

Genitive/Dative Case Puzzles in the Bulgarian DP*

Iliyana Krapova and Guglielmo Cinque

Abstract: The paper discusses issues in the grammar of Case marking in the DP by focusing on two interrelated puzzles in the syntax of Bulgarian nominalizations. The first puzzle concerns the ban on strong pronouns to act as DP-internal subjects. We argue that this is due to a morphological Case conflict, and we also discuss some historical considerations bearing on the loss of the genitive in Bulgarian. The second puzzle we discuss concerns DPs headed by an object nominal which show no traces of a Case conflict. The paper offers some considerations bearing on the genitive-dative Case syncretism in the history of Bulgarian.

0. Introduction

In this paper we discuss two interrelated puzzles in the syntax of Bulgarian Case, puzzles that find a straightforward solution once we consider the grammar of Case marking of DP-internal arguments from a comparative perspective.

The first puzzle concerns a curious difference between lexical and nominal arguments in event/process nominal DPs with regard to their availability to act as DP-internal subjects. To approach this puzzle, in section 1 we discuss some preliminary facts about DP-internal Case marking of event/process nominals in Bulgarian. As in many other languages, these have the same structural make-up as their respective verbal correspondents. In section 2 we propose an account in terms of Case conflict, and in section 3 elaborate parallels with comparative phenomena from several other languages. Finally, in section 4, we introduce the second puzzle, which concerns clitic doubling in ordinary object nominals and the type of possessive Case these DPs realize. In

* We dedicate this paper to Catherine Rudin, whom we admire very much as a linguist and as a person. We would like to thank Steven Franks for discussing various relevant issues with us and an anonymous reviewer for highly valuable comments, which have helped us improve the paper. For the requirements of the Italian academic system Iliyana Krapova takes responsibility for sections 1, 2, and 3 and Guglielmo Cinque for sections 4 and 5.

particular, we address the question why the subject of an object nominal, unlike the subject of an event/process nominal, should not cause a Case conflict.

1. Event/Process Nominals and the First Case Puzzle

In this section, we review the distribution of lexical and pronominal phrases as arguments within the DP. We show that while lexical phrases can perform the entire range of DP-internal syntactic functions, possessive clitics and possessive adjectives are limited to functioning as DP-subjects. Strong pronouns on the other hand can never be DP-subjects. This complementary distribution constitutes the first puzzle of the Bulgarian DP that we are going to address in section 2.

1.1. Full DP-Arguments: Distribution and Interpretation

DP-internal arguments in Bulgarian corresponding to a subject, a direct object, or an indirect object of an event/process nominal¹ (in the sense of Grimshaw 1990) are expressed by one and the same preposition/case marker, *na* ‘of’. The examples in (1) and (2) below illustrate their distribution and interpretation. Thus, subject *na*-phrases may realize the Agent argument of nominals derived from transitive and unergative verbs, as in (1a, b), or the Theme argument of nominals derived from unaccusative and passive verbs, as in (1c) and (1d). As (1a) also shows, *na*-phrases may also realize the Theme of a transitive nominal. Since DP-internal subjects and objects do not appear to have a fixed order,² (1a) is ambiguous between an Agent > Theme and a Theme > Agent reading:

- (1) a. opisanieto na Ivan na Petko [transitive N]
 description_{DEF} of Ivan of Petko
 ‘Ivan’s description of Petko/Petko’s description of Ivan’
- b. laeneto na sâsedskoto kuče [unergative N]
 barking_{DEF} of neighbor-Adj_{DEF} dog
 ‘the barking of the neighbor’s dog’

¹ We do not discuss the internal composition of deverbal Ns or their distribution into structural types according to nominalizing suffix (e.g., *-ne*, *-nie*, *-cija*). For more details, the reader is referred to Markova 2007, Krapova and Cinque 2013, and references cited therein.

² Although we do not discuss here the issue of word order within the DP, we note that while both orders S>O and O>S are possible, the latter seems preferred.

- (1) c. pristiganeto **na srednoštinja gost** [unaccusative N]
 arrival_{DEF} of midnight-Adj_{DEF} visitor
 'the arrival of the midnight visitor'
- d. arestuvaneto **na mafiotskija bos** [passive N]
 arrest_{DEF} of mafia-Adj_{DEF} boss
 'the arresting of the mafia boss'

Passive nominals are a subset of nominals ending in *-ne* (such as *arestuvane* 'arresting' in (1d), *predstavjane* 'presentation', *obsâždane* 'discussion', etc.). To introduce the Agent, they take a different preposition, namely *ot* 'by', the same as the one used in passive clauses. Compare (2a) and (2b) and see Cinque (1980), Krapova and Cinque (2013) for details and discussion:

- (2) a. arestuvaneto **na Toto Rina** (*ot*/**na* policijata)
 arrest_{DEF} of Toto Rina (*by*/**of* police_{DEF})
 'the arresting of Toto Rina (by the police)'
- b. Toto Rina e arestuvan *ot*/**na* policijata.
 Toto Rina is arrested *by*/**of* police_{DEF}
 'Toto Rina has been arrested by the police.'

The fact that passives (optionally) take an *ot* 'by'-Agent is a useful diagnostic for distinguishing passive nominals from transitive ones also in cases involving multiple argument realization. See, e.g., (3), where the Theme is promoted to a DP-subject while the second *na*-phrase realizes the Goal (the DP-indirect object):³

- (3) *Theme > Goal*
 predstavjaneto na Petko **na gostite** (*ot* domakina)
 presentation_{DEF} of Petko to guests_{DEF} (by host_{DEF})
 'Petko's presentation to the guests/
 *'the presentation of the guests to Petko (by the host)'

Thus, a sequence of two *na*-phrases does not necessarily imply that we are dealing with a transitive configuration.

³ An anonymous reviewer asks whether transitive nominals can also appear with a second *na*-phrase corresponding to a Goal argument. The answer is negative, as only passive nominals in Bulgarian can combine with dative arguments. Apart from Goals, Locative arguments are also possible with some derived nouns, e.g., *stoeneto na plaža* 'staying on the beach'.

1.2. Possessive Clitics and Possessive Adjectives

DP-internal arguments can also be realized by possessive clitics or pronominal adjectives.⁴ They show parallel syntactic behavior, as illustrated by the examples in (4–8). Thus, both *mu* ‘him_{DAT}’ and *negov* ‘his’ may refer to Agents of transitive and unergative nominals (5–6), as well as to Themes of unaccusatives and passive ones (Tasseva-Kurktchieva 2004).⁵ Importantly, pronominal possessives necessarily realize the DP-subject, as shown by (4), which unlike (1a) above is no longer ambiguous, as well as by (8), where neither possessive can refer to the Goal (indirect object) argument.⁶ The parallel behavior of these possessive elements raises the question of Case: what type of abstract Case does the possessive clitic realize given that it bears dative morphology? We return to this issue in section 2.3.

- (4) a. opisanieto **mu** na Petko [transitive Ns]
 description_{DEF} him_{CL} of Petko
 ‘his description of Petko’/ *‘Petko’s description of him’

⁴ A well-known property of possessive clitics in Bulgarian is that they appear strictly right-adjacent to the noun or the adjective bearing the definite article (Franks 2001: 59ff, a.o.), while pronominal possessive adjectives bear the definite article themselves and agree with the head noun in number and gender.

⁵ Possessive clitics cannot substitute for a directional *na*-phrase PP either. This is seen in the contrast in (i):

- (i) a. kačvaneto na masite e zabraneno
 getting_{DEF} on tables_{DEF} is forbidden
 b. *kačvaneto im e zabraneno
 getting_{DEF} to-them_{CL} is forbidden

⁶ As discussed in Franks and King (2000: 276f), possessive clitics “can never correspond to true datives.” That is, in (i), although the base verbs (*vlijaja* ‘influence’, *objasnjavam* ‘explain’) 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:

- (i) a. vlijanieto mu
 influence_{DEF} him_{CL.DAT}
 ‘his influence’/ *‘the influence on him’
 b. objasnenieto mu
 explanation_{DEF} him_{CL.DAT}
 ‘his explanation’/ ‘its explanation’/ *‘the explanation to him’

This, it seems to us, would be hard to understand if the possessive clitic were a dative clitic. It can only be made sense of if it is a genitive clitic, standing in every case for the subject of the DP. For additional discussion see Krapova and Cinque (2013).

