terms this a ‘central definition’ but also allows the possibility of deviations from this central type, including case systems which are expressed by adpositions rather than marking on nouns, and systems which do not realize head-dependent relationships. A similar view on Case is shared by Spencer (2008). His study concerns the Slavonic languages, Turkish (with an exceptional case system), Japanese as well as references to the Australian languages. The main issue treated here is when and under what circumstances the grammar of a language needs to appeal to an attribute ‘case’, either in the morphology or in the syntax.

³⁹ If asked to distinguish nominative from accusative or dative, a speaker of Bulgarian will most likely do it on analogy with Russian. There was a dative case marker on proper names until relatively recently, though in contemporary Bulgarian it is considered archaic. For example, *Ivanu*, “to Ivan”, would bear the typical dative marking, similar to other proper names.

"Morphological and syntactic case are distinct properties and in principle can be found independently of each other. In the morphology we need an attribute of morphological case to generalize over inflectional classes. In the syntax we need an attribute of syntactic case in order to state certain types of agreement, multiple case marking and some forms of government. On the formal side we will tend to include an inflectional category in the case paradigm if it competes with case markers. However, unless the syntax requires appeal to a property of noun phrases (as opposed to just the lexical noun heads of those phrases) then we are not entitled to gratuitously assume a case feature in the syntax." ⁴⁰

Concerning typological generalizations built on the notion of *case*, Spencer draws a conclusion, similar to the position of RRG related to case.

"..these generalizations are usually about grammatical functions of various kinds. If a language has just one morphosyntactic way of distinguishing grammatical functions then we expect the split to occur between subjects and non-subjects. Further to that non-subjects are split into direct and indirect objects, and so on. But notice that typologies of this sort are likely to be question begging unless we have a clear notion of morphological case to work with, independent of our typology. However, when we look more closely at grammatical systems we find that the typologies aren't as clear as we would like. English distinguishes subjects from non-subjects by word order and (marginally) by verb agreement, but the only nominal case form is the genitive (marked by edge inflection). The fact is that case marking, whether canonical or

⁴⁰ On-line (private www.essex.ac.uk/~spena/)

non-canonical, is just one way of distinguishing grammatical functions and the fact that it tends to respect our universal hierarchies is therefore a reflection of the properties of grammatical functions not of case systems. Essentially the same hierarchies can be found for predicate agreement (though agreement and case do not necessarily match up with each other in languages which have both)".(idem.)⁴¹

Morphological case can be traced in a set of Bulgarian sentences where overt case is present in both long and short-form pronouns only. Examples (5.4 b, c and d) contain such pronouns.

- (5.4) a. Samolet**ŭt** obikoli grada.
plane DEF. MASC encircle PAST. 3S city DEF
The plane encircled/ flew over the city.
- b. Samolet**ŭt** obicoli **nego**.
plane DEF.MASC encircle PAST. 3S it PRON. ACC
The plane encircled it.
- c. **Nego** obikoli samoleta.
it PRON. ACC encircle PAST. 3S plane DEF
The plane encircled it.
- d. Samolet**ŭt** **go** obikoli.
plane DEF.MASC it CL. ACC encircle PAST. 3S
The plane encircled it.
- e. *Go obikoli samoleta.

⁴¹ The study proposes a generalization over types of grammatical phenomena found cross-linguistically as a type of metagrammatical category of case, which is something irrelevant here, but important from the point of view of case treatment.

it CL. ACC encircle PAST 3S plane DEF

The plane encircled it.

f. Grada **go** obikoli samolet**ŭt**.

city it ACL.CL encircle PAST .3S plane DEF

The plane encircled /flew over the city.

The formal differences between the examples lie in the different word order and the articles, which are attached to the NPs in Bulgarian. The first example (a) corresponds to the typical SVO word order, where the subject NP *samoletŭt*, “the plane” is marked by the article *-ŭt*, thus differentiating subject from object, whereas the direct object *grada* “the city”, is marked by *-a*. This marking is quite “artificial” and became necessary once NPs lost their declension system. About a century ago, both NPs would bear a case marker, one for the subject - nominative and another one for the direct object - accusative. This kind of marking was felt to be

“... archaic even in the last decades of the XIXc.” (Maslov 1982:357).

The articles marking was introduced for purely syntactic reasons: to differentiate between a subject and a direct object. As the articles added to both NPs (subject and direct object) are pronounced in the same way, the difference articulated/ non-articled NP is clear in written Bulgarian only. Thus, the syntactic function of the NPs in (5.4 a) could be distinguished on the basis of the case marking about a hundred years ago. Now it is distinguished on the basis of the articles. The second example, (5.4 b) contains the same subject NP, *samoletŭt*, “the plane”, marked for subject and a long form accusative pronoun, which substitutes the direct object, *grada*, “the city”. The reverse word order, OVS, is possible and grammatical with the same constituents, as example (5.4 c) shows. Examples (5.4 d, e) involve the

replacement of the direct object, *grada*, “the city”, by a short form (clitic) pronoun. Example (5.4 d) **requires a change in the word order**, if the direct object is substituted by a clitic. This is something we did not observe with the long pronoun. Example (5.4 e) is ungrammatical, as pronominal clitics **cannot be found in a sentence initial position** in Bulgarian. The **morphologically** available information concerning the short-form pronoun *go*, “it”, is related to its accusative **case**, as well as the features characterizing pronouns in Bulgarian: **gender** (masculine in this case) and **number** (singular). As far as syntactic agreement is concerned, example (5.4 f) involves a change in the order of the NPs and an element, which **seems unnecessary for syntax** or **triggered particularly by this change**. As the clitic is a short pronoun, masculine and singular, it could be said to “double” or “echo” any of the two NPs as both are masculine, singular NPs. The long and short definite articles attached to the NPs are still present and if their function is to distinguish between subjects and non-subjects, a **second agreement, realized by the clitic pronoun seems unnecessary**. Moreover, if we assume that the insertion of a clitic aims at distinguishing between subjects and non-subjects, then this function fails to be realized as the clitic agrees with either NP.

As pronouns (both short and long forms) in Bulgarian exhibit morphological case, one of their “parts of speech” features, (i.e., they are marked for gender, number and case), the two examples above, (5.4 d) and (5.4 f) seem to contain the same short form pronoun. The rest of my investigation on clitics shows that these two pronouns are just **formally** alike.

5.4.2 Grammatical relations in Bulgarian

Judging by the examples (5.4), the definite article seems to distinguish between subject and non-subject and therefore it qualifies for substituting the loss of nominative case. The

situation with feminine NPs presents a different case. Both NPs in example (5.5) carry the definite article for feminine, *-ta* and no judgement whatever can be made about their syntactic status. Obviously, in order to account for the syntactic status of these two NPs, we will have to recur to word order, to semantic roles in the case of ambiguous structuring or to an association with the ancestral culture which provided a clear-cut case nominal system.

- (5.5) a. **Stenata** obgrazhdashe krepost**ta** .
 wall DEF. FEM surround PAST .3S fortress DEF. FEM
 The wall surrounded the fortress.
- b. Krepost**ta** obgrazhdashe stenata.
 fortress DEF. FEM surround PAST. 3S wall DEF. FEM
 The fortress surrounded the wall.
- c. Krepost**ta** **ia** obgrazhdashe stenata.
 fortress DEF.FEM it CL.ACC.FEM surround PAST wall DEF
 The wall **it** surrounded the fortress.
- d. Stenata **ia** obgrazhdashe krepost**ta**.
 wall DEF it CL.ACC. FEM surround PAST. 3S fortress DEF
 The fortress **it** surrounded the fortress
- e. * Stenata obgrazhdashe krepost**ta ia**.
 fortress DEF.FEM surround PAST.3S wall it CL.ACC.FEM
 The fortress surrounded the wall. (intended)
- f. * **Ia** stenata obgrazhdashe krepost**ta**.
 it CL.ACC. FEM wall DEF surround PAST .3S fortress DEF
 The fortress surrounded the wall. (intended)

Both NPs in examples (5.5 a) are definite and it is not difficult to discern the **subject NP**, which is defined by Ivanchev (1957/ 1978), as follows:

- initial position in the sentence;
- lack of logical stress;
- presence of a definite article.

These three requirements are sufficient to define *krepostta* “the fortress” in (5.5 a) as the subject NP in (5.5a) and *stenata* “the wall” as the subject NP in (5.5b). The insertion of an accusative clitic in feminine, singular, could be said to agree with either NP, similar to the insertion of a masculine, singular clitic in (5.4 d). As both NPs are definite, it is obvious that **definiteness does not trigger such an element**. The occurrence of a clitic, which correlates with the object NP, (example 5.5 c), has given rise to a number of theories concerning the function of that clitic. The most widely-spread is the treatment of the **clitic as an object agreement marker**. The most obvious consideration against such a treatment is the definition of subject, given above. There is a syntactic requirement about the initial position of the subject but it does not preclude a non-initial position (examples 5.5 c and d). This means that we cannot rely on a configurational definition of subject. At the same time, the occurrence of the clitic is quite configurational in the sense that its position is always pre-verbal, as the ungrammaticality of examples (5.5 e, f) shows. This creates a kind of structurally “unbalanced” system as subjects are distinguished in a way totally different from objects. As a matter of fact, **both grammatical relations are strictly tied to information structure** of Bulgarian. This is stated clearly in the second requirement for subject, i.e., **lack of logical stress**. This requirement precludes a purely syntactic structural

definition of subject and hence, the second grammatical relation, the object, cannot be defined structurally either.

Although the consequences of the loss of nominal case for Bulgarian (and Macedonian), (cf. Comrie et al. 1996 on Bulgarian), were *dramatic*, the morphological case features seem to undergo some changes in the rest of the Slavonic languages as well.⁴² Pronouns, however, retained their case forms as well as their corresponding grammatical functions. These grammatical functions are determined by several semantic and pragmatic (theme-rheme relationships) factors. They are illustrated below following the information structure requirement.

5.4.2.1 Pronominal nominative case

The main function of nominative pronouns is the **subject** function. Nominative pronouns are never used with prepositions. Bulgarian is a PRO-drop language and the use of a personal pronoun as a subject immediately places the subject in the rheme (narrow focus) of the utterance. In other words, **the requirement for subject omission is highly pragmatic.**

⁴² The following examples are provided by Zemskaya (ed.) (2001:492), and reflect the contrast between predicative instrumental and predicative nominative in the past in Russian. The examples and the subsequent statistical data show a high level of attrition of that contrast. Similarly, the author shows that genitive is preferred over the accusative for the direct object of negated transitive verbs in Russian.

Puškin byl poet-om

Pushkin was poet-INSTR

'Pushkin was a poet.'

Pushkin *byl poet-ø*

Puškin was poet-NOM

'Pushkin was a poet.'

“A subject is dropped in Bulgarian if only it coincides with the topic.”

(Maslov, 1981: 323).

If the subject is not dropped, it is usually stressed prosodically.

- (5.6) a. Napravi tova! Omitted subject
do IMP this
Do this!
- b. **Tí** napravi tova! Explicit subject
you (not another) do IMP this
Do this!

The second function of nominative personal pronouns is that of **predicative attributes**.

- (5.7) Tova biakh **az**.
this be AUX. PAST PRON.1S. NOM
That was me.

5.4.2.2 Pronominal accusative case

Long form personal pronouns are used either with or without a preposition in accusative case. The short form pronouns are never used with prepositions. The main function of both types of pronoun is the *direct object* function. Similar to the subject grammatical function,

the use of either form of accusative pronouns is determined by information structure.

There are some well-attested cases of accusative case pronouns, illustrated below.

- i. The **short form (clitic)** is used **if the direct object is not part of the rheme** (focus) of the utterance.

(5.8) Vidia li te?
 see PAST.2S PRT. you CL. ACC
 Did she/he see you?

- ii. **Either the long or the long form plus the short one** is used **if the direct object is part (or is itself) the rheme** (focus) of the utterance.

(5.9) a. **Mene** vikat.
 PRON. 1S.ACC call PRES.3PL
 (They) are calling me (not you).

b. **Mene me / *me** vikat.
 PRON. 1S CL. ACC /* CL. ACC call 3.PL
 (They) are calling me (not you).

- iii. The **long form** of accusative pronouns is also used when a sentence consists in a direct object pronoun only.

(5.10) A: Kogo vikat?
 who call PRES.3PL
 Who are they calling?

B: Teb!

you PRON.2S.ACC

You! (they are calling you.)

iv. **Clitic forms** are also used in constructions such as: *niama go* “he is away/off”, *eto go* “here he is”, *biva go* “he is good at it”, etc.

v. **Long forms** personal pronouns are used with all prepositions except for *otgore*, “over” and *naokolo* “around”.

(5.11) Poglednaj kam **nego** /* go
look PAST .1S at he PRON.3S. ACC /* he CL.3S.ACC
I looked at him.

The last function of accusative long forms, mainly NA + ACC, is often used in the function of the traditional **indirect object**, the **addressee** of the action, and corresponds to Old Bulgarian (and contemporary Russian) dative.

(5.12) **Na vas** / ***vi** kazvam.
to you PRON.2PL. ACC/ *CL.2PL. ACC say PRES. 1S
(I) am saying it to you.

5.4.2.3 Pronominal dative case

As it was shown in the previous section, the construction NA + ACC substitutes dative long form pronouns. **Dative clitics** are used in two functions.

- i. If an indirect object *is not within the rheme*.

(5.13) Kupikh **si** / *na mene chanta.
buy PAST.1S CL.1S. DAT / * to me PRON.1S. DAT a bag
(I) bought a bag (for myself).

- ii. In the **possessor** function *if the attribute is not part of the rheme*.
Otherwise, a possessive long form pronoun is used.

(5.14) Viarata mu / *negovata viara **go** preobrazi
faith he CL.3S.POSS /* he PRON.3S.POSS faith he CL.ACC change
His faith changed him.

