

# Competing verbal constructions with functional TAKE in Bulgarian

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## Abstract

This paper discusses the preliminary results of an online acceptability judgments questionnaire on some Bulgarian verbal periphrases featuring the functional verb *vzemam* 'take'. The study was conceived to fill a gap in the literature about functional TAKE in Bulgarian, which has been known in previous work since Sandfeld (1900) but is still rather scarce and unsystematic. Three TAKE+V2 constructions are identified: i) a Multiple Agreement Construction featuring the connector *da* (TAKE *da*MAC); ii) a MAC featuring *če* (TAKE *če*MAC); iii) Pseudo-Coordination (of the type TAKE + *i* 'and' + V2). The participants are 157 native speakers (112 F, 45 M) with an age range of 18-80 (M = 43.63; SD = 13.92). The results of the questionnaire confirm the presence and the productivity of these constructions with functional TAKE in present-day Bulgarian. Moreover, they show that these constructions all share a monoclausal structure, but with some structural differences: V1 in the TAKE MACs is mainly restricted to the past tense, and V2 only occurs in the present, while in the *i*PseCo V1 and V2 share TAM features and can appear both in the present and in the past. From a semantic point of view, TAKE *da*MAC specializes for inchoativity, while TAKE *če*MAC for mirativity. The *i*PseCo seems to be able to convey both meanings, but it is least preferred than the TAKE MACs.

# 1 Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The verb TAKE is found in a number of different periphrastic constructions where, as a functional verb, it can serve different purposes, cross-linguistically (see Ross 2017 for an overview). For example, it can appear in ‘Serial Verb Constructions’ (henceforth, SVCs; cf. Aikhenvald 2006, 2018), which are sequences of multiple verbs forming a single predicate with a monoclausal structure, generally without any marking of syntactic dependency such as coordination or subordination. In SVCs, which are found in West Africa (cf. (1a)), East Asia, Amazonia (cf. (1b)), Oceania, creoles and other languages, each component can occur on its own. The verbs involved share grammatical categories including tense, aspect, mood, modality, and also a prosodic contour.

- (1) a. **Mede** aburɔw migu msum.  
1SG.take corn 1SG.flow water-in  
‘I pour corn into water.’ [*Akan*; Aikhenvald (2006: 40)]
- b. Mawina-nuku wasã **wheta** wa-hnaã.  
pineapple.TOP let’s 1PL.take 1PL.eat  
‘Let’s take and eat the pineapple!’ [*Tariana*; adapted from Aikhenvald (2006: 183)]

TAKE in SVCs generally follows three grammaticalization paths (i.e. aspectual, valency-increasing, and pragmatic meaning), but it can also express other meanings. According to Lefebvre (1991: 55), this verb in SVCs implies causation because “the subject of the verb is an Agent performing an action which causes the Theme to undergo a change of location”.

In Polish, for example, *wziąć* ‘take’ can display both a perfective and an inchoative meaning (Andrason 2018: 607-9), but it can also grammaticalize to express pragmatic meanings. In all Finno-Baltic languages, it intensifies another verb (Pulkkinen 1966: 212–3). In Estonian (Tragel 2017: 177), for example, *võtma* ‘take’ (which is however not very frequent in SVCs) lacks a syntactic object and carries intentional meaning to the following V2.

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<sup>1</sup>We would like to thank Giuliana Giusti and Paweł Rutkowski for allowing us to start this research, Assia Assenova for helping us with the examples in Bulgarian, Iliyana Krapova, Mila Vulchanova and Valentin Vulchanov for discussing with us some syntactic properties of Bulgarian, and Daniel Ross for providing us with some relevant references. Many thanks go also to all the anonymous Bulgarian native speakers for taking part in the study. All errors remain our own.

SVCs can be considered as belonging to a macro-category referred to as ‘Multiple Agreement Constructions’ (henceforth, MACs; Giusti, Di Caro and Ross 2022), since the two verbs involved share TAM features. MACs is the term we will use to refer to the relevant Bulgarian constructions under analysis.

Another construction in which TAKE occurs as V1 is referred to as ‘Pseudo-Coordination’ (henceforth, PseCo), since it formally appears as a coordination but syntactically behaves as a monoclausal construction (Giusti, Di Caro and Ross 2022)<sup>2</sup>. PseCo is very common in the Germanic languages, where TAKE can appear together with other V1s such as GO, SIT, STAND and LIE. In these constructions in e.g. Swedish and Norwegian, TAKE can express an inchoative (cf. (2)) or a mirative meaning (cf. (3)).<sup>3</sup>

- (2) a. Han **tok**       og skrev       et dikt.  
      he take.PST and write.PST a poem  
      ‘He wrote a poem.’ [Norwegian; Lødrup (2002: 121)]
- b. Han **tog**       o läste       en bok.  
      he take.PST and read.PST a book  
      ‘He started reading a book.’ [Swedish; adapted from Wiklund (2007: 118)]
- (3) Hun **tok**       og kysset   ham.  
      she Take.PST and kiss.PST him  
      ‘She (suddenly) kissed him.’ [Norwegian; Lødrup (2017: 278)]

