

【論文】

The Grammaticalization of the Numeral *edin* in Bulgarian

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1. Introduction

As is well known, the Slavic languages of the Balkan *Sprachbund* (Bulgarian, Macedonian) have developed grammatical means for marking definiteness, that is, the definite article. However, the question of the existence of an indefinite article in these languages remains open. The question of whether there is an indefinite article in these languages is closely related to the grammatical status of the numeral *edin* as a marker of indefiniteness.

This work focuses on *edin* as a marker of indefiniteness and discusses the problem of its grammaticalization. The aim of this study is not to draw a conclusion on whether *edin* is an indefinite article, but rather to examine the stages in the grammaticalization process of *edin* as a marker of indefiniteness on the synchronic level of the language.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: Section 2 briefly describes the grammatical means of marking definiteness/indefiniteness in Bulgarian. Section 3 focuses on the polemics concerning the grammatical status of *edin*. Section 4 presents our proposal for the grammaticalization process of *edin* and the scales of grammaticalization of the numeral ‘one’ proposed in several previous works on which our proposal is based. In Section 5, we define the key terms used in this paper. Section 6 presents the procedure and research questions of this study. Section 7 presents the analysis of the study. Section 8 briefly discusses the plural form *edni*. Section 9 provides a summary and conclusions.

2. Marking definiteness/indefiniteness in Bulgarian

Definiteness in Bulgarian is expressed grammatically by inflecting the morpheme of the definite article and post-fixing it to the stem of the noun, as in *grad-ăt*¹ (‘the city’). Indefiniteness (e.g., ‘a city’), on the other hand, can be expressed by two different forms, i.e. the bare (non-articled) form of the noun (*grad*) or the form with the numeral *edin*² (*edin grad*).

¹ The example presents the long (nominative) form of the article in masculine.

² The numeral has four forms, namely *edin* (masculine), *edna* (feminine), and *edno* (neuter) for singular, and *edni* for plural. In this work, the masculine form will be used to represent the four

Some authors (Пенчев 1984,³ Куцаров 2007⁴) place the forms with *edin* in the definite domain; however, the generally recognized idea is that these forms express indefiniteness.

The use of the numeral ‘one’ to mark indefiniteness in Balkan Slavic is considerably more developed than in other Slavic languages, and it has been said (Friedman 2003:93)⁵ that it is language contact inside the Balkan *Sprachbund* that is the reason for the evolution of *edin* as a marker of indefiniteness. Language contact is by no means an important factor in the development of *edin* as a marker of indefiniteness in Balkan Slavic. However, in our opinion, the fact that the Slavic languages of the Balkan *Sprachbund* possess a grammatical marker for definiteness, that is, a definite article stimulated the tendency to develop a marker of indefiniteness in order to balance the grammatical paradigm of definiteness/indefiniteness.

3. Polemics concerning the grammatical status of *edin*

The status of *edin* as a marker of indefiniteness (or an indefinite article) has been disputed. The proposed ideas are contradictory and there is no unified position concerning the problem. The majority of standard works of the Bulgarian authors take a rather conservative view of the matter (Андрейчин, Попов, Иванов 1953,⁶ Андрейчин 1978,⁷ Георгиев 1978,⁸ Стоянов 1980⁹) stating that indefiniteness is expressed simply by the absence of the article, i.e. the bare form of the noun. The grounds for this conservative view have been said to be the fact that there exist many examples where the two structures, that is, the structure with *edin* and the bare form of the noun, cannot be distinguished functionally or semantically, and the two forms can be mutually substituted. Positive arguments with justifications may be further subdivided into those in which the use of *edin* is viewed as always facultative (Маслов 1956,¹⁰ Naylor forms.

³ Йордан Пенчев, *Строеж на българското изречение* (София: Наука и изкуство, 1984).

⁴ Иван Куцаров, *Теоретична граматика на българския език. Морфология*. (Пловдив: Университетско издателство „П. Хилендарски“, 2007).

⁵ Victor Friedman, ‘One’ as an indefinite marker in Balkan and non-Balkan Slavic. In Alan Timberlake and Michael Flier (eds.), *American Contributions to the Thirteenth International Congress of Slavists*, pp.93–112 (2003).

⁶ Любомир Андрейчин, Константин Попов, Минко Иванов, *Съвременен български език. Учебник за първи курс на учителските институти* (София: Народна Просвета, 1953).

⁷ Любомир Андрейчин, *Основна българска граматика*. (София: Наука и изкуство, 1978).

⁸ Станьо Георгиев, Лексико-морфологична модификация на първичното числително един в съвременния български език. В: Петър Пашов (съст.) *Помагало по българска морфология. Имена*, с. 397–410 (София, Наука и изкуство, 1978).

⁹ Стоян Стоянов, *Грамматика на българския книжовен език*. Трето издание (София: Наука и изкуство, 1980).

1983¹¹) and those that admit obligatory uses of *edin* in certain contexts (Иванчев 1957,¹² Стаменов 1985,¹³ and Станков 1995¹⁴). Friedman (1976)¹⁵ goes further and admits the existence of an “indefinite article” *edin*, especially in semantic or syntactic contexts that demand a referential interpretation.

