

Status of possessor in Moksha NP

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Polina Pleshak (Moscow State
University)
polinapleshak@yandex.ru

Expression of possessive relations

- Constructions with internal possessor (possessor forms one NP with possessee)
- Constructions with external possessor (possessor does not form one NP with possessee)

Problem:

Construction with **External**
possessor vs Construction with
Internal possessor

Construction with **External**
possessor = Construction with
Internal possessor

Moksha data: when is possessor
internal and when external?

External possession in Uralic (Nikolaeva, 2002)

- External – special marking
- External morphologically = Internal, but “triggers agreement on the head”

(Группа обладателя в башкирском языке: присловная зависимость или детерминант? Сай, 2011, Р.14)

“...генитивные посессоры демонстрируют в башкирском языке больше признаков синтаксической самостоятельности относительно обладаемого, чем принято предполагать для обычных посессивных компонентов именных групп.”

Internal possessor

(1) Hungarian

Péter **Vászja** any-**já**-t lát-t-a

Peter **Vasja** mother-**3SG**-ACC see-PST-**3SG**.OBJ

‘Peter sees Vasja’s mother.’

(2) Moksha

Pet’ε n’εj-əz’ə Vas’ε-**n**’ d’εd’a-**nc**

Peter see-PST.3SG.S.3SG.O Vasja-**GEN** mother-**3SG**.POSS.**SG**.GEN

‘Peter saw Vasja’s mother.’

External possessor

(3a) Hungarian

Péter **Vászja-nak** lát-t-a az any-**já-t**
Peter Vasja-**DAT** see-PST-3SG.OBJ DEF mother-**3SG-ACC**

(3b)
*Péter **Vászja** lát-t-a (az) any-**já-t**
Peter **Vasja** see-PST-3SG.OBJ (DEF) mother-**3SG-ACC**

‘Peter saw Vasja’s mother.’

(4) Moksha

Pet’ε Vas’ε-**n’** n’εj-əz’ə d’əd’a-**nc**
Peter Vasja-**GEN** see-PST.3SG.S.3SG.O mother-**3SG.POSS.SG.GEN**

‘Peter saw Vasja’s mother.’

Construction with specific possessor

- (7) ^{ok} s'oks'ə-t' jarmənka-c
autumn-DEF.SG.GEN fair-3SG.POSS.SG
ul'-s' oc'u i koz'ε
be-PST.3.SG big and rich
'The fair of (this) autumn was big and rich.'

Internal or external?

- Syntactic tests (Testeleets, 2001)
- Semantic generalizations (König, Haspelmath, 1997)
- Agreement marker (Nikolaeva, 2002)

Syntactic tests

1. **Verb insertion:** possessor possessee



2. **Pro-form substitution:**
possessee: noun → pronoun

3. **Coordination:**
[possessor & adjective] possessee

4. **Quantifier:**



Syntactic tests

	internal	external
1. Verb substitution	* (can not be inserted)	OK (can be inserted)
2. Pro-form substitution	* (can not be substituted)	OK (can be substituted)
3. Coordination	OK (can be coordinated)	* (can not be coordinated)
4. Quantifier	to the left	to the right

1. Verb insertion

(8) ^{ok}Pet'ε Vas'ε-**n'** n'εj-əz'ə d'əd'a-**nc**
Peter Vasja-**GEN** see-PST.3SG.S.3SG.O mother-**3SG.POSS.SG.GEN**

'Peter saw Vasja's mother.'

(9) ^{ok}t'ε s'oks'ə-**t'** mon kel'k-sa
this autumn-**DEF.SG.GEN** 1sg like-NPST3.OSG.O.1SG.S
jarmənka-**nc**
fair-**3SG.POSS.SG.GEN**

'I like the fair of this autumn.'

2. Pro-form substitution

- (10) *van-k, Vas'ε-n' **son**
look-3.O.IMP.SG.O.SG.S Vasja-GEN **3sg**
ver' potmə-sə
blood inside-IN

[Why do people wound the fingers?]
'Look, Vasjas' (it) is in blood.'

3. Coordination

- One referent

(11) *jomla i s'ora-n'ε-t' sur-əc
small and boy-DIM-DEF.SG.GEN finger-3SG.POSS.SG
'Small and boy's finger'

- Different referents it is possible

(12) l'ije i son' s'ava-nzə jaka-jt'
other and 3SG.OBL goat-3SG.POSS.PL go-NPST.3PL
luga-t' ezga
meadow-GEN IN.PROL
'Other and his goats are grazing in the meadow.'

4. Quantifier

(13) ^{ok} s'embə Vas'ε-**n'** s'estra-**nzə**

all Vasja-**GEN** sister-**3SG.POSS.PL**

uže jaka-jt' škola-v

already go-NPST.3PL school-LAT

'All Vasja's sisters already go to school.'

(14) *εr' Vas'ε-**n'** risunkə-**nc**

every Vasja-**GEN** drawing-**3SG.POSS.3SG.GEN**

povfn'ə-saz' min' klub-sə-nk

hang-NPST-3.O.3.S.PL.S 1PL.OBL club-IN-1PL.POSS

'Every Vasja's drawing they hang in our club.'

So, what do we have?

test	result	conclusion
1. verb insertion	OK	not one NP
2. pro-form substitution	*	one NP
3. coordination	*	(not one NP)
4. quantifier	OK	(one NP)

Semantic generalizations

- Animate → external
- Inanimate → internal

(15) t'ε s'oks'ə-t' mon kel'k-sa
this autumn-DEF.SG.GEN 1sg like-NPST3.OSG.O.1SG.S
jarmənka-nc
fair-3SG.POSS.SG.GEN
'I like the fair of this autumn.'

Semantic generalizations

States → *external

(16) ^{ok}Vas'ε-**n'** ašč-i pr'a-**zə-nzə** lopa
Vasja-**GEN** lie-PST3SG head-**ILL-3SG.POSS** leaf
'The leaf is lying on Vasja's head.'

(17) ^{ok}vas'ε-**n'** pra-s' pr'a-**zə-nzə** lopa
Vasja-**GEN** fall-PST3SG head-**ILL-3SG.POSS** leaf
'The leaf has fallen on Vasja's head.'

Some restrictions

(18) Vas'ε-**n'** sotn-əz'ə

Vasja-**GEN** bandage-PST.3SG.S.3SG.O

s'estra-**c** sur-ə**nc**

sister-3**SG.POSS.SG** finger-3**SG.POSS.SG.GEN**

'His sister bandaged Vasja's finger (someone's sister)'

*'Vasja's sister bandaged his finger (someone's finger)'

(19) Vas'ε-**n'** s'estra-**c**

Vasja-**GEN** sister-3**SG.POSS.SG**

sotn-əz'ə sur-ə**nc**

bandage-PST.3SG.S.3SG.O finger-3**SG.POSS.SG.GEN**

*'His sister bandaged Vasja's finger (someone's sister)'

'Vasja's sister bandaged his finger (someone's finger)'

Some restrictions

~~Possessive marker on the head~~ → internal

(20) *Vas'ε-**n**' pra-s' pr'a-**s** lopa

Vasja-**GEN** fall-PST.3SG head-**ILL** leaf

'The leaf has fallen on Vasja's head.'

Conclusions

- Syntactical tests do not resolve our problems
- Semantic generalizations do not help us
- However some restrictions can be found:
- External possessor is possible only if the head has possessive marker
- Possessor can not be external in the case of a certain competition of possesseees
- Possessor can not be coordinated with dependents of other types and can not be pronominalysed
- but the verb can be inserted so that we can speak about externalisation

Thank you for your attention!

