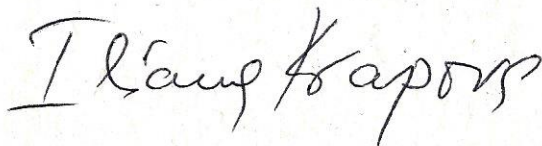ILIANA KRAPOVA krapova@unive.it

DICHIARAZIONE AI FINI DELL'ATTRIBUZIONE DEL CONTRIBUTO INDIVIDUALE NEI LAVORI CON PIU' AUTORI IN CUI ESSA NON SIA ESPLICITA

Io Sottoscritta, Iliana Krapova, nata a Plovdiv, Bulgaria, il 17/12/1960, residente a Venezia (VE), in via Lungomare G. Marconi 76, 30126, codice fiscale KPRLNI60T57Z104Q, DICHIARO di essere autrice, con Tsvetana Dimitrova, del seguente articolo: "Genitive-Dative Syncretism in the History of the Bulgarian Language. Towards an Analysis". In **STUDI SLAVISTICI**, vol. XII, pp.181-208, 2015 (ISSN 1824-7601)

Anche se i due autori hanno contribuito pariteticamente alla costruzione della ricerca e alla redazione del testo, il mio contributo specifico riguarda le sezioni 1,2,3 e 5.

Venezia, 15/07/2017

In fede

Iliana Krapova
Tsvetana Dimitrova

Genitive-Dative Syncretism in the History of the Bulgarian Language. Towards an Analysis

0.   *Introduction*[1]

   This paper deals with the diachronic development of dative pronominal clitics in Bulgarian which may express possession in the nominal and in the clausal domain and have ambiguous interpretation between possessive and dative arguments. We argue that this ambiguity, which, as is well-known, stems from the merger (syncretism) between genitive and dative cases, was present already in the grammar of Old Bulgarian (OB)/Old Church Slavonic (OCS)[2], the earliest stage of the written language, and had its parallel in the grammar of New Testament Greek (henceforth NT Greek)[3]. In this paper, we offer a description and analysis of one particular dative construction in OB, namely the so-called *external possession*, as it is known in the typological literature (cf. König, Haspelmath 1998, Haspelmath 1999, Payne, Barshi 1999). The corresponding Greek construction containing a genitive (rather than a dative) pronoun has a crucial importance attributed to it for having activated the merger between the genitive and the dative case (Horrocks 2007, 2010, Gianollo 2010), leading to the demise of the dative in the later history of Greek (in Middle Greek). We suggest that the dative construction in OB played a comparable role in the history of Bulgarian in that it facilitated the extension of dative morphology into the domain of possession[4].

   The paper is organised as follows. In § 1., we first introduce the two constructions involving possessor clitics in Modern Bulgarian, and then we move to the *doubly bound*

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[1]   For the requirements of the Italian academic system, Iliana Krapova takes responsibility for §§ 0., 1., 2. and 3.1, while Tsvetana Dimitrova takes responsibility for §§ 3.2, 3.3, and 4.

[2]   In the present work, we mainly employ the term Old Bulgarian (abbreviated as OB). The term Old Church Slavonic (OCS), also used in the literature, reflects the status of the language as used by the Slavic orthodox community (cf. Duridanov *et al.* 1993).

[3]   New Testament Greek is usually characterized as the standard form of the Koiné Greek used between 300 BCE and 300 CE as "the medium for a vast array of literary, philosophical, religious, historical, and scientific documents from the Hellenistic period" (Joseph 2003: 106).

[4]   Bulgarian has evolved into a language with a very impoverished case system (the nominal system has no case inflections, while the pronominal system has maintained only dative and accusative in the clitic paradigm, and nominative and oblique in the tonic paradigm). The genitive-dative syncretism occurred in the other Balkan languages as well (Greek, Romanian, Albanian) and has been argued to be among the major converging processes in the Balkan *Sprachbund* area (Assenova 2002: 81ff, Pancheva 2004, Catasso 2011, Pompeo 2012).

dative (to be discussed in § 2.). § 2.1 highlights the properties of the construction, and § 2.2 sheds light on its parallel structure in Greek. In § 3., we discuss the factors for the genitive-dative syncretism in Bulgarian and for the grammaticalisation of dative possession: the development of pronominal clitics (in second, Wackernagel, and post-verbal positions) (in § 3.1); the shift in word order (in § 3.2); and the role of definiteness (in § 3.3). § 4. gives a brief preview of the further development of the *doubly bound dative* construction in Middle and Modern Bulgarian when the form and the positional restrictions on possessive dative pronouns get further consolidated.

1. *External Possession vs. Possessor Raising in Contemporary Bulgarian*

In the history of Bulgarian, the short dative pronouns have evolved into indirect object (dative) pronominal clitics and short possessive clitics, exemplified in (1a) and (1b), respectively, by the first person singular form *mi* 'me.DAT'[5]:

(1) a. dade   ***mi***   knigata.   '(he) gave me the book'.
         gave.3SG   ***me*.DAT**   book.DEF
         'He/she gave me the book'.

     b. dade   na Marija   knigata   ***mi***[6]   '(he) gave him my book'.
         gave.3SG   to Maria   book.DEF   ***me*.DAT**
         'He/she gave Maria my book'.

The rise of dative *possessive clitics* in Bulgarian is closely related (both temporally and causally) to the dative-genitive merger and represents one of the first markers of the evolution of Bulgarian as an analytic Balkan Slavic language (Minčeva 1964: 134-168). Competition between dative and genitive case in possessive contexts is already observable in texts dated around the 10th-11th c., and it continues throughout all of Middle Bulgarian (12th-14th c.), culminating around the 16th c. in the complete elimination of the genitive (Mirčev 1978: 280ff). At this stage, all genitive functions, including the prototypical possessive genitive, were already rendered by dative case: the case which was preserved longest in the later history of Bulgarian[7]. Subsequent replacement of

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[5]   For the transliteration of the language examples, we use Garzaniti's (2013: 79-81) system (ѣ = *ě*; ѫ = *ǫ*; ѭ = *jǫ*; ѧ = *ę*; ѩ = *ję*; щ = *št*; ъ = *ŭ*; ь = *ĭ*, х = *ch*, оу = *u*, ы = *y* for Old Church Slavonic; for contemporary Bulgarian also: ъ = *ă*; я = *ja*; for Russian: ь = '). In the glosses, the short dative forms of the personal pronouns are marked as DAT, irrespectively of their dative or possessive function.

[6]   Note that the possessive dative pronoun must be a clitic. The long (tonic) pronouns are available under conditions of emphasis as indirect objects but are ungrammatical as adnominal possessors, cf. *knigata na mene 'book.DEF of me', *kolata na nego 'car.DEF of him'.

[7]   In a number of Bulgarian and Balkan Slavic dialects, the morphological dative is still alive, especially in relation to persons, or at least co-exists with various prepositional formations (Sobolev 2009: 725).

dative morphology by prepositional constructions (with the grammaticalised preposition *na* 'to/of' plus an accusative form of the noun, or a genitive-accusative form of the pronoun), especially frequent after the 15th c., triggered a second analytic change in the language, which, although not directly linked to the genitive-dative syncretism (Mirčev 1978: 289, Minčeva 1964), acted in combination with it to produce the mixed system of the contemporary language where the dative is retained only in the clitic forms of the pronominal system, as in (1).

As mentioned in the introduction, we will focus our study on the construction, which, according to us, played a crucial role in the functional merger of the genitive and the dative and is exemplified in (2) and (3) with its morphological realisation in contemporary Bulgarian. First, as the examples in (2) show, the noun phrase (henceforth NP) internal possessive dative clitic – cf. (2a', b', c') – can be extraposed and appear next to the verb, as in (2a, b, c).

