

Chapter 20

Focus-sensitive particles in Bulgarian: Towards an adverbial-only analysis

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This paper is an investigation of the placement and potential adjunction sites of focus-sensitive particles (FSPs) in Bulgarian. In contrast to well-researched languages such as English and German, there is currently no full analysis of FSP-placement in Bulgarian. I propose an analysis here based partly on results of previous analyses by Buring & Hartmann (2001) for German and Zanon (2023) for Russian, arguing that Bulgarian FSPs adjoin to projections belonging to the extended verbal projection (EVP) as well as a functional projection FP in the nominal domain. In addition, I discuss the implications that right-adjunction of FSPs to F-marked constituents in Bulgarian has for the Particle Theory as proposed here. Future research in this direction could focus on the connection between adjacency of the FSP and overt focus movement as well as semantic restrictions that individual modifiers and particles impose upon the possibility of adjunction of FSPs.

1 Introduction

Focus-sensitive particles (FSPs), particles such as English *only*, *even*, and *also*, have received attention to varying degrees depending on the language studied. While association with focus in English is by now a well-studied phenomenon, especially from a semantic perspective (see Rooth 1985, for example), and the syntactic properties of FSPs in Germanic languages such as English and German have been extensively researched (Jacobs 1983, Buring & Hartmann 2001, von Stechow 2008, Mursell 2021), the same cannot be said of many other language families. In Slavic, for example, information structure-sensitive particles, including FSPs, remain understudied in comparison to other phenomena in information



structure (IS), such as the interaction of IS and free word order (Jasinskaja 2016: 731). Additionally, there is generally a strong bias towards Russian data, with other Slavic languages being either less studied or even understudied in comparison to that, as Jasinskaja (2016) notes.

In the following, I provide a first analysis of Bulgarian focus-sensitive particles with an emphasis on *samo* ‘only’, *săšto* ‘also’, and *dori* ‘even’. (1) shows how these three particles associate with a f(ocus)-marked constituent in Bulgarian.^{1,2}

- (1) a. Obadi-h se samo [na IVAN]_F.
 call-PST.1SG REFL only to Ivan
 ‘I only called Ivan.’ (Tisheva & Dzhonova 2003: ex. 8a)
- b. Včera săšto [četo-h ROMAN]_F.
 yesterday also read-PST.1SG novel
 ‘I also read a novel yesterday.’
- c. Včera dori [AZ]_F pročeto-h edin roman.
 yesterday even I read-PST.1SG one novel
 ‘Even I read a novel yesterday.’

In addition to pre-focal association with focus, Bulgarian FSPs are also able to follow the focused constituent they are associated with, as (2) demonstrates. Post-focal association is attested for other Slavic languages such as Russian as well and distinguishes Slavic in this respect from German and other Germanic languages.³

- (2) a. Obadi-h se [na IVAN]_F samo.
 call-PST.1SG REFL to Ivan only
 ‘I only called Ivan.’ (Tisheva & Dzhonova 2003: ex. 8a)
- b. [PETĀR]_F săšto mož-e da gotvi.
 Petăr also able-PRS.3SG to cook
 ‘Petăr is able to cook as well.’

¹All non-English examples in this paper are from Bulgarian, unless marked otherwise next to the example.

²In the basic cases shown in this paper, the three particles generally behave the same way with respect to their syntactic behavior. However, once they are investigated in further detail, their behavior (unsurprisingly) diverges. I cannot provide a detailed investigation of this in this paper as the purpose is to provide a first analysis of Bulgarian FSPs, and this will be addressed in future research. Throughout the paper, I indicate relevant differences between the particles with respect to their placement when needed.

³While the differences in interpretation between the two word orders shown here deserve an investigation of their own, I provide some preliminary results concerning these differences in Section 4 of this paper.

- c. [ANA]_F dori šte trjabva da dojd-e.
 Ana even AUX.FUT have to come-PRS.3SG
 ‘Even Ana will have to come.’

So far, only few studies have focused on the syntax and semantics of Bulgarian FSPs. For instance, a semantic study of *samo* ‘only’ is given in Nicolova (2000). The semantic properties of the FSP *až/čak*, the scalar opposite of scalar ‘only’ which is present in several Slavic languages, including Bulgarian, is extensively studied in Tomaszewicz (2013). The syntactic distribution of *samo* ‘only’ is described in Tisheva & Dzhonova (2003). Their corpus study provides a detailed description of the adjunction sites of *samo*. However, the study only considers surface word order and does not contain an analysis that goes beyond surface level. In the present study, I close a research gap in this respect and argue that a so-called ADVERBIAL-ONLY ANALYSIS correctly predicts the possible adjunction sites of Bulgarian FSPs along the lines of what is argued for German in Büring & Hartmann (2001) and for Russian in Zanon (2023).

Adverbial-only analyses of FSPs predict that FSPs are only able to adjoin to projections belonging to the Extended Verbal Projection (EVP), although individual analyses of this kind may differ with respect to the projections which they allow adjunction to. The logical alternative to this type of analysis is the so-called ADNOMINAL or MIXED analysis, which predicts that FSPs can adjoin to any type of phrase, and especially also to argument DPs. For German, it has been argued extensively in Büring & Hartmann (2001) that an adverbial-only analysis successfully captures the syntactic properties of the language’s FSPs (see Mursell 2021 for an extension and discussion of this proposal, and Sudhoff 2010 for criticism of this line of analysis).

In addition to arguing for an adverbial-only analysis of Bulgarian FSPs, I show that a combination of Büring & Hartmann’s (2001) Particle Theory on the one hand, and Zanon’s (2023) Particle Theory on the other hand can be adapted to account for the placement options of FSPs in Bulgarian. Since Bulgarian is considered to be a language with relatively “free” word order, the successful extension of Büring and Hartmann’s adverbial-only analysis is relevant insofar as it shows that languages with a more flexible word order than German can also impose heavy restrictions on the distribution of FSPs. This indicates that ‘free’ word order does not have to mean that FSP-adjunction is necessarily free as well.

This article is structured as follows. In Section 2, I briefly present the few studies that have already been conducted on Bulgarian FSPs, give an overview of the placement options of the three particles studied here on the clausal level and in the nominal domain, and summarize the most important aspects of Büring &

Hartmann's (2001) and Zanon's (2023) Particle Theories. In Section 3, I present syntactic arguments for an adverbial-only analysis of FSP adjunction in Bulgarian and discuss challenges to conventional adverbial-only analyses caused by the particle placement options available in the nominal domain, before moving on to presenting a Particle Theory for Bulgarian. Since Bulgarian FSPs can also appear post-focally, in contrast to German FSPs, I discuss post-focal FSPs in Section 4. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2 Focus-sensitive particles in Bulgarian and beyond

The aim of this section is twofold. First, I offer a basic description of the placement options of Bulgarian FSPs based on previous work on Bulgarian as well as novel data. This is followed by an overview of the basics of Büring & Hartmann's (2001) Particle Theory as well as an analysis of the syntactic behavior of Russian *tol'ko* 'only' in Zanon (2023), both of which I am going to extend to Bulgarian in Section 3.

2.1 Previous research on (Bulgarian) FSPs

2.1.1 Syntactic aspects

In this section, I provide a basic description of the placement of FSPs in Bulgarian based on Tisheva & Dzhonova (2003), a descriptive corpus study of Bulgarian *samo* 'only', and also provide novel data. *Only* and its approximate equivalents are the particles that have received most attention in the literature on FSPs. This is also the case for the corpus study by Tisheva & Dzhonova (2003) already mentioned. The authors argue that *samo* 'only' in Bulgarian "can have scope over NP, PP, AdvP, VP, or part of XP" (Tisheva & Dzhonova 2003: 65).⁴ Their data shows how flexible *samo* seems to be when it comes to the potential adjunction sites of the particle. Nicolova (2000: 109) also acknowledges the flexibility of the placement of FSPs in Bulgarian, remarking that NPs, PPs, VP, verbs, AdvPs, or whole subordinate clauses can associate with an FSP. (3) demonstrates that the FSP can adjoin to NPs and Vs (in addition to the apparent PP adjunction demonstrated in (1)).

