Possessive constructions in Kaqchikel

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<u>The "plot" of my talk</u>: All sources say: Head-marking construction is the only possible → it seems that I have found something new and undescribed (!) → syntactic properties of both → hmmm, actually, it is not what I thought, but it remains something that was understudied → some peculiarities of the phenomenon

1. Possessive constructions (following (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2002))

1.1. A sort of definition
- Possessive relations – relations between two entities:
  - ✓ Core possessive relations: legal ownership (*my father's house, the knife of my father*); kinship (*Peter's son*); part-whole (*the mountain's top*)
  - ✓ Possessive constructions – constructions expressing possessive relations
- Other adnominal relations can be expressed with possessive constructions in the languages of the world
- The splits on the scale of such semantic relations differ across languages
- Such semantic relations – possessive relations in a broad sense

1.2. Previous works
- (Nichols 1988): Languages of North America

Parameters of comparison:
- ✓ Word order
- ✓ Locus of possessive marking/flagging
- ✓ Alienability split → different structures

Classes of nouns according to their behavior in possessive constructions
- ✓ Obligatorily possessed (inalienable possession)
- ✓ Optionally possessed (alienable possession)
- ✓ Indirectly possessed
- ✓ Never possessed

Types of constructions
- ✓ Head-marking
- ✓ Dependent-marking
- ✓ Double-marking
- ✓ Free marking (there is a marker; neither on the dependent nor on the head)
- ✓ No marking

Different strategies
- (Krasnoukhova 2012): following Nichols but Languages of South America

2. Data and background

2.1. Language and data
- Kaqchikel language < Kichean < Mayan
- 445,000 (2003 census). Ethnic population: 833,000 (2003 census). (https://www.ethnologue.com/language/cak)
- Guatemala
- My data: the fieldtrip to the village Patzún (Chimaltenango district, Guatemala) in June 2018.

2.2. Kaqchikel grammar (some needed facts) (Brown et al. 2010; Matzar et al. 1997)
- Head-marking language: "Mayan family is uniformly head-marking" (Nichols 1986: 83)

Table 1: Possessive prefixes (examples: *wuj* – 'book' / **a**chib'äl – 'picture')

Person/Number	SG	PL
1	**nu**-wuj / **w**-achib'äl	**qa**-wuj / **q**-achib'äl
2	**a**-wuj / **aw**-achib'äl	**i**-wuj / **iw**-achib'äl
3	**ru**-wuj / **r**-achib'äl	**ki**-wuj / **k**-achib'äl

- Types of nouns according to possession

  ✓ No change (or vowel change), possessive prefix

(a) ch'atal [table] – nu-ch'atal [1SG-table] → no change

(b) ch'aqät [chair] – nu-ch'aqat [1SG-chair] → vowel change (compare to -*achib'äl*)

  ✓ Marked unpossessed form, possessive prefix to the possessed form

(c) jolom-aj [head-NPSD] – nu-jolom [1SG-head]

(d) xib'al-om [female's.brother-NPSD] – nu-xib'al [1SG-female's.brother]

  ✓ Marked possessed form, possessive prefix to the possessed form

(e) kik' [blood] – nu-kik'-el [1SG-blood-PSD]

  ✓ Always possessed: relational nouns

(f) w-ichin [1SG-GEN] 'mine'; q-ik'in [1PL-COM] 'with us'

- Adnominal possessive construction

(1) X-*in-tz'et*   ***ru**-me'al*   ***a***   ***Juan***
     CMP-A.1SG-see   POSS.3SG-male's.daughter   CLF.M   John
     'I've seen John's daughter'.

- Predicative possessive construction

(2) ***xta***   ***Gilda***   *e*   *k'o*   *oxi'*   ***r**-al*
     CLF.F   Gilda   3.PL   EX   three   POSS.3SG-female's.child
     'Gilda has three daughters'.

3. Problem

Only a **Head-marking** construction is discussed

(3) *x-in-tz'et*   *ri*   ***ru**-po't*   ***Jimena***
     CMP-A.1SG-see   DEF   POSS.3SG-güipil   Jimena
     'I've seen **Jimena's güipil**'.

