

The Case for Genitive Case in Bulgarian

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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 and 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 extract from Bulgarian DPs is the one corresponding to the structural subject, introduced by the genitive preposition *na*. In particular, no other argument, including the theme argument expressing the direct object introduced by the genitive preposition *na*, and the goal argument introduced by what is arguably the dative preposition *na*, can be extracted.

Third, given that in the construction involving extraction 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 extract.

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.

1. The two ‘possessor raising’ constructions of Bulgarian. In previous work (Cinque and 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 subsequently undergoes raising to a clausal clitic position. The two types are illustrated in (1)a and b:

- (1) a. [Tja **mu** sčupi [prăsta/glavata/hatăra]]
 she him_{dat} broke.3sg finger-the/head-the/desire-the
 ‘She broke his finger/his head/his desire’
- b. [Az **mu**_j poznavam [priateljката/xarakterata/săčinenijata t_j]]
 I him_{dat} know.1sg girlfriend-the/character-the/works-the
 ‘I know his girlfriend/his character/his works’

A number of interpretive properties distinguish the two constructions. The first is confined to inalienable possession (and its extensions)¹ and is available only for predicates imposing a

¹ As noted in the literature (see, for example, Vergnaud and 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:

benefactive/malefactive interpretation (i.e. affecting positively or negatively the external possessor). The second is compatible 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

1.1 Definiteness requirements. Consider first the definiteness restriction holding of DP-internal possessive clitics and 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 and Giusti 1999,169; Franks 2000, 59ff, Franks and King 2000,275, 282, Moskovsky 2004,221f, Stateva 2002, 660, Schürcks and Wunderlich 2003,121):

- (2) a. Tja ščupi [malkija/tozi/*edin **mu** präst]
 she broke.3sg little-the/this/a his finger
 ‘She broke his little finger/this finger of his’
 b. Az poznavam [novata/tazi/*edna **mu** prijatelka]
 I him_{dat} know.1sg new-the/this/a 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 DP expressing the inalienable body-part via a non movement mechanism:²

- (3) a. Tja mu ščupi [edin präst]
 she him broke.3s a finger
 ‘She broke a finger of his’
 b. *Az mu poznavam [edna prijatelka].
 I him know a friend

1.2 Idiomatic interpretations. A second piece of evidence distinguishing the two cases, is represented by idioms. As in Romance (where they can also be taken as evidence for the non movement nature of the corresponding construction), Bulgarian possesses idioms with external possessive clitics which

- (i) a. Al tavolo, qualcuno **gli** ha segato tutte le gambe
 to.the table someone it_{dat} has sawn all the legs
 b. *La table, quelqu’un **lui** a scié toutes les pattes (Lamiroy 2003,259 citing Leclère 1976)
 the table, someone it_{dat} has sawn all the legs
 ‘The table, someone has sawn off all its legs’

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

² Among the 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, chapter 4), and Predication (Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1992).

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, are either ungrammatical, as (4)b, or lack the idiomatic reading, as in (5b):³

- (4)a Ti **mi** xodiš **po nervite**
 you me_{dat} walk.2sg on nerves.the
 lit. 'You are walking on my nerves' ('You are getting on my nerves')
- b *Ti xodiš **po [nervite mi]**
 you walk.2sg on nerves.the me_{dat}
- (5) a. Ti **mu** ubi **konja** napravvo
 you him killed horse really
 lit. 'You really killed his horse' ('You shocked him completely')
- b. Ti ubi **konja mu** napravvo.
 you killed horse-the his really
 'You really killed his horse'

Such facts suggest that in this case there is no movement relation between the external possessive dative clitic and the DP expressing inalienable possession.

1.3 (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,⁴ inside a PP, cf. (6), which is an island for extraction also in Bulgarian, as shown by (7):

³ 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)

⁴ See the analogous pattern in Italian based on observations in Kayne (1977,159f), indicating that no movement has taken place (cf. also Cinque and 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'

(6) a Toj **mi** se izkrjaska [PP v [DP **uxoto**]]
 he me_{dat} refl shouted.3sg in ear.the
 'He shouted in my ear'

b Az **i** se izsmjax [PP v [DP **litseto**]]
 I her_{dat} refl laughed.1sg in face.the
 'I laughed in her face'

(7) ***Na kogo** govori [PP **sās** [DP **zetja** ___]]
 of whom spoke.2sg with son-in-law.the
 '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.the
 'I think of her eyes'

b *Az ne **ti** zavisja [PP **ot** [DP **parite** ___]]
 I not you_{dat} depend.1sg from money.the
 '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 and 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 to the external base-generated clitic, the two clitics differ as to 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.

1) The first piece of evidence comes from the fact that a DP-internal clitic can only correspond to the subject of the DP (in particular, it cannot correspond to a Dative indirect object of the noun). In section 3, this state of affairs will be interpreted as pointing to an account of the clitic as a Genitive case bearer, relying on Benveniste's (1971) original insight that Latin clausal Nominative and Accusative are rendered in the corresponding deverbal nouns as Genitive, and that oblique arguments, such as those bearing an inherent Dative Case, cannot be realized as genitives.