⁴As pointed out by a reviewer, this usage of the term "scope" is potentially misleading as what the authors describe in their paper is actually possible adjunction sites of *samo* 'only' in Bulgarian. I therefore follow the reviewer's suggestion and avoid this usage of the term "scope". While I cannot discuss these matters further here due to reasons of space, more in-depth discussion of different usages of the notion of scope can be found in Branan & Erlewine (2023).

- (3) a. Kupi-h samo [KRASTAVIC-I]_F za salata-ta.
 buy-PST.1SG only cucumber-PL for salad-DEF
 'I only bought cucumbers for the salad.'
- b. Samo [ČET-A]_F roman-i.
 only read-PRS.1SG novel-PL
 'I only read novels.' (Tisheva & Dzhonova 2003: exx. 7a, 6a)

These examples also show that *samo* generally marks narrow focus (Tisheva & Dzhonova 2003). The authors also note that *samo* can associate with the phrase preceding it when it is placed at the end of the clause, as in (2) above. (2) also shows that the FSPs under discussion here can also follow a subject that they associate with, an option that is not discussed by Tisheva & Dzhonova (2003). In other positions, *samo* is much more likely to associate with the phrase following it (Tisheva & Dzhonova 2003: 6–7). In general, there are only two cases in which the focused constituent is not right-adjacent to the FSP associated with it. Apart from the case of (apparent) right-adjunction already shown, it is also possible for the focused constituent to move to a position at the left edge of the clause, stranding the FSP that is associated with it. This is shown in (4).

- (4) a. Čet-a samo [ROMAN-I]_F.
 read-1SG only novel-PL
 'I read only [novels]_F.'
- b. [ROMAN-I]_F čet-a samo
 novel-PL read-1SG only
 '[Novels]_F, I read only.'

Tisheva & Dzhonova (2003) note that there are two restrictions that the placement of *samo* must adhere to: the prohibition against insertion into PPs and the prohibition against insertion into complex verbal complexes. Examples of both can be seen in (5).

- (5) a. *Obadi-h se na samo [IVAN]_F.
 call-PST.1SG REFL to only Ivan
 Intended: 'I called only Ivan.'
- b. *Ti šte samo [SEDI-Š]_F.
 you AUX.FUT only sit-PRS.2SG
 Intended: 'You will just sit.' (Tisheva & Dzhonova 2003: exx. 8d, 11b)

Apart from these prohibitions, the authors argue that *samo* can be placed relatively freely within the Bulgarian clause. However, a crucial restriction of the

scope of their investigation is that their study is mostly descriptive and only takes surface word order into consideration. Once the aim is to identify why it should be the case that the restrictions in place in Bulgarian exist and what they reveal about the underlying adjunction sites of Bulgarian FSPs, it becomes evident that the potential adjunction sites for FSPs in Bulgarian are much more restricted than can be seen at the level of surface word order.

In addition to the data discussed by Tisheva & Dzhonova (2003), several more potential adjunction sites of Bulgarian FSPs can be discovered in the nominal domain. (6) demonstrates that FSPs such as *samo* can adjoin to PPs within NPs:

- (6) a. *samo kotka-ta* [na SĀSEDKA-TA]_F
 only cat-DEF of neighbor-DEF
 ‘only the cat [of the neighbor]_F’
 b. *kotka-ta samo* [na SĀSEDKA-TA]_F
 cat-DEF only of neighbor-DEF
 ‘only the cat [of the neighbor]_F’
 c. *kotka-ta* [na SĀSEDKA-TA]_F *samo*
 cat-DEF of neighbor-DEF only
 ‘only the cat [of the neighbor]_F’

Adjunction to nominal modifiers within NPs sometimes even circumvents the “no PP-insertion”-prohibition discussed by Tisheva & Dzhonova (2003), irrespective of the FSP that is being inserted. However, the acceptability of these examples depends on the preposition and modifier involved, as (7) shows (further discussion can be found in Section 3.2 of this paper).

- (7) a. * *sās samo* [EDNA]_F *kola*
 with only one car
 Intended: ‘with only one car’
 b. ? *sled samo* [NJAKOLKO]_F *sekund-i*
 within only few second-PL
 ‘within only a few seconds’
 c. *meždu samo* [DVE]_F *opci-i*
 between only two option-PL
 ‘between only two options’
 d. *meždu dori* [DVE]_F *opci-i*
 between even two option-PL
 ‘between even two options’

After briefly discussing semantic research on Bulgarian FSPs, I turn to theoretical approaches that can be adapted to analyze particle placement in Bulgarian in the remainder of the section. (both are more about syntax though)

2.1.2 Semantic aspects

With respect to the semantics of Bulgarian FSPs, three particles have been studied in the literature in more depth, namely *samo* ‘only’, *dori* ‘even’, and *čak*.⁵

According to Nicolova (2000), both the exclusive particle *samo* and the additive particle *dori* mark contrastive focus in Bulgarian.^{6,7} The two particles can associate with different types of phrases such as NPs, PPs, VPs, or AdvPs (Nicolova 2000: 109). In addition to that, Nicolova (2000) notes that the contrastively focused constituent can be placed everywhere in the clause and is not restricted to a designated position while the most prominent sentence accent is placed in the domain of the FSP and its adjacent focused constituent.

Tomaszewicz (2013) provides a semantic study of the Slavic FSP *až/čak*.⁸ According to the author, *až/čak* makes three basic contributions, namely the assertion that lower alternatives than the one presented in the clause are excluded as well as the presuppositions that “the prejacent is high on the scale” and that “the prejacent or an alternative at most as strong is true” (Tomaszewicz 2013: 321). A Bulgarian example is shown in (8) (from Tomaszewicz 2013: 302).⁹

- (8) Govori-h čak s [MARY]_F.
 talk-PST.1SG ČAK with Mary
 ‘I talked to somebody so important as [Mary]_F.’

In (8), *čak* makes a contribution similar to English *even* in that it singles out Mary as a very important person to talk to. However, the particle is not merely

⁵No translation of *čak* is provided here due to its intriguing semantic properties that impede a direct translation into English.

⁶Nicolova (2000: 108) argues that additive as well as exclusive FSPs induce contrastive focus as both particles express a difference between a predicted and a real sum, a position that can be (and has been) debated.

⁷Nicolova (2000) labels *even*-type as well as *also*-type particles as additive particles, a (terminological) decision that does not seem intuitive to readers nowadays, as a reviewer notes. In Nicolova’s system, both particles are additive, but *even* is scalar while *also* is non-scalar (which also holds for *only* in her classification). I follow Nicolova’s terminology here for the sake of correctly presenting her proposal.

⁸*Až* is found in Czech, Polish, Slovak, and Russian (with different spellings), and *čak* is found in Bulgarian and other South Slavic languages. Both particles have similar properties and can be treated as two forms of the same particle.

⁹Transliteration changed to scientific transliteration.

presuppositional and can also be the direct opposite of *only*, in contrast to *even* (Tomaszewicz 2013). In contrast to *až/čak*, *only* would assert that there is no higher, true alternative and presuppose that “the prejacent is low on the scale” and that “the prejacent or an alternative at least as strong is true” (Tomaszewicz 2013: 321). Particles such as *čak* are heavily restricted in their usage due to their particular semantic properties. While *only*, *also*, and *even* can be used interchangeably in most examples discussed here, this is not the case for *čak*. In the remainder of this paper, I am going to focus on the less semantically restricted FSPs in Bulgarian. In the next section, I turn to Büring & Hartmann’s (2001) theory of FSPs in German and Zanon’s (2023) account of the syntax of *tol’ko* ‘only’ in Russian, which will provide the basis for the proposed analysis in Section 3.

2.2 The Particle Theories of Büring & Hartmann (2001) and Zanon (2023)

2.2.1 Büring & Hartmann’s (2001) Particle Theory for German

Büring & Hartmann (2001) propose an adverbial-only analysis of German focus-sensitive particles. One of their many arguments is that this kind of analysis naturally excludes the adjunction of FSPs to DPs within PPs or embedded within other DPs, which is ungrammatical in German. (9) shows both ungrammatical cases.

- (9) a. *mit nur [HANS]_F
 with only Hans
 Intended: ‘only with Hans’
 b. *der Bruder nur [de-s GRAF-EN]_F
 the brother only the-GEN count-GEN
 Intended: ‘only the count’s brother’

(German; Büring & Hartmann 2001: exx. 7a, 8a)

As I demonstrate in the next section, the adjunction of FSPs to NPs/DPs within PPs is also ungrammatical in Bulgarian in most cases.

