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ADNOMINAL ARGUMENTS IN PHRASES HEADED BY DEVERBAL NOUNS IN SLOVENIAN

Abstract

The paper deals with the issue of word order in Slovenian nominalizations with three adnominal arguments (agent, theme, and recipient) appearing simultaneously as postmodifiers in a nominal phrase whose head is a deverbal process/event noun. The main goal is to derive the fixed order of arguments: theme genitive >> agent genitive >> recipient dative. The article presents an analysis in which the order is achieved by introducing the VoiceP into the nominalization structure with transitive and unergative verbs and by movement of the theme argument to a position above the agent and recipient arguments.

Keywords: deverbal nominalization, adnominal argument, word order, Slovenian

1. INTRODUCTION

In Slovenian, all three arguments, agent, theme, and recipient can appear simultaneously as postmodifiers in a nominal phrase whose head is a deverbal process/event noun derived from a ditransitive verb. If these arguments are all expressed by noun phrases, their word

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order (WO) is fixed as in (1): *head >> theme genitive >> agent genitive >> recipient dative*.^{1,2}

- (1) podeljevanje [nagrada] [mednarodne žirije] [najboljšim filmom]
awarding awards.GEN international jury.GEN best movies.
DAT
“presenting awards to the best movies by the international jury”

The primary goal in this article is to show that the WO in (1) cannot be obtained if we adopt other proposals for Slavic languages dealing with adnominal arguments in process nominalizations (Zlatić 1997, Dvořák 2011, Šarić 2018). The argument is laid out in two steps. First, previous proposals for structures with two adnominal arguments are presented (section 2), followed by the analysis of the problem that arises when the third argument is added (section 3). In the last part, a possible solution is presented (sections 4 ad 5).

2. TWO ADNOMINAL DP ARGUMENTS IN OTHER SLAVIC LANGUAGES

We first consider cases with two adnominal arguments, i.e. various combinations of theme, agent and recipient noun phrases, and show how these are treated in the literature. We focus primarily on the analysis of the Serbian and Czech data.³

¹ We did not find any examples of this kind in the literature on Serbian that we examined. Šarić (2018: 79) notes that Serbian nominalizations can probably express three arguments as well, but native speakers find them difficult to process.

² The examples with three adnominal arguments are rarely used by Slovenian speakers, probably because of the difficulty of processing and for stylistic reasons. However, they are possible and have been mentioned in Slovenian literature, e.g. in Žele (2001: 31). An empirical study with data obtained from native speakers of Slovenian would certainly be desirable as a next step in this research. Unfortunately, such a study is beyond the scope of this paper and is left for future research.

³ We do not deal with Russian data here because Russian process nominals do not allow two genitive arguments (only result nominals do in Russian). See Rappaport (1998) for a detailed analysis.

2.1. THEME AND RECIPIENT

Zlatić (1997: 212) observes that the genitive theme precedes the dative recipient in deverbal nominalizations, as in (2).

- (2) donacija novca bolnicama *donacija bolnicama novca
 donation money.GEN hospitals.DAT
 Zlatić (1997)

In her analysis, the order is a consequence of case assignment: the genitive assigned by the noun is an instance of structural case, while dative case is an instance of inherent case. She proposes a rule according to which the NP bearing structural case precedes all other phrasal elements. She further argues that two genitives are not allowed in deverbal nominals in Serbian, as only one element can fill the position for structural case assignment. Thus, one can have a genitive agent as postmodifier if this is the only genitive argument, (3), but not if the theme is present – in such cases the agent is expressed as a possessive, (4). We return to Zlatić’s analysis in Section 2.2, where we present a critical assessment in Šarić (2018).

- (3) protest ovog studenta
 protest this.GEN student.GEN
- (4) a. *opis Jovana Amerike
 description John.GEN America.GEN
- b. *opis Amerike Jovana
 description America.GEN John.GEN
- c. Jovanov opis Amerike
 John’s decription America.GEN
 Zlatić (1997)

Dvořak (2011) also discusses the order of adnominal arguments and draws conclusions regarding case assignment based on Czech data. Czech is particularly interesting when comparing the order of arguments in sentences with their order as adnominal arguments. Ditransitive verbs can be divided into two groups with respect to the order of two objects in the sentence: 1) DAT-ACC verbs, where the unmarked WO is dative>>accusative, e.g. *dát*, *darovat* ‘give as a gift’,

věnovat 'inscribe/dedicate', *poslat* 'send' and 2) ACC-DAT verbs, where the unmarked order is accusative >> dative, e.g. *podřídít* 'subordinate, accommodate', *vystavit* 'expose', *zasvětit* 'devote', *svěřit* 'entrust', *zanechat* 'leave', Dvořák (2011). The two groups are exemplified in (5) and (6):

- (5) Karel poslal Marii dopis. // #...poslal dopis Marii.
Charles.NOM sent Mary.DAT a letter.ACC
- (6) Karel podřídil svoje plány Marii. // #... podřídil Marii svoje plány.
Charles.NOM adjusted his plans:ACC Mary.DAT
Dvořák (2011)

