

Syntactic and Typological Aspects of Universal Concessive Conditionals in Bulgarian*

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0. Introduction

This paper examines the Universal Concessive Conditional (UCC) in Bulgarian, comparing it to similar constructions in other languages and arguing that it is a type of WH-focus construction whose syntactic properties are best analyzed through a copy-and-delete approach to movement. UCCs are clauses which assert that some set of facts (the proposition in the main clause) holds regardless of conditions or in any possible world. This meaning is expressed in a variety of ways in different languages. A few examples from Haspelmath and König (1998) are shown in (1), with the UCC clause underlined. In these Slavic and Balkan languages, as well as in English, all of the UCCs include a WH word, but no other element is universally present. Some UCCs involve (pleonastic) negation, some contain a focusing word or morpheme, some make use of a conditional or modal auxiliary, and some have an apparently relativizing element. None of these characteristics, however, occurs in all the languages.

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|--------|--|-----------|
| (1) a. | <u>Kǔdeto i da otide</u> , toj njama da ja napusne. | Bulgarian |
| | ‘ <u>Wherever she goes</u> , he will never leave her.’ | English |
| b. | <u>No matter where she goes</u> , <u>wherever she may go</u> , ... | English |
| c. | <u>O-pu-đípote ke na pái</u> , ... | Greek |
| | REL-where-ever also SUBJ goes | |
| | ‘Wherever s/he goes, ...’ | |
| d. | <u>Čto/čego by ja ni s"ela</u> , mne ploxo. | Russian |
| | what COND I NEG-and eat, ... | |
| | ‘Whatever I eat, I feel sick.’ | |
| e. | <u>Czego bym nie zjadła</u> , to robi mi się niedobrze. | Polish |
| | what COND NEG eat, ... | |
| | ‘Whatever I eat, I feel sick.’ | |

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UCCs have received relatively little attention in the linguistic literature, and most of the attention that they have received has been from a semantic or typological perspective. Haspelmath and Koenig (1998) survey the range of forms the construction takes in European languages, including non-Indo-European languages of the former Soviet Union, and list eight basic patterns. Citko (2003) works out the semantics of UCCs for Polish and English, showing that they both express focus and non-real modality, albeit using different morphosyntactic means. Van de Cruys (2013) examines some quirks of Russian UCCs. In this paper we situate Bulgarian UCCs within the emerging semantic and typological picture, but our main emphasis is on syntactic issues specific to Bulgarian. As in almost all languages, Bulgarian UCCs are WH-movement constructions, but the WH phrase appears in some situations to be split or only partially moved. Our analysis treats this apparent split as the result of WH movement to both FP and CP, with a copy-and-delete approach to movement and scattered deletion accounting for the complex word order patterns found in the construction.

1. UCCs in Bulgarian: Basic Description

Bulgarian UCCs consist of a WH word with the relativizing suffix *-to*, followed by the focus particle *i* and a “*da izrečenie*” — a verb phrase headed by the modal particle *da*, as schematized in (2):

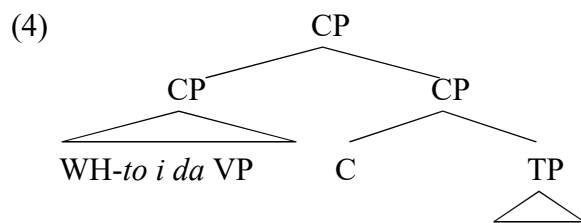
(2) WH-to *i da VP*

Various relative WH words can occur in this construction:

- (3) a. [kakvoto] *i da prikazva, ...*
‘whatever s/he says, ...’
b. [kolkoto] *i da naprjagaše pametta si, ...*
‘however much she racked her brain, ...’
c. [kojto] *i da go vidi, ...*
‘whoever sees it, ...’
d. [na kogoto] *i da go pokaža, ...*
‘whoever I show it to, ...’

- e. [nakūdeto] i da pogledneš, ...
‘wherever you look, ...’
- f. [kūdeto] i da otiva i [otkūdeto] i da se vrūšta, ...
‘wherever s/he goes and from wherever s/he returns, ...’
- g. [kakto] i da misliš ti, ...
‘however you may think, ...’

