

## **Focusing on Irrealis Concessions\***

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Universal Concessive Conditionals (UCCs) are adjunct clauses which assert that the main clause is true regardless of which of a set of conditions applies. Thus, in (1), “he” looks great, whether he wears jeans, a tuxedo, or any other possible choice of clothing:

- (1) Whatever he wears, he looks great.

Clauses of this type have received relatively little attention in the linguistic literature, and most treatments have been from perspectives primarily typological (e.g. Haspelmath and König 1998, henceforth H&K), semantic (e.g. Izvorski 2000; Citko 2003), or descriptive (e.g. Van de Cruys 2011) in nature. Our paper explores the syntax of UCCs in two Slavic languages, Russian and Bulgarian.

### **1 UCCs Universally, in Slavic, in Russian and Bulgarian**

A few Slavic examples are shown in (2), to illustrate the range of UCCs cross-linguistically. Similar examples could be given from outside Slavic or even Indo-European (see e.g. Caponigro et al). Despite superficial

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\* Previous versions of some of the material in this paper were reported in Rudin (2012), Franks (2013), and Franks and Rudin (2012). Many thanks to those audiences, as well as to an anonymous FASL 22 reviewer for insightful comments.

diversity, all UCCs have the same essential structure: an adjunct clause containing a *wh* phrase, irrealis modality, and focus interpretation. In Slavic, as elsewhere, irrealis and focus can be instantiated in many ways, including free-choice particles, the inherent focus feature of the *wh* word, (pleonastic) negation, conditional or modal auxiliary, a verb of wanting, a relativizing element, hortative, imperative, or subjunctive mood, etc.

(2) **A brief survey of types of UCCs in Slavic**

Free-choice element preceding or following *wh*

- a. Bilo šta da mu učiniš, on neće biti zadovoljan.  
any what *da* him do he won't be satisfied  
'Whatever you do to him, he won't be satisfied.' *BCS*
- b. Cokolwiek ona powie, on milczy.  
what-ever she says he keeps-quiet  
'Whatever she says, he keeps quiet.' (H&K) *Polish*

Negation

- c. Czego bym nie zjadła, to robi mi się niedobrze.  
what cond neg eat, it makes me refl unwell  
'Whatever I eat, I feel sick.' *Polish*

Modal elements (*may*, conditional, future)/volitional (*want*, *will*)

- d. Karkoli boste izbrali, zabave ne bo manjkalo!  
what-ever will choose fun neg will lack  
'Whatever you choose, there'll be plenty of fun!' *Slovene*
- e. Za kojato štete partija glasuvaj, ...  
for which want party vote-imp  
'Whatever party you vote for, ...' *Bulgarian*

Imperative/hortative

- f. Kak ni kruti, a otvečat' pridětsja odnomu Afanas'evu.  
how neg turn<sub>impv</sub> but answer must only Afanas'ev  
'However you look at it, Afanas'ev is the only one that has to take responsibility.' (Van de Cruys) *Russian*
- g. At' je to kdokoli, bude přísně potrestán.  
let be it who-ever will-be severely punished  
'Whoever it is, s/he will be severely punished.' (H&K) *Czech*

Citko (2003) demonstrates how the semantics of UCC clauses—universal quantification over possible worlds—can be computed from quite different morphosyntactic material; she deals specifically with

English versus Polish, but her results apply more broadly to suggest that UCCs have necessary semantic components of quantification, focus, and irrealis, which can be expressed in various ways.

The two languages treated in this paper have superficially very different UCCs. Russian UCCs contain a *wh* phrase, often followed by the modal element *by*, and require the apparent sentential negation *ni*. Bulgarian UCCs contain a *wh* word with the relativizing suffix *-to*, followed by the focus particle *i* and the modal particle *da*.

(3) **Russian: *wh (by) ni***

Gde by ja **ni** byla, vezde menja vstrečali  
 where mod I *ni* was<sub>r</sub> everywhere me met<sub>3pl</sub>  
 druželjubno.  
 friendly

‘Wherever I was, everywhere I was met in a friendly way.’ (H&K)

(4) **Bulgarian: *wh-to i da***

Kakvoto **i da** izbereš, pečeliš!  
 what-*to i da* choose<sub>2sg</sub> win<sub>2sg</sub>

‘Whatever you choose, you win.’

