



Predicative possession in Permic

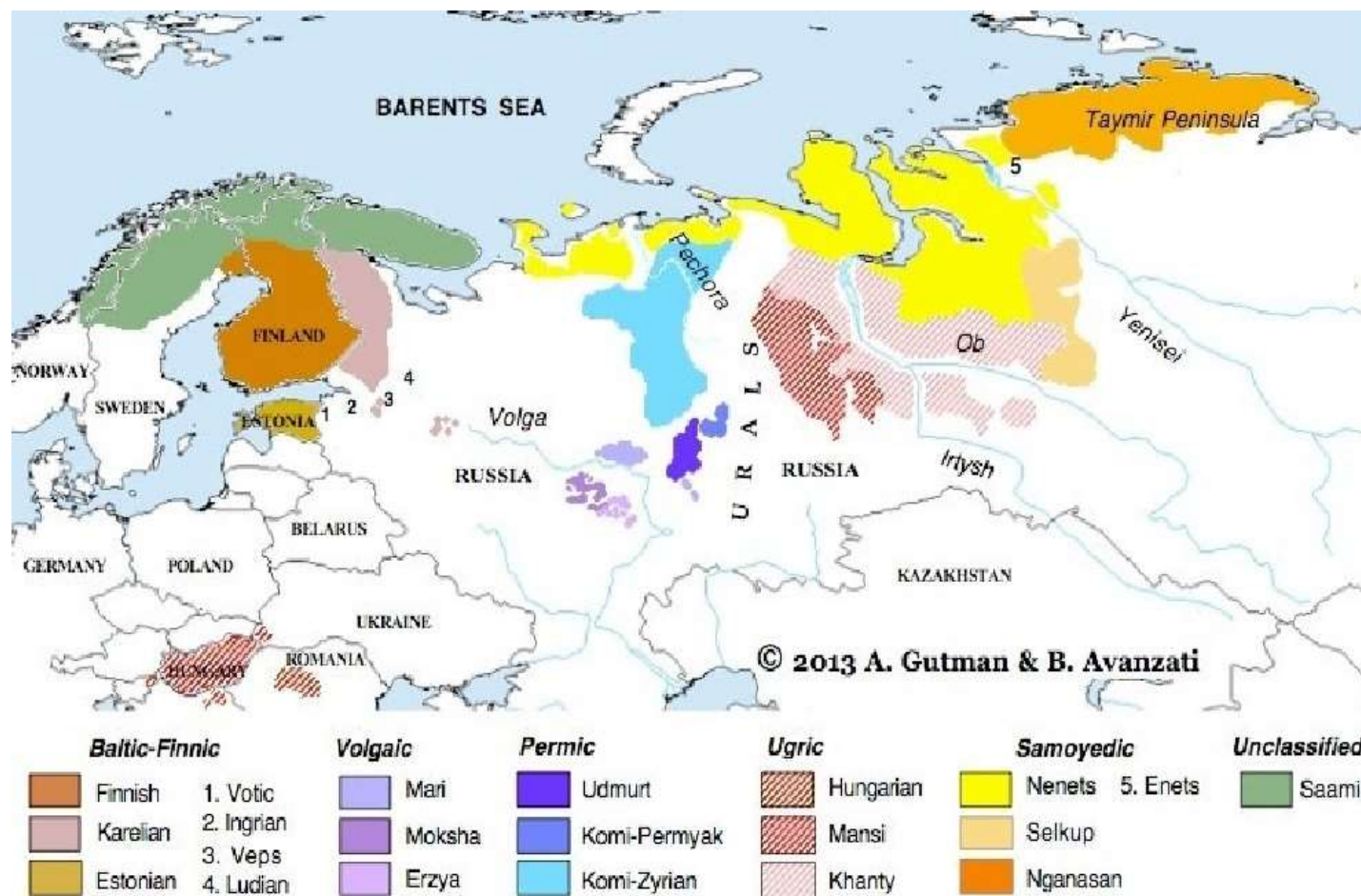
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