CONSTITUENTS OF ENGLISH AND BULGARIAN ALTERNATIVE INTERROGATIVE STRUCTURES AND THEIR FUNCTIONS WITHIN THE CLAUSE

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The article investigates the constituents of English and Bulgarian alternative interrogative structures (E&BAISs) and their functions within the clause. The qualitative and quantitative findings from the comparative corpus-based study indicate that E&BAISs most often function as direct objects, subject-oriented predicative complements and adjuncts. E&BAISs are often examples of binary unmixed coordination of noun phrases, prepositional phrases or (closed) interrogative subordinate clauses. The constituents are most often found in the same sentence. Preposing of the first constituent or of the whole alternative interrogative structure is a phenomenon common to Bulgarian alternative interrogative structures.

Key words: alternative interrogative structure, constituents, function, direct object, subject-oriented predicative complement, adjunct

I.   Introduction

The purpose of this article is to examine the constituents of English and Bulgarian alternative interrogative structures (E&BAISs) and their functions within the clause and to elaborate on the qualitative and quantitative findings from a comparative corpus-based study[1]. The investigation has been carried out on authentic examples of alternative interrogative structures (AISs) excerpted from eight corpora of written and spoken English and Bulgarian.

- English Fiction Corpus (EFC, 90 508 word forms) compiled by V. Spasova for the purposes of her PhD thesis.

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[1] The constituents of English alternative interrogative structures and their functions on the clausal level were studied in another article (cf. Spasova 2022a).

- English Corpus of Fiction Monologue (ECFM, 50 370 word forms) compiled by V. Spasova for the purposes of her PhD thesis.
- Charlotte Face-to-Face Corpus of Spoken English (CFCSE, 90 630 word forms). It is part of a larger corpus of spoken English, the Charlotte Narrative and Conversation Collection (CNCC, 198 295 word forms), included in the Open American National Corpus (OANC).
- Switchboard Telephone Corpus of Spoken English (STCSE, 50 476 word forms). It is part of a larger corpus of spoken English, the LDC Switchboard corpus (3 019 477 word forms), included in the Open American National Corpus (OANC).
- Bulgarian Fiction Corpus (BFC, 90 326 word forms) compiled by V. Spasova for the purposes of her PhD thesis.
- Bulgarian Corpus of Fiction Monologue (BCFM, 50 508 word forms) collected by Tzvetomira Venkova (Faculty of Classical and Modern Philology at Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski").
- Corpus of Spoken Bulgarian *Aleksova* (CSB–A, 89 959 word forms) collected by Krasimira Aleksova (Faculty of Slavic Studies at Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski").
- Corpus of Spoken Bulgarian *Nikolova–Venkova* (CSB–NV, 50 000 word forms) collected by Tsvetanka Nikolova and Tzvetomira Venkova.

Corpora data indicate that 126 English alternative interrogative structures (EAISs), i.e. 49.2 % of all 256 EAISs in the corpora, carry out functions on the clausal level. These AISs have the following distribution – 23 in EFC, 12 in ECFM, 60 in CFCSE, and 31 in STCSE.

The number of the Bulgarian alternative interrogative structures (BAISs) is similar – 133, i.e. 55 % of all 242 BAISs in the corpora. There are 33 in BFC, 22 in BCFM, 52 in CSB–A, and 26 in CSB–NV.

English and Bulgarian data reveal that
- on the clausal level the AISs most often function as direct objects, subject-oriented predicative complements and adjuncts

- the AISs are often examples of binary unmixed coordination of noun phrases (NPs), prepositional phrases (PPs) or (closed) interrogative subordinate clauses[2]
- the constituents are most often found in the same sentence.

In the examples to follow the constituents of the AIS are put in round brackets, whereas the AIS is enclosed in square brackets and is marked with single underlining. The coordination markers are in bold type. The abbreviated name of the corpus from which the example has been taken follows the example and is put in round brackets.

II. Direct object

According to corpora data, the function of direct object is the most typical of EAISs. As we shall see, EAISs in this function are 2.5 times as many as those in the functions of subject-oriented predicative complement and adjunct. There are 49 EAISs altogether, which means that 38.9 % of all EAISs carrying out functions on the clausal level serve as direct objects. There are 7 AISs in EFC, 3 in ECFM, 27 in CFCSE, and 12 in STCSE.