The Romance varieties also display instances of PseCo featuring TAKE as V1 (Coseriu, 1966). These have been the object of recent interest (see Masini et al. 2019; Giusti and Cardinaletti 2022 for Italian and some Southern Italo-Romance varieties; Soto Gómez 2021 for Spanish; Mendes and Ruda 2022 for Portuguese; and Bleotu 2022 for Romanian). Two different functions can be identified for TAKE in these constructions: it can either serve an inchoative (cf. (4)) or a mirative function conveying a sense of unexpectedness (cf. (5)). This seems to hold true cross-linguistically (as shown in (2) and (3) for Germanic).

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<sup>2</sup>It has been discussed in the literature whether PseCo can be considered as an instance of SVC. For references cf. e.g., Déchaine (1993); Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001); Manzini and Savoia (2005); Manzini, Lorusso and Savoia (2017); Cruschina (2013); Del Prete and Todaro (2020); Giusti, Di Caro and Ross (2022).

<sup>3</sup>For the mirative use of PseCo in Scandinavian see, *inter alia*, Wiklund (2008; 2009) and Josefsson (2014).

- (4) a. Los viernes después de entrenar siempre **cogemos** y  
 the Fridays after of train.INF always take.PRS.1PL and  
 pedimos chino.  
 order.PRS.1PL Chinese  
 ‘On Fridays, after training, we always take and order Chinese food.’  
 [Spanish; Soto Gómez (2021: 47)]
- b. Alle cinque ha **preso** e ha cominciato a piovere.  
 At-the five has taken and has started to rain.INF  
 ‘All of a sudden, it started raining at five.’ [Italian; adapted from Giusti  
 and Cardinaletti (2022: 48)]
- (5) a. **Tomó** y se fué.  
 take.PST.3SG and REFL go.PST.3SG  
 ‘He (took and) left!’ [Spanish; Coseriu (1966)]
- b. Ha **preso** ed è partita.  
 has taken and is left  
 ‘She (took and) left!’ [Italian; Giusti and Cardinaletti (2022: 47)]

In Bulgarian, functional TAKE is involved in a number of verbal periphrases that have been covered in the literature in a rather unsystematic way. Moreover, the available literature is not always up-to-date. The study we propose here aims at filling these gaps by discussing the results of a preliminary quantitative study based on an online acceptability judgments questionnaire administered to Bulgarian native speakers.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows: Section 2 provides an overview of all the MACs in Bulgarian and then focuses on those featuring V1 TAKE; Section 3 presents the study and describes the design of the online questionnaire; Section 4 discusses the data collected, draws the conclusions, and proposes some avenues for future research.<sup>4</sup>

## 2 The phenomenon: competing constructions in Bulgarian

Before turning to the constructions with functional TAKE in Bulgarian, let us have a brief overview of the main periphrastic constructions found in this Southern Balkan

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<sup>4</sup>Although this paper is the result of joint work by the two authors, for the sake of the Italian Academy Vincenzo Nicolò Di Caro is responsible for Sections 1 and 3, while Luca Molinari is responsible for Sections 2 and 4.

Slavic language.

## 2.1 The canonical *da*MACs

Being part of the Balkan *Sprachbund*, Bulgarian displays one of the typical traits of this linguistic group, namely the lack of the infinitive, which is taken over by subjunctive constructions with tensed verbs (Tomić 2006: 456). Interestingly, tensed V2s are also found in Southern Italo-Romance MACs (cf. Southern Calabrian (6a) and North-Eastern Sicilian (6b) featuring inflected V2s with the Italian infinitival counterparts in (6a') and (6b')), which share said *Sprachbund* feature because of some contact effects with Greek, although displaying the indicative instead of the subjunctive mood.<sup>5</sup>

- (6) a. Vuliti            u viniti            â        me casa?  
want.PRS.2PL u come.PRS.2PL at-the my house  
'Do you want to come to my place?' [Southern Calabrian; adapted from De Angelis (2017: 138)]
- a'. Volete            venire        a casa mia?  
want.PRS.2PL come.INF at house my  
'Do you want to come to my place?' [Italian]
- b. Ncuminciau    mi parra            accussì.  
start.PST.3SG mi speak.PRS.3SG so  
'He started to speak this way.' [North-Eastern Sicilian; adapted from Ganfi (2021: 10)]
- b'. Cominciò        a parlare        così.  
start.PST.3SG to speak.INF so  
'He started to speak this way.' [Italian]

The subjunctive constructions in Bulgarian are introduced by *da*, which is a polyvalent item in that it carries out several different functions.

