



Some critical remarks on the notion inalienable possession in Slavic as compared to Romance and other languages from the viewpoint of Radical Minimalism and Language Typology*

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Abstract: In the present article the problem of so-called alienable and inalienable possession was taken up again. The aim was to check the thesis whether all dative clitics in Bg, Mc and Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, and Montenegrin (BCSM), Bulgarian (Bg) and Macedonian (Mac) - as claimed in literature (most recently in Krapova and Cinque 2014) go back to possessive datives.

Using the example of Czech compared to BCSM, it could be shown that the constructions can be interpreted in very different ways, depending on the verb and context. In Czech, the possessive dative does not seem to appear in the same form as it is in BCSM. Instead, the *have*-construction or nominally the adnominal (possessive) genitive is used in possessive contexts. But some constructions in which a possessive clitic dative argument occurs indicate more often the malefactive or benefactive theta role (in (dis)favor of X construction/ function) rather than any kind of inalienable possessivity. This construction can also be localized structurally in a higher position of the structure tree, namely in a so-called higher applicative phrase that is closer to the sentence subject, in which it is also assigned the dative case and the theta role male-factive or benefactive to the specifier. This phrase is base-generated via external Merge in a deeper possessive / addressee position with corresponding theta roles and the possessive or addressee dative argument as indirect object.

* This contribution has been presented at the SLS-13 Slavic Linguistics Society Thirteenth Annual Meeting University of Oregon Eugene, Oregon, USA September 28-29, 2018. I have decided to publish this contribution in the present volume because the jubilee Elisabeth Erdmann is working in the domain of BCSM literature and might be interested in this topic. I hereby dedicate my contribution to her with respect and admiration for her influential work in Slavic philology.

Keywords: Inalienable Possessive Datives, Higher and Lower Applicative Phrase, Theta-roles Malefactive and Benefactive, pronominal Clitics

1. Outlining the Problem

This issue is a new attempt to classify different types of Dative noun phrases, namely Argumental and non-Argumental phrases. One of the unresolved problems is the status of Genitives and Possessive Datives¹. Possessive Datives are very common in South Slavic languages such as Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, and Montenegrin (BCSM), Bulgarian (Bg) and Macedonian (Mac). Thus, in BCSM, the Dative Possessor is attached to the first NP as a pronominal Clitic (in following = CL) in (1ab).

BCSM

- (1) a. Lekar *mu*_i je pregledao [NP glavu *t*_i]
 Doctor _{CLDatSg} AUX analyzed head
 ‘The doctor_i examined [NP[PossP his_i head]].’
mu = the head of the possessee
- b. Brat [NP [PossP *joj*]] je nestao.
 ‘Brother *her*_{CLDatSg} AUX disappeared’
joj = her own brother
 ‘Her brother disappeared.’

The problem with the analysis of (1a) a. vs. (1b) is that there is a difference in the syntactic position of the possessive Dative: in (1a), the Dative CL *mu* does not pertain to the *doctor*, but rather to the ‘head’ of someone else as a typical exponent of inalienable possession sensu stricto in BCSM.

¹ Heine (1997) distinguishes eight event schemas that account for the majority of possessive constructions in the languages of the world: The event schemas are: (1) the Action schema; (2) the Location schema; (3) the Accompaniment schema; (4) the Genitive schema; (5) the Goal schema; (6) the Source schema; (7) the Topic schema; and (8) the Equation schema. That possession and the distinction of alienable (something which is not own by yourself) vs. inalienable (something which is either some one’s own possession, part of body or a kinship) must belong to some deep-rooted cognitive universals is affirmed by the fact that these distinctions are attested in sign languages. Cf. Perniss, Zeshan (2008).

In (1b), the possessive Dative CL *joj* (her) pertain to the *brother*, thus kinship is also a part of the class of those referents which can be arguments marking *the inalienable possession*. In (1a), the Dative Cl must have undergone Possessor Raising to the clausal position for Clitics, which in BCSM is the so-called Wackernagel 2nd position (cf. Kosta and Zimmerling 2014; Zimmerling and Kosta 2014); thus, it is attached to the first stressed phrase (the NP *lekar* ‘doctor’) but it refers to the object NP (NP *glavu* ‘head’). This type corresponds with Krapova and Cinque (2014:238) “first type” which is usually labeled “possessor raising” in Romance or in Bg - a base generated construction in which the possessive clitic is „merged externally to the DP“ (in BCSM NP) expressing the possessee.

