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FINITENESS AND THE SUBJUNCTIVE: THE CASE OF BULGARIAN *DA* CONSTRUCTIONS FROM A CONTRASTIVE PERSPECTIVE*

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ФИНИТНОСТ И МОДАЛНОСТ: БЪЛГАРСКИТЕ *ДА*-КОНСТРУКЦИИ В КОНТРАСТИВЕН ПЛАН

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Abstract. This paper explores the morphosyntactic properties of the so-called Balkan subjunctive constructions, with a focus on Bulgarian *da*-clauses. Building on typological and generative approaches to finiteness, the study argues for a three-way classification of *da*-complements depending on their syntactic structure and semantic interpretation: monoclausal (event-level), biclausal control (situation-level), and biclausal non-control (propositional-level) configurations. These structures correspond to different degrees of syntactic transparency and subject control, which reflect their position on an implicational hierarchy of clausehood. The paper draws parallels with Romance infinitives and subjunctives, as well as wth English *to*-infinitives, arguing that the Balkan-type “subjunctive” represents a compensatory strategy for encoding dependency relations in the absence of a productive infinitive form.

Keywords: Bulgarian, subjunctive, control, null pronoun, Tense, Balkan languages, Romance languages, English

Резюме: В статията се изследват морфосинтактичните свойства на т.нар. балкански подчинителни конструкции, като фокусът е върху българските изречения с *да*. Въз основа на типологични и генеративни подходи към финитността се предлага тройна класификация на *да*-комплементи в зависимост от тяхната синтактична структура и семантична интерпретация: моноклаузални (на равнище събитие), биклаузални с контрол (на равнище ситуация) и биклаузални без контрол (на равнище пропозиция). Тези типове отразяват различна степен на синтактична прозрачност и контрол върху подлога и се подреждат в импликационна йерархия на изреченската автономност. Предложени са паралели с инфинитивите и конюнктивните конструкции в романските езици, както и с инфинитивите в английски, като се изтъква, че балканският тип конюнктив представлява компенсаторна стратегия за изразяване на зависимост при липсата на инфинитив.

Ключови думи: български език, управление, контрол, нулево местоимение, категорията Време, балкански езици, романски езици, английски език

1. INTRODUCTION

The intricate interplay between grammatical finiteness and syntactic structure has long intrigued linguists, particularly as it pertains to how languages encode dependencies within embedded clauses. As is well-known, in the Balkan linguistic area, infinitives have been largely replaced by morphologically finite constructions (Asenova 2002), which however exhibit varying degrees of syntactic dependency. These Balkan "subjunctives", as they are usually referred to in the vast literature on the topic, challenge conventional notions of finiteness and provide fertile ground for investigating the relationship between tense, mood, and clausal integration. This paper explores the Bulgarian *да/da*-constructions from a comparative perspective, situating them within broader cross-linguistic debates on finiteness and clause structure embeddings. The research focuses on the relationship between morphological and syntactic finiteness, emphasizing the degree of syntactic dependency exhibited by the embedded constructions according to their varying structural and semantic properties. By analyzing Bulgarian *да/da*-constructions, the paper contributes to a better understanding of the long-standing issue of how languages without infinitives, such as Bulgarian, encode infinitival and/or subjunctive semantics, and at the same time offers some insights into the broader implications for theories of universal grammar, in particular the cartographic approach to language structure developed in Cinque (1999).

Based on cross-linguistic comparisons and broader typological patterns, it will be shown that three main types of *да/da*-constructions can be identified: (1) monoclausal configurations functioning as complex predicates or "hidden infinitives", (2) full clauses with controlled null subjects resembling obligatory control structures found in Romance and English, and (3) full clauses with null or overt subjects, which are similar in structure and interpretation to Romance subjunctive constructions. Through a detailed syntactic and semantic analysis, I will try to demonstrate how these constructions are selected by different types of predicates (aspectual, modal, manipulative or non-veridical such as „hope“ and “believe”) and how the syntactic and semantic roles of the modal marker *да/da* navigate distinctions among events and situations (Wurmbrand, Lohninger 2019), as opposed to propositions which can only be introduced by the complementizer *че* ‘that’. Additionally, the analysis highlights the role of temporal-aspectual properties and the semantics of the main predicate in shaping the level of dependency within subordinate clauses, culminating in an implicational hierarchy of embedded subjecthood: overt subject > controlled null subject > no subject. This hierarchy aligns with previous findings which suggest that “clausehood” (Grano 2015: 185) should not be treated as a single, uniform category. Instead, it can be understood as a continuum of dependency relations, varying from „minimal“ to „full“, the difference being that the former lack functional projections above the embedded verb (and are therefore fully integrated with the main verb expressing phasal status, modality, or achievement), while the latter contain a fully-fledged embedded structure and thus behave like a separate CP complement to the main verb. This differentiation aligns well with an influential proposal (Lohninger, Wurmbrand 2020) according to which clauses may come in different structural “sizes”, and reveal varying levels or degrees of “clausehood” as it is understood in the traditional sense, i.e., as a finite structure spelling out a predicational relation.

The so-called Balkan subjunctives, as represented in Bulgarian *да/da*-constructions, exhibit morphologically finite clauses that present long-standing challenges for the theoretical conceptualization of finiteness in relation to clause boundaries. In this paper, I will focus on complement clauses, as main clause subjunctives are arguably independent clauses with a well-defined subject-predicate structure. To delineate the role of *да/da*-constructions in broader typological patterns of embedding strategies, the paper seeks to provide an answer to the following research questions:

1. What is the relation between morphological and syntactic finiteness in the specific case of the Balkan subjunctive?
2. What do *да/da*-constructions reveal about syntactic integration in complementation?
3. What semantic and syntactic factors might be involved in determining the “size” of a complement?

The structure of the paper aligns with its theoretical and empirical focus. Following the introduction, Section 2 explores finiteness and embedding strategies cross-linguistically, establishing a conceptual and theoretical framework. Section 3 examines Bulgarian *да/da*- constructions, analyzing their morphosyntactic properties and ambiguous syntax in relation to positional relationships along the transparency/dependency continuum. Section 4 presents a model of complementation based on Wurmbrand, Lohninger's (2023) proposal that a universal Implicational Complementation Hierarchy (ICH) classifies complement types into three broad categories: propositions, situations, and events.

2. DEFINING FINITENESS IN NATURAL LANGUAGE

Finiteness, as a linguistic concept, has been well-known since Priscianus Caesariensis foundational work in Latin grammar *Institutiones Grammaticae*, which influenced medieval and later linguistic thought. According to the traditional grammatical framework, finite verbs express person and number, so if a sentence contains a finite verb (i.e., a verb form that marks person and number), the sentence itself is finite. Conversely, if the sentence contains a verb (i.e., a verb form) that does not express person and number, then the verb is non-finite. Non-finite verbs typically exhibit nominal or adjectival properties, meaning they often function as nouns (e.g., infinitives, gerunds) or adjectives (e.g., participles) within the sentence. The expression of finiteness, however, is far from uniform across languages. The morphological expression of finiteness ranges from markers for tense, aspect, person, to politeness, to illocutionary force, to special dependent forms, or even to nominal morphology on verbs (see Nikolaeva 2007). The shifting away from reliance on morphology alone led to considerable skepticism about the possibility of an exhaustive and consistent definition based on some common morphosyntactic criteria or a single clear-cut semantic function (Cristofaro 2005). As Ledgeway (2000: 187) summarizes, "although standardly recognized by linguists of many diverse theoretical persuasions, finiteness continues to figure among the most poorly understood concepts of linguistic theory". (for a discussion see the excellent introduction in Eide 2016, as well as Klein 2006).

Current typological frameworks seem to converge on identifying as a key factor the syntactic independence of a sentence (Maas 2004, Bisang 2007, Givón 1990) and viewing finiteness as a hierarchically gradient concept or a continuum where indicative forms exhibit the highest degree of independence, followed by subjunctive forms, which tend to exhibit fewer morphological distinctions relating to tense and agreement, and finally infinitives, which tend to be the least independent in that they exhibit tense restrictions and no person-number marking (Noonan 2007).[1]

[1] Syntactically independent sentences are those that can function as utterances with a specific illocutionary force (declarative, interrogative, imperative). This applies not only to main clauses but also to subordinate clauses with declarative, interrogative (indirect questions), and imperative illocutionary force.

2.1. Structural, semantic, and pragmatic properties of clausal finiteness

2.1.1. The category of Finiteness / TENSE in generative grammar

From the early days of generative grammar, the concept of finiteness shifted from being analyzed as a purely inflectional verbal category to a more abstract clausal property, occupying a specific syntactic position. Initially labeled as Aux and later as INFL (Chomsky 1981), finiteness came to be seen as the structural backbone of the clause. The syntactic domain defined by finiteness exhibits effects that distinguish finite from non-finite clauses. For instance, in (1.b.) and (2.b.), the finite complement clause introduced by *that* functions as a „barrier" to certain syntactic dependencies, such as binding between the anaphor *himself* and its antecedent (1.b.), or subject raising in a *seem*-type construction (2.b.). By contrast, in (1.a.) and (2.a.), where the complement is infinitival, these dependencies are successfully established, suggesting that infinitival clauses are more "transparent" for certain syntactic operations involving the subject.

1. a. *Mary expected herself to be the winner*.
   b. **Mary expected* [*that herself would be the winner*].
2. a. *Mary seems to be absent.*
   b. **Mary seems* [*that* t_{Mary} *is absent*].

