Predicative Possession

Leon Stassen

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Predicative Possession

LEON STASSEN

To John W. M. Verhaar
(1925–2001)
in memoriam

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who, in often troublesome circumstances, continue to ensure that linguistics can be a science that actually has a subject.

As a very wise man once said: "Typology is a lonely job, but somebody has to do it." Fortunately, I did not have to be lonesome. I thank my brothers Huub and Jan for their friendship and good cheer. And above all this book is for Trudy, and – in roughly chronological order – for Mickey, Panda, Lizzy, Grover, Woody, Wanda, Lassie, Bessy, and Nada, who have always known how to make a person feel wanted, at home, and secure.

List of Abbreviations

In the glosses of the example sentences the following abbreviations have been used:

1, 2, 3, 4	person	BEN	benefactive marker
I, II, III, …	nominal class	CAUS	causative marker
ABL	ablative case	CAUSAL	marker of causal mood
ABS	absolutive case	CISLOC	cislocative marker
ACC	accusative case	CLASS	nominal class marker
ACCIDENTAL	accidental mood	CLITIC	clitic
ACT	actor	COINC	marker of coincidental form
ACTUAL	actual mood		
ADESS	adessive case	COLL	collective marker
ADJ	adjective marker	COM	comitative marker
ADV	adverbial marker	COMPLET	completive aspect
AFF	affix	CONC	concord marker
AFFIRM	affirmative mood	CONCESS	marker of concessive mood
AG	agent		
AL	alienable possession marker	COND	marker of conditional mood
ALL	allative	CONJ	conjunction
AN	animate gender	CONJUNCT	marker of conjunct form
ANT	anterior verb form	CONN	connective
AOR	aorist	CONS	consecutive marker
ARG	argumentative case	CONSEC	marker of consecutive mood
ART	article		
ASP	aspect marker	CONSTR	marker of construct form
ASS	assertive mood		
ASSOC	associative case	CONT	continuative aspect
ATEL	atelic marker	CONTEMP	marker of contemporative mood
ATTR	attributive marker		
AUX	auxiliary	CONTRAST	contrastive marker

CONV	converb marker		EXCLAM	exclamative marker
COP	copula		EXPER	experiential mood
CUSTOM	customary aspect			
			F	feminine gender
DAT	dative case		FACT	factitive mood
DEAG	deagentive voice		FIN	finite verb form
DECL	declarative mood		FOC	focus marker
DEF	definiteness marker		FREQ	frequentative marker
DEFIN	definitive		FRUST	frustrative mood
DEIC	deictic element		FUT	future
DEM	demonstrative			
DEP	dependent verb form		GEN	genitive case
DERIV	derivation marker		GENERAL	general aspect
DESID	desiderative mood		GER	gerund marker
DEST	destinative case			
DET	determiner		HAB	habitual aspect
DIM	diminutive		HON	honorific form
DIR	directive marker		HORT	hortative mood
DIST	distal marker		HSY	hearsay form
DISTR	distributive marker		HUM	human gender
DS	different subject marker		HYP	hypothetical mood
DU	dual number		ILL	illative case
DUB	dubitative mood		IMMED	immediate past
DUPLIC	duplicative marker		IMM. FUT	immediate future
DUR	durative aspect		IMP	imperative mood
DYN	dynamic verb form		IMPERF	imperfective aspect
			INAN	inanimate gender
			INCEP	inceptive aspect
ELAT	elative case		INCH	inchoative aspect
EMP	emphatic marker		INCL	inclusive (first person)
EPENT	epenthetic element			
EPISTEMIC	epistemic mood		INCOMPL	incompletive aspect
ERG	ergative case		INDEF	indefinite marker
ESS	essive marker		INDIC	indicative mood
EVID	evidential marker		INDIR	indirective marker
EXCL	exclusive (1st person)		INESS	inessive case

INF	infinitive marker		NONHYP	non hypothetical mood
INFER	inferential mood		NONPAST	non past tense
INSTR	instrumental case		NONSG	non singular number
INTENS	intensive aspect		NONTOP	marker of non topic
INTR	intransitive marker		NOUNAG	marker of agent noun
IRR	irrealis marker			
ITER	iterative marker			
IZAF	izafet marker		OBJ	object marker
			OBL	oblique case
JUSS	jussive mood		OBV	obviative marker
			OLD.INFORM	marker of old information
LIM	limitative marker			
LK	linking morpheme		OPT	optative mood
LOC	locative case			
			PART	partitive case
M	masculine gender		PARTICIP	marker of participial mood
MED	middle voice marker			
MEDIT	meditative case		PASS	passive marker
MODALIS	modalis case		PAST	past tense
MOOD	mood marker		PAT	patient marker
MOT	motion marker		PAUC	paucal number
			PAUS	pausal marker
NARR	narrative mood		PCP	participle
NEAR	nearness marker		PERF	perfect form
NEG	negative item		PERFORM	performative marker
NEUT	neuter gender		PERL	perlative case
NEUTR	neutral aspect		PERS	persistive aspect
NEWSIT	marker of new situation		PERV	pervasive marker
NMNL	nominalizer		PFV	perfective aspect
NOM	nominative case		PL	plural number
NON3	non third person		PLPERF	pluperfect
NONFACT	non factive mood		POSS	possessive marker
NONFEM	non feminine gender		POT	marker of potential mood
NONFIN	non finite verb form			
NONFUT	non future tense		PRED	predicate marker
NONHUM	non human gender		PREF	prefix

PREP	preposition	SOC	sociative case
PRES	present tense	SPEC	specificity marker
PRESUPP	presuppositive	SS	same subject marker
PRET	preterite tense		
PROB	probability marker	STAT	stative aspect
PROG	progressive aspect	STEM	stem formative
PROLAT	prolative case	STYLE	stylistic marker
PRON	pronoun	SUBJ	subject marker
PROP	proprietive marker	SUBJUNCT	marker of subjunctive mood
PROSEC	prosecutive case	SUBLAT	sublative case
PROX	proximate marker	SUBORD	subordination marker
PRT	particle		
PUNCT	punctual aspect	SUBSEC	marker of subsecutive mood
PURP	purposive marker	SUFF	suffix
		SUG	marker of suggestive mood
Q	question marker		
QUOT	quotative marker		
		TEL	telic aspect
REAL	realis mood	TEMP	marker of temporal mood
REC	recent past		
RECIP	reciprocal marker	TERMIN	terminative case
REDUPL	reduplication	THEME	theme
REFL	reflexive marker	TNS	tense marker
REL	relative mood	TOD.PAST	marker of today past tense
REM	remote past		
REP	reported speech	TOP	topic
REPET	repetitive aspect	TR	transitivizer
RESULT	resultative aspect	TRANS	transitivity marker
RM	relative marker	TRANSLAT	translative case
		TRI	trial number
SEQ	sequential marker		
SG	singular number	UNCERT	marker of uncertain mood
SIM	simultaneity marker		
SIT	situational aspect		

UNPOSS	marker of non possessed noun	VENT	ventitive marker
UNSPEC	unspecificity marker	VERB	verbalizing morpheme
USIT	usitative aspect		
		VN	verbal noun
VAL	validator	VOICE	voice marker

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Part I
The Typology of Predicative Possession

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1

The domain of the inquiry

1.1 Introduction

This book is an essay in theoretical linguistics, and employs the research method of linguistic typology. This form of linguistic inquiry aims at discovering basic principles in the structure of human language, by means of a comparison of structural features in a large sample of (preferably unrelated) languages. Typologists expect that in doing so the limits of possible variation between languages – and hence, a definition of the notion 'possible human language' – can be brought to light.[1] The current project is intended to contribute to this general programme, in that it examines one specific structural feature of languages, namely the various ways in which the concept of PREDICATIVE POSSESSION can be formally realized.

Given the particular, broad-scale nature of a typological investigation, it will be clear that such a project will face a number of methodological problems that are absent, or at least less pressing, in other forms of linguistic research. A major problem, with which any typological project will be confronted at its very outset, concerns the question of cross-linguistic identification. It is, of course, of the utmost importance that the data base upon which the typological project is founded be as uniform and homogeneous as possible, so that the researcher will not compare incomparable cross-linguistic data. This, however, presupposes that the researcher has a working hypothesis about what constitutes relevant (and irrelevant) data in each of the languages in the sample. In other words, the researcher will need a definition of THE DOMAIN OF INQUIRY, to be formulated in such a way that it can be applied language-independently. In recent linguistic typology, it is generally agreed that such a language-independent definition of a typological domain can not (or not entirely) be phrased in terms of formal or 'structural' criteria. Typologists nowadays favour domain definitions in which structural

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[1] Textbooks that provide general introductions to the main concepts and research results of linguistic typology are Comrie (1989), Whaley (1997), Song (2001), Haspelmath et al. (2001), and Croft (2003).

criteria are 'mixed' with criteria of a semantic (or 'cognitive', or 'functional') nature.[2] A common practice, which I will adopt in this study, is to define the domain first in terms of a range of semantic phenomena, and then to use formal criteria to limit the domain to a set of constructions that is cross-linguistically manageable.

In the remainder of this chapter, my main concern will be to provide such a definition for the domain of predicative possession. After a cursory survey of previous literature in Section 1.2, in section 1.3 I will attempt a semantic/cognitive analysis of 'alienable' possession, which is seen by many authors as the prototypical manifestation of the concept of possession. In section 1.4, I will argue that the concept of possession must in fact be viewed as defining a conceptual space, in which at least four different subdomains or subtypes of 'possession' can be distinguished. In addition to these semantic considerations, in Section 1.5 I will indicate and motivate a number of formal restrictions, which are meant to delineate the empirical domain of this study further, beyond the purely semantic definition. The final outcome is a cross-linguistically applicable definition of the notion 'predicative possession construction', which will be given in Section 1.6, and which will be employed as the basis for the typological investigations reported in Chapters 2–7. The chapter is concluded by a discussion of the method of language sampling that is used in this study (Section 1.7) and a short outline of the rest of this book (Section 1.8).

1.2 Previous work

Whatever the merits of this book may be, it can not be said to be pioneering. The concept of possession, and the ways in which natural languages formally encode this concept, are the subject of a rich and sophisticated body of linguistic literature, of which I have made extensive use. First and foremost, there is a wealth of monographs and grammars in which the possessive constructions of single languages or groups of languages are described. These descriptive findings will of course be acknowledged at their appropriate places in the following chapters. As for the more theoretically oriented literature on possession, a number of different issues can be discerned, each with their own history and tradition.

To start, I will briefly touch upon a few questions that will not be pursued further in this book, but which are too interesting or important to be ignored

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[2] For a defence of the semantic/cognitive grounding of typologies see, among others, Stassen (1985), Comrie (1989), and Croft (2003). Haspelmath (1997: 9) argues, quite convincingly in my view, that domain definitions should consist of a mix of semantic and formal criteria.

completely. First, I must mention a considerable body of research which deals with the question of the relationship between the concept of possession and other conceptual notions. Authors have asked themselves whether possession constitutes an independent conceptual domain, or whether, alternatively, it can be reduced to some other, more basic, conceptual notion. In particular, it has been suggested that possession is in fact a subdomain of the domain of location. I will comment on this question in the next section. For now, I can say that I agree with Heine (1997: 202–7), who states that possession is conceptually linked to location, but that the two domains should nevertheless be kept apart. Another way in which possession is connected to other conceptual domains is that, apparently, the encoding of possession is a favourite source in languages for the encoding of other conceptual notions. These connections have been explored in a captivating strand of literature, which is part of grammaticalization theory, a fairly recent development in diachronic linguistics.[3] Thus, it has been established that, in quite a few languages, possessive constructions form the diachronic basis for aspectual notions such as perfective or progressive, or for expressions of deontic modality. The following few examples may serve as an indication of the diachronic relationships involved:

(1) FRENCH (Indo-European, Romance)

   a. *Possession:*
      Il   a   un   cheval
      he   has   a   horse
      'He has a horse' (own data)

   b. *Perfective:*
      Il   a   travaillé
      he   has   worked
      'He has worked' (own data)

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[3] The term 'grammaticalization' originally referred to a rather specific type of diachronic change in languages, namely, the process by which lexical items can change into functional items or further on into grammatical affixes. Well known examples of such a process are the development of nouns (like 'back' or 'front') into adpositions ('behind' or 'before') and the development of adpositions into inflectional affixes on nouns. In recent years, however, there has been a tendency to broaden the sense of the term, and to use it to refer to any type of diachronic change: 'Grammaticalization theory is concerned with the genesis and development of grammatical forms. Its primary goal is to describe how grammatical forms and constructions arise and develop through space and time' (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 2).

Publications which document the development of grammaticalization theory over the last thirty years are Lehmann (1982, 1995), Traugott and Heine (1991), Heine et al. (1991), Pagliuca (1994), Hopper and Traugott (2003), Gildea (2000), Heine and Kuteva (2002), Fischer et al. (2004), and Bisang et al. (2004).

(2)   SWAHILI (Niger-Kordofanian, East Bantu)

    a.   *Possession:*
      Wa-na   pesa
      they-be.with   money
      'They have money' (Heine 1997: 189)

    b.   *Progressive:*
      Wa-na-ku-la
      they-be.with-INF-eat
      'They are eating' (Heine 1997: 189)

(3)   ENGLISH (Indo-European, West Germanic)

    a.   *Possession:*
      I have a motorcycle (own data)

    b.   *Deontic modality:*
      I have to work (own data)

Moreover, there are a number of languages in which possessive encodings form the historical foundation of expressions of existence, as is shown in the following examples from French, Serbo-Croatian, and Swahili:[4]

(4)   FRENCH (Indo-European, Romance)

    a.   *Possession:*
      Il   a   un   cheval
      he   has a   horse
      'He has a horse' (own data)

    b.   *Existence:*
      Il   y   a   des   gens   qui   fument
      it   there has   INDEF people who   smoke
      'There are people who smoke' (own data)

(5)   SERBO-CROATIAN (Indo-European, South Slavonic)

    a.   *Possession:*
      Gospodin   Petrovic   ima   automobil
      Mr.   P.   has   car
      'Mr. Petrovic has a car' (Javarek and Sudjic 1963: 18)

    b.   *Existence:*
      U   Beogradu   ima   vojnika
      in   B.-LOC   it.has   soldier.ACC
      'There are soldiers in Belgrade' (Lord 1958: 22)

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[4] Apart from existentials, aspect, and deontic modality, possession has been claimed to be a source of encoding for several other concepts, such as the marking of conditional clauses and the marking of future tense. See Heine (1997: 187) and Heine and Kuteva (2002).

(6)   Swahili (Niger-Kordofanian, East Bantu)

    a. *Possession:*
        Wa-na   pesa
        they-be.with   money
        'They have money' (Heine 1997: 189)

    b. *Existence:*
        Pa-na   watu   wengi
        there-be.with people many
        'There are many people' (*lit.* There has (it) many people)

                                                (Heine 1997: 206)

It will be clear that the relationship between possession and other conceptual domains, and the diachronic mechanisms that shape this relationship, constitute a fascinating area of research. However, it will also be evident that these issues are way beyond the scope of the present investigation as it has been defined above.

A second body of literature that I want to address briefly here consists of writings in which a relationship is claimed between the linguistic encoding of possession and some aspects of extra-linguistic behaviour. As I have found during the preparation of this book, the concept of possession, and its expression in language, is (or at least has been) a factor in a debate of an anthropological and even political nature. As several authors have stipulated, possession is basically a social concept (Miller and Johnson-Laird 1976) or a 'bio-cultural' concept (Seiler 1983). As a consequence, the conceptual content of possession can be expected to exhibit some degree of cross-cultural variation. As we will see in the next sections, there are indeed some aspects of possession in which these cross-cultural differences come to light: societies may diverge in the range of objects that can be 'possessed', and also some subdomains of possession – notably, the subdomain of inalienable possession – seem to be influenced or shaped at least partly by social or cultural conventions. From this, however, it does not necessarily follow that the concept of possession itself is culture-specific. Despite differences in the extension of possession, there is overwhelming evidence for the claim that this concept is employed in all societies that have ever been studied. Likewise, one can agree with Langacker (1994: 43–4) and Heine (1997: 2) that the linguistic encoding of possession, in the form of conventionalized expressions for that concept, is a universal feature of human languages.

The idea that Possession is essentially a social or cultural notion has formed the background of a debate that was instigated by a number of early twentieth-century Indo-Europeanists, and that has resulted in a set of

convictions that still seem to be widely held today. In its essence, the argumentation rests on the assumption that different means of linguistic encoding correlate with different social or cultural beliefs and attitudes, or, conversely, that differences in social organization and cultural development are mirrored in different linguistic encodings. This assumption found a concrete instantiation in the ways in which the concept of possession is expressed in the languages of the Indo-European family. As is well known, these languages exhibit a split, in that some of them encode (predicative) possession by way of a *have*-verb (to be found in the Germanic, Romance, Baltic, and Iranian subfamilies, and also in West and South Slavonic, Modern Greek, Albanian, and Armenian), whereas other members of the family employ a possessive construction that features a *be*-verb (Celtic, East Slavonic, Indic). This split between the *have*-languages and the *be*-languages within Indo-European (Isačenko 1974) can be illustrated by contrasting the possessive encodings of Modern Irish and Russian with those of Norwegian and Modern Greek.

(7) MODERN IRISH (Indo-European, Celtic)
Ta   airgead   aig-e
be.3SG.PRES   money   at-3SG
'He has money' (*lit.* 'Is money at him') (Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 197)

(8) RUSSIAN (Indo-European, East Slavonic)
U   Ivana   byl   sinij   avtomobil'
at Ivan-GEN   be.3SG.M.PAST blue   car
'Ivan had a blue car' (*lit.* 'At Ivan was (a) blue car') (Chvany 1973: 71)

(9) NORWEGIAN (Indo-European, North Germanic)
Mannen   har   en   hund
man.DEF   have.PRES a   dog
'The man has a dog' (Pål Kristian Eriksen p.c.)

(10) MODERN GREEK (Indo-European, Hellenic)
Hoi   Arabes   echousin   elefantas
DEF.PL   Arab.NOM.PL   have.3PL.PRES elephant.ACC.PL
'The Arabs have elephants' (Petraris 1914: 44)

With regard to this contrast, authors like Meillet (1923), Locker (1954), Löfstedt (1963), and Isačenko (1974) held the following two claims to be true:

(a) *Have*-encoding is typically Indo-European; it does not occur outside this language family.

(b) Proto-Indo-European was a *be*-language. *Have*-encoding is a later innovation, which, in the languages at issue, superseded an erstwhile *be*-encoding.

As an answer to the question of why this situation should be so, cultural and anthropological considerations were brought into play. Meillet (1923) suggested that the *be*-encoding in Early Indo-European was a sign of a not yet fully conventionalized possessive construction. Later authors took this to be correlated with a not yet fully developed concept of possession, which was claimed to be typical of 'primitive' societies. The introduction of a *have*-encoding (which, by virtue of its Agent–Patient syntax, was held to represent a more 'active' mode of conceptualization than the earlier *be*-encoding) was thought to mirror a later evolutionary stage, which can appear only in societies 'after they have reached a certain stage of development' (Isačenko 1974: 64).

This 'evolutionary' view of the various forms of possession encoding has been subjected to extensive criticism by Heine (1997: 138–42). This author concludes that the linguistic claims on which this view is founded are questionable, to say the least. Contrary to what is often assumed,[5] *have*-encoding of possession is not at all limited to Indo-European: it occurs on all continents of the globe, in societies that are widely divergent as to their social structure and technological development. Furthermore, the claim that *have*-encoding represents an innovation in Indo-European is equally shaky, seeing that Hittite, which is the oldest Indo-European language for which reliable data are available, was definitely a *have*-language. It is true that for some Indo-European languages, such as Greek and in some respects also Latin, a 'victory' (Locker 1954: 504) of the *have*-construction over an erstwhile *be*-construction can be argued for. However, the reverse development, in which a *be*-encoding replaced an older *have*-construction, can also be encountered.[6] In sum:

[5] The idea that have encoding of predicative possession is by and large an Indo European prerogative has been endorsed as recently as in Stassen (2001). This author quite wrongly states that 'Have Possessives are only incidental occurrences in linguistic families' outside Indo European.

[6] Biermann (1985: 12) reports that Hungarian used to have a transitive have verb *bir* lit. 'to govern, to rule'. The item was in use until the nineteenth century, but 'for many present day speakers it would not be intelligible any longer without the help of an etymological dictionary [my translation L.S.].' The present day encoding for predicative possession in Hungarian is a Locational Possessive.

Heine (1997: 323 33) states that Old Church Slavonic, the oldest form of Slavonic for which there are reliable data, had a *have* verb *imam*, which covered a wide range of possessive notions. The item survives in modern South and West Slavonic languages as the major possessive encoding, but is only of limited use in East Slavonic languages like Russian, where a Locational Possessive is the major option.

there is no linguistic evidence to show that the modes of conceptualizing and/or encoding possession were different at any time in empirically reconstructible history. Attempts made by Meillet and others to establish that Proto Indo European did not have a grammaticalized category of possession, or that earlier generations of mankind had different modes for expressing possession, have hardly been successful.

<div align="right">(Heine 1997: 142)</div>

With these matters out of the way, we can now concentrate on the issues which are of prime relevance to the investigation reported in this book. In particular, the following questions will be of interest to us:

- What is the essential cognitive content of the concept of possession? What are the necessary and sufficient features a situation has to display in order for it to be called a case of possession?
- Are there different semantic subtypes of the concept of possession, and if so, what are their distinctive features?
- What are the different ways in which the concept of possession is formally encoded in natural language? In short, what does the typology of possession look like?

The first two of these questions will be dealt with in the following sections of this chapter, and the third question will be the subject of Chapters 2–7. The relevant literature will be cited in the course of these expositions. However, I must warn the reader that I will make no attempt to present a comprehensive survey of all these often rather intricate discussions. Instead, I have made a selection of topics, and of relevant literature, which I consider indispensable in a typological study. Thus, in the remainder of this chapter I will address only those issues which are needed to provide a foundation of the typological research project at hand, that is, a cross-linguistically applicable definition of the notion 'possessive construction'.

1.3 The semantics of possession: two parameters

Like other concepts such as 'time' or 'manner', 'possession' is one of those relatively abstract notions which are hard to define explicitly, but which are nonetheless grounded in rather consistent intuitions. When asked, laymen as well as linguists will readily agree that a sentence like

(11)   John has a motorcycle

constitutes a case of an encoding of 'real' possession, whereas sentences that look formally identical, such as

(12) Frank has a sister

(13) A spider has six legs

(14) Mandy has a basket on her lap

(15) Bill has the flu

are not seen as cases of possession in a 'core', or 'prototypical' sense. In fact, English is a language in which there is a diagnostic test for separating prototypical possession from other cases. As can be seen, substituting the verb *own* for the verb *have* in the above sentences is readily possible for sentence (11), whereas this substitution will lead to non-felicitous results in sentences (12)–(15). But even in languages in which such a test is not available, speakers are generally capable of making a semantic distinction between cases of 'real' possession and other cases to which this notion is not applicable, even if there is formal identity of expression. In other words, there is no doubt that possession is a real, and intuitively applicable, concept in human cognition. The question now is how to analyse it, and how to define it in such a way that it can be used as a basis for cross-linguistic comparison.

Perhaps the most neutral, and least controversial, characterization of possession is that, as a semantic concept, it belongs to the class of cognitive entities known as 'relations'. From this it follows that a case of possession necessarily involves two entities, which, for this particular case, can be called the POSSESSOR and the POSSESSEE. Moreover, we may characterize this relation as asymmetric, in that it involves the notion of 'belonging'. That is, authors on the semantics of possession, as well as the common-sense layman, will agree that a case of possession involves a relation of a rather specific type, namely a case in which one of the entities involved, the possessee, can be said to 'belong' to the other entity, the possessor.

The notion of 'belonging' is of course pre-theoretical and vague, and the literature has seen various attempts to explicate this notion. One influential school of thought has tackled the problem by trying to reduce the notion of 'belonging' to a more basic type of relation, namely a LOCATIONAL relation. Thus, it is argued, an entity X can be said to 'belong' to an entity Y – and hence, X and Y can be said to be in a relation of possession – if X and Y share the same space, and are therefore in CONTACT.[7] This reduction of possession to shared location or 'spatial proximity' (Taylor 1989b: 202) has been the tenet of quite a few scholars from linguistic schools which, in other respects, are clearly at odds

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[7] The notion of 'space' intended here should be taken to include not only 'concrete' or 'physical' space, but also more abstract extensions like 'mental space' or 'sphere of influence'.

with one another. We find the idea that possession is a (perhaps somewhat specific, or metaphorically extended) form of locational relation in studies by traditional comparative linguists like Benveniste (1960), authors in the so-called localist tradition of case grammar (notably Lyons 1967, 1968a/b, 1977; Anderson 1971), typological linguists (Locker 1954, Clark 1978, Lizotte 1983), and authors working within the framework of generative syntax, notably Freeze (1992). For our current purposes, it would go too far to discuss all these proposals in detail. What is common to all these authors is that they do not conceive of possession as an independent concept: in its essential features, it can be reduced to location. As a consequence, it is held that differences between possession and other forms of locational relations can be attributed to some special, additional characteristics of the possessive relation. For one thing, it can be observed that, in cases of possession, one of the located entities (i.e. the possessor) typically has the semantic feature [+ Human]. In other cases of locational relations, it is argued, no such selection restrictions are applicable, which is why possession is a special form of location. As a second point, it can be stipulated that the possessive relation, at least in its prototypical instances, is to be viewed as holding for an enduring length of time: 'possession has no conceivable temporal limit' and 'the relationship of possession is a long-term one, measured in months or years rather than in minutes or seconds' (Taylor 1989b: 202, 203). Since with other cases of location this requirement of relative time-stability does not necessarily hold, this may constitute another reason why, within the realm of locational relations, possession has a special status.

A strong argument in favour of this Location Hypothesis on Possession is that, in many unrelated languages, the expression of possession is clearly parallel (or, in some cases, even identical) to the expression of locational relations. Cases in which this parallelism between locational and possessive encoding is clearly visible will be presented in abundance throughout this book. At this point, I will limit myself to just a few examples, taken from such diverse languages as Khalkha, Hausa, Fijian, and Sango.

(16) KHALKHA (Altaic, Mongolian)

  a. Gadazar-ing   dzurag   xana-da   baina
     region-GEN   picture   wall-on   be.PRES
     'The map is on the wall' (Poppe 1951: 61)

  b. Na-d   olon   mori   bajna
     1SG-at   many   horse   be.PRES
     'I have many horses' (*lit.* 'At me are many horses') (Street 1963: 163)

(17) HAUSA (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic)

    a. Akwai   yara   a   gida
       exist   child.PL at   house
      'There are children at home' (Kraft and Kirk-Greene 1973: 66)

    b. Akwai   mota   gare   shi
       exist   car   with/at him
      'He has a car' (*lit.* 'There is a car at/with him')

                                  (Cowan and Schuh 1976: 69)

(18) FIJIAN (Austronesian, East Oceanic)

    a. E   tu   ko   Samu mai Niu   Siladi
       PRES stand ART Samu DIR New   Zealand
      'Samu is in New Zealand' (Milner 1956: 151)

    b. Sa   tu   vei au   e   dua   na   isele
       PERF stand to   me PRED one ART knife
      'I have a knife' (*lit.* 'To me stands/is one knife')

                                    (Churchward 1940: 40)

(19) SANGO (Niger-Kordofanian, Ubangian)

    a. Mbi   ɛkɛ   na   l'hôpital
       1SG   be   LOC   hospital
      'I am in the hospital' (Samarin 1966: 179)

    b. Lo   ɛkɛ   na   bɔngɔ́
       he   be   with garment
      'He has a garment' (*lit.* 'He is with a garment') (Samarin 1966: 95)

On the other hand, however, it must be admitted that the parallelism between locational and possessive encoding is certainly not universal. There are quite a few languages in which the relation between these two encodings is not visible. Notably, this is the case in languages such as English, in which the encoding of possession features a non-locational, transitive[8] *have*-verb. Some 'reductionist' authors have sought a way around this objection by arguing that *have*-encoding for possessive constructions is a 'superficial' phenomenon, and that even *have*-constructions are basically locational (Bach 1967; Freeze 1992). Moreover, some historical linguists have defended the view that *have*-constructions are a late development in at least some of the languages that have them, and that locationally encoded possessive constructions are diachronically 'basic' (see above in Section 1.2). There can be doubts, however,

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[8] Actually, it is preferable to call the *have* construction semi transitive, as many *have* verbs in possessive constructions do not exhibit all the properties of prototypical transitive verbs. For one thing, they seldom have a passive form.

about the actual strength of these arguments, seeing that arguments for a superficial status of *have*-constructions are heavily theory-dependent, and that arguments that are based on diachronic developments have their origin in misguided or demonstrably outdated assumptions (see Heine 1997: 138–42).

Reviewing the 'reductionist' literature, I tend to the position that location cannot be seen as a sufficient template for the cognitive/semantic notion of possession. That is, I hold that, in order to explicate the pre-theoretical notion of 'belonging', sameness of location is a necessary ingredient, but that it is not the only one. In this, I follow authors like Seiler (1973, 1983), Hagège (1993), Heine (1997), and Baron and Herslund (2001), who argue that, in addition to spatial unity, the notion of possession is defined by a second parameter which cannot be reduced to spatio-temporal notions. This second parameter is meant to account for the semantic intuition that, in cases of possession, the relation between the two participating entities is necessarily asymmetrical, in that the role, or the status, of the two participants in the relation is fundamentally different. This difference can be captured by invoking the cognitive/semantic notion of CONTROL, which has been proven to be fruitful in the analysis of a number of different grammatical constructions.[9]

The role of control in possessive constructions has been formulated concisely by Evans (1995: 146), who states that the meaning of the major possessive construction in the Australian language Kayardild can be explicated as follows: 'X [the possessor] can expect Y [the possessee] to be in the same place as X when X wants, and X can do with Y what X wants.' Thus, basically, the notion of 'control' can be described in terms of 'power'. In an event, a participant that has control is seen as the prime mover and beneficiary. In the typical case this participant instigates the event by means of a volitional act, it determines the way in which the event proceeds, and it is generally the beneficiary of the results of the event. In short, a participant that has control 'calls the shots' in an event. Now, in the case of possession the possessor can be seen as exerting control over the possessee: after all, it is the possessor that determines the whereabouts of the possessee and generally determines what happens to it, and it is the possessor who is the decisive factor in continuing

[9] The semantic/cognitive notion of 'control'   which is not to be confused with the syntactic notion of 'control' employed in generative grammar   has been developed in functional/typological analyses that involve such phenomena as agency (DeLancey 1984, Jackendoff 1990, Langacker 1991, among many others), transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980; for an overview of the literature see Naess 2007), ergativity (Dixon 1994), voice systems (Klaiman 1991, Kemmer 1993), and causativity (Comrie 1989, Song 1996). Explicit discussions of the content of the notion of Control can be found in, among others, Brennenstuhl (1976), Farkas (1988), and Klaiman (1988).

or terminating the possessive relation with the possessee. It should be pointed out that, if we accept control as a parameter in the semantics of possession, we no longer have to view the human or humanized status of the possessor as a defining factor in the possessive relation. Instead, the [+Human] status of the possessor can now be seen as a consequence of the fact that, in possessive relations, one of the participants has control over the other, and that, in general, it is only humans that can execute control.

If we accept the semantic analysis proposed in this section, we can state that possession is located at the intersection of two parameters, and that it can be described 'with reference to the extent of control the possessor has over the possessee on the one hand, and the length of time during which the possessee is located in proximity to the possessor on the other' (Heine 1997: 38–9).[10] Accordingly, we can now formulate the following definition:

(20) A prototypical case of possession is characterized by the presence of two entities (the possessor and the possessee) such that
   a) the possessor and the possessee are in some relatively enduring locational relation, and
   b) the possessor exerts control over the possessee (and is therefore typically human).

1.4 The cognitive space of possession: subdomains

In the literature, cases of possession which conform to the definition given in (20) are commonly labelled as instances of ALIENABLE POSSESSION.[11] By this term, it is indicated that, in such constructions, the possessive relation between the possessor and the possessee is not seen as 'inherent' or 'indissoluble'. Thus, although in cases of alienable possession the possessive relation is seen as relatively time-stable, it is understood that this relation continues to exist only for as long as the controlling agency in the relation chooses to maintain it. Consequently, it can be severed by actions on the part of the possessor, such as selling or lending. Likewise, with alienable possessive relations it is at least conceivable that the possessive relation between possessor and possessee is

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[10] Heine (1997: 38) credits this insight to Bugenhagen (1986: 128).

[11] The literature contains numerous alternative terms for alienable possession, such as 'Permanent Possession' (Miller and Johnson Laird 1976), 'Accidental Possession' (Ultan 1978), 'Acquired Possession' (Seiler 1983) and 'Transferable Possession' (Nichols 1992). All these terms capture important aspects of the notion. However, I have decided to stick with the term 'Alienable Possession,' as this is the label that is used most widely.

terminated against the will or consent of the possessor, by an act of stealing. In short, alienable possession indicates 'ownership' in the narrow judicial sense. In the words of Taylor (1989b: 202), 'the possessor has the right to make use of the possessee; other people can make use of the possessee only with the permission of the possessor.' This author adds that, quite commonly, the possessor's rights over the possessee are based on a socially regulated transaction, such as purchase, donation, or inheritance.

As I have already stated in Section 1.2, it is true that this notion of 'ownership' is subject to cross-cultural differences. Different societies may have different specifications about the sort of entities that can be 'owned' in this way. To name just one conspicuous case, some societies extend cases of alienable possession to humans and thus allow slavery, while other societies explicitly forbid that. Likewise, in some societies it is unthinkable that one could be the 'owner' – with all the legal rights this entails – of a piece of land. However, notwithstanding these differences I think it is safe to say that, as a concept, 'ownership' is cross-culturally universal. To my knowledge, there has never been a society in which the notion of 'theft' had no value at all, and this notion of course presupposes the notion of exclusive ownership.

Alienable possession is the concept that is intuitively regarded as the 'prototypical' or 'canonical' case of possession. In accordance with that intuition, linguists have commonly regarded expressions of alienable possession as the prototypical case of possessive constructions (Taylor 1989b: 204; Heine 1997: 5). In this book, I will follow this point of view. However, it is of the utmost importance to realize that alienable possession is not a completely isolated concept. There is ample evidence that suggests that alienable possession is a part (or a 'subdomain') of a larger CONCEPTUAL SPACE,[12] and that it borders on various other subdomains that cover possessive notions. Thus, in addition to alienable possession, the literature also broadly acknowledges cases of INALIENABLE POSSESSION and cases of TEMPORARY or PHYSICAL POSSESSION, and some authors (such as Taylor 1989a/b and Heine 1997) even distinguish a fourth subdomain of ABSTRACT POSSESSION.

In my view, the differences between the various subdomains within the conceptual space of possession can be characterized – and as a result, the topography of this conceptual space can be charted – by invoking the two

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[12] The notion of 'conceptual space', and the concept of 'semantic map' that is associated with it, were explored first in linguistic typology by Lloyd B. Anderson (1974, 1982, 1986, 1987) and have proved to be a very useful tool for a considerable number of different typological studies. See Croft (2001: 92 102) and Croft (2003: 133 42) for a discussion of these notions, and for references to publications in which they are employed.

parameters which we have used above to define cases of alienable possession. That is, I hold that the various subtypes of possession can be characterized in terms of the different values which they assume on the parameters of PER- MANENT CONTACT and CONTROL. As we have seen above, the subtype of alienable possession takes positive values on both of these parameters: in a case of alienable possession, the locational relation between possessor and possessee is permanent to a significant degree, and the relation involves control of the possessor over the possessee. For other subtypes of possession, different configurations of values on these parameters can be postulated. If we chart the logical possibilities of these configurations, we arrive at the follow- ing matrix:[13]

(21)

POSSESSIVE SUBTYPE	PERMANENT CONTACT	CONTROL
Alienable	+	+
Inalienable	+	−
Temporary	−	+
Abstract	−	−

Thus, under this analysis a case of inalienable possession is said to differ from alienable possession in that inalienable possession does not involve control of the possessor over the possessee. By and large, this analysis seems to do justice to most cases of inalienable possession that have been discussed in the literature. This literature is considerable, and contains both detailed studies of inalienable possession in individual languages and comparative surveys of the phenomenon of inalienability; a recent source is Chappell and McGregor (1996). It turns out that, if languages have a unique encoding for inalienable

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[13] Apart from these four subdomains, several authors on the typology of Possession have acknow ledged additional subdomains. Most notably, one sometimes encounters a notion of INANIMATE POSSESSION, in which the possessor is inanimate. Heine (1997: 35) distinguishes both an inalienable form of inanimate possession, in which the possessor and the possessee are inseparable, and an alienable form of inanimate possession. The two forms are illustrated by the sentences in (i) and (ii), respectively.

(i) ENGLISH (Indo European, West Germanic)

   a. That tree has few branches
   b. My study has three windows

(ii) ENGLISH (Indo European, West Germanic)

   a. That tree has crows on it
   b. My study has a lot of useless books in it

In this book, cases of inanimate possession will not be taken into account. I consider them to be a metaphorical extension of possession, in the same way that the notion of possession can be extended into the domain of aspect or modality.

possession, this encoding will almost always cover at least the relation between a 'possessor' and his or her body parts, and/or the relation between a 'possessor' and the members of his or her kinship circle. In other words, if English were a language in which inalienable possession had a unique, separate encoding, this encoding would, in all probability, be employed in sentences of the following kind:

(22)   ENGLISH (Indo-European, West Germanic)

    a. Long John Silver had only one eye
    b. People have two legs, but spiders have six

(23)   ENGLISH (Indo-European, West Germanic)

    a. Abraham had two sons
    b. Every person has four grandparents

Further extensions of inalienable encoding may, in some languages, cover part–whole relations, social relations ('name', 'leader', 'friend'), implements of material culture ('bow', 'pet', 'canoe', 'clothing') and the agents or patients of actions (Seiler 1983). Thus, in a way that is parallel to the delineation of items that can be possessed alienably, inalienable possession shows cross-linguistic variation in the size and the membership of the set of 'possessees' which it can cover, and it is plausible to think that cross-cultural differences are at work here.[14]

The fact that body parts and kinship terms form the core of inalienable possession can be accounted for by observing that the relations which these elements bear to their 'possessors' are prime instances of the feature configuration that is specified in (21) for this possession type. In terms of spatial proximity, these relations can be characterized as eminently time-stable. Under normal circumstances, people cannot be separated from their body parts, and their family members, for as long as they (or their body parts and family members) exist. At the same time, these relations cannot be characterized in terms of the notion of control.[15] Again assuming normal circumstances, one can say that people are not able to determine the whereabouts of

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[14] Several attempts have been made to construct a scale or implicational hierarchy of inalienable possession. For a discussion of these proposals see Heine (1997: 10 13).

[15] It might be argued that humans and other animate beings seem to effect control over at least some of their body parts, in that they are able to determine the movement of those body parts by an act of their own volition. Such a view, however, misses the point of what the notion of 'control' is meant to stipulate about the concept of possession. Under normal, everyday life circumstances, organisms cannot decide to be separated from their body parts, nor can they decide to let other organisms make use of them. In short, the relation between an organism and its body parts cannot be dissolved by the possessor, and this is enough to decide upon an absence of 'control' for such cases.

their body parts and family members, or to sever the relation with them out of their own volition: if you have a sister, you will keep 'having' her until either of you dies. It is this lack of control which prevents inalienable possession from being a case of 'ownership', and which accounts for the fact that sentences like *Spiders own six legs* or *Jack owns an aunt* are definitely odd.

Diametrically opposed to cases of inalienable possession are instances of possession that have been labeled as 'temporary' or 'physical'. This subtype can be illustrated by an English sentence like (24). During a fight in a bar room, somebody might want to cry out:

(24)   Look out! That guy has a knife!

In one – and arguably the most prominent – reading of this sentence, ownership of the knife in question is not what this sentence is meant to assert. Instead, what the speaker wants to convey is the fact that, at this moment, a certain person has a knife at his disposal, and the question of whether or not that person is actually the owner of that knife is largely irrelevant. Thus, cases of Temporary Possession can be characterized in terms of availability at a certain point in time. Here the relation of contact between the 'possessor' and the 'possessee' is typically seen as accidental, or at least as not necessarily permanent. On the other hand, during the time span in which the relation holds, the 'possessor' can be said to exert control over the 'possessee', so that, in this respect, temporary possession resembles alienable possession. In cases of temporary possession, then, it is the parameter of 'permanent contact' which prevents this subtype from being a case of ownership, and it is this parameter which can be said to be responsible for the fact that a sentence like *Look out! That guy owns a knife!* is not very informative or helpful in the circumstances under which (24) is a felicitous utterance.

The three subtypes of alienable, inalienable, and temporary possession are generally acknowledged in the literature on the semantics of possession. In addition, some authors distinguish a fourth subtype, which can be labelled 'abstract possession'. This label already indicates that, in this subtype, the 'possessee' is not a physical object. English examples of abstract possession include the following:

(25)   ENGLISH (Indo-European, West Germanic)

    a. Bill has a cold
    b. Have no fear!
    c. We have a lot of problems
    d. Listen! I have a great idea!

Clearly, this type of 'possession' is so far removed from the concept of ownership that one might doubt whether it can be characterized as a subtype of possession at all. In (21), this fact is accounted for by stipulating that abstract possession is maximally different from alienable possession with regard to the values on the two parameters. Thus, in cases of abstract possession the notion of 'control' between 'possessor' and 'possessee' is clearly absent; in fact, trying to assess whether in such cases control is present or not would probably constitute a category mistake. Also, the events described in sentences such as (25a–d) can, in their prototypical instances at least, be characterized as non-permanent: they typically refer to physical or mental states of a transitory nature.

We can assume, then, that the conceptual space of possession consists of at least four different subdomains. Of these subdomains, alienable possession can be said to occupy a central position in the space, while abstract possession is clearly peripheral. Thus, although the exact topography of the conceptual space of possession is not clear in all respects, it is safe to say that, in this space, the domains of inalienable possession and temporary possession border on the domain of alienable possession, but the domain of abstract possession does not.[16]

Conceptual spaces, and their particular division into subdomains, are held to be universally valid cognitive configurations, and hence they are commonly considered to be language-independent. However, when it comes to the linguistic encoding of a conceptual space, the formal realization of that space usually differs from language to language, giving rise to typological distinctions and similarities between languages. In principle, it is possible to draw a SEMANTIC MAP for each individual language, which can be seen as the language-specific realization or 'instantiation' of the conceptual space at issue. In such semantic maps, the number of encoding strategies – that is, the number of formally different encodings – within the conceptual space is specified for a given language, as well as the extent to which a given encoding strategy covers the various subdomains in that language. For a conceptual space like possession, which we hold to be made up of four subdomains, the maximum of different strategies would thus be four: this situation would be present in a language in which each subdomain has its own, formally distinct, encoding pattern. However, as is usually the case with conceptual spaces, the various subdomains within the conceptual space of possession are distinct with regard to their 'prototypical' cases, but the borderline between

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[16] A graphic representation of the conceptual space of possession is attempted in Heine (1997: 40).

'neighbouring' subdomains is often not very strict and clear-cut. Thus, for the non-prototypical or 'peripheral' cases of each subdomain there may be overlap, or uncertainty as to their semantic classification. Commonly there will be at least some cases in which two strategies are in competition with each other, and partial, or even complete, 'take-over'[17] of one of the subdomains by the 'neighbouring' strategy is definitely a possibility. As a result, semantic maps of possession for individual languages usually feature less than four different encoding strategies. In fact, for a language like English it can be argued that the semantic map of possession features just one strategy, which is (or at least, can be) employed to cover all four subdomains. As we have seen in sentences (11)–(15), English has a possessive encoding strategy which features the (semi-) transitive verbal item *have*, and this strategy can be employed to encode all four subdomains in the cognitive space of possession. In addition, English has an encoding strategy which features the transitive verb *own*, and this strategy is restricted to the subdomain of alienable possession.

By virtue of its *have*-strategy, English can be characterized as a language in which the formal encoding of the conceptual space of possession has been generalized, or neutralized, to an extreme degree. Other languages are considerably less uniform. For a start, there are numerous languages in which the subdomain of abstract possession is covered by a strategy – or quite commonly, by a number of strategies – which are not employed for any other subdomain. This is, of course, to be expected, given the peripheral status of abstract possession within the conceptual space of possession. In this book, the encoding of abstract possession, interesting though it is in its own right, will no longer be a matter of concern.

Examples of languages in which temporary possession has an encoding that is not shared by the subdomain of alienable possession are Akan, Songhay, and Loniu. Instances of this separate temporary encoding are given in the *b*-sentences below.

(26) AKAN (Niger-Kordofanian, Kwa)

    a. Me   wo   wodan   bi
       I   be/have   house   one
       'I have a house' (Christaller 1875: 66)

    b. O-di   sikan
       he-hold   knife
       'He has a knife (with him)' (Welmers 1966: 54)

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[17] For a discussion of the notion of 'take over' see Stassen (1997: 29).

(27) SONGHAY (Nilo-Saharan, Songhay)

    a. Yero   mey   lambana
       we   have   mule
       'We have a mule' (Hacquard and Dupuis 1897: 17)

    b. Kuumuu   goo ay   ga
       hoe   be   1SG by
       'I have a hoe on me' ('temporary physical possession or custody';
       Heath 1999: 152)

(28) LONIU (Austronesian, Melanesian)

    a. U   tun   pwe
       1DU.EXCL canoe NEG
       'We don't have a canoe' (Hamel 1985: 212)

    b. Ngah epwe leʔi   to   ete yo
       spear only   PRES be.at to me
       'I have only the spears (with me)' (Hamel 1985: 154)

Likewise, there are languages in which the subdomain of inalienable posses-
sion has its own, separate encoding strategy, as can be seen from the
b-sentences in the following examples from Trumai, Buli, and Supyire.

(29) TRUMAI (Trumai)

    a. Tahu ka-in   ha   k'ad
       knife FOC/TNS 1SG have
       'I have a knife' (Guirardello 1999: 217)

    b. (inalienable)
       Ha   adifle ka-in
       1SG sister   FOC-TNS
       'I have a sister' (Guirardello 1999: 216)

(30) BULI (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

    a. Kore ni   ebai
       K.   his house
       'Kore has a house' (Maan 1951: 38)

    b. (inalienable)
       Mani lalo re   faio
       bird   all   with wing.its
       'All birds have wings' (Maan 1951: 99)

(31) Supyire (Niger-Kordofanian, Gur)

    a. Mìì   túŋi   mpyi   ná   pwunh-pole   è
       my   father   was   with   dog-male   with
       'My father had a male dog' (Carlson 1990: 249)

    b. (inalienable)
       Kàntugo   na   nyɛ   u   na
       back   prog   be   at   him
       'He has relatives' (R. Carlson 1990: 248)

A language which shows very fine-grained distinctions in the encoding of the domain of possession is the Tibeto-Burman language Qiang.[18] According to LaPolla and Huang (2003), this language has a separate encoding for cases in which 'the relationship is inalienable possession and the referent is something that does not normally exist apart from the possessor, such as a body part' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 97). An example is:

(32) Qiang (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Qiangic)
     Qa-dʒoqu-ji-tuɑ   wa
     1sg-leg-two-class   exist.1sg
     'I have two legs' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 97)

In contrast, the language has a different encoding strategy for cases in which 'the relationship is one of temporary physical possession, and not ownership, and the referent is able to exist independently of the possessor' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 97):

(33) Qiang (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Qiangic)
     ʔũ-dʒoʁu-le: qa-tɑ   ʂə
     2sg-key-def.class   1sg-loc   exist
     'Your key is at my place/ I have your key' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 97)

There is also an encoding strategy that is used 'if the situation involves ownership of an object which is not part of the person (i.e. is not physically inalienable, including other people, such as in kinship relations)' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 97):

(34) Qiang (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Qiangic)

    a. Khumtsi   dzəgų   kən   ɑ-hɑ   ʂə-ʒ
       K.   money   very   one-pl   exist.inan-caus
       'Khumtsi has a lot of money' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 98)

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[18] Other cases of elaborate systems of possession encoding are the West African languages Manding and Ewe. See Heine (1997: 117 34) for an extensive exposition.

b. Khumtsi   tutʂ-ɣʒə-zi   ʒi-ʒ
   K.   younger.brother-four-CLASS   exist.AN-CAUS
   'Khumtsi has four younger brothers' (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 98)

c. The: səf-ɑ-hɑ   we-ʒ
   3SG   tree-one-PL   exist-CAUS
   'He has some trees' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 98)

And finally, the language appears to have a specialized possessive construction, which is employed "particularly for personal ownership of some important or valuable entity" (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 98). Unlike the other encoding options, this strategy features a transitive *have*-verb:

(35) QIANG (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Qiangic)

a. ʔũ   ʂku   qusu   qəqə-n
   2SG   gold   much   have-2SG
   'You have a lot of gold' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 98)

b. Qɑ   tshe   a-wʉ   qəqa
   1SG   sheep one-flock have.1SG
   'I have a flock of sheep' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 99)

The above examples are intended as illustrations of the fact that, cross-linguistically, there are considerable differences in the ways that the conceptual space of possession can be 'carved up', and that, therefore, the semantic maps of possession differ considerably from language to language. Ideally, a book on the typology of possession should provide explicit descriptions of the complete semantic maps of possession for each language in the sample. I hope, however, that the reader will agree that this is too formidable a task to accomplish within the boundaries of a single monograph. Moreover, such an ideal description presupposes much more factual information than is available at the moment; in particular, the facts about the encoding of temporary possession and abstract possession are lacking for many of the languages that I have included in my project. Thus, in compiling the data base for this study I have found myself forced to employ the following restriction: I have concentrated on the encoding of alienable possession, which, as noted above, is generally seen as somehow canonical or 'central' for the conceptual space of possession as a whole. Hence, I have included in my data base only those possessive encoding strategies which, in a given language, cover at least the subdomain of alienable possession. Quite often, this particular encoding strategy can be shown to cover other parts of the semantic map of possession in that language as well, but I have made no systematic efforts to chart these further extensions of the alienable strategy.

Although the restriction to the encoding of alienable possession can be defended on both principled and practical grounds, this decision has one serious drawback. Focusing on alienable possession to the exclusion of other subdomains may obscure some potentially interesting facts about the all-over encoding of the domain of possession. In particular, it may prevent us from noticing that a certain encoding strategy is more adaptable or appropriate to the coverage of a particular subdomain than other strategies are. There are, however, some indications that, at least for some subdomains, this may actually be the case. Thus, in Chapter 2 of this book I will claim that the 'natural habitat' of the *have*-strategy, which has been illustrated by above examples from English, is to be situated in the subdomain of temporary possession. Therefore, in at least a number of languages which employ the *have*-strategy for alienable possession this situation must be rated as a case of 'take-over' from a neighbouring subdomain. Likewise, Stolz (2001) claims that the *with*-strategy, which is illustrated by the example below from Sango, is found significantly more than other strategies when it comes to encoding temporary possession, and is infrequent as an encoding option of inalienable possession. Conversely, Heine (1997: 92–3) suggests that the topic-strategy, which is exemplified by sentence (37) from Lahu, is very seldom employed for the expression of temporary possession, but is likely to be associated with alienable and inalienable possession.

(36) Sango (Niger-Kordofanian, Ubangian)
      Lo   ɛkɛ na   bɔngɔ́
      he   be   with garment
      'He has a garment' (Samarin 1966: 95)

(37) Lahu (Sino-Tibetan, Burman)
      Yô-hi   câ-tù   cô
      3PL   food   exist
      They have food' (*Lit.* 'They, food exists') (Matisoff 1973: 385)

The idea that the various encoding strategies for possessive constructions have different 'homesteads' in the conceptual space of possession is certainly fascinating, but, unfortunately, a systematic exploration of its potential cannot be undertaken in this book.

1.5 Formal restrictions on the domain

In the preceding section, we have delineated our domain of inquiry to the linguistic encoding of the semantic subtype of alienable possession; encodings

which uniquely cover other subdomains in the conceptual space of possession will, in principle, not be included in our data base. Now, in addition, I have found it useful to restrict the domain even further, by imposing a number of additional constraints on the data base, which can by and large be characterized as formal.[19] In general, formal restrictions on typological domains serve the function of weeding out 'concomitant' factors, that is, instances of cross-linguistic variation that are not considered to be essential to the domain under study. As a result, the inclusion of formal criteria in domain definitions commonly leads to a restriction of the actual data base of the project, in that it stipulates a subset of the cross-linguistic data that are licensed as relevant by the semantic criteria. In the typological study of the encoding of possession, the need for additional formal criteria has shown itself as particularly pressing. In my opinion, the earlier typological literature on possession, valuable though it is, commonly suffers from the fact that the authors at issue have tried to cover too much ground in one go, with the result that the issues are often too complex and the conclusions are often vague.

1.5.1 *Predicative and attributive possession*

First, then, I should stipulate that my data base will be restricted to instances of PREDICATIVE (ALIENABLE) POSSESSION. As is well known, the encoding of possession in a language can take two forms; the relation of possession between possessor and possessee can either be the main assertion of the sentence, as in (38a), or it can be presupposed, as in (38b).

(38)   ENGLISH (Indo-European, West Germanic)
    a. John has a motorcycle (own data)
    b. John's motorcycle got stolen (own data)

Cases of ATTRIBUTIVE (or ADNOMINAL) POSSESSION, like the one in (38b), will not concern us in this book. Apart from practical reasons, this restriction can also be motivated by pointing out that the semantics of predicative possession and attributive possession do not match completely. As has been noted by, among others, Seiler (1977a) and Taylor (1989a), a sentence like (38a) typically indicates ownership or temporary possession, but the interpretational

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[19] Sonia Cristofaro (p.c.) has pointed out to me that at least several of the parameters discussed in this section   such as predicative vs. attributive, definite vs. indefinite, and presence or absence of modifiers and quantifiers   might be conceived of as functional rather than formal. As I see it, a decision on this point is heavily influenced by meta theoretical assumptions. I want to remain neutral in this matter, especially because the issue has no practical consequences for the typological decisions proposed in this section.

possibilities of the noun phrase *John's motorcycle* are much wider than that. Apart from interpretations in terms of alienable and temporary possession, this noun phrase may be interpreted in ways that are excluded for the predicative construction. For example, the noun phrase may be interpreted as 'the motorcycle that John was intending to buy', 'the motorcycle that John has been talking about for several months now', 'the motorcycle that was designed by John', and so forth. This wealth of possible interpretations does not have to lead to the conclusion that attributive possession constructions are semantically 'amorphous', and that all that is needed for a felicitous use of the phrase *John's motorcycle* is that some relation between John and a certain motorcycle can be established. It has been argued that at least some conceivable interpretations of attributive possessive constructions can be excluded (Seiler 1977a: 224–5), that some of the possible interpretations of these constructions must be seen as prototypical (Nikiforidou 1991, Langacker 1995), and that, in general, context commonly provides strong clues for the choice of the appropriate interpretation (Taylor 1989a: 669). Notwithstanding this, however, there can be little doubt that predicative and attributive possession show a considerable amount of divergence as far as their respective semantics are concerned.

From a formal point of view, it can be observed that, cross-linguistically, there does not seem to be a predictable match of the type of encoding for predicative and attributive possession. At the current state of our knowledge it does not seem to be possible to formulate straightforward statements of the type: 'If a language has a strategy A for predicative possession, it will have a strategy Z for attributive possession', or vice versa. It is true that, for a number of languages, one can postulate a historical process of grammaticalization and reanalysis, by which the attributive possession construction has been derived from the corresponding predicative construction; examples of such cases will be presented in Chapter 4. On the other hand, however, there are numerous languages, including English, in which such a derivation cannot be maintained; in such languages, predicative and attributive possession appear to be based on different morphosyntactic patterns. What is more, it can be demonstrated that at least some of the historical source patterns for attributive possession are never used in the encoding of predicative possession. Thus, in at least some languages the attributive possessive construction takes its form from the formation of relative clauses (Aristar 1991, Claudi 1995), a structural template which is never found for predicative possession constructions. All this, then, leads to the conclusion that the formal encodings of predicative and attributive possession are probably to be considered as belonging to two

different (or at least partially different) typologies, and that, therefore, it is a wise decision not to mix them up.[20]

1.5.2 *Definite and indefinite possession*

As a second restriction, I want to make it clear that, in this book, not all cases of predicative alienable possession will be included in the inquiry. As has already been tacitly implied in the previous section, predicative possession in a language like English can take two different formal encodings, which might be labelled INDEFINITE and DEFINITE predicative possession (Clasen 1981), depending on the marking of the possessee NP. The two variants can be illustrated by the following two contrasting constructions:

(39) ENGLISH (Indo-European, West Germanic)
    a. John has a motorcycle (own data)
    b. This motorcycle is John's/ belongs to John (own data)

In pragmatic or discourse-functional terms, the difference between the two sentences in (39) can be described as a contrast in the topicality of the two noun phrases involved. In sentence (39a), it is the possessor NP which is the topic, in the sense of Hornby (1971); that is, the possessor NP indicates 'what the sentence is about', and can therefore be expected to represent 'given' information.[21] In sentence (39b) it is the possessee NP which performs this function. In English possessive constructions, this difference in information structure is mirrored by a variety of lexical and morphosyntactic contrasts. First, the possessor NP has the grammatical function of subject in (39a), whereas the possessee NP is the subject in (39b). Secondly, the two constructions differ in the marking of the possessee NP, by means of the indefinite versus the definite form of the article/determiner in that noun phrase. And finally, there is a switch in lexical items: the indefinite possession construction in (39a) features the (semi-)transitive verb *have*, whereas the definite possession construction in (39b) features either the copula *be* or the intransitive verb *belong*. In other words, the difference between the encoding of definite and indefinite predicative possession is rather pronounced in English.

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[20] For the typology of attributive possession see Koptjevskaja Tamm (2001) and the literature given there.

[21] Hornby (1971: 1976) characterizes this discourse functional notion of 'topic' as follows: 'The part of the sentence which constitutes what the speaker is talking about is being called the *topic* of the sentence (. . .) The rest of the sentence, the *comment*, provides new information about the topic.' For further discussion on this notion of 'topic' see, among numerous others, Gundel (1988) and Lambrecht (1994).

In other languages, the formal difference between these two options can be more subtle. Thus, in Akan we find that there is no lexical contrast between the two constructions, as both use the same *be*-verb. The contrast between definite and indefinite possession is indicated by the use of articles, and by the switch in subjecthood of the two noun phrases involved.

(40)   Akan (Niger-Kordofanian, Kwa)

    a. Me wo   wodan bi
       1SG be.at house   one
       'I have a house' (Christaller 1875: 66)

    b. Odan yi   wo   me
       house DEF be.at 1SG
       'This house is mine/belongs to me' (Christaller 1875: 66)

A language in which none of the formal contrasts that are employed in English are applicable is Latin. This language has no articles. There is no switch in subjecthood in predicative possessive constructions: it is the possessee NP which invariably has subject function. Moreover, there is no lexical switch in possessive constructions, as both of them employ the verb *esse* 'to be'. Nonetheless, the contrast between the sentences (39a) and (39b) in English still finds a match in Latin, due to the fact that the possessor NP can be in two different case forms, namely, the dative case or the genitive case.

(41)   Latin (Indo-European, Italic)

    a. Est   mihi   liber
       be.3SG.PRES 1SG.DAT book.NOM.SG
       'I have a book' (Benveniste 1960: 116)

    b. Gallia   est   Ariovisti
       G.-NOM be.3SG.PRES A.-GEN
       'Gallia belongs to Ariovistus' (Benveniste 1960: 117)

According to Bolkestein (1983), the difference between these two constructions is that in the sentence with the possessor NP in the dative case the possessee NP is seen as new information, whereas the possessee NP is seen as the topic (that is, given information) when the possessor NP is in the genitive case. This difference in discourse-function between the two sentences is brought out in the English translations, which clearly match the English sentences (39a) and (39b).

We can conclude, then, that the difference in topicality as illustrated by sentences (39a/b) does not always have the same formal manifestation across languages. In many languages, topicality of one of the noun phrases is

mirrored by subjecthood, but this is certainly not a universal fact. Likewise, marking by way of articles or lexical switches are strategies that are available to only a subset of the world's languages. In other words, it seems that there is no universally applicable formal criterion by which instances of 'definite' and 'indefinite' predicative possession can be distinguished; at best, one might postulate a list of possible formal strategies from which languages may make their choice. Despite this criterial unclarity, however, I have still seen fit to employ the distinction between definite and indefinite possession as a means to delimit the data base of my inquiry. To be exact, I have included only those instances of predicative possession in which THE POSSESSOR NP HAS THE STATUS OF TOPIC, and is marked as such by whichever formal means the language has for this. As a result, instances of definite possession, such as (39b), (40b), and (41b), fall outside the scope of my investigation.

The decision to concentrate on indefinite predicative possession constructions while disregarding the definite variant is motivated on purely practical grounds. For the large majority of languages in my sample I have based myself on written sources, and I have found that these sources commonly fail to provide information on the encoding of the definite variant. However, the decision to concentrate on just one of these variants instead of including both of them in the domain is of a more principled nature. In my opinion, including both the definite and the indefinite variant of predicative possession in one single typology – a practice which is followed by several earlier authors, such as Clark (1978) and Heine (1997) – will lead to incoherence of the data base, and will introduce a number of interfering phenomena which have nothing to do with the formal encoding of possession per se. Especially the fact that cases of definite predicative possession very often take the form of identity statements, a structural encoding option that is never used for indefinite predicative possession, demonstrates that the two construction types are best regarded as constituting the bases of two essentially different typologies.

1.5.3 *Other formal restrictions*

A third restriction, which can be seen as cumulative to the previous two formal restrictions, consists in concentrating on those cases of predicative alienable possession in which the (non-topical) possessee NP is NOT QUANTIFIED OR MODIFIED. That is, we will concentrate on sentences like the one in (42), and avoid sentences like (43a) or (43b) whenever this is possible.

(42) ENGLISH (Indo-European, West Germanic)
      John has a motorcycle (own data)

(43)   ENGLISH (Indo-European, West Germanic)

     a. John has a big motorcycle (own data)

     b. John has one motorcycle/five motorcycles/many motorcycles (own data)

The motivation for this restriction is that, in quite a few unrelated languages in my sample, the predicative possession construction undergoes a specific change in cases where the possessee NP is quantified or modified. This change commonly consists in constructing the modifier or quantifier as (part of) the main predicate in the construction, with the possessee NP as the subject. The possessor NP is, furthermore, constructed as an attributive possessive noun phrase to the possessee NP. In short, a sentence like *John has five motorcycles* in such languages has a form like *John's motorcycles are five*. Examples of languages in which this 'raising' of a modifier or quantifier into main predicate position contrasts with the encoding of 'neutral' or 'non-modified' possessee NPs are as follows:

(44)   FIJIAN (Austronesian, East Oceanic)

     a. Sa   tu   vei   au   e   dua   na   isele
       PERF   stand   to   me   PRED   one   ART   knife
       'I have a knife' (Churchward 1940: 40)

     b. E   dua   na   nona   waqa
       PRES   one   ART   his   canoe
       'He has one canoe' (*Lit.* 'His canoe (is) one') (Milner 1956: 36)

(45)   NGBAKA (Niger-Kordofanian, Adamawa-Eastern)

     a. ʔé   tɛ́   mòⁿgɔ́
       he   with   basket
       'He has a basket' (Thomas 1963: 246)

     b. Mòkònzɪ   ňa   kpáakɔ́
       chief   my   one
       'I have only one chief' (*Lit.* 'My chief (is) one') (Thomas 1963: 107)

(46)   ONA-SELKNAM (Chon)

     a. Igwa   iper   pen
       1PL   meat   stay
       'We have meat' (Tonelli 1926: 134)

     b. Ma-ni   alien   k'sol
       You-EMP   foot   white
       'You have white feet' (*Lit.* 'Your feet (are) white') (Tonelli 1926: 73)

(47) Sʜᴜsᴡᴀᴘ (Salish)

    a. Pəλ-cítx°-ø
       have-house-3sɢ
       'He has a house' (Kuipers 1974: 71)

    b. Xwit   g-stamalt-s
       much   ᴀʀᴛ-cattle-his
       'He has much cattle' (*Lit.* 'His cattle (is) much') (Kuipers 1974: 110)

(48) Wᴀᴘᴘᴏ (Yukian)

    a. Cephi   mays'   milpaʔ neʔ-khi
       3sɢ.ɴᴏᴍ corn   field   have-sᴛᴀᴛ
       'He has a corn field' (Sandra Thompson, p.c.)

    b. Hol   pel-i   chipe-te-khiʔ
       tree leaf-ɴᴏᴍ red-ᴘʟ-sᴛᴀᴛ
       'The tree has red leaves' (*Lit.* 'Tree, leaves (are) red')
                                          (Sandra Thompson, p.c.)

(49) Oʀᴏᴍᴏ (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)

    a. Isan   gangei qabu
       3ᴘʟ   mule   have.3ᴘʟ.ᴘʀᴇs
       'They have a mule' (Hodson and Walker 1922: 17)

    b. Intal-tii   sun, k'eerans-ii d'eera
       girl-ɴᴏᴍ that   nails-ɴᴏᴍ   long
       'That girl has long nails' (*Lit.* '(As for) that girl, nails (are) long')
                                         (Owens 1985: 124)

In my opinion, the phenomenon of quantifier/modifier-raising – interesting though it may be in itself – is not a feature that has to be dealt with in the typology of predicative possession. It is, in all probability, a phenomenon that has much wider scope in its occurrence than possessive predication alone; it can, for example, also be observed in the formation of manner adverbials in some languages (Loeb-Diehl 2005). While in the majority of languages manner adverbials are constructed as modifying elements on predicates, we come across a number of languages in which this modifying function is exchanged for a function as the main predicate of the sentence:

(50) Mᴏᴋɪʟᴇsᴇ (Austronesian, East Oceanic)
    Ah   kijou   dahr
    his   run.ᴠɴ fast
    'He runs fast' (*Lit.* 'His running (is) fast') (Harrison 1976: 167)

(51) Mojave (Yuman)
Ɂinʸeč   Ɂ-uːčoː-č   kwənʸəmiː-k
me   1sg-make-subj   different-tns
I do it different' (*Lit.* 'My doing (is) different') (Munro 1976: 220)

(52) Mandarin (Sino-Tibetan, Sinitic)
Ni   pǎo   de   hěn   kuai
2sg run   nmnl   very quick
'You run very quickly' (*Lit.* 'Your running (is) very quick')

(Li and Thompson 1981: 625)

Thus, quantifier/modifier-raising in possessive constructions can be seen as a phenomenon that is tangential or concomitant to the construction, and can therefore be judged as a complicating factor that can, and should, be eliminated from the typology. In my data base, I have therefore made efforts to include only cases with non-quantified or non-modified possessor NPs. For a number of languages I have been unable to enforce this restriction, as the only data in the sources happened to have quantified or modified possessee NPs. For these languages, it should be understood that inclusion of a quantifier or a modifier in the example sentence does not bring about radical changes in the syntactic make-up of the construction.

As a fourth restriction on my data base, I have chosen to include only positive cases of predicative possession; sentences in which the predication of alienable possession is negated have been excluded. The motivation for this decision lies in the fact that, in this way, general differences between positive and negative sentences can be left out of the discussion. For many languages, negation is not a construction-changing operation: it commonly consists in the addition of a negative element, in the form of some adverbial item or some verbal affix. However, in some languages negation of a sentence can lead to rather severe lexical and/or morphosyntactic contrasts with positive sentences (see Kahrel 1996 and Miestamo 2005). In the realm of predicative possession such radical changes can be illustrated by examples from Guanano, Tubu, and Bari. In the first two languages we see that the positive possessive sentence features a *have*-strategy, while this strategy is forbidden in negative possessive sentences. In the third language the *with*-strategy in the positive sentence is no longer applicable in the negative counterpart.

(53) Guanano (Tucanoan)

a. Pichucu   tiro   cjua-ha
   gun   he   have-3sg.past
   'He had a gun' (C. Waltz 1977: 102)

    b. Yuhu-re   ti   docayucu   mari-a-chu
       1SG-to   ART gouging.tool not.be-3-if
       'If I don't have a gouging tool' (N. Waltz 1976: 78)

(54) TUBU (Nilo-Saharan, Saharan)

    a. Tani   edí   tari
      1SG   spear have.1SG
      'I have a spear' (Lukas 1953: 167)

    b. Yuromo nra   yugo
      sheep   1SG.GEN not.be.PRES.3SG
      'I don't have (a) sheep' (Le Coeur and Le Coeur 1956: 98)

(55) BARI (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, East Nilotic)

    a. Matat   ko   kısʊk   joré
      chief   with cattle much
      'The chief has many cattle' (Spagnolo 1933: 102)

    b. Matat   bayın   kısʊk
      chief   not.be cattle
      'The chief has no cattle' (Spagnolo 1933: 103)

Again, then, a possible complication for our typology is avoided by concentrating on positive possessive sentences alone. This does not mean that no negative possessive sentences will be featured in this book; sometimes the lack of other available data has forced me to include them. Wherever a negative sentence is given, however, it should be understood that the addition of a negation element has not changed the basic syntactic structure of the positive sentence.

    Finally, I must note that I have made efforts to present instances of predicative possessive sentences in which both the possessor and the possessee are represented by FULL LEXICAL NOUN PHRASES. In other words, I have tried to avoid sentences in which pronominal elements are used to refer to one or both of these participants. The reason for this is that, in many languages, pronominal items have specific morphosyntactic properties that are not shared by full noun phrases; in particular, pronominal items may undergo ellipsis, or may be subject to specific processes such as cliticization. Clearly, such properties do not bear on the encoding of possession per se, and taking them into account in our data base would therefore complicate the typology beyond necessity. I must admit, however, that I have not always been successful in tracking down examples in which both the possessor and the possessee have full lexical status. I take this to be a consequence of the general tendency formulated by DuBois (1987), which specifies that languages favour sentences that maximally contain one full-argument noun phrase.

1.6 The definition of the domain

In the two preceding sections I have formulated both semantic/functional and formal restrictions on the domain of my typological investigation. These restrictions can be summed up in the following domain definition:

(56) DOMAIN DEFINITION

The domain of the inquiry consists of positive sentences which encode predicative alienable possession, such that
a) the noun phrase that represents the possessor is topical, and
b) the noun phrase that represents the possessee is not modified or quantified.

1.7 The sample

A domain definition like the one in (56) is the first requisite for the compilation of a cross-linguistic data base. By applying this definition to the data of various languages we should be able to identify which constructions in a language are relevant for our inquiry, and, equally important, which constructions are outside the scope of our inquiry. The second prerequisite for building a cross-linguistic data base is of course the definition of a language sample. For practical reasons alone, it is impossible to analyse a grammatical phenomenon in all of the 4,000–7,000 languages of the world. Hence, a typologist has to select a proportional representation of these languages. However, the desirable size of such a representative language sample and the most appropriate composition of it are matters that still await a definitive solution.

Song (2001) discusses extensively the pros and cons of the proposals that have been made by several typologists to arrive at a standard method for language sampling.[22] There are of course general requirements every typologist should try to meet in compiling his or her sample. Thus, it is commonly agreed that samples have to be as free as possible from genetic and areal bias.[23] There is, however, still much uncertainty about genetic classification, linguistic areas have not yet been established precisely, and even the criteria for identifying languages as opposed to dialects are not yet generally agreed upon.

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[22] Publications in point are, among others, Bell (1978), Dryer (1989), Perkins (1989), and Rijkhoff et al. (1993).

[23] Croft (1990: 24 5) suggests the addition of other requirements to the sampling procedure, such as a balanced distribution of word order types, and a balanced distribution of basic morphological types.

Moreover, the importance of genetic independence among the languages in the sample varies, depending on the particular linguistic property being investigated.[24] In the present sample of 420 languages I have tried to achieve a wide genetic and areal distribution of languages, taking into account all major language families and areas, as well as a number of isolates. On the other hand, however, this sample could, to some degree, be viewed as a convenience or opportunity sample, as defined by Bell (1978: 128). Availability and accessibility of the data have played a substantial role in the compiling of my sample. Due to this, the languages of Eurasia are slightly over-represented, when compared to the standard samples presented in Rijkhoff et al. (1993). In defence of the current sample, however, it must be remarked that over-representation in typological samples is not necessarily a bad thing, as long as the investigator does not have the ambition to present statistical calculations. The inclusion of a number of closely related languages can have the advantage of making the researcher aware of subtle encoding differences that could not have been detected in a more global, or statistically representative, sample. Furthermore, looking at data from closely related languages often provides clues to diachronic processes. For example, one might judge that the inclusion of twelve Salish languages and twenty-one Uto-Aztecan languages is not warranted by the relative size of these language families, when set off against the size of the sample as a whole. I hope, however, that it will become clear in the following chapters that the family-internal comparison of the possessive constructions in these language groupings has proved to be beneficial to the general typological enterprise that is reported in this book.

An alphabetical listing of the sampled languages, together with an indication of their genetic affiliation and the sources which I have consulted for them, can be found in Appendix A. Appendix B lists the languages in the sample according to their genetic affiliation, and specifies the predicative possessive constructions that have been documented for each language.

1.8 Outline of this book

Logically, though not necessarily chronologically, the execution of a typological research project involves a number of successive stages. In the present chapter, I have explicated the first stage, which consists of the definition of the domain of inquiry, and the composition of a language sample. The outcome of this first stage forms the foundation of the construction of the typological

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[24] For this point, see, for example, Stassen (1997: 6) and Song (2001: 25, 26, quoting Dryer 1989).

data base, which in its turn provides the empirical basis for the construction of a typology, that is, the classification of the constructions in the data base into various categories or types, on the basis of observable differences and similarities. This typological stage is the subject of the remaining chapters of Part I of this book. Chapters 2–6 deal with various considerations and decisions that have been instrumental in setting up my typology of predicative possession, and Chapter 7 presents a concise summary of the major results.

Following the stage of typology construction, a possible continuation is the search for an explanation of the established typological facts. This search is not always seen as part of the task of linguistic typology, but practice shows that most typologists have made at least an attempt to provide answers to the two explanatory questions formulated in Sanders (1976):

- Why is the typology the way it is?
- Why are languages grouped the way they are with respect to the typology?

The search for answers to these questions may take all sorts of forms, but a common strategy is to look for predictive correlations to the typology at issue. That is, one tries to formulate and corroborate statements of the following general form:

(57)   If a language belongs to Type A in the typology at hand, it must have property X

or, alternatively,

(58)   If a language has property X, it must belong to Type A in the typology at hand.

The chapters in Part II of this book (Chapters 8–12) are devoted to the formulation of such implicational statements for the typology of predicative possession, and to an extensive exploration of their empirical validity.

Statements like those in (57) and (58) specify that, in languages, certain encoding features go together, or, as the case may be, are mutually excluded. As such, they present valuable additions to our general knowledge of human language, but they do not in themselves constitute an explanation, at least not in the sense that this concept is usually understood. In order to achieve this level of explanation one should go one stage further, and ask for a reason why the established implications should hold. An attempt to provide an answer to this question will be made in Part III (Chapter 13), where a model of predicative possession encoding will be presented.

2

Four basic types of predicative possession

2.1 Methodological issues

In the preceding chapter we have delineated the boundaries of our inquiry by defining a cross-linguistically applicable domain of predicative (alienable) possession. On the basis of this definition we can now proceed to build a data base, which comprises the relevant linguistic material from the languages in the sample. Once this task has been completed (and we will assume here that it has) our next step is to construct a TYPOLOGY of predicative possession, on the basis of observable similarities and differences among the constructions included in the cross-linguistic database. The end result of this stage in the inquiry should be a – hopefully not too long – list of possible encoding types, which covers the different ways in which the domain is realized in the languages of the sample. In association with this list of types we can divide the sampled languages into groups, on the basis of their similarity in the encoding of the domain.

It might be thought that, once the relevant data have been sampled, the construction of a typology is an essentially mechanical procedure; after all, all that is needed is an objective assessment of the ways in which the encoding of predicative possession differs from language to language. In reality, however, the construction of a typology is a process which will inevitably involve decisions of a theoretical or even meta-theoretical nature.

2.1.1 *Types of criteria*

First of all, it is not always recognized that the theoretical framework within which the research project is conducted – and, as a consequence, the type of theoretical questions which the typology is meant to elucidate – can have its direct influence on the construction of that typology itself. In particular, different theoretical aims of a typological research project may lead to different types of criteria that are applied in setting up the typology. By way of an

example, let us look at the typological decisions made by Heine (1997) in the course of his typological investigation of possession encoding. In this book, the author has a very specific theoretical aim in mind. The research is placed explicitly within the framework of cognitive linguistics, and the study as a whole is meant to demonstrate that the various types of predicative possession constructions correspond to various types of general semantic/cognitive configurations.[1] Given this general aim, it is understandable that Heine resorts to semantic criteria to establish at least some types in his typology of predicative possession. Thus, for example, the two possession constructions presented below, from Estonian and Kashmiri, end up in different types in Heine's typology. The reason for this is that, in the Estonian case, the possessor is marked by a suffix that has a locative meaning: it refers to non-dynamic, stative, location, and can be translated roughly as 'at'. As such, this Estonian construction is an instance of the use of the cognitive Location Schema 'Y is located at X'. In contrast, the possessor in the Kashmiri construction is marked by a case suffix with a dynamic, directional meaning. The suffix *-s* has a rough translation of 'to, towards, for', and the possessive construction at issue can therefore be seen as a case in which the Goal Schema 'Y exists for/to X' has been employed as the cognitive template. For Heine, this difference in semantic/cognitive encoding of the two constructions is criterial in assigning these constructions to two different typological groupings.

(1)   ESTONIAN (Uralic, Finnic)
       Isa-l   on   raamat
       father-ADESS   3SG.be   book.NOM
       'Father has a book' (Lehiste 1972: 208, quoted in Heine 1997: 51)

(2)   KASHMIRI (Indo-European, Indic)
       Ši:la-s   čhu   dɔd
       S.-DAT   COP   milk
       'Sheela has milk' (Kachru 1968: 35–6, quoted in Heine 1997: 59)

However, in the majority of modern typological studies the practice has been to abstain from semantic criteria in the construction of a typology. The reason for this is that, in this majority view, linguistic typology is seen as an endeavour that has the aim of establishing the range of variation in the FORMAL encoding of a given semantic/cognitive domain. That is, linguistic typology studies the various ways in which a given semantic/cognitive content can be mapped onto the

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[1] 'The approach used here differs from that tradition [i.e. the tradition of linguistic typology, L.S.] in arguing that language structure is derivative of the cognitive forces that gave rise to it and, hence, our concern is primarily with extra linguistic forces' (Heine 1997: 7).

formal, morphosyntactic structure of natural languages. It will be clear that, under such meta-theoretical presuppositions, it will not be appropriate to employ anything else than formal criteria in the construction of the typology. As a result, the difference in meaning between the case suffixes that mark the possessor in the Estonian and the Kashmiri constructions can be viewed as typologically irrelevant. In this particular case, one might want to say that, in both languages, the possessor is marked as part of an adverbial phrase, and that this fact is criterial in subsuming the two constructions under the same type in the typology. In this book, I will adopt the majority practice in modern typological linguistics, and hence I will not employ semantic/cognitive criteria in the construction of my typology.

2.1.2 *Weighing of criteria*

It should not be thought, however, that all criterial problems are over once the decision for formal criteria has been made. In any typological investigation, it will be the case that the data cannot be straightforwardly categorized by their manifestation of formal differences and similarities. Typically, constructions from different languages will show differences on some formal criteria while showing similarities on others, and it is usually not immediately and mechanically clear how these discrepancies should be weighed against one another. In other words, one will always have to make an explicit judgement about which formal facts are relevant to the typology and which facts are to be viewed as irrelevant or CONCOMITANT. As a result, the same data base may potentially give rise to more than one typology, depending on what is taken to be the central formal criterion.

By way of illustration of this process of criterion selection, let us look at the data on predicative possession in Korean and Welsh. Our data base contains the following constructions:

(3) KOREAN (Altaic, Korean)
Ki   namca-eke   chaek-i   iss-ta
the   man-LOC   book-NOM exist-STYLE
'The man has a book' (Lizotte 1983: 99)

(4) WELSH (Indo-European, Celtic)
Y   mae   cath gan y   ferch
PRT be.PRES cat   by   ART girl
'The girl has a cat' (Bowen and Rhys Jones 1967: 38)

Clearly, there are observable formal differences between these two constructions. To name but one conspicuous feature, the constructions show that

Korean and Welsh are opposed on the criterion of word/morpheme order at different levels. Thus, the predicate in Korean is clause-final while it is clause-initial in Welsh, Korean uses suffixes to indicate oblique noun phrases while Welsh has prepositions, and so on. At the same time, however, a case can be made for an essential similarity between these two constructions. Ignoring differences of item order we can see that both languages employ an existential predicative item with the rough meaning of 'be there' or 'exist' in their encoding of predicative possession. Furthermore, both languages are similar in their encoding of the two relevant noun phrases in the construction. Korean and Welsh both encode the noun phrase that refers to the possessee (the PE, for short) as the grammatical subject of the construction, while the noun phrase that refers to the possessor (the PR) is constructed in an oblique, adverbial form. In other words, we have a criterial conflict here. If we were to judge that item order is the central criterion of our typology, we would be forced to classify the two constructions (and the two languages) under different typological groupings. If, on the other hand, we decide that the encoding of the two relevant NPs in terms of their respective grammatical functions is the criterion on which our typology should be based, Korean and Welsh can be said to belong to the same type, and hence these languages, and their possessive constructions, should be grouped together into one class.

Now, for the above example the solution to this criterial conflict will probably be uncontroversial. Most linguists will agree that, when it comes to a typology of predicative possessive constructions, word order is probably not as interesting or typologically relevant as the encoding of the two NPs involved. After all, differences in word-order characteristics are not limited in languages to their possessive constructions, so that the variation shown on this criterion may be viewed as TANGENTIAL or CONCOMITANT to the typology at issue. In the typical case, however, it will not be so self-evident that some formal characteristics of the sampled constructions are concomitant to the typology and can therefore be left out of the discussion, and the least a typological researcher must do is to be explicit about the decisions he has made on this point. For example, in Chapter 3 I will pay attention to a specific formal difference that is often encountered between possessive constructions of various languages, and which might therefore be judged to play a role in the construction of our typology. My conclusion will be that this difference – namely the presence or absence of 'possessor indexing' – can in fact be dismissed as concomitant, but we need an explicit exposition and discussion of the relevant facts to establish this concomitancy.

As a more principled point, it can be argued that the decision to concentrate on some formal characteristics of the sampled constructions while

ignoring others can be reversed at any time when the researcher thinks it fruitful to do so. Again, it must be realized that the construction of a typology is not a theory-independent process. No matter how interesting typologies may be in their own right, the main reason for setting them up is nonetheless that they can function as the empirical input for explanatory theories or models. Therefore, it is possible that criterial decisions that have been made in the construction of a typology can be redressed at a later stage, on the grounds of EXPLANATORY FERTILITY. An example of such a case will be presented in Chapter 4. I will argue there that the inclusion of a separate type of 'adnominal possessive' in the typology of predicative possession – a distinction that has been made in all previous work on this topic – is not only unnecessary on empirical grounds, but also undesirable on explanatory grounds. It can be shown that the addition of a separate type of adnominal possessives to the typology does not have any explanatory surplus value, since all cases of this alleged type conform to explanatory predictions that are made for other types which are already available in the typology. For this reason alone, the assumption of a separate type of adnominal possessives must be judged to be superfluous. As a direct consequence of this, the observable formal differences that gave rise to the inclusion of a separate type of adnominal possessives in earlier typologies can, in hindsight, be judged to be concomitant, and criterial decisions that were based on these formal differences can be reversed.

2.1.3 *Diachronic factors*

A special cause of criterial indeterminacy in the construction of any linguistic typology is the possible influence of diachronic developments on the construction under investigation. There is an overwhelming body of evidence indicating that possessive constructions may, over time, undergo changes in their morphological and/or syntactic make-up, with the result that, among other things, certain items in the construction may change their categorial status, or the syntactic relations between parts of the constructions may be redefined. These processes of GRAMMATICALIZATION and REANALYSIS[2] clearly pose a complication for the assessment of the typological status of

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[2] For a definition of the notion of grammaticalization see Chapter 1, fn. 3. '(Syntactic) Reanalysis' refers to a specific type of diachronic mechanism, by which the syntactic structure of a construction is changed without a change in the order of elements in that construction (see, among others, Langacker 1977b, Lightfoot 1979, and Harris and Campbell 1995). Whether grammaticalization always involves reanalysis of the construction at issue is a point of debate (see Newmeyer 1998 versus Haspelmath 1998), and may very well be a theory dependent issue (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 5). Since all instances of grammaticalization presented in this book actually do involve some kind of reanalysis, I feel justified in using the two terms interchangeably. For thorough discussions on the various mechanisms of diachronic change, and other issues in historical linguistics, see Joseph and Janda (2003).

constructions in certain languages, as it may be the case that the original form of the construction (the 'source' construction) is typologically different from the construction that results from these diachronic processes (the 'target' construction). In Chapters 4, 5, and 6 I will discuss various cases of grammaticalization and reanalysis of predicative possessive constructions, and explicate the concrete decisions I have made for each of these cases. For now, I will restrict myself to a couple of general methodological remarks.

With regard to the indeterminacy that can be created by diachronic change, two positions can be defended. Thus, one may argue that historical data are available only for a tiny minority of the world's languages, and that it would be methodologically unsound to use data for language X that are inaccessible for language Y. The consequence of this position – which can be ultimately traced back to De Saussure's strict distinction between synchrony and diachrony – would be to abandon all references to the history of a construction, and to stick exclusively to synchronic facts. However, I know of no recent typological studies in which this strict structuralist position is consistently adhered to. Present-day researchers generally take the view that linguistic typology, like all sciences which study a subject that has a historical dimension, needs all the data it can get. That these data are incomplete, and for some languages more incomplete than for others, is a sad fact of life, but there is no sense in sacrificing bodies of potentially revealing data to some ideal of methodological purity which, in all probability, is based on misguided presuppositions anyway.

Given, then, that we accept diachronic data as potentially relevant for our typological purposes, we are faced with the issue of how to determine the 'real' typological status of a construction that has undergone demonstrable diachronic changes. Several solutions to this problem are conceivable. In this work, I have found it fruitful not to be totally dogmatic or single-minded about this issue. To be exact, I have decided to let my decision depend on the kind of grammaticalization path in which a possession construction can be involved. As will be shown in Chapters 4 and 5, there are cases of grammaticalization of possession constructions in which the target structure is not among the list of possible source structures. That is, in grammaticalization paths of this particular kind the grammaticalization process has not led to a transition from one basic possession type to another basic type. For cases of this kind, I have taken the position that the source form of a predicative

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Grammaticalization and reanalysis should be distinguished from the historical process of innovation, by which a construction is replaced as a whole by some other construction. In this book, I have assumed that the creation of left dislocation constructions in a language is a case of innovation rather than a case of grammaticalization.

possession construction in a language is more representative of its typological status than the resulting target form, and hence my general decision has been to categorize such a case as an instance of the source type. The motivation for this decision is that, in most cases, the diachronic processes at work are not limited in their application to possession constructions. Quite usually, they represent very general mechanisms of morphosyntactic change, which, so to speak, only 'happened to touch upon' possession constructions as well, and in this way they can be seen as concomitant to the typology of predicative possession. It will be clear that, by taking this decision, I do not want to imply in any way that these diachronic changes are not important, or relevant, or even interesting. As I hope the expositions in Chapters 4 and 5 will demonstrate, they certainly are all of these things.

On the other hand, we also encounter cases of grammaticalization in which the diachronic change is geared towards, and may eventually result in, the transition of one basic possessive type into another basic possessive type. Since, like all historical developments, grammaticalization and reanalysis are gradual, the path from source to target in such cases may involve intermediate stages. At such stages the construction will be HYBRID, showing features of both the source and the target structure; it is even possible that a language will not run the 'complete' grammaticalization path and remain at this hybrid stage.

Prime examples of such hybrid constructions are the Topic-Locational Possessives, which I will discuss in some detail in Section 3.6. These possessive constructions combine criterial features of both the Topic Possessive and the Locational Possessive. Other instances of hybridity are due to the curious phenomenon of Have-Drift, which will be explored in Chapter 6. We will see there that one of the major possession types, the Have-Possessive, functions as a target structure for all other basic types. Again, the transition from some source construction into a Have-Possessive may be gradual, and may be closer to its completion in some languages than in others. Thus, we find instances of Have-Drift in which the source construction has, as it were, 'sunk without a trace', so that they can rightly be classified as cases of the Have-Possessive. But there are also 'intermediate' cases of Have-Drift, in which the construction shows formal features of both the source type and the Have-Possessive.

By their very nature, hybrid possessive constructions defy straight-forward classification as members of one of the four basic types. In order to assess their typological status, I have therefore resorted to criteria of a meta-theoretical nature. In Chapter 8, I will propose the hypothesis that all four basic possessive types have their own TYPOLOGICAL PROFILE, in that all of them can be shown to be correlated with a different constellation of values on some general cross-linguistic parameters. Now, in the case of hybrid

possessive constructions it can usually be demonstrated that such constructions fit the profile of one of the participating possessive types much better than they fit the profile of the other type. For example, it turns out that instances of topic-locational hybrids conform to our profile predictions if we take them to be – somewhat special – cases of the Topic Possessive type, whereas they create counter-examples to the profile predictions if we rate them as (some subclass of) the Locational Possessive type. I defend the position that, in such circumstances, the principle of explanatory fertility mentioned above (see Section 2.1.2) allows us to make the decision to treat such hybrid cases as instances of the Topic Possessive, instead of deciding on the alternative, less fertile classification. Once more, then, we see that typological classification – given that it is undertaken with explanatory aims in mind – is not motivated exclusively by directly observable differences and similarities in the data. Considerations of what constitutes the most fertile solution play an equally important – and sometimes even decisive – role in the decision process that leads to the construction of a typology.

2.1.4 *Double options*

Any typology of a linguistic phenomenon will consist of two related classifications. The first of these presents a list of the different types of encoding of the phenomenon in question, while the second classification groups the sampled languages on the basis of the encoding type which they have selected. Now, with regard to this second classification, indeterminacy may arise, in that some languages may employ more than one encoding strategy for the domain. As a result, such languages are, to a greater or lesser extent, indeterminate as to their typological status.

The indeterminacy that is created by the possibility of MULTIPLE OPTIONS may arise from several different causes, and the solution for this indeterminacy may vary accordingly. First, we find cases in which the strategies involved cover different areas or subdomains in the cognitive space at issue. As we have seen in Section 1.4, there is a substantial number of languages which have a specialized encoding strategy for subdomains like alienable, inalienable, or temporary possession. Since we have limited the domain of our inquiry to cases of alienable possession only, this type of multiple encoding need no longer concern us here.

Even within the restricted domain of alienable possession, however, quite a few languages in my sample turn out to have more than one encoding strategy at their disposal. In some cases, the difference between those strategies can be attributed to a difference in semantic range. In Section 1.4 I quoted examples

from the Tibeto-Burman language Qiang, which has two strategies for alienable possession. One of these options, illustrated in (5a), is a generally applicable strategy, whereas the other one, illustrated in (5b), is specialized for 'personal ownership of some important or valuable entity' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 98). In cases such as these, we can clearly speak of a contrast between a MAJOR and a MINOR encoding option (Heine 1997: 104ff.), and as a rule I have ignored minor strategies of this kind in my typology.

(5)   QIANG (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Qiangic)

    a. The: səf-ɑ-hɑ   we-ʒ
       3SG   tree-one-PL   exist-CAUS
       'He has some trees' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 98)

    b. ʔũ   şku   qusu   qəqə-n
       2SG   gold   much   have-2SG
       'You have a lot of gold' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 98)

Contrasts between major and minor encodings may also be caused by the effects of diachronic change. For some reason, possession is a domain that is rather susceptible to innovations, as a result of which older encoding options are replaced by newer ones. Since these processes of innovation are gradual, one sometimes encounters the situation that older and newer encoding strategies are found side by side in a language. In such cases, one can observe quite often that the older strategy has come to be stylistically marked, in that it is felt to be old-fashioned, formal, or bookish. A case in point is the encoding of alienable possession in Lithuanian. In this language, an erstwhile genitival strategy, exemplified in (6a), is giving way to a *have*-strategy (see 6b), and Bernhard Wälchli (p.c.) has informed me that the older strategy is now regarded by native speakers as so outdated that it might even be considered to be obsolete. Nonetheless, since the difference between these two encoding options is not semantic, but rather sociolinguistic or stylistic, I have included both of them in my data base. Consequently, languages such as Lithuanian are classified under two different types in my typology.

(6)   LITHUANIAN (Indo-European, Baltic)

    a. Mano kaimy -no   yra   olgas   laûkas
       my   neighbour-GEN.SG be.3SG.PRES long.NOM.SG field.NOM.SG
       'My neighbour has a long field' (Senn 1929: 24)

    b. Aš   turiù   laûka
       1SG.NOM have.1SG.PRES field.ACC
       'I have a field' (Senn 1929: 24)

Multiple typological classification of languages is the only possible decision in cases for which no discernible difference between the various encoding options is reported in the sources. Of course, this may very well be due to oversight on the part of the grammarian in question, but in practice we have no other choice than to assume that these options are largely synonymous, and that they should therefore all be accounted for in the construction of the typology. A few examples of languages with this kind of multiple encoding are presented below; a survey of all the encoding options of all sampled languages can be found in Appendix B.

(7) EVEN (Altaic, Tungusic)

    a. Min   zu -w   bi -sni
       1SG.GEN house-my exist-3SG.PRES
       'I have a house' (Benzing 1955: 81)

    b. Tarak bej zu -lkan
       this   man house-with/PCP
       'This man has a house' (Benzing 1955: 30)

(8) BEDAWI (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)

    a. Gú'da mahálaga á-bare
       much   money   1SG-have.PRES
       'I have much money' (Reinisch 1893, I: 54)

    b. Hámmed-i geb   réû   é -fi
       H.-GEN   at/side money 3SG.M-be.PRES
       'Hammed has money' (Reinisch 1893, II: 76)

(9) SHIPIBO-KONIBO (Panoan)

    a. Noko-na ri-ki   pia
       1SG -DAT be-COMPLET arrow
       'I have an arrow' (Tessmann 1929: 249)

    b. Ea pia   ya   i -birai
       1SG arrow with be-FUT
       'I will have an arrow' (Tessmann 1929: 252)

(10) KABYLE (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)

    a. Ye-sɛa   idrimen
       3SG.M.PRES-have money
       'He has money' (Naït-Zerrad 2001: 70)

    b. Argaz-agi, ɣur-s   adrim
       man-this   at-him money
       'This man has money' (Naït-Zerrad 2001: 165)

2.2 The definition of the criterion

After these methodological preliminaries, I now proceed to define the central formal criterion that will be used in this book to construct the typology of predicative possession. I will start from the assumption that THE ENCODING OF THE POSSESSOR AND THE POSSESSEE IN TERMS OF THEIR GRAMMATICAL FUNCTION is the main, and in fact the only, criterion on which the typology of predicative possession has to be based. Hence, the types in the typology represent the variation among languages in the formal expression of these grammatical functions. I will begin by establishing four clearly identifiable, and frequently occurring, variants in this encoding, which can be seen as the BASIC TYPES OF PREDICATIVE POSSESSION. In the following chapters of Part I, I will argue that, despite some initial evidence to the contrary, these four types must also be seen as the only types which we need in our typology. Thus, in Chapters 4–6 I will present a number of possessive constructions which, at first sight, cannot easily be brought under the heading of one of the four major types. I can say in advance, however, that all these problematic cases can be brought into accordance with the four-type typology, provided that we assume the existence and the operation of a few widely applicable processes of grammaticalization.

In the following sections of this chapter I will define each of the four basic types in turn, and illustrate the type by a number of examples. In doing so, I will restrict myself to what may be called the STANDARD FORM of these types, which can be seen as their prototypical manifestations. These standard forms are free of the influence of concomitant factors and they have not been affected by one of the grammaticalization processes that will be dealt with in Chapters 4–6.

2.3 The Locational Possessive

As stated above, the functional encoding of the two relevant NPs in a predicative possession construction will be taken as the criterion on which our typology is based. Given the cross-linguistic variation on this point, we are able to distinguish four major encoding strategies, which give rise to the construction of a four-way typology. Now, among these four types, a further distinction can be made, in that three of the types can be grouped together as opposing the fourth one. In this latter type, the possessive construction is represented as SYNTACTICALLY TRANSITIVE. We will discuss this type further in Section 2.6. In contrast, the other three types, which will be presented in

this and the next two sections, have in common that they cover possessive constructions which are SYNTACTICALLY INTRANSITIVE. In fact, we may even be more specific and say that in all three types predicative possession is encoded in the basic form of a LOCATIVE OR EXISTENTIAL SENTENCE.[3] A conspicuous feature of all three construction types is the occurrence of a one-place predicate with a locational or existential meaning: its usual translation can be something like 'to be', 'to be there', 'to be present', or 'to exist'.[4] Languages may differ in the exact formal encoding of this predicate. In the standard form of these constructions it has the morphosyntactic status of a verb, but it may also take the form of a particle, and in a limited number of cases it may even be zero. However, such variation is, in our typology, seen as concomitant. What is decisive is the fact that, in all of these three types, the encoding of predicative possession is based on the way in which the language encodes statements of existence and/or location.

The point on which the three intransitive possessive types differ is their distribution of grammatical functions over the possessee and the possessor. In my sample, the largest of these three types concerns a construction which can be labelled as the LOCATIONAL POSSESSIVE. Defining characteristics of the standard form of this type are the following:

(11)   DEFINITION OF THE LOCATIONAL POSSESSIVE

    a) The construction contains a locative/existential predicate, in the form of a verb with the rough meaning of 'to be'.

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[3] The difference between locative and existential sentences can be stated in discourse pragmatic terms. In locative sentences, the located element is seen as topical, and hence it will be marked as definite if the language has such marking. In contrast, the located element in existential sentences is seen as new information, and hence it will typically get an indefinite interpretation. Whether a language will make a structural distinction between locative and existential sentences thus depends on the question of whether the distinction between given and new information receives a structural reflection in the language. Given that we have restricted the domain of our inquiry to cases of indefinite predicative possession, it follows that it will often be the existential sentence that will serve as the template for possessive constructions. However, there are also languages in which the grounding order is reversed, and in which it is the possessive construction that serves as the template for existential sentence encoding. Examples of such cases have been given in Section 1.2.

In this book, I have not indicated systematically whether it is the locative sentence, the existential sentence, or both sentence types, that can serve as the basis of an intransitive possessive construction in a language. I will only comment explicitly on cases in which (a) a language has a marked morphosyntactic difference between the two sentence types, and (b) this difference is relevant for the encoding of predicative possession. In all other cases, it should be understood that the difference between locative and existential sentences is either not made at all in the language, or does not have any bearing upon the encoding of predicative possession.

[4] In a number of languages, the verbal items in locative/existential sentences are selected from a set of 'posture verbs', which specify contrasts in the way in which an element can be situated in space. Thus, we sometimes find verbs with a meaning of 'to stand', 'to lie', 'to sit', or 'to live' as the predicates in locative/existential sentences (see Stassen 1997: 55 61).

b) The POSSESSEE NP (PE) is constructed as the GRAMMATICAL SUB-
JECT of the predicate. As such, it takes all the morphosyntactic
'privileges' that the language allows for grammatical subjects. For
example, if the language allows subject-agreement on verbs, the PE
will be the determining factor in that agreement. Likewise, if the
language has a case system, the PE will be in the case form that is
employed for intransitive subjects in general.

c) The POSSESSOR NP (PR) is constructed in some OBLIQUE, ADVER-
BIAL CASE FORM. As such, the PR may be marked by any formal
device that the language employs to encode adverbial relations in
general, such as case affixes or adpositions.

As for the adverbial relation on which the encoding of the possessor is
modelled in this type, we can observe that it is practically always describable
in terms of location or direction. Thus, common options for the marking of
the PR are cases which denote static location, such as the locative, the adessive
or the inessive ('in', 'at', 'on', 'by') and 'dynamic', goal-oriented cases such as
the dative or allative ('to', 'for').[5] Obviously, the options in this encoding are
restricted by the general profusion of locational case expressions in a lan-
guage. Many languages have seen syncretisms of their locational encoding
system, so that various semantically diverse locative relations have come to be
collapsed into one formal encoding. Maybe the most notorious of such
syncretic forms is a case which traditionally has been called the genitive. As
I have mentioned above, I will argue in Chapter 4 that possessive construc-
tions in which the PR has genitive case marking are in fact (more or less
special) cases of the Locational Possessive. For the present, I will restrict
myself to constructions in which the PR has a locational, but non-genitival,
oblique marking. Thus, in these constructions, which I take to be prototypical
for the Locational Possessive, predicative possession is rendered in a mor-
phosyntactic form which can literally be glossed in English as

At/to PR, (there) is/exists a PE.

The Locational Possessive is the most frequent encoding option encountered
in my sample. Clear instances of the construction can be found in a range of
genetically unrelated languages, as is illustrated by the examples in (12)–(39).

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[5] Conspicuously absent in my sample are Locational Possessives in which the possessor is marked
as ablative, that is, by a marker which indicates the source of a movement. However, it must be
remarked that at least some of the genitival markers used on possessors have their source in an ablative
(see Section 4.3).

(12) MODERN IRISH (Indo-European, Celtic)
      Ta   airgead   aig-e
      be.3SG.PRES   money   at-3SG
      'He has money' (Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 197)

(13) CLASSICAL LATIN (Indo-European, Italic)
      Est   mihi   liber
      be.3SG.PRES   1SG.DAT   book.NOM.SG
      'I have a book' (Benveniste 1960: 116)

(14) RUSSIAN (Indo-European, East Slavonic)
      U Ivana   byl   sinij   avtomobil'
      at I.-GEN   be.3SG.M. PAST   blue   car
      'Ivan had a blue car' (Chvany 1973: 71)

(15) ANCIENT GREEK (Indo-European, Hellenic)
      Hèmin   oinos   estin
      1PL.DAT   wine.NOM   be.3SG.PRES
      'We have wine' (Nuchelmans 1985: 102)

(16) SINHALESE (Indo-European, Indic)
      Ma-te   pot   tienewa
      1SG-DAT   books   be.INAN.PRES
      'I have books' (Gair 1970: 60)

(17) LEZGIAN (Dagestanian)
      Dusman-ri-w   tup-ar   gwa-c
      enemy-PL-ADESS   cannon-PL   be.at-NEG
      'The enemy does not have cannons' (Haspelmath 1993: 313)

(18) FINNISH (Uralic, Balto-Finnic)
      Isä-llä   on   kaksi   auto-a
      father-at   be.3SG.PRES   two   car-PART
      'Father has two cars' (Karlsson 1983: 66)

(19) YAKUT (Altaic, Turkic)
      Mijiä-chä   taba   baar
      1SG-DAT   reindeer   exist
      'I have reindeer' (Böhtlingk 1964: 128)

(20) JAPANESE (Altaic, Japanese)
      Otooto   ni   naihu   ga   aru
      younger.brother   DAT   knife   SUBJ   exist.PRES
      'Younger Brother has a knife' (Martin 1975: 647)

(21) KET (Yeniseian)
      Ab-aŋt   iŋGus'   us'aŋ
      1SG-ADESS house   exist.PRES
      'I have a house' (Werner 1997: 103)

(22) NIVKH (Nivkh)
      Oɣla-gu-in   čuz   pitɣy-ø   jiv-ny-d'-ra
      child-PL-LOC new   book-NOM   be-FUT-FIN-PRED
      'The children will have new books' (Gruzdeva 1998: 19)

(23) KORYAK (Chukotko-Kamchatkan)
      Aʕal   tuyə-k   va-ykən
      axe   2PL-LOC   be-CONT
      'You have an axe' (Alla Maltseva, p.c.)

(24) KANNADA (Dravidian)
      Arsar-ig   dod   aramane   ide
      king-DAT   big   palace   exist.3SG.NEUT.PRES
      'The king has a big palace' (Schiffman 1984: 95)

(25) LADAKHI (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan)
      Khokhun-la   za-rgyu   mang-po   yot
      3PL-DAT   food   much   exist
      'They have plenty of food' (Grierson 1909: 62)

(26) BURMESE (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Burmese-Lolo)
      Cunto-hma   pai-hsan   hyí
      1SG-at   money   exist
      'I have money' (Okell 1969: 130)

(27) MUNDARI (Austro-Asiatic, Munda)
      Ain-a   sadom   mena -i -a
      1SG-DAT   horse   exist-3SG-INDIC
      'I have a horse' (Hoffmann 1903: xlvii)

(28) SAMOAN (Austronesian, Polynesian)
      Sa   i ai   ia Sina   se   ta'avale
      PAST exist   to S.   ART   car
      'Sina had a car' (Marsack 1975: 54)

(29) KÂTE (Papuan, Finisterre-Huon)
      Ngo-le   qato   ju-kopilec
      1SG-DEST   dog   live-2DU.PRES
      'I have two dogs' (Pilhofer 1933: 107)

(30) HUITOTO (Witotoan)
     Nɨga   atávaiaɨ   o-mo   i-te
     how.much hen.PL   2SG-at be-3SG.NONFUT
     'How many hens do you have?' (Minor et al. 1982: 118)

(31) YAMEO (Peba-Yaguan)
     Áɾé lʋóɹ   ɾá-weša   ɾáə-me
     that house be-PAST   1SG-in
     'I owned that house' (Espinosa Perez 1955: 355)

(32) BARASANO (Eastern Tucanoan)
     Gɨbo sudi   ba-a-ha   yɨ-re
     foot   clothing not.be-PRES-3 1SG-for
     'I have no shoes' (Jones and Jones 1991: 7)

(33) SHIPIBO-KONIBO (Panoan)
     Noko-na   ri-ki   pia
     1SG-DAT   be-COMPLET   arrow
     'I have an arrow' (Tessmann 1929: 249)

(34) COPTIC (Afro-Asiatic, Egyptian)
     Oyon   nt-ak   noyhvos   mmay
     exist   to-2SG   gown   there
     'You have a gown' (Mallon 1956: 155)

(35) BIBLICAL HEBREW (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic)
     Hayah'   so'n   le-'Abraham
     existed   cattle   to-A.
     'Abraham had cattle' (Lambdin 1971: 56)

(36) BEDAWI (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)
     Hámmed-i   geb   réû   é-fi
     H.-GEN   at/side   money   3SG.M-be.PRES
     'Hammed has money' (Reinisch 1893, II: 76)

(37) NOBIIN (Nile/Fiadicca Nubian) (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic)
     Ai-lok   nog   wei   darin
     1SG-at   house   one   be.3SG.F.PRES
     'I have a house' (Reinisch 1879: 119)

(38) KORANKO (Niger-Kordofanian, Mande)
     Wodi   yé   n   bolo
     money   be   my   hand
     'I have money' (Kastenholz 1987: 112)

(39)   Bongo (Nilo-Saharan, West Central Sudanic)
    Bíhí   na   jí-i
    dog   be   on-you
    'Do you have a dog?' (Tucker and Bryan 1966: 79)

An interesting fact about the Locational Possessive is that its areal distribution across the globe is almost certainly not random. There are some parts of the world in which it is practically the norm, and other parts in which it is hardly, if ever, encountered. Stated very roughly, the Locational Possessive is the prominent option in Eurasia and northern Africa, as well as in Polynesia and the northern part of South America. However, a more detailed discussion of the areal features of the typology of predicative possession will be postponed until Chapter 7, as such a discussion presupposes a 'final' typology, in which various cases of indeterminacy have been solved or at least explicated.

2.4 The With-Possessive

The second instance of intransitive encoding of predicative possession is a construction type which I, after some hesitation, have chosen to call the With-Possessive. With the Locational Possessive, the With-Possessive shares the feature of containing a locative/existential predicate, which in a number of non-standard cases may be realized as zero. In other respects, however, the two possessive types are diametrically opposed. While in the Locational Possessive the possessee NP has subject function, in the With-Possessive it is the possessor NP that is the subject. Moreover, the oblique marking of the possessor in the Locational Possessive contrasts with a similar oblique marking of the possessee NP in the With-Possessive. In short, these two encoding strategies appear to be morphosyntactic mirror images of one another, and the basic characteristics of the With-Possessive can be defined by changing around the possessor NP and the possessee NP in the definition of the Locational Possessive that was given in the previous section (11). Thus, the definition of the standard form of the With-Possessive reads as follows:

(40)   Definition of the With-Possessive

    a. The construction contains a locative/existential predicate, in the form of a verb with the rough meaning of 'to be'.
    b. The possessor NP (PR) is constructed as the grammatical subject of the predicate.
    c. The possessee NP (PE) is constructed in some oblique, adverbial case form.

In a significant number of cases, the case marker of the possessee NP in With-Possessives has an associative or comitative meaning, and can be translated as 'with'. For this reason, this encoding strategy has commonly been labelled in the literature as 'Comitative Possessive', 'Accompaniment Possessive', or 'With-Possessive', and its general form has been taken to be something like

PR is/exists with a PE.

In my view, the fact that this possessive type often employs comitative marking on the possessee provides another argument for the claim that this type is the opposite of the Locational Possessive, as it can be argued that comitative and locative cases are semantic counterparts. Borrowing the terminology of cognitive linguistics (Johnson 1987, Langacker 1994), one can say that the complement of a locative marker can be semantically designated as a 'container'. Thus, in a phrase like

(41)   The house on the corner

one can analyse the NP *the corner* as referring to a larger space, in which the referent of the NP *the house* is 'contained'. In contrast, the complement of the comitative marker *with* in a phrase like

(42)   The house with the green front door

denotes a 'contained element', which is interpreted as being a part of the space defined by the 'container' NP *the house*. Given this, I think it can be defended that the With-Possessive is essentially an encoding type in which the syntactic functions and the semantic roles of the PR and the PE are REVERSED with respect to the Locational Possessive. In many languages, this reversal is indicated by the use of a marker of comitativity, but it should be understood that the presence of a 'with'-item is not an essential characteristic of the type: in fact, there are quite a few instances of the With-Possessive in which the marker of the PE does not – or at least not synchronically – function as a marker of comitativity. Thus, the label 'With-Possessive' is something of a misnomer. After trying out a number of alternatives, I have finally chosen to retain the term because of its mnemonic and traditional value, but it is of the utmost importance to realize that it is a technical term, which refers to a possessive encoding type that, in its essential features, is the mirror-image of the Locational Possessive.

   Clear instances of the With-Possessive are found in a restricted number of linguistic areas. The examples given below are mostly from the Eastern Austronesian and Papuan area, from the northern part of South America, or from sub-Saharan Africa. It must be remarked, however, that With-Possessives

appear to be particularly susceptible to various processes of grammaticalization. These cases will be discussed separately in Chapters 5 and 6.

(43) KAPAU (Papuan, Central and Western)
      Ni   änga   hanga   ti
      I   house   with(?) DECL
      'I have a house' (Oates and Oates 1968: 75)

(44) AMELE (Papuan, Madang)
      Ija   sigin   ca
      1SG   knife   with
      'I have a knife' (Roberts 1987: 81)

(45) NABAK (Papuan, Huon-Finisterre)
      An   notnaŋ   bo-iŋ-mak
      man   some   pig-their-with
      'Some men have pigs' (Fabian et al. 1998: 443)

(46) HIXKARYANA (Macro-Carib, Carib)
      Apaytara   hyawo   naha   biryekomo
      chicken   with   3SG-be-PRES   boy
      'The boy has chickens' (Derbyshire 1979: 110)

(47) SHIPIBO-KONIBO (Panoan)
      Ea   pia   ya   i -birai
      1SG   arrow   with   be-FUT
      'I will have an arrow' (Tessmann 1929: 252)

(48) MOSETÉN (Mosetenan)
      Fan   jiri-s-tom   aka'
      Juan   one-F-COM   house
      'Juan has a house' (Sakel 2004: 300)

(49) HAUSA (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic)
      Ya-nàa   dà   kuɗii
      3SG.M-CONT   with   money
      'He has money' (Wolff 1993: 495)

(50) KUKÚ (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, East Nilotic)
      ŋ́m   gbɔ́ŋ   kɔ   pílílí
      1SG   be   with   pilili
      'I had a *pilili*' (Cohen 2000: 133)

(51) MAMVU (Nilo-Saharan, Central Sudanic)
      Uyá-nánì   la'
      house-with   3PL.PRES.be
      'They have a house' (Vorbichler 1971: 308)

(52) MBAY (Nilo-Saharan, West Central Sudanic)
      Ngon   ǐ   kɔ̀   kìya
      child is   with   knife
      'The child has a knife' (Keegan 1997: 77)

(53) SUPYIRE (Niger-Kordofanian, Gur)
      Mìì   túŋi   mpyi ná   pwuh-pole   è
      my   father was   with dog-male   with
      'My father had a male dog' (Carlson 1994: 249)

(54) MUNDANG (Niger-Kordofanian, Adamawa-Ubangian, Adamawa)
      Mè̞   (nò)   nɔ   yâŋ
      1SG   (be)   with   house
      'I have a house' (Elders 2000: 248)

(55) SANGO (Niger-Kordofanian, Ubangian)
      Lo   ɛkɛ   na   bɔngɔ́
      he   be   with   garment
      'He has a garment' (Samarin 1966: 95)

(56) TSHILUBA (Niger-Kordofanian, Central-West Bantu)
      Mu-kalenge   u -di   ne   ba-pika
      CLASS-chief 3SG-be   with   slaves
      'The chief has slaves' (Willems 1943: 14)

(57) SHONA (Niger-Kordofanian, South-East Bantu)
      Ndi-ca-va   ne-mbga
      1SG-FUT-become   with-dog
      'I shall have a dog' (Fortune 1955: 383)

2.5 The Topic Possessive

The third and final type of intransitive possessive construction is the TOPIC
POSSESSIVE. This strategy shares a number of defining characteristics with the
Locational Possessive. Apart from the fact that they both contain a locative/
existential predicate, they also both construct the possessee NP as the gram-
matical subject. The distinguishing feature of the Topic Possessive lies in the

encoding of the possessor NP, which is constructed as the SENTENCE TOPIC[6] of the possessive sentence. As such, the possessor NP 'limits the applicability of the main predication to a certain restricted domain' (Chafe 1976: 50) and indicates 'the frame within which the sentence holds' (Chafe 1976: 51). Thus, the possessor NP indicates the SETTING or BACKGROUND of the sentence, and its function can be circumscribed by English phrases such as *given X, as for X, with regard to X, speaking about X, as far as X is concerned*, and the like. Given this, the standard form of the Topic Possessive can be represented as

(As for) PR, PE is/exists

and its defining characteristics can be formulated as follows:

(58)   DEFINITION OF THE TOPIC POSSESSIVE
   a. The construction contains a locative/existential predicate, in the form of a verb with the rough meaning of 'to be'.
   b. The POSSESSEE NP (PE) is constructed as the GRAMMATICAL SUB-JECT of the predicate.
   c. The POSSESSOR NP (PR) is constructed as the SENTENCE TOPIC of the sentence.

Languages may differ considerably in the formal means by which they encode sentence topics. A frequent, but not necessary, formal feature of such topics is their placement at the beginning of the sentence.[7] Furthermore, quite a few languages employ some formal device to indicate that the sentence topic is outside the sentence nucleus. In some cases, this separation between topic and nucleus may be signalled by phonological devices only, such as a pause, or some marked intonation pattern. Other languages show overt marking of sentence topics by employing a topic marker, which, in the typical case, marks the boundary between topic and nucleus. However, since this book is not

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[6] The notion of 'sentence topic' employed here should not be confused with the general discourse functional concept of topic as defined in Section 1.5.2. A sentence topic is an item which has a specific semantic function, namely, 'to constitute the frame of reference with respect to which the main clause is either true (if a proposition) or felicitous (if not)' (Haiman 1978: 564). Many languages have special structural devices at their disposal to indicate sentence topics, and these devices do not have to be the same as those that are used to indicate 'given' information. Thus, we can say that, in any indefinite predicative possession construction, the possessor is the discourse functional topic, but it is only in Topic Possessives that the possessor has the status of sentence topic.

[7] If sentence topics are placed at the beginning of the sentence, they often present a case of the syntactic phenomenon of Left Dislocation (see Lambrecht 2001). That is, they are placed outside the sentence nucleus, and are structurally connected with that nucleus in a way that is still not completely clear (see Anagnostopolou et al. 1997).

about the typology of sentential topic marking, I have decided to ignore the cross-linguistic variation that can be observed at this point.[8]

In terms of the number of sampled languages that exhibit it, the Topic Possessive is a bit less frequent than the Locational Possessive. However, it counts Mandarin, the biggest language in the world, among its members, and in the areas in which it occurs it usually forms the uncontested option. A first indication of the geographical spread of the Topic Possessive is given by the examples in (59)–(82). As can be seen, the examples vary in the formal means, and in the degree of explicitness, with which the sentence topic is marked.

(59) MANDARIN (Sino-Tibetan, Sinitic)
Ta   yǒu   san-ge   háizi
3SG   exist   three-CLASS   child
'He/she has three children' (Li and Thompson 1981: 513)

(60) ARLENG ALAM (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Mikir)
Nè   po   chày-nong jon-nî   do
1SG   father cow   CLASS-two   exist
'My father has two cows' (Grüssner 1978: 136)

(61) BURMESE (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Burmese-Lolo)
Cunto   pai-hsan hyí
1SG   money   exist
'I have some money' (Okell 1969: 130)

(62) THAI (Austro-Asiatic, Kam-Tai)
Phom   mii   rod
1SG   exist   car
'I have a car' (Noss 1964: 173)

(63) CAMBODIAN (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer)
Pu   mien   lan
Uncle exist car
'Uncle has a car' (Jacob 1968: 46)

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[8] As is well known, sentence topics tend to acquire subject properties and to be grammaticalized as subjects (Givón 1976, Mithun 1991, Geluykens 1992). For this reason, Topic Possessives have sometimes been referred to as 'Double Subject Possessives' (Seiler 1983: 60). Although there are cases of Topic Possessives in which both the possessor and the possessee are morphologically marked as subject, and cases in which the subject properties are distributed over possessor and possessee, I think that the term 'Double Subject Possessive' is too specific to be an appropriate label for the possessive type intended, so I will avoid using it here.

(64)   Bahasa Indonesia (Austronesian, West Indonesian)
        Saya   tidak   ada   uang
        1SG   not   exist   money
        'I don't have any money' (Steinhauer 2001: 252)

(65)   Tagalog (Austronesian, Philippine)
        May   relos   ang   nanay
        exist   watch   TOP   mother
        'Mother has a watch' (Schachter and Otanes 1983: 135)

(66)   Toradja (Austronesian, East Indonesian)
        Tau   se'e   re'e   baula-nja
        people   these   be   buffalo-their
        'These people have buffaloes' (Adriani 1931: 344)

(67)   Tawala (Austronesian, Melanesian)
        Polo   hai   yam   e-ma-mae
        pig   their   food   3SG.PRES-DUR-stay
        'The pigs have food' (Ezard 1997: 188)

(68)   Mokilese (Austronesian, Micronesian)

        a.   Mine   woaroa-n   woallo   war
              exist   VEHICLE-his.CONSTR   man.that   canoe
              'That man has a canoe' (Harrison 1976: 211)

        b.   Woallo   mine   woaroa-h   war
              man.that   exist   VEHICLE-his   canoe
              'That man has a canoe' (Harrison 1976: 212)

(69)   Usan (Papuan, Madang)
        Qoan   munon   ger   yâmângâr   wau   ombur   igo-ai
        old   man   one   woman   child   two   be-3SG.REM.PAST
        'Long ago, a man had two daughters' (Reesink 1984: 123)

(70)   Kobon (Papuan, East Highlands)
        Yad   kaj   mid-öp
        1SG   pig   be-3SG.PERF
        'I have a pig' (Davies 1981: 94)

(71)   Deg Xinag (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)
        Eyiggin   niq'ołdałin   xivi-yix   xuxhux   xe-lanh
        those   women   their-house   big   it(AREAL)-be
        'Those women had a big house' (Chapman and Kari 1981: 116)

(72) NAVAJO (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)
      Baa’ bi-dibé   da-hóló̜
      B.   his-sheep   3PL-exist
      ‘Baa’ has sheep’ (Goossen 1967: 15)

(73) KAROK (Karok-Shastan)
      Na’ púffa’t nani-ppa’h
      1SG not.be   my-boat
      ‘I don’t have a boat’ (Bright 1957: 231)

(74) CUPEŇO (Uto-Aztecan, Takic)
      NeʔΞ ne-mixen   Ʒiket   (miyexwe)
      I   my-possession/thing   net   (is)
      ‘I have a net’ (Hill 1966: 40)

(75) TZUTUJIL (Mayan, Quichean)
      K’o jun ruu-keej   n -ataʔ
      exist a   his-horse my-father
      ‘My father has a horse’ (Dayley 1981: 200)

(76) MEZQUITAL OTOMÍ (Oto-Manguean, Otomian)
      Ʒna ra   dame   mi-xa   ya   hwami
      one ART man   PAST-exist   his-PL cornfield
      ‘A man had cornfields’ (Hess 1968: 111)

(77) TERIBE (Chibchan)
      Domer shäng e   krik
      man   stand DEM   rifle
      ‘The man has a rifle’ (Quesada 2000: 126)

(78) NOMATSIGUENGA (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)
      Ira hirainisati   hiraira,   teni ini   kaniri
      DEM ancient.ones   long.ago   NEG   exist manioc
      ‘The ancient ones long ago did not have manioc’ (Wise 1971: 150)

(79) ONA-SELKNAM (Andean, Chon)
      Igwa iper pen
      1PL   meat stay
      ‘We have meat’ (Tonelli 1926: 134)

(80) TURKANA (Nilo-Saharan, East Nilotic)
      a. È-yàka-s’ i a-yong’   nga-àtùk
         3-exist-PL   I-ABS   cows
         ‘I have cows’ (Dimmendaal 1982: 82)

b. A-yong'   e-yakà-si   nga-àtùk   nga-àrè y   màke'
   I-ABS   3-exist-PL   cows-ABS   two   self
   'I only have two cows' (Dimmendaal 1982: 82)

(81)   FULANI (Niger-Kordofanian, West Atlantic)
       Lamido   wodi   puchu
       king   exist horse
       'The king has a horse' (Taylor 1921: 22)

(82)   AKAN (Niger-Kordofanian, Kwa)
       Me   wo   wodan   bi
       I   be   house   one
       'I have a house' (Christaller 1875: 66)

2.6 The Have-Possessive

Opposed to the three possession types discussed above, the fourth major type does not encode predicative possession in the form of an intransitive construction. The HAVE-POSSESSIVE is transitive in nature. Its most conspicuous feature is the presence of a (semi-)transitive verb, which I have called the *have*-verb. Typically, and importantly, this item is not related in any way to the locative-existential predicate 'be, exist' in the language. In other words, unlike the other three basic possessive types the Have-Possessive is not conceptually derived from the expression of location/existence. Instead, it is patterned on the expression of transitive actions, and may thus be called an instantiation of the general cognitive Action Schema (Heine 1997: 47 ff.). In this construction, the possessor NP takes the encoding form of an agent, and the possessee NP the form of a patient. Thus, if the language has nominative/accusative alignment – which is the case in the overwhelming majority of languages with a Have-Possessive in my sample – the possessor NP will be construed as the subject of the *have*-verb, and the possessee NP as its direct object. In short, in its standard form the Have-Possessive can be described as essentially similar to an English construction like

PR has a PE

and its defining characteristics can be stated in the following way:

(83)   DEFINITION OF THE HAVE-POSSESSIVE
       a. The construction contains a transitive predicate.
       b. The POSSESSOR NP is constructed as the SUBJECT/AGENT.
       c. The POSSESSEE NP is constructed as the DIRECT OBJECT/PATIENT.

In many cases, it can be established that the *have*-verb has been derived – usually by a certain amount of semantic bleaching – from some fully lexical verb that indicates physical control or handling. 'Most commonly, a "have" verb arises out of the semantic bleaching of active possession verbs such as "get", "grab", "seize", "take", "obtain" etc., whereby the sense of "acting to take possession" has been bleached, leaving behind only its implied result of "having possession"' (Givón 1984: 103). Heine (1997: 48) adds that, besides 'take'-verbs, also 'non-acquisitive' verbs like 'hold', 'carry', or 'rule' may be the historical source of *have*-verbs. The process of semantic bleaching, by which a verb that denotes a concrete act of acquiring or handling turns into a verb with an 'abstract' meaning of possession, has been shown to proceed in a number of successive stages (Heine 1997: 48–50). Connected with the gradual loss of 'concrete' meaning is a gradual loss of syntactic transitivity; many *have*-verbs do not exhibit all the properties of a typical transitive verb, in that, for example, they do not have the possibility of forming a passive.

Given the lexical origin of many *have*-verbs, it is plausible to view the Have-Possessive of alienable possession as a semantic extension of the encoding of temporary possession; after all, physical control verbs like 'hold' or 'carry' are typically used for situations in which the relation between possessor and possessed is not permanent. This hypothesis of semantic extension or TAKE-OVER finds empirical support in my data base. I have found no counter-examples in my sample to the following cross-linguistic generalization:

(84) THE UNIVERSAL OF HAVE-POSSESSIVES (version 1)
      If a language has a Have-Possessive, that construction will always be in use for the encoding of temporary possession.

An alternative way to state this universal is:

(85) THE UNIVERSAL OF HAVE-POSSESSIVES (version 2)
      If a language employs a Have-Possessive for the encoding of alienable possession, it will employ a Have-Possessive for the encoding of temporary possession.

Thus, it seems that temporary possession is, so to speak, the natural HABITAT or HOME BASE of Have-Possessive encoding: if this semantic subdomain cannot be encoded in this way, no other subdomain can. Encoding of temporary possession by a Have-Possessive does not have to lead to Have-Possessive encoding for other subdomains, but SPREADING of the Have-Possessive from its temporary 'home ground' does seem to be possible for at least some languages. On no account, however, is it possible that, for example, the subdomain of alienable possession receives a Have-Possessive

encoding while the subdomain of temporary possession does not. In short, of the four logically possible situations depicted in the table in (86), situation D appears to be empirically excluded.

(86)   Distribution of Have-Possessives over temporary and alienable possession

	A	B	C	*D
Temporary	−	+	+	−
Alienable	−	−	+	+

In this book, cases in which the *have*-verb employed in the encoding of alienable possession is clearly related to the encoding of temporary possession will be considered to form the hard core of Have-Possessives. These are the cases which we take to be a product of a process by which the *have*-encoding of temporary possession has encroached upon the domain of alienable possession. It should be remarked immediately, however, that the set of cases for which a syntactically transitive encoding of alienable possession can be defended is larger than this core group of *hold/grasp* cases. As we will see in Chapter 6, it is a distinct tendency among all three of the other major possession types to grammaticalize into a construction which has at least some transitive traits. This process of Transitivization (or, as we shall call it, Have-Drift) is the main cause for the existence of Have-Possessives that do not have their diachronic origin in a construction that contains a verb of physical handling or control.

The hard-core case of the Have-Possessive is of course the norm in many of the languages with which readers of this book will be familiar. It is featured prominently in several western branches of modern Indo-European, such as Germanic, Romance, West and South Slavonic, Modern Greek, and Albanian, as well as in some, though not many, eastern Indo-European languages, such as Modern Persian. Therefore, it might easily be thought that this encoding option for alienable possession is something of an Indo-European speciality or prerogative, and this opinion has in fact been voiced quite a few times in the literature. Other authors are willing to concede that the Have-Possessive may occur outside Indo-European as well, but still hold that this possessive type is a minority strategy among the world's languages (see Heine 1997: 50). In my sample I have found no convincing confirmation of these views. As the listing in Appendix B will show, the Have-Possessive can be attested in all continents; it is true that its frequency is higher in some parts of the globe than in others, but the same holds for all three of the other basic possessive types. Moreover, a count of Have-Possessives in my sample does not warrant the conclusion that this strategy is significantly less frequent than other types of possession encoding. As I have noted in Section 1.7, my sample is biased

towards Indo-European, which may boost the frequency of Have-Possessives to some extent. Nonetheless, I trust that the liberal selection of Have-Possessives presented below will drive home the point that the Have-Possessive is neither infrequent nor areally restricted in its global occurrence.

(87) Norwegian (indo-european, north germanic)
      Mannen   ha-r   en   hund
      man.DEF   have-PRES   a   dog
      'The man has a dog' (Pål Kristian Eriksen p.c.)

(88) Rumanian (indo-european, romance)
      Tu   ai   un   stilou
      2SG.NOM   have.2SG.PRES   INDEF   pen
      'You have a pen' (Cazacu et al. 1967: 57)

(89) Serbo-Croatian (Indo-European, South Slavonic)
      Gospodin   Petrovic   ima   konja
      Mr   P.NOM   have.3SG.PRES   horse.ACC
      'Mr Petrovic has a horse' (Javarek and Sudjic 1963: 18)

(90) Albanian (Indo-European, Albanian)
      Une   kam   një   laps
      1SG.NOM   have.1SG.PRES   INDEF   pencil
      'I have a pencil' (Kacori 1979: 30)

(91) Modern Greek (Indo-European, Hellenic)
      Hoi   Arabes   echousin   elefantas
      DEF.PL   Arab.NOM.PL   have.3PL.PRES   elephant.ACC.PL
      'The Arabs have elephants' (Petraris 1914: 44)

(92) Modern Persian (Indo-European, Iranian)
      Nan   daram
      bread   have.1SG.PRES
      'I have bread' (Lambton 1957: 33)

(93) Basque (Basque)
      Harotz-ek   zaldi   ba-d-u-te
      blacksmith-ERG.PL   horse.ABS   AFF-3SG.ABS-have-3PL.ERG
      'The blacksmiths have a horse' (Gavel 1929: 10)

(94) Ubykh (North-West Caucasian)
      Zä -c'a   a-w-qa-ge
      one-house.ABS   3SG.ABS-2SG.ERG-have-PRES
      'You have a house' (Dumézil 1931: 85)

(95) XANTY (Uralic, Ugric)
      Min   taj-lamen   choram   mis
      1DU   have-1DU.PRES   fine   cow
      'We two have a fine cow' (Rédei 1965: 37)

(96) MALAGASY (Austronesian, West Indonesian)
      Manana   trano   vaovao   Rakoto
      have   house   new   R.
      'Rakoto has a new house' (Edward Keenan p.c.)

(97) ROTTINESE (Austronesian, East Indonesian)
      Na-nu   bafi   esa
      3SG-have pig   one
      'He has a pig' (Jonker 1915: 149)

(98) TIGAK (Austronesian, Melanesian)
      Ga   togon   sakai   piu
      3SG.PRES   have   one   dog
      'He has a dog' (Beaumont 1980: 75)

(99) ABUN (Papuan, West Papuan)
      An   rem   kwokwe   bo   yo
      3SG   had   egg.plant CLASS   DET
      'She had some egg plants' (Berry and Berry 1999: 71)

(100) MAUNG (Australian, Yiwadjan)
      Gɔdbi   dja   gundarug
      2SG.SUBJ/3.OBJ.NONFUT.have   ART   opossum
      'You have an opossum' (Capell and Hinch 1970: 96)

(101) JINGULU (Australian, West Barkly)
      Ngaba-nga-ju   karnarinymi
      have-1SG-PRES   spear
      'I have a spear' (Pensalfini 2003: 60)

(102) GOONIYANDI (Australian, Bunaban)
      Nganyi   marlami   goorijgila   yawarda
      I   not   I.hold.it   horse
      'I don't have a horse' (McGregor 1990: 492)

(103) YINGKARTA (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
      Thuthu-rna   ngatha   marti   kanyji-lanyi
      dog-1SG.SUBJ   1SG.NOM   big   keep-PRES
      'I've got a big dog' (Dench 1998: 53)

(104) DEG XINAG (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)
Łek   is-t'anh
dog   1SG-have
'I have a dog' (internet data)

(105) LAKOTA (Siouan)
Itazipa waŋ   lila   haŋska   c'a   ø-yuha
bow   one   very   be.long as   3-have
'He had a very long bow' (Ingham 2003: 84)

(106) YAVAPAI (Yuman)
Viya   vqi-ʔ   ʔwa: ʔhan   wi:
this   woman-SUBJ   house good   have
'This woman has a good house' (Kendall 1976: 46)

(107) TETELCINGO NAHUATL (Uto-Aztecan, Aztecan)
Sente   tlɔka-tl   ø-kɪ-pɪya-ya   sente   puro
one   man-ABS   he-it-have-IMPERF   one   donkey
'A man had a donkey' (Tuggy 1979: 10)

(108) MISKITO (Chibchan)
Yan   lala   bri -sna
1SG   money   have-1SG.PRES
'I have money' (Conzemius 1929: 108)

(109) GUAMBIANO (Barbacoan)
Unə   pən   kuarí   teka-ik   kə-n
boy   three hat   have-PCP   be-2/3
'The boy has three hats' (Vásquez De Ruiz 1988: 83)

(110) RETUARÃ (Central Tucanoan)
Mauricio-re   rīkibãka   iyaka   ki-rika-yu
M.-SUBJ   much   grape   3SG.M-have-PRES
'Mauricio has a lot of grapes' (Strom 1992: 132)

(111) TRUMAI (Trumai)
Tahu ka-in   ha   k'ad
knife FOC/TNS   1SG   have
'I have a knife' (Guirardello 1999: 217)

(112) TARIANA (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)
Nha   hinipuke-pe   na-de   na-yã-nhi
they garden-PL   3PL-have   3PL-stay-ANT
'They used to have gardens' (Aikhenvald 2003: 531)

(113) EPENA PEDEE (Chocó)
Juancito-pa úsa íru bɨ
J.-ERG   dog have AUX
'Juancito has a dog' (Harms 1994: 43)

(114) JARAWARA (Arauan)
Jara   kanawaa kiha-ka
white.man   canoe   have-DECL.M
'The white man has a canoe' (Dixon 2004: 295)

(115) BILIN (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)
Ni   gədəŋ-sí ʃäk-əxʷ
3SG.M   dog-ACC   have-3SG.M.PRES
'He has a dog' (Tucker and Bryan 1966: 544)

(116) KABYLE (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)
Ye-sɛa   idrimen
3SG.M.PRES-have   money
'He has money' (Naït-Zerrad 2001: 70)

(117) KUNAMA (Nilo-Saharan, Kunama)
Aba aila fauda na-ina -ke
1SG cow   many   1SG-have-AOR
'I have many cows' (Reinisch 1881: 17)

(118) KENUZ NUBIAN (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, East)
Ai   nog   weka   kunn-ir
1SG house one.ACC   have-PRES.1SG
'I have a house' (Reinisch 1879: 119)

(119) MAASAI (Nilo-Saharan, East Nilotic)
A-ata   ntare kumok
1SG-have   many   sheep
'I have a lot of sheep' (Tucker and Mpaayei 1955: 94)

(120) NANDI (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, South Nilotic)
Tiny-ey   Kípe:t kâ:t
have-IMPERF   K.   horse
'Kibet has a horse' (Creider and Creider 1989: 124)

(121) WOLOF (Niger-Kordofanian, West Atlantic)
Am   naa   kër
have 1SG   house
'I have a house' (Diouf and Yaguello 1991: 46)

(122)   MOORE (Niger-Kordofanian, Gur)
        Dawa   da   tara   pugo
        man   PAST   have   field
        'The man had a field' (Froger 1923: 90)

(123)   BABUNGO (Niger-Kordofanian, Bantoid)
        Lambí   kìi   bíse
        L.   have.PERF   goats
        'Lambi has goats' (Schaub 1985: 117)

(124)   !Xũ (Khoisan)
        Da'a//om-kx'ao   kx'ae   peri
        wood-cutter   have   goat
        'The wood-cutter has goats' (Snyman 1970: 114)

(125)   HAITIAN CREOLE (French-based Creole)
        M-gê   dé   ti-kabrit
        1SG-have   two   little-goat
        'I have two little goats' (Hall 1953: 92)

(126)   SRANAN (English-based Creole)
        A   abi   furu   fooru
        he   have   much   chicken
        'He has many chickens' (Donicie 1954: 46)

2.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have taken the first step in the construction of a typology of predicative possession, by identifying four basic types of possessive encoding. These four types can be identified without serious controversy, they constitute large classes, and taken together they cover more than ninety per cent of the possessive constructions in the data base. All the same, however, we also encounter quite a few instances of possession encoding that cannot be classified as members of one of the four types in a straightforward way. First, each of the four types allows for some deviation from its standard encoding, in the form of non-standard variants: these cases will be discussed in Chapter 3. And secondly, we have noted in Section 2.1.3 that possessive encodings can be subject to various processes of diachronic reanalysis, which result in possession constructions that are in some way deviant from the four basic encoding types. The diachronic processes at issue, and the outcome of these processes, will be expounded in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

3

Non-standard variants

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I have introduced the four major types which will form the basis of my typology of predicative possession. As I remarked there, for each of these four types a standard encoding can be identified, which can be seen as the default manifestation of the type. For the sake of clarity I have thus far restricted myself to these standard encodings, but I have made it clear that not all languages necessarily exhibit all the criterial characteristics of the standard encoding. For one thing, deviation from the standard encoding may occur due to processes of grammaticalization. That is, in some languages the standard encoding may have been subject to diachronic reanalysis, with the result that the relation of the possessive construction to the standard encoding has become 'opaque' to some greater or lesser degree. Various forms of this kind of reanalysis will be dealt with in the next three chapters.

In the current chapter I will concentrate on other forms of deviation from the standard encodings of predicative possession. In my view, most of these NON-STANDARD VARIANTS have to do with the presence of a concomitant factor, and I will argue that the phenomena in question do not force us to add new types to the basic four-way typology that was established in Chapter 2. Furthermore, as I have noted in Section 2.1.3, a special case of non-standard possessive encoding is formed by constructions that combine defining features of two basic strategies. These HYBRID formations will be dealt with in Section 3.6, the closing section of this chapter.

3.2 Possessor indexing on the possessee

A phenomenon that can be documented for all four major types – albeit not with the same frequency – consists in an additional encoding of the possessor by means of pronominal items. In other words, while in the standard versions of the major types the possessor is encoded only once, by means of a full noun phrase, in this non-standard variant we have pronominal indexing of the

possessor. Such a pronominal index takes the form of A POSSESSIVE PRONOUN OR A POSSESSIVE AFFIX ON THE POSSESSEE NP. Below, I will illustrate this pronominal marking of the possessor for each of the four major types in turn.

Pronominal indexing of the possessor on the possessee NP is especially popular among languages with a Topic Possessive. For example, many Austronesian languages, from all sorts of subfamilies, exhibit this type of possessor marking, either by possessive pronouns or affixes. In my sample, this option can be documented for Toba Batak, Toradja, Buli, Banggai, Mangap-Mbula, Kilivila, Tawala, Saliba, Palauan, Mokilese, Kwaio, and Tinrin. Furthermore, the option occurs in Tidore and Meyah, two western Papuan languages that are in close contact with Austronesian languages. A selection of examples from these languages is presented below.[1]

(1)   TOBA BATAK (Austronesian, West Indonesian)
      Ia   begu Ón   tòlu   ború-na
      TOP   spirit exist three daughter-his
      'The spirit had three daughters' (Percival 1981: 101)

(2)   TORADJA (Austronesian, East Indonesian)
      Tau   se'e   re'e baula-nja
      people these be   buffalo-their
      'These people have buffaloes' (Adriani 1931: 344)

(3)   BANGGAI (Austronesian, East Indonesian).
      Malane   doo   daano   kona   malapating   lua
      man   this   exist   his   doves   two
      'This man had two doves' (Van Den Bergh 1953: 101)

(4)   BULI (Austronesian, East Indonesian)
      Kore   ni   ebai
      K.   his   house
      'Kore has a house' (Maan 1951: 38)

(5)   PALAUAN (Austronesian, Palauan)
      A   udude-l   a   Toki   a   mla   er ngii
      ART   money-his   ART   T.   PRED   be.PAST in it
      'Toki had money' (Josephs 1975: 367)

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[1] In English and other European languages, modification of a noun by a possessive pronoun creates a 'definiteness effect', in that the resulting noun phrase has to have a definite reading. This definiteness effect is not present in the languages at issue here. Thus, for example, a Buli noun phrase like *ni ebai* (*lit.* 'his house'; see sentence (4)) is neutral between a definite and an indefinite reading ('his house' vs. 'a house of his').

(6) MANGAP-MBULA (Austronesian, West Oceanic)
     Nu   kom   kini   i-mbot
     2SG.NOM   your food   3SG-stay
     'Do you have any food?' (Bugenhagen 1995: 381)

(7) KILIVILA (Austronesian, Melanesian)

     a. Motaesa   ala   bulumakau
        M.   his   cow
        'Motaesa has a cow' (Gunter Senft p.c.)

     b. E-sisu   Motaesa   ala   bulumakau
        3SG-be   M.   his   cow
        'Motaesa has a cow' (Gunter Senft p.c.)

(8) TAWALA (Austronesian, West Oceanic)
     Polo   hai   yam   e-ma-mae
     pig   their food 3SG.PRES-DUR-stay
     'The pigs have food' (Ezard 1997: 188)

(9) SALIBA (Austronesian, West Oceanic)
     Yau   nige   yogu   kedewa
     1SG   NEG   my   dog
     'I don't have a dog' (Mosel 1994: 23)

(10) MOKILESE (Austronesian, Central-East Oceanic)
     Woallo   mine   woaroa-h   war
     man.that   exist   VEHICLE-his   canoe
     'That man has a canoe' (Harrison 1976: 212)

(11) KWAIO (Austronesian, Central-East Oceanic)
     Basiana   tée   fai   fe'e   seleni   ngai   ana
     B.   only   four   CLASS   shilling   it   his
     'Basiana had only four shillings' (Keesing 1985: 257)

(12) TINRIN (Austronesian, Central-East Oceanic)
     Sonya   nra   fwi   nra   rroto   nra-nri
     S.   it   exist   SUBJ   car   her
     'Sonya has a car' (Osumi 1995: 243)

(13) TIDORE (Papuan, Halmaheira)
     Ngori   ri-fayaa
     1SG   my-woman
     'I have a wife' (Van Staden 2000: 91)

(14)   MEYAH (Papuan, West Papuan)
       ofa   efen   mod
       3SG   his/her   house
       'S/he has a house' (Gravelle 2004: 116)

Besides the area that is covered by the Austronesian languages, a second area
in which possessor marking on the possessee NP is rampant in Topic Posses-
sives is Central America. As the examples below demonstrate, we find this
encoding option in quite a few different families, including Uto-Aztecan,
Mayan, Oto-Manguean, Mixe-Zoque, and Totonac-Tehepuan.

(15)   CUPEÑO (Uto-Aztecan, Takic)
       NeɁ   ne-mixen   Ɂiket   (miyexwe)
       I   my-CLASS   net   (is)
       'I have a net' (Hill 1966: 40)

(16)   LUISEÑO (Uto-Aztecan, Numic)
       Noo-p   no-toonav   qala
       1SG-TOP   my-basket   be.INAN.PRES
       'I have a basket' (Steele 1977: 114)

(17)   JACALTEC (Mayan, Kanjobalan)
       Ay   no'   hin   txitam
       exist CLASS my   pig
       'I have a pig' (Craig 1977: 21)

(18)   TZUTUJIL (Mayan, Quichean)
       K'o   jun   ruu-keej   n-ataɁ
       exist a   his-horse   my-father
       'My father has a horse' (Dayley 1981: 200)

(19)   ITZAJ MAYA (Mayan, Yucatecan)
       Ten-ej   yan   in-wakax
       1SG-TOP   exist   my-cattle
       'I have cattle' (Hofling 2000: 286)

(20)   MEZQUITAL OTOMÍ (Oto-Manguean, Otomian)
       Ɂna   ra   dame   mi-xa   ya   hwami
       one   ART   man   PAST-exist   his.PL   cornfield
       'A man had cornfields' (Hess 1968: 111)

(21)   SAN MIGUEL CHIMALAPA ZOQUE (Mixe-Zoque)
       Dəš   tehi   Ɂən-tuhkuyɁ
       1SG   exist   my-gun
       'I have a gun' (Johnson 2000: 93)

(22) Uᴘᴘᴇʀ Nᴇᴄᴀxᴀ Tᴏᴛᴏɴᴀᴄ (Totonac-Tehepuan)
    Wi:ł   kin-kawa:yúx
    sit   my-horse
    'I have a horse' (Beck 2004: 44)

In North and South America, too, it is not unusual to find cases of possessor indexing in Topic Possessives, but the phenomenon seems to be more incidental than it is in Central America. The examples given below stem from language groupings which, in most cases, do not form contiguous linguistic areas.

(23) Dᴇɢ Xɪɴᴀɢ (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)
    Eyiggin   niq'ołdałin xivi-yix   xuxhux   xe-lanh
    those   women   their-house   big   there-be
    'Those women had a big house' (Chapman and Kari 1981: 116)

(24) Nᴀᴠᴀᴊᴏ (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)
    Baa'   bi-dibé   da-hólọ
    B.   his-sheep   3ᴘʟ-exist
    'Baa' has sheep' (Goossen 1967: 15)

(25) Lᴜsʜᴏᴏᴛsᴇᴇᴅ (Salish, Central)
    ʔa   ti   d-biac
    be.there ᴀʀᴛ   my-meat
    'I have (some) meat' (Hess and Hilbert 1980: I.64)

(26) Yᴜʀᴏᴋ (Algonquian)
    Keʔl   ʔokw   skuyeni   keʔ-yoc
    you   exist-3sɢ good   your-boat
    'You have a good boat' (Robins 1958: 17)

(27) Kᴀʀᴏᴋ (Hokan)
    Pa-ʔippat   yíθθa   mú-ʔaramah
    ᴀʀᴛ-Doe   one   her-child
    'Doe had one child' (Bright 1957: 230)

(28) Mᴏᴊᴀᴠᴇ (Yuman)
    ʔinʸep   ʔnʸ-ahat -č
    1sɢ   my-horse-sᴜʙᴊ
    'I have a horse' (Munro 1976: 286)

(29) Bᴀᴜʀᴇ (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)
    Nakirok-ye   tič   sopir   kwe' teč   ri-wer   monik
    long.ago-ʟᴏᴄ   ᴅᴇᴍ.ꜰ   tortoise exist ᴅᴇᴍ.ᴍ her-house pretty
    'Once upon a time, the tortoise had a beautiful house'
                           (Swintha Danielsen p.c.)

(30) Yurakaré (Yurakaré)
      Shunňe   a-sìbë
      man   his-house
      'The man has a house' (Rik Van Gijn p.c.)

Outside the Austronesian and the American languages, Topic Possessives exhibit this type of possessor indexing only in a few isolated cases. My data base contains an instance from the Tibeto-Burman language Kham, and examples from two African languages, namely the Saharan language Kanuri and the Nilotic language Acholi. In these latter two languages, the Topic Possessive appears to be a minor option, when compared to their With-Possessives.

(31) Kham (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Bodic)
      Ŋa: ŋa-isa   li-zya
      1SG   my-money   be-CONT
      'I have money' (Watters 2002: 202)

(32) Kanuri (Nilo-Saharan, Saharan)
      Kazə́mú-nyi   sháuwà   mbéji
      clothes-my   beautiful   exist
      'I have beautiful clothes' (Lukas 1937: 29)

(33) Acholi (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)
      a. ɔɔ̀t bvõ̃õ̃ŋ   wiì-ɛ   tyèé,   tɛɛ́r-ɛ́   pee
         shelter   roof-its   exist   wall-its   not
         'A shelter has a roof, but no wall' (Crazzolara 1955: 105)

      b. òkumà   yeèr-ɛ   pee
         tortoise   hair-its   not.be
         'A tortoise has no hair' (Crazzolara 1955: 105)

Compared to the Topic Possessive, pronominal indexing in the Locational Possessive is relatively infrequent, and is, in all probability, a characteristic of certain linguistic areas. Thus, for example, we find a concentration of the phenomenon in the languages of Central and North Asia. The phenomenon can be documented for languages from several branches of Uralic, and also for the western Turkic languages and the Tungusic language Even. In all cases, the pronominal indexing of the possessor consists of a possessive suffix on the possessee NP, which, in this possession type, is the subject of the construction. Examples include:

(34) NENETS (Uralic, Samoyedic)
Nalgu-n   porgo-da   tana
woman-GEN   dress-her   exist.3SG.PRES
'The woman has a dress' (Hajdù 1963: 112)

(35) KAMASS (Uralic, Samoyedic)
Büźə-n   naγur   koʔboo-t   ɪ-bi
old.man-GEN   three   daughter-his   be-PAST.3SG
'An old man had three daughters' (Künnap 1999: 39)

(36) HUNGARIAN (Uralic, Ugric)
A   férfi-ak-nak   van   ház-uk
ART   man-PL-DAT   be.3SG.PRES   house-their
'The men have a house' (Biermann 1985: 29)

(37) ERZA MORDVIN (Uralic, Volgaic)
Učitʲelʲ-enʲtʲ ulʲ-nĕ-sʲ   vadʲrʲa   kudo-zo
teacher-GEN   be-FREQ-3SG.PAST   beautiful   house-his
'The teacher used to have a beautiful house' (Zaicz 1998: 210)

(38) UDMURT (Uralic, Permic)
Min-am   kik   pinal-e   van
1SG-GEN   two   child-my   exist.PRES
'I have two children' (Winkler 2001: 31)

(39) TURKISH (Altaic, Turkic)
Mehmed'-in   para-si   yok
M.-GEN   money-his   not.exist
'Mehmed has no money' (Lewis 1967: 251)

(40) TYVAN (Altaic, Turkic)
Men-de   üš   ugba-lar-im   bar
1SG-LOC   three   sister-PL-my   be.PRES
'I have three sisters' (Anderson and Harrison 1999: 31)

(41) EVEN (Altaic, Tungusic)
Min   zu-w   bi-sni
1SG.GEN   house-my   exist-3SG.PRES
'I have a house' (Benzing 1955: 81)

Further instances of possessor indexing are found in the Locational Possessives of languages from various subfamilies of Tibeto-Burman, and in the two sampled variants of the Andean language Quechua.

(42) Limbu (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan)
      Locha   manai-le ku-sa   nechi wa-yechi
      certain man-GEN   his-son two   be-3DU.PAST
      'A man had two sons' (Grierson 1909: 297)

(43) Meithei (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Meithei)
      Mi   ama-gi   ma-cha   nipa ani lai-rammi
      man one-GEN   his-child male two be-3PL.PAST
      'A man had two sons' (Grierson 1904: 33)

(44) Kham (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Bodic)
      Biza-e   o-rmē:h   li-zya
      rat-GEN   his-tail   be-CONT
      'The rat has a tail' (Watters 2002: 202)

(45) Cuzco Quechua (Andean, Quechuan)
      Pay-pa   sumaχ   patša-n   ka-n-mi
      3SG-GEN   pretty dress-her   be-3SG-VAL
      'She has a pretty dress' (Von Tschudi 1884: 418)

(46) Spoken Bolivian Quechua (Andean, Quechuan)
      Hwanito-qpata   ermana-n   tiya-n
      H.-GEN   sister-his be-3SG.PRES
      'Juanito has a sister' (Bills et al. 1969: 87)

While possessor indexing is fairly frequent with Topic Possessives and is at least characteristic of some areas with Locational Possessives, instances of the phenomenon are only incidentally encountered with the With-Possessive and the Have-Possessive. For the With-Possessive, I can mention two languages from the New Guinea/ Western Pacific area, plus one of the possessive constructions in the Saharan language Kanuri. Possessor indexing in Have-Possessives is represented in my data base by constructions from the West Oceanic language Tumleo and the Uto-Aztecan languages Luiseño and Pipil.

(47) Hanuabada Motu (Austronesian, West Oceanic)
      Ia   na   mai   ena ira
      he   COP/DEM   with   his axe
      'He has an axe' (Lister-Turner and Clark 1930: 50)

(48) Rotuman (Austronesian, Central Pacific)
      Ia   ma   'on   'eap fol
      3SG   with   his   mat   four
      'He has four mats' (Churchward 1940: 23)

(49) Kanuri (Nilo-Saharan, Saharan)
      Sandi   fərwa-nza-a
      3PL   horse.PL-their-ASSOC
      'They have horses' (Hutchison 1976: 15)

(50) Tumleo (Austronesian, West Oceanic)
      Lama   bati   ka'ap   malun-rej   palou
      man   one   3SG.PRES.have   sister-his   two
      'A man has two sisters' (Schultze 1911: 43)

(51) Luiseño (Uto-Aztecan, Numic)
      čaam-ča-po   čam-tukmay-i   ay-ma-an
      we-we-FUT   our-basket-ACC   have-DUR-FUT
      'We will have a basket' (Langacker 1977a: 44)

(52) Pipil (Uto-Aztecan, Aztecan)
      Ni-k-piya   se: nu-finkita
      I-it-have   a   my-small.farm
      'I have a small farm' (Campbell 1985: 119)

Possessor indexing creates a deviance from the standard definitions of all four basic possessive types, and hence we must ask ourselves whether we should take this phenomenon as criterial in our typology. In my view, the answer to this question must be negative: the occurrence or non-occurrence of possessor indexing can be seen as a concomitant phenomenon which can be ignored for our typological purposes. There are several arguments in favour of this position. First, it can be seen that adopting possessor indexing as a typological criterion will not lead to the addition of essentially new types to the typology: it will only have the effect of duplicating the original four-way typology. Moreover, there is evidence that the occurrence or non-occurrence of pronominal indexing is not a phenomenon that is limited to predicative possessive constructions. The difference between these two options can also be encountered in other areas of syntax, such as the formation of attributive possessive noun phrases (see Chapter 4), the formation of sentences that contain a left-dislocated element (Givón 1976, Ziv 1994), and the formation of relative clauses (Lehmann 1984, Comrie 1989). In this last case, authors distinguish between relative clauses that are constructed by way of 'pronoun retention' – in which the antecedent of the relative clause is represented in the clause by some pronominal item – and relative clauses that are formed by a 'gap strategy', in which the antecedent is not overtly indexed in the clause. This contrast between the presence and absence of a pronominal index in relative clauses is illustrated by the following two constructions:

(53)   Hausa (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic)
       Dokin [dà   ya   mutu]
       horse RM   it   died
       'the horse that died' (Comrie 1989: 151)

(54)   English (Indo-European, West Germanic)
       The horse [that   ø   died]   (own data)

More generally, one might say that possessor indexing is an instantiation of a strategy by which cohesion between elements in a sentence is overtly indicated. This indexing strategy is a 'long-distance' alternative to constituency, which may be conceived of as a 'local' cohesion strategy. In predicative possessive constructions, possessor indexing can thus be seen as some form of adnominalization (see Chapter 4), or as an alternative to 'local' manifestations of adnominal possession.

3.3 Zero-encoding

In Chapter 2, I mentioned the presence of a full lexical *be*-predicate as one of the defining features of the standard forms of the three intransitive possessive types. However, as will already have become clear from examples presented in the previous section, all three intransitive possessive strategies allow this predicate to be left unexpressed for at least some languages. This ZERO-ENCODING of the locative/existential predicate is not very frequent, and does not seem to be governed by clear areal conditions. Stassen (1997: 55–61) suggests that there are semantic reasons why zero-encoding is rare in locative and existential sentences. If we accept this, we can characterize zero-encoding in possessive sentences as a concomitant phenomenon, which has nothing to do with the encoding of possession as such: its occurrence, and its relative infrequency, are a direct consequence of the encoding properties of locative/existential sentences, on which the three intransitive possessive types are based.

Examples of zero-encoding in Locative Possessive constructions are presented in (55)–(63). As can be seen, this zero-encoding may or may not be accompanied by possessor indexing on the possessee NP. The example in (61) from Resigaro shows that, in some languages, zero-encoding of the predicate may be optional.

(55)   Cairene Arabic (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic)
       ʔand-i   ʔarabijja
       at/with-1SG car
       'I have a car' (Gary and Gamal-Eldin 1982: 49)

(56) MALTESE (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic)
      Pawlu   għand-u   ktieb
      P.   at-him   book
      'Pawlu has a book' (Comrie 1989: 213)

(57) KABYLE (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)
      ɣur-s   takerrust   tamellalt
      at-him   car   white
      'He has a white car' (Naït-Zerrad 2001: 130)

(58) SARCEE (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)
      àkíyí   zòz   ní-gò
      two   child   you-to
      'You have two children' (Cook 1984: 32)

(59) WAREKENA (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)
      Peya   ete-ne   yue   ʃupe-hẽ   ʃiani-pe
      one   old-m   to   many   child-PL
      'An old man had many children' (Aikhenvald 1998: 245)

(60) PIRO (Arawakan)
      Katsine   wane-ya-no
      blow.gun   there-for-1SG.OBJ
      'I have a blow-gun' (Matteson 1965: 383)

(61) RESIGARO (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)
      a. Hoaa-ɲó   vaʔagaĵaʔ
         Juan-to   knife
         'Juan has a knife' (Allin 1976: 288)
      b. Hoaa-ɲó   vaʔagaĵaʔ   ĵu
         Juan-to   knife   3SG.be
         'Juan has a knife' (Allin 1976: 289)

(62) BORORO (Bororo)
      Dinheiro-re   in-ai
      money-NEUTR   1SG-to
      'I have money' (Crowell 1979: 174)

(63) GUMBAINGGIR (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
      Baba-gundi   jaraman   djaling
      father-GEN   some   horse
      'Father has a few horses' (Smythe 1948: 72)

In the previous section I presented examples of zero-encoded With-Posses-
sives from Rotuman, Hanuabada Motu, and Kanuri ((47)–(49)). Additional
cases are given below. Again, it turns out that some of these zero-encoded
constructions allow possessor indexing on the possessee NP.

(64)   Kapau (Papuan, Central and Western)
       Ni   änga   hanga   ti
       I   house with(?) DECL
       'I have a house' (Oates and Oates 1968: 75)

(65)   Korowai (Papuan, Central and South)
       Yuf-è   mban-mengga   abül
       he-CONN   child-with   man
       'He has children' (Van Enk and De Vries 1997: 80)

(66)   Amele (Papuan, Madang)
       Ija   sigin   ca
       1SG   knife   with
       'I have a knife' (Roberts 1987: 81)

(67)   Nabak (Papuan, Huon-Finisterre)
       An   notnaŋ   bo-iŋ-mak
       man   some   pig-their-with
       'Some men have pigs' (Fabian et al. 1998: 443)

(68)   Daga (Papuan, South-East)
       Nu   uruga   oaenen   den,   nu   uruga   otun   den
       1PL all   wife   with   1PL all   child with
       'We all have wives, we all have children' (Murane 1974: 334)

(69)   Chacobo (Panoan)
       Kanati-ya   roʔa-no
       bow-with   only-DS.CONS
       'If (I) had a bow' (Prost 1967: 289)

(70)   Andoke (Macro-Carib, Witotoan)
       Puke-koá   b-aya
       canoe-SUFF   FOC-3SG.M
       'He has a canoe' (Landaburu 1979: 78)

(71)   Mosetén (Mosetenan)
       Fan   jiri-s-tom   aka'
       Juan   one-F-COM   house
       'Juan has a house' (Sakel 2004: 300)

(72) BARI (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, East Nilotic)
      Nan   ko   kinɛ'
      I   with   sheep
      'I have a sheep' (Spagnolo 1933: 22)

(73) KUKÚ (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, East Nilotic)
      ɲ́   kɔ   pílílí
      1SG   with   *pilili*
      'I have a *pilili*' (Cohen 2000: 133)

(74) MA'DI (Nilo-Saharan, Central Sudanic)
      Ma   àràbɨ̀à   trɔ̀
      1SG   car   with
      'I have a car' (Blackings and Fabb 2003: 232)

(75) MARGI (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic)
      Nàj   àgá   tlà   'ódì
      he   with   cattle   much
      'He has a lot of cows' (Hoffmann 1963: 238)

Zero-encoding can also be encountered with Topic Possessives, but in this case the 'omission' of the predicate leads to specific consequences that are absent in the other two intransitive possession strategies. As we have seen in Section 2.5, the general standard form of the Topic Possessive can be formulated as

PR, PE is/exists.

Under zero-encoding of the predicate, this structure will thus take the form

PR, PE

and this construction is potentially ambiguous. According to Stassen (1997), zero-encoding in locative/existential sentences is only possible in languages in which copular sentences have zero-encoding as well. As a result, the structure *PR, PE* may, at least in principle, be interpreted as either *PR has a PE* or *PR is a PE*. A case in point is the North-Australian language Tiwi. Osborne (1974: 60) reports the following two sentences from this language, which are structurally identical, but which have to be interpreted very differently, as a copular sentence (76a) or as a case of predicative possession (76b).

(76) TIWI (Australian, Tiwi)

      a. Purukuparli   marntina
         P.   boss
         'Purukuparli is boss' (Osborne 1974: 60)

b. Ngawa   mantani   teraka
   our   friend   wallaby
   'Our friend has a wallaby' (Osborne 1974: 60)

It is probable that the potential ambiguity of these Tiwi sentences is neutralized or at least mitigated by extra-linguistic knowledge. Presumably, speakers of Tiwi agree that Purukuparli, a mythical, god-like figure, is not the sort of being that *has* a boss, and conversely, friendship between humans and animals may be unlikely or perhaps unthinkable in Tiwi culture, so that the interpretation of (75b) as *Our friend is a wallaby* may be blocked. Generally speaking, the potential ambiguity in constructions of this kind will be neutralized by the fact that, in most cases, one of the alternative readings makes no sense. If a construction has the form *I two children*, as in the below example from Pima Bajo (89), there is hardly any risk that some hearer will interpret this as *I am two children*. Moreover, it is possible that intonational contrasts may provide clues for disambiguation.

Cases that are essentially similar to the possessive encoding in Tiwi are found in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific, with a concentration among the non-Pama-Nyungan languages of Australia; and in the Americas, with a concentration among the Central Uto-Aztecan languages. The examples below are meant to illustrate the potential ambiguity of the possessive encoding strategy (given in the *a*-sentences) by showing that the copular construction (given in the *b*-sentences) is completely parallel; in one case, this potential ambiguity is explicitly noted in the source (Munro 1976: 272, on Mojave; see sentence (85)). It must be added that almost all of these languages have alternative possessive encodings at their disposal, which probably can be employed in circumstances where the potential ambiguity of the possessive construction cannot easily be solved by extra-linguistic knowledge.

(77) CAR (Austro-Asiatic, Nicobarese)

a. Nɛ·tɔ   lí·pəřɛ   cin
   two   books   1SG.SUBJ.PRES
   'I have two books' (Braine 1970: 126)

b. Káp   ʔan   ŋámɔh
   tortoise it   that
   'That is a tortoise' (Braine 1970: 132)

(78) LONIU (Austronesian, Melanesian)

a. U   tun
   1DU.EXCL   canoe
   'We have a canoe' (Hamel 1985: 212)

b. Yo   ngetukan
   1SG   bird
   'I am a bird' (Hamel 1985: 211)

(79) TOLAI (Austronesian, Melanesian)

a. Avet   a   mangoro   na   buai
   1PL.EXCL   ART   many   CLASS   betelnut
   'We have many betelnuts' (Mosel 1984: 163)

b. Iau   a   vavina
   1SG   ART   woman
   'I am a woman' (Mosel 1984: 17)

(80) ASMAT (Papuan, Central and South)

a. Ndo   tsjem
   1SG   house
   'I have a house' (Drabbe 1963: 70)

b. No   ow   akat
   1SG   man   handsome
   'I am a handsome man' (Voorhoeve 1965: 168)

(81) SENTANI (Papuan, Central and Western)

a. Dɛj   heke   əmbay
   1SG   garden   one
   'I have a garden' (Cowan 1965: 53)

b. Ondofolo   do   hokolo
   chief   man   young
   'The chief is a young man' (Cowan 1965: 53)

(82) KAYARDILD (Australian, Tangkic)

a. Kunya-wunya   ngad
   small-REDUPL.NOM   1SG.NOM
   'I have a lousy small one (i.e. fish)' (Evans 1995: 318)

b. Dathin-a   kunawun   wungunduwungundu
   that.NOM   child.NOM   thief.NOM
   'That child is a thief' (Evans 1995: 314)

(83) GOONIYANDI (Australian, Bunaban)

a. Nganyi   moodiga
   I   motorcar
   'I have a car' (McGregor 1990: 490)

    b. Goornboo   woobgali
       woman   cook
       'The woman is a cook' (McGregor 1990: 395)

(84) Limilngan (Australian, Limilngan)

    a. Ngayki bambari m-alkgan m-ajan
       1SG   club   III-small   III-not
       'I have a big club' (Harvey 2001: 103)

    b. Dawik   garli   biginyi
       that.one older.brother your
       'That bloke is your older brother' (Harvey 2001: 113)

(85) Mojave (Yuman)
    Hatčoq-n^y i?ar-č
    dog-DEM   tail-SUBJ
    'The dog has/ is(!) a tail' (Munro 1976: 272)

(86) Teribe (Chibchan)

    a. Ta   u   kw-ara
       1SG house CLASS.ROUND-one
       'I have a house' (Quesada 2000: 55)

    b. Tawa   naso-ga
       1PL.EXCL Teribe-PL
       'We are Teribe' (Quesada 2000: 58)

(87) Nevome (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

    a. Pare   pimubai   ki
       priest   nowhere   house
       'The priest doesn't have a house anywhere' (Shaul 1982: 41)

    b. Coiv'-apimu pcai   diabro   tuturhu
       because-2PL really   devil   children
       'because you are truly the Devil's children' (Shaul 1982: 42)

(88) Papago (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

    a. Pi   o   ha   kii   g   Pancho
       NEG prt NEG house ART P.
       'Pancho doesn't have a house' (Saxton and Saxton 1969: 128)

    b. Ḍ-o   maakai g   Huan
       PRT-IMPERF.3 doctor ART H.
       'Juan is a doctor' (Saxton 1982: 121)

(89) PIMA BAJO (Uto-Aztecan, Sonoran)

    a. Aan   gook   iva   maamar
        1SG   two   also   child.PL
        'I also have two kids' (Estrada Fernandez 1996: 30)

    b. Huan   meester
        H.   professor
        'John is a professor' (Estrada Fernandez 1996: 29)

(90) CORA (Uto-Aztecan, Corachol)

    a. Tʸí-siiku'u   ɨ́   Rodriigu
        UNSPEC.OBJ-shirt   ART   R.
        'Rodrigo owns a shirt' (Casad 1984: 194)

    b. ɨ́   wáre   šuure'e   hí'i-waatari
        ART   fig   sap   NARR-medicine
        'The fig sap is real medicine' (Casad 1984: 350)

(91) NORTHERN TEPEHUAN (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

    a. Gííka   go-kɨili
        plow   ART-man
        'The man has a plow' (Bascom 1982: 283)

    b. Kɨili   ááni
        man   I
        'I am a man' (Bascom 1982: 281)

(92) URUBU-KAAPOR (Tupí)

    a. Ihẽ̃   rakehar   ym
        1SG   wife   NEG
        'I don't have a wife' (Kakumasu 1986: 334)

    b. Sawa'e   ym
        man   NEG
        '(He) is not a man' (Kakumasu 1986: 358)

(93) SHILLUK (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)

    a. Jal   meko   wat   áryàu
        man   some   son   two
        'A certain man had two sons' (Westermann 1912: 50)

    b. Ya   rit
        I   king
        'I am king' (Westermann 1912: 29)

While languages such as Tiwi appear to 'tolerate' a certain extent of potential ambiguity of their zero-encoded Topic Possessives, other languages with such a possessive strategy employ morphosyntactic disambiguation devices. One of the options here is to use possessor indexing on the possessee NP. As can be seen in the examples below, it is the presence of a pronominal index that distinguishes the possessive encoding from the copular construction, which is identical to the possessive construction in all other respects. I must note that the examples from the Tupí-Guaraní languages are presented here with some reservation, as not all specialists on these languages agree that we have Topic Possessives here. I will go further into this matter in Section 5.3.1.

(94) Tidore (Papuan, Halmaheira)

 a. Ngori ri-fayaa
  1SG 1SG.POSS-woman
  'I have a wife' (Van Staden 2000: 91)

 b. Ngori fayaa
  1SG woman
  'I am a woman' (Van Staden 2000: 265)

(95) Meyah (Papuan, West Papuan)

 a. Ofa efen mod
  3SG 3SG.POSS house
  'S/he has a house' (Gravelle 2004: 116)

 b. Ofa mosona
  3SG foreigner
  'S/he is a foreigner' (Gravelle 2004: 103)

(96) Kilivila (Austronesian, Melanesian)

 a. Motaesa ala bulumakau
  M.   his cow
  'Motaesa has a cow' (Gunter Senft p.c.)

 b. Yakamesi ugwavaga
  we   stranger
  'We are strangers' (Senft 1986: 141)

(97) Saliba (Austronesian, Eastern Oceanic)

 a. Yau yo-gu kedewa
  1SG POSS-1SG dog
  'I have a dog' (Mosel 1994: 23)

 b. Kita   taulahekata
  1PL.INCL teacher
  'We are teachers' (Mosel 1994: 7)

(98) Mojave (Yuman)

    a. ʔinʸep   ʔnʸ-ahat-č
       1SG   my-horse-SUBJ
       'I have a horse' (Munro 1976: 286)

    b. ʔinep   kwatheʔide:-č
       1SG   doctor-SUBJ
       'I am a doctor' (Munro 1976: 269)

(99) Bororo (Macro-Gê-Bororo, Bororo)
    I-ke-re
    1SG.POSS-food-NEUTR
    'My food (is): I have food' (Crowell 1979: 38)[2]

(100) Tupinambá (Tupí-Guaraní)

    a. Xe-pindâ
       1SG/my-harpoon
       'I have a harpoon' (Platzmann 1874: 138)

    b. Yauti   mira   katu
       Y.   man   good
       'Yauti is a good man' (Tastevin 1910: 249)

(101) Guajajara (Tupí-Guaraní)

    a. I-mukaw
       3SG/his-gun
       'He has a gun' (Bendor-Samuel 1972: 162)

    b. Ymete   we   ra'e   pa
       wild.pig   they   maybe   PRT
       'Maybe those are wild pigs' (Bendor-Samuel 1972: 161)

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[2] This Bororo construction must be seen as a case of zero encoding. 'Possession is signalled in Bororo by an existential clause that has a possessed NP as its subject' (Crowell 1979: 37). Existential sentences in Bororo are zero encoded, as is illustrated in (i):

(i) Bororo (Macro Gê Bororo, Bororo)
    Kare re   (pebe   tada)
    ish NEUTR   (water   in)
    '(There are) fish (in the water)' (Crowell 1979: 37)

Hence, the possessive construction in Bororo minimally consists of the possessee, which has a pronominal possessive prefix that refers to the possessor. That this possessee, in this construction, constitutes a clause and not just a noun phrase is signalled by the fact that clausal aspect/mood clitics, such as *re* 'neutral mood' can be attached to it.

(102)   Guaraní(Tupí-Guaraní)

    a. Che   che-roga-ma
       1SG   1SG/my-house-already
       'I already have a house' (Krivoshein de Canese 1983: 77)

    b. Ne   soldado
       2SG   soldier
       'You are a soldier' (Gregores and Suárez 1967: 158)

As a last remark on the potential ambiguity that may arise with Topic Possessives, I must observe that, in principle, this phenomenon is not limited to zero-encoded constructions. If a language has a Topic Possessive with a full lexical *be*-verb, ambiguity can occur if that *be*-verb happens to be identical to the copula that is used in predicate nominal sentences. However, in practice this situation hardly ever comes up; in my sample, I have not found a single instance of a case in point. Heine (1997: 71) notes that Kenya Pidgin Swahili has a construction in which this type of potential ambiguity is present (see (102a)), but he adds that, when ambiguity threatens, the language switches to a With-Possessive (see (102b)), which is also the major possessive encoding in Standard Swahili.

(103)   Kenya Pidgin Swahili (Niger-Kordofanian, Bantu)

    a. Ochieng' iko   mpishi
       O.   be   cook
       (i) 'Ochieng' is a cook' (ii) 'Ochieng' has a cook' (Heine 1997: 71)

    b. Ochieng' iko   na   mpishi
       O.   be   with cook
       'Ochieng' has a cook' (Heine 1997: 71)

Apparently, then, languages with a full-encoded (standard) Topic Possessive are preferentially 'splitters' in the sense of Stassen (1997), as they tend to keep their copulas and locative/existential verbs apart. An alternative way to look at these facts is to hypothesize that the languages at issue can have a standard Topic Possessive *because* they are splitters. I will pursue this suggestion further in Chapter 13.

3.4 Conjunctional Possessives

In a small number of unrelated languages I have found a form of non-standard possession encoding which I will refer to as the Conjunctional Possessive. The first thing to observe is that all sampled instances of this

possessive formation are clear cases of zero-encoding: there is no full verbal
be-verb – nor, for that matter, a *have*-verb – in the construction. Moreover,
both the possessor NP and the possessee NP appear in their unmarked, non-
oblique form. On the basis of these features one might classify this construc-
tion as a case of the zero-encoded Topic Possessive. However, what makes this
construction special is the presence of an item which, on closer inspection,
turns out to have the function of a marker of coordinations. As such, it may
have the grammatical status of a conjunction ('and') or of some adverb or
particle that marks sameness of locality or time ('also', 'too', 'moreover',
'then'). In some of the languages at issue, the exact status of the item in
question is hard to establish, but this should not come as a surprise. As has
been established, among others, by Mithun (1988), adverbial items indicating
sameness of time and/or locality are one of the more common diachronic
sources for conjunctions. Heine and Kuteva (2002) cite cases of items mean-
ing 'also' which function as sources for coordinating conjunctions, and
remark: 'This appears to be an instance of a more general process, whereby
adverbial categories are pressed into service as coordinating elements' (Heine
and Kuteva 2002: 43). As a consequence, some instances of the Conjunctional
Possessive contain items that are glossed alternatively as 'and' or 'then', 'also'
in other constructions of the language. Such is, for example, the case in the
Papuan language Galela. As the examples in (105) show, the item *dé* in the
possessive construction (104) is an isomorph representing both a coordin-
ation 'and' and an adverbial marker 'then'.

(104)   GALELA (Papuan, Halmahera)
        Ngohi dé   ai   tahu-ka
        1SG   and my   house-already
        'I have a house' (Van Baarda 1908: 135)

(105)   GALELA (Papuan, Halmahera)

   a. Ngohi   to   tagi dé   una   wo   goge
      1SG.EMP 1SG   go   and 3SG.EMP 3SG.M stay
      'I go and he stays' (Van Baarda 1908: 62)

   b. Àsa   wo   liho-ka,   dé   wo   sòné
      only 3SG.M return-PERF then 3SG.M die
      'He just got home, then/when he died' (Van Baarda 1908: 127)

   c. So   dé   da   ginita-ka,   dé   o   paro i   tàgi
      and then it   become.day-PERF then ART wind 3SG.M go
      'And when it had become day, the wind started to blow'

                                          (Van Baarda 1908: 151)

    d. Nakoso   no   mòdé   dé   no   i   hiké
       if   2sg   want   then   2sg   it   give
      'If you want, give it (to me)' (Van Baarda 1908: 125)

In other languages, the word class status of the relevant item appears to be a bit more pronounced. As the examples in (106) show, the item *ta/eta* in the Chibchan language Bribri must be analysed as an adverb; coordination in this language is commonly expressed by mere juxtaposition (see 108a–b). Likewise, the element *eptsjom* in the Papuan language Asmat must be viewed as having adverbial status, since it never occurs as a conjunction between constituents or clauses (Drabbe 1963: 107–16).[3]

(106)   Bribri (Chibchan)
       Sini   buru   ta
       wild.pig   king   then
       'The wild pigs have a king' (Pittier de Frabrega, 1898: 128)

(107)   Bribri (Chibchan)
      a. Ai   dže   tkabite   **ta**   ek   džu   i   sa-uear
          there   1sg   go.past.PAST   then   one   1sg   it   see-hang
          'As I went past, I saw it hanging there' (Pittier de Fabrega 1898: 118)
      b. Tsiru   dé-ua   hueske,   **ta**   Jaburu   i-tser
          cocoa   come-LOC   inside   then   J.   it-say.PAST
          'When the cocoa had been brought in, Jaburu said ...'
                                  (Pittier de Fabrega 1898: 119)

(108)   Bribri (Chibchan)
      a. Suri   sini
          deer   wild.pig
          'the deer and the wild pigs' (Pittier de Fabrega 1898: 128)
      b. Jepa   ni-a   ina   amé,   dzer   i-a   atu-uo
          3PL   1SG-DAT   bread   give.PAST   1SG   3PL-DAT   beans
          amé
          give.PAST
          'They gave me bread, I gave them beans' (Pittier de Fabrega 1898: 136)

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[3] The item *eptsjom* in Asmat also functions as an item with the meaning 'whole, completely', witness the following construction:

(i)   Asmat (Papuan, Central and South)
      o   eptsjom
      pig   completely
      'a whole pig' (Drabbe 1963: 130)

(109)   ASMAT (Papuan, Central and South)
Ndo   tsjem   eptsjom
1SG   house   also
'I have a house' (Drabbe 1963: 70)

(110)   ASMAT (Papuan, Central and South)

    a. Ar   mbipitsj   ar   ém
        DEM   man   DEM   wife
        'husband and wife' (Drabbe 1963: 11)

    b. Owé   kokomtawor,   ar   ém   cowé   esé
        sago.leaves   pick.3SG/3SG.PAST   3SG   wife   sago.leaves   bag
        atowopmor
        put.into.3SG/3SG.PAST
        'He picked the sago leaves, and his wife put them in a bag'
                                          (Voorhoeve 1965: 189)

Furthermore, there are languages in which the item at issue seems to have the word-class status of a conjunction. In the South-American language Canela-Krâho, the item *mã* that is featured in the possessive construction (see (111)) is also freely in use as a coordinator. What is more, we can observe that this item must be analysed as a clausal coordinator, since it cannot, apparently, be employed as a coordinator of constituents; as is shown in (112), coordination of noun phrases in Canela-Krâho is encoded by a different item, *-me*. A further characteristic of the clause coordinator *mã* is that it seems to take part in some sort of switch-reference system. Thus, use of the connector *mã* 'and' seems to signal change of subject, whereas the connector *nɛ* 'and' is employed when there is continuity of subjects in the string. I am of the opinion that this different-subject function of the item *mã* is a telling fact, but a discussion of its significance will have to be postponed until Chapter 13.

(111)   CANELA-KRÂHO (Macro-Gê-Bororo, Gê)
Capi   mã   catoc
C.   and   gun
'Capi has a gun' (Popjes and Popjes 1986: 135)

(112)   CANELA-KRÂHO (Macro-Gê-Bororo, Gê)
Capi-me   Kryt   ma   tẽ
C.-and   K.   away   go
'Capi and Kryt go away' (Popjes and Popjes 1986: 150)

(113)   Canela-Krâho (Macro-Gê-Bororo, Gê)

    a. A-te   po   curan   mã   Capi   apu   cuku
       2SG-PAST   deer   kill   and.DS   C.   CONT   eat
       'You killed a deer and Capi ate it' (Popjes and Popjes 1986: 147)

    b. Capi   tɛ   pɔ   kuran   nɛ   ke   ka   ku-kʰ|u
       Capi   ERG.PAST   deer   kill   and.SS   3   FUT   3-eat
       'Capi killed a deer and will eat it' (Popjes and Popjes 1986: 147)

In Ainu, an isolate language from northern Japan, the possessive construction features the clause-final item *kor*, which is preceded by the possessor NP and the possessee NP in an order that is apparently not completely fixed. Refsing (1986) and Tamura (2000), my two sources on Ainu, seem to analyse the item *kor* as a verb in this construction and translate it as 'to have'. In other words, according to the sources Ainu has a Have-Possessive.

(114)   Ainu (Ainu)

    a. Pirka   amep   sinep   keray   a   kor
       pretty   dress   one   only   1SG   have
       'I have only one pretty dress' (Refsing 1986: 103)

    b. Acapo   sake   kor
       uncle   liquor   have
       'Uncle has liquor' (Tamura 2000: 87)

    c. Ciutar   ka   cise   ka   ci   kor,   utar   ka   ci   kor
       1PL.EMP   too   house   too   1PL   have   relatives   too   1PL   have
       'We too have a house, we too have a family' (Refsing 1986: 94)

If, however, we look a bit closer at the distribution of the item *kor* in Ainu, we find that it is also employed in contexts in which a verbal function seems highly unlikely. In particular, it is used as a clause-final conjunction that indicates simultaneous action. In this function, Tamura (2000) gives it the gloss 'and, while'.

(115)   Ainu (Ainu)

    a. Horippa-as   kor   en-nukar
       dance-1PL   and/while   1SG.ACC-see
       'While we were dancing, someone looked at me' (Tamura 2000: 155)

    b. K-okkewe   arka   kor   ku-sapa   ka   arka
       my-neck   hurt   and/while   my-head   even   hurt
       'My neck hurts, and my head hurts' (Tamura 2000: 155)

Moreover, it is conceivable that the item *kor* has its etymological origin in a collocation of the adverbial/conjunctional item *ka* 'even, also, too' and the

element *or*, which can function either as a noun with the meaning 'place' or as a postposition with the meaning 'at'. Thus, the original meaning of *kor* may have been something along the lines of 'also at that place', which would fit in well with its synchronic function as a simultaneous conjunction. If we accept this analysis, we may rate the possessive construction of this language as an instance of the Conjunctional Possessive. In other words, an Ainu sentence like *acapo sake kor* 'Uncle has liquor' may have its origin in a construction of the type 'Uncle, and/while liquor' or 'Uncle, liquor too'. Subsequently, this construction may have been subjected to the diachronic process of Have-Drift, which will be dealt with in Chapter 6.

The question is whether the specific features that characterize the Conjunctional Possessive warrant the addition of a new, separate type to our four-way typology. In my view, this question must be answered in the negative. As I see it, the Conjunctional Possessive is a variant of the Topic Possessive, and the function of the conjunctional element is comparable to the function of possessor indexing. That is, both are 'additions' to the construction which provide a means to counter the risk of ambiguity that zero-Topic Possessives run. In this connection, I can point to the Papuan language Asmat, which, as we saw in Section 3.3, has a potentially ambiguous zero-encoded Topic Possessive, but also has a Conjunctional Possessive in which this ambiguity is solved:

(116)   Asmat (Papuan, Central and South)

    a. Ndo   tsjem
       1sg   house
       'I have/am(!) a house' (Drabbe 1963: 70)

    b. Ndo   tsjem   eptsjom
       1sg   house   also
       'I have a house' (Drabbe 1963:70)

It is, of course, completely justified to ask why it should be conjunctional items that are brought in to create this disambiguating effect. I think that an answer to this question can be given. However, since this answer can only be evaluated against the background of a comprehensive model of possession encoding, I must postpone this matter until Chapter 13.

3.5 Clausal Possessives

A most curious and puzzling non-standard variant of possession encoding can be found in the Ixtlan dialect of the Central American language

Zapotec[4] and in the Tibeto-Burman language Dafla. The defining feature of
these CLAUSAL POSSESSIVES is that the construction consists of two
clauses, instead of the usual single sentence. Each of the clauses contains
a locational/existential *be*-verb, which has the possessor NP as its subject in
one clause and the possessee NP as its subject in the other. Thus, the
construction is essentially a case of clause linkage. In Ixtlan Zapotec, this
linkage takes the form of a coordination of main clauses. In Dafla, the
clause that contains the possessor NP is subordinated into an adverbial
clause, while the clause that contains the possessee NP is constructed as
the main clause.

(117)   IXTLAN ZAPOTEC (Oto-Manguean, Zapotecan)

Léyètsì	kyá	ðoá	tù	jrù-ðí	ðoá	tù	ßɛ́kù	tò
village	mine	exist	one	gentleman	exist	one	dog	small

kyè
of.him

'In my village there was a gentleman who had a little dog' (*lit.* (In) my
village, there was a gentleman, there was a small dog of his)

(De Angulo and Freeland 1935: 123)

(118)   DAFLA (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman)

Lok	nyi	ak	da-tla	ka	anyiga	da-tleya
one	man	one	be-CONV.PAST	son	two	be-3DU.PAST

'A man had two sons' (*lit.* 'There being a man, there were two sons')

(Grierson 1909: 603)

Possessive constructions like these defy straightforward classification. On a
par with the Conjunctional Possessives that were discussed in the previous
section, their typological status – and, for that matter, the reason why they
should occur at all – can only be clarified within the framework of a compre-
hensive model of possession encoding. At first sight, cases like the Conjunc-
tional and Clausal Possessives might appear to constitute some kind of
'nuisance factor' for our typology. However, it will turn out in Chapter 13
that they are nothing of the sort; in fact, they provide some unexpected and
spectacular evidence in favour of the general hypothesis upon which my
model of possession encoding is founded.

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[4] An essentially similar construction can be found in other members of the Zapotecan linguistic
group, namely, Yalálag Zapotec, Mazatec, Cuicatec, and Chatino (see De Angulo and Freeland 1935:
124 9).

3.6 Topic-Locational hybrids

Thus far, we have looked at non-standard possessive constructions that could either be classified as a subtype of one of the four basic categories, or could not be classified at all. A further form of non-standard possession encoding concerns constructions in which defining characteristics of two basic types are combined, so that the construction must be viewed as hybrid. In principle, all sorts of hybrid constructions are conceivable. However, it turns out that, in practice, hybrid possession encoding is limited to cases in which features of the Locational Possessive and the Topic Possessive are found to interact.

A TOPIC-LOCATIONAL HYBRID is of course an intransitive construction. In its prototypical form it contains a locative/existential *be*-predicate, although zero-encoding is also a possibility. As is the case in both the Locational and the Topic Possessive, the possessee NP functions as the grammatical subject. What makes the construction hybrid is the encoding of the possessor NP. This NP is encoded as a sentence topic, but it is represented in the sentence nucleus by an oblique pronominal phrase, or by an oblique agreement affix on the verb.[5] Thus, if we look at the sentence nucleus alone, we could rate the construction as a case of Locational Possessive encoding; however, if we look at the whole sentence, an analysis in terms of the Topic Possessive would seem to be in order.

The hybrid encoding at issue seems to be concentrated in a limited number of linguistic areas. First, it can be encountered in the Brythonic (or P-Celtic) branch of the Celtic languages. At a certain stage of their history, Breton and Cornish – but not, as far as I know, Welsh – had a Topic-Locational possessive construction, which was reanalysed later into a transitive possessive construction. Breton and Cornish thus represent cases of the grammaticalization process of transitivization, which will be dealt with in Chapter 6.

Northern Africa is a second area in which Topic-Locational hybrids are readily found. The construction was already present in Classical Arabic, and lives on in modern Arabic dialects such as Maltese. It is also the norm in Amharic and Tigre, the two south Semitic languages in my sample. Furthermore, it can be attested in several languages from the Berber family. Outside Afro-Asiatic, I have observed the construction in Anywa, a Nilotic language from southern Sudan. Examples are:

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[5] Syntactically, then, one can view these hybrid Topic Locational Possessives as cases of left dislocation (see Lambrecht 1994, 2001) with a 'resumptive' oblique pronominal phrase in the sentence nucleus.