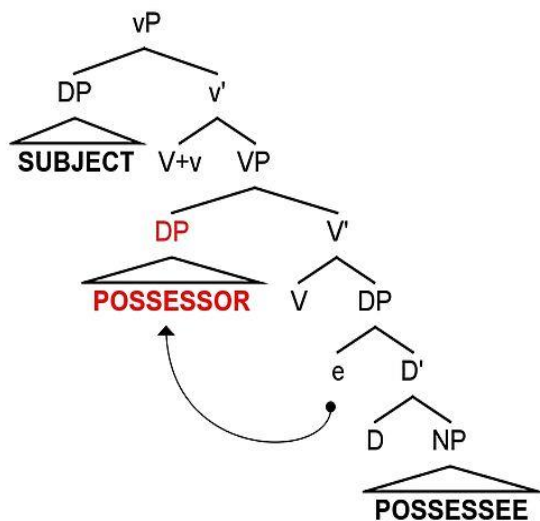


Figure 1: Possessor Raising

As opposed to the traditional opinion in Mainstream Generative Grammar framework (MGG) and also argued for in Krapova and Cinque (2014), I do not believe that the second type (1b) of the so-called “possessive Clitics” (in Krapova and Cinque, op.cit. called Genitive and confirmed by the

en/ne-construction test in Italian and French), which derived by Movement, are possessives at all.

Rather, they are Applicative Datives expressing often the Benefactor/Malfactor Theta-role. Thus, in (1b), the clitic (CL) is attached to the first stressed Noun Phrase (NP) *brat* 'brother', which is the subject of the clause. Inalienable possession (abbreviated *inal*) is a type of possession in which a noun is *obligatorily* possessed by its possessor. Nouns or nominal affixes in an inalienable possession relationship cannot exist independently or be "alienated" from their possessor. For example, a hand implies "(someone's) hand", even if it is severed from the whole body. Likewise, a father implies "(someone's) father". Inalienable nouns include body parts (e.g. leg, which is necessarily "someone's leg"), kinship terms (e.g. mother), and part-whole relations (e.g. top). Many languages reflect this distinction, but they vary in the way they mark it. Cross-linguistically, inalienability correlates with many morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties (cf. Chappel and Mc Gregor (eds.) 1996). Before we turn to the cross-linguistic evidence in section 3, we expose the problem and the analysis of Applicative Phrases in section 2.

2. Functions and Distribution of Slavic adnominal Genitive and the Possessives in Applicative Phrases

The adnominal Genitive can have many different meanings:

(2) a. [DP kniha Petra]
can mean

- (i) the book which Peter owns (inalienable Possession)
- (ii) the book which Peter has right now but is lent from the library (alienable Possession)
- (iii) the book that Peter wrote (Agentive function)

Contrary to that, the Possessive phrase

(2) b. [_{POSSP} Petrova kniha]

can only mean “his own book (which he owns)”

(2) c. Petr si vypůjčil knihu

Peter borrowed a book

can only mean that the book has been lent to him and is not the property of Peter, it excludes the reading of ownership possession, cf. the ungrammatical² (2d) vs. (2e) with the exclusion of anaphoric binding in (2d) (principle A of the Binding Theory of LGB, Chomsky 1981) and the licensing of pronominal binding in (2e):

(2) d. *Petr si vypůjčil *svou*_i knihu,

Peter borrowed his own book

as contrary of the possession by someone else, cf.

(2) e. Petr_i si vypůjčil *jeho*_j knihu³

Peter borrowed someone else’s book

In general, the *alienable–inalienable distinction* (*al*, *inal*) is an example of a binary possessive class system, i.e., one in which two kinds of possession are distinguished (*al* vs. *inal*). The alienability distinction is the most common kind of binary possessive class system, but it is not the only one.