Personal pronouns exhibit a wide range of functions which are determined to a large extent by information structure conditions. This is the first sound evidence that the CD construction is **motivated by pragmatic factors**, rather than by syntactic factors only. Although NPs case has disappeared from the language thus depriving it from a stable grammatical means, the existence of pronominal case(s) features could be an equally helpful means for distinguishing grammatical functions. Morphological case is particularly

valuable in a language which has no strict word order. Such languages tend to have a strict information structure. Comparing languages in terms of the rigidity vs. flexibility of their word order and the rigidity vs. flexibility of their focus structure, Van Valin (1999) draws a typology of languages which present this opposition, though not in absolute terms.

“Languages in which the potential focus domain is the entire main clause in simple sentences will be considered to have flexible focus structure, whereas those in which the potential focus domains restricted to a subpart of the main clause will be considered to have rigid focus structure.” (Van Valin 1999)

This insight somehow makes the CD construction more challenging and problematic as it is found within a strict information order language (as Bulgarian is supposed to be).

5.5 Information structure as viewed by RRG

RRG follows the tradition of the Prague School linguists (Mathesius 1928, 1929) in studying the "functional sentence perspective" according to the terminology of this famous linguistic school or "information structure", according to RRG. "Information structure" primarily refers to the distribution of the information in the sentence and has been studied in relation to the way it affects syntactic structure. Most recent studies include Kuno (1975), Sgall, Hajičova and Penevová (1986) and Lambrecht (1994). It is on the basis of Lambrecht's conception of information structure that RRG incorporates this significant part of language communication into its theory.

Assessing information, Lambrecht distinguishes between the pragmatic states of the denotata of individual sentence constituents in the minds of the speech participants and the pragmatic relations established between these referents and the propositions in which they play the role of predicates or arguments.

"It is the establishment of such pragmatic relations that makes information possible." (Lambrecht 1994:49).

For example, in the sentence "*It was John who left early*", the referent of the name John must already be known to the hearer; this is his identifiability status in the mind of the hearer. The proposition "*someone left early*" must also be known to the hearer, and consequently the new information is that John is that someone who left early. There is an "*open proposition*" that someone left early, called "*presupposition*" by RRG and the referent John, the "*focus*". It is the **pragmatic relation between the presupposition and the focus that is highlighted**. It can have various manifestations within the information structure of a sentence.

Concerning the first type of information structure category, "the pragmatic states of the referents of individual sentence constituents in the minds of the speech participants", Lambrecht, (1994:109), distinguishes between identifiable and unidentifiable referents, each type bearing different coding to guarantee different degree of accessibility. The following figure represents the subtypes of the two kinds of referent.

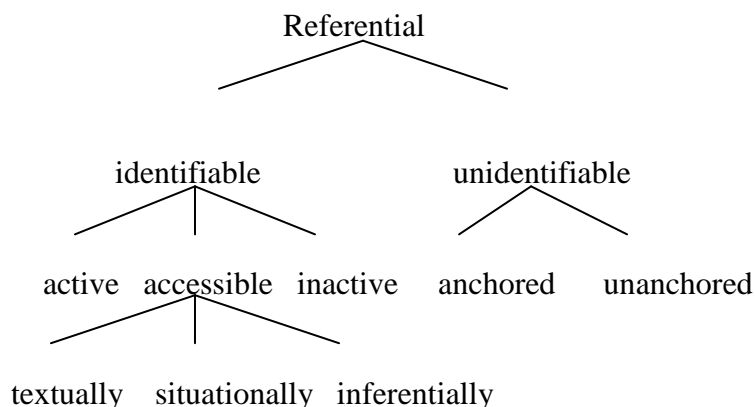


Figure 5.1 The cognitive states of referents in discourse (following Lambert 1994:109)

If a referent is **identifiable** to the addressee and is the current focus of consciousness, then the referent is *active* and is generally coded by **zero marking** or an **unstressed pronoun**. This is the current **topic** of the conversation.

If a referent is **textually, situationally or inferentially available**, then it is *accessible* and is coded by a **stressed pronoun**. This kind of referent is available by means of its existence in the physical context or its relation to something in the physical or linguistic context but is not yet the current focus of consciousness, i.e., it is **not the focus** of the conversation.

If a referent is *inactive*, it is usually **in the hearer's long-term memory**, yet not in his short-term memory, i.e. not in either the focus or in the periphery of consciousness.⁴³ Such a referent is usually coded by a **definite NP**. An indefinite NP is generally used to code an unidentifiable referent, i.e. a new referent.

The referent coding can overlap, as is the case of active and accessible, both of which can be coded by a stressed or unstressed pronoun, but on the whole the system guarantees different degrees of accessibility.

⁴³ The terms *active*, *accessible* and *inactive* are from Chafe (1987)

Pragmatic assertions in themselves aim at structuring the utterance in terms of "old" and "new" information. The distribution of this information as well as the linguistic means used in each particular case will obviously vary from language to language.

"All languages have some grammatical system for marking which type of information is which within the utterance" (VV&LP 1997:21).

The idea is that the association of particular information structure with a particular morphosyntactic or intonational structure represents what Lambrecht calls "focus structure". What makes an assertion informative is the relationship between "old" and "new" information. The "old" information is the **set of assumptions** evoked by the utterance that make up the context necessary for understanding the utterance. This set of assumptions is the "**presupposition**".

Lambrecht defines the pragmatic presupposition in the following way:

"...the set of propositions lexico-grammatically evoked in an utterance which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or believes or is ready to take for granted at the time of the speech" (Lambrecht idem.: 202).

The part of the assertion that is not within the pragmatic presupposition is the "**focus** of the assertion", defined by Lambrecht as

"...the semantic component of a pragmatic structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition" (idem: 202).

What is informative about the assertion is not the information in the focus by itself, but the association of that information with the set of assumptions that constitute the pragmatic presupposition.

The relation between focus structure, "the **conventional association** of a focus meaning (distribution of information) with a sentence form" (Lambrecht idem.: 202) and the lexicogrammatical means used (the sentence form) can be demonstrated by the choice made by the authors of RRG to give a clear example of focus in English. A cleft construction is the clearest syntactic example in English of a focus structure (WH- questions excluded). Another possibility is focal prosodical stress, which is difficult to deduce from a written context.

On the other hand, the theory defines the **topic** in a topic-comment construction in the following way:

"...an entity within the pragmatic presupposition that has the function of naming the referent that the assertion is about" (VV&LP 1997: 203).

This definition differs from the traditional Prague School "theme", which has been defined as a "discourse-pragmatic function", rather than a structural position in a sentence.

For Lambrecht what is presupposed is not the topic itself, nor its referent, but the fact that the topic referent is expected to play a role in a given proposition, due to its status as a centre of interest. There is a correlation between the pragmatic state of the topic referent and its acceptability as a referent, which means that in a communication act the more accessible the topic referent is, the less processing effort will be required to properly interpret that utterance. This correlation is expressed by the Topic Acceptability Scale, given below.

Table 5. 4 The Topic Acceptability Scale (following Lambrecht 1994: 165)

| | |
|----------------------|------------------|
| Active | Most acceptable |
| Accessible | ↑ |
| Inactive | ↓ |
| Brand-new anchored | |
| Brand-new unanchored | Least acceptable |

As topics either name a topic referent in the discourse or are involved in the expression of a semantic relation between a topic referent and a predication, their coding can vary according to one or another function they have. Logically, the coding of the focus of the assertion will vary as well. The representation of the markedness of occurrence of both topic and focus is given below.

It is clear that **focus cannot be coded by a zero element or by a clitic pronoun**, while **topics can be coded by indefinite NP** under certain circumstances.

that it must be a **phrasal** rather than a lexical category, as entities and states of affairs are syntactically expressed only in phrasal categories. Hence, the minimal information unit corresponds to the minimal phrasal category in syntax.

This claim is very important in relation to the nature and information status of clitics. The following examples give some of their characteristics:

- (5.15) a. A: Kogo vidia?
 who see PAST.2S ?
 Who did you see?
 B: * **Go**.
 *He.CL. ACC.MASC
- b. A: Maria li poznavash, ili Petar?
 Maria PRT know PRES.2S or Peter
 Do you know Maria or Peter?
 B: * **Ia** (ne Petar) poznavam.
 * she CL.3S.ACC.FEM (not Peter) know PRES.1S
 I know Peter, not her. (intended)
- c. A: I dvamata li poznavash?
 and both PRT know PRES.2S
 Do you know both?
 B: ***Go** y **ia** poznavam.
 he CL. ACC and she CL. ACC know PRES.1S
 (I) know him and her. (intended)
- d. ***IA** poznavam
 she CL. ACC know PRES.1S

Her I know. (intended)

e. *Maria vazmozhno **go** poznava.

Maria probably he CL. ACC know PRES.3S

Maria probably knows him. (intended)

These characteristics make a pronominal clitic, when used on its own, incapable of conveying any information. If the minimal information unit has to be a phrasal category, and clitics cannot form an information unit, then clitics are not phrasal categories. Typically, a clitic has the phonological form of a separate word, but cannot be stressed. As example (5.15) shows, there is no minimal information conveyed by a clitic in any of the examples above as none is grammatical. First, the presupposition in (5.15 a) is that *the speaker saw someone*. The *x* element in “*speaker saw x*” cannot be satisfied by a clitic. Second, clitics cannot qualify for maintaining the semantic relation between the proposition in (5.15 b), “*speaker knows either X or Y*” as the clitic’s semantic load is not enough to meet the requirements of the assumption. Third, example (5.15 c) clitics cannot be conjoined which means that neither *x*, nor *y* variables in the presupposition can be satisfied. Forth, clitics cannot receive a focal stress, (example 5.15 d) and cannot be modified in a presupposition such as (5.15 e).

Therefore, some of the clitics syntactic characteristics follow from their information structure characteristics in a natural way. Pronominal clitics in Bulgarian

- cannot be used in isolation;
- cannot be conjoined;

- cannot be modified.⁴⁴

The theory of information structure, as adopted by RRG from Lambrecht, does not treat information as a property of constituents. Hence, there are no "old" and "new" parts to map into syntax. There are various combinations in creating an assertion and a speaker is obviously free to choose the best way to be understood. There are also various extra-linguistics factors, which affect the way we create assertions, which are not relevant to the discussion, though.

The following sections present the focus paradigms of focus structure, given by Lambrecht and extended by RRG. The examples include Lambrecht's own examples from various languages and they are compared to the way Bulgarian codes the various types of focus structure.

This kind of approach to the description of CD relies on the natural "emergence" of the CD phenomenon within the coding of information structure.

⁴⁴ The clitics "deficient" behaviour can easily be illustrated for Spanish as well:

- ¿A quién viste?
*Le.
- *La y le conozco.
- *La sólo conozco.
- *Yo LA conozco (no a Pedro).
- *Juan le probablemente conoce.

5.5.1 Predicate focus

Predicate focus is a kind of broad focus, according to this terminology, as it may include more than one focused elements. There is a pragmatic presupposition, which includes a topic or some knowledge about the topic. In the examples below, the person's car is the known topic and the focus includes all but the topic of the sentence.

- (5.16) A: What happened to your car?
- B: a. My car / It broke DOWN. English
b. (La mia macchina) si é ROTTA. Italian
c. (Ma voiture) elle est en PANNE. French
d. (Kuruma wa) KOSYOO-si-ta. Japanese

The linguistic means used by these languages differ substantially. The topic is the subject in English and Italian but while in English it is prosodically marked, in Italian it is in pre-verbal position. Topic is marked by the *wa*- NP in Japanese and the left-detached NP in (spoken) French.

Topics are usually left unexpressed or pronominalized in a predicate-focus structure. As the authors of RRG observe, topics do not have to have direct relationship to the verb; topichood is defined by the aboutness relationship, which has to be present. Syntactically, the focus domain of this type of **focus** construction is the **core verbal constituent plus the direct object**. The following examples include the same presupposition and the possible answers in Bulgarian.

(5.17) A: Kakvo stana s kolata ti?

What happen PAST with car DEF CL.2S.POSS

What happened to your car?

B: a. Schupi se.

break down PAST.3S se REFL.PRT

(It) broke down.

b. Kolata mi se schupi.

car DEF CL.1S.POSS se REFL.PRT break down PAST

My car broke down.

c. Tia se schupi.

PRON.3S.FEM se REFL.PRT break down PAST

It broke down.

The topic is usually omitted in a predicate focus construction in Bulgarian. A full NP (5.17 b) or a pronoun (5.17c) can be used in such cases but a **zero marking** of topic seems to be the most natural one. Clitics are ungrammatical here, as they cannot code topics.

This kind of focus structure could easily be confused with a sentence focus structure, as the predicate itself forms a sentence. Sentence focus is represented below (Figure 5.2) as a different type of focus structure. This representation resembles narrow focus structuring, where focus is placed in only one constituent, the predicate in this case. Focus structure is represented as separate from the constituent and the operator projection in RRG. It is, however, closely related to the constituent projection because of the influence of focus structure on constituent structure. The node anchoring the speech act (the dotted line) coincides here with the **potential focus domain**, i.e., the syntactic domain in which the focus element(s) may appear. As in Bulgarian a subjectless sentence is a sign of unmarked

topic-comment structure and the only argument (the car) is marked on the verb, the representation is very simple. The **actual focus domain** (the actual part of the sentence in focus) here coincides with the potential focus domain and is represented by the triangle.

