

ILIANA KRAPOVA krapova@unive.it

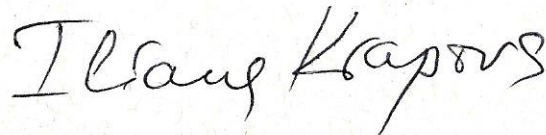
DICHIARAZIONE AI FINI DELL'ATTRIBUZIONE DEL CONTRIBUTO
INDIVIDUALE NEI LAVORI CON PIU' AUTORI IN CUI ESSA NON SIA
ESPLICITA

Io Sottoscritta, Iliana Krapova, nata a Plovdiv, Bulgaria, il 17/12/1960, residente a Venezia (VE), in via Lungomare G. Marconi 76, 30126, codice fiscale KPRLNI60T57Z104Q, DICHIARO di essere autrice, con Guglielmo Cinque, del seguente articolo: "The Case for Genitive Case in Bulgarian". In L.Schürcks, A.Giannakidou, U.Etxeberria (eds.) *The Nominal Structure in Slavic and Beyond*. 237-274. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Anche se i due autori hanno contribuito pariteticamente alla costruzione della ricerca e alla redazione del testo, il mio contributo specifico riguarda le sezioni 2,3,4,5.

Venezia, 15/07/2017

In fede

Handwritten signature of Iliana Krapova in black ink.

Lilia Schürcks, Anastasia Giannakidou, and Urtzi Etxeberria (Eds.)
The Nominal Structure in Slavic and Beyond

Studies in Generative Grammar



Editors

Henk van Riemsdijk

Harry van der Hulst

Jan Koster

Volume 116

The Nominal Structure in Slavic and Beyond

Edited by
Lilia Schürcks
Anastasia Giannakidou
Urtzi Etxeberria

DE GRUYTER
MOUTON

ISBN 978-1-61451-388-9
e-ISBN 978-1-61451-279-0
ISSN 0167-4331

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>

© 2014 Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston
Typesetting: PTP-Berlin Protago-TEX-Production GmbH,
Berlin Printing: Hubert & Co. GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
☺ Printed on acid free paper
Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com

Table of Contents

Lilia Schürcks, Anastasia Giannakidou, Urtzi Etxeberria
Nominal Arguments and the role of D: an introduction — 1

Larisa Zlatić
Definiteness and Structure of NPs in Slavic — 17

Miloje Despić
Intensifiers, Focus, and Clitics: Is Pronoun Position Truly an Argument for D in SC? — 39

Željko Bošković
Phases beyond Clauses — 75

Steven Franks
The Slovenian Orphan Accusative, Empty Pronouns and Noun Phrase Structure — 129

Franc Marušič & Rok Žaucer
A Definite Article in the AP – Evidence from Colloquial Slovenian — 183

Pavel Caha
The Jungle of the Czech Local Cases: Where Semantics and Morphology Meet — 209

Iliyana Krapova and Guglielmo Cinque
The Case for Genitive Case in Bulgarian — 237

Ilse Zimmermann
Reciprocity Expressions — 275

Melita Stavrou
About the Vocative — 299

Gilbert C. Rappaport
Determiner Phrases and Mixed Agreement in Slavic — 343

Lilia Schürcks

**Syntax Presupposes, Morphology Disposes: Markedness and NP
Typology — 391**

Urtzi Etxeberria & Anastasia Giannakidou

**D-heads, domain restriction, and variation: From Greek and Basque to
Salish — 413**

Peter Kosta and Anton Zimmerling

Slavic Clitic Systems in a Typological Perspective — 441

Iliyana Krapova and Guglielmo Cinque
The Case for Genitive Case in Bulgarian¹

1 Introduction

In this paper we argue, differently from both traditional and modern analyses, that Bulgarian possessive clitics are underlyingly either dative or genitive despite the morphological merger between these two Cases in the language. The argument will involve the following steps:

First we show on the basis of evidence discussed in CINQUE & KRAPOVA (2009) that two separate constructions should be distinguished in what is generally taken to be a unitary possessor raising construction: in one the possessive clitic is base-generated externally to the DP expressing the possessee; in the other the clitic is base-generated internally to the possessee DP and is optionally extracted.

Second, we show that the only argument that can be extracted from Bulgarian DPs is the one corresponding to the structural subject, introduced by the preposition *na*. In particular, no other argument, including the direct and indirect objects also introduced by the preposition *na*, can be extracted.

Third, we argue that the only argument that can be extracted from a DP in Bulgarian, namely the argument corresponding to the syntactic subject of the DP, is *genitive* rather than *dative*. The argument rests on two considerations: i) the fact that the Case assigned to the subject of Bulgarian DPs is a structural Case (compatible with possessor, agent, experiencer, and theme theta-roles) as opposed to the Case assigned to object and indirect object arguments, which is an inherent Case, strictly related to a theme and a Goal theta-role, respectively (more generally, on the structural nature of the nominal genitive see de Witt 1997); ii) the fact that in languages (like Italian) which distinguish morphologically genitive arguments from dative arguments (*di* 'of' NP/*ne* 'of it_{CL}' vs. *a* 'to' NP/*gli* 'him'_{CL}) the argument that can extract from a DP is only the *di* 'of' NP/*ne* 'of it' subject genitive (CINQUE 1980, 2010);

Fourth, given that in the construction involving raising of the possessive clitic this too only corresponds to the subject of the DP, we conclude that the clitic is also genitive as only (subject) genitives can be extracted.

¹ We thank Anastasia Giannakidou, Catherine Rudin and two anonymous reviewers for their very helpful comments.

Since in the other construction in which the possessive clitic is merged outside of the DP a clear benefactive/malefactive interpretation is contributed by the ‘possessive clitic’, we surmise that the merge position of the clitic must be the one corresponding to the benefactive/malefactive dative.

We take up each of these steps in turn.

2 The two ‘possessor raising’ constructions of Bulgarian

In previous work (CINQUE & KRAPOVA 2009) we presented evidence that so-called *Possessor Raising* in Bulgarian is not a homogeneous construction and that two separate cases should be distinguished: the first type, which corresponds closely to what is usually labeled “possessor raising” in Romance, is a base generated construction in which the possessive clitic is merged externally to the DP expressing the possessee; the second type, which corresponds closely to the genitive *en/ne*-construction found in some Romance languages, is a movement construction in which the possessive clitic is merged DP-internally and only optionally undergoes raising to a clausal clitic position. The two types are illustrated in (1)a and b:

- (1) a. [Tja **mu** sčupi [prăsta/stola]]
 she him_{DAT} broke.3sg finger_{DET}/chair_{DET}
 ‘She broke his finger/his head/his desire.’
- b. [Az **mu**_j poznavam [priateljkata/xarktera/săčinenijata t_j]]
 I him_{DAT} know.1sg girlfriend_{DET}/character_{DET}/works_{DET}
 ‘I know his girlfriend/his character/his works.’

A number of interpretive properties distinguish the two constructions. The first one is confined to inalienable possession (and its extensions)² and is available only for predicates imposing a benefactive/malefactive interpretation (i.e., affecting positively or negatively the external possessor). The second one is compatible

² As noted in the literature (see, for example, VERGNAUD & ZUBIZARRETA 1992:597), inalienable possession extends to certain kinship terms and familiar objects (‘daughter’, ‘home’, ‘car’, ‘umbrella’, etc.), though variation exists among languages (and speakers) concerning the membership in the class of extended inalienables. To take one example, Italian ((i)a), but not French ((i)b), can apparently extend inalienable possession to (some) inanimate objects:

- (i) a. Al tavolo, qualcuno **gli** ha segato tutte le gambe
 to.the table someone it_{DAT} has sawn all the legs

with all sorts of possession (inalienable or not) and – more importantly – does not impose any benefactive/malefactive interpretation on the possessor.

Correlating with these interpretive differences there are several syntactic differences between the two constructions having to do, among other properties, with

- a) Definiteness requirements
- b) Idiomatic interpretations
- c) (Apparent) extractions out of PPs

2.1 Definiteness requirements

Consider first the definiteness restriction holding of DP-internal possessive clitics as illustrated in (2). As has been observed by a number of authors, the DP containing a possessive clitic must be definite, with the clitic following either a demonstrative or the element bearing the definite article (cf. PENČEV 1998:30; DIMITROVA-VULCHANOVA & GIUSTI 1999:169; FRANKS 2000:59ff.; FRANKS & KING 2000:275, 282; MOSKOVSKY 2004:221f.; STATEVA 2002:660; SCHÜRCKS & WUNDERLICH 2003:121):

- (2) a. Tja sčupi [tozi/malkija/*edin **mu** prăst]
 she broke.3sg this/little_{DET}/one his finger
 ‘She broke his little finger/this finger of his.’
- b. Az poznavam [tazi/novata/*edna **mu** prijatelka]
 I know.1sg this/new_{DET}/one his girlfriend
 ‘I know his new girlfriend/this girlfriend of his/*a girlfriend of his.’

If both (1a) and (1b) were derived by raising of the possessive clitic from inside the DP, we would expect an identical definiteness effect in the DP-external ‘variants’. However, while the construction in (3b), which, as suggested above, involves raising of the possessive clitic, is ungrammatical, arguably because the indefinite DP is an illicit input structure (cf. (2)), the absence of a such an effect in (3a) suggests that the clitic has not been raised from within the indefinite DP but is merged directly in a clausal clitic position and is presumably related to the

b. *La table, quelqu’un **lui** a scié toutes les pattes
 the table, someone it_{DAT} has sawn all the legs
 ‘The table, someone has sawn off all its legs’ (LAMIROY 2003:259 citing LECLÈRE 1976)

For further discussion, see LAMIROY (2003: sections 2.3 and 3).

DP expressing the inalienable body-part via a non movement mechanism. For concreteness, we adopt the analysis developed by VERGNAUD and ZUBIZARRETA (1992), according to which the binding relation between the inalienable phrase and the external possessor is regulated by Predication:³

(3) a. Tja mu ščupi [edin prăst]
 she him_{CL} broke.3s a finger
 ‘She broke a finger of his.’

b. *Az mu poznavam [edna prijateljka].
 I him_{CL} know a friend

As expected, the construction must obey strict locality requirements in order for the external possessive interpretation to obtain, namely a) the possessive clitic must locally c-command the inalienable phrase, and b) the two must appear in the same clause. See the following two examples whose ungrammaticality is due to a violation of the respective constraints:

(3) c. ***Glavata** ne **mu** udari tavana.
 head_{DET} not him_{DAT-CL} hit.PAST.3sg ceiling_{DET}
 ‘**His head** did not hit the ceiling’

vs. **Litseto** ne **mu** se viždaše
 Face_{DET} non him_{DAT-CL} refl saw.PAST.3sg
 ‘**His face** was not visible’

d. *Kaza **mu** se [če sa namerili **čadăra**]
 was.said him_{DAT} that are.3pl found umbrella_{DET}
 ‘It was said to him that they found the umbrella’/*‘It was said that they found his umbrella’

2.2 Idiomatic interpretations

A second piece of evidence distinguishing the base generated case ((1a)) from the one involving movement ((1b)) is represented by idioms. As in Romance

³ Among the other non movement mechanisms proposed in the literature we mention (anaphoric) Binding by the possessive dative of the determiner of the DP expressing the body-part (GUÉRON 1985, DEMONTE 1988, among others), or of a pro subject of the DP expressing the body-part (AUTHIER 1988: ch. 4).

