

The two “possessor raising” constructions of Bulgarian*

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Introduction

A.[Noun Phrase + D(efinite) A(rticle)] + possessive pronoun (tonic or clitic): all Balkan languages

(a) possessive pronouns proper: *cartea mea, mojata kniga; sto filo tou; nga i ati, de la tatăl său*, etc.

(b) personal pronouns in Genitive/Dative Case: *cartea mi, knigata mi* ‘my book’,

(1) a. [**Chipu-i luminos**] *domina mulțimea*. (Avram 1999, 12)

b. [**Svetloto i litse**] *dominiraše nad tălpata*.

Her bright face dominated the crowd

B.Preverbal Dative + [Noun Phrase + Definite Article] = Possessive Clitic Construction: all Balkan languages

(2) a. **I-am zărit chipul** în mulțime (Avram 2000, 11)

b. *Zabeljazax i litseto* sred tălpata.

‘I spotted her face in the crowd’

C.Noun Phrase + Definite Article (inalienable possession)

(3) *ridică mîna; slagam neșto pod glavata* ‘put something under my head’

D.Noun Phrase + Ø_{article} (Bulgarian only)

(4) *zatvarjam oči* ‘close [my] eyes’; *vdigam răka* ‘raise [my] hand’

The phenomenon in question is the so-called *External Possessor* construction exemplified in (2) and in (5) below, where the bolded DP refers to the possessee, while the possessor is expressed as a dative clitic (*mu*) appearing outside of the domain of DP. Hence, the label **DP-external possessor (EPC = External possessive construction)**.

(5)a *Kučeto mu otxapa prăsta*

dog.the him_{dat} bit finger.the

‘The dog bit his finger’

b *Te mu namerixa čadăra*

they him_{dat} found umbrella.the

‘They found his umbrella’

c *Te ne sa mu zabravili imeto*

they not him_{dat} name.the

‘They haven’t forgotten his name’

d *Az mu polučix pismoto*.

I him_{dat} received.1sg letter.the

‘I received his letter’

External possession is often seen in opposition to so-called DP-internal possession, illustrated in (1) above, and with more examples in (6):

(6)a *Kučeto otxapa [prăsta mu]*

dog.the bit finger.the him_{dat}

‘The dog bit his finger’

b *Te namerixa čadăra mu*

they found umbrella.the him_{dat}

‘They found his umbrella’

c *Te ne sa zabravili imeto mu*

they not have forgotten name.the him_{dat}

‘They haven’t forgotten his name’

d *Az polučix pismoto mu*

I received.1sg letter.the him_{dat}

‘I received his letter’

3. Syntactic properties of Bulgarian EPC

a) asymmetric c-command: the DP-external clitic must apparently c-command the DP expressing the possessee (or its trace):

- (7)a Kaza, če ne **mu** se vārtjala **glavata** ot vinoto
 said.3sg that not to.him refl spin.evid. head.the from wine.the
 ‘He said his head was not spinning because of the wine’
 b Kaza, če **glavata**_i ne **mu** se vārtjala t_i ot vinoto
 said.3sg that head.the not to.him refl spin.evid. from wine.the
 ‘He said his head was not spinning because of the wine’

- (8)a Litseto ne mu pokazvaše osobenosti
 Face-the not him_{CL.DAT} revealed peculiarities
 ‘*His face did not show any peculiarities’
 ‘The face did not show him any peculiarities’
 b. Litseto ne mu se viždaše.
 His face was not visible.

b) locality: the DP-external clitic must be found in the same simple clause as the DP expressing the possessee:

- (9)a kaza se [če sa **mu** namerili **čadāra**]
 was.said that they.are him_{dat} found the umbrella
 ‘It was said that they found his umbrella’
 b kaza **mu** se [če sa namerili **čadāra**].
 was.said him_{dat} that they.are found the umbrella
 ‘It was said to him that they found the umbrella’/ ‘*It was said that they found his umbrella’

Cf. *La tête lui ha heurté la plafond du cockpit.
 ‘The head to him hit the ceiling of the cockpit’ (Authier 1988, 184-185)

4. Previous analyses of the Bulgarian DP external possessive construction (EPC)

a) **movement analysis: raising of the clitic from within the DP/NP to a clausal dative position** (Franks and King 2000,276; Stateva 2002; Moskovsky 2004)

Possessor		Possessee
A. ... <i>mu</i>	<i>namerixa</i>	[_{DP} <i>čadāra</i> mu ...]
him _{CL.DAT}	found-3pl	umbrella.the him _{CL.DAT}

b) **no-movement analysis = base generation of the clitic in the clausal dative clitic position** (Schick 2000; Schürcks and Wunderlich 2003, section 4).

Possessor		Possessee
B. ... <i>mu</i>	<i>namerixa</i>	[_{DP} <i>čadāra</i> ...]
him _{CL.DAT}	found-3pl	umbrella.the

Abstracting away from issues of frequency of use and register that distinguish (A) from (B)¹, I will show that at least for Bulgarian (also Romanian) we need to distinguish two constructions according to the type of predicate involved – affecting predicates or non-affecting.

¹ According to researchers on Romanian, “the only difference between (1) and (2) is linked to frequency of use and register – the postnominal construction is very rarely used in Modern Romanian, being felt as outdated, formal and poetic” (Avram 1999, 12). See also Asan 1957, Gramatica Academiei 1966, Cornilescu 1995, Assenova 2001, 128). For Bulgarian, ...

Properties of the Bulgarian EPC (“maximal permissiveness”, also shared by Romanian, Niculescu 2008):

- a) the type of verb that can enter the configuration – transitive or intransitive (activity, state (physical or mental); process);
- b) the type of possession relation expressed – inalienable or alienable;
- c) the reference of the possessor – animate or inanimate.

a) Transitive (10), intransitive (11) and stative (12) predicates can enter the construction:

- (10) Az mu čuvam glasa; Īi aud vocea. ‘I hear his voice’
Te mu namerixa kolata izdraskana.
Și-a găsit mașina zgâriată ‘They found his car scratched’ (EZ 4867, 4)
- (11) a. Teče mu nosăt; Umrja mu kotkata.
Īi curge nasul I-a murit pisica.
‘His nose is running’; ‘His cat died’.
- b. Kradets mi vlezv v kăštata.
Mi-a intrat un hoț în casă. ‘A robber entered into my house.’
- (12) Deteto mu e vse v rătsete;
Copilul ĩi stă în brațe ‘His child stays in his arms.’

- b) The possessive relation encoded by the possessive dative structure can be of the type **inalienable or alienable possession**:
Inalienable possession: a) kinship terms, b) body-parts (animate possessors) and part-whole relations (inanimate possessors), c) spatial relation, etc.

(13)

- a) Īi cunosc unchiul. Poznavam mu sinovete
‘I know his uncle.’ ‘I know his sons’
- b) Ioana și-a rupt mâna. Ivan și sčupi răkata [+animate possessor]
‘Ioana broke her arm.’ ‘Ivan broke his arm’
Ioana î-a rupt (mesei) piciorul. Ivan mu sčupi kraka (na stola)
Ioana broke its leg (of the chair) ‘Ivan broke its leg’ (of the chair)[-animate possessor]
- c) Femeii acesteia nu î-am văzut spatele (= partea din spate).
‘I haven’t seen this woman’s back. = her back side;
Ne sām ti vîždala očite ot sto godini ‘I haven’t seen your eyes (=you) from years’

Alienable possession: a) possession proper, b) functional relations (the possessor has a function in relation to the possessum), c) objects in the domain of the possessor, etc.