Finite clauses, therefore, create an opaque syntactic environment – one that blocks certain syntactic operations from affecting the integrity of the subordinate clause. This principle was formally captured as early as 1973 in Chomsky's Tensed S-Condition:

3. Tensed S-condition: No rule can involve X, Y in the structure …X [α … Y …] where α is a tensed sentence. (Chomsky 1973: 238)

2.1.2. Functional content of TENSE (independent temporal reference)

Later developments in generative grammar shifted the focus from the purely syntactic properties of finiteness to the functional content of INFL as the backbone of the syntactic make-up (of the embedded clause) and, in particular, its relevance for establishing a finite domain. Chomsky's Tensed S Condition (1973) already implies a correlation between tense and finiteness, a connection that Enç (1991) later reinforces through her anchoring approach to the semantics of tense (see also Stowell 1982; Comrie 1976, 1985). Finite clauses typically instantiate independent or absolute tense, which is necessarily deictic: it is regulated by the speaker's NOW and the reference time, situating the described event relative to the utterance time: past (or aorist) tense presupposes a precedence relation of the event time with respect to utterance time (E,R_S) in Reichenbach's 1947 terms), while present tense presupposes that the event time coincides with the utterance time (S,R,E).[2] In contrast, non-finite tense – i.e., the absence of tense marking in infinitives or participial forms – is always relative. It does not independently anchor the event to the utterance time but instead depends entirely on the temporal interpretation imposed by the finite main verb, as in English *John wanted [to leave]* or Russian *Иван хотел [уйти]/Ivan hotel uyti*. Given that the morphological expression of tense is far from universal across languages, while TENSE[3] itself can be considered a universal (abstract) functional category in narrow syntax, the correlation between tense and finiteness also extends to person and number. In languages with infinitives, only forms that encode absolute tense carry overt markers for person and number. Considering this wide cross-linguistic generalization, the inflectional complex, which includes tense and agreement morphology (referred to as INFL in earlier generative theories), has been redefined as (the syntactic projection of) TENSE in the more recent Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995), understood as having two abstract realizations in a binary featural complex [±T(ense)]. These values, in turn, correlate with the morphological distinction in finiteness/non-finiteness on the verb. This line of reasoning can be successfully applied to the complex ways in which the Balkan languages render the distinction [±finiteness] despite having considerably reduced (Romanian) or eliminated the category of the infinitive (as Bulgarian, Modern Greek).

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[2] Balkan languages, including Bulgarian, do not have a Sequence of Tense (SOT) rule, unlike English or other languages with infinitives which exhibit classical SOT effects. As is well-known, in embedded finite clauses in English, the tense system can be either absolute or relative, depending on whether the embedded clause is interpreted relative to the utterance time (as in *John said that Mary is happy*) or relative to the matrix clause (as in *John said that Mary was happy*). The latter case illustrates SOT effects, where the past tense in the complement clause does not necessarily indicate pastness with respect to the time of speech but rather agreement with the tense of the matrix verb. Languages differ in whether their embedded clauses allow independent tense interpretation or whether they are subject to SOT constraints. So, for example, in *Иван каза, че Мария е бременна*/*Ivan kaza, če Marija e bremenna* 'Ivan said that Mary is pregnant', the time of Mary's pregnancy must be interpreted as overlapping with the utterance time and optionally as involving a precedence relation. Consequently, an embedded tense with a past time orientation (*Иван каза, че Мария беше бременна*/*Ivan kaza, če Marija beše bremenna* 'Ivan said that Mary was pregnant') indicates (temporal) pastness, i.e., tense marking is independent and is not the result of backshifting. The other Balkan languages seem to behave in a similar way, though the issue is in need of a thorough investigation.

[3] From now on, I will use capital letters to indicate the functional clausal projection of Tense, to distinguish it from morphological tensedness.

2.1.3. Referentially independent subject

The connection between finite TENSE and subjecthood is evident in the constraints on subject realization in non-finite clauses. Infinitives do not occur independently in main clauses. In complement clauses, embedded subjects are marked with a nominative case only if the TENSE projection bears the [+T] feature. In contrast, when TENSE is [-T], overt subjects are ruled out, leading to null subjecthood (marked as PRO) and obligatory control by the matrix subject (or, in some cases, the object). For instance, as observed by Baylin (2012), in Russian, only finite verbs can co-occur with a disjoint nominative subject (4.a.). In contrast, infinitives block the overt realization of a nominative subject (4.b.) and require a strictly coreferential null subject (4.c.) (Baylin 2012: 112):

4. a. *Я*$_i$ *хочу* *чтоб* [*Иван*$_j$ *играл* *на гитаре*].
I want.1SG that Ivan played.M.SG on guitar
'I want that Ivan played the guitar'

b. **Я*$_i$ *хочу* [*Иван*$_j$ *играть* *на гитаре*].
I want.1SG Ivan played.INF on guitar

c. *Я*$_i$ *хочу* [PRO$_i$ *играть на гитаре*]
I want.1SG play.INF on guitar
'I want to play the guitar'

The paradigm in (4.) can be replicated across languages with infinitival markers of some sort, demonstrating that (non-)finiteness plays a crucial role in the distribution of subject types based on their referential properties – overt subjects in finite clauses versus null subjects (PRO)[4] in control clauses, whose features are identical to and inherited from the main subject in non-finite contexts. This pattern is illustrated in (5.) with examples from English and Italian**.**

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[4] The key properties of the null subject labeled PRO in the generative tradition are the following:
(i) PRO appears in non-finite embedded clauses that lack tense and agreement, typically infinitives (e.g., *John promised PRO to leave*).
(ii) PRO must be phonologically empty and cannot be replaced by an overt pronoun. but has syntactic presence and referential content.
(iii) PRO's reference is determined by another argument in the sentence, usually the main subject (subject control), or the main object (object control).
(iv) PRO is different from movement traces, which are created by syntactic operations like raising.
(v) PRO typically allows only *sloppy* identity in ellipsis contexts (e.g., *Bill wants PRO to leave, and John does too* → John wants **John** to leave).

5. a. *John$_i$ wanted* [PRO$_i$ *to leave*].
   b. *Gianni$_i$ vorrebbe* [PRO$_i$ *uscire*].
   Gianni would-like leave.INF
   'Gianni would like to leave'

TENSE and subjecthood directly reflect "clausehood" or clause independence (Manzini, Roussou 2019), which translates into the ability of the clause to function as a full-fledged utterance, with the illocutionary force of an assertion, question, or command. While complement clauses can also be classified as declarative, interrogative (indirect questions), imperative, or optative, their illocutionary force is determined by the complex interplay between the main verb semantics (V_1) and the morphosyntactic properties of the embedded clause.

The structure of a clause can be analyzed as an interaction between three core domains: the pragmatic domain (CP), the finiteness domain (TP, Asp(ect)P), and the thematic domain (VP). Each of these domains contributes to different aspects of syntactic and semantic interpretation, reflecting a layered architecture of the clause, as indicated in the simplified representation in (Fig. 1.)[5]:

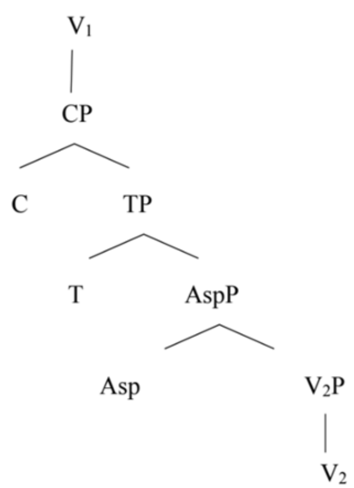

Figure 1.

[5] These three domains are hierarchically organized, but they interact dynamically in the derivation of sentence structure. Overall, this division of clause structure captures how syntax integrates grammatical features such as illocutionary force, finiteness, and argument realization into a cohesive whole. The thematic domain provides the lexical-semantic foundation of the clause by structuring verbal arguments. The finiteness domain mediates between the thematic and pragmatic levels, ensuring proper tense marking, agreement, and subject licensing. The pragmatic domain interprets the clause within discourse, marking subordination, sentence type, and information structure.

Wurmbrand (2014) argues that English infinitival complements come in three temporo-aspectual classes. Future infinitives are diagnosed based on their compatibility with time frame adverbials that are future-oriented with respect to the matrix reference time, as in (6.a., 6.b.) (cf. Stowell 1982). Simultaneous propositional infinitives are diagnosed based on their incompatibility with episodically interpreted, aspectually zero-marked event descriptions, as in (7.a., 7.b.). Finally, simultaneous non-propositional infinitives are diagnosed based on their incompatibility (signaled by the symbol #) with future-oriented time frame adverbials relating to the matrix reference time, as in (8.):

6. Future infinitives
a. (Today,) *John* ***wanted*** [PRO *to leave tomorrow*].
b. (Today,) *John* ***expected*** [*Bill to leave tomorrow*].
7. Simultaneous propositional infinitives
a. *John* ***claimed*** [PRO *to {be leaving/have left/#leave} at 3*].
b. *John* ***believed*** [*Bill to {be leaving/have left/#leave} at 3*].

8. Simultaneous nonpropositional infinitives
a. *John* ***tried*** [PRO *to leave (#tomorrow)*].
b. *John* ***managed*** [PRO *to leave (#tomorrow)*].
c. *John* ***began*** [PRO *to leave (#tomorrow)*].

The paradigm illustrates how the temporal and aspectual variability of English infinitives correlates with the availability of control in each structure. Future and propositional infinitives may have independent tense properties, as indicated by their compatibility with time adverbials that refer to a temporal point distinct from the matrix reference time. As a result, these infinitives allow both controlled and non-controlled (overt) subjects, unlike simultaneous non-propositional infinitives, whose tense is anaphoric and obligatorily non-past, correlating with the obligatory presence of a controlled subject. This structural heritage induces a strict requirement for a null subject.

For instance, subjunctive and infinitival clauses demonstrate how these domains interact:
● A finite subjunctive complement retains tense marking but is dependent on the matrix clause for interpretation, reflecting a connection between the CP and TP layers.
● An infinitival complement, lacking tense specification, depends entirely on the matrix clause's reference time (a property that some authors describe as "predetermined tense", cf. Cristofaro 2005), showing a reduced finiteness domain while maintaining argument structure in VP.

