Genitive in Chukchi?

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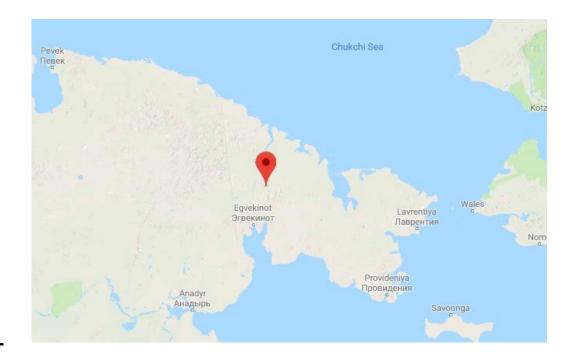Institute of Linguistics, RAS)

In this talk

- Some observations on the morphosyntax of nominal modification in Amguema Chukchi
- Testing the Canonical Typology approach (Spencer & Nikolaeva 2013) against an unclear case of a boundary between nouns and adjectives

Chukchi

- Chukotka Autonomous Region (Far East of Russia)
- ~5000 speakers (cf. a sociolinguistic survey by Stenin (to come));
- Previous sources:
  - Prescriptive **"pandialectal"** grammar by P. Skorik (1961; 1977)
  - Works by Vladimir Nedyalkov and his co-authors (I. Kozinsky, M. Polinsky etc.) based primarily upon idiolects of two Chukchi-speaking linguists (V. Raɣtiɬən and P. Inenɬiqej): **westernmost varieties**;
  - A corpus-based grammar by Michael Dunn: **south-western** (Telqep) Chukchi
- In general, dialectal variety of Chukchi seems to be underestimated

Amguema Chukchi

- Inland (*onməɬʔət*) Chukchi
- Spoken much farther to the East, compared to the dialects described in the previous sources
- Data from my own fieldwork in 2017—2018
- Part of a larger project on documentation and description of Amguema Chukchi run at the Higher School of Economics

Outline of the talk

1. Canonical Typology approach to attributive / possessive modification
   1. Spencer & Nikolaeva's (2013) approach
   2. A tentative addenda
2. Chukchi NP: an overview
3. "Possessive" adjectives in –in(e)
4. "Relational" adjectives in –kin(e)
5. Conclusions

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Spencer & Nikolaeva (2013)

- Two **canonical** types of constructions:
  - attribrutive modification *(a good boy)*
  - inalienable possession *(Mary's sister)*
- Other constructions are described as deviations from the two canonical types
- The two following intermediate types are of particular typological relevance:
  - modification-by-noun *(a London bus)*
  - alienable possession *(Mary's bus)*

Attributive modification: canonical properties

- **ModSem2:** Modifiers denote gradable **property** concepts and hence one-place predicates

- **ModSyn1:** Modifiers are **adjuncts** to noun heads

- **ModSyn2:** Modifiers do not take specifiers and other (attributive) modifiers

- **ModSyn3:** Modifiers are (canonical) **adjectives**

Possessive modification: canonical properties

PossSem1: The relation between possessor and possessee is **permanent** (i.e. an individual-level rather than stage-level predication)

PossSem2: Possessors are **humans**

PossSem3: Possessees are **relational nouns** (kin terms/meronyms . . .) and hence are two-place predicates

Possessive modification: canonical properties, *cont'd*

- **PossSyn1:** (In languages with a specifier system), possessors occupy a spec(ifier) position (and therefore are canonically in paradigmatic opposition to other spec elements)

- **PossSyn3:** Possessors are (canonical) nouns, hence, show independent number opposition, take attributive modifiers as adjuncts, determiners (and possessors) as specifiers

Attr vs Poss (according to S&N)

Canonical Attr

- non-referential

- cannot have dependents nominals usually have

- modifies all nouns

Canonical Poss

- referential & animate

- can have the full range of nominal dependents

- modifies relational nouns

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Attr vs Poss (according to S&N)

Canonical Attr

- non-referential

- cannot have dependents nominals usually have

- modifies all nouns

- expressed by an adjective

Canonical Poss

- referential & animate

- can have dependents nominals usually have

- modifies relational nouns

- expressed by a noun

- Those criteria might help to differentiate between a canonical **genitive** (a bound Poss marker) and a canonical **attributivizer** (a bound Attr marker)