(where they can also be taken as evidence for the non movement nature of the corresponding construction), in Bulgarian there are idiomatic expressions with external possessive clitics which do not have a variant with a DP-internal clitic. Notably, such idioms contain benefactive/malefactive predicates, as evident from (4a) and (5a). Their respective DP-internal variants lack the idiomatic reading:⁴

- (4) a. Ti **mi** xodiš **po [nervite]**
 you me_{DAT} walk.2sg on nerves_{DET}
 lit. 'You are walking on my nerves.' ('You are getting on my nerves.')
- b. *Ti xodiš **po [nervite mi]**
 you walk.2sg on nerves._{DET} my
- (5) a. Toj **ì** vidja smetkata **na [rakijata].**
 he her saw bill_{DET} of rakia_{DET}
 lit. 'He saw the rakia's bill' ('He drank the entire rakia')
- b. *Toj vidja smetkata **na [rakijata ì].**
 He saw bill_{DET} of rakia_{DET} her

Such facts suggest that the two variants in (4) and those in (5) are not related to each other transformationally, i.e. the relation between the external possessive dative clitic and the inalienable phrase is not derived by movement.

⁴ Analogously, in Romance no variant exists with a possessive adjective internal to the DP, or with extraction of *ne/en*. See the French and Italian examples (i) and (ii) ((i)a-b are from LAMIROY 2003:260f., who notes the same facts also for Spanish and Dutch):

- (i) a. Luc lui casse les pieds
 Luc him_{dat}/her_{dat} breaks the feet
 'Luc bothers him/her.'
- b. Luc casse ses pieds
 Luc breaks his/her feet (no idiom interpretation available)
- c. Luc en casse les pieds
 Luc him_{gen} breaks the feet (no idiom interpretation available)
- (ii) a. Gli hanno rotto le scatole
 him_{DAT} they have broken the boxes
 'They annoyed him.'
- b. Hanno rotto le sue scatole
 they have broken his boxes (no idiom interpretation available)
- c. Ne hanno rotto le scatole
 him_{GEN} they have broken the boxes (no idiom interpretation available)

2.3 (Apparent) extractions out of PPs

If this is true, then we expect that the DP may be found, like in the corresponding possessor constructions in Romance,⁵ inside a PP, cf. (6), which is an island for extraction also in Bulgarian, as shown by (7):

- (6) a. Toj **mi** se izkrjaska [PP v [DP **uxoto**]]
 he me_{DAT} refl shouted.3sg in ear_{DET}
 ‘He shouted in my ear.’
- b. Az **i** se izsmjax [PP v [DP **litseto**]]
 I her_{DAT} refl laughed.1sg in face_{DET}
 ‘I laughed in her face.’
- (7) *Na **kogo** govori [PP **sās** [DP **zetja** ___]]
 of whom spoke.2sg with son-in-law_{DET}
 ‘To whose son-in-law did you talk?’

The contrast between (6) and (8) below suggests that in (6) which contains a benefactive/malefactive predicate no extraction has taken place while it has in (8), which is ungrammatical because the clitic has been extracted from a PP island:

- (8) a. *Az **i** mislja [PP **za** [DP **očite** ___]]
 I her_{DAT} think.1sg for eyes_{DET}
 ‘I think of her eyes.’

⁵ See the analogous pattern in Italian based on observations in KAYNE (1977:159f.), indicating that no movement has taken place (cf. also CINQUE & KRAPOVA 2009: ex. (16)):

- (i) a. **Gli** hanno urlato [PP **ne**[DP **gli orecchi**]]
 him_{DAT} have.3pl shouted in the ears ‘They shouted in his ears.’
 b. ***Di chi** hanno urlato [PP **ne**[DP **gli orecchi**]]?
 of whom have.3pl shouted in the ears? ‘Who was it that they shouted in his ears?’
 c. **Di chi** hanno medicato [DP **gli orecchi**]?
 of whom have.3pl treated the ears? ‘Of whom have they treated the ears?’
- (ii) a. ***Ne** hanno urlato [PP **ne**[DP **gli orecchi**]]
 him_{GEN} have.3pl shouted in the ears
 ‘(intended meaning) They shouted in his ears’
 (cf. Hanno urlato nei <suoi> orecchi/negli orecchi <di Gianni>
 ‘They have shouted in <his> ears/in Gianni’s ears’)
- b. **Ne** hanno medicato [DP **gli orecchi**]
 him_{GEN} have.3pl treated the ears ‘They treated his ears.’

- b. *Az ne ti zavisja [PP ot [DP parite ___]]
 I not you_{DAT} depend.1sg from money_{DET}
 'I don't depend on your money.'

Since both constituent types can feature an inalienably possessed DP, the crucial difference between them resides in the type of predicate – benefactive/malefactive predicates have the clitic merged in clausal position, while in the rest of the cases the clitic has raised from within the DP.

The conventional wisdom is that Bulgarian possessive clitics, whether DP-internal or DP external, are unambiguously dative. Possessive clitics coincide morphologically with indirect object clitics, a fact which according to many researchers (at least those that have not taken the formal identity for granted), can be interpreted either by assuming the presence of a Genitive-Dative case syncretism or by saying that the possessive and the indirect object are the same syntactic object, sharing the same set of formal features (cf. PANCHEVA 2004).

Although in CINQUE & KRAPOVA (2009) we made reference to the Romance genitive *en/ne*-extraction as an analog of the second, genuine, possessor raising construction of Bulgarian, we did not take a stand on the syntactic nature of the Case of the extractable DP-internal possessive clitic. Here we would like to argue that in spite of its morphological identity with the external base-generated clitic, the two clitics differ with regard to *syntactic* Case. In particular, we will provide evidence that the extractable internal clitic should be analyzed as genitive in opposition to the clitic merged externally, which should be analyzed as dative.

The evidence comes from general conditions on extractions from DP. As we will see in section 4, only *na*-phrases corresponding to the subject of the DP can be extracted in Bulgarian. As the Case borne by the extractable subject in those languages that distinguish morphologically genitive from dative, like Italian, is genitive, we take the *na*-phrase corresponding to the extractable subject in Bulgarian to also be genitive; a conjecture confirmed by the fact that *na*-phrases corresponding to an indirect object, plausibly assigned *syntactic* Dative, cannot extract. From this we further conclude that the corresponding clitic which is demonstrably extracted from the DP must also be genitive. The adnominal genitive appears to be a structural Case as it is compatible with different theta-roles (Possessor, Agent, Experiencer, Theme, but crucially not Goal, which is rendered by the inherent Case Dative).

In section 3, this state of affairs will be related to BENVENISTE's (1971) original insight that the adnominal genitive of deverbal nouns (in Latin) transposes the structural nominative and accusative, but not the oblique, Cases of the corresponding verbs.

Before we present this evidence, it is necessary to try and determine what counts as the syntactic subject of a DP for the different classes of nouns on independent grounds. We will do this in section 3. In this way, we will be able to check the predictions deriving from the hypotheses suggested above that only the DP subject can be rendered as a possessive clitic and that only the DP subject can be extracted, where the subject is unambiguously genitive. In particular, it will be shown that a careful examination of what counts as the syntactic or structural subject of each class of nouns will show the correctness of the hypothesis with respect to cases that otherwise could have been taken as counterexamples.

3 Singling out the subject of the Bulgarian DP

Following the classification proposed in CINQUE (1980), we list the 5 (basic) classes of nominals in Bulgarian according to the theta-role that can be said to correspond to the structural subject of the respective DPs. We will consider deverbal nominals with Agent/Experiencer and Theme theta-roles, typically ending in *-ne*, “result” nominals, typically ending in *-(n)ie*, as well as nominals with a single theta-role, such as “passive”, intransitive and object denoting nominals. The basic idea behind Cinque’s classification is to establish, for each class of nominals, which theta-role is assigned to the structural subject position. Taking at face value the structural correspondence between DPs and clauses (see CINQUE 1980, GIORGI and LONGOBARDI 1991, LONGOBARDI 2003), we need some way to diagnose subjecthood properties, especially if the nominal has a complex argument structure. (9) gives the two converging properties which appear to single out the structural subject of the DP in Bulgarian:

- (9) a. only subjects **can** be expressed by a possessive adjective (of the type *moj/moja/moe* ‘my’, *tvoj/tvoja/tvoe* ‘your’, *negov/negova/negovo* ‘his’, etc.).
- b. only subjects **fail** to be expressed by a PP consisting of the preposition *na* ‘of’ + a tonic pronoun (of the type *na mene* ‘of me’, *na tebe* ‘of your’, *na nego* ‘of him’, etc.)

The first property implies that possessive adjectives⁶ render unambiguously the DP subject. This property can be taken to follow from the hierarchy of nominal

⁶ In this paper, we abstract away from possessive adjectives based on proper names and kinship terms, which in Bulgarian take the *-ov* suffix, e.,g. *Rembrantov portret* ‘Rembrandt’s portrait’, *Ivanovoto detstvo* ‘Ivan’s childhood’. Such adjectives are rarely used in the contemporary lan-

structural relations discussed by LONGOBARDI (2003: 563) (Possessor > Subject (external argument) > Object (internal argument)), which states that if the Possessor is not overtly present and the external argument is, only the latter (and not the internal argument) will be able to assume the form of a possessive adjective. When there is no Possessor and no argument is projected as the external argument (as with passive and unaccusative nominals), the argument merged as the internal argument may be possessivized (may act as subject).⁷ As we will see, Bulgarian behaves according to the predictions of this hierarchy, rather than to those of the Thematic hierarchy (Possessor > Agent > Experiencer > Theme).

