



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

The typology and formal semantic of adnominal possession

Karvovskaya, E.

Citation

Karvovskaya, E. (2018, May 2). *The typology and formal semantic of adnominal possession*. *LOT dissertation series*. LOT, Netherlands Graduate School of Linguistics, Utrecht. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/62062>

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/1887/62062>

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

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/62062> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

Author: Karvovskaya, Lena

Title: The typology and formal semantic of adnominal possession

Date: 2018-05-02

The typology and formal semantics of
adnominal possession

Published by

LOT

Trans 10

3512 JK Utrecht

The Netherlands

phone: +31 30 253 6111

e-mail: lot@uu.nl

<http://www.lotschool.nl>

Cover illustration: Ishkashim district, Tajikistan; photo by Lena Karvovskaya

ISBN: 978-94-6093-283-0

NUR: 616

Copyright © 2018 Lena Karvovskaya. All rights reserved.

The typology and formal semantics of adnominal possession

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op woensdag 2 mei 2018
klokke 13.45 uur

door

Lena Karvovskaya

geboren 21 oktober 1985
Moskou, Rusland

Promotores: Prof. Dr. J.E.C.V. Rooryck
Prof. Dr. M. Zimmermann

Co-promotor: Dr. E. Schoorlemmer

Promotiecomissie: Prof. Dr. Regine Eckardt (Universität Konstanz)
Prof. Dr. Marjo van Koppen (Universiteit Utrecht, Meertens Instituut)
Prof. Dr. Jenny Doetjes

This thesis is dedicated to my parents,
Nadežda and Aleksandr.

Contents

List of Tables	xi
List of Figures	xiii
List of abbreviations	xv
Acknowledgements	xxi
1 Introduction	1
1.1 The research question	1
1.2 Methodology and assumptions	2
1.2.1 Possessive constructions: the components	3
1.2.2 Adnominal possession: semantics and typology	4
1.2.3 Adnominal possession in this thesis	14
1.2.4 Data sources and methodological problems	15
1.3 The sample	16
1.4 Preview	19
2 Idiosyncratic strategies	21
2.1 Introduction	21
2.1.1 Two patterns of distribution	22
2.1.2 An idiosyncratic strategy: three main factors	23
2.1.3 Possessive marking: meaning and distribution	28
2.2 Idiosyncratically marked relations	31
2.2.1 The meaning effect	31
2.2.2 Deriving the relation from the possessed noun	35
2.2.3 Methodological problems	49
2.3 Idiosyncratic strategies: an analysis	54
2.3.1 Competition between two lexical items	54
2.3.2 The components of the analysis	59
2.3.3 Case studies	67
2.4 Conclusion	74

3	Extending the proposal: possessive modifiers	77
3.1	Introduction	77
3.1.1	The proposal: a brief summary	78
3.1.2	Possessive classifiers; a general overview	79
3.1.3	Possessive modifiers: a special case of possessive classifiers	83
3.1.4	Possessive modifiers and possible systems of possessive marking	86
3.2	Uniform marking strategies with possessive modifiers	90
3.2.1	Specific relations	91
3.2.2	Underspecified relations	96
3.2.3	Possessive modifier as a variable over relations	100
3.2.4	Conclusion	109
3.3	Combining (non)-idiosyncratic marking and modifiers	110
3.3.1	Possessive modifiers as part of idiosyncratic marking	111
3.3.2	Some residual cases	123
3.3.3	Conclusion	128
3.4	Conclusion	129
4	Extending the proposal: multiple marking strategies	131
4.1	Introduction	131
4.2	Multiple marking strategies and allomorphy	136
4.2.1	Multiple exponents of the idiosyncratic strategy: Yaitepec Chatino	136
4.2.2	Multiple exponents of the non-idiosyncratic strategy: Blackfoot	141
4.2.3	Multiple exponents of both strategies: Yine	144
4.2.4	Conclusion	148
4.3	Multiple marking strategies and relational nouns	149
4.3.1	Relational nouns and possessive marking	150
4.3.2	Distinct marking for relational nouns and (non)-idiosyncratic strategies: Daakaka	154
4.3.3	(Non)-idiosyncratic strategy homophonous with syntactically unconditioned marking: Movima	164
4.3.4	Lexically determined (non)-idiosyncratic strategies: Slave and Tanacross	177
4.3.5	No opposition between idiosyncratic and non-idiosyncratic strategies: Koyukon	189
4.3.6	Conclusion	201
4.4	Conclusion	202
5	Conclusion	203
5.1	Problems and prospects	203
5.2	Conclusion	212