2) The second and most compelling piece of evidence comes from extraction. As we will see in section 4, only genitive *na* 'of'-phrases corresponding to the subject of the DP can be extracted in Bulgarian, whence the conclusion that the corresponding clitic which is demonstrably extracted from the DP must be genitive.

Before we present the evidence mentioned in 1) and 2), 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 2. 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 seen that a careful examination of what counts as the subject of each class of nouns will show the correctness of the hypothesis with respect to cases that could have been otherwise taken as counterexamples.

2. Singling out the subject of the Bulgarian DP

2.1 Classes of nouns

Following the basic classification of nominals proposed in Cinque (1980), we list the (basic) classes of nouns in Bulgarian on the basis of which th-role is associated with the subject position of each class. To determine which of the arguments of the noun qualifies as the subject, we take the following two converging properties as diagnostic:

- (9) (a) only subjects can be expressed by a possessive adjective (*moe* ‘my’, *negovo* ‘his/her’ etc.).
 (b) only subjects fail to be expressed by *na* plus a tonic pronoun (*mene* ‘me’, *tebe* ‘you’, *nego* ‘him’, etc.).⁵

The relevance of these diagnostics will be immediately obvious if we consider that non pronominal *na*-phrases in the Bulgarian DP are not unambiguously subjects, given that, as we will see, they can also introduce structural direct and indirect objects.

Within the class of derived nominals that correspond to transitive verbs, three different subclasses need to be distinguished.

2.1.1 Nouns related to transitive psych verbs:

Our first class comprises nouns like those in (10), related to transitive psych verbs:

- (10) *omraza* ‘hate’, *želanie* ‘desire’, *spomen* ‘memory’, *ljubov* ‘love’, *mnenie* ‘opinion’, etc.

As can be seen from the examples that follow by applying the above diagnostics, what qualifies as the subject of such nominals is the Experiencer, while the Theme (or Subject Matter - Pesetsky 1995) is expressed through a prepositional phrase.

- (11) a. *negovata omraza/omrazata na Ivan/*na nego* (Experiencer)
 his-the hatred/hatred-the of Ivan/of him
 ‘his hatred’/‘Ivan’s hatred/his hatred’
 b. *omrazata kām ženite/tjax/*na ženite/tjax* (Theme/Subject Matter)
 hatred-the for women-the/them/of women-the/them
 ‘the hatred for the women/them’
 c. *tjaxnata omraza = omrazata na ženite* (Experiencer)
 their-the hatred = hatred-the of women-the
 ‘their hatred’ ‘the women’s hatred’
 *‘the hatred for them’ *‘the hatred for the women’
 d. *negovata omraza kām neja/omrazata na Ivan/*na nego kām neja* (Experiencer/Theme)
 his-the hatred (for her)/hatred-the of Ivan/of him (for her)
 ‘his hatred (for her)’/‘Ivan’s/his hatred (for her)’

⁵ On a possible rationale for this second diagnostic of subjecthood, see Cinque (2010).

The nouns in (10) do not admit passivization. For example, the Theme/Subject Matter argument introduced by the preposition *kām* in (11) cannot become the subject of the DP, as shown by the fact that it can be rendered neither as a *na*-phrase nor as a possessive adjective (cf. (11)b and c).

2.1.2 Obligatorily passive nouns. A second class comprises derived nouns corresponding to (non-psych) transitive verbs (cf. (12)), which have their Theme argument in subject position. Such nominals typically end in *-ne* and are usually analyzed as process nouns with an event reading or as complex event nominals in Grimshaw's (1990) terminology (Rappaport 2000, Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Mitkovska 2006, Popova 2006, Markova 2007). As discussed by Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Mitkovska (2006), such nominals are in principle ungrammatical with overt realization of only the external argument, while the Theme as the single available argument can be expressed by a possessive adjective or a *na*-phrase. These two options are illustrated in (13a,b). Crucially, such nominals do not accept a *na*-phrase containing a tonic pronoun; the latter, as stated in (9b) above, cannot function as a subject.⁶ See (13c):

(12) *pečene* 'baking', *oprazvane* 'emptying', *prepisvane* 'copying', *zalavjane* 'capture', *uništoženie/uništožavane* 'destruction', *rešavane* 'solving/solution', *otkrivane* 'discovering/discovery', *objasnjavane* 'explaining/explanation':

- (13) a. *negovoto zalavjane* (Theme)
 his-the capture
 'his capture'
 b. *zalavjaneto na vojnika*
 capture-the of soldier-the
 'the capture of the soldier'
 c. **zalavjaneto na nego*
 capture-the of him
 'his capture'

The obligatory object reading of the *-ne* nominals illustrated above can be analyzed as a consequence of their obligatory passive nature. Such an explanation seems plausible for two reasons: first, the Agent reading of the *na*-DP in (13b) is suppressed (i.e., the sentence cannot mean 'the soldier/he has captured someone', but only that 'the soldier/he has been captured by someone'), and secondly, the merger of an Agent in subject position (e.g. the possessive adjective *našeto* 'our' in (14a)) produces an ungrammatical result, indicating that with such nominals, the only option for an Agent is to be expressed by an adjunct *ot* 'by'-PP, as in (14b).⁷

- (14) a. **našeto zalavjane na vojnika/na nego*
 our-the capture of soldier-the/of him
 'our capture of the soldier/of him'
 b. *zalavjaneto na vojnika ot vruga*
 'the capture of the soldier by the enemy'.