Nonetheless, Russian and Bulgarian have much in common. The parallels between the two languages are summarized in Table (5):

(5) Bulgarian and Russian in parallel

	Bulgarian	Russian
quantification over alternatives	<i>wh-to</i>	<i>wh</i>
irrealis modality	<i>da</i>	<i>n(e)-</i>
focus	<i>i</i>	<i>-i</i>

- Bulgarian *wh-to* is comparable to *wh*, but the suffix element *-to* and well-known differences in *wh* movement landing sites change the picture somewhat. Russian UCCs (unlike Bulgarian ones) are in fact smaller than Izvorski’s bare CPs, since *wh*-fronting adjoins below CP.
- Bulgarian *da* is comparable to the *ne* part of Russian *ni* (which, being morphologically composed of *ne* + *i*, instantiates both irrealis and focus). While not syntactically parallel, *da* and *n(e)*

are both somewhat unexpectedly obligatory; in both cases we claim that this is because they are the locus of irrealis modality.

- Finally, Bulgarian *i* is directly comparable to the *i* portion of Russian *ni*. In both, the focusing function of the UCC is provided by this same element, *i*, free-standing in Bulgarian and fused with a negative element in Russian. Differences in its syntax between Russian and Bulgarian are due to its different status (fused versus independent), its position within the clause, and the possibility of a focus projection within nominal constituents.

We deal very briefly with *wh(-to)* in Section 2, arguing that UCCs are syntactically a type of relative clause, and with the instantiation of irrealis modality in Russian and Bulgarian UCCs in Section 3. In Section 4 we turn our attention to a more detailed look at the syntactic position of *i*, propose structures for both languages in Section 5, and then consider multiple UCCs in Section 6. Section 7 is the conclusion.

## 2 *Wh, -to* and the status of UCC as free relative

In both Bulgarian and Russian, the UCC is a CP adjoined to the main clause and has the internal structure of a relative clause. Izvorski (2000) argues that, although not nominal, UCCs crosslinguistically are a type of bare CP free relative. The point that UCCs have the structure of relative clauses has been made by Tomaszewicz (2012) for Polish, and is assumed in works that mention UCCs under the heading of free relative clauses, e.g. Caponigro et al. (2013), Rudin (1986/2013). Examination of UCCs in Bulgarian and Russian confirms this conclusion.

### 2.1 *Bulgarian*

One reason for considering UCCs to be free relatives is that their form is identical to that of undoubted free relatives. Bulgarian has several types of nominal free relatives, one of which can have exactly the same form as a UCC: the underlined clauses in (6) and (7) are a nominal free relative and a UCC, but appear identical:

- (6) Pârvata reakcija na kakvoto i da kažeš e “Da ne me  
 first-the reaction to what-*to* *i da* say<sub>2sg</sub> is *da* neg me  
 budalkaš?”  
 kid<sub>2sg</sub>  
 ‘The first reaction to whatever you say is “Are you kidding  
 me?”’
- (7) Kakvoto i da kažeš, njama da mi promeniš mnenieto.  
 what-*to* *i da* say<sub>2sg</sub> won’t *da* me change<sub>2sg</sub> opinion-the  
 ‘Whatever you say, you won’t change my opinion.’

The morphology of the *wh* word itself provides a nice argument for relative clause status not available in other languages studied to date. All *wh* relatives in Bulgarian, including all free relatives, contain a *wh* word with the same *-to* suffix found in UCCs. The nature of this obligatory *-to* suffix is an important and little-discussed issue;<sup>1</sup> whatever its correct analysis, *-to* always indicates relative as opposed to interrogative status of a *wh* clause. Compare (8a–c): the question in (8a) must have the suffixless *wh* word *kakvo*, while the free relative in (8b) and headed relative in (8c) require a *wh* word ending with *-to*. The fact that UCCs require *-to* is thus a strong indication that they are free relatives.

- (8) a. Kakvo kažeš?  
 what say<sub>2sg</sub>  
 ‘What are you saying?’
- b. Kakvoto kažeš ne e istinata.  
 what-*to* say<sub>2sg</sub> neg is truth-the  
 ‘What you’re saying isn’t true.’
- c. Tova, koeto kažeš ne e istinata.  
 this which-*to* say<sub>2sg</sub> neg is truth-the  
 ‘The thing you’re saying isn’t true.’

The *wh* word in UCCs, as we have already suggested, designates quantification over a list of alternatives much as it does in other *wh* constructions, supplying the “free choice” element crucial to the

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<sup>1</sup> Rudin (2009) argues that it is a relative clause complementizer, an allomorph of the relative complementizer *deto*, which cliticizes to the *wh* word in its specifier. In work in progress, we are exploring alternative accounts of the *-to* found in UCCs.

interpretation of UCCs. As in other *wh* constructions, all *wh* words in Bulgarian UCCs are fronted. The position to which *wh* moves is an interesting question, one to which we return after considering other aspects of the structure of the construction.

