

Possessive Clitics in Macedonian and Bulgarian

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Discussing the possessive pronouns in Macedonian and Bulgarian, the author points out that there are formal and substantial differences between the nominal possessive clitics in the two languages, which influence their distribution and frequency of occurrence. Since the Macedonian nominal possessive clitics can refer only to nouns denoting family relationships, the frequency of their occurrence is drastically lower than that of their Bulgarian counterparts – as equivalents to the Bulgarian nominal possessive clitics other than those referring to nouns denoting family relationships, in Macedonian we have non-clitic possessive modifiers and, somewhat less frequently, clausal dative clitics with possessive interpretation. Consequently, the occurrence of both non-clitic possessive modifiers and clausal dative clitics with possessive interpretation is more frequent in Macedonian than in Bulgarian.

In both Bulgarian and Macedonian, clausal dative clitics with possessive interpretation occur without any restrictions for the type of clause or noun to which they refer. Yet, since the Macedonian clausal dative clitics often occur in clauses in which in Bulgarian nominal possessive clitics are used, the occurrence of clausal dative clitics with possessive interpretation is in Macedonian much more frequent than in Bulgarian. This fact, as well as (a) the use of the Macedonian nominal possessive clitics to nouns of a restricted class, (b) the co-occurrence of clausal clitics with possessive interpretation and nominal possessive clitics and (c) the lack of sharp distinction between the possessive readings of clausal dative clitics and a range of related beneficiary readings, are strong arguments against the assumption that the clausal dative clitics with possessive interpretation originate in the nominal phrase (the DP).

1. Introduction

In Macedonian and Bulgarian, as in many other Balkan languages, pronominal possessive relationships in the domain of the nominal phrase can be expressed not only by full pronominal possessive modifiers, but also by pronominal clitics. While the full pronominal modifiers, have the formal features of adjectives and show agreement with the person, number, gender and case features of the possessor, as well as with the gender features of the possessum, the pronominal clitics in the nominal phrase, to which we can conveniently refer as “nominal possessive clitics”, show agreement only with the person, number and gender features of the possessor,¹ and throughout the person-number-gender paradigm have the same form as indirect object clitics in the domain of the clause. The forms of the Macedonian and Bulgarian (full, non-clitic) pronominal possessive modifiers and pronominal possessive clitics are given in tables 1 and 2, respectively.²

¹ Only third person clitics show gender agreement.

² The forms preceded by the percentage marker % are used in the South-Western Macedonian dialects.

Table 1: Macedonian possessive pronouns

	Non-clitic				Clitic
	M.Sg	F.Sg	Neut.Sg	Pl	
1Sg	<i>moj</i>	<i>moja</i>	<i>moe</i>	<i>moi</i>	<i>mi</i>
2Sg	<i>tvoj</i>	<i>tvoja</i>	<i>tvoe</i>	<i>tvoi</i>	<i>ti</i>
3Sg.M	<i>negov</i>	<i>negova</i>	<i>negovo</i>	<i>negovi</i>	<i>mu</i>
3Sg.F	<i>nejzin</i>	<i>nejzina</i>	<i>nejzino</i>	<i>nejzini</i>	<i>í</i>
1Pl	<i>naš</i>	<i>naša</i>	<i>naše</i>	<i>naši</i>	<i>ni</i>
2Pl	<i>vaš</i>	<i>vaša</i>	<i>naše</i>	<i>vaši</i>	<i>vi</i>
3Pl	<i>niven/%nixov</i>	<i>nivna/%nixova</i>	<i>nivno/%nixovo</i>	<i>nivni/%nixovi</i>	<i>im</i>
3Sg.Refl	<i>svoj</i>	<i>svoja</i>	<i>svoe</i>	<i>svoi</i>	<i>si</i>

Table 2: Bulgarian possessive pronouns

	Non-clitic				Clitic
	M.Sg	F.Sg	Neut.Sg	Pl	
1Sg	<i>moj</i>	<i>moja</i>	<i>moe</i>	<i>moi</i>	<i>mi</i>
2Sg	<i>tvoj</i>	<i>tvoja</i>	<i>tvoe</i>	<i>tvoi</i>	<i>ti</i>
3Sg.M	<i>negov</i>	<i>negova</i>	<i>negovo</i>	<i>negovi</i>	<i>mu</i>
3Sg.F	<i>nejn</i>	<i>nejna</i>	<i>nejno</i>	<i>nejni</i>	<i>í</i>
1Pl	<i>naš</i>	<i>naša</i>	<i>naše</i>	<i>naši</i>	<i>ni</i>
2Pl	<i>vaš</i>	<i>vaša</i>	<i>naše</i>	<i>vaši</i>	<i>vi</i>
3Pl	<i>texen</i>	<i>tjaxna</i>	<i>tjaxno</i>	<i>texni</i>	<i>im</i>
3Sg.Refl	<i>svoj</i>	<i>svoja</i>	<i>svoe</i>	<i>svoi</i>	<i>si</i>

In what follows, I examine the behaviour of the clitic and non-clitic possessive pronouns in Macedonian and Bulgarian. In section 2 I focus on the syntactic and phonological behaviour of the nominal possessive clitics, and in section 3 I discuss their origin. In section 4 I give a syntactic analysis of the nominal possessive clitics and in section 5 I deal with the relationship of the nominal possessive clitics to clausal pronominal clitics with possessive interpretation. In section 6 I analyse the Macedonian translation equivalents of the Bulgarian nominal possessive clitics. In section 7 I draw some general conclusions.

2. The syntactic and phonological behaviour of the nominal possessive clitics

The Macedonian and Bulgarian nominal possessive clitics are second position clitics. In Macedonian, they, as a rule, occur only in nominal phrases with nouns denoting family or family-like relationships³ and, as a rule, follow immediately this noun and encliticize to it:⁴

³ In Cepenkov's folk tales (second half of 19th century), the Macedonian nominal possessive clitics refer to nouns other than those denoting family relationship. The following example is quoted in (Koneski: 1967:144)

(i) *%Sum isteran od stopana mi.* Macedonian
 be.1Sg dismissed.M.Sg.Pass.Part from master.Acc 1Sg.Dat.Cl
 'I have been dismissed by my master.'

In contemporary colloquial Macedonian, there are some set phrases in which Dat clitics refer to common nouns, such as:

- (1) a. *majka mi* Macedonian
mother.F.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl
‘my mother’
- b. *drugarka ti* Macedonian
friend.F.Sg 2Sg.Dat.Cl
‘your (best) friend’
- c. *sin í* Macedonian
son.M.Sg 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
‘her son’
- d. *Go vide sina si.* Macedonian
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Perf.Past son.M.Sg.Acc Refl.Dat.Cl
‘(S)he saw his/her son’

The Bulgarian, nominal possessive clitics occur not only in nominal phrases with nouns denoting family or family-like relationships, but in nominal phrases with a wide variety of noun classes.⁵ They are typical second-position clitics and follow the noun or the first pre-nominal modifier of the nominal expression,⁶ which most often carries an article:⁷

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- (ii) *Toj e doma mi.* Macedonian
he be.3Sg home 1Sg.Dat.Cl
‘He is at my home.’

