Towards an adverbial-only analysis of Bulgarian focus-sensitive particles

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Up to today, a lot remains unknown about the distribution of focus-sensitive particles (FSPs) in Slavic languages (Jasinskaja 2016: 731-2). There are only few in-depth studies of Bulgarian FSPs, such as Tomaszewicz (2013), and Tisheva & Dzhonova (2003). Tisheva & Dzhonova (2003: 65) argue that *samo* 'only' "can have scope over NP, PP, AdvP, VP, or part of XP". Additionally, Bulgarian FSPs can left-adjoin to the focused constituent or can follow the focus. An example is given in (1).

(1) (Tisheva & Dzhonova 2003: 66)
    a. Čet-a   samo [ROMAN-I]$_F$
      read-1SG only novel-PL
      'I read only novels.'
    b. Čet-a   [ROMAN-I]$_F$ samo.
      read-1SG novel-PL   only
      'I read only novels.'

In this talk, I argue that the syntactic distribution of Bulgarian FSPs is much more restricted than the analysis of surface word order by Tisheva & Dzhonova (2003) suggests and present novel data showing that the adverbial-only analysis of German FSPs developed in Büring & Hartmann (2001) can be extended to languages with extremely flexible word order such as Bulgarian. Büring & Hartmann (2001) argue that German FSPs only adjoin to projections belonging to the Extended Verbal Projection (EVP). Many of their arguments against an adnominal analysis of German FSPs can be extended to Bulgarian. (2) shows that Bulgarian *samo* 'only' cannot be adjoined to DPs within PPs, which an adnominal analysis would predict.

    (2) a. samo s   [ANNA]$_F$
        only with Anna
        'only with Anna'
      b.*s   samo [ANNA]$_F$
        with only Anna
        intended: 'only with Anna'

The fact that FSPs like *samo* can be stranded when the phrase in focus is moved to FocP in the left periphery, as (3) shows, provides a further argument that *samo* does not adjoin to the DP in question. Here, an adnominal analysis would predict that the FSP would have to move with the DP it supposedly adjoined to.

    (3) [ROMAN-I]$_F$ čet-a   samo
      novel-PL   read-1SG only
      'I read only novels.'

When *samo* is forced to adjoin to a nominal argument that is the second conjunct in a coordinated structure, acceptability decreases (as it is argued for German in Jacobs (1983: 45-46)), as demonstrated in (4).

    (4) ??/*Znay-a,   che Peter i   samo [ANNA]$_F$ se   sreshtna-kha   v Berlin.
           know-1SG that Peter and only Anna   REFL meet-AOR.3PL in Berlin
           intended: 'I know that Peter and only Anna met in Berlin.'

At the same time, the subsequent generalization made by Büring & Hartmann (2001) that FSPs are only able to adjoin to non-arguments cannot be made for Bulgarian since FSPs do not adjoin to non-arguments within PPs, for example (such as in (5)). This generalization is also debated in newer work on German FSPs such as Mursell (2021), pointing towards the fact that adjunction to EVPs seems to apply to a variety of languages, while adjunction to non-arguments does not. The adjunction of Bulgarian focus-sensitive particles to adjectives within DPs is highly restricted, which also extends to the adjunction to numerals and quantifiers within DPs.

(5) *s   samo [EDNA kola]F
    with only   one   car
    Intended: 'with only ONE car'

In addition to the proposed adverbial-only analysis, I discuss a potential account of post-focal *samo* (as shown in (1b)) and whether the fact that the focused constituent moves above the FSP in the left periphery as well as in the VP could indicate that Bulgarian has a focus projection (and possibly further information-structural projections) within VP that the focused constituent can move to, similar to the proposal that Belletti (2004) makes for Italian.

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