### 2.2 Russian

Like Bulgarian, Russian also has clear free relatives, which are identical in form to UCCs, as in (9a). We take it, then, that UCCs in Russian, as in other languages, are parasitic on free relatives in their form and at least part of their meaning. However, we disagree with Van de Cruys's (2012) claim that in Russian the free-choice interpretation of UCCs is due to *ni*. Instead, the relative *wh* supplies the free-choice meaning; see for instance the free relative in (9b), which has free choice meaning, even though it lacks the negative element *ni*.

- (9) a. Ja poedu kuda by ty ni poexal.  
 I go where mod you *ni* went  
 'I'll go wherever you go.'  
 b. On vseгда žil, gde ja žila.  
 he always lived where I lived  
 'He always lived where I lived.'

*Wh* in Russian UCCs, as in Bulgarian ones, presumably conforms to the normal behavior and position of *wh* in other constructions; we thus expect *wh*-landing-site-related differences between the two languages, including differences between the types of multiple *wh* UCCs possible in each language. We return to this issue in Sections 5 and 6.

### 3 *Ni, da, and irrealis*


The second part of the UCC is Russian *ni* and Bulgarian *da*. Both of these elements are obligatory in UCCs in their respective languages, though, unlike *wh*, they are not usually found in other free relatives. We believe that they are required because they are the source of the irrealis modality which all UCCs must have. We start with Russian *ni*.

3.1 Russian *ni*

Although it might seem obvious that Russian UCCs derive the irrealis aspect of their semantics from the modal *by* which they typically contain, *by* is in fact not essential. As Van de Cruys observes, instances of UCC without *by* abound in the Russian National Corpus. Some representative examples are given in (10); see also (2g) above:

- (10)a. Kak provodniki **ni** topili vagon, ...  
 how conductors *ni* heated wagon  
 ‘No matter how much the train conductors heated the wagon, ...’
- b. Skol’ko v nego **ni** vkladivaj sredstv, ...  
 how-much in it *ni* put<sub>impv</sub> resources  
 ‘No matter how much money you put in, ...’
- c. Čto **ni** nadenut na sebja, ...  
 what *ni* will-put<sub>3pl</sub> on self  
 ‘No matter what they wear, ...’
- d. K komu **ni** zajdëš’, ...  
 to whom *ni* will-drop-in-on<sub>2sg</sub>  
 ‘Wherever you come, ...’

While (10a) could have *by*, since the verb is an *l*-participle, other UCCs, like (10b) with imperative or (10c, d) with finite verbs, cannot. What is obligatory in all UCCs is *ni*. As argued by Citko (2003), a negative element can provide the irrealis force necessary for establishing a set of hypothetical situations. Franks (2013) discusses the status and syntactic behavior of *ni* in greater detail. Here we simply assert that *ni* obviates any need for an explicitly modal element: *by* when it occurs is redundant. The negative element *ne* is presumably merged in the Neg head, from which it raises to fuse with focus *i* to form the lexical item *ni*, giving us the very rough beginnings of a syntactic structure:

- (11) [wh [ ne+i=**ni** ... [NEG ne] ....]  


### 3.2 Bulgarian *da*

In Bulgarian UCCs, hypothetical or unrealized modality is conveyed not by a negative element, but rather by the so-called “subjunctive” marker *da*, which heads the infinitive-replacing construction common to Balkan languages.<sup>2</sup> The modal character of *da* clauses has frequently been discussed; see e.g. Krapova (2001) among many others. As (12) shows, *da* can have optative, dubitative, conditional, purposive and other overtones, but it always conveys a non-realized meaning:

- |        |                                                                                                                          |                             |
|--------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (12)a. | <b>Da</b> trâgnem.<br><i>da</i> leave<br>‘Let’s leave.’                                                                  | <i>Imperative/hortative</i> |
| b.     | <b>Da</b> ne si bolen?<br><i>da</i> not are ill<br>‘Are you perhaps ill?’                                                | <i>Dubitative</i>           |
| c.     | <b>Da</b> bi mi kazal, ...<br><i>da</i> would me told<br>‘If he had told me, ...’                                        | <i>Conditional</i>          |
| d.     | Dojdoxa <b>da</b> me vidjat.<br>came <sub>3pl</sub> <i>da</i> me see <sub>3pl</sub><br>‘They came (in order) to see me.’ | <i>Purposive</i>            |

Izvorski (2000) addresses the question of why *da* is required in UCCs. Her proposal is that *da* is needed because of *-to*, which she claims blocks the ability of the UCC to reference a set of alternatives. UCCs, in her view, must either have subjunctive mood or what she calls “interrogative syntax” (that is, they must contain interrogative rather than relative *wh* words). She considers the *-to* suffix to be a definiteness marker which precludes interpretation as a set of alternatives; languages which have “definite” *wh* words in UCCs must have subjunctive mood to reintroduce an element of uncertainty, the choice of alternatives. This is an attractive idea, but it cannot be right, as can be seen by comparing Macedonian, where *da* is equally required although the *wh* word is interrogative rather

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<sup>2</sup> Unlike Russian UCCs, which, as (10) shows, can occur with various verb forms, Bulgarian UCCs must have this subjunctive-like construction with its limited range of tenses.



than relative in form.<sup>3</sup> *Da* is thus required only because of the modality it contributes, not for any reason connected to the *-to* (or *što*) suffix.