To summarize, the requirement for an explicit subject in finite clauses further underscores the role of syntactic context in identifying finiteness. By providing the syntactic framework that enables clauses to function autonomously, finiteness differentiates structurally self-sufficient complements from dependent ones (infinitives). This interdependence between morphology and syntax highlights how verbal inflection, combined with subject agreement, establishes the functional independence of finite embedded clauses.

3. THE BALKAN "SUBJUNCTIVE"[6]

In this section, I will demonstrate that the Balkan subjunctive, represented by a modal particle (*da, na, să, të*) in each Balkan language, covers a wide range of semantic (modal) uses and fulfils various syntactic functions either as a modal particle or as part of a larger complementation strategy. As I have argued elsewhere (Krapova 2001), there is no compelling reason to classify these particles as complementizers (see also Rudin 1986, 1992). It is well- known that unlike their indicative counterparts, Balkan "subjunctive" particles require strict adjacency to the verb, which can only be interrupted by pronominal clitics (*Надявам се той да ми го позволи* 'I hope he will allow me [to do] this') but not by a subject which must stand on the left of the particle (cf. *Надявам се, че той ще ми го позволи* 'I hope that he will allow me [to do] this').This property suggests that the particle does not occupy the Complementizer position in (5.). Following much previous work (Rivero 1994; Giannakidou 2009), I will assume the clause-internal position of *да/da* is that of the head of M(odal)P.[7] See (Fig. 2.):

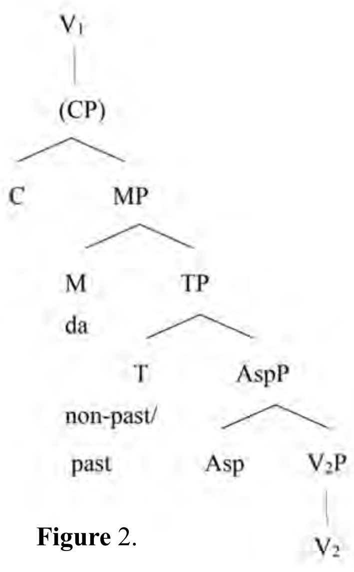

Figure 2.

[6] I enclose Balkan "subjunctive" in double quotes to signal that the term, while widespread in the literature, refers to a functional construction rather than a morphologically marked subjunctive mood.

[7] See Krapova, Cinque (2018) for a proposal that *да/da* does not occupy a single position given the (cartographic) approach of Cinque (1999) according to which the functional domain of the clause comprises numerous hierarchically organized projections pertaining to tense, modality, and aspect.

In (Fig. 2.), CP is parenthesized. Following Wurmbrand's reasoning, as well as Stowell's (1982) and Rizzi's (1997) proposals that not only the Inflectional (T) domain but also the C domain encodes structural information pertaining to Tense,[8] I will show that the temporal specification of the *da*+V complex correlates with the presence (or absence) of a CP, distinguishing between monoclausal (*да*/*da*-constructions) and biclausal structures (*da*-sentences). I will demonstrate that this structural distinction directly affects the referential properties of the embedded subject, determining whether it is overtly realized or remains null. Ultimately, this distinction aligns with the traditional classification of *да*/*da*-structures proposed in GSBKE (1994), where a terminological distinction is made between complex predicates with the particle *да/ da* (съставно глаголно сказуемо) and *да/da*-clauses.

3.1. Three types of Balkan "subjunctives" in Bulgarian

In this section, we pursue the idea that, compared to Romance languages, Balkan "subjunctives" correspond to three distinct constructions:

9. a. a restructuring, infinitive-like, construction (monoclausal);
b. a non-restructuring, biclausal control construction (infinitive-like);
c. a non-restructuring, biclausal non-control construction (subjunctive-like).

Both semantic and structural differences set them apart.

First, they differ in the nature of the first (higher) verb: only in the monoclausal configuration does the embedded verb fail to introduce an independent argument structure, instead sharing the argument structure of the main (higher) verb. Furthermore, the obligatory coreference between the embedded predicate's null subject and the matrix predicate's subject suggests that the entire sentence is associated with a single argument structure.

Second, the obligatory coreference between the embedded (morphologically non-past) tense and the matrix tense in monoclausal constructions suggests that the entire sentence is associated with a single tense specification. This leads to the

[8] Stowell (1982) proposed that the independent temporal properties of an embedded clause correlate with the presence of a CP, which mediates between the main and embedded clause and encodes structural information related to Tense. Rizzi (1997) further refined this idea, arguing that the CP domain is more articulated and includes a distinct projection, Fin(iteness), which interacts with elements inside the clause. For example, embedded declaratives are always finite/indicative and exhibit independent temporal properties; the indicative, being the mood of assertion, is associated with the complementizer *че/če*–as seen in predicates such as *смятам* 'think, consider', *вярвам* 'believe', *мисля* 'think', and *намирам* 'consider'. However, when combined with a modal particle, these predicates do not introduce assertions, as shown below. Thus, mood selection is determined by the interplay of C, T, and M.

expectation that, in the absence of an additional T projection above the embedded verb, the structure aligns with what Rizzi (1978) termed *clause integration* – a phenomenon later described not as the fusion of two independent clauses but as a fundamentally monoclausal structure at merge.

In the remaining cases, we are dealing with a biclausal configuration, where both verbs introduce their own argument structure, and the respective main vs. embedded tense specifications may be either independent or partially dependent on each other. While it is clear that both (9.b.) and (9.c.) correspond to biclausal structures, they differ with respect to control of the embedded subject: only (9.b.) represents a pure control configuration, whereas (9.c.) resembles Romance subjunctives, which – unlike Romance infinitives – do not involve control but are characterized by a subject obviation effect that constitutes the hallmark of these constructions (see below). This obviation condition is entirely absent in the Bulgarian structures corresponding to (9.c.), and accordingly, the embedded subject can be realized in two ways: either as a null element with obligatory coreference, or as an overt DP with optional coreference (see Class 2 subjunctives below). In a nutshell, the main challenge lies in distinguishing between (9.b.) and (9.c.). We now turn to a more detailed discussion of these two types of *да/da*-constructions, guided by the key categorial distinction between monoclausality and biclausality proposed by Grano (2015: 185), which correlates clausehood with argument structure and tense independence.[9]

10. a. One argument structure ⇔ One tense ⇔ One clause
    b. Two argument structures ⇔ Two tenses ⇔ Two clauses

3.1.1.INDEPENDENT TENSE. Class 1 "Subjunctives"

We begin with biclausal configurations in which the *да/da*-construction is selected by a class of epistemic predicates. This class includes verbs such as *надявам се да* 'hope to', *вярвам да* 'believe to', *мечтая (си) да* 'dream', which have been categorized in various ways in the literature – e.g., as propositional attitude verbs, propositional attitude reports, high emotives (Givón 1980), or double modality predicates (Giannakidou 1999; Smirnova 2012). For a detailed discussion, see Krapova, Sočanac, and Wiemer (2021).

Without delving into semantic issues, a key property of this class concerns the temporal interpretation of the complement clause. Unlike their English equivalents

[9] An anonymous reviewer raises the question of how to accommodate main clause subjunctives within the present theoretical framework. In my view, such constructions can be naturally integrated via the typology of insubordination. As defined by Evans (2007), insubordination refers to the conventionalized use of morphosyntactically subordinate constructions in main clause contexts, i.e. in the absence of an overt superordinate clause. These structures retain subordinate syntax but function independently in discourse.

(see (7.) above), the embedded verb is not required to have a simultaneous interpretation. Instead, it may:

● Bear present perfect morphology, yielding an anterior (realis) interpretation.

● Bear non-past morphology, allowing for either a simultaneous or a posterior (irrealis) interpretation (Penchev 1998; Krapova 2001, 2018).

Another crucial property is the flexibility of the embedded aspect: any combination of tense and aspect is possible. As a result, temporal adverbs specifying an interval distinct from but relative to the reference time of the main clause are fully grammatical, indicating that embedded tense is relatively independent. See the examples in (11) exhibiting various combinations of temporal modifiers and morphological tense markers:

11. a. *Надявам се да пиша / да напиша / да съм писал / да съм написал нещо интересно за читателите*

hope.1SG REFL PRT write.1SG / PRT write.PFV.1SG / PRT AUX.1SG write.PTCP / PRT AUX.1SG write.PFV.PTCP something interesting for readers.DEF

'I hope to write / to have written / to have been writing / to have written something interesting for the readers'

b. *Надявам се да ме чака сега / точно в този момент*

hope.1SG REFL PRT 1SG.ACC wait.3SG now / exactly in this moment

'I hope that he/she is waiting for me now / at this very moment'

c. *Надявам се да пристигне навреме*

hope.1SG REFL PRT arrive.PFV.3SG on.time

'I hope he/she will be arriving on time'

d. *Молех се да беше чула предупреждението ми*

pray.IPFV.PST.1SG REFL PRT AUX.PST.3SG hear.PFV.PTCP warning. DEF1SG.POSS

'I prayed that she had heard my warning'

e. *Мечтаеше да беше забравила кошмара от онази нощ*

dream.IPFV.PST.3SG PRT AUX.PST.3SG forget.PFV.PTCP nightmare.DEF from that night

'She was dreaming that she had forgotten the nightmare from that night'

