

Indefinite and Universal Wh Clauses in Macedonian<sup>0</sup>  
Catherine Rudin  
Wayne State College

0. *Introduction*

This paper investigates phrases of the form *wh (i) da V*, where “*wh*” is shorthand for any *wh* word -- *koj, što, kakov, kolkav, kade, koga, kako, or kolku* -- in Macedonian. Such phrases are not uniform, in spite of their superficially identical form, but instead represent two different constructions, which I will call Wh Indefinite Pronominal (WIP) and Universal Concessive Conditional (UCC) clauses. These two constructions have not been recognized as distinct in traditional grammars, but they do in fact differ in numerous ways, including their meaning, syntactic position within a matrix clause, nominal vs. adverbial status, freedom of occurrence of verbs other than “be,” freedom of occurrence of a variety of *wh* phrases, and prosodic characteristics. In this paper I lay out these differences systematically, and also discuss the relation of both WIP and UCC to (other) Free Relative clauses (FR); it is not unreasonable to classify both constructions as types of FR, though they do differ in some ways from the clauses usually thought of as Free Relatives.

1. *Wh Indefinite Pronominal vs. Universal Concessive Conditional*

Let us start by looking at a few initial examples of each type of construction. The boldfaced portions of the sentences in (1) are WIPs, while those in (2) are UCCs. (Both constructions are boldfaced throughout the paper.)

(1) Wh Indefinite Pronominal (Kramer 1999:340-41)

- a. Možeš da mi se javiš **koga i da e**.  
can.2SG to me REFL call.2SG when and to is  
‘You may call me anytime.’
- b. **Koj i da e** ke može da ti objasni.  
who and to is will can.3SG to you explain.3SG  
‘Anyone could explain it to you.’
- c. Vo **koj i da e** grad ke najдете takvi prodavnici.  
in which and to is city will find.2PL such stores  
‘In any city you will find such stores.’

(2) Universal Concessive Conditional

- a. **Kade i da odiš**, ke dojdám so tebe.  
where and to go.2SG will come.1SG with you  
‘Wherever you go, I’ll come with you.’

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- b. **Kolku i da se kriš,** nešto ké te izdade.  
 how.much and to REFL hide.2SG something will you give.away  
 ‘No matter how much you hide, something will give you away.’
- c. **So kogo i da razgovaraš,** lugeto se uplašeni.  
 with whom and to talk.2SG people.the are frightened.  
 ‘Whoever you talk to, people are frightened.’

The sentences in (1) are from Kramer (1999), who gives examples of WIPs under the heading INDEFINITE PRONOUNS; she also refers to them as NONSPECIFIC INDEFINITES, as does Friedman (2001)<sup>1</sup>. Lunt (1952) and Tomić (2012) also list a few examples of WIP in a section on indefinite pronouns. Different terms are used by other authors, but still considering WIPs a type of pronoun; for instance Hauge (1999) calls the corresponding constructions in Bulgarian COMPOSITE ALL-QUANTIFYING PRONOUNS; see also Guentcheva (1981), and I have used the term WH-INDEFINITE PRONOMINAL in an earlier paper (Rudin 2015). WIPs are typically translated into English with “any”; so *anytime, anyone, any (city)* in the examples above.

UCCs are, to my knowledge, not mentioned in grammars of Macedonian or closely related languages. I have discussed them (using the term UNIVERSAL CONCESSIVE CONDITIONAL) in Macedonian as well as other languages in several earlier works; for instance, Rudin (2012, 2014, 2015), Franks & Rudin (2015). Others have used different terms for the same construction: FREE ADJUNCT FREE RELATIVE (Izvorski 2000, for Bulgarian); CONCESSIVE CONDITIONAL (Haspelmath & König 1998 for crosslinguistic typology, Citko 2003 for Polish and English); *EVER* FREE RELATIVE (Caponigro et al 2013), *WH-EVER* FREE RELATIVE (Eilam 2009). Unlike WIPs, UCCs are most typically translated into English with an “ever” phrase: *wherever, whoever* in examples (2a,c); or with *no matter wh* (2b). This difference in translation reflects differences in the syntax and semantics of the two constructions, which are the main topic of this paper.