The specific adverbial-only analysis that Büring & Hartmann (2001: ex. 6) propose allows adjunction of FSPs only to projections belonging to the Extended Verbal Projection (EVP). Their Particle Theory (in its preliminary version) consists of four clauses plus an additional clause concerning left-adjunction of FSPs in German and is shown in (10)–(11).

- (10) For any node α marked F in a phrase marker P, let the set of f-nodes of α consist of all nodes β in P such that
- β is an EP (extended projection) of some V γ
 - β is a maximal projection
 - β dominates α or is identical to α
 - there is no EP β' of γ such that β dominates β' and β' meets (10b) and (10c). (Büring & Hartmann 2001: ex. 11)
- (11) A FSP must be left-adjoined to an f-node of its focus. (Büring & Hartmann 2001: ex. 12)

Apart from adjunction to EVP, the Particle Theory predicts that FSPs only adjoin to maximal projections (10b), that the FSP has to dominate the F-marked constituent (10c) (“dominate” means “c-command” for the purpose of the discussion here), that FSPs adjoin to the focus as closely as possible (10d), and that FSPs can only be left-adjoined in German.¹⁰ In Section 3.3, I discuss how this Particle Theory could be adapted to Bulgarian, after arguing that an adverbial-only analysis should, in fact, be pursued for this language.

Büring & Hartmann’s (2001) proposal has been met with criticism in the literature, much of which has implications for a Particle Theory for German, but not necessarily for the Particle Theory for Bulgarian developed here. Reis (2005) remarks that the PT for German sometimes predicts V3 structures that should be ungrammatical according to the strict V2 requirement in German. This is mostly irrelevant for Bulgarian, but see Mursell (2021) for a defense of this aspect of Büring & Hartmann (2001). The reconstruction-based arguments employed by Büring & Hartmann (2001: Section 5) have also been an object of debate, for example in Meyer & Sauerland (2009) and Smeets & Wagner (2018). I will leave this aspect of the debate aside for now as I will not employ reconstruction-based arguments for developing my Particle Theory for Bulgarian (but see, again, Mursell 2021 for an extensive and recent discussion of the reconstruction facts in German). Additionally, Reis (2005) discusses the adjacency requirement already mentioned (which is termed the “closeness condition” in Reis 2005). The following example is given by her to show that the adjacency requirement can be violated in German:

¹⁰See Büring & Hartmann (2001) for a detailed discussion of and argumentation for the individual clauses, and Sudhoff (2010) as well as Mursell (2021) for discussion and criticism of individual aspects of their proposal.

- (12) a. Ich hab nur {darin / in dem Buch} [geLESen]]_F.
 I have only therein in the book read
 'I have only read it/the book.'
- b. Ich hab {darin / in dem Buch} nur [geLESen]_F.
 I have therein in the book only read
 'I have only read it/the book.' (German; Reis 2005: ex. 23a)

Regarding this example, I agree with Mursell (2021: 230) with respect to the questionable grammaticality of (12a). (12a) is labelled as grammatical in Reis (2005), a fact with which many German speakers do not agree. More important, however, is that (12a) does not violate the adjacency requirement, as *nur* 'only' still adjoins to the projection of the EVP most immediately dominating the F-marked constituent. The only difference between (12a) and (12b) is that there is no scrambling of the argument out of the VP in (12a), an option which is permitted under Büring & Hartmann's (2001) theory (Mursell 2021: 230). Regarding the closeness condition/adjacency requirement, it is interesting to note that evidence for the validity of such a condition can also be found in languages unrelated to the ones discussed in this paper. Erlewine (2017) discusses focus association with *chi* 'only' in Vietnamese and argues that *chi* needs to adjoin as early as possible in each phase during the derivation, relating the closeness condition to cyclic structure-building facts. This is in line with findings concerning the exhaustive focus marker *shi* in Mandarin (Erlewine 2022). These findings are important in the context of Büring & Hartmann's (2001) theory as they show that the closeness condition can be motivated independently of the facts found for German, and, crucially, independently of the arguments brought forward by Büring & Hartmann that have been criticized so markedly in the literature.

Later on in their paper, Büring & Hartmann (2001: 265-266) modify their proposal further and argue that FSPs only adjoin to non-arguments (this condition replaces the EVP condition mentioned above). Among tricky CP adjunction data discussed by the authors, this proposal also accounts for cases of adjunction within DPs that would be excluded by the EVP condition, such as the cases in (13).

- (13) a. eine nur an [MUSIK]_F interessierte Student-in
 a only in music interested student-F
 'a student interested only in music'
- b. der sogar mit [KARL]_F verfeindete Förster
 the even with Karl quarreling forest_ranger
 'the forest ranger who is quarreling even with Karl'

- c. unser auch von [Origami]_F begeisterter Hausmeister
 our also of Origami enthusiastic janitor
 ‘our janitor who is enthusiastic also about Origami’

(German; Büring & Hartmann 2001: ex. 74)

In these cases, the modified Particle Theory predicts the adjunction of the FSP to the modifier instead of DP, which would then be adjunction to a non-argument. This aspect of Büring & Hartmann’s proposal has been met with criticism as well; however, a detailed discussion of this would go beyond the scope of this paper and can be found in Mursell (2021). Additionally, Mursell (2021: 247-248) discusses DP data such as (14), which is not explained by the “adjunction to non-arguments”-condition either.¹¹

- (14) a. ein nur [Mittelmäßiger]_F Student
 an only mediocre student
 ‘an only mediocre student’

- b. *eine nur [ROte]_F Tasche

an only red bag

Intended: ‘an only red bag’

(German; Mursell 2021: 247, ex. 78)

As discussed by Mursell (2021), the fact that individual modifiers provide different adjunction options for FSPs or even prohibit adjunction points towards the fact that there could be additional semantic reasons that permit or prohibit FSP adjunction. Please note as well that Büring & Hartmann’s (2001) proposal excludes data such as the cases in (6) found in Bulgarian, which demonstrate that the adjunction of FSPs to PPs within NPs/DPs is possible in Bulgarian. A possible solution to this is offered by the next proposal, Zanon (2023), to be discussed in the following section.

2.2.2 Zanon’s (2023) analysis of Russian *tol’ko*

Zanon (2023) examines the behavior of Russian *tol’ko* ‘only’, arguing that *tol’ko* is always adjacent to the F-marked constituent due to a strong [Foc] feature of *only* that triggers movement of the F-marked constituent to a position adjacent to it. Along the lines of Rudin’s (1988) proposal for Bulgarian multiple wh-questions,

¹¹While I judge (14b) as degraded, it improves for me as an answer to a question such as *What kind of bag would you like to have?*

Zanon (2023: 420) argues that *tol'ko* and the F-marked constituent form an un-splittable complex, as shown in Figure 1.^{12,13}

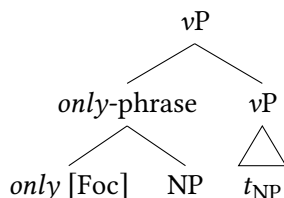


Figure 1: Structure of an *only*-phrase from Zanon (2023: ex. 7)

Similarly to my proposal for Bulgarian, Zanon (2023) provides three arguments against *tol'ko* being an NP-adjunct. Just like Bulgarian and German, Russian does not allow the insertion of *only* into a PP:¹⁴

- (15) a. * *dlja tol'ko sestry*
 for only sister
 Intended: 'only for the/a sister'
- b. * ... *s tol'ko krupnymi finansovymi gruppami*
 with only large financial groups
 Intended: '... only with the large financial groups'
- (Russian; Zanon 2023: exx. 8a, c)

¹²As a reviewer notes, Zanon's adaptation of Rudin's analysis presupposes that the phrase that is the sister to *only* can move into a non-c-commanding position, along the lines of Rudin's proposal for the right-adjunction of Bulgarian wh-words in multiple wh-environments. Rudin refers to Chomsky (1986), who argues that this type of movement is an option in these environments. While it would be interesting to investigate the disadvantages of this adaptation and the advantages of other analyses, I must postpone this to future research, as this is not the focus of my paper.