There is another possessive construction, which is… a **Dependent-marking** construction

(4) *x-in-tz'et*   *ri*   *po't*   ***chin Jimena***
     CMP-A.1SG-see   DEF   güipil   GEN   Jimena
     'I've seen **Jimena's güipil**'.

The same pattern seems to work for the predicative possession

(5a) ***xta***   ***Jimena*** *manaq* ***ru**-warab'äl*   *jay*
      CLF.F   Jimena   NEG   POSS.3SG-dormitory   house
(5b) ***chin xta***   ***Jimena*** *manaq*   *warab'äl*   *jay*
      GEN   CLF.F   Jimena   NEG   dormitory   house
      'Jimena doesn't have her own room'.

Research questions:
- Which factors influence the choice of the construction?
- Which syntactic properties does each construction have?
- What sort of construction is this *chin*-construction?

4. The choice of the construction

4.1. Alienability split

Inalienable possession can be encoded only with **Head-marking** construction

(6a) *rïn   x-ø-in-kach'uj   ri   **r**-aqän   jun   ti   xtän*
I   CMP-A.3SG-E.1SG-tread   DEF POSS.3SG-foot one DIM girl

(6b) **rïn x-ø-in-kach'uj   ri   **aqan-aj** **chin** jun ti   xtän*
I   CMP-A.3SG-E.1SG-tread   DEF foot-NPSD GEN one DIM girl
'I stepped on **the foot of a girl**'.

(7) **ru**-*nimal*   **Jimena** / **nimal-axel*   **chin Jimena** *jebël n-bixan*
POSS.3SG-elder.ss.sibling Jimena   elder.ss.sibling-NPSD GEN Jimena nice NCMP-sing
'**Jimena's elder sister** sings well'.

It is true for predicative possession as well:

(8a) **xta**   **María** *manaq* **r**-*al*
CLF.F   Mary   NEG   POSS.3SG-female's.child

(8b) ****chin**   **xta**   **María** *manaq* **al**
GEN   CLF.F   Mary   NEG   female's.child
'Mary doesn't have children'.

4.2. Semantic relations

- Anchoring relations, except locative and temporal, are encoded with Head-marking constructions

SOCIAL
(9) *la*   **r**-*achibil*   **xta Julia** / *achibil* **chin xta Julia** *jebël n-bixan*
DEM.DIS POSS.3SG-friend CLF.F Julia   friend GEN CLF.F Julia nice NCMP-sing
'**Julia's friend** sings well'.

LOCATIVE
(10) *wakami x-e-qa-tz'et*   *ri*   *koxtum* **chin Iximche'** / **ri* **ru**-*koxtum*   **Iximche**
now   CMP-B.3PL-A.1PL-see DEF temple GEN Tecpan   DEF POSS.3SG-temple Tecpan
'Today we've seen **the Temples of Tecpan**'.

- Non-anchoring relations cannot be encoded with a Head-marking construction

PURPOSE
(11) *tab'ana' utzil t-a-ch'aj-a'*   *ri* *cucillo* **chin ti'ij** / ****ru**-*cuchillo*   **ti'ij**
please   IMP-A.2SG-wash-STEM DEM knife GEN meat POSS.3SG-knife meat
'Wash **the knife for meat**, please'.

Table 2: Relations and constructions

Relations	Head-marking	Dependent-marking
kinship	+	-
social relations	+	+
author	+	+
group-member	+	+
ownership	+	+
body part	+	-
part-whole	+	+
locative	-	+
temporal	-	+
predestination	-	+
group-membership	-	+
purpose	-	+

4.3. Animacy hierarchy

- Pronominal possessors can be encoded only with Head-marking construction

(12) *ri   nu-te'   x-ø-u-ch'äj   ri   **nu-camisa**   /   *ri   camisa   w-ichin***
    DEF   POSS.1SG-mother CMP-A.3SG-E.3SG-wash DEF   POSS.1SG-shirt   DEF   shirt   POSS.1SG-GEN
    'My mother washed **my shirt**'.

Compare to the same relation with a non-pronominal possessor

(13) *ri   nu-te'   x-ø-u-ch'äj   ri   **ru-camisa**   **Fátima** /*
    DEF   POSS.1SG-mother CMP-A.3SG-E.3SG-wash DEF   POSS.3SG-shirt   Fátima
    *ri   camisa **ri-chin**   **Fátima***
    DEF   shirt   POSS.3SG-GEN Fátima
    'My mother washed **Fatima's shirt**'.