## 2. Differentiating the Two Constructions

As demonstrated in examples (1-2), both WIPs and UCCs in Macedonian have the same basic form: *wh (i) da V*, that is, a *wh* word<sup>2</sup> (*koj, što, kakov, kolkav, kade, koga, kako, kolku*, and their case or gender forms), followed by *i* (optional, though present in all the examples above<sup>3</sup>), *da*, and a verb. We will see below that the two constructions differ in details of possible variations on this basic pattern; nevertheless, WIPs and UCCs are often completely identical in their superficial form. How, then, do we distinguish one from the other?

<sup>1</sup> Under this category both Kramer and Friedman also include the semantically equivalent *koj bilo/bilo koj* and *koj-gode* constructions, which I do not discuss here. Their behavior is identical in nearly all respects to the WIPs I do discuss.

<sup>2</sup> Or a *wh* phrase, in the case of UCCs; see section 2.5.

<sup>3</sup> As is almost always the case, “optional” is a gross oversimplification. In some cases *i* is strongly preferred or even required, while in others it can or perhaps even must be omitted, and there appear to be some differences in judgments across speakers. I leave the conditions which govern the appearance of *i* as a subject for future research.

In this section, I present a series of seven diagnostic differences. Most of these have, to my knowledge, never been detailed or even mentioned in the previous literature on Macedonian, though I have noted some of them in passing in works on UCCs (Rudin 2012, 2014) or in the context of comparing Macedonian to Bulgarian (Rudin 2015).<sup>4</sup> The meaning of the two constructions is only very subtly different, but their syntax differs fairly starkly.

### 2.1. *Meaning*

The meaning of the two *wh (i) da V* constructions is very similar: both suggest that the identity of a person, place, etc. is unknown, vague, or does not matter. A UCC creates a set of possible worlds and states that the main-clause proposition is true in all of them. So, (2a) *Kade i da odiš, ke dojdám so tebe*, states that the proposition “I will come with you” remains true in a world in which you go to China, or to the drugstore, to the moon, to a party, nowhere at all, etc. This “under all possible conditions” or “in any possible world” sense can be expressed in a variety of ways cross-linguistically, but almost always includes three basic elements — a *wh* phrase, a marker of focus/universal quantification, and an indicator of unreal or hypothetical modality (Haspelmath & König 1998, Citko 2003). In Macedonian (and Bulgarian) the focus/universal marker is *i* and the modality marker is *da*, as discussed in detail in Rudin & Franks (2014). Other languages often make use of a negative element; e.g. English *no matter where you go*; see also Van de Kruys (2013) on Russian and Eilam (2009) on Hebrew negation in UCCs.

WIPs have a similar feeling of not specifying which of the available choices is taken, but do not necessarily convey the universal truth of a proposition (in all possible worlds). Instead, a WIP is often simply an emphatic indefinite. A phrase like *koj (i) da e* means ‘anyone, someone or other, whoever it may be, just anybody’. It sometimes expresses a pejorative sense, as in (3); (3a) signifies that someone is saying “just” anything; nothing specific, nonsense. Similarly in (3b) *koj i da e* signifies “(not) just anyone”, with the possible implication that some specific person is required, not just any random person.

- (3) a. Zboruva      **što da e.**  
 talk.3sg      what to is  
 ‘S/he is talking nonsense.’
- b. Nema da zboruvam so **kogo i da e.**  
 won’t to talk.1SG with whom and to is  
 ‘I’m not going to talk to just anyone./I’m not going to talk to anyone at all.’

The second meaning of (3b) shows that in a negative context a WIP can have a meaning that is actually opposite of “under all possible circumstances”; here talking will take place in NO possible world, not in all possible worlds. A similar example of WIP in a negative context is (4), in which the speaker, far from going to any possible place, goes nowhere. UCCs never have this sense.

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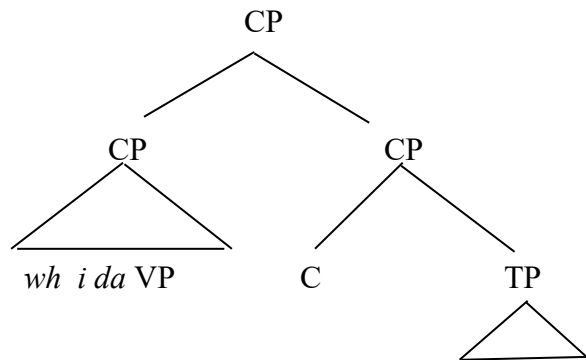
<sup>4</sup> Friedman (2015) also compares the two constructions in Macedonian and Bulgarian, focusing on the sources of the differing morphology of the *wh* words in the two languages.