*Da* serves as a grammatical particle for the formation of periphrastic tenses (cf. (7)). Moreover, it can be a modal particle with different shades of meaning:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup>For the 'unpopularity of the infinitive' in Southern Italo-Romance, see Rohlfs (1969: §717). See also Ledgeway (2013) for a discussion on the Greek interference exerted over Southern Italo-Romance varieties.

<sup>6</sup>Hansen, Letuchiy, & Błaszcyk (2016) (*apud* Nicolova 2008) treat *da*-forms as a particular mood with various *irrealis* uses and keep it separated from indicative mood forms.

(i) exhortation/request/order (cf. (8a)-(8b)), (ii) desirability (cf. (8c)), and (iii) conditionality (cf. (8d)) (the examples in (7)-(8) are transliterated in Latin script and adapted from Simov and Kolkovska (2004: ex.1ff.)).

- (7) Toj šteše / njama da dojde utre.  
 he will.PST.3SG will.NEG *da* come.PERF.PRS.3SG tomorrow  
 ‘He would have come / won’t come tomorrow.’
- (8) a. Ti da mālčiš!  
 you *da* shut-up.IMPF.PRS.2SG  
 ‘Shut up!’
- b. Da ne si posmjal!  
*da* NEG be.IMPF.PRS.2SG dare.PERF.PST.PRT.ACT.M.SG  
 ‘Don’t you dare!’
- c. Da bjax došla togava.  
*da* be.PST.1SG come.PERF.PST.PRT.ACT.F.SG back-then  
 ‘If only I had come back then.’
- d. Da znaex, bix mu se obadil.  
*da* know.IMPF.IMPERF.1SG would.1SG to-him REFL  
 call.PERF.PST.PRT.ACT.M.SG  
 ‘If I had known, I would have phoned him.’

As anticipated above, in MACs *da* is found between V1 and V2 as a connecting element, hence these constructions will be referred to as (canonical) *da*MACs. *Da*-clauses are found as complements of intentional verbs, which include (i) volitives such as *iskam* ‘want/wish’ (cf. (9a)), (ii) modals such as *umeja* ‘be able/can’ (cf. (9b)), (iii) causatives such as *zapoviadam* ‘order’ (cf. (9c)), (iv) inchoatives such as *započvam* ‘begin’ (cf. (9d)), and (v) intentional verbs such as *planiram* ‘plan’ (cf. (9e)).

- (9) a. Iskam da (mu) pročeta pismoto.  
 wish.IMPF.PRS.1SG *da* to-him read.PERF.PRS.1SG letter-the  
 ‘I want to read the letter (to him).’ [adapted from Tomić (2006: 460)]
- b. Ne umee da čete.  
 NEG can/be-able.3SG *da* read.IMPF.PRS.3SG  
 ‘(S)he cannot read.’ [adapted from Tomić (2006: 464)]

- c. Zapovjadax                    da dojdeš                    vednaga.  
 order.PERF.AOR.1SG da come.PERF.PRS.2SG immediately  
 ‘I gave an order that you should come immediately.’ [adapted from Tomić (2006: 465)]
- d. Započvam                    da piša.  
 start.IMPF.PRS.1SG da write.IMPF.PRS.1SG  
 ‘I am starting to write.’
- e. Ana planira                    da otide                    v Amsterdam.  
 Ana plan.IMPF.PRS.2SG da go.PERF.PRS.3SG in Amsterdam  
 ‘Ana is planning to go to Amsterdam.’ [adapted from Tomić (2006: 466)]

The *da*MACs do not all have the same properties. Krapova and Cinque (2018) classify the subjunctive constructions featuring *da* in three different categories: (i) non-restructuring infinitive-like constructions (cf. (10)), (ii) Romance type subjunctive constructions (cf. (11)), and (iii) restructuring infinitive-like constructions (cf. (12)).

- (10) Očakvam                    <ot vsički> da dojdāt / da                    sa  
 refuse.PERF.AOR.1SG to                    all *da*                    come.PERF.PRS.3PL *da*  
 pristignali do                    6 časa.  
 are.3PL arrive.PERF.PST.PRT.ACT.PL by 6 o'clock  
 ‘I expect that everybody comes/I expect that everybody has arrived by 6 o'clock’ [adapted from Krapova and Cinque (2018: 164)]
- (11) Včera                    očekvax                    [ti da si  
 yesterday expect.PERF.AOR.1SG you *da* are.2SG  
 rešil                    zadačite                    do utre], no  
 solve.PERF.PST.PRT.ACT.M.SG math-homeworks-the by tomorrow but  
 sega viždam,                    če šte ti                    trjabva                    cjala  
 now see.IMPF.PRES.1SG that will to-you need.IMPF.PRES.3SG whole  
 sedmitsa.  
 week  
 ‘Yesterday I expected that you would do your math homework by tomorrow but now I see that you will need an entire week.’ [adapted from Krapova and Cinque (2018: 166)]
- (12) Kosta znae /                    započva sega da  
 Kosta know/ start.IMPF.PRES.3SG now                    da                    drive.IMPF.PRES.3SG