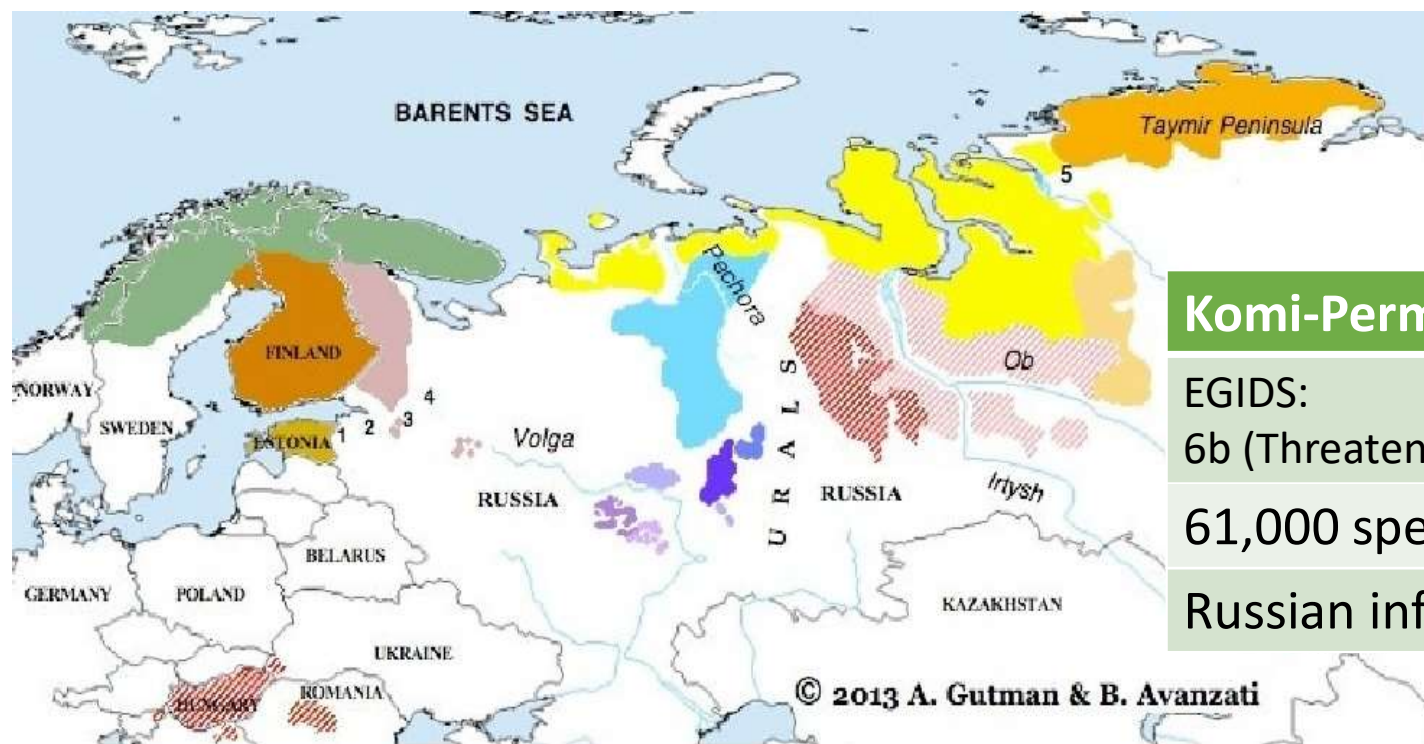
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Predicative possessive clauses (PPC)