The UCC clause is adjoined to the main clause, as described and argued for by Citko 2003:



Some other constructions look like UCCs but are subtly different in both syntax and semantics. One is the *WH-i-da-e* or *WH-i-da-bilo* construction seen in (5), which is traditionally treated as a type of complex indefinite pronoun; see e.g. Hauge (1999), pp. 66–67, or Guentcheva (1981). This idiomatic construction occurs in argument positions within the main clause, instead of adjoined to it, invariably has a ‘be’ verb (*e* ‘is’, *bilo* ‘was’), and is most naturally translated into English with an *any* phrase instead of a *whatever* clause.¹

- (5) Pronominal/Free Relative — *not UCC*
- a. Njamaše vreme da predprieme kakvoto i da bilo.
‘There wasn’t time to take anything at all.’
 - b. Može da bude kojato i da e čast na izrečeniето.
‘It can be absolutely any part of the sentence’

More generally, *WH-i-da* expressions with verbs other than ‘be’ also can serve as arguments, as shown in (6), where they occur as the direct object of the main clause verb:

¹ This construction also has different internal syntactic behavior from UCCs in that it contains only a WH word, not a whole phrase, so that the word orders expected for a UCC are impossible: **kojato čast na izrečeniето i da e* / **kojato i čast na izrečeniето da e*. See Rudin (2012) for further discussion.

- (6) Non-specific Free Relative — *not UCC*
- a. Jadat kakvoto i da ima na masata.
‘They eat whatever is on the table.’
 - b. Nenaviždaš kogoto i da običa toj.
‘You hate whomever he loves.’

Although related, these are indefinite or non-specific free relatives, not adjunct UCCs (Haspelmath and Konig (1998); Rudin (1986)), so we do not deal with them here.

2. Semantics: the expression of concessive conditional meaning

The construction which does concern us in this paper is the one in (1) and (3), an adjoined clause with characteristic UCC semantics. As we saw in (1), the meaning of UCCs (“under all possible conditions” or “in any alternative world”) can be expressed in a variety of ways. The UCC construction cross-linguistically has three basic elements — a WH phrase, a marker of focus/universal quantification, and an indicator of unreal or hypothetical modality. The instantiation of each of these in Bulgarian is identified in table (7) and briefly discussed below; the right-hand column of (7) shows how the basic UCC elements are instantiated in the other languages in (1) above:

(7) Semantic elements of UCCs

	Bulgarian	other languages
WH phrase	✓	✓ (almost universal)
focus/universal quantification	<i>i</i>	<i>-ever, ke, (n)i</i> , focus feature of WH, etc.
hypothetical/unreal modality	<i>da</i> (-to)	<i>na, by, by-m</i> , negation, ‘want’, ‘may’, etc.

In Bulgarian, focus and universal quantification are expressed by *i*. In addition to its use as the ‘and’ coordinating conjunction, *i* is well known to serve as a focusing and universalizing particle. Apart from UCCs, the focus function of *i* is also seen in conditional clauses like *I da vali, ...* ‘Even if it rains, ...’, in expressions like *i dvete* ‘both of them,’ and with emphasized NPs, as in *i az* ‘I too/even I’ or *i tvojata kola* ‘even/also your car.’

Hypothetical or unreal modality is expressed primarily by the particle *da*. Bulgarian *da*, like Greek *na*, has modal functions sometimes labeled “subjunctive,” with shades of meaning including optative/hortative/imperative: *Da trūgnem* ‘Let’s leave’, dubitative: *Da ne ti e studeno?* ‘Are you (perhaps) cold?’, conditional: *Da bi mi kazal, ...* ‘If he had told me, ...’, purposive: *Dojdoxa da me vidjat* ‘They came (in order) to see me’, and so on.² *Da* is thus well suited to fill the necessary role of providing non-real modal meaning in UCCs. The role of the suffix *-to*, which occurs on the WH word in all UCCs, is less clear. Iliev (2011), who presents a detailed study of the meaning, usage, and diachronic development of various modal elements associated with WH constructions in Slavic languages, suggests that this suffix is historically a modal element that became associated with certain uses of WH words and still retains some of its modal force in certain constructions. In most contexts in modern Bulgarian *-to* marks relative as opposed to interrogative WH words. UCCs thus have the form of relative clauses, but the *-to* suffix may also serve as an additional marker of modality.

