

# The distribution of subjects and predicates in Bulgarian: An (EPP) V-feature account

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Research into question formation in Bulgarian has focused primarily on the distribution of multiple *wh*-elements (Rudin 1988), focus and question formation (Lambova 2004), and the interrogative particle *li* (Rivero 1993, Franks 2006). The relative order of predicates and subjects has received comparatively little attention. This paper will show that their order can be accounted for by positing the checking of an EPP V-feature in T. Under this account, extending the mechanism of “scattered deletion” (Franks 1998, Bošković 2001, Lambova 2004), we can explain constraints on the relative distribution of Aux and V, their interaction with the placement of the subject, and the availability of focus interpretations to constituents that do not move into Lambova’s  $\Delta P$  (i.e. FocusP).

The data of interest are (1)-(3). In (1) we see that either Aux-V or V-Aux order is possible, with the verb necessarily focused in the latter instance (1b). If the subject is clause initial, as in (2), only Aux-V order is possible (compare (2a)-(2b)). In (2a), the subject may have a topic or focus interpretation. In (3) we see that Aux can move in front of the subject, in which case either Aux itself or the subject is focused, (3a) and (3b). However, V may not move in front of the subject, as shown in (3c). Similar paradigms are found both with yes/no questions and *wh*-questions, with Aux-V and V-Aux orders allowed, and the V having a focus interpretation when fronted. As in the paradigm above, V-Aux order is not possible when the subject immediately precedes or follows V.

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|-----|---|-------------|
| (1) | a. Bjaxa pročeli statijata studentite.<br>were read.pl article.the students.the<br>‘The students have read the article.’  | Aux-V-O-S   |
|     | b. <b>Pročeli</b> bjaxa statijata studentite, ne pregledali.<br>read.PL were article.the students.the not skimmed.through.PL<br>‘The students have READ the article, and not skimmed through it.’ | V-Aux-O-S   |
| (2) | a. Studentite/ <b>studentite</b> bjaxa pročeli statijata.<br>students.the were read.PL article.the<br>‘The students <sub>TOP</sub> /STUDENTS have read the article.’                              | S/S-Aux-V-O |
|     | b. *Studentite pročeli bjaxa statijata<br>students.the read.PL were article.the   | *S-V-Aux-O  |
| (3) | a. <b>Bjaxa</b> studentite pročeli statijata.<br>were students.the read.PL article.the<br>‘The students HAVE read the article.’   | Aux-S-V-O   |
|     | b. Bjaxa <b>studentite</b> pročeli statijata, ne profesorite.<br>were students.the read.PL article.the not professors.the<br>‘The STUDENTS have read the article, not the professors.’            | Aux-S-V-O   |
|     | c. *Pročeli studentite bjaxa statijata<br>read.PL students.the were article.the   | *V-S-Aux-O  |

To account for these data, we adopt Lambova’s  $\Delta P$  as a functional projection for [+top] and [+focus] (between T and C). We further propose (c.f. Massam 1991, McCloskey 2001, Davies & Dubinsky 2001) that V-initial languages (and Bulgarian) require the checking of an EPP V-feature (rather than a D-feature) in T. The structure associated with these assumptions is in (5).