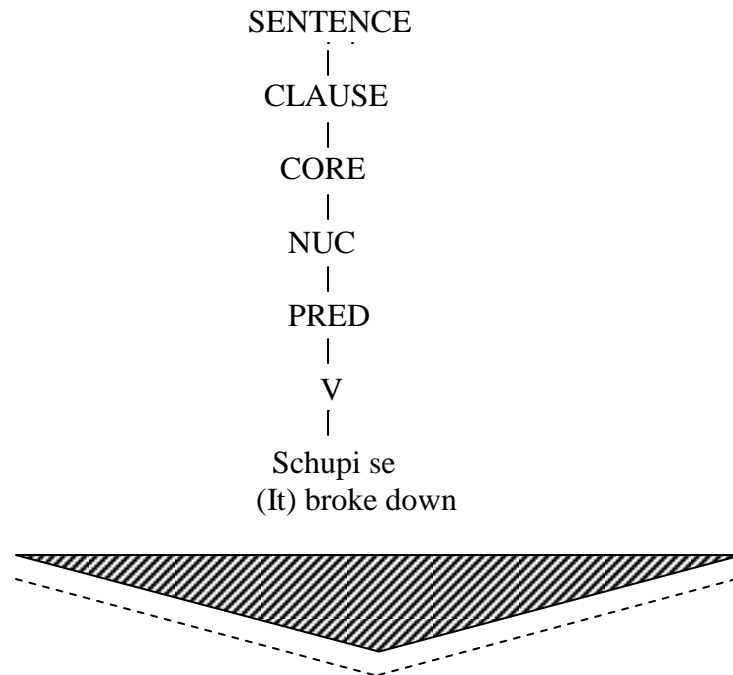


Figure 5.3 A Predicate Focus representation of *Schupi se*. "It broke down"

A possible answer to the question "What happened to your car?" involves a post-verbal topic: *Schupi se, kolata*. "(It) broke down, the car". Such an answer, though, could be given because of emphasis or a pure repetition and is separated by comma.

5.5.2 Sentence focus

The examples, given in Lambrecht (1994:223), involve the following question-answer situation:

- (5.18) A: What happened?
- B: a. My CAR broke down. English
 b. Mi si é rotta la MACCINA. Italian
 c. J'ai ma VOITURE qui est en panne. French
 d. KURUMA ga KOSYOO-si-ta. Japanese

Focus domains must be allowed to contain non-focal elements, such as "my". "My" here refers to the speaker and is topical. On the other hand, "My car" is not the topic of the sentence. In other words, subject is not the topic. Sentence focus **lacks a topic-comment relation** and this makes it different from the previous type. There is no presupposition here, just an assertion: "the speaker's car broke down".

This kind of analysis is a clear manifestation of the underlying idea of the theory: it is not the pragmatic status of the referent itself that is important, but the relationship between the referent and the assertion being made. Therefore, the difference between sentence focus and predicate focus concerns the binary (predicate focus) and non-binary (sentence focus) relations exhibited. What this kind of focus construction presents is a new situation or a new entity. This is the typical fairy tales beginning, which seems to be marked by the same impersonal "*Once upon a time...*" construction crosslinguistically. The construction is typical for narratives, both oral and written, descriptions, etc.

The absence of a binary relation (presupposition / assertion) in sentence focus supposes that the subject is non-topical and consequently, it is a marked focus type. The only sentence (5.16 a) that is syntactically identical to its corresponding predicate focus form (5.18 a) is the English one, where focus can only be marked prosodically.

The primary device for marking sentence focus in French and Italian is morphosyntactic, as both use a different word order for this type of focus. Italian relies on a sentence-final placement of the subject, while in French the word order is different. The latter can also use the *avoir*-cleft construction. Japanese uses the morphological marking *ga*, which is different from the one used for predicate focus.

Bulgarian varies from the rest of the Slavonic languages in a number of important characteristics but it shares the information structure typical of that group, i.e. **TOPIC first**.

What is the information structure in the sentences, where the entire utterance is assertion and focus?

- (5.19) A: Kakvo se sluchi?
 W hat REFL.PRT happen PAST
 What happened?
- B: a. Kolata mi se schupi.
 car DEF.FEM CL.1S.POSS REFL. PRT break down PAST.3S
 My car broke down.
- b. Schupi se kolata mi.
 brake down PAST.3S REFL.PRT car DEF CL.1S. POSS
 My car broke down.

The answer (a) contains a **definite NP**, which is further to the right on the scale of markedness for topic (Figure 5.1). This undoubtedly marks the NP as distinct from the

traditional topic. An even stronger argument for a topic-less sentence in this case is example (b). The language allows for a **post-verbal position of the NP**, which is contrary to the "**Topic first**" requirement. That means that the NP is no longer in a topical position, or that there is no topic at all.

These two examples demonstrate that Bulgarian allows for a change in the constituents order but the NP is not the topic in either example. A sentence, beginning with a clitic is ungrammatical: **Se schupi kolata mi.*⁴⁵

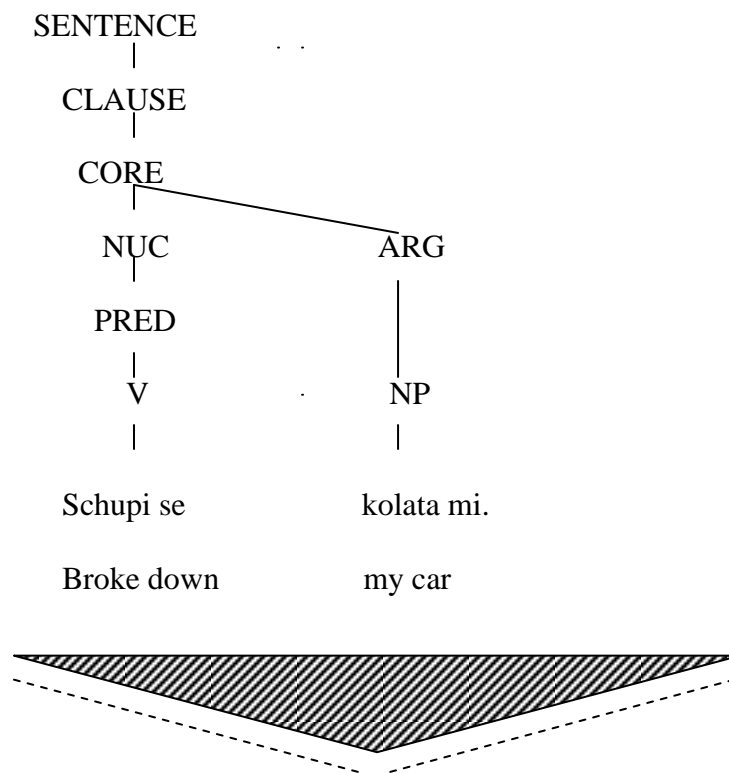


Figure 5.4 Sentence focus in Bulgaria

⁴⁵ Unlike Bulgarian, Spanish allows for a first-position clitic: *Se me ha roto el coche.*

A *non-WH-element in focus in the precore slot* is a type of *marked narrow focus*.

Example of a non-WH-element is: *No, THAT BOOK Chris gave to Pat*. A phrase like this is in a clause-initial position, which is associated with topics and as such, it is referred to as "contrastive topic". This phrase is a **marked narrow focus**.

The clitic doubling phenomenon is to be structured within this kind of narrow focus, as the "doubled" NP is a single phrase. No doubling has been attested of elements longer than a phrase, as the examples of complex sentences show. The underlined NPs are "doubled" by the underlined clitics in the same sentence.

- (5.21) a. **Tova**, che otide s nego, **go** **znam**.
 that PRON that go PAST.3S with he CL. ACC CL.3S knowPRES.1S
 (I) know that you went with him.
- b. **Imenata im**, napisanoi s cherveno, **gi** vidiakh.
 names CL.3S.POSS written in red CL. ACC.3PL see PAST.1S
 (I) saw their names written in red.

Before I structure the phenomenon within this model of information structure, a few words are necessary in relation to the morphosyntactic coding of focus structure crosslinguistically.

5.5.3.1 Morphosyntactic coding of focus structure

The three types of focus structure presented above and the two types of narrow focus are coded in different ways crosslinguistically. The following table represents the syntactic (morphological in the case of Japanese) means used to structure pragmatically the information in a sentence.

Table 5. 5 Morphological coding of focus structure (Following VV&LP 1997:211)

| | Predicate focus | Sentence focus | Narrow focus |
|----------|------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------|
| English | intonation | intonation / Once upon a time... | inton./cleft |
| Italian | subject-topic | word order | inverted str./cleft |
| French | LD- phrase-topic | word order | cleft / avoir |
| Japanese | wa-marked topic | ga morpheme | ga morpheme |

All languages use intonation to mark different focus constructions. In both French and Italian there is a restriction on focal elements appearing preverbally. Therefore, it is not possible to mark a sentence-focus or narrow-focus construction simply by accenting a preverbal NP, as in English. Syntactic means must be used to distinguish the different focus structures. Japanese, on the other hand, is a morphological language and it uses morphemes to code information structure.

*My claim is that Bulgarian also uses **morphemes** to code information structure, though these morphemes are homonymous with pronominal short form pronouns and do not mark an argument of the verb.*

The traditional "theme" and "rheme" depend to a large extent on the situational context and in this respect they could coincide with the nucleus, with the core or with the whole clause in the RRG layered representation of the sentence. There is no correlation core- "theme" or core-"rheme" as the focal accent or just the focus can happen to be ANY part of the clause or the whole clause. This lack of correlation can be easily used as an argument against a pragmatic approach. How is this lack of correlation captured by RRG?

The "unfixed", "movable" character of the notions "theme" and "rheme" creates the necessity to represent them on a separate projection. It is this projection that reflects the kind of focus structure of a certain clause. The information structure projection does not involve syntactic functions. For example, in a presupposition like "*x saw either Peter or Mary*", the focus element in Bulgarian could be concentrated in just one full form pronoun: **Nego**. "Him" is an accusative, masculine pronoun. This elliptic sentence will obviously create a problem for syntax. The syntactic function of the ACC full form pronoun is that of marking a direct object. Whose direct object? In a similar way, the answer to "*When will you come?*" could be just "*Tomorrow.*" When defined pragmatically, *nego* "him" results to be a **marked** narrow focus phrase.

Concerning the representation of an element, marking focused referent, RRG model provides a **precore** slot (for the PrC slot see the representational model of RRG on p. 40 of this thesis). Being a non-WH-element, such an element cannot occupy the LDP, reserved for WH- elements. The PrC slot contains exactly focal elements, independently from the linear order of the sentence. If such an analysis is based on syntactic functions only, we will have to posit a VP, as well as an abstract level of representation in order to generate

and consequently explain the occurrence of the pronoun. A representation, based on information structure does not rely on syntax only. **What links the information structure to the constituent projection is the focus domain.** To define it, we consider predicate focus, sentence focus, etc., which pragmatically do not vary from language to language in the sense that "old" information is the same "old" information in any language. What varies is the syntactic or the morphological coding of this "old" information.

In Bulgarian, similar to the rest of the languages, any part of the clause could appear either as the "rheme" or the "theme" of the clause. In a non-emphatic utterance, the SVO word order "moves" or "flows" from the theme to the rheme. This is the unmarked information structure, which need not be stressed in most of the cases.

5.5.3.2 Other means of coding information structure in Bulgarian

Prosodical stress is one of the ways to place the so called "logical" stress on a certain item. Traditional grammar studies of Bulgarian define this stress as the "logical" stress or the "dynamic, intonational culmination of a sentence", (cf. Gueorguieva 1974:67). However, the linear-dynamic structure of a sentence is achieved through the common effect of two means: prosodic stress and word order, taken together.

Word order is interrelated with information structure to such an extreme that an extra element is necessary in order to avoid ambiguity **when narrow focus is aimed at.** Word order is relatively free in Bulgarian. "Objective" word order⁴⁶ (unmarked word order) refers to an alignment where the thematic elements linearly precede the rhematic ones. In

⁴⁶ The terms "objective" and "subjective" are used by Avgustinova (1997: 100).

other words, the basic linear precedence constraint underlying this concept can be expressed as the following.

(5.22) UNMARKED WORD ORDER: [**theme+**] < [**rheme+**]

On the other hand, the term “subjective” (marked) word order is assumed to refer to an alignment in which the rhematic elements linearly precede the thematic ones, as shown in the example below.

(5.23) MARKED WORD ORDER : [**rheme+**] < [**theme+**].

The two concepts, presented in Avgustinova, (idem.:100), refer to the communicative type of utterance. Syntactically, the unmarked case for interrogative, imperative and exclamative utterances is the subjective (**marked**) communicative type whereas the unmarked word order of declarative sentences is the objective (**unmarked**) communicative type. This functional sentence perspective to the Bulgarian sentence was undoubtedly due to the Prague School theory and originates for the first time in the works of Ivanchev (1957/1978, 1967/1978, 1968/1978, 1978). Consequently, new ideas within the functional perspective were proposed for Bulgarian by Georgieva (1974), Penchev (1980, 1999) and Dyer (1992).

There are three information principles defined in the works of the linguists mentioned above: word order, distribution of the definite article and the establishment of the mechanism of clitic doubling.

The CD construction is more pragmatically rather than grammatically motivated and this is something observed at the very beginning of the functionally-oriented studies of Bulgarian.

A third way of coding focus structure involves **a kind of cleft construction (it-cleft and pseudo-cleft)**.

There are other means involved in distinguishing between "old" and "new" information: **demonstrative pronouns, definite noun forms** or words related to them are **topical**.

Moreover, 3P pronouns are also quite often **topical**. **Interrogative pronouns** (*koi*, "who", *chii*, "whose", *kade*, "where", etc.), **indefinite pronouns** (*niakoi*, "someone", *nikoi*, "noone", etc.); **pronominal adverbs** (*tuk*, "here", *tam* "there", etc.) and **intensifying particles** (*dori*, "even") are considered **focal**.

The RRG observations, concerning information structure, are the result of cross-linguistic research and coincide to a great degree with the information structure rules of Bulgarian.