¹³While the adjacency account correctly derives the particle placement facts for Bulgarian, the result cannot always be an un-splittable complex, as I discuss in Section 4 of this paper.

¹⁴A reviewer notes that the insertion of *tol'ko* 'only' into a PP is sometimes possible in Russian and provides the following example:

- (i) *vopreki tol'ko zdravomu smyslu*
 in.spite.of only common.DAT sense.DAT
 'in spite of only common sense'

This is in line with the occasional circumvention of the "no PP-insertion"-prohibition that can be found in Bulgarian. Since Russian is not the focus of this paper, I cannot discuss these Russian examples further, but suggest that if Russian and Bulgarian pattern similarly here, these cases are rather infrequent in comparison to the general prohibition at work in both languages.

Additionally, *tol'ko* does not pattern with adjectival or adverbial modifiers that would be expected to be NP-adjuncts (Zanon 2023: 422). (16) and (17) show that *tol'ko* neither patterns with adverbial modifiers like *očen*¹⁵ nor with adjectival modifiers like *svežuju*.¹⁶

- (16) a. *Tol'ko vy [SVEŽUJU]_F rybu kupili?
only you fresh fish bought
Intended: 'Did you only buy the [FRESH]_F fish?'
- b. Očen ty bol'suju cenu za škury zaprosil.
very you big price for pelts asked
'You requested too high a price for the pelts.'
- (Russian; Zanon 2023: ex. 11)

- (17) a. *Vy tol'ko kupili [RYBU]_F?
 you only bought fish
 Intended: 'Did you only buy [FISH]_F?'¹⁷
 b. Vy [SVEŽUJU]_F kupili rybu?
 you fresh bought fish
 'You bought [FRESH]_F fish?'
 (Russian; Zanon 2023: ex. 12)

A last argument in favor of *tol'ko* not being adjoined to NP is of a semantic nature: As observed in Taglicht (1984), NP-adjacent *only* in English causes scope ambiguity. Zanon (2023: 423–424) does not find the analogous ambiguity in Russian, as (18) shows.

- (18) a. Ja žaleju, što poceloval tol'ko [MAŠU]_F.
 I regret that kissed only Maša
 'I regret that I only kissed [Maša]_F.'
 i. ...and no one else.
 ii. # ...but I don't regret that I kissed Anastasia.

¹⁵It is unclear to me why *očen* 'is analyzed as an adverbial modifier here when it seems to behave more like a degree expression whose purpose is to modify the adjective, as noted by a reviewer. I leave these terminological problems aside for now as this respective example does not affect my analysis of Bulgarian.

¹⁶Transliteration adapted to scientific transliteration in (16).

¹⁷ A reviewer notes that this example is not fully ungrammatical for some Russian speakers, but only degraded. In Bulgarian, it is generally not possible to separate FSPs from the constituents they associate with, although there are (scarce) examples to be discussed in Section 3. Even if the adjacency facts are not as clear-cut in Russian as presented in Zanon (2023), this does not affect my analysis of Bulgarian.

b. Ja tol'ko [MAŠU]_F žaleju, čto poceloval.

I only Maša kissed that regret

'I only regret that I kissed [Maša]_F.'

i. # ...and no one else.

ii. ...but I don't regret that I kissed Anastasia.

(Russian; Zanon 2023: ex. 15)

With respect to the potential adjunction sites of *tol'ko*, Zanon argues that *vP*, *CP*, and a functional projection in the *DP*, namely *FP*, are potential adjunction sites for *tol'ko*. What unites these projections is that they can all be argued to be phases in Russian that are functional projections at the same time. The 'only'-complex can adjoin to *vP* in the verbal domain (with the verb optionally raising above the complex then) (Zanon 2023: 426-427).¹⁸ *Tol'ko* is adjoined to *CP* in *tol'ko*+subject complexes as in (19) (Zanon 2023: 429).¹⁹

(19) Tol'ko [IVAN]_F posmotrel ètot fil'm.

only Ivan watched this movie

'Only [IVAN]_F watched this movie.'

(Russian; Zanon 2023: ex. 25)

In the nominal domain, Zanon (2023: 432-433) notes that *tol'ko* can be adjoined to the genitive complement inside an *NP* (or to parts of it such as the numeral modifier shown below), as demonstrated in (20). This fact can be accounted for

¹⁸This analysis would run into problems under approaches that assume that the finite verb never moves out of *vP* in Russian, as a reviewer remarks. I refer the reader to the discussion of this issue in Zanon (2023). Since movement of the finite verb to *T* is assumed for Bulgarian, this debate is less relevant for the analysis that I am pursuing here. See, for example, Harizanov (2019) for a recent discussion and summary of verb position in Bulgarian.

¹⁹A reviewer provides the following example and remarks that Zanon's analysis would not be able to account for subjects in embedded *CP*s that follow a complementizer in *C*:

(i) Ja znaju čto tol'ko [IVAN]_F posmotrel ètot fil'm.

I know that only Ivan watched this movie

'I know that only Ivan watched this movie.'

I leave the solution of this problem under Zanon's account open here but would suggest that examples like this perhaps show that Zanon's restriction of adjunction sites to *CP*, *vP*, and *FP* is too restrictive for Russian. Again, this problem does not affect my more permissive analysis of adjunction sites for Bulgarian *FSP*s.

by the existence of a functional projection FP that is able to host *tol'ko*.²⁰ As I discuss in Section 3.3, this account can be extended to the nominal domain in Bulgarian, but also runs into problems depending on the modifier studied.

- (20) Ja znaju [studentov tol'ko PERVOGO_F kursa].
 I know students only first year
 'I know only the [FIRST]_F year students.' (Russian; Zanon 2023: ex. 32c)

In a way, Zanon (2023) provides an explanation for the adjunction patterns of *only* in Russian that is the exact opposite of what Tisheva & Dzhonova (2003) assume for Bulgarian: Instead of arguing that *only* can adjoin to any type of syntactic constituent, Zanon limits the number of adjunction sites of *only*. As a next step, the F-marked constituent moves towards the position of *only*, instead of *only* adjoining to the respective F-marked constituent anywhere in the clause. This analysis correctly rules out the restrictions on the placement of FSPs in Bulgarian that Tisheva & Dzhonova's (2003) account leaves unexplained, as I argue in Section 3.

3 An adverbial-only analysis of Bulgarian FSPs

In this section, I present arguments against an adnominal analysis of the adjunction behavior of Bulgarian FSPs as well as arguments in favor of an adverbial-only analysis (Section 3.1). Section 3.2 provides additional discussion of the behavior of Bulgarian FSPs in the nominal domain and the challenges that this poses for Büring & Hartmann's (2001) Particle Theory. Finally, I introduce an adaptation of Büring & Hartmann's Particle Theory to Bulgarian (Section 3.3).

3.1 Arguments against an adnominal analysis

The biggest advantage of pursuing an adverbial-only analysis of Bulgarian FSPs is that an analysis of this type predicts and explains certain distributional facts that an adnominal analysis struggles to account for. One distributional fact that has been observed for German, as already mentioned in Section 2.2, is the impossibility of adjoining FSPs to DPs within PPs, which adnominal analyses would predict to be an option. (21) shows that the prohibition, which is judged to be

²⁰Examples such as (20) differ in acceptability among Russian speakers, as a reviewer remarks. I must leave open for now why that is the case and how widespread this divergence is in Russian. As examples of this kind are grammatical in all environments in which I have tested them, Zanon's prediction is still borne out in Bulgarian.

sharply ungrammatical by all my consultants, is not limited to a specific FSP or the involvement of a specific preposition. The prohibition carries over to all FSPs and prepositions that I tested.²¹

- (21) a. *Kupi-h krastavic-i za samo [SALATA-TA]_F.
 buy-PST.1SG cucumber-PL for only salad-DEF
 Intended: ‘I bought cucumbers only for the salad.’
 b. *Ana glasuva sreštu samo [MARIA]_F
 Ana vote.PST.3SG against only Maria
 Intended: ‘Ana voted only against Maria.’
 c. *okolo dori golemite [GRAD-OVE]_F
 around even big city-PL
 Intended: ‘even around big cities’

Adverbial-only analyses neatly predict the PP-insertion prohibition. Furthermore, they also account for the exclusion of adjunction to NPs/DPs in other environments in which the FSP would be forced to adjoin to phrases of this type. An example for this is the coordination test proposed by Jacobs (1983) for German, as shown in (22).

