

$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{word} \\ \text{ORTH} \langle \text{Grammatik} \rangle \\ \text{SYN CAT SUBCAT} \langle \text{DET} \rangle \\ \text{SEM} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{IND} \quad \boxed{0} \\ \text{RESTR} \left\{ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{grammar} \\ \text{INST} \quad \boxed{0} \end{array} \right] \right\} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{word} \\ \text{ORTH} \langle \text{语法} \rangle \\ \text{SYN CAT SUBCAT} \langle \text{DET} \rangle \\ \text{SEM} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{IND} \quad \boxed{0} \\ \text{RESTR} \left\{ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{grammar} \\ \text{INST} \quad \boxed{0} \end{array} \right] \right\} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{word} \\ \text{ORTH} \langle \text{مستور} \rangle \\ \text{SYN CAT SUBCAT} \langle \text{DET} \rangle \\ \text{SEM} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{IND} \quad \boxed{0} \\ \text{RESTR} \left\{ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{grammar} \\ \text{INST} \quad \boxed{0} \end{array} \right] \right\} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{word} \\ \text{ORTH} \langle \text{ब्रह्मकरण} \rangle \\ \text{SYN CAT SUBCAT} \langle \text{DET} \rangle \\ \text{SEM} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{IND} \quad \boxed{0} \\ \text{RESTR} \left\{ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{grammar} \\ \text{INST} \quad \boxed{0} \end{array} \right] \right\} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$
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Saying “That’s f***ing cool” In Bulgarian: An HPSG Analysis

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August 3rd, 2026

Outline

- Definiteness in Bulgarian
 - Definiteness typically
 - The problematic phenomenon
- The analysis
- Conclusion

Typology of Bulgarian morphosyntax

- Slavic language traditionally spoken in Bulgaria and the Black sea and Aegean regions
- Atypical for a Slavic language
 - Very limited case marking in nouns
 - Definite marking

- └ Definiteness in Bulgarian
- └ Definiteness typically

Definiteness marking

- Definite suffixes distinguish between definite and indefinite phrases

- (1)
- a. kol-a
car-SG.F
'a car'
 - b. kol-a-ta
car-SG.F-DEF
'the car'

Definiteness in complex phrases

- The definite suffix attaches to the leftmost inflectable word in a phrase

- (2) a. Gospodin-ăt si zakup-i zelen-i-te očil-a.
Sir.SG.M-DEF REFL.DAT buy-3.SG.AOR green-PL-DEF glasses-PL
‘The gentleman bought the pair of green glasses.’
- b. Uvažаем-i-jat gospodin si zakup-i
honorable-SG.M-DEF Sir.SG.M REFL.DAT buy-3.SG.AOR
hubav-i-te zelen-i očil-a.
pretty-PL-DEF green-PL glasses-PL
‘The honorable gentleman bought himself the pair of beautiful green glasses.’

- └ Definiteness in Bulgarian
 - └ Definiteness typically

Inflectability and definiteness marking

- With an inflectable adjective

(3) Po-loš-a-ta novin-a dojde po-kāsno.
COMP-bad-SG.F-DEF news-SG.F come-3.SG.AOR COMP-late
'The worse news came later.'

- With an uninflectable adjective

(4) Po-kofti novin-a-ta dojde po-kāsno.
COMP-bad news-SG.F-DEF come-3.SG.AOR COMP-late
'The worse news came later.'

- └ Definiteness in Bulgarian
- └ The problematic phenomenon

Egati

- *egati* seems to semantically break definiteness marking

- (5) a. Tova e mnogo gotin-o.
this is very cool-SG.N
'This is very cool.'
- b. Tova e mnogo gotin-o-to.
this is very cool-SG.N-DEF
'This is the very cool one.'
- (6) Tova e egati gotin-o-to.
this is egati cool-SG.N-DEF
'This is f***ing cool.'

- └ Definiteness in Bulgarian
- └ The problematic phenomenon

Egati goes against the leftmost rule

- Usual behavior of numerals

(7) a. edn-a bezžičn-a slušalk-a
 one-SG.F wireless-SG.F earphone-SG.F
 ‘one/a wireless earphone’

b. edn-a-ta bezžičn-a slušalk-a
 one-SG.F-DEF wireless-SG.F earphone-SG.F
 ‘the one wireless earphone’

(8) * edn-a bezžičn-a-ta slušalk-a
 one-SG.F wireless-SG.F-DEF earphone-SG.F
 ‘This is f***ing cool.’, rarely ‘This is the f***ing cool one.’

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- Numerals used with *egati*

(9) Sega edin egati nacepen-i-ja tip mi predlag-a 4S.
 now one.SG.M egati ripped-SG.M-DEF guy.SG.M me offer-3.SG.PRS 4S
 ‘Now a crazy ripped guy is offering me an iPhone 4S.’

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Popova's Definiteness Principle

- modified version of Popova's (2000) HPSG analysis of the Bulgarian definite article
- CAT feature `DEF` which can carry the values `+` or `-`
- The Definiteness Principle:
If at least one of the daughters of a phrase or of a complex-morph is marked `DEF+`, then the mother node also bears the marking `DEF+`. Otherwise it is `DEF-`.