- (4) Bev tamu cela nedela bez da odam **kade i da e**.  
 was.1SG there whole week without to go.1SG where and to is  
 ‘I was there a whole week without going anywhere at all.’

## 2.2. Syntactic Position: Adjunct vs. Argument

The most basic syntactic difference between UCC and WIP is their relation to the matrix clause. A UCC is a separate clause adjoined to the main clause, as described and argued for by Citko (2003) and as implicit in Izvorski’s (2000) term for UCCs: “Free Adjunct Free Relative”. This structure is sketched in (5).

- (5) UCC: Adjoined to Matrix CP



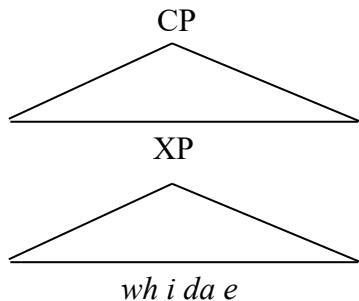
In (6), for instance, the main clause *živej go momentot* is a complete clause, a command. The two boldfaced UCCs preceding it are not constituents of the clause but rather provide conditions under which the proposition holds. UCCs are always outside the matrix clause, either preceding the whole clause, or more rarely following the whole clause or as an inserted parenthetical.

- (6) **Kade i da si, so kogo i da si,** živej go momentot!  
 where and to be.2SG with whom and to be.2SG live.IMP it moment.the  
 ‘Wherever you are, whoever you are with, live in the moment.’

A WIP, in contrast, is not separate from the matrix clause, but contained within it. Instead of being adjoined to CP, it is an argument inside CP, as sketched in (7). In this tree diagram *wh-i-da-e<sup>5</sup>* is labeled “XP” to indicate that it can play several roles, filling the position of any type of phrasal constituent. “XP” can be a nominal, adverbial, or adjectival constituent of the matrix clause. This range of syntactic roles is the subject of section 2.3.

<sup>5</sup> For an explanation of *wh i da VP* in (5) vs. *wh i da e* in (6), see section 2.4 below.

(7) WIP: Argument or Modifier within Matrix CP



WIPs do sometimes occur initially or finally, but often occupy a medial position in the sentence, and in any case are part of the matrix clause. The boldfaced WIP in (8a) is part of the noun phrase *kakov i da e teren* ‘any kind of terrain,’ which in turn is the object of the preposition *so* ‘with’. In (8b) the WIP is the direct object; object of the verb *zalepi* ‘glue, stick’. In both cases it is clearly not outside the matrix clause, but a constituent of it.

- (8) a. Ti ovozmožuva da se soočiš so **kakov i da e** teren.  
 you allow.3SG to REFL face.2SG with what.kind and to is terrain  
 ‘It (a jeep) allows you to face any kind of terrain.’
- b. Zalepi **što i da e** na nokti i nareči go trend.  
 stick.IMP what and to is on nail and call.IMP it trend  
 ‘Stick anything at all onto your nails and call it a trend.’

### 2.3. Syntactic Category Status

Another difference between UCCs and WIPs, closely related to their adjoined vs. internal relation to the matrix clause, is their syntactic status as adverbial, nominal, or adjectival elements.

UCC always functions as a sentence adverbial, modifying the entire matrix clause. We have already seen this, for instance in (7) above, where the two UCC clauses modify the command *Živej go momentot!* ‘Live (in) the moment!’ Another example is (9), where the main clause, *na krajot nie ke pobedime* ‘in the end we will win,’ is a complete statement in itself and modified as a unit by the UCC clause.

- (9) **Što i da napravat**, na krajot nie ke pobedime.  
 what and to do.3PL in end.the we will win.1PL  
 ‘No matter what they do, in the end we will win.’

WIP can play various roles within the matrix clause. As suggested by its traditional label as some type of pronoun, a WIP often functions as a nominal (for instance, subject of the matrix clause (10a), direct object (10b), indirect object (10c), or object of a preposition

(10d)). But WIPs can also be adjectival, modifying a noun (10e), or adverbial,<sup>6</sup> modifying a verb/VP (10f). Example (10a) is from Kramer (1999); (10b,c,f) are from Tomić (2012); (10d,e) are from the internet.