(119) CLASSICAL ARABIC (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic)
Zayd-un   kaana-t   la-hu   xubzatu-n
Z.-NOM   was-F   to-him loaf-NOM.INDEF
'Zayd had a loaf' (Comrie 1989: 224)

(120) MALTESE (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic)
Pawlu   għand-u   ktieb
P.   at-3SG.M.OBJ book
'Pawlu has a book' (Comrie 1989: 221)

(121) TIGRE (Afro-Asiatic, South Semitic)
'Ana   sanna mas'alit hallet   'el-ye
1SG.NOM   good   camera   be-3SG.F.PRES   to-me
'I have a good camera' (Raz 1983: 50)

(122) AMHARIC (Afro-Asiatic, South Semitic)
'Antä   'and tənnəš tofa   'ällä-h
2SG.M.NOM   one   small   pot.NOM   be.3SG.M.-2SG.M.OBJ
'You have a small pot' (Hartmann 1980: 292)

(123) KABYLE (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)
Argaz-agi, ɣur-s   adrim
man-this   at-him   money
'This man has money' (Naït-Zerrad 2001: 165)

(124) TAMAZIGHT (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)
Hamd,   ila   gir-s   azar
H.   be.3SG.M.PRES   to-him   hair
'Hammid has hair' (Johnson 1966: 91)

(125) EASTERN TARIFIT (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)
Lɣula   ttuɣa ɣr-əs   idž   n   wəzɛuq
ogress was   at-her one   of little.donkey
'The ogress had a little donkey' (Kossmann 2000: 101)

(126) ANYWA (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)
Kwʌʌrɔ́   jìr-ɛ́   dá   mʌʌn   mu   thòóth
headman   to-3SG exist   women   RM   be.many
'The headman has/had many women' (Reh 1996: 303)

For some of these languages, we can observe that the Topic-Locational construction is in competition with a straightforward Locational Possessive. We find documentation for this Locational Possessive in Classical Arabic, and in the Berber language Tamazight.

(127) CLASSICAL ARABIC (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic)
　　　　Kaana-t   li   Zayd-in   xubzatu-n
　　　　was-F   to   Z.-GEN   loaf-INDEF
　　　　'Zayd had a loaf' (Comrie 1981b: 223)

(128) TAMAZIGHT (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)
　　　　Ila   uazar   gr-Hamd
　　　　be.3SG.M.PRES   hair   to-H.
　　　　'Hammid has hair' (Johnson 1966: 91)

One might surmise that this standard Locational Possessive is the older construction here, which was challenged by a construction in which the possessor NP was topicalized. In some languages, this new hybrid construction seems to have superseded the erstwhile Locational Possessive and to have become the only option: a standard Locational Possessive is not – or perhaps no longer – possible in South Semitic, and in Maltese.[6]

(129) MALTESE (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic)
　　　　*Għand   Pawlu   ktieb
　　　　at   P.   book (Comrie 1989: 221)

Thirdly, Topic-Locational encoding is a prominent feature of the languages of the North American Mid-West. In Iroquoian, Siouan, Caddoan, Tanoan, and Muskogean, we find that the possessor NP is represented by a 'headmarked dative', i.e. an oblique (dative, patientive, 'possessive') prefix on the verb form. If the possessor is also present as a full noun phrase, this noun phrase is marked as a subject, or marked as a topic. The full construction is exemplified by the following sentences from Choctaw and Koasati:

(130) CHOCTAW (Muskogean)
　　　　Hattak   ma-t   ofi-t   im-ansha-h
　　　　man   that-SUBJ   dog-SUBJ   3DAT-be.PL-IMPERF
　　　　'That man has dogs' (Nicklas 1974: 166)

(131) KOASATI (Muskogean)
　　　　An-ap   am-íkso-hoo:li-k   palo-k
　　　　1SG-TOP   1SG.DAT-not.be-CUSTOM-PAST   flying.squirrel-SUBJ
　　　　'As for me, I never used to have a flying squirrel' (Kimball 1985: 210)

For other languages, examples with a full possessor NP are not available, due to the fact that, in these languages, sentences with two full noun phrases are

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[6] The possessive construction in Maltese is in the process of undergoing transitivization; see Section 6.4.

extremely rare in general. However, according to Marianne Mithun (p.c.) it is certain that, at least in Iroquoian, such full possessor noun phrases, when present, would be in their subject form. The possessee NP in the construction is marked for subject if it is an independent noun phrase; alternatively, in some languages the possessee is incorporated in the predicate.

(132)   ONEIDA (Iroquoian)
      Tekni   te-wak-awistha-y∧-ʔ
      two   DU-3SUBJ/1SG.PAT-dog-lie-STAT
      'I have two dogs' (Lounsbury 1953: 48)

(133)   SENECA (Iroquoian)
      Uhusa'   ak-yк'
      egg   1SG.OBL-exist
      'I have an egg' (Holmer 1954: 53)

(134)   TUSCARORA (Iroquoian)
      Ro-hwist-a -yvʔ
      3SG.M.OBJ-money-LK-exist
      'He has money' (Mithun Williams 1976: 220)

(135)   WICHITA (Caddoan)
      Kʔi:s   ti-a-rikic-ʔakhann-i
      little   3SG-DAT/POSS-little-house -be
      'He has a tiny little house' (Rood 1976: 139)

(136)   KIOWA (Tanoan)
      Pol-tʰ ą́:   yi   né-dɔ́:
      bug-club   two   1SG.PAT/DU.OBJ-exist
      'I had two fly-swatters' (Watkins 1980: 258)

(137)   ALABAMA (Muskogean)
      Ifa   pom-naaho-bi
      dog.NOM   1PL.DAT-exist-PERF
      'We have a dog' (Lupardus 1983: 230)

(138)   KOASATI (Muskogean)
      í:sa-k   am-ná:h
      house-SUBJ   1SG.DAT-be
      'I have a house' (Kimball 1985: 214)

(139)   LAKOTA (Siouan)
      a. Titakuye   ma-yuk'e'
         relatives   1SG.PAT-exist-DECL
         'I have relatives' (Boas and Deloria 1941: 132)

b. Nóŋge   ma-yuk'aŋ
   ears   1SG.DAT-exist
   'I have ears' (Buechel 1939: 320)

c. Mak'oc'e   ni-nica
   country   2SG.PAT-not.exist
   'You have no country' (Ingham 2003: 94)

(140)   CROW (Siouan)
        Iru'pxe   is-baxe'mbi-wici'-tsɛruk
        his.father   3POSS-goods-be-QUOT
        'His father owned goods, they say' (Lowie 1941: 29)

Apart from these larger areas, my data base contains two examples from languages from Oceania in which the possessor NP in a Topic Possessive can be indexed on the verb as a benefactive. Both in Manam and in Usan this indexing contrasts with a Topic Possessive of the standard type. In Manam, benefactive indexing seems to indicate temporary, or at least non-permanent, possession.

(141)   MANAM (Austronesian, West Oceanic)

a. Ngau   suru   alu   di-eno
   1SG   soup   some   3PL-exist
   'I have some soup' (Lichtenberk 1983: 508)

b. Tamoata   boro   di-soaʔi-ø-di
   man   pig   3PL-exist-BEN-3PL.OBJ
   'The men have pigs (at this time)' (Lichtenberk 1983: 507)

(142)   USAN (Papuan, Madang)

a. Qoan   munon   ger   yâmângâr   wau   ombur   igo-ai
   old   man   one   woman   child   two   be-3SG.REM.PAST
   'Long ago, a man had two daughters' (Reesink 1984: 123)

b. Narau   irou   igo-s-â
   betelnut   many   be-1SG.BEN-3SG.PRES
   'I have many betelnuts' (Reesink 1984: 96)

The very nature of hybrid constructions excludes of course a straightforward classification into one of the basic possessive types. For the remainder of this book, I have decided to give prevalence to the fact that, in Topic-Locational hybrids, the possessor NP has the status of a clausal topic. Consequently, I will treat them as a non-standard variant of the Topic Possessive, and include them in the discussion of Topic Possessives in Chapter 11. I feel that this

decision is consistent with the treatment I have given to the other case of 'pronoun retention' in possessive constructions, namely the phenomenon of possessor indexing on the possessee NP (see Section 3.2). Thus, both in these indexing cases and in the case of Topic-Locational hybrids I have chosen to view the presence of an 'additional' pronominal element as a concomitant fact.

As a final remark, I want to make some further comments on the possible origins of Topic-Locational hybrids. Above, we have seen that, at least for some languages, it is plausible to assume that such constructions have arisen by way of an optional or obligatory left dislocation of the possessor NP in a Locational Possessive, accompanied by pronoun retention in the sentence nucleus. It cannot be excluded, however, that there may be an alternative source for these hybrid constructions. In particular, it may be that the oblique pronominal element in Topic-Locational Possessives is a result of the addition of a pronominal DATIVE OF INTEREST[7] to an original Topic Possessive. This term is meant to designate an optional element in the dative case, whose presence generally indicates that the person referred to is highly involved or interested in the event, for example because he or she is the experiencer or

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[7] In the grammatical tradition that is based on the study of Latin and Ancient Greek, the dative of interest (or *dativus commodi/incommodi*) is said to belong to the 'free' and 'affective' uses of the dative case, along with, among others, the ethical dative. This latter use of the dative may be called a case of 'bystander deixis' (Rijkhoff 1998), indicating that the event is included in the personal sphere of the hearer or speaker. Examples of the ethical dative are:

(i) DUTCH (Indo European, West Germanic)

    a. Wat   doe je   me nu ?
        what do   you   me now
        'What on earth are you doing now?' (own data)

    b. Dat was me daar een bende!
        that was me there a   mess
        'What a mess it was there!' (own data)

(ii) PLATEAU LIMBURGIAN (Indo European, West Germanic)

    Veel ze   mich dao   inins   flauw!
    fell she me   there suddenly limp
    'And then suddenly she fainted (on me)!' (own data)

(iii) GERMAN (Indo European, West Germanic)

    Das waren mir/dir   Kerle!
    that were   1SG.DAT/2SG.DAT fellows
    'Those were a tough/fine lot of guys!' (own data)

(iv) FRENCH (Indo European, Romance)

    Regarde moi   ça !
    watch.IMP 1SG.DAT that
    'Just look at that! (own data)

beneficiary of the event. Examples from English are use of the reflexive pronoun *myself* and the oblique pronoun *me* in the following sentences:

(143)   English (Indo-European, West Germanic)
    a. For your birthday, Mommy will bake **you** a cake (own data)
    b. I stepped outside and smoked **myself** a J (own data)[8]
    c. I sold **me** five dogs yesterday![9]
    d. I'm gonna run **me** the fastest race of my life!

Other examples of this use of the dative can, for example, be found in Romance, and in Slavonic languages:

(144)   Spanish (Indo-European, Romance)
    El   computador   no   **me**   funciona
    the   computer   not   me   functions
    'My computer does not work' (*lit.* 'The computer does not work on/ for me') (Max Kerkhoff p.c.)

(145)   Russian (Indo-European, East Slavonic)
    Svetlana   mne   ispekla   tort
    S.   me.DAT   baked   cake.ACC
    'Svetlana baked me a cake' (Andrej Malchukov p.c.)

(146)   Czech (Indo-European, West Slavonic)
    Tohle   stare   kolo   se   ti   jednou   rozpadne
    that   old   bicycle   REFL   2SG.DAT   once   fall.apart
    'That old bicycle will one day fall apart on you' (Rivero 2004: 241)

In my native language, Plateau Limburgian,[10] the use of such dative pronouns is rampant. The following sentences from this language are judged by native

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(v)   Czech (Indo European, West Slavonic)
    To   vám   byl   mráz
    that   2PL.DAT   was   frost
    'That was some frost, I can tell you!' (DuFeu 1998: 4)

    [8] This sentence is a line from the song 'Late In The Evening' by Paul Simon. The song is on Simon's album *One Trick Pony* (1980). 'J' stands for 'joint', i.e. a marijuana cigarette.

    [9] Sentences (143c d) were offered by Suzette Haden Elgin as specimens of Ozark English usage during a discussion on FUNKNET in September 2004. In the intended reading of (143c) the dogs were sold to persons other than the subject.

    [10] In the Netherlands and Belgium, the countries in which it is spoken, Limburgian has the status of a dialect. It is, however, unintelligible to speakers of Standard Dutch and Standard Flemish. Limburgian occupies the south eastern part of the Dutch speaking area, covering the southern part of the Dutch province of Limburg, and the eastern part of the Belgian province of Limburg. There is considerable variation (especially in phonology and lexicon) between local forms of Limburgian. The prestige variant is Mestreechs, which is spoken in Maastricht, the capital of Dutch Limburg. Plateau

speakers to be completely natural, and are felt to add a 'feel good factor', when compared to – equally grammatical – sentences in which the pronoun is absent.

(147) PLATEAU LIMBURGIAN (Indo-European, West Germanic)

a. Veer gaon **os** u paar pötsjes beer drinke
     we go ourselves a couple pints beer drink.INF
     'We are going to drink (ourselves) a couple of beers' (own data)

b. Ze ging **zich** boete u sigrèt rauke
     she went herself outside a cigarette smoke.INF
     'She went outside to smoke (herself) a cigarette' (own data)

Possession constructions seem to constitute a kind of environment in which such pronouns should feel at home; given the semantics of possession, one can easily conceive of the possessor as being highly affected by, or the beneficiary of, the possessive situation. Therefore, it is not surprising that the possessive constructions in English and Plateau Limburgian (which happen to be Have-Possessives) can be extended by dative pronouns to reach some stylistic effect of 'affectedness':

(148) ENGLISH (Indo-European, West Germanic)

a. I had **me** a girl in Minnesota/ She was only fillin' her quota (own data[11])
b. Have **yourself** a merry little Christmas! (own data)

(149) PLATEAU LIMBURGIAN (Indo-European, West Germanic)

a. Höb ich **mich** eindelik unne nuje fits, weurt
     have I myself at.last a new bicycle becomes
     er metein gestaole!
     it immediately stolen
     'Finally I have a new bike, and it gets stolen right away!' (own data)

b. Nondejuu, hauw die **zich** u sjwoan kleid!
     EXCLAM had that.one.FEM herself a pretty dress
     'Good Lord, did that woman have a pretty dress!' (own data)

In my sample, there is one Topic-Locational hybrid construction for which an analysis in terms of an 'ethical dative' is explicitly provided by the source. The

Limburgian, known to Mestreechs speakers as Boers ('Farmer Talk'), is spoken in the hillside area to the east of Maastricht.

  Data on Plateau Limburgian are my own. I have checked them with fellow native speakers Jeanne Smeets, Emily L'Ortye and Ria Raeven, who are gratefully acknowledged here.

  [11] This sentence is part of the lyrics of the song 'Had me a girl' by Tom Waits. The song was released on the album *Tom Waits: The Early Years, Vol. 1* (1991).

Brazilian language Wari' has a possessive construction in which the possessor is the topic, and the predicative item is represented by the existential element *ma*'.[12] As is the case with all predicates in Wari', the item *ma*' does not carry agreement markers: it is followed by a pronominal complex in which core arguments of the predicate are indexed. In the possessive construction, this complex consists of the combination of a subject marker, which refers to the possessee, and an oblique/dative marker, which refers to the possessor. Examples are the following:

(150)   WARI' (Chapakuran)

   a. Ma'   nao-on   xirim   Xijam
      exist   3SG.PRES-3SG.M.OBL   house   X.
      'Xijam has a house'   (Everett and Kern 1997: 198)

   b. Ma'   'e'   na-pa'   wara   wom
      exist   only   3SG.REAL.NONFUT-1SG.OBL   already   cotton
      'I have only old clothes' (Everett and Kern 1997: 141)

Now, according to Everett and Kern (1997: 129), the presence of the oblique/ dative marker in the Wari' possessive construction must be analysed as an instantiation of the general tendency of the language to use 'ethical' dative pronouns. Examples of non-possessive constructions in which such dative pronouns occur are:

(151)   WARI' (Chapakuran)

   a. Noc   nana-pa   con   panxi-ta'
      dislike   3PL.REAL.NONFUT-1SG.OBL   PREP   son-my
      'They dislike (to) me my son: They dislike my son'

                                                (Everett and Kern 1997: 129)

   b. Pa'   ra-on
      open   2SG.REAL.FUT-3SG.M.OBL
      'Open him (the door): Open the door for him!'

                                                (Everett and Kern 1997: 129)

Apart from Wari', an analysis of Topic-Locational Possessives in terms of an extension by means of 'affective' dative pronouns is especially attractive for cases in which the oblique pronominal element is optional, such as the above examples from Manam and Usan. It might also provide an explanation for the

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[12] The 'existential' element *ma*' in Wari' has, in all probability, a demonstrative origin. This situation is an instance of a general grammaticalization path (see Heine and Kuteva 2002: 108 9). Another language in my sample in which the possessive construction contains a 'demonstrative' existential element is Movima; see Section 11.7.

few cases which feature oblique pronominal indexing of a possessor NP that is itself marked as oblique. Such constructions can then be analysed as a Locational Possessive which has – optionally or obligatorily – been extended by an oblique affective pronoun that refers back to the possessor. A case in point may be the possession construction in the North-East Siberian language Itelmen. Here we find that the construction is basically a Locational Possessive, but the *be*-verb features an agreement suffix that combines subject indexing of the possessee NP with dative indexing of the possessor NP.

(152) ITELMEN (Chukotko-Kamchatkan)
Trum-la-ʔn-k   çi-s-kipneʔn   teŋ-laha-ʔn
south-person-PL-LOC   be-PRES-3PL.SUBJ/3PL.DAT   good-PCP-PL
°qsha-ʔn
dog-PL
'The Southerners have good dogs' (Georg and Volodin 1999: 75)

Comparable constructions can be found in Santali, a language from India, and in the two sampled variants of Quechua. In all cases, the possessor NP is marked by an oblique case marker.[13] The possessee NP is the subject, and is marked as such by an agreement affix on the *be*-verb. In addition, the *be*-verb in Santali receives the benefactive affix *-ta-* which is followed by a pronominal possessive suffix that cross-refers to the possessor. In the two variants of Quechua, there is a dative/benefactive suffix/infix (*-pu*) on the *be*-verb as well, but here the agreement affix on the *be*-verb combines reference to the possessee and the possessor.

(153) SANTALI (Munda)
Uni   kiser-ren-do   mit'   gora   sadom
that rich.man-GEN-TOP   one   stable horse
menak'-ko-ta-e-a
exist-3PL-BEN-3SG.POSS-INDIC
'That rich man has a stable of horses' (Neukom 2001: 34)

(154) CUZCO QUECHUA (Andean, Quechuan)
a. ñoka-p   hutšuyla wasi-y   ka-pu-wan-mi
   1SG-GEN   small   house-my   be-DAT-3SG/1SG-VAL
   'I have/own a small house' (Von Tschudi 1884: 419)

b. Kam-pa   hatun   tsalira-yki   ka-pu-sunki
   2SG-GEN big   estate-your   be-DAT-3SG/2SG.PRES
   'You have a big estate' (Von Tschudi 1884: 420)

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[13] As can be seen from sentences (154a b), Cuzco Quechua has additional possessor indexing on the possessee NP.

(155)   SPOKEN BOLIVIAN QUECHUA (Andean, Quechuan)
         Runa-q   alqu   tiya-pu-n
         man-GEN   dog   be-BEN-3SG/3SG.PRES
         'The man has a dog' (Bills et al. 1969: 187)

In sum, it is possible that the oblique pronominal marking of the possessor in the sentence nucleus of the Topic-Locational Possessive does not have the same source in all instances of the construction.[14] However, this issue does not have to be solved here, since, as I have stated above, the presence of this oblique pronominal phrase will be viewed as a concomitant fact for our typology in any event.

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[14] Apart from ethical datives, there is another construction which might be thought relevant in this connection. The much discussed phenomenon of external possession (also known as possessor ascension or possessor raising) consists   at least in the European languages that have the construction   in the construal of a possessor as a core argument in the dative case. Examples are:

(vi)   GERMAN (Indo European, West Germanic)
        Ich   wasche   mir   die   Hände
        1SG.NOM   wash.1SG.PRES   1SG.DAT   the   hands
        'I am washing my hands' (own data)

(vii)   FRENCH (Indo European, Romance)
        On   lui   a   cassé   la   jambe
        Somebody   him.DAT   has   broken   the   leg
        'Somebody broke his leg' (König 2001: 976)

(viii) RUSSIAN (Indo European, East Slavonic)
        Babuška   pomyla   vnuku   ruki
        grandmother   washed   grandson.DAT   hands.ACC
        'Grandmother washed her grandson's hands' (Podlesskaya and Rakhilina 1999: 508)

(ix)   BULGARIAN (Indo European, South Slavonic)
        Az   tm   vidjax   kola
        1SG   3PL.DAT saw.1SG   new.the   car
        'I saw their new car' (Rivero 2004: 259)

From a semantic/pragmatic point of view, the use of external possessors is akin to the other 'affective' uses of the dative, as external possessor constructions 'typically imply that the possessor is strongly affected by the action or event denoted by the rest of the sentence' (König 2001: 972). Syntactically, however, the possessor dative (or 'sympathetic dative') illustrated in (vi) (ix) shows clear differences from other uses of 'affective' dative forms. Moreover, the phenomenon of external possession exhibits quite a bit of cross linguistic variation in its encoding; the use of dative core arguments is only one of the options, and may well be a unique European trait (Haspelmath 1999). For further information on external possession see Payne and Barshi (1999) and König (2001).

4

Adnominalization

4.1 Introduction

In addition to the four types that were introduced in Chapter 2, most of the earlier typologies of predicative possession recognize a fifth type, which has been referred to as the GENITIVE POSSESSIVE (Locker 1954: 502; Clark 1978: 115; Heine 1997: 58); for reasons which will become clear below, I prefer the term ADNOMINAL POSSESSIVE for this construction. Like the Locational Possessive, the With-Possessive, and the Topic Possessive, this Adnominal Possessive is an intransitive construction, which has – at least in its standard form – a locational/existential item as its predicate. Moreover, the Adnominal Possessive is similar to the Locational Possessive and the Topic Possessive in that the possessee NP is the grammatical subject in the construction. What makes the Adnominal Possessive unique is the way in which the possessor NP is structurally encoded. In the Adnominal Possessive, it is argued, the possessor NP has the syntactic status of an adnominal, or 'genitival', modifier to the possessee NP. In other words, the Adnominal Possessive 'exploits existing means of encoding possessive relations between thing-like entities, attributive possession, for the expression of propositional forms of encoding possession' (Heine 1997: 58). For any case of the predicative Adnominal Possessive we thus can find a parallel in the encoding of adnominal or attributive possession in the language in question, and the Adnominal Possessive can therefore be paraphrased by a schema like

PR's PE is/exists.

Examples of languages in which this parallelism between attributive and predicative possession can be found are presented below. As will be noted, the possessor NP in the predicative construction bears a marking – a case suffix, or an adposition – that is identical to its marking in the attributive construction. In some cases, there is additional indexing of the possessor NP on the possessee NP, by means of some possessive pronoun or affix. In keeping with the decision that was reached in Section 3.2, this pronominal

indexing will be regarded as a concomitant phenomenon, and hence it will play no further role in the discussion in this chapter.

(1)   ORMURI (Indo-European, Iranian)

    a. Ta-sa   sarai dyo kullan bukin
       GEN-one man two son   be.3PL.PAST
       'A man had two sons' (Grierson 1921: 229)

    b. Ta   Zaid ta   yansp ghilami
       GEN Z.   GEN horse bridle
       'The bridle of Zaid's horse' (Grierson 1921: 202)

(2)   NEPALI (Indo-European, Indic)

    a. Mero   euta kitap matrey cha
       1SG.GEN one   book only   be.3SG.PRES
       'I have only one book' (Clark 1966: 82)

    b. Ram-ko   pasal
       R.-GEN   shop
       'Ram's shop' (Clark 1966: 91)

(3)   BURUSHASKI (Burushaski)

    a. X-e   hin   i   bam
       X-GEN one son be-3SG.M.PAST
       'X. had one son' (Lorimer 1935: 47)

    b. Alqash-e basi-e   hingatser
       A.-GEN   garden-GEN door
       'The door of Alqash's garden' (Lorimer 1935: 68)

(4)   ARCHI (Dagestanian)

    a. Dija-n   nolš   b-i
       father-GEN horse.III.ABS III-be.PRES
       'Father has a horse' (Aleksandr Kibrik p.c.)

    b. U:m-un   noš
       father-GEN horse
       'Father's horse' (Dirr 1928: 254)

(5)   NENETS (Uralic, Samoyedic)

    a. Nalgu-n   porgo-da t'ana
       woman-GEN dress-her exist.3SG.PRES
       'The woman has a dress' (Hajdú 1963: 112)

    b. Nalgu-n   porgo-da
       woman-GEN   dress-her
       'The woman's dress' (Hajdú 1963: 112)

(6) ERZA MORDVIN (Uralic, Volgaic)

    a. Supav Erza-'n   ul'nes   ajgoro-zo   paro
       rich   Erza-GEN be.3SG.PAST stallion-his good
       'A rich Erza had a fine stallion' (Collinder 1957: 238)

    b. Ivan-an   täta-zo
       I.-GEN   father-his
       'Ivan's father' (Wiedemann 1865: 51)

(7) TURKISH (Altaic, Turkic)

    a. Mehmed'-in para -si   yok
       M.-GEN   money-his not.exist
       'Mehmet has no money' (Lewis 1967: 251)

    b. Uzman-in rapor-u
       expert-GEN report-his
       'The expert's report' (Lewis 1967: 42)

(8) LEPCHA (Sino-Tibetan, Tibetic)

    a. Maro kat-sa   akup nyet nyi
       man   one-GEN son   two   be
       'A man had two sons' (Grierson 1909: 242)

    b. Ka-su   abo-sa   chhap-chhu-sang
       1SG-GEN father-GEN servants
       'My father's servants' (Grierson 1909: 237)

(9) GUMBAINGGIR (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)

    a. Baba-gundi jaraman djaling
       father-GEN   some   horse
       'Father has a few horses' (Smythe 1948: 72)

    b. Nigar-gundi gammai
       man-GEN   spear
       'The man's spear' (Smythe 1948: 25)

(10) TAHITIAN (Austronesian, Polynesian)

    a. 'E   fare   nehenehe to tera ta'ata
       exist house nice   of   that man
       'That man has a nice house' (Tryon 1970: 55)

b. Te   feti'a   'o   te   ra'i
   ART   star   of   ART   sky
   'The stars of the sky' (Tryon 1970: 28)

(11) CUZCO QUECHUA (Andean, Quechuan)

a. Ňoka-p   muya-y   ka-n-mi
   1SG-GEN   garden-my   be-3SG-VAL
   'I have a garden' (Von Tschudi 1884: 418)

b. Wasi-p   punku-n
   house-GEN   door-its
   'The door of the house' (Von Tschudi 1884: 364)

The earlier literature limits the range of the Adnominal Possessive to those cases in which the possessor NP is overtly marked in the predicative and the attributive possession construction, that is, to those cases in which there is overt genitival marking. In principle, however, there is no justification for this restriction. In many languages, adnominal possessor NPs do not have overt marking, and are placed in juxtaposition to the possessee NP, with or without additional possessor NP indexing. Some examples of this type of attributive possession construction are:

(12) BAHASA INDONESIA (Austronesian, West Indonesian)
   Ekor   anjing
   tail   dog
   'The tail of the dog' (Kwee 1965: 13)

(13) LISU (Tibeto-Burman, Burmese-Lolo)
   Ása   amu
   A.   horse
   'Asa's horse' (Hope 1974: 111)

(14) SOMALI (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)
   Faras-ka   nin-ka
   horse-ART   man-ART
   'The man's horse' (Serzisko 1984: 65)

(15) BILOXI (Siouan)
   Djĭm   tcŭ'nki   kta
   Jim   dog   his
   'Jim's dog' (Dorsey and Swanton 1912: 132)

(16) DAGA (Papuan, Central and South-East)
      Pumpuni-wa   dugup   muga
      black-PL   house   their
      'The house of the black ones' (Murane 1974: 85)

(17) PALAUAN (Austronesian, Palauan)
      A   bli-l   a   Droteo
      ART   house-his   ART   D.
      'Droteo's house' (Josephs 1975: 66)

Now, in at least some languages we can observe that this zero-marked variant of attributive possession has its parallel in the predicative possession encoding. Cases in point are the Mayan language Tzutujil, the Papuan language Asmat, and the Tupí-Guaraní language Urubu-Kaapor.

(18) TZUTUJIL (Mayan, Quichean)

      a. Jun   ruu-keej   n-ataʔ
         one   his-horse   my-father
         'My father's horse' (Dayley 1981: 200)

      b. K'o   jun   ruu-keej   n-ataʔ
         exist a   his-horse   my-father
         'My father has a horse' (Dayley 1981: 200)

(19) ASMAT (Papuan, Central and South)

      a. Ndiwi   otsjan
         my.father   spear
         'My father's spear' (Drabbe 1963: 86)

      b. Ndo   tsjem   ao-ap
         1SG   house   here-sit.3SG.PRES
         'I have a house' (Drabbe 1963: 70)

(20) URUBU-KAAPOR (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)

      a. Maneru   rok
         M.   house
         'Maneru's house' (Kakumasu 1986: 371)

      b. Ihẽ   rakehar   ym
         1SG   wife   NEG
         'I don't have a wife' (Kakumasu 1986: 334)

Given that the defining characteristic of the Adnominal Possessive lies in the fact that there is a parallelism between the encoding of attributive and

predicative possession, there is no reason to exclude cases like the ones in Tzutujil, Asmat, and Urubu-Kaapor from the type. In sum, the Adnominal Possessive can be said to manifest itself in two subtypes, to wit:

(a) a MARKED variant, in which the possessor NP receives a marking, and for which the term GENITIVE POSSESSIVE can be reserved, and

(b) an UNMARKED OR ZERO variant, in which the possessor NP does not have overt marking.

Using the well-known terminology coined in Nichols (1988, 1992), we can say that this distinction boils down to the question of whether or not there is 'dependent marking' (that is, marking of the possessor NP) in the construction. The presence or absence of 'head marking', that is, the presence or absence of possessor indexing on the possessee NP, will not be taken into account, as possessor indexing is taken to be a concomitant phenomenon in the typology of predicative possession.

Compared to the four major types, Adnominal Possessive constructions are relatively rare. This holds in particular for the unmarked variant. Cases that might be analysed as representative of this variant can be found among the eastern branches of Austronesian (Buli, Banggai, Kilivila, Tawala) and the Central and South Papuan languages (Aghu, Asmat). Furthermore, an unmarked Adnominal Possessive may be a feature of the Mayan languages (Jacaltec, Tzutujil). Finally, isolated cases of this particular construction can be documented for the Athapaskan language Navajo and the Tupí-Guaraní language Urubu-Kaapor.

The marked variant of the Adnominal Possessive – the 'Genitive Possessive' – is a bit more frequent in my sample. For the most part, its occurrence can be defined in areal terms. By far the most instances of the construction can be situated in a mega-area that might be described as 'Eastern Eurasia'. Thus, we find it in some of the languages of the eastern branches of Indo-European, such as Armenian (Classical Armenian), Iranian (Old Persian, Ormuri), Indic (Vedic, Nepali), and Tocharic, as well as in Burushaski, an isolate language of Pakistan. Furthermore, a Genitive Possessive is a major option in the North-Central and Dagestanian languages of the Caucasus (Chechen, Avar, Archi, Godoberi, Icari Dargwa, Hunzib). In North and Central Asia, we encounter occurrences of the Genitive Possessive among the Uralic languages (Nenets, Kamass, Hungarian, Erza Mordvin, Udmurt), and in several branches of Altaic (Turkish and Tyvan for Turkic; Written Mongolian and Mangghuer for Mongolian). Finally, we can document some cases of the Genitive Possessive in the westernmost branches of Tibeto-Burman, notably in the Himalayan languages (Classical Newari, Thakali, Lepcha, Limbu) and Meitei (Manipuri). Outside

'Eastern Eurasia' the Genitive Possessive is encountered only incidentally; my data base contains relevant data for the Baltic language Lithuanian, the Munda language Santali, the Papuan language Awtuw, the Australian language Gumbainggir, the Polynesian languages Maori and Tahitian, the North American language Yokuts, and some South American languages, namely, Cuzco Quechua, Spoken Bolivian Quechua, Matsés, and Jarawara.

As will be recalled, I have stated in Chapter 2 that I will not regard the Adnominal Possessive as a separate type in my typology of predicative possession. To be exact, I will regard the marked Adnominal Possessive as a variant of the Locational Possessive. Likewise, I will subsume the unmarked variant of the Adnominal Possessive under the general heading of the Topic Possessive. In the following sections of this chapter I will expound my arguments for taking these decisions.

4.2 Constituency in the Adnominal Possessive

In syntactic terms, the difference between the Adnominal Possessive, on the one hand, and the Locational Possessive and Topic Possessive, on the other hand, is that in the Adnominal Possessive the possessor NP and the possessee NP are said to form a constituent – to be exact, a noun phrase – whereas in the Locational Possessive and the Topic Possessive the possessor NP and the possessee NP do not form a syntactic unit. Schematically, this contrast can be represented as follows:

(21)   Locational Possessive   [PR-LOC]   [PE]   [BE]
       Marked Adnominal Possessive   [PR-GEN   PE]   [BE]

(22)   Topic Possessive   [PR]   [PE]   [BE]
       Unmarked Adnominal Possessive   [PR   PE]   [BE]

In other words, arguments for a separate typological status of the (two variants of) the Adnominal Possessive must crucially involve a demonstration of constituent status for the PR + PE combination in the construction. If, for a given language, data can be cited which cast doubt on this constituent status, the construction may in fact be nothing more than a variant of the Locational Possessive or the Topic Possessive. It is true that, in the case of the marked Adnominal Possessive, the possessor NP may be marked by an item that has no transparent locational meaning. However, in the absence of compelling constituency arguments this makes a Genitive Possessive no more different than other subtypes of the Locational Possessive, such as the Dative Possessive; as we have seen in Section 2.1, it is the morphosyntactic status of the marking element, and not its semantic content, which is taken as criterial. In

the case of the unmarked Adnominal Possessive, a refutation of constituent status for the PR + PE combination immediately reduces this construction to an instance of the Topic Possessive.

In the remainder of this section, I will argue that, for at least a number of languages that have been adduced as having an Adnominal Possessive, the constituency status of their PR + PE combinations is open to serious doubt. Before I present the data, I must explicate two important points. First, it is theoretically possible that, in some languages, a distinction is made between the clausal and the phrasal syntax of possession. In particular, it is possible that the phrasal syntax of possession is more grammaticalized than the clausal syntax of possession is. In such languages the possessor NP and possessee NP may form a constituent in attributive possession, while they do not form a constituent in predicative possession. For this reason, from the fact that the possessor NP and the possessee NP in a sentence like *John's house burnt down* form a constituent one cannot deduce automatically that in a construction like *John's house exists* > 'John has a house' the possessor NP and the possessee NP must form a constituent as well. Conversely, arguments against the constituent status of the PR + PE combination in predicative possession constructions do not necessarily imply that, in attributive possession, this combination is not a constituent either.

More generally, it should be realized that constituency – that is, the combining of linguistic material into a syntactic unit – may be an important device for encoding structural relations between elements of a sentence, but that it is by no means the only device that can achieve this. Other morphosyntactic mechanisms, such as cross-referential indexing, are equally well adapted to perform this function, and, in addition, there are semantic and discourse-functional clues that can contribute to the correct interpretation of sentences, even if formal encoding of (parts of) the sentence structure is lacking. Therefore, it is to be expected that languages may vary with respect to the role they assign to constituency in the formation of their sentences. Although there are probably no, or certainly not many, languages that do not employ constituency at all, it is well known that, cross-linguistically, there are considerable differences in the degree of configurationality.[1] However, a major practical problem

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[1] The concept of configurationality was introduced in syntactic theory by Ken Hale, who, after a number of unpublished papers, published his findings as Hale (1983). Chomsky (1981) turned the concept into a main issue for generative grammar, and since then a steady flow of publications has appeared. Golumbia (2004) provides a critical assessment, together with a listing, of the relevant literature. For cognitive/functionalist views on the notions of configurationality and constituency see Langacker (1997) and Croft (2001: 185 202).

Non configurational languages are said to be characterized by three features: (i) they have free word order; (ii) they have null anaphora for argument phrases; and (iii) they have what is called 'discontinuous constituents'. It is this last feature that is of particular interest for us here.

in determining the degree of configurationality of a language in general, and the configurationality of the PR + PE combination in the predicative possession construction in particular, is that such an endeavour presupposes detailed knowledge about the applicability – or, as the case may be, the inapplicability – of a number of syntactic devices, such as 'scrambling' and other 'movement' rules. For most of the languages in my sample, such knowledge is not available at the moment. Therefore, I have had no other option than to be very hesitant in my conclusions about the non-configurational status of the PR + PE combination in the predicative possession construction in a given language. In practice, I consider the constituent status of such a combination to be refuted only in cases in which the classic criteria for constituency – such as contiguity and inseparability – are clearly not met. In all other cases, I will assume that there is in fact constituency between the two noun phrases involved. It is, of course, possible that, for at least some languages, this attitude may be somewhat over-cautious. Thus, for example, it is well known that the variants of Quechua allow for quite a bit of 'scrambling', so that it is conceivable that further research will show that the (marked) possessor NP and the possessee NP in their predicative possession constructions do not form a constituent after all. However, given the current absence of positive evidence for this conclusion I have had no other choice than to assume constituency for this case.

This said, I will now proceed to present a number of cases of the alleged Adnominal Possessive in which the combination of possessor NP and possessee NP does not meet the constituency criterion of contiguity and inseparability. For items to form a constituent, it is generally required that they should always occur in immediate succession and that no elements – especially no elements that have clausal scope – should be able to intervene between them. On the basis of this criterion, a number of putative Adnominal Possessive constructions can be called into question. For example, we can note that in the relevant predicative possession construction in Lithuanian the possessor NP, which is marked by a genitive case suffix, is – or at least can be – separated from the possessee NP by the locational/existential verb of the construction.[2]

(23) LITHUANIAN (Indo-European, Baltic)
Mano   kaimy-no   yra   olgas   laûkas
my   neighbour-GEN.SG   be.3SG.PRES   long.NOM.SG   field.NOM.SG
'My neighbour has a long field' (Senn 1929: 24)

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[2] The Genitive Possessive has become extremely rare in Lithuanian, and has been superseded by a Have Possessive (Bernhard Wälchli p.c.; see Section 2.1.4).

A completely similar situation can be encountered in the Uralic languages Hungarian and Erza Mordvin, in the Mongolic language Mangghuer, and in the Dagestanian languages Hunzib, Godoberi, and Archi.

(24)   HUNGARIAN (Uralic, Ugric)
    A   férfi-ak-nak   van   ház-uk
    ART man-PL-DAT/GEN be.3SG.PRES house-their
    'The men have a house' (Biermann 1985: 29)

(25)   ERZA MORDVIN (Uralic, Volgaic)
    Učit^jel^j-en^jt^j   ul^j-ńḙ-s^j   vad^jr^ja   kudo-zo
    teacher-GEN be-FREQ-3SG.PAST beautiful house-3SG.POSS
    'The teacher used to have a beautiful house' (Zaicz 1998: 210)

(26)   MANGGHUER (Altaic, Mongolian)
    Dao-du-ni   han   mula   nughuai   yi-ge   bang
    younger.sibling-DAT-GEN also small dog   one-CLASS   be
    'His younger brother also had a small dog' (Slater 2003: 179)

(27)   HUNZIB (Dagestanian)
    a. Boλu   xan-li-s-no   zuq'u-n lo   buλii   kid
        this.OBL khan-OBL-GEN-and be-GER be.II   home   girl.II
        'The khan had a daughter' (Van Den Berg 1995: 254)

    b. Həs   kid   zuqu'-n lo   iʔer-λár   xan-li-s
        one   girl.II   be-GER be.II   I.small-very khan-OBL-GEN
        'The youngest khan had one daughter' (Van Den Berg 1995: 244)

(28)   GODOBERI (Dagestanian)
    a. Anwar-Li ba-k'a   b-e:Ruda   waći-bedi
        A.-GEN   HUM.PL-be.PAST HUM.PL-many brother-PL
        'Anwar had many brothers' (Kibrik 1996: 26)

    b. Anwar-Li ba-k'a   b-e:Ruda   jaši-k'abe
        A.-GEN   HUM.PL-be.PAST HUM.PL-many girl-PL
        'Anwar had many girlfriends' (Kibrik 1996: 33)

(29)   ARCHI (Dagestanian)
    a. Dija-n   nolš   b-i
        father-GEN horse.III.ABS III-be.PRES
        'Father has a horse' (Aleksandr Kibrik p.c.)

    b. Wis   ewdi   buqiiwu mut'aʔalim
        1SG.GEN I.be.PAST forty   pupil.ABS.I.PL
        'I had forty pupils' (Dirr 1928: 259)

Cases of separated possessor and possessee NPs in the unmarked variant of the Adnominal Possessive are illustrated by the Austronesian language Banggai and by Mezquital Otomí, a language of Mexico. Thus, although it is possible that possessor NP and possessee NP form a constituent in the attributive construction of these languages, it is clear that such is not the case in the predicative construction.

(30)   Banggai (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

   a. Ko   tomusi   mata-no
      ART   bird   eye-3SG.POSS
      'The eye of the bird' (Van Den Bergh 1953: 49)

   b. Malane   doo   daano   kona   malapating   lua
      man   this   exist   his   doves   two
      'The man had two doves' (Van Den Bergh 1953: 101)

(31)   Mezquital Otomí (Oto-Manguean, Otomian)

   a. Rá   ngŭ   ʔnă
      his   house   someone
      'Someone's house' (Hess 1968: 50)

   b. ʔna   ra   dame   mi-xa   ya   hwami
      one   ART   man   PAST-exist   his.PL   cornfield
      'A man had cornfields' (Hess 1968: 111)

In the available examples from the Indo-European languages Vedic and Tocharic, which have a genitive case suffix on the possessor NP, the *be*-verb does not intervene between the possessor NP and the possessee NP. However, here the possessor NP and the possessee NP can be separated by particles which have sentential scope. In Vedic, emphatic particles can freely occur between possessor NP and possessee NP in the predicative construction, and in West Tocharic the sentence negation marker *ma* can occur in that position.

(32)   Vedic (Indo-European, Indic)
      Manor   ha   va   rsabha   asa
      M.-GEN   EMP   EMP   bull.NOM.SG   be.3SG.PAST
      'Manu had a bull' (McDonnell 1916: 320)

(33)   West Tocharic (Indo-European, Tocharic)
      Tsrasi-ssi   ma   praski   näs
      energetic-GEN.PL   NEG   fear.NOM   be.3SG.PRES
      'The energetic have no fear' (Krause and Thomas 1960: 82)

Separation of the possessor NP and the possessee NP by a negation element can also be observed in the Austronesian language Tawala, which has an unmarked possessor NP:

(34)   TAWALA (Austronesian, Melanesian)

    a. Polo   hai   yam
       pig   their   food
       'The food of the pigs' or 'The pigs have food' (Ezard 1997: 188)

    b. Polo   ega   hai   yam
       pig   NEG   their   food
       'The pigs have no food' (Ezard 1997: 188)

A common characteristic of all the cases discussed above is that the possessor NP – whether it is marked or unmarked – occupies sentence-initial position in the predicative construction. This suggests that the syntactic difference between predicative and attributive possession in these languages may be attributed to TOPICALITY. That is, it may be the case that, in the predicative constructions, the possessor NP functions as a sentence topic, whereas in the attributive construction it does not have that status. As a result, we can expect the possessor NP to turn up in sentence-initial position in the predicative construction, as this is the position that is reserved for topics in many unrelated languages across the globe.[3] Topic status for the possessor NP of course immediately leads to the conclusion that, in such predicative possession constructions, the possessor NP and the possessee NP do not form a constituent; as far as I know, it has never been seriously suggested that sentence topics and nuclear subjects can be combined into a syntactic unit.

The idea that the difference between the predicative and the attributive use of possessor NPs can be analysed in terms of topicality finds support in data from some languages in which, at first sight, the possessor NP and the possessee NP seem to be contiguous in the predicative construction. First, we can note that, in the Munda language Santali, the possessor NP, which is marked by the genitive case suffix *-ren*, commonly receives the suffix *-do* when it occurs in the predicative possession construction. This suffix, which indicates sentence topics, is never used on possessor NPs in attributive function.

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[3] Eve Clark (1978: 101 2) found that, in her sample, almost all languages order the possessor before the possessee. This seems to hold even in languages in which adverbial phrases are regularly ordered after the subject. If such a language has a Locational Possessive, where the possessor is encoded as part of an adverbial phrase, the obliquely marked possessor does not follow the word order conventions of 'regular' adverbial phrases, but is preferably ordered before the possessee subject of the construction.

(35) Santali (Munda)
Uni   kiser-ren-do   mit'   gora   sadom
that   rich-GEN-TOP   one   stable   horse
menak'-ko-ta-e-a
exist-3PL.OBJ-POSS-3SG.POSS-INDIC
'That rich man has a stable of horses' (Neukom 2001: 34)

Topicality of the possessor NP may also play a role in the Genitive Possessives of Classical Armenian, West Tocharic, and Avar. As the examples below show, in the attributive possession constructions of these languages the order is possessee NP–possessor NP.[4]

(36) Classical Armenian (Indo-European, Armenian)

   a. Ordi   Astuac-oy
      son   God-GEN
      'God's son' (Godel 1975: 4)

   b. Ordi   im
      son   1SG.GEN
      'My son' (Godel 1975: 111)

(37) West Tocharic (Indo-European, Tocharic)

   a. Prari   onk-is
      finger   father-GEN
      'The father's finger' (Sieg and Siegling 1931: 84)

   b. Tiri   ci
      way   2SG.GEN
      'Your way' (Pedersen 1941: 131)

(38) Avar (Dagestanian)

   a. Pastan   in-cul
      garden   father-GEN.SG
      'Father's garden' (Von Erckert 1895: 156)

   b. Cani   gho-zul
      goats   3PL-GEN
      'Their goats' (Von Erckert 1895: 165)

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[4] In all honesty, I should remark that the word order given for attributive possession in Avar (NP GEN; see (37a b)) may be obsolete. Andrej Malchukov (p.c.) informs me that, in modern Avar, the order in such constructions is now GEN NP, that is, the same order that is encountered in the predicative possessive construction (see sentence (40)).

However, in the predicative possession construction the order is reversed. Here, the possessor NP precedes the possessee NP and is, in fact, sentence-initial.

(39) CLASSICAL ARMENIAN (Indo-European, Armenian)
      Nora   tun   e
      1PL.GEN   house.NOM   be.3SG.PRES
      'We have a house' (Benveniste 1966: 201)

(40) WEST TOCHARIC (Indo-European, Tocharic)
      Tsrasi-ssi   ma   praski   näs
      energetic-GEN.PL   NEG   fear.NOM   be.3SG.PRES
      'The energetic have no fear' (Krause and Thomas 1960: 82)

(41) AVAR (Dagestanian)
      Dir   mašina   b-ugo
      1SG.GEN   car.III.ABS   III-be.PRES
      'I have a car' (Kalinina 1993: 97)

A similar mismatch in word order between the attributive and the predicative possession construction can be observed in Yokuts, a language of California. Again, the PE–PR order in the attributive construction clashes with the PR–PE order in the predicative construction. However, since Yokuts is a verb-initial language, the possessor NP in the predicative construction cannot take sentence-initial position here.

(42) YOKUTS (Yokuts)

      a. Yiwin   Limk-in
          wife   Prairie.Falcon-GEN
          'Prairie Falcon's wife' (Kroeber 1909: 224)

      b. Yet·o   g'og'o   tasin-win   nònèh-in   t·i   yit·
          all   be   DEM.PL-GEN   man-GEN   house   one
          'Those men have one house together' (Kroeber 1907: 306)

Finally, the topicality analysis enables us to explain some syntactic characteristics of the predicative possession construction in Turkish and a number of other Turkic languages. As noted in the previous section, Turkish has a predicative possession construction in which the possessor NP is marked by the genitival suffix *-in* (or one of its allomorphs). This marked possessor NP precedes the possessee NP, which is indexed for the possessor NP by a pronominal possessive suffix. Since this possessor NP–possessed NP combination parallels the construction for attributive possession, the predicative possession construction thus looks, at first sight, like a clear instance of the Genitive Possessive.

(43)   TURKISH (Altaic, Turkic)

    a. Mehmed'-in   para-si   var
       M.-GEN   money-his exist
       'Mehmet has money' (Lewis 1967: 251)

    b. Istanbul'-un   tarihi   camiler-i
       I.-GEN   historic mosque.PL-its
       'The historic mosques of Istanbul' (Lewis 1967: 43)

However, Lewis (1967: 251) offers the following comment on the predicative construction:

The largest class of sentence with the logical subject in the genitive is that denoting possession or lack of it: *Mehmed'in parasi var* 'Mehmet has money'; *Mehmed'in parasi yok* 'Mehmet has no money'. Such constructions must not be thought of as consisting in an izafet group [i.e. an attributive possession construction, L.S.] + *var* or *yok*. The syntactical grouping is not *Mehmed'in parasi/var* 'Mehmet's money exists', but *Meh med'in/ parasi var*.

As proof of this analysis the author points out that, in the predicative possession construction, possessor NP and possessee NP can be separated by adverbial phrases, which is completely forbidden in the attributive construction:

(44)   TURKISH (Altaic, Turkic)
    Mehmed'-in   o   banka-da para-si   var
    M.-GEN   DEM bank-LOC money-his exist
    'Mehmet has money in that bank' (Lewis 1967: 251)

Furthermore, Gözde Bahadir (p.c.) has informed me that, in predicative possession constructions such as (43a), there is a marked pause between the possessor-phrase and the following possessee NP. For all these reasons, it seems justified to analyse the marked possessor NP in this predicative possession construction as a sentential topic. This analysis is strengthened further by the fact that Turkish sentence topics in general bear genitival marking. Examples of non-possessive constructions with such a genitival topic are:

(45)   TURKISH (Altaic, Turkic)

    a. Koca-si-nin,   ev-de   az   konuş-mak
       husband-her-GEN house-LOC little speak-INF
       âdet-i-ydi
       custom-his-be.3SG.PAST
       'As for her husband, he was in the habit of speaking little at home'
                                (Lewis 1967: 250)

b. Bu   insanlar-in-sa,   ic-in-e   bir   kurt
   DEM   people-GEN-EMP   inside-their-DAT   one   worm
   düşmüştür
   fall.DEF.PAST.3SG
   'As for these people, they are full of misgivings' (Lewis 1967: 251)

4.3 The origin of genitival markers

In the previous section, I have argued that at least some of the constructions
that have been cited in the literature as instances of a separate type of Genitive
Possessives should in fact be regarded as cases of (some subtype of) the
Locational Possessive. Some further support for such a view stems from
diachronic considerations. Below, I will show that, in a number of cases of
alleged Genitive Possessives, the item which marks the possessor NP in the
predicative and the attributive construction of the language has a clear origin
in a marker of spatial/directional relations. Of course, that such markers can
play a role in attributive possession is not hard to establish; it is, for example,
the case in the Germanic and Romance branches of Indo-European. In
general, we find that in these languages the genitival marker in attributive
possession has its source in a preposition that had – and in some cases still
has – the ablative meaning 'from' or 'down from'. Cases in point are English
of, Dutch *van*, German *von*, Swedish *av*, and prepositions that are deriv-
ed directly from the Late Latin preposition *de* '(down) from', as in French
de, Italian *di*, and Spanish *de*. Some languages in Germanic and Romance
have a – semantically marked – alternative in a genitival preposition that has a
dative marker 'for, to' as its source, such as French *à* and Swedish *till*.[5]

(46)   SWEDISH (Indo-European, North Germanic)

   a. Toppen   av   berget
      top.DEF   of   mountain.DEF
      'The top of the mountain' (Björkhagen 1956: 56)

   b. Vän-en   till   mig
      friend-DEF.SG   to   me
      'My friend' (Jan Anward p.c.)

(47)   ENGLISH (Indo-European, West Germanic)
       The white cliffs of Dover (own data)

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[5] An exhaustive treatment of attributive possession constructions in the languages of Europe can be
found in Koptjevskaja Tamm (2003).

(48) Dutch (Indo-European, West Germanic)
      Het   paard   van   Sinterklaas
      the   horse   of   Saint.Nicholas
      'Saint Nicholas' horse' (own data)

(49) French (Indo-European, Romance)

      a. La   plume   de   ma   tante
         the   pen   of   my   aunt
         'My aunt's pen' (own data)

      b. La   barbe   à   Papa
         the   beard   to   Father
         'candy floss' (*lit.* 'Father's beard') (own data)

(50) Italian (Indo-European, Romance)
      La   casa   di   Paolo
      the   house   of   P.
      'Paolo's house' (own data)

(51) Spanish (Indo-European, Romance)
      La   casa   de   las   chicas
      the   house   of   the   girls
      'The house of the girls' (Masoliver et al. 1975: 69)

Since all these Germanic and Romance languages have a Have-Possessive for their predicative construction, the spatial/directional origin of the genitival markers in their attributive construction has no direct bearing on our typology of predicative possession. However, in languages in which the same marker is used for possessor NPs in predicative and attributive constructions, the origin of that marker may provide a clue for the diachronic status of these possessive constructions. As is often the case with functional elements such as case markers, in many languages the etymological origin of the genitival marker is obscure. For example, nothing more can be said about the genitival suffix *-p/-pa* in Quechua than that it seems to form some cluster with the dative suffix *-pah/-paχ* and the locative suffix *-pi*. But for at least a number of cases of the Genitive Possessive the genitival marker can be traced back to an item that had a clear spatial/directional function. Thus, it can be shown that the suffix *-n*, which marks the possessor NP in both predicative and attributive constructions in the Samoyedic languages Nenets and Kamass is identical to the dative case suffix *-n/-në*. The same identity of dative and genitival marking, by means of the suffix *-nek/-nak*, is found in Hungarian, another Uralic language. The Papuan language Awtuw has identity of the genitive case

marker and the locative suffix. In the Himalayan language Limbu the genitival suffix -*le* is identical to the ergative suffix; the item has a cognate in the dative suffix -*la* 'to, towards' in Classical Tibetan.

(52) NENETS (Uralic, Samoyedic)

    a. Nalgu-n   porgo-da   t'ana
        woman-GEN   dress-her   exist-3SG.PRES
        'The woman has a dress' (Hajdú 1963: 112)

    b. Nalgu-n   porgo-da
        woman-GEN   dress-her
        'the woman's dress' (Hajdú 1963: 112)

    c. Jæhamboj-n
        small.river-DAT
        'to/along the/a small river' (Collinder 1957: 430)

(53) KAMASS (Uralic, Samoyedic)

    a. Büźə -n   naɣur   koʔboo-t   ɪ-bi
        old.man-GEN   three   daughter-his   be.PAST.3SG
        'An old man had three daughters' (Künnap 1999: 39)

    b. Ine-n   olʒa
        horse-GEN   cloth
        'The horse's harness' (Künnap 1999: 41)

    c. Bü-n   üštəbiəm
        water-ALL   let.fall.PAST.3SG
        'I let it fall into the water' (Künnap 1999: 16)

(54) HUNGARIAN (Uralic, Ugric)

    a. A   férfi-ak-nak   van   ház-uk
        ART   man-PL-DAT/GEN   be.3SG.PRES   house-their
        'The men have a house' (Biermann 1985: 29)

    b. János-nak   a   könyv-e
        J.-DAT/GEN   ART   book-his
        'John's book' (Kenesei et. al. 1998: 215)

    c. Dénes   virág-ot   ad-ott   Júliá-nak
        D.   flower-ACC   give-PAST.INDEF.3SG   J.-DAT
        'Dennis gave flowers to Julia' (Kenesei et. al. 1998: 208)

(55) AWTUW (Papuan, Sepik)

    a. Wan-ke   piyren   d-awkey
        1SG-GEN/LOC   dog   REAL-exist
        'I have a dog' (Feldman 1986: 106)

  b. Nom-ke   yaw
     1PL-GEN   pig
     'Our pig' (Feldman 1986: 125)

  c. Piyren yikiyr æwre-diyake-ke   dəkownay
     dog   two   house-underside-LOC sleep.IMPERF
     'Two dogs are sleeping under the house' (Feldman 1986: 115)

(56) LIMBU (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan)

  a. Locha   manai-le   ku-sa   nechi wa-yechi
     certain man-GEN/ERG   his-son two   be-3DU.PAST
     'A man had two sons' (Grierson 1909: 297)

  b. Oni-le   ku-gadhi
     horse-GEN/ERG   its-saddle
     'The saddle of the horse' (Grierson 1909: 286)

Furthermore, it is well known that the genitive in Indo-European languages is often a product of case syncretism. Thus, 'in Greek and Slavic the Genitive and the Ablative (which in the Singular were for the most part identical already in proto-Indo-European times) have merged completely' (Brugmann 1922: 435; my translation). In Old Persian, the case suffixes which mark the possessor NP in both predicative and attributive possession have both adnominal and dative function.

(57) OLD PERSIAN (Indo-European, Iranian)

  a. Ava   Kanbujiya-hya   brata   aha
     this.GEN.SG K.-GEN.SG   brother.NOM   be.3SG.PAST
     'This Cambyses had a brother' (Meillet and Benveniste 1931: 210)

  b. Vitaspha-hya   pussa
     V.-GEN.SG   son
     'The son of Vitaspa' (Meillet and Benveniste 1931: 209)

  c. Kara-hya   avaθa   aθaha
     army-GEN.SG   thus   order.PAST.3SG
     'In this way he gave orders to the army'
                                      (Meillet and Benveniste 1931: 210)

Finally, my data base contains a few cases in which the marker of the possessor NP in predicative and attributive constructions can be shown to derive from a general locational item. The Polynesian languages Maori and Tahitian exhibit such a common marking of the possessor NP:

(58)   Maori (Austronesian, Polynesian)

    a. He   hooiho   t·oo   Tohe
        class   horse   gen.sg T.
        'Tohe has a horse' (Bauer 1993: 198)

    b. Ko   teenei   t·oo   Hone   whare
        top   this   gen.sg H.   house
        'This is John's house' (Bauer 1993: 201)

(59)   Tahitian (Austronesian, Polynesian)

    a. 'E   fare   nehenehe   to   tera ta'ata
        pred   house nice   of   that man
        'That man has a nice house' (Tryon 1970: 55)

    b. Te   feti'a   'o   te   ra'i
        art   stars gen   art   sky
        'The stars of the sky' (Tryon 1970: 28)

    c. To   te   ra'i   feti'a
        gen   art   sky   stars
        'The stars of the sky' (Tryon 1970: 28)

The marking items in these constructions can, in all probability, be traced back to a general spatial preposition *ta* in Proto-Oceanic, from which the use as a possessive marker has been developed as a later innovation (see Pawley 1973: 149).

    Dixon (2004) reports that attributive (alienable) possession in Jarawara, a language from West Brazil, is encoded by the postposition *kaa* on the possessor NP. The same item (or one of its allomorphs) marks the possessor NP in one of the predicative possession constructions of the language.

(60)   Jarawara (Arauan)

    a. Mee   kaa   kanawaa   to-wana-ro-ke
        3nonsg gen   canoe(f)   away-be.joined-rec.past.f-decl.f
        'Their canoe was joined on (to ours)' (Dixon 2004: 296)

    b. O-ko   sirikaa   ama-ka
        1sg-gen   rubber   be-decl.m
        'I have some rubber' (Dixon 2004: 381)

As it turns out, Jarawara also employs a so-called 'peripheral marker' *kaa*. This is an item which can follow a noun (in which case it can be compared to a postposition) or a nominalized clause (in which case it acts as a subordinating conjunction). In construction with nouns the item has the locational/directional meaning of 'along, through'.

(61)   Jarawara (Arauan)
    Tehafimi   kaa   ee   wina-ha
    terra.firma   along   we   live-f
    'We (Indians) live on terra firma (ground that never floods)'

                                            (Dixon 2004: 498)

The author remarks that 'peripheral *kaa* must be distinguished from posses-sive marker *kaa* . . . , although the two forms may be historically related' (Dixon 2004: 298).

    Although, admittedly, the diachronic evidence presented above is far from conclusive,[6] it nonetheless points to an analysis in which at least some cases of the Genitive Possessive have their basis in a locational construction. The locationally marked possessor NP may then have been grammaticalized into an adnominal modifier, thereby giving rise to a genitival phrase in the attributive possessive construction or, as the case may be, in both the attribu-tive and the predicative possession construction. Thus, these diachronic facts suggest that there is a grammaticalization path through which attributive genitives are derived from locational phrases in the predicative construction. Seen from this perspective, the occurrence of Genitive Possessives is not a sign of a separate type in the typology of predicative possession; instead, the existence of such constructions is viewed as the result of a grammaticalization process that Locational Possessives may undergo. Schematically, this process can be represented as in (62). The second line in the schema can be seen as representing those languages in which the genitively marked possessor NP and the possessee NP do not form a constituent; these languages were discussed in the previous section.

(62)   Source   PR-obl   PE   BE   ➜
                      PR-gen   PE   BE   ➜
        Target   [PR-gen PE]   BE

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    [6] Most importantly, there is the question of the directionality of the grammaticalization process at issue here. I have claimed that there is a grammaticalization path that changes locational markers into genitival markers, but it cannot of course be excluded that the path is actually the other way around. I must say, however, that Heine and Kuteva (2002) do not list any convincing case of a locational marker that has its source in a genitive marker. There seems to be a path through which genitival markers can develop into partitive markers (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 241), but, as the authors remark, 'we seem to be dealing with a more general grammaticalization chain ABLATIVE > [GENITIVE] > PARTITIVE' here, and 'it would seem that there is not necessarily an intermediate [GENITIVE]; as appears to be the case in some other grammaticalization processes, the evolution may proceed straight from the initial to the final meaning'. In other words, genitival markers do not seem to be good sources for grammaticalization paths. On the other hand, they seem to be very good targets. Apart from locational markers like locatives, datives, and ablatives, genitival markers can find their source in other items as well, such as nouns that mean 'homestead, home village' (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 175), 'property' (ibid.: 245 6) or 'thing' (ibid.: 296 7).

The above analysis is founded on the assumption that, in the case of Adnominal Possessives, it is the predicative possession construction that forms the basis of the parallelism with the attributive construction. In other words, the analysis assumes an evolution from predicative to attributive possession. However, some authors have suggested that, in at least some cases of the Adnominal Possessive, the evolution may have been the other way around. Heine (1997: 185) states: 'It is ... equally possible that ... we are witnessing a development in the opposite direction: rather than the [predicative, L.S.] Genitive Schema giving rise to attributive possession, we would be dealing with an evolution where a verb of existence is added to a [attributive, L.S.] genitive construction, thereby creating the Genitive Schema.' Heine's proposal can be schematically represented as in (63):

(63)   Source   [PR-GEN PE]   V   ➔
         Target   [PR-GEN PE]   BE

As I see it, there is no conclusive reason to reject schema (63) completely as a possible grammaticalization path. Thus, at the current state of our knowledge we have to allow for the possibility that this schema represents a correct account of the evolution of at least some of the instances of the Adnominal Possessive. However, although the diachronic process sketched in (63) cannot be excluded, it can also be said to be unlikely. There are two sets of considerations which, in my estimation, militate against the acceptance of a grammaticalization path that leads from attributive possession to predicative possession.

First, it can be observed that practically all sampled instances of the Genitive Possessive – in so far as they are 'real' instances, and not just Locational Possessives which happen to select a 'genitival' marker on the possessor NP – are situated in areas in which the Locational Possessive is the predominant option in predicative possession encoding. In fact, we find that language families in which Genitive Possessives occur typically also have members that have a Locational Possessive. Thus, the Genitive Possessives in the Indic, Uralic, Turkic, Mongolian, and Himalayan languages are flanked by Locational Possessives in other languages of these families, as the examples below will illustrate.

(64)   DUMAKI (Indo-European, Indic)
         Manisa   pa   sapika   cha
         men   at   bread   be.3SG.PRES
         'The men have bread' (Lorimer 1939: 83)

(65)   SINHALESE (Indo-European, Indic)
         Ma-te   pot   tienewa
         1SG-DAT   books   be.INAN.PRES
         'I have books' (Gair 1970: 60)

(66) Finnish (Uralic, Balto-Finnic)
Isä-llä   on   kaksi   auto-a
father-at   be.3SG.PRES two   car-PART
'Father has two cars' (Karlsson 1983: 66)

(67) Vogul (Uralic, Ugric)
Mos-ne   palt mań   ńawram oli'
woman-LOC   on   small child   be.PRES.3SG
'The woman has a small child' (Riese 2001: 65)

(68) Yakut (Altaic, Turkic)
Mijiä-chä   taba   baar
1SG-DAT   reindeer   exist
'I have reindeer' (Böhtlingk 1964: 128)

(69) Written Mongolian (Altaic, Mongolian)
Na-dur   morin   bui
1SG-LOC   horse   be.3SG.PRES
'I have a horse' (Poppe 1954: 147)

(70) Khalkha (Altaic, Mongolian)
Na-d   olon   mori   bajna
1SG-DAT   many   horse be.3SG.PRES
'I have many horses' (Street 1963: 163)

(71) Classical Tibetan (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan)
Na-la   khanpa-zig   yod
1SG-DAT   house-one   exist
'I have a house' (Jäschke 1929: 147)

(72) Ladakhi (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan)
Khokhun-la   za-rgyu   mang-po   yot
3PL-DAT   food   much   exist
'They have plenty of food' (Grierson 1909: 62)

(73) Garo (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Bodic)
Aŋ-o   matcu   doŋ-a
1SG-LOC   cow   be-HAB
'I have a cow' (Burling 1961: 12)

(74) Burmese (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Burmese-Lolo)
Cunto-hma   pai-hsan   hyí
1SG-at   money   exist
'I have some money' (Okell 1969: 130)

Similarly, while Maori and Tahitian have a Genitive Possessive, Samoan and Fijian have a straightforward Locational Possessive.

(75) SAMOAN (Austronesian, Polynesian)
      Sa   i ai   ia Sina se   ta'avale
      PAST exist to S.   ART   car
      'Sina had a car' (Marsack 1975: 54)

(76) FIJIAN (Austronesian, East Oceanic)
      Sa   tu   vei au   e   dua   na   isele
      PERF stand to me PRED one ART knife
      'I have a knife' (Churchward 1941: 40)

Furthermore, the Genitive Possessive in Quechua can be seen to be 'surrounded' by Locational Possessives from various language families in North-West South America, such as Witotoan, Peba-Yaguan, and Tucanoan.

(77) HUITOTO (Witotoan)

      a. Nɨga   atávaiaɨ o-mo   i-te
          how.much hen.PL   2SG-at   be-NONFUT.3
          'How many hens do you have?' (Minor et al. 1982: 118)

      b. Nɨga   jitónɨa   o-mo   i-te
          how.much child.PL 2SG-at   be-NONFUT.3
          'How many children do you have?' (Minor et al. 1982: 118)

(78) YAMEO (Peba-Yaguan)
      Aŕé   lʋóɹ   rá-weša   ŕáə-me
      that house be-PAST   1SG-LOC
      'I owned that house' (Espinosa Perez 1955: 355)

(79) BARASANO (Eastern Tucanoan)
      Gɨbo sudi   bā-a-ha   yɨ-re
      foot   clothing not.be-PRES-3   1SG-for
      'I have no shoes' (Jones and Jones 1991: 7)

In the case of the unmarked Adnominal Possessive, the issue at hand can be formulated as a choice between the following two grammaticalization paths:

(80) Source [PR   PE] V   ➔
      Target [PR   PE] BE

(81) Source PR   PE   BE   ➔
      Target [PR   PE] BE

Again, the question is about choosing between two different explanations for the parallelism between the encoding of predicative and attributive possession: is it the attributive construction that 'pushed' the predicative construction into existence, or is the predicative construction the basis upon which, in the relevant languages, the attributive construction has been construed? And again, genetic and areal facts suggest that the latter scenario is more likely. The major instances of the unmarked Adnominal Possessive – that is, the target structure in both (80) and (81) – are found in language families or linguistic areas in which the Topic Possessive – that is, the source structure in (81) – is the norm. As will be made abundantly clear in Chapter 11, Austronesian is a language phylum in which the Topic Possessive reigns supreme. For now, a few examples may suffice by way of illustration:

(82)   Toba Batak   (Austronesian, West Indonesian)
        Ia   begu   Ón   tòlu   ború-na
        TOP   spirit   exist   three   daughter-his
        'The spirit had three daughters' (Percival 1981: 101)

(83)   Tondano   (Austronesian, Philippine)
        Si   tuama si   wewean   wale   rua
        AN.SG man   TOP   exist   house   two
        'The man has two houses' (Sneddon 1975: 175)

(84)   Sikka   (Austronesian, East Indonesian)
        Dzarang   di   norang   maeng
        horse   also   exist   soul
        'Horses also have souls' (Arndt 1931: 48)

(85)   Tolai   (Austronesian, Melanesian)
        Avet   a   mangoro   na   buai
        we   ART   many   CLASS   betelnut
        'We have many betelnuts' (Mosel 1984: 163)

(86)   Mokilese   (Austronesian, Micronesian)
        Woallo   mine   woaroa-h   war
        man.that   exist   VEHICLE-his   canoe
        'That man has a canoe' (Harrison 1976: 212)

(87)   Mangap-Mbula (Austronesian, West Oceanic)
        Nu   kom   kini   i-mbot
        2SG.NOM   your   food   3SG-stay
        'Do you have any food?' (Bugenhagen 1995: 381)

The Mayan languages, which form the other concentration of unmarked Adnominal Possessive encoding, are clearly part of an area in which the Topic Possessive is a major – although not the uncontested – option. Examples from various Central American language families demonstrate this point.

(88) SAN MIGUEL CHIMALAPA ZOQUE (Mixe-Zoque)
      Dəš   tehi   ʔən-tuhkuyʔ
      1SG   exist   my-gun
      'I have a gun' (Johnson 2000: 93)

(89) CHALCATONGO MIXTEC (Oto-Maguean, Mixtecan)
      Čàà   tú-žóó   seʔe
      man   NEG-exist child
      'That man has no children' (Macaulay 1996: 103)

(90) MEZQUITAL OTOMÍ (Oto-Manguean, Otomian)
      ʔna ra   dame   mi-xa   ya   hwami
      one ART   man   PAST-exist his.PL   cornfield
      'A man had cornfields' (Hess 1968: 111)

(91) HIGHLAND CHONTAL (Hokan, Tequistlatecan)
      Iyaʔ   di-baʔa   l-ihaʔmal
      1SG   3SG-exist   ART-mescal
      'I have some mescal' (Turner 1966: 40)

The point of these areal and genetic facts is this. If it were the case that predicative Adnominal Possessives have their template in the attributive possession construction – that is, if the diachronic scenarios (63) and (80) have any reality value – we would expect them to occur at more or less random places in the world. After all, any language has an attributive possession construction of some kind, and hence, any language could, in principle, employ that construction to build its predicative possession construction on it. However, the fact is that predicative Adnominal Possessives have a strong preference to limit their occurrence to families and areas in which either the Locational Possessive – for marked Adnominal Possessives – or the Topic Possessive (for unmarked Adnominal Possessives) is the predominant option. Given this, the idea that Adnominal Possessives are some diachronically motivated variant of these two basic possession types – an idea which is represented in the scenarios (62) and (81) – becomes much more plausible than its diametrically opposed alternative.

By way of a second line of argumentation, I would like to call attention to the fact that locational/directional items are by no means the only source for

genitival markers in the attributive possessive construction. Since this book is about predicative possession only, I have not done a systematic survey of the typology of attributive possessive constructions,[7] but at least one thing about this typology appears to be well-established (see, among others, Aristar 1991). In addition to locational markers, a second source for genitival markers can be found in items that are used to mark relative clauses. The identity of genitival markers and relative clause markers can be documented in all sorts of unrelated languages from all over the world. A small, and undoubtedly very incomplete, set of examples is given below.

(92) MANDARIN (Sino-Tibetan, Sinitic)

    a. Wǒ-de   chènshan
       1SG-GEN shirt
       'My shirt' (Li and Thompson 1981: 113)

    b. Zhòng shuǐguǒ de   nóngrén
       grow   fruit   RM   farmer
       'The farmers who grow fruit' (Li and Thompson 1981: 580)

(93) LAHU (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Burmese-Lolo)

    a. Cà-Lô ve   á-thɔ
       C.   GEN knife
       'Jalaw's knife' (Mattisoff 1973: 141)

    b. Yàʔ-qɔ jû qay ve   a-piqu
       road   go walk REL old.lady
       'The old lady who is walking along the road' (Matisoff 1973: 472)

(94) JAPANESE (Altaic, Japanese)

    a. Taroo no ie
       T.   GEN house
       'Taroo's house' (Kuno 1978: 70)

    b. Otoosan ga   syoogakkoo no   sensei no kodomo
       father   SUBJ grade.school GEN teacher RM child
       'A child whose father is a grade-school teacher' (Kuno 1978: 87)

(95) AMHARIC (Afro-Asiatic, South Semitic)

    a. Yɛ-nɛgadde-w   bet
       GEN-merchant-DEF house
       'The merchant's house' (Klingenheben 1966: 18)

      [7] See Koptjevskaja Tamm (2001) and the literature mentioned there.

  b. Yä-mätta   sä-w
   RM-come.PERF.3SG man-DEF
   'The man who has come' (Cohen 1936: 115)

(96) DYIRBAL (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)

  a. Bayi waŋal   baŋul yara-ŋu
   DEM boomerang DEM man-GEN
   'The boomerang of that man' (Dixon 1972: 105)

  b. Balan ɖugumbil ɲina-ŋu
   DEM woman sit.down-RM
   'The woman who is/was sitting down' (Dixon 1972: 100)

(97) TAGALOG (Austronesian, Philippine)

  a. Lapis ng bata
   pencil GEN child
   'The child's pencil' (Schachter and Otanes 1983: 137)

  b. Ang mga estudyante ng nagtrabaho
   ART pl student   RM work
   'The students who work' (Schachter and Otanes 1983: 132)

(98) TUBU (Nilo-Saharan, Saharan)

  a. Yiní arkɔ́ ŋa
   meat goat GEN
   'The meat of the/a goat' (Lukas 1953: 37)

  b. Au fádər   ŋa ré
   man talk.PERF.1SG RM come.PERF.3SG
   'The man I talked about has come' (Lukas 1953: 179)

An explanation of this remarkable identity between these two types of functional items need not concern us here. What is important for us now is that, in my sample, I have encountered not a single case of a Genitive Possessive in which the marker on the possessee NP could be traced back convincingly to a relative clause marker. In other words, it appears that attributive possessive constructions with a relative-based genitival marker are very poor 'templates' for predicative possession constructions. Now, if one believes in the scenario (63), this state of affairs becomes inexplicable. After all, there is no principled reason why relative-based attributive possessives should not be able to act as sources for predicative possessive constructions, whereas locational-based attributive possessives are free to do so. However, if one assumes the opposite scenario, the mystery dissolves. Apparently, predicative Locational Possessives

are a diachronic source for attributive possession constructions, but they are clearly not the only one.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that the Adnominal Possessive, be it in its marked or unmarked variant, does not have to be included among the types in our typology of predicative possession. To avoid misunderstandings, let me explain what is implied by this claim. I do not want to deny that, for at least some languages, an analysis of their synchronic possessive construction in terms of an adnominal possessor phrase may be the correct decision. The question is, however, whether this possibility constitutes a decisive factor in the construction of our typology. As always in linguistic typology, we have to ask ourselves here whether an observable formal phenomenon in our data base is criterial, that is, whether it should be honoured in our typology by a typological difference such as the establishment of a new, separate type. In this chapter I have tried to cast doubt on the criterial value of the phenomenon of Adnominal Possessives, by adducing a number of arguments that stem from different perspectives on the cross-linguistic encoding of possessive constructions. First, there is the empirical perspective: for at least a significant number of alleged adnominal possessives it can be argued that they are in fact instances of the Locational Possessive or the Topic Possessive, when criteria of constituency are applied. Secondly, from a diachronic perspective it can be shown that at least a number of alleged Adnominal Possessives derive their formal features historically from Locational Possessives. And thirdly, there are arguments of an areal nature, as it can be demonstrated that alleged Adnominal Possessives always share the same areal distribution as either Locational Possessives or Topic Possessives. When these various sorts of arguments are taken in conjunction, one may be led to conclude that the phenomenon of adnominal possessive constructions does not have to be criterial and that, in other words, assuming a separate category of Adnominal Possessives in our typology is probably superfluous.

I am quite aware that arguments of the kinds presented above cannot be rated as a proof of the correctness of a typological decision; at best, they are suggestive of what constitute fruitful and less fruitful avenues of typological research. However, as I have stated in Section 2.1.2, typological distinctions are not an end in themselves. They have to be evaluated on the basis of their fertility in providing the basic material for explanation, and as such they can be validated or rejected on the basis of a general explanatory framework. Now, it will be shown in the chapters in Part II that the assumption of a separate

category of Adnominal Possessives does not lead to explanatory surplus value. In particular, we will see that the marked variant of the Adnominal Possessive always confirms the same cross-linguistic predictions that can be formulated for Locational Possessives, and that the unmarked variant of the Adnominal Possessive always aligns itself with predictions that are made for Topic Possessives. Given this, I think it is defendable to apply the general methodological principle known as Ockham's Razor, which admonishes us not to complicate our theories beyond necessity. As a result, I have abstained from treating cases of Adnominal Possessives as a separate type in my typology.

5

Predicativization

5.1 Introduction

By the term PREDICATIVIZATION I will refer to a process that results in a reanalysis of the categorial and syntactic status of the phrase which contains the possessee. In particular, this possessee phrase – which may consist of the possessee only, or of a collocation of the possessee and some marker – comes to be reanalysed as the predicate of a possessive construction that has the possessor as its subject. I will argue below that these predicativized possessee phrases are to be seen as essentially 'property-indicating', or ADJECTIVAL, and that their morphosyntactic behaviour can be predicted from the way in which the language at issue constructs items like 'big', 'bad', or 'beautiful' in predicate function. For at least some languages, we can observe that possessee phrases that are reanalysed in this way not only parallel adjectives when used as predicates, but can also occur in attributive function, just like adjectives can. Thus, a predicativized possessee phrase in these languages can be likened to such English formations as *moneyed*, *red-nosed*, *wide-eyed*, *long-legged*, or *pot-bellied*.

While the grammaticalization process of adnominalization is a possible feature of Locational Possessives and Topic Possessives, the process of predicativization is very much a prerogative of the With-Possessive. The main body of this chapter will therefore be devoted to cases that have this possessive type as its source. In the final section I will discuss the question of whether there are also cases of predicativization that are based on other possessive types.

5.2 Predicativization of With-Possessives

In Section 2.4 I have defined a standard form of the With-Possessive, which is characterized by the following morphosyntactic features:

  (a) the construction contains a locational/existential *be*-verb;
  (b) the possessor is the subject of the sentence;
  (c) the possessee is marked by some oblique element.

In other words, in the standard variant of the With-Possessive the possessee is part of an adverbial phrase. A common, but by no means mandatory, characteristic of this adverbial phrase is that it has comitative meaning; that is, the marker on the possessee often has the reading of comitative 'with'. However, the defining characteristic of the With-Possessive is that, structurally speaking, the construction is the exact opposite of the Locational Possessive.

The standard, ADVERBIAL, variant of the With-Possessive is strongly represented in a number of specific linguistic areas, such as sub-Saharan Africa, certain parts of New Guinea, and several language families in South America. A full treatment of all the sampled cases of this variant, as well as of the other variants of the With-Possessive, will be given in Chapter 10. For now, it may suffice to repeat a few examples of the standard variant which were already presented in Section 2.4.

(1) HAUSA (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic)
    Ya-nàa   dà   kuɗii
    3SG.M-CONT   with   money
    'He has money' (Wolff 1993: 495)

(2) MBAY (Nilo-Saharan, West Central Sudanic)
    Ngon   ǐ   kɔ̀   k̀iya
    child   is   with   knife
    'The child has a knife' (Keegan 1997: 77)

(3) MUNDANG (Niger-Kordofanian, Adamawa-Ubangian, Adamawa)
    Mẹ̀   (nò)   nɔ   yâŋ
    1SG   (be)   with   house
    'I have a house' (Elders 2000: 248)

(4) TSHILUBA (Niger-Kordofanian, Central-West Bantu)
    Mu-kalenge   u-di   ne   ba-pika
    CLASS-chief 3SG-be with   slaves
    'The chief has slaves' (Willems 1943: 14)

(5) WASKIA (Papuan, Adelbert Range)
    a. John   buk   awukala   karo   bage-so
       J.   book   how.many   with   be-3SG.PRES
       'How many books does John have?' (Ross and Natu Paol 1978: 15)

    b. Ane   naur   karo
       1SG   coconut   with
       'I have a coconut' (Ross and Natu Paol 1978: 11)

(6) NABAK (Papuan, Huon-Finisterre)
An   notnaŋ   bo-iŋ-mak
man   some   pig-their-with
'Some men have pigs' (Fabian et al. 1998: 443)

(7) HIXKARYANA (Macro-Carib, Carib)
Apaytara hyawo naha   biryekomo
chicken   with   3SG-be-PRES   boy
'The boy has chickens' (Derbyshire 1979: 110)

(8) CHACOBO (Panoan)
Kanati-ya   roʔa-no
bow-with   only-DS.CONS
'If (I) only had a bow' (Prost 1967: 289)

(9) MOSETÉN (Mosetenan)
Fan   jiri-s-tom   aka'
Juan   one-F-COM   house
'Juan has a house' (Sakel 2004: 300)

However, the adverbial form of the With-Possessive is not the only manifest-ation of this type in my sample, nor is it even the most frequent one. The With-Possessive also allows for two other variants, which have in common that the syntactic status of the possessee-phrase has changed. In these variants the possessee-phrase no longer functions as an adverbial, but has been reanalysed as (part of) the PREDICATE of the construction.

The difference between the two predicativized variants of the With-Possessive lies in the categorial status that is assigned to the reanalysed possessee-phrase. In the FLEXIONAL variant, the possessee-phrase is treated as an intransitive verb stem, and hence it receives all the morphological marking that the language reserves for intransitive verbs. Thus, it may take subject agreement affixes if the language has them, and it may receive marking for tense, mood, aspect, or any other category that the language chooses to mark on intransitive verbs. An example of this variant of the With-Possessive is presented by the major possessive construction in the North-East Siberian language Tundra Yukaghir. As example (10) demonstrates, the possessor is subject in the construction. The predicate in the construction is a verbal form, which has as its stem the collocation of the possessee and the comitative suffix -*n*/-*n'e* 'with'. This stem receives intransitive verbal inflexion, by means of suffixes which index the possessor subject.

(10) TUNDRA YUKAGHIR (Yukaghir)
      Marqa-n   lame-n'-ŋi
      one-ATTR   dog-COM-3PL.INTR
      'They had one dog' (Maslova 2003b: 70)

In the other variant, which can be called the COPULAR variant of the With-Possessive, the possessee-phrase is constructed as part of a nonverbal predicate. That is, it takes on the syntactic status of the complement of a copular item. As has been established in the literature on copular items (see, among others, Stassen 1997; Pustet 2003), these items may manifest themselves as a copular verb, a copular particle, or as a zero element. The following example from the Mongolian language Khalkha illustrates the nonverbal predicate construction of the possessee-phrase with a copular verb, while the example from the Australian language Pitjantjatjara shows the nonverbal predicate construction with a zero copula.

(11) KHALKHA (Altaic, Mongolian)
      Dorj mori-toj   bajna
      D.   horse-with COP.3SG.PRES
      'Dorj has a horse' (Bosson 1964: 53)

(12) PITJANTJATJARA (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
      Ngankulu   kula-tjara
      1SG.ABS   spear-with/PROP
      'I have a spear' (Douglas 1957: 24)

As it turns out, there is a way to predict whether a language that grammaticalizes its With-Possessive by predicativization will opt for the flexional or the copular variant. Wetzer (1996) and Stassen (1997) show in detail that the class of 'property concept predicates' (commonly known as 'adjectives') does not have a predicative strategy of its own. When items meaning 'big', 'old', 'new', 'good', or 'fast' are constructed as main predicates in a sentence, they will always align themselves with some other predicate category. In many languages, this alignment veers to the side of verbs, so that we can say that such languages have VERBY predicate adjectives. A clear example of this situation is the Eastern Siberian language Aleut, where property predicates like 'good' are treated exactly like action predicates such as 'go out' when they are constructed as main predicates of a sentence.

(13) ALEUT (Eskimo-Aleut)
      a. Hiti-ku-q
         go.out-PRES-3SG
         'He goes out' (Bergsland 1997: 254)

b. Ada-ng   iǵámana-ku-q
   father-my   good-PRES-3SG
   'My father is good' (Geoghegan 1944: 31)

Opposed to this, there are languages like English, in which predicative adjectives are clearly not verbs. In such languages, items like *good* align themselves with predicate nominals, and hence we can say that such items are NOUNY in predicative use.

(14)   ENGLISH (Indo-European, West Germanic)

   a. My father sleep-s
   b. *My father good-s
   c. My father is good
   d. My father is a sailor (own data)

Now, the relevance of this typological distinction between 'verby' and 'nouny' predicative adjectives for the typology of predicative possession lies in the fact that the following universal statements are without counter-examples in my sample:

(15)   UNIVERSALS OF PREDICATIVIZATION

   a. If a language has a predicativized With-Possessive of the copular variant, its predicative adjectives are nouny.
   b. If a language has a predicativized With-Possessive of the flexional variant, its predicative adjectives are verby.

The parallelism between the options in predicative adjective encoding and the options in Predicativization of With-Possessives can be illustrated by contrasting the encoding of predicative adjectives in Tundra Yukaghir, on the one hand, and in Khalkha and Pitjantjatjara, on the other hand. In Tundra Yukaghir, which has a flexional With-Possessive, predicative adjectives – but not predicate nominals – are encoded in exactly the same way as verbs: they get person/number marking and tense/aspect marking (see sentence (16b)), whereas predicate nominals are constructed with a zero copula (see sentence (16c)).

(16)   TUNDRA YUKAGHIR (Yukaghir)

   a. Peldudie   apanala-n'e-ŋ   oh-uol-ŋi
      old.man   old.woman-COM-FOC   stand-STAT-3PL
      'The old man and the old woman were standing' (Maslova 2003b: 61)

   b. T'awul-hane   lawje-ŋ   el'-amo-o
      sea-LOC   water-FOC   NEG-be.good-3SG.STAT
      'The sea water is not good' (Maslova 2003b: 59)

    c. Kid   aka-pe-gi   qali-t'e   ierut'e-pe-k
       two   elder.brother-PL-his horrible-INTR hunter-PL-FOC
       'His two elder brothers were great hunters' (Maslova 2003b: 67)

In contrast, predicative adjectives in Khalkha and Pitjantjatjara – which have a With-Possessive of the copular variety – align themselves with predicate nominals. In Khalkha, predicative adjectives (can) take a full copular verb, while in Pitjantjatjara they take a zero copula, just like predicate nominals do.

(17) KHALKHA (Altaic, Mongolian)

    a. Bi   bos-ov
       1SG   rise-PAST
       'I stood up' (Street 1963: 122)

    b. Sini   nom   saing bai-na
       your   book   good   be-PRES
       'Your book is good' (Poppe 1951: 102)

    c. Mini   xu   bagsi   bai-na
       my   son   teacher be-PRES
       'My son is a teacher' (Poppe 1951: 102)

(18) PITJANTJATJARA (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)

    a. Watilu   tjilira-nu   nyangka ngankulu
       man.SUBJ arm.himself-PAST and   1SG.SUBJ
       nguluri-ngu
       become.afraid-PAST
       'The man armed himself, and I became afraid' (Douglas 1957: 101)

    b. Lampi   pulkanya
       ant.hill   large
       'The ant-hill is large' (Douglas 1957: 55)

    c. Wati   ngalyayala
       man   doctor
       'The man is a doctor' (Douglas 1957: 55)

Given the fact that reanalysed With-Possessives always follow the encoding of predicate adjectives, the grammaticalization of possessee-phrases into predicative elements can, in my opinion, best be viewed as involving an initial process of ADJECTIVALIZATION. That is, a first step in this grammaticalization involves the recategorization of the possessee-phrase as a 'property-indicating' item. After that, the recategorized possessee-phrase gets constructed as (part of) a predicate, and follows the encoding strategy that the language has for adjectival predicates in general. As I stated above, it can be shown that the reanalysis

of possessee-phrases as adjectives is, in some languages, not only signalled by their predicative behaviour. Here we can observe that they can function as attributive modifiers as well, in the same way as attributive adjectives. An example of the attributive use of the 'adjectivalized' possessee phrase can be found in the following sentences from the Siberian language Even. In this language, the possessee-phrase in the (copular) With-Possessive consists of the possessee plus the suffix *-lka/-lkan*. Formations with this suffix freely occur as attributive adjectives (see sentences (20a–b)).

(19)   EVEN (Altaic, Tungusic)
       Tarak   bej   zu-lkan
       this   man   house-SUFF
       'This man has a house' (Benzing 1955: 30)

(20)   EVEN (Altaic, Tungusic)

   a. Bejil   nenga-lka-sal   tuttiten
      man.PL   dog-SUFF-PL   walk.3PL.PAST
      'People with dogs (*lit.* 'dogged' people) walked by' (Benzing 1955: 30)

   b. Bi   mo-lkan   em-rem
      1SG   wood-SUFF   come-1SG.PAST
      'I came with wood' (*lit.* 'I came 'wooded') (Benzing 1955: 30)

It will be clear that the process of adjectivalization and the ensuing predicativization of the possessee phrase in the With-Possessive does not only have consequences for the categorial status of the possessee-phrase as a whole; it also affects the status of the marking element in that possessee phrase. During, or as a result of, the grammaticalization process this marker gets reanalysed as a DERIVATIONAL AFFIX, which forms adjectives (or, as the case may be, 'adjectival' verbs) from nouns. As a consequence, various grammatical descriptions use terms like 'adjectivalizer' or 'verbalizer' to indicate this affix. In some cases, the etymological relation between the 'adjectivalizing' item and some oblique case marker is still recoverable. However, we also find many instances in which the affix appears to have been specialized in its derivational function, and no connection to its oblique origin – or to its origin *tout court* – can be established.

   In the next two subsections I will review all cases of predicativized With-Possessives in my sample, starting with the copular variant.

5.2.1 *The copular variant*

The rise of the copular variant of the With-Possessive through predicativization can be schematically represented as follows:

(21)   Source   PR   PE-ᴏʙʟ   (BE)   ➜
        Target   PR   PE-ᴀᴅᴊ   (COP)

In this section I will review all the instances of the copular With-Possessive in my sample, but before I start, a few clarifying remarks may be helpful. It will be evident that we need criteria to decide whether a given instance of a With-Possessive is adverbial or copular. One feature that can be brought to bear upon this decision is the status of the language with respect to the sᴘʟɪᴛ–sʜᴀʀᴇ ᴘᴀʀᴀᴍᴇᴛᴇʀ, as defined in Stassen (1997). In Section 3.3 I have pointed out that some languages must be classified on this parameter as being 'splitters', meaning that in these languages the encoding of copular sentences and locative/existential sentences does not employ the same predicate item. Common configurations in 'splitter' languages amount to the use of different *be*-verbs for the two sentence types, or the combination of a zero-encoding for copular sentences with a full lexical encoding of locative/existential predicates. Now, these contrasts in encoding options in 'splitter' languages can be employed as a criterion in the assessment of the status of With-Possessives. If, for example, the language has a With-Possessive with zero-encoding, and we know that zero-encoding in this language is allowed for copular sentences but not for locational/existential sentences, we can decide that the With-Possessive must be of the copular variety. Other clues may be gained from scrutinizing the origin and the synchronic function of the marking element on the possessee. If, for example, this element is a locational or comitative adposition, one might think of an analysis of the With-Possessive as adverbial. In contrast, if we find that the marking item in question is in general use as a derivational affix for adjectives, one might veer to the position that the With-Possessive is copular. Of course, there will also be cases in which none of these criteria can be made to work. For one thing, the language may be a 'sharer', that is, a language in which copular sentences and locative/existential sentences employ the same (full or zero) predicate item. We will also often lack vital information on the diachronic and/or synchronic status of the marking element on the possessee. As a result, we will inevitably be left with a number of cases for which the copular or adverbial status of the With-Possessive cannot be established unambiguously. At the present state of linguistic typology, such situations cannot be avoided and must be regarded as simply a fact of life. Moreover, one can say that the existence of indeterminate cases is actually something that can be expected. This indeterminacy can often be attributed to the gradual character of grammaticalization processes and the possibility of in-between cases that this entails. In our present case, one should not be surprised to see that the reanalysis which has to take place in

the change from an adverbial With-Possessive to a copular With-Possessive has been effectuated more fully and finally in some languages than in others.

The copular variant of the With-Possessive is attested in a number of unconnected linguistic areas, the first of which is north-east Asia. This area can be viewed as a transitory zone between Eurasia, which is dominated by the Locational Possessive, and north-west America, where the With-Possessive is the norm. This borderline diffusion manifests itself in a number of Altaic languages in which both possession encodings are possible. Thus, the Eastern Turkic languages Tyvan and Yakut complement their – presumably major – Locational Possessive with a With-Possessive, in which the possessee is marked by the suffix *-tiγ/-lig* (Tyvan) or *-looch* (Yakut). It is not clear whether or not this possession option is fully productive, but going by the examples one can find for Tyvan it can be concluded that the construction covers both alienable and inalienable possession.

(22) Tyvan (Altaic, Turkic)

    a. Men   diis-tiγ   men
       1SG   cat-ADJ   1SG
       'I have a cat' (Anderson and Harrison 1999: 24)

    b. Bis   mašina-lig   bis
       1PL   car-ADJ   1PL
       'We have a car' (Anderson and Harrison 1999: 32)

    c. Men   üš   ugba-lig-ben
       1SG   three   sister-ADJ-1SG
       'I have three sisters' (Anderson and Harrison 1999: 39)

(23) Yakut (Altaic, Turkic)
    Kihi   ogo-looch
    man   child-having
    'The man has children' (Krueger 1962: 113)

To my knowledge, the etymological origin of the suffix is unknown; the only suggestion I have heard of is that *-lig/looch* might be a combination of a denominative suffix *-la* and the dative case marker *-cha* (Lars Johansson p.c.). What is certain is that it is not a comitative suffix, as the comitative in these languages is marked by the suffix *-bile* (Tyvan) or *-luun/-lin/-nin* (Yakut). As for the status of the construction, it is hard to decide whether we have an adverbial or a copular With-Possessive here. There is no *be*-verb in the construction, but this zero-encoding is available for both copular and locational/existential sentences in at least Tyvan.

(24) TYVAN (Altaic, Turkic)

    a. Men   xavan
        I   pig
        'I am a pig' (Anderson and Harrison 1999: 73)

    b. Ava-m   bažiŋ-da
        mother-my   house-LOC
        'My mother is at home' (Anderson and Harrison 1999: 19)

In Yakut, on the other hand, we find that zero-encoding is largely limited to copular sentences, while locational/existential sentences commonly require a full predicate item.

(25) YAKUT (Altaic, Turkic)

    a. Kini   učŭutal
        3SG   teacher
        'He is a teacher' (Krueger 1962: 122)

    b. Uya-ga   bar-bin
        house-at   be-PRES.1SG
        'I am in the house' (Böhtlingk 1964: 347)

    c. Kilaas-ka   biir   ostuol   baar
        classroom-LOC one   table   be
        'There is a table in the classroom' (Krueger 1962: 119)

For this reason, I am inclined to view the With-Possessive in these two languages as an instance of the copular With-Possessive. It can be added that predicate adjectives in these languages are nominal, and can readily be constructed with a zero-copula, just like predicate nominals can.

(26) TYVAN (Altaic, Turkic)
      Ol   kiži   uluγ
      that   person   big
      'That person is big' (Anderson and Harrison 1999: 16)

(27) YAKUT (Altaic, Turkic)
      Turgem   min
      fast   1SG
      'I am fast' (Krueger 1962: 121)

A quite similar story can be told about the Tungusic languages Even and Evenki, and the two Mongolian languages Khalkha and Written Mongolian. Again, these are languages which have a Locational Possessive as their primary option. The With-Possessive in Even and Evenki features the suffix *-lkan*,

which may derive historically from a locative suffix -*le* and a diminutive/
affective suffix -*kĕn* (see Benzing 1955: 20–1). The suffix, which is not identical
to the comitative, regularly derives adjectives from nouns, which is why I feel
justified in calling this With-Possessive an instance of the copular subtype.
According to Andrej Malchukov (p.c.) the suffix is productive in Evenki.

(28) EVENKI (Altaic, Tungusic)
      Tar   bey   jůů-lkan
      this   man   house-AFF
      'This man has a house' (Andrej Malchukov p.c.)

(29) EVEN (Altaic, Tungusic)
      Tarak   bej   zu-lkan
      this   man   house-SUFF
      'This man has a house' (Benzing 1955: 30)

The origin of the suffix -*tai/tei* (Written Mongolian) or -*taj/-toj* (Khalkha),
which marks the possessee in the With-Possessive, is unknown. In Classical
Mongolian, the suffix had the function of deriving nouns and adjectives
which indicate 'possession, connection with, or containment in something'
(Poppe 1954: 27). Examples of such formations are: *surgaguli* 'school' >
surgaguli-tai 'learned, educated', and *morin* 'horse' > *mori-tai* 'horseman,
horse owner' (Poppe 1954: 44):[1] Given the fact that formations in -*tai/-tei*
or -*taj/-toj* are nouns or adjectives, one can safely assume that the With-
Possessive in these Mongolian languages is an instance of the copular variant.
Additional evidence for this assumption stems from the fact that the With-
Possessive can have zero-encoding. This is possible (though not obligatory)
for predicate adjectives and nominals, but not for locational/existential sen-
tences, which always require a full *be*-verb.

(30) WRITTEN MONGOLIAN (Altaic, Mongolian)
      Debel   jaqa-tai
      coat   collar-SUFF
      'A coat has a collar' (Poppe 1954: 158)

(31) KHALKHA (Altaic, Mongolian)

      a. Dorj   mori -toj   bajna
         D.   horse-ADJ   be.PRES
         'Dorj has a horse' (Bosson 1964: 53)

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[1] In Modern Mongolian the suffix *tai* has superseded the old comitative suffix *luga/lüge* 'with'
(Grönbeck and Krueger 1955: 27).

> b. Ter   khün   olon   mori-toj
>   that   man   many   horse-ADJ
>   'That man has many horses' (Street 1963: 198)

The next area in which With-Possessives are a prominent option is formed by New Guinea and Australia. In the Papuan languages that choose this possession type, the marking of the possessee is exclusively suffixal or postpositional. With regard to the syntactic status of the construction, we can observe that the flexional variant does not occur. This is in keeping with the fact that Papuan languages in general do not have verby predicative adjectives (see Stassen 1997: 396–405). In a number of cases, we have positive evidence for a copular analysis of the construction. For example, we find that the marked possessee in Alamblak is constructed with the suffixed 'copula' -*e*, an item which is used for predicate adjectives and nominals, but not for predicate locationals. Similarly, one of the With-Possessives in Yimas features a verbal form which is seldom, if ever, used for predicate locationals. Furthermore, the possessive constructions in Awtuw, Kapau, Koiari and Nasioi have zero-encoding, an option which is selected much more frequently with predicate adjectives and nominals than with predicate locationals. I can add that, for some of these languages, additional evidence for the copular status of their With-Possessives can be derived from the fact that the markers on the possessee do not have adverbial function. The argument is based on negative evidence here, since all we can show is that the markers in question do not encode comitative or other locational meaning. Thus, I have not been able to identify other uses of the postpositional item *hanga* in Kapau, nor does this item seem to be related to other postpositions or derivational morphemes. Similarly, no source is available for the 'proprietive' suffix -*poq* in Nasioi. The suffixes -*et* in Alamblak and -*neney* in Awtuw are glossed as 'having' or 'proprietive' in the sources; again, no indication of etymological origin or other synchronic function of these items could be observed.

(32) ALAMBLAK (Papuan, Sepik)
      Në   bi   yën-et-e-në
      1DU   now   child-AFF-COP-1DU
      'We (two) have children now' (Bruce 1984: 284)

(33) ALAMBLAK (Papuan, Sepik)

      a. Yiria-r   bro-e-r
         Y.-M   big-COP-3SG.M
         'Yiria is big' (Bruce 1984: 268)

b. Kun-e-t
house-COP-3SG.F
'It is a house' (Bruce 1984: 177)

c. Yima-r   a-së-r
man-M   near-stand-3SG.M
'A man is here/ There is a man here' (Bruce 1984: 178)

(34) YIMAS (Papuan, Sepik)
Ama   tkt   kantk-n   amayak
1SG   chair   with-1SG   COP.1SG
'I have a chair' (Foley 1991: 176)

(35) YIMAS (Papuan, Sepik)

a. M-n   kpa-n   anak
DIST-I.SG   big-I.SG   COP.I.SG
'He is big' (Foley 1991: 226)

b. Yua   imprampat   arak
good   basket.VII.PL   COP.VII.PL
'They are good baskets' (Foley 1991: 189)

c. Panmal   nam-n   wampuŋn   na-na-taw-n
man   house-OBL   inside   3SG-DEF-stand-PRES
'The man is inside the house' (Foley 1991: 106)

d. Akrŋ   yampaŋk-n   mawn   k-na-taw-n
frog.VI.SG   head-OBL   above   VI.SG-DEF-sit-PRES
'The frog is on top of (his) head' (Foley 1991: 107)

(36) KAPAU (Papuan, Central and Western)
Ni   änga   hanga   ti
I   house   with(?)   DECL
'I have a house' (Oates and Oates 1968: 75)

(37) KAPAU (Papuan, Central and Western)

a. Ni   na'a   ti
I   big   PRT/COP
'I am big' (Oates and Oates 1968: 11)

b. Ni   amä'ä   ti
I   man   PRT/COP
'I am a man' (Oates and Oates 1968: 11)

c. Qasmga   änga-m   qoe
spear   house-in   lie
'The spear is in the house' (Oates and Oates 1968: 67)

(38) Awtuw (Papuan, Sepik)
      Nom tapwo-neney, mowke nom tapwo awtuw
      1PL fire-AFF   before 1PL   fire   none
      'We have fire, but once we did not have fire' (Feldman 1986: 202)

(39) Awtuw (Papuan, Sepik)

      a. Ven   waruke
         2SG   big
         'You are big' (Feldman 1986: 117)

      b. Rey   wokek   rame
         he   tall   man
         'He is a tall man' (Feldman 1986: 109)

      c. Wankow   æwre-ke   d-awkey
         turtle   house-LOC   FACT-be.there
         'The turtle is in the house' (Feldman 1986: 104)

(40) Koiari (Papuan, South-East)
      Eburi-re   vuma-vore-go
      E.-SPEC   axe-with-SPEC
      'Eburi has an axe' (Dutton 1996: 16)

(41) Koiari (Papuan, South-East)

      a. Da   gorogavanu
         I   sick
         'I am sick' (Dutton 1996: 25)

      b. Ahuke   tisa   atavaro
         2SG.EMP   teacher   person
         'You are a teacher' (Dutton 1996: 66)

      c. Malaha   ke-u   oe   vava-e   u-ma
         man   that-SUBJ house beside-at   be-PROG
         'That man is (stopping) beside the house'
                                          (Garland and Garland 1975: 441)

(42) Nasioi (Papuan, East)
      Teni   en   toideq-poq-nani
      3SG.F Q   children-AFF-SG.F
      'Does she have any children?' (Hurd and Hurd 1966: 43)

(43) Nasioi (Papuan, East)

      a. Aun   motiq   pankain
         this   dog   big
         'This dog is big' (Hurd and Hurd 1966: 200)

b. Aun   paba
   this   house
   'This is a house' (Hurd and Hurd 1966: 4)

c. Donkaani   aaq   oton
   man   here   be.3SG.M.PRES
   'There is a man here' (Hurd and Hurd 1966: 5)

For the remaining Papuan languages in my sample the split–share parameter fails to be decisive, as these languages are 'sharers': they have zero encoding for both copular and locative/existential sentences, or – less frequently – they use the same verbal item for these sentence types. In some cases, we can derive some evidence for copular status of the With-Possessive from the fact that the marker on the possessee seems to have a general adjectivalizing function. Thus, this marker can sometimes be used to derive adjectives from nouns, witness the below examples from Waskia, Amele, and Nabak. Furthermore, the suffix *-ago/-jago* in Kapauku-Ekagi also functions as the morpheme that derives ordinal numerals from cardinals (Drabbe 1952: 33). The suffix *-tsaka* in Monumbo is not a comitative element: it may have a complex origin, as a concatenation of the locational verb *-tsa* 'be' and the conjunctional suffix *-ka* 'and'. Since all of the above-mentioned items can either be positively identified as adjectivalizers or negatively identified as non-adverbial markers, I have rated the With-Possessives which they mark as members of the copular variant.

(44) WASKIA (Papuan, Adelbert Range)

   a. Ane   naur   karo
      1SG   coconut   with
      'I have a coconut' (Ross and Natu Paol 1978: 11)

   b. Yu   karo
      wetness   with
      'wet' (Ross and Natu Paol 1978: 12)

(45) AMELE (Papuan, Madang)

   a. Ija   sigin   ca
      1SG   knife   with
      'I have a knife' (Roberts 1987: 81)

   b. Tin   ca
      sweetness   with
      'sweet' (Roberts 1987: 66)

(46) NABAK (Papuan, Huon-Finisterre)

    a. An   notnaŋ   bo-iŋ-mak
       man   some   pig-their-with
       'Some men have pigs' (Fabian et al. 1998: 443)

    b. Ŋamaŋ-mak
       red(ness)-with
       'red' (Fabian et al. 1998: 97)

(47) KAPAUKU-EKAGI (Papuan, Wissel Lakes)

    a. Naitai   ekina   umina-jago
       my-father   pig   much-AFF
       'My father has many pigs' (Steltenpool and Van Der Stap 1950: 22)

    b. Tika-ago
       one-AFF
       'first' (Drabbe 1952: 33)

    c. Wia-ago
       two-AFF
       'second' (Drabbe 1952: 33)

(48) MONUMBO (Papuan, Bogia)

    a. Ek   amé-tsaka   tse
       1SG   dog-having   be.1SG
       'I have a dog' (Vormann and Scharfenberger 1914: 11)

    b. Niŋ   auré-tsaka
       3SG.M   dog.PL-AFF
       'He has dogs' (Vormann & Scharfenberger 1914: 13)

Then, lastly, there are 'sharers' among the Papuan languages in which the marker of the possessee can be identified unambiguously as the comitative affix/adposition 'with' or the privative affix/adposition 'without'. Examples of this encoding can be found especially in linguistic groupings from the eastern parts of New Guinea; I have rated these cases as instances of the adverbial variant. I am quite ready to admit, however, that there is a certain amount of arbitrariness involved in these decisions. Perhaps the safest statement on the situation in the Papuan languages is that their With-Possessives show a tendency to undergo predicativization, but that this process has advanced to different degrees in the various languages, and that in some languages it has not applied at all.

(49) KOROWAI (Papuan, Central and South)
     Yuf-è   mban-mengga   abül
     he-CONN   child-with   man
     'He has children' (Van Enk and De Vries 1997: 80)

(50)   K<small>OROWAI</small> (Papuan, Central and South)
       Lebakhop   Yalul-mengga-lo   kho   lakhi-nè   alü
       old.woman   Y.-with-<small>FOC</small>   sago   wrap-ss   cook.ss
       bante-té
       distribute-3<small>PL.REAL</small>
       'And together with the old woman Yalul they prepared sago in the fire
       and distributed it' (Van Enk and De Vries 1997: 80)

(51)   D<small>AGA</small> (Papuan, South-East)
       Nu   uruga   oaenen   den,   nu   uruga   otun   den
       1<small>PL</small>   all   wife   with   1<small>PL</small>   all   child   with
       'We all have wives, we all have children' (Murane 1974: 334)

(52)   D<small>AGA</small> (Papuan, South-East)
       Karopae   i   den   buna-en
       mango   roots   with   pull-3<small>SG.PAST</small>
       'He pulled out the mango with its roots' (Murane 1974: 103)

(53)   O<small>MIE</small> (Papuan, Central and South-East)
       Saʔaho   ijo-ʔe   j-i-e
       land   tree-with   be-3<small>SG</small>-<small>PRES</small>
       'The land has trees' (Austing and Upia 1975: 578)

(54)   O<small>MIE</small> (Papuan, Central and South-East)
       Apo-ro   mamô-ʔô   vaʔadeje
       father-<small>ERG</small>   mother-with   go.3<small>PL.PAST</small>
       'Father went with Mother' (Austing and Upia 1975: 577)

(55)   K<small>OIARI</small> (Papuan, South-East)
       Eburi-re   vuma-vore-go
       E. -<small>SPEC</small>   axe-with-<small>SPEC</small>
       'Eburi has an axe' (Dutton 1996: 16)

(56)   K<small>OIARI</small> (Papuan, South-East)
       Ahu-vore-ge   da   behuva-nu
       he-with-<small>SPEC</small>   1<small>SG</small>   send-1<small>SG.PAST</small>
       'I sent it with him' (Dutton 1996: 52)

Among the languages of Australia, the With-Possessive is definitely a major
option. This is not to say that this encoding type is without competition;
especially in the north-west, among the so-called 'non-Pama-Nyungan'
languages, we find several instances of the Topic Possessive and quite a
few cases of the Have-Possessive. Notwithstanding this, it is clear that the

With-Possessive is widespread on the continent. In my sample, thirteen of the twenty-two Australian languages select this type, and I am convinced that the percentage of With-Possessives would have been considerably higher if more Australian languages had been included.

The Australian With-Possessive is exclusively suffixal. The general function of the suffix employed is 'to derive adjectival stems from any sort of nominal root' (Dixon 1980: 324). Given this, it is not surprising that the possessee, together with its suffix, typically takes on the syntactic function of a predicate adjective; in most languages it is – on a par with underived predicate adjectives – constructed with a zero-copula. In short, we can conclude that the Australian With-Possessive is typically of the copular subtype, although the process of predicativization which leads to the copular variant may have proceeded further in some languages than in others. Examples of the construction in the languages at issue will be given in Chapter 10; for now, I will restrict myself to a few remarks on the form and function of the element that marks the possessee.

The suffix that is involved in the Australian With-Possessive manifests itself in different forms. Frequently occurring suffixes are *-dhirri/-dhirr/-dhi/-yi*, *-dharri/-djarra*, and *-garray/-garra/-garri/-ga* (Dixon 2002: 170). It is possible that several of these forms are related, and the possibility that there is a relation to the suffix that marks reflexivity/reciprocity on verbs cannot be excluded (see Dixon 1976: 306–10, Dixon 2002: 170). Regardless of its particular form in a given language, the suffix has been recognized as a unit with a specific function, and has been labelled in the literature as the 'having-suffix' (Dixon 1976), the 'proprietive suffix' (Blake 1987), or the 'comitative suffix' (Dixon 1980, 2002). This divergence in terminology reflects the fact that the semantic range of the suffix is somewhat diffuse and varies quite extensively from language to language. Dixon (2002: 140) presents a survey of the semantic notions that the having-suffix may potentially cover; detailed descriptions of the semantic function of the suffix in a large number of Australian languages can be found in Dixon (1976: 203–312). As a general – and quite simplified – representation of the facts, one may state that the 'core business' of the having-suffix seems to be the expression of physical characteristics of a person (as in Gumbainggir *ŋu:bi-gari* 'moustache-having'; Eades 1979: 239) and – in the majority of languages – also of alienable possession. Further extensions of the meaning of the suffix may involve the expressions of characteristics of a place (e.g. 'water-having') and the mental or corporeal state of a person ('jealousy-having', 'sickness-having'). Furthermore, in some languages the suffix may cover the whole or parts of the semantic domain of accompaniment, and function as a marker of comitative – and in some

languages also instrumental – case. In other languages, however, the semantic range of the 'having-suffix' is curtailed by the presence of other suffixes; quite a few languages have special comitative or associative markers, and locative and dative markers can also sometimes be found to make their inroads on the domain.

A few examples may illustrate the variation in the semantic function of the having-suffix. A language in which the range of the suffix is exceptionally wide is Yidinj. As the examples given below indicate, the suffix *-yi/-y* in this language covers not only possession, but also comitative notions, and – quite untypically; see Dixon 2002: 141 – even temporal notions.

(57)   YIDINJ (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)

   a. Ɲayu   gala:-y
      1SG.SUBJ   spear-COM
      'I have a spear' (Dixon 1977: 149)

   b. Wagudja   bunja-y   gali-ŋ
      man.ABS   woman-COM   come-NONPAST
      'The man is coming with a woman' (Dixon 1977: 293)

   c. Ɲanjdji   gindanu-yi   burgi-ŋ
      1.NONSG.SUBJ   moon-COM   go.walkabout-NONPAST
      'We (could) go walkabout by moonlight' (Dixon 2002: 141)

In contrast, the semantic range of the 'having-suffix' in languages like Arrernte or Bagandji is more restricted. Thus, we find that the Arrernte suffix *-gata/-kerte* can be used for physical characteristics and alienable possession, but not for accompaniment; in the latter case, the comitative suffix *-lela* has to be used. Similarly, Hercus (1976: 229) observes that the suffix *-dja* in Bagandji 'denotes "having a certain characteristic, possession, condition or relationship"'. The author specifies explicitly that 'the affix *-dja*...does not have any of the other semantic functions ("accompanied by" etc.) which are characteristic of the affix "having" in other languages' (Hercus 1976: 230).

(58)   ARRERNTE (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)

   a. Kwementyaye   newe-kerte
      K.   spouse-PROP
      'Kwementyaye has a wife' (Wilkins 1989: 161)

   b. Aherre   ne-me   apethe-kerte
      kangaroo   be-NONPAST.PROG   pouch-PROP
      'Kangaroos have a pouch' (Wilkins 1989: 193)

    c. Arugutja   era   katjia-gata   na-ma
       woman   the   child-PROP   sit-PRES
       'The woman is pregnant' (Strehlow 1944: 200)

(59) ARRERNTE (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)

    a. Jinga   tjinna   nuka-lela   pallana-ma
       1SG   friend   my-COM   walk.about-PRES
       'I am walking about with my friend' (Strehlow 1944: 200)

    b. Arugutja   era   katjia-lela   na-ma
       woman   the   child-COM   sit-PRES
       'The woman is (sitting) with her child' (Strehlow 1944: 200)

(60) BAGANDJI (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)

    a. Ŋadda   balda-dja
       not   shame-having
       'He is completely shameless' (Hercus 1976: 229)

    b. Ŋidja   murba-dja-aba
       one   child-having-1SG.INTR
       'I've got one child' (Hercus 1976: 229)

    c. Daḍu-mɪgi-dja-aba
       head-pain-having-1SG.INTR
       'I've got a headache' (Hercus 1976: 229)

    d. Ŋulardi   daḍu-bulgi-dja
       much   head-hair-having
       'He's got a lot of hair' (Hercus 1976: 230)

    e. Janda-dja-ada
       'stone'-having-1SG.INTR
       'I've got money' (Hercus 1976: 230)

(61) BAGANDJI (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)

    a. Wagaga-ambala   ŋinga-yiga   manda-la
       tomahawk-COM   sit-3PL   wait-PURP
       'They sit waiting with tomahawks' (Hercus 1982: 79)

    b. Nuŋgu   ŋada   wanga-ambala   diga-la-dji
       woman   not   meat-COM   return-TOP-PAST
       'The woman returned without bringing the meat with her'
                                           (Hercus 1982: 79)

Finally, as a minimal case, we find languages in which the 'having-suffix' is of very limited use, and basically encodes only physical and/or mental

characteristics. An example is Wardaman, in which the suffix -*garang/-warang* 'tends to be used to express more permanent, inherent, affecting, or internalized possession or association' (Merlan 1994: 83). For other domains within the cognitive space of possession a Have-Possessive is employed (see sentences 63a–b).

(62)   WARDAMAN (Australian, Gunwinyguan)

    a. Mangali   yi-wad-garang
       girl.ABS   class-pubic.hair-PROP.ABS
       'The girl has pubic hair' (i.e. is old enough to be given in marriage)
       (Merlan 1994: 84)

    b. Mayin   mawuya-warang
       food.ABS   poison-PROP.ABS
       'The food is poisoned/has poison in it' (Merlan 1994: 84)

(63)   WARDAMAN (Australian, Gunwinyguan)

    a. Lege-biji   mulurru   ø-dagbarla-rri
       one-only   old.woman 3SG-have-PAST
       'He only had one wife' (Merlan 1994: 228)

    b. Yilgbawi   yi-dagbarla-n
       enough   2SG-have-PRES
       'You have enough' (Merlan 1994: 94)

Apart from the large, contiguous areas of north-east Asia and New Guinea/ Australia, other instances of the copular With-Possessive are found mainly in scattered, areally unrelated languages and language families. In North America, and especially in the western part of that continent, the With-Possessive is a major option, but these With-Possessives are preferably flexional. One of the very rare cases of the copular variant in North America is the extinct isolate Takelma, which was spoken in Oregon. This language had a With-Possessive in which the possessee was marked by the suffix -*gwaʔ*. There is hardly any doubt that this suffix had its origin in a combination of the comitative suffix -*gwa* 'with' and the participial or nominalizing suffix -*t*. Since the complex which contains the possessee is therefore at least historically a nominal(ized) form, it will come as no surprise that the With-Possessive in Takelma is copular: the construction features either the full copula *eī*- or – with third-person subjects – a zero-copula.

(64)   TAKELMA (Takelma)

    a. Ts·!u'lx-gwat'   eī-t'eʔ
       money-SUFF   be-1SG
       'I have money' (Sapir 1912: 277)

b. T'gwana't'-gwat'
   slave-SUFF
   'He has a slave' (Sapir 1912: 277)

(65) TAKELMA (Takelma)

a. I'lts!ak'ʷ   eī-t'eʔ
   ugly   be-1SG
   'I am ugly' (Sapir 1912: 247)

b. Waiwi   eí-tee-taʔ
   girl   be-1SG-when
   'When I was a girl' (Kendall 1977: 23)

In the With-Possessive of the Californian language Maidu, the possessee is marked by a suffix that is given in the sources as *-kö/-ku* (Dixon 1911) or *-ky* (Shipley 1963). The status of this suffix is uncertain, but it is possible that it is related in form to nominal case suffixes like genitive *-ki* 'of' and comitative *-kan* 'with', or to the verbal motion suffix *-koi*, which signals 'movement away from'. In its morphosyntax the With-Possessive in Maidu resembles the construction in Takelma. Again, we see that the marked possessee is adjectivalized or nominalized by a specific suffix, and that the resulting complex is constructed as the predicate adjective or predicate nominal in a copular sentence, of which the possessor is the subject. As is usual with predicate adjectives and predicate nominals in Maidu, the adjectivalized or nominalized possessee receives marking for subjective case. Adjectival and nominal predication in Maidu can feature either a full copula verb or a zero-copula (see sentences 67a–b), and these options are available for the With-Possessive as well.

(66) MAIDU (Maiduan)

a. Hobo'-kö-do-m   mai'se-m   büss-tsoia
   bark.hut-SUFF-NMNL-SUBJ   3PL-SUBJ   be-HSY
   'They had a bark hut' (Dixon 1911: 726)

b. Pâ-ku-pe-m   neno'mmaidu-m
   daughter-SUFF-NMNL-SUBJ   old.people-SUBJ
   'The old couple had a daughter' (Dixon 1911: 726)

(67) MAIDU (Maiduan)

a. Tetét   myje-m   jahá-m
   very   that.thing-SUBJ   good-SUBJ
   'That thing is very good' (Shipley 1963: 32)

b. Tetét   kylókbepe-m   ka-ʔas
    very   old.woman-SUBJ   be-1SG
    'I am a very old woman' (Shipley 1963: 62)

The only Central American language in my sample for which a copular With-Possessive can be attested is the Uto-Aztecan language Western Tarahumara. As will be seen in the next section, With-Possessives are a major encoding option in Uto-Aztecan, but, with the exception of Western Tarahumara, they are all flexional. The possessee in the Western Tarahumara construction is marked by the adjectivalizing suffix *-é*, the origin of which is uncertain. The construction may have a zero copula, but a full copula is also a possibility. Predicative adjectives in Western Tarahumara are nonverbal (see sentence (69)), which, again, is highly untypical for Uto-Aztecan.

(68) WESTERN TARAHUMARA (Uto-Aztecan, Tarahumaran)

a. Mé   ran-é   alué   muké
    one   child-AFF   that   woman
    'That woman had a child' (Burgess 1984: 28)

b. Oká   math-é-ga-me   hú   né
    two   corn.grinder-AFF-STAT-PRT   cop   I
    'I have two corn grinders' (Burgess 1984: 28)

(69) WESTERN TARAHUMARA (Uto-Aztecan, Tarahumaran)
      Yé   bilé   lápisi   hú   we'lí
      this   one   pencil   be   long
      'This pencil is long' (Burgess 1984: 92)

In South America, a possible instance of the copular With-Possessive is represented by the Carib family of the Guyanas and Northern Brazil. All four sampled languages of this family have a possessive construction in which the possessor is the subject. A further common feature is that the possessee is marked by the suffix *-ke* and by a prefix that has the form *ti-/tu-/t-*. In Wai Wai the construction has zero-encoding, and the possessee is marked further by a nominalization marker *-m*. The other three languages do not – or do not need to – have this nominalization marking, and they employ an overt *be*-verb in the construction.

(70) WAI WAI (Carib)
      Tu-wuhre-ke-m   komo   kîwyam
      ADV-weapon-ADV-NMNL   COLL   1PL.INCL
      'We all have weapons' (Hawkins 1998: 33)

(71)   APALAI (Macro-Carib, Carib)
       T-ypyre-ke   ase
       ADJ-arrow-with   1SG.be.PRES
       'I have an arrow' (Koehn and Koehn 1986: 119)

(72)   HIXKARYANA (Macro-Carib, Carib)
       Ti-oti-ke   wehxaha
       ADV-meat-having   1SG.be.PRES
       'I have meat food' (Derbyshire 1979: 69)

(73)   SURINAM CARIB (Macro-Carib, Carib)
       Ti-pulata-ke   wa
       PCP-money-with/having   1SG.be.PRES
       'I have money' (Hoff 1968: 212)

As can be seen from the glosses in the above examples, the sources on these languages use different characterizations of the two morphemes that are involved in the marking of the possessee. The suffix *-ke* is labelled as 'possession adjective marker' (Koehn and Koehn 1986, for Apalai), as 'with, because, having' (Hoff 1968, for Surinam Carib) or as 'having' (Derbyshire 1979, for Hixkaryana). Several of these authors observe that the item *-ke* can also function as the marker of causal adverbial clauses, and as a case suffix or postposition with instrumental/comitative function. Thus, we find it in adpositional phrases such as *pina ke* 'with an arrow' (Koehn and Koehn 1986: 37) and *kuruma ke* 'with a vulture' (Koehn and Koehn 1986: 43) in Apalai. My hypothesis is that it is this latter case-marking function that is at work in the marking of the possessee in Carib.

The function and meaning of the prefix *ti-/tu-t-* is even more problematic than the status of the suffix *-ke*. Again, the labelling in the sources is not uniform: we find glosses like 'adjectivizer' (for Apalai), 'adverbial prefix' (for Hixkaryana), or 'participial formative' (for Surinam Carib). Perhaps the clue to the origin and the function of the prefix can be found in the observation that the prefix also occurs with nouns – including verbal nouns – and some postpositions. In these contexts, it is clearly a pronominal item, as it signals a third person reflexive. Maybe a more adequate way to describe its function is to say that the presence of this prefix signals 'the same referent as the subject of the clause or of a superordinate clause' (Koehn and Koehn 1986: 70). In other words, the prefix *ti-/tu-/t-* in the Carib possession construction probably has its origin in possessive pronominal indexing of the possessor on the possessee. Since the prefix is invariable and no longer exhibits person agreement with the subject, we may hypothesize that the third-person form of this

pronominal prefix has been generalized into a 'general non-finite prefix' (Koehn and Koehn 1986: 47ff.; see also Derbyshire 1979: 149ff.). That is, we may assume that it gradually lost its pronominal status and turned into a marker that is now taken to have derivational function. As such, it is used in the derivation of 'participles' (i.e. verbal adjectives) from verbs, and of adverbs from nouns. In this latter function, it also marks the possessee in the With-Possessive, which, as we have seen, is encoded in the form of an adverbial phrase.

Given the above, my assessment of the situation in these Carib languages is that they present a case in which the adjectivalization of the possessee-phrase is in its first stage: the suffix on the phrase is clearly adverbial in origin, but the overall morphological make-up of the phrase points towards a reanalysis in terms of adjectival status. The process of adjectivalization has proceeded farthest in Wai Wai. As we have seen, this language has explicit nominalization of the possessee-phrase, so that the construction has turned into a full-fledged copular With-Possessive. In contrast, the constructions in the other three Carib languages retain features of the adverbial variant. For one thing, they employ a full locational/existential *be*-verb, instead of the zero-copula that is characteristic of the construction in Wai Wai, and of predicative adjectival and nominal sentences in Carib in general.

A further possible case of the copular With-Possessive in South America is formed by the possessive construction in Andoke.[2] This language of East Colombia marks possessees by means of the suffix *-koá*. The origin of this suffix is problematic. It is certain that it is not a comitative suffix or some other oblique case marker (see Landaburu 1979: 168–9). Neither is it a marker of verbal nominalization or subordination, as it seems to occur only with nouns. Landaburu (1979: 78) suggests that it is in fact a combination of two verbal derivational suffixes, namely *-ko*, which intransitivizes a verb, and *-á*, which adds benefactive meaning to a verb stem 'in favour of the subject' (Landaburu 1979: 205; my translation, L.S.). Whatever one may think of this, it is clear that the construction is a case of nonverbal predication, witness the parallels between the possession construction and the encoding of predicate adjectives, predicate nominals, and predicate locationals (see sentences (75a–c)). Whether the possession construction is a case of the copular or the adverbial subtype of the With-Possessive is hard, if not impossible, to determine.

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[2] In Voegelin and Voegelin (1977: 352), Andoke is classified as Witotoan. On the other hand, the language is classified as an isolate in the *Ethnologue* language database (Gordon 2005).

(74) ANDOKE (Witotoan)

    a. Puke-koá   b-aya
       canoe-SUFF FOC-3SG.M
       'He has a canoe' (Landaburu 1979: 78)

    b. Pahase-koá   bo-ha'e
       bow-AFF   FOC-2SG
       'You have a bow' (Landaburu 1979: 160)

(75) ANDOKE (Witotoan)

    a. Feneo   b-aya
       beautiful   FOC-3SG.M
       'That is beautiful' (Landaburu 1979: 80)

    b. Yo'ho   b-aya
       man   FOC-3SG.M
       'That is a man' (Landaburu 1979: 235)

    c. Ipeko-e   b-aya
       house-in   FOC-3SG.M
       'He is in the house' (Landaburu 1979: 78)

Finally, we find South American examples of the copular With-Possessive in Yagua and Yameo, two Peba-Yaguan languages of East Peru. The possessive construction features zero-encoding, which is usual for predicate adjectives and nominals (see sentences (78a–b)), but rather uncommon in locational/existential sentences. The origin of the markers on the possessee (-*ta* in Yagua, -*teal* in Yameo) is not certain, but it is conceivable that there is an etymological relation with the comitative/instrumental suffix -*ntea/nta/tea/ta* 'with' in Yameo.

(76) YAMEO (Peba-Yaguan)
     Lʋól-teal   ranun
     house-AFF/with   she
     'She has a house' (Espinosa Perez 1955: 357)

(77) YAGUA (Peba-Yaguan)

    a. António   jááryiy   ciríqui-ta-į̃
       A.   very   money-INSTR-NMNL
       'Antonio has a lot of money' (Payne and Payne 1990: 349)

    b. Ją́ąmu   ríícyaa-tavay   riy
       big   fish.trap-INSTR.PL 3PL
       'They have big fish traps' (Payne and Payne 1990: 349)

(78) Yagua (Peba-Yaguan)

    a. Sámiy   Anita
       nice   A.
      'Anita is nice' (Payne 1985: 96)

    b. Maésturu   Antonio
       teacher   A.
      'Antonio is a teacher' (Payne and Payne 1990: 258)

I conclude this survey of the copular variant of the With-Possessive by mentioning two more geographically isolated cases of this construction. Mundari, a language from India, has a Locational Possessive, but there is an alternative possessive construction which is characterized by Langendoen (1967: 98–9) in the following way: 'The expression of possession in Mundari does not depend upon the use of a particular verb of possession such as English *have*, but is done by means of a special adjectival construction together with the copula, in which the possessor is the subject of the copula sentence, and the possessed is embedded within the predicate adjective.' The possessee in the construction is marked by the suffix *-an*, which forms so-called 'possessive adjectives', and which can be compared with proprietive suffixes in other languages; examples of its use in adjectival derivation are *taka* 'money' > *taka-an* 'rich', and *senran* 'wisdom/to be wise' > *senran-an* 'wise' (Langendoen 1967: 97). The 'possessive adjective' in the construction can be constructed as the complement of the copula *menaq* 'to be', but an alternative is to construct the 'possessive adjective' itself as the predicate, so that a flexional variant of the With-Possessive results. This double option is a general feature of the syntax of predicative adjectives in Mundari; for details see Stassen (1997: 630–1).[3]

(79) Mundari (Austro-Asiatic, Munda)

    a. Ne   hodo   odaq-an   menaq-i-a
       this   man   house-ADJ   be-3SG.OBJ-PRED
      'This man has a house' (Langendoen 1967: 97)

    b. Ne   hodo   odaq-an-a-eq
       this   man   house-ADJ-PRED-3SG.SUBJ
      'This man has a house' (Langendoen 1967: 98)

In Africa, the only example of a copular With-Possessive in my sample is presented by the Saharan language Kanuri. In this construction the possessee

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[3] It can be noted that, in the copular variant of the construction, the possessor is cross referenced in the copula by means of an oblique pronominal affix. I have no explanation for this fact.

is marked by the morpheme *-à/-gà*. This morpheme, called the 'associative suffix' in the literature, has a number of different functions in the language: apart from its use as an 'adjectivalizing' suffix in this possessive construction, the item is also in use as a (polysyndetic) marker in noun-phrase conjunctions, as a formative of participles, as a subordinating suffix for finite conditional and temporal clauses, and as a topic marker for clause-initial noun phrases (Hutchison 1976: 124–7). In older literature on Kanuri (as, for example, in Lukas 1937), the multifunctionality of the suffix *-à/-gà* was explained in terms of homonymy, but Hutchison (1976: 127) claims that it is the same item in all functions, with a basic associative meaning like 'characterized by', or 'associated with'.

In the possessive construction marked by the suffix *-à/-gà*, the possessee has pronominal possessive suffixes that cross-refer to the possessor if the possession is permanent. If possession is temporary, these possessive suffixes are omitted.

(80)   Kanuri (Nilo-Saharan, Saharan)

   a. Sandí   fərwa-nzá-à
      3PL   horse.PL-3PL.POSS-ASSOC
      'They have horses' (Hutchison 1976: 15)

   b. Sandí   sammá   búndugù-nzá-à
      3PL   all   gun-3PL.POSS-ASSOC
      'They all have guns' (Lukas 1937: 28)

   c. Musa   keke-nze-à
      M.   bicycle-3SG.POSS-ASSOC
      'Musa has/owns a bicycle' (Hutchison 1976: 14)

   d. Musa   keke-à
      M.   bicycle-ASSOC
      'Musa has a bicycle (now)' (Hutchison 1976: 14)

5.2.2 The flexional variant

The reanalysis that gives rise to the flexional variant of the With-Possessive has the following structure as its output:[4]

(81)   PR   [PE-DERIV]-x

Thus, this possessive construction has the possessor as the subject of an intransitive predicate. This predicate has a stem that consists of the possessee

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[4] In this schema, the item *x* is meant to indicate the possible presence of a subject agreement affix.

noun and a derivational, verbalizing affix. For a number of languages we can demonstrate, or at least suggest, that this verbalizing affix has its diachronic source in an oblique (comitative, or locational) marker, and for those cases we can postulate a grammaticalization path of the form (82).

(82) Source PR PE-OBL   ➔
      Target PR [PE-DERIV]-x

For other languages that have a possessive construction of the form (81), however, we must concede that there is no – or no completely convincing – evidence for an oblique origin of the verbalizing affix, nor, for that matter, for any other diachronic origin.

There are indications that the form of possessive encoding as schematized in (81) is largely restricted to certain linguistic areas. With only a very few exceptions, encoding of predicative possession by means of a flexional With-Possessive occurs in the Americas and in the north-east Siberian area that borders the Bering Strait. In Section 5.2 we have seen that the 'Paleo-Siberian' language Tundra Yukaghir is a case in point, in that the possessee-phrase is treated as the stem of an intransitive verb and is provided with the relevant verbal morphology. This encoding strategy is parallel to the encoding of predicative adjectives in the language. An identical possessive construction is found in Kolyma Yukaghir, the other variant of Yukaghir in my sample, and in Chukchi, a language which is spoken on the Kamchatka peninsula. In all three languages, the marker of the possessee can be identified as the comitative affix 'with' (see sentences (85), (88) and (91)).

(83) TUNDRA YUKAGHIR (Yukaghir)

    a. Marqa-n   lame-n'-ŋi
       one-ATTR   dog-COM-3PL.INTR
       'They had one dog' (Maslova 2003b: 70)

    b. Titte-jlede   mer-ari-n'e-ŋi
       they-INTENS   AFF-weapon-COM-3PL.INTR
       'They had a gun' (Maslova 2003b: 81)

(84) TUNDRA YUKAGHIR (Yukaghir)
    T'awul-hane lawje-ŋ   el'-amo-o
    sea-LOC   water-FOC   NEG-be.good-3SG.STAT
    'The sea water is not good' (Maslova 2003b: 59)

(85) TUNDRA YUKAGHIR (Yukaghir)
    Qad'ir tide marqil-n'e-ŋ u-relek   me-segu-j
    PRT   that   girl-COM-FOC go-SS.PERF   AFF-enter-3SG.INTR

nime-da-ha
dwelling-her-LOC
'He went with that girl and entered her dwelling' (Maslova 2003b: 61)

(86)   KOLYMA YUKAGHIR (Yukaghir)

  a. Taŋ   pajpe   ataqu-n   uø-n'e-l'el
     that   woman   two-ATTR   child-PROP-3SG.INFER
     'That woman had two children' (Maslova 2003a: 75)

  b. Pulun-die   jowje-n'-i
     old.man-DIM   net-PROP-3SG.INTR
     'The old man had a net' (Maslova 2003a: 444)

(87)   KOLYMA YUKAGHIR (Yukaghir)
Čumu   omo-te-j
all   be.good-FUT-3SG.INTR
'Everything will be good' (Maslova 2003a: 68)

(88)   KOLYMA YUKAGHIR (Yukaghir)
Kie,   met-n'e   qon   met   numø-ŋin
friend   me-COM   go.IMP.SG   my   house-DAT
'Friend, go with me to my place' (Maslova 2003a: 102)

(89)   CHUKCHI (Chukotko-Kamchatkan)

  a. Ga-vanqət-egəm
     with-dog-1SG
     'I have a dog' (Maria Koptjevskaja-Tamm p.c.)

  b. Ge-keli-jgyt
     with-book-2SG
     'You have a book' (V. P. Nedjalkov p.c.)

(90)   CHUKCHI (Chukotko-Kamchatkan)
γəm   n-erme-ygəm
1SG.ABS   IMPERF-be.strong-1SG
'I am strong' (Hopper and Thompson 1984: 727)

(91)   CHUKCHI (Chukotko-Kamchatkan)
Ga-nenqai-ma   ga-newan-ä
with-child-PRT   with-wife-PRT
'with his children (and) with his wife' (Bogoras 1922: 793)

These flexional With-Possessives of north-east Siberia find their continuation in the language families of the far north and the Pacific seaboard of

North America. Although there are linguistic groupings in this area – notably, the Athapaskan family – that do not have a With-Possessive, the uniformity of possession encoding is remarkable here. With only a few exceptions at the southern fringe of the area – namely, Takelma and Maidu, which were discussed in the previous section – the construction can be classified as a flexional With-Possessive, and a direct parallelism between the possession encoding and the encoding of predicative adjectives can be established un-problematically.

The first language family that we encounter as we travel from Siberia towards and across the Bering Strait is Eskimo-Aleut. This family has members in America as well as in Asia: Siberian Yup'ik, the westernmost member of Eskimo-Aleut, is areally related to Chukchi. Eskimo-Aleut is represented in the sample by four languages, which are situated across the vast polar area between north-eastern Siberia and West Greenland.

In all four sampled languages of this family, the possessor is the subject in the possessive construction. The possessee noun is part of a complex formation, which functions as the intransitive predicate of the construction. Within this predicate, the possessee noun forms the root (or, as it is called in Eskimologist literature, the 'base'), and it is followed by a derivational suffix (or 'post-base') that turns the formation into an intransitive verb.[5] Parallels with the verby encoding of 'adjectival' predicates can be seen in sentences (93), (95), (97), and (99).

The derivational suffixes that are employed to mark the possessee in the flexional With-Possessives of Eskimo-Aleut are not uniform. In Siberian Yupik, marking is achieved by the suffix *-lgu-*, which may form a part of the comitative suffixes *-lgusigh/lgute/lgutke* (see De Reuse 1994: 140–1). The Aleut *have*-suffix *-ǵi-* can apparently also be used with a meaning of 'to be in'. Thus,

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[5] Eskimo Aleut languages have a very large inventory of derivational suffixes. These elements can vary as to the type of root(s) to which they can be suffixed, and also vary in their degree of productivity (see Mithun 1998 and 1999b: 407). In many cases, derivational suffixes have a relatively concrete meaning, functioning in a way that, in other languages, would be realized by independent lexical items. Thus, there are derivational suffixes that convey the same meaning as adjectives in other languages (such as *pik* 'genuine, real, authentic' in Central Alaskan Yup'ik), or adverbs. 'Finally, many [derivational suffixes] convey meanings expressed by noun or verb roots in other languages, such as [Central Alaskan Yup'ik] *liur* "to work with": *neqa* "fish", *neqLIURtuq* "she's preparing fish"' (Mithun 1999b: 407).

Perhaps inspired by their relatively concrete meaning as 'have' items, some authors have assumed that the elements *lgu*, *gi*, *ngqerr*, and *qar* are in fact verbal roots, and that the possessive constructions in Eskimo Aleut are instances of object noun incorporation (see Baker 1988: 125). According to Marianne Mithun (p.c.), this analysis must be rejected. Eskimo Aleut languages are exclusively suffixing. Both nouns and verbs have one and only one root, which is the first element in the word. Now, in the possessive formations in Eskimo Aleut the possessee noun always comes first in the predicate stem, and the 'have' items never do.

from the complex nominal *karga-m ula* 'prayer-of house: church', the verb *kargam ula-ǵi-* can be derived, which may mean either 'to have a church' or 'to be in church' (Bergsland 1997: 105). The suffixes in Central Alaskan Yupik (*-ngqerr-*) and West Greenlandic (*-qar-*) are related historically,[6] but the question as to their original function – provided, of course, that it makes sense to ask it – remains as yet unanswered. What is certain is that these suffixes are not in use as case suffixes on nouns, neither as comitatives nor as locationals.

(92) Siberian Yupik (Eskimo-Aleut, Eskimoan)
      Mangteghagh-ghllag-lgu-uq
      house-big-AFF-3SG.INDIC
      'He has a big house' (De Reuse 1994: 55)

(93) Siberian Yupik (Eskimo-Aleut, Eskimoan)
      Ulluviigh-ø   umu-uq
      board-ABS   be.thick-3SG.INDIC
      'The board is thick' (De Reuse 1994: 251)

(94) Aleut (Eskimo-Aleut, Aleut)

      a. Ayaga-ǵi-ku-qing
          wife-AFF-PRES-1SG
          'I have a wife' (Geoghegan 1944: 28)

      b. Qicxǝa-ǵi-ku-qing
          weapon-AFF-PRES-1SG
          'I have weapons' (i.e. 'I am armed') (Geoghegan 1944: 68)

(95) Aleut (Eskimo-Aleut, Aleut)
      Ada-ng   igámana-ku-q
      father-my   good-PRES-3SG
      'My father is good' (Geoghegan 1944: 31)

(96) Central Alaskan Yupik (Eskimo-Aleut, Eskimoan)
      Qimugte-ngqer-tua
      dog-AFF-1SG.INDIC
      'I have a dog/ dogs' (Jacobson 1995: 37)

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[6] Fortescue et al. (1994: 419) suggest that the Proto Eskimoan post base ŋqar (which manifests itself as ŋq.ˑrr in Yup'ik and as qar/ qaq in Inuit) may have a link to qan 'companion at doing something' (ibid.: 421). Furthermore, this comparative dictionary mentions a Proto Eskimoan post base qaR (qaq in Yup'ik, Raq in Inuit), which has the meaning 'area or part (in a direction)' (ibid.: 421, 422).

(97) Central Alaskan Yupik (Eskimo-Aleut)
Uluaq   assir-tuq
semi-lunar.knife   good-3sg.indic
'The semi-lunar knife is good' (Jacobson 1995: 31)

(98) West Greenlandic (Eskimo-Aleut, Eskimoan)

 a. Angut   taanna   qimmi-qar-puq
    man   that   dog-aff-3sg.indic.intr
    'That man has a dog' (Fortescue 1984: 171)

 b. Aningaasa-ati-qar-punga
    money-al-aff-1sg.indic.intr
    'I have money' (Fortescue 1984: 171)

(99) West Greenlandic (Eskimo-Aleut, Eskimoan)
Illu-at   kusanar-puq
house-their   pretty-3sg.indic.intr
'Their house is pretty' (Fortescue 1984: 121)

The pattern of verbal derivation set by Eskimo-Aleut is continued in a number of other languages and language families along the Pacific Coast of Canada. Haida – a Na-Dene language spoken on the Queen Charlotte archipelago off the coast of British Columbia – has a flexional With-Possessive, in which the possessee noun is marked by the suffix -*da*. It is possible that this suffix is identical to the nominal allative case-marker -*da* 'to' (Swanton 1911b: 262) in the Masset dialect of the language.[7]

(100) Haida (Na-Dene, Haida)

 a. L'   tca'ał-da-s
    he   spear-aff-perf
    'He had a spear' (Swanton 1911b: 216)

 b. La   djila-da-go-as
    3   bait-aff-pl-perf
    'They had bait' (Swanton 1911b: 228)

(101) Haida (Na-Dene, Haida)
'Laanga   hawaan   ya.ats'-ee   k'i-gang
his   still   knife-def   be.sharp-pres
'His knife is still sharp' (Enrico 2003: 688)

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[7] The suffix also occurs with verbs, indicating causative or progressive meaning (Enrico 2003: 26, 65).

Further to the south on the Pacific Coast, we encounter three languages from smaller language families. The Wakashan language Kwakwala (also known as Kwakiutl), which is spoken on Vancouver Island, has a flexional With-Possessive that is marked by the suffixes -*ad* or -*nukw*; its sister language Nootka employs the suffixes -*'uˑɬ-s* and -*naˑk* to this effect. In Quileute, a Chimakuan language of north-west Washington State, marking of the possessee is achieved by the suffixes -*lo* or -*ha'/-ha'a*. As far as I know, these suffixes do not have any other function in their respective languages.

(102) Kwakwala (Wakashan)

   a. Q!aku-nuk^w
      slave-AFF
      'to have a slave' (Boas 1947: 348)

   b. Xunk^w-ad-ɛ
      child-AFF-3SG.SUBJ
      'He had a child' (Boas 1911a: 538)

(103) Kwakwala (Wakashan)
      Ăma^{ˤɛ}-yɛn
      small-1SG
      'I am small' (Boas 1947: 261)

(104) Nootka (Wakashan)

   a. čapac-'uˑɬ-s
      canoe-owning-1SG
      'I own a canoe' (Nakayama 2001: 20)

   b. ʔaːḥ̥ʔasa   ʕuýi-naˑk-qu:
      it.seems   medicine-having-COND.3
      'It seems as though they had medicine' (Nakayama 2001: 118)

(105) Nootka (Wakashan)
      Hiːtkin-ʔiˑš   ʕiniːλ-ʔiˑ
      strange-INDIC.3   dog-DEF
      'The dog is strange' (Nakayama 2001: 30)

(106) Quileute (Chimakuan)

   a. Káde'do-lo-s
      dog-AFF-3SG
      'He has a dog' (Andrade 1933–38: 217)

   b. Taxe'lit-ha'a-li
      guardian.spirit-AFF-1SG
      'I have a guardian spirit' (Andrade 1933–8: 217)

(107)   Quileute (Chimakuan)
         Tsi'da-a-ø
         handsome-DUR-3ABS
         'He is handsome' (Andrade 1933–8: 257)

The Salish languages occupy the central position on the Pacific Coast at the Canadian–American border. Gordon (2005) states that the family consists of twenty-seven languages, which are divided into five subfamilies. My sample contains data from eleven of these languages, ten of which are from the Central and Interior branches. In addition, I have included data from Bella Coola, a language which, within Salish, constitutes a branch of its own.

With the exception of Squamish, which has a Locational Possessive, all sampled Salish languages have a possession construction which can be categorized as a flexional With-Possessive. The possessor is the subject of an intransitive predicate that has the possessee noun as its root, and that is marked by a derivational prefix that turns the formation into a verb. In this way, the construction parallels the encoding of predicative adjectives (and, for that matter, predicate nominals) in Salish, which are treated as intransitive verbs as well.

The derivational prefixes on the possessees in Salish come in three basic forms. First, there is the prefix *c-/k-*, with the allomorphs *č-*, *cɬ-* and *kɬ-*. This option is found in Bella Coola, Halkomelem, Lummi, and Okanagan.

(108)   Bella Coola (Salish, Bella Coola)
         Clh-7atsi-ø
         AFF-boat-3SG
         'He has a boat' (Nater 1984: 94)

(109)   Bella Coola (Salish, Bella Coola)
         Pitl'-ts
         dirty-1SG.SUBJ
         'I am dirty' (Nater 1984: 34)

(110)   Halkomelem (Salish, Central)
         ʔi   cən   c-nəxʷəɬ
         AUX   1SG   AFF-canoe
         'I have a canoe' (Suttles 2004: 35)

(111)   Halkomelem (Salish, Central)
         ʔəs-ƛubil   čəd
         STAT-good   1SG
         'I am well' (Hess and Hilbert 1980: I.42)

(112)   Lummi (Salish, Central)
Č-telə-sən
AFF-money-1SG.NOM
'I have money' (Jelinek 1998: 342)

(113)   Lummi (Salish, Central)
Słeniʔ-sən
woman-1SG.NOM
'I am a woman' (Jelinek 1998: 342)

(114)   Okanagan (Salish, South Interior)
Kʷ-kł-cítxʷ
2SG.SUBJ-AFF-house
'You have a house' (Mattina 1996: 166)

(115)   Okanagan (Salish, South Interior)
Way' wnìxʷ kən-s-c-paʔs-ínk
PRT really 1SG.SUBJ-NMNL-ASP-sorry-side
'I am sure feeling bad' (Kroeber 1999: 237)

Next, we can identify the prefix *Ɂə-/Ɂəs-/Ɂas-/Ɂabs-*, which occurs in Bella
Coola, Lushootseed, Lillooet, and Thompson Salish.

(116)   Bella Coola (Salish, Bella Coola)
7as-luta-∅
AFF-crowbar-3SG
'He has/uses a crowbar' (Nater 1984: 94)

(117)   Bella Coola (Salish, Bella Coola)
Pitl'-ts
dirty-1SG.SUBJ
'I am dirty' (Nater 1984: 34)

(118)   Lushootseed (Salish, Central)
Ɂabs-tale čəd
AFF-money 1SG
'I have (some) money' (Hess and Hilbert 1980: I. 59)

(119)   Lushootseed (Salish, Central)
Ɂəs-ƛubil čəd
AFF-good 1SG
'I am well' (Hess and Hilbert 1980: I. 42)

(120) Lillooet (Salish, North Interior)
       Ɂəs-citx^w   ti-syaqc'Ɂ-a
       AFF-house   ART-woman-ART
       'The woman has a house' (Van Eijk 1985: 234)

(121) Lillooet (Salish, North Interior)
       Xzúm-łkax^w
       big-2SG.SUBJ
       'You are big' (Kroeber 1999: 58)

(122) Thompson Salish (Salish, North Interior)
       Ɂes-cítx^w   kt
       AFF-house   1PL
       'We have a house' (Thompson and Thompson 1992: 95)

(123) Thompson Salish (Salish, North Interior)
       X^wəmxém-kn
       lonely-1SG.SUBJ
       'I am lonely' (Kroeber 1999: 211)

And, thirdly, we find a prefix *pə-/pəλ-* (with the allomorphs *ep-*, *epl-*, and *äpl-*) in Shuswap, Kalispel, and Coeur D'Alene.

(124) Shuswap (Salish, North Interior)
       a. Pəλ-cítx°-ø
           AFF-house-3SG
           'He has a house' (Kuipers 1974: 71)

       b. Pə-sk°úye-ø
           AFF-child-3SG
           'She has a child' (Kuipers 1974: 71)

(125) Shuswap (Salish, North Interior)
       Q°ɁeɁx°-kn
       skinny-1SG
       'I am skinny' (Kuipers 1974: 41)

(126) Kalispel (Salish, South Interior)
       a. Čin-epł-cítx^w
           1SG-AFF-house
           'I have a house' (Vogt 1940: 50)

       b. Čin-ep-səm'ém
           1SG-AFF-woman
           'I have a wife' (Vogt 1940: 50)

(127)   Kalispel
Čin-xés-t
1SG-good-COMPLET
'I am good' (Vogt 1940: 42)

(128)   Coeur D'Alene (Salish, South Interior)

a.   Hiň-äpł-tsä'tx^w
1SG-AFF-house
'I have a house' (Reichard 1938: 570)

b.   Apł-tsä'tx^w-s
AFF-house-3SG
'He/she has a house' (Reichard 1938: 570)

(129)   Coeur D'Alene (Salish, South Interior)
U-tcin-xä's
STAT-1SG-good
'I am well' (Reichard 1938: 686)

As far as I have been able to ascertain, the literature on these prefixes is in agreement about their synchronic status: these items are seen as derivational formatives that create 'denominal verb constructions' (Gerdts and Marlett 2007).[8] Opinions diverge, however, when it comes to a categorization of these prefixes. In one view, the *have*-prefix is a member of a restricted set of items with a concrete meaning. Suttles (2004: 269ff) analyses the prefix *c-* in the possessive construction of Musqeam Halkomelem as a so-called 'verbal prefix': 'There are seven prefixes that have lexical meanings and also serve to make verbs of nominal or adjectival stems. They are: *c-* "get, have, make, do", *xwə-* "become", *txw-* "buy", *ł-* "partake", *-* "go to", *cł-* "die of", and *xw-* "move forward"' (Suttles 2004: 269). Some examples that illustrate the use of these prefixes are the following:

(130)   Halkomelem (Salish, Central)

a.   C-wáč   cən   ceʔ
get-watch   1SG   FUT
'I'm going to get a watch' (Suttles 2004: 270)

b.   Ni   x^wə-s-mə́ňə
AUX   become-RESULT-child
'(He) has become childed: He has a kid' (Suttles 2004: 273)

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[8] As was the case with Eskimo Aleut, a conceivable alternative to this 'denominal verb' analysis might be to assume that, in Salish possessive predicates, the prefix is the root, and the possessee noun a case of noun incorporation. However, Gerdts and Marlett (2007) conclude, on the basis of a set of diagnostic tests, that an analysis in terms of denominal verb formation   in which there is a category shift from noun to verb   is to be preferred for these cases.

c. Txʷ-wéč   cən   ceʔ
   buy-watch   1SG   FUT
   'I'll buy a watch' (Suttles 2004: 274)

d. Cɬ-ɬem
   die.of-liquor
   'to die of drink' (Suttles 2004: 275)

Thus, under this analysis, the derivational prefix *c*- in Halkomelem is seen as the remnant of an erstwhile verbal root with lexical meaning. The idea that the *have*-prefix is a grammaticalization of a verbal root has been endorsed by authors on other Salish languages as well, and appears to be the majority view (see Saunders and Davis 1989, B. Carlson 1990, Mithun 1997, and Kuipers 2002).

Opposed to this, other authors categorize the *have*-prefix in their subject languages as a member of a larger class of stem-forming verbalizers which 'express ideas of place, aspect or condition, time and manner, and most characteristically, direction' (Reichard 1938: 524, on Coeur d'Alene). Jelinek (1998: 342–3) states that the prefix *č*- in Lummi belongs to the class of the so-called 'directive' or 'directional' prefixes. With verbs, such prefixes indicate different types of location or movement. Thus, the prefix *č*- in the possessive construction in Lummi is seen as a member of a set of locational markers: *č*- contrasts with, among others, the prefix *čə*- 'from', as is illustrated in the following examples:

(131)   LUMMI (Salish, Central)

   a. č-telə-sən
      PREF-money-1SG.NOM
      'I have money' (Jelinek 1998: 342)

   b. čə- xʷotqəm-sən
      PREF-Bellingham-1SG.NOM
      'I (am) from Bellingham' (Jelinek 1998: 343)

   c. λi-xʷotqəm-sən
      PREF-Bellingham-1SG.NOM
      'I (am going) to Bellingham'   (Jelinek 1998: 343)

In the same vein, Vogt (1940: 45–6) lists the Kalispel *have*-prefix *ep-/epɬ*-alongside a number of prefixes which clearly express nuances of location or movement. Similar lists have been compiled for Shuswap (Kuipers 1974: 71–2) and Coeur D'Alene (Reichard 1938: 594 ff).[9]

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[9] It must be noted that there is actually a third view on the status of the have prefixes in Salish. Especially the second group of prefixes, viz. *ʔə* /*ʔəs* /*es* /√*abs* , is sometimes identified as items which indicate stative or resultative aspect. To be specific, these item are seen as variants of an all Salish

(132)   Kᴀʟɪsᴘᴇʟ (Salish, South Interior)

   ep/epɫ-   'have'
   >   *cítx^w* '(to be a) house' > *čin-epɫ-cítx^w* 'I have a house'

   c-   'movement towards the speaker, from that place to this place'
   >   *xúi* 'he goes' > *c-xúi* 'he comes'

   t-   'movement from the speaker, from this place to that place'
   >   *či-cən* 'I arrive' > *t- či-cən* 'I arrive there going from here'

   č-   'direction towards something'
   >   *čin-es-xúi* 'I am going' > *yes-č-xúyəm* 'I am going after it'

   čɫ-   'position on something (or movement resulting in such a position)'
   >   *'emut* 'he sits' > *čɫ-'emut* 'he sits on something'

   n-   'position in a place (or movement resulting in such a position)'
   >   *'emut* 'he sits' > *n-'emut* 'he sits in something'

   k^wəɫ-   'position under something (or movement resulting in such a position)'
   >   *'úɫx^w* 'he enters' > *k^wəɫ-'úɫx^w* 'he goes in under it'

Obviously, it will be up to specialists to decide which of these different views on the status of the *have*-items in the Salish languages is the correct one, or if, in fact, there are actually irreconcilable differences between these approaches. For our purposes, it may suffice to state that, at least in its synchronic form, the possessive construction in Salish is an instance of the general schema (81).

   Continuing our journey along the American West Coast, we first encounter Siuslaw, a language of Oregon. Siuslaw has a flexional With-Possessive in which the possessee is marked by the suffixes *-a* or *-yus*. Both these suffixes are locational markers, with the meaning 'in, at, to' (Frachtenberg 1922b: 514–44).[10]

aspectual prefix that has *s* as its basic form. Thus, for Thompson Salish, Thompson and Thompson (1992: 94) state that 'stative /əs / specifies actions, accomplished facts, and states of affairs which have already come into effect at the main time of the sentence, and remain in effect at that time' and add that 'the Stative also provides the simplest direct way to state possession' (Thompson and Thompson 1992: 95). Similar remarks on the stative/resultative origin of the have prefix have been made for Lillooet (Van Eijk 1997: 50 1).

   It can be remarked that employing stative morphology on nouns can create 'possessive adjectives' in other languages as well. An example is English, where the morphology of the perfect participle, when applied to nouns, creates adjectives such as *moneyed, scarred, bearded, wide eyed, full blooded, red nosed,* and *long legged*. As an alternative, one might pursue the idea that it is in fact the possessive meaning of the prefix that has given rise to a reanalysis of the prefix as a stativity marker. As has been argued several times (see, among others, Allen 1964, Seiler 1977b, and especially Heine 1997, ch. 4), possession constructions are the source for aspectual constructions in many unrelated languages of the world, and perfectivity/stativity is one of the more likely end results of this grammaticalization process.

   [10] The status of the suffixes *s* and *t* in these possessive constructions of Siuslaw is unclear. Following Frachtenberg's suggestion, I have glossed these suffixes as allomorphs of the durative suffix *īs/ ās* (Frachtenberg 1922b: 532). The suffix *t* may be identical to the present tense suffix *t* mentioned in Frachtenberg (1922b: 527 8).

(133)   Siuslaw (Yakonan)

   a. Kotan-a'-t-ǿ
      horse-at-DUR-3
      'They had horses' (Frachtenberg 1922b: 533)

   b. Hɪtsî-yus-t-ǿ
      house-at-DUR-3
      'He has a house' (Frachtenberg 1922b: 533)

(134)   Siuslaw (Yakonan)
       Tsînq!t-anx
       poor-2SG
       'You are poor' (Frachtenberg 1922b: 446)

The With-Possessive in Sierra Miwok, a language of California, features either the suffix -*yak* or the suffix -*ʔni/-uni* on the possessee. The resulting formation is treated as an intransitive verb with the possessor as the subject, so that we may regard the construction as an instance of the flexional subtype. As is often the case, the origin of the suffixes on the possessee is not certain, but there are a few indications. For example, the item -*yak* also occurs as a participial marker on verbs. Furthermore, the suffix -*ak/-jak* on verbs indicates place of origin. And finally, the suffix -*ini/-yni* occurs as an 'additive' marker in the formation of complex numerals. These facts suggest that the original function of these suffixes was locational/directional or conjunctional (see (137a–c)).

(135)   Sierra Miwok (Miwok-Costanoan)

   a. Čukú-yak-tèʔ
      dog-SUFF-1SG
      'I have a dog' (Freeland 1951: 28)

   b. Cukuʔ-uni-teʔ
      dog-SUFF-1SG
      'I have a dog' (Broadbent 1964: 118)

   c. ʔonóš·oʔ   muné·kasï-ʔni-šï·ʔ   ʔït·ïy
      old.woman   sheep-SUFF-PAST   many
      'The old woman had many sheep' (Freeland 1951: 191)

(136)   Sierra Miwok (Miwok-Costanoan)
       ʔoyá:ni·-yi-niʔ
       great-FUT-2SG
       'You will be great' (Freeland 1951: 175)

(137)   SIERRA MIWOK (Miwok-Costanoan)

    a. Nočá·-yak-te-ʔ   wïkšï·-m
       cry-PCP-1SG-SUBJ   go.along-1SG.PRES
       'I go along crying' (Freeland 1951: 28)

    b. ʔuc°u-jak-ø
       dwell-SUFF-3SG
       'He is from . . .' (Broadbent 1964: 99)

    c. Naʔa°ca-ʔ   keŋ°eʔ-yni-ʔ
       ten-SUBJ   one-SUFF-SUBJ
       'eleven' (Broadbent 1964: 118)

The Uto-Aztecan phylum can be thought of as a bridge between the North American and Central American language areas, as it stretches – with interruptions – from Oregon in the north to El Salvador in the south. Especially in the northern branches of the phylum we find a possession construction in which the possessor is the subject and the possessee is marked by a suffix. The possessee phrase has been reanalysed as an intransitive predicate, and hence it obtains the verbal treatment that such predicates (including 'adjectival' predicates) in Uto-Aztecan get, such as marking for tense/aspect; in other words, the With-Possessives of Uto-Aztecan are instances of the flexional variant. The parallelism between the possessive construction and the encoding of predicate adjectives in these Uto-Aztecan languages is illustrated in the examples given below.

    The flexional With-Possessive is particularly strong in Numic, the northernmost branch of Uto-Aztecan. All six sampled languages of this subfamily employ this possession construction as their only option. The suffixes that mark the possessee are variants of the suffix *-ka* (*-kante* in Western Shoshone, *-ga/-ka* in Northern Paiute, *-ka* in Comanche, *-ga/-kai* in Chemehuevi, *-ga/-gee* in Kawaiisu), or – less frequently – of the suffix *-pa* (*-pa'i* in Western Shoshone, *-pa'e/-paim/-pain* in Tümpisa Shoshone, *-pai* in Comanche). The origin of these suffixes is uncertain, but it is possible that they go back to locational stems.[11]

(138)   WESTERN SHOSHONE (Uto-Aztecan, Central Numic)

    a. A'nii   pantepiha-ka   kahni-pa'i
       beaver   water.middle-at   house-AFF
       'The beaver has a house in the middle of the water'

                             (Crum and Dayley 1993: 6)

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[11] According to Langacker (1977a: 41), the stem *ka can be reconstructed as one of the locational be verbs in Proto Uto Aztecan, and may also   by way of a reanalysis that is common in Uto Aztecan; see Langacker (1977a: 155)   be the source of tense/aspect markers such as Chemehuevi *ka* 'present/past', Yaqui *k/ ka* 'realized aspect', Papago *k* 'present', Huichol *kai* 'past' and Pipil *k* 'past'. An item *ka* functions as a locative/instrumental postposition in several modern Uto Aztecan languages (Cahuilla *ka* 'to', Huichol *ka* 'by means of', Pipil *ka* 'in, at, to', Milpa Alta Aztec *ka* 'with').

b. Soten   tainna   soom   munih-kante
 that   man   much   money-AFF
 'That man has lots of money' (Crum and Dayley 1993: 6)

(139) WESTERN SHOSHONE (Uto-Aztecan, Central Numic)
 Shirley   yuhuppeh
 S.   be.fat.PERF
 'Shirley is fat' (Crum and Dayley 1993: 5)

(140) TÜMPISA SHOSHONE (Uto-Aztecan, Central Numic)

a. Nü   kee   etüm-pa'e
 1SG   neg   gun-AFF
 'I don't have a gun' (Dayley 1989: 65)

b. Nüü   attammupi-pain
 1SG   car-AFF
 'I have a car' (Dayley 1989: 70)

(141) TÜMPISA SHOSHONE (Uto-Aztecan, Central Numic)
 Piiya   kütaappüh   üittsï'i-nna
 beer   really   be.cold-ASP
 'The beer is really cold' (Dayley 1989: 36)

(142) COMANCHE (Uto-Aztecan, Central Numic)[12]

a. Ni-kinunapɨ-se   soʔo-ti   puku-pai
 my-late.grandfather-FOC   many-OBJ   horse-AFF
 'My late grandfather had many horses' (Ormsbee Charney 1993: 107)

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[12] As can be seen in the examples from Comanche and Chemehuevi, modifiers of the possessee noun get oblique case marking. This phenomenon is not unique to Uto Aztecan; it can also be observed in Eskimoan, where (external) modifiers on the possessee noun get marked for instrumental case (West Greenlandic), or for the so called modalis case (Siberian and Central Alaskan Yup'ik).

(i) WEST GREENLANDIC (Eskimo Aleut, Eskimoan)
 Angut   taana   atur sinnaa nngit su nik   qimmi qar puq
 man   that   be.used can not PCP.INTR INSTR.PL   dog have 3SG.INDIC
 'That man has useless dogs' (Fortescue 1984: 171)

(ii) SIBERIAN YUP'IK (Eskimo Aleut, Eskimoan)
 Qikmigh ghruglagg lgu unga   maaghraghvinleg neng
 dog big have 1SG.INDIC   seven MODALIS.PL
 'I have seven big dogs' (De Reuse 1994: 57)

(iii) CENTRAL ALASKAN YUP'IK (Eskimo Aleut, Eskimoan)
 Kass'a mek   ui ngqer tuq
 white.man MODALIS   husband AFF 3SG.INDIC
 'She has a white husband' (Jacobson 1995: 39)

b. Soʔo-ti   u   puhihwi-ka-ti
    many-OBJ   he   money-AFF-PRED
    'He has a lot of money' (Ormsbee Charney 1993: 205)

(143) COMANCHE (Uto-Aztecan, Central Numic)
    Tsanaka-tɨ   u
    rich-PRED   he
    'He is rich' (Ormsbee Charney 1993: 182)

(144) CHEMEHUEVI (Uto-Aztecan, Southern Numic)
    Nii-k   waha-ku-mi   waʔaro-vi-mi   pungku-vi-ga-nt
    1SG-TOP   two-OBL-AN.OBL   horse-PL-OBL   pet-PL-AFF-HAB
    'I have two horses' (Press 1974: 114)

(145) CHEMEHUEVI (Uto-Aztecan, Southern Numic)
    Johni-k   jumʔiga-j
    J.-FOC   be.weak-PRES.DUR
    'John is weak' (Press 1974: 131)

(146) KAWAIISU (Uto-Aztecan, Southern Numic)
    Niʔɨ   kahni-ga-dɨ
    I   house-AFF-NMNL
    'I have a house' (Zigmond et al. 1991: 114)

(147) KAWAIISU (Uto-Aztecan, Southern Numic)
    ʔivoyo-pɨga-dɨ
    big-PERF-NMNL
    'It used to be big'(Zigmond et al. 1991: 23)

(148) NORTHERN PAIUTE (Uto-Aztecan, Western Numic)
a. Su   wida   nobi-ga-'yu
    that.NOM   bear   house-AFF-DUR
    'That bear had a house' (Langacker 1977a: 34)

b. Wiyɨpui   pɨdɨ   nobi-ka'-yu
    W.   new   house-AFF-DUR
    'Wiyipui has a new house' (Snapp et al. 1982: 16)

(149) NORTHERN PAIUTE (Uto-Aztecan, Western Numic)
    Su   gapa   paba-'yu
    that   bed   big-DUR
    'That bed is big' (Snapp et al. 1982: 9)

Outside Numic, the suffix **-ka* is found in several languages from other Uto-Aztecan branches as well. We can encounter it in the form *-ga* in the Tepiman languages Nevome and Northern Tepehuan. In Classical Nahuatl, the ancestor of the southern Aztecan branch, the suffix had the form *-huah*, which can be explained by the regular sound change **ka>kʷa>wa* (Langacker 1977a: 23) in Aztecan. A curious case is presented by the Tarahumaran language Yaqui, where the possessive construction can be viewed as an extreme case of reanalysis through predicativization: the marker **-k* on the possessee has been reanalysed as an aspectual/modal suffix and integrated into the aspect/mood system of the language (see sentence (157a)), so that, at first sight, it looks as if the possessee is treated as a verb stem with perfective aspect marking.[13]

(150)   NEVOME (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

    a. Hunu-ga   an'   igui
       corn-AFF   1SG   PRT
       'I have corn' (Estrada Fernandez 1996: 28)

    b. Cavaio-g'-an'-igui
       horse-AFF-1SG-PRT
       'I have a horse' (Shaul 1982: 40)

(151)   NEVOME (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)
    Bonnama   mei   but:
    hat   NEG   heavy
    'Hats are not heavy' (Shaul 1982: 74)

(152)   NORTHERN TEPEHUAN (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)
    Alí   tumiñši-ga   ɨ-gáágardami
    very   money-AFF   ART-merchant
    'The merchant has lots of money' (Bascom 1982: 283)

(153)   NORTHERN TEPEHUAN (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)
    Alí   vigíšili   ídʸi   váso-i
    very   fine   this   grass-ABS
    'This grass is very fine' (Bascom 1982: 340)

(154)   CLASSICAL NAHUATL (Uto-Aztecan, Aztecan)
    Ni-ø-cihu∼-huah-ø
    1SG-ABS-woman-have-SG
    'I have a woman' (Andrews 1975: 219)

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[13] This analysis of the have suffix in Yaqui is reminiscent of (some of the) derivational have prefixes in Salish, which have also been claimed to function as markers of stative/perfective aspect; see footnote 9, this chapter.

(155) CLASSICAL NAHUATL (Uto-Aztecan, Aztecan)
       Ti-cualli-ø   in   tehhuatl
       2-be.good-SG   ART   2.that.one.SG
       'You are good' (Andrews 1975: 261)

(156) YAQUI (Uto-Aztecan, Tarahumaran)
       In   abači   čuʔu-k
       my   brother   dog-REAL/PERF
       'My brother has a dog' (Lindenfeld 1973: 23)

(157) YAQUI (Uto-Aztecan, Tarahumaran)
       a. Ooro-po-te koakte-k   te   Potam-po yaha-k
          O.-in-we   turn-PERF we   P.-in   arrive-PERF
          'We turned around in Oros and reached Potam'

                                              (Lindenfeld 1973: 123)

       b. Ini   kari   bweʔu
          this house be.large.IMPERF
          'This house is large' (Lindenfeld 1973: 529)

Finally, we find flexional With-Possessives in Hopi – an isolate within Uto-Aztecan, spoken in Arizona – and in Huichol, a member of the Corachol branch of Uto-Aztecan. The situation in these languages is identical to Numic in all respects, except for the form of the suffix on the possessee, which in this case is *-yta/-'ta*. It is possible that this item is related to another locational *be*-verb **tɨ* that can be reconstructed for Proto-Uto-Aztecan (Langacker 1977a: 41).

(158) HOPI (Uto-Aztecan, Hopi)
       Niʔ   mana-yta
       I   daughter-AFF
       'I have a daughter' (Langacker 1977a: 50)

(159) HOPI (Uto-Aztecan, Hopi)
       Moosa   qööca
       cat   white
       'The cat is white' (Langacker 1977a: 66)

(160) HUICHOL (Uto-Aztecan, Corachol)
       Pam   ø-ŋahɨ-'ta
       he   3SG-medicine-AFF
       'He has medicine' (Langacker 1977a: 44)

(161)   Huichol (Uto-Aztecan, Corachol)
        ø-p∧-zúure
        3SG-ASS-red
        'It is red' (Grimes 1964: 95)

Apart from Uto-Aztecan, my sample contains one more example of a flexional With-Possessive in Central America. Sierra Popoluca, a Mixe-Zoque language, shows a flexional variant of the following type: the possessee gets the 'indirect' suffix -∧ʔy, and the resulting formation is treated as an intransitive predicate. This entails verbal inflection, by the same prefixes that are used for predicate adjectives and predicate nominals.

(162)   Sierra Popoluca (Mixe-Zoque)

        a. ø-t∧g-∧ʔy
           3SG.ABS-house-AFF/INDIR
           'He has a house' (Elson 1960: 88)

        b. ø-túhkuʔy-∧ʔy
           3SG.ABS-gun-AFF/INDIR
           'He has a gun' (Elson 1960: 88)

(163)   Sierra Popoluca (Mixe-Zoque)
        Ta-yo·mo
        1PL.INCL.ABS-woman
        'We are women' (Elson 1960: 30)

Turning now to South America, we encounter a first case of flexional With-Possessive encoding in Huitoto, a language of Eastern Peru. In the construction, the possessee is marked by a suffix -*re* of unknown origin. The example in (165) shows that the same suffix is in use for the encoding of predicate adjective constructions.

(164)   Huitoto (Witotoan)

        a. Cue   jiza   ini-re-de
           my   daughter   husband-AFF-3SG.NONFUT
           'My daughter has a husband' (Minor et al. 1982: 49)

        b. Jofó-re-dɨ-caɨ
           house-AFF-NONFUT-1PL
           'We have a house' (Minor et al. 1982: 101)

(165)   Huitoto (Witotoan)
        Rozilɨ   naɨmé-re-de
        pineapple   sweet-AFF-3SG.NONFUT
        'The pineapple is sweet' (Minor et al. 1982: 49)

In the possession construction of the closely related South Andean languages
Jaqaru and Aymara the possessee is marked by a suffix *-ni* (Jaqaru) or *-i*
(Aymara). The marked possessee is verbalized by means of a suffix *-wa* (Aymara)
or *-i* (Jaqaru), and treated as an intransitive verb. The possessor is marked on
this complex by agreement suffixes. We may decide, then, that the With-
Possessive in Aymara and Jaqaru is of the flexional subtype. In a way, however,
this decision is somewhat arbitrary, since in these languages it so happens that all
nonverbal predicates are verbalized (see sentences (167a–c) and (169a–b)).

(166) JAQARU (Andean, Jaqi)

    a. Antz   acx   wak-ni-wa-ø
       much   much   COW-AFF-VERB-3SG
       '(She) has a lot of cows' (Hardman 2000: 109)

    b. Ut-ni-wa-nh -wa
       house-AFF-VERB-1SG.FUT-VAL
       'I will have a house' (Hardman 2000: 49)

(167) JAQARU (Andean, Jaqi)

    a. Juma-q   antz   shumya-wa-ta-wa
       you-TOP   very   beautiful-VERB-2PRES-VAL
       'You are very beautiful' (Hardman 2000: 48)

    b. Qaylla-wa-ta-wa
       child-VERB-2PRES-VAL
       'You are a child' (Hardman 2000: 65)

    c. Waka-nh-shqa-wa-t" -wa
       cow-my-with-VERB-1SG-VAL
       'I am with my cow' (Hardman 2000: 48)

(168) AYMARA (Andean, Jaqi)
    Naya-xa   uta-ni-i-tha
    1SG-TOP   house-AFF-VERB-1SG
    'I have a house' (Huayhua Pari 2001: 240)

(169) AYMARA (Andean, Jaqi)

    a. Jaqi-kanka-tha
       man-VERB-1SG
       'I am a man/human' (Huayhua Pari 2001: 169)

    b. Uka   jaqi-xa   uyu-n-k-i-wa
       this   man-TOP   corral-in-VERB-3SG-VAL
       'This man is in the corral' (Huayhua Pari 2001: 169)

At least in Aymara the suffix -*ni* is one of the options for the marking of comitative case and/or noun phrase coordination. Moreover, the suffix -*ni* occurs in the formation of complex numerals in both Aymara and Jaqaru, so that perhaps some conjunctional or additive meaning can be attached to it.

(170) AYMARA (Andean, Jaqi)

    a. Auqui-n   yoqa-ni
       father-and/with   son-and/with
       'Father and son' (Deza Galindo 1992: 187)

    b. Pataka   tunka-ni
       hundred   ten-AFF
       'a hundred and ten' (Huayhua Pari 2001: 241)

(171) JAQARU (Andean, Jaqi)
      Ĉuŋk   maya   ni
      ten   one   AFF
      'Eleven' (Hardman 1966: 82)

Finally, the widespread Arawakan family presents another case of a possessive construction that might be viewed as an instance of the With-type, but here the data are considerably less clear. Throughout the Arawakan phylum one encounters a construction in which the possessee is marked by a prefix *ke-/ ka-/ko-*. The resulting formation is then constructed as a predicative adjective in a sentence which has the possessor as its subject. Since in all languages at issue predicative adjectives are treated as verbs, the With-Possessives marked by the prefix *ka-/ke-/ko-* manifest themselves as instances of the flexional subtype here.

    As far as I have been able to find out, the origin of the Arawakan *ka-/ke-/ko-* prefix is unknown. According to Aikhenvald (1999) it can be traced back to Proto-Arawakan. In its synchronic function, it is commonly described as an 'attributive marker' (Matteson 1972: 164), a 'relative-attributive marker' (Aikhenvald 1998: 410), or a 'verbalizer' (Derbyshire 1986: 504). In at least some languages, such as Apuriña, the prefix occurs not only with nominals, but also with verbs, in which case it is said to have transitivizing or causativizing function (Derbyshire 1986: 505).

    In the Arawakan languages of my sample, the *ka*-Possessive is never the only option for predicative possessive encoding. Moreover, it is almost certain that the prefix varies from language to language in its productivity. For example, Launey (2003: 79–80) contrasts the *ka*-formations in Palikur and Lokono, two languages from French Guyana. This author notes that Palikur has a generally applicable *have*-verb *kadahan*, which originates from a

combination of the noun *dahan* 'thing possessed' and the prefix *ka-*, and goes on to observe:

> The prefix *ka* which is present in *kadahan* has a cognate in several Arawakan languages where it means 'provided with', and hence can translate *to have*; in many of these languages it can occur with just any noun. This is what happens in Arawak Lokono, also spoken in Guyana. But it is also rather current in Palikur, for example:

[172a] Ig   ka kakura
      3SG   aff-money
      'He has money'

[172b] Nah   ka kamkayh
      1SG   AFF-child
      'I have a child'

…

> One should take care, however, not to try to construct these forms on the basis of just any noun. In case of doubt, one can always use the form *kadahan* followed by the noun.

<div align="right">(Launey 2003: 80; my translation, numbering, and glosses)</div>

In other words, while the prefix *ka-* in Lokono seems to constitute a productive strategy in predicative possession encoding, in Palikur it appears to have been 'frozen', and limited to a closed set of cases.

Statements like the ones on Palikur and Lokono are rather rare, as grammars on Arawakan languages typically do not provide information on the productivity of the *ka*-prefix. For this reason, the inclusion of *ka*-formations in the data base for some languages and the exclusion of that same formation for other languages remains, to some degree, arbitrary. I have included the *ka*-option as one of the alternatives in predicative possession encoding for five of the ten Arawakan languages in my sample; from the grammatical descriptions of these five languages, I have gained the – admittedly debatable – impression that the *ka*-option has at least some degree of productivity.

(173)   LOKONO (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)
      Ka-sikoa-ka-i
      ATTR-house-PERF-3SG
      'He has a house' (Pet 1987: 74)

(174)   LOKONO (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)
      Seme-ka   to   sikalho
      be.sweet-PERF   ART   sugar.cane
      'The sugar cane is sweet' (Pet 1987: 161)

(175) Goajiro (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)
Ke-pia-š taya
PREF-house-SG.M 1SG
'I have a house' (Holmer 1949: 156)

(176) Goajiro (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)
Káusu-shi Pedro
be.fat-M.SG.DUR P.
'Pedro is fat' (Celedon 1878: 60)

(177) Baure (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)
a. Ri-ko-šir-ow
3SG.F-ATTR-son-IMPF
'She has a son/sons' (Swintha Danielsen p.c.)

b. Ti eton ri-ko-sowe-ow
DEM.F woman 3SG.F-ATTR-ring-IMPF
'This woman has/is wearing a ring' (Swintha Danielsen p.c.)

(178) Baure (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)
Monik-o-ow-vi
pretty-EPENT-IMPF-2SG
'You are pretty' (Swintha Danielsen, p.c.)

(179) Piro (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)
Hi wa ka-pawa-ni-na tsruni
NEG the PREF-fire-PAST-3 ancestors
'Our ancestors had no fire' (Matteson 1965: 205)

(180) Piro (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)
Hitsko-na
strong-3
'They are strong' (Matteson 1965: 143)

(181) Apuriňa (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)
Ka-kamara-wa
ATTR-soul-1PL.OBJ
'We have a soul' (Facundes 2000: 340)

(182) Apuriňa (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)
Mita-ru aiko
be.big-3M.OBJ house
'The house is big' (Facundes 2000: 286)

Outside north-east Siberia and the Americas, hardly any cases of flexional With-Possessives can be found in my sample. A possible candidate is Car, a language from the Nicobar Islands, which complements its primary Topic Possessive with a construction that, in all probability, must be analysed as a With-Possessive. The possessor is the subject of the construction, and the predicate is a complex formation, which consists of the possessee and the suffix *-u/-və* 'which indicates possessive' (Braine 1970: 109). The origin of this suffix is not traceable. The marked possessee functions as the predicate in the construction in the same way as predicative verbs or adjectives do, so that we can decide that this With-Possessive in Car is of the flexional subtype.

(183)   CAR (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer, Nicobarese)

    a. Kóŋ-u   cin
       can-AFF   1SG.SUBJ.PRES
       'I have a can' (Braine 1970: 110)

    b. Lípər̆ɛ-və   cin
       book-SUFF   1SG.SUBJ.PRES
       'I have a book' (Braine 1970: 110)

(184)   CAR (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer, Nicobarese)
    Lək   an   ŋam   máy
    be.calm it   the   sea
    'The sea is calm' (Braine 1970: 242)

Finally, we can note a case of With-Possessive encoding in a language from the African phylum Khoisan. Sandawe is a language from Tanzania; it is geographically isolated from the other Khoisan languages, which are situated in south-west Africa. The possessive construction in Sandawe is of the flexional subtype, which is extremely rare for African languages. In this construction, which has the possessor as its subject, the possessee is 'adjectivalized' by means of the suffix *-se*. The origin of this suffix is unclear. Dempwolff (1916: 37) calls it a 'Qualitätssuffix', and remarks about formations with *-se*: 'it is not always possible to say whether we have a substantive or a verb, or a word which more or less corresponds to our adjectives and participles' (Dempwolff 1916: 17; my translation).[14]

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[14] We can observe that in Nama, another Khoisan language, a suffix *se* is used to derive (same subject) participles and manner adverbs.

(i)   NAMA (Khoisan)

    a. !gu.ra se   ta   go #û
       walk PCP   I   eat.IMPERF
       'Walking I have eaten' (Olpp 1964: 61)

(185)   Sᴀɴᴅᴀᴡᴇ (Khoisan)
        Tata   humbu-se
        father   cow-ᴀғғ
        'Father has cows' (Dempwolff 1916: 17)

(186)   Sᴀɴᴅᴀᴡᴇ (Khoisan)
        The   heu   maganza-se
        tree   this   tall(ness)-having
        'This tree is tall' (Dempwolff 1916: 19)

5.3 Predicativization of other types?

Predicativization is a process of reanalysis whose target structure is characterized by two defining features. First, the possessor is the subject in the construction. Secondly, the construction is intransitive. The predicate consists of a formation in which the possessee phrase forms the lexical root; this predicate is analysed as an adjectival item, and is treated morphosyntactically in the same way as other adjectival items in the language.

As we have seen in the previous sections, the process of predicativization is well-attested for cases in which a With-Possessive is the source. The reanalysis that is involved may be gradual, and the dividing line between an adverbial and a copular With-Possessive may not always be easy to draw, but at least in some cases of the flexional With-Possessive we have ample evidence of the mechanisms involved in the creation of these possessive constructions from the source structure. The question now is whether predicativization can be argued to apply to other basic possessive types as well.

One thing that is required in the outcome of a process of predicativization is that the possessor has the subject privileges that the language allows. If the source is a With-Possessive, this is of course no problem at all, since the possessor already has these privileges in the source structure. The other basic type for which this is the case is the Have-Possessive. In order to turn a Have-Possessive into a predicativized construction, what would be needed is a grammaticalization of the *have*-verb into a derivational affix, and a reanalysis of the verb phrase of the construction into a formation that has the possessee noun as its root. As we have seen in Section 5.2.2, this scenario has been suggested for at least some of the North American cases of the flexional With-Possessive. The idea that the derivational *have*-prefixes in Salish have their

b. !gom se   ta   ra tani
   heavy ᴀᴅᴠ   I   carry
   'I carry heavily' (Olpp 1964: 36)

origin in full lexical verbs is the majority view on the possessive construction in these languages, and probably on the derivational *have*-affixes in other North American languages as well (Marianne Mithun p.c.). However, it must be said that direct diachronic evidence for the actual existence of such a scenario is rather hard to come by. In my sample I have not found any case of predicativization in which the target structure could be traced back rigorously to a Have-Possessive by way of an unbroken grammaticalization path. This is not to deny that *have*-items can be the source of grammaticalization paths, but if they are, the target structure always seems to lie outside the realm of possession-encoding proper (see Heine and Kuteva 2002: 241–6).

With Locational Possessives, the problem lies in the transfer of subject privileges to the possessor. In the source structure, the possessor is marked as oblique, and this is a major, and probably insurmountable obstacle in its becoming a full-blown subject. It is true that, in languages like Hungarian, oblique possessors can be argued to have acquired at least some of the subject properties; we will say more about such cases in Section 6.5. However, acquiring the full range of subject properties, which is a requirement for predicativization, seems to be a bridge too far for oblique possessors. Again, I have found no case of possession-encoding in my sample for which predicativization from a Locational Possessive source seems to be the right, or even a conceivable, analysis.

This, then, leaves us with source constructions in which the possessor has the status of a sentential topic, namely the Topic Possessive and the Topic-Locational hybrid construction. The transfer of subject privileges to a sentential topic, as a result of which this non-nuclear sentence topic gradually turns into a nuclear subject, is well-documented in the literature,[15] and will be shown to have been at work in another process of reanalysis of possession constructions, namely, transitivization (see Section 6.3). In short, Topic Possessives do not block predicativization as far as the creation of a possessor subject is concerned. The question now is how, from a Topic Possessive source, the other feature of the target structure, i.e. the adjectival possessee, might be realized.

In my opinion, predicativization from a Topic Possessive, given that it is possible at all, would benefit from a number of special conditions on the source structure. Since the possessee is the nuclear subject in the source structure, it does not have an oblique marker that could be reanalysed as an adjectivalizer. Therefore, the target structure will have to contain a predicate

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[15] See, among others, Givón (1976), Mithun (1991), and Geluykens (1992).

in which the unmarked possessee itself is the stem. This, however, effectively excludes a source structure with a full, overt, *be*-verb, since this item would 'get in the way' of a reanalysis of the possessee into an adjective.[16] In other words, if predicativization of Topic Possessives is feasible at all, the source structure will have to be preferably of the zero-encoded variant.

Perhaps another feature of the source structure that might help along the reanalysis of Topic Possessives is the presence of possessor indexing on the possessee. As has been noticed quite a few times, pronominal possessive affixes on nouns are identical to subject agreement affixes on verbs in many unrelated languages.[17] Hence, it might be conceivable that the possessive index on the possessee will be reanalysed as a subject agreement marker; after all, in both cases these affixes refer back to the same element, namely the possessor which is the subject in the construction.

In sum, I think that a grammaticalization path of the following form is at least theoretically possible:

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[16] Unless one would want to consider a grammaticalization path in which a locative/existential be verb is grammaticalized into a derivational affix, that is, a grammaticalization path of the following general form:

(i) Source PR PE   BE ➔
            PR [PE BE]   ➔
     Target PR [PE DERIV]

Convincing cases of such a scenario in my sample are extremely rare, if they exist at all. Perhaps the best candidate here is a possessive construction in the Philippine language Chamorro. In addition to its Topic Possessive (see Section 11.3), this language has a possessive construction in which the possessor is the subject of an intransitive predicate, which consists of the possessee and a prefix *gai* (plural *mang gai*):

(ii) CHAMORRO (Austronesian, Philippine)

    a. Gai salape'   yo
       PREF money 1SG
       'I have money' (Topping 1973: 90)

    b. Mang gai salape' siha
       PL PREF money 3PL
       'They have money' (Topping 1973: 90)

One might assume that there is a relation between this prefix and the locative verb *gaige* 'to be located' (pl. *mang gaige*), which is exemplified in the following sentences:

(iii) CHAMORRO (Austronesian, Philippine)

    a. Gaige i   patgon giya Guam
       be   the child   at   G.
       'The child is at Guam' (Topping 1973: 88)

    b. Mang gaige siha gi eskuela
       PL be   3PL at   school
       'They are in school' (Topping 1973: 88)

[17] See in particular Siewierska (1998).

(187)   Source   PR   [PE-poss.affix]$_{NP}$ ➡
        Target   PR   [PE-subj.affix]$_{VP}$

It remains to be seen, of course, whether this theoretically possible scenario can be attested in the data. In my sample, I have found two possible candidates, namely the possessive encodings in the Tupí-Guaraní languages and the Algonquian languages, and I will discuss these cases in the following sections. I must say in advance, however, that the constructions in both cases are surrounded by mysteries and uncertainties, and that the analyses put forward in the specialist literature are lacking in unanimity, up to the point of controversy. Therefore, it is inevitable that my discussion and my conclusions will have to rely on speculation to a considerable, and rather uncomfortable, extent.