As this brief review of the polemics on the grammatical use of *edin* shows, previous studies have dealt mainly with the problem of whether *edin* is an indefinite article. However, our interest is not whether *edin* is an indefinite article; rather, this study attempts to examine the degree of grammaticalization of *edin* and the stages in the grammaticalization process.

4. The process of grammaticalization of indefinite articles and indefinite markers: Scales and stages

As mentioned, the aim of this study is not to draw a conclusion on whether *edin* is an indefinite article, but rather to examine the stages in the grammaticalization process of *edin* as a marker of indefiniteness on the synchronic level in the Bulgarian language. The scale we propose for the grammaticalization process of *edin* (Fig. 3) is based on the scales proposed by Givón (1981)¹⁶ and Heine (1997)¹⁷ for the grammaticalization stages of indefinite articles (Fig. 1), elaborated by the scale proposed by Geist (2013)¹⁸ for the grammaticalization of *edin* in

¹⁰ Юрий Маслов, *Очерк болгарской грамматики* (Москва: Издательство литературы на иностранных языках, 1956).

¹¹ Kenneth E. Naylor, On expressing ‘definiteness’ in the Slavic languages and English. *American Contributions to the Ninth International congress of Slavists*, pp.203–220 (1983).

¹² Светомир Иванчев, Наблюдения върху употребата на члена в българския език. *Български език* 6, с. 499–525 (1957).

¹³ Христо Стаменов, За употребата на един като показател за неопределеност в българския език (в сравнение с английски). *Език и литература* кн. 3, с. 33–44 (1985).

¹⁴ Валентин Станков, Семантични особености на категорията неопределеност на имената в българския език. В: Валентин Станков (съст.). *Българско езикознание т. 1. Проблеми на граматичната система на българския език*, с.87–150 (София: Академично издателство “Проф. Марин Дринов”, 1995).

¹⁵ Victor Friedman, The questions of a Bulgarian indefinite article. *Bulgaria Past&Present*, pp. 334–339 (1976).

¹⁶ Talmy Givón, On the development of the numeral ‘one’ as an indefinite marker. *Folia Linguistica Historica* II.1, pp. 35–53 (1981).

¹⁷ Bernd Heine, *Cognitive Foundations of Grammar* (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

¹⁸ Ljudmila Geist, Bulgarian *edin*: the rise of an indefinite article. In: Herausgegeben von Junghanns, Uwe Fehmann, Dorothee Lenertová and Denisa Pitsch (eds.), *Formal Description in Slavic Languages: The Ninth Conference. Proceedings of FDSL 9, Göttingen 2011*, pp. 125–148 (2013).

Bulgarian (Fig. 2).

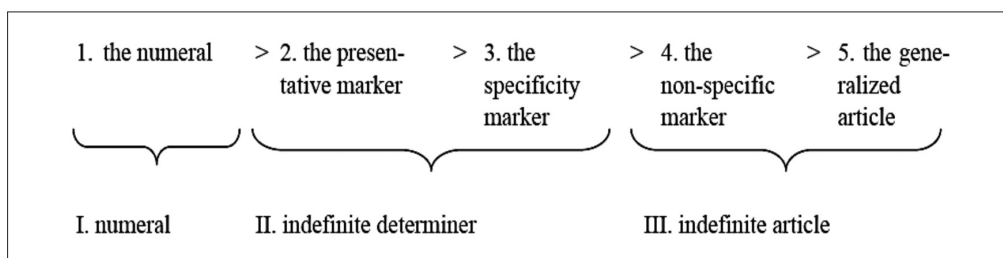


Fig. 1 The grammaticalization of indefinite articles (Givón 1981:49, Heine 1997:72–73)

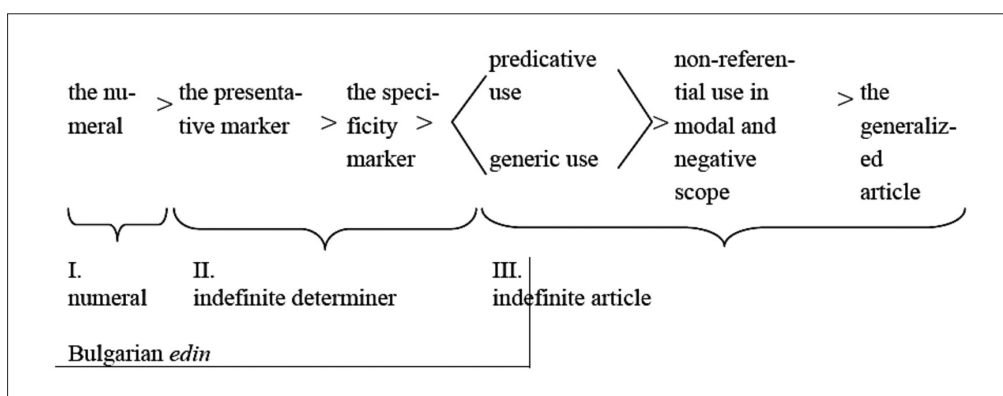


Fig. 2 The grammaticalization of *edin* (Geist 2013:147)