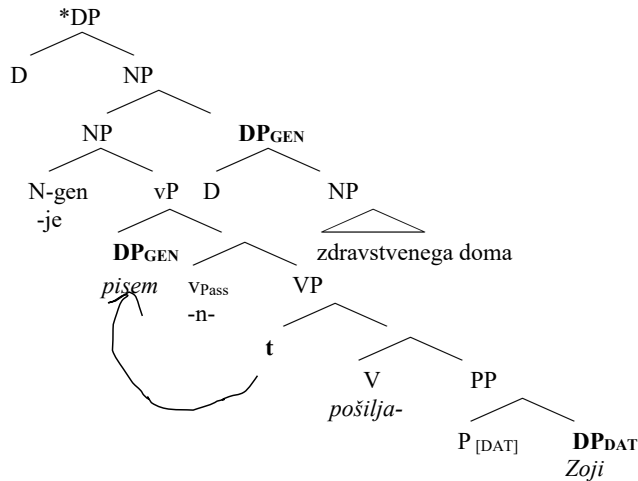
In deverbal nominalizations, however, the WO difference is neutralized. As can be seen from (7) and (8), the theme argument bearing genitive case (underlying accusative direct object) always precedes the recipient argument bearing dative (underlying dative indirect object) regardless of their positions in the sentence (cf. 5, 6).

- (7) Poslání dopisu Marii (se Karlovi nevyplatilo).
sending.NOM.SG letter.GEN Mary.DAT (refl Charles.DAT not-paid-off)
"Sending Mary a letter (didn't pay off to Charles)."
- (8) Podřizení plánů Marii (se Karlovi nevyplatilo).
adjusting.NOM.SG plans.GEN Mary.DAT (refl Charles.DAT not-paid-off)
"Adjusting plans to Mary (didn't pay off to Charles)."
Dvořák (2011)

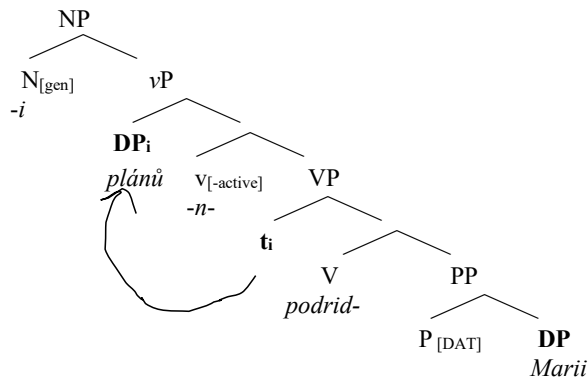
Dvořák assumes that nominalized verbs have a nominalizing head attached to the extended verbal projection with a defective little *v*, which has no case-marking capacity (following Abney 1987, Borer 1999, Alexiadou 2001 among others). The DP merged in the internal argument position (complement of V) receives only the object theta role, but not case. The movement of the DP to a postnominal position where genitive is assigned is therefore necessary (to spec *v*P in her

analysis).⁴ The dative DP, on the other hand, remains in situ, since its theta marking and case-assignment occur simultaneously. The structures for the two nominalizations (together with the relevant movements) are given in the trees below.

(9) Structure for (7), Dvořak (2011)



(10) Structure for (8), Dvořak (2011)



⁴ Dvořak argues that the Czech postnominal genitive is a structural case assigned by a noun to the first DP that it c-commands.

2.2. AGENT AND RECIPIENT, AGENT AND THEME

We now turn to adnominal combinations involving the agent noun phrase. Šarić (2018) notes that it is not always the case that the genitive argument precedes the dative one in adnominal environment and provides cases like (11).

- (11) pretnja lopovu šefa policije
threat thief.DAT chief.GEN police.GEN
“a threat to the thief by the chief of police”
Šarić (2018)

This observation cannot be directly compared with Zlatić's in (2). In both cases we are dealing with a dative recipient; however, the genitive noun phrase is associated with theme in (2) but with agent in (11).⁵

An interesting observation regarding two postnominal phrases in genitive case is found in Kovačević (2013) and is further explored in Šarić (2018). In contrast to Zlatić, these two works provide data showing that Serbian process nominals do allow two genitive arguments, as exemplified in (12).⁶

- (12) osvajanje Rima velikog generala
conquest.NOM Rome.GEN great.GEN general.GEN
“the conquest of Rome by the great general”
Šarić (2018)