A Database description	217
A.1 General considerations behind the database design	217
A.2 The structure of the database	222
Bibliography	231
English summary	243
Samenvatting in het Nederlands	247
Curriculum Vitae	251

List of Tables

1.1	Possessive interpretations of sortal nouns, inspired by the table in Vikner and Jensen (2002)	6
1.2	(In)alienability as a blanket term; uses of the term (in)alienability vary from author to author	13
2.1	Two patterns of distribution.	23
2.2	Morphological markedness	25
2.3	Lexical class: gradation of flexibility	27
2.4	Fixed and flexible strategies; an overview	29
2.5	Beyond binary systems; languages with multiple morphological means to express possession	31
2.6	Fixed and flexible strategies; an overview with obligatorily possessed nouns	37
2.7	Idiosyncratic class in Tawala, based on Ezard (1997)	44
2.8	Idiosyncratic class in Hidatsa, based on Park (2012)	46
2.9	The complexity of the morphological marking	55
3.1	Possessive classifiers in Daakaka: lexically determined allomorphy.	81
3.2	Lexically predetermined elements vs possessive modifiers	85
3.3	Possessive modifiers in Panare	92
3.4	Marking strategies in Saliba	101
3.5	Marking strategies in Tolai	109
3.6	Marking strategies in Yucatec	115
3.7	Marking strategies in Chontal	119
3.8	Marking strategies in Hidatsa	120
3.9	Marking strategies in Nêlêmwa	122
3.10	A hypothetical possessive modifier language	124
3.11	Hypothetical possessive modifier language with three types of marking	127

4.1	Two patterns of distribution	133
4.2	A hypothetical language with both PD1 and PD2	134
4.3	Marking strategies in Yaitepec Chatino	138
4.4	Opposition between idiosyncratic and non-idiosyncratic strategies in Yaitepec Chatino	140
4.5	Marking strategies in Blackfoot	142
4.6	Opposition between idiosyncratic and non-idiosyncratic strategies in Yaitepec Chatino	143
4.7	Allomorphs of the possessor prefixes in Yine	145
4.8	Possessive suffixes in Yine (Piro)	145
4.9	Summary: possessor prefixes and possessive suffixes in Yine (Piro)	146
4.10	Semantic opposition between strategies in Yine (Piro)	148
4.11	Marking strategies in Daakaka	156
4.12	Daakaka; asymmetries between transitiviser and linker marking strategies	158
4.13	Daakaka: relational nouns and (non)-idiosyncratic marking	162
4.14	Marking strategies in Movima	168
4.15	Movima: relational nouns and (non)-idiosyncratic marking	174
4.16	Marking strategies in Slave	180
4.17	Slave: configurations to account for	181
4.18	Slave: relational nouns and (non)-idiosyncratic marking	189
4.19	Marking strategies in Koyukon	192
4.20	Slave: configurations to account for	194
4.21	Koyukon: relational and sortal nouns	201
A.1	General information: Toqabaqita	223

List of Figures

2.1	Idiosyncratic and non-idiosyncratic marking: asymmetry in relations	24
2.2	The values of Rp and $Rfree$	56
2.3	Relations encoded by $MaxSpec$ and $MinSpec$	64
3.1	Possessive modifiers and uniform markers	94
A.1	Decision tree: defining a strategy	220
A.2	The structure of the Possession field for one language.	223

List of abbreviations

The structure of this list follows the list of languages used in the dissertation.¹ For every language, I use the glosses provided in the respective grammar. I chose to use the original glosses instead of a unified list because the authors usually have their reasons to deviate from the the Leipzig Glossing Rules. By adopting the originally proposed glosses, I want to keep intact the information they wanted to include in their examples.