A second property of this class of predicates is that the embedded subject is not controlled by the main clause subject and can, in fact, be entirely referentially independent. This recalls, to some extent, morphological subjunctives in Romance languages, which tend to appear with the same class of predicates (e.g., It. *credo* 'believe', *spero* 'hope', *mi aspetto* 'expect', etc.). However, unlike Romance languages—where embedded subjects in subjunctive clauses must be referentially distinct from the matrix subject (a phenomenon known as obviation), since otherwise an infinitive would be used for strict co-reference (see (12.a.) vs. (12.b.) – Bulgarian Class 1 subjunctives do not impose such restrictions on embedded subject reference. Moreover, while there is a contextual preference for a null subject, an overt subject remains possible, and in such cases, it can either refer to or co-refer with the matrix subject without necessarily enforcing disjoint reference (13.a., 13.b.):

12. a. *Spero che tu/lui/*io capsica il problema.*
hope.1SG that you/he/I understand.SUBJ DET DET problem
'I hope that you/he understand(s) the problem'
b. *Spero di capire il problema.*
hope.1SG to understand.INF DET problem
'I hope to understand the problem'

13. a. *Надявам се* [*ти да можеш /той да може/аз да мога да предам статията си до края на седмицата*].
hope.1SG REFL [you.SG PRT can.2SG / he PRT can.3SG / I PRT can.1SG PRT submit.1SG article.DEF REFL.POSS until end.DEF of week.DEF]
'I hope [you can / he can / I can submit my article by the end of the week]'
b. *Надявам се* [pro *да са предали статиите си до края на тази седмица*].
hope.1SG REFL [pro PRT AUX.3PL submit.PFV.PTCP articles.DEF.PL REFL.POSS until end.DEF of this week]
'I hope [they have submitted their articles by the end of this week]'

Different analyses can account for the type of null subject in (13.b.). One approach, developed by Grano (2015: 178 – 179) for Modern Greek – following earlier treatments (Spyropoulos 2008; Kapetangianni, Seely 2008; Roussou 2010) – can be extended to Bulgarian, suggesting that this subject behaves similarly to a small (non-controlled) *pro*, given the following properties:

(a) **Anaphoric or deictic interpretation**, yielding the ambiguity in (14.):
14. Иван$_i$ се надява pro$_{i/j}$ да замине.
(where i = Иван, j = salient deictic individual).
Ivan REFL hope.3SG PRT leave.3SG
'Ivan hopes he or someone else to leave'

(b) **Ability to take a split antecedent**, as in (17.):
15. Иван$_i$ се надява [pro$_{i+j}$ да заминем заедно$_{i+j}$].
(where i+j = Иван и аз or ние с него).
Ivan REFL hope.3SG PRT leave.1SG together
'Ivan hopes for us to leave together'

(c) **Strict and sloppy identity (bound variable) readings** in elliptical contexts, as in (16.):

16. *Надявам се да замина, Иван също.*
hope.1SG REFL PRT leave.1SG. Ivan too.
a. И Иван се надява аз да замина (strict reading).
and Ivan REFL hope.3SG I PRT leave.1SG.
'Ivan hopes too that I will leave'
b. Иван се надява (Иван) да замине (sloppy reading).
Ivan REFL hope.3SG (Ivan) to leave.3SG
'Ivan hopes too that he will leave'

Krapova, Cinque (2018) argue that Bulgarian Class 1 subjunctives are structurally ambiguous, oscillating between:

1. A Romance-type subjunctive with an overt and referentially disjoint subject.
2. A controlled structure with a strictly anaphoric null subject (PRO).

Their argument is based on the observation that overt instantiation of both the main and embedded clause subjects excludes a coreferential relationship between them, or at least renders coreference somewhat degraded (17.a., 17.b.). This line of reasoning leads to the conclusion that, with intensional predicates such as *hope*, *believe*, etc., the unrealized embedded subject must be strictly controlled, making PRO the only available option (see fn. 4 for clarification):

17.a. *Аз$_i$ се надявам* [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$??аз$_i$/PRO$_i$ *да замина*]].
I REFL hope.1SG I /PRO PRT leave.1SG
b. *Петър$_i$ се надява* [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$?той$_j$ /PRO$_i$ *да замине*]].
Peter REFL hope.3SG he / PRO to leave.3SG

Note that the examples in (17.) become fully acceptable if the overt embedded subject receives a focus interpretation, triggered by the focalizing adverb *only*. This suggests that the preference for omitting the subject may stem from the null subject property of Bulgarian or from pragmatic considerations related to the specific application of Chomsky's (1981) *Avoid Pronouns Principle* in Bulgarian, which disfavors overt pronouns in the first and second person but is more permissive with third-person pronouns.

18.a. *Аз се надявам (само) АЗ да пътувам*
I REFL hpe.1SG (only) I PRT travel.1SG
'I hope that only I will be travelling/I hope to be the only one travelling'
b. *Петър се надява (само) ТОЙ да пътува*
Peter REFL hope.3SG only he PRT travel.3SG
'Peter hopes that only he will be travelling/Peter hopes to be the only one travelling'

Apart from demonstrating that the embedded subject position need not be phonologically empty, (18.) also shows that this position need not be filled by a

Romance-type obviation subject as also mentioned above. Furthermore, when the subject is left unexpressed, it need not be strictly controlled (i.e., PRO), since in that case the strict reading in (16.a.) would be unexpected: PRO is known cross-linguistically to favor a sloppy interpretation, as in *Bill expects to leave, and so does John* (i.e., *John expects PRO = himself to leave*).

This suggests that subject alternation in terms of phonetic (non-)realization is not entirely free, and that other factors – such as pragmatic interpretation and the semantics of the selecting predicates (e.g., *hope* vs. *imagine*) – may play a role, warranting further investigation.

At a theoretical level, Bulgarian provides important insights into the similarities between *pro* and PRO, which according to Landau (2000, 2004) need not always refer to a fixed antecedent in the matrix clause, and can also refer to arbitrary or generic agents (so-called "non-obligatorily controlled" PRO), although the exact conditions distinguishing these two types of null subject remain to be fully understood. In the absence of a more refined theoretical distinction, and given the consistent availability of overt subjects as well as the typological profile of Bulgarian as a null subject language, it is reasonable to assume that the embedded subject in such cases is more likely *pro* than PRO. This assumption is further supported by the absence of obligatory control effects and by patterns consistent with discourse-driven subject omission, rather than syntactic control. The updated tree diagram for this class of verbs is given in (Fig. 3.)

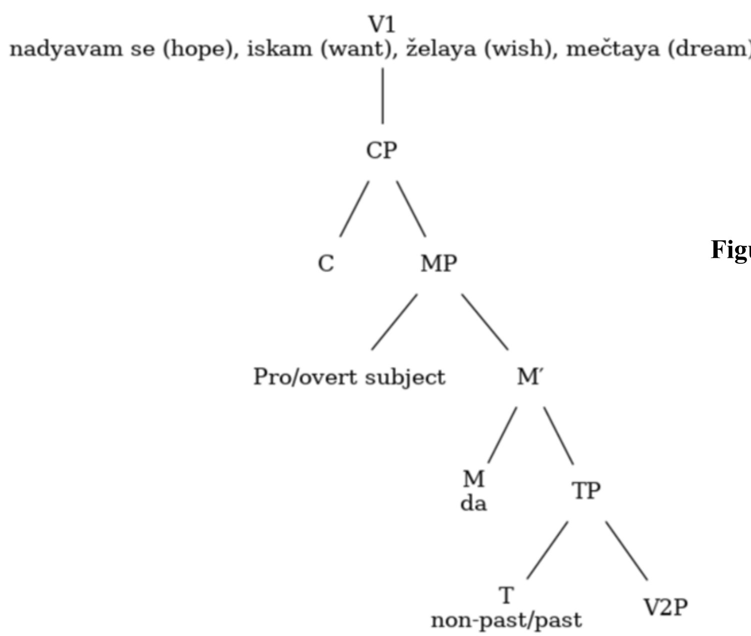

Figure 3.

Another outstanding property of Class 1 “subjunctives” is **mood alternation.** See the examples in (19.):

19. a. *Шефът се надява Мария да отхвърли предложението*.
boss-DEF REFL hope.3SG.PRS Maria PRT reject.3SG.PRS.PFV proposal-DEF ‘The boss hopes that Maria will reject the proposal.’

b. *Шефът се надява, че Мария ще отхвърли предложението*.
boss-DEF REFL hope.3SG.PRS COMP Maria FUT reject.3SG.PFV proposal-DEF ‘The boss hopes that Maria will reject the proposal.’

While both sentences es express the boss’s hope regarding Maria’s future action, they differ in the syntactic form the embedded clause and the epistemic stance conveyed. In (19.a.), the use of the *да/da*-clause with the Balkan “subjunctive” encodes a more non-assertive, irrealis, stance corresponding to indirect uncertainty: the event (Maria rejecting the proposal) is not presupposed as true or even necessarily likely – it merely reflects the boss’s wish or attitude toward a possible future state of affairs. In contrast, (19.b.), with the indicative complementizer *че/če* ‘that’ and the auxiliary *ще* ‘will’, introduces an embedded clause that behaves more like an assertive proposition: the boss considers Maria’s rejection more likely, or even expected. In this case, the complement clause has a completely free temporal reference and can bear a truth value.

Mood selection with propositional attitude predicates has been argued by Giannakidou (1998, 2009: 1887) to be linked to the different truth conditions of the indicative and the subjunctive: the indicative always corresponds to a proposition with a truth value (true or false), while the subjunctive lacks a truth value and thus does not denote a proposition. Giannakidou (1998, 2009: 1887) proposes that the subjunctive is **non-veridical**, meaning that it creates a semantic space where the set of worlds compatible with the individual’s knowledge is partitioned into *p*-worlds and *non-p*-worlds. According to her, this is a fundamental cross-linguistic property of the subjunctive.

A potential problem with this analysis is that propositional attitude verbs would count as non-veridical in Romance languages—where they necessarily select a morphological (i.e., a “true”) subjunctive – but would be ambiguous in Balkan languages, where they alternate between a Balkan-type “subjunctive” and an indicative, depending on the type of complement.