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Tentative addenda

- If a marker attaches to a syntactic entity that has a full range of nominal dependents, then this entity is a DP

- Then we expect it to regularly **attach to pronouns**, which are DP proforms

- (Though we cannot exclude derivation from pronominal stems, cf. Russian relational adjective *нашенский* 'ours' < *наш* 'idem')

Tentative addenda

- A marker can attach to a syntactic entity having some but not all nominal dependents (thus taking as a complement a small nominal): cf. two Tatar attributivizers in Lyutikova & Pereltsvaing (2015):

(1)   kük   čäčäk-le   čaška

        blue   flower-ATTR   cup

        'a cup with {a blue flower / blue flowers}

(2)   * bu   čäčäk-le   čaška

        this   flower-ATTR   cup

        intended: 'a cup with this flower'

Tentative addenda

- Spencer & Nikolaeva (2013) take case & number concord between the nouns and its modifier to be a language-particular property of adjectival morphology and hence insignificant for the attr / poss canons
  - cf. Albanian, Hindi, etc., where possessor-introducing clitics agree in case and number with the possessee
- But if there is a system of case concord, do we expect there to be case concord in the very feature expressed by the marker of the relation?
  - **NO**, if it is an attributivizer
  - **MAYBE**, if it is a genitive marker
  - (*heaven-ly host*, but not *third-ly heaven-ly host* ('host of the third heaven')

Tentative addenda

The features that I would add to those suggested by S&N:

- possibility to attach to a pronoun;

- fullness of range of possible nominal modifiers (rather than just existence or non-existence);

- possibility to case-concord in the feature expressed by the marker

- …

- the level of integration of the marker into the language's case system

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Chukchi NP

- Subject to heavy scrambling in the absolutive (all word orders are possible, may be discontinuous, etc.)

- Relatively well-behaved (left-branching) in oblique cases (others than absolutive, including ergative)

- Some types of dependents (qualitative adjectives, numerals, demonstrative pronouns) are obligatorily incorporated into oblique case-marked heads

- Those types of dependents which can be realized as separate phonological words can optionally show case / number concord

Chukchi NP: qualitative adjectives

- Qualitative adjectival stems are usually incorporated when in attributive position

(3)   tor-para~par   / tor-par-a

      new-butter.ABS / new-butter-ERG

      'fresh butter / with fresh butter'

- When the noun is in the Absolutive, it can be attributively modified by the same form which is used predicatively

(4)   nə-tur-qin   para~par   (5)   nə-tur-qin   para~par   qə-jəɬ-ɣi

      ST-new-ST.3SG butter.ABS   ST-new-ST.3SG butter.ABS   IMP-give-IMP

      'The butter is fresh.'   'Give me some fresh butter!'

"Possessive" and "relational" forms

- Used to express prototypical possessive relations:

(6) ɣəm-**nin** remkə-ɬʔə-t

  I-**AN.POSS** guest-ATR-PL

  'my guests'

(7) ajwe-**ken** remkə-ɬʔə-t

  yesterday-**REL** guest-ATR-PL

  'yesterday's guests'

- Are never incorporated in Amguema Chukchi

- Spencer & Nikolaeva (2013): Chukchi uses the same (adjectival) strategy for all four types of noun modification

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"Possessive" adjectives

(8) *ɣə-**nin***   *ɬʔu-ɬqəɬ-Ø*   *qnut* *koka-tset-joɬɣə-n*

   you-AN.**POSS** see-DEB-NOM.SG   like pot-put-CONT-NOM.SG

   'Your face is like a hot pad.'

Chukchi nominal paradigm

inanimate nouns		
	SG	PL
ABS	-∅ / -n / -ŋə	-t / -ti
ERG	-(t)e	
LOC	-k(ə)	
DAT	-ɣtə/-etə$^{+VH}$	
ABL	-jpə / -ɣəpə / -epə$^{+VH}$	
ORI	-ɣjit	
PROL	-jekwe^{+VH}	
EQU	-(n)u	

animate nouns		
	SG	PL
ABS	-∅ / -n / -ŋə	-nti
ERG / LOC	-ne	-rə-k
DAT	-na	-rə-kə$^{+VH}$
ABL	-jpə / -ɣəpə / -epə$^{+VH}$	-r-ɣəpə$^{+VH}$
ORI	-ɣjit	-rə-ɣjit
PROL	-jekwe^{+VH}	-rə-jekwe^{+VH}
EQU	-(n)u	

Chukchi nominal paradigm

- Inanimate nouns are only marked for number in the Absolutive
- Animate nouns are marked for number in all cases except Equative
- Core cases (ABS, ERG / LOC, DAT) have separate allomorphs for animate nouns beginning with a *-n-* element
- Animate plural case forms employ some *-rə-* element to mark plurality

"Possessive" actually fits!