5.3.1 *Tupian*

According to Gordon (2005), the South-American Tupian (or Tupí) family consists of seventy-six languages, which are divided into ten subfamilies. Of these, by far the largest is the Tupí-Guaraní subfamily, which, in its turn, is further divided into eight subgroups. Tupian languages are scattered across a vast area in the heartland of South America. Members of the family occur in most regions of Brazil, but also in Paraguay, Uruguay, and northern Argentina, in the eastern parts of Bolivia and Peru, and in the south of French Guyana. In the sample that is employed in this study Tupian is represented by four languages, all of which are from the Tupí-Guaraní subfamily. However, for the discussion in this section it is beneficial to take a wider view, and to include languages from other subfamilies as well.[18]

    The problem with which predicative possession encoding in Tupian languages confronts us can be sketched as follows. In a number of languages from the family we come across a predicative possessive construction which minimally consists of the possessee noun and a pronominal prefix that indexes the possessor. Since this construction occurs especially – but not exclusively; see Meira (2006) – in languages of the Tupí-Guaraní subfamily, I will refer to it as the TG-TYPE POSSESSIVE. Examples include:

(188)   TUPINAMBÁ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní, Subgroup III)
        Xe-pindâ
        1SG-harpoon
        'I have a harpoon' (Platzmann 1874: 138)

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[18] Cabral and Rodrigues (2001) and Qeixalós (2001) contain papers that are directly relevant to the issue discussed in this section. For my exposition I have benefited greatly from Rose (2002, 2003) and Meira (2006). I am grateful to Françoise Rose for providing me in personal communication with facts and explication of the Tupí Guaraní possession construction. This does not entail, of course, that this kind lady will necessarily agree with my presentation, let alone with my interpretation, of these facts.

(189)   PARAGUAYAN GUARANÍ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní, Subgroup I)
        I-pirapire
        3SG-money
        'He has a lot of money' (Krivoshein de Canese 1983: 139)

The question of how to analyse this construction has given rise to lively debate
in the specialist literature. Basically there are two views which compete with
one another. The first of these, which I will call the EXISTENTIAL ANALYSIS,
rests on the fact that the prefixes on the possessee in the TG-type possessive
can readily be identified as pronominal possessive items. Thus, for example,
the Tupinambá construction in (188) can be analysed as a noun phrase with
the meaning 'my harpoon'. This has led authors such as Dietrich (2001) and
Rodrigues (2001a) to conceive of the predicative construction in (188) and
(189) as an existential sentence with a zero predicate and a possessor-indexed
noun phrase as the subject; in other words, a sentence like (188) must be
analysed as '(There is) my harpoon'. Using the terminology employed in this
study, we can say that, under this analysis, the TG-Type Possessive will thus be
a case of what we have called a zero-encoded Topic Possessive with possessor
indexing. As we have seen in Section 3.3, cases of this type of possessive
encoding are by no means restricted to Tupí-Guaraní.

There is, however, a possible alternative analysis of these possession con-
structions, which also has a number of adherents in the literature. It so
happens that in Tupí-Guaraní, as in Tupian languages in general, verbal
predicates can be divided into two classes, depending on the set of subject-
agreement prefixes which they take. For our purposes, the class that is relevant
are the so-called 'stative' or 'descriptive' verbs, which, among other stative
concepts, express 'adjectival' notions like 'good' or 'old'. Examples of stative
verb constructions are given in (190) and (191):

(190)   TUPINAMBÁ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní, Subgroup III)
        Xe-catu
        1SG-good
        'I am good' (Platzmann 1874: 132)

(191)   PARAGUAYAN GUARANÍ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní, Subgroup I)
        Ko   karai   i-tuja
        this   gentleman   3SG-old
        'This gentleman is old' (Krivoshein de Canese 1983: 104)

As will be seen from a comparison between the examples in (188)–(189) and
(190)–(191), the prefixes on the possessee nouns and on the stative verbs
clearly resemble one another. In fact, it can be established that, throughout
the Tupian family, there is considerable overlap – and, in some cases, even

identity – between the set of subject-markers on stative verbs and the pro-nominal possessive prefixes on nouns.[19] This fact has inspired authors such as Jensen (1998) and Seki (2000) to analyse the TG-type possessive constructions as cases of stative verb encoding.[20] Under this analysis, which I will call the VERBAL ANALYSIS here, the predicate of the possession construction is seen as a verb phrase, which entails that the possessee noun has been verbalized. In other words, under this analysis the possession constructions of Tupinambá and Guaraní are instances of the target structure in (187), and can thus be called instances of predicativization.

Both views find empirical backing in the fact that, among the Tupian languages, there are instances of possession encoding for which only one of the two analyses seems appropriate. Most obvious are those cases in which the construction actually contains a full locative/existential verb, so that an analysis in terms of an existential sentence is the only option. Examples include:

(192)   KARO (Tupian, Ramarama)
        Wat   ka'a   'a'   kǝt
        my   house   CLASS live
        'I have a house' (*lit.* 'My house lives') (Meira 2006: 208)

(193)   GAVIÃO (Tupian, Monde)
        Ě-záp   mága
        2-house exist
        'You have a house' (Meira 2006: 209)

(194)   MEKENS (Tupian, Tupari)
        O-tek   piro-apõ   õt
        1-house exist-NEG   1
        'I don't have a house' (Meira 2006: 207)

The possessive construction in Urubú-Kaapor does not contain a full locative/ existential item. Nonetheless, the possessee phrase in the construction cannot be analysed as a stative verb, as it lacks the subject prefixes that stative verbs

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[19] For an illustration of this fact see, for example, Harrison (1986: 423 9) on Guajajara, and Meira (2006: 190 6) on Mawé.

[20] Jensen (1998: 524 5) states: 'A noun may also function syntactically like a nonagentive intransitive verb, using Set 2 person markers [i.e. non agentive subject prefixes, L.S.]. The referent, which normally would be the possessor, functions as the subject of the sentence. This construction means that the referent is characterized in some way by the noun. Sometimes this is most easily translated in English using the verb "have" although there is definitely no transitive meaning intended in the indigenous language.'

have (see sentence (196)). In Section 3.3 I have analysed the possessive construction in this language as a case of the (potentially ambiguous) zero-encoded Topic Possessive.

(195)   Urubú-Kaapor (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní, Subgroup VIII)

    a. Ihẽ rakehar ym
       1sg wife NEG
       'I don't have a wife' (Kakumasu 1986: 334)

    b. Ihẽ rayr ym
       1sg child NEG
       'I don't have a child' (Kakumasu 1986: 338)

(196)   Urubú-Kaapor (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní, Subgroup VIII)
    I-hĩ
    3-sit
    'He sits/sat' (Kakumasu 1986: 347)

A specific argument for existential status of the possessive construction can be found in Munduruku. Here we notice that the possessee noun has to be reduplicated, and that reduplication is also a major strategy to encode existential statements.[21]

(197)   Munduruku (Tupian, Munduruku)

    a. We-bekit-ket
       1-child-REDUPL
       'I have a child' (Crofts 1973: 64)

    b. Bekit-kit
       child-REDUPL
       'There are children' (Crofts 1973: 64)

All in all, then, there is ample evidence that the Topic Possessive is a real encoding option in Tupian languages. Hence, it does not seem implausible to extend this analysis to TG-type possessives as exemplified in (188)–(189), and thus to adopt an existential analysis for these constructions.

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[21] (Partial) reduplication as a strategy for constructing possessive sentences is apparently not restricted to Munduruku. Haude (2006) mentions a comparable case for Movima, an isolate language from East Bolivia.

(i)   Movima (Movima)
    Iń   kami kamiyon
    1.INTR   REDUPL truck
    'I have a truck' (Haude 2006: 297)

On the other hand, it can be observed that, just as there are Tupian possessives which only allow an existential analysis, there are constructions for which only the verbal analysis seems to work. Cases in point are the possessive constructions of the non-Tupí-Guaraní languages Mawé and Makurap. Sentences (198a–b) demonstrate that there is an identity of structure between the possessive construction and the stative verb construction in Mawé. An analysis of the possessive construction (198b) in terms of an existential sentence is impossible, since, as the noun phrase in (199) shows, there are no possessive prefixes of the third person in Mawe.

(198)   Mawé (Tupian, Sateré-Mawé)

    a. Aware   i-wato
       dog   3-big
       'The dog is big' (Meira 2006: 197)

    b. Maria   i-pohaǧ
       M.   3-medicine
       'Maria has medicine' (Meira 2006: 197)

(199)   Mawé (Tupian, Sateré-Mawé)
    Maria   pohaǧ
    M.   medicine
    'Maria's medicine' (Meira 2006: 197)

In Makurap a structural identity between possessive constructions and stative verb constructions can be observed as well, albeit that, in this language, stative verbs do not have subject prefixes. That the possessive construction cannot be analysed as an existential sentence is proved by the fact that existential sentences need a full existential verb *ekoat*, which never appears in possessive constructions. Furthermore, the structure in (200b) cannot be analysed as a possessed noun phrase; as is illustrated in (201b), possessed noun phrases in Makurap need a possessive prefix and an 'extra' suffix -*(et)/-(e)n*.

(200)   Makurap (Tupian, Tupari)

    a. On   karaŋ
       1SG   big
       'I am big' (Meira 2006: 207)

    b. On   ʃek
       1SG   house
       'I have a house' (Meira 2006: 207)

(201) MAKURAP (Tupian, Tupari)

    a. Paako   toa   ekoat?
       banana Q   exist
       'Are there bananas?' (Meira 2006: 207)

    b. O-ʃeg-et
       1SG.POSS-house-POSS
       'my house' (Meira 2006: 207)

In sum, we can conclude that, in the Tupian family as a whole, both 'existential' and 'verbal' possessive constructions can be shown to occur. The question now is to determine what the correct analysis is for cases of the TG-type possessive as exemplified in (188) and (189).

    Proponents of the verbal analysis for these constructions have pointed out that in some languages of this type, the possessive construction and the stative verb construction share morphosyntactic characteristics which distinguish them from existential (and other nonverbal) predication constructions. Thus, in some languages the possessee phrase can take mood and aspect markings in the same way as stative verbs (but not noun phrases) can.

(202) MBYÁ-GUARANÍ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní, Subgroup I)
    Ore   ore-mandiokui-xe
    1PL.EXCL   1PL.EXCL-manioc-DESID
    'We want to have manioc' (Vieira 2001: 73)

(203) AWETÍ (Tupian, Awetí)

    a. I-měpyt
       1-child
       'I have a child' (Meira 2006: 206)

    b. I-měpyr-eju
       1-child-PROG
       'I am pregnant' (Meira 2006: 206)

Also, we find cases in which the possessive construction and the stative verb construction share a negation strategy that cannot be used in nonverbal predication. Thus, in Guajajara verbs and possessive constructions are negated by the prefix *n-/naʔ-* to the predicate form. Nominal predicates, on the other hand, are negated by the free particle *nan*. Similarly, negation of possessive constructions in Emérillon follows the verbal negative strategy by way of the circumfix *d-* . . . *-dʒi*, whereas nominal predicates are negated by the suffix *-uwa*.

(204)   GUAJAJARA (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní, Subgroup IV)

    a. I-mukaw
       3SG-gun
       'He has a gun'/ 'It is his gun' (Bendor-Samuel 1972: 162)

    b. NaʔП-i-mukaw
       NEG-3SG-gun
       'He has no gun' (Bendor-Samuel 1972: 162)

    c. Nan   i-mukaw
       not   3SG-gun
       'It is not his gun' (Bendor-Samuel 1972: 162)

(205)   EMÉRILLON (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní, Subgroup VIII)

    a. D-o-ʔu-dʒi   sautu
       NEG-3-eat-NEG   salt
       'He does not eat salt' (Rose 2003: 278)

    b. D-i-kalakuli-ai-dʒi
       NEG-3-money-much-NEG
       'He does not have much money' (Rose 2003: 287)

    c. Wɨlakala-uwa
       god-NEG
       'It is not a god' (Rose 2003: 278)

And finally, for some languages we can find arguments which call into question the noun phrase status of the possessee phrase in a TG-type possessive. The Tupí-Guaraní languages Kamayurá and Tupinambá employ a case marker -*a* to indicate, roughly speaking, noun phrase arguments, which is why it is called the 'argumentative' case marker in Rodrigues (2001b). Examples of the use of this marker are the following:

(206)   KAMAYURÁ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní, Subgroup VII)
    Kunu'um-a   ka'i-a   r-uwaj-a   w-ekyj
    boy-ARG   monkey-ARG   poss-tail-ARG   3-pull
    'The boy is pulling the monkey's tail' (Meira 2006: 2001)

(207)   TUPINAMBÁ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní, Subgroup III)
    Sjé   re-kúj-a
    1   POSS-gourd-ARG
    'My gourd/It's my gourd' (Meira 2006: 203)

However, the possessee phrase in the possessive construction of these languages is never marked for argumentative case; for Tupinambá, we can thus

construct a minimal pair of (207) vs. (209). Given this, it is plausible to assume that, in the possessive construction of these languages, the possessee phrase does not have noun phrase status, which goes against the main tenet of the existential analysis for these constructions.

(208)   Kᴀᴍᴀʏᴜʀᴀ́ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní, Subgroup VII)
        Je-pyt
        1-house
        'I have a house' (Seki 2000: 62)

(209)   Tᴜᴘɪɴᴀᴍʙᴀ́ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní, Subgroup III)
        Sjé   re-kúj
        1   ᴘᴏss-gourd
        'I have a gourd/gourds' (Meira 2006: 2003)

Reviewing the above argumentation, my feeling – as, admittedly, a layman on these languages – is that the evidence in favour of a verbal analysis for the TG-type possessive is too strong to be ignored. I therefore tentatively propose that these possessive constructions must be seen as instances of the target structure in (187), that is, as instances of predicativization from a Topic Possessive source. It can be seen that the two conditions that I have formulated on the felicitousness of this grammaticalization path are readily fulfilled in the languages at issue. First, there is large overlap – or, in the case of Paraguayan Guaraní, even complete identity – between possessive prefixes on nouns and subject prefixes on stative/qualitative verbs. Secondly, the languages with a TG-type possessive seem to have at least the possibility of zero-encoding of existential predications. Thus, about the – now extinct – Tupí-Guaraní language Tupinambá Rodrigues (2001b: 111) remarks: 'In Tupinambá, there are neither copulative verbs nor copulative particles. Existential predications...are expressed in Tupinambá by a noun without case' (my translation, L.S.). The degree of obligatoriness of this zero-encoding probably varies from language to language. It seems to be a strong option for Guajajara, Urubú-Kaapor, and Kamayurá:

(210)   Uʀᴜʙᴜ́-Kᴀᴀᴘᴏʀ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní, Subgroup VIII)

        a. Oropo   pewe   rĩ
           O.   there   still
           'Oropo (is) still there' (Kakumasu 1986: 335)

        b. Petei   kyse
           one   knife
           '(There was) one knife' (Kakumasu 1986: 347)

(211) GUAJAJARA (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní, Subgroup IV)
Zawar   zo   i-pyr   wə   no
Dog   only him-with   PL   PRT
'There were only dogs with him' (Bendor-Samuel 1972: 161)

(212) KAMAYURÁ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní, Subgroup VII)

    a. Ore-r-etam-a   'Ypawu-p
        1PL.EXCL-LK-hamlet-ARG   Y.-LOC
        'Our hamlet is in Ypawu' (Seki 2000: 63)

    b. Toryw-a   rak   ta-ip
        fiesta-ARG PAST   village-LOC
        'There was a fiesta in the village' (Seki 2000: 64)

In other languages full and zero-encoding of locative/existential sentences appear to co-exist. For some of these cases, this has led to a situation in which there are also two co-existing possession constructions, one of the predicativized type, and one of the possessor-indexed Topic Possessive type. Examples in point are from Emérillon, a language from French Guyana, and Jo'é and Tembé, both spoken in northern Brazil. It can be noted that in the Topic Possessive of Tembé the possessee phrase carries the 'argumentative' marker -*a*, which characterizes this phrase as a referential noun phrase; this case marker is lacking in the verbal possessive construction.[22]

(213) EMÉRILLON (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní, Subgroup VIII)

    a. Olone-kalakuli
        1PL.EXCL-money
        'We have money' (Rose 2003: 276)

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[22] In Paraguayan Guaraní the option to have zero encoding for locative/existential sentences seems to be marginal, if it exists at all. Instead, the language uses a set of full locational items.

(i) PARAGUAYAN GUARANÍ (Tupian, Tupí Guaraní, Subgroup I)

    a. Hoga   pe   heta   o ī   tatapíí
        house   in   much   3SG.SUBJ exist   charcoal
        'There is a lot of charcoal in the house' (Gregores and Suárez 1967: 183)

    b. Oi kó je   pe ka'aguy   mbytēre   petei   karai
        3 be PRT   that forest   middle   in   man
        'There was/lived a man in that forest' (Velazquez Castillo 1996: 78)

In terms of number of speakers Paraguayan Guaraní is by far the largest Tupian language. Eighty per cent of its over four million speakers are bilingual in Spanish, and especially in the urban area of the Paraguayan capital Asunción there is much interference between the two languages. It is therefore conceivable   although, as far as I know, not proven   that the almost exclusive use of full lexical verbs in the locative/existential construction in Guaraní is due to Spanish influence.

    b. 12-zaɨ-aha   kʷalai-pope
       12-moon-only sun-in
       'There are twelve months in a year' (Rose 2003: 269)

(214)   EMÉRILLON (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní, Subgroup VIII)

    a. Kob   i-balidʒa
      exist   3-knife
      'He has a knife' (Rose 2003: 279)

    b. Kob   t-aɨwəl
      exist   ART-ghost
      'Ghosts exist/There are ghosts' (Rose 2003: 269)

(215)   JO'É (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní, Subgroup VIII)

    a. E-r-ú
      1SG-LK-father
      'My father/I have a father' (Françoise Rose p.c.)

    b. E-r-ú   (i)tʃá
      1SG-LK-father   exist
      'I have a father' (Françoise Rose p.c.)

(216)   TEMBÉ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní, Subgroup IV)

    a. H-wáj   kaʔi-a
      3SG-tail   howler.monkey-ARG
      'The howler monkey has a tail' (Cabral 2001: 147)

    b. Kaʔi-a   hetá   h-uáz-a
      howler.monkey-ARG   exist   3SG-tail-ARG
      'The howler monkey has a tail' (Cabral 2001: 147)

In sum, one might venture the hypothesis that, in the Tupian family, a Topic Possessive was the original option. For the large majority of the languages from subfamilies other than Tupí-Guaraní this Topic Possessive is the contemporary option as well, mainly due to the fact that in these languages the construction has a full locative/existential *be*-verb. In Tupí-Guaraní, however, a process of reanalysis in terms of predicativization took place. This reanalysis became possible since, in the languages of this sub-family, the all-Tupian overlap between possessor marking and non-agentive subject marking could 'conspire' with the possibility of zero-encoding for existential sentences.

5.3.2 *Algonquian*

The North American language family Algonquian is represented in my sample by five languages. Of these, the Californian language Yurok, which is geographically isolated from its family members, has a Topic Possessive with possessor indexing:

(217)   Yurok (Algonquian)
  Keʔl ʔokw skuyeni keʔ-yoc
  you exist.3sg good your-boat
  'You have a good boat' (Robins 1958: 17)

Plains Cree, a language from Canada that represents the easternmost member of Algonquian in my sample, has a Have-Possessive which, as I will argue in Section 6.3, must be rated as a grammaticalization from an erstwhile Topic Possessive by way of a process of transitivization. The same holds for one of the possessive constructions in Ojibwa.

(218)   Plains Cree (Algonquian)
  Nit-ayâ-n   masinahikan
  1sg.subj-have/be-3sg.inan.obj book
  'I have a book' (Ahenakew 1987: 92)

(219)   Ojibwa (Algonquian)
  Nint-aya-wa   ciman
  1sg.act-have/exist-3sg.inan.obv.pat canoe
  'I have a canoe' (Todd 1970: 62)

Matters are significantly less straightforward for the remaining Algonquian possessive constructions in my data base. The major possessive construction in Blackfoot and Menomini, and one of the options in Ojibwa, is highly idiosyncratic. I trust that the below examples will demonstrate that this construction is not like anything else we have seen before in the way of possession encoding.

(220)   Blackfoot (Algonquian)
  a. Nit-o-mitaa-m-i
    1sg.an.intr-3sg.poss-dog-al-deriv
    'I have a dog' (Frantz 1971: 24)
  b. O-mita-m-i-ʔwa
    3poss-dog-al-deriv-3sg.an.intr
    'He has a dog' (Taylor 1969: 229)

(221) Oᴊɪʙᴡᴀ (Algonquian)

    a. U-soneya-m-i-ø
       his-money-ᴀʟ-ᴅᴇʀɪᴠ-3sɢ.sᴜʙᴊ.ᴀɴ.ɪɴᴛʀ
       'He has money' (Bloomfield 1956: 12)

    b. O-bizhiiki-im-i-ø
       his-cow-ᴀʟ-ᴅᴇʀɪᴠ-3sɢ.ᴀɴ.ɪɴᴛʀ
       'He has a cow' (Valentine 2001: 416)

(222) Mᴇɴᴏᴍɪɴɪ (Algonquian)

    a. Net-u-suniyan-ɛm-em
       1sɢ.ᴀɴ.ɪɴᴛʀ-3ᴘᴏss-money-ᴀʟ-ɴᴏɴ3
       'I have money' (Bloomfield 1962: 276)

    b. O-suniyan-ɛm-ɛw
       3ᴘᴏss-money-ᴀʟ-3sɢ.ᴀɴ.ɪɴᴛʀ
       'He has money' (Bloomfield 1962: 276)

One of the few things that are uncontroversial about this construction is that it consists of an intransitive predicate. That this is so is demonstrated unambiguously by the agreement affixes on the predicate complex. Algonquian languages have a system of verb agreement which is structured on the basis of the interaction of the parameters of intransitivity/transitivity and animacy/inanimacy. As the above examples show, the predicate that is the minimal manifestation of the possessive construction in these Algonquian languages is specified as having an intransitive animate subject, either by prefixes (for first or second person) or by a suffix (for third person; in Ojibwa, the suffix for the third-person singular is zero). A further uncontroversial point is that this subject affix refers to the possessor. In sum, this Algonquian possessive construction consists of an intransitive predicate with the possessor as the subject.

With regard to the make-up of the intransitive predicate, however, a number of questions can be raised. It is clear that the 'root', or the 'lexical core', of the predicate is formed by an element that indicates the possessee. This lexical core is surrounded by a prefix *o-/u-* and a suffix *-ɛm/-im/-m*. Moreover, the suffix *-ɛm/-im/-m* is followed in Blackfoot and Ojibwa, but not in Menomini, by another suffix that has the allomorphs *-i/-wi/-yi*.[23] The grammatical status of these items is not always agreed upon in the specialist

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[23] As can be seen from sentence (222a), the Menomini construction features a further suffix *em*. This suffix indicates that the subject of the construction is non third person. The item will be ignored in the present exposition.

literature; I will restrict myself here to a brief discussion of the analyses that I have been able to track down.

The prefix *o-/u-*, then, is commonly analysed as a pronominal possessive prefix of the third person. More specifically, at least some authors hold that it must be seen as a so-called 'obviative' or 'fourth-person' element. In their systems of pronominal reference, Algonquian languages differentiate between discourse participants that are prominent in the discourse and those which are not. First and second persons are always prominent, but with third persons one can distinguish between those participants that are featured prominently and those that are 'the other ones', which have, for example, not been mentioned before, or in any case are not salient features of the existing discourse space. These latter participants, referred to as 'fourth persons', are indicated by specific 'obviative' pronominal forms. Now, the prefix *o-/u-* that marks the possessee in the predicative possession construction in Algonquian is said to indicate such a fourth-person referent: 'Nouns to which the possessive prefix of the third person is attached, are always treated as fourth persons, the possessor . . . being the chief third person' (Uhlenbeck 1938: 31–2, on Blackfoot). Thus, given the discourse-functional character of this prefix, one might see this prefix as an equivalent of (or an alternative to) indefinite marking; it specifies the possessee as an element that is new, or at least non-topical, in the actual frame of discourse.

The origin, and the synchronic status, of the suffix *-εm/-im/-m* is open to some doubt. It might be that this element can be identified with the suffix *-m* that is found on verbs and roughly means 'in relation to', 'act in relation to' (Todd 1970: 175, on Ojibwa). Another, more popular, analysis places the function of this suffix within the realm of noun-class marking. Algonquian languages make a distinction between two classes of nouns. Dependent nouns can never occur without possessive prefixes, and indicate inalienable possession, such as kinship relations, body parts, and some intimate personal belongings like houses and canoes. Independent nouns indicate alienable possession: they can occur without possessive prefixes, but when they do they need the additional suffix *-εm/-im/-m*. Under this analysis, which I will adopt here, the suffix is seen as a marker of alienability. The contrast between the two classes of nouns can be illustrated by the following formations in Menomini:

(223)   MENOMINI (Algonquian)

      a. *Inalienable*:
         Ne-se·t
         1SG.POSS-foot
         'My foot' (Bloomfield 1962: 37)

b. *Alienable*:

Ne-se·qsep-εm
1SG.POSS-duck-AL
'My duck' (Bloomfield 1962: 102)

All in all, then, it looks as if the stem of the intransitive predicate in the possessive construction of Algonquian can be identified as a noun phrase, which has the possessee noun as its root, and which is marked for obviative possession and alienability.

Now, as we saw above, Menomini takes this stem and constructs it as an intransitive predicate, with the possessor as (animate) subject. The other two languages apparently require an additional suffix on the stem, namely *-i/-wi/-yi*. There is disagreement in the literature concerning the status of this suffix. According to Uhlenbeck (1938: 31, on Blackfoot), this suffix plays a role in the marking of obviation; it indicates explicitly that the noun phrase in question must be interpreted as obviative, and is, therefore, a stem-forming element. Under another analysis, the suffix is identified as a derivational item that has the general function of deriving intransitive verbs from adjectival and nominal stems (see Taylor 1969: 232–8 on Blackfoot and Bloomfield 1956: 12 on Eastern Ojibwa). This derivational suffix can be seen at work in the following examples:

(224) BLACKFOOT (Algonquian)

a. Sikkim-i-wa
   black-DERIV-3SG.AN.INTR
   'He is black' (Taylor 1969: 233)

b. Moxsokui   sokap-i-u
   road   good-DERIV-3SG.INAN.INTR
   'The road is good' (Uhlenbeck 1938: 63)

(225) OJIBWA (Algonquian)
Ne-kihči-ayahaw-i
1SG.INTR-big-person-DERIV
'I am a big man' (Todd 1970: 166)

An argument for derivational status of the suffix *-i/-wi/-yi* may be that Menomini – which, as we have seen above, does not use this suffix in its possessive constructions – does not seem to need this suffix either in constructing predicative adjective or nominal sentences:

(226) MENOMINI (Algonquian)

a. Mεqsi-w
   big-3SG.INTR.AN
   'He is big' (Bloomfield 1962: 42)

    b. Tatá·hkese-w
       strong-3SG.INTR.AN
       'He is strong' (Bloomfield 1962: 65)

On the other hand, one must concede that, apparently, the suffix *-i/-wi/yi* is not obligatory in the formation of predicate adjectives in Ojibwa, witness a sentence like (227):

(227)   OJIBWA (Algonquian)
       Mema·nteto-wak
       big.PL-3PL.INTR.AN
       'They are big' (Bloomfield 1956: 33)

Given these facts, I feel I have to be non-commital about the status of this suffix: it may be either a stem-formative, or a derivational item. Regardless of the correct answer to this question, however, the above discussion lends some credibility to the hypothesis that the Algonquian possessive sentence consists of a possessee noun phrase which – either by overt derivation, or without any derivational marking – is constructed as a predicative adjective that has the possessor as its subject. If one is willing to accept this hypothesis, one can conclude that the Algonquian construction fits the grammaticalization schema presented in (187) rather well. As was the case with the Tupí-Guaraní languages, the reanalysis of a possessee phrase as a predicative adjective may have been fostered by the fact that, in Algonquian too, there is considerable overlap between verbal and nominal affixes.[24]

5.3.3 *Conclusion*

Reviewing the expositions in the previous two sections, I think that a case can be made for the existence of a grammaticalization path which has (some variant of) a Topic Possessive as its source, and which results in a target

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[24] In all three languages, the first and second person possessive prefixes on nouns are identical to the first and second person prefixes of animate subjects of intransitive verbs.

(i) MENOMINI (Algonquian)

    a. Ne pi ah
       1SG come FUT
       'I will come' (Bloomfield 1962: 500)

    b. Ne se qsep ɛm
       1SG duck AL
       'My duck' (Bloomfield 1962: 102)

In Blackfoot, the possessive prefix of the third person is identical to the third person subject prefix on intransitive verbs in the so called conjunct form.

structure in which the possessor is the subject and the possessee is reanalysed as a predicate adjective. I can add that, besides the language-internal arguments that I have adduced for these Tupí-Guaraní and Algonquian languages, there are also 'external' indications that a Topic Possessive may be the diachronic source of their possessive constructions. First, I can point out that such an analysis would fit in well with areal data. As we have seen in Section 5.3.1, the Tupí-Guaraní languages with an alleged 'predicativized' construction are flanked by family members whose possessive construction is undoubtedly some variant of the Topic Possessive. The same holds for the three Algonquian languages. Moreover, an 'erstwhile' Topic Possessive status of Algonquian possessive constructions would fit in well with a larger areal picture, since this possessive type is – in the form of a Topic-Locational hybrid – also the major option in other language families of the eastern and central part of North America, such as Iroquoian and Siouan (see Section 3.6). A second external argument for 'basic' Topic Possessive status of these predicativized constructions is based on the same meta-theoretical considerations that we have adduced in Sections 3.6. and 4.4. In Chapter 8, I will formulate a set of predictive statements, which are meant to specify a typological profile for each of the four basic possessive types. Now, it can be shown that the Tupí-Guaraní and Algonquian languages with a predicativized possessive construction fit the profile of the Topic Possessive much better than the profile for other possessive types. That is, if we view these predicativized constructions as some grammaticalized variant of the Topic Possessive, they will conform to our predictions, whereas they will have to be rated as counterexamples if we assign them to some other basic type (or, even worse, if we consider them to constitute a new, separate, type). In such circumstances, I think it is methodologically defendable to select the alternative that allows us to opt for regularity.

(ii)   BLACKFOOT (Algonquian)

　　a. o toxkeman
　　　　3 wife
　　　　'His wife' (Uhlenbeck 1938: 163)

　　b. o tsitaixtsi si
　　　　3 lie.there CONJUNCT
　　　　'As he/she was lying there' (Uhlenbeck 1938: 163)

6

Transitivization

6.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapters we have discussed various processes of reanalysis that predicative possessive constructions may undergo. Thus, the process of adnominalization may in some cases lead to a rearrangement of the constituent structure of an erstwhile Locational Possessive or Topic Possessive. The process of predicativization changes the category status of the possessee phrase in a With-Possessive or a Topic Possessive, and, in its slipstream, it changes the syntactic structure of the construction as well. Now, although these types of reanalysis have their own specific mechanisms and motivations, there is nonetheless one feature that they have in common. These processes lead to an end result – their 'target structure' – which is a construction that is not among the four basic types of predicative possession encoding. In other words, these processes have the effect of aligning (part of) the possessive construction to some other structural pattern available in the language, which is of wider use than just the expression of predicative possession. After all, noun phrases with adnominal possessor NPs occur in all sorts of sentences, and predicate adjective constructions express a much wider range of propositions than possession alone.

In this chapter, I want to take a closer look at a process of reanalysis that has some basic possessive type both as its starting point and as its terminal point. Thus, in such a process a possession construction changes from one major type into another. Now, a curious, but nonetheless hard empirical fact is that there appear to be severe constraints on the output of such a process. To be specific, it turns out that, if a language starts to reanalyse its possessive construction in the direction of some other major type, the output – or better: the 'intended' output – will always be a Have-Possessive. Locational Possessives never turn into something else; it is only when they take part in a Topic-Locational hybrid that further grammaticalization may ensue, and this grammaticalization may lead to a Have-Possessive (see Section 6.4). I am not aware of languages which start out with a With-Possessive, and change that

construction into a Topic Possessive or into a Locational Possessive. Neither do I know of languages that used to have a Topic Possessive and ended up with a Locational or With-Possessive. But for all of these three major types, there are examples of languages which have changed – sometimes by way of a rather intricate grammaticalization process – their possession constructions into Have-Possessives. Moreover, if a language has, or has acquired, a Have-Possessive, further reanalysis seems to be blocked: Have-Possessives never change into something else. Thus, we have to conclude that, for some reason, the Have-Possessive represents some sort of 'terminal zone' in the diachronic development of possession constructions. Given this remarkable directionality, we can label the grammaticalization process at issue as HAVE-DRIFT.

Have-Drift aims at turning an intransitive construction into a transitive one: it is a process of TRANSITIVIZATION, in which the possessor NP is – or comes to be – the subject. Among other things, this implies that the subject privileges of a language (such as, for example, marking by nominative case, or cross-reference by subject/agent-agreement markers on the verb) will have to be assigned to the possessor NP. As we have already remarked in Section 5.3, this transfer of subject properties is a gradual development, so that in some cases we may encounter a situation in which those subject properties are divided between the possessor NP and the possessee NP. In addition to, and sometimes synchronous with, the transfer of subject properties, Have-Drift may entail reanalysis of the construction on various other points. Thus, for example, the erstwhile possessee NP may come to be interpreted – and, in some cases, may come to be formally marked – as a direct object. Also, we find that, as a result of Have-Drift, languages may create a new, transitive *have*-verb, often on the basis of the locative/existential predicate that is present in the source construction.

6.2 Have-Drift from With-Possessives

Unlike Have-Drift from Locational or Topic Possessives, Have-Drift from With-Possessives does not involve transfer of subject properties, as the possessor NP is the subject in both the source and the target construction. Therefore, cases of Have-Drift from With-Possessives usually consist in a reanalysis of the predicate of the construction. A common process is the creation of a transitive *have*-verb by way of a fusion of the *be*-verb and the oblique marker on the possessee. The possessor NP, which was the subject of the *be*-verb, now becomes the subject of the *have*-verb, and the possessee NP becomes the direct object. Schematically, this form of Have-Drift can thus be represented as follows:

(1)   HAVE-DRIFT 1: BE–WITH FUSION
       (Source   PR   x-BE   WITH-PE   ➔)
       Source   PR   x-[BE-WITH]   PE   ➔
       Target   PR   x-[HAVE]   PE

Clear examples of this type of Have-Drift are provided by African languages
from various language families. The Cushitic language Somali has a set of
have-verbs, which cover different subdomains within the cognitive space of
possession.[1] The *have*-verb *leh-yahay* can be analysed as a product of Have-
Drift. Historically, it consists of the *be*-verb *aho/ahay* and the prefix *leh-*. The
etymology of this prefix is not completely clear. Reinisch (1903: 39) relates it to
the derivational suffix – *ala/-la*, which forms possessive adjectives and sub-
stantives. According to Moreno (1955: 113), the prefix *leh-* is connected to the
comitative suffix -*la,* and Heine (1997: 108) gives the source for *leh-yahay* as
'<* be with'. No matter what the correct diachronic analysis may be, however,
the fact remains that the verb *leh-yahay* is synchronically no longer seen as a
complex form (Serzisko 1984: 177).

(2)   SOMALI (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)
       Nin-kii   baabuur   ay   leh -yahay
       man-ART   car   FOC.3SG.M   with-be/have.3SG.M.PRES
       'The man has a car' (Serzisko 1984: 179)

Crazzolara (1933) reports that the Nilotic language Nuer has a construction in
which the possessee takes the preposition *kè* 'with'. The verbal item in the
construction is the (defective) locational verb *à* 'to be present' or *tää/tɛkɛ* 'to
remain, to stay'. The combinations *à + kè* and *tɛkɛ + kè* often merge into the
monomorphemic items *aà* and *tɛ́ɛ̀/tékɛ̀ɛ*.

(3)   NUER (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)

       a. Jɛ́n   à   kè   yâŋ
          he   be   with   cow
          'He has a cow' (Crazzolara 1933: 92)

       b. Jɛ́n   aà   yâŋ
          he   be.with/have   cow
          'He has a cow' (Crazzolara 1933: 92)

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[1] These verbs are *leh yahay* 'to have, to possess' and *qabayya* 'to grasp, to take hold, possess', which
encode inalienable and alienable possession, and *haynayya* 'to guard, to watch, to hold; to have in one's
control, in one's possession' which preferentially encodes temporary possession (Serzisko 1984: 194).

(4) NUER (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)

    a. Tɛ́kὲ   kὲ   ɣɔk
       3PL.be with cattle
       'They have cattle' (Crazzolara 1933: 99)

    b. Tɛ́kὲɛ   ɣɔk
       3PL.be.with/have   cattle
       'They have cattle' (Crazzolara 1933: 99)

A similar process can be documented for a number of Bantu languages. Duala has a complex *have*-verb, which is composed of the *be*-verb *bé* and the suffix *-ne*. This suffix has the general function of deriving so-called 'directive' verbs, that is, 'verbs which indicate that something takes place with a person or thing, on a person or thing, towards a person or thing, from a person or thing' (Ittmann 1939: 140; my translation). Derived verbs of this kind are transitive; an example is *tila* 'to write' > *tila-ne* 'to write something with something' (Ittmann 1939: 141). There is no doubt that the suffix *-ne* is related to the preposition *na* 'with'.

(5) DUALA (Niger-Kordofanian, North-West Bantu)
    A   bé-ne   bolo
    he   be-with boat
    'He had a boat' (Ittmann 1939: 100)

In the possessive construction of Luganda, the predicate likewise consists of a complex stem, consisting of the locative/existential *be*-verb *li/ri* and the assocative element *-na* 'with'. The complex stem *li-na* is transitive; the possessee NP is its direct object and may be indexed on the predicate by means of object prefixes (Ashton et al. 1954: 234).

(6) LUGANDA (Niger-Kordofanian, North-East Bantu)

    a. O-li-na   ekitabo
       2SG-be-with book
       'You have a book' (Ashton et al. 1954: 234)

    b. Ekiwuugulu ki-ri-na   ebyoya
       owl   CLASS.SUBJ-be-with feathers
       'An owl has feathers' (Ashton et al. 1954: 59)

Merging of the *be*-verb and the oblique marker of the possessee into a *have*-verb also occurs in a number of languages from Mexico. Thus, in the San Miguel Chimalapa dialect of Zoque we encounter a *have*-verb *ʔaŋnit*, which, according to Johnson (2000), is clearly transitive, as it requires ergative/absolutive marking.

(7)   Sᴀɴ Mɪɢᴜᴇʟ Cʜɪᴍᴀʟᴀᴘᴀ Zᴏϙᴜᴇ (Mixe-Zoque)

   a. Huceŋ   ʔune   ʔəm-ʔaŋnit-pa
       how.many   children   2.ᴇʀɢ-have-ɪɴᴄᴏᴍᴘʟ
       'How many children do you have? '(Johnson 2000: 320)

   b. ʔentonses   ga   tum haya-ʔuneʔ   ʔey-ʔaŋnit-pa   tum
       then   that one male-child   3ᴇʀɢ-have-ɪɴᴄᴏᴍᴘʟ one
       nuʔ
       dog
       'Once upon a time, there was a boy who had a dog' (Johnson 2000: 398)

However, from Wonderly (1952), an earlier source on Zoque, we can deduce that this verb *ʔaŋnit* has its origin in a combination of the comitative prefix *n∧-* 'with' and the *be*-verb *ʔiht*[i].

(8)   Zᴏϙᴜᴇ (Mixe-Zoque)

   a. N-n∧-ʔiht-u-ma-ha   teʔ-tumin
       you/it-with-be-ᴄᴏᴍᴘʟᴇᴛ-still-ϙ   ᴀʀᴛ-money
       'Do you still have money?'(Wonderly 1952: 195)

   b. Y-n∧-ʔiht-hay-u   teʔ-libru
       he/it-with-exist-ʙᴇɴ-ᴄᴏᴍᴘʟᴇᴛ   ᴀʀᴛ-book
       'He has a book' (Wonderly 1952: 196)

A completely comparable situation holds in Sierra Popoluca. Here the *have*-verb *iniít*ʸ turns out to have been assembled from a *be*-verb *it*ʸ and a verbal prefix *nɔ-*, which has comitative meaning and general transitivizing function (see sentence (10)).

(9)   Sɪᴇʀʀᴀ Pᴏᴘᴏʟᴜᴄᴀ (Mixe-Zoque)
       Dʸá   tʸí   iʸ-nɔ-ítʸ >> iniítʸ
       not   something   3 sɢ.ᴏʙʟ-with-be>> 3sɢ.ᴏʙʟ.have
       '(She) did not have anything (else)' (Elson 1960: 108)

(10) Sɪᴇʀʀᴀ Pᴏᴘᴏʟᴜᴄᴀ (Mixe-Zoque)
       Iʸ-nɔ-sós-pa
       3sɢ.ᴏʙʟ-with-cook-ɪɴᴄᴏᴍᴘʟ
       'She cooks (it) with someone/something else' (Elson 1960: 67)

A further Central American case of this type of Have-Drift is Purépecha (also known as Tarascan), an isolate language of southern Mexico. This language has several *have*-verbs, which probably differ in the way in which they cover parts of the semantic map of possession. Thus, the verb *xu'ka* seems to indicate mainly temporary possession, but I have also found examples

where it is used to express 'possession' of body parts. The verb itself is, as far as I know, non-derived. Perhaps the most generally used *have*-item is *xa'ȼi*. An older source on the language specifies that this item is in fact a collocation of the existential verb *xa* 'to be there, to be located' and a locative suffix with the meaning 'on top of the head, on the surface' (Foster 1969: 62). In other words, the construction may have evolved from a With-Possessive of the type 'I am on top of money' for 'I have money'. However, in Chamereau (2000) *xa'ȼi* is presented without comment as a monomorphemic verb, so that we may conclude that, at least from a synchronic point of view, this item must be viewed as a *have*-verb. Its synchronic transitive status is also indicated by the fact that the possessee NP in the construction takes accusative case.

(11)   PURÉPECHA (Tarascan)

   a. Nompe   xa-ci-š-ka-ni   tumina
       nothing be-on-STAT.PRES-INDIC-1SG money
       'I have no money' (Foster 1969: 62)

   b. I'ma   xa'ȼi-a-ša-ti   'uanika-iča-ni 'uiču-iča-ni
       DEM   have-3PL.OBJ-PROG-3 much-PL-ACC dog-PL-ACC
       'That person has many dogs' (Chamereau 2000: 177)

Besides languages from East Africa and Central America, my data base contains a few additional instances of merging of 'be' and 'with'. Foley (1991: 177) reports a complex *have*-verb *tang-taw* in the Papuan language Yimas. This verb is composed of the locational verb *taw* 'to sit' and a prefix *tang*, which has comitative function. It is possible that the use of this *have*-formation is limited to the expression of non-permanent possession.

(12)   YIMAS (Papuan, Sepik)
     Arm   ma-na-tang-taw-n
     water 2SG.SUBJ-DEF-COM-sit-PRES
     'Do you have kerosene?' (Foley 1991: 177)

One of the possessive constructions in the Australian language Diyari contains a predicate that consists of the locational verb *ngama* 'to be, to sit' plus the suffix *-lka*. The resulting verb *ngamalka* is transitive, with the possessor NP in the ergative case and the possessee NP in the absolutive case. It turns out that the suffix *-lka* is in general use as a derivational affix on verbs, and that it 'indicates that the transitive object [which, in this ergative language, is marked by absolutive case – L.S.] is to be understood as accompanying the subject' (Austin 1981b: 146; see sentence (13b)).

(13)   DIYARI (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)

    a. Ngulu   kana-li   kinta-la   ngama-lka-yi
       3SG.NONFEM.TRANS.SUBJ man-ERG dog-ABS sit-TRANS/WITH-PRES
       'The man has a dog' (Austin 1981b: 146)

    b. Ngatu   niina   kupa   wapa-lka-yi
       1SG.ACT 3SG.NONFEM.OBJ child.ABS go-TRANS/with-PRES
       'I take the child for a walk' (Austin 1981b: 73)

In Quileute, a North American language of Washington State, one of the options in predicative possession is the use of a formation based on the locational verb *ó* 'to be'. Suffixed to this verb is an item *-ti*, which means '(to be) in connection with'. The resulting verbal stem takes subject prefixes which refer to the possessor NP. That the predicate is transitive is shown by the fact that it can take the transitive marker *-l* in cases where the subject flexion is absent, that is, in cases where the subject is expressed by an independent noun phrase or pronoun. The possessee NP must be viewed as the direct object in the construction.

(14)   QUILEUTE (Chimakuan)

    a. Héxas ó'-ti-l   xwa' áxuyó'
       he   be-with-TRANS DEM box
       'He has a box' (Andrade 1938: 218)

    b. Oʻ-ti-li   xwa' áxuyó'
       be-with-1SG DEM box
       'I have a box' (Andrade 1938: 218)

The Colombian language Amarakaeri has a transitive verb *to-ẽ* 'have'. This verb is composed of the verbal stem *ẽ* 'be' and the prefix *tõ-*. This is an adverbial particle, which can transitivize verbs, and which has the meaning of 'with' or 'under'. The item belongs to a limited class of 'pre-stem' items, which also includes *ta-* 'benefactive' and *taʔ-* 'on, to'. Examples of the use of these particles include: *waʔ* 'to go'> *tõ-waʔ* 'to take with oneself'; *ciak* 'to come'> *tõ-ciak* 'to bring'; *kaʔ* 'to make'> *ta-kaʔ* 'to make for somebody'; *ẽ* 'to be' > *taʔ-ẽ* 'to be at a place' (Helberg Chavez 1984: 298–9). Instances of the possession construction are:

(15)   AMARAKAERI (Harakmbet)

    a. Mbapaʔ ih-tõ-ẽ-me
       three   1SG.INDIC-with-be-PAST
       'I had three (dogs)' (Helberg Chavez 1984: 432)

b. Wahey   waiwit   kenpaci   õʔ-tõ-ē
   stem   root   and   3PL-with-be
   'They (i.e. the plants) have stems and roots' (Helberg Chavez 1984: 420)

Pirahã, a language of Amazonia, has a possessive construction which features the – presumably transitive – complex verbal item *xao-xaaga*. The second part of this item is clearly the verb *xaaga* 'be', which performs both copular and locative/existential functions in the language. As for the first part, the source does not provide any clues apart from the gloss 'POSSN' (i.e. POSSESSION). It is possible that *xao-* is a verb stem, since the combination of verb stems into a complex verb is a common option in Pirahã verbal morphology (cf. *xab-op* 'turn-go > return', *xiga-hoag* 'take-come > bring', *xig-ab-op* 'take-turn-go > bring back'; see Everett 1986: 300–1), but what that verb stem might mean remains unclear. It is also conceivable that the item *xao* áhas some semantic relationship to the instrumental case marker *-xai* 'with'.

(16) PIRAHÃ (Mura)
      Ti   poohahai   xaibai   xao-xaaga
      1SG   fishing.arrow many   POSSN-be
      'I have many fishing arrows' (Everett 1986: 204)

In Section 5.3.1, we have seen that the Tupí-Guaraní languages Guaraní, Tupinambá, and Guajajara have a possessive construction that might be analysed as a predicativized variant of a Topic Possessive. In addition, these languages have a construction that features a *have*-verb *reko/riko/ereko*.

(17) TUPINAMBÁ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)
      Xa-reko   miape
      1SG-have   bread
      'I have bread' (Parissier 1903: 27)

(18) GUAJAJARA (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)
      Ce   omo   apyaw u-imaw   i-ereko-n
      there some   fellow his-domestic.animal 3SG-have-OBL.TOP
      aʔe   no
      he   PRT
      'Some fellow had his domestic animal there' (Bendor-Samuel 1972: 191)

(19) PARAGUAYAN GUARANÍ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)
      Entero animal   a-reko
      all   animal   1SG-have
      'I have all kinds of animals' (Gregores and Suarez 1967: 210)

This verb *reko/riko/ereko* is a monomorphemic item for present-day speakers, but it derives historically from a locational verb *eko/iko* 'be (in motion)' plus a transitivizing prefix *ro-*. This prefix has causative-comitative or 'reciprocal-causative' meaning: it indicates that the subject performs or undergoes the action, but that there is also a direct object that is caused or forced by the subject to perform/undergo the action as well (see Platzmann 1874: 141, on Tupinambá). Thus, from a verb *quer* 'sleep' a causative-comitative transitive verb can be formed, as in sentence (20):

(20)   TUPINAMBÁ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)
      A-ro-quer   xe-raira
      1SG-PREF-sleep   my-son
      'I sleep and cause my son to sleep': 'I sleep together with my son'
                                       (Platzmann 1874: 141)

A second variant of Have-Drift from a With-Possessive construction consists in the verbalization of the oblique marker on the possessee NP. In other words, the following schema seems to have been followed in this case:

(21)   HAVE-DRIFT 2: VERBALIZATION OF 'WITH'
      Source PR WITH PE ➔
      Target PR **HAVE** PE

Examples of this with/have-conversion can be documented in a number of Bantu languages. Above we saw that Have-Drift in Duala and Luganda takes the form of a merger of the *be*-verb and the preposition 'with'. Swahili and Shona do not have a *be*-verb in present tense constructions; instead, the preposition *na* 'with' (Swahili) or *ne* 'with' (Shona) takes subject marking by way of prefixes. In non-present tenses, which have overt *be*-verbs, these languages use a standard With-Possessive.

(22)   SWAHILI (Niger-Kordofanian, Central-East Bantu)

      a. Ni-na   kisu
          1SG-with   knife
          'I have a knife' (Ashton 1947: 98)

      b. A-li-ku-wa   na   watoto   wengi
          3SG-PAST-INF-be with children many
          'He had many children' (Ashton 1947: 144)

(23)   SHONA (Niger-Kordofanian, South-East Bantu)

      a. Ndi-ne   murowo
          1SG-with   vegetables
          'I have vegetables' (Fortune 1955: 382)

b. Ndi-ca-va   ne-mbga
1SG-FUT-become   with-dog
'I shall have a dog' (Fortune 1955: 383)

Another African case of this type of Have-Drift may be constituted by the Ubangian language Ngbaka. The possessive construction in this language has the possessor as its subject. Furthermore, it features the item *té*, which can be identified as the comitative preposition 'with' (see (24b)).

(24) NGBAKA (Niger-Kordofanian, Adamawa-Ubangian)

a. ʔé tɛ́   mòngc
he with basket
'He has a basket' (Thomas 1963: 246)

b. tɛ́   yee
with 3SG
'with him' (Thomas 1963: 190)

On the basis of these facts, one might want to classify the possessive construction (24a) as a case of the zero-encoded With-Possessive. However, it appears that the item *té* has verbal traits when it is used in predicative possession. In particular, the item receives prefixed tense/aspect-marking, on a par with (a certain subclass of) 'regular' verbs.

(25) NGBAKA (Niger-Kordofanian, Adamawa-Ubangian)

a. ʔé lí-tɛ́   ngón
he REM.PAST-with/have   chicken
'He had chickens' (Thomas 1963: 200)

b. ʔé lí-bu
he REM.PAST-arrive
'He had arrived' (Thomas 1963: 200)

Verbalization of a comitative preposition can also be attested in the Melanesian language Kwaio. The resulting *have*-verb is overtly marked for transitivity and takes direct object suffixes, which refer to the possessee NP.

(26) KWAIO (Austronesian, Eastern Oceanic)
Nau   fe'e-ni-a   gano
1SG.EMP with/have-TRANS-3SG.OBJ bow
'I have a bow' (Keesing 1985: 177)

A final, third variant of Have-Drift from With-Possessives is manifested in a few languages in which a new *have*-verb has its origin in a combination of the oblique marker on the possessee and a classifying item for that possessee. Thus, Have-Drift of this type proceeds according to the following scheme:

(27)   HAVE-DRIFT 3: WITH+CLASSIFIER FUSION
    Source PR WITH-CLASS PE ➔
    Target PR **HAVE**   PE

A first example of such a case of transitivization stems from the Uto-Aztecan family. In Section 5.2.2 I pointed out that the verbs *soiga/ṣoriga* and *uniga/ɨñiga* in Nevome/Papago[2] are to be analysed as grammaticalizations of the combination of the possessive suffix -*ga* and a classifier; the classifier *soi* was apparently in use for pets and domestic animals, while the classifier *uni/ɨñi* had a broader, presumably inanimate, meaning. In Papago, the verb *ɨñiga/eñga* seems to have extended its function beyond the original noun classification and is now in use as a general verb 'to have'.

(28)   NEVOME (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

    a. Pim' an' igui cavaio soiga
       NEG 1SG PRT horse have/pet.AFF
       'I don't have a horse' (Shaul 1982: 40)

    b. Cabaio an'-igui soriga
       horse   1SG-PRT have
       'I have a horse' (Shaul 1982: 40)

    c. Pim'-an'-igui haitu   uniga
       NEG-1SG-PRT   something have
       'I don't have anything' (Shaul 1982: 40)

(29)   PAPAGO (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

    a. ṣoiga o   g   Pančo g   wisilo
       have   PRT ART P.   ART calf
       'Pancho has a calf' (Saxton and Saxton 1969: 119)

    b. ɨñiga o   g   Pančo g   jɨwɨḍ
       have   PRT ART P.   ART land
       'Pancho has land' (Saxton and Saxton 1969: 119)

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[2] Nevome and Papago, spoken in Arizona, are members of the Tepiman branch of Uto Aztecan. Some authors consider them as very closely related, but different, languages (Shaul 1982), whereas others view them as dialects of the same language (Gordon 2005).

A similar *have*-formation can be found in several Arawakan languages. We have seen in Section 5.2.2 that many, if not all, members of this large South American language family have the option of a (flexional) With-Possessive construction, in which the possessee receives the prefix *ka-/ke-/ko-*. Now, for a number of Arawakan languages this formation seems to be fully productive, in that any semantically appropriate noun can be constructed with this prefix. On the other hand, languages like Palikur and Baure seem to have retained this *ka-* encoding only for a closed set of nouns. In addition – and perhaps in some cases as an alternative – they have created a *have*-verb from the *ka-* encoding of a general 'dummy noun' like *dahan* 'thing possessed' in Palikur and *tir* 'possession' in Baure. The items *kadahan* and *kotir* function as transitive verbs, which take the possessee as their direct objects.

(30) PALIKUR (Arawakan, Eastern Maipuran)

    a. Ig   ka-kakura
       3SG.M   AFF-money
       'He has money' (Launey 2003: 80)

    b. Eg   ka-dahan   paha   gu-simsa nukune
       3SG.F   AFF-thing   one   her-dress new
       'She has a new dress' (Launey 2003: 195)

    c. Nah   kadahan   aynesa   karukri
       1SG   have   little   money
       'I have some money' (Launey 2003: 80)

(31) BAURE (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)

    a. To   ni-šir   ro-ka-haše-w
       ART   1SG-son   3SG.M-ATTR-hat-IMPERF
       'My son has/is wearing a hat' (Swintha Danielsen p.c.)

    b. Ro-kotir-ow   teč   ro-kori
       3SG.F-have-IMPERF   DEM.M his-arrow
       'He had an arrow' (Swintha Danielsen p.c.)

6.3 Have-Drift from Topic Possessives

In a standard Topic Possessive, the possessee is the subject of the *be*-verb. Thus, the possessee NP has all the subject properties that, in a given language, go with subject status, such as, for example, nominative case marking, or subject agreement on the verb. The possessor is constructed as a sentential topic and may or may not be marked as such, for example by sentence-initial position, or by the presence of a specific topic marker.

Have-Drift with a Topic Possessive as a source entails the transfer of subject properties from the possessee to the possessor. Thus, for example, the possessor may come to be marked for nominative case, or may come to govern subject agreement on the *be*-verb. As an additional development, the possessee may come to be marked as a direct object, and assume case marking for that function, or indexing on the predicate by objective pronominal affixes. As the examples below will illustrate, all these diachronic developments are to be viewed as gradual. Thus, we will find cases in which one or more of these diachronic changes have been completed, whereas others have not (or not yet) come to a conclusion, or have not even started yet. Furthermore, since grammaticalization is a gradual process, we will sometimes encounter cases in which the grammaticalized and the non-grammaticalized Topic Possessive stand side by side, as two alternative options in predicative possession encoding.

Since Have-Drift from Topic Possessives crucially involves transfer of subject properties from one noun phrase in the construction to another, it will be clear that this type of reanalysis will be difficult to detect in languages in which subject and topic properties are not – or only sparsely – marked by formal devices. Thus, in a language that has neither core case marking nor subject agreement on verbs, and furthermore does not mark its sentence topics overtly, only syntactic clues – like, for example, word order – are left to decide whether the construction is a standard Topic Possessive or a case of Have-Drift, and even those clues may not always be decisive. In various grammars, I have encountered the statement that a certain verbal item is polysemous between the readings 'to be, to exist' and 'to have'. This is, for example, the case for the verb *ái* in Sedang (Smith 1975), the verb *mii* in Thai (Noss 1964), and the verb *norang* in Sikka (Arndt 1931).[3]

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[3] In several English descriptions of Mandarin Chinese there is a tendency to gloss the existential item *yǒu* as 'have' when it is used in the possessive construction:

(i)   MANDARIN (Sino Tibetan, Sinitic)
       Wo   you   yiben   shu   hen   youqu
       I   have   one   book   very   interesting
       'I have a book (that is) very interesting' (Huang 1987: 227)

Perhaps this practice is intended as a courtesy to western readers. It is clear, however, that the suggestion of transitivity which this glossing may evoke cannot be right. For one thing, possessive sentences in Mandarin do not allow the so called *ba* construction, which is generally seen as a diagnostic for high transitivity in the language.

(32) SEDANG (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer)

 a. Tung hnei ái konai
  in house be.there rats
  'There are rats in the house' (Smith 1975: 228)

 b. Gá ôh ta ái lian
  3SG NEG NEG have/exist money
  'He has no money' (Smith 1975: 225)

(33) THAI (Kam-Tai)

 a. Baan kooŋ čan mii saam hooŋ
  house of 1SG exist three room
  'There are three rooms in my house' (Warotamasikkhadit 1972: 59)

 b. Phom mii rod
  1SG have/exist car
  'I have a car' (Noss 1964: 173)

(34) SIKKA (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

 a. Norang moäng ratu bia ha
  be lord king some one
  'There was a certain king...' (Arndt 1931: 16)

 b. Dzarang di norang maeng
  horse also be.at/have soul
  'Horses also have souls' (Arndt 1931: 48)

In other words, it is at least theoretically possible that a particular type of Have-Drift from Topic Possessives consist in a mere, unmarked, 'conversion' of a *be*-verb into a *have*-verb, according to the following schema:

(ii) MANDARIN (Sino Tibetan, Sinitic)

 a. Qǐng nī lā kāi mén
  please you pull open door
  'Please open the door' (Li and Thompson 1981: 484)

 b. Qǐng nī bá mén lā kāi
  please you ACC door pull open
  'Please open the door'

(iii) MANDARIN (Sino Tibetan, Sinitic)

 a. Wǒ yǒu bǐ
  I have pen
  'I have pens' (Po Ching and Rimmington 1997: 8)

 b. * Wǒ bá shū yǒu
   I ACC book have (Li and Thompson 1981: 487)

(35)   Source   PR   PE   BE   ➔
         Target   PR   PE   HAVE

With regard to these putative cases of conversion, a first remark must be that such cases may very well be an artefact of the grammatical descriptions of these languages. That is, the alleged polysemy of 'be/have' items need not be a fact of the languages themselves, but may have been introduced by the descriptive grammarians in their translations of the relevant constructions. Furthermore, it is clear that the process of conversion from 'be' to 'have' – if it exists at all – will require that quite a few different morphosyntactic conditions be met at the same time. First, there should neither be case marking nor subject agreement for the possessee. Secondly, the possessor should not be marked overtly for topic function. Thirdly, and perhaps most crucially, the resulting target structure should have the word order that is prescribed for transitive sentences. In Sedang, Thai, and Sikka, this last requirement happens to be met. In these languages, sentence topics are sentence-initial, and indefinite subjects of existential sentences are postverbal, as is shown in the examples (32a), (33a), and (34a). As a result, 'conversion' of the *be*-verb into a transitive *have*-verb – with the accompanying reanalysis of the topic possessor as the subject and the possessee as a direct object – would result in an SVO structure, and this happens to be the preferred word order for transitive sentences in these languages, as is shown in (36)–(38).

(36)   SEDANG (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer)
         Mau   'na   ka   poh,   mau   'na   ka   prong
         some   PRT   eat   roasted some   PRT   eat   steamed
         'Some ate roasted (food), others ate steamed (food)' (Smith 1975: 261)

(37)   THAI (Kam-Tai)
         Chaat   kap   rot
         C.   drive car
         'Chaat drove a/the car' (Sereechareonsatit 1984: 153)

(38)   SIKKA (Austronesian, East Indonesian)
         Rimu   sédia   baä
         3PL   make.ready   field
         'They cleared the field' (Arndt 1931: 44)

As a general conclusion, I think that Have-Drift from a Topic Possessive by way of '*be–have*-conversion' cannot be excluded as a theoretical possibility. It must be added immediately, however, that – at least up to now – there is hardly any positive evidence that this particular grammaticalization path

actually exists, and that, if it should turn out to exist after all, it will probably be rather limited in its global distribution, given the multitude of conditions that have to be satisfied simultaneously in order to license its occurrence.

Besides these putative cases of '*be–have*-conversion', my data base contains a number of possessive constructions in which positive evidence for an ongoing drift from a Topic Possessive towards a Have-Possessive can be documented. In one of the possession constructions of the Uto-Aztecan language Luiseňo we find that the possessor can be marked overtly either for sentence topic or for subject (by means of the suffix -*n*). On the other hand, the choice of the *be*-verb in the construction, which is based on animacy of its subject, remains governed by the semantic specification of the possessee in both options.[4]

(39) Luiseňo (Uto-Aztecan, Takic)

    a. Noo-p   no-toonav   qala
       1SG-TOP   my-basket   be.INAN.PRES
       'I have a basket' (Steele 1977: 114)

    b. Noo-n   no-toonav   qala
       1SG-1SG.SUBJ   my-basket   be.INAN.PRES
       'I have a basket' (Steele 1977: 122)

Cases in which incipient Have-Drift is signalled by a switch in subject agreement are presented by the Peba-Yaguan language Pioje and the East Indonesian language Fehan Tetun. Espinosa Perez (1955), my source on Pioje, mentions that the *be*-verb *pái*, when used in a possessive construction, may agree either with the possessee NP or with the possessor NP. A similar double encoding option can be deduced from examples of possessive constructions in Fehan Tetun presented in Van Klinken (1999). Here it is the existential *be*-verb *ó* which appears to allow both possessee agreement (see sentence (41)) and possessor agreement (see sentences (42a–c)).

(40) Pioje (Peba-Yaguan)

    a. Yĩ   ạnsọ   pái- xĩ
       1SG   yuca   exist-3SG
       'I have yuca' (Espinosa Perez 1955: 131)

    b. Yĩ   ạnsọ   pá-yĩ
       1SG   yuca   exist-1SG
       'I have yuca' (Espinosa Perez 1955: 131)

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[4] For further discussion on this state of affairs in Luiseňo see Heine 1997: 114 16.

(41) Fehan Tetun (Austronesian, East Indonesian)
　　　Ami,　　　　osan　　n-ó,　　　mortén　n-ó
　　　1PL.EXCL　money　3-exist　beads　　3-exist
　　　'We have money, we have beads' (Van Klinken 1999: 189)

(42) Fehan Tetun (Austronesian, East Indonesian)
　　　a. Kalo belu　　ó　　osan　　la　　m-ó
　　　　 if　　friend　2SG　money　not　2SG-have/exist
　　　　 'If, friend, you have no money…' (Van Klinken 1999: 188)

　　　b. Ha'u k-ó　　　　　　namane
　　　　 1SG　1SG-have/exist　woman's.brother
　　　　 'I have brothers' (Van Klinken 1999: 248)

　　　c. ó　　m-ó　　　　　　buat　di'ak　ida
　　　　 2SG　2SG-have/exist　thing　good　one
　　　　 'You have a good thing' (Van Klinken 1999: 280)

Incipient Have-Drift may also be the cause of the multiple agreement options
in the Topic Possessive of the western Papuan language Ternate. As is shown
in sentence (43b), the *exist*-verb in the construction may, apparently, in some
cases agree with the possessor. That this option is not (or not yet) firmly
entrenched in the language is illustrated by the fact that, in negative possessive
sentences, possessor agreement on the existential verb is explicitly forbidden
(see sentence (44b).

(43) Ternate (Papuan, Halmahera)
　　　a. Ngofa gee　　sema　buku
　　　　 child　 that　 exist　book
　　　　 'That child has a book' (Hayami-Allen 2001: 149)

　　　b. Ngori to-sema　pipi
　　　　 I　　　1SG-exist　money
　　　　 'I have money' (Hayami-Allen 2001: 61)

(44) Ternate (Papuan, Halmahera)
　　　a. Ngori pipi　　malo
　　　　 I　　　money　not.exist
　　　　 'I have no money' (Hayami-Allen 2001: 162)

　　　b. *Ngori to-malo　　pipi
　　　　 I　　　1SG-not.exist　money (Hayami-Allen 2001: 162)

Related to these instances of 'agreement switching' are those possessive
constructions in which the locative/existential *be*-verb has received transitive

subject/object agreement marking. In such cases, the subject agreement affix on the verb indexes the possessor, and the direct object affix cross-refers to the possessee. We find this state of affairs in a few North American languages, such as the Algonquian languages Ojibwa and Plains Cree and the Sahaptian language Nez Perce, and in the South American languages Apuriña and Yurakaré. The examples given below illustrate that the verb that is used as a two-place predicate in the possessive construction is identical to the verb that is used as a one-place predicate in locative/existential sentences.

(45) Ojibwa (Algonquian)

    a. Ohoma nin-tisi-aya wahkahikan-ink
        here 1sg-there-be house-loc
        'I am here, in the house' (Todd 1970: 170)

    b. Nint-aya-wa ciman
        1sg.act-have/exist-3sg.inan.pat canoe
        'I have a canoe' (Todd 1970: 62)

(46) Plains Cree (Algonquian)

    a. êkota ayâ-w
        there be-3sg
        'He/it is there' (Ahenakew 1987: 83)

    b. Nit-ayâ-n masinahikan
        1sg.subj-have/be-3sg.inan.obj book
        'I have a book' (Ahenakew 1987: 92)

(47) Nez perce (Sahaptian)

    a. Koná téxsem hi-wéek-e
        there ridge 3subj-be-perf
        'There was a ridge' (Rude 1985: 66)

    b. ʔe-wé'k-e ʔiwé'p-ne
        3subj/3obj-have/be-rem.past.indic wife-obj
        'He had a wife' (Aoki 1970: 89)

(48) Apuriña (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)

    a. Kona awa-ru nhipoko-ru
        neg there.be-3m.obj food-unposs
        'There is no food' (Facundes 2000: 616)

    b. N-awa-ru epi kanawa
        1sg-have/be-3m.obj two canoe
        'I have two canoes' (Facundes 2000: 298)

(49) Yurakaré (Yurakaré)

    a. Së-ja   tütü-y   mesa   a-dojo-y
       1SG-EMP sit/be-1SG.SUBJ table its-body-LOC
       'I am (sitting) on the table' (Rik Van Gijn p.c.)

    b. Shunňe ka-tütü-ø   sìbë
       man   3SG.OBJ-sit/have-3SG.SUBJ house
       'The man has a house' (Rik Van Gijn p.c.)

Finally, we find a few cases of Topic-Have Drift in which the transitivity of the new construction is overtly marked by means of a derivational transitive/causative marking on the locative/existential *be*-verb of the source construction. An example in which this marking has led to a hybrid Topic-Have Possessive is the Tibeto-Burman language Qiang. This language employs a set of locative/existential *be*-verbs, which differ on such semantic parameters as 'animacy', 'mobility', and 'connectedness to a major entity' of their subjects.

(50) Qiang (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Qiangic)

    a. Pi-le: tʂuɑtsə-le:-tɑ   ʂə
       pen-DEF.CLASS table-DEF.CLASS-LOC exist.INAN
       'The pen is on the table' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 107)

    b. Tsə-ʁɑ   ʁzə   ʒi
       water-LOC fish exist.AN
       'There are fish in the water' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 134)

    c. Qəl-lɑ   səf-o-ʒgu
       below-LOC tree-one-CLASS
       we
       exist (immovable; connected to major entity)
       'There is a tree below' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 134)

In one of the possessive constructions of Qiang, these *be*-verbs obligatorily take a causative suffix, which makes them syntactically transitive. However, the choice of a particular existential verb is still made on the basis of the semantic characteristics of the possessee. We can, conclude, then, that in this possessive construction in Qiang some, but not all, subject properties of the possessee have been transferred to the possessor.

(51) Qiang (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Qiangic)

    a. Khumtsi dzəgụ   kən   ɑ-hɑ   ʂə-ʒ
       K.   money very one-PL exist.INAN-CAUS
       'Khumtsi has a lot of money' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 98)

b. Khumtsi tutʂ-ɣʒə-zi ʒi-ʒ
K. younger.brother-four-CLASS exist.AN-CAUS
'Khumtsi has four younger brothers' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 98)

c. The: səf-ɑ-hɑ we-ʒ
3SG tree-one-PL exist-CAUS
'He has some trees' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 98)

The possessive construction in Sochiapan Chinantec, a language from southern Mexico, is similar to the one in Qiang in all relevant respects. Again, we can observe that there are quite a few different locative/existential verbs in use. In the case of Chinantec, these verbs encode distinctions of animacy of the subject, but they also have a classifying function, in that they encode a prototypical 'posture' of the subject. Thus, for example, houses, chairs, and water pots are inanimate things that are usually in an upright position; horses are animate things that usually stand upright; and books or bananas are inanimate things that usually lie flat, or just 'exist' without any specific posture at all.

(52) SOCHIAPAN CHINANTEC (Oto-Manguean, Chinantecan)

a. Ha huú bíʔ tá-θaʔ ʔɲiú
among town AFF CONT-stand.FUT.STAT.INTR.INAN house.his
tɨmɨ
doctor
'The clinic will be in the middle of the town' (Foris 2000: 129)

b. Ɖií θio θeʔ ʔmásï
place yonder be.upright.STAT.INTR.INAN chair
'The chair is (standing) over there' (Foris 2000: 241)

c. Ɖií θio θeʔ cakuá
place yonder be.upright.STAT.INTR.AN horse
'The horse is (standing) over there' (Foris 2000: 241)

d. θia bíʔ táu
exist.STAT.INTR.IN AFF banana
'There are bananas' (Foris 2000: 133)

e. Nio sií dâï
be.present.STAT.INTR.INAN book red
'There are some red books' (Foris 2000: 133)

All these locational verbs have transitive forms; they are derived from their intransitive forms by an intricate system of stem changes, the details of which need not detain us. What is important for us here is that these transitive forms

encode possession, and agree with the possessor NP in subject marking. However, as in Qiang, the choice of the specific *have*-verb to be used still depends on the semantic classification of the possessee.

(53)   SOCHIAPAN CHINANTEC (Oto-Manguean, Chinantecan)

    a. Tá-rãuʔ   ieʔ   piʔ   ó
        CONT.PRES-possess.flat.STAT.TRANS.INAN   elder   little   yonder
        káu   tiú
        rifle   one
        'That little man over there has a rifle' (Foris 2000: 123)

    b. ʔauʔ   ieʔ   hmɨ́kau
        possess.liquid.3.STAT.TRANS.INAN   elder   kerosene
        'That man has (some) kerosene' (Foris 2000: 238)

    c. θéi   hná   hã   cúliá
        possess.upright.1SG.STAT.TRANS.INAN   I   one   clay.waterpot
        'I have a clay water pot' (Foris 2000: 241)

    d. θéi   hná   hã   cakuá
        possess.upright.1SG.STAT.TRANS.AN   I   one   horse
        'I have a horse' (Foris 2000: 241)

    e. Hoʔ   Tié   biʔ   cakuá   ʔí
        have.3STAT.TRANS.AN   Stephen   AFF   horse   that
        'Stephen owns that horse' (Foris 2000: 182)

    f. Kiõ   hná   kïe
        have.1SG.STAT.TRANS.INAN   I   money
        'I have money' (Foris 2000: 149)

To conclude this section, I want to draw attention to two languages which are usually viewed as having a Have-Possessive, but which may have a Topic Possessive as a hidden source. Yoruba, a Kwa language from Nigeria, presents a rather recalcitrant case. First, the exact analysis of the possession construction in the language has been subject to some controversy. All sources which I have consulted agree that the possessor NP is the subject in the construction, and that the possessee NP takes the syntactic position of a direct object. Furthermore, all sources indicate that the predicative element in the construction is an item *ní*, which – by regular phonotactic changes – may also appear as *n'* or *l'*. Most sources interpret this item as a transitive verb, and gloss it as 'have'. Examples are:

(54)   YORUBA (Niger-Kordofanian, Kwa)

    a. Bàbá   nã   ní   ọgbà   kan
        Father   DEM   have   garden   one
        'Father has a garden' (De Gaye and Beecroft 1964: 11)

b. Bàbá   mi   ní   ajá   funfun kan
   father my   have dog   white   one
   'My father has a white dog' (De Gaye and Beecroft 1964: 13)

c. ò   l'   owo
   he   have money
   'He has money' (Bamgbose 1966: 82)

However, Welmers (1973: 314) suggests that the item may be related, or even identical, to the locational verb *ní* 'to be (at a place)'. This item functions as the equivalent of a locational preposition in serialization constructions, and is also the auxiliary in the progressive form of Yoruba. Furthermore, it is also possible that the *ní*-item in the possessive construction has its origin in, or is still identical to, the topic marker *ní/n'/l'*.

(55) YORUBA (Niger-Kordofanian, Kwa)

a. Baba   wà   n'   ilé
   father be   be.at house
   'Father is at home' (Ashiwaju 1968: 28)

b. Mo   n'   lo   s'ilé
   I   be.at go   to.house
   'I am going home' (Ashiwaju 1968: 22)

(56) YORUBA (Niger-Kordofanian, Kwa)

a. Onişòwo   ni   mi
   trader   TOP   1SG.OBL
   'I am a trader' (Ashiwaju 1968: 28)

b. Alejò   l'   emi jẹ   n'   ilú   yi
   stranger TOP   1SG COP   in   town   this
   'I am a stranger in this town' (Ashiwaju 1968: 28)

Thus, while it is probable that, from a synchronic point of view, the possessive construction in Yoruba must be analysed as an instance of the Have-Possessive, there are some indications that this construction has a Topic-Possessive as its source.

In Section 3.4 I discussed the possession construction in Ainu, a language from northern Japan. I suggested there that the construction can be seen as a manifestation of the rather rare Conjunctional Possessive, i.e. a non-standard variant of the Topic Possessive which is characterized by the presence of some conjunctional element. The main argument for this analysis is that the item *kor*, which accompanies the two NPs in the possessive construction, can be seen to have other functions in the language. In

particular, the item occurs as a clause-final conjunction 'and, while', as is
shown in the sentences in (58).

(57) AINU (Ainu)

　　a. Pirka   amep   sinep   keray   a   kor
　　　　pretty   dress   one   only   1SG   PRT
　　　　'I have only one pretty dress' (Refsing 1986: 103)

　　b. Acapo   sake   kor
　　　　uncle   liquor PRT
　　　　'Uncle has liquor' (Tamura 2000: 87)

　　c. Ciutar   ka   cise   ka   ci   kor, utar   ka   ci   kor
　　　　1PL.EMP   too house too 1PL PRT   relatives too 1PL PRT
　　　　'We too have a house, we too have a family' (Refsing 1986: 94)

(58) AINU (Ainu)

　　a. Horippa-as   kor   en-nukar
　　　　dance-1PL   and/while   1SG.ACC-see
　　　　'While we were dancing, someone looked at me' (Tamura 2000: 155)

　　b. K-okkewe   arka   kor   ku-sapa   ka   arka
　　　　my-neck   hurt   and/while   my-head   even   hurt
　　　　'My neck hurts, and my head hurts' (Tamura 2000: 155)

However, Refsing (1986) and Tamura (2000), my two sources on the language,
both consistently analyse the item *kor* in possessive sentences as a verb, and
translate it as 'have'. One possibility is that this translation is just an artefact of
descriptive practice for Ainu. Another possibility is that we have a genuine
case of Have-Drift here, in which the 'possessive marker' *kor* has come to be
reanalysed as a verb. Such a reanalysis would not be hindered by morpho-
syntactic obstacles. Ainu has no core case marking. Furthermore, verbs in
Ainu do not show agreement with third person subjects or objects, and, like
conjunctions, they are clause-final.

6.4 Have-Drift from Locational Possessives

Globally speaking, Have-Drift with a Locational Possessive as a source is
extremely rare, if it occurs at all. This is of course not surprising. Among
the four major types, the Locational Possessive is the only option in which the
possessor NP does not have subject status, or topic status, or both. As a result,
a transition from a Locational Possessive to a Have-Possessive will involve the
transfer of subject properties from the possessee to an obliquely marked

possessor. It will be clear that this transfer is more 'drastic' or 'cumbersome' than a transfer of subject properties from the possessed noun phrase to a sentence topic, as is necessary in the transition from a Topic Possessive to a Have-Possessive; not to mention the transition from a With-Possessive to a Have-Possessive, during which no transfer of subject properties is necessary at all.

Given this, it becomes understandable that a Locational Possessive can never act as a direct source for a process of Have-Drift. That is, I know of no example in which a Locational Possessive is reanalysed into a Have-Possessive by a series of successive stages in a grammaticalization chain. A language that has a Locational Possessive will partake in a process of Have-Drift only after the original Locational Possessive has been challenged, and maybe superseded, by an innovative Topic-Locational hybrid, in which the possessor NP is constructed as a sentential topic. As we have noted in Section 3.6, there are languages like Classical Arabic and Tamazight, in which a standard Locational Possessive and a Topic-Locational hybrid occur side by side. On the other hand, there are also languages like Kabyle, Tarifit, Amharic, and Tigre, in which the Topic-Locational hybrid is – or maybe, has become – the only synchronic encoding option.

(59) CLASSICAL ARABIC (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic)

    a. Kaana-t   li Zayd-in   xubzatun
        was-F   to Z.-GEN   loaf.NOM.INDEF
        'Zayd had a loaf' (Comrie 1989: 223)

    b. Zayd-un   kaana-t   la-hu   xubzatun
        Z.-NOM   was-F   to-him   loaf.NOM.INDEF
        'Zayd had a loaf' (Comrie 1989: 224)

(60) TAMAZIGHT (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)

    a. Ila   uazar   gr-Hamd
        be.3SG.M.PRES   hair   to-H.
        'Hammid has hair' (Johnson 1966: 91)

    b. Hamd,   ila   gir-s   azar
        H.   be.3SG.M.PRES   to-him   hair
        'Hammid has hair' (Johnson 1966: 91)

(61) KABYLE (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)
    Argaz-agi,   γur-s   adrim
    man-this   at-him   money
    'This man has money' (Naït-Zerrad 2001: 165)

(62) Eastern Tarifit (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)
Lɣula   ttuɣa   ɣr-əs   idž   n   wəzɛuq
ogress   was   at-her   one   of   little.donkey
'The ogress had a little donkey' (Kossmann 2000: 101)

(63) Amharic (Afro-Asiatic, South Semitic)
'Antä   'and   tənnəš   tofa   'ällä-h
2SG.M.NOM   one   small   pot.NOM   be.3SG.M.-2SG.M.OBJ
'You have a small pot' (Hartmann 1980: 292)

(64) Tigre (Afro-Asiatic, South Semitic)
'Ana   sanna   mas'alit   hallet   'el-ye
1SG.NOM   good   camera   be-3SG.PRES   to -me
'I have a good camera' (Raz 1983: 50)

Now, for a limited number of languages a Topic-Locational Possessive is taken as the source structure of a grammaticalization process which has a Have-Possessive as its target. Schematically, we can represent this path as follows:

(65) Source   PR   PE   x-LOC BE   ➔
PR   PE   [x-LOC=BE]   ➔
Target   PR   PE   [x-HAVE]

Thus, in the course of the shift from a Topic-Locational Possessive to a Have-Possessive, the pronominal locational phrase gets incorporated into the *be*-verb. A final result is that the combination of the locational marker and the existential *be*-verb is reanalysed as a monomorphemic verbal item. This item then gets transitive status, taking the possessor as its subject and the possessee as its object. In other words, languages which have run this grammaticalization path to its conclusion have created a new *have*-verb.

An interesting example of this 'turn-over' of the Locational Possessive is represented by the development of the possessive construction in Cornish, a Celtic language that became extinct in the eighteenth century. Like all Celtic languages, Early Cornish must have had a standard Locational Possessive, and this construction survived in at least some of the Late Cornish dialects. Examples are:

(66) Early Cornish (Indo-European, Celtic)

a. Gallos   a-m   bues
power   to-me   be.PRES.2SG
'I have power' (Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 210)

    b. Ancow   a-s   byth
       death   to-you   be.FUT.3SG
       'You will have death: you will die' (Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 211)

(67)   LATE CORNISH (Indo-European, Celtic)
       Ma   tha   ni   materne da
       is   to   us   king   good
       'We have a good king' (Wmffre 1998: 48)

By way of a gradual process, this Locational Possessive came to be transformed into a transitive construction. As a first step in this process, the possessor came to be constructed as the sentence topic, marked by nominative case. The locational phrase was retained in the sentence nucleus in pronominal form; in other words, Cornish developed a hybrid Topic-Locational Possessive.

(68)   CORNISH (Indo-European, Celtic)
       Why   a-s   byth   ancow
       you.NOM to-you be.FUT.3SG death
       'You will have death' (Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 211)

Now, as a final step, 'the combination dat[ive] pron[oun] + verb "to be" came to be felt as a transitive verb "to have" ' (Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 211). As a manifestation of this, 'the combination used as a transitive form assumed personal endings corresponding to the infixed pronoun' (Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 211). In other words, the – complex – predicate in the construction could now take subject agreement suffixes that referred to the possessor, instead of to the possessee. Thus, the following two constructions were found alongside each other:

(69)   CORNISH (Indo-European, Celtic)

    a. An   ken   a-gas   bus
       the   cause   to-you.PL be.DEP.3SG
       'the cause which you have' (Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 211)

    b. An   tekter   a-s   betheugh   why
       the   beauty   to-you.SG   be.DEP.2SG you.NOM
       'the beauty which you have' (Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 211)

As can be seen, sentence (69a) shows subject agreement with the possessee, whereas sentence (69b) is a transitive construction, in which there is subject agreement with the possessor.

A similar, though not completely identical, grammaticalization process can be reconstructed for Breton, the 'sister language' of Cornish. Again, we can document a Topic-Locational construction for earlier stages of the language and for at least some of the modern dialects.

(70)   MIDDLE BRETON (Indo-European, Celtic)
       N'   e-m   eus   pried   ebet
       NEG   to-me   be.PRES.3SG   spouse   NEG
       'I don't have a spouse' (Locker 1954: 502)

(71)   MODERN BRETON (Indo-European, Celtic)
       Ur   velo   c'hlas   a-m   eus
       INDEF   bicycle   blue   to-me   be.PRES.3SG
       'I have a blue bicycle' (Press 1986: 139)

On a par with Cornish, some dialects of Breton – for example, the western dialect of Ile de Croix; see Ternes (1970) – have reanalysed the combination of the dative pronoun and the *be*-verb as a transitive form, with the possessee as the direct object. However, unlike Cornish, this reanalysis has not resulted in a substitution of the agreement suffixes of the possessee for those of the possessor. Instead, the dative pronoun got reanalysed as an agreement prefix on the new transitive *have*-verb. This verb, which has the infinitive *bes* (Ternes 1970: 293) or *endevout/kaout* (Press 1986: 139) is therefore highly irregular in its flexion: it is the only verb in the language which has prefixal subject agreement, instead of the suffixal flexion of all other verbs. Its etymological relation to the verb *but/bezan* 'to be' still shows from the fact that the infinitive of the *have*-verb can be *but* in addition to its other forms, and that the form *bet* is used as the past participle of both 'to be' and 'to have'. For further details on the reanalysis of the 'dative+*be*'-construction into an irregular transitive verb 'to have' in Breton see Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 213–14. Examples of the reanalysed construction are given in (73).

(72)   WEST BRETON (Indo-European, Celtic)
       Was-ed   argat
       be.PAST.3SG-NEG   money
       'There was no money' (Ternes 1970: 291)

(73)   WEST BRETON (Indo-European, Celtic)
       a. Nesad   end-was-ed   argat
          my.father   3SG.M-have.PAST-NEG   money
          'My father had no money' (Ternes 1970: 291)

b. Xind-wa   unami
   3SG.F-have.PAST   friend
   'She had a friend' (Ternes 1970: 382)

The form of Have-Drift exemplified by Breton has a parallel in Damana, a Chibchan language from Colombia. Trillos Amaya (1999) mentions a verb *kᴜnᴜn*, which, at some places in the description, is treated as a monomorphemic verb 'to have', while at other places it is glossed as a complex item *kᴜ-nᴜn*, consisting of the dative/benefactive adposition *kᴜ* 'for' and the verb *nᴜn* 'to be'. That the construction is in the middle of a reanalysis is shown by the fact that, in the same grammar, the marking of the possessor in the verbal complex is sometimes given as a patientive prefix on the *kᴜnᴜn*-verb (thereby assigning the possessor the function of complement to the incorporated postposition *kᴜ* 'for'), while at other times the possessor is indexed by an active prefix, so that one has to conclude that the possessor functions as the subject here.

(74) DAMANA (Chibchan)

a. Maigua   bunkuibia   nᴜh-kᴜ-nᴜn-ka
   three   egg   1SG.PAT-for-be-FACT
   'I have three eggs' (Trillos Amaya 1999: 88)

b. Paka   nᴜj-kᴜ-nan-ka
   cow   1SG.ACT-for-be-FACT
   'I have a cow' (Trillos Amaya 1999: 19, 142)

c. Bíu   paka   mᴜh-kᴜnᴜn-ká?
   how.much   cow   2SG.ACT-have-Q
   'How many cows do you have?' (Trillos Amaya 1999: 150)

It is possible, though by no means certain, that other Chibchan languages have undergone this Have-Drift as well. Thus, it might be the case that the Rama *have*-verb *kwaakar* has its origin in a combination of the *be*-verb *aakar* and some prefix *ku-/kw-*, which would then parallel the incorporated item *-kᴜ-* in Damana.

(75) RAMA (Chibchan)

a. Tiiskam   n-aakar-a   taim-ki
   child   1SG-be-PAST   time-at
   'At the time, I was a child' (Colette Grinevald p.c.)

b. Kapupu   i-kwaakar-u
   frog   3-have-PAST
   'She had a frog' (Colette Grinevald p.c.)

In the cases of Have-Drift from Topic-Locational hybrids presented thus far, a pronominal adverb plus a *be*-verb got reanalysed as a transitive *have*-verb, with transfer of subject properties to the possessor NP. A variant of this process is a case in which no *be*-verb is present, and in which the pronominal adverb itself is reanalysed as a transitive predicate. Thus, we can represent this form of Have-Drift by the following schema:

(76)   Source   PR   PE   x-LOC   ➔
       Target   PR   PE   x-HAVE

A well-known case of this particular type of Have-Drift is the predicative possession construction in Maltese. In a widely used textbook on linguistic typology, Comrie (1981a, 1989) reconstructed the development of the construction in this modern Arabic dialect, starting from the observation that this construction employs the element *għand*. This is a preposition with the meaning 'at (the house of)'; like all prepositions in Maltese, it takes object suffixes if its complement is pronominal. The locative use of this preposition is illustrated in the following sentences:

(77)   Maltese (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic)

   a. Il-ktieb   għand   Pawlu
      ART-book   at   P.
      'The book is at Pawlu's' (Comrie 1989: 221)

   b. Il-ktieb   għand-u
      ART-book   at-3SG.M.OBJ
      'The book is at his house' (Comrie 1989: 221)

   c. Il-ktieb   kien   għand-u/   għand   Pawlu
      ART-book   be.PAST.3SG   at-3SG.M.OBJ /   at   P.
      'The book was at his house/at Pawlu's' (Comrie 1989: 222)

However, in the possessive construction the preposition *għand* cannot take full noun phrases as its complement. In the present tense one has to construct the possessor NP in topic position, and to index it on the preposition by means of a pronominal suffix. It should be remarked that the possessive construction differs from the locative construction in non-present tenses as well. In these tenses the possessive construction does not retain the preposition *għand*. Instead, the construction uses 'a form deriving etymologically from "be" (cf. *kien* "(he) was", *sa jkun* "(he) will be") plus the prepositional suffix *l-* "to" plus the pronominal suffixes' (Comrie 1989: 220).

(78) MALTESE (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic)

    a. *Għand   Pawlu   ktieb
       at   P.   book

    b. Pawlu   għand-u   ktieb
       P.   at-3SG.M.OBJ book
       'Pawlu has a book' (Comrie 1989: 221)

    c. Pawlu   kel-l-u   ktieb
       P.   it.was-to-him book
       'Pawlu had a book' (Comrie 1989: 221)

    d. Pawlu   sa   jkol-l-u   ħobża
       P.   FUT pcp.m.be-to-him loaf(F)
       'Pawlu will have a loaf' (Comrie 1989: 222)

In other words, Maltese has a Topic-Locational Possessive. Now, it can be argued that the construction has actually shifted into the direction of a Have-Possessive. For one thing, it can be shown that the *għand*-complex or the *kel*-complex in the possessive construction gets the negation form that is used for verbs in Maltese; this negation strategy consists in placing the circumfix *ma/m'...x* around the predicate.

(79) MALTESE (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic)
    Pawlu   m'   għand-u-x   ktieb
    P.   NEG at-3SG.M.OBJ-NEG book
    'Pawlu does not have a book' (Comrie 1989: 222)

Thus, it appears that:

> The possessive element (*għand / kell / sa jkoll*) behaves like a verb, in particular in that it negates like a verb. Note, moreover, that it agrees with the possessor NP, though irregularly so; by means of prepositional object suffixes rather than by the usual subject agreement markers...Finally, the possessive verb does not agree with the possessed noun phrase; this is clearest in the future tense, where one would expect **tkoll* as the feminine of *jkoll*, though in fact only *Pawlu sa jkollu ħobża* 'Pawlu will have a loaf' is possible, not **Pawlu sa tkollu ħobża.*
>
> (Comrie 1989: 222)

In sum, one can say that the grammaticalization of the possessive construction in Maltese has resulted in the creation of a 'have'-like verb, which has the possessor as its subject. It can be added that, in modern Arabic dialects, the transfer of subject properties from the possessee to the possessor in the original Locational Possessive is not limited to Maltese. Martin Haspelmath (p.c.) reports that in Tunisian Arabic the Locational Possessive has come to be

challenged by an 'innovative' construction illustrated in (80b). Although, in this latter construction, no new 'have'-like element has been created, we can nonetheless observe that the predicate shows subject agreement with the possessor instead of with the possessee.

(80)   TUNISIAN ARABIC (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic)

    a. Kaan   ʕand-i   X
        be.3SG.PAST   at-1SG   X
        'I had X' (Martin Haspelmath p.c.)

    b. Kunt   ʕand-i   X
        be.1SG.PAST   at-1SG   X
        'I had X' (Martin Haspelmath p.c.)

The case of Have-Drift shown by Maltese may have a parallel in one of the possessive constructions of Lokono, an Arawakan language of Surinam. This construction – which covers inalienable, alienable, and temporary possession alike – features the item *amyn*, which, in the source, is glossed as a verb meaning 'to have'. The item receives subject prefixes that agree with the possessor NP, and aspectual markings by means of suffixes.

(81)   LOKONO (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)

    a. Kakythinon   k-amyn-ka   khaboho
        people   3PL-have-PERF   hand
        'People have hands' (Pet 1987: 32)

    b. B-amyn-ka   nana
        you-have-PERF   pineapple
        'Do you have pineapples?' (Pet 1987: 279)

    c. By-simalha   by-amyn-ka
        your-gun   you-have-PERF
        'Do you have your gun?' (Pet 1987: 249)

Further inspection reveals that the item *amyn* 'to have' is at least homophonous with the locational postposition *amyn* 'near'. A characteristic of this – and several other – postpositions in Lokono is that they cannot take nominal complements directly; their complements can only be pronominal prefixes. If the complement is also referred to by a nominal phrase, this phrase stands unmarked in front of the pronominally marked adposition. In other words, if one wants to express a meaning like 'near the people', a postpositional phrase like *kakythinon amyn* (*lit.* 'people near') is not possible. Instead, the construction can only be *kakythinon k-amyn* (*lit.* 'people 3PL-near'). Probably, the reason for this is that in Lokono, as in many other languages, adpositions have

their origin in locational nouns like 'back' or 'side', and that adpositional phrases therefore have arisen from adnominal possessive constructions like 'people their-side(-at)'.

Given this, one might venture the following reconstruction of the development of the Lokono possessive construction. One might assume that the source of this construction was a locative/existential sentence, with the possessee as the subject and the possessor as the complement of the postposition *amyn*. As locative/existential sentences in Lokono do not have an overt *be*-verb, the construction may have been something along the lines of the following (non-attested, conjectured) formation:

(82) Lokono (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)
      Kakythinon   k-amyn   khaboho
      people   3PL-near   hand
      lit. 'Near the people are hands'

Now, on the basis of constructions like this, a possibility for reanalysis presents itself. To be precise, in such a construction several conditions which foster a reanalysis of the construction as a Have-Possessive are fulfilled. For a start, since Lokono is basically an SVO language, this construction shows the possessor in subject position and the possessee in object position. Furthermore, since Lokono does not distinguish between subject prefixes on verbs and possessive prefixes on nouns, the prefixes on the postposition are readily reinterpreted as subject prefixes on a verbal formation. Hence, the erstwhile postpositional item may have been reanalysed as a verb with the meaning 'have', with its verbal status being clinched by the ability to take aspectual marking. Needless to say, this reconstruction of the Lokono possessive construction in terms of Have-Drift from a Locational Possessive will have to remain speculative, as no diachronic data on the language are available. It can be said, however, that this reconstruction does provide an explanation for the remarkable polysemy of the item *amyn*, which is given as both 'near' and 'have' in the glossary that is appended to the grammatical description in Pet (1987).

6.5 Why Have-Drift?

The above exposition will have shown that transitivization, or Have-Drift, is a process that takes all three of the intransitive types of predicative possession as its source, and that it is clearly not to be regarded as some genetically or areally restricted phenomenon. It is, of course, completely justified to ask for an explanation for this. That is, one may ask for a motivation of the fact that

the Have-Possessive, or at least a transitive possessive construction, appears to function as some 'terminus' for diachronic reanalysis of other possessive types. In my opinion, the answer to this question is probably complex, in that the motivation for Have-Drift may very well lie in a 'conspiracy' of both syntactic and semantic 'forces' that are at work in natural language.

First, the fact that, in cases of indefinite possession, the possessor is topical (see Section 1.5.2) may be a driving force behind the shift towards Have-Possessives. As is well known, topics make good subjects. Therefore, we can expect that there will be diachronic processes by which possessor NPs acquire subject properties if they do not have them already. Have-Drift can thus be seen as one of the processes that are geared towards manoeuvring a non-subject possessor NP into subject function. With Topic Possessives, these processes can work fairly unproblematically, as a shift from a sentential topic to a sentential subject is known to be a very general diachronic pattern in languages. In Locational Possessives, the shift from an oblique possessor to a sentence subject is probably too complicated to be effectuated completely. Nevertheless, we do find cases in which an oblique possessor NP has gained at least some of the subject properties that the language has at its disposal. Above, we saw an example from Tunisian Arabic (80b), in which an oblique possessor is seen to govern subject agreement on verbs. Furthermore, we find a well-documented case of the transfer of subject properties to an oblique possessor in the possessive construction of Hungarian. As we have noted in Section 3.2, this construction can be classified as a Locational Possessive with additional possessor indexing on the possessee.

(83)   HUNGARIAN (Uralic, Ugric)
       A   férfi-ak-nak   van   háza-uk
       ART   man-PL-DAT   be.3SG.PRES   house-their
       'The men have a house' (Biermann 1985: 15)

This example shows that the possessee governs subject agreement on the verb, which is a major subject privilege in Hungarian as well as in many other languages. However, the oblique possessor can be shown to have several subject privileges as well. For one thing, as is shown in Biermann (1985: 96), the oblique possessor can be omitted if its reference has been established in previous discourse; in Hungarian, this type of ellipsis is a privilege of subjects.

(84)   HUNGARIAN (Uralic, Ugric)
       Peter   meg-esz-i   mind-et.   Van   étvágy-a
       P.-NOM   PERF-eat-3SG   all-ACC   is   appetite-his
       'Peter eats up everything. (He) has an appetite' (Biermann 1985: 96)

Moreover, oblique possessor NPs license null-anaphora for subjects in the following discourse, which again is a subject privilege in Hungarian. Thus, in the following sentence (85), the subject of the second clause is understood to be 'Peter', and not 'his wife'.

(85)   HUNGARIAN (Uralic, Ugric)
      Péter-nek   van   feleség-e,   de   nem   szeret-i
      P.-DAT   is   wife-his   but   not   love-3SG
      'Peter has a wife, but (he) does not love (her)' (Biermann 1985: 138)

These examples show that, even in languages in which promoting a possessor NP into full subject function is unfeasible, there can be a tendency to assign at least some subject properties to that possessor NP. In short, the popularity of Have-Drift among the world's languages might be explained on the basis of the following line of reasoning:

  (a) Possessors in indefinite possessive constructions are topics.
  (b) Topics 'want' to be subjects.
  (c) *Therefore*: possessors in indefinite possessive constructions 'want' to be subjects.
  (d) Have-Drift is a process that turns possessors into subjects.
  (e) *Therefore*: indefinite possessive constructions may 'want' to undergo Have-Drift.

I am of the opinion that this line of reasoning is plausible, and that the pressure on possessor NPs to become subjects is a real motivation behind the diachronic process of Have-Drift. At the same time, however, I think it is safe to say that this 'subject pressure' cannot be the whole story about the 'desire' of languages to turn their possessive constructions into transitive sentences. First of all, we can note that the line of reasoning sketched above holds not only for Have-Drift, but also for other grammaticalization processes, such as predicativization. After all, predicativization, too, has a target structure in which the possessor NP is the subject, but that target structure remains intransitive. Secondly, if 'subject pressure' were the only motivation behind Have-Drift, it is difficult to see why it would work on With-Possessives, in which the possessor is the subject from the very start. Still, as we have seen in Section 6.2, Have-Drift can very well take With-Possessives as a source structure.

One could speculate, then, that in the process of Have-Drift another 'force' may be at work. The semantic/cognitive notion of iconicity, as defined in Haiman (1980, 1983b), might provide a good candidate here. In Section 1.3 I have stated that the concept of possession is to be defined as the intersection of two parameters, which are, in principle, independent of one another. Now,

I think it can be defended that the three intransitive possessive types are iconic to the first parameter in the definition of possession, that is, the parameter of spatial contact: after all, these three possessive types have their foundation in locative/existential constructions. Opposed to this, the Have-Possessive is iconic with regard to the second parameter, i.e. control: the transitive agent–patient pattern of this possession type can be seen as a formal match of the semantic distinction between possessor and possessee in terms of 'power' in the possessive relationship. Seen from this perspective, one might view the phenomenon of Have-Drift as a process by which languages shift their iconicity with regard to spatial contact in the direction of an iconicity with regard to control. If this suggestion is accepted, it becomes clear why the promotion of the possessor into subject status is not enough. In many languages, subject status of the possessor is a necessary feature of a control-iconic possessive construction, but in order to be completely iconic in this way the possessor must also be interpretable as a 'controlling' participant, i.e. as an agent.

It must be conceded, however, that an explanation of Have-Drift in terms of an iconicity shift is not without its problems. As has been pointed out to me by Sonia Cristofaro (p.c.), in at least some cases Have-Drift is actually just a syntactic process of recombination of the various items in the sentence, by which oblique markers come to be associated with the verb rather than with the possessee. This process results in a syntactically transitive construction, but there is no evidence that, besides syntactic transitivity (which is an accidental result of the process of recombination), the new construction differs from the source construction in conceptual terms, e.g. with respect to higher vs. lower control. More generally, since *have*-verbs have a relatively low degree of agentivity, it is not quite obvious that Have-Possessives involve higher control than other possession types.

Moreover, we are faced with the curious but nonetheless well-established fact that Topic Possessives and With-Possessives have the potential to shift into Have-Possessives, but that the reverse – that is, a shift from a Have-Possessive into some other possessive type – is never encountered. This fact also raises problems for an explanation of possessive-type shift in terms of iconicity: it is hard to see why there should there be a shift from spatial contact towards control, but not the other way around. After all, then, an explanation in terms of formal motivations of diachronic reanalysis processes may be the right perspective on Have-Drift. That is, it may be the case that Have-Possessives do not turn into other possessive types because such a shift would involve reanalysis operations that are less straightforward than those that lead to the reverse shift. A drift from Have-Possessives to a

With-Possessive would involve, among other things, the reanalysis of a direct object into an oblique adjunct (with the introduction of oblique marking into the clause), and a drift from a Have-Possessive into a Topic Possessive would – again, among other things – require the reanalysis of a direct object as a sentential subject. There is hardly any independent evidence that such putative diachronic processes are possible at all, whereas the reanalysis processes that lead to Have-Drift can be rated as specific instances of more general operations in diachronic change.

7

Summary of Part I

7.1 Basic features of the typology

In the previous chapters I have developed the contours of the typology of Predicative Possession through a number of sometimes rather intricate discussions. At the end of this exposition it may be useful to give a brief summary of the main results of our typological investigation. Thus, the main features of the typology that has been proposed here are the following:

(1) The concept of possession constitutes a conceptual space or domain, which is defined by the intersection of two independent parameters, namely permanent contact and control. Depending on the values of these two parameters, the domain of possession can be divided into a number of subdomains, the most important of which are alienable possession, inalienable possession, and temporary possession. The present study restricts itself to the predicative encoding of alienable possession.

(2) In the construction of the typology of predicative (alienable) possession, the fundamental criterion is constituted by the morphosyntactic encoding of the two participants in the construction, i.e. the possessor (PR) and the possessee (PE). Applying this criterion yields a typology in which four basic encoding types are distinguished, namely

- the Locational Possessive
- the With-Possessive
- the Topic Possessive
- the Have-Possessive.

Of these four types, the first three are intransitive constructions, which are grounded in the encoding of existential predications. In contrast, the fourth type represents a transitive construction, which does not have its basis in the expression of existence.

(3) Especially the three intransitive possession types allow for a degree of non-standard encoding. Phenomena that cause this variation are:

- Possessor indexing on the possessee: This phenomenon is particularly visible with Locational Possessives and Topic Possessives.
- Zero-encoding of the existential predicate: This phenomenon occurs with all three intransitive possession types. In the case of zero-encoding of Topic Possessives, potential ambiguity may result, in that the construction may allow for both a possessive and a predicate nominal reading.
- Hybrid formations: This phenomenon appears to be restricted to the construction of Topic-Locational hybrids.

(4) The three intransitive possession types form the source structure in one or more paths of diachronic reanalysis. The following diachronic processes have been identified:

- Adnominalization, which is applicable to Locational Possessives and Topic Possessives;
- Predicativization, which is mainly applicable to With-Possessives, but may in some cases also have a Topic Possessive as its source;
- Transitivization or Have-Drift, which can apply to With-Possessives, to Topic Possessives, and to Topic-Locational hybrids.

In contrast, reanalysis with a Have-Possessive as its source does not seem to occur.

7.2 Areal distribution of the types

In Chapter 2 I have indicated that, for most of the possessive types distinguished, clear areal patterns can be established. Now that the typology of predicative possession has been established in detail, it is possible to be more specific about this areal distribution.[1] A detailed indication of the areal stratification of the various possessive types can be found in Appendix B. Globally speaking, we can observe the following trends:

(a) Locational Possessives have their major concentration in Eurasia, a mega-area which includes Europe, all of continental Asia except

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[1] A map of the areal distribution of predicative possession can be found in Stassen (2005: 476 7). This map is based on a different (and smaller) sample from the one used in the present study. However, at least in its broader contours the map does not show significant divergence from the areal data presented in this section.

China and south-east Asia, and north Africa. In Europe, the Locational Possessive area is 'broken up' by the occurrence of a concentration of Have-Possessives in the northern, western, central, and south-eastern parts of the continent. In north-east Siberia, the area shows diffusion with With-Possessives, giving rise to double encoding for some languages. Similar borderline effects can be observed in north-east India and Burma, where some languages have both a Locational Possessive and a Topic Possessive.

Outside Eurasia, minor concentrations of the Locational Possessive can be found in Polynesia, in the Mande languages of west Africa, and in the north-western part of South America. Furthermore, the type occurs incidentally in a number of languages from eastern Indonesia and New Guinea.

(b) Major concentrations of With-Possessives are found in four areas. First, the type is the dominant option among the languages of New Guinea and the Pama-Nyungan family in Australia; here we find either the adverbial or the copular variant of the type. Secondly, east Africa below the Sahara – in the form of the southern branches of Nilo-Saharan, and the Adamawa-Ubangian and Bantu branches of Niger-Kordofanian – has the With-Possessive as its prominent choice; the construction is adverbial here. Thirdly, there is a With-Possessive area which stretches from north-east Siberia, through the north and west of North America, into Central America by way of the Uto-Aztecan family. Here the With-Possessive encoding is predominantly of the flexional variant. And finally, With-Possessives are found in various families from the north and north-west of South America. Some of these families – such as the Quechuan languages and the Carib languages – employ the adverbial variant of the type, while other families – such as the Arawakan languages – favour a flexional variant.

Apart from these three areas, occurrence of the With-Possessive is incidental. There are a few small pockets of the type in the Austro-Asiatic family, notably in the Munda languages from India and in the Nicobarese language Car.

(c) The Topic Possessive is the unchallenged option in China and south-east Asia. It is also by far the most prominent choice in the languages of the Austronesian family, although there is some Have-Possessive encoding in the western part of the area covered by these languages, and the Polynesian languages, which represent the eastern wing of the family, favour Locational Possessive encoding. In New Guinea we can

also identify a number of cases of Topic Possessive encoding, but here the dominant option appears to be the With-Possessive. At least some of the non-Pama-Nyungan languages in the north-western part of Australia allow a Topic Possessive as well; in these cases, the construction is typically of the potentially ambiguous variant. In the Pama-Nyungan languages of Australia the Topic Possessive does not seem to occur.

A second large and contiguous area in which Topic Possessives are the rule is constituted by the midwest and east of North America and Central America. In North America, the Topic Possessive manifests itself typically, but not exclusively, as a Topic-Locational hybrid. In South America, Topic Possessive encoding appears mainly in the centre and the eastern part of the continent, for example in the languages of the Ge, Tupian, and Guaycuruan families.

In northern Africa, among the Berber languages and the South Semitic languages, we can observe Topic-Locational hybrid encoding. Apart from that, Topic Possessives are a minor option in Africa: we encounter them in some of the southern Nilotic languages and in the Kwa languages of west Africa. In Europe the option of Topic Possessive encoding does not occur at all.

(d) As has already been indicated above, a major concentration of Have-Possessives is found in the languages of western and south-eastern Europe: Germanic, Romance, West and South Slavonic, as well as Albanian, Modern Greek, and Basque feature this type as their unique encoding option. Further areas and/or linguistic groupings in which the Have-Possessive is a prominent possessive type are

- the non-Pama-Nyungan languages of Australia, where the Have-Possessive is challenged by the Topic Possessive and the With-Possessive;

- several subfamilies of the Uto-Aztecan phylum, where the Have-Possessive competes with With-Possessives and Topic Possessives, and quite a few other languages of Central America, in which the Topic Possessive is the main contender;

- various language families in South America. In several groupings from the north-western part of the continent (Chibchan, Chocó, Barbacoan, and Paezan) the Have-Possessive appears to be the un-contested choice. In other South-American languages the Have-Possessive is in competition with a Locational Possessive (e.g. in Tucanoan), a Topic Possessive (as, for instance, in Tupí-Guaraní),

or a With-Possessive (as in some languages from the Arawakan family);

- the Berber and Cushitic languages from northern Africa, as well as the whole of the Nilo-Saharan phylum. Here the Have-Possessive is almost always found in conjunction with some other type, be it a Locational Possessive, a Topic Possessive, or a With-Possessive;
- a number of languages from different groupings in west Africa, such as the West-Atlantic languages from Senegal and Gambia, and the Gur languages from Mali and Burkina Fasso;
- the Khoisan languages from Namibia.

Speaking in general, one can say that the areal distribution of Have-Possessives is characterized by two conspicuous features. First, in the areas in which the type occurs it is often not the only option. Secondly, these areas are relatively small, when compared to the areas that are covered by other possession types. Especially in the case of Have-Possessives one often finds isolated occurrences, or small pockets of occurrences, within areas that have some other possessive type as the dominant choice. Examples of such 'incidental' appearances of the Have-Possessive are the Ugric languages, which are situated in an area that is dominated by the Locational Possessive, and some languages from Melanesia (Tolai, Tigak, Tumleo), whose Have-Possessives form an enclave in a mega-area that has the Topic Possessive as its norm. In other words, it appears that Have-Possessives are 'sprinkled' across the globe, and that they are distributed much less contiguously than the other possessive types are.

Part II
Determinant Factors

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8

In search of determinant factors

8.1 Introduction

In the chapters of Part I I have developed a typology of predicative possession, the major features of which have been summarized in Chapter 7. Now, given the general mission statement of theoretical linguistics that I formulated in Section 1.1, it will be evident that the construction of typologies is certainly a worthwhile linguistic activity, in that it presents us with a view of the limitations that human language sets on the encoding of a certain linguistic phenomenon. That is, typologies can be seen as definitions of the 'bandwidth' that languages have in the encoding of particular linguistic domains, and as such they provide important raw material for linguistic theory formation. It is, however, essential to realize that typologies in themselves do not have theoretical value; in essence, they must be seen as nothing more than generalized statements of cross-linguistic facts. In order to employ them as 'fuel' for explanatory theories, one must go further than just the construction of a typology, and seek answers to two questions that were introduced into linguistic typology in Sanders (1976). These questions can be phrased as follows:

1. *Why is the typology the way it is?*

In our case, this question can be rephrased as: why should the attested types of predicative possession encoding be the ones they are? A group of linguists, given enough time and some inspiration, would probably be able to come up with other possession-encoding types that languages might have, but languages apparently are not. In a similar vein, one may ask why the encoding of predicative possession should be restricted to four types. Is there a reason why this should be so? Is the number of four empirically attested types based on coincidence, and could it just as well have been, say, twenty? In fact, why are there different types of possession encoding anyway? Why would it be that languages apparently are not 'satisfied' with having one encoding strategy that holds for all of them?

2. Why is it that a language has a construction of Type X rather than of Type Y?

For our purposes, this question boils down to asking ourselves whether or not the fact that, say, Mandarin has a Topic Possessive and not a Locational Possessive is just a matter of coincidence. Could Mandarin have chosen a different encoding type, or is there a principle that 'forbids' Mandarin to have anything else but a Topic Possessive? Stated in other terms: can we find a way to demonstrate that the languages that opt for a given encoding constitute natural classes, or is the search for this naturalness doomed to end in failure?

In my opinion, there are no hard-and-fast rules by which these fundamental explanatory questions can be approached, and there is no generally applicable method for solving them. For one thing, the possibility that there are no answers to these questions, and that therefore the typological diversity in a given domain is based upon coincidence, cannot be dismissed out of hand. In fact, there are typological distinctions for which coincidence is probably the only possible answer. As an example, let us take the typology of basic word order, which has been the subject of an extensive body of literature over the last forty years. The ways in which languages can order their subjects (S), verbs (V), and direct objects (O) in a transitive sentence is of course limited by logical possibilities, as there are only six ways in which three items can be placed in a serial order. The empirical fact that languages tend to favour three of these orders (namely, SOV, SVO, and VSO) over the other three logically possible orders has been explained by noticing that subjects are topical, and that, for discourse-functional reasons, topics prefer the earliest noun phrase position possible in the string. However, while this analysis may take care of Question 1, it is evident that it does not answer Question 2 when it comes to basic word-order choice. That is, it does not explain why, say, Turkish and Quechua choose SOV order, whereas English and Mandarin have opted for basic SVO order. What is more, I think that typologists who work on basic word order will generally dismiss such questions as futile. The choice of a given language for a particular basic word order is generally seen as a linguistic feature that is not dictated by, or predictable from, some general linguistic principle. This does not, of course, mean that the typology of basic word order is theoretically useless. On the contrary, the literature has shown that the choice of a particular word order has great consequences for other features that a language may or may not have. But this does not alter the fact that, in itself, the typology of basic word order – or at least, the distribution of possible word order types over the languages of the world – is, as far as we know, based upon coincidence.

A more sophisticated version of the 'coincidence' approach has been advocated recently by Heine (1997). In this work, which has been referred to quite a few times in the preceding pages, the author holds that the typology of predicative possession is determined and restricted by the availability of a limited number of cognitive schemas, of which the various types of possession encoding are structural reflections. In other words, Heine's position on Question 1 seems to be that the typology of predicative possession is the way it is because there are only so many available cognitive schemas from which a language can choose. Since, as far as I know, there is no independent evidence for the existence of such cognitive schemas, let alone a principled way to restrict their number, one might consider this view as essentially circular. However, even if we grant this claimed relationship between cognitive patterns and linguistic structures, we can see that Heine's answer to Question 2 basically boils down to coincidence. Since, in principle, all relevant cognitive schemas are available to all languages, there is no way in which we can explain the choice of a language for a specific schema (and hence, for a specific structural encoding of possession) in other terms than chance. Thus, the fact that English has a Have-Possessive (which, in Heine's terms, is based on the cognitive 'action schema'), while Swahili has a With-Possessive (based on the 'accompaniment schema'), is not motivated by anything: it just happens to be that way, and might have been otherwise.

Although, as I have said above, the possibility of coincidence as a factor in cross-linguistic variation can not and should not be excluded, it is safe to say that the majority of modern typologists have considered the option of coincidence as something of an easy way out. After all, the whole *raison d'être* of typological work is the conviction that cross-linguistic variation is not random. Therefore, many typologists have made attempts to provide answers to the two questions formulated above by searching for DETERMIN-ANTS of their typologies, that is, structural parameters from which the typological variation encountered in their projects can be predicted. In other words, typologists have commonly sought to identify the factor 'X' in implicational statements of the following general form:

(1) If a language has structural feature X, it must/cannot belong to Type A in the typology at hand.

Or, alternatively:

(2) If a language belongs to Type A in the typology at hand, it must/cannot have structural feature X.

Statements of this kind are meant to express that the feature X is, in some way, a deeper-lying factor (Stassen 1985: 8), from which the cross-linguistic variation encountered in a typology can be derived. In this way, cross-linguistic variation in one domain can be reduced to variation in some other domain, and this may eventually lead to the identification of a number of 'fundamental' parameters on which languages can diverge.

In my experience, the identification of a factor X for a given typology is not a process that can be rigidly formalized. It is true that the availability of cross-linguistic data bases, and the use of statistical methods applied to them, may provide valuable clues to identifying correlations between structural options in languages, and I most definitely do not want to discredit this sort of methodology. In the end, however, all that counts is a good idea. Now I have found that, in the typologies I have worked on, it is often the 'weird stuff', that is, the apparently unclassifiable encodings and seemingly incomprehensible phenomena, which provide the clue to further understanding. I think it is safe to say that any typologist, during the execution of his or her project, will have encountered cases of this kind, and a natural first reaction is to write such things off as a nuisance factor. In the present project, the existence of marginal encodings like conjunctional possessives (see Section 3.4) and clausal possessives (Section 3.5) may easily be seen as a 'freak accident' which only distorts an otherwise reasonably clear and comprehensive picture, and which may therefore be ignored in a streamlined typology. I happen to think, however, that such encodings, marginal though they undoubtedly are, can put us on the trail of a possible deeper-lying factor, in that they suggest a relation between the typology of predicative possession and the typology of temporal sequencing, in which coordination is one of the structural options. A second unexpected and puzzling phenomenon in our typology is constituted by the potentially ambiguous possessive constructions. In Section 3.3 we observed that there are languages which 'tolerate' a situation in which their possessive construction may also have the reading of a predicate nominal sentence, that is, a predication of class membership. Whatever the explanation or the relative importance of this fact may be, the mere existence of such cases suggests that it may be worthwhile to look into a possible relationship between the typology of predicative possession and the typology of nonverbal predication.

In the remainder of this chapter (and of this book) I will take up these suggestions. In Section 8.4 I will formulate a number of implicational statements, in which the typology of predicative possession is correlated with certain features of the typologies of TEMPORAL SEQUENCING and NONVERBAL PREDICATION. In order to be able to appreciate fully the import of these

statements, one needs some insight into a number of basic concepts that are employed in these two correlating typologies. Therefore, in the next two sections I will present a brief exposition of some relevant notions in these two domains.

8.2 Temporal sequencing

8.2.1 *Definition of the domain*

Temporal sequencing is a domain which has received quite a bit of attention in recent literature, both by typological and non-typological authors. It is not my aim to present a full survey of this literature here. Instead, I will pay attention only to those aspects of temporal sequence encoding that are relevant to my formulation of implicational universals for the typology of predicative possession. Therefore, the exposition given in this chapter will be of a simplified nature; for more complete information on the topic of temporal sequencing see, among others, Foley and Van Valin (1984), Lehmann (1988), Givón (1991), Haspelmath (1995), Croft (2001), and Cristofaro (2003).

A TEMPORAL SEQUENCE can be defined as a construction which expresses 'the relation between two events, A and B, as overlapping, preceding or following each other' (Traugott 1975: 208). Thus, a temporal sequence consists of a relation between two predications, which will commonly be structurally manifested as a LINKAGE OF TWO CLAUSES. If the two events overlap each other in time, the sequence is called SIMULTANEOUS; if they do not, the sequence is called CONSECUTIVE (Stassen 1985: 58). For the purpose of the present study, only simultaneous sequences are relevant, so that the encoding properties of consecutive sequences will be ignored.

A second dichotomy among temporal sequences, which is orthogonal to the distinction between simultaneous and consecutive sequences, holds between sequences in which the clauses that express the two events have THE SAME SUBJECT (SS-SEQUENCES) and DS-SEQUENCES, in which the clauses have DIFFERENT SUBJECTS. In what follows I will be concerned only with DS-sequences. As a result, in this study the term 'temporal sequence' must be understood as short-hand for 'simultaneous DS-sequence'. English encodings of such sequences include the following:

(3) ENGLISH (Indo-European, West Germanic)
   a. John was late and Mary was worried
   b. When John was late, Mary was worried
   c. (With) John being late, Mary was worried

8.2.2 *Balanced versus deranked encoding*

As can be seen from the above English examples, there are various structural ways in which temporal sequences can be encoded, and this variation may even be visible within a single language. Now, a major typological distinction in temporal sequence encoding concerns the structural status of the two predicates of the clauses in the sequencing construction. On the one hand, we find encodings in which the two predicates are of the same structural rank (Dik 1968: 30). In such constructions, the predicates of the two clauses will both have the form of a main predicate in a declarative main sentence. Encodings which have this structural make-up are called BALANCED, and languages which choose this encoding option for their temporal sequences are called BALANCING languages (Stassen 1985: 76).

An obvious form in which a balanced sequence manifests itself is that of a COORDINATION of two main clauses, with or without a coordinating particle. The English sequence (3a) is an example of this form of balanced sequence encoding. Less obvious may be the conclusion that constructions like (3b), which are made up of a main clause and a subordinated clause, will also count as cases of balanced encoding. The reason for this is that, in such sequences, both clauses contain predicates that are not formally different from predicates in main clauses. In other words, balanced encoding cannot be identified with coordination. Besides coordinations the notion also comprises sequences in which one of the clauses is marked as subordinate, as long as this subordination is not marked in the form of the predicate.

Opposed to balanced encoding, languages may also choose to express the two clauses in a temporal sequence by reducing one of them in rank. In such a case, only one of the predicates in the sequence retains its independent verb form, while the other predicate is marked as a subordinate verbal construct. Encodings of this type will be called DERANKED, and languages which choose this encoding option will be called DERANKING languages (Stassen 1985: 77). The English sentence (3c) is an example of a deranked temporal sequence. Here, the predicate in the clause *(With) John being late* has a form that is different from the forms that predicates can have in an English declarative main sentence.

8.2.3 *Variation in deranked predicate encoding*

Cross-linguistically, balanced temporal sequences are fairly uniform in structure. They either have the form of clausal coordinations, or consist of a main clause plus a subordinate clause which has a finite predicate and may or may not be marked by subordinating conjunctions. In contrast, deranked

temporal sequences manifest themselves in an array of different forms. In chapters 9 and 10 I will discuss numerous cases of deranked formations, but to give the reader some preliminary idea of the cross-linguistic variation encountered on this point I will present a small selection of examples here.

As stated above, a general feature of deranked sequences is that the predicate of one of the clauses has A FORM WHICH CANNOT BE USED AS THE MAIN PREDICATE IN A DECLARATIVE MAIN CLAUSE. To achieve this deranked status of a predicate in a temporal sequence a language may resort to a number of different morphological strategies, which, in some cases, may be combined. First, a frequent strategy to derank a predicate is to strip it of most or all of its verbal characteristics, such as markers for agreement in PNG (person, number, or gender), or markers for TAM (tense, aspect, or mood), or both. In addition to this, the deranked predicate may or may not receive overt marking which indicates a change of categorial status for the predicate item, such as nominalization markers or adjectivalizing affixes. The result of all this will be a deverbalized formation, which will commonly have nominal or adjectival category status. For such formations, various descriptive traditions have coined their own terminology, so that they are referred to by names like 'infinitive', 'action nominal', 'masdar', 'verbal noun', or – in case of adjectival status – 'participle'. In this book, I will mostly employ the term VERBAL NOUN, as I feel that this is the most neutral and transparent label available for these items.

When verbal nouns are employed as deranked predicates in temporal sequences, they sometimes appear in their unmarked, nominative form, as a sentential topic to the main clause. Examples of this use are found in Tera and Waropen:

(4) TERA (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic)
     Gab-te   be   Shoka   ne   gar,   Mapulu   te   nji
     return-VN of   Squirrel to   bush   Hyena   then   eat
     zu-a   bara
     meat-the   away
     'As soon as Squirrel returned to the bush, Hyena ate up the meat' (*lit.*
     'Squirrel's returning to the bush, Hyena then ate up the meat')
                                                    (Newman 1970: 76)

(5) WAROPEN (Austronesian, East Indonesian)
     I-oba-gha   dan-gha,   na   wai-gha   kisi-kikapari
     his-cut-ART   firewood-ART   with   stone-ART   3DU-light
     'While he cut firewood, the two others lit a torch' (*lit.* 'His cutting
     firewood, the two others lit a torch') (Held 1942: 146)

More often, however, verbal nouns in temporal sequences appear in an oblique case. Then they are marked for locational cases such as dative, locative, adessive, and inessive, or – less frequently – for instrumental case. If they are used in a DS-construction, that is, if they have their own subject which differs from the subject of the main clause, that subject can function syntactically as an adnominal phrase to the deranked, nominalized, predicate. If this is the case, the construction follows the pattern for adnominal possession that is generally in use in the language. Thus, in languages where adnominal possession is dependent-marked, the subject of the deranked predicate receives genitive case marking. An example of this situation can be seen in sentence (6) from Finnish. Here we observe a deranked predicate that is built on the verbal stem *tul-* 'to come'. This stem is marked for nominalization by the 'infinitival' suffix *-le*, and the verbal noun that results from this is marked for inessive case by the suffix *-ssä*. The subject of the deranked clause is marked for genitive case, so that a literal translation into English would be something like 'in Kalle's coming'. In languages with head-marked adnominal possession, the subject of the deranked predicate is un-marked, and is indexed on the deranked predicate by some pronominal possessive item. This situation is illustrated in example (7) from Vogul.

(6) FINNISH (Uralic, Balto-Finnic)
    Kalle-n   tul-le-ssä   Pekka   lahti
    K.-GEN   come-INF-INESS   P.   leave.PAST.3SG
    'When Kalle arrived, Pekka left' (Karlsson 1983: 218)

(7) VOGUL (Uralic, Ugric)
    Man   usn   jal-ke-w-t
    1PL   city.to   go-VN-our-LOC
    'At our going to the city: When we go to the city' (Riese 2001: 90)

Alternatively, the subject of an oblique verbal noun may appear in the nominative case, that is, the case it would have had if its predicate had been finite. An example of this is the temporal sequence from Parji given in (8). Furthermore, there are languages in which the subject of the oblique verbal noun agrees with its predicate in case. Instances of this deranking variant, the so-called ABSOLUTE CONSTRUCTION, are found notably in ancient Indo-European; sentences (9a–b) from Old Persian are illustrations.

(8) PARJI (Dravidian)
    Nomir   cumr-an-ug   tirbired
    fear.NOM   seize-VN-DAT   tremble.PAST.3SG
    'Because/when fear seized (him), he trembled'

                                    (Burrow and Bhattacharya 1953: 61)

(9) OLD PERSIAN (Indo-European, Iranian)

    a. Spa   va   na   irith-ya-t
        dog.LOC or man.LOC die-PCP.PRES-LOC
        'When a dog or a man dies ...' (Reichelt 1909: 332)

    b. Frasax-ta-he   Mašye-he
        finish-PCP.PERF-GEN Man-GEN
        'When Man has finished ...' (Reichelt 1909: 332)

Apart from oblique verbal nouns, a second widely encountered manifestation of deranked predicates consists of deverbalized predicates which are marked by an affix that gives the formation adverbial status. Again, there is a considerable diversification in the terminology used to refer to such formations; labels for them are, among others, 'verbal adverb', 'gerund', 'converb', 'medial verb', and – again – 'participle' or 'adverbial participle'. In an attempt to arrive at some terminological uniformity, I have opted mostly for the term CONVERB in this book, following the suggestion made in Haspelmath (1995). In general, the affixal marker employed in converbs has no (or no longer any) detectable relation to case markers in the language. However, for quite a few cases it can be hypothesized or even proved that the converbal marker has its historical origin in an obsolete case marker, so that the dividing line between oblique verbal nouns and converbs is sometimes difficult, if not impossible, to draw.

Like oblique verbal nouns, converbs may construct their subject in an oblique case. Examples of this are the sequences from Latvian and Northern Paiute presented below. More frequent, however, are converbs with nominative subjects, as illustrated by sentences from Konkani and Lezgian.

(10) LATVIAN (Indo-European, Baltic)
     Man   sienu   ved-uot   uznaga   lietus
     1SG.DAT hay.ACC enter-PCP come.down.3SG.PAST rain.NOM
     'As I was bringing in the hay, it started raining' (Endzelin 1922: 993)

(11) NORTHERN PAIUTE (Uto-Aztecan, Numic)
     U   mia-no'o-∅   nɨ   tanomani-no'o
     3SG.ACC/GEN go-along-DS.SIM 1SG.NOM run-along
     'While he was going along, I was running along'
                                       (Snapp et al. 1982: 76)

(12) KONKANI (Indo-European, Indic)
     Pedru vẹ-tana   Paulu yẹ-ta
     P.   go-SIM.CONV P.   come-3SG.PRES
     'As Peter goes, Paul comes' (Almeida 1985: 193)

(13) Lezgian (Dagestanian)
      Arif   cur-a   ama-z
      A.   barn-in   be.still-conv
      Qisperi-di rak'- ar-al   čefte   havd-na
      Q.-erg   door-pl-on   latch   put.on-aor
      'With Arif still being in the barn, Qisperi put the latch on the door'

<div align="right">(Haspelmath 1993: 399)</div>

The use of verbal nouns or converbs can be viewed as a 'radical' strategy of predicate deranking. That is, predicates that receive such deranked forms lose most, if not all, of the categories that are relevant for main verbs in the language: they are 'non-finite', in the traditional sense of that term.[1] Moreover, they are commonly recategorized as a different part of speech, such as nominals, adjectives, or adverbials. As a result, the predications in which they appear often lose their clausal status; syntactically they are no longer encoded as adverbial clauses, but as adverbial phrases in the main clause. Following the terminology used by Lehmann (1988), we can say that these formations are not just subordinated: they have gone one step further, and are embedded.

   However, predicate deranking does not always have to have such radical consequences. In many cases, we find that some verbal characteristics have been retained. Thus, in some languages a deranked predicate can still have marking for tense, as is shown in example (14) from Huitoto and example (15) from Tyvan.

(14) Huitoto (Witotoan)
      Jitó   bi-te-mo   ie   moo   ióbi-de
      son   come-nonfut-at/to   his   father be.glad-3sg.nonfut
      'When the son arrived, his father was glad' (Minor et al. 1982: 99)

(15) Tyvan (Altaic, Turkic)
      Salgɨn   kel-gen-in-den   bürüler   šilirtkaynɨ   ber-gen
      wind   come-past-3poss-abl   leaves   rustle.ss   begin-past
      'Because a light wind blew, the leaves began to rustle'

<div align="right">(Anderson & Harrison 1999: 98)</div>

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[1] In the classic conception of finiteness, the notion has to do with the morphology of verbs. Thus, a verb form is said to be finite if it displays inflectional categories such as person/number/gender agreement (PNG) and/or tense/aspect/mood marking (TAM). Coupled with this morphological definition, it is generally held that finite verbs can be the main predicate of an independent sentence, whereas non finite verbs are subordinate. It has been established, however, that the various criteria for finiteness are sometimes in conflict in particular languages, and that, moreover, the cross linguistic applicability of the notion of finiteness is questionable. See Koptjevskaja Tamm (1994) and Nikolaeva (2007) for further discussion.

We also encounter cases in which the deranked predicate has retained its full possibilities in PNG-agreement, as is demonstrated by examples from Bilin, Monumbo, and Kolyma Yukaghir.

(16) BILIN (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)
Kuára lâb-ø-na-dí nɪ kaû-l ɣéru̱χ
sun go.down-3SG-VN-COM 3SG.NOM house-DAT go.3SG.PERF
'When the sun had set, he went home' (Reinisch 1882: 60)

(17) MONUMBO (Papuan, Bogia)
Indaró-naka ukén
1PL.return-SIM 3SG.die
'As we returned, she died' (Vormann and Scharfenberger 1914: 45)

(18) KOLYMA YUKAGHIR (Yukaghir)
Numø-ge jaqa-l-u-ge numø-ge oj-l'e-ŋi
house-LOC arrive-VN-1/2-DS/LOC house-LOC NEG-be-3PL.INTR
'I came home, but they were not at home' (Maslova 2003a: 160)

Even full retention of both PNG and TAM marking in a deranked predicate is possible, witness the deranked predicate formations in Bedawi and Navajo.

(19) BEDAWI (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)
Aní o-gaû šum-an-é-hob Bilál ábya
1SG.NOM ART-house enter-1SG.PERF-VN-at B. already
í-he
3SG.PERF-go
'When I entered the house, Bilal was already gone' (Reinisch 1893 III: 190)

(20) NAVAJO (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)
T'ah 'áná-s-tśí·sí-go ci-má'nt'é 'á-din
still STAT-1SG-be.small-CONV my-mother 3.STAT-be.missing
'When I was still a child, my mother was missing/wanting' (i.e. 'I had no mother') (Reichard 1974: 383)

Finally, one sometimes encounters predicates which are to be regarded as fully finite, but still have to be rated as deranked, since they have a form which can never be used in an indicative main clause. These languages have finite predicate forms with a conjugation that is distinctly different from that of indicative main verbs. Such verbal forms are known under different labels, such as subjunctives (in the description of European languages), subordinate mood forms (in the description of Bantu languages), participial mood forms (in the description of Eskimo-Aleut languages), coincidental forms or

conjunct forms (in the description of North American languages), or non-finite forms (in the description of Caucasian languages). Examples of such finite deranked formations – for which I will use the cover-term DEPENDENT MOODS – are given in the 'when/while/if'-clauses of the following examples:

(21) SWAHILI (Niger-Kordofanian, Benue-Congo, Central-East Bantu)
      U-ki-ni-piga   ni-tak-u-shtaki
      2SG.SUBJ-PCP-1SG.OBJ-hit   1SG.SUBJ-FUT-2SG.OBJ-accuse
      'If you hit me, I will accuse you' (Loogman 1965: 209)

(22) SIBERIAN YUPIK (Eskimo-Aleut)
      Kaate-yaqminigu   qalghigh-aqe-fte-uq
      arrive-3SG.TRANS.PARTICIP.MOOD   song-PROG-apparently-3SG.INDIC
      'When he arrived, it (the bird) was singing' (De Reuse 1994: 52)

(23) MOHAWK (Iroquoian)
      Shé:kon   sha-te-hati-iahs-ont-ha'
      still   COINC-DUPLIC-M.PL.AG-cross-attach-HAB
      shakoti-ienenhaton-hs-kwE'   ne   onkwe-honwe
      M.PL/PL-arrest-HAB-PAST   ART   person-real
      'While everybody was still a Catholic, they used to arrest the Indian people' (Marianne Mithun p.c.)

(24) ABKHAZ (North-West Caucasian)
      Àmra   d-anə-c°o-w   sarà   a-wəs
      A.   she-when-sleep-NONFIN.STAT.PRES   I   ART-work
      ø-z-w-we-yt'
      it-I-do-DYN-FIN
      'When Amra is sleeping, I work' (Hewitt 1979: 39)

In other words, the notion of 'deranked predicate' should not be confused with the notion of 'non-finite predicate'. All that is needed for a predicate to be deranked is the inability to occur as a predicate in an indicative main clause. In many cases, such predicates will be non-finite, but the existence of dependent mood forms as illustrated in (21)–(24) demonstrates that this does not always have to be the case. Conversely, some languages have verbal forms that must be rated as non-finite from a morphological point of view, but are nonetheless allowed as predicates in declarative main clauses. A case in point, mentioned in Cristofaro (2005a: 506) is a nominalized verb form in the Australian language Kayardild, which can function as an indicative main predicate expressing incomplete action (Evans 1995: 470–4). Thus, we can conclude that '[t]he balancing/deranking distinction overlaps with, but is not

equivalent to, the distinction between finiteness and nonfiniteness' (Cristo-faro 2005b: 510).²

The distinction between balanced and deranked predicates will be used as a key concept in the implicational statements to be formulated in Section 8.4, and it will be featured prominently throughout Chapters 9–12. Given the crucial significance of the distinction, it is important that a number of caveats should be kept in mind from the start. First, it must be realized that the distinction is not a discrete one: balanced and deranked constructions form a CONTINUUM, on which various kinds of constructions can be placed. That is, deranking is a gradable phenomenon, according to which, for instance, a nominal or converbal predicate is more deranked, or less balanced, than a dependent mood form. Given this gradable nature of the distinction, it is only to be expected that we will sometimes be confronted with predicate forms for which the balanced or deranked status is difficult to determine. A well-known instance of such 'see-saw' predicate forms is constituted by the 'medial verbs' that are found in many Papuan languages; I will discuss the status of these forms in Section 10.6. More generally, uncertainty about the balanced or deranked status of a predicate presents itself in those cases in which the verb form is fully finite, but is marked for subordination by some affix. This situation is illustrated in the following adverbial clauses from Aleut, Ubykh, and Basque:

(25) ALEUT (Eskimo-Aleut)
      Txin   quyuqali-ku-x̂-ngaan
      3SG.ABS   go.to.bed-PRES-3SG-DAT
      'When he went to bed...' (Bergsland 1997: 24)

(26) UBYKH (North-West Caucasian)
      A-c°a-ga   a-le-t-in
      the-house-in   3ABS-be.in-IMPERF-LOC
      'While she was in the house...' (Dumézil 1933: 85)

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² The notion of 'deranked predicate' was introduced in Stassen (1985). In that work, a strict definition of the concept was employed: a deranked predicate had to be characterized by at least some degree of non finiteness, that is, at least some reduction in verbal categories such as PNG marking or TAM marking. As a consequence, predicates such as the ones presented above in the subordinate clauses from Bedawi and Navajo as well as the various subordinate conjugational forms given in (21)–(24) were not rated as cases of deranking. Later authors who used the notion of deranking in their typological projects, such as Koptjevskaja Tamm (1993) and Cristofaro (2003), have dropped the requirement of non finiteness. In this book, I have adopted this later, less restricted, definition of deranking.

(27)   BᴀsQᴜᴇ (Basque)
       Etxe-ra   irits-i   n-in-tz-enean
       house-ᴀʟʟ.sɢ   arrive-ᴘᴇʀꜰ 1sɢ.ᴀʙs-ᴘᴀsᴛ-ᴀᴜx-when
       'When I had come home...' (Cristofaro 2005b: 510)

In cases like these, the question is whether the subordinate marker on the verb form has only the predicate in its scope. If this is the case, the marker can be rated as inflectional, and the predicate form can be called deranked. However, if the subordinate marker has clausal scope, it must be viewed as an affixal clitic or conjunction, and the predicate itself must be rated as balanced. As a general guideline, I have been reluctant to decide upon deranked status for such cases, and I have rated them as balanced whenever explicit evidence to the contrary is lacking. Fortunately, problematic cases of this kind are rather rare, and their occurrence is seldom crucial in determining the balancing or deranking status of a given language.

As a second point, it is important to realize that the distinction between deranking and balancing languages should not be taken as exclusive. If a language is characterized as deranking, this should be taken as a statement of preference or prominence, and not as a statement that balanced constructions are completely impossible in that language. For one thing, nearly all deranking languages also have the option of using balanced constructions for at least one subtype of simultaneous sequences, namely contrastive sentences of the type *Some folks do, some folks don't*. On the other hand, there are many languages which have a preference for balanced encoding of temporal sequences, but which have nonetheless the option of forming deranked constructions to a greater or lesser extent. As we shall see in Section 9.2, many Indo-European languages have balanced encoding for simultaneous sequences as their unmarked option, but they usually do allow at least some marginal deranking options. Furthermore, the distinction between balanced and deranking languages is blurred by the fact that the option for deranked temporal sequencing is often dependent on what is called the ᴄᴏɴᴅɪᴛɪᴏɴᴀʟ-ɪᴛʏ (Stassen 1985) of the sequence in question. Thus, we often observe that a language may have the possibility of deranking a predicate in a temporal sequence if the condition of same subjects is met, while that language may forbid ᴀʙsᴏʟᴜᴛᴇ ᴅᴇʀᴀɴᴋɪɴɢ, i.e. deranking in different-subject sequences. As I have stated in Section 8.2.1, in this study our only concern will be with the option of absolute deranking, and hence a language will be called balancing if it does not allow that option. It should be kept in mind, however, that ᴄᴏɴᴅɪᴛɪᴏɴᴀʟ ᴅᴇʀᴀɴᴋɪɴɢ under same-subject conditions may very well be an option for such languages.

Again, then, the distinction between balancing and deranking languages must be seen as defining a continuum. On one side of the scale, we can place languages such as the members of the various branches of Austro-Asiatic, which are completely or almost exclusively balancing in their encoding of simultaneous sequences. On the opposite side, we can place languages like the members of the Altaic family, in which deranking is the highly preferred option to express temporal sequentiality, while coordination is scarcely used; in Mongolian even the conjunctions *bolun*, *büged*, and *kiged* 'and' stem from converbal forms of the verbs 'to become', 'to be', and 'to do'. At various points in between these extremes we find languages in which balanced encoding is clearly unmarked in comparison with deranked encoding or vice versa, and languages in which deranking is only a conditioned option in SS-sequences.

8.3 Nonverbal predication: the split/share parameter

8.3.1 *Definition of the notion*

Stassen (1997) presents a typological survey of the options that languages have in the encoding of intransitive predication. For the present study, I will focus on the cross-linguistic variation shown in two subdomains of intransitive predication, namely, the encoding of nominal and locational predicates. An English example of PREDICATE NOMINAL SENTENCES, which predicate class membership of the subject, is given in (28). Sentence (29a) represents an English example of a PREDICATE LOCATIONAL SENTENCE, in which a location is predicated of the subject. Furthermore, English also distinguishes existential sentences like (29b); such sentences, which predicate the existence or availability of the subject, are treated as a subclass of locational predication in this study.[3]

(28) ENGLISH (Indo-European, West Germanic)
      John is a tailor (own data)

(29) ENGLISH (Indo-European, West Germanic)

    a. John is in Paris (own data)
    b. There is music in the air (own data)

The possible relationships between the encoding of nominal and locational predicates can be formulated in terms of the SPLIT/SHARE PARAMETER (Stassen 1997: 130–1). In the foregoing chapters we have already seen this parameter at work in the case of the potentially ambiguous Topic

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[3] See Chapter 2, fn. 3.

Possessives (see Section 3.3) and the possibilities in predicativization of
With-Possessives (see Section 5.2.1). My claim is, however, that the significance of this parameter for possession encoding reaches further than just
these specific contexts.

A language is called a SHARE-LANGUAGE or SHARER if the encoding strategy
for locational predications is (or can be) used for nominal predications, and a
SPLIT-LANGUAGE or SPLITTER if the encoding strategies for the two constructions have to be different. An obvious example of a share-language is English.
As the above example sentences demonstrate, this language can use the lexical
item *be* both as a nominal copula and as a locative/existential support verb.
Another, similar, example is the Californian language Yavapai. The sentences
in (30) show that Yavapai encodes both its predicate nominal sentences and its
locative/existential sentences by using the verb *yu* 'to be'.

(30) YAVAPAI (Yuman)

 a. Maria   hayko-v-č   yu-m
    M.   Anglo-DEM-SUBJ be-ASP
    'Maria is an Anglo' (Kendall 1976: 157)

 b. Cnapuk-č   miyul-l   yu-m
    ant-SUBJ   sugar-in be-ASP
    'There is an ant in the sugar/The ant is in the sugar' (Kendall 1976: 25)

In contrast to this, Japanese and Amharic are split-languages, as the nominal
copula and the locational/existential verb employed by these languages are
not the same.

(31) JAPANESE (Altaic, Japanese)

 a. John   wa   usotuki   da
    J.   TOP   liar   COP
    'John is a liar' (Makino 1968: 15)

 b. Tukue   no   ue   ni   hon   ga   aru
    desk   GEN   top   LOC   book   SUBJ   be.there.NONPAST
    'There is a book on the desk' (Makino 1968: 1)

(32) AMHARIC (Afro-Asiatic, South Semitic)

 a. Lämma   ṭəru   tämari   nä-w
    L.   good   pupil   COP-3SG.M.PRES
    'Lämma is a good pupil' (Hartmann 1980: 292)

 b. l∴ǧǧi-tu   'əgäbaya   'allä-čč
    at.market-the   girl   be-3SG.F.PRES
    'The girl is in the market' (Hartmann 1980: 297)

The distinction between split-languages and share-languages will play a part in the formulation of my implicational statements about possession encoding, and numerous examples of share-patterns and split-patterns in languages will be discussed in Chapters 11 and 12. In these discussions, an undifferentiated label-ling of a language as either a split-language or a share-language will generally be sufficient for our purposes. However, it is useful to point out that both split-languages and share-languages manifest themselves in a number of formally different CONFIGURATIONS, that is, specific combinations of predicate nominal and predicate locational encodings. Moreover, quite a few languages cannot be classified unambiguously as either a splitter or a sharer, since they have both split-configurations and share-configurations at their disposal. In the next three subsections I will briefly comment on this variation observed within the realm of the split/share parameter, and introduce a few terminological conventions which will come in handy in the following chapters of this book.

8.3.2 *Variation in split-languages*

As was shown in examples (31) and (32), Japanese and Amharic are split-languages by virtue of the difference between the lexical items involved in nominal and locational predication. This type of split configuration, which we will refer to as FULL-SPLIT, is rather common; some more examples are from Irish and Cambodian.

(33) IRISH (Indo-European, Celtic)

    a. Is   múinteoir   é
       COP teacher   he
       'He is a teacher' (Greene 1966: 40)

    b. Tá   sé   sa   tseomra
       be.PRES he in.the room
       'He is in the room' (Greene 1966: 43)

(34) CAMBODIAN (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer)

    a. Kñom ceə   kruu
       I   COP teacher
       'I am a teacher' (Huffman 1967: 229)

    b. Khngom neeuh pteeh
       I   be.at   house
       'I am at home' (Jacob 1968: 16)

However, this 'lexical' form of split encoding is not the only way in which a language can achieve split-status. A second, also frequent type of split

encoding involves a contrast between a full supporting verb for locational predication and the absence of any overt linking item (a 'zero copula') for nominal predication. Examples of split languages in which this ZERO-SPLIT configuration is encountered are Banggai, Waskia, and Jacaltec.

(35) BANGGAI (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

    a. Iaku mian   kabar
       1SG   person invulnerable
       'I am an invulnerable person' (Van Den Bergh 1953: 106)

    b. Niimbaa daano komu   boïne?
       here   be   your   daughter
       'Is your daughter here?' (Van Den Bergh 1953: 37)

(36) WASKIA (Papuan, Adelbert Range)

    a. Aga   bawa   taleng-duap
       my   brother   policeman
       'My brother is a policeman' (Ross and Natu Paol 1978: 11)

    b. Kadi mu   kawam se   bage-so
       man   ART house in   stay-3SG.PRES
       'The man is in the house' (Ross and Natu Paol 1978: 12)

(37) JACALTEC (Mayan, Kanjobalan)

    a. Somlom   naj
       marimba.player 3SG.M.ABS
       'He is/ was a marimba player' (Craig 1977: 18)

    b. Ay   w-atut   b'et'u
       be.there my-house   there
       'My house is over there' (Day 1973: 79)

Finally, a third variant of split encoding is based on the difference between a full support verb for locative/existential predicates and a verbal encoding for nominal predicates. Since there are not that many languages in which predicate nominals are treated as verbs, it will be clear that this variant of split encoding will be less frequent than the other two. An example of this VERBY-SPLIT encoding option is the Philippine language Tagalog. As is shown by sentences (38a–b), predicate nouns in this language have the same morpho-syntactic properties as predicate verbs.[4]

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    [4] Another logically possible configuration is the one in which the predicate nominal sentence has a full lexical item and the predicate locational sentence has a zero item. However, such a configuration does not occur. It is ruled out by the universal tendency formulated in Stassen (1997: 64), according to which predicate locational sentences cannot have a zero encoding if predicate nominal sentences in the language do not have a zero encoding as well.

(38) TAGALOG (Austronesian, Philippine)

    a. Naligo   si   Juan
       bathe   TOP   J.
       'Juan takes/took a bath' (Schachter and Otanes 1983: 541)

    b. Artista   ang   babae
       actress   TOP   woman
       'The woman is an actress' (Schachter and Otanes 1983: 61)

    c. May   libro   sa   mesa
       be.at   book   LOC   table
       'There is a book on the table' (Schachter and Otanes 1983: 81)

8.3.3 *Variation in shared encoding*

Parallel to split encoding, shared encoding of nominal and locational predication can be attested in three variants. Of these variants, the 'lexical' form, which involves the use of the same lexical item for nominal copula and locational support verb, is by far the most frequent. Apart from English and Yavapai (see sentences (28–9) and (30)), some other examples of this FULL-SHARE variant are Miskito and Luganda.

(39) MISKITO (Chibchan)

    a. Giovanni   tuktan   sirpi   kum   sa
       G.   child   small   one   COP.3SG.PRES
       'Giovanni is a small child' (Anonymous 1985: 213)

    b. Aisi-kam   bara   sa
       father-your   here   be.3SG.PRES
       'Your father is here' (Conzemius 1929: 110)

(40) LUGANDA (Niger-Kordofanian, North-East Bantu)

    a. Mukasa   n-ange   tu-li   babazzi
       M.   and-1SG   1PL.PRES-COP   carpenters
       'Mukasa and I are carpenters' (Ashton et al. 1954: 434)

    b. Omugaati   gu-li   mu   kabada
       loaf   3SG.PRES-be   in   cupboard
       'The loaf is in the cupboard' (Ashton et al. 1954: 82)

The other two possible forms of shared encoding are rather uncommon. This is due to the fact that, for locative/existential predication, the use of a full locational support item is the overwhelmingly more frequent option (see

Stassen 1997: 55–61). Thus, we only rarely find that a language has share-status on the basis of a zero-zero encoding, and when we find it we can usually observe that this option is accompanied by other, alternative configurations. Examples of languages with this ZERO-SHARE configuration as their only option are Pitjantjatjara and Abun.

(41)   PITJANTJATJARA (Australian, Pama-Nyuangan)

    a. Wati   ngalyayala
       man   doctor
       'The man is a doctor' (Douglas 1957: 55, 81)

    b. Tjitji   kutjara   ngura-ka
       child   two   camp-at
       'The two children are at camp' (Douglas 1957: 55, 81)

(42)   ABUN (Papuan, West Papuan)

    a. Jibi   ai   yewon
       my   father   shaman
       'My father is a shaman' (Berry and Berry 1999: 134)

    b. An   mo   nu
       3SG   at   house
       'He is at the house' (Berry and Berry 1999: 61)

Finally, share-status for a language is also possible on the basis of a verbal encoding for both nominal and locative predicates. Since verbal encoding is definitely a minor typological option for both of these predicate types, it follows that a verbal-verbal shared encoding will be very uncommon as well. In my sample, one of the very few languages that have a VERBY-SHARE configuration is Kurku, a language of Central India.

(43)   KURKU (Austro-Asiatic, Munda)

    a. Ing   shene-ba
       1SG   go-NONPAST
       'I go/ will go' (Drake 1903: 149)

    b. Di   dhega   kad   ojha-ba
       that   stone   heavy   load-NONPAST
       'That stone is a heavy load' (Drake 1903: 132)

    c. Di   ura-gen-ba
       it   house-at-NONPAST
       'It is at home' (Drake 1903: 80)

8.3.4 *Multiple configurations*

As was stated in Section 8.3.1, English is a share-language, with a configuration that can be labelled as full-share. What is more, this configuration is also the only option for English. In other languages, however, the situation with regard to predicate nominal and predicate locational encoding can be more complex, in that we can attest two, and sometimes even more, configurations. The reasons for the existence of these multiple configurations are diverse. A full survey of the possibilities in this area of nonverbal predicate encoding is presented in Stassen (1997); here I will restrict myself to a brief sketch of the most common cases.

A frequent cause of internal variation in share-languages stems from the fact that the *be*-verb may, under certain conditions, be supplemented by a zero-encoding. If such a situation holds, the language will have both a full-share and a zero-share configuration. A classic example of such a language is Russian. Here, we find that the only option that is permissible in the Present Tense is the zero-share configuration. In other tenses, the full-share configuration is mandatory.

(44) RUSSIAN (Indo-European, East Slavonic)

   a. On   vrač
      he   doctor
      'He is a doctor' (Maria Koptjevskaja-Tamm p.c.)

   b. On   tut
      he   here
      'He is here' (Maria Koptjevskaja-Tamm p.c.)

(45) RUSSIAN (Indo-European, East Slavonic)

   a. On   byl   učenik-om
      he   be.PAST.M.SG   pupil-INSTR.M.SG
      'He was a pupil' (Olga Krasnoukhova p.c.)

   b. Ivan   byl   v   gorode
      I.   be.PAST.M.SG   in   town.GEN
      'Ivan was in town' (Chvany 1973: 70)

Variation between full lexical encoding and zero-encoding is also the most common cause of internal variation in split-languages. In such cases, it is always the copula (that is, the *be*-item that is used in predicate nominal sentences) which exhibits this variation. In other words, split-languages can often be seen to feature a combination of a full-split configuration and a zero-split configuration. An example of such a language is the North American language Navajo.

(46)   Navajo (Na-Dene)

    a. Bá'ólta'í   ni-sh-łi
        teacher   IMPERF-1SG-COP
        'I am a teacher' (Young and Morgan 1980: 427)

    b. Sh-aghan-di   dibé   da-hólǫ
        my-house-at   sheep   3PL-exist
        'There are some sheep at my home' (Goossen 1967: 26)

(47)   Navajo (Na-Dene)

    a. Tíí   łį́į́ʔ
        this   horse
        'This is a horse' (Landar 1963: 12)

    b. Sh-aghan-di   dibé   da-hólǫ
        my-house-at   sheep   3PL-exist
        'There are some sheep at my home' (Goossen 1967: 26)

Apart from internal variation within share-languages and split-languages, we also encounter cases in which a language combines a share-configuration and a split-configuration. Such cases of multiple configurations are the consequence of the fact that the domains of nominal predication and locative/existential predication are not completely unconnected with regard to their encoding strategies.[5] A primary witness to this possibility of mutual overlap is of course the existence of share-languages. However, even with split-languages, in which the encodings of the two domains are kept apart in principle, we find that the encoding of one domain can intrude upon the encoding of the other domain, with the result that the basic split-configuration of the language gets competition from a share-configuration. Stassen (1997) distinguishes two processes by which multiple configurations of this type may arise in a language.

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[5] More generally, one can say that the distinction between split status and share status is only relative for many languages. It will often be the case that a language has not just one encoding item for nominal predicates and locational predicates; commonly, copulas and locational support items come in sets, and these sets usually coincide only partially, if they coincide at all. This situation can be illustrated by the West Germanic language Dutch, which is commonly seen as a share language. Dutch has a set of copular items (such as *zijn* 'to be', *worden* 'to become', *lijken* 'to appear'), as well as a set of locational verbs (such as *zijn* 'to be', *liggen* 'to lie', *hangen* 'to hang', *staan* 'to stand' and *zitten* 'to sit'). Now, the only overlap between these two sets are the items *zijn* 'to be' and *blijven* 'to stay', which can be used for both nominal and locational predication; all the other items are specialized into one of the two predicational functions. Furthermore, since the use of *zijn* in locational function is much more limited in Dutch than the use of *be* is in that function in English, one may well ask whether Dutch should not be considered as a split language rather than as a share language.

First, there is the phenomenon of the COPULARIZATION of the locational/ existential *be*-verb. We can attest that, in some languages, the locational *be*-verb has (or has attained) a – sometimes limited – ability to act as the copula in nominal predication, in addition to the 'real' copula that the language has. This leads to a double encoding possibility for nominal predications. An example is the Dravidian language Tamil. Here we see that, in addition to its zero-split configuration (48), the language also admits a full-share configuration (49), due to the fact that the locational *be*-verb *irukku*-can function as a copula.

(48)   TAMIL (Dravidian)

    a. Avaru   (oru)   daktar
       he   (one)   doctor
       'He is a doctor' (Asher 1982: 49)

    b. Raaman   tootta-ille   irukkaraan
       R.   garden-in   be.3SG.M.PRES
       'Raaman is in the garden' (Asher 1982: 51)

(49)   TAMIL (Dravidian)

    a. ippo   oru   daktar-aa   taan   irukkaraaru
       now   one   doctor-ADV   EMP   be.3SG.HON.PRES
       'Now he is a doctor' (Asher 1982: 50)

    b. Raaman   tootta-ille   irukkaraan
       R.   garden-in   be.3SG.M.PRES
       'Raaman is in the garden' (Asher 1982: 51)

The reverse phenomenon can be encountered in split-languages as well. That is, we find cases in which the copula (which may or may not be zero) has the potential to figure in the encoding of locative/existential sentences, in addition to the 'real' locational/existential verbs of the language. Such a case of COPULA INTRUSION, which leads to a double encoding of predicate locational sentences, can be attested in Kannada. We can observe that this Dravidian language, besides its zero-split configuration (50), also allows a zero-share configuration (51), due to the fact that the zero-copula of the language may be used in at least some cases of locational/existential predicate encoding.

(50)   KANNADA (Dravidian)

    a. Naan   DaakTaru
       he   doctor
       'He is a doctor' (Schiffman 1984: 106)

b. Mane   aa   rasteel   ide
   house   that   street.LOC   be.3SG.NEUT.PRES
   'The house is in that street' (Schiffman 1984: 131)

(51) KANNADA (Dravidian)

a. Naan   DaakTaru
   he   doctor
   'He is a doctor' (Schiffman 1984: 106)

b. Pustaka   alli
   book   here
   'The book is here' (MacCormack 1966: 9)

8.4 The universals of predicative possession encoding

Now that explications of the balancing/deranking parameter and the split/
share parameter have been given, we are in a position to formulate a set of
implicational statements, in which the correlation between these two param-
eters and the cross-linguistic encoding of predicative possession is made
concrete. My claim is that the following four statements, which I will collect-
ively refer to as the universals of predicative possession encoding, can be
shown to be empirically valid:

(52) THE UNIVERSALS OF PREDICATIVE POSSESSION ENCODING

a. If a language has a Locational Possessive, it has deranking of simul-
   taneous DS-sequences.
b. If a language has a With-Possessive, it has deranking of simultaneous
   DS-sequences.
c. If a language has a (standard) Topic Possessive, it has balanced
   simultaneous DS-sequences, and it is a split-language.[6]
d. If a language has a Have-Possessive, it has balanced simultaneous
   DS-sequences, and it is a share-language.

A few initial comments on this set of implications may be in order. First of all,
it is of the utmost importance to realize that the statements in (52) are
intended to formulate typological prerequisites for the occurrence of a
given possession type in a language. Thus, for example, statement (52a) is

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[6] For non standard versions of the Topic Possessive the prediction for balanced encoding of
simultaneous DS sequences still holds, but there may be different predictions for them on the split/
share parameter. I will go further into this matter in Section 11.1.

meant to formulate the prediction that we can attest a Locational Possessive only in those languages in which a deranked simultaneous DS-sequence can be attested. If we find a language that has a Locative Possessive but not the specified deranked sequence construction, that language will therefore constitute a counter-example to prediction (52a). In all other cases, however, the prediction will be considered to be corroborated. Most importantly, it should be pointed out that the implication stated in the above set of predictions cannot be reversed. Thus, for example, if we find a language that has a deranked simultaneous DS-sequence but no Locative Possessive, that language is not to be rated as a counter-example to prediction (52a). For one thing, such a language might have a With-Possessive instead of a Locative Possessive, a situation which is predicted by statement (52b). Another possibility is that the language in question has both deranked and balanced simultaneous DS-sequences, and that its possessive construction is 'licensed' by the balanced sequence instead of by the deranked sequence. As we have seen in Section 8.2.3, for many languages the choice between the two types of sequence encoding is not a matter of exclusivity, but a matter of preference. As a result, it would be wrong to assume that a language in which a deranked DS-sequence can be attested should always have a Locative Possessive or a With-Possessive. Conversely, it would be wrong to assume that languages in which a balanced sequence can be found should restrict their options in possessive encoding to Topic Possessives or Have-Possessives. Such assumptions would be based upon a reversal of the implications formulated in (52), and this reversal is unwarranted.

A second issue concerns the empirical validation of the statements in (52). It will be evident that these statements are, at this point, nothing more than predictions about the co-occurrence of structural features in languages, and that their empirical correctness must be evaluated against the relevant data of the languages in the sample. In the following four chapters, I will successively check the validity of these four statements for the languages to which they are applicable. I can say in advance here that none of these statements will be shown to be one hundred per cent correct. That is, for all four implications we can find at least some cases in our sample that must be rated as counter-examples. The question then arises, of course, how many counter-examples we can tolerate before we must consider predictions such as those in (52) to be falsified. Given the fact that there is no accepted standard of representativity for language samples, I feel that statistical measures of significance, such as are widely used in social and physical sciences, are not really helpful here, at least not in their rigid, mathematical, forms. Therefore, I have followed the practice that I believe to be widely adopted in modern-day linguistic typology, by

assuming that a language universal must be accepted in cases where the number of counter-examples can be called MARGINAL or INCIDENTAL in comparison to the number of confirmations. Admittedly, this notion of marginality is somewhat impressionistic, but I have found that there is considerable agreement in the typological community as to what it entails. The frequency of counter-examples is of course a constituent factor in this notion of marginality; having three or four counter-examples in a population of, say, two hundred languages is decidedly marginal, whereas having twenty counter-examples in that same population is true reason for concern. Another consideration that plays a role in the evaluation of universals is the genetic and areal spread of the counter-examples. Generally speaking, if counter-examples are all from the same language family or language area, there is more reason to view them as incidental than in cases in which the counter-examples are scattered all over the globe. In case of genetic or areal uniformity of the counter-examples, one may suspect that specific, maybe even idiosyncratic, diachronic or areal phenomena have been at work, while such assumptions are much less plausible if the counter-examples stem from widely divergent language groupings or areas.

Turning now to the direct empirical content of the four statements in (52), we first observe that there is a split between, on the one hand, the Locational and With-Possessive, and, on the other hand, the Topic Possessive and the Have-Possessive. To be specific, these two pairs of possessive types are claimed to have different values on the balancing/deranking parameter. For the first pair, that is, the possessive types that are claimed to be correlated with the option of deranking, the split/share parameter does not play a typologically relevant role.[7] However, for the second pair, which is claimed to be correlated with the option of balancing, the split/share parameter is claimed to be a distinctive factor. As a second point, we can see that the predictions made for Locational and With-Possessives are in fact the same, which may make one wonder why these two encoding options should actually be distinguished in languages. Clearly, then, the universals of predicative possession encoding give rise to various explanatory questions. I will make an attempt at answering these questions in Chapter 13. Before that, however, we must concern ourselves with the more urgent task of establishing whether or not the correlations claimed in (52) can be grounded in cross-linguistic reality.

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[7] As we have seen in Section 5.2.1, the split/share parameter plays a role in distinguishing the adverbial and the copular variant of the With Possessive. However, in this case the parameter only distinguishes between subtypes, and not between major types of possession encoding.

9

Locational Possessives

9.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will explore the empirical validity of the following claim, which was made in Section 8.4:

(1)   If a language has a Locational Possessive, it has deranking of simultaneous different-subject sequences.

To this end, I will examine all instances of Locational Possessive encoding in my data base. The discussion will be organized on the basis of areal and genetic groupings, and will include all cases of standard and non-standard encoding of the type. Cases of marked adnominalization, that is, cases in which the possessor NP is marked for genitive case, will form part of the investigation here. However, I will ignore Topic-Locational hybrid encoding in this chapter. As I have argued in Section 3.6, it is best to regard this encoding variant as belonging to the Topic Possessive type, and hence it will be dealt with in Chapter 11.

9.2 Indo-European

There is no doubt that the Locational Possessive is an old option in the Indo-European languages. With the exception of Hittite, which seems to have had a Have-Possessive as its only option, the Locational Possessive can be encountered in all the ancient languages of the family for which documentation is available. The locational marker on the possessor, which takes the form of a case suffix, can vary in its form and interpretation. While Ancient Greek and Classical Latin employed a marker with a general goal-interpretation ('to/ towards', i.e. a dative marker), Vedic and Classical Armenian preferred a genitive marker, which, among other things, lent itself to a source-interpretation ('from'). In Old Persian, both genitive marking and dative marking of the possessor appear to have been possible.

(2)   ANCIENT GREEK (Indo-European, Hellenic)
       Hèmin   oinos   estin
       1PL.DAT   wine.NOM   be.3SG.PRES
       'We have wine' (Nuchelmans 1985: 102)

(3)   CLASSICAL LATIN (Indo-European, Italic)
       Est   mihi   liber
       be.3SG.PRES   1SG.DAT   book.NOM.SG
       'I have a book' (Benveniste 1966: 196)

(4)   VEDIC (Indo-European, Indic)
       Manor   ha   va   rsabha   asa
       M.-GEN   EMP   EMP   bull.NOM.SG   be.PAST.3SG
       'Manu had a bull' (McDonnell 1916: 320)

(5)   CLASSICAL ARMENIAN (Indo-European, Armenian)
       Nora   tun   e
       1PL.GEN   house.NOM   be.3SG.PRES
       'We have a house' (Benveniste 1966: 201)

(6)   OLD PERSIAN (Indo-European, Iranian)
       a. Noit   moi   vasta
          NEG   1SG.DAT   shepherd.PL
          'I have no shepherds' (Reichelt 1909: 350)
       b. Ava   Kanbujiya-hya   brata   aha
          this.GEN   K.-GEN   brother.NOM   be.3SG.PAST
          'This Cambyses had a brother' (Meillet and Benveniste 1931: 210)

The Locational Possessives in early Indo-European have their match in
absolutely deranked temporal clauses. In such clauses, the predicate takes
the form of one of the non-finite formations known as 'participles': the
present participle encodes simultaneity, whereas the perfect participle desig-
nates anterior action. Under different-subject conditions, these participles are
construed in some case form, which varies from language to language. Latin
opted for the ablative case, Ancient Greek and Classical Armenian selected the
genitive case, and in Vedic and Old Persian both a locative case and a genitive
case appear to have been possible. A curious feature of this deranked temporal
sequence construction is that the subject of the deranked clause agrees in case
with its predicate; conversely, the participial predicate agrees in number and
gender with its subject. In the literature on ancient Indo-European languages
such constructions have traditionally been referred to as ABSOLUTE construc-
tions; thus, we have the ablative absolute for Latin, the genitive absolute for

Ancient Greek, Old Persian, Vedic, and Classical Armenian, and the locative absolute in Old Persian. Examples of Indo-European absolute constructions are:

(7) ANCIENT GREEK (Indo-European, Hellenic)
Touton   legomenon   anestè
this.GEN.PL.NEUT say.PCP.PRES.PASS.GEN.PL.NEUT rise.3SG.AOR
'While these things were being said, he stood up'
(Schwartz and Slijper 1936: 155)

(8) CLASSICAL LATIN (Indo-European, Italic)
Tarquinio Superbo regnante
T.-ABL   S.-ABL   govern.PCP.PRES.ABL.SG
Pythagoras in   Italiam   venit
P.-NOM   into Italy.ACC come.3SG.PERF
'When Tarquinius Superbus was king, Pythagoras came to Italy'
(Kühner and Gerth 1898: II.580)

(9) VEDIC (Indo-European, Indic)

a. Some   han-ya-man-e   yajcy   han-ya-te
   S.-LOC destroy-PASS-PCP.PRES-LOC sacrifice destroy-PASS-3SG.PRES
   'When Soma is destroyed, the sacrifice is destroyed'
(McDonnell 1916: 329)

b. Tesam   ha   utthisthatam   uvaca
   3PL.GEN EMP rise.PCP.PRES.GEN.PL say.3SG.PAST
   'When they stood up, he said...' (McDonnell 1916: 328)

(10) CLASSICAL ARMENIAN (Indo-European, Armenian)
Pčowc-eal ein,   end erkins   ert'-al-oy   nora
look-PCP be.3PL.IMPERF to   heaven.ACC go-PCP-GEN 3SG.GEN
'They stood and watched, as he went to heaven' (Jensen 1959: 185)

(11) OLD PERSIAN (Indo-European, Iranian)

a. Spa   va   na   irith-ya-t
   dog.LOC or man.LOC die-PCP.PRES-LOC
   'When a dog or a man dies...' (Reichelt 1909: 332)

b. Frasax-ta-he   Mašye-he
   finish-PCP.PERF-GEN Man-GEN
   'When Man has finished...' (Reichelt 1909: 332)

In addition to these absolute participial constructions, at least some of the early Indo-European languages also had the option of deranking their

temporal sequences in the form of oblique verbal nouns. Thus, in Classical Armenian we find that the predicates in simultaneous clauses could take the form of the so-called infinitive, a verbal noun which, in this function, is governed by the preposition *i* 'at'. Subjects of this predicate can be either in the genitive or in the nominative case.

(12)   CLASSICAL ARMENIAN (Indo-European, Armenian)

  a. I   sal   Zrowan-ay   zbarsmown-s-n   c'-Ormizd
     at   give.INF   Z.-GEN   barsam.twig-ACC-DEM   to-O.
     'While Zrowan gave that barsam twig to Ormizd . . .' (Jensen 1959: 184)

  b. I   spanan-el   zna   Artasir
     at   kill-INF   3SG.ACC   A.-NOM
     'When Artasir killed him . . .' (Meillet 1936: 110)

All in all, we can conclude that the Locational Possessives in early Indo-European are matched by absolute deranking of temporal clauses. What is more, we can note that in some cases (such as the genitive-marked possessive constructions in Vedic, Old Persian, and Classical Armenian) this match can even be said to be direct.[1]

   In modern Indo-European languages the Locational Possessive is found notably in the Asian branches of the phylum. In Europe, the option is restricted to the western and eastern fringes. We encounter locational possessives in the Celtic languages, in the Baltic languages, and in East Slavonic; all other European branches of Indo-European, as well as the isolate language Basque, have a Have-Possessive.[2]

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   [1] If the implicational statement (1) is confirmed in a language, we can say that the Locational Possessive is MATCHED by the deranked construction. If, furthermore, the oblique marking on deranked predicates is identical to the oblique marking of the possessor NP, we will say that we have a DIRECT MATCH between the possessive encoding and the temporal sequence encoding.
   [2] It is a moot point whether Germanic, which has a Have Possessive in all its modern variants, has ever had the option of a Locational Possessive. The oldest Germanic language for which reliable data are available is Gothic, which was spoken around AD 300 in what is now Bulgaria. The available text corpus of this language, which consists mainly of fragments of a Bible translation, shows that the primary option for the encoding of predicative possession must have been a Have Possessive, by way of the transitive verb *aigun* 'to have'. However, we also find a few instances of a Locational Possessive, as illustrated by the following example:

(i)   GOTHIC (Indo European, South Germanic)
      Saurga   mis   ist   mikila
      sorrow.NOM   1SG.DAT   be.3SG.PRES   great.NOM
      'I have a great sorrow' (Mossé 1956: 167)

It is not clear whether this option was restricted mainly to 'mental' possession, as this example would suggest. It is also possible that such instances of Locational Possessives in Gothic are in fact calques from the Greek original.

The Locational Possessive in Celtic is characterized by the preposition *aig* 'at' in Modern Irish and its variant Scottish Gaelic, and the preposition *gan* 'by, at the side of' in Welsh. As we have seen in Section 6.4, the other two sampled Celtic languages, Breton and Cornish, have undergone a process of innovation and reanalysis, by which an erstwhile Locational Possessive has turned into a transitive Have-Possessive. Cornish, however, must also have retained a standard Locational Possessive, marked by the preposition *tha* 'to', witness the example given in Wmmfre (1998: 48) for Late Cornish. Latvian and Lithuanian, the two Baltic languages in our sample, employ locational case marking on the possessor; in Latvian, a dative marker is used, while Lithuanian has genitive marking.[3] In Russian, the East Slavonic language in the sample, the possessor is marked by the preposition *u* 'at'.

(13)   MODERN IRISH (Indo-European, Celtic)
       Ta   airgead   aig-e
       be.3SG.PRES   money   at -3SG
       'He has money' (Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 199)

(14)   SCOTTISH GAELIC (Indo-European, Celtic)
       Tha   cù   dubh   aig   Calum
       be.PRES   dog   black at   C.
       'Calum has a black dog' (Mackinnon 1977: 22)

(15)   WELSH (Indo-European, Celtic)
       Y   mae   cath   gan   y   ferch
       PRT   be.PRES   cat   by   ART   girl
       'The girl has a cat' (Bowen and Rhys Jones 1967: 38)

(16)   OLD CORNISH (Indo-European, Celtic)
       Ancow   a -s   byth
       death   to-2SG   be.3SG.FUT
       'You will have death: you will die' (Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 211)

Like all modern variants of Germanic, Gothic appears to have been a predominantly non deranking language. However, we do find occasional instances of deranked temporal clauses. The following example shows that a dative absolute construction must have been at least marginally possible in Gothic:

(ii) GOTHIC (Indo European, South Germanic)
      Inatgaggandin   imma   in Kafarnaum duatidoja   imma   hundafaths
      enter.PCP.PRES.DAT   3SG.DAT   in K.ACC   centurion.NOM   3SG.DAT   approach.3SG.PAST
      'When he came into Kafarnaum, a centurion approached him' (Mossé 1956: 171 2)

Again, it is conceivable that such absolute constructions were modelled on the absolute construc tion in Ancient Greek.

[3] The Genitive Possessive is rarely used in Lithuanian nowadays. See Section 2.1.4.

(17) LATE CORNISH (Indo-European, Celtic)
      Ma   tha   ni   materne   da
      is   to   us   king   good
      'We have a good king' (Wmffre 1998: 48)

(18) BRETON (Indo-European, Celtic)
      Ur   velo   c'hlas   am-eus
      INDEF   bicycle   blue   1SG-have.PRES.1SG
      'I have a blue bicycle' (Press 1986: 139)

(19) LATVIAN (Indo-European, Baltic)
      Tev-am   ir   maja
      father-DAT   be.3SG.PRES   house.NOM
      'Father has a house' (Budina Lazdina 1966: 22)

(20) LITHUANIAN (Indo-European, Baltic)
      Mano   kaimy-no   yra   olgas   laûkas
      my   neighbour-GEN.SG   be.3SG.PRES   long.NOM.SG   field.NOM.SG
      'My neighbour has a long field' (Senn 1929: 24)

(21) RUSSIAN (Indo-European, East Slavonic)
      U   Ivana   byl   sinij   avtomobil'
      at   I.-GEN   be.3SG.M.PAST   blue   car
      'Ivan had a blue car' (Chvany 1973: 71)

The Locational Possessive in these languages is matched by the possibility of absolutely deranked temporal clauses. In Celtic, and in Russian, the predicates in such clauses take the form of a verbal noun which is governed by a locational or an instrumental preposition. The encoding of the subjects of such predicates varies: Modern Irish, Welsh, and Breton employ the dative case, Scots Gaelic uses the nominative, and Russian the genitive.

(22) MODERN IRISH (Indo-European, Celtic)
      Beidh   Padraig   anseo   ag   imeacht   domh
      be.FUT   P.   here   at   leave.VN   to.me
      'Padraig will be here when I leave' (O'Siadhail 1989: 281)

(23) SCOTTISH GAELIC (Indo-European, Celtic)
      a. Thachair   iad   rithe   agus   i   'dol   dhachaidh
         happen.PAST   3PL   to.her   and   she   at.go.VN   home
         'They happened upon her while she was going home'

                                                        (Lamb 2001: 94)

b. Dh'fhalbh Alasdair 's   an   t-acras a' tighinn   air
   leave.PAST A.   and ART anger at come.VN on.him
   'Alasdair left in anger' (*lit.* 'with anger coming on him')

(Lamb 2001: 84)

(24) WELSH (Indo-European, Celtic)

a. Gan   iddo   dy   alw   di
   by/with to.him your call.VN you.ACC
   'As/since he has called you' (Spurrell 1870: 163)

b. Gan   wneuthur o   hono hyn
   with   do.VN   from   him   this
   'As he has done this' (Spurrell 1870: 163)

(25) BRETON (Indo-European, Celtic)
   Araok din   mont   da Roazhon
   before to.me   go.VN   to Rennes
   'Before I went to Rennes' (Press 1986: 124)

(26) LATE CORNISH (Indo-European, Celtic)
   Genz an   krei, Dzhûan a   greaiz   auêth
   with ART cry.VN D.   PRT cry.PAST.3SG also
   'When (they) cried, John also cried' (Wmffre 1998: 90)

(27) RUSSIAN (Indo-European, Slavonic)
   S   ego priezd-om   vse   izmenilosj
   with his come.VN-INSTR everything change.PAST.3SG
   'When he came, everything changed' (Andrej Malchukov p.c.)

A remnant of the old Indo-European capacity to form absolute constructions can be found in the two Baltic languages in our sample. Under different-subject conditions, subjects of deranked predicates are marked by dative case. The deranked predicate in Latvian has the form of a verbal stem which is marked by the suffix *-nt*; in Modern Latvian the usual ending of the predicate in this construction is *-uot*. According to Endzelin (1922: 921) it is probable that this deranked verbal form is a fossilization of an old dative of the present participle. Furthermore, the deranked predicate in absolute constructions in Latvian is sometimes based on the present participle in *-dams*, which, under different-subject conditions, also takes dative case. In short, then, it seems likely that the absolutely deranked construction in Latvian can be reconstructed as a dative absolute. Essentially the same conclusion can be drawn for Lithuanian, where the endings of the deranked predicate forms that are used under

different-subject conditions can also be interpreted as fossilized dative or locative case forms of various participles (Brugmann and Delbrück 1897: II. 496).

(28) LATVIAN (Indo-European, Baltic)

    a. Man   sienu   ved-uot   uznaga   lietus
        1SG.DAT hay.ACC enter-PCP come.down.3SG.PAST rain.NOM
        'As I was bringing in the hay, it started raining' (Endzelin 1922: 993)

    b. Vilninu   verp-dam-ai   miedzins   naca
        wool.ACC spin-PCP.PRES-DAT sleep.NOM come.PAST.3SG
        'As (I) was spinning wool, sleep came (to me)' (Endzelin 1922: 986)

(29) LITHUANIAN (Indo-European, Baltic)

    a. Man   vazivoj-ant   snigo
        1SG.DAT ride-GER.PRES   snow.3SG.PAST
        'While I rode on, it snowed' (Senn 1966: 494)

    b. Man   atvazlav-us   nustojo   snigti
        1SG.DAT arrive-GER.PAST stop.3SG.PAST snow.INF
        'After I had arrived, it stopped snowing' (Senn 1966: 494)

Although Have-Possessives can be found in Asian Indo-European languages such as Modern Persian, it nonetheless appears that Locational Possessives are the norm here. We can attest instances of this possession type in Iranian, Indic, and Tocharic alike. Again, we find some variation in the exact encoding of the possessor, ranging from a genitive marking in Ormuri, Nepali, Hindi, and West Tocharic, to a dative encoding in Konkani and Sinhalese, or a locative encoding in Dumaki and Hindi.[4]

(30) WEST TOCHARIC (Indo-European, Tocharic)
    Tsrasi-ssi   ma   praski   näs
    energetic-GEN.PL NEG fear.NOM be.3SG.PRES
    'The energetic have no fear' (Krause and Thomas 1960: 82)

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[4] According to Freeze (1992), the Locational Possessive in Hindi   marked by the postposition *paas/pas* 'proximity, near', which governs the genitive   is used for alienable possession, whereas the Genitive Possessive mainly encodes inalienable possession.

(i) HINDI (Indo European, Indic)

    a. Larkee kee paas kuttaa hai
        boy GEN   near dog   be.3SG.M.PRES
        'The boy has a dog' (Freeze 1992: 591)

    b. Baccee kee dāāt safeed hāī
        child GEN   teeth white   be.3PL.PRES
        'The child has white teeth' (Freeze 1992: 591)

(31) ORMURI (Indo-European, Iranian)
Ta-sa sarai dyo kullan bukin
GEN-one man two son be.3PL.PAST
'A man had two sons' (Grierson 1921: 229)

(32) HINDI (Indo-European, Indic)

 a. Me -re pas ek gari hai
  1SG-GEN near one car be.3SG.M.PRES
  'I have a car' (McGregor 1977: 52)

 b. Zamindar ke do gamv the
  zamindar GEN two villages be.3PL.PAST
  'The zamindar owned two villages' (McGregor 1977: 52)

(33) DUMAKI (Indo-European, Indic)
Manisa pa sapika cha
men at bread be.3SG.PRES
'The men have bread' (Lorimer 1939: 83)

(34) NEPALI (Indo-European, Indic)
Mero euta kitap matrey cha
1SG.GEN one book only be.3SG.PRES
'I have only one book' (Clark 1966: 82)

(35) KONKANI (Indo-European, Indic)
Pedru-k ek pu:t asa
P.-DAT one son be.3SG.PRES
'Peter has a son' (Almeida 1985: 255)

(36) SINHALESE (Indo-European, Indic)
Ma-te pot tienewa
1SG-DAT books be.INAN.PRES.
'I have books' (Gair 1970: 60)

Absolute deranking of temporal clauses is possible in all the languages at issue, and in many languages it is even the prominent option in temporal sequence encoding. Deranked predicates take the form of a verbal noun with an oblique marker (Ormuri, Hindi, Dumaki, Nepali) or of a converb (marked by the suffix -*kar* in Hindi, the suffixes -*tana* and -*tθc* in Konkani, and the suffix -*ddi* in Sinhalese). The available data on West Tocharic suggest that this language had a genitive absolute construction.

(37)   WEST TOCHARIC (Indo-European, Tocharic)
Lwasa-ntso   ausuwa-mts
animal-GEN.PL   stay.PCP.PRES.MED-GEN.PL
'When the animals flock together' (Krause and Thomas 1960: 83)

(38)   ORMURI (Indo-European, Iranian)
Murghan i-wust-yek   inar-wi golıya aghak
bird   LOC-fly-INF in-it   bullet hit.3SG.PAST
'When the bird flew up, a bullet hit it' (Grierson 1921: 222)

(39)   HINDI (Indo-European, Indic)
a. Vahim   baith-kar bat-em   homgi
   there   sit-GER   matter-F.PL   be.3F.PL.FUT
   'We'll sit there and have a talk' (*lit.* 'While (we) sit here, there will
   be matters') (McGregor 1977: 39)

b. Pitto   ke   zinda rah-te
   P.   GEN   alive stay-PCP.PRES.OBL
   'While Pitto was alive' (McGregor 1977: 198)

(40)   DUMAKI (Indo-European, Indic)
Diu Safid saeil-asu   gy-as   Padša gi-a
D.   S.   journey-to   go-LOC   P.   go-3SG.PAST
'When Diu Safid went off, Padsa went (to the garden)'
                                                    (Lorimer 1939: 113)

(41)   NEPALI (Indo-European, Indic)
Timi   yaha a-e-ko   kati   din bhayo
2SG.NOM here come-PCP.PERF-GEN   how.many   day be.3SG.M.AOR
'How many days has it been since you came?' (Clark 1966: 180)

(42)   KONKANI (Indo-European, Indic)
a. Pedru vę-tana   Paulu yę-ta
   P.   go-SIM.CONV   P.   come-3SG.PRES
   'As Peter goes, Paul comes' (Almeida 1985: 193)

b. Tę   vę-tθc   tancę   i:ṣṭ   ai-lę
   they go-ANT.CONV   their   friends come-3PL.PRET
   'After they went away their friends came' (Almeida 1985: 193)

(43)   SINHALESE (Indo-European, Indic)
Baas-unnaehe   kaar-eke harigassa-ddi   mame   pota-k
mechanic-NOM   car-ACC   repair-CONV.PRES   1SG.NOM   book-ACC

kieua
read.PAST
'While the mechanic repaired the car, I read a book' (Gair 1970: 148)

In connection with the discussion of Indo-European, I can mention the case of Burushaski. This isolate language of northern Pakistan is, in all probability, not a member of Indo-European, but it is in areal contact with several Iranian languages. The language follows the general pattern of Asian Indo-European languages: it has a Locational Possessive (with genitive marking on the possessor), and it allows absolute deranking of temporal clauses, in the form of various verbal nouns which are marked by various oblique items.

(44) BURUSHASKI (Burushaski)
X-e   hin   i   bam
X-GEN   one   son   be.3SG.M.PAST
'X. had one son' (Lorimer 1935: 49)

(45) BURUSHASKI (Burushaski)

a. Padsa   eyen-um-tse   Panč_u   dus-i-mi
   King.NOM   go.to.sleep-3SG.POSS-LOC P.   leave-PAST-3SG
   'As the King went to sleep, Pančų went out' (Lorimer 1935: 345)

b. Moyen-as-er   musul   gi-mi
   go.to.sleep-INF-DAT   labour come-PAST.3SG
   'As she went to sleep, her labour came on' (Lorimer 1935: 355)

c. Dal   man-as-e   ka   cama   tiket-er   wal-i-mi
   up   become-INF-GEN   with   brooch earth-DAT   fall-PAST-3SG
   'On her getting up, the brooch fell to the ground' (Lorimer 1935: 286)

9.3 Languages of the Caucasus

The mountain range of the Caucasus hosts about forty languages which are demonstrably unrelated to other phyla in the area such as Indo-European and Altaic. Often, these languages are subsumed under the cover term of 'Cauca-sian languages', but it can be doubted whether this label represents more than an areal indication. Most experts agree that there are at least three, and maybe even four, different language families in the Caucasus, which are either very early split-offs of a common ancestor or are not genetically related at all. Nonetheless, I think it can be argued that all these families have a Locational Possessive, albeit that the argument for this is more straightforward for some families than for others.

A straightforward case of Locational Possessive encoding in the Caucasus is represented by the languages of the Nakh-Dagestanian and North-Central Caucasian families. In all but one of the sampled languages, this Locational Possessive is characterized exclusively by genitive marking on the possessor. The odd one out here is Lezgian, a Dagestanian language which – in addition to genitive marking – also has the options of dative and adessive marking of its possessors; it is possible that subtle semantic distinctions are at play here.[5]

(46) CHECHEN (North-Central Caucasian)
Sĕ   gaur   j-u
1SG.GEN   horse.ABS   III-be.PRES
'I have a horse' (Dirr 1928: 143)

(47) AVAR (Dagestanian)
Dir   mašina   b-ugo
1SG.GEN   car   III-be.PRES
'I have a car' (Kalinina 1993: 99)

(48) ARCHI (Dagestanian)
Dija-n   nolš   b-i
father-GEN   horse.III.ABS   III-be.PRES
'Father has a horse' (Aleksandr Kibrik p.c.)

(49) LEZGIAN (Dagestanian)

a. Ada-z   xtul-ar   awa
    she-DAT   grandchild-PL   be.in.PRES
    'She has grandchildren' (Haspelmath 1993: 89)

b. Pul   ada-qħ   gzaf   awa
    money   he-POSS   much   be.in
    'He has a lot of money' (Haspelmath 1993: 313)

c. Dušman-ri-w   tup-ar   gwa-č
    enemy-PL-ADESS   cannon-PL   be.at-NEG
    'The enemy does not have cannons' (Haspelmath 1993: 313)

(50) GODOBERI (Dagestanian)
Waš-u-Li   b-eč'uXa   quča-da
boy-OBL-GEN   CLASS-big   book-COP
'The boy has/owns a big book' (Kibrik 1996: 85)

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[5] According to Haspelmath (1993: 312 13), the adessive indicates mainly temporary possession.

(51) Hᴜɴᴢɪʙ (Dagestanian)
      Həs   kid   zuqu'-n   lo   iʔer-λár   xan-li-s
      one   girl.ɪɪ be-ɢᴇʀ   be.ɪɪ   ɪ.small-very   khan-ᴏʙʟ-ɢᴇɴ
      'The youngest khan had one daughter' (Van Den Berg 1995: 244)

(52) Iᴄᴀʀɪ Dᴀʀɢᴡᴀ (Dagestanian)
      Di-la   mašin   te-b
      1sɢ.ɢᴇɴ   car   ᴄʟᴀss-exist
      'I have a car' (Sumbatova and Mutalov 2003: 146)

The Locational Possessive in these Dagestanian languages is matched unprob-
lematically by the availability of a system of deranked predicate forms in
temporal clauses. These forms, which typically can be used under both differ-
ent-subject and same-subject conditions, commonly manifest themselves as
converbs, consisting of a verb stem and an adverbializing suffix. In some cases,
it can be hypothesized that these converbal suffixes have their origin in case
markers. Thus, Haspelmath (1993: 398) points out that the suffix *-z*, which marks
one of the converbs in Lezgian, is synchronically identical to the nominal dative
case suffix. Likewise, the converbal suffix *-si* in Archi doubles as the dative
marker on nouns, the Avar converbal suffix *-dal* can be analysed as the combin-
ation of a locative and a genitive case suffix, and the converbal suffix *-la* in Icari
Dargwa is identical to the nominal case suffix of the genitive.

(53) Cʜᴇᴄʜᴇɴ (North-Central Caucasian)

      a. Huo   v-okũ v-ol-uš   suo   jimi   v-ara
          2sɢ.ᴀʙs   ɪ-big ɪ-be-sɪᴍ.ᴄᴏɴᴠ 1sɢ.ᴀʙs   small   ɪ-be.ᴘᴀsᴛ.ɪɴᴅɪᴄ
          'When you were big, I was small' (Dirr 1928: 143)

      b. Su:na   a:xča   del-ča   Mu:sa:
          me.ᴅᴀᴛ   money.ɴᴏᴍ   give-ᴀɴᴛ.ᴄᴏɴᴠ   M.-ɴᴏᴍ
          a:ra-ve:lira
          out-ɪ.go.ᴘᴀsᴛ.ɪɴᴅɪᴄ
          'When someone had given me money, Musa left' (Nichols 1994: 65)

(54) Aᴠᴀʀ (Dagestanian)

      a. Dun   roqoù   v-u-kago   v-ac'-ana
          1sɢ.ᴀʙs   home.at ᴄʟᴀss.ɪ-be-ᴄᴏɴᴠ.sɪᴍ   ᴄʟ.ɪ-come-ᴘᴀsᴛ
          'When I was home, he came' (Dirr 1928: 183)

      b. Dun   ax-ik   v-uk-in-dal
          1sɢ.ᴀʙs   garden-in   ᴄʟᴀss.ɪ-be-ᴄᴏɴᴠ.sɪᴍ
          v-ac'-un   v-u-go   hobol
          ᴄʟᴀss.ɪ-come-ᴘᴄᴘ.ᴘᴇʀꜰ   ᴄʟᴀss.ɪ-be-ᴘʀᴇs   guest
          'While I was in the garden, a guest arrived' (Dirr 1928: 183)

(55) ARCHI (Dagestanian)

 a. Dija   qIa-li   nen   kumnul   kunne
    father.ABS come-CONV.CONS 1PL.ERG meal.ABS eat.PERF
    'When Father had come, we had dinner' (Aleksandr Kibrik p.c.)

 b. Zari   jarxur-ši   l'ana   naqw   otmus
    1SG.ERG dig-CONV.SIM woman.ERG dirt.ABS take.INF
    ar-ši . . . . .
    do-CONV.SIM
    'While I dug and the woman moved aside the dirt . . .'