² Abbreviations: NP = Noun Phrase, DP = Determinal Phrase, LGB = Lectures on Government and Binding, Chomsky 1981, al = alienable, inal = inalienable, CL = clitic pronoun, Indices i, j... are markers for coreferentiality between the antecedent and the referent. Languages: Cz = Czech, Slk = Slovak, Pl = Polish, US = Upper Sorbian, LS = Lower Sorbian, Ru = Russian, ORu = Old Russian, Ukr = Ukrainian, Br = Belorussian, Bg = Bulgarian, Mac = North Macedonian, BCSM = Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, Montenegrin.

³ We can also see that the use of the Dative reflexive clitic *si* in both sentences does not mark possessivity at all, but expresses the Theta-role of Benefactor, thus irrespective of whether the possessivity of the book refers to a permanent inalienable possession (2d) or an alienable possession (2e).

Some languages have more than two possessive classes: the Anêm language of Papua New Guinea, for example, has at least 20 and Amele language has 32. Statistically, 15–20% of the world's languages have obligatory possession. Here is a first approximation of the problem: Not all Slavic languages behave the same. In South Slavic Languages, Bg, Mac, BCSM (and Slovenian), the Dative Clitic is mostly the Possessive Dative and it is the inalienable – alienable distinction in which this Dative Clitic shows up. In North Slavic Clitic Languages (Cz, Slk, Pl, US and LS), the Dative Clitic can either be analyzed as Possessive Dative (but only in case of the inalienable possessives), but most cases prefer the marking of the Theta-role *Benefactor*.

Coming back to our examples (1a) vs. (1b), as repeated in (1'a), (1'b):

- (1') a. Lekar_i mu_j je pregledao [NP [PossP t_j glavu]].
 Doctor CLDatSg AUX analyzed head
 'The doctor examined his head.'
 (the head of the possessor)
 b. Brat [NP [PossP joj_{CLDatSg}]] je nestao.
 'Brother disappeared on her'
 'Her (own) brother disappeared.'

In our paper, we analyze the difference in marking of inalienable possession caused by the different pronominal systems of various Slavic Clitic languages (BCSM, Bg, Cz) and Non-Clitic languages (Modern Ru⁴). This is expressed by the difference of allowing Dative Clitics in a Possessive Phrase vs. in an Applicative Phrase or not.

We state that it is doubtful that we can call all Dative Clitics in the mentioned syntactic positions (coreferential either with the subject or object of the clause) *inalienable Possessive Datives*, since the expression of Possessiveness is not obligatory in every language and since the S-structure does

⁴ In ORu, pronominal and auxiliar CL have been used to mark similar functions like in the Clitic languages, cf. e.g. Liebner's Master thesis (2019).

not explain which Theta-role the NPs are assigned to. Rather, it is what was once called D-structure (in LGB Chomsky 1981 and Kosta 1992). The explanation for the different analysis of the examples (1-a vs. 1-b) can be seen in two different ways in which semantics is reflected in overt syntax (at S-structure in terms of LGB 1981), and thus interpreted as the mapping of semantic interpretation via syntactic hierarchy of Theta-roles.

In ex. (1a), we assume that the Dative Clitic has raised to the CL domain (presumably the CP phase) out of a Possessive Phrase by **Move** (internal Merge).

In (1b), the Possessive Phrase is part of the NP (*brat*) so that no Possessor Raising analysis is necessary. But this CL Dative refers to an antecedent not mentioned in the clause but is rather D-linked to the referent situationally or contextually.

Further support in favor of the proposed analysis comes from the difference between Clitic- vs. Non-Clitic languages. Modern Russian is a non-clitic language (it was a Clitic language in former stages of its history, e.g. in Old Russian, cf. Zaliznjak. Liebner 2019, Liebner Ph.D. diss.).

In the Cz ex. (3a) and in the Ru ex. (3b/c), we assume that the NP oscillates ambiguously between a possessive Phrase and a higher Applicative Phrase expressing Theta-roles *Benefactor* or *Malefactor* of the pronominal argument.