⁶ The complex event nominals in this class (typically although not exclusively ending in *-ne*, e.g., *otkrivane* 'discovering') are often seen in opposition to the corresponding result nominals (typically but not exclusively ending in *-(n)ie*, e.g. *otkritie* 'discovery'), on which see below. For a finer-grained analysis of the *-ne* ~ *-(n)ie* contrast (into gerundive vs. derived nominal constructions) see Markova (2007) and fn.9 here.

⁷ As noted in Grimshaw (1990), event nominals cannot be pluralized. This restriction is obeyed by all of the nominals in (12), as shown, e.g., by the ungrammaticality of (i):

- (i) **zalavjanijata na vojnici*
 capturing-pl-the of soldiers
 'the captures of soldiers'

An additional Dative (Goal) argument can also be introduced with some of the obligatorily passive *-ne* nominals, such as *razdavane* ‘giving out’, *predstavjane* ‘introducing/introduction’, *vrāštane* ‘giving back’. In (15)a, for example, alongside the (passive) subject, a second *na*-phrase is used to render a Dative object. As with the other obligatory passives, the optional Agent can only appear as an *ot* ‘by’-phrase, never as a possessive adjective or a *na*-phrase. See (15b). Moreover, there is an important limitation on the reference of the possessive adjective: it can only render the passive subject and never the Dative object. See (15c,d). Finally, as illustrated by the contrast between (15)e and (15f), this variant of the obligatory passive nominalization also conforms to the generalization in (9b), as the passive subject cannot be rendered with a *na* + a tonic pronoun: ‘of them’ can correspond to a Dative argument, (15e), but not to a Theme argument, (15f).⁸

- (15)a Razdavaneto na knigi na detsata (ot učitelite) e zabraneno.
distribution-the of books to children-the (by teachers-the) is forbidden
‘The distribution of books to children by the teachers is forbidden’
- b *Tjaxnoto/na učitelite razdavane na knigi na detsata e zabraneno.
their-the/of teachers-the distribution of books to children-the is forbidden
‘Their distribution of books to the children is forbidden’
- c Tjaxnoto/*na učitelite razdavane na detsata e zabraneno.
their-the/ of teachers-the distribution to children-the is forbidden
‘Their distribution (of the books) to the children is forbidden’
- d *Tjaxnoto razdavane na knigi e zabraneno.
their-the distribution of books is forbidden
‘Their (=to the children) distribution of books is forbidden’
- e Razdavaneto na knigi **na tjax** (a ne na nas) e zabraneno.
distribution-the of books to them (and not to us) is forbidden
‘The distribution of books to them (not to us) is forbidden’
- f *Razdavaneto **na tjax** (a ne na spisanijata) na decata e zabraneno.
distribution-the of them (and not of magazines-the to children-the) is forbidden
‘The distribution of them (= the books) (and not of the magazines) to children is forbidden’.

2.1.3 Ambiguous transitive nouns (active or passive). A third class of derived nouns corresponding to transitive verbs is ambiguous between the first two classes, in the sense that such nouns can either take simultaneously a subject (in this case, Agent) and an object (Theme), in a transitive active configuration, as in (16a), or just a subject (Theme) in a passive configuration, with an optional *ot* ‘by’-phrase, as in (16b) below. This group typically features nominals ending in *-nie*⁹,

⁸ The bracketed alternatives in (15e) and (15f) are meant to enforce the contrastive reading on the tonic pronoun in approximation of its natural use in the contemporary language.

⁹ There is a lot of controversy in the literature regarding the status of *-(n)ie* nominals (or more generally, the “Voice *-ie* nominals”, as is the label suggested in Markova 2007 to indicate that they derive from past perfective participles). Some authors have pointed out (Rappaport 2000, Popova 2006) that the complexity of this class resides in the potential ambiguity of some of its representatives in terms of the event vs. result opposition. While it is beyond the scope of our paper to discuss details bearing on classification and semantic status, we just point out that some *-(n)ie* nominals at least (e.g., *opisanie* ‘description’, *otkritie* ‘discovery’) are ambiguous between an event and a result interpretation. In the latter case they take just a subject (Agent) and can be pluralized in accordance with the well-known test proposed by Grimshaw (1990). Cf. (i):