- (14) a) Apa î-a distrus casa. Vodata mu razruși kăštata ‘The water destroyed his house.’
b) Ti-am condus șeful la aeroport; Izpratix ti șefa na letišteto. ‘I saw your boss off at the airport’
c) Az ti pročetox statijata ‘I read your article’

The adverbial dative clitic can have +/-Animate referent;

- (15) Ioana si sčupi glavata. Svărșili sa mu bateriite na radioto.
Ioana și-a spart capul. Radioului i s-au terminat bateriile.
Ioana broke her head. The batteries of the radio are empty.

Romance languages: Cinque, Krapova (2009) for details:

- (16) a. On **lui** a coupé les cheveux *French* (Kayne 1977,159)
imp. him_{dat}/her_{dat} has cut the hair
‘They cut his/her hair’
- b. El gato **le** arañó la cara *Spanish* (Sánchez López 2007,153)
the cat him_{dat} scratched the face
‘The cat scratched his/her face’
- (17) a. *Je **lui** ai oublié le nom *French* (Kayne 1977,159)
you him_{dat}/her_{dat} love.2sg well the legs
‘You like his/her legs’
- b. ***Le** odio el carácter *Spanish* (Picallo & Rigau 1999,1015)
him_{dat} hate.1sg the character
‘I hate his character.’

- c. ***Gli** ho dimenticato il nome *Italian*
 him_{dat} have.1sg forgotten the name
 'I forgot his name'

The examples in (17) are only possible with a genitive rather than a dative possessive clitic. This clitic is *ne* or *en*:

- (18) a. **Ne** ho dimenticato il nome *Italian*
 It_{gen} have.1sg forgotten the name
 'I have forgotten his/its name'
 b. **J'en** ai oublié le nom *French*
 it_{gen} have.1sg forgotten the name
 'I have forgotten his/its name'

As we saw earlier, Bulgarian (also Romanian) poses no restrictions analogous to Romance. So, the examples in (19)- (21) are all fine with affecting or with non-affecting predicates:

Affecting predicates: repair, lose, clean, destroy, break...

- (19) a. Az ti opravjam radioto = Îți repar radioul. (Niculescu 2008, 39)
 'I am repairing your radio for you.'
 b. Zagubix si tetradata= Mi-am pierdut caietul. 'I lost my notebook.' (Dinfelegan 1994)
 Počistvam ti dresite = Îți curăț hainele 'I am cleaning your clothes for you.'

- (20) I-am rupt păpușii piciorul ('I broke the doll's leg.').
 Ioanai șii-a spart capul = Ioana si sčupi glavata.
 'Ioana broke her head.'

Non-affecting predicates: know, see, receive, write, call, etc.

- (21) a. Az ti poznavam prijatelite = Îți cunosc prietenii 'I know your friends' (Dumitrescu 1990)²
 b. Tja mi poluči pismoto = Mi-a primit scrisoarea '(S)he received my letter'

What I want to show now is that the apparent permissiveness of the Balkan strategy B. is a consequence of the Dative-Genitive Case syncretism which does not allow one to easily distinguish Dative from Genitive functions as in Romance. If one has independent diagnostics to tell the difference between the cases in (16) and in (17), then it will appear that because of the Case syncretism, the Balkan strategy B. conflates in one single construction what other Romance languages (Italian, French, Catalan) express in two different ways.

5. A brief typological excursus: the EPC cross-linguistically

Although the "possessive raising" approach became quite popular in accounting for a subset of the EP constructions in typologically diverse languages (e.g. Hebrew, Landau 1999, Choktaw, Davies 1984, Baker 1988), its predictive power has turned out to be limited. First, many languages instantiate the EP construction but appear to asymmetrically miss its structural correlate – the Internal Possession (IP) construction in (22a). Slavic, Romance, and Germanic have Dative possessive clitics or pronouns but they can appear only externally:

- (22) a. On poceloval **ej** ruku 'He kissed her hand' (Russian, Podlesskaya, Rakhilina 1999, 512); Teklo **nam** do kuchyně 'We had a leak in our kitchen' (Czech, Fried 1999, 479); Slomila **mi** se čaša. 'The glass went and broke on me/My glass broke' (Tomić 2009, 455)

- b. On **lui** a coupé les cheveux 'They cut his/her hair' (French, Kayne 1977,159) ; El gato **le** arañó la cara 'The cat scratched his/her face' (Spanish, Sánchez López 2007,153); Gli hanno rotto la macchina 'They broke his car' (Italian).

² Cf. also Baciu (1985,357): "en roumain, le datif possessif est incomparablement plus fréquent que dans les autres langues romanes. Cette fréquence élevée est due à l'absence de toute contrainte d'ordre sémantique, alors que dans les autres langues romanes le datif possessif indique de préférence, sinon uniquement, la possession d'une partie du corps." For similar observations, see also Avram and Coene (2000,2008).

Additionally, even if a certain language has possessive clitics in the nominal domain, it is hardly the case that the two constructions (EP and IP) are syntactically reversible or semantically synonymous so as to justify a free choice Dative placement for this language. The peculiar property of EP resides in the fact that the relation possessor-possessed seems only implied or in any case subordinate to the more salient “affectedness” interpretation which focuses on the effect or impact (positive or negative) that the circumstances described in the predicate have on the possessor. This pragmatic reading illustrated in (23a) from Bulgarian lacks parallels in the realm of adnominal possession (23b). This is also true of languages which lack internal possession, as in the examples in 22) above:

- (23) a. Toj í skāsa pismoto. lit. He tore off to her the letter’
 b. Toj skāsa pismoto í ‘He tore off her letter’

This “affectedness” condition has been identified by Haspelmath 1999 as one of the two constraints (the other is Dative case marking) on the realization of EP in a broader perspective and it basically reduces to 1) admitting predicates of benefactive/malefactive type, and 2) a strict semantic relationship between possessor and possessed. The combined effect of these two requirements explains the strong cross-linguistic tendency, especially among the European languages, for marking humans as possessors and inalienably possessed items as possesses, in particular body parts as they represent the prototypical member of what Bally (1926/1996) has identified as the human “personal sphere” (cf. also Wierzbicka 1988). The implicational nature of this tendency arises from a purely pragmatic consideration: affecting some inalienably possessed item implies affecting its possessor as well.

To capture cross-linguistic variation, and the relative accessibility of the various grammatical elements for EP encoding, several implicational hierarchies have been proposed:

- (24) a. The Animacy Hierarchy (König and Haspelmath 1997, 7.1.)
 1st/2nd p. pronoun \subset 3rd p. pronoun \subset proper name \subset other animate \subset inanimate
 b. The Possessive Hierarchy (Fried 1999, 477))
 Body part > kinship relations > close alienable entities > distant alienable entities
 c. The Situation Hierarchy (König and Haspelmath 1997, 6.)
 Patient-affecting \subset dynamic non-affecting \subset stative (König and Haspelmath 1997)
 d. The Syntactic Relation Hierarchy (König and Haspelmath 1997, 2.6.)