The second property converges with the first in that it singles out exactly the same argument singled out as subject by the first property. The basis for this second diagnostic of subjecthood is arguably a Case conflict. In Bulgarian, tonic pronouns, but not ordinary DPs,⁸ have a morphologically distinct form for Nominative and non-Nominative: *az* ('I', Nominative) *mene* ('me' non-Nominative), *ti* ('you', Nominative), *tebe* ('you' non-Nominative), *toj* ('he', Nominative), *nego* ('him', non-Nominative), etc. Suppose, following CINQUE (2010), that DPs, like clauses, have Agr_s and Agr_o , which assign Nominative and Accusative Case, as they do in finite clauses, except that in Bulgarian DPs, as opposed to the Hungarian ones (SZABOLCSI 1994), the lack of (subject and object) agreement requires the insertion of an additional Case marker, the preposition *na* 'of', which, as we will argue, assigns Genitive on top of the already assigned Nominative (and/or Accusative). This allows us to make sense of the curious prohibition against tonic pronouns in *na* + DP subjects. While with ordinary DPs, which are morphologically underspecified for the Nominative/non-Nominative distinction, no morphological Case conflict will arise in subject position (where both Nominative and Genitive are assigned), a Case conflict will arise with the tonic pronouns, which have two distinct morphological forms; this is because the morphologically Nominative form will be compatible with the Nominative assigned by Agr_s but not with the Genitive assigned by *na*, and the morphologically non-Nominative form will be compatible with the Genitive assigned by *na* but not with the Nominative assigned by Agr_s . In

guage. For a discussion of their argument structure, see DIMITROVA-VULCHANOVA and GIUSTI (1999).

⁷ This means that with apparently exceptional nominals like 'enjoyment', 'knowledge', 'perception', which cannot passivize even in the absence of an overt subject (*the enjoyment of the play* vs. **the play's enjoyment*), there must be a silent one (PRO). Cf. *your enjoyment of the play*. For further discussion, see ANDERSON (1978), CINQUE (1980, §2.3) and LONGOBARDI (2003, 564).

⁸ Nouns have lost overt expression of morphological case, so there is a single form for Nominative and non-Nominative, while oblique cases are assigned by different prepositions.

other words, with tonic pronouns there is no morphological form which is compatible with the Cases assigned to the DP subject; whence the noted restriction.⁹

3.1 Classes of nouns

With the class of derived nominals that correspond to transitive verbs, three different subclasses need to be distinguished: obligatory passive nouns, nouns ambiguous between an active and a passive structure, and psych-nouns. For each class we will try to determine which theta-role is associated with the structural ‘subject’ position.

3.1.1 Obligatory passive nouns

The first class, of obligatorily passive nouns, comprises derived nouns corresponding to (non-psych) transitive verbs in which the external argument is not in subject position. Such nominals typically end in *-ne* and are usually analyzed as process nouns with an event reading or as complex event nouns in GRIMSHAW’S (1990) sense¹⁰ (RAPPAPORT 2000, DIMITROVA-VULCHANOVA & MITKOVSKA 2009, POPOVA 2006, MARKOVA 2007). Some sample nouns are given in (10):

9 The sequence *na+* tonic pronoun is grammatical only if it indicates the possessor (with optional clitic doubling):

- (i) apartamentăt (mu) na nego e xubav.
 apartment_{DET} his_{CL} to him is beautiful
 ‘His apartment is beautiful’

This apparent exception to the generalization just stated is understandable if possessors (to which no argument corresponds in the sentence, hence are not merged in an Agr_s) do not receive Nominative in addition to the Genitive assigned by *na*.

10 The complex event nominals in this class (typically although not exclusively ending in *-ne*, see MARKOVA 2007: 90ff for exceptions) observe the restrictions pointed out in GRIMSHAW (1990): they cannot pluralize, (ia), or take indefinite determiners (ib), and can combine with modifiers like *frequent*, *constant*, *intentional*, (ic). Additionally, they are compatible with aspectual modifiers because of their event reading, (id):

- (i) a. *zalavjanijata na vojnici.
 capturing-pl-the of soldiers
 ‘the captures of soldiers’
 b. *edno zalavjane na vojnitsi
 one capture of soldiers
 c. čestoto prepisvane na izpiti
 frequent-the copying at exams ‘the frequent copying at exams’

- (10) *zalavjane* ‘capture’, *pečene* ‘baking’, *opravzane* ‘emptying’, *prepisvane* ‘copying’, *uništoženie/uništožavane* ‘destruction’, *rešavane* ‘solving/solution’, *otkrivane* ‘discovering/ discovery’, *objasnjavane* ‘explaining/explanation’.

Following CINQUE (1980), we analyze the obligatory “object” reading with *-ne* nominals illustrated in (11), as due to “passivization”, hence the label “passive nouns” (see also DIMITROVA-VULCHANOVA & GIUSTI (1999), DIMITROVA-VULCHANOVA & MITKOVSKA (2009)):

- (11) *zalavjaneto na kradetsa*
 capture_{DET} of thief_{DET}
 ‘the capture of the thief’

Passive nouns have Theme as their single argument, and given the diagnostics in (9a), this argument qualifies as ‘subject’ of the DP. Lack of Agent role is confirmed by the contrast in (12):

- (12) a. *negovoto (=na kradetsa) zalavjane (ot polizijata)*
 his_{DET} (=of thief_{DET}) capture (by police_{DET})
 ‘his capture’
- b. **negovoto (=ot politsijata) zalavjane na kradetsa/na nego*
 its_{DET} (=by police_{DET}) capture of thief_{DET}/of him
 ‘the capture of the thief/of him by the police’

Abstracting away from certain differences between passive nouns and passive clauses in general (see e.g., LONGOBARDI 2003: 565), we make the standard assumption that passive structures suppress the Agent role, as can be seen from the impossibility of realizing the Agent by way of a possessive adjective, (12b), with the consequence that the Theme is the single argument which can be associated with the ‘subject’ position. Crucially, the ungrammaticality of (12c) below, where a tonic pronoun replaces the PP *na kradetsa* ‘of the thief’, confirms that the Theme acts as the DP subject in accordance with the diagnostic in (9b):

- d. *prekăsvaneto na toka za tri časa*
 interrupting_{DET} of electricity for three hours

See also fn. 12 below.

- (12) c. *zalavjaneto na nego (=na kradetsa)
 capture_{DET} of him (of thief_{DET})
 ‘his capture’

Some passive *-ne* nominals, such as *razdavane* ‘giving out’, *predstavjane* ‘introducing/introduction’, *vrăštane* ‘giving back’ admit an additional Goal argument which in Bulgarian is also expressed as a *na*-DP, as indirect objects are both in DPs and in clauses. In (13a), for example, the second *na*-phrase renders this dative argument. As with other passive nominals, the Agent can only be expressed by an optional *by*-phrase and not as a possessive adjective, cf. (13b), which can only render the Theme argument, as seen from (13c). So in this respect Goal taking *-ne* nominals behave like the other passive nouns.

- (13) a. Razdavaneto na knigi na detsata (ot učitelite) e
 distribution_{DET} of books to children_{DET} (by teachers_{DET}) is
 zabraneno.
 forbidden
 ‘The distribution of books to children by the teachers is forbidden.’
- b. *Tjaxnoto (=na učitelite) razdavane na knigi na detsata
 their_{DET} (=of teachers_{DET}) distribution of books to children_{DET}
 e zabraneno.
 is forbidden
 ‘Their distribution of books to the children is forbidden.’
- c. Tjaxnoto (=na knigi) razdavane na detsata e zabraneno.
 their_{DET} (=of books) distribution to children_{DET} is forbidden
 ‘Their distribution to the children is forbidden.’

Crucially the possessive adjective cannot render the prepositional object, ((14)a), which shows that the Goal argument cannot act as the DP subject. Additionally, the fact that the pronominal *na*-phrase *na tjax* ‘of them/to them’ cannot refer to the Theme, ((14c)) in contrast to (14b), confirms that the Theme, and not the Goal argument, is indeed the subject of the DP:

- (14) a. *Tjaxnoto (=na detsata) razdavane na knigi e zabraneno.
 their_{DET} (to the children) distribution of books is forbidden
 ‘Their distribution of books is forbidden.’

- b. Razdavaneto na knigi **na tjax** (a ne na nas) e nelepo.¹¹
 distribution_{DET} of books to them (and not to us) is absurd.
 ‘The distribution of books to them (and not to us) is absurd.’
- c. *Razdavaneto **na tjax** (a ne na spisanijata) na detsata
 distribution_{DET} of them (and not of magazines_{DET}) to children_{DET}
 e zabraneno.
 is forbidden
 ‘The distribution of them (= the books) (and not of the magazines) to children is forbidden.’

3.1.2 Ambiguous transitive nominals (active or passive)

The second class of deverbal nominals comprises what we call “ambiguous transitive nominals” ending in *-(n)ie*, such as those in (15), also labeled “Voice *-ie* nominals” by MARKOVA (2007: 81f) in view of their derivation from past perfect participial verbal bases ending predominantly in *-n* and also in *-t*.¹²

11 The bracketed alternatives in (14b) and (14c) are meant to force the contrastive reading on the tonic pronoun in approximation of the natural use of tonic pronouns in the contemporary language.

12 Although the difficult task of distinguishing *-ne* from *-nie* nominals remains outside of the scope of the present article, we just point out that *-nie* nominals, i.e. those that we take to represent simple event nouns, as opposed to complex event nouns, can in general pluralize (i); take indefinite determiners (ii); and are incompatible with aspectual modifiers, (iii):

- (i) razrušenijata na sgradite vs. *razrušavanijata na sgradite
 demolitions_{DET} of buildings_{DET} *demolishings_{DET} of buildings_{DET}
- (ii) edno opisanie/ izobretenie vs. *edno opisvane/ izobretjavane
 one/a description/invention one/a describing/inventing
 ‘one description/invention’
- (iii) a. *izobretenieto na samoleta za dve sedmitsi
 ‘invention_{DET} of airplane_{DET} in two weeks vs.
 izobretjavaneto na samoleta za dve sedmitsi
 inventing_{DET} of airplane_{DET} in two weeks
 ‘the invention of the airplane in two weeks time’
- b. *razrušenieto na Sofia za kratko vreme
 *demolition_{DET} of Sofia in short time vs.
 razrušavaneto na Sofia za kratko vreme
 demolishing_{DET} of Sofia in short time
 ‘the demolition of Sofia in a short time’

(15) *opisanie* ‘description’, *izobretenie* ‘invention’, *objasnenie* ‘explanation’,
napadenie ‘invasion’, *otkritie* ‘discovery’, etc.