- (22) * dass Peter und {nur / sogar / auch} Luise sich in Straßburg trafen
 that Peter and only even also Luise REFL in Straßburg meet.PST
 Intended: ‘that Peter and {only / even / also} Luise met in Straßburg’
 (German; Jacobs 1983: 45, ex. 3.29b)

As noted by a reviewer, a purely syntactic account of these examples is unable to account for their ungrammaticality. While I generally agree with this view (and consider it not to be incompatible with my argumentation), I argue that there is a certain component of the ungrammaticality of these examples that can be explained by particle placement. The reviewer gives two reasons for their scepticism: First, *nur* ‘only’ should be incompatible with DP coordination irrespective of syntax due to its exhaustive interpretation. This cannot be entirely true since

²¹A possible exemption is *vmesto* ‘instead’. This preposition is the only one which can be inserted within PPs, examples of which can be found in the *Bulgarian National Corpus* (Koeva et al. 2010). This example is from an excerpt of a (spoken) debate: *Pärvo da se glasuva pārvata čast na teksta s predloženieto na gospodin Bučkov vmesto samo [LICA]_F*, ‘First to vote the first part of the text with Mr. Bučkov’s proposal instead of only persons’. At this point, it is unclear to me why the PP insertion prohibition does not extend to *vmesto*. However, even with this preposition, examples of FSP-insertion within PPs are scarce and Bulgarian speakers prefer to place the FSP before the preposition.

(22) is also degraded/ungrammatical if other FSPs such as *sogar* ‘even’ and *auch* ‘also’ are used. Jacobs (1983: 45) discusses the impact of semantic factors on the ungrammaticality of the example and points out that reversing the order of conjuncts makes the example grammatical:

- (23) *dass nur / sogar / auch* [LUISE]_F und Peter sich in Straßburg trafen
 that only even also Luise and Peter REFL in Straßburg meet.PST
 ‘that only / even / also Luise and Peter met in Straßburg’

Even if only *Luise* is focused in this example, it is still grammatical, which could be explained by the fact that the FSP can adjoin to an EVP-projection in this case. This extends to examples with non-reflexivized verbs such as (24a), versus (24b).

- (24) a. Nur [MARIE]_F und Luise haben die Klausur bestanden.
 only Marie and Luise AUX.PL the exam pass.PTCP
 ‘Only Mary and Luise passed the exam.’
 b. * Marie und nur [LUISE]_F haben die Klausur bestanden.
 Marie and only Luise AUX.PL the exam pass.PTCP
 Intended: ‘Marie and only Luise passed the exam.’

Using a non-reflexivized verb improves the situation in the case of *even* and *also* (I consider the examples presented here as only slightly degraded in German with these two FSPs instead of *only*). Nevertheless, the “semantic explanation” does not fully account for why the reversal of the order of conjuncts should lead to grammaticality here.

In (22), *nur* ‘only’ is forced to adjoin to the coordinated DP *Luise*, which results in ungrammaticality. This extends to Bulgarian, as can be seen in (25).

- (25) ??/* Znaj-a, če Peter i samo [ANNA]_F se srešt-na-ha v
 know-1SG that Peter and only Anna REFL meet-PST.3PL in
 Berlin.
 Berlin
 Intended: ‘I know that Peter and only Anna met in Berlin.’

Consequently, the adverbial-only analysis predicts that adjunction to VP should not be a problem in a coordinating construction. This is borne out, as demonstrated by (26).²²

- (26) Peter izle-ze i samo [PAZAR-UVA]_F.
 Peter go.out-3SG.PST and only shop-PST
 ‘Peter went out and only did his shopping.’

An additional argument against the incorporation of Bulgarian FSPs into the NP/DP is provided by observable stranding phenomena. Stranding of *nur* ‘only’ is possible in German in many instances.²³ The FSP can be stranded in Bulgarian, as in (27).²⁴

²²While the results of the coordination test fit the predictions made by the adverbial-only analysis, it is important to note that a test of this kind should not be used on its own to make predictions about the correctness of this analysis, since in special constructions such as coordinated structures, there could be other interfering factors at work. Moreover, the intuition of German speakers concerning the German equivalents of examples such as (26) differ, a problem that I must leave for further research for now. A reviewer points out that adjunction of *only* to the second conjunct should also be difficult in cases of VP-adjunction that lack the purpose reading found in (26) such as **John cried and only laughed*. The German equivalent *Jan hat geweint und nur gelacht* is grammatical to me, especially under a temporal interpretation of the conjunction. Again, I conclude that only an analysis that takes semantic and syntactic factors going hand in hand into account can grasp adjunction data of this kind to its full extent. Nevertheless, VP-adjunction seems to be often possible in cases in which DP-adjunction is not, favoring the adverbial-only analysis.

²³See Mursell (2021) for discussion.

²⁴A reviewer notes that this example could also be a case of NP-splitting. NP-splitting is possible in Bulgarian, but conflicting judgments are constantly being reported in the literature on these splits so that it is difficult to determine which splits are accepted by a majority of speakers and which ones are not. While the possibility of NP-splitting should be kept in mind when interpreting my examples here, I argue that what we can observe in (27) is not an NP-split as *samo* does not pattern with, for example, adjectival modifiers here. In many NP-splits, it is possible to strand the noun and front the adjective, as in the following example:

- (i) Nova₁ e kupil [t₁ kola] (ne stara).
 new is bought car not old
 ‘He bought a new car, not an old one.’ (Tasseva-Kurktchieva & Dubinsky 2018: ex. 36a)

This is not possible with *samo* and other FSPs that I have tested, as fronting *samo* and stranding the noun would mean that *samo* is not associated with the stranded noun anymore, but with the constituent to its right. Additionally, an explanation would be needed for why only the lowest NP can be split in this case so that *samo* is moved to the left periphery. I therefore tentatively conclude that my example does not show an NP-split.

- (27) a. Čet-a samo [ROMAN-I]_F.
 read-1SG only novel-PL
 ‘I read only [novels]_F.’
 b. [ROMAN-I]_F čet-a samo.
 novel-PL read-1SG only
 ‘[NOVELS]_F, I read only.’

Since *romani* ‘novels’ is placed above the verb in this example, we can conclude that it moved above TP, suggesting that the F-marked constituent moved to the designated FocP in the left periphery.

These arguments taken together suggest that there are not as many adjunction sites for Bulgarian FSPs as descriptive analyses such as Tisheva & Dzhonova (2003) suggest. In fact, adjunction seems to be restricted to projections belonging to the EVP, a proposal which is in line with Buring & Hartmann (2001) and less restrictive than Zanon’s (2023) analysis of Russian *tol’ko*. However, an additional adjunction site in the nominal domain is needed to account for the adjunction options of Bulgarian FSPs there, as I show in the next section.

3.2 Bulgarian FSPs in the nominal domain

Bulgarian FSPs in the nominal domain show the importance of not only taking syntactic but also semantic factors into account when determining possible adjunction sites for FSPs. As discussed by Buring & Hartmann (2001), German FSPs can circumvent the prohibition against adjunction to DPs inside PPs if they are adjoined to an adjectival or numeral modifier, as demonstrated in (28).

- (28) a. mit nur [EINEM]_F Wagen.
 with only one car
 ‘with only [ONE]_F car.’
 b. in nur [WENIGEN]_F Sekunden
 in only few seconds
 ‘within only [A FEW]_F seconds.’