(10) a. Subject

**Koj i da e** ke može da ti objasni.  
 who and to is will can.3SG to you explain.3SG  
 ‘Anyone could explain it to you.’

b. Direct Object

Dajte mi **što i da e!**  
 give.IMP.PL me what and to is  
 ‘Give me anything at all.’

c. Indirect Object

Daj mu go **komu i da e!**  
 give.IMP him it who.dat and to is  
 ‘Give it to anybody.’

d. Object of Preposition

Ne sum kontaktiral so **kogo i da e.**  
 neg am contacted with whom and to is  
 ‘I have not contacted anyone.’

e. Adjectival

Ne bi trebalo da go osuduvame **koj i da e** čovek.  
 NEG COND should to him condemn.1PL which and to is person  
 ‘We should not condemn any person.’

f. Adverbial within VP

Dojdi **koga i da e!**  
 come.IMP when and to is  
 ‘Come at any time.’

#### 2.4. Range of Possible Verbs (VPs) and other Sentence Constituents

Perhaps the single starkest difference between UCC and WIP is what elements other than *wh-i-da* can occur in the construction. WIP allow only the verb ‘to be,’ and generally only in its third person singular present tense form, *e*.<sup>7</sup> In traditional grammars *e* is treated as part of the construction: *wh-(i)-da-e* is seen as a unit in, for example, Kramer (1999),

<sup>6</sup> Tomić (2012:205, note 48) has a rather confused discussion of adverbials: “The structure *(i)-da-e* is rarely part of the lexical reading of an indefinite adverb [...] the constituents of *(i)-da-e* most often have distinct readings.” I believe by “lexical reading of an indefinite adverb” she means a WIP formed with *kade*, *koga*, or *kako*; “distinct readings” seems to refer to functioning as UCC (though she hasn’t noticed that *e* can be replaced by any verb in this construction; see section 2.4.) Her examples are UCC, not WIP:

i. *Kade (i) da e, ke dojde.* ‘Wherever he might be, he will come.’

ii. *Koga \*(i) da e trgnat, treba da stigne* ‘Whenever he might have left, he should arrive (by now).’

iii. *Kako \*(i) da e zacvrstjen, ke se skrši.* ‘No matter how it is fixed, it will break.’

<sup>7</sup> Another of the traditional “Specific Indefinite Pronoun” types, *wh-bilo*, could be seen as a perfect-participle form of *wh-(i)-da-e*. It does sometimes occur with *da*: *wh-(i)-da-bilo*. However, it most frequently lacks *da*, whereas *da* is an essential part of the *wh-(i)-da-e* IFR. It thus seems best to treat it as a separate construction.

Friedman (2001), Lunt (1952), Tomić (2012), and this analysis seems to be correct; the entire WIP is an idiomatic “chunk”.

On the other hand, UCCs admit any verb (including forms of ‘be,’ of course), and in fact can include any type of verb phrase, not just a single verb. This can be seen in examples throughout the paper. In (11) the verb phrase is underlined for easy visibility. Any lexical verb may appear, in any person, and may be accompanied by one or more complements or modifiers.

- (11) a. **kolku i da zvuči neverojatno, ...**  
how.much and to sound.3SG unbelievable  
‘no matter how much and to sound, it may sound, ...’
- b. **kogo i da go izberem za marioneta, ...**  
whom and to him choose.1PL as puppet  
‘no matter who we choose as a puppet, ...’
- c. **što i da prodavaš, ...**  
what and to sell.2SG  
‘no matter what you are selling, ...’
- d. **kade i da se pojavi, ...**  
where and to REFL appear  
‘wherever it appears, ...’
- e. **koga i da te prisiluvaa da odiš na ekskurzija, ...**  
when and to you force.3PL to go.2SG on excursion  
‘whenever they make you go on an excursion, ...’

UCCs can also include a subject, either preverbal or postverbal (underlined in (12)):

- (12) a. **izborite koga i da bidat, ...**  
elections.the when and to be.3PL.FUT  
‘no matter when the elections take place, ...’
- b. **kolkava i da e cenata, ...**  
how.big and to is price.the  
‘no matter how high the price is, ...’

UCC is thus a much more flexible and varied construction than WIP. Rather than a frozen idiom, it is a true syntactic construction; a full normal clause with the full range of constituents and lexical choices of any clause, differing only by the presence of universal (*i*) and modal (*da*) elements which give it its particular semantics.