It is true for all persons

(14) **rïn   x-in-ch'äj   ri   camisa **ri-chin**   (**rija'**)*
    I   CMP-A.1SG-wash DEF   shirt   POSS.3SG-GEN   he/she
    Int.: 'I washed **her shirt**'.

- Alienability is restricted to animate possessors

(15) *x-in-kach'uj   ri   **r-aqän**   **ri**   **tz'i'** / ri   aqän-aj   **chin** ri   **tz'i'***
    CMP-A.1SG-press DEF   POSS.3SG-leg DEF   dog   DEF   leg-NPSD   GEN   DEF   dog
    'I've stepped on **dog's paw**'.

(16) *rïn   x-in-kach'uj   ri   **r-aqän**   **jun ti   xtän** /*
    I   CMP-A.1SG-press DEF   POSS.3SG-leg one   DIM   GIRL
    ri aqän-aj   chin jun ti   xtän
    DEF   leg-NPSD   GEN one   DIM   girl
    'I've stepped **a girl's foot**'.

4.4. Interim summary

- The construction with the marked possessor is more general: exception – nouns that prefer to be possessed – alienability split
- The alienability split is restricted only to animate possessors – animacy split

- The construction with the marked possessor is restricted to nouns (no pronominal possessors) – animacy split
- Head-marking construction is restricted to anchoring relations (but not temporal and locative) – semantic split

Further question: is the marked possessor internal?

5. Syntactic properties of the constructions

Agreement with the possessor; order of the constituents; nominal predication; pronominalization of possessee

5.1. Agreement with the possessor

- Obligatory in Head-marking construction with the unmarked possessor

(17a) *ri   tz'i'   x-ø-u-tïj   ri   **ru**-*jiq'ob'äl*   **Jimena**
      DEF   dog   CMP-A.3SG-E.3SG-eat   DEF   POSS.3SG-fruit   Jimena
(17b) **ri   tz'i'   x-ø-u-tïj   ri   jiq'ob'äl   **Jimena***
      DEF   dog   CMP-A.3SG-E.3SG-eat   DEF   fruit   Jimena
      'The dog has eaten **Jimena's fruit**'.

- No agreement of the head-noun with the marked possessor

(18a) *ri   tz'i'   x-ø-u-tïj   ri   jiq'ob'äl   **chin** **Jimena***
      DEF   dog   CMP-A.3SG-E.3SG-eat   DEF   fruit   GEN   Jimena
(18b) **ri   tz'i'   x-ø-u-tïj   ri   **ru**-*jiq'ob'äl*   **chin** **Jimena***
      DEF   dog   CMP-A.3SG-E.3SG-eat   DEF   POSS.3SG-fruit   GEN   Jimena
      'The dog has eaten **Jimena's fruit**'.

- Agreement of the relational noun GEN with the possessor
with 3SG possessor: GEN can either agree or appear in a short non-agreeing form

(19) *x-qa-sikij   ri   sikiwuj **(ri-)chin**   ri   Fátima*
      CMP-A.1PL-read   DEF   book   POSS.3SG-GEN   DEF   Fatima
      'We've read **Fatima's** book'.

GEN must agree with 3PL possessor

(20) *Jimena x-e-ru-yeq'   ri   wexaj **ki**-*chin*   /   **ri-chin*
      Jimena   CMP-B.3PL-A.3SG-step   DEF   trousers POSS.3PL-GEN   POSS.3SG-GEN
      *ri   **taq**   ru-nimal*
      DEF   DIM.PL   POSS.3SG-elder.ss.sibling
      'Jimena stepped the trousers of her **elder sisters**'.

5.2. Order of possessor and other constituents

5.2.1. Possessor and possessee
- Unmarked possessor is always postnominal

(21a) *Fátima   x-u-rëtz*   **jun**   **ru**-*wexaj*   **ri**   **Jimena**
      Fatima   CMP-A.3SG-break   one   POSS.3SG-trousers   DEF   Jimena
(21b) **Fátima x-u-rëtz*   **ri**   **Jimena** **jun**   **ru**-*wexaj*
      Fatima   CMP-A.3SG-break   DEF   Jimena   one   POSS.3SG-trousers
(21c) **Fátima x-u-rëtz*   **jun**   **ri**   **Jimena**   **ru**-*wexaj*
      Fatima   CMP-A.3SG-break   one   DEF   Jimena   POSS.3SG-trousers
      'Fatima broke **trousers of Jimena's**'.