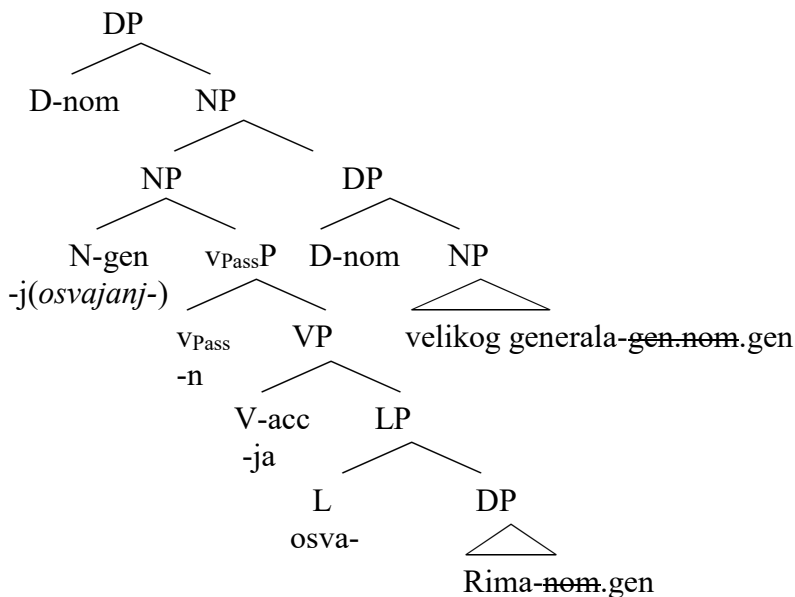
The structure Šarić proposes for process nominals with two genitive arguments is as in (13). The theme argument is introduced as a complement to the root, while the agent is introduced as an adjunct to NP. In Šarić's view (building on Alexiadou 2001), the little *v* head is passive, so it does not project the agent argument, but leaves open the

⁵ Šarić seems to agree with Zlatić on the relative order of theme-genitive >> recipient-dative as in (2), at least she does not indicate otherwise.

⁶ Kovačević (2013) notes that the possibility of expressing the agent argument in genitive case depends upon the possibility of expressing the agent by a possessive adjective – only when the latter is not an option, genitive can be used (e.g. for agents consisting of at least two words or for plural nouns).

possibility of expressing it as an adjunct (either a genitive DP or an adjunct PP “sa strane”). In Šarić’s approach, the order theme-genitive >> agent-genitive falls out of the structure.⁷

(13) Structure for (12), Šarić (2018)



3. THREE DP ADNOMINAL ARGUMENTS

We now turn to Slovenian examples with three adnominal arguments, repeated in (14), and show that an upgrade of the two proposals is needed to derive the correct WO.⁸

(14) podeljevanje nagrad mednarodne žirije najboljšim
filmom

⁷ Šarić (2018) employs the framework of case assignment as proposed in Pesetsky (2013).

⁸ Here, we are only concerned with the reading in which the second genitive phrase (*mednarodne žirije* »international jury«) is understood as the agent of the awarding event and not perhaps the postmodifier to the genitive phrase *nagrada* »awards«, which would lead to the reading »the awards that belong/are associated with the international jury«. Both interpretations are possible and this ambiguity

awarding awards.GEN international jury.GEN
 best movies.DAT
 “presenting awards to the best movies by the international jury”

We first give a brief overview of the structure of Slovenian ditransitive verbs, from which the process nominals in question are derived (section 3.1). The structure of ditransitives and their arguments is significant because in this analysis we adopt an approach to nominalizations that preserves the verbal structure found in the sentence, Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993, Marantz 1997, and subsequent work).⁹ We then turn to the nominalizations derived from ditransitive verbs in which three arguments are expressed adnominally (sections 3.2 and 3.3.).

3.1. SLOVENIAN DITRANSITIVE VERBS AND THEIR NOMINALIZATIONS

Marvin and Stegovec (2012) argue that the structure of Slovenian ditransitive sentences depends on the order of the Direct Object (DO) and Indirect Object (IO) arguments and also on the type of verb. The proposal is summarized in the following table:

Table 1: The possible structures for different word orders, Marvin and Stegovec (2012)

WO: Dat>>Acc (Applicative)		WO: Acc>>Dat (PDC)	
<i>give</i> -type verbs	<i>send</i> - and <i>throw</i> -type verbs	<i>give</i> -type verbs	<i>send</i> - and <i>throw</i> -type verbs
low applicative	low or high applicative	Prepositional Dative Construction (PDC)	Prepositional Dative Construction (PDC)

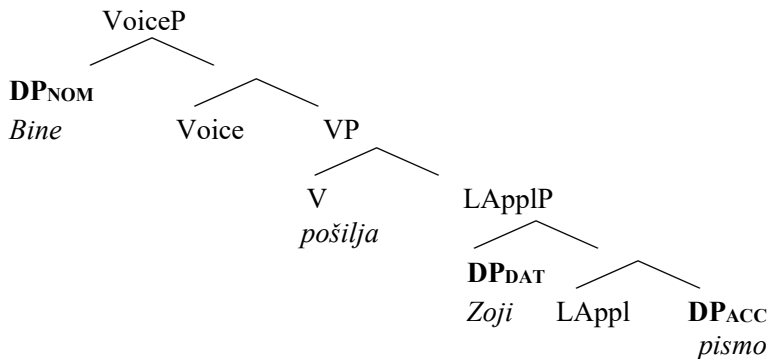
is certainly one of the reasons why native speakers rarely use three adnominal arguments with deverbal nouns.