Unlike their syntax, the semantics of UCCs has received significant attention in Slavic linguistics. Citko (2003) presents a formal analysis of the semantics of concessive conditionals in English and Polish, showing in detail how subjunctive and negation in Polish combine to produce the same semantic effect as *-ever* in English. The *-ever* of *whatever, wherever*, and so forth combines the functions of a focusing particle, a universal quantifier over alternatives, and a modal element. In Polish, subjunctive *by-* is a universal quantifier over alternative worlds and *nie* has a focusing function. Van de Kruys (2013) draws attention to the surprising optionality of *by* in Russian, analyzing it as due to obligatory “pleonastic” negation in this language. UCC negation conveys irrealis:³ the particle *ni*, seen in Russian (1d), combines a negation element *ne* with the same focus element found in Bulgarian, *i*. That is, we take Russian *ni* to consist of *ne + i*.

3. UCCs in Bulgarian: syntactic puzzles

We turn now to the main topic of this paper, the syntax of UCCs in Bulgarian. Several issues arise concerning details of the structure and word order in UCC clauses. These include the position of *i*, possibilities for other material such as subjects to interrupt the *WH-i-da* string, and

² For discussion, see Rudin (1986), Krapova (2001), Ammann and Van der Auwera (2004), among many other works.

³ The *ne* (or *nie*) of Russian (or Polish) UCCs is thus not really “pleonastic” in that it is not semantically vacuous, it just does not express negation.

limitations on negation. We look at each of these in turn.

3.1. Where is *i*?

In simple UCCs, *i* follows WH and precedes *da*, as in all the examples in (3). If, however, the WH phrase is more complex, *i* normally immediately follows the WH word, appearing in the middle of the WH phrase string (bracketed in the following examples):

- (8) a. [kolkoto **i** dülüg] da e tunelüt, ...
‘however long the tunnel may be, ...’
- b. [kakvito **i** slünca] da svalja na zemjata, ...
‘whatever kinds of sunshine s/he sends down upon the earth, ...’ (idiom — whatever promises s/he gives ...)
- c. [kolkoto **i** daleč] da otideš, ...
‘however far you go, ...’
- d. [na kojto **i** učastük] da go izpraštata, ...
‘to whatever district they sent him, ...’
- e. [kakvato **i** ocenka] da mu davaše, ...
‘whatever grade you gave him, ...’
- f. [čijato **i** statija] da pročeteš, ...
‘whoever’s article you read, ...’

This is true regardless of the size of the WH phrase:

- (9) a. [kolkoto **i** dülgogodišen kamerier] da e tozi florentinec Paulo, ...
‘however long-serving a valet that Florentine Paulo may be, ...’
- b. [kolkoto **i** različen proizvod] da imat, ...
‘however different an origin they may have, ...’

In most cases, *i* can also follow the entire multi-word WH phrase; compare the (a) and (b) versions of (10)–(12):

- (10) a. [kakvoto **i** objasnenie] da izmisliš, ...

- b. [kakvoto objasnenie] **i** da izmisliš, ...
 ‘whatever explanation you think up, ...’
- (11) a. [kakvito **i** podarūci] da polučava do svatbata, ...
 b. [kakvito podarūci] **i** da polučava do svatbata, ...
 ‘whatever gifts s/he receives before the wedding, ...’
- (12) a. [v čijato **i** kūšta] da ostaneš, ...
 b. ??[v čijato kūšta] **i** da ostaneš, ...
 ‘whoever’s house you stay in, ...’
- (13) a. [kolkoto **i** daleč] da zamina, ...
 b. [kolkoto daleč] **i** da zamina, ...
 ‘however far away I go, ...’

The difference between the (a) and (b) versions is subtle: there is a slightly different shade of emphasis, and in some cases the version with *i* following the entire WH phrase is less acceptable than the other one, but in most cases both are possible and roughly synonymous. Our Bulgarian consultants judge some examples, including (10b), (11b), and (13b), to be perfect, but judge others such as (12b) to be awkward. The variant with *i* after a multi-word WH phrase is far less common (e.g., in Google hits) than the variant with *i* after a single WH word. We will suggest below that the difference between the (a) and (b) variants is a matter of whether the WH word alone or the entire WH phrase is focused. Since WH words themselves have an intrinsic focus feature, the WH word is always focused. The option of focusing the entire phrase is sometimes less felicitous. While we expect that pragmatic and contextual factors determine the likelihood of focusing one element over another, we put aside relative judgments here, since it is the potential for focus that concerns us and which drives our analysis.

