Predicative possession in East Caucasian languages

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Introduction

Object of research

❖ Predicative possession in East Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) languages more specifically:

❖ the encoding of the **possessor noun phrase** in possessive constructions

(1) Mehweb (Dargwa)
    musa-la   *le-b*   *qali*
    Musa-**GEN**   be-N   house
    'Musa has a house.' (Chechuro 2019: 61)

Previous research: Typological studies

❖ Heine (1997)
  - classification of various possession types as structural manifestations of different cognitive schemas
  - 100 languages
  - East Caucasian languages sampled: Lezgian

❖ Stassen (2009, 2013)
  - classification of various possession types based on the morphosyntactic encoding of the possessor and the possessee
  - only alienable possession: the domain of "ownership" in a narrow juridical or ethical sense
  - 420 languages in (Stassen 2009); 240 languages in (Stassen 2013)
  - East Caucasian languages sampled:
    - Stassen (2009): Avar, Archi, Godoberi, Hunzib, Itsari Dargwa, Lezgian
    - Stassen (2013): Avar, Agul, Archi, Chechen, Lezgian

Previous research: East Caucasian

❖ Some discussion in studies devoted to nominal spatial morphology in EC; e.g. Testelec (1980) and Ganenkov (2005)

❖ Daniel & Ganenkov (2009: 684)

    ◆ In most languages of the family **two strategies** are available for the expression of predicative possession:

        ▷ genitive and locative forms in Andic and Tsezic

        ▷ two different locative forms in Lezgic

        ▷ genitive only in Dargwa and Archi (Lezgic)

           no mention of Avar, Lak, Khinalug and Nakh languages

Previous research: East Caucasian

❖ For cases in which two strategies are available, the occurring variation is explained in terms of a **permanent vs. temporary possession** contrast (Daniel & Ganenkov 2009: 684; and most grammars on EC languages)

(2) Bagvalal (Andic)

di-b / *di-č'* *tup* *ek'ʷa*
I.OBL-**N(GEN)** / I.OBL-**CONT** gun COP
'I have a gun (I possess a gun) / I have got a gun (someone else's) with me.'
(Daniel 2001: 227)

This study

❖ Data from East Caucasian grammars and dictionaries collected into a database following the methodology of the [Typological Atlas of the Languages of Daghestan](Linguistic Convergence Laboratory, HSE University, Moscow)

❖ Main goals:

  ◆ to verify the areal and genealogical clusters identified by Daniel & Ganenkov (2009: 684), and add languages that were not included in their study

  ◆ for languages with a supposedly permanent vs. temporary possession contrast, to check whether the data confirm this distribution

Results

Avar and Andic

❖ Two strategies: **genitive** and **locative**
  ◆ locative form: apudessive (forms in *-χ-* or *-q*) or contessive (forms in *-č'-*),
    or both: Andi, Botlikh and Karata

❖ A permanent vs. temporary possession distribution is explicitly mentioned for Akhvakh (Creissels 2013), Bagvalal (Daniel 2001), Godoberi (Fedorova 1996), Tindi (Authier to appear)

❖ For Karata, Pasquereau (2010) mentions that the locative forms - or at least the contessive - can also mark permanent possession, but in the examples provided a temporary reading of the event is still possible in principle; e.g. 'If I (*di-č'o* = I.OBL-**CONT**) had money I would buy this horse' (Pasquereau 2010: 31)

Botlikh (Andic)

(3) **Genitive**

hu-šːu-l   *ida=ła-l*   *ƛ'oniχi*   *buc'ːi*

DEM-M.OBL-**AN.PL(GEN)**   COP=AN.ATR-AN.PL   a_lot   cattle

'He has a lot of cattle.' (Saidova & Abusov 2012: 198)

(4) **Apudessive**

ħarxidera   *b-uk'-a*   *hu-šːu-χe*   *arsi*

plenty   N-be-AOR   DEM-M.OBL-**APUD**   money

'He had plenty of money.' (Saidova & Abusov 2012: 385)

(5) **Contessive**

in-šːu-č'u   *arsi*   *guč'i=talu*   *hiƛ'-u*

REFL-M.OBL-**CONT**   money   NEG.COP=QUOT   say-AOR

'He said that he had no money.' (Saidova & Abusov 2012: 209)

Zilo Andi (Andic)

(6)   **Genitive**
        di-r   *ži*   *χuča*
        I.OBL-**N(GEN)**   COP   book
        'I have a book.'

(7)   **Apudessive**
        di-χa   *ži*   *du-r*   *χuča*
        I.OBL-**APUD**   COP   you.SG.OBL-N(GEN)   book
        'I have your book **(at home)**.'