(Dirr 1928: 266)

(56) LEZGIAN (Dagestanian)

 a. Arif   cur-a   ama-z
    A.   barn-in be.still-CONV
    Qisperi-di   rak'- ar-al   čefte   havd-na
    Q.-ERG   door-PL-on latch put.on-AOR
    'With Arif still being in the barn, Qisperi put the latch on the door'

(Haspelmath 1993: 399)

 b. Nazlu-di   rik'.i-k   qalabulux akat-nawa-z   zwer-na
    N.-ERG   heart-into   panic   get-PERV-CONV run-AOR
    'Nazlu ran, panic-stricken' (*lit.* 'panic having got into her heart')

(Haspelmath 1993: 381)

(57) GODOBERI (Dagestanian)

Den   w-aʔ-áq'aLi   ʕali   Rúmi-bù   wú-k'a
1SG M-come.PAST-CONV A.   fall.asleep.PAST-PCP M-be.PAST
'When I came, Ali was sleeping' (Kibrik 1996: 98)

(58) HUNZIB (Dagestanian)

 a. Y-ăc'ə-n-sə   kid   y-ŭče-r
    II-see-CONV-DS   girl II-run-PRET
    'After he/she had seen her, the girl ran away' (Van Den Berg 1995: 96)

 b. λĩ-ƚ'o   y-ēƚ'e-oλ   əgi   ğurdelo   lo   ƚe   λĩ-ƚ'o
    water-near II-go-CONV there mullah   I.be QUOT water-near
    eče-n
    I.stay-PROG
    'When she went for water, the mullah was sitting there near the
    water' (Van Den Berg 1995: 194)

(59)   Icari Dargwa (Dagestanian)
       Du   diči-r   saIR-ib-la   ʕalb   saʕat   dičibcad
       1SG   herding-from M.come-PAST-CONV   three   hours   passed
       'Since I came back from herding, three hours have passed'

<div align="right">(Sumbatova and Mulatov 2003: 189)</div>

The situation in the other two language families of the Caucasus is a bit more complex than in Dagestanian. With the exception of Ubykh, which has a straightforward Have-Possessive (see Section 12.3), all sampled languages from the Kartvelian and the North-West Caucasian families have a possessive construction in which the possessee NP is the subject; it is marked as such by nominative/absolutive case and indexed on the verb of the construction by subject affixes. The possessor NP is in the oblique/dative case, and is also indexed on the verb, by oblique agreement items. Given this situation, one might rate these possessive constructions as instances of the Locational Possessive with additional possessor indexing on the verb, that is, as non-standard Locational Possessives of the type discussed in Section 3.6. However, this analysis is complicated by the fact that the verbs in these constructions are, in almost all cases, not identifiable as a locative/existential predicate; there is no way in which they can be glossed as 'to be' or 'to exist', and the authors on these languages therefore gloss them as 'to have'. The only case in my sample where the possessive construction appears to be built around a locational/existential *be*-verb is one of the options in the Kartvelian language Svan. As is shown in sentences (60a–c), the *be*-verb *-r-* in this language can be used in possession encoding, but it is challenged in this function by the verbs *-ɣv-* and *-qa-*, which do not have a locative/existential origin. According to Boeder (1980: 209), there are semantic differences between these options. Thus, the use of *-r-* indicates ownership of animate objects, the use of *-qa-* indicates temporary or physical possession of animate objects, and the use of *-ɣv-* usually signals possession of inanimate objects.

(60)   Svan (Kartvelian)

       a. Semi   mal   ǯi-r-i
          three.NOM   fox.NOM   2SG.DAT-be-ASP
          'You have three foxes' (Boeder 1980: 210)

       b. Čäž   ma-qa
          horse.NOM   1SG.DAT-'have'
          'I have a horse (with me)' (Boeder 1980: 209)

       c. Eči-s   xu-ɣv-än   ǯaqv
          that.one-DAT 3.DAT-'have'-3PL knife
          'That person has knives' (Boeder 1980: 209)

In other Kartvelian languages the *be*-verb -*r*- is not (or perhaps no longer) employed in possessive constructions. In Modern Georgian, the major options are the verb -*qav*-, which is cognate to Svan -*qa*-, and the verb -*kv*-, which is cognate to Svan -*γv*-. Similarly, in Laz there is a distinction between the items -*q'onu*- and -*γu*-, while in Mingrelian a contrast exists between the verbs -*'un*- and -*γu*-. The semantic range of these verbs differs somewhat from language to language or even from dialect to dialect (see Boeder 1980: 209–11), but animacy seems to be a major parameter, with -*qav*-/-*q'onu*-/-*'un*- indicating animate possessees and -*kv*-/-*γu*-/-*γu*- indicating inanimate possessees. In none of these languages do these verbs play any role in the encoding of locational/existential predication.[6]

(61) MODERN GEORGIAN (Kartvelian)

    a. Me   sami   m-qav-s
        1SG.DAT   three.NOM   1SG.DAT-'have'-3SG.NOM
        'I have three (sons)' (Vogt 1936: 266)

    b. Shen   ga-kv-s   pul-i
        2SG.DAT   2SG.DAT-'have'-3SG.NOM   money-NOM
        'You have money' (Nino Amiridze p.c.)

(62) LAZ (Kartvelian)

    a. Miti   var   u-q'onu-n
        someone.NOM   NEG   3SG.DAT-'have'-3NOM
        'He has no one' (Holisky 1991: 418)

    b. Mi-γu-n
        1SG.DAT-'have'-3NOM
        'I have it' (Holisky 1991: 426)

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[6] In the specialist literature on Kartvelian, the verbs *qa / qav / q'onu / 'un* and *γv / kv / γu / γu* are commonly categorized as members of a special verbal class called 'indirect verbs' or 'inverted verbs', which is characterized by a dative nominative alignment pattern. This class contains mainly 'affective verbs, generally expressing perception or feeling' (Harris 1991b: 335, on Mingrelian) and counts among its members verbs which mean 'like', 'want', 'need', 'know', 'be hungry', 'be afraid', and 'tremble' (see Holisky 1991: 426, on Laz). Examples of indirect verb constructions from Svan are the following:

(i) SVAN (Kartvelian)

    a. Xa c'әx ø
        3SG.DAT need 3SG.NOM
        'Somebody needs something' (Tuite 1997: 21)

    b. Xo xal ø
        3SG.DAT know 3SG.NOM
        'Somebody knows something' (Tuite 1997: 21)

(63)   MINGRELIAN (Kartvelian)

    a. Arti   mapa-s   ʔund   osuri   skua
       one   king-DAT 3SG.DAT.'have'.3SG.SUBJ female.NOM child.NOM
       lexi
       sick.NOM
       'A king had a sick daughter' (Harris 1991b: 368)

    b. Luri   va   mi-γu-ø
       sleep.NOM   NEG   1SG.DAT-'have'-3SG.SUBJ
       ' I have no sleep' (Harris 1991b: 327)

The question now is whether we should rate these constructions as instances of the Locational Possessive or of the Have-Possessive. The fact that these constructions are intransitive and have a locational marking on the possessor is an argument in favour of the first position, but the special status of the *have*-verbs might militate in favour of the second view. Perhaps some light can be shed on this matter by considering diachronic and etymological data. We are fortunate to have data from an older stage of a Kartvelian language, namely Old Georgian, which spans a period from the fifth to the tenth century AD. Deeters (1954) and Boeder (1980) have provided detailed surveys of the array of possessive constructions in Old Georgian. For our purposes, the most relevant piece of information is that Old Georgian, in addition to the *have*-items -*kw(n)* and -*qav*-, also had possessive constructions in which locational 'posture'-verbs were employed. Thus, a possessive construction with the verb stem -*dg*- 'to stand' was used in the predication of possession of items like pieces of land, houses, and trees ('To me stands a house') and 'external' body parts ('To me stands a mouth'). Likewise, the verb stem -*sv*- 'to sit' figured in the predication of possession of kinship relations ('To me sits a wife'), and the verb stem -*ʒ*- 'to lie' appeared in expressions of abstract possession such as 'To me lies power'. In Modern Georgian these constructions survive only in a few idiomatic expressions, but there is no doubt that, in older stages of the language, the *have*-verbs -*kw(n)*- and -*qav*- were challenged by items that had an unmistakeable locative/existential function. What is more, the etymology of the verbs -*kv*- and -*qav*- may also point to a 'posture' origin, albeit that in this case there is a dynamic, or non-stative, factor involved. According to Boeder (1980: 208), the original meaning of -*kv*- must have been something like 'to be carried by' or 'to be held in one's hand', which would tie in naturally with the fact that -*kw(n)*- in Old Georgian was never used with body parts and kinship terms. Similarly, the basic meaning of -*qav*- may have been 'to follow/to be in the company of', which makes it

understandable that this verb in Old Georgian, as well as in modern Kartvelian, is typically used in cases where the possessee is animate.

On the basis of these considerations, I think it is defendable to rate the Kartvelian possessive constructions as instances of the Locational Possessive. To be sure, they are very special specimens of the type. Instead of the usual stative nature of the Locational Possessives, the Kartvelian possessive has opted for a dynamic view-point; that is, possession in Kartvelian is not expressed as a state, but as an action. As a result, the construction has acquired some transitive traits. Boeder (1979) demonstrates that the possessor NP, notwithstanding its oblique status, has come to take on a number of subject properties in the Kartvelian possessive.

With regard to the balancing/deranking parameter, the Kartvelian possessive constructions can be shown to fulfil the prediction that we have formulated for the Locational Possessive. All the languages of the family have a productive strategy to form verbal nouns (known as 'masdars' in the literature), and these verbal nouns can be employed to encode temporal sequences: 'Verbal nouns in appropriate case forms (such as Dative, Instrumental, Allative) also function as heads of adverbial adjuncts' (Holisky 1991: 462, on Laz). Examples of the use of the masdar in this function in Modern Georgian are the following:

(64)   MODERN GEORGIAN (Kartvelian)

    a. Čveni Tbilis-si q'-op-nis dro-s bevr-i
       our T.-in be-VN-GEN time-DAT much-NOM
       davliet
       we.drank.it.AOR
       'When we were in Tbilisi, we drank a lot' (Hewitt 1987: 131)

    b. C'rpelobit-is punkcia-ta se-scávl-isa-s
       unmarked.case-GEN functions-GEN study-VN-GEN-DAT
       'When studying the functions of the unmarked case' (Hewitt 1987: 132)

    c. Am ceril-is migeb-is-tana-ve mo-m-c'er-e
       this letter-GEN receive-VN-with-just write-to-me-IMP
       'As soon as you receive this letter, write to me!' (Hewitt 1987: 144)

The possessive constructions in the North-West Caucasian languages Kabardian and Abkhaz parallel the Kartvelian constructions in all relevant respects. Again, we observe that the possessor NP is in oblique case, and finds oblique agreement (which, for third person, is zero) on the verb. The possessee NP is the subject, and is marked as such on the verb by subject agreement prefixes (which, again, are zero for third person). Also, the verbs in the constructions cannot be

identified as locational/existential *be*-verbs. As far as I am aware, the origin of the verb stem *-ma-* in Abkhaz is unknown. For the verb stem *-ʔa-* in Kabardian Colarusso (1992: 337) offers the translation 'to be of/to be in one's hand'; the item may be cognate to the locational/existential *be*-verb *q'a* in Abkhaz. It is possible that the constructions are in the process of undergoing some degree of transitivization. In Ubykh, the third North-West Caucasian language in my sample, this process seems to have reached its conclusion. As is shown in sentence (67), the Ubykh verb *-qa-*, which is cognate to Kabardian *-ʔa-*, is treated as a fully transitive verb, with ergative–absolutive alignment (see Section 6.4).

(65) Abkhaz (North-West Caucasian)
      Cg°a-k   ø-sə-mo-wp'
      cat-one   3SG.ABS-1SG.DAT-'have'-STAT
      'I have a cat' (Hewitt 1979: 96)

(66) Kabardian (North-West Caucasian)

   a. Zə-sa-šx°a   ƚ'ə-m   ø-ø-yə-ʔa
      one-knife-big man-OBL   3-3-POSS-'have'
      'The man has a sword' (Colarusso 1992: 337)

   b. Zə-sa-šx°a   sa   ø-q'ə-sa-ʔa
      one-knife-big 1SG   3-PRT-1SG.DAT-'have'
      'I have a sword' (Colarusso 1992: 337)

(67) Ubykh (North-West Caucasian)
      zä -c°a   zaxaj   a-w-qa-ge
      one-house.ABS   only   3SG.ABS-2SG.ERG-have-PRES
      'You have only one house' (Dumézil 1931: 85)

As a match for its Locational Possessive, Abkhaz can make use of verbal nouns, in a way that is comparable to the masdars in Kartvelian (see sentence (68a)). Furthermore, the language has a sharp contrast between finite and non-finite verb forms. These latter forms are marked for person/number agreement, but they differ from finite forms in that they contain the subordinating affix *-an-/-anə-* and have specific non-finite tense endings, which are distinct from the tense endings in main clauses (see sentence (68b)).

(68) Abkhaz (North-West Caucasian)

   a. A-nàrd   à-x°mar-ra   a-a:-n
      ART-backgammon   its-play-VN   its-time-at
      'When playing backgammon...' (Hewitt 1987: 80)

    b. Àmra   d-anə-c°o-w   sarà   a-wəs
       A.   she-when-sleep-NONFIN.STAT.PRES   I   ART-work
       ø-z-w-we-yt'
       it-I-do-DYN-FIN
       'When Amra is sleeping, I work' (Hewitt 1979: 39)

In Kabardian and Ubykh, the most common way to render temporal clauses is by employing so-called 'participes-gérundifs' (Dumézil 1933: 223). These are verbal forms which are marked for person and aspect, but have nominal case inflection. 'Virtually all finite forms in Ubykh . . . may function as non-finites – and this means, among other things, that they may take case endings and act as nouns'(Comrie 1981b: 220). Examples of these deranked formations are:

(69) KABARDIAN (North-West Caucasian)

    a. ø-na-s-ma   ø-śə-t-ś
       3-thither-reach-OBL   it-there-stand-AFFIRM
       'When he reached that place, it [i.e. a tree] was standing there'
                                                         (Colarusso 1992: 212)

    b. Psə   ø-ø-x̂ʷa-za-m
       river   he-it-for-turn.to-OBL
       'When he came to a river . . .' (Colarusso 1992: 210)

(70) UBYKH (North-West Caucasian)

    a. A-c°a-ga   a-le-t-in   e-bie-qa
       the-house-in   3ABS-be.in-IMPERF-at   3SG.ERG/3SG.ABS-see-PERF
       'While she was in the house, he saw her' (Dumézil 1931: 85)

    b. A-zä-xebz-qe-n-ägä   s-ik'-ôt
       3ABS-REFL-assemble-PERF-PL-into   1SG.ABS-come-FUT
       'When they will have been assembled, I will come' (Dumézil 1931: 89)

9.4 Uralic

Although several languages of the Ugric subfamily, such as Vogul and Xanty, have a Have-Possessive as an option, the Locational Possessive is the norm in Uralic. The type appears to manifest itself in two forms. The Samoyedic languages, as well as the Volgaic language Erza Mordvin, encode the possessor in the genitive case, with pronominal indexing on the possessee. Hungarian, the geographically isolated western member of the Ugric family, has indexing on the possessed item as well, but here the marking on the possessor takes dative case. In the Balto-Finnic languages, and in the eastern Ugric language

Vogul, the possessor is marked by a locative or adessive case, and there is no possessor indexing.

(71) NENETS (Uralic, Samoyedic)
Nalgu-n   porgo-da   tana
woman-GEN   dress-her exist.3SG.PRES
'The woman has a dress' (Hajdú 1963: 112)

(72) KAMASS (Uralic, Samoyedic)
Büźə-n   naɣur koʔboo-t   ɪ-bi
old.man-GEN three   daughter-his be-PAST.3SG
'An old man had three daughters' (Künnap 1999: 39)

(73) UDMURT (Uralic, Permic)
Min-am   kik   pinal-e   van
1SG-GEN   two   child-1SG.POSS exist.PRES
'I have two children' (Winkler 2001: 31)

(74) FINNISH (Uralic, Balto-Finnic)
Isä-llä   on   kaksi auto-a
father-ADESS be.3SG.PRES two   car-PART
'Father has two cars' (Karlsson 1983: 66)

(75) ESTONIAN (Uralic, Balto-Finnic)
Isa-l   on   raamat
father-ADESS be.3SG.PRES book.NOM.SG
'Father has a book' (Lehiste 1972: 208)

(76) ERZA MORDVIN (Uralic, Volgaic)
Učit^{j}el^j-en^{j}t^j ul^j-nə̌-s^j vad^{j}r^{j}a   kudo-zo
teacher-GEN be-FREQ-3SG.PAST beautiful house-3SG.POSS
'The teacher used to have a beautiful house' (Zaicz 1998: 210)

(77) HUNGARIAN (Uralic, Ugric)
A   férfi-ak-nak van   háza-uk
ART man-PL-DAT   be-3SG.PRES house-their
'The men have a house' (Biermann 1985: 29)

(78) VOGUL (Uralic, Ugric)
Mos-ne   palt mań ńawram oli'
woman-LOC on   small child   be.PRES.3SG
'The woman has a small child' (Riese 2001: 65)

Deranking of temporal sequences is a major, if not prevalent, encoding option in Uralic. In the typical case, deranked predicates are encoded as oblique case forms of verbal nouns. These verbal nouns, which are sometimes called 'infinitives' in the specialist literature, are commonly composed of a verb stem and a nominalizing suffix. The various case forms of these formations indicate different nuances of clause linkage, such as simultaneous versus consecutive action, or causal, conditional, and concessive implications. In general, the oblique verbal nouns of Uralic can be used under same-subject and different-subject conditions alike. Subjects of these forms can take either nominative marking (as in Nenets, Udmurt, Hungarian, and Vogul) or genitive marking.[7]

(79) NENETS (Uralic, Samoyed)
Nisa-ni   m'a -kana   janggo-va-n
father-my.NOM   tent -at   not.be -NMNL-GEN
xada-kev   vada-ku   mehngas
grandmother-my.NOM   word-ACC.PL   say.3SG.PAST
'While my father was away, my grandmother told tales' (Décsy 1966: 68)

(80) KAMASS (Uralic, Samoyedic)
Man   amor-bə-nə   də   šobi
1SG.GEN   eat-VN-LOC.1SG.POSS   3SG   come.PRET.3SG
'As I was eating, he came' (Künnap 1999: 19)

(81) UDMURT (Uralic, Permic)

a. Ondi   gur-te   berti̧—sa   mon   so-li̧   ukšo
    O.   house-ILL   come-CONV   1SG   he-DAT   money.ACC
    šot-i
    give-PRET.1SG
    'When Ondi came home, I gave him the money' (Winkler 2001: 98)

b. Mon   so-je   gurt-e   Pedor-len   bert-em-ez   bere
    1SG.NOM   it-ACC   house-ILL   P.-GEN   come-PCP-3SG   after

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[7] It must be remarked that in the western languages of the Uralic phylum the system of deranked predicate forms seems to be on the wane, in that it is giving way to a 'European style' system, in which adverbial temporal clauses typically consist of finite predications that are marked by some subordinating conjunction. This development is noticeable in Finnish, and especially in Hungarian. In the present day form of this language, the only deranked form still available is the so called 'present gerund', marked by the suffix *va/ ve* on the verbal stem, which 'is used to indicate an action taking place at the same time as that of the main verb' (Hall 1938: 95). An earlier 'past gerund', marked by *van/ ven*, has become largely obsolete (Tompa 1968: 70). It is conceivable that the suffix *va/ ve* has its origin in an erstwhile case marker, seeing that the suffix *val/ vel* is still in use as the marker of instrumental/comitative case. The present gerund in modern Hungarian is, as a rule, employed under same subject conditions, although absolute use of the form is not completely excluded.

lešt-i
do-PAST.1SG
'I did it after Fjodor came home' (Winkler 2001: 98)

(82) FINNISH (Uralic, Balto-Finnic)
Kalle-n tul-le-ssä Pekka lahti
K.-GEN come-INF-INESS P. leave.PAST.3SG
'When Kalle arrived, Pekka left' (Karlsson 1983: 218)

(83) ESTONIAN (Uralic, Balto-Finnic)
Vanemate rääki-des istusid lapsed vaikse-lt
parents.GEN talk-CONV/INESS sit children quiet-ADV
'While the parents talked, the children were sitting quietly'
(Oinas 1966: 226)

(84) ERZA MORDVIN (Uralic, Volgaic)

a. Muinze sýst udo-m-sto
he.found.them 3PL.GEN sleep-VN-ELAT
'He found them while they were asleep' (Wiedemann 1865: 62)

b. Sa-mo-so-nzo
come-VN-INESS-3SG.POSS
'As he came...' (Wiedemann 1865: 106)

(85) HUNGARIAN (Uralic, Ugric)

a. Igy áll-van a dolog elmentünk
thus stand-CONV.PERF the matter leave.PAST.1PL
'Matters being thus, we left' (Nagy 1920: 195)

b. Az esö eláll-ván elindultunk a hegyetetöre
the rain stop-CONV.PERF leave.PAST.1PL the hilltop.SUBLAT
'The rain having stopped, we left for the hilltop'
(Kenesei et al. 1998: 55)

(86) VOGUL (Uralic, Ugric)
Man usn jal-ke-w-t
1PL city.to go-VN-1PL.POSS-LOC
'When we go to the city' (Riese 2001: 90)

9.5 Altaic

In the same way as Uralic, the languages of the various subfamilies of the Altaic phylum demonstrate a clear predilection for the Locational Possessive.

All sampled Altaic languages have this type as a major encoding option. In north-east Siberia the Locational Possessive appears to be in competition with the With-Possessive: we find this extra option in the Turkic languages Tyvan and Yakut, in the Mongolian languages Written Mongolian and Khalkha, and in the Tungusic languages Even and Evenki. Furthermore, in the Far East the Locational Possessive doubles with a Topic Possessive in Korean, Japanese, and the Tungusic language Manchu.

The Locational Possessive in Altaic manifests an internal variation that is similar to the one we have seen in Uralic. The most widespread strategy appears to consist of dative marking on the possessor: we can document this encoding for Yakut, Tyvan, Mangghuer, Evenki, Manchu, Udeghe, and Japanese. Locative marking of the possessor is an option in Tyvan, Written Mongolian, and Korean; in Turkish, this locative marking indicates temporary possession. Genitive marking of the possessor, with indexing on the possessee, can be found in Turkish, Tyvan, and Even. Finally, the Mongolian languages Khalkha, Written Mongolian, and Mangghuer also exhibit genitive possessor marking, but indexing is lacking here.

(87) TURKISH (Altaic, Turkic)

    a. Mehmed'-in   para-si   yok
       M.-GEN   money-his not.exist
       'Mehmed has no money' (Lewis 1967: 251)

    b. Ben-dé   para   var
       1SG-LOC money be.there.PRES
       'I have money (with me)' (Swift 1963: 139)

(88) TYVAN (Altaic, Turkic)

    a. Men-de   üš   ugba-lar-ɨm   bar
       1SG.-LOC three sister-PL-my be.PRES
       'I have three sisters' (Anderson and Harrison 1999: 31)

    b. Bis-ke   tarɨłga šölü   čok   turgan
       1PL-DAT sowing field.its NEG AUX.PAST
       'We didn't have any sowing fields' (Anderson and Harrison 1999: 20)

    c. Meeŋ   beš ad-*m*   čok
       1SG.GEN five horse-my not.be.PRES
       'I don't have five horses' (Anderson and Harrison 1999: 24)

(89) YAKUT (Altaic, Turkic)
    Mijiä-chä taba   baar
    1SG-DAT   reindeer exist
    'I have reindeer' (Böhtlingk 1964: 128)

(90) EVEN (Altaic, Tungusic)
    Min   zu-w   bi-sni
    1SG.GEN house-my exist-3SG.PRES
    'I have a house' (Benzing 1955: 81)

(91) EVENKI (Altaic, Tungusic)
    Bejumimni-du tamu:ra   pektyere:vun bi-cho-n
    hunter-DAT   expensive gun   be-PAST-3SG
    'The hunter had an expensive gun' (Nedjalkov 1997: 124)

(92) MANCHU (Altaic, Tungusic)
    Irgen   de   akdun   ako o-ci
    people DAT fidelity   not be-COND
    'If the people have no fidelity' (Adam 1873: 69)

(93) UDEGHE (Altaic, Tungusic)
    Mafasa-du   čalisi in'ai bi-si-ni
    old.man-DAT white dog   be-PAST-3SG
    'The old man had a white dog' (Girfanova 2002: 50)

(94) WRITTEN MONGOLIAN (Altaic, Mongolian)
    a. Na-dur   morin bui
        1SG-LOC horse be.3SG.PRES
        'I have a horse' (Poppe 1954: 149)

    b. Qagan-u   yurban köbegün bülüge
        king-GEN three   sons   be.3PL.PAST
        'The king had three sons' (Grönbeck and Krueger 1955: 21)

(95) KHALKHA (Altaic, Mongolian)
    a. Na-d   olon   mori   bajna
        1SG-DAT many horse be.3SG.PRES
        'I have many horses' (Street 1963: 163)

    b. Min-i   xüxed   gurwa bolwo
        1SG-GEN children three   become.PERF
        'I have three children' (Poppe 1951: 102)

(96) MANGGHUER (Altaic, Mongolian)
    a. Yi-ge   laohan-du   aguer   liang-ge bang
        one-CLASS old.man-DAT daughter two-CLASS be
        'An old man had two daughters' (Slater 2003: 105)

b. Dao-du-ni   han   mula nughuai yi-ge   bang
   younger.sibling-DAT-GEN also small dog   one-CLASS   be
   'His younger brother also had a small dog' (Slater 2003: 199)

(97) KOREAN (Altaic, Korean)
      Halapeci-eykey kum-sikyey-ka   iss-usi-ta
      grandpa-LOC   gold-watch-NOM be-HON-DECL
      'My grandfather has a gold watch' (Sohn 1994: 196)

(98) JAPANESE (Altaic, Japanese)
      Otooto   ni   naihu ga   aru
      younger.brother   DAT   knife SUBJ   exist.PRES
      'Younger brother has a knife' (Martin 1975: 649)

According to Haspelmath (1995: 46), the term 'converb' was coined in the description of Altaic languages. Therefore, it is not surprising that we can find elaborated systems of converbal forms in most of these languages. Verb stems can typically take a wide array of 'converbal' suffixes, giving rise to deranked predicate forms which indicate a spectrum of semantic nuances in temporal sequencing, as well as causal, conditional, concessive, and purposive relations between clauses. Some of these converbs tend to be specialized in their conditionality, in that they can be used only under same-subject conditions, or under different-subject conditions; other converbs appear to be neutral in this respect. It will be evident that the present work cannot begin to do justice to this richness of converbal forms in Altaic. In the examples below, I have restricted myself mainly to simultaneous converbs that can be used absolutely. Even so, I trust that these examples will illustrate that the Altaic languages are among the most staunchly deranking languages in the world.

   In addition to converbs, most Altaic languages also have the option of employing verbal nouns (sometimes called 'infinitives' or 'participles' in the literature) in the deranking of temporal and other adverbial clauses. Again, it is possible to indicate various semantic relations between the deranked clause and the main clause, by means of different case suffixes or adpositions on these verbal nouns. In general, oblique verbal nouns allow different-subject conditions. The status of their subjects varies from form to form, and from language to language. Some oblique verbal nouns take nominative subjects, whereas others require a subject in the genitive case, or indexing to the subject by means of a pronominal possessive affix on the verbal noun.

(99) TURKISH (Altaic, Turkic)

      a. Ali   gel-ince   Osman   şaşır-d-ıı
         A.   come-CONV   O.   be.surprised-PAST-3SG
         'When Ali came, Osman was surprised' (Johanson 1995: 313)

   b. Ben   mektub-u-mu   yazar-ken   Orhan   gıyın-d-ı
     1SG   letter-ACC-my   write-GER   O.   dress-PAST-3SG
     'While I was writing my letter, Orhan dressed' (Kreider 1954: 109)

   c. Gıt-tıgi-mız   o   kal-d-ı
     go-PCP-1PL.POSS   3SG   stay-PAST-3SG
     'When we went, he stayed' (Lewis 1967: 185)

   d. Istanbul'-da   büyük   bir   yangin   zuhur   et-mek-le
     I.-LOC   great   one   fire   appearance   make-INF-with
     Sultan   Selim   Edirne'-ye   gıt-t-ı
     S.   S.   E.-DAT   go-PAST-3SG
     'With a great fire occurring in Istanbul, Sultan Selim went to Edirne'
                                                       (Lewis 1967: 189)

(100)   TYVAN (Altaic, Turkic)

   a. Iyi   xong-an-da   Badiy   akim-dan   aytirdim
     two   spend.night-PCP-LOC   B.   older.brother-ABL   ask.PRET.1SG
     'When two days had passed, I asked my brother Badiy'
                                          (Anderson and Harrison 1999: 82)

   b. Salgin   kel-gen-in-den   bürüler   šilirtkayni   ber-gen
     wind   come-PAST-3POSS-ABL   leaves   rustle.SS   begin-PAST
     'Because a light wind blew, the leaves began to rustle'
                                          (Anderson and Harrison 1999: 98)

   c. Xün   ünüp   keer-ge
     sun   go.out.SS   go.PCP-DAT
     'When the sun came up' (Anderson and Harrison 1999: 80)

   d. Agaar   čok   bolgani-bile
     air   not   be.PCP.3SG.POSS-INSTR
     maŋaa   xonar   bolgan-dir   bis
     here   pass.night.PCP   AUX.PAST-ASS   1PL
     'Because there was bad weather, we had to stay the night there'
                                          (Anderson and Harrison 1999: 83)

(101)   YAKUT (Altaic, Turkic)

   a. Jie   tut-ar-ga
     house.ACC   build-VN.PRES-DAT
     'When one builds a house' (Krueger 1962: 139)

   b. Min   käl-iäm   än   ät-täch-chi-nä
     1SG   come-1SG.FUT   2SG   say-VN-2SG.POSS-LOC
     'I will come when you say so' (Böhtlingk 1964: 328)

(102)   EVEN (Altaic, Tungusic)

    a. Bazikar   o-da-k-an   hurr-ep
        day.NOM   become-AOR.PCP-ABL-1SG.POSS go-PRES.1PL
        'When morning has broken, we go on our journey'

                                           (Benzing 1955: 91)

    b. Bi   gurgej   muduk-ca-la-w   hi
        1SG.NOM work.ACC finish-PCP-LOC-1SG.POSS 2SG.NOM
        em-zinri
        come-FUT.2SG
        'When I have finished the work, you will come' (Benzing 1955: 95)

(103)   EVENKI (Altaic, Tungusic)

    a. Asi   haval-d'amma-n   edy-n
        woman work-CONV.SIM-3SG.POSS husband-3SG.POSS
        teget-cheche-n
        sit-IMPERF-3SG
        'While the woman was working the husband was sitting'

                                         (Nedjalkov 1997: 51)

    b. Bira   dagadun o:-ri-du-v
        river   near   become-PCP-DAT-1SG.POSS
        so:t   edyni-l-le-n
        very   blow.wind-INCH-NONFUT-3SG
        'When I found myself near the river, a strong wind began to blow'
                                         (Nedjalkov 1997: 51)

(104)   MANCHU (Altaic, Tungusic)

    a. Temujin holha-be   ucara-fi
        T.   thief -ACC meet-CONV.PAST
        juwe niyehe deye-me   jimbi
        two   ducks   fly-PCP.PRES come.PAST.INDIC
        'When Temujin had met the thief, two ducks came flying over'
                                         (Adam 1873: 92)

    b. Besergen-i baru   jide-re-de,   Alon   Gowan
        bed-GEN   front come-PCP.IMPERF-LOC A.   G.
        gete-he
        wake.up-PAST.INDIC
        'When (they) approached the bed, Alon Gowan woke up'
                                         (Adam 1873: 92)

(105)   UDEGHE (Altaic, Tungusic)
    Bi   batan-i   əməgi-si-ni   uta-wa   koŋko-ʒa-mi
    1SG son-my return-CONV-3SG.POSS 3SG-ACC scold-FUT-1SG
    'When my son returns I will scold him' (Girfanova 2002: 36)

(106)   WRITTEN MONGOLIAN (Altaic, Mongolian)

    a. Dorji kulije-jü   sagu-tala
        D.   wait-CONV.IMPERF sit-CONV.TEMP
        mönö Buriyad morin terge abčira-ba
        same Buriat   horse wagon bring-PAST.INDIC
        'While Dorji sat waiting, the same Buriat brought a horse car'

                                                    (Poppe 1954: 181)

    b. Manu nökör-ün   ire-kü-dür   bida   mašida
        our   friend-GEN come-VN-DAT 1PL.NOM very
        bayas-ba
        be.glad-PAST.INDIC
        'When our friend came, we were very glad' (Poppe 1954: 198)

(107)   KHALKHA (Altaic, Mongolian)

    a. Cas   or-ʒ̇   xüjten bol-loo
        snow fall-CONV.SIM cold   become-PAST
        'When the snow was falling, it got cold' (Vietze 1974: 92)

    b. Min-i   ire-mser   bügede bossong
        1SG-GEN come-CONV.SIM all   rise.PAST
        'When I came, all stood up' (Poppe 1951: 89)

    c. Min-i   end   ir-san-d
        1SG-GEN here come-VN.PERF-DAT
        'When I came here' (Bosson 1964: 35)

(108)   MANGGHUER (Altaic, Mongolian)

    a. Gan-du yi-ger   shuer   hu-sa   liang-ger
        3SG-DAT one-CLITIC chopsticks give-CONV two-CLASS
        kerli-lang
        want-IMPERF
        'When (we) gave him one chopstick, (he) asked for two'

                                                  (Slater 2003: 154)

    b. Xi-ku   Shalangguer keli-ji
        go-CONV S.   say-IMPERF
        'When (she) went (to Shalangguer's house), Shalangguer said'

                                                  (Slater 2003: 250)

(109) Korean (Altaic, Korean)

   a. Ai-ka   ca-key   wuli-nun coyonghi hay-ss-ta
      child-NOM   sleep-CONV   we-TOP   quietly do-PAST-INDIC
      'We kept quiet, so that the child could sleep' (Sohn 1994: 95)

   b. Neh-ii   ka-gi-e   na   do   ka-gesso
      2SG-GEN   go-VN-LOC   1SG.NOM   also go-FUT
      'With you going, I will also go' (Ramstedt 1968: 123)

(110) Japanese (Altaic, Japanese)

   a. Taroo ga   Amerika ni ik-i,   Hanako ga   Furansu
      T.   NOM   America to go-CONV   H.   NOM   France
      ni   it-ta
      to   go-PST
      'While Taroo went to America, Hanako went to France'

                                                          (Kuno 1978: 124)

   b. John   wa   piano ga   joozu-de,   Mary wa
      J.   TOP piano NOM   be.good-CONV   M.   TOP
      gitaa   ga   joozu-da
      guitar NOM   be.good-PRES
      'John is good at the piano and Mary is good at the guitar'

                                                          (Hinds 1986: 85)

   c. Otaku   e   ikú   no   ni
      house   to   go   NMNL   DIR/DAT
      'In/while going to (your) house' (Martin 1975: 401)

   d. Kane   o   haratta no   ni,   onna ga   kónai
      money   ACC pay   NMNL   to/at girl TOP   come.NEG
      '(I) paid (my) money, but no girl showed up' (Martin 1975: 858)

9.6 Other languages of Siberia

Apart from members of Uralic and Altaic, Siberia hosts a number of languages
which are often subsumed under the label 'Paleo-Siberian'. However, this usage
suggests far more genetic unity than is actually warranted. The languages at
issue are either isolated or form part of small linguistic groupings, and their
genetic affiliations, if indeed there are any, are unclear or at least controversial.
Nonetheless, these languages can be grouped together for the purpose of this
book, since they all conform to the general Siberian pattern of Locational

Possessive encoding.[8] As a rule, it is the locative or adessive case that is employed for the marking of the possessor. A few languages seem to have additional options, such as an ablative marking in Nivkh, or a genitive marking in Itelmen. It should be added that, in the far north-east, the Locational Possessive is in competition with a With-Possessive. Such is the case in the two sampled variants of Yukaghir.[9] Chukchi, one of the three Chukotko-Kamchatkan languages in the sample, has a With-Possessive as its only option.

(111) KET (Yeniseian)
Ab-aŋt   iŋGus'   us'aŋ
1SG-ADESS   house   exist.PRES
'I have a house' (Werner 1997: 103)

(112) NIVKH (Nivkh)
a. Oɣla-gu-in   čuz   pitɣy-ø   jiv-ny-d'-ra
   child-PL-LOC   new   book-NOM   be-FUT-FIN-PRED
   'The children will have new books' (Gruzdeva 1998: 19)

b. Petr-ux   pitɣaṇ-ø   t'oḵř-ø   iv-d
   P.-LOC/ABL book-NOM   five-NOM   be-FIN
   'Peter has five books' (Gruzdeva 1998: 24)

(113) KOLYMA YUKAGHIR (Yukaghir)
Tude-ge   irk-in   towke-n'e-j   taŋ   pulut-ke
he-LOC   one-ATTR   dog-PROP-3SG.INTR   that   old.man-LOC
'He had a dog, that old man' (Maslova 2003a: 449)

(114) TUNDRA YUKAGHIR (Yukaghir)
Tit-qa   wolme   el-l'e-j
2PL-LOC   shaman   NEG-be-3SG.INTR
'Don't you have a shaman? '(Maslova 2003b: 69)

(115) KORYAK (Chukotko-Kamchatkan)
Aʕal   tuyə-k   va-ykən
axe   2PL-LOC   be-CONT
'You have an axe' (Alla Maltseva p.c.)

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[8] As was noted in Section 3.6, Itelmen has additional indexing of the oblique possessor phrase on the verb.

[9] According to my source on Kolyma Yukaghir, the With Possessive is in fact the 'real', indigenous option in predicative possession encoding: 'The "locative" pattern for predication of possession is presumably induced or at least strongly supported by Russian influence, where such a pattern constitutes the major option' (Maslova 2003a: 590, fn. 1).

(116)   Itelmen (Chukotko-Kamchatkan)

    a. Trum-la-ʔn-k   çi-s-kipneʔn   teŋ-laha-ʔn
       south-person-PL-LOC   be-PRES-3PL.SUBJ/3PL.DAT   good-PCP-PL
       °qsha-ʔn
       dog-PL
       'The southerners have good dogs' (Georg and Volodin 1999: 95)

    b. Kni-n   qitkineŋ   çi-z-en
       2SG-GEN   brother   be-PRES-3SG.SUBJ
       'You have a brother' (Georg and Volodin 1999: 214)

Straightforward deranking of temporal clauses can be documented for Nivkh, Koryak, and the two variants of Yukaghir. In all cases, we find that the predicates in such clauses consist of the verb stem with an oblique case suffix that has a locative or dative meaning.[10] Whether one wants to call these formations oblique verbal nouns or converbs is, in my opinion, largely a matter of taste. At least some of the forms tolerate use under different-subject

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    [10] Kolyma Yukaghir has converbs, which are organized into a switch reference system. In their etymology these converbs still betray their origin as oblique verbal nouns, since the suffixes that are employed to form them are identical to locational case markers. Thus, the suffix *t* which marks the simultaneous same subject converb is the suffix for ablative case; the marker *lle* of the consecutive same subject converb is probably the suffix for instrumental case; the suffix *ge* of the simultaneous different subject converb is identical to the locative case suffix 'in, at'; and the conditional different subject converb in Kolyma Yukaghir is 'formed by means of the obsolete general locative marker *ge ne* (which is still preserved in Tundra Yukaghir)' (Maslova 2003a: 159). Real oblique verbal nouns also exist: an example is the verbal noun marked by the prolative case marker *gen*, which encodes causal clauses. Similar (though not always morphologically identical) deranked forms are encountered in Tundra Yukaghir.

(i)   Kolyma Yukaghir (Yukaghir)

    a. Numø ge   jaqa l u ge   numø ge   oj l'e ŋi
       house LOC   arrive VN 1/2 DS.SIM   house LOC   NEG be 3PL.INTR
       'I came home, but they were not at home' (Maslova 2003a: 160)

    b. Tabun ge   imičume   joho mu t   kukkī die gele   pør le
       that about   swan   angry INCH SS.SIM   cuckoo DIM ACC   foot INSTR
       paj m
       hit 3SG.TRANS
       'The swan got angry about that and kicked the cuckoo' (Maslova 2003a: 162)

    c. Mit   čohoče   laŋin   ønže j delle   čumu čīl'i
       we   shore   to   go.down PFV SS.CONS   fish 1PL.INTR
       'We went down to the shore and fished' (Maslova 2003a: 162)

    d. Epie   arqa   l'e l u ge ne   met kele   nilgi   elpeššej t
       grandmother   near   be VN 1/2 DS COND   1SG ACC   nobody   NEG.throw 3SG.FUT
       'If I am near my grandmother, nobody will leave me alone' (Maslova 2003a: 393)

    e. Taŋ   marqil'   eris'   ann' ōl de gen   tabud ek   lem mele
       that   girl   badly   speak VN POSS PROLAT   that PRED   eat OBJ.FOC.3SG
       'Since that girl had said bad things, he ate her' (Maslova 2003a: 115)

conditions. As far as I can see, their subjects are typically encoded in the nominative case.

(117) Nɪᴠᴋʜ (Nivkh)

a. Hoĝat   n'yṇ   čyṇ   ṇyṇ-d'-ra   čyṇ-aχ
then   we   you   look.for-ғɪɴ-ᴘʟ   you-ᴅᴀᴛ/ᴀᴄᴄ
p'-ro-guin
ʀᴇғʟ-help-ᴅᴀᴛ.ʟᴏᴄ
'We were looking for you in order that you help (us)'

(Gruzdeva 1998: 52)

b. Čχař   mi-x   amam-ṇa   n'-nanx   alř   p'e-d
forest in-ʟᴏᴄ walk-ᴄᴏɴᴠ.ᴛᴇᴍᴘ   my-elder.sister berry pick-ғɪɴ
'When I was walking in the forest, my elder sister picked berries'

(Gruzdeva 1998: 51)

(118) Kᴏʟʏᴍᴀ Yᴜᴋᴀɢʜɪʀ (Yukaghir)

a. Uke-j-ŋi-de-ge   pulun-die jaqt-a-j
exit-ᴘᴇʀғ-ᴘʟ-3-ᴅs   old.man   sing-ɪɴᴄʜ-3sɢ.ɪɴᴛʀ
'When they went out, the old man began to sing' (Maslova 2003a: 160)

b. Numø-ge   jaqa-l-u-ge   numø-ge   oj-l'e-ŋi
house-ʟᴏᴄ arrive-ᴠɴ-1/2-ᴅs/ʟᴏᴄ house-ʟᴏᴄ   ɴᴇɢ-be-3ᴘʟ.ɪɴᴛʀ
'I came home, but they were not at home' (Maslova 2003a: 160)

(119) Tᴜɴᴅʀᴀ Yᴜᴋᴀɢʜɪʀ (Yukaghir)
Tat u-nu-da-ha   anme nadanmoje-k kelu-l
so   go-ᴘʀᴏɢ-3-ᴅs/ʟᴏᴄ   ᴘʀᴛ   owl-ғᴏᴄ   come-sᴜʙᴊ.ғᴏᴄ
'As he was walking, an owl came (flying)' (Maslova 2003b: 37–8)

(120) Kᴏʀʏᴀᴋ (Chukotko-Kamchatkan)
Pəkerə-ŋo-k   ge-riŋe-lin
arrive-start-ʟᴏᴄ   ᴘᴇʀғ-fly-3sɢ.ᴘᴇʀғ
'When (the one bird) arrived, (the other bird) flew up'

(Alla Maltseva p.c.)

The situation in Ket and Itelmen is somewhat more problematic. In Ket, we notice that predicates in temporal and other adverbial clauses can be marked by case suffixes with a locational meaning. Thus, for example, the adessive case suffix on a predicate indicates a causal interpretation, while a locative case suffix encodes simultaneity. Examples include:

(121) KET (Yeniseian)

   a. Bu   ul'   bən'   dab-dop,   da-s'e·ŋ
      he   vodka   NEG   3SG.M.NOM/3SG.INAN.ACC-drink   his-liver
      är'ät-diŋta
      hurt-ADESS
      'He doesn't drink vodka, because his liver hurts' (Werner 1997: 354)

   b. Ar'   i·s'   t-taŋuɣavet-dita   ap   dɔɣɔt   al'il'git
      1SG.NOM meat   1SG-bring-BEN   1SG.GEN   soup   cook.IMP
      'As I have brought you meat, cook soup for me!' (Werner 1997: 354)

   c. Us'aban-ka   keŋass'en'   d-igbes'avet-in
      become.warm-LOC   birds   3-come.fly-PL
      'When it gets warm, birds come flying' (Werner 1997: 354)

   d. Bu   qásëŋ   dóldàq-di-ŋal   doʔŋ   sikŋ   úɣön
      3M   there   he.lived-NEUT-ABL   three   years   it.went
      'Since he has been living here three years have passed'

                                                      (Vajda 2004: 24)

   e. Bu   dbílèl   óɣotn-bes
      3M   he.sang.it   he.goes-PROSEC
      'He sang (while) walking along' (Vajda 2004: 28)

   f. ə́tń   lóvèt-èsaŋ   tqónòksájdöolbetn
      1PL   work-TRANSLAT   we.ate.breakfast
      'Before working we had breakfast' (Vajda 2004: 29)

The question is, however, whether these case-marked predicate forms can really be said to be deranked. Since these forms take the 'normal' inflection for subject/object and tense/aspect, one may be inclined to view the case suffixes as conjunctions that are cliticized to the last item in the subordinate clause (which, since Ket is a verb-final language, happens to be the predicate). Several authors on Ket have therefore taken the position that the predicates in adverbial clauses in Ket are in fact finite. Thus, Vajda (2004: 89) states: 'Aside from the presence of a case suffix or postposition, there is no difference in the verb form itself to mark whether it belongs to the subordinate or the main clause. Ket has no true converbs or serial verb constructions of any kind.'[11] If this analysis is accepted, we must conclude that Ket is a

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[11] See also Comrie (1981b), who writes: 'Unlike many other languages of the area, Ket does not have a well developed system of non-finite forms, whereas it does have a number of conjunctions, including many native conjunctions in addition to a current tendency to borrow conjunctions from Russian' (Comrie 1981b: 265). Also, 'A Ket text ..., unlike texts in nearly all of the neighbouring languages, is essentially a sequence of finite clauses' (Comrie 1981: 266).

counter-example to the general claim which is investigated in this chapter. This said, however, it must also be conceded that the parallelism between possessive encoding and subordinate clause formation in Ket is remarkably tight. In this way, the language curiously resembles the North-West Caucasian languages Kabardian and Ubykh, in which case-marked predicate forms are also a major way to encode temporal sequences.

The problem with which Itelmen confronts our claim is of a different nature. As the examples given below demonstrate, this language clearly has the ability to form absolutely deranked temporal clauses; predicates of such clauses take the form of a verbal noun, or of a formation that is called the fifth infinitive. Examples are:

(122) ITELMEN (Chukotko-Kamchatkan)

    a. It'e   muzaʔn   ḷale-kas   elwetḷ-noke   kǝzza   huqen
      when   1PL   go-VN   seek.eggs-PURP 2SG   behind
      kzeḷ-ç
      hide-2SG
      'When we went out to look for eggs, you stayed behind'
                             (Georg and Volodin 1999: 206)

    b. Em   wetat-ki   rajspolkom-ank   °kmilwin
      just   work-INF county.committee-LOC 1SG.self
      t-nǝtsx-qzu-kiçen   mḷim
      1SG-vomit-IMPERF-1SG blood
      'While I was still working at the county committee, I started to cough up blood' (Georg and Volodin 1999: 208)

However, in contrast with other languages of Siberia, this deranking option in Itelmen appears to be rather marginal. My source on Itelmen states that the use of the fifth infinitive in the encoding of temporal clauses is only 'very sporadic' (Georg and Volodin 1999: 209) and that, in general, 'the predicate of the temporal syntagm is mostly finite' in Itelmen (Georg and Volodin 1999: 206; my translation). Thus, while Itelmen cannot be said to be a counter-example in a strict sense, the language is definitely not a prime witness to the correctness of our claim.

9.7 Munda and Dravidian

In addition to the Indic languages, two other language families from India provide positive evidence for the claimed correlation between Locational Possessive encoding and deranked temporal sequences. First, we can show

that the three sampled members of the Munda family all have a Locational Possessive as their main encoding option, by way of dative case marking (in Kurku and Mundari), comitative marking (Mundari), or genitive marking (Santali); in this last language, the possessor is indexed in the existential predicate by means of a possessive pronominal affix (see Section 3.6). Deranked predicates in temporal clauses take the form of a verbal noun which, in the case of simultaneous action, is marked by a locative case suffix (Mundari, Santali) or a dative case suffix (Kurku). Absolute use of such predicates is possible. Their subjects take nominative case in Mundari and Santali, while Kurku has a dative absolute construction.

(123)   KURKU (Austro-Asiatic, Munda)
Dich-ken   khiti   bangu
3SG-DAT   field   not.be.PRES
'He does not have a field' (Drake 1903: 16)

(124)   KURKU (Austro-Asiatic, Munda)
Ing-ken   dugu-gen   dich   da-gen   namuri-en
1SG-DAT   appear-DAT   3SG.NOM   water-DAT   sink-PAST
'While I was looking, he sank in the water' (Drake 1903: 152)

(125)   MUNDARI (Austro-Asiatic, Munda)

a. Ain-a   sadom   mena-i-a
   1SG-DAT   horse   exist-3SG-INDIC
   'I have a horse' (Hoffmann 1903: xlvii)

b. Gomke-tare   taka   mena
   master-COM   money   be
   'The master has money' (Hoffmann 1903: xlvii)

(126)   MUNDARI (Austro-Asiatic, Munda)[12]
En   piri   sitan-re-ing   lelki-a
this   field   plough-LOC-1SG   see.3SG.OBJ-INDIC
'I saw him when I/he was ploughing the field' (Hoffmann 1903: 199)

(127)   SANTALI (Austro-Asiatic, Munda)
Uni   kiser-ren-do   mit'   gora   sadom
that   rich-GEN-TOP   one   stable   horse
menak'-ko-ta-e-a
exist-3PL.OBJ-POSS-3SG.POSS-INDIC
'That rich man has a stable of horses' (Neukom 2001: 34)

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[12] The item *ing* '1SG' in this sentence is a pronominal clitic. Structurally and semantically it is a part of the main clause and not of the deranked predicate or clause.

(128) SANTALI (Austro-Asiatic, Munda)
      Uni   gidrə-dɔ   hudiŋ-ge-ye   tahekan-re
      that   child-TOP   small-FOC-3SG.SUBJ   COP.PAST-LOC
      eŋga-t-tët'-dɔe   gɔc'-en-a
      mother-his   die-PAST-INDIC
      'When the child was (still quite) young, its mother died'

                                        (Neukom 2001: 189)

The relevant facts of Dravidian are, to a large extent, parallel to those of Munda. All four sampled members of the Dravidian family encode predicative possession in the form of a Locational Possessive. For alienable possession all of them use dative marking, by means of a case suffix or, in the Northern Dravidian language Parji, by means of a dative postposition which governs the genitive.[13]

(129) PARJI (Dravidian)
      An   ka   gurrol   cila
      1SG.GEN DAT horse   not.exist
      'I have no horse' (Burrow and Bhattacharya 1953: 40)

(130) KANNADA (Dravidian)
      Arsar-ig   dod aramane ide
      king-DAT   big   palace   exist.3SG.NEUT.PRES
      'The king has a big palace' (Schiffman 1984: 95)

(131) TAMIL (Dravidian)
      Avar-ukku   nerayu   panam iru-kku -tu
      3SG.M-DAT   plentiful money be -PRES-3SG
      'He has a lot of money' (Asher 1982: 91)

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[13] For possessive notions other than alienable possession, other locational markings than the dative are in use. Thus, Malayalam and Kannada have specific locational encodings for temporary possession:

(i) MALAYALAM (Dravidian)
    a. Enṛe   kayyil   paṇam   uṇṭə
       1SG.GEN hand.LOC money   be.PRES
       'I have money on me' (Asher and Kumari 1997: 175)

    b. Ayaaḷuṭe   aṭuttə   nalla   saarikaḷ uṇṭə
       he.GEN   near   good   sari.PL   be.PRES
       'He has good saris with him' (Asher and Kumari 1997: 175)

(ii) KANNADA (Dravidian)
    Nimma   hattira   sa:kaŝTu haNa   ideya :
    2SG.GEN near   enough   money   be.3SG.NEUT.Q
    'Do you have enough money?' (Sridhar 1990: 132)

(132)   MALAYALAM (Dravidian)
  Enikkə paɲam uɳʈə
  1SG.DAT money be.PRES
  'I have money' (Asher and Kumari 1997: 194)

The Locational Possessive in Dravidian is matched unproblematically by a range of deranked predicate forms. The Southern Dravidian Malayalam and Tamil have a converbal form called the infinitive, which consists of the verb stem with the suffix *-a/-kka* (Tamil) or *-ə* (Malayalam). This form is neutral as to simultaneity or anterior action. In addition, all four sampled languages have converbal formations which are called 'adverbial participles', 'verbal participles', or 'gerunds' in the literature, and which are specialized as to the temporal relation with the main clause: there are present gerunds, which indicate simultaneity, and past gerunds that indicate anterior action. Finally, the languages have the ability to form deranked predicates in the shape of oblique verbal nouns, which are marked by case suffixes or postpositions.[14] All these deranked predicate forms allow different subject conditions. Subjects of deranked predicates in Dravidian occur in the nominative case.

(133)   PARJI (Dravidian)

  a. An ub-ek an tata veced
    1SG.NOM speak-DAT my father come.3SG.PAST
    'While I was speaking, my father came'
                (Burrow and Bhattacharya 1953: 63)

  b. Nomir cumr-an-ug tirbired
    fear.NOM seize-VN-DAT tremble.PAST.3SG
    'He was trembling because fear had seized him'
                (Burrow and Bhattacharya 1953:61)

(134)   KANNADA (Dravidian)

  a. Male band   kula tumbtu
    rain come-PAST.GER tank fill.PAST.3SG.M
    'The rain came and the tank filled' (Schiffman 1984: 144)

  b. Naan noodid   kuudle avn
    1SG.NOM see.PCP.PAST with 3SG.M.NOM

---

[14] The borderline between converbal forms and oblique verbal nouns is not always easy to draw in Dravidian. The reason for this is that, in a number of cases, the converbal suffixes on bare verb stems can be analysed as (sometimes fossilized) case markers. Thus, for instance, the so called verbal adverb in Parji, which may be analysed as a converbal form, turns out to consist of the verb stem plus the instrumental case suffix *od* 'with' or the suffix *ek*, which, in all probability, is a shortened form of the dative postposition *ka* 'to'.

hooda
go.PAST.3SG.M
'As soon as I saw him, he left' (Schiffman 1984: 146)

c. Bisilu hecca:gi-uv-udar-inda   oLage:
   heat   much-be-NONPAST.GER-INSTR   inside.EMPH
   a:Ta   Do:Na
   game   play.SUG
   'Since it is very hot, let's play inside' (Sridhar 1990: 94)

(135) TAMIL (Dravidian)

   a. Naan   panam kudu-ttu   avan   sinimaa-vukku
      1SG.NOM   money give-PAST.GER 3SG.M.NOM   movie-to
      poonan
      go.PAST.3SG
      'After I had given him money, he went to a movie' (Asher 1982: 21)

   b. Avaru vantatunaa-le   naan-um   vanteen
      he   come.PAST.VN-INSTR   I-also   come.PAST.1SG
      'Because he came, I came too' (Asher 1982: 21)

   c. Nil   Mature-kki poon-atu-kku-ppinaale avaru
      2SG.NOM   M.-DAT   go.PAST-VN-DAT-after   3SG.M.NOM
      Uuṭṭi-kki   poonaru
      U.-DAT   go.PAST.3SG.HON
      'After you went to Madurai, he went to Ooty' (Asher 1982: 39)

   d. Avan var-a   kaṇṭeen
      he   come-INF   see.PAST.1SG
      'While he was coming, I saw (him)' (Asher 1982: 42)

(136) MALAYALAM (Dravidian)

   a. Acchan irikkee   amma   mariccu
      father be.GER.SIM   mother   die.PAST
      'Mother died while Father was still alive' (Asher and Kumari 1997: 82)

   b. Avar vannatiṇṇə   ʃeeṣam   Raaman
      they come.PAST.NMNL.DAT   after   R.
      iviṭe   vanniṭṭilla
      here   come.PERF.NEG
      'Raaman hasn't come here since they came'

      (Asher and Kumari 1997: 99)

   c. Taṭavuppuḷḷi pooliiskaar mardicc-ə   mariccu
      prisoner   policemen   torture-INF die.PAST
      'The police having tortured (him), the prisoner died'

      (Asher and Kumari 1997: 81)

9.8 Tibeto-Burman

The south-eastern flank of the Eurasian mega-area is occupied by the Tibeto-Burman family. In the westernmost branches of this family, namely the languages of Tibet, Nepal, north-east India, and northern Burma, Locational Possessives are without competition. Further to the east and south, the Tibeto-Burman subfamilies form a cross-over zone with the languages of south-east Asia, which are a major area of Topic Possessive encoding. Some of these languages (such as Kham and Burmese) have double options in Locational and Topic Possessives, and others (such as the Karen language Eastern Kayah, and the Mikir language Arleng Alam) have a Topic Possessive as their sole option.

Locational Possessive encoding in Tibeto-Burman consists in genitive marking of the possessor in Newari, Thakali, Lepcha, Kham, Limbu, and Meithei; the latter two languages feature pronominal indexing on the possessee. Dative encoding of the possessor is found in two Tibetan languages, Classical Tibetan and Ladakhi, and marking of the possessor by a locative case suffix can be encountered in Garo, Lushai, Burmese, and Qiang.[15] Finally, the Conjunctional Possessive in Dafla has been mentioned in Section 3.5 as a piece of preliminary evidence for the correctness of the claims that are embodied in our explanatory model of possessive encoding; in this language, possession is expressed in the form of a deranked DS-sequence.

(137) Classical Newari (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan)
Thva   baniva   ekaputri   da
this   merchant.GEN daughter   exist.3SG.PAST
'The merchant had a daughter' (Jörgensen 1941: 23)

(138) Thakali (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan)

a. K'uju-e   caca   a   re
   old.woman-GEN   child   NEG   be
   'The old woman had no children' (Georg 1996: 84)

b. T'e-pre   t'o-pa   nakju-cá   mu
   3SG-COM   big-PCP   dog-PL   be
   'He has big dogs' (Georg 1996: 95)

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[15] As the example in (149) indicates, the Locational Possessive in Qiang is employed 'if…the relationship is one of temporary physical possession, and not ownership, and the referent is able to exist independently of the possessor' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 97).

(139) Lᴇᴘᴄʜᴀ (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan)
Maro   kat-sa   akup   nyet   nyi
man   one-ɢᴇɴ   son   two   be
'A man had two sons' (Grierson 1909: 242)

(140) Lɪᴍʙᴜ (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan)
Locha   manai-le   ku-sa   nechi   wa-yechi
certain man-ɢᴇɴ   his-son   two   be-3ᴅᴜ.ᴘᴀsᴛ
'A man had two sons' (Grierson 1909: 299)

(141) Cʟᴀssɪᴄᴀʟ Tɪʙᴇᴛᴀɴ (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan)
Na-la   khanpa-zig   yod
1sɢ-ᴅᴀᴛ house-one   exist
'I have a house' (Jäschke 1929: 149)

(142) Lᴀᴅᴀᴋʜɪ (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan)
Khokhun-la   za-rgyu   mang-po   yot
3ᴘʟ-ᴅᴀᴛ   food   much   exist
'They have plenty of food' (Grierson 1909: 62)

(143) Gᴀʀᴏ (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Bodic)
Aŋ-o   matcu   doŋ-a
1sɢ-ʟᴏᴄ cow   be-ʜᴀʙ
'I have a cow' (Burling 1961: 12)

(144) Kʜᴀᴍ (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Bodic)
a. Biza-e   o-rmẽ:h   li-zya
   rat-ɢᴇɴ   3sɢ-tail   be-ᴄᴏɴᴛ
   'The rat has a tail' (Watters 2002: 202)

b. Ŋa-sə   tə-rupiya   li-zya
   1sɢ-ᴄᴏᴍ one-rupee   be-ᴄᴏɴᴛ
   'I have one rupee' (Watters 2002: 218)

(145) Dᴀғʟᴀ (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, North Assam)
Lok   nyi   ak   da-tla   ka   anyiga   da-tleya
once   man   one   be-ᴄᴏɴᴠ.ᴘᴀsᴛ   son   two   be-3ᴅᴜ.ᴘᴀsᴛ
'A man had two sons' (Grierson 1909: 603)

(146) Mᴇɪᴛʜᴇɪ (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Meithei)
Mi   ama-gi   ma-cha   nipa   ani   lai-rammi
man   one-ɢᴇɴ   his-child   male   two   be-3ᴘʟ.ᴘᴀsᴛ
'A man had two sons' (Grierson 1904: 33)

(147)   LUSHAI (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Naga-Kuki-Chin)
       Ka   hnêna   a   om
       1SG   to   it   be
       'I have it' (Lorraine and Savidge 1898: 21)

(148)   BURMESE (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Burmese-Lolo)
       Cunto-hma   pai-hsan   hyí
       1SG-at   money   exist
       'I have some money' (Okell 1969: 130)

(149)   QIANG (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Qiangic)
       ʔũ-dʑoʁu-le: qa-tɑ   ʂə
       2SG-key-DEF.CLASS   1SG-LOC   exist
       'Your key is at my place/ I have your key' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 99)

In the Tibeto-Burman languages under discussion here, deranking of temporal and other adverbial clauses is a very prominent strategy in clause chaining. In Classical Tibetan, for example, hardly any balanced temporal sequencing can be found. As for the morphological make-up of deranked predicate forms, we find the by now familiar mix of converbs (characterized by suffixes on the bare verb stem) and oblique verbal nouns (characterized by case suffixes on an overtly marked nominalized form). The distinction between the two types of deranked forms is, however, not very strict, as many converbal suffixes have their origin in locational or instrumental case markers. A synchronic case which illustrates this point is the converbal marker -*illɛ* in Limbu, which is also in use as the instrumental case marker on nouns. Similarly, the converbal markers -*on* in Garo, -*in* in Lushai, -*la* in Dafla, and -*hma* in Burmese all double as locative case markers in their respective languages.

Although some of the languages have deranked forms that are specialized into same-subject conditions only, most converbs and oblique verbal nouns allow absolute use as well. Nominative (or ergative) case for the subjects of deranked predicates seems to be the norm, but, as the below examples from Newari and Garo illustrate, genitive marking is not totally excluded.

(150)   CLASSICAL NEWARI (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan)
    a. Thva   kanya   vam-na-va rajaputra-n mitra-yake pha-lam
       DEM   girl.NOM go-VN-SOC   prince-AG   friend-DIR say-INDIC
       'When the girl had gone, the prince said to his friend'

                                     (Jörgensen 1941: 69)

b. Simha-ya   pyatya-na-va
   lion-GEN   become.hungry-SOC
   'When the lion had become hungry' (Jörgensen 1941: 23)

(151) THAKALI (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan)

a. Ra   ki   kjá-si   soto   ra   ki   ra-pa   mu-ci
   goat   one   cry-CONV   other   goat   one   know-PCP   be
   'One goat cried, the other goat was smart/ While one goat was
   crying,...' (Georg 1996: 127)

b. Sarma   k'a-jaṅse   ćantrama   njaṅcá   mraṅ-la   a
   clouds   come-CONV.COND   moon   1PL   see-INF   NEG
   k'am
   can
   'If there are clouds, we can't see the moon' (Georg 1996: 129)

c. Ki   k'a-pa-e   ontro   t'e   jul   pi-si   je-ci
   2SG   come-VN-GEN   before   3SG   village   leave-CONV   go-PAST
   'He left the village before you came' (Georg 1996: 133)

d. Apá   curi   k'a-pa-e   cipári   ṅa   Comsom   je-ci
   father   here   come-VN-GEN   after   1SG   C.   go-PAST
   'After father had come here, I went to Jomsom' (Georg 1996: 219)

(152) LEPCHA (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan)

a. Hu-nun   tyáng   shang-lel-lung-sa   a-lun
   he-ERG   all   waste-finish-VN-GEN   after
   o-thà   lyang   ore-kà   kritnam   ngun-non-ne
   then   country   that-LOC   famine   happen-go-PAST.INDIC
   'When he had squandered everything, a famine came to happen in
   that country' (Grierson 1909: 244)

b. Ado-sa   akup   lot-thi-wung-sa-do
   you-GEN   son   back-come-VN-GEN-on
   ho-nun   dun   klong-ma
   you-ERG   feast   give-PRES.INDIC
   'Now that your son has returned, you give a feast'
                       (Grierson 1909: 246)

(153) LIMBU (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan)
   Kɔŋ   mɛnchuma-'n   laŋghe'g-ʔillɛ   ku-laŋbuk   sa'rik   muk
   this   lady-ABS   walk-GER/INSTR   her-footsteps   very   beat
   'When this lady walks, her footsteps make a lot of noise'
                       (Van Driem 1987: 233)

(154) Classical Tibetan (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan)
       Na   sa   tub-tub-la   kyod-di   sin   kyon
       1SG.ERG   meat   cut-cut-DAT   2SG-ERG   wood   bring
       'While I am cutting the meat into pieces, you must bring some wood'
                                                          (Jäschke 1929: 58)

(155) Ladakhi (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan)
       Kho   azhang-ngi   khangpa-la   sleb-za-na
       he.ABS   uncle-GEN   house-to   arrive-VN-LOC
       azhang-ngis   nangla   khrid-de   khyer-s
       uncle-ERG   inside   lead-PCP   take-PAST.INDIC
       'When he arrived at his uncle's house, the uncle took him inside'
                                                          (Grierson 1909: 69)

(156) Garo (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Bodic)

       a. U-a   sokba-on   aŋ-a   ca'-gen
          3SG-NOM   arrive-LOC/CONV   1SG-NOM   eat-FUT
          'When he arrives, I will eat' (Burling 1961: 30)

       b. U-ni   okam-on   aŋ-a   re'aŋ-aha
          3SG-GEN   call-LOC/CONV   1SG-NOM   go-PERF
          'When he called/ At his call, I went' (Burling 1961: 31)

       c. Tusi-mitiŋ-o   jumaŋ   nik-aha
          sleep-with-LOC   dream   see-PERF
          'While (I) was sleeping, I had a dream' (Burling 1961: 31)

(157) Kham (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Bodic)

       a. O-ma-hu-də   zə   ŋa-zyu-ke
          3SG-NEG-come-CONV   EMP   1SG-eat-PERF
          'He having not come, I ate': 'I ate before he came'
                                                          (Watters 2002: 212)

       b. Həi   o-ra-do-kə   te   la:-ke-rə
          thus   3SG-3PL-say-CONV   FOC   take-PERF-3PL
          'When he told them, they took it' (Watters 2002: 331)

       c. Həi   ya-li-zya-o-tə   zə   nuhl   ta-ke
          thus   3PL-say-CONT-NMNL-on   EMP   destruction   be-PERF
          'While they were speaking, destruction happened'
                                                          (Watters 2002: 321)

(158) Dafla (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, North Assam)
       Ha   guda   hâ   dema   durre   u-t-la
       that   country   in   great   famine   become-PAST-LOC

> müg   ai   da-pa-ma-tla
> his   belly   eat-get-NEG-PAST
> 'When a great famine came to pass in that country, he could not get food' (Grierson 1909: 603)

(159) MEITHEI (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Meithei)
> Nəŋ-nə   lingwistiks   təm-pi-pə-tə
> you-CONTRAST   linguistics   teach-RECIP-NMNL-LOC
> əy   núŋay-í
> 1SG   be.happy-NONHYP
> 'When you teach (me) linguistics, I am happy' (Chelliah 1997: 95)

(160) LUSHAI (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Naga-Kuki-Chin)
> Ka   lo-thlen'-in   a-in   a   lo-kâng
> 1SG   towards-arrive-LOC   his-house   3SG   towards-burn
> 'When I arrived, his house was burning' (Lorrain and Savidge 1898: 28)

(161) BURMESE (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Burmese-Lolo)
> Qalou'   pi:-hma   cano   htamin   sa-ya-me
> work   finish-at   I   food   eat-can-FUT
> 'Only when/if the work is finished, I will get a chance to eat'
>   (Cornyn and Roop 1968: 262)

(162) QIANG (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Qiangic)
> a. Qa   stuɑhɑ   tchə-lai   the: jan   tʂhe
>   1SG   rice   eat-CONV.SIM   3SG   cigarette   smoke
>   'When/while I am eating, s/he is smoking'
>   (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 164)

> b. Qa   tɟəu-lɑ   kə-s-tɑ   the: ləɣz   su-ji
>   1SG home-LOC   go-VN-LOC   3SG   book   study-ASP
>   'When I came home, s/he was already studying'
>   (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 165)

9.9 Middle East and North Africa

Apart from the Eurasian landmass, the Middle East and North Africa is the second area in which the Locational Possessive is an important option of possession encoding. The area is occupied largely by the various branches of the Afro-Asiatic family, and for some subfamilies we can trace a Locational Possessive back to ancient times. Thus, it has been established that Old Egyptian had a Locational Possessive, which was characterized by the dative

prefix or preposition *n* 'to' on the possessor. The option is retained in Coptic, the descendant of Old Egyptian.

(163) OLD EGYPTIAN (Afro-Asiatic, Egyptian)
        Nb   n-j
        gold   to-1SG
        'I have gold' (Benveniste 1966: 202)

(164) COPTIC (Afro-Asiatic, Egyptian)
        Oyon   nt-ak   noyhvos   mmay
        exist   to-2SG   gown   there
        'You have a gown' (Mallon 1956: 155)

Whether Old Egyptian had anything that could be analysed as some form of deranking is unclear. In any case, Coptic turns out to have a nominalized verb form called the infinitive, which can be used as subject, object, and as complement of prepositions.[16] As predicate in temporal clauses the infinitive occurs with the prepositions *n* 'at, in' (for simultaneity) or *menensa* 'after' (for anterior action). Furthermore, Coptic has a verbal noun, which is derived from the verb stem by the prefix *djin-* or *djin-thre-*; it is a masculine noun, which takes the article *p-/pi-*. In construction with the preposition *khen* 'in, among, with', this formation encodes simultaneous clauses.

(165) COPTIC (Afro-Asiatic, Egyptian)
        a. Na-f-neou   n-aschai   pe
           IMPERF-3SG.M-walk   at-grow.INF   IMPERF
           'It [i.e. the word of God] went and multiplied' (Acts, 12:24)
                                                           (Mallon 1956: 129)

        b. Menensa   thre   p-Sois   schari   e
           after   PRT   ART.Lord   hit.INF   to
           phiaro   n-Chèmi
           ART.river GEN-Egypt
           'After the Lord had struck the river of Egypt' (Mallon 1956: 131)

        c. Khen   p-djinthre-f-sôtem   ndje   palou   n-Abraham
           in/with   ART.M-VN-his-hear   SUBJ   art.m.servant GEN-A.
           e   paisadji
           to   ART.PL.word
           'When Abraham's servant heard these words' (Mallon 1956: 136)

[16] For the rather complex formation of this infinitive see Mallon 1956: 86 8.

Older forms of the Semitic languages demonstrate the choice of a Locational Possessive as well. Both Biblical Hebrew and Classical Arabic marked the possessor by a dative preposition/prefix, with the form *le-* (Hebrew) or *li* (Arabic). This option has been retained in Modern Hebrew. In the two sampled modern Arabic variants, the dative marking on the possessor has been replaced by a preposition with the basic meaning 'at'.[17]

(166)   BIBLICAL HEBREW (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic)
        Hayah' so'n   le-'Abraham
        existed cattle to-A.
        'Abraham had cattle' (Lambdin 1971: 56)

(167)   CLASSICAL ARABIC (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic)
        Kaana-t li Zayd-in   xubzatu-n
        was-F to Z.-GEN   loaf-INDEF
        'Zayd had a loaf' (Comrie 1989: 216)

(168)   MODERN HEBREW (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic)
        Le-Yarden yesh meleh
        to-Jordan exist king
        'Jordan has a king' (Glinert 1989: 168)

(169)   CAIRENE ARABIC (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic)
        ʕand-i   ʕarabijja
        at/with-1SG   car
        'I have a car' (Gary and Gamal-Eldin 1982: 49)

(170)   MALTESE (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic)
        Pawlu għand-u ktieb
        P.   at-him   book
        'Pawlu has a book' (Comrie 1989: 213)

Like Coptic, both Biblical Hebrew and Classical Arabic possessed a verbal noun or infinitive, which, in these two languages, was formed by way of a specific vocalization pattern. In construction with a preposition, such as the locative marker *be-/bi-* (Hebrew) or *ba-* (Arabic) for simultaneous action, the infinitive could encode a deranked temporal clause. Such forms could have their own subjects, which were constructed either as a possessive suffix or as a nominative. In Modern Hebrew this form of deranking still survives, albeit that its use is deemed 'particularly formal' (Glinert 1989: 315) nowadays. In Cairene Arabic

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[17] As we have seen in Section 6.4, the possessive construction in Maltese is in a process of transitivization.

and Maltese the form appears to have been abandoned altogether. As a result, these two variants of modern Arabic must be rated as counter-examples to the central claim of this chapter, at least from a synchronic point of view.

(171)   BIBLICAL HEBREW (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic)

    a. Be-ʿamd-i   lepanay-ô
       in-stand.INF-my   before-him
       'When/while I stood before him' (Lambdin 1971: 129)

    b. Min   mosa'   dabar
       from go.out.INF.CONSTR word
       'After the word went out' (Wim Delsman p.c)

(172)   MODERN HEBREW (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic)
    Bi-shmo'a   Mirjam et   hajedi'a
    in-hearing.CONV Mirjam ACC the.news
    'On Mirjam hearing the news' (Glinert 1989: 315)

(173)   CLASSICAL ARABIC (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic)
    Ba-duhuli-ni   al-bayta   kataba
    in-enter.VN-my the-house.ACC write.3SG.M.PAST
    'As I entered the house, he was writing' (Cees Versteegh p.c.)

As we have noted in Section 3.6, the two sampled languages from the southern branch of Semitic (Amharic and Tigre), as well as the Berber languages, have a Topic-Locational hybrid construction; they will be discussed in Chapter 11. Among the four sampled languages of the Cushitic branch of Afro-Asiatic, only Bedawi and Bilin have the option of a Locational Possessive. The other two Cushitic languages in the sample, Oromo and Somali, have a Have-Possessive, an option which is available for Bedawi and Bilin as well (see Section 12.10).

(174)   BEDAWI (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)
    Hámmed-i geb   reû   e-fi
    H.-GEN   at/side money 3SG.M-be.PRES
    'Hammed has money' (Reinisch 1893 II: 96)

(175)   BILIN (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)
    Gədəŋ   ərg-əx^w all-u
    dog.NOM be -3SG.M.PRES to-him
    'He has a dog' (Tucker and Bryan 1966: 544)

Absolute deranking of temporal clauses in Bedawi and Bilin can take the form of oblique verbal nouns. The formation is based on a nominalization which consists of the verb stem plus a suffix (*-e* in Bedawi, *-na* in Bilin), and which

can be provided with various locative case suffixes or postpositions to encode a range of adverbial meanings. Such forms allow different-subject conditions, in which case their subjects are encoded in the nominative case. Quite untypically, indexing of the subject on the deranked predicate is required, by means of pronominal subject affixes.

In addition, Bilin has a subordinate verb form which is called the 'synchronous' or 'simultaneous mood'. The formation is marked by the suffix -*u*; according to Reinisch (1882: 81), the form is probably an old action nominal. As its label indicates, the form expresses simultaneity, and can be used under same-subject as well as different-subject conditions. A subject is in the nominative case, and is represented in the predicate by means of the set of personal infixes that are also used for main predicates. Unlike main predicates, however, the simultaneous mood does not have tense marking.

(176) BEDAWI (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)

    a. Aní   o-gaû   šum-an-e-hob   Bilal ḍábya
       1SG.NOM ART-house enter-1SG.PERF-VN-at B.   already
       í-he
       3SG.PERF-go
       'When I entered the house, Bilal was already gone'

                                   (Reinisch 1893: III.190)

    b. Sak-nan-e-k   e-ya
       leave-1PL.PERF-VN-from 3SG.PERF-come
       'When we had left, he came' (Reinisch 1893: III.190)

(177) BILIN (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)

    a. Kuára lab-ø-na-dí   nı   kaû-l   γéruχ
       sun   go.down-3SG-VN-COM 3SG.NOM house-DAT go.3SG.PERF
       'When the sun had set, he went home' (Reinisch 1882: 60)

    b. Qŭ-n-u   tû-na   ílla
       eat-1PL.CONV.SIM enter-VN not.be.3SG.PRES
       'While we eat, nobody is allowed to enter' (Reinisch 1882: 54)

To conclude our investigation of Afro-Asiatic, we must consider the four sampled members of the Chadic branch. For all these languages a Locational Possessive can be documented, although at least for Hausa and Margi a With-Possessive seems to be the more usual option. In any case, the Locational Possessive in Chadic is matched by deranked temporal clauses, which are built around verbal nouns. In Hausa, this verbal noun is used in construction with prepositions, such as the item *dà* 'with'; use of this item indicates simultaneity. In the other three Chadic

languages in the sample, verbal nouns in temporal clauses do not occur with prepositions. Instead, the deranked clause, with its nominalized predicate, is placed in the position of a sentential topic. In all four languages, subjects of deranked temporal clauses take genitival marking.

(178) HAUSA (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic)

a. Akwai mota gare   shi
   exist   car   with/at him
   'He has a car' (Cowan and Schuh 1976: 69)

b. Sabuwǎř munduwa ce   dà   ita
   new   bracelet be.SG.F with her
   'She has a new bracelet' (Newman 2000: 161)

(179) HAUSA (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic)

a. Dà   zuwà-nsà   sai   aikı
   with   come.VN-his then work
   'When he comes, then (there is a lot of) work'
                                    (Kraft and Kirk-Greene 1973: 189)

b. Dà   isôwǎř-sà   sai   sarkı   ya   yi   tsalle
   with   arrive.VN-his then chief   3SG.M   do   jump.VN
   'On his arrival, the chief jumped up' (Newman 2000: 560)

(180) TERA (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic)

a. Ali koro   xa-nda
   A.   donkey with-him
   'Ali has a donkey' (Newman 1970: 136)

b. Mejin xa   rem
   money with   us
   'We have money' (Newman 1970: 25)

(181) TERA (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic)
Gab-te   be   Shoka   ne   gar,   Mapulu te   nji
return-VN   of   Squirrel to   bush   Hyena   SEQ   eat
zu-a   bara
meat-the   away
'As soon as Squirrel returned to the bush, Hyena ate up the meat'
                                    (Newman 1970: 96)

(182) MARGI (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic)
Cédè   á'ì   àrá -yú̱
money   exist   with-me
'I have money' (Hoffmann 1963: 241)

(183) Margi (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic)
    Fàr   pádə   kù   nì   gà   shìlí
    cease.vn rain.gen this 1sg narr come
    'As soon as this rain ceased, I came' (Hoffmann 1963: 182)

(184) Hdi (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic)

    a. Màá hlà dà íí
        exist cow at 1sg
        'There is a cow at my place'; 'I have a cow' (it may or may not be mine) (Frajzyngier 2001: 351)

    b. Màmú kóɓù dà tsí
        exist   money at 3sg
        'She has money' (Frajzyngier 2001: 351)

(185) Hdi (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic)

    a. Lámà   krì   dá xàdà kà   hlànághá-tá-tsí t-úvá
        enter.vn dog.gen to here then find-he-him   obj-cat
        'When Dog entered there, he found Cat' (Frajzyngier 2001: 484)

    b. Tà   wáwàkú-ání   krì
        impf walk.around.vn-his dog.gen
        'While Dog was taking a walk' (Frajzyngier 2001: 485)

9.10 Other African languages

In contrast to Afro-Asiatic, where the Locational Possessive is a major option, the other three language phyla in Africa show only occasional use of this type. In Khoisan, the type is not attested at all. In Nilo-Saharan, Locational Possessives are clearly a minor option when compared to the other three possession types, and they seldom are the only option in a language. Thus, the Locational Possessive of Kanuri, one of the two sampled languages of the Saharan branch of Nilo-Saharan, is in competition with a With-Possessive and a Topic Possessive. In this Locational Possessive, the possessor is encoded by a pronominal possessive suffix (*nâ* 'place') on the noun, which in its turn is followed by the locative suffix -*n* 'at'. The construction is matched by deranked predicate formations that can be viewed as oblique verbal nouns. These formations allow their own subject, which is in the nominative case and can be indexed on the deranked predicate by a pronominal possessive affix.

(186)   KANURI (Nilo-Saharan, Saharan)

    a. Nâ-nze-n   kabi   mbeji
       place-his-at   arrow   exist
       'He has an arrow' (Cyffer 1974: 109)

    b. Nâ-nyî-n   tátà   bâ
       place-my-at   boy   not.be
       'I have no boy' (Lukas 1937: 29)

(187)   KANURI (Nilo-Saharan, Saharan)

    a. Kəska-də   gana-nzə-lan   dungokkəgəmin
       tree-DET   be.small.VN-3SG.POSS-in   bend.2SG.IMPERF
       'When the tree is small, you can bend it' (Hutchison 1976: 139)

    b. Ləmân   bannazâi   avíma   gapsə́-ny-rò
       money   waste.3PL.PRES   anything   be.left.VN-NEG-DAT
       'They waste money so that/until nothing is left' (Lukas 1937: 164)

In Nobiin, a language also known as Nile Nubian or Fadicca Nubian, a Locational Possessive doubles with a Have-Possessive. The Locational Possessive is characterized by various locative suffixes on the possessor; it is probable that this variation corresponds to semantic differences within the domain of possession. These locational options are matched by a system of deranked forms. For simultaneous events a converbal form is used, marked by the suffix -*in* on the verb stem; this suffix is also the marker of the genitive in nominals. For anterior action the language employs this same converb, but in this case it is followed by the postposition *baatta* 'after'. These deranked forms can (or maybe even must) be employed under different-subject conditions; subjects are either in the nominative or in the genitive case.

(188)   NOBIIN (Nile/Fadicca Nubian) (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic)

    a. Ai-lok   nog   wei   darin
       1SG-at   house   one   be.3SG.F.PRES
       'I have a house' (Reinisch 1879: 119)

    b. Shíbírr-al   úkkí   dàarì
       basket-LOC   ear   be.3SG.PRES
       'The basket has ears' (Werner 1987: 316)

(189)   NOBIIN (Nile/Fadicca Nubian) (Nilo-Saharan, Eastern Sudanic)

    a. Àagà   kàar-in   iíg   díijòn
       he   search-GEN/CONV   fire   go.out.3SG.PAST
       'While he was searching, the fire went out' (Werner 1987: 320)

b. Tàríin   kɪré-n   baatta   fà   aaylò
   he.GEN   come-GEN   after   FUT   do.1PL.PRES
   'We will do (it) after he comes' (Werner 1987: 139)

Songhay, a language from Mali, is the westernmost Nilo-Saharan language, which is geographically isolated from the other branches of the phylum. The language knows considerable dialectal divergence, and the various dialects differ from each other both in terms of their possessive encoding options and with respect to their possibilities in deranking. In the Songhay dialect called Djenné Chiini (Heath 1999) we can attest a number of different manifestations of the Locational Possessive, some of which encode temporary possession, while others seem to have an alienable interpretation.

(190)   SONGHAY (Djenné Chiini dialect) (Nilo-Saharan, Songhay)

a. Kuumuu   goo   ay   ga
   hoe   be   1SG   by
   'I have a hoe on me' (temporary physical possession or custody)
   (Heath 1999: 152)

b. Na   a   hiney   go   ni   see
   if   3SG means   be   2SG   DAT
   'If you have the means of (=for) it' (= 'if you can afford it')
   (Heath 1999: 401)

c. Takoula   go   nda   ay
   bread   be   with   me
   'I have bread' (Hacquard and Dupuis 1897: 29)

Unlike other dialects of Songhay, Djenné Chiini has the option to derank temporal clauses under different-subject conditions. This is effectuated by means of a so-called 'participial form', which consists of the verb stem plus the suffix -*nte*. That such forms are nominalizations is illustrated by the fact that they can be marked for definiteness. On the other hand, the form must also be assumed to retain some degree of verbal character, seeing that its subjects are encoded in the nominative case.

(191)   SONGHAY (Djenné Chiini dialect) (Nilo-Saharan, Songhay)

a. A   key-nte   di
   3SG stand-PCP DEF
   'While it is standing' (Heath 1999: 396)

b. A   kaa-nte   ay   guna   ga   mɔreyda
   3SG come-PCP   1SG   see   3SG.OBJ now
   'I saw him right after he came (back)' (Heath 1999: 423)

   c. Baana di   kay-nte   ka   bɛn, fufu   di   sinti
      rain   DEF   stop-PCP   INF   end   coldness DEF   begin
      'After the rainy season stops, the cold weather begins'

<div align="right">(Heath 1999: 423)</div>

Finally, we can note occurrences of the Locational Possessive in two of the sampled languages from the Central Sudanic branch of Nilo-Saharan. Ma'di, an East Sudanic language, encodes predicative possession through the locative/dative postposition *dr* 'at, to' on the possessor.[18] In its deranking options, Ma'di is similar to Djenné Chiini in several respects. Again, we see that temporal clauses can be absolutely deranked by turning the predicate into a subordinate verb form, which can be followed by a definiteness marker; in some cases, such as when the clause has a causal interpretation, the deranked form can be followed by a postposition. In contrast to Djenné Chiini, however, subjects of the deranked form are marked for genitive case by way of a postposition.

(192) MA'DI (Nilo-Saharan, East Central Sudanic)

   a. Àma   drɨ́   ɔ̀pɨ́   a?à
      1PL.EXCL   at/to   chiefs   present
      'We have chiefs' (Blackings and Fabb 2003: 230)

   b. Lɛà   na   drɨ́   ɓará   a?à
      elephant   DET   at/to   child   present
      'That elephant has a child' (Blackings and Fabb 2003: 319)

(193) MA'DI (Nilo-Saharan, East Central Sudanic)

   a. Mu-re   rɨ́   ma   ɓàrú   ìjo
      go-SUBORD   DEF   1SG   home   absent
      'When (he) was going I was not at home'

<div align="right">(Blackings and Fabb 2003: 194)</div>

   b. Má   ?à   ndrɛ-rɛ   rɨ́   ɔ-sʊ   sátɨ́   íka
      1SG   GEN   see-SUBORD   DEF   3-wear   shirt   red
      'When I saw him, he was wearing a red shirt'

<div align="right">(Blackings and Fabb 2003: 198)</div>

   c. Àmà   ásí   ìgɓé   ɔ̀pɨ́   ?à   e-mú-ka   sɨ̀
      1PL.EXCL   heart   cold   O.   GEN   VENT-go-SUBORD   INSTR
      'We are happy because Opi is coming/has come'

<div align="right">(Blackings and Fabb 2003: 209)</div>

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[18] In addition to this Locational Possessive Ma'di has a With Possessive.

In the West Central Sudanic language Bongo we find a Locational Possessive that is characterized by the dative adposition *jí* 'to' on the possessor. This option is matched by absolutely deranked temporal clauses, which can take the form of oblique verbal nouns. As is common, different adpositions in these oblique verbal noun complexes encode different semantic notions of temporality.

(194)   BONGO (Nilo-Saharan, West Central Sudanic)
        Sha   na   ji-ba   kotu
        cow   be   to-him   one
        'He has one cow' (Santandrea 1963: 24)

(195)   BONGO (Nilo-Saharan, West Central Sudanic)

    a. 'Dugba   ba   rɔ   'bugu
       3PL.catch.PAST   him   on   steal.VN
       'They caught him when he was stealing' (Santandrea 1963: 92)

    b. Mba   gima   h-uta   ma   'bɛne   na
       mother   child   3SG.F-see.PAST   child   her   with
       mui
       die.VN
       'The mother of the child found her child when/while it was dying'
                            (Santandrea 1963: 92)

    c. B-uta   kpurr   do   'bii
       3SG.M-find.PAST   lion   at   sleep.VN
       'He found the lion asleep' (Santandrea 1963: 92)

    d. M-otá   bá,   amata   'bèè   'bèè
       1SG-see   him   arrive.INF   home   home
       'I saw him, when he was arriving home' (Santandrea 1963: 69)

In the various branches of Niger-Kordofanian, the fourth language phylum in Africa, Locational Possessives do not, as a rule, occur at all. The conspicuous exception to this is formed by the Mande languages of West Africa. Bambara marks its possessors by means of the locative/instrumental postposition *fɛ* 'at, with'.[19] The other four Mande languages in the sample have a Locational Possessive in which the possessor NP is constructed as the adnominal possessor to a locational noun with the meaning 'hand'.[20] Thus, a construction

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[19] The postposition *fè* in Bambara is, in all probability, a grammaticalization from an old locational noun meaning 'side'. The *fè* construction is also documented for Malinke; in this language, the construction has temporary possessive meaning.

[20] In some of the languages at issue, such as Kpelle, the locational *hand* noun is marked overtly for locative case, by means of a suffix or postposition. In other languages there is no overt case marking on the locational noun. However, this is not a special feature of this possessive construction: locative phrases are generally unmarked in these languages.

like 'my brother has money' gets a literal rendition along the lines of 'money is in/at my brother's hand'. It should be remarked, however, that in this construction the original meaning of the locational noun has been 'bleached' completely, and the construction is fully grammaticalized into a Locational Possessive which now covers alienable possession as well as temporary possession (Bernd Heine p.c.).[21]

(196)   BAMBARA (Niger-Kordofanian, Mande)
Mobili bè n' fè
car   be 1SG with/at
'I have a car' (Bird and Kante 1976: 54)

(197)   VAI (Niger-Kordofanian, Mande)
Kápà náánì bɛ́ ŋg bɔ̀'ɔ̀
cent four   be my hand
'I have four cents' (Welmers 1976: 51)

(198)   KPELLE (Niger-Kordofanian, Mande)
Seng-kau káa nang   yee-ì
money   be   father hand-at
'Father has money' (Welmers 1973: 316)

(199)   KORANKO (Niger-Kordofanian, Mande)
Wodi   yé n   bolo
money be my hand
'I have money' (Kastenholz 1987: 112)

(200)   MALINKE (Niger-Kordofanian, Mande)

a. Baa   fula be m   bolo
   goat two   be my hand
   'I have two goats' (Labouret 1934: 209)

b. Wari   te   m   fe
   money not.be my side
   'I don't have money (with me)' (Delafosse 1929: 194)

In addition to various possibilities of balanced encoding, all five of the sampled Mande languages have a deranked construction for temporal clauses.

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[21] The *hand* construction for possession encoding can be found in West Africa outside the Mande family as well. An example is Ewe, a Kwa language from Ghana.

(i)   EWE (Niger Kordofanian, Kwa)
So   le Sobi si
horse be S.   hand
'Sobi has a horse' (Westermann 1907: 75)

In this construction, the deranked predicate can be viewed as either a converb or as a verbal noun, as it consists of the verb stem followed by a locational (i.e. a locative, a dative, or an ablative) suffix. Such deranked forms, which are commonly called 'participles' in the literature, can take their own subjects.

(201)   BAMBARA (Niger-Kordofanian, Mande)
    An   fa   bo-len   (kó)   an   ye   mankan-ci   damine
    1PL father go-PCP.PAST (after) 1PL PAST noise-make begin
    'After our father had left, we began to make noise'
                               (Bird and Kante 1976: 55)

(202)   VAI (Niger-Kordofanian, Mande)
    Anda   senenu   binda-re,   anda   ta
    they   farms   burn-at/to they   go
    'When they had burned the farms, they left' (Koelle 1854: 91)

(203)   KPELLE (Niger-Kordofanian, Mande)
    À   pà,   nga pa-î   lî-ì
    3SG.COND come.at I   come-PRES go-VN
    'If/when he comes, I will go' (Welmers 1973: 363)

(204)   KORANKO (Niger-Kordofanian, Mande)
    Dùndɔ   tinbi   kéke-la   ń   si   wúli
    rooster PRT   crow-at I   HAB   rise
    'When the rooster crows, I get up' (Kastenholz 1987: 264)

(205)   MALINKE (Niger-Kordofanian, Mande)
    a. A   tara-to   kōngo-la   sā-ngyi be-ra-hali
       he/his go-PCP   countryside-to rain   fall-PAST-heavy
       'As he went to the country, it rained heavily' (Delafosse 1929: 263)

    b. A   sa-le-ko   a   doro-kyè   sigi-ra   a
       he/his die-PCP-from his younger.brother sit-PAST his
       no-na
       place-in
       'After he died, his younger brother succeeded him'
                             (Delafosse 1929: 263)

Apart from Mande, I have found one additional instance of the Locational Possessive in Niger-Kordofanian. In one of the possessive constructions of the Gur language Supyire, the possessor is marked by the dative postposition *á* 'to'. The construction is matched by an absolutely deranked temporal clause, in which the predicate takes the form of an oblique verbal noun.

(206)   SUPYIRE (Niger-Kordofanian, Gur)

Tafwɔnrê-boro   na   wá   Mpi   á
rotting-sack   PROG   be.there   Hare   to
'Hare has a sack which causes rotting' (Carlson 1994: 248)

(207)   SUPYIRE (Niger-Kordofanian, Gur)

a. Uru   u   a   pyi   mii   shyéré-ŋi   wyɛr'ɛ-ŋi
   he.EMP   he   PERF   be   my   witness-DEF   money-DEF
   tà-kan-gé   e
   VN-give-DEF   at
   'It was he who was my witness when the money was given'

(Carlson 1994: 111)

b. pi   num-bahabii   na,   ciga   à   cwo
   they   VN-playing.DEF   on,   tree.DEF   PERF   fall
   'While they were playing, the tree fell' (R. Carlson 1990: 962)

9.11 Indian and Pacific Ocean

While the Locational Possessive is firmly entrenched in the Eurasian mega-area, this type of possession encoding is encountered only incidentally in the neighbouring area formed by east and south-east Asia, the Indian Ocean, and the Pacific Ocean. In the languages of south-east Asia the Locational Possessive is not found at all. Within Austronesian, we find a concentration of Locational Possessives on the easternmost flank of the phylum, in the languages of Polynesia and the East Oceanic language Fijian. In all of the four sampled languages at issue, the possessor is marked by a preposition indicating a genitive/dative meaning. The construction is matched by a deranking option for temporal clauses. Such clauses contain a nominalized verb form, commonly marked by a nominalizing suffix and a nominal article. In some cases, this nominalized verb form is governed by a locational preposition, so that we can rate the formation as an instance of the deranking category of oblique verbal nouns. In other cases, the locational preposition is lacking, and the deranked clause is placed in sentence-topic position. Deranked clauses can take their own subject, which is put in the genitive case or has the form of a possessive pronoun.

(208)   FIJIAN (Austronesian, East Oceanic)

Sa   tu   vei   au   e   dua   na   isele
PERF   stand   to   me   PRED   one   ART   knife
'I have a knife' (Churchward 1941: 40)

(209)   FIJIAN (Austronesian, East Oceanic)

    a. Na   neitou   tiko   mai kea
      ART   our   stay.VN to   there
      'While we were there' (Schütz 1985: 399)

    b. Nona   curu   ga   yani
      his   enter.VN LIM DIR
      'Just as he entered' (Schütz 1985: 399)

(210)   MAORI (Austronesian, Polynesian)
    E   pepa   ta   Tere
    PRES paper of T.
    'Tere has some paper' (Rere 1965: 26)

(211)   MAORI (Austronesian, Polynesian)

    a. I   tooku   haere-nga mai i   Taupo, i   konei   a
      at   my   return-VN DIR at T.   at this.place ART
      Paka e   noho ana
      P.   PAST sit   LOC
      'When I returned from Taupo, Paka was sitting there'
                               (Krupa 1968: 35)

    b. Te   tae-nga   o   Hutu   ki   raro
      ART arrive-VN of H.   to   below
      'When Hutu arrived in the underworld' (Chung 1978: 300)

(212)   SAMOAN (Austronesian, Polynesian)
    Sa   i ai   ia   Sina se   ta'avale
    PAST exist to S.   ART car
    'Sina had a car' (Marsack 1975: 54)

(213)   SAMOAN (Austronesian, Polynesian)
    'O le   sau   a   le   ta'avale a   leoleo,
    PRT ART come.VN of ART car   of police
    'ou te   le   malamalama 'i   ai
    I   UNSPEC not   understand   to   it
    'When the police car came, I wasn't aware of it' (Chung 1978: 306)

(214)   TAHITIAN (Austronesian, Polynesian)
    'E   fare   nehenehe to tera ta'ata
    PRES house nice   of that man
    'That man has a nice house' (Tryon 1970: 55)

(215) TAHITIAN (Austronesian, Polynesian)
’I   te   ara-ra’a   mai teie   vahine   ua   tupu   te
at   ART   wake up-NMNL   DIR this woman   PERF grow   ART
tumu   ’uru
tree   breadfruit
‘When this woman woke up, the breadfruit tree had grown’
(Tryon 1970: 124)

Outside Polynesia, I have documented a Locational Possessive in three other
Austronesian languages, two of which belong to the East Indonesian branch of
the phylum. Both languages employ prepositions to mark the possessor. In
Waropen, the marker is locative ('at, with'), while Banggai uses a preposition
with a general dative/locative meaning ('to, at, with').

(216) WAROPEN (Austronesian, East Indonesian)
Buigha ana ri   Ghafai
clam   be   at/with   G.
‘Ghafai has a clam’ (Held 1942: 6)

(217) BANGGAI (Austronesian, East Indonesian)
Guet-guet   doi   aku   ano
palace   to   me   exist
‘I have a palace’ (Van Den Bergh 1953: 65)

Absolutely deranked constructions in both Waropen and Banggai can be of
the topicalized (i.e. non-oblique) verbal-noun type; in addition, Banggai can
also employ oblique verbal nouns. Subjects of the constructions are indexed
on the verbal noun in the form of possessive pronouns.

(218) WAROPEN (Austronesian, East Indonesian)
I-oba-gha   dan-gha,   na   wai-gha   kisi-kikapari
his-cut-ART   firewood-ART   with   stone-ART   3DU-light
‘While he cut firewood, the two others lit a torch’ (Held 1942: 146)

(219) BANGGAI (Austronesian, East Indonesian)
a. Kona   kita-an-o   do   mian   doo   mu   po-akate,
   3SG.POSS   see-VN-3SG.POSS   ART   people DEM   RM   PREF-fight
   sodo   pisil   ko   olojo
   just   oblique   ART   sun
   ‘As she saw the people that were fighting, it was a little past noon’
(Van Den Bergh 1953: 93)

b. Iaku   ku   inum-an-o   ko   tobui doo
   1SG.EMP 1SG   drink-VN-1SG.POSS ART   sea   DEM
   iana   ooti   memeeng
   3SG.EMP   dry   immediately
   'When I drank the sea, it went dry immediately'

(Van Den Bergh 1953: 95)

c. Doi   nggu montotooli-an labue   badaang nanggu
   at   my   guard-VN   rice.field much   I
   linongol palangujung   doi tolias
   hear   REPET-hum.VN   at   edge
   'As I was guarding the rice field, I heard a constant soft humming at
   the edge (of the field)' (Van Den Bergh 1953: 135)

The West Oceanic language Hiri Motu (or Police Motu) is a pidgin form of
Motu, the Austronesian language spoken in and around Port Moresby, the
capital of Papua New Guinea. Hiri Motu has a Locational Possessive con-
struction, in which the possessor is marked by the postposition *dekenai* 'to, at,
in, from, with' (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1994: 190). The construction is
matched by a deranked temporal clause type in Hanuabada Motu ('Village
Motu'), which is the substrate of Hiri Motu. This simultaneous clause has the
form of an oblique verbal noun, with the subject marked by way of a
possessive pronominal suffix.

(220)   HIRI MOTU (Austronesian, West Oceanic)
        lau   dekenai be   kavabu ia   noho
        1SG   LOC   ART   bottle 3SG   be
        'I have a bottle' (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1994: 139)

(221)   HANUABADA MOTU (Austronesian, West Oceanic)

        a. Boroma   na   i-ala-na-i   na   kau
           pig   the VN-kill-his-in I   arrive
           'While he was killing the pig, I arrived'

(Lister-Turner and Clark 1930: 52)

        b. Helai-na-i   na   pidi-a
           sit-his-in   I   shoot-it
           'I shot it while it was sitting' (Lister-Turner and Clark 1930: 52)

Among the Papuan languages, Locational Possessives are only encountered
sporadically, and as far as I can see there is no genetic or areal relationship
between the languages that have this option. Markers on the possessor include

a genitive/locative suffix (in Awtuw), a dative (or 'destinative') suffix (in Kâte), and a locative postposition (in Omie).

(222)   Awtuw (Papuan, Sepik)
    Wan-ke   piyren d-awkey
    1SG-GEN/LOC dog   REAL-exist
    'I have a dog' (Feldman 1986: 106)

(223)   Kâte (Papuan, Finisterre-Huon)
    Ngo-le   qato   ju-kopilec
    1SG-DEST dog   live-2DU.PRES
    'I have two dogs' (Pilhofer 1933: 109)

(223)   Omie (Papuan, Central and South-Eastern)
    Saʔae nasi   örire j-ev-e
    land   1SG.POSS LOC   be-3SG-PRES
    'I have land' (Austing and Upia 1995: 590)

Awtuw and Kâte provide direct matches with their possessive constructions, in that their deranked predicates are oblique verbal nouns which are marked by a genitive/locative and a destinative suffix, respectively. For Awtuw, we can speak of a locative absolute construction, as the subject of the oblique verbal noun is in the genitive/locative case as well. Parallel to this, we find an ablative absolute construction in Omie.[22]

(225)   Awtuw (Papuan, Sepik)
    yen-ke   ma-wey-e-wa-re-k
    2SG-GEN/LOC go-arrive-PAST-just-OBJ-LOC
    nom kil   de-alow   d-æ-ka-m
    1PL   speech FACT-talk FACT-go-PERF-PL
    'Since you arrived, we have gone on talking' (Feldman 1986: 169)

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[22] In addition to these oblique verbal nouns, Kâte and Omie have converbal constructions, which manifest themselves as so called 'medial verb forms'. In Kâte, absolute use of such forms is marked by a system of special personal suffixes on the medial verb.

(i)   Kâte (Papuan, Finisterre Huon)
    No   gie   sala ha pe   e   sac   hafe wec
    1SG field plant CONV.SIM 1SG 3SG fence bind 3SG.PAST
    'While I planted the field, he made a fence' (Pilhofer 1933: 36)

(ii)   Omie (Papuan, Central and South Eastern)
    a. ëne   rue romo   bure   rôv ade je
       rain come MED   wind   come 3SG.PAST AUX
       'It was raining and the wind was blowing' (Austing and Upia 1975: 567)

    b. Sisônuv amu   riʔöj ade jeʔ
       morning.come MED.PAST rise 3SG.PAST AUX
       'When morning came he got up' (Austing and Upia 1975: 569)

(226)   KÂTE (Papuan, Finisterre-Huon)
         mu-kicne-le   mi   mu-zo
         say-VN-DEST   NEG   say-POT
         'When/because it has been said, one cannot say it (again)'

                                                                    (Pilhofer 1933: 33)

(227)   OMIE (Papuan, Central and South-East)
         nasi   ʔam-ëro   ji-ëʔ-ëro   va-ʔejö
         my   village-ABL   be-PERF-ABL   go-1SG.FUT
         'Since it is my village, I shall go (to it)' (Austing and Upia 1995: 562)

A Locational Possessive is absent in the sampled non-Pama-Nyungan languages of Australia. Pama-Nyungan itself is very much the domain of the With-Possessive, in the form of the so-called 'proprietive' construction (see Section 5.2) However, some Pama-Nyungan languages appear to have a Locational Possessive as an extra option. In Arrernte and in Gumbainggir we can find such a construction, and in both cases the possessor is marked by a genitive suffix.

(228)   ARRERNTE (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
         Inkata   tara   etna-ka   na-ra-ka
         chief   two   3PL-GEN   be-DU-PAST
         'They had two chieftains' (Holmer 1963: 96)

(229)   GUMBAINGGIR (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
         Baba-gundi   jaraman   djaling
         father-GEN   some   horse
         'Father has a few horses' (Smythe 1948: 92)

As is common in Pama-Nyuangan, Arrernte and Gumbainggir can use converbs to derank temporal clauses. The distinction between converbs and oblique verbal nouns is, however, not strict, since nominal case suffixes double as converbal suffixes in many cases. In Arrernte, converbs form a four-way switch-reference system, based on the parameters of temporality (simultaneous vs. anterior action) and conditionality (same-subject vs. different-subject conditions). The simultaneous different-subject converb in Arrernte, as illustrated in sentence (230), is marked by the ablative suffix -*nge*. In Gumbainggir, the deranked predicate that is marked by the genitive suffix -*ndi/-andi/-jundi/-gundi* encodes a 'generalized subordinate clause',[23] which 'can translate indifferently

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[23] For a detailed discussion of the generalized subordinate clause in Australian languages see Hale (1976).

the English adjectival, conditional and adverbial clauses' (Smythe 1948: 99). In addition, Gumbainggir has oblique verbal nouns; the locative case suffix -*ba* indicates simultaneity. Subjects of all deranked forms in Arrernte and Gumbainggir take absolute or ergative case.

(230)   ARRERNTE (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
         Artwe   alye-lhe-rle-nge   ayenge   petye-me
         man.ABS   sing-REFL-GENERAL-ABL/DS   1SG   come-NONPAST.PROG
         'I am coming while the man is singing' (Wilkins 1989: 459)

(231)   GUMBAINGGIR (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
    a.   Nginda   ngari-w-andi   gidu-da   gulunay-gu   barway
         2SG.ABS   play-FUT-GEN   sand-LOC   rain-FUT   big
         'If you play in the sand, there will be big storms' (Eades 1979: 323)

    b.   Nayan   bunggi-gam-ba   ngali   ya:ngu
         sun.ABS   set-VN-LOC   1DU.INCL   go.FUT
         'When the sun sets, we will go' (Eades 1979: 289)

9.12   North and Central America

Clear, straightforward instances of the Locational Possessive are hard to come by in North and Central America.[24] The most important concentration of this possession type in this area is found in the languages of the Na-Dene family. Here we can document dative marking on the possessor for Tlingit, Sarcee, and Slave, locative marking for Navajo, and ablative marking in an alternative Locational Possessive in Slave.

(232)   TLINGIT (Na-Dene, Tlingit)
    a.   Du-djɪ'q!   ye   yu-tɪ'-yî   s!aq   gata'   a-ke   a-se-wati
         3SG-to   thus   DEM-be-PCP   bone   trap   it-up   it-AOR-set.up
         'He set up a bone trap he had' (Swanton 1911a: 189)

    b.   Wutśa'Ġa   'ac-djɪ'   hu   yu   cawʌ't
         cane   her-to   was   that   woman
         'That woman had a cane' (Boas 1917: 54)

(233)   SLAVE (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)
    a.   Ɂenákeeke   kwik'í   go-ts'ę́
         Inuit.PL   gun   3PL-to
         'The Inuit have guns' (Rice 1989: 1299)

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[24] It should be remarked here that quite a few North American languages have a possessive construction of the type that I have analysed in Section 3.6 as a hybrid between a Locational Possessive and a Topic Possessive. A discussion of these cases will be presented in Chapter 11.

b. ts'ét'ú   ne-ts'ę
   cigarettes   2SG-from
   'Do you have cigarettes?' (Rice 1989: 933)

c. Ɂetthę́   naxe-ts'ęh   gha
   meat   1PL-from   FUT
   'We will have meat' (Rice 1989: 1053)

(234) SARCEE (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)

a. Ní-máza   sí-gò
   your-knife   me-to
   'I have your knife' (Cook 1984: 32)

b. àkíyí   zòz   ní-gò
   two   child   you-to
   'You have two children' (Cook 1984: 32)

(235) NAVAJO (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)
Chidį   b-ee   hólǫ
car   3SG-at/with   3SG.exist
'S/he has a car' (Goossen 1967: 91)

Deranked temporal clauses in these languages commonly take the form of oblique verbal nouns: we find this option in Tlingit, Slave, and Sarcee. In all cases, the instrumental/comitative suffix 'with' encodes simultaneity. In addition, some of the languages have deranked predicate forms that might be rated as converbs. In particular, Navajo and Slave have a form in which the verb stem is followed by an adverbial suffix -*go* (Navajo) or -*gú* (Slave); these forms can be used under both same-subject and different-subject conditions, and agree with their subjects in person and number. Subjects of all deranked predicate forms in these languages are encoded in the nominative case.

(236) TLINGIT (Na-Dene, Tlingit)

a. Du-q!e'-n∧x   cî   tc !a   yut
   his-mouth-from   blood   that   out.of.it
   q !a-n∧c-xên-tc   du-ɪ'yeq
   mouth-PROG-flow-always   his-spirit
   ga-ga-∧'t- î-n
   towards-PROG-come-PCP-with
   'Blood would flow out of his mouth, when his spirits came to him'
                                                    (Swanton 1911a: 185)

b. I-tu-wu   q!wʌn   cʌt!î'q   Nîxâ'   neł
   your-mind-POSS   HORT   be.strong   N.   house.into
   gu't-n-î
   go-with-PCP
   'Be courageous when Nixa comes in' (Swanton 1911a: 185)

c. Hà·d   ga-gud-i-n
   this-to   ASP-come-PCP-with
   'when he came here (DS)' (Story 1966: 145)

(237)   SLAVE (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)

a. Ɂeyi   t'eere   [be-chile   rírahęja-i   hé]   sǫdi   hị-li
   that   girl   3-brother   3.return-NMNL   with   happy   3-be
   'That girl is happy because her brother came home' (Rice 1989: 1039)

b. Ts'ǫ́dani   hehlị-gú   Ɂabá   lanịwe
   child   1.be-ADV   father   3SG.die
   'My father died when I was a child' (Rice 1989: 1256)

(238)   SARCEE (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)
Álíní   nìduwàh-í-ìhílà   ìyí   gàh-lá   tónàɁ   nıst'às
meat   finish-NMNL-with   this   spruce   bark   you.cook
'Cook this spruce bark, since/while the meat is all gone'
                                           (Cook 1984: 95)

(239)   NAVAJO (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)

a. 'Awé·'   ta·h   yígo'-go   niná'á   dinictâ·-go
   baby   water.into   it.plunge-CONV   life   I.risk-CONV
   bit·ị'   ta·h   yicɣod
   it.toward   water.in   1SG.run
   'When the baby fell into the water, I, risking my life, went after it'
                                      (Reichard 1974: 329)

b. T'ah   'áná-s-tśí·sí-go   ci-má'nt'é·   'á-din
   still   STAT-1SG-be.small-CONV   my-mother   3.STAT-be.missing
   'When I was still a child, my mother was missing/wanting (i.e.,
   I had no mother') (Reichard 1974: 383)

Apart from Na-Dene, a Locational Possessive can be found in North America
in just a few isolated cases. Squamish is an exceptional case among the Salish
languages, which, as I have argued in Section 5.2.2, typically select a With-
Possessive. In Squamish, however, it is the possessor instead of the possessed
item that is marked; the language uses an oblique article for this marking. The

Locational Possessive in Squamish is matched by a deranking option in the form of a non-oblique, topicalized, verbal-noun clause. Verbal nouns are characterized by a derivational affix, and by the presence of an article. The subject of such a formation is in the nominative, and is indexed on the verbal noun by a pronominal possessive affix.

(240)   SQUAMISH (Salish, Central)
      Ciʔ   k°əci lamʔ   λ'a   Tam
      exist ART   house ART.OBL T.
      'Tom has a house' (Kuipers 1967: 194)

(241)   SQUAMISH (Salish, Central)
    a. Kʷi   n-s-wa-c'ic'áp'
       ART   1SG.POSS-NMNL-AUX-work
       'when I was working' (Kuipers 1967: 185)
    b. Na-kʷ-ci'xʷ-ø   kʷi   s-mʔi-s-ʔu'cq
       AOR-now-arrive-3SG ART   NMNL-come-3SG.POSS-outside
       ta-mi'xal
       ART-bear
       'The time had come when the bears came out' (Kuipers 1967: 189)

Yokuts, a language from California, employs the genitive case suffix to mark possessors. The construction is matched by a deranked clause type, in which the predicate consists of the verb stem (which can be marked by the past tense suffix *-ji/si*) and the locative case suffix *-u/-w*. The form indicates simultaneous action and can only be used under different-subject conditions. Its subject is marked for genitive case.

(242)   YOKUTS (Penutian, Yokuts)
    a. Yet·o g'og'o tasin-win   nònèh-in t·i   yit·
       all   be   DEM.PL-GEN man-GEN house one
       'Those men have one house together' (Kroeber 1907: 306)
    b. Yet·o g'og'o nònèh-in yet·-yet·-in   t·i
       all   be   man-GEN one-one-GEN house
       'The men have one house each' (Kroeber 1907: 306)

(243)   YOKUTS (Penutian, Yokuts)
    a. Tan-ji-u   limk-in   moxodo en·tim-ji
       go-PAST-LOC Prairie.Falcon-GEN old.man sleep-PAST
       'When/after Prairie Falcon had left, the old man slept'
                                      (Kroeber 1907: 195)

b. üka   na   mam   hi   tuyu-ji-u   min
   see   1SG.NOM   2SG.ACC   FUT   return-PAST-LOC   2SG.GEN
   'I will see you when you return' (Kroeber 1907: 220)

Among the sampled languages of Central America, the only case of a Locational Possessive that I have been able to identify stems from Bribri, a Chibchan language of Costa Rica and Panama. In one of its possessive constructions Bribri marks the possessor by the locative postposition *ua* 'at'. This Locational Possessive is matched directly by a converbal form (or oblique verbal noun) in -*ua*, which encodes simultaneity and can be used under same-subject and different-subject conditions alike. The subject of this converb is in the nominative.

(244)   BRIBRI (Chibchan)
        Dzae   ua   u   tso   aetkue
        1SG   LOC   house   be   one
        'I have a house' (Lehmann 1920: 291)

(245)   BRIBRI (Chibchan)
        Tsiru   dé-ua   hueske,   ta   Jaburu   i-tser
        cocoa   come-LOC   inside   then   J.   it-say.PAST
        'When the cocoa had been brought in, Jaburu said . . .'

                                        (Pittier de Fabrega 1898: 119)

9.13 South America

Speaking in general, South America is a continent that exhibits considerable diversity in the selection of possession types. All four major types of predicative possession encoding can be found here in more than one language family, and none of them can be said to be the 'dominant' South American type. This said, however, it must be noted that Locational Possessives are certainly not the most prominent possession type in South America; where they occur they are hardly ever the sole option. Moreover, there seems to be some areal limitation to the distribution of Locational Possessives, as they are found mainly in the north-western part of the continent.

A first example of this situation is formed by the Witotoan languages. This language family of Colombia and Peru is represented in my sample by Huitoto; furthermore, my sample contains Andoke, a language which has, on occasion, been tentatively classified as a member of Witotoan. Both Huitoto and Andoke have a With-Possessive as their primary option. In

addition, Huitoto has a Locational Possessive, with either locative or dative marking on the possessor.

(246)   Huitoto (Witotoan)
        Nɨga   atávaɨaɨ o-mo   i-te
        how.much hen.PL   2SG-at   be-3SG.NONFUT
        'How many hens do you have?' (Minor et al. 1982: 118)

The Locational (and, for that matter, also the Inverse) Possessive of Huitoto is matched by the possibility of deranking temporal clauses in the form of oblique verbal nouns or converbs. Different locational suffixes indicate different temporal relations. As is quite common, ablative marking indicates consecutive sequencing, while locative/dative marking encodes simultaneity.

(247)   Huitoto (Witotoan)

        a. Afengo   ei   tɨi-lla-mona   afengo   ɨere
            3SG.F   mother   die-VN-from   3SG.F   much
            zúu-re-de
            sad(ness)-AFF-3SG.NONFUT
            'After her mother died, she was very sad' (Minor et al. 1982: 64)

        b. Jitó   bi-te-mo   ie   moo   ióbi-de
            son   come-NONFUT-at/to   his   father be.glad-3SG.NONFUT
            'When the son arrived, his father was glad' (Minor et al. 1982: 99)

As is well known, the Andean language Quechua manifests itself in a number of variants, which differ from one another to such an extent that Quechua may even be considered a language family rather than a single language. For my sample I have selected two variants, one of which is spoken in Peru, while the other is spoken in Bolivia. Both have a Locational Possessive. In the construction, the possessor is in the genitive case, marked by the suffix *-p/-pa* (Cuzco Quechua) or *-q/-qpata* (Spoken Bolivian Quechua). The possessor is indexed on the possessed item by means of a pronominal possessive suffix. As an additional marking, the locational *be*-verb in the construction may receive the benefactive suffix *-pu*, followed by a pronominal item which refers to the possessor (see Section 3.6).

(248)   Cuzco Quechua (Andean, Quechuan)

        a. ñoka-p   muya-y   ka-n-mi
            1SG -GEN   garden-my be-3SG-VAL
            'I have a garden' (Von Tschudi 1884: 418)

    b. ñoka-p   hutšuyla   wasi-y   ka-pu-wa-n-mi
       1SG-GEN   small   house-my   be-DAT-1SG-3SG.PRES-VAL
       'I have a small house' (Von Tschudi 1884: 419)

(249)   SPOKEN BOLIVIAN QUECHUA (Andean, Quechuan)

    a. Hwanito-qpata   ermana-n   tiya-n
       H.-GEN   sister-his   be-3SG.PRES
       'Juanito has a sister' (Bills et al. 1969: 89)

    b. Runa-q   alqu   tiya-pu-ø-n
       man-GEN   dog   be-BEN-3SG-3SG.PRES
       'The man has a dog' (Bills et al. 1969: 189)

    c. Waska   tiya-pu-wa-n
       rope   be-BEN-1SG-3SG.PRES
       'I have a rope' (Bills et al. 1969: 186)

Deranking of temporal sequences is very frequent in Quechua. All variants possess a rich array of non-finite verbal forms, which encode all sorts of attributive and adverbial clauses. At the centre of the system of deranked forms for temporal sequences we find formations that can be rated as converbs, as they consist of the verb stem followed by a suffix. These suffixes encode switch-reference: the suffix -*spa* indicates same subjects, whereas the suffix -*pti* (Cuzco Quechua) or -*qti* (Spoken Bolivian Quechua) is used under different-subject conditions. The subject of the converb in -*pti/-qti* is indexed on the converb by means of possessive pronominal suffixes.

(250)   CUZCO QUECHUA (Andean, Quechuan)

    a. Miku-spa-mi   hamusaχ
       eat-SS-VAL   come.FUT.1SG
       'After I have eaten, I will come' (Von Tschudi 1884: 449)

    b. Kusko-man   tsaya-pti-y-ka   mama-y
       Cuzco-to   come-DS-1SG.POSS-PRT   mother-1SG.POSS
       wanurkan
       die.PERF.3SG
       'As I came to Cuzco, my mother died' (Von Tschudi 1884: 433)

(251)   SPOKEN BOLIVIAN QUECHUA (Andean, Quechuan)

    a. Puri-spa   samari-sa-q
       walk-SS   rest-FUT-1SG
       'Having walked, I shall rest' (Bills et al. 1969: 198)

  b. ƛaqwa-ta   ƛami-qti-nčis   p"iñaku-rqa-nku
    hot.sauce-ACC taste-DS-1PL.INCL.POSS get.mad-PAST-3PL
    'When we tasted the hot sauce, they got mad' (Bills et al. 1969: 221)

In addition to these converbal forms, both variants of Quechua feature deranked predicates that can be qualified as oblique verbal nouns. Overt nominalization of predicates can take place by means of several so-called 'participial' or 'infinitival' suffixes, such as *-ska/-sqa* or *-yni/-yta*. Formations of this type can be used with case suffixes or postpositions to encode temporal and other adverbial clauses. In general, clauses of this type can be used under both same-subject and different-subject conditions. In Cuzco Quechua, the subject of an oblique verbal noun of this type is always marked by means of a pronominal possessive suffix; in Spoken Bolivian Quechua, this subject-marking seems to occur only in case of different subjects.

(252) Cuzco Quechua (Andean, Quechuan)

  a. Ľamka-ska-y-manta   mikhusaχ
    work-INF.PERF-1SG.POSS-from eat.FUT.1SG
    'After I have worked, I will eat' (Von Tschudi 1884: 223)

  b. Wahya-ska-yki   tsay-lam hamurkany
    call-INF.PERF-2SG.POSS that-on come.PERF.1SG
    'After you called, I came' (Von Tschudi 1884: 223)

  c. Atoχ ka-yni-n-pi   mitikarkan
    fox be-INF.PRES-3SG.POSS-LOC flee.PAST.3SG
    'Because he was clever (*lit.* a fox), he fled' (Von Tschudi 1884: 464)

  d. Sintsi ka-yni-nki-rayku   mantsasunki
    strong be-INF.PRES-2SG.POSS-because fear.3SG/2SG.PRES
    'Because you are strong, he fears you' (Von Tschudi 1884: 490)

(253) Spoken Bolivian Quechua (Andean, Quechuan)

  a. ƛakiku-rqa   ma ruwa-sqa-yku-rayku
    be.sad-PAST.3SG NEG dance-INF-1PL.EXCL.POSS-because
    'He was sad because we did not dance' (Bills et al. 1969: 264)

  b. Kořal-pi ƛank'a-yta-wan sayk'uku-rqa-nki
    corral-LOC work-INF-INSTR become.tired-PAST-2SG
    'After working in the corral, you became tired'

                          (Bills et al. 1969: 296)

The two sampled languages from the Peba-Yaguan family also provide clear instances of the Locational Possessive. In Yagua, the possessor is marked by a

dative affix, while in Yameo a locative or a genitive marker is employed. The
constructions are matched by deranked temporal clauses which take the form
of oblique verbal nouns; difference in the oblique marker encodes difference
in temporal relations between the deranked clause and the main clause. The
deranked predicates can be used absolutely. In Yameo, their subjects are
encoded as noun phrases in the genitive case, or as possessive pronouns. In
Yagua, subjects are in the nominative; non-third-person subjects require
indexing on the deranked predicate by means of pronominal prefixes.

(254)   YAMEO (Peba-Yaguan)

    a. Aŕé   lʋóⱡ   ŕá-weša   ŕáə-me
       that   house   be-PAST   1SG-in
       'I owned that house' (Espinosa Perez 1955: 355)

    b. Ăzle   ráə-nial   sénše
       there   1SG-GEN   yuca
       'I have yuca' (Espinosa Perez 1955: 359)

(255)   YAMEO (Peba-Yaguan)

    a. ŕʋé   mil-awéš   ŕi   ya
       my   eat.VN-ABL   I   go
       'After I have eaten, I'll go' (Espinosa Perez 1955: 389)

    b. ĭ   wʋəsé-le-ma   kulíki   trawáa
       your   want-VN-LOC   money   work.IMP
       'If you want money, you'll have to work' (Espinosa Perez 1955: 402)

    c. ŕʋə   trawáa   i   min-sara-u
       I   work   your   eat-VN-DAT
       'I work, so that you (can) eat' (Espinosa Perez 1955: 402)

(256)   YAGUA (Peba-Yaguan)
    Tą́ąra   sa-íva   jásiy
    what   3SG-DAT   there
    'What does he have there?' (Payne 1993: 26)

(257)   YAGUA (Peba-Yaguan)

    a. Suvǫ́ǫ   naada-juváay   jíy-vánu   dapúúy-janu-mu
       string.bag   3DU-make   her-husband   hunt-INF-LOC
       'She makes string bags while her husband hunts'
                              (Payne and Payne 1990: 339)

    b. Vuryą-juvay-jada-iva
       1PL.INCL-kill-INF-DAT
       'until our killing: until we get killed' (Payne and Payne 1990: 380)

The four Tucanoan languages in my sample all have a Have-Possessive, but for three of them I have been able to attest a Locational Possessive as well. In all cases, the construction involves the use of a dative/benefactive suffix on the possessor. This Locational Possessive is matched by various types of deranked temporal clauses. In Barasano, we find deranked predicates of the oblique verbal-noun type; the oblique marker for simultaneity happens to be the dative suffix, so that this language provides us with a direct match. Subjects of these deranked predicates appear in the nominative case. Guanano has a converb that is characterized by the suffix -*chu* on the verb stem. This form is restricted to occurrence under different-subject conditions; it has possessive prefixes to indicate its subject. A similar converbal form can also be identified in Retuarã. Here, the conditionality of the form is less clear, but it is certain that it can at least be used under different-subject conditions.

(258)   BARASANO (Eastern Tucanoan)

    a. Gʉbo   sudi   bã-a-ha   yʉ-re
       foot   clothing   not.be-PRES-3   1SG-for
       'I have no shoes' (Jones and Jones 1991: 9)

    b. Hairo   yã-a-ha   ti   yʉ-re
       many.NMNL   be-PRES-3   3INAN   1SG-for
       'I have many possessions' (Jones and Jones 1991: 110)

(259)   BARASANO (Eastern Tucanoan)

    ĩdã   roha-a-to-re   ĩ   kẽde   ba   ahe   ĩdã   rãka
    3PL   descend-MOT-VN-for   3SG.M   also   swim   play   3PL   with
    'When they descended, he also swam, playing with them'

                                    (Jones and Jones 1991: 39)

(260)   GUANANO (Eastern Tucanoan)

    Yuhu-re   ti   docayucu   mari-a-chu
    1SG-to   ART   gouging.tool   not.be-3-if
    'if I don't have a gouging tool' (Waltz 1976: 98)

(261)   GUANANO (Eastern Tucanoan)

    a. To-waha-chu   tina   tjuatasi
       his-go.VN-DS   3PL   NEG.return.FUT
       'When/if/since he goes, they won't return' (Waltz 1976: 26)

    b. to-waha-pa-chu-ta   tina   tjuasi
       his-go.VN-CONCESS-DS-SPEC   3PL   NEG.stay.FUT
       'Even though he goes, they won't stay' (Waltz 1976: 28)

(262)   RETUARÃ (Western Tucanoan)

   a. dīyẽrū   yi-re   iba-hī-i-ka   reka   motoro
       money   1SG-for be-POT-STAT-NEUT if   motor
       yi-wapahī-hi-yū
       1SG-buy-POT-FUT
       'If I had money, I could buy a motor' (Strom 1992: 82)

   b. ĩbĩrĩhã   bāka-rã   ĩbã-be-yu-rã   yi-re
       male   offspring-PL be-NEG-PRES-PL 1SG-for
       'I don't have sons' (Strom 1992: 125)

(263)   RETUARÃ (Western Tucanoan)
      Ki-hai-yu-hu   dã-eta-koʔo
      his-talk-PRES-ADV 3PL-arrive-PAST
      'While he was talking, they arrived' (Strom 1992: 108)

Of the three Panoan languages in the sample, two have a Locational Possessive as one of their options. Both Shipibo-Konibo and Matsés mark possessors by the case suffix *-n/-na*, which appears to be a case marker for the genitive/dative. The Locational Possessive is matched by the rather intricate system of converbs in these languages. This system is based not only on the intersection of the parameters of temporality (i.e. simultaneous vs. consecutive action) and conditionality (same-subject vs. different-subject), but considerations of transitivity (i.e. the question of whether the main predicate is transitive or intransitive) appear to play a role as well in the choice of converbal markers. In the examples below I will restrict myself to those constructions that encode a simultaneous sequence with different subjects.

(264)   SHIPIBO-KONIBO (Panoan)

   a. Noko-na   ri-ki   pia
       1SG -DAT be-COMPLET   arrow
       'I have an arrow' (Tessmann 1929: 249)

   b. Ja-ke   noko-n   rayos
       exist-COMPLET 1-GEN/DAT son.in.law.ABS
       'I have a son-in-law' (Valenzuela 2003: 335)

(265)   SHIPIBO-KONIBO (Panoan)
      Jema-n   pishta   i-nontian   ka-a   iki   alcalde
      village-GEN fiesta   do-DS.SIM   go-PCP AUX mayor.ABS
      'During the fiesta of the village, the mayor came' (Valenzuela 2003: 421)

(266) MATSÉS (Panoan)
Chun   chompian   ic-e-c
1SG.GEN   gun   be-NONPAST-INDIC
'I have a gun' (Fleck 2003: 969)

(267) MATSÉS (Panoan)

a. Badiac-nuc   maca   dectato-e-c
   dawn-DS.SIM.INTR   rat   ascend-NONPAST-INDIC
   'While (the day) is dawning, the rats climb back up'

   (Fleck 2003: 1089)

b. Bëdi-n   senad   nadanca-sho   se-o-mbi
   jaguar-ERG   deer   chase-DS.SIM.TRANS pierce-PAST-1SG
   'As the jaguar chased the deer, I shot it' (Fleck 2003: 1102)

Next, we turn to the Arawakan phylum, the largest and most widespread language grouping in South America. Predicative possession encoding presents a diverse picture here. Among the ten sampled Arawakan languages, all of the four major possession types are represented in at least three of them. A Locational Possessive is found in five of these languages; my impression is that this option is particularly popular in the Northern Maipuran branch of the family. Marking on the possessor ranges from dative/benefactive (in Resigaro, Piro, and Warekena) to locative (Goajiro) or 'objective', i.e. general oblique (Tariana).

(268) GOAJIRO (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)

a. Ta-ma'ana   e-š   lapi
   me-at   be-SG.M.PRES   pencil
   'I have a pencil' (Holmer 1949: 148)

b. Ee-sü   ta-ma'ana   suukala
   be-SG.F.PRES   me-at   sugar
   'I have sugar' (Mansen and Mansen 1984: 36)

(269) RESIGARO (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)

a. Hiítá   gi-hó
   canoe   him-to
   'He has a canoe' (Allin 1976: 249)

b. Hapíitá   no-hó
   pig   me-to
   'I have a pig' (Allin 1976: 288)

(270)   TARIANA (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)
Aĩ-nuku   kuphe   sede-naka   wa-na
here-TOP   fish   NEG.exist-PRES   1PL-OBJ
'Here we have no fish' (Aikhenvald 2003: 489)

(271)   WAREKENA (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)

    a. Peya   ete-ne   yue   ʃupe-hẽ   ʃiani-pe
       one   old-MASC   to   many   child-PL
       'An old man had many children' (Aikhenvald 1998: 245)

    b. Eya   enami,   yue   peya   matseta
       DEM   man   to   one   knife
       'The man, he had a knife' (Aikhenvald 1998: 249)

(272)   PIRO (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)
Katsine   wane -ya -no
blow.gun   there-for-1SG.OBJ
'I have a blow gun' (Matteson 1965: 383)

In all these five languages the Locational Possessive is matched by deranking options in temporal sequence encoding. In some cases, deranked predicates can be analysed as oblique verbal nouns, while in other cases an analysis in terms of converbs appears to be more appropriate. As is often the case, however, the dividing line between these two types of deranked predicates is not that sharp, since converbal markers often have their origin in, or even function synchronically as, locational case markers in the language. Under absolute use, deranked predicates are commonly marked for their subject by means of pronominal prefixes. It differs from language to language, and probably also from one deranked form to the other, whether this subject-marking is effectuated by subject prefixes or possessive prefixes.

(273)   GOAJIRO (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)
Pilasta-pa-sa   joolu'u   shia   wanilii-cat   noupinaasi
be.lying-CONV/on-SG.F   now   she   spirit-ART.F   below
etcana   najilijain   simila
the.dogs   bite.PL   her.throat
'When the spirit was below the dogs, (they) bit her throat'
                           (Mansen and Mansen 1984: 192)

(274)   RESIGARO (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)

    a. Pí-máa-ké   no-doʔphaavú
       2SG.POSS-sleep.VN-DAT   1SG-work
       'While you sleep, I work' (Allin 1976: 239)

b. ꞥonígí   aꞥepuuʔ eeʔphi kháa-pokáʔ kašooʔ vaʔ-mitu
   my father much   fish   do.vn-ben well   1pl-eat
   'Because my father catches a lot of fish, we eat well' (Allin 1976: 249)

(275) Tariana (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)

a. Nha   na-wapa-ri   ketemi-sina-daka
   they   3pl-wait-conv remain-rem.past-yet
   'While they were waiting, there was still some (fish) left'

                                           (Aikhenvald 2003: 490)

b. Nu-inu-kayami-nuku   nu-na   matʃa-mhade
   1sg-kill-conv.ant.ds-top   1sg-obj   good-fut
   'After I kill (my enemy), it will be good for me' (Aikhenvald 2003: 518)

(276) Warekena (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)

a. Nuluami   wañuta-li   nu-nupa   wani-hĩ
   my.father   order-rm/conv 1sg-come   here-paus
   'After my father had ordered it, I came here' (Aikhenvald 1998: 298)

b. Neda   pi-yuʃana   pi-wayata-li
   1sg.perceive 2sg-voice   2sg-speak-rm/conv
   'I can hear your voice, while you are speaking' (Aikhenvald 1998: 381)

(277) Piro (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)

a. Hita   maturewa-ini   wane-wa-lu
   1sg   be.small-conv   there-still-3sg
   'When I was small, this (custom) still existed' (Matteson 1965: 145)

b. R-heta-ko-klu-nu
   3sg-see-pass-at-vn
   'When he had been seen' (Matteson 1965: 83)

As a final case of Locational Possessive encoding in South America I can mention one of the options in Jarawara, an Arauan language from the state of Amazonas in western Brazil. In this construction, the possessor is marked by the genitival case suffix/postposition *kaa* or one of its allomorphs. The construction encodes mainly alienable possession (Dixon 2004: 295) and is in competition with a Have-Possessive.

(278) Jarawara (Arauan)
       O-ko   sirikaa   ama-ka
       1sg-gen   rubber   be-decl.m
       'I have some rubber' (Dixon 2004: 381)

The Locative Possessive in Jarawara is matched by the fact that the language allows nominalization of clauses. Among other things, such clauses do not allow tense-modal or mood suffixes on their predicates (Dixon 2004: 483). When such clauses are employed in temporal or other adverbial functions, they are marked by clause-final, 'peripheral' items. One of these markers is the item *jaa*, which also functions as a postposition on noun phrases, in which case '[i]t has a wide range of meaning – indicating "at", "in", "on", "into", "to", "from", or "with"'' (Dixon 2004: 488). With a nominalized clause, the item indicates a similarly wide range of adverbial notions, including 'when', 'after', 'while', 'until', 'at', 'if', or 'since/because'. A second 'peripheral' marker is the item *kaa*, which can be glossed as 'along', 'through', 'because of' when occurring with noun phrases, and which mainly encodes causality when constructed with a nominalized clause. 'Peripheral marker *kaa* must be distinguished from possessive marker *kaa...*, although the two forms may be historically related' (Dixon 2004: 498). As the examples given below demonstrate, nominalized clauses with *jaa* or *kaa* allow for their own subjects.

(279) JARAWARA (Arauan)

  a. Owa   noki   ti-ja,   kobo   o-na-mi
     1SG.OBJ   wait.for   2SG.ACT-IMP   arrive   1SG.SUBJ-AUX-back.VN
     jaa
     LOC
     'You wait for me, until I return!' (Dixon 2004: 494)

  b. Ti-wini   kaa   otaa
     2SG.SUBJ-stay.VN   through/along   1PL.EXCL.SUBJ
     wini-ne-ke
     stay-CONT.F-DECL.F
     'Because you're staying here, we're staying here too'
                                                    (Dixon 2004: 501)

9.14 Conclusion

In this chapter I have investigated the validity of the claim formulated in 9.1 for the 133 languages in my sample that have a Locational Possessive as one of their options. For 129 of these languages a match between the Locational Possessive and the possibility of deranked DS-sequencing could be established in a straightforward manner. Among the four problematic cases, two languages – Cairene Arabic and Maltese – are descendants of a language in which

the match between Locational Possessive encoding and absolute deranking of temporal sequences clearly held. For Itelmen, a match can actually be found, but the status of the deranked construction seems to be marginal in the language. And finally, in the case of Ket we are faced with uncertainty about the deranked status of the temporal sequencing construction. All in all, I feel safe in concluding that the correlation between Locational Possessive encoding and absolute deranking of simultaneous sequences, as formulated in (1), can be said to be corroborated by the facts, and that the few potential counter-examples can be rated as marginal when compared to the overwhelming number of confirmations.

10

With-Possessives

10.1 Introduction

As I have pointed out several times in the foregoing chapters, the Locational Possessive and the With-Possessive are mirror images of one another, in that the syntactic functions of the two NPs in the possessive construction are switched. However, as regards their relation to the balancing/deranking parameter, I hold that this switching of syntactic functions does not create a difference between the two types. Hence, the investigation of the With-Possessives in my sample will proceed along exactly the same lines as those that were followed in the previous chapter. That is, I will examine here the empirical validity of the following implicational statement:

(1) If a language has a With-Possessive, it will have deranking of simultaneous different-subject sequences.

My investigation will include all manifestations of the With-Possessive, regardless of whether or not they have the standard form defined in Section 2.4, and regardless of whether or not they have undergone predicativization (see Section 5.2). However, the With-Possessives that have been the object of Have-Drift (see Section 6.2) will be left out of the discussion. These constructions are considered to be Have-Possessives and will be dealt with in Chapter 12.

At many places, the presentation of the relevant facts in this chapter can be shortened by referring to expositions in earlier chapters. In particular, I will not repeat in detail the expositions that were given in Section 5.2 when I discussed the copular and the flexional variants of the With-Possessive. Furthermore, it will turn out that a number of languages with a With-Possessive also have a Locational Possessive at their disposal. Since in these languages the With-Possessives are matched by exactly the same sequencing constructions that match their Locational Possessive, I will often refer back to the previous chapter and restrict myself to a mere presentation of the relevant linguistic material.

10.2 North-east Siberia

North-east Asia can be viewed as a transitory zone between Eurasia, which is dominated by the Locational Possessive, and north-west America, where the With-Possessive is the norm. This borderline diffusion manifests itself in a number of Altaic languages in which both possession encodings are possible. Cases in point are the eastern Turkic languages Tyvan and Yakut, the Tungusic languages Even and Evenki, the two Mongolian languages Khalkha and Written Mongolian, and the two variants of the isolate language Yukaghir. In this latter language, we encounter a flexional variant of the With-Possessive; it is probable that this construction represents the major – or at least the authentic – form of possession encoding in Yukaghir. In all the other languages mentioned, the With-Possessive is of the copular variety (see Section 5.2.2), and possibly represents a minor option in comparison to the Locational Possessive. As we have demonstrated in Sections 9.5 and 9.6, all these languages have prominent deranking strategies for their temporal sequences, and absolute use of at least some of their deranked forms is readily permitted.

(2) TYVAN (Altaic, Turkic)
Bis   mašina-liġ   bis
1PL   car-ADJ   1PL
'We have a car' (Anderson and Harrison 1999: 32)

(3) TYVAN (Altaic, Turkic)
Ava-m   inek-ti   saap-t-ar-ga
mother-my   cow-ACC   milk-PCP-IMPERF-DAT
Karakys   čan-ip   kel-ir
K.   go.home-CONV.SS   AUX-IMPERF
'My mother will milk the cow, and Karakys will go home'
(Bergelson and Kibrik 1995: 376)

(4) YAKUT (Altaic, Turkic)
Kihi   ogo-looch
man   child-having
'The man has children' (Krueger 1962: 113)

(5) YAKUT (Altaic, Turkic)
Min   käl-iäm   än   ät-täch-chi-nä
1SG   come-1SG.FUT   2SG   say-VN-2SG.POSS-LOC
'I will come when you say so' (Böhtlingk 1964: 32)

(6) Evenki (Altaic, Tungusic)
Tar   bey   jůů-lkan
this   man   house-AFF
'This man has a house' (Andrej Malchukov p.c.)

(7) Evenki (Altaic, Tungusic)
Asi   haval-d'amma-n   edy-n
woman   work-CONV.SIM-3SG.POSS   husband-3SG.POSS
teget-cheche-n
sit-IMPERF-3SG
'While the woman was working the husband was sitting'
(Nedjalkov 1997: 51)

(8) Even (Altaic, Tungusic)
Tarak   bej   zu-lkan
this   man   house-SUFF
'This man has a house' (Benzing 1955: 30)

(9) Even (Altaic, Tungusic)
Bi   gurgej   muduk-ca-la-w   hi   em-zinri
1SG.NOM   work.ACC   finish-VN-LOC-1SG.POSS   2SG.NOM   come-FUT.2SG
'When I have finished the work, you will come' (Benzing 1955: 95)

(10) Written Mongolian (Altaic, Mongolian)
Debel   jaqa-tai
coat   collar-SUFF
'A coat has a collar' (Poppe 1954: 15)

(11) Written Mongolian (Altaic, Mongolian)
Manu   nökör-ün   ire-kü-dür   bida   mašida
our   friend-GEN   come-VN.FUT-DAT   1PL.NOM   very
bayas-ba
be.glad-PAST.INDIC
'When our friend came, we were very glad' (Poppe 1954: 17)

(12) Khalkha (Altaic, Mongolian)
Dorj   mori -toj   bajna
D.   horse-SUFF   be.3SG.PRES
'Dorj has a horse' (Bosson 1964: 53)

(13) Khalkha (Altaic, Mongolian)
Min-i   ire-mser   bügede   bossong
1SG-GEN   come-CONV.TEMP   all   rise.PAST.INDIC
'When I came, all stood up' (Poppe 1951: 9)

(14)   Kolyma Yukaghir (Yukaghir)
       Pulun-die   jowje-n'-i
       old.man-DIM   net-PROP-3SG.INTR
       'The old man had a net' (Maslova 2003a: 444)

(15)   Kolyma Yukaghir (Yukaghir)
       Numø-ge   jaqa-l-u-ge   numø-ge   oj-l'e-ŋi
       house-LOC arrive-VN-1/2-DS.SIM   house-LOC NEG-be-3PL.INTR
       'I came home, but they were not at home' (Maslova 2003a: 160)

(16)   Tundra Yukaghir (Yukaghir)
       Marqa-n   lame-n'-ŋi
       one-ATTR   dog-COM-3PL.INTR
       'They had one dog' (Maslova 2003b: 70)

(17)   Tundra Yukaghir (Yukaghir)
       Tat   u-nu-daha   anme   nadanmoje-k   kelu-l
       so   go-PROG-DS.SIM   PRT   owl-FOC   come-SUBJ.FOC
       'As he was walking, an owl came (flying)' (Maslova 2003b: 37)

The Chukotko-Kamchatkan language Chukchi has a With-Possessive as its only option; we have seen in Section 5.2.2 that the construction is of the flexional variety.

(18)   Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan)

       a. Ga-qaa-igum
           with-reindeer-1SG
           'I have reindeer' (Bogoras 1922: 712)

       b. Ge-keli-jgyt
           with-book-2SG
           'You have a book' (V. P. Nedjalkov p.c.)

With regard to temporal sequencing in Chukchi, Comrie (1981b: 251) observes that this language has 'a number of non-finite forms, in particular of gerunds which can substitute for various adverbial clauses. In Chukchi, these gerunds are invariable, in particular showing no subject or object agreement'.[1] Of particular relevance to the present discussion is the gerund that is formed

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[1] It is only fair to add, though, that Comrie precedes this statement by the following remark: 'Unlike nearly all other languages of Siberia, Chukchi makes frequent and regular use of finite subordinate clauses, and has a wide range of native subordinating conjunctions ... This seems to be a long established traditional means of expressing subordination, free from foreign influence, and indeed Chukchi has even been influential in introducing this pattern into Siberian Yupik Eskimo' (Comrie 1981b: 251).

by attaching the suffix -*ma* to the verbal stem. When this formation is provided with the comitative prefix *ga-*, the gerund signals simultaneity under different-subject conditions. We can see, then, that the different-subject gerund offers a direct match with the flexional With-Possessive in Chukchi. The subject of the DS-gerund 'stands in the same case as if with a finite verb, i.e. absolutive for intransitive verbs, ergative (in form, ergative, locative or instrumental) for transitive verbs' (Comrie 1981b: 251).

(19)   CHUKCHI (Chukotko-Kamchatkan)

    a. Ga-raćqev-ma   ěnpenacg-et   ʔaaćek-et   qut-gʔet
       with-enter-GER.DS   old.man-ABS.PL   youth-ABS.PL   rise-3PL
       'When the old men entered, the youths rose' (Comrie 1981b: 251)

    b. Gem-nan   ga-lqagnav-ma   acʔeq   ćěpet-gʔi
       1SG-ERG   with-shoot-GER.DS   duck.ABS.SG   dive-3SG
       'When I shot (at it), the duck dived' (Comrie 1981b: 252)

10.3 North America

The With-Possessives of north-east Siberia find their continuation in the language families of the far North and the Pacific seaboard of North America. Although there are linguistic groupings in this area – notably, the Athapaskan family – that do not have a With-Possessive, the uniformity of possession encoding is remarkable here. With only a few exceptions at the southern fringe of the area, the construction can be classified as a flexional With-Possessive.

The flexional With-Possessives of the four sampled members of the Eskimo-Aleut family have been discussed in some detail in Section 5.2.2. For ease of reference, I will repeat a few examples here.

(20)   SIBERIAN YUPIK (Eskimo-Aleut)
      Mangteghagh-ghllag-lgu-uq
      house-big-AFF-3SG.INDIC
      'He has a big house' (De Reuse 1994: 55)

(21)   ALEUT (Eskimo-Aleut)
      Ayaga-ġi-ku-qing
      wife-AFF-PRES-1SG
      'I have a wife' (Geoghegan 1944: 2)

(22)   CENTRAL ALASKAN YUPIK (Eskimo-Aleut)
      Qimugte-ngqer-tua
      dog-AFF-1SG.INDIC
      'I have a dog/ dogs' (Jacobson 1995: 37)

(23)   WEST GREENLANDIC (Eskimo-Aleut)
       Angut   taanna   qimmi-qar-puq
       man   that   dog-AFF-3SG.INDIC
       'That man has a dog' (Fortescue 1984: 171)

On the topic of temporal sequence encoding, the first thing to note is that
sentential coordination is possible, but that it is clearly not a favourite strategy
of Eskimo-Aleut languages. Typically, non-final clauses in a chain are marked
for subordination. In Aleut, this subordination is achieved by attaching
subordinating suffixes – which, in the typical case, are identical to case
markers on nouns – to an otherwise indicative verb form.

(24)   ALEUT (Eskimo-Aleut)

   a. Txin   quyuqali-ku-x̂-ngaan   hiti-ku-q
      3SG.ABS   go.to.bed-PRES-3SG-DAT   go.out-PRES-1SG
      'When he went to bed, I went out' (Bergsland 1997: 24)

   b. Tayaĝu-x̂ aguĝnas sunaaĝ-iku-m   karmaana-gan
      man-ABS   sea.eggs pick-PRES-GEN   pocket-his
      ilagaan   truvka-a it-na-x̂
      from   pipe-his drop-PAST-3SG
      'As the man picked sea eggs, his pipe dropped out of his pocket'
                                                      (Bergsland 1997: 156)

In the languages of the Eskimo branch, the major strategy in subordination
employs so-called 'subordinate moods'. These are paradigms of verb forms
which are explicitly marked for subordination by some suffix on the verb
stem, and by a special person/number conjugation that differs from the
indicative person/number marking. There are quite a few of these 'moods',
each specifying a certain adverbial relationship between the subordinate
clause and the main clause. Taking West Greenlandic as an example, we can
observe that this language has, among others, a participial mood (which
encodes *when*-clauses), a conditional mood (for *if*-clauses), a causal mood
(for *because*-clauses), and a contemporative mood (for 'when/while'-clauses),
each with its own characterizing suffix. In Siberian Yupik and Central Alaskan
Yupik the system of subordinate mood forms is structured somewhat differ-
ently, but the principles underlying this subordination strategy are the
same. It should be remarked that most of these subordinate moods are neutral
as to conditionality, and can appear under same-subject as well as under
different-subject conditions. Some forms, however, are specialized in their
conditionality: the participial mood of West Greenlandic is restricted to
different-subject contexts, while the subordinative mood in Central Alaskan

Yupik (which encodes simultaneity) can only occur in same-subject clause chains. Some selected examples of subordinate mood forms in Eskimoan are:

(25) SIBERIAN YUPIK (Eskimo-Aleut)

a. Mamleg-pete-uq   esghagh-tyalghiinga
   be.dark-apparently-3SG.INDIC   see-1SG. INTR.PARTICIP
   'It was dark when I opened my eyes' (De Reuse 1994: 51)

b. Kaate-yaqminigu   qalghigh-aqe-fte-uq
   arrive-3SG.TR.PARTICIP   song-PROG-apparently-3SG.INDIC
   'When he arrived, it (the bird) was singing' (De Reuse 1994: 52)

c. Tagi-yan   quyake-aqa
   come-3SG.CONSEC   be.happy.about-1SG.INDIC
   'When he came, I was happy on account of it' (De Reuse 1994: 4)

(26) CENTRAL ALASKAN YUPIK (Eskimo-Aleut)

a. Tai-ciq-uq   piyua-lu-ni
   come-FUT-3SG.INDIC   walk-SUBORD-3SG.SUBORD
   'She will come by walking' (Jacobson 1995: 227)

b. Teqis-ku-vet   quya-ciq-ua
   arrive-COND-2SG.SUBORD   thankful-FUT-1SG.INDIC
   'When you arrive I'll be thankful' (Jacobson 1995: 294)

c. Nere-llru-unga   kaig-a-ma
   eat-PAST-1SG.INDIC   hungry-CAUSAL-1SG.SUBORD
   'I ate because I was hungry' (Jacobson 1995: 341)

(27) WEST GREENLANDIC (Eskimo-Aleut)

a. Atir-tu-nga   Antariarsi-p   tikip-paanga
   go.down-PARTICIP-1SG   A.-ERG   come.to-3SG/1SG.INDIC
   'When I went down, Antariarsi came to me' (Fortescue 1984: 60)

b. Pakasa-anna-rukku   pissanganar-niru-puq
   surprise-just-2SG/3SG.COND   be.exciting-more-3SG.INDIC
   'If you just surprise him, it will be more exciting' (Fortescue 1984: 66)

c. Apuum-mat   atirviur-parput
   arrive-3SG.CAUSAL   go.down.to.meet-1PL/3SG.INDIC
   'Because he arrived, we went down to meet him' (Fortescue 1984: 56)

d. Aggu-mut   arviq   isigi-til-lu-gu   tuqu-vuq
   A..-ALL   whale   look.at-CAUS-CONTEMP-4SG/3SG   die-3SG.INDIC
   'While Aggu was looking at the whale, it died' (Fortescue 1984: 5)

There are indications that at least some of these subordinate moods have their origin in an obliquely marked verbal noun. In particular, the two subordinate forms in Central Alaskan Yupik which are called the first contemporative ('when', with the suffix *-ller-*) and the second contemporative ('while', with the suffix *-(ng)inaner-*) can be shown to have intransitive endings which are different from those of the other subordinate moods, in that they incorporate the marker of the localis case ('at, in, on'). Hence, we have the following contrast between the causal mood and the (first) contemporative mood in Central Alaskan Yupik:

(28)   CENTRAL ALASKAN YUPIK (Eskimo-Aleut)

   a. Qava-a-vet
      sleep-CAUSAL-2SG.SUBORD
      'Because you were sleeping' (Jacobson 1995: 307)

   b. Qava-ller-pe-ni
      sleep-CONTEMP-2SG-LOC.SG
      'When you slept' (Jacobson 1995: 307)

Jacobson (1995: 307) comments: 'The reason that these intransitive endings of the two contemporative moods are like localis endings is that these two verb moods probably developed from constructions utilizing nominalizing post-bases [i.e. suffixes] and the localis case . . . Thus, *nerellrani* [*nere-llr-a-ni* 'eat-CONTEMP-3SG-LOC'] originally was a localis noun meaning something like "in (during) his act of eating."' In Central Alaskan Yupik, this erstwhile oblique verbal-noun construction has been reanalysed as a finite subordinate verb form: 'In present-day Yup'ik, *-llr-* yields verbal constructions; *nerellrani* is truly an intransitive verb taking an absolutive subject' (Jacobson 1995: 307). In the other two Eskimo languages, however, the oblique verbal-noun construction is still retained. As the following examples from Siberian Yupik and West Greenlandic show, these languages have deranked clauses in which the verb is overtly marked for nominalization, and the verbal complex is marked for some locational case. 'There are various nominalized constructions used in a temporal sense. Most common is with nominalizer *niq* plus suitable personal possessive and case inflection (the locative being more precise than the prosecutive)' (Fortescue 1984: 61, on West Greenlandic).

(29)   SIBERIAN YUPIK (Eskimo-Aleut)

   a. Vek   paligh-negh-ngani
      grass   ripen-VN-LOC.3SG/SG
      'When the grass was ripe' (De Reuse 1994: 250)

b. Neqa-ngisag-ghlagg-mi
food-lack.ᴠɴ-in.a.big.way-ʟᴏᴄ.sɢ
'When food was lacking in a big way'; 'in a time of famine'

<div align="right">(De Reuse 1994: 36)</div>

(30) Wᴇsᴛ Gʀᴇᴇɴʟᴀɴᴅɪᴄ (Eskimo-Aleut)

a. Qallunaa-qa-li-qqaar-nir-a-ni
Dane-'have'- begin-first-ᴠɴ-its-ʟᴏᴄ
'when the first Danes came here' (Fortescue 1984: 61)

b. Niri-riir-nir-mi-kkut   uulit-tar-put
eat-already-ᴠɴ-their-ᴘʀᴏsᴇᴄ   shake-ʀᴇꜰʟ-3ᴘʟ.ʜᴀʙ.ɪɴᴅɪᴄ
'After eating, they (i.e. puppies) shake themselves'

<div align="right">(Fortescue 1984: 62)</div>

As an alternative to finite deranked forms, Aleut has temporal clauses which are built around verbal nouns. These formations are marked for their subjects by pronominal possessive suffixes. Furthermore, there is a converb that consists of the verb stem with the suffix *-lik*. This converb can be used under same-subject conditions, but also absolutely.

(31) Aʟᴇᴜᴛ (Eskimo-Aleut)

a. Chala-qada-am   hla-a   ayx̂aasim ilagaan iga-na-x̂
land-ᴀɴᴛ-3sɢ.ᴘᴏss   son-his   boat.ɢᴇɴ from   step-ᴘᴀsᴛ-3sɢ
'When he had landed, his son got out of the boat' (Bergsland 1997: 270)

b. Iġámana-q a-xta-gu-min   agusisiq su-dúka-ku-xtin
good-ɴᴏᴍ   be-sᴛᴀᴛ-ᴄᴏɴᴅ-2sɢ.ᴘᴏss reward   get-ꜰᴜᴛ-ᴘʀᴇs-2sɢ
'If you will be good, you will receive a reward' (Geoghegan 1944: 41)

c. Ugigan   nu-gu-um   txin aygaxti-ku-x̂
husband.her come-ᴄᴏɴᴅ-3sɢ.ᴘᴏss   3sɢ   leave-ᴘʀᴇs-3sɢ
'When her husband comes, she walks off' (Bergsland 1997: 99)

(32) Aʟᴇᴜᴛ (Eskimo-Aleut)

a. Algan   ngan   la-lga-lik   taná   Adax
sea.otter.ᴘʟ by.him   slay-ᴘᴀss-ɢᴇʀ   land.its A.
usa-qax
divide-ᴘᴇʀꜰ.3ᴅᴜ
'After the sea otters had been slain by him, the two of them divided them on the island of Adax' (Geoghegan 1944: 4)

b. Lam iġámaná anán   iġaxta-lik   iġayuxta-lik tuta-lik
son good   mother.his respect-ɢᴇʀ   fear-ɢᴇʀ   obey-ɢᴇʀ

qaġaxta-ku-q
love-PRES-3SG
'A good son respects, fears, obeys, and loves his mother'

<div align="right">(Geoghegan 1944: 2)</div>

Turning now to other language families of the American North-West, we observe that the Na-Dene language Haida has a flexional With-Possessive, which is marked by the suffix -*da*.

(33)   HAIDA (Na-Dene, Haida)

   a. L'   tca'ał-da-s
       he   spear-AFF-PERF
       'He had a spear' (Swanton 1911b: 216)

   b. La   djila-da-go-as
       3   bait-AFF-PL-PERF
       'They had bait' (Swanton 1911b: 22)

About the encoding of temporal sequences in Haida, Levine (1977: 170) remarks: 'In narrative discourse, one of the most common types of construction is a long series of clauses containing dependent predicates, concluding with an independent clause. This is usually the manner in which a series of actions is presented.' The marking of a dependent predicate consists in the suffix -*s/-sî*: 'The constant meaning of this suffix is that the predicate so marked is of subordinate status to some other element in the sentence' (Levine 1977: 16). It appears, though, that concatenation with dependent forms in -*s/-sî* is gradually losing its subordinate character. Swanton (1911b: 254) observes: '-*s* or -*sî* is properly used in forming infinitives or participles, but by some speakers it has come to be employed as the equivalent of the past-temporal suffix'. An example of the use of the dependent form in narration is:

(34)   HAIDA (Na-Dene, Haida)
       Gud   ġa   talang   Ɂis-da-si   talang   kucid-gang-ga
       together in   we   be-CAUSE-SUBORD   we   bundle-HAB-NEUTR
       'We put it together and bundle it up' (Levine 1977: 169)

It is debatable whether subordinate predicates in -*s/-sî* can be called deranked. By the same token, it is not clear whether explicitly marked adverbial clauses in Haida can be called cases of deranking. Such clauses are marked by clause-final conjunctions like *lu* 'when, if', *gyan* 'when', *qawdi* 'after' or *di* 'during, while'. In the Masset dialect of Haida, the verb in an adverbial clause takes the dependent form. This option is available in the Skidegate dialect as well, but this dialect prefers marking of the predicate by the nominalization suffix -*gay/-ai/-aay*.

The resulting form, called the infinitive in the literature, can be regarded as an uncontroversial case of deranking. As the examples below demonstrate, clauses containing the infinitive can have their own subjects.

(35)   HAIDA (Masset Dialect) (Na-Dene, Haida)

    a. La   gad-s   gyan   di   kin-ga-gan-ga
       1SG.ACT run-SUBORD when   1SG.OBJ warm-be-HAB-NEUTR
       'When I run it makes me warm' (Levine 1977: 16)

    b. √an la   ʔij-s   qawdi-yu la   qayd-gan
       here 3SG.ACT be-SUBORD after-TOP 3SG.ACT leave-PAST
       'He was here for a while and then he left' (Levine 1977: 203)

(36)   HAIDA (Skidegate Dialect) (Na-Dene, Haida)

    a. L'   gida-tc!i-ai   lu   la-gi   la   isdagawa-gan-i
       she bring.food-into-INF when   them-to they   give-PAST-it
       'When she brought in the food, they gave it to them'

                                                        (Swanton 1911b: 241)

    b. La ǧi la kyagang-gay lu   la qalaxa-gan
       him to I call-INF   when   he come-PAST
       'When I called him, he came' (Levine 1977: 200)

    c. 'Ll q'a-gaay   t'aahlra 'laa gyaaraa daall-raay   tl'l
       he sleep-INF while   he   POSS   money-DEF   INDEF
       q'uh'daa-yaa-gan
       steal-EVID-PAST
       'While he was asleep, somebody stole his money' (Enrico 2003: 1034)

    d. Hll q'aahllw-aay-sda   dii   sqwaay st'i-gil-gan
       I   get.up-INF-after   my   back   hurt-PUNCT-PAST
       'After I got up, my back started hurting' (Enrico 2003: 1019)

The flexional With-Possessives of Kwakwala and Quileute are matched by the ability to construct deranked temporal clauses, which are built around nominalized verbs. In Kwakwala, the deranked temporal clause takes the by now familiar form of an oblique verbal-noun construction; the subject of such a clause is represented minimally by a pronominal possessive suffix on the verbal noun. In Quileute, the nominalized predicate is preceded by the item *xe'*, which is the oblique form of the non-feminine article.

(37)   KWAKWALA (Wakashan)
    Xunkʷ-ad-ε
    child-AFF-3SG.SUBJ
    'He had a child' (Boas 1911a: 538)

(38) Kwakwala (Wakashan)
      Láx-es   k·éL !-enaᵋ -ye
      to-his   fish-VN-on
      'while he was fishing' (Boas 1947: 271)

(39) Quileute (Chimakuan)

      a. Káde'do-lo-s
          dog-AFF-3SG
          'He has a dog' (Andrade 1933–38: 217)

      b. Taxe'lit-ha'a-li
          guardian.spirit-AFF-1SG
          'I have a guardian spirit' (Andrade 1933–38: 217)

(40) Quileute (Chimakuan)
      Tsa'di   t'otcoq'tiya xe'   he't's-it   oqalek-i
      almost it.is.noon ART.OBL.NONFEM happen-VN arrive-SUBORD
      'It was almost noon when they arrived' (Andrade 1933–38: 20)

Nootka, the second Wakashan language in my sample, matches its flexional
With-Possessive by a range of dependent moods, which are characterized by
specific verb agreement paradigms. The sentences in (42) illustrate the use of
the so-called conditional form.

(41) Nootka (Wakashan)

      a. čapac-'u·ł-s
          canoe-owning-1SG
          'I own a canoe' (Nakayama 2001: 20)

      b. Ɂa:ẖɁasa   ʕuýi-na·k-qu:
          it.seems   medicine-having-COND.3
          'It seems as though they had medicine' (Nakayama 2001: 118)

(42) Nootka (Wakashan)

      a. Ái:ẖ-cu:t-Ɂa:ł   wik-'aʎ-qu:
          move.pointwise-be.on.side-always   not.be-TEL-COND.3
          čačam-ẖi·   sipu:s
          proper-DUR   keel
          'It [canoe] veers to one side if the keel is not properly set'
                                                  (Nakayama 2001: 33)

      b. Hił-'a··-'aʎ-qu:-č-Ɂa·ł   Ɂi:cɁi:qẖ-a·
          be.there-on.a.rock-TEL-COND.3-INFER-PL   tell.story-DUR
          'When they were (sitting) on the rocks, they would tell stories'
                                                  (Nakayama 2001: 103)

The Salish languages straddle the American–Canadian border at the Pacific Coast. I have suggested in Section 5.2.2 that the possessive constructions in (most of) these languages should be analysed as a flexional With-Possessive. This Salish possessive typically features a prefix on the possessee; this prefixed possessee is treated as an intransitive predicate, the subject of which is the possessor. As will be recalled, my hypothesis is that all these prefixes have their origin in locational/directional preverbs, although in many cases a further process of reanalysis has been applied to them. Examples of the construction are:

(43) Bella Coola (Salish, Bella Coola)

    a. Clh-7atsi-ø
        AFF-boat-3SG
        'He has a boat' (Nater 1984: 94)

    b. 7as-luta-ø
        AFF-crowbar-3SG
        'He has/uses a crowbar' (Nater 1984: 94)

(44) Lushootseed (Salish, Central)
    Ɂabs-tale   čəd
    AFF-money   1SG
    'I have (some) money' (Hess and Hilbert 1980: I.59)

(45) Lummi (Salish, Central)
    Č-telə-sən
    AFF-money-1SG.NOM
    'I have money' (Jelinek 1998: 342)

(46) Halkomelem (Salish, Central)
    Ɂi   cən   c-nəxʷəł
    AUX   1SG   AFF-canoe
    'I have a canoe' (Suttles 2004: 35)

(47) Lillooet (Salish, North Interior)
    Ɂəs-citxʷ   ti-syaqc'Ɂ-a
    AFF-house   ART-woman-ART
    'The woman has a house' (Van Eijk 1985: 234)

(48) Thompson Salish (Salish, North Interior)
    Ɂes-cítxʷ   kt
    AFF-house   1PL
    'We have a house' (Thompson and Thompson 1992: 95)

(49) Sʜᴜsᴡᴀᴘ   (Salish, North Interior)
      Pəλ-cítxˣ°-ø
      ᴀғғ-house-3sɢ
      'He has a house' (Kuipers 1974: 71)

(50) Kᴀʟɪsᴘᴇʟ (Salish, South Interior)
      Čin-epł-citxʷ
      1sɢ-ᴀғғ-house
      'I have a house' (Vogt 1940: 50)

(51) Cᴏᴇᴜʀ D'Aʟᴇɴᴇ (Salish, South Interior)
      Äpł-tsä'txʷ-s
      ᴀғғ-house-3sɢ
      'He/she has a house' (Reichard 1938: 570)

(52) Oᴋᴀɴᴀɢᴀɴ (Salish, South Interior)
      Kʷ-kł-cítxʷ
      2sɢ.sᴜʙᴊ-ᴀғғ-house
      'You have a house' (Mattina 1996: 166)

Apart from other options in temporal sequence encoding, temporal clauses in Salish can take the form of 'propositional nominalizations' (Kroeber 1999: 100 ff.). These are truly deranked formations, which function as temporal or other adverbial clauses, and which centre around a nominalized predicate. In practically all Salish languages, nominalized predicates feature the prefix *s-*. Furthermore, nominalizations are commonly signalled by a preposed particle, which indicates nominal status, and which is called 'article' in the literature. Apart from these two general formal features, propositional nominalizations can differ along two parameters. The first of these parameters has to do with clausal marking: the nominalized predicate can either be marked by a (locative) preposition, or it can be unmarked. Secondly, the subject of the nominalized predicate can either be represented by pronominal possessive suffixes, or by subjective suffixes. Thus, there are, in principle, four types of propositional nominalizations.[2] In the first type, which can be documented for Bella Coola, Shuswap, Kalispel, Lillooet, and Coeur D'Alene, there is no preposition for the nominalized predicate and the subject of the predicate is indicated by subjective suffixes.[3] Examples include:

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[2] I must warn the reader that my presentation of the Salish facts here is very global and does not do justice to numerous finer points in the morphosyntax of Salish nominalizations. I refer the reader to the thorough and highly informative exposition in Kroeber (1999).

[3] As can be seen from these examples, the article is commonly lacking in the propositional nominalizations of Bella Coola. In Shuswap, and in the Southern Interior languages Kalispel and Coeur D'Alene, the subjective suffixes are marked for subordination. It can also be observed that in these two Southern Interior languages the nominalizing prefix *s* seems to have been lost.

(53) Bella Coola (Salish, Bella Coola)

    a. ʔip'-aak-lh-i-ts   ta
        grab-hand-PERF-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUBJ   ART
        s-ʔilus-lh-ts-s
        NMNL-pass-PERF-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ
        'I grabbed his hand as he went past me' (Nater 1984: 102)

    b. ʔustcw-aw   ʔul-a-sulh-aw   s-klh-s
        enter-3PL.SUBJ   to-ART-house-their   NMNL-set-3SG.SUBJ
        ti-snx-t'ayc
        ART-sun-ART
        'They go into their house when the sun sets' (Nater 1984: 104)

(54) Lillooet (Salish, Northern Interior)
    Nił   t-s-nik'-in-ítas-a   ni-n-sp'ác'n-a
    it.is   ART-NMNL-cut-TR-3PL-ART   ART-my-net-ART
    'because they cut my net' (Van Eijk 1997: 17)

(55) Shuswap (Salish, Northern Interior)
    M-wík-cn   l-m-t'ʔék-əxˣ°
    ASP-see-1SG.SUBJ/2SG.OBJ   ART-ASP-pass-2SG.SUBORD
    'I saw you when you passed by' (Kuipers 1974: 5)

(56) Kalispel (Salish, Southern Interior)
    Łu'-wi'st-é's   se'i   cú
    ART-finish.3PL-SUBORD   then   say.3SG
    'After they had finished, then he said ...' (Vogt 1940: 70)

(57) Coeur D'Alene (Salish, Southern Interior)

    a. Lä   xälp-äs   at'sqää
        ART   become.light-SUBORD   go.out.3SG
        'When it had become light, he went out' (Reichard 1938: 674)

    b. Xʷe   čIn-xʷíł-cen-es
        ART 1SG-hurry-mouth-SUBORD
        'when I hurried eating' (Reichard 1938: 674)

The combination of an unmarked nominalization and possessive suffixes is found in Straits Salish, in Halkomelem, in Squamish, and – again – in Lillooet.

(58) Lummi/Straits Salish (Salish, Coast/Central)

    a. (Sechelt dialect)
        Kʷə   s-t'i-s   súxʷ-t-as   tə-łáč'tən-s
        ART   NMNL-AUX-3POSS   find-TR-3TRANS.SUBORD   ART-knife-her
        'when she found her knife' (Beaumont 1985: 195)

b. (Saanich dialect)

Šəl-šəl'-í-ŋ-sən   kʷə   nə-s-ʔíɬən
REDUPL-thirsty-PERSIST-INTR-1SG   ART   1SG.POSS-NMNL-eat
ʔə   tsə-sqéwθ
ART   potato
'I was thirsty when/because I ate the potato (chips)'

(Montler 1986: 239)

(59) MUSQUEAM HALKOMELEM (Salish, Coast/Central)

a. Kʷə-s-mi-s   técəl   kʷθə   məstəyə xʷ   ni
ART-NMNL-come-3POSS   arrive.here   that   person   AUX
ʔə   čxʷ   kʷec-nəxʷ
Q   you   look-TRANS
'When that person got here, did you see him?' (Suttles 2004: 104)

b. ʔi   cən   xʷʔítcsəs-mət   tθeʔ   swəyqeʔ   kʷə
AUX   1SG   envious-about   that   man   ART
s-ʔəy-s   kʷθeʔ   léləm-s
NMNL-good-3POSS   ART   house-his
'I am envious of that man because he has a good house' (*lit.* 'his
house's being good') (Suttles 2004: 103)

(60) SQUAMISH (Salish, Northern Interior)

Na-xe'int-umul-aswit   kʷi   s-cet-wa-q'eq'xa'taiʔ
AOR-stop-us-3PL.SUBJ   ART   NMNL-1PL.POSS-PROG-argue
'They stopped us when we were arguing' (Kuipers 1967: 17)

(61) LILLOOET (Salish, Northern Interior)

Cíxʷ-ø   saysez'-s-tumx-as   niɬ   s-waʔ-ɬkal
come-3SG   play-with-me-3SG.SUBORD   and.so   NMNL-be-1PL.POSS
saysez'
play
'He came to play with me, and so we played' (Van Eijk 1985: 21)

An obliquely marked nominalization in combination with possessive suffixes
appears to be the preferred option in Lushootseed, Thompson Salish, and
Okanagan; also, it occurs as one of the possibilities in Shuswap. The fourth
logical possibility, that is, a combination of an oblique nominalization and
subjective suffixes, seems to be rare, if not absent: I have not been able to
identify it in the Salish languages of my sample.[4]

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[4] In addition to prepositional nominalizations, Proto Salish must have had a finite subordinate
verb form, and this form   called the conjunctive or subjunctive in the literature   still survives in the
Central and North Interior branches, while traces of it can still be found in Bella Coola and Coeur

(62) LUSHOOTSEED (Salish, Coast/Central)

    a. ʔal ti-s-uʔukʷukʷ-ləp   qadbid ʔə ti ʔalʔal
        at ART-NMNL-play-2PL.POSS behind LOC ART house
        'when you were playing behind the house'

                                        (Hess and Hilbert 1980: I.135)

    b. ʔə kʷi-s-əs-ʔítut-s
        LOC ART-NMNL-STAT-sleep-3POSS
        'while he was asleep' (Kroeber 1999: 13)

    c. Dxʷʔal ti-d-s-u-bədč-bíd   ti?ił
        towards ART-1SG.POSS-NMNL-PERF-lie-TR that.one
        'because I told him a lie' (Kroeber 1999: 12)

(63) THOMPSON SALISH (Salish, Northern Interior)

    a. Qʷnóxʷ n-sxʷák̓ʷ tə-s-qʷcíyx-s
        sick   my-heart OBL-NMNL-leave-3SG.POSS
        'I am sorry because he's leaving' (Kroeber 1999: 211)

    b. Xʷəmxém-kn   tu-ł-eʔ-s-qʷcíyx
        lonely-1SG.SUBJ from-ART-2SG.POSS-NMNL-leave
        'I am lonely since you left' (Kroeber 1999: 211)

(64) SHUSWAP (Salish, Northern Interior)
    Təxʷtúxʷt γ-s-léʔ-s   γ-úsmn-s
    really   ART-NMNL-good-3POSS ART-mind-3POSS

D'Alene: 'conjunctive clauses are marked by special subject pronominal forms that either consist of or contain a Subject Suffix' (Kroeber 1999: 9). Clauses of this kind are commonly introduced by subordinating particles. The semantic range of the conjunctive differs somewhat from language to language, but its core meaning probably lies in the realm of the expression of conditions or hypothetical situations (Kroeber 1999: 246). Examples from various languages include:

  (i) HALKOMELEM (Salish, Coast/Central)
      Kʷec nəxʷ č xʷ ceʔ wə ʔami əs   técəl
      look TRANS you FUT when come 3.CONJUNCT arrive.here
      'You will see him when/if he comes' (Suttles 2004: 93)

  (ii) LILLOOET (Salish, Northern Interior)
      ʔi   cíxʷ wit as   sxáʔ tiʔ λ'uʔ
      when arrive 3PL 3.CONJUNCT surprise PRT PRT
      'When they arrived, that was a surprise for them' (Van Eijk 1997: 235)

 (iii) SHUSWAP (Salish, Northern Interior)
      Meʔ kexcin   ʔe cedwkstmex
      FUT give.1SG/2SG.INDIC if reach.2SG/3SG.CONJUNCT
      'I'll give it to you if you reach for it' (Kuipers 1974: 5)

In languages like Squamish, which have lost the conjunctive, the finite subordinate clause has its verb in the indicative:

t-pə-sx̣̌’mkélt-s
OBL-AFF-daughter-3POSS
'She was really glad [*lit.* 'Her mind was really good'] that/when she had a daughter' (Kroeber 1999: 215)

(65) OKANAGAN (Salish, Southern Interior)
Ixìʔ   i-s-c-lìm-t
then   1SG.POSS-NMNL-ASP-good-INTR
təl-s-xʷl-xwàl-t-s   axàʔ   i-st’əmkəʔílt
from-NMNL-REDUPL-alive-INTR-3POSS   DEM   my-daughter
'I am so very glad that/because my daughter is alive' (Kroeber 1999: 237)

To the south of Salish, the With-Possessive can be found in several languages from smaller families in the American west.[5] Siuslaw, a language of Oregon, has a flexional variant, in which the possessee is marked by the locative suffixes *-a* or *-yus*.

(66) SIUSLAW (Siuslawan)

a. Kotan-a’-t-∅
    horse-at-DUR-3
    'They had horses' (Frachtenberg 1922b: 533)

b. Hɪtsî-yus-t-∅
    house-at-DUR-3
    'He has a house' (Frachtenberg 1922b: 533)

(iv) SQUAMISH (Salish, Central)
ʔi 'tut cxʷ   q ʔas qe’np   ta sne’qʷm
go.to.sleep IMP.2SG   when 3SG.INDIC go.down   ART sun
'Go to sleep when the sun goes down' (Kuipers 1967: 260)

  [5] Apart from the languages to be discussed below, additional western American languages with a flexional With Possessive are Coos (a language from Oregon) and Mutsun (a language from California). Unfortunately, data on temporal sequencing are too scanty to warrant inclusion of these languages in the sample.

 (i) Coos (Coos)
Le   ol   n tc!wäl e
ART   3PL   with fire PRED
'They have fire' (Frachtenberg 1922a: 422)

(ii) MUTSUN (Miwok Costanoan)
a. Rukka te k   tar
    house VERB 3SG   moon
    'The moon has a house' (Okrand 1977: 145)

b. Tar   rukka te
    moon   house VERB
    'The moon has a house' (Okrand 1977: 145)

Temporal sequencing in Siuslaw is predominantly balancing; the language prefers strings of short main clauses, or constructions with finite subordinate clauses. Notwithstanding this, Siuslaw also has the option of construing non-finite, converb-like formations, which consist of a verb stem and a locational suffix. Different locational markers encode different temporal and other adverbial relations between clauses. Thus, for example, the locative suffix *-yax* 'on, over' mainly encodes conditional clauses, whereas the instrumental/allative suffix *-ɪ'tc* 'with, to' is employed to encode simultaneity. Deranked predicates of this type can be used under different-subject conditions.

(67) Siuslaw (Siuslawan)

  a. Sɛàs   ɬit!a'yun   hai'q-yax
     he   eat.DUR.3SG/3SG   come.ashore-on
     'He eats it when/if it comes ashore' (Frachtenberg 1922b: 606)

  b. Qaiha'ntc   hɪ'n-yax-aᵂn   yaɛkᵂs   tcaqa-ɪ'tc
     far.away   take-PAST-3SG/3SG   seal   spear-with/to
     'The seal took him far off as he speared him' (Frachtenberg 1922b: 556)

Another language of Oregon, the extinct isolate Takelma, had a copular With-Possessive:

(68) Takelma (Takelma)
      Ts·!u'lx-gwat'   eī-t'eʔ
      money-SUFF   be-1SG
      'I have money' (Sapir 1912: 277)

Since Takelma is an extinct language, data are not that copious in general, and a complete overview of the temporal sequencing options of the language is impossible to achieve. From the examples found in the sources one can gain the impression that Takelma had at least some – though perhaps not very prominent – ability to form deranked temporal clauses. The predicates in such clauses seem to be converb-like, in that they contain subordinating suffixes, which replace the tense/aspect/mood-marking of finite verb forms; however, for non-third person subject-marking is retained in these forms. At least some of the suffixes that are used to mark subordination are of a locative origin. For example, the subordinator *-daʔ*, which marks simultaneity, is, in all probability, related to the nominal ablative suffix *-dat'* 'from'.

(69) Takelma (Takelma)

  a. Yan-t'eʔ-daʔ
     go-1SG-SUBORD
     'When/as I went' (Sapir 1912: 273)

b. Haaí   altkèm   paatinì?x   tahoóxa   waiwìi   ?pakài-ta?
   cloud   black   spread.out   in.evening girl   bathe-SUBORD
   'Black clouds were spreading out in the evening when the girl was bathing' (Kendall 1977: 72)

c. Wede   yana'-k'i?   gı?   hono?   wede   yana'-k'a?
   not   go-COND   I   also   not   go-1SG.INFER
   'If he does not go, I won't go either' (Sapir 1912: 197)

A second example of a copular With-Possessive in the American West can be found in the Californian language Maidu.

(70)   MAIDU (Maiduan)
       Hobo'-kö-do-m   mai'se-m   büss-tsoia
       bark.hut-SUFF-PCP-SUBJ   3PL-SUBJ   be-HSY
       'They had a bark hut' (Dixon 1911: 726)

This With-Possessive finds an unproblematic match in the strategies for temporal sequencing. Maidu is a predominantly deranking language, which employs a set of converbs that are structured into a four-way switch-reference system, on the dimensions of temporality (simultaneous vs. consecutive action) and conditionality (same subject vs. different subject). I restrict myself here to the formation that encodes simultaneous action under different-subject conditions.

(71)   MAIDU (Maiduan)
       Wowókinu-myni   kakka-m   týnkytò-m   hìní
       lie-DS.SIM   crow-SUBJ   brothers-SUBJ   eye
       bókkol-·òj?-a-m
       peck-HSY-PRED-SUBJ
       'While he (Coyote) lay there, the Crow Brothers pecked out his eye'
                                                            (Shipley 1963: 22)

The With-Possessive in Sierra Miwok, another language of California, is of the flexional subtype, in which the possessee is marked by either the suffix *-yak* or the suffix *-?ni/-uni*. Temporal sequencing in Sierra Miwok can be balancing, but there is also the option of deranked temporal clauses. In such clauses, the predicate is represented by the bare verb stem with possessive pronominal suffixes that indicate the subject. If the subject is also represented by a full noun phrase, that noun phrase gets genitive case-marking. There is no oblique marking on the deranked predicate, nor are there subordinate conjunctions in the deranked clause.

(72) SIERRA MIWOK (Miwok-Costanoan)

    a. Čukú-yak-teʔ
       dog-SUFF-1SG
       'I have a dog' (Freeland 1951: 2)

    b. Cukuʔ-uni-teʔ
       dog-SUFF-1SG
       'I have a dog' (Broadbent 1964: 11)

(73) SIERRA MIWOK (Miwok-Costanoan)

    a. Tïyé·mu·yi-t   lákše·-n
       be.asleep-1SG   return-2SG.POSS
       'I shall be asleep when you return' (Freeland 1951: 50)

    b. Mïl·i·-š   wák·a·liʔ   lákšï·
       sing-3SG.POSS   rattlesnake   appear.3SG
       'As he sings, a rattlesnake appears' (Freeland 1951: 5)

    c. Hï·ya-š   wékwekï-ŋ
       arrive-3SG.POSS   Hawk-GEN
       'as Hawk arrives' (Freeland 1951: 20)

10.4 Central America

In Section 5.2.2 I discussed a possessive construction that is found in many languages of the Uto-Aztecan family. I have argued there that the construction in question must be regarded as a (flexional) With-Possessive, rather than as an incorporated Have-Possessive, since the suffixes employed to mark the possessee can be shown to have an essentially locational origin.[6] If this analysis is accepted, these constructions are unproblematic confirmations of the universal under investigation here. It turns out that the Uto-Aztecan languages at issue all have ample possibilities of deranking simultaneous clauses, and that many of them even have fairly intricate systems of deranked sequence encoding.

    The six sampled languages from the Numic subfamily mark the possessees in their possessive constructions by way of suffixes that are either variants of the suffix *-k or of the suffix *-p. This With-Possessive in Numic is matched by the fact that temporal sequencing in these languages makes extensive use of deranked forms, which, in most cases, are organized into a switch-reference system. That is, Numic languages typically have a set of converbal forms,

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[6] In some cases, however, the construction has started to undergo Have Drift; see Section 6.2.

which are formed by suffixes on the verb stem, and which contrast among themselves on the parameters of temporality (simultaneous vs. consecutive action) and conditionality (same subject vs. different subject). For reasons of space the below examples will be limited to the temporal sequence that encodes simultaneity under different-subject conditions. It will be observed that subjects of different-subject converbs are in the 'accusative' case. Perhaps an explanation of this curious fact can be found in the fact that this case is employed not only for direct objects, but also for adnominal genitives. Thus, it may be the case that Numic converbs are in fact nominalized formations, although they are not overtly marked as such.

(74) WESTERN SHOSHONE (Uto-Aztecan, Central Numic)

    a. A'nii   pantepiha-ka   kahni-pa'i
       beaver   water.middle-at   house-AFF
       'The beaver has a house in the middle of the water'

                                   (Crum and Dayley 1993: 6)

    b. Soten   tainna   soom   munih-kante
       that   man   much money-AFF
       'That man has lots of money' (Crum and Dayley 1993: 6)

(75) WESTERN SHOSHONE (Uto-Aztecan, Central Numic)
    Nemmi   tennoto'in-ku   soten tsukuppe sukkuh eppeihtekki
    1PL.ACC sing-DS.SIM   that   old.man   there   sleep.sit.DUR
    'While we were singing, the old man sat there sleeping'
                                (Crum and Dayley 1993: 12)

(76) TÜMPISA SHOSHONE (Uto-Aztecan, Central Numic)

    a. Nü   kee   etüm-pa'e
       1SG   NEG gun-AFF
       'I don't have a gun' (Dayley 1989: 65)

    b. üü   attammupi-pain
       1SG   car-AFF
       'I have a car' (Dayley 1989: 70)

(77) TÜMPISA SHOSHONE (Uto-Aztecan, Central Numic)
    Sukkwa   tüttsüppüh suwangkünna tsüattamappü-a
    that.ACC   bad   feel   cop-ACC
    pittuhung-ka
    arrive-DS.SIM
    '(She) didn't like it when the cop came' (Dayley 1989: 347)

(78)   COMANCHE (Uto-Aztecan, Central Numic)

   a. Ni-kinunapɨ-se   soʔo-ti   puku-pai
      my-late.grandfather-FOC   many-OBJ   horse-AFF
      'My late grandfather had many horses' (Ormsbee Charney 1993: 107)

   b. Soʔo-ti   u   puhihwi-ka-ti
      many-OBJ   he   money-AFF-PRED
      'He has a lot of money' (Ormsbee Charney 1993: 205)

(79)   COMANCHE (Uto-Aztecan, Central Numic)
      Nɨɨ-se   tɨkɨ-pɨnni   o-pohiya-noo-ku
      1SG-TOP   eat-CONT   3SG.OBJ-walk-around-DS.SIM
      'I was eating when he was walking along' (Ormsbee Charney 1993: 232)

(80)   CHEMEHUEVI (Uto-Aztecan, Southern Numic)
      Nii-k   waha-ku-mi   waʔaro-vi-mi   pungku-vi-ga-nt
      1SG-TOP   two-OBL-AN.OBL   horse-PL-OBL   pet-PL-AFF-HAB
      'I have two horses' (Press 1974: 114)

(81)   CHEMEHUEVI (Uto-Aztecan, Southern Numic)
      Pungkuci   huvitu-gu   aipac   ang   tika-vi
      dog.OBL   sing-DS.SIM   boy   that   eat-PAST
      'While the dog sang, the boy ate' (Press 1974: 169)

(82)   KAWAIISU (Uto-Aztecan, Southern Numic)
      Niʔɨ   kahni-ga-dɨ
      I   house-AFF-NMNL
      'I have a house' (Zigmond et al. 1991: 114)

(83)   KAWAIISU (Uto-Aztecan, Southern Numic)
      Pidi-ka-ku-mi   yuwaʔi-ka-dɨ   niʔɨ
      arrive-REAL-DS.SIM-your   not.be-REAL-NMNL   I
      'When you came, I wasn't here' (Zigmond et al. 1991: 120)

(84)   NORTHERN PAIUTE (Uto-Aztecan, Western Numic)

   a. Su   wida   nobi-ga-'yu
      that.NOM   bear   house-AFF-DUR
      'That bear had a house' (Langacker 1977a: 34)

   b. Wiyɨpui   pɨdɨ   nobi-ka-'yu
      W.   new   house-AFF-DUR
      'Wiyipui has a new house' (Snapp et al. 1982: 16)

(85)   NORTHERN PAIUTE (Uto-Aztecan, Western Numic)
       U   mia-no'o-ø   nɨ   tanomani-no'o
       3SG.ACC   go-along-DS.SIM   1SG.NOM   run-along
       'While he was going along, I was running along'

<div align="right">(Snapp et al. 1982: 76)</div>

The situation in Hopi – an isolate within Uto-Aztecan, spoken in Arizona – and in Huichol, a member of the Corachol branch, is comparable to Numic in all respects, except for the form of the suffix on the possessee, which in this case is -*yta*/-*'ta*. Also, subjects of different-subject converbs do not seem to require accusative case in these languages.