3.2 Interrupting the WH-to-i-da VP string

Although we presented the UCC construction as a unit, it is not always a contiguous string. A subject may intervene between *i* and *da*, splitting the UCC into two parts: *WH-to-i* ____

da-VP. Thus (14b) is an acceptable (and attested) variant of (14a); similarly compare (15a–b).⁴

- (14) a. kolkoto i da e sŭvsem po Šekspir izbranijat balkon ...
b. kolkoto i izbranijat balkon da e sŭvsem po Šekspir ...
‘however authentically Shakespearean the chosen balcony may be ...’
- (15) a. kolkoto i da e interesna novata ideja, ...
b. kolkoto i novata ideja da e interesna, ...
‘however interesting the new idea is, ...’

Also possible, though rare, is a subject intervening between the WH-*to* element and *i*, as in example (16):

- (16) Tova ne e prosto vŭpros na mašinarija, kolkoto tja i da e složna i zapletena, ...
‘This isn’t simply a question of machinery, however complex and intricate it may be, ...’

The word order in (14)–(15) is relatively easily available, but the possibility represented by (16) is severely limited. Only very short, light constituents can appear in the position between WH and *i*; the shorter and less contentful, the better:

- (17) a. *kolkoto novata ideja i da e interesna, ...
‘however interesting the new idea is, ...’
b. ??kolkoto tazi ideja i da e interesna, ...
‘however interesting this idea is, ...’
c. ?kolkoto idejata i da e interesna, ...
‘however interesting the idea is, ...’
d. kolkoto tja i da e interesna, ...
‘however interesting it is, ...’

Since this phenomenon depends on the phonological form of the subject constituent (being fully acceptable only with a monosyllabic element preceding *i*), we assume that it is a prosodic

⁴ The underlined phrase in these examples is the subject.

phenomenon, to be dealt with in Phonetic Form (PF) and not in the syntax proper.⁵

3.3. Negation

Negation is barely possible in UCC clauses in Bulgarian. There are examples where negation is not totally excluded, such as (18a), but negation is usually awkward. The following are probably possible with enough context, but are definitely less easy to accept than the same clauses without the negative *ne*:

- (18) a. kolkoto i da **ne** mi xaresvat knigite, ...
‘however much I may not like the books, ... ’
- b. ?kūdeto i da **ne** xodiš, ...
‘wherever you don’t go, ... ’
- c. ?kakvoto i da **ne** kupiš, ...
‘whatever you don’t buy, ... ’
- d. ?kojto i da **ne** idva na večerinkata, ...
‘whoever doesn’t come to the party, ... ’

The awkwardness of negative UCCs is due at least partly to the unlikelihood of a set of negative possible worlds — it is easier to imagine all the possible things one might buy than all the possible things one might *not* buy, for example. This is not a fact about Bulgarian *per se*; notice that the English glosses in (18) are about as awkward as the Bulgarian clauses they translate. Of course, in both languages the felicity of negated UCCs improves in the appropriate pragmatic context.⁶

In Bulgarian there may also be an issue of incompatibility of a truly negative interpretation of *ne* with the modal semantics of the clause, since *ne* often expresses doubt or pleonastic

⁵ The role of phonological weight in splitting up phrases in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian is similar. See for example Bošković (2001), pp. 20–21.

⁶ An anonymous reviewer provides completely acceptable English examples such as *Whatever you don’t buy, leave on the counter* or *Whoever doesn’t come to the party will be missing out on a great time*. This draws attention to the interesting fact that, whereas negated UCCs are awkward without a special validating scenario, the free relative (i.e., argument) variant is generally perfect. Compare these to the bizarre in our opinion *Whatever you don’t buy, you will (not) be happy* or *Whoever doesn’t come to the party, you will (not) be satisfied*. While negated UCCs present a semantic incongruity (*impossible worlds?*), negated indefinite free relatives are not particularly problematic since they still quantify over a set of individuals (e.g., “all X, such that you do not buy X” or “all X, such that X does not come to the party”). Moreover, the negative in a relative clause means something (“all things bought” is the complement of “all things not bought”) but since the UCC asserts whatever happens is irrelevant, whatever does *not* happens is usually equally irrelevant.

negation in other types of *da* clauses: for instance, *ne* in (19) is not true negation but just an additional indication of non-factive modality; in fact, it suggests a suspicion or expectation on the part of the speaker that the addressee is indeed feeling ill:

(19) *Da ne ti e lošo?*

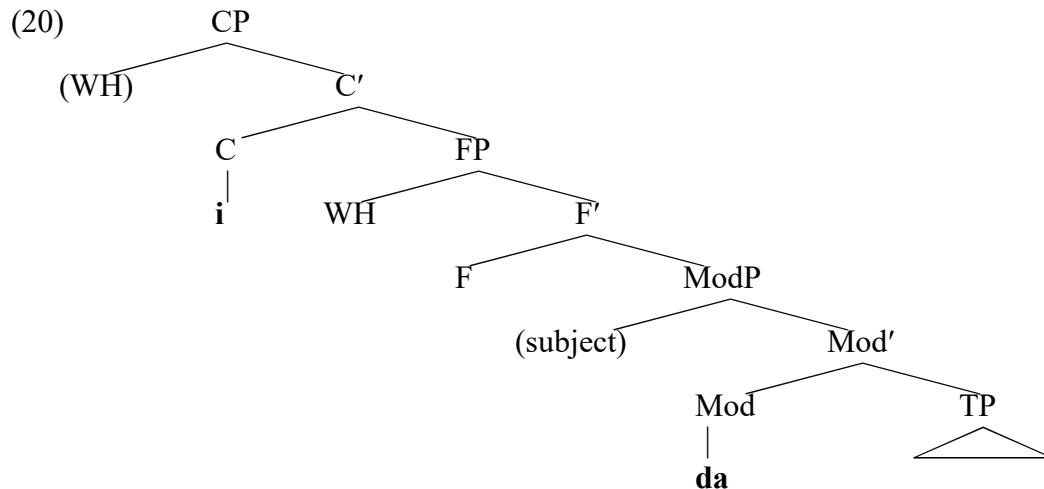
‘Are you (perhaps) feeling ill?’ (Not: ‘Are you *not* feeling ill?’)

4. UCCs in Bulgarian: Analysis

The analysis we propose for Bulgarian UCC clauses is roughly sketched in the tree in (20).⁷ Note that *i* (instantiating Focus semantics) is located in C: this C head has a [+focus] feature and takes a Focus Phrase (FP) as its complement. The particle *da* (instantiating hypothetical modality) is located in a Modality head, WH phrases are in specifiers of the FP and CP, and the specifier of ModP provides a place for subjects (and possibly other material, such as adverbs) that can precede *da* within the UCC.⁸

⁷ Projections are ignored which do not concern us here, such as Topic, Agr phrases, etc.

⁸ The limited ability of light constituents to precede *i* is presumably a PF phenomenon, as noted above, so is not represented in this tree.



To account for the varying position of *i* seen in examples such as (10)–(13) above, we follow Franks’s (2006) copy-and-delete analysis of another Bulgarian focus marker, the interrogative/focus enclitic *li*, whose behavior parallels that of *i* in UCCs. Like *i*, *li* can follow (and focus) either a whole phrase or a part of that phrase. Compare (21)–(22) with *li* to (10)–(13) with focusing *i* (small caps in the glosses represent focus).

- (21) a. [Novata kniga] **li** vidja?
 ‘Did you see the NEW BOOK?’
 b. [Novata **li** kniga] vidja?
 ‘Did you see the NEW book (or the old one)?’

- (22) a. [Momičeto ot Sofija] **li** se razbolja?
 ‘Was it the GIRL FROM SOFIA who got sick?’
 b. [Momičeto] **li** ot Sofija se razbolja?
 ‘Was it the GIRL from Sofia who got sick (or the boy)?’

Franks (2006) suggests that focusing *li* is located in a C head that takes FP as a complement.⁹ A phrase containing an element bearing a [+focus] feature is attracted to the SpecFP position and from there subsequently to SpecCP. In a copy-and-delete theory of movement, this results in two copies of the phrase. Which copy is pronounced is a matter of the

⁹ Franks (2006) actually leaves open the possibility that *li* might be located in either F or C, with corresponding alternate possibilities for the location of the two copies of the fronted phrase. In this paper we opt for the C analysis because of its parallelism to the case of WH movement in UCCs.

mapping from syntax to PF, not the syntax proper. Crucially, although the entire phrase moves, the focused portion can vary. In the splitting example above only *novata* is focused, as shown in (23a).¹⁰ Since it contains a [+focus] element, the DP *novata knjiga* is however “pied-piped” to SpecFP and then to SpecCP. The pronounced result is as in (23b), where strikethrough indicates PF deletion:

- (23) a. [[_{CP} NOVATA knjiga [_C **li** [_{FP} novata knjiga...
[+focus]
b. [[_{CP} novata ~~knjiga~~ [_C **li** [_{FP} ~~novata~~ knjiga ...