(2) a. vidjach **ti** novata kniga = a'. vidjach novata **ti** kniga
        saw.1SG **you.DAT** new.DEF book   saw   new.DEF **you.DAT** book
        'I saw *your* new book'.

     b. znam **mu** adresa = b'. znam adresa **mu**
        know.1SG **him.DAT** address.DEF   know address.DEF **him.DAT**
        'I know *his* address'.

     c. pročetoch **ti** interesnata statija = c'. pročetoch interesnata **ti** statija
        read.1SG **you.DAT** interesting.DEF article   read.1SG interesting.DEF **you.DAT** article
        'I read *your* interesting article'.

This permutation is not available in (3). Here, the surface position of the dative clitic is related to a meaning difference: in the first set of examples, (3a, b, c), the clitic refers to the person in whose favour or to whose detriment the action is being performed, thus contributing an 'affected' reading which English usually renders with expressions like *for him, instead of you, on me,* etc. Note that this reading is only available when the dative clitic appears external to the NP:

(3) a. namericha **mu** kolata ≠ a'. namericha kolata **mu**
        found.3PL **him.DAT** car.DEF   found.3PL car.DEF **him.DAT**
        'They found the (=*his*) car *for him*.' ≠ 'They found *his* car'.

     b. šte **ti** nareža dărvata. ≠ b'. šte nareža dărvata **ti**
        will **you.DAT** cut wood.DEF   will cut wood.DEF **you.DAT**
        'I will cut the (=*your*) wood *for/instead of you*.' ≠ 'I will cut *your* wood'.

     c. otkradnacha **mi** portmoneto ≠ c' otkradnacha portmoneto **mi**
        stole.3PL **me.DAT** purse.DEF   stole.3PL purse.DEF **me.DAT**
        'They stole my purse *on me*.' ≠ 'They stole *my* purse'.

Given the difference in meaning between the sets in (2) and those in (3), Cinque, Krapova (2009) argue for the existence of two different construction types, schematically

represented in (4a) – for (2), and (4b) – for (3). The former is a *possessor raising* structure, in which the clitic referring to the possessor may optionally appear inside the NP or in the clausal position reserved for dative clitics (the indirect object position)[8]. These two options are available if the sentence contains a predicate of the non-affecting type (e.g., cognitive, mental predicates like *think, know, understand*, or perception predicates like *see, hear*, etc.).

The structure in (4b), on the other hand, captures the properties of (3a, b, c) containing an affecting predicate (e.g., *steal, break, cut, find for s.o., repair for s.o.*). It is argued by Cinque, Krapova (2009) that the dative clitic in this case corresponds to an *affected argument* (i.e., the individual in whose favour or to whose detriment the event occurs), and that it originates in the clausal dative position. The meaning difference between (3a, b, c) and (3a′, b′, c′) is thus related to the syntactic position of the clitic: clausal, in the former case, vs. adnominal, in the latter.

(4)   a. $V_{\text{non-affecting}}$ Poss CL   [$_{NP}$ N+ Definite article   Poss CL]   *Possessor Raising* (PR)

   b. $V_{\text{affecting}}$ CL$_{\text{benefactive/malefactive}}$ NP   *External Possession* (EP)

In the typological literature, the term *External Possession* is used for benefactive/malefactive constructions like (4b) involving an affecting predicate and a relational noun (typically a body part or some other inalienably possessed item, a kinship term or a personal belonging, cf. Vergnaud, Zubizarreta 1992; König, Haspelmath 1998; Krapova 2012). In all languages where EP is present – and Haspelmath (1999) argues this to be a widespread European phenomenon (a "Europeme") – the possessor of this relational noun, typically expressed by a pronoun or a clitic, appears in the dative case irrespectively of whether the language has or does not have a genitive; dative case is thus tied to the expression of *affectedness*.

The main argument in this paper is that the EP construction was already present in OB in a special dative function termed *doubly bound dative* ["*dvojnozavisim datelen padež*"] by Minčeva (1964). With the rise of the category of definiteness (Mladenova 2007: 348-357),

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8   Stateva (2002) has established that there is a single dative position in the Bulgarian clause. The indirect object, the affected argument and the external possessor all compete for this position and cannot be realised simultaneously. In (i), for example, this restriction is violated and the sentence is ungrammatical:

(i)   *dadoch/namerich   **mu**   **mu**   [chalkata]
     gave/found   him.DAT   him.POSS   wedding-ring.DEF
     'I gave/found him his wedding ring'.

Note furthermore that cases like (ii) are only apparent violations of the ban on double datives: in (ii), the possessive clitic which comes first in the sequence is actually NP-internal, leaving the second clitic as the single clausal instantiation of the dative, as predicted.

(ii)   [chalkata   **mu**]   *mu   ja*   nameri   dašterja   mu.
     wedding-ring.DEF **him=his** *him her* found   daughter   his
     'His daughter found his wedding ring for him'.

and as a result of a functional reanalysis of the clause (Dimitrova-Vulchanova *et al.* 2008a, 2008b), the dative pronoun originating in the clausal position got reanalysed as a nominal element and integrated into the NP structure. This became possible because of some salient semantic and syntactic properties of the *doubly bound dative*, to be discussed in § 2., which allowed for its use in a structure of the type in (4b), i.e., *external possession*. This structure then acted as a "bridging context"⁹ facilitating the spread of the morphological dative case into the sphere of adnominal possession (see for example (8) below).

In what follows, we present our empirical observations on OB texts from three corpora: the TOROT corpus (part of the texts are also annotated in the PROIEL database, within the same infrastructure, cf. Haug, Eckhoff 2011a, 2011b)¹⁰, used for quantitative observations as the data is annotated, accessible and available for replica, the TITUS¹¹ database – for the variant readings, and the Historical Corpus of Bulgarian Language (HCBL)¹² for further sketching of the process in later stages of the languages.

2.   *The Doubly Bound Dative in Old Bulgarian and Its Relation to Possession*

In her study dedicated to the evolution of the *possessive dative* in Bulgarian, Minčeva (1964: 24ff) notes that in OB the concept of possession differentiates between the various uses of the 'free', unselected dative. Thus, in (5) the dative pronoun performs the function of *dativus commodi/incommodi* (the Latin term for *benefactive/malefactive dative*) and the possessor is expressed separately by a co-referential adnominal genitive. In (6a, b), on the other hand, the dative apparently participates in both of these relations. This double semantic dependency was the reason why Minčeva (*op. cit.*) opted for the term *doubly bound*

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9   The term is due to Horrocks (2007), who proposes it for the possessive genitive construction and its role in the history of the Greek genitive-dative syncretism.

10   PROIEL (Pragmatic Resources in Old Indo-European Languages) corpus has been developed at the University of Oslo since 2008. It contains the gospel text acc. to *Codex Marianus* (from now on, *Cod. Mar.*, following the edition of Vatroslav Jagić, cf. Jagić 1883), parts of the gospel text acc. to *Codex Zographensis* (from now on, *Cod. Zogr.*, following Jagić's 1879 edition) which are missing in *Cod. Mar.* (Mt. 1:1-27). Texts were further included into the TOROT corpus database together with texts from *Codex Suprasliensis* (this part of the corpus is still under preparation, as of August 2015). In the corpus, all texts are annotated (lemma, part-of-speech, and applicable morphological information, plus syntactic annotation). Our observations for the quantitative study are made on the annotated text of *Codex Marianus*, plus 48 texts of *Codex Suprasliensis*.

11   TITUS gives access to parallel and sometimes aligned data but not annotated. Gospel text acc. to *Cod. Mar.*, *Cod. Zogr.*, *Codex Assemanianus* (*Cod. Assem.*), and *Codex Sabbae* (*Cod. Sab.*) is organised with aligned corresponding passages across OB and Greek NT text. While we have relied on this database for variant readings acc. to different manuscripts (e.g., genitive or dative pronouns, pronominal clitics post- and pre-NP, etc.), we have relied mainly on TOROT for the quantificational results reported in this article.