PP \subset direct object \subset unaccusative subjects \subset unergative subjects \subset transitive subjects

Languages may choose to grammaticalize different cut-off points of these four universal hierarchies but the conclusion of Haspelmath (1999) strongly suggests that EP constructions are favored cross-linguistically if they are relatively high on all of the hierarchies. In particular, European languages restrict EP to a) animate possessors (as well as the positions above “other animate” on the Animacy hierarchy, especially 1st person); b) affecting verbs denoting an event, i.e. dynamic (typically transitive) but not stative predicates (on the Situation Hierarchy); c) those syntactic functions that can express the affected semantic roles of patient, theme or goal, i.e. prepositional phrases, direct objects, and (to a much less extent) unaccusative subjects (on the Syntactic Relations Hierarchy). As confirmed by a number of studies (Fried 1999 for Czech, Podlesskaya & Rakhilina 1999 for Russian, Šarić 2002 for Slavic, Lamiroy 2003, Sanchez Lopez for Romance, Guéron 1985 for French), the common tendencies has led typologists to think that there is just one homogeneous construction, which Haspelmath 1999 calls “the European prototype” given that “variation in Europe is not particularly great” (p. 113).³

³ The only more significant locus of variation seems to be the Inalienability Hierarchy but it is known since Bally 1926/1996 that this very notion is flexible and membership in the personal sphere often depends on cultural, pragmatic and contextual factors that may be predominant in one language or another. Apart from body parts, also kinship terms, clothes, picture nouns and even familiar objects such as *home*, *car* etc. are also be available for EP construal (these are the extended inalienables of Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1992, cf. also Chappell and McGregor 1996,8). Some European languages tend to be more strict than others. For example, French admits only body parts while the rest of Romance seems to extend the construction also to kinship terms and to extended inalienables. See the following examples from French (i) vs. Italian (ii):

- (i) a. Il me prend le bras ‘He grabs my arm’ (Lamiroy 2003, 259)
 On lui a coupé les cheveux ‘They cut his/her hair’ (Kayne 1977,159)
 (ii) a. Mi ha preso la mano. ‘He grabbed my hand’
 b. Gli hanno rotto la macchina ‘They broke his car’

At first glance, this conclusion appears to be only partially correct – it holds for the most part of Europe, but not for Bulgarian and the other Balkan languages with DP-internal clitics. A better look at the data reveals that the cut-off point of grammaticalization in these languages is pretty low on each of the hierarchies. In the appendix you have a number of examples which illustrate inanimate possessors (on the Animacy hierarchy), distinct alienable entities on the Possessive hierarchy, stative verbs on the Situation hierarchy, and transitive subjects on the Syntactic Relations hierarchy. The line that clearly sets apart the Balkan languages (especially Bulgarian and Romanian) from Slavic and Romance regards stative predicates. Crucially, one of the defining properties of statives is the absence of any inherent benefactive or malefactive semantics: the patient of e.g. a perception/experience verb like *see*, *hear*, *love* or a verb of knowledge like *know* cannot possibly be conceptualized as affected by the very act of seeing/hearing/knowing, and in consequence, the possessor cannot be cast as affected either. See (25)-(26) from and Slavic and Romance. As reported by Fried (1999), such data are consistent with the same restriction reported for other languages.

(25) Slavic

*Už iste **jim** viděli zahradu. ‘Have you seen their yard yet?’ Czech (Fried 1999, 484)

*Widziałem **mu** zęby ‘I saw his teeth’ Polish (Wierzbicka 1986, cited in Haspelmath 1999, 114)

(26) Romance

*Non **le** ho visto la faccia ‘I didn’t see her face’

*Je **lui** ai oublié le nom ‘I forgot his name’ French (Kayne 1977, 159)

*Je ne **te** connais pas l’adresse; *Non **ti** so/conosco l’indirizzo; *No **te** sé/ conozco la direction ‘I don’t know your address’.

Romanian thus stands in contrast to the rest of Romance, as does Bulgarian to the rest of Slavic (Czech included in spite of the greater predicate range allowed in this language, to judge from Fried 1999).

This apparent everything-goes- situation needs an explanation. Our explanation is that both analyses are needed for the proper treatment of the examples in (5). In other words we propose that (5) comprises two distinct cases. The first is related to a benefactive/malefactive reading on the possessor, is limited to inalienably possessed body-parts (with some extensions), and shows properties of a base-generated construction; the other, which does not have any benefactive/malefactive connotation, nor limitation to inalienably possessed DPs, involves instead movement of the clitic from within the DP that expresses the possessee. To see this it may be useful to start from a puzzling contrast between the Romance and the Bulgarian constructions.⁴ As is often the case, when one compares different languages, certain constructions appear not to correspond neatly. However, before surrendering to the conclusion that no neat correspondence exists across languages one should try and see if one can find it by decomposing the complexity of the data. This is what we shall attempt to do here.

6. A comparative puzzle.

The Romance construction corresponding to (5) is subject to a number of well-known restrictions (see (I)-(III)):⁵

(I) It is limited to inalienable possession,⁶ and admits only predicates that affect their objects negatively or positively and impose a benefactive/malefactive reading on the external possessive dative clitic.

Slavic languages too to judge from data presented in Šarić 2002, as well as in Fried 1999 for Czech, occasionally extend EP to kinship terms, garments, familiar objects of possession.

⁴ I will ignore here certain differences among the Romance languages, which are orthogonal to our concerns. For example those pertaining to the obligatory vs. optional character of the dative clitic (see (i)a vs. b; in (i)b, either *gli* or *a Gianni* is possible, but not both), or the possibility vs. impossibility of a full prepositional dative (see (i)a-b vs. c):

(i)a *(**Le**) sacaron la muela del juicio a Juan (Spanish – Jaeggli 1980,62)

(him_{dat}) pulled the tooth of.the wisdom to Juan

‘They pulled out Juan’s wisdom tooth’

b <**Gli**> hanno estratto il dente del giudizio <a Gianni> (Italian)

him_{dat} have.3pl pulled the tooth of.the wisdom to Gianni

‘They pulled out Gianni’s wisdom tooth’

c Ils **lui** ont arraché les dents de sagesse (*à Patrick) (French - Authier 1988,168)

they him_{dat} have.3pl pulled the teeth of wisdom (to Patrick)

‘They pulled out Patrick’s wisdom teeth’

⁵ These restrictions are discussed for French in Kayne (1977, section 2.15) and Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992, section 1). They seem to be shared by Spanish (Picallo & Rigau 1999; Sánchez López 2007), and Italian.

⁶ As noted in the literature (see, for example, Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1992,597), inalienable possession extends to certain kinship terms and familiar objects (‘daughter’, ‘home’, ‘car’, ‘umbrella’, etc.), though variation exists among languages (and speakers) concerning the membership in

The contrast between (27) and (28) shows that the two conditions must be met simultaneously in the Romance external possessive construction. (27) contains an inalienably possessed object and a predicate which imposes a benefactive/malefactive reading, so the possessive construal is possible. (28) on the other hand, contains verbs like *love* and *hate* and *forget*, not capable of imposing a benefactive/malefactive interpretation, so only a DP-internal possessive is possible, e.g. with a possessive adjective, not illustrated here, but not a dative clitic in the DP external position, despite the fact that the possessed object is inalienable, as in the case of (28a).