(German; Buring & Hartmann 2001: exx. 82a, c)

Buring & Hartmann (2001) account for this by further generalizing from “adjunction to EVP” to “adjunction to non-arguments” as the principle governing particle placement in German. However, “adjunction to non-arguments” does not explain the fact that German FSPs are unable to adjoin to some modifiers, as discussed in Section 2.2. Mursell (2021: 247) discusses the possibility that there

could be a bigger reason explaining adjunction possibilities in general, such as that FSPs only adjoin to elements that introduce a scale (an observation that he attributes to Karen De Clercq), which could be argued for some of the modifiers discussed by him as well as for verbs, accounting for the facts captured by the adverbial-only analysis as well. While it is definitely necessary to consider this bigger reason behind adjunction possibilities that goes beyond a syntactic treatment of the problem, a first step is to successfully capture the adjunction options of FSPs from a syntactic perspective. If we consider Bulgarian data equivalent to the German data discussed above, it becomes evident that Bulgarian does not pattern with German here but shares many characteristics with Russian in this respect. Most importantly, Bulgarian FSPs are able to adjoin to PPs and DPs embedded within DPs, which is impossible in German, as a direct comparison shows (in this example, Bulgarian *samo* adjoined to a PP within a DP while we can observe the impossibility of adjunction to DP within a DP in the German example):

- (29) a. *die Katze nur [de-s NACHBAR-N]_F (German)
 the.F cat only the-M.GEN neighbor-M.GEN
 Intended: ‘only the cat [of the neighbor]_F’
 b. kotka-ta samo [na ŠASEDKA-TA]_F
 cat-DEF only of neighbor-DEF
 ‘only the cat [of the neighbor]_F’

This adjunction behavior is a major obstacle for a Particle Theory in the style of Büring & Hartmann (2001) as data points such as (29) are one major argument for excluding adnominal adjunction in German. However, these examples can be reconciled with the help of Zanon’s (2023) proposal for Russian. Under the assumption that Bulgarian FSPs adjoin to a functional projection in the nominal domain, FP, as she proposes for Russian, the examples can be captured by her analysis. Russian and Bulgarian pattern similarly here:²⁵

- (30) a. Ja znaju tol’ko [studentov PERVOGO_F kursa].
 I know only students.ACC first.GEN year.GEN
 ‘I only know the [FIRST]_F year students.’

²⁵I prefer Zanon’s approach over Büring & Hartmann’s approach here as Zanon’s approach does not exclude the adjunction options shown in (29) to be possible in Bulgarian. Adopting the “adjunction to non-arguments”-condition for Bulgarian would mean that the Bulgarian examples in (31) could be explained by arguing for adjunction to the numeral, while (29) would be predicted to be ungrammatical as there is no modifier present.

- b. Ja znaju [studentov tol'ko PERVOGO_F kursa].
 I know students.ACC only first.GEN year.GEN
 'I know only the [FIRST]_F year students.'

(Russian; Zanon 2023: ex. 32a, c)

- (31) a. Pozna-vam samo [student-i PĀRVA godina]_F.
 know-1SG only student-PL first year
 'I only know the [FIRST]_F year students.'
- b. Pozna-vam student-i samo [PĀRVA godina]_F.
 know-1SG student-PL only first year
 'I know only the [FIRST]_F year students.'

While Zanon's analysis captures these facts effortlessly, neither this analysis nor newer proposals made for languages such as German, e.g. Mursell (2021), account for the variation in adjunction behavior to different modifiers at this point. Adjunction to modifiers within PPs in Bulgarian varies depending on the modifier and the preposition involved. (32) can be accounted for with the help of Mursell's proposal for scalar modifiers mentioned above (except for (32a), which possibly requires additional phonological considerations), as a reviewer notes. The ungrammaticality of the last two examples could then be explained by the fact that 'big' is not a scalar modifier.

- (32) a. * sās samo edna kola
 with only one car
 Intended: 'with only one car'
- b. ? sled samo njakolko sekund-i
 within only few second-PL
 'within only a few seconds'
- c. meždu samo dve optsi-i
 between only two option-PL
 'between only two options'
- d. meždu dori dve optsi-i
 between even two option-PL
 'between even two options'
- e. * okolo samo golemite grad-ove_F
 around only big city-PL
 Intended: 'only around big cities'
- f. * okolo dori golemite grad-ove_F
 around even big city-PL
 Intended: 'even around big cities'

The puzzle involving the restrictions that different prepositions and modifiers impose on FSP placement in Bulgarian cannot be resolved here. However, it allows us to draw a few conclusions for the analysis. First, it points towards the fact that Zanon's (2023) analysis involving adjunction to FP is on the right track for Bulgarian, while Buring & Hartmann's (2001) adjunction to non-arguments would not be able to capture the available adjunction sites of Bulgarian FSPs in the nominal domain. Second, it is evident how challenging nominal data is for adverbial-only approaches. An additional assumption, such as adjunction to FP, is needed in order to capture the empirical facts. There are two possibilities to develop a proper account that is able to capture the difference between individual modifiers. The first would be to aim for a separate treatment of FSP-adjunction in the clausal and nominal domain, which would be the less economic approach. A second option is the one already sketched, namely exploring the relationship between possible adjunction sites of FSPs and elements introducing a scale. Much of the data discussed in this section can be explained by the presence or absence of scalar modifiers, but (29) remains unexplained under this approach. Nevertheless, I consider this a fruitful path for future research in this area that aims to not only account for the Bulgarian facts, but for FSP adjunction in other languages such as German as well.

3.3 A Particle Theory for Bulgarian

Based on the facts already discussed here, I consider it reasonable to develop a Particle Theory for Bulgarian based on Buring & Hartmann's (2001) Particle Theory for German, since both languages show surprisingly similar patterns with respect to the adjunction behavior of their FSPs. At the same time, essential parts of Zanon's (2023) proposal, such as the possibility of adjunction to a functional projection FP in the nominal domain, are needed to account for the Bulgarian data. I therefore argue for a combination of both proposals for Bulgarian. In this section, I discuss the five clauses of Buring & Hartmann's Particle Theory and how these conditions could be adapted to the Bulgarian facts.

3.3.1 Adjunction to EVP

As discussed in the previous subsections, an adverbial-only analysis of the adjunction behavior of Bulgarian FSPs elegantly excludes the insertion prohibitions that can be found in the language. However, not all adverbial-only analyses are alike. Buring & Hartmann (2001) themselves propose two of them: They first argue that German FSPs only adjoin to the EVP and then further generalize to

adjunction to non-arguments, as described in Section 2.2. While this generalization is, as already discussed, not unproblematic for German, the previous section has shown that adjunction to non-arguments would also not be able to capture the adjunction behavior of Bulgarian FSPs in the nominal domain. A related, but distinct option would therefore be Zanon's (2023) proposal that assumes that Russian *tol'ko* only adjoins to *vP*, *CP*, and *FP*. Please note that Zanon's analysis excludes adjunction to *TP*, which Zanon rules out based on examples such as (33).

- (33) Ja ne znaju...
 I NEG know
 'I don't know...'
- a. [?]/_{*} posmotrel li tol'ko [IVAN]_F ètot fil'm.
 watched Q only Ivan this movie
 Intended: 'if only [Ivan]_F watched this movie.'
- b. posmotrel li Ivan tol'ko [ÈTOT]_F fil'm.
 watched Q Ivan only this movie
 'if Ivan watched only [THIS]_F movie.' (Russian; Zanon 2023: ex. 24)

In (33a), *tol'ko* must be adjoined to *TP*, below *li* in the *CP*, which is degraded in Russian. The example becomes grammatical once *tol'ko* is adjoined to *vP*, as in (33b) (Zanon 2023: 428-429).²⁶ Reproducing these examples in Bulgarian shows that Bulgarian is more permissive here and allows adjunction to *TP* as well. I conclude that the "adjunction to *EVP*"-condition that is more permissive than Zanon's proposal makes the correct predictions for Bulgarian.

²⁶A reviewer notes that *TP*-adjunction could, in fact, be possible in Russian, and provides the following example:

- (i) Ja ne znaju...
 I NEG know
 'I don't know...'
- a. posmotrel li tol'ko [ÈTOT]_F student ètot fil'm.
 watched Q only this student this movie
 'if only [THIS]_F student watched this movie.'
- b. [?]/_{*} posmotrel li Ivan tol'ko [FIL'M]_F.
 watched Q Ivan only movie
 'if Ivan watched only a [MOVIE]_F.'

This example potentially shows *TP*-adjunction, so Russian could be more permissive than assumed by Zanon (2023), and therefore also closer to Bulgarian in this respect. In any case, my proposal for Bulgarian allows for *TP*-adjunction and is therefore not affected by the pattern found for Russian here.

(34) Az ne znaj-a...

1SG NEG know-1SG

‘I don’t know...’