The existence of both morphological and syntax means of coding focus structure shows that the language is extremely sensitive to information structure.

5.6 Morpho-syntactic coding of a focused referent in Bulgarian

The least marked coding for a **topic** in Bulgarian is zero coding. This is the unmarked coding for topics in general. The topic (syntactical subject or PSA) can be omitted, similar to other familiar Indo-European languages. **A subject, though, is dropped in Bulgarian only if it coincides with the topic** (cf. Maslov 1981: 323).

The least marked coding for **focus** is an indefinite NP. The degree of markedness for topic and focus could be illustrated by a number of sentences which represent various ways of expressing the referent *momche*, "boy" in the sentence *Poznavam edno momche*, "I know a

boy”. The sentences “**increase**” in the degree of markedness for **focus** from (a) to (e), in the left-hand part of the table and in the degree of markedness for **topic** in the right-hand part of the table.

Table 5.6 Degree of markedness for focus and topic

| | |
|---|--|
| a. Poznavam edno momche. know PRES a boy (I) know a boy. | a'. Poznavam edno momche. know PRES a boy (I) know a boy. |
| b. Poznavam momcheto . know PRES (I) boy-the (I) know the boy. | b'. Poznavam go . him ACC CL know (I) (I) know him. |
| c. Poznavam neho . know PR. him ACC. I know him | c'. Nego go poznavam. him ACC him ACC CL know (I) (I) know him |
| d. Poznavam go . know PRES him ACC Cl (I) know him | d'. Momcheto go poznavam. boy-the him ACC Cl (I) know PRES It is the boy I know. |
| e. *Poznavam edno momche..... know PRES a boy (I) know a boy... | e'. *Edno momche poznavam.... a boy know (I) a boy I know..... |

Each one of these kinds of focus structure will be discussed in this section as well as in the following one. In examples (a) and (a') there is **sentence focus**, as actually no presupposition is made. In a sentence focus construction like this one, topichood is not so much the pragmatic status of the referent itself, but the relationship between the referent and the assertion being made.

Example (b) is quite ambiguous as it could be either **unmarked narrow focus** (the focal accent on the NP) or a **predicate focus construction** (the focal accent on the predicate). Here I consider this example a predicate focus type, due to two factors: first, the existence of a definite NP shows that there is something already known, i.e. "old" information, which cannot be put in focus itself, as the referent is inactive. The second argument refers to the fact that "old" information can form part of the assertion. For example, this assertion could involve something like this:

(5.24) Sentence: V metroto vidiakh edna sasedka.
in metro see PAST.1S a neighbour FEM.S
(I) saw a neighbour in the metro.

Presupposition: "**a neighbour**" is available as a topic for comment **x**"

Assertion: "x = know her"

Focus: "know"

Focus domain: know her

Example (b'), though, does not bring about any such ambiguity in the information structure interpretation. As the pronoun is an unaccented form, (**a clitic, which cannot bear focus**), it is obvious that it is the whole predicate that is put in focus.

These two examples provide crucial information about the CD phenomenon. Examples (b, b´) are **predicate focus** examples. Example (b) involves a full NP, whereas (b´) is its corresponding pronoun in ACC. As the structure is predicate focus structure, there is no need for a special means to be used other than SVO word order, i.e., the unmarked word order for Bulgarian. This situation corresponds to the generalization made by RRG.

"Predicate focus is the universally unmarked type of focus structure"
(VV&LP,1997:206).

5.6.1 Argument type and information structure clitic

The first four examples in Table 5.3 do not involve doubling. Reduplication is possible only with **pre-verbal placement of the full form NP and the clitic** (examples c´ and d´).

Being in a post-verbal position, the clitic (example b) marks a referent, which is semantically one of the arguments of the verb. The referent is syntactically part of the CORE and is inseparable from the predicate. This is the normal position of the traditional **direct object**, which can be expressed by a full NP, a pronoun or a clitic in Bulgarian. This is the clitic I call "ARGUMENT CLITIC".

Example (c) involves a post-verbal pronoun, which represents, in fact, an intermediate situation. A stressed pronoun codes a referent, which is in the middle, (see Figure 5.2, p.230 of this thesis), between a marked and unmarked focus. The same is relevant to its treatment as topical, as it takes a position between an unstressed pronoun and a definite NP. If we consider the general theme → rheme flow of the information structure in Bulgarian, it is clear that a stressed pronoun cannot become the focus of the sentence in the unmarked SVO word order. On the other hand, such a constituent, though accessible, is not

the narrow focus of the sentence. Actually, short form pronouns are much more natural in post-verbal position in Bulgarian.

A logical question arises here: **is it not possible to put a referent in focus in Bulgarian?**

It is, of course, but the means used to do this vary from those used in English. In order to put a referent in focus Bulgarian employs **reduplication of a NP or a full form pronoun by a clitic**, apart from a cleft-construction. The first construction, representing CD, is illustrated by the examples from Table 5.3, (c/c', d/d'), repeated in (5.25) as (a/a' and b/b' respectively).

(5.25) a. Poznavam nego.

know PRES.1S PRON. ACC.MASC.3S

(I) know him.

a' Nego go poznavam.

PRON.ACC.MASC.3S CL.ACC.MASC.3S knowPRES.1S

I know him. / It is him I know.

b. Poznavam go.

Know PRES.1S CL.ACC.MASC.3S

(I) know him

b' Momcheto go poznavam

boy DEF CL.ACC.MASC.3S know PRES.1S

I know the boy. / It is the boy I know.

In terms of word order, a full form pronoun becomes the first constituent in example (5.25 a´) which is the marked word order for Bulgarian, whereas the same pronoun is post-verbal in example (5.25 a) which involves unmarked word order. A full form pronoun is difficult to be considered topical because it is in the middle of the line representing occurrence of topic (Figure 5.2). The full form pronoun (example 5.25 a´) is followed by a clitic coinciding with it in **number, gender and case**, whereas example (5.25 a) contains no such clitic. Still, both sentences are grammatical. Examples (5.25 b/b´) represent a similar situation: an unmarked word order against a marked one. The difference consists in the presence of a NP doubled by a clitic (example 5.25 b´).

What is the function of this otherwise unnecessary clitic? What we observe here is a referent, which is part of the predicate focus (5.25 a´, b´). The morphosyntactic characteristics of that referent do not allow for putting it in focus independently from the predicate. Actually, the proposition here can consist in the following two sentences:

(5.26) A: Ima dvama novi uchenitzi , momche y momiche.

there are two new students a boy and a girl ACC.3S

Poznavash li gi ?

Know PRES.2S ?PRT CL.ACC.3PL

There are two new students, a boy and a girl. Do you know them?

B: Poznavam nego.

know PRES.1S CL. ACC.MASC.3S

(I) know **him**. /It is him I know.

The establishment of a relationship between the proposition (two students available for comment) and the referent (him) does not bring about any new information in the sense

that **no particular referent is put in focus**. The element "him" is already part of the proposition and the morphosyntactic structuring corresponds to the unmarked word order in Bulgarian. As this is the unmarked word order in Bulgarian, there is no reduplication of the focused element.

Considering the sentences in Table 5.3 once again, it becomes clear that example (a') is different from (c) in both morphosyntactic structure and information structure. The full pronoun becomes pre-verbal and is accompanied by a clitic. There are good reasons to consider this construction **marked narrow focus**. These considerations are justified theoretically and correspond to the observations made on Bulgarian information structure by a number of linguists. Among them, Maslov, (cf. Maslov 1981:301) postulates the following.

- First, a short form (clitic) is most generally used in Bulgarian if the direct object is not in a focus position or part of the focus.
- Second, either a full form pronoun or a combination of a full form pronoun plus a clitic is most generally used if there is logical stress on a certain element (focus) or the direct object is the focus of the sentence.
- Third, no reduplication is possible in the case of the unmarked word order, as example (5.27) shows.

(5.27) *Poznavam **nego** **go**.

knowPRES.1S PRON.ACC.3S CL.ACC.3S

(I) know him (him).

- Fourth, the non-reduplicated example has its own topic (zero), which could become a focus if it is explicitly expressed (explicit subject). This excludes the necessity for a reduplication as **there is just one narrow focus** in a sentence.

(5.28) a. **Az** go poznavam.

I CL.ACC.3S knowPRES.1S

I know him.

b. Az nego go poznavam.

I PRON.ACC.3S CL.ACC.3S knowPRES.1S

I know him (him).

A sentence such as (5.28 a) allows for doubling of the ACC pronoun, (5.28 b), but this doubling is neither syntactically necessary, nor grammatical as the omissibility of this doubling element shows (example 5.25 b). In other words, such reduplication is highly colloquial. Otherwise, the placement of the topic at initial position in (5.28 a) immediately makes the subject focal. This case is obviously marked narrow focus, but differs from the examples in Table 5.3 in the fact that here it is the subject that is put in focus. That means that **reduplication occurs only in the case of a phrase, a NP or a full form pronoun, which is in marked narrow focus.**

The pronominal clitic in (5.25 a' and b') and any other clitic serving similar function, are the clitics I define as "**INFORMATION STRUCTURE MARKERS**".

There are four different patterns of obligatory doubling in Bulgarian, which can be structured within the model of information structure, provided by RRG. What is more important here is the fact that these patterns can be predicted and differentiated from any

non-obligatory doubling of a referent marking either a DO or an IO. In these four patterns we can observe a NP or a full form pronoun doubled by a clitic.

The CD phenomenon can be accounted for by the way these two kinds of objects are made focal. This is possible from the point of view of information structure, which, however, interacts with syntax. The additional element in all four patterns is the clitic, which can be viewed as coreferential or non-coreferential with the NP / full form pronoun existing in the same sentence.

Coreferentiality turns out to be crucial for the analysis I propose. If I manage to prove that the two types of clitics I defined (**argument and information marker**) behave in a different way in respect to coreference, then the two clitics are not of the same nature.

5.6.2 Coreference with argument-type and information structure marker clitic

RRG, (VV&LP 1997:223), posits some constraints on possible coreference in pronominalization. For example, coreference is not possible in the domain of reflexivization.

- (5.29) a. *Maryi iai vidia.
Mary CL. ACC.3S.FEM see PAST.3S
Mary saw her.
- b. Maryi sei vidia.
Mary REFL.PRT see PAST.3S
Mary saw herself.

- love CL.1S.POSS to PRON.DAT.3S.FEM makes glad Maria
 My love to her makes Maria glad.
- c. Tova, koeto radva *Mariai*, e liubovta mi kam NEIAi /**Maria/ *ia*
 this that makes glad Maria is love my to PRON.DAT/**Maria/* **CL*
 What makes Maria glad is my love to her.⁴⁸
- d. **Tova, koeto iai radva, e liubovta mi kam MARIAi /neia/ *ia*
 this that makes CL.ACC glad is my love to Maria/PRON/**CL*
 What makes her glad is my love to Maria
- e. **Liubovta mi kam MARIA i e tova, koeto iai radva/*Mariai /neia.*
 love my to Maria is that that CL.ACC/**Maria/CL* makes glad
 It is my love to Maria that makes her glad
- f. **LIUBOVTA mi kam Mariai e tova, koeto iai radva/*Mariai /neia.*
 Love my to Maria is that that CL makes glad/**Maria/PRON*
 It is my love to Maria that makes her glad
- g. *Luibovta mi kam NEIAi e tova, koeto radva Mariai /neiai / *ia*
 love my to CL.DAT.3S is that that makes glad M.aria/PRON/**CL*
 It is my love to her that makes Maria glad
- h. **Tova, koeto iai radva, e LIUBOVTA mi kam MARIAi /neia/ *ia*
 this that CL.3S make glad is love my to Maria/PRON/**CL*
 What makes her glad is my love to Maria.

⁴⁸ The structures, used in the translation, are similar to the English cleft construction. Bulgarian employs a demonstrative pronoun, **tova** "this". Diachronically, demonstrative pronouns and 3P.S.M/F/N personal pronouns belonged to the same class. This "genetic" and formal relation explains why 3P.S. is used as demonstrative (Maslov 1981:311). It also explains the similarity between the English cleft and a Bulgarian structure of the same type. In (5.30c), for example, **tova** "this" or "it" forms a matrix clause with *e liubovta mi kam neia*, "is my love to her". Then, the subordinate core involves a relative clause, introduced by a determiner, *koeto* "that". Bulgarian "cleft" is outside the scope of my investigation, but the existence of such a construction only emphasizes the significance of CD. For further reading and a RRG account of the English cleft construction the reader may refer to Pavey (2004).

In the examples which allow a coreferential interpretation, (5.30 c, g), the NP is outside the actual focus domain. Example (5.30 a) is grammatical with a clitic pronoun only. As clitics cannot be focused elements, no focus on the pronoun is obtained. Instead, the focus domain involves a clitic + a verb combination. Example (5.30 b) involves a PP, *kam neia*, “to her”, where the preposition is also clitic. Being a focal PP, this phrase violates the coreference principle. What is stressed here is the pronoun. Examples (5.30 g-h) involve a demonstrative, *tova*, “what, that”, a kind of structure, similar to the English cleft. Example (5.30 g) is the only case of coreference due to a **pronoun in topical position and a NP in final position**. This final position of the NP is the least marked for focus and makes the two forms coreferential. There is a clause boundary between the NP and the pronoun in the same example, i.e., the example agrees with the principle governing intrasentential pronominalization. The rest of the examples involve lack of coreference between the NP and the pronoun. The disjoint reference is accounted for by the position of both the NP and the pronoun on the scale of topic/focus markedness (Figure 5.2). A similar case is presented in example (5.31), where the coindexation turns out to be ungrammatical.

(5.31) **Tiai pomoli Boris da pomogne na Mariai.*

she ask PAST.3S Boris to help to Maria

She asked Boris to help Maria.