- (27)a On **lui** a coupé les cheveux (French - Kayne 1977,159)
 imp. him_{dat}/her_{dat} has cut the hair
 'They cut his/her hair'
- b El gato **le** arañó la cara (Spanish - Sánchez López 2007,153)
 the cat him_{dat} scratched the face
 'The cat scratched his/her face'
- c **Gli** hanno rotto la macchina (Italian)
 him_{dat} have.3pl broken the car
 'They broke his car'
- (28)a *Tu **lui** aimes bien les jambes (French – Kayne 1977,159)
 you him_{dat}/her_{dat} love.2sg well the legs
 'You like his/her legs'
- b ***Le** odio el carácter (Spanish – Picallo & Rigau 1999,1015)
 him_{dat} hate.1sg the character
 'I hate his character.'
- c ***Gli** ho dimenticato il nome (Italian)
 him_{dat} have.1sg forgotten the name
 'I forgot his name'

Two notes:

The first is that the notion of inalienable possession does not seem to be uniform cross-linguistically.

The second is that linguistics does not really have a precise notion of 'affectedness' allowing us to tell which predicates affect their objects and which don't. Attribution is not always straightforward (for some discussion, see Kayne 1977,158, and references cited there). Certain predicates appear to affect their objects under some conditions but not others. For example, *voir*, in French, and *vedere* in Italian, 'see', appear to be 'affecting' with strict inalienables (body-parts) but not with extended inalienables. For French, see Lamiroy (2003,fn5 and related text) and for Italian the contrast in (i):

- (i)a Le ho visto le gambe
 her_{dat} I.saw the legs
 'I saw her legs'
- b ??Le ho visto la madre/la macchina
 her_{dat} I.have seen the mother/the car
 'I saw her mother/car'

(II) The second property of Romance external possessive construction is that unique inalienable body-parts like 'head', 'stomach', 'nose', ('mother', 'home'), etc., are obligatorily singular, whether they have a singular or plural possessor.

- (29)a Le médecin **leur** a examiné la gorge/*les gorges (Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1992,597,602)
 the doctor them_{dat} has examined the throat/the throats
 'The doctor examined their throats'
- b Le médecin a examiné **leur** gorge/leur gorges (Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1992,598,602)
 the doctor has examined their throat/their throats

the class of extended inalienables. To take one example, Italian ((i)a), but not French ((i)b), can apparently extend inalienable possession to (some) inanimate objects:

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

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

'The doctor examined their throats'

(30)a Hanno **loro** lavato la testa/*le teste
Have.3pl them_{dat} washed the head/the heads
'They washed their heads'

b Hanno lavato la loro testa/le loro teste
they.have washed the their head/the their heads
'They washed their head/heads'

(III) The third property of Romance external possessive construction is that the NP expressing inalienable possession may only be modified by a restrictive adjective, not by an appositive one - see Kayne 1977,161; Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1992,603f).

(31)a *Tu **lui** as photographié la belle bouche (Kayne 1977,161)
you him_{dat}/her_{dat} have.2sg photographed the beautiful mouth
'You photographed his/her beautiful mouth'

b Tu as photographié **sa** belle bouche (Kayne 1977,161)
you have.2sg photographed his/her beautiful mouth
'You photographed his/her beautiful mouth'

(32)a **Gli** hai fotografato la (<*bella>) bocca (<*bella>)
him_{dat} have.2sg photographed the (beautiful) mouth
'You photographed his beautiful mouth'

b Hai fotografato la **sua** <bella> bocca <bella>
have.2sg photographed the his <beautiful> mouth <beautiful>
'You photographed his beautiful mouth'

(33)a Az mnogo **mu** xaresvam novata šapka (Stateva 2002,649)
I very much him_{dat} like.1sg new.the hat
'I love his new hat.'

b Ne **mu** pomnja fizionomijata.
not him_{dat} remember.1sg face.the
'I don't remember his face'

c Ne **mu** poznavam prijatelja
not him_{dat} know.1sg friend.the
'I don't know his friend'

d Az **mu** polučix pismoto.
I him_{dat} received.1sg letter.the
'I received his letter'

(II) Second, unique inalienable body-parts and unique extended inalienable DPs, like 'head', 'face', 'stomach', 'nose', ('mother', 'home'), etc. can either be singular or plural, again differently from Romance, where, as seen in (32) and (33) above, they must be singular, at least with object DPs:

(34) Ako jadete mnogo, šte **si** napālnite **stomaxa/stomasite** i posle šte vi stane lošo.
if eat.2pl a lot will refl._{dat} fill.2pl stomach-the/stomachs-the and then will you_{dat,pl} gets sick
'If you(pl.) eat a lot, you(pl.) will fill your stomach/stomachs and you will feel sick'

(III) Third, as shown by (35)a,b, the inalienably possessed NP can apparently be modified by an appositive adjective (once again differently from Romance).

(35)a Mnogo **ti** mrazja toja loš xarakter.
a lot you_{dat} hate.1sg this bad character
'I hate a lot this bad character of yours'

b Ne moga da **i** opiša krasivata kosa. Ne sām poet.
not can.1sg to her_{dat} describe.1sg beautiful.the hair. Not am poet
'I cannot describe her beautiful hair. I am not a poet'

As is well-known, the Romance *ne/en* construction contains a possessive genitive. Now this construction is perfectly compatible with non-affecting verbs, as we can see from (20) below, which contains a non affecting verb like *dimenticare* (or *oublier* in French) ‘forget’. Recall from (12c) that such verbs are excluded in the Romance possessor raising construction and in fact, they can only appear in the *ne*-construction (36). The fact that the Bulgarian counterpart of (12c), given in (37), is also grammatical suggests that (37) should perhaps be treated on a par with the Romance *ne/en* construction rather than with the Romance possessive dative construction. We will come back to evidence corroborating this conjecture. As we will also see, (37) and the like have all the hallmarks of a movement construction, just like the Romance *ne/en* construction (Belletti & Rizzi 1981, Burzio 1986, chapter 1):

- (36)a **Ne** ho dimenticato il nome (Italian)
 It_{gen} have.1sg forgotten the name
 ‘I have forgotten his/its name’
 b **J’en** ai oublié le nom (French)
 I it_{gen} have.1sg forgotten the name
 ‘I have forgotten his/its name’
 (cf. *Je lui ai oublié le nom ‘I him_{dat} have forgotten the name’)

- (37) Az sãm **mu** zabravit imeto (Bulgarian)
 I am him_{dat} forgotten name.the
 ‘I have forgotten his/its name’

Reasoning: Once the movement construction is factored out, the remaining cases, i.e. those with an inalienably possessed DP, and with a benefactive/malefactive interpretation of the external possessive clitic, will be seen to involve no extraction of the possessor, exactly as their Romance counterparts that we saw e.g. in (11).

7. The non movement nature of the Romance “possessor raising” construction

Three problems with the movement approach:

A. Extraction from Islands

- (38) **Gli** hanno urlato [_{PP} **ne**[_{DP} **gli orecchi**]]
 him_{dat} have.3pl shouted in the ears
 ‘They shouted in his ears’

- (39)a ***Di chi** hanno urlato [_{PP} **ne**[_{DP} **gli orecchi**]]
 of whom have.3pl shouted in the ears?
 ‘Who was it that they shouted in his ears?’
 b **Di chi** hanno medicato [_{DP} **gli orecchi**]
 Of whom have.3pl treated the ears?
 ‘Of whom have they treated the ears?’