As it turns out, BAISs in the function of direct object, subject-oriented predicative complement and adjunct have the same frequency. The AISs serving as direct objects are 33 in total, which makes 24.8 % of all BAISs with functions within the clause. There are 8 AISs in BFC, 4 in BCFM, 14 in CSB–A, and 7 in CSB–NV.

Corpora evidence indicates that the most frequent verbs that license AISs are *know* (12 occurrences) and *знам* (*know*) (10 occurrences). In English, next in frequency come *think* and *remember* (5 occurrences each), *wonder, decide, ask, say* (3 occurrences each), and *tell* (2 occurrences). In Bulgarian, *казвам* (*say, tell*) has 3 occurrences, while *викам* (meaning *казвам*), *разбирам* (*make out, understand*), and *виждам* (*see*) have 2 occurrences each. English verbs such as *mention, buy, care, bring*, and Bulgarian verbs such as *определям* (*determine*), *вземам* (*take*), *наемам* (*hire*), *мисля* (*think*) occur only once. An interesting fact is that *know* and *remember* always, while *знам* almost always, occur in their negative form.

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[2] The English terms "closed interrogative clauses" and "open interrogative clauses" are used here instead of the traditional Bulgarian terms „въпросителни изречения с въпросителни частици" ("interrogative sentences with interrogative particles") and „въпросителни изречения с пълнозначни въпросителни думи" ("interrogative sentences with full interrogative words").

E&BAISs are most often instances of binary unmixed clausal coordination, which means that they consist of two clauses that "belong to the same syntactic category" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1326). The clauses are usually finite closed interrogative subordinate.

The clausal constituents of BAISs usually occur in elliptical form, which can be explained by the fact that Bulgarian clauses and sentences often lack an explicit subject, the phenomenon being called "pro-dropness" („нулева субектност") (Osenova & Simov 2007: 40). In ex. (1) the pronominal subject *tya* (*she*) is dropped from each constituent clause.

(1)   *Ми тя е стара мома. [(Мома ли е), (разведена ли е)], не знам, но каза, че е госпожица …* (CSB–A)

      Mi tya e stara moma. [(Moma li e), (razvedena li e)], ne znam, no kaza, che e gospozhitsa … (CSB–A)

      'Well, she is a spinster. Whether she is a spinster or whether she is divorced I don't know, but she said she was a Miss …'[3]

Additionally, different elements can be omitted from the structure of the second constituent of a BAIS. In ex. (2) the subject-oriented predicative complement *разцапана* (*smudged*) is left out so that the second constituent is reduced to the negator *не* (*not*) and the verb form *съм*.

(2)   *… Не си погледнах очите, не видях [(разцапана ли съм) (или не съм)].* (CSB–NV)

      … Ne si poglednah ochite, ne vidyah [(raztsapana li sam) (ili ne sam)]. (CSB–NV)

      '… I didn't have a look at my eyes, I didn't see if my make-up was or wasn't smudged.'

With EAISs the first clause is usually full, while the second is reduced to the negator *not*. Characteristic of the second constituent of BAISs as well, such a reduction may occur when the second clause differs from the first only in the negative form of the verb. In such cases it is left out with the exception of the negator *not* and *не* respectively which occupies the position after the coordinator *or* and *или* (or the correlative *или*) (Tisheva 2000: 28, 38). Thus, the AISs in ex. (3) and (4) can be regarded as reductions from *if you participate in that or you didn't participate in that* and *вярно ли беше това или не беше вярно* (*whether that was true or that wasn't true*).

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[3] Single inverted commas indicate meaningful translation of the Bulgarian examples into English. Translation is mine.

(3)   *... and I think that is just a a fabulous one, so ... I don't know [(if you participate in that) (or not)] but ...* (STCSE)

(4)   *[(Вярно **ли** беше това) (**или** не)] – никога не разбра; а и не искаше.* (BCFM)

   *[(Vyarno **li** beshe tova) (**ii** ne)] – nikoga ne razbra; a i ne iskashe.* (BCFM)

   '*Whether that was true or not, she never made it out; besides, she didn't want to.*'

As is evident from ex. (1) and (4), preposing of BAISs in the function of direct object is a common phenomenon. By contrast, EAISs are hardly ever preposed.

