



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

## Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

Kim, D.; Kim D.

### Citation

Kim, D. (2017, September 20). *Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli*. LOT dissertation series. LOT, Utrecht. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/55948>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/55948>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/55948> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

**Author:** Kim, Deborah

**Title:** Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

**Date:** 2017-09-20

## 4

# Possession

This chapter describes three varieties of possessive construction: 1) NP-internal possessive construction (§4.1), 2) predicative possessive construction (§4.2), and 3) substantival possessives (§4.3). The predicative construction is used to establish a relationship of possession, while the NP-internal construction presupposes the possessive relationship (Dixon 2010b:256). Substantival possessives may serve either function.

Within these possessive constructions, the nature of the possessor does not influence the structure in any way. The construction maintains the same structure whether the possessor is a common noun, pronoun, proper noun, or a kin term, or whether it is animate or non-animate, human or non-human. The nature of the possessive relationship, in terms of time or permanence, also does not affect the structure. As for the possessed item, no distinction is made between alienable and inalienable nouns.

In addition to marking NP-internal, predicative, and substantival possession, the genitive marker *-an* is also used to mark the underlying subject of a nominalized complement clause (§10.2.2.1).

### 4.1 NP-internal possessive construction

NP-internal possession is realized in two ways, as described below. In both constructions, the possessor precedes the possessed item, and the possessed item is the head of the NP. The possessive construction within an NP may be used to express a wide range of relationships, some of which go beyond mere possession. It may express ownership (4.3), whole-part relationship (4.6), kinship relationship (4.1), an attribute (4.2), or association (4.4).

1. Juxtaposition: The possessor and the possessed item are simply juxtaposed within the NP. This involves no additional marking, besides the ordering of elements. The possessor may be a common noun or proper noun, as in the following examples.

- (4.1) *putxu radzen*  
king daughter  
'the King's daughter'
- (4.2) *muu vits sul*  
1SG.NNOM aunt year  
'my aunt's age'
- (4.3) *kuuraç tçed*  
Keerash house  
'Keerash's house'
- (4.4) *amad bejt*  
Amad song  
'Amad's song'

If the possessor is expressed as a pronoun, the non-nominative forms are used (as described in §3.1.1). As with common nouns and proper nouns, the two elements are simply juxtaposed, with the possessor preceding the possessed item.

- (4.5) *muu jaktu*  
1SG.NNOM shirt  
'my shirt'
- (4.6) *ta tsem*  
2SG.NNOM eye  
'your eye'
- (4.7) *maç dāwlat*  
1PL.NNOM country  
'our country'
- (4.8) *wəf piç*  
3PL.NNOM.DIST cat  
'their cat'

This way of marking possession may sometimes lead to ambiguity; when two nouns are juxtaposed, they could potentially be interpreted as a possessor followed by a possessed item, or as a modifier noun followed by a head noun. For example, the two-noun sequence in (4.9) may be understood as Alima's teacher or as a teacher named Alima; in (4.10) the two possible interpretations are Tilu's reins or reins made of gold.

- (4.9) *alima malum*  
*Alima teacher*  
 ‘Alima’s teacher’ or ‘Teacher Alima’
- (4.10) *tilu tizgin*  
*gold reins*  
 ‘Tilu’s reins’ or ‘golden reins’

2. The pronominal genitive construction: The genitive marker *-an* is attached to the end of the possessor NP, followed by the non-nominative pronoun which agrees (in person and number, and deixis, if applicable) with the possessor, and then followed by the possessed item. This construction is less ambiguous than the juxtaposition construction above, in that: 1) the noun to which the genitive marker attaches is clearly marked as a possessor, and 2) the non-nominative pronoun preceding the possessed item specifies the person and number of the possessor.