- (13)a. **Kade i da** odeš, doma k'e si dojdeš!  
 where *i da* go home will REFL come  
 'Wherever you go, you'll come back home.' *Macedonian*  
 b. \***Kadešto i da** odeš, ...

In terms of its syntactic position, *da* heads a modal phrase above *vP*; this position is relatively low, since fronted subjects and similar material can intervene between focus head *i* and irrealis head *da*, as in (14a), with a structure roughly as in (15); compare also neutral word order (14b) and unacceptable (14c):

- (14)a. kolkoto **i knjigite da** mi xaresvat, ...  
 how-much-*to* *i* books-the *da* me please<sub>3pl</sub>  
 'However much I like the books, ...'  
 b. kolkoto **i da** mi xaresvat knjigite, ...  
 c. \*kolkoto knjigite **i da** mi xaresvat, ...  
 (15) [[<sub>CP</sub> kolkoto [<sub>FocP</sub> **i** [knjigite [<sub>ModP</sub> **da** [<sub>VP</sub> ... ]]]]]]]

To sum up this section, the irrealis semantics of the UCC construction originate from *da* in Bulgarian but *ni* in Russian. Each of these elements presumably has a modal operator in its Spec, that is, in SpecModP in Bulgarian but SpecNegP in Russian.

#### 4 All about *i*

We come now to the syntactically most interesting part of the UCC construction in Bulgarian and Russian, which is the morpheme *i*.

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<sup>3</sup> Why the relativizing suffix *-što*, parallel to Bulgarian *-to*, does not occur in Macedonian UCCs is a mystery, especially if UCCs are universally free relatives. Macedonian *-što* does, however, behave differently from Bulgarian *-to* (e.g. it is optional rather than obligatory in relative clauses), so the fact that it does not occur in UCCs does not invalidate arguments that UCCs are a type of relative construction. See also fn. 11.

#### 4.1 Bulgarian *i* is a focus marker

The claim that Bulgarian *i* marks focus is uncontroversial and not limited to UCCs; in fact, *i* is well known to function as a focusing particle in a variety of conditional clauses and emphatic expressions, as in (16):

- (16) a. **i** da gi napiša...      b. **i** dvamata  
       *i* da them write            *i* two-the  
       ‘even if I write them’      ‘both of them’
- c. **i** az                              d. **i** tvojata kola  
       *i* I                                *i* your-the car  
       ‘I too/even I’                ‘even/also your car’

We treat this *i* as the head of a FocP that has a Focus operator in its Spec and takes the focused material as its complement:

- (17) [FP OP<sub>focus</sub> [**i** XP<sub>[+focus]</sub>]]

In UCCs, however, the word order is different, with *i* following rather than preceding the focused item, the *wh-to* expression:

- (18)a. **kojto** **i** da go vidi, ...    b. \***i** **kojto** da go vidi  
       who-to *i* da it see<sub>3sg</sub>  
       ‘whoever sees it, ...’

This is the same *i*, with the same (proclitic) prosodic properties, and we believe that the structural position of *i* is the same in UCCs as in other focus constructions. The difference is that the *wh* phrase, being itself the operator, occurs in the Spec position, before *i*, as sketched in (19):

- (19) [FP OP=**wh-to** [**i** ModP]]

In fact, we claim that at some level copies of the *wh* phrase occur both following and preceding *i*, the higher copy always being the one which is pronounced in simple UCCs such as those seen so far. To show this we need to consider UCCs with larger *wh* phrases. As we have discussed in several earlier papers (Franks and Rudin 2012, Rudin 2012, Franks 2013), in the case of a multi-word *wh* phrase *i* may immediately follow the *wh* word, as in (20a), or may follow the entire *wh* phrase, as in (20b):

- (20)a. [kakvoto **i** objasnenie] da izmisliš, ...  
 what-kind-to *i* explanation *da* think-up<sub>2sg</sub>  
 ‘whatever explanation you think up, ...’  
 b. [kakvoto objasnenie] **i** da izmisliš, ...