- c. Ne čuvaš li, če se čuvstvam po  
 NEG understand.IMPF.PRS.2SG Q *če* REFL feel.IMPF.PRS.1SG in  
 sáštija način?  
 same-the way  
 ‘Don’t you understand that I feel in the same way?’ [adapted from  
 Hansen, Letuchiy and Błaszczyk (2016: ex. 131)]

- (19) Petär smiata, če Ivan šte kupi /  
 Petär think.IMPF.PRS.3SG *če* Ivan will-buy.PERF.3SG  
 šte kupuva / e kupil káštata.  
 will-buy.IMPF.3SG is buy.PERF.PST.PRT.ACT.M.SG house-the  
 ‘Peter thinks that Ivan will buy/will be buying / has bought the house.’  
 [adapted from Krapova (2021: 220)]

The verbs which can select a *če*-complement are divided by Krapova (2021: 220) in four main classes and summarized as follows: (i) propositional attitude/epistemic verbs (e.g., *mislja* ‘think’, *smjatam* ‘consider’), (ii) verbs of communication (such as *kazvam* ‘say’, *tvärdja* ‘claim’), (iii) verbs of intellection/cognitive predicates (e.g., *znam* ‘know’, *razbiram* ‘understand’), and (iv) emotive predicates (such as *sážaljavam* ‘regret’, *radvam se* ‘be glad’).

### 2.3 Constructions with functional TAKE

Structures with functional TAKE have been well documented for a great number of different languages (see Section 1). As for Bulgarian, however, the available literature is rather scarce and quite unsystematic. A few examples of structures with functional *vzemam* ‘take’ in Bulgarian are mentioned in Coseriu (1966) and Kanchev (2010). The latter author distinguishes two types of constructions with functional TAKE, giving the two examples reported here in (20).

- (20) a. Vze da piše.  
 take.PERF.AOR.3SG *da* write.IMPF.PRS.3SG  
 ‘He started writing.’ [adapted from Kanchev (2010: 41)]  
 b. Vze če napisa.  
 take.PERF.AOR.3SG *če* write.PERF.AOR.3SG  
 ‘He unexpectedly wrote.’ [adapted from Kanchev (2010: 42)]

Kanchev (2010) himself individuates a semantic difference between the two sentences, claiming that the construction in (20a) (which we will refer to as TAKE



of these verbal periphrases, allowing us to compare them both to the equivalent constructions in other languages and to the canonical MACs (see Section 2.1 and 2.2). More so, to the best of our knowledge, the instances of *iPseCo* we found in our web search have never been discussed in the literature, so they need to be brought to light. To start filling this gap in the literature, we designed a pilot quantitative study for the collection of a solid base of data about the three constructions just presented. This study is to be understood as the first piece of research of this effort to study the syntactic and semantic properties of the constructions with functional TAKE in Bulgarian.

### 3 The preliminary quantitative study

We checked the acceptability of the constructions described in Section 2 by means of an anonymous online questionnaire. In fact, it was not possible to control for all the available feature combinations regarding the two verbs involved in such a rich verbal system like that of Bulgarian, where verbal morphology encodes tense, mood, and aspect. Moreover, considered the exploratory nature of the study, we wanted the participants to be able to complete the questionnaire in no more than 15 minutes in order to prevent too many of them from abandoning the completion.

For this reason, we limited the V2s tested to the following verbs: GO (18 items), APOLOGIZE (9), LOOK (3), SPEND (3), STAY (3) and THROW (3). In one case, the V2 GO is followed by a third verb, i.e. BUY (3 items) (cf. (22)).

- (22) Kogato e gladna, vzema                    i                    otiva                    da si  
       when is hungry take.IMPF.PRS.3SG and go.IMPF.PRS.3SG *da* REFL  
       porăčva                    pica.  
       buy.IMPF.PRS.3SG pizza

The imperfective aspect of the constructions was tested in 26 items while the perfective one in 13 items. As for the persons of the paradigm, we focused on 1SG (12 items) and 3SG (15) and we limited the other persons to 3 items each. Finally, as for the tenses, we tested the distinction between present and past. As the latter comes in different types in Bulgarian (aorist, perfect, imperfect, anterior past etc.), we only focused on aorist. Present was tested in 24 items, while aorist in 15.

#### 3.1 The questionnaire

The selection of the relevant syntactic features for the questionnaire was preceded by some previous qualitative research based on interviews to Bulgarian native speakers,

which allowed us to rule out those feature combinations that were less likely to occur and thus less worth exploring. Then, we administered the questionnaire to 157 participants.

The questionnaire contains:

- (23) i 39 items consisting of sentences that feature TAKE *če*MAC, TAKE *da*MAC and *iPse*Co described in Section 2.3, to be judged through a 5-point scale (1 = totally unacceptable, 5 = totally acceptable);
- ii 3 items that provide the participants with a context and ask them which construction better describes the situation provided.