In several cases (Limbu, Nêlêmwa, Q'eqchi), I have used my own glosses, as the authors do not provide glosses for all their examples; similarly, I have used my glosses for the modified or additionally elicited examples (Hebrew, Mandarin Chinese).

Adyghe

glosses from Gorbunova (2009)

ABS - absolutive

ERG - ergative

LOC - locative

PL - plural

POSS - alienable possession

PST - past tense

REC - reciprocal

SG - singular

Aguaruna

glosses from Overall (2007)

POSS - possessive

SG - singular

Amele

glosses from Roberts (1987)

SG - singular

PL - plural

Baure

glosses from Danielsen (2007)

ART - article

DEM2 - demonstrative, type 2

M - masculine

SG - singular

Blackfoot

glosses from Bliss (2013)

1 - 1 person

AI - Animate Intransitive

CN - conjunct nominal

DEM - demonstrative

¹The list is based only on those examples that appear in the text of the dissertation. The database contains more examples than discussed in the thesis.

DIR - direct
 FUT - future
 INAN - inanimate
 IMPF - imperfective
 LOC - locative
 NEG - negative

PROX - proximate
 POSS - possessive
 TA - Transitive Animate

Bororo

glosses from Nonato (2008)
 P - plural
 S - singular

Chontal Mayan

glosses from Knowles (1984)
 1 - 1 person
 3 - 3 person
 A - set A dependent pronoun
 MG - masculine gender
 REL - relation possessed

Daaakaka

glosses from von Prince (2016)
 CL1/2/3 - possessive classifier
 DEM - demonstrative
 LINK - possessive linker
 MED - medial distance
 NOM - nominalizer
 POSS - possessive
 REAL - realis
 SG - singular
 TRANS - transitivizer

Ewe

glosses from Ameka (1991)
 DEM - demonstrative
 NEG - negative
 SG - singular

Hebrew

my glosses
 1 - 1 person
 3 - 3 person
 CS - construct state
 DEF - definite
 PL - plural

Hidatsa

glosses from Park (2012)
 1 - 1 person
 3 - 3 person
 POS - possessive

Hungarian

glosses from Gerland and Ortmann (2014)
 3 - 3 person
 P'OR - possessor
 SG - singular

Kayardild

glosses from Evans (1995)
 1 - 1 person
 ACT - actual
 DU - dualis
 GEN - genitive
 LOC - locative
 NOM - nominative

Koyukon

glosses from Thompson (1996)
 1 - 1 person
 3 - 3 person
 pos - possessive
 S - singular
 K'E - morpheme *k'e*

Lele

glosses from Frajzyngier (2001)
 3 - 3 person
 gen - genitive
 m - masculine

Limbu

my glosses
 LN linking nasal

Maltese

glosses from Stolz et al. (2008: 86)
 DET - determiner
 PL - plural
 glosses from Fabri (1993)
 DF - definite

Mandarin

glosses from Chappell (1996)

3 - 3 person

BA - morpheme ba

GEN - genitive

LE - morpheme le (my gloss)

SG - singular

Maricopa

glosses from Gordon (1986)

1 - 1 person

2 - 2 person

poss - possessive

Mongsen Ao

glosses from Coupe (2007)

ANOM - agentive nominalization

M - masculine semantic gender

Movima

glosses from Haude (2006)

1 - first person

2 - second person

a - absential

ABS - absolute state

APPL - applicative

ART - article

BE - bound element

BR - bound root

CO - co-participant DET -
determiner

DM - demonstrative

DR - bivalent direct

f - feminine

IMM - immediate past

INAL - inalienable possession

LN - linking nasal

LV - linking vowel

m - masculine

MST - mental state

n - neuter

nst - non-standing

obl - oblique

p - past

pl - plural

PRC - process verbalization

PRO - free pronoun

REL - relativizer

Mussauglosses from Brownie and Brownie
(2007)