A lexical NP, one of the least-marked focus forms for a referring expression, is in the unmarked focus position whereas the pronoun, one of the least-marked topic forms for a referring expression, is in the unmarked topic position. This maximally unmarked structure results into non-coreference or disjoint reference interpretation. In other words, **if a**

pronoun in topic position is followed by a focal NP, the referent of the NP is different from that of the pronoun.

"Backward pronominalization" involves cases, in which the pronoun precedes the first mention of the lexical NP.

- (5.32) Tai kato PRO_i pristigna kasno, Ana_i ne go vidia.
since PRO arrive PAST late, Ana not CL.ACC.3S see
Since she arrived late, Ana did not see him.

What is essential in all these examples is the status of the pronoun. When the pronoun is in a syntactic argument position, backward pronominalization is possible only across a clause boundary. **Pronouns which are in non-argument position are not subject to this restriction.** On the scale of topic/ focus markedness, a zero pronoun is the unmarked one for topic. At the same time, backward pronominalization explains why PRO is in an argument position in (5.32). In backward pronominalization there is a **core juncture**.

"...a core juncture, i.e a single clause made up of more than one core." (VV&LP 1997:228).

The following example involves a clitic pronoun, which is object to a backward pronominalization. The example shows clearly that the **clitic is in argument position**. This is something which **distinguishes this clitic from an information marker clitic**.

- (5.33) Tai kato **ia** obicha, toi **ia** tzeluna.
as CL. ACC.2S.FEM love PRON.3S CL.ACC.3Skiss PAST

As he loves her, he kissed her.

5.6.3 Representation of the CD construction within RRG model

Coreference properties determine, to a large extent, the position of the elements within the model of RRG. There are two positions for preposed elements: the LDP and the PrCS. The following examples (VV&LP 1997:228) demonstrate the differences in structuring due precisely to coreference or lack of coreference.

(5.34) a. Sto se otnasia do Petar, Maria go vidia.

As for Peter Maria CL.ACC.3S.MASC see PAST.3S

As for Peter, Maria saw him.

LD

b. V uchilishte, kogo vidia Maria?

at school, who see PAST.3S Maria

At school, who did Maria see?

LDP PrCS

c. MARIA IA poznavam otdavna.

Maria CL. ACC.3S.FEM know PRES.1S for years.

Maria I've known for years.

PrCS

d. V grada na Petar, toi e heroi.

In town of Peter PRON.3S be AUX.PRES hero

In Peter's town, he is a hero.

LDP

- e. * V kashtata na Petar toi spria kolata si.
 In house of Peter PRON.3Sstop PAST.3S car CL.POSS.3S
 PrCS
- f. V kashata si Petar spria kolata si.
 In house CL.POSS.3S Petar stop PAST.3S car CL.POSS.3S
 In his house Peter stopped his car.
 PrCS.

A NP in the LDP can be interpreted as coreferential with a subject NP in the following clause, while an NP in the PrCS will obligatory be interpreted as non-coreferential with the subject NP on the following core. The explanation for this phenomenon is provided by information structure: an NP in the LDP must be outside the actual focus domain, whereas an NP in the PrCS in these constructions is focal. These NPs are focal because they occur in argument or argument-adjunct PPs, which often introduce **new and unpredictable information into the core**.

This principle explains something very important concerning the CD phenomenon. When the pronoun is part of the predicate focus domain, reduplication is impossible.

- (5.35) *Poznavam nego go.
 knowPRES.1S PRON.ACC.3S CL.ACC.3S.MASC
 *(I) know him him.

Quite on the contrary, in all four patterns of reduplication, the reduplicated NP (or pronoun), are in marked narrow focus position. Example (5.34 c) involves a preposed NP which is normally found in a post-verbal position in the unmarked word order in

Bulgarian. The structure becomes highly marked due to this radical change of positions. As this position can be occupied by topical NPs as well, there is a need for differentiating a topical from a focal NP. This need is satisfied by the **doubling of the NP** with a pronoun (clitic) with the same gender and number as the NP.

The representations in Figure 5.4 involve the four different patterns of CD. These four structures are highly marked and we might suggest that they allow coreference, as it is not only syntactically but also morphologically clear (the clitic bears the same case as the full form pronoun).

For the representation of the DC constructions, I will choose specific focus structure patterns, which, in this case, coincide with narrow focus on a non- WH-word.

- (5.36) a. Kiril **go** obicha Radka.
 Kiril he ACC CL love Radka
 It is Kiril who Radka loves.
- b. Nego **go** obicha Radka.
 he ACC he ACC CL love Radka
 It is him Radka loves.
- c. Na uchitelkata **í** dadokh tzvetia.
 to teacher-the she DAT CL give PAST (I) flowers
 I gave flowers to the teacher
- d. Na neia **í** gi dadokh.
 To she DAT she DAT CL they ACC CL give PAST (I)
 It is to her I gave them.
- e. Dadokh ztvetiata na neia.
 give PAST (I) flowers-the to she DAT CL

gave (I) the flowers to her.

The first four examples involve a NP (full form pronoun) in the precore slot, while example (e) is the representation of the same pronoun in unmarked focal position.

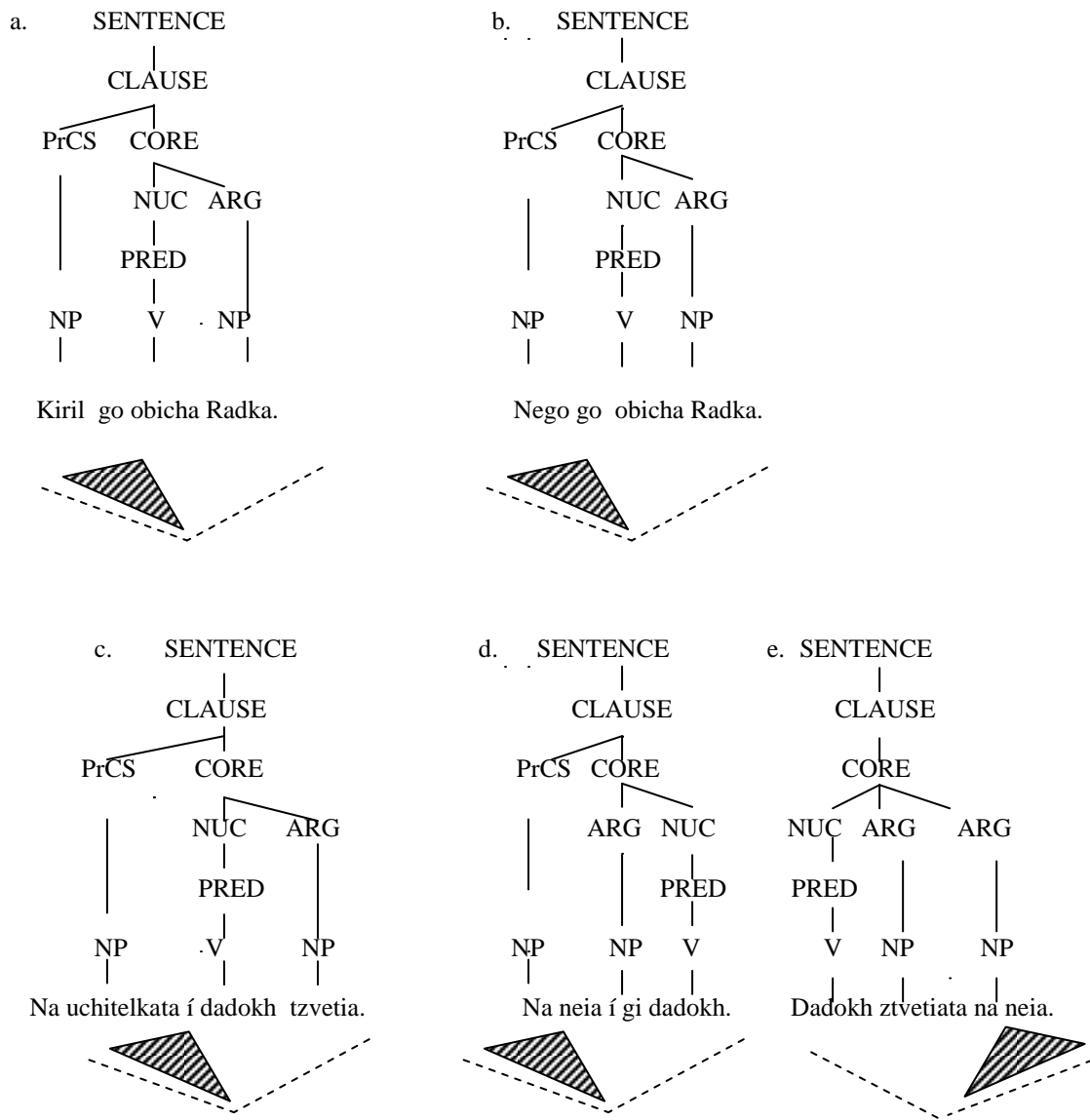


Figure 5.5 Marked and unmarked narrow focus in Bulgarian

The four constructions above (a,b,c and d) represent **marked narrow focus** in Bulgarian. The first example (a), *Kiril go obicha Radka* "It is Kiril Radka loves" represents the obligatory presence of the clitic in the case of a direct object (Kiril) put in focus. Example (b), *Nego go obicha Radka* "It is him Radka loves", is a full form pronoun in a focus position. Examples (c) and (d) involve **indirect objects** of the first type (NA + Dat.) and are similarly doubled by a clitic. The unmarked narrow focus (**na neia** "to her") is represented in (e).

The idea of this representation is to see whether the clitic is coreferential with the NP (or full pronoun). As the first four representations show, in neither case is the NP "outside of the actual focus domain". This undoubtedly results in a non-coreference between the clitic and the NP. Hence, I can make some generalizations based on this empirical fact.

First, the occurrence of the doubling clitic is due to the kind of specific coding Bulgarian employs for narrow focus constructions.

Second, the information marker clitic is not an argument of the verb and consequently cannot be part of the CORE syntactically.

5.6.4 Semantic “need” for “doubling” of an argument

As this point is probably the most serious one for distinguishing between clitics, which are arguments of the verb and clitics, which just double a NP, I represent the LSs of a representative of each type within the CD patterns (either a NP or a long form pronoun is doubled): a **direct object and an indirect object clitic doubling**. The verbs *obicham*, "love" and *dam /davam* "give" are a two-place predicate State and an Accomplishment verb respectively.

- (5.37) a. Kiril go obicha Radka. **Obligatory**
 Kiril CL. ACC.3S.MASC love Radka **reduplication**
 It is Kiril who Radka loves.
 LS: **love'** (Kiril, Radka)
- b. Nego go obicha Radka. **Non-obligatory**
 PRON. ACC.3S CL.ACC.3S.MASC love Radka **reduplication**
 It is him who Radka loves.
 LS: **love'** (Kiril, Radka)
- c. Na uchitelkata í dadokh tzvetia. **Non-obligatory**
 to teacher CL.DAT give PAST.1S flowers **reduplication**
 I gave flowers to the teacher
 [**do'**(x,∅)] CAUSE [BECOME **have'**(uchitelka,tzvetia)]
- d. Na neia í gi dadokh. **Non-obligatory**
 to PRON.DAT.3S CL. DAT.3S CL.ACC.3PL give PAST.1S
 It is to her I gave them.
 [**do'**(x,∅)] CAUSE [BECOME **have'**(neia,tzvetia)]

The variables in the case of the state verb (examples 5.37 a,b) will be filled in by *Kiril* and *Radka* (a) or by *nego* and *Radka* (b). Has there been no reduplication marker **go**, "him" (5.37 a,b) or no narrow focus marker representation, the meaning would be just the opposite: *It is Kiril who loves Radka*, due to the unmarked word order. Still, the LS of the verb involves two arguments only. The added clitic pronoun does not mark an additional argument semantically.

The same is true concerning the accomplishment verb *give* (examples 5.37 c, d). Whether the variable (z) is filled in by a full NP (*na uchitelkata* "to the teacher") or by a full form pronoun (*na neia*, "to her") is irrelevant. A resumptive clitic appears in both (c) and (d) examples. As Van Valin (2005) observes, LSs

“...do not represent the entire meaning of the sentence; in particular, they do not represent the semantic differences associated with presuppositions at all.”

This means that two identical LSs do not reveal the same information structure. This claim is sufficient enough to isolate an element, which is not an argument of the verb and hence, shows that the reduplicating clitic should be given a status, different from that of a syntactic "affix".

More generalizations can be made concerning the character of the information marker clitic.

- Although the clitic agrees with the NP (full form pronoun) in case and number, its nature is different from its occurrence as an argument of the verb in a non-doubled construction like the following:

(5.38) Dadokh í tzvetiata.
Gave PAST.1S CL.DAT.3S.FEM flowers DEF
I gave her the flowers.

- Judging by the distribution of the NP, the long form pronoun and the clitic placement in the examples above (5.34 – 5.38), doubling clitics should be considered pure information structure markers.

5.6.5 Syntactic account of the CD construction

The interrelatedness between word order (non-configurational in the case of Bulgarian) and the semantic “necessity” for a doubling construction is very well illustrated in Bulgarian. Here I compare a construction in passive voice (example 5.40 b) with a CD construction in order to show the necessity for a double-marking of a referent.

Bulgarian passive voice makes a **syntactic distinction subject-DO**, while pronouns mark **undergoers** in transitive sentences. A direct object in Bulgarian can be expressed by a NP or a pronoun in accusative, without a preposition. If the NP is replaced by a pronoun, this pronoun is obligatory in accusative.

- (5.39) a. Prochete li knigata?
 read PAST.2S ?PRT book DEF
 Did you read the book?
- a'. Prochete li ia.
 read PAST.2S ?PART CL.ACC.3S.FEM
 Did you read it?

