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A pilot study on the constructions with functional TAKE in Bulgarian

The verb TAKE is found in several constructions serving different purposes, cross-linguistically. Bulgarian features those “TAKE constructions” too, although the available literature is scarce and unsystematic (Wagner 1955; Coseriu 1966).

In this paper we aim at **filling a gap** in the literature by:

- (i) providing a consistent **empirical base** built on the data collected through our recent fieldwork and an online questionnaire;
- (ii) sketching a **syntactic analysis** of these constructions which, to the best of our knowledge, is not discussed elsewhere.

Following a distinction proposed for Romance (Giusti and Cardinaletti 2022) we divide the relevant constructions in Bulgarian in (i) two Multiple Agreement Constructions (MACs) which we label *da*MAC (1a) and *če*MAC (1b-b’) depending on the linker between V1 (TAKE) and V2, and (ii) one Pseudo-Coordination (PseCo) which we label *i*PseCo since it features the coordinator *i* ‘and’.

We created and administered an online **questionnaire** based on an acceptability judgment task to 157 Bulgarian native speakers within an age range of 18 to 77 (M = 43.55; SD = 13.89). The questionnaire contains (i) 39 items consisting of sentences that feature the constructions in (1) to be judged through a 5-point scale (1 = totally unacceptable, 5 = totally acceptable) and (ii) 3 items that provide the participants with a context and ask them which construction better describes the situation provided.

The percentage of (un)acceptability of these constructions (cf. Figures 1-2) is the mean of the sum of the judgments ranging 4-5 (indicating acceptability) separately from those ranging 1-3 (3 was included to obtain stronger claims of grammaticality).

The **preliminary results** indicate that:

- a) the constructions in (1) are attested and used in contemporary Bulgarian;
- b) the *če/da*MAC are strongly preferred when describing past events. The *i*PseCo is accepted both in the past and in the present, possibly filling a gap left by the Tense restriction on the two MACs (cf. Figure 1);
- c) from a semantic point of view the *da*MAC only encodes inchoativity, while the *če*MAC expresses different shades of mirativity (DeLancey 1997; Ross 2016), namely (i) the speaker’s surprise (1b), and (ii) the speaker’s disapproval (1b’). The *i*PseCo mainly has a mirative semantics (cf. Figure 2).

The *da/če*MAC pattern along with other monoclausal structures (i.e., not involving the projection of a CP layer selected by V1) attested in Bulgarian (Krapova and Cinque 2019) as they are characterized by anaphoric present Tense on V2 and impossibility of disjoint reference between V1 and V2. The *i*PseCo displays obligatory TAM feature and reference sharing between V1 and V2, in line with a monoclausal analysis.

The structural representation of these constructions is given in (2). In the MACs, V1 selects a defective complement with the connector being merged in a functional projection inside the embedded TP domain (Cinque 2006) triggering the relevant reading.

In line with Soto Gómez’s (2021) analysis of the Spanish *y*PseCo, we propose that in the *i*PseCo V1 is base generated in the Left Periphery and the features of V2 are transferred from T to V1 through C.

(500 words)

Examples:

- (1) a. Vze **da** piše. (**daMAC**)
take.PERF.AOR.3SG *da* write.IMP.F.PRS.3SG
'He started writing.'
- b. Vze **če** napisa. (**čeMAC**)
take.PERF.AOR.3SG *če* write.PERF.PRES.3SG
'He unexpectedly wrote.' [Kanchev (2010: 41-2)]
- b'. Boris vze **če** go udari.
Boris take.PERF.AOR.3SG *če* him.CL.ACC hit.PERF.PRS.3SG
'Boris went and hit him.' (context: Boris, known for his bad temper, was arguing with a friend of his). [from our questionnaire]
- c. ... vze maj **i** pātuvaj. (**iPseCo**)
take.IMP.F.IMPER.2SG and travel.IMP.F.IMPER.2SG
'... take and travel!' [SketchEngine, "Bulgarian Web 2012"; token 250037609]
- c'. ... vze majte **i** gledajte koj raboti tam na černo.
take.IMP.F.IMPER.2PL and look.IMP.F.IMPER.2PL who works there in black
'... look who is working under the table!' ["Bulgarian Web 2012"; token 408037284]
- (2) a. [TP vze [vP vze [TP da piše [vP piše]]]] (**daMAC**);
b. [TP vze [vP vze [TP če napisa [vP napisa]]]] (**čeMAC**);
c. [FocP vze mate [CP i [TP gledate [vP gledate]]]] (**iPseCo**).

