

Functional TAKE as Inchoative and Mirative Marker in Bulgarian Multiple Agreement Constructions

Vincenzo Nicolò Di Caro (Corresponding author)

Department of Humanities, University of Catania

Piazza Dante Alighieri, 24, 95124 Catania (CT), Italy

Tel: 39-32-0181-2910 E-mail: vincenzo.dicaro@unict.it

Luca Molinari

Department of Polish Studies, University of Warsaw

Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28, 00-927 Warsaw, Poland

& Department of Linguistics and Comparative Cultural Studies

Ca' Foscari University of Venice

Dorsoduro 3246, 30123 Venice (VE), Italy

Tel: 39-34-8153-1409 E-mail: l.molinari@uw.edu.pl / luca.molinari@unive.it

Received: May 20, 2024

Accepted: June 20, 2024

Published: June 25, 2024

doi:10.5296/ijl.v16i3.21929

URL: <https://doi.org/10.5296/ijl.v16i3.21929>

Abstract

This paper is an attempt to fill in a gap in the literature on the two-verb periphrases with the functional verb TAKE in Bulgarian. This goal is achieved by presenting the results of an online pilot study on the acceptability of verbal periphrases featuring functional *vzemam* ‘take’ in Bulgarian and by providing a first analysis of the syntax and semantics of such constructions. The study involved an acceptability judgment task of present and past sentences containing three periphrases of the type TAKE + connector + V2: two Multiple Agreement Constructions featuring either the connector *da* (labeled TAKE *da*MAC) or the connector *če* (TAKE *če*MAC) and a Pseudo-Coordination with the connector *i* ‘and’ (*i*PseCo). This completely anonymous study was completed by 241 self-reported Bulgarian L1 speakers (167 F; 72 M) with an age ranging from 18 to 77 (M = 43.32; SD = 12.61), roughly from all parts of Bulgaria. The results show that TAKE *da*MAC and *če*MAC are uniformly available to all the speakers, who mainly admit them in past contexts; *i*PseCo is instead less accepted overall, but surfaces in both

present and past contexts. Moreover, the three constructions seem to be quite consistently admitted in all parts of Bulgaria, as no significant differences in the distribution of judgments were found. TAKE *da*MAC has an inchoative reading, while TAKE *če*MAC is interpreted as mirative. No clear semantic specialization emerges for *iPseCo*. Structurally, TAKE MACs diverge from canonical MACs in that the former are monoclausal. However, the lexical V2 in TAKE *da*MAC always surfaces in the present tense, while TAKE *če*MAC and *iPseCo* feature TAM sharing between V1 and V2.

Keywords: Multiple agreement constructions, Pseudo-coordination, Inchoativity, Mirativity, Bulgarian, Southern Italo-Romance

1. Introduction

1.1 An Underexplored Phenomenon

Functional TAKE is a widespread phenomenon, cross-linguistically. It can appear in two different configurations within the macro-category referred to as Multiple Agreement Constructions (henceforth, MACs; Giusti, Di Caro & Ross 2022):

(1) Types of MACs featuring functional TAKE

- a. Serial Verb Constructions (or SVCs; cf. Aikhenvald 2006, 2018);
- b. Pseudo-Coordination (or PseCo).

As regards (1a), SVCs 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. These constructions are found in West Africa (cf. (2a, b)), East Asia, Amazonia (cf. (2c)), Oceania, creoles and other languages. In SVCs, each component can occur on its own and the verbs involved share grammatical categories including tense, aspect, mood, modality, and also a prosodic contour.

(2) a. Kòkú só ǎǎ́ dọ́ távò-ǐ.

Koku take crab put table-on

‘Koku put the crab on the table.’ [*Fon*; Lefebvre (1991: 39)]

b. Mede aburow migu msum.

1SG.take corn 1SG.flow water-in

‘I pour corn into water.’ [*Akan*; Aikhenvald (2006: 40)]

c. Mawina-nuku wasã wheta wa-hnã.

pineapple.TOP let’s 1PL.take 1PL.eat

[*Tariana*; adapted from Aikhenvald (2006: 183)]

As for the semantics of TAKE in SVCs, it generally, but not exclusively, follows three grammaticalization paths, serving aspectual, valency-increasing, and pragmatic meanings.

(Note 1) In Polish, for example, TAKE in what Andrason (2018) dubs the “WZIAĆ gram”, 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), *võtma* ‘take’ (which is however not very frequent in SVCs) lacks a syntactic object and carries intentional meaning to the following V2.

As regards (2a), PseCo formally appears as a coordination but syntactically behaves as a monoclausal, monoeventive construction (Giusti, Di Caro & Ross 2022; Ross 2021). (Note 2) PseCo is very common in the Germanic languages, where TAKE can appear together with other V1s such as GO, COME, STAND, SIT and LIE. In Swedish and Norwegian PseCo, TAKE can express an inchoative, or a mirative meaning (see, a.o., Wiklund 2008; 2009 and Josefsson 2014), as shown, respectively, in (3) and (4):

(3) 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)]

(4) a. Hun tok og kysset ham.

she take.PST and kiss.PST him

‘She (suddenly) kissed him.’ [*Norwegian*; Lødrup (2017: 278)]

b. Stenen tog o rullade ner.

stone.DET take.PST and roll.PST down

‘The stone rolled down.’ [*Swedish*; adapted from Wiklund (2007: 193)]

TAKE PseCo in the Romance varieties has been analyzed since the work by Wagner (1955) and Coseriu (1966; 1967), (Note 3) and has attracted renewed attention that led to Masini et al. (2019), Giusti & Cardinaletti (2022) (who focused on Italian and some Southern Italo-Romance varieties), Soto Gómez (2021) (Spanish), Mendes & Ruda (2022) Portuguese, and Bleotu (2022) (Romanian). As shown in (3) and (4) for Germanic, also in Romance PseCo, TAKE can either serve as an inchoative (cf. (5)) or a mirative marker (i.e. a marker expressing the “speaker’s unprepared mind”; cf. DeLancey 1997; 2001; 2012) (cf. (6)):

(5) a. Los viernes después de entrenar siempre cogemos

the Fridays after of train.INF always take.PRS.1PL

y pedimos chino.

and 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 & Cardinaletti (2022: 48)]

(6) a. Tomó y se fue.

take.PST.3SG and REFL go.PST.3SG

‘He (took and) left!’ [Spanish; adapted from Coseriu (1966)]

b. Ha preso ed è partita.

has taken and is left

‘She (took and) left!’ [Italian; Giusti & Cardinaletti (2022: 47)]

In Bulgarian, verbal periphrases featuring functional TAKE can be found in different configurations. The phenomenon has been covered in the literature since Sandfeld (1900), but in a rather unsystematic way. Moreover, the available literature is not always up-to-date. For this reason, the aim of the present paper is to fill the gaps in the relevant literature 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 leaves some open questions for further research.

2. Multiple Agreement Constructions and Pseudo-Coordination in Bulgarian

This section provides a preliminary overview of the main Bulgarian periphrastic constructions, also in a macro-comparative perspective, and discusses the properties of the relevant TAKE periphrases.

2.1 The Canonical daMACs

Bulgarian displays one of the typical traits of the linguistic group Trubeckoj (1928) dubbed as Balkan *Sprachbund*, namely the lack of the infinitive. In these varieties, the infinitive is taken over by subjunctive constructions with tensed verbs (Joseph 1983; Asenova 2002; Tomić 2006: 456). It is interesting to note that Southern Italo-Romance MACs display tensed V2s (cf. Southern Calabrian (7a) and North-Eastern Sicilian (7b) featuring inflected V2s with the Italian infinitival counterparts in (7a’) and (7b’)). The fact that such varieties share with

Bulgarian said *Sprachbund* feature is due to some contact effects with Greek, although they display the indicative instead of the subjunctive mood. (Note 4)

(7) 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 accusà

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 Bulgarian particle *da* that introduces subjunctive constructions has a blurred categorial status in that it carries out several different functions: it serves as a grammatical linker in periphrastic tenses (cf. (8)), and it acts as a modal particle with different shades of meaning: (Note 5) (i) exhortation/request/order (cf. (9a)-(9b)), (ii) desirability (cf. (9c)), and (iii) conditionality (cf. (9d)).

(8) 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.’ [adapted from Simov & Kolkovska (2004: ex.1ff.)]

(9) 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 bjaxdošla 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

da know.IMPF.IMPERF.1SG would.1SG to-him

se obadil.

REFL call.PERF.PST.PRT.ACT.M.SG

‘If I had known, I would have phoned him.’ [adapted from Simov & Kolkovska (2004: ex.1ff.)]

The status of *da* in Bulgarian is controversial, as it has been given contrasting analyzes: it has been analyzed both as a complementizer sitting in C (e.g., Krapova 1998; Krapova & Petkov 1999), and as a modal particle in the head of MoodP (e.g., Krapova 2001; Tomić 2008) (Note 6). Independently of its status, since in MACs *da* is found between V1 and V2 as a connecting element, these constructions will be labeled here as (canonical) *da*MACs. Such canonical *da*MACs are found with intentional V1s, which include (i) volitives such as *iskam* ‘want/wish’ (cf. (10a)), (ii) modals such as *umeja* ‘be able/can’ (cf. (10b)), (iii) causatives such as *zapovijadam* ‘order’ (cf. (10c)), (iv) inchoatives such as *započvam* ‘begin’ (cf. (10d)), and (v) intentional verbs such as *planiram* ‘plan’ (cf. (10e)).

(10)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)]

Crucially, the *da*MACs differ in their properties. Krapova & Cinque (2018) classify such constructions in three different categories that they label as follows: a) “non-restructuring infinitive-like constructions” (cf. (11)); b) “Romance type subjunctive constructions” (cf. (11)); c) “restructuring infinitive-like constructions” (cf. (13)).