- (i) a. Otkritijata na Ivan
discoveries-the of Ivan ‘Ivan’s discoveries’ (Agent)
b. Opisanijata na Ivan
descriptions of Ivan ‘Ivan’s descriptions’ (Agent)

The difference with the complex event interpretation of the same nominals emerges more clearly in contrasts like the following:

- (ii) a. *Čestite opisanija na Ivan (Agent)
frequent-the descriptions of Ivan

such as *objasnenie* ‘explanation’, *rešenie* ‘solution’, *opisanie* ‘description’, *narušenie* ‘violation’, *povišenie* ‘raise’, etc.^{10,11}

-
- b. Čestoto opisanie/*čestite opisaniija *(na tozi problem) kato nerešim (Theme)
 frequent-the description/*frequent-the descriptions-the of this problem as unsolvable
 ‘the frequent description of this problem as being unsolvable’

Only complex event nominals, (iib), which cannot be made plural and in which the Theme argument cannot be omitted, are modifiable by aspectual adjectives like *frequent* (see Grimshaw 1990, chapter 3; more examples and a discussion can be found in Markova 2007). Result nominals, on the other hand, can be pluralized but cannot be modified by *frequent*; (iia) is ungrammatical under the intended reading in which *Ivan* is the Agent. Moreover, as shown by (iiia-b), the ambiguity in terms of event vs. result is also relevant for some of those *-nie* nouns (e.g., *rešenie* ‘decision’, *objasnenie* ‘explanation’) which have a corresponding *-ne* counterpart (*rešavane* ‘solving’, *objasnjavane* ‘explaining’). The latter is perhaps better analyzable as a gerundive rather than as a derived nominal in that it is always bound to a complex event nominal interpretation, as indicated by the impossibility of pluralization, (iva-b).

- (iii) a. rešenieto/objasnenieto na тази теорема от (страна на) математиките (Theme, Agent by-phrase)
 solution-the/explanation-the of this theorem by/on the part of mathematicians-the
 ‘the solution/explanation of this theorem by (on the part of) the mathematicians’
 b. rešenijata/objasnenijata na matematikite
 solutions/explanations of mathematicians-the
 ‘the solutions/explanations of the mathematicians’
 (iv) a. rešavaneto/objasnjavaneto na тази теорема от математиките
 solving-the/explaining-the of this theorem by mathematicians-the
 ‘the solving/explanation of this theorem by the mathematicians’
 b. *rešavanijata/objasnjavanijata na тази теорема
 solving-the-pl/explaining-the-pl of this theorem

However, the *-ne~-(n)ie* contrast often breaks down in that some *-(n)ie* nouns, like *nakazanie* ‘punishment’, even though they also have a *-ne* counterpart, can only belong to the complex event type, as illustrated by the paradigm in (v). Yet others, like e.g. *otkritie* ‘discovery’ show the behavior of result nominals, and are thus in clear opposition to their analogues ending in *-ne* (*otkrivane* ‘discovering’), which are complex event nominals, cf. (vi).

- (v) a. nakazvaneto na detsata ot učitelite e loša praktika
 punishing-the of children-the by teachers-the is bad practice
 ‘The punishing/punishment of children is bad practice’
 b. *nakazaniyata na učitelite (Agent)
 punishments-the of teachers-the
 c. nakazaniyata na detsata ot učitelite sa loša praktika. (Theme)
 punishments-the of children-the by teachers-the are bad practice
 ‘Children’s punishments by teachers are a bad practice’
 (vi) a. otkrivaneto na penitsilina ot Fleming
 discovering-the of the penicillin by Fleming
 ‘Fleming’s discovery of the penicilina’
 b. *otkritieto na penitsilina ot Fleming
 discovery-the of penicillin-the by Fleming
 c. otkritijata na Fleming
 discoveries-the of Fleming
 ‘Fleming’s discoveries’

Obviously, as also pointed out by the few authors that have tried to tackle the *ne-~-(n)ie* distinction, the two classes are not homogeneous. For each class however, we can determine precisely, by applying the available, which nominal counts as subject, an issue at the heart of the current paper.

¹⁰ These nominals cannot take a Dative argument and in that respect contrast with the previous group of obligatory passives. Cf. (i) and (15a) in the text:

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

¹¹ For our purposes picture nouns such as *kartina* ‘painting’, *snimka* ‘photo’, etc.) may be thought of as a special case of this third group, i.e. as being ambiguous between an active and a passive structure. The only difference

- (16) a. *na Ivan opisanieto na novodošlata*
of Ivan description-the of newcomer-fem-the
'Ivan's description of the newly arrived lady'
b. *opisanieto na novodošlata (ot Ivan)*
description-the of newcomer-fem-the (by Ivan)
'the description of the newly arrived lady by Ivan'

