

Small Clauses in Modern Bulgarian

A thesis

by

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List of Abbreviations

AgtP	agentive participle
AGR-OP	agreement-object phrase
AGRP	agreement phrase
AGR-SP	agreement-subject phrase
AP	adjective phrase
ASPP	aspectual phrase
COMP	complementizer
CP	complementizer phrase
ECM	exceptional case marking
ECP	empty category principle
IE	Indo-European
ImpV	Imperfective Vid
IP	inflection phrase
MB	Modern Bulgarian
ModalP	modal phrase
NegP	negation phrase
NP	noun phrase
PassP	past passive participle
PerfV	Perfective Vid
PP	prepositional phrase
PPP	past active perfective participle
PrAP	present active participle
S(=IP)	sentence
S' (=CP)	sentence-bar
SC	small clause
Σ P	sigma phrase, i.e. negative/affirmative phrase
STM	"subcategorize and theta-mark" principle
TP	tense phrase
VP	verb phrase
X ⁽⁰⁾	head of a phrase
X'	non-maximal projection
XP	maximal projection
WO	word order

Abstract

The present thesis entitled Small Clauses in Modern Bulgarian discusses representatives of the "small clause"(SC) construction in a Slavic language that has not been sufficiently studied by current linguistic theory.

The thesis is organized as follows:

Chapter 1. SCs according to Existing Analyses.

Chapter 2. Modern Bulgarian Small Clauses: the Data.

Chapter 3. Modern Bulgarian with AP, NP, and PP Predicates

Chapter 4. Modern Bulgarian Adjunct Participial SCs

Chapter 5. Summary and Conclusions.

Chapter 1 is a review of the relevant literature on SCs. It summarizes analyses arguing against the existence of SCs, concentrating mainly on Williams(1983 & elsewhere); analyses in favor of the constituency and XP status of SCs, namely Stowell(1983 & 1991), as well as proposals supporting or stemming from Stowell's initial analysis made by Safir(1983) and Contreras(1987); analyses of Romance absolute participials by Belletti(1990) and de Miguel(1992), where SCs are treated as sentential categories.

Chapter 2 reviews the typology of Modern Bulgarian(MB) SCs, taking into consideration the members of the SC predicate and the SC subject paradigm, as well as the distribution of SCs in the sentence.

The SC predicate can be realized by APs, NPs, PPs, and VPs. VP SCs are of special interest since, although MB lacks an equivalent for the English bare infinitive SC, it has a rich choice of participles: agentive, present active, past active perfective, and past passive, whose properties sometimes resemble and sometimes differ drastically from their Italian and Spanish counterparts.

The SC subject can be an overt NP in object SCs and in subject SCs. It can also be a trace as a result of *wh* movement of the NP of object SCs, possibly as a result of raising out of the SC subject position in SC complements to raising "sŭm" ("be") and "izgleždam" ("seem"). *PRO* occupies the subject position in adjunct SCs.

If SCs as sentential subjects are very rare, actually restricted to cases of matrix "sũm"("be") or mediopassive verbs, SCs as sentential objects and adjuncts are common.

Chapter 3 analyzes in greater detail SCs with adjectival, nominal, and prepositional predicates.

Their constituency is supported most convincingly by SCs acting as binding domains, as well as by the Projection Principle requiring the uniform projection of selectional properties at all levels in combination with θ -criterion making possible and obligatory the θ -marking of the SC subject by the SC predicate but not by the matrix V assumed to subcategorize for as well as θ -mark the SC as a whole.

The fact that some SCs can be sentential subjects and therefore undoubtedly true constituents, suggests that all SCs may be constituents. Data from *wh* and *"li"*(interrogative particle) question formation also provide, if tentatively, evidence for the constituency of SCs.

The presence of an AGRP for AP SCs receives support from the Gender and Number agreement between the SC NP and the predicative AP, and possibly from the (marginal) occurrence of dative clitics, if they are assumed to be of the kind that surface in an adjoined position in AGR(-S)P. If such an XP is posited it will be projected from deficient AGR since the category Person, a crucial ingredient of finite agreement, is lacking. CP may only be posited for adjunct SCs, if their licensing of "makar i"("although") is considered as evidence that COMP can sometimes be occupied.

The subject of object SCs cannot be licensed SC internally as it is not lexically governed by the SC predicate for the purposes of Accusative Case assignment. However, SCs in the complement position are L-marked by the matrix verb and are thus made transparent for external government and Accusative marking by it. Adjunct SCs can never be L-marked as they are not subcategorized constituents, which licenses PRO SC subjects: internal Case-assignment is impossible for familiar reasons, but neither is external Case-assignment allowed, since no lexical governor governs into SC. The only problematic case is the licensing of NPs of subject SCs. We either have to introduce additional stipulations allowing

the sentential subject to be L-marked, or accept that these are cases of "suspended" Case-assignment.

Chapter 4 concentrates on participial SCs in adjunct positions. Evidence is provided for the existence of functional projections above VP: ASPP, AGRP, Σ P, CP, but not TP or ModalP.

ASPP is the projection responsible for the time reference of the SC relative to that of the matrix clause: the agentive and present participles denote activities cooccurring with those expressed by the matrix predicate, whereas the past active perfective and past passive participles denote an activity preceding the one in the matrix clause or a state resulting from such an activity and therefore cooccurring with the one in the matrix clause.

The existence of AGRP is supported by the agreement Gender/Number marking of all four participles except the agentive, as well as by the licensing of object pronominal clitics by the three active participles and dative clitics by all four participles. Even if in the absence of the category Person participial agreement is deficient, clitics, which are generally assumed to be generated in or raise to a position in AGRP, make such a projection indispensable. Importantly, MB participial agreement is not of the agreement-object type as its counterpart in (some) representatives of Romance. Rather, it requires the positing of an AGR-SP, since the participle agrees with the antecedent of *PRO* occupying the SC subject position and not with an NP originating post-verbally.

Σ P is responsible for the affirmative or negative marking of participials. In the former case V obligatorily moves into the head Σ^0 , and in the latter it optionally incorporates into it. A "switch" assumed to be operating on an incorporation or non-incorporation level is responsible for the three possible patterns: *participle-CL*, *ne-participle-CL*, and *ne-CL-participle*.

As in all other adjunct SCs, CP may be posited in the representation of participials, since they license "makar i" ("although"), the equivalent of the complementizers "anche se" and "benché" in Italian. Suppose this is considered as evidence that, when and if CP is present, COMP is occupied and therefore unavailable for V-movement into it for the purposes of Nominative Case assignment, as has been proposed for non-finite clauses in Romance. Therefore we

cannot expect overt Nominative NPs in MB to be licensed SC internally, neither can they be licensed by government and Case assignment from the outside, since adjuncts are not L-marked, to start with. Instead, we can expect a *PRO* subject.

The subject of the adjunct participials is identified as controlled *PRO*. The external relations of participial SCs are studied in view of their being exclusively Control structures, Control being exercised by a matrix subject and/or a matrix object, depending on the possibilities for c-/m-command to apply.

If the SC is sentence initial, m-command of *PRO* is only exercised by the matrix subject, but not by the matrix object. All four participials can have such a distribution, in which case they are IP adjuncts. In sentence final position participial SCs adjoined to VP allow m-command not only by a matrix subject, but also by a matrix object. (Assuming that the object raises to AGR-O⁰ it could also control *PRO* if the SC is adjoined to an inflectional projection higher than VP but sufficiently low for the relations of command to obtain.) The fact that agentive participles may never have object association suggests that irrespective of their position in the sentence they can only occur as (higher)IP adjuncts and never as VP adjuncts.

Chapter 5 recapitulates the main points of the preceding discussion, making suggestions for further research.

Introduction

The label "small clauses" (SCs henceforth)¹ is applied to strings as the italicized one below:

(1) I consider *John intelligent*.

The two key questions traditionally addressed in the literature on SCs are:

Do SCs exist?,

and, if they do,

What is their internal structure?

The present thesis will follow analyses treating the italicized string in (1) as a constituent. The view will be adopted that, since "John intelligent" is a semantic unit, and therefore a constituent at LF, it must be a constituent at all levels, in agreement with the requirements of the Projection Principle, namely that selectional properties are uniformly projected at the level of DS, SS, and LF (Cf. Chomsky (1981), Stowell (1981, 1983, 1991)).

Samples of SCs in Modern Bulgarian (MB) are given in (2) below:

(2) a. *Napравix Ivan štastliv.*

made-1SG Ivan happy

I made Ivan happy.

b. *Kogo_i napravi t_i svoj pomoštnik?*

who made-2SG your own assistant

Who did you choose to help you?

c. *Asen_i pozdravi Ivan_j, PRO_{i/j} zastanal pred kompjutūra.*

Asen greeted-3SG Ivan stand-PastPart. before computer-Def.

Asen greeted Ivan standing in front of the computer.

Depending on the morphosyntactic properties of the SC predicate, as well as the sentential position of the SC, some SCs will be treated as maximal projections of their predicate heads, as proposed by Stowell(1983, 1991, and elsewhere), and other SCs will be treated as having structure above the XP projected by their predicate, as proposed by Belletti(1990 and elsewhere).

The thesis is organized as follows. *Chapter 1* is a review of the relevant literature on SCs. It summarizes in turn analyses arguing against the existence of SCs, and analyses in favor of their constituency and XP or sentential status. *Chapter 2* discusses possible candidates for the label SC in MB, in view of the paradigms of the SC subject and the SC predicate, as well as the distribution of SCs in the sentence(Cf. (2)). *Chapter 3* analyzes in greater detail SCs with adjectival, nominal, and prepositional predicates(Cf. the adjectival SC in (2a) and the nominal SC in (2b)). Data are brought in support of their constituency. The possibility is considered for including an AGRP in the representations of AP SCs, irrespective of their distribution and a CP for all three types of SCs in adjunct position. *Chapter 4* concentrates on participial SCs in adjunct position(Cf. (2c)). Evidence is provided for the existence of (functional) projections above VP: ASPP, AGRP, Σ P, possibly CP, but not TP or ModalP. The external relations of this type of SCs are studied in view of their being exclusively control structures. *Chapter 5* recapitulates the main points of the preceding discussion, making suggestions for further research.

Chapter 1: SCs according to Existing Analyses

This chapter summarizes in turn analyses arguing against the constituency of SCs(Section 1), analyses supporting the constituency and XP status of SCs(Section 2), and analyses treating SCs as "partial" finite clauses(Section 3).

1.1 On SCs as Non-constituents

In contrast with the view that SCs are syntactic constituents at all levels of structure, analyses treating SCs as non-constituents (Williams(1983 & elsewhere), Schein(1982), Bresnan(1982 & elsewhere)², among others) adopt the view that, even though "SCs" may be semantic units, they need not present structural units as well.

A frequent argument in support of SCs being non-constituents is the object-like behavior of the entity that would otherwise be analyzed as a SC subject. For example, it can be marked for the Accusative and never for the Nominative, (Cf. (3a)); it can be an anaphor bound by the matrix clause subject(Cf. (3b)); it undergoes the same changes under passivization as a genuine object would(Cf. (3c)):

- (3) a. I consider John/him/*he intelligent.
b. John_i considers himself_i intelligent.
c. He/*him is considered intelligent.

The above facts motivate the analysis of "John intelligent" as a combination of a matrix (direct) object and a predicative phrase,

rather than as a clause:

(4) a. I [consider[John]_{NP} [intelligent]_{AP}]_{VP}

b. *I [consider[[John]_{NP} [intelligent]_{AP}]_{SC}]_{VP}

The following subsection will discuss the implications of Williams' (1980 & elsewhere) Predication theory for the analysis of the debatable combination [John intelligent]. Special emphasis will be placed on Williams' (1983) criticisms of the SC theory as outlined in Stowell (1981) and amended by Chomsky (1981), where SCs are analyzed either as projections of their predicates (X*s, to use Williams' notation) or as sentences (Ss).

1.1.1 A basic assumption of Williams' Predication theory is that a subject is an external argument of its predicate, not a structural position within the same phrasal category:

(5) The subject of a predicative phrase XP is a single argument of X that is located outside of the maximal projection of X.

(Williams' (1983) (2))

In addition, a subject must be assigned to all predicates³. Thus "intelligent" in (4) is allowed to project its external θ -role onto "John" without having to form a syntactic unit with it. In other words, there is no single phrasal category dominating the NP and AP. The NP is a subcategorized object of the matrix verb and the AP is a predicative XP (PXP). Other categories that can function as

bare PXPs are NPs and naked infinitives.

An abstract coindexation⁴ is proposed between subjects and their predicates, on the one hand, and between a phrase and its head, on the other. In effect, a subject is coindexed with its predicate and their respective heads are also coindexed. Raising verbs receive a zero index as they are assumed to lack an external argument.

In view of the above assumptions Williams' representations in (6) are offered as an alternative to those in (7) proposed by the SC theory.

- (6) a. I_j [consider,_i[John]_{NPi} [intelligent]_{APi}]_{VPj}
b. John_i [seems,_i[angry]_{APi}]_{VPi}
c. John_j [ate,_i[the meat]_{NPi} [raw]_{APi}]_{VPj}
- (7) a. I [consider[John intelligent]_{SC}]_{VP}
b. John_i [seems [t_i angry]_{SC}]_{VP}
c. John [ate [the meat]_{NPi} [PRO_i raw]_{SC}]_{VP}⁵

Williams rules out the representations in (7) in view of general theoretical considerations backed up by data from scopal asymmetries and the distribution of Control/arbitrary PRO, discussed below.

The analysis of SCs in object positions (Cf. (7a)) as projections of their predicate heads is challenged on purely theoretical grounds. If we are to understand that they have more structure than an XP, which in the case of nominal SCs is of the same category as

the initial XP, but they are not Ss, then they must be some sort of intermediate projections(X*s) with rather "peculiar" properties. Williams disapproves of maximal projections being contained within non-maximal projections. Next, he points out, as these are both of the same categorial status, we run into the problem of generating two structural subject positions for the same predicate within one and the same projection. He gives the example below:

(8) John considers [Bill [Bob's friend]_{NP}]_N. (Williams' (1983) (37a))

What is even worse, the X* analysis would predict that a single projection can have an indefinite number of structural subject positions, given that two recursive rules operate in the base:

(9) X* --> ... XP ...

and

(10) XP --> ... X*...

Thus Williams excludes the X* analysis in view of some basic principles of X' theory. As to the S treatment, he is forced to introduce an additional stipulation, the VP stipulation, which excludes the possibility for sentences to have anything other than VPs as their predicates.⁶

A legitimate question to ask at this point is, How does Williams treat naked infinitives? He analyzes them on a par with all the other PXPs, as they pattern in a similar way: they cannot act as domains for quantification(an observation made by Higginbotham

(1981), although with different consequences), they may not occur in environments of thematic independence or arbitrary reference:

(11) John saw someone leave.

= There is someone that John saw leaving.

≠ John saw that someone was leaving.

(Williams` (1983) (53) adapted)

(12) *I wanted/tried give up.'

(13) *It is fun leave (Williams` (1983) (55))

Williams` argument against SCs as complements of raising verbs (Cf. his representation in (6b) as opposed to the one in (7b)) is based on the inability of the SC theory to account for certain scopal asymmetries. Williams uses May`s (1977) proposal that QR (Quantifier Raising) is responsible for the availability of a narrow scope reading and a wide scope reading in raising contexts with infinitives as in (14) below:

(14) Someone seems to be angry.

= There is someone who seems to be angry .

= There seems to be someone angry.

If at LF the quantifier in (14) can bind a variable within the infinitival clause which would yield a narrow scope reading with respect to the matrix verb, then there is no reason to expect that a SC would not be able to act as a domain for quantification. However, this is not the case. Only a wide scope interpretation is

possible for (15):

(15) Someone seems angry.

= There is someone who seems to be angry.

≠ There seems to be someone angry.

Obviously, there is no layer of structure in (15) that could serve as a domain for quantification in the way an infinitival S can. This means that either a SC with a *t* subject is a category with specific properties which prevent it from doing so, or else, there is no SC. Williams gives an example that rules out the first possibility:

(16) John seems mad about something. (Williams` (1983) (24))

As (16) can have a narrow scope reading, argues Williams, it seems unlikely that in practically the same context a SC is at the same time able and unable to host a variable bound by a quantifier: (16) vs. (15). Therefore, it will be more natural to accept that the positing of a SC is unmotivated in the first place.

Williams also questions the ability of the SC theory to reach the correct generalizations about the distribution of thematic independence. Here belong e.g. cases of control *PRO*, where a PXP assigns its external argument to *PRO* in order to avoid assigning it to the same NP as the matrix predicate in violation of the θ -criterion. The other type of *PRO*, i.e. *PRO* of arbitrary reference, also realizes the thematic independence of its predicate, and its

appearance too is made necessary by the requirements of the θ -criterion.

Williams considers Control to be a special case of predication, where relations of Control obtain between an (overt) NP and a clausal structure containing a *PRO* subject coreferential with the NP. In Williams' terms, *PRO* and NP are not coindexed. The phrasal category containing *PRO* and the NP are. Thus bare PXP's are ruled out from the set of categories that can assign their external argument to control *PRO*. Extended to cases of arbitrary reference, his reasoning also excludes the possibility of bare PXP's taking arbitrary *PRO* as their subject. Infinitives which have a sentential status are exactly the environment for *PRO*.

According to the SC theory an empty category must be posited in (17) in agreement with the Projection Principle and θ -theory:

(17) *I want [PRO happy]

But, being transparent to external government, SCs with *PRO* subjects cannot appear as complements to transitive verbs, since their subject position will be governed in violation of the requirement that *PRO* must never be governed.

Williams gives credit to the straightforward explanation the SC theory is able to provide for the ungrammaticality of (17) in terms of government. However, he feels that if government were in reality the ultimate solution, then contrary to fact (18) would be predicted ungrammatical:

(18) John ate the meat [PRO raw]

This is so because irrespective of whether the SC is assumed to be a VP or an IP adjunct⁸, it will be governed⁹. Its subject position too will be governed, by V in the former case or by INFL in the latter. It follows that PRO will be ungrammatical there.

Government alone fails to account properly for cases of arbitrary reference as well:

(19) *[PRO bashful]_s would be a shame. (Williams` (1983) (30))

(20) *[[PRO sad]_{sc} to surprise Mary]_s would be unfortunate.

(Williams` (1983) (31))

If we can claim that the example in (19) is ungrammatical because the S' layer is missing from the SC and there is nothing to protect PRO from sentential AGR, then in (20) PRO should be immune from matrix clause AGR. Therefore we should expect that (19) will be ungrammatical, but that (20) will be perfectly acceptable. Once again, concludes Williams, the SC theory makes incorrect predictions.

Williams proposes that the correct generalization about thematic independence should be based on "argument status", rather than on government. Thus, in addition to the above assumptions about the distribution of PRO, he proposes that a PXP is allowed to gain its thematic independence through default PRO if it is not an argument of the matrix verb.

His examples in (50) and (51) repeated here in (21) illustrate the asymmetry between infinitives, the legitimate environment for *PRO*, and bare PXPs, which never take *PRO* subjects:

- (21) a. *it is a shame [bashful]_{APi}
b. it is a shame [PRO_i to be [bashful]_i]
c. John_i arrived_i dead_i
d. John_i wants_i [PRO_k to die_k]_i

In (21a) there is no suitable candidate for an external argument of the PAP, whereas in (21b) and (21d) *PRO* is such a candidate. As for (21c), while both predicates assign their external argument to "John", the sentence is correct, as "dead" is not an argument of "arrive" but forms a separate argument complex with the NP¹⁰.

Finally, Williams tackles binding facts traditionally assumed to argue for the constituency of SCs by offering the following representation:

- (22) *John_i considers Mary_j [mad at himself_i]_{APj}

He proposes that binding facts become unproblematic if the definition of Opacity is formulated not in terms of subjects but in terms of predicates: "Predicates are opaque" (Williams (1983: 307)). Notice that the reformulated definition is much more consistent with his Predication theory, where predicative relations are the primitive notion, not (structural) subjects.

To sum up, Williams' Predication theory differs from the SC theory

in its basic assumptions. Defining "subject" as an argument external to a maximal projection with a predicative function, rather than as a structural position within a phrasal category, it allows the predicative PXP to have a subject without the two being dominated by a single phrasal category.¹¹ This makes it incompatible with STM, the principle according to which a verb θ -marks a position it subcategorizes for (Williams' label presumably comes from *Subcategorize & Theta-Mark*). The notion of "opacity", however, can still be accommodated, provided that it is defined in terms of predicates, not subjects, and so could the Projection Principle, if e.g. the representations proposed by Williams give the correct configurations at both SS and LF.

Williams' criticisms of the SC analysis cover its positing a non-maximal projection X^* for e.g. object SCs; its inability to account for scopal phenomena; certain inconsistencies in its predictions regarding the distribution of thematic independence and arbitrary reference.¹²

The next section summarizes arguments in support of the SC analysis, offering also solutions for cases, pointed out here as problematic, that have been proposed in the literature in view of later developments in linguistic theory.

1.2 SCs as Maximal Projections of Their Predicates

In contrast with theories which argue against the constituency of

SCs (e.g. Williams' Predication theory or Bresnan's (1982) Lexical-Functional theory, among others) the clausal analysis supports the existence of a single projection dominating the NP and AP, as in (4b) repeated in (23) below:

(23) I [consider[[John]_{NP}[intelligent]_{AP}]_{sc}]_{vp}

Such an approach is based on the assumption that [John intelligent] is a semantic unit, hence a constituent at LF. It follows that in all probability it is a unit at S-structure as well, unless we are prepared to face a violation of the Projection Principle which requires the uniform projection of selectional properties at all levels of representation.¹³

This reasoning is traditionally supported by pairs of sentences as in (24) below:

- (24) a. I want you dead.
 b. I want you.
 c. I consider John intelligent.
 d. *I consider John.

The contrast in (24a) vs. (24b) shows that "want" loses its causative semantics if unambiguously taking a direct object NP. This suggests that the selectional properties of "want" in (24a) and (24b) are different for its two distinct uses. (24c) as opposed to (24d) proves that "consider" doesn't select a direct object NP, but a different category. Clearly, it is more plausible to assume that the matrix verb subcategorizes for a clause-type constituent

in (24a) and (24c), rather than for a direct object NP.

Notice also the usage of expletives in (25) below, which counters the object-like behavior displayed in (3) above, pointing to a subject-like behavior instead:

(25) I thought [_{SC} [_{NP} it] [_{AP} useless to argue with her]]

If SCs are treated as constituents their categorial status is still debatable, since they may be analyzed as XPs(not X*s! to which Williams strongly objected) or as sentence-like projections.

The following subsection covers arguments in favor of the constituency of SCs and their status as maximal projections of their predicates, as proposed by Stowell(1983 & elsewhere) Analyses by Safir(1983) and Contreras(1987) based on Stowell's initial assumptions will also be included.