(11) Očakvam <ot vsički> da dojdāt / da

refuse.PERF.AOR.1SG to all da come.PERF.PRS.3PL da

sa 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 & Cinque (2018: 164)]

(12) Včera očekvax [ti da si

yesterday expect.PERF.AOR.1SG you da are.2SG

rešil zadačite do utre],

solve.PERF.PST.PRT.ACT.M.SG math-homeworks-the by tomorrow

no sega viždam, če šte ti

but now see.IMPF.PRES.1SG that will to-you

trjabva cjala sedmitsa.

need.IMPF.PRES.3SG whole 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 & Cinque (2018: 166)]

(13) Kosta znae / započva sega da šofira. (*utre).

Kosta know/ start.IMPF.PRES.3SG now da drive.IMPF.PRES.3SG tomorrow

‘Now Kosta knows how/begins to drive (*tomorrow).’ [adapted from Krapova & Cinque (2018: 160)]

The differences that Krapova & Cinque (2018) individuate among different types of constructions featuring *da* derive according to them from the biclausal nature of the former two (11) and (12) vs. the monoclausal nature of the latter one (13). This explains the fact that monoclausal *da*MACs display strict referential identity between the subject of V1 (which has functional nature) and the subject of V2, in that there is only one subject (cf. the impossibility

of having a different subject of the V2 in (14) vs. the possibility of disjoint reference as in (11) and (12)).

- (14) Ivan znae *(Marija) da pluva.
 Ivan know.IMPF.PRES.3SG Marija da swim.IMPF.PRES.3SG
 ‘Ivan can swim (*Maria).’ [adapted from Krapova & Cinque (2018: 161)]

Moreover, in the biclausal *da*MACs the tense of V1 is independent from the tense of V2 (cf. again (11) and (12)), while in the monoclausal *da*MACs V2 is defective and always shows up in the present imperfective (as in (13) and (14)).

2.2 The Canonical *če*MACs

Bulgarian displays the complementizer *če* ‘that’, which derives from the Indo-European pronoun for the neuter gender (Tomić 2006: 458). *Če* encodes realis mood (Hansen, Letuchiy & Błaszczyk 2016) as it introduces indicative subordinates describing real events (cf. (15)). Canonical subordinate structures introduced by *če* will this be labeled (canonical) *če*MACs.

- (15) Interesno e, če tuk e zapazen edinstveni-jat original.
 interesting is če here is stored sole-the original

‘It’s interesting that the only original is stored here.’ [adapted from Hansen, Letuchiy & Błaszczyk (2016: ex. 132)]

The use of *če* is however not limited to embedded clauses. In fact, it can occur in adverbial clauses of reason (cf. (16a)) and of result (cf. (16b)). Moreover, it can be used (i) as an adversative conjunction (cf. (17a)), (ii) as a cumulative conjunction (cf. (17b)), (iii) as an element forming independent conjunctions (cf. (17c)). It is also found in exclamatory sentences with a modifying function.

- (16) a. Trăgni sega, če šte stane kāsno!
 depart.PERF.IMP.2SG now če will become.PERF.PRS.3SG late

‘Go now, because it will be late (if you stay any longer).’

- b. Kupixme ošte edintelevizor, takače sega imame tri.
 buy.PERF.AOR.1PL more one TV so če nowhave.1PL three

‘We bought another TV, so that now we have three.’ [adapted from Tomić 2006: 458-9]

- (17) a. Če, kakvo gi dārži?!
 če what them hold.IMPF.PRS.3SG

‘But, what is keeping them?!’

b. ...no mu natātruzixa ošte edin
 but to-him force.PERF.AOR.1PL more one
 če posle ošte edin
 če after more one
 ‘...but they forced upon him one more, and after that one more...’

c. katoče li... / makar če...
 as če Q / even če
 ‘As if...’ / ‘Although...’ [adapted from Tomić 2006: 458-9]

(18) Ama, če lošočoveče!
 Ah.EXCL če bad man.DIMIN

‘What a bad little man!’ [adapted from Tomić 2006: 458-9]

Despite the different uses, since early generative work on Bulgarian (e.g., Rudin 1986) *če* is treated as a fully-fledged complementizer sitting in the Left Periphery and introducing an indicative complement clause (see e.g., Krapova & Karastaneva 2002; Krapova 2002; 2021). Given the status of *če*, the canonical *če*MACs can be easily analyzed as being biclausal structures. In fact, V1 and V2 can have disjoint tense, aspect, and reference (cf. (19)). Furthermore, V2 is independent from V1, and its tense is not defective (cf. (20)). In this respect, the canonical *če*MACs pattern along with the biclausal *da*MACs presented in Section 2.1.

(19) a. Nadjavam se, če Petār e zaminal.
 hope.IMPF.PRS.1SG REFL če Petār is leave.PERF.PST.PRT.ACT.M.SG
 ‘I hope that Petār has left.’ [adapted from Tomić (2006: 467)]

b. Radvam se, če se vidjaxme.
 be-glad.IMPF.PRS.1SG REFL če REFL see.PERF.AOR.2PL
 ‘I am glad that we have met.’ [adapted from Hansen, Letuchiy & Błaszczuk (2016: ex. 133)]

c. Ne čuvaš li, če se čuvstvam
 NEG understand.IMPF.PRS.2SG Q če REFL feel.IMPF.PRS.1SG
 po sāštija način?
 in same-the way

‘Don’t you understand that I feel in the same way?’ [adapted from Hansen, Letuchiy & Błaszczuk (2016: ex. 131)]

- (20) Petār smiata, če Ivan šte kupi / šte kupuva /
 Petār think.IMPF.PRS.3SG če Ivan will-buy.PERF.3SG will-buy.IMPF.3SG
 e kupil kăštata.
 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)]

Moreover, the V1 in the canonical *če*MACs does not have functional nature, a feature that once again aligns with those of canonical bicalusal *da*MACs and differs from monoclausal *da*MACs (Note 7).

2.3 Constructions With Functional TAKE

Structures with functional TAKE are well documented in a many different languages (see Section 1). On the contrary, Bulgarian is still underrepresented in the literature. Three examples of structures with functional *vzemam* ‘take’ in Bulgarian are mentioned in Coseriu (1966; 1976), who reports them from Sandfeld (1900). Coseriu (1966: 21) only provides a translation in German without glosses. The examples, however, do not belong to standard Bulgarian. We report them as in the original paper with English translation added by us: (i) *hvanāla se i igrala* ‘(she) held on and danced’, (ii) *fatila ta utseakla darvotu* ‘(she) took and cut down the tree’, (iii) *zele ta skrili pak stokata* ‘they hid the goods again’. (Note 8) Kanchev (2010) also mentions such constructions with functional TAKE, distinguishing two types whose examples are reported here in (21).

- (21)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) individuates a semantic difference between the two examples, claiming that the one in (21a) – which will henceforth be labeled as TAKE *da*MAC following Giusti & Cardinaletti’s (2022) work on Southern Italo-Romance MACs – describes the beginning of the action expressed by V2 (i.e., it is inchoative), while the one in (21b) (henceforth TAKE *če*MAC) expresses surprise and unexpectedness (i.e. is mirative; DeLancey 1997; 2001; 2012; Aikhenvald 2012). Moreover, he specifies that the TAKE *da*MAC requires an imperfective V2, while the TAKE *če*MAC only allows a perfective V2, but no further analysis is provided. Beyond these TAKE MACs, a web search we conducted before designing our study led us to find out instances of constructions with functional TAKE that look like a PseCo since V1 and V2 share TAM features and are linked by the conjunction *i* ‘and’ (cf. (22)). For this reason,

we have included also this structure (that we will refer to as *iPseCo*) in our study.

- (22)a. Vmesto da prekara njakoj i drug
 instead da spend.PERF.PRES.3SG some and other
 čas v bara, tja vze i
 hour in bar-the she take.PERF.AOR.3SG and
 trǎgna s men kato opaška.
 go-away.PERF.AOR.3SG with me as tail
 ‘Instead of spending another hour or so at the bar, she took off with me like a tail.’
 [adapted from Marinov (2010: 112)] (Note 9)
- b. Vzemam i trǎgvam, tolkova e lesno!
 take.PRES.1SG and go-away.PRES.1SG so-much is easy
 ‘I’ll take and go, it’s so easy!’
 [<https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=2525666294318221>]
- c. Eto kakvo ti predstoi.
 here’s what to-you awaits
 Vzemaj i otstǎpvaj!
 take.IMPF.IMPER.2SG and step.IMPF.IMPER.2SG
 ‘This is what awaits you. Take and start!’ [SketchEngine, (Note 10) “Bulgarian Web 2012”, token 116276468]

From the examples in (22) it is clear that the verb TAKE in the *iPseCo* is devoid of lexical meaning (as is the case of *PseCos* cross-linguistically, e.g., in Italian; cf. Giusti & Cardinaletti 2022). The *iPseCo* appears to be either mirative (e.g., (22a)) or exhortative (e.g., (22c)), although it may also have other readings. The richness in constructions with functional TAKE in Bulgarian calls for a solid empirical base to support the scarce data found in the literature. Moreover, the instances of *iPseCo* found in our web search to the best of our knowledge have never been discussed in the literature, so they need to be brought to light. The pilot quantitative study we have designed is thus needed to fill this gap in the literature by collecting 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 Study

The original purpose of this study is the documentation of such constructions with functional TAKE as well as the observation of possible patterns of diatopic variation. A portion of the data collected has been discussed in Di Caro & Molinari (2022), of which the analyses

present in this paper are to be considered as an improved and expanded version. Given the exploratory nature of the study, the questionnaire was focused on testing the acceptability of such constructions within a narrow range of contexts and without “overloading” the participants. For this reason, the study consisted of 42 short experimental items that could be judged without time limitation. However, the tasks could be easily completed in about 10-15 minutes. Indeed, the brevity and the complete anonymity of the study helped to collect a large pool of subjects. (Note 11)

3.1 Materials

The questionnaire investigated the acceptability of all the three constructions through two different tasks, divided as follows:

- (23) a. 39 acceptability judgment tasks, in which the participants had to judge sentences containing the relevant construction (13 featuring TAKE *čeMAC*, 13 featuring TAKE *daMAC*, and 13 featuring *iPseCo*) using a 5-point scale (1 = totally unacceptable, 5 = totally acceptable). The sentences used are the same for each construction, i.e., the only difference between them is the different connector between V1 and V2; (Note 12)
- b. 3 multiple choice tasks, in which the participants were provided with a context and three sentences that could be used to describe it (one for each construction). The subjects were instructed to choose whatever sentence (at least one) would better describe the given context.