From the point of view of RRG, there are no syntactic functions akin to "direct object" or "indirect object" in the system of RRG (VV&LP, 1997: 352). The primary phenomenon, related to DO, is its appearance as subject in a passive construction. As this is a function of

the undergoer, the element, which appears as the traditional DO, is represented as a semantic element and it is linked as such to the corresponding syntactic position in the CORE.

Due to the existence of "middle" passive in Bulgarian (The book reads well), I will focus on the analytic expression of passive, "true passive", which is the same as that in English. Thus, the following sentence (5.40 a) can be transformed and the active DO becomes a subject in example (5.40 b).

- (5.40) a. Radka prochete knigata.
 Radka read PAST.3S bookDEF
 Radka read the book.
- b. Knigata be prochetena ot Radka.
 book be AUX.PAST readPAST.PASS.PART by Radka.
- c. *Radka be prochetena ot knigata.
 Radka be AUX.PAST read PAST.PASS.PART by bookDEF
 *Radka was read by the book.

The DO, *knigata*, "the book", becomes a subject of the passive transformation in a fashion similar to all Accusative languages. What is the difference, then, from the traditional treatment of the DO? RRG uses the term **undergoer** rather than **direct object** in the assignment of case and in positing agreement rules. The term *undergoer* is a semantic one, while the rules themselves involve syntactic notions: privileged syntactic argument, direct core argument, etc. As the authors of the theory mention, "it would be more desirable for the case and agreement rules to refer to a homogeneous group of relations." (VV&LP 1997: 353).

Even so, the rules reflect the morphological case present in a particular language. There is no abstract case assignment subject to a theory internal criteria of what the category case should be. In this way, case assignment and agreement rules are given as language-specific. For example, the Case assignment rules for German and Icelandic are the following.

- a) Assign nominative case to the highest-ranking macrorole argument.
- b. Assign accusative case to the other macrorole argument.
- c. Assign dative case to non-macrorole arguments (default).

As for agreement rules, they are represented by the following rule.

The finite verb agrees with the highest-ranking macrorole argument. (VV&LP, 1997:359)

Although the NP *Radka*, (5.40 a), bears no case marking, it can be defined as the PSA of the sentence. If that NP is replaced by a pronoun, the pronoun will be nominative. As the syntactic subject in Bulgarian agrees with the verb in person and number, there is no doubt about the syntactic functioning of the NP.

The LS of *Radka prochete knigata* "Radka finished reading the book" involves an Accomplishment verb.

(5.40) a'. LS: [**do**'(Radka, \emptyset)] CAUSE [BECOME **read**'(book)]

Following the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy, the first argument (x) in the LS is the Actor, the NP *Radka*, in this case. The other argument, (y) is the NP *knigata* "the book", which in

this case corresponds to the second argument of the Accomplishment verb *procheta* "to finish reading". This argument is defined as an **undergoer**, as semantically there is a THEME, a book, which was read. Themes and other arguments (experiencer, perceiver, etc.) are the typical entities, which function as participants and are primarily affected by the action. It must be noted here that while *Radka* is the animate entity, the second NP is marked for definiteness only and can function as any part of the sentence.

According to the Default macrorole assignment principle,

- if a verb has two (or more) arguments in its logical structure, it will take two macroroles.

If we follow the case assignment rules, the second argument, i.e the DO, should take accusative case. If the NP "the book" is substituted by a pronoun, that pronoun occurs in accusative.

- (5.50) Radka ia prochete.
 Radka CL. ACC. 3S.FEM finish reading PAST.3S
 Radka read it.

This is necessary in order to define accusative as the case undergoers take in Bulgarian. Still, there is a mismatch, which does not allow us to arbitrarily assign accusative to undergoers. Macroroles have been successfully applied so far to disambiguate differences in examples, in which the two phrases compete for Actor or Undergoer. It became clear that the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy enables us to define the corresponding argument types.

Radka is hugging Kiril.

What is the means used by Bulgarian? Apart from semantic meaning and pronominal case, Bulgarian employs word order. This syntactic device is undoubtedly important but we should not forget that Bulgarian is by no means strictly configurational and sentences like (5.51 a) show that this device is not highly reliable. There is no preposition like the Spanish *a* and as I mentioned earlier, feminine and neuter NPs bear no article to distinguish subject from object.

Example (5.51 b) involves a doubling of the NP Kiril, rather than the NP Radka, as the short pronoun is marked by gender. If we assume that **the clitic is a means of a semantic disambiguation**, then we should expect such a clitic to be used as a means of disambiguation in a sentence which is syntactically correct but semantically incorrect, like the following.

- (5.53) a. *Grada obikoli samoleta
city DEF encircle PAST.3S plane DEF
*The city encircled the plane.
- b. *Grada go obikoli samoleta
city DEF CL.ACC.3S encircle PAST.3S plane DEF
*The city encircled it the plane.

The clitic is added but the sentence is still incorrect semantically. Thus, we can conclude that the doubling of the NP is not due to semantic considerations.

Word order cannot be a reliable syntactic device unless used together with other syntactic means. This is easily seen by the similarity in meaning and structure of the examples

(6.23). This claim is supported by the PRO drop nature of the language. If word order was a reliable means, then the subject could not be dropped. A change in the word order of example (5.51 a) will result in the same meaning, i.e. "It is Radka who is hugging Kiril" and not vs.

- (5.54) a. Kiril go pregrashta Radka.
Kiril CL.ACC.3S hugPRES.3S Radka
Radka is hugging Kiril (him).
- b. Nego go pregrashta Radka.
PRON. ACC.3S Cl. ACC.2S hugPRES.3S Radka
Radka is hugging him (him).

A change in the word order does not change the meaning of the sentence. However, such a change is obligatory complemented by a clitic. There is no change in the semantic roles: the **actor** is still Radka and the **undergoer** is Kiril. Syntactically, Radka is the subject, as a passive transformation shows (example 5.5).

- (5.55) a. Kiril e pregrashtan ot Radka.
Kiril be AUX.PRES hug PAST.PASS.PART.MASC by Radka
Kiril is being hugged by Radka.
- b. Radka e pregrashtana ot Kiril.
Radka be AUX.PRES hug PAST.PASS.PART.FEM by Kiril
* Radka is being hugged by Kiril.

CD involving **indirect objects** (IO) follow similar patterns. IO can be divided into two types (Maslov 1981: 356), which differ in terms of semantic functions. The first type of indirect object refers to

- the ADDRESSEE type arguments and involves verbs such as: *davam* "give", *prashtam* "send", *kazvam* "say", *pomagam* "help", etc.;
- EXPERIENCER type arguments with verbs such as *iska mi se* "feel like", *kharesvam* "like", as well as various types of non-verbal predicates.

There are two ways of coding this argument-adjunct type: either by dative without a preposition or by the construction *na* + NP.⁴⁹

- (5.56) a. Kazakh tezi nesta na uchitelkata.
 say PAST.1S these things to teacher DEF
 (I) said these things to the teacher
- b. Kazakh gi na uchitelkata.
 say PAST.1S CL. ACC.3PL to teacher DEF
 (I) said them to the teacher
- c. Kazakh í gi.
 Say PAST.1S CL.DAT.3S.FEM CL.ACC.3PL
 (I) said them to her.
- d. Na neia í gi kazakh.

⁴⁹ **Na** is a preposition in Bulgarian and has spacial, temporal and other meanings. Its function in the construction *Na* + NP, though, is purely grammatical and has become known as a function, which marks exclusively **Dative case meanings**. (Maslov 1981:322).

to PRON.DAT.3S.FEM CL.DAT.3S.FEM CL.ACC.3PLsayPAST.1S

(I) told them to her (to her)

The second type of indirect objects exhibit the kind of behaviour, which makes Dryer (VV&LP 1997:271) consider a separate set of grammatical relations distinct from subject and object. In the second type of indirect objects, the NP usually appears in dative case. The NP can be substituted by a pronoun, long form only, which is expected to be in dative as well. The pronoun, though, is always in accusative. Such a phenomenon was called by Dryer "antidative" and it is illustrated by the example from Bulgarian below:

(5.57) a. Pozovavam se na vashite dumi.

refer PRES.1S REFL.PRT to PRON.POSS.2PL words (**na + DAT NP**)

(I) refer to your words

b. Pozovavam se na tiakh.

refer PRES.1S REFL.PRT to PRON. ACC.3PL (**na + ACC**)

I refer to them.

c. *Pozovavam se na tiam. * (**na +DAT**)

refer PRES.1S REFL.PRT to PRON.DAT.3PL

I refer to them.

Dryer calls the PATIENT/RECIPIENT role the "primary object" and PATIENT or THEME a "secondary object". He suggests that the function of the "primary object" is to distinguish a more topical object from a less topical object and hence, this distinction can be viewed as a grammaticalization of a secondary topic v/s no topic. VV&LP (1997:272)

argue against such a treatment of the semantic roles, as the distinction is also present in monotransitive clauses as well as in questions and focal NPs, where, obviously, no such distinction is necessary.⁵⁰

Concerning the CD, this kind of differentiation is an important one, as there is no "reprise" of the indirect object of the second type.

- (5.58) a'. * Pozovavam im se na tiakh.
refer PRES.1S CL.DAT.3PL REFL.PRT to PRON.DAT.3PL
(I) refer to them (to them).

From the point of view of syntax, the PP *na tiakh* "to them" (5.57 b) is post-verbal. The same could be said about the position of *na uchitelkata* "to the teacher". Still, "reprise" is possible only in the latter case.

The preposition *na* (5.56 a) is a non-predicative preposition. This means that the preposition does not license an object of any kind. The phrase is a function of the meaning of the verb *kazakh* "say". What this preposition marks here is dative case only.

Following the terminology of Bresnan (1982b), RRG distinguishes between non-predicative and predicative prepositions. The former mark oblique core arguments, while the NPs marked by predicative adpositions are placed in the periphery. In the case of predicative prepositions, there is an object, which is licensed by a preposition, e.g. in the library, and the preposition functions as a predicate.

Prepositions in verbs such as *rely on*, *decide on*, *listen to*, etc. in English do not function as arguments markers but rather are part of the nucleus. Their "object" is in fact the argument of the whole complex nucleus. (cf. VV&LP 1997:653). Such a predicative preposition is

⁵⁰ What is interesting here is the fact that Maslov (idem.) considers indirect objects "actants", i.e participants in the state of affairs, unlike indirect objects of the first type.

na in example (5.57). What we can conclude here is the result of this distinction: **there is no clitic doubling with predicative prepositioned NPs in Bulgarian.**

The preposition *na* can function as either non-predicative (*na uchitelkata* "to the teacher") or a predicative one (*na vashite dumi* "to your words"). The representation of the two types of prepositions is structurally different in terms of RRG.

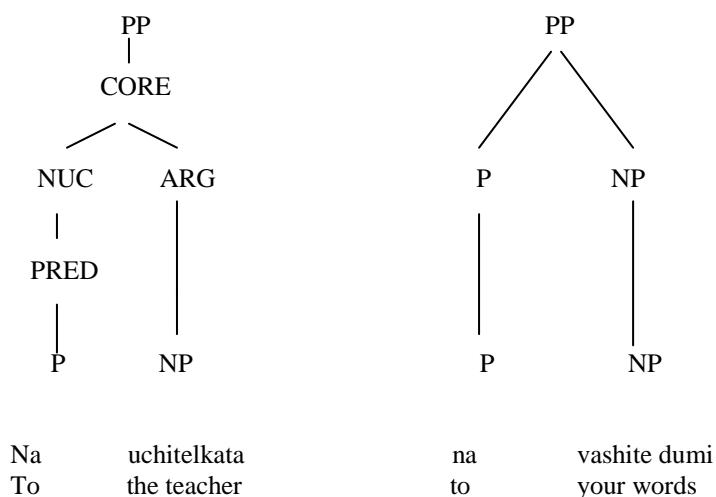


Figure 5.6 Non-predicative and predicative prepositions

The generalization drawn here refers to the CD phenomenon: **it occurs with NP, whose prepositions are non-predicative only.** This conclusion is particularly important concerning those theories, which attribute its occurrence to the position of the NP in respect to the verb. It is obvious that the position of the two NPs (both post-verbal) does not explain the occurrence of the phenomenon in one case and its non-occurrence in the other. Thus, IO Clitic Doubling is restricted to the first type of IO (without a preposition or *na*+ NP construction)

Actually, there are two important generalizations concerning NPs in Bulgarian. Here I follow Maslov's (1981:350) observations and absolutely share his conviction that although

NPs have no **case marking** in contemporary Bulgarian, there is hardly ever syntactical ambiguity. The Bulgarian NP is not inflected for case. Still, a NP belonging to one case or another is easily traced by the following two operations.

- i. If there is no "reprise" present, a NP can be substituted by the corresponding case marked pronoun.
- ii. If there is "reprise", the NP obligatory shares the case of the clitic doubling it.

For example, example (6.30a) includes a general form possessive phrase: *vashite dumi* "your words". This phrase can function as a subject, direct object or an indirect object.

- (5.59) a. **Vashite** **dumi** izrazikha otnoshenieto vi. **SUBJECT**
 PRON.POSS.2PL words express PAST.3PL attitude CL.POSS.2PL
 Your words expressed your attitude.
- b. Kharesvam **vashite** **dumi.** **DIRECT OBJECT**
 like PRES.1S PRON.POSS.2PL words
 I like your words.
- c. Pozovavam se na vashite dumi. **INDIRECT OBJECT**
 refer PRES.1S REFL.PRT to PRON.POSS.2PL words
 (I) refer to your words

Thus, there is a doubled NP or a doubled pronoun, in the case of Bulgarian. Even if we manage to find enough empirical evidence to prove that what licenses doubling is the same crosslinguistically (let us say, it is marked focus, for instance), the question about the NP

and the pronoun remains open. NPs have a logical structure similar to verbs. That means that not only verbs vary semantically from language to language but also NPs differ in their overall behaviour.