(86)   HOPI (Uto-Aztecan, Hopi)
       Nɨʔ   mana-yta
       I   daughter-AFF
       'I have a daughter' (Langacker 1977a: 50)

(87)   HOPI (Uto-Aztecan, Hopi)
       Nɨʔ   wari   cɨʔa   tɨwa-qʔö
       I   run   rattlesnake   see-DS.SIM
       'I ran when/because the rattle-snake saw (me)' (Langacker 1977a: 195)

(88)   HUICHOL (Uto-Aztecan, Corachol)
       Pam   ø-ŋahɨ-'ta
       he   3SG-medicine-AFF
       'He has medicine' (Langacker 1977a: 44)

(89)   HUICHOL (Uto-Aztecan, Corachol)
       Kúuyéi-kaa-kaaku   p∧néci-ʔuzéi
       walk-around-DS.SIM   3SG/1SG.ACC-see
       'As he (A) was walking along, he (B) saw me' (Grimes 1964: 65)

A full, four-way, switch-reference system can also be documented for the now extinct language Nevome, a member of the Tepiman subfamily. In the modern members of this family, such as Pima Bajo and Papago, the switch-reference system – and, in fact, the use of deranked forms in temporal sequence formation – has been largely abandoned. The same holds for the With-Possessive, which survives only in the form of the *have*-verbs in these languages, as a result of Have-Drift (see Section 6.2). The suffix on the possessee in the Nevome With-Possessive is -*ga*, that is, a form of the general Uto-Aztecan suffix *-*k*.

(90)   NEVOME (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

    a. Hunu-ga   an'   igui
      corn-AFF   1SG   PRT
      'I have corn' (Estrada Fernandez 1996: 2)

    b. Cavaio-g'-an'-igui
      horse-AFF-1SG-PRT
      'I have a horse' (Shaul 1982: 40)

(91)   NEVOME (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)
    Nunu   ni-gaga   sicoana-da   Francisco   t'-igui   divia
    I   my-field   weed-DS.SIM   F.   PERF-PRT   arrive
    'While I was weeding my field, Francisco arrived' (Shaul 1982: 127)

In Nevome, the With-Possessive was in competition with a Topic Possessive and a Have-Possessive. This situation can still be documented for several modern Uto-Aztecan languages, such as Western Tarahumara and Northern Tepehuan. Parallel to the lesser degree of prominence of the With-Possessive in these languages, we can observe that the match with temporal sequence encoding is less pronounced, due to the fact that the converbal system is less elaborate or, as the case may be, has been simplified. Thus, there is no switch-reference marking on converbs: the deranked forms which these languages have can be used under both same-subject and different-subject conditions. The With-Possessive in Northern Tehepuan is marked by the general Uto-Aztecan suffix $*-k > -ga$. In contrast, Western Tarahumara employs the less common suffix *-é* in this function. It will be noted that in this language the With-Possessive is copular, which is untypical for Uto-Aztecan languages.

(92)   WESTERN TARAHUMARA (Uto-Aztecan, Tarahumaran)
    Mé   ran-é   alué   muké
    one   child-AFF   that   woman
    'That woman had a child' (Burgess 1984: 2)

(93)   WESTERN TARAHUMARA (Uto-Aztecan, Tarahumaran)
    'Líge   alué   rehté   má   rata-bá-so
    then   that   rock   now   hot-become-GER
    'líge   čohkí-le-ke-'e   'líge   alué   piesta   olá
    then   begin-PAST-QUOT-EMP   then   that   fiesta   do
    'When the rocks became hot, then the fiesta began' (Burgess 1984: 139)

(94)   NORTHERN TEPEHUAN (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)
    Alí   tumiñši-ga   i-gáágardami
    very   money-AFF   ART-merchant
    'The merchant has lots of money' (Bascom 1982: 23)

(95)   Northern Tepehuan (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)
Vuusáí-kai   tása-i   váñi
come.out-conv.punct   sun-abs   got.up
'When the sun came up, (I) got up' (Bascom 1982: 30)

Finally, there are a few cases of Uto-Aztecan With-Possessives in which the match with absolutely deranked temporal sequencing has become tenuous, to say the least.[7] In Section 5.2.2 I called attention to the possession construction in the Tarahumaran language Yaqui. I argued there that this construction must be seen as an extreme case of reanalysis through predicativization: the marker *-k on the possessee has been reanalysed as an aspectual/modal suffix and integrated into the aspect/mood system of the language, so that, at first sight, it looks as if the possessee is treated as a verb.

(96)   Yaqui (Uto-Aztecan, Tarahumaran)
In   abači   čuʔu-k
my   brother   dog-real/perf
'My brother has a dog' (Lindenfeld 1973: 23)

Deranking is not a very prominent strategy in the encoding of temporal sequences in Yaqui. The language prefers balanced options, such as sentential coordinations of finite subordinate clauses; as we will see in Section 12.7, these strategies provide a match for the Have-Possessive in Yaqui. The only deranked predicate form in the language is a converb that is marked by the suffix *-kai*. This converb is largely restricted to same-subject contexts, although absolute use of the form is not completely forbidden (see sentence (97b)).

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[7] In the modern variants of the Aztecan family, which is the southernmost branch of Uto Aztecan, a Have Possessive is the only option. However, Classical Nahuatl, the ancestor language of Aztecan, had a With Possessive. In this construction, the possessee was marked by the suffixes *huah* or *eh*, and this formation was treated as an intransitive predicate.

(i)   Classical Nahuatl (Uto Aztecan, Aztecan)

a. Ni ø cihuā huah ø
    1sg abs woman have sg
    'I have a woman' (Andrews 1975: 219)

b. ø ø cuā cuahh ton eh ø
    3 abs horn horn small have sg
    'It has small horns' (Andrews 1975: 219)

Like its modern descendants, Classical Nahuatl was predominantly balancing in its formation of temporal sequences. The only deranked formation that I have been able to document is a participle, marked by the suffix *cā*. The form indicated simultaneous action. In addition to its occurring as an independent item, it was also possible to incorporate the form into the main predicate. All examples of the participle in *cā* which I have found in the sources are instances of same subject deranking; whether different subject encoding was also possible with this form remains unclear.

(97) YᴀQᴜɪ (Uto-Aztecan, Tarahumaran)

    a. Empo   lottila-ta-kai   kaa   yiʔi-ne
       you   be.tired-ᴅᴇᴘ-ᴄᴏɴᴠ   ɴᴇɢ   dance-ꜰᴜᴛ
       'Being tired, you will not dance' (Lindenfeld 1973: 2)

    b. Inepo   in   mala   muku-k-naate-kai   tekipanoa
       I   my   mother   die-ʀᴇᴀʟ-ʀᴇᴄ-ᴄᴏɴᴠ   work
       'I have been working ever since my mother died'

                                       (Lindenfeld 1973: 7)

Besides Uto-Aztecan, we encounter a (flexional) Central American With-Possessive in Sierra Popoluca, a Mixe-Zoque language. The construction is matched by the ability to derank temporal clauses in the form of oblique verbal nouns. These formations retain aspect-marking and do not show overt marking for nominalization; however, their subjects are marked by possessive pronominal prefixes. Given this latter fact, it will be clear that they can be used under absolute conditions.

(98) Sɪᴇʀʀᴀ Pᴏᴘᴏʟᴜᴄᴀ (Mixe-Zoque)
    ø-tʌg-ʌ́ʔy
    3sɢ.ᴀʙs-house-ᴀꜰꜰ/ɪɴᴅɪʀ
    'He has a house' (Elson 1960: 88)

(99) Sɪᴇʀʀᴀ Pᴏᴘᴏʟᴜᴄᴀ (Mixe-Zoque)

    a. I-nʌk-wʌ·-m   hʌ́y-àʔy-ta
       his-walk-ᴘᴇʀꜰ-in/with   speak-ᴅɪʀ-ɪɴᴅᴇꜰ.ᴀɢ
       'As he walked along, somebody spoke to him' (Elson 1960: 47)

    b. ø-tógoy-um   hēmʌk   an-tʌ́ʔ·ba-pá·-m
       3sɢ-lose-ᴘᴇʀꜰ   himself   my-fish-ɪᴍᴘᴇʀꜰ-in/with
       'He perished while I was fishing' (Elson 1960: 51)

(ii) Cʟᴀssɪᴄᴀʟ Nᴀʜᴜᴀᴛʟ (Uto Aztecan, Aztecan)

    a. Mauh cā   ø tzahtzi c
       be.afraid ᴘᴄᴘ   3 shout sɢ
       'She shouted frightenedly' (Andrews 1975: 32)

    b. ø [mauh cā] tzahtzi c
       3 [be.afraid ᴘᴄᴘ] shout sɢ
       'She shouted frightenedly' (Andrews 1975: 34)

    c. Ti [cuī ca] ti uh ih
       1 [sing ᴄᴏɴᴠ] ᴘʀᴛ go.away ᴘʟ
       'We go away singing' (Andrews 1975: 132)

    d. N on [ihcuih cā] temo z ø
       1 ᴅɪʀ [be.quick ᴄᴏɴᴠ] go.down ꜰᴜᴛ sɢ
       'I will go down quickly' (Andrews 1975: 34)

10.5 South America

Possession encoding in South America is rather varied. All four major types occur on the continent, and there does not seem to be any point in singling out one of these types as the most prominent one. The With-Possessive can be encountered in a number of major linguistic groupings in South America, as well as in several smaller families and isolate languages.

An instance of the (in all probability, copular) With-Possessive in South America is represented by the Carib family of the Guyanas and Northern Brazil. The details of the construction have been exposed in Section 5.2.1. As will be recalled, the possessee is marked by an adverbial/adjectival prefix and a suffix *-ke* that presumably has its origin in a case marker with instrumental/comitative meaning.

(100) Wai Wai (Macro-Carib, Carib)
       Tu-wuhre-ke-m   komo   kîwyam
       ADV-weapon-ADV-NMNL   COLL   1PL.INCL
       'We all have weapons' (Hawkins 1998: 33)

(101) Apalai (Macro-Carib, Carib)
       T-ypyre-ke   ase
       ADJ-arrow-with   1SG.be.PRES
       'I have an arrow' (Koehn and Koehn 1986: 119)

(102) Hixkaryana (Macro-Carib, Carib)
       Ti-oti-ke   wehxaha
       ADV-meat-having   1SG.be.PRES
       'I have meat food' (Derbyshire 1979: 69)

(103) Surinam Carib (Macro-Carib, Carib)
       Ti-pulata-ke   wa
       PCP-money-with/having   1SG.be.PRES
       'I have money' (Hoff 1968: 212)

The With-Possessive in Carib is matched unproblematically by the preferred strategy for temporal sequence encoding in these languages. Although balanced encoding, in the form of sentential coordinations, is possible at least in contrastive contexts, it is clear that deranked sequencing is by far the most prominent option. 'Only non-finite verb forms occur in subordinate clauses. These clauses consist of nominalizations, often embedded in postpositional phrases, or some other construction, derived from a verb by the addition of affixes, and functioning as an adverbial constituent of the main clause. The

nominalization or other derived form can be inflected for person of possessor'
(Koehn and Koehn 1986: 73, on Apalai). Thus, using the terminology that has
been adopted in this book, we can say that temporal sequencing in these Carib
languages takes the form of oblique verbal nouns, which are marked for
subject by possessive pronominal suffixes. Some of these formations are
overtly marked for nominalization (for example, by the suffix -*ry* in Apalai,
-*rî* in Wai Wai, or -*ri* in Hixkaryana), while others are more like converbs,
with an oblique or adverbializing suffix that is attached to the bare verb stem.
Since the subjects of these deranked formations is indicated by a possessive
pronominal suffix, it will be clear that such deranked forms can be used under
different-subject conditions. Examples of absolutely deranked temporal se-
quences in four Carib languages include:

(104)   WAI WAI (Macro-Carib, Carib)

    a. Tuuna   mok-ya-taw   to-hra
       rain   come-STEM-CONV.SIM   go-NEG
       t-ø-a-sî
       1PL.INCL-be-STEM-NONPAST
       'If/when it rains we will not go' (Hawkins 1998: 7)

    b. O-mok-rî   me   ero   wa   nîî-ka-y   o-wya
       1-come-NMNL   ADV   that   like   3SG-say-IMMED.PAST   1-to
       'Just as I was coming he said it to me' (Hawkins 1998: 12)

(105)   APALAI (Macro-Carib, Carib)
    Mokyro   ø-oepy-ry-htao   otuh-nõko   akene
    that.one   3SG.POSS-come-NMNL-ADV   eat-CONT   1SG.be.IMPERF
    'When he came I was eating' (Koehn and Koehn 1986: 105)

(106)   HIXKARYANA (Macro-Carib, Carib)

    a. Ehni   tho   ymo   y-aha-wawo   thenyehra
       river   PRT   PRT   3SG.POSS-drop-CONV.SIM   much
       na-ha   kana
       3SG-be.PRES   fish
       'When the river level drops, there is a lot of fish'
                               (Derbyshire 1979: 27)

    b. Yaskomo   me   ki-eh-toko
       shaman   ESS   1PL.INCL.POSS-be-CONV
       ti-osenyeht-yano
       1PL.INCL-dream-NONPAST.UNCERT
       'When one is a shaman, one dreams' (Derbyshire 1979: 130)

(107)   SURINAM CARIB (Macro-Carib, Carib)
       Yakasari   woma-ri   sapoi
       my.friend   3SG.POSS.fall-GER.SIM   1SG/3SG.catch.PAST
       'When my friend fell, I caught him' (Hoff 1968: 311)

Among these deranked clauses in Carib we can even identify a direct match
with the With-Possessive. Causal adverbial clauses commonly consist of a
verbal noun that is marked by the postposition *ke* or the suffix -*ke*. As we have
seen above, this marker has, in all probability, a basic instrumental comitative
meaning and it is, of course, also the marker for the possessee in the Carib
possession construction.

(108)   WAI WAI (Macro-Carib, Carib)
       O-mok-rî   ke
       1-come-NMNL   because
       'because of my coming: because I came' (Hawkins 1998: 9)

(109)   APALAI (Macro-Carib, Carib)
       Mame   kajame   epekah-se   n-oeh-no
       then   manioc.meal buy-PURP   3SG-come-IMPF
       omise   t-oexi-ry-ke
       hungry   3SG.POSS.REFL-be-NMNL-INSTR
       'Then he came to buy manioc meal, because he was hungry'
                                              (Koehn and Koehn 1986: 47)

(110)   HIXKARYANA (Macro-Carib, Carib)

    a. Iwayehpaya   nehxako   biryekomo, okoye   wiya
       almost.dying   3SG.be.PAST   boy   snake   by
       t-oska-ni-ri   ke
       3SG.POSS.REFL-bite-AFF-NMNL   INSTR
       'The boy almost died, because a snake bit him'
                                         (Derbyshire 1979: 30)

    b. Itohra   wahko   thenyehra tuna
       not.going   1SG.be.PAST   much   water
       y-omoki-ni-ri   ke
       3SG.POSS-come-AFF-NMNL   INSTR
       'I didn't go, because it was raining heavily' (Derbyshire 1979: 30)

(111)   SURINAM CARIB (Macro-Carib, Carib)
       Ay-aro-xpo-ke
       2SG.POSS-take-at/CONV.PAST-INSTR
       'Because you have been taken' (Hoff 1968: 312)

As a final remark on possession encoding in Carib, I can add that several of these languages have a second With-Possessive construction, which is purely adverbial. In this construction, the possessee is the complement of a comitative postposition. It will be clear that the deranked formations presented above provide a match for this second With-Possessive in the same way as the first, 'derivational' With-Possessive is matched by them.

(112)   HIXKARYANA (Macro-Carib, Carib)
    Apaytara   hyawo   naha   biryekomo
    chicken   with   3SG.be.PRES   boy
    'The boy has chickens' (Derbyshire 1979: 110)

(113)   SURINAM CARIB (Macro-Carib, Carib)
    Kareta   poko   k-axta-ine
    paper   with   1PL-be-CONV.COND
    'If we had paper' (Hoff 1968: 102)

Further instances of the With-Possessive in South America are mainly situated in the western part of the continent. Andoke, a language of east Colombia, marks possessees by means of the suffix -*koá*, the origin of which is problematic; I concluded in Section 5.2.1 that the construction is either an adverbial or a copular variant of the With-Possessive. The possessive encoding of Andoke is matched by the ability to use oblique verbal nouns in the encoding of temporal sequences.[8] Such formations are marked by a nominalizing suffix plus subordinating items, which are in many cases identical to nominal case suffixes or postpositions. Oblique verbal nouns can occur under different-subject conditions.

(114)   ANDOKE (Witotoan?)
    Puke-koá   b-aya
    canoe-SUFF   FOC-3SG.M
    'He has a canoe' (Landaburu 1979: 7)

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[8] In addition to these nominalizations, Andoke has a temporal clause type in which the predicate is marked by a locational/temporal suffix. Such predicates are marked by the indicative subject prefixes, but do not carry the 'predicative' suffix *i* that main predicates have.

(i)   ANDOKE (Witotoan?)

a.   Ka'tehe   o ba'i henee   bo ñe   Yu'a   yē po i
    right.then   1SG eat at   FOC PAST   Y.   3SG arrive PRED
    'Just as I was eating, Yu'a arrived' (Landaburu 1979: 229)

b.   Ha aa   yē po kēkē   bo   ē he   ē bee i
    your brother   3SG arrive after   FOC   3 RECIP   3 fight PRED
    'After your brother had arrived, they fought with each other' (Landaburu 1979: 230)

c.   O ba'i ka   bo   o yi i
    1SG eat from   FOC   1SG be.ill PRED
    'Because I have eaten, I am ill' (Landaburu 1979: 231)

(115)   ANDOKE (Witotoan?)

    a. Oka-se   s-o-to-i-a-kẽ   bo   ka-si'ko-i
       this-river DIR-3SG-dry.up-VN-in-LIM FOC 1PL-fish-PRED
       'When the river ran dry, we fished' (Landaburu 1979: 273)

    b. Ha-no-e'-i   dopoo bo   he-nehe-i
       2SG-1SG-say-VN when FOC 2SG-sing.FUT-PRED
       'You will sing when I tell you to' (Landaburu 1979: 274)

A characteristic of quite a few South American languages is that they combine a With-Possessive with a Locational Possessive. Such is, for example, the case in Huitoto, a language from Eastern Peru. We have seen in Section 9.13 that this language has a Locational Possessive with either locative or dative marking on the possessive, and that this option is matched by deranked temporal sequences in the form of oblique verbal nouns or converbs. This deranking strategy also provides a match for the (flexional) With-Possessive in Huitoto. In this construction, the possessee is marked by a suffix *-re* of unknown origin, which is also in use for the encoding of predicate adjective constructions (see Section 5.2.2).

(116)   HUITOTO (Witotoan)

    a. Cue jiza   ini-re-de
       1SG daughter husband-AFF-3SG.NONFUT
       'My daughter has a husband' (Minor et al. 1982: 49)

    b. Jofó-re-di-cai
       house-AFF-NONFUT-1PL
       'We have a house' (Minor et al. 1982: 101)

(117)   HUITOTO (Witotoan)

    a. Afengo ei   tii-lla-mona afengo iere
       3SG.F mother die-VN-from 3SG.F much
       zúu-re-de
       sad(ness)-AFF-3SG.NONFUT
       'After her mother died, she was very sad' (Minor et al. 1982: 64)

    b. Jitó bi-te-mo   ie   moo   ióbi-de
       son come-NONFUT-at/to his father be.glad-3SG.NONFUT
       'When the son arrived, his father was glad' (Minor et al. 1982: 77)

A combination of a Locational Possessive and a With-Possessive can also be encountered in Yagua and Yameo, two Peba-Yaguan languages of East Peru. In both languages, the suffix that marks the possessee in the With-Possessive can

be identified as the instrumental case marker; the possessive construction must, in all probability, be rated as copular (see Section 5.2.1). Just like their Locational Possessives, Yagua and Yameo match their With-Possessives by deranked temporal clauses which take the form of oblique verbal nouns (see Section 9.13). These formations can occur under both same-subject and different-subject conditions.

(118)   YAMEO (Peba-Yaguan)
Lʋól-teal   ranun
house-AFF/with   she
'She has a house' (Espinosa Perez 1955: 357)

(119)   YAMEO (Peba-Yaguan)

a. ŕʋé mil-awéš   ŕi ya
   my eat.VN-ABL I go
   'After I have eaten, I'll go' (Espinosa Perez 1955: 37)

b. ǐ   wʋəsé-le-ma   kulíki   trawáa
   your   want-VN-LOC   money   work.IMP
   'If you want money, you'll have to work' (Espinosa Perez 1955: 402)

c. ŕʋə   trawáa i   min-sara-u
   I   work   your   eat-VN-DAT
   'I work, so that you (can) eat' (Espinosa Perez 1955: 402)

(120)   YAGUA (Peba-Yaguan)

a. António   jááryiy   ćı́ŕıqui-ta-į
   A.   very   money-INSTR-NMNL
   'Antonio has a lot of money' (Payne and Payne 1990: 349)

(121)   YAGUA (Peba-Yaguan)

a. Suvǫ́ǫ́   naada-juváay jíy-vánu   dapúúy-janu-mu
   string.bag 3DU-make   her-husband   hunt-INF-LOC
   'She makes string bags while her husband hunts'
                                          (Payne and Payne 1990: 339)

b. Vuryą-jųvay-jada-iva
   1PL.INCL-kill-INF-DAT
   'until our killing'; 'until we get killed' (Payne and Payne 1990: 380)

In Section 9.13 we saw that for two of the three sampled languages of the Panoan family a Locational Possessive can be documented. One of these two languages, Shipibo-Konibo, doubles this Locational Possessive with a With-Possessive, while Chacobo, the third Panoan language in the sample, has this

With-Possessive as its only option. In both languages, the With-Possessive marks its possessee by the suffix *-ya*, which is readily identified as the comitative/instrumental suffix or postposition 'with'. It is hard to decide whether the construction is copular or adverbial (see Section 5.2.1).

Panoan languages are predominantly deranking. As we have seen in Section 9.13, temporal and other adverbial relations between clauses are encoded by a set of converbs that is organized on the basis of switch-reference and temporality (i.e. the distinction between simultaneous and consecutive action). Furthermore, same-subject converbs also differ in form on the basis of transitivity vs. intransitivity of the finite main verb. Given the complexity of the converb system I hope it will suffice if I limit myself here to those converbs in Chacobo and Shipibo-Konibo that are simultaneous and intransitive, and have a different-subject interpretation.

(122)   CHACOBO (Panoan)
         Kanati-ya   roʔa-no
         bow-with   only-DS.CONS
         'If (I) had a bow' (Prost 1967: 29)

(123)   CHACOBO (Panoan)
         Caʔo-ʔï-no   ʔiso   ho-kï
         sit-1SG.INTR-SIM.DS/in   monkey   come-PAST
         'While I sat, the monkey came' (Prost 1962: 117)

(124)   SHIPIBO-KONIBO (Panoan)
         E-a-ra   radio-ya   iki
         1-ABS-EVID   radio-AFF   be
         'I have a radio' (Valenzuela 2003: 332)

(125)   SHIPIBO-KONIBO (Panoan)
         Jema-n   pishta   i-nontian   ka-a   iki   alcalde
         village-GEN   fiesta   do-SIM.DS   go-PCP   AUX   mayor.ABS
         'During the fiesta of the village, the mayor came'

                                                          (Valenzuela 2003: 421)

The flexional With-Possessive of the South Andean languages Jaqaru and Aymara is matched by the availability of deranked predicates, which take the form of converbs and oblique verbal nouns. These forms allow use under different-subject conditions.

(126)   JAQARU (Andean, Jaqi)

         a. Antz   acx   wak-ni-wa-ø
            much   much   cow-AFF-VERB-3SG
            '(She) has a lot of cows' (Hardman 2000: 109)

b. Ut-ni-wa-nh-wa
   house-AFF-VERB-1SG.FUT-VAL
   'I will have a house' (Hardman 2000: 49)

(127)   JAQARU (Andean, Jaqi)

a. Uk"p"   ma-rquay-q-ipan-q   na-ch-kas-w
   everyone   go-PL-back-CONV-TOP   1SG-just-yet-VAL
   jarwqa-w-t"a
   remain-COMPLET-1>3
   'When they all left I stayed all alone' (Hardman 2000: 22)

b. Uka-q   utxutxullu-w   wik'uñ   katu-t-p-t"
   that-TOP   dwarf-VAL   vicuña   grab-NMNL.PAST-3-from
   jaych-k"a-w-ata
   hit-suddenly-COMPLET-3.REM
   'That time the gnomes had killed him because he grabbed a vicuña'
                                                        (Hardman 2000: 76)

(128)   AYMARA (Andean, Jaqi)
        Naya-xa   uta-ni-i-tha
        1SG-TOP   house-AFF-VERB-1SG
        'I have a house' (Huayhua Pari 2001: 240)

(129)   AYMARA (Andean, Jaqi)

a. Naya   lur-ipana   juma-xa   lur-ta
   1SG   work-CONV   2SG-TOP   work-2SG.PRES
   'You work because I work' (Huayhua Pari 2001: 310)

b. Mancata-ha-ta
   eat.VN-my-from
   'after I have/had eaten' (De Torres Rubio 1967: 57)

In Section 5.2.2 I discussed a flexional With-Possessive formation in Arawakan. This construction is characterized by a prefix *ke-/ka-/ko-* on the possessee. As I have pointed out, the productivity of this prefix apparently varies from language to language; in some languages, it seems to have been 'frozen' into a minor option, whereas in other languages possessive constructions are freely formed with this prefix. Although the prefixal formation at issue here can be attested in all sampled Arawakan languages for at least some cases, I have restricted myself to those languages in which this possession encoding seems to have some degree of free applicability.

   The five Arawakan languages at issue can be shown to match their inverse *ka*-possessive with an absolutely deranking option in temporal sequence

encoding. For example, in Lokono temporal clauses are nominalized, as is signalled by the use of the article *to*, and the verb in the clause receives a locational suffix. Oblique verbal nouns of this type can be used absolutely; subjects are indicated by subjective/possessive prefixes.

(130)   LOKONO (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)
        Ka-sikoa-ka-i
        ATTR-house-PERF-3SG
        'He has a house' (Pet 1987: 74)

(131)   LOKONO (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)
        To   l-andy-n   bahy-n,   l-eretho   donka-bo   hibin
        DEF   3SG-arrive-LOC   house-LOC 3SG-wife   sleep-CONT already
        'When he arrived home, his wife was already asleep' (Pet 1987: 115)

Comparable formations can be documented for Goajiro, Piro, and Apuriña. In Goajiro, the deranked predicate consists of the verb stem followed by the locative case suffix *-pa* 'at, on'. The deranked predicates in Piro are either marked by converbal suffixes, or take the form of oblique verbal nouns, which are overtly marked for nominalization. This latter option can also be found in Apuriña.

(132)   GOAJIRO (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)
        Ke-pia-š   taya
        PREF-house-SG.M   1SG
        'I have a house' (Holmer 1949: 156)

(133)   GOAJIRO (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)
        a. Yapaja   taala   naya   sipila   eittawaa,   silata-pa
            be.ready   NARR   they   to   return.INF   pass-CONV/on
            ti   joo   ni'iraa-cat
            this   now   fiesta-ART.F
            'They were ready to return, the fiesta having passed'
                                            (Mansen and Mansen 1984: 170–1)
        b. Pilasta-pa-sa   joolu'u   shia   wanilii-cat   noupinaasi
            be.lying-CONV/on-SG.F   now   she   spirit-ART.F   below
            etcana   najilijain   simila
            the.dogs   bite   her.throat
            'When the spirit was below the dogs, they bit her throat'
                                            (Mansen and Mansen 1984: 172)

(134)   PIRO (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)
        Hi   wa   ka-pawa-ni-na   tsruni
        NEG   the   PREF-fire-PAST-3   ancestors
        'Our ancestors had no fire' (Matteson 1965: 205)

(135)   PIRO (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)

    a. Hita   maturewa-ini   wane-wa-lu
       1SG   be.small-CONV   there-still-3SG
       'When I was small, this (custom) still existed' (Matteson 1965: 145)

    b. R-heta-ko-klu-nu
       3SG-see-PASS-at-VN
       'When he had been seen' (Matteson 1965: 3)

(136)   APURIÑA (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)
    Ka-kamara-wa
    ATTR-soul-1PL.OBJ
    'We have a soul' (Facundes 2000: 340)

(137)   APURIÑA (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)
    Nu-s-inhi-a
    1SG-go-VN-INSTR
    'in/with my going' (Facundes 2000: 253)

Deranked predicates in Baure are overtly marked for nominalization as well; they have a nominalizing suffix, and are marked as noun phrases by means of a preceding definite article. As far as I know they do not, however, take oblique case markers. Instead, they are constructed as the predicate of a 'topicalized', non-finite, temporal clause.

(138)   BAURE (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)

    a. Ri-ko-šir-ow
       3SG.F-ATTR-son-IMPERF
       'She has a son/sons' (Swintha Danielsen p.c.)

    b. Ti   eton   ri-ko-sowe-ow
       DEM.F   woman   3SG.F-ATTR-ring-IMPERF
       'This woman has/is wearing a ring' (Swintha Danielsen p.c.)

(139)   BAURE (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)

    a. To   ni-kāco-čow   nti   soratí-ye
       ART   my-go-VN   I   town-LOC
       'When I go to town' (Baptista and Wallin 1967: 40)

    b. To   ber   ro-siápo-čow-apa   to   ses
       ART   already   his-enter-VN-away   ART   sun
       'When the sun was already setting' (Baptista and Wallin 1967: 40)

To conclude this section, I want to call attention to the (adverbial) With-Possessives in a few South American languages that are either isolates or

members of small linguistic groupings. The With-Possessive in Trumai – which may be limited in its occurrence to negative contexts – is matched by deranked temporal clauses in the form of oblique verbal nouns; in the examples that I have found it is usually the dative case marker -*s* which is used in these formations. Mosetén and Ese Ejja have oblique verbal-noun constructions as well. Among the case suffixes used in such constructions, we find a direct match with the With-Possessive in the comitative suffix -*tom* of Mosetén and the comitative postposition/suffix *xi/xe* in Ese Ejja.

(140) TRUMAI (Trumai)

    a. Asuka   nik   ka-in   ha   chï
       sugar   without FOC-TNS 1SG COP
       'I don't have sugar' (Guirardello 1999: 219)

    b. Sapaun nik   ha-in   iyi-n
       soap   without FOC-TNS NMNL-3ABS
       'She does not have soap' (Guirardello 1999: 210)

(141) TRUMAI (Trumai)

    K 'awixu xuxla napta-s   hen   taf iyi   wanpan
    rain   rain   begin-DAT then egg NMNL crack
    'When the rain starts, the eggs crack' (Guirardello 1999: 390)

(142) MOSETÉN (Mosetenan)

    Fan jiri-s-tom   aka'
    Juan one-F-COM house
    'Juan has a house' (Sakel 2004: 382)

(143) MOSETÉN (Mosetenan)

    a. Yi'-si'-tom   pheyakdye' titson'yityi'in ködï-chhë'
       say-VN-COM   speech   he.hung.them tail-upon
       'Saying these words, he hung them by their tail' (Sakel 2004: 165–6)

    b. Mi'-ra'   wënchhïsh-än-ya   tye-baj-te-ra
       3SG.M-IRR return-again.M.SG-ADESS give-again-3M.OBJ-IRR
       yäe   kerecha
       1SG   money
       'If he comes back again, I give him his money' (Sakel 2004: 440)

(144) ESE EJJA (Tacana)

    a. Doxawa daki   xi   ya   ese ha
       bark   clothing with/having FOC we POSS

    baba   kʷana
    grandfather PL
    'Our forefathers had bark clothing'

                (Shoemaker and Shoemaker 1967: 227)

  b. Oxaña daki xi hea
    all   clothing with now
    '(We) all have clothes now' (Shoemaker and Shoemaker 1967: 227)

(145) Eꜱᴇ Eᴊᴊᴀ (Tacanan)

  a. Kawi-ma-xe oya-ka poki awa
    sleep-DEM-with 3SG-want go PRT
    'After sleeping, he wants to go' (Shoemaker and Shoemaker 1967: 210)

  b. Mano-ma-xe pome kʷa, ese ya ka   oi
    die-DEM-with DUB perhaps 3 FOC indeed EXCLAM
    bañakihe
    arrive.FUT
    'Maybe after (he) has died, they will arrive?'

                (Shoemaker and Shoemaker 1967: 222)

10.6 Austronesian and Papuan

Among the Austronesian languages, the With-Possessive is decidedly a minor option. Out of the thirty-nine languages in my sample, only two of them have a construction in which the possessor is the subject and the possessee is constructed as the complement of a preposition which, in both cases, can be identified as the comitative marker 'with'. In the Northern Moluccan language Tukang Besi this With-Possessive competes with a Have-Possessive. In the Central Pacific language Rotuman the With-Possessive appears to be the only option; the construction features indexing of the possessor on the possessee by means of possessive pronouns.

(146) Tᴜᴋᴀɴɢ Bᴇꜱɪ (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

  a. Te   ia ane 'uka kene wunua di Pada
    ART/TOP 3SG exist also with house in P.
    'S/he also has a house in Pada' (Donohue 1999: 149)

  b. Te iaku ane ke iai-su
    TOP 1SG exist with younger.brother-my
    'I have a younger brother' (Donohue 1999: 115)

(147)   ROTUMAN (Austronesian, Central Pacific)
        Gou   ma   'oto   sivet
        1SG   with   my   fan
        'I have a fan' (Churchward 1940: 33)

In both languages, the With-Possessive is matched by the ability to derank temporal clauses under absolute conditions. For Rotuman we can even document a direct match, in that the preposition *ma* can be followed by a nominalized clause, in which the predicate has the form of a verbal noun and the subject is marked on that verbal noun by a possessive pronoun.

(148)   ROTUMAN (Austronesian, Central Pacific)

    a. Ma   tä   'on   la'o-ag
       with   then   his   go-VN
       'And then he went' (Churchward 1940: 124)

    b. Ma   tä   han   ta   'on   ho'i-ag   se   Motusa
       with   then   woman   the   her   return-VN   to   M.
       'And then the woman returned to Motusa' (Churchward 1940: 124)

In Tukang Besi, deranked temporal clauses are marked by the prefix *sa-* on the predicate. That such clauses are nominalizations is indicated by the fact that their subjects must be marked either by a genitive preposition or by a possessive pronominal suffix on the predicate.

(149)   TUKANG BESI (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

    a. Sa-rato-no   na   bela-su,   ku-'elo-'e
       when/ART-arrive-3POSS   NOM   wife-my   1SG-call-3OBJ
       'When my wife arrived, I called her' (Donohue 1999: 412)

    b. Sa-rato   nu   bela-su,   ku-'elo-'e
       when/ART-arrive   GEN   wife-my   1SG-call-3OBJ
       'When my wife arrived, I called her' (Donohue 1999: 413)

As is pointed out by Foley (1986), the label 'Papuan' suggests more of a genetical unity than is actually warranted. In reality, 'Papuan' is to be taken as meaning 'non-Austronesian' and comprises some 750 languages, which are 'organized into upwards of sixty distinct language families, with wider relations not yet conclusively demonstrated' (Foley 1986: 2). Since my sample contains only twenty-seven 'Papuan' languages, it will be clear that the variety manifested by the 'Papuan' languages is seriously underdetermined. Nevertheless, we can still get at least some preliminary picture of predicative possession encoding among these languages, and draw some tentative

conclusions. Most importantly, it appears that two of the four basic posses-
sion types are definitely untypical for 'Papuan' languages. The only instance
of a Have-Possessive in my sample is found in the West Papuan language
Abun. Locational Possessives are slightly more frequent, but they are generally
only a secondary option. This leaves us with the With-Possessive and the
Topic Possessive, which can be seen as the major options in this linguistic
area, with the With-Possessive occurring in fifteen, and the Topic Possessive in
eleven, of the twenty-six relevant languages.

As we noted in Section 5.2.1, the With-Possessive constructions in Papuan
are either adverbial or copular; it is plausible to assume that the process of
predicativization has advanced further for some of these constructions than
for others. The marker of the possessee is either a suffix or a postposition. For
some of these markers we can postulate a comitative source, but for others the
origin remains unclear.

Whatever their syntactic status or diachronic origin may be, the Papuan
With-Possessives can all be shown to have their match in deranked temporal
sequencing constructions. Foley (1986: 176–205) presents a survey of clause-
chaining and subordination in Papuan languages, the main points of which
will be summarized here. First, then, temporal sequences can be encoded by
non-deranked, finite clauses. Apart from the possibility of sentential coord-
ination, all Papuan languages have the option of forming subordinate clauses
with verb forms which are similar to 'independent' main verbs in all relevant
respects. That is, such verb forms typically retain all the morphological
categories that main verbs have; in particular, they have their own marking
for tense, and their own marking for 'status', i.e. the difference between realis
and irrealis. Verb forms in subordinate clauses of this type are marked by
subordinating suffixes, which, in some cases, are identical to nominal case
markers (Foley 1986: 202). These suffixes have the whole clause in their scope,
which is why they are probably best analysed as subordinating conjunctions.
Instances of this essentially non-deranked, subordinate clause type can, for
example, be found in the Sepik languages Alamblak and Yimas.

(150)   ALAMBLAK (Papuan, Sepik)
        Rër   nanay-w-r-e   bit   na   nanay-rhw-a
        he   come-IMPERF-3SG-if/when then 1SG   come-FUT-1SG
        'When/if he comes, I will come' (Bruce 1984: 270)

(151)   YIMAS (Papuan, Sepik)
        M-mpu-ŋa-na-tay-ɲc-mp-n
        NEAR-3PL.AG-1SG.OBJ-DEFIN-see-PRES-VII.SG-OBL

pu-ka-apan-kt
3PL.OBJ-1SG.AG-spear-FUT
'When they see me, I will spear them' (Foley 1991: 437)

Of more interest to the present discussion is a second type of dependent clause that occurs in many, though not all, Papuan languages. Unlike subordinate clauses, these clauses do not function as arguments of the main clause: 'They do not function as embedded parts within a whole, but are linked to a fully inflected verb in a linear string, much like beads on a necklace.⁹ Because the linking of the clauses is at the same structural level, rather than as a part within whole, I regard such clauses as coordinate and verbs of such clauses as "coordinate-dependent"' (Foley 1986: 177). Since dependent-coordinate clauses always precede the main clause with its independent verb, the verb forms in such clauses are often called 'medial verbs' in the literature.

Medial verbs have a number of characteristics that set them apart from independent verbs. First, they are commonly 'stripped down' with regard to verbal categories. Thus, medial verbs never have marking for illocutionary force (i.e. the difference between 'indicative', 'imperative', 'interrogative', and so on), nor do they have their own marking for status:¹⁰ for both categories, they depend on the specification of the main verb. Furthermore, they have commonly – though not always – lost their marking for tense, or for subject agreement, or both. As we will see below, languages vary considerably as to which of these two latter categories are retained in medial verbs. Thus, there are languages in which both tense and subject agreement are lost, with the result that the medial verb form is based upon the bare verbal stem. At the other end of the spectrum, there are languages in which medial verbs retain both tense and subject agreement, so that the categorial difference between medial verbs and main verbs is marked solely by the absence of status marking and illocutionary force marking in medial forms. In between, we find languages in which medial verbs retain tense marking but no subject agreement marking, or, conversely, languages where subject agreement marking, but no tense marking, is present in medial forms.

A second difference between medial and independent verb forms is that medial verbs are invariably marked by a 'linking suffix' (Foley 1986: 10). At the minimum, the function of this suffix is to mark its verb form as dependent, but it usually carries additional semantic information. Thus, in many cases

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⁹ Using a different simile, Longacre (1972: 2) describes this type of clause linkage in Papuan languages as a structure with an engine at the end and a bunch of hooked on cars preceding it.

¹⁰ The verbal category of status in Papuan languages provides a distinction between realis and irrealis (or factual and non factual) verbal forms.

the suffix encodes contrasts on the parameter of temporality (simultaneous vs. consecutive action), or on the parameter of conditionality (same-subject vs. different-subject reference), or both. Languages vary considerably on these points, so that we can find medial verb systems which encode both a SIM/CONS-contrast and a SS/DS-contrast, systems which only encode a SIM/CONS-contrast, systems which only encode switch-reference, and systems which do not encode anything else except medial verb status. For the present purpose, however, the important point is that all these medial verb forms can be regarded as instances of deranking, regardless of their specific morphological make-up or the specific 'semantic load' of their linking suffixes. Furthermore, it can be shown that all the relevant languages have at least some medial verb forms that can be used absolutely. Thus, we can conclude that the With-Possessives in the Papuan languages of the sample are all matched by an absolutely deranked temporal sequence construction.

After this general characterization of clause-chaining formation in Papuan languages, I will now proceed to give a brief description of the medial verb system in the individual languages. A fairly simple system can be encountered in the South-East Papuan languages Koiari and Omie. In both languages, medial verb forms consist of the bare verb stem plus a linking suffix. In Koiari, the linking suffixes indicate switch reference, but no temporality. Conversely, the linking suffixes in Omie indicate simultaneous versus consecutive action, but, as far as I can see, they are not sensitive to same-subject/different-subject conditions.

(152)   KOIARI (Papuan, South-East)
        Eburi-re   vuma-vore-go
        E.-SPEC   axe-with-SPEC
        'Eburi has an axe' (Dutton 1996: 16)

(153)   KOIARI (Papuan, South-East)

        a. Uma   badivi-me   ahu   voirava-nu
           track confuse-ss he   turn.around-SG.PAST
           'He missed the track and came back' (Dutton 1996: 34)

        b. To-re   yove-ge   mata-va   oti-nu
           dog-SPEC   chase-DS   bush-to   go-SG.PAST
           'The dog chased (it) and it (i.e. the pig) went into the bush'
                                                        (Dutton 1996: 71)

(154)   OMIE (Papuan, South-East)
        Saʔaho ijo-ʔe   j-i-e
        land   tree-with be-3SG-PRES
        'The land has trees' (Austing and Upia 1975: 58)

(155)   Omie (Papuan, South-East)

    a. ëne   rue-romo   bure   rôv-ade-je
       rain come-MED.SIM wind come-3SG.PAST-AUX
       'It was raining and the wind was blowing'

                                    (Austing and Upia 1975: 567)

    b. Sisônuv-amu   riʔöj-ade-jeʔ
       morning.come-MED.CONS   rise-3SG.PAST-AUX
       'When morning came he got up' (Austing and Upia 1975: 569)

Yimas has a medial form which is used to indicate consecutive action. This 'sequential form' consists of the bare verb stem plus the linking suffix -*mpi*; the form is neutral as to switch-reference. In addition, Yimas can encode temporal clauses in the form of oblique verbal nouns. In this construction, the verb is marked by a non-finite suffix -*r*/-*t* and an oblique case marker. Subjects of such clauses are cross-referenced on the oblique verbal noun by an affix that indicates number and gender.

(156)   Yimas (Papuan, Sepik)
       Ama tkt   kantk-n   amayak
       1SG   chair with-1SG be.1SG
       'I have a chair' (Foley 1991: 176)

(157)   Yimas (Papuan, Sepik)

    a. Kalakn ŋayuk   tay-mpi   na-na-kuck-n
       boy   mother   see-SEQ   3SG.SUBJ-DEF-happy-PRES
       'The boy, having seen his mother, is happy' (Foley 1991: 446)

    b. Tmal kray-mpi ya-kay-am-wat   amtra
       sun   dry-SEQ   V.PL.OBJ-1PL.AG-eat-HAB food.V.PL
       'The sun having dried it, we always eat the food' (Foley 1991: 447)

(158)   Yimas (Papuan, Sepik)

    a. Ama   Bill kantk taw-kia-r-awt-∞an
       1SG   Bill   with   sit-NEAR-NONFIN-M.SG-OBL
       pia-mpt-ŋa-i-kia-ntut
       talk-3DU.AG-1SG.DAT-tell-NEAR-REM.PAST
       'While I was sitting with Bill, they told me' (Foley 1991: 40)

    b. Arm   nampt   ya-mpu-tawŋcak-kia-k
       water house.PL house.PL.OBJ-3PL.AG-flood-NIGHT-IRR
       mum   pay-kia-r-mat-ŋan   num-n-mat
       3PL   lie-night-NONFIN-M.PL-OBL   village-OBL-PL
       'The water flooded the houses while they, the villagers, slept'

                                        (Foley 1991: 40)

In Kapauku-Ekagi, medial verb forms are also built upon a bare verb stem, but in this language there is overt marking for nominalization by means of the infinitival suffix -*i*. Some of the linking suffixes that are employed resemble nominal case markers, so that the medial verb forms in this language might be regarded as oblique verbal nouns. Linking suffixes indicate a distinction between simultaneous and consecutive action, and, within the simultaneous forms, also a distinction between same-subject and different-subject conditions.

(159)   KAPAUKU-EKAGI (Papuan, Wissel Lakes)
    Naitai   ekina   umina-jago
    my-father   pig   much-AFF
    'My father has many pigs' (Steltenpool and van der Stap 1950: 22)

(160)   KAPAUKU-EKAGI (Papuan, Wissel Lakes)

   a. Okai   owaa   mige-i-jo   jagi-i   teegi
      he   house   make-INF-SS.SIM   fall-INF   do.3SG.PAST
      'As he was building a house, he fell'

                                    (Steltenpool and van der Stap 1950: 1)

   b. Inii   Wakeitei   dakii   tee-i-tio   tani   waado   dani
      we   W.   to   come-INF-DS.SIM   sun   high   rather
      'When we arrived in Wakeitei, the sun was still high'

                                                          (Drabbe 1952: 70)

   c. Ani   me-i-ato   edi   keega
      I   come-INF-at   rain   fall.3SG.PAST
      'When I came, it rained' (Drabbe 1952: 45)

Next, we encounter a number of languages in which medial verb forms are not marked for tense, but retain their own subject-agreement morphology. In Amele and Waskia the linking suffixes form a four-way system in which the parameters of temporality and conditionality are crossed with one another. The linking suffix of the SS.SIM-form is zero.

(161)   AMELE (Papuan, Madang)
    Ija   sigin   ca
    1SG   knife   with
    'I have a knife' (Roberts 1987: 1)

(162)   AMELE (Papuan, Madang)

   a. Ija   bil-bil-ig-ø   sab   jo-q-a
      1SG   sit-sit-1SG-SS.SIM   food   eat-1SG-PRET
      'As I sat, I ate the food' (Roberts 1987: 294)

b. Ija   bil-bil-ig-in   sab   ja-g-a
   1SG   sit-sit-1SG-DS.SIM   food   eat-2SG-PRET
   'As I sat, you ate the food' (Roberts 1987: 294)

c. Ija   ho-me-ig   sab   j-ig-a
   1SG   come-ss.CONS-1SG   food   eat-1SG-PRET
   'I came and ate the food' (Roberts 1987: 294)

d. Ija   ho-co-min   sab   ja-g-a
   1SG   come-DS.CONS-1SG   food   eat-2SG-PRET
   'I came and you ate the food' (Roberts 1987: 294)

(163)   WASKIA (Papuan, Adelbert Range)
        John   buk   awukala   karo   bage-so
        J.   book   how.many   with   be-3SG.PRES
        'How many books does John have?' (Ross and Natu Paol 1978: 15)

(164)   WASKIA (Papuan, Adelbert Range)

a. Ane   na   kami   baga   yu   na-em
   1SG.SUBJ   food   cook.INF   stay.ss.SIM   water   drink-1SG.PAST
   'While I was cooking the food, I drank some water'
                                           (Ross and Natu Paol 1978: 20)

b. Nu   lage   se   nama-se   ane   kasili   arig-em
   3SG   road   on   go-DS.SIM   1SG   snake   see-1SG.PAST
   'As he was going along the road, I saw a snake'
                                           (Ross and Natu Paol 1978: 20)

c. Ane   na-ik-ale   inong   i   namer-iki
   1SG   eat-1SG-FUT-ss.CONS   village   to   go-1SG.FUT
   'When I have eaten, I shall go home' (Ross and Natu Paol 1978: 21)

d. Nu   ulang   kaiy-am-se   ni   na-em
   3SG   yam   cook-3SG-DS.CONS   2SG   eat-2SG.PAST
   'He cooked the yam and you ate it' (Ross and Natu Paol 1978: 21)

Nasioi has a medial verb system which encodes switch reference. In the same-subject forms, a distinction is made between simultaneous and consecutive action; the medial form that indicates different subject is neutral in this respect.

(165)   NASIOI (Papuan, East)
        Teni   en   toideq-poq-nani
        3SG.F   Q   children-AFF-SG.F
        'Does she have any children?' (Hurd and Hurd 1966: 43)

(166)   NASIOI (Papuan, East)

    a. Kad-o-ma   nan-ant-in
       talk-1SG-SS.SIM go-1SG-IMMED
       'As I was talking, I went' (Foley 1986: 13)

    b. Madatini nai-u-kotaaʔ   bo-in
       medicine drink-3SG-SS.CONS die-3SG.REM.PAST
       'He drank medicine and then/until he died' (Foley 1986: 13)

    c. Daʔ po-ko   nan-amp-e-ain
       2SG   come-DS go-1PL-DU-FUT
       'When you come, we two will go' (Foley 1986: 13)

In Nabak, the linking suffixes indicate switch-reference, but no temporality. Conversely, the suffix system in Monumbo encodes distinctions of temporality, but is neutral with respect to same-subject/different-subject conditions.

(167)   NABAK (Papuan, Huon-Finisterre)
    An   notnaŋ bo-iŋ-mak
    man some   pig-their-with
    'Some men have pigs' (Fabian et al. 1998: 443)

(168)   NABAK (Papuan, Huon-Finisterre)

    a. Ek   ze-mti   met-ep
       3SG   say-SS go-3SG.IMMED
       'He talked and then went' (Fabian et al. 1998: 106)

    b. Ek   ni-me   neŋ met-ap
       3SG   eat-3SG.DS 1SG go-1SG.PRES
       'He ate and/but I'm going' (Fabian et al. 1998: 106)

    c. Neŋ zem-ma   nâ-it
       1SG say-1SG.DS listen-2PL.IMP
       'I speak and you must listen' (Fabian et al. 1998: 107)

(169)   MONUMBO (Papuan, Bogia)
    Ek   amé-tsaka tse
    1SG dog-AFF   be.1SG
    'I have a dog' (Vormann and Scharfenberger 1914: 11)

(170)   MONUMBO (Papuan, Bogia)

    a. Indaró-naka   ukén
       1PL.return-SIM 3SG.die
       'As we returned, she died' (Vormann and Scharfenberger 1914: 45)

b. Imbar   naimbára   uwiaría-nama   araiaindikénne
   ship   big   3SG.arrive-CONS   1PL.rejoice
   'When/if the big ship arrives, we will rejoice'

<div style="text-align: right;">(Vormann and Scharfenberger 1914: 45)</div>

Medial verb forms in the Sepik language Alamblak retain their own tense-marking, but are not marked for subject-agreement. The simultaneous medial verb, which is marked by the suffix *-hat*, allows both same-subject and different-subject encoding. The consecutive medial verb in *-hatë* only occurs under same-subject conditions; if subjects in consecutive chains are different, a coordinative construction is used.[11]

(171) ALAMBLAK (Papuan, Sepik)
       Në   bi   yën-et-e-në
       1DU   now   child-AFF-COP-1DU
       'We (two) have children now' (Bruce 1984: 24)

(172) ALAMBLAK (Papuan, Sepik)

a. Nikë   hingna-me-hat   hiti-më-an-kë
   2PL   work-PAST-SIM   see-PAST-1SG.SUBJ-2PL.OBJ
   'While you worked, I saw you' (Bruce 1984: 27)

b. Fëh-t   yima-r   hiti-hatë   yi-më-t
   pig-3SG.F   man-3SG.M   see-SS.CONS   go-PAST-3SG.F
   'The pig, having seen the man, ran away' (Bruce 1984: 291)

c. Yiman   nakun
   men   sago.palms
   niti-w-a-t-m-m   mëtm
   pulverize-IMPERF-PRESUPP-DS-3PL.SUBJ-3PL.OBJ   women
   nëf-wë-m-m
   strain-IMPERF-3PL.SUBJ-3PL.OBJ
   'Men pulverize sago palms, (and then) women strain (the pulp)'

<div style="text-align: right;">(Bruce 1984: 21)</div>

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[11] The suffix *et* in the possessive construction of Alamblak is also used to derive adjectival/participial forms from verbs:

(i)   ALAMBLAK (Papuan, Sepik)

a. Nur et   yenr
   cry AFF   child
   'a child who cries' (Bruce 1984: 114)

b. Yimam   was et   fëhr
   men   spear PCP pig
   'a pig that men spear'; 'a pig speared by men' (Bruce 1984: 115)

In Awtuw, there is just one medial verb form, which is marked by the suffix *-rek*; this item is identical to the comitative case suffix 'with'. The medial verb retains all verbal morphology, except illocutionary force and tense; tense-marking is either absent or identical to the tense-marking of the main verb. Aspect-marking on both the medial and the main verb indicate whether simultaneous or consecutive action is implied. Different-subject encoding of the medial verb is possible, and perhaps even the rule. The subject of the medial verb is (at least optionally) encoded as a genitive or a possessive pronoun, which suggests nominalized status of the construction.

(173)   Awtuw (Papuan, Sepik)
Nom   tapwo-neney
1PL   fire-AFF
'We have fire' (Feldman 1986: 202)

(174)   Awtuw (Papuan, Sepik)
a. Rey   wan   de-k-æy-ey-rek   di-ik-i
3SG.M   1SG   FACT-IMPERF-go-IMPERF-COM   FACT-sit-PAST
'He sat down when I was going' (Feldman 1986: 166)

b. Rey   wan   de-k-æy-ey-rek
3SG.M   1SG   FACT-IMPERF-go-IMPERF-COM
di-k-ik-iy
FACT-IMPERF-sit-IMPERF
'He is sitting down while I go' (Feldman 1986: 167)

c. Yen-ke   ma-wey-e-wa-rek
2SG-GEN/LOC   go-arrive-PAST-just-COM
nom   kil   de-alow   d-æ-ka-m
1PL   speech   FACT-talk   FACT-go-PERF-PL
'Since you arrived, we have gone on talking' (Feldman 1986: 167)

In Kapau we observe a clear morphological difference between same-subject and different-subject medial verb forms. The same-subject forms are not marked for tense or subject-agreement; the linking suffixes indicate a distinction between simultaneous and consecutive action. The different-subject medial verb (which has a suffix that has a number of allomorphs) retains both its tense-marking and its subject-agreement marking, but does not encode temporality distinctions.

(175)   Kapau (Papuan, Central and Western)
Ni   änga   hanga   ti
I   house   with(?) DECL
'I have a house' (Oates and Oates 1968: 75)

(176)   Kᴀᴘᴀᴜ (Papuan, Central and Western)

   a. Äpa   n-at-ä   qu'wa
      1SG   PCP-sing-SS.SIM   go.1SG.PRES.CONT
      'I am going singing' (Oates and Oates 1968: 93)

   b. Ita   n-an'-ma   qu'wi
      food   PCP-eat-SS.CONS   go.3SG.PAST.CONT
      'Having eaten, he went' 'he ate and then left'

                                          (Oates and Oates 1968: 91)

   c. Nti   weäp-äng-a-ta   wamnga   yato   ti
      2SG   come.down-FUT-2SG-DS   work   do.FUT.1PL   DECL
      'When you come down, we will work' (Oates and Oates 1968: 103)

   d. Aqo   tau'na   yäp-o'-o-ti   ni   wima
      he   here   come-PRES-3SG-DS   I   to.him.give.IMM.FUT.1SG
      'When he comes here, I'll give it to him' (Oates and Oates 1968: 104)

Korowai has a same-subject medial verb form, which consists of the verb stem plus the optional linking suffix *-nè*. As an alternative, and as the only option for different-subject clause chains, there are medial verb forms which retain marking for status and subject agreement, and which are characterized by linking suffixes that encode switch-reference. Temporality is not distinguished in Korowai.

(177)   Kᴏʀᴏᴡᴀɪ (Papuan, Central and South)
        Yuf-è   mban-mengga   abül
        he-CONN   child-with   man
        'He has children' (Van Enk and De Vries 1997: 80)

(178)   Kᴏʀᴏᴡᴀɪ (Papuan, Central and South)

   a. Mébol   damilmo   le-è   lu-ba-lé
      grave   open.ss   come-ss   ascend-PERF-1SG.REAL
      'I opened the grave and came up (the stairs)'

                                          (Van Enk and De Vries 1997: 109)

   b. Nu   khomile-lé-dakhu   khosü   kha-lé
      1SG   die-1SG.REAL-SS   there   go-1SG.REAL
      'I died and went there (to the place of the dead)'

                                          (Van Enk and De Vries 1997: 110)

   c. Khakhul   nu   ne-mom   dodépa-lé-lofekho
      yesterday   1SG   my-uncle   call-1.SG.REAL-DS

be-lai-da
NEG-come.3SG.REAL-NEG
'Yesterday I called my uncle, but he did not come'

(Van Enk and De Vries 1997: 110)

Finally, simultaneous sequences in the South-East Papuan language Daga are marked by the suffix -*iwa* on non-final predicates in the chain. This suffix must be analysed as complex, as it consists of the 'medial suffix' -*i* and the 'substantive clitic'(i.e. nominalization marker) -*wa*. These simultaneous forms are neutral as to conditionality. Furthermore, the language has medial forms for non-final predicates in consecutive chains. In one form, which is limited to same-subject conditions, the bare verb stem is provided with the suffix -*e*. In another form, which is neutral with regard to conditionality, non-final predicates in the chain get the medial suffix -*i* when the time reference is past, and specific medial person suffixes when the time reference is non-past.

(179)   DAGA (Papuan, South-East)
Nu   uruga   oaenen   den,   nu   uruga   otun   den
1PL   all   wife   with   1PL   all   child   with
'We all have wives, we all have children' (Murane 1974: 334)

(180)   DAGA (Papuan, South-East)

a. Yamu   ase   ang-en-i-wa
   other   there   go-1SG.PAST-MED-NMNL
   man   ame   itani   nagura-nege-n
   animal   that   heavy   hurt-1SG.OBJ-3SG.PAST
   'As I went to the other side, that heavy animal hurt me'

(Murane 1974: 253–4)

b. Ang-e   utu   aua   yaw-ain
   go-SS.CONS   there   uncle   see-1SG.FUT
   'I will go and see my uncle' (Murane 1974: 205)

c. Unumawa   yon   wand-en-i   ne   mama-na
   U.   stand   stay-3SG.PAST-MED   1SG   father-1SG.POSS
   bar-aen
   put-3SG.PAST
   'Unumawa grew up and begat my father' (Murane 1974: 239)

d. Tuan   da   war-ane   ar-ae-ta
   pig   one   get-2PL.MED   bite-2PL.OBJ-3SG.FUT
   'When you grab a pig, it will bite you' (Murane 1974: 23)

10.7 Australia

The With-Possessives in the languages of Australia have been dealt with at some length in Section 5.2.1. We have seen there that the construction is characterized by a 'having'-suffix on the possessee, and that it is typically of the copular variant, although, just like in the Papuan languages, the process of predicativization which leads to this copular subtype may have progressed further in some languages than in others. Also, we have noted considerable divergence in the semantic range of the construction. While in some languages it covers large portions of the possessive domain, in other languages it plays a decidedly minor role in possession encoding.

Interesting though the variation in the semantic range of the Australian 'having'-suffix may be in its own right, for the purpose of the present chapter it can be regarded as a side-issue. What is important for us is the fact that, in at least a number of languages, the 'having'-suffix is instrumental in the encoding of (alienable) predicative possession. Hence, our task now is to demonstrate that the With-Possessive in these languages is matched by an option of absolute deranking in temporal sequence encoding. Now, for most of the languages at issue this matching can be shown to be straightforward. Many Australian languages have one or more subordinate clause types which are characterized by the presence of subordinating markers on the verbal form. One type of such clauses is the so-called 'adjoined relative clause', which is said to be 'typically marked as subordinate in some way, but its surface position with respect to the main clause is marginal rather than embedded' (Hale 1976: 78). Adjoined relative clauses 'typically show comparatively loose syntactic connection between the main and subordinate clauses' (Austin 1981a: 310). Functionally, they cover 'the function of several different types of English subordinate clause including adverbial clauses of time and relative clauses' (Blake 1999: 307). Their markers are often of local case origin, but there is extensive variation among languages as to which local case-marker is selected for this subordinating function (see Blake 1999: 308). A semantically somewhat special case is formed by the 'purposive' clause, which typically features the dative case-marker on the verb, and which describes 'a situation temporally following the situation described by the main clause, often with a necessary causal or purposive semantic relationship. These clauses translate English "in order to"' (Austin 1981a: 311).

For a number of languages under discussion, deranked status of the verbs in these subordinate clauses can be demonstrated by the fact that the subordinate marker is attached to the bare verb stem, so that the subordinate verb form is

'stripped' of its tense-marking. In other words, the subordinate verbs in these languages can be seen as 'converbs', according to the definition that was given in Section 8.2.3. In other cases, the subordinate verb is explicitly marked for nominalization, so that we can rate the subordinate verb forms as 'oblique verbal nouns'. In yet other subordinate formations, it seems that a tense-marker has been retained. However, as is argued in detail by Blake (1979), 'the case marker is often added to forms of the verb inflected for tense or aspect, but when the case marker is added these inflections develop into derivational, nominalizing suffixes' (Blake 1999: 299). We can conclude, then, that subordinate verb forms in Australian languages are diverse in their morphological make-up, but that they can all be regarded as instances of predicate deranking.

In all languages under discussion, absolute constructions are possible for at least some of their subordinate clauses. In some languages, the difference between same-subject and different-subject constructions is signalled explicitly by the subordinating suffix; in other words, these languages have a switch-reference system of some sort. Switch-reference is clearly an areal phenomenon in Australian languages, as it is found in a continuous area in central and west Australia (Austin 1981a).[12] A curious characteristic of these switch-reference systems is that there seems to be some sort of 'mirror-image' in the function of the marking suffixes: while in the northern part of the area the locative case-marker indicates different subjects, that same locative marker indicates same subjects in the southern part of the area.

In our sample, switch-reference marking of deranked temporal clauses can be attested for Wambaya,[13] Yingkarta, Diyari, Arrernte, Pitjantjatjara, and Yindjibarndi. In the first three languages, deranked forms consist of a suffix on the bare verb stem; in Arrernte and Pitjantjatjara a tense-aspect suffix – which is developing, or has developed, into a nominalization marker – is retained in the verbal formation.[14]

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[12] For maps depicting the area of switch reference in Australia see Austin (1981a: 312) and Dixon (2002: 529).

[13] Different subject deranking in Wambaya is limited to cases in which the subject of the deranked clause is identical to some noun phrase in the main clause. If the two clauses do not share a noun phrase, a sentential coordination has to be used.

(i) WAMBAYA (Australian, West Barkly)
Bungmanyi ni   gun u   nij ba   nayida   g u   gajurra
old.man LOC/ERG 3SG.M. FUT sing FUT woman.NOM 3SG.F FUT dance.FUT
'The men will sing (while) the women dance' (Nordlinger 1998: 213)

[14] Some particular features of the deranked constructions in these languages are the following. Wambaya marks same subject simultaneous sequences by the ergative/locative suffix *ni*; for different subject simultaneous constructions the 'infinitival' suffix *barda/ warda* is employed. Yingkarta has the suffixes *nhuru* (SS) and *tha* (DS), the origin of which is unclear. In Arrernte, same subject

(181)   WAMBAYA (Australian, West Barkly)
Alaji   buguwa-nguji   darranggu-nguji
boy.NOM   big-PROP.NOM   stick-PROP.NOM
'The boy has a big stick' (Nordlinger 1998: 97)

(182)   WAMBAYA (Australian, West Barkly)

a. Bungmaji   gi-n   mirra yanduji-ni   barrawu
old.man.NOM   3SG-PROG   sit   look.after-LOC/SS   house.ACC
'The old man is staying here looking after the house'

(Nordlinger 1998: 213)

b. Ngajbi   ng-a   gaj-barda
see   1SG-PAST   eat-INF/DS
'I saw (him) when he was eating' (Nordlinger 1998: 213)

(183)   YINGKARTA (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
Ngatha-rna   nyina-ni thuthu-parri pathukaji-parri
1SG.NOM-1SG.SUBJ   sit-PRES   dog-PROP   black-PROP
'I've got a black dog' (Dench 1998: 54)

(184)   YINGKARTA (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)

a. Ngali-li   nyina-wu-nu   thila wangkapintharri-nhuru
1DU-NOM   sit-FUT-AFF   here   talk.together-ss
'We'll sit here and talk together' (Dench 1998: 30)

b. Ngatha-rna   kurlkari-nyi   karnarra   pungka-tha
1SG.NOM-1SG   listen-PRES   wind   blow-DS
'I'm listening to the wind (while it is) blowing' (Dench 1998: 64)

(185)   ARRERNTE (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
Kwementyaye   newe-kerte
K.   spouse-PROP
'Kwementyaye has a wife' (Wilkins 1989: 161)

conditions are signalled by the locative case suffix *le/ la*, while different subject constructions feature the ablative suffix *nge/ nga* or the dative suffix *ke/ ka*. Pitjantjatjara marks same subject clauses by the suffix *janu* and different subject clauses by the suffix *nyangka*; it is possible that this latter suffix has a complex origin, and derives from the nominalizer *nya* plus the locative suffix *ka*. Besides temporal clauses, Pitjantjatjara also shows switch reference in purposive clauses, where the suffix *kija* marks same subject and the suffix *jaku* marks different subject. In Diyari, same subject is indicated by the suffix *rna* and different subject by *rnani*, i.e. the suffix *rna* plus a locative case suffix *ni*. In addition, Diyari has a deranked construction which provides a direct match with the With Possessive. In this construction, which can be used absolutely, the verb of the clause is marked by the 'participial' suffix *na* and the 'having' suffix *ntu*.

(186) ARRERNTE (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
    a. Kwementyaye-le ure nthile-me-le   tea ite-ke
       K.-ERG   fire light-PRES-SS/LOC tea cook-PAST.CONT
       'Kwementyaye lit the fire and made the tea' (Wilkins 1989: 475)
    b. Ata   atua erina   ara-ma   pitji-ma-nga
       1SG.SUBJ man this.ACC see-PRES come-PRES-DS/ABL
       'I see the man as he comes' (Strehlow 1944: 129)

(187) PITJANTJATJARA (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
    Ngankulu   kula-tjara
    1SG.ABS   spear-with/PROP
    'I have a spear' (Douglas 1957: 24)

(188) PITJANTJATJARA (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
    a. Mirrka   nyaku-ny-janu   kutipija-ngu
       food.ABS see-PUNCT-SS.CONS go-PAST
       'After seeing the food, he went' (Glass and Hackett 1970: 27)

    b. Nyuntulu pitja-nya-ngka   ngankulu pukulari-ku
       2SG.SUBJ   come-NMNL-LOC 1SG.SUBJ rejoice-FUT
       'When you have come, I will rejoice' (Douglas 1957: 97)

    c. Palunyanya kutipija-ngu,   lankurru   palyal-kija
       he.NOM   go.away-PAST spear.thrower.ABS make-PURP.SS
       'He went away to make a spear thrower' (Douglas 1957: 115)

    d. Paarlparniya ninti-la,   mirru   mukul   junku-jaku
       sinew.ABS   give-IMP spear.thrower hook.ABS put-PURP.DS
       'Give (me) sinew so (I) can put the hook on the spear thrower'
                                     (Douglas 1957: 115)

(189) DIYARI (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
    Yini   nuwa-ntu
    2SG.INTR.SUBJ spouse-PROP
    'Do you have a wife?' (Austin 1981b: 141)

(190) DIYARI (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
    a. Nhulu puka   thayi-rna nhawu pali-rna warra-yi
       he.ERG food.ABS eat-SS   he.NOM die-SS   AUX-PRES
       'While eating some food, he died' (Austin 1981b: 207)

    b. Wilha   wapa-rna kuda-rnanhi kupa   yinda-yi
       woman.ABS go-SS   go.away-DS child.ABS cry-PRES
       'When the woman goes away, the child cries' (Austin 1981a: 318)

> c. Naka   ngani   wakara-yi   kintala   yata-na-ntu
> there   1SG.SUBJ   come-PRES   dog.ABS   speak-PCP-PROP
> 'I got there, and a dog barked' (Austin 1981b: 191)

Yindjibarndi is a somewhat special case. The language has no suffixal contrast between SS-forms and DS-forms; instead, difference in conditionality is indicated by syntactic means. Under same-subject conditions, a temporal sequence takes the form of a sentential coordination. If the subjects in the sequence are different, the verb in one of the clauses receives a deranked form, consisting of the verb stem (plus aspectual suffixes) and the locative case marker *-la*.

(191)   YINDJIBARNDI (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
Ngayi   parninha   warru-warlaa   tyangkurru-warlaa
1SG.NOM   be.PAST   black-PROP   hat-PROP
'I had a black hat' (Wordick 1982: 204)

(192)   YINDJIBARNDI (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)

> a. Kanangkarraa-yi   thanku   manku-nha   pirnrtu
> come-PERF   town.OBJ   get-PAST   food
> 'Having come to town, he got food' (Wordick 1982: 177)

> b. Yurra   karpaa-yi-la   ngayi   pangkarri-nha   warrkamuwarta
> sun   rise-PERF-LOC   1SG.NOM   go-PAST   work.ALL
> 'After the sun rose, I went to work' (Wordick 1982: 12)

Next, we encounter a number of languages in which deranked forms are not marked for switch reference and can be used under same-subject and different-subject conditions alike. This is, for example, the case in Bagandji, where the deranked form consists of the bare verb stem plus the suffix *-ana*. According to Blake (1999: 300), this suffix is related, or even identical, to the locative case marker *-na*.

(193)   BAGANDJI (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
Janda-dja-ada
'stone'-having-1SG.INTR
'I've got money' (Hercus 1976: 230)

(194)   BAGANDJI (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)

> a. Yuriba-yiga   ŋadu   gulba-ana
> understand-3PL   1SG.ERG   speak-LOC
> 'They understand (me) when I am speaking' (Hercus 1982: 213)

    b. Yugu   bilga-ana
       sun   go.down-LOC
       'at sunset' (Hercus 1982: 213)

In other languages, these 'neutral' deranked verb forms are based upon the verb stem plus some tense/aspect suffix, which, as we have seen above, has a tendency to develop into a nominalization marker. Thus, in some of the deranked forms of Yidinj we can identify a suffix *-nyu*, which derives from – or is identical to – the suffix of the past tense. Simultaneous sequences are encoded by the dative case marker *-nda*, while anterior action is signalled by the suffix *-m*, which may be of ablative origin.

(195)   YIDINJ (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
       Ngayu   gala:y
       1SG.SUBJ spear-PROP-NOM
       'I have a spear' (Dixon 1977: 149)

(196)   YIDINJ (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)

    a. Mayi   ngayu   bugabuganj
       vegetables.ABS 1SG.ACT eat.PAST
       ngungu bama   wuna-nyu-nda   wurmba
       that   person.ABS lie-VN-DAT   asleep.ABS
       'I ate vegetables while that person slept' (Dixon 1977: 331)

    b. Ngayu   garu   bama   gugal   burudjur
       1SG.ACT by.and.by person.ABS call.PAST wallaby.ABS
       dugal-nyu-m
       catch-VN-ABL
       'I called out to the people, after the wallaby had been caught'
                                          (Dixon 1977: 341)

Tense or aspect suffixes in nominalizing function can also be detected in the deranked forms of Pitta Pitta, Gidabal, and Gumbainggir. In Pitta-Pitta, differences in temporality are indicated in the 'neutral' deranked verb form by the use of different case suffixes. Thus, the ablative suffix indicates anterior action, the locative suffix indicates simultaneity, and the allative suffix encodes 'until'-clauses. A direct match with the With-Possessive is formed by causal clauses, which have a deranked verb form that is marked by the 'having'-suffix.

(197)   PITTA PITTA (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
       I-ka   tyirra-marru
       he-here boomerang-PROP
       'He has a boomerang' (Blake 1999: 306)

(198) PITTA PITTA (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)

    a. Tatyi-ka-inya   mutyi-ka   nganytya
       eat-PAST/VN-ABL   sleep-PAST   I
       'After eating, I had a sleep' (Blake 1979: 218)

    b. Nhatyi-nha   kathi-nha   karnta-ka-ina   nganytya
       see-IMP   meat-ACC   go-PAST/VN-LOC   I
       'Watch the meat, while I'm gone' (Blake 1979: 219)

    c. Nhangka-nha   ngutha-ka-inu   nganyu
       stop-IMP   return-PAST/VN-ALL   1SG.FUT.SUBJ
       'Stop here, until I come back' (Blake 1979: 219)

    d. Pithi-ka   nga-thu   i-nha-ka   wakunpa-ka-marru-nha
       hit-PAST   1SG-ERG 3SG-ACC-here   bark-PAST/VN-PROP-ACC
       'I hit him (because he was) barking' (Blake 1979: 218)

In Gumbainggir, the 'neutral' deranked form is marked by the genitive suffix *-ndi/-andi*. In addition, the language has an oblique verbal-noun construction, marked by the nominalizer *-gam* and the locative case suffix. Deranked forms in Gidabal feature a set of suffixes, which encode various nuances of temporality. The suffix *-a*, which indicates anterior action, may be related to the genitive case suffix.

(199) GUMBAINGGIR (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
      Ngari nigar duwa-gari
      this   man   boomerang-PROP
      'This man has a boomerang' (Smythe 1948: 72)

(200) GUMBAINGGIR (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)

    a. Nginda   ngari-w-andi   gidu-da   gulunay-gu barway
       2SG.SUBJ play-FUT-GEN sand-LOC   rain-FUT   big
       'If you play in the sand, there will be big storms' (Eades 1979: 323)

    b. Nayan   bunggi-gam-ba ngali   ya:ngu
       sun.SUBJ   set-VN-LOC   1DU.INCL go.FUT
       'When the sun sets, we will go' (Eades 1979: 287)

(201) GIDABAL (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
      Njule   ngagam-ngu:rgan
      he   dog-PROP
      'He has a dog' (Geytenbeek and Geytenbeek 1971: 12)

(202) GIDABAL (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)

    a. Baygal yarbi-le-n-i   wulbung minjdjida-n
       man   sing-REP-PAST-CONV.SIM.PAST girl   laugh-PAST
      'When the man sang, the girl laughed'

                                  (Geytenbeek and Geytenbeek 1971: 25)

    b. Nja-njun   dja-dam-i   bugal wanga-nj njulangam
       see-CONV.SIM child-PL-OBJ good   be-FUT   they
      'While (I) watch the children, they will be good'

                                  (Geytenbeek and Geytenbeek 1971: 25)

    c. Galga-le-nj-dje   djunbal   binge ngulenga
       chop-REPET-FUT-CONV.SIM.FUT pine.tree hat   his
       wurba-nj
       hide-FUT
      'While he is chopping down the pine tree, (I) will hide his hat'

                                (Geytenbeek and Geytenbeek 1971: 25)

    d. Ye:-n-a   njule ngali gannga-le:-n
       go-PAST-CONV.ANT he   we   think-REPET-PAST
       gumbi-gumbi
       many-many
      'After he had gone, we thought things over'

                                (Geytenbeek and Geytenbeek 1971: 6)

To conclude this discussion of the With-Possessive in Australian languages, some special attention must be paid to the temporal sequencing strategies of Kayardild. In this northern Australian language temporal sequences seem to show deranking in the form of an absolute construction. Deranked predicates are marked by oblique case suffixes; the choice of the suffix is probably connected with different shades of adverbial meaning. In at least some instances, the subject of the deranked predicate appears to agree in case-marking with the predicate (see sentence (204b)).

(203) KAYARDILD (Australian, Tangkic)

    a. Nyingka jangka-wuru maku-uru
       2SG-NOM   other -PROP   woman-PROP
      'You have another woman' (Evans 1995: 317)

    b. Jirrkara   mutha-wu diwal-u
       north.NOM many-PROP tree-PROP
      '(The) north (country) has a lot of trees' (Evans 1995: 31)

(204) KAYARDILD (Australian, Tangkic)

    a. Yiiwi-ja   bi-l-d,   ngakurra   kabathaa-th.iya   yakuri-y
       sleep-ACT 3PL-NOM 1INCL.DU.NOM hunt-IMMED.LOC fish-LOC
       'They are sleeping, as we hunt for fish' (Evans 1995: 496)

    b. Niya   rajurri-nagku thubun-inja
       3SG.NOM walk-NEG.POT hoof-OBL
       ngamathuwalath-inja raba-tharra-nth
       bullock-OBL   tread-PAST-OBL
       'He won't be able to walk, because/after a bullock trampled him'
                                      (Evans 1995: 522)

10.8 Africa

In sub-Saharan Africa the With-Possessive is a prominent option. It occurs in all four African language phyla, and in a number of subfamilies, such as the Adamawa-Ubangian and Bantu branches of Niger-Kordofanian, it is the only attested possessive construction type. With the exception of Kanuri and Sandawe, all cases of African With-Possessives in my sample are of the adverbial subtype, and the marking element on the possessee is identical to the comitative adposition or affix 'with'. Given this remarkable structural uniformity of the African With-Possessive, I trust it will be unnecessary to comment separately on every occurrence of this possessive type in this section. What remains to be done, then, is to demonstrate that these With-Possessives are matched directly or indirectly by the ability to derank temporal clauses under different-subject conditions.

    Within the Afro-Asiatic phylum, the With-Possessive is represented in my sample by two languages from the Chadic branch. In Hausa, we find a direct match between the With-Possessive and a deranking option. Hausa has the ability to encode temporal clauses in the form of verbal nouns, and the comitative/instrumental preposition *dà* 'with' indicates simultaneity in this construction.[15] Oblique verbal nouns of this type can be used under

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[15] By changing the preposition on the verbal noun, other temporal relations between the deranked clause and the main clause can be indicated. Thus, use of the preposition *kà fin* 'in front of' encodes a *before* clause.

(i) HAUSA (Afro Asiatic, Chadic)
    kà   fin   isôwař sà   sai su kà tāshì
    in.front.of arrive.VN his then   3PL PERF leave
    'Before he arrived, they left' (Jaggar 2001: 671)

different-subject conditions; subjects are indicated by possessive pronoun affixes on the verbal noun.

(205)   HAUSA (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic)

    a. I-na   dà   doki
      1SG-CONT   with   horse
      'I have a horse' (Abraham 1941: 22)

    b. Ta-na   dà   sabuwǎr   munduwa
      3SG.F-CONT   with   new   bracelet
      'She has a new bracelet' (Newman 2000: 161)

(206)   HAUSA (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic)

    a. Dà   zuwà-nsà   sai   aikí
      with   come.VN-his   then   work
      'When he comes, then (there is a lot of) work'
                             (Kraft and Kirk-Greene 1973: 17)

    b. Dà   isôwǎr-sà   sai   sarkı   ya   yi   tsalle
      with   arrive.VN-his   then   chief   3SG.M   do   jump.VN
      'On his arrival, the chief jumped up' (Newman 2000: 560)

Direct matching of this kind can also be established for Margi, the second sampled Chadic language with a With-Possessive. Again, we note that the comitative preposition that marks the possessee, namely the item *àgá/gà*, is also in use as the marker in an oblique verbal-noun construction. Such constructions typically occur under same-subject conditions, but change of subjects is certainly possible, as is shown in example (208b).[16] As a second deranking option, Margi allows verbal nouns to appear as the nucleus of topicalized, non-oblique temporal clauses. If such a clause is used under different subject conditions, its subject is encoded in the genitive case (see sentence (208c)).

(207)   MARGI (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic)
    Nàj   àgá   tlà   'ódì
    he   with   cattle   much
    'He has a lot of cows' (Hoffmann 1963: 23)

(208)   MARGI (Afro-Asiatic, Chadic)

    a. Nàj   ùlə́nyí   gà   ŋgùshí
      3SG   look.at.3SG   with   laugh.VN
      'He looked at him and laughed' (Hoffmann 1963: 13)

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[16] The item *gà* also occurs in main clauses, as a marker of the so called narrative form. This form 'is mainly used when telling stories or reporting events in the past. It stands for the successive actions in the course of the story, as far as they indicate a progress in it' (Hoffmann 1963: 178).

b. Dǝ́   sál   ná   gà   hǝ̀r   íshádǝ́   ná   gà
   then   man   DEM   NARR take   squirrel DEM   and/with
   nány   ánǝ́   mǝ́ny gà   tárnyí   gà
   give.VN mother his   and/with   cook.VN and/with
   hǝ̀rnyì áshìlí
   take.VN to.him
   'Then the man took the squirrel and gave (it) to his mother, and
   she cooked it and brought it to him' (Hoffmann 1963: 15)

c. Fàr   pádǝ́   kụ̀,   nì   gà   shìlí
   cease.VN rain.GEN this 1SG   NARR come
   'As soon as this rain ceased, I came' (Hoffmann 1963: 12)

Turning now to Nilo-Saharan, we first come across Songhay, the western
isolate within the phylum. As we have seen in Section 9.10, the Djenné Chiini
dialect of this language allows a Locational Possessive. The example below
demonstrates that the language can select an inversive possessive as well. Like
the Locational Possessive, this inversive possessive is matched indirectly by the
so-called 'participial form', a converbal formation which is made up of the
verb stem plus the suffix -*nte*.

(209) SONGHAY (Nilo-Saharan, Songhay)
       Wèjŏ: mò: gŏ: ňdá ízèwèj   híŋzà
       woman.DEF   too be with daughter three
       'The woman already had three daughters'

                                        (Nicolaï and Zima 1997: 43)

(210) SONGHAY (Djenné Chiini) (Nilo-Saharan, Songhay)

a. A   kaa-nte   ay   guna ga   mɔreyda
   3SG come-PCP   1SG   see 3SG.OBJ now
   'I saw him right after he came (back)' (Heath 1999: 423)

b. Baana di   kay-nte   ka   bɛn, fufu   di   sinti
   rain DEF   stop-PCP INF   end coldness DEF   begin
   'After the rainy season stops, the cold weather begins'
                                             (Heath 1999: 423)

Besides a Locational Possessive and a Topic Possessive, the Saharan language
Kanuri also features a With-Possessive of the copular subtype, which I have
discussed in Section 5.2.1. Like its Locational Possessive, the With-Possessive
of Kanuri is matched by the availability of deranked temporal clauses in the
form of oblique verbal nouns. As we have seen in Section 9.10, these forma-
tions allow their own subject, which can be indexed on the deranked predicate
by a pronominal possessive affix.

(211)   KANURI (Nilo-Saharan, Saharan)
Musa   keke-nze-à
M.   bicycle-3SG.POSS-ASSOC
'Musa has/owns a bicycle' (Hutchison 1976: 14)

(212)   KANURI (Nilo-Saharan, Saharan)

a. Kəska-də gana-nzə-lan   dungokkəgəmin
   tree-DET be.small.VN-3SG.POSS-in bend.2SG.IMPERF
   'When the tree is small, you can bend it '(Hutchison 1976: 139)

b. Cida-nyi   dikin-la-də-n   kam-də
   work-my   do.1SG.IMPF-at-DET-in   man-DET
   wu-ga   shiwol-tə   badiwono
   1SG-ACC   bother-VN   start.3SG.PAST
   'While I was doing my work, the man started bothering me'
                                            (Hutchison 1976: 162)

My sample contains two languages from the East Sudanic branch of Nilo-Saharan in which an adverbial variant of the With-Possessive can be encountered; in both cases the construction features the comitative preposition 'with'. In the East Nilotic language Kukú this possession encoding is matched unproblematically by the presence of deranked temporal clauses. In such clauses the predicate is overtly marked for nominalization, and the clause itself functions syntactically as a topicalized noun phrase at the beginning of the sentence.

(213)   KUKÚ (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, East Nilotic)

a. ŋ́   kɔ   pílílí
   1SG   with pilili
   'I have a *pilili*' (Cohen 2000: 133)

b. ŋ́m   gbɔ́ŋ   kɔ   pílílí
   1SG   be   with   pilili
   'I had a *pilili*' (Cohen 2000: 133)

(214)   KUKÚ (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, East Nilotic)

a. Ná   kél-óni   lókóré   na   nán   ɓán
   PRT fry-VN   meat   PRT   1SG   absent
   'When the meat was fried, I was not there' (Cohen 2000: 5)

b. Ná   tár-an   lisɨrít   kʊlɔ   lɛpéŋ   gbɔŋ   í   sukúlu
   PRT scatter-VN   maize   DEM   3SG   be   in   school
   'When this maize was scattered, he was in school' (Cohen 2000: 5)

For the West Nilotic languages Acholi and Dholuo, however, the match between the With-Possessive and deranked temporal sequencing is tenuous at best. Both languages seem to allow some temporal clause deranking in the form of oblique verbal nouns, but this encoding option is in all probability rather marginal in comparison to the balancing strategies that the language have. Furthermore, it is not clear whether the deranking option at issue is allowed under different-subject conditions.

(215)   Acholi (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)
        Rwot tye   ki   dyang angwen
        king exist with cow   four
        'The king has four cows' (Kitching 1932: 19)

(216)   Acholi (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)
        Kà   nyɛɛ́ro matɛ̀ɛk, meénó ò-bènyɛɛ́rô; kà
        at   laugh.vɴ loud,   then   3sɢ-laugh   if/when/at
        pee nyɛɛ́ro màtɛ̀ɛk, meénó ò-bèbónyô
        not laugh.vɴ loud   then   3sɢ-smile
        'When laughing loud, then (we say) he laughs; when not laughing
        loud, then (we say) he smiles' (Crazzolara 1955: 29)

(217)   Dholuo (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)
        A-óŋgée   gí   tó :ŋ
        1sɢ-not.be with spear
        'I don't have a spear' (Tucker 1994: 229)

(218)   Dholuo (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, Western Nilotic)
        Ó-neno   nyathí ká   bí:ró
        3sɢ-see.ᴘᴇʀꜰ child if/at come.vɴ
        'He saw the child coming' (Tucker 1994: 294)

Quite probably, then, Acholi and Dholuo must be rated as counter-examples to the claim that is investigated in this chapter, and to the predictions that can be derived from that claim.[17]

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[17] An adverbial With Possessive appears to be a genetic/areal trait among the Nilotic languages of the Sudan/Uganda border. The construction is also encountered in Bari, Lango, and Nuer:

(i) Bari (Nilo Saharan, East Sudanic, East Nilotic)
     Kɪsʊk joré ko   matat
     cattle much with chief
     'The chief has many cattle' (Spagnolo 1933: 102)

(ii) Lango (Nilo Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)
     Òkélò tíê   ì   gwôk
     O.   3sɢ.be.present.ʜᴀʙ   with dog
     'Okelo has a dog' (Noonan 1992: 148)

Fortunately, these predictions fare much better with respect to the With-Possessives that we find in the sampled languages of the Central Sudanic branch of Nilo-Saharan. Ma'di, Mamvu, and Mbay all have a With-Possessive of the adverbial variety, and in all three languages this option is matched by deranking strategies for temporal clauses. A common form for such clauses is the oblique verbal noun: predicates of such clauses are nominalized and are marked by locational or instrumental adpositions or affixes. As an alternative, we find an unmarked, topicalized, verbal-noun construction in Ma'di. Deranked temporal clauses in these languages allow absolute use; subjects commonly take the form of the genitive case or of possessive pronominal affixes.

(219)   Ma'di (Nilo-Saharan, Central Sudanic)
        Ma   àràbɨ́à   trɔ̀
        1SG   car   with
        'I have a car' (Blackings and Fabb 2003: 232)

(220)   Ma'di (Nilo-Saharan, Central Sudanic)
    a. Àmà   ásí   ìgɓé   ɔ́pɨ́ ʔà   e-mú-ka   sì
        1PL.EXCL heart cold   O.   GEN   VENT-go-SUBORD   INSTR
        'We are happy because Opi is coming/has come'
                                    (Blackings and Fabb 2003: 209)
    b. Má   ʔà   ndrɛ-r ɛ   rɨ̀   ɔ-sʊ   sátɨ   ɨ́ka
        1SG   GEN   see-SUBORD   DEF   3-wear shirt red
        'When I saw him, he was wearing a red shirt'
                                    (Blackings and Fabb 2003: 19)

(221)   Mamvu (Nilo-Saharan, Central Sudanic)
        Uyá -nánì   la'
        house-with   3PL.PRES.be
        'They have a house' (Vorbichler 1971: 30)

(222)   Mamvu (Nilo-Saharan, Central Sudanic)
        Qa-s-ongo-ná   inda-qo   obu-ju-qeni taju   oroba
        3SG-SUBORD-leave-INSTR   3SG-AUX   field-end-at stay go.VN.GEN
        'As soon as he(x) left, he(y) went to the other side of the field to stay
        there' (Vorbichler 1971: 34)

(iii)   Nuer (Nilo Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)
        Jɛn   à   kè   yâŋ
        he   be   with cow
        'He has a cow' (Crazzolara 1933: 92)

(223) MBAY (Nilo-Saharan, West Central Sudanic)
       Ngon   ì   kɔ́   kìya
       child is   with   knife
       'The child has a knife' (Keegan 1997: 77)

(224) MBAY (Nilo-Saharan, Central Sudanic, West)
       Tà   kàw-jɔ́   ɓee-é   à,   à   ùn   màn
       upon   go.VN-our   home-to   PRT   he.will take   water
       ɗée-n   ɗée-n
       bring-it   bring-it
       'Whenever we are about to leave he is sure to bring some water'
                                                      (Keegan 1997: 152)

In Niger-Kordofanian, the third African macro-phylum, With-Possessives are found mainly in the central and eastern branches. In West Africa, it is encountered only sporadically; the only example in my sample is from Supyire, a Gur language spoken in Mali. In Section 9.10 we saw that this language has a Locational Possessive as an alternative option. Just like this Locational Possessive, the With-Possessive in Supyire is matched by temporal clauses in the form of oblique verbal nouns; such clauses allow different-subject conditionality.

(225) SUPYIRE (Niger-Kordofanian, Gur)
       Mìì   túŋi   mpyi ná   pwunh-pole   è
       my   father   was with   dog-male   with
       'My father had a male dog' (Carlson 1994: 249)

(226) SUPYIRE (Niger-Kordofanian, Gur)
       a. Uru   u   a   pyi mii shyéré-ŋi
          he.EMP he   PERF be   my   witness-DEF
          wy'ɛr'ɛ-ŋi   tà-kan-gé   e
          money-DEF   VN-give-DEF   at
          'It was he who was my witness when the money was given'
                                                      (Carlson 1994: 111)
       b. Pi   num-bahabii   na, ciga   à   cwo
          they   ADJ-playing.DEF on tree.DEF PERF fall
          'While they were playing, the tree fell' (R. Carlson 1990: 962)

The area covered by the Adamawa-Ubangian and Benue-Congo branches of Niger-Kordofanian is almost exclusively the domain of the With-Possessive; in all cases, the construction is of the adverbial subtype. In the Adamawa-Ubangian

languages, the With-Possessive is matched by various deranked predicate for-
mations. Banda, Sango, and Mundang all have overtly marked nominalizations
or 'infinitives', which can be used in temporal and other adverbial clauses. For
some of these clause types, no further marking of the verbal noun seems to be
necessary; in other cases, the verbal noun is governed by prepositions. Absolute
use of these deranked clause types is possible.[18]

(227)   Banda (Niger-Kordofanian, Adamawa-Ubangian, Ubangian)
    ə́nje   sə́   də́   ngènjà
    they   exist   with   money
    'They have money' (Cloarec-Heiss 1986: 25)

(228)   Banda (Niger-Kordofanian, Adamawa-Ubangian, Ubangian)
    a. Ángbɔ̌lí   kə́-nà   mə, azu   ngbúrù   má
          before   INF-arrive my   people PERF.gather upon
          ə́sə́   kùzú
          place dead
          'Before I arrived, the people had assembled in the graveyard'
                                (Cloarec-Heiss 1986: 79)

    b. Ángbɔ̌lí   kə́-kàtə́   yavɨrɨ   àv̂íngí   wútù
          before   INF-stop rain   rainbow PERF.come.out
          'Before the rain stopped, a rainbow appeared'
                                (Cloarec-Heiss 1986: 192)

    c. Alani   ke-na,   enji   pa
          they   INF-go people say
          'When they go, the people say' (Tisserant 1930: 140)

(229)   Sango (Niger-Kordofanian, Ubangian)
    Lo   ɛkɛ   na   bɔngɔ́
    he   be   with garment
    'He has a garment' (Samarin 1966: 95)

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[18] It can be remarked that Banda and Mundang also have a 'participial' construction. This
'circumstantial', simultaneous clause type consists of a verbal noun which is governed by the comi
tative/instrumental preposition 'with'. In this way, the construction provides a direct match with the
With Possessive. However, it seems that it can only be used under same subject conditions.

 (i) Banda (Niger Kordofanian, Adamawa Ubangian, Ubangian)
      Se   sete gute   de   ke mbi iti   ni
      he   was returning with INF sing song his
      'He returned, singing a song' (Tisserant 1930: 139)

(ii) Mundang (Niger Kordofanian, Adamawa Ubangian, Adamawa)
      ʔà   šìn nə   lì   lìŋ
      3SG.IMPERF walk with sing.VN song
      'He is walking along singing' (Elders 2000: 252)

(230)   SANGO (Niger-Kordofanian, Adamawa-Ubangian, Ubangian)

    a. Sí-ngó   tí   mɔ na Dakar, fadé mɔ   gí
       arrive-VN GEN you to D.   FUT you   try
       lége tí   sí   na   camp
       goal of arrive in camp
       'When you arrive in Dakar, you will try to get to the camp'

                                                  (Samarin 1966: 167)

    b. Kózo tí   hɔ̃-ngó   tí   lo   na   Israël
       front of leave-VN of him to I.
       'Before he left for Israel' (Samarin 1966: 116)

(231)   MUNDANG (Niger-Kordofanian, Adamawa-Ubangian, Adamawa)

    a. Mɛ̰́   (nò)   nɔ̰̄   yâŋ
       1SG   (be) with house
       'I have a house' (Elders 2000: 24)

    b. Bə̀   ɓè (nò) nə̀   ŋwɔ̰́ɔ̰́ gwà
       father my (be) with women two
       'My father has two wives' (Elders 2000: 27)

(232)   MUNDANG (Niger-Kordofanian, Adamawa-Ubangian, Adamawa)

    a. Mè pàà káá   ká mo kîi-nì
       1SG peel maize for you cook.OPT-VN
       'I have peeled the maize so that you could cook it'

                                                  (Elders 2000: 540)

    b. Bwàm mo tə̀-n   ɓè, zá   kàà-ra   ɓə̀r yâŋ
       rain SIT fall-VN PERF people stay-PL in   house
       'When it rains, people stay inside' (Elders 2000: 366)

In all the relevant Benue-Congo languages in my sample, predicative possession is encoded by a With-Possessive which features the preposition *na/ne* 'with'. In some cases, this preposition cliticizes to the preceding *be*-verb; this process can be seen as the first step in the creation of a *have*-verb (see Section 6.2).

(233)   NKORE-KIGA (Niger-Kordofanian, Benue-Congo, Bantoid)
      N-ka-ba   na   taata
      1SG-PAST-be with my-father
      'I had a father' (Taylor 1985: 71)

(234)   DUALA (Niger-Kordofanian, Benue-Congo, North-West Bantu)
      A   bé-ne   bolo
      he   bé-with boat
      'He had a boat' (Ittmann 1939: 100)

(235)   LUGANDA (Niger-Kordofanian, Benue-Congo, North-East Bantu)
O-li-na   ekitabo
2SG-be-with   book
'You have a book' (Ashton et al. 1954: 234)

(236)   TSHILUBA (Niger-Kordofanian, Benue-Congo, Central-West Bantu)
Mu-kalenge   u-di   ne   ba-pika
CLASS-chief   3SG-be   with   slaves
'The chief has slaves' (Willems 1943: 14)

(237)   SWAHILI (Niger-Kordofanian, Benue-Congo, Central-East Bantu)
  a. Ni-ø-na   kisu
     1SG-be-with   knife
     'I have a knife' (Ashton 1947: 9)

  b. A-li-ku-wa   na   watoto   wengi
     3SG-PAST-INF-be   with   children   many
     'He had many children' (Ashton 1947: 144)

(238)   SHONA (Niger-Kordofanian, Benue-Congo, South-East Bantu)
  a. Ndi-ø-ne   murowo
     1SG-be-with   vegetables
     'I have vegetables' (Fortune 1955: 32)

  b. Ndi-ca-va   ne-mbga
     1SG-FUT-become   with-dog
     'I shall have a dog' (Fortune 1955: 33)

With regard to the deranked encoding of temporal (and other adverbial) clauses in these languages, a number of different options can be distinguished. First, many of the Bantoid and Bantu languages have a so-called 'participial form' or 'participial mood'. These labels refer to a subordinate form of the verb, which is marked for subject but not for tense, and which commonly exhibits marking on the verb stem by a suffix *-e* or *-a*. Clauses which contain such a verb form are typically not marked by subordinating conjunctions, and allow both same-subject and different-subject conditions. Examples come from Nkore-Kiga, Duala, and Tshiluba.

(239)   NKORE-KIGA (Niger-Kordofanian, Benue-Congo, Bantoid)
  a. Mu-gume   aha   n-ze
     you-stay.IMP   here   I-go.PCP
     'You stay here while I go' (Taylor 1985: 27)

b. N-ka-mu-shanga   y-aa-ki-kozire
I-PAST-him-find   he-PAST-it-do.PCP
'I found him after he had done it' (Taylor 1985: 27)

(240)   DUALA (Niger-Kordofanian, Benue-Congo, North-West Bantu)

a. Bólò   túngé   múnà   a   tém̀
boat   arrive.PCP   child   3SG   rose
'When the boat had arrived, the child stood up'

(Ittmann 1939: 192)

b. Mbá   po̧   ńangó   a   sóm̀
1SG   come.PCP   woman   3SG   greeted
'When I came, the woman greeted' (Ittmann 1939: 192)

(241)   TSHILUBA (Niger-Kordofanian, Benue-Congo, Central-West Bantu)

a. Mu-bik-e   u-kwata   e   ku-ya-ye
CLASS-rise-PCP   3SG.M-take   PRT   INF-go-3SG.M
'Having risen, he took off' (Willems 1943: 54)

b. Wewe   mu-leng-e   nyoka   au   u-di   u-kusuma
2SG   CLASS-touch-PCP   snake   that   CLASS-be   CLASS-bite
'If/when you touch that snake, it will bite (you)' (Willems 1943: 176)

Furthermore, a common feature of Benue-Congo is the availability of a so-called infinitive. This is in fact a verbal noun, which is derived from verb stems by a nominal-class prefix; usually, the prefix has the form *ku-*. Infinitives are widely used to represent predicates of non-first clauses in temporal sequences. They are governed by locative prepositions such as *o-* 'in, at' (Nkore-Kiga), *e* 'in' (Tshiluba), or *pa* 'at' (Tshiluba), or by the comitative/instrumental preposition *na* 'with' (Swahili) or *no-/ndo-* 'with' (Shona). These infinitival clauses, which are essentially a variant of the very common oblique-noun type of deranked temporal clauses, are most frequently used under same-subject conditions; for some of the languages at issue here, absolute use of the construction could not be attested in the sources. However, it appears that different subjects are at least marginally possible in the construction, witness examples from Tshiluba and Shona presented below.

(242)   NKORE-KIGA (Niger-Kordofanian, Benue-Congo, Bantoid)
O-ku-hika   omu   muhanda   engwe   e-shooboora
at-INF-arrive   in   path   Leopard   he-slow.down
'On getting to the path, Leopard slowed down' (Taylor 1985: 3)

(243)   TSHILUBA (Niger-Kordofanian, Central-West Bantu)

    a. Nkongolo   u-juka   e   ku-ba-bia
       N.   3SG.PRES-stand PRT INF-3PL.OBJ-say
      'Nkongolo stood up and said to them' (Willems 1943: 171)

    b. Mukaji-ende e   ku-mu-pa   nshima, ku-dia-ye
       wife-his   PRT INF-3SG.OBJ-give porridge INF-eat-3SG.M
      'His wife gave him porridge, and he ate it' (Willems 1943: 171)

    c. Pa   ku-bwela   mú   misoko   yabo
       at   INF-enter at   village   their
      'When they entered their village' (Willems 1943: 64)

(244)   SWAHILI (Niger-Kordofanian, Central-East Bantu)

    a. Watu   wa-li-kuwa   wa-na-ingia   na   ku-toka
       men   3PL-PAST-be 3PL-PROG-enter with INF-go.out
      'People were walking in and out' (Ashton 1947: 27)

    b. Tu-li-endelea   safari   na   ku-ona njaa
       1PL-PAST-continue journey with INF-see hunger
      'We continued our journey and were very hungry'
                                          (Loogman 1965: 376)

(245)   SHONA (Niger-Kordofanian, South Bantu)

    a. Wa-ka-tora   maputa no-ku-atakura pa-musoro wake
       3SG-PAST-take butter   with-INF-put   on-head   his
       no-ku-enda   ku-musha
       with-INF-go   to-house
      'He took the butter, put it on his head, and went home'
                                       (Fortune 1955: 267)

    b. Imbga dzake dza-ka-pinda   mubako, iyo
       dogs   his   3PL-PAST-enter cave   he
       ndo-ku-pinda-wo
       with-INF-enter-there
      'His dogs entered the cave, and he entered also' (Fortune 1955: 267)

Luganda exhibits a type of deranked form called the 'narrative tense' (Ashton et al. 1954: 227), which is used in non-first clauses of consecutive chains. The form is marked for subject by prefixes, but does not have tense-marking. Furthermore, the form is characterized by the prefix *ne-*, which may be related to the comitative/instrumental preposition *na* 'with'. Since the form is marked

for its own subject, absolute use is of course possible, though, apparently, not very common.

(246) LUGANDA (Niger-Kordofanian, North-East Bantu)

a. Nn-a-genda   ku   kibuga   ne-n-gula   engoye
   1SG-PAST-go   to   capital   NARR-1SG-buy   clothes
   'I went to the capital and bought clothes' (Ashton et al. 1954: 22)

b. Enkya   tw-a-genze   mu   maduuka   wange
   1PL   1PL-PAST-go   to   shops   wife.my
   ne-a-gula-yo   olugoye
   NARR-3SG-buy-LOC   dress
   'We went to the shops and my wife bought a dress there'
                                              (Ashton et al. 1954: 22)

Lastly, I should mention the existence of so-called 'subordinate moods' in Bantu. These are verbal forms that have regular conjugation for person/number/gender of the subject and the direct object, but do not have the tense-marking prefixes that Bantu main verbs have; instead, they have 'subordinating' prefixes in the position of the tense-affix. A case in point is Swahili, which has a form with an affix -*ki*- to indicate simultaneous and conditional clauses, and an affix -*ka*- to encode consecutive action. Absolute use of these forms is of course possible, given the subject-marking on these forms.

(247) SWAHILI (Niger-Kordofanian, Benue-Congo, Central-East Bantu)

a. U-ki-ni-piga   ni-tak-u-shtaki
   2SG.SUBJ-SIM-1SG.OBJ-hit   1SG.SUBJ-FUT-2SG.OBJ-accuse
   'If you hit me, I will accuse you' (Loogman 1965: 209)

b. Ni-li-kwenda   sokoni   ni-ka-nunua   ndizi   sita
   1SG-PAST-go   market   1SG-CONS-buy   bananas   six
   'I went to the market and bought six bananas' (Ashton 1947: 133)

To conclude our examination of African With-Possessives, we must note a language from Khoisan, the fourth African phylum. In Section 5.2.2 we observed that Sandawe constitutes a rarity among African languages, in that it has a flexional With-Possessive. This With-Possessive in Sandawe is matched by deranked temporal clauses in the form of oblique verbal nouns, which are commonly marked by a locative case suffix. Absolute use of these forms is possible. It can be seen that nominalization is not radical, since marking for subject and object is still retained in the deranked predicate form.

(248)   SANDAWE (Khoisan)
Tata   humbu-se
father   cow-AFF
'Father has cows' (Dempwolff 1916: 17)

(249)   SANDAWE (Khoisan)

   a. Mua   kona-wa-ts'   si   'wa'n//'a
      stomach   upset-3SUBJ-LOC   2PL   vomit
      'You (will have to) vomit, because it upsets the stomach'
                                                (Dempwolff 1916: 3)

   b. /'u-we-sa-ts'   ʂaw
      marry-3SG.OBJ-2SG.SUBJ-LOC   good
      'If you marry her, (that will be) good' (Dempwolff 1916: 3)

10.9 Austro-Asiatic

To conclude this chapter, I want to discuss a couple of occurrences of the
With-Possessive in Austro-Asiatic. The languages of south-east Asia, which
form the core of the Austro-Asiatic phylum, have a Topic Possessive as their
undisputed major option. However, in those branches of Austro-Asiatic that
are geographically isolated from the south-east Asian heartland some other
encoding options can be documented. Car, a language from the Nicobar
Islands, complements its Topic Possessive with a construction that, in
all probability, must be analysed as a flexional With-Possessive (see Section
5.2.2).

(250)   CAR (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer, Nicobarese)

   a. Kóŋ-u   cin
      can-AFF   1SG.SUBJ.PRES
      'I have a can' (Braine 1970: 110)

   b. Lípəˇɛ-və   cin
      book-SUFF   I
      'I have a book' (Braine 1970: 110)

This With-Possessive is matched by a type of deranked temporal clause in Car.
In the construction, the verb of the clause is marked by a (presumably
locational) suffix. We can assume that this verbal formation is a nomina-
lization in an oblique case, since the subject of the clause is marked for
genitive case.

(251)   Cᴀʀ (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer, Nicobarese)

    a. Calɔʔ-hɛ   tə   ək   máʔ,   ŋacməl əy láʔɛvrɛn
       arrive-after of   the   chief   then   we   work
       'When the chief came, we worked' (Braine 1970: 194)

    b. Tin-hɛ   nə   i   Hano'c ŋac   ʔilə
       arrive-after 3ᴘʟ.ɢᴇɴ at H.   then   right.away
       haʔokə
       drink.ᴄᴀᴜs.ᴘᴀss
       'After they arrived at Hano'c, they were made to drink'

(Braine 1970: 194)

In Section 9.7 we noted that the three sampled languages of the Munda branch of Austro-Asiatic, which is situated in India, all have a Locational Possessive as their primary choice. In addition, at least one of these languages, Mundari, has an alternative in a With-Possessive. This construction, which I have discussed in Section 5.2.1, finds its match in the same deranked constructions that provide a match for the Locational Possessive of the language. Mundari is predominantly deranking, and encodes its temporal and other adverbial clauses by means of a system of oblique verbal nouns. Absolute use of such formations is frequent; subjects of deranked clauses take nominative case.

(252)   Mᴜɴᴅᴀʀɪ (Austro-Asiatic, Munda)

    a. Ne   hodo odaq-an   menaq-i-a
       this   man   house-ᴀᴅᴊ   be-3sɢ.ᴏʙᴊ-ᴘʀᴇᴅ
       'This man has a house' (Langendoen 1967: 97)

    b. Ne   hodo odaq-an-a-eq
       this   man   house-ᴀᴅᴊ-ᴘʀᴇᴅ-3sɢ.sᴜʙᴊ
       'This man has a house' (Langendoen 1967: 98)

(253)   Mᴜɴᴅᴀʀɪ (Austro-Asiatic, Munda)[19]

    a. En   piri   sitan-re-ing   lelk-i-a
       this field plough-at-1sɢ   see-3sɢ.ᴏʙᴊ-ᴘʀᴇᴅ
       'I saw him when I/he was ploughing the field'(Hoffmann 1903: 197)

    b. En   piri   sitan-lo-ing   lelk-i-a
       this field plough-with-1sɢ see-3sɢ.ᴏʙᴊ-ᴘʀᴇᴅ
       'I saw him when I was ploughing the field' (Hoffmann 1903: 197)

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[19] The pronominal items in the deranked forms in sentences (253a, b, d) are clitics, which refer to the subjects of the main clauses.

   c. Gomke   hiju-lo-ge   ghanta   sari-pe
       master   come-with-EMP   bell   ring-IMP
       'Ring the bell when the master comes!'(Hoffmann 1903: 20)

   d. Jarom-jan-ate-do-ko   ir-e-a
       ripen-PAST-from-EMP-3PL   reap-3SG.OBJ-PRED
       'After it (i.e. the rice) has ripened, they reap it'

                                            (Hoffmann 1903: App., xi)

10.10 Conclusion

In this chapter I have checked whether the 115 occurrences of the With-Possessive in my data base can be matched with a deranked encoding of simultaneous DS-sequences. In only two of the relevant languages this matching turns out to be problematic. In the West Nilotic languages Acholi and Dholuo we find that the deranking option in the language is decidedly marginal, if it can be applied to different-subject sequences at all. While I do not want to belittle the importance of these counter-examples, I trust it is clear that their occurrence does not do serious damage to the empirical validity of the universal implication formulated in Section 10.1.

11

Topic Possessives

11.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will investigate the validity of the claim made in Section 8.4 about the typological profile of Topic Possessives:

(1) If a language has a standard Topic Possessive, it will have
   a. balanced encoding of simultaneous different-subject sequences
   b. a split configuration in nonverbal predication encoding

In the discussion, all variants of Topic Possessive encoding will be taken into account. That is, besides the standard encoding of this type as defined in Section 2.5, I will include the various non-standard variants of the type that have been mentioned in Chapter 3, such as the possessor-indexed Topic Possessive, the zero-encoded Topic Possessive, the Conjunctional Possessive, the Clausal Possessive, as well as instances of the hybrid Topic-Locational Possessive (see Section 3.6). Furthermore, I will take in cases in which the Topic Possessive has undergone some sort of grammaticalization, such as the unmarked adnominalized possessive (see Chapter 4) and the predicativized Topic Possessive (see Chapter 5), and at least some cases of Topic Possessives that are on the way to being transitivized (see Chapter 6).

It should be understood that the first part of the claim in (1) – that is, the correlation between Topic Possessive encoding and balanced sequencing – is meant to hold for all manifestations of the Topic Possessive, regardless of their subtype. However, the second part of the claim – which specifies a correlation between Topic Possessive encoding and split nonverbal predication – is meant to hold only for those Topic Possessive variants in which the construction contains a full lexical *be*-verb. As we have seen in Chapter 8 (fn. 4), zero-encoding in Topic Possessives – and for that matter, in all other possessive constructions – immediately entails a zero-share configuration for the language, since a language can only have zero-encoding for locative/existential sentences if it has a zero-copula as well. Accordingly, one might want to rephrase the *b*-condition in claim (1) by stipulating that LANGUAGES THAT

HAVE A TOPIC POSSESSIVE CANNOT HAVE A FULL-SHARE CONFIGURATION. All other major configurations mentioned in Sections 8.3.2 and 8.3.3 – namely, zero-share, full-split, and zero-split – are, in principle, allowed for this possession type. However, in the case of a zero-share configuration this will often lead to a potentially ambiguous Topic Possessive (see Section 3.3).

From the way that Claim (1) is structured, it follows that for each language to be discussed in this chapter we will have to demonstrate three different things. First, of course, we will have to establish the occurrence of some variant of the Topic Possessive. Next, we will have to show that the language is predominantly balanced, and thirdly, the impossibility of a full-share configuration will have to be demonstrated. Now, especially in demonstrating the balanced character of the languages at issue my exposition will run the risk of becoming repetitive in parts, since – as we have noted in Section 8.2.3 – balanced constructions do not show that much variation cross-linguistically. I have chosen to let the requirement of full documentation prevail over the requirement of readability here, but I can advise the reader that parts of this chapter can be read at different speeds.

11.2 East and south-east Asia

The first mega-area in which the Topic Possessive is the overriding option is made up of the languages of east and south-east Asia. To the north and the west this area borders on the Eurasian area, which, as we have seen, is largely the domain of the Locational Possessive. On the borders between these two areas we can thus expect to find some diffusion between the two possession types. In the north, this diffusion is represented in three Altaic languages. We have seen in Section 9.5 that Korean, Japanese, and Manchu have a Locational Possessive as their major option. However, all three languages have a secondary Topic Possessive, which, in the case of Korean and Japanese, is characterized by either nominative case marking on the possessor,[1] or the presence of a

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[1] For this reason, these possessive constructions in Korean and Japanese are sometimes referred to as 'double subject possessives' in the literature. Double subject constructions are not restricted to the expression of predicative possession. In Japanese, they occur with all sorts of main predicates. Examples are:

(i) JAPANESE (Altaic, Japanese)

   a. Taroo   ga   otoosan   ga   sinde   simatta
      T.   SUBJ   father   SUBJ   die.CONV   end.up.PAST
      'Taroo's father died' (Kuno 1978: 74)

   b. Bunmeikoku   ga   dansei ga   heikinzyumyoo   ga   mizikai
      civilized.countries SUBJ   male   SUBJ   average.life.span SUBJ   be.short
      'The average life span of males in civilized countries is short' (Kuno 1973: 34)

(postposed) topic marker on the possessor. In Manchu, this second option is not available; the Topic Possessive in this language features both the possessor and the possessee in the (unmarked) nominative case.[2]

(2)   KOREAN (Altaic, Korean)

    a. Ki   namca-ka   chaek-i   iss-ta
      the   man-NOM   book-NOM   exist-STYLE
      'The man has a book' (Lizotte 1983: 109)

    b. Minca-nun   enni-ka   iss-ta
      M.-TOP   older.sister-NOM   be-DECL
      'Minca has an older sister' (Sohn 1994: 176)

(3)   JAPANESE (Altaic, Japanese)

    a. Otooto   ga   naihu ga   aru
      younger.brother SUBJ knife SUBJ exist-PRES
      'Younger Brother has a knife' (Martin 1975: 647)

    b. Ano hito wa   kane   ga   tak'san aru
      this   man TOP   money SUBJ much   exist-PRES
      'This man has a lot of money' (Plaut 1904: 259)

Martin (1975: 259) states that these 'double *ga* sentences' are 'an alternative for the Genitive Relation'. That is, the first occurrence, or rather all non final occurrences of *ga* are thought to be the equivalent of the genitive postposition *no*, which is exemplified in the following sentence:

(ii)   JAPANESE (Altaic, Japanese)
    Taroo   no   otoosan sinde   simatta
    T.   GEN   father die.CONV end.up.PAST
    'Taroo's father died' (Kuno 1978: 74).

In this connection, it is a telling fact that, in Old Japanese, the postposition *ga* was the marker of the genitive, and that it still has this function in Literary Japanese (Martin 1975: 264). Moreover, 'throughout the history of Japanese the two particles *ga* and *no* have shared functions with each other, and the actual distribution of the functions today varies from dialect to dialect' (Martin 1975: 662).

   [2] Adam (1873: 69) describes the Topic Possessive of Manchu in the following way: 'The noun which represents the possessor is sometimes preposed to the noun which represents the possessed item, without being followed by the characteristic postposition of the Locative Dative' (my translation). The author goes on to state that this construction has undergone transitivization: 'Due to this ellipsis [i.e. of the locative dative marker on the possessor] the verb *bime* [i.e. the locational/existential *be* verb] has finally acquired the transitive meaning of "to possess"' (my translation). This analysis of the Manchu Topic Possessive as a result of the loss of an oblique marker on the possessor, and the ensuing Have Drift of the construction, is repeated in Hagège (1993: 66).

   In my opinion, this account of the Manchu Topic Possessive is problematic in several respects. First, the postulation of an ellipsis of the locative/dative postposition on the possessor in the possessive construction is rather curious, as this locational postposition can be shown to have remained very much alive in all its other functions in the language. Hence, one would need to assume that this

(4)   MANCHU (Altaic, Tungusic)
    Singgeri funcetele jeku   bi
    mouse   plenty   goods be.PRES
    'The mouse has plenty of food' (Adam 1873: 69)

Temporal sequencing in these three languages typically manifests itself in deranked clauses, in which the predicate has the form of a converb or an oblique verbal noun (see Section 9.5). Nevertheless, we can find direct matchings between the Topic Possessives of Japanese and Korean and some types of balanced temporal sequences in these languages. Thus, we can observe that Japanese clauses, too, can take the nominative marker -*ga*. When marked in this way, the clause receives a light adversative meaning, so that the relation between the two clauses in the sequence can be phrased as a 'but'-coordination. In this respect, a *ga*-sequence is opposed to sequences marked by the clause-final conjunctions *si* 'and' or *to* 'when', which do not carry this contrastive implication. All clauses marked by one of these three items are to be rated as balanced, since their predicates do not differ in any way from predicates in unmarked clauses.

(5)   JAPANESE (Altaic, Japanese)

    a. Mariko wa   Tookyoo e   ikimasu ga,   Junko wa
       M.   TOP   T.   to   go.PRES PRT J.   TOP
       Koobe e   ikimasu
       K.   to   go.PRES
       'Mariko will go to Tokyo, (and/but) Junko will go to Kobe'
                                              (Hinds 1986: 89)

'ellipsis' of the locative/dative postposition was restricted to the possessive construction only, which obviously raises all sorts of explanatory questions. Secondly, the curious fact that, in this 'new' construction, the possessor precedes the possessed item whereas it always follows the possessed item in the allegedly original Locational Possessive remains unexplained: apparently, the switch from a Locational Possessive to a new construction must have involved more than just the loss of an oblique marker. And thirdly, it is definitely strange that the Locational Possessive, after its 'loss' of the oblique marker, has managed to live on in the language nonetheless.

    Furthermore, it must be remarked that, if it is true that the Topic Possessive of Manchu has started to undergo Have Drift, this grammaticalization process cannot have proceeded very far. For one thing, the possessee NP in the construction at issue is never marked for accusative case, which is obligatory for direct objects in Manchu. In other words, there can be serious doubts about the alleged 'loss' of an oblique marker in the construction, as well as about a further process of Have Drift for the construction. Therefore, I propose that the construction at hand be viewed as a genuine, original alternative to the Locational Possessive of the language, in the form of a straightforward Topic Possessive that can be observed in more than one other language of the area. It is, of course, not inconceivable that the Manchu Topic Possessive has been influenced by Chinese, where Topic Possessives are the norm.

b. Taroo   ga   Amerika   ni   itta   si,   Hanako   ga
   T.   SUBJ   America   to   go.PAST   and   H.   SUBJ
   Huransu   ni   itta
   France   to   go.PAST
   'Taroo went to America, and Hanako went to France'

                                       (Kuno 1978: 121)

c. Taroo   ga   gakkoo   ni   iku   to,   Hanako   ga
   T.   SUBJ   school   to   go.PRES   when   H.   SUBJ
   matte   ita
   waiting   be.PAST
   'When Taroo went to school, Hanako was waiting for him'

                                       (Kuno 1978: 123)

Furthermore, at least in Middle Japanese it appears to have been possible to use the topic marker *wa* as a final marker on clauses. Such clauses – which must be rated as finite – can be seen as 'theme-setting', and are used to state a condition or a general background for the proposition expressed in the following clause. Thus, they are commonly translated by a conditional 'if'-clause, or a clause of the type 'Given that . . .'.

(6)   MIDDLE JAPANESE (Altaic, Japanese)
     Wa-ga   seko   wa   kari-fo   tukura-su
     1SG-GEN   husband   THEME   temporary-shelter   make-HON
     kaya   naku   wa,   ko   matu   ga   moto   no   kusa
     grass   not.be   PRT   small   pine   GEN   base   PRT   grass
     so   kara-sa-ne
     PRT   cut-HON-IMP
     'If you, my husband, have no grass with which to build your shelter, cut some grass from beneath young pines' (De Wolf 1987: 278)

In addition to its extensive system of deranked forms, Korean also has sentential coordinations, as well as subordinate adverbial clauses with finite predicates. In all cases, these balanced constructions are marked by a clause-final conjunctive item, which cliticizes to the finite verb. Now, it turns out that some of these clauses can attach the topic marker *-un/-nun* to the conjunctive item. Sometimes the attachment of this topic marker brings about a change in the meaning of the conjunctive marker. 'Thus, *-taka* 'while' + *nun* and *-ese* 'and' + *nun* obtain a conditional meaning; *-ko* 'and' + *nun* means habituality; and *-myense* 'while doing' + *nun* is idiomatized in the sense of "since" ' (Sohn 1994: 200). For other conjunctive items, such as *-se* 'and' or *-ciman* 'but',

attachment of the topic marker has no special semantic effect.[3] A range of examples of topic-marked coordinate and subordinate temporal sequences is presented in Sohn (1994: 200–1); I will restrict myself to a small selection here.

(7) KOREAN (Altaic, Korean)

    a. Ilyoil-ey   wuli-nun pata-ey ka-ko-nun   hay-ss-ta
       Sunday-on we-TOP   sea-to   go-and-TOP do-PAST-DECL
       'On Sundays, we used to go to the beach' (Sohn 1994: 200)

    b. Pi-ka   o-myense-nun   kkoch-i   cal
       rain-NOM   come-while-TOP flower-NOM   well
       phi-n-ta
       bloom-INCH-DECL
       'Since it started to rain, flowers have been blooming well'

                                                (Sohn 1994: 200)

    c. Palam-i   pwul-ciman-un pay-nun ttena-n-ta
       wind-NOM blow-but-TOP   ship   leave-INDIC-DECL
       'The ship is leaving despite the wind' (Sohn 1994: 201)

For Manchu, a match between the Topic Possessive and the marking of temporal clauses has to be non-overt, as this language has neither overt nominative-marking nor an overt topic-marking strategy. We can point out, however, that, in spite of the prominence of deranked temporal sequencing in the language, there is also the possibility of forming coordinate strings of finite main clauses. Example (8) has been taken from a narrative, published in Haenisch (1961).

(8) MANCHU (Altaic, Tungusic)
    Sekiyen   sumin,   eyen   amba
    source   deep   walk   big
    'The source (of the river) is deep, and (its) current is strong'
                                            (Haenisch 1961: 154)

In sum, we can conclude that these three languages all have the ability to encode temporal sequences by way of balancing strategies, and that in some cases the match between the Topic Possessive and the balanced temporal clause can even be shown to be direct.

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[3] Of course, adding a topic marker has a semantic/pragmatic effect in its own right, in that a topic marked clause or phrase is singled out explicitly as the 'theme' or background of the following proposition.

Manchu, Japanese, and Korean are all splitting languages. Korean and Japanese are full-split, as they contrast a copula in predicate nominal sentences (*i-ta* in Korean, *da* in Japanese) with a different *be*-item in predicate locational sentences (*iss-ta/id-ta* in Korean, *aru* in Japanese). Manchu, which has a zero-copula, is an instance of a zero-split language.

(9) JAPANESE (Altaic, Japanese)

    a. John wa   usotuki da
       J.   TOP   liar   COP
       'John is a liar' (Makino 1968: 15)

    b. Tukue no   ue   ni   hon   ga   aru
       desk   GEN top LOC book SUBJ be.there.NONPAST
       'There is a book on the desk' (Makino 1968: 1)

(10) KOREAN (Altaic, Korean)

    a. Minca-nun haksayng i-ta
       M.-TOP   student   COP-DECL
       'Minca is a student' (Sohn 1994: 80)

    b. San-ey   namwu-ka manhi iss-ta
       mountain-LOC tree-NOM   much   be-DECL
       'There are lots of trees on the mountain' (Chang 1996: 93)

(11) MANCHU (Altaic, Tungusic)

    a. Bi   sin-i   boo-i   takorara sargan
       1SG 2SG.GEN house-GEN servant   woman
       'I am a servant woman in [*lit.* 'of'] your house' (Haenisch 1961: 60)

    b. In-i   ama-i   boo-de   emu gasha bi-hebi
       3SG-GEN father-GEN house-LOC one   bird   be-PLPERF
       'In her father's house there had been a bird' (Haenisch 1961: 64)

As we are dealing now with languages from north-east Asia, this may be the best place to consider the curious case of Ainu. In Sections 3.4 and 6.3 we have seen that the predicative possession construction in this language is difficult to interpret and to classify. In its basic form, the construction consists of the possessor and the possessee, followed by the item *kor*. Examples include:

(12) AINU (Ainu)

    a. Pirka   amep   sinep keray a   kor
       pretty dress one   only 1SG have
       'I have only one pretty dress' (Refsing 1986: 103)

b. Acapo   sake   kor
   uncle   liquor   have
   'Uncle has liquor' (Tamura 2000: 87)

While the sources that I have consulted on Ainu both gloss this item as 'have', an alternative analysis seems possible, since the item *kor* is also in use as a clause-final conjunction with the meaning 'and' or 'while'. Examples are:

(13) AINU (Ainu)

a. Horippa-as   kor   en-nukar
   dance-1PL   and/while   1SG.ACC-see
   'While we were dancing, someone looked at me'

   (Tamura 2000: 155)

b. K-okkewe   arka   kor   ku-sapa   ka   arka
   my-neck   hurt   and/while   my-head   even   hurt
   'My neck hurts, and my head hurts too' (Tamura 2000: 155)

On the basis of these and other facts, I proposed in Section 3.4 that the Ainu possessive construction be viewed as one of the very rare cases of the conjunctional subtype of the Topic Possessive, that is, a construction that, in literal translation, would look something like 'Uncle, while liquor', or 'Uncle, liquor too'. An analysis along these lines would match with the fact that Ainu is very much a balancing language: temporal sequences are either encoded as sentence coordinations, or as finite subordinate clauses with clause-final conjunctions such as *kor*. Furthermore, this analysis would be in line with the fact that Ainu is a splitting language (see (15a–b)).

(14) AINU (Ainu)

a. Mosma   kur   or   ta   wenpe   an   wa,   oro
   other   person   place   at   death   be   and   place
   ta   ku-yorot
   at   1SG-attend
   'There was a death at another person's place, and I attended'

   (Tamura 2000: 149)

b. Pirka   no   nu   yan
   be.good   and   listen   IMP
   'Please listen well!' (Refsing 1986: 134)

c. Cep   e   konno,   sanpe   wen
   fish   eat   when   condition   be.bad
   'When (he) eats fish, he gets sick' (Refsing 1986: 249)

(15) Aɪɴᴜ (Ainu)

a. Cikap   ku-ne
   bird   1sg-cop
   'I am a bird' (Tamura 2000: 141)

b. Cise   otta   ku-an
   house   in   1sg-be.sg
   'I am at home' (Refsing 1986: 154)

Leaving now this north-eastern fringe for the heartland of the east and south-east Asian mega-area, we come to Sino-Tibetan, the first of the two large language phyla that cover the area. The two sampled languages of the Sinitic branch of this family present clear, standard cases of the Topic Possessive: in essence, the construction is an existential sentence with the possessor in topic position.

(16) Mᴀɴᴅᴀʀɪɴ (Sino-Tibetan, Sinitic)
      Ta   yǒu   san-ge   háizi
      3sg   exist three-class child
      'He/she has three children' (Li and Thompson 1981: 513)

(17) Cᴀɴᴛᴏɴᴇꜱᴇ (Sino-Tibetan, Sinitic)
      ngóh   yáuh   hóu   do   jı   bat
      I   exist very many class pen
      'I have many pens' (Matthews and Yip 1994: 94)

Deranked encoding of temporal sequences does not occur in Mandarin and Cantonese. As a favourite strategy both languages employ parataxis of finite clauses. Coordinating conjunctions, sentence particles, and markers of subordination are certainly available, but in general the borderline between coordination and subordination is kept vague. On the topic of subordinate adverbial clauses in Mandarin, Shi (2004: 110) writes:

Although markers are often used to indicate the logical relationship between clauses in complex sentences, they are not necessarily an indispensable part of these sentences. In casual speech with a clear context, people sometimes drop the markers and simply put two clauses together to convey the same idea. This is quite similar to the drop of markers in coordination and disjunction. In other words, a markerless complex sentence might look like the same as a markerless coordinate sentence.

Likewise, 'subordinate clauses behave very differently in Cantonese from the way they do in European languages. In general, the differences involve the use of parataxis (juxtaposition of two clauses) rather than hypotaxis or

subordination. That is, the two clauses are more symmetric than main and subordinate clauses in English' (Matthews and Yip 1994: 293). A selection of examples of such paratactic sentence strings is presented below.

(18) MANDARIN (Sino-Tibetan, Sinitic)

    a. Ta   kai-le   men, ni   jiu   jin-qu
        3SG open-PERF door 2SG then enter-go
        'When s/he opens the door, you go in' (Li and Thompson 1981: 199)

    b. Wo si-le,   ni   zui hao zai   jia
        1SG die-PERF 2SG most good again marry
        'When/if I die, you'd better marry again'

                                 (Li and Thompson 1981: 642)

    c. nǐ   bú   qù, wǒ   qù
        you not go   I   go
        'If/even if/since you don't go, I will go' (Shi 2004: 110)

(19) CANTONESE (Sino-Tibetan, Sinitic)

    a. Léih yáuh líu,   tungjǐ   ngóh
        you   exist material inform me
        'If/when you have any information, let me know'

                                 (Matthews and Yip 1994: 305)

    b. Ngóh sai   go   ge   sìhhauh, sèhngyaht gám
        I   little CLASS that time   always   this
        yéung wáan ge
        way   play   PRT
        'When I was a little girl, I used to play like this'

                                   (Matthews and Yip 1994: 294)

    c. Ngóhdeih háau yùhn síh   jauh heui wáan
        we   take finish exam then go   play
        'We will finish exams and then we're going to have some fun' / 'After we've finished exams we're going to have some fun'

                                 (Matthews and Yip 1994: 290)

Mandarin and Cantonese are splitting languages. With predicate nominals a zero-encoding is possible, but a full encoding with a copular item (*shì* in Mandarin, *haih* in Cantonese) is preferred. These copular items are quite different from the items used in locational sentences (*zài* in Mandarin, *hài* in Cantonese) or existential sentences (Mandarin *yǒu*, Cantonese *yáuh*).

(20) MANDARIN (Sino-Tibetan, Sinitic)

    a. Nèi-ge   rén   (shì)   xuêsheng
       that-CLASS   person (COP)   student
       'That man is a student' (Li and Thompson 1981: 422)

    b. Ta   zài   jia
       3SG   be.at home
       'S/he is at home' (Li and Thompson 1981: 535)

    c. Yŏu   yi-zhɪ   gŏu zài   yuanzi-li
       be.there one-CLASS dog at   yard-in
       'There is a dog in the yard' (Li and Thompson 1981: 511)

(21) CANTONESE (Sino-Tibetan, Sinitic)

    a. A-Sìhng nɪ   go   seui yàhn
       A.-S.   this CLASS bad   person
       'That A-Sing is a bad person' (Matthews and Yip 1944: 91)

    b. Kèih jung   yat go   jyunga haih Jungmàhn
       rest   among one CLASS expert COP   Chinese
       Daaihhohk ge   gaausauh
       University LINK professor
       'One of the specialists is a professor at the Chinese University'
                                         (Matthews and Yip 1994: 126)

    c. Che-jaahm hái   nɪ   tìuh   gaai   hauhbihn
       car-stop   be.at this CLASS street behind
       'The bus stop is behind this street' (Matthews and Yip 1994: 118)

    d. Yahpbihn yáuh hóu do   fa
       inside   exist very many flower
       'There are lots of flowers inside' (Matthews and Yip 1994: 62)

In the Tibeto-Burman branch of Sino-Tibetan, predicative possession encoding is diffuse to some degree. Especially in the western sub-families, such as the languages of the Himalaya and north-east India, a Locational Possessive is the rule, and we find this option in several languages of Indo-China as well. Moreover, my sample contains a few languages – such as Burmese, and the Bodic language Kham – in which both a Locational Possessive and a Topic Possessive are available. In other words, it seems that the Tibeto-Burman languages constitute a transitional area between the mega-areas of Eurasia and east/south-east Asia.

    The Topic Possessives in Tibeto-Burman are all of the standard type. Matching with the encoding of temporal sequences is unproblematic here,

as the relevant languages all strongly prefer balancing strategies. Thus, we find a predilection for paratactic main clause linkage, or the use of sentence adverbials as clause linkers, or subordinate finite clauses with subordinating conjunctions; deranking – and in particular absolute deranking – appears to be a minor strategy, if it is possible at all. In Lahu and Lisu, two languages of the Burmese-Lolo subfamily, temporal and other adverbial relations are commonly encoded by topicalizing one of the clauses in the chain and providing them with an overt, clause-final, topic marker.

(22) KHAM (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Bodic)
      Ŋa: ŋa-pəisa   li-zya
      1SG   1SG-money   be-CONT
      'I have money' (Watters 2002: 202)

(23) KHAM (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Bodic)

   a. Khwa:-rə ba-ke-rə,   khwa:-rə rəhi-ke-rə
      some-PL   go-PERF-3PL   some-PL   stay-PERF-3PL
      'Some went and some stayed' (Watters 2002: 175)

   b. Ŋa: zihm-da   ŋa-ba-ke,   ol   te   ma-ba-e
      1SG house-to   1SG-go-PERF   3SG   FOC   NEG-go-IMPERF
      'I went to the house (but) he didn't go' (Watters 2002: 347)

(24) EASTERN KAYAH (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Karen)
      ʔʌ   bésepiɔ ʔo   tí   cha   dʌ
      3SG   eye   exist like   chicken egg
      'He had eyes as big as chicken eggs' (Solnit 1997: 312)

(25) EASTERN KAYAH (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Karen)

   a. Dípɔ ʔo   tame   too, pɛ   ʔo   phέ   tame
      pot   be   one.CLASS   just bottle be   only one.CLASS
      too   too
      just just
      'There is only one pot, and only one bottle as well' (Solnit 1997: 334)

   b. Dʌ́ cwá vέ   to,   vέ   cwá to   to
      let go   1SG NEG   1SG go   NEG   NEG
      '(If you) won't let me go, I won't go' (Solnit 1997: 329)

   c. ʔu   hɛ   tho   ʌ́,   vέ   cwá   no
      3   come finish NEWSIT   1SG go   afterwards
      'He having come, I went afterwards'; 'After he came, I left'
                                                    (Solnit 1997: 136)

(26)   ARLENG ALAM (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Mikir)
       Nè   po   chày-nong jon-nî   do
       1SG   father cow   CLASS-two   exist
       'My father has two cows' (Grüssner 1978: 136)

(27)   ARLENG ALAM (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Mikir)

       a. Nàng-ta   rechó   nè-ta   rechó
          2SG-also   king   1SG-also   king
          'I am a king, and you are a king' (Grüssner 1978: 135)

       b. Mò   nàng ka-che.wóy a-hút   nàng   dùn-pò
          later 2SG   ASP-return its-time/when 2SG   follow-FUT
          'When you return, (I) will go with you' (Grüssner 1978: 136)

       c. Phàk ke-wí   a-ún   là-bàng-so a-oso   ka-ngchìr-óng
          pig   ASP-tend while that   child   ASP-be.hungry-very
          'While he was tending pigs, this boy was very hungry'

                                                        (Grüssner 1978: 137)

(28)   BURMESE (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Burmese-Lolo)
       Cunto   pai-hsan   hyí
       1SG   money   exist
       'I have some money' (Okell 1969: 130)

(29)   BURMESE (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Burmese-Lolo)

       a. Tahcou-ka   hse,   tahcou-ka   o
          some-SUBJ   scold   some-SUBJ   shout
          'Some scolded, some shouted' (Okell 1969: 181)

       b. Nge Maung-le yau-yo   nga nwa-le   pyau√-yo
          Mr   M.-also   come-CONJ   my   bullock-also disappear-CONJ
          'Mr Maung came, and my bullock disappeared' (Stewart 1955: 91)

(30)   LAHU (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Burmese-Lolo)
       Yô-hi   câ-tù   cô
       3PL   food   exist
       'They have food' (Matisoff 1973: 385)

(31)   LAHU (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Burmese-Lolo)

       a. Cho-mo kaʔ   cò, ya-ne   kaʔ   cò
          adults also be   children also be
          'There are adults, (and) there are children' (Matisoff 1973: 404)

b. Nò   ô-ve   câ   qo,   nà   tù   yò
   2SG   that   eat   if/TOP   be.sick FUT   INDIC
   'If you eat that, you will be sick' (Matisoff 1973: 412)

c. Yô-hi   câ-tù   mâ   cò   le   meʔ-si   pè
   3PL   food   NEG   be   because/TOP   hungry-die   finish
   ò
   COMPLET
   'Because they had no food, they starved to death' (Matisoff 1973: 408)

(32) LISU (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Burmese-Lolo)
     Asa   amu   thi   ma   dyu-a
     A.   horse   one   one   exist-DECL
     'Asa has one horse' (Hope 1974: 112)

(33) LISU (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Burmese-Lolo)

a. Ale   nya   tshibe   thye-a,   Asa   nya   atha   de-a
   A.   TOP   banjo   play-DECL   A.   TOP   knife   forge-DECL
   'Ale is playing the banjo, (and) Asa is forging a knife' (Hope 1974: 61)

b. Asa   nya   dzagwu   wa   ye-a   nya,   yi   na
   A.   TOP   road   at   go-DECL   TOP   3SG   stop
   ge-u
   COMPLET-DECL
   'When Asa reached the road, he stopped' (Hope 1974: 110)

These Tibeto-Burman languages are all splitters. In the case of Eastern Kayah and Lisu we can observe a split between a full copula and locational/existential verbs, while the other four languages are instances of zero-split encoding.[4]

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[4] It should be noted that, on a par with Mandarin and Cantonese, several Tibeto-Burman languages have different verbal items for locative and existential sentences. The examples below illustrate locative sentences in Lahu and Lisu.

(i) LAHU (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Burmese-Lolo)
    Nɔ̀   ɔ̄   chê   šō
    up.there   at   be   still
    'He is still up there' (Matisoff 1973: 52)

(ii) LISU (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Burmese-Lolo)

a. Asa   nya   tha   tya a
   A.   TOP   here   be.AN DECL
   'Asa is here' (Hope 1974: 43)

b. Atha   nya   tha   dă a
   knife TOP   here   be.INAN DECL
   'The knife is here' (Hope 1973: 43)

(34) Kham (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Bodic)

    a. Saco   nĩ: nepali   ro
       true   2SG   NEPALI   Q
       'Are you really a Nepali?' (Watters 2002: 306)

    b. Ja:-lə   ri:h   li-zya
       jug-in   water   be-CONT
       'There is water in the jug' (Watters 2002: 218)

(35) Eastern Kayah (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Karen)

    a. Pe   ma   kəjɛ   li   phú   cé
       1PL   COP   Kayah   red   child   real
       'We are genuine Kayah' (Solnit 1997: 360)

    b. Dí   ʔo   pa   dɤ   dípɔ   ku
       rice   be   DUR   at   pot   inside
       'The rice is in the pot' (Solnit 1997: 330)

(36) Arleng Alam (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Mikir)

    a. Nàng-ta   rechó   nè-ta   rechó
       2SG-also   king   1SG-also   king
       'I am a king, and you are a king' (Grüssner 1978: 135)

    b. Labàngso   ahut   asopo   aklèng-abàng-ke   rit-sɪ   do-lo
       that   time   son   elder-person-TOP   field-in   be-PERF
       'At that time, the elder brother was in the field' (Grierson 1903: 393)

(37) Burmese (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Burmese-Lolo)

    a. Thu   siʔtà
       he   soldier
       'He is a soldier' (Okell 1969: 179)

    b. Tã-htaʔ-hma   hcauʔ-hkañ-si   hyí
       one-floor-at   six-room-each   be
       'There are six rooms on each floor' (Okell 1969: 147)

(38) Lahu (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Burmese-Lolo)

    a. Yɔ'   lâhu-yâ   yo'
       he   Lahu   DECL
       'He is a Lahu' (Matisoff 1973: 367)

    b. Chi   ve   ta-qo   sú   mâ   cɔ   ò
       this   SUBORD   box   tobacco   NEG   be.there   anymore
       'There is no more tobacco in this box' (Matisoff 1973: 190)

(39) Lɪsᴜ (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Burmese-Lolo)

    a. Asa   nya   tshu-vwù   zywè-a
       A.   ᴛᴏᴘ man-big   ᴄᴏᴘ-ᴅᴇᴄʟ
       'Asa is an adult' (Hope 1974: 38)

    b. Anga   nya   dyu-a
       buffalo ᴛᴏᴘ be.there-ᴅᴇᴄʟ
       'There was a buffalo' (Hope 1974: 31)

Some special attention must be paid to Qiang, a language of south-west China. One of the options for predicative possession encoding in this language represents a clear case of Have-Drift (see Section 6.3). As the examples in (40) illustrate, the verbs in this construction are taken from a set of existential/locational items, which differ on such semantic parameters as 'animacy', 'mobility', and 'connectedness to a major entity'.[5] In the possessive construction at issue these verbs obligatorily take a causative suffix, which makes them syntactically transitive; however, the choice of a particular existential verb is still made on the basis of the semantic characteristics of the possessee. We can conclude, then, that this possessive construction in Qiang represents a 'hybrid' or 'transitional' case between the Topic Possessive, on the one hand, and the Have-Possessive, on the other. Alternatively, one might say that this construction presents a Topic Possessive for which the process of transitivization has not yet been fully completed (see Section 6.3).[6]

(40) Qɪᴀɴɢ (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Qiangic)

    a. Khumtsi dzəgu̱   kən a-ha   ʂə-ʒ
       K.   money very one-ᴘʟ exist.ɪɴᴀɴ-ᴄᴀᴜs
       'Khumtsi has a lot of money' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 98)

    b. Khumtsi tutʂ-ɣʒə-zi   ʒi-ʒ
       K.   younger.brother-four-ᴄʟᴀss exist.ᴀɴ-ᴄᴀᴜs
       'Khumtsi has four younger brothers' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 98)

    c. The: səf-a-ha   we-ʒ
       3sɢ   tree-one-ᴘʟ exist-ᴄᴀᴜs
       'He has some trees' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 98)

Temporal sequence encoding in Qiang admits absolute deranking, which matches with the Locational Possessive that can be found in the language

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   ⁵ For a survey of these items see LaPolla and Huang (2003: 134).

   ⁶ This 'hybrid' possessive construction primarily indicates alienable possession. It is used 'if the situation involves ownership of an object which is not part of the person (i.e. is not physically inalienable, including other people, such as in kinship relations)' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 97).

(see Section 9.8). The hybrid Topic/Have-Possessive is matched by balancing encoding options in the form of (usually paratactic) clause chains. On the split/share parameter, Qiang appears to fit the profile of the Topic Possessive best, as the language has zero-split encoding.

(41) QIANG (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Qiangic)

   a. Peimtʂi   ʐdʐyta: ʌa-qə   Khertʂi lə   ʌa-qa
       P.   Chengdu.LOC   DIR-go   K.   also   DIR-go
       'Peimtsi went to Chengdu and Khertsi did also'
                                                 (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 238)

   b. The: stuaha   tchə-ɳiçtçi   tianʂə   tse
       3SG   rice   eat-together   television   watch
       'S/he watches television while eating' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 172)

(42) QIANG (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Qiangic)

   a. The: sum-ke-ze   ŋuə
       3SG   teacher-INDEF-CLASS   COP
       'He is a teacher' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 61)

   b. Pi-le: tʂuatsə-le:-ta   ʂə
       pen-DEF.CLASS   table-DEF.CLASS-LOC   exist.INAN
       'The pen is on the table' (LaPolla and Huang 2003: 107)

Besides Sino-Tibetan, the east/south-east Asian mega-area is covered by the various branches of the Austro-Asiatic phylum and a number of smaller language families. Almost all of the sampled languages at issue are straight representatives of the standard Topic Possessive.[7] Examples include:

(43) WHITE HMONG (Hmongic, Hmong-Mien)
      Law   muaj   nyiaj
      3PL   exist   silver
      'They have silver' (Jaisser 1995: 113)

(44) THAI (Tai-Kadai, Kam-Tai)
      Phom   mii   rod
      1SG   exist   car
      'I have a car' (Noss 1964: 173)

(45) KHASI (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer)
      Nga   don   ka   jaacsaaw
      1SG   exist ART   red.cloth
      'I have a red cloth' (Rabel 1961: 139)

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[7] An exception is the Austro Asiatic language Car, which is spoken on the Northern Nicobar islands. For a discussion of this language see below.

(46) SEDANG (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer)
Gá   ôh   ta   ái   lian
3SG NEG NEG exist money
'He has no money' (Smith 1975: 225)

(47) CAMBODIAN (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer)
Pu   mien   lan
Uncle   exist   car
'Uncle has a car' (Jacob 1968: 46)

(48) VIETNAMESE (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer)
Ong   có   dΦng-hΦ
3SG   exist watch
'He has a watch' (Jones and Thong 1960: 116)

In terms of their options in temporal sequencing, these south-east Asian languages closely parallel the Sinitic languages and the Tibeto-Burman languages discussed above. Again, we find that absolute deranking is hardly an option here, and once more we can observe a spectrum of balancing strategies, varying from paratactic clause linkage to overtly marked sentential coordinations or subordinate clauses. In some cases, a subordinate clause must be analysed as a relative clause to some temporal head-noun like 'time', so that, for example, a 'when'-clause is really a clause of the form '(at) the time that'. Needless to say, whatever selection from these strategies a language may make will not alter the fact that such a language must be rated as balancing.

(49) WHITE HMONG (Hmongic, Hmong-Mien)

a. Yus   tsis   paub   yus   tsis   txhob   hais
   one   NEG   know   one   NEG   NEG.IMP   say
   '(When) one doesn't know, one shouldn't say anything'

   (Jaisser 1995: 119)

b. Thaum   kuv   tus   phooj ywg tuaj,   kuv   tab   tom
   when   1SG   CLASS friend   come   1SG   PROG   eat
   noj mov
   rice
   'When my friend arrived, I was eating' (Jaisser 1995: 155)

(50) THAI (Tai-Kadai, Kam-Tai)

a. Chaât   yuù   thii   roongrian,   (lé)   Nuan   len
   C.   be   at   school,   (and)   N.   play

```
        kap   phian
        with  friend
        'Chaât was at school, and Nuan was playing with friends'
                                         (Sereechareonsatit 1984: 183)
```

b. Khana tii Chaât yuù thii roongrian, Nuan len
   time   at   C.   be   at   school   N.   play
   kap   phian
   with friend
   'While Chaât was at school, Nuan was playing with friends'
                                      (Sereechareonsatit 1984: 166)

c. Weelaa khaw pen nagrian, khaw kheej paj boj-boj
   while   he   COP student   he   HAB   go   often
   'While he was a student, he used to go often' (Noss 1964: 173)

(51) KHASI (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer)

a. U   ksew u   wïar, (bad) ka   miaw ka   pah
   ART   dog   he bark   (and) ART cat   she mew
   'The dog barks, and the cat mews' (Roberts 1891: 129)

b. Mynba u   iap, u   la   leit thaw   ing
   when   he die   he PAST go   build house
   'When he died, he had been building a house' (Roberts 1891: 101)

(52) SEDANG (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer)

a. Mau 'na   ka   poh,   mau 'na   ka   prong
   some PRT eat roasted some PRT eat steamed
   'Some ate roasted (food), others ate steamed (food)'
                                               (Smith 1975: 261)

b. Kong   hiang   xei   Xôu lam ra   krei
   afternoon   COMPLET come   X.   go   trap squirrel
   'The afternoon having come, Xôu went to trap squirrels'
                                               (Smith 1975: 203)

(53) CAMBODIAN (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer)

a. Kñom tin qwey-lah   haey,   kit   tow ñam baay
   I   buy some-PL   already   plan go   eat rice
   'After I buy some things, I plan to go eat' (Huffman 1967: 154)

b. Kal   kñom teeu dol   konlaeng nuh, kñom
   when   I   go   reach place   the   I

> preteeh   kheeñ   pues   muey
> happen.to see   snake   some
> 'When I got to the place, I happened to see a snake' (Jacob 1968: 96)

(54) VIETNAMESE (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Kmer)

    a. Me   goi   con,   vo   goi   chong
        mother call child wife   call   husband
        'Mothers call their children, wives call their husbands'

                                              (Van Chinh 1970: 93)

    b. (Khi/luc) toi den,   thi   Giap di roi
        (when)   I   arrive PRT   G.   go PERF
        'When I arrived, Giap had already left' (Van Chinh 1970: 131)

In keeping with the general profile of South-East Asian languages, these six languages are splitters. What is more, they are all instances of the full-split pattern; zero-encoding of copular sentences does not seem to be a favoured option here.[8] A further conspicuous characteristic of nonverbal predication in these languages is that, in many cases, locational and existential sentences are encoded by different verbs.

(55) WHITE HMONG (Hmongic, Hmong-Mien)

    a. Nws yog ib   tug   xib fwb
        3SG COP one CLASS teacher
        'S/he is a teacher' (Jaisser 1995: 136)

    b. Kab Npauj lub   tsev   nyob ze   lub   pas dej
        K.   N.   CLASS house be   near CLASS lake
        'Kab Npauj's house is near the lake' (Jaisser 1995: 137)

    c. Muaj   tsawg lub   tsev   yug   npua
        exist few   CLASS house raise pig
        'There are few families who raise pigs' (Jaisser 1995: 114)

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[8] This is not meant to imply that zero copulas are completely inadmissible in these languages. My data base contains examples of zero copulas for Vietnamese and Sedang:

 (i) VIETNAMESE (Austro Asiatic, Mon Khmer)
    Ông   ây   thây   thuoc
    person that teacher medicine
    'That man is a doctor' (Thompson 1965: 208)

(ii) SEDANG (Austro Asiatic, Mon Khmer)
    Gá   truam tronei
    it   hole   earth
    'It was a hole in the ground' (Smith 1975: 192)

(56) THAI (Tai-Kadai, Kam-Tai)

    a. Khaw   pen   nag-rian:
        1SG   COP   student
        'I am a student' (Noss 1964: 170)

    b. Khoong   phom   juù   naj   tuu
        thing   my   be   in   chest
        'My things are in the chest' (Noss 1964: 46)

    c. Baan   koong čan mii   saam hoong
        house   of   1SG   exist three room
        'There are three rooms in my house' (Warotamasikkhadit 1972: 59)

(57) KHASI (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer)

    a. ʔuu   long   ʔuu   briw   ʔuu   ba   stat
        he   COP   ART   man   ART   PRT   wise
        'He is a wise man' (Rabel 1961: 135)

    b. U   briw   u   don   ha   ing
        ART   man   3SG.M be   in   house
        'The man is in the house' (Roberts 1891: 105)

    c. Don   soh   shibun ha   kyper
        be   fruit   much   in   garden
        'There are many fruits in the garden' (Roberts 1891: 133)

(58) SEDANG (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer)

    a. Gá   oh   ta   xe   monge
        he   NEG NEG COP person
        'He is not a person' (Smith 1975: 193)

    b. Rotam   me   ôi   nai
        fellow   that be   down.below
        'That fellow was down below' (Smith 1975: 195)

    c. Tung hnei ái   konai
        in   house be.there rats
        'There are rats in the house' (Smith 1975: 228)

(59) CAMBODIAN (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer)

    a. Kñom ceə   kruu
        I   COP   teacher
        'I am a teacher' (Huffman 1967: 229)

b. Khngom   neeuh   pteeh
   I   be.at   house
   'I am at home' (Jacob 1968: 16)

c. Mien   menus   knong   phumi   yong   dael   khngom
   exist   people   in   village   our   RM   I
   mön   skoel
   NEG   know
   'There are people in our village that I don't know' (Jacob 1968: 165)

(60)   VIETNAMESE (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer)

a. ông   ây   là   lính
   gentleman   that   COP   soldier
   'He is a soldier' (Thompson 1965: 315)

b. Cai   but   ổ   trên   bàn
   CLASS   pen   be   top   table
   'The pen is on the table' (Thompson 1965: 317)

c. Có   ít   nguoi   mỹ   mà   nói   tiêng
   be.there   few   person   American   RM   speak   language
   Viêt   duoc
   Vietnamese   be.able
   'There are few Americans who can speak Vietnamese'
                                         (Jones and Thong 1960: 115)

A special case in Austro-Asiatic is presented by Car, a Mon-Khmer language that is geographically isolated from the other members of its subfamily. We have seen in Section 10.9 that this language has a flexional With-Possessive as its major option. In addition, I have found a few examples of a possessive construction that is best analysed as an instance of the 'ambiguous' subtype of the Topic Possessive. That is, in this construction the possessor and the possessee are placed in juxtaposition, without any further lexical or morphological material being present. Since Car has a zero-copula for predicate nominal sentences, a sentence like (61b) might thus theoretically be interpreted as meaning 'I am two eggs', in addition to its possessive interpretation. This potential ambiguity of the Topic Possessive in Car stems from the fact that the language does not exhibit a split between the encoding of predicate nominal sentences and predicate locational sentences; instead, the language has zero-share encoding.

(61)   CAR (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer, Nicobarese)

a. Nɛtə   lípəřɛ   cin
   two   books   1SG.SUBJ.PRES
   'I have two books' (Braine 1970: 126)

b. Nɛtə   mikɨcə   ʔuhə   cin
two   CLASS   egg   I
'I have two eggs' (Braine 1970: 126)

(62)   CAR (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer, Nicobarese)

a. Káp   ʔan   ŋámɔh
tortoise   it   that
'That is a tortoise' (Braine 1970: 132)

b. řáŋhə   patíʔ   cu   ən   ŋam   có·n
near   house   my   it   the   tree
'The tree is near my house' (Braine 1970: 181)

On the balancing/deranking parameter, the language is deviant from its family members as well. In contrast to other Mon-Khmer languages, Car allows absolute deranking of temporal clauses, and this, as we have seen, matches with the With-Possessive that the language may select (see Section 10.9) As an alternative, Car can encode temporal sequences by balancing strategies, in the form of paratactic clause chains, or subordinate finite clauses with clause-initial conjunctions.

(63)   CAR (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer, Nicobarese)

a. Lípŋə-vah   ɔ   cin,   nə   hiyó·y
force-insistently   him   I,   he   drink
'I forced him to drink' (Braine 1970: 203)

b. Patɛñ   cin,   tə   tɨʔ   cɔ·n,   nə   fóhə   cu
hurt   I   by   hand   John   he   whip   me
'I am smarting due to John's whipping me' (Braine 1970: 241)

c. ʔuchaka   cin,   hé   meh   min   liptekuʔ   ʔinkup
sit.CONT   I   when   you   FUT   close   door
'I will be sitting when you close the door' (Braine 1970: 224)

11.3 Austronesian

Contiguous to the east and south-east Asian area, we find a second mega-area where the Topic Possessive reigns supreme. The Austronesian languages, which cover all the islands of the Indian and Pacific Ocean with the exception of Sri Lanka, New Guinea, and Australia, are a veritable treasure-chest for this possession type. The continuity of the Topic Possessive in these languages is only disturbed at the very west and the very east of the phylum (by the Have-Possessive in some West-Indonesian languages, and the Locational Possessive

of Polynesia) and by some incidental, rather small, concentrations of Have-Possessives and With-Possessives, which occur especially in Melanesia.

Before we embark on a detailed presentation of the facts in the various branches of Austronesian, a few general remarks may be helpful. First, Austronesian is a language family in which the Topic Possessive can be encountered in all its different manifestations. While the majority of the languages at issue encode their Topic Possessives in the standard form, we will also come across special subtypes of the construction, such as the possessor-indexed Topic Possessive, the potentially ambiguous zero-subtype, and the 'conjunctional' subtype. As I have stated in Section 11.1, these various subtypes lead to different predictions on the split/share parameter. Thus, while it is my ambition in this chapter to demonstrate that Topic Possessives in the standard form are matched by a split encoding in the relevant languages, for languages with Topic Possessives of a different subtype a demonstration of their sharing status will provide the predicted match.

The Austronesian languages to be discussed in this section are all predominantly, if not exclusively, balancing in their encoding of temporal sequences. The balanced encoding strategies that are employed differ to some degree from language to language, or from subgroup to subgroup. All languages have the ability to form sentential coordinations, and for some languages this is even the overriding strategy in temporal sequence encoding. Languages may differ, however, as to whether these sentential coordinations are mainly paratactic, or whether overt coordination markers – in the form of sentential adverbs or coordinate conjunctions – are preferred, or even required. The same can be said for another major balanced strategy employed in these languages, namely the use of finite subordinate clauses. Languages may differ as to whether or not they employ overt subordinate conjunctions to mark these clauses, and in the degree to which such conjunctions, if allowed at all, are used obligatorily. In what follows, I will not always comment in detail on the exact choices that a language has made in these respects. After all, what counts here is that, despite these differences, all constructions at issue can be said to be instances of balanced sequence-encoding.

This said, I will now take a look at all the subfamilies of Austronesian in turn, starting at the very west of the phylum. The three sampled West-Indonesian languages which feature a Topic Possessive all select the standard form for this construction. Moreover, Toba Batak allows at least optional indexing of the possessor on the possessee (see sentence (65b)).[9]

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[9] Bahasa Indonesia also has a Have Possessive, which exhibits subtle meaning differences from the Topic Possessive in the language; see Section 12.4.

(64) Acehnese (Austronesian, West Indonesian)
      Lôn mantöng na   aya
      I   still   be   father
      'I still have a father' (Durie 1985: 53)

(65) Toba Batak (Austronesian, West Indonesian)

      a. Ia   bòru-na   í   adÒN dO   sada mutìha
          TOP daughter-her DEM   exist AFFIRM one   pearl
          'Her daughter had one/a pearl' (Percival 1981: 94)

      b. Ia   begu   Ón   tòlu   ború-na
          TOP spirit exist three daughter-his
          'The spirit had three daughters' (Percival 1981: 101)

(66) Bahasa Indonesia (Austronesian, West Indonesian)
      Saya tidak ada   uang
      1SG   not   exist money
      'I don't have any money' (Steinhauer 2001: 252)

Deranking of temporal sequences under absolute conditions is perhaps not completely impossible in West Indonesian,[10] but it is definitely a very minor option. All three languages exhibit a zero-split encoding as their most common option in nonverbal predication.[11]

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[10] In Bahasa Indonesia, I have observed a so called participle construction, which is characterized by the prefix *se* on a predicate. It turns out that such forms can be used under absolute conditions in deranked temporal clauses. An example is:

(i) Bahasa Indonesia (Austronesian, West Indonesian)
     Se tidur   anak itu, ibu nya pun   bertanak
     PCP sleep child the   mother his EMP cook.rice
     'While the child slept, the mother cooked rice' (Kähler 1965: 176)

[11] Acehnese and Bahasa Indonesia also allow zero encoding for locational sentences.

(i) Acehnese (Austronesian, West Indonesian)
     Di rumoh Mak,   Ayah   bak beng
     at house   Mother Father at coffee.shop
     'Mother is at home, Father is in the coffee shop' (Durie 1985: 169)

(ii) Bahasa Indonesia (Austronesian, West Indonesian)
     Si   Urip di belakang rumah
     ART u.   at back   house
     'Urip is behind the house' (Kwee 1965: 121)

However, this zero encoding is not available for existential sentences.

(67) ACEHNESE (Austronesian, West Indonesian)

　　a. Rumoh-nyan　reulöh-binteh,　lom-pih　　beukah　jeundila
　　　 house-that　　broken-wall　　moreover　broken　window
　　　 'The walls of that house are broken, and its windows are broken too'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Durie 1985: 260)

　　b. Meu　ji-jak　　lôn-seutot
　　　 if　　3SG-go　　1SG-follow
　　　 'If he goes, I will follow' (Durie 1985: 259)

(68) ACEHNESE (Austronesian, West Indonesian)

　　a. Gopnyan　　guru
　　　 he　　　　　teacher
　　　 'He is/was a teacher' (Durie 1985: 107)

　　b. Diee　sameun　　dalah-sa-boh-uteuen　　na
　　　 once　formerly　in-one-CLASS-forest　　be
　　　 sa-boh-peulandok-agam
　　　 one-CLASS-mouse.deer-male
　　　 'Once upon a time, in a forest, there was a male mouse deer'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Durie 1985: 192)

(69) TOBA BATAK (Austronesian, West Indonesian)

　　a. Di-búkka　　ma　　pìttu　í,　　jàla　harúar　　dO　ibána
　　　 PASS-open　NARR　door　DEM　and　come.out　AFF　he
　　　 'The door opened, and he came out' (Nababan 1982: 86)

　　b. LáO　dO　　áu,　mòlO　rÓ　　ibána
　　　 go　　AFFIRM　I　　when　come　he
　　　 'I will go, when he has come' (Nababan 1982: 82)

(70) TOBA BATAK (Austronesian, West Indonesian)

　　a. ParÉddE　(dO)　　　áu
　　　 singer　　(AFFIRM)　I
　　　 'I am a singer' (Nababan 1982: 114)

　　b. AdÓŋ　háu　humalìaŋ　jàbu　　í
　　　 exist　tree　around　　house　DEM
　　　 'There are trees around the house' (Nababan 1982: 81)

(71) BAHASA INDONESIA (Austronesian, West Indonesian)

　　a. Mini　menyanyi　dan　Irma　bermain　piano
　　　 M.　　sing　　　and　I.　　play　　　piano
　　　 'Mini sings and Irma plays the piano' (Kwee 1965: 174)

b. Sedang saja berlajar ke-Eropah bapa   saja mati
   while   I   travel   to-Europe father my   die
   'While I travelled to Europe, my father died' (Kähler 1965: 175)

(72) BAHASA INDONESIA (Austronesian, West Indonesian)

a. Si   Aman pelajan
   ART   A.   servant
   'Aman is a servant' (Kähler 1965: 45)

b. Ada hantu di   sawah itu
   be   spirit at   field the
   'There are spirits in that field' (Kwee 1965: 134)

The northern wing of the Austronesian phylum consists of the Formosan and Philippine subfamilies. All five Philippine languages in the sample have a Topic Possessive of the standard type. The Formosan language Paiwan does not have an existential *be*-verb, but instead uses the prepositional phrase *i-zua* 'in-that > there' as the predicate of the existential (and the possessive) construction.[12]

(73) PAIWAN (Austronesian, Formosan)
      I-zu'   a   paisu   ni   kama
      in-that   TOP   money   NONTOP   father
      'Father has money' (Egli 1990: 61)

(74) TAGALOG (Austronesian, Philippine)
      May   relos   ang   nanay
      exist watch   TOP   mother
      'Mother has a watch' (Schachter and Otanes 1983: 135)

---

[12] In some Austronesian languages we find that, as an alternative to the standard Topic Possessive, the topic/non topic distribution can be reversed, in that the possessor takes non topic marking. See example (73); other examples are:

(i) TOBA BATAK (Austronesian, West Indonesian)
     Adòn   do   tolu   boru   ni   begu
     exist PRT   three daughter NONTOP   spirit
     'The spirit had three daughters' (Percival 1981: 101)

(ii) MANOBO (Austronesian, Philippine)
      Du'en   baley   nu
      be.there   house   NONTOP.1SG
      'I have a house' (Elkins 1970: 26)

For some comment on these cases see Section 13.5.

(75) Ilocano (Austronesian, Philippine)
      Adda balay ni   Paquing
      exist house ART   P.
      'Paquing has a house' (Rubino 1997: 385)

(76) Cebuano (Austronesian, Philippine)
      Duna-y   nindut nga   balay Si   Pírla
      exist-PRT nice   LK   house TOP   P.
      'Perla has a nice house' (Wolff 1966: 93)

(77) Chamorro (Austronesian, Philippine)
      Guaha   salape'-hu
      exist   money-my
      'I have money' (Topping 1973: 90)

(78) Tondano (Austronesian, Philippine)
      Si   tuama si   wewean wale   rua
      AN.SG   man   TOP   exist   house   two
      'The man has two houses' (Sneddon 1975: 175)

Several Philippine languages show some possibilities of absolute deranking,[13] but in all six languages the clearly major strategy in temporal sequence encoding is to use various balanced constructions. Common constructions are sentential coordinations (usually connected by an overt connective), and finite subordinate clauses with clause-initial conjunctions. In the Philippine languages, the most common option in nonverbal predication encoding is zero-split.[14] As noted above, Paiwan does not have an existential verb, but

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[13] Cebuano and Tagalog have a so called 'gerund' or 'abstract form', a nominalized verbal form characterized by specific prefixes. In combination with prepositions, or used in a topicalized clause, these forms can be used to encode deranked temporal clauses. Absolute use of the forms is possible.

(i) Cebuano (Austronesian, Philippine)
     (Sa)   pag kabut nilou   sa   Urmuk,
     (to)   VN arrive 3PL.GEN to   U.
     waq   na   dihaq   si   papa   nila
     NEG   anymore   be.present TOP father their
     'When they arrived at Urmuk, their father was no longer there' (Wolff 1967: 438)

(ii) Tagalog (Austronesian, Philippine)
     Pa ngingisda   ni   Juan sumasama   ang   kapatid   niya
     VN go.fishing   GEN   J.   go.along   TOP   brother   his
     'When Juan goes fishing, his brother goes along' (Schachter and Otanes 1983: 446)

[14] It can be argued that predicate nominals in these languages receive in fact a verbal encoding, since their formal behaviour does not differ from that of predicative verbs on a number of criteria. See, among others, Stassen (1997) for further discussion.

copular and existential sentences differ nonetheless in that existential sentences require the prepositional phrase *i-zua* 'in-that' in predicate position.

(79) PAIWAN (Austronesian, Formosan)

    a. Pa-kan-en   sa   ka-vetu
       CAUS-eat-PAT and PASS-satisfy
       'He gave them food, and they were satisfied' (Egli 1990: 226)

    b. Ka   patsun-an ni   maju ti   Yesus
       when   see-VOICE NONTOP/DAT 3SG   TOP Y.
       'When he saw Jesus' (Egli 1990: 247)

(80) PAIWAN (Austronesian, Formosan)

    a. (A)   qala   a   sivitai
       (TOP) stranger TOP soldier
       'The soldier is a stranger' (Egli 1990: 170)

    b. I   umaq ti   kama
       in   house TOP father
       'Father is in the house' (Egli 1990: 170)

    c. I-zua   ø   i   tj'umaq
       in-that 3SG.TOP in house
       'He is in the house/at home' (Egli 1990: 62)

(81) TAGALOG (Austronesian, Philippine)

    a. Huhugasan ko   ang   mga pingoan,   at   pupusunan mo
       wash   1SG   TOP pl   dish   and   dry   2SG
       'I'll wash the dishes, and you'll dry them'

                                             (Schachter and Otanes 1983: 541)

    b. Nang   nagtatrabaho siya   sa   pabrika, malaki ang
       when   work   3SG.TOP at   factory big   TOP

Zero encoding of locational sentences, but not of existential sentences, appears to be possible in some of these languages. Examples are:

(i) TAGALOG (Austronesian, Philippine)
    Nasa   kusina   ang   mesa
    in   kitchen TOP   table
    'The table is in the kitchen' (Schachter and Otanes 1983: 65)

(ii) TONDANO (Austronesian, Philippine)
    Se   oki? se   witu   mbale
    TOP.PL child TOP.PL in   house
    'The children are in the house' (Sneddon 1975: 85)

suweldo   niya
pay   his
'When he worked in the factory, his pay was large'

(Schachter and Otanes 1983: 476)

(82) TAGALOG (Austronesian, Philippine)

a. Artista   ang   babae
   actress   TOP   woman
   'The woman is an actress' (Schachter and Otanes 1983: 61)

b. May   libro   sa   mesa
   be.at book   LOC   table
   'There is a book on the table' (Schachter and Otanes 1983: 81)

(83) ILOCANO (Austronesian, Philippine)

a. Naglualokami   ken   nagkantakami   idiay   simbaan
   we.prayed   and   we.sang   there   church
   'We prayed and sang in church' (Rubino 1997: 493)

b. Awagankanto   ngarud   inton   adiseg   ti   padaya-mi
   I.will.call.you then   when   near   ART   party-our
   'I will call you then when our party draws near' (Rubino 1997: 472)

(84) ILOCANO (Austronesian, Philippine)

a. Siruhano   ni   Jose
   surgeon   ART   J.
   'Jose is a surgeon' (Rubino 1997: 417)

b. Adda   ni   Maria   idiay   simbaan
   exist   ART   M.   there   church
   'Maria is in church' (Rubino 1997: 388)

(85) CEBUANO (Austronesian, Philippine)

a. Ningguway   dayun   ku   dimaq-dimaq   ug
   go.out   immediately   TOP.1SG there.and.then and
   nagpaqulan   ku   nga   way
   go.to   TOP.1SG to   rain
   'I walked out there and then and went out in the rain'

(Wolff 1967: 261)

b. Sa   nagatubuq   si   Huan   napilay   ang   ginikanan
   when   grow.up   TOP   H.   be.happy   TOP   parents
   'As John grew up, his parents were happy' (Wolff 1967: 153)

(86) CEBUANO (Austronesian, Phillippine)

a. Amigu si   Huan
   friend TOP H.
   'John is a friend' (Wolff 1966: 175)

b. Dinha-y   bir
   there.PAST-PRT   beer
   'There was beer there (where you are)' (Wolff 1966: 179)

c. May   draybir
   exist driver
   'There is a driver (available)' (Wolff 1966: 180)

(87) CHAMORRO (Austronesian, Philippine)

a. I   mamale' ma-na-fan-eskuela   i   chamorro
   ART   priests 3PL.ERG-CAUS-PL-school ART   Chamorro
   para ufan-katoliku;   ya   bula   man-ma-takpangi   gi
   for   3PL.IRR-Catholic   and   many   PL-PASS-baptize   LOC
   relihon i   katoliku
   religion ART   catholic
   'The priests made the Chamorros go to school to get religious
   instruction, and many were baptized in the Catholic faith'
   (Cooreman 1987: 215–6)

b. Chumocho yo'   anai hu-manao yo'   para i   gima'-hu
   eat   1SG   when 1SG-go   1SG   to   ART   house-my
   'I ate when I went to my house' (Topping 1973: 147)

(88) CHAMORRO (Austronesian, Philippine)

a. Mediko yo'
   doctor 1SG
   'I am a doctor' (Ann Cooreman p.c.)

b. Guaha un   patgon giya Guam
   exist INDEF child   at   G.
   'There is a child in Guam' (Topping 1973: 80)

(89) TONDANO (Austronesian, Philippine)

a. Wewean   toko wangko wo   wewean   toko oki?
   be.there shop big   and be.there shop small
   'There are big shops and there are small shops' (Sneddon 1975: 184)

b. Sapa naisiwo-na nu   sia minareŋ waki wale
   what do-he   when he   return   to   house
   'What did he do when he returned home?' (Sneddon 1975: 186)

(90)   TONDANO (Austronesian, Philippine)

    a. N-Toudano   m-banua   wangkoʔ
       INAN-T.   INAN-village   big
       'Tondano is a big town' (Sneddon 1975: 85)

    b. Wewean   pasar   witu   m-banua
       be.at   market   LOC   INAN-village
       'There is a market in the village' (Sneddon 1975: 174)

While West Indonesian and Philippine languages are uniform in their choice of a standard Topic Possessive, East Indonesian languages are more diversified. Of the sampled languages from this Austronesian subfamily, Sikka (a language of Flores) and Fehan Tetun (a language of Timor) have a standard Topic Possessive; in the latter case, reanalysis of the construction into a Have-Possessive can be observed (see Section 6.3).

(91)   SIKKA (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

    a. Dzarang   di   norang   maeng
       horse   also   be   soul
       'Horses also have souls' (Arndt 1931: 48)

    b. Cuhér   manar   céong
       grass   spirit   not.be
       'Grass does not have a spirit' (Arndt 1931: 49)

(92)   FEHAN TETUN (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

    a. Ami,   osan   n-ó,   mortén   n-ó
       1PL.EXCL   money   3-exist   beads   3-exist
       'We have money, we have beads' (Van Klinken 1999: 189)

    b. Kalo   belu   ó   osan   la   m-ó
       if   friend   2SG   money   not   2SG-exist/have
       'If, friend, you have no money' (Van Klinken 1999: 188)

Banggai and Toradja, two languages from Celebes, have a full-encoded Topic Possessive with possessor indexing.

(93)   BANGGAI (Austronesian, East Indonesian).
     Malane   doo   daano   kona   malapating   lua
     man   this   exist   his   doves   two
     'The man had two doves' (Van Den Bergh 1953: 101)

(94)   TORADJA (Austronesian, East Indonesian)
     Tau   se'e   re'e   baula-nja
     people   these   be   buffalo-their
     'These people have buffaloes' (Adriani 1931: 344)

Indexing of the possessor is also present in the possession construction of Buli, a Moluccan language of Halmahera, but in this case the construction has a zero-verb.

(95) BULI (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

    a. Maping isa ni kasturi isa
       woman one her parrot one
       'A woman had a parrot' (Maan 1951: 147)

    b. Kore ni ebai
       K. his house
       'Kore has a house' (Maan 1951: 38)

Despite the variation encountered in the manifestations of the East Indonesian Topic Possessive, all these languages can be shown to answer the predictions for their type in an unproblematic fashion. All the languages at issue are staunchly balancing; deranking of predicates hardly, if ever, occurs.[15] In the encoding of temporal sequences, a certain predilection for paratactic clause-chaining can be observed: 'Tetun has a few temporal conjunctions to make time relationships between clauses explicit, and even these are seldom used' (Van Klinken 1999: 311). However, other forms of balanced temporal sequencing are common as well.

(96) SIKKA (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

    a. Dzarang tica gahar, dzarang teï kesik
       horse that big horse this small
       'That horse is bigger than this horse' (Arndt 1931: 13)

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[15] Banggai has a deranked temporal clause type that features oblique or topicalized verbal nouns and admits absolute use.

(i) BANGGAI (Austronesian, West Indonesian)

    a. Iaku ku inum an o ko tobui doo
       1SG.EMP 1SG drink VN 1SG.POSS ART sea DEM
       iana ooti memeeng
       3SG.EMP dry immediately
       'When I drank the sea, it went dry immediately' (Van Den Bergh 1953: 95)

    b. Doi nggu montotooli an labue
       at my guard VN rice.field
       badaang nanggu linongol palangujung doi tolias
       much I hear REPET.hum.VN at edge
       'As I was guarding the rice field, I heard a constant soft humming at the edge (of the field)'
                         (Van Den Bergh 1953: 135)

As was noted in Section 9.11, this deranked construction provides a match for the Locational Possessive that Banggai has.

b. Nora nimu kesik laëng, nimu epang golo
when he small still he then good
'When he was still small, he was good' (Arndt 1931: 46)

(97) Fehan Tetun (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

a. Tama alas laran á ma manu kokorék
enter forest interior DEF and.then bird crow
'They entered the forest, and then a cock crowed'

(Van Klinken 1999: 247)

b. Nia monu kidan n-ak-tesi
3SG fall backside.bones 3SG-INTR-break
'(When) he fell, the bones in his backside broke'

(Van Klinken 1999: 269)

(98) Banggai (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

a. Lapa Husim mangala-mo lampu, Kusih mangala-mo
then H. go.fetch-PRET lamp K. go.fetch-PRET
piso
knife
'Then Husim went to fetch a lamp, (and) Kusih went to fetch a knife'

(Van Den Bergh 1953: 33)

b. Ngu-doombalaa, masau ngu-tinabas
1SG-go.there perhaps 1SG-PASS.kill
'(When/if) I go there, I may get killed' (Van Den Bergh 1953: 42)

c. Simbala i Banda na-polong doi loka doo
when ART Monkey 3SG-arrive to banana.palm DEM
tubo-no maka i Bande na-kaan-e ko lola
top-its then ART Monkey 3SG-eat-it ART banana.palm
doo sao-no
DEM fruit-its
'When Monkey had reached the top of the banana tree, he ate the
bananas' (Van Den Bergh 1953: 41)

(99) Toradja (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

a. Koe-to'omo owi pai bare'e noe-kalinga-ni
1SG-say before and NEG 2SG-forget-3SG.OBJ
'I have said it before, and you have not forgotten it'

(Adriani 1931: 398)

b. Bare'e koe-donge paoe-moe, (maka) wongo talinga-koe
   NEG   1SG-hear   word-your (because) be.deaf ear-my
   'I don't hear what you say, because I'm deaf' (Adriani 1931: 402)

(100) BULI (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

a. Kore ni   ebai, mamagal be   tuang   ni   ebai
   K.   his house big   only gentleman his house
   'Kore (has a) house, (but) only the gentleman's house is big'; 'The
   gentleman's house is bigger than Kore's house' (Maan 1951: 38)

b. Ja-boi-fan   ga   ulan n-mamagal
   1SG-FUT-go   and/because rain 3SG-get.hard
   'I will leave, because the rain is getting heavier' (Maan 1951: 106)

These languages are exclusively zero-split with respect to nonverbal predica-
tion, with the exception of Buli, which has zero-share encoding as its only
option. As will be clear, these configurations match the specific subtypes of
the Topic Possessive that are found in these languages.

(101) SIKKA (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

a. Cau cama   ha
   I   father one
   'I am a father' (Arndt 1931: 38)

b. Norang moäng ratu bia   ha
   be   lord   king some one
   'There was a certain king' (Arndt 1931: 16)

c. Wair   céong   baä
   water not.be COMPLET
   'There is no more water left' (Arndt 1931: 41)

(102) FEHAN TETUN (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

a. Ferik   oan   ne'e buan
   old.woman   small this witch
   'This old woman was a witch' (Van Klinken 1999: 116)

b. Uluk   kantung sei   la   n-ó
   former.times bag   still not 3-exist
   'In former times there weren't yet any bags' (Van Klinken 1999: 187)

(103) BANGGAI (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

a. Iaku mian   kabar
   1SG   person invulnerable
   'I am an invulnerable person' (Van Den Bergh 1953: 106)

b. Niimbaa daano komu boïne?
   here   be   your   daughter
   'Is your daughter here?' (Van Den Bergh 1953: 37)

c. Daano ko   mian   heeng doi bonua
   be   ART   person one   in   house
   'There is a person in the house' (Van Den Bergh 1953: 65)

(104)   TORADJA (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

a. Se'i   baoela   ndaroro
   DEM   buffalo roasted
   'This is roasted buffalo meat' (Adriani 1931: 414)

b. Ara ri wawo boejoe   ka-re'e   lipoe-moe
   Q   at top   mountain   PREF-be   village-your
   'Is your village on top of the mountain?' (Adriani 1931: 377)

(105)   BULI (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

a. It   farumi smat   Buli
   1PL   all   people Buli
   'We are all Buli people' (Maan 1951: 45)

b. I   pomul   kamal lolo
   3SG   in.there room   inside
   'He is/was inside the room' (Maan 1951: 92)

Variation in the manifestation of the Topic Possessive can also be established among the Oceanic languages in the sample. Manam has a standard Topic Possessive.[16] A full-encoded Topic Possessive with possessor indexing is encountered in the West Oceanic languages Mangap-Mbula, Manam, Kilivila, Tawala, and Hiri Motu, in the Central-East Oceanic languages Mokilese and Tinrin, and in Palauan. In Kilivila and Tawala, this option is in free variation with a possessor-indexed zero-Topic Possessive.

(106)   MANGAP-MBULA (Austronesian, West Oceanic)
        Nu   kom   kini   i-mbot
        2SG.NOM   your food   3SG-stay
        'Do you have any food?' (Bugenhagen 1995: 381)

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[16] In addition to its standard Topic Possessive, Manam also has a Topic Possessive in which the possessor is indexed in the locational verb *soaʔi* by means of a benefactive pronominal suffix. This 'hybrid' Locational Topic Possessive seems to indicate mainly temporary possession.

(i)   MANAM (Austronesian, West Oceanic)
      Tamoata   boro   di   soaʔi ø di
      man   pig   3PL   be.at BEN 3PL.OBJ
      'The men have pigs (at this time)' (Lichtenberk 1983: 507)

(107)   MANAM (Austronesian, West Oceanic)
Ngau   suru   alu   di-eno
1SG   soup   some   3PL-exist
'I have some soup' (Lichtenberk 1983: 508)

(108)   KILIVILA (Austronesian, West Oceanic)

a. E-sisu   Motaesa   ala   bulumakau
   3SG-be   M.   his   cow
   'Motaesa has a cow' (Gunter Senft p.c.)

b. Motaesa   ala bulumakau
   M.   his cow
   'Motaesa has a cow' (Gunter Senft p.c.)

(109)   TAWALA (Austronesian, West Oceanic)

a. Polo   hai   yam   e-ma-mae
   pig   their food   3SG.PRES-DUR-stay
   'The pigs have food' (Ezard 1997: 188)

b. Bada   natu-natu-na   mitehi   hai   numa
   man   PL-child-3SG   together   their   house
   'The man and his children have a house' (Ezard 1997: 189)

(110)   HIRI MOTU (Austronesian, West Oceanic)
Lau   agu   hama   ia   noho
1SG   my   hammer   3SG   be
'I have a hammer' (Wurm and Harris 1963: 26)

(111)   PALAUAN (Austronesian, Palauan)
A   Toki   a   mla   er   ngii   a   udude-l
ART   T.   PRED   be.PAST   in   it   ART   money-his
'Toki had money' (Josephs 1975: 368)

(112)   MOKILESE (Austronesian, Central-East Oceanic)

a. Mine   woaroa-n   woallo   war
   exist CLASS-his.CONSTR   man.that   canoe
   'That man has a canoe' (Harrison 1976: 211)

b. Woallo   mine   woaroa-h   war
   man.that   exist   CLASS-his   canoe
   'That man has a canoe' (Harrison 1976: 212)

(113)   TINRIN (Austronesian, Central-East Oceanic)
Sonya   nrâ   fwi   nrâ   rroto   nrâ   nrî
S.   it   exist   SUBJ   car   POSS   3SG
'Sonya has a car' (Osumi 1995: 243)

The West Oceanic language Saliba has an indexed zero-Topic Possessive as its only option. In the Central-East Oceanic language Kwaio this option competes with a Have-Possessive (see Section 12.4).

(114)   Saliba (Austronesian, West Oceanic)
Yau   nige   yogu   kedewa
1SG   NEG   my   dog
'I don't have a dog' (Mosel 1994: 23)

(115)   Kwaio (Austronesian, Central-East Oceanic)
Basiana   tée   fai   fe'e   seleni   ngai   ana
B.   only   four   CLASS   shilling   it   his
'Basiana has only four shillings' (Keesing 1985)

Finally, we find a concentration of potentially ambiguous zero-Topic Possessives among the Oceanic languages of New Britain and the Admiralty Islands (see Section 3.3).

(116)   Loniu (Austronesian, West Oceanic)
U   tun   pwe
1DU.EXCL   canoe   NEG
'We don't have a canoe' (Hamel 1985: 212)

(117)   Tolai (Austronesian, West Oceanic)
Avet   a   mangoro   na   buai
1PL.EXCL   ART   many   CLASS   betelnut
'We have many betelnuts' (Mosel 1984: 163)

Deranking of temporal clauses does not occur in the Oceanic languages. Among the balancing strategies for temporal sequence encoding, parataxis of finite main clauses seems to be a favourite option, as can be gathered from the following quotations:

The most common method for conjoining clauses is simple parataxis.

(Hamel 1985: 263, on Loniu)

In Manam, coordination   that is, the joining together of two clauses of equivalent status   is clearly the commoner way of combining clauses into complex sentences. There are relatively few sentence types where the relationship between the clauses is that of subordination ... Many types of relationships between events (states) that in English require subordination, or where subordination is one of the means (usually the more explicit one) of conjoining clauses, can only be expressed by means of coordination in Manam, most commonly using *be* 'and', a pro form, or simple juxtaposition.

(Lichtenberk 1983: 514)

However, as will become clear from the examples presented below, other balancing strategies, such as the use of subordinating conjunctions, are certainly not excluded in these branches of Austronesian.

(118)   MANGAP-MBULA (Austronesian, West Oceanic)

    a. Silas   i-la   mi   nio   aŋ-bot
       S.   3SG-go and/but 1SG   1SG-stay
       'Silas went and/but I stayed' (Bugenhagen 1995: 288)

    b. Zin   moori   ti-zirziiri   lele,   mi   yeŋyeeŋe
       PL   woman   3PL-sweep.REDUPL   place   and   earthquake
       i-pet
       3SG-appear
       'When/while the women were sweeping the place, there was an earthquake' (Bugenhagen 1995: 291)

(119)   MANAM (Austronesian, West Oceanic)

    a. Tamoata   ara   Manabumbia-be   aine   ara
       man   name.his   M.-and   woman   name.her
       Iriboaba
       I.
       'The man's name is Manabumbia, and the woman's name is Iriboaba' (Lichtenberk 1983: 523)

    b. Tamoata   boro   di-tao-taon-i-be
       man   pig   3PL.SUBJ-hunt-hunt-3SG.OBJ-and
       aine   rega   di-ʔoto-ʔoto-ø
       woman   firewood   3PL.SUBJ-break-break-3PL.OBJ
       'While the men were hunting the pig, the women were gathering firewood' (Lichtenberk 1983: 523)

    c. Uma-lo   u-laʔo-pura-nge   roa-gu   bang i-tano-tano
       garden-to 1SG-go-arrive-THEM   wife-my   taro 3SG-plant-plant
       'When I arrived at the garden, my wife was planting taro'
                              (Lichtenberk 1983: 536)

(120)   KILIVILA (Austronesian, West Oceanic)
     I-kariga   Vanoi   i-guyau   Waibadi
     3-die   V.   3-become.chief   W.
     '(When) Vanoi died, Waibadi became paramount-chief'
                                   (Senft 1986: 118)

(121)   Tawala (Austronesian, West Oceanic)

    a. Tau   bani-u,   tam   u   tewela
       1SG   big-1SG   2SG   my   younger.sibling
       'I am older, (so) you are my younger brother' (Ezard 1997: 199)

    b. Motaka   a-ga-gale-hi   ma   hi-buli-bulili
       car   1SG-DUR-see-3PL   and   3PL-DUR-run
       'I was watching cars and/as they were running along'

                                            (Ezard 1997: 115)

(122)   Hiri Motu (Austronesian, West Oceanic)

    a. Mero   ia   mai   guna,   (ma)   gabeai   kekeni   ia   mai
       boy   3SG   come   first   (and)   later   girl   3SG   come
       'The boy came first, (and) the girl came later'

                                   (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974: 42)

    b. Sisia   ia   mase   negenai,   kekeni   ia   tai
       dog   3SG   die   when   girl   3SG   cry
       'When the dog died, the girl cried' (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974: 42)

(123)   Loniu (Austronesian, West Oceanic)

    a. Kecepwe   i-to   ta   kecepwe,   Hisuwe   i-to
       K.   3SG-be.at   catch   bat   H.   3SG-be.at
       in   suwe
       dig   yam
       'Kecepwe was catching bats, Hisuwe was digging yams'

                                            (Hamel 1985: 242)

    b. Seh   caʔiti   ngeti   ke   inen   leneʔi   suwe   i-me
       3PL   cut   DIM   wood   small   when   yam   3SG-come
       ek
       grow
       'They cut a small piece of wood, when the yams come up'

                                           (Hamel 1985: 254)

(124)   Tolai (Austronesian, West Oceanic)

    a. Qo   a   pal   i   gala,   (ma)   nem   i   liklik
       this   ART   house   3SG   big   (and)   that   3SG   small
       'This house is big, that (house) is small'; 'This house is bigger than
       that house' (Bley 1912: 85)

    b. Tumu   iau   vatovo,   avat   a   ki   mut
       when   I   speak   you   FUT   sit   be.silent
       'When/while I speak, you must keep silent' (Mosel 1984: 133)

(125)   SALIBA (Austronesian, West Oceanic)

Ye boni,   ka   kai   kai,   ye   gehe-ede,   ka   keno
it night,   we   food   eat,   it   be.finished-then,   we   sleep
'After we had dinner in the evening, we went to sleep'

(Mosel 1994: 39)

(126)   PALAUAN (Austronesian, Palauan)

a. A   Droteo   a   ngalek   er   a   skuul,   me   a
   ART   D.   ART   child   in   ART   school   and   ART
   Toki   a   sensei
   T.   ART   teacher
   'Droteo is a student, and Toki is a teacher' (Josephs 1975: 484)

b. A   Droteo   a   milenguiu   a   hong,   e   a
   ART   D.   ART   PAST.read   ART   book   and/while   ART
   Toki   a   milechiuaiu   er   a   ulaol
   T.   ART   Past.sleep   at   ART   floor
   'Droteo was reading books, while Toki was sleeping on the floor'
   (Josephs 1975: 489)

c. A   Droteo   a   milengedub   erse   era   k-bong
   ART   D.   ART   PAST.swim   when   I   1SG.-arrive
   'Droteo was swimming when I arrived' (Josephs 1975: 126)

(127)   MOKILESE (Austronesian, Central-East Oceanic)

a. Epwi   jerihok   padahki   insing,   a   epwi
   some   child.DEF.PL   learn   writing,   and   some
   wadwad   puk
   read.PROG   book
   'Some of the children are learning to write, and some are reading
   books' (Harrison 1976: 245)

b. Ngoah   suhoang   John   anjoau-o   ma   ngoah   in-la
   I   meet   J.   time-DEF   RM   I   go-PERF
   sidowa
   store
   'I met John when I went to the store' (Harrison 1976: 260)

(128)   KWAIO (Austronesian, Central-East Oceanic)

a. La   Ubuni   ka   leka   fa-ni   'Aoke,   (ma)   la
   ART   U.   3SG   go   to-LOC   A.   (and)   ART
   Dione   ka   ori   mola   mai
   D.   3SG   return   just   here
   'Ubuni went to Auki, and Dione just came back here'

(Keesing 1985: 195)

b. Ta-goru   ori   mai naa alata faka ka   nigi
   FUT-1TRI.SUBJ   return here at   time ship 3SG   arrive
   i   Atoifi
   at   A.
   'The three of us will return here when the ship arrives at Atoifi'

   (Keesing 1985: 215)

(129) TINRIN (Austronesian, Central-East Oceanic)

a. Saa foomwâ ânrâha mwâ saa nrâ truu ânrâha
   one door   here   and one 3SG stay here
   'One door is here, and another is there' (Osumi 1995: 258)

b. Ri   ta   bwò ruu mwâ nrî nrâ sôrrê
   1PL.INCL hit   crab at   hut when 3SG low.tide
   'We catch crabs in their places when it is low tide' (Osumi 1995: 275)

All of these twelve Oceanic languages confirm the predictions that can be
made for them on the split/share parameter. Those languages that have a full-
encoded Topic Possessive (Mangap-Mbula, Manam, Kilivila, Tawala, Palauan,
Mokilese, Tinrin, and Hiri Motu) match this possession type with a zero-split
encoding pattern for nonverbal predication. Those languages that have some
zero-subtype of the Topic Possessive as their first or alternative option
(Kilivila, Tawala, Saliba, Loniu, Tolai, and Kwaio) can be shown to have the
possibility of zero-share encoding.