12   The HCBL is a collection of texts some of which are of very late date. They have not been annotated yet but can be searched (at: <http://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/list>).

dative in place of *dativus sympatheticus* as originally suggested by Havers (1911: 165f)[13] for the analogous constructions in Latin and Classical Greek:

(5) da   pokryjǫtŭ sę   **emu**   děla   **ego**
     to   cover.3PL REFL   **him**.DAT deeds.NOM **his**.GEN
     'To cover for him his deeds'.   (*Euch. Sin.*, 194, 68b, cit. Minčeva 1964: 25)

(6) a. i   otvrěste sę   **ima**   oči   (Mt. 9:30, *Cod. Mar.*)
         and   opened   REFL **them**.DAT eyes.NOM
         καὶ   ἠνεῴχθησαν   **αὐτῶν**.GEN   οἱ ὀφθαλμοί[14]
         'And their sight was restored' (lit. Their eyes got opened on their behalf ').

     b. jegda   že   **imŭ**   prěbivaachǫ   golěni   (*Cod. Supr.* 5, 41v, 2-3)
         when   DISC   **they**.DAT break in two   knees
         κατακλώμενοι δὲ   οἱ ἅγιοι
         'When (they) broke their knees in two'.

According to Havers, the verbs that typically appear with *dativus sympatheticus* are directional – *take away*, *ward off* or movement verbs (cit. after Gianollo 2010: 112). Our data, too, show that the corresponding dative construction in OB prefers the use of telic verbs presupposing an endpoint at which a change of state occurs – *cut one's ear*, *open one's eye*, etc.

Change of state predicates that involve causation and some sort of *affectedness* semantics are viewed as also involving an abstract concept of Goal, which relates them to dative arguments. As the third argument of the external possession contruction, the beneficiary/maleficiary, also labeled 'ficiary' after McIntyre (2006, see also Gruber 1965 and Jackendoff 1983), is not part of the verb's argument structure as opposed to the obligatory Agent and Theme or Patient. Nevertheless, in this case, the dative argument gets coded as a core grammatical relation of the verb. According to Payne, Barshi (1999: 3; see also Zúñiga, Kittilä 2010 and Frajzyngier, Shay 2003) this is because of the semantic possessor-possessum relation between the 'ficiary' and the affected Theme or Patient argument. In fact, typological accounts capitalise on the possessive aspect of this cross-linguistic construction type, as also evident from the choice of terminology (*external possessor, possessor ascension, possessor demotion*, Croft 1985). A question arises however whether possession is indeed part of the grammatical meaning of the affected dative argument. As mentioned above with respect to

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[13]   For Havers, this function of the dative serves to express a more sympathetic attitude towards the person undergoing the action described by the verb.

[14]   Wherever possible, we will be supplying the examples with corresponding Greek text following NA₂₇. Variants acc. to other editions are explicitly mentioned. There is an ongoing discussion on the issue about the editions of the Greek texts vs. the linguistic variation attested in the manuscripts, which we are not going to comment on here (cf. Toufexis 2010). We also use the Greek text given in the two-volume edition of *Cod. Supr.* prepared by Zaimov and Capaldo (1982-1983) and the digital one prepared by D. Birnbaum and A. Miltenova and available at: <http://suprasliensis.obdurodon.org/>.

(4b), in Modern Bulgarian the personal pronoun in benefactive/malefactive contexts occupies the unique clausal dative position (see fn. 8). The examples given below in (8a,b), to be compared with (7), show that also in OB there is a single position reserved for the dative pronoun in the clause. Given that the basic strategy for coding possession in OB was the use of a possessive adjective, e.g., *tvoi* 'your' in (8a, c) or a possessive genitive (e.g., (5) above), the possibility of their co-occurrence with a dative pronoun indicates that the latter was not considered as a marker of possession[15]. Clausal datives and adnominal possessives code different types of grammatical information at different structural levels (Sobolev 2012: 528). On a more principled basis, we adopt Chomsky's (1981: 35) Thematic criterion given in (9):

(7) pokažite **_mi_** sklęzŭ kinŭsŭny (Mt. 22:19 *Cod. Mar., Zogr., Assem, Sab.*)
     show **_me_**.DAT coin for-taxation
     'Show me the coin for paying the tax'

(8) a. ōtpuštajǫtŭ **_ti_** sę grěši **_tvoi_** (Mt. 9:2, *Cod. Zogr., Assem.*)
      forgive **_you_**.DAT REFL sins your

    b. otŭdadętŭ **_ti_** sę grŭesi (Mt. 9:2, *Cod. Sab.*)
      forgive **_you_**.DAT REFL sins.NOM

    c. otŭpuštajǫtŭ sę grěši **_tvoi_** (Mt. 9:2, *Cod. Mar.*)
      forgive REFL sins **_your_**
      ἀφίενταί σου.GEN   αἱ ἁμαρτίαι (Scrivener 1894: ἀφέωνταί σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου.GEN)
      'Your sins will be forgiven / Sins will be forgiven to you'.

(9) *Each argument bears one and only one th-role, and each th-role is assigned to one and only one argument.*

We can assume, therefore, that the possessive meaning of the *doubly bound dative/external possession* construction is a matter of semantic inference or an implicature (Topolińska, Bužarovska 2011). As Lehmann (2005: 11) also argues, "in most languages, the 'possessive dative' is not really a function of the dative, since the possessive relation itself is not expressed. Instead, it is inferred, [...] on semantic grounds, since [eye, ear, etc. are] relational concept[s] so there must be a possessor in the situation"[16].

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[15]   Even when the dative shows up within the noun phrase, in what we assume to be an instance of a true "possessive dative" (see below in the text), its meaning is not entirely parallel to that of a possessive genitive (Minčeva 1964). The dative meaning relates to concepts of Goal, Purpose, or Relation between two entities that go beyond possession in the sense of "ownership" (see also Mitkovska 2007, Topolińska, Bužarovska 2011, a.o.). See for example: expressions like *chramŭ molitvě* 'temple for prayer.DAT' (Lk. 19:46 from *Cod. Mar.*); *propovědnikŭ živyimŭ i mrŭtvymŭ* ('preacher for the alive.DAT and the dead.DAT' (from *Cod. Supr.* 461: 10, Minčeva 1964: 52). Only after the dative was grammaticalised as a possessive marker (in Early Modern Bulgarian, around the 16th c.) did it come to entirely replace the genitive also in this unmarked possessive meaning.

[16]   From this point of view, the term "*external possession*" is a misnomer. We will however continue to use it for consistency with the terminological practice.

2.1. *Properties of the OB Construction*

In this subsection, we present a brief frequency account of the *doubly bound datives* found in the TOROT database in order to demonstrate that they share the two defining properties of the contemporary Bulgarian *external possession* construction: the obligatory presence of a dative pronoun referring to a human individual and a predicate of the affecting type. In *Cod. Mar.*, out of the total of 27 occurrences of *doubly bound datives,* we found 24 occurrences with affected predicates (see TABLE 1)[17] while in *Cod. Supr.* we counted 41 such occurrences out of a total of 67 occurrences of *doubly bound datives.*

Short dative personal pronouns are used to refer to the 'ficiary' argument: 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns *mi* and *ti* amount to 20 occurrences, mostly in *Cod. Supr.*; 'weak' 3rd person anaphoric pronouns (*emu* '(to/of) him.SG.M', *ei* '(to/of) her.SG.F', *imŭ* '(to/of) them.PL', *ima* '(to/of) them.DU')[18] amount to a total of 48 occurrences. Examples are given in (10):

(10) a. jako   mečemŭ   otŭsěčeši   ***mi***   glavǫ   (*Cod. Supr.*, 23, 127v, 2)
        as   sword.INST   cut off   ***me*.DAT**   head.ACC
        καὶ   ξίφει   με.ACC   ὑποβάλλειν
        '(You) beheaded me with a sword'.

    b. i   sŭkruši   ***jemu***   vĭse   lice.   (*Cod. Supr.*, 5, 37v, 15-16)
        and   broke   ***him*.DAT**   whole.ACC   face.ACC
        καὶ   συνέτριψεν   ***αὐτοῦ*.GEN**   τὴν ὄψιν
        'And broke his whole face'.