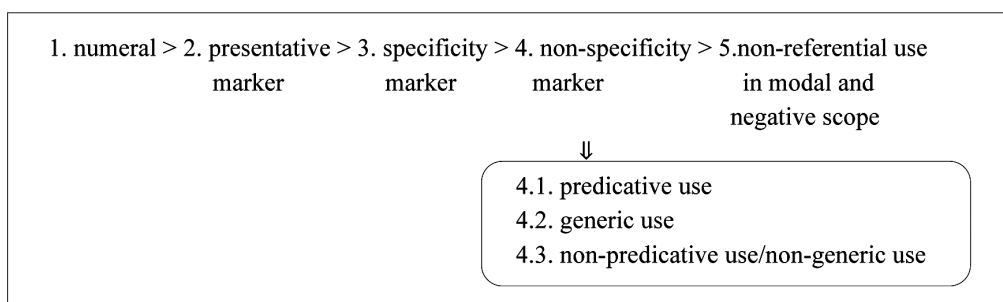


Fig. 3 Our proposal for the scale of the grammaticalization of *edin*

Our proposal for the scale of the grammaticalization of *edin* includes the following stages: Stage 1 is the prototypical stage of *edin* as a numeral. Stage 2 is the stage of the presentative marker. Stage 3 is the stage of indefinite specificity. Stage 4 is the stage of indefinite non-specificity. For the stage of non-specificity, we further divide it into three sub-stages, including 4.1. the predicative use, 4.2. the generic use, and 4.3. the non-predicative and

non-generic use. With noun predicates, *edin* is used mainly as a marker of non-specificity; however, there are certain predicative uses of *edin* with referential meanings. Although this is not the main function of *edin* in noun predicates, in the analysis, we have included some brief observations concerning the referential uses of *edin* in noun predicates. The final Stage 5 is the non-referential use in the modal and negative scope.

5. Terminology

Before proceeding with the analysis and its results, it is necessary to define the terms *specific* and *referential* used in this study because these terms have been used in different works with different connotations, sometimes even synonymously.

In this study, the term *specific* is used to convey that the speaker has a particular referent in mind identifiable to the speaker but presumably not to the listener. The term *referential* is used to express that the person or thing referred to is viewed as a particular or concrete member of a class. Thus, specific phrases are simultaneously referential; however, referential phrases need not be specific.

6. The procedure and research questions of this study

In this study, we examine each stage of the scale in Fig. 3 by analyzing the obligatoriness in the use of *edin*, that is, whether the use of the form is obligatory for any context and cannot be substituted by the mutually exclusive member,¹⁹ as well as the conditions that require, allow, or prevent the use of *edin*. In our case, the mutually exclusive member is the bare (non-articled) form of the noun.

The research questions that this study poses are as follows:

- 1) What is the functional or semantic difference between the forms with *edin* and the bare forms of the noun?
- 2) For which stages has the grammaticalization process of *edin* been fully completed?

In relation to the above-mentioned questions, we also investigate the following problems:

- 3) Do contexts of specificity exist that allow the absence of *edin* and where the meaning of specificity can be expressed merely by the bare noun form?
- 4) Do contexts of non-specificity exist that allow the usage of *edin*, and what are the requirements of obligatoriness or facultativeness of the usage of *edin* in such contexts?

¹⁹ Or substitution will lead to changes in meaning/function.

7. Stages in the grammaticalization process of *edin*

7.1. The numeral

The first stage in the grammaticalization process is the numeral stage, which is the prototypical function of *edin*, and where *edin* still lacks its function as a marker of indefiniteness. Its absence or substitution by the bare noun form in contexts such as (1 a) leads to ungrammaticality, as in (1 b).

- (1) a. *V stajata ima edin stol, a ne dva.*
in room.ART have.3SG.PRS one.M chair but not two
b. **V stajata ima Ø stol, a ne dva.*
'In the room there is one chair, not two.'

7.2. The presentative marker

“Presentative marker” is used here in the sense of introduction of a new participant unknown to the listener or introduction of a prospective topic.

Using *edin* as a presentative marker (2 a), the speaker conveys that the referent is important in the discourse and she/he wants to tell more about it (underlined phrase). The use of *edin* as a presentative marker is obligatory, and its absence or substitution with the bare form leads to ungrammaticality (2 b).

- (2) a. *Imalo edno vreme edin kral.*
have.PTCP.N one.N time one.M king
Kraljat / Toj imal dvama sina.
king.ART/he have.PTCP.M two son.PL
b. **Imalo edno vreme Ø kral. Kraljat/Toj imal dvama sina.*
'Once upon a time there lived a king. The king/He had two sons.'

7.3. The specificity marker

In many previous studies (Friedman 1976,²⁰ Иванчев 1978,²¹ Станков 1984,²² Стаменов

²⁰ Friedman, The questions (cf. note 15).

²¹ Светомир Иванчев, Наблюдения върху употребата на члена в българския език. В: Петър Пашов (съст.) *Помогало по българска морфология. Имена*, с. 186–211 (София:Наука и изкуство, 1978).

