Multiple *Wh*-Movement in Bulgarian: What is Still not Explained
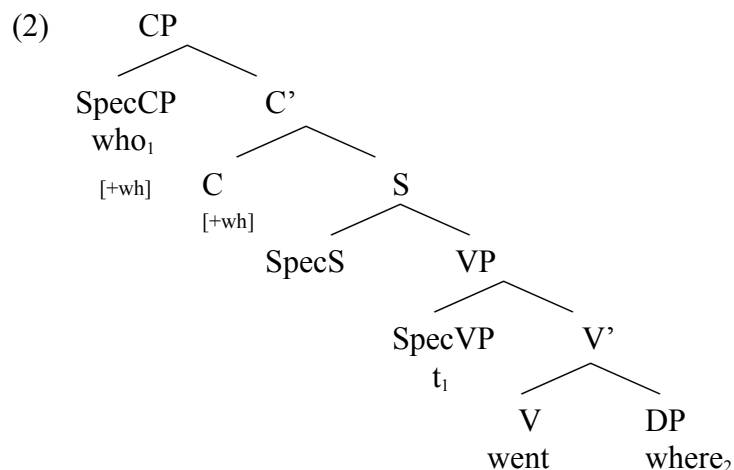
This paper will examine the phenomenon of multiple *wh*-extraction in Bulgarian proposing that the possibility for multiple *wh*-fronting lies in the existence of two functional projections. Together with Spec and head of CP as possible landing nodes for the movement, Bulgarian shows evidence for the existence of Focus phrase (FP), which can also serve as a landing node or escape hatch. In the present work we propose that (i) Bulgarian has a FP between TP and CP which can be filled by a *wh*-phrase, (ii) the language allows for SpecCP and SpecFP to be filled, and (iii) SpecCP and SpecFP cannot both be filled if the head of CP is overt as this posits certain questions to the semantic interpretation of the sentence.

2.   The Problem of Multiple *Wh*-Fronting

The question of multiple *wh*-fronting poses several kinds of problems to the recent syntactic theory: multiple feature checking, violation of the Empty Category Principle, and violation of the Shortest Movement principle. The English example in (1) is an illustration of the first two problems:

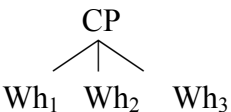(1)   *Who$_1$ where$_2$ t$_1$ went t$_2$?

In English the sentence in (1) is ungrammatical on the following reason: under Minimalist Program all syntactic derivations occur based on the desire to check and erase the uninterpretable features. So in the derivation of (1) represented in (2) *who* moves to SpecCP to check the strong [+wh] feature of C. Once the feature is checked and erased there is no motivation for *where* to move and it should stay in-situ.

(2)

CP
├── SpecCP
│   who$_1$
│   [+wh]
└── C'
     ├── C
     │   [+wh]
     └── S
          ├── SpecS
          └── VP
               ├── SpecVP
               │   t$_1$
               └── V'
                    ├── V
                    │   went
                    └── DP
                        where$_2$

On the other hand, in the late 1970's there was an emerging evidence coming from a group of languages (Scandinavian, Italian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Romanian, and Japanese) which show possibilities for multiple *wh*-movement where English does not permit it. Bulgarian allows for such multiple fronting of the *wh*-constituents. In fact, this fronting is the most unmarked discourse free case, as we can see in (3):

(3)   [$_{CP}$ Koj$_1$ kakvo$_2$ na kogo$_3$ [$_{TP}$ t$_1$ kaza t$_2$ t$_3$]]?
        [$_{CP}$ who$_1$ what$_2$ to who.$_{DAT\text{-}3}$ [$_{TP}$ t$_1$ said t$_2$ t$_3$]]
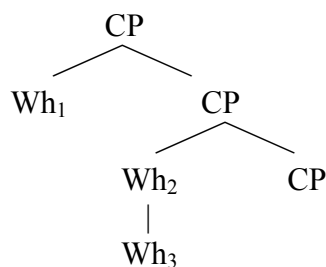   'Who told what to whom?'

Even if we allow for multiple feature checking, we are still left with the questions of (i) where exactly do the *wh*-phrases move–do they fill separate CP projections or they adjoin to each other under SpecCP–and the related to this puzzle of (ii) how to account for the apparent violation of the Empty Category Principle (ECP) (as put forth by Chomsky 1986:17). As to the first question, since the problem was raised in the 1970's there have been different proposals. The first proposal was to adjoin all the *wh*-phrases under C as in (4). Under this approach there is no violation of the ECP as all *wh*-constituents can antecedent govern their traces.
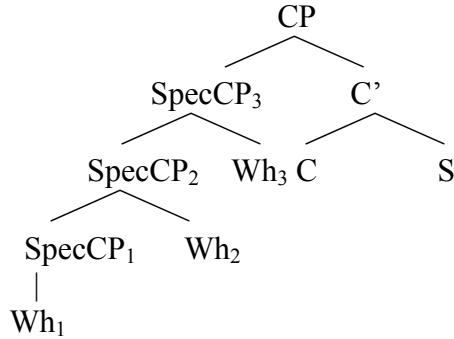
(4)   CP