## 2.5. Complex Wh Phrases

Both UCC and WIP constructions occur with a wide variety of single *wh* words, as seen in examples throughout this paper. For WIP, Kramer (1999, p. 340) lists *koj i da e* ‘anyone,’ *kade i da e* ‘anywhere,’ *što da e* ‘anything,’ *koga i da e* ‘anytime,’ *koj/koja i da e* ‘whichever’. Other *wh* words can also form WIPs, though not all are common: *kakov i*

*da e* ‘any kind of,’ *kolkav(o/a) i da e* ‘any size of,’ *kako i da e* ‘anyhow/in any maner,’ *kolku i da e* ‘any amount/however much’.

UCCs similarly allow any *wh* word. However, unlike WIPs, UCCs also can be formed with complex *wh* phrases, not just single *wh* words. A few examples are given in (13)-(15), with the *wh* phrase underlined.

- (13) a. **Kolku dobar i da e prevodot**, original si e original.  
how.much good and to is translation, original REFL is original  
‘However good the translation is, an original is still an original.’  
b. **Kolku i dobar da e prevodot**, ...
- (14) a. **Kakov znak i da mu davaše ženata**, za džabe beše.  
what.kind sign and to him gave woman.the for naught was  
‘No matter what kind of sign the woman gave him, it was for naught.’  
b. **Kakov i znak da mu davaše ženata**
- (15) a. Sekoja misla, **kolku brzo i da e zagušena**, ostava traga vrz  
every thought how.much fast and to is throttled leaves trace in  
umot.  
mind.the  
‘Every thought, however quickly it is throttled, leaves a trace in the mind.’  
b. ... **kolku i brzo da e zagušena** ...

The (a) version of each of these has the *wh* phrase connected, while the (b) versions show that it can also be “split” by *i*.<sup>8</sup> A detailed description of the conditions under which “splitting” occurs, the syntactic mechanism behind it, and its subtle semantic effect, is beyond the scope of this paper.<sup>9</sup> What matters for our purposes is that nothing like this is even marginally possible in WIP, which always have a single *wh* word, followed by the frozen sequence *(i)-da-e*.

## 2.6. Multiple Wh

A final syntactic difference between the WIP and UCC constructions is their ability to accomodate multiple *wh* words. Once again we find that WIP is limited to a set form, while UCC is more flexible and in fact behaves just like a normal clause. Other *wh* constructions, such as questions and correlatives, in Macedonian as in other Slavic languages, allow multiple fronted *wh* words. Though uncommon, this also is possible in UCC. Two examples are given in (16).

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<sup>8</sup> A third version also exists; viz. *kolku i da e dobar prevodot*, etc.; in some cases some speakers in fact prefer this third version to the others. A full analysis of this option would take us too far afield, so I do not deal with it here except to note that here *dobar* is not part of the *wh* phrase but a separate predicate.

<sup>9</sup> For a formal analysis of the parallel constructions in Bulgarian, see Rudin & Franks (2014).



- (16) a. **Koj kade i da odi,** nikogaš nema da se čuvstvuva tolku dobro  
 who where and to go.3SG never won't to REFL feel.3SG as good  
 kako doma.  
 as home  
 'Wherever anyone goes, they'll never feel as good as at home.'
- b. **Koj što i da reče** za nego, toj e dobar čovek.  
 who what and to say. 3SG about him he is good person  
 'No matter who says what about him, he's a good person.'

WIPs never allow more than one *wh* expression.

## 2.7. Prosody

In addition to their semantic and syntactic differences, WIP and UCC also differ prosodically. WIPs are pronounced as part of the normal intonation contour of the sentence they are part of. However, in keeping with their clause-external position as adjuncts, UCCs always are separated from the matrix clause by a pause and "comma" intonation. (17) shows that this is true regardless of whether the UCC is before the main clause, after it, or parenthetical; the comma break is indicated with [,]. In (18) the lack of an intonation break or pause with WIP is indicated by [=].