- (4.11) *kuuraç-an wi dest*  
*Keerash-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST friend*  
 ‘Keerash’s friend’
- (4.12) *muu jaχ-an wi tçur*  
*1SG.NNOM sister-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST husband*  
 ‘my sister’s husband’
- (4.13) *batço-ef-an wεf skit*  
*child-PL.NNOM-GEN 3PL.NNOM.DIST play*  
 ‘children’s play/game’
- (4.14) *kalo-ef-an wεf wux*  
*sheep-PL.NNOM-GEN 3PL.NNOM.DIST grass*  
 ‘sheep’s grass’

If the possessor is expressed as a pronoun, the possessor pronoun is in the non-nominative form and still takes the genitive marker *-an*, followed by the same pronoun in non-nominative form repeating the person and number information of the possessor, which is then followed by the possessed item.

- (4.15) *muu-an muu orzuu*  
*1SG.NNOM-GEN 1SG.NNOM hope*  
 ‘my hope’

- (4.16) *ta-an ta daftar*  
 2SG.NNOM-GEN 2SG.NNOM notebook  
 ‘your notebook’
- (4.17) *wi-an wi num*  
 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST name  
 ‘his name’
- (4.18) *maç-an maç dijur*  
 1PL.NNOM-GEN 1PL.NNOM region  
 ‘our hometown’

## 4.2 Predicative possessive construction

Besides the NP-internal possessive construction, there is also a predicative possessive construction. Sarikoli lacks a verb ‘have’ and uses another strategy for establishing a possessive relationship predicatively: it employs the existential predicate *jost* ‘exist’ or its negative counterpart *nist*, in combination with the CS (copula subject) argument NP which is headed by the possessed item. As existential predicates, *jost* and *nist* can only take a single core argument, which is nominative. The possessor is marked as a possessor within the NP, in the non-nominative form plus the genitive marker *-an*, rather than as an A argument. Semantically, these possessive clauses are expressed as ‘[the possessed item] exists’ or ‘[the possessed item] does not exist’, as shown in the following examples:

- (4.19) *wi-an harabo jost*  
 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN vehicle be.IPFV  
 ‘He has a vehicle.’ (lit. Of his, there is a vehicle.)
- (4.20) *wi-an harabo nist*  
 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN vehicle NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘He does not have a vehicle.’ (lit. Of his, there is no vehicle.)

As with the NP-internal construction, the predicative possessive construction covers a number of relationships, including ownership (4.21), whole-part relationship (4.22), association (4.23), and kinship relationship (4.24) & (4.25). Attributes are generally not expressed through this construction; the NP-internal construction is the preferred way to state that someone has a certain attribute. (4.24) & (4.25) show that a numeral or interrogative word *tsund* ‘how many’

may be added to the CS argument NP to indicate how many items are possessed.

- (4.21) *maç-an stəwr nist*  
 1PL.NNOM-GEN yak NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘We do not have yaks.’ (lit. Of ours, there is no yak.)
- (4.22) *ta-an ðandun jost=o*  
 2SG.NNOM-GEN tooth be.IPFV=Q  
 ‘Do you have teeth?’ (lit. Of yours, are there teeth?)
- (4.23) *mu-an i swol jost*  
 1SG.NNOM-GEN one question be.IPFV  
 ‘I have a question.’ (lit. Of mine, there is a question.)
- (4.24) *tamaç-an tsund batço jost*  
 2PL.NNOM-GEN how.much child be.IPFV  
 ‘How many children do you(pl) have?’ (lit. Of yours(pl), how many children are there?)
- (4.25) *wef-an haroj batço jost*  
 3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN three child be.IPFV  
 ‘They have three children.’ (lit. Of theirs, there are three children.)

Proper nouns and common nouns followed by the genitive marker *-an* may also act as the possessor in this construction:

- (4.26) *tursun-an pul nist*  
 Tursun-GEN money NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘Tursun does not have money.’ (lit. Of Tursun’s, there is no money.)
- (4.27) *rajon-an ruçt baron jost*  
 Rayon-GEN red dress be.IPFV  
 ‘Rayon has a red dress.’ (lit. Of Rayon’s, there is a red dress.)
- (4.28) *di batço-an ato ano nist*  
 3SG.NNOM.PROX child-GEN father mother NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘This child does not have a father and mother.’ (lit. Of this child’s, there are no father and mother.)