      Wh$_1$ Wh$_2$ Wh$_3$

However, with the development of the theory, the shown in (4) tertiary branching was not a desirable one. So the next proposals split between multiple CPs (as in (5)) and multiply-filled SpecCP (as in (6a and b)). All of these proposals have some problems with the proper governing of the wh-traces and with the decision of which element should move first in order to both rescue the surface word order and not violate the shortest movement principle.
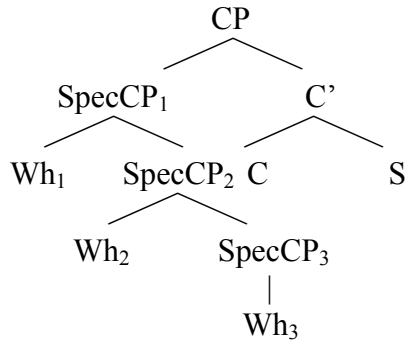
(5)   CP

      Wh$_1$ CP

            Wh$_2$ CP
              |
            Wh$_3$

(6)   a.   left adjunction of *wh*-phrases under SpecCP:

```
                              CP
                          /        \
                   SpecCP₃          C’
                   /      \        /    \
              SpecCP₂   Wh₃ C     S
              /     \
         SpecCP₁    Wh₂
            |
          Wh₁
```

      b.   right adjunction under SpecCP:

```
                     CP
                  /       \
            SpecCP₁         C’
            /     \        /    \
         Wh₁   SpecCP₂ C       S
               /      \
            Wh₂      SpecCP₃
                        |
                      Wh₃
```

Rudin (1985) argues for the structure in (5). Superficially here all the *wh*-constituents can properly govern their traces. However, a proposal put forward by Lasnik and Saito (1984) claims that:

(7)   A antecedent governs B if
      (i)   A and B are coindexed;

      (ii)   A c-commands B;

      (iii) there is no X (X = NP or CP) such that A c-commands X and X dominates B unless B is the head of X.

In this situation neither wh₁ nor wh₂ in (5) can c-command their traces as there are other maximal projections of the CP type that intervene between each *wh*-phrase and its trace. The *wh*-constituents in (6 a and b) can (to some extend) c-command their traces as the maximal projection CP dominates the traces and there are no other CPs or NPs intervening between the raised constituent and its trace.

Rudin (1988) proposes (6a) as the correct structure for multiple *wh*-fronting in Bulgarian. However, here we come up to the question of which of the constituents should move first. If in

(6a) we move first the highest in the tree structure before *wh*-movement (in this case wh$_1$), then left adjoin to it the next wh$_2$, and finally move up the last wh$_3$, then we will get the questionable in its acceptability surface word order as in (8). The only possible reading of (8) is with emphatic stress on wh$_3$ *na kogo* which will attract the focus of the question.

(8) ?[$_{CP}$ Na kogo$_3$ kakvo$_2$ koj$_1$ [$_{TP}$ t$_1$ kaza t$_2$ t$_3$]]?
    [$_{CP}$ to who.$_{DAT-3}$ what$_2$ who$_1$ [$_{TP}$ t$_1$ said t$_2$ t$_3$]]
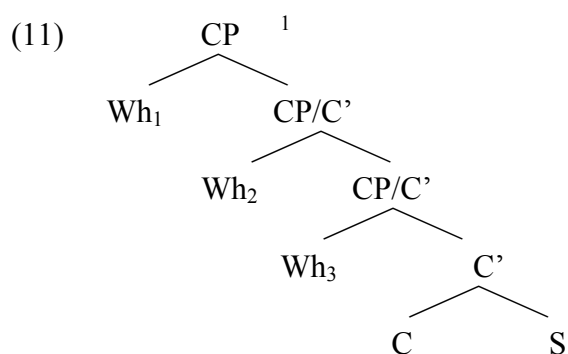   'Who told what to whom?'
On the other hand, the *wh*-constituents in (6b) can antecedent govern their traces and they show the unmarked for the language surface order. As straightforward as (6b) seems to be, it still cannot account for the discourse-marked but grammatical example in (9) where the surface order of the second and third *wh*-constituent has been reversed. The order of the *wh*-phrases in (9) seems to violate the Superiority Condition.

(9)   [$_{CP}$ Koj$_1$ ***na kogo$_3$***   *kakvo$_2$* [$_{TP}$ t$_1$ e dal *t$_2$ **t$_3$***]]?
     [$_{CP}$ who$_1$ ***to who.$_{DAT-3}$*** *what$_2$* [$_{TP}$ t$_1$ is given *t$_2$ **t$_3$***]]
     'Who gave what to whom?'

Pesetsky (2000) devotes a whole chapter to Bulgarian *wh*-questions in his book about phrasal movement and proposes another solution to these problems. In his view Bulgarian shows clear evidence for multispecifier complementizer (C$_{m\text{-spec}}$) (as opposed to the standard interrogative complementizer (C$_{1\text{-spec}}$)). The co-existence of the two works in the following way. In multiple questions the SpecCP position in Bulgarian has to be mandatorily multiply filled. The first constituent to move up is the highest in the structure before *wh*-movement. By doing the movement it pays the 'Attract Closest (AC) tax' (proposed by Richards 1997) so that the next *wh*-phrases do not have to obey to the shortest movement constraint and can surface in any order (cf. (3) and (9) repeated here in (10 a and b)):

(10) a.   [$_{CP}$ Koj$_1$ *kakvo$_2$* ***na kogo$_3$***   [$_{TP}$ t$_1$ kaza *t$_2$ **t$_3$***]]?
           [$_{CP}$ who$_1$ *what$_2$*   ***to who.$_{DAT-3}$*** [$_{TP}$ t$_1$ said *t$_2$ t$_3$*]]
               'Who told what to whom?'

     b.   [$_{CP}$ Koj$_1$ ***na kogo$_3$***   *kakvo$_2$* [$_{TP}$ t$_1$ e dal *t$_2$ **t$_3$***]]?
           [$_{CP}$ who$_1$ ***to who.$_{DAT-3}$*** *what$_2$* [$_{TP}$ t$_1$ is given *t$_2$ **t$_3$***]]
           'Who gave what to whom?'