⁴ In the glosses of the examples, the following abbreviations are used: 1/2/3 = 1st/2nd/3rd person; Acc = accusative (case); Adj = adjective; Aor = aorist; Cl = clitic; Dat = dative (case); Dimin = diminutive; Eth = ethical; F = feminine; Gen = genitive; Imp = imperative; Imperf = imperfect, imperfective (aspect); Indic = indicative; Inter = interrogative; M = masculine; Mod = modal; Neut = neuter; Part = participle; Past = past (tense); Perf = perfective (aspect); Pl = plural; Pres = present (tense); Prox1 = proximate to first person; Refl = reflexive; Resumpt = resumptive; Sg = singular; Subj = subjunctive; Subj.Mark = subjunctive marker; Superl = superlative (degree); Voc = vocative.

⁵ Note that in some emphatic environments, the Macedonian nominal possessive clitics can follow the first pre-nominal modifier, including the possessive one:

- (i) *Ubavoto mi momiče!* Macedonian
beautiful.Neut.Sg.+the.Neut.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl girl.Dimin
‘My beautiful girl!’
- (ii) *Moeto mi ubavo momiče!* Macedonian
my.Neut.Sg.+the.Neut.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl beautiful.Neut.Sg girl.Dimin
‘My (dear) beautiful girl!’
- (iii) *Tatko mu negov nikako da* Macedonian
father 3Sg.Dat.Cl his.M.Sg not+anyway Subj.Mark
razbere vo što e rabotata.
understand.3Sg.Perf.Pres in what be.3Sg matter+the.F.Sg
‘His father cannot come to understand what is the matter!’
- (iv) *Ne ti pieme od tvojata čaša.* Macedonian
not 2Sg.Dat.Cl drink.1Pl from your+the.F.Sg glass
‘We are not drinking from YOUR glass!’

⁶ They do not, however, occur to the right of modifiers of the pre-nominal modifiers. Thus, while (i) is a well-formed Bulgarian phrase, (ii) is not:

(2)	a.	<i>sinǎ(t)</i> son.M.Sg+the.M.Sg 'her son'	<i>í</i> 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl		Bulgarian
	b.	<i>djadoto</i> grandfather+the.Neut.Sg 'his grandfather'	<i>mu</i> 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl		Bulgarian
	c.	<i>rǎkata</i> hand+the.F.Sg 'my hand'	<i>mi</i> 1Sg.Dat.Cl		Bulgarian
	d.	<i>molivǎ(t)</i> pencil+the.M.Sg 'your pencil'	<i>ti</i> 2Sg.Dat.Cl		Bulgarian
	e.	<i>goljamata</i> great+the.F.Sg 'his/her great pain'	<i>si</i> Refl.Dat.Cl	<i>bolka</i> pain	Bulgarian
	f.	<i>semejnjǎ(t)</i> family.Adj+the.M.Sg 'their family holiday'	<i>im</i> 3Pl.Dat.Cl	<i>praznik</i> holliday	Bulgarian

In both Bulgarian and Macedonian, nominal possessive clitics can double possessive prepositional phrases.⁸ In unmarked environments, the possessive prepositional phrases follow the possessum, as in (3a₁) and (3b₁), whereas in emphatic environments they can precede it, as in (3a₂) and (3b₂).

(3)	a ₁	<i>novite</i> new+the.Pl	<i>í</i> 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl	<i>obuvki na</i> shoes to	<i>Jana</i> Jana	Bulgarian
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(i)	<i>mnogo xubavata</i> very beautiful.F.Sg+the.F.Sg purported meaning: 'his very beautiful wife'	<i>mu</i> 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl	<i>žena</i> wife	Bulgarian
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(ii)	<i>*mnogo mu</i> very 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl purported meaning: 'his very beautiful wife'	<i>xubavata</i> beautiful.F.Sg+the.F.Sg	<i>žena</i> wife	Bulgarian
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⁷ The nouns *majka* 'mother' and *bašta* 'father', which can be inherently definite, usually occur without articles:

(i)	<i>Dojde</i> come.3Sg.Aor	<i>majka</i> mother	<i>mu.</i> 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl	Bulgarian
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'His mother came.'

(ii)	<i>Vidjax</i> come.3Sg.Aor	<i>bašta</i> father+the.F.Sg	<i>mu.</i> 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl	Bulgarian
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'I saw his father.'

⁸ While in Bulgarian the preposition is *na* 'to' in Macedonian it is *na* 'to' or *od* 'from'. The use of *na* or *od* is in many cases dialectally conditioned. In the Eastern and North-Eastern dialects, *na* is predominant. The use of *od* increases as one moves westwards in the Macedonian-speaking territory and is the only choice in the South-Western dialects. A survey conducted by Liljana Mitkovska (2001) showed that in the language as a whole the use of *na* is more prominent.

a ₂	<i>na</i>	<i>Jana</i>	<i>novite</i>	<i>í</i>	<i>obuvki</i>	
	to	Jana	new+the.Pl	3Sg.F.Dat.Cl	shoes	
	'Jana's new shoes'					
b ₁	<i>majka</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>na/</i>	<i>od</i>	<i>Stojana</i>	Macedonian
	mother	3Sg.M.Dat.Cl	to	from	Stojan.Acc	
b ₂	<i>na/</i>	<i>od</i>	<i>Stojana</i>	<i>majka</i>	<i>mu</i>	
	to	from	Stojan.Acc	mother	3Sg.M.Dat.Cl	
	'Stojan's mother'					

3. Origin of the nominal possessive clitics

The formal identity of nominal possessive clitics and clausal pronominal clitics, which actually is one of the prominent features of the Balkan Sprachbund, has been ascribed to dative/genitive merger or syncretism (cf. Sandfeld 1926/30; Schaller 1975; Solta 1980; Gołab 1984; Lindstedt (2000), among others). Pancheva (2004), however, argues that only in Modern Greek, where the genitive case is available to pronominal and non-pronominal DPs alike, with clitics sharing the distribution of other possessives, there is true morpho-syntactic syncretism. She claims that in Balkan Slavic, the identity of the morpho-phonological form of the possessive clitics in the nominal phrase and the clitics that occur in indirect object positions is due to identity of formal features and not to case syncretism.