The nominals in (15) are traditionally considered ‘result nouns’ in complementary distribution with the *-ne* nominals from the former class. However, at least some *-nie* nominals (presumably those lacking a *-ne* counterpart) have an event-related reading, and even though they may often lack the internal aspectual structure characteristic of complex event nouns, they are nevertheless compatible with a temporal predicate and/or a temporal adverbial. See (16):

- (16) a. Napadenieto na varvarite prodālži 5 dni
 invasion_{DET} of barbarians_{DET} lasted 5 days
 ‘The barbarians’ invasion lasted 5 days’
- b. Narušenieto na pravilnika včera ot strana na Ivan mu donese 30 evro globa
 violation_{DET} of regulation_{DET} yesterday on part_{DET} of Ivan brought him 30
 Eu fine
 ‘The violation of the driving regulations yesterday by Ivan brought him a
 thirty euros fine’ (MARKOVA 2007, p.125)

A more detailed characterization of these nominals is provided in MARKOVA (2007: 120ff), who applies Grimshaw’s diagnostics and divides “Voice *-ie* nominals” into simple event nouns and result (referential) nouns, with the possibility of ambiguous readings for one and the same nominal. Apart from (in)compatibility with temporal adverbials (compare (16b) with (17) below), the two subgroups also diverge in those semantic properties that usually distinguish events and results, e.g., the possibility for Agent-oriented adjectives, adverbial modification, and modification by *frequent*. (18) below shows that simple event nominals are compatible with Agent-oriented adjectives, as well as with the adjective *frequent*, see (18a’,b’), while result nominals are not, see (18a,b).

(17) *izobretenieto na samoleta prez 19 v.
 invention_{DET} of airplane_{DET} in 19 century

(18) a. *tselenasočenite izobretenija na novi domakinski uredi
 intentional_{DET} inventions of new household equipments

- a' *uspešnite napadenija na Rim ot (strana na) varvarite*¹³
 successful invasions of Rome by (on the part of) Barbarians_{DET}
- b. **čestite izobretenija na novi sredstva za transport*
 frequente_{DET} inventions of new means of transport
- b' *čestite napadenija na Rim ot (strana na) varvarite*
 frequent_{DET} invasions of Rome by (on the part of) barbarians_{DET}

Although classificatory and semantic issues are beyond the scope of this article, we would like to point out that the distinctions briefly illustrated in (16)–(18) turn out to have consequences for the structural properties of the two classes. Simple event *-(n)ie* nouns typically appear in a transitive active configuration in which they simultaneously take a subject (Agent) and an object (Theme), (19). Result *-(n)ie* nouns, on the other hand, are passive nouns and may appear in a configuration such as (20), where the Theme argument functions as their subject, while the Agent is optionally expressed via a *by*-phrase. So nominals like ‘description’, which we use for illustration, are ambiguous between an active and a passive structure:¹⁴

(19) *opisanieto na našite prirodni krasoti (na Vazov)* (Agent, Theme)
 description_{DET} of our_{DET} natural beauties (of Vazov)
 ‘Vazov’s description of our natural beauties’

(20) *opisanieto na našite prirodni krasoti (ot Vazov)* (Theme)
 description_{DET} of our_{DET} natural beauties (by Vazov)
 ‘the description of our natural beauties by Vazov’

¹³ We leave aside here the problem, mentioned in LONGOBARDI (2003: 566), that apart from English, in many other languages (Italian, German) the preposition introducing the expression of the Agent in nominal passives is different from the one used in verbal passives (in Bulgarian, *ot strana na* ‘on the part of’ rather than *ot* ‘by’). We have no explanation for this fact.

¹⁴ The possibility of realizing a Theme and an Agent simultaneously with the same PP shows that they can also behave like *picture nouns*, which, as is well-known, license two (three, if we add a Possessor) genitival (prepositional) phrases in postnominal position (see (i)), unlike complex event nouns, which are passive (see (ii) containing a *-ne* nominal):

- (i) a. *velikolepnata skulptura na Picasso na Veždi Rašidov* (collectioner and sculptor)
 beautiful_{DET} sculpture of Picasso na Veždi Rašidov (Agent, Possessor)
 b. *velikolepnata skulptura na Petăr Yovčev na Veždi Rašidov* (Theme, Agent or Possessor)
 beautiful_{DET} sculpture of Peter Yovčev of Veždi Rašidov
- (ii) **opisvaneto na našite prirodni krasoti na Vazov*
 describing_{DET} of our_{DET} natural beauties of Vazov

The facts in (19) and (20) argue against taking the *na*-DPs as expressing inherent Genitive Case because the PPs express different thematic relations, and cannot both be adjacent to N.

Nevertheless, in prenominal position it is only the highest argument (i.e., Agent for *-nie* nominals and Agent or Possessor for picture nouns that can be rendered with a possessive adjective, which is the subject. The Theme/Object is necessarily expressed by a prepositional phrase in the lower (linearly postnominal) position:

- (22) a. *negovoto* (=na Vazov) opisanie na našite prirodni krasoti
his_{DET} (=of Vazov) description of our_{DET} natural beauties
- b. **tjaxnoto* (=na našite prirodni krasoti) opisanie na Vazov¹⁵
their_{DET} (=of our natural beauties) description of Vazov
intended interpretation: ‘the description of our natural beauties by Vazov’
- (23) a. *negovata* (=na Veždi Rašidov) velikolepna kartina na Picasso (Possessor, Agent)
his_{DET} (=of Veždi Rašidov) beautiful painting of Picasso
- b. *negovata* (=na Picasso) velikolepna kartina na Veždi Rašidov (Agent, Theme)/(**Theme, Agent or Possessor*)
his_{DET} (=of Picasso) beautiful painting of Veždi Rašidov

Recall moreover that according to our diagnostic in (9b), DP subjects **fail** to be expressed by a pronominal PP (*na* ‘of’+ a tonic pronoun). The ungrammaticality of (24), which is intended as an alternative to (22a) shows this to be precisely the case: irrespective of its exact position, the *na*-phrase of the Agent can never appear in the pronominal form:

- (24) **<na nego> opisanieto na našite prirodni krasoti <na nego>*
<of him> description_{DET} of our natural beauties < of him>

Quite different is the syntax of the passive configuration exemplified for *-(n)ie*-nominals in (20) above. Recall that such nominals have a passive structure so that the Theme acts as their subject.¹⁶ It is therefore expected, on the basis of the diagnostics in (9), that only the possessive adjective alternative should be avail-

¹⁵ The sentence remains ungrammatical even if the Agent precedes the pronominal possessive.

¹⁶ This class of nominals cannot take a Dative argument and in that respect contrasts with the previous group of obligatory passives. Cf. (i) and (13a) in the text:

able, though not the alternative *na*+tonic pronoun. This is exactly what we find in (25) which we take as confirming evidence for a passive structure (Passive *picture* nouns not illustrated here behave alike):

- (25) a. *tjaxnoto* (=na našite prirodni krasoti) opisanie ot Vazov
 their_{DET} (=of our natural beauties) description by Vazov
 ‘their description by Vazov’
- b. **opisanieto* na tjax ot Vazov
 description_{DET} of them by Vazov
 ‘*the description of them by Vazov’

3.1.3 Nouns related to transitive psych verbs

Our third class comprises intransitive nominals like those in (26), which are derived from transitive psych verbs:

(26) *omraza* ‘hate’, *želanie* ‘desire’, *spomen* ‘memory’, *obič* ‘love’, etc.

(27) illustrates the properties of psych nominals, and by applying the diagnostics in (9) above, makes it clear that what qualifies as the DP subject is the Experiencer argument. In (27a), for example, the Experiencer realized by *na Ivan* can also be rendered by a possessive adjective, but not by a tonic pronoun in a PP introduced by *na*. Psych nouns can additionally take a Theme (or Subject Matter – PESETSKY 1995) introduced by a preposition different from *na*. See (27b). Such PPs can never be subjects of the psych DP. See (27c) where the Experiencer reading of *tjaxnata* ‘their’ is the only one available, i.e., psych nominals do not admit passivization:

- (27) a. *omrazata* na Ivan/negovata omraza/*na nego (Experiencer)
 hatred_{DET} of Ivan/his_{DET} hatred/of him
 ‘his hatred’/‘Ivan’s hatred/his hatred’
- b. *omrazata* kăm ženite/*na ženite (Theme/Subject Matter)
 hatred_{DET} for women_{DET}/of women_{DET}
 ‘the hatred towards the women’

- (i) **Objasnenieto* na problema na detsata
 explanation-the of problem-the to children-the

- c. *tjaxnata* (=na/*kǎm ženite) omraza (Experiencer)
 their_{DET} hatred (=of/to women_{DET}) hatred
 ‘their hatred’/*‘the hatred towards them (=the women)’

3.1.4 Intransitive nouns

After having seen the three classes of nouns corresponding to transitive verbs, let us briefly illustrate the remaining cases which possess only a single argument corresponding to a different theta-role (Agent, Theme, Experiencer), depending on the subclass. The single argument inevitably qualifies as the subject (hence can be rendered by a possessive adjective but not by *na*+tonic pronoun). These nouns, whose classification rests entirely on their argument structure rather than on their event structure in Grimshaw’s sense, include unaccusative nouns, (26), unergative nouns, (27), result nominals not ending in *-(n)ie*, (28), Agent nominalizations, ending productively in *-tel* and *-nik*, (29), and object denoting/referential nouns, (30). Apart from the latter category, which contains nouns which do not take arguments, but can take a Possessor, a quasi-argument, expressed by a *na*-phrase, all the other categories take one argument and thus qualify as complex or simple event nominals in Grimshaw’s sense.

It should be noted that the classification suggested here only serves the goal of singling out the subject of each nominal subclass. For each subclass we give three test examples (one with *na* + DP, one with a possessive adjective and one with a *na* + tonic pronoun):

3.1.4.1 Unaccusative nouns

Unaccusative nouns correspond to unaccusative verbs and have the Theme as their single argument. Even though such nominals have the suffix *-ne*, they are simple event nouns,¹⁷ and belong to the passive paradigm with their Theme argument acting as subject, as demonstrated by the following examples:

¹⁷ Such nominals fail all tests for complex event nominals, e.g. they can be pluralized and can take indefinite determiners:

- (i) *redovnite pätuvanija na säpruga mi*
 regular_{DET} trips of husband_{DET}
 ‘My husband’s regular trips

Judging from the example in (i) and (ii), it seems reasonable to classify unaccusative nouns as simple event nouns.