- Marked possessor can be prenominal, preceding the demonstrative

(22a) *Fátima   x-u-rëtz   jun   wexaj   chin ri   Jimena*
Fatima   CMP-A.3SG-break   one   trousers   GEN DEF   Jimena

(22b) *Fátima   x-u-rëtz   chin ri   Jimena jun   wexaj*
Fatima   CMP-A.3SG-break   GEN DEF   Jimena one   trousers

(22c) **Fátima   x-u-rëtz   jun   chin ri   Jimena wexaj*
Fatima   CMP-A.3SG-break   one   GEN DEF   Jimena trousers
'Fatima broke **trousers of Jimena's**'.

5.2.2. Possessors and adjectives

- Prenominal adjectives are compatible for both

(23a) *rïn   x-in-tz'ilobisaj   ri   säq   ru-camisa   xta   Isabel*
I   CMP-1SG-durty   DEF   white   POSS.3SG-shirt   CLF.F   Isabel

(23b) *rïn   x-in-tz'ilobisaj   ri   säq   camisa chin   xta   Isabel*
I   CMP-1SG-durty   DEF   white   shirt   GEN   CLF.F   Isabel
'I dirtied **Isabel's white shirt**'.

- Postnominal adjectives are compatible only with marked possessors

(24a) *rïn   x-in-tz'ilobisaj   ri   camisa säq   chin   xta   Isabel*
I   CMP-1SG-durty   DEF   shirt   white   GEN   CLF.F   Isabel

(24b) **rïn   x-in-tz'ilobisaj   ri   ru-camisa   säq   xta   Isabel*
I   CMP-1SG-durty   DEF   POSS.3SG-shirt   white   CLF.F   Isabel
'I dirtied **Isabel's white shirt**'.

5.2.2. Possessors and demonstratives

NB: two types of demonstratives: (i) prepositional article-like "weak" demonstratives (ii) postpositional emphatic/contrastive "strong" demonstratives

- Postpositional "strong" demonstratives are incompatible with unmarked possessor phrases in any word order.

(25a) **re   ru-po't   María   re'   jebël=ök,   y   la   jun   ne'*
DEM.PR POSS.3SG-güipil Mary   DEM.PR.EMPH nice   EMPH   and   DEM.DIS one   NEG

(25b) **re   ru-po't   re'   María jebël=ök,   y   la   jun   ne'*
DEM.PR POSS.3SG-güipil DEM.PR.EMPH Mary   nice   EMPH   and   DEM.DIS one   NEG
Int:'**This Mary's güipil** is nice, and that one is not so'.

To express the possessor the demonstrative has to be dropped.

(26) *re   jun   ru-po't   María jebël=ök,   y   la   jun   ne'*
DEM.PR one   POSS.3SG-güipil Mary   nice=EMPH   and   DEM.DIS one   NEG
'**This güipil of her** is nice, and that one is not so'.

If the possessor is expressed only with a prefix, demonstratives are possible

(27) *re   ru-po't   (*rija') re'   jebël=ök,   y   la*
DEM.PR POSS.3SG-güipil 3SG   DEM.PR.EMPH nice=EMPH   and   DEM.DIS
jun   ne'
one   NEG
'**This güipil of her** is nice, and that one is not so'.

- Postpositional "strong" demonstratives precede a marked possessor

(28) *re   po't   re'   chin María   jebël=ök*
     DEM.PR güipil   DEM.PR.EMPH GEN   Mary   nice=EMPH
     '**This Mary's güipil** is nice'.

5.2.3. Universal quantifiers

- In constructions with universal quantifiers, the marked possessor is preferred

(29a) *x-e-n-tzët   chi   oxi' libro chin xta   María*
      CMP-B.3PL-A.1SG-see   all   three book GEN   CLF.F Mary
(29b) *ˀx-e-n-tzët   chi   oxi' ru-libro   xta   María*
      CMP-B.3PL-A.1SG-see   all   three POSS.3SG-book   CLF.F Mary
      'I've seen **all the three Mary's books**'.