- (4) b. **negovoto** opisanie na Petko
 his_{DEF} description of Petko
 'his description of Petko/ *'Petko's description of him'
- (5) a. laeneto **mu** [unergative Ns]
 barking_{DEF} him_{CL}
 'his barking'
 b. **negovoto** laene
 his_{DEF} barking
 'his barking'
- (6) a. pristiganeto **mu** [unaccusative Ns]
 arrival_{DEF} him_{CL}
 b. **negovoto** pristigane
 his_{DEF} arrival
- (7) a. arestuvaneto **mu** [passive Ns]
 arrest_{DEF} him_{CL}
 b. **negovoto** arestuvane
 his_{DEF} arrest
 'his arrest'
- (8) a. predstavjaneto **mu** na gostite
 presentation_{DEF} him_{CL} to guests_{DEF}
 'his presentation to the guests'/
 '*the presentation of the guests to him'
 b. **negovoto** predstavjane na gostite
 his_{DEF} presentation to guests_{DEF}
 'his presentation to the guests'/
 '*the presentation of the guests to him'

1.3. Strong Pronouns

DP-internal strong pronouns are introduced by the preposition *na*, though these oblique forms (e.g., *na nego* 'of/to him') differ sharply in distribution and interpretation with respect to both full *na*-phrases and pronominal possessives. This is shown in (9). Strong pronouns cannot refer to the Agent of transitive Ns (9a), the Agent of unergative Ns (9b), the Theme of unaccusative Ns

(9c), or of a passive N (9d). They are thus barred from realizing the subject of the DP.⁷

- (9) a. opisanieto na prirodata na Ivan Vazov/ ***na nego** [Agent]
 description_{DEF} of nature_{DEF} of Ivan Vazov/ of him
 'Ivan Vazov's/*his description of nature'
- b. *laeneto **na nego**
 barking_{DEF} of him
 'his barking'
- c. *pristiganeto **na nego**
 arrival_{DEF} of him
 'his arrival'
- d. *arestuvaneto **na nego**
 arrest_{DEF} of him
 'his arrest'

Strong pronouns can only function as DP-internal direct and indirect objects, as we show in (10): in (10a, a') the *na* + strong pronoun realizes the DP-direct object corresponding to the Theme, while in (10b, b') it realizes the indirect object corresponding to the Goal argument.

- (10) a. opisanieto ti **na Ivan/ na nego**
 description_{DEF} you_{CL} of Ivan/ of him
 'your description of Ivan/him'
- a.' tvoeto opisanie **na Ivan/ na nego**
 your_{DEF} description of Ivan/ of him
 'your description of Ivan/him'
- b. predstavjaneto ti **na Ivan/ na nego**
 presentation_{DEF} you_{CL} to Ivan/ to him
 'your presentation to Ivan/him'

⁷ Note that this is a restriction that pertains to the DP only. In clauses, *na* + strong pronouns can function as indirect objects, preferably doubled by a dative clitic:

- (i) Ivan (mu) dade parite na nego.
 Ivan him_{CL} gave_{3SG} money_{DEF} to him
 'Ivan gave the money to him.'

- (10) b.' tvoeto predstavjane **na Ivan/ na nego**
 your_{DEF} presentation to Ivan/ to him
 'your presentation to Ivan/him'

The distributional facts discussed so far are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

Full <i>na</i> -DP-arguments	Possessive adjectives	Possessive clitics	<i>na</i> +strong pronouns	
OK	OK	OK	*	DP-subject
OK	*	*	OK	DP-object
OK	*	*	OK	DP-indirect object

The special behavior of *na* + strong pronouns, which constitutes the puzzle to be addressed in the next section, is the first of three converging properties that can be said to characterize the DP-internal subject of Bulgarian. These are given in (11):

- (11) a. Only DP-subjects fail to be expressed by the preposition *na* 'of' + a tonic pronoun (of the type *na men(e)* 'of me', *na teb(e)* 'of you', *na nego/nejaltjax* 'of him/her/them').
- b. Only DP-subjects can be rendered by a possessive adjective or by a (DP-internal) possessive clitic (of the type *na men(e)* 'of me', *na teb(e)* 'of you', *na nego/nejaltjax* 'of him/her/them').
- c. Only DP-subjects can be extracted. (A detailed discussion of this can be found in Krapova and Cinque 2013.)

2. Towards an Account

We now turn to an account of property (11a), i.e., why oblique forms of strong pronouns are barred from DP-subject position. The account will be couched in terms of a morphological Case conflict, a phenomenon well known from various languages, as we will illustrate in section 4. The formal execution of the account will follow the spirit of Kayne (2005) but will incorporate the basic tenets of Caha's (2009) Case theory, especially his treatment of functional

prepositions (such as *na* in Bulgarian) as syntactically analogous to Case suffixes within the Case hierarchy.

2.1. DP-Internal Lexical Subjects and Caha's Case Theory

As a preliminary step of the analysis consider the following examples with deverbal nouns from Latin taken from Benveniste (1966), where both the object and subject argument are realized as genitives:

- (12) a. *genitivus obiectivus*⁸
 neglegentia religionis (cf. *neglegere religionem*)
 (the) neglect of religion (cf. 'to neglect religion')
- b. *genitivus subiectivus*⁹
 adventus consulis (cf. *consul advenit*)
 (the) arrival of (the) consul (cf. 'the consul arrives')

On the basis of examples like (12), we propose, in the spirit of Benveniste (1966), the following informal generalization of Case correspondences between the deverbal DP and the clause:

- (13) Nominative and Accusative of the clause are rendered in the corresponding deverbal nouns with genitive (*genitivus subiectivus* and *genitivus obiectivus*), arguably a structural Case in that it is independent of the particular theta-role assigned to the DP bearing it.

With this generalization in mind, we would like to argue that:

- *Na*-phrases (lexical or pronominal) realizing the DP-internal subject and object are underlyingly Genitive—*genitivus subiectivus* and *genitivus obiectivus*, respectively.
- *Na*-phrases (lexical or pronominal) realizing the DP-internal indirect object are inherent *datives*.

⁸ "la fonction du génitif est de transposer en dépendance nominale la relation d'un accusatif régime d'un verbe transitif. C'est donc un *génitif de transposition...*" [the function of the genitive is that of transposing inside a nominal the accusative relation of a transitive verb...] (Benveniste 1966: 146).

⁹ "cette fois la forme casuelle transposée en génitif n'est plus un accusatif, mais un nominatif." [this time the Case form transposed in the Genitive is no longer an Accusative but a Nominative] (Benveniste 1966: 147).

The syncretic nature of the corresponding clitic comes out very clearly if one compares its uses within the DP, where, as mentioned, it can only express the syntactic subject (whether an Agent, a Theme, or a Possessor), never a Goal (as opposed to clausal syntax, where this is the only available interpretation, cf. *Az mu dadox knigata* 'I gave him the book') and never to what is realized as a genitive in other languages such as English *of*+DP, e.g., *He convinced us of his innocence, He thinks of you, He is ashamed/proud of me* (these *of*+DP genitive cases are rendered by prepositional phrases in Bulgarian other than *na*).

We thus conclude that clitics are morphologically syncretic between dative (in the clause) and genitive (within DPs). *Na*-phrases are instead exclusively dative in the clause (abstracting away from the directional *na*-phrases mentioned in fn. 5), but can express both dative and genitive in the DP. As a reviewer pointed out, the archaic dative non-clitic pronominal *nemu/nej* 'him/her_{DAT}' cannot express the subject of the DP (**pomnja reakcijata nemu* 'Lit.: remember_{1SG} reaction_{DEF} him_{DAT}'), thus reinforcing the idea that DP subjects are exclusively in the genitive Case.¹⁰

2.2. A Historical Detour

The proposal outlined briefly in section 2.1, according to which genitives and datives are structurally distinguished in the Bulgarian DP, differs from both traditional and more recent analyses (e.g., Pancheva 2004, Harizanov 2011, 2014), which argue that Bulgarian possessive clitics as well as full or pronominal *na*-phrases (at least those doubled by a clitic) value Dative Case.

As is well known, a rather conspicuous contact-induced change that occurred in Bulgarian is Case loss. One of its hallmarks was the merger (syncretism) of the genitive and the dative, which began already in Old Bulgarian (OB)/Old Church Slavonic (OCS) (starting from the 10th century onwards) and gradually led to the replacement of the genitive by the dative, first in the clitic paradigm and later on in the pronominal and nominal systems.