⁹ Both Šarić (2018) and Dvořak (2011) adhere to the the framework of Distributed Morphology.

In the word order DAT>>ACC, Slovenian ditransitive sentences yield two possible meanings with the corresponding structures, the low and the high applicative one, spelled out in trees like those in (15a and 15b). In (15a), where the dative object is the (intended) recipient of the direct object, the structure is the so-called low applicative as in Pytkänen (2002, 2008). This interpretation is equivalent to the English Double Object Construction (DOC). In (15b) (nonexistent in English), where the dative object is the beneficiary of the event of sending the letter (but not a recipient of the letter), the structure proposed is the so-called high applicative.^{10,11}

- (15) Bine pošilja Zoji pismo.
 Bine.NOM send.PRES Zoja.DAT letter.ACC

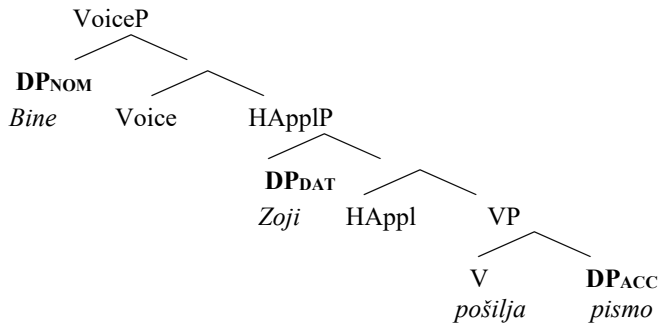
- a. “Bine is sending Zoja a letter.”
 (low applicative; dative object=recipient)



¹⁰ In both structures the dative DP asymmetrically c-commands the Theme DP; given Bruening’s (2001) analysis, we therefore expect a frozen scope in both the low and high readings, which is exactly the case in Slovenian, as Marvin and Stegovec (2012) show.

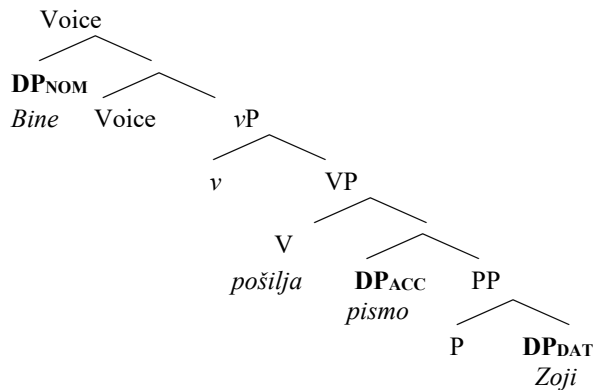
¹¹ The type of verb is also relevant, as *give*-type verbs never yield a high applicative structure in the DAT>>ACC order. This issue is not relevant to the analysis in this paper, so we leave it aside.

- b. “Bine is sending a letter for Zoja (so Zoja wouldn’t have to do it).”
 (high applicative; dative object=beneficiary)



When the word order is ACC>>DAT, the structure is not applicative, but the so-called Prepositional Dative Construction (PDC), in which the dative DP is a complement of a (phonologically null) prepositional head P, as in (16).^{12, 13}

- (16) Bine pošilja pismo Zoja.
 Bine.NOM send.PRES letter.ACC Zoja.DAT
 “Bine is sending a letter to Zoja.”



¹² See Gračanin-Yuksek (2006) for a similar proposal for Croatian.

¹³ The PDC (ACC>>DAT) and the low applicative/DOC (DAT>>ACC) are very similar in meaning, but their structural properties differ crucially in scope and binding of possessives. See Marvin and Stegovec (2012) for details.

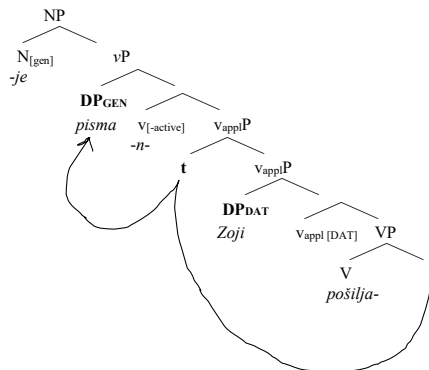
3.2. PROBLEM 1: ORDER OF THEME AND RECIPIENT/BENEFICIARY¹⁴

Leaving the agent genitive aside for the moment, we find that the same situation occurs in Slovenian as in Czech: the WO of arguments in Slovenian sentences with ditransitives is relatively free (ACC >> DAT or DAT >> ACC), while in adnominal environments it is fixed (GEN >> DAT). In other words, the theme in low and high applicative sentence structure is found in a lower position than the recipient/beneficiary, but in a higher position in process nominalizations derived from ditransitive verbs (17).