This closely parallels the behavior of another focus marker, the interrogative particle *li*, which similarly occurs either within or after a questioned phrase:

- (21)a. [Novata **li** knjiga] vidja?  
 new *li* book saw  
 ‘Did you see the NEW book?’  
 b. [Novata knjiga] **li** vidja?  
 ‘Did you see THE NEW BOOK?’

The “copy-and-delete” analysis of this *li* question pattern proposed in Franks (2006) extends naturally to accommodate *i* in UCCs: in both constructions a phrase containing a focused element moves to SpecFocP, headed by *i* or *li*, leaving a copy in the Spec of the next projection down. PF deletion of non-focus material preceding *i* or *li* then results in pronunciation of the higher copy of the focused portion of the phrase but the lower copy of any non-focused portion, as follows:

- (22)a. [[kakvoto ~~objasnenie~~ [<sub>Foc</sub> **i** [ ~~kakvoto~~-objasnenie... = (20a)  
 b. [[kakvoto objasnenie [<sub>Foc</sub> **i** [ ~~kakvoto~~-objasnenie... = (20b)
- (23)a. [[novata ~~knjiga~~ [<sub>C[+foc]</sub> **li** [ ~~novata~~ knjiga ... = (21a)  
 b. [[novata knjiga [<sub>C[+foc]</sub> **li** [ ~~novata~~-knjiga ... = (21b)

Thus, the difference between (22a) and (22b) is whether the entire *wh* phrase *kakvoto objasnenie* is focused or only the *wh* word itself. Since *wh* words are always intrinsically focused, the *wh* word is always pronounced above *i*, but the rest of the phrase may be pronounced either above or below, depending on what is focused.<sup>4</sup>

The difference between UCCs and the free focus construction seen in

<sup>4</sup> Among other advantages, this scattered deletion analysis accounts for the pattern of occurrence of *i* in UCCs without claiming that they involve Left Branch Extraction, which is otherwise unknown in a DP-language (cf. Bošković 2005).

(16) is that in free focus *Foc* merges with an XP with the [+focus] feature, but in UCCs it merges with a phrase which *contains* a focused element. The phrase containing [+focus] adjoins to the left edge of the clause below *i*, then moves above *i* (to the Spec of the Focus projection) to satisfy the requirement that whatever bears the focus feature merge with *i*, creating the two copies of the *wh* expression. Therefore, in UCCs whatever part is actually focused (always including the *wh-to* expression) must precede *i* since it merges with (a projection of) *i*.

#### 4.2 *i* in Russian

Russian UCCs instantiate focus using the same morpheme as Bulgarian: *i*. Similarly to Bulgarian (16), Russian *i* can be used to focus any XP.<sup>5</sup> However, in Russian, the Neg head *ne* raises and fuses morphologically with *i*, as already described. The *wh* expression occurs in a different position too, not necessarily immediately to the left of (*n*)*i*, but higher up, as shown by the ability of other material to intervene, for instance, the underlined *by vy ego* in (24), with structure as in (25). The Focus projection headed by *i* is thus lower in Russian than in Bulgarian.

- (24) Kak by vy ego ni nazyvali, ...  
 how mod you it *ni* named  
 ‘No matter what you call it, ...’ (van de Cruys)

- (25) **Kak** by vy ego [<sub>FocP</sub> **ni** [<sub>NegP</sub> (ne) nazyvali, ....



It is possible that *wh* in Russian, as in Bulgarian, passes through the SpecFocP position at some point in the derivation, but there is no direct evidence of this; in particular, Russian does not exhibit the pattern of scattered deletion in multi-word *wh* phrases that we saw in Bulgarian. In Russian, the entire complex *wh* phrase is above *ni*, as in (26), provided by T. Slobodchikov and N. Kondrashova. The modal element *by*, when present, cliticizes onto the *wh* word and thus immediately follows it.

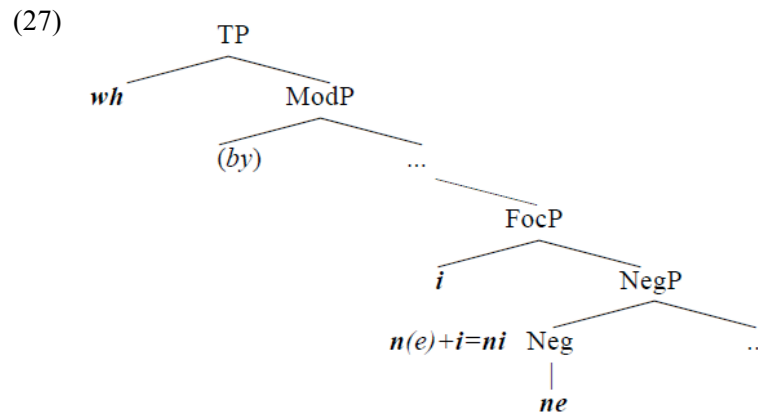
<sup>5</sup> An anonymous reviewer provides (i) as an example of constituent focus, noting that either *Petja* or *botinki* can be focused, although not both at once:

- (i) (I) Petja kupil (i) botinki  
*i* Petja bought *i* shoes  
 ‘(Even) Petja bought (even) shoes.’