1 - first person

3 - third person

I - class I

P - possessive

PCL possessive classifier

s - singular

glosses from Ross (2002)

1 - first person

II - class II

sg - singular

Nêlêmwa

glosses from Bril (2013)

1 - 1st person

const - construct state (my gloss)

link - linker

sg - singular

Paamese

glosses from Crowley (1982)

1 - 1 person

dom - domestic

ed - edible

leg - legal

man - manipulate

pot - potable

part - particularising

sg - singular

Panare

glosses from Payne and Payne (2013)

1 - 1 person

CL - classifier

sg - singular

POSS - possessed

Q'eqchi

my glosses

1 - 1 person

sg - singular

Rapa Nui

glosses from Kieviet (2017)
 1 - first person
 A - a class possessives
 NTR - neutral aspect
 O - o class possessives
 pl - plural
 poss - possessive
 sg - singular

Saliba

glosses from Mosel (1994)
 1 - first person
 3 - third person
 det - determiner
 poss - possessive classifier
 sg - singular

Samoan

glosses from Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992)
 3 - third person
 art - articles
 poss - possessive (a and o)
 pres - presentative
 sg - singular

Slave

glosses from Rice (1989)
 1 - first person
 3 - third person
 poss - possessive (my modification of the original “possessive”)

Standard Fijian

glosses from Palmer (2008)
 GENPOSS - general indirect possession

Tanacross

my glosses
 1 - 1 person
 IND - indefinite
 SG - singular

Tariana

glosses from Aikhenvald (2003)
 1 - 1 person
 CL - classifier
 POSS - possessive
 sg - singular

Tawala

glosses from Ezard (1997)
 1 - 1 person
 2 - 2 person
 3 - 3 person
 sg - singular

Toba

glosses from Mesineo (2003)
 1 - 1 person
 al - alienable
 Clg - clasificador genitivo
 D - raíz deíctica
 fem - femenino
 pos - marcador de poseedor
 sg - singular

Tolai

glosses from Mosel (1984)
 ART - article
 POSS.CLFR - possessive classifier
 POSS.M - possessive marker
 TA - tense, aspect, mood marker

Toqabaqita

glosses from Lichtenberk (2008)
 1 - 1 person
 DVN - deverbal noun
 PERS - personal
 PERSMKR - person marker
 SG - singular

Tzutujil

my gloss
 abs - absolutive

Udmurt

my gloss
 1 - 1 person
 3 - 3 person
 sg - singular

Wandala

glosses from Frajzyngier (2012)

1 - 1 person

3 - 3 person

gen - genitive

Yaitepec Chatino

glosses from Rasch (2002)

1 - 1 person

3 - 3 person

sg - singular

Yine (Piro)

glosses from Hanson (2010)

1 - 1 person

3 - 3 person

FEM - feminine

SG - singular

MSC - masculine

PSSD - possessed noun

Yucatec Mayan

glosses from Lehmann (2002)

0 - meaningless element

1 - 1 person

3 - 3 person

CL - classifier

DEF - definite

D2 - distal deictic

PL - plural

POSS - possessive

textscrl - relationalizer

SG - singular

Acknowledgements

When I started university, I didn't know much about linguistics or research. Back then, I had no idea that I would end up writing a dissertation in linguistics. Many people have helped me on this journey in various ways, and I want to thank at least some of them.

I was first introduced to linguistics at Russian State University for the Humanities. I thank Elena Muravenko and Leonid Iomdin for supervising my first study projects. During my studies, I was lucky to participate in linguistic fieldtrips to the Caucasus and Siberia. I thank Yakov Testele, Nina Sumbatova and Olga Kazakevich for these unique experiences.

Since I was learning German at the time, I received a scholarship to spend a semester at Humboldt University. There I did an internship at a project documenting Saami languages spoken in Russia. Michael Rießler, Kristina Kotcheva, and Joshua Wilbur made me feel welcome and introduced me to the lively Berlin linguistic community.