- (40)a ***Ne** hanno urlato [_{PP} **ne**[_{DP} **gli orecchi**]]
 him_{gen} have.3pl shouted in the ears
 ‘(intended meaning) They shouted in his ears’
 b **Ne** hanno medicato [_{DP} **gli orecchi**]
 him_{gen} have.3pl treated the ears
 ‘They treated his ears’

B. Singular agreement

- (41)a Le médecin **leur** a examiné **la gorge**/***les gorges** (Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1992,597,602)
 the doctor them_{dat} has examined the throat/the throats
 ‘The doctor examined their throats’
 b Le médecin a examiné **leur gorge/leur gorges** (Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1992,598,602)
 the doctor has examined their throat/their throats
 ‘The doctor examined their throats’
 (42)a Hanno **loro** lavato **la testa**/***le teste**
 have.3pl them_{dat} washed the head/the heads
 ‘They washed their heads’
 b Hanno lavato **la loro testa/le loro teste**
 have.3pl washed the their head/the their heads ‘They washed their head/heads’

C. Double binding

- (43) Elle **lui** a mis la main [là où il ne fallait pas]
 she him_{dat} has put the hand there where it neg was-appropriate not
 ‘She put her hand where she shouldn’t have’

Further difficulties may come from cases like (43) (cf. Kayne (1977, section 2.15), and Guéron (2005,2.4.2)).

- (43)a **Loro** hanno alzato **la mano**
 they have.3pl raised the hand
 ‘They raised their hands’
 b Lei **lo** ha colpito **sulla testa**
 she him_{acc} has struck on.the head
 ‘She struck him on the head’
 c **Gli** ho spostato [**il braccio**] [da sotto **la testa**]
 him_{dat} have.1sg removed the arm from under the head
 ‘I removed his arm from under his head’

8. The Bulgarian base generated possessor construction akin to the Romance construction.

In Bulgarian, differently from Romance, but similarly to Romanian, the same possessive dative clitic is free to occur either DP-internally or DP-externally:

- (44)a Tja **mu** ščupi [DP malkija prăst]
 she him_{dat} broke.3sg little.the finger
 ‘She broke his little finger’
 b Tja ščupi [DP malkija **mu** prăst]
 she broke.3sg little.the him_{dat} finger
 ‘She broke his little finger’

However, the DP internal variant of (44) – (44a) - must meet a crucial requirement not holding of the DP external variant; namely that the DP containing the possessive clitic must be definite, i.e. the clitic must be immediately preceded by whatever element bears the definiteness feature.⁷ No possessive dative clitic can appear inside a DP when this is indefinite, as noted by numerous researchers (Penčev 1998,30; Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti 1999,169; Franks and King 2000,282; Moskovsky 2004,221f).

No definiteness requirement holds of the DP external variant, as can be seen from (30b) which is the only possible way to render (45a):

- (45)a *Tja ščupi [edin **mu** prăst]
 she broke.3s a him_{dat} finger
 ‘She broke a finger of his’
 b. Tja **mu** ščupi [edin prăst]
 she him_{dat} broke.3sg a finger
 ‘She broke a finger of his’

Kinship terms:

- (46) a. a. Te sāsipaxa [dāšterja*(ta) mu]/[žena*(ta) mu]/...
 they ruined.3pl daughter(.the) him_{dat} /wife(.the) him_{dat} /...
 ‘They ruined his daughter/wife/...’
 b. Te sa prebili sina ì.
 They have beaten her son
 (47)a. Te **mu** sāsipaxa [dāšterja*(ta)]/[žena*(ta)]/...
 they him_{dat} ruined.3pl daughter(.the) /wife(.the) /...
 ‘They ruined his daughter/wife/...’
 b. Te sa ì prebili sina. Njama da mi udrjaš deteto !

This suggests that the clitic in (47) cannot have originated in the position of the clitic in (46), for we would expect the definite article on the kinship term in (47) to be just as impossible as in (46), contrary to fact.

Two more cases exist where the external dative clitic finds no possible source inside the DP, thus supporting a base generation analysis of the Romance-type Bulgarian possessor construction.

⁷ In this case, the clitic follows the demonstrative or whichever element is inflected with the definite article (Penčev 1993; Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti 1999,169f; Franks 2000, 59ff, Franks and King 2000,275; Stateva 2002, 660; Schürcks and Wunderlich 2003,121).

The first is represented by idioms. As in Romance (where they also constitute evidence for the non movement nature of the corresponding construction), Bulgarian has idioms with external possessive dative clitics which do not have a variant with a DP-internal clitic. Two examples are given in (48) and (49):⁸

- (48)a Ti **mi** xodiš **po nervite**
 you me_{dat} walk.2sg on nerves.the
 lit. 'You are walking on my nerves' ('You are getting on my nerves')
- b *Ti xodiš **po [nervite mi]**
 you walk.2sg on nerves.the me_{dat}
- (49)a Toj ì vidja smetkata na rakijata.
 he her-dat saw bill-the of the rakia (literally)
 'He finished the entire rakia'.
 b. *Toj ì vidja smetkata na rakijata.

The second case relates to the fact seen above with Romance that unique inalienable body-parts must be singular even in the presence of a plural possessor (see (41), (42), repeated here as (50), (51):

- (50)a Le médecin **leur** a examiné **la gorge/*les gorges** (Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1992,597,602)
 the doctor them_{dat} has examined the throat/the throats
 'The doctor examined their throats'
- b Le médecin a examiné **leur gorge/leur gorges** (Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1992,598,602)
 the doctor has examined their throat/their throats
 'The doctor examined their throats'
- (51)a Ho **loro** lavato **la testa/*le teste**
 have.1sg them_{dat} washed the head/the heads
 'I washed their heads'
- b Ho lavato **la loro testa/le loro teste**
 have.1sgwashed the their head/the their heads
 'I washed their heads'

The same contrast (albeit somewhat weakened) is found in Bulgarian.⁹ See (52)a. Apparently, the number contrast in (37) is stronger if the body part is inside a PP than when it is inside a DP. In the latter case, the reverse obtains, namely the singular is less available inside the DP (e.g. *Tja izmi litsata im*) but available in the DP-external possessive construction, alongside the plural :

- (52)a čovekăt, kojto **vi** pljueše **v litseto/*litsata** dälgo vreme
 man-the that to.you-pl was spitting in face-the/*faces-the long time
 'The man that used to spit in your faces for a long time'
- b Toj edva li ne se izplju **v litseto/ litsata im**
 he almost refl spat.3sg in face.the /faces.the them_{dat} 'He almost spat in their faces'

⁸ Analogously, in Romance no variant exists with a possessive adjective internal to the DP, or with extraction of *ne/en*. See the French and Italian examples (i) and (ii) ((i)a-b are from Lamiroy 2003,260f, who notes the same facts also for Spanish and Dutch):

- (i)a Luc **lui** casse les pieds
 Luc him_{dat}/her_{dat} breaks the feet
 'Luc bothers him/her'
- b Luc casse **ses** pieds
 Luc breaks his/her feet (no idiom interpretation available)
- c Luc **en** casse les pieds
 Luc him_{gen} breaks the feet (no idiom interpretation available)
- (ii)a **Gli** hanno rotto le scatole
 him_{dat} they have broken the boxes
 'They annoyed him'
- b Hanno rotto le **sue** scatole
 they have broken his boxes (no idiom interpretation available)
- c **Ne** hanno rotto le scatole
 him_{gen} they have broken the boxes (no idiom interpretation available)

⁹ For some reason in Bulgarian, when the possessive clitic is inside the DP, the plural form is less available, although not ungrammatical.

Given the evidence reviewed so far for the non movement character of the relation between the clausal possessive dative clitic and the DP expressing inalienable possession, it is not surprising that the latter may be found, like in Romance, inside a PP, which is an island for extraction also in Bulgarian. (52a) was one such example and (53) gives two more.