- (3) a. Lékař *mu* prohlédl hlavu Cz
Doctor CL_{DatSg} to him analyzed head
(i) "The doctor has examined the head in favor of him" (Applicative-Addressee)
(ii) "The doctor has examined his head" (Inalienable Possessive/Binding BT Principle B)

- b. Vrač osmotrel *ego* golovu Ru
 Doctor examined his_{GenPoss} head
 “The doctor has examined his head”
 (Inalienable Possessive/Binding BT Principle B)
- c. Vrač osmotrel *emu*_{DatSgApl} golovu Ru
 (Benefactor reading)
 Doctor examined him_{DatPoss or ApplP(Benef)} head
 “The doctor has examined the head in his favor”
- d. Vrač osmotrel *ego*_{GenSgApl} golovu
 “The doctor has examined the head of him”

The assumption that two different constructions have to be differentiated and are in play – a real inalienable possessive construction as body-part relation in Cz 2 a/ii which in Russian is reflected as the Genitive of inalienable possession – and an higher applicative Addressee in Cz 2 a/i and in Russian with Dative will be confirmed in the course of this presentation assuming the following syntactic constraints which divide and help to differentiate the two superficially similar cases.

In Mainstream Generative Framework (MGG), examples such as (3abc) have all been analyzed as inalienable constructions of the possessive type. But there arguments which militate against such a unified approach and which deserve a more elaborated analysis differentiating between Cz (3a), the reading of which oscillates between possessive inalienable and benefactor readings. This syntactically caused ambiguity can be disambiguated by the similar exposure as in Russian, but this time with possessive adjectives

- (3) e. Lékař_i *muj* prohlédl hlavu Cz
 Doctor CL_{DAT} examined head
 ambiguous reading: between Possessive and Benefactor reading
- f. Lékař_i prohlédl *jeho_i/svou_i* hlavu //
- g. Lékař_i prohlédl **jeho_i/*svou_i* hlavu
 only possessive reading possible

Thus, in (3) e., likewise in BCSM in (1a), the clitic pronoun in Dative can be derived by Possessor Raising structures:

(3') f. Lékař_i *mu_j* prohlédl [NP [PossP *t_i* hlavu_i].

Since Cz is a Cl Second language, the Ru options (3cd) in which the Genitive NP can only be Possessive while the Dative NP can have both possessive and benefactor readings must be expressed by Clitic Climbing. In ex. (3d), the two different meanings must also have two different syntactic positions in the tree.

Due to the NP-external status of the possessor, the possessive dative forms are also known as (a subtype of) external possession construction which are not licensed by their own argument (head) within the same Phrase (DP Phase).

A very interesting evidence for similar constructions which can be interpreted either way, as external possessors or as benefactors, can be found in some Romance languages and also in Germanic languages (cf. 4 and 5 in German vs. 6, 7, 8 in French, Italian and Spanish):

(4) German Die Mutter wäscht dem Kind die Haare.

the mother washes the.DAT child the hair

'The mother is washing the child's hair.'

(König and Haspelmath 1998: 526)

For me, these constructions may imply possession but in fact from the point of view of semantics and pragmatics, it is highly doubtful whether we must descend from an external possessor meaning as it is the case in the work by Lamiroy and Delbecque 1998, and also in Van de Velde and Lamiroy 2017. The latter contribution discusses similar examples stating, that there is an external possessor relation, but the clitic pronoun in Italian *lo* which cliticizes onto the AUX is not a good example for possessive

reading because it retains not to the leg and its possession by the possessor but instead it can be interpreted as being a relation between the verb and its Dative internal argument which is assigned a Malefactive Theta-role similarly to the Czech example under (8a). The examples mentioned in Van de Velde and Lamiroy 2017:359. Thus, these cases need to be explained in another way than as external possessors.