Pronouns, on the other hand, are also subject to doubling. Pronouns have no logical structure and are relatively unconstrained compared with NPs. Still, the phenomenon "reprise" is attested with both a NP and a full-form pronoun.

CD has been attested with all kinds of Aktionsart verbs as well as with nominal and adjectival predicates.

5.7 Conclusions

First, from the point of view of syntax it could be argued that clitics have morphological case, while the doubled NP bears no such feature in Bulgarian. Therefore, an abstract representation will be aimed at. Also, the problem of which element is doubled may also arise. Regarding the first question, clitic doubling existed long before the NP case disappeared in Bulgarian. As for the second question, we can refer to Figure 25 again. This figure shows clearly the way referents are coded. A clitic cannot code a referent in focus. What happens here relates to the "free" word order in Bulgarian. Due to its non-configurationality, the language cannot rely on word order only to represent a focal element. Thus, the support of other morphosyntactic means (apart from word order) is necessary. It is interesting that a configurational language like English cannot rely on its strict word order to represent information structure either. Actually, RRG approach does not neutralize the distinction configurational/ non-configurational languages in its approach to information structure. Some important generalizations are made concerning

the relationship configurational - information structure order and non-configurational - rigid information structure.

Second, "coreference" is a notion, which turns out to be particularly important for the proper understanding of the CD phenomenon. Coreference between a NP and a pronoun is possible only if the lexical NP is outside the actual focal domain, as the Principle governing intrasentential pronominalization (mentioned above) states. This principle allows for the differentiation between two functions realized by the same pronoun, namely – that of an **argument** of the verb and that of an **information structure marker**.

Third, RRG approach to information structure further develops the findings of the Prague School. The analysis of a construction concerns the basic relations involved in it. In other words, we have to decide whether the syntagmatic relation is syntactic (subject-object), semantic (actor-undergoer) or pragmatic (topic-focus). Following Keenan (1976a), RRG defines coding properties and behavioural properties of grammatical relations.

I have defined the coding properties of CD, namely - case and co-occurrence with DO and IO. Concerning behavioural properties, which are in principle independent from coding properties, RRG analyses various constructions (*seem*- construction, *want*-construction, *relative clauses*, etc.) to determine the kind of relations a construction exhibits. In the case of CD, I compare this structure to passive voice, although a strict line is drawn between the grammatical function of passive on the one hand and that of CD, on the other. The function of passive voice is to distinguish between subject and object, while CD, apart from making the subject/ object distinction, focuses on a pre-verbal element, which is generally called "contrastive topic".

These arguments point to a "cautious" analysis of the phenomenon, which means that generalizations should not spread too far beyond the language under discussion. On the other hand, RRG generalizations concerning NPs, pronominalization and information

structure (coreference in particular), provide a very stable and save background for the semantic, syntactic and information structure analysis of the phenomenon.

The generalizations that could be made concern the reason behind the CD phenomenon or its exact place in the "functional sentence perspective" as well as its representation within the model of RRG. The occurrence of the doubling clitic is due to the kind of specific coding Bulgarian employs for **narrow focus** constructions. As the clitic duplicating a long-form pronoun or a NP is not an argument of the verb, it cannot be part of the CORE syntactically.

As my analysis shows, the innovative approach to information structure, given by RRG, views the traditional "theme-rheme" approach from a different perspective. This approach highlights the difference between the "configurational" and "non-configurational" languages. New terminology is involved and this new terminology serves some well-grounded purposes. In order to understand the real place of clitic doubling and the function of the clitic in particular, it is necessary to call it according to its function, i.e "an information structure marker". This would not deprive it of its functioning as a pronoun, as it does function as such when it is in an argument position. Quite on the contrary, the distinction of two totally different categories realized by an element evidently enriches the semantic substance of that element.

CHAPTER 6: GENERAL

CONCLUSIONS

This Chapter is structured around the most important conclusions drawn from the investigation of the two major aspects of this thesis - namely, the juxtaposition of Aktionsart and Bulgarian aspect and the CD construction. The following sections represent the solutions given to these two complicated linguistic issues.

- **Section 6.1** highlights the importance of the notion *aspect*, the aspectual notions related to it and the morphological basis for a verb classification which allows for clear-cut aspectual classes of verbs.
- **Section 6.2** provides an overall summary of the semantic and syntactic implications of the aspectual classification against the lexical classification adopted by RRG. A representation of the Bulgarian aspect operator within the LS of the predicate has been suggested.
- **Section 6.3** suggests further guidelines for future work in the field of aspect as part of the broader term *actionality* as well as in the field of construction based approach to information structure phenomena.
- **Section 6.4** draws on the conclusions made in Chapter 5 concerning the CD construction. It also illustrates a semantics-syntax linking of two constructions: a CD construction and a passive voice construction.

6.1 The notion of completeness / incompleteness of an action

The first objective of this thesis concerns the definition, illustration and structuring of the Bulgarian verbal category **aspect** within the framework of RRG. On the notional side, Bulgarian aspect [*vid*] is considered to be the most completely grammaticalized part within the field of *aspectuality*, a term comprising both lexical and grammatical expression of viewpoint aspect. The motivation underlying the juxtaposition Bulgarian aspect /Aktionsart was the fact that in Bulgarian, as well as in the rest of the Slavonic languages, the major aspectual opposition tends to be encoded at the level of verbal morphology. In other words, this grammatical opposition is present within a single verbal lexeme, with a single lexical meaning. An important characteristic of *vid* relates to its form-building nature which is clearly present if not throughout the whole verbal lexis then at least in a significant part of it. The vast majority of the Bulgarian verbs occur in aspectual pairs within the lexicon. The morphological mechanism of this pairing is an operation which involves a basic (complete) verb and one out of a set of aspectual suffixes, which is added to its (usually perfective) stem.

An accurate account of Bulgarian aspect has been achieved through an aspectual classification which includes six classes, as prefixes have also been taken into account. It has been demonstrated that the grammatical element present in the verbal pair is related to the suffixes rather than to the prefixes. In this sense, this account is different from the traditional account of aspect as expressed through the perfective / imperfective verbs opposition based on the verbal prefixes. An approach which deals with a morphological derivation of perfective from imperfective verbs would not reveal the enormous potential

of the set of aspectual suffixes and would have to deal with various idiosyncrasies present in the Bulgarian verbs. In addition, the approach I have opted for reveals the “semantic loading” of an aspectual stem, which is part of the complex interplay of morphological forms where one (prefix) or another (suffix) turns out to be decisive for the overall shaping of the Bulgarian verb. The basic semantic function of the Bulgarian prefixes has been explained within the category “modes of action” which correlates with Aktionsart in general terms and ranks second to the two basic aspects in Bulgarian.

The aspectual classification presented is morphologically driven, based on the empirical observation that complete (B1, C1 and D1 Class) verbs in Bulgarian may be modified, thus giving rise to **aspectually** different verbs. By analysing the patterns of aspectual modification by prefixes and suffixes the classification guides aspectual composition within the sentence and **predicts the behaviour of the two basic aspectual types of verbs in syntax.**

This kind of theoretical approach does not only explain the grammaticalization process, but also accounts for the existence of a group of verbs (*imperfectiva tantum*), which cannot have a perfective counterpart and are generally considered deficient from the point of view of the overall system. This deficiency can be accounted for by a very important conceptual category in the field of aspectual research, namely – **limited / unlimited** verbs. Verbs with “non-limited” meanings appear only in the imperfective aspect (cf. Maslov 1981:13) in the Slavonic languages. Verbs of “limited” meaning, on the other hand usually occur in both aspects without any difference in their lexical meaning. The implication of this empirical fact is particularly important as it sheds light on the relationship aspect/ actionality (Aktionsart) in a straightforward way, namely- both State and Activity verbs correspond roughly to incomplete verbs in Bulgarian whereas Accomplishments and Achievement verbs are to be found among complete verbs. Due to this morphologically driven

conclusion, one of the most important issues I highlight in my thesis concerns the need for a clear differentiation between telicity /atelicity and perfectivity/imperfectivity. On the notional side, perfectivity (morphologically marked) is different from telicity. Telicity (and its counterpart atelicity) is inherent in the verb meaning and can vary according to the situation type. Perfectivity (imperfectivity) involves the completeness/ incompleteness of the verbal action embodied in the verb and no reference to time adverbials is necessary to decide on the complete / incomplete contour of the action. This is because a perfective form in Bulgarian is compatible with “in x time” adverbials only. The “for x time” adverbials are always ungrammatical with perfective verbs, similar to the rest of the Slavonic languages. This evidence makes possible the isolation of three classes of verbs (B1, C1, D1) which **always** belong to the corresponding telic Aktionsartens, i.e., either Accomplishments or Achievements. Aktionsart Activity verbs, on the other hand, correspond to the verbs aspectually derived from these three classes and A Class verbs which I defined as aspectually deficient. A Class also involves State verbs.

This is in accordance with the findings of the Czech linguist Mourek made as early as 1895. (cf. Maslov, 1985:14).

“...prefixed verbs in Germanic languages stopped at the stage of resultativity” (i.e. did not develop true perfectivity) and like the Slavonic secondary imperfectives derived from perfective stems, e.g. Chech *vyhazují* “*I am throwing out*”, they contain a reference to the impending conclusion or success of the action while saying nothing about its actual completion whereas the Slavonic perfectives, e.g. Chech *vyhodím* “*I shall throw out (in one movement)*” and *vyházím* “*I shall throw out the whole lot one after the other*” quite definitely refer to the completion of the action”. (Mourec, cited in Maslov 1985:14).

As I highlight at various occasions, what is fundamental in the notion of perfectivity is that the **function of viewing a situation as finished or unfinished** has been put forward as the **basic aspectual function** while other hues of the verbal action have a secondary function. The related notion of **iterativity**, as part of imperfective aspect, has been described as a pure aspectual phenomenon, irrespective of temporal contours.

6.2 Aspect / Aktionsart

As Table 4.11 (repeated as Table 6.1 below) shows, there is no one-to-one correspondence between Bulgarian aspectual classes of verbs and the lexical Aktionsart. Aktionsart is a lexical classification designed to represent the verbal predicate in terms of **dynamicity, telicity, punctuality and stativity**, whereas the features of the classes of my classification involve **completeness, incompleteness** and the related notion **iterativity**, as a subpart of imperfective aspect. The unprefixated A Class of Bulgarian verbs find their correspondence within Aktionsart State and Activity verbs. B2 and C2 and D2 bracketed Classes are those incomplete verbs which have **iterative** interpretation with incomplete, imperfective aspect. A very interesting correlation between Aktionsart Semelfactives and Bulgarian Semelfactive verbs (D1 Class) has been found. As Levin (1993) mentions, these are “perhaps the least studied aspectual class”. Semelfactives are related to activities and my classification shows clearly that Class D2 verbs are exactly morphologically derived activity verbs (*trakna – trakam* “bang once” – “bang”). This derivation is present in the lexicon where a semelfactive verb pairs with an activity verb. Although this patterning contradicts the RRG criterion that activity and states are basic whereas the rest of the types derive from them, this empirical fact is considered in my thesis as the outcome of the

extremely important process of perfectivization and the gradual semantic loading of the verbal stem. The existence of a huge group of **semelfactive** verbs in Bulgarian demonstrates that the **quantitative expression of aspect** has an important part to play in the description of aspect.

Table 6.1 Bulgarian aspectual classes correspondence to Aktionsart

| Aktionsart | Aspectual class |
|-----------------------|-----------------|
| State | A |
| Activity | A (B2,C2, D2) |
| Accomplishment | B1, C1, D1 |
| Active Accomplishment | B1, C1, (D1) |
| Achievement | (B1, C1, D1) |
| Semelfactives | D1 |

The existence of the verbal pairs in the lexicon does not only define aspect as a lexico-grammatical category. The presence of a grammatical element in the verbal lexeme reveals **grammatical meanings** each verb acquires independently from the context. As the basic property of the Bulgarian aspectual system is definitely the interaction of lexical and grammatical semantics, the idiosyncrasy of the system consists in the fusion of aspectual and lexical meanings and **the transformation of aspectual meaning into a categorial component of the lexical semantics of the verb.**(cf. Maslov, 1982:25).

6.3 Guidelines for future research

Needless to say, there are various important linguistic issues that could be investigated further within RRG theory. The semantic basis of the model allows for cross-linguistic comparisons at various levels. Here I can suggest some future lines of investigation strictly related to this thesis.

6.3.1 Interrelatedness of aspect with other grammatical categories

One of the most important and complicated aspects at the level of lexical (lexical-grammatical in the case of Bulgarian) verbal semantics is the **tense-aspect relationship** which follows naturally from the conclusions drawn in this thesis concerning aspect. As tense is a clause operator whereas aspect modifies the nucleus, their interrelatedness is particularly interesting. The grammatical meanings present in each Bulgarian verb have some important syntactic implications and involve predictions which would not have been possible had there been just one verbal form in the lexicon. Although the list of atested interrelations between tense and aspect, given below, is not exhaustive it naturally suggests guidelines for future investigations. Further research is necessary concerning the operator tense which modifies the CLAUSE within the model of RRG and its interrelation with aspect, which modifies the NUCLEUS and has been included as an obligatory element within the LS of Bulgarian verbs. In relation to this aspectual-temporal interrelation, my classification has defined some correlations between the two basic aspectual types and tense.

- Firstly, **iterative**, repeated actions in present are usually expressed by the **complete** type of verb in a sentence consisting in two predicates. The first predicate is a complete verb expressing one act of the action whereas the second action is usually expressed by an incomplete type of verb.
- Second, there is incompatibility between the **complete** type of verbs and general **habitual present tense** reference as well as **present tense** in general.
- Third, **complete** verbs are rarely used with present but are typically used with future reference.
- Fourth, **complete** verbs are typical with Aorist /past simple tense whereas **incomplete** are rare with that tense.
- **Past imperfective** is basically expressed through the **incomplete** type of verbs.