(130) MANGAP-MBULA (Austronesian, West Oceanic)

a. Nu   tisa
   2SG.NOM teacher
   'You are a teacher' (Bugenhagen 1995: 191)

b. Ni   i-mbot   pa   ruumu toro
   3SG.NOM 3SG-stay   LOC   house other
   'He is at another house' (Bugenhagen 1995: 375)

(131) MANAM (Austronesian, West Oceanic)

a. Ngara-di rura
   that-PL   dolphin
   'Those are dolphins' (Lichtenberk 1983: 333)

b. Mang   pera   noʔu-no   i-soaʔi
   chicken house roof-on   3SG-be.at
   'The chicken is on the roof of the house' (Lichtenberk 1983: 497)

    c. Soʔai   di-eno
       tobacco 3PL-be
       'There is tobacco' (Lichtenberk 1983: 499)

(132)   KILIVILA (Austronesian, West Oceanic)

    a. Yakamesi   ugwavaga
       we   stranger
       'We are strangers' (Senft 1986: 141)

    b. Ambe tetu   gala   molu
       where yams not   hunger
       'Where there are yams, there is no hunger' (Senft 1986: 123)

(133)   TAWALA (Austronesian, West Oceanic)

    a. Tauwa   wawine
       she   woman
       'She is a woman' (Ezard 1997: 175)

    b. Tauhi numa u   gabouli-na
       they   house at underside-its
       'They are under the house' (Ezard 1997: 179)

    c. Numa u   gabouli-na   e-ma-mae
       house   at underside-its 3SG.PRES-DUR-stay
       'It is under the house' (Ezard 1997: 164)

(134)   HIRI MOTU (Austronesian, West Oceanic)

    a. Lau be   mero maragi
       1SG   ART boy   small
       'I am/was a small boy' (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974: 43)

    b. Tau   buruka ia   noho uda   dekéna
       man   old   3SG   be   bush LOC
       'The old man was in the bush' (Wurm and Harris 1963: 26)

(135)   SALIBA (Austronesian, West Oceanic)

    a. Kita   taulahekata
       1PL.INCL teacher
       'We are teachers' (Mosel 1994: 7)

    b. Bwanabwanalua-ne 'unai magai gwau-di
       island-DEF   on   village many-PL
       'There are many villages on the island' (Mosel 1994: 7)

(136)   Tolai (Austronesian, West Oceanic)

a. Iau   a   vavina
   1SG   ART   woman
   'I am a woman' (Mosel 1984: 17)

b. Patana   ta   ra   pal
   nobody   in   ART   house
   'There is nobody in the house' (Mosel 1984: 162)

(137)   Loniu (Austronesian, West Oceanic)

a. Yo   ngetukan
   1SG   bird
   'I am a bird' (Hamel 1985: 211)

b. Homow   pihin   ta   pelengan
   one   woman   LOC   house
   'There is a woman in the house' (Hamel 1985: 147)

(138)   Palauan (Austronesian, Palauan)

a. A   Droteo   a   sensei
   ART   D.   ART   teacher
   'Droteo is a teacher' (Josephs 1975: 39)

b. A   Toki   a   mla   er   a   Merikel
   ART   T.   ART   be.PAST   in   ART   America
   'Toki was in America' (Josephs 1975: 319)

(139)   Mokilese (Austronesian, Central-East Oceanic)

a. John   johnpadahk-men
   J.   teacher-INDEF
   'John is a teacher' (Harrison 1976: 142)

b. Ih   mine   Hawaii
   he   be.at   H.
   'He is in Hawaii' (Harrison 1976: 209)

(140)   Kwaio (Austronesian, Central-East Oceanic)

a. La   Ubuni   ngai   wane   naa   ba'e
   ART   U.   3SG.EMP   man   at   shrine
   'Ubuni is a priest' (Keesing 1985: 179)

b. Boo   ba'ita   ngai   i   'ubulai
   pig   big   3SG.EMP   LOC   inside
   'The big pig is inside' (Keesing 1985: 177)

(141)   Tinrin (Austronesian, Central-East Oceanic)

    a. Moo   mwâ   nrâ   audrê-nrî
       man   that   3SG.SUBJ   father his
       'That man is his father' (Osumi 1995: 271)

    b. Nrâ   fwi   nrâ   mwâmwâ   âroa-ha
       3SG   exist   SUBJ   big.hut   over.there-PROX
       'The big hut is over there' (Osumi 1995: 71)

11.4 New Guinea and Northern Australia

In contrast to the islands which surround it, New Guinea does not have the Topic Possessive as its exclusive type, since the With-Possessive is a strong alternative here. Nonetheless, a Topic Possessive can be documented for eight of the twenty-four Papuan languages in the sample. A first small concentration of this possession type is situated in the north-west of New Guinea, on the island of Halmahera and the neighbouring Bird's Head peninsula. Ternate and Tidore have a standard Topic Possessive.[17] As an alternative, Tidore also has a zero-Topic Possessive of the indexing type, and this construction is the only option in Meyah. Galela has a Topic Possessive of the conjunctional type (see Section 3.4); the construction features possessor-indexing on the possessee.

(142)   Ternate (Papuan, Halmahera)
    Ngofa   gee   sema   buku
    child   that   exist   book
    'That child has a book' (Hayami-Allen 2001: 149)

(143)   Tidore (Papuan, Halmahera)

    a. Mina   sema   ngofa   rai
       3SG.F   be   child   already
       'She already has children' (Van Staden 2000: 249)

    b. Mina   mi-ngofa
       3SG.F   3SG.F.POSS-child
       'She has children' (Van Staden 2000: 254)

(144)   Galela (Papuan, Halmahera)
    Muna   dé   ami   dòro-ka
    3SG.F   and/then   her   garden-already
    'She has a garden' (Van Baarda 1908: 135)

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[17] As we noted in Section 6.3, the possessive construction in Ternate shows signs of incipient Have Drift.

(145)   MEYAH (Papuan, West Papuan)
　　　Ofa   efen   mod
　　　3SG   3SG.POSS   house
　　　'S/he has a house' (Gravelle 2004: 116)

Deranking is non-existent in these languages. In Tidore, temporal sequencing commonly takes the form of sentential coordinations, which are optionally marked by coordinative particles. Ternate and Meyah do seem to have a set of 'real' subordinating conjunctions, although, especially in Meyah, the dividing line between adverbs and conjunctions is rather thin. The same holds for Galela, where the item *dé* that is used in the possessive construction commonly marks sentential coordinations, in the function of a conjunction 'and' or a temporal adverb 'then'.

(146)   TIDORE (Papuan, Halmahera)

　　a. Una   wo-ado   kare, kie   enare   koma
　　　 3SG.M   3SG.M.ACT-arrive   here   island this   NEG
　　　 mansia dofu   yang
　　　 people much   not.yet
　　　 '(When) he arrived here, this island did not yet have many inhabitants' (Van Staden 2000: 358)

　　b. Lantas   mansia one   kare yo-dahe   una
　　　 directly people 3PL   here 3NEUT.ACT-find   3SG.M
　　　 turus angkat una   sebagai kapala pemerintahan
　　　 then   lift   3SG.M as   head   government
　　　 'Directly (when) the people here met him, they lifted him to the position of head of the government' (Van Staden 2000: 359)

(147)   TERNATE (Papuan, Halmahera)

　　a. Una tagi ika   dogo ana   maku-bicara
　　　 he   go   thither and   they RECIP-talk
　　　 'He goes there and they talk to each other'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Hayami-Allem 2001: 179)

　　b. Waktu ngori ici-ici,   jaga   tagi ma-tobo
　　　 when   I   be.small-REDUPL   often go   ASP-swim
　　　 'When I was small, I often went swimming'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Hayami-Allen 2001:198)

(148)   GALELA (Papuan, Halmahera)

　　a. Ngohi   to   tagi dé   una   wo   goge
　　　 1SG.EMP 1SG   go   and 3SG.EMP   3SG   stay
　　　 'I go and he stays' (Van Baarda 1908: 62)

b. Àsa   wo   liho-ka,   dé   wo   sòné
only 3SG.M return-PERF then 3SG.M die
'He just got home, then/when he died' (Van Baarda 1908: 127)

c. So   dé   da ginita-ka,   dé   o   paro
and   then   it become.day-PERF then ART wind
i   tàgi
3SG.M go
'And when it had become day, the wind started to blow'

(Van Baarda 1908: 151)

(149)   MEYAH (Papuan, West Papuan)

a. Didif di-em-eja   jah Munukwar, (noba) bua bi-eker-if
1SG   1SG-IRR-go   to   M.   (and)   2SG 2SG-sit-here
'I am going to Manokwari, and you stay here' (Gravelle 2004: 294)

b. Askesi ofa   ah   ja   beda mar   keuma em-oira
while   3SG   lie.down   at   then thing that   IRR-enter
gij efen   awesi
in   3SG.POSS mouth
'While s/he is sleeping, that thing will enter his/her mouth'

(Gravelle 2004: 303)

Ternate has zero-split encoding for its nonverbal predications. This option is also available for Tidore, where it provides a match for the standard possessive of the language. Furthermore, Tidore, Galela, and Meyah have zero-share encoding, which is in keeping with the non-standard Topic Possessives that these languages allow.

(150)   TERNATE (Papuan, Halmahera)

a. Mancia gee   guru
person that teacher
'That man is a teacher' (Hayami-Allen 2001: 155)

b. Nayao i-sema   toma hito
fish   3NONHUM-be   OBL   kitchen
'There is fish in the kitchen' (Hayami-Allen 2001: 61)

c. Sema   mancia toma ngara
exist person OBL   door
'There is someone at the door' (Hayami-Allen 2001: 61)

(151)   TIDORE (Papuan, Halmahera)

a. Ngori   fayaa
1SG   woman
'I am a woman' (Van Staden 2000: 265)

   b. Mina   toma   fola   moju
      3SG.F   at   house   still
      'She is still at home' (Van Staden 2000: 85)

   c. Sema   bira   moju
      be   rice   still
      'Is there any rice left?' (Van Staden 2000: 113)

(152)   GALELA (Papuan, Halmahera)

   a. Gena   dodjaru   moi
      that   girl   one
      'That is a girl' (Van Baarda 1908: 129)

   b. Ai   tjapeo   kikiaka
      my   hat   where
      'Where is my hat?' (Van Baarda 1891: 64)

(153)   MEYAH (Papuan, West Papuan)

   a. Ofa   mosona
      3SG   foreigner
      'S/he is a foreigner' (Gravelle 2004: 103)

   b. Mar   agos   gij   mod
      thing   die   in   house
      'The corpse is in the house' (Gravelle 2004: 132)

Sentani, a language from the Central and Western stock, has a Topic Possessive with zero-encoding. Since indexing of the possessor on the possessee is lacking, this construction is thus of the 'potentially ambiguous' subtype. Under negation this potential ambiguity is eliminated, since the negative possession construction contains the negative existential item *ogo* 'not present', which cannot be used for predicate nominals.

(154)   SENTANI (Papuan, Central and Western)

   a. Dɛj   heke   əmbay
      1SG   garden   one
      'I have a garden' (Cowan 1965: 53)

   b. Nɛ-ka   mijɛ   ogo
      his-older.brother   wife   not.be
      'His older brother has no wife' (Cowan 1965: 53)

Temporal sequences in Sentani are exclusively balancing. The major strategy for temporal sequence encoding is paratactic coordination. Alternatively,

finite temporal clauses can be marked by clause-final subordinators such as *na* 'when, while'.

(155)   SENTANI (Papuan, Central and Western)

a. Dajmə   fi   nəwkoke   mələ   dowke
   D.   sago   pick.out.PAST.3SG   pith   take.PAST.3SG
   meke   okowfake   nɛ-ka   mijɛ
   descend.PAST.3SG   pour.in.PAST.3SG   his-elder.brother   wife
   ogo
   not.present
   'Dajme picked out the sago, took the pith, descended, poured it in, (but) his elder brother's wife was not there' (Cowan 1965: 56)

b. Hokolo   be   kokokəjde   na   ubakə
   young   two   work-PAST.3DU   while   older.sister
   Hebɛjkoj   Dajmə   ədəkəwnə
   H.   D.   see.PAST.3SG.SUBJ/3SG.OBJ
   'While the two girls were working, the older sister Hebejkoj saw Dajme' (Cowan 1965: 57)

In keeping with its zero-encoded possessive construction, Sentani exhibits zero-sharing for predicate nominals and predicate locationals.

(156)   SENTANI (Papuan, Central and Western)

a. Ondofolo   do   hokolo
   chief   man   young
   'The chief is a young man' (Cowan 1965: 53)

b. Nəjɛ   imɛ   əj   nə
   3SG   house   inside   in
   'He is inside the house' (Cowan 1965: 54)

Aghu and Asmat, two languages from the Central and South subgrouping of Papuan, also feature a Topic Possessive. In Aghu the construction is of the standard type. This option is available in Asmat as well, but the language has alternatives: there is also a zero-encoded Topic Possessive, which is potentially ambiguous (see Section 3.3). Optionally the construction may contain the sentential adverb *eptsjom* 'too, moreover', so that a Conjunctional Possessive results (see Section 3.4). It is tempting to view the addition of this adverbial item as a strategy to counter the possible ambiguity of the zero-Topic Possessive construction.

(157) Aghu (Papuan, Central and South)
       Jogho sogho de   i-ge
       3PL   land   here be/stand-3SG.PRES
       'They have land' (Drabbe 1957: 32)

(158) Asmat (Papuan, Central and South)
       a. Ndo tsjem   ao-ap
          1SG   house   here-sit.3SG.PRES
          'I have a house' (Drabbe 1963: 70)
       b. Ndo tsjem
          1SG   house
          'I have a house' (Drabbe 1963: 70)
       c. Ndo tsjem   eptsjom
          1SG   house   too
          'I have a house' (Drabbe 1963: 70)

Aghu has a pronounced predilection for paratactic clause linkage. There is little or no subordination, and deranking of temporal clauses does not seem to occur, at least not under different-subject conditions.[18] Parataxis is also widely available for Asmat, but the language has at least one conjunctive particle (*nim* 'when'), which may be viewed either as a sentential adverb or as a subordinating conjunction.

   Aghu and Asmat both have zero-split encoding of nonverbal predications. As an alternative, Asmat may employ zero-encoding for locational/existential sentences as well, so that a zero-share pattern results.

(159) Aghu (Papuan, Central and South)
       a. Woki   fe   agamo-ghe,   sumke
          bamboo   INDEF   open-3SG.INDEF.PAST   tobacco
          bohokung-ghe,   sibomo-ghe,
          put.in-3SG.INDEF.PAST   close-3SG.INDEF.PAST

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[18] Under same subject conditions Aghu can employ so called participial forms for the non final predicates in a clause chain. In this function, these deranked predicates take the form of oblique verbal nouns. Examples are:

(i) Aghu (Papuan, Central and South)
     a. A de k   gho ghe
        take PCP at   leave 3SG.INDEF.PAST
        'He took it and left' (Drabbe 1957: 19)
     b. Bigio sid'   eme de k   aghije
        mat   weave   finish PCP at   go.1SG.FUT
        'Having woven the mat, I will go' (Drabbe 1957: 36)

kifio-ghe
lay.down-3SG.INDEF.PAST
'He opened up a bamboo shaft, put tobacco in it, closed it, and laid
it down' (Drabbe 1957: 19)

b. Kibu i-keña,   sowo i-ke
   song do-3PL.INDEF sun   become-3SG.INDEF
   'They sang a song, and the sun came up' (Drabbe 1957: 37)

(160) AGHU (Papuan, Central and South)

a. Kesaghe gho   jewi de
   tree   that jewi here/PRT
   'That tree is a jewi tree' (Drabbe 1957: 8)

b. Kesaghe ghü   (de)   i-ghe
   tree   garden (PRT/here)   stand-3SG.INDEF
   'The tree is in the garden' (Drabbe 1957: 33)

(161) ASMAT (Papuan, Central and South)

a. Cowé   kokomtawor,   ar   ém   cowé
   sago.leaves   pick.3SG/3SG.PAST 3SG wife sago.leaves
   esé   atowopmor
   bag   put.into.3SG/3SG.PAST
   'He picked the sago leaves, and his wife put them in a bag'
                                          (Voorhoeve 1965: 189)

b. Jamew ís   nim   poamismar   maré anijirimuwor
   J.   sleep when lay.down.3PL.PAST then leave.3PL.PAST
   'When the people of Jamew all slept, they (i.e. the people of Jepém)
   all departed' (Voorhoeve 1965: 102)

(162) ASMAT (Papuan, Central and South)

a. No   ow   akat
   1SG man handsome
   'I am a handsome man' (Voorhoeve 1965: 168)

b. Cowuc   cem
   woman   house
   'The woman is at home' / 'The woman has a house'
                                          (Voorhoeve 1965: 168)

c. Tsjem   ao-ap
   house   here-sit.3SG.PRES
   'He is here in the house' / 'There is a house here' (Drabbe 1963: 61)

Apart from West and Central/South Papuan, I have documented three other, incidental instances of the Topic Possessive in New Guinea. Among its various options for predicative possession, the Sepik language Awtuw has a Topic Possessive of the standard type. Paratactic clause linkage is a frequent strategy in temporal sequencing, and seems to cover a number of inter-clausal relations that, in other languages, would rather be encoded by subordinate adverbial clauses. The language shows a zero-split pattern in nonverbal predicate encoding.

(163)   Awtuw (Papuan, Sepik)
         Wan   tawkway   d-awkey
         1SG   tobacco   REAL-exist
         'I have tobacco' (Feldman 1986: 105)

(164)   Awtuw (Papuan, Sepik)

    a. Yawur   Altiy-re   du-pu-e,   ngow   di-yel-e
       Y.   A.-OBJ   FACT-hit-PAST   tear   FACT-cry-PAST
       'Yawur hit Altiy, (and) he (i.e. Altiy) cried' (Feldman 1986: 89)

    b. Yawur   d-eya-kay-e   wan   d-ukl'-e
       Y.   FACT-come-PERF-PAST   1SG   FACT-wake-PAST
       'Yawur had come when I woke up' (Feldman 1986: 60)

(165)   Awtuw (Papuan, Sepik)

    a. Rey   wokek   rame
       he   tall   man
       'He is a tall man' (Feldman 1986: 109)

    b. Wankow   æwre-ke   d-awkey
       turtle   house-LOC   FACT-be.there
       'The turtle is in the house' (Feldman 1986: 104)

A standard Topic Possessive is also the selected encoding in two languages from the east of New Guinea, namely Usan and Kobon. In Usan, there is optional indexing of the possessor in the verbal complex, by means of a benefactive infix (see Section 3.6).

(166)   Usan (Papuan, Madang)

    a. Qoan   munon   ger   yâmângâr   wau   ombur
       old   man   one   woman   child   two
       igo-ai
       be-3SG.REM.PAST
       'Long ago, a man had two daughters' (Reesink 1984: 123)

b. Narau   irou   igo-s-â
    betelnut   many   be-1SG.BEN-3SG.PRES
    'I have many betelnuts' (Reesink 1984: 96)

(167)   KOBON (Papuan, East Highlands)
       Yad   kaj   mid-öp
       1SG   pig   be-3SG.PERF
       'I have a pig' (Davies 1981: 94)

Usan and Kobon exhibit zero-split patterning for nonverbal predication. As for their temporal sequencing, both languages favour coordinations, which may or may not be marked explicitly by sentential connectives.[19] A particularly interesting sequence type is found in Usan, in which clauses can occur in topicalized position, marked by the clause-final article/topic-marker *eng*.

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[19] In addition to coordination, Usan and Kobon employ a system of medial verb forms, that is, verbal forms that are marked explicitly as non final predicates in a predicational chain. In Usan, these medial verb forms constitute a switch reference system, based on the cross cutting of the parameters of conditionality (same subject vs. different subject) and temporality (simultaneous vs. consecutive action). In contrast to final verb forms, medial verbs do not have tense marking. Different subject medial verbs have marking for person and number of their subjects; same subject medial verbs have an invariable suffix. Examples are:

(i)   USAN (Papuan, Madang)

    a. In âb   aru âb   e âb
       lie SS.SIM   writhe SS.SIM   cry SS.SIM
       saberi   engt t   in in   qamb
       bed   DEF at   sleep 1SG.FUT   say.SIM
       '(When) he lay down, and tossed about, and cried, he wanted to sleep on his bed and …'
                                                 (Reesink 1984: 80)

    b. Ye   munon   wuri qebi   wuri nob   qam amei
       1SG   man   3PL.OBJ ask.SS.CONS   3PL with   say 1SG.PAST
       'I asked the men and said to them' (Reesink 1984: 116)

    c. Iyau   qorerim ari   ya   toau   ab a
       dog   bark 3PL.DS.SIM   water   noise   do 3SG.DS.SIM
       'The dogs barked and the river made a noise and …' (Reesink 1984: 80)

    d. Wuri   ye t   ar ari   is omei
       3PL   1SG for   call 3PL.DS.CONS   go.down 1SG.PAST
       'They called me and I went down' (Reesink 1984: 117)

The system of medial verbs in Kobon does not distinguish simultaneous vs. consecutive action. Hence, there are two sets of suffixes for Kobon medial verbs, based on switch reference. Both sets of suffixes indicate person/number of the subject.

(ii)   KOBON (Papuan, East Highlands)

    a. Nipe   kaj   al öm   ribö   yang   ar öp
       3SG   pig   shoot 3SG.SS   river   below   go 3SG.PERF
       'He shot a pig and went down the river' (Davies 1981: 36)

    b. Kabö   mijanu   lau ö   in a
       stone   that   heat 3SG.DS   be.hot 3SG.REM.PAST
       'He heated the stone and/so that it was hot' (Davies 1981: 34)

Such clauses create a temporal or conditional setting for the clause or clauses that follow.

(168)   USAN (Papuan, Madang)

    a. Nam e   degen, nam ger eng dig degen aîb
       tree this tall   tree one DEM very tall   big
       'This tree is tall, the other tree is very tall': 'The other tree is much bigger than this tree' (Reesink 1984: 62)

    b. Su-emin   eng, bur git   igom igo-ai
       cut-1PL.PAST TOP pig body alive be-3SG.PAST
       'Although we cut it, the pig was still alive' (Reesink 1984: 226)

    c. Wurinou ur   unor   ginam-t di-amir   eng,
       their   father mother place-at come.up-3PL.PAST TOP
       wau   me   igam-au
       child NEG stay-3PL.PAST
       'When their parents came up to the village, the children were not there' (Reesink 1984: 209)

(169)   USAN (Papuan, Madang)

    a. Munon aîb eng
       man   big DEM
       'That is a big man' (Reesink 1984: 131)

    b. Yonou wau   ombur eng ginam-t ig-our
       my   child two   DEM place-at be-3PL.PRES
       'My two children are in the village' (Reesink 1984: 58)

(170)   KOBON (Papuan, East Highlands)
    Yad Dusin ar-nab-in,   nipe kaj al-öp   ñi-nab
    1SG D.   go-FUT-1SG 3SG pig some give-FUT.3SG
    '(When/if) I go to Dusin, he will give me some meat'

                                       (Davies 1981: 39)

(171)   KOBON (Papuan, East Highlands)

    a. Nipe   kaunsol
       3SG   councillor
       'He is the councillor' (Davies 1981: 111)

    b. Kaj habadö yang   mid-öp
       pig grass   below be.there-3SG.PERF
       'There is a pig in the grass below' (Davies 1981: 149)

In the languages of Australia the Topic Possessive is decidedly a minor option. The Pama-Nyungan family, which covers the bulk of the continent, does not seem to have any Topic Possessives at all. Still, a concentration of Topic Possessives can be found in the non-Pama-Nyungan languages of the northwest of Australia; in all four cases, the construction has the form of the juxtaposed zero-type. Since the languages in question have (or can have) zero-share encoding in nonverbal predication, these constructions are thus potentially ambiguous between a possessive and a copular reading (see Section 3.3). Hence, it may not come as a surprise that most of these languages have alternative possession encodings. Gooniyandi and Limilngan have a Have-Possessive (see Section 12.5). Moreover, Gooniyandi has a standard Topic Possessive in addition to the zero-variant, and Kayardild has a With-Possessive (see Section 10.7).

(172)   TIWI (Australian, Tiwi)
      Ngawa   mantani   teraka
      our   friend   wallaby
      'Our friend has a wallaby' (Osborne 1974: 60)

(173)   KAYARDILD (Australian, Tangkic)

    a. Ngumbanda   wakatha   maku   kiyarrng-k
       your.NOM   sister.NOM   sister.in.law.NOM   two-NOM
       'Your sister has two sisters-in-law' (Evans 1995: 318)

    b. Kulirra   dingkarra   thuru
       catfish.eel.NOM   long.NOM   tail.NOM
       'The catfish eel has a long tail' (Evans 1995: 711)

(174)   GOONIYANDI (Australian, Bunaban)

    a. Nganyi   marlami   moodiga
       I   not   motorcar
       'I have no car' (McGregor 1990: 490)

    b. Woomoorla   thadda   rooginygiri
       not   dog   I.sit
       'I have no dog' (McGregor 1990: 496)

(175)   LIMILNGAN (Australian, Limilngan)
    a. Ngayki   bambari   m-alkgan   m-ajan
       1SG   club   III-small   III-not
       'I have a big [*lit.* 'not small'] club' (Harvey 2001: 103)

b. uginy   ngiliyi   d-ajan
woman   dog   II-not
'The woman has no dogs' (Harvey 2001: 78)

Although at least Kayardild appears to have some ability to form deranked predicates,[20] the overriding strategy in temporal sequence formation is the use of balanced clauses, by means of (often asyndetic) coordinations, or finite subordinate clauses that are marked by subordinate conjunctions. As noted above, zeroshare is the most popular option for nonverbal predication here. Gooniyandi has an additional zero-split pattern, which matches its standard Topic Possessive.

(176)   Tɪwɪ (Australian, Tiwi)

a. Mwarekati   juunau   (apa),   karampi   jipauligi
M.   3SG.PAST. throw   (PRT),   far.off   3SG.PAST.fall
'Mwarekati threw (it), (and) it fell far away' (Osborne 1974: 70)

b. Kari   ngenaki   nginta   merani   ngia   merani   ngara
when   this   your   son   my   son   he
patungwani,   api   mua   parewani
dead   well   we   hungry
'When our son dies, we will be hungry' (Osborne 1974: 81)

(177)   Tɪwɪ (Australian, Tiwi)

a. Purukupar.li   marntina
P.   boss
'Purukuparli is boss' (Osborne 1974: 60)

b. karekamini   jila'ru
nothing   inside
'There is nothing inside' (Osborne 1974: 69)

(178)   Kᴀʏᴀʀᴅɪʟᴅ (Australian, Tangkic)

a. Ngijinda   thabuju   biya-nangku   (bana)   ngijinda
my.NOM   elder.brother.NOM   swim-NEG.POT   (and)   my.NOM
kunawuna   biya-nangku
child.NOM   swim-NEG.POT
'My older brother can't swim and my son can't swim'
(Evans 1995: 395)

b. Wuu-ja   yurda-ya   muyinkalan-li,   yiiwi-ja   dii-j
put-ACTUAL   inside-LOC   dinghy-LOC   lie-ACTUAL   sit-ACTUAL
'(I) put (the turtles) inside the dinghy, (and they) just stayed lying there' (Evans 1995: 312)

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[20] See Evans 1995: 470 86 and 520 1.

(179) KAYARDILD (Australian, Tangkic)

    a. Dathin-a   kunawun   wungunduwungundu
       that-NOM   child.NOM   thief.NOM
       'That child is a thief' (Evans 1995: 314)

    b. Dathin-a   yarbud-a   nal-iya   kamarr-i
       that-NOM   snake-NOM   head-LOC   stone-LOC
       'That snake is on top of the stone' (Evans 1995: 315)

(180) GOONIYANDI (Australian, Bunaban)

    a. Nginyji   lililoowa   wardbiri   nganyi   ngirndangaddi
       you   west   you.will.go   I   this.way
       wardjawingi
       I.will.go
       'You go the west way, and I'll go this way' (McGregor 1990: 424)

    b. Boolga-ngga   wardjiwiddangi   bidiyooddoo   mooyoo
       old.man-ERG   he.went.to.them   they.two   sleep
       bagiwiddi
       they.lay
       'The old man went up to them as they slept' (McGregor 1990: 429)

(181) GOONIYANDI (Australian, Bunaban)

    a. Goornboo   woobgali
       woman   cook
       'The woman is a cook' (McGregor 1990: 395)

    b. Biliga   gamba-ya   yoonggoo   nyamani   giddaabingaddi
       middle   water-LOC   scrub   big   long
       'In the middle of the water there is some big scrub'
                                (McGregor 1990: 304)

    c. Babligaj-ja   warangji
       pub-LOC   she.sat
       'She was at the pub' (McGregor 1990: 313)

(182) LIMILNGAN (Australian, Limilngan)

    a. Manaburr   i-lakbu-ng,   diya-lakgarni   w-a-yung
       M.   3PL-stop-PAST.PERF   that-LOC   3.I-go-PAST.PERF
       'They stopped at Manaburr, and then she went' (Harvey 2001: 131)

    b. Irr-a-yung-iji   Lalakgili,
       3PL-go-PAST.PERF-here   L.

      marakbitj   b-i-rlarla-ng
      ceremonial.ground   III.OBJ-3PL.SUBJ-make-PAST.PERF
      'When they came to Lalakgili, they made a ceremonial ground'
<div align="right">(Harvey 2001: 119)</div>

(183)   LIMILNGAN (Australian, Limilngan)

    a. Ja-n-iga   d-irrinyngangan
       that-II-PL   II-tall.PL
       'Those (dogs) are tall' (Harvey 2001: 51)

    b. Lulayi   darlirli   lakgarni
       snake   stone   LOC
       'The snake is under the stone' (Harvey 2001: 73)

11.5 North America

Although all four major possession types can be found in at least some instances in North America, it is clear that the With-Possessive and the Topic Possessive are the two dominant options on the continent. As we have seen in Section 10.3, the With-Possessive is particularly well represented in the language families of the Pacific seaboard. Nevertheless, we can find some occurrences of the Topic Possessive in this area as well. Thus, the – admittedly, rather poor – data on Coast Tshimshian, a language from British Columbia that is enclosed by languages with a flexional With-Possessive, seem to suggest that we have a case of the possessor-indexed Topic Possessive here. Coast Tshimshian is probably balancing, and has a zero-split configuration in nonverbal predicate encoding.

(184)   COAST TSHIMSHIAN (Tshimshian)
    T'aa-ył   nagwaad-i
    exist.SG-MOOD   father-my
    'I have a father' (Mulder 1994: 221)

(185)   COAST TSHIMSHIAN (Tshimshian)
    Baa   'yluta   ada   ɣoosa   ganaw
    run   boy   and   jump   frog
    'The boy runs and the frog jumps' (Mulder 1994: 130)

(186)   COAST TSHIMSHIAN (Tshimshian)

    a. Łgu   ts'uusk-m   wütsiin   'nüüyu
       little   little-ADJ   mouse   1SG
       'I am a very little mouse' (Mulder 1994: 46)

b. T'aa-ga   sm'ooygit-ga
   exist.sg-INDIC   chief-DEM
   'There was a chief' (Mulder 1994: 34)

As we have seen in Section 10.3, the Salish languages take a With-Possessive as their overwhelmingly dominant option. However, a single, highly untypical, occurrence of a Topic Possessive can be attested in the Central Salish language Lushootsheed. The construction in question is a full-encoded Topic Possessive, with possessor indexing on the possessee. The construction is matched (but only marginally so) by the ability to have at least some types of balanced temporal sequences. Like all Salish languages, Lushootseed has split encoding, of the zero-split variety.

(187)   Lushootseed (Salish, Central)

a. ʔa   ti   d-biac
   be.there   ART   my-meat
   'I have (some) meat' (Hess and Hilbert 1980: I.64)

b. Xʷiʔ   kʷi   d-biac
   not.be   ART   my-meat
   'I don't have any meat' (Hess and Hilbert 1980: 64)

(188)   Lushootsheed (Salish, Central/Coast)
Tu-tagʷ-alikʷ   čəd   ʔə   ti   qʷəłiʔšəd   gʷəl   hiqab
PERF-buy-make   1SG   OBL   ART   shoe   and.but   too
mimaʔad
small
'I bought a (pair of) shoes, and/but they are too small'
                                    (Hess and Hilbert 1980: II.3)

(189)   Lushootseed (Salish, Central)

a. Spaʔc   tiʔił
   bear   that.one
   'That is a bear' (Hess and Hilbert 1980: I.57)

b. ʔa   ti   sʔuladxʷ
   exist   ART   salmon
   'There is salmon' (Hess and Hilbert 1980: I.57)

The major representative of the Topic Possessive in the north-west of North America is formed by the Athapaskan languages. A rather unique case is presented by Deg Xinag, a language of Alaska. In this language, the possession construction is based on the existential construction that the language has.

This construction features (or can feature) the *be*-verb *-lanh*, an item which is also in use as the copula in predicate nominal sentences. This, then, makes Deg Xinag an instance of full-share encoding in nonverbal predication. However, the construction is not potentially ambiguous, due to the fact that, in its existential/possessive use, the verb *-lanh* always appears with the pronominal prefix *xe-*, a prefix that is never allowed in copular use. This prefix *xe-* is a mysterious item, the meaning and function of which is still not completely understood. Comparable items in other Athapaskan languages are described as 'the impersonal prefix' (Cook 1984: 98, on the Sarcee prefix *gu-*) or 'the areal prefix' (Rice 1989: 1029, on the Slave prefix *go-*). In Sarcee, the 'impersonal' prefix *gu-* is said to refer to 'a point in time or place' (Cook 1984: 98). Rice (1989: 1029) characterizes the prefix *go-* in Slave as a classifying prefix or a gender prefix, which is used to refer to 'nouns that mark location in either time or space'. Thus, it is the prefix for nouns such as 'house', 'tent', 'church', 'land', 'ice', 'lake', and place names. 'When the gender pronoun occurs, the noun must be interpreted as areal, as a fixed location in time or space. The noun must be interpreted as nonareal if the pronoun is not present' (Rice 1989: 1025–6). A cautious conclusion may be that the use of the 'areal' prefix in Athapaskan triggers an interpretation in which the subject is referred to in terms of its spatial or temporal dimensions, rather than in terms of its 'essential' characteristics. In this way, the prefix indicates a locational or existential reading for the sentence. Despite the fact that in copular and locational/existential sentences the same verbal item can be used, the two sentence types can never be confused, since the pronominal marking on the verb always indicates whether an 'essential' (copular) or an 'areal' (locational/ existential) reading of the sentence is intended.[21]

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[21] It should be noted that, apparently, the language 'does not feel completely comfortable' with this Topic Possessive, seeing that it has a Have Possessive as well (see Section 12.6). This latter option is, of course, more in line with the sharing character of the language. Furthermore, Deg Xinag has a number of 'posture' verbs, which are classificatory as to various classes of referents, and are used exclusively in locational/existential sentences.

(i) Deg Xinag (Na Dene, Athapaskan)

   a. Qay   xuchux   xu dhi'onh
     village big   there be.located(CLASS)
     'There was a big village' (Chapman and Kari 1981: 1)

   b. Eyyigginh dina yi notthi   dit 'anh
     that   man him ahead   REFL? be.located(CLASS)
     'That man was ahead of him' (Chapman and Kari 1981: 19)

   c. Didrogg   dhidloy
     him.in.front be.located.PL(CLASS)
     'They were in front of him' (Chapman and Kari 1981: 11)

(190)   Deg Xinag (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)

    a. Ałixi   qay   yit   xut'an   xivi-'otqay   xe-lanh
        entire   village   there   people   their-wives   it(AREAL)-be
        'All people in the village have wives' (Chapman and Kari 1981: 35)

    b. Eyiggin   niq'ołdałin   xivi-yix   xuxhux   xe-lanh
        those   women   their-house   big   it(AREAL)-be
        'Those women had a big house' (Chapman & Kari 1981: 116)

(191)   Deg Xinag (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)

    a. Ggux   ngi-lanh
        rabbit   PERF.3-be
        'She was a rabbit' (Chapman and Kari 1981: 112)

    b. Yit   xu'osin   yix   xuchux   xe-lanh
        there   it.beside   house   big   it-be
        'There beside it was a big house' (Chapman and Kari 1981: 3)

    c. Gidith   long   xe-lanh
        skins   many   it(AREAL)-be
        'There were many skins there' (Chapman and Kari 1981: 18)

Other Athapaskan languages with a Topic Possessive do not seem to employ their classificatory system to mark possessive sentences. Instead, Sarcee and Navajo have a full-encoded Topic Possessive, which, in the case of Navajo, also features indexing of the possessor on the possessee. In keeping with this possession option, Sarcee and Navajo are splitters: there is a systematic contrast between the full copula and the locational/existential *be*-verb.[22]

(192)   Sarcee (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)
        Átc'á   gùstóná   mìsgáàká-la,   dìní   ts'òòtsà-ʔı
        be.there   six   boys   this   old.lady-TOP
        'The old lady had six boys' (Cook 1984: 81)

(193)   Sarcee (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)

    a. Xàkídjí   ìst-ħh
        chief   1SG-be
        'I am chief' (Cook 1984: 32)

    d. Tetth'ok   ye   gag   dhidlo
        basket   in   berries   be.located.PL(CLASS)
        'The berries were in a basket' (Chapman and Kari 1981: 12)

It is possible that these locational verbs can be used in the Topic Possessive construction as an alternative to the verb *lanh*, but I have not been able to document this.

  [22] As was noted in Section 9.12, Sarcee and Navajo have Locational Possessives as an alternative option. This option is matched by various deranked predicate formations in these languages.

  b. ɪst'ání-ʔ1   djú ɪsdudí sɪ-ló-là
    bow.arrow-TOP too elsewhere 3PL-be.there-DECL
    'There were bows and arrows in another place' (Cook 1984: 39)

(194) NAVAJO (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)
  Baa' bi-dibé da-hólo̧
  B. his-sheep 3PL-exist
  'Baa' has sheep' (Goossen 1967: 15)

(195) NAVAJO (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)
  a. Bá'ólta'í ni-sh-łi
    teacher IMPERF-1SG-be
    'I am a teacher' (Young and Morgan 1980: 427)
  b. Sh-aghan-di dibé da-hólo̧
    my-house-at sheep 3PL-exist
    'There are some sheep at my home' (Goossen 1967: 26)

The Topic Possessive in these Athapaskan languages is matched further by the ability to encode their temporal sequences by means of balancing strategies. Such sequences take the form of sentential coordinations, or of subordinate clauses with clause-final conjunctions, which may or may not be cliticized to the finite verb in the clause.

(196) DEG XINAG (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)
  a. Yiggi xiditl'itth'e   ts'in' gixidalyayh
    down they.were.sitting and they.sang
    'As they were sitting down, they sang' (Chapman and Kari 1981: 26)
  b. Eyyigginh dina yi-notthi dit'anh hingo
    that   man him-ahead he.was while
    Yixgitsiy diggadhi'oy oqo tathtrit
    Raven his.knife for he.reached
    'While that man was ahead of him, Raven reached for his knife'
                   (Chapman and Kari 1981: 19)

(197) SARCEE (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)
  a. Dìná-ʔí xánààyá-la-àt'ìɣí   kuɣíyál-là
    man-the he.walk.down-NARR-then he.enter-NARR
    'Having walked down (the hill), the man entered (the house)'
                      (Cook 1984: 84)

b. Yıyáɫ-la-à   xàní   zìsyí-là
   he.walks-NARR-while buffalo he.kills-NARR
   'While he was walking, he killed a buffalo' (Cook 1984: 90)

(198) NAVAJO (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)

a. Biih sélhi   'aadoo hooghan-goo   nanilti
   deer 1SG.kill and   house-toward 1SG.carry
   'I killed a deer and then I carried it home'

                                        (Young and Morgan 1980: 65)

b. Ciná·ké dídí·n   bi-ni·na·   do· yic'i̧·dah
   my.eyes it.shines   its-reason   not I.see
   'I cannot see because it (i.e. the sun) is shining in my eyes'

                                        (Reichard 1974: 330)

Apart from Athapaskan, other occurrences of a Topic Possessive in the American West are incidental. In Yurok, a Western Algonquian language from California, a clear instance of a (possessor-indexed) Topic Possessive can be established. The language is dominantly, if not exclusively, balancing, featuring sentential coordinations as well as subordinate finite clauses with clause-initial subordinating conjunctions. Yurok is a splitter, of the zero-split variant.

(199) YUROK (Algonquian)
       Ke?l ?okw   skuyeni ke?-yoc
       you   exist.3SG good   your-boat
       'You have a good boat' (Robins 1958: 17)

(200) YUROK (Algonquian)

a. Yo cwegin, nek ?o   hrgikwsrwrh
   she talk   I   then smile
   '(While) she talked, I smiled' (Robins 1958: 103)

b. Yo? ho   nrgrykr-pa?   moco hohkum-ek
   3SG PAST help-3SG.SUBJ/1SG.OBJ   when repair-1SG.SUBJ
   ne-lew
   my-net
   'He used to help me when I repaired my nets' (Robins 1958: 147)

(201) YUROK (Algonquian)

a. Kic mewimor ne-cis
   now old.man my-dog
   'My dog is an old man now' (Robins 1958: 16)

  b. Mec-ik   ʔokw   haʔag
     fire-in   be.3sɢ   stone
     'There is a stone in the fire' (Robins 1958: 18)

Karok, another language from California, has a Topic Possessive in addition to its more prominent Have-Possessive (see Section 12.6). All the examples I have been able to identify concern kinship relations. The construction features zero-encoding and indexing of the possessor on the possessee.

(202)   Kᴀʀᴏᴋ (Karok-Shasta)

  a. Kačakâʼč   ʔIppat   yíčaʼč   mukun-ʔávan-hanik
     Blue.Jay   Doe   together   their-husband-long.ago
     'Blue Jay and Doe had a single husband' (Bright 1957: 230)

  b. Pa-ʔippat   yíθθa   mú-ʔaramah
     ᴀʀᴛ-Doe   one   her-child
     'Doe had one child' (Bright 1957: 230)

Like its Have-Possessive, Karok matches this Topic Possessive by the fact that its temporal sequences are basically balanced. The language favours strings of short main clauses, which can, but do not have to, be connected by sentential adverbs or coordinating conjunctions. Karok has a zero-copula. A zero-option is available for locational/existential clauses as well. In addition, the language has an array of 'posture' verbs, none of which have been attested in copular function.

(203)   Kᴀʀᴏᴋ (Karok-Shasta)
     Kári   xás   kun-θárih,   kári   xás   ʔapman   ʔú-yuʼnvar,   xás
     and   then   3ᴘʟ-pass   and   then   mouth   3sɢ-put   then
     ʔu-pámčak
     3sɢ-close.mouth
     'And then they passed (her over to him), and he put (her in his) mouth, and he closed his mouth' (Bright 1957: 123)

(204)   Kᴀʀᴏᴋ (Karok-Shasta)

  a. Pa-túʼyšip   ʔikxaréʼyav
     ᴀʀᴛ-mountain   god
     'The mountain is a god' (Bright 1957: 119)

  b. Yíčeʼč   vura   kíč   kári   mu-rhôʼha   xákkaʼn
     only   ᴇᴍᴘ   man   and   his-wife   together
     'Only one man and his wife were still there' (Bright 1957: 274)

   c. Hô'y   va'
      where   that
      'Where is he?' (Bright 1957: 274)

As a final instance of Topic Possessive encoding in the west of North America, I must comment on the situation in Mojave, a language from south California. Like its family member Yavapai, this Yuman language has a Have-Possessive as its major option. However, Munro (1976) also mentions a possessive construction which we can classify as a zero-Topic Possessive with possessor indexing (see Section 3.3). Examples of the construction include:

(205)   MOJAVE (Yuman)

      a. Ɂinʸep   Ɂ-nʸ-ahat -č
         1SG   1SG-POSS-horse-SUBJ
         'I have a horse' (Munro 1976: 286)

      b. Ɂinʸep   Ɂ-nʸ-avah-č
         1SG   1SG-POSS-house-SUBJ
         'I have a house' (Munro 1976: 283)

Munro (1976: 272 ff.) explicitly points out that sentences like these could also – at least theoretically – be interpreted as 'I am my horse' or 'I am my house', due to the fact that in copula constructions in Mojave the predicate nominal gets the subject-marker -*č*. To add to the confusion, the pronominal index on the possessee can sometimes be omitted, so that simple juxtaposition of possessor and possessee results. Consequently, a sentence like (206) may theoretically be assigned the meaning 'The dog has a tail', as well as 'The dog is a tail' or 'That is a dog's tail' (Munro 1976: 272).

(206)   MOJAVE (Yuman)
      hatčoq-nʸ   iɁar-č
      dog-DEM   tail-SUBJ
      'The dog has/is(!) a tail' (Munro 1976: 272)

This rather tenuous Topic Possessive is matched at least marginally by the fact that Mojave allows sentential coordination, which is usually asyndetic.

(207)   MOJAVE (Yuman)
      Jim-č   Ɂahat   wanʸimiya:-k Bill-č   hatčoq   wanʸimiya:-k
      J.-SUBJ horse like-TNS   B.-SUBJ   dog   like-TNS
      'Jim likes horses and Bill likes dogs' (Munro 1976: 161)

When it comes to other types of temporal sequences, however, matters are considerably less clear. A major strategy in clause-chaining appears to involve the use of suffixes to all non-final verbs in a sequential string. Since these suffixes turn out to be sensitive to conditions of same-subject vs. different-subject encoding, we can conclude that Mojave has a switch-reference system of some sort. Examples of the construction include:

(208)   MOJAVE (Yuman)

    a. Pap   Ɂ-ekčo:r-k   Ɂ-salyi:-k
       potato 1-peel-ss   1-fry-TNS
       'I peeled the potatoes and fried them' (Munro 1976: 39)

    b. Ɂinʸe-č   pap   Ɂ-ekčo:r-m Judy-č   ø-salyi:-k
       1-SUBJ   potato 1-peel-DS J.-SUBJ 3-fry-TNS
       'I peeled the potatoes and Judy fried them' (Munro 1976: 39)

The question now is whether these SS/DS-marked clauses can be rated as instances of deranking. In my opinion, there are several considerations which militate against such a conclusion. In particular, one can observe that the function of the suffixes -*k* and -*m* as different switch-reference markers is not kept apart very well. Thus, in a Mojave sentence like (209), the first predicate is marked by the suffix -*k* (SS), although there is change of subject in the chain.

(209)   MOJAVE (Yuman)
    Jim-č   Ɂahat wanʸimiya:-k Bill-č   hatčoq   wanʸimiya :-k
    J.-SUBJ horse like-TNS   B.-SUBJ   dog   like-TNS
    'Jim likes horses and Bill likes dogs' (Munro 1976: 161)

Likewise, we find chains in which non-final predicates are marked with the suffix -*m* (DS), although the subject remains the same throughout the chain.

(210)   MOJAVE (Yuman)
    Hatčoq vida-m   Ɂ-eta:v-k Ɂ-aɁwi:-m poš hova-m
    dog   this-with 1-hit-ss   1-do-DS(!) cat that-with
    Ɂ-eta:v-k Ɂ-aɁwi:-m
    1-hit-ss   1-do-PRT
    'I hit the dog with this and I hit the cat with that' (Munro 1976: 161)

As a second point, we can see from sentences (207)–(210) that the markers -*k* and -*m* can also appear on the final predicates in a string. For this reason alone it might be more appropriate to analyse these suffixes as some sort of tense/aspect/mood markers. The issue is discussed in detail in Munro (1976:

162–4). Although no clear conclusion is reached there, there is enough evidence to warrant the conclusion that the suffixed predicates in Mojave clause chains are not really subordinate.[23]

The potential ambiguity of the Mojave Topic Possessive is a consequence of the fact that both predicate nominal sentences and locational/existential sentences in this language can apparently have zero-encoding. As is shown by sentence (211a), a zero copula is indeed the most common, though not the only, option in Mojave. Unfortunately, apart from the Topic Possessive itself, I have not been able to identify a locational/existential sentence with zero-encoding in the source. However, sentences (211d–e) demonstrate that the encodings of predicate nominal sentences and locational/existential sentences are at least identical under negation: both constructions feature the negative *be*-verb *kava:r*. Furthermore, Mojave can be rated as a full-share language, due to the fact that the copular verb *ido:/idu:* can also occur in interrogative locational/existential sentences.

(211)   MOJAVE (Yuman)

a. ʔin^{y}ep   kwatheʔide:-č
   1SG   doctor-SUBJ
   'I am a doctor' (Munro 1976: 269)

b. John   kwatheʔide:-č   ido-pč
   J.   doctor-SUBJ   be-TNS
   'John is a doctor' (Munro 1976: 447)

c. Maki   k-m-idu:
   where   Q-2-be
   'Where are you?'(Munro 1976: 92)

d. Vidan^y ʔaciyakunumi:n^y-č   ido-pč   doth   hovan^y
   this   catfish-SUBJ   be-TNS   but   that

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[23] In a similar vein, Kendall (1976: 99 101) analyses the 'basic' function of the suffixes *k* and *m* in Yavapai in terms of semantic/pragmatic notions like 'speaker's point of view' and 'conceptual location', rather than in terms of syntactic notions such as subordination or switch reference.

Mithun (1999b: 269 71) provides a discussion of the alleged existence of switch reference systems in North American languages. After having noted that such systems have been postulated for a wide variety of North American language families, she writes:

More recent work indicates that a number of constructions previously identified as switch reference actually distinguish the *continuity or discontinuity of events* rather than of referents . . . [I]t is shown that while clauses linked by a 'same' marker do tend to show a preponderance of coreferent subjects, there are substantial numbers of cases in which the generalization fails to hold. Actions packaged as constituents of a single larger event do typically share the same subject, but they need not. Similarly, actions with different subjects are typically represented as separate events, but they need not be.

(Mithun 1999b: 270; my emphasis)

kava:r-ptč
not.be-EMP.TNS
'This one is a catfish, but that one isn't' (Munro 1976: 69)

e. Nʸa-v-k   ʔaha: kava:r-k
   this-DEM-LOC   water   not.be-TNS
   'There is no water here' (Munro 1976: 70)

Turning now to the mid-west and eastern parts of North America, the first thing to note is the proliferation of possessive constructions that we have characterized as hybrids between the Locational Possessive and the Topic Possessive (see Section 3.6). What makes these constructions different from a standard Topic Possessive is that the possessor is also indexed on the locational/existential verb, by means of an oblique (dative, or patientive, or possessive) pronominal affix. Examples of such hybrid possessive constructions come from Iroquian, Caddoan, Tanoan, Muskogean, and Siouan.

(212)   ONEIDA (Iroquoian)

   a. Tekni   te-wak-awistha-yʌ-ʔ
      two   DU-3SUBJ/1SG.PAT-dog-lie-STAT
      'I have two dogs' (Lounsbury 1953: 48)

   b. Wak-eʔsléht-ase
      3SG.SUBJ/1SG.PAT-car-new
      'I have a new car' (Abbott 2000: 52)

(213)   SENECA (Iroquoian)

   a. Ak-ya'tuhshê'-yê'
      1SG.OBL-paper-exist
      'I have paper' (Holmer 1954: 53)

   b. Uhusa'   ak-yê'
      egg   1SG.OBL-exist
      'I have an egg' (Holmer 1954: 53)

(214)   TUSCARORA (Iroquoian)
        Ro-hwist-a-yvʔ
        3SG.M.OBJ-money-LK-exist
        'He has money' (Mithun Williams 1976: 220)

(215)   WICHITA (Caddoan)
        Kʔi:s   ti-a-rikic-ʔakhann-i
        little   3SG-DAT/POSS-little-house-be
        'He has a tiny little house' (Rood 1976: 139)

(216) Kɪᴏᴡᴀ (Tanoan)
Pol-thq: yi   né:-dɔ́ :
bug-club   two   1sg.ᴘᴀᴛ/ᴅᴜ.ᴏʙᴊ-exist
'I had two fly-swatters' (Watkins 1980: 258)

(217) Kᴏᴀsᴀᴛɪ (Muskogean)

a. Í:sa-k   am-ná:h
    house-sᴜʙᴊ   1sg.ᴅᴀᴛ-be
    'I have a house' (Kimball 1985: 214)

b. Kolosí-k   pokkó:li-fí:n-ok   am-ná:h
    chicken-sᴜʙᴊ   ten-like-ss.ꜰᴏᴄ   1sg.ᴅᴀᴛ-exist
    'I have about ten chickens' (Kimball 1985: 309)

(218) Aʟᴀʙᴀᴍᴀ (Muskogean)
Ifa   pom-naaho-bi
dog.ɴᴏᴍ   1ᴘʟ.ᴅᴀᴛ-exist-ᴘᴇʀꜰ
'We have a dog' (Lupardus 1983: 230)

(219) Cʜᴏᴄᴛᴀᴡ (Muskogean)
Hattak   ma-t   ofi-t   im-ansha-h
man   that-sᴜʙᴊ   dog-sᴜʙᴊ   3ᴅᴀᴛ-be.ᴘʟ-ɪᴍᴘᴇʀꜰ
'That man has dogs' (Nicklas 1974: 166)

(220) Lᴀᴋᴏᴛᴀ (Siouan)

a. Titakuye   ma-yuk'e'
    relatives   1sg.ᴘᴀᴛ-exist-ᴅᴇᴄʟ
    'I have relatives' (Boas and Deloria 1941: 132)

b. Mak'oc'e   ni-nica
    country   2sg.ᴘᴀᴛ-not.exist
    'You have no country' (Ingham 2003: 94)

(221) Cʀᴏᴡ (Siouan)

a. Hirɛ'n   awace'c   is-batse·'tu-wic-d ǝk'
    these   Hidatsa   3ᴘᴏss-chief.ᴘʟ-be-ɪɴᴅᴇꜰ
    'These Hidatsa had a chief' (Lowie 1941: 38)

b. Iru'pxe   is-baxɛ'mbi-wici'-tsɛruk
    his.father 3ᴘᴏss-goods-be-ǫᴜᴏᴛ
    'His father owned goods, they say' (Lowie 1941: 29)

In Section 3.6 I argued that such possessive constructions, hybrid though they
are, should in the end be regarded as a special case of the Topic Possessive

rather than as a case of the Locational Possessive. Now, when we try to match the relevant languages with options on the balancing/deranking parameter, we find that they fit the typological profile of Topic Possessive languages to a considerable degree. For a start, none of the languages involved have 'heavily deranked' predicate forms such as converbs, or oblique/topicalized verbal-noun constructions. Most of the languages rely rather heavily on balancing encoding strategies for temporal sequences: they have sentential coordinations, which are often paratactic, and which often cover a wide semantic range of adverbial relations. Thus, on the topic of temporal sequencing in the Iroquoian language Tuscarora, Mithun Williams (1976: 259) observes: 'Several types of Tuscarora utterances are systematically translated into English complex sentences. Yet the Tuscarora constructions appear in most cases to consist simply of strings of independent clauses. It could be questioned whether the relation of subordination is expressed in Tuscarora at all.' Other languages, such as the Siouan language Lakota, may also use finite adverbial clauses that are marked by subordinating conjunctions. Examples from the languages at issue include:[24]

(222)   SENECA (Iroquoian)
    Tane-kê'û   wa'û-thathû   tyêkwah
    then-HSY   PAST.3SG/3SG-look suddenly

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[24] Apart from these clear cases of balancing, some of the languages at issue have additional strategies to encode their temporal clauses. Thus, in Iroquoian, temporal clauses may cast their predicates into the so called 'coincidental form', which signals simultaneity, and probably has the pragmatic function of backgrounding the clause in which it appears. Examples of this form are taken from Mohawk. As will be clear from these examples, the marking of this Coincidental Form consists of a prefix on an otherwise finite verbal form.

(i)   MOHAWK (Iroquoian)
    a. Shé:kon   sha'   tehatiiahsontha'   shakotiienenhatonhskwE'   ne
       still   COINC they.were.Catholic they.used.to.arrest   ART
       onkwehonwe
       Indian
       'While everybody was still a Catholic, they used to arrest the Indian people'
                                                (Marianne Mithun p.c.)
    b. Árok   shi   ioatohetston   ne   seaway ka when ot on   she's
       not.yet COINC it.passes   ART   seaway NEUT.AG island stand DISTR used.to
       'Before the seaway passed (through the reserve), there were many little islands'
                                                (Marianne Mithun p.c.)

The Caddoan language Wichita has so called 'participles'. These are verbal forms which are characterized by a subordinating suffix and by a special person flexion by means of prefixes. The form encodes all semantic relations that are expressed in English by temporal conjunctions like 'before', 'after', 'while', or 'when'. The following example illustrates this verb form:

ne-kyû   hetkêh- kê'û   ha-t   tyuniskeun
then-HSY   up-HSY   3SG-stand   squirrel
'Then she looked, and up there (on a tree) a squirrel was sitting'

(Holmer 1954: 59)

(223)   TUSCARORA (Iroquoian)
Th-a-hr-ahrko-ʔ   o'nv   th-a-ko-ʔ
ITER-AOR-M-go-PUNCT   at.this.time   IT-AOR-1.come-PUNCT
'He left, and/when I came back' (Mithun Williams 1976: 250)

(224)   WICHITA (Caddoan)
To:rikic   kiyaʔ-ha:sʔaki-ʔi,   hinniʔ   kahiraicʔa
young.man   INDEF.SUBJ-NARR.AOR-be   and   old.woman
hawaʔ   ha:sʔaki-ʔi
also   NARR.AOR-be
'There was a young man, and there also was an old woman'

(Rood 1976: 200)

(225)   ALABAMA (Muskogean)
Takkolcoba-n   ipa-li-ci   isna-o-k   takkola-n
apple-OBL   eat-1SG.ACT-CONT   2SG-EMP-NOM   peach-OBL
is-ipa-ci
2SG.ACT-eat-CONT
'I eat apples, and you eat peaches' (Lupardus 1983: 239)

(226)   CHOCTAW (Muskogean)
Bill   at   ala   chink   ma-n,   ımóyyomak   at   tamaha
B.   SUBJ   arrive FUT   then-DS   we.all   SUBJ   town
iliya   chinh
go   FUT
'Bill will arrive, and then we will all go to town' (Nicklas 1974: 252)

(ii)   WICHITA (Caddoan)
Na ka hisha h   a: ki hiiyaskwa
PCP.3SUBJ in go.IMPERFF SUBORD   QUOT AOR.3SUBJ cross.water.go
'After he had gone inside, that other person went across the water' (Rood 1976: 172)

Again, we have a fully finite form here, to which a subordinating suffix is attached. Now, as Wichita is a verb final language, verbs would naturally be the forms to which clause final subordinating conjunctions would cliticize. In other words, the subordinating suffixes that mark the participial form in Wichita might just as well be clausal instead of verbal. All this leads me to the conclusion that clauses which contain the participial form in Wichita must be seen as subordinated, but not necessarily as deranked. In fact, even the question of whether 'participial' clauses in Wichita are really subordinated is not completely clear. It can be noted that clauses which contain 'participial' forms can often be used as (functional equivalents of) independent sentences: 'Largely because of the tendency to use participles frequently, it is often difficult to find sentence boundaries in Wichita texts' (Rood 1976: 172).

(227)   KIOWA (Tanoan)

    a. Gya-khôm   né   ø-ca:n-ô
       1SG.AG/SG.PAT-call   but   3SG-arrive-NEG
       'I called, but he didn't come' (Watkins 1980: 300)

    b. Kho: thay   yán-mobotto   bot
       blanket atop 1SG.AG/2SG.PAT-pile.up.IMPERF because
       em-k'o-dò-dò
       2SG-cold-be-because
       'I'm piling blankets on you because you are cold'

                                  (Watkins 1980: 301)

(228)   LAKOTA (Siouan)

    a. De   ø-siga,   he   ø-waste
       this   3SG-bad   that 3SG-good
       'This is bad, that is good': 'That is better than this' (Riggs 1851: 35)

    b. Ekta   wa-i   ungkang ø-wang-ma-yaka-pi
       to.there 1SG-come and   3-see-1PAT-see-PL
       'I came there and they saw me' (Riggs 1851: 60)

    c. Waniyetu   ca   wapa
       3.be.winter when 3.snow
       'When it is winter, it snows' (Riggs 1851: 58)

(229)   CROW (Siouan)

    De·ra hin·e' a'xacec k'u·'re-rək   bu'a- rək na·'ka-rək
    then   this   Sun   return-INDEF.PAST wife-and child-and
    k'o·ra'su-tsɛruk
    not.be-QUOT
    'Then Sun returned (and) his wife and child were not there' / 'Then,
    when Sun returned' (Lowie 1941: 42)

The Tanoan language Kiowa, and the three Muskogean languages in my sample, are commonly described in the literature as having a switch-reference system of some sort in the formation of their clause chains. Thus, in Alabama and Koasati, non-final predicates in a clause chain receive a suffix which indicates whether their subject is identical or different from the subject of the following clause. The suffix for same subject is -*k* in Alabama and -*t* in Koasati. In case of different subjects, the suffix is -*n* in both languages.

(230) ALABAMA (Muskogean)

    a. Takkolcoba-n   ipa-li-co-k   cokoo-li-li-o
       apple-OBL   eat-1SG.ACT-EVID-SS   sit-ACT-1SG-PERF
       'I am sitting here eating an apple' (Lupardus 1983: 244)

    b. Isna-o-k   takkolcoba-n   is-ipa-mo-n
       2SG.ACT-EMP-NOM apple-OBL   2SG.AG-eat-EMP-DS
       takkola-n   ipa-aa-lo
       peach-OBL   eat-1SG.AG-FUT
       'You eat apples and I (will) eat peaches' (Lupardus 1983: 247)

(231) KOASATI (Muskogean)

    a. Mobí:la-k   pa-konótli-t í:bi-t   łibosli-:s
       car-SUBJ   over-roll-ss kill-ss squash-FIN
       'A car rolled over (it), killed (it) and squashed (it)'

                                             (Kimball 1985: 448)

    b. Athómma-k yomáhli-n   calakkí   ho-ká:ha-'vhco-k
       Indian-SUBJ go.about-DS   Cherokee DISTR-say-HAB-PAST
       'The Indians went about and they called them Cherokee': 'They
       called the wandering Indians Cherokee' (Kimball 1985: 444)

The question now is whether or not the presence of these switch-reference suffixes is enough to rate their predicates as deranked. One point in favour of deranking is that predicates that are thus marked lack the tense/aspect-markers that final predicates in clause chains have: the switch-reference markers 'take the place' of tense/aspect-marking, so to speak. On the other hand, predicates marked for switch-reference have the same person/number-marking as final predicates in a chain. Furthermore, it can be doubted whether the switch-reference markers have only the predicate in their scope. The facts in two other 'switch-reference' languages of the area, Kiowa and Choctaw, appear to indicate they they do not, and that they should rather be regarded as items with clausal scope. A telling fact about Choctaw is that switch-reference markers can be attached to predicates, but they do not have to. These markers rather attach themselves to whatever element is last in a non-final clause, so that they, in addition to verbs, can also appear as suffixes on nonverbal postverbal items like conjunctions or sentence adverbials. If this latter situation holds, the predicate in the clause has its full finite form. Relevant examples are:

(232)   CHOCTAW (Muskogean)

   a. Nani   apa-li   hma-t   si-abika   tok
      fish   eat-1SG   when-SS   me-sick   PAST
      'When I ate fish, I got sick' (Todd 1975: 46)

   b. Bill   at   ala   chink   ma-n,   ımóyyomak   at
      B.   SUBJ   arrive   FUT   when-DS   we.all   SUBJ
      tamaha   iliya   chinh
      town   go   FUT
      'Bill will arrive, and then we will all go to town' (Nicklas 1974: 252)

   c. Chahta   atalowa   talowa-li   ka-t   issoba   om-binilit
      Choctaw   song   sing-1SG   while-SS   horse   on-sit
      anya   tok
      go   PAST
      'I rode along on my horse, singing Choctaw songs' (Todd 1975: 48)

   d. Takon chito   apa-li   ka-n   ofi-t   isinipi   apa   tok
      apple   eat-1SG   while-DS   dog-SUBJ   venison   eat   PAST
      'While I ate an apple, the dog ate venison' (Todd 1975: 48)

In Kiowa, switch-reference is not marked on predicates at all. Instead, same-vs. different-subject encoding is realized by the use of contrasting pairs of sentential connectives, such as *gò* (SS) vs. *nò* (DS). In clause chains that are marked by the presence of such items, all predicates have the same finite form.

(233)   KIOWA (Tanoan)

   a. John   can   gò   honde   gyat-kôn
      J.   3SG.arrive.PERF   and.ss   something   us-bring.PERF
      'John came and brought us gifts' / 'When John came …'
                                 (Watkins 1980: 293)

   b. No   man-pi-om-to   nò   daal
      1SG   2DU.PAT/PL.OBJ-food-make-FUT   and.DS   must
      man-po
      2DU.AG/PL.OBJ-eat-IMP
      'If I cook food for you, you must eat it' (Watkins 1980: 293)

On the basis of these facts, I conclude that switch-reference marking in Muskogean and Tanoan is a clausal phenomenon, and that predicates which happen to bear switch-reference markers cannot be viewed as deranked.[25]

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[25] One might even doubt whether clauses that are marked for switch reference in these languages are subordinated at all. It can be observed that the markers of switch reference parallel the system of case markers on noun phrases, in that the marker of nominative case is identical to the SS marker and the marker of oblique case is identical to the DS marker. If we assume that case marking in these

Since the Topic Possessive in the North American languages under review here is of a non-standard subtype, there is no strict need for these languages to be splitters, as the mere fact of the indexation of the possessor on the existential verb ensures that the construction will always be differentiated from a copular sentence. Nonetheless, for what it is worth, I can demonstrate that nearly all of these languages have either zero-split encoding or full-split encoding.[26] The only exceptions here are Kiowa and Wichita, in which the *be*-verbs *-dɔ́* (Kiowa) and *-i*(SG)/*-iki* (PL) (Wichita) can function both as a locational/existential verb and as a copula with predicate nominals.

(234)   SENECA (Iroquoian)

    a. Y-eksa-kuwa
       3SG.F.SUBJ-girl-beautiful
       'She is a beautiful girl' (Holmer 1954: 59)

    b. Ha-yê'
       3SG.M.SUBJ-be.there
       'He is there' (Holmer 1954: 52)

    c. Te'-kaneka-yê-h
       NEG-water-be.there-ASP
       'There is no water' (Holmer 1954: 38)

(235)   ONEIDA (Iroquoian)

    a. La-ksaʔt-iyo
       3SG.SUBJ-child-good
       'He is a good child' (Abbott 2000: 52)

    b. T-ka-nuhs-ot-eʔ
       CISLOC-3SG.SUBJ-house-stand-STAT
       'There is a house standing there' (Abbott 2000: 17)

(236)   TUSCARORA (Iroquoian)

    a. O-yatvhst-eh
       NEUT.OBJ-book-STAT
       'It is a book' (Mithun Williams 1976: 238)

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languages is basically a matter of topic vs. non topic marking, we may extrapolate this to clauses in temporal sequences as well, thereby postulating a basic distinction between topicalized and non topicalized (i.e. backgrounded) clauses.

[26] For some of these languages, and especially for Iroquoian, it has been argued that predicate nominals actually receive verbal encoding instead of nonverbal zero copula encoding. This position is, however, not uncontested; see Mithun (1999a) for a refutation. As the outcome of this debate is not crucial to the argumentation presented here, I will not pursue this matter further.

    b. O-ʔnahkw-akwt   o-yatvhst-eh   ka-yvʔ
       NEUT.OBJ-box-near   NEUT.OBJ-book-SUFF   NONHUM.SUBJ-lay.PERF
       'The book is near the box' (Mithun Williams 1976: 238)

(237) WICHITA (Caddoan)

    a. Kahikʔa   kiya-hasʔ-aʔ-aki-ʔi
       woman   HUM.SUBJ-NARR-QUOT-AOR.3SUBJ-be.SG
       'She/it was a woman' (Rood 1976: 117)

    b. To:rikic   kiyaʔ-ha:sʔaki-ʔi
       young.man   INDEF.SUBJ-NARR.AOR-be.SG
       'There was a young man' (Rood 1976: 200)

(238) KIOWA (Tanoan)

    a. K'yahi   k'yatayki   ø-dɔ́:
       man   chief   3SG-be
       'That man is a chief' (Watkins 1980: 140)

    b. P'ó: he: gya-dɔ́:
       moon   away   PL-be
       'There was no moon' (Watkins 1980: 268)

    c. Gûyte   ø-t'ò:
       other   3SG-stay
       'There is someone else here' (Watkins 1980: 140)

    d. E:go yi: ol   è-cel   kicoy-ka
       here two hair 3DU-be.in soup-in
       'There are two pieces of hair in the soup' (Watkins 1980: 261)

(239) ALABAMA (Muskogean)

    a. Bil-ka-ya   naani
       B.-DERIV-TOP   man
       'Bill is a man' (Lupardus 1983: 207)

    b. Takkolcoba-k   ayolimpa-fa-n   paa-naaho-bi
       apple-NOM   table-on-OBL   on-be-PERF
       'Several apples are on the table' (Lupardus 1983: 227)

(240) KOASATI (Muskogean)

    a. Saykí-k   fó:s-on   ó-nk
       vulture-SUBJ bird-OBJ.FOC   be-INTR
       'The vulture is a bird' (Kimball 1985: 287)

b. í:sa-k ná:ho-'
house-SUBJ exist-FIN
'There is a house' (Kimball 1985: 214)

(241) CHOCTAW (Muskogean)

a. Ano at-o nakni si-a-h
1SG SUBJ-FOC man 1SG.OBJ-COP-IMPERF
'I am a man' (Nicklas 1974: 35)

b. Ofi toklo-t kocha anshwa-h
dog two-SUBJ outside 3DU.be-IMPERF
'There are two dogs outside' (Nicklas 1974: 162)

(242) LAKOTA (Siouan)

a. Pteyuha he-ma'-c'a'
cattle.rancher be-1SG.INACT-be
'I am a cattle rancher' (Ingham 2003: 16)

b. Canuŋpa waŋ ø-yuk'aŋ ø-keya-pi
pipe one 3-exist 3-say-PL
'They say that there was a pipe' (Ingham 2003: 94)

(243) CROW (Siouan)

a. Di-watséo
2PL-man.PL
'You are men' (Lowie 1941: 52)

b. A'm-bici-ky
land-be-PRED
'There was land' (Lowie 1941: 29)

As a final case of Topic Possessive encoding in North America, we must deal with the five Algonquian languages in the sample. Above, we have seen that the Californian language Yurok, which is geographically isolated from its family members, has a full-encoded Topic Possessive, with indexing of the possessor on the possessee. Matters are significantly less straightforward, however, in the four remaining languages. In Section 5.3.2 I have dealt with the major possessive construction in Blackfoot, Menomini, and Ojibwa. For ease of reference I will repeat a few examples of this construction here.

(244) BLACKFOOT (Algonquian)

a. Nit-o-mitaa-m-i
1SG.AN.INTR-3SG.POSS-dog-AL-DERIV
'I have a dog' (Frantz 1971: 24)

b. Nit-o-xko-yi
1SG.AN.INTR-3POSS-son-DERIV
'I have a son' (Uhlenbeck 1938: 147)

(245)   OJIBWA (Algonquian)
O-bizhiiki-im-i-ø
his-cow-AL-DERIV-3SG.AN.INTR
'He has a cow' (Valentine 2001: 416)

(246)   MENOMINI (Algonquian)
a. Net-u-suniyan-ɛm-em
1SG.AN.INTR-3SG.POSS-money-AL-NON3
'I have money' (Bloomfield 1962: 276)[27]

b. Net-ow-ek-em
1SG.AN.INTR-3POSS-house-NON3
'I have a house' (Bloomfield 1962: 276)[28]

After a rather intricate discussion, I concluded in Section 5.3.2 that the best way to classify this highly idiosyncratic construction would be to view it as an instance of the – extremely rare – 'predicativized' variant of the Topic Possessive. Now, at the present point in our argumentation it can be shown that these languages fit the profile of a Topic Possessive language very well. 'Heavily' deranked predicates, such as converbs or oblique verbal nouns, do not occur in Algonquian temporal sequences. As a favourite strategy, the languages use paratactic strings of main clauses, which all contain finite verbal forms.[29]

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[27] The subjective animate intransitive affix of the first person in Menomini is complex, as it consists of a prefix *ne/net* and a suffix *em*. This suffix should not be confused with the suffix *ɛm* that signals alienability.

[28] In Menomini, the item *ek* 'house' belongs to the class of 'dependent' (i.e. inalienably possessed) nouns (Bloomfield 1962: 37).

[29] On a par with the 'coincidental form' in Iroquoian (see above, fn. 24), Algonquian languages employ subordinate temporal clauses in which the predicate has a specific, but completely finite form. In Blackfoot, this so called 'conjunct form' is characterized by a set of suffixes to an otherwise finite predicate. In Menomini and Ojibwa the conjunct form features a special set of conjugational affixes.

(i)   BLACKFOOT (Algonquian)

a. Á Io'kaa wa   nit á' it o'too hs yi
DUR sleep 3SG   1 INCH there arrive CONJUNCT CONJUNCT
'He was asleep when I got there' (Frantz 1991: 110)

b. Kit sin o   kit sitsispi si   omi   moyis
2PAT see 1ACT   2 enter CONJUNCT   that   lodge
'I saw you when you entered that lodge' (Uhlenbeck 1938: 163)

(247)   BLACKFOOT (Algonquian)
    ostoi   osistk-axs-si-wa,   nistoa   ni-mat-axs-ssi
    3SG.EMP beyond-good-AN-3SG   1SG.EMP 1SG-NEG-good-NEG
    'He is more good, I am not good': 'He is better than I am'
                                           (Uhlenbeck 1938: 68)

(248)   MENOMINI (Algonquian)
    apeqsek tata'hkese-w,   nenah   teh   kan
    more   be.strong-3SG 1SG.EMP and NEG
    'He is stronger, and I not': 'He is stronger than me'
                                         (Bloomfield 1962: 506)

(249)   OJIBWA (Algonquian)
    wakahkwat kahsa,   mohkomaa win kawin
    axe   be.sharp.3SG knife   but   not
    'The axe is sharp, but the knife is not' (Todd 1970: 94)

It can be added that, at least in the eastern members of Algonquian, this rather unique variant of the Topic Possessive receives competition from, and may even become superseded by, a more 'mainstream' variant of this possession type. A recent source on Ojibwa mentions a construction which features the existential verb -*aya*-, and which can be classified unproblematically as a full-encoded Topic Possessive, with additional indexing on the possessee.

(250)   OJIBWA (Algonquian)
    Yaawan   w-gwisan
    exist.3SG.AN 3SG.POSS-son
    'He has a son' (Valentine 2001: 417)

(ii)   MENOMINI (Algonquian)
    a. Pi at   nena koce mon aw
       come 3SG.CONJUNCT 1SG.SUBJ ask FUT 3SG.OBJ
       'When he comes, I'll ask him' (Bloomfield 1962: 501)

    b. Ohpi w   as   mek ape t
       smoke 3SG.INDIC   when   sit here 3SG.CONJUNCT
       'He smokes as he sits here' (Bloomfield 1962: 494)

(iii) OJIBWA (Algonquian)
    a. Gii zhgaate nig   giiwenh
       PAST moonshine.be.bright 3SG.CONJUNCT   allegedly
       w ganwaabm aan   niwi giisoon
       3SG.SUBJ look.at 3SG.OBJ DEM moon
       'Once, when the moonlight is shining brightly, he looks at the moon'
                                   (Valentine 2001: 943)

    b. Kwapi kisatamit ek   sikanan   ni minihkwakan ink
       coffee be.hot 3SG.INAN.CONJUNCT pour.it.IMP my cup LOC
       'When the coffee is hot, pour it in my cup' (Todd 1970: 70)

What is more, this construction seems to be in a process of undergoing Have-Drift, as is suggested by the examples in (251). In Plains Cree, the fifth and easternmost Algonquian language in the sample, we can observe a similar development.

(251) OJIBWA (Algonquian)

    a. Nint-aya-wa   ciman
       1SG.ACT-have/exist-3SG.INAN.OBV.PAT   canoe
       'I have a canoe' (Todd 1970: 62)

    b. Gaa   wii   gii-yaawaa-ssi-waan
       NEG   NEG   PAST-be.TR/have-NEG-3PL.SUBJ/4OBJ
       dbahgiiswaanan zhaazhi   go   Nishaabeg
       clocks   long.ago indeed Indians
       'Long ago, the Indians did not have clocks' (Valentine 2001: 418)

(252) PLAINS CREE (Algonquian)

    a. Nit-ayâ-n   masinahikan
       1SG.SUBJ-have/be-3SG.INAN.OBJ book
       'I have a book' (Ahenakew 1987: 92)

    b. Wiya mi·na niya·nan aya·-wew   misatimwah
       he   also   five   have-3AN.OBV horse.OBV
       'He himself also had five horses' (Dahlstrom 1991: 82)

Like the other three Algonquian languages discussed here, Plains Cree is a balancing language, which employs sentential coordinations as the main strategy in temporal sequence encoding.[30]

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[30] Like other Algonquian languages, Plains Cree has a conjunct form, which, in this language, is marked by prefixes as well as by a special system of conjugational affixes. As sentence (250) and sentence (ic) below show, the conjunct form in Cree is not limited to subordinate clauses; it can also occur in temporal sequences which, on all other criteria, must be regarded as coordinations.

(i) PLAINS CREE (Algonquian)

    a. Mêkwâ ê pimoht êt   ispatin âw   wâpahtam
       while   CONJUNCT walk 3SG.CONJUNCT see 3SG.INDIC hill
       'While he walked, he saw a hill' (Ahenakew 1987: 12)

    b. Iyikohk mistah   e h tipiska yik
       when   greatly   CONJUNCT be.night 3SG.INAN.CONJUNCT
       itohte w   owi cewakan ah
       go.to 3SG.INDIC   his companion OBV
       'When it was quite dark, he went to where his companion was'

                                              (Dahlstrom 1991: 189 90)

    c. E h takohte cik   e kotah a say   o ma
       CONJUNCT arrive 3PL.CONJUNCT there   already this.INAN
       ka pa skisw a t   mostos wah
       CONJUNCT shoot 3SG.OBV.CONJUNCT buffalo OBV
       'When they arrived there, he had already shot the buffalo' (Dahlstrom 1991: 95)

(253) PLAINS CREE (Algonquian)
       Ta·pwe· minihkwe·-yiwa   e·kwah e·h-mi·ciso-yit
       truly   drink-3SG.OBV.INDIC and   CONJUNCT-eat-3SG.CONJUNCT
       'So he ate and drank' (Dahstrom 1991: 95)

To round up this exposition of the possessive construction(s) in Algonquian, I should mention that all five sampled languages from this family fit the profile of languages with a Topic Possessive not only by their sequencing options, but also by their behaviour on the split/share parameter. All languages are clear splitters, with an encoding for locational/existential sentences that cannot be employed for predicate nominals. Earlier on in this section I have illustrated this fact for Yurok; examples of the split configurations in the other four Algonquian languages follow below.

(254) BLACKFOOT (Algonquian)

       a. Nít-aakii-yi-hpinnaan
          1-woman-be-1PL.EXCL
          'We are women' (Frantz 1991: 23)

       b. Ipot-oht   oxsistsinai
          door-near   hoof.PL.INAN
          'Near the door are hoofs' (Uhlenbeck 1938: 221)

(255) MENOMINI (Algonquian)

       a. Awetok-ɛw
          spirit-3SG.AN
          'He is a spirit' (Bloomfield 1962: 275)

       b. Mec-menikan   awe-w   eneh   Menewah
          big-town   be-3SG   this   <place.name>
          'Milwaukee is a big town' (Bloomfield 1962: 447)

       c. As   i-w
          there be-3SG
          'He is at home' (Bloomfield 1962: 457)

(256) OJIBWA (Algonquian)

       a. Anihšinapehkwe   nın
          Indian.woman   1SG
          'I am an Indian woman' (Todd 1970: 79)

       b. Ohoma   nin-tisi-aya   wahkahikan-ink
          here   1SG-there-be   house-LOC
          'I am here, in the house' (Todd 1970: 170)

(257) PLAINS CREE (Algonquian)

    a. Ko-hta·wiy   okima·wi-w
       your-father   chief-3SG
       'Your father is a chief' (Dahlstrom 1991: 168)

    b. Ci·h   e·kotah   mostos-wah   aya·-yiwa
       near   there   buffalo-OBV   be-OBV
       'Near there were buffalos' (Dahlstrom 1991: 105)

11.6 Central America

As we have seen in Section 10.4, the northernmost branch of Uto-Aztecan, namely Numic, selects a With-Possessive as its only option. In the Aztecan languages, which form the southernmost branch of the phylum, a Have-Possessive is the sole option for possession-encoding. The in-between sub-families of the phylum commonly show a combination of With-Possessives and Have-Possessives, but there is also a fair amount of Topic Possessive encoding to be found. Such is the case, for instance, in the two sampled languages from the Takic branch. These languages, which are spoken in southern California and Arizona, have a full-encoded Topic Possessive, with indexing of the possessor on the possessee. In Luiseño the construction seems to be on the way to drifting into a Have-Possessive: witness the overt marking of the possessor for subject in sentence (258d).[31] As far as I know, the Topic Possessive is the only option in possession-encoding for these languages.

(258) LUISEÑO (Uto-Aztecan, Takic)

    a. Noo-up   no-ki   miyx-uk
       1SG-CLITIC   my-house   be-USIT
       'I used to have a house' (Langacker 1977a: 43)

    b. Mom-yum   pom-patkila   won-qa
       white.man-PL   3PL.POSS-gun   be.PL-PRES
       'White people have guns' (Kroeber and Grace 1960: 184)

    c. Noo-p   no-toonav   qala
       1SG-CLITIC   my-basket   be-INAN.PRES
       'I have a basket' (Steele 1977: 114)

    d. Noo-n   no-toonav   qala
       1SG-1SG.SUBJ   my-basket   be-INAN.PRES
       'I have a basket' (Steele 1977: 122)

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[31] See Section 6.3 and Heine 1997: 114 16.

(259)   CUPEÑO (Uto-Aztecan, Takic)
　　　　Neʔ　ne-mixen　　　　　　　　ʔiket　miyexwe
　　　　I　　my-possession/thing　　net　　is
　　　　'I have a net' (Hill 1966: 40)

Luiseño and Cupeño must be rated as balancing languages. They have a preference for coordinated temporal sequences, which are commonly marked by conjunctions or sentence adverbials, and which cover a wide semantic range of temporal and adverbial relations. Both languages have zero-split encoding for nonverbal predications. Locational/existential sentences are encoded by a set of *be*-verbs, which differ from one another on the basis of posture ('sit', 'stand', and the like) and animacy of the subject.

(260)   LUISEÑO (Uto-Aztecan, Takic)

　　a. Henceemal　'aamo-q　　pi　　mawitmal　lo'aa-q
　　　　boy　　　　　hunt-PRES　and　girl　　　　cook-PRES
　　　　'The boy is hunting and the girl is cooking' (Hyde 1971: 46)

　　b. Tee-po　　　　'om　ivi-y　　　　paal　　paa'i-n,　　pi　　'om
　　　　maybe-FUT　you　this-ACC　water　drink-FUT　and　you
　　　　takwaya-n
　　　　be.sick-FUT
　　　　'If you drink this water, you'll get sick' (Hyde 1971: 160)

(261)   LUISEÑO (Uto-Aztecan, Takic)

　　a. Maria　　sungaal
　　　　M.　　　woman
　　　　'Maria is a woman' (Hyde 1971: 15)

　　b. Xwaan　　Kupa-nga　　'aw-q
　　　　Juan　　　K.-at　　　　be.AN-PRES
　　　　'Juan is in Kupa' (Hyde 1971: 90)

　　c. Toonaviš　　ʔip　　qala
　　　　basket　　　here　　be.INAN.PRES
　　　　'The basket is here' (Steele 1977: 115)

(262)   CUPEÑO (Uto-Aztecan, Takic)

　　a. Qáyʔəp　　　háwpən,　　mə́n　　tánpən
　　　　NEG.PAST　　3SG.sing　　but　　　3SG.dance
　　　　'He did not sing, but he danced' (Hill 1966: 150)

　　b. Hánəkə　　yáqpəyəqəl-i　　ʔísi⅄　　pəníʔawluqəl
　　　　again　　　3SG.go.out-PERF　coyote　　3SG.arrive.PERF
　　　　'While she was out, Coyote arrived' (Hill 1966: 145)

(263)   CᴜᴘᴇÑᴏ (Uto-Aztecan, Takic)

 a. Nə́ʔən   nəxánic
    1sɢ   man
    'I am a man' (Hill 1966: 15)

 b. ʔəmáy   ʔivíəaw   qáʔ   páalə-aw
    today   here   be/live   P.-at
    'We are (living) here at Pala nowadays' (Hill 1966: 146)

In other central branches of Uto-Aztecan, such as Corachol, Tarahumaran, and Tepiman, the Topic Possessive is a minor addition to the more prominent Have-Possessives and With-Possessives. Western Tarahumara has a standard Topic Possessive, but in the other relevant cases – Cora, and the Tepiman languages – we find instances of a potentially ambiguous zero-Topic Possessive, or (in one of the alternatives of Cora) a zero-Topic Possessive with possessor indexing on the possessee.

(264)   Wᴇsᴛᴇʀɴ Tᴀʀᴀʜᴜᴍᴀʀᴀ (Uto-Aztecan, Tarahumaran)
    Mué   ní   rehté
    you   be   rock
    'You have a rock' (Burgess 1984: 27)

(265)   Cᴏʀᴀ (Uto-Aztecan, Corachol)

 a. Tʸí-siiku'u   ɨ́   Rodriigu
    ɪɴᴅᴇꜰ-shirt   ᴀʀᴛ   R.
    'Rodrigo owns a shirt' (Casad 1984: 194)

 b. ɨ́   Kuko   séih   pú-tʸí-kana
    ᴀʀᴛ   K.   one   his-ɪɴᴅᴇꜰ-guitar
    'Kuko has a guitar' (Casad 1984: 188)

(266)   Nᴏʀᴛʜᴇʀɴ Tᴇᴘᴇʜᴜᴀɴ (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

 a. Gííka   go-kɨ́ɨli
    plough   ᴀʀᴛ-man
    'The man has a plough' (Bascom 1982: 283)

 b. i-ɨ́sikamitilígi   maa-mára   góóka   ááli
    ᴀʀᴛ-wheat.field.owner   ʀᴇᴅᴜᴘʟ-child   two   little.ones
    'The owner of the wheat field has two little children'

                                                    (Bascom 1982: 283)

(267)   Pᴀᴘᴀɢᴏ (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)
    Pi   o   ha   kii   g   Pancho
    ɴᴇɢ   prt   ɴᴇɢ   house   ᴀʀᴛ   P.
    'Pancho doesn't have a house' (Saxton and Saxton 1969: 128)

(268)   Pima Bajo (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)
Aan   gook   iva   maamar
1SG   two   also   child.PL
'I also have two kids' (Estrada Fernandez 1996: 30)

(269)   Nevome (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

a. An'-igui   dah (-cada)
1SG-PRT   mother(-PAST)
'I have/had a mother' (Shaul 1982: 39)

b. Pare   pimubai   ki
priest   nowhere   house
'The priest doesn't have a house anywhere' (Shaul 1982: 41)

Papago and Pima Bajo are exclusively balancing. The other four languages under discussion here have – or in the case of Nevome, had – deranked predicates in the form of a switch-reference system, but they too show ample use of balancing strategies, such as sentential coordinations and finite subordinate clauses. In keeping with its standard Topic Possessive, Western Tarahumara has the option of full-split nonverbal encoding. The other languages have a zero-share encoding as one of their options. On a par with the minor status of the Topic Possessive, this zero-share option is not very prominent.

(270)   Western Tarahumara (Uto-Aztecan, Tarahumaran)

a. Migéli   wé   a'lá   rió   hú   Húlio   ta'mé   'la   rió   hú
M.   very   good   man   be   H.   NEG   good   man   be
'Miguel is a very good man, Julio is not a good man': 'Miguel is a better man than Julio' (Burgess 1984: 98)

b. Napu-líge   alué   baikiá   čulugí   símí-ba-le   alé   'líge
when   those   three   bird   go-PL-PAST   there   then
alué   basači   pé   alé   a'bé   asá-le-ke-'e
that   coyote   just   there   near   sit-PAST-QUOT-EMP
'When those three birds left, the coyote was just there sitting close'
(Burgess 1984: 134)

(271)   Western Tarahumara (Uto-Aztecan, Tarahumaran)

a. Migéli   wé   a'lá   rió   hú
M.   very   good   man   be
'Miguel is a very good man' (Burgess 1984: 98)

    b. Wa'lú-la   ní-ma   alué rió
    big-INSTR be-FUT that   man
    'That man will be with big(ness)': 'That man will be a chief'

                                                      (Burgess 1984: 24)

(272) CORA (Uto-Aztecan, Corachol)

    a. Ahtá hi'i-t^y-úh-ka-t^{y}e   m-ahtá
    and   NARR-DISTR-REFL-sit-make 3PL-and
    hí-ya'-u-kɨh
    NARR-away-COMPLET-leave
    'And then he got himself ready, and then they went off'

                                                     (Casad 1984: 383)

    b. Tɨ'ih   rá-a-m^{w}a'a-ree   m^w-aa-ta-váhra
    when   he-COMPLET-think-make you.ACC-COMPLET-PERF-follow
    'When he learns about it, he will follow you' (Casad 1984: 428)

(273) CORA (Uto-Aztecan, Corachol)

    a. ɨ́   wáre šuure'e hí'i-waatari
    ART   fig   sap   NARR-medicine
    'The fig sap is real medicine' (Casad 1984: 350)

    b. Ma'a-k^{w}í   mɨ́   t^{y}í-'a-ya'am^{w}a
    there-EMP   ART   DISTR-your-animals
    'Right there are your animals' (Casad 1984: 257)

(274) NORTHERN TEPEHUAN (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

    a. Yɨ́ɨ-i   viíba-i   ááli   naváít^{y}i   ýɨ́ɨ-i
    drink-PRES milk-ABS children corn.liquor drink-PRES
    gɨ́girdukɨdɨ
    adults
    'Children drink milk, adults drink corn liquor' (Bascom 1982: 287)

    b. Áíd^{y}iši kaí   áánɨ   mɨ-ši-giñ-víáátuli
    when   hear   I   UNSPEC.SUBJ-SUBORD-me-greet
    tai   máátɨ áánɨ   v-aid^y-ɨr   Piíli
    then   know   I   he-that-be P.
    'When I heard someone greet me, I knew it was Phil'

                                                       (Bascom 1982: 328)

(275) NORTHERN TEPEHUAN (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

    a. Kɨ́ɨli   áánɨ
    man   I
    'I am a man' (Bascom 1982: 281)

b. Múid^yu   kiíki

b. Múid^yu   kiíki
many   houses
'There are many houses' (Bascom 1982: 281)

(276)   PAPAGO (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

a. 'Uwǐ   'o   cikpan ñ   'a:ñi   ko:ṣ
woman 3.IMPERF   work   1SG.IMPERF 1SG   sleep
'The woman is/was working and I am/was sleeping'

(Zepeda 1983: 25)

b. M-at   [hekid] 'am   jiwa   g   Huan   'att
SUBORD-PERF.3 [when]   here arrive   ART   H.   PERF.1PL
t-gegos
1PL-eat
'When Juan arrived here, we ate' (Zepeda 1983: 107)

(277)   PAPAGO (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

a. ḍ-o   maakai g   Huan
COP-IMPERF.3   doctor   ART   H.
'Juan is a doctor' (Saxton 1982: 121)

b. Am   o   g   ñ-kii
there IMPERF.3   ART   my-house
'There is my house' (Saxton 1982: 138)

(278)   PIMA BAJO (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

a. Aan   in   vakin-im   kɨti   nɨ'i-im
1SG.EMP 1SG   bath-CONT   and   sing-CONT
'I am taking a bath and singing' (Estrada Fernandez 1996: 34)

b. Kova   in-oama   kuanda   in-ko'i-m-d-an
NEG.EMP   me-bother.IMP while   1SG-eat-CONT-POT-IRR
'Don't bother me while I'm eating!' (Estrada Fernandez 1996: 40)

(279)   PIMA BAJO (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

a. Huan   meester
H.   professor
'John is a professor' (Estrada Fernandez 1996: 29)

b. An   am   gahkam
1SG   here side
'I am here' (Estrada Fernandez 1996: 43)

(280)   NEVOME (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

Va   usi-abcad'-aigui   co-n'-t'-igui   Parhai   amidurhu
already   plant-time-PRT   and-1SG-PERF-FUT   P.   from

divia
arrive
'It was already planting time and/when I arrived from Parral'

(Shaul 1982: 120)

(281)   Nevome (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

    a. Coiv'-apimu   pcai   diabro   tuturhu
      because-2PL   really   devil   children
      'because you are truly the Devil's children' (Shaul 1982: 42)

    b. B'-api   oidaga
      where-2SG   village
      'Where (is) your village?' (Shaul 1982: 85)

While in Uto-Aztecan the Topic Possessive can be viewed as marginal, there are other linguistic groupings in Central America where this possession type is the dominant, if not exclusive, option. Thus, for example, the three sampled Mayan languages feature a full-encoded Topic Possessive, with possessor-indexing on the possessee.

(282)   Itzaj Maya (Mayan, Yucatecan)
    Ten-ej   yan   in-wakax
    1SG-TOP   exist   my-cattle
    'I have cattle' (Hofling 2000: 286)

(283)   Tzutujil (Mayan, Quichean)
    K'o jun   ruu-keej   n-ataʔ
    exist a   his-horse   my-father
    'My father has a horse' (Dayley 1981: 200)

(284)   Jacaltec (Mayan, Kanjobalan)
    Ay   no'   hin   txitam
    exist   CLASS   my   pig
    'I have a pig' (Craig 1977: 21)

These Mayan languages do not show any form of deranked predicates. Temporal sequences are preferably encoded as coordinations, with or without sentential connectives. Another option is the use of finite subordinate clauses, with clause-initial conjunctions. All three languages have zero-split encoding for nonverbal predication.

(285)   Itzaj Maya (Mayan, Yucatecan)

    a. Ka'   k'och-een,   ya   tan-uy-ok-ol   k'iin
      then   arrive-1SG.ABS   already   DUR-3ERG-enter-INCOMPL   sun
      'Then I arrived, (and/while) the sun was already setting'

(Hofling 2000: 447)

b. Ka'   tal-ij-ej,   wa'laj-ij   waye'   uktaan
  when   arrive-3ABS-TOP   stand-3ABS   here   front
  t-inw-otoch-ej
  of-my-home-TOP
  'When she arrived, she stood here in front of my house'
  <div align="right">(Hofling 2000: 509)</div>

(286)   ITZAJ MAYA (Mayan, Yucatecan)

a. Tikal   paarkej
  T.   park
  'Tikal is a park' (Hofling 2000: 404)

b. Yan   jum-p'e   noj   kol   chumuk   a'   b'ej-ej
  exist   one-CLASS   big   field   along   DET   road-TOP
  'There is a big field along that road' (Hofling 2000: 409)

c. Pach   naj   yan   a'   baat-ej
  behind   house   exist   DET   ax-TOP
  'The ax is behind the house' (Hofling 2000: 411)

(287)   TZUTUJIL (Mayan, Quichean)

a. Nkeek'am   chab'aq,   nkeek'aq   chkilj   ya
  3ABS/3PL.ERG.take   mud   3ABS/3PL.ERG   on.back.of   the
  taq   ch'uuʔ,   ya   taq   ch'uuʔ   neeqaʔj   xe
  PL   fish   the   PL   fish   3PL.ABS.descend   bottom
  yaʔ,   neetz'areʔ
  water   3PL.ABS.turn.on.side
  'They take mud (and) throw it on the fish, (and) the fish go down
  to the bottom of the water (and) turn on their sides'
  <div align="right">(Dayley 1981: 499)</div>

b. Toq   nok   q'ojoom   pan   armiita,
  when   marimba   3ABS.begin   in   brotherhood.house
  neeq'ab'ari
  3ABS.get.drunk
  'When the marimba begins in the brotherhood house, they get
  drunk' (Dayley 1981: 507)

(288)   TZUTUJIL (Mayan, Quichean)

a. Inin   in   aachi
  1SG.EMP   1SG.ABS   man
  'I am a man' (Dayley 1981: 408)

b. Ja   paq   k'o   chpaan   nb'oorsa
   ART   money   be.there   inside.of   my.pocket
   'The money is inside my pocket' (Dayley 1981: 433)

(289)   JACALTEC (Mayan, Kanjobalan)

a. Yul   mohilal   chacoj   heb   ix   ix   mexa
   at   wedding   put   PL   CLASS   women   table
   sonli   heb   naj   winaj
   play.marimba   PL   CLASS   men
   'At weddings, the women set the table (and) the men play the
   marimba' (Craig 1977: 35)

b. Cun   hach   wa'i   cat   w-axni   an
   while   2ABS   eat   and.then   1ERG-bathe   1
   'While you eat, I bathe' (Craig 1977: 92)

(290)   JACALTEC (Mayan, Kanjobalan)

a. Somlom   naj
   marimba.player   3SG.M.ABS
   'He is/was a marimba player' (Craig 1977: 18)

b. Ay   w-atut   b'et'u
   be.there   my-house   there
   'My house is over there' (Day 1973: 79)

The pattern set by the Mayan languages repeats itself in a number of other
languages from Mexico. We find a standard Topic Possessive in Highland
Chontal, Chalcatongo Mixtec, the two sampled varieties of Chinantec, and in
the Zapotecan language Yaitepec Chatino.[32] A full-encoded Topic Possessive with
additional possessor-indexing on the possessee can be attested for Mezquital
Otomi, San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque, and Upper Necaxa Totonac. In Sochiapan
Chinantec a process of Have-Drift appears to be well under way. The possession
construction in this language is based on classificatory verbs which are selected in
agreement with the class of the possessee, but these verbs receive transitive
marking and have the possessor as their subject (see Section 6.3).

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[32] For Yaitepec Chatino the source also documents a possessive construction that may be rated as a
Topic Locational hybrid:

(i)   YAITEPEC CHATINO (Oto Manguean, Zapotecan)
      Naʔ   n tiya   ska   kektʔiʔ   ʔyan
      1SG   CONT be   one   rock.fairy   to.1SG
      'I have a rock fairy'   (Rasch 2002: 153)

(291)   HIGHLAND CHONTAL (Tequistlatecan)
        Iyaʔ   di-baʔa   l-ihaʔmal
        1SG   3SG-exist ART-mescal
        'I have some mescal' (Turner 1966: 40)

(292)   CHALCATONGO MIXTEC (Oto-Manguean, Mixtecan)
        Čàà   tú-žóó   seʔe
        man   NEG-exist   child
        'That man has no children' (Macaulay 1996: 103)

(293)   COMALTEPEC CHINANTEC (Oto-Manguean, Chinantecan)
        Sä   kú   zäta
        exist.3STAT   money   councilman
        'The councilman has money' (Anderson 1989: 85)

(294)   SOCHIAPAN CHINANTEC (Oto-Manguean, Chinantecan)
        a. Tá-râuʔ   ieʔ   piʔ   ó
            CONT.PRES-possess.flat.STAT.TR.INAN   elder little yonder
            káu   tiú
            one   rifle
            'That little man over there has a rifle' (Foris 2000: 123)

        b. ʔauʔ   ieʔ   hmïɘkau
            possess.liquid.3STAT.TR.INAN   elder kerosene
            'That man has (some) kerosene' (Foris 2000: 238)

        c. θéi   hná   hâ   cúliá
            possess.upright.1SG.STAT.TR.INAN   I   one   clay.waterpot
            'I have a clay water pot' (Foris 2000: 241)

        d. θéi   hná   hâ   cakuá
            possess.upright.1SG.STAT.TR.AN   I   one   horse
            'I have a horse' (Foris 2000: 241)

(295)   MEZQUITAL OTOMI (Oto-Manguean, Otomian)
        ʔna   ra   dame   mi-xa   ya   hwami
        one   ART   man   PAST-exist his.PL   cornfield
        'A man had cornfields' (Hess 1968: 111)

(296)   YAITEPEC CHATINO (Oto-Manguean, Zapotecan)
        N-tiya   sna   snyeʔ   n
        CONT-be   three   child   1SG
        'I have three children' (Rasch 2002: 173)

(297)   Sᴀɴ Mɪɢᴜᴇʟ Cʜɪᴍᴀʟᴀᴘᴀ Zᴏᴏ̨ᴜᴇ (Mixe-Zoque)
     Dəš   tehi   Ɂən-tuhkuyɁ
     1sɢ   exist   my-gun
     'I have a gun' (Johnson 2000: 93)

(298)   Uᴘᴘᴇʀ Nᴇxᴀᴄᴀ Tᴏᴛᴏɴᴀᴄ (Totonacan)
     Wi:ł   kin-kawa:yúx
     sit   my-horse
     'I have a horse' (Beck 2004: 44)

All the above languages are staunchly balancing. The authentic strategy in temporal sequence encoding seems to be paratactic linkage of main clauses, although – possibly under the influence of Spanish – overt marking by sentence coordinators can be encountered as well. Furthermore, most of the languages have subordinate clauses with finite predicates; the conjunctions that are used to introduce such clauses can, at least in a number of cases, be traced back to loans from Spanish.

When it comes to nonverbal predication, the dominant patterning in these languages appears to be zero-split. Full-split encoding is relatively rare, although it can be seen to occur in Mezquital Otomi, Comaltepec Chinantec, and Yaitepec Chatino, and, as an alternative to zero-split, in Chalcatongo Mixtec and Sochiapan Chinantec.[33]

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[33] As noted, locational/existential sentences in Sochiapan Chinantec and other varieties of Chinantec are encoded by a set of verbs which are classificatory as to 'prototypical posture' and animacy of the subject. Examples include:

(i)   Sᴏᴄʜɪᴀᴘᴀɴ Cʜɪɴᴀɴᴛᴇᴄ (Oto Manguean, Chinantecan)
    a. Ha   huú   bíɁ   tá θaɁ   Ɂɲiú   tímí
       among   town   ᴀꜰꜰɪʀᴍ   ᴄᴏɴᴛ stand.ꜰᴜᴛ.sᴛᴀᴛ.ɪɴᴛʀ.ɪɴᴀɴ   house.his doctor
       'The clinic will be in the middle of the town' (Foris 2000: 129)

    b. ŋií   θio   θeɁ   Ɂmásï
       place   yonder be.upright.sᴛᴀᴛ.ɪɴᴛʀ.ɪɴᴀɴ   chair
       'The chair is (standing) over there' (Foris 2000: 241)

    c. ŋií   θio   θē̃Ɂ   cakuá
       place   yonder be.upright.sᴛᴀᴛ.ɪɴᴛʀ.ᴀɴ   horse
       'The horse is (standing) over there' (Foris 2000: 241)

    d. θia   bíɁ   táu
       exist.sᴛᴀᴛ.ɪɴᴛʀ.ɪɴ   ᴀꜰꜰɪʀᴍ   banana
       'There are bananas' (Foris 2000: 133)

    e. Nio   sií   dá̃ï
       be.present.sᴛᴀᴛ.ɪɴᴛʀ.ɪɴᴀɴ   book   red
       'There are some red books' (Foris 2000: 133)

(299) HIGHLAND CHONTAL (Tequistlatecan)

    a. ʔu-yayna-ba   l-acol   (ʔi)   gal-shu
       3SG.PAST-go.on-PUNCT   ART-turtle (and)   ART-lion
       ʔu-yayna-ba
       3SG.PAST-go.on-PUNCT
       'The turtle went on his way, and the lion went on his way'
                                                  (Turner 1966: 159)

    b. Sinim-ba   du-meh-ko   l-abik
       3SG.see-PUNCT 3SG.PAST-press-against ART-rock
       'When he(1) saw him(2), he(2) was pressing against a rock'
                                                 (Turner 1966: 45)

(300) HIGHLAND CHONTAL (Tequistlatecan)

    a. Kíya   ʔónši
       this/he wise.man
       'He is a wise man (i.e. a fortune-teller)' (Turner 1966: 201)

    b. Di-baʔa ʔa-nuli gal-sans ʔi-fá-ba   l-alane
       3SG-be ART-one ART-man 3SG-plant-ASP ART-beans
       'There was a man who planted beans' (Turner 1966: 173)

(301) CHALCATONGO MIXTEC (Oto-Manguean, Mixtecan)

    a. María ni-xíta   te   Xʷa ni-xičáʔá
       M.   COMPLET-sing and X. COMPLET-dance
       'Maria sang and Juan danced' (Macaulay 1996: 98)

    b. Taa keta   ra, taa kecaʔa   kati ra
       and CONT.arrive he and CONT.begin say he
       'When he arrived, he began by saying' (Bradley 1970: 80)

(302) CHALCATONGO MIXTEC (Oto-Manguean, Mixtecan)

    a. Xʷa čàà   kúká šaa
       X.   man rich very
       'Juan is a very rich man' (Macaulay 1996: 112)

    b. Ku-ø î   čàà   káʔnû
       COP-3 one man big
       'He is/will be a big man' (Macaulay 1996: 131)

    c. Lagúna káʔnû ni-žoo-ø   žáʔa
       lake   big COMPLET.exist-3 here
       'There was a big lake here' (Macaulay 1996: 1994)

(303)   COMALTEPEC CHINANTEC (Oto-Manguean, Chinantecan)

    a. Geʔ   kǫ: bëʔ   hǫ   ka-hninʔnaʔ
        arrive-3.COMPL one   truck that PAST-impede.1PL.COMPLET
        'A truck arrived and we stopped it ' (Anderson 1989: 49)

    b. Ni-zeʔ-b   kabó   kée
        IMPERF-be.sick.3STAT-AFF coparent my
        mï-ka-gée
        when-PAST-arrive.1SG.COMPLET
        'My co-parent was sick when I arrived' (Anderson 1989: 11)

(304)   COMALTEPEC CHINANTEC (Oto-Manguean, Chinantecan)

    a. Lín-n   tuhuaʔ
        be-1SG   teacher
        'I am a teacher' (Anderson 1989: 87)

    b. Se:n   ha:n   hä   huï   mokoʔ ʔiʔ
        exist.3STAT one   spider road back.its tortilla.your
        'There is a spider on the back of your tortilla' (Anderson 1989: 106)

(305)   SOCHIAPAN CHINANTEC (Oto-Manguean, Chinantecan)

    a. Húʔ   hná ʔi/ hï
        cough.1SG.INTR.AN.PRES I   and
        hnï   siáʔ lé
        be.closed.3SG.INTR.INAN.PRES also throat.my
        'I cough, and also my throat is tight' (Foris 2000: 338)

    b. Hâ   cú tála lǐ   má
        wait.3PRES.INTR.AN 3   while finish.FUT.INTR.INAN food
        'S/he waits while the food finishes' (Foris 2000: 98)

(306)   SOCHIAPAN CHINANTEC (Oto-Manguean, Chinantecan)

    a. Tï   bíʔ   cá   ʔí
        teacher AFFIRM person that.AN
        'That person is a teacher' (Foris 2000: 238)

    b. Lǐ   cú   tï
        be.3PRES.INTR.AN 3   teacher
        'S/he is a teacher' (Foris 2000: 239)

    c. Ha   huú bíʔ   tá-θaʔ
        among town AFFIRM CONT-stand.FUT.STAT.INTR.INAN
        ʔɲiú   tïmí
        house.his doctor
        'The clinic will be in the middle of the town' (Foris 2000: 129)

(307)   Mezquital Otomi (Oto-Manguean, Otomian)

     a.   Bi-du   rá   dame   bi-sufri   ko   ʔrato   ya
       3SG.PAST-die   her   man   3SG.PAST-suffer   with   six   her.PL
       baci
       child
       'Her husband died, (and she) suffered with her six children'

                                                       (Hess 1968: 111)

     b.   Nú   stihaza   dasi   ʔna   ra   sifi
       when   he.will.have.arrived   it.will.be.spread   one   ART   mat
       'When he arrives, a mat will be spread on the floor'

                                                       (Hess 1968: 90)

(308)   Mezquital Otomi (Oto-Manguean, Otomian)

     a.   M-rá   zi   ʔbehña
       3SG.PAST-COP   little   woman
       'She was a girl' (Hess 1968: 41)

     b.   Da-xa   ra   ʔbotʔi
       3SG.FUT-be   ART   planting
       'There will be a planting' (Hess 1968: 126)

(309)   Yaitepec Chatino (Oto-Manguean, Zapotecan)

     a.   Tiyu   kwyu   na   burru   i   lyuʔ   ti   iʔn
       big   horse   and   donkey   PRT   small   only   3AN
       'The horse is big and the donkey is just small' (Rasch 2002: 344)

     b.   ʔan   nky-an   n,   nw-taxʔwe   neʔ   ska
       when   COMPLET-come   1SG   COMPLET-give   person   one
       teʔkichaʔn   ʔyan   rakaʔn
       blanket   to.me   then
       'When I came back they gave me a blanket' (Rasch 2002: 308)

(310)   Yaitepec Chatino (Oto-Manguean, Zapotecan)

     a.   Yu   sa   ka   nu   chakwchi   kwa
       person   clever   COP   ART   rabbit   that
       'That rabbit is a clever fellow' (Rasch 2002: 112)

     b.   La   n-tiya   mbware
       where   CONT-be   companion
       'Where are (my) companions?' (Rasch 2002: 171)

(311)   San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque (Mixe-Zoque)

     a.   ʔən-cənkuyʔ-ciʔ-šuk-wə   ʔi   ø-cən-šuk-wə
       1ERG-chair-give-3PL-COMPLET   and   3ABS-sit-3PL-COMPLET
       'I gave them some chairs and they sat down' (Johnson 2000: 130)

b. Ɂəm   wan-wə   ø-tək.Ɂəy-wə   bi   hente
   2ERG   sing-COMPLET   3ABS-enter-COMPLET   DEF   people
   dəkka   Ɂora
   PL   hour/when
   'You were singing when the people entered' (Johnson 2000: 302)

(312)   SAN MIGUEL CHIMALAPA ZOQUE (Mixe-Zoque)

a. Dəš-haaɁ   də-yaŋhe-haaɁ
   1-PL   1ABS-yankee-PL
   'We are gringos' (Johnson 2000: 257)

b. Yədə   nuɁ   ø-tehi-Ɂa-wə   ɁaŋkehoɁ   de
   this   dog   3ABS-there.is-VERB-COMPLET   outside   of
   Ɂəy-tək
   his-house
   'This dog is outside of his house' (Johnson 2000: 81)

(313)   UPPER NEXACA TOTONAC (Totonacan)

a. Tsamá: tʃatʃaɁát   u:tsá   wamá:ł   tsamá: ʃkán
   that   toad   that   eat.PROG   that   water
   Ɂe: nak-iʃ-táni   ta-ʃtu-ni-ma:-pá:ł
   and   through-its-buttocks   INCH-out-BEN-PROG-REPET.PERF
   'That toad, he is drinking the water, and it is coming out again
   through his buttocks' (Beck 2004: 74)

b. Li:waná: na-xáʃ-a   na-ik-ławá
   while   FUT-rest-IMPF.2SG.SUBJ   FUT-1SG.SUBJ-make
   tu: na-wá-ya
   REL   FUT-eat-IMPERF.2SG.SUBJ
   'While you rest, I'll make your food' (Beck 2004: 102)

(314)   UPPER NEXACA TOTONAC (Totonacan)

a. Kit   ma:ɁełtawaɁae:ní
   I   teacher
   'I am a teacher' (Beck 2004: 93)

b. Líbru   iʃ-akpún   mesa   wi:ł
   book   its-crown   table   sit
   'The book is on the table' (Beck 2004: 11)

As a closing remark on Topic Possessive encoding in Central America, I must draw attention to a few cases that are somewhat special. First, we have

observed in Section 3.5 that the Conjunctional Possessive in Ixtlan Zapotec provides primary evidence for the correctness of the hypothesis that the encoding of possession is based upon – or at least is paralleled by – the encoding of temporal sequencing. This possessive construction *is* a temporal sequence, consisting of two paratactically conjoined main clauses. Given this, demonstrating that Ixtlan Zapotec can have balanced temporal sequencing becomes of course trivial. I can add that the language may also use finite subordinate clauses, with clause-initial conjunctions that are, in large part, borrowed from Spanish. Nonverbal predicate-encoding in Ixtlan Zapotec is full-split; locational/existential sentences can select their verb from a set of posture verbs.

(315)   Ixtlan Zapotec (Oto-Manguean, Zapotecan)
Lèyètsì kyá ðoá tù jrù-ðí ðoá tù βɛ́kù
village mine exist one gentleman exist one dog
tò kyè
small of.him
'In my village there was a gentleman who had a little dog' (*lit.* '(In) my village, there was a gentleman, there was a small dog of his')
(De Angulo and Freeland 1935: 123)

(316)   Ixtlan Zapotec (Oto-Manguean, Zapotecan)
Tù gríŋ ðáye lèyètsì wuyú-làtsíyé βɛ́kù gà
one stranger came village he-liked dog this
'A stranger came to the village and took a fancy to this dog'
(De Angulo and Freeland 1935: 123)

(317)   Ixtlan Zapotec (Oto-Manguean, Zapotecan)

a. Lèyètsì kyá ðoá tù jrù-ðí
village mine exist one gentleman
'In my village there is a gentleman'
(De Angulo and Freeland 1935: 123)

b. Jyú'ᵘ βɛtsí nyèβà
there.is lice in.his.feet
'There were lice on his feet' (De Angulo and Freeland 1935: 123)

In Section 3.4 I discussed the case of the Chibchan language Bribri. In one of the possessive constructions of this language, the sentence consists of the two NPs plus an adverbial item *ta/eta* 'then'; the construction is thus a case of the rare conjunctional variant of the Topic Possessive. The item *ta/eta* is also

readily used as a temporal adverb in temporal sequences, which are predominantly balancing.[34]

(318) BRIBRI (Chibchan)
       Sini   buru   ta
       wild.pig king   then
       'The wild pigs have a king' (Pittier de Fabrega 1898: 128)

(319) BRIBRI (Chibchan)

       a. Ai   dže tkabite   ta   ek   džu i   sa-uear
          there 1SG go.past.PAST then one 1SG it see-hang
          'As I went past, I saw it hanging there'(Pittier de Fabrega 1898: 118)

       b. I   ki   stser,   ta   Sibu damitke
          he on   wait.PAST   then God   come.passing.PAST
          tker   i   kiua   ta
          shoot.PAST   his   spear   with
          'He waited, and (when) God passed he shot at him with his spear'
                                             (Pittier de Fabrega 1898: 122)

       c. Sibu dé   i   hu-xku   a,   eta   Sarkuro
          God come.PAST   his house-door   to   then Spider
          i-tsake   irir
          it-say.PAST   this
          'When God came to his house door, Spider said this'
                                             (Pittier de Fabrega 1898: 119)

My source on Teribe, a Chibchan language from Panama, mentions two variants of the Topic Possessive: a standard construction, and a potentially ambiguous zero-variant.

(320) TERIBE (Chibchan)

       a. Domer shäng e   krik
          man   stand DEM rifle
          'The man has a rifle' (Quesada 2000: 126)

       b. Ta   u   kw-ara
          1SG.NOM house CLASS-one
          'I have a house' (Quesada 2000: 55)

Teribe follows the overriding Central American pattern in temporal sequence encoding, in that it is exclusively balancing. Familiar strategies, such as

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[34] As we have seen in Section 9.12, Bribri also has a Locational Possessive, which is matched by absolute deranking options in the language.

sentential coordinations and finite subordinate clauses, are the rule. The language has zero-encoding for predicate nominal sentences. This zero-encoding is available for locational/existential sentences as well, but here there is competition from a set of posture verbs.

(321)   TERIBE (Chibchan)

a. Oba   ör   kalë   ga   kra-ra-ba   lok   oba   eni
   people arrive there and   get-PERF-DS PL   people so
   'The people arrived and other people received them'

   (Quesada 2000: 58)

b. Ëp   dguë-y;   p'irga kégué tan,   shärië-y
   corn   plant-1PL.INCL then   old   already make-1PL.INCL
   boyo
   boyo
   'We plant corn; when it is ripe, we make boyo' (Quesada 2000: 166)

c. Sök   të   e   wobro ga   sök   ëp   kläk
   sit   sing DEM while CONJ sit   corn crush
   '(S/he) sings while crushing corn' (Quesada 2000: 166)

(322)   TERIBE (Chibchan)

a. Juan   e   pinga
   J.   DEM teacher
   'Juan is a teacher' (Quesada 2000: 64)

b. Bop   shiti kwondilo
   your   dog   where
   'Where is your dog?' (Quesada 2000: 65)

c. Sak   kri-na   tok   na
   cemetery   CLASS-one   exist here
   'There is one cemetery here' (Quesada 2000: 49)

d. Kibokwo   e   buk bapkwo king
   book   DEM lie table   on
   'The book is (lying) on the table' (Quesada 2000: 65)

e. U   ka-ara   jong   p'öglo   toy
   house   CLASS-one   stand mountain   inside
   'One house is (stands permanently) in the mountain'

   (Quesada 2000: 65)

11.7 South America

In contrast to North and Central America, the typological distribution of possession types is much more diversified in South America: all four major types are well represented on the continent. Now, while it would go too far to call the Topic Possessive a dominant option in South America, we can observe that it is the primary choice in several large families, such as Macro-Gê-Bororo and Tupí-Guaraní. Furthermore, the type manifests itself in a number of smaller linguistic groupings and isolate languages.

   To start the exposition, I will present the facts regarding three languages from the Southern Maipuran branch of Arawakan, which are spoken in the western parts of Amazonia. As far as I can see, the Topic Possessive is the only option in Nomatsiguenga. Baure and Apuriña have a With-Possessive as an alternative to their Topic Possessives; in addition, Baure also has a Have-Possessive. The Topic Possessives in these languages are all of the full-encoded variety. In Baure, there is additional indexing of the possessor on the possessee, by means of a pronominal possessive prefix. The Topic Possessive in Apuriña appears to be in the final stages of Have-Drift (see Section 6.3).

(323)   NOMATSIGUENGA (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)
   Ira   hirainisati   hiraira,   teni   ini   kaniri
   DEM ancient.ones long.ago NEG exist manioc
   'The ancient ones long ago did not have manioc' (Wise 1971: 150)

(324)   BAURE (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)
   Nakirok-ye   tič   sopir   kwe' teč   ri-wer
   long.ago-LOC DEM.F tortoise exist DEM.M 3SG.F-house
   monik
   pretty
   'Once upon a time, the tortoise had a beautiful house'
                                                      (Swintha Danielsen p.c.)

(325)   APURIÑA (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)
   a. Nhapakunupa   p-atenekoru   p-awa
      how.many   your-children   2SG-be.there
      'How many children do you have?' (Facundes 2000: 298)
   b. N-awa-ru   epi   kanawa
      1SG-have/be-3M.OBJ two   canoe
      'I have two canoes' (Facundes 2000: 298)

Like most Arawakan languages in my sample, the three Southern Maipuran languages under discussion here have options to derank predicates in temporal sequences. In addition, however, they also have productive strategies to form balanced temporal sequences, in the form of sentential coordinations and finite adverbial clauses, which are commonly marked by clause-initial conjunctions. Especially in Nomatsiguenga the borderline between coordination and subordination seems to be rather thin.

(326) NOMATSIGUENGA (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)

a. Ni-ake   komatekero,   aro   na-niake   marangi
   1SG-go   downriver   now   1SG-see   snake
   'I went downriver, and then I saw a snake' (Wise 1971: 133)

b. Naro-ke   panigebirike,   i-komoke
   1SG-and   watch   3SG.M-dam.stream
   'I watched and he dammed the stream'; 'I watched him while he dammed the stream' (Wise 1971: 138)

c. No-panigebirike-ri   kara   i-komoke
   1SG-watch-3SG.M   when/there   3SG.M-dam.stream
   'I watched him while he dammed the stream' (Wise 1971: 138)

(327) BAURE (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)

a. Nečón   no-sómpow   teč   kaʔan,   âco   šimono-wo-r
   last.night 3PL-hear   that animal   and   arrive-COP-3SG
   neríki
   now
   'Last night they heard that animal, and he is arriving now'
                                          (Baptista and Wallin 1967: 30)

b. Ápo   ro-pihíko-ša   to   kobé,   ónka   ípikowon
   if   3SG-pass.by-POT   the   dog   not   IMP.be.afraid
   'If the dog passes by, don't be afraid' (Baptista and Wallin 1967: 29)

c. Ni-kíʔinow   ni-yínošen   koêč   to   nen   hirá-neb
   1SG-want   1SG-teach.them   because   the   these man.PL
   hénoko-neb
   good-PL
   'I want to teach them, because these men are good'
                                          (Baptista and Wallin 1967: 29)

(328) APURIÑA (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)

a. Apa-nanu-ta-ra   aotu   uwaɪka
   gather-PROG-VERB-3M.OBJ   uxi.fruit so

    ø-eti-yakunu-ta-ru-na   kema
    3M-see-footprint.of-VERB-3M.OBJ-PL   tapir
    'While they were picking "uxi" they saw tapir footprints'

<div align="right">(Facundes 2000: 633)</div>

  b. Uwa-nanu   su-pe   kotxi   a-nurumane   umarota-ru
     3SG.M-alone   go-PERF   because   1PL-relative   know-3M.OBJ
     a-sakire
     1PL-language
     'He goes alone, because our relatives know our language'

<div align="right">(Facundes 2000: 614)</div>

In their encoding of nonverbal predication, all three languages have a zero-split option. Baure also has the possibility of a full copula, which is not identical to the locational/existential *be*-verb.

(329) NOMATSIGUENGA (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)

  a. Matsigenga   pihiri   hiraira
     person   bat   long.ago
     'The bat used to be a person' (Wise 1971: 155)

  b. Ini   ogeri-hegi   amaigari-hegi
     exist killer-PL   A.-PL
     'The killers, the Amaigari, existed/were there'(Wise 1971: 1)

(330) BAURE (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)

  a. Nti   moestor
     1SG   teacher
     'I am a teacher' (Swintha Danielsen p.c.)

  b. Nti'   moestor-ow-o-ni
     1SG   teacher-COP-EPENT-1SG
     'I am a teacher' (Swintha Danielsen, p.c.)

  c. Kwe'   to   hopi   mesi-ye
     exist   ART   jug   table-LOC
     'The jug is on the table' (Swintha Danielsen p.c.)

(331) APURIÑA (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)

  a. Uwa   kuku
     3SG.M   man
     'He is a man' (Facundes 2000: 507)

b. N-awa-ru   wai
   1SG-be-3M.OBJ   here
   'I am/live here' (Facundes 2000: 243)

The Macro-Gê-Bororo phylum of West and Central Brazil is represented in the sample by three languages from different subfamilies. All three languages can be argued to have a Topic Possessive, but the constructions belong to different variants of the type. In Kaingang we encounter a straightforward standard variant. This option is matched unproblematically by the fact that the language is exclusively balancing. Temporal sequences preferentially take the form of sentential coordinations; subordinate clauses appear to be rather rare. Use of connective particles in sentential coordinations is very frequent, and perhaps even obligatory. In its encoding of nonverbal predication Kaingang takes a zero-split option.

(332) KAINGANG (Macro-Gê-Bororo, Kaingaing)
      Japy   ti   ni
      field he   sit
      'He has a field' (Wiesemann 1972: 90)

(333) KAINGANG (Macro-Gê-Bororo, Kaingang)
    a. Ti   kate lo   vyolo te   no
       3SG.M.ABS come and   tapir ABS   lie
       'When he came, a tapir was lying there' (Henry 1935: 213)

    b. Ku   mv   ta   vaek tĕ   ka'te mu
       then PRT 3SG.M.ERG see   and   come   DYN
       'When he saw it, he came back' (Henry 1935: 194)

(334) KAINGANG (Macro-Gê-Bororo, Kaingang)
    a. Tĩ   tɔ   kɔiŋeŋ ɲa
       3SG   TOP   man   STAT
       'He (was) a man' (Henry 1935: 210)

    b. Hara nu   ne
       here 1SG sit
       'I am here' (Henry 1935: 192)

Temporal sequencing in Canela-Krâho is completely parallel to Kaingang. Again, there is hardly any subordination, and temporal sequences are encoded preferentially as strings of main clauses. Such strings can be paratactic, but more common is the use of sentential coordinators. Now, a curious fact about these sentential coordinators is that they seem to encode some sort of

switch-reference system. Thus, use of the connector *mâ* 'and' seems to signal change of subject, whereas the connector *nɛ* 'and' is employed when there is continuity of subjects in the string.

(335)   Canela-Krâho (Macro-Gê-Bororo, Gê)

   a. Pê   wa   i-pym,   pê   inxê   ty
      PAST   1SG   1SG-fall PAST   mother   die
      'My mother died when I was born' (Popjes and Popjes 1986: 139)

   b. Capi   apu   ajhaku   mâ   hitsi   apu   nõ
      Capi   CONT   run   and.DS   his.wife   CONT   lie.down
      nɛ   ŋõr
      and.SS   sleep
      'Capi is running and his wife is lying down and sleeping'
                                              (Popjes and Popjes 1986: 147)

   c. a-te   pɔ   curan   mâ   Capi   apu   cuku
      2SG-PAST   deer   kill   and.DS   C.   CONT   eat
      'You killed a deer and Capi ate it' (Popjes and Popjes 1986: 147)

   d. Capi   tɛ   pɔ   kuran   nɛ   ke   ka   ku-kʰu
      Capi   ERG.PAST   deer   kill   and.SS   3   FUT   3-eat
      'Capi killed a deer and will eat it' (Popjes and Popjes 1986: 147)

This switch-reference function of sentence coordinators can be employed as the key to the analysis of the possessive construction in Canela-Krâho. As we have seen in Section 3.4, this construction is a Conjunctional Possessive: it consists of a coordination of the possessor and the possessee, which are connected by the different-subject coordinator *mâ*. Given the fact that Canela-Krâho is a zero-sharing language – that is, locational/existential sentences do not have a verb – we can analyse its possessive construction as a coordination of two locational/existential sentences, which have different subjects. In this way, this construction provides prima facie evidence for the relation between possession-encoding and temporal sequence encoding that I have claimed in Chapter 8.

(336)   Canela-Krâho (Macro-Gê-Bororo, Gê)
        Capi   mâ   catoc
        C.   and.DS   gun
        'Capi has a gun' (Popjes and Popjes 1986:135)

(337)   Canela-Krâho (Macro-Gê-Bororo, Gê)

   a. Ata-jê   ahkrare
      DEM-PL   children
      'These are children' (Popjes and Popjes 1986: 134)

  b. Pur   kam   pôhy
     field   LOC   corn
     'There is corn in the field' (Popjes and Popjes 1986: 135)

In Section 3.3 I classified the possessive construction in Bororo as a zero-encoded Topic Possessive, with additional possessor-indexing on the possessee. Thus, the construction minimally consists of the possessee with a possessive pronominal prefix. That this possessee constitutes a clause and not just a noun phrase is signalled by the fact that, in this construction, clausal aspect/mood clitics can be attached to it.

(338)   BORORO (Macro-Gê-Bororo, Bororo)
       I-ke-re
       1SG.POSS-food-NEUTR
       'My food (is)': 'I have food' (Crowell 1979: 38)

Just like Kaingang and Canela-Krâho, Bororo is a predominantly, if not exclusively, balancing language. Again, there is a preference for strings of main clauses, which can be paratactic, but can also be marked by sentential adverbs. Furthermore, Bororo allows subordination of temporal clauses; such clauses have finite predicates and are marked by clause-final conjunctions. Since many of these conjunctions have their origin in adverbial phrases – for example, the conjunction *di-jere* 'when' derives from the pronominal adverb 'it-at' – we can conclude that the distinction between coordination and subordination in Bororo is only relative. As for nonverbal predication, Bororo can be said to be an instance of the zero-share configuration; see sentences (340a–b).

(339)   BORORO (Macro-Gê-Bororo, Bororo)

  a. Ia   pemega-re,   ia   pega-re
     some   be.good-NEUTR   some   be.bad-NEUTR
     'Some are good, some are bad' (Crowell 1979: 218)

  b. It-aregodi-re   Joao   u-wai   ke,   ixare,   i-tu-re
     1SG-arrive-NEUTR   J.   his-house   to   then   1SG-go-NEUTR
     pugeje
     again
     'After/when I arrived at Joao's house, I returned' (Crowell 1979: 153)

  c. U-tu-mede   meri   jetu-re   wëe   di-jere
     3SG-go-FUT   sun   be-NEUTR   here   when
     'He will go when the sun has come up' (*lit.* 'is here')
                                         (Crowell 1979: 84)

(340)   Bororo (Macro-Gê-Bororo, Bororo)

    a. Imedi-re   imi
      man-NEUTR   1SG
      'I (am) a man' (Crowell 1979: 39)

    b. Kare-re   (pebe tada)
      fish-NEUTR   (water in)
      '(There are) fish (in the water)' (Crowell 1979: 37)

The Tupí-Guaraní family – which in itself is a subfamily of the Tupian language phylum – is represented in my sample by four languages from Brazil and Paraguay. In one of these languages – Urubú-Kaapor, a language spoken in the state Maranhâo in Brazil – we encounter one more instance of the potentially ambiguous zero-Topic Possessive. This potential ambiguity arises from the fact that this language has zero-encoding for both predicate nominal sentences and predicate locational sentences.

(341)   Urubú-Kaapor (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)

    a. Ihê̂   rakehar   ym
      1SG   wife   NEG
      'I don't have a wife' (Kakumasu 1986: 334)

    b. Ihê̂   rayr   ym
      1SG   child   NEG
      'I don't have a child' (Kakumasu 1986: 338)

(342)   Urubú-Kaapor (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)

    a. Ihê   katu-me'ê   ihê
      1SG   good-NMNL   1SG
      'I am a good person' (Kakumasu 1986: 377)

    b. Oropo   pewe   rî
      O.   there   still
      'Oropo (is) still there' (Kakumasu 1986: 335)

Like all other Tupí-Guaraní languages in my sample, Urubú-Kaapor is balancing. The usual strategies – such as sentential coordinations, and finite subordinate clauses – can be readily attested. Subordinating conjunctions are clause-final.

(343)   Urubú-Kaapor (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)

    a. Ma'e   ke   Kaita   ta   kekar   a'e   ta   oho,
      something   OBJ   K.   PL   3PL.hunt   3   PL   3.go

Te'õru   namõ
T.   also
'Kaita's folks went hunting, (and) Te'õru too' (Kakumasu 1986: 349)

b. A-sak   ehe   rahâ   a-pandu   ta
   1SG-see him.to   if/when   1SG-say   FUT
   'If/when I see him, I will tell him' (Kakumasu 1986: 363)

The possessive construction in the other three sampled Tupí-Guaraní languages was the subject of detailed discussion in Section 5.3.1. We have seen there that the construction is a case of zero-encoding, as it minimally consists of the possessee, which has a pronominal prefix that refers to the possessor. Some examples are repeated here:

(344)   TUPINAMBÁ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)
         Xe-pindâ
         1SG-harpoon
         'I have a harpoon' (Platzmann 1874: 138)

(345)   GUARANÍ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)
         Che   che-roga -ma
         1SG   1SG-house-already
         'I already have a house' (Krivoshein de Canese 1983: 77)

(346)   GUAJAJARA (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)
         I-mukaw
         3SG-gun
         'He has a gun' (Bendor-Samuel 1972: 162)

The literature contains two different views on these constructions, depending on whether the pronominal prefix is analysed as a possessive item or as a subject-agreement item. In the first case, one would classify the construction as a zero-encoded Topic Possessive-with possessor-indexing, in a way that is parallel to the Bororo construction presented above. If one takes the second position, one would rate the construction as one of the rare instances of predicativization of a Topic Possessive. As the discussion in Section 5.3.1 demonstrated, both of these positions can be said to have their strong points. For the purpose of the present chapter, it may suffice to point out that, whatever position one may take on the 'correct' analysis of this possessive construction, one will always make the same prediction for these languages on the balancing/deranking parameter. Since the construction is some variant of the Topic Possessive in any case, we will expect these languages to be balancing. As I have already stated above, this prediction can be corroborated in an

unproblematic fashion. Tupinambá, Guajajara, and Guaraní[35] do not use deranked predicates in temporal sequences; instead, they employ common balancing strategies, such as sentential coordinations and finite subordinate clauses.[36]

(347)   Guajajara (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)

    a. A-zway   i-ho
       1SG.ABS-miss 3SG.ABS-go
       'I missed it as it went' (Bendor-Samuel 1972: 128)

    b. I-ho   re   a-ha
       3SG.ABS-go after 1SG.ERG-go
       'After he went, I went' (Harrison 1986: 422)

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[35] In Guaraní   which, in contrast to Guajajara and Tupinambá, is not a verb final language subordinating conjunctions follow the predicate, even if this predicate is not the final item in the clause.

[36] For a discussion of the encoding of nonverbal sentences in these Tupí Guaraní languages see Section 5.3.1. Urubú Kaapor and Guajajara have a zero share configuration, whereas the other two languages are zero split.

(i)   Urubú Kaapor (Tupian, Tupí Guaraní)

    a. Ihê   katu me'ê   ihê
       1SG   good NMNL   1SG
       'I am a good person' (Kakumasu 1986: 377)

    b. Oropo   pewe rî
       O.   there still
       'Oropo (is) still there' (Kakumasu 1986: 335)

(ii)   Guajajara (Tupian, Tupí Guaraní)

    a. Ymete   we   ra'e   pa
       wild.pig PL   maybe PRT
       'Maybe those are wild pigs' (Bendor Samuel 1972: 161)

    b. Zawar zo   i pyr   we   no
       dogs   only him with PL   PRT
       'There were only dogs with him' (Bendor Samuel 1972: 161)

(iii)   Tupinambá (Tupian, Tupí Guaraní)

    a. Yauti   mira   katu
       Y.   man   good
       'Yauti is a good man' (Tastevin 1910: 249)

    b. Jawár a   sjé   kó pe   s ekó w
       jaguar NOM my   garden LOC 3 be OBL.TOP
       'The jaguar is in my garden' (Jensen 1999: 149)

(iv)   Guaraní (Tupian, Tupí Guaraní)

    a. Ne   soldado
       2SG   soldier
       'You are a soldier' (Gregores and Suárez 1967: 158)

    b. Hoga   pe   heta   o î   tatapii
       house   in   much   3SG be charcoal
       'There is much charcoal in the house' (Gregores and Suárez 1967: 183)

(348)   Tupinambá (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)

    a. Yauti   u-sirara   kwara,   u-pita   so-kena   upe,
       Y.   3SG-find   hole   3SG-stay   its-opening   at
       u-peya   se-mimi
       3SG-blow   his-flute
       'Yauti found a hole, stood still at its opening, and blew his flute'
                                        (Tastevin 1910: 263)

    b. Amana   ara   u-sikana   rame   Yauti   u-sem'   ana
       rain   day   3SG-come   when   Y.   3SG-go.out   PAST
       'When the rain season started, Yauti went out' (Tastevin 1910: 250)

(349)   Guaraní (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)

    a. Oi-ke   kaagwi   pe   ha   o-henu   petei   aivu
       3SG-go   forest   in   and   3SG-hear   one   noise
       'He went into the forest and heard a noise'
                                 (Gregores and Suárez 1967: 214)

    b. Agwara   o-hesa   kwevo   yagwaretehi   pe   he-ʔi
       vixen   3SG-see   when   jaguar   ACC   3SG-say
       a-poti   mâ
       1SG-die   already
       'When the vixen saw the jaguar, she said: "I'm done for!"'
                                (Gregores and Suárez 1967: 205)

The two Guaycuruan languages in my sample have a Topic Possessive with possessor-indexing. Sequencing strategies are balancing, and the nonverbal encoding configuration is zero-split.

(350)   Mocoví (Guaycuruan)
    ʔwe   ñi   i-lo   šipegaq
    exist   DEIC   my-animal   horse
    'I have a horse' (Grondona 1998: 160)

(351)   Mocoví (Guaycuruan)

    a. Φelisa   r-ewo:se   kaʔ   aso   Alisia   ø-kola   qalači
       F.   3.-cook   and   DEM   A.   3-peel   onion
       'Felisia cooks and Alicia peels onions' (Grondona 1998: 170)

    b. Ka   i-ilamki-oʔ   aka   n-ewige   r-asot-er-tape-oʔ
       then   3-play-EVID   DEM   ABS-music   3-dance-3PL-PROG-EVID
       ka   ʔyat-i
       DEM   mosquito-PAUC
       'When the music played, the mosquitos were dancing'
                                  (Grondona 1998: 175)

(352)   Mocoví (Guaycuruan)

    a. ñi   pyoɢ lodeɢat
        this   dog   big
        'This dog is big' (Grondona 1998: 161)

    b. Kaʔ ʔwe-oʔso   λiya   n-eloɢoyaq
        then exist-EVID.DEIC other ABS-guardian
        'Then there was another guardian' (Grondona 1998: 153)

(353)   Pilagá (Guaycuruan)

    a. Qaya'   lačaya   da'   yi-wa
        not.exist.INAN house CLASS my-spouse
        'My husband does not have a house' (Vidal 2001: 343)

    b. W'o   so'   yi-mkek
        exist.SG CLASS my-house
        'I have a house' (Vidal 2001: 340)

(354)   Pilagá (Guaycuruan)

    a. Qayamaq   qanč'e ek   haso   añole
        she.was.sent and   went DEM.F young
        'She was sent, and the girl went' (Vidal 2001: 376)

    b. So'   nsoq yi-lolege so'   yakayiči da'   di-y'ako
        CLASS boy 3-watch CLASS old.man when 3-fish
        'The boy watches the old man when he fishes' (Vidal 2001: 369)

(355)   Pilagá (Guaycuruan)

    a. Ernesto   logeda-ik
        E.   tall-M
        'Ernesto is tall' (Vidal 2001: 350)

    b. W'oe   na'   sawana-lo
        exist.PL CLASS possession-PL
        'There were possessions' (Vidal 2001: 340)

To conclude the exposition of South American Topic Possessive constructions, I will briefly comment on some isolated cases. Sanuma, a language from southern Venezuela, has a full-encoded Topic Possessive, with pronominal indexing on the possessee. Temporal sequences are preferentially coordinated, but there is also the option of subordinate finite clauses with clause-final conjunctions. The language has zero-split encoding for nonverbal predication.

(356)   Sᴀɴᴜᴍᴀ (Yanomami)

   a. Ipa   sao   a-ku-a
      my   sister   3sɢ-be-ᴅᴜʀ/ʜᴀʙ
      'My sister is (somewhere)' or 'I have a sister' (Borgman 1990: 176)

   b. Kama hai   î   sitipa nakö   kule
      3sɢ   surely it   money ᴄʟᴀss be.ᴘʀᴇs
      'He surely has money' (Borgman 1990: 216)

(357)   Sᴀɴᴜᴍᴀ (Yanomami)

   a. Hikali   hamö   suö   töpö   a-su-lö-ma   uli
      garden   to   woman   3ᴘʟ   leave-ꜰᴏᴄ-ᴅɪʀ-ᴄᴏᴍᴘʟᴇᴛ   forest
      hamö   wano   töpö   hu-a   pasi-ta-so-lö-ma
      to   man   3ᴘʟ   ɢᴏ-ᴅᴜʀ   separate-out-ꜰᴏᴄ-ᴅɪʀ-ᴄᴏᴍᴘʟᴇᴛ
      'The women left for the fields, and the men went out into the forest'
                                                        (Borgman 1990: 57)

   b. Hisa   ha   kamisa ku-a   tehe, töpö thomö-mo
      here   ʟᴏᴄ   1sɢ   be-ᴅᴜʀ   when   3ᴘʟ   steal-ᴘᴇʀꜰᴏʀᴍ
      mai   kite
      ɴᴇɢ   ꜰᴜᴛ
      'When/while I am here, they will not steal' (Borgman 1990: 90)

(358)   Sᴀɴᴜᴍᴀ (Yanomami)

   a. hama   te
      visitor 3sɢ
      'He is a visitor' (Borgman 1990: 21)

   b. Poa   Pisita ha   sa   ku-a   kule
      Boa   Vista   in   1sɢ   be-ᴅᴜʀ   ᴘʀᴇs
      'I am in Boa Vista' (Borgman 1990: 61)

A Topic Possessive with zero-encoding and indexing on the possessee is encountered as one of the options in Yurakaré, an isolate language from eastern Bolivia. Temporal sequence encoding in this language is primarily balancing, at least when it comes to sequences with different subjects.[37]

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[37] Under same subject conditions, Yurakaré can use a deranked, 'participial' form, marked by the suffix *ya*.

(i)   Yᴜʀᴀᴋᴀʀᴇ́ (Yurakaré)
      Lëtëmë ij   wita ya   a nënë cha m
      jungle to   arrive.sɢ ᴘᴄᴘ   ɪɴᴄᴏᴍᴘʟ cook ᴊᴜss 2sɢ.sᴜʙᴊ
      'When you arrive in the jungle, you must cook' (Rik Van Gijn p.c.)

Strategies include the formation of sentential coordinations, which are usually paratactic, and the formation of finite subordinate clauses, which are characterized by enclitic subordinating suffixes on the verb in the dependent clause. As the examples below demonstrate, these suffixes indicate same subject (suffix -*ja*) vs. different subjects (suffix -*ti*).

(359)   Yurakaré (Yurakaré)
Shunñe   a-sìbë
man   3SG.POSS-house
'The man has a house' (Rik Van Gijn p.c.)

(360)   Yurakaré (Yurakaré)

a. Së-ja   matata-y   (latijsha)   më-ja   ñuñujulö-m
   1SG-EMPH   big-1SG.SUBJ (and.then)   2SG-EMP   small-2SG.SUBJ
   'I am big and you are small' (Rik Van Gijn p.c.)

b. A-tiya-tu-ja   ka-la-wshë-tu   samu
   INCOMPL-eat-1PL.SUBJ-SS   3SG-OBJ-listen-1PL.SUBJ   jaguar
   püme-ø-ti
   whistle-3-DS
   'While we were eating, we heard the singing of the jaguar'
                                           (Van Gijn 2006: 305)

c. Së-ja   wita-y-ti   lah-ja   bata-ø
   1SG-EMP   arrive.SG-1SG.SUBJ-DS 3SG-EMP   go-3SG.SUBJ
   'When I arrived, he left' (Rik Van Gijn p.c.)

Predicate locational sentences in Yurakaré usually contain an overt posture verb, such as *tütü* 'to sit' or *bushu* 'to lie (down)'. However, occasionally such sentences may also appear without an overt verb:

(361)   Yurakaré (Yurakaré)

a. Ti-tenche-w   ti-dette-y
   1SG.POSS-necklace-PL   1SG.POSS-neck-LOC
   'My necklace is around my neck' (Van Gijn 2006: 272)

b. Oytoto-jta   ani
   nice.fragrance-CLASS   here
   'There is a nice fragrance around here' (Van Gijn 2006: 130)

Movima, an isolate language from north-east Bolivia, has a zero-encoded Topic Possessive with possessor-indexing. A crucial item in the construction is a demonstrative element, which is initial in the sentence nucleus, and whose

presence differentiates the possessive and the existential construction from the predicate nominal construction in the language.

(362)   Movima (Movima)
  Kinos   ma:ma-y'Ki,   oso'   os   toti'
  ART   mother-our   DEM.NEUT.PAST   ART.NEUT.PAST   tiny
  ma:kina-sne
  machine-her
  'Our mother had a tiny machine' (Haude 2006: 296)

(363)   Movima (Movima)

  a. Ilonopanchi:ye   toti'   as   dichi:ye
     wanderer   tiny   ART   child
     'The boy is a little wanderer' (Hbaude 2006: 290)

  b. Iso'   is   chinaKa
     DEM.PAST.PL   ART.PL   manioc
     'There was manioc' (Haude 2006: 295)

Movima has quite extensive possibilities for deranking adverbial clauses (see Haude 2006: 305–11), but balancing strategies are allowed as well, witness the following examples:

(364)   Movima (Movima)

  a. Jayna   rey   i'ne   jo'jay   che   de:-cheK   che
     then   again   she   arrive   and   lie-REFL   and
     joro:kwa   i'ne
     sleep   she
     'She had arrived already and had gone to bed and was sleeping'
                                                                           (Haude 2006: 502)

  b. Di'   yeKna   nas   son-waj,   jayna   rey   tera:ni
     if   lodge   at.ART.NEUT   other-place   then   again   ill
     'If (I) sleep at the other place, (I)'ll get ill again' (Haude 2006: 506)

In Section 3.6 I noted the possessive construction in Wari', a language from the state of Rondonia in Brazil. The construction is a Topic-Locational hybrid, with oblique pronominal reference to the possessor which has, in all probability, its source in an ethical dative. As in Movima, the defining feature of locative/existential and possessive constructions is a clause-initial item that is of demonstrative origin. In this, these constructions contrast with predicate nominal constructions, which are cases of zero-copula encoding (see 366a). Temporal sequencing in Wari' is predominantly balancing.

(365)   WARI' (Chapakuran)
Ma'   nao-on   xirim   Xijam
exist/DEM 3SG.PRES-3SG.M.OBL house   X.
'Xijam has a house' (Everett and Kern 1997: 198)

(366)   WARI' (Chapakuran)

a. Tarama'   na   pije'
   man   3SG.REAL.NONFUT   child
   'The baby is a man (male)' (Everett and Kern 1997: 117)

b. Ma'   on   teʔ
   DEM/exist 3SG.M   father.my
   'Where is my father?' (Everett and Kern 1997: 119)

c. Ma'   wana   ma'
   DEM/exist path   that
   'There is the path' (Everett and Kern 1997: 118)

(367)   WARI' (Chapakuran)

a. Tomi'   urut-con,   'om   ca
   speak   1PL.EXCL.REAL.NONFUT-3SG.M.OBL   NEG   NONFUT
   ha'   ca
   obey   3SG.M
   'We spoke to him, but he did not obey' (Everett and Kern 1997: 161)

b. 'Oc'   'iri'   ta'-in   ca'   ne,
   stick already   1SG.REAL.FUT-3NEUT this   REC.PAST
   xiije-in   taraji-con   ma'
   otherness-3NEUT   ear-3SG.M.OBL   that
   '(When) I pierce this (ear), (you) pierce his other ear'
                                              (Everett and Kern 1997: 92)

Finally, I can point out that a straightforward standard Topic Possessive has been documented for Ona-Selknam, an extinct language from Tierra del Fuego.

(368)   ONA-SELKNAM (Chon)
Igwa   iper   pen
1PL   meat   stay
'We have meat' (Tonelli 1926: 134)

From Tonelli (1926), the only description that is available for this language, one gets the impression that temporal sequencing in Ona-Selknam basically involved paratactic chaining of main clauses, and that this strategy covered

many semantic relationships which in other languages would be expressed by subordinate clauses.

(369)   Ona-Selknam (Chon)

    a. Kamer   telk   tulolcen,   pena   aimeré
       those   boys   be.good   these   be.bad
       'Those boys are good, these (boys) are bad' (Tonelli 1926: 45)

    b. Kar   aimnon   eken,   al   šin
       thing   much   do   head   hurt
       'If (you) have a lot to do, (your) head hurts' (Tonelli 1926: 77)

    c. Ma-ni   cetr, ma-ni   karpa-son
       2SG-EMP   selfish   2SG-EMP   give-NEG
       'You are selfish, (because) you don't give (me anything)'
                                                 (Tonelli 1926: 77)

All the available examples suggest that Ona-Selknam had zero-split encoding of nonverbal predications.

(370)   Ona-Selknam (Chon)

    a. Igwa-ni   maches   chas
       1PL-EMP   all   orphan
       'We are all orphans' (Tonelli 1926: 73)

    b. Pen   ajen   Kokoš   kau
       stay   want   K.   house
       'Kokoš wants to stay home' (Tonelli 1926: 136)

11.8 African languages

Broadly speaking, Africa cannot be called a hotbed of Topic Possessive encoding. The type is completely absent from Khoisan. In Afro-Asiatic, too, standard instances of the Topic Possessive do not occur. However, as has been noted in Section 3.6, the Afro-Asiatic phylum contains a number of cases of the hybrid Topic-Locational Possessive, notably in South Semitic and in Berber. Moreover, in a language like Maltese a hybrid Topic-Locational possessive construction can be seen to act as the source of a grammaticalization process of Have-Drift (see Section 6.4).

    The South Semitic languages are represented in my sample by Amharic and Tigre. In both languages we find a possessive construction in which the predicate is a locative/existential *be*-verb, which takes the possessee NP as its subject. The possessor NP is constructed as the sentential topic, which in this

language entails nominative (i.e. unmarked) case and sentence-initial position. Moreover, the possessor NP is indexed in the sentence nucleus by an oblique pronominal element. In Amharic, this index takes the form of an 'objective' suffix on the verb, whereas in Tigre the possessor index is part of an independent adverbial phrase.

(371) Amharic (Afro-Asiatic, South Semitic)
　　　'Antä　　　　'and　tənnəš　tofa　　　　'ällä-h
　　　2SG.M.NOM　one　small　pot.NOM　be.3SG.M.IMPERF-2SG.M.OBJ
　　　'You have a small pot' (Hartmann 1980: 292)

(372) Tigre (Afro-Asiatic, South Semitic)
　　　'Ana　　　　sanna　mas'alit　hallet　　　　'el-ye
　　　1SG.NOM　good　camera　be.3SG.F.PRES　to-me
　　　'I have a good camera' (Raz 1983: 50)

In Section 3.6 I decided that, from a classificatory point of view, such constructions will be rated as non-standard variants of the Topic Possessive. This decision enables us to treat Amharic and Tigre as corroborations of the predictions formulated in the introduction to this chapter. Both Amharic and Tigre are full splitters. Moreover, both languages have ample possibilities to construct balanced temporal sequences. Apart from sentential coordinations, the languages have finite temporal and other adverbial clauses: for a survey of temporal clause formation in Amharic see Hartmann (1980: 427–34).[38]

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[38] The locational aspect of Amharic possessive encoding is matched by oblique verbal noun constructions of the type which we have already noted in Coptic, Biblical Hebrew, and Classical Arabic. On a par with these languages, Amharic has a so called infinitive, which, in combination with prepositions, can encode several types of adverbial clauses (see (ia b) below). The form can occur under different subject conditions; in that case, the subject of the deranked clause is encoded in the nominative, with obligatory indexing on the predicate by means of possessive pronominal suffixes.

　　Moreover, Amharic has a converbal form, called the gerund (see (ic)). This formation must have been non finite in origin: it consisted of the verb stem, followed by the (adverbially used) accusative ending *ä* and a possessive pronominal suffix. Over time, however, the case suffix and the possessive suffix fused into a flexional person ending, so that in present day Amharic the gerund functions as a finite form which is marked for subordination. Unlike main predicates, however, gerunds are not marked for tense/mood/aspect. Given its finite status, use of the gerund under different subject conditions is of course possible; its subject is encoded in the nominative case.

(i) Amharic (Afro Asiatic, South Semitic)

　a. Zənab　bä mä znäb u　'əbet　　　qärrän
　　　rain　in INF rain its　at.house　stay.1PL.PERF
　　　'Because it rained, we stayed home' (Hartmann 1980: 205)

　b. Kä mä mṭa tu　bäfit　　betun　　　　'aṣəǧi
　　　to INF come his　before　house.the.ACC　clean.IMP.SG.F.
　　　'Clean the house, before he comes' (Hartmann 1980: 206)

(373)   AMHARIC (Afro-Asiatic, South Semitic)

 a. ’Abbat-e tära-nna   hed-hu
   father-my call.3SG.M.PERF-and go-1SG.PERF
   ‘My father called and I went’ (Hartmann 1980: 351)

 b. Käbbädä mäshaf-un si-fälleg,   ’astamari-w
   K.   book-his while-look.for.3SG.M.PERF teacher-ART
   mätta
   come.3SG.M.PERF
   ‘While Käbbädä was looking for his book, the teacher came’
                 (Hartmann 1980: 427)

(374)   AMHARIC (Afro-Asiatic, South Semitic)

 a. Lämma ṭəru tämari nä-w
   L.   good pupil COP-3SG.M.PRES
   ‘Lämma is a good pupil’ (Hartmann 1980: 292)

 b. Ləǧǧi-tu   ’əgäbaya ’allä-čč
   at.market-the girl   be-3SG.F.PRES
   ‘The girl is in the market’ (Hartmann 1980: 297)

(375)   TIGRE (Afro-Asiatic, South Semitic)

 a. Wa-har la-šek   ragmayu
   and-then ART-sheikh curse.3SG.M.PAST/3SG.M.OBJ
   wa-’et sareray ’aqbala
   and-to bird   turn.3SG.M.PAST
   ‘And then the sheikh cursed him, and he turned into a bird’
                 (Raz 1983: 103)

 b. Wa-’endo gesa   ’egel lerayo
   and-while go.3SG.M.PAST to   see.INF/3SG.M.OBJ
   dahay mas’ayu
   voice reach.3SG.M.PAST/3SG.M.OBJ
   ‘And while he went to see it, a voice reached him’ (Raz 1983: 109)

(376)   TIGRE (Afro-Asiatic, South Semitic)

 a. Sab Mansa’ kestan   tom
   people M.   Christians COP.3PL
   ‘The people of Mansa are Christians’ (Raz 1983: 46)

 c. Talast sästw o   tämallasnä
   enemy flee 3SG.M.GER return.1PL.PERF
   ‘After the enemy had fled, we returned’ (Cohen 1936: 146)

   b. 'Et   meder   Namsa   belu   tekla   hallaw
       in   land   Austria many   wolves be.3PL.M
       'There are many wolves in Austria' (Raz 1983: 48)

The situation in the three sampled Berber languages is completely parallel to that in Tigre. The hybrid Topic-Locational Possessive is matched here by the fact that no indication of any deranking strategy whatsoever for temporal or other adverbial clauses can be found (Maarten Kossman p.c.). The languages employ balancing strategies such as sentential coordinations or finite subordinate clauses which, in these languages, are commonly introduced by subordinating conjunctions. Furthermore, the languages can be construed as splitters. Although there is some overlap between the encoding of copular and locative/existential sentences, in all languages there are strategies that are restricted to one of the two sentence types.[39]

(377)   KABYLE (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)

   a. Argaz-agi,   ɣur-s   adrim
      man-this   at-him   money
      'This man has money' (Naït-Zerrad 2001: 165)

   b. Argaz agi   ellant   r'our   es   thir'et't'en
      man   this   exist.3PL.F.PAST at   him goats
      'This man had goats' (Hanoteau 1906: 177)

(378)   KABYLE (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)

   a. Ikchem   d'eg-s,   iddem   ith
      3SG.M.AOR.enter   in-it   3SG.M.AOR.take.way him
      'He stepped into it (the river), and it (the river) carried him off'
                                         (Basset 1887: 81)

   b. Mi   kkren   i   weɛdaw,
      when turn.3PL.M.AOR   to   enemy
      aymen-t   am   ubisar
      crush.3PL.M.AOR-3SG.M.OBJ like beans
      'When they turn against the enemy, they crush him like beans'
                                    (Naït-Zerrad 2001: 144)

(379)   KABYLE (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)

   a. Nek   d'   arezfan
      1SG   FOC   big.person
      'I am a big man' (Hanoteau 1906: 85)

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[39] Several Berber languages also have a Have Possessive; see Section 12.10.

b. Ellan   at'as   g   irgazen   d'i   souk
   be.3PL.PAST   much   of   men   at   market
   'There were many men at the market' (Hanoteau 1906: 249)

(380) TAMAZIGHT (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)
Uma   illa   gr-es   uyis   amellal
brother.my   be.3SG.M   to-3SG.OBJ   horse   white
'My brother has a white horse' (Destaing 1920: 223)

(381) TAMAZIGHT (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)
a. Da-issa   Ahmed atay da-issa   Saleh šrab
   HAB-3SG.M.drink   A.   tea   HAB-3SG.M.drink   S.   wine
   'Ahmed drinks tea and Saleh drinks wine' (Ennaji 1985: 258)

b. Ad:ai tɣli   tfukt xa-t:sn   mid:n
   when   3SG.F.PRES.go.down   sun   HAB-eat.3PL   people
   'When the sun sets, people eat' (Johnson 1966: 166)

(382) TAMAZIGHT (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)
a. Nk:in d   aɣmurabi
   1SG   COP/PRT   Moroccan
   'I am a Moroccan' (Johnson 1966: 94)

b. Aryaz i-ga   afflaẖ
   man   3SG.M-COP   farmer
   'The man is a farmer' (Ennaji 1985: 123)

c. Il:a   g:-lkuzina
   3SG.M.be   at-kitchen
   'He/it is in the kitchen' (Johnson 1966: 81)

(383) TOUAREG (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)
Nek illa   r'our i   aiis
1SG   exist.3SG.M.IMPERF   to/at 1SG   horse
'I have a horse' (Hanoteau 1896: 55)

(384) TOUAREG (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)
a. T-egraou   aouak'k'as, i-dbel   tet
   3SG.F-find.PERF   lion   3SG.M-carry.PERF   3SG.F.OBJ
   'She found a lion, and he carried her on his back'
                                                (Hanoteau 1896: 137)

b. As   d   ousir'   agraouek   i-rhin
   when   here   arrive.1SG.PERF   find.1SG.PERF   3SG.M-ill
   'When I arrived here, I found that he was ill' (Hanoteau 1896: 108)

(385)   Touareg (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)

    a. Nekk,   amaheγ
       I   Touareg
       'I am (a) Touareg' (Chaker 1995: 15)

    b. Midden   a   n-emous
       man.PL   FOC   1PL-be
       'We are men' (Hanoteau 1896: 84)

    c. Tella   teini der' akal   nouen
       3SG.F.be   date   in   country   your
       'There are dates in your country' (Hanoteau 1896: 19)

Within the third African phylum, Nilo-Saharan, I have been able to attest only two cases in which a Topic Possessive is the major option in possession-encoding. Turkana, an East Nilotic language, shows textbook examples of the standard Topic Possessive. The construction has a full existential verb, which agrees with the possessee for subject, and both possessee and possessor are in the (unmarked) absolutive case.

(386)   Turkana (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, East Nilotic)

    a. È-yàkà-sì   a-yong'   nga-àtùk
       3-exist-PL   1SG-ABS   COWS.ABS
       'I have cows' (Dimmendaal 1982: 82)

    b. A-yòng'   e-yakà-si   nga-àtùk   nga-àrèy   màke'
       1SG-ABS   3-exist-PL   COWS-ABS   two   self
       'I only have two cows' (Dimmendaal 1982: 82)

The detailed description presented in Dimmendaal (1982) makes it clear that Turkana must be classified as a balancing language. Paratactic chaining of main clauses is possible; as example (387c) shows, this strategy is, among other things, applied to encode the comparative construction of the language.[40]

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[40] In addition, Turkana has several subordinate mood forms, which are employed to encode temporal and other adverbial relationships between clauses. In all cases, verbs which are marked for such a mood are completely finite, as they have full person agreement and tense/aspect marking. What makes these forms differ from predicates in indicative main clauses is a specific set of subject prefixes (as in the so called 'subsecutive mood', which marks non first predicates in a sequential chain) or the combination of a prefix and specific tense/aspect marking (as in the so called conditional mood).

(i)   Turkana (Nilo Saharan, East Sudanic, East Nilotic)

    a. ì cam ìt   i yòŋ   a los ìt,   atɔ cam ìt   a yɔŋ   a k ìdɔŋ
       you like ASP   you   INF go ASP   1SG.SUBSEC like ASP   I   INF stay
       'You wanted to go, while I wanted to stay' (Dimmendaal 1982: 411)

(387)   Turkana (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, East Nilotic)

a. È-yàkà-sì   a-yɔ̀ŋ   ŋà-àne-ì   ɛ̀-mamὺ̀   ŋa-àtùk
   3-be-PL   me.ABS   goats   3-lack   cows
   'I have goats, not cows' (Dimmendaal 1982: 412)

b. È-à-ìbɔ̀-e-tè   ŋa-kìmàk   na-rɛ́t,   ɛ́-sàk-e-tè
   3-PAST-stay-ASP-PL   old.women   at-desert   3-want-ASP-PL
   akìmʋj
   food
   'The old women stayed in the desert, looking for food'

                                              (Dimmendaal 1982: 380)

c. È-rot   lo'   e-jok   e-idwang-it   ngol
   road   this   3-good   3-supersede-ASP   that
   'This road is better than that one' (Dimmendaal 1982: 370)

Turkana has full-split encoding for nonverbal predications. A couple of examples in Dimmendaal (1982) suggest that the language may have a zero-copula in its present tense.

(388)   Turkana (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, East Nilotic)

a. ŋèsì   ɛkapolonì
   3SG.ABS   chief
   'He is a/the chief' (Dimmendaal 1982: 76)

b. ɛ̀-à-ra-ì   ɛkapɪlanì
   3-PAST-COP-ASP   witch
   'He was a witch' (Dimmendaal 1982: 76)

c. È-yàka-sì   ŋa-àtùk
   3-be-PL   cows
   'There are cows' 'The cows are there' (Dimmendaal 1982: 82)

The West Nilotic language Anywa has a Topic-Locational hybrid construction (see Section 3.6). Temporal sequencing is exclusively balancing, and nonverbal predication takes the form of a full-split or a zero-split configuration.

b. ɛ̀ màa sè   ŋa sɪgàra 1   k irwor o sì
   3 drink PL   cigarettes   3SUBSEC talk V PL
   'They smoked cigarettes and talked' (Dimmendaal 1982: 380)

c. à bʋ   a yɔ̀ŋ   lò rè,   i tòò   kaŋ   k e loì
   1 come   I   to village   mother   my   COND 3 go
   'I came to the village when my mother had gone' (Dimmendaal 1982: 187)

d. à   nɪ a los ì   nà ŋoloì,   à ìryam un o sì   kà   emunì
   PRT   COND 1 go ASP   to river   1 meet VENT VERB ASP   with   snake
   'On going to the river, I came across a snake' (Dimmendaal 1982: 396)

(389)   Anywa (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)
      Kwʌʌrɔ́   jìr-ɛ́   dá   mʌʌn   mu   thòóth
      headman   to-3SG   exist   women   REL   be.many
      'The headman has/had many women' (Reh 1996: 303)

(390)   Anywa (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)

    a. ɲìlàál   gùók   a-gɔ́ɔ-ɛ́   óo   gùók   óo   thɔɔ-ɛ́
        child   dog   PAST-hit-3SG   and   dog   and   die-3SG
        'The child hit the dog and the dog died' (Reh 1996: 358)

    b. nɪ   ménnɪ   cʌ́mó   ɛn-a-píɲó   kɪ   dʌʌ́
        while   mother.3SG.POSS   eat   3SG-PAST-wash   OBL   pots
        'While his/her mother was eating, s/he did the dishes'

                                                               (Reh 1996: 412)

(391)   Anywa (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)

    a. Mɛ̀nnì   cíjùɔk
        mother.3SG.POSS   witch
        'His/her mother is a witch' (Reh 1996: 299)

    b. 'ɛn-a   dípòoì
        3SG-COP   teacher
        'S/he is a teacher' (Reh 1996: 86)

    c. Dá   pɔɔ́l   wàŋ   cʌ̀ŋ
        exist   clouds   before   sun
        'There are clouds before the sun' (Reh 1996: 275)

In addition to Turkana and Anywa, I have spotted a few other occurrences of the Topic Possessive in Nilo-Saharan, but in all cases the option is definitely minor. Thus, the West Nilotic language Shilluk has a Have-Possessive as its major option, but ' "to have" is often omitted' (Westermann 1912: 50, fn.1). This omission results in a construction that we can analyse as a potentially ambiguous zero-Topic Possessive. Shilluk is an exclusively balancing language, featuring the regular balanced constructions such as sentential coordinations and finite subordinate clauses, with clause-initial conjunctions. The language has zero-share encoding for nonverbal predications.[41]

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[41] The major possession construction in Acholi, another West Nilotic language, is a With Possessive (see Section 10.8). In addition, some examples of a Topic Possessive can be documented. This construction, which can be classified as a standard Topic Possessive with additional cross referencing, is probably employed mainly for part whole relations and body parts.

(392)   SHILLUK (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)
Jal   me̱ko   wa̱t   áryà̱u
man   some   son   two
'A certain man had two sons' (Westermann 1912: 50)

(393)   SHILLUK (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)

a. A   d̪wo̱ṉi,   ka   e   bia   yì̱   wén̠
   he   arose   and   he   came   to   his.father
   'He arose, and came to his father' (Westermann 1912: 52)

b. Ké̱ń   yá   ne̱ná   ê   go̱gò
   while   I   slept   he   worked
   'While I slept, he was working' (Westermann 1912: 45)

(394)   SHILLUK (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)

a. Yá   ri̱t̠
   I   king
   'I am king' (Westermann 1912: 29)

b. Fi   gír̠   ki̱   yŏ̱
   water   much   on   way
   'There is much water on the road' (Westermann 1912: 35)

(i)   ACHOLI (Nilo Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)

a. ɔɔt   bvo̱o̱ṉ   wiì ɛ   tyeé,   tɛɛ́r ɛ   pee
   shelter   roof its   exist   wall its   not
   'A shelter has a roof, but no wall' (Crazzolara 1955: 105)

b. òkumà   yeèr ɛ   pee
   tortoise   hair its   not.be
   'A tortoise has no hair' (Crazzolara 1955: 105)

Balanced temporal sequences which match this Topic Possessive are sentential coordinations and finite subordinate clauses with clause initial conjunctions. Nonverbal predication encoding in Acholi is zero split.

(ii)   ACHOLI (Nilo Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)

a. Aan   a dwóoŋ,   iin   i tëdi
   1SG   1SG.PRES big   2SG   2SG.PRES small
   'I am big, you are small' (Crazzolara 1955: 59)

   Oot a   o waaŋ   ma   aan   a pee
   hut my   3SG burn.down   while   1SG   1SG be.absent
   'My hut burned down while I was away' (Crazzolara 1955: 163)

(iii)   ACHOLI (Nilo Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)

a. Aan   làtiic
   1SG   worker
   'I am a worker' (Crazzolara 1955: 101)

b. ɛɛn   tyée   ï   ɔ̀d ɛ̀
   3SG   be   in   hut his
   'He is in his hut' (Crazzolara 1955: 103)

Within the Niger-Kordofanian phylum, Topic Possessives are concentrated mainly in the West African Kwa branch. Fongbe, a language of Benin, and Akan, a language of Ghana, have a standard Topic Possessive as their only option. In Akan, the verb in the construction is the item *wo*, which has locational as well as existential function. In Fongbe we find that locational and existential functions are distributed over two different verbs, namely *ɖò* 'to be located' and *ti* 'to exist'. Both of these verbs can occur in the possessive construction.

(395)   Fongbe (Niger-Kordofanian, Kwa)

    a. Kɔ̀kú   ɖò   wémâ
       K.   be.at   book
       'Koku has a book' (Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002: 252)

    b. M   ti   so   de
       1SG   exist   horse   INDEF
       'I have a horse' (Delafosse 1894: 70)

(396)   Akan (Niger-Kordofanian, Kwa)
    Me   wo   wodan   bi
    I   be   house   one
    'I have a house' (Christaller 1875: 66)

Fongbe and Akan are balancing languages. Their sentential coordinations are hardly ever paratactic, and commonly require a sentential coordinator at the beginning of the second clause in the string. Finite subordinate clauses are also possible. In Fongbe, such clauses commonly take the form of a relative clause which is headed by some time-indicating noun like *hwènú* 'time'. Subordinating conjunctions in Akan are mostly clause-final; at least some of them seem to have their origin in demonstrative particles such as *yi* 'this' or *no* 'that'.

(397)   Fongbe (Niger-Kordofanian, Kwa)

    a. Kɔ̀kú   wá   bɔ̀   Àsíbá   yì
       K.   arrive   and   A.   leave
       'Koku arrived and Asiba left' (Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002: 113)

    b. Kɔ̀kú   wá   àxì   mɛ,   hwènú   (ɖé-è)   Àsíbá
       K.   arrive   market   in   time   RM   A.
       yì   ɔ̀
       leave   DEF
       'Koku arrived at the market when Asiba left'
                                   (Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002: 171)

(398) AKAN (Niger-Kordofanian, Kwa)

    a. Ye   duruu ho,   nà   ketekye e-ye   á-tu
       we   arrive there and train   it-be CONSEC-leave
       'We arrived there, and the train was about to leave'

                                                                  (Boakye 1990: 139)

    b. Wo-re-kyerew   yi,   me-re-kan   nhoma
       2PL-PROG-write DEM 1SG-PROG-read book
       'While you are writing, I am reading a book' (Christaller 1875: 162)

    c. Edom bae   no,   nkurofo no   guanè
       enemy come DEM people   the flee
       'When the enemy came, the people fled' (Christaller 1875: 163)

Nonverbal predication in Fongbe and Akan is characterized by full-split encoding. As noted above, locational and existential encoding in Fongbe is realized by two different verbs.

(399) FONGBE (Niger-Kordofanian, Kwa)

    a. Kòkú nyí   mèsí
       K.   COP teacher
       'Koku is a teacher' (Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002: 349)

    b. Kòkú ɖò   távò glúwὲ
       Koku be.at table under
       'Koku is under the table' (Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002: 300)

    c. nyìbú ɖé   lέ   tìn   bó   ɖò   gbèján mὲ
       cow   INDEF PL exist and be.at field   in
       'Cows exist and (they) are in the field': 'There are cows in the field'

                                    (Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002: 150)

(400) AKAN (Niger-Kordofanian, Kwa)

    a. Patu ye   anoma
       owl   COP bird
       'The owl is a bird' (Christaller 1875: 111)

    b. Sukuu   no   wo   Kumase
       school the be.at K.
       'The school is at Kumasi' (Ellis and Boadi 1969: 60)

    c. Sukuu wo   Kumase
       school be.at K.
       'There is a school at Kumasi' (Ellis and Boadi 1969: 60)

In Section 6.3 I mentioned the case of Yoruba, another Kwa language. While most authors on this language hold that this language has a Have-Possessive, I put forward the possibility that the possessive construction of Yoruba might in fact be a case of Have-Drift from a Topic Possessive. In particular, the alleged *have*-verb *ní* may be related to the prepositional verb *ní* 'at, to be at'.

(401)   YORUBA (Niger-Kordofanian, Kwa)
Bàbá   nâ   ní   ọgbà   kan
Father   DEM   have   garden   one
'Father has a garden' (De Gaye and Beecroft 1964: 11)

(402)   YORUBA (Niger-Kordofanian, Kwa)
Baba   wà   n'   ilé
father   be   be.at   house
'Father is at home' (Ashiwaju 1968: 28)

Now, it can be observed that the facts of temporal sequence encoding in Yoruba would fit either of these analyses equally well. Like all Kwa languages, Yoruba does not allow deranked temporal clauses: the language employs balancing strategies, such as sentential coordinations and finite subordinate clauses with clause-initial conjunctions.

(403)   YORUBA (Niger-Kordofanian, Kwa)
    a. ẹlomiràn   mọ́   ìwé,   ẹlomiràn   kò   si   mọ̀
       some   know   writing   some   NEG   and   know
       'Some are learned, others unlearned'

                          (De Gaye and Beecroft 1964: 32)

    b. Nígbàtí   mo   wà   l'Ékǒ,   mo   ń-lọ   kí   i
       when   I   be   in Lagos   I   HAB-go   greet   him
       lójoojúmọ́
       every.day
       'When I was in Lagos, I used to go greet him every day'

                              (Rowlands 1969: 60)

    c. Tí   á   a   ba   de,   wọn   a   lọ
       PRT   we   FUT   happen   come   3PL   FUT   go
       'When we come, they will go' (Bamgbose 1966: 31)

When it comes to nonverbal predicate encoding, the facts of Yoruba clearly favour a Topic Possessive analysis over a Have-Possessive analysis. There is no doubt that Yoruba is a splitting language. Predicate nominals take zero encoding, or the full copulas *jẹ́* or *ṣe*; these options encode a number of subtle

semantic differences which need not detain us here. What is important is that none of these encoding options is available for locational and existential sentences. In the unmarked case, such sentences feature the *be*-verb *wà*; predication of pure, 'absolute' existence requires the use of the verb *mbẹ* 'to exist'.

(404) YORUBA (Niger-Kordofanian, Kwa)

    a. Eyi   okunrin, eyi   obinrin
       this.one man   this.one woman
       'This one is a man, (and) that one is a woman'

<div align="right">(Bamgbose 1966: 50)</div>

    b. ọ̀kań jẹ́   akọ̀wẹ́, ọ̀kań si   jẹ́   àgbẹ̀
       one   COP clerk   one and COP farmer
       'One was a clerk and one was a farmer' (Rowlands 1969: 152)

    c. Mo şe   káfintà   rí
       I   COP.ACCIDENTAL carpenter   formerly
       'I was/worked as a carpenter once' (Rowlands 1969: 152)

(405) YORUBA (Niger-Kordofanian, Kwa)

    a. Iwé   rẹ̀   wà   lóri   tabili
       book his be   top   table
       'His book is on the table' (Ashiwaju 1968: 47)

    b. Ọlọ́run mbẹ
       God   be
       'God exists' / 'There is a God' (Ashiwaju 1968: 28)

It will be clear, then, that an analysis of the Yoruba possessive construction in terms of a Have-Possessive will make this language a counter-example to our predictions about Topic Possessives, whereas an analysis of the construction as a Topic Possessive will enable us to rate this language as a confirmation of those claims. It must be added immediately, however, that even under this latter analysis Yoruba will remain a dubious case. If we classify Yoruba as having a Topic Possessive, we would expect the locational/existential verbs *wà* or *mbẹ* to occur in that construction, but they never do. Given this, all I can offer is some speculation. It might be the case that Yoruba – like many other languages, from all over the globe – had a set of different locational *be*-verbs, of which the items *wà*, *ní*, and *mbẹ* were members. Furthermore, one might assume that it was *ní*, and not *wà* or *mbẹ*, that was used canonically in the Yoruba Topic Possessive, and that it gradually came to be restricted to that function, thereby losing its function as an independent locational verb. As a

further step, one might then hypothesize that the item *ní* underwent several processes of reanalysis, with the result that it turned out as a *have*-verb. It goes without saying, however, that such a scenario is highly speculative, and that, for the moment, we will have to rate Yoruba as a questionable case, if not as a downright counter-example.

Outside the Kwa family, the only other sampled occurrence of a Topic Possessive in West Africa comes from the West Atlantic language Fulani. This is a language that spreads itself widely over the Sahel area, reaching from Senegal to North Cameroon, and knows considerable dialectical variation; for example, we will see in Section 12.12 that some variants of the language use a Have-Possessive. Notwithstanding this, a standard Topic Possessive seems to be a major option in most of the dialects for which I have data. The construction features the locational/existential *be*-verb *woodi/wodi*, or its negative counterpart *woda/wala*.

(406)   FULANI (Niger-Kordofanian, West Atlantic)

    a. Lamido   wodi   puchu
       king   exist   horse
       'The king has a horse' (Taylor 1923: 22)

    b. Mi   woda   pul'i
       1SG not.be horse
       'I don't have horses' (Labouret 1952: 96)

    c. Mi   wala   tjede
       1SG not.be money
       'I don't have money' (Westermann 1909: 233)

This Topic Possessive is matched unproblematically by the facts of temporal sequencing in Fulani. Like most West African languages, Fulani is exclusively balancing. Furthermore, Fulani is a clear example of split encoding in non-verbal predication: there is zero-encoding for predicate nominals, whereas the full verbs *wodi* and *woda/wala* encode locational and existential sentences.

(407)   FULANI (Niger-Kordofanian. West Atlantic)

    a. Debbo   gooto   maayi,   gooto   heli   juŋgomakko
       woman   one   died   one   broke   arm.her
       'One woman died, (and) one broke her arm' (Swift et al. 1965: 129)

    b. Tuma   ɓe   gayni   qe   haalaamaɓɓe,   Paul   yaadi
       when   they finished with chat.their   P.   went.off
       'When they finished with their chat, Paul went off'

                                     (Swift et al. 1965: 186)

(408)   FULANI (Niger-Kordofanian, West Atlantic)

    a. Kaŋko   ko   minise   qe   baylo
       he   CLASS carpenter and   smith
      'He is a carpenter and a blacksmith' (Swift et al. 1965: 394)

    b. Kombi sudu   'am   wodi   sudu   fere
       near   house my   exist   house   other
      'Near my house is another house' (Taylor 1923: 81)

    c. Nagge   woda/wala
       cow   not.be
      'There is no cow' (Labouret 1952: 96)

11.9 Conclusion

In this chapter I have investigated 135 occurrences of the Topic Possessive with regard to their possible matching with balanced sequencing and split/share nonverbal encoding. As for the matching with balanced sequencing, we can conclude that all investigated cases can be shown to provide a match: languages with a Topic Possessive, regardless of their subtype, are predominantly – and in many cases exclusively – balancing. As for their options in nonverbal encoding, we can see that practically all cases of Topic Possessive encoding can be matched with a configuration that is predicted for their subtype. That is, if the Topic Possessive has a full locative/existential verb, the configuration of that language is split. (A problematic case here is the West African language Yoruba. Although the language is full-split, the locative and existential verbs of the language do not figure in the possessive construction.) For subtypes of the Topic Possessive that have zero-encoding of the locative/existential predicate, a predicted zero-share encoding is attested in all relevant languages except the Tupí-Guaraní languages Guaraní and Tupinambá. All in all, then, I believe we are entitled to conclude that the universal prediction stated in the introduction to this chapter can be judged to be confirmed, and that the stated correlations embody a cross-linguistic reality.

12

Have-Possessives

12.1 Introduction

This chapter will be devoted to a validation of the following prediction:

(1) If a language has a Have-Possessive, it has
   a. balanced encoding of simultaneous different-subject sequences, and
   b. shared encoding of copular and locative/existential sentences.

The investigation will cover all cases of 'hard-core' Have-Possessive encoding in the data base, but also those cases of Have-Drift which have resulted in a transitive structure of the possessive construction (see Chapter 6). As was the case with our examination of Topic Possessives in Chapter 11, validation of the prediction in (1) will require an extensive presentation of data, which may make the exposition somewhat lengthy in parts. I trust, however, that the reader will soon develop a strategy to deal with this situation.

12.2 Indo-European

As we have seen in Section 9.2, Locational Possessives are an ancient option in Indo-European. However, the same can be said for the Have-Possessive. In fact, the oldest Indo-European language for which data are available is a language which seems to have had a Have-Possessive as its only option. Hittite, a language spoken in Central Anatolia around 1500 BC, had a transitive verb with the stem *hark-*, which appears to have been in use for all sub-domains of the cognitive space of possession. This Have-Possessive is matched by the fact that Hittite does not seem to have had the option to derank temporal clauses (Silvia Luraghi p.c.). What we find are subordinate clauses that are introduced by subordinating conjunctions, and whose predicates do not differ from those in main clauses. Furthermore, the language had the ability to construct balanced sentence coordinations, which were commonly connected by the conjunctional particle *nu* 'and'.

Hittite also conforms to the predominant pattern of Indo-European with respect to the encoding of copular and locational/existential sentences. For both sentence types, forms of the verb *es-* 'to be' were in use, so that we can rate Hittite as a full-sharing language. In the present tense, zero-encoding was optionally allowed in both copular and locational sentences; hence, Hittite can also be viewed as a (marginally) zero-sharing language.

(2)   HITTITE (Indo-European, Anatolian)

    a. GIš.TUKUL-ma kuin   apiya hark-un
       weapon-PRT   RM.ACC there have-1SG.PRET
       'the weapon that I had there' (Luraghi 1997: 39)

    b. m.Marantassas-ma kuit   TUPU   har-zi
       M.-NOM-PRT   RM.NEUT.SG tablet have-3SG.PRES
       n-at   uizzi   man udai
       CONJ-3SG.NEUT   go-3SG.PRES   if   bring.3SG.PRES
       'If Marantassas brings here the tablet which he has' (Luraghi 1997: 67)

(3)   HITTITE (Indo-European, Anatolian)

    a. 1-as   1-an   appeskit   nu   hulluskir
       one-NOM one-ACC seize.3SG.ITER.PRET and fight.3PL.ITER.PRET
       'One seized the other and they fought with each other' (Luraghi 1997: 31)

    b. Mahhan smas   kas   tuppiyanza   anda wemizzi
       when   2PL.OBL   this.NOM.SG tablet.NOM.SG into find.3SG.PRES
       'When this tablet will reach you' (Luraghi 1997: 7)

(4)   HITTITE (Indo-European, Anatolian)

    a. m.Zidis LÚ.ZABAR.DIB esta
       Z.   cup-bearer   be.3SG.PRET
       'Zidis was cup-bearer' (Luraghi 1997: 68)

    b. Nu   kuitman ABU.IA   INA KURRU Mitanni ešta
       CONJ while   father.my in   country M.   be.PRET.3SG
       'While my father was in the land of Mitanni' (Friedrich 1960: 156)

Hittite is by no means the only ancient Indo-European language for which a Have-Possessive can be attested. In Section 9.2 we saw that Vedic, Old Persian, and Classical Armenian selected Locational Possessives, but for all these three languages there is evidence that a Have-Possessive was possible as well. For Vedic, Benveniste (1966: 197) mentions a transititive verb *íśe* 'to have, to possess'; apparently, this verb only occurred in the medio-passive form.[1] Old Persian had

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[1] According to Pokorny (1959: 293), this verb is a reduplicated form of the Indo European root **eik*, which meant 'to have influence over, to have as one's own', and which can be seen reflected in *have* verbs like Gothic *aigan* and Greek *echein*.

a verb *dar-*, which meant 'to hold, to seize', but was also already in use to indicate non-temporary possession (Meillet and Benveniste 1931: 212). And for Classical Armenian, Godel (1975: 53) documents a transitive verb *unim*. Again, this verb had the original meaning 'to take hold', but its meaning had been expanded to include all types of possession.[2]

Although these languages had a productive strategy for deranking temporal clauses, we can also find plenty of cases of sentence coordination, and of subordinated temporal clauses with finite, non-deranked predicates. Vedic, Old Persian, and Classical Armenian can be rated as full-sharing languages in an unproblematic way. The *be*-verbs *as-* (Vedic), *ah-* (Old Persian), and *em-* (Classical Armenian) could all occur in copular clauses and locational/existential clauses alike.[3] All three languages had also an option of shared zero-encoding, which was restricted to the third person present. In Vedic and Classical Armenian this zero-encoding was optional; in Old Persian it seems to have been obligatory.

(5) VEDIC (Indo-European, Indic)

    a. Para   ca   yanti   punar á   ca   yanti
       away and go.PRES.3PL again EMP and go.PRES.3PL
       'They go away and come again' (McDonnell 1916: 229)

    b. Yad   dha yanti   marutha   sam   ha
       when PRT go.PRES.3PL Marut.NOM.PL together PRT
       bruvate
       talk.PRES.3PL
       'When the Maruts go along, they speak together'

                               (McDonnell 1916: 242)

(6) VEDIC (Indo-European, Indic)

    a. Martya   ha   va   agre   deva   asuh
       mortal.NOM.PL PRT PRT originally god.NOM.PL be.PAST.3PL
       'The gods used to be mortals' (McDonnell 1916: 285)

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[2] The verb *unim* in Classical Armenian was irregular and defective in its conjugation. In the aorist, the forms are supplied from the stem *kal* (Godel 1975: 53).

[3] A common characteristic of *be* verbs in Indo European is that their conjugation is built up by invoking various different stems, some of which are clearly locational in origin, while others may have a primary identificational significance (see, among others, Stassen 1997: 97 9). The way in which these various stems complement each other within and across the conjugational paradigms can vary from language to language. For the purpose of this book, this variation is of no direct relevance, since the conjugational patterns of the *be* verbs, no matter what their exact make up may be, are always identical for copular and locational/existential use. In other words, the Indo European languages that are described in this chapter are all sharers, independently of the exact lexical make up of the shared *be* verb.

b. Divi   vai   Soma   asid
   heaven.LOC EMP   S.-NOM be.PAST.3SG
   'Soma was in heaven' (McDonnell 1916: 284)

(7) OLD PERSIAN (Indo-European, Iranian)

a. Uta Babairum agrbayah   uta Nadintabairam
   and B.-ACC   take.PAST.1SG and N.-ACC
   agrbayah
   take.PAST.1SG
   'I have taken Babylon, and I have also taken Nidintubel'
                                   (Meillet and Benveniste 1931: 245)

b. Yatha Kanbuiya Bardiyam avaja
   when   K.-NOM   B.-ACC   kill.PAST.3SG
   'When Cambyses had killed Bardiyas'
                                   (Meillet and Benveniste 1931: 250)

(8) OLD PERSIAN (Indo-European, Iranian)

a. Adam   xsayathiya ahmiy
   1SG.NOM   king   be.PRES.1SG
   'I am king' (Meillet and Benveniste 1931: 237)

b. Naiy aha   martiya nai parsa   naiy mada
   NEG   be.PAST.3SG man   NEG Persian NEG   Mede
   'There was no man, neither Persian nor Mede'
                                   (Meillet and Benveniste 1931: 238)

(9) CLASSICAL ARMENIAN (Indo-European, Armenian)

a. Xagac   gnac   Tagalorn Arschak
   break.up.camp.3SG.AOR travel.off.3SG.AOR King   A.
   'King Arschak broke up his camp and travelled off' (Jensen 1959: 187)

b. Ibrew asaçn   çna
   while speak.3SG to.him
   'while he spoke to him' (Jensen 1959: 217)

(10) CLASSICAL ARMENIAN (Indo-European, Armenian)

a. Nsank' hawatacel-oc   ays   en
   signs   believers-GEN   these be.PRES.3PL
   'The signs of the believers are these' (Jensen 1959: 142)

b. Harsanik'   ein   i   Kana
   wedding.NOM.PL   be.PAST.3PL in K.
   'There was a wedding in Kana' (Jensen 1959: 142)

Classical Latin and Ancient Greek parallel the ancient Asian members of Indo-European in all relevant respects. In addition to its Locational Possessive, Classical Latin employed a transitive verb *habere*, which is derived from the Indo-European root **ghabh-* 'to grasp, to seize, to hold' (Pokorny 1959: 407). It is probable that this verb started out as the indicator of temporary, or at least 'non-abstract', possession in Latin.[4] Similarly, Ancient Greek saw the rise of a Have-Possessive featuring the verb *echein*, which has its origin in an Indo-European root **eik-* 'to have influence over, to have as one's own' (Pokorny 1959: 293).