EAISs can also be instances of binary coordination of finite (ex. 5) or non-finite *to*-infinitival open interrogative subordinate clauses (ex. 6).

(5)   *... you always want to get your kids everything and, uh, you don't care [(how much it costs) (or what it takes)] ...* (STCSE)

(6)   *I mean, I've never been told [(what to wear) (or what not to wear)].* (STCSE)

In addition, corpora evidence suggests that some E&BAISs have phrasal constituents. The AISs in ex. (7) and (8), for instance, are NP-coordinations.

(7)   *And we're trying to make a decision whether to buy [(a beach place, beach house), (or a lake house), (or a mountain house)].* (CFCSE)

(8)   *Един път минавахме през Левски и брат му ни караше със кола, те трябваше нещо да влязат да вземат [(някаква дамаджана **ли**) (какво)].* (CSB–NV)

   *Edin pat minavahme prez Levski i brat mu ni karashe sas kola, te tryabvashe neshto da vlyazat da vzemat [(nyakakva damadzhana **li**) (kakvo)].* (CSB–NV)

   '*Once we were passing through Levski and his brother was driving us, they had to go into the house to take was it some demijohn or what.*'

Let us note here that the EAIS in ex. (7) is made up of three NPs and therefore is an example of multiple coordination. Multiple coordination, however, is much less common across the corpora than binary coordination. Moreover, it is restricted to three-member AISs.

The constituents of still other E&BAISs belong to different syntactic categories and on that account the AISs can be considered cases of "mixed

coordination" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1332). Thus, the AISs in ex. (9) and (10) represent a binary mixed clausal coordination as they are made up of one closed and one open interrogative subordinate clause.

(9) *... and I didn't know [(whether it was a glider) (**or** what it was)] I hadn't heard the name U2 when I first arrived.* (CFCSE)

(10) *Имало два тролея, [(зад тролея **ли** са били), (**как** е било)] не знам, и пострада.* (CSB–A)

*Imalo dva troleya, [(zad troleya **li** sa bili), (**kak** e bilo)] ne znam, i postrada.* (CSB–A)

'*There were two trolleybuses, were they behind the trolleybus or how was it, I don't know, but he got injured.*'

Another instance of mixed coordination is the EAIS in ex. (11) whose constituents are a finite declarative subordinate clause and an NP.

(11) *How long, I mean did the doctor just come and say [(she has got about six weeks left) (**or** one of those kinds of things)] did, did you know?* (CFCSE)

Last but not least, some EAISs in the function of direct object have their second constituent unexpressed as in ex. (12) in which the expressed constituent is a finite declarative subordinate clause.

(12) *Do you think [(he resents that now) (**or** --)]?* (CFCSE)

III. Subject-oriented predicative complement

Corpora data indicate that 19 EAISs, i.e. 15.1 % of all EAISs with functions on the clausal level, serve as subject-oriented predicative complements. There are 3 AISs in EFC, 1 in ECFM, 8 in CFCSE, and 7 in STCSE.

Their Bulgarian counterparts are 32 in total, i.e. 24.1 % of all BAISs with functions in the clause. There are 10 AISs in BFC, 4 in BCFM, 13 in CSB–A, and 5 in CSB–NV.

The copular verbs which license the AISs are *be* and *съм*. EAISs follow *be*, whereas BAISs either precede (ex. 15) or follow *съм* (ex. 17). In these examples the constituents of the AISs are juxtaposed. However, some BAISs are split with the first constituent being fronted so that it precedes the copula *съм* (ex. 14, 18).

The constituents of E&BAISs are usually NPs.

(13) *And uh, I don't know who thought of it, I don't know if it was [(me) (or Jeff) (or Craig)] but uh, we uh, we had some cigarettes on us ...* (CFCSE)

(14) *Ама [(боя ли) е (или хоросан)]?* (CSB–A)

       Ama [(boya li) e (ili horosan)]? (CSB–A)

       'But is it paint or mortar?'

(15) *[(Възвишеност ли), (или мерзост), (или самозалъгване)] са моите книги?* (BCFM)

      [(Vazvishenost li), (ili merzost), (ili samozalagvane)] sa moite knigi? (BCFM)

      'Are my books nobility, or vileness, or wishful thinking?'