Smirnova (2012) argues that the criterion underlying mood choice is not veridicality but rather **epistemic commitment** to the truth of a proposition. Weaker epistemic states correlate with reduced confidence or a lower degree of belief in the actual truth of the proposition.

To account for differences in epistemic commitment, Giannakidou, Mari (2016) propose that veridicality (and epistemic commitment) is always relativized to an epistemic agent – the individual asserting the sentence. Both the speaker and the main clause subject can function as epistemic agents, leading to different degrees of commitment depending on the semantics of the matrix verb (e.g., *hope* vs. *believe*, the latter involving a knowledge component, at least in Hintikka's tradition of interpreting belief as based on knowledge). Both Giannakidou and Smirnova seem to agree that while the indicative signals strong epistemic commitment (*all worlds are p-worlds* – the proposition is true in all worlds), the subjunctive renders the complement clause epistemically weaker (*partitioned between p-worlds and non-p-worlds*). Mood alternation is signaled by the modal marker itself, which semantically contributes to the expression of a (subjectively) non-veridical epistemic state.

As a case in point, consider the contrast in co-occurrence of the two moods with modals (such as *may* or *must*) or adverbs like *вероятно/veroyatno* 'probably' and *може би/može bi* 'maybe', whose function as epistemic weakeners is well-known. The paradigm in (20.) unsurprisingly confirms that only the *da*-"subjunctive" is incompatible with such weakeners, and this is exactly what happens in languages with true subjunctives like Italian (21.):

20. a. *Вярвам *вероятно/*може би да получи достъп до програмата.*
believe.1SG *probably/*maybe PRT get.3SG access to program.DEF
'I believe he will get access to the program'
b. *Вярвам, че вероятно/може би ще получи достъп до програмата.*
believe.1SG that probably/maybe will get.3SG access to program.DEF
'I believe that he will get access to the program'

21. *Credo che *probabilmente/??forse venga a cena stasera* (Italian)
believe-1SG that probably/maybe comes.SUBJ.3SG to dinner tonight

It is worth noting that other South Slavic (Serbian, Croatian) and Balkan languages exhibit the same mood alternation, with *че*-equivalents (*da1, că, ότι, që,* etc.) used for assertive complements and *да*-equivalents (*da2*, *să, να,* etc.) used for (Romance-type) subjunctive complements, even though the exact categorization of which propositional attitude predicates belong to this class in which language remains a matter of empirical description. Moreover, possibility modals (*probably, maybe, possibly*) are incompatible with the subjunctive across these languages, just like in Bulgarian. Here are two examples from Greek (22., 23.) and Romanian (24., 25.), replicating the pattern in (20.) and (21.) respectively:

22. a. *To afentikó elpízei i María* ***na*** *aporrípsei tin prótasi.* (Greek - *oti* 'that' vs. *na* 'da')
DEF boss hope.3SG DEF Maria PRT reject.3SG DEF proposal
'The boss hopes (for) Maria to reject the proposal.'

b. *To afentikó elpízei* **óti** *i María tha aporrípsei tin rótasi*.
DEF boss hope.3SG that DEF Maria FUT reject.3SG DEF proposal
'The boss hopes that Maria will reject the proposal.'

23. a. *Pistévo *mállon/ísos* **na** *écho prósvasi sto prógramma*.
believe.1SG maybe/perhaps PRT have.1SG access to.DEF program
'I believe **maybe/perhaps* to have access to the program.'
b.Pistévo **óti** mállon/ísos tha écho prósvasi sto prógramma
believe.1SG that maybe/perhaps FUT have.1SG access to.DEF program
'I believe that probably/maybe) I will have access to the program.'

24. a. *Șeful speră* **ca** *Maria* **să** *respingă propunerea*. (Romanian – *că* 'that' vs. *să* 'da')
boss.DEF hope3SG that Maria PRT reject.3SG proposal.DEF
'The boss hopes that Maria reject the proposal.'
b. *Șeful speră* **că** *Maria va respinge propunerea*
boss.DEF hope3SG that Maria will reject.3SG proposal.DEF
'The boss hopes that Maria will reject the proposal'.

25. a. *Cred *probabil/poate* **să** *am acces la program*.
Believe.1SG *probably / maybe PRT have.1SG access to program.DEF
'I believe (*probably/maybe) to have access to the program.'
b. *Cred* **că** *probabil/poate voi avea acces la program.*
believe.1SG that probably / maybe will have.1SG access to the program
'I believe that I will probably/maybe have access to the program.

To summarize, mood alternation between the Balkan "subjunctive" and the indicative reflects differences in epistemic commitment. The subjunctive is used when the truth of the proposition is not asserted or is less certain, while the indicative conveys stronger speaker commitment to the truth of the proposition. This is further supported by the behavior of epistemic adverbs like *probably* or *maybe*, which are compatible with the indicative but generally not with the subjunctive—indicating that subjunctive complements are epistemically weaker.

The above data support the view that the CP domain is not a single, undifferentiated projection (cf. Figure 3.), but rather a fine-grained structure containing multiple projections above and around C, which encode distinctions related to epistemic stance, commitment, and the speaker–addressee roles in communication. This aligns with proposals that treat the left periphery as a complex space mediating between syntax and discourse (Rizzi 1997; Krifka 2020; Miyagawa 2022).

3.1.2. DEPENDENT TENSE. Class 2 "Subjunctives"

The second type of Balkan "subjunctives" can be classified as future- or posterior-oriented complements, typically corresponding to so-called future infinitives in languages like English (Wurmbrand 2014; see (7.a.) above). A defining feature of these constructions is that, although the embedded verb bears morphologically non-past (i.e., present tense) marking, its tense is not necessarily interpreted as simultaneous with the matrix tense. Instead, the embedded clause receives a futurate or posterior interpretation relative to the reference time of the main clause event. This becomes clear when both clauses contain temporal adverbials: the adverb in the embedded clause must be interpreted as denoting a time following that of the main clause. Such temporal mismatch is illustrated in (26.), where conflicting adverbials like *today* and *tomorrow* signal a shift in reference time. Crucially, past-oriented mismatches are not permitted in this context.

26. *Днес Иван решава /очаква да замине утре /*вчера/*миналата година.*
Today Ivan decide.3SG/expect/3SG PRT leave.3SG tomorrow/*yesterday/*last year
'Today Ivan decides / expects to leave tomorrow /*yesterday /last year'.
Class 2 of "subjunctives" is typically selected by:

● Subject-control predicates such as *мисля да* 'think [to do something]' *възнамерявам* ('intend'), *решавам да* ('decide'), *приемам да* ('accept'), *отказвам* ('refuse'). Subject-control predicates involve a commitment by the attitude holder to carry out an action.

● Object-control predicates with hortative or imperative-like meanings, such as *моля* ('ask'), *казвам да* ('say'(, *настоявам да* ('insist'(, *заповядвам* ('order'), *убеждавам* ('convince'), *окуражавам* ('encourage'), *заставям* ('oblige'), *задължавам* ('oblige'), *съветвам* ('advise') (Penchev 1998; see also Givón 1980 on strong attempt predicates).

The defining semantic property of this class of predicates is that they encode an interaction between the subject of the main clause and one or more potential participants in a future event. This interaction may involve either (a) the subject's own intention to perform an action at a later point in time, or (b) a directive or manipulative act aimed at inducing another individual to carry out the action (as in the case of commands or instructions, i.e., directive speech acts). It should be emphasized that this is a broad and informal characterization of the class. Crucially, the embedded event is unrealized or non-actual at the time of speaking and remains independent from the matrix event in terms of realization–it is not "predetermined" in the sense of Cristofaro (2005). Although the event may or may not ultimately occur, its temporal reference is fixed as future, determined not by the temporal orientation of the main clause, but by the inherent semantics of the selecting predicate. This is clearly illustrated in (26.). The ungrammaticality of the combination with the past adverbial *вчера* ('yesterday') indicates that the embedded predicate cannot refer to a past event. This confirms that the embedded clause is obligatorily anchored in the future, regardless of the past-tense morphology of the matrix verb. The futurate interpretation is licensed only when the embedded verb appears in a morphologically present tense form following the particle *да*. When the embedded verb surfaces in a past tense form (*тръгнеха*), the interpretation is blocked, as it violates the semantic constraint imposed by the matrix predicate, which presupposes a future-oriented eventuality.

27. *Иван убеди Мария да тръгнат/*тръгнеха утре/*вчера*.
Ivan convince.PST Maria PRT leave.3PL tomorrow / yesterday
'Ivan convinced Maria for them to leave tomorrow/*yesterday.'

Turning now to the form and interpretation of the embedded subject, this class of predicates displays a uniform syntactic behavior. An overt embedded subject is disallowed under neutral intonation with both subject- and object-control predicates. In (28.a.), for instance, the null subject (PRO) must share the index of the matrix object *brat mi* ('my brother'). However, its referential properties are not necessarily exhaustively controlled: partially disjoint reference is possible, as illustrated in (28.b.), and PRO can even take a split antecedent, as in (28.c.), where its interpretation includes both the matrix subject and the matrix object – two distinct constituents of the higher clause. While subject-control predicates typically favor exhaustive control and allow split antecedents, object-control predicates permit partial control as well.