(8)   **Contessive**
        di-č'u   *ži*   *du-r*   *χuča*
        I.OBL-**CONT**   COP   you.SG.OBL-N(GEN)   book
        'I have your book **(with me)**.'   (Aigul Zakirova, p.c.)

Tsezic

❖ Two strategies: **genitive** and **locative**

- ◆ locative form: adessive in Hinuq and Hunzib, contessive in Khwarshi, possessive locative in Tsez and Bezhta
- ◆ but note that all these suffixes (except Hunzib) are etymologically related (Alekseev 2003: 120): forms in *-q-* that correspond to what is normally labeled as apudessive in Avar-Andic and as postessive in Lezgic

❖ Most sources on Tsezic languages explicitly mention a permanent vs. temporary possession distribution; cf. Khalilova (2009) on Khwarshi, Forker (2013) on Hinuq, Polinsky (2015) on Tsez

Khwarshi (Tsezic)

(9) **Genitive**

baba-s   *os*   *goli*

mother-**GEN**   money   be.PRS

'The mother has money.'

(10) **Contessive**

baba-qa   *os*   *goli*

mother-**CONT** money   be.PRS

'The mother has money.' (lit. 'The mother has money **with her**.')

(Khalilova 2009: 85)

Dargwa

❖ Two strategies: **genitive** and **locative**

    ◆ locative form: adessive, inessive, interessive

    ◆ Standard Dargwa and Akusha Dargwa still need to be checked, but probably the same picture as for the other Dargwa languages

❖ Most sources on Dargwa languages explicitly mention a permanent vs. temporary possession distribution; cf. Sumbatova & Mutalov (2003) on Itsari, Sumbatova & Lander (2014) on Tanty, Chechuro (2019) on Mehweb, Forker (2020) on Sanzhi

Itsari Dargwa

(11) **Genitive**

di-la   *mašin*   *te-b*

I.OBL-**GEN**   car   EXST-N

'I have a car.' (Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003: 146)

(12) **Inessive**

ila   *tupanǧ*   *di-cːi-b=ca-b*

you.SG.GEN   gun   I.OBL-**IN-N**=PRS-N

'I have your gun now.' (Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003: 30)

Lak

❖ Three strategies: **genitive** and two **locatives**
  ◆ apudessive -*č'a* (probably cognate of Andic CONT markers, Alekseev 2003: 149)
  ◆ adessive -*x*

❖ According to Kazenin (2013: 66), the marker -*č'a* is regularly used in cases in which the possessee is physically located in an area within reach of the possessor, e.g. their house

❖ The marker -*x* is not described in terms of permanent or temporary possessor, but the only example provided lends itself to a permanent possession interpretation: 'The Khosrekh mountains and the fields of Shara belong to the Kumyk beys (*bag-tura-x* = bey-PL-**AD**).' (Kazenin 2013: 66)

Khinalug

❖ Two strategies: **genitive** and **locative**

◆ locative form: "possessive locative" (Kibrik et al. 1972: 141); not described as a marker of temporary possession

(13) **Genitive**
e   *ink'*   *ši*   *aːudmaˁ*
I.**GEN2**   eight   son   COP.M
'I have eight sons.' (Ganieva 2002: 130)

(14) **Possessive locative**
kše-š   *hasɨm*   *kičːeb*   *č'i-daˁ*
who-**POSS**   DEM   book   COP-N
'Who has that book?' (Ganieva 2002: 341)

Lezgic

❖ Two locative forms
- ◆ **postessive** vs. **apudessive/adessive**: Agul, Kryz, Rutul, Tabasaran
  + dative: Standard Lezgian (= POST: permanent possession [Haspelmath 1993: 89])
  + comitative (temporary possession): Tsakhur (note that the adessive marker *-sana* is most probably derived from the comitative postposition *sana* [Kibrik et al. 1999: 165])
- ◆ postessive markers with the formants *-q-/-χ-*: cognates of the AD/APUD/CONT markers in Avar, Andic and Tsezic (Alekseev 2003: 120)

❖ Genitive +
- ◆ adessive: Udi
- ◆ comitative: Archi (note that, according to [Alekseev 2003: 125], the Archi comitative marker *-ɬːu* is etymologically related to some of the a(pu)dessive markers marking temporary possession in other Lezgic languages)

❖ postessive only in Budukh (?)