Relying on evidence from diachrony, possessor raising, clitic doubling, and the behavior of non-clitic possessors, Pancheva (2004) argues that already in the older stages of the language dative clitics, and by extension dative marked nonclitic pronouns as well as full DPs, valued abstract Dative Case,

¹⁰ The same situation is found with the archaic relative Dative *wh*-form *komuto*:

- (i) a. *čovekât, komuto podarix knigata*
 man_{DEF} whom_{DAT} gave_{1SG} book
 'the man to whom I gave the book'
- b. **čovekât, komuto pomnja reakcijata*
 man_{DEF} who_{DAT} remember_{1SG} reaction_{DEF}
 'the man whose reaction I remember'

both in their possessive (DP-internal) use and in their use as indirect objects (clause-internally). Obviously, homophony with the genitive (morphological merger) cannot be invoked as the trigger for the change because the older stages of the language kept the two paradigms distinct at least until the 17th century. Krapova and Dimitrova (2016) have shown, based on an analysis of OB/OCS corpora, that the genitive and the dative were not used indistinguishably in the earliest written texts; cf. (14), where the dative and the genitive are clearly differentiated in their clausal (dative of interest) vs. DP-internal (possessive) usage. This is not expected under an analysis which postulates, given their synonymous usages inside the DP, that one and the same head noun could have both abstract Dative and abstract Genitive features in its lexical frame before the merger took place.

- (14) da pokryjotъ se **emou** dĕla **ego**
 let cover_{3PL} REFL him_{DAT} deeds_{NOM} his_{GEN}

‘Let his deeds be covered for him’

(Euch.Sin., 194, 68b, Minčeva 1964: 25)

Arguably, the OB dative was an inherent case, while the genitive was a DP-internal structural case, and the two also differed in other respects, including clitic vs. nonclitic paradigms. We believe that it was precisely the dative clitic (for 1st and 2nd person) and the 3rd person anaphoric/weak pronoun of the applicative construction of the type illustrated in (15) that gave rise to the process of genitive-dative case merger:

- (15) a. (Cod. Supr., 23, 127v, 2)

jako mečemŭ otŭsĕčeši **mi** glavŭ
 as sword_{INST} cut off me_{CL.DAT} head_{ACC}

‘as you cut off my head with a sword’

- b. (Mt. 9:30, Cod. Mar.)¹¹

i otvrĕste se **ima** oči
 and opened REFL them_{DU.DAT} eyes_{NOM}

καὶ ἠνεώχθησαν **αὐτῶν** οἱ ὀφθαλμοί
 and were opened **of-them**_{GEN} the_{NOM.PL} eyes_{NOM}

‘and their sight was restored’

lit. ‘and were opened to-them the eyes’

(Krapova and Dimitrova 2016: ex. (6a))

¹¹ In all of the examples to follow, the OB/OCS text will be accompanied by the Greek original, following Nestle (1904).

As is also the case with Indo-European in general, one conspicuous property of the OB clausal dative was that, provided necessary syntactic conditions (on which see Minčeva 1964 or Krapova and Dimitrova 2016), this Case could also signal a possessive relation (*dativus possessivus*) with certain inalienable nouns (kinship, body parts, and other relational nouns). Thus, applicative constructions, especially the ones in (15) involving a dative clitic or a weak pronoun (referring to an extra argument of the verb) and an inalienable object, provided the first context that triggered the overlap with the possessive genitive. In the specific case of Bulgarian, this was partly due to influence from New Testament Greek, where a similar process had already occurred in the opposite direction, namely genitive clitics which properly belonged to the possessed DP (see (15b)) could cliticize to the verb and end up in positions typically reserved for indirect-object and applicative datives. For details and more examples see Krapova and Dimitrova (2016).

On the view that syntactic change proceeds in small but discrete steps, it could be suggested that the OB DP was reanalyzed in such a way as to incorporate the linearly preceding dative clitic as an argument of the noun. This change must have occurred at the time when both definiteness marking and DP-internal second position effects were on the rise (e.g., the Non Initiality constraint discussed in Harizanov 2011).¹² The possessivization strategy that first affected inalienable nouns quickly led to the assumption of all genitive functions by the dative clitic (or weak pronoun) and opened the possibility for other pronouns as well as lexical nouns to combine with datives instead of genitives,¹³ including nominalized DPs in which the dative was used as a structural case in place of the older *genitivus subiectivus* and *genitivus obiectivus* comparable to (13) from Latin.

To summarize, we believe that the advent of the dative should receive a syntactic explanation. The partial overlap between the syntactic functions of the dative and the genitive can be expressed formally in terms of morphological case underspecification. If anything, the evidence presented in Cinque

¹² This is visible from *varia lectiones* of one and the same document in which the clitic or the weak pronoun alternate between the prenominal and the postnominal position, the latter seemingly second within the DP. For examples see Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Vulchanov (2010).

¹³ This conclusion then follows in the spirit of Meillet (1897: 151), who viewed the Bulgarian possessive dative as resulting from the postposition of the first/second person dative enclitics (*otrokŭ mi* 'my child', *bratŭ ti* 'your brother'), followed by third person anaphoric pronouns (*ime emu* 'name him_{DAT} = his name', *tělo jemu* 'body him_{DAT} = his body', *zaštiteľi imŭ* 'defender of them_{DAT} = their defender') and finally by full dative NPs (e.g., *propovėdnikŭ žīvymŭ i mrŭtvymŭ* 'preacher for the alive_{DAT} and the dead_{DAT}', Supr. 461: 10, ex. from Minčeva 1964: 52).

and Krapova (2009)¹⁴ and in this paper leads us to adopt the second possible scenario that Pancheva (2004: 183) herself envisages theoretically, namely, that 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.”

2.3. Addressing the First Puzzle: Case Realization in the Inflectional Domain of DP in Modern Bulgarian

In this section, we discuss the derivation of *na*-phrases as DP-internal arguments such as those in (1) above. In particular, we are interested in the type of Case *na*-phrases realize given that they are also underspecified for case and thus ambiguous between a Dative (on the clausal level) and a Genitive (on the DP level). Suppose first that the inflectional domain of DPs in Bulgarian (possibly in all languages) contains subject and object agreement Phrases (Agr_s and Agr_o , or comparable Case licensing positions) which assign/check Nominative and Accusative Case as they do in finite clauses. A classical case in point is that of Hungarian DPs described by Szabolcsi (1994) where, as illustrated in (16), subjects (e.g., *az elnök* ‘the president’ in (16b)) bear Nominative case under agreement with the head noun (*megfoszt-ás-a* ‘deprivation’). Moreover, DP-internal agreement is identical in morphemic realization (*-a/-ja*) to the verbal agreement morphology licensing Nominative Case in the corresponding clause (16a). In (17) we give, following Szabolcsi (1994), the (simplified) structural representation of (16b) with the Agr_s projection, which in Szabolcsi’s original rendering is represented as N(ominative) + I(nflection) and is deemed responsible for Nominative Case assignment/checking:

- (16) a. Edith megfoszt-**ja** az elnök-öt a jogai-tól.
 Edith_{NOM} deprive_{3SG} the president_{ACC} the privileges-from
 ‘Edith deprives the president of his privileges.’

¹⁴ In Cinque and Krapova (2009) and Krapova and Cinque (2013) we show that two “possessor raising” constructions must be distinguished in Modern Bulgarian: one which involves genuine movement (corresponding to the Romance genitive extraction), and another one which does not involve movement and thus corresponds to the externally merged dative clitic of Romance applicative constructions (like e.g., *Gli ho rotto la macchina* ‘I broke the car on him/I broke his car’). For details we refer to those papers. In languages that make a morphological distinction between genitive and dative (Italian, French, etc.) it is only genitive phrases that extract (cf. Cinque 1980):

- (i) Az *mu* gledax *t* arestuvaneto *t* po televizijata.
 I him_{CL} saw_{1SG} arrest_{DEF} on TV_{DEF}
 ‘I saw his arrest on TV.’

- (16) b. az elnök megfoszt-ás-a a jogai-tól
 the president_{NOM} deprivation_{POSS.3SG} the privileges-from
 ‘the president’s deprivation of his privileges’

(Szabolcsi 1994: 233)

- (17) [DP az [Agr_s(=N+I)]P elnök ... [Agr_s(=N+I) megfoszt-ás-a]

Although DP’s inflectional domain universally contains subject and object agreement Phrase (Agr_sP, Agr_oP), as we propose, languages differ in whether or not they express person agreement features morphologically. We can assume that languages with no person morphology on the head noun are still able to assign/check Nominative Case but this Case cannot be licensed in the absence of morphological distinctions. Caha’s (2009) nanosyntactic theory offers us an insight into the solution of this problem. According to Caha, Case is represented by a Case suffix or by a functional preposition, so if a language has no Case morphology for a certain abstract Case of the Universal Case Contiguity hierarchy given in (18) below, this language must resort to the insertion of a functional preposition in the same position where the respective Case suffix would be merged. We thus propose that the functional preposition *na* merges in the position that would correspond to the Genitive as the next higher Case above the Accusative. Note that although lexical nouns do not show any morphological Case distinctions, thus appearing to be syncretic between Nominative and Accusative, strong pronouns clearly show Accusative morphology when selected by prepositions, cf. *na/s/ot nego/neja* ‘of/with/from him_{ACC}/her_{ACC}’. Genitive is thus a composite Case made up of the Genitive preposition *na* + Accusative Case.