The experimental items were manipulated mainly along two parameters: the choice of the V2 and the tense of the action expressed by the V1 TAKE.

Concerning the choice of the V2, the items present a series of frequently occurring verbs that could easily be used in everyday situation: GO (18 items in total), APOLOGIZE (9 items), LOOK (3 items), SPEND (3 items), STAY (3 items) and THROW (3 items). In 3 items, a third verb (i.e., BUY) follows the V2 GO (see (24)).

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

Intended: ‘Whenever she’s hungry she goes and buys herself pizza.’

As for the tense of the action, two tenses are compared, i.e., present and past. Bulgarian has a quite rich verbal system and a complex verbal morphology that encodes tense, mood, aspect, and evidentiality (Stojanov 1983; Sims & Joseph 2019). This is the main reason why the study was limited to investigating two tenses. There are 24 items with the V1 in the present tense: in these cases, the imperfective verb is used. (Note 13) The remaining 15 items feature a past

tense. The latter comes in different types in Bulgarian (aorist, perfect, imperfect, anterior past etc.): the past items all feature the aorist, which expresses “perfectivity in the past tense” (Comrie 1976: 12). In this case, only perfective verbs were used. (Note 14) The creation of the items for the questionnaire was preceded by some online research to look for occurrences of the relevant constructions. Some examples found on the Internet were used as a base for the creation of the items. Some examples of the items in the questionnaire (here transliterated in Latin script) presented above in (23a) and (23b) are provided in (25) and (26), (Note 15), respectively:

(25)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!’ (čeMAC)

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!’ (daMAC)

c. Sega vzemaš i ì se izvinjavaš!
 now take.IMPF.PRS.2SG and to-her REFL apologize.IMPF.PRS.2SG
 Intended: ‘You’ve got to apologize to her now!’ (iPseCo)

(26) *Včera Ivan beše v dobro nastroenie. Izvednāž 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.’

Previous discussion with Bulgarian L1 speakers was of key importance to define some basic syntactic properties of these constructions.

3.2 Participants

The final pool of participants is composed of a total of 241 self-declared Bulgarian L1 speakers. (Note 16) The experimental items were preceded by a few sociolinguistic questions asking about age, gender, and provenience of the participants (and whether they are L1 speakers of Bulgarian). Figure 1 shows the distribution of the sample by age. (Note 17) In the

sample, which is within an age range of 18 to 77 ($M = 43.32$; $SD = 12.61$), there is a greater concentration of participants aged between 30 and 60.

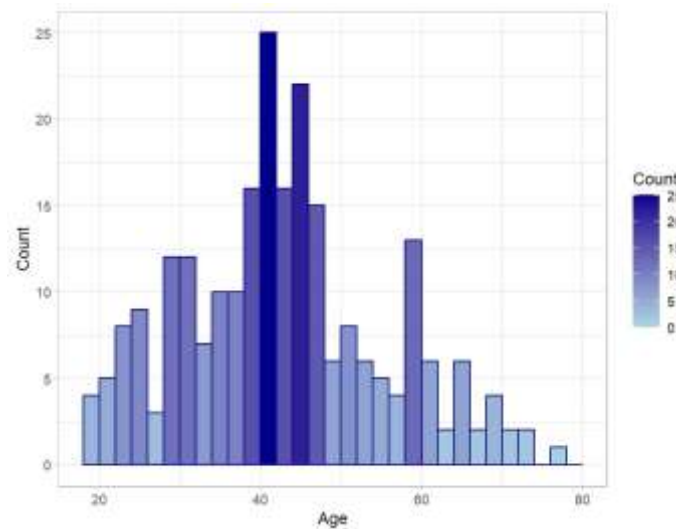


Figure 1. Distribution of the sample by age

As regards the gender, the sample is unbalanced, with 167 female and only 72 male participants. (Note 18) Since our aim was to reach an ample sample with a large territorial coverage, Figure 2 shows the distribution of the sample by provenience on a map of Bulgaria. The number of questionnaires for each place is shown in parentheses after the place name. The map reports only the cities that had at least 3 questionnaires. The remaining places having either one or two questionnaires are left out so as not to “overcrowd” the map. Despite this, Figure 2 reveals a concentration of participants from the western part of Bulgaria where the biggest cities (mainly Sofia and Plovdiv) are located. In general, however, we have reached a good coverage of the Bulgarian territory.

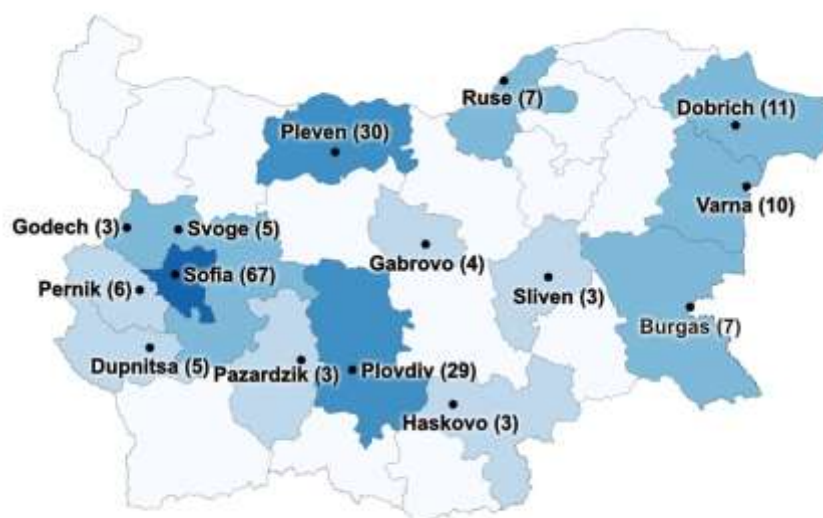


Figure 2. Distribution of the sample by provenience

The data about provenience will be relevant in the verification of the hypothesis that there is diatopic variation in the acceptability of the constructions under investigation.

3.3 Results

The data were collected from August 2021 to June 2022. The results are reported in aggregated form, indicating the percentage of selection of each possible answer. Let us start from the acceptability judgment task: Figure 3 reports the overall percentage of selection of each value of the 5-point scale for each construction. The first thing that stands out is the relatively high percentages of “1” and “2” options that taken together cover more than 50% of the overall rating (considering each construction separately). The strong acceptability ratings (i.e., “4” and “5”) cover a percentage around 25-35% percent overall for each construction. In general, the distribution of the judgments for every construction seems to be quite homogeneous. In fact, the Chi-square test performed on the distribution of the constructions reveals that the difference is not significant ($\chi^2=5.47, p=0.70$). Comparison by pairs as well reveals no significant differences: *čeMAC* vs. *daMAC* ($\chi^2=3.24, p=0.52$), *čeMAC* vs. *iPseCo* ($\chi^2=0.64, p=0.96$), and *daMAC* vs. *iPseCo* ($\chi^2=4.17, p=0.38$). The overall distribution seems to suggest that the constructions are quite marginal in Bulgarian. However, this distribution alone is not very informative, as there are several factors that concur in lowering the acceptability of these periphrases. One of such factors turns out to be the verbal tense.

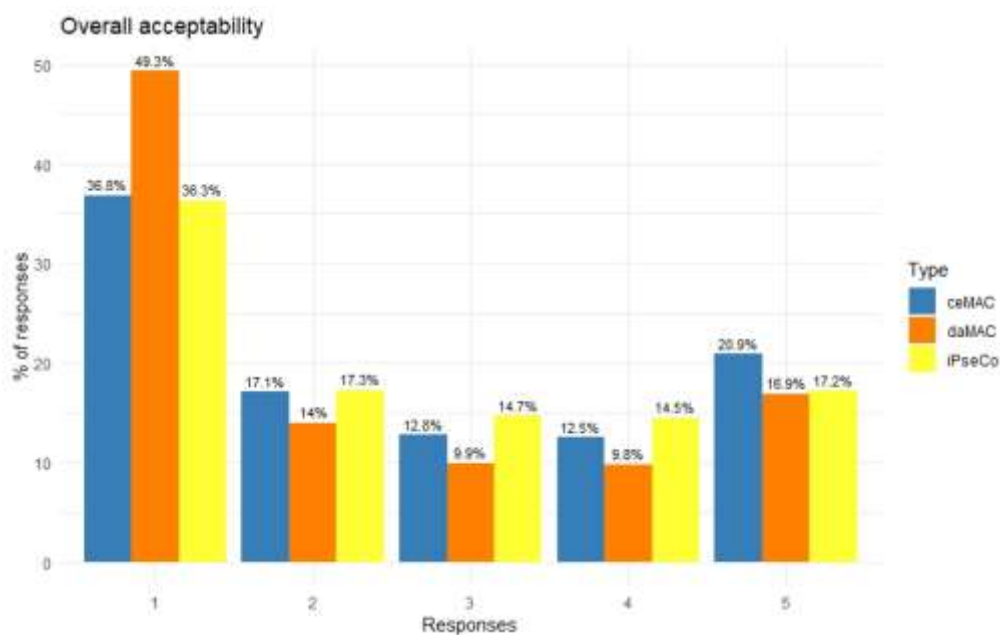


Figure 3. Overall acceptability of the constructions

Tense turns out to play a key role in determining the acceptability of the constructions. Figure 4 shows how the distribution of judgments in the past is specular to that in the present as far as *čeMAC* is concerned. In fact, the difference in the distribution between present and past is significant ($\chi^2=55.96, p<0.001$).