Following Richards, Pesetsky also makes an innovation to the proposed before tree-structures. Under his analysis the second and every other *wh*-phrase do not left or right-adjoin to the SpecCP but rather 'tuck in' 'if, in addition to the 'attractor-oriented' AC, movement also obeys a 'mover-oriented' condition *Shortest Move'* (ibid. 23). In the structure in (11) wh$_2$ adjoins (tucks in) into an intermediate node between C' and CP, thus not violating the proposed by Chomsky (1993) Extension Condition. In this position all the *wh*-phrases can also antecedent govern their traces.

(11)

```
                CP        ¹
              /    \
           Wh₁    CP/C'
                  /    \
               Wh₂    CP/C'
                      /    \
                   Wh₃     C'
                          /  \
                         C    S
```

      Similar in some ways to Pesetsky's analysis is the one of Bošković (1997a, b, 1998, 1999). He looks at *wh*-movement in simple clauses and makes the point that in South Slavic languages we observe both *wh*-fronting and non-*wh*-fronting (or focus-movement). In (10a and b) the first in linear order at PF *wh*-element has moved from its base to SpecCP. The motivation for this movement resides in the strong [+wh] feature of C and obeys to Superiority condition. The second and third constituents are focus-fronted in attract-all-[+focus] manner. The motivation for this movement lies not in the target FP but in the *wh*-phrase itself which has the strong [+wh] feature. This type of movement does not obey to Superiority as the third *wh*-constituent *na kogo* in (10 b) can surface in second position.

      As plausible as both proposals seem to be, neither of them can account for the grammaticality of (12).

(12) a.   [$_{CP}$ Koj$_1$ *kakvo$_2$* [$_{TP}$ *t$_1$* kaza *t$_2$ **na kogo***]]?
          [$_{CP}$ who$_1$ *what$_2$*   [$_{TP}$ *t$_1$* said *t$_2$* ***to whom***]]
          'Who said what to whom?'

     b.   [$_{CP}$ Koj$_1$ *na kogo$_3$* [$_{TP}$ *t$_1$* kaza ***kakvo*** *t$_3$*]]?
          [$_{CP}$ who$_1$ *to whom$_3$* [$_{TP}$ *t$_1$* said ***what*** *t$_3$*]]
          'Who said what to whom?'

Crucially, the grammaticality of (12) goes against the mandatory multispecifier complementizer proposed by Pesetsky the same way as it provides evidence against the movement in attract-all-[+focus] manner suggested by Bošković[2]. In both (12a) and (12b) we observe that one of *wh*-constituents can remain in-situ. What is more important (and leads us towards the hypothesis that a Focus phrase (FP) constituent exists in Bulgarian) is that the two sentences in (12) show emphasis on the remaining in-situ wh-phrase.

3.   Evidence for Focus Phrase in Bulgarian

In this section we will talk about the evidence that we found for the existence of Focus phrase in Bulgarian. It comes from two different sources: indicative sentences and embedded complement clauses. As Rudin (1985) notes, Bulgarian shows evidence for all the six possible word order configurations in a simple sentence containing subject, verb, and object. The most unmarked and

natural of these is the SVO order. All the others show a discourse emphasis of some sort which we will suggest is correlated and expresses not only semantic but also syntactic focus.

In their overview of the generative approaches to focus Rebuschi and Tuller (1999) propose two features to distinguish focus: contrastive stress (Chomsky 1955, 1957, 1977) and discourse new information (Rochemont 1986). The study of the correlation between these two features 'contributed to the motivation for the splitting of the functional category C^o and the idea that the feature [Focus] has a (specific or shared with other elements expressing 'point of view') syntactic projection' (Rebuschi and Tuller 1999: 10). There are a number of languages in which similarities between *wh*-words and focus constituents can be found (Basque, Hungarian, Turkish). An important point is that focus constituents, as well as *wh*-words, tend to be attracted by the periphery of the sentence but can also remain in-situ. In attempt to account for these similarities the notions of contrastive and presentational focus have been advanced. Contrastive focus phrases are associated with the feature [+f] under the functional head F^o which is taken to be a position for all categories expressing information regarding the propositional content of the sentence (Cullicover 1991). Presentational focus on the other hand is not associated with the [+f] feature. Therefore, contrastive focus involves movement to SpecFP while presentational does not (Ouhalla 1997). (13) represents instances of representational (a) and contrastive (b) focus in Bulgarian:

(13) a.   Ne   razbiraš   <u>ništo</u>   (Rudin 1985)
           Neg. understand.you <u>nothing</u>
           'You don't understand anything.'

     b.   <u>Ništo</u>   ne   razbiraš   (Rudin 1985)
           <u>nothing</u> NEG. understand.you
           'You don't understand anything.'