²² Валентин Станков, За категорията *неопределеност на имената* в българския език. *Български език* 3, с.195–205 (1984).

1985,²³ Ницолова 2008,²⁴ Geist 2013²⁵), it has been claimed that the grammaticalization of *edin* has been fully completed for the stage of specificity marker and that the addition of *edin* to a NP invariably indicates indefinite specificity, that is, *edin* is obligatory in contexts of indefinite specificity. We investigate this claim here and examine whether *edin* is invariably used in contexts of indefinite specificity.

In most contexts of indefinite specificity, the presence of *edin* is necessary, as in example (3 b).

- (3) a. *Az tǎrsja Ø vila.*
 I look for.1SG.PRS second house
 ‘I am looking for a second house (= any house).’
- b. *Az tǎrsja edna vila.*
 I look for.1SG.PRS one.FEM second house
 ‘I am looking for a second house (= one particular house).’

Again, there exist indefinite specific uses in which the omission of *edin* leads to ungrammaticality, as in (4 b).

- (4) a. *Slušaj, Suluk, došǎl sǎm da ti*
 listen.2SG.IMP Suluk come.PTCP.M be.1SG.PRS to you.ACC
*kaža edna rabota.*²⁶
 say.1SG.PRS one.F thing
- *b. *Slušaj, Suluk, došǎl sǎm da ti kaža Ø rabota.*
 ‘Listen to me, Suluk. I came to tell you one thing.’

However, the question is whether the use of *edin* is obligatory in all contexts of indefinite specificity, and whether there is no context where *edin* can be omitted or the form of *edin* can be substituted by the bare form without any change in meaning. To verify this question, we refer to the following examples:

²³ Стаменов, За употребата на един (cf. note 13).

²⁴ Руселина Ницолова, *Българска граматика. Морфология* (София: Университетско издателство “Св. Климент Охридски”, 2008).

²⁵ Geist, Bulgarian *edin* (cf. note 18).

²⁶ Example from Ницолова, *Българска граматика*, с.99 (cf. note 24).

- (5) *Ot káštata izleze Ø žena.* (final rhematic subject)
 from house.ART go out.3SG.PST woman
 ‘A woman got out of the house.’
- (6) *Sreštnax Ø momiče, oblečeno v červena roklja.*
 (rhematic object with relative clause)
 meet.1SG.PST girl wear.PST.PRF.PTCP.N in red.F dress
 ‘I met a girl who was dressed in a red dress.’
- (7) *Ø Burja se nosi nad grad i selenija.*
 storm REFL whirl3SG.PRS above town and houses
*Ø Burja pregradi lomi.*²⁷ (initial rhematic subject)
 storm walls destroy3SG.PRS
 ‘Storm whirls above the town and houses. Storm destroys walls.’
- (8) *Toj piše Ø pismo.* (rhematic object)
 he write.3SG.PRS letter
 ‘He is writing a letter.’
- (9) *Pred nas se izpravi Ø mlad máž.*
 (final rhematic subject with modifier)
 in front of us REFL stand up.3SG.PST young man
 ‘A young man stood up in front of us.’

In examples (5)–(9), the noun phrases in **bold** express concrete and specific/referential objects. Nevertheless, they are used without *edin*. These examples show that there exist contexts of indefinite specificity where the use of *edin* is not obligatory (or, can be substituted by the bare form).²⁸

The question is what distinguishes the contexts in which the presence of *edin* is obligatory from the contexts in which its usage is not obligatory and the forms with *edin* can

²⁷ Example from the poem *Градът*, Николай Лилиев (*Избрани стихотворения*, с.117. Български писател 1960).

²⁸ In examples (5), (6), and (9), the two forms can be used interchangeably. In (8), the addition of *edin* will not lead to changes into the meaning of specificity, but will intensify (or, emphasize) the NP *pismo*. In (7), the addition of *edin* is theoretically possible but inappropriate for stylistic reasons.

be substituted by the bare forms. Some studies (Иванчев 1957,²⁹ Станков & Иванова 1989,³⁰ Geist 2013³¹) pay attention to this problem, and it has been claimed that *edin* is obligatory with argument NPs if they are topics (“topic” is used in the sense of “aboutness,” not as “old information”) as in example (10) where the omission of *edin* brings in changes into the information status of the argument (topic→focus); however, when the NP is not a topic, it is possible for *edin* to be omitted.³²

- (10) *Edna žena se odeli ot grupata.*
 one.F woman REFL disjoin.3SG.PST from group.ART
 ‘A woman left the group.’

Further, it has been claimed (cf. Иванчев 1957)³³ that in topic position *edin* is obligatory not for purely grammatical reasons but for the semantic (or, may be pragmatic) reason that indefinite “aboutness” topics must be specific.

When the NP is rheme/comment (preverbal or postverbal) providing new information, or when the whole sentence expresses new information,³⁴ *edin* can be omitted. Again, *edin* can be omitted when the noun is accompanied by a relative clause, as in (6), in which the relative clause takes on the function of *edin*. Furthermore, *edin* can be omitted when the noun is modified by an adjective, as in (9). Consequently, in some cases, the lack of *edin* does not affect the semantic interpretation of indefinite specificity, and the meaning of indefinite specificity is determined not by the presence of *edin*, rather, by the context, and the aspects of the discourse structure, such as degree of topicality (discourse prominence), distinctive force of the nominal description (presence of additional modifiers), and emphasis on features of the referent in question.