The average (un)acceptability of these constructions is expressed in terms of percentages (cf. Figures 2-4) obtained by summing the judgments ranging 4-5 (indicating acceptability) separately from those ranging 1-3 (indicating unacceptability). This sum was repeated for each sentence. The mean of all the resulting sums was calculated for each category of sentences (e.g., all the sentences displaying a TAKE *da*MAC in the present tense) to obtain an average (un)acceptability rate. Some examples of the items in the questionnaire (here transliterated in Latin script) presented above in (i) and (ii) are provided in (24) and (25), respectively:

- (24) a. Sega vzemaš                      če ì      se      izvinjavaš!  
now take.IMPF.PRS.2SG *če* to-her REFL apologize.IMPF.PRS.2SG  
Intended: ‘You’ve got to apologize to her now!’ (*če*MAC)
  - b. Sega vzemaš                      da ì      se      izvinjavaš!  
now take.IMPF.PRS.2SG *da* to-her REFL apologize.IMPF.PRS.2SG  
Intended: ‘You’ve got to go and apologize to her now!’ (*da*MAC)
  - c. Sega vzemaš                      ì ì      se  
now take.IMPF.PRS.2SG and to-her REFL  
izvinjavaš!  
apologize.IMPF.PRS.2SG  
Intended: ‘You’ve got to apologize to her now!’ (*iPse*Co)
- (25) *Včera Ivan beše v dobro nastroenie. Izvednáž započna da plače.*  
*Yesterday Ivan was in a good mood. Suddenly he started crying.*
- a. Ivan vze,                              če se      razplaka.  
Ivan take.PERF.AOR.3SG *če* REFL cry.PERF.AOR.3SG
  - b. Ivan vze                              da plače.  
Ivan take.PERF.AOR.3SG *da* cry.IMPF.PRS.3SG

- c. Ivan vze i se razplaka.  
 Ivan take.PERF.AOR.3SG and REFL cry.PERF.AOR.3SG  
 Intended: ‘Ivan went and cried.’

We can now have a look at a description of the sample and the data collected.

### 3.1.1 The sample

Figure 1 shows the distribution of the sample by age. In the sample, which is within an age range of 18 to 75 ( $M = 43.63$ ;  $SD = 13.92$ ), there is a greater concentration of participants aged between 30 and 60.

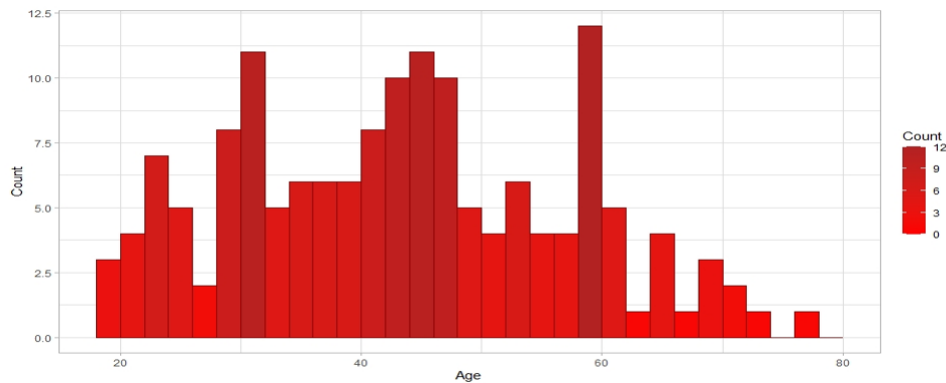


Figure 1: Distribution of the sample by age.

As regards the gender, the sample is unbalanced, with 112 female and only 45 male participants. Finally, as regards the provenance of the sample, 68 participants were from big cities (i.e., from cities with a population greater than 300,000, such as Sofia, Plovdiv and Varna), 37 from medium towns ( $50,000 < \text{pop.} < 300,000$ ), and 52 from small towns ( $\text{pop.} < 50,000$ ).

### 3.2 The data

The data were collected from August to November 2021. Table 1 shows, for each construction, the percentage of items that have been judged with a 4 or a 5 and have been thus considered as acceptable. Following this criterion, TAKE *da*MAC is the less acceptable construction, with only 24% of 4 or 5.

Construction	% of acceptability
<i>čeMAC</i>	35%
<i>daMAC</i>	24%
<i>iPseCo</i>	34.1%

Table 1: Percentage of acceptability for each construction.

As regards the tenses of the verbs involved, we considered only the present and the past indicative, as shown in Table 2.

Construction	Present	Past
<i>čeMAC</i>	19.7%	65.6%
<i>daMAC</i>	15.9%	40.3%
<i>iPseCo</i>	34%	34.4%

Table 2: Percentage of acceptability of the constructions according to the tense.

Figure 2 summarizes the results shown in Table 2.

As regards the action type, we divided the items between habitual and non-habitual, with the results shown in Table 3.