(14) a.   <u>Na nego</u> mu dadoh knigata. (ne na neia).
           <u>to him</u>   him gave.I book.the (NEG. to her)
           'I gave the book to him (not to her).'

     b.   <u>Da piša</u>   trjabva.   (Georgieva 1974)
           <u>to write</u>.I have.to
           'I have to write.'

In (13a) the object pronoun *ništo* represents the discourse new information, attracts the stress in the sentence, but surfaces in the default for the direct object word order position, therefore being an instance of presentational focus. On the other hand, the same pronoun in (13b) not only bares the contrastive stress and represents the new information in the sentence, but is also fronted to a position before TP. The position the focused constituent in (13b) occupies is not a subject position as there is no agreement between this constituent and the verb (*na nego* is in 3SG. while the verb is in 1SG.). In the examples in (14) the focus constituents do not take nominative case (14a) and even may not be an NP (14b) either. Having this in mind, we could

say that the FP is higher than TP. But then where is it? The examples in (15) suggest that FP is between TP and CP:

(15) a.   [CP Dali   [TP da vi   se   obadi Ivan]]?   (Rudin 1985)
          [CP whether [TP to to.you REFL. call.he Ivan]]
          'Should Ivan call you?' (neutral)

      b.   [CP Dali   [FP **na vas** [TP da se   obadi Ivan]]]?   (Rudin 1985)
          [CP whether [FP **to you** [TP to REFL. call.he Ivan]]]
          'Should Ivan call **you**? (or somebody else)' (focused)

In both (15a and b) the interrogative complementizer *dali* occupies the head of CP position[3]. The surfacing of the focused phrase *na vas* in (15b) after the head of CP shows that the proposed FP is between the CP and TP. On the other hand, in the sentence in (16) we observe the *wh*-phrase occupying exactly the same position as the focused constituent in (15b):

(16) [CP Dali   [FP **na kogo**   [TP da se   obadi Ivan]]]?
      [CP whether [FP **to who.**DAT. [TP to REFL. call.he Ivan]]]
      '**Whom** should Ivan call? (or somebody else)' (focused)

      In embedded relative clauses the situation is exactly the same (cf. (17)):

(17) a.   Čudeh   se   Ivan [CP dali   [FP **na vas$_1$**   [TP da se   obadi **t$_1$**]? (ili na men)
          wondered.I REFL. Ivan [CP whether [FP **to you.**DAT.1 [TP to REFL. call **t$_1$**]   (or to me)
          'I wondered if Ivan should call you. (or me)'

      b.   Čudeh   se   Ivan [CP dali   [FP **na kogo$_1$**   [TP da se   obadi **t$_1$**]?
          wondered.I REFL.Ivan [CP whether [FP **to who.**DAT•1 [TP to REFL. call **t$_1$**]?
          'I wondered if Ivan should call who?'

The focused constituent *na vas* in the embedded clause in (17a) surfaces after the head of C *dali*, thus it is lower than CP. On the other hand, *na vas* also appears before the head of TP *da*. It is in dative case and does not trigger agreement on the verb, so it does not occupy the SpecTP position. The only possible position to which it could have moved is than the Spec of FP. The correlation between the *wh*-phrase *na kogo* in (17b) and the focus phrase *na vas* in (17a) is clear. They both have been extracted from the same base-generation position as complements of VP and appear in the same surface position between CP and TP (as both surface in dative case and both do not trigger any agreement on the verb).

4.   SpecCP *or* SpecFP but not Both When Head of CP is Overt

What we have suggested above may lead to the conclusion that what Bošković proposes for the multiple *wh*-movement in Bulgarian is on the right track. There is a focus phrase between CP and TP which can be filled by *wh*-constituents. Moreover, FP can be filled by two or more wh-words (cf. (18)):

(18) a.   Čudiš   se   [$_{CP}$ dali   [$_{FP}$ **koj$_1$ kəde$_2$** [$_{TP}$ **t$_1$** e otišəl   **t$_2$**]]]?
             wonder.you REFL.[$_{CP}$ whether [$_{FP}$ **who$_1$ where$_2$** [$_{TP}$ **t$_1$** is gone   **t$_2$**]]
             'You wonder whether who went where?'

   b.   Vjarvaš,   [$_{CP}$ če   [$_{FP}$ **koj$_1$ na kogo$_2$ kakvo$_3$**   [$_{TP}$ **t$_1$** e dal **t$_2$ t$_3$**]]]?
             Believe.you [$_{CP}$ that [$_{FP}$ **who$_1$ what$_2$**   to.who.$_{DAT.3}$ [$_{TP}$ **t$_1$** is given   **t$_2$**]]
             'You believe that who gave what to whom?'

As we see in (18a) the interrogative complementizer *dali* is followed by two *wh*-constituents and in (18b) the relative complementizer *če* is followed by three *wh*-phrases. This proposes that *wh*-fronting in Bulgarian is actually multiple focus-fronting in attract-all-[+focus] manner. However, (19) reveals a different picture.