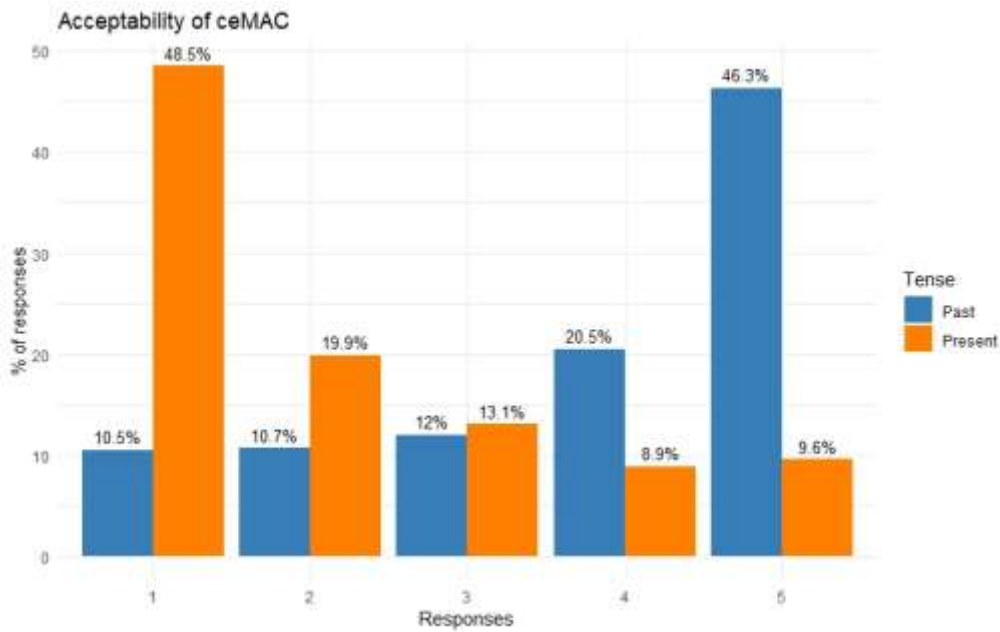


Figure 4. Judgment distribution for *ceMAC*

A similar situation concerns *daMAC* as well, as shown in Figure 5. Despite the difference in the distribution in the present and past is not as marked as for *ceMAC*, the judgments differ significantly if one compares the two tenses ($\chi^2=11.76, p=0.019$).

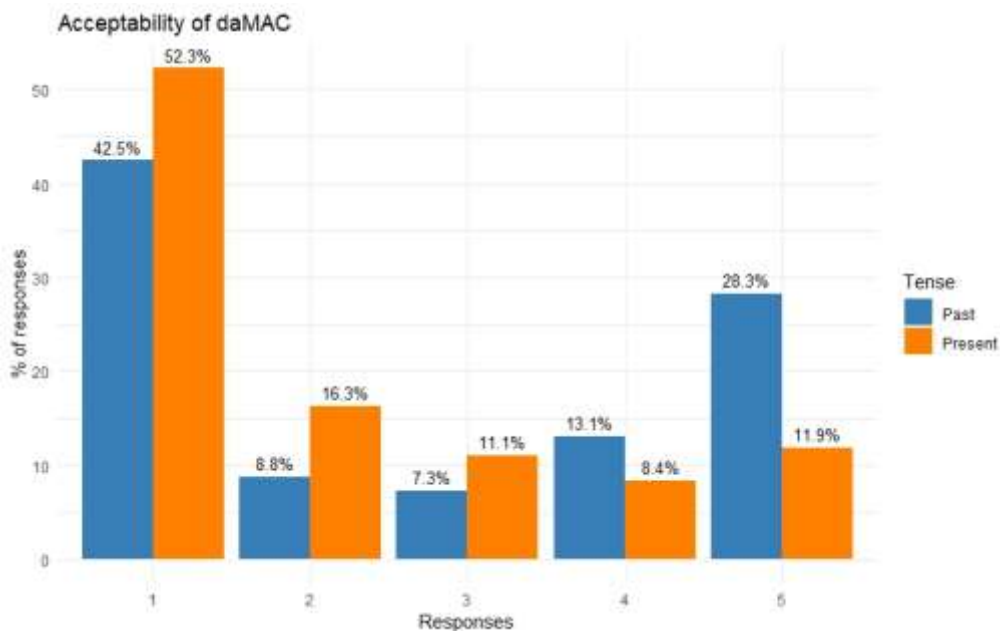


Figure 5. Judgment distribution for *daMAC*

The situation concerning *iPseCo*, instead, seems to be rather homogeneous, as the judgments in the present and in the past do not deviate much from each other (see Figure 6). Indeed, the difference between the two distributions does not differ significantly ($\chi^2=2.53, p=0.64$).

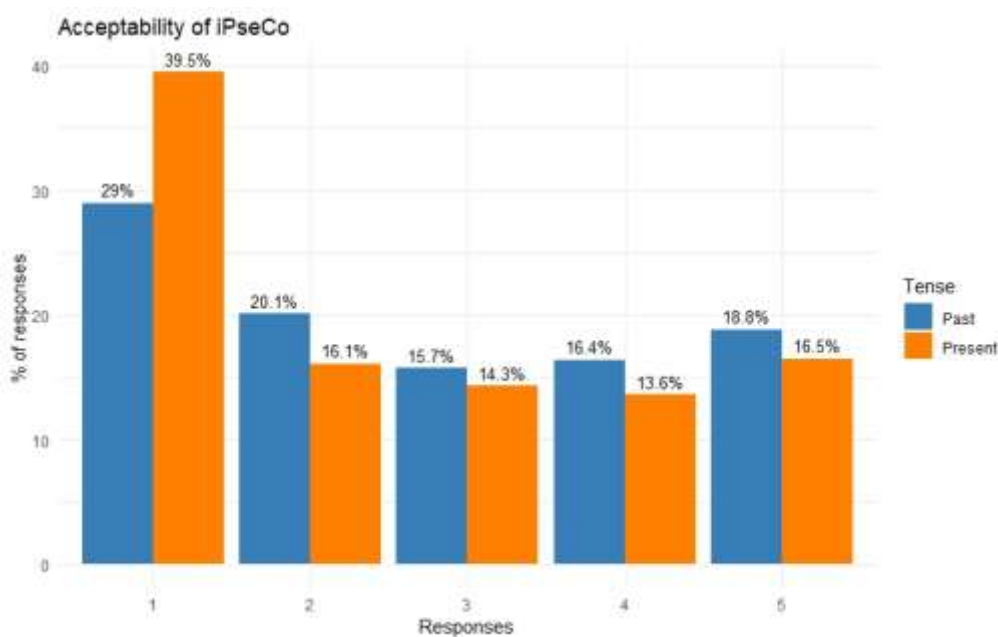


Figure 6. Judgment distribution for *iPseCo*

Limitedly to the collected data, it seems that *čeMAC* and *daMAC* are sensitive to the present/past distinction, with a higher acceptability in the aorist. On the contrary, *iPseCo* seems to not “care” about Tense distinction, with the same acceptability rate in both tenses. As for the semantic specialization, the data relative to the three contexts are reported in the following tables. Despite the low number of such tasks, a pattern of semantic specialization already emerges clearly. Table 1 reports the answers for the inchoative context. As expected, the option that was selected most (71.4%) is the one featuring the TAKE *daMAC*, with a low presence of *čeMAC* (14.9%) and a marginal selection of *iPseCo* (6.6%). Multiple choices all register negligible percentages.

Table 1. Distribution of answers for the inchoative context

Marija beše vkāšti i skučaeše. Za da se zabavljava, započna da igrae na videoigri.
[‘Mary was at home and she was bored. In order to have fun, he started playing videogames’]

Construction	Answers	%
<i>daMAC</i>	(i) <i>Marija vze da igrae na videoigri.</i>	71.4
<i>čeMAC</i>	(ii) <i>Marija vze, če poigra na videoigri</i>	14.9
<i>iPseCo</i>	(iii) <i>Marija vze i poigra na videoigri</i>	6.6
<i>daMAC</i> + <i>čeMAC</i>	(i) + (ii)	4.1
<i>daMAC</i> + <i>iPseCo</i>	(i) + (iii)	0.8
<i>čeMAC</i> + <i>iPseCo</i>	(ii) + (iii)	0.8
<i>daMAC</i> + <i>čeMAC</i> + <i>iPseCo</i>	(i) + (ii) + (iii)	1.2

The “neuter” mirative context (i.e., where the speaker expresses surprise without any disapproval shade) registers a peak of *čeMAC* (57.7%), with an unexpectedly high occurrence of *daMAC* (24.5%) and of combination of the two (14.1%). In this context, *iPseCo* and the other multiple options are very marginal.

Table 2. Distribution of answers for the “neuter” mirative context

Včera Ivan beše v dobro nastroenie. Izvednáž započna da plače.

[‘Yesterday Ivan was in a good mood. Suddenly he started crying’]

Construction	Answers	%
<i>daMAC</i>	(i) <i>Ivan vze da plače</i>	24.5
<i>čeMAC</i>	(ii) <i>Ivan vze, če se razplaka</i>	57.7
<i>iPseCo</i>	(iii) <i>Ivan vze i se razplaka</i>	1.2
<i>daMAC + čeMAC</i>	(i) + (ii)	14.1
<i>daMAC + iPseCo</i>	(i) + (iii)	0
<i>čeMAC + iPseCo</i>	(ii) + (iii)	0.4
<i>daMAC + čeMAC + iPseCo</i>	(i) + (ii) + (iii)	2.1

The “disapproval” mirative context displays a different situation, with *čeMAC* still being the most chosen option but to a greater extent if compared to the previous context (78.8%). All the other options are somewhat marginal.