In our opinion, however, there are some other factors besides discourse factors that

²⁹ Иванчев, Наблюдения (cf. note 12).

³⁰ Валентин Станков, Малина Иванова, За неопределените именни синтагми, изразяващи специфичност/неспецифичност. *Български език*, № 1, с. 14–27 (1989).

³¹ Geist, Bulgarian *edin* (cf. note 18).

³² Hence, in some cases the addition of *edin* will not change the meaning, but can cause changes into the information structure. The problem of the relationship of the information structure of the sentence and the usage of *edin* has begun to attract the attention of scholars recently; however, more in-depth study of this problem is necessary.

³³ Иванчев, Наблюдения (cf. note 12).

³⁴ Examples (5)–(9) can be interpreted either as sentences with rhematic argument or as all-new sentences.

need to be taken into account when discussing the use of *edin* in specific contexts, namely the aspectuality of the sentence or text.

Let us first refer to the following examples, given in Стаменов (1985)³⁵:

(11) *Meri včera se omăži za Ø šved.*

Meri yesterday REFL marry.3SG.PST.PFV for Swede

‘Mary married a Swede.’

(12) *Meri iska da se omăži za Ø šved*

Meri want.3SG.PRS.IPFV to REFL marry.3PRS for Swede

(*ne za italianets*).

(not for Italian)

‘Mary wants to marry a Swede (not an Italian).’

According to Стаменов, *šved* in (11) has a referential connotation, while *šved* in (12) has a non-referential connotation. Стаменов discusses only the difference related to the semantic features of referentiality, and does not explain the reason for that difference. In our opinion, the temporal/aspectual features of the context in these examples contribute to the referentiality/non-referentiality (specificity/non-specificity) interpretation.³⁶ To support our claim, let us first refer to the following observation in Fleishman (1992:519)³⁷: “verb forms marked for imperfective aspect [...] express a spectrum of meanings and functions subsumable under the modal heading of irrealis.” If we apply the observation of Fleishman to our situation, it could be said that in still unrealized (imperfective) events, the specification (concretization) of the referent is more difficult than the specification (concretization) of the referent in already realized (perfective) events.

Concerning the relationship between the aspectuality of the context and the referentiality/non-referentiality (specificity/non-specificity) interpretation, Geist (2013)³⁸ makes similar remarks, giving the following examples: According to her, in (13 b), with a verb

³⁵ Стаменов, За употребата (cf. note 13).

³⁶ Besides the grammatical (aspectual) features of the verb, factors related to modality and modality operators seem to be involved as well in example (12). The problem of modality will be discussed later, in Section 7.5.

³⁷ Suzanne Fleishman, Imperfective and irrealis. In: Joan L. Bybee and Suzanne Fleishman (eds.) *Modality in Grammar and Discourse*, pp. 519–555. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1992).

³⁸ Geist, Bulgarian *edin* (cf. note 18).

in the perfective aspect, *edin* expresses specificity, and in (13 a), with a verb in the imperfective aspect, it expresses non-specificity. However, Geist does not discuss this problem in detail or the reasons for this distinction.

- (13) a. *Marija pročitaše vsjaka kniga, kojato edin profesor ot universiteta ji preporučvaše.* (non-specific)
 Marija read.3SG.IPFV every book which one.M professor from university.ART her recommend.3SG.IPFV
 ‘Maria was reading every single book which a professor (=any professor) in the university was recommending to her.’
- b. *Marija pročete vsjaka kniga, kojato edin profesor ot universiteta ji preporuča.* (specific)
 Marija read.3SG.PFV every book which one.M professor from university.ART her recommend.3SG.PFV
 ‘Maria read every single book which a professor (= one specific professor) in the university recommended to her.’

The problem of the relationship between the grammatical (aspectual) features of the verb/context and the meaning (grammatical function) of *edin* is poorly understood and requires further examination.

As the above analysis shows, in the context of specificity, the use of *edin* is a necessary but not an absolute (obligatory) condition, and there are cases where the forms of *edin* can be used compatibly (interchangeably) with the bare forms.

7.4. The non-specificity marker

Non-articled NPs are used in non-specific indefinite contexts, as in (3 a). Below, we examine various non-specific uses and examine whether there exist contexts of indefinite non-specificity that allow the usage of *edin*, and what the requirements for such uses are.

7.4.1. Predicative use

The most typical non-specific use of NPs is the predicative use in noun predicates, as in (14), in which the NP of the predicate expresses a characteristic feature of the subject.

- (14) *Toj e Ø pevets.*
he be.3SG.PRS singer
'He is a singer.'

The noun in the predicate merely expresses a characteristic feature of the subject and does not have a referent; consequently, it is non-specific. In such non-specific noun predicates, the non-articled form is generally used, as in (14). However, there exist cases that permit the use of *edin*, as shown in examples (15)–(17).