The following examples from German, French, Italian, and Spanish seem to cast the former distinction into doubt, too, because they all show contexts in which the Accusative Pronouns (Clitics) can be interpreted as Accusative Arguments assigned the Theta-Roles Malefactive:

- (5) German Er hat *ihm* in den Hals gebissen.
 he AUX Pron_{3SG.M.ACC} in the neck bitten
 ‘He bit him in his neck.’
- (6) French On l’a blessé à la jambe.
 one CL_{3SG.M.ACC} AUX injured at the leg
 ‘They injured his leg.’
- (7) Italian L’ hanno ferito alla gamba.
 CL_{3SG.M.ACC} have._{3PL} injured to the leg
 ‘They injured his leg.’
- (8) Spanish Lo han herido en la pierna.
 CL_{3SG.M.ACC} have._{3PL} injured in the leg
 ‘They injured his leg.’

3. The Evidence for *inalienable Possession* in the languages of Polynesia and Japanese

For most linguists, the term “inalienability” evokes the complementary term “alienability” and brings to mind the existence of different ways of expressing possession in many exotic languages of Australia, the Pacific, Africa and the Americas.

3.1 Possession in Polynesian (Cook Island and New Zealand Maori)

Possession is a widely discussed topic in Polynesian Linguistics in part because of the complex dual system shared by most languages in the Polynesian family and retained largely unchanged until today. This possession system is represented by the notion of A/O possession: a dual possessive system with a strong semantic component, most often related as the presence or absence of control between possessor and possessee. Some linguists (Mutu, 2011) have alluded to the possibility of some levelling occurring in certain languages, but most point to a surprisingly strong retention throughout the Polynesian language family.

Despite this supposed unity throughout Polynesia, linguists are less than unified in their interpretation of this possessive system. Wilson, for example quickly dismisses the idea that the Maori and Hawaiian systems exhibit an *alienable/inalienable* distinction (Wilson, 1982). Others, such as Schutz (on Maori, 1995) and Du Feu (on Rapa Nui, 1996), however, describe the system *in exactly those terms*. Understandably, authors such as Wilson resist the label of inalienability in order to suggest the semantic complexity underpinning the system. A cycle of complexity has thus been created in the literature, and most writings on Polynesian possession focus on the precise semantic motivation behind the synchronic possessive system.

Few if any linguists, however, have considered the possessive system diachronically as a process of gradual levelling of a Proto-Polynesian possessive system that was most likely to a greater extent semantically motivated. Mutu has acknowledged levelling in Modern Maori, though they consider these forms somehow inferior or even “mistakes,” and the true extent of levelling has not been explored (Mutu, 2011). Others, such as Harlow acknowledge some dialectal variation in the possessive forms, though they still insist that the conventional A/O possession system is unchanged (Harlow, 2007). (I make a distinction here between Modern Maori, that which is spoken by native speakers and Traditional, or Academic Maori, that which is learned in school by non-native speakers. Traditional Maori is recognizable by the Modern Maori speaker and is characterized to a certain extent by an almost hypercorrect A/O possession system.)

My considerations are based on my knowledge of Cook Island Maori, but also by the New Zealand native speakers. I have taken some data from a large corpus collected by Kenneth Baclawski in the Pakeha settlement of New Zealand and published in Linguistics 54: Maori Linguistics Professor James N. Stanford, Professor Margaret Mutu, Senior Lecturer Arapera Ngaha Dartmouth College, University of Auckland February 24th, 2011. The publication is accessible in http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/~kbaclawski/Baclawski_2011_Maori_possession.pdf

-yā Possessive Suffix

- (9) ayahnya/ his or her father ayah father
 ibunya / his or her mother ibu mother

-nyā Possessive Suffix
mejanya his or her table

buku dari perpustakaan "the book from the library"
(a lent book)
buku perpustakaan (alienable possession)
book library
"library book", "a book in the ownership of the library" (inalienable possession)

- (10) kepalaku "my head" aku "head"
 kepala Possessive Adjective
 kepalamu "your head"
 kepalanya "his/her head"
 kepalakita "our head"
 kepalakamu "your head"
 kepala mereka "their heads"
- (11) a. aku pacar kamu "I am your friend"
 b. kamu pacar aku "You are my friend"