Table 3. Distribution of answers for the “disapproval” mirative context

Boris vinagi e bil izbuxliv. Minalata večer, dokato sporeše s edin ot prijatelite si, Boris go udari. [‘Boris has always had a bad attitude. Yesterday evening, while discussing with a friend, he hit him’]

Construction	Answers	%
<i>daMAC</i>	(i) <i>Boris vze da go udrija.</i>	9.1
<i>čeMAC</i>	(ii) <i>Boris vze, če go udari</i>	78.8
<i>iPseCo</i>	(iii) <i>Boris vze i go udari</i>	5.0
<i>daMAC + čeMAC</i>	(i) + (ii)	4.1
<i>daMAC + iPseCo</i>	(i) + (iii)	0
<i>čeMAC + iPseCo</i>	(ii) + (iii)	1.7
<i>daMAC + čeMAC + iPseCo</i>	(i) + (ii) + (iii)	1.2

Let us now briefly consider the distribution of judgments coming from different areas of Bulgaria. Bulgaria is known to be a puzzle of many more or less similar dialects that, according to traditional dialectologist studies (Stojkov 1962; 1968; 1993), can be split along the west-east

axis. Given this different dialectal *stratum*, one could expect that there are some differences in the acceptability of such constructions. To verify this, we aggregated the answers in a western and an eastern group, considering only the most lateral points in the map (see Figure 2) to get a bigger contrast. The western group contains the answers of the participants from Godech, Pernik, Dupnitsa, Svoje, and Sofia (85 answers in total). The eastern one includes answers from Dobrich, Varna, and Burgas, to which we added those coming from other eastern cities not shown in the map (i.e., Kavarna, Novi Pazar, Provadija, Silistra, Shumen, and Jambol) to reduce the numerical difference with the other group (36 answers in total). The distribution of the judgments is reported in Table 4.

Table 4. Distribution of the judgments for each construction in the western and the eastern group

Construction	Judgment	Western group	Eastern group
<i>čeMAC</i>	1	38.3%	39.3%
	2	19.0%	13.7%
	3	9.8%	16.0%
	4	12.0%	10.0%
	5	20.9%	20.9%
<i>daMAC</i>	1	48.4%	56.6%
	2	16.0%	9.2%
	3	9.0%	9.6%
	4	10.4%	6.6%
	5	16.1%	17.9%
<i>iPseCo</i>	1	35.9%	44.9%
	2	18.8%	15.8%
	3	13.2%	16.5%
	4	14.9%	8.5%
	5	17.1%	14.3%

The distribution in the two groups looks quite homogeneous. In fact, the difference between the two turns out to be not statistically significant ($\chi^2=9.61$, $p=0.79$). The same contrast between groups can be replicated for the multiple-choice tasks checking for the different semantic specialization of the constructions. The results from the two groups are reported in Table 5.

Table 5. Distribution of answers in the three contexts of semantic specialization in the western and the eastern group

Context	Answers	Western group	Eastern group
Inchoative context: ‘Mary was at home and she was bored. In order to have fun, he started playing videogames.’	(i) <i>daMAC</i>	68.2%	80.6%
	(ii) <i>čeMAC</i>	18.8%	5.6%
	(iii) <i>iPseCo</i>	8.2%	2.8%
	(i) + (ii)	3.5%	2.8%
	(i) + (iii)	0%	2.8%
	(ii) + (iii)	0%	2.8%
	(i) + (ii) + (iii)	1.2%	2.8%
“Neuter” mirative context: ‘Yesterday Ivan was in a good mood. Suddenly he started crying.’	(i) <i>daMAC</i>	27.1%	16.7%
	(ii) <i>čeMAC</i>	56.5%	61.1%
	(iii) <i>iPseCo</i>	2.4%	0%
	(i) + (ii)	12.9%	16.7%
	(i) + (iii)	0%	0%
	(ii) + (iii)	0%	0%
	(i) + (ii) + (iii)	1.2%	5.6%
“Disapproval” mirative context: ‘Boris has always had a bad attitude. Yesterday evening, while discussing with a friend, he hit him.’	(i) <i>daMAC</i>	10.6%	11.1%
	(ii) <i>čeMAC</i>	75.3%	75%
	(iii) <i>iPseCo</i>	5.9%	0%
	(i) + (ii)	5.9%	5.6%
	(i) + (iii)	0%	0%
	(ii) + (iii)	1.2%	2.8%
	(i) + (ii) + (iii)	1.2%	5.6%

Given the presence of values lower than 5 in this case, the comparison between groups was carried out through Fisher's Exact Test which suits cases with low values. The two distributions overall turn out to be statistically significant ($p=0.003$). However, looking more carefully, the answer pattern significantly differs in the inchoative ($p=0.003$) and in the "disapproval" contexts ($p=0.039$), (Note 19) but not in the "neuter" mirative context ($p=0.073$).

4. Data Discussion

The data reveal a relatively low acceptability of the three constructions overall (Figure 3). However, there are at least two reasons why the participants have mostly chosen options "1" and "2". First and foremost, these constructions belong to the colloquial register. (Note 20) This means that the "most conservative" participants are likely to assign them low rates because they are not part of the "standard" language. (Note 21) Second, given its exploratory nature, the study included many sentences that turned out to be borderline, namely sentences in the present (recall that the questionnaire contained 24 sentences with a present tense and 15 with the aorist). This tendency is quite evident for TAKE *čeMAC* (see Figure 4), that shows a specular tendency: while present tense displays a peak in "1" and "2", past tense peaks in "4" and "5". Despite *daMAC* looks similar in its distribution, the difference was found not to be significant. The same non-significant difference is found in *iPseCo*, that seems to equally distribute in the two tenses and to display lower percentages of acceptance overall.

Once we have taken into account the reasons that have most probably influenced the answers, we can express some considerations on the emerging pattern. The results show that the constructions are actually present in Bulgarian and they are quite productive. Moreover, the sociolinguistic data have shown that there are not significant differences in the diatopic distribution of judgments along the west-east axis. This result is clearly to be taken with caution and to be related to the preliminary nature of the study. This fact, however, suggests that such constructions are well established on the Bulgarian territory and are equally found both in the western and in the eastern part.

As for the present-past division, a significantly different pattern emerges only for TAKE *čeMAC*, which is accepted more (or almost exclusively) in the aorist. This observation turns out to be particularly interesting if related with the data obtained from the semantic specialization. The pattern that emerges empirically confirms Kanchev's (2010) observations that TAKE *daMAC* has an inchoative semantics while TAKE *čeMAC* conveys mirativity. In fact, the inchoative-inducing context registers a peak of 71.4% of TAKE *daMAC*. On the contrary, in the "neutral" and "disapproval" mirativity-inducing contexts the most chosen option is TAKE *čeMAC* (57.7% and 78.8%, respectively). Interestingly, the "neutral" mirative situation 24.5% of TAKE *daMAC*, which is not a negligible percentage. However, it is possible that many participants were primed by the use of the inchoative periphrasis *započna da plače* '(he) started crying'. It is thus possible that the inchoative aspect of the action was foregrounded. Indeed, 14.1% of participants (a rather high percentage, considering the low rates of multiple answers registered overall) chose both TAKE *čeMAC* and TAKE *daMAC*.

Given the mirative semantics conveyed by TAKE *čeMAC*, it is natural that such a construction is more accepted in the aorist rather than in the present. In fact, the speaker generally expresses

their surprise for an event that has happened, as the unexpectedness relates to the result of the action. Furthermore, the present can express both ongoing actions that still do not have a result and habitual actions: neither type of *Aktionsart* lends itself to a mirative reading.

The mirative semantics of TAKE *čeMAC* is perfectly in line with the significant difference found between the present and the past. TAKE *daMAC* is instead inchoative, and it does not display any significant difference in the two tenses. This can also be accounted for by its semantics: the focus on the beginning of the action is not sensitive to the tense of the action itself. This is the same behavior *iPseCo* features, although the semantic specialization task does not give clear results. Although *iPseCo* does not significantly differ from the other constructions when it comes to acceptability judgments, it is the less productive one (at least considering the traits investigated in this pilot study).

When presented with the possibility of choosing among the three constructions, the participants very rarely chose TAKE *iPseCo*. It seems that this construction belongs to the speakers' passive competence, i.e., they acknowledge it as a possible structure, but do not actively use it. The low percentage of choice of TAKE *iPseCo* in the multiple choice tasks thus needs a different explanation. One possibility is that TAKE *iPseCo* specializes for different semantics. Another possibility is that TAKE *iPseCo* is mostly used with other verbal tenses. The two possibilities do not exclude each other. As Simeonova (2023) points out, periphrases featuring V1 TAKE with connecting *i* are easily found in the imperative and used as reproachatives. This opens up an interesting venue for future research, as the role of *iPseCo* in the system of periphrases with functional TAKE needs to be clarified.

Further investigation on the diatopic distribution of such periphrases is also required. The results of the multiple choice task let emerge a significantly different distribution in the answer pattern between the western and the eastern group. Such a difference is found at least in the inchoative-inducing context (with the “disapproval” one featuring a weak significance). This state of affairs might suggest a difference in the use of these constructions between west and east. However, the limited amount of data does not allow us to commit ourselves to such a strong claim. This fact, however, calls for further research. The presence of a possible difference needs to be supported by a balanced pool of participants and a larger number of *ad hoc* items that allow the use of more powerful tools (e.g., logistic regression).

5. The Syntax of TAKE Constructions

The overview of the structural properties of the canonical constructions involving the complementizer *če* and the particle *da* presented in Section X.X is a touchstone to understand the nature of TAKE constructions. Previous discussion has already highlighted a structural similarity between TAKE *daMAC* and TAKE *čeMAC/iPseCo*. Since the following analysis considers the structure of these constructions in relation with their interpretation, the discussion provided in this section will not consider TAKE *iPseCo*, as its semantic contribution is not clear. Let us pursue a separate investigation in Sections 5.1 and 5.2.