(26) *pristigane* ‘arrival’, *zaminavane* ‘departure’, *pojavjavane* ‘appearance’, *padane* ‘fall’, *zaboljavane* ‘illness’, etc.¹⁸

a. *pristiganeto na vojnika* (Theme)

arrival_{DET} of soldier_{DET}
‘the arrival of the soldier’

b. *negovoto pristigane*

his_{DET} arrival
‘his arrival’

c. **pristiganeto na nego*

arrival_{DET} of him
‘the arrival of him’ (*‘his arrival’)

3.1.4.2 Unergative nouns

Unergative nouns have an eventive nature and behave like simple deverbal nouns, not complex event nouns. Such nominals combine with an Agent theta-role and thus regularly permit to be replaced by a possessive adjective. Some examples are given below:

(27) *protest* ‘protest’, *reakcija* ‘reaction’, *obraštenie* ‘appeal’, etc.)¹⁹

a. *protestāt na Ivan*

protest_{DET} of Ivan
‘Ivan’s protest’

(ii) *edno moe pātuvane*
one my trip
‘one trip of mine’

18 Other suffix or zero suffix nominals such as *pojava* ‘appearance’, although synonymous in terms of eventive reading, belong to the class of unergatives:

(i) *čestoto mu pojavjavane na živo po televizijata*

frequent_{DET} his appearance in live on TV
‘his frequent live appearances on TV’

(ii) *pojavata na pravitelstvoto v Parlamenta* (Cf. **pravitelstvenata* *pojava* *v Parlamenta*)

appearance_{DET} of government in Parliament (the government’s appearance in Parliament)
‘the appearance of the government in Parliament’

For a more general discussion of unaccusative (her “ergative”) nominals, see GIORGI (1991).

19 Some of these nominals can also take a Dative (Goal) *na*-DP, as in (i):

(i) *Pomnja nejnata reakcija na тази новина*

remember-1sg her-the reaction to this news
‘I remember her reaction to this news.’

- b. *negovijat* protest
 his_{DET} protest
 ‘his protest’
- c. **protestät na nego*
 protest_{DET} of him
 ‘the protest of him’ (intended: ‘his protest’)

3.1.4.3 Result nominals

Result nominals in Bulgarian (for which see the discussion in Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti 1999 and MARKOVA 2007) include *pridobivka* ‘acquisition, purchase’, *postrojka* ‘construction’ and result *-ie* nominals like *pisanie* ‘writing’, *tvorenie* ‘creation’, etc., whose single argument qualifying as subject can render an Agent or Possessor.

- (28) a. *novata pridobivka na semejstvoto* (Agent)
 new_{DET} purchase of family_{DET}
 ‘the family’s new purchase’
- b. *nejnata nova pridobivka*
 her_{DET} new purchase
 ‘her new purchase’
- c. **novata pridobivka na neja*
 new_{DET} purchase of her
 ‘the new purchase of her’ (intended: ‘her new purchase’)

3.1.4.4 Agent nominalizations

They are formed by way of a productive suffix, either *-tel*, or *-nik*, or *-ets*, which always refers to the *external argument*, i.e., the Agent of the verb it is attached to, although in certain cases it can also refer to an instrument or an experiencer (LEVIN and RAPPAPORT 1988, 1992). In Grimshaw’s terms, it can be said that similarly to passives, the Agent theta-role is absorbed by the nominalizing suffix, giving rise to the meaning “the X who Vs”. When derived from transitive verbs, Agent nominalizations require a Theme argument, which functions as the DP subject, as in (29). Otherwise, with intransitive sources, the nominalization does not project an argument, e.g., *pisatel* ‘writer’, *rabotnik* ‘worker’, etc.

(29) *pazitel* ‘keeper’, *spasitel* ‘savior’, *zaštitnik* ‘protector’, *poddržnik* ‘supporter’, etc.

- a. *paziteljat na tajnite* (Theme)
 keeper_{DET} of secrets_{DET}
 ‘the secrets’ keeper’
- b. *texnijat pazitel (=na tajnite)*
 their_{DET} keeper (of secrets_{DET})
 ‘their keeper’= the keeper of the secrets
- c. **paziteljat na tjax*
 keeper_{DET} of them
 ‘the keeper of them’ (*intended ‘their keeper’)

3.1.4.5 Object denoting nouns

Object denoting nouns are illustrated in (30):

(30) *trud* ‘work’, *kniga* ‘book’, *kášta* ‘house’, *kola* ‘car’, etc.

- a. *trudăt/kolata na Ivan* (Agent or Possessor)
 work_{DET}/car_{DET} of Ivan
 ‘Ivan’s work/car’
- b. *negovijat trud/negovata kola*
 his_{DET} work/his_{DET} car
 ‘his work/his car’
- c. **trudăt na nego/?kolata na nego* (cf. fn.9 above)
 work_{DET} of him/car_{DET} of him
 ‘the work of him/the car of him’ (*intended ‘his work/his car’)

3.1.4.6 Summary

After having established for each of the basic classes of nouns which arguments assigned a theta-role by the N qualify as its subject, we are now in a position to show i) that DP-internal possessive clitics can only correspond to the structural subject of the DP (sections 4 and 5) and ii) that only genitive DPs qualifying as subjects can be extracted from the DP in Bulgarian (section 6). These two conclusions coupled with the observation that possessive clitics can extract out of the DP will lead us to suggest that possessive clitics in Bulgarian DPs are also genitive.

4 DP-internal possessive clitics

In this section, we will consider DP-internal clitics. Their complementary distribution with possessive adjectives, which were used to diagnose the subject of the DP, is our crucial evidence that possessive clitics are another way of introducing DP subjects. Moreover, the fact that they cannot introduce any other DP argument (direct object, indirect object, etc.) confirms that clitics unambiguously express the subject of the DP.

Consider first the subclass of passive nominals that also take a Goal argument. The possessive clitic can only render the passive subject (Theme), but not the Goal argument (despite the fact that both are introduced by *na*). See the contrast in (31a) vs. (31b). Additionally, the ungrammaticality of (31c) shows that both intended readings are impossible: a) the one in which the possessive adjective renders the subject, while the clitic renders the Goal argument (Subject > Indirect Object), and b) the one in which the two arguments appear in the opposite order (Indirect Object > Subject):

- (31) a. Razdavaneto im na detsata (ot učitelite)
 distribution_{DET} them_{CL} to children_{DET} (by teachers_{DET})
 e zabraneno. (Theme)
 is forbidden
 ‘Their distribution to the children (by the teachers) is forbidden.’
- b. *Razdavaneto im na knigi (ot učitelite)
 distribution_{DET} them_{CL} of books (by teachers_{DET})
 e zabraneno. (Goal)
 is forbidden
 ‘The distribution of the books to them (by the teachers) is forbidden.’
- c. *Tjaxnoto im razdavane (ot učitelite) e zabraneno.
 their_{DET} them_{CL} distribution (by teachers_{DET}) is forbidden

With the class of nouns ambiguous between an active transitive and a passive configuration (3.1.2 above), the possessive clitic can again only be found to express the same argument that is rendered by a possessive adjective, namely the subject:²⁰

²⁰ Note that picture nouns behave in a similar way: **snimkata j na Maria* ‘photo_{DET} her of Maria’ is ungrammatical under the interpretation “Maria (Agent) has taken a photo of her (Theme)”.

- (32) a. opisanieto mu na novodošlata
 description_{DET} him_{CL} of newcomer-fem_{DET}
 ‘his description of the newcomer’
- b. *opisanieto j na Ivan
 description_{DET} her_{CL} of Ivan
 ‘her description of Ivan’ (intended interpretation: ‘the newcomer’s description by Ivan’)
- c. *negovoto j opisanie
 his_{DET} her_{CL} description

With the class of psych-nominals like *omraza* ‘hatred’ (see 3.1.3 above), which we saw take only an Experiencer as their subject, this, and no other argument, can be rendered as a possessive clitic:

- (33) omrazata mu (kăm ženite) (Experiencer)
 hatred_{DET} his_{CL} (towards women_{DET})
 ‘his hatred for women’

With the class of obligatorily passive nouns which do not take a Goal argument of the type of *zalavjane* ‘capture’ (cf. § 3.1.1 above), only the Theme qualifies as the structural subject and it is precisely the Theme which can also be expressed by a possessive clitic (as well as by a possessive adjective and a *na*-phrase):

- (34) zalavjaneto mu (ot vraga) (Theme)
 capture_{DET} him_{CL} (by enemy_{DET})
 ‘his capture (by the enemy)’

The examples from (35) to (39) illustrate the remaining classes of nouns that have a single argument qualifying as the syntactic subject of the DP, which can thus be rendered as a possessive clitic:

- (35) pristiganeto mu (Unaccusative nouns)
 arrival_{DET} him_{CL}
 ‘his arrival’
- (36) a. reakciata mu na sãbitieto (Unergative nouns)
 reaction_{DET} him_{CL} to event_{DET}
 ‘his reaction to the event’

- b. *reakciata mu na Ivan
 reaction_{DET} it_{CL} of Ivan
 ‘Ivan’s reaction to it’

- (37) pridobivkata mu (Result nominals)
 purchase_{DET} him_{CL}
 ‘his purchase’

- (38) paziteljat im (Agent nominalizations)
 keeper_{DET} them_{CL}
 ‘their keeper’

- (39)a. trudät mu/kolata mu (Object denoting nouns)
 work_{DET} him_{CL}/car_{DET} him_{CL}
 ‘his work/his car’

What Case does the DP-internal possessive clitic have? As anticipated earlier, we are claiming, differently from a number of other authors (see in particular PANCHEVA 2004 for a more explicit formulation of the hypothesis of the dative “essence” of the possessive clitic), that the DP-internal possessive clitic bears genitive Case. The reason that leads us to this conclusion rests on the well-known fact discussed in BENVENISTE (1966) on the basis of Latin, that the structural Cases Nominative and Accusative of the clause are rendered in the corresponding deverbal nouns by the Genitive Case. This case is arguably structural in that it is independent of the particular theta-role assigned to the DP bearing it. Crucially, the nominal Genitive cannot render any other Case (i.e., inherent Cases, such as the Dative).²¹

²¹ The same can be seen in German:

- (i) a. das Theater zu verkaufen
 to sell the theater
 b. Verkaufen des Theaters
 (the) selling the_{GEN} theater_{GEN}
- (ii) a. der Zug abfährt
 the_{NOM} train is leaving
 b. die Abfahrt des Zuges
 the departure the_{GEN} train
- (iii) a. helfen dem Initiator
 to help the_{DAT} initiator
 b. (zur) Hilfe dem/*des Initiator
 (in) help the_{DAT}/the_{GEN} initiator

- (40)a. *neglegentia religionis* (cf. *neglegere religionem*)²²
 Negligence religion-Gen (ignore religion-Acc)
- b. *adventus consulis* (cf. *consul advenit*)²³
 arrival consul-Gen (consul-Nom arrives)

This is also true of Bulgarian. DPs with an internal clitic are perfectly uniform in that the clitic can render any theta-role apart from Goal (cf. (31b) above), and its appearance inside the DP is independent of factors like animacy of the possessor, type of possession (inalienable or not), and semantic type of the head noun (simple or complex events, results, etc.). This cluster of properties we take to be revealing for the presence of structural Genitive arguments.²⁴ Additionally, FRANKS & KING (2000) note that possessive clitics “can never correspond to true Datives. That is, in [(41)], although the base verbs from which these deverbal nouns are derived take dative complements, expressible as dative clitics or full *na*-phrases, the clitic *mu* cannot be interpreted in this function:

- (41) a. *vlijanieto* *mu*
 influencing_{DET} him_{CL}
 ‘his influencing’/*‘the influencing to him’
 Cf. *vlijaja na Ivan/mu*
 influence-1sg to Ivan/him_{CL}
 ‘I influence Ivan/him’

²² “...la fonction du génitif est de transposer en dépendance nominale la relation d’un accusative régime d’un verbe transitif. C’est donc un *genitive de transposition*...” (BENVENISTE 1966:146).