28. a. pro_i *помолих* [*брат* ми]$_j$[(*той$_k$)/PRO_j *да замине*] (PRO = БРАТ МИ) (exhaustive control)[10]
ask.PAST.1SG brother my *he PRT leave.3SG
b. pro_i *помолих* [[*брат ми*]$_j$ [$PRO_{i/i+j}$ *да се срещнат тук*]. (PRO = БРАТ МИ + друго лице или лица) (partial control)
ask.PAST.1SG brother my to REFL meet.3PL here
c. pro_i *отказах/помолих го*$_i$ [PRO_{i+} *да отидем заедно на почивка в Гърция*]. (PRO = АЗ + ТОЙ) (split antecedents)
refuse/ask.PAST.3SG PRT go.1PL together on vacation in Greece

[10] Within this view, examples such as *Да живее кралят!* ('Long live the king!') or *Да бях в Париж сега!* ('If only I were in Paris right now') can be analyzed as elliptical or insubordinate subjunctives — that is, constructions that historically presuppose an omitted matrix predicate (e.g. *I wish...*, *May it be that...*, *God grant that...*), but which have become pragmatically autonomous. Their integration into the current analysis therefore supports a broader understanding of how subordinate-like morphosyntax may serve expressive, modal, or optative functions in main clause environments.

The question now arises how to formally express the future orientation interpretation of subject and object control clauses. Do these complements project T(ENSE) in their syntax? According to Wurmbrand (2014), futurity is contributed by a modal *woll* element and not by an independent temporal projection, implying monoclausality in English future-oriented infinitives (see (6.a – 6.b.) above). However, for Bulgarian, the evidence so far suggests that complements of control predicates form a separate clause with respect to the main one (and thus are amenable to a bi-clausal analysis). Additionally, the present tense *да/da* -form is not atemporal but has semantic content: the posteriority reading embedded in the complement clause is determined by the uniform referential properties of the selecting predicate (typically expressing planned activities to be realized in the future – Abusch 1997; Katz 2001; Enç 2004), as is the case in most languages worldwide (Mauri, Sansò 2012).

Three additional pieces of evidence support this conclusion. First, the use of a finite future tense introduced by the particle *ще/šte* 'will' is impossible, showing that the modal particle *да/da* takes over the function of a future tense marker, acting as an irrealis:

29. **Помолих го, че ще заминем* утре
ask.PAST.1SG him that will leave.1PL tomorrow

Second, the availability of perfective verbs in this type of structure indicates that the embedded event time cannot be simultaneous with the matrix event time, nor can it be deictically simultaneous with the utterance time (i.e., with a present tense interpretation), which reflects an inherent restriction on the use of the perfective in Slavic. A similar restriction is observed in other Balkan languages. For example, the Greek non-past verb form does not refer to an actual event, which is why similar constructions in Greek are also future-oriented (Giannakidou 2009) and can participate in both subject and object control clauses (Terzi 1992).[11]

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[11] An anonymous reviewer notes that (28.c.) is acceptable with an overt embedded subject. There is evidently speaker variation on this point. In my idiolect, such a reading is only possible under a causative interpretation, roughly paraphrasable as *I asked my brother to make it happen that he (someone else) can leave*. Grano (2017) argues that English object-control predicates too can license like *decide* marginally allow overt embedded subjects (i), while object-control predicates like *persuade* and *beg* are even more restrictive (ii). However, in specific contexts, a non-control reading can emerge via a causative or purposive interpretation, which Grano accounts for through a semantic mechanism of coercion. For English, he suggests that these non-control uses involve an additional causative layer of meaning:

(i) Kim decided [(?for Sandy) to sing].

(ii) Kim persuaded Sandy [(??for Bill) to sing].

As Bresnan (1972) observed, the *for* complementizer in English serves not only to license an overt subject but also introduces a purposive or causative meaning in English infinitives

30. *Episa ti Maria$_i$* [PRO$_{i+}$ *na pane ja psonia tin triti* (partial control Mary + other people)

convince.PAST.1SG DET Mary PRT go.3PL for shopping DET.ACC Tuesday

'I convinced Maria (for them) to go shopping on Tuesday'(Spyropoulos 2008)

31. *Maria$_i$ epise ton Jani$_j$* [PRO$_{i+j}$ *na pane ja psonia tin triti*. (split antecedents)

Mary convince.PAST.3SG DET.ACC Janis PRT go.3PL for shopping DET. ACC on Tuesday (PRO = Mary + Janis)

'Mary convinced Janis (for them) to go shopping on Tuesday'

These data show that control predicates in the other Balkan languages closely resemble those in Bulgarian, involving either subject or object control and giving rise to interpretations similar to those found in Bulgarian Class 2 *да/da*-clauses.

A third syntactic property of the interpretation of the PRO subject is that it necessarily receives sloppy and *de se* readings (i.e., a bound variable interpretation – Landau 2000) under ellipsis. Consider in this respect the behavior of subject-control predicates:

32. (*Аз*) *реших* PRO *да чета, Иван също* [~~реши да чете~~/*~~реши аз да~~ чета]. *(sloppy reading)*

33. (*Аз*) *реших* PRO *да се извиня, Иван също* [~~реши~~ да се извини/*~~реши аз да се извиня~~]. *(de se reading).*

The unavailable interpretation *Ivan decided that I would apologize* (with a *de re*, strict reading) is blocked. This unavailability is a key diagnostic indicating that such

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particularly with volitional and directive predicates such as *want*, *ask*, and *tell*. This semantic contribution aligns closely with the causal force found in certain Balkan "subjunctives". These parallels suggest that the availability of *for-to* infinitives in English mirrors, at least to some extent, the distributional and semantic properties we observe in Bulgarian *da*-clauses.

In other South Slavic languages, such predicates select for an infinitive, as is the case in the rest of Slavic languages and Romance languages. However, in the Serbo-Croatian area (Todorović 2012), a variant with a finite *da*-form is also possible, and interestingly, if this form is used, the null embedded subject can take a split antecedent and be partially controlled:

(i) Odločila sem se brati to knjigo. (Slovenian, Wurmbrand et al. 2020)

I decided to read-Inf this book

(ii) Odlučio sam da odemo na odmor (B/C/S)

I decided (for us) to go on vacation

In English, the *for-to* complementizer construction parallel to (ii) has been argued to involve a causative- like interpretation (Grano 2017). It remains to be seen whether the respective Balkan/South Slavic subject/object control predicates can also be analyzed as having a similar causative component in their semantic make-up.

contexts involve a controlled subject – specifically one that shares the core syntactic and interpretive properties of PRO. These predicates have been argued to instantiate a bi-clausal structure, similar to what is observed in Romance languages, where they select for a tensed infinitival clause headed by a PRO subject.

Notably, the null subject in these constructions can also receive a partially controlled interpretation, as is the case in Bulgarian. Supporting this, Landau (2013) argues that all partial control complements are tensed and project a CP layer above TP,[12] reinforcing the idea that temporal independence and syntactic complexity correlate with non-exhaustive (partial) control. Note that Italian *di* is a preposition which sometimes acts as a complementizer:

34. **Subject control**
Maria ha deciso/rifiutato di [PRO *venire con noi*];
Maria have.3SG decide.PTCP COMP come.INF with us
'Maria decided/refused to come with us'

35. **Object control**
Maria$_i$ ha chiesto a Gianni$_j$ [di [PRO$_{i+j}$ *fare il lavoro insieme*].
Mary have.3SG ask.PTCP to Gianni COMP do.INF DET work together
'Maria asked Gianni to do the work together.'

These glosses show how Italian infinitival clauses with PRO behave in subject and object control contexts, and how partial control (as in 35.) is semantically licensed and syntactically possible also in languages with infinitives. The embedded subject is syntactically unexpressed but semantically plural, supporting the presence of a CP projection, in line with Landau's theory of partial control.

Summarizing the discussion so far, I will assume that all bi-clausal *da*-constructions corresponding to Class 1 and Class 2 project a T(ENSE)P as part of their functional clausal spine. See fig. 4. The presence of CP as a mediator between the main clause and the embedded clause ensures that these

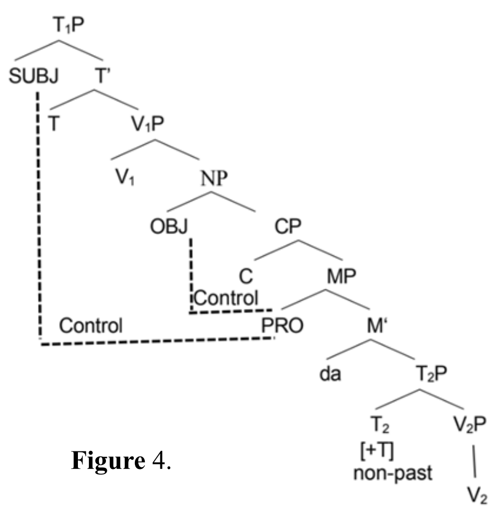

Figure 4.

[12] In Italian, *di* and *a* are prepositional markers which in non-finite contexts functions as complementizers, particularly with the purpose of introducing infinitival clauses. See Rizzi, Bocci (2017) on the position of *di* in the fine-grained left periphery of Italian.

constructions can support the necessary syntactic and semantic features for the PRO subject, allowing for the appropriate control interpretations (e.g., subject control, partial control) and temporal relationships between the matrix and embedded events.

The modal domain (MP) created by the particle is strictly local, a property that becomes evident in binding configurations where PRO functions as the antecedent of an anaphor. In Bulgarian, as in many other languages, binding is subject to locality constraints, meaning that an anaphor must be bound within a local domain – typically the smallest clause or projection containing a subject. See (36.):

36. *Професорите*$_i$ *убедиха студентите*$_j$ [PRO$_j$ *да си*$_j$ *помагат* [*един на друг*]$_j$]

Professors.DEF convince.PAST.3PL students.DEF PRT REFL help3PL each to other

'The professors convinced the students to help each other'

Bulgarian disallows long-distance anaphora, which refers to cases where an anaphor is bound by an antecedent located outside of the minimal tensed clause. This restriction reflects the syntactic constraint known as the Tensed-S Condition (Chomsky 1973 – see 3. above)), which prevents binding (and other syntactic dependencies) from crossing finite clause boundaries. As a consequence, in control constructions where the embedded clause is finite (i.e., specified for Tense), an anaphor within that clause cannot refer to a matrix subject (*the professors* in (36.).