5.1 A Structural Proposal for TAKE *daMAC*

Despite the similarity that all TAKE constructions share (i.e., the presence of TAKE as

functional V1), TAKE *daMAC* diverges from the others in that V1 and V2 do not share TAM features. In fact, irrespectively of the tense of V1, V2 appears in a default present tense. Recall that such a present tense governed by *da* has been analyzed as a syntactic infinitive (Krapova & Cinque 2018). This leads to the interesting observation that the meaning of the TAKE constructions is “compositional” in the sense that it does not stem from the mere V1, but it results from the V1 in combination with the connector (and, consequently, with the tense of the V2).

The comparison of the properties of TAKE *daMAC* with those of the different types of canonical MACs featuring connector *da* reveals that the former periphrasis behaves exactly like what have been labeled by Krapova & Cinque (2018) “infinitive-like constructions”. Not by chance, this kind of MACs is found with phasal V1s like *započvam* ‘begin/start’. Both TAKE *daMAC* and infinitive-like MACs display an obligatory present tense governed by *da* and feature obligatory identity of the subject of V1 and V2. For this reason, Krapova & Cinque (2018) analyze such “infinitive-like constructions” as monoclausal ones. The same carries over to TAKE *daMAC*.

A straightforward solution is thus to take TAKE *daMAC* to have the same structure of “infinitive-like” constructions, where TAKE is used instead of *započvam*. Krapova & Cinque (2018) propose a split-TP system (Cinque 2006) for *započvam*-like-MACs. V1 sits in some specific TP projection (depending on its semantics) and selects a verbal complement introduced by the mood particle *da*. This verbal complement does not constitute a separate clause but is part of the same functional spine. The structure of such constructions and of TAKE *daMAC* is represented in (27).

(27)[TP pro [Asp_{inceptive}P {*započvam* / *vzemas*} [*da* [VP *piša*]]]]

Our proposal is to treat functional TAKE exactly like the verb *započvam*. This is possible because the semantics of TAKE is bleached, and it can occupy slots where other verbs would normally occur. The verb *vzema(m)* ‘take’ generally has a resultative semantics, could be placed in Cinque’s (2006) Asp_{completive}, which is lower than Asp_{inceptive}. This state of affairs is perfectly in line with formal models of grammaticalization (Roberts & Roussou 2003; van Gelderen 2011 et seq.) that take such a process to result in a shift upwards in the functional hierarchy. In this case, TAKE would shift from the lower Asp_{inceptive} to the higher Asp_{completive}, thus acquiring the inchoative semantics and selecting the same complements as inchoative verbs.

This leaves us with an open question: how is it possible that TAKE acquires an inchoative meaning? As seen in Section 1, TAKE becomes a mirative marker in a number of different languages. This happens, according to Eckberg (1993), because of the way in which people conceptualize the action of taking. This action is decomposed by her in three phases:

- an initiation phase, which is momentaneous and volitional, where the subject undergoes the action of taking;
- a transfer one, where the ‘takee’ is transferred to the taker;

- a final one, which is the taker's possession of the 'takee'.

Eckberg indicates the initiation phase as the one responsible for the inchoative semantics of TAKE cross-linguistically, as this initiation stage is generalized to other actions (and not exclusively to the one of taking). In this way, bleached TAKE is able to occur higher in the projection dedicated to inchoative verbs.

5.2 A Structural Proposal for TAKE *če*MAC

Let us now have a look at the properties of the remaining constructions. We had already pointed out that TAKE *če*MAC and TAKE *iPseCo* behave in line with TAKE *da*MAC in having a unique subject, but they differ from it in that their V1 and V2 obligatorily share TAM features. Such constructions have been assigned a monoclausal structure (see Giusti & Cardinaletti 2022 for Italo-Romance). We agree with such analyzes and assume that TAKE *če*MAC and TAKE *iPseCo* are also monoclausal. This straightforwardly justifies the presence of a unique subject (as there cannot be disjunct coreference between V1 and V2) and the mandatory TAM feature sharing.

Namely this TAM sharing is the symptom of a strictly local relation between TAKE and V2. Such relation is even tighter with respect to TAKE and V2 in *da*MACs. This may be thought both in terms of syntactic structure and semantic interplay between the verbs.

As far as syntax is concerned, Soto Gómez (2021) proposed a structural explanation of the similar mirative *yPseCos* in Spanish. His idea is that the contribution of V1 in these constructions is analogous to that of contrastive focus: V1 introduces the most pragmatically relevant information and presupposes a set of alternatives against which the action expressed by V2 is evaluated. Structurally this is represented as in (28) (adapted from Soto Gómez 2021: 121), where V1 is originated in a Focus projection in the left periphery and the V2 transfers its TAM features to it via the CP. The latter projection hosts the connector *y* 'and', suggesting that this is not a real conjunction.

(28) [FocP V1 [CP *y* [TP V2 [VP V2]]]]

The same reasoning can be applied to the TAKE *če*MAC, which displays the same structural properties and the same interpretation of the Spanish *yPseCo* (Note 22). Hence we tentatively adopt Soto Gómez's (2021) analysis for Bulgarian TAKE *če*MAC, as in (29). One advantage of this approach is that it accounts for the speaker-oriented nature of the construction by placing V1 in the discourse-related domain of the left periphery. Moreover, it provides a natural position for the connector *če* that should be formally analyzed as a complementizer.

(29) [FocP *vze* [CP *če* [TP *napisa* [VP *napisa*]]]]

Despite the CP layer is the natural placement for complementizers, Bulgarian *če* in the corresponding TAKE MAC does not behave as a complementizer. In fact, as argued at the beginning of this section, TAKE *če*MAC fully behaves as a monoclausal construction, this meaning that it does not involve two separate clauses. Note that the monoclausality of the structure is guaranteed by the structure in (28) since there are not two independent TPs, the second of which is introduced by a fully-fledged complementizer. In fact, the role of the

complementizer in such a case would be to introduce an embedded clause denoting a separate event. On a par with *i* ‘and’, thus, *če* in the case of the TAKE MAC seems to be a dummy, not carrying out the function it usually has.

6. Conclusions, Open Questions for Further Research, and Desiderata

In this paper we have provided a thorough syntactic description of a group of Bulgarian verbal periphrases featuring functional TAKE. We have identified three different configurations that we propose to label TAKE *če*MAC, *da*MAC, and *iPseCo* (see Section 2) and two main semantic functions, namely inchoativity and mirativity. Due to the limited data available in the literature on the relevant constructions, we have based our investigation on the collection of new data through an online questionnaire submitted to anonymous native speakers (see Section 3). Our findings indicate that TAKE *če*MAC, *da*MAC, and *iPseCo* are all attested and used in contemporary Bulgarian, although the former two constructions appear to be more productive, whereas the latter is not universally accepted by all speakers (cf. § 3.3). Structurally, all these periphrases align with other monoclausal constructions; the two TAKE MACs are preferred when describing past events, while TAKE *iPseCo* occurs both in the present and past with similar frequency. Additionally, TAKE *da*MAC specializes for inchoativity, while TAKE *če*MAC is associated with mirativity. The existence of TAKE *iPseCo*, which appears redundant from a semantic perspective, might be justified by its ability to render the construction available with verbal tenses otherwise disallowed (See Section 4).

This research raises several questions for future investigation and some research desiderata:

- The monoclausality of TAKE *če*MAC prompts an examination of the status of the connector *če*, traditionally considered a complementizer with full rights. In this construction, however, it may have a different nature, possibly influencing the semantics or the selection of V2. This calls for more data to be gathered also by means of corpus construction;
- The monoclausal status of all the three constructions could be further corroborated by investigating the role of negation (specifically, whether the two verbs can be negated separately);
- It could be verified whether V1 can project a full argument structure (e.g., take a direct object), as this would provide significant insights into its functional nature;
- The semantics of *iPseCo* should be further examined to determine its exact semantics and whether it depends on the (imperfective vs. perfective) aspect of V1;
- A sociolinguistic analysis is also needed, especially by gathering more data from the eastern regions of Bulgaria;
- The surrounding varieties spoken in Serbia and Macedonia should also be the object of similar investigation in order to get a macro-comparative picture of the Balkan Slavic area with respect to inchoative and mirative TAKE constructions.

By tackling these points in future work, it would be possible to deepen our understanding of these constructions and their implications for Bulgarian syntax and semantics.

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank Giuliana Giusti and Paweł Rutkowski for encouraging us to undertake this research project. Many thanks go to Tihomir Rangelov for promoting our questionnaire to Bulgarian native speakers. We are extremely grateful to all the anonymous participants in the study. Vincenzo Nicolò Di Caro's research was funded by the European Union—NextGenerationEU—PRIN 2022 PNRR (CUP E53D23019660001 - ID P2022YWS8T). Although this paper is the result of joint work by the two authors, for academic purposes Vincenzo Nicolò Di Caro is responsible for Sections 1, 3 and 6, while Luca Molinari is responsible for Sections 2, 4 and 5. Naturally, all errors remain our own responsibility.