- (26) a. Na kakoj **by** ženščine on **ni** ženilsja, ...  
 to which mod woman he *ni* married  
 ‘No matter which woman he married, ...’  
 b. Skol’ko **by** knig vy **ni** pročitali, ...  
 how-many mod books you *ni* read  
 ‘No matter how many books you read, ...’

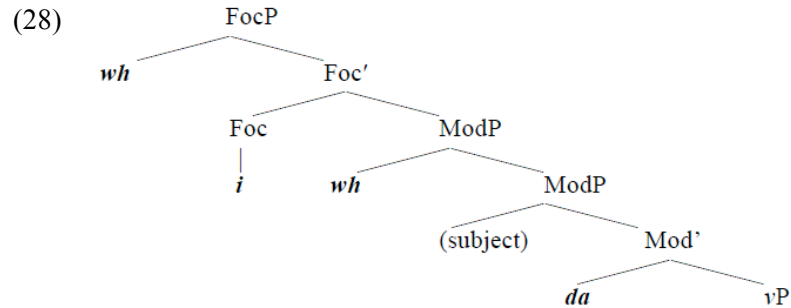
### 5 Putting it all together: what is where?

Russian UCCs have more or less the structure in (27). The irrealis element *n(e)* is merged as the head of NegP and raises to the Focus head, where it fuses with *i* (instantiating Focus semantics); *wh* raises past this.<sup>6</sup>

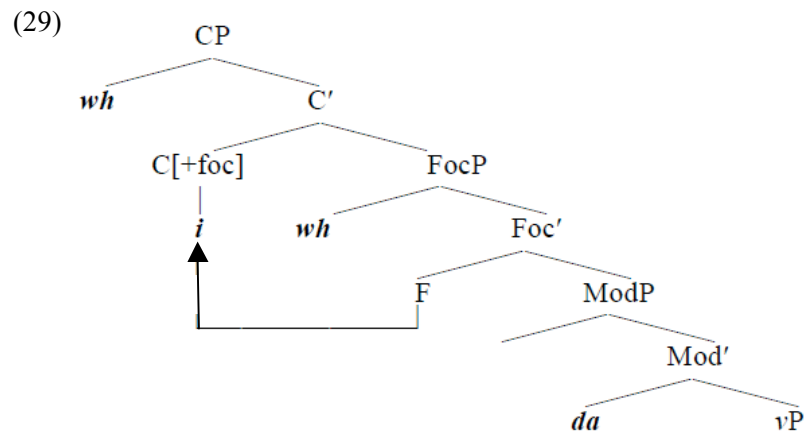


A possible structure for Bulgarian UCCs is sketched in (28), with *i* (instantiating Focus semantics) located in Foc, and *da* (instantiating hypothetical modality) in a Modality head. *Wh* phrase copies are in Spec of FocP and a position below Foc, represented here as adjoined to ModP.

<sup>6</sup> Following Stepanov (1998), we assume that *wh* phrases in Russian are adjoined to TP.



The exact identity of some projections in this tree can be debated. Another possibility is one considered by Franks (2006) for *li*, in which *wh* copies are in Spec of FocP and CP, with *i* also raising from Foc to C. This is shown in (29). This structure provides well-motivated Spec positions for two *wh* copies; see e.g. Bošković (2002) on types of *wh* movement. It is however less than clear why *i* would move to C.



Details obviously remain to be worked out, especially with respect to how to fit *-to* into the Bulgarian system. We leave this aside, in order to examine one more complication, what happens in multiple UCCs.

## 6 Multiple UCCs

Like other *wh* constructions in Slavic languages, UCCs can be multiple. (30) gives typical Bulgarian and Russian examples.<sup>7</sup>

- (30)a. Kakvoto kâdeto i da krijâ, vse go namirat.  
 what where *i da* hide always it find  
 ‘No matter what I hide where, they always find it.’ *Bulgarian*
- b. Kuda by kto by ni poexal, vezde odno i  
 where mod who mod *ni* went everywhere one and  
 to že.  
 same  
 ‘No matter who goes where, it’s always the same.’ *Russian*

### 6.1 Multiple UCC in Bulgarian

In Bulgarian multiple UCCs both *wh* words require the *-to* suffix, and *i* can occur once or multiple times, either at the end of the *wh* word string (31a) or following each *wh* word (31b).<sup>8</sup> The configuration in (31c), with *i* after only the first *wh* word, is judged marginal at best.