1.2.1 Stowell(1983) hypothesizes that all major phrasal categories(S, A, N, V, P) have a structural subject position, which may or may not be realized phonetically. SUBJECT is defined in category neutral terms:

(26) The SUBJECT of a phrase XP is the argument of X or X' which is directly dominated by X''. ((21), Stowell(1983))

This has a direct bearing on the analysis of SCs as constituents and projections of their predicates, since it provides a frame in

which e.g. (24a & c) fit perfectly. Importantly, this frame is a *maximal projection*(XP) and, in addition, remains so irrespective of the position of the SC in the sentence(Cf. Chomsky(1981), where SCs as direct objects and SCs as adjuncts were treated differently, so that due to their status as X*s or Ss they would allow or block government of their subject position).

The typology of Stowell's SCs covers APs, NPs, PPs, and VPs, the last type coming in two shapes, naked infinitives and past participles:

- (27) a. John considers [_{AP} himself/*herself attractive]
 b. They appointed [_{NP} him president of the club]
 c. The boss wants [_{PP} us in her office]
 d. Nobody heard [_{VP} her cry]
 e. I had [_{VP} my hair cut]

The SC subject position can be realized not only by a lexical NP, but also by a *t* or a *PRO*:

- (28) a. Who_i do you consider [_{AP} t_i attractive]?
 b. John_i seemed [_{AP} t_i attractive at first]
 c. He_i was appointed [_{NP} t_i president of the club]

- (29) a. John_i arrived [_{AP} PRO_i completely exhausted]
 b. Bill drove the waggon_i [_{AP} PRO_i full of hay]

(Stowell's(1983) (43a) & (43b), indexation mine)

To start with, a definition of government is adopted which excludes

the possibility for the SC subject being governed by the SC predicate, receiving from it its θ -role only but not Case. Thus it remains for external government to license a lexical NP/t in the SC subject position when it applies, or to allow *PRO* when it does not apply.

Stowell(1983) assumes that SCs are in themselves transparent to external government, but a V only governs the positions it subcategorizes for, i.e. object position, but not adjunct position. Thus, anaphors(27a)/NPs in the Accusative (27b)/traces(28a) could be licensed as subjects of objectival SCs, but *PRO* cannot. *PRO* is needed in adjunct SCs with either matrix clause subject association(29a) or matrix clause object (29b) association.

Stowell(1991), equipped with the notion of L-marking(i.e. θ -government), treats SCs on a par with all maximal projections as inherently non-transparent categories, which may or may not allow external government, depending on whether they are L-marked, e.g. in object positions, or not, e.g. in adjunct positions. Thus the status of SCs as XPs and the object-like behavior of their subjects are both conveniently accommodated.

Support for the constituency of SCs is provided by the ungrammaticality of interpolation of matrix clause elements into SC(30) and by their acting as binding domains(31).

(30) a. John sincerely considers [Bill foolish]

*| | _____ |
| _____ |

b. John considers [Bill sincerely foolish]

*| _____ | | _____ |

(Stowell's(1991) (18a&b), notation mine)

(31) a. Mary_i considers Bill_j kind to himself_j/*herself_i.

b. Mary_i considers Bill_j kind to her_i/*him_j.

(based on Stowell's(1991) (19) & (21))

(30) shows that if an adverb is located within the SC it can only be construed with the SC predicate but if it is outside the SC this construal is impossible. (31) proves that an anaphor must be bound within the SC, whereas a pronoun must be free.¹⁴ Therefore the SC must be a binding domain, hence a constituent.

An independent proof for SCs being projected by their predicate heads is supplied by the fact that in some cases matrix Vs are sensitive to the category of the SC predicate, therefore it must be the case that Vs subcategorize for NPs, APs, PPs, but not IPs. Stowell(1983) gives ungrammatical examples in contrast with grammatical examples((32) vs. (33) below) as an illustration of the relevant selectional restrictions:¹⁵

(32) a.*I consider [_{PP} John off my ship]

b.*I proved [_{PP} the weapon in his possession]

c.*I expect [_{AP} that man very stupid]

d.*We all feared [_{AP} John unfriendly]

(Stowell's(1983) (32a-d))

(33) a. We consider [_{AP} it unlikely that John will win]

b. Alexandra proved [_{AP} the theory false]

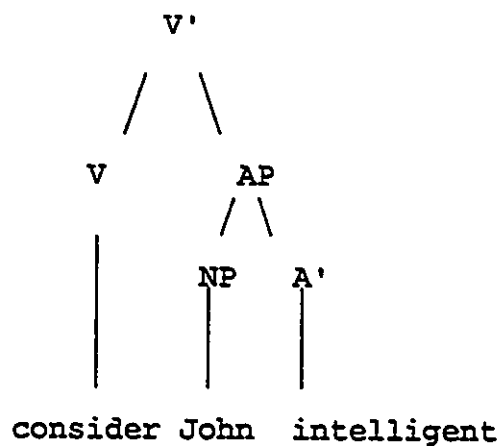
c. I expect [_{PP} that man off my ship]

d. We all feared [_{VP} John killed by the enemy]

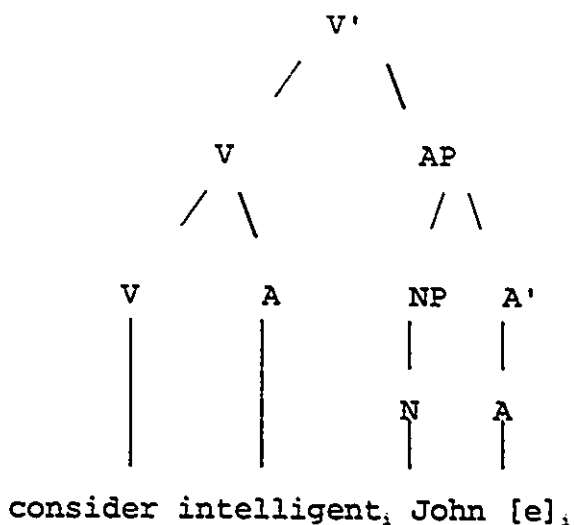
(Stowell's(1983) (24d), (24b), (25a), & (27), notation mine)

Stowell(1991) also studies the possibilities for SC restructuring in the mapping from a D-structure as in (34) to an LF structure as in (35).

(34)



(35)



(35) reflects an instance of Move- α , involving head-to-head movement, where A incorporates into V in the manner of Baker(1988). Parametric variation is to determine the stage at which restructuring has applied: most probably LF for English and LF or S-structure for Italian.

Stowell refers to another possibility as well, which involves a "clause-union" operation and in fact disposes of the SC projection of A altogether. This means that the Projection Principle requiring the uniform projection of selectional properties at DS, SS, and LF would be violated, unless modifications in the traditional definition are introduced.¹⁶

The explanatory power of the restructuring hypothesis is not to be ignored. Its motivation, however, is an unresolved problem. Stowell proposes several possible principles operating at LF which, separately or in combination, could trigger restructuring. Although stipulative, this part of his theory has important theoretical

implications.

Leaving aside the problem of its motivation, we can use the SC restructuring hypothesis in order to find a satisfactory explanation for certain scopal asymmetries which, as noted previously by Williams(1983), present difficulty for the SC analysis. The relevant example (15) is repeated as (36) below:

(36) Someone seems angry.

= There is someone who seems to be angry.

≠ There seems to be someone angry.

Suppose SC restructuring is not a radical operation of the "clause-union" type, which would dispose of the AP at LF, making the account for (36) unproblematic but casting doubt on the SS status of SCs. Suppose we assume that it is an instance of Move- α instead and that in addition the following principle holds:

(37) *Predicate Scope Principle*

- a. A quantifier phrase QP must take scope over a predicate P
- b. For any predicate head P appearing in a chain of head positions $(P, t_1, \dots, t_n)$, QP takes scope over P iff QP c-commands P. (Stowell's(1991) (38))

According to (35) the SC predicate incorporates into V as a result of LF restructuring. Thus the movement of V into INFL means that the whole [V + A] complex moves into INFL. Thus in order to take scope over A (and V, for that matter), in agreement with (37), QP

must be in a position c-commanding INFL. Therefore it does not adjoin to SC, although there is such a projection available at LF and is unable to c-command the subject position of SC and take scope over it, yielding a narrow scope reading for (37).¹⁷

We have seen in this subsection that the SC analysis proposed by Stowell(1983 & 1991) manages to reconcile the constituency of SCs with the object-like behavior of the subject of objectival SCs and the assumed *PRO* status of the subject of adjunct SCs. This is accomplished through a uniform treatment of SCs as XPs of their predicates as an extension of the hypothesis that all major phrasal categories contain a structural subject position within their projections. The arguments provided for the constituency of SCs can in some cases be accommodated by the alternative discrete(i.e. direct object + predicative XP) analysis, although reformulating basic assumptions may be necessary, as in the case of SCs acting as binding domains. Subcategorization properties of matrix V can be used as an independent proof for the XP status of SCs, provided that suitable examples are supplied. Finally, the SC restructuring hypothesis is compatible with the SC analysis, particularly when viewed as an instance of Move- α .

Proposals, based on/supporting Stowell's initial analysis, which would be worth considering include Safir's(1983) and Contreras'(1987) discussed in the following two subsections.

1.2.2 Safir(1983) addresses the question of the problematic occurrence of SCs in sentential subject position.

Since it is generally assumed that only true syntactic constituents can appear as sentential subjects, the fact that SCs are as a rule banned from this position was taken as a convincing proof against their constituency.

Safir shows that some SCs can be subjects:

(38) Workers angry about the pay is/does indeed seem to be just the sort of situation that the ad campaign was designed to avoid.

(based on Safir's(1983) (12a&b))

Safir's reasoning is as follows: if some SCs can be subjects, then they are constituents, and if some SCs are true constituents, then we are justified to assume that this obtains for all SCs.

Safir also addresses Williams' (1983) criticism that the SC analysis incorrectly predicts the grammaticality of a PRO SC in the subject position of an infinitive which is itself a sentential subject:

(39) *[[PRO sad] to surprise Mary] would be unfortunate.

As he has previously proved that SCs in subject positions behave like other HNPs ("honorary NPs", e.g. adjectives and PPs functioning as subjects of "be")¹⁸ in that they can raise (Cf. (38) above), he concludes that SCs must obey the Case Filter, since raising is as

a rule motivated by the necessity for an NP to receive Case. Thus it is the Case Filter that should be held responsible for the ungrammaticality of examples like (39), as no HNP can be licensed in the subject position of the infinitive there: infinitival INFL does not assign Case. Whether sentential AGR can or cannot govern into the infinitival S projection (and into SC) becomes immaterial.¹⁹

Safir's proof of the constituency of some SCs can legitimately be extended to all SCs, but it does not in itself rule out their analysis as Ss in preference for an AP/PP/NP treatment. This is achieved by establishing that SCs in subject position are HNPs. Furthermore, as they combine with matrix "be" in the singular irrespective of whether the noun within the SC is singular or plural, observes Safir, it is not the noun that is the head of the SC. He concludes that the adjective is. Thus SCs are both constituents and projections of their predicate heads.

1.2.3 Contreras(1987) observes that in view of the treatment of SCs as XPs of their predicates we are no longer in danger of allowing the containment of a maximal projection by a non-maximal projection. He further sets out to prove that in the case of SCs with nominal predicates we do not have to face the issue of an XP containing an XP of the same categorial status either, as in the case of SCs with nominal predicates.

Based on observations on the behavior of predicative NPs¹⁹ Contreras draws a distinction between argument NPs and predicative NPs. He concludes that NP SCs should in fact be labelled PNP (Predicate Nominal Phrases), thus formalizing the different categorial status of the SC predicate, a PNP, and the SC subject, an argument NP. Contreras concludes that examples like (40) below are no longer problematic for the SC analysis.

(40)=(8) I consider Bill Bob's friend.

As for Williams' argument based on scopal asymmetries in raising environments, Contreras points out that in fact May's (1977) proposals exclude the possibility for XPs to be adjunction sites for QPs, since only sentence-like categories qualify for the role. Further he argues that May's (1985) revisions of QR which allow QP adjunction to any maximal projection are not convincingly motivated. Therefore he conveniently adopts the view that SCs, being XPs but not IPs or CPs, cannot be domains for quantification, which explains the SC-infinitival asymmetry in (41) vs. (42).²⁰

(41) Someone seems angry.

= There is someone who seems to be angry .

* There seems to be someone angry.

(42) Someone seems to be angry.

= There is someone who seems to be angry .

= There seems to be someone angry.

The parallels observed between English and Spanish SCs are worth considering. Contreras gives examples of PP, AP, VP, and NP(PNP in his terms) SCs:

- (43) a. [_{PP} Juan de torero] es algo que no puedo imaginar.
 Juan as bull-fighter is something that not can-1SG imagine
 Juan a bull-fighter - that I cannot imagine.
- b. Considero [_{AP} claro el asunto]
 consider-1SG clear-Masc. the matter-Masc.
 I consider the matter clear.
- c. Cantamos la cancion [_{VP} PRO inspirados]
 sang-1PL the song inspired-PL
 We sang the song inspired.
- d. Juan_i considera [_{NP} el mejor juez de si mismo_i a Pedro_j]
 Juan considers the best judge of himself Pedro
 ?Juan_i considers Pedro_j the best judge of himself_j.
- d. Juan_i considera [_{NP} el mejor juez de el_i a Pedro_j]
 Juan considers the best judge of him Pedro
 ?Juan_i considers Pedro_j the best judge of him_i.
 (Contreras` (1987) (1a), (4a), (7b), (13a&b), notation &
 glosses are mine.)

In Spanish, like in English, SCs can appear as sentential subjects(43a), sentential objects(43b&d)²¹, and adjuncts(43c). The SC subject position can be occupied by a lexical NP in e.g. object SCs(43b&d) or by *PRO* in adjunct SCs(43c). The fact that Spanish SCs can be subjects of matrix "ser/estar"("be") (43a) and that they are also binding domains for anaphors, but not for pronouns(43d),

supplies evidence for their constituency.

Finally, some verbs, e.g. "considerar", show preference for SCs, but not for infinitives, which means that they differentiate between the category of the SC and that of the infinitive. Given that infinitives are IPs, it remains for SCs to be XPs of their predicates.²² The relevant examples are repeated in (44):

(44) a. Considero [_{NP} claro el asunto]

consider-1SG clear-Masc. the matter-Masc.

I consider the matter clear.

b. *Considero [_S estar claro el asunto]

consider-1SG be clear-Masc. the matter-Masc.

I consider the matter to be clear.

(Contreras' (1987) (15a&b), notation & glosses are mine.)

To sum up, Contreras(1987) looks for a justification of the containment of maximal projections by SCs, as well as for arguments to counter Williams' proofs against the existence of SCs based on scopal phenomena. He also contributes to the SC analysis by providing parallels with Spanish, including facts from binding, which support the constituency of SCs, and facts from subcategorization, which prove their XP status. In view of the preferred word order in Spanish SCs, namely [SC predicate - SC NP], it may be interesting to study the applications of Stowell's (1991) restructuring hypothesis. Word order facts are used by Contreras to motivate the proposal that (sentential) subjects originate within the VP, and more specifically in a postverbal position. How this

would reflect on the SC analysis remains to be seen, since he does not examine in detail the implicative relation in reverse.

Section 2 of this chapter has covered analyses favoring the view that SCs are constituents, placing special emphasis on their treatment as maximal projections of their predicate heads. Counterarguments have been discussed for Williams' (1983 & elsewhere) criticisms of the SC theory, outlined in Section 1. The following section will turn to analyses of SCs as sentential categories.

1.3 SCs as Categories with a Sentential Status

Chomsky (1981) proposes a differential treatment of SCs as Ss or as projections of their predicate heads, depending on whether they occupy the position of a sentential object, and are allowed to have an overt lexical NP as a subject, or a sentential (IP) adjunct, in which case they have *PRO* subjects.

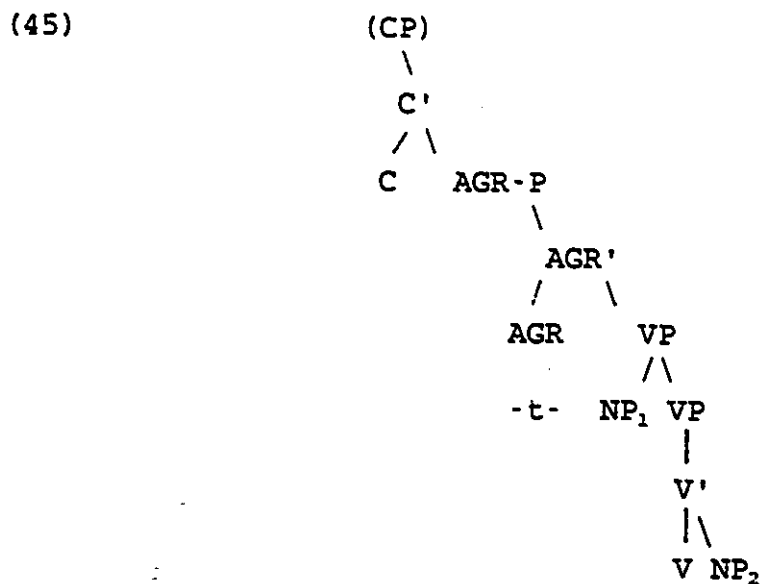
Hornstein and Lightfoot (1987) argue for the uniform treatment of SCs as sentential categories, since they take the predicative relation to require an unheaded configuration at LF, and most probably at S-structure as well.

Cardinaletti and Guasti (1993) and Cinque (1990) in their discussions of SCs with adjectival predicates in complement/ adjunct position and in absolute constructions, respectively, adhere to the view

that SCs should be assigned structure above the AP projection.²³

The following two subsections will concentrate on analyses of SCs as sentential categories, and on Romance absolute participles in particular, since a similar approach will be proposed for MB adjunct participial SCs (Cf. Chapter 4). Belletti (1990) and de Miguel (1992) will be discussed in turn.

1.3.1 Belletti (1990) analyzes Italian absolute participial SCs (ASCs) as "partial" clauses, containing VP, ASPP, AGR-OP, and CP projections in their syntactic representations. She does not always explicitly indicate the ASPP node for the sake of simplicity.



((5), Belletti (1990))

NP₁ is the position in which the subject of transitives and intransitives originate, and NP₂ denotes the starting position for

the subject of unaccusatives²⁴.

Belletti bases her analysis on Rizzi's (1982) and Raposo's (1987) proposals concerning gerunds/inflected infinitives in Italian and Portuguese, respectively, which rely on Aux-to-COMP movement for the purposes of Case assignment. She discusses the properties of ASCs, depending on the type of V: unaccusative, as in (46a), transitive, as in (46b), intransitive, as in (46c), and passive, as in (46d).

(46) a. Arrivata io/*me, Gianni tirò un sospiro di sollievo.

arrived-Fem.I-Fem./*me Gianni took a breath of relief

As I arrived, Gianni sighed with relief.

b. Conosciuta me/*io, hai cominciato ad apprezzare il mare.

known-Fem. me-Fem./*I have-2SG started to appreciate the sea

Having met me, you started to appreciate the sea.

c. *Telefonato Gianni, Maria andò all'appuntamento.

phoned-Masc. Gianni Maria went to-the appointment

*Gianni phoned, Maria went to the appointment.

d. *Conosciuta me da Gianni, ...

known-Fem. me-Fem. by Gianni

*Known/met me by Gianni ...

(Based on (13a), (13b), (24a), (25 a), (1e), (29),

Belletti (1990), glosses (& translation) are mine)

The data show that the NP in the sequence participle-NP is assigned Nominative in the case of unaccusatives, Accusative in the case of transitives, and that an NP cannot be licensed in the case of

intransitives or passives.²⁵

To account for (46a) Belletti proposes that an unaccusative V assigns Nominative from COMP, where it combines with an abstract T-type morpheme, after collecting its ASP features from ASPP: Tense is always involved in Nominative Case assignment and this is what motivates the movement to COMP. (The T-type element is in COMP because participles do not have Tense proper, they only have Aspect.) In addition, Case is assigned under Spec-head agreement with the NP, which has moved into subject position, i.e. [Spec, AGR-OP], out of a direct object position.

The fact that unaccusative ASCs with overt Nominative NPs never take complementizers is given as a proof that V in reality reaches COMP. V is compelled to raise into COMP for the purposes of Nominative Case assignment, since a complementizer is allowed if the NP is not overtly realized, i.e. there is no NP which would require Nominative Case in order to be licensed.

(47) a. Anche se arrivata in ritardo, Maria non si scusò.

even if arrived-Fem. late Maria not CL excuse

Although Maria arrived late, she did not apologize.

b.*Anche se arrivata Maria, tutti si rifiutarono di partire

even if arrived-Fem.Maria all CL refused to leave

Although Maria had arrived, no one wanted to leave.

(Belletti's (1990) (16), glosses & translation mine)

That an overt NP moves into [Spec, AGRP] is supported by the

ungrammaticality of "ne" ("of them/him/her/it") extraction, which is only possible with NPs in object position (Cf. (48a)), as well as by the absence of DE (Definiteness Effect) phenomena (Cf. (48b)), which only occur when the subject of an unaccusative verb surfaces in its D-structure position (Cf. Belletti (1988)).

(48) a. *?Arrivate (parecchi-), la festa cominciò.

arrived-of-them many the party began

As many of them had arrived, the party began.

b. Caduto il missile in giardino, la storia ebbe inizio.

fallen-Masc.the missile in garden the story has begun

As the missile landed in the garden, the story began.

(Belletti's (20a&b) & (23c), glosses & translation mine)

In other words, (48a) proves that the NP following the participle is not in the position of an object, and (48b) shows that the NP can be marked [+ definite], just like the subject of a finite unaccusative verb could only if it has already raised out of the post-verbal position, where it is base-generated.

The peculiarity of ASCs with transitives is that the past participle agrees with the following Accusative-marked NP (Cf. (46b)), which never happens in the case of finite verbs. Belletti's explanation is as follows. V raises to AGR-O in the syntax and reaches COMP at LF. Thus V assigns Case at SS and gets its T-value at LF. It is banned from COMP because the past participial morphology acquired in AGR-O absorbs Accusative Case, becoming itself Accusative-marked: COMP is a Case position and a Case-marked

element there would cause a "Case Conflict".²⁶

As the past participial morphology is assumed to deprive V of its Accusative Case assigning ability, V again receives support from agreement for the purposes of Case assignment, but this time it is head-complement agreement, meaning that the Accusative NP never leaves its object position in VP. Its status as a genuine object is easily established because in this environment both object and reflexive clitics can occur unproblematically.²⁷

(49) a. Conosciutene (molte-), ... NE-extraction

known-PL-of-them many

Many of them known, ...

b. Salutatala, ... direct object clitic

greeted-Fem.-her

Having greeted her, ...

c. Elogiatasi, ... reflexive clitic

praised-Fem.-herself

Having praised herself, ...