Pancheva's argument is supported by the existence of dative clitics in Old Church Slavonic, as opposed to the non-existence of genitive clitics, though non-clitic pronouns in the genitive case did occur. Indeed, Dimitrova Vulchanova and Vulchanov (2005), who have examined a large corpus of data,⁹ have not registered the existence of genitive clitics in Old Church Slavonic, though they have come across examples of dative clitics with possessive interpretation, such as the clitic in (4):

- (4) *čto ti jestъ imja*
 what 2Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg name
 'What is your name?' (*Simeon's sermon* 226, 12)

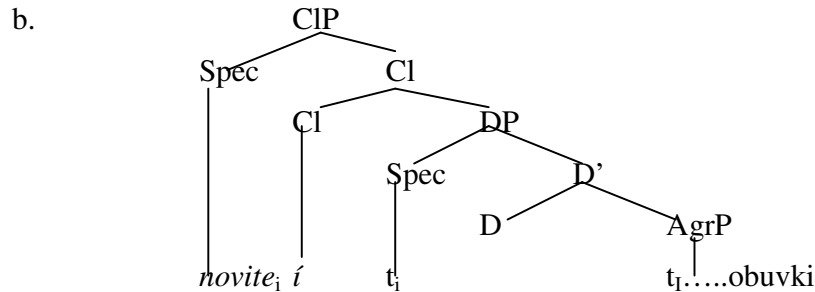
Yet, in Old Church Slavonic adnominal DPs and pronouns, there is evidence of a change of Gen case forms to Dat case forms and, when possessive clitics came to be used in the nominal expression, the dative clitic forms might have been the only choice.

4. Syntactic analysis of the nominal possessive clitics

Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998:354-355), who argue that nouns and adjectives are inserted in DPs along with their articles and raise to the Det node in the head of the DP in LF, in order to check the Det feature, derive the Bulgarian possessive clitic in a clitic phrase to the left of the DP in which the possessum is derived. They maintain that the possessum raises to the specifier of this phrase, to license it. For a noun phrase such as the one in (6a), they would posit the structure (6b):

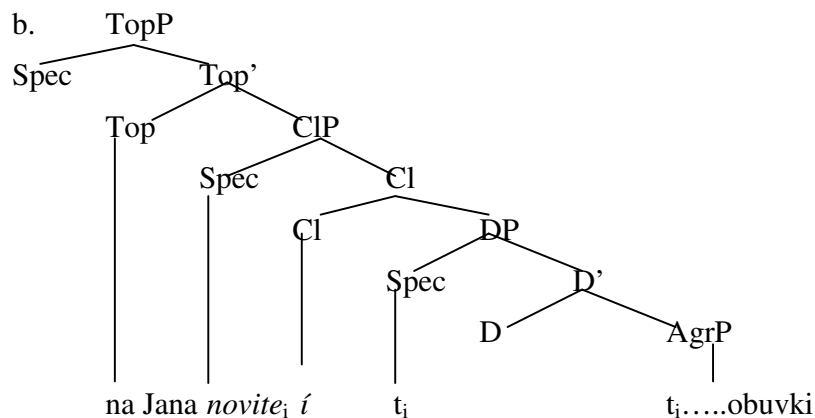
⁹ They examined the *Codex Suprasliensis* (cf. Zaimov and Capaldo 1982) and the Trondheim electronic corpus of Old Bulgarian nominal expressions (in progress).

- (6) a. *novite í obuvki* Bulgarian
 new+the.Pl 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl shoes
 ‘Jana’s new shoes’



Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998) argue that a Dat clitic-doubled prepositional phrase, such as the one in (3a₂), for convenience repeated in (7a), raises to the specifier of a topic phrase (TopP) to the left of the clitic phrase, as shown in (7b):

- (7) a. *na Jana novite í obuvki* Bulgarian
 to Jana new+the.Pl 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl shoes
 ‘Jana’s new shoes’



While adequate for the Bulgarian possessive clitic and the prepositional phrase it doubles, Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti’s analysis could hardly be applied to Macedonian, where with nouns denoting family relationships, the possessive clitic is actually used as a preferred alternative to the article.¹⁰ Thus, we have the following acceptability judgments:

¹⁰ A prepositional phrase can modify a non-articled noun, in which case the DP gets a distinct meaning:

- (i) *sestra na/ od Jana* Macedonian
 sister to/ from Jana
 ‘a sister of Jana’s’

When there are no prepositional possessors, the meanings of the articulated nouns are distinct from those of the nouns with possessive clitics:

- (ii) *Majka í plačeše.* Macedonian
 mother 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl cry.3Sg.Past
 ‘Her mother was crying.’

(8)	a.	<i>sestra</i> sister+the.F.Sg 'Jana's sister'	<i>ì</i> 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl	<i>na</i> to	<i>/od</i> from	<i>Jana</i> Jana	Macedonian
	b.	<i>?sestrata</i> sister+the.F.Sg 'Jana's sister'	<i>na/</i> of	<i>od</i> from	<i>Jana</i> Jana		Macedonian
	c.	<i>*sestrata</i> sister+the.F.Sg of	<i>ì</i> 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl	<i>na/</i> of	<i>od</i> from	<i>Jana</i> Jana	Macedonian

The Macedonian nominal possessive clitics are actually getting permanently attached to the Macedonian nouns denoting family relationship. Accordingly, they should be inserted in the DP with nouns denoting family relationship, along with them.¹¹

5. Relationship of nominal possessive clitic to clausal clitics with possessive interpretation

There are pairs of sentences with dative clitics in the noun phrase and dative clitics in preverbal position that syntactically behave like the Dat argument clitics, but have an interpretation analogous to the interpretation of the DP pronominal clitics. Examples:¹²

(9)	a ₁	<i>Bolno</i> sick.Neut.Sg	<i>e</i> be.3Sg	<i>deteto</i> child+the.Neut.Sg	<i>mi!</i> 1Sg.Dat.Cl		Bulgarian
	a ₂	<i>Bolno</i> sick.Neut.Sg	<i>mi</i> 1Sg.Dat.Cl	<i>e</i> be.3Sg	<i>deteto.</i> child+the.Neut.Sg		'My child is sick.'
	b ₁	<i>Bledo</i> pale.Neut.Sg	<i>e</i> be.3Sg	<i>liceto</i> face+the.Neut.Sg	<i>mu.</i> 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl		Bulgarian
	b ₂	<i>Bledo</i> pale.Neut.Sg	<i>mu</i> 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl	<i>e</i> be.3Sg	<i>liceto.</i> face+the.Neut.Sg		'His face is pale.'
	c ₁	<i>Interesni</i> interesting.Pl	<i>sa</i> be.3Pl	<i>văprosite</i> questions+the.Pl	<i>im.</i> 3Pl.Dat.Cl		Bulgarian
	c ₁	<i>Interesni</i> interesting.Pl	<i>sa</i> be.3Pl	<i>im</i> 3Pl.Dat.Cl	<i>văprosite.</i> questions+the.Pl		'Their questions are interesting.'
(10)	a ₁	<i>Bolna</i> sick.F.Sg	<i>e</i> be.3Sg	<i>žena</i> wife	<i>mi!</i> 1Sg.Dat.Cl		Macedonian

(iii)	<i>Majkata</i> Mother+the.F.Sg	<i>plačeše.</i> cry.3Sg.Past					Macedonian
							'The mother was crying.'