- (15) *Toj e edin žurnalist, kogoto sreštmax v izdatelstvoto.*
he be.3SG.PRS one.M journalist whom meet. 1SG.PST in publishing house.ART
'He is a journalist whom I met in the publishing house.'

- (16) a. *Toj e edin pevets /njama što!*
he be.3SG.PRS one.M singer /not at all/
'He is a singer?!' (literally, 'He is not a singer.')
- b. *Toj e edin pevets /čudo!*
he be.3SG.PRS one.M singer /miracle/
'He is a singer!' (literally, 'He is a great singer.')

- (17) *Toj e edin glupak.*
he be.3SG.PRS one.M fool
'He is a fool.'

Example (15) denotes the referential use of *edin* in noun predicates, whereas examples (16) and (17) denote the non-referential uses.³⁹ The referential use of *edin* in noun predicates is permitted by contextual features; that is, the presence of additional modifiers (adjectives or relative phrases). Example (16) displays the so-called pejorative use.⁴⁰ The pejorative meaning can be negative, as in (16 a), or positive, as in (16 b), and the two meanings can only be

³⁹ As mentioned in Section 4, *edin* in noun predicates can have referential and non-referential uses. The former, however, is related not to the stage of non-specificity marker but to the stage of specificity marker, and is different from the non-referential uses discussed in this chapter. The two uses are discussed here together merely for syntactic similarity (the predicative position).

⁴⁰ Called, also, *еминентно значение* (Юрий Маслов, *Грамматика болгарского языка* (Москва: Высшая школа, 1981).

distinguished contextually. However, propositions with negative meanings were observed more frequently.

Example (17) has the same predicative use as in (14). As mentioned, in such contexts, the bare form (*Toj e Ø glupak*) is typically used. It can be said that *edin* is used here as an “intensificator”⁴¹ of *glupak* (‘fool’), intensifying (or emphasizing) the characteristic feature of the noun it accompanies.

With regard to the fact that in the predicative use *edin* has both referential and non-referential meanings, it could be said that this use falls at an intermediary stage between the stage of non-specificity marker and the stage of specificity marker.

7.4.2. Generic use

Another non-specific type is the generic use. Geist (2013)⁴² treats the stages of generic and predicative use as parallel (Fig. 2). However, Алексова (2019)⁴³ claims that the generic stage should be placed higher on the scale, preceding the predicative use, because the use of *edin* with generic noun phrases is more common in Bulgarian than the predicative uses of *edin*. The problem with the sequence of these two uses is not relevant to our discussion and will not be discussed here. However, as discussed in Section 7.4.1, *edin* has referential and non-referential meanings in the predicative use, which in fact puts this stage closer to the stage of specificity marker than the generic use, which, as shown below, has only non-referential uses.

Generic singular nouns in Bulgarian can be used with the three forms of definiteness/indefiniteness: the artiled form (18 a), the form with *edin* (18 b), and the bare form (18 c).

- (18) a. *Džentälmenät ne bi postäpil taka.*
gentleman.ART not would behave.PTCP.M thus
‘The gentleman would not behave like this.’
- b. *Edin džentälmen ne bi postäpil taka.*
one.M gentleman not would behave.PTCP.M thus
‘A gentleman would not behave like this.’
- c. *Ø Džentälmen ne bi postäpil taka.*
gentleman not would behave.PTCP.M thus
‘A gentleman would not behave like this.’

⁴¹ Cf. Станков, За категорията (cf. note 22); Ницолова, *Българска граматика*, с.87 (cf. note 24).

⁴² Geist, *Bulgarian edin* (cf. note 18).

⁴³ Красимира Алексова, За процеса на граматикализация на *един* в полето на неопределеността. *Известия на Института за български език “Проф. Л. Андрейчин”*, БАН, книга XXXII, с. 160

The generic form of *edin* is mostly observed in propositions with modal verbs expressing forbidding, duty, etc., as in (18 b). In other cases, the articulated form, as in (19 a), or the bare noun form (mainly in proverbs or idioms), as in (20), are preferred, although the articulated forms occur more frequently.

- (19) a. *Pingvinăt e ptitsa.*
 penguin.ART be.3SG.PRS bird
 ‘The penguin is a bird.’
 *b. *Pingvin e ptitsa.*
 *c. *Edin pingvin e ptitsa.*

- (20) *Ø Tsigular kăšta ne xrani.*⁴⁴ (proverb)
 violin player house not feed.3SG.PRS
 ‘A violin player cannot feed his family.’

7.4.3. Non-predicative/non-generic use

In non-predicative/non-generic contexts of non-specificity, the bare form is usually used (cf. 3 a). As Ницолова (2008: 103)⁴⁵ has pointed out, particularly in non-referential contrastive contexts of non-specificity, as (21), only the bare form is permitted.

- (21) *Kupix Ø borče, a ne Ø elxa.*
 buy.1SG.PST pine but not fir tree
 ‘I bought a pine, not a fir tree.’