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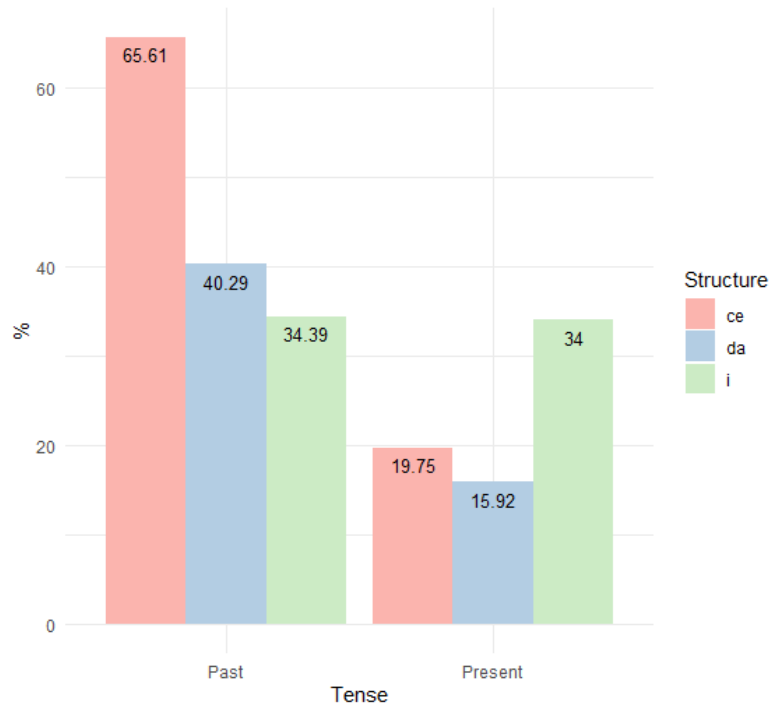


Figure 1. Acceptability of the three constructions in the past and present.

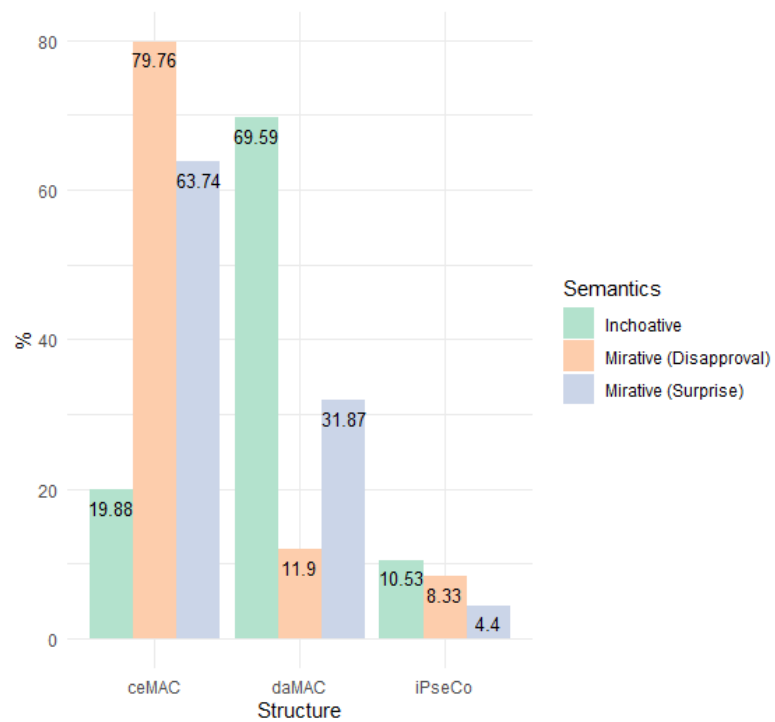


Figure 2. Acceptability of the three constructions with different semantics.