- (18) The Case sequence:

nominative—accusative—genitive—dative—instrumental—comitative
 (Caha 2009: 10)

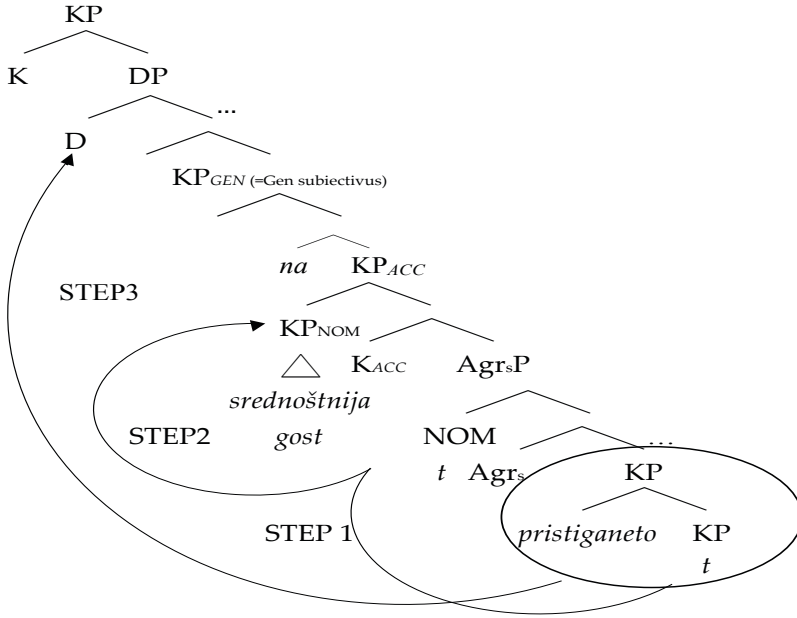
- (19) The functional sequence:

[Comitative [Instrumental [Dative [Genitive [Accusative [Nominative]]]]]]]]

With these tenets in mind, we propose the step-by-step derivation in (20) on the next page for (1c) *pristiganeto na srednoštinja gost* ‘the arrival of the midnight visitor’ containing an unaccusative N. In the first step, the maximal projection of the subject *srednoštinja gost* (a KP_{NOM}) raises to Spec,Agr_sP, where it attempts to check the structural Case assigned there, Nominative. This Case however fails to be licensed because of the absence of person agreement on the N *pristiganeto* differently from Hungarian (16b); consequently the subject KP is forced to receive and be licensed by another Case.

Within the extended nominal projection the only structural Case available is the Genitive Case, which in Bulgarian is represented by the preposition *na* assigning Accusative (like every other preposition of the language).

- (20) *pristiganeto na srednoštņija gost* ‘the arrival of the midnight visitor’



This means that the subject has to raise to the Spec of KP_{ACC} . The preposition *na* is then merged in the next projection up, namely, in the head of KP_{GEN} , which licenses the Accusative. After that, following Kayne’s (2002, 2004) analysis of PPs (in head-initial languages), we take the remnant *pristiganeto* to move to a projection immediately above (we do not take a stand on the identification of this projection), which derives the correct order of head and arguments.

To summarize, we propose that Genitive KPs (bearing *genitivus subiectivus* in Benveniste’s terms) are part of the extended projection of the NP in Bulgarian, and are realized as *na*-phrases corresponding to the DP-internal subject argument via two Case licensing DP-internal positions. In section 5, we return to the reasons behind this conclusion, essentially having to do with the fact that they occupy A-positions as well as with their capacity to A-bind anaphors.

2.4. Explaining the Case Conflict with DP-Subject Tonic Pronouns

Recall that although the oblique form of the strong pronoun in Bulgarian cannot realize a DP-subject, it can realize a DP direct or indirect object. We now turn to an explanation of this restriction. Tonic pronouns in Bulgarian have two morphologically distinct forms: one for Nominative and one for Accusative. Given what was said above, namely, that the functional preposition *na* assigns the next morphological case down the hierarchy, i.e., Accusative, the approach adopted above predicts that morphological Accusative on the pronoun will be compatible with the Accusative assigned by the preposition, though not with the Nominative Case feature licensed by Agr_s . Thus, the reason why *na* + Accusative pronoun cannot act as a DP subject follows from a Case conflict.

Case conflict also rules out a strong pronoun appearing in its Nominative form, as in (21), since in this case Nominative morphology is compatible with the Nominative checked in Agr_sP but not with the Accusative assigned by the preposition. Hence, there is no morphological form which can be simultaneously compatible with both Case features. This rules out the possibility of a *na*+strong pronoun acting as a DP subject in cases such as (21):

- (21) **pristiganeto na nego/ na toj*
 arrival_{DEF} of him_{ACC}/ of he_{NOM}

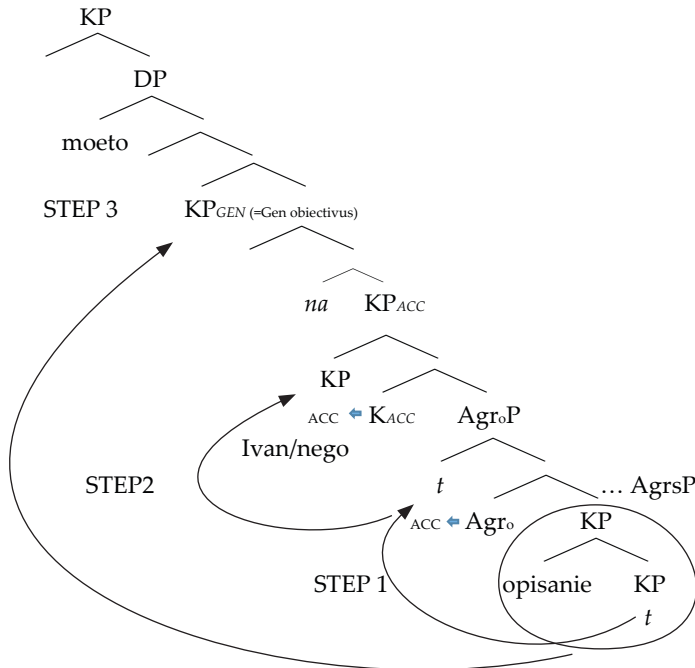
No Case conflict arises with lexical nouns as in, e.g., *pristiganeto na Ivan* ‘Ivan’s arrival’ since, as mentioned above, in Bulgarian lexical nouns show no morphological distinctions, i.e., they are underspecified for morphological Case and are thus compatible with whatever Case gets assigned to them.¹⁵

The derivation of (direct) objects follows a similar pattern, assuming Agr_oP and a higher KP_{GEN} corresponding to *genitivus obiectivus* in Benveniste’s terms. As can be verified from the derivation of (22), no issue of Case conflict arises here. The reason is that the direct object checks Accusative in Agr_oP but—since (structural) Accusative is not licensed in this position in the Bulgarian nominal projection—the DP is forced to receive another Case, structural Genitive, which is composed of the functional preposition *na* assigning Accusative. This means that the direct object has to raise to KP_{ACC} , the Case assigned by the preposition *na*, merged above KP_{ACC} . Lexical DPs are not marked morphologically for any Case, so they are compatible with whatever Case is assigned to them when they move to $\text{Spec},\text{KP}_{\text{ACC}}$ (in other words, they are protected from a potential Case conflict). Strong pronouns do not create a

¹⁵ A reviewer raises the question of why clitics (e.g., *mu*) do not give rise to a Case conflict. We take them to also be underspecified. As noted, in the DP they express Genitive and in the clause they express Dative.

Case conflict either, since their Accusative case morphology will be compatible both with the Accusative Case checked in Agr_oP and with the Accusative Case assigned by *na*. This predicts the availability of both full DPs and the *na*+pronoun sequence as direct objects. We return to indirect object (dative) arguments in section 4.

(22) *moeto opisanie na Ivan/na nego* ‘my description of Ivan/him’



To summarize this section, Nominative and Accusative morphology is compatible with structural Genitive, the next Case up the hierarchy in (19), on the condition that the pronoun bears compatible morphology in the Agr position through which it passes on its way to the KP_{ACC} required by *na*.