- sentences in which ownership of a certain object (the possessed item) is predicated of a possessor (Stassen 2013)
- the relationship between them is asymmetric in that the two entities included in the semantic concept are hardly interchangeable (Langacker 2009)
- main types of predicative possessive clauses in Stassen's (2009) classification:
 - **locational** possessive 'at X there's a Y'
 - **with**-possessive 'with X there's a Y'
 - **topic**-possessive 'as for X, there's a Y'
 - **have**-possessive 'X has a Y'

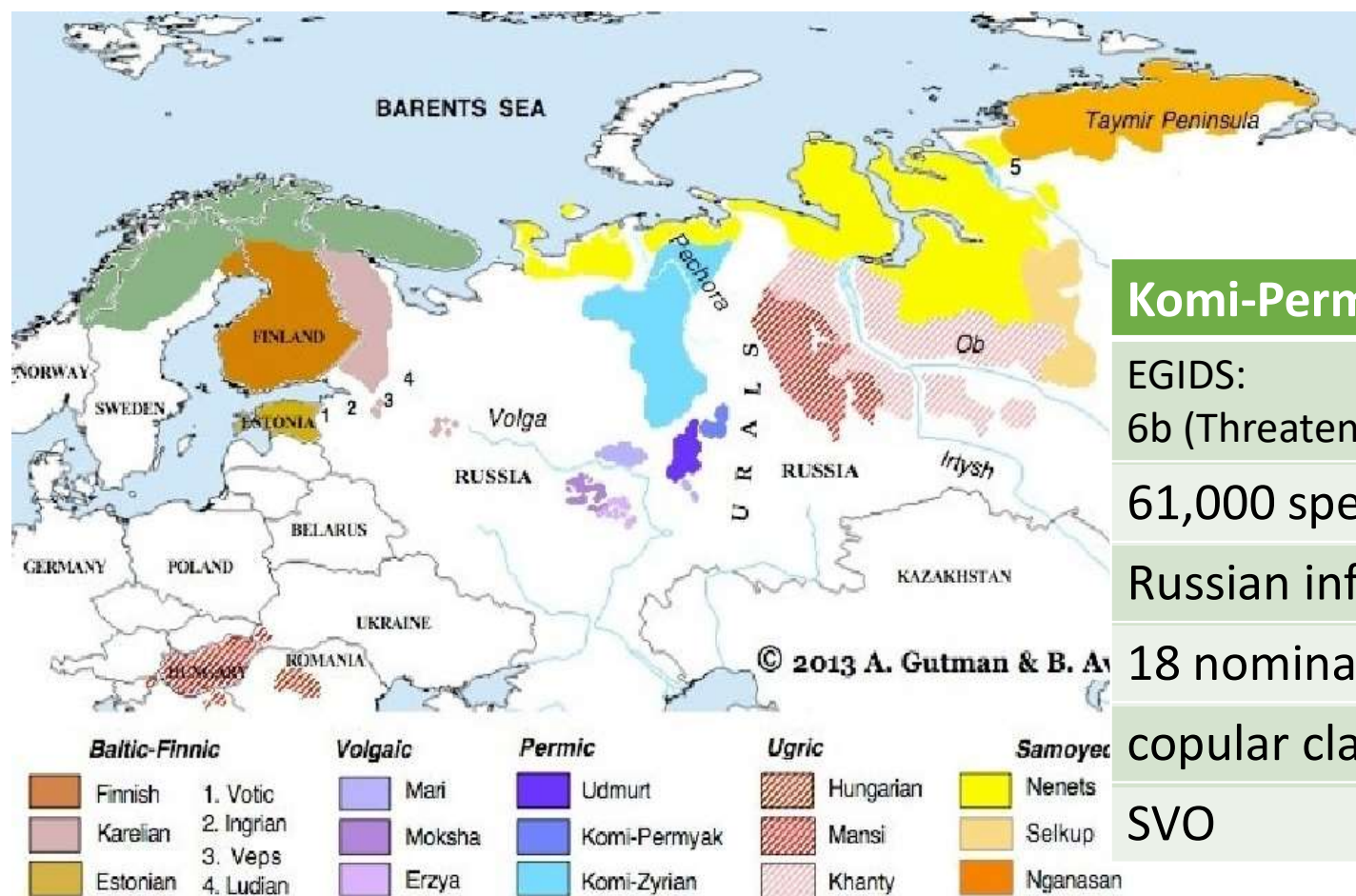
Q1: Which type(s) of PPC-s can be found in Permic languages?





<i>Baltic-Finnic</i>		<i>Volgaic</i>	<i>Permic</i>	<i>Ugric</i>	<i>Samoyedic</i>	<i>Unclassified</i>
Finnish	1. Votic	Mari	Udmurt	Hungarian	Nenets	Saami
Karelian	2. Ingrian	Moksha	Komi-Permyak	Mansi	Selkup	
Estonian	3. Veps	Erzya	Komi-Zyrian	Khanty	Nganasan	
	4. Ludian					

Komi-Permyak	Udmurt
EGIDS: 6b (Threatened)	EGIDS: 6b (Threatened)
61,000 speakers	324,000 speakers
Russian influence	Turkic influence



Komi-Permyak	Udmurt
EGIDS: 6b (Threatened)	EGIDS: 6b (Threatened)
61,000 speakers	324,000 speakers
Russian influence	Turkic influence
18 nominal cases	17 nominal cases
copular clauses	copular clauses
SVO	SOV→SVO

(Perepis 2010; Ethnologue 2015, Lobanova 2017, Csúcs 1990, Asztalos 2018)

Data

- two questionnaires containing 130 sentences (in Hungarian) on the basis of the previous literature
- additional acceptability judgement tests
- filled by native speakers and language experts