- (31)a. Kojto kakvoto i da vi pomoli, ne možete da otkazete.  
 who-to what-to *i da* you ask neg can da refuse  
 ‘No matter who asks you [to do] what, you can't refuse.’
- b. Kojto i kakvoto i da vi pomoli, ne možete da otkazete.
- c. ??Kojto i kakvoto da vi pomoli, ne možete da otkazete.

In multiple UCCs with larger *wh* phrases, *i* again follows either a *wh* word or the entire *wh* string. So in (32a–f) *i* occurs within either or both of the bracketed *wh* phrases and/or after the second *wh* phrase. What is

<sup>7</sup> Citko (2003) gives similar examples in Polish.

<sup>8</sup> Note that the configuration in (31b–c) is not simply a conjoined *wh*, since subject and object *wh* phrases cannot conjoin. Compare the ungrammatical attempt to do this in (i):

(i) \*Koj i kakvo vi pomoli?  
 who and what you asked  
 ‘\*Who and what asked you (to do)?’

impossible is for *i* to be between the two *wh* phrases, as in (32g–l), where it would have to be interpreted as the (underlined) conjunction ‘and’.<sup>9</sup>

- (32)a. [Kojto *i* student] [kojato *i* statija] da pročete, ...  
 which *i* student which *i* article da read  
 ‘No matter which student reads which article, ...’  
 b. [Kojto student] [kojato *i* statija] da pročete, ...  
 c. [Kojto student] [kojato statija] *i* da pročete, ...  
 d. ?[Kojto *i* student] [kojato statija] *i* da pročete, ...  
 e. ?[Kojto *i* student] [kojato *i* statija] *i* da pročete, ...  
 f. ?[Kojto student] [kojato statija] da pročete, ...  
 g. ??[Kojto student] *i* [kojato *i* statija] da pročete, ...  
 h. \*[Kojto *i* student] *i* [kojato *i* statija] da pročete, ...  
 i. \*[Kojto *i* student] *i* [kojato *i* statija] *i* da pročete, ...  
 j. \*[Kojto student] *i* [kojato statija] da pročete, ...  
 k. \*[Kojto student] *i* [kojato statija] *i* da pročete, ...  
 l. \*[Kojto *i* student] *i* [kojato statija] *i* da pročete, ...

The occurrence of *i* both within the *wh* phrase and after the entire *wh* string suggests that there are two sources of focus *i*: in addition to its clausal location as head of FocP, *i* has a second location within XP. If Bulgarian nominal phrases can have FocP above DP, a UCC such as (33) (= (20)/(22)) would have the structure in (34):

(33) [kakvoto *i* objasnenie] da izmisliš

(34) da izmisliš [<sub>FocP</sub> kakvoto ~~objasnenie~~ [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>XP[+wh, +foc]</sub> ~~kakvoto~~ objasnenie]]]]

Movement of *wh* to SpecFocP takes place within this nominal domain, and the structure which leads to “splitting” by scattered deletion (Section 4.1 above) is created before the *wh* phrase moves to the top of the clause. This allows for the various multiple options, when the entire *wh* phrase, including its own FocP layer, moves to the higher clausal FocP.

<sup>9</sup> Thanks to E. Dimova for providing her own and several other speakers’ judgments. The relative acceptability she found for (32f), with no *i* at all, may be due to processing error as hearers lose track of whether they have heard any *i*.



The concept of information-structure positions within nominal projections is not as far-fetched as it might seem, and in fact has been independently proposed in Bulgarian, as well as for instance in Chinese (Hsu 2013). Clitic doubling within Bulgarian DPs arguably indicates the presence of a Topic projection above DP, as in (35):

- (35) [TOP na brat mi [DP žena mu \_\_\_ ]]  
           of brother my wife his  
           ‘my brother’s wife’

There are problems to be worked out with this account, of course. One is why *i* cannot occur in both slots in single-*wh* UCCs: having each DP inside a FocP and another FocP at the top of the clause, as shown by multiply repeating *i*, is just slightly awkward in the multiple case (36a), but completely ungrammatical in the corresponding single case (36b):

- (36)a. ?[Kojto *i* student] [kojato *i* statija] *i* da pročete,...  
           which *i* student which *i* article *i* da read  
       b. \*[Kojto *i* student] *i* da pročete тази statija,...