- (53)a Toj **mi** se izkrjaska [PP v [DP **uxoto**]]
 he me_{dat} refl shouted.3sg in ear.the
 'He shouted in my ear'
 b Az **i** se izsmjax [PP v [DP **litseto**]]
 I her_{dat} refl laughed.1sg in face.the
 'I laughed in her face'

All of this suggests that the with affecting verbs the clitic is directly base-generated DP externally.

9. The movement nature of Bulgarian possessor raising with non affecting predicates

- (54)a *Ne **mu** poznavam [edin __ prijatel] Cf. *Az poznavam [edin **mu** prijatel].
 Not him_{dat} know.1sg one/a friend
 'I know a friend of his'
 b *Az **mu** polučix **edno pismo** Cf. *Az polučix [edno **mu** šaobštenie]
 I him_{dat} received.1sg one/a letter
 'I received a letter of his'

Islands:

- (55)a. *Az **i** mislja [PP **za** [DP **očite** __]]
 I her_{dat} think.1sg for eyes.the
 'I think of her eyes'
 b *Az ne **ti** zavisja [PP **ot** [DP **parite** __]]
 I not you_{dat} depend.1sg from money.the
 'I don't depend on your money'
 c ***Na kogo** govori [PP **säs** [DP **zetja** __]]
 to whom spoke.2sg with son-in-law.the
 'To whose son-in-law did you talk'

What I tentatively suggest while the base generated external clitic is to be taken as dative, the DP-internal possessive clitic (which undergoes Possessor raising) is to be taken as genitive. There are two pieces of evidence that seem to support such a hypothesis.

- a) with deverbal nouns, such as the ones illustrated in (56), the clitic may correspond to an agent or a theme argument of the corresponding verb; never to a dative (Franks and King 200, 56). This may suggest that the DP-internal clitic is genitive rather than dative, especially given Benveniste's observation that the genitive can only correspond to the structural cases (Benveniste 1971):

- (56) a pomagane_{to} mu/pomoštta mu b dobroto mu poznavane na neshtata
 his helping/*the helping of him his good knowledge of things
 b.predstavjaneto mu d pisaneto mu
 his introduction/*the introduction to him his writing/*the writing to him

The second piece of evidence comes from extraction. Now the examples in (57) show that a na-PP, i.e. the full phrase corresponding to the clitic of a deverbal noun can extract only if it is subject genitive. The dative interpretation of (57a): Marija, to whom I remember the phonecalls, is ruled out. Also ruled out is extraction from other PPs, such as e.g. toward-PP, illustrated in (57b). But this is true for all other PPs.

- (57)a.Marija, na kojato pomnja mnogobrojnite obaždaniya [e]...
 Mariaa, of whom remember.1sg numerous.the telephone-calls
 Maria, of whom I remember the many phonecalls = Maria, whose many phonecalls I remember ...
 *Maria, to whom I remember the many phonecalls = Maria, the many phonecalls to whom I remember

- b. *Religijata, kām kojato si spomnjam masovoto obrāštane [e] po vreme na sābitijata
 religion, towards which refl remember.1sg mass.the conversion during of events.the
 lit. ‘The religion to which I remember the massive conversion during the events’

10. Further consequences.

A direct consequence of the proposed distinction between the two types of possessor constructions in Bulgarian is the possibility of having a DP external possessive clitic when the DP expressing the possessee is pronominalized. See the contrast between (58)a and (58)b:

- (58) a. Question: A prāsta **mu**? Answer: Kučeto **mu** go otxapa
 and finger him_{dat} dog.the him_{dat} it_{acc} bit.3sg
 ‘And [what about] his finger?’ ‘The dog bit it on him’
 b. Question: A pismoto **mu**? Answer: Az (***mu**) go polučix.
 and letter him_{dat} I (him_{dat}) it_{acc} received.1sg
 ‘And [what about] his letter?’ ‘I received it on him’

- (59)a Kučeto **mu** go_i otxapa [pro_i] base-generated, raised mu is impossible because go pronominalizes
 dog.the him_{dat} it_{acc} bit.3sg [pismoto mu]
 b Az **mu** go_i polučix [pro_i]
 I him_{dat} it_{acc} received.1sg

Another consequence is the contrast between (60) and (61), related to the possibility of having a possessive clitic both inside and outside the DP expressing the possessee. If the external possessive clitic is base generated outside of the DP in the former case, but comes from inside the DP in the latter case, then only in the former case co-occurrence with a DP-internal possessive clitic is expected to be possible (barring spell-out of traces).

- (60)a ?Umrja **mu** (..) konjat **mu** (..) (Schick 2000,191)
 died.3sg to.him horse.the him
 ‘His horse died on him’
 b Az sām **mu** čela vsički **negovi** knigi.
 I am to.him read.prt.fem all his books
 ‘I have read all his books’
 c ?Te **mu** razpiljaxa **negovoto** bogatstvo
 they to.him squandered his.the wealth
 ‘They squandered his wealth’
 d *Te **mu** sčupixa **negovata** rāka.
 they to.him broke.3pl his.the arm
 ‘They broke his arm’
- (61) *Az **mu** polučix pismoto **mu**
 I him_{dat} received.1sg letter-the him_{dat} ‘I received his letter on him’
- (62)a Čadarāt_i ne **mu** beše nameren t_i base generation, Cf Te ne mu namerixa čadāra
 umbrella-the not him_{dat} was.3sg found
 ‘His umbrella was not found’
 b *Imeto_i ne **mu** beše sāobštено na Maria t_i raising. Cf. Te ne mu sāobštixa imeto
 name.the not him_{dat} was.3sg communicated to Mary
 ‘His name was not communicated to Mary’
 (cf. [Imeto mu]_i ne beše sāobštено na Maria t_i)

In (62a) there is no extraction of the clitic, mu is generated outside, so we do not have the same structure as in (62b). If the possessive clitic in (62)b can only come from inside the DP object expressing the possessee (*imeto*), after which the object moves to preverbal subject position as part of the passivization process, we end up with the configuration in (63), in which the clitic trace is only bound by its antecedent under reconstruction:¹⁰

- (63) [_{DP} imeto t_k]_i ne **mu_k** beše sāobštено na Maria t_i

¹⁰ Under a copy theory of movement (Chomsky 1995, chapter 3), the representation would be (i):

(i) [_{DP} imeto ~~mu_k~~]_i ne mu_k beše sāobštено na Maria [_{DP} imeto ~~mu_k~~]_i

For a recent general discussion of Reconstruction (also under the copy theory of movement), see Sportiche (2003).

Let us consider if this fact might be at the basis of the ill-formedness of (62b). We know independently that an A-bar moved phrase containing an unbound A-bar trace leads to an unacceptable result. See e.g. (64) from Italian:

- (64) *I Rossi, [regalare t_i ai quali] $_k$ non so cosa $_i$ potrei t_k ...
 the Rossis, to give to.the whom.pl not know what could.1sg
 (cf. Non so cosa potrei regalare ai Rossi ‘I don’t know what I could give to the Rossis’)

An A-bar moved phrase containing a trace of A-movement does not lead to a comparable problem, as the grammaticality of (65) shows:

- (65) [venduto t_i ai Rossi] $_k$ (l’appartamento) $_i$ non è stato t_k
 sold to.the Rossis the apartment wasn’t

You first reconstruct the A'-moved element, and only afterwards you reconstruct the A-moved element. In this respect, the trace of a clitic behaves like the trace left by A-movement since it does not lead to unacceptability. See (66). If so, then in (48) we have a case analogous to that in (44) (modulo the A- instead of the A-bar traces).