3.2 Possession in Maori and other Polynesian Languages

The A-/O-possession system, as defined by Mutu (building from the work of others, such as Harlow, 2007 and Wilson, 1982) hinges on the semantic choice between two possessive morphemes, *a-* and *o-*. These morphemes may be free, as shown in basic possession, or bound to other morphemes, such as the articles *te* and *ngā*, or manifested in still other morphemes such as *nō*, *nā*, *mō*, and *mā*. These morphemes are used not only in possessive phrases, but also in constructions such as the so-called Actor Emphatic construction, a type of emphatic fronting. Despite the variety in the manifestations of A- and O-Class forms, it is held that every instance of A- and O-Classes can be traced directly and synchronically back to a semantic distinction (Mutu 2011). While Wilson manages to trace the system back to a Proto-Oceanic distinction that became a full-fledged possession system in Proto-Polynesian, he still insists that it has remained almost entirely unchanged to this day (Wilson, 1982). Consider the following functional distribution of the A-/O-Class-system in Mutu, cf.:

The A-Class

Use of the 'a' category when the thing that is possessed is any of the following:

1. People you have responsibility/superiority over, and things you have control of, e.g., children; wife/husband (*wahine/tāne*); technology and machinery not used for transport e.g., computers, bull-dozers, cranes etc; pets.
2. Man made things (but not clothing), e.g., money; pens, paper; cups, knives.
3. Actions.
4. Food and drink (but not drinking water).

The O-Class

Use of the 'o' category when the thing that is possessed is any of the following:

parents, siblings
friends
partners (but not wife/husband, see above)
feelings, thoughts, qualities
transport
shelter
large immovable man-made things
pure drinking water and medicine
clothes
parts of the body

The neutral category

There is a neutral category which is used with singular possessive pronouns, e.g., instead of *tōku ingoa* one can say *taku ingoa*. The following are the ‘neutral’ possessives: Neutral possessives are not used with plural

The contrasting semantics of these two domains of coding possession has been remarked already in the beginning of the 20th Century by Lévy-Bruhl (1914: 97-98) that in Melanesian languages there were typically two classes of nouns, distinguished by the method used to mark possession: One class comprised suffix-taking nouns designating parts of body, kin, spatial relations, object closely associated with a person such as weapons and fishing nets and also inanimate parts with the suffix indicating the person and number of the possessor, thus Agreement between subject -possessor and the object. The second class comprises all other nouns; for these nouns, possession was represented by a free possessive morpheme to which the same set of pronominal suffixes was attached.

3.3 Further Evidence in Japanese

3.3.1 Possessive vs. Existential Sentences

An interesting observation about the relation of Possessivity and Inalienability vs. Benefactor Systems of Applicative Phrases can be seen in Japanese, cf. for details Yamada (1998). In the following, I am referring more or less to this paper and also to a paper by Kishimoto (2012). I also want to refer to the latter two contributions in the following section since I believe Japanese can in many respects shed light onto languages with the alienable/inalienable Possessivity system we have been discussing so far.

3.3.2 Possessive Datives and Honorification in Japanese

In Japanese, the subject honorific form of a predicate is preferred to the plain one when the subject of a sentence refers to a person to whom a person to whom a speaker should pay deference!

(12) Tanaka sensei-ga hon-o {kai/o-kaki-ni nat} -ta
Tanaka teacher-NOM book-ACC {write/HP-write-HONOR}-
PAST

In (12), for example, it is to be desired that the speaker should use the subject honorific form of the verb, i.e. *o-kaki-ni nar-*, since the subject *Tanaka sensei* designates a person who is worthy of respect (a teacher). This phenomenon has been called „subject honorification“ since Harada (1976).

(13) a. {Tanaka sensei/*Taroo}-ni o-ko-san-ga futa-ri
o-ari- ni nar-u
{Tanaka-teacher/*Taro}-DAT HP-son-HONOR-NOM
two ClassPers HP-be-HONOR_HAVE_PRES

b. Sono Kooen-ni {Tanaka sensei /*Taroo}-ga
DET park_LOC {Tanaka teacher/Taro}-NOM
irassyar-u
HONOR-be-Pres

Based on the evidence in Slavic in section 2 and confirmed by the data of some exotic languages and Japanese, we argue in favor of a somewhat more differentiated analysis of what has been univocally and wrongly called possession. We have shown that why Dative CL in BCSM must be interpreted as possessive CL derived by Possessor-Raising, this is not always the Case in Cz or in Ru. Rather, we can demonstrate that semantic differences expressed by the event semantic and the theta-grid of verbs - introduced in Kosta (2020) – are reflected in syntax, because semantics is unambiguously mapped onto syntax in a 1:1 relation.