We will comment on word order issues in § 3.3, but note that in all examples so far the dative pronoun is found in a position adjacent to the verb, which also precedes the affected relational noun and is thus suitable for the functional specialisation of the construction, as well for facilitating the implicational relation of possession.

Another property of the *doubly bound dative* is the semantic type of the affected argument (typically an inanimate Theme or an animate Patient). Our findings show that such nouns can be arranged in a frequency scale closely mirroring the inalienability hierarchy (Nichols 1999: 160-162): body parts > kinship terms > extended kinship > abstract properties. In both *Cod. Mar.* and *Cod. Supr.* the highest incidence is of body part plus affecting predicate (see Table 1, which summarises our results from the TOROT database). However, there is a clear distributional difference between the two texts. In *Cod. Mar.*, the percentage

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[17] The remaining cases are copular constructions, which in spite of having an affectedness implication are not easily classifiable as *doubly bound datives.*

[18] Being interpreted as third person pronouns, they are used in oblique cases and not in contexts involving a nominative where demonstratives are used (Duridanov *et al.* 1993: 234). The long (and the non-clitic) forms of first and second person pronouns are also found but they are much fewer.

of thematic objects referring to a body part is very high (83% of all occurrences of *doubly bound dative*). In *Cod. Supr.*[19], on the other hand, there is a greater variation in the set of the relational nouns: alongside body parts, we also find 'extended' inalienables (in the sense of Guéron 2005: 594) and even alienable objects. The elevated number of elements lower on the possessive hierarchy (59% of all occurrences) testifies to an extension of the construction to other semantic domains and, as a consequence, points to a higher degree of grammaticalisation of the possessive relation.

	Overall in *Cod. Supr.*	Doubly Bound Datives in *Cod. Supr.*	Overall in *Cod. Mar.*	Doubly Bound Datives in *Cod.Mar.*
BODY PART (*body, eyes, flesh, face, mind, head...*)	59	25	23	20
EXTENDED INALIENABLES (*shirt, bread, horse...*)	14	7	–	–
KINSHIP (*brother, daughter*)	5	4	–	–
EXTENDED KINSHIP (*disciple, master, friend*)	3	2	–	–
ABSTRACT TERMS (*thought, word, life, discourse...*)	4	3	1	1

TABLE 1. Distribution of Dative Pronominal Arguments
with Affecting Predicates in the TOROT Database

As mentioned above, we consider the construction involving a *doubly bound dative* to be functionally specialised for denoting events positively or negatively affecting the Theme or Patient argument of the verb, an instance of the *external possession* structure given in (4b) above. To strengthen this conclusion, several pieces of evidence can be added to the above discussed properties. First, non-pronominal datives (*i Paulu sŭvęzati rǫčě i nozě* 'and to Paul tie hands and legs', *Cod. Supr.* 1, IV, 20-21, cit. Minčeva 1964: 33) occur relatively rare: for example, we found only 6 such occurrences in *Cod. Mar.* (6.4 %). We interpret this fact as an indication that the dative pronoun is an integral part of the construction occupying a dedicated functional position in the OB clause.

Secondly, the distribution of pronominal datives in OB contrasts sharply with that of the pronominal possessive genitives. As mentioned above, the unmarked position of the possessive genitive in OB is postnominal (NP-internal), as illustrated in (11), so it is to be expected that genitives in other positions should be quite rare, as is indeed the case: we observed only

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[19]   *Codex Suprasliensis* contains texts with different linguistic properties, probably covering different redactions; some texts included in *Cod. Supr.* are not in their (most) archaic translation but are later (translated or edited) as attributed to the Preslav Literary School (cf. Mirčeva 2011, 2012 and literature cited there). All the examples from *Cod. Supr.* in this work are taken from the TOROT database (the Greek text is from the digital edition of *Cod. Supr.* at: <http://suprasliensis.obdurodon.org/>).

8 'extraposed' instances in *Cod. Mar.* (out of the overall 445 instances of pronominal genitive possessors), which amounts to 1.5 %; and 26 instances in *Cod. Supr.* (out of 417 instances), which amounts to ca. 6 %. One such example is given in (12a) where the possessive form *ichŭ* appears before the noun and not after it as in the other text occurrences, cf. (12b). Upon closer inspection, these few instances of misplaced genitives turn out to be modelled on the word order of the corresponding Greek genitive construction in a kind of direct translation effect[20]:

(11) | i | vŭzlьě | na | glavǫ | *ego* | vŭzležęšta |
| and | poured | on | head.ACC | *his*.GEN | reclining (on the table) |
| καὶ | κατέχεεν | ἐπὶ | **τῆς κεφαλῆς** | **αὐτοῦ**.GEN | ἀνακειμένου |

'And poured on his head reclining on the table'.   (Mt. 26:7, *Cod. Mar., Zogr.*)

(12) a. | onŭ | že | vědy | *ichŭ* | pomyšlenьě. | reče | imŭ |
| he | DISC.PRT | knowing | *their*.GEN | thoughts | said | them |
| αὐτὸς | δὲ | εἰδὼς | **αὐτῶν**.GEN | τὰ διανοήματα | εἶπεν | αὐτοῖς |

'He, knowing their thoughts, told them'.   (Lk. 11:17, *Cod. Mar., Zogr.*)

   b. | i | viděvŭ | is<us>ŭ | pomyšlenьě | *ichŭ* | reče |
| and | knowing | Jesus | thoughts | *their*.GEN | said |
| καὶ | εἰδὼς | ὁ Ιησοῦς | τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις | **αὐτῶν**.GEN | εἶπεν (or ἰδὼν instead of εἰδὼς) |

'And Jesus knowing their thoughts said'.   (Mt. 9:4, *Cod. Mar., Zogr, Assem., Sab.*)

2.2. *Extraposed Genitives in Greek*

The Greek construction which the OB *doubly bound dative* usually translates, is known as *extraposed genitive*. It has been identified by Manolessou (2000), and later discussed by Gianollo (2010), a.o., as the only possessive construction in NT Greek in which the genitive surfaces external to the definite NP, as attested by its linear precedence with respect to the definite article – cf. (13).

(13) a. | τότε | διήνοιξεν | **αὐτῶν** | τὸν | νοῦν.ACC |
then	unbound	*them*.GEN	the.ACC	mind.ACC
tŭgda	otvrŭze	*imŭ*		umŭ
then	unbound	*them*.DAT		mind.ACC

'Then he opened their mind'.   (Lk. 24:45, *Cod. Mar., Zogr., Assem.*)

   b. | θεράπευσόν | **μου** | τὴν | θυγατέρα |
heal.IMP	*me*.GEN	the.ACC	daughter.ACC
icěli	*mi*		dŭštere
heal.IMP	*me*.DAT		daughter.ACC

'Heal my daughter'.   (*Cod. Supr.*, 26, 154v, 4-5)

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[20]   As mentioned above in relation to the structure in (4a), Cinque, Krapova (2009) argue for contemporary Bulgarian that mental, cognitive and perception predicates typically participate in the *possessor raising* construction, which basically consists in 'raising' the possessive pronoun from inside the noun phrase to an external position. We could be dealing with a similar phenomenon in OB (12a) containing the verb *know*.

As pointed out by Gianollo (see Gianollo (2010) and references therein), the *extraposed genitive* in NT Greek, unlike its Classical Greek predecessor, is characterised by the presence of weak (unemphatic) genitive personal pronouns[21] or third person pronoun αὐτος, which displayed a clitic behaviour (Horrocks 2007: 623). Another property of the *extraposed genitive* regards its semantic domain. The NP denoting the possessed object typically belongs to one of the following elements: a body part, a kinship term, or an 'extended' inalienable (Abbott 1906: 420, cit. in Gianollo 2010: 110). The third feature of the *extraposed genitive* is the predominant use of affecting predicates with benefactive/malefactive reading.