- (66) [venduto t_i ai Rossi] $_k$ non l_i hanno t_k
 sold to the Rossis not it have.3pl

The generalization that emerges is that a configuration resulting from movement of a certain type (A or A-bar) followed by remnant movement of the same type (A or A-bar) leads to unacceptability: a situation possibly related to the fact that Reconstruction of a certain type of movement happens in one solution (cannot feed itself).

The ungrammaticality of (62)b is in fact parallel to that of (67) in Italian with *ne*-extraction interacting with the A-movement of the object DP to subject position:

- (67) *[Il nome t_i] $_k$ non **ne** $_i$ è stato comunicato t_k
 the name not it_{gen} is been communicated
 ‘His name was not communicated’

In (62)a on the other hand, the possessive clitic is base generated outside of the DP object expressing the possessee, as we have argued above, so no issue of simultaneous reconstruction of two A-chains arises here and grammaticality is completely expected.

11. Conclusions so far.

In this paper, we have presented evidence that the traditional “possessor raising” phenomenon of Bulgarian (and, perhaps, that of other Balkan languages as well) should be decomposed into two separate cases. The first, here labeled “the base-generated possessor construction” appears to have the same properties of the Romance “possessor raising” construction, namely:

- 1) It is limited to inalienable possession (and its extensions);
- 2) It is limited to predicates which affect their objects and impose a benefactive/malefactive interpretation on the external possessor; and
- 3) It does not involve movement of the possessive clitic from inside the DP expressing the possessee.

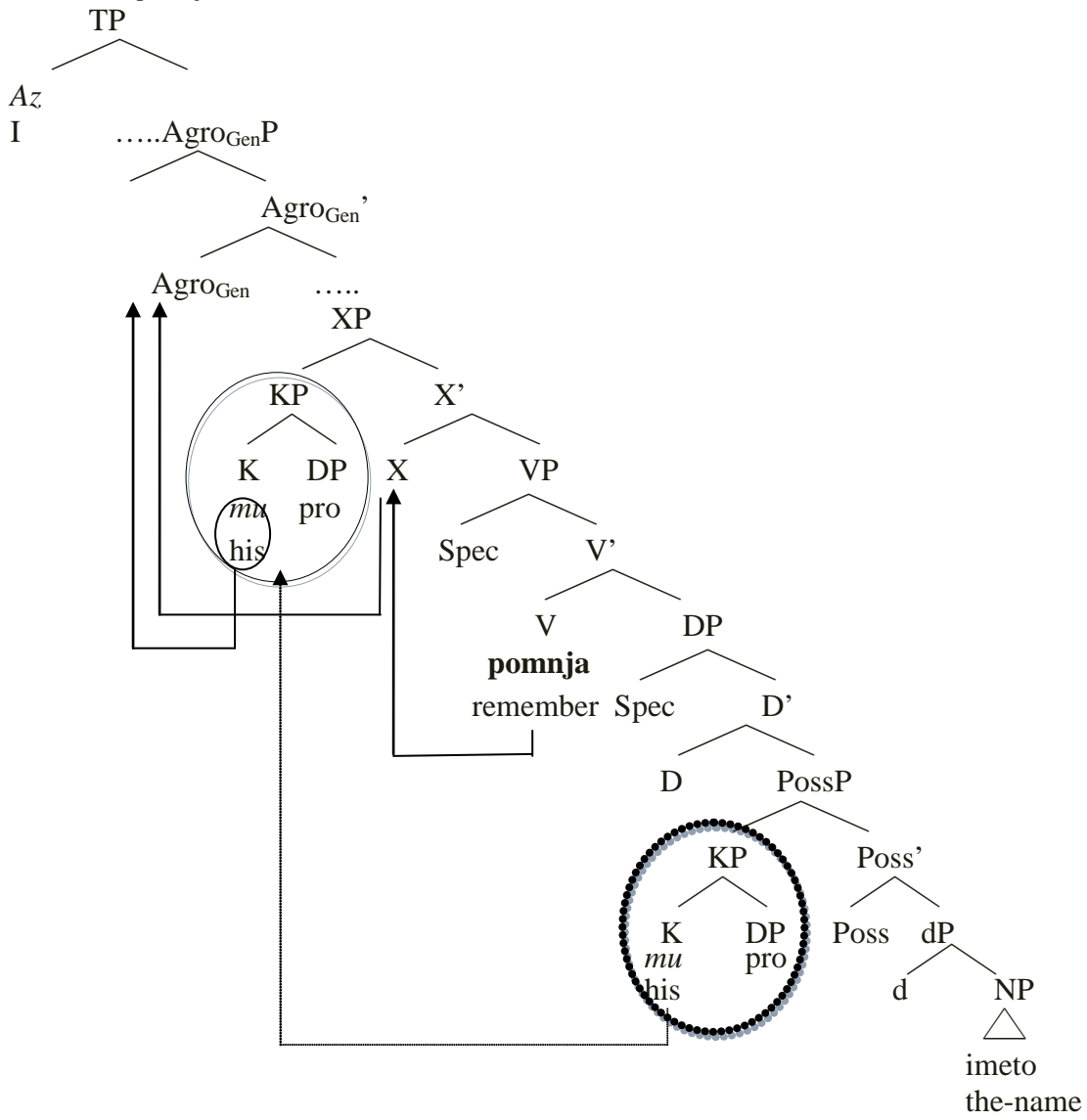
The second case, which we could label “possessor raising” proper is characterized by the opposite properties:

- 4) It is not limited to inalienable possession;
- 5) It contains predicates that do not affect their object nor impose a benefactive/malefactive interpretation on the external possessor; and
- 6) It involves raising of the internal possessive clitic to a clausal Dative position.

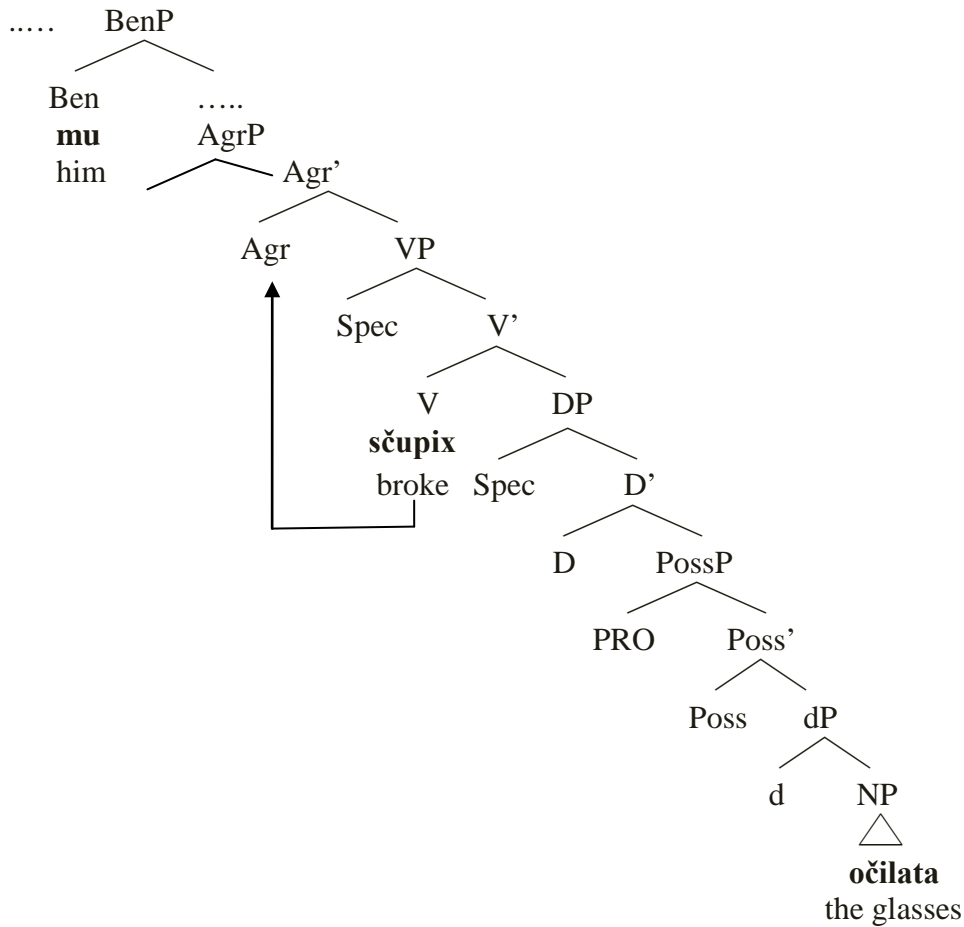
12. Raising and Control?