Another problem is why *i* seldom occurs in all three possible positions, as in (36a), and is instead generally only in one or two of them. Also, multiple UCCs with simple one-word *wh* phrases never have three *is*:<sup>10</sup>

- (37) \*Kojto *i* kakvoto *i i* da vi pomoli, ...  
           who-*to i* what-*to i i da* you ask

Perhaps the FocP above DP is not always projected, or the Foc head is not always realized as *i*, especially in less complex constructions. A third problem is *-to* within the proposed DP-inside-FocP structure. It may not be possible to reconcile *-to*'s obligatory occurrence on all *wh* words in multiple UCCs in Bulgarian and *-što*'s impossibility in Macedonian UCCs with the analysis of *-to* as a C head in Rudin (2009); cf. fn. 3.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> This is presumably due to the impossibility of having two focus *is* in a row. The same is true incidentally of multiple occurrences of focus *li*.

<sup>11</sup> One alternative possibility we are pursuing in future work is that this difference relates to the pervasive availability of dative-like (possessive *and* argument) clitics in Bulgarian DPs versus their virtual absence in Macedonian. The general idea is that, adapting

### 6.2 Multiple UCC in Russian

Multiple UCCs in Russian also raise interesting issues involving which parts of the UCC are repeated. There can only be one instance of *ni*, presumably because the *ne* on which it is based is proclitic on the verb (and there is only one verb). But *by* can repeat, following each *wh* word:

- (38) Kto **by** kogda **by** s kem **by** ni prišēl (**by**), ...  
 who mod when mod with whom mod *ni* came mod  
 ‘No matter who arrived when with whom, ...’

The second *by* is optional, but apparently only if nothing intervenes between the two (or more) *wh*s; see (39b, d) with intervenor underlined:

- (39)a. Kuda **by** kto (**by**) ni poexal, ...  
 where mod who mod *ni* went  
 ‘No matter who went where, ...’  
 b. Kuda **by** na kanikuly kto ?\*(**by**) ni poexal, ...  
 where mod on vacation who mod *ni* went  
 ‘No matter who went where for vacation, ...’  
 c. Kto **by** čto (**by**) ni prinēs tebe, ...  
 who mod what mod *ni* brought you  
 ‘No matter who brings you what, ...’  
 d. Kto **by** tebe čto ?\*(**by**) ni prinēs, ...  
 who mod you what mod *ni* brought  
 ‘No matter who brings you what, ...’

As in other multiple *wh* constructions, the multiple *wh* words or phrases in a Russian UCC need not all front to the same position, do not appear to form a constituent, and do not obey Superiority. In Bulgarian, examples parallel to (39) are ungrammatical; no non-*wh* constituent can separate the two *wh*s (compare (39b) and (40b)), and the non-Superiority-respecting order in (39a, b) is impossible in (40c). Thus,

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suggestions in Embick and Noyer (2001: 572), the syntax produces a complex head in D containing [definiteness + agreement] features, which lower in the morphology to the next head down. The former are realized inflectionally, the latter are split off as a clitic. Since UCCs are [-agreement], this feature remains and the result in Bulgarian is invariant *-to*; Macedonian, on the other hand, lacks agreement features on D.

multiple fronting in UCCs is the same as in multiple questions and relatives, with well-known differences among languages in *wh* landing sites (see Rudin 1988 along with many later works). Essentially, Bulgarian has all *whs* fronted to some type of multiple Spec-CP structure, while Russian has multiple adjunction to TP or perhaps other projections. The fact that multiple *wh* fronting in UCCs has the same characteristics as in other *wh* constructions is an additional confirmation that UCCs have the internal structure of free relative clauses.

- (40)a. Kojto (i) kâdeto i da otide na otpusk, ...  
           who-*to* *i* where-*to* *i* *da* go on vacation  
           ‘No matter who goes where on vacation, ...’  
       b. \*Kojto (i) na otpusk kâdeto i da otide, ...  
       c. \*Kâdeto kojto i da otide, ...

The possibility of additional Focus projections in nominal expressions suggested in Section 6.1 is another area where Russian differs from Bulgarian: both Russian and Bulgarian clauses have positions for discourse information, but only Bulgarian has the option of Topic or Focus projections in the nominal domain. This is one manifestation of the overall generalization that Bulgarian nominals are bigger than Russian ones: not only do they have a DP layer, but they can have additional projections as well.

## 7 Conclusion

Russian and Bulgarian UCCs both have the internal structure of free relatives in the respective languages, and both make crucial use of the focus marker *i*. Many other particulars of the UCC construction differ between Russian and Bulgarian. These differences reflect a combination of morpho-lexical factors (the *-to* suffix on Bulgarian *wh* words; the fused negative word *ni* in Russian) and larger typological characteristics of the two languages, including whether nominal phrases have DP and higher functional layers, and whether *wh* fronting is movement to Spec-CP or adjunction at some lower level.

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