Marking of PPC-s

- (1) Nasta-**lön** em ur(-**ys**).
Nastya-**GEN** be.PRS.SG squirrel-**3SG**
'Nastya has a squirrel.' (Komi-Permyak)
- (2) Ol'ga-**len** umoj už-**ez** vań.
Olga-**GEN** good work-**3SG** be.PRS
'Olga has a good job.' (Udmurt)

Marking of PPC-s

(3) Menam em ur(-**ö**).
I.**GEN** be.PRS.SG squirrel-**1SG**
'I have a squirrel.' (Komi-Permyak)

(4) Tynad umoj už-**ed** vań.
you.**GEN** good work-**2SG** be.PRS
'You have a good job.' (Udmurt)

Adnominal possession

- (5) Nasta-**lön** jurśi-**(ys)** basök.
Nastya-**GEN** hair-**3SG** nice.
'Nastya's hair is nice.' (Komi-Permyak)

- (6) Irina-**len** stakan-**ez** žök vylyn.
Irina-**GEN** glass-**3SG** table on
'Irina's glass is on the table.' (Udmurt)

Differential possession marking

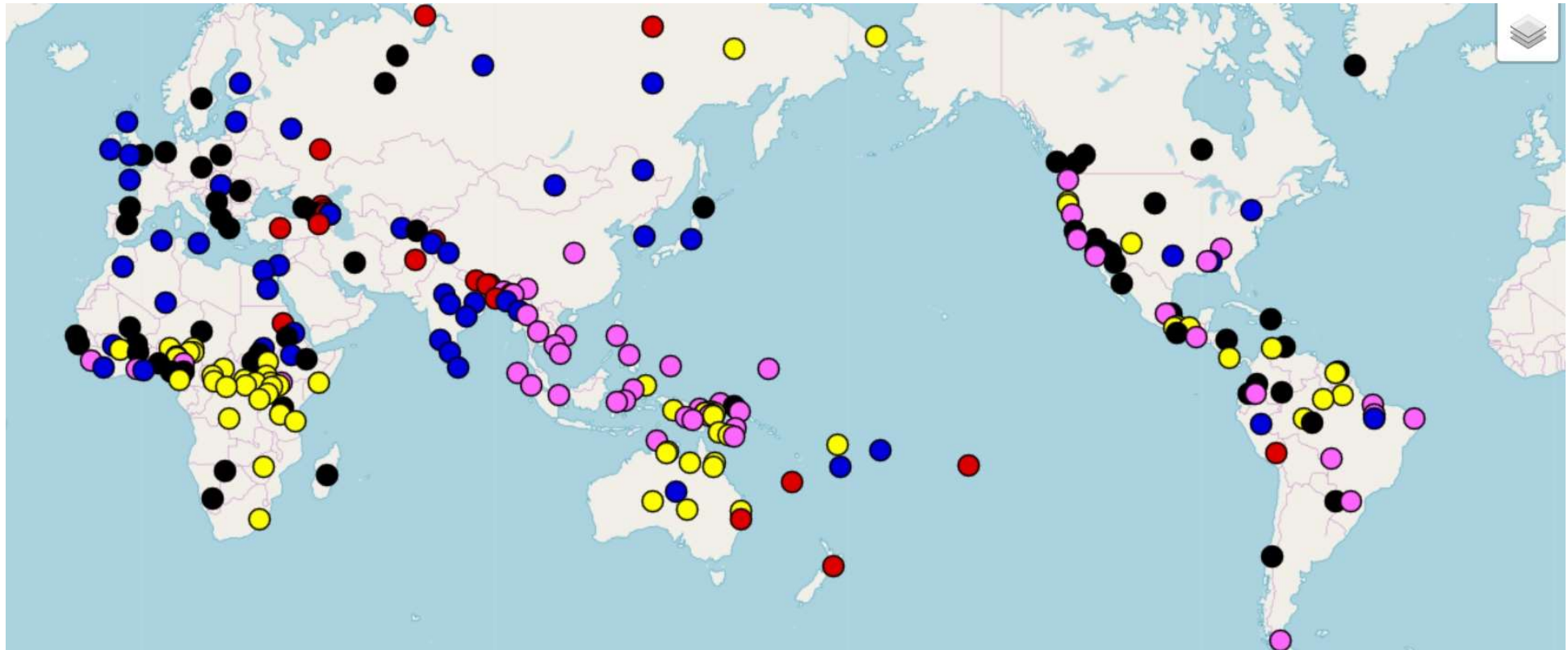
- (7) Ašyn me kyj-a Nasta-**liś** jurśi-**sö**.
tomorrow I braid-FUT.1SG Nastya-**ABL** hair-**ACC.3SG**
'I will braid Nastya's hair tomorrow.' (Komi-Permyak)