(Belletti's (26a), (28b) & (34b), glosses & translation mine)

That the participle eventually raises to COMP is supported by the ungrammaticality of complementizers "anche se" & "benché":

(50) *Anche se conosciuta Maria/me, Gianni non e cambiato.

even if known-Fem. Maria/me Gianni not is changed

Even after meeting Maria/me Gianni did not change.

(Belletti's (1990) (39a), glosses & translation mine)

But V is not allowed to raise above AGR prior to LF, since this would enable it to assign Nominative to a lexical NP at SS, which does not happen. The potentially Nominative NP is realized as PRO, presumably occupying [Spec, AGRP], as Belletti mentions in passing. The correct representation for ASCs with transitives is as follows:

- (51) PRO_i conosciuta Maria, X_i ha cambiato il suo stile di vita
 known-Fem. Maria X has changed the his style of life
 Having met Maria, X changed his lifestyle.

Passive ASCs too are only licensed as Control structures, where there is no overt NP realizing what would otherwise correspond to the derived subject of a finite passive clause. Compare the unacceptable (46d) above with (52) below:

- (52) Salutata da tutti, Maria lasciò la sala.
 greeted-Fem. by everybody Maria left the room
 Greeted by everybody, Maria left the room.

(based on (43), Belletti(1990))

The grammaticality of complementizers "anche se" & "benché" is taken as a proof that, with passives, V does not go higher than AGR, not even at LF. Besides, V must be banned from COMP to avoid a "Case Conflict" situation. So, an overt NP cannot be licensed as a Nominative-marked NP. On the other hand, it cannot be marked for the Accusative either, since the past participial morphology deprives V of the ability to assign Accusative.

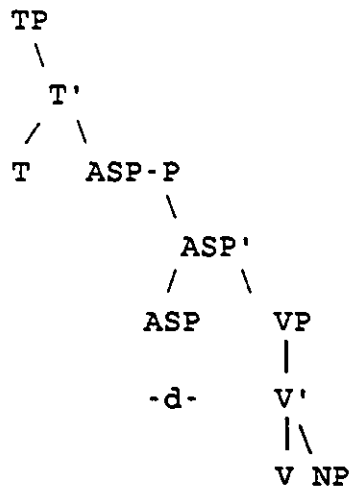
Finally, the combination [intransitive V + NP] (Cf. (46c)) is as a

rule ungrammatical in ASCs, according to Belletti. V cannot reach COMP where it would cause a Case conflict, which makes a Nominative NP impossible. Neither can V license an Accusative NP²⁸, which is done through head-complement agreement in ASCs. This possibility is not available for the NP in (46c), as subjects of intransitives are assumed to originate in a Spec-like position within VP, not in an object position. Belletti does not study the alternative structure with a PRO subject, neither does she attempt to accommodate cases when an intransitive verb actually realizes a potentially present direct object.²⁹

1.3.2 De Miguel too analyzes the absolute participle construction (APC) (literal translation of the Spanish label CPA = Construcción Participio Absoluto) as a "partial clause". Like Italian, but unlike English, the richer morphology allows overt agreement marking. Spanish APCs, like their Italian counterparts, license NPs following and agreeing with the past participle. However, these NPs can never be in the Accusative.

According to de Miguel the syntactic representation of APC contains VP, ASPP, and TP projections:

(52)



(based on (39), de Miguel(1992))

De Miguel(1992) applies the label APC to unaccusative and transitive³⁰ past participles, followed by an overt NP marked for the Nominative (but never for the Accusative). Importantly, only unaccusatives lexically marked [+ perfective] can occur in this construction. Intransitives are considered ungrammatical.³¹

- (54) a. *Vendida la casa, abandonamos para siempre el valle.* TR
 sold-Fem. the house-Fem.left-1PL for ever the valley
 The house sold, we left the valley for good.
- b. *Muerto el perro, se acabo la rabia.* UNACC
 died-Masc. the dog-Masc. CL finished the rage/noise
 Once the dog was dead, the fuss was over.
- c. **Nadado Juan, se sintio mejor.* *INTR
 swum-Masc. Juan CL felt-3SG better
 After swimming Juan felt better.

(based on (1a)-(1c), de Miguel(1992), translation & glosses mine)

In addition, de Miguel claims that pronouns and *pro* are

ungrammatical³² in the APC, and that Control cases should not go under this label.

Unlike its Italian counterpart, the Spanish APC disallows any material traditionally associated with COMP, i.e. complementizers (e.g. "si" ("if")), wh phrases (e.g. "cuando" ("when")), which motivates de Miguel to posit a TP as the topmost projection, instead of a CP:³³

(55) a. Quanto comunicatoci, ci fa ben sperare. (It.)

what told-Neut.-us us makes well hope

What we were told , makes us hope for the best.

(based on Belletti's (6), glosses and translation mine)

b. *Si/cuando remodelada la casa, podria venderse mas

if/when reconstructed-Fem. the house should sell-Refl. much

facilmente. (Sp.)

easier

If/when the house is reconstructed, it will be much easier to sell.

(de Miguel's (1992) (7a), glosses and translation mine)

The AGRP projection in APCs is discarded, since agreement in Person is lacking, hence there is no true clausal agreement and the positing of such a node is unnecessary. However, de Miguel turns to Spec-head agreement for the purposes of Nominative Case assignment, which takes place as soon as V raises to ASP and acquires its participial ending.

If V raises to a projection higher than ASPP this is obviously not

for the purposes of Case assignment. Following Hernanz(1991), de Miguel assumes that the highest projection is needed in order to give the APC temporal reference and an adverbial value, and eventually the status of a subordinate clause. Unlike Hernanz, however, she assumes that this is accomplished in TP, not in CP.

It is in the head of TP that Aspect, the only temporal category of participles, becomes "visible", since the [V + participle] complex, which raises to T, is marked [+ perfective]. This explains why the only possible type of verbs appearing in the absolute participle construction are unaccusative verbs lexically marked [+ perfective] or transitives, Transitivity being traditionally associated or even identified with Perfectivity, as opposed to Imperfectivity. (For a detailed discussion of the groups of verbs licensed in this kind of participial SCs see de Miguel (1992:76-130).)

To sum up, both Belletti(1990) for Italian and de Miguel(1992) for Spanish argue for the presence of functional projections in absolute participial clauses. They differ in their choice of the concrete projections to be included. In both cases V receives its past participial morphology in a projection (immediately) dominating VP. In Belletti's view, V may move to COMP at SS, for unaccusatives at least, for the purposes of Nominative Case assignment. According to de Miguel, Nominative Case is assigned in a lower projection, ASPP, and V reaches the highest projection so that the participial clause may receive temporal reference and

consequently be identified as subordinate to the main clause. Both analyses will benefit from a closer examination of SCs with empty subjects. It would be interesting to look deeper into the behavior of verbs that go under the label "intransitives". Yet another problem worth examining is the nature of participial agreement, which seems to play an important role in both Italian and Spanish, whether this role has been acknowledged by the positing of an AGRP or not.

Chapter 1 has covered analyses arguing against the existence of SCs, analyses defending their constituency and status as maximal projections of their predicates, and analyses treating them as sentential categories. After reviewing relevant data from MB in the following chapter we shall turn to a discussion of SCs with adjectival, nominal, and prepositional predicates in Chapter 3, followed by a discussion of participial SCs in Chapter 4. SCs will be treated as constituents and, depending on their sentential position and the morphosyntactic properties of their predicates, they will be analyzed as projections of their predicates or as containing functional projections above their predicate XP.

Chapter 2: Modern Bulgarian SCs: the Data

The predicate position of MB SCs can be occupied by all categories that in finite clauses would combine with a copula verb (NPs, PPs, APs) or an auxiliary/modal verb (participles). As the properties of participial SCs present special interest, they will be discussed separately from the other three types of SCs. Section 1 will be devoted to NP, AP, and PP SCs, and Section 2 will concentrate on participial SCs.

2.1 SCs with AP, NP, and PP Predicates

Examples of SCs with AP, NP, and PP predicates are listed below:

- (56) Prirodata e sūzdala [_{NP} Carevec i Trapezica nepristūpni].

nature-Def. is created Tsarevets and Trapezitsa inaccessible-PL

Nature has created Tsarevets and Trapezitsa inaccessible.

- (57) Nareče [_{NP} Ralica padašta zvezda].

called-3SG Ralitsa shooting star

(He) called Ralitsa a shooting star.

- (58) Smjatam [_{PP} nego za česten čovek].

consider-1SG him for honest man

I consider him an honest man.

(56)-(58) show that with respect to the choice of adjectives(As), nouns(Ns), and prepositions(Ps) as heads of SC predicates MB resembles English, Spanish, Italian.

Close similarities between MB and other European languages are also observed regarding the paradigm of the SC subject. To start with, it may include overt NPs. These can be (modified) nouns, as in (57), pronouns, as in (58), conjoined NPs, as in (56) above. The SC subject can also be occupied by empty categories, associated with a matrix clause subject, which can itself be an empty category, as in (59):

(59) pro_i izgledas $[e_i$ različen].

look-2SG(Masc.) different-Masc.

You look/seem different.

an overt derived category:

(60) Toj_i be vūzpitan $[e_i$ česten].

he was brought-up honest-Masc.

He was brought up as an honest man.

or an overt non-derived category:

(61) $\check{Z}eni_i$ pozdravi $[e_i$ štastliva].

Zheni-Fem. greeted happy-Fem.

Zheni said hello happily.

Object association is also possible:

(62) Ženi jade mesoto_i [e_i prjasno].

Zheni-Fem. eats meat-Neut.Def. fresh-Neut.

Zheni eats her meat fresh.

The empty SC subjects can be traces, as in (60), *PRO*, as in (61) and (62), and possibly *pro*.

It should be noted that in cases like (58) the use of the full pronoun makes the sentence emphatic. As in other languages which can choose between a pronoun and a clitic it is the clitic that would appear in the unmarked variant, i.e. "go" ("him"):

(63) Smjatom go_i [e_i za česten čovek].

consider-1SG *him* for honest man

I consider him an honest man.

Unlike the full pronoun, the clitic cannot fill the the subject position of an object SC. It is widely accepted that clitics are either base-generated in or move to a position adjoined to AGRP. This is more clearly shown by the example below:

(64) Az go_i smjatom [e_i za česten čovek].

I *him* consider-1SG for honest man

I consider him an honest man.

We can induce that even in (63) the clitic is not in VP, but the word order *matrix V-clitic* results from the verb bypassing the clitic in AGRP, as MB does not allow clitics to occupy sentence initial position. This necessarily raises the question of the

status of the empty category in the subject position of SC and the formal relations in which it stands with the clitic.

On the assumption that (some) clitics are base-generated in an argument position, out of which they consequently raise, the empty category in question will be a clitic trace in the subject position of SC, which will have to be properly governed in fulfillment of the requirements of ECP. Alternatively, clitics may be viewed as surfacing in the position where they are base-generated. In this case we could posit a *PRO* subject, which would be compatible with recent proposals that *PRO* is not necessarily ungoverned. It may be licensed in e.g. ECM environments, possibly receiving "null" Case in the sense of neutralizing the Accusative Case that a full pronoun would get. Yet another solution could be to assume that since *PRO* is disallowed in a governed position, we are in fact dealing with *pro*. Note, however, that government in this case cannot be executed by *V* directly, since on the assumption that the clitic surfaces in AGRP, either in an adjoined position or in Spec(Cf. Rivero(1994a)), the word order *V-clitic* indicates movement of *V* to a projection higher than AGRP. Thus, unless we assume that the trace of *V* can govern into the SC, just like *V* would, we are safe to posit a *PRO* subject there, even if we have to observe the *PRO* theorem in its traditional form.

The positing of *pro* seems to be our best choice in cases like (65) below:

(65) Smetnax [*pro* [za nevůzmožno [da ti pomogna]]]

thought-1SG for impossible (to) to-you help-1SG

I thought it impossible to help you.

This is a plausible configuration if we think of the English example in (25) above, where extraposition out of the SC subject position has applied, leaving behind an expletive "it":

(66)=(25) I thought it useless to argue with her.

For MB we could assume that the subject position of the SC in (65) is an expletive *pro*, much like the *pro* of meteorological verbs which are crosslinguistically zero place predicates. Besides, if extraposition is possible in finite clauses, it should be possible in SCs too:

(67) a. Da ti pomogna beše/bi bilo nevūzmožno.

(to) to-you help-1SG was/ would be-PastPart. impossible

To help you was/would be impossible.

a. Beše/bi bilo nevūzmožno da ti pomogna.

was/would be-PastPart. impossible (to) to-you help-1SG

It was/would be impossible to help you.

Cases of *pro* subjects are in all probability limited to SCs with impersonal predicates of the extraposition type (i.e. on the assumption that (lowering) movement to the right is allowed). In all other environments an *e* SC NP is obligatorily associated with a matrix clause NP.

We have seen so far that the SC subject and predicate can actually make use of the entire inventory available to finite clauses. The

parallel can be extended to agreement facts as well, which concern SCs with adjectival heads in particular. The SC NP agrees with its predicate, the only difference being that SC agreement lacks an essential category of finite agreement, namely Person. The other two categories, Gender and Number, are invariably present:

- (68) a. Prirodata e sūzdala [_{NP} planinite nepristūpni].
 nature-Def. is created mountain-PL-Def. inaccessible-PL
 Nature has created the mountains inaccessible.
- b. Prirodata e sūzdala [_{NP} planinata nepristūpna].
 nature-Def. is created mountain-Fem.Def. inaccessible-Fem.
 Nature has created the mountain inaccessible.

The predicates of empty SC subjects agree according to Gender and Number with the antecedent of the SC NP, whether it is a trace or PRO:

- (69) Ženi jade mesoto_i [e_i prjasno].
 Zheni-Fem. eats meat-Neut.Def. fresh-Neut.
 Zheni eats her meat fresh.

With respect to agreement facts MB sides with Spanish and Italian, rather than with English for obvious reasons. Observe the behavior of MB SCs in the examples cited so far, compared with that of Spanish and Italian SCs in (70a) and (70b), respectively:

- (70) a. Considero claro el asunto.
 consider-1SG clear-Masc. the matter-Masc.
 I consider the matter clear. (Sp.)

- b. Ritengo Gianni soddisfatto del suo lavoro.
 consider-1SG Gianni(Masc.)satisfied-Masc.with-the his work
 I think that Gianni is satisfied with his work.(It.)

Naturally, in the case of a nominal SC predicate head agreement may be violated: e.g. in (71) both "čudo na prirodata"("a wonder of nature", SG) and "giganti"("giants", PL) would be acceptable SC predicates for "planinite"("the mountains", PL).

- (71) a. Djado naričaše planinite ni giganti.

Grandpa called mountains our giants
 Grandpa called our mountains giants.

- b. Djado naričaše planinite ni čudo na prirodata.

Grandpa called mountains-Def. our wonder of nature-Def.
 Grandpa called our mountains a wonder of nature.

As far as the relative positioning of the SC NP and the SC predicate is concerned, two WO patterns are possible. Compare the alternative to (56) above:

- (72) Prirodata e sūzdala [nepristūpni Carevec i Trapezica].

nature-Def. is created inaccessible Tsarevets and Trapezitsa
 Nature has created Tsarevets and Trapezitsa inaccessible.

If in Spanish the [Pr + S] WO seems to be preferred(Cf. (70a)), MB favors the [S + Pr] WO, reserving the alternative variant for cases where the SC subject is expanded, or for communicative purposes. In a number of cases, however, the two WO patterns may be interchangeable, neither being felt as less common, or licensed

solely for the purposes of emphasis. Examples where the stylistic differences are minimal are given below:

(73) a. Toj smjata vsjaka krasiva žena za boginja.

he considers every beautiful woman for goddess

He thinks that every beautiful woman is a goddess.

b. Toj smjata za boginja vsjaka krasiva žena.

he considers for goddess every beautiful woman

He thinks that every beautiful woman is a goddess.

As far as their distribution is concerned MB SCs may act as sentential objects, sentential subjects, complements of link verbs, adjuncts with either matrix subject or matrix object association.

Their usage in the subject position of a sentence is rather restricted, which mirrors the situation in English and Spanish:

(74) [Rabotnici v stačka] e tova, koeto iskame da izbegnem.

workers in strike is that which want-1PL (to) avoid-1PL

Workers on strike is what we want to avoid.

In other positions they are more common.

In the case of adjunct SC there may arise ambiguities due to the availability of both an object and a subject association construal:

(75) Petūr si spomnjaše bašta si PRO s neizmenna usmivka.

Peter remembered father his with invariable smile

= In Peter's memories his father was always smiling.

= Peter always smiled when thinking about his father.

Adjunct SCs are also interesting, as they are the only ones that are compatible with complementizers. However, instances of "makar i" ("although") may well be the only option for standard MB:

(76) a. *Makar i mlad, toj beše dobūr učitel.*

though young he was good teacher.

Although he was young, he was a good teacher.

b. *Makar i v naprednala vūzrast, toj beše rabotosposoben.*

though in advanced age he was able-to-work-Masc.

Although advanced in years, he was able to work.

In conclusion, the typology of AP, NP, and PP SCs on the whole resembles the typology of English SCs. Agreement facts group MB with Romance languages, and in some cases so might WO characteristics. With respect to the distribution of SCs, MB shares common characteristics with English, as well as with representatives of Romance.

SCs with AP, NP, and PP predicates will be discussed again in Chapter 3.

2.2 Participial SCs

If with respect to its choice of APs, NPs, PPs, as predicates of SC MB resembles English and Romance languages, in the case of verbal SC predicates it behaves differently. MB does not provide the naked infinitive type of SC, as it lacks the category Infinitive, to start with, but instead it has a rich choice of participles:

agentive, present active, past active perfective, past passive. For convenience' sake they will be glossed AgtP, PrAP, PPP, and PassP. Only AgtP is never inflected for Gender and Number, hence glossed with a zero, whereas the remaining three are always marked for Gender and Number, bearing the same endings as adjectives. The translation will attempt to reflect that AgtPs and PrAPs as a rule denote activities performed simultaneously with those in the matrix clause, whereas PPPs and PassPs either denote actions preceding those in the matrix clause or states resulting from such activities and therefore cooccurring with an action/state in the main clause.

Examples of the four types of adjunct participials are listed below: agentive, as in (77a&b), present active, as in (77c&d), past active perfective, as in (77e), past passive, as in (77f):

(77) a. [e_i usmixvajki se], tja_i izleze ot stajata.

smile-AgtP-Ø CL she went-out of room-Def.

Smiling, she went out of the room.

b. Tja_i izleze ot stajata, [e_i usmixvajki se].

she went-out of room-Def. smile-AgtP-Ø CL

She went out of the room, smiling.

c. [e_{i/}, stojašt pred kompjutūra], Asen_i pozdravi Ivan_j.

stand-PrAP-Masc.before computer-Def. Asen greeted Ivan

Standing in front of the computer, Asen greeted Ivan.

d. Asen_i pozdravi Ivan_j, [e_{i/} stojašt pred kompjutūra].

Asen greeted Ivan stand-PrAP-Masc. before computer-Def.

Asen greeted Ivan, standing in front of the computer.

e. [e_i zavüršil statijata], toj_i si otdūrna.

finish-PPP-Masc. article-Fem.Def. he CL felt-relief
Having finished the article, he felt relieved.

f. [e_i iznenadani ot policijata], teroristite, otkrixa
surprise-PassP-PL by police-Def. terrorists-Def. started
strelba.

fire

Surprised by the police, the terrorists started to shoot.

The remaining two participles in MB, past active imperfective and present passive, will be excluded from the discussion to follow because of their specialized/ restricted usage.³⁴

MB participials in adjunct positions are exclusively³⁵ structures of obligatory control, where an empty category, *PRO*, in the SC subject position is associated with a matrix object or subject NP. In this respect participials in adjunct positions are like other adjuncts in MB, but unlike absolute participials in Spanish and Italian, where overt Nominative NPs are also allowed. With the exception of the agentive participle (Cf. (77a&b)), participles agree overtly according to Gender and Number, but not Person, with the antecedent of *PRO* (Cf. (77c-f)). In this respect participials resemble AP adjunct SCs.

Adjunct participles can take the same complements and modifiers that their verbs take in finite clauses. Provided this is allowed by the selectional properties of the verb from which they are derived, the three active participles can license an Accusative NP (78a&c), an anaphor (78e), a dative object (78a&b), each of which

can cliticize onto the participle(78b-d) and (78f):

(78) a. Podavajki knjigata na Ana, Ivan kimna.

hand-AgtP-Ø book-Def. to Anna Ivan nodded

Handing Anna the book, Ivan nodded.

b. Podavajki ja na Ana, Ivan kimna.

hand-AgtP-Ø her(CL) to Anna Ivan nodded

Handing Anna the book, Ivan nodded.

c. Podavajki i knjigata, Ivan kimna.

hand-AgtP-Ø to-her(CL) book-Def. Ivan nodded

Handing her the book, Ivan nodded.

d. Podavajki i ja, Ivan kimna

hand-AgtP-Ø to-her her Ivan nodded

Handing it to her, Ivan nodded.

e. Obvinjavašt sebe si za neuspexa, Ivan mülčeše.

blame-PrAP-Masc. himself for failure-Def. Ivan remained-silent

Blaming himself for the failure, Ivan remained silent.

f. Obvinjavašt se za neuspexa, Ivan mülčeše.

blame-PrAP-Masc. himself(CL) for failure-Def. Ivan remained-silent

Blaming himself for the failure, Ivan remained silent.

The past passive participle enters into passive configurations, meaning that it is incompatible with Accusative NPs, anaphors, and clitics(Cf. (79a-d)), but allows Dative objects and clitics, as well as "ot"("by") objects(79e):

(79) a.*Podadena knjigata na Ana, Ivan kimna.

hand-PassP-Fem. book-Def. to Anna Ivan nodded

*Handed Anna the book, Ivan nodded.

- b. *Podadena i ja, Ivan kimna.
 hand-PassP-Fem. to-her her Ivan nodded
 *Handed it to her, Ivan nodded.
- c. *Obvinen sebe si za neuspexa, Ivan mülčeše.
 blame-PassP-Masc. himself for failure-Def. Ivan remained-silent
 *Blamed himself for the failure, Ivan remained silent.
- d. *Obvinen se za neuspexa, Ivan mülčeše.
 blame-PassP-Masc. himself(CL) for failure-Def. Ivan remained-silent
 *Blamed himself for the failure, Ivan remained silent.
- e. Dadena i ot Ivan, knigata i beše mnogo sküpa.
 give-PassP-Fem.to-her(CL) by Ivan book-Fem.Def.to-her was very dear
 A present from Ivan, the book was very dear to her.