3. Case Conflicts Cross-Linguistically

The above account of the lack of subject properties of *na* + strong pronoun in Bulgarian is comparable to the (morphological) Case conflicts found in other contexts in other languages, such as the morphological Case conflict created by Topicalization in Norwegian (Taraldsen 1981), where subjects of clauses embedded under a bridge verb can be topicalized when they are not

morphologically marked for Nominative or Accusative. We see this with non-pronominal DPs, e.g., proper names like *Per* 'Peter' in (23a) or 3rd person pronouns like *han* 'he/him', *dere* 'they/them' in (23b), which are not morphologically marked for Case hence can be topicalized. However, as (23c) shows, 1st and 2nd person pronouns, which have both a Nominative and an Accusative form, cannot be topicalized (in either form).

- (23) a. *Per* hadde de trodd [_{__}ville komme forsent]
 Per had they thought would arrive too late
- b. *han/dere* hadde de trodd [_{__}ville komme
 'he/him'/'they/them' had they thought would arrive
 forsent]
 too late
- c. **jeg/du/vi* hadde de trodd [_{__}ville komme
 **I_{NOM}/you_{NOM}/we_{NOM}* had they thought would arrive
 forsent]
 too late
- d. **meg/deg/oss* hadde de trodd [_{__}ville komme
me_{ACC}/you_{ACC}/us_{ACC} had they thought would arrive
 forsent]
 too late

This follows, as Taraldsen argues, if extraction is successive cyclic (passing through Spec,CP) and, as indicated in (24), the bridge verb assigns Accusative to the DP in Spec,CP on top of the Nominative assigned to it in Spec,IP:

- (24) *Per*_i hadde de trod [_{CP} *t*_i [_{IP} *t*_i [_{__}ville komme forsent]]
 Nom/Acc →Acc Nom←
 'Per had they thought would arrive too late'

Only DPs which are not morphologically marked for either Nominative or Accusative Case can avoid the Case conflict. Hence those in (23a, b) succeed, but not those in (23c, d),¹⁶ because neither the Nominative nor the Accusative form can satisfy both Case values simultaneously within the chain.

¹⁶ The idea that bridge verbs (may) assign Accusative Case to a DP passing through the Spec of CP has also been proposed by Kayne (1980: 79f); also see the discussion in Bošković (1997: 50) on *wager*-class verbs, and Franks 2017: 116ff). Case assignment from matrix verb to an NP in COMP seems also appropriate for the following contrasts:

- (i) a. John who(m) I assure you [_{__} [_{__} to be the best]]
 b. *I assure you [[John to be the best]]

although they are available as DP-internal objects. Consider (30), judgments due to Steven Franks (p.c.):¹⁸

- (30) a. *the arrival/ *the reaction of him/me [*1/*2/*3 person pronoun]¹⁹
 BUT
 b. the/her description of him/me

Although the data above from Bulgarian, as well as Norwegian, Slavic, German, Romance, and English, require a more in-depth treatment, all of these languages are apparently multiple Case checking languages, i.e., type B languages according to Bejar and Massam's (1999) typology. As Bejar and Massam note, Multiple Case checking is not only language-specific but construction specific, in that it is allowed only if there is no morphological conflict between the Cases assigned to the links of a chain. According to Bejar and Massam, this could be related to a PF requirement: if the chain created by movement contains conflicting case values, vocabulary insertion is blocked since there will be no item simultaneously consistent with every position in the chain. As mentioned in fn. 17, we do not take a stand here on the precise theoretical reason or which module of grammar is responsible for Case conflicts, leaving this issue for further research.

To summarize this section, we proposed that Bulgarian pronominal DP-internal subjects and objects spell out Genitive case, *genitivus subiectivus* and *genitivus obiectivus*, respectively. Adopting a Kaynean framework inspired by Caha's functional hierarchy, we argued that lexical Ns do not present a Case conflict since their morphology is compatible with the Case assigned by the preposition *na*. Subject tonic pronouns, on the other hand, do present a Case conflict since whichever morphological form is selected will conflict with the higher Accusative licensed by *na*.

¹⁸ Differently from Italian, the syncretic form *you* does not yield a more acceptable result. It thus appears possible that a different factor may come to override the distinction in morphological case, namely the competition between the oblique form of *you* and the possessive adjective which is the more natural alternative strategy (cf. (i)):

- (i) your arrival/reaction

We thank Wayles Browne, Steven Franks, Thomas Grano, and Peter Cole for their judgments.

¹⁹ Note that under coordination the violation disappears: *the arrival of me and my family* (Steven Franks, p.c.). Coordination can also rescue other would-be Case violations; cf. Grano (2006):

- (i) a. *Me will leave tomorrow
 b. You and me will leave tomorrow

4. The Second Bulgarian DP Case Puzzle: Clitic Doubling

The above noted Case conflicts with strong pronouns disappear under clitic doubling. This issue will be discussed in the current section, the goals of which are twofold. We will briefly discuss the conditions on DP-internal clitic doubling in Bulgarian in order to pose the problem of what type of Case such structures realize. We then establish a correlation between true Datives, which we argue to be PPs, and doubled *na*-pronominals, which do not behave as such. In particular, as opposed to true Datives, they can front to the DP edge position. We also give two additional pieces of evidence that can help in distinguishing Genitive from Dative *na*-phrases within the Bulgarian DP. We then turn to a proposal about how to solve the second puzzle in relation to Agr-less DPs where clitic doubling of pronominals occurs.

4.1. Event and Object Nominal and Clitic Doubling

Event/process nominals in Bulgarian, especially unaccusative and unergative ones, allow for clitic doubling of their DP-internal nominal arguments—see (31a), where *na Ivan* is doubled by the clitic *mu*.²⁰ But clitic doubled tonic pronouns are still ungrammatical, as (31b) shows, implying that the clitic cannot save a pronominal subject from a Case conflict.

- (31) a. pristiganeto **mu** **na Ivan**
 arrival_{DEF} him_{CL} of Ivan
 ‘Ivan’s arrival’
- b. *pristiganeto **mu** **na nego**
 arrival_{DEF} him_{CL} of him
 [Intended] ‘his arrival’

²⁰ DP-internal direct or indirect objects cannot be clitic-doubled. Thus, *im* of (i) is not a coreferent clitic doubling *gostite* ‘the guests’ so (i) cannot get the interpretation ‘the presentation of the guests’:

- (i) predstavjaneto *im* *na gostite*
 presentation_{DEF} them_{CL} to guests_{DEF}
 ‘their presentation to the guests’/ *‘the presentation of the guests’

Note that this should in principle be possible given that the *na*-phrase can also realize the subject of a passive nominal like the one in (i). Obviously then, (i) shows that whenever a clitic is present within the DP, it must be interpreted as the DP-subject (including unaccusative and passive subjects, as in (6) and (7) above). This follows from the properties of the possessive clitic as formulated in (11b) and discussed in section 1.2.

However, object nominals (in the sense of Grimshaw 1990), whether inalienable (32a, a'), or alienable (32b, b'), present us with a puzzle: if the DP-subject is spelled out by a strong pronoun then clitic doubling becomes obligatory in order for the structure to be grammatical. Note that the clitic doubled pronoun can appear postnominally or prenominally:

- (32) a. *bratjata* *(mu) **na nego** a'. **na nego** *bratjata* *(mu)
 brothers_{DEF} him_{CL} of him_{ACC} of him_{ACC} brothers_{DEF} him_{CL}
 'his brothers'
- b. *knigite* *(mu) **na nego** b'. **na nego** *knigite* *(mu)
 books_{DEF} him_{CL} of him_{ACC} of him_{ACC} books_{DEF} him_{CL}
 'his books' 'his books'

The prenominal position of the clitic doubled strong pronoun can reasonably be identified with the DP edge, i.e., the absolute initial position of the entire DP, since as shown in (33), the doubled pronoun precedes all of the higher elements in the functional structure of the DP: the quantifier *vsički* 'all', (33a), the demonstrative, (33b), or the numeral, (33c):²¹

- (33) a. **Na tebe** *vsičkite ti* *knigi sa v spalnjata*.
 of you_{ACC} all_{DEF} you_{CL} books are in bedroom_{DEF}
 'All your books are in the bedroom.'
- b. ?**Na nego** *tezi mu* *novi prijatelji simpatici* *li sa ti*?
 of him_{ACC} these him_{CL} new friends nice Q are you_{DAT}
 'Do you like these new friends of his?'
- c. **Na mene** *dvamata mi* *po-malki bratja sa*
 of me_{ACC} two_{DEF} me_{CL} more-young brothers are
arxitekti.
 architects
 'My two younger brothers are architects.'