In terms of **valence**, RRG (VV&LP 1997:147) distinguishes between S-transitivity (syntactic) and M-transitivity (semantic) valence. The theory states that it is possible to predict the syntactic valence of a verb from its semantic valence. The semantic valence will consist in the number of arguments represented in the LS. The lexico-grammatical features of the Bulgarian verbs bear straight relation to the verb's argument structure as in some cases transitivity correlates with aspect. The model aims at extracting as much information about the predicate and its arguments as possible at the lexical level, without recurring to the syntactic one. In this sense, my findings are in accordance with RRG prediction concerning argument structure and its representation. In terms of representation, the semantic basis of the category aspect requires an explicit representation in the LS of the

predicate. Further research concerning the expression of the verb argument structure could be quite revealing. In terms of transitivity, for example, Bulgarian transitive verbs always require definite objects, unlike other Slavonic languages. Although this issue has not been the main concern of my thesis, it turns out that it is in this particular field where further studies should be done, in agreement with the semantically based argument structure of the verb adopted by RRG.

The verb classification presented in this thesis makes **clear-cut isolation of the category aspect from the rest of the aspectual expressions** employed by Bulgarian. As the semantic contrast complete/ incomplete has acquired the status of a grammatical opposition and has been “formalized” to some extent, it reflects reality in a more specific, complex, inductive and indirect way. The development of the system (secondary imperfective verbs in particular) is a sign of **multifunctional grammatical forms**. These forms often create a gap between the meaning observed in the context (the sense) and the meaning of the same form postulated in the system of the language, which is generally considered the value of that form. It is in this line that further work should be directed as the semantic analysis of grammatical categories is quite complicated and descriptions of the semantics of the grammatical categories differ considerably. The analysis of the CD phenomenon demonstrated that the unstressed personal pronouns (clitics) have also developed **functions which are different from the syntactic functions** typically assigned to them. Differentiating these two functions, the purely syntactic one from the one which serves the information structure of a language turns out to be particularly important within RRG integrative approach. Moreover, it is that particular aspect that is shared by the two central issues of this thesis.

6.3.2 The CD phenomenon and the construction approach to it

The analysis of the CD construction involved the basic relations involved in it. I have defined the construction coding and behavioural properties in accordance with RRG approach to information structure. The function of the reduplicating clitic in the CD construction has been defined as *information marker clitic* thus distinguishing this function from the other function of the unstressed pronouns, that of arguments of the verb. Further investigation, concerning the **argument structure of the predicate** could reveal some important generalizations related to languages which employ similar means of information structure.

Another important aspect for further investigation concerns the comparison of various means of **expression of focus** in different languages. Quite often, such constructions are very similar in meaning. Nevertheless, the existence of various constructions with similar meaning within a single language (“it-cleft”, CD, intensifying particles, etc., for Bulgarian) shows that the semantic content of these constructions is not identical.

In this sense, both the aspectual classification of Bulgarian verbs and the CD phenomenon have been semantically determined. In other words, this approach undoubtedly coincides with one of the RRG basic ideas, i.e., **language structure is semantically determined.**

6.4 Linking a CD construction and a passive voice construction

The best way to conclude this Chapter is a practical application of RRG linking mechanism to a Bulgarian sentence. This application is twofold: on the one hand, it represents a CD linking and on the other, it shows the different status of the CD status in respect to a passive voice construction. A passive voice construction distinguishes clearly the syntactic relations subject and object. It fails, however, to distinguish a focal element from a non-focal one (unless we refer to other information structure means).

The CD phenomenon involves an obligatory doubling of an element put in focus. This element is restricted to a direct object or an indirect object of the first type (see section 5.4.2.3 of this thesis). These two elements represent the Undergoer in the LS or another term, which is syntactically represented as an oblique core argument by RRG. Semantically, the Actor is not doubled. At the syntactic level, CD is possible with the marked word order only, as any doubled element becomes preverbal in the clause. This syntactic rule cannot be applied unless it is interrelated with focus structure, though. Thus, we cannot talk about a strictly semantic, syntactic or information structure setting for the construction. All the factors that surround CD are interrelated. All this complexity, however, is shrunk to a simple formal expression, a short pronoun. Compared with the “it-cleft” construction (see example 6.1 a), CD is simpler and this seems to be a plausible explanation for its saliency in the language.

In terms of syntactic restrictions, the “it-cleft” construction also requires an “inverted” word order, i.e. the element in focus becomes pre-verbal. The word order in the Bulgarian matrix-clause, as well as that in the embedded clause, is flexible. Thus, the two constructions coincide in being marked constructions. The existence of both constructions in Bulgarian demonstrates how sensitive the language is to information structure. Both “it-

cleft” and CD differ from passive and this is the reason why I chose passive for comparison. The main objective here is to illustrate the difference in otherwise similar constructions. On the other hand, the two linkings highlight the usefulness and elegance of RRG for comparative purposes. The model illuminates differences between syntactically different languages as well as differences within a single language.

Examples (6.1 b and 6.1 c) represent a CD construction (b) and a passive voice construction (c). The predicate shared by the two structures is the complete verb *obikolia* "encircle". Before I proceed to the linking, it is important to reiterate the fact, that CD is not the only means for marked narrow focus (contrastive topic) in Bulgarian. A situation, similar to that in Spanish, is present in Bulgarian. The existence of both a bi-clausal construction (“it-cleft”) and reduplication for the expression of narrow focus is easily explained by the synthetic-analytic character of Bulgarian. As I showed earlier, synthetic and analytic means of expression co-exist in the expression of aspect as well.

(6.1) a. Grada beshe tozi, kogoto obikoli samoleta. **"IT-CLEFT"**

city be AUX.PAST this which encirclePAST.3S plane

The city was the city that the plane encircled.

b. Grada go obikoli samoleta. **CLITIC DOUBLING**

city CL. ACC.3S encircle PAST.3S plane

The city was encircled by the plane / It was the city that the plane encircled.

c. Grada be obikolen ot samoleta. **PASSIVE VOICE**

city be AUX.PAST encircle PAST.PASS.PART by plane

The city was encircled by the plane.

6.4.1 Semantics to syntax linking of the passive construction

Grada be obikolen ot samoleta "The city was encircled by the plane"

Before proceeding to Step 1 of the linking, the semantic representation of the sentence, based on the LS of the predicator, is constructed:

- (6.1) c. Grada be obikolen ot samoleta.
city be AUX.PAST encircle PAST.PASS.PART by plane
The city was encircled by the plane.
LS: [**do**'(samolet, \emptyset)] CAUSE [BECOME **encircle**' grada]

The complete verb **obikolia** "encircle" is a causative Accomplishment verb, following Aktionsart. Being a transitive verb, it will have two arguments in the LS.

Step 1. Determine the Actor and Undergoer assignments, following the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy. The Hierarchy states that the first argument of **DO** is the unmarked choice for Actor, while the second argument is the unmarked choice for Undergoer. As this linking is a marked one, the macroroles assignment follows the Passive Voice assignment of macroroles in Accusative languages. Besides, the two arguments are inanimate and here I follow the consideration referring to the determination of Actor and Undergoer.

Actor: *samoleta* "the plane"

Undergoer : *grada* "the city"

This step also includes illocutionary force, voice and aspect. Thus, the following representation can be given:

<if DEC<tns PAST < asp PF < [**do'**(samolet, \emptyset)] CAUSE [BECOME **encircled'** grada
acv]>>>>

Step 2. Assign specific morphosyntactic status to [-WH] arguments in LS (language specific).

This step involves the selection of the PSA. This selection is the default selection of the undergoer in a passive voice construction, i.e, **samoleta** "the plane". The syntactic "subject" in passive voice in Bulgarian is represented by a "by-phrase", similar to English.

Step 3. If there is a [+WH] XP, assign it to the PrCS. The sentence does not involve such elements.

Step 4. A non-WH XP may be assigned to the pre-or postcore slot, subject to focus structure restrictions (optional; language specific).

Step 5. Assign the core arguments the appropriate case markers /adpositions and assign the predicate in the nucleus the appropriate agreement marking (language specific).

Case assignment follows the principles of an Accusative language.

Step 6. For semantic arguments of logical structures other than that of the main verb,

- a. assign them to the periphery (default), or
- b. assign them to the precore slot or focus position (language specific) if they are focal, or
- c. assign them to the left-detached position if they are highly topical.

There are no other arguments in the LS apart from those of the main verb.

6.4.2 Semantics to syntax linking of the CD construction *Grada go obikoli samoleta* "It was the city the plane encircled"

(6.1 b) Grada go obikoli samoleta.

city CL.ACC.3S encircle PAST.3S plane

It was the city the plane encircled.

LS: [**do**'(samoleta, \emptyset)] CAUSE [BECOME **encircled**' grada]

The LS of a verb does not necessarily reflect information structure considerations. The steps followed in the linking of this example are very similar to those followed in the passive construction linking. However, there are differences which show that the RRG model can account for this specific construction taking into account not just semantics and syntacs, but information structure as well.

The LS of the verb in the predicate is the same as that of the passive voice construction. In terms of elements, there is an extra element, the information marker clitic **go** "it". If the same clitic appears as an element in a construction, different from CD, it will appear as part of the LS. Then, it will be linked either as a **macrorole** core argument or as a **non-macrorole** argument, marked by the structure **NA+ NP**. Therefore, the difference between the **argument clitic** and the **information marker clitic** will be evident even before the first step of the linking is determined.

The various stages of the linking provide for the proper placement of the information marker clitic and at the same time reflect the influence of information structure considerations on the linking. Had there been no such considerations, there would have been no way to map all the elements of the clause and the Completeness Constraint

principle would have been violated. In any case, there would be mismatch at the semantics-syntax interface.

In other words, there is a special Step, provided for elements in the clause, which refer specifically to focus structure.

Step 1. Determine the Actor and Undergoer assignments, following the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy. The Hierarchy states that the first argument of **DO** is the unmarked choice for Actor, while the second argument is the unmarked choice for Undergoer. Similar to the passive voice linking, this construction presents a marked word order. As Bulgarian allows for flexible word order, other cases which do not involve CD can exhibit a similar arrangement of the elements of a clause, without necessarily marking an element focal. To avoid this ambiguity, it is essential to use the Hierarchy stated above in order to define the two macroroles.

Actor: *samoleta* "the plain"

Undergoer : *grada* "the city"

In a way, similar to the previous linking, this step also includes illocutionary force, voice (active) and aspect. Thus, the following representation can be given:

```
<if DEC<tns PAST < asp PF < [ do'(samoleta, ø) ] CAUSE [ BECOME encircled' grada
]>>>>
```

The Undergoer *grada* "the city" is an activated referent due to two factors: first, it is in a preverbal position and second, the canonical information structure of Bulgarian is topic → focus. Moreover, an **indefinite NP is the least marked referent for focus and the most highly marked one for topic**. This situation could be overridden by intonation or by an additional element, a clitic, which immediately marks it as focus

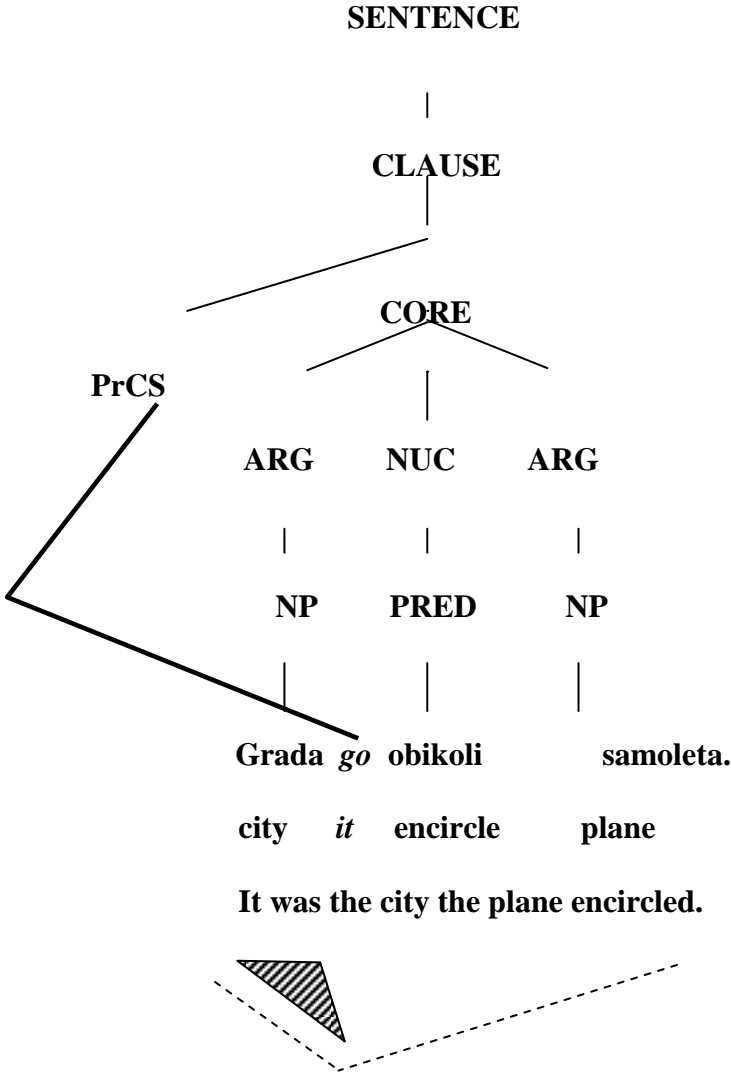


Figure 6.2 Semantics to syntax linking of a CD construction (constituent projection and focus structure projection)