Passive participles can be derived from certain "se" verbs, where the clitic "se" may alternate with a full reflexive pronoun if the verb is transitive ("obličam_{tr} + se" ("dress + oneself")), or it may serve as an obligatory prop for the verb forming with it a single lexical entry ("usmixvam se" but *"usmixvam" ("smile")). The clitic in such cases is "absorbed" just like a direct object, which means that the passive morphology treats direct objects, Accusative reflexive clitics and lexicalized "se" alike. Importantly, the passive participle(80b&d) is interchangeable with the past active participle(80a&c):

- (80) a. Obljakül se udobno, Asen ne se čuvstvaše umoren.
 dress-PPP-Masc. CL comfortably Asen not CL feel tired
 Dressed comfortably, Asen did not feel tired.
- b. Oblečen udobno, Asen ne se čuvstvaše umoren.

dress-PassP-Masc. comfortably Asen not CL feel tired
 Dressed comfortably, Asen did not feel tired.

c. Usmixnal se štastlivo, Asen ja pozdravi.

smile-PPP-Masc. CL happily Asen her greeted
 Smiling happily, Asen greeted her.

d. Usmixnat štastlivo, Asen ja pozdravi.

smile-PassP-Masc. happily Asen her greeted
 Smiling happily, Asen greeted her.

If an Accusative NP complements the participle of a transitive verb it behaves like the object of a finite verb, never agreeing with the participle (Cf. (77e) above). By comparison, when an Accusative NP occurs in Italian it agrees with the participle and Spanish absolute participials never allow Accusative NPs, in the first place.

(81) a. Accusata Maria/me, Gianni lasciò Roma. (I)

accused-Fem. Maria/me Gianni left Rome
 After accusing Maria/me Gianni left Rome.

b. Arrivata Maria/io, Gianni lasciò Roma. (I)

arrived-Fem. Maria/I Gianni left Rome
 When Maria/I arrived, Gianni left Rome.

c. Llegada Maria/yo, Juan sonrió. (S)

arrived-Fem. Maria/I Juan smiled
 When Maria arrived, Juan smiled.

d. Vista Maria/ella/*me, Juan sonrió. (S)

seen-Fem. Maria/she/*me Juan smiled.
 Seeing Maria/her/me, Juan smiled.

MB participials do not license an overt NP marked for the Nominative which would agree in Number and Gender with the participle, in the manner of both Italian and Spanish, neither is agreement with an Accusative-marked NP, like in Italian (but not in Spanish), possible:

- (82) *Ivan/toj/nego zavürsil statijata, vsički si otdüxnaxa.
 Ivan/he/him finish-PPP-Masc. article-Fem.Def. all CL felt-relief
 When Ivan/he had finished the article, everybody felt
 relieved.

MB participials are compatible with the complementizer "makar i" ("although"), like their Italian counterparts (Cf. "anche se"/"benché" in Belletti's (1990) ASCs), but unlike either Spanish or Italian they may also take negation.

- (83) a. Makar i predupredena ot policijata, tja ne namali.
 although warn-PassP-Fem. by police-Def. she not slow-down-3SG
 Although the police had given her a warning, she refused to
 slow down.
- b. Ne znaejki³⁶ kakvo da pravi, tja zaplaka.
 not know-AgtP-0 what (to) do-3SG she started-to-cry.
 Not knowing what to do, she started to cry.

It should be mentioned that past active and past passive participles are more common than the present active and agentive participles in adjunct position. In general participles are felt to belong to the written language and in many cases the usage of finite subordinate clauses is preferred.³⁷

To sum up, participial adjuncts in MB are exclusively control structures, unlike Italian and Spanish absolute participles which allow overt Nominative NPs and *pro* alongside with *PRO* in the SC subject position. Like Italian, but unlike Spanish, in participial clauses MB licenses clitics and Accusative-marked NPs. However, unlike in Italian, there can never be agreement between the participle and an Accusative-marked NP. Agreement is realized overtly between the participle and the antecedent of *PRO*. Linguistic facts discussed above suggest that MB participials should be treated as sentential categories in the manner proposed by Belletti(1990) for Italian and by de Miguel(1992) for Spanish absolute participials. However, the exact number and type of projections in the syntactic representations can be expected to vary from one language to another, the crucial difference being registered with respect to the nature of agreement and the licensing of *PRO* subjects alone or alongside with overt Nominative-marked NPs.

The internal structure and Control properties of adjunct participial SCs will be analyzed in Chapter 4.

Chapter 3: Modern Bulgarian SCs with AP, NP, and PP

Predicates

This chapter will review evidence for the constituency of MB SCs with adjectival, nominal, and prepositional predicates, as well as their internal structure. Facts from Case assignment, binding of anaphors, licensing of types of empty categories in the SC NP position will also be discussed.

3.1 On the Constituency of AP, NP, and PP SCs

Let us start with the "classic" type of SCs, i.e. SCs as complements of transitive verbs illustrated below:

(84) Ralica napravi Asen neštasten.

Ralitsa made Asen unhappy

Ralitsa made Asen unhappy.

If "Asen neštasten" is undoubtedly a semantic unit due to the predicative relation that holds between "Asen" and "neštasten", linguistic facts provide controversial evidence as far as its syntactic status is concerned.

As in a number of IE languages, the logical subject "Asen" is persistent in behaving like a matrix object:

1. It is marked for the Accusative, not for the Nominative, as the morphological form of a pronoun substituted for "Asen" shows:

(85) *Ralica napravi nego/*toj neštasten.*

Ralitsa made him/he unhappy

Ralitsa made him unhappy.

2. It is subject to cliticization:

(86) *Ralica go smjata za genij.*

Ralitsa him-CL considers genius

Ralitsa considers him (to be) a genius.

3. Under passivization it mirrors the behavior of an object:

(87) *Toj/*nego/*go beše smjatan za genij.*

he/him/him-CL was considered for genius

He was considered a genius.

4. It can be an anaphor bound within the matrix clause, whereas a pronoun in its place must be free:

(88) *Ralica_i smjata sebe si_i/neja*_{i/3} za krasavica.*

Ralitsa considers herself/her for charmer

Ralitsa_i considers herself_i/her*_{i/3} a charmer.

5. The anaphor may undergo cliticization:

(89) *Ralica_i se smjata za krasavica.*

Ralitsa herself(CL) considers for charmer

Ralitsa considers herself a charmer.

6. It is difficult to question the string [NP + AP] as a unit:

(90) a. *Kakvo smjata Ralica?* --- *(Smjata) Asen za genij.

what thinks Ralitsa thinks Asen for genius

What does Ralitsa think? --- She thinks that Asen is a genius.

b. *Kakvo napravi Ralica?* --- *(Napravi) Asen nestasten.

what did/made Ralitsa did/made Asen unhappy

What did Ralitsa make? --- She made Asen unhappy.

But it would be possible to question a finite subordinate clause, whose constituency is indisputable. The appropriate answers to the questions in (90) could be:

(91) a. *Ralica smjata će si prav.*

Ralitsa thinks that be-2SG right

Ralitsa thinks that you are right.

b. *Ralica napravi kakvoto ja pomolixa.*³⁸

Ralitsa made what her asked-3PL

Ralitsa did what they asked her to.

If 1-6 above argue for an [object-predicative phrase] analysis of the italicized string in examples like (84), subcategorization data may bias our judgement in favor of a clausal analysis. Neither "napravja" ("make") nor "smjatam" ("consider") seem to subcategorize for a direct human object to parallel "Asen":

(92) a. **Ralica napravi Asen.*

Ralitsa made Asen

*Ralitsa made Asen.

b.*Ralica smjata Asen.

Ralitsa considers Asen

*Ralitsa considers Asen.

An NP in the object position of these two verbs would only be possible in the case of non-human referents:

(93) a. Ralica napravi greška.

Ralitsa made mistake

Ralitsa made a mistake.

b. Ralica smjata zadači (v svobodnoto si vreme).

Ralitsa solves problems in spare her time

Ralitsa solves problems (in her spare time).

Notice the semantic shift in the verbs themselves: "napravja" is no longer a causative verb, neither does "smjatam" denote "be of a certain opinion". We can assume then that the subcategorization properties of the verbs vary from one of their usages to another, or even that we are dealing with different verbs. Either way, the ungrammaticality of (92) argues for a clausal treatment of "Asen neštasten", rather than for a "direct object plus predicative phrase" treatment.

Furthermore, (90) above had shown that the disputed string cannot be questioned as a unit, unlike a finite subordinate clause in the object position (91). But it can also be shown that, when questioned separately, the subject NP of the SC (94a) mirrors the behavior of

a subordinate clause subject(94b), rather than that of a NP matrix constituent followed by another matrix constituent(94c) or a NP plus a PP modifier(94d):

(94) a. Smjatat Asen za nestašten.

consider-3PL Asen for unhappy

They consider Asen unhappy.

(i) Kogo_i smjatat [t_i za neštasten]?

Who do they consider unhappy?

(ii) *Kogo smjatat?

*Who do they consider?

b. Smjatat, če Asen e neštasten.

consider-3PL that Asen is unhappy

They think that Asen is unhappy.

(i) Koj_i smjatat [če t_i e neštasten]?

Who do they think is unhappy?

(ii) *Koj smjatat?

*Who do they think?

c. Kupix kniga v četvürtük.

bought-1SG book on thursday

I bought a book on thursday.

(i) Kakvo kupix v četvürtük?

What did I buy on thursday?

(ii) Kakvo kupix?

What did I buy?

d. Kupix kniga za četene.

bought-1SG book for reading

I bought a book for reading/to read.

(i) Kakvo kupix za četene?

What did I buy to read?

(ii) Kakvo kupix?

What did I buy?

The subject of the SC cannot be questioned, if its predicate is not explicitly mentioned(94a.ii). This is to be expected if the two maintain predicative relations of a clausal type, which must hold even after NP extraction has taken place. The sentence would be ungrammatical unless the SC predicate stays to combine with the NP trace, just like the finite verb in (94b.ii). In other words, when "wh" movement of the SC NP applies the SC predicate cannot be totally null. In the case of (94c.ii) and (94d.ii) an adjunct PP and a postmodifying PP, respectively, can be omitted, since they do not stand in relations of interdependence with the extracted NP. Thus the SC behaves like a finite subordinate clause(94b), rather than like a string of two matrix clause constituents(94c) or like a direct object containing an NP head and a PP modifier(94d).⁴⁰

As for "li" questions, again, the possibility that SCs are constituents cannot be ruled out with any degree of certainty.

I assume alongside with Rivero(1993) that "li" occupies C⁰ and that it is a bound morpheme in the case of verbs, and a clitic, cliticizing onto a focalized phrase in [Spec, CP] in the case of e.g. NPs.

(95a) and (95b) can be taken to show that whatever precedes "li" is most probably a constituent, if the only position available in front of "li" is [Spec, CP]. As we can see in (95a.i), a SC fits into this frame and therefore it must be a constituent.

(95) a. Smjatat Asen za neštasten.

consider-3PL Asen for unhappy

They consider Asen unhappy.

(i) Asen za neštasten li smjatat?

Do they consider Asen unhappy?

(ii) Asen li smjatat za neštasten?

Is it Asen whom they consider unhappy?

(iii) Za neštasten li smjatat Asen?

Is it unhappy that they consider Asen to be?

b. Smjatat, će Asen e neštasten.

consider-3PL that Asen is unhappy

They think that Asen is unhappy.

(i) Če Asen e neštasten li smjatat?

Do they think that Asen is unhappy?

(ii) Asen li smjatat će e neštasten?

Is it Asen who they think is unhappy?

(iii) Neštasten li smjatat će e Asen?

?Is it unhappy that they think Asen is?

The fact that the SC NP and the SC predicate can each on their own be placed in front of "li" need not bother us since this is what happens with the subject and predicate adjective of a finite

subordinate clause: compare (95a.ii & iii) and (95b.ii & iii)

However, a string of more than one matrix clause constituents is also allowed to precede "li", as in (96):

(96) Kupix kniga v četvürtük.

bought-1SG book on thursday

I bought a book on thursday.

(i) Kniga li kupix v četvürtük?

Is it a book that I bought on thursday?

(ii) V četvürtük li kupix kniga?

Is it on wednesday that I bought a book?

(iii) Kniga v četvürtük li kupix?

Is it a book on wednesday that I bought?

In this case if we have already ruled out the possibility of the constituent immediately preceding "li" to be in C^0 , but have assumed it to be in [Spec, CP], the only position left for the NP "kniga" in (96.iii) would be an adjoined position to CP. There is nothing to prevent one from assuming the same configuration in the case of SCs, i.e., that the SC subject and the SC predicate are separated. As the alternative discussed above is equally acceptable, ie. that the SC elements forming a unit occupy the same position, the constituency of SCs cannot be denied with any degree of certainty. The latter interpretation is preferred when, apart from word order, intonation is taken into consideration: the SC as a whole can be focalized, followed by *li*.

If the object-like behavior of the SC NP has provided evidence

against the existence of SCs, and evidence from question formation has supported somewhat tentatively the existence of SCs, facts from binding can convincingly be used to defend the view that SCs are units at S-structure:

(97) a. *Asen smjata Todor_i za vrag na samija sebe si_i.*

Asen considers Todor for enemy to himself(emphatic)

Asen thinks that Todor_i is his own_i (worst) enemy.

b. **Asen_i smjata Todor za vrag na samija sebe si_i.*

Asen considers Todor for enemy to himself(emphatic)

*Asen_i thinks that Todor is his own_i (worst) enemy.

As the anaphor in (97) can only be bound by "Todor" but not by "Asen" it can be concluded that there is a constituent, subordinate to the matrix clause, which can and must serve as a binding domain for anaphors. This constituent is the SC "Todor za vrag na samija sebe si".

The SC analysis receives strong support from the joint effect of the Projection Principle and the θ -criterion. If SCs are semantic units and therefore constituents at LF the uniform projection of lexical properties at all levels requires them to be units at all levels. And if a verb subcategorizes for a position, it must θ -mark it. Assuming that this position is occupied by a SC, rather than by the NP of the SC, we solve the problem of two predicates assigning θ -roles to one and the same NP. The lower predicate would assign its Theta-role to the NP in question and the matrix predicate would assign a θ -role to the string [NP + predicative XP] as a whole,

confirming its constituency.

In the case of adjunct SCs constituency tests are difficult to administer because of the lack of an overt NP.

(98) *Asen pristigna posleden/s nova riza/suštinski snežen čovek .*

Asen arrived last-Masc./in new shirt/veritable snowman

Asen arrived last/in a new shirt/(looking like) a real snowman.

It is the Projection Principle in combination with θ -theory that help establish the presence of an $\bar{e}$ in the SC subject position. Since the $\bar{e}$ in the SC subject position is associated with a matrix NP, and *pro* is excluded as it alternates with overt NPs, both of which ensure disjoint reference, adjunct SCs can be identified as controlled *PRO* structures.

Given the predicate status of the AP, PP, or NP in adjunct position, one is compelled to deduce the presence of an empty category to which this predicate would be able to assign its (external) θ -role. As "Asen", the only eligible candidate is already reserved for the matrix V, the positing of a default category, coreferent with "Asen" becomes obligatory, unless we are prepared to face a violation of the Projection Principle and θ -theory. By extension, a constituent of the SC-type should be licensed in adjunct positions.

As for SCs as complements of raising/link verbs, Rizzi's (1986)

condition on chain formation can serve our purposes, at least in the example below:

- (99) *Petūr_i si_i izgledža [t_i visok]
Peter to-himself(CL) seems tall-Masc.
*Peter_i seems to himself_i tall.

The empirical claim Rizzi makes for the analogous examples in Italian is that they are ungrammatical because of the presence of the clitic which attempts to intervene between a raising subject and its trace. This seems to be correct in view of the grammaticality of an example with a clitic that is not coreferential with the subject:

- (100) Petūr_i mu_j izgledža [t_i visok]
Peter to-him(CL) seems tall-Masc.
Peter_i seems to him_j tall.

This reasoning is based on the assumption of a trace being present at SS, to start with. As the analysis works unproblematically from this point onwards, it can be concluded that the initial assumption must have been correct and, by extension, that a SC constituent t_i visok must exist in reality.⁴¹

A final proof for the constituency of SCs comes from their occurrence as sentential subjects:

- (101) Rabotnici v stačka e nešto koeto im se iska da izbegnat.
workers on strike is something that to-them CL wants to avoid-3PL
Workers on strike is what they want to avoid.

As we saw in Chapter 1, Section 2.2&3, instances of subject SCs were first registered by Safir(1983). Analogous examples from Spanish were provided by Contreras(1987). However marginal, such occurrences of some SCs, moreover appearing crosslinguistically⁴² justify one to assume that if some SCs are true SS units, then all SCs could be true units.

Notice that MB also allows SCs as subjects of mediopassive verbs (or impersonal *se* verbs)⁴³, not only of "sŭm", the MB equivalent of English "be" and Spanish "ser"/"estar":

- (102) Rabotnici v stačka se smjata za nešto koeto bi gi
workers in strike is-considered for something that would them-CL
stresnalo seriozno.
shock-PastPart. seriously
Workers on strike is the sort of situation that would give
them a serious warning.

Provided that the arguments in support of MB SCs offered above outweigh the evidence against them, we are justified to treat SCs with AP, NP, and PP predicates as S-structure units in the position of sentential subjects, complements, and adjuncts. But now we have to face the problem of the status of these constituents. This will be the topic of the following section.

3.2 Internal Structure of AP, NP, and PP SCs.

Chomsky(1981) assumes that SCs in object position are projections of their predicates, and Stowell(1983 & elsewhere) argues that they are XPs projected by Ns, As, Ps, and Vs, irrespective of their position in the sentence.

The assumption that SCs are NPs, APs, PPs, and VPs is in agreement with Stowell's(1983 & elsewhere) hypothesis that all major phrasal categories have a structural subject position. Apart from that, evidence for their XP status is found in the sensitivity of matrix Vs to the category of the SC predicate, which, if considered acceptable, would lead one to conclude that the category of the SC predicate in fact determines the category of the SC.

We can say that MB Vs are sensitive to the category of the SC predicate: if English "consider" and Spanish "considerar" can select SCs with e.g. AP predicates, this option is unavailable in standard MB, where verbs like "sčitam", "smjatom" favor PP SCs. On the other hand, MB "naričam"(Cf. English "name") rejects PP SCs in preference for AP/NP SCs.

A parallel line of reasoning developed by Contreras(1987) for Spanish is based on matrix Vs like "considerar" selecting SCs(presumably APs, NPs, etc.) but not infinitives(Ss). The S status of infinitives is determined by the possibility of a "que"("that") subordinate clause to appear as the object of "considerar", which is undoubtedly an S' category. If infinitives are ruled out, then they cannot have the same status as "que" clauses. If we ignore the possibility of SCs being S's, then,

having established that since they do not alternate with infinitives(=Ss) they cannot be Ss either, we are justified in assuming that they may be APs, NPs, etc.

Suppose this reasoning is applied to MB verbs like "pravja" ("make"), naričam("call, name") which select SCs, but not finite subordinate clauses:

(103)a. Naričax Maria zvesda/krasiva.

called-1SG Maria star/beautiful-Fem.

I used to call Maria a star/beautiful.

b.*Naričax, če Maria e zvesda.

called-1SG that Maria is star

*I used to name that Maria is a star.

In the absence of infinitives in MB(if they are treated as Ss and not S's) we cannot convincingly exclude the S treatment of SCs.

Subcategorization tests, however, cannot be applied to non-subcategorized positions, even with the tentative results that we have seen so far.

A neatly developed argument in favor of an AP treatment of (object) SCs can be based on examples from Italian, cited in Belletti(1990):

(104)a. Ho sentito [i bambini piangere tutti]

I heard the children cry all

I heard all the children cry.

b.*Ho sentito [i bambini tutti piangere]

I heard the children all cry

I heard all the children cry.

c. Ritenevo [quei ragazzi tutti intelligenti]

consider-1SG those boys all intelligent

I consider all those boys intelligent.

d.*Ritenevo [quei ragazzi intelligenti tutti]

consider-1SG those boys intelligent all

I consider all those boys intelligent. (Belletti's (1990)

(117)&(119), glosses/translation mine)

It has been proposed that Floated quantifiers like "tutti" can serve as a diagnostic for the position out of which an NP has moved. The facts above are straightforwardly accounted for if we assume that V in infinitival clauses obligatorily moves in the syntax and that the NP also moves, leaving behind the universal QP. But this is only possible if a position above VP is available in the structure of infinitival clauses. Such a position is AGR in AGRP, where V acquires its infinitival morphology. (104b) is the ungrammatical counterpart of the acceptable (104a), where the position of QP shows that no movement of V can have applied, thus preventing V from collecting all its features further up the tree. By contrast, the predicate of the SC need not and must not move higher than its starting position, as the ungrammaticality of (104d) shows. We can conclude that either SCs, at least AP SCs in object position, contain no structure above AP, or that for some reason movement does not apply.

If in MB the universal quantifier can act in the manner of Italian

Floated QPs then the situation in this language is somewhat different:

(105)a. Napravix [decata neštastni vsičkite]

made-1SG children-Def. unhappy all

I made all the children unhappy.

b. Napravix [decata vsičkite neštastni]

made-1SG children-Def. all unhappy

I made all the children unhappy.

Obviously MB allows movement of both the SC predicate and the SC NP,⁴⁴ although it does not make it the only option available. In (105a) movement has applied, and in (105b), at least in the case of the SC predicate, no movement can have applied. Excluding the possibility for the universal QP in (105a) to have floated out of the SC NP in the manner of e.g. extraposed NPs, we can safely conclude that not only do MB object AP SCs have at least one projection above AP, but also that they allow movement to it. This projection can be AGRP, since MB SC are marked for Gender and Number, as was pointed out in the preceding discussion. Of course, the problem arises with the account for (105b), if it is in this deficient AGRP that the adjective gets its Gender/Number marking. Not so if we assume that it is furnished with its inflection already in the lexicon and only has to check its agreement features at a later stage, in which case, due to the fact that AGR is not rich enough, this may not necessarily involve movement prior to LF.

Contreras(1987) proposes that the WO pattern SC predicate-SC NP

argues for the SC NP originating and surfacing in a post-predicate position, given that SCs of the AP type do not have structure above VP to which movement may apply. Notice, however, that the alternative WO is not impossible in Spanish and the sentence "Considero el asunto claro"(consider-1SG the matter clear) is a possible alternative to "Considero claro el asunto"(consider-1SG clear the matter). This shows that either postponement of the predicate to the right is possible or that movement of at least the NP to a projection higher than AP applies optionally, in which case we shall need to posit such a projection, in the first place. If we assume that the universal WO for SC at DS is NP-predicate, then unless we accept that postponement of NP is optionally possible, we shall have to posit an XP higher than AP to which the adjective can move. Either way, the existence of an AGRP-type projection above AP should be given the benefit of the doubt.

Further on, independent evidence argues for the existence of a CP at least for adjunct SCs. The relevant example is repeated as (106) below:

(106) *Makar i mlad, toj beše dobŕ učitel.*

Although young he was good teacher

Although young, he was a good teacher.