As expected, of the two *na*-phrases of (16a) *na Ivan* but not *na novodošlata* can be rendered with a possessive adjective which indicates that the former but not the latter is the subject. See (17a,b,c). The ungrammaticality of (17d) further illustrates the diagnostic given above, i.e., that the subject *na*-phrase cannot contain a pronominal:

- (17) a. *negovoto opisanie na novodošlata*
his-the description of the newcomer-fem-the
b. **nejnoto opisanie na Ivan*
her-the description of Ivan
intended interpretation: 'the newcomer's description by Ivan'
c. **na Ivan nejnoto opisanie*
of Ivan her-the description
d. **na nego opisanieto na novodošlata*
of him description-the of newcomer-fem-the

Quite different is the case of (16b) where *na novodošlata* 'of the newcomer' can be rendered through a possessive adjective, (18a), but crucially, not through a *na*+tonic pronoun, (18b), suggesting that in this case we are dealing with the subject of a passive nominal:

- (18) a. *nejnoto opisanie ot Ivan*
her-the description by Ivan
b. **opisanieto na neja ot Ivan*
description-the of her by Ivan

2.1.4 Intransitive nouns. After having seen the three classes of nouns corresponding to transitive verbs, let us briefly illustrate together the remaining cases of nouns which possess only one argument corresponding to a different theta-role (Agent, Possessor, 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 include unaccusative nouns, (19), unergative nouns, (20), result nominals not ending in *-(n)ie*, (21), Agent nominalizations, (22), and object denoting nouns, (23). It should be noted that the classification suggested here is only provisional and is useful to the extent it helps single out the subject of each nominal subclass.

- (19) **Unaccusative nouns** (*pristigane* 'arrival', *zaminavane* 'departure', *padane* 'fall', etc.)¹²
a. *pristiganeto na vojnika* (Theme)
arrival-the of soldier-the
'the arrival of the soldier'
b. *negovoto pristigane*
his-the arrival

is that the subject is ambiguous between a Possessor and an Agent role. The co-occurrence between a Possessor, Agent and Theme is for many speakers extremely marginal if at all possible:

- (i) *Negovata velikolepna kartina na Aristotel* (Agent/Possessor, Theme)
his-the marvellous painting of Aristotle
'his marvelous painting of Aristotle'

¹² For a discussion of unaccusative (her "ergative") nominals, see Giorgi (1991).

'his arrival'

- c. **pristiganeto na nego*
arrival-the of him
'the arrival of him' (*'his arrival')

(20) **Unergative nouns** (*protest* 'protest', *reakcia* 'reaction', *obrăștenie* 'appeal', etc.)¹³

- a. *protestăt na Ivan* (Agent)
protest-the of Ivan
'Ivan's protest'
b. *negovijat protest*
his-the protest
'his protest'
c. **protestăt na nego*
protest-the of him
'the protest of him' (intended: 'his protest')

(21) **Result nominals** (*pridobivka* 'acquisition, purchase', *zaem* 'loan', etc.)

- a. *novata pridobivka na semejstvoto* (Agent)
new-the purchase of family-the
'the family's new purchase'
b. *nejnata nova pridobivka*
her-the new purchase
'her new purchase'
c. **novata pridobivka na neja*
new-the purchase of her
'the new purchase of her' (intended: 'her new purchase')

(22) **Agent nominalizations** (*pazitel* 'keeper', *spasitel* 'savior', *zaštítnik* 'protector', *poddržnik* 'supporter', etc.):

- a. *paziteljat na tajnite* (Theme)
keeper-the of secrets-the
'the secrets' keeper'
b. *texnijat pazitel*
their-the keeper
'their keeper'
c. **paziteljat na tjax*
keeper-the of them
'the keeper of them' (*intended 'their keeper')

(23) **Object denoting nouns** (*trud* 'work', *kniga* 'book', *kășta* 'house', *kola* 'car', etc.)

- a. *trudăt/kolata na Ivan* (Agent or Possessor)
work-the/car-the of Ivan
'Ivan's work'
b. *negovijat trud/negovata kola*
his-the work/his-the car
'Ivan's work/Ivan's car'

¹³ Some of these nominals can also take a Dative (Goal) *na*-DP, as in (i):

- (i) *Pomnja nejnata reakcija na тази novina*
remember-1sg her-the reaction to this news
'I remember her reaction to this news'

- c. *trudāt na nego/??kolata na nego
 work-the of him/car-the of him
 ‘the work of him/the car of him’ (*intended ‘his work/his car’)

After having established for each of the basic classes of nouns which arguments assigned a theta-role by the N qualifies as its subject, we are now in a position to show 1) that DP-internal possessive clitics can only correspond to the structural subject of the DP (sections 3 and 4) and 2) that only genitive DPs qualifying as subjects can be extracted from the DP in Bulgarian (section 5). 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 genitive and that the class of clausal possessive clitics that are demonstrably extracted from DP must also be genitive.

3. DP-internal genitive 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, will lead us to the conclusion that they unambiguously express the subject of the DP.