- (17) a. pošiljati Zoji pismo (low or high applicative)
to send Zoja.DAT letter.ACC
b. pošiljanje pisma Zoji
sending letter.GEN Zoja.DAT

Here, we follow Dvořák and propose movement of the theme argument over the dative argument, shown in the trees below. We provide only one tree for low and high applicative structure, since in both cases the same movement of the theme over the recipient/beneficiary is necessary.

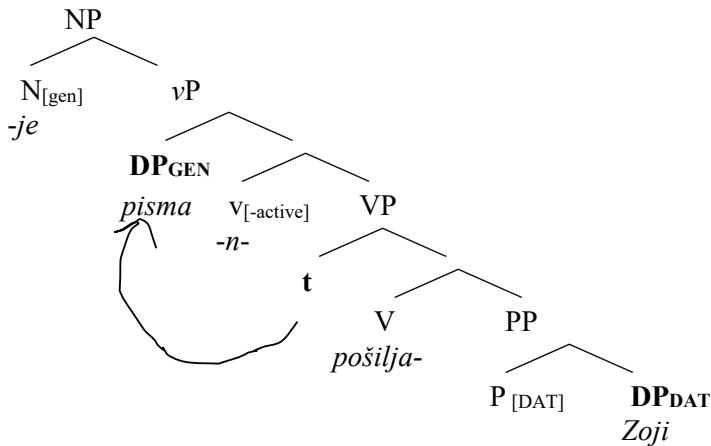
(18) Unified structure for low and high applicative



¹⁴ We add the meaning of beneficiary (to that of recipient) because in Slovenian sentences with DAT>>ACC order, the dative argument can be ambiguous between recipient and beneficiary. However, this does not affect the movements that occur when deriving the order within the process nominals from ditransitive verbs.

For PDC, where the theme argument is higher than the recipient/beneficiary to begin with, we follow Dvořák (2011) and introduce movement. The latter does not affect the relative order of the two arguments, but is still necessary for case reasons.

(19) Structure for PDC



3.3. PROBLEM 2: THE POSITION OF THE AGENT ARGUMENT

We now turn to the more problematic cases, i.e. the ones with double genitives in combination with dative, (20).

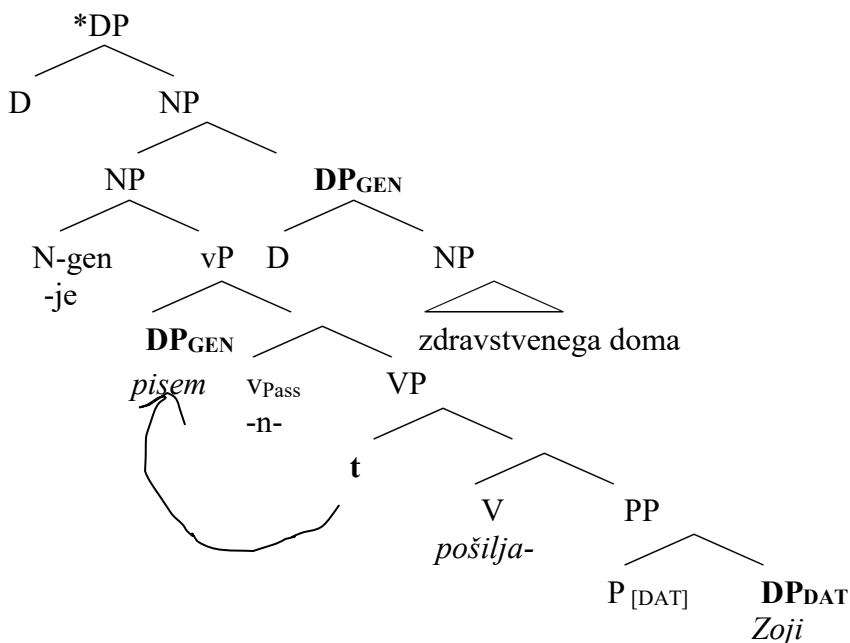
- (20)a. pošiljanje pisem zdravstvenega doma Zoji
 sending letters.GEN_{TH} medical center.GEN_{AG} Zoja.DAT
- b. *pošiljanje pisem Zoji zdravstvenega doma
 sending letters.GEN_{TH} Zoja.DAT medical center.GEN_{AG}

If only two genitives are involved (theme and agent), then Šarić’s proposal in (13) seems a reasonable option for Slovenian nominalizations.¹⁵ However, her analysis does not lead to the correct

¹⁵ Slovenian deverbal process nominalizations pattern with Serbian ones in many ways. The most important is the fact that they allow two genitives (unlike many other languages that do not).

WO if we add the dative argument (recipient/beneficiary). Suppose we adopt her structure, place the dative argument in the positions proposed by Marvin and Stegovec (2012), and then follow Dvořák's procedure of moving the internal argument to a position higher than the dative argument when forming the process nominal. In this way we get the correct order Head >> Genitive-theme >> Dative-recipient, but still do not get the correct position of the agent. The latter should be between the theme and the recipient/beneficiary (20a), but in this structure, it is the last element in row, being merged as an adjunct in the rightmost position. Here, we give an example of the PDC ditransitive construction integrated into Šarić's tree for the double genitive construction; exactly the same situation occurs with the high and the low applicative (the agent appears last in the linear sequence).