Given that in NT Greek, the unmarked possessive position is postnominal, Gianollo (2010: 109) argues that the NP-external (pre-article) position of the genitive clitic is uniquely derived through the mechanism of *possessor raising* (cf. structure (4a) above). Following a line of research initiated with Havers (1911), Gianollo (2010: 112) shows that on the one hand, the *extraposed genitive* construction has played a fundamental role for the reanalysis of the genitive clitic as a clausal constituent, and on the other, in terms of syntactic and functional properties, it is related to *dativus sympatheticus* of Classical Greek. Not only are both constructions found with nouns of the same lexical categories (inalienable possessions, predominantly body parts) but their surface syntax is also identical: the clitic occupies the second position of the clause and is encltic to the verb. This adjacency facilitated the interpretation of the genitive as an (indirect object) argument of the verb in place of the older dative.

According to Horrocks (2007: 628f), genitive cliticisation to the verb played a crucial role in the diachronic process leading to the demise of the dative in Greek. Gianollo (2010) however notes that the restriction on second position cannot be the only driving force behind the clitic movement since it cannot explain all observable variation so she proposes a combined prosodic and syntactic account of the genitive-dative syncretism in Greek. In the next section, we will try to present a brief overview of the factors which, according to us, are responsible for the genitive-dative syncretism in Bulgarian.

3. *Factors for the Genitive-Dative Syncretism in OB*

It has been observed that the 'last resort' function of the morphological dative case in the history of Greek, i.e., the one which resisted the advent of the genitive for the longest, was the indirect object function, while all the other dative functions had been lost by the 10th c. (Humbert 1930). The functional parallelism of the OB *doubly bound dative/external possession* construction with the *extraposed genitive* in Greek can help us reconstruct the diachrony of the genitive-dative syncretism in OB. Had translators followed literally the Greek syntax, one would expect the genitive to have had a higher chance of survival in the history of Bulgarian.

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[21]   Full genitive NPs appear only occasionally in this possessive construction (Gianollo 2010: 119).

Minčeva (1964) observes that *extraposed genitives* in Greek are often rendered in OB as *doubly bound datives* by all codices. More precisely, we found 22 instances in the Gospel text not showing variation in translating unanimously the Greek genitive as a clausal dative. This makes approx. 25% of all occurrences of *the doubly bound dative* in the Gospel text. Furthermore, we observed 44 instances in *Cod. Supr.* where the construction appears as a single translation choice irrespective of the Greek original (extraposed or NP-internal genitive). Another significant fact is that, in a number of cases, the *doubly bound dative* translates a completely different source structure, as in (see for example (10a) above). These facts indicate that the *doubly bound dative* cannot be a matter of direct translation effect (in the sense of Taylor (2008), i.e., an exact reproduction of a matching structure). Recall furthermore (§ 2.1) that we observed a rather low rate of perfect matches in rendering the Greek *extraposed genitive* with a genitive in OB: only 1.5% in *Cod. Mar.* and 6% in *Cod. Supr.* It seems therefore that the *doubly bound dative* construction was perceived as a functional equivalent to the Greek *extraposed genitive*. We can view the matching surface positions of the respective pronouns either as a kind of indirect translation effect or as due to the similar tendencies operating in the syntax of the two languages (second position cliticisation and word order shift. See the following subsections.) In NT Greek, this grammatical pattern has emerged from a reanalysis of the earlier *dativus sympatheticus* of Classical Greek, while in OB it is inherited from early Slavic, as evident from comparisons with Old Russian and Old Czech (Minčeva 1964: 167ff and references therein, Eckhoff 2011)[22].

In spite of the expanding frequency of the dative construction, we nevertheless observe a rising competition between genitive and dative as possessive markers in non-affecting contexts, as in e.g., (14). The tendency of replacing the adnominal genitive with a dative is on the rise in *Cod. Mar.* and *Cod. Assem.*/*Cod. Zogr.* (cf. (15)), but becomes a statistical phenomenon in *Cod. Supr.*, which, as is well known, contains texts of heterogeneous character, probably reflecting dialectal variation despite uncertain chronology. And even though the adnominal genitive still predominates, we observe 111 occurrences of dative pronouns as a single expression of possession in nominal contexts (as opposed to the 16 cases found in *Cod. Mar.*, 3 of which ambiguous). See (16) for examples from *Cod. Supr.*:

(14) a. priimy   ***ego***   sŭvĕdĕtelĭstvo   zapečatĭlĕ   (Jn. 3:33, *Cod. Mar.*)
        receiving   ***his***.GEN   testament   sealed

     b. priemy   ***emu***   sĭvĕdĕtelĭstvo   zapečatĭlĕ   (Jn. 3:33, *Cod. Assem.*)
        receiving   ***him***.DAT   testimony   sealed

     c. ὁ λαβὼν   ***αὐτοῦ***.GEN   τὴν μαρτυρίαν   ἐσφράγισεν
        '(He) who has received his testimony has set his seal (to this that God is true)'.

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[22]   As already observed (Chodova 1963; Večerka 1993, cit. Eckhoff 2011), the frequency of *dativus sympatheticus* is far greater in East Bulgarian dialects of OCS than either Old Russian or Old Czech. In this sense, the empirical findings from *Cod. Supr.* are particularly significant.

(15) a.

i	tako	že	ne	bě	ravŭno	sŭvĕdĕtelĭstvo	*imŭ*
and	thus	DISC.PRT	not	was	same	testimony	*them*.DAT

(Mk. 14:59, *Cod. Mar.*)

b.

tako	že	ne	bě	ravŭno	sŭvĕdĕtelĭstvo	*ichŭ*
thus	DISC.PRT	not	was	same	testimony	*their*.GEN

(Mk. 14:59, *Cod. Zogr.*)

c. καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἴση ἦν ἡ μαρτυρία **αὐτῶν**.GEN
'Yet even then their testimony did not agree'.

(16) a.

a	ne	prěstǫpiti	*slovese*	*jemu*	(*Cod.Supr.*, 9, 64v, 23)
but	not	overstep	word	*him*.DAT	
ἢ	παραβαίνειν		τοὺς λόγους	**αὐτοῦ**.GEN	

'But to not violate his words.'

b.

vojevoda	že	povelě	*tělo*	*jemu*	vŭvrěšti	vŭ	rěkǫ
chieftain	DISC.PRT	ordered	body	*him*.DAT	throw	into	river
ὁ δὲ ἡγεμὼν		ἐκέλευσε	τὸ σῶμα	**αὐτοῦ**.GEN	ριφῆναι	εἰς	τὸν ποταμόν

'The chieftain order his body to be thrown into the river.' (*Cod. Supr.*, 3, 12r, 17-18)

According to Heine (1997: 19), "[p]ossession is a relatively abstract domain of human conceptualisation, and [...] expressions for it are derived from more concrete domains". If the benefactive/malefactive dative can be considered less grammatical(ised) in that it expresses a less abstract meaning, then the reanalysis of the dative as a possessive case marker can be considered a development towards more abstract and hence more grammaticalised semantics. Grammaticalisation of possessivity arises first in contexts where a potentially possessible item (a relational noun) gets associated with a dative of interest reading (Fried 1999), i.e., precisely the type of benefactive/malefactive constructions we are dealing with in OB. In particular, the dative argument evolves into a possessor, while the possessible item, the Theme/Patient argument, evolves into a possessee. In other words, the implicit sense of possession becomes actual possessive meaning (Bybee 1988, Tomić 2009) and the possessive relation can get further conventionalised as a new grammatical pattern.

To summarise our basic point so far, we have argued that the *external possession/ doubly bound dative* construction in OB provided the context which facilitated the merger between the genitive and the dative case as the first stage in the grammaticalisation of possessivity. According to us, the following factors are responsible for this grammaticalisation process: the rise of the pronominal clitics, the ordering shift, and the rise of the category of definiteness. We will discuss them in brief in § 3.1, § 3.2, § 3.3, respectively.