Construction	Habitual	Non-habitual
<i>čeMAC</i>	20.7%	49.4%
<i>daMAC</i>	16%	32.1%
<i>iPseCo</i>	36.8%	31.4%

Table 3: Percentage of acceptability of the constructions according to the action type.

Figure 3 summarizes the results shown in Table 3.

Finally, as regards the semantic specialization of the constructions, two types are identified: mirative and inchoative. We have further divided the mirative specialization into disapproval and surprise, with the results shown in Table 4.

Before turning in Section 4 to the discussion of the data collected, some considerations are in order. First, given the colloquial nature of the constructions presented above, the English rendition was not always easy to find (cf. e.g., (24)). Second,

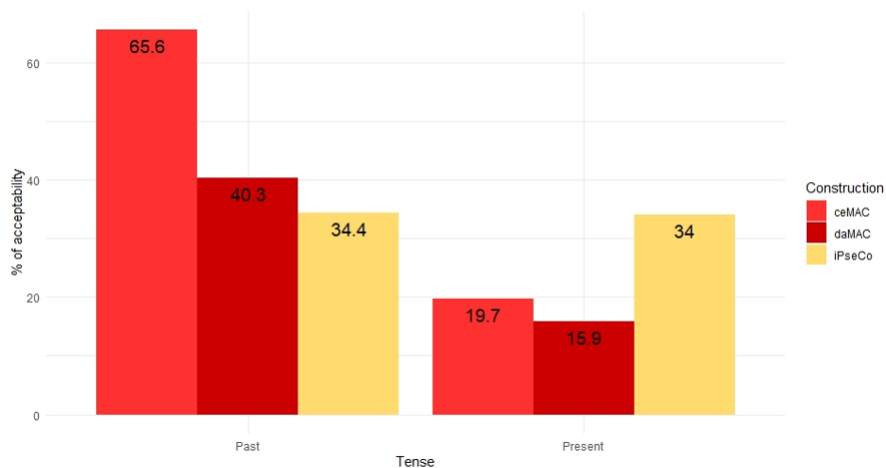


Figure 2: Percentage of acceptability of the constructions according to the tense.

Construction	Inchoative	Mirative (disapproval)	Mirative (surprise)
<i>čeMAC</i>	19.9%	79.8%	63.7%
<i>daMAC</i>	69.6%	11.9%	31.9%
<i>iPseCo</i>	10.5%	8.3%	4.4%

Table 4: Percentage of acceptability of the constructions according to the action type.

the relatively low percentages of overall acceptability of the three constructions (cf. Table 1) must be contextualized. Not only the informality of TAKE *čeMAC*, TAKE *daMAC* and *iPseCo* surely caused a lower rating of acceptability, but also some features tested in the items (e.g., V1 in the present tense) contributed to boost the percentage of unacceptability.

## 4 Discussion and conclusions

### 4.1 Syntactic properties

From a structural point of view, it is interesting to compare the properties of the constructions with functional TAKE with those of the canonical MACs found in Bulgarian (cf. Section 2.1 and 2.2). In this way we can highlight common and deviant features to start capturing the nature of the TAKE constructions and to lead



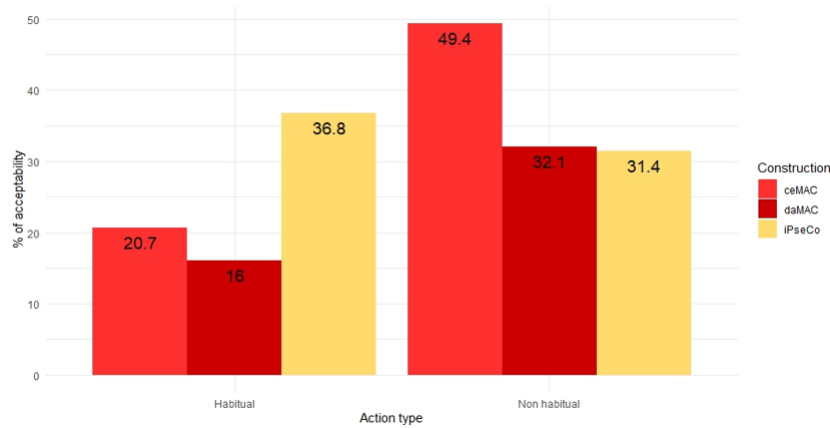


Figure 3: Percentage of (un)acceptability of the *iPseCo* in sentences with a present or a past verb.

to new insights that will suggest further questions for future research.

The relevant structural properties of the canonical MACs are given in Table 5.

The data we collected from the questionnaire (integrated with some exploratory fieldwork and some online research, which preceded the creation of the online survey) allow us to describe the TAKE *čeMAC*, TAKE *daMAC* and *iPseCo* in terms of the same features outlined in Table 5 to guarantee maximal comparability of the canonical and TAKE constructions. The structural features of the latter arising from the collected data (that will be discussed in more detail below) are summarized in Table 6.