(21) Incorporating a ditransitive verb into the structure with the genitive agent as adjunct



4. PROPOSAL

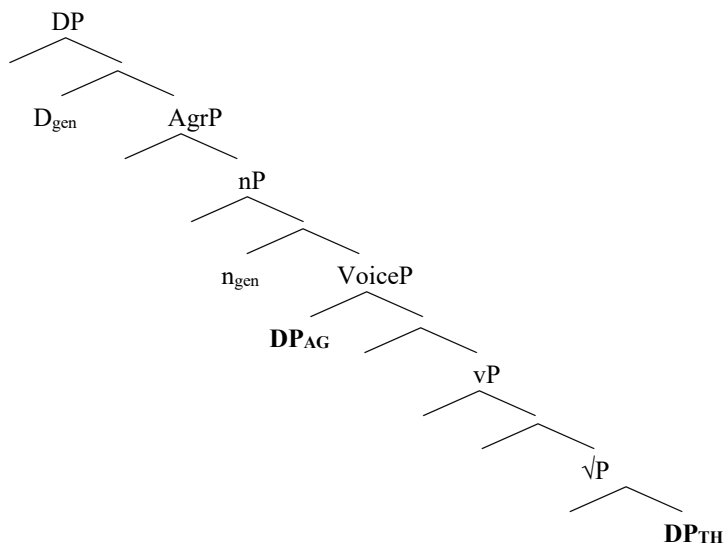
In this part we present a proposal that solves the WO problem of the three adnominal arguments.¹⁶ The approaches that we present in the paper (Šarić 2018, Dvořak 2011) are all based on Alexiadou's (2001) proposal, which eliminates the agent introducing little *v* from process/event nominals. Alexiadou claims that the little *v* in such nominals is intransitive, while Šarić and Dvořak go one step further, positing a little *v* that is referred to as »passive« (Šarić) or »[-active]« (Dvořak). Thus, the agent can only be expressed as an adjunct (in Alexiadou's approach as a PP in Šarić's analysis of Serbian as a PP or as an adjunct genitive NP). In contrast to these authors, we claim that process/event nominals contain VoiceP, which introduces the agent in its specifier position with transitive and unergative verbs and that the correct WO can be derived by way of movement. Here, we follow the proposal in Cuervo (2003), in which the little *v* is an event introducer (of the types *v*DO, *v*BE or *v*GO), while Voice is responsible for the syntactic and semantic licensing of the external argument. Specifically, Voice relates the external argument (projected as its specifier) to the event described by the verbal phrase that Voice takes as its complement.¹⁷

In transitive and unergative verbs VoiceP appears on top of *v*P, which in these verbs is of type *v*DO or *v*BE (in the sense of Cuervo 2003). VoiceP is not present with unaccusatives, because the unaccusative little *v* (*v*GO) and Voice are incompatible. The basic structure for nominalizations from transitive verbs is as follows:

¹⁶ In this paper, we leave aside the issue of case assignment, since the focus here is on WO. Moreover, the approaches compared here use very different theories of case assignment, although they all treat the derivation of process nominals in a similar way (Distributed Morphology approach).

¹⁷ Voice combines with its complement *v*P via a semantic rule called Event Identification and adds the external argument as a participant of the event (Kratzer 1996).

(22) DP



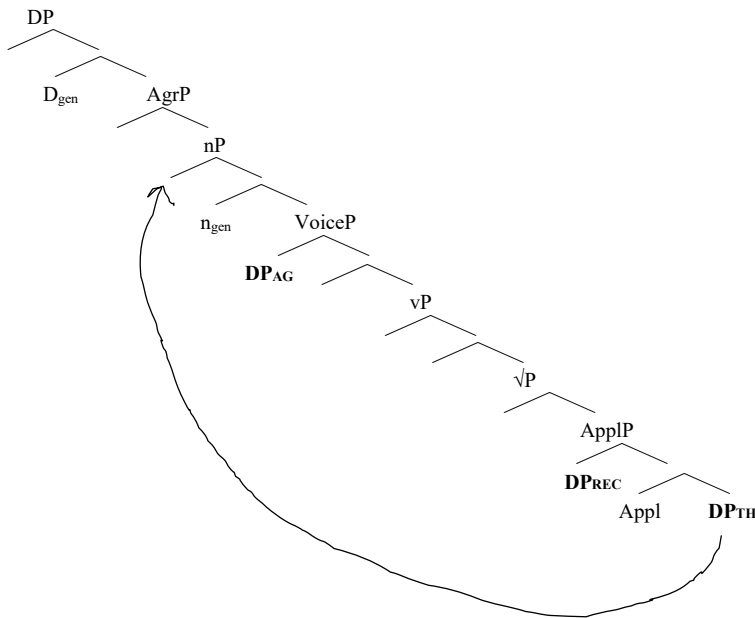
The object DP gets its theta role from the little *v*, but since this *v* is defective within the nominalizing environment (see e.g. Dvořák 2011), it cannot provide case for the object. Thus, the object DP must be moved to a position where it can be in a local relation to a genitive case-valuing nominal head, which is *n* in Dvořák's proposal. Here, we propose that the object DP be moved to spec *nP*, where it receives genitive case.¹⁸ The subject DP remains in situ, receiving the theta role from Voice and case from D (genitive in this case is checked at a distance). The root picks up the morphology and ends up in Agr, so the final linear order is the nominal head followed by the object DP and the subject DP.