3.1.   *(Emerging) Clitics*

In our data, short dative forms of personal pronouns *mi* (first person singular) and *ti* (second person singular) show the behavior of clitics (see also Večerka 1989: 42)[23]. Without entering into much detail, we note that they are often found in second position (2P)[24], i.e., after the first word or the first constituent in the clause. Additionally, as attested by the examples in (17) from *Cod. Mar.*, *Cod. Zogr.*, and *Cod. Sab.*, 1st and 2nd p. dative clitics precede the reflexive clitic *sę*[25] (17a), as well as short anaphoric pronouns in the accusative, (17b):

(17) a. otŭdadętŭ   *ti*   sę   grŭesi   (Mt. 9:2, *Cod. Sab.*)
        forgive   *you*.DAT REFL   sins.NOM
        ἀφίενται   **σου**.GEN   αἱ ἁμαρτίαι (Scrivener 1894: ἀφέωνταί σοί αἱ ἁμαρτίαι **σου**.GEN)
        'Your sins will be forgiven./ Sins will be forgiven to you.'

     b. prinesěte   *mi*   ȩ   sěmo   (Mt. 14:18, *Cod. Mar.*, *Zogr.*)
        bring   *me*.DAT   them.ACC   here
        φέρετέ   **μοι**.DAT   ὧδε   αὐτούς.ACC
        'Bring them to me here.'

Based on these and similar data, we conclude that just as in Modern Bulgarian, 1st and 2nd person pronouns in OB are 2P clitics which could be hosted by any of the following elements: the verb, (17); a complementiser (*jako* 'that, as', *ašte* 'if', *da* 'to'); a wh-word (such as *kŭto* 'who', *čito* 'what', *iže* 'who, whom', *kako* 'how', (18a); some auxiliaries and particles like the negative *ne*. Noun phrase constituents too could host clitics especially when they render the topic or the focus of the clause. In (18b) for example the noun phrase *i rebro mi* could be interpreted as a focussed constituent since it contains the conjunction 'and', which is a focus marker:

(18) a. kako   *ti*   sę   otvrěste   oči   (Jn. 9:10, *Cod. Mar*)
        how   *you*.DAT REFL   opened   eyes
        πῶς [οὖν] ἠνεῴχθησάν **σου**.GEN οἱ.ART ὀφθαλμοί.eyes
        'How were your eyes opened?'

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[23]   They do not appear after a preposition, in the first position of a clause or in any emphatic position after a pause. The respective plural forms were not clitics yet. For third person pronouns see below.

[24]   We use "2P" for both second-word (2W) clitics and second-phrase (2D) clitics (see Halpern 1995: 14 on this distinction). The former type appear in second position after the first accented word regardless of phrase boundaries, whereas the latter are sensitive to phrase boundaries and do not interrupt phrases. More research is needed for elaboration of this complex matter.

[25]   According to Večerka (1989: 42), the reflexive pronoun as well as the personal pronouns in the accusative (*mę, tę, sę*) were "semi-clitics" in OCS and only later evolved into true clitics. The reflexive pronoun *sę* generally occupies a second phrase position.

b.	chošteši	li	[i	rebro	*mi*]	ispytati] (*Cod.Supr.*, 44, 252a, 24)
	want	Qu.PRT	and/also	rib.ACC	*me*.DAT	examine.INF
	θέλεις		καὶ	τὴν πλευράν	**μου**.GEN	καταμαθεῖν

'Do you want to examine also my rib'

These observations are in line with Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Vulchanov's conclusion that the so-called "left periphery" of the OB clause is well-defined and contains a site for an evolving 2P clitic cluster (Dimitrova-Vălčanova *et al.* 2006: 79-81).

As for anaphoric pronouns in the dative case (*emu, ei, imŭ*), our data show that they are not clitics yet, since they can be focused and appear clause-initially, cf. (19a). However, their placement in strong positions is relatively limited (with the exception of the absolute constructions), so there is an observable tendency towards 2P cliticisation, especially in verb-initial clauses. Cf. (19b).

(19) a.	*emuže*		njasmŭ	dostoi	sapogu	ponesti (Mt. 3:11, *Cod. Assem.*)
	to him.DAT		am-not	worthy	shoes	carry
	οὗ (*of.whom*.GEN)	οὐκ εἰμὶ	ἱκανὸς	τὰ ὑποδήματα	βαστάσαι

' … Whose sandals I am not worthy to carry'

b.	i	urěza	*emu*	ucho	desnoe (Jn. 18:10, *Cod. Mar., Zogr., Assem., Sab.*)
	and	cut off	*him*.DAT	ear.ACC	right.ACC
	καὶ	ἀπέκοψεν	**αὐτοῦ**.GEN	τὸ ὠτάριον	τὸ δεξιόν.

'He cut his right ear.'

Another piece of evidence comes from the relative position of anaphoric pronouns with respect to the accusative reflexive 'weak' pronoun *sę*, cf. (20). Given the comparison with (18), in which the true clitic pronoun precedes *sę*, we can suppose that anaphoric clitics are 'attempting' – and this is especially true of contexts involving a *doubly bound dative* – to land in a clitic position, i.e., they are on their way to becoming clitics and taking part of the clitic cluster.

(20)	i	otvrěste	sę	*ima*	oči	(Mt. 9:30, *Cod. Mar.*)
	and	opened	REFL	*their*.DAT	eyes.NOM	
	καὶ	ἠνεῴχθησαν		**αὐτῶν**.GEN	οἱ.ART	ὀφθαλμοί.eyes

'And their eyes were opened'

3.2. *Word Order Shift*

Another factor contributing to the genitive dative syncretism has to do with word order. Second position cliticisation correlates with a certain rigidity of V-initial orders, which can sometimes come into conflict with the prosodic requirements of pronouns. As noted by Sławski (1946: 29), clitic pronouns in OCS tended to surface also adjacent to the verb, i.e., immediately preceding or following it, notwithstanding potential violations of 2P, also known as the *Wackernagel* position (cf. Willis 2000, Migdalski 2006: 167ff). Such

syntactic placement is probably a Slavic innovation and it still holds for Modern Bulgarian. Thus, a more correct generalisation would be that there are two directions in the evolution of the clitic positions: clitics target the second position of the clause, while also tending to stay adjacent to v even though this can sometimes be at odds with clitic placement of the original Greek text. See (10a) above repeated here as (21):

(21) a. | mečemŭ | otŭsěčeši | *mi* | glavǫ | (*Cod. Supr.*, 23, 127v, 2) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| sword.INST | cut off | *me*.DAT | head | |
| ξίφει | | με.ACC | ὑποβάλλειν | |

'You will cut off my head with a sword'

Thus, the position of the clitic is often determined by syntactic category (cf. Migdalski 2006) and this may sometimes affect interpretation, as in (22a) with respect to (22b):

(22) a. | ne | by | *mi* | umrĭlŭ | bratŭ[26] | (*Cod. Supr.* 26, 154r, 22) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| not | be.COND | *me*.DAT | died | brother.NOM | |
| οὐκ | ἄν | μου.GEN | ἀπέθανεν | ὁ ἀδελφός | |

'My brother would not have died *on me*'

b. | ne | by | umrŭlŭ | *mi* | bratŭ | (*Cod. Supr.* 26, 153v, 19-20) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| not | be.COND | died | *me*.DAT | brother.NOM | |
| οὐκ | ἄν | ἀπέθανέ | μου.GEN | ὁ ἀδελφός | |

'My brother would not have died'

In the *Wackernagel* position the clitic in (22a) could be interpreted as *external possessor* (*die on me*), while in the postverbal position in (22b) the possessive reading prevails because of the structural proximity (adjacency) to the relational NP expressing the possessee. In non-v-initial orders, focalisation of NP hosting the clitic could also bring about a similar effect, as we saw in (18b) above. And although it is difficult to reach any solid conclusions about the effect of word order on the rise of postnominal possessive clitics (cf. *brat mi* 'my bother', *rebroto mi* 'my rib' in contemporary Bulgarian), as well as about the chronology of this process, identifiable only according to *varia lectiones* across manuscripts, we believe, in accord with Minčeva (1964), that syntax has played an important role in the "intrusion" of the dative into the domain of the genitive. From the postverbal position in (22b) the dative pronominal pronoun/clitic could easily be reanalysed in terms of a *possessor-possessee* relation and further integrated into the structure of the noun phrase as a possessive marker. At this stage, noun phrase structure already formed a syntactic and prosodic domain (cf.