- (17) a. **Kolku i da e tažno denes** [,] utre ke se smeeme.  
 how.much and to is sad today tomorrow will REFL laugh.1PL  
 'No matter how sad it is today, tomorrow we'll laugh.'
- b. Utre ke se smeeme [,] **kolku i da e tažno denes.**  
 'Tomorrow we'll laugh, no matter how sad it is today.'
- c. Utre [,] **kolku i da e tažno denes** [,] ke se smeeme.  
 'Tomorrow, no matter how sad it is today, we'll laugh.'
- (18) a. Možete da go najдете [=] kade i da e.  
 can.2PL to it find.2PL where and to is  
 'You can find it anywhere.'
- b. Daj mi [=] **shto i da e.**  
 give.IMP me what and to is  
 'Give me anything at all.'

## 3. WIP and UCC as Free Relatives

Up to this point, our focus has been on differences between WIPs and UCCs, with a view to demonstrating that in spite of their apparently identical form in simple cases, they are in fact separate constructions. In this section I introduce a third construction, the standard Free Relative (FR), which shares many features with WIP and UCC. Free Relatives are *wh* clauses which have the form of a relative clause without a head noun; they function as nominal or adverbial constituents within a clause: *I bought what was available; Sit where I tell you*. In Macedonian FR sometimes have the same form as WIP and UCC, namely *wh (i) da V*; FR of this type are often referred to as "indefinite" or "nonspecific" free

relatives (Haspelmath and König 1998). In (19), the only difference between an indefinite FR and WIP appears to be the occurrence of a verb other than *e*.

- (19) a. (Indefinite) FR  
 Āe platime **kolku** **i** **da treba**.  
 will pay.1PL how.much and to need  
 ‘We will pay however much is necessary.’
- b. WIP  
 Āe platime **kolku** **i** **da e**.  
 will pay.1PL how.much and to is  
 ‘We will pay any amount.’

It is often asserted or assumed that UCCs in various languages are actually a subtype of Free Relatives. I have not seen this claim made for WIP, presumably because, unlike UCC, this is an idiomatic construction that does not occur in most languages. But the arguments put forward for treating UCC as FR generally extend to WIP as well.

Caponigro et al’s (2013:73) three-part definition of FR clearly fits both UCC and WIP: a Free Relative (1) contains a *wh* word; (2) contains a gap; (3) can be replaced by NP or another constituent such as an Adverb phrase. By this definition, UCC and WIP are in fact types of FR. Work on other Slavic languages (Izvorski 2000, Tomaszewicz 2012, among others) and on unrelated languages of the world including Hebrew (Eilam 2009), Mayan languages (Caponigro et al 2013), and Appalachian English (Johnson 2015), as well as a broad typological sample in Haspelmath & König (1998), shows that UCCs cross-linguistically and WIP where they occur are closely related to garden-variety FR, but usually have some distinct morphology. This may include focus or emphatic particles, universal quantifiers, modal elements, or (pleonastic) negation, which may sometimes be present in other kinds of FR, but are typically required (not optional) in UCC/WIP and may be more rigidly ordered.<sup>10</sup>

As we have seen above, in Macedonian this special morphology includes the focus/universal marker *i* and the modal *da*. Garden-variety FR can include these elements (as in (19a)), but usually they do not. A few examples of FR without *i da* are given in (20), with the FR boldfaced.

- (20) a. **Koj saka** neka odi, jas ostanuvam tuka.  
 who wants let go I stay.1SG here  
 ‘Let whoever wants go; I’m staying here.’
- b. **Koj vino pie,** bez nevesta spie.  
 who wine drinks without bride sleeps  
 ‘He who drinks wine sleeps without a bride.’ (Friedman 2001:59)
- c. Nikogaš ne gledam **što e napraveno;** samo gledam **što treba da**  
 never neg look.1SG what is done only look.1SG what must to

<sup>10</sup> For instance, Johnson (2015) shows that in Appalachian English *whichever* alternates freely with *ever* *which* in normal FR, but only “whichever” is possible in UCC. He uses this fact to argue that *ever* is a D head, very similar to an analysis I’ve considered for *-to* in Bulgarian in e.g. Rudin (2014).

**se donapravi.**

REFL get.done

‘I never look at what has been done; I only look at what needs to get done.’

Such FRs share some characteristics with WIP; others with UCC. Like UCC, they can contain any verb, not just a form of “be”. Like WIP, they are arguments, not adjuncts (for instance, can be subject (20a,b) or object (20c) of the matrix clause verb). They also differ from both UCC and WIP in some ways.