To summarize, in this section, we have presented ample evidence that *да/da*-complements with semantic tense (i.e., [+T]) exhibit a control configuration. This type of control is non-exhaustive, but at the same time, the null subject is not entirely free, either semantically or syntactically. This is why we chose to label it as PRO, rather than as a small *pro*, whose distribution is not subject to any restrictions. The embedded clause constitutes a relatively independent syntactic temporo-aspectual finite domain, as evidenced by the possibility of a temporal and aspectual mismatch between the matrix and embedded events.

3.1.3. NO EMBEDDED TENSE PROJECTION: Class 3 "Subjunctives" (hidden infinitives)

In this section, based on previous work (Krapova, Cinque 2018), I examine a particular class of matrix predicates in which the tense and aspect of the embedded predicate are both morphosyntactically and semantically restricted. These restrictions apply across different languages, with notable patterns found in Balkan languages. Morphosyntactically, in this type of constructions, the embedded predicate is constrained to a non-past tense, regardless of the matrix tense. The aspect of the embedded predicate is determined by the matrix predicate. For instance, the verb *започвам* ('begin') always selects a non-past imperfective complement, while *успявам* ('manage to') requires a perfective complement, as shown below:

37\. a. *Започнах/свърших да чета/*прочета/*съм чел/*съм прочел* тази книга
start.PAST.SG/finish.PAST.1SG PRT read.IMPFV.1SG / read.PFV.1SG/ am read.PRTC this book
b. *Най-накрая успях ??да чета/да прочета тази книга*.
finally manage.PAST.1SG PRT read.IMPFV.1SG/PFV.1SG this book
'I managed to read this book at last'

Semantically, the embedded tense must align with the matrix tense. This is evident in the impossibility of using a future-oriented temporal modifier in the complement of a present-tense matrix verb, or any modifier that conflicts with the matrix tense. The embedded event must occur simultaneously with the matrix event, preventing future or past interpretations:

38\. a. ****Сега*** *започвам да чета* ***утре***
now begin.1SG PRT read.1SG tomorrow
b. **Едва* ***вчера*** *успях да прочета писмото ти* ***днес***
only yesterday manage.PAST.1SG PRT read.PFV.1SG letter.DEF your today
c. ** *Тя се опита да е изяла салатата* ***вчера***
she try.PAST.3SG PRT is eat.PRTC.F.SG. salad.DEF yesterday

These tense restrictions are systematically observed across Balkan languages, regardless of finite complementation: an example with identical restrictions from Greek is given in (39.), from Wurmbrand, Lohninger (2019: 192). See also Spyropoulos (2008), and Grano (2015):

39\. a. ** *Simmera eprospaθisen na lisi to provlima avrio*
today try. PRT solve DET problem tomorrow
b. ** *Prospaθo na efeγan / efiγan*
try.FUT.1SG PRT left

Krapova, Cinque (2018) provide the list of Bulgarian predicates participating in this configuration (40.), but similar lists can be provided for all Balkan languages. Interestingly, wherever the language has preserved a relic of the older infinitive, it is the infinitive that is allowed with these predicates (Dobrovie-Sorin 1990; Alboiu 2007 for Romanian; Turano 2000 for Albanian; Giannakidou 2009, Roussou 2000, 2009 for Greek; Baldissera 2013 for the Greek dialect Griko spoken in Italy).

40\. a. modals: *мога* ('can'), *трябва* ('must'), *може* ('it is possible')
b. aspectuals: *започвам* ('start'), *спирам* ('stop'), *свършвам (*'finish')
c. implicatives: *опитвам се, мъча се* ('try'), *успявам* ('manage, succeed')
d. motion verbs: *отивам да* ('go and do (something)')
e. verbs of knowing/ability: *зная да* ('know how'/'can'), *уча се да* ('learn how')

These predicates are structurally similar to Romance restructuring verbs, which integrate with their complements to form monoclausal structures (Rizzi 1976, Cinque 2006). As Rizzi points out, modal, aspectual, and motion verbs can trigger "restructuring," which simplifies the structure and transforms a biclausal configuration into a monoclausal one, forming a complex predicate from the matrix and embedded verbs. (41.) illustrates one so-called "transparency effect" of restructuring, namely clitic climbing, consisting in the raising of a clitic argument of the lower verb into the domain of the higher verb. Thus, (41.a) restructures into (41.b.):

41. a. [$_{CP}$ io [verrò [$_{CP}$ **a parlarti** di questi problemi]]]
I come.FUT.1SG PREP talk.INF-you.CL.DAT about these problems
b. [$_{CP}$ io [$_{V}$ **ti verrò** a parlare] di questi problemi]
I you.CL.DAT come.FUT.1SG PRT talk.INF about these problems

Several key effects obtain as a result of restructuring:

● Loss of independent temporal deixis in the embedded clause;

● Strict referential identity between the main and embedded null subjects;

● Exclusion of partial control or split antecedents, i.e., only strict control is required.

In Bulgarian, aspectual and modal verbs show transparency effects in both syntax semantics, even though there is no comparable clitic climbing effect. I believe that the following syntactic restrictions can be accommodated under the rubric of clausal "transparency" referring to the subject argument. Specifically, the embedded subject:

● Must remain unexpressed (i.e., it cannot be replaced by an overt DP);

● Must be strictly coreferent with the main clause subject (partial control is not available);

● Cannot take non-c-commanding or split antecedents.

These properties are illustrated in (42.):

42. a. *$Иван_i$ *знае*$_i$ *да плува Мария*$_j$ (lack of independent subject)
Ivan know.3SG PRT swim.3SG Maria

b. *$Аз_i$ *се уча да плуваме*$_{i+}$ (strict, alias exhaustive control, i.e., unavailability of partial control)[13]
I learn.1SG PRT swim.1PL

c. *Приятелят*$_i$ *на Иван*$_j$ *може да танцува*$_{i/*j}$ *добре* (c-commanding antecedent: *friend*)

[13] Compare similar effects in English *try*-constructions:
(i) *The chair tried to gather in the castle. (ungrammatical, as the subject must be a collective entity), as opposed to the partial control case in (ii) containing the verb *decide*:
(ii) The chair decided to gather in the castle.

friend.DEF of Ivan can dance well
'Ivan's friend can dance well'.
d. **Иван*$_i$ *смята, че Мария*$_j$ *е спряла* [*да си помагат*$_{i+j}$ *един на друг*$_{i+j}$] (no split antecedent **Ivan+Maria*)
Ivan think.3SG that Maria stop.PAST.3SG PRT REFL help.3PL each to other

The strict coreferentiality requirement can be subsumed under Landau's (2000, 2004) definition of 'exhaustive control' as strict control, arising from the lack of independent temporal deixis on the embedded lexical verb. In previous work (Krapova 2001), I analyzed such predicates as bi-clausal, with strictly controlled null subjects and a lower clause containing a TENSE projection devoid of a positive tense feature (i.e., [-T], which I equated with tenselessness). However, following Krapova, Cinque (2018), I am now more inclined to interpret this as meaning that the domain of the embedded verb lacks a T projection altogether. In other words, the restructuring verbs in (40.) are not lexical but functional (much like auxiliaries)[14] and, as such, are part of the extended projection of the lower (lexical) verb. This pattern is seen across the entire Balkan area, but also in Hebrew, and Spanish, and according to (Grano 2015, 2017) at least as far as aspectuals and implicatives are concerned, it forms a stable cross-linguistic trend (see also Landau 2013 for examples and a discussion). The striking structural similarity with Romance languages speaks in favor of such a conclusion despite their sometimes-non-uniform behavior with respect to clitic climbing.[15]

Cinque (2006) and Grano (2015) argue that restructuring verbs inherit the subject of the lower, lexical verb through raising to the highest available functional projection, which, in (Figure 5.), is TP. This process enforces the conclusion that the interpretation of the entire sentence reflects a single event, specifically that of being able to or beginning to perform the reading activity.

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[14] As demonstrated by Cinque (1999, 4.2.8.), non-Indo-European languages often express these aspects via grammatical suffixes, incorporated into the verb stem, much like what happens with prototypical aspectual notions such as inceptive (*begin to*), terminative (*stop* V–ing), completive (*finish* V–ing).

[15] Kayne (1989b:248) observes that „[v]irtually all the standard cases of clitic climbing are cases of subject control or raising. What is conspicuously absent is object control." Cinque (2004) offers the following explanation: there are no object control "restructuring" verbs because such verbs are ‚functional', i.e., directly inserted under a functional head which is why such verbs can have no complements of their own, i.e., they cannot assign a th-role (either an internal, or an external one). In a monoclausal structure, therefore, only non-finite verbs can function as complements to a restructuring predicate. The same is true for English restructuring verbs like *try, manage, begin* – Wurmbrand's (2014) simultaneous non-propositional infinitives given in (8) above.

In this structure, there is no independent projection of T, despite the fact that the embedded verb appears morphologically non-past. This can be understood as a kind of syncretism: the non-past tense and the absence of tense share the same morphological exponent.

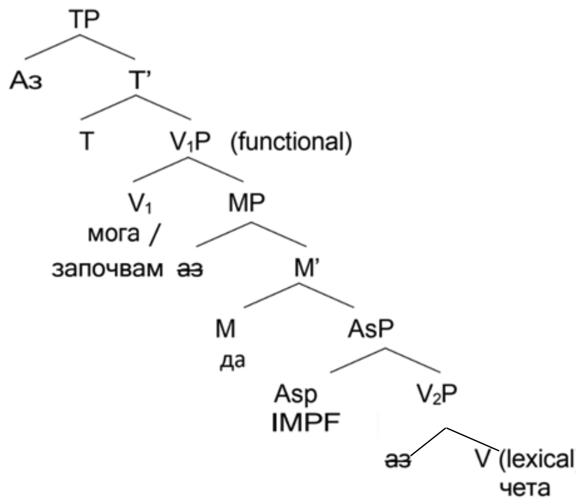

Figure 5.