Crucially, non-focus material cannot be pronounced immediately in front of *li*, which (in the absence of special intonation on the focus) essentially divides the sentence into two information structure subparts. PF deletion of non-focus material preceding *li* in (23b) means that only the focused portion of the higher copy of the phrase *novata knjiga* is pronounced and, concomitantly, only the non-focused portion of the lower copy. This “scattered deletion” analysis is able to derive pronunciation of part of the phrase before *li* and part after *li* without moving the pieces of the phrase apart.¹¹ In (24) we see that, depending on which parts of the fronted phrase receive focus, different deletion patterns occur and different word orders result. Sentence (24a) has only *mnogo* focused, so only *mnogo* is pronounced in the top copy. In (24b) *mnogo truden* is focused and pronounced above *li*, and in (24c) the entire phrase *mnogo truden ispit* is focused and pronounced in the higher copy.

- (24) a. MNOGO **li** truden ispit si vzel?
‘Did you take a VERY hard test (or just slightly)?’
[[_{CP} mnogo ~~truden ispit~~ [_C **li** [_{FP} mnogo truden ispit ...
b. MNOGO TRUDEN **li** ispit si vzel?
‘Did you take a VERY HARD test (or an easy one)?’
[[_{CP} mnogo truden ispit [_C **li** [_{FP} mnogo ~~truden~~ ...
c. MNOGO TRUDEN ISPIT **li** si vzel?

¹⁰ For clarity of presentation, we represent the element bearing the [+focus] feature by small caps, and use the same device to keep track of focus in the English glosses.

¹¹ A movement analysis of splitting by *li* or *i* is unlikely, given that Bulgarian, as a DP-language, eschews left-branch extraction; cf. Bošković (2005) for relevant argumentation.

‘Did you take a VERY HARD TEST (or something else?)’
 [[_{CP} mnogo truden ispit [_C **li** [_{FP} ~~mного truden ispit~~ ...

This analysis extends straightforwardly to focusing *i* in UCCs. Like *li*, *i* is located in C and takes FP as its complement. A WH phrase is attracted to SpecFP (WH words being inherently focused), and moves from there to SpecCP, the normal landing site of WH phrases in Bulgarian (cf. Rudin (1986)). PF deletion then determines which parts of the phrase will be pronounced, resulting in configurations exactly parallel to those for *li*. Consider again a pair of examples with *i* seemingly able to occupy two different positions, either following the WH word directly or following the entire WH phrase. Let us assume, as with *li*, that the slight difference in emphasis between the two examples is due to the placement of focus either only on the WH word itself or on the entire phrase:

- (25) a. [KAKVOTO **i** objasnenie] da izmisliš, ...
 ‘WHATEVER explanation you think up, ...’
 b. [KAKVOTO OBJASNENIE] **i** da izmisliš, ...
 ‘WHATEVER EXPLANATION you think up, ...’

Both (25a) and (25b) have the syntactic structure shown in (26), with copies of the *wh* phrase in both SpecCP and SpecFP:

(26) [_{CP} kakvoto objasnenie [_C **i**] [_{FP} kakvoto objasnenie [_{ModP} da izmisliš, ...

They differ in information structure, in that the focus feature could be located either on the WH word (27a) or on the WH phrase (27b):

- (27) a. [_{CP} KAKVOTO objasnenie [_C **i**] [_{FP} kakvoto objasnenie [_{ModP} da izmisliš, ...
 [+focus]
 b. [_{CP} KAKVOTO OBJASNENIE [_C **i**] [_{FP} kakvoto objasnenie [_{ModP} da izmisliš, ...
 [+focus]

This, in turn, determines which pieces of the WH phrase *kakvoto objasnenie* are pronounced in each copy. In both cases, all and only the focused material is pronounced in the higher copy,

preceding *i*. In (28a), representing (27a), the word *objasnenie* is not focused and thus is pronounced below C, the upper copy of this word being deleted in the mapping to PF. In (28b), representing (27b), the entire WH phrase is focused, and thus the entire upper copy of the phrase is pronounced and the entire lower copy is PF-deleted:

- (28) a. [[CP kakvoto ~~objasnenie~~ [C **i**] [FP ~~kakvoto~~ objasnenie [ModP da izmisliš, ...
 b. [[CP kakvoto objasnenie [C **i**] [FP ~~kakvoto-objasnenie~~ [ModP da izmisliš, ...