(19) a.   Čudiš   se   [$_{CP}$ **koj$_1$** dali   [$_{FP}$ **t$_1$** [$_{TP}$ **t$_1$** e otišəl na kino]]]?
             wonder.you REFL.[$_{CP}$ **who$_1$** whether [$_{FP}$ **t$_1$** [$_{TP}$ **t$_1$** is gone to cinema]]
             'You wonder whether **who** went to the movies?'

   b.   ?Vjarvaš   [$_{CP}$ **koj$_1$ kəde$_2$**   če [$_{FP}$ **t$_1$ t$_2$** [$_{TP}$ **t$_1$** e otišəl **t$_2$**]]]?
              believe.you [$_{CP}$ **who$_1$ where$_2$** that [$_{FP}$ **t$_1$ t$_2$** [$_{TP}$ **t$_1$** is gone **t$_2$**]]
              'You believe that **who** went **where**?'

     In both (19a and b) the interrogative complementizer *dali* and the relative complementizer *če* still occupy head of CP position. However, in (19a) the wh-word surfaces before *dali* suggesting that it occupies SpecCP position. Interestingly, in (19b) we observe two *wh*-constituents fronted in SpecCP position before *če*. The sentence is less acceptable than the example in (19a) but still possible in colloquial, discourse-marked usage. The fact that the fronting of two *wh*-words to SpecCP makes the sentence less acceptable suggests that Pesetsky's C$_{m-spec}$ account is not on the right track either.
     As we saw that both SpecFP and SpecCP can be filled, we would expect a possibility of co-existence of both; we would expect that we would get examples in which we would see a word order of wh$_1$ - (wh$_2$) - comp - wh$_3$ - (wh$_4$). Nonetheless, the ungrammaticality of the examples in (20) show that this is not the case in Bulgarian.

(20) a. *Čudiš   se   [$_{CP}$ **koj$_1$** dali   [$_{FP}$ **t$_1$ kakvo$_2$** [$_{TP}$ **t$_1$** e kazal na Petər **t$_2$**]]?
          wonder.you REFL.[$_{CP}$ **who$_1$** whether [$_{FP}$ **t$_1$ what$_2$** [$_{TP}$ **t$_1$** is said to Peter **t$_2$**]]
          'You wonder whether who said what to Peter?'

   b. **Čudiš   se   [$_{CP}$ **koj$_1$ kakvo$_2$** dali   [$_{FP}$ **t$_1$ t$_2$ na kogo$_3$**   [$_{TP}$ **t$_1$** e kazal **t$_2$ t$_3$**]]?
          wonder.you REFL.[$_{CP}$ **who$_1$ what$_2$** whether [$_{FP}$ **t$_1$ t$_2$ to who.** $_{DAT.3}$ [$_{TP}$ **t$_1$** is said **t$_2$ t$_3$**]]
          'You wonder whether who said what to Peter?'

   c. **Čudiš   se   [$_{CP}$ **koj$_1$** dali   [$_{FP}$ **t$_1$ kakvo$_2$ na kogo$_3$**   [$_{TP}$ **t$_1$** e kazal **t$_2$ t$_3$**]]?
          wonder.you REFL.[$_{CP}$ **who$_1$** whether [$_{FP}$ **t$_1$ what$_2$ to who.** $_{DAT.3}$ [$_{TP}$ **t$_1$** is said **t$_2$ t$_3$**]]
          'You wonder whether who said what to Peter?'

The split of the *wh*-phrases in (20a) by the interrogative complementizer *dali* makes the sentence ungrammatical. The surface of multiply-filled SpecCP in (20b) and multiply-filled SpecFP in (20c) makes the situation even worse. The examples in (18), (19), and (20) suggest that in Bulgarian *wh*-phrases can occupy either SpecCP or SpecFP position but not both at the same time when C^o is overt.

## 5.   Towards an Analysis of Multiple *Wh*-Movement in Bulgarian

Before we proceed to the analysis of Bulgarian multiple *wh*-movement, let us briefly summarize the conclusions made so far. Bulgarian exhibits the phenomenon of multiple *wh*-fronting and there have been several proposals as of what type of movement in what manner can account for it. Pesetsky proposed multispecifier complementizer which is filled first by the topmost element in the structure before movement. This element pays the 'attract closest tax' so the order of the second, third and every other element does not have to obey the superiority constraint. However, we saw that there are instances in which SpecCP does not have to be filled and *wh*-words stop their overt movement in SpecFP. Bošković on the other hand advances the hypothesis that *wh*-movement in South Slavic is a matter of focus fronting in attract-all-[+focus] manner. Nevertheless, we found evidence that not all the *wh*-phrases have to stop their movement in SpecFP. We also saw that although both SpecCP and SpecFP can be filled, *wh*-phrases cannot occupy both specifier positions at the same time when the head of CP is overt.

In our analysis we propose that *wh*-phrases in Bulgarian contain [+focus] and [+wh] features. The [+focus] feature does not have to be checked before PF (recall that the *wh*-constituent can stay in-situ). The trigger for the *wh*-movement resides in both the head of CP [+wh] and the elements undergoing movement [+focus]. In these terms, the features of the FP head are weak. This is one of the reasons for the optionality of movement before PF. The second reason is that we observe two types of focus in Bulgarian: presentational (when the *wh*-constituent stays in-situ and the interrogative sentence actually asks for confirmation of old information) and contrastive (when the *wh*-phrase raises to SpecFP position and the interrogative clause asks a real *wh*-question). We also observe that there are three types of questions in Bulgarian in which we can see overt *wh*-words: *wh*-questions, confirmation questions, and echo-

questions. The first of these posits strong [+wh] and [+Q] features under the head of CP, the second and third ask for only [+Q] but not [+wh] feature under C^o.