- (68) [_{KP} [_K CL [_{DP} D NP/QP/AP]]

(69) Az mu pomnja imeto 'I remember his name'



(71) *Az mu sčupix očilata.* ‘I broke his glasses’



APPENDIX

The Balkan EPC: outline of properties

A. The Animacy Hierarchy (König and Haspelmath 1997, 7.1.)

1st/2nd p. pronoun \subset 3rd p. pronoun \subset proper name \subset other animate \subset inanimate

There is a strong cross-linguistic tendency among the European languages for marking humans as possessors and inalienably possessed items as possesses. In the Balkan EP, the external possessive clitic can pick up any of the reference points on the Animacy hierarchy, including inanimate possessors which take as possesses their constituent parts, basic functions or properties:

- (1) Ioana **i-a** rupt (mesei) piciorul ‘Ioana broke its leg (= the leg of the table). (Romanian, Niculescu 2008, 488);
- (2) Njakoj í e otrjazal krakata (na masata). ‘Someone has sawn off the legs of the table’ (Bul);
- (3) Na radioto sa mu svăršili bateriite ‘The batteries of the radio are consumed’ (Bul)
- (4) Radioului i s-au terminat bateriile; ‘The batteries of the radio are consumed’ (Rom)
- (5) Tis teliosan i bataries tou radiofonou ‘The batteries of the radio are consumed’ (MG)

B. The Possessive Hierarchy (Fried 1999, 477))

Body part > kinship relations > close alienable entities > distant alienable entities

a) *prototypical body parts:*

(6) Afti **tu** espasse to mikro dahtilo; Tja **mu** sčupi malkija prăst ‘She broke his little finger’ (MG)

b) *kinship terms:*

(7) Afti' **tu** katestrepsan tin kori/ ti ghineka ‘They ruined his daughter/wife.’ (MG)

c) c) extended inalienables such as clothes, and familiar objects from the possessor’s environment:

(8) Objlakox í rokljata ‘I put one her dress’ (Bul)

d) *permanent abstract properties or qualities, cf. (4);*

(9) Apa **i**-a distrus casa. 'The water destroyed his house'; **Tou** ehassa tin ombrella. 'I lost your umbrella'; **Sou** hrissimopi'issa to stilo 'I used your pen'; Razbixa **mi** kolata 'The destroyed my car'; **Sou** sinkentrossa ta vivlia

(10) Mrazja ti taja čerta na xarakterata. 'I hate this feature of your character'; **İi** urăsc lipsa de respect. 'I hate her lack of respect.'

e) *temporary mental or psychological states (11a); functional relations (11b); objects in the near vicinity to the possessor (11c); close alienable entities (11d); actions and results (expressed by deverbal nouns) in relation to their Agents qua possessors (11e), distant alienable entities (11f), etc. (Romanian examples are from Niculescu 2008, see also Cristea 1974, Cornilescu 1991, Manoliu-Manea 1996).*¹¹

(11) a. Ne **mi** vgorčavaj radostta. 'Don't spoil my happiness' (Bul); Nu-**i** apreciez comportamentul 'I don't appreciate her behavior' (Rom); Essi **mou** ekmetaleftikes tin kali' diathessi. 'You spoiled my good mood' (MG)

b. **Ti**-am condus șeful la aeroport; Izpratix **ti** șefa na letișteto. 'I saw your boss off at the airport' (Rom)

c. a-**și** termina cafeaua/izpivam si kafeto 'finish one's coffee' (Svešnikova 1986, 204) (Rom)

d. Te sa **ni** zaeli mestata. 'They have occupied our places' (Bul)

e. Ne **ti** priemam izvinenieto. 'I don't accept your excuse' (Bul), Lupul nu-și încetă prădăciunile 'The wolf did not stop the robbery' (Rom, Svešnikova 1986); **Tou** diekopsa ti roi' tis skepsis. 'I interrupted the flow of your thought' (MG)

f. Dažddovete **ni** uniștožixa rekoltata. 'The rains ruined our crops'. (Bul)

C. The Situation Hierarchy (König and Haspelmath 1997, section 6)

Patient-affecting \subset dynamic non-affecting \subset stative (König and Haspelmath 1997)

The Situation Hierarchy reflects the strength of the affectedness constraint as a function of the type of predicate selected for the EP construction. Haspelmath's (1997) generalization is that cross-linguistically and in Europe in particular, the higher points of the hierarchy are favored, especially the classical patient affecting verbs, such as the transitives *open, repair, lose, lift, break, scratch, destroy, ruin*.

Balkan EP is also available – and this is true to a maximum extent for Bulgarian and Romanian – with:

intransitives such as *walk, run, enter, flow*, unaccusatives such as *get old, lose weight, die, become red*, unergatives, such as *work, cry, laugh*, among many others;

stative predicates like *see, hear, love, hate, know, remember*, among many others. Baci (1985), Svešnikova (1986), Avram & Coene (2000, 2008), Niculescu (2008):

- (12) a. Teče **mu** nosăt; **İi** curge nasul. 'His nose is running.' Bul Unaccusative predicates
Mi-a cazut un dinte; Padna **mi** edin zăb. 'One of my teeth fell out' Rom
 Treperjat **mi** răcete. 'My hands are trembling'; Začervixa **mi** se buzite. 'My cheeks grew red' Bul
I-a murit pisica. 'His cat died.' Rom
 b. Ne **mi** raboti kompjuterăt. 'My computer doesn't work' Bul Unergative predicates
 Zasmja **mi** se sărceto 'My heart laughed'. Bul
- (13) Az **mu** vidjax novata prijatelka. 'I saw his new girlfriend' Bul Stative predicates
 Az **mu** zabravix imeto. I-am uitat numele 'I forgot his name' Bul
 Poznavam **ti** prijatelite 'I know your friends' Bul
 Nu **ti** știu adresa. (Lamiroy 268, citing Dumitrescu 1990) Rom

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¹¹ Here and elsewhere in the text the Modern Greek examples present native judgements of my informants. I thank in particular Eugenia Liosatou, and also Marika Lekakou, for invaluable help with the data.

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