- (8) Mon tolon kur-i Irina-**leś** stakan-**ze**.
I yesterday borrow-PST.1SG Irina-**ABL** glass-**ACC.3SG**
'Yesterday I borrowed Irina's glass.' (Udmurt)

- Being direct object in a clause, both the possessor and the head are marked with special forms.
- This phenomenon is claimed to be of Turkic origin (Rédei 1978, Csúcs 1990, Bartens 2000, Bereczki 1998).

Q1: Which type(s) of PPC can be found in Permic languages?

No data in WALS



Stassen (2013)

Previous findings

- The Udmurt PPC belongs to the locational type (Csúcs 1990, Kel'makov & Hännikäinen 2008, Winkler 2001, Edygarova 2010, Bartens 2000).
- The Komi-Permyak PPC belongs to the locational type (Bartens 2000 Batalova 1975, Ponomareva 2002, 2010).

Marking of PPC-s

- (1) Nasta-**lön** em ur-**ys**.
Nastya-GEN **be**.PRS.SG squirrel-**3SG**
'Nastya has a squirrel.' (Komi-Permyak)

Locational type

- (2) Ol'ga-**len** umoj už-**ez** **vań**.
Olga-**GEN** good work-**3SG** **be**.PRS
'Olga has a good job.' (Udmurt)

With-possession?

Intended meaning: 'I have a dog.'

(9) Me-köt em pon-ö.
I-COM be.PRS.SG dog-1SG
'My dog is with me.' (Komi-Permyak)

(10) Me-köt em pon-yt.
I-COM be.PRS.SG dog-2SG
'Your dog is with me.' (Komi-Permyak)

Have-possession?

Intended meaning: 'Andrey has a sheep.'

- (11) Andrej yž vož-e.
 Andrey sheep hold-PRS.3SG
 'Andrey raises sheep.'

- (12) Andrej yž-ze vož-e.
 Andrey sheep-ACC.3SG hold-PRS.3SG
 'Andrey holds his sheep (in his hands).' (Udmurt)

Q2: Are there any more clause types expressing possession in Permic languages?

Possessor predication

Possessor predication (PsrPrd) refers to possessive constructions in which the possessed is declared to belong to the possessor (for example, *the car is Mary's* and *the house is mine*). The possessee appears as the topic of the sentence, while the possessor is the predicate (Havas et al. 2015).

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Sentence structure of possessor predication

Possessor predication (PsrPrd) refers to possessive constructions in which the possessed is declared to belong to the possessor (for example, *the car is Mary's* and *the house is mine*). The required components of this constructions are the possessed (also known as possessee), which must appear as the topic (and subject) of the sentence, the possessivizing grammatical strategy, and the possessor, which must appear in the predicate as a comment on the topic.[1] (Possessor predicative construction should not be confused with predicative possessive or habitive constructions in which the possessor, rather than the possessed, is the topic.[2])

To determine the parameter value of a language, example declarative sentences in the indicative mood and present tense should be examined. Both the possessor and the possessed should be expressed as a noun, rather than a pronoun. The given possessive predicative structure is determined based on the grammatical form in which the predicate (grammatical strategy + possessor) appears, relating it, in some cases, to the form used in habitive or adnominal[3] possessive constructions.

Types:

PsrPrd=Hab: There is no grammatical distinction between possessor predication and habitive constructions.[4]

PsrPrd=Adn: Possessor predication displays the same structure as that of adnominal possessive constructions.