In a real *wh*-question like (21a) (the structure is given in (21b)), the first in the structure before movement *wh*-word *koj* moves to SpecFP to check its [+focus] feature. It pays the 'attract closest tax' there, thus freeing the rest of the *wh*-phrases to move in any order. Following this, in the second in the structure before movement *wh*-word *kakvo* raises to SpecFP to check its [+focus] feature. As the [+wh] feature of neither of the moved constituents is strong, neither of them has to overtly raise to SpecCP. However, in real *wh*-questions, the SpecCP has strong [+wh] and [+Q] features which have to be checked before PF. So one of the already moved to SpecFP constituents has to raise to SpecCP to check them. The 'attract closest tax' has already been paid in the focus phrase, so any of the elements residing there can escape to SpecCP position. The third element *na kogo* remains in-situ as its weak features [+focus] and [+wh] do not need to be checked before PF.

(21) a. $[_{CP}$ Koj$_1$ $[_{FP}$ t$_1$ kakvo$_2$ $[_{TP}$ t$_1$ kaza t$_2$ na kogo$_3$]]?
           $[_{CP}$ who$_1$ $[_{FP}$ t$_1$ what$_2$ $[_{TP}$ t$_1$ said t$_2$ to whom$_3$]]
           'Who said what to whom?'

b.
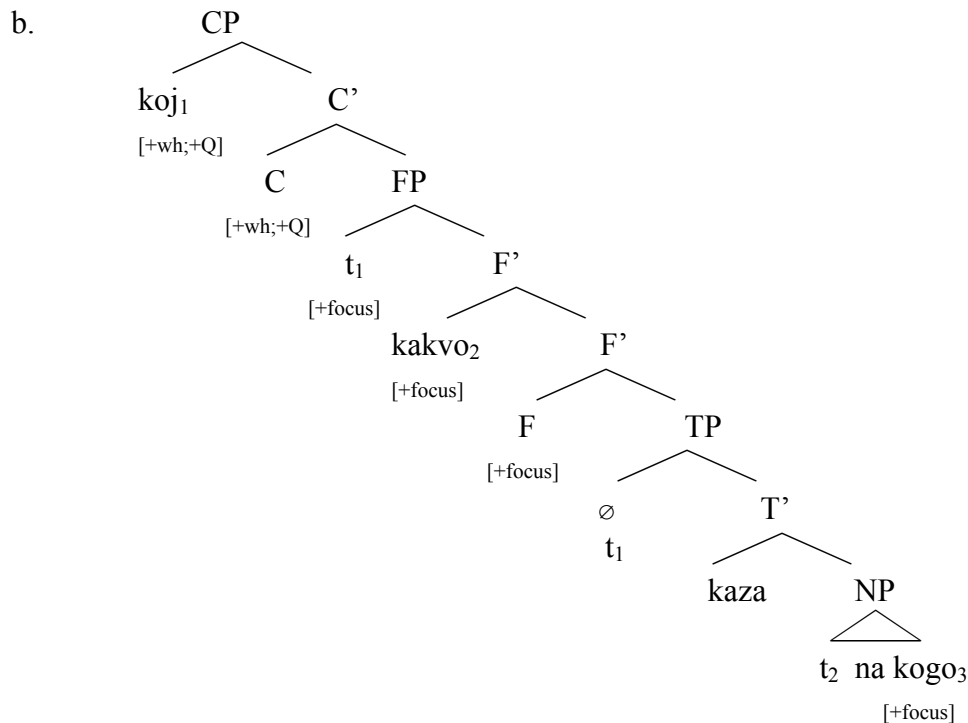
In (22a) (the structure is given in (22b)) we see that after the overt movement to SpecFP any of the *wh*-phrases can further raise to SpecCP to check the strong features of the functional head. The constituent that moves into this position will ask for the real *wh*-question reading. The other two *wh*-elements will check only their [+focus] features:

(22) a.　　[$_{CP}$ Kakvo [$_{FP}$ koj$_1$　　na kogo$_3$　[$_{TP}$ t$_1$ kaza t$_2$ t$_3$]]]?
　　　　　　[$_{CP}$ what　　[$_{FP}$ who$_1$　to whom$_3$ [$_{TP}$ t$_1$ said t$_2$ t$_3$]]]?
　　　　　　'Who said what to whom?'