For the purposes of illustration, (34) gives the structural representation of the DP of (33c) after movement of the pronoun to the edge position indicated here as XP. We make no special assumptions about the projection hosting the clitic, so we label it simply as CLP (see Franks 2001 for a detailed discussion and

²¹ Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1999), Dimitrova-Vulchanova (2000), and Giusti and Stavrou (2008) argue that the preposed position of the doubled (noun or) pronoun is an A-bar position in the left periphery. Reasons not to agree with this conclusion are given below.

Tasseva-Kurktchieva 2004 for a proposal that the clitic heads PossP). In section 4.3. we will further suggest that the clitic and the strong pronoun start out together.²²

- (34) [XP na mene [QP [DemP [DP dvama_i-ta [Num t_i [CLP mi [AP po-malki
[bratja_j [KP_{GEN} t_{na} KP_{ACC} t_{mene}] t_j]]]]]]

There are two reasons why obligatory clitic doubling with pronominal arguments presents a puzzle. First, this is not expected under the analysis in 2.3 since the accusative-marked pronoun would somehow be able to escape a Case conflict, at least as far as object nominals are concerned. Second, obligatory clitic doubling is a property of (strong) pronominal arguments only. Lexical nouns on the other hand can but need not double in either post- or pronominal position, as shown in (35):

- (35) a. bratjata (mu) na Ivan a'. na Ivan bratjata (mu)²³
brothers_{DEF} him_{CL} of Ivan of Ivan brothers_{DEF} him_{CL}
'Ivan's brothers' 'Ivan's brothers'
- b. knigite (mu) na Ivan b'. na Ivan knigite (mu)
books_{DEF} him_{CL} of Ivan of Ivan books_{DEF} him_{CL}
'Ivan's books' 'Ivan's books'

A question arises at this point as to which abstract Case the oblique form of the strong pronoun realizes in view of the above clitic-doubling facts. A possible solution would be that when doubling becomes obligatory the pronoun does not bear Genitive any longer but bears instead a possessive Dative case

²² In (34), QP and DemP are ordered in such a way as to reflect the fact that the universal quantifier precedes the demonstrative, as also seen in (i). The opposite order in (ii) is also possible but with a slightly different interpretation; cf. the English translations. Given this, it might be the case that there is an additional QP position below DemP.

(i) Vsički tezi tvoji bratovčedi kâde da gi nastanja?
all these your cousins where should them_{CL} accommodate_{1SG}
'Where shall I accommodate all these cousins of yours?'

(ii) Tezi vsički tvoji bratovčedi kâde da gi nastanja?
these all your cousins where should them_{CL} accommodate_{1SG}
'Where shall I accommodate all of these cousins of yours?'

²³ A reviewer states that in the absence of Clitic Doubling (35a') becomes ungrammatical. We do not agree with this judgment, although doubling is indeed sometimes preferred with kinship terms and part-whole nouns. The exact conditions remain to be established. Note that adding a doubling clitic in (38b) below does not save the sentence.

akin to the possessive dative of spoken French (Zribi-Hertz 2002), exemplified in (36a). This is only possible with pronouns also under doubling by a possessive adjective, as in (36b).

- (36) a. un ami à moi (Kayne 1975; Zribi-Hertz 2002: 156)
 one friend to me
 'a friend of mine'
- b. **mon** ami/livre à moi
 my friend/book to me
 'my friend/book'

A parallel situation is presented also by German, where a dative 3rd person pronoun or a dative-marked full DP doubles *sein* 'his', as in (37):

- (37) **ihm/dem Karl sein** Buch²⁴
 him_{DAT}/the_{DAT} Karl his book
 'his book / Karl's book'

Bulgarian oblique pronouns could thus be argued to spell out Dative case under doubling only. This suggestion seems plausible at first because, although possessive adjectives in Bulgarian cannot be doubled (cf. **moeto dete na men* '*my child of me'), the parallelism described in section 1.2. shows that the possessive clitic has identical distribution and interpretation to the possessive adjective. Thus, the difference between French/German and Bulgarian would be a matter of formal rather than functional language-specific choice. One might say that the doubling environments of Bulgarian are precisely the contexts that "keep memory" of the genitive-dative syncretism with vestiges of the Dative as inherent case with object nominals. It is, however, dubious that *na mene/na tebe/na nego* can ever be Datives when appearing as DP-subjects or objects. In the next subsection, we present some relevant arguments against this at first tempting conclusion.

²⁴ In (colloquial) German this construction is quite restricted. Roland Hinterhölzl and Peter Paschke (p.c.) tell us that for them the initial dative can be a full DP and (more marginally for Peter Paschke) a 3rd person singular masculine pronoun but no other pronoun. Roehrs (2013: 59) appears to accept 3rd person pl. masculine pronouns as well.

4.2. Strong Pronouns Introduced by *na* do not Behave on a Par with *True Datives*

What we here label “true datives” refers to syntactic properties of DP-internal Goals (indirect objects). So let us now briefly investigate their properties to see whether the above proposal is on the right track.

4.2.1. True Datives are PPs

Quite generally, Goal arguments are not available with object nominals in Bulgarian. For example, *pismoto na decata* can never be interpreted as ‘the letter to the children’,²⁵ only as ‘the children’s letter’, so the Case marker *na* of Bulgarian is not parallel to the French preposition *à*, cf. *la lettre à Jean* ‘the letter to John’. This subsection will review the behavior of Goal arguments in passive nominalizations (see (3) in 1.1. above) as this is the only context where a “true dative” is available.

Goal arguments in Bulgarian have been analyzed as PPs (Slavkov 2008), and even though we cannot enter into this issue, we assume that they are PPs also DP-internally. One general property of PPs in Bulgarian is that they cannot be fronted within the DP (see the ungrammatical (38a) featuring the fronted argument PP *za тази книга* ‘about this book’). This behavior is obviously shared by the PP Goal argument *na decata* ‘to the children’ in (38b), which too cannot be fronted:

- (38) a. *Mladijat žurnalist razkritikuva [DP [PP **za тази книга**]_i
 young_{DEF} journalist criticized_{3PL} [[for this book]
 obštoprietoto mnenie *t_i].²⁶
 standard_{DEF} opinion]
 ‘The young journalist criticized the standard opinion about this
 book.’*

²⁵ To express the dative relation other prepositions are used: *do* ‘to’, e.g., *pismoto do decata* ‘the letter to the children’, *za* ‘for’, e.g., *pomoštta za Ivan* ‘the help to Ivan’, or *kâm* ‘to, towards’, e.g., *priziv kâm prezidenta* ‘appeal to the president’. We are aware of only two object nominals that can combine with dative *na*: *podarâk* ‘present’ and *pametnik* ‘monument’. These may be only apparent exceptions if dative *na* is here selected by a silent participle, e.g., *present meant for N* or *monument dedicated to N*. Thanks to Steven Franks for raising this issue.

²⁶ Although we take KP, not DP, to be the highest projection of the extended nominal projection (with possible other projections above it, to host topic or focus KPs; cf. (34)), here we use the label DP rather than KP for ease of reference.

- (38) b. *Učitelite razkritikuvaxa [DP [PP **na decata**]_i
 teachers_{DEF} criticized_{3PL} [[to children_{DEF}]
 bezrazbornoto razdavane na učebni materiali t_i (ot
 indiscriminate_{DEF} distribution of study materials (by
 sponsorite)].
 sponsors_{DEF})]
 ‘The teachers criticized the random distribution of study
 materials to the children (by the sponsors).’

Compare now (38) with the grammatical (39), featuring a possessor *na*-phrase in (39a) and a DP subject of an event nominal in (39b), both of which can front:

- (39) a. Učitelite šte pokanjat [DP [PP **na decata**]_i [Possessive]
 teachers_{DEF} will invite_{3PL} of children_{DEF}
 roditelite (im) t_i .
 parents_{DEF} them_{CL}
 ‘The teachers will invite the children’s parents.’
- b. Komissijata ne odobri [DP [PP **na Ivan**]_i [DP-subject]
 committee_{DEF} not approved_{3SG} of Ivan
 slaboto (mu) predstavjane t_i .
 weak_{DEF} him_{CL} presentation_{DEF}
 ‘The committee did not approve the Ivan’s weak performance.’

If the proposal developed in section 2.3 is extended to lexical possessors with object nominals, then we may generalize that all KP Genitives can front while PP Goals cannot. This difference is unexpected if the position attracting the fronted phrase were a Topic or a Focus A' position, since fronting should be possible with all sorts of phrases, contrary to fact. We take it as confirmed then that the DP edge position is accessible to Genitive arguments only and that it qualifies as an A-position (*pace* Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti 1999).