A similar structure is proposed for ditransitive verbs with the following difference: the recipient/beneficiary DP gets its dative case inherently, from its theta role assigner, which can be a low applicative

¹⁸ In Dvořák's proposal, where there is no Voice, it moves to spec *vP*, where it is assigned the genitive by N (equivalent to *n* in this tree). For Dvořák, the Czech postnominal genitive is a structural case assigned by a noun to the first DP that it c-commands and it need not be accompanied by theta assignment.

head (in DOC), a high applicative head (in high applicatives) or a silent preposition (in PDC). In all three cases, the agent DP and the recipient/beneficiary DP remain in situ, while the theme DP moves to spec *nP*, which results in the correct WO of adnominal arguments $DP_{TH} \gg DP_{AG} \gg DP_{REC}$. Here, we provide an example with the low applicative (DOC); the other two structures yield the same WO after the movement of the theme DP (underlying direct object).

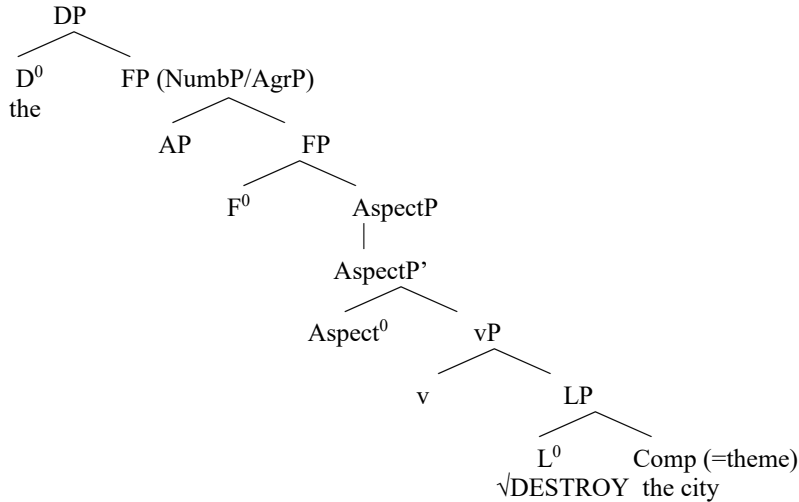
(23) Deriving the WO via movement



5. REVISITING ALEXIADOU (2001)

We now revisit Alexiadou’s original proposal and show that the arguments for eliminating the agent introducing little *v* from the structure of process nominals are not justified for Slovenian. Alexiadou (2001) presents a proposal in which the head *v* is present in the structure of nominals with the process/event reading, (24).

(24) Alexiadou's (2001) structure for process nominals



In her proposal, the little *v* crucially does not project an agent; it is an intransitive *v* [-external argument]. For this reason, it is also unable to assign accusative case. By focusing on the position of the agent noun phrase, we now review the arguments for Alexiadou's proposal and show that they do not hold for Slovenian. This is independent support for keeping the agent in the VoiceP projection rather than placing it into an adjunct position when deriving Slovenian process nominals from transitives and unergatives.

5.1. IMPOSSIBILITY OF TWO GENITIVES IN PROCESS/EVENT NOMINALS

Alexiadou (2001) shows that in Greek (and in several other languages), the co-occurrence of two genitive phrases with process nouns is impossible and that the agent can only be expressed by a PP¹⁹:

¹⁹ Two genitives are possible in result nominals, but in such cases the second genitive denotes a possessor and not an agent.

(i) metafrasi tis tragodias tu Kakridi
 the translation the tragedy.GEN the Kakridis.GEN

(25) i katastrofi tis polis apo tus Italus
the destruction the city.GEN by the Italians
“the destruction of the city by the Italians”

(26) *i katastrofi tis polis ton Italon
the destruction the city.GEN the Italians.GEN
Alexiadou (2001)

This is not true for Slovenian and Serbian, as can be seen from the examples in this paper, in Kovačević (2013), and in Šarić's work (examples (1), (12)).

5.2. PROCESS/EVENT NOMINALS FROM UNERGATIVES

Alexiadou claims that process nominals can be derived from unaccusatives, but not from unergative predicates.²⁰ When an unergative nominalization appears with the genitive argument, (27), the latter is not interpreted as an agent, but as a possessor and the nominal as a result nominal and not a process nominal. This is supported by the impossibility of a PP by-phrase expressing the agent in Greek examples, (27).