Some E&BAISs are made up of adjective phrases (APs).

(16) *She didn't know if he was being [(honest) (or polite and just southern)].* (EFC)

(17) *Нека най-после Тимая смъкне покривалото си, за да видим дали била [(хубава) (или грозна)].* (BFC)

      Neka naj-posle Timaya smakne pokrivaloto si, za da vidim dali bila [(hubava) (ili grozna)]. (BFC)

      'Let Timaya finally take off her veil so that we could see whether she is pretty or ugly.'

Still other BAISs are instances of binary mixed phrasal coordination. Thus, the AIS in ex. (18) consists of an AP and an NP.

(18) *Видя ли как изглежда? Гледа ... хубаво искам да кажа, ма той много хубав, той [(напудрен ли) беше, (какво)].* (CSB–A)

      Vidya li kak izglezhda? Gleda ... hubavo iskam da kazha, ma toj mnogo hubav, toj [(napudren li) beshe, (kakvo)]. (CSB–A)

      'Did you see what he looked like? He looked ... good I mean, he is very handsome, was his face powdered or what.'

Lastly, there are AISs with unexpressed final constituent as in ex. (19) and (20) in which the expressed constituents are two NPs and an AP respectively.

(19) *Do you feel like that's [(a Southern thing) (or a NC thing), (or –)]* (CFCSE)

(20) *Чий цигари са тия бе, [(У-еса) (или ...)] Японски. Джапан! Брей тия джапани ...* (CSB–NV)

      Chij tsigari sa tiya be, [(U-esa) (ili ...)] Yaponski. Dzhapan! Brej tiya dzhapani ... (CSB–NV)

'*What are these cigarettes, American or … Japanese. Japan! Oh dear, these Japanese …*'

IV. Adjunct

EAISs serving as adjuncts are 20 in number, which makes 15.9 % of all EAISs with functions in the clause. There are 2 AISs in EFC, 4 in ECFM, 11 in CFCSE, and 3 in STCSE.

The respective BAISs are 32, i.e. 24.1 % of all BAISs that perform functions on the clausal level. There are 8 AISs in BFC, 9 in BCFM, 11 in CSB–A, and 4 in CSB–NV.

According to corpora data, the constituents of the AISs belong to a variety of syntactic categories – they are NPs, APs, PPs, adverb phrases (AdvPs), closed interrogative subordinate clauses. There are instances of both unmixed and mixed clausal or phrasal coordination.

Some E&BAISs exemplify "the ungoverned exhaustive conditional construction" functioning as an adjunct (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 985–6) and carry an "alternative conditional-concessive" meaning (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1100).

(21) *But of course when all the surrounding, the stores or whatever, everybody had lost money and so the whole economy was totally poor [(whether they actually lost money) (**or** not)]*. (CFCSE)

(22) *[(Уважава **ли** ги) (**или** им се присмива)] – над него са, в техните ръце е силата …* (BCFM)

*[(Uvazhava **li** gi) (**ili** im se prismiva)] – nad nego sa, v tehnite ratse e silata …* (BCFM)

'*Whether he respects them or he laughs at them, they are his superiors, they have the power in their hands …*'

The AISs in ex. (21) and (22) are made up of two closed interrogative subordinate clauses. The second constituent of the EAIS is reduced to the negator *not*. Let us illustrate Huddleston & Pullum's views on the ungoverned exhaustive conditional construction by analyzing the EAIS. Its constituents "constitute an exhaustive set of [two] possibilities" (*ibid.* 2002: 986), *viz.* they actually lost money and they actually didn't lose money. Each possibility "defines a condition or 'case'" (*ibid.* 2002: 985) under which the economy was totally poor, i.e. it was totally poor if they lost money and it was totally poor if they didn't lose money. The AIS is "ungoverned" because there is no item to govern it. The governed variant will be headed by the preposition *regardless of* or *irrespective of*,

or by the noun *matter* preceded by the determinative *no* (*ibid.* 2002: 985) so that the form of the structure will be *regardless of / irrespective of / no matter whether they actually lost money or not.*

As for the alternative conditional-concessive meaning that these AISs convey, I agree with Quirk *et al.* that each clausal coordination "is an alternative condition in that logically it combines the conditional meaning of *if* with the disjunctive meaning of *either ... or*" (*ibid.* 1985: 1100), while "the concessive meaning emerges from the unexpected implication that the same situation applies under two contrasting conditions" (*ibid.* 1985: 1100).