As the subordinating conjunction "makar i" is compatible with all types of SCs in adjunct positions, adjectival, nominal, etc. and since moreover complementizers in adjunct SCs are not uncommon crosslinguistically(Cf. Cinque's(1990) absolute adjectival SCs and

Belletti's (1990) participial SCs with complementizers "benché/anche se" ("although")⁴⁵, it can be assumed that a CP-type projection headed by "makar i" can be posited in adjunct SCs. The fact that it may be the only conjunction compatible with MB SCs naturally raises the question of the status of "makar i". As it alternates with sentential adverbs such as "vse ošte/veče" ("still/already") the possibility exists that its status is not exactly that of a complementizer. On the other hand, adverbs of this class have been noted to give shape, so to speak, to strings that would otherwise fail to qualify for the position of a SC, which suggests that they may be operator-like elements and it is in CP that operators are usually posited (Cf. SCs licensed by Italian "una volta" ("once") and Spanish "una vez" ("once") French "une fois" ("once")⁴⁶.)

As far as the status of negation in SCs is concerned, it seems to operate at the level of morphology or at the level of syntax:

(107) a. Smjatam Stojan za nevūzmožen.

consider-1SG Stoyan for impossible-Masc.

I consider Stoyan to be unbearable

b. Smjatam Stojan za ne mlad.

consider-1SG Stoyan for NOT young-Masc.

I consider Stoyan not young.

c. Makar i ne mlad, toj beše dobūr učitel.

Although not young he was good teacher

Although not young, he was a good teacher.

In the case of (107a) "ne" is a prefix: it is unstressed, no

element can intervene between it and "-vŭzmožen", e.g. the adverb "mnogo"("very") and the comparative and superlative prefixes must precede it("po-nevŭzmožen"("more ..."), "naj-nevŭzmožen"("most ..."). In (107b) it is most probably an adverbial-type element: it carries stress and could also modify an adverb modifying the adjective, e.g. "mnogo"("very"). The same is true for (107c).⁴⁷

The question arises whether negation in examples like (107b&c) is local(constituent) negation or whether it is clausal negation, as Cardinaletti and Guasti(1993) have proposed for Italian. A convenient test for the scope of negation can be the addition of an alternative phrase. (108) applies the "alternative-phrase" test to (107b) above:

(108) a. *Smjatom Stojan za ne mlad, a star.

consider-1SG Stojan for not young but old

I consider Stojan not young but old.

b. Smjatom Stojan za || ne mlad, a star.

consider-1SG Stojan for not young but old

I consider Stojan not young but old.

Presumably, if an alternative adjective to "mlad" is grammatical, we are dealing with negation of a narrower scope than clausal negation. If the resulting combination is ungrammatical, then negation is assumed to have the rank of sentential negation. Judging by the ungrammaticality of (108a) the negation in (107b) is clausal, rather than attached to the adjective "mlad" alone. Attachment of the phrase "a star"("but old") to the adjective is

also possible, but only if a pause is made between "za" and "ne", as in (108b), which means that this reading is more difficult to detect, at least in the written language.

In (107c) the situation is somewhat different, as the constituent attachment is more readily available:

(109) a. ?Makar i ne mlad, a star, toj beše ...

Although not young but old he was

Although not young, but ...

b. Makar i ne mlad, a veče na vūzrast, toj beše ...

Although not young but already on age he was

Although not young, but already advanced in years ...

In spite of the grammaticality of (109) there still exists the possibility that "ne" is clausal. Suppose the construal of "a star" is that of a SC, rather than a conjunction combined with a bare adjective. This is suggested by the unquestionable acceptability of the longer string in (109b) ("a veče na vūzrast"), where the presence of the adverb "veče" ("already") and the fact that adjunct SCs never take overt subjects contribute to a SC construal of the alternative string. If, in a similar way, the alternative phrase in (109a) calls for a SC construal, then the "alternative-phrase" test has applied not on the same level as "mlad" but on the SC level, i.e. the level of "makar i ne mlad", arguing in fact for a clausal construal of negation, rather than for a local construal. If we accept that the adverbial negation is only clausal in some SCs (Cf. (109)), or that it may be ambiguous between a clausal and a

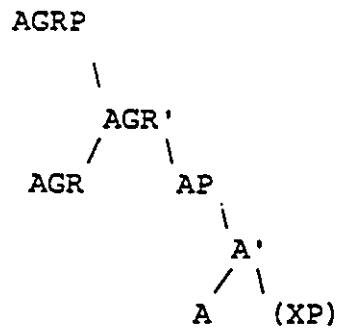
local construal(108), then we are justified to adopt Cardinaletti and Guasti's proposals for Italian, namely that clausal negation exists in SCs and that it is expressed by an adverb-like element.

Whatever the treatment of the above facts may be, negation in SCs does not seem to be of the type that can head a NEGP in the manner of negation in finite clauses, which does not carry stress as does adverbial negation. We can therefore adopt Cardinaletti and Guasti's analysis of this type of clausal negation, namely that "ne" is adjoined to e.g. the AP/NP projection in SCs.

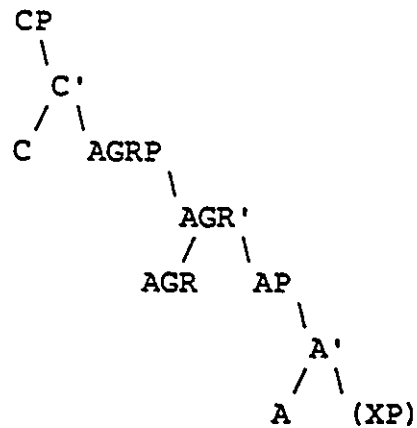
Since no evidence for the existence of TP, ModalP, AuxP, has been found for AP, NP, and PP SCs, no such projections should be posited for these SCs.

This section has discussed the internal structure of SCs, taking into account the morphosyntactic properties of the SC predicate heads, as well as the distribution of the SC in the sentence. In the absence of unambiguous proof that MB SCs, in some positions at least, have no structure above the projections of their predicates, the alternative has been considered for including structure above the AP, NP, PP, level. Proposals have been made for including an AGRP, at least for AP SCs in object positions(110a), and a CP, for AP/NP/PP SCs in adjunct positions(110b):

(110) a. object AP SCs:



b. adjunct AP SCs:



Further research is needed for conclusive results.

Given the established constituency of SCs in the preceding section and the analysis of their internal structure in this section, we can now turn to a discussion of facts from Case assignment, binding, etc., which at first glance seem to argue against the clausal analysis.

3.3 Licensing of the SC Subject

To start with, the Accusative Case marking of the SC subject can be straightforwardly accounted for if a definition of government is

adopted, which rules out the possibility for the SC predicate to govern the SC subject position. Such a definition is provided by Stowell(1991):

- (111) a. α governs β iff
- i. α c-commands β , and
 - ii. for all δ , δ a barrier for β ,
if δ dominates β , then δ dominates α .
- b. α c-commands β iff every category dominating α also dominates β .

Also, we would need to assume that even if maximal projections are intrinsically barriers for government they can be made transparent to external government if they are L-marked, i.e. if an entity exists such that it lexically governs and θ -marks them.

Such an entity for object SCs can be the matrix verb, whether we assume that they are APs, NPs, etc, or structures containing an additional (functional) XP. Irrespective of whether NP is in [Spec, XP_1 (=AP/NP/PP)] or in [Spec, XP_2] it will be out of reach of the SC predicate head, which only θ -marks but does not govern it. In the former case XP_1 will be debarrierized by matrix V which subcategorizes for it and consequently L-marks it. In the latter case we would have practically the same situation as with ECM infinitives. Supposing XP_2 is an INFL-type XP, it will not be rich enough to assign Nominative to the SC NP and will be made transparent to external government for the same reason as and

together with XP_i .

We can expect that if "wh" movement out of the SC NP position applies, no violation of ECP would occur, since the trace will be properly governed by matrix V. This is correct, as the example below is perfectly acceptable:

(112) Kogo_i smjataš t_i za neštasten?

who-Acc. consider-2SG for unhappy

Who do you consider (to be) unhappy?

Anaphor binding should be possible too:

(113) Ti_i smjataš sebe si_i za neštasten.

you consider-2SG yourself for unhappy

You consider yourself (to be) unhappy.

With passive matrix Vs the SC NP will have to move to the sentential subject position for the purposes of Case assignment, receiving eventually not Accusative Case, as in the post-verbal position, but Nominative, since it occupies a Spec position.

(114) Toj/*nego_i e smjatan t_i za neštasten.

he/*him is considered for unhappy

He is considered (to be) unhappy.

In agreement with the requirements of the classical PRO-theorem, namely that PRO is a category licensed in ungoverned positions, object SCs with PRO subjects should be banned from the object position and perfectly acceptable in adjunct position, which is

immune to L-marking. This is also correct:

(115) *Ti_i smjataš PRO_i za neštasten.

you consider-2SG for unhappy-Masc.

*You consider (to be) unhappy.

but

(116) Toj_i me gledaše PRO_i neštasten.

he me looked-at unhappy-Masc.

He was looking at me unhappy(ly).

Finally, let us address the question of Case assignment in subject SCs. However rare, these are possible in more than one language. The problem is that the SC NP is not Case-marked by an entity within SC. External Case marking is also blocked because the subject position, like adjunct positions is not normally L-marked. If SC is governed it is not by a lexical governor, i.e. V that presumably θ -marks it.

Thus a plausible account is needed for the ungrammaticality of SCs as subjects in general, and the licensing of SCs with overt NPs as subjects of "be", "süm", "estar/ser".

Observe the contrast below:

(117) a. Rabotnici v stačka e nešto koeto im se iska da

workers on strike is something that to-them CL wants to
izbegnat.

avoid-3PL

Workers on strike is what they want to avoid.

b. *Rabotnici v stačka šte stresne pravitelstvoto.

workers on strike will sober-up government-Def.

*Workers on strike will sober up the government.

c. *PRO v stačka e nešto koeto im se iska da

on strike is something that to-them CL wants to

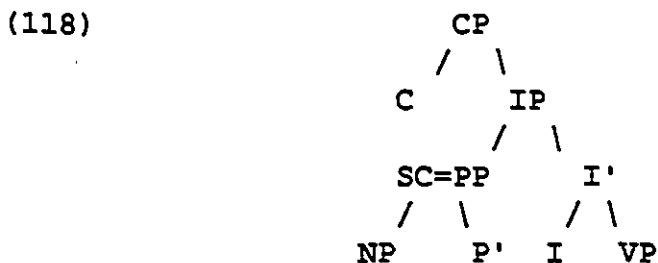
izbegnat.

avoid-3PL

*On strike is what they want to avoid.

Contreras(1987) provides an account for examples like the contrasting ones in (117a) and (117c). He assumes that θ -marking of the sentential subject position takes place *indirectly*, i.e. by a lexical governor in VP, and that this is a sufficient condition for the SC to be L-marked and debarrierized. Additionally, the governing category of an element is a category that contains the element in question, its lexical governor, and an accessible SUBJECT.

The representation for (117) is given in (118):



Here C is a lexical governor, potentially governing into PP, as it is coindexed with tensed INFL (for infinitives the "lexical"

governor is "for"). Being L-marked indirectly, PP is no longer a barrier, and neither is IP, since it does not immediately dominate a blocking category. Therefore no barrier intervenes between C and NP. The desired result is obtained: PP is made transparent to external government, allowing the SC NP to be governed and Case-marked, whereas PRO is ruled out.

The problem with this account is that if Contreras' assumptions are accepted the prediction can be made that SCs with overt NPs in sentential subject position are the rule, rather than an exception to it.

Stowell(1991) takes as a starting point the nature of the verb "be" in such environments. He claims that these are occurrences of "dyadic" "be", whose properties allow it to θ -mark the sentential subject position. According to him, in this respect "be" behaves differently from other auxiliary Vs in INFL. He goes on to say that if INFL governs the sentential subject position, then "be" should also be able to govern the SC, thus fulfilling both requirements for L-marking and eventually making SC transparent to external government. It can be expected then that in the same environment PRO will be ruled out.

Notice, however, that dyadic "be" becomes a two-place predicate and in this respect is like e.g. transitive Vs. Moreover, if it fulfills the condition for government by being in INFL it is like any other V that raises to this position in order to collect/check

features. This would again eventually make subject SCs a common construction.

On the other hand, Stowell says that if the SC predicate attempts to move out of an L-marked subject position it would not be able to govern its trace, which would be in conflict with the assumed obligatory restructuring of SCs in argument positions. This cannot be used as an explanation for the ungrammaticality of *PRO* or any other SCs, as he suggests, if at LF *V* raises high enough to perform government of the subject position. And if this is accepted as an explanation, then the rare occurrences of subject SCs will uncompromisingly be ruled out. Paradoxically, this is done after making allowances to achieve the L-marking of the sentential subject position.

Let us go back to the data and take a careful look at the subject NP of the subject SC. If it is so difficult to license it, an explanation may be based on the impossibility to do so.

(119) a. Rabotnici v stačka e nešto koeto im se iska da

workers on strike is something that to-them CL wants to
izbegnat.

avoid-3PL

Workers on strike is what they want to avoid.

b. *Te/??Tjax v stačka e nešto koeto im se iska da

they them on strike is something that to-them CL wants to
izbegnat.

avoid-3PL

*They/them on strike is what they want to avoid.

The proposals above ignore the question of what Case exactly is to be assigned to the SC NP. Notice that in object positions it is the Accusative. It is implied that in subject SCs it is the Nominative. Why is it then that a pronoun in the Accusative sounds awkward, and a Nominative pronoun equally so, if not worse? The native speakers of Bulgarian consulted for cases like (119b) are somehow less certain about the ungrammaticality of an Accusative pronoun. Interestingly, this corresponds with Accusative Case assignment in e.g. English "for" infinitival clauses in subject position. However, if the verb "izbegnat"("avoid") is replaced by "ne se slučva"("not happen") the Nominative pronoun is less unacceptable than the Accusative. Even if it looks like those verbs might somehow play a role in the licensing of the SC NP, possibly through an interpretation involving raising or pseudo-raising, still the contrast between (119a) and (119b) is hard to ignore. The intuitive conclusion imposes itself that a category that has to make an unambiguous choice between Nominative and Accusative overt marking is ruled out, whereas a category that is not overtly marked for Case is marginally possible. If a category such as "neutral/suspended" Case were available then this would have been the right environment for it.⁴⁸

At this point we shall have to accept that SCs in subject positions have joined the list of problematic cases, rather than relying on solutions involving numerous additional assumptions that may not

necessarily yield the correct results.

This section has discussed the subject position of MB SCs with respect to Case assignment, anaphor-binding, licensing of *PRO* and traces. The majority of cases have received a satisfactory account made possible by the assumptions of current linguistic theory. As far as subject SCs are concerned, the problems that arise are to be expected as these are marginal cases, to start with. It is quite possible that a reconsideration of certain basic assumptions regarding Case Theory may be able to provide better motivated solutions. The role of processes going on at LF is not to be ignored.

Chapter 4: Modern Bulgarian Adjunct Participial SCs

Chapter 4 will concentrate on SCs with VP predicates, participial SCs in adjunct positions in particular. To start with, the morphosyntax of MB participles will be discussed, based on which we shall analyze the internal structure of participial SCs and their external relations in the role of sentential adjuncts.

4.1 Morphosyntax of Modern Bulgarian Participles

The morphological structure of MB participles can be represented as in (120) below:

(120) prefix(es)-Root-Vid suffix-thematic vowel-Part.suffix-Gender&Number

Very often the elements following the root and preceding the participial ending are not clearly discernible, or they may be optional. Prefixes, which may contribute to the (Perfective) Vid value of verbs, are optional too. There is no special morpheme to be associated with Voice, which seems to come together with the participial ending: two out of six MB participles are passive and the rest are active.

Leaving out the past imperfective active participle which is reserved for verb forms of the Renarrated Mood, and the present passive participle which is a rudimentary branch in the verbal paradigm, the discussion to follow will mainly be concerned with participles which can occur in sentential adjunct position. The participles in question with their respective participial endings are listed below:

- the agentive participle(AgtP): *-jki*
- the present active participle(PrAP): *-št-*
- the past active perfective participle(PPP): *-l-*
- the past passive participle(PassP): *-n-* or *-t-*

The Gender and Number endings are the same as the endings for adjectives. The only participle that is not inflected for these two categories is the agentive participle, which is also the only one that has adverbial usage exclusively, whereas the remaining participles can be used as attributes, substantives, adjuncts, and in analytical tense forms.

The thematic vowel is a tense marker as part of the stem from which participles are derived: Present Tense stem for the agentive participle, Aorist stem for the present active, past active perfective, and past passive participle. (From a synchronic point of view the present active participle can be analyzed as being derived from the Present Tense stem and participial endings *-jašt-/-ašt-/-ešt-* for 1st and 2nd Conjugation verbs and *-št-* for 3rd Conjugation verbs.)

As for the category Vid, the agentive and present active participles are derived exclusively from Imperfective Vid stems, whereas the past active perfective and the past passive participles can be derived from both Perfective and Imperfective Vid stems. Therefore Vid will only be indicated for the past participles, where relevant for the discussion below.

Following Maslov's (1982) classification/derivation of Vid stems, the Vid shifts throughout the derivation of three verbal root groups (verbs of "speaking", "throwing", "eating") are represented below. In the absence of infinitives in MB the Present Tense form for the 1st person singular is given as the basic form. The Vid values are indicated in brackets. The forms of dual Vid status are italicized.

(121)

a. (tell, speak)

kaža (Perf.) - prikazvam (Imp.)

b. (eat)

jam (Imp.) - izjam (Perf.) ----- izjaždam (Imp.)

|

doizjam (Perf.) - doizjaždam (Imp.)

c. (throw, abandon)

xvūrlja (Perf.) ----- xvūrljam (Imp.) - zaxvūrljam (Perf.)

|

zaxvūrlja (Perf.) ----- zaxvūrljam (Imp.) - pozaxvūrljam (Perf.)

|

pozaxvūrlja (Perf.) - pozaxvūrljam (Imp.)

The prefixes are in general perfectivizers: dž - (completion of an

ongoing activity), iz-(completion + totality), za-(onset of an activity), po-(partitivity). The suffix -v(a)- is an imperfectivizer of no specific meaning.⁴⁹ Roots can be furnished with a maximum of five affixes, having undergone in the process up to four Vid shifts. Anything exceeding the numbers five and four, respectively, would be extremely rare.

4.2 Internal Structure of Participial SCs

This section will discuss evidence for an ASPP, AGRP, NEGP, and CP in the representation of MB adjunct participials.

In general, the agentive and present active participles are considered to denote activities cooccurring with the activities in the main clause, whereas the past active and past passive participles are associated with activities preceding the activity denoted by the matrix clause verb. In the case of a "state-resulting-from-a-previous-action" interpretation of the two past participles cooccurrence of the participial action with that of the matrix clause action becomes possible.

We have to determine what (verbal) categories contribute to the overall effect outlined above and, more importantly, which of them require syntactic representation. The possible candidates are Tense, Aktionsart, Vid, and Aspect.

If some of the participles are derived from a Present Tense stem

and others from an Aorist stem, we should expect participles to parallel the syntactic behavior of the respective finite forms at least with respect to the possibility or impossibility of combinations with certain time adverbs.

Agentive participles, for example, are derived from a Present Tense stem. However, it is close to impossible to come up with a sentence where "jam"("eat") in the Present Tense would be compatible with adverbs "vednūz"(once=at a certain moment in the past)⁵⁰ and "njakoga"(= some time ago, once upon a time). The participle, however, seems to neutralize this close-to-total incompatibility. Compare the contrast between a Present Tense form and the participle below:

(122) a.*Dokato nie jadem njakoga v Ric, sreštnaxme X.

while we eat-Pres. years ago at Ritz met-Aorist X

b. Jadejki njakoga v Ric, nie sreštnaxme X.

eat-AgtP-0 years ago at Ritz we met-Aorist X

When we were dining at the Ritz years ago, we met X.

A similar difference is noted between the behavior of finite Aorist forms and the participles derived from the Aorist stem. An adverb like "vse ošte"("still/yet") is incompatible with the Aorist, at least in the case of Perfective Vid verbs and some Imperfective verbs, but certain allowances are made when combined with the participle.

(123) a.*Vse ošte jadox ...

still ate-Aorist1SG

- b. Vse ošte jadenó v mnogo strani, mesoto lesno

still eat-impV-PassP-Neut. in many countries meat-Def. easily
namira pazar.

finds market

Still eaten in many countries, meat products have no
difficulty finding a market.

- c. *Vse ošte ne izjadox ...

still not ate-Aorist1SG

- d. Vse ošte neizjal⁵¹ tortata si, Asen poiska vtoro

still not-eat-PerfV-PPP-Masc. cake-Def. his Asen asked-for second
parče.

helping

Not having eaten his cake yet, Asen asked for a second
helping.

In (123b) the past participle of an Imperfective Vid stem denotes habitual activity, in fact taking over the functions of the present passive participle. As habitual activities are a prerogative of the Past Imperfect Tense, rather than of the Aorist, (123a) can be expected to be ungrammatical, which it is. These prompt one to conclude that the role of the Imperfective Vid status of the verb plays a crucial role in licensing combinations with the adverb "vse ošte". However, overruling the effect of the Aorist stem is only possible with the help of the past passive morphology. Otherwise we would have expected (123a) to be acceptable too.

Similar observations can be made for (123c) vs. (123d). The

participial morphology here neutralizes both the Perfective Vid of the verb and the Aorist stem morphology. For the sake of precision it should be noted that in the concrete case of (123d) negation is a subsidiary factor in reconciling the past active participle with the adverb. The combination with the adverb in the affirmative is ungrammatical. Importantly, though, the past participles of verbs like "sedna"("sit down"), "legna"("lie down"), both of Perfective Vid, can combine with "vse ošte" in the affirmative, as well as in the negative:

(124) Vse ošte legnal/sednal/nelegnal/nesednal, Asen ...

still	lie-/sit-/not-lie-/not-sit- <u>PerfV-Aorist-PPP-Masc</u>	Asen
Still lying/sitting/not lying/not sitting (down), Asen		

The past active participle in such cases emphasizes the result of an action in the past, hence the "state" meaning which is impossible for the respective Aorist forms. Once again, the past active perfective participle morphology is shown to overrule both Vid and Tense, even without the cooperation of negation.

If both "izjal" and "sednal/legnal" are of Perfective Vid, then the reason for their different behavior should be sought somewhere else. It seems that the intrinsic semantics of "izjam"("eat the whole of") as opposed to that of "sedna/legna"("sit/lie down) is at the root of the incompatibility vs. compatibility of the respective past active perfective participles in the affirmative with the adverb "vse ošte" ("still"). The participial morphology allows combinations with "vse ošte" in the case of the equivalents of

"sit/lie down" because the state resulting from the action can come to an end: "vse ošte" can be viewed as the antonym of "veče ne/ne poveče" ("still" vs. "no more"). In the case of "having eaten something" bringing the state resulting from an activity to a close is highly improbable: things in general refuse to be "un-eaten". The tolerance of the negated participle towards the adverb in (124d) becomes possible because the state of "not having eaten" can be "brought to an end". The difference between the verbs then can be conceptualized as a difference in Aktionsart values. However, without the stative element, which is a contribution of the participial morphology, combinations with "vse ošte" would be impossible even if Aktionsart is neutral or cooperative. Even negation could not bring the Aorist forms of the "sit/lie down" verbs to tolerate "vse ošte". The ultimate licensing then is performed at a higher aspectual level than either Vid or Aktionsart, i.e. the level where participial morphology is acquired/identified. It is widely accepted that for participles this level is ASPP.