(27) to kolimpi tu Jani /*apo to Jani
the swimming the John.GEN/*by the John

Again, Alexiadou's claim cannot be generalized to Slovenian, since process nominals can be freely derived from unergative verbs, (28).²¹

(28) tekanje otrok po igrišču cel dan
running kids.GEN on playground whole day

„Kakridis's translation of the tragedy“

²⁰ It is interesting to note that in the analysis of Grimshaw (1990) and Borer (1993) it is impossible to derive nominalizations from unaccusative verbs.

²¹ The adverbial modification is added to show that we are indeed dealing with the process reading of the nominal.

Alexiadou mentions the possibility of unergative verbs in Russian process nominals, citing examples from Schorlemmer (1995). Nevertheless, she concludes that this is not a problem for her analysis, noting only that one could argue that Russian does not distinguish between unergatives and unaccusatives. There is, however, ample evidence in research on Russian for the existence of a distinction between the two classes of verbs, e.g. Schorlemmer (1995), Harves (2009). For a discussion of Slovenian unaccusative verbs existing as a group with special properties, see Marvin and Ilc (2016) and Simonović and Mišmaš (2022). We believe that the data from Slavic languages (at least Slovenian and Russian) argue against generalizing Alexiadou's claim that process nominals cannot be derived from unergative verbs.²²

5.3. A SINGLE GENITIVE ARGUMENT MUST BE A THEME IN PROCESS NOMINALS

Finally, Alexiadou's proposal is based on the observation that the single genitive argument within process nominals is necessarily interpreted as a theme. Agents, when syntactically realized, must be realized as PPs (and are treated as adjuncts). In (29), an example with a process nominal, the genitive is necessarily understood as the object of the observation.²³

- (29) i paratirisi tis Marias
 the observation the Mary.GEN

Again, this observation does not hold for Slovenian, as we find many process nominals where the single genitive argument is ambiguous between a theme and an agent. In (30), for example, the

²² The claim here is not that Alexiadou's account should be rejected outright, but that her analysis, which applies to the languages treated in her paper, does not apply to Slovenian.

²³ The genitive can appear with the nominalization in its plural form, but is then not understood as an agent, but as a possessor.

(i) i paratirisi tis Marias ine panda akrivis.
 the observations the Mary are always exact.PL

genitive *lovcev* “hunters” can be understood as agent or as theme, in both cases with the process reading of the nominal.

- (30) *streljanje lovcev cel dan*
shooting hunters.GEN whole day

In some cases, a single genitive noun phrase cannot be interpreted as a theme, but is interpreted as an agent. An example is given in (31).

- (31) *upiranje otrok brezčutnim učiteljem*
resisting children.GEN insensitive.DAT teachers.DAT
“children’s resistance to insensitive teachers”

6. CONCLUSION

In this paper we have tried to solve the problem of deriving the correct word order in Slovenian nominalizations with three adnominal arguments (agent, theme, and recipient) appearing simultaneously as postmodifiers in a nominal phrase whose head is a process deverbal noun. When these arguments are all expressed by noun phrases, their order is fixed: theme genitive >> agent genitive >> recipient dative.

First, we have shown that the order of the three arguments cannot be derived simply by adopting other proposals for Slavic languages dealing with adnominal arguments in process nominalizations (Zlatić 1997, Dvo ak 2011, Šarić 2018). Second, a proposal was presented in which the correct order is achieved by introducing the VoiceP in the nominalization structure with transitive and unergative verbs and by movement of the theme argument above the agent and recipient arguments. To provide independent support for this view, Alexiadou’s (2001) original proposal was reconsidered and it was shown that in Slovenian, the arguments for Alexiadou’s elimination of the agent introducing little *v* from the structure of process nominals cannot be sustained.

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АДНОМИНАЛЬНЫЕ АРГУМЕНТЫ ВО ФРАЗАХ, ВОЗГЛАВЛЯЕМЫХ
ОТГЛАГОЛЬНЫМИ СУЩЕСТВИТЕЛЬНЫМИ В СЛОВЕНСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

Резюме

В статье рассматривается вопрос об образовании порядка слов в словенских номинализациях с тремя адноминальными аргументами (действующее лицо, тема и реципиент), выступающими одновременно в качестве постмодификаторов в именной группе, головной частью которой является процессное отглагольное существительное. Если все эти аргументы выражены именными группами,

их порядок фиксирован: головное существительное >> тема в родительном падеже >> агент в родительном падеже >> реципиент в дательном падеже. Основная цель статьи - показать, что невозможно вывести такой порядок, непосредственно применяя решения относительно адноминальных аргументов в процессных номинализациях, предложенные для других славянских языков (Златич 1997, Дворжак 2011, Шарич 2018). В статье предлагается анализ, при котором правильный порядок трех адноминальных аргументов в словенском языке достигается путем введения VoiceP в структуру номинализации с переходными и неэргативными глаголами и перемещением аргумента темы над аргументами агента и реципиента.

Ключевые слова: отглагольная номинализация, адноминальное дополнение, порядок слов, словенский язык