¹¹ In Bulgarian, the pronominal clitics also occur to the immediate right of nouns denoting family relationship, but the rule for their attachment is part of the general rule for encliticization of possessive pronominal clitic in Bulgarian DPs.

¹² I am grateful to Mila Dimitrova-Vulchanova for checking my Bulgarian examples.

a ₂	<i>Bolna</i> sick.F.Sg	<i>mi</i> 1Sg.Dat.Cl	<i>e</i> be.3Sg	<i>ženata.</i> wife+the.F.Sg	
	'My wife is sick.'				
b ₁	<i>Zaginal</i> lose.M.Sg./Part	<i>sin</i> son	<i>mu.</i> 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl		Macedonian
b ₂	<i>Mu</i> 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl	<i>zaginal</i> come.M.Sg./Part	<i>sinot.</i> son+the.M.Sg		
	'His has been killed.' (lit. 'His son got lost.')				

While dative clitics in the nominal phrase are commonly referred to as “possessive clitics”, preverbal dative clitics with possessive interpretation have been referred to as “external possession” clitics (cf. Paine and Barshi 1999). There have been arguments that the external possessive clitics originate within the nominal phrase (i.e. DP-internally) and raise to positions typically occupied by verbal arguments (e.g. Landau 1999, for Hebrew; Avram and Coene 2000, for Romanian; Stateva 2000 and Moskovsky 2004, for Bulgarian). Nevertheless, there are quite a number of arguments against the proposed raising analyses of the clausal clitics with possessive interpretation. I shall discuss some arguments that follow from contemporary Macedonian syntax.

5.1 In many cases, the sentences with preverbal clitics with possessive interpretation do not have counterpart sentences with possessive clitics in the noun phrase. Consider the Macedonian equivalents of the Bulgarian sentences in (9):¹³

(11)	a ₁	<i>Bolno</i> sick.Neut.Sg	<i>mi</i> 1Sg.Dat.Cl	<i>e</i> be.3Sg	<i>deteto.</i> child+the.Neut.Sg	Macedonian
		'My child is sick.'				
	a ₂	<i>*Bolno</i> sick.Neut.Sg	<i>e</i> be.3Sg	<i>deteto</i> child+the.Neut.Sg	<i>mi.</i> 1Sg.Dat.Cl	
	b ₁	<i>Bledo</i> colourless.Neut.Sg	<i>mu</i> 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl	<i>e</i> be.3Sg	<i>liceto.</i> face+the.Neut.Sg	Macedonian
		'His face is expressionless.'				
	b ₂	<i>*Bledo</i> colourless.Neut.Sg	<i>e</i> be.3Sg	<i>liceto</i> face+the.Neut.Sg	<i>mu.</i> 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl	
	c ₁	<i>Interesni</i> interesting.Pl	<i>im</i> 3Pl.Dat.Cl	<i>se</i> be.3Pl	<i>prašanjata.</i> questions+the.Pl	Macedonian
		'Their questions are interesting.'				
	c ₂	<i>*Interesni</i> interesting.Pl	<i>se</i> be.3Pl	<i>prašanjata</i> questions+the.Pl	<i>im.</i> 3Pl.Dat.Cl	

While the Macedonian equivalents of the Bulgarian clauses with pre-verbal clitics with possessive interpretation are well-formed, the Macedonian equivalents of the Bulgarian clauses with nominal possessive clitics are not. In Macedonian, nominal possessive clitics are acceptable only in noun phrases in which the nouns denote family relationships (such as those in 1).

5.2 The clausal clitics with possessive interpretation can cooccur with nominal possessive clitics:

¹³ Though *dete* ‘child’ in (11a) can be interpreted as ‘son’, it cannot be followed by a possessive clitic.

- (12) a. *Ti ja vidov sestra ti.* Macedonian
 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Past sister 2Sg.Dat.Cl
 ‘I saw your sister.’
- b. *Majka í í e bolna.* Macedonian
 mother 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg sick.F.Sg
 ‘Her mother is sick.’

5.3 In many cases, the possessive reading of the preverbal dative clitics may be related to non-possessive readings. Thus, the dative clitic in (13) has three interpretations only one of which is possessive:

- (13) *Mi ja otvori vratata.* Macedonian
 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl open.3Sg.Past door+the.F.Sg
 1. ‘(S)he opened the door to me.’
 2. ‘(S)he opened the door for me (since I had trouble fitting the key).’
 3. ‘(S)he opened my door.’

6. Clausal datives with possessive interpretation are beneficiary clitics

The non-argumental clausal dative clitics with possessive interpretation actually feature objects that are affected by or benefit from the action of the verb and can conveniently be referred to as “beneficiary clitics”. Since affectedness can evolve into ownership (cf. Fried 1999), these clitics can and often do receive possessive interpretations, though, as shown in (13), other readings are also possible.¹⁴

As pointed out by Mitkovska (2000), the more closely the possessed object is connected with the possessor, the more likely the possessive interpretation of the beneficiary clitic. Thus, with nouns denoting parts of the body, clothes worn by the possessor, buildings inhabited at the moment of the event, names, or close family members, the possessive interpretation is most often the only interpretation of the beneficiary dative clitic:¹⁵

- (14) a. *Mi se skrši* Macedonian
 1Sg.Dat.Cl Refl.Acc.Cl break.3Sg.Perf.Past

¹⁴ In some cases, the beneficiary clitics cannot receive possessive interpretation. Thus (i) could hardly have the interpretation given in 1.

- (i) *Šiŕeto í se istrkala* Macedonian
 botte+the.Neut.Sg 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl roll.3Sg.Perf.Past
duri na ulica.
 even on street
 1. ??‘Her bottle rolled as far as the street.’
 2. ‘The bottle rolled as far as the street (and she was in some way responsible for or affected by that).’

¹⁵ Example (14b) is from Mitkovska (2000:87). All the examples in this section are from Macedonian. Bulgarian has beneficiary clitics with analogous interpretation. The Macedonian beneficiary clitics are, however, used more frequently than their Bulgarian counterparts. As noted in section 7, the Bulgarian nominal possessive clitics are often translated into Macedonian by beneficiary clitics.

nogava.
leg+the.F.Sg.Prox1
'My leg broke.'

- b. *Si go povredi* Macedonian
Refl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl hurt.3Sg.Perf.Past
okoto so noktot.
eye+the.Neut.Sg with nail+the.M.Sg
'(S)he hurt her/his eye with her/his nail.'
- c. *Im izgore kukata.* Macedonian
3Pl.Dat.Cl burn.3Sg.Perf.Past house+the.F.Sg
'Their house burnt.'
- d. *Ti go čuv imeto.* Macedonian
2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl hear.3Sg.Perf.Past name+the.Neut.Sg
'I heard your name.'
- e. *Bolen í e sinot.* Macedonian
ill.M.Sg 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl be.3Sg son+the.M.Sg
'Her son is ill.'