For instance, both UCC and WIP strongly resist any negation, but (other) FR can be negative. In (21b) it simply makes no sense (it is semantically incongruous) to set up a scenario in which the possible worlds in which “I’ll come with you” are actually *impossible* worlds. At the very least, negated UCCs are hard to process and extremely unlikely to occur, if not strictly ungrammatical. The negated WIP in (22) is even worse; the idiom chunk (*i*)-*da-e* does not allow any extra material to be inserted, and again the semantics of negating a free-choice indefinite are bizarre. In both cases, UCC and WIP, it makes no difference whether the main clause is negative or positive.

(21) UCC

- a. **Kade i da odiš, ke dojdám so tebe.**  
where and to go.2SG will come.1SG with you  
‘Wherever you go, I’ll come with you.’
- b. **\*?Kade i da ne odiš, ke/nema da dojdám so tebe.**  
where and to NEG go.2SG will/won’t to come.1SG with you  
Intended: ‘\*?Wherever you don’t go, I will/won’t come with you.’

(22) WIP

- a. **Može da odiš kade i da e.**  
can to go.2SG where and to is  
‘You can go anywhere.’
- b. **\*(Ne) može da odiš kade i da ne e.**  
NEG can to go.2SG where and to NEG is  
Intended: ‘\*You can(‘t) go not-anywhere/wherever it might not be...’

Ordinary FR, on the other hand, can freely be negated. In (23), the first FR is negated, while the second is not, and both refer to actually existing things: those things which you need and those which you do not need. FR have no complicating issues of possible-worlds semantics, but simply quantify over sets of individuals.

(23) FR

- Donesi što ne ti e potrebno, zemi si što ti treba.**  
bring.IMP what NEG you.DAT is necessary take.IMP REFL what you.DAT need  
‘Bring what you don’t need, take what you need.’

The same is true even for indefinite FR in most languages; for instance English (24a) with *wh-ever* is fine. However, negated FR with *i da e* in Macedonian are problematic.

Most speakers are uncomfortable with (24b) or reject it outright, preferring a more complex construction with a pronominal-headed relative clause. In (24c) the pronominal head is the WIP *koj i da e* ‘anyone’; it could also have been a simpler pronoun like *onaj* or *toj* ‘that one/the one’ (*toj što ne doaga na čas, ...*). This may be connected to the fact that simple free relatives, as opposed to pronominal-headed relatives, are rather rare in Macedonian in any case and tend to sound like a proverb (Bužarovska n.d.).

(24) Indefinite FR

- a. **Whoever doesn’t come to class** will fail.
- b. ??**Koj i da ne doaga na čas** će dobie slaba ocenka.  
 who and to NEG come to class will receive poor grade  
 Intended: ‘Whoever doesn’t come to class will get a bad grade.’
- c. **Koj i da e što ne doaga na čas** će dobie slaba ocenka.  
 who and to is that NEG come to class will receive poor grade.  
 ‘Anyone who doesn’t come to class will get a bad grade.’

Another difference between FR and the constructions which are the main subject of this paper is that, while FR, like all other relative clause types, optionally allow the complementizer *što* to follow the *wh* word, this is not possible in WIP or UCC. In the FRs in (24), *kolku što* and *kojšto* are just as acceptable as *kolku* and *koj* alone. But in WIP and UCC, as shown in (25), adding *što* to the *wh* word results in ungrammaticality.

(24) FR

- a. **Će dademe kolku (što) imame.**  
 will give.1PL how-much that have.1PL  
 ‘We will give as much as we have.’
- b. **Koj(što) će dojde na vreme, ...**  
 who-that will come.3SG on time  
 ‘Whoever comes on time, ... / He who comes on time, ...’

(25) a. WIP

Možeš da mi se javiš **koga (\*što) i da e.**  
 can.2SG to me REFL call.2SG when that and to is  
 ‘You may call me any time.’

b. UCC

Ne se vraćaj nazad **kolku (\*što) i da boli.**  
 NEG REFL turn.IMP back how-much that and to hurt.3SG  
 ‘Don’t turn back, no matter how much it hurts.’

4. Conclusion

In short, standard FR, UCC, and WIP are three distinct syntactic constructions, in spite of their very similar (sometimes identical) morphological form in Macedonian. Distinguishing these closely related constructions is useful not only for a complete and precise description of Macedonian syntax, but also for accurate comparison across languages, and ultimately for the typological goal of building a universal, crosslinguistic

catalog of the characteristics of *wh* constructions.

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