E&BAISs serving as adjuncts can also be made up of PPs, NPs, and AdvPs. Binary unmixed coordination prevails and is illustrated by the AISs in ex. (23 – 25) whose constituents are PPs (ex. 23, 24) and NPs (ex. 25).

(23) *Are there, are there any other specific things that, that you feel like, where, where you feel your privacy to be invaded [(on a day-to-day basis) (or either growing, on a growing frequency)]?* (STCSE)

(24) *Не знам, [(пред ядене ли) пикаят тия деца, (след ядене ли)]...* (CSB–NV)

Ne znam, [(pred yadene li) pikayat tiya detsa, (sled yadene li)] ... (CSB–NV)

'*I don't know, do these children piss before meal or after meal ...*'

(25) *Сега заминавам за Франция, не знам [(вторник ли), (сряда)] ще пътуваме, нали не бех тука и ...* (CSB–A)

Sega zaminavam za Frantsia, ne znam [(vtornik li), (sryada)] shte patuvame, nali ne beh tuka i ... (CSB–A)

'*Now I'm leaving for France, I don't know if we're travelling on Tuesday or Wednesday, you know, I wasn't here and ...*'

Binary mixed coordination of phrases is found in ex. (26) and (27) in which the constituents of the AISs are a PP and an AdvP.

(26) *Do you feel like, do you think it would have been different if you had gone to school [(in Boston) (or someplace else up north)]?* (CFCSE)

(27) *Довечера ще видим дали Кодов и Беровски са действували [(поотделно), (или в съдружие)].* (BFC)

Dovechera ste vidim dali Kodov i Berovski sa deystvuvali [(pootdelno), (ili v sadruzhie)]. (BFC)

'*Tonight we'll see whether Kodov and Berovski have acted separately or together.*'

Finally, there are EAISs with unexpressed final constituent as in ex. (28) in which the expressed constituents are NPs.

(28)   *Do you, do you work like [(half days) (**or** half weeks) (**or** …)]* (STCSE)

As we can see from the examples above, EAISs in the function of adjunct usually take clause (or sentence) final position. BAISs, however, are often preposed so that they take clause (or sentence) initial position (ex. 22, 25). In addition, frequent are BAISs with preposing of the first constituent only (ex. 24).

Last but not least, AISs in the function of adjunct convey meanings other than alternative conditional-concessive. Thus, the above-discussed AISs belong to the semantic categories of frequency (ex. 23, 28), temporal location (ex. 24, 25), spatial location (ex. 26), and manner (ex. 27).

V.   Predicate

In both English and Bulgarian corpora fourth in frequency come AISs in the function of predicate. The EAISs are 9 altogether, i.e. 7.1 % of all EAISs carrying out functions on the clausal level. There are 2 occurrences in EFC, 2 in ECFM, and 5 in CFCSE. Their Bulgarian counterparts total 11, i.e. 8.3 % of all BAISs with functions in the clause. There are 2 in BFC, 5 in CSB–A, and 4 in CSB–NV.

The constituents of the AISs are verb phrases (VPs). There are examples of both two- and three-member coordination.

(29)   *And then I'll eventually get around to reading it and whether it [(stays) (**or** goes)] depends on what it's like!* (CFCSE)

(30)   *[(„Слим" **ли** е) това, (**какво е**)]?* (CSB–NV)
        *[("Slim" **li** e) tova, (**kakvo e**)]?* (CSB–NV)
        'Is this "Slim" or what is this?'

(31)   *He then moved on to basic questions about whether they [(had been victims of crime), (had relatives in prison) (**or** were related to any police officers or prosecutors)].* (EFC)

(32)   *Аз не знам детето му [(тъмно **ли** беше), (светло **ли** беше), (черно **ли** беше)].* (CSB–A)
        *Az ne znam deteto mu [(tamno **li** beshe), (svetlo **li** beshe), (cherno **li** beshe)].* (CSB–A)
        'I don't know if his child was dark-haired or was fair-haired or was black-haired.'