The beneficiary dative clitics can cooccur with a nominal dative clitic and in this case they do not have a possessive, but rather a different beneficiary interpretation.¹⁶

- (15) a. *Ćerka í í se* Macedonian
daughter 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl Ref.Acc.Cl
samoubila.
commit-suicide.F.Sg./Part
'Her daughter committed suicide (and that is what she did to her).'
- b. *Sestra mi mi izgoga.* Macedonian
sister 1Sg.Dat.Cl 1Sg.Dat.Cl run-away.3Sg.Perf.Past
'My sister ran away on me (and I couldn't catch her).'

¹⁶ Example (15b) is from Mitkovska (2000:92)

It should be noted that in some environment the clitic to the right of a noun, can function as a nominal possessive clitic or as a clausal beneficiary clitic. The two types of clitics are formally identical, but have different phonological and semantic behaviour. The nominal possessive clitic forms a single phonological word with the noun to its left, which is given a definite interpretation.

- (i) *Ćerka ← mu se omažila.* Macedonian
daughter 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl marry.F.Sg./Part
'His daughter got married.'

The clausal beneficiary clitic, on the other hand, procliticizes to V to its right, and the noun to its left is given indefinite interpretation:

- (ii) *Ćerka mu → se → omažila.* Macedonian
daughter 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl marry.F.Sg./Part
'A daughter of his got married.'

Constructions with verbs that express involuntary states usually have beneficiary clitics with two interpretations, the primary one being non-possessive, the secondary one possessive:

- (16) a. *Mi se skrši čašata.* Macedonian
 1Sg.Dat.Cl Refl.Acc.Cl break.3Sg.Perf.Past glass+the.F.Sg
 1. 'The glass went and broke on me.'
 2. 'My glass broke.'
- b. *Togaš mi ja snema* Macedonian
 then 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl disappear.3Sg.Perf.Past
parata.
 coin+the.F.Sg
 1. 'Then the coin disappeared on me.'
 2. 'Then my coin disappeared.'

There are cases when a dative clausal clitic can be interpreted either as a beneficiary or as an indirect object. Cases in point are clauses with nominal predicates, such as those in (17):

- (17) a. *Da ne ti bev prijatel* Macedonian
 Subj.Mark not 2Sg.Dat.Cl be.1Sg.Past friend
ne ke postapev vaka.
 not will.Mod.Cl act.1Sg.Subj.Past in-this-way
 1. 'If I was not your friend I would not have acted like this.'
 2. 'If I was not a friend to you I would not have acted like this.'
- b. *Toj ne ti e prijatel.* Macedonian
 he not 2Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg friend
 1. 'He is not your friend.'
 2. 'He is not a friend to you.'

Dative clausal clitics in clauses with verbs that usually have a recipient argument can have possessive reading as a secondary reading:¹⁷

- (18) a. *Sakaš li da mi go pročitaš napisot?* Macedonian
 wish.3Sg Inter.Cl Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl read.3Sg.Perf.Pres article+the.M.Sg
 1. 'Would you like to read the article to me (because I don't have my glasses)?'
 2. 'Would you like to read my article (to give me some suggestions)?'
- b. *Jas ke ti gi* Macedonian
 I will.3Sg.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Dat.Cl

¹⁷ Examples (18a-b) are from Mitkovska (2000:89), example (18c) from Mitkovska (2000:90).

ispratam dokumentite.
 send.1Sg.Perf.Pres papers+the.Pl

1. 'I'll send you the papers.'

2. 'I'll send your papers (because I'm just going to the post office.)'

- c. *Igor í gi ostavaše* Macedonian
 Igor 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Dat.Cl leave.3Sg.Imperf.Past
pismata vo edno sandače.
 letters+the.Neut.Pl in a.Neut.Sg box
 1. 'Igor left the letters in a mail box for her.'
 2. 'Igor left her letters in a mail box.'

In clauses with direct and indirect objects, whether the dative clitic is interpreted as a possessor or an indirect object may depend on the definiteness status of the direct object. While in clauses with definite direct objects the dative clitic is interpreted as a possessor, in clauses with indefinite direct objects it is an indirect object.¹⁸

- (19) a₁ *Ana mi ja napravi* Macedonian
 Ana 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl make.3Sg.Perf.Past
tortata.
 cake+the.F.Sg
 'Ana made my cake.'
- a₂ *Ana mi napravi torta.* Macedonian
 Ana 1Sg.Dat.Cl make.3Sg.Perf.Past cake
 'Ana made a cake for me.'
- b₁ *Stojan mu ja izgradi* Macedonian
 Stojan 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl build.3Sg.Perf.Past
kukata na sinot.
 house+the.F.Sg to son+the.M.Sg
 'Stojan built his son's house.'
- b₂ *Stojan mu izgradi kuća* Macedonian
 Stojan 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl build.3Sg.Perf.Past house

¹⁸ The examples are from Mitkovska (2000:89). Note that the possessor can refer to an adjunct or a modifier:

- (i) *Mu ja stavi knjigata* Macedonian
 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl put.3Sg.Perf.Past book+the
vo tašnata.
 in bag+the.F.Sg
 '(S)he put the book in his bag.'
- (ii) *Igor mi go rasipa* Macedonian
 Igor 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl spoil.3Sg.Perf.Past
aparatot na Sonja.
 camera+the.M.Sg of Sonja
 'Igor spoiled Sonja's camera (which I had and was responsible for).'

na sinot.
 to son+the.M.Sg
 ‘Stojan build a house for his son. (His son lives in it, but does not necessarily own it.)’

Both the indirect object dative clitic and the beneficiary dative clitic should be distinguished from ethical datives, such as those in (20), which are parenthetical stylistic devices for expressing intimacy.

- (20) a. *Kako mi/ni ste?* Macedonian
 how 1Sg/Pl.Eth.Dat.Cl be.2Pl
 ‘How are you, my/our dear ones?’
- b. *Da ne mi nastineš?*
 Subj.Mark not 1Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl catch-cold.2Sg
 ‘Aren’t you going to catch cold, my dear?’
- c. *Sum ti/vi stanala rano i sum*
 be.1Sg 2Sg/Pl.Eth.Dat.Cl got-up.F.Sg./Part early and am
ti/vi ja sredila
 2Sg/Pl.Eth.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl put-in-order.F.Sg./Part
seta kuća.
 whole+the.F.Sg house
 ‘Lo behold, I got up early and put in order the entire house.’
- d. *Će mu udram edno*
 will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl hit.1Sg a.Neut.Sg
spienje.
 sleeping
 ‘I will sleep to my heart’s content.’ (lit. ‘I will hit a sleeping.’)
- e. *Nemoj da mu misliš*
 not+can.2Sg.Imp Subj.Mark 3Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl think.2Sg
mnogu.
 much
 ‘Do not hesitate!’ (lit. ‘Do not think much!’)