References

- Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2006). Serial verb constructions in typological perspective. In A. Y. Aikhenvald, & R. M. W. Dixon (Eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-linguistic Typology* (pp. 1-68). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2012). The essence of mirativity. *Linguistic Typology*, 16, 435-485.
- Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2018). *Serial verbs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Andrason, A. (2018). The WZIAĆ gram in Polish. A serial verb construction, or not?. *STUF - Language Typology and Universal*, 71(4), 577-629.
- Asenova, P. (2002). *Balkansko ezikosnanie. Osnovni problemi na balkanskija ezikov sąjuz [Balkan linguistics. Fundamental problems of the Balkan Linguistic Union]*. Veliko Tărnovo: Faber.
- Bleotu, A. C. (2022). The properties of the '(a) lua și X' ('take and X') construction in Romanian: Evidence in favor of a more fine-grained distinction among pseudocoordinative structures. In G. Giusti, V. N. Di Caro, & D. Ross (Eds.), *Pseudo-Coordination and Multiple Agreement Constructions* (pp. 149-168). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.274.06ble>
- Buchstaller, I., & Khattab, G. (2013) Population samples. In R. J. Podesva, & D. Sharma (Eds.), *Research Methods in Linguistics* (pp. 74-95). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139013734>
- Cardinaletti, A., & Giusti, G. (2001). "Semi-lexical" Motion Verbs in Romance and Germanic. In N. Corver, & H. Van Riemsdijk (Eds.), *Semi-lexical categories* (pp. 371-414). Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Cinque, G. (2006). *Restructuring and Functional Heads*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Comrie, B. (1976). *Aspect. An introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coseriu, E. (1966). "Tomo y me voy": ein Problem vergleichender europäischer Syntax. *Vox Romanica*, 25, 13-55.

Coseriu, E. (1977). "Tomo y me voy": Un problema de sintaxis comparada europea. *Estudios de lingüística románica*, 79-151.

Cruschina, S. (2013). Beyond the Stem and Inflectional Morphology: an Irregular Pattern at the Level of Periphrasis. In S. Cruschina, M. Maiden, & J. C. Smith (Eds.), *The Boundaries of Pure Morphology* (pp. 262-283). Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199678860.003.0014>

De Angelis, A. (2017). Between Greek and Romance: Competing complementation systems in Southern Italy. In P. Molinelli (Ed.), *Language and Identity in Multilingual Mediterranean settings. Challenges for Historical Sociolinguistics* (pp. 135-156). Berlin/New York: De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110554274-008>

Déchaine, R.-M. (1993). Serial Verb Constructions. In J. Jacobs, A. von Stechow, W. Sternefeld, & T. Vennemann (Eds.), *Syntax: ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung [An International Handbook of Contemporary Research]* (Vol. 1, pp. 799-825). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Del Prete, F., & Todaro, G. (2020). Building complex events: The case of Sicilian Doubly Inflected Construction. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 38(1), 1-41.

DeLancey, S. (1997). Mirativity: The grammatical marking of unexpected information. *Linguistic Typology*, 1, 33-52.

DeLancey, S. (2001). The mirative and evidentiality. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 33, 369-382.

DeLancey, S. (2012). Still mirative after all these years. *Linguistic Typology*, 16, 529-564.

Di Caro, V. N. (2019). *Multiple Agreement Constructions in Southern Italo-Romance. The Syntax of Sicilian Pseudo-Coordination* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Ca' Foscari University of Venice, Italy.

Di Caro, V. N., & Molinari, L. (2022). Competing verbal constructions with functional TAKE in Bulgarian. In B. Hamp, T. Joyce, L. Orfila & V. S. Govindarajan (Eds.), *Online proceedings of the Texas Linguistic Society Twenty First Conference* (pp. 16-40). University of Texas at Austin.

Ekberg, L. (1993). The Cognitive Basis of the Meaning and Function of Cross-Linguistic TAKE and V. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics*, 8, 21-42.

Fanciullo, D. (2014). Le forme deittiche di determinazione a valore temporale nei dialetti dei monti Rodopi (Bulgaria-Grecia). In A. Bonola, P. Cotta Ramusino, & L. Goletiani (Eds.), *Studi italiani di linguistica slava: Strutture, uso e acquisizione* (pp. 289-302). Florence: Firenze University Press.

Friedman, V. (2003). 'One' as an Indefinite Marker in Balkan and Non-Balkan Slavic. In R. Maguire, & A. Timberlake (Eds.), *American Contributions to the Thirteenth International*

Congress of Slavists (pp. 93-112). Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publishers.

Ganfi, V. (2021). *Diacronia e sincronia del complementatore mi in siciliano*. Munich: LINCOM.

Giusti, G. (2011). *Structural Protocols for Linguistic Awareness Enhancing Language Identity* [online]. Research project at CRASSH. University of Cambridge, October-December 2011. Retrieved from <http://www.crassh.cam.ac.uk/people/profile/giuliana-giusti>

Giusti, G., & Cardinaletti, A. (2022). Theory-driven approaches and empirical advances: A protocol for Pseudo-Coordinations and Multiple Agreement Constructions in Italo-Romance. In G. Giusti, V. N. Di Caro, & D. Ross (Eds.), *Pseudo-Coordination and Multiple Agreement Constructions* (pp. 35-64). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.274.02giu>

Giusti, G., Di Caro, V. N., & Ross, D. (2022). Pseudo-Coordinations and Multiple Agreement Constructions: An overview. In G. Giusti, V. N. Di Caro, & D. Ross (Eds.), *Pseudo-Coordination and Multiple Agreement Constructions* (pp. 1-34). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.274.01giu>

Hansen, B., Letuchiy A., & Błaszczuk, I. (2016). Complementizers in Slavonic (Russian, Polish, and Bulgarian). In K. Boye, & P. Kehayov (Eds.), *Complementizer Semantics in European Languages* (pp. 175-223). Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Havers, W. (1931). *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax. Ein Versuch zur Erforschung der Bedingungen und Triebkräfte in Syntax und Stilistik*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Josefsson, G. (2014). Pseudo-coordination in Swedish with gå 'go' and the 'surprise effect'. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax*, 93, 26-50. Lund University.

Joseph, B. D. (1983). *The Synchrony and Diachrony of the Balkan Infinitive: A Study in Areal, General, and Historical Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kanchev, I. (2010). Семантика, типология и произход на конструкцията вземам/взема че (та, и) + глагол от свършен вид” [On the semantics, typology and origin of the construction вземам/взема че (та, и) + perfective aspect verb]. *Съпоставително езиковедие* [Contrastive Linguistics], 35(3), 40-44.

Kilgarriff, A., Baisa, V., Bušta, J., Jakubíček, M., Kovář, V., Michelfeit, J., Rychlý, P., & Suchomel, V. (2014). The Sketch Engine: Ten Years On. *Lexicography*, 1, 7-36.

Kilgarriff, A., Rychlý, P., Smrž, P., & Tugwell, D. (2004). The Sketch Engine. *Information Technology*, 1, 105-116.

Krapova, I. (1998). Subjunctive complements, null subjects and case checking in Bulgarian. *University of Venice working papers in linguistics*, 8(2), 73-93.

Krapova, I. (2001). Subjunctives in Bulgarian and modern Greek. In M. L. Rivero, & A. Ralli (Eds.), *Comparative syntax of Balkan languages* (pp. 105-126). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Krapova, I. (2002). On the left periphery of the Bulgarian sentence. *University of Venice Working Papers*, 12, 107-128.
- Krapova, I. (2021). Complementizers and particles inside and outside of the left periphery: The case of Bulgarian revisited. In B. Wiemer, & B. Sonnenhauser (Eds.), *Clausal Complementation in South Slavic* (pp. 161-211). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110725858-202>
- Krapova, I., & Cinque, G. (2018). Universal Constraints on Balkanisms. A Case Study: The Absence of Clitic Climbing. In I. Krapova, & B. Joseph (Eds.), *Balkan Syntax and (Universal) Principles of Grammar* (pp. 151-191). Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.274.01giu>
- Krapova, I., & Karastaneva, T. (2002). On the structure of the CP field in Bulgarian. *Balkanistica*, 15, 293-322.
- Krapova, I., & Petkov V. (1999). Subjunctive complements, null subjects, and case checking in Bulgarian. In K. Dziwirek, H. S. Coats, & C. M. Vakareliyska (Eds.), *Annual workshop on formal approaches to Slavic linguistics 7: The Seattle meeting 1998* (pp. 267-285). Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Slavic Publications.
- Ledgeway, A. (2013). Greek disguised as Romance? The case of Southern Italy. In M. Janse, B. Joseph, A. Ralli, & M. Bağrıaçık (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 5th international conference on Greek dialects and linguistic theory* (pp. 184-228). Patras: Laboratory of Modern Greek dialects, University of Patras. <https://doi.org/10.26220/mgdl.v5i1.2596>
- Lefebvre, C. (1991). *Serial Verbs: Grammatical, Comparative and Cognitive Approaches*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/ssls.8>
- Lødrup, H. (2002). The Syntactic Structures of Norwegian Pseudocoordinations. *Studia Linguistica*, 56(2), 121-143.
- Lødrup, H. (2017). Norwegian Pseudocoordination with the Verb drive “carry on”: Control, Raising, Grammaticalization. In M. Butt, & T. H. King (Eds.), *Proceedings of the LFG’17 Conference* (pp. 264-284). Stanford: CSLI Publications. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9582.00090>
- Manzini, M. R., & Savoia, L. M. (2005). *I dialetti Italiani e Romanci. Morfosintassi Generativa, Vol. I: Introduzione – Il soggetto – La struttura del complementatore, frasi interrogative, relative e aspetti della subordinazione*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso.
- Manzini, M. R., Lorusso, P., & Savoia, L. M. (2017). *a/bare finite complements in Southern Italian varieties: mono-clausal or bi-clausal syntax?*. *Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali*, 3, 11-59.
- Masini, F., Mattiola, S., & Vecchi, G. (2019). La costruzione “prendere e V” nell’italiano contemporaneo. In B. Moretti, A. Kunz, S. Natale, & E. Krakenberger (Eds.), *Le tendenze dell’italiano contemporaneo rivisitate. Atti del LII Congresso Internazionale di Studi della Società di Linguistica Italiana (Berna, 6–8 settembre 2018)* (pp. 115-137). Roma: Bulzoni.