- There are three possessive allomoprhs:
  - for inanimate *–in(e)*;
  - for animate sg *–n-in(e)*;
  - for animate pl *–rɣ-in(e)*

(9)   ɁəttɁ-**in**   wasˀa-**nen**   wasˀa-**rɣ-en**

        dog-POSS   V.-AN.POSS   V.-AN.PL-POSS

        'dog's'   'Vasya's'   'Vasya and his family's'

Chukchi nominal paradigm, *revised*

inanimate nouns		
	SG	PL
ABS	-∅ / -n / -ŋə	-t / -ti
GEN	-in(e)	
ERG	-(t)e	
LOC	-k(ə)	
DAT	-ɣtə/-etə$^{+VH}$	
ABL	-jpə / -ɣəpə / -epə$^{+VH}$	
ORI	-ɣjit	
PROL	-jekwe^{+VH}	
EQU	-(n)u	

animate nouns		
	SG	PL
ABS	-∅ / -n / -ŋə	-**n**ti
GEN	-**n**in(e)	-rɣ-in(e)
ERG / LOC	-**n**e	-rə-k
DAT	-**n**a	-rə-kə$^{+VH}$
ABL	-jpə / -ɣəpə / -epə$^{+VH}$	-r-ɣəpə$^{+VH}$
ORI	-ɣjit	-rə-ɣjit
PROL	-jekwe^{+VH}	-rə-jekwe^{+VH}
EQU	-(n)u	

"Possessive": referentiality

- "Possessive" denotes referential possessors:

(10)   ŋoten-ʔorawetɬʔ-en   jaraŋə

        this-person-POSS   house.ABS

        'the house of this man'

- Quantified "possessives" can have wide scope:

(11)   jemɣə-nenen-in   ətɬa-ɣtə   pkir-ɣʔi   keɬi~keɬ

        each-child-POSS   mother-DAT come-AOR.3SG   letter.ABS

        'A letter was sent to each child's mother'

"Possessive": nominal internal syntax

- "Possessive" forms can attach their own possessors:

(12) [[epeqej-nin]   sakett-en]   waɫə

grandmother-POSS   sister-POSS   knife.ABS

'A knife of grandmother's sister'

- Can attach all the nominal dependents which are allowed for the nominals in oblique cases — e.g. participles:

(13) [RC ŋutku   wakʔotwa-ɫʔ-ən]   ʔorawetɫʔ-en   waɫə

here   sit-PTCP-ABS   man-POSS   knife

'A knife of the man who is sitting here'

"Possessive": number concord

- In the Absolutive, "possessive" forms can undergo optional number concord with their heads:

(14)   ^{OK}ɣəm-nin   ekkə-t   / ^{OK} ɣəm-nine-t   ekkə-t

I-AN.POSS   son-ABS.PL   I-AN.POSS-PL   son-ABS.PL

'My sons'

- With the majority of the nominal dependents, NC is obligatory:

(15)   *jəɬqetə-ɬʔ-ən   /   ^{OK} jəɬqetə-ɬʔə-t   ŋinqaɣ-ti

sleep-PTCP-ABS.SG   sleep-PTCP-ABS.PL   boy-ABS.PL

'sleeping sons'

"Possessive": no case concord

- In Skorik's data, possessive can agree in case with the head

(16) Skorik's Standard Chukchi

      miɣ-ine-te   kupre-te

      grandfather-POSS-ERG   net-ERG

      'with grandfather's net'

- In Amguema, it is not the case:

(17) Amguema Chukchi

      miɣ-ine-(*te)   kupre-te

      grandfather-POSS-(*ERG)   net-ERG

      'idem'

"Possessive" -concord

- In Chukchi, some modifiers (e. g. participles or demonstratives) can optionally agree in case with their heads