The comparison between the constructions with functional TAKE and the canonical MACs makes it clear that the former share almost all the features with the canonical monoclausal *daMAC*, deviating from the pattern of the remaining two canonical MACs that are instead biclausal. We thus assume that the three constructions with functional TAKE we investigated have monoclausal nature.

Their monoclausality straightforwardly accounts for the impossibility of having two distinct subjects for V1 and V2, which is common to both the two TAKE MACs and the *iPseCo*. The other features shared are the person paradigm of V1, which is unrestricted, and its class, which instead seems restricted to the verb TAKE.

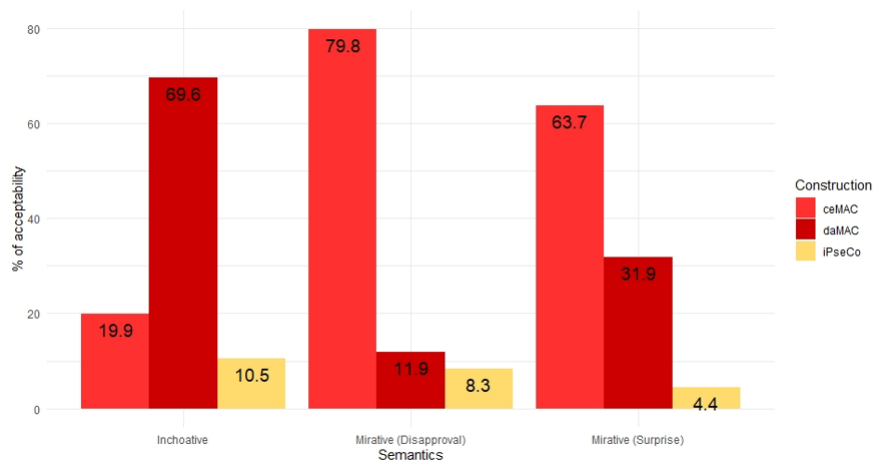


Figure 4: Overall percentage of choice of *iPseCo*, TAKE *daMAC* and TAKE *čeMAC* in the three relevant contexts

However, the three TAKE constructions slightly differ in some properties and distribution: the main differences concern the tense of V1 and TAM sharing between V1 and V2.

The two MACs display an overwhelming preference for a past V1 (cf. Figure 2), which points to the fact that these constructions are degraded if TAKE is used in the present tense. Even more restricted is the tense of V2, which can only appear in the present imperfective for TAKE *daMAC*, while it must share TAM features with V1 in the case of TAKE *čeMAC* and *iPseCo*. Note that, at least in TAKE *daMAC*, it is the V1 TAKE which provides the reference time for the whole event, the tense of V2 being just an anaphoric form selected by the functional V1.

The *iPseCo* seems instead to be freer in the tense selection of V1. Figure 2 shows that, despite being less accepted than the two TAKE MACs, the *iPseCo* displays a similar acceptability rate for the sentences both in the present and in the past. Moreover, many examples found in online corpora show that this construction is quite productive in the imperative as well (cf. (22c-d)), in line with what Di Caro (2019: 129) reports for Southern Italo-Romance MACs. These data are not sufficient to claim that the tense paradigm of the V1 in the *iPseCo* is *de facto* unrestricted, but they show that the *iPseCo* has a wider distribution than TAKE *čeMAC* and TAKE *daMAC* which (almost) exclusively appear in the past. Moreover, the obligatory TAM features between V1 and V2 of *iPseCo* is a feature that holds cross-linguistically for this kind of construction (cf. Section 1). The fact that TAKE

Features	Canonical <i>čeMAC</i>	Canonical bicl. <i>daMAC</i>	Canonical monocl. <i>daMAC</i>
Tense and Aspect of V1 and V2	Possibly disjoint	Possibly disjoint	Possibly disjoint
Reference of V1 and V2	Possibly disjoint	Possibly disjoint	Conjoint (only one subject)
Tense of V1	Not restricted	Not restricted	Not restricted
Person of V1	Not restricted	Not restricted	Not restricted
Tense of V2	Not restricted	Not restricted	Restricted (present imperfective)
Person of V2	Not restricted	Not restricted	Same person of V1
Class of V1	Restricted to some classes	Restricted to some classes	Restricted to some classes

Table 5: Summary of the structural features of the Bulgarian canonical MACs.

*čeMAC* also displays this feature casts some doubts about its nature and calls for further research.

## 4.2 Semantic properties

From a semantic point of view the three TAKE constructions behave differently with respect to both the compatibility with habitual actions and the meaning functional TAKE carries in the periphrasis itself. These properties also provide some insight for justifying some of the features discussed in the previous section.