Our claim is thus that the apparently variable position of *i* with respect to the WH phrase in UCCs results from a difference in focus combined with focus-sensitive scattered deletion. In this way, splitting by *i* is assimilated to splitting by *li*, as described above.

The parallelisms between *i* and *li* are perhaps even more robust. Vesela Simeonova (p. c.) points out that both can scope either over the entire proposition or over a single phrase, providing the following pairs of examples:

- (29) a. Iskaš **li** da otidem na kino?
 ‘Do you want us to go to the movies?’
 b. **I** DA ZNAEŠ, **i** DA NE ZNAEŠ, srokūt mina!
 ‘No matter if you know or do not know (the answer), the deadline passed!’
- (30) a. NA KINO **li** iskaš da otidem? (ili na KONCERT?)¹²
 ‘Do you want us to go to the MOVIES? (or to a CONCERT?)’
 b. A: Kakvo iskaš za Koleda?
 ‘What do you want for Christmas?’
 B: **I** ŠOKOLAD da mi podariš, PAK šte sām dovolna.
 ‘Even if it’s just a chocolate bar you give me, I will be still be happy.’

Her sense is that the scope behavior of *i* is “exactly like scope ability of *li*” in that both identify a set of alternatives which can be a proposition as in (29) or a phrase/XP as in (30).¹³ (25a), with

¹² She notes that it is no accident that ‘or’ is *ili*, consisting of *i* + *li*, since it focuses on alternatives.

¹³ However, it seems to us one may *not* want to say the proposition is actually focused in (29a), since this differs from (i), in which the entire TP moves to SpecCP:

- (i) ISKAŠ DA OTIDEM NA KINO **li**? ‘Is it that you want us to go to the movies?’

structure (27a)/(28a) thus means, ‘No matter whether you think up explanation A, or explanation B, or explanation C, etc.,’

5. Conclusions

UCC expressions vary in their instantiation across languages, but always involve hypothetical modality/irrealis, universal quantification, focus, and normally a WH word. In Bulgarian, the modality aspect of the UCC meaning is expressed by *da* (and perhaps also redundantly by the WH-word suffix *-to*), while the quantification and focus aspects are expressed by *i*. The two central elements of the Bulgarian UCC construction, *i* and *da*, are merged in functional heads in the left periphery of their clause: C and Mod, respectively. A WH phrase is fronted to SpecFP (the specifier of Focus Phrase) and from there to SpecCP. The higher copy of the focused portion of the WH phrase is pronounced, but any unfocused portion must be pronounced in the lower copy. Variation results from the fact that, although WH words themselves are intrinsically focused, the extent to which the focus feature extends to the other elements of the WH phrase is labile. A single-word WH phrase is thus always pronounced in SpecCP, i.e., the position before *i*, as is the WH word (with any preceding preposition) of a multi-word WH phrase. Any subsequent words in a multi-word WH phrase, however, will be pronounced in the lower copy, below *i*, if they are not within the domain of focus.

Although we find this analysis quite satisfying, some issues do remain unsolved. One of these is the exact status of the obligatory suffix *-to* in Bulgarian UCCs.¹⁴ Other Slavic languages, including even the very closely related Macedonian, use morphologically interrogative rather than relative WH words in UCCs, making it unclear why Bulgarian requires something which in all other situations is a relativizing suffix. Another question is why *i* — a prosodic proclitic here and elsewhere — acts like a syntactic enclitic (in the sense of *following* the focus) in UCCs. There are interesting comparisons to be made between Bulgarian and other Slavic languages, especially Russian. We hope to address these and other issues in future work.

Similarly, (29a) needs to be distinguished from a question with the same word order but focus just on the verb, as in

- (ii) ISKAŠ **li** da otidem na kino? (ili samo MOŽEŠ?)
‘Do you WANT to go to the movies together? (or you just CAN?)’

The proposal thus raises interesting issues beyond the scope of the present paper.

¹⁴ Similar concerns extend to the parallel element *o-* in Greek (1c), which, like *-to*, normally has the function of marking WH words as relative pronouns.

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