While beneficiary dative clitics cannot co-occur or occur to the right or left of dative clitics interpreted as indirect objects, ethical dative clitics can co-occur (cf. 21a) or occur to the left of direct object dative clitics (cf. 21b), to the left of beneficiary dative clitics (cf. 21c-d), or to the right of nominal clitics (cf. 21e).

- (21) a. *Takva mi ti rabota.*
 such.F.Sg 1Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl thing
 ‘That is how things are.’
- b. *Sum ti mu gi* Macedonian
 be.1Sg 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl
vratila site pet kila.
 returne.F.Sg./Part all+the.Pl five kilograms.
 ‘I returned to him all five kilograms, I am telling you.’

- c. *Sum ti mu gi* Macedonian
 be.1Sg 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl
zacrvenela od mienje racete na sin
 reddened.F.Sg./-Part from washing hands+the.Pl to
mi.
 1Sg.Dat.Cl
 ‘I made my son’s hands red from washing, I am telling you.’
- d. *Kako mi ti e* Macedonian
 how 1Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg
baba ti?
 grandma 2Sg.Dat.Cl
 ‘How is your grandma, my dear little one?’
- e. *Ćerka mi mi e* Macedonian
 daughter 1Sg.Dat.Cl 1Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl be.3Sg
mlada.
 young.F.Sg
 ‘My dear daughter is (still) young.’

7. Non-clitic possessive modifiers and translation equivalents

The Macedonian and Bulgarian non-clitic pronominal possessive modifiers may feature possessors equivalent to those featured by the nominal possessive clitics. However, as illustrated in (22) and (23), the noun phrases with non-clitic possessive pronouns would be focused, while their counterparts with possessive clitics would not:

- (22) a. *Pismoto se naoga kaj* Macedonian
 letter+the.Neut.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl find.3Sg at
kerka ti.
 daughter 2Sg.Dat.Cl
 ‘Your daughter has the letter.’
- b. *Pismoto se naoga kaj* Macedonian
 letter+the.Neut.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl find.3Sg at
tvojata kerka.
 your+the.F.Sg daughter
 ‘YOUR DAUGHTER has the letter.’
- (23) a. *Pismoto se namira pri* Bulgarian
 letter+the.Neut.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl find.3Sg at
dasterja ti.
 daughter 2Sg.Dat.Cl
 ‘The letter is with your daughter.’
- b. *Pismoto se namira pri* Bulgarian
 letter+the.Neut.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl find.3Sg at
tvojata dasterja.
 your+the.F.Sg daughter
 ‘The letter is with YOUR DAUGHTER.’

In Bulgarian, where the nominal possessive clitics can feature a variety of possessors, the non-clitic possessive pronominal modifiers are almost always used in emphatic environment, whereas in Macedonian, where the nominal possessive clitics can occur only in nominal phrases with nouns denoting family or family-like relationships, the non-clitic possessive pronominal modifiers may be used in non-emphatic environments, as well. In all the environments in which nominal possessive clitics are not acceptable in Macedonian, non-clitic pronominal possessive modifiers are an option. As a consequence of the low frequency of occurrence of the Macedonian nominal possessive clitics as compared to their Bulgarian counterparts, the frequency of occurrence of non-clitic possessive modifiers is in Macedonian higher than that of their Bulgarian counterparts.

The non-clitic pronominal modifiers are, however, not the only Macedonian counterparts of the Bulgarian nominal possessive clitics other than those referring to nouns denoting family relationship. In the Macedonian translation of the Bulgarian story *Nie, vrapčetata* ‘We, the sparrows’ (Radičkov 2000), only one per cent of the original nominal possessive clitics were rendered by corresponding nominal possessive clitics, as in (24).

(24)	a ₁	<i>Bašta ni</i> father 1Pl.Dat.Cl <i>čovek... p.12</i> man	<i>beše</i> be.3Sg.Imperf	<i>mnogo strog</i> much strict.M.Sg	Bulgarian
	a ₂	<i>Tatko ni</i> father 1Pl.Dat.Cl <i>čovek...p.10</i> man ‘Our father was a very strict man...’	<i>beše</i> be.3Sg.Past	<i>mnogu strog</i> much strict.M.Sg	Macedonian
	b ₁	<i>... ta az</i> so I	<i>rešix</i> decide.1Sg.Aor	<i>v sebe</i> in self	<i>si...p.15</i> Refl.Dat.Cl Bulgarian
	b ₂	<i>... što jas</i> that I	<i>rešiv</i> decide.1Sg.Perf.Past	<i>vo sebesi...p.12</i> in self+Refl.Dat.Cl Macedonian	
					‘so that I decided in myself...’

Fifty two per cent of the nominal possessive clitics of the original were rendered in Macedonian by non-clitic pronominal possessive modifiers, twenty three per cent were not translated at all, while twenty four per cent were rendered by clausal beneficiary clitics. In (25) I give four examples of the cases when the Bulgarian nominal possessive clitics were translated into Macedonian by non-clitic pronominal possessive modifiers:¹⁹

¹⁹ The page numbers at the end of the Bulgarian sentences refer to the original text (Radičkov 2000), the page numbers at the end of the Macedonian sentences refer to the translated text (Radičkov 2001).

Note that the non-clitic possessive modifiers in the Bulgarian text were, as a rule, translated into Macedonian by non-clitic possessive modifiers. Examples:

(i)	<i>Edna</i> one.F.Sg <i>černa</i> black.F.Sg	<i>bārza</i> fast.F.Sg <i>svetkavica</i> lightning	<i>lastovica</i> swallow <i>podir</i> after	<i>puska</i> extend.3Sg <i>nasekomoto...p.44</i> insect+the.Neut.Sg	<i>svojata</i> self.F.Sg+the.F.Sg Bulgarian
(i)'	<i>Edna</i> one.F.Sg	<i>brza</i> fast.F.Sg	<i>lastovička</i> swallow	<i>ja</i> 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl	<i>pušta</i> extend.3Sg Macedonian