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[26]   This is a quote of Jn. 11:32; *Cod. Mar.*, *Zogr.*, *Assem.*, *Sab.* give the possessive pronoun *moj* 'my.POSS' instead of the dative (as in *Cod. Supr.*) but the possessive pronoun does not leave the domain of the noun *bratŭ* 'brother' (and is placed either before, or after the noun). The two examples of *Cod. Supr.* reflect the two varia lectiones of NT Greek (NA₂₇ οὐκ ἄν μου ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀδελφός.; and Scrivener 1894 οὐκ ἄν ἀπέθανέ μου ὁ ἀδελφός).

Dimitrova-Vulchanova *et al.* 2011), which could catalyse the "postposition" of the clitic possessor. This conclusion then follows in the spirit of Meillet (1897: 151) who viewed Bulgarian possessive dative as resulting from the postposition of the first/second person dative enclitics (*otrokŭ mi* 'my child', *bratŭ ti* 'your brother'), followed by third person anaphoric pronouns (*imę emu* 'name him.DAT = his name', *tělo jemu* 'body him.DAT = his body', *zaštitelĭ imŭ* 'defender of them.DAT = their defender') and finally by full dative NPs (e.g., *propovědnikŭ živyimŭ i mrŭtvymŭ* 'preacher for the alive.DAT and the dead.DAT', *Supr.* 461: 10, ex. from Minčeva 1964: 52).

3.3. *The Rise of Definiteness*

Definiteness and possession are closely related in the history of Bulgarian (Nicolova 1986; Assenova 2001; Mladenova 2007). According to Mladenova (2007: 353), pronominal possessive markers (dative clitics) were first used as modifiers of inalienable nouns belonging to the following types: a) body parts; b) 'extended' inalienables – *my home, my estate*, alternating with a prenominal possessive pronoun; c) nouns with a more abstract semantics; d) kinship terms. Indeed, of the 35 occurrences of postnominal datives in *Cod. Supr.* we found 20 representing a body part, 7 'extended' inalienables (*konĭ emu* 'his horse'), 2 kinship terms, 3 'extended' kinship terms (e.g., *družina* 'team, group'), and 5 more abstract NS (*slovese emu* 'his words', *imę emu* 'his name'). These results match perfectly the ones in Table 1, thus supporting our earlier observation that the grammaticalisation of possession obeys the inalienable hierarchy in clausal as well as in nominal syntax (see § 2.2).

However, variation in *Cod. Supr.*, where one can observe the first signs of a structured NP field with an evolving definite article (Dimitrova-Vulchanova *et al.* 2011) and possessive dative pronouns occupying (often) second position within NP[27], cf. (23a, b), does not point to an already established pattern structurally equivalent to the modern type. While dative occurrences are quite high in number, adnominal genitives still form the majority of NP internal (pronominal) possessives. This competition continued during the entire Middle Bulgarian period, and only in early Modern period (onwards) did it become possible for the genitive-dative syncretism to be completed in all environments previously relying on the genitive. In § 4, we will give a brief illustration of the development of these constructions based on evidence from one Middle Bulgarian and one Modern Bulgarian (*damaskin*) text:

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[27]   In Modern Bulgarian, possessive clitics are placed immediately after the element bearing the definite article: a noun, an adjective or a quantifier, e.g., *prijateljat mu* 'friend.DEF his' = 'his friend' but *novijat mu prijatel* 'new.DEF his friend' = 'his new friend', *mnogoto mu novi prijateli* 'many.DET his new friends' = 'his many new friends'. Note however that the definite element itself need not be the first accented word within the noun phrase, e.g. *mnogo interesnite mu knigi* 'very interesting.DEF his books' = 'his very interesting books', so the position of the clitic is not necessarily 2W (see fn. 14 and Franks 2000 for an analysis). This difference with respect to OB, where the clitic apparently occupies the second linear position of the NP (i.e., the 2W position), is probably related to the fact that in the modern language the grammatical category of definiteness is fully developed.

(23) a. sŭ   mračĭnyimĭ   ***emu***   umomŭ (*Cod. Supr.* 4, 33v, 3)
       with   darkended.INST ***him*.DAT**   mind.INST
       μετ'   αὐτοῦ.GEN ἐσκοτισμένου.darkened.GEN λογισμοῦ.mind.GEN
       'With his dark mind'

   b. i   vŭ   prŭvoje   ***ti***   vŭprašanije   jakože…   (*Cod.* Supr. 15, 89r, 26-27)
       and   in   first   ***your*.DAT** questioning   as..
       καὶ   ἐκ   τῶν προτέρων σου.GEN   ἐπερωτήσεων   [ἔγνως]
       'And we told you many times, in your first questioning, that [we are Christians]'

   c. mečemĭ   povelě   čestĭnǫjǫ ***jego***   glavǫ   otŭsěšti (*Cod. Supr.* 4, 31r, 25-26)
       sword.INST order   righteous ***his*.GEN** head   cut off
       τῇ ἀποτομῇ τοῦ ξίφους τὴν τιμίαν αὐτοῦ.GEN κεφαλήν.head.ACC
       'He ordered to cut off his righteous head with a sword'

4.   *Evidence for Further Development*

Canonical texts dated in the period between 13th and 15th c. largely reflect the conservative archaic literary style of the Tărnovo School, which followed the earliest manuscripts, thus enforcing a separation between the literary language reflected in many written monuments and the vernacular (Ivanova-Mirčeva, Charalampiev 1999). Therefore, the type of the manuscript is important for us, as we need texts closer to the vernacular language such as the *Troya Legend* (TL) available in the Historical Corpus of Bulgarian Language[28]. The developments found there are consistent with the trends we have outlined above, although the observations have a very preliminary character.

First and second person clitics *mi* and *ti* appear in the *doubly bound dative* construction mostly with nouns referring to entities in the range of inalienable possession such as the kinship term in (24):

(24)   Vĭshrani   ***mi***   otroka   sego
       Keep   ***me*.DAT**   child   this
       'Keep this child of mine/for me'

TL demonstrates the traces of the reinforcing process of restructuring of the case system (with genitive-dative syncretism having a supporting role). First, a clear distinction is observed between the dative pronoun *emu* which specialises for the indirect object – Recipient, exemplified in (25a), with verbs such as *tell (s.b.), answer (s.b.), order (s.b.)*, etc., and the shortened dative pronoun *mu* (an already regularly appearing form, cf. Mirčev 1978: 183) predominantly used with a *doubly bound* interpretation (with nouns referring to a name, a kinship or a quality, etc., and a benefactive/malefactive, emotional or a cognitive predicate). An example is given in (25b):

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28   Texts of both the *Troya Legend* (TL) and *Damascenus Troianensis* (DT) can be found (and searched online, incl. for the examples given in this section) in the Historical Corpus of Bulgarian Language. See fn. 12.

(25) a. i   rekošǫ   **emu**   proroci   ego   *Indirect Object*
       and   told   **him**.DAT   prophets.NOM   his.GEN
       'And his prophets told him'

     b. i   uchyti   **mu**   s<y>na   *Doubly Bound Dative*
       and   kidnapped   **him**.DAT   son
       'And kidnapped his son.'

As already mentioned, the dative is the case which survived the longest in the history of Bulgarian. In contemporary Bulgarian, personal pronouns have dative forms and up to the mid-20th c. there are traces of dative morphology in interrogative *komu* 'whom.DAT' and other pronouns derived from the forms of the corresponding interrogative pronouns, e.g., relative *komuto* 'whom.DAT' and negative *nikomu* 'nobody.DAT'. Cf. Modern Bulgarian: *na kogoto* 'to whom.ACC', *na nikogo* 'to nobody.ACC'.