4.2.2. True Datives Cannot be Rendered as Clitics

Another difference between genitives and true datives regards clitic behavior. As already mentioned in section 1.2, Goal (Dative) *na*-phrases, in contrast to (subject) Genitive ones, cannot be rendered by a clitic (nor by a possessive adjective, which we do not illustrate here): in (40b), *im* ‘them_{CL}’ must refer to *knigi* ‘books’ of (40a). Note moreover that *im* and the *na*-phrase *na decata* ‘to children_{DEF}’ cannot swap interpretation without inducing ungrammaticality. This gives us another argument that the type of Case the possessive clitic (and

adjective) realize cannot correspond to a true Dative—see also Franks and King 2000: 276f—but must correspond instead to a structural Genitive.

- (40) a. *razdavaneto na knigi na decata (ot učitelite)*
 distributing_{DEF} of books to children_{DEF} (by teachers_{DEF})
 ‘the distribution of books to the children (by the teachers)’
- b. *razdavaneto im na decata (ot učitelite)*
 distributing_{DEF} them_{CL} to children_{DEF} (by teachers_{DEF})
 ‘the distribution of them (=books) to the children (by the teachers)’
- c. **razdavaneto im na podarâci (ot učitelite)*
 distributing_{DEF} them_{CL} of presents (by teachers_{DEF})
 [Intended] ‘the distribution of presents to them (the children) (by the teachers)’

4.2.3 Different Behavior with Respect to *na*-Drop

Another phenomenon which distinguishes between Dative and Genitive in Bulgarian is what has come to be called *na*-drop (Vakareliyska 1994). As noted by Vakareliyska and discussed by Slavkov (2008), unquestionable Goal (and affected) datives appear to allow omission of the preposition *na* under clitic left dislocation. See (41–42) from colloquial Bulgarian:

- (41) (Na) *nego ne sa mu kazali za tova.*
 to him_{ACC} not have_{3PL} him_{CL} told_{PRT.PL} about that
 ‘They haven’t told him about that.’
- (42) (Na) *nego včera mu sčupixa očilata.*
 to him yesterday him_{CL} broke_{3PL} glasses_{DEF}
 ‘They broke his glasses on him.’

Na-drop is however impossible in non-affected contexts, which Cinque and Krapova (2009) have identified as Genitive, namely, those in which a clitic possessor is moved from within the DP alongside a full oblique pronominal, as follows:

- (43) *(Na) *nego ti poluči li mu_i [pismoto t_{CL} t_{pronoun}]?*
 of him_{ACC} you_{NOM} received_{2SG} Q him_{CL} letter_{DEF}
 ‘Did you receive his letter?’

Whatever the explanation for the phenomenon of *na*-drop, we take the contrast between (41–42) and (43) to show that *na*, as a functional Case assigning preposition, cannot be deleted under movement of the oblique pronominal from within the DP headed by *pismoto* (see the next subsection), although this appears to be possible under clitic left dislocation involving a true PP headed by a silent preposition *na*.

There are many languages in which only Genitives can be extracted. Such is the case in Romance, where only Genitives which correspond to the external argument realized by Italian *di* ‘of’ + DP/*ne* can extract (cf. Cinque 1980, 2014). In Cinque and Krapova (2009) we discussed evidence showing the same to hold in Bulgarian in spite of the morphological syncretism between Genitive and Dative.

The evidence provided in sections 4.2.1–4.2.3 leads us to discard the hypothesis that *na*-phrases can ever be PPs within the DP. Although more research is needed to confirm this conclusion, so far it emerges that arguments of object nominals have the syntax of Genitive arguments of nominalizations rather than that of their Goal argument.

4.3. Back to the Puzzle

The puzzling possibility of spelling out the DP subject/possessor of an object nominal with a clitic doubled strong pronoun is compounded by the fact that clitic doubling is not obligatory with lexical DPs. Recall (32) repeated here as (44a, b); see also Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1999), Giusti and Stavrou (2008):

- (44) a. *bratjata/ knigite *(mu) na nego*
 brothers_{DEF}/ books_{DEF} him_{CL} of him_{ACC}
 ‘his brothers/books’
- b. *bratjata/ knigite (mu) na Ivan*
 brothers_{DEF}/ books_{DEF} him_{CL} of Ivan
 ‘Ivan’s brothers/books’

At this point we do not have a definitive explanation for the contrast between (44a) and (44b), although obligatory doubling with pronominals is reminiscent of Kayne’s (2001: 192) observation that ‘pronominal arguments that are structurally Case-marked in French must be doubled by a clitic’.²⁷

²⁷ Also see the obligatory clitic doubling with pronouns in Romanian (ia) and Spanish (ib) clauses:

- (45) Jean *(me) connaît moi.
 Jean me_{CL} knows me
 'Jean knows me.'

We will tentatively assume, following Kayne (2001: 192), that the clitic and its pronominal double are merged together in argument position as a "big KP" (cf. Uriagereka's 1995: 81 or Franks and Rudin's 2005 "big DP"),²⁸ as shown in (46). Translated into our terms, this means that the clitic is merged in the Spec of our KP_{GEN} of (22) and subsequently raises to its post-determiner position stranding [*na nego*], which may also front (possibly, as a remnant) to the edge of the entire KP; cf. (47):

- (46) [KP_{GEN} mu [na nego]]
 him_{CL} of him
- (47) a. knigite mu_k [*t_k* [na nego]]
 books_{DEF} him_{CL} of him
 b. [*t_k* [na nego]]_i knigite mu_k *t_i*

The Bulgarian pronominal clitic doubling in (46–47) recalls the obligatory doubling of Genitive possessive pronouns in Venetian (48),²⁹ in the Molise dialect of Capracotta (49), and in Greek (50):³⁰

- (48) a. *(so) mama **de eo**
 his mother of him
 'his mother'

-
- (i) a. Am vāzut-*(o) pe ea. (Steriade 1980: 283)
 have seen-her P her
 'I saw her.'
- b. *(La) vió a ella. (Mayer 2003: 15)
 (her) saw_{3SG} P her
 'He/she saw her.'

²⁸ The idea that they belong to a big DP receives some support from the fact that *mu* and *nego* (or *Ioan*) necessarily share the same referential index, being thus exempt from a Condition B (or C) violation (cf. Roehrs 2013: section 3.4).

²⁹ In Venetian (and other Veneto dialects) this doubling is obligatory with kinship terms.

³⁰ The structure in (46) will plausibly carry over to Venetian (i) and Greek (ii):

- (i) [DP *(to) [de ti]]
 (ii) [DP *(mu) [emena]]

- (48) b. **(to) zio de ti*
 your uncle of you
 ‘your uncle’
- (49) *’sɔr*(-ma) ’meja* (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005: 718)
 sister(-my) my
 ‘my sister’
- (50) *to vivlio *(mu) emena* (cf. Giusti and Stavrou 2008: 395)
 the book *me_{CL.GEN} me_{GEN}*
 ‘my book’

The question is now why the possessor of an object nominal, unlike the subject of an event/process nominal, should also be pronominal, without causing a case conflict between the Nominative checked in Spec,Agr_sP and the Accusative assigned by *na*.

We submit that this is due to the fact that, in the spirit of Davies and Dubinsky (2003), object nominals (i.e., representational nouns such as *book* in its informational reading but also result nominals such as *victory*, *triumph*)—as opposed to event/process nominals—do not have true arguments in Grimshaw’s (1990) sense, but rather simply participants. So, for example, *John*, the “possessor” in *John’s book*, can be interpreted as an Agent (‘the book that John wrote’), as a genuine possessor (‘the book that John owns’), but also as someone in “some contextually determined relation” (cf. Higginbotham’s 1983: 397f “Relation R”) with the book (e.g., ‘the book John has to review as opposed to the one I have to review’). As Tasseva-Kurktchieva (2004) also argued for Bulgarian, participants have semantic θ -relations in their lexical-conceptual structure, but they do not map directly to the syntactic structure. This makes it plausible to assume that such “participants,” as opposed to arguments of event/process nominals, are not matched with Agr_sP, Agr_oP, which, consequently, can simply fail to be projected. If, like any other DP participant, DPs also need to be Case licensed, then a Case will have to be assigned. This we take to be structural Genitive/Possessive Case. It then follows that with object nominals no Case conflict will arise.

5. Conclusion

It is generally believed that there is a single morphological Dative Case in Bulgarian, which underwent historical syncretism with the Genitive. In this paper we have tried to show that at an abstract syntactic level one still needs to distinguish between Genitive and Dative. In our view, all languages have

the same abstract Cases but differ in terms of which morphological cases they spell out and in which types of DPs abstract cases emerge.