²³ “Or, cette fois la forme casuelle transposée en génitif n’est plus un accusatif, mais un nominatif...” (BENVENISTE 1966:147).

²⁴ According to GRIMSHAW’S (1990) diagnostics, arguments (complements) cannot appear after a copula; only modifiers can. From this point of view indisputable Possessors behave like modifiers, while all other instances of DP internal clitics, which we take to correspond to argumental Genitives, cannot occur after the copula:

- (i) **Pristiganeto e na gostite*
 arrival_{DET} is of guests_{DET} **‘The arrival is of the guests’
- (ii) **Predavaneto e na cauzata*
 betrayal_{DET} is of cause_{DET} **‘The betrayal is of the cause’
- (iii) **Omrazata e na Ivan*
 hatred_{DET} is of Ivan **‘The hatred is of Ivan’
- (iv) *Knigata e na Ivan*
 book_{DET} is of Ivan ‘The book is John’s’

- b. *objasnenieto* *mu*²⁵
 explanation_{DEF} him_{CL}
 ‘his explanation’/‘its explanation’/*‘the explanation to him’

Instead, *mu* can only correspond to the subject argument in [(41a)] and to the [...] direct object argument in [(41b)]” (p.276f.).²⁶ (42) below gives more examples of the same kind:

Cf. *Objasnjavam na Ivan/mu*
 explain-1sg to Ivan/him_{CL}

- (42) a. *pomaganelo mu/pomoštta* *mu*
 helping_{DET} him_{CL}/help_{DET} him_{CL}
 ‘his helping’/*‘the helping to him’
 Cf. *pomagam na Ivan/mu*
 help-1sg to Ivan/him_{CL}

- b. *pisaneto* *mu*
 writing_{DET} him_{CL}
 ‘his writing’/*‘the writing to him’
 Cf. *piša na Ivan/mu*
 write-1sg to Ivan/him_{CL}

²⁵ For expository reasons, we have substituted Franks and King’s noun *objasnjavaneto* ‘explaining’ with *objasnenieto* ‘explanation’.

²⁶ We differ here from FRANKS & KING (2000) in taking *mu* ‘his’ to stand for a subject also in the apparent object reading of (41b). *Objasnenie* ‘explanation’ belongs to our second class of nouns corresponding to transitive verbs, which, as shown in section 3. above, have both active and passive usages:

- (i) a. *negovoto* *objasnenie* *na* *problema*
 his_{DET} (=of Ivan) explanation of problem_{DET}
 b. *negovoto* *objasnenie* *ot* *Ivan*
 his_{DET} (=of the problem) explanation by Ivan

That *mu* cannot correspond to an object argument becomes clear if we attempt to substitute *mu* for something which is unambiguously an object, like *na problema* in (ia). See (ii):

- (ii) a. **negovoto mu* *objasnenie*
 his_{DET} of-it (= of the problem) explanation
 ‘his explanation of it’
 b. **na Ivan* *objasnenieto* *mu*
 of Ivan explanation_{DET} of-it (=of the problem)
 ‘Ivan’s explanation of it’

- c. *predstavjaneto mu*
 introducing_{DET} him_{CL}
 ‘his introduction/*the introduction to him’
 Cf. *predstavjam Marija na Ivan/predstavjam mu Marija*
 Introduce-1sg Maria to Ivan/introduce him_{CL} Maria

The impossibility of interpreting the DP internal possessive clitic (*mu* ‘him’) as a dative argument is, it seems to us, hard to understand if it were a true dative clitic, i.e. valued dative. If however, it is a genitive clitic, this restriction can be made sense of, given that in each case it stands for the DP subject, a prerogative of genitive arguments only. Additional confirmation for our conclusion that DP subjects and objects have structural genitive case comes from the fact that while *na*-phrases in clausal environments only express a Goal indirect object (inherent Dative) and no other grammatical function, in nominal environments, as seen in section 2., they may express, in addition to the indirect object, the grammatical functions of subject and object (e.g., *razdavaneto na knigi na detsata* ‘distribution of books to the children’, *pristiganeto na konsula* ‘the arrival of the consul’), much like the genitive in the Latin DP seen in (40) above. This shows that DP internal *na*-phrases are ambiguous between genitive and dative arguments, as opposed to DP internal (possessive) clitics which may correspond to the former, though not to the latter. In other words, possessive clitics can appear in a subset of the environments where *na*-phrases can appear.

Now if possessive clitics are genitive and DP-internal subjects and objects are also genitive, as we argue on the basis of Benveniste’s idea, it may seem surprising at first sight that DP (possessive) clitics may only express the subject but not the object. We therefore need to understand why DP-internal possessive clitics can express only the subject. We elaborate on this in the next section, returning later to the ambiguity of the clitic in terms of morphological case in nominal vs. clausal environments.

5 Why DP-internal possessive clitics are subjects only?

The first crucial observation is that DP-internal possessive clitics are “second position” clitics: they appear to occupy a head position immediately below the DP projection, as can be seen from the fact that the clitic follows the demonstrative or whichever element ends up in DP bearing the definite article (see PENČEV 1993; DIMITROVA-VULCHANOVA & GIUSTI 1999:169f.; FRANKS 2000:59ff.; FRANKS &

KING 2000:275; STATEVA 2002:660; SCHÜRCKS & WUNDERLICH 2003:121, HARIZANOV 2011).

(44)_[DP tova/mnogo točnoto/etc.] _{[D [CIP mu ...]} _[NP opisanie na kăštata]
 this/very precise_{DET} his description of house_{DET}

The clitic's "second position" is thus higher than the Merge position of subject and object. For concreteness, we will follow SPORTICHE's 1996 analysis of clitics as directly merged in CIP and attracting a null DP to their specifier from one of the arguments positions subject, object, etc. This has as a consequence that only a subject can be attracted. If it were the object (direct or indirect) to be attracted to the specifier of the clitic, a Relativized Minimality violation would ensue (RIZZI 1990, 2004), since the object would cross over the subject, both of which are A-positions.²⁷

(46)_[DP tova/mnogo točnoto/etc.] _{[D [CIP [CI mu] ...]} _{DP_{subj} [NP opisanie DP_{obj}]}

Relativized Minimality provides an account of another property of Bulgarian DPs, namely a curious restriction involving the DP edge (CHOMSKY 2008). As we see from (47) Bulgarian allows argument fronting to the absolute initial position of the DP.

(47) Na Ivan vsiĉki tezi opisanija na prijatelite mu
 of Ivan all these descriptions of friends_{DET} his
 'All of these descriptions of his friends of Ivan's'

This can be seen by the fact that in (47) the *na*-phrase precedes all strong determiners (the universal quantifier and the demonstrative, as well as other alternative possible occupants of Spec,DP). This position has been occasionally claimed to be an A'-position (see e.g. DIMITROVA-VULCHANOVA & GIUSTI 1999) but we argue that it is in fact an A-position, given that of all arguments and adjuncts of the DP only what qualifies as the subject can move to that position. As (48) shows, of all the arguments and adjuncts – subcategorized PPs, (48a), adjunct PPs (48b),

²⁷ We take the Spec of CIP to also be an A position, as Clitic movement behaves like A-movement rather than A-bar-movement with respect to reconstruction: [*mangiato t_i*] *non l_i'ho* 'eaten not I have', [*mangiato t_i*] *pro_i non è stato* 'eaten (it) not has been' vs. * [*mangiato t_i*] *che cosa_i hai?* 'eaten what do you have?'

indirect object *na*-phrases (48c), direct object *na*-phrases (48d) and subject *na*-phrases (48e) – only the subject *na*-phrase can be fronted:

- (48)a. *Žurnalistăt razkritikuva [[za тази kniga] obštoprietoto mnenie t].
journalist_{DET} criticized-3sg for this book common_{DET} opinion
'The journalist criticized the common opinion of this book.'
- b. *Direktorăt razkritikuva [[vāv vestnika] statijata na žurnalista t]
director_{DET} criticized-3sg in newspaper_{DET} article_{DET} of journalist_{DET}
'The director criticized the journalist's article in the newspaper.'
- c. *Učitelite razkritikuvaxa [[na detsata] razdavaneto na knigi t (ot sponsorite)]
teachers_{DET} criticized-3pl to children_{DET} distribution_{DET} of books (by sponsors_{DET})
'The teachers criticized the distribution of books to children by the sponsors.'
- d. **Direktorăt na spisanieto razkritikuva [[na sābitieto] negovoto opisanie t]
director_{DET} of journal_{DET} criticized-3sg of event_{DET} his description
'The director of the magazine criticized his description of the event.'
- e. Az razkritikuvax [[na Ivan] opisanieto na kāštata t].
I criticized-1sg of Ivan description_{DET} of house_{DET}
'I criticized Ivan's description of the house.'

Once again, this curious restriction is attributable to Relativized Minimality if the edge of DP is an A-position. If it were an A'-position, we could expect any argument or adjunct to be able to front, much like Topics of various sorts and Focus phrases can front to the left periphery of the clause crossing over the subject (cf. RUDIN 1986, 1994, IZVORSKI 1993, LAMBOVA 2001, KRAPOVA & KARASTANEVA 2002, KRAPOVA 2002, ARNAUDOVA 2003/2010, among others). See the examples in (49) which illustrate the clause-initial position of (operator) Topics and (operator) Focus:

- (49)a. Po tozi vāpros Ivan ništo ne kaza. (Topic)
for this matter Ivan nothing not said-3sg
'On this matter, John said nothing.'
- b. Ivan kakvo misli po vāprosa? (Topic to the left of *wh*-)
Ivan what thinks on question_{DET}
'John, what does he think of this issue?'

- c. VĀV VESTNIKA pročetoX тази статия. (Left peripheral/Identification Focus)
 in newspaper_{DET} read-1sg this article
 ‘It was in the newspaper that I read this article.’