Let us note here that the EAIS in ex. (29) serves both as predicate and predicator. The rationale behind this analysis is that its constituents can be classed not only as VPs but also as lexical verbs (Vs). As the VPs have no complements or adjuncts, they coincide with the lexical verbs that fulfill the predicator function.

So far we have examined AISs whose constituents occur in the same sentence. English and Bulgarian corpora evidence, however, indicates that there exist some rare cases of AISs whose constituents are found in two adjacent sentences. This "division into two sentences has an information-packaging function: it presents the whole as a sequence of two messages" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1735) and allows us to talk about inter-sentential coordination and AISs with inter-sentential constituents.

In the example below, the EAIS (and hence the predicate) is split with the second constituent being set off as a separate sentence.

(33) *And so is there anything in particular about growing up that you want to share that [(maybe changed you as a person)? (**Or** made you the person that you are)?]* (CFCSE)

VI. Subject

EAISs in the function of subject are as numerous as those in the function of predicate – 9, i.e. 7.1 % of all EAISs with functions in the clause. There are 2 in EFC, 5 in CFCSE, and 2 in STCSE.

The respective BAISs are 6, i.e. 4.5 % of all BAISs with functions on the clausal level serve as subjects. There are 4 occurrences in BFC, 1 in CSB–A, and 1 in CSB–NV.

The AISs usually represent a binary NP-coordination.

(34) *… after you began to read on your own did sometimes [(your cousins) (**or** other people)] still read or tell stories to you even though you could read?* (CFCSE)

(35) *Кой, а, [(Любо и Дидка) (**или** ти и татко ти)] ми се смеят?* (CSB–A)

*Koj, a, [(Lyubo i Didka) (**ili** ti i tatko ti)] mi se smeyat?* (CSB–A)

'*Who, speak up, are Lyubo and Didka or you and your dad laughing at me?*'

Ex. (35) is an instance of "layered coordination" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1278–9). It occurs when "a coordination can function as a coordinate within a larger one" (*ibid.* 2002: 1278). In our case, first the

NPs *Любо* (*Lyubo*) and *Дидка* (*Didka*), and *ти* (*you*) and *татко ти* (*your dad*) are linked by means of the coordinator *u* (*and*) to form "the lower coordinations" (*ibid.* 2002: 1278) *Любо и Дидка* (*Lyubo and Didka*) and *ти и татко ти* (*you and your dad*). In their turn, these two coordinations are joined by *или* (*or*) to form the upper coordination (*ibid.* 2002: 1279) *Любо и Дидка или ти и татко ти* (*Lyubo and Didka or you and your dad*). This coordination is the AIS under analysis which serves as subject.

Whereas the subject function of the AISs in ex. (34) and (35) is easy to establish, it is not the case with EAISs like that in ex. (36) which is found in a sentence with existential *there*.

(36) *OK, well um, are there [(any particular stories related to this) (or anything else you enjoy reading now) (or)] um, I mean, is there anything looking at what you experienced ...* (CFCSE)

In this article I entertain the opinion that the existential *there* is the syntactic subject, while the AIS is the semantic subject. I adhere to Huddleston & Pullum's view (2002: 1391) that *there* "fills the subject position", while the element after the copula *be* can be considered "a displaced subject". A displaced subject "is an internal complement of the verb that is not syntactically a subject but corresponds semantically to the subject" (*ibid.* 2002: 1391). On that account I treat the AIS in ex. (36) as a displaced subject.

As far as its constituent structure is concerned, the AIS is another example of a three-member AIS whose final constituent is not expressed, the expressed constituents being NPs.

VII. Locative complement

In English and Bulgarian corpora there is an equal number of AISs that serve as locative complements – **7**, which makes 5.6 % of all EAISs and 5.3 % of all BAISs with functions on the clausal level. There are 2 AISs in EFC, 1 in CFCSE, and 4 in STCSE. There is 1 AIS in BFC, 4 in CSB–A, and 2 in CSB–NV.