Figure 3 presents the same asymmetry found in Figure 2, namely TAKE MACs behaving in a similar way and differing from the pattern of the *iPseCo*. TAKE *daMAC* and TAKE *čeMAC* (to an even greater extent) have a neat preference for non-habitual, single actions. This straightforwardly correlates with their predominant use in the past tense, given the aspect of the V1. In fact, single actions refer to the past, and they are generally expressed in Bulgarian via the perfective form of the aorist. Habitual actions instead require an imperfective verb. Crucially, the imperfective is the only aspect available in the present tense (as the action lacks a result, it cannot be said to be concluded at the speech time).

Features	<i>če</i> MAC	<i>iPseCo</i>	<i>da</i> MAC
Tense and Aspect of V1 and V2	Necessarily conjoint	Necessarily conjoint	Possibly disjoint
Reference of V1 and V2	Conjoint (only one subject)	Conjoint (only one subject)	Conjoint (only one subject)
Tense of V1	Restricted (past tense)	Possibly not restricted	Restricted (past tense)
Person of V1	Not restricted	Not restricted	Not restricted
Tense of V2	Same tense of V1	Same tense of V1	Restricted (present imperfective)
Person of V2	Same person of V1	Same person of V1	Same person of V1
Class of V1	Restricted to the verb TAKE	Restricted to the verb TAKE	Restricted to the verb TAKE

Table 6: Summary of the features of TAKE *če*MAC, TAKE *da*MAC and *iPseCo*.

The same reasoning applies to the *iPseCo* which, unsurprisingly, has a quite similar rate of acceptability with both habitual and non-habitual actions. This goes hand in hand with the occurrence of the *iPseCo* with both the past (perfective) and the present (imperfective).

As for the reading conveyed by functional TAKE, the two MACs operate a very clear division of labors, while the *iPseCo* seems to be broader in its use. The results of the semantic specialization are presented in Figure 4. TAKE *da*MAC has a clear inchoative meaning, indicating the starting point of an action. TAKE *če*MAC specializes instead for at least two shades of mirativity (following DeLancey 1997; Ross 2016), namely the speaker’s (i) surprise and (ii) disapproval for the content of the event. The restriction of TAKE *če*MAC to past sentences naturally follows from its semantics: the events it describes, namely unexpected (and often sudden) events which led to a perceivable result, necessarily need to be located in the past. Present (i.e., simultaneous to the speech act) events cannot denote completed actions whose result can trigger a surprise/disapproval reaction by the speaker.

As far as the *iPseCo* is concerned, the distinction is not that clear-cut. First, Figure 4 shows that this construction is least preferred than the TAKE MACs. The contexts investigated only inchoative and mirative semantics in the past, hence

the precise reason of its lower acceptability is still to be understood. Second, in the cases where it is accepted, the *iPseCo* seems to mainly express inchoativity (which would make it compatible also with the present tense) and mirativity with the disapproval connotation. At a first glance, the *iPseCo* can appear semantically redundant, since Bulgarian already has the TAKE MACs to convey the semantics of the *iPseCo*. However, it may be the case that the *iPseCo* makes these semantic nuances available with verbal tenses in which the TAKE MACs are disallowed.

### 4.3 Conclusions and further perspectives

Given the scarceness of data available in the literature about the relevant constructions, we decided to start investigating their properties collecting data submitting an online questionnaire to native speakers.

From our results we can conclude that TAKE *čeMAC*, TAKE *daMAC* and *iPseCo* are attested and used in contemporary Bulgarian, although the former two seem to be more productive, while the latter is not accepted by all speakers. As far as their structure is concerned, all of them pattern along with other monoclausal constructions; the two TAKE MACs are used to describe past events, while the *iPseCo* occurs both in the present and in the past with a similar rate. As for their semantics, the TAKE MACs are compatible with non-habitual actions, while the *iPseCo* can characterize habitual actions as well. Moreover, TAKE *daMAC* specializes for inchoativity, while TAKE *čeMAC* for mirativity. The data reveal that the *iPseCo* is mainly inchoative and mirative (with a disapproval flavor). The existence of the *iPseCo*, apparently redundant from a semantic point of view, may be justified by the fact that it makes the construction available with verbal tenses otherwise disallowed.

This piece of research raised some questions to be addressed for future research. First, the monoclausality of TAKE *čeMAC* raises the question about the status of the connector *če*, which is considered as a complementizer with full rights. In the case of this construction, instead, it could have a different nature, possibly having a role in the semantics or in the selection of V2. Second, we have to verify the existence of morphemic restrictions (i.e., whether there are any cells of the paradigm of V1 that are not allowed because of non-syntactic reasons). Third, the monoclausal status of these constructions could be further corroborated by investigating the role of the negation (namely, whether the two verbs can be negated separately). Fourth, we must verify whether V1 can project a full argument structure (e.g., take a direct object), as this would say much about its functional nature. Last but not least, the semantics of the *iPseCo* must be further investigated to understand what its exact

meaning is and whether this is dependent on the (imperfective vs. perfective) aspect of V1.

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