Consider the class of psych-nominals like *omraza* ‘hatred’ (see 2.1.1. above), which we saw takes only an Experiencer as its subject. This, and no other argument, can be rendered as a possessive clitic:

- (24) *omrazata mu (kām ženite) (Experiencer)*
 hatred-the his-CL (towards women-the)
 ‘his hatred for women’

With the class of obligatorily passive nouns discussed in 2.1.2. above (of the type *zalavjane* ‘capture’), only the Theme qualifies as the structural subject and it is precisely the Theme which can also be expressed by a possessive clitic alongside a possessive adjective (and a *na*-phrase):

- (25) *zalavjaneto mu (ot vraga) (Theme)*
 capture-the his-CL (by the enemy)
 ‘his capture (by the enemy)’

With the subclass of passive nominals that also take a Dative argument, the possessive clitic can only render the passive subject (Theme), but not the Dative argument (despite the fact that both are introduced by *na*). See the contrast in (26a) vs (26b). Additionally, (26c) shows that both intended readings are impossible: a) the one in which the possessive adjective renders the subject, while the clitic renders the Dative argument (Subject > Dative), and b) the one in which the two arguments appear in the opposite order (Dative > Subject):

- (26)a *Razdavaneto im na decata (ot učitelite) e zabraneno. (Theme)*
 distribution-the them-CL to children-the (by teachers-the) is forbidden
 ‘Their distribution to the children (by the teachers) is forbidden’
 b **Razdavaneto im na knigi (ot učitelite) e zabraneno. (Dative)*
 distribution-the them-CL of books (by teachers-the) is forbidden
 ‘The distribution of the books to them (by the teachers) is forbidden’
 c **Tjaxnoto im razdavane (ot učitelite) e zabraneno.*
 their-the them-CL distribution (by teachers-the) is forbidden

With the class of nouns ambiguous between a transitive and a passive configuration (2.1.3. above), the possessive clitic can again only be found to express the same argument that is rendered by a possessive adjective, namely the subject:

- (27) a. opisanieto mu na novodošlata
 description-the him-CL of newcomer-fem-the
 ‘his description of the newcomer’
 b. *opisanieto j na Ivan
 description-the her-CL of Ivan
 ‘her description of Ivan’ (intended interpretation: *the newcomer’s description by Ivan*)
 c. *negovoto j opisanie
 his-the her-CL description

The examples from (28) to (32) illustrate the remaining classes of nouns having a single argument qualifying as the syntactic subject of the DP, which can thus be rendered as a possessive clitic:

- (28) pristiganeto mu (Unaccusative nouns)
 arrival-the him-CL
 ‘his arrival’

- (29)a. reakciata mu na sãbitieto (Unergative nouns)
 reaction-the him-CL to event-the
 ‘his reaction to the event’
 b. *reakciata mu na Ivan
 reaction-the it-CL of Ivan
 ‘Ivan’s reaction to it’

- (30) pridobivkata mu (Result nominals)
 purchase-the him-CL
 ‘his purchase’

- (31) paziteljat im (Agent nominalizations)
 keeper-the them-CL
 ‘their keeper’

- (32)a. trudãt mu/kolata mu (Object denoting nouns)
 work-the him-CL/car-the 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 and formulation of the hypothesis on 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 one of Benveniste’s (1966) suggestions, namely that the structural Cases Nominative and Accusative of the clause are rendered in the corresponding deverbal nouns with Genitive (which is arguably also a structural Case, 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).¹⁴

¹⁴ 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
 (ii)a. Der Zug abfährt
 the.nom train is leaving
 b. Die Abfahrt des Zuges

- (33)a. *neglegentia religionis* (cf. *neglegere religionem*)¹⁵
 Negligence religion-Gen (ignore religion-Acc)
 b. *adventus consulis* (cf. *consul advenit*)¹⁶
 arrival consul-Gen (consul-Nom arrives)

This is also true of Bulgarian. Franks and King (2000) note that possessive clitics “can never correspond to true Datives. That is, in [(34)], 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:

- (34) a. *vlijanieto mu*
 influencing.DEF him.DAT
 ‘his influencing’/*the influencing of him’
 b. *objasnieneto mu*¹⁷
 explanation.DEF him.DAT
 ‘his explanation’/*its explanation’/*the explanation to him’

Instead, *mu* can only correspond to the subject argument in [(34a)] and to the [...] direct object argument in [(34b)]” (p.276f). (35) below gives more examples of the same kind:

- (35) a. *pomaganeto mu/pomoštta mu*
 helping-the him
 ‘his helping’/*the helping of him’
 b. *pisaneto mu*
 writing-the him
 ‘his writing’/*the writing to him’
 c. *predstavjaneto mu*
 introducing-the him
 ‘his introduction’/*the introduction 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.¹⁸

- 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

¹⁵ “..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).

¹⁶ “Or, cette fois la forme casuelle transposée en génitif n’est plus un accusatif, mais un nominatif..” (Benveniste 1966,147).