University of Venice
 krapova@unive.it
 cinque@unive.it

References

- Béjar, Susana and Diane Massam. (1999) "Multiple case checking". *Syntax* 2: 65–79.
- Benveniste, Emile. (1966) "Pour l'analyse des fonctions casuelles: le génitif latin". Emile Benveniste, ed. *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, 1. Paris: Gallimard, 140–48.
- Bošković, Željko. (1997) *The syntax of non-finite complementation: An economy approach*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Caha, Pavel. (2009) *The nanosyntax of case*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Tromsø: CASTL.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. (1980) "On extraction from NP in Italian". *Journal of Italian linguistics* 5: 47–99. [(1995) Guglielmo Cinque, ed. *Italian syntax and universal grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 7–53.]
- . (2014) "Extraction from DP in Italian revisited". Enoch O. Aboh, Maria Teresa Guasti and Ian Roberts, eds. *Locality*. New York: Oxford University Press, 86–103.
- Cinque, Guglielmo and Iliyana Krapova. (2009) "The two "possessor raising" constructions of Bulgarian". Steven L. Franks, Vrinda Chidambaram, and Brian D. Joseph, eds. *A linguist's linguist: Studies in South Slavic linguistics in honor of E. Wayles Browne*. Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publishers, 123–48.
- Citko, Barbara. (2004) "On headed, headless, and light-headed relatives". *Natural language and linguistic theory* 22(1): 95–126.
- Davies, William and Stanley William Dubinsky. (2003) "On extraction from NPs". *Natural language and linguistic theory* 21(1): 1–37.
- Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Mila. (2000) "Possessive constructions and possessive clitics in the Bulgarian DP". Frits Beukema and Marcel den Dikken, eds. *Clitic phenomena in European languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 121–46.
- Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Mila and Giuliana Giusti. (1999) "Possessors in the Bulgarian DP". Mila Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Lars Hellan, eds. *Topics in South Slavic syntax and semantics*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 163–92.

- Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Mila and Valentin Vulchanov. (2010) "An article on the rise. Contact-induced change and the rise and fall of N-to-D movement". Anne Bretbarth, Christopher Lucas, Sheila Watts, and David Willis, eds. *Continuity and change in grammar*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 335–54.
- Franks, Steven L. (1995) *Parameters of Slavic morphosyntax*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . (2001) "The internal structure of Slavic NPs, with special reference to Bulgarian". Adam Przepiórkowski and Piotr Bański, eds. *Generative linguistics in Poland: Syntax and morphosyntax*. Warsaw: Instytut Podstaw Informatyki PAN, 53–69.
- . (2017) *Syntax and spell-out in Slavic*. Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publishers.
- Franks, Steven L. and Tracy Holloway King. (2000) *Clitics in Slavic*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Franks, Steven L. and Catherine Rudin. (2005) "Bulgarian clitics as K⁰ heads". Steven L. Franks, Frank Y. Gladney, and Mila Tasseva-Kurkchieva, eds. *Formal approaches to Slavic linguistics: The South Carolina meeting, 2004*. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Slavic Publications, 104–16.
- Giusti, Giuliana and Melita Stavrou. (2008) "Possessive clitics in the DP. Doubling or dislocation?" Dalina Kallulli and Liliane Tasmowski, eds. *Clitic doubling in the Balkan languages*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 389–433.
- Grano, Thomas. (2006) "Me and her" meets "he and I": Case, person, and linear ordering in English coordinated pronouns. Honors Thesis, Stanford University. (<http://pages.iu.edu/~tgrano/uht.pdf>)
- Grimshaw, Jane. (1990) *Argument structure*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Guz, Wojciech. (2017) "Resumptive pronouns in Polish *co* relative clauses". *Journal of Slavic linguistics* 25(1): 95–130.
- Harizanov, Boris. (2011) "NonInitiality within spell-out domains: Unifying the post-syntactic behavior of Bulgarian dative clitics". Nicholas LaCara, Anie Thompson, and Matthew A. Tucker, eds. *Morphology at Santa Cruz: Papers in Honor of Jorge Hankamer*. Santa Cruz, CA: Linguistics Research Center, 1–30.
- . (2014) "Clitic doubling at the syntax-morphophonology interface: A-movement and morphological merger in Bulgarian". *Natural language and linguistic theory* 32(4): 1033–88.
- Higginbotham, James. (1983) "Logical form, binding, and nominals". *Linguistic inquiry* 14: 395–420.
- Kayne, Richard S. (1975) *French syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- . (1980) "Extensions of binding and case-marking". *Linguistic inquiry* 11: 75–96.

- Kayne, Richard S. (2001) "A note on clitic doubling in French". Guglielmo Cinque and Giampaolo Salvi, eds. *Current studies in Italian syntax. Essays offered to Lorenzo Renzi*. Amsterdam: Elsevier-North Holland, 189–212.
- . (2002) "On some prepositions that look DP-internal: English of and French *de*". *Catalan journal of linguistics* 1: 71–115.
- . (2004) "Prepositions as probes". Adriana Belletti, ed. *Structures and beyond*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . (2005) *Movement and silence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Krapova, Iliyana and Guglielmo Cinque. (2013) "The case for genitive case in Bulgarian". Lilia Schürcks, Anastasia Giannakidou, Urtzi Etxeberria, eds. *The nominal structure of Slavic and beyond*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 237–74.
- Krapova, Iliyana and Tsvetana Dimitrova. (2016) "The genitive-dative syncretism in the history of Bulgarian: Towards an analysis". *Studi slavistici* XII: 181–208.
- Manzini, Maria Rita and Leonardo Savoia. (2005) *I dialetti italiani e romanci. Morfosintassi generativa*. 3 vols. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.
- Markova, Angelina. (2007) *Deverbal nominals in Bulgarian: A syntactic analysis*. M.A. thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- Mayer, Elisabeth. (2003) "Optional direct object clitic doubling in Limeño Spanish". Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King, eds. *Proceedings of the LFG06 Conference*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Meillet, Antoine. (1897) *Recherches sur l'emploi du génitif-accusatif en vieux slave*. Paris: É. Bouillon.
- Minčeva, Angelina. (1964) *Razvoj na datelnija pritežatelen padež v bǎlgarskija ezik*. Sofija: Izdatelstvo na BAN.
- Nestle, Eberhard. (1904) *Hē kainē diathēkē*. London: British and Foreign Bible Society.
- Pancheva, Roumyana. (2004) "Balkan possessive clitics: The problem of case and category". Olga Mišeska Tomić, ed. *Balkan syntax and semantics*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 175–219.
- Roehrs, Dorian. (2013) "Possessives as extended projections". *Working papers in Scandinavian syntax* 91: 37–112
- Slavkov, Nikolay. (2008) "Formal consequences of dative clitic doubling in Bulgarian ditransitives: An applicative analysis". *Journal of Slavic linguistics* 16(1): 139–66.
- Steriade, Donka. (1980) "Clitic doubling in the Romanian WH constructions and the analysis of topicalization". *Papers from the Sixteenth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, 282–97.
- Szabolcsi, Anna. (1994) "The noun phrase". Ferenc Kiefer and Katalin E. Kiss, eds. *The syntactic structure of Hungarian*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 179–274. [*Syntax and Semantics* 27.]

- Taraldsen, Knut Tarald. (1981) "Case-conflict in Norwegian topicalization". *NELS 11*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts, Graduate Linguistic Student Association, 377–98.
- Tasseva-Kurkchieva, Mila. (2004) "Possessives, Theta Roles, and the Internal Structure of Bulgarian DPs". Olga Arnaudova, E. Wayles Browne, María Luisa Rivero, and Danijela Stojanović, eds. *Formal approaches to Slavic linguistics: The Ottawa meeting, 2003*. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Slavic Publications, 251–69.
- Uriagereka, Juan. (1995) "Aspects of the syntax of clitic placement in Western Romance". *Linguistic inquiry* 26: 79–123.
- Vakareliyska, Cynthia. (1994) "Na-drop in Bulgarian". *Journal of Slavic linguistics* 2(1): 121–50.
- Vogel, Ralf. (2001) "Case conflict in German free-relative constructions: An optimality-theoretic treatment". Gereon Müller and Wolfgang Sternefeld, eds. *Competition in syntax*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 341–75.
- Zribi-Hertz, Anne. (2002) "On the asymmetrical but regular properties of French possessive DPs". Martine Coene and Yves D'Hulst, eds. *From NP to DP: the expression of possession in noun phrases*, vol. 2. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 141–63.