- a. dali samo [IVAN]_F e gleda-l tozi film.
whether only Ivan AUX.3SG watch-PTCP this movie
‘whether only [Ivan]_F watched this movie.’
- b. dali Ivan e gleda-l samo [TOZI]_F film.
whether Ivan AUX.3SG watch-PTCP only this movie
‘whether Ivan watched only [this]_F movie.’

3.3.2 Adjunction to maximal projections

As Büring & Hartmann (2001: 240-244) discuss, there are theory-internal reasons that make it desirable to uphold the requirement that FSPs adjoin to maximal projections only. I argue that the clause should hold for Bulgarian as well, since it naturally excludes cases such as (35). Here, the FSP can adjoin to the auxiliary in T, but not to the finite verb on its own.

- (35) a. Ti samo šte [SEDI-Š]_F
you only AUX.FUT sit-PRS.2SG
‘You will only sit.’
- b. *Ti šte samo [SEDI-Š]_F.
you AUX.FUT only sit-PRS.2SG
Intended: ‘You will only sit.’

3.3.3 The c-command condition

The c-command criterion can be maintained for Bulgarian if it is adapted in a way that allows for the FSP to not necessarily c-command the F-marked constituent only, but also its trace in cases in which the focused constituent moved above the FSP.²⁷ In all other cases, the local feature checking relationship proposed by Zanon (2023) for Russian also holds for Bulgarian. In fact, it is reasonable to argue that in the cases of right-adjunction discussed here, the F-marked constituent moved to adjoin to the FSP to locally check the strong [Foc] feature and moved above the FSP in a second step.²⁸ I discuss further details of this approach in Section 4.

²⁷ Association of focus with traces is extensively discussed in Erlewine (2014), including discussion of previous work on focus association that deemed this to not be a possible operation.

²⁸ As I will briefly touch upon in Section 4, this optional step would have to be constrained by discourse-level constraints instead of being driven by a syntactic feature.

3.3.4 The adjacency requirement

In contrast to other criteria such as the EVP requirement, the adjacency requirement does not have to be adapted for Bulgarian. There are abundant examples, such as (36), demonstrating that FSPs need to adjoin to their F-marked constituent as closely as possible.²⁹

- (36) * Kupi-h samo krastavic-i [ZA SALATA-TA]_F.
 buy-PST only cucumber-PL for salad-DEF
 Intended: ‘I bought cucumbers only [for the salad].’

At this point, a typological remark is in order. Although both Bulgarian and German adhere to the adjacency requirement, both languages still differ in the adjunction behavior of their FSPs insofar as Bulgarian FSPs do seem to possess a strong [Foc] feature that triggers movement of the F-marked constituent to the position of the FSP. While Zanon (2023: 428)’s typological generalization, namely that “in overt focus movement languages, a focalized XP-associate must be adjacent to the F-licensing element” was made with Russian in mind, the same holds for Bulgarian. Just like Russian, Bulgarian possesses overt focus movement and adheres to the adjacency requirement. Despite the similarities between FSP-adjunction in Bulgarian, Russian, and German, German seems to be located in another place in the typological realm here. German does not possess overt focus movement, but still requires adjacency if the maximal projection requirement is not violated and the syntax of the language permits adjacency. German is taking a middle ground here between the two stricter Slavic languages discussed and languages whose FSPs adjoin more loosely in general, such as English. While further developing this discussion would go beyond the scope of this paper, I want to underline the insights that could result from an investigation of FSP placement from a typological perspective.³⁰

²⁹The adjacency requirement is very strict in Bulgarian, and it is difficult to find examples in which adjacency of an F-marked constituent to its FSP is not required. The following is a puzzling example (adapted from Tisheva & Dzhonova 2003), as adjacency is not required here for at least some of my consultants (although judgments differ). For this group of speakers, all positions of *samo* indicated in the example are possible while the FSP is associated with the F-marked constituent.

- (i) Tova (samo) može (samo) da bāde (samo) [ofis-āt na MICROSOFT]_F.
 this only could only to be only office-DEF of Microsoft
 ‘This could only be the office of Microsoft.’

However, these examples are scarce, and it is unclear at this point for how many Bulgarian speakers they are grammatical.

³⁰I thank Željko Bošković for discussion of this point.

3.3.5 Left-adjunction

While the left-adjunction criterion is absolutely necessary to derive the correct particle placement for German, Bulgarian FSPs do not have to be left-adjoined to the F-marked constituent. Nevertheless, they usually remain close to their focused constituent, even when they surface to the right of the F-marked constituent, the reasons for which I discuss in Section 4. In order to capture the apparent right-adjunction of Bulgarian FSPs, Büring & Hartmann's (2001) fifth clause has to be adapted so that not only left-adjunction to an f-node of the FSP's focus is allowed, but also left-adjunction to the trace left behind by the F-marked constituent moving above the FSP.

3.3.6 Summary

Summing up, I propose the following Particle Theory for Bulgarian, based on Büring & Hartmann's (2001) proposal combined with the analysis by Zanon (2023), adapted to account for the Bulgarian data discussed here.

(37) THE PARTICLE THEORY FOR BULGARIAN

For any node α marked F in a phrase marker P, let the set of f-nodes of α consist of all nodes β in P such that

- a. β is an EP (extended projection) of some V γ or a functional projection FP within DP
- b. β is a maximal projection
- c. β dominates α or a trace of α or is identical to α
- d. there is no EP β' of γ such that β dominates β' and β' meets (37b) and (37c).

(38) A FSP must be left-adjoined to an f-node of its focus or its trace.

4 Post-focal FSPs in Bulgarian

As already discussed, Bulgarian FSPs must adjoin to the F-marked constituent that they belong to as closely as possible. However, there are two different, but, as I argue, related cases in which the F-marked constituent is able to move out of its position right-adjacent to the FSP. The first case, shown in (39), involves the focused constituent moving above the FSP, but staying immediately above it. The second case, the stranding case shown in (27) (repeated here as (40)), consists

of the F-marked constituent moving to a high position in the clause, presumably FocP in the left periphery.³¹

- (39) a. Čet-a [ROMAN-I]_F samo.
 read-1SG novel-PL only
 ‘I read only [novels]_F.’
 b. Včera [az]_F sášto četo-h roman.
 yesterday I also read-PST.1SG novel
 ‘Yesterday, [I]_F also read a novel.’
- (40) a. Čet-a samo [ROMAN-I]_F.
 read-1SG only novel-PL
 ‘I read only [novels]_F.’
 b. [ROMAN-I]_F čet-a samo
 novel-PL read-1SG only
 ‘[NOVELS]_F, I read only.’

The first important question that these types of “movement out of focus” (meaning cases in which a focused constituent left its original position right-adjacent to its FSP) raise is what consequences they have for our Particle Theory. Büring & Hartmann (2001) do not assume the possibility of right-adjunction in German, which derives the German adjunction facts correctly. Although the surface word order of the F-marked constituent and the FSP in Bulgarian suggests that right-adjunction is an option in this language, I will not argue for this to be the case for two reasons. First, the F-marked constituent is still interpreted as the constituent associated with the respective FSP, even if it has moved out of its position right-adjacent to the particle. This is surprising given the fact that Bulgarian FSPs are usually interpreted as strictly associating with the constituent following them. This suggests that the FSP associates with the F-marked constituent’s trace and that the focused constituent reconstructs at LF when it is interpreted.³² The (simplified) trees in Figure 2 and 3 show how cases such as (39) and (40), respectively, could be represented.

³¹A reviewer asks how optional movement can take place here if a feature-based theory is assumed. While movement of the focused constituent to the position of the FSP seems obligatory, the movement types described here are not. My explanation is that they are, in fact, not feature-driven. The strong [Foc] feature should have already been checked and deleted by the time the focused constituent has moved to the FSP. This optional movement would then be caused by more discourse-based reasons which would have to be explored in the future.