¹⁷ We have substituted Franks and King’s noun *objasnjaneto* ‘explaining’ with *objasnieneto* ‘explanation’. In either case, the first author and the Bulgarians she consulted do not get the Agent reading in (34)b.

¹⁸ We differ here from Franks and King (2000) in taking *mu* to stand for a subject also in the apparent object reading of (34b). *Objasnenie* ‘explanation’ belongs to our second class of nouns corresponding to transitive verbs, which, as shown in section 2. above, are obligatorily passive:

- (i)a. *negovoto objasnenie na problema*
 his-the (=of Ivan) explanation of problem-the
 b. *negovoto objasnenie ot Ivan*
 his-the (=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):

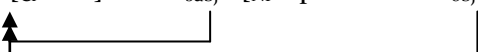
The fact that nominal possessive clitics may only express the subject but not the object may at first sight appear surprising if possessive clitics are genitive and DP-internal subjects and objects are also genitive, as we argue on the basis of Benveniste’s idea. Additional confirmation for the genitive nature of nominal subjects and objects comes from the fact that while *na*-phrases in clausal environments only express the indirect object (inherent Dative) and no other grammatical function, in nominal environments they may express, in addition to the indirect object, the grammatical function of subject and objects, much like the genitive in the Latin DP (see (33)). We need therefore to understand why DP-internal possessive clitics can express only the subject. We elaborate on this in the next section.

4. 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 and Giusti 1999,169f; Franks 2000, 59ff, Franks and King 2000,275; Stateva 2002, 660; Schürcks and Wunderlich 2003,121).

- (36) [DP tova/mnogo točnoto/etc. [D [CIP mu ... [NP opisanie na kăštata]
 This/very precise-the his description of house-the

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.

- (37) [DP tova/mnogo točnoto/etc. [D [CIP [C 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 (38)

- (38) Na Ivan vsički tezi opisanija na prijatelite mu
 of Ivan all these descriptions of friends-the his
 ‘All of these Ivan’s descriptions of his friends’

Bulgarian allows argument fronting to the absolute initial position of the DP. This can be seen by the fact that in (38) 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 and 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 (39) shows, of all the arguments and adjuncts

-
- (ii)a. *negovoto mu objasnenie
 his-the of-it (= of the problem) explanation
 ‘his explanation of it’
 b. *na Ivan objasnienieto mu
 of Ivan explanation-the of-it (=of the problem)
 ‘Ivan’s explanation of it’

(subcategorized PPs, (40a), adjunct PPs (39b), indirect object *na*-phrases (40c), direct object *na*-phrases (39d) and subject *na*-phrases (39e) only the latter can be fronted:

- (39) a. *Žurnalistăt razkritikuva [[za тази книга] обštoprietoto mnenie t].
journalist-the criticized-3sg for this book common-the opinion
'The journalist criticized the common opinion of this book'
- b. *Direktorăt razkritikuva [[văv vestnika] statijata na žurnalista t]
director-the criticized-3sg in newspaper-the article-the of journalist-the
'The director criticized the journalist's article in the newspaper'
- c. *Učitelite razkritikuvaxa [[na detsata] razdavaneto na knigi t (ot sponsorite)]
teachers-the criticized-3pl to children-the distribution-the of books (by sponsors-the)
'The teachers criticized the distribution of books to children by the sponsors'
- d. **Direktorăt na spisanieto razkritikuva [[na săbitieto] negovoto opisanie t]
director-the of journal-the criticized-3sg of event-the his description
'The director of the magazine criticized his description of the event.'
- e. Az razkritikovax [[na Ivan] opisanieto na kăštata t].
I criticized-1sg of Ivan description of house-the
'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 (cf. Rudin 1986, 1994, Izvorski 1993, Lambova 2001, Krapova and Karastaneva 2002, Krapova 2002, Arnaudova 2003/2010, among others). See the examples in (40) which illustrate the clause-initial position of (operator) Topics and (operator) Focus:

- (40) a. Po tozi văpros Ivan ništo ne kaza. (Topic)
for this matter Ivan nothing not said-3sg
'On this matter, John said nothing'
- b. Ivan kakvo misli po văprosa? (Topic to the left of *wh*-)
Ivan what thinks on question-the
'John, what does he think of this issue?'
- c. VĂV VESTNIKA pročetox тази statija. (Left peripheral/Identification Focus)
in newspaper-the read-1sg article-the
'It was in the newspaper that I read this article'

5. Extraction out of DP in Bulgarian

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

More precisely, we will show that:

- Arguments and adjuncts introduced by a preposition different from *na* cannot be extracted;
 - Na*-phrases which are demonstrably Dative cannot be extracted;
 - Genitive *na*-phrases corresponding to the object cannot be extracted.
- which leaves *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 (41)-(43) show that no arguments or adjuncts other than *na*-phrases can be extracted:

- (41)a. [_{DP} obštoprietoto mnenie **za тази книга**]
 common-the opinion on that book
 ‘the common opinion on that book’
 b. *Tova e knjigata, [za kojato]_i ne pomnja [_{DP} obštoprietoto mnenie t_i]
 this is the book on which I don’t remember the common opinion
- (42)a. [_{DP} razdražnenieto na Peter **ot Ivan**]
 irritation.the of Peter by Ivan
 ‘Ivan’s irritation of Peter by Ivan’
 b. *Ivan, [ot kojto]_i ne pomnja [_{DP} razdražnenieto na Peter t_i]
 Ivan, by whom I don’t remember the irritation of Peter
- (43)a. [_{DP} masovoto obrážšane **kám religiata** po vreme na sábitijata]
 mass.the conversion to religion-the during of events.the
 ‘the massive conversion to religion during the events’
 b. *Religijata, [kám kojato]_i si spomnjam [_{DP} masovoto obrážšane t_i po vreme na sábitijata]
 religion.the, to which refl remember.1sg mass.the conversion during of events.the

The following three pairs of examples (44)-(46) illustrate that extraction of Dative *na*-phrases with the various types of nominals discussed above produces an ungrammatical result:

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

The following examples (47)-(48) illustrate that extraction of Genitive *na*-phrases corresponding to the syntactic object of the DP are ungrammatical:

- (47) a. [_{DP} negovoto opisanie na apartamenta]
 his-the description of apartment-the
 ‘his description of the apartment’
 b. *apartamenta, [na kojto]_i ne pomnja [_{DP} negovoto opisanie t_i]
 apartment-the of which not remember-1sg his-the description
- (48) a. [_{DP} negovoto objasnenie na problema]
 his-the explanation of problem-the
 ‘his explanation of the problem’
 b. *problema, [na kojto]_i ti razkazax [_{DP} negovoto objasnenie t_i]

problem-the of which you-dat told-1sg his-the explanation

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

Recall that for the various nominal classes considered different *th*-roles qualify as subjects. For class 1, we concluded, on the basis of the possessivization test, that the subject is the Agent, and indeed the Agent *na*-phrase can be extracted:

- (49) a. *mážät*, [na kojto]_i šte pomnja vinagi [DP želanjata t_i]
man-the, of whom will remember-1sg always desires-the
lit. 'The man of whom I will always remember the desires'
'the man, whose desires I will always remember'

For class 2, of obligatory passive nominals, we concluded that the subject is the Theme, and indeed this can be extracted:

- (50) ?*prestäpnika*, [na kojto]_i gledax [DP arestuvaneto t_i] po televizijata
criminal-the of whom watched-1sg arrest-the on TV-the
lit. 'the criminal of whom I watched the arrest on TV...'
'the criminal whose arrest I watched on TV'

For class 3, comprising nominals ambiguous between an active and a passive reading (e.g., *objasnenie* 'explanation', *rešenie* '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 extract:

- (51)a. *profesorät*, [na kojto]_i toku-što čuxme [DP interesnoto objasnenie na problema t_i],..
professor-the, of whom just now heard-we interesting-the explanation of problem-the
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-the, of which just now heard-we interesting-the explanation (by professor-the),..
lit. 'the problem, of which we just heard the interesting explanation (by the professor),..'
- (52)a. *pisateljät*, [na kojto]_i vsički sme čeli [prekrasnite opisanija na prirodata t_i]
writer-the, of whom all have read beautiful-the descriptions of nature-the
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)..¹⁹
nature, of which all remember-1pl that beautiful description (made by writer-the)
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 possessivable argument (unergatives, unaccusatives, etc.), it is this argument that qualifies as the subject. As expected, extraction is possible. See (53):

¹⁹ If we did not have the 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 (52)b, we could erroneously conclude that objects can extract.

- (53)a. Učenijat, [na kojto]_i ne pomnja posledното otkritie t_i
 scientist-the, of whom not remember-1sg last-the discovery
 ‘the scientist, whose last discovery I don’t remember’
- b. [Na koj]_i vidjaxte pristiganeto t_i?
 of whom saw-2pl arrival-the
 ‘Whose arrival did you see?’
- c. mǎžāt, [na kojto]_i vsički vidiaxme neočakvanija spasitel t_i
 man-the, of whom all saw unexpected-them 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 genitive. Not only because their DP-internal source is arguably assigned genitive, but also because the only elements that can be extracted from DP are genitive phrases.

6. Genitive or Dative?

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 these languages, and 2) the “raised” possessive clitics have the same prosodic/phonological behavior as clausal clitics. However, 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 and 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 support the traditional idea that the morpho-phonological identity of dative and genitive features is due to a Case syncretism.

It is plausible to assume, as we do, following Caha (2009), that Case syncretism is only available for contiguous Cases on the Case hierarchy:

- (54) Nominative > Accusative > Genitive > Dative > etc.

7. Conclusions

To summarize, we have argued that in 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. 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.

Among the evidence we have discussed to distinguish a Genitive case 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.

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