In Kosta and Zimmerling (2014:478-483) and also Kosta and Zimmerling (2020 in print), we have demonstrated, that in majority of Slavic languages the dative case has also possessive uses.

But: we could also show that a number of facts militate against an analysis of all Cl Datives as *just Possessive Datives*. Thus, in cases when the Possessor Raising Analysis as exposed in Cinque and Krapova (2014) and refrained under inclusion of the Minimality notion in Kosta and Zimmerling (2014:482), the semantic notion of possessivity is not reasonable to assume. Thus, in the Cz examples, (14) the Refl CL Dative is not Possession at all because the order of the beer only signals the intention to get yourself a beer and the beer is at the time of the ordering not yet in possession. Secondly, it is an example of alienable possession post eventum:

- (14) a. *Dívka_i si_i dala pivo*
 The girl_{NOM} herself got a beer
 “The girl got herself a beer” (ordered a beer)
- b.* *Dívce_i se_i dalo pivo*
 The girl_{DAT, ReflAcc.} given_{Impersonal} beer
- c. *Devushka_i zakazala [sebe/dlja sebj_a]_i pivo*
 The girl_{NOM} ordered herself_{DAT} /to herself_{GEN} a beer
 “The girl ordered a beer for herself”
- d.* *Devushke_i zakazali sebe_i pivo*
 *The girl_{DAT} they ordered herself_{DAT} a beer

The explanation for the grammaticality contrast between the a/b and c/d data is that only actional verbs which exercise control over the event and include agent or experiencer as Theta-role in subject position can control Possesseees in direct or indirect position of objects. Thus, it is not the NP or noun which decides about the alienable non-alienable distinction but the actional class of the predicate.

Löbner (1985) proposes a three-way distinction of nominal concept types that distinguishes sortal, relational and functional concepts. The initial distinction is further elaborated in Löbner (2011) in which he introduces a classification that is based on two dimensions: arity and reference. More specifically, the contrasts that underlie these concept types are monadic vs. polyadic, and inherently unique vs. not inherently unique. The resulting classification is illustrated in the following table.

	not inherently unique	inherently unique
not inherently relational	sortal nouns (SN) $\langle e, t \rangle$ <i>dog, tree, adjective, water</i>	individual nouns (IN) e <i>sun, weather, Mary, prime minister</i>
inherently relational	relational nouns (RN) $\langle e, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$ <i>sister, leg, friend, blood</i>	functional nouns (FN) $\langle e, e \rangle$ <i>mother, surface, head, begin</i>

Table 1: A Three-level system of Nominal concepts (Löbner 1985)

4. Further Perspectives and Assumptions

The prediction is that in constructions with double objects (dative-accusative CL), a reordering of Dative and Accusative is possible both in Control Infinitives and in Causatives under a Clitic Climbing analysis if the Phrase is non-argumental but rather an adjunct. These peculiarities are in large exposed in Kosta (2019, 2020).

This behavior has been described in the case of higher Applicatives, which assign the Theta-roles Benefactor or Malefactor. They allow for reconstruction, displacement by extraction or even sub-extraction. Real Possesives behave like barriers so that nothing can be moved or sub-extracted from a real possessive NP, except for Possessor Raising.

BCSM and Bulgarian are languages that are known to make a wide use of the possessive dative, but it has not as yet been extensively studied from this perspective (with the exception of Cinque and Krapova 2009, 2014). To be more precise, all grammars of BCSM discuss this phenomenon, and examples also abound in papers (see e.g. Antonić 2004, König (2001), König and Haspelmath (1998), but what still appears to be missing is an in-depth analysis of the syntactic mechanism within the theoretical approach of Radical Minimalism as it applies to Clitics (cf., however Kosta and Krivochen 2014, Krivochen and Kosta 2013 and Kosta and Zimmerling 2014 and Zimmerling and Kosta 2013). We will take a closer look into this phenomenon as well in our new publication Kosta (2020).