Thus we can conclude that there is evidence for positing an ASPP, but not TP, as (immediately) dominating the VP of participial SCs. Whether separate projections for the expression of other aspectual-/temporal-type categories is necessary, will remain for future research to decide. It seems, though, that these should be lower than ASPP. The possibility for Vid and/or Aktionsart to play a role within an existing projection, e.g. VP, as has been proposed for Aktionsart in Modern Greek (Cf. Rivero's (1992) analysis in terms of

Baker-style adverb incorporation into V)⁵² at this point appears to be inapplicable to MB.

For the sake of simplicity the present thesis adopts the view that since the category Vid is a predominantly morphological aspectual-type category, and Aktionsart is lexical, Aspect, which is predominantly syntactic, is the only one that has legitimate claims to be syntactically represented.

The positing of AGRP is also necessary in spite of the absence of the category Person. The presence of clitics, generally assumed to be generated in or to move to the Specifier or to an adjoined position in AGRP, argues for the existence of such a projection. Notice that the agentive participle, which is never marked for Gender and Number, would have cast doubt on the presence of AGRP if it was not for the clitics it takes. Like the other two active participles it combines unproblematically with Accusative/Dative object and reflexive clitics, provided that they are allowed by the selectional properties of the verbs (Cf. agentive participles in (125a&b) and present active in (125c&d)). For familiar reasons the passive participle can only tolerate Dative clitics (Cf. (125e)), but not Accusative.

(125) a. Podavajki knjigata na Ida, Ben kimna.

hand-AgtP-Ø book-Def. to Ida Ben nodded

Handing Ida the book, Ben nodded.

b. Podavajki i ja, Ben kimna .

hand-AgtP-Ø to-her her Ben nodded

Handing it to her, Ben nodded.

- c. Obvinjavašt sebe si za neuspexa, Ben mulčeše.

blame-PrAP-Masc. himself for failure-Def. Ben remained-silent
Blaming himself for the failure, Ben remained silent.

- d. Obvinjavašt se za neuspexa, Ben mulčeše.

blame-PrAP-Masc. himself(CL) for failure-Def. Ben remained-silent
Blaming himself for the failure, Ben remained silent.

- e. Dadena i ot Ben, knjigata i beše mnogo skūpa.

give-PortV-PassP-Fem.to-her(CL) by Ben book-Fem-Def. to-her was very dear
A present from Ben, the book was very dear to her.

Importantly, AGRP for MB participials cannot be of the AGR-OP type proposed by Belletti(1990). If Italian transitive participles literally agree with an Accusative NP, this is not an option for MP. There is no agreement with a Nominative NP either, as MB participials, like other adjunct SCs are obligatorily associated with a matrix NP, which requires the positing of PRO in their subject position. The participle in reality agrees overtly with the antecedent of PRO, which leads one to conclude that if the type of AGRP is to be specified it will be AGR-SP, rather than AGR-OP, since the PRO subject is a potentially agreeing NP position.

On the assumption that V does not adjoin to the functional projection containing the clitic, the word order participle-CL in the above examples points to the presence of a projection dominating AGRP. Could this projection be CP? If the grammaticality of "makar i"("although") in SCs with all four participles is taken as sufficient evidence then we are justified to posit a CP.

However, if "makar i"("although") is a complementizer like its Italian equivalents "anche se"/"benché" this would mean that COMP is not always available for V.

- (126) a. Makar i obvinjavajki se za provala, ...
 although blame-AgtP- $\bar{C}$ Refl.CL for the failure
 Although blaming him/herself for the failure ...
- b. Makar i obvinjavašt ja za provala ...
 although blame-PrAP-Masc. her-CL for the failure
 Although blaming her for the failure ...
- c. Makar i obvinil ja za provala ...
 although blame-PerfV-PPP-Masc. her-CL for the failure
 Blaming the failure on her. ...
- d. Makar i dađena i ot Ivan ...
 although give-PerfV-PassP-Fem to-her-CL by Ivan
 Although a present from Ivan, ...

In addition, if it is true that Nominative Case can be assigned through V-movement into COMP(Cf. Rizzi(1982), Raposo(1987), Belletti(1990)), then the fact that MB participials do not license overt subjects in the manner of Italian absolute participials can be explained by the unavailability of such a position. It may be plausible to assume that V never raises to COMP, in which case a projection between CP and AGRP becomes indispensable.

A ModalP is traditionally posited in exactly this position for finite clauses(Cf. Rivero(1994a)). But if it is posited for participials it will have to be a projection by default with no

content of its own as participles do not combine with modals:

(127) *šte igraeiki/igraešt/igral/igran

will play-AgtP-Ø/PrAP-Masc/PPP-Masc/PassP-Masc

An alternative would be to capitalize on the presence of negation in MB participial SCs.

(128) a. Ne se nadjavaiki da go vidi večē, Maria zaplaka.

not CL hope-AgtP-Ø (to) him see-3SG anymore Maria started-to-cry

Not hoping to see him ever again, Maria started to cry.

b. Nadjavajki se da go vidi otnovo, Maria idvaše vsekī den.

hope-AgtP-Ø Refl.CL(to)him see-3SG again Maria came every day

Hoping to see him again, Maria came every day.

Supposing there is an XP in whose head "ne" is generated, we need to explain the patterns *ne-CL-participle* and *participle-CL*, when "ne" is absent. Instead of the uncompromising NEGP label we can use Σ P to denote a functional XP where either a negative or an affirmative value is acquired. Suppose further that Σ P is fully "saturated" by "ne" and unable to accept additional material. In the absence of "ne" the movement of V to Σ is possible and also obligatory in view of the rule disallowing clitics to appear in clause initial position. Moreover, if the XP to the head of which it moves is responsible not only for the negative, but also for the affirmative marking of a clause, then V-movement to such a projection seems plausible in the case of *participle-CL* as well.

At this point the legitimate question arises where the pattern *ne-*

participle-CL fits, which involves above all the status of "ne".

(129) Nezabeljazal ja v bürzinata, Asen ne ja pozdravi.

not-see-PerfV-PPP-Masc her(CL) in hurry-Def. Asen not her greeted

Failing to see her as he was in a hurry, Asen did not greet her.

When no clitic intervenes the clausal status of negation is at stake: "ne" is not stressed, which groups it with prefixes and clitics. But unlike in finite clauses where *ne* heads clitic strings (note that in Italian *non*=clitic), it is separated from the object clitic in (129). As this never happens with finite verbs one would question whether the status of "ne" in (129) may not be different from that of negation in sequences *ne-clitic-participle/finite V*. So far facts point to a possible prefix-like behavior.

Note, however, that out of an average of twenty verbs with the prefix "ne" registered in standard dictionaries of MB, in approximately 80% of the cases "ne-" is followed by "-do-" (=finish doing something). It looks like "ne" is part of a composite prefix, since the combination of the two means "insufficiently, to a lesser degree". Some of the remaining 20% are borrowings from Russian. The conclusion is that "ne" as a verbal prefix is of a rather limited distribution, unlike with adjectives where pairs of antonyms following the model "prijaten:neprijaten" (pleasant:unpleasant) are quite common. Therefore in many cases like (129) the verb from which the participle is derived is not equipped with a negative

prefix: a verb **"nezabeljazvam"* corresponding to *"nezabeljazal"* is not registered.

If participles are registered with the prefix *"ne-*", this may have happened after previous adjectivization. So if *"ne-*" is unproductive as a verbal prefix but is productive as an adjectival prefix the pattern *ne-participle* could be in fact *ne-adjective*.

Two facts contradict this statement. Adjectives do not take direct object clitics as do participles in a number of cases like (129)⁵³. Also, the agentive participle, which never acts as an adjective, can occur in the same pattern as the past active perfective participle in (129). Observe the acceptability of (130):

(130) *Ne zabeljazvajki ja v bürzinata, Asen ja blüsna.*

not see-AgtP-0 her in hurry-Def. Asen her knocked down

Failing to see her as he was in a hurry, Asen knocked her down.

If participles are viewed as a branch of the verbal paradigm, and not as a separate part of speech, and if *"ne"* is almost never a verbal prefix, to start with, the prefix status of *"ne"* in *ne-participle-clitic* is questionable. The discussion so far shows that the clausal status of negation in some cases of *ne-participle-CL WO* should at least be given the benefit of the doubt.

Observe also the complete parallelism between the effect of negation on polarity sensitive items in the negative finite clause in (131) and its effect in participials in (132), irrespective of

the position of "ne".

(131) Finite clauses:

a. Toj ne se priznava za vinoven pred nikogo.

= He does not confess his guilt to anybody (at all).

b. Toj ne se priznava za vinoven pred kogoto i da bilo.

= He does not confess his guilt to anybody (at all).

= He does not confess his guilt to (just) anybody.

c. Toj ne se priznava za vinoven pred vsički.

= He does not confess his guilt to everybody (but only to a few).

d.*Toj se priznava za vinoven pred nikogo.

literally: He confesses his guilt to nobody.

(132) Past active perfective participle SCs:

a. Nepriznal se za vinoven pred nikogo

= Not confessing his guilt to anybody (at all)

b. Nepriznal se za vinoven pred kogoto i da bilo

= Not confessing his guilt to anybody (at all)

= Not confessing his guilt to (just) anybody

c. Nepriznal se za vinoven pred vsički

= Not confessing his guilt to everybody (but only to a few)

d. Ne se priznal za vinoven pred kogoto i da bilo

= Not confessing his guilt to anybody (at all)

= Not confessing his guilt to (just) anybody

e. Ne se priznal za vinoven pred nikogo

= Not confessing his guilt to anybody (at all)

f. Ne se priznal za vinoven pred vsički

= Not confessing his guilt to everybody (but only to a few)

g. *Priznal se za vinoven pred nikogo

literally: Not confessing his guilt to nobody

The contrast between (131a) and (131d) shows that nikogo is only licensed in the scope of sentential negation. This situation is mirrored by (132a&e) as opposed to (132g). The universal quantifier vsički in (131c) as well as in (132c&f) falls within scope of negation to yield the interpretation "It is not to everybody that X confesses his guilt". Finally, the neutral kogoto i da bilo in both (131b) and (132b&d) can either fall within scope of sentential negation, which yields the same interpretation as nikogo, or it can escape from negation acquiring the meaning of "anyone". We can conclude that negation in both WO patterns in (132), *ne-clitic-participle* and *ne-participle-clitic*, behaves like negation in (131), whose clausal status is indisputable.

By contrast, negation in an adjective with a negative prefix does not interact with the universal quantifier the way negation in (131) and (132) does:

(133) Prefixal negation in APs:

Neprijaten na vsički, ...

= Unpleasant to all

≠ Pleasant to only a few

If our intuitions are correct and negation in *ne-participle-clitic*,

at least in some cases is clausal, this is bound to complicate the account proposed for (128) above, since it too seems to occupy the head of an XP.

On the assumption that the presence of "ne" excludes V-movement to ΣP we would have to resort to e.g. ModalP to which V raises, bypassing the clitic. If the word order *ne-participle-clitic* results from "ne" being in the head of ΣP , V in the head of ModalP and the clitic adjoined to or in [Spec, AGRP], the WO *ne-clitic-participle* would leave an empty ModalP. In the case of *participle-clitic* it would be redundant to postulate that in the absence of "ne" V reaches ΣP . It would be more plausible to assume that in this case too V reaches the head of ModalP. Consequently, we could be content with a NegP hosting only negation material, rather than a ΣP .

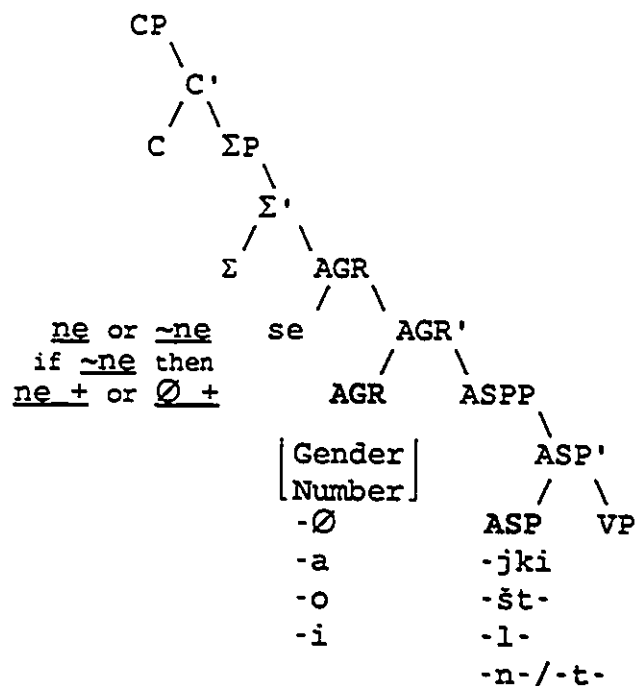
However, there can be no satisfactory explanation as to why V bypasses the clitic to land in ModalP. It cannot be in order to acquire/check some kind of "Modal" features: participials, as was shown above, do not license modals. Could it be because of a general rule banning the clitic from clause initial position? It may be plausible to stipulate such a rule, for the *participle-clitic* and *ne-clitic-participle* WO patterns. However, it is doubtful whether it is justified to assume that it actually operates in participial clauses. If for finite clauses any kind of material that is not phonetically empty can serve as a prop for the clitic, e.g. adverbs, conjunctions, alongside with negation and

finite verbs, in participials only V and "ne" can do this, but not adverbs, or the conjunction "makar i" (although). Therefore it may be the case that either no such rule is operating, or that further stipulations are necessary, excluding any material except V and ne from the ranks of suitable clitic props.

Alternatively, it can be assumed that what might seem as the effect of a much more rigorous "clitic-second" rule is in fact the result of (some) other factor(s). One such factor could be the necessity of the SC to receive either an affirmative or a negative value, in which case V will be attracted by ΣP , and will be able to land in its head, provided that it is not too heavy for the burden. Suppose that there is a "switch" in Σ^0 operating on two levels, an incorporation level and a non-incorporation level. At the non-incorporation level it bans material other than "ne" from filling the head of ΣP . At the incorporation level the participle either incorporates into a phonetically empty Σ^0 , the SC acquiring an affirmative value, or into "ne", which marks the SC as negative. This approach would allow negation in both WO patterns to be clausal, as it is situated in the head of a specialized functional XP, namely ΣP . It accommodates perfectly the identical status of negation in the two possible patterns, *ne-clitic-part* and *ne-part-clitic*. Finally, the ModalP, which has no content of its own can unproblematically be disposed of.

The proposed tree structure of participial adjuncts in MB is given below:

(134)



This section has argued for the presence of an ASPP, AGRP, ΣP, and possibly CP in the representations of MB participial SCs. Section 3 will analyze the external relations of participial SCs.

3.3 Participial Adjuncts and Control

This section will first review evidence for the presence of *PRO* in the subject position of MB adjunct participials and will then analyze the external relations of the constructions in question identified as relations of obligatory Control. Control asymmetries according to the position of the SC and the type of participle will

also be discussed.

Observe the contrasts in (135) below:

(135) a. Obvinjavašt samiža sebe si/*samata sebe si, Asen

blame-PrAP-Masc. himself/*herself-emphatic Asen

mŭlčeše.

was-silent

Blaming himself, Asen remained silent

b. Obvinjavašt nego/neja, Asen mŭlčeše.

blame-PrAP-Masc him/her Asen was-silent

Blaming him/her, Asen remained silent

The participle is derived from a transitive verb, meaning that semantically it is a two-place predicate. However, there is only a single NP in the SCs in (135a&b). Unless we are prepared to face a violation of the Projection Principle which requires the uniform projection of selectional properties at all levels, we are led to conclude that the external argument of the participle must be assigned to a phonetically empty category. Further on, according to Principle A of the Binding Theory an anaphor must be bound within its governing category and according to Principle B a pronominal must be free. Judging by the grammaticality of an anaphor marked for the masculine, but not the one marked for the feminine in (135a), we can deduce the presence of a binder for the former but not for the latter. There are no such restrictions as far as the pronouns in (135b) are concerned. Both principles of the Binding theory are observed, which proves that the SC can act as a binding

domain, therefore it must contain a proper binder, which can be an empty category in its subject position.

We can conclude that the Projection Principle and the Binding Theory convincingly point to the existence of an empty SC subject. The question to ask at this point is which of the three kinds of empty categories in MB qualifies for the position: trace, *pro*, or *PRO*.

Traces are easy to rule out, since they appear as a result of the movement of an NP, which does not seem to be the case in (135). Especially if we assume that lowering/movement to the right is not allowed, there is obviously no antecedent or a governor that could possibly license a *t* SC subject in compliance with the requirements of ECP. ("Asen" seems to be the only NP associated with the empty subject of the SC, which, however, happens to be realizing the external argument of the matrix clause predicate and is also located to the right.) Besides, as was pointed out earlier, government into an adjunct SC is blocked due to the impossibility of adjuncts to be L-marked.

This leaves us with a choice between *pro* and *PRO* and more specifically controlled *PRO*. The difference between these two categories can be best expressed in terms of disjoint reference vs. coreference. If *pro* as the subject of a SC adjunct would not be coreferential with a matrix clause NP, controlled *PRO*, being anaphoric, can only be licensed through coreference with and binding by a matrix clause NP. Moreover, a language that would

allow an empty SC subject of disjoint reference should be expected to license overt NPs of disjoint reference, to start with. In a *pro-drop* language, moreover, the licensing of a subject NP is paralleled by the alternative licensing of *pro*.

Interesting contrasts are registered between MB participial adjuncts and e.g. absolute participials in Italian and Spanish. The examples below show that if in MB only *PRO* participials are licensed, Italian and Spanish also allow overt NPs and *pro*.

(136) and (137) list sentences of disjoint reference participials in Romance, whose MB equivalents are ungrammatical:

(136) Participials with overt NPs:

- a. Arrivata io, Gianni tirò un sospiro di solievo. (I)
arrived-Fem. I(Fem.) Gianni took a breath of relief
When I arrived, Gianni felt relieved.
- b. Llegada yo, Juan dio un suspiro de alivio. (S)
arrived-Fem. I(Fem.) Juan took a breath of relief
When I arrived, Juan felt relieved.
- c. *(Vednůž) pristignala az, Ivan počuvstva oblekčenie. (MB)
once arrived-PPP-Fem. I(Fem) Ivan felt relief
When I arrived, Ivan felt relieved.
- d. *(Vednůž) az pristignala, Ivan počuvstva oblekčenie. (MB)
once I(Fem) arrived-PPP-Fem. Ivan felt-3SG relief
When I arrived, Ivan felt relieved.

Obviously, changing the word order in the MB SC does not improve

ungrammatical (136c) and neither would adding the operator-like adverb "vednůž", whose French equivalent manages to license a participial: "Une fois Marie arrivée".

(137) Referential and quasi-argumental pro:

a. Arrivati a casa, non c'era più nessuno. (I)

arrived home not was anymore nobody

As we arrived home, there was nobody left there.

b. Llegados a casa, no había nadie allí. (S)

arrived home not had nobody there

As we arrived home, there was nobody there.

c. *Pristignali v kůšti, vsički večē si bjaxa trůgnali. (MB)

arrive-PPP-PL in home all already CL were departed

As we arrived home, everybody had already left.

d. Finito di nevicare, partiremo. (I)

stopped to snow go-FUT-1PL

When it stops snowing we shall go.

e. *Sprjalo da vali, nie šte trůgnem. (MB)

stop-PPP-Neut. to rain we will go

When the rain has stopped we will go.

(138) gives grammatical PRO SCs in all three languages:

(138) a. Arrivati a casa, i ragazzi fecero una ricca merenda. (I)

arrived home the kids made a hearty snack

When the kids arrived home, they had a hearty snack.

b. Llegada a casa, Maria suspiro con alivio. (S)

arrived home Maria sighed with relief

When Maria returned home, she felt relieved.

c. Pribrali se v kúšti, decata si napravixa bogata
 arrive-PPP-PL CL in home kids-Def. CL made hearty
 zakuska (MB)

breakfast

When the kids arrived home, they had a hearty breakfast.

If in MB participial adjuncts are exclusively Control structures, and Control is only performed by a true argument, then we can expect that wherever such an argument is unavailable in the matrix clause the examples will be ungrammatical. This is what happens in the case of impersonal predicates in both the adjunct and the matrix clause:

(139) a. *Zazorjavašto se, valeše.

dawn-break-PrAP-Neut. refl.CL was-raining

At dawn-break it was raining.

b. *Uxaejki na prolet, valeše.

smell-AgP-0 of spring was-raining

It was raining and the aroma of spring was in the air.

c. *Smračilo se, zavalja.

get-dark-PPP-Neut. Refl.CL started-to-rain.

After it got dark, the rain started.

As (139) shows the requirement for true argument Control generalizes across the types of participles.

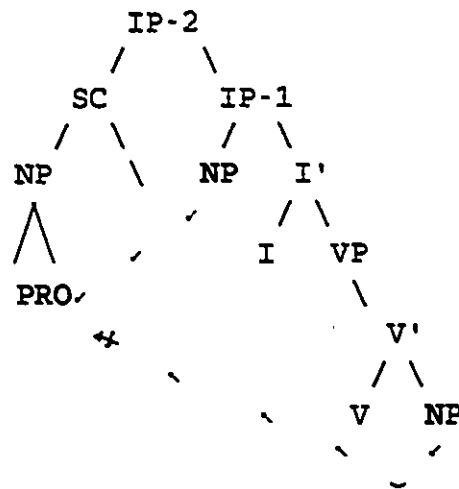
An important aspect of Control is that by definition it is realized through c-command of *PRO* by a coreferential matrix NP. It will be shown that Control asymmetries according to the position of the SC

in the sentence and the type of participle can be accounted for in terms of the possibilities for c-command/m-command to apply.

Adjunct participials appear in sentence initial and sentence final position. In the former case only matrix clause subject association is possible, and in the latter both matrix subject and matrix object association is possible. The two positions will be considered in turn. For the sake of economy the matrix clause in the tree diagrams below will be represented as an IP.

The graph below represents participial adjuncts in sentence initial position:

(140)



SCs with all four participles can have this distribution, agentive(141a), present active(141b), past active perfective(141c), and past passive(141d). Matrix clause subject association is possible and matrix object association is not:

(141) a. [e_i usmixvajki se], tja_i izleze ot stajata.

smile-AgtP-Ø CL she went-out of room-Def.