- We have just seen that possessives does not agree with their heads

- However, participles or demonstratives modifying possessives can attach the same marker

(18) [_{RC} ŋutku   wakʔotwa-ɬʔ-en]   ʔorawetɬʔ-en   waɬə

here   sit-PTCP-POSS   man-POSS   knife

'A knife of the man who is sitting here'

"Possessive" -concord

- In Chukchi, some modifiers (e. g. participles or demonstratives) can optionally agree in case with their heads

- We have just seen that possessives does not agree with their heads

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(19)   ətłon tumɣə~tum ŋotqena-**nen**   remkəł-**in**

      he   friend~ABS.SG this-**AN.POSS**   guest-**POSS**

      'He is a friend of this guest'

"Possessive": summary

- Nominal internal syntax (everything that other oblique NPs are allowed to do)
- Can be referential (in fact, most often are)
- Cannot agree in case
- Does not have (but is still able to) agree in number
- Can be formed from pronouns
- Controls case concord
- Integrated into the nominal paradigm
- …
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"Relational" form

- Unlike "possessive", can be formed not only from nominal stems
- *ajwe-kin* [yesterday-REL] 'that of yesterday', *ŋutku-kin* [here-REL] 'the one which is here'
- Has only one allomorph (no number / animacy distinctions)

"Relational form": referentiality

- Under some interpretation (e. g. PART-WHOLE relation) can be referential:

(21)   ŋoten-sajkokə-ken   qaɣərɣajp-ən

       this-teapot-REL   lid-ABS.SG

       'the lid of this teapot'

"Relational": adnominal dependents

- Can be further modified by, e.g., demonstratives, participles and possessives:

(22)   sottaɣnə-tkənə-k   [[[epe-nin]   waɬa-ken]   jəqujɣən]

       floor-SUPER-LOC   granfather-AN.GEN   knife-REL   handle

       'The handle of grandfather's knife is on the floor.'

(23)   sottaɣnə-tkənə-k   [[[ŋotqena]   waɬa-ken]   jəqujɣən]

       floor-SUPER-LOC   this   knife-REL   handle

       'The handle of grandfather's knife is on the floor.'

"Relational": case concord

- Unlike "possessives", relationals can agree with the head in case (but does not have to):

(24) a.   ɣəm nə-ɬe-jɣəm   ajwe-ken-**ajpə**   enaraɣsəɬʔ-**epə**

          I ST-go-ST.1SG   yesterday-REL-**ABL**   guest-ABL

          'I am returning form yesterday's guest.'

  b.   ɣəm nə-ɬe-jɣəm   ajwe-ken   enaraɣsəɬʔ-**epə**

          I ST-go-ST.1SG   yesterday-REL   guest-**ABL**

          'I am returning form yesterday's guest.'

"Relational": number concord

- Like "possessives", relationals can agree with the head in case (but does not have to):

(25)   [OK]ajwe-ken   raswəŋəɬʔə-t   / [OK] ajwekena-t   ekkə-t

yesterday-REL racer-ABS.PL   yesterday-REL   son-ABS.PL

'yesterday's racers'

"Relational": case concord control

- Like possessive, =*ken* can control case concord:

(26)   am-ŋotqena-**ken**   sajkokə-**ken** qaɣərɣajpə-n   nə-seri-qin

RESTR-этот-REL   чайник-REL   крышка-ABS.SG   ST-грязный-ST.3SG

'Only THIS pot's lid is dirty'

POSS vs REL: summary

	POSS	REL
undergoes case concord	-	+
controls case concord	+	+
referentiality	+	+
nominal internal syntax	+	+
integratedness into the nominal paradigm	+	-
attaches only to nouns	+	-

POSS vs. REL: distribution

interpretation	referentiality	POSS	REL
KINSHIP	specific	ok	*
	non-specific	ok	*
BODY PART (HUMANS)	specific	ok	*
	non-specific	ok	*
BODY PART (ANIMALS)	specific	ok	*
	non-specific	ok	ok
POSSESSION	specific	ok	*
	non-specific	ok	*
PART-WHOLE	specific	*	ok
	non-specific	*	ok
MATTER	specific	ok (?)	*
	non-specific	ok (?)	*
LOCALIZATION	specific	*	ok
	non-specific	*	ok
TIME	specific	*	ok
	non-specific	*	ok