Popova’s Definiteness Principle

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- With an uninflectable adjective

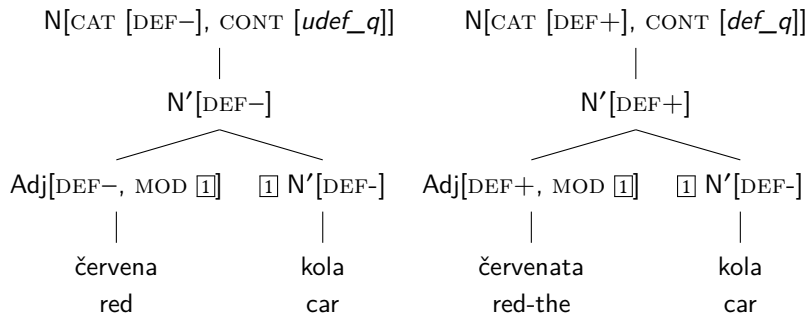
(4) Po-kofti novin-a-ta dojde po-kășno.
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Updated Definiteness principle

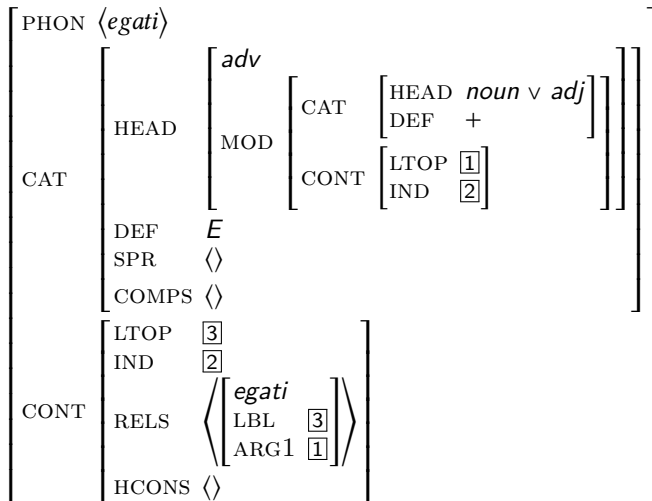
- No need for a binary value
- New DEF value E
- ‘ $E > + > -$ ’ hierarchy
- Minimal recursion semantics (MRS) Copestake et al.’s (2005)
- a unary rule, which projects an N' to an NP and contributes a quantifier: NPs with the DEF E or $-$ feature receive the semantic relation $udef_q$. Those with DEF $+$ contribute the quantifier def_q .

How the feature DEF behaves

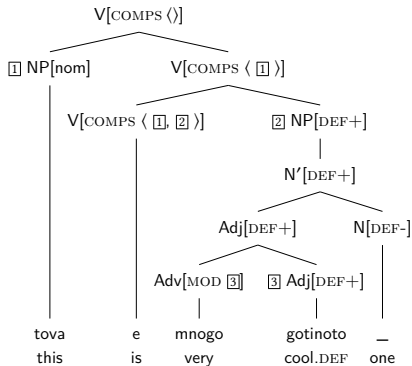
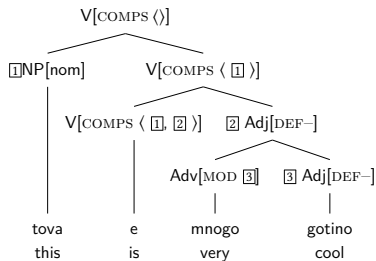
- Contrasting an indefinite and a definite phrase



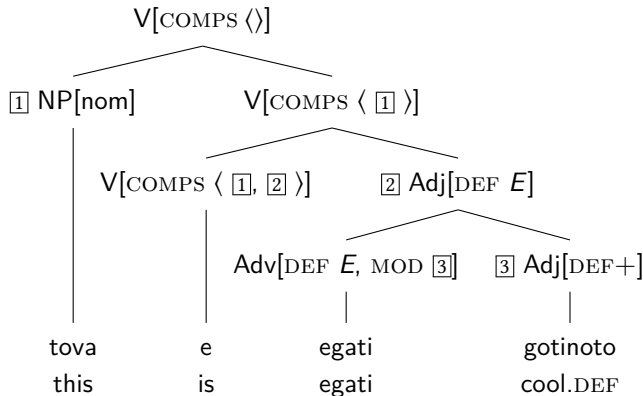
Lexical item



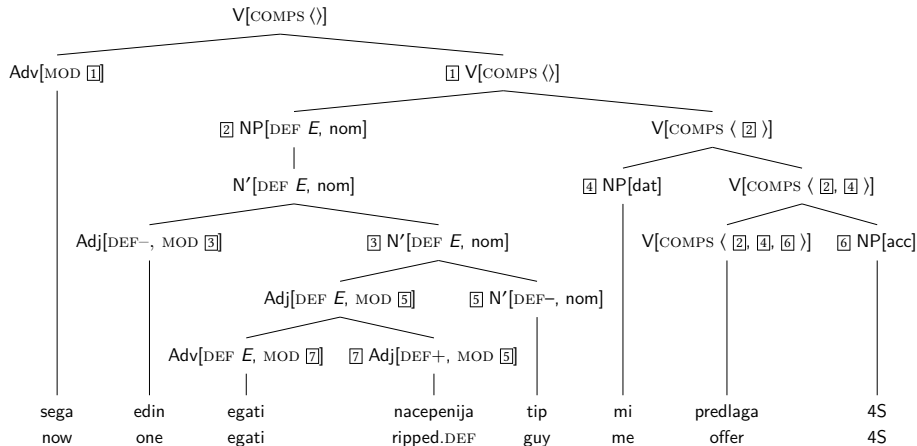
Definiteness marking with *mnogo* ‘very’



Definiteness marking with *egati*



Full sentence example



Conclusion

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- Analysis built upon Popova’s (2000)
- The `CAT` feature `DEF` does not have to be binary

- Copestake, Ann, Dan Flickinger, Carl Pollard & Ivan A. Sag. 2005. Minimal Recursion Semantics: An introduction. *Research on Language and Computation* 3(2–3). 281–332. DOI: 10.1007/s11168-006-6327-9.
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