Agul (Lezgic)

(15)   **Postessive**

      za-q   *q-aj-a*   *kitab*

      I.OBL-**POST**   POST-COP-PRS   book

      'I have a book.' (Magometov 1970: 87)

(16)   **Apudessive**

      za-w   *f-aj-a*   *kitab*

      I.OBL-**APUD**   APUD-COP-PRS   book

      'I have a book (with me).' (Magometov 1970: 87)

❖   But in texts the apudessive marker is often found in contexts of seemingly permanent possession: 'At that time each daughter-in-law (*sus-ar.i-w* = daughter_in_law-PL-**APUD**) had her own house. That one (*gi-w* = DEM-**APUD**) had her own house, this one (*mi-w* = DEM-**APUD**) had her own (house).' (Burkikhan Agul, Ganenkov, Maisak & Merdanova, Agul Corpus)

Nakh

❖ Mostly genitive

❖ Examples with locative forms in Tsova-Tush (Bats) and Ingush

- locative of the allative *-go-(ħ)* in Tsova-Tush (Desheriev 1953; Holisky & Gagua 1994)

- allative *-ga* in Ingush (Nichols 2011)

  ▷ but the distribution of genitive vs. locative in both languages is not clear-cut, the literature does not mention a permanent vs. temporary possession contrast, and examples in grammars and dictionaries do not suggest such a distribution either

- genitive only in Chechen

Tsova-Tush (Nakh)

(17) **Genitive**

cħa do: b-a   se:

one   horse   N-COP   I.**GEN**

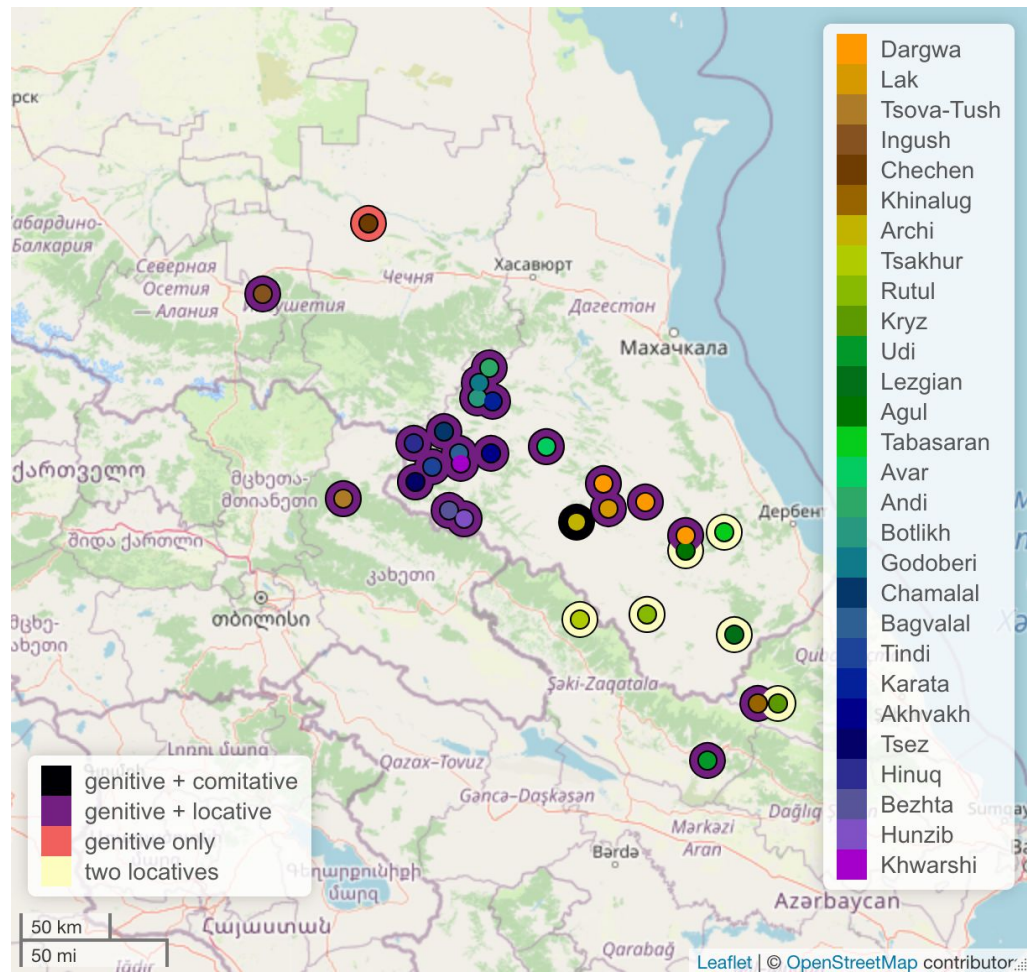'I have a horse.' (Desheriev 1953: 240)

(18) **Locative**

so-go-(ħ)   nan   j-a

I-**ALL-LOC**   mother   F-COP

'I have a mother.' (Holisky & Gagua 1994: 193)

Summary and discussion

Areal distribution

Map courtesy of Samira Verhees

Created with the R package
"lingtypology" (Moroz 2017)

Summary

❖ **Genitive + locative**

  ◆ Avar, Andic, Tsezic, Dargwa, Lak, Khinalug, Udi (Lezgic), Tsova-Tush and Ingush (Nakh)

❖ **Two locatives**

  ◆ Lezgic (except Udi and Archi; one locative only in Budukh?)
  ◆ additional strategies in Lezgian (dative) and Tsakhur (comitative)

❖ **Genitive + comitative**

  ◆ Archi (Lezgic)

❖ **Genitive only**

  ◆ Chechen (Nakh)

Permanent vs. temporary possession?