Smiling, she went out of the room.

b. [e_i stojašt pred kompjutūra], Asen_i pozdravi Ivan_j.

stand-PrAP-Masc. before computer-Def. Asen greeted Ivan

Standing in front of the computer, Asen greeted Ivan.

c. [e_i zastanal pred kompjutūra], Asen_i pozdravi Ivan_j.

stand-PPP-Masc. before computer-Def. Asen greeted Ivan

Standing in front of the computer, Asen greeted Ivan.

d. [e_i izpraven pred kompjutūra], Asen_i pozdravi Ivan_j.

stand-PassP-Masc. before computer-Def. Asen greeted Ivan

Standing in front of the computer, Asen greeted Ivan.

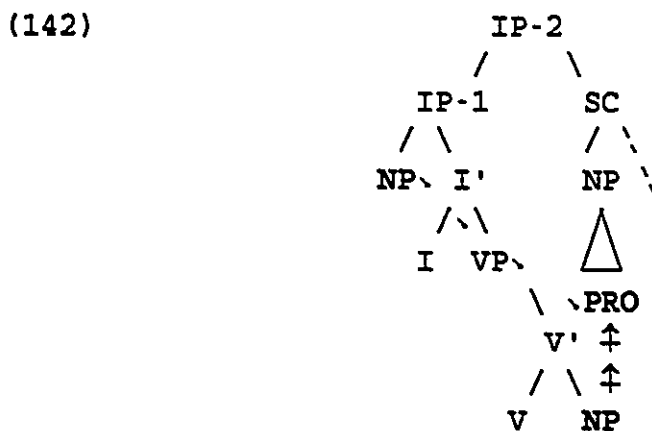
Our analysis will have to capture the fact that the SC precedes the matrix subject, while its PRO subject is controlled by it. We can assume that SC is adjoined to IP. Even if graphically SC is higher up the tree than the potential controller, it is in reality at the same level in the tree as the controlling matrix NP. Further on, a definition of c-command as m-command will be necessary.

Thus the desired result can be achieved. The subject NP m-commands SC and, consequently, its PRO subject because every XP that dominates it also dominates SC, and since domination by an XP is taken to mean domination by every segment of the XP in question, it must be the case that the matrix subject NP is a proper controller for PRO. We can further speculate that control is justifiably unidirectional, since SC is not technically dominated by every segment of IP, which ensures a sort of asymmetric m-command.

Looking at the graph in (140), it is obvious why control by a matrix object should be impossible. Clearly, an NP in the matrix VP is located too low in the tree to be able to c-command, or even m-command PRO.

We can now turn to sentence final position distribution. If we only had to justify subject association, it would not be of crucial importance whether participials are IP or VP adjuncts. It would not even matter, given the above definition of m-command, whether the adjunction is at IP, or within IP, i.e. at I'. Adjunction at the X-bar level, however, should be excluded in principle according to some authors.⁵⁴

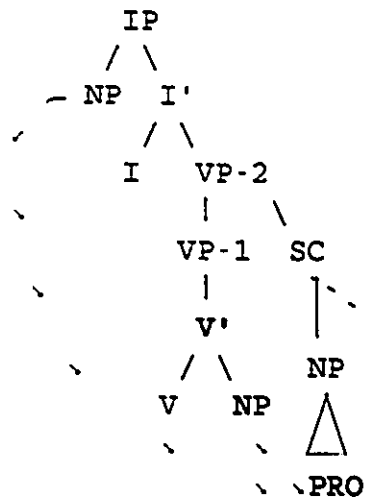
IP adjunction is bound to cause problems in cases of Control by a matrix object, where SC should be positioned sufficiently low in the tree for the object to be able to at least m-command it. This would not be possible in a configuration as the one below:



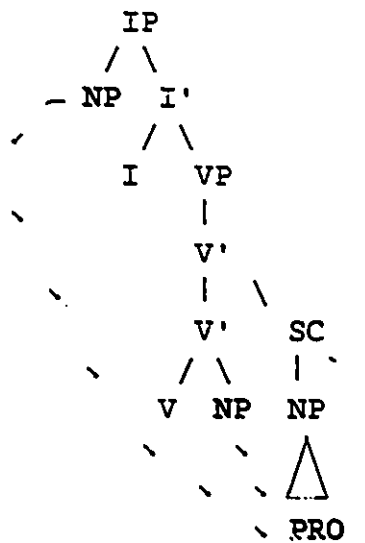
We can therefore conclude that adjuncts allowing object association must be VP adjuncts⁵⁵, whether at VP(143a) or at V' (143b):

(143)

a.



b.



Thus in the case of object association m-command will have to apply with respect to VP as the first XP dominating the matrix object as well as the SC.

The legitimate question arises whether all participial adjuncts should be or even could be treated as VP adjuncts. One could

speculate that in general there may be cases where an object is present and a situation can be imagined where the object NP logically might be, and yet never is, construed as the controller of a SC adjunct in sentence final position. Therefore it may be justifiable to propose that this is because such adjuncts are adjoined to IP and not VP. Also, even when a sentence is ambiguous between a subject and object association construal, this may not be an ambiguity based on interpretive preferences, the SC being a VP adjunct. It may be viewed as a structural ambiguity, SC adjoining at/within IP for matrix subject Control and at/within VP for matrix object Control. Observe the behavior of participials below:

- (144)a. Asen_i pozdravi Ivan_j, [e_{i,j} stojašt pred kompjutūra].
 Asen greeted Ivan stand-AgP-Masc. before computur-Def.
 Asen greeted Ivan, standing in front of the computer.
- b. Asen_i pozdravi Ivan_j, [e_{i,j} zastanal pred kompjutūra].
 Asen greeted Ivan stand-PPP-Masc. before computur-Def.
 Asen greeted Ivan, standing in front of the computer.
- c. Asen_i pozdravi Ivan_j, [e_{i,j} izpraven pred kompjutūra].
 Asen greeted Ivan stand-PassP-Masc. before computur-Def.
 Asen greeted Ivan, standing in front of the computer.

Such cases would need extensive research, given that three out of four adjunct participials in principle allow both subject and object Control: present active(144a), past active perfective (144b), and past passive(144c) participle SCs. It will be interesting to try and establish possible patterns of behavior, depending on the type of participle and the type of matrix V.

The agentive participle is the only one that remains impervious to matrix clause object association. Observe the behavior of the participial SC below:

(145) Tja_i pozdravi sestra_j si, [e_{i/}, usmivajki se].

she greeted sister her smile-AgtP-Ø CL

She greeted her sister, smiling.

A possible explanation for this fact can be sought in the distribution of agentive participle adjuncts. If they are assumed to be IP adjoined and never VP adjoined, then they can never have Control relations proper with an object.

Summing up, this section has shown that participial SC in MB are exclusively structures of Control. Their subject has been identified as *PRO*, obligatorily controlled by a coreferential matrix subject or object NP. SC adjuncts in sentence initial position are analyzed as adjoined to IP, thus allowing the matrix subject, but not the matrix object to m-command, hence to properly control their *PRO*. When occurring sentence finally, participials are assumed to be VP adjuncts where c-/m-command relations must obtain for the purposes of object Control. In the case of matrix subject association, even IP adjunction would be able to ensure proper Control. If present active past active and past passive participles in principle allow both object and subject association, the agentive participle allows only matrix subject association, irrespective of its sentential position. It has been proposed that

agentive participles may be exclusively IP adjuncts, which would never permit an object NP to control their *PRO* subject.

Chapter 5: Summary and Conclusions

The present thesis entitled Small Clauses in Modern Bulgarian has discussed a Slavic language that has not been sufficiently studied by current linguistic theory. After a review of the relevant literature on SCs(Chapter 1) and a discussion of the typology of MB SCs(Chapter 2), analyses are presented of SCs with AP, NP, PP predicates(Chapter 3) and participial SCs(Chapter 4).

Following Chomsky(1981 & elsewhere) and Stowell(1981 & elsewhere), and contra Williams(1983 & elsewhere)⁵⁶, the italicized strings below are identified as "small clauses":

(146) a. *Napravix Ivan štastliv.*

made-1SG Ivan happy

I made Ivan happy

b. *Ivan prezident e nešto, koeto nikoj ne može da si*

Ivan president is something that nobody not can to CL

predstavi.

imagine

Ivan president - that is something impossible to imagine.

c. *Ivan jade mesoto_i PRO_i prjasno*

Ivan eats meat-Neut.Def. fresh-Neut.

Ivan eats his meat fresh.

d. *PRO_i zastanal pred kompjutūra, Asen_i pozdravi Ivan.*

stand-PPP-Masc. before computer-Def. Asen greeted Ivan

Standing in front of the computer, Asen greeted Ivan.

e. *Asen_i pozdravi Ivan, PRO_{i,j} zastanal pred kompjutūra*

Asen greeted Ivan stand-PPP-Masc. before computer-Def.

Asen greeted Ivan standing in front of the computer.

f. Asen_i be smjatan t_i za genij.

Asen was considered for genius

Asen was considered a genius.

The view has been adopted that SCs are true constituents at all levels of representation in agreement with the Projection Principle requiring the uniform projection of selectional properties at DS, SS, and LF, as well as in fulfillment of the requirements of θ -theory, and the θ -criterion in particular, according to which the arguments of a predicate each receive one and only one θ -role. These basic assumptions motivate the treatment of "Ivan" in (146a) as the logical and structural subject of the predicate "štastliv" and they also make necessary the positing of an empty category to act as the logical and structural subject of the AP predicate in (146c) and the participial predicates in (146d&e).

The SC predicate can be realized by APs(146a), NPs(146b), PPs(146f), and VPs(146d&e), and the SC subject can be realized by overt NPs(146a), PRO(146c-e), traces(146f). SCs can occupy the position of sentential objects(146a), adjuncts(146c-e), subjects(146b), and possibly complements to raising verbs. Thus the typology of MB SCs is in general similar to that of other European languages.

The possibility for overt agreement marking in AP and participial SCs brings MB closer to Romance languages than to English. SC

agreement is deprived of an important category of finite agreement, namely Person, although the other two categories Gender and Number are invariably present.

VP SCs are of special interest since MB lacks an equivalent for the English naked infinitive SC, but it has a rich choice of participles: agentive, present active, past active perfective, and past passive, whose properties sometimes resemble and sometimes differ drastically from their Italian and Spanish counterparts. MB adjunct participials are exclusively Control structures with either matrix subject(146d&e) or matrix object(146d) association. They do not license overt NPs agreeing with the participle, unlike Romance absolute participials which allow an agreeing Nominative-marked NP originating in the postverbal position(Cf. Italian unaccusatives and Spanish transitives and unaccusatives), or an Accusative-marked NP(Cf. Italian transitives).

If SCs as sentential subjects are very rare, actually restricted to cases of matrix "sũm"("be") or mediopassive verbs, SCs as sentential objects and adjuncts are common. Use of some participial adjuncts is avoided, the preference being for a finite subordinate clause.

The constituency of SCs is supported most convincingly by their acting as binding domains. The fact that some SCs can be sentential subjects and therefore undoubtedly true constituents, suggests that all SCs may be constituents. Data from *wh* and *"li"*(interrogative particle) question formation and subcategorization properties of

the matrix verb also provide, if tentatively, evidence for the constituency of SCs.

It is more difficult to establish unambiguously whether AP, NP, and PP SCs contain (functional) projections above AP, NP, and PP or not. If TP and ModalP can be ruled out based on the properties of the SC predicate heads, the existence of AGRP for AP SCs, irrespective of their sentential position, and CP for all SCs in adjunct position should be given the benefit of the doubt.

The presence of an AGRP for AP SCs receives support from the Gender and Number agreement between the SC NP and the predicative AP, as well as from the possibility, however limited, for Dative clitics to appear in such environments⁵⁷. If such an XP is posited, however, it will be projected from deficient AGR, since the category Person, a crucial ingredient of sentential agreement, is lacking. CP may only be posited for adjunct SCs, if their licensing of "makar i" ("although") is considered as evidence that COMP can sometimes be occupied.

The subject of object SCs cannot be licensed SC internally as it cannot be lexically governed by the SC predicate for the purposes of Accusative Case assignment. However, SCs in the complement position are L-marked by the matrix verb and are thus made transparent for external government and Accusative-marking by it. Adjunct SCs can never be L-marked as they are not subcategorized constituents, which licenses PRO SC subjects: internal Case-assignment is impossible for familiar reasons, but neither is

external Case-assignment allowed, since no lexical governor governs into SC.

The only problematic case is the licensing of NPs of the close to marginal subject SCs. We either have to introduce additional stipulations allowing the sentential subject to be L-marked, or accept that these are occurrences of "suspended" Case-assignment. The second possibility would be worth considering in view of a similar situation in English -ing constructions in adjunct position:

(147) Mary being tired, John ...

*Her being tired, John

*She being tired, John

If non-finite IP is not rich enough for internal Nominative Case assignment and no external Case assigner can be found since adjuncts are not eligible for L-marking, which would otherwise allow government and Case assignment from the outside, then the fact that in examples like the one above nouns are allowed, but pronouns are unacceptable gains significance. A parallel can be drawn between gerunds and subject SCs, in English, as well as in MB and possibly other languages too, disallow pronouns and can only allow nouns which are not unambiguously marked for Case. We can conclude that in both cases Case assignment may have been "suspended".

If overt Case-marking can shed some light on the mechanism of the

abstract syntactic Case assignment, then further research including languages where nouns are overtly marked for Case will be able to confirm or reject the "suspended Case assignment" hypothesis. It would also be interesting to study how the Case neutrality of nouns correlates with the distribution of *PRO*. Compare the possible alternative to the above example with gerunds where *PRO* occurs instead of an overt NP. The *PRO* variant is by far the more common one. We can speculate whether it might be possible that *PRO* is the category that can only be assigned "null Case", and that nouns may sometimes receive the same Case by default. If this is true then *PRO* may in fact be [-pronominal] and [+anaphor] rather than [+pronominal] and [+anaphor], thus sharing a feature with nouns which would account for nouns being marginally possible in *PRO* environments, as was shown above.

Participial SCs in adjunct positions provide evidence for the existence of functional projections above VP: ASPP, AGRP, Σ P, CP, but not TP or ModalP.

ASPP is the projection responsible for the time reference of the SC relative to that of the matrix clause: the agentive and present participles denote activities cooccurring with those expressed by the matrix predicate, whereas the past active perfective and past passive participles denote an activity preceding the one in the matrix clause or a state resulting from such an activity and therefore cooccurring with the one in the matrix clause. It is not easy to define the values of ASP with the same precision as the

Perfective versus Imperfective values for the morphological category Vid. Suffice it to say that ASP has features associated with the participial morphology which may or may not correlate with Vid meanings as there may be other categories contributing to the overall aspectuality of participials, such as transitivity, Voice, etc.

It has been argued in this thesis that Aspect is the only time-related category that should be syntactically represented in participials⁵⁸. Syntactic ASP can also be assumed to be broad enough a notion to encompass Voice. This is in agreement with participial morphology where Voice comes with the participial ending rather than as a separate morpheme in the manner of agreement markers. If a biunique correspondence is sought between a morpheme and a corresponding functional projection, as has been proposed for Tense and TP, then our proposal is plausible⁵⁹.

Additionally it has been shown that Vid, assumed to be a predominantly morphological aspectual category, and Aktionsart, viewed as intrinsic to the semantics of a verb, are not to be ignored as far as the syntactical behavior of participles is concerned. A more extensive study of the representation of aspectuality at different levels may involve a detailed examination not only of the compatibility of participles with time adverbs, but also possible combinations with classes of manner adverbs, as well as the role of negation and the expression of Definiteness/Indefiniteness in the participial complementation.

The existence of AGRP in participials is supported by the agreement Gender/Number marking of all four participles except the agentive, as well as by the licensing of object pronominal clitics by the three active participles and dative clitics by all four participles. Although in the absence of the category Person participial agreement is deficient, clitics, which are generally assumed to be generated in or to raise to a position in AGRP, make such a projection indispensable, even in the case of agentive participles which are never inflected for Gender and Number.

Importantly, agreement in MB participials is between the SC predicate and an entity corresponding to an external or externalized finite clause subject. This entity for adjuncts is *PRO*. In reality the participle agrees with the antecedent of *PRO*. By contrast, Italian *PRO* participials have agreement with the antecedent of *PRO* in cases of passive and unaccusative verbs, but with an Accusative-marked NP in cases of transitive verbs. Thus, MB differs from Italian, and also from Spanish, where absolute participials realize agreement only between the participle and an NP assumed to originate in the object position. This is true of both overt and non-overt NPs. If linguistic facts have motivated Belletti(1990) to posit an AGR-OP for Italian participials, the corresponding XP for MB should be identified as AGR-SP.

The behavior of intransitives, which according to Belletti are ungrammatical in ASCs or only marginally possible, needs careful examination, as it is particularly illuminating as far as the

nature of Italian participial agreement is concerned. In fact they prove the existence of AGR-O to be correct.

For the sake of precision a distinction should be drawn between intransitives which may act as transitives, e.g. "telefonare" ("telephone"), and such that may never take a direct object, e.g. "cenare" ("dine"). Observe that in the absence of an NP originating in the object position the marking on the participle is neutral: masculine, singular -o irrespective of the Gender/Number of the antecedent of PRO(148a-c). But as soon as an Accusative NP appears it immediately attracts attention making agreement with the participle possible(148d):

- (148) a. Telefonato a Gianni, Maria uscì di casa.
 telephoned-Masc. to Gianni Maria went-out of house
 Having phoned Gianni, Maria left.
- b. Telefonato a Maria, Gianni uscì di casa.
 telephoned-Masc. to Maria Gianni went-out of house
 Having phoned Maria, Gianni left.
- c. Telefonato a Maria, i ragazzi uscirono di casa.
 telephoned-Masc. to Maria the boys went-out of house
 Having phoned Maria, the boys left.
- d. Telefonate le notizie, Gianni uscì di casa.
 telephoned-PL the news-PL Gianni went-out of house
 Having phoned the news, Gianni left.

In examples of near-acceptable occurrences of "cenare" and "telefonare" where the participial subject may even be overtly realized, the marking on the participle is again neutral(Cf.

Cinque's (1990) examples in Fn. 25, some of which are cited here in Nt. 46). The generalization can be reached that where there is no NP to bring out the potential of AGR-O the result is ungrammaticality or, rarely, licensing through "suspending" of agreement.

Negation is registered in two possible WO patterns: *ne-clitic-participle* and *ne-participle-clitic*. In both cases it behaves like true sentential negation with respect to polarity sensitive items. It differs from finite clause negation which is only grammatical in *ne-clitic-finite V* patterns.

Linguistic facts suggest that the "clitic second" rule, valid for finite clauses, is considerably weakened in participials, or even non-existent, since only "ne" and V are granted the privilege of supporting clitics, as opposed to finite clauses, where any phonetically non-empty material would qualify for the role. Since, moreover, in participials negation is not always eligible to precede a clitic on its own, we are justified to assume that there are other factors at play. It has been proposed that a Σ P responsible for the affirmative or negative marking of participials contains an operator which helps arrange the three possible patterns: *participle-CL*, *ne-participle-CL*, and *ne-CL-participle*.

In the first case V incorporates into a phonetically empty Σ , in the second case it incorporates into "ne" in Σ and in the third case it does not raise above AGR. Thus incorporation is obligatory

for the affirmative marking of the participial SC but applies optionally in the presence of "ne" in the head of ΣP . Our belief is that this account accommodates linguistic facts with a minimal amount of stipulations.

The implications of positing a ΣP for the analysis of finite clauses, or even types of SCs other than participials,⁶⁰ remain to be studied. A possible line of research could be the connection between the adverb-like stressed "ne" in SCs other than participials and ΣP , which may supply an operator-like licenser even from a distance.

Importantly, the presence of negation in participials may question the universal validity of Zanuttini's (1991) hypothesis, based on a comparative study of Romance languages, namely that the presence of Tense is a prerequisite for the occurrence of sentential negation. As far as MB is concerned, it seems that a verbal head of a predicate, whether in a finite or a non-finite clause, is the necessary condition for the appearance of negation as the head of an XP. As research so far has shown, in MB AP, NP, and PP SCs there may appear an adverbial type of negation much like the negation registered by Cardinaletti and Guasti (1993) for Italian AP (and NP) SCs, whose properties differ from those of Italian finite negation and MB finite and participial negation. If our assumptions that Tense is not a participial category proper, or at least that its syntactic impact is insignificant, are correct then we may venture to propose that the true universal is based on the morphological

category of the clausal predicate: it takes a verb to license negation as the head of a functional projection. Notice that the traditional TP would presuppose the presence of a verb, which may appear to be the initial cause in Romance.

We should be prepared, however, to accept that the prerequisite for negation may vary among (groups of) languages, since neither Tense, unless it is an "abstract/empty" Tense, nor verbal status would be eligible candidates if the rank of negation in languages which allow "verbless" finite clauses is the same as that of negation in finite clauses in Romance and finite and participial clauses in MB. If in such cases negation is an adverbial, a correspondence may be sought between the morphological category of the predicate and negation occupying [Spec, XP] versus negation in [X^0 , XP]. For reliable generalizations we shall need a detailed study of the behavior of both finite and non-finite clauses cross-linguistically.

CP may be posited for participials since, like all other adjunct SCs, they license "makar i" ("although"), the equivalent of the complementizers "anche se" and "benché" in Italian. It can be considered as evidence that COMP may sometimes be occupied.

If in the absence of true finite agreement and Tense V-movement into COMP is an obligatory condition for internal Nominative Case assignment, as proposed for Romance non-finite clauses, it is understandable why MB adjunct participials cannot license overt NPs. The explanation can be that COMP is never available for V-

movement either because it is occupied or because CP does not exist. Thus, like other adjunct SCs, participials do not take overt subjects but instead allow PRO controlled either by a matrix subject or a matrix object. Moreover, the grammaticality of overt NPs in Romance correlates with AGR-O, whereas their ungrammaticality in MB correlates with AGR-SP. It could be that both the availability of CP and the specific properties of agreement allow SC internal Case assignment in Romance languages but not in MB.

The external relations of participial SCs are studied in view of their being exclusively control structures. If the SC is sentence initial m-command of PRO is only exercised by the matrix subject, but not by the matrix object. All four participials can have such a distribution in which case they are most probably IP adjuncts.

In sentence final position participial SCs adjoined to VP allow m-command not only by a matrix subject, but also by a matrix object. The fact that agentive participles may never have object association suggests that irrespective of their position in the sentence they can only occur as IP adjuncts and never as VP adjuncts. Of course, if the object has to raise to AGR-O to check its features it will be able to command the subject position of a SC adjoined to (a lower segment of) IP. However, if the SC is adjoined higher than AGR-OP then again it will be out of reach of the matrix object. Thus, thinking in terms of layers of structure within IP, we would have to be more specific as far as the IP

attachment of SC is concerned.