(25)	a ₁	... <i>to šte</i> it will.Mod.Cl <i>v zelenata</i> in green+the.F.Sg	<i>skrie</i> hide.3Sg.Perf.Pres <i>si</i> Dat.Refl.Cl	<i>gnezdoto</i> nest+the.Neut.Sg <i>perušina.</i> p.5 feather	Bulgarian
	a ₂	... <i>toa ke</i> it will.Mod.Cl <i>gnezdoto</i> nest+the.Neut.Sg ‘...it will hide the nest in its green feathers.’	<i>go</i> 3Sg.M.Cl <i>vo svoite</i> in his+the.Pl	<i>sokrie</i> hide.3Sg.Perf.Pres <i>zeleni</i> green+the.Pl	Macedonian p.6
	b ₁	<i>Prez celija</i> during whole+the.M.Sg <i>Debelačko samo jadeše...</i> p.8 Fetty only eat.3Sg.Imperf	<i>si</i> Dat.Refl.Cl	<i>život</i> life	Bulgarian
	b ₂	<i>Preku celiot</i> during whole+the.M.Sg <i>Debelko samo jadeše...</i> p.7 Fetty only eat.3Sg.Imperf.Past ‘During his whole life, Fetty only was only eating’...	<i>svoj</i> his.M.Sg	<i>život</i> life	Macedonian
	c ₁	<i>dragi mi</i> dear 1Sg.Dat.Cl	<i>gospodine...</i> p.9 sir.Voc		Bulgarian
	c ₂	<i>dragi moj</i> dear my.1Sg ‘my dear sir...’	<i>gospodine...</i> p.8 sir.Voc		Macedonian
	d ₁	... <i>decata</i> children+the.Pl <i>ni</i> 3Pl.Dat.Cl	<i>zaexa</i> occupy.3Pl.Imperf <i>mjasto...</i> p.25 place	<i>predišnoto</i> former+the.Neut.Sg	Bulgarian
	d ₂	... <i>decata</i> children+the.Pl <i>našeto</i> former+the.Neut.Sg ‘the children occupied their former place...’	<i>go</i> 3Sg.Acc.Cl <i>staro</i> old.N.Sg	<i>zafatija</i> occupy.3Pl.Imperf.Past <i>mesto...</i> p.19 place	Macedonian

Examples of cases when the nominal possessive clitics of the Bulgarian text were left out in the Macedonian translation are given in (26):

(26)	a ₁	... <i>edva</i> scarcely	<i>maxam</i> move.1Sg	<i>krilite</i> wings+the.Pl	<i>si...</i> p.15 Refl.Dat.Cl	Bulgarian
	a ₂	... <i>odvaj</i> scarcely	<i>mavtam</i> move.1Sg	<i>so</i> with	<i>kriljata...</i> p.11 wings+the.Pl	Macedonian
	b ₁	<i>sārcata</i> hearts+the.Pl	<i>im</i> 3Pl.Dat.Cl	<i>šte</i> will.Mod.Cl	<i>izxvrāknat</i> fly-out.3Pl.Perf.Pres	Bulgarian

<i>svojata</i> self.F.Sg+the.F.Sg	<i>crna</i> black.F.Sg	<i>svetkavica</i> lightning	<i>po</i> after	<i>insektot...</i> p.34 insect+the.M.Sg
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‘A fast swallow extends its red lightning towards the insect...’

	<i>ot</i>	<i>strax...</i>	p.20					
	from	fear						
b ₂	<i>...srcata</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>izletaat</i>		Macedonian		
	hearts+the.Pl	will.Mod.Cl	3Pl.Dat.Cl	fly-out.3Pl.Perf.Pres				
	<i>od</i>	<i>strav...</i>	p.15					
	from	fear						
	...their hearts will jump out from fear...'							
c ₁	<i>...ako</i>	<i>tragneš</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>izvivkite</i>	<i>im,</i>	Bulgarian		
	if	start.2Sg	along	curves+the.Pl	3Pl.Dat.Cl			
	<i>svjat</i>	<i>šte</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>zavie.</i>	p.30		
	world	will.Mod.Cl	2Sg.Dat.Cl	Refl.Acc.Cl	turn-around.3Sg			
c ₂	<i>...ako</i>	<i>tragneš</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>izvivkite,</i>	<i>umot</i>	Macedonian		
	if	start.2Sg	along	curves+the.Pl	mind+the.M.Sg			
	<i>ke</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>zavrti.</i>	p.21			
	will.Mod.Cl	2Sg.Dat.Cl	Refl.Acc.Cl	turn-around.3Sg...				
	'...if you follow the curves, your mind will turn around.'							
d ₁	<i>...i</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>poxvali</i>		Bulgarian		
	and	Subj.Mark	Refl.Dat.Cl	boast.3Sg.Perf.Pres				
	<i>sās</i>	<i>zbirkata</i>	<i>si.</i>	p.33				
	with	collection+the.F.Sg	Refl.Dat.Cl					
d ₂	<i>...i</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>pofali</i>		Macedonian		
	and	Subj.Mark	Refl.Dat.Cl	boast.3Sg.Perf.Pres				
	<i>so</i>	<i>zbirkata.</i>	p.24					
	with	collection+the.F.Sg						
	'...and to boast of its collection.'							

Examples of translation of the Bulgarian nominal possessive clitics by clausal beneficiary clitics are given in (27):²⁰

(ii)	<i>...gleda</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>izgubi</i>	<i>svoeto</i>	Bulgarian
	see.3Sg	Subj.Mark	not	lose.3Sg.Perf.Pres	self+the.Neut.Sg	
	<i>frensko</i>	<i>spisanie...</i>	p.46			
	French	magazine				
(ii)'	<i>...gleda</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>izgubi</i>	Macedonian
	see.3Sg	Subj.Mark	not	3Sg.M.Acc.Cl	lose.3Sg.Perf.Pres	
	<i>svoeto</i>	<i>francusko</i>	<i>spisanie...</i>	p.34		
	self+the.Neut.Sg	French	magazine			
	'...endeavors not to lose its French magazine...'					

²⁰ The clausal clitics with possessive interpretation in the Bulgarian original are predominately (in 80 per cent of the cases) translated into Macedonian by clausal clitics. Examples:

(i)	<i>...zaštoto</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>popita</i>	<i>bijat</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>ni</i>	Bulgarian
	why+to.Resumpt	1Pl.Acc.Cl	ask.3Sg.Aor	beat.3Pl	Inter.Cl	1Pl.Dat.Cl	
	<i>silno</i>	<i>sārcata...</i>	p.14				
	strongly	hearts+the.Pl					
(i)'	<i>...i</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>praša</i>	<i>dali</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>bijat</i>	Macedonian
	and	1Pl.Acc.Cl	ask.3Sg.Aor	whether	1Pl.Dat.Cl	beat.3Pl	

- (27) a₁ ...*kotka* *beše* *otskubnala* *dve* *pera* Bulgarian
 cat was torn.F.Sg./Part two feathers
ot opaškata mu... p.12
 from tail+the.F.Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
- a₂ ...*mačkata mu* *beše* *skubnala* Macedonian
 cat+the.F.Sg 3Sg.Dat.Cl was torn.F.Sg./Part
dve perca ot opaškata... p.10
 two feathers from tail+the.F.Sg
 ‘...the cat had torn out two feathers from his tail...’
- b₁ ...*šte* *vidi* *vǎrxăt* *mu* Bulgarian
 will.Mod.Cl see.3Sg.Perf.Pres top+the.M.Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
kak se izvisjava nad poletu. p.15
 how Ref.Acc.Cl soar.3Sg above field+the.Neut.Sg
- b₂ ...*ke* *mu* *go* *zdogleda* Macedonian
 will.Mod.Cl see.3Sg.Perf.Pres 3Sg.Acc.Cl spot.3Sg.Perf.Pres
vrivot što se izvišuva nad
 top+the.M.Sg that Ref.Acc.Cl soar.3Sg above
poletu. p.12
 field+the.Neut.Sg
 ‘...(s)he will catch sight of the top soaring above the field.’

