



## Embedded Clauses in Bulgarian and English: *da* and *če* // *to* and *that*

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Both *če* and *da* introduce embedded clauses in Bulgarian. Their distribution depends (i) on the matrix verb, and (ii) on the speaker's attitude towards the embedded proposition. Thus, e.g., *iska* 'want' differs from *nadjavam se* 'hope' in that it selects only *da*-Constructions (daCs), while the latter can take *če*-Clauses (*če*Cs), as well; cf. (1)-(3).

Within a minimalist framework (Chomsky 1995, 2001), the talk provides an analysis of Bulgarian daCs and *če*Cs, identifying *da* as subjunctive marker, located in T(ense), which is shown to be linked to its core meaning of **non-factivity** (cf. Lyons 1977; Aygen 2006). Albeit **temporally defective** (cf. Lavine & Freidin 2002; Szucsich in Press), *da*-T<sup>0</sup> is assumed to be equipped with a **full set of  $\phi$ -features**; the former fact allowing to derive the observable temporal dependency of daCs as to their matrix, the latter accounting for their finiteness.

More importantly, *da*-T<sup>0</sup> is supposed to attract the verb for **cliticization** (cf. Werkmann 2003), which can explain certain word order restrictions, cf. (1b), (2b), (3b). C<sup>0</sup> is assumed to be empty, seizing on an intuition dating back to Gołab (1954) suggesting that daCs are connected with the matrix clause without a complementizer". Syntactic evidence in terms of both movement and comparison with English will support these views.

*če* in turn is supposed to be a 'customary' complementizer in C<sup>0</sup>. As such, it does not affect T<sup>0</sup>, which is temporally complete. Moreover, *če*Cs receive a factivity reading by default.

The subjects of both daCs and *če*Cs show variable referential interpretation (**coreference** vs. **obviation**). Analyzing both *če*Cs and daCs as CPs can partially account for this behavior. Furthermore, when related to the fact that Bulgarian is a **Null Subject Language**, the different degrees of 'markedness' coming along with the use of either a subject pronoun or an empty category (*pro*) can be given an explanation; cf. (1b)-(3b) vs. (1a)-(3a).

The comparison of Bulgarian and English reveals that they share an **identical structure** in that *da* equals with *to* (both in T<sup>0</sup>; see Sternefeld 2006), while *that* corresponds to *če*; cf. (3)-(5). The English infinitival complementizer *for* (see Kayne 1981) provides further evidence in this respect, cf. (4d).

### Examples<sup>1</sup>

(1) a. Majkata        iska                **da**    pie                mljako.  
*mother*<sub>f:SG:DEF</sub>    *want*<sub>3:SG:PRS</sub>        *SBJ*    *drink*<sub>3:SG:PRS</sub>        *milk*<sub>n:SG</sub>  
 'The mother wants (#her) to drink milk.'

b. Majkata        iska                tja **da** (\*tja)    pie                mljako.  
*mother*<sub>f:SG:DEF</sub>    *want*<sub>3:SG:PRS</sub>        *she* *SBJ*        *drink*<sub>3:SG:PRS</sub>        *milk*<sub>n:SG</sub>  
 'The mother wants #(her) to drink milk.'

<sup>1</sup> '#' should be read as '(relatively) more marked', or '(relatively) less natural', respectively.

c. \*Majkata iska **če** (tja) pie mljako.

- (2) a. Marija se nadjava **da** poluči stipendija.  
*Maria<sub>f:SG</sub> refl hope<sub>3:SG:PRS</sub> SBJ receive<sub>3:SG:PRS</sub> scholarship<sub>f:SG</sub>*  
 ‘Maria hopes (#her) to receive a scholarship.’
- b. Marija se nadjava tja **da** (\*tja) poluči stipendija.  
*Maria<sub>f:SG</sub> refl hope<sub>3:SG:PRS</sub> she SBJ receive<sub>3:SG:PRS</sub> scholarship<sub>f:SG</sub>*  
 ‘Maria hopes #(her) to receive a scholarship.’
- (3) a. Marija se nadjava, **če** šte poluči stipendija.  
*Maria<sub>f:SG</sub> refl hope<sub>3:SG:PRS</sub> that fut receive<sub>3:SG:PRS</sub> scholarship<sub>f:SG</sub>*  
 ‘Mariai hopes that shei/#j will receive a scholarship.’
- b. Marija se nadjava, (\*tja) **če** tja šte poluči stipendija  
*Maria<sub>f:SG</sub> refl hope<sub>3:SG:PRS</sub> that she fut receive<sub>3:SG:PRS</sub> scholarship<sub>f:SG</sub>*  
 ‘Maria<sub>i</sub> hopes that she#i/j will receive a scholarship.’
- (4) a. Marija<sub>i</sub> se nadjava C<sup>0</sup> *pro<sub>i/#j</sub>* **da** poluči stipendija.  
 b. *Maria<sub>i</sub> hopes* PRO<sub>i/\*j</sub> **to** receive a scholarship  
 c. Marija<sub>i</sub> se nadjava, C<sub>0</sub> tja<sub>#i/j</sub> **da** poluči stipendija.  
 d. *Maria<sub>i</sub> hopes* \*(for) her<sub>i/\*j</sub> **to** receive a scholarship
- (5) a. Marija<sub>i</sub> se nadjava, **če** *pro<sub>i/#j</sub>* šte poluči stipendija.  
 b. *Maria<sub>i</sub> hopes* **that** she<sub>i/j</sub> will receive a scholarship  
 c. Marija<sub>i</sub> se nadjava, **če** tja<sub>#i/j</sub> šte poluči stipendija.  
 d. *Maria<sub>i</sub> hopes* **that** she<sub>i/j</sub> will receive a scholarship

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