Locative complements occur with the verbs *be* and *съм* and "cover expressions associated with the [semantic] roles of source, goal, and location" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 258). Thus, the AISs in ex. (37) and (38) indicate spatial location and source (or initial location) respectively, while those in ex. (39) and (40) indicate temporal location.

The AISs usually represent a binary unmixed coordination of PPs (ex. 37, 38) or NPs (ex. 39, 40).

(37) *... but I think they also should respect the sanctity of the American home whether it be [(in a house) (**or** in an apartment)].* (STCSE)

(38) *Откъде е дядо Димитър беше? [(От Велес) (**или** от Щип)]?* (CSB–A)

    *Otkade e dyado Dimitar beshe? [(Ot Veles) (**ili** ot Shtip)]?* (CSB–A)

    '*Where is was grandfather Dimitar from? From Veles or from Stip?*'

(39) *Well, you know, he was, uh, when was it, [(last year) (**or** year before last)], he was voted the sexiest actor in movies or something.* (STCSE)

(40) *Знайш какво значи, това беше [(януари **ли**), (февруари **ли**)], до юни тя не дойде в училището при мене.* (CSB–NV)

    *Znaysh kakvo znachi, tova beshe [(yanuari **li**), (fevruari **li**)], do yuni tya ne doyde v uchilishteto pri mene.* (CSB–NV)

    '*You know what, this happened was it in January or in February, she didn't come on a visit to me in the school till June.*'

VIII. Predicator

Only AISs testified in the English corpora serve as predicators in their respective clauses. There are 6 occurrences in total, i.e. 4.8 % of all EAISs with functions on the clausal level. There are 3 in EFC, 1 in ECFM, and 2 in CFCSE. No examples of AISs in the function of predicator are found in the Bulgarian corpora.

The EAISs are made up of two Vs.

(41) *Um, are there any, you said you don't remember reading anything in particular, like when you were older in school, were there any books that you read that you [(liked) (**or** hated)]?* (CFCSE)

IX. Other functions

The remaining 7 EAISs (5.6 % of all EAISs with functions in the clause) and 12 BAISs (9 % of all BAISs with functions in the clause) are used as

- part of the predicate – 5 EAISs (2 in EFC, 1 in ECFM, 1 in CFCSE, and 1 in STCSE) and 1 BAIS (in CSB–NV)
- part of the direct object – 5 BAISs (3 in BCFM and 2 in CSB–A)
- prepositional object – 1 EAIS (in STCSE) and 3 BAISs (2 in CSB–A and 1 in CSB–NV)

- part of the subject-oriented predicative complement – 1 EAIS (in STCSE) and 2 BAISs (in BCFM)
- object-oriented predicative complement – 1 BAIS (in CSB–NV).

Due to limitations of space, only some of these AISs are briefly discussed below.

For instance, the EAIS in ex. (42) forms part of a predicate. It consists of two non-finite bare infinitival clauses. It is complement to the head auxiliary verb *can* and together they make up the VP (put in curly brackets) that serves as predicate in the finite closed interrogative subordinate clause *whether he can export or at least set up trade.*

(42) *... if he can raise enough, uh, coffee and bananas to, uh, where he's got something to protect other, you know, whether he {can [(export) (or at least, uh, set up trade)]}, and all then democracy of a considerable interest to him* – (STCSE)

There are two AISs in each example below. They constitute parts of a direct object (ex. 43) and a subject-oriented predicative complement (ex. 44). The examples are cases of layered coordination.

Thus, in ex. (43) two lower coordinations are formed when the constituent clauses of the AISs are joined by means of the correlative pairs *ли – ли* and *дали – дали* respectively. (To be precise, the second constituent of the *дали – дали* AIS is itself a coordination of clauses.) Then the resulting AISs are coordinated asyndetically to form the upper layer of coordination (enclosed in curly brackets). It is this upper coordination that functions as direct object to the head verb *отгатне* (*guess*). As each AIS is only a coordinate in the upper coordination, it is only part of the direct object, it is not a direct object in its own right.