³²A reviewer asks why it should not be possible for the FSP to operate on the F-marked constituent while being right-adjointed to it. While this is generally an option, I argue that this is

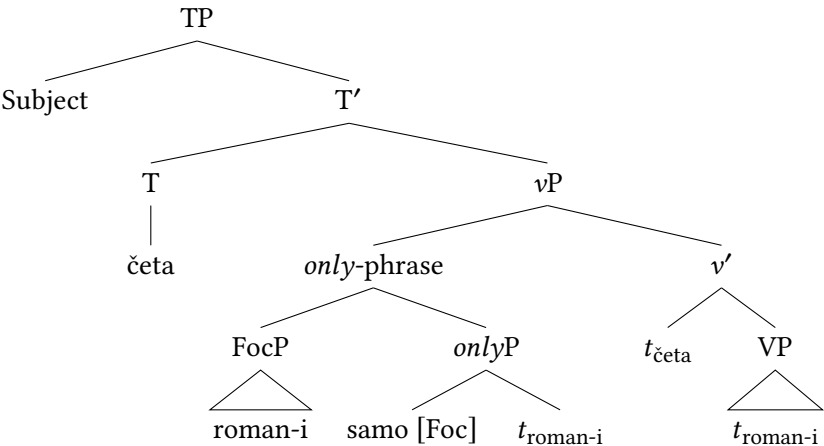


Figure 2: Low movement out of the *only*-phrase

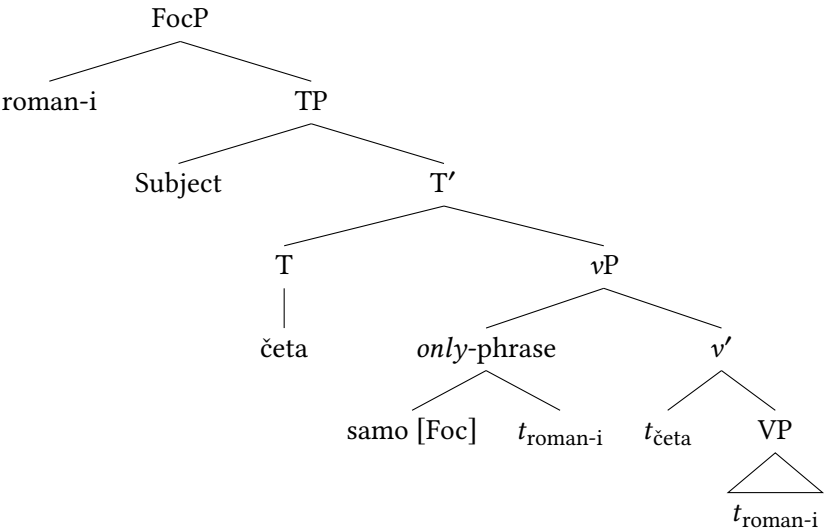


Figure 3: High movement out of the *only*-phrase

As discussed by Erlewine (2014), for example, a similar operation is available in German and Dutch, which are both languages that allow movement of F-marked constituents to clause-initial positions. A second reason for maintaining Büring & Hartmann's (2001) left-adjunction condition for a Particle Theory for Bulgarian is that movement out of focus in Bulgarian is restricted in the sense that only the two types of movement shown in (39) and (40) seem to be allowed. Moreover, movement out of focus in the case in (39) is only permitted if the F-marked constituent is the lowest constituent in the clause, as already noted by Tisheva & Dzhonova (2003), or around the subject position in T. This movement type is not permitted in positions in the middle of the clause since the FSP would then rather be interpreted as being associated with the constituent following it by Bulgarian speakers:³³

- (41) * Kupi-h [KRASTAVIC-I]_F samo za salata-ta.
 buy-PST cucumber-PL only for salad-DEF
 Intended: 'I bought only cucumbers for the salad.'

Allowing for right-adjunction would overgenerate the options that are there for movement out of focus in Bulgarian and would not predict that there are actually only two positions that the moved F-marked constituent can move to.

At this point, two questions remain open. First, an obvious question is where the F-marked constituent moves to in the low cases of movement out of focus. It is generally noted in the syntactic literature on Bulgarian that while the left periphery of the language is well-researched, much less is known about the verbal domain and the positions that it hosts (Krapova 2002). A possible solution to this problem would be to argue for a low, post-verbal focus position, along the lines of the proposal made by Belletti (2004) for Italian. A second question that I leave open here is whether there are differences in interpretation between the association of an F-marked constituent preceding or following the FSP. As (39) shows, the usage of a post-focal FSP usually requires focal stress on the F-marked constituent, which helps speakers associate and interpret it as belonging to the FSP

not the case here. Allowing for general right-adjunction of FSPs in Bulgarian would overgenerate adjunction options in the middle of the clause that are unavailable, as (41) in this section shows. At the same time, Bulgarian FSPs are able to associate with traces of F-marked constituents, which explains cases such as (40). Focus movement to a high and a potentially low focus position is the more economical assumption here.

³³ A reviewer notes that backwards association in the middle of the clause of the kind discussed here is grammatical in Russian once a disambiguating context is employed. To the best of my knowledge, this type of ambiguity does not exist in Bulgarian as all my consultants strongly reject backwards association in the middle of the clause.

following it. This kind of focal stress is not required if the F-marked constituent follows its FSP.³⁴ Additionally, my consultants (as well as Nicolova 2000) report that there is a register difference between the two low options, with the pre-FSP position that the F-marked constituent can be in being associated with colloquial, informal speech. Future research could focus on further differences between the two positions and what they can tell us about the semantic differences between them.

5 Concluding remarks

In this paper, I argued for an adverbial-only analysis of Bulgarian focus-sensitive particles that combines two proposals, namely Büring & Hartmann's (2001) analysis of German FSPs and Zanon's (2023) analysis of the adjunction behavior of Russian *tol'ko* 'only'. While several arguments point against the feasibility of an adnominal analysis of Bulgarian FSPs, their adjunction options in the nominal domain suggest that Zanon's proposal involving adjunction to FP in the nominal domain is on the right track for Bulgarian, in contrast to Büring & Hartmann's "adjunction to non-arguments"-condition. A gap that I necessarily leave aside in this paper is the question of semantic properties of individual modifiers constraining the adjunction possibilities of Bulgarian FSPs, a question which I argued to be essential for understanding the additional semantic reasons for adjunction, even beyond Bulgarian. Future research could close this gap at this point with a more detailed semantic investigation. Subsequently, I proposed a Particle Theory for Bulgarian based on Büring & Hartmann (2001).

At this point, it becomes evident that Büring & Hartmann's left-adjunction condition that accounts for the rigid exclusion of right-adjunction of FSPs in German cannot be upheld in its original formulation when their analysis is extended to Bulgarian. Bulgarian FSPs are able to move above the FSP dominating them. FSPs adjoined to an F-marked constituent low in the clause can even be stranded while the focused constituent moves to FocP in the left periphery. These two types of movement are, however, highly restricted. F-marked constituents can move above FSPs but have to remain close to them in the first movement type. They are only able to move into the high focus position in the left periphery or

³⁴A reviewer suggests the possibility that a moved focus is always contrastive. At the same time, in-situ would then be ambiguous between a contrastive and a non-contrastive interpretation. While this is certainly a plausible option, it would not explain what the trigger for this optional movement is. An analysis along the lines of Titov (2020) could solve this problem, but I leave this question open for now.

must remain low, in a position where a second, low focus position could be assumed in Bulgarian. Future research could focus on finding additional evidence for or counterexamples against the existence of such a projection, as well as possible semantic differences between the two available positions for the F-marked constituent that precedes or follows the FSP dominating it. In any case, Bulgarian FSPs can be split from their F-marked constituents after local checking of the strong [Foc] feature, although in a very controlled manner, as argued above.

Finally, the investigation conducted here, on a par with Zanon (2023), suggests fruitful paths for typological research investigating the connection between overt focus movement and the strict adjacency requirement that holds in Russian and Bulgarian. While adjacency is not required in English, it is necessary in both languages. Languages such as German can be placed in the middle ground between these two extremes, with German not requiring overt focus movement, but adjunction as close to the F-marked constituent as German syntax allows. Future investigations into FSP placement could focus on other, also typologically unrelated language families in order to learn more about the connection of adjacency and overt focus movement.

Abbreviations

1	first person	M	masculine
2	second person	PL	plural
3	third person	PRS	present tense
ACC	accusative	PST	past tense
AUX	auxiliary	PTCP	participle
DAT	dative	Q	question
DEF	definite	REFL	reflexive
FUT	future	SG	singular
GEN	genitive		

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