6 Extraction out of DP in Bulgarian

Having established, in section 3, for each class of Ns which *na*-phrase counts as the subject, we are now in a position to check the correctness of the generalization that of all DP-internal arguments and adjuncts only the *na*-phrase that corresponds to the subject of the entire DP can be extracted and that this bears genitive case as subjects bear genitive Case and only subjects can be extracted.

More precisely, we will show that:

- a) Arguments and adjuncts introduced by a preposition different from *na* cannot be extracted;
- b) *Na*-phrases which are demonstrably dative cannot be extracted;
- c) Genitive *na*-phrases corresponding to the object cannot be extracted.

The joint working of these three factors leave *na*-phrases corresponding to the subject as the only elements that can be extracted.

We illustrate each of these cases in turn.

The following three pairs of examples (50)–(52) show that no arguments or adjuncts other than *na*-phrases can be extracted:

- (50) a. [_{DP} obštoprietoto mnenie **za тази книга**]
 common_{DET} opinion about this book
 ‘the common opinion about this book’

- b. *Tova e knjigata, [za kojato]_i ne pomnja [_{DP} obštoprietoto mnenie t_i]
 this is the book about which I don’t remember the common opinion

- (51) a. [_{DP} razdraznenieto na Peter **ot Ivan**]
 irritation_{DET} of Peter by Ivan
 ‘Ivan’s irritation of Peter by Ivan’

- b. *Ivan, [ot kojto]_i ne pomnja [_{DP} razdraznenieto na Peter t_i]
 Ivan, by whom I don’t remember the irritation of Peter

- (52) a. [_{DP} masovoto obrăștane **kăm religijata** po vreme na săbitijata]
 mass_{DET} conversion to religion_{DET} during of events_{DET}
 ‘the massive conversion to religion during the events’
- b. *Religijata, [kăm kojato]_i si spomnjam [_{DP} masovoto
 religion_{DET}, to which refl remember-1sg mass_{DET}
 obrăștane t_i po vreme na săbitijata]
 conversion during of events_{DET}

The following three pairs of examples (53)–(55) illustrate that extraction of dative *na*-phrases with the various types of nominals discussed above produces an ungrammatical result:

- (53) a. [_{DP} objasnjaneto na teoremi na studentite]
 explaining_{DET} of theorems to students_{DET}
 ‘the explanation of theorems to the students’
- b. *Tova sa studentite, [na koito]_i ne odobrix [_{DP} objasnjaneto
 these are students_{DET} to whom not approved-1sg explaining_{DET}
 na teoremi t_i]
 of theorems
- (54) a. [_{DP} razdavaneto na nagradi na detsata]
 giving_{DET} of awards to children_{DET}
 ‘the distribution of awards to the children’
- b. *Tova sa detsata, [na koito]_i pomnja [razdavaneto na nagradi t_i]
 these are children_{DET} to whom remember-1sg the giving of awards
- (55) a. [_{DP} nejnata reakcia na novinata]
 her_{DET} reaction to news_{DET}
 ‘her reaction to the news’
- b. *Tova e novinata, [na kojato]_i ne pomnja [nejnata reakcia t_i]
 this is news_{DET} to which not remember-1sg her_{DET} reaction

The following examples (56)–(57) show that extraction of genitive *na*-phrases corresponding to the syntactic object of the DP is ungrammatical:

- (56) a. [_{DP} negovoto opisanie na apartamenta]
 his_{DET} description of apartment_{DET}
 ‘his description of the apartment’

- b. *apartamenta, [na kojto]_i ne pomnja [_{DP} negovoto opisanie t_i]
 apartment_{DET} of which not remember-1sg his_{DET} description

(57) a. [_{DP} negovoto objasnenie na problema]
 his_{DET} explanation of problem_{DET}
 ‘his explanation of the problem’

- b. *problema, [na kojto]_i ti razkazax [_{DP} negovoto objasnenie t_i]
 problem_{DET} of which you_{DAT} told-1sg his_{DET} explanation

This leaves only subject *na*-phrases as possible extractees.

Recall that for the various nominal classes considered different theta-roles qualify as subjects. For the class of psych nouns, we concluded, on the basis of the possessivization test, that the subject is the Experiencer, and indeed the Experiencer *na*-phrase can be extracted:

- (58) a. mǎžžat, [na kojto]_i šte pomnja vinagi [_{DP} želanijata t_i]²⁸
 man_{DET} of whom will remember.1sg always desires_{DET}
 lit. ‘The man of whom I will always remember the desires’
 ‘the man, whose desires I will always remember’

For the class of obligatory passive nominals, we concluded that the subject is the Theme, and indeed this can be extracted:

- (59) ?prestǎpnika, [na kojto]_i gledax [_{DP} arestuvaneto t_i] po televizijata
 criminal_{DET} of whom watched-1sg arrest_{DET} on TV_{DET}
 lit. ‘the criminal of whom I watched the arrest on TV...’
 ‘the criminal whose arrest I watched on TV’

For the class comprising nominals ambiguous between an active and a passive reading (e.g., *objasnenie* ‘explanation’, *rešenje* ‘solution’, *opisanie* ‘description’, etc.), the subject of the active variant is the Agent, while the subject of the passive variant is the Theme. Once these two variants are unambiguously isolated (in the presence of an object and of a ‘by’-phrase, respectively), we find that what qualifies as the subject can indeed be extracted:

²⁸ There is an alternative way of expressing the genitive which does not involve extraction (namely, with *čijto/čijato/ čieto* ‘whose’, which pied pipes the containing DP).

- (60)a. profesorăt, [na kojto]_i toku-što čuxme [_{DP} interesnoto objasnenie na problema t_i],..
 professor_{DET}, of whom just now heard-we interesting_{DET} explanation of problem_{DET}
 lit. ‘the professor, of whom we have just listened to the interesting explanation of the problem.’
 ‘the professor whose interesting explanation of the problem we have just listened to’
- b. problema, [na kojto] toku-što čuxme interesnoto objasnenie (ot profesora),..
 problem_{DET}, of which just now heard-we interesting_{DET} explanation (by professor_{DET}),..
 lit. ‘the problem, of which we just heard the interesting explanation (by the professor),..’
- (61) a. pisateljat, [na kojto]_i vsički sme čeli [prekrasnite opisanija na prirodata t_i]
 writer_{DET}, of whom all have read beautiful_{DET} descriptions of nature_{DET}
 lit. ‘the writer, of whom we have all read the beautiful descriptions of nature’
 ‘the writer whose beautiful descriptions of nature we have all read’
- b. prirodata, [na kojato]_i vsički pomnin onova prekrasno opisanie t_i (napraveno ot pisatelja)²⁹
 nature, of which all remember-1pl that beautiful description (made by writer_{DET})
 lit. ‘the nature, of which we all remember that beautiful description (made by the writer)..’
 ‘the nature whose beautiful description (made by the writer) we all remember’

For the other classes of nominals, i.e., those which possess a single possessivizable argument (unaccusatives, unergatives, etc.), it is this argument that qualifies as the subject. As expected, extraction is possible. See (62):

²⁹ If we did not have independent evidence that in *opisanijata na prirodata* ‘the description of the nature’, *na prirodata* ‘of the nature’ is the (passive) subject of the DP in (61)b, we could erroneously conclude that objects can extract.

- (62) a. [Na koj]_i propusnaxte oficialnoto pristigane t_i?
 of whom missed-2pl official_{DET} arrival
 ‘Whose official arrival did you miss?’
- b. Učenijat, [na kojto]_i ne pomnja poslednoto otkritie t_i
 scientist_{DET}, of whom not remember-1sg last_{DET} discovery
 ‘the scientist, whose last discovery I don’t remember’
- c. mažāt, [na kojto]_i vsički vidjaxme neočakvanija spasitel t_i
 man_{DET}, of whom all saw unexpected_{DET} savior
 ‘the man whose unexpected savior we all saw’

This conclusion supports the idea that those clausal possessive clitics which are demonstrably extracted from a DP (the real possessor raising construction discussed above) must also be syntactically genitive. Not only because their DP-internal source is arguably assigned structural genitive, but also because the only elements that can be extracted from DP are genitive phrases.

Relying on comparative and historical data, PANCHEVA (2004) argues that Bulgarian possessive clitics have dative case features in syntax and are consequently the same formal entities as clausal indirect object clitics. For the purposes of the reconstruction of the historical evolution of the Bulgarian dative clitics, this conclusion amounts to saying that the identity of their morpho-phonological form (not only in Bulgarian but also in Balkan Slavic and in Romanian) is due to the featural identity of indirect object and possessive clitics both of which bear dative case. In other words, according to Pancheva, no genitive-dative syncretism has taken place in the history of the language; rather the possessive genitive clitics of the earliest written records of the language have been replaced by possessive clitics bearing dative case. Among the arguments that PANCHEVA (2004) adduces, she relies on “Possessor Raising” to show that 1) DP-external possessive clitics have the same distribution as indirect object clitics in all of these languages, and 2) the “raised” possessive clitics have the same prosodic/phonological behavior as clausal clitics.

However, dative (indirect object) and genitive (possessive) clitics are not identical in formal features. We have also seen arguments that they cannot be both dative in syntax, since at least in DPs, clitics bear structural genitive and can never correspond to inherent datives. If they had identical formal features, we would expect them to have the same distribution as clausal clitics. PANCHEVA has not considered the possibility that the so-called Possessor Raising in fact corresponds to two distinct constructions, only one of which can be taken to involve dative clitics, namely the construction imposing benefactive/malefactive interpretation on the inalienable possessor. If anything, the evidence presented in

CINQUE & KRAPOVA (2009) and in this paper, leads us to adopt the second possible scenario that Pancheva herself envisages theoretically, namely clausal indirect object clitics and possessive clitics have “distinct case features, [but are] realized by a single form because of homophony of the two exponents or because of complete underspecification for case of the single exponent” (PANCHEVA 2004:183). Our findings thus support PANCHEVA’S alternative hypothesis, i.e., the traditional idea that the morpho-phonological identity of dative and genitive features is due to a Case syncretism.³⁰ The identical prosodic/phonological behavior of clausal and possessive clitics would then be due to the fact that the clitic cluster is blind to deeper functional differences and treats syncretic categories as a unique exponent.

The exact mechanism of Case assignment we leave for future work, but it looks attractive to suppose, following CORNILESCU (1995), who in turn follows GROSU (1988), that, similarly to Romanian, in Bulgarian the DP internal genitive Case is assigned/checked by the possessive clitic against the definite article adjoined to the noun. This will not only explain the second position restriction noted above but will also explain the need for a genitive preposition, i.e. *na*, when the noun is underspecified for Case, as are all nouns. We also leave for future work the exact positions where genitive clitics raise in the Possessor raising construction. It looks plausible however to suppose that there is an Agr projection hosting genitive clitics raised from inside the DP, and a different position for indirect object or other dative arguments. In particular, clausal clitics can be valued Dative when they correspond to an argument directly merged in a clausal position which we label DativeP (although a more precise characterization might involve two different clausal positions – the DativeP and the Benefactive/MalefactiveP; see SCHWEIKERT 2005). Alternatively, they can be valued genitive if their surface position in the clause is derived by movement from inside the DP where they are initially merged as invariably genitive.