b.
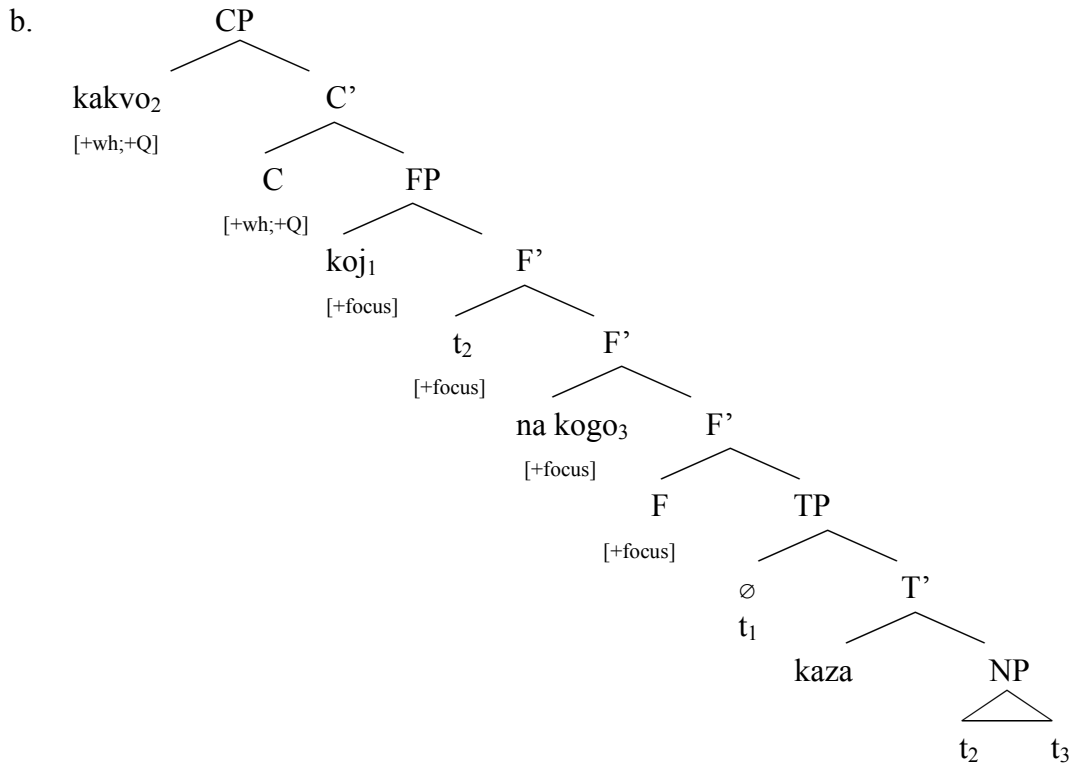
Similarly, in (23), the two *wh*-elements *koj* and *kǝde* raise to SpecFP to check their [+focus] feature. The interrogative complementizer has already been inserted in head of CP position. It introduces not a real *wh*-question but rather a confirmation question. The interpretation of (23) is a doubt or uncertainty if 'somebody went somewhere' rather than a real question of 'who exactly went exactly where'. The head of CP actually lacks the strong [+wh] feature and it need not be checked. The overt interrogative complementizer *dali* checks the strong [+Q] feature of the head of CP. Thus, all the uninterpretable features are checked and erased before PF and there is no motivation for the *wh*-elements to raise to SpecCP position. In this situation, the head of CP 'blocks' the overt movement of the *wh*-elements to SpecCP position.

(23) Čudiš　　　se　　[$_{CP}$ dali　　[$_{FP}$ **koj$_1$　kǝde$_2$** [$_{TP}$ **t$_1$** e otišǝl　**t$_2$**]]]?
　　　wonder.you REFL.[$_{CP}$ whether [$_{FP}$ **who$_1$ where$_2$** [$_{TP}$ **t$_1$** is gone　**t$_2$**]]
　　　'You wonder whether who went where?'

The only possibility that the blocking power of the overt head of CP is overridden is when the *wh*-constituent escapes from (and thus empties) the SpecFP node. Interestingly, this happens only when the semantic interpretation of the sentence is one of a real question rather than a

confirmation question. Recall the example in (24a) where the *wh*-phrase moves from its base generation position to SpecFP and then further raises to SpecCP over the overt head. Fronting of both *wh*-elements to SpecCP in (24b) in a real question makes the situation worse. The first *wh*-constituent checks the uninterpretable features of the head of CP and there is no motivation for the second constituent to move. Thus, the sentence is semantically parsable but grammatically incorrect.

(24) a.   Čudiš   se   [$_{CP}$ **koj₁** dali   [$_{TP}$ **t₁** e otišəl na kino]]?
          wonder.you REFL.[$_{CP}$ **who₁** whether [$_{TP}$ **t₁** is gone to cinema]]
          'You wonder whether **who** went to the movies?'

   b.   ?Vjarvaš   [$_{CP}$ **koj₁** **kəde₂** če   [$_{TP}$ **t₁** e otišəl **t₂**]]?
        believe.you [$_{CP}$ **who₁** **where₂** that [$_{TP}$ **t₁** is gone **t₂**]]
        'You believe that **who** went **where**?'

   c.   *Čudiš   se   [$_{CP}$ **koj₁** dali   **kakvo₂** [$_{TP}$ **t₁** e kazal na Petər **t₂**]]?
        wonder.you REFL.[$_{CP}$ **who₁** whether **what₂** [$_{TP}$ **t₁** is said   to Peter **t₂**]]
        'You wonder whether who said what to Peter?'

Finally, questions like (24c) are grammatically correct but semantically uninterpretable. A configuration in which the *wh*-words are separated by the interrogative complementizer asks for both confirmation and real *wh*-question reading. This posits semantic difficulties to the hearer and thus is rejected as possible grammatical sentence.