As is well known, both Classical Latin and Ancient Greek had productive deranking strategies, and some authors (such as Tacitus) appear to have favoured them heavily. Nonetheless, from earliest times on the languages also demonstrated the possibility of balancing; there is ample evidence for sentential conjunction and subordinate adverbial clauses with non-deranked predicates. Classical Latin and Ancient Greek are full-sharing languages, employing the *be*-verbs *esse* and *einai*, respectively, in both copular and locational function. Zero-encoding for both functions is also possible. This option is restricted to third person present and is not obligatory.

(11)   CLASSICAL LATIN (Indo-European, Italic)
       Habeo   librum
       have.1SG.PRES   book.ACC.SG
       'I have/hold a book' (Benveniste 1966: 196)

(12)   CLASSICAL LATIN (Indo-European, Italic)

   a. Veni   vidi   vici
       come.1SG.PERF   see.1SG.PERF   conquer.1SG.PERF
       'I came, I saw, I conquered' (own data)

   b. Cum   Caesar   in   Galliam   venit
       when   C.-NOM   in   G.-ACC   come.3SG.PERF
       ibi   duae   factiones   erant
       there two.FEM.PL.NOM   faction.PL.NOM   be.3PL.IMPERF
       'When Caesar came to Gallia, there were two factions there'
                                                              (Troll 1975: 173)

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[4] According to Löfstedt (1963: 75), the Locational Possessive in Latin started to have competition from the Have Possessive as early as Old Latin. 'In its earliest uses, the *habere* construction was largely confined to expressions having concrete possessees, but relatively early the construction also began to cover inalienable possession both of the body part and the kinship type' (Heine 1997: 109). The last subdomain of possession that was yielded to the Have Possessive seems to have been the domain of abstract possession. Although expressions like *spem habere* 'to have hope' can be encountered in the works of Classical Latin authors, it was only from the beginning of the Christian era that the Locational Possessive increasingly started to give way to the Have Possesssive in the encoding of abstract possession (Löfstedt 1963: 76 8).

(13)   CLASSICAL LATIN (Indo-European, Italic)

    a. Rosa   flos   est
        rose.NOM.SG flower.NOM.SG be.PRES.3SG
        'A/The rose is a flower' (Troll 1975: 91)

    b. Navis   est   in   portu
        ship.NOM.SG be.PRES.3SG in harbour.ABL.SG
        'The ship is in the harbour' (Troll 1975: 91)

(14)   ANCIENT GREEK (Indo-European, Hellenic)
    Ei   Platon   ti   echei
    if   P.-NOM   something.ACC have.3SG.PRES
    'If Plato has something' (Van Oppenraay 1938: 138)

(15)   ANCIENT GREEK (Indo-European, Hellenic)

    a. Hoi   polemioi etoxeusan   kai   Kleomenos
        the   enemies   shoot.AOR.3PL   and K.
        etoxeuthe
        shoot.PASS.AOR.3SG
        'The enemies shot (their arrows) and Kleomenos was hit'
                                (Schwartz and Slijper 1936: 162)

    b. Epei de   katepemphthe   hupo tou
        after PRT   sent.PASS.AOR.3SG by   ART.M.SG.GEN
        patros
        father-SG.GEN
        'After he had been sent by his father' (Humbert 1972: 214)

(16)   ANCIENT GREEK (Indo-European, Hellenic)

    a. Esti   nomeus   hippon
        be.PRES.3SG herdsman.NOM horse.GEN.PL
        'He is a herdsman of horses' (Kahn 1973: 107)

    b. Theoi   eisin   en   Olumpoi
        god.PL.NOM be.PRES.3PL on O.-DAT
        'The gods are on Olympos' (Kahn 1973: 167)

In the modern Indo-European languages, the Have-Possessive is very much a European prerogative; in my sample, Modern Persian is the only Indo-European language from Asia with a Have-Possessive. As we noted in Section 7.2, the Have-Possessive is the major option in those branches of Indo-European that occupy the western, northern, central, and southern parts of the European continent. In the west, they are flanked by the Locational

Possessive of the insular Celtic languages, while in the east they border on the Locational Possessive in Baltic, East Slavonic (Russian), Uralic (Finnish, Estonian, Hungarian), and Altaic (Turkic). All the languages of this European *have*-area take the Have-Possessive as their exclusive option, with the exception of the Baltic language Lithuanian, which functions as a sort of cross-over area to the east and doubles its Have-Possessive with a Locational Possessive.

All the European languages with a Have-Possessive are predominantly balancing in their encoding of temporal sequences: they have sentential coordinations, and they usually construct temporal and other adverbial clauses in the form of a finite subordinate clause with clause-initial subordinating conjunctions. This is not to imply that deranking, and even absolute deranking, is completely absent from this area. For at least some of them, we find occurrences of oblique verbal-noun constructions, or constructions in which participial forms are used as absolute converbs. In the following examples, we see these deranking options in sentences from various Indo-European *have*-languages.

(17) ENGLISH (Indo-European, West Germanic)

    a. I need you at the dimming of the day (own data)

    b. A police convoy, sirens blazing, pulled out to pass her (own data)

(18) DUTCH (Indo-European, West Germanic)

    a. Bij   het   vallen   van   de   nacht   gingen   de   stropers
       at   the   fall.INF   of   the   night   go.PAST.PL   the   poachers
      op   pad
      on   track
      'At nightfall, the poachers set out' (own data)

    b. Na   het   overlijden   van   haar   man   verhuisde
      after   the   decease.INF   of   her   husband   moved
      Anneke   naar   Amsterdam
      A.   to   A.
      'After the death of her husband Anneke moved to Amsterdam' (own data)

(19) FRENCH (Indo-European, Romance)

    a. Ceci   dit,   il   est   aussi   important   de
      this   say.PCP.PERF   3SG   be.PRES.3SG   also   important   to
      se   réaliser
      REFL   realize
      'This said, it is also important to realize' (own data)

    b. La   paix   revenue,   tu   me   rejoindras
      the   peace   return.PCP.PERF.F.SG   you   me   join.FUT.2SG

en   France
in   F.
'When peace has returned, you will join me in France'

<div align="right">(Bergmans 1982: 105)</div>

(20)   SPANISH (Indo-European, Romance)

    a. Al   pagar   la   cuenta   Adolfo,   el   tendero
       at.the   pay.INF   the   bill   A.   the   storekeeper
       le   dió   una   caja   de   caramelos
       him   give.PAST.3SG.M   a   box   of   sweets
       'Upon Adolfo's paying the bill, the storekeeper gave him a box of
       sweets' (Ashcom and Goodell 1955: 100)

    b. Terminada   la   clase,   fuimos   a
       end.PCP.PERF.F.SG   ART.F.SG   class   go.PAST.1PL   to
       la   droguería
       the   drugstore
       'The class having ended, we went to the drugstore'

<div align="right">(Ashcom and Goodell 1955: 103)</div>

    c. No   habiendo   nada   que   hacer,   torné
       not   be.there.GER   nothing   what   do.INF   return.1SG.PAST
       a   casa
       to   house
       'There being nothing to do, I returned home'

<div align="right">(Ashcom and Goodell 1955: 106)</div>

(21)   SERBO-CROATIAN (Indo-European, South Slavonic)
    Digavsi   ruke   Jovan   rece
    raise.PAST.GER   hands   J.   say.3SG.PAST
    'Having raised his hands, Jovan said' (Lord 1958: 81)

(22)   ALBANIAN (Indo-European, Albanian)
    Me   të   hyrë   në   vesht   valat   e   erësë,
    at   ART   enter.PCP.PAST   in   ears.ACC waves.NOM.PL   PRT air.GEN
    bënëtë   zëri
    become.PRES.3SG   sound.DEF.NOM
    'When airwaves enter the ears, there is sound' (Lambertz 1959: 176)

(23)   MODERN GREEK (Indo-European, Hellenic)
    O   ilios   vasilevondas   ksekinisame   ja   to   xorafi
    the sun.NOM   set.PCP.PRES.ACT   start.1PL.PAST for   the   field.ACC
    'As the sun was setting, we set out for the field'

<div align="right">(Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton 1987: 129)</div>

(24) MODERN PERSIAN (Indo-European, Iranian)
       Pas az   be   xak   oftadan-e   goruh-i   mardan-e
       after   to   dust fall.INF-IZAF group-INDEF   men-IZAF
       rasid   va   fedakar
       brave   and devoted
       'After a group of brave and devoted men had perished' (Lazard 1957: 157)

Notwithstanding such examples, I think it is safe to say that deranking is still a minor option in the modern Indo-European languages of Europe. For a start, text counts, such as the one executed for English by Kortmann (1995), invariably show that deranked constructions, and absolute constructions in particular, are far less frequent than their non-deranked alternatives. Absolute constructions seem to reach their highest relative frequency in narrative prose, which ties in well with the observation, made in quite a few grammars, that such constructions are 'formal', 'bookish', or even 'old-fashioned'.[5] It is therefore not surprising to see that absolute constructions in these languages, in so far as they are allowed at all, are usually not fully productive. Thus, for example, while the sentences (25b) and (26b,d) are acceptable in English and Dutch, sentences (25a) and (26a,c) are not; instead, one has to use the non-deranked alternative.

(25) ENGLISH (Indo-European, West Germanic)
       a. *We should be quiet at the sleeping of the baby (own data)
       b. When the baby is asleep/sleeping, we should be quiet (own data)

(26) DUTCH (Indo-European, West-Germanic)
       a. *Bij   het   slapen   van de   baby moest   iedereen
          at   the   sleep.INF   of   the baby had.to   everybody
          stil   zijn
          quiet be (own data)
       b. Als/wanneer de   baby sliep   moest   iedereen
          if/when   the   baby sleep.PAST.3SG   had.to   everybody
          stil   zijn
          quiet be
          'If/when the baby was asleep, everybody had to be quiet' (own data)
       c. *?Na   het   ophouden   van de   regen reisden   we
          after the   stop.INF   of   the   rain   travel.PAST.PL   we

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[5] Thus, for example, Joseph and Philippaki Warburton (1987: 129) state that the participial con struction in Modern Greek that is illustrated in sentence (23) is 'rare and highly marked stylistically'. In a similar vein, Hamm (1975: 104) remarks that the gerundial construction exemplified in (21) is hardly ever used in modern spoken Serbo Croatian.

verder
further
lit. 'After the stopping of the rain we travelled on' (own data)

d. Toen/nadat de regen was opgehouden reisden we
   when/after the rain was stopped travelled we
   verder
   further
   'When/after the rain had stopped, we travelled on' (own data)

The (perhaps gradual) loss of productivity of absolute constructions in European Indo-European has brought about a situation in which absolute constructions mainly survive in set phrases like French *Ceci dit* or English *This said*. Especially in spoken language absolute deranking appears to have become practically obsolete. Thus, the conclusion seems warranted that, in the languages under discussion, non-deranked encoding of temporal sequences is the norm.

This said, I will proceed by presenting the data from the various branches of European Indo-European, concentrating on their status as sharing or splitting languages. First, then, we can have a look at Breton and Cornish, two Celtic languages which, as we have seen in Section 6.4, developed a Have-Possessive, by way of an intricate process of innovation and reanalysis. Both languages are full sharers. Breton employs a multi-rooted verb, the infinitive of which is *bezan*, as the *be*-verb in both copular and locative sentences. Cornish uses a verb with the stem *es-/bheu-* to this purpose. Zero-encoding is not possible in these languages.

(27)   BRETON (Indo-European, Celtic)
       Ur   velo   c'hlas am-eus
       INDEF   bicycle blue   1SG-have.PRES.1SG
       'I have a blue bicycle' (Press 1986: 139)

(28)   BRETON (Indo-European, Celtic)

       a. Yann a   rae   stamm, Mari   a   laboure
          Y.   PRT   do   knit.INF M.   PRT   work
          'Yann knitted, and/but Mari worked' (Press 1986: 185)

       b. Int   a   zeuy   pa   roy   mammig
          they PRT   come.FUT.3PL when   give.3SG.FUT   Mother
          dezho   arc'hant
          3PL.DAT   money
          'They will come when Mother gives them money' (Press 1986: 210)

(29)   BRETON (Indo-European, Celtic)

       a. Yannig a   zo   pesketaer
          Y.   PRT   is   fisherman
          'Yannig is a fisherman' (Press 1986: 196)

b. Va   breur   a   zo   en   ti
   my   brother PRT   is   in.the house
   'My brother is in the house' (Press 1986: 153)

(30) OLD CORNISH (Indo-European, Celtic)
      An   tekter   asbetheugh   why
      ART   beauty   have.2SG.DEP   2SG.NOM
      'The beauty which you will have' (Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 211)

(31) LATE CORNISH (Indo-European, Celtic)

      a. An dzhÿi a   kymerz an   vòr   noueth, ha   Dzhûan
         they   PRT   took   the road   new   and D.
         a   guithaz an   vòr   gôth
         PRT   kept   the road   old
         'They took the new road, and John kept to the old road'
                                                    (Wmffre 1998: 69)

      b. Pe   teffa   have
         when comes   summer
         'When summer comes' (Wmffre 1998: 54)

(32) LATE CORNISH (Indo-European, Celtic)

      a. Dust   o:z
         dust   be.PRES.2SG
         'You are dust' (Wmffre 1998: 45)

      b. θ   enz   en   kənevər tol
         PRT   be.PRES.3PL   in   every   hole
         'They are in every hole' (Wmffre 1998: 45)

In the Germanic and Romance languages in our sample, the situation is essentially the same as in Breton and Cornish. The Have-Possessives in these languages are matched by the fact that they favour non-deranked encoding of temporal sequences, and by the presence of a (multi-rooted) *be*-verb that encodes both copular and locative/existential sentences.[6] The infinitives of these *be*-verbs are *wisan* (Gothic), *vara* (Norwegian), *be*

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[6] Spanish (and Portuguese) are deviant, in that in these languages a split occurs between the copula (represented in Spanish by a verb with the infinitive *ser*) and the locational auxiliary (*estar*).

(i) SPANISH (Indo European, Romance)

     a. Julia es   enfermera
        J.   COP.PRES.3SG   nurse
        'Julia is a nurse' (Bouzet 1945: 246)

     b. Julia está   en   Madrid
        J.   be.PRES.3SG   in   M.
        'Julia is in Madrid' (Max Kerkhof p.c.)

(English), *zijn* (Dutch), *être* (French) and *fi* (Rumanian).⁷ Zero-encoding is impossible in either copular or locational function.⁸

While this split is undoubtedly real, it can be observed that it is not totally stringent. Thus, the copula *ser* in Spanish can be used in locational sentences when this locational sentence expresses a 'scene', i.e. 'where something takes place' (Ashcom and Goodell 1955: 96).

(ii) Spanish (Indo European, Romance)
 La reunión es en la sala catorce
 the meeting cop.pres.3sg in the room fourteen
 'The meeting is in Room 14' (Hengeveld 1986: 397)

Furthermore, the copula *ser* can be used in locational function 'when the locative concept involves place of origin, which is totally unchangeable' (Givón 1979: 323). Thus we have:

(iii) Spanish (Indo European, Romance)
 Mi amigo es de España
 my friend cop.pres.3sg from Spain
 'My friend is from Spain' (Givón 1979: 93)

Conversely, the locational verb *estar* can be used in what looks like basically a copular function with at least some adjectives. In (iv), we see a contrast between the use of the copula *ser* and the locational verb *estar* in construction with the predicate adjective *enfermo* 'ill'. In this minimal pair, the copula version indicates that the property of being ill is a permanent characteristic of the subject, whereas the version with *estar* implies that the subject has the property of being ill only temporarily, and that this property assignment may be subject to change over time.

(iv) Spanish (Indo European, Romance)

 a. Juan es enfermo
  J. cop.pres.3sg ill
  'Juan is ill' (i.e. he is an invalid) (Comrie 1976: 105)

 b. Juan está enfermo
  J. be.pres.3sg ill
  'Juan is ill' (i.e. 'he is now ill, but can be expected to recover, or was until recently in good health') (Comrie 1976: 105).

Thus, it seems that the split between the two *be* verbs in Spanish is not so much (or at least not completely) a matter of syntax, but rather a matter of semantics, based on a distinction on the parameter of time stability (Givón 1979; see also Stassen 1997: 179 81).

 ⁷ In the Romance languages French and Spanish, but not in Rumanian, existential sentences are encoded by means of an impersonal form of the *have* verb. In Spanish, one employs the impersonal form of the erstwhile *have* form *haber*, which was replaced for possessive function by the verb *tener* 'to hold, grasp > have' around the twelfth century AD (see Pountain 1985).

(i) French (Indo European, Romance)

 à l'université il y avait un chancelier
 at the university it there had a chancellor
 'At the university, there was a chancellor' (own data)

(ii) Spanish (Indo European, Romance)

 a. Tenemos muchos libros
  have.1pl.pres much.m.pl book.pl
  'We have a lot of books' (Van Dam 1953: 37)

 b. ¿Hay un médico en este pueblo?
  exist.3sg a doctor in that town
  'Is there a doctor in that town?' (Heine 1997: 95)

 ⁸ That is to say, in the standard variety of these languages. Several varieties of spoken American English, for example, allow a zero copula. The following sentence is a line from the song 'Bad,

(33)   Gothic (Indo-European, East Germanic)
Fauhons   grobos   aigun
fox.NOM.PL   hole.ACC.PL have.3PL.PRES
'Foxes have holes' (Hempel 1962: 100)

(34)   Gothic (Indo-European, East Germanic)

a. Jah   was   miÞ   diuzam,
   and   be.PAST.3SG with wild.beast.DAT.PL

   jah   aggileis   andbahtit dun   imma
   and   angels.NOM   serve.PAST.3PL 3SG.M.DAT
   'And he stayed among wild animals, and the angels served him'
                                        (Wright 1954: 212)

b. Þan   ustauh   Iesus   Þo   waurda
   when finish.3SG.PAST J.-NOM those.ACC.PL word.ACC.PL
   'When Jesus had finished speaking those words' (Mossé 1956: 197)

(35)   Gothic (Indo-European, East Germanic)

a. Praufetes   ist
   prophet   be.3SG.PRES
   'He is a prophet' (Mossé 1956: 218)

b. In gada   ist
   in house.DAT   be.3SG.PRES
   'He is in the house' (Mossé 1956: 218)

(36)   Norwegian (Indo-European, North Germanic)
Mannen   ha-r   en   hund
man.DEF have-PRES   a   dog
'The man has a dog' (Pål Kristian Eriksen p.c.)

(37)   Norwegian (Indo-European, North Germanic)

a. Jeg   tok   tog,   Åshild   tok   fly
   I   took   train, Å.   took   plane
   'I took the train, (and) Åshild took the airplane'
                                        (Pål Kristian Eriksen p.c.)

Bad Leroy Brown' by the American songwriter Jim Croce, released on the album *Life And Times*
(1972).

(i)   Black American English (Indo European, West Germanic)
      Now Leroy, he a gambler (own data)

b. Når   jeg   tok   tog,   tok   Åshild   fly
   when   I   took   train   took   Å.   airplane
   'When I took the train, Åshild took the airplane'
                                                    (Pål Kristian Eriksen p.c.)

(38) NORWEGIAN (Indo-European, North Germanic)

a. Jeg   er   lingvist
   I   be.PRES   linguist
   'I am a linguist' (Pål Kristian Eriksen p.c.)

b. Jeg   er   i   Oslo
   I   be.PRES   in   Oslo
   'I am in Oslo' (Pål Kristian Eriksen p.c.)

(39) ENGLISH (Indo-European, West Germanic)
      John has a motorcycle (own data)

(40) ENGLISH (Indo-European, West Germanic)

a. Some folks do, some folks don't (own data)
b. You're gonna miss me when I'm gone (own data)

(41) ENGLISH (Indo-European, West Germanic)

a. Frans is a linguist (own data)
b. Masha is in Stockholm (own data)

(42) DUTCH (Indo-European, West Germanic)
      Ik   heb   een   huis
      1SG   have.PRES.1SG   INDEF   house
      'I have a house' (own data)

(43) DUTCH (Indo-European, West Germanic)

a. Dit   schilderij   is   van   Rembrandt,   (en)   dat   schilderij
   this   painting   is   by   R.   (and)   that   painting
   is   van   Van   Gogh
   is   by   V.   G.
   'This painting is by Rembrandt, (and) that painting is by Van Gogh'
   (own data)

b. Toen   de   voorzitter   binnenkwam   stond
   when   the   chairman   enter.SG.PAST   stand.SG.PAST
   iedereen   op
   everybody   up
   'When the chairman came in, everybody got up' (own data)

(44) DUTCH (Indo-European, West Germanic)

    a. Mijn broer   is ingenieur
       my   brother is engineer
       'My brother is an engineer' (own data)

    b. De vergadering is in kamer 2.12
       the meeting   is in room 2.12
       'The meeting is in room 2.12' (own data)

(45) FRENCH (Indo-European, Romance)
    Elle avait   un château en Espagne
    she have.PAST.3SG a   castle   in Spain
    'She had a castle in Spain' (own data)

(46) FRENCH (Indo-European, Romance)

    a. L'un   tient le   couteau, l'autre   la cuiller
       the.one holds the knife   the.other the spoon
       'Some hold the knife, others (hold) the spoon' (own data)

    b. Les gens sont   heureux quand le   printemps
       the people be.PRES.3PL happy   when the spring
       revient
       return.PRES.3SG
       'People are happy when spring returns' (own data)

(47) FRENCH (Indo-European, Romance)

    a. Mon frère   est médecin
       my brother is   doctor
       'My brother is a doctor' (own data)

    b. La   plume de ma tante est sur le   bureau de
       the pen   of my aunt is on the desk   of
       mon oncle
       my   uncle
       'My aunt's pen is on my uncle's desk' (own data)

(48) RUMANIAN (Indo-European, Romance)
    Tu   ai   un   stilou
    2SG.NOM   have.2SG.PRES   INDEF   pen
    'You have a pen' (Cazacu et al. 1967:57)

(49) RUMANIAN (Indo-European, Romance)

    a. Eu am   cumpărat o casa la Dej, (şi) el a
       I have bought   a house in D.   (and) he has

cumpărat   o   casa   la   Cluj
bought   a   house   in   C.
'I have bought a house in Dej, (and) he has bought a house in Cluj'
<div align="right">(Mallinson 1986: 120)</div>

b. Cînd   eu   vin   el   va   pleca
when   I   come.1SG   he   FUT.3SG   leave
'When I come, he will leave' (Mallinson 1986: 71)

(50) RUMANIAN (Indo-European, Romance)

a. E   om   acum
be.3SG.PRES   man   now
'He is a man now' (Mallinson 1986: 82)

b. Avion-ul   e   la   periferi-a   aerodrom-ul-ui
plane-the   be.3SG.PRES   at   edge-the   airport-the-GEN
'The plane is at the edge of the airport' (Mallinson 1986: 85)

(51) SPANISH (Indo-European, Romance)
Tengo   dinero
have.1SG.PRES   money
'I have money' (own data)

(52) SPANISH (Indo-European, Romance)

a. El   hombre   puso   el   arca   en   la   mesa   y
the   man   put   the   chest   on   the   table   and
la   abrió
it.ACC   open
'The man put the chest on the table and opened it'
<div align="right">(Ashcom and Goodell 1955: 30)</div>

b. Jugaban   a   los   naipes   cuando   los   llamé
play.3PL.IMPF   at   the   cards   when   3PL.ACC   call.1SG.PAST
'They were playing cards when I called them'
<div align="right">(Ashcom and Goodell 1955: 28)</div>

(53) SPANISH (Indo-European, Romance)

a. Yo   no   soy   marinero
I   not   COP.1SG.PRES   sailor
'I am not a sailor' (own data)

b. Donde   están   los   campos   de   tenis?
where   be.3PL.PRES   the   fields   of   tennis
'Where are the tennis courts?' (Ashcom and Goodell 1955: 96)

In addition to its (minor) Locational Possessive, the Baltic language Lithu-
anian has a Have-Possessive, encoded by the transitive verb *turi* 'to have'. This
Have-Possessive is matched by the possibility of non-deranked temporal
sequences,[9] and by the *be*-verb *bū́ti*, which functions as the shared encoding
of copular and locational sentences. Shared zero-encoding is possible in the
present tense, but is not obligatory.

(54)   LITHUANIAN (Indo-European, Baltic)
       Aš   turiù   laûka
       1SG.NOM have.1SG.PRES field.ACC
       'I have a field' (Senn 1929: 24)

(55)   LITHUANIAN (Indo-European, Baltic)
       Glostau   suni,   slausias   biaurybe
       pat.1SG.PRES dog.ACC resist.3SG.REFL.PRES monster.NOM
       '(When) I pat the dog, the mutt resists' (Senn 1966: 488)

(56)   LITHUANIAN (Indo-European, Baltic)

    a. Tai   buvo   pōnas
       DEM   be.PAST.3 gentleman
       'That was a gentleman' (Senn 1966: 482)

    b. Liutai, lokiai ir   leopardai buvo   zoopark-e
       lions   bears and leopards be.PAST.3 zoo-LOC
       'The lions, bears, and leopards were in the zoo' (Mathiassen 1996: 183)

Although Czech, Serbo-Croatian, Modern Greek, and Albanian all have some
options involving deranked temporal clauses, by far the most common
strategy for the encoding of temporal sequencing is the use of sentence
coordinations or finite subordinate clauses. The Have-Possessive in these
languages is matched by the fact that all of them are full-sharers; the *be*-
verbs, which are all multi-rooted, have the infinitives *býti* (Czech), *biti* (Serbo-
Croatian), *jam* (Albanian), and *einai* (Modern Greek). Shared zero-encoding
is possible, but optional, in the present tense of Czech and in the third person
present of Modern Greek. Serbo-Croatian and Albanian do not seem to allow
any form of zero-encoding for copular and locational sentences.[10]

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   [9] In fact, sentential coordinations are even more popular in Lithuanian than they already are in the
rest of European Indo European. Subordinating conjunctions, especially those indicating temporal
and conditional relations, are often left out, so that an asyndetic coordination of main clauses results
(Senn 1966: 488).

   [10] As is the case in French and Spanish, Serbo Croatian, Modern Greek, and Albanian employ the
impersonal singular form of their *have* verbs in the encoding of existential sentences.

(57) Czech (Indo-European, West Slavonic)
     Já   mám   kolo
     I   have.PRES.1SG   bicycle
     'I have a bicycle' (Lee and Lee 1986: 3)

(58) Czech (Indo-European, West Slavonic)

     a. Zdeňka   má   teplé   mleko,   (a)   já   mám   studené
        Z.   has   hot   milk   (and)   I   have   cold
        'Zdenka has hot milk, and I have cold (milk)' (Lee and Lee 1986: 5)

     b. Když   jsem   byl   malý,
        when   be.1SG.PRES   be.PCP.PERF   small
        bával   jsem   se   psů
        be.frightened.PCP.PERF   be.PRES.1SG   with   dog.GEN.PL
        'When I was small, I used to be afraid of dogs' (Lee and Lee 1986: 118)

(59) Czech (Indo-European, West Slavonic)

     a. Hana   je   velmi   hezká   dívka
        H.   is   very   pretty girl
        'Hana is a very pretty girl' (Lee and Lee 1986: 192)

     b. Kde   je   můj   nový   svetr?
        where is   my   new   pullover
        'Where is my new pullover?' (Lee and Lee 1986: 192)

(60) Serbo-Croatian (Indo-European, South Slavonic)
     Gospodin   Petrovic   ima   konja
     Mr   P.-NOM   have.3SG.PRES horse.ACC
     'Mr. Petrovic has a horse' (Javarek and Sudjic 1963: 18)

(61) Serbo-Croatian (Indo-European, South Slavonic)

     a. Posao   sam   s   Ivanom,   (a)   tî
        leave.PCP.PAST be.1SG.PRES   with I.-INSTR (and)   you

  (i)   Serbo Croatian (Indo European, South Slavonic)
        U   Beogradu   ima   vojnika
        in B. LOC   have.3SG.PRES   soldiers.ACC
        'There are soldiers in Belgrade' (Lord 1958: 22)

  (ii) Modern Greek (Indo European, Hellenic)
        Exi   exinus   s   ti   thalasa   edo
        have.3SG.PRES   urchins.ACC.PL in   the   sea.ACC   here
        'There are sea urchins in the sea here' (Joseph and Philippaki Warburton 1987: 36)

  (iii) Albanian (Indo European, Albanian)
        Në   dimen   ka   borë
        in   winter.ACC have.3SG.PRES   snow.ACC
        'In winter there is snow' (Mann 1932: 51)

podí   s   Martom
go.IMP   with   M.-INSTR
'I have left with Ivan, and you should leave with Martha'
<div align="right">(Hamm 1975: 62)</div>

b. Kad   sundze   sija   toplo   je
   when   shine.3SG.PRES   sun.NOM   warm   be.3SG.PRES
   'When the sun shines, it is warm' (Petrovitch 1913: 46)

(62)   SERBO-CROATIAN (Indo-European, South Slavonic)

a. Òna   je   stùdentkjina
   she   be.3SG.PRES   female.student
   'She is a student' (Babić 1973: 13)

b. Pod   stolom   je   knjiga
   under   table.INSTR   be.3SG.PRES   book.NOM
   'The book is under the table' (Petrovitch 1913: 32)

(63)   ALBANIAN (Indo-European, Albanian)
Une   kam   një   laps
1SG.NOM   have.1SG.PRES   INDEF   pencil
'I have a pencil' (Kacori 1979: 30)

(64)   ALBANIAN (Indo-European, Albanian)

a. Këto   janë   gjevorek,   (dhe)   ató   janë   petulla
   these   are   pretzels   (and)   those   are   pasties
   'These are pretzels, and those are pasties' (Mann 1932: 70)

b. Ndërsa   shokët   xêjshin   luejtë   ti
   you.NOM   sit.2SG.IMPERF   PRT   play.PCP   while
   rrijhe   tue
   comrades.DEF   learn.3PL.IMPERF
   'While the comrades were studying, you sat and played'
<div align="right">(Lambertz 1959: 175)</div>

(65)   ALBANIAN (Indo-European, Albanian)

a. Asht   rrobaqepës
   be.3SG.PRES   tailor
   'He is a tailor' (Mann 1932: 21)

b. Asht   në   shtepi
   be.3SG.PRES   in   house.ACC
   'He is at home' (Mann 1932: 73)

(66) MODERN GREEK (Indo-European, Hellenic)
   Hoi   Arabes   echousin   elefantas
   DEF.PL Arab.NOM.PL have.3PL.PRES elephant.ACC.PL
   'The Arabs have elephants' (Petraris 1914: 44)

(67) MODERN GREEK (Indo-European, Hellenic)
  a. To potámi ksexívise   ta xoráfta   plimírisan
    the river.NOM overflowed.3SG the fields.NOM flooded.3PL
    'The river overflowed (and) the fields flooded'
              (Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton 1987: 59)
  b. Otan ftasame   s to spiti tis vrikame
    when arrive.1PL.PAST at ART house her find.1PL.PAST
    ti Lula
    ART L.-ACC
    'When we arrived at her house, we found Lula'
              (Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton 1987: 30)

(68) MODERN GREEK (Indo-European, Hellenic)
  a. Aftós   ine stratiótis
    he.NOM is soldier
    'He is a soldier' (Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton 1987: 127)
  b. O vivlio   tu   Jani ine eki
    the book.NOM ART.GEN J.-GEN is here
    'Janis' book is here' (Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton 1987: 132)

Among the Asian members of Indo-European, a rare instance of the Have-Possessive is found in Modern Persian.[11] The transitive *have*-verb *dashtan* has somewhat irregular flexion; for details see Mace (1962: 71). Encoding of temporal sequences is predominantly balancing; there is sentence coordination, and there is the option of forming finite adverbial clauses with subordinating conjunctions. In the present tense, copular and locational sentences can be encoded by a set of affixes on the predicate, which can be seen as enclitic forms of the *be*-verb. As an alternative in the present tense, and as an obligatory choice in other tenses, both types of construction use the *be*-verb

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[11] A Have Possessive is also encountered in Tajik, a language that is closely related to Modern Persian.

(i) TAJIK (Indo European, Iranian)
  Du pisar dosht
  two sons have.3SG.F.PAST
  'She had two sons' (Rastorgueva 1963: 61)

bas/bud. Zero-encoding is possible only under very specific circumstances; a survey can be found in Lazard (1957: 170).

(69)   MODERN PERSIAN (Indo-European, Iranian)
    Nan   daram
    bread   have.1SG.PRES
    'I have bread' (Lambton 1957: 33)

(70)   MODERN PERSIAN (Indo-European, Iranian)

    a. U-ro   seda   kardam,   nay-umad
       3SG-to sound do.1SG.PAST NEG-come.3SG.PAST
       'I called him, (but) he didn't come' (Lazard 1957: 209)

    b. Cun   ma-ra   did
       when 1SG-ACC see.3SG.PAST
       'When he saw me' (Lazard 1957: 229)

(71)   MODERN PERSIAN (Indo-European, Iranian)

    a. Bacce-i
       child-2SG.PRES
       'You are a child' (Boyle 1966: 40)

    b. Qali   tu-ye   sanduq-ast
       carpet inside-of suitcase-3SG.PRES
       'The carpet is in the suitcase' (Lazard 1957: 189)

    c. Ma   kargar   hastim
       1PL workers be.1PL.PRES
       'We are workers' (Lazard 1957: 170)

    d. Ma   manzel   hastim
       1PL home   be.1PL.PRES
       'We are at home' (Boyle 1966: 42)

The isolate language Basque is areally related to the Romance languages French and Spanish. Basque has a Have-Possessive which features the transitive verb *u-kan*. Since Basque is an ergative language, possessor and possessed item are marked by ergative and absolutive indexes on the *have*-verb. In comparison to the Indo-European *have*-languages, deranking of temporal sequences is much more prominent in Basque. The language has several oblique verbal-noun formations, which can be used absolutely, and which still seem to be a very much 'alive' option.[12] In addition, there are balancing

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[12] An example of a deranked predicate form in Basque is the oblique infinitive, which is marked by the suffix *te/ t/ tze* on the verb stem and by a case suffix that encodes a temporal or some other adverbial relation. The locative case and the meditative case encode simultaneity, while the comitative

constructions: the language allows sentence coordination, and there are also subordinate adverbial clauses that seem to be built around finite verb forms. In such clauses, the finite verb form is provided with the relative suffix *-n/-en*. Clauses with such verb forms are in fact relative clauses on an (often omitted) head-noun which indicates a 'unit of time' (Saltarelli 1988: 44). In order to encode temporal and other adverbial clauses, finite verb forms marked for relativization can take case suffixes, such as *-ean* (i.e. locative singular) for a *when*-clause. Furthermore, such relativized finite verb forms can be followed by a 'temporal' head-noun, which is then put in the locative or some other locational case. Examples are given in sentences (73b–c).

Basque is a full-sharing language by virtue of the *be*-verb *izan*, which has an irregular flexion for present and past.[13] The verb *izan* (which has the form *da* in the third person present) is employed in copular and locational/existential sentences alike. Zero-encoding does not occur in Basque.

(72)   Basque (Basque)
       Harotz-ek   zaldi   ba-d-u-te
       blacksmith-ERG.PL   horse-ABS   AFF-3SG.ABS-have-3PL.ERG
       'The blacksmiths have a horse' (Gavel 1929: 10)

case indicates 'circumstantial simultaneity' (Lafitte 1944: 220; my translation). Absolute use of the formation is possible.

(i)   Basque (Basque)

      a. Aita   ji te az   atsegin   d u t
         father come INF MEDIT   happy   3ABS AUX 1SG.ERG
         'Now that Father is coming, I am happy' (Lafitte 1944: 221)

      b. Meza   has te an   sar tu   z e n
         Mass   begin INF LOC   enter PCP.PERF 3SG.ABS AUX PAST
         'When Mass began, he entered' (Lafitte 1944: 216)

      c. Negu a   ji te are kin   ainhar ak   badoatzi
         winter SG.ABS come INF GEN COM   swallow PL.ABS leave
         'When winter comes, the swallows leave' (Lafitte 1944: 220)

Another deranked verb form is the so called participle, which is formed from verb stems by a derivational suffix, the form of which depends on the class of the verb. Like the infinitive, the participle can be marked by case suffixes and thus encode a number of temporal and other adverbial clause types. Again, absolute use is clearly possible.

(ii) Basque (Basque)
      Lagun ak   joa n ik   jarri   z e n
      friend PL.ABS leave PCP ELAT sit.down PCP 3SG.ABS AUX PAST
      'After his friends left, he sat down' (Lafitte 1944: 231)

   13 For a survey of this flexion see Saltarelli (1988: 302).

(73) Basque (Basque)

a. Ama   josten   hasi   da,   aita   lo-tara   joan   da,
    mother   sewing.LOC begun   is   father sleep-ALL   gone   is
    nere   anaia   kale-ra   atera   da,   eta   ni
    my   brother   street-ALL   is   and   gone.out   I
    telebista   ikusten   gelditu   naiz
    television see.LOC   remained   am
    'Mother has begun sewing, Father has gone to sleep, my brother has
    gone out, and I remain (here) watching television'

    (Saltarelli 1988: 86)

b. Azoka-ra   joa-ten   n-a-iz-en-ean
    market-ALL   go-HAB   1SG.ABS-PRES-AUX-RM-LOC.SG
    arraultza   fresco-ak   eros-ten   d-it-u-t
    egg.ABS   fresh-PL.ABS   buy-HAB   3ABS-ABS.PL-AUX-1SG.ERG
    'When I go to market, I buy fresh eggs' (Saltarelli 1988: 44)

c. Zu-k   ohe-ak   egi-ten   dit-u-zu-n
    2SG-ERG   bed-PL.ABS   make-HAB   3PL.ABS-AUX-2SG.ERG-RM
    bitarth-ean   gosari-a   prestatu-ko   d-u-t
    length-LOC   breakfast-ABS   prepare-FUT   3ABS-AUX-1SG.ERG
    'While you make the beds, I'll prepare beakfast' (Saltarelli 1988: 45)

(74) Basque (Basque)

a. Hura   gizon-a   da
    he.ABS   man-ABS   3SG.ABS. be.PRES
    'He is a man' (Saltarelli 1988: 150)

b. Aita   kale-an   da
    Father   street-LOC   3SG.ABS.be.PRES
    'Father is in the street' (Saltarelli 1988: 198)

12.3 Further Eurasia

Outside Indo-European, instances of the Have-Possessive are rare in Eurasia.
One notable exception is the possessive construction in one of the language
families of the Caucasus. While the Dagestanian and Kartvelian languages
have Locational Possessives (see Section 9.3), I have encountered a straight-
forward instance of the Have-Possessive in Ubykh, a North-West Caucasian
language.

   Like Basque, Ubykh is an ergative language. Predicative possession is
encoded by the verb *qa*, which bears no lexical relation to the *be*-verbs in

the language. The verb *qa* is transitive; it agrees with the possessor by ergative prefixes and with the possessee by absolute prefixes.[14]

(75) UBYKH (North-West Caucasian)
Zä -c°a   zaxaj   a-w-qa -ge
one-house.ABS only   3SG.ABS-2SG.ERG-have-PRES
'You have only one house' (Dumézil 1931:85)

In Section 9.3 we observed that Ubykh can use deranked forms (the so-called 'participes-gérondifs') to encode temporal sequences. Besides these subordinate verb forms, Ubykh also allows for sentential coordination, especially in contrastive contexts, and for finite subordinate clauses, which are marked by a clause-final conjunction.[15] The language is full-sharing, by virtue of the fact that the locational verb *l/le* 'to be at' can also occur as a copula with predicate nominals.[16] Zero-encoding of either copular or locational/existential sentences is not possible.

(76) UBYKH (North-West Caucasian)
a. Si-tqwa-ne   za-xafa-ga   s-icaws-n-o,   a-semc'a-gä
   1PL-two-ERG   one-side-at   1-sleep-PL-FUT the-women-also
   za-xafa-ga   e-caws-n-o
   one-side-at   3-sleep-PL-FUT
   'The two of us will sleep on one side, and the women will sleep on the other side' (Dumézil 1931: 113)

b. U-k'wob-ôt-edä
   2SG-wash-FUT-if
   'if you will wash yourself' (Dumézil 1931: 96)

(77) UBYKH (North-West Caucasian)
a. Wälä   go-baxä-l
   they   his-enemy-be.PL
   'They were his enemies' (Dumézil 1931: 50)

b. Zä-nt'a   le-t'
   INDEF-snake   be-IMPERF
   'There was a snake' 'A snake was there' (Dumézil 1932: 123)

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[14] In Sections 6.4 and 9.3 I have suggested that the construction in Ubykh is the result of Have Drift.
[15] A survey of these affixes can be found in Dumézil (1931: 95 7).
[16] As an alternative, predicate nominals can receive verbal encoding in Ubykh.

(i) UBYKH (North West Caucasian)
Gedä   caya   t'it it
much   knowing   man IMPERF
'He was a very clever man' (Dumézil 1933: 22)

In Section 9.4 we saw that the Uralic languages are, in general, steadfastly devoted to the Locational Possessive. Nonetheless, two sampled members of the Ugric subfamily can be shown to have a Have-Possessive: Vogul employs the transitive verb *äns-*, while Xanty features a *have*-verb *tai-/tăj-*.

Like all Uralic languages, Vogul and Xanty have ample possibilities involving deranked temporal clauses.[17] Interestingly, though, one gets the impression that balanced encoding, by means of finite clauses with subordinating conjunctions, is more developed in these languages, and in Ugric in general, than in other branches of Uralic. Vogul and Xanty are full-sharers, by way of the *be*-verb *ol-* (Vogul) or *ul-* (Xanty), which takes both nominal and locational predicate complements. Both languages allow shared zero-encoding in the present tense. In this tense, zero-encoding is obligatory for third person, and optional for first and second person.

(78) VOGUL (Uralic, Ugric)

    a. Teeneqår   at   änsa
       food   NEG   have.PRES.3DU
       'The two of them have no food' (Collinder 1957: 336)

    b. Aγi   kit   saγ   ońśi
       girl   two   braid   have.PRES.3SG
       'The girl has two braids' (Riese 2001: 65)

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[17] As I have shown in Section 9.4, Vogul has deranking in the form of oblique verbal nouns, which provides a direct match with its Locational Possessive. Furthermore, the language has a simultaneous converb, which is restricted to same subject conditions:

(i) VOGUL (Uralic, Ugric)
    ōjka   χoχsa   χart im   ūnli
    old.man   pipe   smoke SS.SIM   sit PRES.3SG
    'The old man sits smoking a pipe' (Riese 2001: 69)

Similar facts can be documented for Xanty. The language has so called 'participles', which are derived by a suffix from verb stems, and which take personal/possessive marking for their subjects. When constructed with case suffixes, such participles encode adverbial clauses; for simultaneity, the locative case marker is the most common option.

(ii) XANTY (Uralic, Ugric)
    Tögë   werĕn tä   jĕ m il nĕ,
    fire   make INF   begin PCP.PAST 3PL LOC
    mä   lĕg nä ti   jĕlil gäl ĕm
    1SG   3PL with PRT   go REM.PAST 1SG
    'When they began to make the fire, I went with them' (Comrie 1981b: 134)

Like Vogul, Xanty also has a simultaneous converb to encode 'circumstantial' clauses. The form consists of the verb stem plus the present tense marker *t*, and the suffix *man*. The form is only allowed under same subject conditions.

(79) Vogul (Uralic, Ugric)

    a. Pojərət   χūrəm   luwəl   jalasasət,   am   top   akw
       official.PL   three   horse.INSTR go.PRET.3PL I   only   one
       luwəl   jalsəm
       horse.INSTR go.PRET.1SG
       'The officials rode in a troika, (but) I went with one horse'

                                  (Riese 2001: 71)

    b. χuń   aśəm   juw-joχti,
       when   father.my come.home-PRES.3SG
       man   tawe   sali   ńowl'əl   tittiluw
       1PL.NOM 3SG.ACC reindeer meat.INSTR feed.PRES.1PL.DET
       'When Father comes home, we will give him reindeer meat to eat'

                                    (Riese 2001: 72)

(80) Vogul (Uralic, Ugric)

    a. Taw saka jor   oləs
       he   very strong be.PRET.3SG
       'He was very strong' (Riese 2001: 71)

    b. Stepan χot   oli
       S.   where be.PRES.3SG
       'Where is Stepan?' (Riese 2001: 61)

(81) Xanty (Uralic, Ugric)
    Min taj -lamen   choram   mis
    1DU have-1DU.PRES fine   cow
    'We two have a fine cow' (Rédei 1965: 37)

(82) Xanty (Uralic, Volgaic)

    a. χĭγij-təm,   tĭγ   ăn   χutt-tət
       call-PRES.1SG   he   not   hear-PRES.3SG
       'I call, (but) he does not hear' (Steinitz 1950: 82)

    b. Xun   ma   aj   usem,   us   simes   wer
       when 1SG child be.1SG.PAST be.3SG.PAST thus   thing
       'When I was a child, things were like this' (Rédei 1965: 82)

(iii) Xanty (Uralic, Ugric)
    Kamen   jon t man   jangxet
    Outside   play PRES SS.SIM   walk.about.3SG.PRES
    'Outside he walks about, playing' (Steinitz 1950: 80)

(83)   Xanty (Uralic, Ugric)

    a. Ma aj   usem
       1SG child be.PAST.1SG
       'I was a child' (Rédei 1965: 82)

    b. Ma jolen   usem
       1SG inside be.PAST.1SG
       'I was in the house' (Rédei 1965: 38)

Finally, we have to consider the situation in the 'Paleo-Siberian' language Ket. In addition to its well-documented Locational Possessive, I have found a single example of a Have-Possessive in this language. In the construction, a transitive *have*-verb is employed, with subject reference to the possessor, and it looks as if the possessed item is incorporated.

(84)   KET (Yeniseian)
    Don-it-il-bet
    knife-3F.SUBJ-PAST-have
    'She had a knife' (Vajda 2004: 50)

In Section 9.6 I discussed possible deranked constructions in Ket, in connection with the Locational Possessive. We saw there that this language has the ability to subordinate fully finite verb forms by adding nominal case suffixes to them. Apart from these formations Ket has sentential coordinations, and also subordinate clauses with finite verbs and clause-final items that can only be interpreted as real subordinate conjunctions. Furthermore, Ket is a sharing language, on the basis of zero-encoding for both copular and locational sentences.[18]

(85)   KET (Yeniseian)

    a. Sın ínà am   àràɣolaran haj dəno
       one PRT mother she.fell.ill and she.died
       'One day the mother fell ill and died' (Vajda 2004: 92)

    b. Bu hájàtes   kɨ́ɣà dıl   qónòksájdoavet
       3M he.gets.up after child he.eats.breakfast
       'After he gets up, the child eats breakfast' (Vajda 2004: 87)

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[18] Apart from a zero encoding for locational sentences, Ket also makes use of a set of posture verbs for this function. An example is:

(i)   KET (Yeniseian)
      Diang   duien
      people   stand.3PL.PRES
      'There are people there' (Donner 1955: 131)

  c. u   bən   kúɣatn   dóɣòt   at   bɪn   bóɣatn
     you.SG not   you.go   because I   self 1.go
     'Because you aren't going, I'll go myself' (Vajda 2004: 87)

(86) KET (Yeniseian)

  a. Tu-r   qà   qàj
     that-M   big   elk
     'That is/was a big elk' (Vajda 2004: 84)

  b. ə́tń   qús-kà
     1PL   tent-LOC
     'We are/were in the tent' (Vajda 2004: 85)

12.4 Austronesian and Papuan

The Austronesian phylum is a stronghold of the Topic Possessive. Neverthe-less, a few limited concentrations of the Have-Possessive can be documented here. One of these is situated at the very west of this vast family, in a number of West Indonesian languages. Malagasy, a language from Madagascar, fea-tures the transitive verb *manana* in its predicative possession construction.[19] This Have-Possessive is matched unproblematically by the fact that Malagasy, like the large majority of Austronesian languages, is predominantly, if not exclusively, balancing. Temporal sequences are either sentential coordinations or subordinate clauses, which have finite predicates and clause-initial con-junctions. Malagasy is a sharing language, on the basis of zero-encoding for both copular and locational/existential sentences.[20]

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[19] The verb *manana* 'to have' is derived from the noun *anana* 'possession, property' by the prefix *m /ma* . Such verbal derivations from nouns occur frequently in Malagasy. Dez (1980: I.47) charac terizes verbs derived by the prefix *m /ma* as follows: 'They indicate the execution of an action, the possession of a characteristic, by assigning the movement or the characteristic at issue to a subject which is the referent of the author of the action or the possessor of the characteristic that is indicated by the stem' (my translation). Other examples of this *m /ma* derivation are: *tahotra* 'fear' > *ma tahotra* 'to be afraid'; *dio* 'purity' > *ma dio* 'to be pure'; *soratra* 'writing' > *ma soratra* 'to write'.

[20] Alternatively, one might argue that both predicate nominals and predicate locationals are treated as verbs in Malagasy, since there is no detectable difference between the encoding of predicative verbs/ adjectives and other, 'nonverbal' predicates.

(i) MALAGASY (Austronesian, West Indonesian)

  a. Tonga   Rakoto
     arrive   R.
     'Rakoto arrives' (Edward Keenan p.c.)

  b. Tsara   Rakoto
     good   R.
     'Rakoto is good' (Edward Keenan p.c.)

Exactly the same observations can be made for the West Indonesian languages Sundanese and Madurese. In these languages as well, a Have-Possessive (encoded by the *have*-verb *boga* in Sundanese and the *have*-verb *and́ík* in Madurese) is matched by the absence of deranked temporal clauses and by shared zero-encoding.

(87) Malagasy (Austronesian, West Indonesian)
Manana   trano   vaovao   Rakoto
have   house   new   R.
'Rakoto has a new house' (Edward Keenan p.c.)

(88) Malagasy (Austronesian, West Indonesian)

   a. Dokotera   ny   anankiray,   (ary)   governora   ny   anankiray
      doctor   ART   one   (and)   governor   ART   one
      'One is a doctor, and the other is a governor' (Malzac 1960: 167)

   b. Nanoratra   aho   nony   tonga   izy
      PAST.write   1SG   when   arrive   3SG
      'I was writing when he arrived' (Malzac 1960: 54)

(89) Malagasy (Austronesian, West Indonesian)

   a. Mpandafitra   Rakoto
      carpenter   R.
      'Rakoto is a carpenter' (Edward Keenan p.c.)

   b. Any   Antsirabe   Rakoto
      there/at   A.   R.
      'Rakoto is in Antsirabe' (Edward Keenan p.c.)

(90) Sundanese (Austronesian, West Indonesian)
Manéh   boga   duit   sabaraha
you   have   money   how.much
'How much money have you got?' (Hardjadibrata 1985: 112)

   c. Mpandafitra   Rakoto
      carpenter   R.
      'Rakoto is a carpenter' (Edward Keenan p.c.)

   d. Ary   an tsina   Rakoto
      there   at market   R.
      'Rakoto is at the market' (Dez 1980: I.331)

Whatever analysis one prefers, the fact of course remains that Malagasy is a sharer, in that copular and locational/existential sentences are encoded in identical fashion.

(91) SUNDANESE (Austronesian, West Indonesian)

    a. Bapana   macul,   indungna   nyangu
       father.his hoe   mother.his   boil.rice
       'His father hoed, and his mother boiled rice' (Hardjadibrata 1985: 140)

    b. Nya   kuring pisan nu   kudu   ngurusan anak
       EMP   I   very   who must look.after child
       pamajikanana sabot manéhna aya di Amérika téh!
       wife.his   while   he   be   in America EMP
       'It was I who had to look after his wife and child, while he was in the United States!' (Hardjadibrata 1985: 128)

(92) SUNDANESE (Austronesian, West Indonesian)

    a. Kuring   guru
       I   teacher
       'I am a teacher' (Hardjadibrata 1985: 85)

    b. Duit   téh   dina   lomari
       money EMP   inside cupboard
       'The money is in the cupboard' (Hardjadibrata 1985: 74)

(93) MADURESE (Austronesian, West Indonesian)
Raja anḍik anaq praban
king have   child virgin
'The king had a virgin child' (Davies 1999: 58)

(94) MADURESE (Austronesian, West Indonesian)

    a. Hasan entar ḍaq Jakarta (ban) Ali dentar ḍaq Bali
       H.   go   to   Jakarta (and) A. go   to   Bali
       'Hasan went to Jakarta and Ali went to Bali' (Davies 1999: 43)

    b. Baktona Hasan maca buku, Siti acaca biq Ali
       while   H.   read book S.   speak with A.
       'While Hasan read a book, Siti spoke with Ali' (Davies 1999: 51)

(95) MADURESE (Austronesian, West Indonesian)

    a. Siti ghuru
       S.   teacher
       'Siti is a teacher' (Davies 1999: 26)

    b. Buku-na   nəng meja
       book-DEF at   table
       'The book is on the table' (Davies 1999: 26)

In Section 11.3 I noted the Topic Possessive in Bahasa Indonesia. In addition, the language has a Have-Possessive, which features the transitive verb

mempunyai 'to have'.[21] According to Steinhauer (2001: 251–4), there are subtle semantic differences between the two options: while the Topic Possessive suggests availability, but not necessarily ownership, the Have-Possessive is neutral in that it covers both cases of temporary and permanent possession.

(96)   Bahasa Indonesia (Austronesian, West Indonesian)
       Dia   mempunyai   uang
       3SG   have   money
       'S/he has money' (Steinhauer 2001: 253)

As far as temporal sequencing is concerned, the Have-Possessive in Bahasa Indonesia is matched by the same balanced constructions that match the Topic Possessive. With regard to the split/share parameter, this Have-Possessive conforms to our prediction by the fact that one of the configurations in nonverbal predication allows for shared zero-encoding of predicate nominal and predicate locative sentences.

(97)   Bahasa Indonesia (Austronesian, West Indonesian)

   a. Dia   gadis
      3SG   girl
      'She is a girl' (Steinhauer 2001: 43)

   b. Dia   di   rumah
      3SG   at   house
      'S/he is at home' (Steinhauer 2001: 40)

An isolated case of Have-Possessive encoding among the East Indonesian languages is found in Tukang Besi, a language of South Celebes. This Have-Possessive is in competition with the With-Possessive that we noted in Section 10.6. Although, as we have seen there, Tukang Besi has deranking options, the language can be qualified as prominently balancing. As is common in Austronesian, Tukang Besi is (or at least can be) zero-sharing.

(98)   Tukang besi (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

   a. No-hoto-wunua
      3-have-house
      'They have/own a house' (Donohue 1999: 171)

   b. No-hoto   kabali   leama
      3-have   machete   good
      'He has a good machete' (Donohue 1999: 348)

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[21] The verb *mempunyai* also has a colloquial form, *punya*.

(99)   Tukang Besi (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

　　a. Te   La   Kolokolopua   no-hembula   te   hu'u-no,
　　　 TOP   HON   Tortoise   3-plant   ART   trunk-its
　　　 te   La   Kandokendoke no-hembula   te   umbu-no
　　　 TOP   HON   Monkey   3-plant   ART   top-its
　　　 'Tortoise planted its trunk, and Monkey planted its top'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 (Donohue 1999: 425)

　　b. Ara   mbeaka   no-komo   te   Wuta   Wolio   no-to-'ita
　　　 if   not   3-be.misty ART   land   W.   3-PASS-see
　　　 'If it's not misty you can see Buton' (Donohue 1999: 415)

(100) Tukang Besi (Austronesian, East Indonesian)

　　a. Te   mia   iso   te   guru
　　　 ART   person   that   ART   teacher
　　　 'That person is a teacher' (Donohue 1999: 353)

　　b. Te   ia   di   godegode
　　　 ART   3SG   OBL   veranda
　　　 'She is on the veranda' (Donohue 1999: 323)

A further small concentration of Have-Possessives in Austronesian is encountered in a number of Melanesian languages. In Tolai, the *have*-verbs *taunane* 'to hold, to have' and *vatur-vake* (*lit.* 'cause.stand-detain') compete with a Topic Possessive.[22] Originally, these *have*-verbs indicated only temporary possession, but the meaning has been expanded: 'While in traditional texts *vatur-vake* always means "to hold fast", "to have in one's hands", it is now often used in the general sense of "to have"' (Mosel 1984: 167). The *have*-verb *fe'e-ni* in Kwaio is a case of Have-Drift, as it consists of the item *fe'e* 'with' plus a transitivizing suffix (see Section 6.2). Like Tolai, Kwaio has a Topic Possessive in addition to this Have-Possessive. In Tumleo and Tigak the Have-Possessive seems to be the only option.

Temporal sequencing is overwhelmingly balancing in these languages. In Tumleo, indeed, there is hardly any subordination of temporal and other adverbial clauses. 'Conjunctions for the introduction of some sort of dependent clause are lacking' (Schultze 1911: 31; my translation), so that a Tumleo text commonly consists of just 'a bare sequence of short main clauses' (Schultze 1911: 33; my translation). In Tigak, too, asyndetic juxtaposition of main clauses appears to be the main strategy in the encoding of temporal sequencing (Beaumont 1980: 55). The same can be said for Tolai, although this

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[22] The Topic Possessive in Tolai is of the 'ambiguous', zero sharing subtype.

language also frequently employs subordinate adverbial clauses with finite predicates and clause-initial conjunctions.[23] Clause-initial conjunctions for finite subordinate clauses are the rule as well in Kwaio, and this language usually employs overt conjunctional items with its sentential coordinations.

All four languages are zero-sharers: 'There is no verb TO BE in Tigak' (Beaumont 1980: 41). In all languages except Kwaio, various 'posture' verbs can be used as an alternative to the zero-encoding of locational/existential sentences.[24]

(101) TOLAI (Austronesian, Melanesian)

    a. Toan i   taunane ra   mogoro na   pia
       T.   3SG   hold   ART   much   CLASS   land
       'Toan has a lot of land' (Mosel 1984: 70)

    b. Di   vatur-vake tika na   wire   ka   ure
       INDEF.PRON   have   one   CLASS   wire   only   for
       ra   power
       ART   power
       'They have only one conduction for electricity' (Mosel 1984: 167)

(102) TOLAI (Austronesian, Melanesian)

    a. Qo   a   pal   i   gala, (ma)   nem
       this   ART   house   3SG   big   (and) that
       i   liklik
       3SG   small
       'This house is big, that (house) is small': 'This house is bigger than that house' (Bley 1912: 85)

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[23] Curiously, Tolai seems to be in the process of developing a deranked construction type. This construction is based on verbal nouns, which can be formed productively from verbs by prefixes such as *va /vina* , or by reduplication. Mosel (1984: 30) remarks: 'In traditional Tolai, the use of nominaliza tions is rather restricted . . . In modern Tolai, . . . nominalizations replace subordinate clauses such as time and purpose clauses'. In this latter use, nominalizations are constructed with prepositions such as *ta/tai* 'in' or *ure* 'with respect to'. Absolute use of these oblique verbal noun constructions is possible.

(i) TOLAI (Austronesian, Melanesian)
    Tai   tika na   ginigira   kai   tika na   tepelin
    in   one CLASS   VN.see   GEN   one CLASS   plane
    'when (the area) was inspected by airplane' (*lit.* 'in one seeing by one plane')

                                             (Mosel 1984: 48)

[24] In Tigak, existential clauses can feature the *have* verb *togon* with an impersonal third person singular subject.

(i) TIGAK (Austronesian, Melanesian)
    Ga   togon sakai anu   rica   pising i   pe   Taugui
    3SG.PAST   have one   man   3PL.PAST   call 3SG.OBJ   with T.
    'There was a man (whom) they called Taugui' (Beaumont 1980: 124)

b. Tumu   iau   vartovo,   avat   a   ki   mut
   when   1SG   speak   2PL   FUT   sit   be.silent
   'When/while I speak, you must keep silent' (Bley 1912: 153)

(103)   TOLAI (Austronesian, Melanesian)

a. Iau   a   vavina
   1SG   ART   woman
   'I am a woman' (Mosel 1984: 17)

b. Patana   ta   ra   pal
   nobody   in   ART   house
   'There is nobody in the house' (Mosel 1984: 162)

(104)   TUMLEO (Austronesian, Melanesian)
Lama   bati   ka'~p   malun-rej   palou
man   one   3SG.PRES-have   sister-his   two
'A man had two sisters' (Schultze 1911: 43)

(105)   TUMLEO (Austronesian, Melanesian)

a. Tamen   talal   r-apu,   uas   k-ai'en   rej
   woman   young   3PL.PRES-sit,   sun   3SG.PRES-eat   3PL
   sáu-re
   body-3PL.POSS
   'The young women sit (on the beach), (and) the sun warms their
   bodies' (Schultze 1911: 64)

b. Ji   k-auwi   aueo   n-ajem   tjuol   pakan
   2SG   2SG-go   1SG   1SG-make   place   tied.up
   '(When/if) you go out, I'll lock up the place' (Schultze 1911: 66)

(106)   TUMLEO (Austronesian, Melanesian)

a. Aueo   lama
   1SG   man
   'I am a man' (Schultze 1911: 54)

b. Ji   laniem   em
   2SG   brother.2SG.POSS   where
   'Where is your brother?' (Schultze 1911: 50)

(107)   TIGAK (Austronesian, Melanesian)
Ga   togon   sakai   piu
3SG.PRES   have   one   dog
'He has a dog' (Beaumont 1980: 75)

(108)   Tɪɢᴀᴋ (Austronesian, Melanesian)

  a. Ga   talongan-i lava ga   polok ga
     3SG.PAST leave-it   now   3SG.PAST grow 3SG.PAST
     akotong-i
     watch-it
     'He left it (i.e. the tree), (and) it grew, (and) he watched it'
                                           (Beaumont 1980: 128)

  b. Lo gan nag-a   lakeak lakilak
     on day 1SG-PAST child   small
     'When I was a small child' (Beaumont 1980: 55)

(109)   Tɪɢᴀᴋ (Austronesian, Melanesian)

  a. A   talatala gura a   talatala jemani
     ART minister this ART minister Germany
     'This minister (was) a German minister' (Beaumont 1980: 119)

  b. Kana lui   tara
     his   house   there
     'His house is over there' (Beaumont 1980: 45)

(110)   Kᴡᴀɪᴏ (Austronesian, Eastern Oceanic)
        Nau   fe'e-ni-a   gano
        1SG.EMP with/have-TRANS-3SG.OBJ bow
        'I have a bow' (Keesing 1985: 177)

(111)   Kᴡᴀɪᴏ (Austronesian, Eastern Oceanic)

  a. La Ubuni ka   leka fa-ni   'Aoke, ma   la
     ART U.   3SG go   to-LOC A.   and ART
     Dione ka   ori   mola mai
     D.   3SG return just   here
     'Ubuni went to Auki, and Dione just came back here'
                                           (Keesing 1985: 195)

  b. Leeleka ngai e   nigi,
     when   3SG 3SG.SUBJ arrive
     ma   gia   ki   ula   la'u i   langi
     and/then 1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL.SUBJ stand PRT at   above
     'When he arrives, we (have to) stand at attention'
                                           (Keesing 1985: 255)

(112)   Kᴡᴀɪᴏ (Austronesian, Eastern Oceanic)

  a. La Ubuni ngai   wane naa ba'e
     ART U.   3SG.EMP man at   shrine
     'Ubuni is a priest' (Keesing 1985: 179)

b. Boo   ba'ita   ngai   i   'ubulai
   pig   big   3SG.EMP   LOC   inside
   'The big pig is inside' (Keesing 1985: 177)

In the Papuan languages the Have-Possessive is virtually absent. Among the twenty-two Papuan languages in the sample I have been able to document just one clear instance of this possessive type. The language in question is Abun, which is spoken in the Bird's Head Peninsula in the north-west of New Guinea. Abun has several *have*-verbs, which perhaps encode different semantic nuances of possession. The language is predominantly balancing, as the encoding of temporal sequencing is done mainly by sentential coordination. Apart from that, Abun has finite subordinate clauses with clause-final conjunctions. The language is sharing on the basis of zero-encoding.

(113)   ABUN (Papuan, West Papuan)

   a. An   rem   kwokwe   bo   yo
      3SG   had   egg.plant CLASS   DET
      'She had some egg plants' (Berry and Berry 1999: 71)

   b. Men   yo   ku   sugum
      1PL   NEG   get/have   money
      'We don't have money' (Berry and Berry 1999: 226)

(114)   ABUN (Papuan, West Papuan)

   a. An   taru   wa   men   ete   men   ma
      3SG   send.message   for   1PL   and.then   1PL   come
      'He sent a message for us, and then we came'

                              (Berry and Berry 1999: 213)

   b. Ji   ma   sa   an   yo   ma   nde   tó
      1SG   come   when.REAL   3SG   NEG   come   NEG   yet
      'When I came, he had not yet arrived' (Berry and Berry 1999: 195)

(115)   ABUN (Papuan, West Papuan)

   a. Ji   bi   ai   yewon
      1SG   GEN   father   shaman
      'My father is a shaman' (Berry and Berry 1999: 134)

   b. An   mo   nu
      3SG   LOC   house
      'He is at the house' (Berry and Berry 1999: 61)

12.5 Australian

When it comes to predicative possession, the languages of Australia are best known for their With-Possessive, in the form of the so-called 'proprietive' construction. However, as is pointed out in McGregor (2001: 81), 'a fair number of Australian languages have one or more verbs that in certain environments admit a "have" interpretation'. In my sample, this Have-Possessive is concentrated mainly in the non-Pama-Nyungan languages, but there are at least four Pama-Nyungan languages which, in addition to their With-Possessive, have a Have-Possessive as well. For at least some of the languages at issue, it seems likely that the *have*-verb arose from a 'material' (McGregor 2001: 82) verb meaning 'to hold' or 'to grasp'. In all the relevant cases, however, the verb has become expanded in meaning, so that it now covers a wider spectrum of semantic nuances of possession than just temporary possession. Thus, for example, the verb *-bukand-/-bakand-* 'to have' in Nyul-nyul can be demonstrated to cover practically the whole of the semantic domain of possession, with the notable exception of inalienable parts of the body (see McGregor 2001: 71).[25]

For all of the sampled non-Pama-Nyungan languages that are relevant here, their Have-Possessive is matched by the fact that balancing is the preferred strategy in the encoding of temporal sequences. Quite commonly, these languages even tend to avoid subordination of clauses, and favour (typically asyndetic) linking of main sentences.[26] Explicit subordination of finite clauses by means of subordinating conjunctions is usually also an option, however.

All of the nine languages under discussion have shared encoding of copular and locational/existential sentences. In most cases, this sharing option involves zero-encoding of both sentence types.[27] In Bininj Gun-Wok, predicative adjectives and predicate nominals have zero-encoding, whereas

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[25] It does cover, however, parts of the body that can be removed (such as beards, fruits of plants) or that are (hopefully) only temporarily associated with the body (such as warts, sores, etc.). See McGregor (2001).

[26] '[T]he most common type of complex sentence involves two finite clauses juxtaposed to one another without any indication of the semantic relationship between them . . . Constructions such as these all involve parataxis' (McGregor 1996: 59 60, on Nyulnyul). Nordlinger (1998: 217) notes that, in Wambaya, 'there is no . . . subordinating morphology for finite clauses, and it is therefore difficult to find any structural basis on which to distinguish subordination of a finite clause from simple coordination: in both cases the two clauses are simply juxtaposed'. Also, 'subordination is rare in Bininj Gun Wok, and there is a paucity of formally distinct subordinating structures' (Evans 2003: 628).

[27] In many, if not all, of these languages, the zero option for locational/existential sentences competes with a full verbal encoding through the use of so called 'posture verbs', which mean 'to sit', 'to stand', 'to lie', and the like. Examples include:

'locational constructions . . . never occur without a verb' (Evans 2003: 560). However, in an older source on Gunwinggu – which is one of the members of the Bininj Gun-Wok dialect chain – I have found that locational constructions do allow zero-encoding, at least in interrogative sentences (see (139c)).

(116) GOONIYANDI (Australian, Bunaban)

    a. Yiniga   mawoolyi   gooddijgoonjoonaddi
       how.many children   you.hold.them
       'How many children do you have?' (McGregor 1990: 153)

    b. Nganyi marlami goorijgila yawarda
       I   not   I.hold.it   horse
       'I don't have a horse' (McGregor 1990: 492)

(117) GOONIYANDI (Australian, Bunaban)

    a. Nginyji lililoowa wardbiri   nganyi ngirndangaddi
       you   west   you.will.go   I   this.way

  (i) GOONIYANDI (Australian, Bunaban)

    a. Babligaj ja warangji
       pub LOC   she.sat
       'She was at the pub' (McGregor 1990: 313)

    b. Ngamoo yoowooloo moowa warangbiddi
       before   man only   they.sat
       'Before there were only Aborigines' (McGregor 1990: 313)

    c. Gamba joomoo laandi bagiri
       water   soak   up   it.lies
       'There is soak water up there' (McGregor 1990: 315)

  (ii) LIMILNGAN (Australian, Limilngan)
    Ewen lakgarni ngi mimi yayi
    E.   LOC   1SG stay PAST.IMPERF
    'I was at Ewen's place' (Harvey 2001: 149)

In Wardaman and Gaagudju, locational *be* verbs can be used not only in locational/existential sentences, but occasionally also in predicative adjective sentences.

  (iii) WARDAMAN (Australian, Gunwinyguan)

    a. Wud jingi ndi ya   julu ya
       3NONSG be PAST NARR hill LOC
       'They were on the hill' (Merlan 1994: 408)

    b. Ya ø jingi we yi gelen
       3 3SG be FUT CLASS cold
       'He will be cold' (Merlan 1994: 294)

  (iv) GAAGUDJU (Australian, Gunwinyguan)

    a. Baalgi magaarrgurr bardaambarda ø nii ri
       many   pelican   billabong   3I sit PRES
       'There are lots of pelicans on the billabong' (Harvey 2002: 363)

    b. Njim biirida nj djaa ni
       II alive   II PRES sit
       'She is alive' (Harvey 2002: 363)

wardjawingi
I.will.go
'You go the west way, and I'll go this way' (McGregor 1990: 424)

b. Boolga-ngga   wardjiwiddangi bidiyooddoo   mooyoo
old.man-ERG   he.went.to.them   they.two   sleep
bagiwiddi
they.lay
'The old man went up to them (as) they slept'

(McGregor 1990: 429)

(118) GOONIYANDI (Australian, Bunaban)

a. Goornboo   woobgali
woman   cook
'The woman is a cook' (McGregor 1990: 395)

b. Ngaddagi ngaaddi gilirni-ya   babaabiddi
my   stone   grass-LOC   inside
'My money is in the grass' (McGregor 1990: 302)

(119) LIMILNGAN (Australian, Limilngan)
Dawikgwi   darlirli d-amban   i-lw-ang-anga-n
that.one.EMP   money   CLASS.II-much   3SUBJ-II.OBJ-IMPF-have-PRES
'That bloke has lots of money' (Harvey 2001: 114)

(120) LIMILNGAN (Australian, Limilngan)

a. Manaburr   i-lakbu-ng,   diya-lakgarni w-a-yung
M.   3PL-stop-PAST.PERF   that-LOC   3.I-go-PAST.PERF
'They stopped at Manaburr, and then she went' (Harvey 2001: 131)

b. Irr-a-yung-iji   Lalakgili,   marakbitj
3PL-go-PAST.PERF-here   L.   ceremonial.ground
b-i-rlarla-ng
III.OBJ-3PL.SUBJ-make-PAST.PERF
'When they came to Lalakgili, they made a ceremonial ground'
(Harvey 2001: 119)

(121) LIMILNGAN (Australian, Limilngan)

a. Ja-n-iga   d-irrinyngangan
that-II-PL   II-tall.PL
'Those (dogs) are tall' (Harvey 2001: 51)

b. Lulayi   darlirli   lakgarni
   snake   stone   LOC
   'The snake is under the stone' (Harvey 2001: 73)

(122)   MAUNG (Australian, Yiwadjan)
Bada   ŋadiŋan   gawunb-adbi   ŋargarg
ART.PL   my.brother   3.III.SUBJ/3.III.OBJ.NONFUT-have   two
la   jamin   ŋargarg   waranju
and   each   two   child
'My brothers have two, and each two children': 'Each of my brothers
has two children' (Capell and Hinch 1970: 66)

(123)   MAUNG (Australian, Yiwadjan)

a. Juruḍbin   njadbuŋuń
   it.was.cooked   I.lifted.it
   '(When) it was cooked, I lifted it' (Capell and Hinch 1970: 132)

b. ɳanalagbalwargi   dja   wurwur   mandjawag   da   ŋana
   I.shall.buy.it   ART   new   knife   when   I.shall.go
   Darwin
   D.
   'I shall buy a new knife when I go to Darwin'
                                    (Capell and Hinch 1970: 101)

(124)   MAUNG (Australian, Yiwadjan)

a. Nuga   dja   numalal   marjun
   he   ART   good   boy
   'He is a good boy' (Capell and Hinch 1970: 92)

b. Nagaba   wurgara
   it   behind
   'It is behind (you)' (Capell and Hinch 1970: 92)

(125)   JINGULU (Australian, West Barkly)
Ngaba-nga-ju   karnarinymi
have-1SG-PRES   spear
'I have a spear' (Pensalfini 2003: 60)

(126)   JINGULU (Australian, West Barkly)

a. Manki-ya-nu   dibij-kaji   ya-rruku
   sit-3SG-PAST   outside-through   3SG-go.PAST
   'She sat here (and) he went right outside' (Pensalfini 2003: 74)

b. Ningki-nginyu-ju   darrangku   karnawunji,   kunyurlu
   cut-1DU.EXCL-PRES   tree   lancewood   2DU.F.NOM
   mankiya-nu-ma   wandayi-mbili
   sit-PAST-EMP   shade-LOC
   'We cut the lancewoods (while) you two sat in the shade'
                                                    (Pensalfini 2003: 122)

(127)   JINGULU (Australian, West Barkly)

a. Nyamina-rni   walamakardirni
   DEM.F-FOC   virgin
   'She is a virgin' (Pensalfini 2003: 89)

b. Nginda   ngawu-mbili-rni   dardu   buliki
   that   camp-LOC-FOC   many   cow
   'There are many cows over there at the station'
                                                    (Pensalfini 2003: 206)

(128)   WAMBAYA (Australian, West Barkly)
Gujarri   juguli   gini-n   yabu
two.ACC   boomerang.ACC   3SG.M.ACT-PROG   have
'He has two boomerangs' (Nordlinger 1998: 75)

(129)   WAMBAYA (Australian, West Barkly)

a. Narunguja   g-u   bardbi,   ngawu   ng-u
   car.NOM   3SG.SUBJ-FUT   run   1SG.NOM 1SG.SUBJ-FUT
   gulug-ba
   sleep-FUT
   '(When) the bus starts moving, I'll fall asleep'
                                                    (Nordlinger 1998: 219)

b. Yarru   g-amany,   irda   ngarradi   g-a
   go   3SG.SUBJ-PAST   father   my   3SG.SUBJ-PAST
   anki   mirra
   alive   sit
   '(When) he came, my father was alive' (Nordlinger 1998: 218)

(130)   WAMBAYA (Australian, West Barkly)

a. Iligirra   yana   buyurru
   river.NOM   this.NOM   dry.NOM
   'This river is dry' (Nordlinger 1998: 174)

b. Janji   iniyaga   jalyu-ni
   dog.NOM that.NOM   bed-LOC
   'The dog is on the bed' (Nordlinger 1998: 177)

(131)   WARDAMAN (Australian, Gunwinyguan)
Wurren   ø-dagbarla-rri   wudu
child.ABS   3SG-have-PAST   little.ABS
'She had a little child' (Merlan 1994: 242)

(132)   WARDAMAN (Australian, Gunwinyguan)

a. Nganinggin   yi-guyu   duba   ø-jingi-ndi
   my.ABS   CLASS-mother.ABS   sit   3SG-be-PAST
   ø-nyanga-ndi   nana
   3SG-come-PAST   DEM.ABS
   'My mother was sitting down, and that one came' (Merlan 1994: 463)

b. Nga-njig-be-warra   nana   ya-ø-nyangi-we   yiwarna-gari
   1SG-go-FUT-when   that.ABS   3-3SG-come-FUT   other-other
   'When I will go the other fellow will come' (Merlan 1994: 271)

(133)   WARDAMAN (Australian, Gunwinyguan)

a. Yi-gorlorlogban   yi-jili
   CLASS-straight.ABS   CLASS-hair
   'His hair is straight' (Merlan 1994: 306)

b. Yi-ngawuyu   dan.guyugun
   CLASS-wife.ABS   this.side
   'His wife is on this side' (Merlan 1994: 440)

(134)   GAAGUDJU (Australian, Gunwinyguan)
Gaadju   geermada   ø-arraa-garra-y
dog   two.M   3I-1SG-have-PRES
'I have two dogs' (Harvey 2002: 368)

(135)   GAAGUDJU (Australian, Gunwinyguan)

a. ø-arra-gardaagama   mananggaarr   arr-gee-bara
   3I-1SG-break.PAST   and.so   1SG-3-strike.PAST
   'I broke it (i.e. the spear), and so he struck me' (Harvey 2002: 377)

b. I-rree-ma   biirndi   magaadja   arree-wagi
   3I-1-get.FUT   money   that.IV   1FUT-go.back
   'When/if I get money, I will go back there' (Harvey 2002: 371)

(136)   GAAGUDJU (Australian, Gunwinyguan)

a. Njinaamba   nji-walaawala   njing-gardaabumu
   II.EMP   II-little   II-heavy
   'This little girl is heavy' (Harvey 2002: 358)

b. Nanggaabirri   giimbi   walaalu   waayu-i-waayu   idjbaalgi
   there   stone   country   ghosts   many
   'There are lots of ghosts in the stone country' (Harvey 2002: 358)

(137)   BININJ GUN-WOK (Australian, Gunwinyguan)

a. Yinan   bininj   ga-garrme   gun-warde
   like   person   3/3-have.NONPAST   IV-money
   'If someone has money' (Evans 2003: 256)

b. Na-bininjkobeng   ka-karrme
   I-spouse   3-have.NONPAST
   'She has a husband' (Evans 2003: 563)

(138)   BININJ GUN-WOK (Australian, Gunwinyguan)

a. Aleng   ba-rowe-ng,   ngaye   nga-djordmi-nj   yerre
   she   3PAST-die-PAST.PERF   1SG   1-grow.up-PAST.PERF   later
   'She died, I grew up later': 'She died before I grew up'

                                                          (Evans 2003: 631)

b. Goba-gohbanj   barri-borrkge-yi,   dja
   REDUPL-old.person   3PAST-dance-PAST.IMPERF   and
   yawurrinj   bandi-nahna-ni
   young.man   3/3PL-watch-PAST.IMPERF
   'The old men danced, while the young men watched them'
                                                          (Evans 2003: 653)

(139)   BININJ GUN-WOK (Australian, Gunwinyguan)

a. Ngaleng   bininj
   she   human
   'She is/was a human' (Evans 2003: 555)

b. Djamo   ka-di   karrikad
   dog   3-stand.NONPAST   outside
   'The dog is outside' (Evans 2003: 560)

c. Bale?   nanu   djura
   where   DEM   paper
   'Where is the paper?' (Oates 1964: 82)

(140)   NYULNYUL (Australian, Nyulnyulan)
        Warinyjirr   jumbarrirri-manyjin   nga-bukand-in
        one   knife-only   1SG.NOM-have-PRES
        'I only have one knife' (McGregor 2001: 73)

(141)   Nʏᴜʟɴʏᴜʟ (Australian, Nyulnyulan)

    a. Mijid   in-imirr,   ngay ngangkijid   bin-imirr
      you.go   this-ᴅɪʀ   I   I.will.go   that-ᴅɪʀ
      'You go this way, I'll go that way' (McGregor 1996: 37)

    b. Injalk-uk   wurl-uk   ngurrngurr   inaari
      he.fell.into   water-into   drown   he.speared
      '(When) he fell into the water, he drowned' (McGregor 1996: 60)

(142)   Nʏᴜʟɴʏᴜʟ (Australian, Nyulnyulan)

    a. Irrkurd   karrambal-mard
      all   bird-really
      'They were all birds' (McGregor 1996: 37)

    b. Wurrumbang   karrambal   bardang-uk
      many   bird   tree-ʟᴏᴄ
      'There are many birds in the tree' (McGregor 1996: 54)

All ten Pama-Nyungan languages in my sample have a With-Possessive, but for four of them I have been able to document a Have-Possessive as well.[28] In Diyari, transitivization of the locational verb *ngama* 'to sit' has yielded a *have*-verb,[29] while in Yingkarta the *have*-verb *kanyji* has, in all probability, its origin in a verb meaning 'to hold, to keep'. The same origin is likely for the *have*-verb *kanytya* in Yindjibarndi. Bagandji has a *have*-verb *gandi-*, which is glossed by Wordick (1982: 286) as 'to take away, to remove something far away, to carry, to own something'.

Like all sampled Pama-Nyungan languages, these four languages have deranked predicate forms, which, as we have seen in Section 10.7, can be invoked to demonstrate a matching with their With-Possessives. In addition, however, they also have balancing options. Quite usually, temporal sequences take the form of a coordination of main clauses, which can be – but do not have to be – asyndetic. As the examples given below demonstrate, such coordinations often fulfil functions which in other languages would have been encoded by subordinate adverbial clauses.

All four languages are sharers, by virtue of the zero-encoding of both copular and locational/existential sentences. In at least Diyara and Yingkarta locational sentences have a full alternative, through the use of posture verbs

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[28] If the sampling of Pama Nyungan languages had been different, I probably would have found more languages with Have Possessives. McGregor (2001: 82) mentions Jaru, Karajarri, Mangala, and Arrernte. Arrernte is in my sample, but I have not been able to spot the Have Possessive in the sources for this language.

[29] See Section 6.2.

like the above-mentioned verb *ngama* 'to sit' (Diyari) or *ngurnta* 'to lie' (Yingkarta).

(143) DIYARI (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
Ngulu   kana-li   kinta-la   ngama-lka -yi
3SG.NONFEM.TRANS.SUBJ   man-ERG   dog-ABS   sit-TRANS-PRES
'The man has a dog' (Austin 1981b: 146)

(144) DIYARI (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
a. Ngani   yada   wapa-yi (ya)   yini   ningki-da
   1SG.SUBJ   that.way   go-PRES   (and)   2SG.PRES   here-LOC
   ngama-yi
   sit-PRES
   '(While) I go that way (and) you sit here' (Austin 1981b: 232)

b. Ngayani   walta-yi   nina   ya   madi   mala
   1PL.EXCL.ACT   carry-PRES   3SG.NONFEM.OBJ   and   heavy   very
   'We carry him and/while (he) is very heavy' (Austin 1981b: 233)

(145) DIYARI (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
a. Pula-ya   kintala   malantji
   3DU.SUBJ-NEAR   dog.ABS   bad
   'These two dogs are bad' (Austin 1981b: 102)

b. Paratara   marapu   karida-ni
   box.tree.ABS   many.ABS   creek-LOC
   'There are many box trees in the creek' (Austin 1981: 103)

c. Wila   marapu   ngama-yi   ngura-ni
   woman.ABS   many.ABS   sit-PRES   camp-LOC
   'There are many women in the camp' (Austin 1981b: 103)

(146) YINGKARTA (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
Thuthu-rna   ngatha   marti   kanyji-lanyi
dog-1SG.SUBJ   1SG.NOM   big   keep-PRES
'I've got a big dog' (Dench 1998: 53)

(147) YINGKARTA (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
a. Ngatha-rna   kanga   yurlu-yija
   1SG.NOM-1SG.SUBJ   carry.PAST   camp-to
   mara-ngka-rna   kanyji-lanyi
   hand-in-1SG.SUBJ   hold-PRES
   'I carried it to the camp, holding it in my hand' (Dench 1998: 44)

b. Karrpi-ka!   Karrpi-nhanyja
   tie.up-IMP   tie.up-PERF
   'Tie it up! (When) it is tied up ...' (Dench 1998: 66)

(148) YINGKARTA (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)

a. Pinya   kartu
   3SG.NOM   man
   'He/that is a man' (Dench 1998: 53)

b. Pujikarra   thilkali   yalha-ngka
   cat   vomit   ground-LOC
   'There's cat vomit on the ground' (Dench 1998: 50)

c. Ngupanu   parlu-ngka   ngurnta-nyi
   dingo   hills-LOC   lie-PRES
   'There are dingos in the hills'; 'Dingos live in the hills'

                                          (Dench 1998: 45)

(149) YINDJIBARNDI (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
       Ngayi   kanytya-rna   warruu   tyangkarruu
       1SG   have-PAST   black   hat
       'I had a black hat' (Wordick 1982: 204)

(150) YINDJIBARNDI (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)

a. Nyinta   tyintyimama,   ngayi   patya
   2SG   obese   1SG   bony
   'You are fat, I am bony': 'You are fatter than me'

                                          (Wordick 1982: 187)

b. Ngayi   kaant   wangkayi   mityarnu   pawa-yi
   1SG   can't   talk.POT   drink.IMPERF   water-OBJ
   'I can't talk (while I'm) drinking water' (Wordick 1982: 183)

(151) YINDJIBARNDI (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)

a. Mawarnkarra   parri   ngunhaarrumpayhu
   magician   devil   that.TOP.DET
   'That particular devil was a magician' (Wordick 1982: 273)

b. Mirta   pawa   pakita
   not   water   bucket.LOC
   'The water is not in the bucket' (Wordick 1982: 157)

(152) BAGANDJI (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)
       ŋadu   gandi-nja   bula   ganga
       1SG   have-ASP   two   yamstick
       'I have two yam-sticks' (Hercus 1982: 82)

(153)   BAGANDJI (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)

    a. Gila   daldi-ŋu-ru-ayi   ŋadu   gulba-ŋgu-ana
       not   listen-PERF-3SG.SUBJ-1SG.OBJ   1SG.ERG   speak-PERF-3SG.OBJ
       'He did not listen to me (when) I told him' (Hercus 1982: 244)

    b. Duna   ŋugu-umbula   wɪdja-d-uru-ana   bali-mala
       then   water-COM   drink-FUT-3SG.SUBJ-3SG.OBJ   good-ADV
       ŋɪnga-adu
       sit-3SG.SUBJ
       '(If) he had drunk it mixed with water, he would still be alive'
                                                  (Hercus 1982: 244)

(154)   BAGANDJI (Australian, Pama-Nyungan)

    a. ɲaba   gambidja,   ɲimba   ŋamaga
       1SG   father   2SG   mother
       'I am a father, you are a mother' (Hercus 1982: 263)

    b. Inaga   yara
       here   tree
       'There are trees here' (Hercus 1982: 258)

12.6 North America

'North America is not really a place for Have-Possessives' (Marianne Mithun p.c.). What is more, the few languages in North America which do admit this possession type hardly ever employ it as their only option. Another remark that should be made in this connection is that North American *have*-verbs often are the result of Have-Drift, through various processes of reanalysis and grammaticalization.

    A first instance of Have-Possessive encoding can be found in the Na-Dene language Haida. In addition, or as an alternative, to its flexional With-Possessive (see Section 5.2.2), Haida has a possessive construction which features the transitive verb *da'ga/da.a* 'to have'. Examples include:

(155)   HAIDA (Na-Dene, Haida)

    a. łget   da   da'ga   da'ogo (Skidegate dialect)
       bow   you   have   if
       'if you have/own a bow' (Swanton 1911b: 256)

    b. Gyaahluwee   tl'a   da.a-gaa-s-gwa-.án (Masset dialect)
       sister   INDEF   have-EVID-PRES-if-CLITIC
       'If only I had a sister' (Enrico 2003: 170)

Haida allows various forms of deranked predication, which provide a match for the primary With-Possessive (see Section 10.3). On the other hand, texts show that temporal sequencing in Haida often takes the form of sentential coordinations, with or without coordinative connectives. The following examples are taken from narratives in different sources.[30]

(156) HAIDA (Na-Dene, Haida)

    a. Joe laamgaa-gan   'la   q'adii-gan-uu
       J.   be.drunk-PAST   he   fall.asleep-PAST-FOC
       xiid-han-.uu   'laa   t'alang stluu.aaw-gan
       on.floor-right-FOC him   we   lay-PAST
       'Joe was drunk and he fell asleep and we laid him down right on the floor' (Enrico 2003: 974)

    b. Sta   lu-ai   q'al   xurtgindal-gan-i
       afterwards canoe-DEF empty drift.along-PAST-OLD.INFORM
       giên ga   dja'ada stîn xaldangat-da-ya-gan
       and   some woman   two   slave-make-PERF-PAST
       'Afterwards the canoe drifted away empty, and they enslaved two women' (Swanton 1911b: 278)

    c. Lu   gu   gaw   gi talang halxa-gang   lana-gay
       boat there at.TOP to 1PL.ACT collect-NEUTR village-DEF
       xidgu   ʔa   qada gway-ay   qulga   gi
       in.front.of MOOD out   island-DEF around to
       talang   halxa-gang
       1PL.ACT collect-NEUTR
       'We (go out to) get it on boats in front of the village, and we get it around those islands out there' (Levine 1977: 228–9)

Thus, it seems justified to conclude that Haida admits at least a certain amount of balancing. Furthermore, the language exhibits full sharing through the use of the *be*-verb *ʒis-/ʔij*. The two examples below are from the Skidegate dialect.

(157) HAIDA (Na-Dene, Haida)

    a. Dii-.uu   gagi.iid   7is-s
       1SG-FOC wild.man be-PRES
       'I am a wild man' (Enrico 2003: 401)

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[30] Sentence (156a) is from the Masset dialect of the language; the other two sentences are from the Skidegate dialect.

b. Na-gay   xidgu   la   ʔij-gong
   house-DEF   below   1SG   be-PAST
   'I was under the house' (Levine 1977: 114)

Haida is not the only Na-Dene language in the sample that permits a Have-Possessive. The same possessive type can also be found in two languages from the Athapaskan sub-family. The *have*-verbs in these languages, which are probably cognates, are *t'anh* (in Deg Xinag) and *t'inh/t'į* (in Slave). For both languages, the Have-Possessive is matched by the ability to form sentential coordinations, as well as finite adverbial clauses with clause-final conjunctions. Deg Xinag and Slave are full sharers. The *be*-verbs *lanh* (Deg Xinag) and *łį* (Slave) can be used with predicate nominals and predicate locationals alike.

(158)   DEG XINAG (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)

a. Vav   long   i-t'anh
   food   much   3-have
   'She had much food' (Chapman and Kari 1981: 178)

b. łek   is-t'anh
   dog   1SG-have
   'I have a dog' (internet data)

(159)   DEG XINAG (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)

a. Xi-yoqo   xunił'anh   ine'   vi-qul
   him-for   they.looked   but   he-not.be
   'They looked for him, but he was gone'
                                   (Chapman and Kari 1981: 133)

b. Eyyigginh   dina   yi-notthi   dit'anh   hingo
   that   man   him-ahead   he.was   while
   Yixgitsiy   diggadhi'oy   oqo   tathtrit
   Raven   his.knife   for   he.reached
   'While that man was ahead of him, Raven reached for his knife'
                                   (Chapman and Kari 1981: 19)

(160)   DEG XINAG (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)

a. Ggux   ngi-lanh
   rabbit   PERF.3-be
   'She was a rabbit' (Chapman and Kari 1981: 112)

b. Yit   xu'osin   yix   xuchux   xe-lanh
   there it.beside house   big   it(AREAL)-be
   'There beside it was a big house' (Chapman and Kari 1981: 3)

(161)   SLAVE (Hare dialect) (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)

a. 'Ehsha   'ek'oni   he-h-t'inh
   skirt   new   EPENT-1SG-have
   'I have a new skirt' (Keren Rice p.c.)

b. Ɂelá   hị̀shá   i   w'ila   Ɂeláya   w'ila   he-t'i
   boat   3.big   NMNL   and   canoe   and   3-have
   'He has a big boat and a canoe' (Rice 1989: 1070)

(162)   SLAVE (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)

a. Bill   Ɂị̀yę   yị̀Ɂá   go-ts'ę   Mary   luge   yị̀Ɂá
   B.   meat   3.eat   AREAL-from   M.   fish   3.eat
   'Bill eats meat and Mary eats fish' (Rice 1989: 1049)

b. Nị̀hts'i   k'éts'éné   Ɂajá   nị̀dé   dewít'ée
   wind   less   3.become   if/when   1PL.OPT.go.by.boat
   'When/if the wind dies down, we will go' (Rice 1989: 1053)

(163)   SLAVE (Na-Dene, Athapaskan)

a. Bebí   hị̀lị̀
   baby   3.be
   'He is/was a baby' (Rice 1989: 1056)

b. Dúhdá   dene   gǫ́-łị̀
   north   people   AREAL-be
   'There are people in the north' (Rice 1989: 1299)

A clear example of Have-Drift is presented by Quileute, a Chimakuan language from Washington State. Besides its flexional With-Possessive (see Section 5.2.2), Quileute has a *have*-verb *ó-ti*, which is a combination of the *be*-verb *ó* and the postpositional element *-ti* 'to be in connection with' (Andrade 1933–38: 217). The resulting form is inflected for subject, by suffixes that refer to the possessor (see Section 6.2).

(164)   QUILEUTE (Chimakuan)

a. Ó'-ti-li   xwa'   áxuyó'
   be-with-1SG   DEM   box
   'I have a box' (Andrade 1933–38: 218)

b. Héxas   ó'-ti-l   xwa'   áxuyó'
   He   be-with-TRANS   DEM   box
   'He has a box' (Andrade 1933–8: 218)

Like the Na-Dene languages discussed above, Quileute has the ability to encode its temporal sequences as a (usually asyndetic) series of main clauses.

'Relations of cause, reason, manner and many others may be expressed by coordination of two or more verbs' (Andrade 1933–8: 273). Quileute is a full-sharing language, as the locational/existential *be*-verb *ó* is also one of the options for the encoding of nominal predications.

(165)   QUILEUTE (Chimakuan)

Xaya'sx	it-s	xʷa'		aeo,	it-s
another.time	make-3SG	ART.OBL.NEUT		platform	make-3SG

xʷa'		itsi'la,	tciya'xʷtci-s,	heqati
ART.OBL.NEUT		network	set.up-3SG	and.so

hiyo-s
finish-3SG.SUBJ

'On another occasion, he makes the platform, he makes the network, he sets it up, and so he completes it' (Andrade 1933–8: 273)

(166)   QUILEUTE (Chimakuan)

a. Káde'do-ó-xas
dog-be-3SG
'He is a dog' (Andrade 1933–38: 169)

b. Ó   uxʷatso   xe'   qabaluwat
be   animals   ART.OBL.NONFEM.SG   forest
'There are animals in the forest' (Andrade 1933–8: 277)

The facts of the Sahaptian language Nez Perce are not as clear as could be desired, but it looks as if the possessive construction of this language is a case of Have-Drift from a Topic Possessive (see Section 6.3). The verbal element in the construction is the item *-wé'k/-we-*, which is easily identifiable as one of the *be*-verbs in the language.[31] In the possessive construction, however, the verb must be rated as transitive. In one variant, the verb gets subject-prefixes which refer to the possessor. In another, the verb gets an object prefix which refers to the possessed item, and the possessed item itself is marked for 'objective' case.

(167)   NEZ PERCE (Sahaptian)

a. Ɂe-wé'k-e   Ɂiwé'p-ne
3SG.OBJ-have/be-REM.PAST.INDIC   wife-OBJ
'He had a wife' (Aoki 1970: 89)

b. Ɂú-s   lepít   mama'yac
3SG.SUBJ.have-PRES   three   children
'He has three children' (Aoki 1970: 139)

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[31] The combination of the stem *we* with the prefix of the third person subject results in the form *Ɂu* .

As far as I have been able to establish, Nez Perce does not have the ability to form absolutely deranked temporal clauses.[32] Sentential coordination is prominent in the language, and can serve as the equivalent of subordinate adverbial clauses; in addition, the language has finite subordinate clauses with clause-initial conjunctions. Nez Perce is full-sharing, as the verb -*wé'k*/-*we*-doubles as a copula and a locational/existential item.

(168) NEZ PERCE (Sahaptian)

    a. Qo'c   ø-hipsáaqa   kaa 'inláwtiwaa
       yet   1/2SUBJ-eat.PROG.SG.PAST and my.friend
       hipáayna
       3SUBJ.arrive.PERF
       'I was still eating and my friend arrived': 'While I was eating, my friend arrived' (Rude 1985: 55)

    b. ʔí·n   ʔes-lé·wqitwece há·cwala, ka ká· ʔimé hiʔnak'aksix
      1SG   3SG.OBJ-watch   child   while 3PL   3SUBJ.gather
      hipt
      food
      'I watch the child while they gather food' (Aoki 1970: 141)

(169) NEZ PERCE (Sahaptian)

    a. Titm'áay'   hi-wéek-e
      young.woman 3SUBJ-be-PERF
      'She was a young woman' (Rude 1985: 53)

    b. Koná   téxsem hi-wéek-e
      there   ridge   3SUBJ-be-PERF
      'There was a ridge' (Rude 1985: 66)

Karok, a language from the coast of northern California, has the option of a Topic Possessive (see Section 11.5), but the description of the language in

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[32] Nez Perce does allow the possibility of deranking temporal clauses in the form of oblique verbal nouns, but all the examples of this construction which I have seen are instances of same subject conditionality.

(i) NEZ PERCE (Sahaptian)

    a. Wúuy pe 'iceyéeyenm kaa ttilípcxiinam pee'neptecix   'ipsúus pe
      flee LOC coyote.ERG and fox.ERG   3TR.hold.go.PROG.PL hand LOC
      'While fleeing, Coyote and Fox are holding him by the hand' (Rude 1985: 112)

    b. Wéetmet yéwnenu'   likoláam pa 'ipéew'i t pe   pataáqs na
      don't   1/2SUBJ.cross.IRR hill.crest LOC look.for VN LOC stick OBJ
      'Don't cross over the crest of the hill while looking for sticks' (Rude 1985: 112)

    c. Háamti'c híi we s   qéetqet weeke'éyki t pe
      fast   3SUBJ be PROG duck   fly VN LOC
      'The duck is fast while/in flying' (Rude 1985: 112)

Bright (1957) suggests that a Have-Possessive is the major option. The facts of temporal sequencing in Karok are very similar to those in Nez Perce and Quileute. As can be gleaned from the texts that are included in the grammar, Karok favours balanced strings of short main clauses, which can be asyndetic, but can also be made more explicit by various connectives or sentence adverbials. Karok is a sharing language, by virtue of possible zero-encoding for both predicate nominals and predicate locationals. For locational predicate encoding, this zero-option competes with a set of full 'posture' verbs.

(170) KAROK (Karok-Shasta)
       ʔaxxí'č   tó   'θθi'na-tih
       child   EMP   3SG.have-DUR
       'She had a child' (Bright 1957: 266)

(171) KAROK (Karok-Shasta)
       Kári xás   kun-árih, kári xás   ʔapman ʔú-yu'nvar, xás
       and   then   3PL-pass   and   then   mouth   3SG-put   then
       ʔu-pámčak
       3SG-close.mouth
       'And then they passed (her over to him), and he put (her in his)
       mouth, and he closed his mouth' (Bright 1957: 123)

(172) KAROK (Karok-Shasta)
       a. Na'   karu   ʔikxaré'yav
          1SG   also   spirit
          'I am a spirit, too' (Bright 1957: 252)

       b. Yíče'č   vura kíč   kari mu-rhô'ha   xákka'n
          only   EMP   man   and   his-wife   together
          'Only one man and his wife were still there' (Bright 1957: 274)

       c. Ká'n   ʔíppaha   ʔu-í'hya
          there tree   3SG-stand
          'There is a tree (standing) there' (Bright 1957: 304)

A Have-Possessive seems to be the major option in two of the three sampled Siouan languages, by way of the transitive *have*-verbs *itxa'/ita'* (Biloxi) and *yuha* (Lakota). This option matches with the fact that Siouan languages are predominantly balancing. Temporal sequence encoding takes place by strings of finite clauses, which are usually marked by connective particles. Particularly in Biloxi the status of these particles is not always easy to ascertain; in some cases, one might analyse them as sentence connectives or sentential adverbs, while in other cases an analysis as subordinating conjunctions seems

to be the more plausible choice. In Lakota a differentiation between sentence connectives and (clause-final) subordination markers seems to be more pronounced. For our purposes, the question is only of secondary importance, as it is beyond doubt that these sentence strings are balanced, whatever the correct analysis of a particular connective item may be.

Although predicate nominal sentences and locational/existential sentences both have unique encoding options,[33] Biloxi and Lakota can still be rated as full-sharing languages, since one of the locational 'posture' verbs (*ande* 'to be, to stay' in Biloxi, and *uŋ* 'to be there, to exist' in Lakota) can double as the verbal item in copular sentences.

(173) BILOXI (Siouan)
Tohoxk   nk-ita'
horse   1SG-have
'I have a horse' (Dorsey and Swanton 1912: 124)

(174) BILOXI (Siouan)

a. Ti   ne'ya   dupax   kan   yunisa   akuwe
   house   that   3.open.door and/when   buffalo 3.come out
   '(When) he opened the door, the buffalos came out'
                                   (Dorsey and Swanton 1912: 112)

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[33] For predicate nominal sentences, Biloxi can use a verbal strategy, in which the predicate nominal receives intransitive verbal subject agreement. Locational/existential sentences are encoded by a range of 'posture' verbs, which indicate various semantic dimensions of position.

(i) BILOXI (Siouan)
Nk anyasahi
1SG Indian
'I am an Indian' (Dorsey and Swanton 1912: 179)

(ii) BILOXI (Siouan)
Onti   ya   ti   tci   nank
bear   the   house   in   3SG.sit
'The bear is in the house' (Dorsey and Swanton 1912: 135)

In Lakota, a range of 'posture' verbs is available as well for the encoding of locational/existential sentences; for a survey of these verbs see Boas and Deloria (1941: 126). For predicate nominal sentences we find that at least a subclass of predicate nominals can be encoded verbally, while for some other subclass a full verbal copula appears to be in use.

(iii) LAKOTA (Siouan)

a. Ni sungka
   2SG dog
   'You are a dog' (Riggs 1851: 42)

b. Ogla'la   he ma' c°a'
   Oglala   be 1SG.OBJ be
   'I am an Oglala' (Boas and Deloria 1941: 23)

b. Nk-aduti   n-anki   yankan   inihi   hande
1-eat   1-sit   while   3.drink   3.be
'While I sat eating, he was drinking' (Dorsey and Swanton 1912: 290)

(175) BILOXI (Siouan)

a. ąyato   nk-ande   xa
man   1-be   HAB
'I am a man' (Einaudi 1976: 32)

b. Kuti-Makde   yate   ande   na
God   everywhere   3.be   DECL
'God is everywhere' (Dorsey and Swanton 1912: 79)

(176) LAKOTA (Siouan)

a. Wowapi   wang   d-uha
book   one   2SG.ACT-have
'You have a book' (Riggs 1851: 47)

b. Cáŋ   waŋ   bluhá   k'eś   siŋtenla   kiŋ   wakát'a   tká
stick   one   1SG.have   if   snake   the   kill.1SG/3SG   IRR
'If I had a stick, I would kill the snake' (Buechel 1939: 285)

(177) LAKOTA (Siouan)

a. Ekta   wa-i   ungkang   ø-wang-ma-yaka-pi
to.there   1SG-come   and   3-see-1PAT-see-PL
'I came there and they saw me' (Riggs 1851: 60)

b. Waniyetu   ca   wapa
3.be.winter   when   3.snow
'When it is winter, it snows' (Riggs 1851: 58)

(178) LAKOTA (Siouan)

a. Wítáŋśna   uŋ
virgin   3.be
'She is a virgin' (Buechel 1939: 319)

b. Tuweni   el   ø-uŋ   śni
nobody   here   3-be   NEG
'Nobody is here' (Ingham 2003: 94)

(iv) LAKOTA (Siouan)

a. He'l   yake '
there   3.sit
'He is over there (sitting)' (Boas and Deloria 1941: 115)

b. Le'l   názi'
here   3.stand
'He is here (standing)' (Boas and Deloria 1941: 115)

A further instance of Have-Possessive encoding in North America is presented by Mojave and Yavapai, the two Yuman languages in my sample.

(179)   MOJAVE (Yuman)

    a. Hatčoq-č iʔar ø-iyu:-k
      dog-SUBJ tail 3SG-have-TNS
      'The dog has a tail' (Munro 1976: 131)

    b. Mavar   ʔ-iyu:-k
      flour   1SG-have-IRR
      'If I had some flour' (Munro 1976: 124)

(180)   YAVAPAI (Yuman)

    Viya vqi-č   ʔwa: ʔhan wi:
    this woman-SUBJ house good have
    'This woman has a good house' (Kendall 1976: 46)

This option is matched at least marginally by the fact that both of these languages allow sentential coordination, which can be, but does not have to be, asyndetic.[34]

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[34] While discussing the alternative Topic Possessive in Mojave (see Section 11.5), I have pointed out that Mojave has a major strategy of clause chaining in which a switch reference system seems to be at work. A similar clause linkage strategy can be attested for Yavapai. Examples of the construction include:

(i)   MOJAVE (Yuman)

    a. Pap   ʔ ekčo:r k ʔ salyi: k
      potato 1 peel ss 1 fry TNS
      'I peeled the potatoes and fried them' (Munro 1976: 39)

    b. ʔinʸe č pap   ʔ ekčo:r m Judy č ø salyi: k
      1 SUBJ potato 1 peel DS   J. SUBJ 3 fry TNS
      'I peeled the potatoes and Judy fried them' (Munro 1976: 39)

(ii)   YAVAPAI (Yuman)

    a. ʔña c   ʔ swa:r k ʔ yu ñe k ʔ hima km
      1 SUBJ 1 sing ss 1 be and ss 1 dance INCOMPL
      'I sang, and then I danced' (Kendall 1976: 161)

    b. Tokatoka č qoleyaw sqad oy m   Thala č pa: sli kñ
      T. SUBJ   chicken egg 3.bring DS T. SUBJ PL.OBJ fry COMPLET
      'Tokatoka brought eggs and Thala fried them' (Kendall 1976: 164)

As I argued in Section 11.5, there are reasons to conclude that such constructions do not constitute a case of predicate deranking. The 'switch reference' markers of Mojave are perhaps better analysed as aspect/mood markers (see Munro 1976: 162 4 for further discussion). Similarly, Kendall (1976: 99 101) analyses the 'basic' function of the suffixes *k* and *m* in Yavapai in terms of semantic/pragmatic notions like 'speaker's point of view' and 'conceptual location', rather than in terms of syntactic notions such as subordination or switch reference.

(181)   MOJAVE (Yuman)

Jim-č   ʔahat   wanʸimiya:-k   Bill-č   hatčoq   wanʸimiya:-k
J.-SUBJ   horse   like-TNS   B.-SUBJ   dog   like-TNS
'Jim likes horses and Bill likes dogs' (Munro 1976: 161)

(182)   YAVAPAI (Yuman)

a. Kmtu-v-c   mine: rav-a
   watermelon-DEM-SUBJ   tasty   very-TNS,
   kmtu-qwath-c   ke   mine: rav-a   om-i
   cantaloupe-SUBJ   NEG   tasty   very-TNS   not-TNS
   'Watermelons are very tasty, cantaloupes are not very tasty':
   'Watermelons are tastier than canteloupes' (Kendall 1976: 145)

b. Maria   hayko-v-c   yu-m,   Lupi   pe: ʔpa-v-c
   M.   Anglo-DEM-SUBJ   be-ASP   L.   and   Indian-DEM-SUBJ
   yu-m
   be-ASP
   'Maria is an Anglo, and Lupe is an Indian' (Kendall 1976: 157)

c. Kopica-c   merik   ma:,   Thala-c   miyal   ma:-ñe
   K.-SUBJ   beans   eat   T.-SUBJ   bread   eat-and
   'Kopica ate beans, and Thala ate bread' (Kendall 1976: 165)

Mojave and Yavapai can be rated as full-sharing languages. In Mojave, sharing is effectuated by means of the verb *ido:/idu:* 'to be', and in Yavapai the common *be*-verb is *yu.* As is common in North America in general, for both predicate nominal sentences and predicate locational sentences several non-sharing alternatives are available.[35]

It can be added that, besides these clause chains with marked non final predicates, both Mojave and Yavapai also feature a clause type in which the predicate is overtly marked for subordination. Examples are:

(i) MOJAVE (Yuman)
     Nya ʔ eva:č m   ipuy pč
     when 1 arrive SUFF   3.die TNS
     'When we got there, he died' (Munro 1976: 51)

(ii) YAVAPAI (Yuman)
     Tokatoka c   Savakyuva   u: t m   ckwar kñ
     T. SUBJ   S.   3.see when SUFF   3.laugh COMPLET
     'When Tokatoka saw Savakyuva, he (Savakyuva) laughed' (Kendall 1976: 86)

[35] In Mojave, predicate nominals may receive verbal encoding or a zero copula in addition to their encoding with the copula *ido:/idu:.* For locational sentences a set of 'posture' verbs is available, which, with the exception of *ido:/ idu:,* do not occur with predicate nominals.

(183) MOJAVE (Yuman)

    a. John   kwatheʔide:-č   ido-pč
       J.   doctor-SUBJ   be-TNS
       'John is a doctor' (Munro 1976: 447)

    b. Maki   k-m-idu:
       where   Q-2-be
       'Where are you?' (Munro 1976)

(184) YAVAPAI (Yuman)

    a. Maria   hayko-v-č   yu-m
       M.   Anglo-DEM-SUBJ   be-ASP
       'Maria is an Anglo' (Kendall 1976: 157)

    b. Cnapuk-č   miyul-l   yu-m
       ant-SUBJ   sugar-in be-ASP
       'There is an ant in the sugar' (Kendall 1976: 25)

Finally, we can attest a Have-Possessive in Zuni, an isolate language from New Mexico. The possessive construction is matched by the fact that the language has a full-share configuration in nonverbal predicate encoding.

(i) MOJAVE (Yuman)

    a. Jim č   kwatheʔide: k
       Jim SUBJ   3.doctor ASP
       'Jim is a doctor' (Munro 1976: 292)

    b. ʔinʸep   kwatheʔide: č
       1SG   doctor SUBJ
       'I am a doctor' (Munro 1976: 269)

(ii) MOJAVE (Yuman)

    a. ʔaha lʸ   ʔ iva k
       water LOC   1 sit ASP
       'I am in the water' (Munro 1976: 21)

    b. ʔava lʸ   ʔ uwa k
       house LOC   1 be.in ASP
       'I am in the house' (Munro 1976: 20)

    c. ʔava   ʔ amay k
       house   1 be.on ASP
       'I am on top of the house' (Munro 1976: 24)

A verbal encoding of predicate nominals can also be documented in Yavapai.

(iii) YAVAPAI (Yuman)

    ʔ hmañ t k
    1 child when SUFF
    'When I was a child' (Kendall 1976: 26)

(185)   ZUNI (Zuni)
Ho'   ha'i   'e'ni-nne   'illi
1SG.NOM   three   belt-SG   have.PRES
'I have three belts' (Nichols 1997: 12)

(186)   ZUNI (Zuni)

a. HoɁnɁa·wan   toɁ   ta·lakɁ   teya-kɁanna
    our   you   son.in.law   be-FUT
    'Will you be our son-in-law?' (Newman 1968: 61)

b. Hop   toɁ   teya-Ɂka
    where   you   be-PAST
    'Where were you?' (Newman 1968: 61)

As for temporal sequencing, it has been claimed (Bunzel 1938, Newman 1965, Granberry 1976) that Zuni has a switch-reference system, by which the predicates in non-final clauses in a chain are marked for same subject (suffix *-an/-nan*) or different subject (suffix *-p*). Examples are the following:

(187)   ZUNI (Zuni)

a. Pilpo   kʷayi-nan   yak'o-kya
    P.   exit-SS   vomit-PAST
    'Pilpo went outside and vomited' (Nichols 1997: 26)

b. Nemme   te'či-p   Pilpo   kʷayi-kya   ke:si
    N.   arrive-DS   P.   exit-PAST   already
    'When Nemme arrived, Pilpo had already left' (Nichols 1997: 26)

However, Nichols points out that the switch-reference system in Zuni is 'sloppy', in that the 'different-subject' marker *-p* can be used to 'connect two clauses under certain aspectual conditions whose subjects have identical reference' (Nichols 1997: 26). An example of such a case is:

(188)   ZUNI (Zuni)
Te'či-p   'antewa-kya
arrive-DS   spend.the.night-PAST
'He arrived and camped (there) for the night' (Nichols 1997: 26)

In fact, we can attest minimal pairs, in which chains with identical subjects may have either DS-marking or SS-marking:

(189)   ZUNI (Zuni)

a. Ho'   'ito:w   'aš-nan   kʷa   ho'   kʷa'ał
    1SG.NOM   food   make-SS   NEG   1SG.NOM   anything

k'uhmok'e-na'm-kya
break-NEG-PAST
'When I was cooking (yesterday), I didn't break anything'
(Nichols 1997: 27)

b. 'Imašthoł ho' 'ito:w 'aša-p kʷa ho' kʷa'ał
always I food make-DS NEG I anything
k'uhmok'e-na'm-a
break-NEG-PRES
'Whenever I cook, I never break things' (Nichols 1997: 26)

It is probable that the notion of 'action continuity' (see fn. 44 below) plays a role here. In any case, there is reason to assume that the function of the alleged switch-reference markers in Zuni is largely aspectual or discourse-functional, and that the chains in which they occur should not be viewed as cases of deranking.

12.7 Central America

While Have-Possessives can be viewed as incidental in North America, the option is more prominent in Central America, due to the fact that it occurs in a number of large language families. Thus, for example, although we have seen in Section 10.4 that the With-Possessive is the major possession type in Uto-Aztecan, there is considerable Have-Possessive encoding especially in the southern branches of this family, and in the modern languages of the Aztecan branch it is even the only option.

In some cases, it can be established that the *have*-verb in Uto-Aztecan is the result of Have-Drift from the With-Possessive. In Section 6.2 I pointed out that the verbs *soiga/şoriga* and *uniga/iñiga* in Nevome/Papago are to be analysed as grammaticalizations of the combination of the possessive suffix -*ga* and a classifier.

(190)   NEVOME (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

a. Cabaio an'-igui soriga
horse 1SG-PRT have
'I have a horse' (Shaul 1982: 40)

b. Pim'-an'-igui haitu uniga
NEG-1SG-PRT something have
'I don't have anything' (Shaul 1982: 40)

(191)   PAPAGO (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

a. şoiga o g Pančo g wisilo
have PRT ART P. ART calf
'Pancho has a calf' (Saxton and Saxton 1969: 119)

  b. iñiga   o   g   Pančo   g   jïwiḍ
     have   PRT   ART   P.   ART   land
     'Pancho has land' (Saxton and Saxton 1969: 119)

As noted in Section 10.4, Nevome had a switch-reference system of deranked predicates, which matches the With-Possessive in the language. In Papago this system appears to have been lost. Both languages employ balanced sentence coordination, as well as subordinate finite clauses with clause-initial conjunctions, as a primary strategy for temporal sequence encoding. Nevome was a zero-sharing language. In Papago, the item *ḍ/wuḍ* functions in the encoding of both predicate nominal and predicate locational sentences.[36]

(192) NEVOME (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

  a. Ica   tumusi   an'-igui   vanicoanna,   pima   vurh   n'-uniga
     DEM   knife   1SG-PRT   borrow   not   COP   my-possession
     'I'm just borrowing this knife; (it) is not mine' (Shaul 1982: 119)

  b. Va   usi-abcad'-aigui   co-n'-t'-igui   Parhai   amidurhu
     already   plant-time-PRT   and-1SG-PERF-FUT   P.   from
     divia
     arrive
     'It was already planting time and/when I arrived from Parral'

                                                                           (Shaul 1982: 120)

(193) NEVOME (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

  a. Coiv'-apimu   pcai   diabro   tuturhu
     because-2PL   really   devil   children
     'because you are truly the Devil's children' (Shaul 1982: 42)

  b. B'-api   oidaga
     where-2SG   village
     'Where (is) your village?' (Shaul 1982: 85)

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[36] In addition to the encoding by the item *ḍ/wuḍ*, locational sentences in Papago can feature various 'posture' verbs, and can even have zero encoding.

(i) PAPAGO (Uto Aztecan, Tepiman)

  a. Am   at ṣ   wo   t daam ka d   g   Huan
     there   INDIC.3 QUOT   FUT   us be.over STAT IMPERF   ART   H.
     'Juan will be over us' (Saxton 1982: 138)

  b. Am   o   g   ñ kii
     there   IMPERF.3   ART   my house
     'There is my house' (Saxton 1982: 138)

(194) PAPAGO (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

a. 'Uwĭ   'o   cikpan ñ   'a:ñi   ko:ṣ
   woman   3.IMPERF   work   1SG.IMPERF 1SG   sleep
   'The woman is/was working and I am/was sleeping' (Zepeda 1983: 25)

b. M-at   hekid 'am jiwa   g   Huan 'att
   SUBORD-PERF.3   when   here arrive ART H.   PERF.1PL
   t-gegos
   1PL-eat
   'When Juan arrived here, we ate' (Zepeda 1983: 107)

(195) PAPAGO (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

a. ñ   i̠ḑa   ḑ   gi̠   ko'owi
   I   yet   be   ASS rattlesnake
   'Yet I am really a rattlesnake' (Saxton 1982: 264)

b. Hi̠'ikia   a-t   ḑ   wo   k
   how.many   MOOD-TNS   be   FUT STAT
   'How many will there be?' (Saxton 1982: 201)

Other Uto-Aztecan languages feature *have*-verbs that cannot (or at least, not readily) be traced back to some grammaticalization from some other possession type. The Tarahumaran language Yaqui even has two such non-derived *have*-verbs, one of which (the verb *hipwe*) seems to indicate more temporary, or less close, possession than the other (*attea*). These Have-Possessives match with the fact that Yaqui, in addition to converbal forms, frequently employs coordinated and subordinate finite clause-chaining. Subordinating conjunctions (such as *kwando* 'when') are loans from Spanish. These are clause-initial, and subjects are in the nominative case. Yaqui is a sharing language, as zero-encoding is a possible option for predicate nominals and predicate locations alike.

(196) YAQUI (Uto-Aztecan, Tarahumaran)

a. Inepo   kari-ta   hipwe-su-k
   I   house-DEP   have-TERMIN-REAL
   'I used to have a house' (the speaker was just renting it)
                                        (Lindenfeld 1973: 42)

b. Inepo   kari-ta   attea-su-k
   1SG   house-DEP   have-TERMIN-REAL
   'I used to have a house' (the speaker was landlord)
                                        (Lindenfeld 1973: 42)

(197) YAQUI (Uto-Aztecan, Tarahumaran)

a. In   ačai   bwiika into in   abači   yeʔe
   my   father sing   and   my   brother dance
   'My father sings and my brother dances' (Lindenfeld 1973: 11)

b. Kwando em   papa   yepsa-k   nee   lihta-tu-ne
   when   your   father arrive-PERF I   ready-become-EXPER
   'When your father comes I will be ready' (Lindenfeld 1973: 83)

(198)   YAQUI (Uto-Aztecan, Tarahumaran)

a. Bempo   haamuc-im
   they   women-PL
   'They are women' (Lindenfeld 1973: 128)

b. I-me   baaʔam hu-me   usi-m   bečibo
   this-PL water   this-PL child-PL for
   'This water is for the children' (Lindenfeld 1973: 100)

A quite similar exposition can be given for Cora, Western Tarahumara, Pima Bajo, and Northern Tepehuan. In all these languages, a Have-Possessive[37] competes with a Topic Possessive, which is, as we have seen in Section 3.3, of the ambiguous zero-subtype. Furthermore, Western Tarahumara and Northern Tehepuan have a With-Possessive, which is matched by the occurrence of converbal formations in these languages (see Section 10.4). Just like the Topic Possessives, the Have-Possessive in these languages finds its match in the fact that clause-chaining is predominantly effectuated by balanced constructions, be it sentence coordinations or subordinate finite clauses with clause-initial (or, in the case of Pima Bajo, also clause-final) conjunctions. Northern Tepehuan and Pima Bajo are instances of zero-sharing.[38] In

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[37] It is conceivable that the *have* verb of Pima Bajo has its origin in a complex formation, on a par with the other two sampled languages of the Tepiman branch. Possibly, the Pima Bajo verb *nukat/ nuukad* was built up from an item *nu* (which might be a classifier) and the suffix *kad*, which still is the comitative/instrumental marker 'with' in the language. However, regardless of whether or not this analysis can be made plausible, there is little doubt that, from a synchronic point of view, this *have* verb must be viewed as monomorphemic.

[38] In Pima Bajo and Cora, the shared encoding for locational sentences competes with a set of 'posture' verbs that cannot be used in predicate nominal sentences.

(i)   PIMA BAJO (Uto Aztecan, Tepiman)

a. Kafee   mees tam dah
   coffee table on   sit.IMPERF
   'The coffee is on the table' (Estrada Fernandez 1996: 26)

b. To'opa   tieend vuihpsis   kɨik
   church   store   in.front.of stand.IMPERF
   'The church is in front of the store' (Estrada Fernandez 1996: 26)

(ii) CORA (Uto Aztecan, Corachol)

a. A na ká i
   outside in.front be/sit STAT
   'He is out in front' (Casad 1984: 310)

b. útan   hece   mú há'a
   other.side at   3PL be
    'They are on the other side (of the river)' (Casad 1984: 184)

contrast, Cora and Western Tarahumara have full verbal items which can encode both predicate nominal and predicate locational sentences. Moreover, Cora has shared zero-encoding as a second option.

(199) Western Tarahumara (Uto-Aztecan, Tarahumaran)
Tabilé   'té   enomí
NEG   have   money
'(I) don't have any money' (Burgess 1984: 28)

(200) Western Tarahumara (Uto-Aztecan, Tarahumaran)

a. Migéli wé   a'lá   rió   hú Húlio ta'mé 'la
M.   very good man be H.   NEG   good
rió hú
man be
'Miguel is a very good man, Julio is not a good man': 'Miguel is a better man than Julio' (Burgess 1984: 98)

b. Napu-líǵe alué   baikiá čulugí símí-ba-le alé   'líge
when   those three bird   go-PL-PAST there then
alué basači pé   alé   a'bé asá-le-ke-'e
that coyote just there near sit-PAST-QUOT-EMP
'When those three birds left, the coyote was just there sitting close'
(Burgess 1984: 134)

(201) Western Tarahumara (Uto-Aztecan, Tarahumaran)

a. Migéli wé   a'la   rió   hú
M.   very good man be
'Miguel is a very good man' (Burgess 1984: 98)

b. Kóče hú alué gale
where be that house
'Where is that house?' (Burgess 1984: 25)

(202) Cora (Uto-Aztecan, Corachol)
ɨ   Dioniisiya icá-ri   pú-tʸí-ča'ɨ
ART D.   loom-ABS she-one-have
'Dionisia has a loom' (Casad 1984: 174)

(203) Cora (Uto-Aztecan, Corachol)

a. Ka-nu-tʸa'ankakʷáa   ka-nú-tʸe'entʸísá'uta'a
NEG-I-give.food   NEG-I-offer.flowers
'I'm not going to provide food and I'm not going to offer flowers'
(Casad 1984: 382)

b. Ahtá hi'i-t^y-úh-ka-t^ye   m-ahtá
   and   NARR-DISTR-REFL-sit-make   3PL-and
   hí-ya'-u-kɨh
   NARR-away-COMPLET-leave
   'And then he got himself ready, and then they went off'/'After he
   had got himself ready, they went off' (Casad 1984: 383)

(204) CORA (Uto-Aztecan, Corachol)

a. ɨ́   wáre   šuure'e hí'i-waatari
   ART   fig   sap   NARR-medicine
   'The fig sap is real medicine' (Casad 1984: 350)

b. Ma'a-k^wí   mɨ́   t^yí-'a-ya'am^wa
   there-EMP   ART   DISTR-your-animals
   'Right there are your animals' (Casad 1984: 257)

c. N^y-yauh   pú-pɨ́-rɨkɨ
   my-son   he-ASS-be
   'He is my son' (Casad 1984: 186)

d. Tu-'uri   Akatlan   pɨ́-há'a-rɨkɨ
   1PL-now   A.   ASS-way-be
   'We are now in Acatlán' (Casad 1984: 184)

(205) NORTHERN TEPEHUAN (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)
       Víɨ́ gookátai víáa báá-baki
       all   two   have house-REDUPL
       'Both of them have houses' (Bascom 1982: 298)

(206) NORTHERN TEPEHUAN (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

a. Yɨ́ɨ-i   viíba-i   ááli   naváít^yi   ɨ́ɨ-i
   drink-PRES   milk-ABS   children   corn.liquor   drink-PRES
   gɨ́girdukɨdɨ
   adults
   'Children drink milk, adults drink corn liquor' (Bascom 1982: 287)

b. Áíd^yɨši   kaí   ááni   mɨ-šɨ-giñ-víáátuli   tai
   when   hear   I   UNSPEC.SUBJ-SUBORD-me-greet   then
   mááti   ááni   v-aid^y-ɨr   Piíli
   know   I   he-that-be   P.
   'When I heard someone greet me, I knew it was Phil'
                                                    (Bascom 1982: 328)

(207) Northern Tepehuan (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

    a. Kɨ́ɨli   ááni
       man   I
       'I am a man' (Bascom 1982: 281)

    b. Múid^yu   kiíki
       many   houses
       'There are many houses' (Bascom 1982: 281)

(208) Pima Bajo (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)
    Aan   nukat-kad   himak   kava
    1SG   have-REM.PAST   one   horse
    'I used to have a horse' (Estrada Fernandez 1996: 35)

(209) Pima Bajo (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

    a. Huan   kav   soi-gar   muuk   kɨti g'   Marii   kav   soi-gar
       H.   horse   pet-POSS   die.PERF   and   M.   horse   pet-POSS
       'John's horse died and Mary's horse also'

                                    (Estrada Fernandez 1996: 34)

    b. Peier   im   ab   duv-an   ko   aan   vuus   ha'at   aan
       P.   NEG   DIR   come-IRR   when/if   1SG   all   work   1SG
       a-vuah
       3SG-do.PRES
       'When Peter doesn't come, I do all the work'

                                      (Estrada Fernandez 1996: 39)

(210) Pima Bajo (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

    a. Huan   meester
       H.   professor
       'John is a professor' (Estrada Fernandez 1996: 29)

    b. An   am   gahkam
       1SG   here   side
       'I am here' (Estrada Fernandez 1996: 43)

The southernmost branch of Uto-Aztecan is formed by the Aztecan languages. In all of the three modern varieties of Aztecan in the sample, predicate possession is encoded solely by means of a transitive *have*-verb, the stem of which is *piya-* (Tetelcingo Nahuatl, Pipil) or *pi/pĭš-* (Michoacán Nahuatl). The match of this Have-Possessive with temporal sequencing is unproblematic, as none of these languages has any form of deranking. Temporal sequences preferentially take the form of sentential coordinations, often without overt connectives, or of subordinate finite clauses. Many conjunctions for these clauses are loans from Spanish.

All three languages at issue are full-sharers. In the two variants of Nahuatl the common *be*-verb is *ka-*, in Pipil the shared item is the *be*-verb *neimi*.[39]

(211)   Tetelcingo Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan, Aztecan)
    Sente   tlɔka-tl   ø-kɪ-pɪya-ya   sente   puro
    one   man-ABS   he-it-have-IMPERF   one   donkey
    'A man had a donkey' (Tuggy 1979: 10)

(212)   Tetelcingo Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan, Aztecan)

    a. Se-kɪ   tlah-tla-kʷa-ya   se-kɪ
       one-PL   REDUPL-UNSPEC.OBJ-eat-IMPERF   one-PL
       koh-koč-ta-ya
       REDUPL-sleep-DUR-IMPERF
       'Some were eating, some were sleeping' (Tuggy 1979: 71)

    b. Kʷɔk   o-tlapɔ   o-kɪm-ɪtha-k
       when   PAST-open.PERF   PAST-them-see-PERF
       'When/after it opened, he saw them' (Tuggy 1979: 131)

(213)   Tetelcingo Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan, Aztecan)

    a. Tɪ-ka   pɪlalak-tl
       2SG-be.PRES   lad-ABS
       'You are a lad' (Tuggy 1979: 15)

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[39] All three Aztecan languages have a verbal encoding of predicate nominals as an extra option. Furthermore, Pipil and Michoacán Nahuatl also allow zero encoding of predicate nominal sentences.

  (i)   Tetelcingo Nahuatl (Uto Aztecan, Aztecan)
      Taha   ok   tɪ pɪlalak tlɪ
      you   yet   2SG lad ABS
      'You are still a lad' (Tuggy 1979: 15)

  (ii)   Michoacán Nahuatl (Uto Aztecan, Aztecan)

     a. Ni lakal
       1SG man
       'I am a man' (Sischo 1979: 319)

     b. In   lakal   kʷahtik   se   lamaštini
       that   man   tall   a   teacher
       'That tall man is a teacher' (Sischo 1979: 319)

  (iii)   Pipil (Uto Aztecan, Aztecan)

     a. Ni ta:kat
       1SG man
       'I am a man' (Campbell 1985: 55)

     b. Ne   i siwa:w   bruhah
       the   his wife   witch
       'His wife is a witch' (Campbell 1985: 108)

b. ɪka   i-pa   i-čo
3SG.be.PRES   its-at his-home
'He is at home' (Tuggy 1979: 17)

(214)   MICHOACÁN NAHUATL (Uto-Aztecan, Aztecan)

a. Ki-piaya se   šolol   prinsesa
her-have one daughter princess
'He had a daughter princess' (Sischo 1979: 321)

b. Ašan ki-piš-ti-ka-te   miak lakilyo
now   it-have-CONN-be-PL   much fruit
'They are having a lot of fruit now' (Sischo 1979: 321)

(215)   MICHOACÁN NAHUATL (Uto-Aztecan, Aztecan)

a. U-ya-k   ki-temu-k   i-šolo   nohe wan   i-siwa
PERF-go-PERF him-seek-PERF his-son also with his-wife
u-ya-he
PERF-go-PERF.PL
'He went to look for his son and his wife went with him'
(Sischo 1979: 360)

b. Ti-lami-he   ti-h-kiš-ti-he
we-finish-PERF.PL   we-it-go.out-CAUS-PERF.PL
ya   ti-k-lali-he   in   kopra pan   kostal-es
now   we-it-put-PERF.PL the copra in   bag-PL
'When we finish taking it out, we put the copra in bags'
(Sischo 1979: 366)

(216)   MICHOACÁN NAHUATL (Uto-Aztecan, Aztecan)

a. Se   kompadre ka-t-aya   bwena hente
one   compadre be-PRT-PAST   good   person
'One compadre was a good sort' (Sischo 1979: 320)

b. Kal-ihtik   ka-ta-lo-aya
house-inside   be-PRT-PL-PAST
'They were in the house' (Sischo 1979: 320)

(217)   PIPIL (Uto-Aztecan, Aztecan)
Ni-k-piya se: nu-finkita
I-it-have one   my-small.farm
'I have a small farm' (Campbell 1985: 119)

(218)   PIPIL (Uto-Aztecan, Aztecan)

a. Ne   i-siwa:w ki-miktih   ne   chumpipi, ki-chiwki
the his-wife 3SG.OBJ-kill.PRET the turkey   3SG.OBJ-do.PRET

desplumar, wan ki-chiwki   ne   komidah, wan
pluck   and   3SG.OBJ-do.PRET   the   food   and
ki-kwah-ke-t
3SG.OBJ-eat-PRET-PL
'His wife killed the turkey, plucked it, and made the food, and they
ate it' (Campbell 1985: 122)

b. Keman ni-yah-ki   ni-m-altia   nech-mutih
   when   1SG-go-PRET   1SG-REFL-bathe   1SG.OBJ-scare.PRET
   se   tsuntekumat
   one   skull
   'When I went to have a bath, a "skull" scared me'

(Campbell 1985: 132)

(219) PIPIL (Uto-Aztecan, Aztecan)

a. N-yu   ni-nemi   deskalsoh
   1SG-go 1SG-be   barefoot
   'I am going to be barefoot' (Campbell 1985: 112)

b. I-nan   wan i-teku   ne: tik arkum nemi-t
   his-mother   and his-father there in   arch   be-PL
   'His mother and his father are in the arch' (Campbell 1985: 111)

Chalcatongo Mixtec, the sole representative of the Mixtecan languages in the
sample, couples its Topic Possessive (see Section 11.6) with a Have-Possessive.
This latter construction features the transitive verb *ñába√a*, which seems to
be a non-derived item. All Mixtecan languages are staunchly balancing.
Sentential coordination appears to be the norm for temporal sequencing,
and this strategy often replaces subordinate adverbial clause formation. Chal-
catongo Mixtec is a full-sharing language, with the *be*-verb *ku/kúu* as the
common item.[40]

(220) CHALCATONGO MIXTEC (Oto-Manguean, Mixtecan)
       Rùʔù ñábaʔa-ri xoòka šuʔu
       1SG   have-1SG   little money
       'I have little money' (Macaulay 1996: 133)

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[40] Predicate nominal sentences in Chalcatongo Mixtec also allow zero encoding. On the other
hand, locational sentences may contain other verbal items than the shared *be* verb *ku/kúu*.

(i) CHALCATONGO MIXTEC (Oto Manguean, Mixtecan)
     Xʷā   càà   kúká   šāā
     X.   man   rich   very
     'Juan is a very rich man' (Macaulay 1996: 112)

(221)   CHALCATONGO MIXTEC (Oto-Manguean, Mixtecan)
María   ni-xíta   te   Xᵂa   ni-xičáʔá
M.   COMPLET-sing   and X.   COMPLET-dance
'Maria sang and Juan danced' (Macaulay 1996: 98)

(222)   JICALTEPEC MIXTEC (Oto-Manguean, Mixtecan)
Taa   keta   ra,   taa   kecaʔa   kati   ra
and   CONT.arrive   he   and   CONT.begin   say   he
'When he arrived, he began by saying' (Bradley 1970: 80)

(223)   CHALCATONGO MIXTEC (Oto-Manguean, Mixtecan)

    a. Ku-ø   ī   čàà   káʔnū
       be-3   one   man   big
       'He is/will be a big man' (Macaulay 1996: 131)

    b. Te   žáʔa   či   lagúná   kúu
       and here   because   lake   be
       'and here, because there was a lake' (Macaulay 1996: 193)

In further instances of the Have-Possessive in Central America we can often detect traces of Have-Drift. In quite a few cases – in fact, so frequently that it might well form an areal trait – we encounter *have*-verbs which, from a synchronic point of view, must be rated as monomorphemic, but which derive historically from a collocation of a locational/existential *be*-verb and a locative or comitative prefix. Such, for example, is the case in San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque and in Sierra Popoluca, the two Mixe-Zoque languages in the sample; for a discussion of the etymology of the *have*-verbs in these languages see Section 6.2.

(224)   SAN MIGUEL CHIMALAPA ZOQUE (Mixe-Zoque)
ʔentonses   ga   tum   haya-ʔuneʔ   ʔey-ʔaŋnit-pa
then   that   one   male-child   3ERG-have-INCOMPL

(ii)   CHALCATONGO MIXTEC (Oto Manguean, Mixtecan)

    a. Lagúna   káʔnū   ni žoo ø   žáʔa
       lake   big   COMPLET exist 3   here
       'There was a big lake here' (Macaulay 1996: 194)

    b. Káisiokú   táa ri   xináʔa
       be.here.PL   parents my   PL
       'My parents are here' (Macaulay 1996: 96)

    c. Burrú ró   wāā   nužáʔu   xíndee ø
       burro your   that   plaza   be.in 3
       'Your burro is in the plaza' (Macaulay 1996: 105)

tum   nuʔ
one   dog
'Once upon a time, there was a boy who had a dog'
(Johnson 2000: 398)

(225)   Sᴵᴇʀʀᴀ Pᴏᴘᴏʟᴜᴄᴀ (Mixe-Zoque)
DʸÁ   tʸí   iʸ-nɔ-ítʸ   ➔   iniítʸ
not   something   3ꜱɢ.ᴏʙʟ-with-be
'She did not have anything (else)' (Elson 1960: 108)

Given the origin of their *have*-verbs, it is not surprising that Zoque and Sierra Popoluca do not conform to the patterning of nonverbal predication that is predicted for *have*-languages. That is, both languages are splitters. More precisely, they exhibit the rather rare flexional-full-split pattern, in which predicate nominals are treated as intransitive verbs; the *be*-verb that is historically a part of the *have*-verb is the encoding item for locational/existential sentences. On the other hand, both languages do conform to the other prediction for *have*-languages, in that they are predominantly balancing. Although Sierra Popoluca has some deranking options (see Section 10.4), both languages clearly prefer sentential coordinations or finite subordinate temporal clauses in their encoding of temporal sequences.

(226)   Sᴀɴ Mɪɢᴜᴇʟ Cʜɪᴍᴀʟᴀᴘᴀ Zᴏǫᴜᴇ (Mixe-Zoque)

a. Bi   pǝn   ʔǝy-caŋ-wǝ   bi   yomaaʔ   ʔi
   ᴅᴇꜰ   man   3ᴇʀɢ-hit-ᴄᴏᴍᴘʟᴇᴛ   ᴅᴇꜰ   woman   and
   ø-yo-wǝ
   3ᴀʙꜱ-fall-ᴄᴏᴍᴘʟᴇᴛ
   'The man hit the woman and he/she fell' (Johnson 2000: 279)

b. ʔǝm   wan-wǝ   ø-tǝk.ʔǝy-wǝ   bi   hente
   2ᴇʀɢ   sing-ᴄᴏᴍᴘʟᴇᴛ   3ᴀʙꜱ-enter-ᴄᴏᴍᴘʟᴇᴛ   ᴅᴇꜰ   people
   dǝkka   ʔora
   ᴘʟ   hour/when
   'You were singing when the people entered' (Johnson 2000: 302)

(227)   Sᴀɴ Mɪɢᴜᴇʟ Cʜɪᴍᴀʟᴀᴘᴀ Zᴏǫᴜᴇ (Mixe-Zoque)

a. Dǝš-haaʔ   dǝ-yaŋhe-haaʔ
   1-ᴘʟ   1ᴀʙꜱ-yankee-ᴘʟ
   'We are gringos' (Johnson 2000: 257)

b. ʔiht-u   teʔ-kopan   teʔ-libru-kasi
   exist-ᴄᴏᴍᴘʟᴇᴛ   ᴀʀᴛ-animal   ᴀʀᴛ-book-on
   'There are (pictures of) animals in the book' (Wonderly 1952: 193)

(228)   Sierra Popoluca (Mixe-Zoque)
      Mu   an-oy   an-íš   ca·ñ
      when   1SG-go   1SG-see   culebra
      'As I went along, I saw a culebra' (Elson 1960: 47)

(229)   Sierra Popoluca (Mixe-Zoque)

   a.   Ta-yo·mo
        1PL.INCL.ABS-woman
        'We are women' (Elson 1960: 30)

   b.   ø-ít^y i^y-ceʔ·s-mʌ
        3SG-be   his-field-in
        'He is in his field' (Elson 1960: 39)

As we have seen in Section 6.2, Purépecha has several *have*-verbs. The item *xu'ka* is presumably non-derived. In contrast, the item *xa'ȼi* possibly has its origin in a combination of the existential verb *xa* and some locative suffix, but this verb, too, must be regarded as monomorphemic from a synchronic point of view.

(230)   Purépecha (Tarascan)

   a.   'Sesašɨ   ue'kač^{h}akua   xu'ka-k^{h}a-ri
        beautiful   necklace   have-EXCLAM-2
        'You have a beautiful necklace!' (Chamereau 2000: 92)

   b.   I'ma   xa'ȼi-a-ša-ti   'uanika-iča-ni   'uiču-iča-ni
        DEM   have-3PL.OBJ-PROG-3   much-PL-ACC   dog-PL-ACC
        'That person has many dogs' (Chamereau 2000: 177)

Purépecha has several types of deranked predicate formations, but its main strategy in temporal sequence encoding nonetheless consists of balancing constructions. Sentential coordination is frequent; such coordinations can be asyndetic, but most commonly they feature the sentence connective *ka* 'and'. Furthermore, the language allows subordinate temporal and other adverbial clauses, which are introduced by subordinating conjunctions. Predicates of such clauses are finite, although they are usually marked for subjunctive mood.

  By virtue of the fact that the suffixal item *-e/-i-* can be constructed both with predicate nominals and with predicate locationals, Purépecha can be rated as a sharing language.[41]

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[41] The status of this suffix *e / i* remains unclear. Foster (1969) calls it a 'verbalizer', i.e. a derivational suffix to form verb stems from nonverbal items. In contrast, the item is called a 'copula' in Chamereau (2000). Again, it can be said that, whatever the status of this element may be, its occurrence with both predicate nominals and predicate locationals is sufficient to be able to call Purépecha a sharing language.

(231)   PURÉPECHA (Tarascan)

    a. I'ma   kua'ra-ɟi-š-ti   'ka   ka'kaṛu-š-ti
       DEM fall-ground-AOR-3 and break.nose-AOR-3
       'He fell to the ground and broke his nose' (Chamereau 2000: 247)

    b. 'Čeraš-ka-rini   'neNki tʰu xa'no-ka
       scare-AOR-2SUBJ/1OBJ when 2   arrive-SUBJUNCT
       'You scared me when you arrived' (Chamereau 2000: 74)

(232)   PURÉPECHA (Tarascan)

    a. Pedru   ɟʰi'napiri-i-š-ti
       P.   doctor-COP-AOR-3
       'Pedro is a doctor' (Chamereau 2000: 141)

    b. 'No i'su-i-š-ti   'kta
       not here-COP-AOR-3 house
       'The house is not here' (Chamereau 2000: 141)

Yet another case of Have-Drift, this time from a Locational Possessive, can be established for the Chibchan language Damana. In Section 6.4 we saw that the *have*-verb *kɨnɨn* in this language is sometimes treated as a monomorphemic verb 'to have' with the possessor marked by an actor prefix. On other occasions, however, the item *kɨnɨn* is given as a complex item *kɨ-nɨn*, consisting of the dative/benefactive adposition *kɨ* 'for' and the verb *nɨn* 'to be'; in this case, the marking of the possessor can take the form of a patientive prefix, as complement to the incorporated postposition *kɨ* 'for'.

(233)   DAMANA (Chibchan)

    a. Maigua bunkuibia nɨh-kɨ-nɨn-ka
       three   egg   1SG.PAT-for-be-FACT
       'I have three eggs' (Trillos Amaya 1999: 88)

    b. Paka nɨj-kɨ-nan-ka
       cow   1SG.ACT-for-be-FACT
       'I have a cow' (Trillos Amaya 1999: 19, 142)

    c. Bíu   paka mɨh-kɨnɨn-ká?
       how.much cow 2SG.ACT-have-Q
       'How many cows do you have?'(Trillos Amaya 1999: 150)

Two of the other Chibchan languages in the sample select a Have-Possessive as well. The Have-Possessive in Rama might have a source that is comparable to the construction in Damana, in that the Rama *have*-verb *kwaakar* derives from a combination of the *be*-verb *aakar* and some prefix *ku-/kw-*; synchronically, however, it has to be regarded as a monomorphemic item (Colette

Grinevald p.c.). The *have*-verb *bri-* in Miskito does not bear any etymological relation to the *be*-verb of the language.

(234) RAMA (Chibchan)
Kapupu i-kwaakar-u
frog   3-HAVE-PAST
'She had a frog' (Colette Grinevald p.c.)

(235) MISKITO (Chibchan)
Yan   lala   bri-sna
1SG   money   have-1SG.PRES
'I have money' (Conzemius 1929: 108)

The data on temporal sequencing in Damana leave quite a bit to be desired, but at least it is certain that this language has the ability to form sentential coordinations, which – judging from the few available examples – can be paratactic. Miskito and Rama have paratactic coordinations as well, but for these languages the additional option of finite subordinate clauses can be documented. Subordinating conjunctions, which in many cases are identical to postpositions on nominals, are clause-final. They frequently cliticize to the preceding finite verb in the clause.

(236) DAMANA (Chibchan)
Ranzhe mena   te-rga   ibane-ka,   na   shigi
my   mother field-in work-FACT   she   tomorrow
nak-ɨnka
come-NONFACT
'My mother is working in the field, (and) she will return tomorrow'
                                        (Trillos Amaya 1999: 33)

(237) MISKITO (Chibchan)
a. Witin nani balbia   yawan plun   pibia
   3   PL   come.FUT.3PL 1PL   dinner eat.FUT.1PL
   'When they come, we will have dinner' (Anonymous 1985: 195)

b. Aiwan-ka   balamna
   sing.3SG/PL-when   come.FUT.1SG
   'When/if he/they sing, I will come' (Anonymous 1985: 137)

(238) RAMA (Chibchan)
a. Ning kauling-dut siik-i,   nahing kauling-dut taak-i
   DEM   person-PL   come-PRES,   DEM   person-PL   go-PRES
   'These people are coming, those people are going'
                                        (Colette Grinevald p.c.)

b. Sii   aatas-baakit-ka   nah namaa   nguu   ki
   water come-ASP-from/when   1SG quietly house in
   aakit-uing
   stay-CONT
   'When it was raining, I used to stay quietly in my house'
                                        (Colette Grinevald p.c.)

The three Chibchan languages discussed here conform to the profile of *have*-languages, in that they have a full-share encoding of nonverbal predications.

(239) DAMANA (Chibchan)

   a. Iama   mowa   mʉsa   nʉn-ka
      this   two   iguana be-FACT
      'These are two iguanas' (Trillos Amaya 1999: 84)

   b. Amma   kʉngʉma-mba   nʉn-ní
      blood floor-in   be-EPISTEMIC
      'There is blood on the floor' (Trillos Amaya 1999: 140)

(240) MISKITO (Chibchan)

   a. Yan   rau   sna
      1SG   orphan 1SG.PRES.be
      'I am an orphan' (Conzemius 1929: 110)

   b. Suski   utla   bila-ra   sa
      shoes.my   house mouth-at   3PL.PRES.be
      'My shoes are in the doorway' (Conzemius 1929: 110)

(241) RAMA (Chibchan)

   a. Tiiskam   n-aakar-a   taim-ki
      child   1SG-be-PAST   time-at
      'At the time, I was a child' (Colette Grinevald p.c.)

   b. Sainsaina-lut   ngustak   aakar-i
      next.one-PL   outside   be-PRES
      'There are others outside' (Colette Grinevald p.c.)

12.8 South America

South America hosts a considerable number of 'hard', non-derived Have-Possessives. It can be observed that there is at least one major concentration of such possessive constructions on the continent. In addition, a 'hard' Have-Possessive manifests itself in a restricted number of isolate cases. I have no

doubt, however, that the list of these cases will be extended when more information on the languages of South America becomes available.

The major area for non-derived Have-Possessives in South America is situated in the north-west, and covers, roughly speaking, Colombia and its immediate vicinity. The area is contiguous with the Central American area of the Chibchan languages, which, as we have seen above, prefer Have-Possessives as well. Relevant language families in the area are the Chocó languages of the Pacific Coast provinces of Colombia, the Paezan and Barbacoan languages of the Central Andes provinces of Colombia and Ecuador, and the Tucanoan languages, which are spoken in the southern and western lowlands provinces of Colombia. In addition, my sample contains two instances of Arawakan languages with a 'hard' Have-Possessive. These languages are spoken in western Brazil, close to the Colombian border, and at least one of them, Tariana, is known to be in close areal contact with the Eastern Tucanoan languages (see Aikhenvald 2003). Finally, a 'hard' Have-Possessive can be documented for Jarawara, a member of the Arauan family, which is spoken in the state of Amazonas in the west of Brazil.[42] Examples of the possessive constructions in the languages at issue are presented below.

(242)   EMBERA (Chocó)
        War   kimáre   uru   ni
        four sons   have   AUX
        '(He) has four sons' (Aguirre Licht 1999: 84)

(243)   EPENA PEDEE (Chocó)
        Juancito-pa   úsa   íru   bɨ
        J.-ERG   dog   have   AUX
        'Juancito has a dog' (Harms 1994: 43)

(244)   PAEZ (Paezan)
        Jimba   ji'pj-ta'
        horse   have-3PL.PRES
        'They have horses' (Gerdel and Slocum 1976: 406)

(245)   GUAMBIANO (Barbacoan)
        Unə   pən   kuarí   teka-ik   kə-n
        boy   three hat   have-PCP   AUX-2/3
        'The boy has three hats' (Vásquez De Ruiz 1988: 83)

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[42] As we have seen in Section 9.13, the Tucanoan languages, as well as Tariana, Warekena, and Jarawara, have a Locational Possessive as an alternative option to their Have Possessive. The examples given in Aikhenvald (2003) suggest that the Have Possessive in Tariana covers temporary possession as well as alienable possession. Dixon (2004: 295, 381) states that the Have Possessive in Jarawara is restricted to the encoding of alienable possession. The Locational Possessive in this language has a wider range, covering alienable and inalienable possession alike.

(246) Tsafiki (Barbacoan)
Amali   susu   ta-min   jo-min-ni-ti-e
many   dog   have-IMPERF   AUX-IMPERF-EVID-REP-DECL
'They say they must have had many dogs' (Dickinson 2002: 71)

(247) Retuarã (West Tucanoan)
Mauricio-re   rĩkibãka   iyaka   ki-rika-yu
M.-SUB J   much   grape   3SG.M-have-PRES
'Mauricio has a lot of grapes' (Strom 1992: 132)

(248) Koreguaje (West Tucanoan)
Misi-ɨ-ã   ai-ɨ-ã   ǰiʔa   paa-mo   ǰiʔɨ
clothes-CLASS-PL old-CLASS-PL   only   have-F.SG 1SG
'Only I have old clothes' (Cook and Criswell 1993: 38)

(249) Guanano (East Tucanoan)
Pichucu   tiro   cjua-ha
gun   he   have-3SG.PAST
'He had a gun' (Waltz 1977: 102)

(250) Barasano (East Tucanoan)
Gãhi   bãkɨ   kɨti-yu-hu
other   son   have-INFER-3SG
'She had another son' (Jones and Jones 1991: 93)

(251) Tariana (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)
Nha   hinipuke-pe   na-de   na-yã-nhi
they   garden-PL   3PL-have   3PL-stay-ANT
'They used to have gardens' (Aikhenvald 2003: 531)

(252) Warekena (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)
Neyawa   yu-deka   tupe
woman   3SG.F-have   mat
'The woman has a mat' (Aikhenvald 1998: 244)

(253) Jarawara (Arauan)
Jara   kanawaa   kiha-ka
white.man   canoe   have-DECL.M
'The white man has a canoe' (Dixon 2004: 295)

The first thing to note about these languages is that they all, without exception, select a sharing encoding for their nonverbal predications. In the

Arawakan language Warekena, this encoding takes the form of a zero-share configuration; all the other languages are full-share.[43] Relevant data are:

(254)   EMBERA (Chocó)

    a. Mɯ mukẽra ɓú
       1SG man be
       'I am a man' (Aguirre Licht 1999: 23)

    b. Wéra xuaxoma ɓú
       woman five be
       'There were five women' (Aguirre Licht 1999: 84)

(255)   EPENA PEDEE (Chocó)

    a. Pía bɨ
       good be
       'That is good' (Harms 1994: 23)

    b. Mɨ nékʰo tée-da bɨ
       my machete house-LOC be
       'My machete is in the house' (Harms 1994: 72)

(256)   PAEZ (Paezan)

    a. Dyusna wendysa ūs tyna
       God lovers be.PL 3PL
       'They will be lovers of God' (Gerdel and Slocum 1976: 399)

    b. Shamb-te' Dyus yat va ūsa
       town-in God house also be.SG
       'In town there is also a church' (Gerdel and Slocum 1976: 365)

(257)   GUAMBIANO (Barbacoan)

    a. əik-pe isrukunə́ kə-n
       that-TOP girl be-2/3
       'That is a girl' (Vásquez de Ruiz 1988: 117)

    b. ə́srə eskuela kə-n
       over.there school be-2/3
       'The school is over there' (Vásquez de Ruiz 1988: 112)

(258)   TSAFIKI (Barbacoan)

    a. Ya unila jo-na-e
       he man be-PROG-DECL
       'He is being a man' (Dickinson 2002: 84)

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[43] In Jarawara, predicate adjective sentences, predicate nominal sentences, and existential sentences share the *be* verb *ama*. Locational sentences, on the other hand, generally contain a 'posture' verb such as 'to sit', 'to stand', or 'to lie' (Dixon 2004: 381).

b. Jatele   para   jo-e
over.there   wild.pig   be-DECL
'Over there are wild pigs' (Dickinson 2002: 57)

(259)   RETUARÃ (West Tucanoan)

a. āyāka   sa-ībē
snake   3SG.NEUT-be
'It is a snake' (Strom 1992: 28)

b. Riaka-ra   ki-ībā- koʔo
river-LOC   3SG.M-be-PAST
'He was at the river' (Strom 1992: 28)

(260)   KOREGUAJE (West Tucanoan)

a. Capitán   paʔi-ha-ɨ   ǰiʔi
captain   be-FUT-M.SG   I
'I will be captain' (Cook and Cresswell 1993: 66)

b. Hamuǰaj   mesa-kʰoʔa   wiʔewi-tʰe   paʰi-mɨ
dog   table-CLASS   underside-SPEC   be-M.SG
'The dog is under the table' (Cook and Cresswell 1993: 52)

(261)   GUANANO (East Tucanaoan)

a. Tiro   pjinono   ji-ma
he   boa   be-3SG.PAST
'He was a boa' (Waltz 1976: 102)

b. Yu   pucu   ji-ra   yuhu   cjuhure
my   father   be-3SG   1SG   with
'My father is with me' (Waltz 1977: 100)

(262)   BARASANO (East Tucanoan)

a. Rase   yã-ro-bi
toucan   be-HSY-3SG.M
'He is a toucan' (Jones and Jones 1991: 116)

b. To   yã-gɨ-bi
there   BE-PROB-3SG.M
'He is probably there' (Jones and Jones 1991: 116)

(263)   TARIANA (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)

a. Professor   alia-naka   nhua
teacher   be-PRES   1SG
'I am a teacher' (Aikhenvald 2003: 498)

  b. Nu-mina-naka   alia-naka   aī-se   panisi   waliku-se
     1SG-be.alone-PRES be-PRES   here-LOC   house   inside-LOC
     'I am here all alone in the house' (Aikhenvald 2003: 489)

(264) WAREKENA (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)

  a. Teta   wiɭubeɭu
     this   child
     'This is a child' (Aikhenvald 1998: 243)

  b. Wanihī   wahā   ʃupe   kueʃi
     here   then   much   game
     'Here is much game' (Aikhenvald 1998: 247)

(265) JARAWARA (Arauan)

  a. Irara   ama   ti-ke
     weasel   be   2SG-DECL.F
     'You are a weasel' (Dixon 2004: 379)

  b. Siraba   rawa   ama-ke
     cangati   F.NONSG   be-DECL.F
     'There are many cangati (fish) (here)' (Dixon 2004: 185)

When it comes to temporal sequence encoding, we can detect a certain differentiation among these languages. The Chocó languages in my sample, the Paezan language Paez, and the Barbacoan languages Guambiano and Tsafiki seem to be predominantly, if not exclusively, balancing. Favourite encoding strategies are paratactic sentential coordinations, and finite subordinate clauses with clause-final conjunctions. Some of these conjunctions appear as clitics on the finite predicate in the subordinate clause, others are free items. The data on subordinate clause formation in Guambiano are of a dubious quality. It is possible that topicalization or backgrounding of clauses is a viable strategy here, as is the case in the other Barbacoan language, Tsafiki, where temporal clauses are marked by a clause-final focus marker.[44]

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[44] Tsafiki can be described as having a switch reference system, with the suffix *to* indicating SS and the suffix *sa* indicating DS conditions.

(i) TSAFIKI (Barbacoan)

  a. Jaya na sa   kebi   i e
     work PROG DS   night become DECL
     'While (I) was working, it got dark' (Dickinson 2002: 97)

  b. Jaya na to   kebi   i yo e
     work PROG SS   night become CONJUNCT DECL:
     'While (I) was working, it got dark on me' (Dickinson 2002: 97)

(266)   EMBERA (Chocó)

    a. Dora   náa   wǎ-si-ma,   Cúco   káa-d'e   ɓé-si-ma
       D.   ahead   go-PAST-INDIC   C.   behind   be-PAST-INDIC
       'Dora went first, Cuco walked behind' (Aguirre Licht 1999: 158)

    b. Banía   có-d'a-káre   dó-j   ɓú
       water   boil-PERF-when   drink-FUT   AUX
       'When the water has boiled, (I) will drink (it)'

                                        (Aguirre Licht 1999: 160)

(267)   EPENA PEDEE (Chocó)

    a. Iči   wárra   wari-wǎ-da,   tawaráa   bee-hi
       his   son   raise-PROG-PL   large   be.INCEP-PAST
       'They continued caring for his son, (and) he became a good-sized
       boy' (Harms 1994: 33)

    b. Gigánte   kʰai-bái   bee-rú   mísa   či   née
       giant   sleep-down   be.INCH-PRES   while   he   gold
       čia-tʰaa-hi
       steal-OBJ-PAST
       'While the giant was falling asleep, he stole his gold'

                                        (Harms 1994: 155)

(268)   PAEZ (Paezan)

    Vite'   cuchi   ty   icje',   vite'   piisha
    some   pig   3PL   kill,   some   sheep
    'Some kill a pig, others kill a sheep' (Gerdel and Slocum 1976: 369)

(269)   GUAMBIANO (Barbacoan)

    a. Í   libro-pe   nai   kən,   ə́   libro-pe   ñui   kən
       this   book-TOP   1SG.BEN   is   that   book-TOP   2SG.BEN   is
       'This book is mine, that book is yours' (Vásquez de Ruiz 1988: 89)

However, Dickinson (2002: 138) mentions an example in which the DS suffix is used in a sequence with identical subjects:

(ii)   TSAFIKI (Barbacoan)
    Junni   man ja na sa   wata te
    then   again come PROG DS   year LOC
    aman   chide   la ri bi   man ji man ti e
    now   bone   come.out CAUSE PURP   again go sit REP DECL
    'They say that, (when he) came back after a year, (he) went to take out the bones (of his dead wife)' (Dickinson 2002: 138)

The DS suffix is used in this sentence because 'although the referents are the same, there is discontinuity of action; much has intervened during the year' (Dickinson 2002: 138). Given this, the two suffixes 'might best be considered markers of action continuity or sequentiality' (Dickinson 2002: 137).

b. Kan   fiesta   kə́-n-tr-ap   kə-pe-n
   one   fiesta   be-STAT-FUT-VN   be-TOP-2/3
   mar-əp   ment-ap-ik   kə-n   srulə́
   do-VN   do-VN-PCP   be-2/3   armadillo
   'When there was going to be a fiesta, the armadillo got to work'

   (Vásquez de Ruiz 1988: 146)

(270)   TSAFIKI (Barbacoan)

a. Aman   tsanke-di   ya,   ya-ri   seiton   sinuka
   now   do-PUNCT   she   she-FOC   evil   old.woman
   man-ji-man-ti-e
   again-go-SIT-REP-DECL
   'When she had done this, this evil woman went back'

   (Dickinson 2002: 135)

b. Mannan   man-tanji-na-ri
   again   again-take-PROG-FOC
   aman   nin   fu-ri   jera   piya-man-ti-e
   now   fire   feather-FOC   all   lost-SIT-REP-DECL
   '(When he) was taking (them out to the jungle) again, all the ashes
   got lost' (Dickinson 2002: 136)

While the Chocó, Paezan, and Barbacoan languages have a Have-Possessive as their only option, this Have-Possessive receives competition from a Locational Possessive in the Tucanoan languages, in Jarawara, and in the two Arawakan languages under discussion here. We saw in Section 9.13 that this Locational Possessive is matched by various deranking options, which are often organized into a switch-reference system. In addition, these languages also allow for a certain amount of balanced sequence encoding. Paratactic chaining of main clauses is a possible, and in some languages even prominent, option, which commonly covers not just temporal, but also causal or conditional relationships between the clauses. Jarawara and the two Arawakan languages also allow a number of finite subordinate clause types, which are marked by subordinating suffixes or infixes on the finite verbal form, or – in the case of Jarawara – by subordinating conjunctions in clause-final position.

(271)   RETUARÃ (West Tucanoan)
   Wei-koʔo-a,   yiha-iʔta-koʔo   ofisidã-rã
   finish-PAST-NEUT   1PL-come-PAST   office-to
   '(When) it was finished, we came to the office' (Strom 1992: 134)

(272)   KOREGUAJE (West Tucanoan)
Paʔinaʔme ina   tama kʰoʔrewahɨ ǰiʔɨ tʰaʔni tama
be.PL   this.PL tama koreguaje I   but   tama
kʰoʔrewahɨ peokʰɨʔɨ
koreguaje   not.be.M.SG
'They are Tama-Koreguajes, but I am not a Tama-Koreguaje'
                                        (Cook and Cresswell 1993: 99)

(273)   GUANANO (East Tucanoan)

a. Tina   chu, tiro cjuri ñaca   taha   juna
   they   eat   he   turtle character come finally
   '(While) they were eating, that turtle character finally came'
                                             (Waltz 1977: 38)

b. Pjiha   ta   chua   niha
   jungle.from come   eat.PCP   be.3PL.PAST
   'When (he) came from the jungle, they were eating' (Waltz 1977: 38)

(274)   BARASANO (East Tucanoan)

a. Yābika   wahu   yɨa   kakɨ   rāka
   yesterday move-PROX.PAST 1PL.EXCL father with
   Pauru ĩ   hohia ba-rɨa-hare
   P.   3SG.M hohia eat-DESID-PROX.PAST
   'Yesterday we went with Dad, (because) Paul wanted to eat hohia
   (jungle fruit)' (Jones and Jones 1991: 170)

b. Eha   wai   ba   roti-ka-bo   so   i   badah-o
   arrive fish eat order-PAST-3SG.F 3SG.F 3SG.M spouse-F.SG
   '(We) arrived (and) his wife ordered (us) to eat fish'/'As (we)
   arrived...' (Jones and Jones 1991: 140)

(275)   TARIANA (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)

a. Diha yawi   di-ñha   kenani
   ART   jaguar 3SG.NONFEM-eat be.quick
   di-yena-pidana-niki,
   3SG.NONFEM-pass-REM.PAST-COMPLET
   diha nawiki-ne   tuiki-tiki-pidana   niñha
   ART   man-FOC.SUBJ   little-little-REM.PAST 3SG.NONFEM.eat
   'The jaguar ate extremely quickly, the man ate little by little'
                                        (Aikhenvald 2003: 512)

b. Dekina   di-a-ka-pidana-nha
   afternoon   3SG.NONFEM-go-when-REM.PAST.REP-PAUS

na-wapa-tha-pidana
3PL-wait-FRUST-REM.PAST.REP
'When afternoon came, they waited in vain (for him)'
(Aikhenvald 2003: 549–50)

(276)   WAREKENA (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)

a. Wa   ma-kale-mia-hã   ema   waʃi   mutʃita-mia-hã
   then   NEG-breath-PERF-PAUS tapir jaguar bite-PERF-PAUS
   'Then the tapir grew tired, (and) the jaguar bit (him)'
(Aikhenvald 1998: 236)

b. Niwe-mia   amuʃi   ni-ʃa-tʃi-wa   tenepu   numa-wa
   high-PERF   sun   3PL-go-REP-INCOMPL   road   mouth-PERL
   '(When) the sun was high they went by the road'
(Aikhenvald 1998: 281)

(277)   JARAWARA (Arauan)

a. Ha.haa   hi-na;   kake-hemete-mone-ke
   REDUPL.call   OBJ-AUX.F   come-REM.PAST.HSY.F-REP.F-DECL.F
   '(He) called her; (and) she came, it is said' (Dixon 2004: 529)

b. Hemejo   watara-ra   ihi,   jara   ahaba-ka
   medicine   exist-NEG.F   because.F   white.man   die-DECL.M
   'The white man died, because there was no medicine'
(Dixon 2004: 513)

Outside this north-western area, the 'hard' Have-Possessive manifests itself in a few isolated cases in South America. First, we find an occurrence of this possession type in the Panoan language Matsés, where the type competes with the more general Panoan option of a With-Possessive.

(278)   MATSÉS (Panoan)

a. Senad   pais   cho-e-c
   deer   antler   have-NONPAST-INDIC
   'Deer have antlers' (Fleck 2003: 969)

b. Piucquid   cho-quid   ne-e-bi
   money   have-NOUNAG   COP-NONPAST-1SG
   'I have money' (*lit.* 'I am one who has money') (Fleck 2003: 735)

Temporal sequencing in Matsés is largely in accordance with its Locational Possessive. It was observed in Section 9.13 that the language has a rather fine-grained system of deranked predicate forms: 'Matsés accomplishes most of its inter-clausal linking via subordination, and so we find that inter-clausal

coordination is very restricted in Matsés' (Fleck 2003: 1183). Nonetheless, a few instances of clearly balanced sequence formation can be found in the grammar. In any case, Matsés unproblematically conforms to the other parameter in the *have*-language profile, as it has full-shared encoding for its nonverbal predications.

(279)   MATSÉS (Panoan)

   a. Min   matses-bi   ne-e-c-que   chui-enda
      2GEN   person-EMP   be-NONPAST-INDIC-CONJ   tell-NEG.IMP
      'They are your own people, so don't tell them' (Fleck 2003: 1185)

   b. Tabote   tabo-ø   is-nu   abentsëc-uid-bi
      torch   light-IMP   see-DESID.1SG   only-one-EMP
      cuëd-e-c-que
      call-NONPAST-INDIC-CONJ
      'Light the torch! I want to see, because only one answers'
                                                           (Fleck 2003: 1184)

(280)   MATSÉS (Panoan)

   a. Debi   cuididi   ic-onda-sh
      D.   naughty.one   be-DIST.PAST-3
      'Davy used to be naughty (but no longer is)' (Fleck 2003: 952)

   b. Cun   shubu-no   ic-o-sh
      1SG.GEN house-LOC   be-PAST-3
      'He was in/at my house' (Fleck 2003: 645)

The cases of the isolate languages Trumai and Mosetén are comparable to that of Matsés, albeit that they have a With-Possessive instead of a Locational Possessive as their major option. Again, this major possessive encoding is matched by major deranked sequencing formations. However, their additional Have-Possessives find a counterpart in temporal sequence encoding as well. Both languages have sentential coordinations, which are commonly paratactic. In addition, Trumai allows the option of forming a finite subordinate clause, which has temporal or conditional meaning and which is usually marked on the finite verb by the enclitic conjunction -*is/-es*. That this item is really a clausal subordinator and not a marker of deranking on predicates is shown by the fact that it must occur on the final item in the clause, even if this item is not the predicate.

(281)   TRUMAI (Trumai)

   a. Tahu   ka-in   ha   k'ad
      knife   FOC-TNS   1SG   have
      'I have a knife' (Guirardello 1999: 217)

b. K'ad-e   tahu
   have-3ABS   knife.ABS
   'He has a knife' (Guirardello 1999: 217)

(282)   TRUMAI (Trumai)

a. Wan   wa-koṭ'kan-e   hen,   wan   sa-n   hen
   3PL   ASP-bring.together-3ABS   then   3PL   dance-3ABS   then
   'They come together and dance' (Guirardello 1999: 368)

b. Otl   tak   ka-in   ha-is   ha   demle   hat'ke
   sleep   NEG   FOC-TNS   1-when   1   get.tired   FUT
   'If I don't sleep, I'll get tired' (Guirardello 1999: 391)

Besides sentential coordinations, subordinating clitics on finite verbs, or independent conjunctions, are also available in Mosetén.

(283)   MOSETÉN (Moseténan)
        Mö'   tsedye'   me'chhi-te   dyam   kerecha
        3SG.F   aunt   have-3M.OBJ   more   money(M)
        'The aunt has more money (now)' (Sakel 2004: 300)

(284)   MOSETÉN (Moseténan)

a. Jike   tikhin-te   tyoj-yi   jachha'-yi
   then   be.ready.to.shoot-3M.OBJ   shoot-SG   open.mouth-SG
   'Then (we) were ready to shoot it, (he) shot, and (the animal) opened its mouth' (Sakel 2004: 318)

b. Mi'ra'   wënchhïsh-än-yä'   tye-baj-te-ra'
   3M.SG-IRR   return-again.M.SG-when/if   give-again-3M.OBJ-IRR
   yäe   kerecha
   1SG   money
   'When/if he comes back again, I'll give him his money'
                                                            (Sakel 2004: 346)

Trumai and Mosetén are both clear instances of sharing languages. In Trumai, the sharing item is the *be*-verb *chï*, while Mosetén has shared zero-encoding.

(285)   TRUMAI (Trumai)

a. Paye   (ka-in)   ha   chï
   shaman   (FOC-TNS)   1SG   COP
   'I am a shaman' (Guirardello 1999: 122)

b. Pike-n   ka-in   ha   chï
   house-LOC   FOC-TNS   1SG   COP
   'I am in the house' (Guirardello 1999: 122)

(286)   Mosetén (Moseténan)

    a. Mi'   ïtsïkï
       3SG.M jaguar
       'He is a jaguar' (Sakel 2004: 298)

    b. Öi   boteya   pech-khan   mesa
       DEM.F bottle   trunk-in   table
       'The bottle is under the table' (Sakel 2004: 57)

As a final case of 'hard' Have-Possessive encoding in South America, I must review the facts in the Chilean language Mapudungun, also known as Mapuche. All sources which I have consulted (De Augusta 1903; Smeets 1989; Zúñiga 2000) state that this language employs a transitive verb *nie-* 'to have' in what is presumably its only possession construction.

(287)   Mapudungun (Andean, Southern)

    a. Nie-n   kiñe ruka, kiñe domo ka   epu yall
       have-1.SG one   house one   wife and two child
       'I have a house, a wife, and two children' (Zúñiga 2000: 15)

    b. Iñche nie-n   kine pichi kawellu
       1SG   have-1SG.PRES one   small horse
       'I have a small horse' (De Augusta 1903: 6)

    c. Turpu nie-ke-la-n   koche
       never   have-CONT-NEG-1SG car
       'I never had a car' (Smeets 1989: 213)

Now, Mapudungun can be shown to conform to the *have*-language profile on both parameters, but its status remains open to some doubt. First, on the topic of temporal sequence encoding, we can observe that Mapudungun allows sentential coordinations, which, as example (288b) illustrates, are sometimes used in cases where other languages might employ subordinate constructions. Moreover, the language has a finite subordinate verb form called the conditional or subjunctive, which encodes adverbial clauses. However, closer inspection reveals that these balanced encodings are fairly marginal. As it turns out, Mapudungun is very much a deranking language, which makes abundant use of converbal formations in the encoding of temporal clauses. As is shown in the examples in (289), these converbs can be employed under same-subject and different-subject conditions alike.

(288) Mapudungun (Andean, Southern)

    a. Juan weñe-y   ka   ñi   fotüm   kellu-eyew
       J.   steal-3SG and his son   help-3SG/3SG
      'Juan steals, and his son helps him' (Zúñiga 2000: 58)

    b. Fey   küdaw-ün   wüywü-ke-n
       that work-1SG.INDIC get.thirsty-always-1SG.INDIC
      '(When) I work, I always get thirsty' (Smeets 1989: 469)

    c. Amu-l-i   iñche tañi   ruka   mew, fentren
       go-SUBJUNCT-1SG 1SG   3POSS house to,   much
       nütramka-ya-yu
       talk-FUT-1DU.INDIC
      'When I go to his/her house, we will talk a lot' (Zúñiga 2000: 67)

(289) Mapudungun (Andean, Southern)

    a. Amu-lu   waria mew ngilla-me-y   asukura
       go-CONV city   to   buy-go-3INDIC sugar
      'When s/he went to the city, she bought sugar' (Zúñiga 2000: 67)

    b. Feychi   amu-lu iñche tañi   ruka   mew   fentren
       that.time go-CONV 1SG   3POSS house to   much
       nütramka-yu
       talk-1DU.INDIC
      'When I went to his/her house, we talked a lot' (Zúñiga 2000: 67)

A similar sort of uneasiness makes itself felt once we check the data of Mapudungun on the split/share parameter. Here we may conclude that the language is full-sharing, since the *be*-verb *ne/nge* can occur both in predicate nominal sentences and in locational/existential sentences. Again, however, this sharing option turns out to be marginal, as the use of *nge* in locational sentences is much less frequent than the use of the uniquely locational *be*-verb *məle/mule* (see sentences (291a–b)).

(290) Mapudungun (Andean, Southern)

    a. Wewentru   ṇe-imi
       young.man   COP-2SG
      'You are a young man' (De Augusta 1903: 9)

    b. Iñché   nge-pa-n
       1SG   be-here-1SG
      'I have been here (before)' (Smeets 1989: 159)

    c. Nge-la-y   chaɖi
       be-NEG-3SG salt
      'There is no salt' (Smeets 1989: 159)

(291)   MAPUDUNGUN (Andean, Southern)

    a. ñi   lifro   məle-i   mesa   meu
       his   book   be-3INDIC   table   on
       'His book is on the table' (De Augusta 1903: 13)

    b. Kiñe   mamüll   müle-y   wülngiñ   ruka (-mew)
       one   tree   be-3INDIC   front   house (-INSTR)
       'There is a tree in front of the house' (Smeets 1989: 85)

Reviewing these facts, we can summarize the situation as follows. Mapudungun is not a counter-example to the *have*-language profile, as it can be shown to have balanced temporal sequences and a shared configuration in nonverbal predication. This said, however, it must be conceded that Mapudungun is certainly not a textbook example of a *have*-language. In fact, the facts of Mapudungun are such that one would really expect this language to have a Locational or With-Possessive, as is the case in the other Andean languages in my sample.

    Besides 'hard' cases of Have-Possessive encoding, South America also features a number of possessive constructions that can be identified as the product of Have-Drift from some other possessive encoding type. In most of the relevant cases, it seems that this process has been completed, so that the resulting *have*-formation has to be regarded as a monomorphemic item from the synchronic point of view. A case in point is the Have-Possessive in Tupí-Guaraní. In addition to their predicativized Topic Possessives (see Section 5.3.1), three of the four sampled Tupí-Guaraní languages have an alternative possessive construction, which is definitely transitive. The *have*-verb *reko/riko/ereko* is, in all probability, a case of transitivization from the locational verb *eko/iko* 'to be (in motion)', but its derived status is no longer felt by contemporary speakers.

(292)   TUPINAMBÁ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)
    Xa -reko   miape
    1SG-have   bread
    'I have bread' (Parissier 1903: 27)

(293)   GUARANÍ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)
    Entero   animal   a-reko
    all   animal   1SG-HAVE
    'I have all kinds of animals' (Gregores and Suárez 1967: 210)

(294)   GUAJAJARA (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)
    Ce   omo   apyaw   u-imaw   i-ereko-n
    there   some   fellow   his-domestic.animal   3SG-have-OBL.TOP
    aʔe   no
    he   PRT
    'Some fellow had his domestic animal there' (Bendor-Samuel 1972: 191)

We have already observed in Section 11.7 that these languages are basically balancing. They prefer sentential coordinations, or finite temporal clauses with clause-final conjunctions, which are commonly cliticized to the last item – that is, in most cases, the verb – of the subordinate clause.

(295) TUPINAMBÁ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)

 a. Yauti u-sirara kwara, u-pita so-kena upe,
    Y.   3SG-find hole   3SG-stay its-opening at
    u-peya se-mimi
    3SG-blow his-flute
    'Yauti found a hole, stood still at its opening, and blew his flute'

(Tastevin 1910: 263)

 b. Amana ara u-sikana rame Yauti u-sem' ana
    rain day 3SG-come when Y.   3SG-go.out PAST
    'When the rain season started, Yauti went out' (Tastevin 1910: 250)

(296) GUARANÍ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)

 a. Oi-ke kaagwi pe ha o-henu petei aivu
    3SG-go forest in and 3SG-hear one noise
    'He went into the forest and heard a noise'

(Gregores and Suárez 1967: 214)

 b. Agwara o-hesa kwevo yagwaretehi pe he-ʔi a-poti
    vixen 3SG-see when jaguar   ACC 3SG-say 1SG-die
    mã
    already
    'When the vixen saw the jaguar, she said: "I'm done for!"'

(Gregores and Suárez 1967: 205)

(297) GUAJAJARA (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)

 a. A-zway   i-ho
    1SG.ABS-miss 3SG.ABS-go
    'I missed it (as) it went' (Bendor-Samuel 1972: 128)

 b. I-ho   re a-ha
    3SG.ABS-go after 1SG.ERG-go
    'After he went, I went' (Harrison 1986: 422)

Since the possessive construction at issue is historically based on a transitivization of a locational/existential verb, this verb can of course be expected to occur in the encoding of locational/existential sentences as well. In Tupinambá, the locational verb can also function as a copula, or, to put it better, the predicative nominal can be constructed as a locational phrase. In

Guajajara, locational sentences can also have zero-encoding, which provides a sharing option with predicate nominals. In Guaraní, it seems that the relation between the *have*-verb and the locational *be*-verb has become somewhat tenuous, as the item *iko has received competition from an existential verb ĩ- and a locational verb ĩ-*me*.

(298)   TUPINAMBÁ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)

    a. A-ico   abara-mo
       1SG-be   man-LOC
       'I am a man' (Platzmann 1874: 116)

    b. Pina   o-iko   patua   pupe
       hammock   3SG-be   hut   in
       'The hammock is in the hut' (Parissier 1903: 14)

(299)   GUAJAJARA (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)

    a. Ymete   we   ra'e   pa
       wild.pig   PL   maybe   PRT
       'Maybe those are wild pigs' (Bendor-Samuel 1972: 161)

    b. Zawar   zo   i-pyr   we   no
       dogs   only   him-with   PL   PRT
       'There were only dogs with him' (Bendor-Samuel 1972: 161)

(300)   GUARANÍ (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní)

    a. Ne   soldado
       2SG   soldier
       'You are a soldier' (Gregores and Suárez 1967: 158)

    b. Hoga   pe   heta   o-ĩ   tatapii
       house   in   much   3SG.SUBJ-exist   charcoal
       'There is a lot of charcoal in the house'

                                  (Gregores and Suárez 1967: 183)

    c. O-ĩme   oke   me
       3SG-be   door   at
       'He is at the door' (Gregores and Suárez 1967: 163)

Transitivization by means of a transitivizing prefix on a locational *be*-verb is not restricted to the Tupí-Guaraní family. In fact, we can also document it in – presumably unrelated – languages like Amarakaeri and Pirahã, which are members of smaller language families. In Amarakaeri the prefix *to-* can be identified as having the general function of creating transitive comitative/causative verbs. The origin or general function of the prefix *xao-* in Pirahã is unclear (see Section 6.2).

(301) AMARAKAERI (Harakmbet)
　　　Mbapaʔ　ih-to-e-me
　　　three　　1SG.INDIC-with-be-PAST
　　　'I had three (dogs)' (Helberg Chavez 1984: 432)

(302) PIRAHÃ (Mura)
　　　Ti　　poohahai　　xaibai　xao-xaaga
　　　1SG　fishing.arrow　many　POSS-be
　　　'I have many fishing arrows' (Everett 1986: 204)

Although at least Amarakaeri has some deranking options, both languages at issue prefer to construe their temporal sequences in balanced form. Besides paratactic sentence coordinations, they have finite temporal clauses which are marked for subordination by suffixes or clause-final conjunctions.

(303) AMARAKAERI (Harakmbet)

　　a. ĩh-ẽ-po-ī　　　　hak-ya　　ĩh-mbereʔ- õʔnẽ
　　　　1SG-be-INCH-1SG　house-in　1SG-steal-PERF
　　　　'(While) I was in the house, I stole' (Helberg Chavez 1984: 285)

　　b. Ndidnte-nda　õ-ē-nok　　　suig-nda　　õ-ciaway-ne　oroʔ-na
　　　　far-ADJ　　　3-be-because　small-ADJ　3-see-PASS　1PL-INSTR
　　　　'Because it is far away, it looks small to us' (Helberg Chavez 1984: 466)

(304) PIRAHÃ (Mura)

　　a. Kapiigaxiitoii　xogii　gaihi　kapiigaxiitoii　koihi　gaihi
　　　　pencil　　　　big　　that　pencil　　　　small　that
　　　　'That pencil is big, that (other pencil) is small': 'That pencil is bigger than that (other) pencil' (Everett 1986: 221)

　　b. Xaxai　xab-op-ai-so　　　　ti　tixisi　ohohaipihai
　　　　X.　　turn-go-ATEL-when　1　fish　eat.FUT
　　　　'When Xaxai returns, I will eat fish' (Everett 1986: 264)

The locational/existential verbs from which the *have*-verbs in these languages are derived can of course also occur in locational/existential sentences. In both Amarakaeri and Pirahã these verbs also function as copulas for predicate nominals, so that we can rate these languages as full-sharers.

(305) AMARAKAERI (Harakmbet)

　　a. Kuʔa　　ʔuwaʔ　　　　　õʔ-ē
　　　　dog　　domestic.animal　3-be
　　　　'The dog is a domestic animal' (Helberg Chavez 1984: 374)

b. Ken   õʔ-ẽ   hak-io
   he   3-be   house-in
   'He is in the house' (Helberg Chavez 1984: 374)

(306) Pɪʀᴀʜᴀ̃ (Mura)

a. Xaooi   xogi   xaaga
   foreigner big   be
   'The foreigner is big/a big one' (Everett 1986: 234)

b. Hi   go-o   xaaga
   he   what-ʟᴏᴄ   be
   'Where is he?' (Everett 1986: 240)

In Section 11.7 I mentioned that the isolate language Yurakaré has a Topic Possessive which features zero-encoding and cross-referencing of the possessor on the possessed item. As an alternative, the language has a transitivized Topic Possessive, in which the locational verb *tütü* 'to sit' is provided with transitive verbal morphology.

(307) Yᴜʀᴀᴋᴀʀᴇ́ (Yurakaré)
       Së-ja   tütü-y   mesa   a-dojo-y
       1sɢ-ᴇᴍᴘ   sit/be-1sɢ.sᴜʙᴊ table its-body-ʟᴏᴄ
       'I am (sitting) on the table' (Rik Van Gijn p.c.)

(308) Yᴜʀᴀᴋᴀʀᴇ́ (Yurakaré)
       Shunňe   ka-tütü-ø   sìbë
       man   3sɢ.ᴏʙᴊ-sit/be-3sɢ.sᴜʙᴊ   house
       'The man has a house' (Rik Van Gijn p.c.)

Like the Topic Possessive, this Have-Possessive in Yurakaré is matched by the fact that this language is predominantly balancing in its encoding of temporal sequences. Strategies include the formation of sentential coordinations and finite subordinate clauses which are marked by enclitic items on the predicate. These subordinating markers encode a distinction between same-subject and different-subject conditions (see Section 11.7).

(309) Yᴜʀᴀᴋᴀʀᴇ́ (Yurakaré)

a. Së-ja   matata-y   (latijsha)   më-ja   ñuñujulö-m
   1sɢ-ᴇᴍᴘ   big-1sɢ.sᴜʙᴊ   (and.then)   2sɢ-ᴇᴍᴘ   small-2sɢ.sᴜʙᴊ
   'I am big and you are small' (Rik Van Gijn p.c.)

b. A-tiya-tu-ja   ka-la-wshë-tu   samu
   ɪɴᴄᴏᴍᴘʟ-eat-1ᴘʟ.sᴜʙᴊ-ss   3sɢ-ᴏʙᴊ-listen-1ᴘʟ.sᴜʙᴊ   jaguar

> püme-ø-ti
> whistle-3-DS
> 'While we were eating, we heard the singing of the jaguar'
> > (Rik Van Gijn p.c.)

c. Së-ja   wita-y-ti   lah-ja   bata-ø
   1SG-EMP   arrive.SG-1SG.SUBJ-DS   3SG-EMP   go-3SG.SUBJ
   'When I arrived, he left' (Rik Van Gijn p.c.)

Finally, I want to draw attention to some cases of Have-Drift in Arawakan. In Section 5.2.2 I discussed the possessive constructions in Arawakan in which the possessee is constructed with the prefix *ka-/ke-/ko-*. At that point I also noted two languages in which this prefix has been instrumental in the creation of a *have*-verb, in that it has been prefixed to a general, 'categorial' noun that means something like 'thing possessed'. The resulting form, which is *ka-dahan* in Palikur and *ko-tir* in Baure, now functions as a generally applicable, transitive *have*-verb. In Baure, this 'derived' Have-Possessive competes with other options, such as a Topic Possessive, and an at least to some degree productive With-Possessive of the *ka-/ko-ke-* type. In Palikur, the Have-Possessive featuring the derived *have*-verb *kadahan* seems to be the only productive strategy in predicative possession encoding.

(310)   PALIKUR (Arawakan, Eastern Maipuran)

   a. Eg   ka-dahan   paha gu-simsa   nukune
      3SG.F   AFF-thing   one   her-dress   new
      'She has a new dress' (Launey 2003: 195)

   b. Nah   ka-dahan   aynesa   karukri
      1SG   AFF-thing   little   money
      'I have some money' (Launey 2003: 80)

(311)   BAURE (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)
        Ro-kotir-ow   teč   ro-kori
        3SG.F-have-COP/IMPERF   DEM.M   his-arrow
        'He had an arrow' (Swintha Danielsen p.c.)

As was demonstrated in Section 10.5, Baure has deranking options for its temporal sequences, which match the With-Possessive in this language. In addition, the language has an array of balancing constructions, which include sentential coordinations and finite subordinate clauses with clause-initial conjunctions. In Palikur, similar balancing constructions occur, and they appear to be the most prominent, if not the only, type of strategy in temporal sequence encoding.

(312)   BAURE (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)

    a. Nečón   no-sómpow   teč ka?an,   ãco
       last.night 3PL-hear   that animal and
       šimono-wo-r   neríki
       arrive-COP/IMPERF-3SG now
       'Last night they heard that animal, and he is arriving now'
                             (Baptista and Wallin 1967: 30)

    b. Ni-kí?inow   ni-yínošen   koēč   to   nen   hirá-neb
       1SG-want   1SG-teach.them because the these man.PL
       hénoko-neb
       good-PL
       'I want to teach them, because these men are good'
                             (Baptista and Wallin 1967: 29)

(313)   PALIKUR (Arawakan, Eastern Maipuran)

    a. Nah ka   atak, ig   kawnata atak
       I   NEG go   he   NEG.also go
       'I don't go, and he doesn't go either' (Launey 2003: 201)

    b. Ku pis atak Kayanit, isim   pohow hadyo
       if   you go   K.-to   buy.IMP one   radio
       'If you go to Cayenne, buy a radio' (Launey 2003: 214)

Palikur is a sharing language, on the basis of zero-encoding for both predicate nominal sentences and locational sentences. In Baure, both sentence types can be marked by the item *ow-/-wo*, which can be analysed either as a (sometimes enclitic) *be*-verb or as the marker of imperfect aspect; under either analysis, the sharing status of the language is of course corroborated. In addition, Baure has an item *kwe*', which functions as the verbal element in locative/existential sentences. As noted in Section 11.7, it is this item which forms the basis of the Topic Possessive in Baure.