We have shown that inalienable constructions of the external possessive type are not just possessives derived by Possessor Raising but rather and more often external arguments outside of a co-referential NP located in the tree under the label “high Applicative Phrase” (Pylkkänen).

Following Pylkkänen’s PhD. Diss. (2002/2008), the benefactives are typically seated under a higher applicative phrase position, and they are typical for causative constructions such as in (15):

(15) John let his wife eat the cake

Contrary to this, an addressee oriented interpretation of the Dative reflected in a double object construction must be located under a lower applicative phrase. Thus, according to the PhD diss. of Pylkkänen (2002, published in 2008), the benefactives are typically in a higher position in the tree above the possessive and addressee phrases, called higher applicatives. In this position, first and second causatives (cf. Kosta 2020, 2021)

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are located expressing often the Accusative argument with a Theta-role called benefactive:

(16) He made/let his wife eat the food

As opposed to this position, the typical addressee and thus also possessive position in Dative is seated underneath the higher applicative phrase (HAP) being dominated by it and demonstrated with constructions such as (17):

(17) a. I baked a cake for him
b. I baked him a cake

This position Pylkkänen (op.cit.) calls lower applicative phrase (LAP). Both positions can be demonstrated and analyzed in the figures 2 and 3 below:

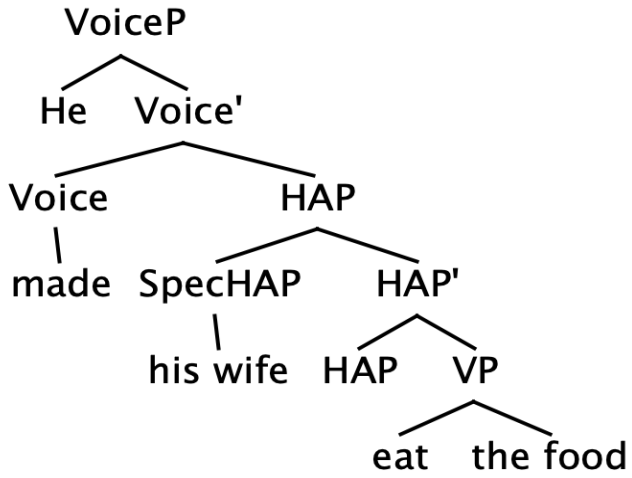


Fig.2: Causatives and Higher Applicative Phrases

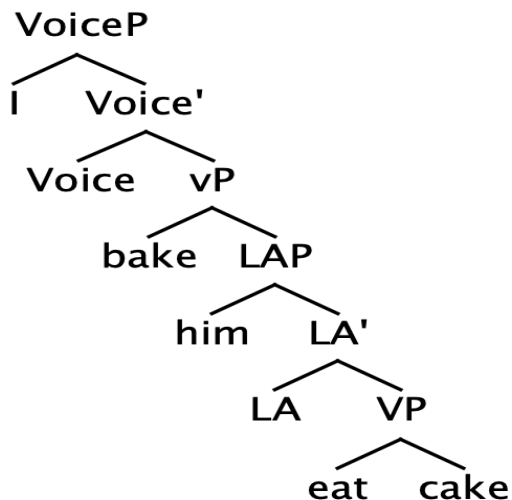


Fig. 3: Lower Applicative Phrase and inalienable possessives

Summary:

The differences of semantics and syntax of the constructions under consideration – inalienable vs alienable possessive Datives and benefactive/malefactive Datives - result from the different status of the NPs/DPs, which actually are high applicative phrases in the layer of the TP (finite phrase) domain with the Theta-role Benefactor or Malefactor rather than Possessives. The fact that they behave differently than the real possessive dative phrase is caused by their different Theta role assigned in a higher position in the tree. This allows them to move as relatively free constituents, licensing both Left Branch Extraction and Clitic Climbing. This evidence has been broadly and in large demonstrated on Clitic Climbing in Control Infinitive Clauses vs. Causative Clauses in Kosta (2020a).

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