Types
Surgut Khanty: PsrPrd=Adn & PsrPrdV
Hungarian: PsrPrdKopSpec
Synja Khanty: PsrPrd=Adn & PsrPrdKopSpec
Northern Mansi: PsrPrd=Adn

Possessor predication

- (13) Eta *perna/**perna-ys** Ø Petra-lön.
this *cross/**cross-3sg** Ø Peter-GEN
‘This cross belongs to Peter.’ (Komi-Permyak)

- (14) Ta **ly**/*ly-ez Ø puny-len.
this **bone**/bone-3sg Ø dog-GEN
‘This bone belongs to the dog.’ (Udmurt)

Possessor predication

- (15) Eta *perna/**perna-ys** **völ-i** Petra-lön.
this *cross/**cross-3sg** **COP-PST.3SG** Peter-GEN
‘This cross belonged to Peter.’ (Komi-Permyak)

- (16) Ta **ly**/*ly-ez puny-len **val.**
this **bone**/*bone-3sg dog-GEN **COP.PST**
‘This bone belonged to the dog.’ (Udmurt)

Nominal clauses

(17) Nasta velötiś.
 Nastya teacher
 ‘Nastya is a teacher.’

(18) Nasta völ-i velötiś.
 Nastya COP-PST.3SG teacher
 ‘Nastya was a teacher.’ (Komi-Permyak)

Nominal clauses

(19) Ol'ga muso.

Olga cute

'Olga is cute.'

(20) Ol'ga muso val.

Olga cute COP.PST

'Olga was cute.' (Udmurt)

Possessor predication clauses differ from PPC-s in

a) the opposite marking of the possessee (i. e. overt Px in Permyak and Px ommission in Udmurt)

b) the lack of an existential verb (i. e. having copulas instead), and

c) word order.

Additional questions

Q3: Do a) semantic or b) syntactyc properties affect the encoding of the PPC-s in Permic?

Human vs. non-human possessor

(21) Mašha-lön em von-(ys).
Masha-GEN be.PRS.SG brother-3SG
'Masha has a brother.'

(22) Kerku-lön em ös-(ys).
house-GEN be.PRS.SG door-3SG
'The house has a door.' (Komi-Permyak)

Human vs. non-human possessor

(23) Ol'ga-len puny-jez vań.
Olga-GEN dog-3SG be.PRS
'Olga has a dog.'

(24) Puny-len ly-jez vań.
dog-GEN bone-3SG be.PRS
'The dog has a bone.' (Udmurt)

Inalienable vs. alienable possession

(25) Maša-lön em žir ŋol' ćuń-(ys). (body part)
Masha-GEN be.PRS.SG only four finger-3SG
'Masha has only four fingers.'

(26) Maša-lön em soj-(ys). (kinship)
Masha-GEN be.PRS.SG sister-3SG
'Masha has a sister.'

(27) Maša-lön em kad-(ys). (abstract entity)
Masha-GEN be.PRS.SG time-3SG
'Masha has time.' (Komi-Permyak)

Inalienable vs. alienable possession

(28) Ol'ga-len odig ki-yz/??ki vań. (body part)
Olga-GEN one hand-3SG/hand be.PRS
'Olga has one hand.'

(29) Ol'ga-len pići pinal-ez vań. (kinship)
Olga-GEN small child-3SG be.PRS
'Olga has a small child.'

(30) Ol'ga-len dyr-yz vań. (abstract entity)
Olga-GEN time-3SG be.PRS
'Olga has time.' (Udmurt)

Two sets of possessive suffixes in Udmurt

- In Udmurt, certain nouns denoting body parts, kinship terms, or abstract concepts are marked by a possessive suffix containing the vowel -y as opposed to the canonic marker including the vowel -e.
- Edygarova (2010) proposes that there is a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession in Udmurt. However, the number of nouns taking the possessive suffix of the y type is limited and they don't form a distinct paradigm.

Syntactic properties

Agreement

- The existential verb agrees in number only in Komi-Permyak:

(31) Nasta-lön em ńebög.

Nastya-GEN be.PRS.SG book

‘Nastya has a book.’

(32) Nasta-lön em-ös ńebög-gez.

Nastya-GEN be.PRS-PL book-PL

‘Nastya has books.’ (Komi-Permyak)

Agreement

- The Udmurt existential verb agrees with its subject only in the second past tense (Bartens 2000: 266).

(33) Pijaš-len apaj-ez vań.
boy-GEN sister-3SG be.PRS
'The boy has a sister.'

(34) Pijaš-len apaj-jos-yz vań.
boy-GEN sister-PL-3SG be.PRS
'The boy has sisters.'

(35) Pijaš-len apaj-jos-yz vyliľ'am.
boy-GEN sister-PL-3SG be.2PST.PL
'The boy had sisters.' (Udmurt)

Omission of the possessor

- Due to the double marking of possessed nouns, pronominal possessors can be omitted in both languages.