(314)   PALIKUR (Arawakan, Northern Maipuran)

    a. Ig   mekseh
       he   doctor
       'He is a doctor' (Launey 2003: 58)

    b. Nigu   a-giku payt
       my.father it-in   house
       'My father is at home' (Launey 2003: 58)

(315)   BAURE (Arawakan, Southern Maipuran)

    a. Nti'   moestor-ow-o-ni
       1SG   teacher-COP-EPENT-1SG
       'I am a teacher' (Swintha Danielsen p.c.)

b. Nka-wo-ri   ri-weri-ye
   NEG-COP-3SG.F   3SG.F-house-LOC
   'She is not in her house' (Swintha Danielsen p.c.)

c. Kwe'   to   hopi   mesi-ye
   exist   ART   jug   table-LOC
   'The jug is on the table' (Swintha Danielsen p.c.)

12.9 Khoisan

Among the four language phyla that cover Africa, Khoisan is the only one in which Have-Possessives are the major option. My sample contains three members of the family. Sandawe, a language of Tanzania, is geographically cut off from its relatives, and has a With-Possessive (see Section 10.8). The other two sampled languages are spoken in Namibia, the Khoisan heartland. Both have a 'hard' Have-Possessive.

(316)   NAMA (Khoisan)
         Kxoe-p   ke   'auto-sa   'uu   hââ
         person-M   TOP   car-F   take/have   PERF
         'The man has a car' (Heine 1997: 30)

(317)   !Xũ (Khoisan)
         Da'a//om-kx'ao   kx'ae   peri
         wood-cutter   have   goat
         'The wood-cutter has goats' (Snyman 1970: 114)

Nama and !Xũ unproblematically fit the profile of a *have*-language. Temporal sequences in !Xũ are exclusively balanced. The preferred strategy is sentential coordination, in which all non-first clauses are introduced by the conjunction or sentential adverb *te* 'and'. In addition, the language has finite subordinate clauses with clause-initial conjunctions.

(318)   !Xũ (Khoisan)

a. /wara   meni   n!om   te   #'aama   n'ei   ha
   baboon   overturn   stone   and   snake   bite   him
   'The baboon overturned the stone, and a snake bit him'
                                                          (Snyman 1970: 205)

b. Sinima   mi ||x'wa   mi   dz'heu   ts'a
   while   I   work   my   wife   sleep
   'While I work, my wife sleeps' (Snyman 1970: 188)

Sentential coordination and finite subordination are favourite strategies in Nama as well. In contrast to !Xũ, subordinate conjunctions are clause-final in Nama; they sometimes cliticize to the last item in the clause, which normally will be the predicate.[45]

(319)   Nama (Khoisan)

a. Ob   gye gei !ã-tsu-/khaba //na nub
   then.3SG.SUBJ PRT big famine   that country
   #ama gye hã, ob   gye gye tsu-!kha
   over PRT be then.3SG.SUBJ PRT PAST suffer
   tsoa-tsoa
   start
   'Then a great famine came over that country, (and) he started to suffer' (Planert 1905: 29)

b. Tronkxoes !naa-ku hãa hĩĩ'a-p   ke   'iipa !ai
   prison   in-3PL   be   while-3SG.M   DECL 3SG.M good
   /'ape'i kè   tìi
   plan   PAST make
   'While they were in prison, he made a good plan'
                                                    (Hagman 1977: 229)

Nama and !Xũ can be regarded as full-sharing languages, by virtue of the fact that their locational/existential *be*-verbs (*hã* and *o*, respectively) can also be employed to form predicate nominal sentences.[46]

(320)   Nama (Khoisan)

a. Khoib gye geira hã
   man   PRT old   be
   'The man is old' (Planert 1905: 15)

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[45] Nama also has a deranked form, the so called 'participial', which is marked by the suffixes *se*, *!'aa̯* or *tsii̯* on the bare verb stem. Clauses which contain such a predicate indicate that 'the event denoted by the embedded sentence is "background" to that denoted by the main sentence' (Hagman 1977: 181). Participial predicates can be used only under same subject conditions.

(i) Nama (Khoisan)
     !aĩ'a#ao ra se p   ke   kè   pèé
     rejoice   DUR PCP 3SG.M DECL PAST leave
     'Rejoicing, he left' (Hagman 1977: 131)

[46] As an alternative, Nama has a copula *'a*, which cannot be used in locational/existential function.

(i) Nama (Khoisan)
     Saats   ke   'a   'ao
     2SG.M   DECL   COP man
     'You are a man' (Hagman 1977: 85)

b. Goab   geib   gye   !hanab   ei   gye   hã   ĩ
   child   big   TOP   field   in   PRT   be   PAST
   'The elder son was in the field' (Planert 1905: 30)

(321)   !Xũ (Khoisan)

a. Mi   o   žu/'hwã
   I   be   Bushman
   'I am a Bushman' (Snyman 1970: 136)

b. N!ao   o   #hae   n!eng
   bow   be   trunk   inside
   'The bow is in the trunk' (Snyman 1970: 137)

12.10 Afro-Asiatic

In Afro-Asiatic, Have-Possessives are definitely a minor option. Some of the modern languages of the Semitic branch have a tendency to develop their possessive constructions into transitive structures, but it is safe to say that 'hard' Have-Possessives are not indigenous to this sub-family. The same can be said of the Chadic branch. In the Berber branch some languages exhibit a 'hard' Have-Possessive as an alternative to their hybrid Topic/Locational Possessives. Examples are:

(322)   KABYLE (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)
         Ye-sɛa   axxam   wemɣar-agi
         3SG.M.PRES-have   house   old.man-that
         'He has a house, that old man' (Naït-Zerrad 2001: 62)

(323)   TOUAREG (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)

a. Ila   taráhamt
   3SG.M.have   house
   'He has a house' (Hanoteau 1896: 89)

b. Lig   tarwa
   have.1SG   child
   'I have a child' (Harry Stroomer p.c.)

As far as temporal sequencing is concerned, these Berber Have-Possessives are matched by the same balancing constructions that match their Topic/Locational Possessives (see Section 11.8). In their encoding of nonverbal predication, Kabyle and Touareg are predominantly split. However, a case can be made for at least some marginal occurrence of sharing configurations in

Kabyle. For this language I have found some examples in which the zero-encoding of predicate nominal sentences is applicable to predicate location sentences as well. Conversely, I have encountered some predicate nominal sentences in which the locative/existential verb *illa* can be employed instead of – or perhaps in suppletion of – the zero-copula of the language.

(324)   KABYLE (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)

     a. Nek   d'   arezfan
        1SG   FOC   big.person
        'I am a big man' (Hanoteau 1906: 85)

     b. Ourthi   ou   d'effir   oukhkham
        vineyard   my   behind   house
        'My vineyard is behind the house' (Hanoteau 1906: 22)

(325)   KABYLE (Afro-Asiatic, Berber)

     a. Illa   ioun   argaz
        be.3SG.M.PAST   one   man
        'He was a man' (Basset 1887: 22)

     b. Our   d   illa   oulemma
        NEG   FOC   be.3SG.M.PAST   nobody
        'There was nobody' (Hanoteau 1906: 22)

However, in Touareg no such overlap between copular and locative encoding strategies is possible. Therefore, we have to conclude that the Have-Possessive in Touareg constitutes a counter-example to the predictions formulated in Section 12.1.

    Turning now to the Cushitic branch of Afro-Asiatic, we can observe that the two Northern Cushitic languages in the sample have a 'hard' Have-Possessive as an alternative to their Locational Possessives (see Section 9.9). Examples include:

(326)   BEDAWI (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)

     a. Gűda   mahálaga   á-bare
        much   money   1SG-have.PRES
        'I have much money' (Reinisch 1893: I.54)

     b. Sultắnı   t-'or   kešyắb   tí-bire
        sultan.GEN   ART.F-daughter   slave   3SG.F-have.PAST
        'The Sultan's daughter had a slave' (Reinisch 1893: I.57)

(327)   BILIN (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)
    Nəri   gədəŋ-sí   ʃäx-ti
    3SG.F   dog-ACC   have-3SG.F.PRES
    'She has a dog' (Tucker and Bryan 1966: 544)

Bedawi and Bilin can be rated as instances of full-sharing languages. Among the configurations of nonverbal predicate encoding in these languages, there is one in which a locational/existential verb functions as a copula for predicate nominals. In addition, the languages have several items which are exclusively employed as copulas.[47]

(328) BEDAWI (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)

    a. Tun   to-'ot-ús   daûri-t   ti-fí
       this   ART-daughter-his beautiful-F.SG 3SG.F-be.PAST
       'This daughter of his was beautiful' (Reinisch 1893: I.13)

    b. U-gaw-ús   o-bélled-i   kalawa-y é-fi
       ART-house-his ART-town-GEN belly-in   3SG.M-be.PRES
       'His house is inside the town' (Reinisch 1893: II.79)

(329) BILIN (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)

    a. An   guadántá   hínb-ụgun
       I   farmer   be-1SG.PAST
       'I was a farmer' (Reinisch 1882: 83)

    b. Ní   ləŋəl   həmb-äkʷ
       he   house be-3SG.M.PRES
       'He is in the house' (Tucker and Bryan 1966: 544)

As a match to their Locational Possessives, Bedawi and Bilin have a fairly extensive array of deranked predicate forms at their disposal. The use of

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[47] An exclusively copular item in Bedawi is the verb *u / i*.

(i) BEDAWI (Afro Asiatic, Cushitic)
    Fátna   dāyt   'órt u
    F.   good   girl 3SG.F.PRES.COP
    'Fatna is a good girl' (Reinisch 1893: III.84)

Bilin has various items with uniquely copular function, such as the particle *gin*, and the verbs *san* and *a/ag*.

(ii) BILIN (Afro Asiatic, Cushitic)

    a. An   abintặger   gin
       1SG beggar   COP
       'I am a beggar' (Reinisch 1882: 69)

    b. Nī   anšín   ɣarabá sán ụχ
       his   father.in.law blind   COP 3SG.M.PERF
       'His father in law was blind' (Reinisch 1882: 55)

    c. Ikkaû   qŭrá   aġ rinadi
       nobles child COP 3SG.F.CAUSAL
       'Because she was a child of noble people' (Reinisch 1882: 59)

deranked clauses must be regarded as the major encoding strategy for temporal sequencing in these languages. However, balanced encoding, in the form of sentential coordinations, appears to be at least a minor option, as is illustrated by the following sentences:

(330)   BEDAWI (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)

    a. Ma'ắta   geb   é-for,   ribắ-b   rewyắna
       women   with   3SG.M.flee.PAST   mountain-ACC   climb.3PL.PAST
       'He fled with the women, and they climbed a mountain'

                                         (Reinisch 1893: III.196)

    b. Wu   háḍd̥a   ḗya,   e̱-š'á   gal   edir
       ART   lion   3SG.PAST.come   ART-cow   one   3SG.PAST.kill
       'The lion came and killed a cow' (Reinisch 1893: I.63)

(331)   BILIN (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)

    a. Yasū̃s-tɪ   inšaûnúg̱u-lu   adinu̱g̱u-r-lu
       Y.-ACC   tie.3PL.PAST-3SG.OBJ   capture.3PL.PAST-and-3SG.OBJ
       'They tied Jesus and took him to prison' (Reinisch 1882: 119)

    b. Gánja   fíg̱ua-g̱er
       sleep.IMP   rest.IMP-and
       'Sleep and rest!' (Reinisch 1882: 118)

Matters are more straightforward in Oromo and Somali, the two Central Cushitic languages in the sample. Both languages have a Have-Possessive as their single option. In Oromo the *have*-verb is the transitive item *qab-*, which can be translated as 'have, possess, take hold of' (Hodson and Walker 1922: 190). Somali has a set of *have*-verbs, which are all transitive, and which cover different subdomains in the semantic space of possession.[48]

(332)   OROMO (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)
    Isan   gangei   qabu
    3PL   mule   have.3PL.PRES
    'They have a mule' (Hodson and Walker 1922: 17)

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[48] These verbs are *leh yahay* 'to have, to possess' and *qabayya* 'to grasp, to take hold, possess', which encode inalienable and alienable possession, and *haynayya* 'to guard, to watch, to hold; to have in one's control, in one's possession', which predominantly encodes temporary possession (Serzisko 1984: 194).

    The *have* verb *leh yahay* can be analysed as a product of Have Drift. Historically, it consists of the *be* verb *aho/ahay* and the prefix *leh* . The etymology of this prefix is not completely clear. Reinisch (1903: 39) relates it to the derivational suffix *ala/ la*, which forms possessive adjectives and substantives. According to Moreno (1955: 113), the prefix *leh* is connected to the comitative suffix *la*. No matter what the correct diachronic analysis may be, however, the fact remains that the verb *leh yahay* is synchronically no longer seen as a synthetic form (Serzisko 1984: 177).

(333)   SOMALI (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)

    a. Nin-kii   baabuur   ay   leh-yahay
       man-ART   car   FOC.3SG.M at-be.3SG.M.PRES
       'The man has a car' (Serzisko 1984: 179)

    b. Lacag   ay-uu   hayaa
       money   FOC-3SG.M have-3SG.M.PRES
       'He has money (with him/ to spend)' (Serzisko 1984: 195)

    c. Anigu   geel,   ido   iyo   riyo   badan baa-n
       1SG.EMP camels sheep and goats many   FOC-1SG
       haystaa
       have-1SG.PRES
       'Me, I have many camels, sheep and goats' (Saeed 1999: 244)

Both Somali and Oromo are predominantly balancing. Although Oromo allows the possibility of employing some types of deranked forms in temporal sequences,[49] these two languages clearly prefer – and in the case of Somali, uniquely employ – such strategies as sentential coordination (which may or may not be marked by sentence connectives) and subordination of finite clauses, which are introduced by subordinating conjunctions.[50]

(334)   OROMO (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)

    a. Innii   isaan   magala-tt erg-é   gee'an
       he   them   market-to send-PAST reach.PAST.PL
       'He sent them to the market (and) they reached (it)'
       (Owens 1985: 217)

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[49] In terms of deranked forms, Oromo has a participle, which is formed from the verb stem by the suffix *aa*. The form indicates simultaneity and is limited to use under same subject conditions.

(i)   OROMO (Afro Asiatic, Cushitic)
    Inii   utal aa   d'ow am e
    he   jump PCP   hit PASS PAST
    'He was hit while jumping' (Owens 1985: 151)

Furthermore, the language employs a so called gerund, marked by the suffix *aani* on the verb stem. This form indicates anterior action and seems to be used predominantly under different subject conditions. Compare the two following sentences:

(ii)   OROMO (Afro Asiatic, Cushitic)
    a. Ani   nama ti hori   kenin aani adeimei
       I   man to   money give GER   go.away.PAST
       'After I had given the man money, he went away' (Hodson and Walker 1922: 88)
    b. Ani   nama ti hori   kenei n   adeimei
       I   man to   money give.PAST 1SG go.away.PAST
       'After I gave the man money, I went away' (Hodson and Walker 1922: 88)

[50] In Somali, these clause initial 'conjunctions' are in many cases temporal nouns like *kol ka* 'time the', to which the clause is attached as a (finite) relative clause.

b. Eega   d'uf-ne   walin   dubba-ne
   after come-1PL.PAST together   speak-1PL.PAST
   'After we came we spoke to each other' (Owens 1985: 142)

(335)   SOMALI (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)

a. Cali hílib-kíi   ayùu   keenay   oo   wàannu   cunnay
   Ali   meat-ART   DECL.3SG.M brought and DECL.1PL ate
   'Ali brought the meat and we ate it' (Saeed 1999: 250)

b. Iyád-oo   shaqéynaysá   hooyadéed   báa
   3SG.F-and   work.3SG.F.PROG.PRES   mother.her DECL.3SG.F
   timid
   come.3SG.F.PAST
   'While she was working, her mother came' (Saeed 1987: 242)

c. Kol-ka-n   imaneyei   libahh   ba-n
   time-ART-1SG   come.1SG.PAST.PROG   lion   FOC-1SG
   arkei
   see.1SG.PAST
   'While I was coming I saw a lion' (Kirk 1905: 127)

Oromo and Somali can be rated as sharing languages, since a zero-option is possible for predicate nominal sentences and locational/existential sentences alike. In addition, Oromo also has a full-sharing option in its non-present tenses, by way of the verb *tur-* (*lit.* 'to wait'). In all fairness, however, it must be added that these languages also have unique full encodings for copular and locational/existential sentences, and that these encodings seem to be more prominent than the zero-option, especially in the case of locational predication.[51]

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[51] Full encoding of locational/existential sentences in Oromo is realized by the verb *jir* 'to be, to exist'. This verb is restricted to present tense; as we have mentioned, its non present tenses are represented by forms of the verb *tur* 'to wait'.

(i)   OROMO (Cushitic)
      Namicc ii   sun   ac   jira
      man   NOM that there   be.3SG.PRES
      'That man is here' (Owens 1985: 80)

The full copula in Somali is *ah/aho*. In locational/existential sentences a number of different *be* verbs can be used, including *jog* (with animate subjects) and *jir* (with inanimate subjects).

(ii) SOMALI (Cushitic)
      'Ali askari   buu   ahaa
      A.   soldier   FOC.3SG.M   COP.3SG.M.PRES
      'Ali is a soldier' (Bell 1953: 81)

(336) OROMO (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)

    a. Innii   xeesummaa
       3SG.M guest
       'He is a guest' (Owens 1985: 33)

    b. Man-nii   sa   ac
       house-NOM his there
       'His house is over there' (Owens 1985: 80)

(337) OROMO (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)

    a. Innii   loltuu   ture
       3SG.M fighter be.3SG.M.PAST
       'He was a fighter' (Owens 1985: 81)

    b. Innii   xaleesa   ac   hin-jiru   ture
       3SG.M yesterday there NEG-be.3SG be.3SG.M.PAST
       'Yesterday he was not there' (Owens 1985: 75)

(338) SOMALI (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic)

    a. Axmed waa   askári
       A.   DECL soldier
       'Achmed is a soldier' (Saeed 1999: 239)

    b. Magala-du waa   bur-ta
       town-the   DECL hill-the
       'The town is on the hill' (Bell 1953: 39)

12.11 Nilo-Saharan

Although it would be an exaggeration to say that Have-Possessives are the major option in Nilo-Saharan, we can nevertheless find quite a few languages with this encoding type in different branches of the phylum. First, a concentration of 'hard' Have-Possessives can be encountered in the languages of Libya, Northern Sudan, and Western Ethiopia, which are areally related to the Northern Cushitic languages discussed above. Thus, the Saharan language Tubu has a transitive possessive construction which features the *have*-verb

(iii) SOMALI (Cushitic)

    a. Niman ki   qaar kood   ayaa   guri ga   jooga
       man.PL ART part 3PL.POSS FOC.3PL house ART be.3SG.M.PRES
       'Some of the men are in the house' (Serzisko 1984: 119)

    b. Caano riyaad ma   jiraan
       milk   goat   NEG be.3SG.F.PRES
       'There is no goat milk' (Serzisko 1984: 31)

tari/dari. According to Lukas (1953: 95), this item is based on the aorist stem of the verb *ta* 'to grasp, to seize'. Similarly, Kunama, which is spoken in Northern Sudan, has a *have*-verb *-ina-*, which may be a composition of the verb stems *i* 'to go' and *na* 'to acquire' (Reinisch 1881: 24)

(339)   TUBU (Nilo-Saharan, Saharan)
        Tani   edí   tari
        1SG   spear   have.1SG
        'I have a spear' (Lukas 1953: 167)

(340)   KUNAMA (Nilo-Saharan, Kunama)
        Aba   aila   fauda   na-ina -ke
        1SG   cow   many   1SG-have-AOR
        'I have many cows' (Reinisch 1881: 17)

Tubu and Kunama are predominantly balancing languages. Temporal sequences can take the form of sentential coordinations, which can be paratactic, but are more commonly marked by coordinating suffixes on each predicate in the chain. Furthermore, both languages have subordinate verb forms, which consist of finite verb forms marked for subordination by suffixes. In Kunama, these suffixes have merged with the predicate, so that subordinate conjugations like the temporal and the conditional have resulted. In Tubu, the subordinate suffixes on finite predicates are still discernible as separate morphemes. Moreover, Tubu also allows the option of forming subordinate clauses by non-affixed clause-final conjunctions, which are identical to the locational postpositions on nouns.

(341)   KUNAMA (Nilo-Saharan, Kunama)

        a. Kina   ma-bo-na   deday   ma-si-na
           corn   1PL-grow-and children 1PL-engender-and
           'We grow corn and engender children' (Reinisch 1881: 10)

        b. Kai   fe-mu-ma   Lulu   yo-ke
           man.PL   stand.up-3PL-TEMP   L.   3SG.come-AOR
           'As the men stood up, Lulu arrived' (Reinisch 1881: 59)

(342)   TUBU (Nilo-Saharan, Saharan)

        a. Durte   ni   zaudente   ni
           go.AOR.1PL   and   return.AOR.1PL and
           'We went and returned' (Lukas 1953: 167)

        b. Yir   nun-go   yari   terege
           come.IMP say.AOR.2SG-when run.AOR.1SG come.PROG.1SG
           'When you say: "Come!", I come in a hurry' (Lukas 1953: 180)

c. Nce   du   tere
   be.PRES.2SG   at/while   come.FUT.1SG
   'While you are there, I will come' (Lukas 1953: 176)

Kunama is a full-sharing language, by virtue of the *be*-verb *kos*-, which functions both as a copula and as a locational/existential verb. One of the configurations in Tubu nonverbal predication is zero-share.

(343) KUNAMA (Nilo-Saharan, Kunama)

   a. Ena   kamala   no-kos-ke
      2SG   fool   2SG-be-AOR
      'You are/were a fool' (Reinisch 1881: 38)

   b. Bila-la   o-kos-ke
      desert-in   3PL-be-AOR
      'They were in the desert' (Reinisch 1881: 37)

(344) TUBU (Nilo-Saharan, Saharan)

   a. Siɣɛn   lifi
      3SG.M   orphan
      'He is an orphan' (Lukas 1953: 170)

   b. Fatimi,   aba   sɔma   nga
      F.   father   his   where
      'Where is Fatimi's father?' (Le Coeur and Le Coeur 1956: 107)

A further instance of Have-Possessive encoding in Northern Sudan is encountered in Krongo, an unclassified language within Nilo-Saharan. This Have-Possessive is matched by the fact that temporal sequencing in the language is exclusively balancing, as is illustrated by the sentences in (346).

(345) KRONGO (Nilo-Saharan, Krongo)

   a. N-áná   àʔàŋ   còorì
      1/2-have.IMPERF   I   house
      'I have a house' (Reh 1985: 314)

   b. k-áná   kátú   mó-dì   dèemàŋ
      M.PL-have.IMPERF   people   at-home   goat
      'The people at home have goats' (Reh 1985: 9)

(346) KRONGO (Nilo-Saharan, Krongo)

   a. N-ácáámà   ùʔùŋ,   n-óokóttìbò   àʔàŋ   tísaànoò-tú
      1/2-IMPERF.speak   you   1/2-IMPERF.write   I   words-your
      'You speak, and I write down your words' (Reh 1985: 328)

b. Ànnáŋ   kítáʔà   n-áalá   àʔàŋ   ádìnà   ìssì
   IMP.SG.stay   here   1/2-CONT   I   INF.take   fire
   'Stay here (while) I fetch fire' (Reh 1985: 339)

As for nonverbal predicate encoding, Krongo may be said to be sharing, as the verbal item *áccì* can perform both locative and equational functions. It must be said, however, that this sharing option is marginal, and that copular and locative constructions are commonly encoded by different items (see 348a–b).

(347)   KRONGO (Nilo-Saharan, Krongo)

a. Fyà   m-áccì
   cow   F-be.there
   'That's a cow over there' (Reh 1985: 247)

b. Káaw   ø-áccì
   man   M-be.there
   'The man is over there' (Reh 1985: 233)

(348)   KRONGO (Nilo-Saharan, Krongo)

a. M-áa   káaw   m-àanímyà
   F-COP   person   F-IMPERF.be.female
   'She is a woman' (Reh 1985: 241)

b. N-áfì   àʔàŋ   kí-lá
   1/2-IMPERF.be   I   LOC-hut
   'I am in the hut' (Reh 1985: 148)

Nobiin, one of the two dialects which represent the Nubian language in my sample, combines its Locational Possessive (see Section 9.10) with a Have-Possessive. The *have*-verb is an item with the stem *kun-/kunn-*. This item can also be found in other dialects, such as Kenuz Nubian.

(349)   NOBIIN (Nile/Fiadicca Nubian) (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic)
        Ày   kàdíis   wèekà   kún-ir
        I   cat   one.ACC   have-1SG.PRES
        'I have a cat' (Werner 1987: 279)

(350)   KENUZ NUBIAN (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic)
        Ai   nog   weka   kunn-ir
        1SG   house   one.ACC   have-PRES.1SG
        'I have a house' (Reinisch 1879: 119)

The Have-Possessive in Nobiin and other variants of Nubian is matched by the fact that these dialects, besides their deranking options, have various

strategies for forming balanced temporal sequences as well. There are senten-
tial coordinations, which are commonly – but not always – marked overtly as
such by sentence connectives. Moreover, temporal clauses can be subordin-
ated by clause-final elements. In Kenuz Nubian one often finds the item *wekit-
ti* or *wekit-ta* (i.e. the accusative of *wekit* 'time') in this function, in which case
the verb of the clause has the (finite) form of the subjunctive mood.

(351) Nobiin (Nile/Fiadicca Nubian) (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic)
       Ày   tùunyì-n   mèdrèsắ-l   júùr,   Múnắa-kóon
       1SG   boys-GEN   school-in   go.1SG.PRES M.-and
       bùrwìì-n   mèdrèsắ-l   júù
       girls-GEN   school-in   go.3SG.PRES
       'I go to boy school, and Muna goes to girl school' (Werner 1987: 215)

(352) Kenuz Nubian (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic)

       a. Ai   kaba-gon   ni-kon   genn-ir
          1SG   eat-and   drink-and   do-1SG.PRES
          'I eat and drink' (Reinisch 1879: 138)

       b. Esau   hala-r   dasin   wekit-ti
          E.   desert-in be.3SG.PAST.SUBJUNCT   time-ACC
          Rebekka   ten   tod   bob-gonon   banikon
          R.   her   child   young-with   speak.3SG.PAST
          'While Esau was in the desert, Rebecca talked to her younger son'
                                                    (Reinisch 1879: 145)

For both variants of Nubian a sharing option in the encoding of nonverbal
predication can be established. In Kenuz Nubian this option rests upon the
possibility of having zero-encoding for copular and locational functions,
whereas Nobiin has a shared *be*-verb *mén-* for these functions. In addition,
both languages have uniquely copular and locational/existential items.[52]

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[52] Both variants of Nubian have an enclitic copula for predicate adjectives and nominals. Kenuz
Nubian also has a full copula with the stem *ē* ; this item cannot be used in locational/existential
predications.

 (i) Nobiin (Nilo Saharan, East Sudanic, East)
      àngíí   tòrbá rà
      uncle.my   farmer 3SG.COP.PRES
      'My uncle is a farmer' (Werner 1987: 290)

(ii) Kenuz Nubian (Nilo Saharan, East Sudanic, East)

      a. An essi   tonjil un
         my sister   beautiful 3SG.COP.PRES
         'My sister is beautiful' (Reinisch 1879: 31)

(353)   NOBIIN (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic)

    a. Wílíd   áadèm   màs   wéerà   mén-ò
       boy   person   good   one.PRED   be-3SG.PAST
       'The boy was a good person' (Werner 1987: 203)

    b. Nóog   ùuní-l   kám   wétèe   mén-jì
       house   our-LOC   camel   single   be-3SG.PRES
       'In our house is only a single camel' (Werner 1987: 113)

(354)   KENUZ NUBIAN (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic)

    a. Er   barbari   ma
       2SG   Nubian   EMP
       'You are a Nubian' (Reinisch 1879: 103)

    b. Ali   matbah-ir
       A.   kitchen-LOC
       'Ali is in the kitchen' (Armbruster 1965: 226)

Have-Possessive encoding is also the option chosen in the two sampled languages of the Surmic subfamily. In Tirmaga, a language from south-west Ethiopia, this possessive construction is matched by balanced sequencing strategies; data on temporal sequencing in Longarim are not available. Both languages have a full-share configuration in nonverbal predicate encoding.

    b. Ai   Ihalina   rasul   ē ri
       1SG   God.GEN   messenger   COP 1SG.PRES
       'I am a messenger of God' (Reinisch 1879: 157)

For locationa/existential encoding the languages can use a number of posture verbs, like *dā/dābu* 'to be present, to exist', *bu* 'to be situated, to lie', *āg* 'to sit, to exist', and *tēb* 'to stand, to exist'. As far as I can see, none of these items can be used with predicate nominals.

(iii)   NOBIIN (Nilo Saharan, East Sudanic, East)

    a. Wílíd   mìnkèllí   fásíl lá   dáaffi
       boy   how.many   class in   exist.3PL.PRES
       'How many boys are there in the class?' (Werner 1987: 123)

    b. úndée   íd   wèe   dàarò
       once   man   one   exist.3SG.PAST
       'There once was a man' (Werner 1987: 109)

(iv)   KENUZ NUBIAN (Nilo Saharan, East Sudanic, East)

    a. Ai   sug ir   dā si
       1SG   market LOC   be 1SG.AOR
       'I was in the market' (Reinisch 1879: 120)

    b. Mohammed   hema   tan na   āg ōn
       M.   his   tent in   sit 3SG.PERF
       'Mohammed was in his tent' (Reinisch 1879: 118)

(355) TIRMAGA (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, Surmic)
     Súrí-ø   lɔm-ɛ   kalamci-ɲa
     S.-PL   IMPERF.have-3PL.SUBJ   kalashnikov-PL
     'The Suri have kalashnikov rifles' (Bryant 1999: 125)

(356) TIRMAGA (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, Surmic)

    a. Húná   k-ubur-aɲ í   na
       EVID   PASS-IMPERF.spit-1SG.OBJ-3PL.SUBJ   and
       dák-aɲ ɛ   zugó   ɓɛ́   ciɲi
       IMPERF.hit-1SG.OBJ-3PL.SUBJ   people   place   little
       'I was spat on and the people hit me a little bit' (Bryant 1999: 123)

    b. Híndé   ŋé-ø   kocí-ɔ-te   nɔ
       when   IMPERF.run-3SG.SUBJ   forest-LOC-SUBORD   3SG
       úlúguɲ ø ú   dúl-ní
       PF.hide-3SG.SUBJ-NARR   permanently-EMP
       'When she ran to the forest, she hid for good!' (Bryant 1999: 140)

(357) TIRMAGA (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, Surmic)

    a. Té   zugté   áná-ní
       PERF.SG.be   people   strange-EMP
       'They were strangers!' (Bryant 1999: 31)

    b. Kɛ́-tɛ́-wa   láy
       1SUBJ-PERF.SG.be-NARR   quietly
       'I existed quietly: I waited patiently' (Bryant 1999: 41)

(358) LONGARIM (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, Surmic)

    a. A-yak-ca   eta   tur
       INDIC-have-1SG   goat   five
       'I have five goats' (Tucker and Bryan 1966: 386)

    b. Ka-yayi   nana   orda
       INDIC-have   1SG   dog.ACC
       'I have a dog' (Tucker and Bryan 1966: 386)

(359) LONGARIM (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, Surmic)

    a. K-en-a   Lariminit
       1SG-be-INDIC   Longarim
       'I am a Longarim' (Tucker and Bryan 1966: 386)

    b. En   ramma   tina
       3.be.INDIC   two   cows
       'There are two cows' (Tucker and Bryan 1966: 386)

More to the south, Have-Possessive encoding in Nilo-Saharan is challenged by
Topic Possessives and With-Possessives, but in most subfamilies it continues
to be a strong option. The West Nilotic languages Shilluk and Dinka fit the
profile of a 'hard' *have*-language unproblematically. The presence of *have*-
verbs in these languages (*dà* in Shilluk, *nong* or *la* in Dinka) is matched by the
fact that deranking of temporal sequences does not occur. The languages have
a strong preference for coordinations of main clauses, which are usually
marked by overt connective items. Furthermore, there are finite subordinate
clauses, with clause-initial conjunctions.

(360)   Shilluk (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)
        Yɛ́   dà   dɔ̀k
        3SG   have   cows
        'He has cows' (Westermann 1912: 21)

(361)   Shilluk (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)

        a. A   dwonị, ka   e   bia   yì   wɛ́n
           he   arose   and he   came   to   his.father
           'He arose, and came to his father' (Westermann 1912: 52)

        b. Kɛ́nꜙ   yá   nɛ́ná   ê   gɔ̀gò
           while   I   slept   he   worked
           'While I slept, he was working' (Westermann 1912: 45)

(362)   Dinka (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)

        a. Tik   a-nong   ajith   thiaar
           woman   INDIC-have   hens   ten
           'The woman has ten hens' (Nebel 1948: 4)

        b. Mony   a-la   gon   dït
           man   INDIC-have hut   big
           'The man has a big hut' (Nebel 1948: 113)

(363)   Dinka (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)

        a. ɣen   a-dït   ku   mony a-koor
           1SG   INDIC-big   and   man   INDIC-small
           'I am big and and the man is small': 'I am bigger than this man'
                                                            (Nebel 1948: 88)

        b. Ke   to   beny thin, ke   a-lo   tene yen
           if/when be   chief there then INDIC-go   to   3SG
           'When the chief is there, (we) shall go to him' (Nebel 1948: 96)

Shilluk has both a zero-sharing and a full-sharing configuration in nonverbal predication encoding. Dinka has a full-share encoding option, due to the fact that the copula *ee/aa* can sometimes be used in locational/existential sentences.[53]

(364) SHILLUK (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)

    a. Yá   ri̱t
       I   king
       'I am king' (Westermann 1912: 29)

    b. Fi   gìr   ki̱   yŏ
       water much on   way
       'There is much water on the road' (Westerman 1912: 35)

(365) SHILLUK (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)

    a. ómyàu,   á   be̱da mé̱n t̯ò
       your.brother he was one dead
       'Your brother was a dead person': 'Your brother was dead'
                                      (Westermann 1912: 54)

    b. é̱   bèdò̱ kê̱ṅ
       he stay where
       'Where is he?' (Westermann 1912: 33)

(366) DINKA (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)

    a. Wek aa   Jurcol
       2PL INDIC.COP.PL Jurs
       'You are Jurs' (Nebel 1948: 9)

    b. Lai   aa   kiik
       game INDIC.COP.PL there
       'There is game there' (Nebel 1948: 56)

The East Nilotic language Maasai has a 'hard' Have-Possessive, which features the verb *-atá/-etá*. According to Tucker and Bryan (1966: 484) the form has its origin in a past tense of the verb *atúm* 'to get'.

(367) MAASAI (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, East Nilotic)

    a. A-atá   ntare kumok
       1SG-have many sheep
       'I have a lot of sheep' (Tucker and Mpaayei 1955: 94)

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[53] Dinka also has a *be* verb *to*, which is limited to locational/existential function; see sentence (363b).

b. E-etá   olaiguenani   nkishu
3SG.M-have   chief   cattle
'The chief has cattle' (Tucker and Mpaayei 1955: 95)

In all probability, Maasai must be rated as a counter-example on the basis of its temporal sequencing properties. A widely used verb formation in Maasai temporal sequencing is the so-called 'dependent tense'. This is a finite verb form, which is derived from the simplex indicative tense forms by means of the prefix *n-*. Among other things, dependent forms are employed for non-first predicates in consecutive clause chains; such chains lack an overt conjunctional item. Also, dependent forms can be found in subordinate adverbial clauses which are introduced by a conjunction. Maasai also allows sentential coordination, marked by the sentence-initial connective *naa* 'and'. In such sentence chains, non-final predicates often have the 'relative' form (i.e. the form that predicates have in relative clauses; again, this is a finite verb form, characterized by the prefix *o-*), while the final predicate is in the dependent tense. Although the status of the dependent tense and the relative form is not completely clear, the most cautious conclusion is to rate them as 'dependent moods' (see Section 8.2.3) and therefore as deranked formations.

(368)   Maasai (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, East Nilotic)

a. Sironka   o-yieri-sho,   naa Salau o-ori-sho,   naa
   S.   REL-cook-INTR   and S.   REL-sweep-INTR   and
   Kelai o-isuji-sho,   naa Kimiti o-turi-sho,
   K.   REL-wash-INTR   and K.   REL-garden-INTR
   n-e-lo   Caaca   enkare
   DEP-3SG-go C.   water
   'Sironka will do the cooking, Salau the sweeping, Kelai the washing, Kimiti the gardening, and Caaca will go for water'
   (Tucker and Mpaayei 1955: 121)

b. E-ishoo   esayiet   n-e-ye
   3-give   poison   DEP-3-die
   'She gave him poison and/ so that he died'
   (Tucker and Mpaayei 1955: 103)

c. Ore pee   e-rem   n-e-igor
   and then   3SG-spear   DEP-3SG-moan
   'He speared it and it moaned'/'When he speared it, it moaned'
   (Tucker and Mpaayei 1955: 62)

d. Te   n-a-suj   n-aa-idoŋ
   if   DEP-1SG-follow   DEP-3/1SG.OBJ-beat
   'If I follow him, he will beat me' (Tucker and Mpaayei 1955: 103)

Likewise, Maasai does not fare so well on the predictions with regard to nonverbal predication. The language can be called a sharer by virtue of the fact that zero-encoding is possible for copular sentences and locational/existential sentences alike. It must be conceded, though, that this sharing configuration is fairly marginal in the language. A full item is more usual for both sentence types, and the full *be*-verbs are different for both functions (see sentences (370a–b)).

(369)   Maasai (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, East Nilotic)

    a. OlMaasani   ninye
       Maasai   3SG.M.EMP
       'He is a Maasai' (Tucker and Mpaayei 1995: 91)

    b. Nénda   eŋkítéŋ
       here   cow
       'Here is a cow' (Tucker and Mpaayei 1955: 203)

(370)   Maasai (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, West Nilotic)

    a. A-ra   ol-aiguenani
       1SG-COP   ART-chief
       'I am a chief' (Tucker and Mpaayei 1955: 91)

    b. E-tii   nkera   aŋ
       3PL-be   children house
       'The children are at home' (Tucker and Mpaayei 1955: 47)

Nandi and Pokot, the two sampled languages from the South Nilotic branch of Nilo-Saharan, are closely related. They both feature a Have-Possessive as their single option. The *have*-verbs are *tiny* (Nandi) and *tíngét/toŋót* (Pokot).

(371)   Nandi (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, South Nilotic)
    Tiny-ey   Kípe:t kâ:t
    have-IMPERF K.   horse
    'Kibet has a horse' (Creider and Creider 1989: 124)

(372)   Pokot (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, South Nilotic)

    a. O-tíngét-an   két
       1SG-have-1SG.PRES tree
       'I have a tree' (Herreros Baroja 1989: 12)

    b. Ko-toŋót-àn   tóc   sòmòk
       PAST-have-1SG cow   three
       'I had three cows' (Crazzolara 1978: 123)

Deranking of temporal sequences does not occur in Nandi and Pokot. The languages prefer sentential coordinations, which in most cases are marked by overt sentential connectives. In Nandi, non-first predicates in such coordinated chains appear in the (subordinate, but finite) subjunctive mood. Finite subordinate clauses, with clause-initial conjunctions, are also an option.

(373) NANDI (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, South Nilotic)

a. Wè:ntí: Kípe:t àk konyo   Cé:ro:no
   go   K.   and SUBJUNCT.come C.
   'Kibet is going and Cherono is coming'

   (Creider and Creider 1989: 131)

b. Ki:-á-kê:r   Kípe:t ye   ki:-ményey Kerîco
   PAST-1SG-see K.   when PAST-live   K.
   'I saw Kibet when he lived in Kericho'

   (Creider and Creider 1989: 137)

(374) POKOT (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, South Nilotic)

a. Kipetekwa   Makutano, kakïpetecha   Amakuriat
   2PL.PAST.go.to M.   1PL.PAST.go.to A.
   'You went to Makutano, and we went to Amakuriat'

   (Herreros Baroja 1989: 266)

b. Ataye kerïwenyi   orïwön   tïkïl
   when   2SG.PAST.sleep 1SG.PAST.sleep also
   'When you slept, I slept as well' (Herreros Baroja 1989: 282)

Nandi and Pokot both have a zero-share configuration for nonverbal predications.[54] In Nandi, the construction optionally contains a topic marker on the subject. As is quite common in Nilo-Saharan, these languages also have encoding options which are unique to either copular sentences or locational/existential sentences.[55]

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[54] With regard to the sentences (375a b), Creider and Creider (1989: 143) observe: 'Only tonal shape distinguishes *ínkoró* "which" from *inkorô* "where ...."'. ... In the second example, (b), ínkoró serves as a nominal predicate. *Te:ta* 'cow' receives nominative case marking. In the first example (a), the logical subject takes non subject tones.'

[55] Predicate nominals may receive verbal flexion in Nandi. Pokot has a uniquely copular item *ch* .

(i) NANDI (Nilo Saharan, East Sudanic, South Nilotic)
     Ki: á: la:kwé:t   áne :
     PAST 1SG child   1SG
     'I was a child' (Creider and Creider 1989: 122)

(ii) POKOT (Nilo Saharan, East Sudanic, South Nilotic)
     à ch án   còptó
     1SG COP 1SG girl
     'I am a girl' (Crazzolara 1978: 70)

(375) Nᴀɴᴅɪ (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, South Nilotic)

    a. Ínkoró   te:ta
       which.sɢ cow
       'Which one is the cow?' (Creider and Creider 1989: 143)

    b. Ínkorô   te:tà
       where   cow.ɴᴏᴍ
       'Where is the cow?'

(376) Nᴀɴᴅɪ (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, South Nilotic)

    a. Kípe:t   kò   la:kwét
       K.   ᴛᴏᴘ   child
       'Kibet is a child' (Creider and Creider 1989: 125)

    b. Te:tá   kó   inkorô?
       cow   ᴛᴏᴘ   where
       'Where is the cow?' (Creider and Creider 1989: 143)

(377) Pᴏᴋᴏᴛ (Nilo-Saharan, East Sudanic, South Nilotic)

    a. Puutín ŋìindè
       liar   3sɢ.ᴇᴍᴘ
       'He is a liar' (Crazzolara 1978: 70)

    b. Àní kɔ́   kɔŋè   ɔmb' kaao
       I   and friend.my at   house
       'I and my friend are at home' (Crazzolara 1978: 122)

The West Central Sudanic language Mbay could be presented as a textbook example of a language that fits the Have-Possessive profile. Mbay matches its

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For locational/existential sentences, both languages can employ the *be* verb *mi /mit* .

(iii) Nᴀɴᴅɪ (Nilo Saharan, East Sudanic, South Nilotic)

    a. á mî:t ey   áne: Kitâ:li
       1sɢ be ɪᴍᴘᴇʀғ 1sɢ   K.
       'I am in Kitali' (Creider and Creider 1989: 123)

    b. Mi: ngará:ryet kâ:t
       be   goat   house
       'The goat is in the house'/'There is a goat in the house' (Creider and Creider 1989: 123)

(iv) Pᴏᴋᴏᴛ (Nilo Saharan, East Sudanic, South Nilotic)

    a. O mit an kö   ori
       1sɢ be 1sɢ house inside
       'I am inside the house' (Herreros Baroja 1989: 207)

    b. Mi   tör ori pögh
       be.3sɢ.ᴘʀᴇs pot in   water
       'There is water in the pot' (Herreros Baroja 1989: 245)

'hard' Have-Possessive with a complete lack of deranked verbal forms. Temporal sequences exhibit the usual strategies for balancing languages. There are sentential coordinations, and finite subordinate clauses, which are marked by subordinating conjunctions. Some of these conjunctions are clause-initial elements; in other cases, subordination is marked by clause-final particles. Mbay is a full-sharing language: both copular and locational/existential sentences are encoded by the *be*-verb *ì*.

(378)   MBAY (Nilo-Saharan, West Central Sudanic)
        m-ngá   jàlàbéè   ta
        1SG-have   robe   now
        'I have a robe now' (Keegan 1997: 77)

(379)   MBAY (Nilo-Saharan, West Central Sudanic)

   a. M-aw   Pàríí   nà   ngúɪ   tò   tə̀   nò
      I-went   Paris   and   yams   were   there   PRT
      'I went to Paris and there were yams there' (Keegan 1997: 93)

   b. ɪ-tèe   ɓee-é   à,   ɪ-tèe   tà-bítə̀
      you-arrive   home-at   PRT   you-open   gate
      'When you arrive home, open the gate' (Keegan 1997: 82)

   c. Lòo-n   ngon-kó̰o̰-m̄   à   dèe   yé,   m-a
      when   brother-my   he.will   he.come   PRT   I-will
      m-él-a   tàa
      I-speak-him   words
      'When my brother comes I will speak to him' (Keegan 1997: 117)

(380)   MBAY (Nilo-Saharan, West Central Sudanic)

   a. Kèdə   ì   da̰a̰   kə́   bòo
      elephant is   animal   RM   big
      'The elephant is a big animal' (Keegan 1997: 75)

   b. ɗí   ì   kàmtə́?
      what   is   inside
      'What is inside?' (Keegan 1997: 75)

To conclude the discussion of Have-Possessives in Nilo-Saharan, I once more call attention to Songhay, a language of Mali. We have seen in Chapters 9 and 10 that the Djenné Chiini dialect of Songhay has Locational and With-Possessives, but all dialects also have a 'hard' Have-Possessive, which features the transitive verb *mey*. In Koyra Chiini, the variant of Songhay spoken in Timbouctou, this Have-Possessive is by far the most prominent option in possession-encoding.

(381)   Songhay (Nilo-Saharan, Songhay)
    Yee   mey njerfu
    1SG.IMPERF have money
    'I have money' (Heath 1999: 320)

Temporal sequencing in Koyra Chiini is predominantly, if not exclusively, balancing. Sentential coordination is primarily paratactic; such coordinations also cover clausal relationships which other languages would prefer to encode by subordination. Nonetheless, there is the possibility of forming subordinate adverbial clauses as well. Predicates in such clauses are finite, and subordinating conjunctions are clause-initial.[56]

(382)   Koyra Chiini (Timbouctou Songhay) (Nilo-Saharan, Songhay)

    a. A   djirbi, a   tjere   fo   toun
       he   sleep   his   friend one stand.up
       '(While) he slept, one of his friends stood up'
                                     (Hacquard and Dupuis 1897: 75)

    b. Nda ay   go   dem wo, dia   ni   si   ka
       if   1SG   IMPERF/be do   this then 2SG NEG come
       'If I do this, you won't come' (Hacquard and Dupuis 1897: 40)

    c. Sa   di   ka   no   to   koyro   ka   yer do
       time DEF RM 2PL arrive village come.IMP us   to
       'When you have arrived at the village, come to us'
                                   (Hacquard and Dupuis 1897: 40)

Nonverbal predication in Songhay is rather intricate (see Stassen 1997: 204). Locational/existential sentences are encoded by the *be*-verb *go/goo*, while predicate nominals always require the copula *tji/či*.

(383)   Koyra Chiini (Nilo-Saharan, Songhay)

    a. Ni   či   woy
       2SG COP woman
       'You are a woman' (Heath 1999: 268)

    b. Yer goo goy   di   doo
       1PL be   work DEF at
       'We are at work (=at the work location)' (Heath 1999: 365)

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[56] The subordinating 'conjunction' *sa di* 'when' in sentence (382c) is in fact the head noun of a relative clause (its literal translation is 'moment the'), which is why it is often followed by the item *ka*, which is the marker of relative clauses.

If this were all, Songhay would have to be regarded as an instance of full-split encoding, and hence this language would have to be rated as a counter-example to the predicted Have-language profile. However, the situation is complicated by the behaviour of predicate property concept words (i.e. predicate 'adjectives'). The encoding of these words is exceptionally fine-grained: while some predicate adjectives are treated as intransitive verbs, others receive the copula *tji/či*, and still others require the locational *be*-verb *go/goo*. The following examples provide an illustration:

(384)   SONGHAY (Nilo-Saharan, Songhay)

    a. Ni   beer
       2SG big
       'You are big' (Heath 1999: 73)

    b. Boundou wo   tji   idoungdura
       stick   this COP short
       'This stick is short' (Hacquard and Dupuis 1897: 6)

    c. Ferey   wo   go   tin
       brick   this be   heavy
       'This brick is heavy' (Hacquard and Dupuis 1897: 7)

Given the complicated – not to say confused – nature of nonverbal predication in Songhay, I feel justified in concluding that this language may be a counter-example of some sort, but that the force of this counter-example is not particularly damaging to our general explanatory model of predicative possession encoding.

12.12 Niger-Kordofanian

Within Niger-Kordofanian, 'hard' Have-Possessives manifest themselves mainly in three concentrations in West Africa. The first of these is formed by the West Atlantic subfamily, which is represented in the sample by four languages. With the exception of Fulani, which has a Topic Possessive for at least some of its dialects, the Have-Possessive is the only option that these languages have.[57]

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[57] As can be seen from the Fulani examples, this language employs a number of different *have* verbs. It is highly likely that dialectal differences are at work here. Fulani stretches across the Sahel from the Atlantic to Cameroon, and may rightly be regarded as a language family rather than as a single language.

(385) WOLOF (Niger-Kordofanian, West Atlantic)
       Am   nga   fas
       have   2SG   horse
       'You have a horse' (Diouf and Yaguello 1991: 46)

(386) TEMNE (Niger-Kordofanian, West Atlantic)
       I   ba   he   raka
       1SG   have   NEG   something
       'I don't have anything' (Sumner 1922: 28)

(387) NOON (Niger-Kordofanian, West Atlantic)
       mi   laak-in   towu   tanak
       I   have-PERF   children   two
       'I have two children' (Soukka 2000: 181)

(388) FULANI (Niger-Kordofanian, West Atlantic)
       a. 'Ina   d'ogi   mat't'udo
          3SG   have/hold   slave
          'He had a slave' (Labouret 1952: 128)

       b. Miɗo   jogi   cuudi   hewde
          1SG.PROG   have   houses   many
          'I have many houses' (Swift et al. 1965: 453)

       c. Mi   heɓi   lekki   tubaakooɓe
          1SG   have   medicine   European
          'I have European medicine' (Swift et al. 1965: 149)

       d. Miɗo   tami   cuudi   hewde
          1SG.PROG   have   houses   many
          'I have many houses' (Swift et al. 1965: 455)

Deranking of temporal clauses does not occur in West Atlantic. Instead, the
languages employ coordinations of main clauses, which can be paratactic, but
more commonly feature overt sentence connectives. Also, it is sometimes
possible to subordinate temporal and other adverbial clauses by means of
(clause-initial) conjunctions.

(389) WOLOF (Niger-Kordofanian, West Atlantic)
       a. Nyeu-on   na   (té)   wakh-on   nañ   ko
          come-PAST   3SG   (and)   tell-PAST   1SG   3SG.OBJ
          'He came and I told (it) to him' (Rambaud 1903: 51)

       b. Be   wakh-am   soté
          when.PAST   word-his   finish-SUBJUNCT
          'When/after he finished speaking' (Rambaud 1903: 95)

(390)   Temne (Niger-Kordofanian, West Atlantic)

    a. Ọ   gbạp kọ   dẹ   ọ   sap   kọ
       he   catch him and he   flog him
       'He caught him and flogged him' (Sumner 1922: 94)

    b. Be   ọ   der   ọ   ti   ram mu
       when he come he FUT pay you
       'When he comes he will pay you' (Sumner 1922: 91)

(391)   Noon (Niger-Kordofanian, West Atlantic)

    a. Ya dëk Kusun (ee)   ee-ci   dëk Kusun
       he live K.   (and) mother-his live K.
       'He lives in Kusun and his mother lives in Kusun'

                                      (Soukka 2000: 269)

    b. Waa   mi hay   kaan-dúu mi laak-kii   ken
       when I   come house-your I find-NEG nobody
       'When I came to your house, I found nobody' (Soukka 2000: 277)

(392)   Fulani (Niger-Kordofanian, West Atlantic)

    a. Debbo   gooto maayi, gooto heli   juŋgomakko
       woman one   died   one   broke arm.her
       'One woman died, (and) one broke her arm' (Swift et al. 1965: 129)

    b. Nde   Seku 'Amadu 'immino ndina, 'e   nde
       when Sheik A.   rose   holy.war and when
       ndina   n'ibuno 'o fetti   leydi ndi pet'te d'ye
       holy.war was.won he divided land to   parts five
       'When Sheik Amadu had gone to war, and when the war had been
       won, he divided the land into five parts' (Labouret 1952: 162)

All four languages have at least one sharing configuration in their encoding of nonverbal predications. This sharing option is realised by virtue of a locational verb that can also appear as the copula in predicate nominal sentences. A number of languages have additional unique strategies for copular or locational sentences.[58]

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[58] Wolof has a verbal copula *di* and a copular particle *là*; these items cannot be used in locational sentences. As we have seen in Section 11.8, Fulani has a zero copula; this option is not available for locational/existential sentences.

(i)   Wolof (Niger Kordofanian, West Atlantic)

    a. Mangi   di   dyambur
       1SG.EMP COP free.man
       'I am a free man' (Rambaud 1903: 45)

    b. Man   ligeikat là
       1SG   worker   PRT
       'I am a worker' (Rambaud 1903: 73)

(393)   WOLOF (Niger-Kordofanian, West Atlantic)

  a. Nga   nekk   gan
     2SG   be   guest/stranger
     'You are a guest/stranger' (Ngom 2003: 107)

  b. Neke   na   ker
     be   3SG   house
     'He is at home' (Rambaud 1903: 73)

(394)   TEMNE (Niger-Kordofanian, West Atlantic)

  a. ọ̀   yì   ù-fínọ̀
     he   be   DEF-good
     'He is good/ a good one' (Sumner 1922: 12)

  b. Păñ   ọ̀   yí   rí
     Father he   be   here
     'Father is here' (Sumner 1922: 7)

(395)   NOON (Niger-Kordofanian, West Atlantic)

  a. Mi   en   jëgiroh
     I   be   teacher
     'I am a teacher' (Soukka 2000: 243)

  b. Mëti   en   dii
     M.   be   here
     'Mati is here' (Soukka 2000: 180)

(ii)   FULANI (Niger Kordofanian, West Atlantic)
    A   derke
    2SG   young.man
    'You are a young man' (Taylor 1921: 81)

Some dialects of Fulani have a locational particle *don* instead of, or in addition to, the full locational verb *woni*.

(iii)   ADAMAWA FULANI (Niger Kordofanian, West Atlantic)
    Hamma   don   nder   ladde
    elder.son LOC.PRT   in   bush
    'The elder son was in the bush' (Taylor 1921: 81)

Existential sentences in Wolof are encoded by the third person impersonal of the *have* verb.

(iv)   WOLOF (Niger Kordofanian, West Atlantic)
    Am   na   safara   fi
    have   3SG   fire   here
    'There is fire here' (Rambaud 1903: 45)

(396) FULANI (Niger-Kordofanian, West Atlantic)

    a. Nden   qan   qe   miñirawo   debbo-qam   ko
       then   you   and   younger.sibling   woman-my   TOP
       qonon   woni   fulaŋ
       2PL   be   companion
       'Then you and my younger sister could be companions'

                                              (Swift et al. 1965: 448)

    b. Wudere   nde   woni   to   takko   wakande   nde
       cloth   the   be   to   vicinity   chest   the
       'The cloth is near the chest' (Swift et al. 1965: 304)

A second concentration of Have-Possessives in West Africa can be documented in the Gur languages. These languages, which are spoken in Burkina Faso, Mali, and the northern parts of Ghana and Ivory Coast, are represented in the sample by five members. One of these, Supyire, does not have a Have-Possessive and can therefore be left out of the discussion here. The other four have a 'hard' Have-Possessive as their only option.

(397) MOORE (Niger-Kordofanian, Gur)
    Dawa   da   tara   pugo
    man   PAST   have   field
    'The man had a field' (Froger 1923: 90)

(398) SENUFO (Niger-Kordofanian, Gur)
    Ma   na   souma   ta
    you   FUT   corn   have
    'You will have corn' (Chéron 1925: 51)

(399) KOROMFE (Niger-Kordofanian, Gur)
    Ba   wɔ-faa   bɔnɛ   hĩĩ   la   wɔnɛ   hĩĩ
    3PL.HUM   have-PROG   goat.PL   two   and   hen.PL   two
    'They have two goats and two hens' (Rennison 1997: 26)

(400) DAGBANE (Niger-Kordofanian, Gur)
    Á-yi-mále   lígiri
    2SG-COND-have   money
    'If/when you have money' (Fisch 1912: 37)

There can be no doubt that these Gur languages are all robustly balancing. Deranking of temporal clauses is scarce, and under different-subject conditions it is even non-existent.[59] The favourite strategy in temporal sequence

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[59] Moore has a so called participial form, which is characterized by the suffix *dē* on the verbal stem. The form indicates simultaneity, and is restricted to use under same subject conditions.

encoding is coordination of main clauses; the semantic range of coordination is rather wide, and covers other than purely temporal clausal relations. Subordination of finite clauses is also an option. Subordinating conjunctions commonly take second position in the clause.

(401) MOORE (Niger-Kordofanian, Gur)

    a. Mõs   bilfu ya   arzĕkrãmba, (la) usugŏ ya   naõñgrãmba
      Mossi few   COP rich   and   many COP   poor
      'Few Mossi are rich, (and) many are poor' (Froger 1923: 90)

    b. Fo   sã   gôm-da   mam kyelĕg-da
      you when/if speak-PROG I   listen-PROG
      'When/if you speak, I listen' (Froger 1923: 119)

(402) SENUFO (Niger-Kordofanian, Gur)

    a. M'pè ri   lara tegele na, a   zantougo di
      hare PERF hide bush   in   and hyena   PERF
      yèrè na kenge nyari   ou kandougo na
      stop to hand cause.walk his back   upon
      'Hare hid in the bush, and the hyena stopped to scratch his back'
                                              (Chéron 1925: 69)

    b. Molotongo di   chyé tyè   ou ma,
      M.   PERF go   woman her at/with,
      a   tyè-ouè   di   sonro chyè ou   na
      and woman-that PERF poison show him to
      'When Molotongo arrived at the woman's house, she showed him the poison' (Chéron 1925: 74–5)

(403) DAGBANE (Niger-Kordofanian, Gur)

    a. gbuɣima ŋubiri   nimdi ka   jansi   diri
      lion.PL chew.IMPERF meat and monkey.PL eat.IMPERF
      kɔdu
      banana
      'Lions eat meat and monkeys eat bananas' (Olawsky 1999: 51)

    b. N ni   daa   be puuni, ka   taɣiɣa kana ti
      I   when PROX be farm   and thief   come SEQ

(i)   MOORE (Niger Kordofanian, Gur)
     A   be   sõre   la dẽ
     he be   road.LOC laugh PCP
     'Laughing, he went on his way' (Froger 1923: 103)

zu   n   nɛma
steal   my   thing.PL
'While I was on the farm, a thief came to steal my things'

(Olawsky 1999: 54)

(404)   KOROMFE (Niger-Kordofanian, Gur)

a. Də wɔlɔmaa   la   də   dırı
   he   speak.PROG and   he   eat.DUR
   'He was speaking and/while he was eating' (Rennison 1997: 51)

b. Mə sa   kɔm   bɛnɛ   lɛ   ʊ   kure   a
   1SG father when come.PAST   thus 1PL   begin.PAST   ART
   dıʊ
   eating
   'When my father arrived we started eating' (Rennison 1997: 23)

When it comes to the split/share parameter, we can note that Senufo fits the profile of a 'hard' *have*-language, as it has a full-share configuration in nonverbal predication. One can also document a sharing configuration in Koromfe, on the basis of the fact that the zero-encoding of predicate nominals may also appear in existential sentences. It must be admitted, though, that this sharing option is marginal in the language, and that locational/existential sentences are most commonly encoded by verbal items that do not function as copulas in predicate nominal sentences. Matters are even worse in Moore and Dagbane, which must be rated as true counter-examples. Moore and Dagbane have a full-split configuration, and as far as my data go, no 'functional take-over' between the copula and the locational/existential *be*-verb seems to be possible.

(405)   SENUFO (Niger-Kordofanian, Gur)

a. Me nye   fanfolo
   I   be   chief
   'I am a chief' (Chéron 1925: 10)

b. Zige   n'ge   mou   nye   ou   nyana
   baobab   that   REL   be   us   in.front.of
   'that baobab which is in front of us' (Chéron 1925: 90)

(406)   KOROMFE (Niger-Kordofanian, Gur)

a. A   jɔ   məkɔ   la
   ART   chief   1SG   EMP
   'I am a chief' (Rennison 1997: 61)

b. A   bɔrɔ   la   də   kɛ̃na   hĩĩŋga   la
   ART   man   and   his   women   three   EMP
   '(Once upon a time) there was a man and his three wives'

(Rennison 1997: 306)

(407)   KOROMFE (Niger-Kordofanian, Gur)

    a. Də wê dããnɛ
        he   be   at.home
        'He is at home' (Rennison 1997: 65)

    b. A   lembəgʌ koŋ wã-naa a   dãŋ   koŋ dɔba
        ART bird   DET be-PROG ART house DET top
        'The bird is on (the) top of the house' (Rennison 1997: 79)

    c. Ze   la   də   wose
        there EMP she be.PAST
        'She was there' (Rennison 1997: 171)

    d. A   jergʌ   la   tuko   ja
        ART rabbit EMP sit/exist EMP
        '(Once upon a time) there was a rabbit' (Rennison 1997: 122)

(408)   MOORE (Niger-Kordofanian, Gur)

    a. M na   yi   naba
        I   FUT COP chief
        'I will be chief' (Froger 1923: 131)

    b. Wiri be yublē
        rope be neck.LOC
        'The rope is around his neck': 'There is a rope around his neck'
                                              (Froger 1923: 124)

(409)   DAGBANE (Niger-Kordofanian, Gur)

    a. Abu nyɛ-la   doo
        A.   COP-FOC man
        'Abu is a man' (Olawsky 1999: 17)

    b. M be-la   Tamali
        I   be-FOC T.
        'I am/live in Tamale' (Olawsky 1999: 29)

Similar problems are posed by Grebo, the only representative of the Kru branch in the sample. This language of Liberia and Ivory Coast has a 'hard' Have-Possessive, is exclusively balancing, but has split encoding of copular and locational sentences. Clearly, then, Grebo is a counter-example, on the same grounds as Moore and Dagbane.[60]

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  [60] It can be observed that quite a few 'adjectival' notions in Grebo are expressed by the locational *be* verb *ne* in construction with an abstract noun.

(i) GREBO (Niger Kordofanian, Kru)
    ɔ   ne   kpe
    he   be   strength
    'He is strong' (Innes 1966: 111)

(410)   GREBO (Niger-Kordofanian, Kru)
Kia   tie   ɔ   kɔ-ɛ
house   how.many   he   have-Q
'How many houses does he have?' (Innes 1966: 23)

(411)   GREBO (Niger-Kordofanian, Kru)

a. ɔ   bida   de   à   yída
    he   play   song   we   dance.RESULT
    'He played a song and we danced' (Innes 1966: 77)

b. Te   ne   dida   ne   mɔ-na   dabe
    when   I   come   I   COP-PAST   stranger
    'When I came I was a stranger' (Innes 1966: 116)

(412)   GREBO (Niger-Kordofanian, Kru)

a. ɔ   mɔ-na   pudi
    he   COP-PAST   hunter
    'He was a hunter' (Innes 1966: 128)

b. Ne   ne-na-de   London
    I   be-PAST-there   L.
    'I was in London yesterday' (Innes 1966: 111)

Our predictions on Have-Possessive encoding fare much better in the third concentration of Niger-Kordofanian Have-Possessives. Ngbaka, an Ubangian language from the Central African Republic and Northern Congo, has a Have-Possessive which is the result of Have-Drift from a With-Possessive (see Section 6.2).

(413)   NGBAKA (Niger-Kordofanian, Adamawa-Ubangian)

a. ʔé   tɛ́   mò^{n}gc
    he   with/have   basket
    'He has a basket' (Thomas 1963: 246)

b. ʔé   lí-ɛ́   ngón
    he   REM.PAST-with/have   chicken
    'He had chickens' (Thomas 1963: 200)

Furthermore, the *have* verb *kɔ* with an impersonal subject encodes existential sentences.

(ii)   GREBO (Niger Kordofanian, Kru)
        E   kɔ   tede   a   kpudikpudi
        it   have   laws   of   difference
        'There are different laws' (Innes 1966: 153)

The language is clearly balancing,[61] and has a zero-share configuration in nonverbal encoding.

(414)   NGBAKA (Niger-Kordofanian, Adamawa-Ubangian)

    a. ʔá   nzakanì   son   ʔá   náa   de
       it   herb   and   it   tree   NEG
       'It is a herb, not a tree' (Thomas 1963: 261)

    b. Mòn   nòn   ʔa   menè-níɪ   nɪngè   kcà   ma   ʔenén
       you   go   this   do-FUT   amusement   while   I   be.at
       bìlɪ
       work
       'You will have fun while I work' (Thomas 1963: 285)

(415)   NGBAKA (Niger-Kordofanian, Adamawa-Ubangian)

    a. Ma   mòkònzɪ
       I   chief
       'I am a chief' (Thomas 1963: 73)

    b. ʔé   pe   te
       he   on   house
       'He is on top of the house' (Thomas 1963: 98)

Birom (a language from North-East Nigeria), Babungo (a language from Cameroon), and Nkore-Kiga (a language from Western Uganda) all have a Have-Possessive; in Nkore-Kiga, this option has competition from a With-Possessive. The major strategy in temporal sequencing here is paratactic coordination of main clauses: 'Much that would be linked in other languages by co-ordinators is linked by tense sequence alone' (Taylor 1985: 57, on Nkore-Kiga). Another balancing option is the formation of subordinate clauses with clause-initial conjunctions. In Birom, these items have their origin in, or still function as, heads of relative clauses.

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[61] Like the genetically and areally related languages Banda and Mundang (see Chapter 10, fn. 18), Ngbaka has a deranked formation which consists of the preposition *té* 'with' and a verbal noun.

(i)   NGBAKA (Niger Kordofanian, Adamawa Ubangian)
    Tέ   tèntēnnèn
    with   limp.VN
    '(while) limping' (Thomas 1963: 190)

This construction would provide a direct match with the With Possessive source of the possessive construction in Ngbaka, if it were not for the fact that it seems to be used only under same subject conditions.

(416) BIROM (Niger-Kordofanian, Plateau Benue-Congo)
Má-vok   dwa
1SG-have   horse
'I have a horse' (Bouquiaux 1970: 422)

(417) BIROM (Niger-Kordofanian, Plateau Benue-Congo)

a. A-nɔŋ   á,   a-sɔ
   3SG-give   her   3SG-drink
   'He gave (it) to her, (and) she drank (it)' (Bouquiaux 1970: 421)

b. Ko   jeng   ba-kye   weren   ko   Kuugam   go-te
   then   time/when   3PL-go   to.them then   Turtle   3SG-turn
   te   voke   homo   kon   evin   gocoy   o
   REFL   towards   there   place   corpse   leopard   this
   'When they had come home, Turtle turned in his tracks towards the
   place where the corpse of the leopard was' (Bouquiaux 1970: 357)

(418) BABUNGO (Niger-Kordofanian, Bantoid)
Lambí   kìi   bíse
L.   have.PERF   goats
'Lambi has goats' (Schaub 1985: 117)

(419) BABUNGO (Niger-Kordofanian, Bantoid)

a. Mə   lòotə   ŋkɔ'   ŋúsɔ,   Làmbí   gáŋtə   mə
   I   fix.PERF fence   fowls   L.   help.IMPERF   me
   'I fixed the fowls' fence, (and) Lambi helped me' (Schaub 1985: 78)

b. ŋwə   táa   jwi   tí   mə   mete   fa'   ghó
   he   FUT   come   when   I   finish.IMPF   work   that
   'He will come when I shall have finished that work' (Schaub 1985: 45)

(420) NKORE-KIGA (Niger-Kordofanian, Bantoid)
Omshaija   a   enkoni
man   3SG.have   stick
'The man has a stick' (Taylor 1985: 71)

(421) NKORE-KIGA (Niger-Kordofanian, Bantoid)

a. Buri   busingye   bu-gambir-wa   abagurisi   baabwo
   each   generation   it-tell-PASS   elders   it
   na-bwo   bwija   bubigambira   abaana   baabwo
   and-it   it.come   it.them.tell   children   its
   'Each generation receives from its elders, and will pass on these
   things to its children' (Taylor 1985: 56)

b. Ku   bw-a-sheesha   Wa-Ruhitsi   y-aa-yoora
   when   it-TOD.PAST-dawn   Mr-Hyena   he-TOD.PAST-scoop
   oburo
   millet
   'When day broke, Mr Hyena scooped up some millet' (Taylor 1985: 26)

The three languages are straightforward sharers: they have *be*-verbs which function as copulas and locational/existential verbs alike. In Birom, an alternative sharing option is found in an obligatory subject pronoun with non-verbal predicates. All in all, then, we can conclude that these three languages clearly conform to the profile of a 'hard' *have*-language.

(422)   BIROM (Niger-Kordofanian, Plateau Benue-Congo)

a. Yɛ   é   còy
   3SG it leopard
   'He is a leopard' (Bouquiaux 1970: 375)

b. Gbín   é   hómó
   elephant it there
   'The elephant is there' (Bouquiaux 1970: 374)

(423)   BIROM (Niger-Kordofanian, Plateau Benue-Congo)

a. Wòrom wòmó a-sé   sá   hɔŋ
   Birom   that   CONC-be friend my
   'That Birom is my friend' (Bouquiaux 1970: 204)

b. Wot a-sé   éji dùk
   1PL CONC-be   in   hut
   'We are in the hut' (Bouquiaux 1970: 373)

(424)   BABUNGO (Niger-Kordofanian, Bantoid)

a. ŋwə lùu ləə
   he   be   tapper
   'He is a tapper' (Schaub 1985: 143)

b. ŋwə lùu táa ŋìì
   he   be   in   house
   'He is in the house' (Schaub 1985: 52)

(425)   NKORE-KIGA (Niger-Kordofanian, Bantoid)

a. Iwe o-ri   omukama
   you 2SG-be   king
   'You are a king' (Taylor 1985: 38)

b. A-ri   omu   kishengye
   3sg-be   in   room
   'He is in the room' (Taylor 1985: 88)

Finally, I have found a couple of isolated cases of Have-Possessive encoding among the Niger-Kordofanian languages of West Africa. The Mande language Malinke, which is spoken in Mali and Senegal and is in areal contact with several West Atlantic languages, has a Have-Possessive in addition to the major Mande Locational Possessive (see Section 9.10). This Have-Possessive is matched by the fact that Malinke can construct its temporal sequences by paratactic linkage of main clauses. As is often the case, such chains cover a wide range of clausal relationships.

(426)   MALINKE (Niger-Kordofanian, Mande)
        En   e   din   saba   soto
        1SG SUBJ   child   three   have
        'I have three children' (Steinthal 1867: 315)

(427)   MALINKE (Niger-Kordofanian, Mande)
        Ni   bè   tarha   ra,   e   na   na
        I   be   leave   in,   you   FUT   COME
        'I am leaving, you will come': 'I'll leave when you come'
                                                    (Delafosse 1901: 49)

Malinke can be rated as a full-sharing language, since the locational/existential *be*-verb *bè* can also function in sentences with predicate nominals.

(428)   MALINKE (Niger-Kordofanian, Mande)

        a. A   bè   fama-ye
           he   be   king
           'He is a king' (Delafosse 1929: 232)

        b. A   bɛ   so
           he   be   house
           'He is at home' (Labouret 1934: 209)

While other Kwa languages in the sample have a Topic Possessive,[62] the Nigerian language Igbo has a 'hard' Have-Possessive. The construction contains the transitive verb *ngwè*, which, when marked for the so-called factitive

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[62] The Nigerian Kwa language Yoruba also has a possessive construction which, at least from a synchronic point of view, could be analysed as a Have Possessive. However, I have suggested in Section 6.3 that the construction might be considered as a case of Have Drift from a Topic Possessive. If this argument is rejected, and Yoruba is analysed as a 'hard' case of the Have Possessive, the language will be a counter example to the Have profile, since there is no sharing configuration in Yoruba nonverbal predication (see Section 11.8).

aspect, translates as 'to have'. In other aspects than the factitive the verb appears to mean 'to get, to acquire'.

(429)   Igbo (Niger-Kordofanian, Kwa)
    ó   ngwè-rè   ego
    he have-FACT money
    'He has money' (Welmers 1973: 313)

Like the other Kwa languages, Igbo is exclusively balancing. The usual inventory of balanced strategies, such as sentential coordinations and finite subordinate clauses, is available. Conjunctions are clause-initial; some of them have their origin in 'old' head-nouns (*amane* 'time' > 'when') or even in clauses (*ó buru nà* 'it might.be that' > 'if').

(430)   Igbo (Niger-Kordofanian, Kwa)

    a. Gi ngwèrè ji   mà   ya   ngwere ji
       I   have   yams and you have   yams
       'I have yams and you have yams' (Carrell 1970: 48)

    b. Amane ó   ga   eje
       time   he FUT go
       'When he will go' (Ward 1936: 174)

    c. Ó buru   nà   i   gburu   mmado
       it be.HYP that you kill.PRET man
       'If you killed a man' (Ward 1936: 175)

Locational/existential sentences in Igbo feature the *be*-verbs *di* or *no*.[63] The item *di* also functions as one of the copular items in predicate-nominal sentences. As a copula, *di* conveys the meaning 'be describable as'. As such, it contrasts with another copular verb, *bu*, which must be interpreted as 'be identified as'. Due to the fact that *di* can occur both in copular and locational/existential function, Igbo can thus be confirmed as an instance of full-shared encoding of nonverbal predication.

(431)   Igbo (Niger-Kordofanian, Kwa)

    a. Ó di   oku
       it   be fire
       'It is (describable as) fire': 'It is hot' (Welmers 1973: 261)

    b. Ó bu oku
       it be fire
       'It is fire' (Welmers 1973: 261)

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[63]   *Di* is used preferentially with nonhuman subjects and *no* with human subjects, but there is much dialectal variation on this point.

(432)   IGBO (Niger-Kordofanian, Kwa)
   Ó di n'ulo
   he be in.house
   'He is in the house' (Spencer 1924: 75)

12.13 Creoles

At the end of our exposition of Have-Possessives, I must say a few words
about the four Creole languages in my sample. All these languages are clear
representatives of the *have*-type. This is hardly surprising, as their superstra-
tes – be it English, French, or Spanish – all are prime examples of the *have*-
type as well. What is more, the *have*-verbs in these Creole languages can easily
be identified as direct lexical borrowings from their superstrate languages: Tok
Pisin *gat* comes from English *get/got*, Sranan *abi* from English *have*, Haitian
gê/gêgnê from French *gagner* 'to win, to acquire', and Papiamento *tin* from
Spanish *tener* 'to have'.

 Like their superstrates, the Creole languages at issue readily conform to the
profile of *have*-languages. Temporal sequencing is exclusively balancing, and
manifests itself in the usual strategies of sentential coordination and subor-
dination of finite clauses. A full-sharing configuration in nonverbal predica-
tion encoding can be established. Haitian Creole has the additional option of
zero-share encoding.[64]

(433)   TOK PISIN (English-based Creole)
   Ol i gat planti bikpela taun
   3PL SUBJ have plenty big   town
   'They have many big towns' (Verhaar 1995: 30)

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[64] Some of these languages also have unique copular strategies. Thus, in addition to encoding with
the locational *be* verb *stap*, Tok Pisin has zero encoding of predicate nominals.

(i) TOK PISIN (English based Creole)
  Yu skulboi
  2SG pupil
  'You are a pupil' (Mühlhäusler 1984: 377)

Sranan has the unique copula *na*, which contrasts semantically with the locational/existential *be* verb
de. For a reconstruction of the historical development of nonverbal predication in Sranan see Arends
(1989: 25 68).

(ii) SRANAN (English based Creole)
  Mi na sneeri
  1SG cop tailor
  'I am a tailor' (Donicie 1954: 40)

(434)   Tok Pisin (English-based Creole)

    a. Arapela man   i   kam, arapela man i   go
        some   man subj come some   man subj go
        'Some people came, others went' (Verhaar 1995: 20)

    b. Taim buk   i   kamap pinis, planti man ol   i
        when book subj appear perf many man 3pl subj
        laikim
        like
        'When the book came out, many people liked it' (Verhaar 1995: 429)

(435)   Tok Pisin (English-based Creole)

    a. Ol i   stap wokboi
        3pl subj be   slave
        'They are slaves' (Verhaar 1995: 82)

    b. Pik i   stap long banis
        pig subj be   loc   pen
        'The pigs are in the pen' (Mühlhäusler 1984: 362)

(436)   Sranan (English-based Creole)
    A   abi   furu   fooru
    he   have much   chicken
    'He has many chickens' (Donicie 1954: 46)

(437)   Sranan (English-based Creole)

    a. Anansi kon   na   ini,   Tigri go   na   doro
        Spider come   to   inside Tiger go   to   outside
        'Spider came in, and Tiger went out' (Donicie 1954: 107)

    b. Te   ju   kon   bigi   mi sa   baj   wan   olojsi
        when you   come   be.big I   fut buy   one   watch
        gi   ju
        give you
        'When you are grown, I will buy a watch for you' (Donicie 1954: 104)

(438)   Sranan (English-based Creole)

    a. Mi no   de temreman
        I   neg   be carpenter
        'I am not a carpenter' (Voorhoeve 1953: 37)

    b. Mi no   ben   de dape
        I   neg   past be there
        'I was not there' (Donicie 1954: 40)

(439)   Haitian Creole (French-based Creole)

    a. M-gê   dé   ti-kabrit
        1sg-have two   little-goat
        'I have two little goats' (Hall 1953: 92)

    b. Pov   yo   kôn   gêgnê ti-kay
        poor pl   hab   have   little-house
        'The poor people used to have small houses' (Hall 1953: 68)

(440)   Haitian Creole (French-based Creole)

    a. Papa   mâjé nâ-salô,   ti-moun yo   mâjé nâ-kwizin
        father eat   in-living.room child   they eat   in-kitchen
        'Father ate in the living room, the children ate in the kitchen'
                                          (Hall 1953: 79)

    b. Lò   m-rivé, mwê di grân   mwê
        when I-arrive I   say grandmother my
        'When I arrived, I said to my grandmother' (Hall 1953: 93)

(441)   Haitian Creole (French-based Creole)

    a. Sé-ti-moun   li ye
        that-little-man he be
        'He is a child' (Hall 1953: 64)

    b. Koté   babako   ye-a
        where barbecue be-there
        'Where the barbecue is' (Hall 1953: 115)

(442)   Haitian Creole (French-based Creole)

    a. Ou   sé-you-nom   serié
        2sg   foc-indef-man   serious
        'You are a serious man' (Hall 1953: 63)

    b. Mâje-a   nâ-difé
        food-the   on-fire
        'The food is on the fire' (Hall 1953: 64)

(443)   Papiamento (Spanish-based Creole)
    Mi tin   placa
    I   have money
    'I have money' (Goilo 1951: 14)

(444)   Papiamento (Spanish-based Creole)

    a. Mi   mama   ta   na   cas   i   mi   tata   ta
        my   mother be   in   house and my   father be

        na   punda
        in   town
        'My mother is at home and my father is in town' (Goilo 1951: 126)

    b. Ora   bo   a   drenta   mi   tabata   come   pan
       hour   you   PAST enter   I   IMPERF   eat   bread
       'When you came in, I was eating bread' (Goilo 1951: 56)

(445) PAPIAMENTO (Spanish-based Creole)

    a. San   Petro   tabata   un   homber   pober
       St.   P.   be.IMPERF   a   man   poor
       'Saint Peter was a poor man' (Goilo 1951: 47)

    b. Mi   tabata   na   cas
       I   be.IMPERF   in   house
       'I was at home' (Goilo 1951: 60)

12.14 Conclusion

Among the 143 Have-Possessive constructions investigated in this chapter, there are nine cases that present problems for the prediction stated in Section 12.1. For two of the languages at issue, the problem is that their Have-Possessive seems to be 'out of character', so to speak. Although Mapudungun and Maasai might be forced into the profile of a Have-Possessive language, it is clear that these languages do not fit that profile when it comes to their major options in temporal sequencing and nonverbal predication. The other seven languages have in common that they answer to the prediction as far as the balancing/deranking parameter is concerned, but that they do not meet expectations on the split/share parameter. One cannot fail to notice that, with the exception of Krongo, all of the languages at issue are situated in West Africa, and that some of these languages are genetically related (Moore, Dagbane) or areally related (Touareg, Songhay). The data on Grebo – as, indeed, on all Kru languages – are rather scanty up to now, or at least not readily available to non-specialists. Finally, the typological status of the possessive construction in the Kwa language Yoruba is uncertain, but either option – that is, a Topic Possessive or a Have-Possessive – will create its own problems for our predictions.

   With regard to these counter-examples several different explanatory scenarios might be considered, but I have decided not to pursue them here: further research – and, in particular, more sophisticated data – will be needed. For now, my – admittedly, somewhat biased – conclusion is that the correlation between Have-Possessive encoding and a combined balanced/share encoding has been empirically validated.

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Part III

A Model of Predicative Possession Encoding

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13

A model of predicative possession encoding

13.1 Introduction

In the chapters of Part II, I have formulated and evaluated a set of four implicational statements, which were meant to correlate the typology of predicative possession with encoding options in two other domains, namely temporal sequencing and nonverbal predication. Reviewing the discussion, I feel confident in saying that all four of these statements can be said to be corroborated by the cross-linguistic facts. To the extent that there are counter-examples to any of these statements, we can conclude that they are definitely 'marginal', in the sense that I have discussed in Section 8.4, and that they do not distort an otherwise clear cross-linguistic picture. Therefore, I hold that these four statements must be accepted as factually correct, independently of whether or not some explanation can be provided for them. In other words, regardless of what the reader may think of the ideas that are put forward in the rest of this chapter, I hope he or she will agree that the typology of predicative possession has correlates in the typologies of temporal sequencing and nonverbal predication.

Now, just like the construction of typologies, the discovery of correlations between structural features in languages is certainly a worthwhile contribution to theoretical linguistics. In particular, such correlations establish a clustering of encoding options from different realms of grammar, and they therefore contribute to a further understanding of the notion 'possible human language'. But, just like typologies, implicational universals in themselves do not provide an explanation, at least not as I understand the term. After having established connections between encoding options from different structural domains, we are still left with the question of why these correlations should exist. In the case of predicative possession, this explanatory question can be made concrete by asking ourselves the following:

Why is it that the encoding of predicative possession in a given language is correlated to (and restricted by) the choice this language makes among the options in the

encoding of temporal sequencing and   for at least some possession types   in the encoding of nonverbal predication?

In the remaining sections of this chapter I will make an attempt to provide an answer to this question. To this purpose I will propose a model of predicative possession encoding, which has the basic form of a flow chart. That is, I will argue that the four major possessive types are to be seen as the end nodes or 'exits' in a decision tree. During the presentation of this model, it will become clear that several of its features are more speculative than others, and that, at least in some places, a solid empirical foundation of the underlying assumptions is lacking. Therefore, it would be preposterous to claim that the model presented here can be said to be proven to be right. Nonetheless, I feel that the model has some explanatory value, in that it is at least suggestive of a way in which the empirical correlations discovered in the previous chapters can be understood as non-incidental. In other words, the model presented here must be seen as modest in its ambitions: its aim is to suggest that the explanatory question formulated above may actually have an answer.

13.2 Preliminaries

In this section I will sketch the rough contours of an explanatory model that can be used in typological studies. I should remark that, among typologists working today, a widely adopted stance is that typological work should be as theory-neutral as possible. Although I subscribe to this point of view, it is also clear that, especially when it comes to explanatory questions, a minimum of background assumptions about the general organization of the theory of language cannot be avoided. However, I have made efforts to frame my assumptions in terms of concepts that belong to the stock-in-trade of modern linguistic theory, and that are therefore by and large uncontroversial.

I take it, then, that a language can be seen as a device which establishes a connection between a certain cognitive entity (a 'thought') and a physical entity which is ultimately realized in sound, and that it is the task of theoretical linguistics to provide a systematic description of the nature of this connection. Now, neither thoughts nor strings of sound can be said to be purely linguistic per se. After all, thoughts are also available to organisms that have no language at their disposal, while, on the other hand, an organism may construct its thoughts on the basis of other than language data, such as visual perception. In a similar vein, sound is not inherently linguistic; there are strings of sounds that do not qualify as language, and there are languages which do not manifest themselves in strings of sounds. Therefore, I assume

that the connection between thoughts and sounds cannot be direct; both these entities will have to be mapped onto the language system, in the form of two different levels of linguistic structure, which are then connected to one another by a (possibly modular) set of grammatical operations.

Since Chomsky (1965), the level of linguistic structure which represents the mapping of sound strings onto the language structure (or which, alternatively, presents the input for the mapping of linguistic structure onto sound) has been commonly referred to as (syntactic) SURFACE STRUCTURE. Surface structure represents the form of the sentence as it is uttered by the speaker and perceived by the hearer. Besides lexical information, surface structure provides structural information, in that it specifies the linear order of the lexical items in the sentence and the organization of constituent elements into larger structural units. A common way to represent surface structures graphically is the use of tree diagrams, in which both the linear order of constituent elements and the hierarchical organization of these elements are depicted.

The second level of structure, which represents the mapping of thoughts onto the language system, provides the type of linguistic information traditionally referred to as 'meaning'. In the linguistic literature of the last forty years this level of structure has been named in various, often theory-dependent, ways, and has been referred to by such labels as 'deep structure', 'underlying structure', 'semantic representation', 'logical form', and 'cognitive schema'. I will use the term UNDERLYING STRUCTURE (US) to refer to this level, as it carries only a minimum of theoretical connotations. As for the way in which an underlying structure must be represented in linguistic theory, I will only make a few very vague assumptions here. One option is to see this level as a purely semantic one, and to represent it as a configuration in some semantic meta-language. A widely used framework in this respect is a type of enriched predicate calculus. In this meta-language, the basic structural unit of organization is the proposition, an entity which consists minimally of a predicate and one or more arguments. Alternatively, one can see underlying structures as syntactic configurations, which are linked to semantic representations by a number of translation conventions, so that a clause in the US will typically be mapped onto a proposition, a syntactic predicate onto a semantic predicate, and a syntactic argument onto a semantic argument. The question of whether there are theoretical arguments in favour of one of these positions does not have to detain us; all I assume here is that, within the linguistic system, there is a structural level that represents meaning. There is, however, one feature in which underlying structures differ from logical formulas as used in classic predicate calculus. In my conception, underlying structures are not just representations of 'logical' meaning, based on truth-values of propositions;

they are also susceptible to factors of a pragmatic or discourse-functional nature. Thus, for example, if the underlying structure contains more than one proposition/clause, the order of these propositions/clauses will commonly reflect a 'given–new' structure, in that the proposition/clause which contains 'given' or 'topical' information is ordered before propositions/clauses that contain information which is new in the discourse.

In conclusion, I take it that a very general, and largely theory-neutral, model of linguistic theory can be depicted as in Figure 13.1. In this figure, the structural levels within the box represent the linguistic part of the model. Now, in my view the model of the theory of language outlined here may serve not only as a model for the structural description of sentences in a specific language; it is equally possible to employ it as a background for typological research. That is, a model of the form as given in Figure 13.1 offers a scheme for an account of the ways in which a certain semantic content, which is taken to represent the domain definition of the typology, can be mapped onto the surface structures of different languages. In our case, we can take a meaning representation of the notion 'alienable possession' to form the US of the model, while the level of surface structure is represented by the different possessive encoding types that we have identified in our project. In this way, we can interpret the model as some sort of decision tree: starting from a semantically motivated underlying structure, which is the same for all languages, a series of yes/no decisions in terms of grammatical parameters

Cognitive Structure ('Thought')

Underlying Structure ('Meaning')

Surface Structure ('Form')

Phonetic Structure ('Sound')
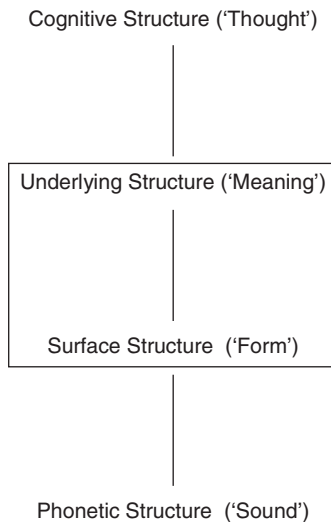
FIGURE 13.1 A model of linguistic theory

should lead us to a specification of a set of alienable possessive constructions. The model can be evaluated as to its adequacy by checking whether or not these yes/no decisions specify a set of 'outputs' that coincides with the set of possessive constructions that has been cross-linguistically attested. Schematically, then, the model of predicative possession encoding can be represented as an instantiation of the general form in Figure 13.2.

In the following sections, I will present a hypothesis about the nature of the underlying structure of predicative possession, and subsequently I will discuss the various parametric decisions that I claim to be operative in the cross-linguistic encoding of that underlying structure. Before I do that, however, I must first pay attention to a particular claim that is embodied in the model in Figure 13.2. In this model, I have assumed that for all the different manifestations of predicative possession across languages there is only one underlying structure, and one may ask whether this assumption is correct. The issue is particularly pressing since a major earlier work on possession, namely, Heine (1997), takes a completely different point of view. As I have already mentioned in Section 8.1, Heine defends the position that the various possession types are structural manifestations of different 'cognitive schemas'. Translating this view into the terminology that I have adopted here, we might say that it boils down to the claim that every possession type has its own, unique underlying structure. A consequence of this 'cognitive' view is that grammatical operations (in terms of parametric yes/no decisions) do not have a bearing on the cross-linguistic variation in possession encoding. Heine (1997: 233) explicitly states that 'extra-linguistic factors, in particular those
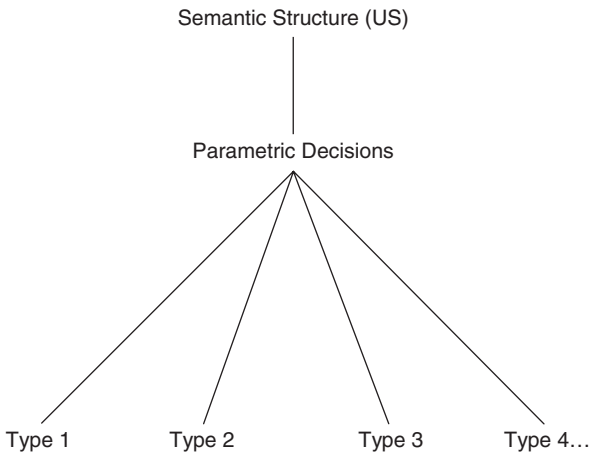
Figure 13.2 A model of typological explanations

that have to do with conceptualisation and communication, can be held responsible for many of the properties commonly associated with possessive constructions. Compared to these, linguistic factors appear to be of secondary import.'

As far as I can see, there are no a priori reasons why extra-linguistic, 'cognitive' factors should be rejected as explanatory principles in linguistic typology. The possibility that cross-linguistic variation is not, or not completely, due to structural differences among languages but originates from different conceptualizations of a given semantic domain, is certainly worth considering; in fact, there are typological studies (such as Stassen 1985), in which the encoding variation in a certain domain is correlated to a set of different underlying structures. However, in the case of predicative possession encoding the 'cognitive' view can be said to have its drawbacks. In particular, since this view holds that linguistic parameters are of secondary import in this encoding, there is really no way in which the empirical correlations that are formulated in the set of universals of predicative possession encoding can find a principled explanation. In other words, the empirically corroborated fact that possession encoding is restricted by the choice of options with respect to such structural parameters as the balancing/deranking parameter and the split/share parameter must, under the cognitive analysis, be rated as possibly remarkable, but essentially inexplicable, and therefore coincidental. I am of the opinion that this conclusion is unsatisfactory, if only for reasons of research strategy: if one holds the opinion that the general explanatory question formulated in Section 13.1 is irrelevant, one will certainly never find an answer to it.

I do not exclude the possibility that the cognitive view might be modified to such an extent that the above objections are met. For example, instead of the 'radical' claim that each possession type has its own US, one might hypothesize that the attested possessive types are organized in different groups, and that each of these groups has its own US. Given such alternatives, I think it is sound methodology to test the strongest hypothesis first, and to see whether an explanation that is based on the idea that there is just one US can be made to work. Anticipating my final conclusion, I can say that the assumption of one uniform US for alienable possession will take us quite a long distance in explaining the cross-linguistic facts of possession encoding. For only one of the attested possession types, namely the Have-Possessive, we will have to postulate an underlying structure that is different from that of the others, but, again, it can be argued that this divergence of the Have-Possessive is due to structural, and not cognitive, factors.

13.3 The underlying structure of predicative possession

My hypothesis is that the observed typological facts about predicative alienable possession can be explained if we assume that the formal encoding of this domain is a mapping of AN UNDERLYING STRUCTURE WHICH CONSISTS OF A SIMULTANEOUS SEQUENCE OF TWO EXISTENTIAL PREDICATIONS. In one of these predications, the existence of the possessor is predicated, while in the other the existence of the possessee is expressed. In other words, I hold that the underlying structure of predicative alienable possessive constructions has the following form:

(1)　∃ (a)　&　∃ (b)

or, alternatively,

(2)　[PR BE]　[PE BE]

Thus, the US of alienable possession is claimed to consist in the statement that two objects, namely the PR and the PE, 'are there', or are in the same space, at the same time. I should remark that the formulas in (1) and (2) only present a rough approximation of this semantic content; presumably, quantification over points in time and space should, in a full version, also be part of them. For our purposes, however, these 'impoverished' structures will turn out to be sufficient.

As can be seen, the US of alienable possession explicitly expresses one of the semantic components which we have claimed to constitute the concept, namely sameness of space, or permanent contact. As a consequence, I claim that the other semantic component of alienable possession, i.e. control, is not part of the semantic structure of the concept, but must be seen as implied by permanent contact. This analysis reflects the fact that, of the four major types of possession encoding, three are modelled on locative/existential constructions. The fourth type, the Have-Possessive, is modelled on a transitive construction and explicitly encodes the notion of control. As said above, I will argue that the Have-Possessive can be seen as the 'odd one out' among the major possessive types, and that there are structural factors which forbid *have*-languages to select an encoding that is based on the semantic expression of permanent contact.

Another feature of the US of alienable possession is the order of the two existential expressions: the expression which contains the possessor is ordered before the expression that contains the possessee. My claim is that this order is universal. It reflects the fact that, in a sentence that expresses indefinite alienable possession, it is the existence of the possessor which is 'given' or

'background' information, and that therefore it is the possessor which is topical. Since, in general, topical information is ordered before 'new' information, the only order of the two existential expressions in the US will be the one with the possessor expression in front.

In linguistic terms, the US of alienable possession must be seen as a simultaneous DS-sequence. My claim is that the cross-linguistic variation among possessive encoding types is at least partly a consequence of the fact that different languages have different structural options in the mapping of such sequences onto surface structures. This mapping is the result of some derivation, that is, the application of a number of grammatical operations on the underlying structure. In order to avoid misunderstanding, I want to state explicitly that the notion of 'derivation' is used here in the general, technical, way that has become current in modern (and especially generative) grammatical theory. That is, the grammatical operations to be proposed here should be conceived of as mere statements of the systematic correlation between grammatical configurations, and no claim of psychological or diachronic reality should be attached to them.[1]

The grammatical operations which, in my view, relate the underlying structure of predicative alienable possession to its various surface manifestations can be framed as yes/no decisions on a number of binary structural parameters. The first of these parameters is the balancing/deranking parameter. In the next two sections, I will pursue the consequences of this decision for both possible options.

13.4 Deranking languages

Taking a simultaneous DS-sequence as represented in (2) as their starting point, deranking languages have the option of deranking the predicate in either the first or the second clause in the US. If the first clause is selected, we have a case of so-called ANTERIOR DERANKING (see Stassen 1985: 88), and the resulting structure will be as in (3):

(3)   [PR BE$_{DER}$]   [PE BE]

Languages which select the opposite direction and derank the predicate in the second clause are said to have POSTERIOR DERANKING. The structure which results from applying this operation is (4):

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[1] A similar theory neutral interpretation is intended for other terms that are used here for grammatical notions. The term 'operation' introduced above does not imply any directionality or procedurality in derivations. Likewise, the term 'ellipsis' does not imply that I hold that lexical material is actually 'removed' or 'deleted' from a structure.

(4)   [PR BE] [PE BE_{DER}]

There is one language in my sample for which the application of the deranking operation to the US results in a surface structure. As we have seen in Sections 3.5 and 9.8, the northern Indian language Dafla has a Clausal Possessive construction, which matches structure (3) in all relevant respects:

(5)   DAFLA (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman)
      Lok   nyi   ak   da-tla   ka   anyiga   da-tleya
      one   man   one   be-CONV.PAST   son   two   be-3DU.PAST
      'A man had two sons' (*lit.* '(There) being a man, there were two sons')
                                                         (Grierson 1909: 603)

In all other relevant languages in my sample, the deranked temporal sequence is reduced to a single clause. The mechanisms by which this reduction is effectuated will not be discussed in detail here. I will assume that at least the following two operations are needed:

  (a) ellipsis of the *be*-predicate in the deranked clause,[2] and
  (b) 'inheritance' of the marker of the deranked clause by the subject of that clause, in the form of an oblique marker.[3]

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  [2] As noted in footnote 1 of this chapter, use of the term 'ellipsis' does not necessarily mean that the *be* verb is 'removed' from the underlying structure by some sort of grammatical operation. In languages with zero encoding of existential predications, the *be* item is not present in the first place. Moreover, it seems that omission of *be* items is, in at least some languages, not governed by identity conditions that are applicable to other cases of ellipsis such as Gapping, V Ellipsis, or Sluicing. Thus, English allows a form of ellipsis in (some classes of) subordinate clauses, by which a subject pronoun plus the verb *be* can be left out, provided that the subject pronoun in the subordinate clause is coreferential to the subject of the main clause, or, in the case of non restrictive relative clauses, to its antecedent:

  (i) ENGLISH (Indo European, West Germanic)
       a. If in doubt, you should consult your dealer (own data)
       b. When in Rome, do as the Romans (own data)
       c. Although badly in need of an overhaul, my '54 Nash still runs smoothly (own data)
       d. Gerald seems (to be) in bad shape (own data)
       e. *Because in jail, I could not reach you (own data)

  (ii) ENGLISH (Indo European, West Germanic)
       Ned Kelly, a famous Australian outlaw, was finally caught (own data)

In other words, the 'ellipsis' of *be* items is mysterious both for cross linguistic and internal linguistic reasons. Cross linguistically, the item *be* is the only verbal item that contrasts with a zero variant, and in languages like English, where the item is usually obligatory, it can be omitted under circumstances that are not determined by the same identity conditions that license ellipsis of other verbs.

  [3] I must point out that the term 'inheritance' is used rather loosely here. Although I am convinced that Locative Possessives and With Possessives are licensed by, and in some way 'modelled' upon, the

As a result, languages with anterior deranking will arrive at a surface structure of the form (6), that is, a Locational Possessive. An example of a language in which this derivation has been applied is Written Mongolian (see sentence (7)).

(6)   PR$_{OBL}$ PE   BE

(7)   WRITTEN MONGOLIAN (Altaic, Mongolian)
       Na-dur   morin   bui
       1SG-LOC   horse   be.3SG.PRES
       'I have a horse' (Poppe 1954: 147)

In contrast, languages with posterior deranking arrive at a surface structure of the form (8), that is, a With-Possessive. This surface structure is illustrated by the possessive construction in Sango (see sentence (9)).

(8)   PR   BE   PE$_{OBL}$

(9)   SANGO (Niger-Kordofanian, Ubangian)
       Lo   ɛkɛ   na   bɔngɔ́
       he   be   with   garment
       'He has a garment' (Samarin 1966: 95)

At various points in the foregoing chapters I have noticed that the Locational Possessive and the With-Possessive can be seen as mirror-images of one another. Both types are based on an intransitive, existential construction, and in both constructions one of the participants in the possessive relation is marked as oblique, while the other participant is the subject. The difference between the two types is that, in the Locational Possessive, it is the possessor that is marked as oblique, whereas in the With-Possessive this oblique marking is used for the possessee. The derivation proposed above is meant to provide an explanatory framework of this mirror-image property of the two possessive types. I claim that both of these types are derived from a common underlying structure, which has the form of a simultaneous DS-sequence of existential propositions/clauses. Another feature that is common to both types is that their derivation is characterized by the same yes/no decision on the balancing/deranking parameter: both derivations include the option of

deranking options in the languages in which they occur, I have no clear insight into the nature of this modelling. It is true that, in some languages, we can attest a direct correspondence between the possessive construction and the deranked sequence, in that case marking on possessors and deranking markers on sequences are identical. However, in the majority of cases the match between the two constructions is decidedly 'indirect': there may be difference in case marking, or the deranked construction may not use case marking at all, opting instead for, say, a reduction of inflectional possibilities of the deranked verb form. It is clear that further research is needed in this area, and I hope that it is also clear that this research is beyond the scope of this book.

deranking of one of the clauses in the underlying structure. What makes them different is the direction of the deranking process. While with Locational Possessives we have a case of anterior deranking, the With-Possessive is claimed to be derived from the underlying structure by applying the deranking operation in a forward direction.

It is, of course, fully justified to ask whether the choice of anterior or posterior deranking in a deranking language can be predicted by anything. There are indications that basic word order may be a factor in this decision. According to Stassen (1985: 88–90), the directionality of the deranking operation can be specified in the following two universal tendencies:

(10) TENDENCIES IN THE DIRECTIONALITY OF DERANKING
    a. Languages with anterior deranking tend to have verb-final word order (SOV)
    b. Languages with posterior deranking tend to have verb-medial or verb-initial word order (SVO/VSO)

It is possible that these tendencies are motivated by a 'desire' in languages to keep their basic word order intact in complex sentences. Thus, by using anterior deranking instead of the alternative option, verb-final languages 'ensure' that the complex sentence will have a main verb as its final element. The requirement of a verbal element in sentence-final position does not hold for SVO-languages and VSO-languages. This is why such languages can opt for posterior deranking, which can be seen as the default option in deranking directionality (see Stassen 1985: 91).

Now, it can be shown that Locational Possessives occur primarily in languages – and linguistic areas – with SOV order. In Chapter 9, we saw that this possessive type is found mainly in Indo-European, Caucasian, Uralic, Altaic, 'Paleo-Siberian', Munda, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman, Semitic, Cushitic, in the African SOV-languages Kanuri and the Mande languages, and in the Witotoan, Quechuan, Peba-Yaguan, Panoan, and Tucanoan languages from South America. For all of these families and areas a predominant SOV-order can be observed.[4] In contrast, Chapter 10 shows that With-Possessives occur primarily in areas with SVO order or VSO order – such as the languages of North and Central America (Salish, Uto-Aztecan, Mixe-Zoque), South America (Carib, Arawakan), the Austronesian languages, and some Papuan languages – and in the languages of Australia, which have to a large extent free word order. In Africa, the With-Possessive occurs exclusively in languages with SVO order,

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[4] See the map presented in Dryer (2005).

such as Chadic, Central Sudanic, and Bantu, or VSO-order, such as East Sudanic. Thus, although the typological match is not perfect, it seems that the difference between Locational Possessives and With-Possessives is tied up with verb-final vs. non-verb-final word order. This is to be expected once we accept that the difference between the two possessive types is based on the difference between anterior and posterior deranking.

A final comment on the derivation proposed in this section has to do with the other parameter that has been shown to correlate with the typology of predicative possession, i.e. the split/share parameter. While discussing universals of possession encoding in Section 8.4 I noted that this parameter does not seem to have any bearing on the selection of Locational and With-Possessives in languages. At this point, I think it can be explained why this is the case. In Section 3.3 I hinted that the option for split status is one of the ways in which a language can avoid potential ambiguity of its possession construction. That is, having a split configuration makes it impossible to confuse the possessive construction with the predicate-nominal construction. I will further elaborate on the avoidance of potential ambiguity in the next section. For now, what is relevant is the fact that this sort of potential ambiguity will never arise in Locational and With-Possessives, even if the languages in question have a share configuration. That is, even if a language with the surface structure (6) allows identity of the nominal copula with the locative/existential *be*-verb, the (Locational) possessive construction will never be confused with the predicate-nominal construction, due to the oblique marking on the possessor. By the same token, languages with a With-Possessive of the basic surface structure (8) are free from potential ambiguity, even if the *be*-verb is identical to the copula. It is true that a share configuration in a language with a With-Possessive may facilitate the grammaticalization process of predicativization (see Section 5.2), but this process never results in potential ambiguity of the possessive construction.

13.5 Balancing languages

My claim is that balancing languages, just like deranking languages, take as a starting point the general US of predicative possession, which I will repeat here for convenience:

(2)   [PR BE] [PE BE]

In balancing languages, this underlying structure is treated as a clausal coordination, and the derivation of possessive constructions in such languages is characterized by operations which take such coordinations as

their input. Parallel to the case of Dafla in deranking languages, my sample contains one language in which the underlying structure (2) appears to have been mapped onto the possessive construction directly, without the intervention of grammatical operations. Ixtlan Zapotec, a language of southern Mexico, has been shown to allow a possessive construction which actually has the form of a coordination of two existential clauses (see Sections 3.5 and 11.6), and which therefore matches the US in (2) in all relevant respects:

(11)   Ixtlan Zapotec (Oto-Manguean, Zapotecan)
        Lèyètsì kyá   ðoá   tù   jrù-ðí   ðoá   tù   βɛ́kù   tò
        village mine exist one gentleman exist one dog   small
        kyè
        of.him
        'In my village there was a gentleman who had a little dog' (*lit.* '(In) my village, there was a gentleman, there was a small dog of his')
                                                        (De Angulo and Freeland 1935: 123)

In all other balancing languages in my sample, however, the underlying structure (2) is reduced to a simple sentence. In the same way as in deranking languages, I assume that this reduction is effectuated by ellipsis of the BE-predicate from one of the two clauses in the US; the details of this operation remain mysterious (see footnote 2 to this chapter). Theoretically, *be*-ellipsis may give rise to a surface structure which has either the form (12) or the form (13), depending on whether the ellipsis operates on the first or on the second clause in the US:

(12)   [PR]   [PE   BE]

(13)   [PR BE]   [PE]

In reality, however, practically all languages to which this operation is relevant turn out to select option (12), that is, the surface structure which has been derived by an anterior application of BE-ellipsis. This surface structure is the one that we have called (the standard form of) the Topic Possessive, as exemplified by the possessive construction in the Papuan language Kobon:

(14)   Kobon (Papuan, East Highlands)
        Yad   kaj   mid-öp
        1SG   pig   be-3SG.PERF
        'I have a pig' (Davies 1981: 94)

Why it is that *be*-ellipsis should typically affect the first clause in the US of predicative possession is not completely clear. One possible avenue for explaining this fact may be to invoke the general Boundary Constraint on coordination reduction, which has been formulated in Sanders (1976). This author notes that elliptical operations on coordinate structures tend to avoid derived structures in which the deleted element – the so-called 'gap' – is situated at the boundaries of the complex sentence: neither the first nor the last structural position in the coordination are good places to situate a gap. Thus, in a coordinative structure like (2), the application of *be*-ellipsis will most likely result in a structure like (15), since the alternative structure (16) has a sentence-final gap.

(2)   [PR   BE]   [PE   BE]

(15)   [PR   ø]   [PE   BE]

(16)   *[PR   BE] [PE ø]

It should be remarked, however, that the apparent ban on posterior *be*-ellipsis in intransitive clause coordinations holds only for SOV-languages and SVO-languages, that is, languages in which intransitive clauses have the order S-V. In languages with verb-initial order, posterior *be*-ellipsis is not ruled out by the Boundary Constraint, as this operation does not create a sentence-final gap:

(17)   [BE   PR] [BE   PE]   ➔
        [V   PR] [ø   PE]

The fact that posterior *be*-ellipsis is not blocked in verb-initial languages might provide an explanation of the puzzling occurrence of a few constructions that might be called 'reversed' Topic Possessives. In the Philippine language Manobo, we encounter a possessive construction in which it is the possessee NP, instead of the possessor NP, which is constructed as the sentential topic. A similar construction can be found in the West Indonesian language Toba Batak; here, the 'reversed' Topic Possessive functions as a presumably marginal variant on the standard Topic Possessive. Both Manobo and Toba Batak are verb-initial languages.

(18)   MANOBO (Austronesian, Philippine)
        Waze'   din   selapi
        not.be   NONTOP.3SG   money
        'He has no money' (Elkins 1970: 32)

(19) Toba Batak (Austronesian, West Indonesian)

a. Adòn   do   tolu   boru   ni   begu
exist   PRT   three   daughter   NONTOP   spirit
'The spirit had three daughters' (Percival 1981: 101)

b. Ia   begu   Ón   tòlu   ború-na
TOP   spirit   exist   three   daughter-his
'The spirit had three daughters' (Percival 1981: 101)

It is also conceivable that the almost exclusive preference for the surface structure (12) has to do with specific mechanisms in the formation of sentence topics. From a structural point of view, sentence topics can be viewed as cases of Left Dislocation.[5] The structural characteristics of this formation, and in particular the nature of the structural relation between a dislocated element and the sentence nucleus, are still poorly understood. What is clear, however, is that sentence topics do not have to be phrasal; they can be clausal as well. Thus, Bohnemeyer (2002) reports that, in Yucatec, chains of independent clauses often take the form *p*-TOP *(q*-TOP) *r,* in which the final clause (*r*) cannot have the topic enclitic. The information structure is that *p* and *q* are preparative; the topic enclitic signals that the comment (*r*) is yet to come. Thus, apart from its phrasal sentence topics (20a), Yucatec also has strings of clausal sentence topics, as illustrated in (20b).

(20) Yucatec (Mayan, Yucatecan)

a. Òon-e'   tu   hàant-ah   Pedro
avocado-TOP   PERF.3AG   eat-COMPLET   P.
'Avocado, Pedro ate it' (Stavros Skopeteas p.c.)

b. Káahts'o'k   khàanalo'n   yéetel-e'   kàatuts'íibtah   káarta
it.end   we(INCL).eat   with.it-TOP   he.write   letter
'When we finished eating, he wrote letters' (Jürgen Bohnemeyer p.c.)

Haiman (1978) has argued that, in particular, conditional clauses must be analysed as sentence topics. They are functionally similar, in that 'conditionals, like topics, are givens which constitute the frame of reference with respect to which the main clause is either true (if a proposition) or felicitous (if not)' (Haiman 1978: 564). This functional similarity is brought out formally by the fact that, in some languages, conditional and/or temporal clauses are obligatorily marked for topic. Guambiano and, again, Yucatec are examples of this.

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[5] See, among others, Gundel (1988); Ziv (1994); Lambrecht (1994, 2001); and Anagnostopolou et al. (1997).

(21) Guambiano (Barbacoan)
      Kan   fiesta   ké-n-tr-ap   kə-pe-n
      one   fiesta   be-STAT-FUT-VN   be-TOP-2/3
      mar-əp   ment-ap-ik   kə-n   srúl
      do-VN   do-VN-PCP   be-2/3 armadillo
      'When there was going to be a fiesta, the armadillo got to work'
                                            (Vásquez de Ruiz 1988: 146)

(22) Yucatec (Mayan, Yucatecan)
      Wáah   túun   chi'-bal   a   nak'-e'
      if   PROG.SUBJUNCT.3   bite-DEAG   your   belly-TOP
      'If your belly hurts' (Christian Lehmann p.c.)

Further typological evidence for the sentence-topical status of conditional clauses is the fact that, like sentence topics, conditional clauses are overwhelmingly initial in languages, even if other positions are allowed in principle (Greenberg 1963: 84; Ford and Thompson 1986). Also, diachronic analysis reveals that topic markers often have their source in conditional markers, or vice versa (Traugott 1985). Examples of such cases are the Japanese topic marker *wa*, which, in Middle Japanese, also functioned as the conditional marker 'if', and the Korean topic marker *-n/-in/-nin/-nun*, which can also be used as a suffix on converbs to indicate conditionality:

(23) Japanese (Altaic, Japanese)

      a. Sakana   wa   tai   ga   i-i
          fish   TOP   red.snapper   SUBJ   good-PRES
          'Speaking of fish, the red snapper is the best' (Kuno 1978: 136)

      b. Ano   hito   wa   kane   ga   tak'san   aru
          this man   TOP   money   SUBJ   much   exist.PRES
          'This man has a lot of money' (Plaut 1904: 259)

(24) Middle Japanese (Altaic, Japanese)
      Wa-ga   seko   wa   kari-fo   tukura-su   kaya
      1SG-GEN husband   TOP   temporary-shelter   make-HON   grass
      naku   wa   ko   matu   ga   moto   no   kusa
      not.be   if,   small   pine   GEN   base   PRT   grass
      so   kara-sa-ne
      PRT   cut-HON-IMP
      'If you, my husband, have no grass with which to build your shelter, cut some grass from beneath young pines' (De Wolf 1987: 278)

(25)   KOREAN (Altaic, Korean)

    a. Tangsi   na-nun   Yengkwuk-ey   iss-ess-ta
       then   I-TOP   England-at   be-PAST-DECL
       'I was in England at that time' (Chang 1996: 121)

    b. Minca-nun   enni-ka   iss-ta
       M.-TOP   sister-NOM   be-DECL
       'Minca has an older sister' (Sohn 1994: 176)

(26)   KOREAN (Altaic, Korean)

    a. Megi-mje
       eat-CONV.SIM
       'While one eats' (Pultr 1960: 233)

    b. Megi-mje-n
       eat-CONV.SIM-if/TOP
       'If one eats' (Pultr 1960: 234)

In her cross-linguistic study on subordinate clauses, Cristofaro (2003) has established that, of all adverbial subordinate clauses, conditional clauses are the least likely to be deranked. What is more, in quite a few languages conditional clauses are encoded paratactically, that is, by way of constructions that are essentially coordinate. Haiman (1978) mentions Vietnamese, Cambodian, Mandarin, and a number of Papuan languages, and in my own data base I have found several additional cases. Even in languages like English and Dutch, which have the ability to construct subordinate conditional clauses, paratactic constructions with conditional meaning are possible (see Haiman 1983a). A selection of examples includes:

(27)   MANDARIN (Sino-Tibetan, Sinitic)
    Ta   kai-le   men,   ni   jiu   jin-qu
    3SG   open-PERF   door   2SG   then   enter-go
    '(If/when) s/he opens the door, you go in' (Li and Thompson 1981: 199)

(28)   VIETNAMESE (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer)
    Cò   tien,   thi   Giap   se   mua   cai   nha   ay
    be   money   then   G.   FUT   buy   CLASS   house   this
    '(If/when) (he) has money, Giap will buy this house'
                                (Van Chinh 1970: 165)

(29)   WHITE HMONG (Hmongic, Hmong-Mien)
    Yus   tsis   paub   yus   tsis   txhob   hais
    one   NEG   know   one   NEG   NEG.IMP   say
    '(If/when) one doesn't know, one doesn't say anything' (Jaisser 1995: 119)

(30) EASTERN KAYAH (Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Karen)
      Dʌ́   cwá   vɛ́   to,   vɛ́   cwá   to   to
      let   go   1SG   NEG   1SG   go   NEG   NEG
      '(If you) won't let me go, I won't go' (Solnit 1997: 329)

(31) KEIESE (Austronesian, East Indonesian)
      Doot,   oe-doek
      rain   1SG-stay
      '(If) it rains, I will stay' (Geurtjens 1921: 41)

(32) KOBON (Papuan, East Highlands)
      Yad   Dusin   ar-nab-in ,   nipe   kaj   al-öp   ñi-nab
      1SG   D.   go-FUT-1SG   3SG   pig   some   give-FUT.3SG
      '(When/if) I go to Dusin, he will give me some meat' (Davies 1981: 39)

(33) MEYAH (Papuan, West Papuan)
      Mei   em-en   gij   fob   beda   mei   os   ofom
      water   IRR-come   in   already   then   water   flatten   ripe
      '(If/when) the water comes, then the water will flatten the ripe ones'
                                                            (Gravelle 2004: 301)

(34) YUROK (Algonquian)
      Yo   cwegin,   nek   ʔo   hrgikwsrwrh
      she   talk   I   then   smile
      '(If/when) she talks, I smile' (Robins 1958: 103)

(35) TERIBE (Chibchan)
      Ëp   dguë-y;   p'irga   kégué   tan,   shärië-y   boyo
      corn   plant-1PL.INCL   then   old   already   make-1PL.INCL   boyo
      'We plant corn; then (if/when) (it is) ripe, we make boyo'
                                                            (Quesada 2000: 166)

(36) ENGLISH (Indo-European, West Germanic)
      a. Just say the word, and I'll come running to help you (own data)
      b. He does that and I'll fire him (Croft 2001: 328)
      c. Listen, sonny. This is the rule: you don't work, you don't get
          paid (own data)
      d. Nothing ventured, nothing gained (own data)
      e. Waste not, want not (own data)

(37) DUTCH (Indo-European, West Germanic)
      a. Geef   hem   een   vinger   en   hij   neemt   de   hele   hand
          give   him   a   finger   and   he   takes   the   whole   hand
          'If you give him a finger, he will take the whole hand' (proverb; own
          data)

b. Zeg   je   niks,   dan   doen   ze   wat   ze   willen
    say   you   nothing then   do   they   what   they   like
    'If you don't say anything, they will do what they like' (own data)

A 'reduction' of conditional clauses may, in languages like English and Dutch, even lead to paratactic conditionals that have the form of a noun phrase (see Culicover and Jackendoff 1997), as illustrated in (38) and (39).

(38) English (Indo-European, West Germanic)
      One more vacation in Rotterdam, and I'll file for a divorce (own data)

(39) Dutch (Indo-European, West Germanic)
      Twee   pils   en   mijn   kop   begint   (al)   te   draaien
      two   beer   and my   head starts   (already)   to   turn
      'Two beers is all it takes to make my head start spinning' (*lit.* 'Two beers and my head starts spinning') (own data)

Reviewing the above, one might venture the hypothesis that phrasal sentence topics such as are present in Topic Possessives are – by way of some poorly understood rules of ellipsis – the 'remnants' of topical (existential) clauses, and that these clauses are either coordinated to the sentence nucleus, or have a low degree of subordination, such as conditionals. This, then, is exactly what is claimed by the derivation of Topic Possessives given above.

13.6 Potential ambiguity and the Have-Possessive

In Chapter 11 I demonstrated at length that languages with a standard Topic Possessive have a split configuration among their options in the encoding of predicate-nominal and predicate-locative sentences. I have suggested in Section 3.3 that this split status prevents these languages from having a possessive construction that is potentially ambiguous. That is, in these languages, the locative/existential *be*-verb can never be confused with the nominal copula, and hence the two constructions can always be told apart. Examples of this situation are White Hmong, which has a full-split configuration, and Tondano, a language with a zero-split configuration.

(40) White Hmong (Austro-Asiatic, Hmong)
      Koj   puas   muaj   ib   lub   tsheb
      2SG   Q   exist   one   CLASS   car
      'Do you have a car?' (Jaisser 1995: 107)

(41)   WHITE HMONG (Austro-Asiatic, Hmong)

    a. Nws yog ib tug xib fwb
       3SG COP one CLASS teacher
       'S/he is a teacher' (Jaisser 1995: 136)

    b. Muaj tsawg lub tsev yug npua
       exist few CLASS house raise pig
       'There are few families who raise pigs' (Jaisser 1995: 114)

(42)   TONDANO (Austronesian, Philippine)
    Si tuama si wewean wale rua
    AN.SG man TOP exist house two
    'The man has two houses' (Sneddon 1975: 175)

(43)   TONDANO (Austronesian, Philippine)

    a. N-Toudano m-banua wangko?
       INAN-T. INAN-village big
       'Tondano is a big town' (Sneddon 1975: 85)

    b. Wewean pasar witu m-banua
       be.at market LOC INAN-village
       'There is a market in the village' (Sneddon 1975: 174)

However, potential ambiguity arises in balancing languages which have share-configurations. Depending on whether this configuration is zero-share or full-share, the surface structure to be derived from the underlying structure (2) will be either (44) or (45), and such structures are, in principle, ambiguous between a possessive predication and a predication of class membership.

(44)   [PR]   [PE]

(45)   [PR]   [BE/COP PE]

In Chapter 3, I presented various different ways in which languages appear to counter this 'threat' of potential ambiguity. Firstly, there are languages which are 'saved' by the concomitant phenomenon of possessor-indexing on the possessee; the absence of such marking in the predicate nominal construction is presumably sufficient to create a structural difference between the two constructions. Examples are:

(46)   KILIVILA (Austronesian, West Oceanic)

    a. Minana bunukwa
       this pig
       'This is a pig' (Senft 1986: 76)

    b. Motaesa   ala   bulumakau
       M.   his   cow
       'Motaesa has a cow' (Gunter Senft p.c.)

(47) Yurakaré (Yurakaré)

    a. Arsenio   poropesor
       A.   teacher
       'Arsenio is a teacher' (Rik van Gijn p.c.)

    b. Shunňe   a-sìbë
       man   3sg.poss-house
       'The man has a house' (Rik Van Gijn p.c.)

Secondly, languages may create a structural difference between the two constructions by adding temporal adverbs or sentential conjunctions to the possessive construction (see Section 3.4). These Conjunctional Possessives provide strong evidence for the claim that they, and Topic Possessives in general, are derived from an underlying structure like (2). That is, if we assume that the underlying structure of Topic Possessives is basically a coordination of two (existential) clauses, we can assume that Conjunctional Possessives are cases in which coordinative aspects of this underlying structure have been lexicalized. In other words, assuming an underlying structure of the form (2) enables us to explain the curious occurrence of Conjunctional Possessives, whereas other assumptions about this underlying structure reduce the occurrence of this type of non-standard Topic Possessive to a 'freak accident'. Examples of Conjunctional Possessives, and their contrasting predicate nominal constructions, are from Asmat and Canela-Krâho. This latter language is especially revealing, as the item *mã* in the possessive construction can be identified as the coordinative element 'and' in different-subject sequences (see sentence (49c)). Thus, the possessive construction in Canela-Krâho provides direct evidence for the derivation which I have outlined above for balancing languages with zero-encoding.

(48) Asmat (Papuan, Central and South)

    a. No   ow   akat
       1sg   man   handsome
       'I am a handsome man' (Voorhoeve 1965: 168)

    b. Ndo   tsjem   eptsjom
       1sg   house   too
       'I have a house' (Drabbe 1963: 70)

(49) Canela-Krâho (Macro-Gê-Bororo, Gê)

a. Ata-jê   ahkrare
    DEM-PL   children
    'These are children' (Popjes and Popjes 1986: 134)

b. Capi   mã   catoc
    C.   and   gun
    'Capi has a gun' (Popjes and Popjes 1986: 135)

c. a-te   po   curan   mã   Capi   apu   cuku
    2SG-PAST deer   kill   and.DS C.   CONT   eat
    'You killed a deer and Capi ate it' (Popjes and Popjes 1986: 147)

Thirdly, a considerable number of balancing share-languages choose the option of 'denying the problem': they leave ambiguity as it is, and leave its solution up to extra-linguistic knowledge. A few examples from the full presentation given in Section 3.3 are repeated here:

(50) Tiwi (Australian, Tiwi)

a. Purukuparli   marntina
    P.   boss
    'Purukuparli is boss' (Osborne 1974: 60)

b. Ngawa   mantani   teraka
    our   friend   wallaby
    'Our friend has a wallaby' (Osborne 1974: 60)

(51) Pima Bajo (Uto-Aztecan, Tepiman)

a. Huan   meester
    H.   professor
    'John is a professor' (Estrada Fernandez 1996: 29)

b. Aan   gook   iva   maamar
    1SG   two   also   child.PL
    'I also have two kids' (Estrada Fernandez 1996: 30)

(52) Mojave (Yuman)
    Hatčoq-n^y iʔar-č
    dog-DEM   tail-SUBJ
    'The dog has/ is(!) a tail' (Munro 1976: 272)

Now, my claim is that there is a fourth way to deal with potential ambiguity in balancing share-languages. This strategy of ambiguity avoidance is in fact the one that is selected most frequently in the languages at issue, and it consists in

the adoption of a Have-Possessive. In my view, the Have-Possessive can be seen as the most radical solution thinkable to the threat of potential ambiguity: instead of ignoring this threat, or countering it by adding disambiguating material to the possessive construction, languages with a Have-Possessive have, so to speak, 'given up on the whole thing'. In the foregoing chapters I have observed several times that the Have-Possessive can be seen as the 'odd one out' among the four basic possessive types: it is the only type that cannot be derived straightforwardly from the basic structure (2), in that it is not grounded in existential locative predication. My interpretation of this situation is that many balanced-share languages, when confronted with the potential ambiguity that their profile entails, have opted to abandon the existential/locative modelling of their possessive constructions altogether. Instead of basing themselves on the underlying structure (2), these languages resort to a construction type which is available anyway for the expression of temporary possession; in other words, the semantic range of the temporary possessive construction is expanded to include alienable possession as well. This temporary possessive construction can be shown to be prototypically transitive, and to be the 'natural habitat' of the Have-Possessive. It will be recalled that in Section 2.6 I stated the following cross-linguistic tendency about the distribution of Have-Possessives:

(53)   THE UNIVERSAL OF HAVE-POSSESSIVES
       If a language employs a Have-Possessive for the encoding of alienable possession, it will employ a Have-Possessive for the encoding of temporary possession.

In other words, my claim is that Have-Possessive encoding for alienable possession is to be seen as a case of 'take-over' by an encoding strategy that is available – and even iconic – for a bordering subdomain in the cognitive space of possession, and that the motivation for this take-over is the avoidance of potential ambiguity.[6]

It can be pointed out that an analysis of Have-Possessive encoding in terms of 'strategy take-over' may help us to find an explanation for a number of curious facts about this encoding type. First, we have seen in Section 6.5 that the three existentially-based possessive types all show a tendency among some of their members to be reanalysed as a transitive construction, but that the

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[6] I should point out here that this analysis of Have Possessive encoding in terms of ambiguity avoidance and take over by temporary possession only holds for 'hard' cases of the Have Possessive, that is, for cases in which the *have* verb has its origin in a verb that meant (or still means) 'to grasp', 'to hold', 'to carry', or the like. For Have Possessives that are the result of borrowing, or the result of Have Drift, other motivations are applicable.

reverse reanalysis never seems to occur. That is, whereas there is such a process of Have-Drift, no cases are known in which an erstwhile Have-Possessive drifts into the direction of a Locational Possessive, a With-Possessive, or a Topic Possessive. I have suggested in Section 6.5 that this asymmetry may be due to the fact that reanalysis from Have-Possessives would require diachronic operations for which no independent evidence can be attested, whereas Have-Drift from Topic Possessives or With-Possessives is based on reanalysis operations that are widely applicable in all sorts of constructions. To this suggestion I can now add the consideration that, for balanced-share languages, the Have-Possessive is already the result of a 're-orientation'. Languages that have opted to encode their possessive construction in a form that is not based on existential predication have done so for a good reason, and for them there would be no gain in reanalysing their Have-Possessives in a direction that they have chosen to avoid in the first place.[7]

Secondly, we have noted in Section 7.2 that, in contrast to other possessive types, Have-Possessives appear to be restricted to smaller linguistic areas, but that these areas are distributed all over the globe. As I see it, these areal facts go well with an underlying motivation of ambiguity avoidance for

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[7] Although Have Possessives never drift towards existentially based possessive types, *have* encoding may in some languages 'encroach' upon the domain of existence encoding, in that an impersonal form of the *have* verb may come to be used as the main predicative item in existential constructions. The best known cases of this 'spreading' of the Have Possessive are the existential constructions in Romance languages such as French and Spanish, but the phenomenon occurs in a variety of genetically and areally unrelated languages (see Heine and Kuteva 2002: 241 2). Examples are:

(i)   MODERN GREEK (Indo European, Hellenic)
      Exi   exinus   s   ti   thalasa   edo
      it.has   urchins.ACC.PL in   ART   sea   here
      'There are sea urchins in the sea here' (Joseph and Philippaki Warburton 1987: 36)

(ii) ALBANIAN (Indo European, Albanian)
      Në   dimen   ka   borë
      in   winter it.has   snow.ACC
      'In winter there is snow' (Mann 1932: 51)

(iii) WOLOF (Niger Kordofanian, West Atlantic)
      Am   na   safara   fi
      have   it   fire   here
      'There is fire here' (Rambaud 1903: 45)

(iv) PALIKUR (Arawakan, Eastern Maipuran)
      Kadahan   kasis   ay
      have   ant   here
      'There are ants here' (Launey 2003: 58)

(v)   TOK PISIN (English based Creole)
      I   gat   pukpuk   long   dispela   wara
      it   have   crocodile   LOC   this   river
      'There are crocodiles in this river' (Mühlhäusler 1984: 363)

Have-Possessives. The condition under which a 'switch' to a Have-Possessive is appropriate – that is, a balanced-share language profile – may occur at all places in the world, and may even arise in isolated cases. For one thing, languages may lose their case system, and a result of that may be that an erstwhile Locational Possessive becomes in danger of being potentially ambiguous. Furthermore, languages that had an erstwhile split configuration in nonverbal predicate encoding may become subjected to the diachronic processes of copularization or copula-intrusion (see Stassen 1997: 94–5 and 233–41), as a result of which a share-configuration comes to hold. All these diachronic processes can happen to individual languages, or to small groups of related languages, without affecting the larger area in which the languages at issue occur. Therefore, it is only to be expected that Have-Possessives, in their areal distribution, form a pattern that is less contiguous and more random than is the case for other major possessive types.

13.7 Conclusion

In this book, I have conducted a typological investigation into the encoding of predicative alienable possession. The exposition has been organized into three successive stages. First, I have established four basic types of possessive encoding. After that, I have argued that this four-way typology is correlated to options in two other grammatical domains, namely, temporal sequencing
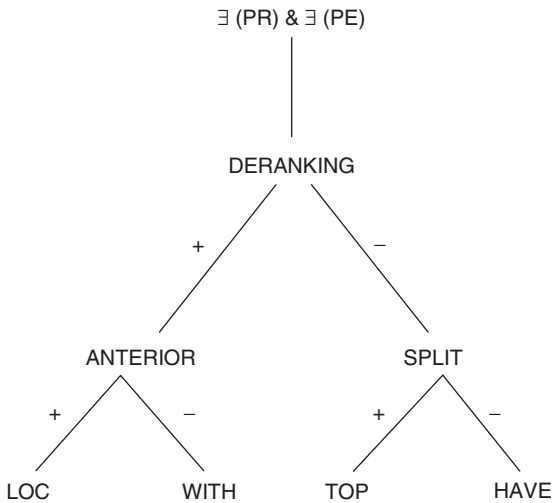
FIGURE 13.3 The flow chart of predicative possession encoding

and nonverbal predication. And finally, in the present chapter, I have suggested an explanatory framework that is meant to elucidate the reasons why the typology of predicative possession is the way it is, and why it should be correlated to parameters in other domains in the way it apparently is. The end result of the investigation can be represented in the flow chart in Figure 13.3. In this chart, I have restricted myself to the derivation of the standard form of the four basic possessive types; non-standard variants of the types are not accounted for.

I am aware that the argumentation which has led to the formulation of this flow chart is stronger and more convincing in some parts than in others. Nonetheless, I feel that there is ample evidence to hold that the cross-linguistic variation in the encoding of predicative possession is not random, and that it is restricted by factors that have to do with structural properties of human language. At the end of his book on possession, Heine (1997: 239) states as his conclusion that 'any attempt at setting up one single universal structure of predicative possession, to account for all the morphosyntactic variation to be found in the languages of the world, is doomed to failure'. The present book can be seen as an argument in favour of the position that Heine's assessment of the situation may just be too pessimistic.

Appendix A
Alphabetical listing of the sample

This appendix lists the sampled languages in alphabetical order. For each language the consulted sources are mentioned. Furthermore, I have indicated the area in which the language is spoken. This indication is rather rough: for exact information the reader is referred to Moseley & Asher (1994).

	Language	Area
1.	ABKHAZ	North West Caucasus
	Hewitt (1979), Hewitt (1987)	
2.	ABUN	Bird's Head Peninsula (Irian Jaya)
	Berry & Berry (1999)	
3.	ACEHNESE	Northern Sumatra
	Durie (1985)	
4.	ACHOLI	Sudan, Uganda
	Kitching (1932), Crazzolara (1955)	
5.	AGHU	South East Irian Jaya
	Drabbe (1957)	
6.	AINU	Northern Japan
	Refsing (1986), Tamura (2000)	
7.	AKAN	Southern Ghana
	Christaller (1875), Ellis & Boadi (1969), Boakye (1990)	
8.	ALABAMA	West Texas (formerly Alabama)
	Lupardus (1983)	
9.	ALAMBLAK	Sepik Hill (Papua New Guinea)
	Bruce (1984)	
10.	ALBANIAN	Albania
	Mann (1932), Lambertz (1959), Kacori (1979)	
11.	ALEUT	Aleut Islands, Western Alaska
	Geoghegan (1944), Bergsland (1997)	
12.	AMARAKAERI	East Peru
	Helberg Chavez (1984)	
13.	AMELE	North East Papua New Guinea
	Roberts (1987)	

14. AMHARIC   Central Ethiopia
    Cohen (1936), Hartmann (1980)

15. ANDOKE   East Colombia
    Landaburu (1979)

16. ANYWA   South Sudan, Ethiopia
    Reh (1996)

17. APALAI   Northern Amazonia (Brazil)
    Koehn & Koehn (1986)

18. APURIŇA   East Amazonas (Brazil)
    Facundes (2000)

19. ARABIC (Cairene)   Egypt
    Gary & Gamal Eldin (1982)

20. ARABIC (Classical)   Arabia
    Comrie (1981), Cees Versteegh, p.c.

21. ARCHI   Dagestan (Caucasus)
    Dirr (1928), Aleksandr Kibrik (p.c.)

22. ARLENG ALAM   Assam (North East India)
    Grierson (1903), Grüssner (1978)

23. ARMENIAN (Classical)   Armenia
    Meillet (1936), Jensen (1959), Benveniste (1960), Godel (1975)

24. ARRERNTE   New South Wales (Australia)
    Strehlow (1944), Holmer (1963), Wilkins (1989)

25. ASMAT   Southern coast Irian Jaya
    Drabbe (1963), Voorhoeve (1965)

26. AVAR   Dagestan (Caucasus)
    Von Erckert (1895), Kalinina (1993)

27. AWTUW   Sepik area (N.W. Papua New Guinea)
    Feldman (1986)

28. AYMARA   Bolivia
    De Torres Rubio (1966), Deza Galindo (1982), Huayhua Pari (2001)

29. BABUNGO   Cameroon
    Schaub (1985)

30. BĀGANDJI   New South Wales (Australia)
    Hercus (1976), Hercus (1982)

31. BAHASA INDONESIA   Indonesian archipelago
    Kähler (1965), Kwee (1965), Steinhauer (2001)

32. BAMBARA   Senegal, Mali, Burkina Fasso
    Bird & Kante (1976)

33. BANDA   Central African Republic
    Tisserant (1930), Cloarec Heiss (1986)

34. BANGGAI   Central Celebes (Indonesia)
    Van Den Bergh (1953)

35. BARASANO   South East Colombia
    Jones & Jones (1991)

36. BASQUE   Northern Spain, South West France
    Gavel (1929), Lafitte (1944), Saltarelli (1988), Cristofaro (2005b)

37. BAURE   North East Bolivia
    Baptista & Wallin (1967), Swintha Danielsen, p.c.

38. BEDAWI   North East Sudan
    Reinisch (1893, II)

39. BELLA COOLA   Coast of British Columbia (Canada)
    Nater (1984)

40. BILIN   Ethiopia, Eritrea
    Reinisch (1882), Tucker & Bryan ((1966)

41. BILOXI   Mississippi, Louisiana
    Dorsey & Swanton (1912), Einaudi (1976)

42. BININJ GUN WOK   Northern Territory (Australia)
    Oates (1964), Evans (2003)

43. BIROM   North Nigeria
    Bouquiaux (1970)

44. BLACKFOOT   Alberta, Montana, Saskatchewan
    Uhlenbeck (1938), Taylor (1969), Frantz (1971)

45. BONGO   Southern Sudan
    Santandrea (1963)

46. BORORO   South West Brazil
    Crowell (1979)

47. BRETON   Brittany (France)
    Locker (1954), Lewis & Pedersen (1961), Ternes (1970), Press (1986)

48. BRIBRI   Costa Rica, Panama
    Pittier de Fabrega (1898), Lehmann (1920)

49. BULI   West Halmahera (Indonesia)
    Maan (1951)

50. BURMESE   Burma
    Stewart (1955), Cornyn & Roop (1967), Okell (1969)

51. BURUSHASKI   North Pakistan
    Lorimer (1935)

52. CAMBODIAN   Cambodia
    Huffman (1967), Jacob (1968)
53. CAR   Nicobar Islands
    Braine (1970)
54. CANELA KRÂHO   North Central Brazil
    Popjes & Popjes (1986)
55. CANTONESE   South East China
    Matthews & Yip (1994)
56. CARIB (Surinam)   Southern Surinam
    Hoff (1968)
57. CEBUANO   Cebu (Philippines)
    Wolff (1967)
58. CHACOBO   Bolivia
    Prost (1962), Prost (1967)
59. CHAMORRO   Guam
    Topping (1973), Cooreman (1987), Ann Cooreman (p.c.)
60. CHATINO (Yaitepec)   Southern Mexico
    Rasch (2002)
61. CHECHEN   Chechenia (Caucasus)
    Dirr (1928), Nichols (1994)
62. CHEMEHUEVI   Southern California, Arizona
    Press (1974)
63. CHINANTEC (Comaltepec)   Southern Mexico
    J.L. Anderson (1979)
64. CHINANTEC (Sochiapan)   Southern Mexico
    Foris (2000)
65. CHOCTAW   Oklahoma (formerly Alabama)
    Nicklas (1974), Todd (1975)
66. CHONTAL (Highland)   Southern Mexico
    Turner (1966)
67. CHUKCHI   Kamchatka (North East Siberia)
    Bogoras (1922), Comrie (1981), Hopper & Thompson (1984), V.P. Nedjalkov (p.c.),
    Maria Koptjevskaja Tamm (p.c.).
68. COEUR D'ALENE   Idaho
    Reichard (1938)
69. COMANCHE   Western Oklahoma
    Ormsbee Charney (1993)
70. COPTIC   South Egypt, Ethiopia
    Mallon (1926)

71. CORA   Northern Mexico
    Casad (1984)

72. CORNISH   England (Cornwall)
    Lewis & Pedersen (1961), Wmmfre (1998)

73. CREE (Plains)   Southern Canada, Montana
    Ahekanew (1987), Dahstrom (1991)

74. CROW   Montana, Wyoming
    Lowie (1941)

75. CUPEŇO   Southern California
    J. Hill (1966)

76. CZECH   Czechia
    Lee & Lee (1986)

77. DAFLĀ   Assam (North East India)
    Grierson (1909)

78. DAGA   South East Papua New Guinea
    Murane (1974)

79. DAGBANE   Ghana, Togo
    Fisch (1912), Olawsky (1999)

80. DAMANA   Colombia
    Trillos Amaya (1999)

81. DEG XINAG   Alaska
    Chapman & Kari (1981)

82. DHOLUO   Kenya
    Tucker (1994)

83. DINKA   Sudan, Ethiopia
    Nebel (1948)

84. DIYARI   South Australia
    Austin (1981)

85. DUALA   Cameroon
    Ittmann (1939)

86. DUMAKI   Northern Pakistan
    Lorimer (1939)

87. DUTCH   The Netherlands, Northern Belgium
    own data

88. EMBERA   Panama, Colombia
    Aguirre Licht (1999)

89. ENGLISH   British Isles, North America, Australia, New
    own data   Zealand, South Africa

90. EPENA PEDEE   South West Colombia
    Harms (1994)

91. ESE EJJA   Northern Bolivia, Peru
    Shoemaker & Shoemaker (1967)

92. ESTONIAN   Estonia
    Oinas (1966), Lehiste (1972)

93. EVEN   West Siberia, East Siberia
    Benzing (1955)

94. EVENKI   East Siberia
    Nedjalkov (1997), Andrej Malchukov (p.c.)

95. FEHAN TETUN   Timor (Indonesia)
    Van Klinken (1999)

96. FIJIAN   Fiji
    Churchward (1941), Milner (1956), Schütz (1985)

97. FINNISH   Finland
    Karlsson 1983

98. FONGBE   Benin
    Delafosse (1894), Lefebvre & Brousseau (2002)

99. FRENCH   France, Switzerland, Canada, Southern Belgium
    Bergmans (1982), own data

100. FULANI   Sahel territory
    Westermann (1909), Taylor (1923), Labouret (1952), Swift et al. (1965)

101. GAAGUDJU   Northern Territory (Australia)
    Harvey (2002)

102. GAELIC (Scots)   Scotland
    Anderson (1909 1910), Mackinnon (1977)

103. GALELA   Northern Halmahera (Moluccas, Indonesia)
    van Baarda (1908)

104. GARO   West Assam (India)
    Burling (1961)

105. GEORGIAN   Georgia (Caucasus)
    Vogt (1936), Deeters (1954), Boeder (1979), Boeder (1980), Hewitt (1987), Nino
    Amiridze (p.c.).

106. GIDABAL   New South Wales (Australia)
    Geytenbeek & Geytenbeek (1971)

107. GOAJIRO   Northern Venezuela
    Holmer (1949), Mansen & Mansen (1976)

108. GODOBERI   Dagestan (Caucasus)
    A.E. Kibrik, ed. (1995)

109. GOONIYANDI   Western Australia
     McGregor (1990)

110. GOTHIC   Balkan area (South East Europe)
     Wright (1964), Mosse (1956), Hempel (1962)

111. GREBO   Liberia, Ivory Coast
     Innes (1966)

112. GREEK (Ancient)   Greece
     Schwartz & Slijper (1936), van Oppenraay (1938), Humbert (1972), Kahn (1973),
     Nuchelmans (1985)

113. GREEK (Modern)   Greece
     Joseph & Philippaki Warburton (1987)

114. GUAJAJARA   Maranhao State (Brazil)
     Bendor Samuel (1972), Harrison (1986)

115. GUAMBIANO   Central Colombia
     Vásquez de Ruiz (1988)

116. GUANANO   Colombia, North West Brazil
     N. Waltz (1976), C. Waltz (1977)

117. GUARANÍ (Paraguayan)   Paraguay
     Gregores & Suárez (1967), Krivoshein de Canese (1983), Velazquez Castillo (1996)

118. GUMBAINGGIR   New South Wales (Australia)
     Smythe (1948), Eades (1979)

119. HAIDA   Coast Britiosh Columbia (Canada)
     Swanton (1911b), Levine (1977), Enrico (2003)

120. HAITIAN CREOLE   Haiti
     Hall (1953)

121. HALKOMELEM   South West British Columbia (Canada)
     Suttles (2004)

122. HAUSA   Northern Nigeria, Sahel
     Abraham (1941), Kraft & Kirk Greene (1973), Cowan & Schuh (1976), Wolff
     (1993), Newman (2000)

123. HDI   Northern Cameroon, Nigeria
     Frajzyngier (2001)

124. HEBREW (Biblical)   Palestine
     Lambdin (1971), Wim Delsman (p.c.)

125. HEBREW (Modern)   Israel
     Glinert (1989)

126. HINDI   Northern and Central India
     McGregor (1977), Freeze (1992)

127. HITTITE   North Central Anatolia
     Friedrich (1960), Luraghi (1997), Silvia Luraghi (p.c.)

128. HIXKARYANA   Northern Brazil
     Derbyshire (1979)

129. HMONG (White)   South West China
     Jaisser (1995)

130. HOPI   North East Arizona
     Langacker (1977a)

131. HUICHOL   Northern Mexico
     Grimes (1964), Langacker (1977a)

132. HUITOTO   East Peru, Colombia
     Minor, Minor & Levinsohn (1982)

133. HUNGARIAN   Hungary
     Nagy (1929), Hall (1938), Biermann (1985), Kenesei et al. (1998)

134. HUNZIB   Dagestan (Caucasus)
     Van Den Berg (1995)

135. ICARI DARGWA   Dagestan (Caucasus)
     Sumbatova & Mulatov (2003)

136. IGBO   South East Nigeria
     Spencer (1924), Ward (1936), Carrell (1970), Welmers (1973)

137. ILOCANO   Northern Philippines
     Rubino (1997)

138. IRISH (Modern)   Ireland
     Lewis & Pedersen (1961), Greene (1966), O Siadhail (1989)

139. ITELMEN   Kamchatka, North East Siberia
     Georg & Volodin (1999)

140. ITZAJ MAYA   Guatemala
     Hofling (2000)

141. JACALTEC   Guatemala
     Day (1973), Craig (1977)

142. JAPANESE   Japan
     Plaut (1904), Makino (1968), Martin (1975), Kuno (1978), Hinds (1986),
     De Wolf (1987)

143. JAQARU   Peru
     Hardman (1966), Hardman (2000)

144. JARAWARA   Amazonas (Brazil)
     Dixon (2004)

145. JINGULU   Northern Territory (Australia)
     Pensalfini (2003)

146. KABARDIAN   North West Caucasus
     Colarusso (1992)

147. KABYLE   Algeria
     Basset (1887), Hanoteau (1906), Naït Zerrad (2001)

148. KAINGANG   South East Brazil
     Henry (1935), Wiesemann (1972)

149. KALISPEL   Washington State, Montana, Idaho (USA)
     Vogt (1940)

150. KAMASS   North West Siberia
     Künnap 1999

151. KANNADA   Karnataka (S.E. India)
     McCormack (1966), Schiffman (1984), Sridhar (1990)

152. KANURI   Northern Nigeria, Niger
     Lukas (1937), Cyffer (1974), Hutchison (1976)

153. KAPAU   Gulf Province, Papua New Guinea
     Oates & Oates (1968)

154. KAPAUKU EKAGI   Wissel Lakes (West Irian Jaya)
     Steltenpool & van der Stap (1950), Drabbe (1952)

155. KAROK   North West California
     Bright (1957)

156. KÂTE   Huon Peninsula (Papua New Guinea)
     Pilhofer (1933)

157. KAWAIISU   Southern California
     Zigmond, Booth & Munro (1991)

158. KAYAH (Eastern)   Northern Burma
     Solnit (1997)

159. KAYARDILD   Queensland (Australia)
     Evans (1995)

160. KET   West Siberia
     Donner (1955), Comrie (1981), Werner (1997), Vajda (2004)

161. KHALKHA   Mongolia
     Poppe (1951), Street (1963), Bosson (1964), Vietze (1974)

162. KHAM   Nepal
     Watters (2002)

163. KHASI   Northern Assam (India)
     Roberts (1891), Rabel (1961)

164. KILIVILA   Tobriand Islands (Melanesia)
     Senft (1986)

165. KIOWA   Oklahoma, Northern Mexico
     Watkins (1980)

166. KOASATI   Louisiana, Texas
     Kimball (1975)

167. KOBON   East Central Highlands (Papua New Guinea)
     Davies (1980)

168. KOIARI   South East Papua New Guinea
     Dutton (1996)

169. KONKANI   South West India
     Almeida (1985)

170. KORANKO   Sierra Leone
     Kastenholz (1987)

171. KOREAN   Korea
     Pultr (1960), Ramstedt (1968), Lizotte (1983), Sohn (1994), Chang (1996)

172. KOREGUAJE   North West Colombia
     Cook & Criswell (1993)

173. KOROMFE   Burkina Fasso
     Rennison (1997)

174. KOROWAI   Southern Irian Jaya
     Van Enk & De Vries (1997)

175. KORYAK   Kamchatka, North East Siberia
     Alla Maltseva (p.c.)

176. KPELLE   Liberia, Guinea
     Welmers (1973)

177. KRONGO   North Sudan
     Reh (1985)

178. KUKÚ   Southern Sudan
     Cohen (2000)

179. KUNAMA   West Eritrea
     Reinisch (1881)

180. KURKU   N.W. Madhya Pradesh (North Central India)
     Drake (1903)

181. KWAIO   Malaita Island (Solomons Islands)
     Keesing (1985)

182. KWAKWALA   Coast of British Columbia (Canada)
     Boas (1911), Boas (1947)

183. LADAKHI   Western Tibet
     Grierson (1909)

184. LAHU   Burma, China, Thailand, Laos
     Matisoff (1973)

185. LAKOTA   North Dakota, South Dakota
     Riggs (1851), Buechel (1939), Boas & Deloria (1941), Ingham (2003)

186. LATIN (Classical)   Italy
     Kühner (1898), Locker (1954), Benveniste (1960), Löfstedt (1963), Troll (1975),
     Bolkestein (1983)

187. LATVIAN   Latvia
     Endzelin (1922), Budiņa Lazdiņa (1966)

188. LAZ   Georgia (Caucasus), N.E. Turkey
     Holisky (1989)

189. LEPCHA   Bhutan, Nepal
     Grierson (1909)

190. LEZGIAN   Dagestan (Caucasus)
     Haspelmath (1993)

191. LILLOET   British Columbia (Canada)
     van Eijk (1985), van Eijk (1997)

192. LIMBU   Nepal, Bhutan
     Grierson (1909), Van Driem (1987)

193. LIMILNGAN   Northern Territory (Australia)
     Harvey (2001)

194. LISU   West Thailand
     Hope (1974)

195. LITHUANIAN   Lithuania
     Senn (1929), Senn (1966), Mathiassen (1996)

196. LOKONO   Surinam, Guyana
     Pet (1987)

197. LONGARIM   South Sudan
     Tucker & Bryan (1966)

198. LONIU   Manus Island (Admiralty Islands, Melanesia)
     Hamel (1985)

199. LUGANDA   Uganda
     Ashton et al. (1954)

200. LUISEŇO   Southern California
     Kroeber & Grace (1960), Hyde (1971), Langacker (1977a), Steele (1977)

201. LUMMI/STRAITS SALISH   Coast of British Columbia (Canada)
     Beaumont (1985), Montler (1986), Jelinek (1998)

202. LUSHAI   Mizoram (N.E. India), Northern Burma
     Lorrain & Savidge (1898)

203. LUSHOOTSEED　　　　　　Washington State
　　　Hess & Hilbert (1980), Kroeber (1999)

204. MAASAI　　　　　　　　South Kenya, North Tanzania
　　　Tucker & Mpaayei (1955)

205. MA'DI　　　　　　　　　Northern Uganda
　　　Blackings & Fabb (2003)

206. MADURESE　　　　　　　Madura, East Java (Indonesia)
　　　Davies (1999)

207. MAIDU　　　　　　　　　Central California
　　　Dixon (1911), Shipley (1963)

208. MALAGASY　　　　　　　Madagascar
　　　Malzac (1960), Dez (1980), Ed Keenan (p.c.)

209. MALAYALAM　　　　　　Kerala (S.W. India)
　　　Asher & Kumari (1997)

210. MALINKE　　　　　　　　Guinea, Sierra Leone
　　　Steinthal (1867), Delafosse (1929), Labouret (1934)

211. MALTESE　　　　　　　　Malta
　　　Comrie (1981/1989)

212. MAMVU　　　　　　　　　North East Congo
　　　Vorbichler (1971)

213. MANAM　　　　　　　　　Manam Island (North Coast Papua
　　　Lichtenberk (1983)　　　　New Guinea)

214. MANCHU　　　　　　　　Manchuria
　　　Adam (1873), Haenisch (1961)

215. MANDARIN　　　　　　　Northern and Central China
　　　Li & Thompson (1981), Shi (2004)

216. MANGAP MBULA　　　　Papua New Guinea
　　　Bugenhagen (1995)

217. MANGGHUER　　　　　　Southern China
　　　Slater (2003)

218. MAORI　　　　　　　　　New Zealand
　　　Rere (1965), Krupa (1968), Chung (1978), Bauer (1993)

219. MAPUDUNGUN　　　　　Central Chile
　　　De Augusta (1903), Smeets (1989), Zuñiga (2000)

220. MARGI　　　　　　　　　North East Nigeria
　　　Hoffmann (1963)

221. MATSÉS　　　　　　　　　Peru
　　　Fleck (2003)

222. MAUNG   Coburg Peninsula (N.W. Australia)
     Capell & Hinch (1970)

223. MBAY   Chad, Central African Republic
     Keegan (1994)

224. MEITHEI   Manipur (N.E. India)
     Grierson (1904), Chelliah (1997)

225. MENOMINI   Wisconsin
     Bloomfield (1962)

226. MEYAH   Bird's Head Peninsula, Irian Jaya
     Gravelle (2004)

227. MISKITO   North Nicaragua
     Conzemius (1929), Anonymous (1985)

228. MIWOK   Northern California
     Freeland (1951), Broadbent (1964)

229. MIXTEC (Chalcatongo)   South Mexico
     Macaulay (1996)

230. MOCOVÍ   Northern Argentina
     Grondona (1998)

231. MOHAWK   Ontario, Quebec
     Marianne Mithun (p.c.)

232. MOJAVE   Southern California, Arizona
     Munro (1976)

233. MOKILESE   Mokil (Micronesia)
     Harrison (1976)

234. MONGOLIAN (Written)   Mongolia
     Poppe (1954), Grönbech & Krueger (1955)

235. MONUMBO   Madang Province (Papua New Guinea)
     Vormann & Scharfenberger (1914)

236. MOORE   Burkina Fasso, Ghana
     Froger (1923)

237. MORDVIN (Erza)   Central East Russia
     Wiedemann (1865), Collinder (1957), Zaicz (1998)

238. MOSETÉN   East Bolivia
     Sakel (2004)

239. MOTU   Port Moresby (Papua New Guinea)
     Lister Turner & Clark (1930), Wurm & Harris (1963), Dutton & Voorhoeve (1974)

240. MOVIMA   North East Bolivia
     Haude (2006)

241. MUNDANG   Chad, Cameroon
     Elders (2000)

242. MUNDARI   East India
     Hoffmann (1903), Langendoen (1967)

243. NABAK   Moribe Province (Papua New Guinea)
     Fabian, Fabian & Waters (1998)

244. NAHUATL (Michoacán)   Michoacán (Mexico)
     Sischo (1979)

245. NAHUATL (Tetelcingo)   Morelos (Mexico)
     Tuggy (1979)

246. NAMA   South Namibia
     Planert (1905), Olpp (1964), Hagman (1977), Heine (1997)

247. NANDI   Kenya
     Creider & Creider (1989)

248. NASIOI   Bougainville (Melanesia)
     Hurd & Hurd (1966), Foley (1986)

249. NAVAJO   Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Colorado(USA)
     Reichard (1953), Goossen (1967), Young & Morgan (1980)

250. NENETS   North West Siberia
     Collinder (1957), Hajdъ (1963), Dйcsy (1966),

251. NEPALI   Nepal
     Clark (1966)

252. NEVOME   Arizona, Northern Mexico
     Shaul (1982),

253. NEWARI (Classical)   Central Nepal
     Jorgensen (1941)

254. NEZ PERCE   Idaho, Washington, Oregon
     Aoki (1970), Rude (1985)

255. NGBAKA   Central African Republic, Congo
     Thomas (1963)

256. NIVKH   Sakhalin Island (N.E. Siberia)
     Gruzdeva (1998)

257. NKORE KIGA   West Uganda
     Taylor (1985)

258. NOBIIN   Northern Sudan
     Werner (1987)

259. NOMATSIGUENGA   East Peru
     Wise (1971)

260. NOON   Senegal
     Soukka (2000)

261. NOOTKA   Vancouver Island (Canada)
     Nakayama (2002)

262. NORWEGIAN   Norway
     Pål Kristian Eriksen (p.c.).

263. NUBIAN (Kenuz)   North Central Sudan
     Reinisch (1879), Armbruster (1965)

264. NYULNYUL   Western Australia
     McGregor (1996), McGregor (2001)

265. OJIBWA   Ontario (Canada)
     Bloomfield (1956), Todd (1970), Valentine (2001)

266. OKANAGAN   South Central British Columbia (Canada)
     Mattina (1996), Kroeber (1999)

267. OMIE   South West Papua New Guinea
     Austing & Upia (1975)

268. ONA ŠELKNAM   Tierra del Fuego (Argentina/Chile)
     Tonelli (1923)

269. ONEIDA   Ontario, New York, Wisconsin
     Lounsbury (1953), Abbott (2000)

270. ORMURI   Afghanistan, North West Pakistan
     Grierson (1921)

271. OROMO   Ethiopia
     Hodson & Walker (1922), Owens (1985)

272. OTOMI (Mezquitlan)   Central Mexico
     Hess (1968)

273. PAEZ   Central Andes, Colombia
     Gerdel & Slocum (1976)

274. PAIUTE (Northern)   Oregon, Idaho, Nevada
     Langacker (1977a), Snapp, Anderson & Anderson (1982)

275. PAIWAN   Taiwan
     Egli (1990)

276. PALAUAN   Palau Islands (Melanesia)
     Josephs (1975)

277. PALIKUR   North East Brazil, French Guyana
     Launey (2003)

278. PAPAGO   Arizona, Northern Mexico
     Saxton & Saxton (1969), Saxton (1982), Zepeda (1983)

279. PAPIAMENTO   Aruba, Bonaire, Curacao
     Goilo (1951)

280. PARJI   Madhya Pradesh (North Central India)
     Burrow & Bhattacharya (1953)

281. PERSIAN (Modern)   Iran
     Lambton (1957), Lazard (1957), Mace (1962), Boyle (1966)

282. PERSIAN (Old)   Iran
     Reichelt (1909), Meilet & Benveniste (1931)

283. PILAGÁ   Northern Argentina
     Vidal (2001)

284. PIMA BAJO   Northern Mexico
     Estrada Fernandez (1996)

285. PIPIL   El Salvador
     Campbell (1985)

286. PIRAHÃ   Amazonas (Brazil)
     Everett (1986)

287. PIRO   Peru, West Brazil
     Matteson (1965)

288. PITJANTJATJARA   Western Australia
     Douglas (1959), Glass & Hackett (1970)

289. PITTA PITTA   Queensland (Australia)
     Blake (1979)

290. POKOT   Kenya
     Crazzolara (1978), Herreros Baroja (1989)

291. POPOLUCA (Sierra)   Central Mexico
     Elson (1960)

292. PURÉPECHA   Michoacán (Mexico)
     Foster (1969), Chamereau (2000)

293. QIANG   South West China
     LaPolla & Huang (2003)

294. QUECHUA (Cuzco)   Peru
     Von Tschudi (1884)

295. QUECHUA (Spoken Bolivian)   Central Bolivia
     Bills et al. (1968)

296. QUILEUTE   Washington State
     Andrade (1938)

297. RAMA   Nicaragua
     Colette Grinevald (p.c.)

298. RESIGARO   North East Peru
     Allin (1976)

299. RETUARA   South East Colombia
     Strom (1992)

300. ROTUMAN   Rotuma Island (Polynesia)
     Churchward (1940)

301. RUMANIAN   Rumania
Cazacu et al. (1967), Mallinson (1986)

302. RUSSIAN   Russia, Ukraine, Siberia, Central Asia
Chvany (1973), Maria Koptjevskaja Tamm (p.c.), Olga Krasnoukova (p.c.), Andrey Malchukov (p.c.).

303. SALIBA   North East Papua New Guinea
     Mosel (1994)

304. SAMOAN   Samoa
Marsack (1975), Chung (1978)

305. SANDAWE   Western Tanzania
     Dempwolff (1916)

306. SANGO   Central African Republic
Samarin (1967)

307. SANTALI   North East India
Neukom (2001)

308. SANUMA   North Brazil, South Venezuela
Borgman (1990)

309. SARCEE   Alberta (Canada)
Cook (1984)

310. SEDANG   Central Vietnam
Smith (1975)

311. SENECA   Ontario, New York, Oklahoma
Holmer (1954)

312. SENTANI   North East Irian Jaya
Cowan (1965)

313. SENUFO   Ivory Coast, Burkina Fasso, Mali
Chéron (1925)

314. SERBOCROAT   Serbia, Croatia
Petrovitch (1913), Lord (1958), Javarek & Sudjic (1963), Babic (1973), Hamm (1975)

315. SHILLUK   Southern Sudan
     Westermann (1912)

316. SHIPIBO KONIBO   Peru
Tessmann (1929), Valenzuela (2003)

317. SHONA   Zimbabwe, Zambia
     Fortune (1955)

318. SHOSHONE (Tümpisa)   South East California (USA)
     Dayley (1989)

319. SHOSHONE (Western)   Nevada, Idaho (USA)
     Crum & Dayley (1993)

320. SHUSWAP   East and Central British Columbia (Canada)
     Kuipers (1974), Kroeber (1999)

321. SIKKA   Flores (Indonesia)
     Arndt (1931)

322. SINHALESE   Sri Lanka
     Gair (1970)

323. SIUSLAW   Oregon
     Frachtenberg (1922b)

324. SLAVE   North West Canada
     Rice (1989)

325. SOMALI   Somalia
     Kirk (1905), Bell (1953), Serzisko (1984), Saeed (1999)

326. SONGHAY   Mali
     Hacquard & Dupuis (1897), Nicolaï & Zima (1997), Heath (1999)

327. SPANISH   Spain, Central and South America
     Van Dam (1943), Bouzet (1945), Ashcom & Goodall (1955), Masoliver et al. (1975),
     Comrie (1976), Givón (1979), Pountain (1985), Hengeveld (1986), Heine (1997),
     Max Kerkhof (p.c.)

328. SQUAMISH   British Columbia (Canada)
     Kuipers (1967)

329. SRANAN   Surinam
     Voorhoeve (1953), Donicie (1955)

330. SUNDANESE   Western Java
     Hardjadibrata (1985)

331. SUPYIRE   South Mali
     Carlson (1990), Carlson (1994)

332. SVAN   Georgia (Caucasus)
     Boeder (1980), Tuite (1997)

333. SWAHILI   East Africa
     Ashton (1944), Loogman (1965), Heine (1997)

334. TAGALOG   South Luzon (Philippines)
     Schachter & Otanes (1983)

335. TAHITIAN   Tahiti
     Tryon (1970b)

336. TAKELMA   Oregon
     Sapir (1912), Kendall (1977)

337. TAMAZIGHT   Morocco
     Destaing (1920), Johnson (1966), Ennaji (1985)

338. TAMIL   South East India, North East Sri Lanka
     Asher (1982)

339. TARAHUMARA (Western)   Northern Mexico
     Burgess (1984)

340. TARIANA   North West Amazonia (Brazil)
     Aikhenvald (2003)

341. TAWALA   Milne Bay (Papua New Guinea)
     Ezard (1997)

342. TEMNE   Sierra Leone
     Sumner (1922)

343. TEPEHUAN (Northern)   Vera Cruz (Mexico)
     Bascom (1982)

344. TERA   Northern Nigeria
     Newman (1970)

345. TERIBE   Panama, Costa Rica
     Quesada (2000)

346. TERNATE   Ternate Island (Northern Moluccas, Indonesia)
     Hayami Allen (2001)

347. THAI   Thailand
     Noss (1964), Waromatasikkhadit (1972), Sereechareonskit (1984)

348. THAKALI   Nepal
     Georg (1996)

349. THOMPSON SALISH   South Central British Columbia (Canada)
     Thompson & Thompson (1992), Kroeber (1999)

350. TIBETAN (Classical)   Tibet
     Jäschke (1929)

351. TIDORE   Northern Moluccas (Indonesia)
     Van Staden (2000)

352. TIGAK   Northern New Ireland (Melanesia)
     Beaumont (1980)

353. TIGRE   Northern Eritrea
     Raz (1983)

354. TINRIN   New Caledonia (Melanesia)
     Osumi (1995)

355. TIRMAGA   South West Ethiopia
     Bryant (1999)

356. TIWI   Bathurst and Melville Island (N. Australia)
     Osborne (1974)

357. TLINGIT   South Alaska, British Columbia
     Swanton (1911a), Boas (1917), Story (1966)

358. TOBA BATAK   Central Sumatra (Indonesia)
     Percival (1981), Nababan (1982)

359. TOCHARIC (West)   Chinese Turkestan
     Sieg & Siegling (1931), Pedersen (1941), Krause & Thomas (1960)

360. TOK PISIN   Melanesia, New Guinea
     Mühlhäusler (1984), Verhaar (1995)

361. TOLAI   Northern New Britain (Melanesia)
     Mosel (1984)

362. TONDANO   Northern Celebes
     Sneddon (1975)

363. TORADJA   Northern Celebes
     Adriani (1931)

364. TOTONAC (Upper Nexacan)   Puebla, Vera Cruz (Mexico)
     Beck (2004)

365. TOUAREG   Southern Algeria, Libya, Niger, Mali, Nigeria
     Hanoteau (1896), Chaker (1995), Harry Stroomer, p.c.

366. TRUMAI   Mato Grosso (Brazil)
     Guirardello (1999)

367. TSAFIKI   Ecuador
     Dickinson (2002)

368. TSHILUBA   Southern Zaire
     Willems (1943)

369. TSIMSHIAN (Coast)   Coast of British Columbia (Canada)
     Mulder (1994)

370. TUBU   Niger, Chad
     Lukas (1953), LeCoeur & LeCoeur (1956)

371. TUKANG BESI   Southern Celebes
     Donohue (1999)

372. TUMLEO   Tumleo Island (Papua New Guinea)
     Schultze (1911)

373. TUPINAMBÁ   Southern Brazil, Paraguay, Argentina, Bolivia
     Platzmann (1874), Parissier (1903), Tastevin (1910), Meira (2006)

374. TURKANA   North West Kenya
     Dimmendaal (1982)

375. TURKISH   Turkey
     Kreider (1954), Swift (1963), Lewis (1967), Johanson (1995)

376. TUSCARORA   Virginia, Maryland
     Mithun Williams (1976)

377. TYVAN   Central Siberia, Mongolia, China
     Bergelson & Kibrik (1995), Anderson & Harrison (1999)

378. TZUTUJIL   Guatemala
     Dayley (1981)

379. UBYKH   North West Caucasus
     Dumézil (1931), Dumézil (1932), Dumézil n(1933)

380. UDEGHE   East Siberia
     Girfanova (2002)

381. UDMURT   Eastern Russia
     Winkler (2001)

382. URUBU KAAPOR   North East Brazil
     Kakumasu (1986)

383. USAN   Madang Adelbert Range (N.E. Papua
     Reesink (1984)   New Guinea)

384. VAI   Western Liberia
     Koelle (1854), Welmers (1976)

385. VEDIC   Northern and Central India
     Macdonnell (1916)

386. VIETNAMESE   Vietnam
     Jones & Thong (1960), Thompson (1965), Van Chinh (1970)

387. VOGUL   North East Russia, North West Siberia
     Riese (2001)

388. WAI WAI   Pará (Brazil)
     Hawkins (1998)

389. WAMBAYA   Northern Territory (Australia)
     Nordlinger (1998)

390. WARDAMAN   Northern Territory (Australia)
     Merlan (1994)

391. WAREKENA   Venezuela, Northern Brazil
     Aikhenvald (1998)

392. WARI'   Rondonia (Brazil)
     Everett & Kern (1997)

393. WAROPEN   Geelvink Bay (West Irian Jaya)
     Held (1942)

394. WASKIA   Madang Adelbert Range (Papua New Guinea)
     Ross & Natu Paol (1978)

395. WELSH   Wales
     Spurrell (1870), Bowen & Rhys Jones (1967)

396. WEST GREENLANDIC   Greenland
     Fortescue (1984)

397. WICHITA   Oklahoma
     Rood (1976)

398. WOLOF   Senegal
     Rambaud (1903), Diouf & Yaguello (1998), Ngom (2003)

399. XANTY   North East Russia, North West Siberia
     Steinitz (1950), Rédei (1965), Comrie (1979)

400. !XŨ   North East Namibia, South East Angola
     Snyman (1970)

401. YAGUA   North East Peru
     D.Payne (1985), Payne & Payne (1990), T.E. Payne (1993)

402. YAKUT   North East Siberia
     Krueger (1962), Böhtlingk (1964)

403. YAMEO   Eastern Peru
     Espinosa Perez (1955)

404. YAQUI   Arizona
     Lindenfeld (1973)

405. YAVAPAI   Northern and Central Arizona
     Kendall (1976)

406. YIDINJ   Northern Queensland (N.E. Australia)
     Dixon (1977)

407. YIMAS   Lower Sepik (N.W. Papua New Guinea)
     Foley (1991)

408. YINDJIBARNDI   Western Australia
     Wordick (1982)

409. YINGKARTA   Western Australia
     Dench (1998)

410. YOKUTS   California
     Kroeber (1907)

411. YORUBA West Nigeria, Benin
DeGaye & Beecroft (1964), Bamgbose (1966), Ashiwaju (1968), Rowlands (1969)

412. YUKAGHIR (KOLYMA) North East Siberia
Maslova (2003a)

413. YUKAGHIR (TUNDRA) North East Siberia
Maslova (2003b)

414. YUP'IK (Central Alaskan) Alaska
Jacobson (1995), Mithun (1998), Mithun (1999b)

415. YUP'IK (Siberian) North East Siberia
De Reuse (1994)

416. YURAKARÉ Eastern Bolivia
Rik Van Gijn, p.c.

417. YUROK Northern California
Robins (1958)

418. ZAPOTEC Southern Mexico
Radin (1930), De Angulo & Freeland (1935), Pickett (1960)

419. ZOQUE South East Mexico
Wonderly (1952), Johnson (2000)

420. ZUNI New Mexico
Bunzel (1938), Newman (1965), Newman (1968), Granberry (1976), L. Nichols (1997)

Appendix B
Typological stratification of the sample

This appendix lists the attested possessive types for each individual language in the sample. The listing has been based on the genetic classification provided in Grimes, ed. (2005). It should be understood that this classification has, at some points, been adapted to the specific sample used in this study, and that, in general, this appendix does not have the ambition to take sides in ongoing discussions about the genetic affiliation of particular languages or language groups.

In the appendix the following abbreviations have been used:

HAVE	Have Possessive
HAVE<LOC	Have Possessive as a reanalysis of a Locational Possessive
HAVE<TOP	Have Possessive as a reanalysis of a Topic Possessive
HAVE<WITH	Have Possessive as a reanalysis of a With Possessive
LOC	Locational Possessive
LOC/GEN	Locational Possessive with Genitive marking of the possessor
TOP	Topic Possessive
TOP(!)	potentially ambiguous Topic Possessive
TOP/LOC	Topic Locational hybrid
TOP>HAVE	Topic Possessive with incipient Have Drift
WITH/ADV	With Possessive of the adverbial subtype
WITH/COP	With Possessive of the copular subtype
WITH/FLEX	With Possessive of the flexional subtype
WITH>HAVE	With Possessive with incipient Have Drift

INDO EUROPEAN

Celtic

Modern Irish	LOC	
Gaelic (Scots)	LOC	
Welsh	LOC	
Breton		HAVE<LOC
Cornish		HAVE<LOC

Germanic

Gothic		HAVE
Norwegian		HAVE
English		HAVE
Dutch		HAVE

Italic

Classical Latin	LOC	HAVE

Romance

Rumanian		HAVE
French		HAVE
Spanish		HAVE

Baltic

Latvian	LOC	
Lithuanian	LOC	HAVE

Slavonic

Russian	LOC	
Czech		HAVE
Serbocroat		HAVE

Albanian

Albanian		HAVE

Hellenic

Ancient Greek	LOC	HAVE
Modern Greek		HAVE

Anatolian

Hittite		HAVE

Armenian

Classical Armenian	LOC/GEN	HAVE

Tocharic

West Tocharic	LOC/GEN	

Iranian

Old Persian	LOC/GEN	HAVE
Modern Persian		HAVE
Ormuri	LOC/GEN	

Indic

Vedic	LOC/GEN	HAVE
Hindi	LOC	
Dumaki	LOC	
Konkani	LOC	
Nepali	LOC/GEN	
Sinhalese	LOC	

CAUCASIAN

North West

Abkhaz	LOC	
Kabardian	LOC	
Ubykh		HAVE

Kartvelian

Georgian	LOC
Laz	LOC
Svan	LOC

North Central

Chechen	LOC/GEN

Dagestanian

Avar	LOC/GEN
Archi	LOC/GEN
Godoberi	LOC/GEN
Lezgian	LOC
Icari Dargwa	LOC/GEN
Hunzib	LOC/GEN

URALIC

  Samoyed

Nenets	LOC/GEN			
Kamass	LOC/GEN			

  Balto Finnic

Finnish	LOC			
Estonian	LOC			

  Ugric

Hungarian	LOC			
Vogul	LOC			HAVE
Xanty				HAVE

  Volgaic

Erza Mordvin	LOC/GEN			

  Permic

Udmurt	LOC/GEN			

ALTAIC

  Turkic

Turkish	LOC/GEN			
Tyvan	LOC/GEN	WITH/COP		
Yakut	LOC	WITH/COP		

  Mongolian

Written Mongolian	LOC/GEN	WITH/COP		
Khalkha	LOC	WITH/COP		
Mangghuer	LOC/GEN			

  Tungusic

Even	LOC/GEN	WITH/COP		
Evenki	LOC/GEN	WITH/COP		
Manchu	LOC		TOP	
Udeghe	LOC			

Korean

Korean	LOC		TOP	

Japanese

Japanese	LOC		TOP	

PALEO SIBERIAN

Yenisean

Ket	LOC			HAVE

Yukaghir

Kolyma Yukaghir	LOC	WITH/FLEX		
Tundra Yukaghir	LOC	WITH/FLEX		

Nivkh

Nivkh	LOC			

Chukotko Kamchatkan

Koryak	LOC			
Itelmen	LOC			
Chukchi		WITH/FLEX		

DRAVIDIAN

Parji	LOC			
Kannada	LOC			
Tamil	LOC			
Malayalam	LOC			

SINO TIBETAN

Sinitic

Mandarin			TOP	
Cantonese			TOP	

Tibeto Burman

Himalayan

Classical Newari	LOC/GEN	
Thakali	LOC/GEN	
Lepcha	LOC/GEN	
Limbu	LOC/GEN	
Classical Tibetan	LOC	
Ladakhi	LOC	

Bodic

Garo	LOC	
Kham	LOC	TOP

North Assam

Dafla	LOC	

Meithei

Meithei	LOC/GEN	

Kuki Chin Naga

Lushai	LOC	

Karen

Eastern Kayah		TOP

Mikir

Arleng Alam		TOP

Burmese Lolo

Burmese	LOC	TOP
Lisu		TOP
Lahu		TOP

Qiangic

Qiang	LOC	TOP>HAVE

HMONG MIEN

White Hmong		TOP

KAM TAI

Thai			TOP	

AUSTRO ASIATIC

Mon Khmer

Khasi			TOP	
Sedang			TOP	
Cambodian			TOP	
Vietnamese			TOP	
Car		WITH/FLEX	TOP(!)	

Munda

Mundari	LOC	WITH/COP		
Kurku	LOC			
Santali	LOC/GEN			

AUSTRONESIAN

West Indonesian

Malagasy				HAVE
Sundanese				HAVE
Madurese				HAVE
Acehnese			TOP	
Toba Batak			TOP	
Bahasa Indonesia			TOP	HAVE

Formosan

Paiwan			TOP	

Philippine

Cebuano			TOP	
Ilocano			TOP	
Tagalog			TOP	
Tondano			TOP	
Chamorro			TOP	

East Indonesian

Toradja			TOP	
Fehan Tetun			TOP>HAVE	
Tukang Besi		WITH/ADV		HAVE
Buli			TOP	
Waropen	LOC			
Banggai	LOC		TOP	
Sikka			TOP	

Palauan

Palauan	TOP

West Oceanic

Mangap Mbula		TOP	
Manam		TOP	
Kilivila		TOP	
Tawala		TOP	
Saliba		TOP	
Loniu		TOP(!)	
Tolai		TOP(!)	HAVE
Tumleo			HAVE
Tigak			HAVE
Hiri Motu	LOC	TOP	

Central East Oceanic

Mokilese	TOP	
Kwaio	TOP	HAVE<WITH
Tinrin	TOP	

Central Pacific

Rotuman		WITH/ADV
Fijian	LOC	
Maori	LOC/GEN	
Samoan	LOC	
Tahitian	LOC/GEN	

PAPUAN

  Halmahera

Ternate			TOP>HAVE
Galela			TOP
Tidore			TOP

  West Papuan

Meyah			TOP
Abun				HAVE

  Wissel Lakes

Kapauku Ekagi		WITH/COP

  Central & Western

Kapau		WITH/ADV	
Sentani			TOP(!)

  Central & South

Korowai		WITH/ADV	
Aghu			TOP
Asmat			TOP

  Sepik

Alamblak		WITH/COP	
Awtuw	LOC/GEN	WITH/COP	TOP
Yimas		WITH/COP	

  Madang

Amele		WITH/ADV	
Usan			TOP

  Adelbert Range

Waskia		WITH/ADV

  Finisterre Huon

Kâte	LOC	
Nabak		WITH/ADV

East Highlands

Kobon		TOP	

Central & South East

Koiari		WITH/COP	
Omie	LOC	WITH/COP	
Daga		WITH/ADV	

Bogia

Monumbo	WITH/ADV	

East Papuan

Nasioi	WITH/COP	

AUSTRALIAN

Tiwi

Tiwi		TOP(!)

Tangkic

Kayardild	WITH/COP	TOP(!)

Bunaban

Gooniyandi		TOP(!)	HAVE

Limilngan

Limilngan		TOP(!)	HAVE

Yiwadjan

Maung			HAVE

West Barkly

Jingulu			HAVE
Wambaya	WITH/COP		HAVE

Gunwinyguan

Bininj Gun Wok			HAVE
Gaagudju			HAVE
Wardaman			HAVE

Nyulnyulan

Nyulnyul			HAVE

Pama Nyungan

Arrernte	LOC	WITH/COP	
Diyari		WITH/COP	HAVE
Yingkarta		WITH/COP	HAVE
Gumbainggir	LOC/GEN	WITH/COP	
Pitta Pitta		WITH/COP	
Pitjantjatjara		WITH/COP	
Gidabal		WITH/COP	
Yidinj		WITH/COP	
Bāgandji		WITH/COP	HAVE
Yindjibarndi		WITH/COP	HAVE

NORTH AMERICA

Eskimo Aleut

Aleut	WITH/FLEX	
Siberian Yup'ik	WITH/FLEX	
Central Alaskan Yup'ik	WITH/FLEX	
West Greenlandic	WITH/FLEX	

Na Dene

Haida		WITH/FLEX		HAVE
Tlingit	LOC			
Deg Xinag			TOP	HAVE
Slave	LOC			HAVE
Sarcee	LOC		TOP	
Navajo	LOC		TOP	

Tsimshian

Coast Tshimshian		TOP

Wakashan

Kwakwala	WITH/FLEX
Nootka	WITH/FLEX

Chimakuan			
Quileute		WITH/FLEX		HAVE<WITH
Salish			
Bella Coola		WITH/FLEX		
Squamish	LOC			
Lushootseed		WITH/FLEX	TOP	
Lummi/ Straits Salish		WITH/FLEX		
Lillooet		WITH/FLEX		
Halkomelem		WITH/FLEX		
Thompson		WITH/FLEX		
Shuswap		WITH/FLEX		
Kalispel		WITH/FLEX		
Okanagan		WITH/FLEX		
Coeur d'Alene		WITH/FLEX		
Algonquian			
Blackfoot			TOP	
Menomini			TOP	
Ojibwa			TOP	HAVE<TOP
Plains Cree				HAVE<TOP
Yurok			TOP	
Siuslawan			
Siuslaw		WITH/FLEX		
Takelma			
Takelma		WITH/COP		
Maiduan			
Maidu		WITH/COP		
Yokuts			
Yokuts	LOC/GEN			
Miwok Costanoan			
Sierra Miwok		WITH/FLEX		

Karok Shastan			
Karok		TOP	HAVE
Sahaptian			
Nez Perce			HAVE<TOP
Iroquoian			
Seneca		TOP	
Tuscarora		TOP	
Mohawk		TOP	
Oneida		TOP	
Caddoan			
Wichita		TOP	
Tanoan			
Kiowa		TOP	
Muskogean			
Alabama		TOP	
Koasati		TOP	
Choctaw		TOP	
Siouan			
Biloxi			HAVE
Lakota		TOP	HAVE
Crow		TOP	
Yuman			
Mojave		TOP(!)	HAVE
Yavapai			HAVE
Zuni			
Zuni			HAVE

CENTRAL AMERICA

Uto Aztecan			
Western Shoshone	WITH/FLEX		
Tümpisa Shoshone	WITH/FLEX		

Northern Paiute	WITH/FLEX		
Comanche	WITH/FLEX		
Chemehuevi	WITH/FLEX		
Kawaiisu	WITH/FLEX		
Luiseňo		TOP>HAVE	
Cupeňo		TOP	
Hopi	WITH/FLEX		
Huichol	WITH/FLEX		
Cora		TOP(!) HAVE	
Yaqui	WITH/FLEX		HAVE
Western Tarahumara	WITH/COP	TOP	HAVE
Northern Tepehuan	WITH/FLEX	TOP(!)	HAVE
Pima Bajo		TOP(!)	HAVE
Papago	WITH/FLEX	TOP(!)	HAVE<WITH
Nevome	WITH/FLEX	TOP(!)	HAVE<WITH
Tetelcingo Nahuatl			HAVE
Michoacán Nahuatl			HAVE
Pipil			HAVE

Mayan

Itzaj Maya		TOP	
Jacaltec		TOP	
Tzutujil		TOP	

Totonacan

Upper Necaxa Totonac	TOP		

Mixe Zoque

Chimalapa Zoque		TOP	HAVE<WITH
Sierra Popoluca	WITH/FLEX		HAVE<WITH

Oto Manguean

Mezquital Otomi		TOP	
Chalcatongo Mixtec		TOP	HAVE
Comaltepec Chinantec		TOP	
Sochiapan Chinantec		TOP>HAVE	

Yaitepec Chatino			TOP	
Ixtlan Zapotec			TOP(!)	

Tequistlatecan

Highland Chontal			TOP	

Tarascan

Purépecha				HAVE<WITH

Chibchan

Bribri	LOC			
Miskito				HAVE
Rama				HAVE
Damana				HAVE<LOC
Teribe			TOP	

SOUTH AMERICA

Macro Carib

Apalai		WITH/ADV	
Hixkaryana		WITH/ADV	
Surinam Carib		WITH/ADV	
Wai Wai		WITH/COP	

Witotoan

Andoke		WITH/COP	
Huitoto	LOC	WITH/FLEX	

Andean

Cuzco Quechua	LOC/GEN		
Spoken Bolivian Quechua	LOC/GEN		
Jaqaru		WITH/FLEX	
Aymara		WITH/FLEX	

Peba Yaguan

Yagua	LOC	WITH/COP	
Yameo	LOC/GEN	WITH/COP	

Chocó				
Embera				HAVE
Epena Pedee				HAVE
Paezan				
Paez				HAVE
Barbacoan				
Guambiano				HAVE
Tsafiki				HAVE
Tucanoan				
Guanano	LOC			HAVE
Retuara	LOC			HAVE
Barasano	LOC			HAVE
Koreguaje				HAVE
Araucanian				
Mapudungun				HAVE
Panoan				
Chacobo		WITH/ADV		
Shipibo Konibo	LOC	WITH/ADV		
Matsés	LOC/GEN			HAVE
Macro Ge Bororo				
Bororo			TOP	
Kaingang			TOP	
Canela Krâho			TOP	
Tacana				
Ese Ejja		WITH/ADV		
Movima				
Movima			TOP	
Yurakaré				
Yurakaré			TOP	HAVE<TOP

Trumai

Language				
Trumai		WITH/ADV		HAVE

Mosetenan

Mosetén		WITH/ADV		HAVE

Arawakan

Palikur				HAVE<WITH
Lokono		WITH/FLEX		HAVE<LOC
Goajiro	LOC	WITH/FLEX		
Resigaro	LOC			
Tariana	LOC			HAVE
Warekena	LOC			HAVE
Piro	LOC	WITH/FLEX		
Apuriña		WITH/FLEX	TOP>HAVE	
Baure		WITH/FLEX	TOP	HAVE<WITH
Nomatsiguenga			TOP	

Arauan

Jarawara	LOC			HAVE

Harakmbet

Amarakaeri				HAVE<WITH

Mura

Pirahã				HAVE<WITH

Yanomami

Sanuma			TOP	

Tupí

Guajajara			TOP	HAVE
Tupinambá			TOP	HAVE
Urubu Kaapor			TOP	
Guaraní			TOP	HAVE

Chapakuran

Wari'			TOP/LOC	

Guaycuruan

Mocoví		TOP	
Pilagá		TOP	

Chon

Ona Šelknam		TOP	

AFRO ASIATIC

Egyptian

Coptic	LOC	

Semitic

Biblical Hebrew	LOC	
Modern Hebrew	LOC	
Classical Arabic	LOC	
Cairene Arabic	LOC	
Maltese	LOC>HAVE	

Amharic		TOP/LOC
Tigre		TOP/LOC

Cushitic

Bedawi	LOC		HAVE
Bilin	LOC		HAVE
Somali			HAVE
Oromo			HAVE

Berber

Kabyle		TOP/LOC	HAVE
Tamazight		TOP/LOC	
Touareg		TOP/LOC	HAVE

Chadic

Hausa	LOC	WITH/ADV	
Margi		WITH/ADV	
Tera	LOC		
Hdi	LOC		

NILO SAHARAN

   Songhay

Songhay	LOC	WITH/ADV		HAVE

   Saharan

Kanuri	LOC	WITH/COP		
Tubu				HAVE

   Kunama

Kunama				HAVE

   Krongo

Krongo				HAVE

   East Sudanic (East)

Nobiin (Nile Nubian)	LOC			HAVE
Kenuz Nubian	LOC			HAVE
Tirmaga				HAVE
Longarim				HAVE

   East Sudanic (West Nilotic)

Anywa			TOP	
Shilluk			TOP	HAVE
Dinka				HAVE
Acholi		WITH/ADV		
Dholuo		WITH/ADV		

   East Sudanic (East Nilotic)

Kukú		WITH/ADV		
Maasai				HAVE
Turkana			TOP	

   East Sudanic (South Nilotic)

Nandi				HAVE
Pokot				HAVE

Central Sudanic (East)

Ma'di	LOC	WITH/ADV		
Mamvu		WITH/ADV		

Central Sudanic (West)

Mbay		WITH/ADV		HAVE
Bongo	LOC			

NIGER KORDOFANIAN

West Atlantic

Wolof				HAVE
Noon				HAVE
Temne				HAVE
Fulani			TOP	HAVE

Kwa

Fongbe			TOP	
Akan			TOP	
Yoruba				HAVE<TOP
Igbo				HAVE

Mande

Malinke	LOC			HAVE
Bambara	LOC			
Vai	LOC			
Kpelle	LOC			
Koranko	LOC			

Kru

Grebo				HAVE

Gur

Dagbane				HAVE
Koromfe				HAVE
Moore				HAVE
Senufo				HAVE
Supyire	LOC	WITH/ADV		

Adamawa Ubangian			
Banda	WITH/ADV		
Sango	WITH/ADV		
Mundang	WITH/ADV		
Ngbaka			HAVE<WITH
Benue Congo			
Birom			HAVE
Babungo			HAVE
Nkore Kiga	WITH/ADV		HAVE
Duala	WITH/ADV>HAVE		
Luganda	WITH/ADV>HAVE		
Tshiluba	WITH/ADV		
Swahili	WITH/ADV		
Shona	WITH/ADV		
KHOISAN			
Nama			HAVE
!Xu			HAVE
Sandawe	WITH/FLEX		
CREOLES			
English based			
Tok Pisin			HAVE
Sranan			HAVE
French based			
Haitian Creole			HAVE
Spanish based			
Papiamentu			HAVE
ISOLATES			
Ainu			HAVE<TOP
Basque			HAVE
Burushaski		LOC/GEN	

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