However, there could be non-specific (non-predicative/non-generic) contexts in which the NP can be accompanied by *edin*, although the NP has a non-referential meaning (‘some, any’), as in (22).

– 200 (София: Издателство на БАН “Проф. Марин Дринов”, 2019).

⁴⁴ The articulated form and the form with *edin* are also possible here, but this sentence is a canonized proverb for which the non-articled form is fixed.

⁴⁵ Ницолова, *Българска граматика* (cf. note 24).

- (22) *Ako pokaniš edin čuždenets na večerja i trjabva da mu*
 if invite.2SG.PRS one.M foreigner to dinner and must to him.
*serviraš nešto bālgarsko, kakvo šte izbereš.*⁴⁶
 serve.2SG.PRS something bulgarian what will choose.2SG.PRS
 ‘If you invite a foreigner to a dinner at home and have to serve him a Bulgarian dish,
 what would you choose?’

Čuždenets in (22) expresses ‘any foreigner’ and has non-referential/non-specific meaning. The context of (22) permits both the use of the form with *edin* and the bare form without any change in meaning. Hence, these two forms are interchangeable. The use of *edin* here can be explained in a similar way as in example (17) by the so-called “intensifying function” (see note 41).

7.5. Non-referential use of *edin* in modal and negative scope

Non-referential use in modal and negative scopes has been said to be the final stage in the grammaticalization process. Little has been discussed about this stage (cf. Izvorski 1993⁴⁷, Geist 2013⁴⁸) and as previous studies have shown, *edin* cannot be used in the final stage of the grammaticalization process. Here, we will briefly refer to two examples (23, 24) from Geist and Izvorski and investigate the behavior of *edin* in the final stage.

- (23) *Tja iska da se omāži za edin rusnak.*⁴⁹
 she want.3SG.PRS to REFL marry.3SG.PRS for one.M Russian
 ‘She wants to marry a Russian.’
 a. (compatible continuation) I know him.
 b. (non-compatible continuation) *There are no candidates yet.

- (24) *Toj ne spomena edna podrobnost.*⁵⁰
 he not mention.3SG.PST one.M detail
 ‘He did not mention a detail.’

⁴⁶ Example from Алексова, За процеса, c.175 (cf. note 43).

⁴⁷ Roumyana Izvorski, On the semantics of the Bulgarian ‘indefinite article’. In: Sergey Avrutin, Steven Franks and Ljiljana Progovac (eds.) *Annual workshop on formal approaches to Slavic linguistics 2*, Michigan Slavic Publications: Ann Arbor, 235–254 (1993).

⁴⁸ Geist, Bulgarian *edin* (cf. note 18).

⁴⁹ Example from Geist, Bulgarian *edin*, p.143 (cf. note 18).

Example (23) presents the modal use, and as Geist (ibid: 143) states, can trigger only the interpretation of a, but not b, thus having only a referential (i.e., specific) meaning.⁵¹ Consequently, in modal uses when *edin* takes scope over the intensional operator, the non-referential (non-specific) use is not possible.

Example (24) literally means, ‘What he did not mention was one detail,’ and displays that *edin*, cannot be interpreted in the scope of negation. In order for *edin* to be included into the scope of the negation, it needs to be accompanied by *nito* (‘neither’), as in (25).

- (25) *Toj ne spomena nito edna podrobnost.*
 he not mention.3SG.PST neither one.M detail
 ‘He did not mention any one detail.’

8. About *edni*

Finally, let us briefly examine the plural form *edni*. As (Ницолова 2008)⁵² has pointed out, *edni* is a historically new form. The shift of the numeral *edin* to a marker of indefiniteness can be considered the reason that triggered the appearance of the plural form for the paradigm of the *edin* forms to be completed. However, some differences still exist between singular forms and *edni*.

Following Maslov (1982:367),⁵³ Ницолова⁵⁴ claims that with *pluralia tantum* (for instance, *Tja vze samo edni čorapi* ‘She took only one (pair of) socks’) *edni* can function as a numeral. The observation is not absolutely wrong, however, because *edni* cannot function invariably as a numeral (counter) with any plural noun form, it could be said that the use of *edni* as a numeral is a restricted tranpositional use, developed on the analogy with singular forms. Again, *edni* in the above-mentioned example is ambiguous in the meaning of a numeral and non-specificity marker (see the example in note 51); hence, the first stage in the grammaticalization process concerning *edni* is vague.

⁵⁰ Example from Izvorski, On the semantics, p.243 (cf. note 47).

⁵¹ Izvorski (On the semantics, p.245 (cf. note 47)) argues that *edin* does not necessarily have to take scope over the intensional operator, and if it does not take over the scope of the intensional operator, it can achieve non-specific interpretation in certain modal sentences, giving the following example.

Iskam da si kupja edni botuši, no se čudja kakvi.

‘I want to buy boots, but I wonder what kind.’

⁵² Ницолова, *Българска граматика* (cf. note 24).

⁵³ Юрий Маслов, *Грамматика на българския език* (Наука и изкуство, 1982).

⁵⁴ Ницолова, *Българска граматика*, с.131 (cf. note 24).