- (4.29) *kalo-ef-an*                      *wux jost*  
 sheep-PL.NNOM-GEN grass be.IPFV  
 ‘The sheep have grass.’ (lit. Of the sheep’s, there is grass.)
- (4.30) *dejgun-ef-an*                      *waxt nist*  
 farmer-PL.NNOM-GEN time NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘The farmers have no time.’ (lit. Of the farmers’, there is no time.)

### 4.3 Substantival possessives

The substantival possessive is formed by attaching the genitive marker *-an* to a non-nominative NP, as in (4.31) - (4.34). A substantival possessive is the head of an NP rather than just a modifier within an NP; it is used independently, without a possessed item acting as the head of the NP.

- (4.31) *jad*                      *mu-an*  
 3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM-GEN  
 ‘This is mine.’
- (4.32) *mu-an*                      *mas*  
 1SG.NNOM-GEN also  
 ‘Mine, too.’
- (4.33) *ta-an*                      *az wi-an*                      *lawr veðdz*  
 2SG.NNOM-GEN ABL 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN big be.PRF  
 ‘Yours is bigger than hers. (Evidential/New information)’
- (4.34) *tamaç-an*                      *mu = ri*                      *χwε*  
 2PL.NNOM-GEN 1SG.NNOM = DAT happy  
 ‘I like yours(pl).’

Substantival possessive forms may also be derived from common nouns, as in (4.35) & (4.36), and proper nouns, as in (4.37) & (4.38) by attaching the genitive marker *-an* to the possessor.

- (4.35) *jad*                      *χevd piç-an*  
 3SG.NOM.PROX milk cat-GEN  
 ‘This milk is the cat’s.’



- (4.36) *a=batço-an mu=ri ðo*  
 ACC=child-GEN 1SG.NNOM=DAT give.IPFV  
 ‘Give me the child’s.’
- (4.37) *jad qalam kuraç-an nist*  
 3SG.NOM.PROX pen Keerash-GEN NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘This pen is not Keerash’s.’
- (4.38) *romila-an mas tu=ri ðo=am*  
 Romila-GEN also 2SG.NNOM=DAT give.IPFV=1SG.IPFV  
 ‘I will also give Romila’s to you.’

A substantival possessive may function as the subject of an intransitive clause (4.39), subject or object of a transitive clause (4.40), copula subject (4.41), copula complement (4.42), or even an indirect object of a ditransitive clause (4.43) & (4.44).

- (4.39) *zurohon-an mas na mawg*  
 Zurohon-GEN also NEG die.PFV  
 ‘Zurohon’s has not died, either.’
- (4.40) *mu-an a=wi-an xug*  
 1SG.NNOM-GEN ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN eat.PFV  
 ‘Mine ate his.’
- (4.41) *mu nabus-an eng çlet*  
 1SG.NNOM grandchild-GEN SUPL soft  
 ‘My grandchild’s is the softest.’
- (4.42) *ju ktub-xejl dzuul batço-ef-an*  
 3PL.NOM.DIST book-PL.NOM small child-PL.NNOM-GEN  
 ‘Those books are for little children.’
- (4.43) *wef-an=ir xats na ðo=an*  
 3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN=DAT water NEG give.IPFV=1SG.IPFV  
 ‘Let us not give water to theirs.’

- (4.44) *nur* *χu-an* *kan = an*,  
today REFL.NNOM-GEN do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
- wɛf-an = ir* *uz digar maθ wɔχt*  
3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN = DAT again other day time
- zwoð = an*  
pull.out.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
- ‘Let us do our own today, and make time for theirs another day.’