(36) (Menam) em una nebög-ö.
 I.GEN be.PRS.SG many book-1SG
 ‘I have many books.’ (Komi-Permyak)

(37) (Mynam) tros eš-e vań.
 I.GEN many friend-1SG be.PRS
 ‘I have many friends.’ (Udmurt)

Omission of the existential verb in Udmurt

- Edygarova (2010: 238) finds that the existential verb can be omitted in Udmurt when the situation depicted by the verb is “egophoric” or refers to an abstract entity (38).
- However, my informants interpret this sentence as a locational clause instead of a possessive one.

(38) Mil'am - d'emokratija!

we.GEN democracy

‘We have democracy!’ (Udmurt; Edygarova 2010: 238)

(Alternative translation: ‘By us, there is democracy!’)

- This sentence only can have a locational reading in Komi-Permyak.

Presence and absence of the Px in Komi-Permyak

- When the possessee has a demonstrative as modifier, the possessive suffix cannot be omitted (39), but if it is modified by a cardinal numeral, the presence of the possessive suffix results in an agrammatical clause (40).

(39) Nasta-lön em eta *perna/perna-ys?
Nastya-GEN be.PRS.SG this cross/cross-3SG
'Nastya has this cross.'

(40) Nasta-lön em kyk soj/*soj-ys.
Nastya-GEN be.SG two sister/sister-3SG
'Nastya has two sisters.' (Komi/Permyak)

Px omission in Udmurt

- (41) ...noš miľam syće opyt vań.
but we.GEN such experience be.PRS
'...but we have such an experience.' (Udmurt; Edygarova 2010: 235)

- The possessive suffix **can be** omitted when the possessee is an abstract noun (ibid.).
- But see F. Gulyás et al. (2018) for a different approach.

Negation

- (42) Nasta-lön abu-ös ućöt-žyk soj-jez.
Nastya-GEN NEG.PRS-PL small-COMP sister-PL
‘Nastya has no younger sisters.’ (Komi-Permyak)

- (43) Eš-e-len apaj-jos-yz övöl.
friend-1SG-GEN sister-PL-3SG NEG.PRS
‘My friend does not have sisters.’ (Udmurt)

Word order

(44) Jort-ö-lön em blog.
friend-1SG-GEN be.PRS.SG blog
'My friend has a blog.'

(45) Jort-ö-lön blog em.
friend-1SG-GEN blog be.PRS.SG
'My friend has a blog.'

(46) [Em]_{FOC} jort-ö-lön blog.
be.PRS.SG friend-1SG-GEN blog
'My friend has a blog.' (Komi-Permyak)

Word order

(47) Eš-e-len vań blog-ez.
friend-1SG-GEN be.PRS blog-3SG
'My friend has a blog.'

(48) Eš-e-len blog-ez vań.
friend-1SG-GEN blog-3SG be.PRS
'My friend has a blog.'

(49) [Vań]_{FOC} blog-ez eš-e-len.
be.PRS blog-3SG friend-1SG-GEN
'My friend does have a blog.' (Udmurt)

Q4: What can be the reason for the different word order properties in these closely related languages?

Areal influence?

(50) U Ivan-a byl sinij avtomobil'.
at Ivan-GEN be.3SG.M.PAST blue car
'Ivan had a blue car.' (Russian; Stassen 2009: 8)

(51) Maşa-niñ ber kitab-ı bar.
Masha-GEN a book-3SG be_there
'Masha has a book.' (Tatar; A. Cz., p. c.)

Basic word order?

- (52) Öndi ju-ö sur.
Andrey drink-PRS.3SG beer.
‘Andrey is drinking beer.’ (SVO; Komi-Permyak)

- (53) Yura čaj ju-e.
Yuri tea drink-PRS.3SG
‘Yuri is drinking tea.’ (SOV; Udmurt)

Concluding remarks

- Q1: PPC-s belong to the Locational type in both languages.
- Q2: Possessor predication as a subtype of nominal (not predicative possessive) clauses is present in both languages.
- Q3a: Semantics of the possessor and the possessee seem to have no effect on the construction in Permyak, whereas Udmurt seems to have differential possessee marking at least partially governed by semantic properties.

	Komi-Permyak	Udmurt
Agreement	+	-
Omission of Px	+	?+
Omission of be	-	?+
Negation	-	-

- Q4: Language contact and/or correlation with basic word order

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Thank you! Аттыö! Tay!

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