Edni can accompany specific NPs in the same way as singular forms (see, for instance, (26)), but its use as a non-specific indefinite marker is more restricted than singular forms. The use of *edin* with generic nouns is limited, and in generic sentences with plural nouns, non-articled forms are usually used and are more appropriate than forms with *edin* (cf. (27)), although examples can be found where the form with *edin* is also possible (28).

(26) *Dojdoxa edin studenti.*
 come.3PL.PST one.PL student.PL
 ‘Students (=particular students) came.’

(27) ? a. *Edni džentälmeni ne bixa postäpili taka.*
 one.PL gentleman.PL not would.3PL behave.PTCP. PL thus
 b. *Džentälmeni ne bixa postäpili taka.*
 gentleman.PL not would.3PL behave.PTCP. PL thus
 ‘Gentlemen would not behave like this.’

(28) *Edni tsvetja ostaveni bez voda uvjaxvat*⁵⁵.
 one.PL flower.PL leave.pass.PTCP.PL without water wither.3PL.PRS
 ‘Flowers that are not watered wither.’

9. Conclusion

This paper dealt with the problem of *edin* as a marker of indefiniteness and attempted to trace the grammaticalization process of *edin* and the stages of its grammaticalization at the synchronic level of the language. “Obligatoriness” was used as a parameter of the degree of grammaticalization of *edin*.

Most previous studies have claimed that the grammaticalization of *edin* as a marker of specificity has been completed. The observation is not entirely wrong; however, in our opinion, it would be more precise to say that *edin* has reached the stage of specificity marker, although the process of grammaticalization is still in progress (Fig. 4). The reasons are explained in the following paragraphs.

As the analysis above shows, in many contexts of indefinite specificity, the use of *edin* is a necessary, but not an obligatory condition, and there exist cases where indefinite specificity can also be expressed by the bare form of the noun without any change in the meaning.

⁵⁵ Example from Izvorski, On the semantics (cf. note 47).

In non-specific contexts, non-articled forms are generally used; however, in certain contexts (genericity, pejorativity), the forms with *edin* are also permitted and *edin* acquires functions as a marker of non-specificity. Nevertheless, the use of *edin* as a marker of non-specificity is far more restricted than that of *edin* as a marker of specificity, and indefinite specificity and indefinite non-specificity are distinguished by the presence or absence of *edin*.

Edin cannot be used in the final stage of the grammaticalization process (non-referential use in modal and negative scope).

The appearance of the plural form *edni* can be pointed out as proof of the claim that *edin* is gradually acquiring the features of a marker of indefiniteness, although functional differences exist between the singular forms and the plural form, and *edni* has not achieved all functions of the singular forms.

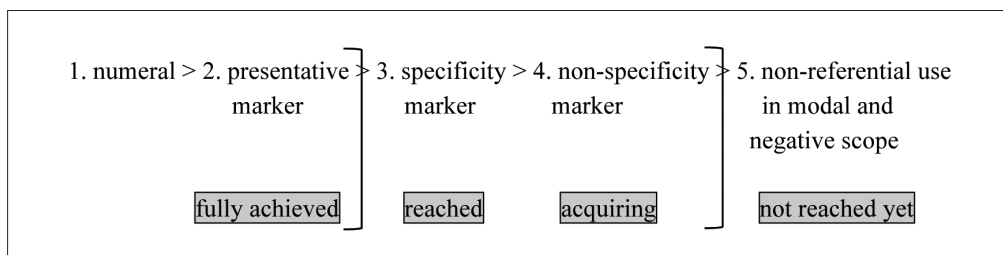


Fig. 4 The grammaticalization process of *edin*

Edin is by no means achieving the characteristic features of a marker of indefiniteness; however, its usage is mainly observed in the spoken language, while in the written language, the usage of forms with *edin* as a marker of indefiniteness is far more restricted, and forms with *edin* in general are rarely found. This fact opposes the claim of a high degree of grammaticalization of *edin* since highly grammaticalized forms occur irrespective of the genre or register of the language.

List of abbreviations:

ACC	accusative
ART	article
F	feminine
IMP	imperative
IPFV	imperfective
M	masculine
N	neuter
NP	noun phrase
PASS.PTCP	passive participle
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PRS	present
PST	past
PST.PRF.PTCP	past perfect participle
PTCP	participle
REFL	reflexive
SG	singular

Относно граматикализацията на *един* в българския език

Елеонора Йовкова-Шии

В тази статия се прави опит да се проследи процесът на граматикализация на числителното име *един* като маркер за неопределеност в българския език. Работата предлага схема на граматикализационния процес на *един* на синхронно ниво на езика и разглежда употребата на формите с *един* на всеки един от етапите на схемата. За основен параметър в анализа се употребява “задължителност/факултативност“ при употребата на *един* във всички функции, представени на схемата. Основните въпроси, които поставя тази работа са: 1. каква е функционално-семантичната разлика между формите с *един* и нечленуваните форми, 2. за кой етап от представената схема процесът на граматикализация е напълно завършен. Във връзка с поставените въпроси, се разглеждат и въпросите за възможните референтни употреби на нечленуваните форми както и възможните нереферентни употреби на формите с *един*.