(43) *Лицето само не може да си го представи, хем го е гледал хиляди пъти в съседния двор, не може да отгатне {[(намръщено ли е), (усмихва ли се)], [(дали устните са прехапани от ярост и усилие), (дали са открехнати и езиче ги близва като бърз камшик)]}.* (BCFM)

Litseto samo ne mozhe da si go predstavi, hem go e gledal hilyadi pati v sasedniya dvor, ne mozhe da otgatne {[(namrashteno li e), (usmihva li se)], [(dali ustnite sa prehapani ot yarost i usilie), (dali sa otkrehnati i eziche gi blizva kato barz kamshik)]}. (BCFM)

'*Only her face can't he picture although he has seen it thousands of times in the neighboring yard, he can't guess if it is puckering or if it is smiling, whether she is biting her lips out of fury and effort or whether they are half open and her tongue is licking them quickly like a whip.*'

In its turn, the AISs *обаятелен или банален* (*fascinating or trite*) and *подъл или великодушен* (*mean or magnanimous*) in ex. (44) have AP-constituents. They occur in the same closed interrogative subordinate clause introduced by *дали* (*whether*). The clause is yet another example of layered coordination with two lower and one upper layer. The lower coordinations are formed by the two AISs whose constituents are linked by the coordinator *или* (*or*). On the upper level the AISs are joined asyndetically to form the coordination *обаятелен или банален, подъл или великодушен* (*fascinating or trite, mean or magnanimous*) (put in curly brackets). The upper coordination serves as subject-oriented predicative complement. The AISs are coordinates in the upper coordination, hence they make part of the subject-oriented predicative complement.

(44)   *... но запитай ги дали този плат е {[(обаятелен) (или банален)], [(подъл) (или великодушен)]}, никога не могат да ви отговорят.* (BCFM)

   ... no zapitaj gi dali tozi plat e {[(obayatelen) (ili banalen)], [(podal) (ili velikodushen)]}, nikoga ne mogat da vi otgovoryat. (BCFM)

   '*... but when you ask them whether this cloth is fascinating or trite, mean or magnanimous, they can never answer.*'

Finally, the BAIS in ex. (45) is made up of three PPs and serves as prepositional object to the head verb *говоря* (*say*).

(45)   *Викам: Ами аз такива работи чул ли си ме да говоря, викам, [(пред баща ти) (или пред майка ти), (или пред тебе)]?* (CSB–NV)

   Vikam: Ami az takiva raboti chul li si me da govorya, vikam, [(pred bashta ti) (ili pred mayka ti), (ili pred tebe)]? (CSB–NV)

   '*I said: Why, have you heard me saying such things, I said, in front of your father or in front of your mother or in front of you?*'

X.   Conclusions

The comparative qualitative and quantitative corpus-based investigation into the constituents of E&BAISs and their functions within the clause has pointed to the following conclusions:

1.   126 EAISs, i.e. 49.2 % of all AISs found in the English corpora, and 133 BAISs, i.e. 55 % of all AISs found in the Bulgarian corpora, carry out functions on the causal level.
2.   The most common functions to E&BAISs have turned out to be those of direct object, subject-oriented predicative complement

and adjunct. BAISs performing these functions enjoy the same frequency. EAISs serving as direct objects, however, are 2.5 times as numerous as those serving as subject-oriented predicative complements and adjuncts.

Less characteristic of E&BAISs in the corpora are the functions of subject, predicate and locative complement. In addition, infrequent are EAISs serving as predicators and parts of predicates as well as BAISs serving as parts of direct objects. Sporadic are the occurrences of AISs in other functions.

3. *Know* and *знам* are the most common verbs that license AISs in the function of direct object, while *be* and *съм* are the verbs which license AISs in the functions of subject-oriented predicative complement and locative complement.

4. E&BAISs are usually examples of binary unmixed phrasal or clausal coordination. Their constituents are often NPs, PP and (closed) interrogative subordinate clauses. Also, they can be Vs, VPs, APs, AdvPs. There are examples of mixed coordination, as well. Last but not least, there are AISs whose final constituent is not expressed.

5. Examples of binary coordination are found much more frequently in English and Bulgarian corpora than those of multiple coordination. In the latter case E&BAISs are made up of three constituents.

6. The constituents of the AISs testified in the corpora are most often found in the same sentence. Examples of AISs with inter-sentential constituents are infrequent.

7. Preposing of the first constituent or of the whole AIS is a phenomenon typical of BAISs. By contrast, preposing has proved to be uncommon to the AISs found in the English corpora.

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