*silno srcata...*p.11
 strongly hearts+the.Pl
 ‘...because/and he asked us whether our hearts were beating strongly.’

- (ii) *Posle si* *popravit* *toaletata...*p.22 Bulgarian
 after Dat.Refl.Cl straighten-up.M.Sg./Part apparel+the.F.Sg
- (ii)’ *Potoa si* *ja* *suredil* Macedonian
 after Dat.Refl.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl straighten-up.M.Sg./Part
*toaletata...*p.17
 apparel+the.F.Sg
 ‘Then he straightened-up his apparel...’

In twenty per cent of the cases (all of them with reflexive dative clitics) the clausal dative clitic is left out in the Macedonian translation.

In several cases, the dative clitic in the Bulgarian text can be interpreted both as a nominal possessive clitic and as a clausal clitic with possessive interpretation. For example:

- (iii) *Ako pătjat mi e po-dălăg...*p.28 Bulgarian
 if way+the.M.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg Compar-long.M.Sg
 ‘If my way is longer...’
- (iv) ...*i gnezdoto mu stana grozno* Bulgarian
 and nest+the.Neut.Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl become.3Sg.Aor disgusting.Neut.Sg
*kato turska keremida...*p.31
 like Turkish tile...
 ‘...and his nest became as disgusting as a Turkish tile...’

Most often, cases such as these have been translated by clausal dative clitics.

- c₁ ... *i s edin udar na čovkata* Bulgarian
 and with one stroke of beak+the.F.Sg
otkāsnaξ glavata ì. p.16
 chop-up.1Sg.Aor head+the.F.Sg 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
- c₂ ... *i so eden udar na klunot ì* Macedonian
 and with one stroke of beak+the.F.Sg 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
ja skinav glavata. p.12
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl chop-up.1Sg.Past head+the.F.Sg
 ‘...and with one stroke of the beak I chopped up its head.’

In emphatic clauses, both in the original text and in the translation, the dative clausal clitic with possessive interpretation may co-occur with a non-clitic nominal possessive modifier:²¹

- (28) a. ...*ami si gleda svojata* Bulgarian
 but Refl.Dat.Cl look-after.3Sg his/her-own.F.Sg
rabota i vārvi pravo prez
 affair and pass.3Sg straight through
prosoto...p.46
 millet+the.Neut.St
- b. ...*si ja gleda svojata* Macedonian
 Refl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl look-after.3Sg his/her-own.F.Sg
rabota i si vrvi pravo niz
 affair and Refl.Dat.Cl pass.3Sg straightthrough
prosoto...p.35
 millet+the.Neut.Sg
 ‘...(but) takes care of his/her own business and passes straight through the millet...’

7. Conclusions

In both Macedonian and Bulgarian, possessive relationship within the nominal phrase (within the DP) can be expressed by dative pronominal clitics. There are, however, formal and substantial differences between the nominal possessive clitics in the two languages. Whereas in Macedonian, the dative pronominal clitics occur only in nominal phrases with nouns denoting family relationships and, as a rule, follow immediately this noun, in Bulgarian, they occur in nominal phrases with a wide variety of noun classes, and in DPs with pre-nominal modifiers are placed to the right of the first pre-nominal modifier. Since the Macedonian nominal possessive clitics can refer only to nouns of a restricted class, the frequency of their occurrence is drastically lower than that of their Bulgarian counterparts – ten times lower in the Macedonian translation of Radičkov’s story *Nie, vrapčeta* ‘We, the sparrows’ (cf. Radičkov 2001), as compared to the original Bulgarian text (Radičkov 2000).

²¹ The co-occurrence of a non-clitic possessive modifier with a Dat clitic is always emphatic, whether the Dat clitic is a nominal possessive modifier, (as in (i)) a beneficiary dative (as in (ii)) or an argument (as in (iii)).

As equivalents to the Bulgarian nominal possessive clitics other than those referring to nouns denoting family relationship, in Macedonian we have non-clitic possessive modifiers and, somewhat less frequently, clausal dative clitics with possessive interpretation. The comparison of translation of the Bulgarian clausal clitics into Macedonian indicates that the occurrence of both non-clitic possessive modifiers and clausal dative clitics with possessive interpretation is more frequent in Macedonian than in Bulgarian.

Whereas in Bulgarian non-clitic possessive modifiers are, as a rule, used in emphatic environments, in Macedonian they often appear in non-emphatic clauses. In the Macedonian translation of Radičkov (2000), more than fifty per cent of the nominal possessive clitics are featured by non-clitic possessive modifiers, and the frequency of occurrence of the latter modifiers is five and a half times higher than in the Bulgarian original.²²

In both Bulgarian and Macedonian, clausal dative clitics with possessive interpretation occur without any restriction to the type of clause or noun to which they refer. However, in Macedonian, clausal dative clitics often occur in clauses in which in Bulgarian nominal possessive clitics are used. In the Macedonian translation of Radičkov (2000), twenty three per cent of the nominal possessive clitics are featured by clausal dative clitics with possessive interpretation, and the frequency of occurrence of the latter clitics is almost three times higher than in the Bulgarian original. This fact, as well as (a) the restriction of the use of the Macedonian nominal possessive clitics to nouns that feature family relationships, (b) the co-occurrence of clausal clitics with possessive interpretation and nominal possessive clitics and (c) the lack of sharp distinction between the possessive readings of clausal dative clitics and a range of related beneficiary readings, are strong arguments against the assumption that the clausal dative clitics with possessive interpretation originate in the nominal phrase (the DP). The formalization of the semantic relationship of the clausal clitics with possessive interpretation and the nominal possessive clitics is, however, left for future research.

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|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|------------|
| (i) | <i>Majka mi</i>
mother 1Sg.Dat.Cl | <i>moja mnogu te</i>
my.F.Sg much 2Sg.Acc.Cl | <i>saka.</i>
like.3Sg | Macedonian |
| ‘MY mother likes you very much.’ | | | | |
| (ii) | <i>Mu gi</i>
3Sg.MDat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl | <i>znam</i>
know.1Sg | <i>negovite trikovi.</i>
his+the.Pl trick | Macedonian |
| ‘I know HIS tricks.’ | | | | |
| (iii) | <i>Najgolema muka mi</i>
Superl+big.F.Sg trouble 1Sg.Dat.Cl | <i>sozdavaat</i>
create.3Pl | <i>moite</i>
my+the.Pl | Macedonian |
| <i>čuvstva.</i>
feelings
‘MY feelings cause me the greatest trouble.’ | | | | |

²² The analysis covered cca. 40 pages of Radičkov’s (2000) story *Nie, vrapčeta* ‘We, the sparrows’ and its translation into Macedonian (Radičkov 2001). More than 200 clauses with possessive clitics were extracted. Yet, the statistical data are inconclusive if not coupled with statistics of a translation of a Macedonian text into Bulgarian. A variety of texts should also be examined.

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