7 Conclusions

To summarize, we have argued that there is no one-to-one correspondence between Case features and morphological form, at least as far as a subset of Bulgarian clitics are concerned.

30 It is plausible to assume, following CAHA (2009), that Case syncretism is only available for contiguous Cases on the Case hierarchy (Nominative > Accusative > Genitive > Dative > etc.).

Among the different types of evidence we have discussed to distinguish a Genitive from a Dative Case in Bulgarian, in spite of their morphological syncretism, is the fact that DP-internal clitics because of their strict correspondence to subject genitive *na*-DPs must also be genitive.

We showed that *wh*-extraction out of a DP is available only for *na*-DPs corresponding to subjects. If these phrases were dative, we would expect *na*-DPs corresponding to a Dative (Goal) argument to also be extractable. However, we saw from Bulgarian that such *na*-phrases cannot be extracted. So it would remain unclear why those *na*-phrases that can also be rendered by clitics can be extracted, while others cannot. We can make sense of this option if there is a morphological neutralization between Genitive and Dative cases, where subject and object arguments are Genitive and indirect object arguments are Dative. We have also argued that inside the DP, Genitive is a structural Case wherever it corresponds to Nominative and/or Accusative of the corresponding clause. Following CINQUE (2010), we suggested that this Case is assigned/checked by the (semantically vacuous) preposition *na*.

References

- Anderson, Mona. 1978. NP-Preposing in Noun Phrases. *NELS* 8.12–21
- Arnauodova, Olga. 2003/2010. *Focus and Bulgarian Clause Structure*. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Ottawa [Arnauodova, O. *Focus and Bulgarian Clause Structure*. VDM Verlag, 2010].
- Authier, J.-Marc P. 1988. *The Syntax of Unselective Binding*. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Southern California.
- Avram, Larisa & Martine Coene. 2000. Dative/Genitive Clitics as Last Resort. In M. Dimitrova-Vulchanova, I. Krapova, L. Hellan (eds.), *Papers from the Third Conference on Formal Approaches to South Slavic and Balkan Languages*. (University of Trondheim Working Papers in Linguistics 34). 157–169. Trondheim: NTNU Linguistics Department.
- Avram, Larisa & Martine Coene. 2008. Romanian possessive clitics revisited. In D. Kallulli and L. Tasmowski, eds., *Clitic Doubling in the Balkan Languages*. 361–387. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Benveniste, Emile. 1966. Pour l'analyse des fonctions casuelles: le génitif latin. *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, 1. 140–148. Paris: Gallimard.
- Caha, Pavel. 2009. *The Nanosyntax of case*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Tromsø: CASTL.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2008. On Phases. In R. Freidin, C. P. Otero and M. L. Zubizarreta, eds., *Foundational Issues in Linguistic Theory. Essays in Honor of Jean-Roger Vergnaud*. 133–166. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1980. On Extraction from NP in Italian. *Journal of Italian Linguistics* 5: 47–99 (also in G. Cinque. *Italian Syntax and Universal Grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 7–53).
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 2010. Extraction from DP in Italian revisited. ms., University of Venice.

- Cinque, Guglielmo & Iliyana Krapova. 2009. The Two Possessor Raising Constructions of Bulgarian. In S. Franks, V. Chidambaram, & B. Joseph, eds., *A Linguist's Linguist. Studies in South Slavic Linguistics in Honor of E. Wayles Browne*. 123–148. Bloomington, IN: Slavica.
- Cornilescu, Alexandra. 1995. Rumanian Genitive Constructions. In Cinque, G. & G. Giusti, eds., *Advances in Rumanian Linguistics*. 1–55. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Demonte, Violeta. 1988. El “artículo en lugar del posesivo” y el control de los sintagmas nominales. *Nueva Revista de Filología Española* XXXVI. Reprinted in Demonte, V. 1991. *Detrás de la palabra. Estudios de gramática del español*. 235–255. Madrid: Alianza.
- De Witt, Petra. 1997. *Genitive Case and Genitive Constructions*. Utrecht: Led.
- Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Mila & Giuliana Giusti. 1999. Possessors in the Bulgarian DP. In M. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & L. Hellan, eds., *Topics in South Slavic Syntax and Semantics*. 163–192. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Mila & Lilijana Mitkovska. 2009. Nominalizations in Bulgarian and Macedonian. In M. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Olga Tomić (eds). *Investigations in the Bulgarian and Macedonian Nominal Expression*. 148–174. Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press.
- Dumitrescu, Domnita. 1990. “El dativo posesivo en español y en rumano”. *Revista Española de Lingüística* 20.2.403–430. (http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/scclng/23580620981225075343679/p0000001.htm#l_0)
- Franks, Steven. 2000. The Internal Structure of Slavic NPs, with Special Reference to Bulgarian. In *Generative Linguistics in Poland 2 (syntax and morphology)* (Proceedings of the GLiP-2 Conference). 53–70. Warsaw: Institute of Computer Science, Polish Academy of Sciences.
- Franks, Steven & Tracy Holloway King. 2000. *Clitics in Slavic*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Giorgi, Alessandra. 1991. On NPs, theta-marking and c-command. In Giorgi, A. & G. Longobardi, *The Syntax of Noun Phrases*. 22–56. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grimshaw, Jane. 1990. *Argument Structure*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Grosu, Alexander. 1988. On the distribution of Genitive Phrases in Rumanian. *Linguistics*, 26. 931–949.
- Guéron, Jacqueline. 1985. Inalienable Possession, PRO-Inclusion and Lexical Chains. In J. Guéron, H.-G. Obenauer, & J.-Y. Pollock, (eds.), *Grammatical Representation*. 43–86. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Harizanov, Boris. 2011. *NonInitiality within Spell-Out domains: Unifying the post-syntactic behavior of Bulgarian dative clitics*. In Morphology at Santa Cruz: Papers in Honor of Jorge Hankamer, ed. N. LaCara, A. Thompson, and M. A. Tucker, 1–30. Santa Cruz, CA: Linguistics Research Center.
- Izvorski, Roumyana. 1993. On wh-movement and focus-movement in Bulgarian. Presented at CONSOLE 2, University of Tübingen.
- Kayne, Richard S. 1977. *Syntaxe du français. Le cycle transformationnel*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil (French translation of *French Syntax*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1975).
- Krapova, Iliyana. 2002. “On the Left Periphery of the Bulgarian sentence”. *University of Venice Working Papers in Linguistics*, vol. 12.107–128 <http://lear.unive.it/handle/10278/175>.
- Krapova, Iliyana & Tsenka Karastaneva. 2002. On the structure of the CP field in Bulgarian. In M. Dimitrova-Vulchanova, D. Dyer, I. Krapova, C. Rudin, (eds.) *Balkanistica. Papers from the Third Conference on Formal Approaches to South Slavic and Balkan Languages*, vol. 15, 293–322.
- Lambova, Mariana. 2001. On A-bar movements in Bulgarian and their interaction. *The Linguistic Review* 18. 327–374.

- Lamiroy, Béatrice. 2003. Grammaticalization and external possessor structures in Romance and Germanic languages. In M. Coene & Y. D'Hulst (eds.), *From NP to DP. Volume II: the expression of possession in noun phrases*. 257–280. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Leclère, Christian. 1976. Datifs syntaxiques et datif éthique. In J.-C. Chevalier & M. Gross (eds.), *Méthodes en grammaire française*. 73–96. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Markova, Angelina. 2007. Deverbal nominals in Bulgarian: A syntactic analysis. M.A. thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- Moskovsky, Christo. 2004. Optional Movement of Bulgarian Possessive Clitics to I: Some Implications for Binding Theory. In O. Mišeska Tomić (ed.), *Balkan Syntax and Semantics*. 221–233. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Pancheva, Roumyana. 2004. Balkan Possessive Clitics: The Problem of Case and Category. In O. Mišeska Tomić (ed.), *Balkan Syntax and Semantics*. 175–219. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Penčev, Iordan. 1998. *Sintaksis na sǎvremennija bǎlgarski knižoven ezik*. Plovdiv.
- Pesetsky, David. 1995. *Zero Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Popova, Gergana. 2006. Integrating nominalizations into a Generalised Paradigm Function Model Morphology” *Essex Research Reports in Linguistics*. 47. 75–93.
- Rappaport, Gilbert. 2000. The Slavic Noun Phrase in Comparative Perspective. To appear in G. Fowler (ed.) *Comparative Slavic Morphosyntax*. Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publishers.
- Rudin, Cathrine. 1986. *Aspects of Bulgarian Syntax: Complementizers and wh constructions*. Slavica Publishers, Inc., Columbus, Ohio.
- Rudin, Cathrine. 1994. Topic and Focus in Bulgarian. *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. 40 (3–4), pp. 429–447.
- Schick, Ivanka. 2000. The phenomenon of possessive clitics in the Balkan Slavic languages. In M. Dimitrova-Vulchanova, I. Krapova, L. Hellan (eds.), *Papers from the Third Conference on Formal Approaches to South Slavic and Balkan Languages*. (University of Trondheim Working Papers in Linguistics 34). Trondheim: NTNU Linguistics Department, pp. 183–195.
- Schürcks, Lilia & Dieter Wunderlich. 2003. Determiner-possessor relation in the Bulgarian DP. In M. Coene & Y. D'Hulst, (eds.), *From NP to DP. Volume II: the expression of possession in noun phrases*. 121–139. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Schweikert, Walter. 2005. *The Order of Prepositional Phrases in the Structure of the Clause*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Sportiche, Dominique. 1996. Clitic Constructions. In *Phrase structure and the Lexicon*, L. Zaring and J. Rooryck. 213–276. Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht .
- Stateva, Penka. 2002. Possessive Clitics and the Structure of Nominal Expressions. *Lingua* 112. 647–690.
- Szabolcsi, Anna. 1994. The noun phrase. In F. Kiefer and K. É. Kiss, eds., *The Syntactic Structure of Hungarian*. 179–275. Academic Press, New York.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. 2009. Clitic and Non-Clitic Possessive Pronouns in Macedonian and Bulgarian. In M. Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Olga Tomić (eds). *Investigations in the Bulgarian and Macedonian Nominal Expression*. 95–120. Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press.
- Vergnaud, Jean-Roger & Maria Luisa Zubizarreta. 1992. The definite determiner and the inalienable constructions in French and in English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 23.595–652.