5.3. Possessors and possessive phrases in nominal predication

- Unmarked possessor cannot be in a nominal predication

(30) *re   jun uq ko'öl   *(ri-chin)   xta   Jimena*
     DEM.PR one skirt little   POSS.3SG-GEN   CLF.F   Jimena
     'This small skirt **is Jimena's**'.

Even with inalienable possessors

(31) *ri   aqän-aj   ri   x-u-kach'uj   Fátima chin Jimena*
     DEF   leg-NPSD   DEF   CMP-A.3SG-press   Fatima GEN   Jimena
     'The leg that Jimena stepped on is Fatima's'.

(32) *re   jun pantalón re'   w-ichin   *(rïn)*
     DEM.PR one trousers   DEM.PR.EMPH POSS.1SG-GEN I
     'These trousers **are mine**'.

5.4. Pronominalization of possessees and ellipsis of the head

For now, I see the pronominalization problematic:

(33a) ***aw-ichin   rat   achike   x-ki-chop   el?***
      POSS.2SG-GEN you   WH   CMP-A.3PL-take PTCL
(33b) *achike   **aw-ichin   rat**   x-ki-chop   el?*
      WH   POSS.2SG-GEN you   CMP-A.3PL-take PTCL
(33c) *achike   x-ki-chop   el   **aw-ichin   rat**?*
      WH   CMP-A.3PL-take PTCL POSS.2SG-GEN you
      '**What** have they taken **of your** things?'

(34a) **achike* **chin Jimena** x-u-kach'uj   Fátima?*
      WH   GEN   Jimena CMP-A.3SG-press Fatima
(34b) ***chin   Jimena** achike* xukach'uj   Fatima?*
      GEN   Jimena WH   CMP-A.3SG-press Fatima
    Int.: 'What stepped Jimena to Fatima on?'

- With an elided head only marked possessor is possible

(35) *x-in-tz'et   k'iy   po't,   pero man x-in-tz'et   ta   ri   käq*
     CMP-A.1SG-see   many   güipil but NEG CMP-A.1SG-see   MOD DEF red
     chin xta   Julia / *ru-käq   xta   Julia
     GEN CLF.F Julia POSS.3SG-red CLF.F   Julia
     'I've seen a lot of güipils, but I haven't seen **Julia's red one**'.

(36) *x-in-tz'et* *k'iy* *po't,* *pero man x-in-tz'et* *ta* ***ri*** ***käq***
CMP-A.1SG-see many güipil but NEG CMP-A.1SG-see MOD DEF red
aw-ichin */* *****ri a-käq**** ***rat***
POSS.2SG-GEN DEF POSS.2SG-red you
'I've seen a lot of güipils, but I haven't seen **your red one**'.

5.5. Interim summary

	Unmarked possessor	Chin-possessor
Agreement	OK	*
Word order	H+D / *D+H	H+D / D+H
Other constituents	restrictions	no restrictions
Nominal predication	*	OK
Pronominalization/ellipsis	*	OK

6. Conclusions

- Head-marking construction: core possessive relations → real possessive adnominal construction; Possessor is within the NP/DP
- Chin-possessor construction: almost all adnominal relations including alienable possessive → also can be considered as a possessive construction
- Chin possessor does not trigger agreement, can be autonomous and is outside the DP
- In contrast to, for example, SAE external possessors (König, Haspelmath 1997), chin-possessor is rather inanimate/non-specific and the relation is rather alienable
- Can it be an adjunct to a DP?
- Are the possessors and non-specific chin-dependents equal?

Abbreviations

1-3 – person, A – ergative agreement, B – absolutive agreement, CLF – classifier, CMP – completive, COM – comitative, DAT – dative, DEF – definiteness, DEM – demonstrative, DIM – diminutive, DIS – distal, EMPH – emphatic, EX – existential particle, F – feminine, GEN – genitive, ICMP – incompletive, IMP – imperative, IRR - irrealis, LOC – locative, M – masculine, MOD – modal particle, NCMP – non-completive, NEG – negation, NPSD – non-possessed form PL – plural, POSS – possessor, PSD – possessed form, PTCL – particle, PR – proximal, SG – singular, STEM – special verbal stem, WH – question word

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