

Strong counterfactuality ('CF'). While counterfactuality is usually regarded as cancellable (implicature), some languages have dedicated **strong** CF marking (Karawani, 2014). In Bulgarian the morphology used to convey strong CF, (5), is the same as in the PI construction, (1): the subjunctive *da*, also used in imperatives (see above) and the pluperfect, which conveys two layers of past (Ippolito, 2013) – one for the event and one for the modal evaluation, going back in time when the possibility was still open. In PI, this contributes to the meaning of **impoliteness** in that it emphasises that the now closed possibility (strong CF: you didn't include a screenshot) was still accessible to the addressee at a past time (you could have). If there was still an open possibility that the antecedent was true at the time of utterance, the speaker would not have sufficient grounds to reproach the addressee. Thus, **strong CF is a necessary ingredient of PI.**

(5) **Da/ako beše složil** skrijšot, štajxme da razberem kakŭv e problemŭt.
SUBJ/IF AUX.PST.2SG put.PP screenshot FUT.PST.1PL SUBJ understand.1PL what is problem
'If you had put a screenshot (which you didn't), we would've understood what the problem was.'

At the same time, the Bg PI construction cannot be reduced to a CF conditional or an optative: while PI is obligatorily imperative and impolite, they are neither; PI is restricted to actions that were doable by the addressee (1), while optatives are not (e.g. 'if only he were tall'). In addition, the conditional can be formed with *ako* 'if' (5), while PI cannot, and optatives feature dedicated morphology not present in (1).

Givenness. I follow Biezma's (2011) idea that the impoliteness in PIs is also contributed by their givenness – in the conversation or as world knowledge (also van Olmen, 2018), producing a 'duh' effect: cf. the continuation with 'We can't read thoughts' in (1). This is supported by the fact that PIs are not felicitous out of the blue but are rather used as replies. For Biezma, givenness emerges from the inverted conditional structure of PI in Spanish. I suggest that it follows more generally from **strong CF being presupposed**, i.e. taken for granted in the common ground (e.g. that the addressee didn't include a screenshot).

Cross-linguistic outlook. Having proposed what the morphosemantic ingredients of the PI construction in Bulgarian are, I conclude with a conjecture on why PIs are (supposedly?) so rarely found typologically. If the proposal put forth here is on the right track, then PIs cross-linguistically are morphologically dependent on the availability of **shared** non-canonical imperative morphology and strong CF marking (like the subjunctive described here), and that is arguably rarer than the ingredients proposed by other approaches. Further preliminary support for this conjecture is that of the languages discussed by van Olmen (2018) as having PI, Arabic also has strong CF (Karawani, 2014); so does Spanish (Vallejo, 2017); and in Spanish, Estonian, Dutch, and Hungarian, the form used in PI also shares formal properties with imperatives (including non-canonical ones). It remains to be tested in other languages with PI.

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