6.   Conclusion

In this paper we proposed that all the previous approaches to multiple wh-fronting in Bulgarian (Rudin, Bošković, Pesetsky) were in part too strong and too weak to account for the phenomenon. We suggested that the language shows evidence for the existence of a focus phrase between the tense and complementizer phrases. We saw that there is an overlap between the distribution of the focused constituent in a main indicative clause and embedded interrogative clause and the appearance of the *wh*-constituents in the same environments. These suggested that *wh*-phrases in Bulgarian can occupy the SpecFP position. On the other hand, we saw evidence that one of the *wh*-constituents that have already raised to SpecFP may further move to SpecCP. Nevertheless, this movement is allowed in only two situations: (i) when there is no overt head of CP which normally blocks the movement to SpecCP or (ii) when the question shows a single *wh*-word which has the strength to override the blocking power of the overt head of CP.

All of these facts suggest that both SpecFP and SpecCP can function as landing nodes or escape hatches for multiple *wh*-movement and extraction in Bulgarian. They also suggest that the [+wh] feature residing in the head of CP is a strong one but the [+focus] feature residing in the head of FP is weak feature that need not be checked before PF. The trigger of the process of *wh*-fronting in Bulgarian then resides in both the head of CP and the element undergoing movement. This, in compliance with the semantic interpretation of the sentence allows for structures in which the *wh*-phrases are fronted as well as such in which all or part of them remain in-situ.

The last question addressed in this paper was the impossibility for the wh-words to occupy both SpecCP and SpecFP when an overt head of CP is present. What we suggested here was an interaction between syntax and semantics that disallows the configuration wh_1 - comp - wh_2. The overtly filled head of CP in Bulgarian opts for confirmation or echo reading of the question and thus a [+wh] feature does not reside under it. However, when the intended meaning is one of a real *wh*-question, the feature [+wh] appears under C^o and has to be checked. This allows for a configuration *wh* - comp. The semantic uninterpretability of a word order wh_1 - comp - wh_2 on the other hand rules out the possibility for this word order to surface at PF.

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Notes:

[1.] Pesetsky himself does not provide any tree structure, nor does explain if the node that dominates the 'tucked in' wh is a maximal or intermediate projection.

[2.] The informants of Bošković claim the examples in (12) are ungrammatical. Pesetsky's informants are more moderate as they say that the sentences in (12) are possible but less desirable than the ones in (3, 8, 9 and 10) where all the constituents are fronted. To me and another native speaker of the language the sentences in (12) are fully acceptable but focus marked on the in-situ wh-constituent.

[3.] Rudin (1985) argues that among all the conjunctions and particles that join and introduce sentences in Bulgarian *dali* ('whether'), *če* ('that'), and *deto* ('that' but also 'who', 'which') are the only three complementizers. In English *whether* and *that* are argued to be in different positions, the former occupying SpecCP and the latter filling head of CP. Nevertheless, their distributional properties in Bulgarian reveal a different picture. They both introduce CP complements of the verb (i):

> (i) a. Inetersno **dali**   e izljazəl   (Rudin 1985)
>   interesting whether is went-out.he
>   'I wonder whether he went out.'
>   b. Vjarno, **če**   e izljazəl   (Rudin 1985)
>   true   that is went-out.he
>   'It's true that he went out.'

They both introduce sentential subjects (ii):

> (ii) a. **če** *toj e hubav*   ne   me iznenada   (Rudin 1985)
>   that he is handsome NEG. me surprized
>   'That he is handsome did not surprise me.'
>   b. **dali**   *toj e hubav*   njama   značenie   (Rudin 1985)
>   whether he is handsome has-not meaning
>   'Whether he is handsome does not matter.'

They introduce a construction (an NP consisting of a pronoun head and a complement clause) similar in meaning and function to a sentential subject or object (iii):

> (iii) a. *Tova,* **če** *živeeš spokojno* ne   e malko.   (Rudin 1985)
>   this   that live.you peacefully Neg. is little
>   'That you are living peacefully is no small thing.'
>   b. *... spored   tova,* **dali**   *se   otnasja do podloga...* (Andrejčin)
>   according.to this   whether REFL. relates to subject.the
>   '... according to whether it is related to the (grammatical) subject...'

On the other hand, *dali* and *če* are not wh-words in Bulgarian as the interrogative wh-phrases are always associated with a trace while the complementizers are not (iv):

(iv) a. [CP **Kakvo** [TP iska   Ivan **t**]]?
       [CP **what**   [TP wants Ivan **t**]]?
         'What does Ivan want?'
    b. [CP dali   [TP Ivan iska]]?
       [CP whether [TP Ivan wants]]?
           '(I wonder) whether Ivan wants.'

Complementizers can co-occur with interrogative wh-words but are highly questionable with the relative pronouns (which are morpho-phonologically related to the interrogative ones) (v):

(v) a. Čudish   se   *dali*   *koj kakvo* iska?
       wonder.you REFL. whether who what   wants?
       'You wonder whther who wants what.'
    b. *dali*   *kojto e hubav*   njama   značenie
       whether who is handsome has-not meaning
        'Whether who is handsome does not matter.'

Finally, preposition fronting is possible with wh-words but not with complementizers (vi):

(vi) a. Ženata,   s   kojato   govorih....   (Rudin 1985)
        woman.the with who.Dat. spoke.I ...
        'The woman with whom I spoke....'
     b. *Ženata   s   *dali/   *če/ *deto govorih....
         Woman.the with *whether/*that/*who spoke.I ...