I enjoyed my semester abroad and I decided to continue my study of linguistics in Germany. I chose the University of Potsdam, and again I was very lucky. Thanks to the large-scale collaborative research project between three universities in Potsdam and Berlin, I ended up in the most stimulating linguistic environment imaginable. I am very grateful to the wonderful group of Potsdam researchers for numerous discussions and friendly atmosphere: special thanks to Mira Grubic, Anne Mucha, Agata Renans, Marta Wierzbica, Joseph De Vaugh-Geiss and Radek Šimík. Apart from my studies, I learned a lot about linguistics by working as a student assistant. I thank Malte Zimmermann for giving me a position in his project on focus from cross-linguistic perspective. Later, the project provided financial support for my own fieldwork trips to the Pamir. I was also employed at ZAS Berlin in Manfred Krifka's project documenting the languages of West Ambrym. I thank my colleagues, Kilu von Prince and Soraya Hosni, for introducing me to Austronesian languages and for being great friends and mentors. During my Berlin-Potsdam time, I realized that linguistics made me happy and that I wanted to continue doing it. In 2013, I moved to Leiden to

start my PhD position on the NWO project, “Lend me your ears: the grammar of (un)transferable possession”.

This dissertation would not have been the way it is without my supervisors: Erik Schoorlemmer, Johan Rooryck and Malte Zimmermann. Erik was my “daily” supervisor at the beginning; he generously helped me with various scientific and non-scientific issues. Johan was the driving force during the second half of my PhD studies. Whenever I wrote something, he was always there, ready to read it and help me improve it. Malte stepped in to supervise the semantic part of the dissertation. I thank him for the inspiring meetings on Skype and in various cafes in Berlin. I thank the members of my dissertation committee: Regine Eckardt, Marjo van Koppen, Jenny Doetjes, Lisa Bylinina, Wataru Uegaki, and Martine Bruil.

I wouldn’t have enjoyed my times in the Netherlands as much without my wonderful colleagues. Thank you, Matthias Pache, Alex Reuneker, Gulnaz Sibgatullina, Kate Bellamy, Aliza Glasbergen-Plas, Yang Yang, George Saad, Martin Kohlberger, Amanda Delgado Galvan, Marieke Meelen, Sima Zolfaghari, Anikó Lipták, Stella Gryllia, Leticia Pablos Robles, Güliz Günes, James Griffiths, Crit Cremers, Dominique Block, Stavroula Alexandropoulou, Anja Goldschmidt, Lotte Dros-Hendriks, Myrthe Coret-Bergstra, Jolien Scholten, Heidi Klockmann, Hanna de Vries and Bert Le Bruyn. Special thanks go to my lovely officemates: Enrico Boone, Carmen Ebner, Nastia Ionova.

While I was writing this dissertation, I received help from Pavel Ozerov, Morag Segal, Evgeniya Korovina, Swintha Danielsen, Heather Bliss, Vera Hohaus, Elisabeth Verhoeven, and Stavros Skopeteas. Ciprian Gerstenberger and especially my brother, Dmitriy Karvovskiy, provided invaluable help with the database. I thank Allison Kirk for proofreading this thesis, and Marlijn Meijer for translating the summary into Dutch. Finally, I thank Katja Lubina, for being my writing coach. During my PhD studies, I spent a semester visiting MIT. David Pesetsky was my supervisor there, and I want to thank him for his constant encouragement and for our almost weekly meetings.

As a transition between a somewhat ‘linguistic’ and a purely personal part of these acknowledgements, I want to thank the people linguistics brought into my life. They were with me at various times and places; they taught me a lot about life and about myself. Beste Kamali, Milena Sisovics, İsa Kerem Bayırlı, Sonia Lahuti, Aleksandra Çelik, Alexandra Kolomeychuk, Natlia Aralova, Polina Berezovskay, Tamar Eilam and Beate Reinhold – thank you for being there.

I thank my parents and my brother for their love and for doing everything in their power to guarantee me a good education. I thank Kai for being with me *in voor- en tegenspoed*, and our son Victor for giving me the motivation to finish writing. Finally, I thank the entire Salden family for making me feel at home in the Netherlands.