43. read + $T_{NON\text{-}PAST}$+Asp_{IMPF} + $Agr(element)_{1SG}$ → чета
read + ø + Asp_{IMPF} + Agr_{1SG} → чета

It is not the lack of nonfinite complementation that causes the syncretism between non-past tense and tenselessness; rather, it is the syncretism itself that leads to the appearance of a lack of nonfinite complementations (Grano 2015: 187). While most authors assume [–T] is a feature on C, I propose extending the analogy with Romance restructuring, discussed in (41.), and suggest that these configurations lack a temporal layer on top of the lexical verb, resulting in a temporally unsaturated domain (Alboiu 2007: 198). If we follow Stowell's (1982) original proposal that temporal deixis is strictly dependent on the presence of a CP domain, this implies that restructuring verbs cannot select an embedded clause altogether (i.e., they lack not just a TP but a CP domain as well).

Table 1. below summarizes the basic findings so far and the correlations between Tense, types of embedded subjects and the syntactic hierarchy of dependence relations.

Type	Structure	Embedded Subject	Temporal Dependency	Cross-Linguistic Analogues
Type 1: Monoclausal	Restructuring (no CP)	No independent subject	Simultaneous with matrix tense = No embedded Tense	Infinitival with restructuring (Romance)
Type	**Structure**	**Embedded Subject**	**Temporal Dependency**	**Cross-Linguistic Analogues**

Type 2: Biclausal Control	Full CP with PRO subject	Controlled null subject	Future/irrealis	Control infinitives (Romance, English)
Type 3: Biclausal Free	Full CP with pro/ overt subject	Independent subject	Partial temporal independence	Romance subjunctives

4. A SYNTHETIC MODEL OF COMPLEMENTATION AND PARALLELS IN BULGARIAN

Lohninger, Wurmbrand (2020) and Wurmbrand, Lohninger (2023) define three universal complement clause types – Propositions, Situations, and Events – which form a semantic hierarchy and build on each other through syntactic containment (following Ramchand, Svenonius 2014).

Proposition complements involve epistemic contexts. They are temporally independent, lack a pre-specified tense, and are anchored in the utterance or embedding context. These complements may also involve speaker-oriented parameters. The embedded clause contains its own utterance context that anchors the embedded tense, but, unlike matrix clauses, this context is tied to the matrix clause through the „now" of the propositional attitude holder.

Situation complements pertain to irrealis contexts. They describe eventualities without speaker- or utterance-oriented properties, but with time and world parameters that allow them to be located in reference to a specific time. These complements lack speaker-oriented or discourse-linking parameters, with time specifications anchored to the matrix clause. The most common type involves unrealized irrealis events set in the future relative to the matrix predicate (Abusch 2004).

Event complements, including implicative and modal contexts, lack speaker- and utterance-oriented properties, as well as time and world parameters. These complements are tenseless, may involve actuality entailments, and may have reduced argument structure and/or event properties. According to Wurmbrand, Lohninger (2023), these complements are semantic properties in the sense of Chierchia (1984) and Wurmbrand (2001). The three complement types also differ in the strength of the coreferentiality requirement for the embedded subject. *Event* complements generally require full identity between the matrix controller and the embedded subject. *Situation* complements allow a more relaxed form of control – partial control – where the matrix argument‘s referent is merely included among the embedded subject's referents. In contrast, *Proposition* complements do not require coreferentiality at all.

These three types of complements parallel the three classes of *da*-complements identified in this work. Class 1 "subjunctives" resemble *Propositions*, class 2 “subjunctives” correspond to *Situations*, and class 3 “subjunctives” behave as the syntactic expressions of *Events*. These three types form a containment hierarchy based on complement “size”, following Wurmbrand, Lohninger’s (2023) argument that it is syntax that associates the containment relation of the semantic dimension of the three supersets and the way morphosyntactic properties align with it across the continuum of clausehood and complexity.

The “smallest” complements (class 3) are completely dependent syntactically and semantically on a functional verb, forming part of a single monoclausal structure with the selecting functional verb. The transparency and dependency of monoclausal *da*-constructions place them at the lower end of the implicational hierarchy in Bulgarian. The absence of independent tense markers and overt subjects in these structures underscores their tight integration with the matrix clause, making them the most dependent type of embedded clause in Bulgarian syntax.

Clausehood thus is calculated in three main dimensions, *independence*, *transparency* and *integration*. The “larger” complements (class 2) are temporally and aspectually independent but lack certain syntactic properties (e.g., control requirements) that prevent them from functioning as true finite clauses. Finally, class 3 complements are finite clauses with independent temporal reference and no control restrictions on the subject. Their temporal independence and subject autonomy place them at the highest tier in the implicational hierarchy of *да/da*-clauses. The disjoint-reference property ensures that the embedded clause introduces a unique subject, distinct from the matrix subject, which emphasizes its greater syntactic autonomy. This structural independence allows for distinct agentive perspectives to be encoded within the embedded clause, similar to the syntactic freedom observed in Romance subjunctives (Grano 2017; Popova, Spencer 2023).

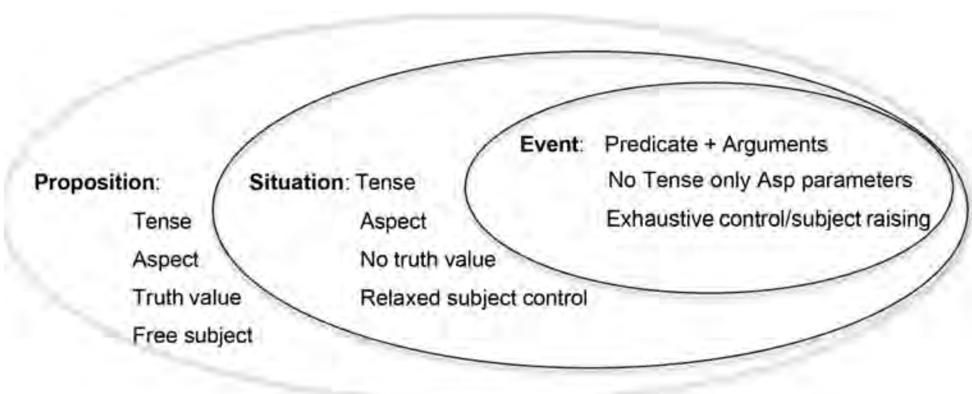

Figure 6. Proposition, situation, event (Lohninger, Wurmbrand 2020)

By allowing non-coreferential subjects, overt-subject *да/da*-constructions contrast sharply with controlled null subject constructions, which rely on co-referentiality between the clause subjects. This distinction underscores the diversity in Bulgarian embedding strategies and highlights the nuanced interplay of finiteness and dependency in the language. These constructions may correspond to *Propositions*, though whether they have a truth value remains to be determined, particularly in comparison with indicative complements introduced by the complementizer *че/če*, as discussed in Section 3.1.1. above in terms of veridicality.

5. CONCLUSION

The morphosyntactic complexity revealed through the Containment model of complementation challenges traditional categorizations of finite and non-finite constructions. Bulgarian *да/da*-clauses illustrate how languages without infinitives can distribute meanings across finite forms along the hierarchy of syntactic integration. Finiteness is a matter of the size of the clausal complement and that is not determined based on morphological criteria.

In Bulgarian, the presence of *да/da* in Balkan-type "subjunctives" not only signals mood but also ensures syntactic dependency, highlighting the intricate relationship between morphological markers and syntactic structure (Sims, Joseph 2018). While Bulgarian subjunctives may or may not encode tense, depending on their structural and semantic type, they show varying degrees of dependency on the matrix clause. Unlike the complementizer *че/če* 'that', which only introduces a completely independent clause with a CP domain (Krapova 2023), and hence a proposition with a truth value (true or false), *да/da* is more complex both in terms of selection (attitude, control or aspectual predicates), and in terms of interaction with the T domain, further distinguishing its syntactic behavior and emphasizing its multifunctionality (Pitsch 2009, 2018).

Cross-linguistic comparisons further underscore the diversity of embedding strategies and the implications they hold for finiteness. These constructions, with their finite morphology, fulfill the semantic functions of infinitives or subjunctives while exhibiting varying levels of syntactic transparency. Monoclausal configurations, characterized by the absence of independent subjects and tense markers, function as "hidden infinitives" and exhibit the greatest syntactic transparency (Grano 2015)[16]. Controlled null subject constructions, which rely on co-referentiality with the matrix subject, show partial independence, occupying an intermediate position on the hierarchy. Finally, constructions with overt subjects display the highest degree of

[16] Interestingly, as reported in Mirić, Arsenijević (2024), the particle *da* can be omitted in precisely the same contexts in the Torlak variety of the Serbian dialectal area.

syntactic independence, with distinct temporal frames and agentive roles, aligning them with Romance subjunctives. This hierarchy underscores how temporal-aspectual properties and syntactic dependency interact to shape the structural behavior of *да/da*-constructions, demonstrating their flexibility in accommodating diverse linguistic contexts. As such, Bulgarian employs a dynamic range of strategies to balance syntactic integration and semantic richness through finite forms. The functional versatility of Bulgarian *да/da*-constructions demonstrates the adaptability of the syntactic system in using a multifunctional compensatory strategy when encoding dependency relations following loss of morphosyntactic categories like the infinitive.

The synthetic model of complementation proposed by Lohninger, Wurmbrand (2020) and further developed in Wurmbrand, Lohninger (2023) offers a semantically driven classification of complement clauses that aligns well with Bulgarian data. These parallels suggest that the underlying principles of complementation may be universal, with language-specific mechanisms mapping onto broader semantic patterns.

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