Middle Bulgarian texts already attest for regular instances of substitution of the dative with analytic constructions composed by the preposition *na* 'to' plus a locative or an accusative noun phrase (Mirčev 1978: 287ff). For example, *ponošaahǫ bo běši na člka* (on man.ACC) 'as the demons were vilifying man' (*Bologna Psalter*, 13th c.).

The pronominal system underwent a number of decisive changes resulting in the contemporary system with only two vestigious case forms: genitive-accusative, i.e., non-nominative, *go* 'him' in direct object positions and dative *mu* 'him' in indirect object and possessive positions. Middle Bulgarian occasionally preserves the OB genitive anaphoric pronoun *ego* (mostly traditionally, as claimed by Mirčev (1978: 183)) but possessive adjectives of the type *egovŭ* 'his' (*ego* 'he.GEN' and the possessive suffix -*ovŭ*) are newly created, as regularly observed. In TL, *ego* and *egovŭ* can co-occur in the same context as in (26a) attesting to a competition between the two forms involved in expressing third person possession: postnominal pronoun *ego* found in the order [N_Genitive] and the possessive adjective *egov*ŭ 'his' whose position fluctuates between postnominal (26a) and prenominal (26b) and which would later evolve into the possessive adjective *negov* 'his', standardly used in the modern language. Furthermore, the genitive/genitive-accusative (reduced) form of the anaphoric pronoun *go* in direct object positions is also regularly found, as shown in (26c, d).

(26) a. i   žena   **egova**   Androfia g(opso)žda,   i   sestry   **ego**   Kašranda i Polikšena
       and   wife   **his**   Androfia ...   and   sisters   **he**.GEN ...

     b. na   **egově**   široči   plešti,
       on   **his**   broad   shoulders

     c. I   iska   **ego**   vŭ   mnozěhŭ   městěhŭ,   i   otočěh,   i   graděhŭ,
       and   look.for   **him**.GEN   in   many   places,   and   rivers,   and   towns,
       i   ne   može   **go**   naiti
       and   not   can   **him**.GEN   find
       'And look for him in many places and rivers, and towns and can't find him'

d. My   esvě stvorila Troǫ   graď,   my   choštevě i   umysliti kako
   we   are   created   Troya.ACC   city.ACC   we   wanted   also   think   how
   go   i   rasypati
   it.GEN   also   destroy
   'We have built the city of Troya, we want also to consider how to destroy it'

Throughout Middle Bulgarian, possessive adjectives and dative pronouns were gradually displacing the genitive pronouns out of the possessive functions. Early Modern Bulgarian, as can be observed in a monument such as *Damascenus Troianensis* (DT) dated 17th c. reveals a system that is close to that of contemporary Bulgarian with *go* 'him' as a direct object clitic found in 721 occurrences, as in (27a), as opposed to only 3 occurrences of *ego*, and *mu* 'to him' as an indirect object clitic – in (27a), as well as in a possessive interpretation, (27b) in a total of 696 occurrences. Possessive pronouns (such as *negovy* 'his' in (27b)) are also used, though not as extensively as the pronominal clitics: 32 occurrences. At this stage already, semantically definite inalienables (*his father, his mother*) as opposed to grammatically definite alienable nouns (*his owner, his shirt*) are well-differentiated by way of definite marking:

(27) a. i   popita   *go*   ta   *mu*   kaže
        and   ask   *him*.ACC-GEN   and   *him*.DAT   say
        'And ask him to tell him (…)'

   b. a   roditelje *negovy* (…)   bašta   *mu*   i   majka   *mu* (…)
      and   parents   *his*   father   *his*.DAT   and   mother   *his*.DAT
      'And his parents (i.e.) his father and his mother (…)'

   c. dogde   *mu*   se   naide   stopaninĭtĭ.
      until   *him*.DAT   REFL   found   owner.DEF
      'Until his owner was found'

   d. i   prilepila   *mu*   se   rizata
      and   stuck   *him*.DAT   REFL   shirt.DEF
      'And his shirt stuck (on him)'

In DT, dative *external possessor* constructions, exemplified in (27c, d), are also regularly found, syntactically and semantically parallel to the two constructions of contemporary Bulgarian discussed in § 1. above, featuring respectively possessors (27c) and affected arguments (27d) both expressed with the dative case.

5.   *Conclusion*

In this article, we have investigated the relation between one type of dative construction and the rise of NP-internal dative possessives in OB and (briefly) in later periods of the language. We showed that the *doubly bound dative* played the role of a "bridging context" facilitating the reanalysis of the clausal dative pronoun as a noun-dependent possessive clitic/marker. The signs of the genitive-dative syncretism we observed in this article reveal

a complex process evolving in a number of directions: prosodic changes in the positions of the clitics and the clitic cluster, linear ordering of the informationally salient elements, the rise of definiteness. These tendencies may have been synchronic and even though it is difficult to analyse them as distinct stages of the same process, they surely had a strong influence on it. Last but not least, it should be mentioned that the genitive-dative syncretism was contemporaneous to other major morphosyntactic changes operative in the history of Bulgarian starting also from the earliest periods: 1) the retreat of the genitive in negative sentences and its replacement by the nominative; 2) the reanalysis of the accusative-genitive distinction as a kind of definiteness marker; 3) the regrouping of the declension system and its gradual replacement by prepositional constructions. These directions of change require detailed research and only after the missing links in historical chain have been supplied can we begin to get a fuller understanding of the process of Case reduction and Case loss in Bulgarian.

Abbreviations

2P	Second (Wackernagel) Position
ACC	Accusative
ACC-GEN	Accusative-Genitive
ART	Article (in the Greek examples)
CL	Clitic
Cod. Assem.	Codex Assemanianus
Cod. Mar.	Codex Marianus
Cod. Sab.	Codex Sabbae
Cod. Supr.	Codex Suprasliensis
Cod. Zogr.	Codex Zographiensis
CP	Complementiser Phrase
DAT	Dative
DEF	Definite form (marked by a postpositioned definite article)
DISC.PRT	Discourse Particle
DP	Determiner Phrase
DT	Damascenus Troianensis
DU	Dual
EP	External Possession
Euch. Sin.	Euchologium Sinaiticum
F	Feminine
HCBL	Historical Corpus of Bulgarian Language

INST	Instrumental
M	Masculine
NA_{27}	E. Nestle, K. Aland (eds.), *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Stuttgart 1993[27] (1898[1])
NOM	Nominative
NP	Noun Phrase
NT	New Testament
OB	Old Bulgarian
OCS	Old Church Slavonic
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PR	Possessor Raising
Qu.PRT	Interrogative particle (*li*)
REFL	Reflexive (pronoun or clitic – *sę*)
SG	Singular
TL	Troya Legend
V	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase

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Abstract

Iliana Krapova, Tsvetana Dimitrova
Genitive-Dative Syncretism in the History of the Bulgarian Language. Towards an Analysis

In this article, we trace the diachronic phases of so-called genitive-dative syncretism in Old Bulgarian, a phenomenon which marks the beginning of the process of disintegration of the Case system in the history of Bulgarian. We base our research on a corpus study (comprising the texts of *Codex Marianus*, *Codex Zographensis* and *Codex Suprasliensis*) and we show, after a careful examination of the available syntactic positions for the Genitive and the Dative, that the main reason for the Dative shift in Old Bulgarian was the so-called External Possessive construction (also known as *dativus sympatheticus*) which allowed the dative to be interpreted outside the noun phrase but with reference to an inalienable possessive element inside the noun phrase. We discuss each stage of the functional reanalysis leading to the establishment of noun phrase internal dative possessives, and in particular the role of the emerging clitic pronouns and their second position syntactic behaviour as a main trigger of genitive-dative syncretism.

Keywords

Genitive-Dative Syncretism; External Possession; Clitics; Syntax; Old Bulgarian.