❖ One strategy regularly marks permanent possession (postessive in Lezgic, genitive in all other languages)

❖ As for the other markers, it is less clear whether their use is actually restricted to cases of temporary possession

❖ It does not seem to be so for at least some of the languages in the sample; cf. Lak adessive, Agul apudessive, Nakh locatives

❖ Spatial perspective on the possessive relation rather than temporary possession?

- ◆ spatial contiguity; e.g. he has a book with him
- ◆ personal locative; e.g. he has a book at home

Locative cycles

❖ Conventionalization of a locative form for marking spatial contiguity with **animate** landmarks > from **spatial contiguity** to **possessive** relation (with no regard to the type of possessive relation)

❖ In the case of Lezgic, it might be that the "old" locative strategy (= postessive) becomes a marker of permanent possession because a "new" locative strategy enters the same cycle (spatial contiguity with animate landmarks > possessive relation)

❖ Or, alternatively, the "new" one appears because the "old" one specializes for permanent possession

(joint thinking with Michael Daniel)

A parallel with recipients

❖ (Daniel 2020)

- ◆ dative strategy: change of ownership involved
- ◆ lative strategy: ~~change of ownership not involved~~ spatial perspective on the giving event (and the only one available when no change of ownership is involved)

❖ Something similar might be assumed for possessors:

- ◆ genitive / Lezgic postessive: (permanent) possession
- ◆ (second) locative strategy: ~~temporary possession~~ spatial perspective on the possessive relation (and the only one available when "permanent" possession is not involved)

A parallel with recipients

❖ In some languages temporary possessors seem to form spatial series with temporary recipients and retrospective possessors

e.g. Mehweb (Dargwa):

INTER-ESS   -*ze*-CM (temporary possessor)
INTER(LAT)   -*ze* (temporary recipient)
INTER-EL   -*ze-la* (retrospective possessor)

❖ It would be interesting to check whether this is a regular phenomenon in East Caucasian

Appendix

Case form inventory

Avar	GEN	-l/-r	APUD	-q
Andic				
Akhvakh	GEN	-λi/-CM	APUD	-χar-i
Andi	GEN	-λi/-CM	APUD	-χa
			CONT	-č'u
Bagvalal	GEN	-ł:/-CM	CONT	-č'
Botlikh	GEN	-łi/-CM	APUD	-χe
			CONT	-č'u
Chamalal	GEN	-λ(i)/-CM	CONT	-č'
Godoberi	GEN	-λi/-CM	CONT	-č'u
Karata	GEN	-λ/-CM	APUD	-q
			CONT	-č'o
Tindi	GEN	-λa/-CM	CONT	-č'i

Tsezic				
Bezhta	GEN	-s/-la	POSS	-qa
Hinuq	GEN	-s/-zo	AD	-qo
Hunzib	GEN	-s	AD	-g(o)
Khwarshi	GEN	-s/-lo/-la	CONT	-qa
Tsez	GEN	-s/-z	POSS	-q(o)
Lak	GEN	-l	AD	-x
			APUD	-ča
Khinalug	GEN	-e/-i	POSS	-š

Dargwa				
Itsari	GEN	-la	IN	-c:i-CM
Mehweb	GEN	-la	INTER	-ze-CM
Sanzhi	GEN	-la	IN	-c:e-CM
Tanty	GEN	-la	AD	-š:u-CM

Lezgic				
Agul	POST	-q	APUD	-w/-f
Archi	GEN	-n	COM	-ł:u
Budukh	POST	-uχ/-oχ		
Kryz	POST	-uχ	APUD	-vas(an)
Lezgian	POST	-qh	AD	-w
	DAT	-z		
Rutul	POST	-χda	AD	-de/-da
Tabasaran	POST	-q	AD	-h
Tsakhur	POST	-qa- CM	AD	-sana
			COM	-kʷa sana
Udi	GEN	-e/-in/-j/-oj	AD	-st:a
Nakh				
Chechen	GEN	-ã		
Ingush	GEN	-a/-n	ALL	-ga
Tsova-Tush	GEN	-n	LOC	-go-(ħ)

30

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