A cross-linguistic study of Control participials will be particularly revealing with respect to the universality of observations made for MB.

Finally, an area that this thesis has barely been able to touch upon is WO in MB SCs: *SC subject-SC predicate* alternating with *SC predicate-SC subject*. The possibilities can be explored for different types of movement to have applied, involving stylistic and semantic factors.

Notes

1. The literature on SCs begins with Williams' (1974) Ph.D. dissertation *Rule-ordering in Syntax*.
2. Bresnan (1982 & elsewhere) cited in Safir (1983:730), Williams (1983:299), Stowell (1983:300-301).
3. This is a principle formulated in Williams (1980). Raising verbs must be an exception as they do not assign an external argument. The verb "be" seems to be treated as a single lexical unit with its complement, not on a par with raising verbs.
4. This is different from the coindexation for coreferentiality. A problem arises with Williams' system of indexation e.g. in cases like (a) "John_i arrived_i dead_i," (Williams' (49)) discussed below as it does not clearly show that the two PXP's belong to two separate argument complexes. And the problem is not purely technical if the above example is compared with (b) "John_i wants_i dead_i," and (c) "John_i wants_i [PRO_i to die_i]," (Williams' (16d) & (51b)). For (a) Williams says that two θ -roles can be assigned to "John" (Cf. also fn.10) without violating the θ -criterion, but not so for (b), where this would violate the θ -criterion. If we accept his explanation for (a), then we have to look for an explanation for (b) other than the one that he briefly sketches.

Suppose we use an explanation in terms of "argument status", as he himself suggests for cases of thematic independence, as will be shown below. Since thematic independence is made possible in (a) because "dead" is not an argument of "arrive", then it must be the case that (b) could be ungrammatical just because "dead" is an argument of "want". (It is this that the indexation fails to show.) But why would "dead" be ungrammatical where "to die" is licit? The presupposition transpires that the two differ in status, and that the AP is trying to fill an argument position for which it does not qualify as it is a bare PXP. The infinitive, on the other hand, which is assumed to be able to form a sentence, is licensed in exactly the

same position, since it has in fact formed a separate argument complex with a phonetically empty *PRO* and is therefore not, nor does it attempt to be, on its own, in the same argument complex as "want". In effect, cases like (b) are a violation of the θ -criterion (and the Projection Principle) because there is no eligible host for the internal argument of "want".

5. (7c) actually reflects the analysis proposed by Stowell's (1983 & elsewhere), who accepts the VP adjunct status of the SC (See Section 2.1). According to Williams (1983) Chomsky (1981) treats the SC in (7b) as an IP adjunct, in the hope of saving it from government and thus justifying the positing of *PRO*, but fails to do so (See discussion below.)
6. Williams' (15): "Only VP appears in the underlined position in the base rule for S: $S \rightarrow NP \text{ } \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \text{ } .$ " Notice that the VP stipulation excludes nominal, adjectival, adverbial, prepositional PXP's, but not explicitly enough the bare infinitive. The status of past participles, gerunds is also to be determined.
7. Williams' original examples are with "see" and "make": *"John saw/made leave" (54a&b). As he is defending the position that to-infinitives, but not naked infinitives, are a suitable environment for thematic independence, his examples do not provide the sought contrast. (12) does, since it uses control verbs which would take a to-infinitive, but not a naked infinitive
8. Chomsky (1981) treats the SC adjunct in (18) as an IP adjunct and an S projection. According to Williams it is more likely a VP adjunct.
9. Obviously, Williams assumes that all material within a given projection is governed by the head of the projection, i.e. he relies on a definition of government in terms of m-command, not c-command. Stowell (1983) can treat it as a VP adjunct as his definition of government is different.
10. Williams' Predication theory is here between the Scylla of justifying two θ -roles being assigned to the same NP and the Charybdis of accepting that either PXP's can take *PRO* subjects or that SCs do exist. Notice that the solution he proposes takes the risk of allowing a single NP to be assigned an indefinite number of external arguments, even if by predicates belonging to different argument complexes. In the case of "consider X intelligent",

however, he is willing to admit that the verb subcategorizes for a position X without θ -marking it. Thus his Predication theory is incompatible with STM, Williams' label for the principle according to which a verb θ -marks the positions it subcategorizes for. But why not apply the reasoning for the arrive sentence to the consider sentence?

11. Schein(1982) uses a similar approach. He maintains that verbs select a predicate as their internal argument, which consequently forces the presence of a VP-internal NP in order to satisfy the requirements of the θ -criterion. The subject NP is thus external to the XP that θ -marks it. For arguments against SCs see also Bresnan(19 4).
12. The explanation for scopal asymmetries could depend on some principle which would see differently the subject position of the SC and the predicate complement position(Cf. Stowell's(1991) SC restructuring hypothesis; also, even if an account in terms of government is helpless in certain cases of thematic independence, this does not argue convincingly against the SC analysis per se, it only points out its shortcomings at the current stage. For example, the notion of L-marking/ θ -government, which in effect collapses together "government" and Williams' "status as an argument" will be used by Stowell(1991). But see also Stowell(1983) for a distinction made between an argument and a non-argument position within the VP, which helps justify the existence of SCS, including PRO SCs.)
13. Williams(1983) proposes that his Predication theory would not be in violation of PP if we assume that SCs are non-constituents at LF as well. However, he must rely on coindexation to compensate for what the clausal analysis reflects in configurations.
14. Stowell takes interpolation data as a more convincing proof for the constituency of SCs than binding data. However, there does not seem to be a problem for the Predication theory to achieve matrix predicate or PXP construal of an adverb in terms of e.g. locality/adjacency. Thus the binding data are by far a more convincing proof as they would require a reformulation of opacity in terms of predicates, not subjects, in order to be accommodated

by the Predication theory. (Cf. Chapter 1, Section 1)

15. Even if Stowell's reasoning may be acceptable his examples fail to prove his point. Compare countrexamples (8) and (9) in Kitagawa (1985), where "consider" rejects an AP in preference for a PP, and "expect" rejects a PP in favor of an AP: *"The doctor considers [that patient dead tomorrow]" vs. "... our pilot considers [that island off the route]"; *"I expect [that island off the route]" vs. "I expect [that man dead by tomorrow]" (based on Kitagawa's (8) & (9)). Notice, however, that neither verb tolerates bare infinitives: "I consider/ expect [him go]" as opposed to "I saw/heard [her cry]". Also, consider Contreras' (1987) example (21): *"I expect [you an attorney by the end of the year]". We can accept Stowell's argument, though with some reservations. But see Contreras (1987) for more convincing arguments from Spanish based on subcategorization.
16. The situation here looks like the mirror image of what Williams had to cope with (Cf. Fn.13). The clause-union type of restructuring is actually compatible with the Predication theory.
17. Presented in this way Stowell's solution tackles only half of the problem. for the other half involves examples like "John seems mad at someone", where the narrow scope construal is available. So we should either look for a proof that not only the head of the SC predicate incorporates into V, or try to come up with an altogether different solution. One possibility would be to exploit the fact that in one case a variable must be bound in the SC subject position, and in the other a variable is to be bound within the SC predicate. The alternative is to rely on some principle that would allow more easily the binding of a trace as a result of raising at LF than the binding of a trace left prior to LF. A combination of the two is also possible, of course.
18. Compare Stowell's (1981) examples of such phrasal categories: "Under the bed is a cozy spot", "Angry/unwanted is a terrible way to feel".
19. The Case Filter account seems acceptable although Case assignment actually hinges on government, and Williams objected to government being the panacea for ungrammatical cases he lists.

20. Cf. Poutsma(1928) cited after Contreras(1987:236-237) for data on the behavior of predicative NPs: they may not take the indefinite article, they relativize with "which/that", but not with "who", etc.
21. Cf. Stowell's(1991) account which is compatible with May's later proposals. Both Contreras and Stowell, however, leave out the inconvenient example "John is mad about something".
22. In Spanish "a" as in (43d) behaves like a marker for definite object NPs, not as a preposition. This is to be expected in view of the object-like behavior of the SC subject. An interesting issue arises in addition, since apparently in Spanish, as in Bulgarian and English, the SC subject is somehow very closely associated with Definiteness. This is a matter for further research to deal with.
23. However, "considerar" also takes "que"("that") subordinate clauses. This fact allows SCs either to be paired off with CPs, or to enter a hierarchy of categories where a CP occupies the top level, an IP(e.g. an infinitival clause) the second highest, and an XP(i.e. a SC) the lower/lowest level. Thus, unless we have already excluded the CP analysis of SCs, we would have to give this treatment the benefit of the doubt.
24. See also Kitagawa(1985) who considers SCs to be S's.
25. For the sake of clarity it should be mentioned that Belletti uses Perlmutter's terminology. Her unaccusatives correspond to Vs otherwise labelled ergatives(a more recent term introduced by Burzio), and comprise a class of Vs whose subject originates in a post-verbal position; her intransitives correspond to unergatives, i.e. the subclass of intransitives, whose subject does not originate post verbally. Presumably, the class of intransitives/unergatives includes verbs like "telefonare", which, however, may also realize a direct object. In this respect they are unlike "cenare"("dine"), which never takes a direct object, and is unambiguously intransitive. (Cf. Cinque's(1990) examples cited in Fn.46)
26. Notice, however, that when an intransitive V like "telefonare" realizes its direct object position, it behaves exactly like a transitive V: the

participle in the ASC agrees in Number and Gender with a following object NP:

(i) a. Telefonate le notizie, Gianni lasciò la sala.

telephoned-PL the news Gianni left the room

Having phoned the news, Gianni left the room.

b. Telefonatene (tre-), ...

telephoned-PL-of-them three

Having phoned three of them, ...

Control structures, which Belletti does not discuss are also acceptable for some speakers:

(ii) a. Telefonato a Gianni, Maria uscì di casa.

telephoned to Gianni Maria went-out of house

After phoning Gianni, Maria left the house.

b. Telefonato a Maria, Gianni uscì di casa.

telephoned to Maria Gianni went-out of house

After phoning Maria, Gianni left the house.

c. Telefonato a Maria, i ragazzi uscirono di casa.

telephoned to Maria the boys went-out of house

After phoning Maria, the boys left the house.

The interesting fact about cases when an intransitive V appears in an ASC is that agreement is neutralized: in (ii) the participle is invariably inflected for the masculine, i.e. the unmarked option, irrespective of the features of the matrix clause controller, or the immediately following NP (the NP within the "a" PP). See also examples in Cinque (1990:26), Fn. 25. Some of these are cited in Belletti (1990), Nt. 34.

27. If the past participial morphology per se is "Accusative-marked", and for this reason banned from COMP, at SS at least, then Belletti is justified in using this assumption to account for transitives, passives, and intransitives being unable to license an overt Nominative NP. However, unaccusatives become problematic, as the participle should be in COMP as early as SS.
28. If clitics are assumed to adjoin to AGRP at SS, regardless of whether they are base-generated there or not, the word order participle-clitic shows that

V must have reached a position higher than AGRP. This in combination with the ungrammaticality of complementizers (Cf. (50)) below strongly suggests that V is actually in COMP. These facts seem to make unnecessary the somewhat counterintuitive assumptions discussed in Nt. 27. And if this is so, a different explanation should be sought for the behavior of transitives and above all for the fact that they agree with an Accusative NP.

29. The NP in question is presumably the potentially Nominative-marked subject NP. If we had "le notizie" instead "Gianni", then a discussion of the assignment of Accusative would be relevant.

30. For the use of terms for the classes of verbs see Nt. 25.

Interestingly, transitive participles only occur in passive but not in active configurations: "por"("by") objects are allowed but Accusative objects and objective/reflexive clitics are ungrammatical in APC. The NP following the participle seems to be a replica of a derived subject in finite passive clauses, as it can only be marked for the Nominative. We propose that Spanish transitives are in fact passives.

31. Notice, however that not all Spanish intransitives are ungrammatical in APCs if the distinction we have proposed for Italian is maintained for Spanish as well, namely that intransitives, excluding ergatives, should be divided into potential/optional transitives and true intransitives. Spanish potential transitives mirror the behavior of true transitives. Unlike their Italian counterparts (Cf. Italian "telefonare", Fn. 26) they may appear in APCs with an agreeing Nominative NP originating in the object position.

(i) Comunicada la noticia. ...

communicated the news ...

(ii)*Comunicada la, ...

communicated it (lit. "her")

32. The following examples contradict this statement, since they show that *pro* and a lexical pronoun do occur in APCs, just like in Italian, even if their usage is restricted:

(i) a. Llegados a casa, no había nadie allí. (Sp.)

arrived-PL home not have nobody any more

When we/you/they returned home, there was nobody left there.

b. Arrivati a casa, non c'era più nessuno. (It.)

arrived-PL home not was any more nobody

When we/you/they returned home, there was nobody left there.

(Belletti's (56b) modified)

c. Llegada yo, Juan dio un suspiro de alivio. (Sp.)

arrived I Juan took a breath of relief

When I arrived, Juan felt relieved.

d. Arrivata io, Gianni tirò un sospiro di sollievo. (It.)

arrived I Juan took a breath of relief

When I arrived, Juan felt relieved.

(Belletti's (13a) modified)

As far as cases of Control are concerned, it is a question of terminology whether they should be discussed on a par with absolute constructions with overt subjects, as in Belletti(1990), or as a different kind of participial clauses, as proposed by de Miguel.

33. Notice, however, that TP is not independently motivated either, since Spanish past participles have Aspect, but not Tense. As, moreover, APCs have been noted to display not only temporal characteristics but also features of adverbials of condition, concession, etc., positing a CP is not in the least unacceptable. Besides, if adverbials like "una vez"(Sp.)/"una volta"(It.) ("once") can make APCs/ASCs (near-) grammatical, this is very strongly reminiscent of the effect an operator might have. CP is the host for operators. Finally, if we follow Belletti's reasoning the fact that complementizers do not occur can be taken as a proof that the position is already occupied by V.

34. The present passive participle is a rudimentary branch of the verbal paradigm in MB. It is mostly used attributively, or as a substantive, but does not seem to enter passive configurations(*"ljubim ot neja"="loved by her"). Some of the forms are borrowings from Russian. The past imperfective active participle is reserved for Non-witness Mood forms. It is derived from the

Imperfect Tense stem. Sometimes, when the Aorist and Imperfect Tense are homonymous the two past active participles are also homonymous. Not all dialects of MB make a distinction between the two participles but prefer to use the forms for the perfective participle.

35. Usages with disjoint reference as in (i) from a 19-20c. author(cited in Maslov(1982:286)) are generally considered ungrammatical. In the case of (ii) the example is considerably improved by the usage of a meteorological verb which semantically is a zero-place predicate and also by the presence of "edva".

(i) Ošte ne razgŭrnal vestnicite, vleze sluginjata.
yet not open-PPP-Masc. newspapers-Def. entered housemaid-Fem.
Before he had even looked at the papers, the housemaid came in.

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(the original spelling of "ne" separated from the participle is preserved)

(ii) Edva razvidelilo se, Krali Marko jaxna konja si i prepusna.
hardly dawn-PPP-Neut. CL Krali Marko mounted horse his and raced-on
Hardly had dawn broken when Krali Marko mounted his horse and rode on at full speed.

We can conclude that participials of disjoint reference are only marginally possible. It could be that at an earlier stage Bulgarian was closer to Romance.

36. "Ne" is spelled separately only in combination with the agentive participle. In all other cases it is spelled together with the participle.
37. e.g. "kato se usmixna"("as she smiled") instead of the agentive participles "usmixvajki se"("smiling"). In the role of adjuncts passive participles seem to be the most common, followed by the remaining three which are in general considered to belong to a higher stylistic register.
38. The *wh* clause here may in fact be an independent relative and therefore equivalent to an NP. Either way, the SC behaves differently as compared to a

true constituent.

39. Notice the Accusative marking of the SC NP "inherited" by the question word.
40. It would not really make a difference whether the the two constituents are a direct object and an adjunct or two subcategorized NPs as in the case of the so-called double accusatives: *pitam nekogog nešto* (ask somebody something). The difference with SCs remains.
41. Notice, however, that "izgleda" does not behave like a raising verb proper when combined with a *da* clause: *Ne izgleda (te) da sa nedovolni*. *Te ne izgleda(t) da sa nedovolni* (not seems (they) *da* are unsatisfied-they not seems/seem *da* are unsatisfied). It may be that *izgleda+A/N* is closer to *feel great/taste delicious*, in which case the positing of a trace is unacceptable. Rather, a *PRO* should be considered.
42. Compare the examples from English and Spanish below:
- (i) a. Workers angry is/seems to be just the sort of situation that the ad campaign would want to avoid.
- b. Juan de torero es algo que no puedo imaginar.
Juan a bull-fighter - that I cannot imagine.
- However, in languages like Arabic subject SCs are unacceptable, although they occur in other positions.
43. Spanish too licenses SCs as subjects of impersonal "se" verbs.
44. As Spanish universal QPs in SCs behave like their MB counterparts it may be that Belletti's argument is of limited validity.
45. (i) Anche se già note da tempo, le loro intenzioni ci hanno stupito.
Even if already well-known, their intentions bewildered us.
(Cinque's (1990) (1), Fn.27)
- (ii) Anche se arrivata in ritardo, Maria non si scusò
even if arrived late, Maria did not apologize.
(Belletti's (1990) (16a))
46. Italian:

(i) ?Una volta parlato a Piero, Maria ...

Once spoken to P., M. ...

(ii)?Una volta cenato anche i bambini, potremo parlare co maggior
tranquillità

Once dined the children too, we will be able to speak with more
serenity.

(Cinque(1990), (iv.a) & (v.a), Fn.25)

47. Cf. Russian "nemolodoj" (not young) where *ne* is a prefix as opposed to the ungrammatical *"nemlad" in MB. Obviously, the same stem in different Slavic languages may or may not be compatible with the same negative prefix.
48. Observe also the distribution of *PRO* and overt NPs in adjunct gerunds in English, where the poor gerundial inflection would make internal Case assignment problematic and the lack of L-marking would render impossible external Case assignment: *X/*he/?him being tired, we decided to cancel the party* vs. *Being tired, X decided not to go to the party*. The NP does not alternate with overt pronouns or *pro* and neither is it marked for the genitive, as in certain object or subject gerundial clauses. The question arises whether in such rare occurrences an NP might share common characteristics with controlled *PRO*. It remains for further research to supply an answer. At this point we are content to conclude that in certain environments Case assignment may be "suspended". It could be that Case is assigned by default and that in Irish SCs, where the NP is invariably marked for the Accusative, it is this particular Case that takes the role of default Case. In English it could be the "null" Case assigned as a rule to *PRO*, if this empty category is assumed to be assigned Case to start with. Obviously such intuitions would lead to a reformulation of basic assumptions in the classical *PRO* theory and the *PRO* theorem in particular.
49. Note, however, that not all prefixes are perfectivizers and those that can be do not take this function in all of their occurrences. Suffixes such as *-n-* can be perfectivizers: *sedja* vs. *sedna* (*sit - sit down*).
50. It is in one of its specialized uses, i.e. telling jokes, stories, that the Present Tense is compatible with "vednŭž" ("once"): *Jadem (si nie) vednŭž v*

Ric, i kogo misliš sreštame - X(eat-Pres-1PL (CL we) once at Ritz and whom think-2SG meet-Pres-1PL. Once we were dining at the Ritz and who do you think we saw - X). This usage is most common in colloquial speech as the optional "si" indicates. The dative reflexive clitic has a purely stylistic function, marking the statement as more emotional.

51. As mentioned in Nt. 36 "ne" is spelled together with the participle except in the case of agentive participles. This seems to correlate with the ability of participles to be adjectivized with the exception of the agentive participle which can only be used as an adverbial adjunct, thus being more "verbal" than the other participles.
52. Rivero(1992) proposes that phrasal combinations of verb and an adverb which are registered in dictionaries as single lexical entries are in fact cases of Baker-style incorporation(Cf. Baker(1988) on noun and preposition incorporation). The distinction is made between such incorporating adjectives, which enter into configurations analogous with that of a subcategorized object, and nonincorporating adverbs, which are VP external. The former are most often adverbs of manner, the latter can be time adverbs:

- (i) a. I Maria tha to anapodo-girisi adverb incorporation
 The Mary will it upside+down-turn
 Mary will turn it upside down
- b. *O Yánis tha akomi+milái *adverb incorporation
 The John will be still speaking
 John will still be speaking
 (Based on Rivero's(1992) (1b&d))

Incorporating adverbs are viewed as contributing to the Aktionsart shape-up of the verb and non-incorporating adverbs are referred to as aspectual adverbs. MB adverbs seem to be of the aspectual type.

53. Adjectives only take dative clitics: "predana mu do grob"("faithful to him(CL) till death").
54. Chomsky(1992), among others.

55. Splitting AGRP into AGR-OP and AGR-SP complicates the account. Supposing the matrix object has to check features in AGR-OP we would have to allow (m-)command of the the SC *PRO* when SC is adjoined sufficiently low in a sequence of IP projections so that it falls within reach of a raising object NP. Various possibilities of SC adjunction can be studied, allowing or blocking object command, which the present thesis will have to ignore. For the sake of simplicity we adopt to the general IP label referring to inflectional projections en masse.

56. According to Williams' (1983 & elsewhere) proposals, the italicized string in (146a) should be treated as a subcategorized object plus a predicative XP, and the italicized AP in (146c) as a bare PXP assigning its external argument to the matrix subject rather than to a *PRO*.

57. Observe the examples with dative clitics below:

- (i) Predana mu do grob. Vjara ...
Faithful to him(CL) till death, Viara ...

If Kayne(1991) considers the ungrammaticality of dative clitics in Italian AP SCs(Cf. (ii) below) to argue against the existence of AGR-SP, we can conclude that such a projection has a place in the representations of MB AP SCs.

- (ii) *Considero [Gianni gli, fedele t_i]
(I) consider Gianni to-him faithful

58. Of course in view of recent proposals that Tense is not a category to be represented syntactically the discussion of TP in participials is irrelevant. It remains to decide how Tense in finite verbs and in participials correlate morphologically/derivationally.

59. Proposal regarding Tense-TP by Giorgi and Pianesi(1991) cited after Cardinaletti and Guasti(1993:56).

60. The word order A-CL in the examples in Fn. 57 may be derived either through movement of A to COMP or to the head of Σ P. Notice that in an object SC the clitic may not precede the A either: ?Vüzpitax X veren mu do grob (brought-up-1SG X faithful to-him(CL) till death)=I brought up X faithful to him till

death. If we still want to maintain that dative clitics to an adjective are of the kind that surface in AGRP, but we assume that CP can be posited only for adjunct SCs, the WO SC subject-A-CL can be derived by the NP appearing in the Spec of ΣP , A in its head for the purpose of marking the SC as affirmative, and the clitic in AGRP. Of course, there is the possibility of adjoining NP and/or A to a lower projection. Also dative clitics to the adjective may not be of the kind that should be AGR/AGRP-adjoined.

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