- Mendes, G., & Ruda, M. (2022). Pseudo-coordination and ellipsis. Expressive insights from Brazilian Portuguese and Polish. In G. Giusti, V. N. Di Caro, & D. Ross (Eds.), *Pseudo-Coordination and Multiple Agreement Constructions* (pp. 169-190). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.274.07men>
- Nicolova, R. (2008). *Bălgarska gramatika – morfologija*. Sofija: Sv. Kliment Oksridski.
- Pitsch, H. (2018). Bulgarian moods. *Journal of Slavic Linguistics*, 26(1), 55-100.
- Pulkkinen, P. (1966). *Asyndeettinen rinnastus suomen kielessä (Asyndetic coordination in Finnish)* (Doctoral dissertation). Helsinki: SKS:n toimituksia 281.
- R Core Team. (2024). *R: A Language and Environment for Statistical Computing*. Vienna: R Foundation for Statistical Computing. Retrieved from <https://www.r-project.org>
- Roberts, I., & Roussou, A. (2003). *Syntactic Change: A Minimalist Approach to Grammaticalization*. New York: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511486326>
- Rohlf, G. (1969). *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti, Vol. 3: Sintassi e formazione delle parole*. Turin: Einaudi.
- Ross, D. (2016). Going to Surprise: the grammaticalization of itive as mirative. In J. Woźny (Ed.), *Online Proceedings of Cognitive Linguistics in Wrocław Web Conference*. Wrocław: Polish Cognitive Linguistics Association and University of Wrocław.
- Ross, D. (2017). *Pseudocoordinación del tipo tomar y en eurasia: 50 años después [pseudocoordination with take and in eurasia: 50 years later]* [PowerPoint slides]. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/2142/110127>
- Ross, D. (2021). *Pseudocoordination, serial verb constructions and multi-verb predicates: The relationship between form and structure* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, United States. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.5546425>
- Rudin, C. (1986). *Aspects of Bulgarian Syntax: Complementizers and wh constructions*. Columbus, OH: Slavica Publishers.
- Sandfeld, J. K. (1900). *Rumaenske Studier I. Infinitiv og udtrykkene derfor i Rumaensk og Balkansprogene, en sammenlignende undersøgelse*. Copenhagen.
- Simeonova, V. (2023). *Bulgarian take-reproachative imperatives and mirativity*. [Handout for an oral presentation delivered at FASL 32 on 20/05/2023].
- Simov, K., & Kolkovska, S. (2004). Interpretacija na da-konstrukciite v opornata frazova gramatika. *Slavistikata v načaloto na XXI vek - tradicii i očkvanija*. Sofija, 153-162.
- Sims, A. D., & Joseph, B. D. (2019). Morphology versus Syntax in the Balkan Verbal Complex. In I. Krapova, & B. D. Joseph (Eds.), *Balkan Syntax and (Universal) Principles of Grammar* (pp. 99-150). Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110375930-007>

- Soto Gómez, J. F. (2021). *Pseudocoordination in Spanish. A two construction analysis* (Master's Degree thesis). Ca' Foscari University of Venice, Italy.
- Stojanov, S. (1983). *Gramatika na sãvremennija bãlgarski knižoven ezik. Tom 2 / Morfologija*. Sofia: BAN.
- Stojkov, S. (1962). *Bãlgarska dialektologija*. Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo.
- Stojkov, S. (1968). *Bãlgarska dialektologija. Second edition*. Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo.
- Stojkov, S. (1993). *Bãlgarska dialektologija. Third edition*. Sofija: BAN.
- Tomić, O. M. (2006). *Balkan Sprachbund Morpho-syntactic Features*. Dordrecht: Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/1-4020-4488-7>
- Tomić, O. M. (2008). Mood and negation in Balkan Slavic. G. Zybatow, L. Szucsich, U. Junghanns, & R. Meyer (Eds.), *Formal Description of Slavic Languages: The fifth conference, Leipzig 2003* (pp. 461-477). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Tragel, I. (2017). Serial verb constructions in Estonian. In B. Nolan, & E. Diedrichsen (Eds.), *Argument Realisation in Complex Predicates and Complex Events: Verb verb constructions at the syntax-semantic interface. Studies in Language Companion Series 180* (pp. 169-189). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.180.06tra>
- Trubeckoj, N. S. (1928). Proposition 16. In A. Meillet (Ed.), *Actes du Premier Congrès International des Linguistes à la Haye*, 18. Uitgeversmaatschappij.
- van Gelderen, E. (2011). *The linguistic cycle: Language change and the language faculty*. New York: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199756056.001.0001>
- Wagner, M. L. (1955). Expletive Verbalformen in den Sprachen des Mittelmeeres. *Romanische Forschungen*, 67(1/2), 1-8.
- Wickham, H. (2016). *ggplot2: Elegant Graphics for Data Analysis*. Springer-Verlag New York. Retrieved from <https://ggplot2.tidyverse.org>
- Wiklund, A. (2007). *The syntax of tenselessness: tense/mood/aspect-agreeing infinitivals*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110197839>
- Wiklund, A. (2008). Creating surprise in complex predication. *Nordlyd*, 35, 163-187. Tromsø University.
- Wiklund, A. (2009). The syntax of surprise: Unexpected event readings in complex predication. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax*, 84, 181-224.

Notes

Note 1. According to Lefebvre (1991: 55), functional TAKE 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».

Note 2. For an interpretation of PseCo itself as an instance of SVC cf. Déchaine (1993); Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001); Manzini & Savoia (2005); Manzini, Lorusso & Savoia (2017); Cruschina (2013); Del Prete & Todaro (2020); Giusti, Di Caro & Ross (2022).

Note 3. Coseriu (1966) reports that the first discussion on TAKE PseCo in Spanish (surfacing as *tomar* ‘take’) dates back to a 1535 manuscript, *Diálogo de la lengua*, in which Juan de Valdés warns about its use as a colloquialism to avoid.

Note 4. For the Greek influence on Southern Italo-Romance varieties about the lack of the infinitive, known as ‘the unpopularity of the infinitive’, see Rohlfs (1969: §717). See also Ledgeway (2013) for a more recent discussion on the Greek interference exerted over these varieties.

Note 5. Hansen, Letuchiy & Błaszczyk (2016) consider *da*-forms as a particular mood with several *irrealis* uses which differ from those of indicative mood forms.

Note 6. See Pitsch (2018) for an overview of the competing accounts.

Note 7. Krapova (2021: 220) also divides the verbs which can select a *če*-complement in four main classes: (i) propositional attitude/epistemic verbs (e.g., *mislja* ‘think’); (ii) verbs of communication (e.g., *kazvam* ‘say’); (iii) verbs of intellection/cognitive predicates (e.g., *znam* ‘know’); (iv) emotive predicates (e.g., *sážaljavam* ‘regret’).

Note 8. The examples reported by Coseriu (1966: 21) (or at least one of them) are probably taken from some Bulgarian dialect spoken in the Rhodopes, give the form *fatila* ‘take’ (Fanciullo 2014: 292).

Note 9. From the novel *The serial killer* (*Серийният убиец*) by Cvetko Marinov. ISBN: 978-954400-271-8.

Note 10. Kilgarriff et al. (2004, 2014). Link to SketchEngine: <https://www.sketchengine.eu>.

Note 11. All of the participants (N = 241) completed the online questionnaire.

Note 12. The tense of the V2 was also adapted whenever necessary (see Section 2.3).

Note 13. Bulgarian verbs mostly come in aspectual couples. What is referred to as “present” (*segašno vreme*) in traditional grammars (see, e.g., Stojanov 1983) also comes with an imperfective-perfective pair. The present imperfective (*segašno nesvăršeno vreme*) appears as an independent tense, while the present perfective (*segašno svăršeno vreme*) appears in verbal periphrases after the particle *da*.

Note 14. The aorist is also named “past perfect tense” (*minalo svăršeno vreme*) in traditional Bulgarian grammars. Its function is described as follows in Stojanov (1983: 314): “The past perfect tense expresses a past action done or performed at a specific, definite moment or period and terminated before the moment of speaking” (our translation). Despite its name of “perfect tense”, also imperfective verbs can appear in the aorist, although this happens in the

cases where the action is conceived as a whole but is presented with internal complexity (Comrie 1976: 32).

Note 15. In the example (25), which corresponds to item 38 in the questionnaire, the participants were given the following instruction: *Posočete koe ot sledvaštite izrečenija po-dobre opisva тази situacija* ‘Indicate which of the following sentences best describes this situation’.

Note 16. Following Buchstaller and Khattab’s (2013) ‘snowball sampling’ technique, we asked a small group of Bulgarian native speakers to help us by recruiting the participants to our study, on a voluntary basis, among their acquaintances who were also native speakers of Bulgarian. 243 participants took part in the study, but 2 of them were excluded because they were under the age of 18.

Note 17. All the Figures were implemented in R (R Core Team 2024) and plotted by means of the ggplot2 package (Wickham 2016).

Note 18. The participants were given the possibility not to indicate their gender. Nevertheless, all of them indicated either gender.

Note 19. The significance of the difference in the distribution between the western and the eastern group is rather borderline. Multiple replications of the Fisher’s Test give only slightly significant results (first replication: $p=0.059$; second replication: $p=0.051$; third replication: $p=0.046$). Multiple replications of this test for the other differences gives instead consistent results.

Note 20. Havers (1931: 113-114) already noted that TAKE constructions (and related constructions with V1 START and motion V1s) have a colloquial nature, but he adds that they are not unfamiliar to more prestigious registers.

Note 21. Bulgarian, just like other national languages, is subject to some degree of normative pressure that aims at preserving some structures perceived as “standard” at the expense of other colloquial ones. One example is the deletion of the “improper” use of *edin* ‘one’ used as an indefinite determiner in the drafts that are sent to publishing houses (Friedman 2003: 94).

Note 22. Although we will not discuss the Bulgarian TAKE *iPseCo*, we still want to point out that in this case as well the connector *i* ‘and’ does not behave as a real conjunction since it does not indicate sequentiality of the events as it would be expected.

Copyrights

Copyright for this article is retained by the author(s), with first publication rights granted to the journal.

This is an open-access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution license (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>)